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MA'ĤADU, THE HARBOR OF UGARIT

BY

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The Kingdom of Ugarit, after its expansion by Šuppiluliuma¹), controlled a shoreline from Mt. Casius in the north to Šuksi (Tell Sūkās) in the south²). This stretch of coast has a limited number of anchorages³), and since its nature must have been the same in the Late Bronze Age, it is possible to know the approximate sites of the Ugaritic coastal towns. Can we give to each of these sites its original name? This can be done by combining the evidence of: (1) archaeological excavations and surveys, (2) international acts of delimitation, found at Ras Shamra, (3) references to ships based at, or arriving to, certain Ugaritic towns, (4) surviving Ugaritic place names in later and contemporary toponymy, (5) recognizable geographical pattern in Ugaritic lists of settlements. In this way, and without entering here into details of our investigation⁴), we arrive at the following list of Ugaritic maritime towns, from north to south (see map):

1. *Gr*, class. Charadros, mod. Kara Duran in a cove (Mina el Qešāb) between the massives of the Casius (Cebelakra) and the Anticasius (Cartltepe)⁵).

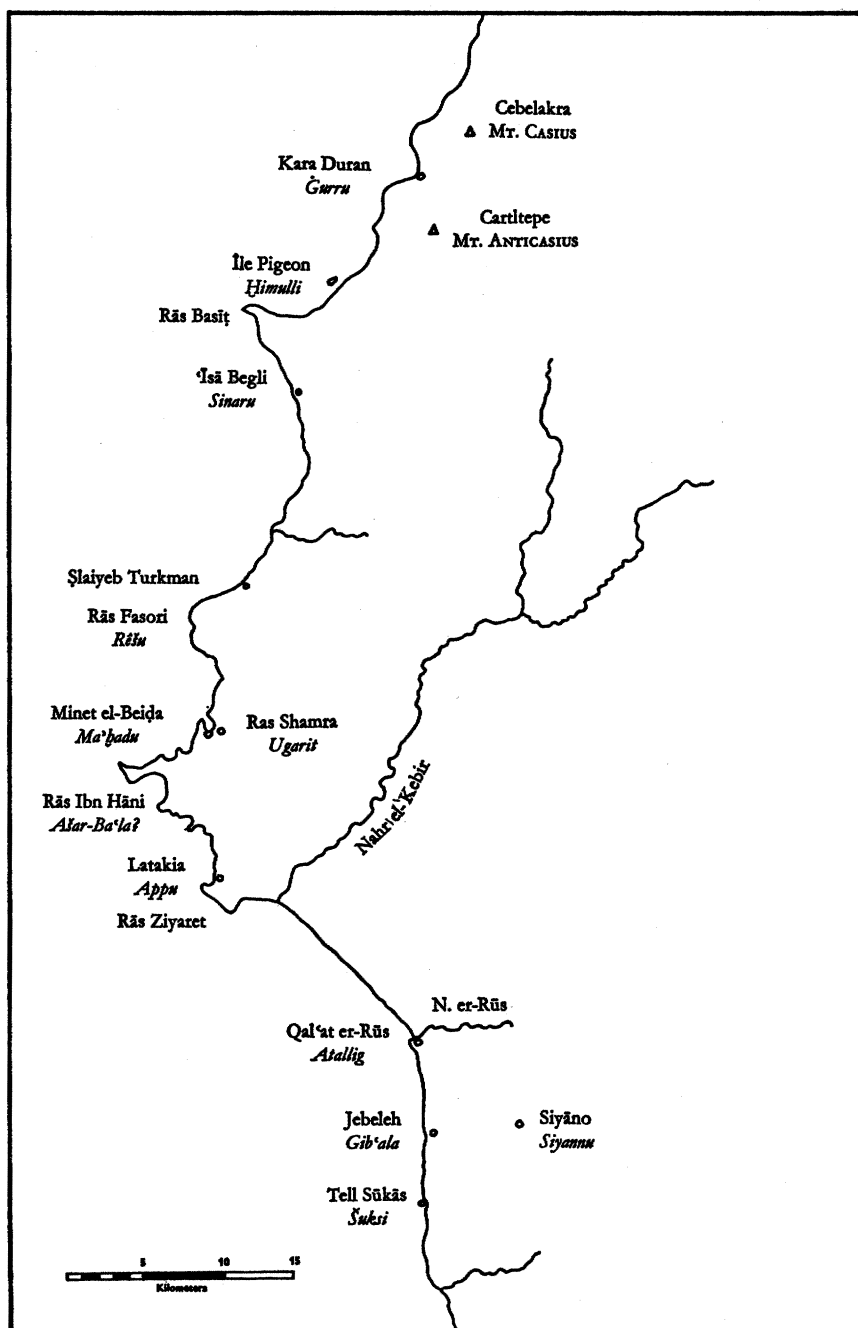
1) See J. Nougayrol, *PRU IV* pp. 10-15, and our "The Partition of the Confederacy of Mukiš-Nuḥašše-Nii by Šuppiluliuma" (to appear in *Orientalia*, 1969).

2) Here began the coast of the Kingdom of Siyannu-Ušnatu, a vassal of Ugarit till c. 1340.

