MULTILINGUALISM IN ANCIENT CONTEXTS

Perspectives from
Ancient Near Eastern
and Early Christian
Contexts

EDITORS

Louis C. Jonker
Angelika Berlejung
Izak Cornelius

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OBSERVATIONS ON THE LANGUAGE SITUATION IN LATE BRONZE AGE UGARIT

Herbert Niehr

Tübingen/Stellenbosch

3.1 INTRODUCTION¹

Ugarit is both the name of a kingdom in northwestern Syria and the name of its capital, which thrived during the 14th and 13th centuries BCE. The capital was destroyed in 1185 BCE, and, until the city's excavation, was only known by its modern Arabic name of Tell Ras Shamra.

Claude F.A. Schaeffer began conducting excavations on Tell Ras Shamra on 9 May 1929. Only five days later, on 14 May 1929, the first clay tablets with a hitherto unknown cuneiform script were found on the northern part of the acropolis.² In spite of various difficulties, the decipherment of this new script was achieved by Hans Bauer (Halle an der Saale), Marcel Cohen (Paris), Paul-Édouard Dhorme (Jerusalem), and Charles Virolleaud (Paris) between 1929 and 1930.³

At present, ca. 4000 clay tablets have been unearthed on Tell Ras Shamra. These clay tablets belonged to several archives and libraries from the city of Ugarit and from the palace of Ras Ibn Hani.⁴

- 1 My thanks go to Prof. Louis Jonker (Stellenbosch) for the invitation to the congress on multilingualism. The research for this chapter was carried out at Stellenbosch University in April 2019, where I am indebted to my host, Prof. Izak Cornelius, and at the Collège de France in May 2019, where I am indebted to my host, Prof. Thomas Römer. I also thank Magdalena Bekavac (Tübingen) and Susanne Maier (Tübingen) for supporting me in writing this chapter, and Alexander Johannes Edmonds (Tübingen) for improving the English.
- 2 Cf. Claude F.A. Schaeffer, "Les fouilles de Minet-el-Beida et de Ras Shamra (Campagne du Printemps 1929). Rapport sommaire", *Syria*, 10 (1929): 285-97, esp. 294-96. The first tablet (RS 1.001) containing the ritual KTU 1.39 was found in Room 1 of the *Maison du Grand-Prêtre*; see Pierre Bordreuil & Dennis Pardee, *La trouvaille épigraphique de l'Ougarit 1. Concordance*, RSOu V/1 (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1989), 16.
- 3 On the decipherment of the Ugaritic alphabetic cuneiform script, cf. Peggy L. Day, "Dies Diem Docet. The decipherment of Ugaritic