3) See *B.R.* 513 (*Restricted*) *Geographical Handbook Series: Syria*, published by the British Naval Intelligence Service, 1943, pp. 55-61 and map Fig. 21 (on which our map is based).

4) Except for the subject of this paper—Ma'ḥadu; the whole complex of pertaining questions will be examined in our *Topography and Toponymy of Northern Syria* etc. (in preparation).

5) As part of the area that passed to Ugarit from Mukiš, this could well have been Idrimi's landing place "in front of Mt. Casius," as read by W. F. Albright, *BASOR* No. 118 (1950), p. 17, n. 24.



2. *Ħimulli* on an islet off shore, class. Makra Nêsos, mod. Île Pigeon ¹⁾.
3. *Snr* / *Sî-na-ru*, class. Sinêra ²⁾, mod. 'Îsā Begli.
4. (probably) 'dn, perhaps near mod. Şlaiyeb Turkman.
5. *Ap*, the Late Bronze Age mound near the harbor of Latakia ³⁾.
6. *Atlg* / *A-tal-li-ig*, mod. Qal'at er-Rūs.
7. *Gb'l* / *Gi-ba-la*, class. Gabala, mod. Jebelih.
8. *Šu-uk-si*, mod. Tell Sukās.

Two more port towns of the kingdom, not mentioned in toponymic lists, are known from business documents and registers of persons. These are *Riṣ* / SAG.DU ⁴⁾ and *Miḥd* / *Maḥd* / *Ma-a-ḥa-di* (gen.). M. L. Heltzer ⁵⁾ correctly noted that the owners of light ships (*tkt*), enumerated in the text UT 2085, were residents of *Riṣ* (or, as we shall spell it out hereinafter, Rêṣu), because their names recur in UT 2078, a list entitled *riṣym qnum*. The term *qnum*, it should be added, means "purple dyers" ⁶⁾, from the same root that is at the base of Akkadian *uqnû* and Ugaritic *iqnu*, used in both languages for "lapis-lazuli" and "bluish purple dye," and still surviving in Arabic *qana'a* "to be red, to be dyed red," and *qani'a*, "to dye dark red or black". From this can

1) As established by J. Nougayrol, *PRU IV*, p. 15.

2) *Sinêra, tôn apo tês Phoinikês kai Syrias* of Stephen of Byzantium. There is no reason to correct *Sinêra* into *Simyra* (E. Honigmann, *RE*, IIIA, col. 230), since the latter figures separately in Stephen's *Ethnica*.

3) Surveyed by the Danish archaeological expedition, see P. J. Riis, *Ann. Arch. de Syrie*, 15 (1963), II, p. 77.

4) J. Nougayrol, in *PRU III*, consistently spells out SAG.DU / ^{URU}SAG.DU by *Mahsisi*, on the basis of RS.16.182 + 199:17: *i-na* SAG.DU / *ma-aḥ-zi-zi*. However, the "Glossenkeil" before *ma-aḥ-ṣi-ṣi* (or *ma-aḥ-ṣi-ṣi*) does not necessarily mean that this was the reading of the ideogram SAG.DU; rather, as in numerous other juridical texts in *PRU III*, it simply points to the name of a field ("Flurname") within the area of SAG.DU. The ideogram SAG.DU, equivalent to Akk. *qaqqādu*, "head," could well stand for the semantically identical *Riṣ*. In the quoted passage, SAG.DU seems to refer to a locality in Mount Bargylus; but elsewhere (in RS 15.83, to which we shall return) ^{URU}SAG.DU designates the homonymous town on the seashore.

5) *Vestnik Drevnej Istorii*, 1966, No. 3, p. 205.

6) Ch. Virolleaud, *PRU V*, p. 104: "From the root *qn*", 'to be zealous,' or from *qn*, 'blue-colored,' whence *iqnu*, 'lapis-lazuli.'" Cf. *šġ.NA₄.ZA.GIN.MEŠ*, "blue purple wool," at Nuzu (*AASOR*, XVI [1935-1936], No. 77:13), *šġ.ZA.GIN* at Ugarit (tablet published by F. Thureau-Dangin, *Syria*, 15 [1934], p. 137, ll. 1-4).

be concluded that, at Rêšu, all stages of the purple industry, from catching murices to dying fabrics, were practiced by the same entrepreneurs.

Ma'ḥadu, too, was a harbor, as shown by UT 319, a list of 12 heavy ships (*br*) and 4 light ships (*tkt*)¹⁾ belonging to private persons, with the superscript *anyt. miḥd* [2). These are not "seized ships", as was believed before new documents on the town of *Miḥd* have been found³⁾, but "ships of Ma'ḥadu" or "of Ma'ḥadians"⁴⁾. The two port towns, Rêšu and Ma'ḥadu, could best be located in the middle part of the Ugaritic coast, near the capital city, in a sector that is not represented in our previous list of coastal settlements. It is likely that they were both considered part of the metropolitan area, which was treated as a separate administrative entity and was normally not listed along with provincial towns⁵⁾. One of the two can be reasonably expected to correspond to the principal harbor of the kingdom which was located at the little bay of Minet el-Beïḏa, class. Leukos Limen, less than a mile from the great mound of Ras Shamra⁶⁾.

Now a maritime town bearing the name Rêšu was in all likelihood situated on a cape, the word for which was *r'š* in Phoenician⁷⁾ and still is *rās* in Arabic⁸⁾. Of the four capes of the Ugaritic sea coast, the

1) On these terms for ships, cf. Cl. F. A. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica IV*, pp. 138-139; J. Sasson, *JAOs*, 86 (1966), p. 131.

2) There is no proof that any letters are missing after *miḥd*; but if this be the case, the word should be completed *miḥd[ym]*.

3) Ch. Virolleaud, *RA*, 37 (1940), p. 33.

4) This, too, was pointed out by M. L. Heltzer, *l. c.*

5) *Ugrt* appears only once in a list of place names (*UT* 2076:30). Cf. Cl. F. A. Schaeffer, *PRU III*, p. xxv, on the existence of separate archives in the royal palace of Ugarit, those in its western part for documents concerning the administration of the provincial towns, those in its eastern, for tablets dealing with the capital city and its suburbs; also, *Ugaritica IV*, pp. 51, 91.

6) Since Minet el-Beïḏa ("White Bay") continues the classical name of the harbor, Leukos Limen, one could think that the Ugaritic place name *Lbnm* / *La-ab* / *bi-nu-ma* already referred to it. But the arrangement of towns into territorial districts, consistently practiced by the Ugaritic clerks, shows unmistakably that *Lbnm* was located high in the Bargylus range.

7) See Z. S. Harris, *A Grammar of the Phoenician Language*, p. 145.

8) Compare English "headland."

northernmost, Rās el-Basīt (class. Posidium), was not inhabited prior to the Roman period¹), while the southernmost, Rās Ziyaret, must have belonged to the territory of the town of *Ap* which we placed there for topographic and toponymic reasons. This leaves Rās Fasori north of Minet el-Beida, and Rās Ibn Hāni south of it. In a fragmentary account RS 15.83²), towns are enumerated in such sequence: (2') URUT₄-b[a-qu], (3') URUSAG.DU, (7') URURaq-d[a]. URUSAG.DU, as noted above³), seems to be an ideographic spelling of Rêšu, while the two towns with which it is associated (alph. *Tbq* and *Rqd*) lay in the coastal plain to the northeast of Ugarit. This piece of evidence, though not very substantial, speaks in favor of equating Rêšu rather with Rās Fasori, the ancient port of Pasieria⁴).

As for Ma'ḥadu, the first impression we gain from the texts is that it was a fairly populous place. The list of *miḥdym* UT 2016 contains 49 preserved names plus an unknown number of destroyed ones. Another list of *miḥdym*, UT 2017, includes 8 names, only two of which recur in the preceding document. UT 1059 lists four names of *maḥdym* (sic), three of which are new, and at least four more new names are found in the list of ships from Ma'ḥadu, UT 319. RS 15.09⁵) contains 60 names of men, all of whom were residents of Ma'ḥadu, even though the heading LÚ.MEŠ URUMa-a-ḥa-di stands after the first five names. Of these, twelve are found in the previously mentioned alphabetic lists, so that this tablet adds 48 new names of Ma'ḥadians. Moreover, many names of people listed as Ma'ḥadians occur in the lengthy enumeration UT 2014 with the gentilic *aḫddy*, while *Bn-Pdgy mḥdy* (line 17) is evidently

1) As established by Cl. F. A. Schaeffer's archaeological prospection, see *Syria*, 16 (1935), pp. 174-176.

2) *PRU III*, p. 192.

3) See p. 115, n. 4.

4) In classical times, there existed a settlement called Diospolis (Pliny V:17), located on Rās Ibn Hāni by R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, p. 416. It cannot be proved, but it is possible, that the Greek name perpetuated, in translation, the Ugaritic URUKI-dIM^{la}, plausibly transcribed *Aḥar-Ba'la* by J. Nougayrol. This place was apparently situated not far from Ma'ḥadu.

5) *PRU III*, p. 195. This confirms that the gentilic *mḥdy* stands here for *miḥdy*, as tentatively suggested by Ch. Virolleaud, *PRU V*, p. 27.

identical with DUMU *Pu-d[u]-bi-ši* in the syllabic list of Ma'hadians (RS 15.09:A:9), and several other persons listed without gentilics in UT 2014 are found elsewhere as inhabitants of Ma'hadu. From this we may risk the inference that the rest of the Ashdodians also lived at Ma'hadu, which would add some ten more names. All this amounts to a minimum of 122 adult male individuals who resided at Ma'hadu in the same period of time¹)—far more than we know about any other Ugaritic town. Now the documents in which the residents of Ma'hadu are mentioned show them as businessmen—ship-owners, merchants, financiers, and manufacturers. If we add the ship crews (an average of ten sailors per boat²) would amount to at least 160 men for the ships listed in UT 319 alone), the stevedores, the workers in the attested bronze and purple shops, the house slaves, the women and the children, then the total population will have to be estimated in thousands³).

Only one coastal town of the kingdom was sufficiently important to qualify for identification with Ma'hadu, and this is the settlement at Minet el-Beïda. The excavations revealed it as a thickly settled and economically extremely active place, with huge warehouses, great quantities of imported Cypriote pottery and of vessels with wine and oil for export, numerous shops that produced perfumes, alabaster flasks, bronze artifacts, ivory boxes. It was, on the one hand, a suburb dependent on Ugarit, but, on the other hand, a separate urban agglomeration, with its own grid of narrow streets, its own sanctuaries, its own necropolis, compared by Cl. F. A. Schaeffer with the Mina of the contemporary Tripoli⁴). The commercial character of the town explains its Ugaritic name, *Mihd* / *Maḥd* (from the root 'ḥD < Sem. 'ḥD, "to seize, to take"), corresponding to Arabic *ma'ahad*-, "a place where one takes, whence one procures, things," and to Akkadian

1) This follows from the occurrence of the same names in different lists.

2) UT 83 shows that the ship of one *Bn-Abdhr* was manned by 18 + x sailors.

3) In 1933, the population of a village in the province of Latakia rarely exceeded 200-300 persons, and was often below 100; cf. *Répertoire alphabétique des villes, villages, hameaux, Gouvernement de Lattaquié*.

4) *Syria*, 16 (1935), p. 168; *Ugaritica* [I], pp. 30-32.

māḥāzū(m), “1) a place of taking, procuring, 2) a market and cult city,” whence the Aramaic *māḥozā*, “1) market, 2) city, 3) district”¹⁾.

Miḥd also occurs in the short text UT 1155 and its copy or first draft, UT 1156²⁾, but was taken there for a common noun, some object that could be bought for 400 shekels of gold³⁾. However, in this text we are dealing again with the town of Ma'ḥadu, and it was not the town itself that was for sale but only the right of collecting its revenue. Indeed, the text should be read and translated as follows: (1) *b. ym. ḥdṭ* (2) *b. yrḥ. pgrm* (3) *lqh. B'lm'ṣr* (4) *w Bn. Hlp* (5) *w[xx]y. d'ṣ'ṭ* (6) *Mi'ḥ'd. b* (7) *arb'. mat* (8) *ḥrṣ*: “In the day of the new moon, in the month of Pagruma, Ba'l-ma'ṣar and Bin-Ḥalapi and [...]iya have bought what is brought up by Ma'ḥadu for 400 (shekels) of gold.” This interpretation is based, epigraphically, on the last word of line 5 which Ch. Virolleaud attempted to read *d. b(?)'l*, noticing however that “the *b* of *b'l*, l. 5, is not perfectly legible”⁴⁾. The dubious letter, slightly damaged, looks in the autography exactly like *ṣ*, and if we assume that a small oblique wedge in its right part has been lost or omitted by the scribe, we obtain *ṣ*, which yields the reading *ṣ'ṭ*, ṣaphel of *ṣy*, “to go up, to rise.” In Ugaritic, *ṣ'ly* had the meaning “to raise up,” “to offer up”⁵⁾, and forms of the root *ṣy*, spelled without the final *-y*, are well attested in Ugaritic texts⁶⁾.

From the point of view of formulary, the transaction recorded in UT 1155 is analogous to those in UT 2006 and UT 2007, in which

1) Cf. W. von Soden, *AHwB*, p. 582. A city *Ma-ḥa-zum*^{KI} is mentioned in the Ur III period, cf. I. J. Gelb, *Glossary of Old Akkadian*, p. 123; A. Goetze, *JCS*, 17 (1963), p. 5.

2) UT 1156 is identical with UT 1155, except that line 5 was omitted in it; *miḥd* is preserved intact.

3) Ch. Virolleaud, *PRU II*, p. 185: “It deals with the purchase by two or three persons of a precious object called *miḥd*, destined to the god Ba'al . . .” C. H. Gordon, *UT*, § 19.130: “something bought for 400 shekels of gold”; *ibid.*, § 5.16: “*miḥd* (1155:6) ‘plated’ < **ma'ḥud* . . .” J. Sasson, *JAOs*, 86 (1966) p. 137: “One can conjecture that a *miḥd* was a place, in this case a concession, where the precious metal was worked for private profit.”

4) *PRU II*, p. 185.

5) C. H. Gordon, *UT*, § 19.1855.

6) *Ibid.*, § 9.52.

something called *ntbt* is also purchased in the day of the new moon of the month of Pagruma, also by associations of several persons, and also for high amounts of gold (220 heavy shekels of gold in the former text, 400 shekels of gold in the latter). J. Sasson, who was the first to point out this analogy, convincingly explained the term *ntbt* ("path" or, rather, "paths") as "trading concession," the right to conduct commercial activities on an international trade road ¹⁾. The three associates of UT 1155 paid the very considerable sum of 400 shekels of gold for another kind of state concession; the right to collect (for one year, no doubt) the imposts from the harbor of Ma'hadu. This is probably the earliest recorded case of tax farming in the ancient Near East, but it is not without parallels at Ugarit itself: according to the royal act RS 16.244 ²⁾, the fiscal dues of the town of Bîru were granted for life to the town's governor. One of the three farmers of the revenue from Ma'hadu, *Bn-Hlp*, was himself a resident of that town (UT 2016-II:11); another of them, *B'lm'žr*, is named with one *Bn-Mdn* in the tag UT 165 which calls them *mkrm*, "merchants." We perceive thus whence came the capitals that could be invested in publican operations.

Even before the appearance of *Ugaritica V* it was reasonable to suppose that URUKAR^{KI} (RS 16.150:14) ³⁾ was the ideographic designation of Ma'hadu, since KAR = *kāru*, "waterfront, commercial center," would normally apply to the principal point of that kind in the country. A line in the newly published Sumero-Akkado-Hurro-Ugaritic dictionary strikingly confirms this view; it states: KAR: *ka-a-ru: ma-ḥa-[z]i: ma-aḥ-ḥa- [du!]* ⁴⁾ Another of the new texts speaks of an

1) *JAOS*, 86 (1966), p. 136. Sasson's explanation is borne out by RS 16.386 (*PRU III*, pp. 165-166), in which Ammistamru, king of Ugarit, grants somebody hereditary tax exemption *iš-tu KASKAL.MEŠ KUR Mi-iš-ri ù išt-tu KASKAL.MEŠ KUR Ḥa-at-ti*, "from the 'roads' of Egypt and from the 'roads' of Ḥatti" (ll. 4'-5').

2) *PRU III*, p. 93.

3) *Ibid.*, pp. 101-108.

4) RS 137:II:21', published by J. Nougayrol in *Ugaritica V*, pp. 242-243. We restore *-du* (not *-zu*) as the last sign of the line, in agreement with Ugaritic phonetics.

official called LUGULA URUKAR, "the supervisor of the harbor-town/Ma'ḥadu" ¹).

The excavator's impression was that "foreign elements seem to have dominated" in ancient Minet el-Beida ²). How does epigraphic evidence on Ma'ḥadu corroborate such an impression? There certainly were some Hittites among its permanent or temporary residents as witnessed by the entry *ka l ḥty maḥdh*, "a jar (of wine) for the Hittite(s) in Ma'ḥadu" in the distribution list UT 1090:4-5. The same list also mentions wine deliveries to *Gbiš ḥry*, "Hurrian," and to *alt̄y*, "Cypriote(s)," but it does not specify whether they, too, lived in Ma'ḥadu. Then we have UT 119 — a register of heads of families (19 names out of 29 are extant) who were somehow connected with Cyprus, to judge from the syllabic postscript, the first word of which is unfortunately lost and the second is URU *A-la-ši-ia*. That these twenty-nine families did not live in Cyprus is obvious from the very frequent mentions of most of their heads in Ugaritic documents which show them engaged in tenure of land estates, operations with silver and bronze, ship ownership, foreign trade, purchases of wine, cattle, garments, and other commodities; many of them belonged to the high ranking Ugaritic classes of *mrynm* (mariannu-charioteers), *mṣrglm*, and *mdm* (Akk. *mūdū*). One, and possibly four, of them were residents of Ma'ḥadu, the others seem to have been active close enough to the metropolitan area. Were they immigrants from Cyprus? Their names do not provide us with an answer—this onomastic sample contains six Semitic names ³), seven Hurrian ⁴), two Anatolian ⁵), and four that are linguistically ambiguous ⁶); it is, thus, fairly typical of Ugaritic onomastica in general. True, the same situation seems to have obtained in the contemporaneous

1) RS 17.465:4 (*ibid.*, pp. 20-21). In a footnote, J. Nougayrol remarks: "It will be noticed that *kāri* is here preceded by the determinative of towns, which implies that the 'Waterfront' was a quarter of Ugarit; perhaps that of the port."

2) Cf. F. A. Schaeffer, *Syria*, 16 (1935), p. 168.

3) *Ydm*, *ṭpib'l*, [*Nb*] *bl*, *Sk[n]*, *Ṣdqṣ[lm]*, *Rpi[y]*.

4) *Krṣ*, *Nwrṣ*, *Artib*, *Iwrpzn I*, *Iwrpzn II*, *Aupṣ*, *Alḥn*.

5) *Trḡds*, *Armwl*.

6) *Gg*, *Ilsk*, *Ḥṣmrd*, *Tt*.

Cyprus¹). It is, however, easier to admit that the men listed in UT 119 were Ugaritians who held royal charters for trade with Alašia.

This view is indirectly supported by what we know of several of these men from other documents. *Iwrpzn*, according to UT 2006, bought, in association with three other persons, a *ntbt*, that is a foreign trade concession. *Trgds* is mentioned in a letter (UT 54) from one *Iwrṣr* (who lived abroad, at least temporarily)²) to the Ma'ḥadian *Plsy* as having died of plague together with *Klby* (a ship-owner from Ma'ḥadu) somewhere outside of Ugarit, perhaps on a business trip. *Ṭptb'l* owned a heavy ship (*br*) registered at Ma'ḥadu (UT 319:2). [*Ṣ*]*dqšlm*, *Krzn* (in all likelihood identical with *Krṣ*), and *Armwl* are listed among persons who bartered *ṭlt* (bronze or copper, imported from Cyprus) for sheep (UT 2039:5, 6, 14)³). *Rpi[x]* is probably the same as *Rpiy* who appears in UT 1024:15, a text entitled (1) [*ṣp*] *r. bnš. ml[k. d. b] d. adn[ʿm]* (2) [*d. b. (?)*]. *riš[. xxxxx]*. *kt*, which seems to mean: "[Lis]t of kin[g's] men [under the or]ders of *Adn[ʿm]* [who are in (?)] Rēšu, [who go to (?)] Kition"⁴). In any case, there is no doubt that many persons of Cypriote descent lived in Ugaritic territory, as testified by the occurrence of such personal names derived from gentilics as *Bn-Altn*, *Alty*, and *Altt*⁵). One also finds in a list of Ma'ḥadians (UT

1) Cf. this author's inquiry in *JAOS*, 84 (1964), pp. 240-248.

2) This follows from his letter (UT 138) to *Iwrpzn* (*sic*, not *Iwrphn*) with some request concerning *Ṭryl*, queen-mother of Ugarit in the second half of the thirteenth century. The addressee is certainly one of the two *Iwrpzn* in the list of people connected with Alašia (UT 119).

3) *Ṣdqšlm* might well be identical with *Ṣtqšlm* (just an aberrant spelling, cf. UT § 19.2147) who received tax exemption for life (in return, no doubt, for a significant single contribution) from King *Nqmd* (UT 1005). The king who issued the act was not the well-known ruler of the Amarna Age but his namesake who reigned in the late thirteenth century.

4) The identification of *kt* with Kition was proposed by Ch. Virolleaud, *Syria*, 30 (1953), p. 193, on the basis of an earlier occurrence (*bn amht kt*), "sons of female slaves from Kition," UT 1089:9) and the fact that Kition is called *Kt* in a Phoenician inscription from that very city and that the Hebrew name for its inhabitants was *Kittim*. Cf. UT § 19.1319 (add the reference to Text 2039:2). The inscription from Kition has now been published and studied anew by B. Peckhem, *Orientalia*, NS 37 (1968), pp. 304-324.

5) See references in UT § 19, or F. Gröndahl, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit*, s.vv.

2017:7) a *Bn-Idly* (cf. *m'I-da¹-li-ya*, RS 15.42 + 15:110:II:13')¹⁾, whose name points to the Cypriote city of Idalion²⁾.

A very clear instance of a foreign community established in or around the port of Ma'ḥadu and completely integrated into the social and economic structure of Ugarit is provided by the people defined as *ašddy*. The identity of their place of origin with the well-known city of Ashdod in the coastal plain of southern Palestine is accepted by several scholars³⁾. There remain, however, two problems to be solved: the incomplete phonetic agreement (š instead of the expected ḫ)⁴⁾ and the possibility that the place in question actually belonged to the Kingdom of Ugarit⁵⁾, as did many settlements whose names coincided with those of Palestinian localities⁶⁾.

To the first objection, our answer is simply that Ugaritic š was the voiced counterpart of ḫ⁷⁾. The non-phonemic shift ḫ > š was due to the sonorization of ḫ in contact with the voiced dental d; the Ugaritians

1) *PRU III*, p. 196.

2) As noted (with a question mark) by C. H. Gordon, *UT* § 19.80.

3) C. H. Gordon, *UM*, § 20.61; *UT*, § 19.98; A. F. Rainey, *IEJ*, 13 (1963), p. 314; F. M. Cross and D. N. Freedman, *BASOR* No. 175 (1964), pp. 48-50; apparently F. Gröndahl, *op. cit.* (p. 122, n. 5), p. 422.

4) Hebrew *'Ašdōd*, compared with Egyptian *'Aš-di-di* (Onomasticon of Amenope No. 263; cf. W. F. Albright, *Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography*, p. 32) shows that the sibilant was a *šin* derived from original ḫ. Ugaritic scribes wrote the name and its derivatives with ḫ-holding signs in syllabic script, but consistently used š in alphabetic transcription. Cross and Freedman (n. 3) believed that "[it] is precisely what we should expect if the sound were ḫ, still pronounced as an interdental spirant in South Canaanite." But the Ugaritic script possessed a special sign for ḫ, and there are no reasons to suppose that South Canaanite was more conservative than North Canaanite in preserving its Proto-Semitic sound.

5) Thus M. L. Heltzer, *op. cit.* (p. 115, n. 5), p. 202.

6) As frequently noticed by different scholars. A complete comparative list of Biblical and Ugaritic toponymy is being prepared by the author for *Ugaritic and Hebrew Parallels*, a collective undertaking directed by Loren R. Fisher.

7) See E. A. Speiser, *Introduction to Hurrian*, p. 35, and cf. S. Segert, *Die Ugaritische Sprache*, § 3.14: "The pronunciation of interdentals changed in the last period of the existence of the Ugaritic language: ḫ was pronounced š, and ḡ, ḫ" (he also calls the language of late Ugaritic business documents "vulgar"). We suspect that this shift occurred even earlier. Whatever the case, the texts that interest us here were doubtlessly composed in "late" or "vulgar" Ugaritic.

recorded the name as they heard it. As for the second, some light is shed by the so far only occurrence of ^{URU} *Aš-da-di* (as a town, not a gentilic) in a text from Ugarit ¹⁾. The text states that the goods given to Šukunu for sale (^{ŠU} *Šu-ku-n[a] na-din a-na ma-ka-ri*, ll. 5-6) included “six garments from the city of Ašdadu” (6 ^{TUG.ḪI.A.MEŠ} ^{URU} *Aš-da-di*, l. 3). In ancient Near Eastern texts, the designation of merchandise by the place of origin almost invariably points to the latter’s foreign location, and this is also true for Ugarit ²⁾. Incidentally, Šukunu, the seller of garments from Ašdadu, came quite possibly himself from that city, if he is the same as *Škeny ašddy*, UT 2014:38. If Ašdadu was a foreign city with respect to Ugarit, it is natural to assume that we deal indeed with the only known place of that name, the Palestinian Ashdod — the more so since an unpublished list of foreign residents at Ugarit ³⁾ enumerates persons not only from the nearly located Ušnatu and Arwad, but also from Tyre, Accho, and Ashkelon (neighbor city of Ashdod).

If we examine the personal names that are followed by the gentilic *ašddy*, we find that linguistically they are remarkably uniform in comparison with the general Ugaritic onomastica, which contains about an equal proportion of West Semitic and Hurrian names, with an admixture of Akkadian and Anatolian ones. Of the twenty-four preserved names of Ashdodians, twenty are West Semitic ⁴⁾, three look so, although their etymologies are obscure ⁵⁾, and only one, *Šw* (syllabic

1) To be published by J. Nougayrol in *Ugaritica VI*, (RS 19.20). I express my gratitude to Prof. Nougayrol for kindly informing me that the spellings ^m*Aš-da-da-na* and ^f*Aš-da-da-a* in unpublished tablets from Ugarit confirm the reading *aš* (not *as/z/š*) for the first sign of the toponym.

2) Cf. ^{TUG} *ia-am-ḫa-du-ú*, 2 *mar-da-tum ia-am-[ḫa-di-tum]*, ^{GIŠKAK} *kap-ta-ru-ú*, ^{GAL} *kap-ta-ri-tum* at Mari; ^{TUG} ^{UŠUM} *Ḫa-ḫu-um*^{KI} in an Old Akkadian text and *ḫa-bi-ti* in a Hittite list of garments (CAD, Ḫ, p. 29); ‘adderet *Šin’ār* Josh. 7:21; *ktn d Šr* UT 110:4.

3) RS 19.42, quoted by Schaeffer in *Ugaritica IV*, p. 141.

4) *Ab*[xxx], *Bn-Knn*, *Bn-Yḫnn*, *Ynḫm* (two persons), *Ykeny*, *M’l’[d]* (?), *Yp’*, *Abgl* (two persons), *Rbil* (‘a’[*šdd*]‘y’ badly damaged but still recognizable), *Šmrm*, *Gr’*, ‘*bd-Ršp*, ‘*dn bn Knn*, *Škeny*, *Mšn*, *Plsy*, *Ygmr*, *Ddy*, *Aryn* (not necessarily Hurrian: could derive from West Semitic *ary*, “lion” or “kinsman”).

5) *Ḫṭpy*, *Gdgd*, *lady*.

Sû-û-wa, DUMU-*Sû-wa*)¹⁾, might be Anatolian²⁾. This points to a provenience area where the West Semitic element was much more predominant than in the ethnically mixed Northern Syria — which again leads us southward.

Even though the Ashdodians at Ugarit were immigrants from a rather remote place, they are never segregated as a separate entity. The principal document in which they are listed, UT 2014, adds *ašddy* after each of their names, but also includes many native Ugaritians designated by their residence, military class, occupation, or service. Among these we find *Bn-Pdgy mbdy* who is identical with DUMU-*Pu-[d]u-bi-ši* in a long list of Ma'ḥadians (RS 15.09:A:8)³⁾; *Gln aṭṭ* = *Ga-la-na a-ṭi-ṭi*⁴⁾ (*ibid.*: B:II:16); *Bn-'lr*, from a family represented among ship-owners and residents of Ma'ḥadu. In UT 319:3, *Aryn ašddy* is listed among the *bdl gt Bn-Tbšn*, that is wholesale purchasers of the produce of the royal estate administered by *Bn-Tbšn*⁵⁾. Two of the other *bdlm* have gentilics derived from Ugaritic towns; two are without gentilics and thus presumably Ugaritians as well; and two are foreigners like *Aryn*: *N'mn mšry*, an Egyptian, and *Y'l kn'ny*, a Canaanite (Phoenician). In UT 2095, considerable quantities of oil are purchased (from a

1) Thus transliterated by F. Gröndahl, *op. cit.*, p. 293, instead of *Zu(-û)-ya* as in *PRU III*.

2) But cf. Heb. *maswe*, "veil," *sūt*, "garment," Ugar. *mšwn* (meaning undetermined), which point to a West Semitic root SW.

3) See p. 117, n. 5.

4) A nickname, cf. Arabic *aṭṭāṭ*, "crier," *aṭṭ*, "creaking, groaning."

5) On *gt* as a royal estate (similar to Roman imperial *saltus*) with diversified agriculture, not merely a "wine-press," see M. L. Heltzer, *Vestnik Drevnej Istorii*, 1967, No. 2, pp. 32-47. *Bi-da-lu-ma* is a Ugaritic gloss to LÜ.MEŠDAM.QARMEŠ (*tamkaru*), "merchants" (RS 16.257 + 16.258 + 16.126:A:II:12, *PRU III*, p. 203); in Arabic, *badala* has the meaning of "change, exchange." But Ugaritic also had another word for "merchants": *mkrm*. The difference between *mkrm* and *bdlm* is not evident; it hardly consisted in *bdlm* being "agents" or "brokers" for somebody else (A. F. Rainey, *op. cit.* [p. 123, n. 3], pp. 313 f.). We would rather venture the suggestion that *mkrm* (in agreement with the straight meaning of the term) sold goods on the Ugaritic market while *bdlm* purchased Ugaritic products for export. Further in the same tablet UT 319 two other royal estates are mentioned: *gt Bn-Tlṭ* and *gt [P]šhn*. All three managers, *Bn-Tbšn*, *Bn-Tlṭ*, and *Pšhn*, are listed in UT 321:III:5, 21, 42 among the residents of the town of *Ubr'y* (syll. *U-bur-a*) which should be located near the mouth of the Nahr el-Kebir, some 12 km south of Ras Shamra.

royal estate, one would assume) by both Ugaritians and foreigners, the latter being *Abrm alty*, an Alašian, *Abrm Mšrm*, from Egypt, and one simply called *ažddy* (l. 9).

In other Ugaritic documents, Ashdodians are not even differentiated by their gentilic. UT 1032, entitled *spr bdlm*, "list of (export ?) merchants," consists of thirteen names, among which *Rbil* (3), *Ply* (4), *Ygmr* (5), *Abgl* (12), and *Yp'* (14) recur with the gentilic *ažddy* in UT 2014, respectively ll. 27, 40, 41, 25 or 26 (two of the same name), and 24. UT 1065 simply enumerates ten names, of which *Mšu* (1), *Htpy* (2), *Ildy* (3), *Ynbm* (4), *Ynbm* (9) are listed as Ashdodians in UT 2014, respectively ll. 39, 20, 33, 21, and 30. One of the other persons listed, *Abmn*, also figures in the aforementioned register of *bdlm* (UT 1032: 11), and this makes it probable that all those enumerated in UT 1065 belonged to that guild¹). One also detects several names of Ashdodians in the syllabic lists RS 15.09 (residents of Ma'hadu), RS 15.42 + 15.110 (untitled, but containing numerous names of known Ma'hadians), and RS 16.257 + 16.258 + 16.126 (lengthy list of personnel by functions). From all of this cumulative evidence we perceive that (1) most of the Ashdodians at Ugarit (if not indeed all of them) were merchants dealing in import or export operations; (2) as seen from their predominant association with persons from Ma'hadu, that harbor town was their principal area of residence and base of activities; (3) once established in Ugaritic territory, they enjoyed a complete *jus commercii*. The available material on Ashdodians confirms and amplifies this author's conclusions of a decade ago on the legal status of foreigners at Ugarit²).

Ugaritic data on merchants from Ura in Cilicia are not relevant here, because these people only visited Ugarit on trade missions and remained subjects of the Hittite king³). Contrary to a widespread opinion,

1) Another of them, *Ršpab*, is no doubt identical with Rašapabu (m^dMAŠ.MAŠ-a-bu), the supervisor of Ma'hadu (LUUGALU URUKAR) at the time of Ammistamru II, whose archives have now been published by J. Nougayrol in *Ugaritica V*, pp. 1-21 (see esp. pp. 20-21).

2) *RA*, 53 (1959), pp. 70-76.

3) See the letter of Hattušiliš III to Niqmepa, RS 17.130 (*PRU IV*, pp. 103-105) which explicitly prohibited the merchants from Ura to stay in Ugarit during the winter and to purchase there land or houses.

the extensive epigraphic material from Ras Shamra failed to reveal the presence at Ugarit of any persons recognizable by their personal names or gentilics as Mycenaeans or Cretans, let alone of a major Minoan-Mycenaean colony at Minet el-Beida ¹⁾. The population of Ma'ĥadu did include several alien elements, but all of its inhabitants had one basic thing in common: they all belonged to what may be called "the cuneiform world." The immigrants from Cyprus were no exception. It has long been known from the Akkadian letters of its king in the Amarna archives that the island was, politically and culturally, part of the Near Eastern sphere; the newly published correspondence between Alašia and Ugarit ²⁾ corroborates it and shows how closely linked the two countries were on the eve of their destruction by the Peoples of the Sea.

1) The new onomastic material from Ras Shamra, including the tablets published in *Ugaritica V* and a partial advance list of personal names from *PRU VI*, published by J. Nougayrol, *RA*, 62 (1968), p. 165, does not alter what has been said on this subject in *JNES*, 23 (1964), pp. 193-194, and *Hellenosemitica*, pp. 353-355.

2) J. Nougayrol in *Ugaritica V*, pp. 79-89.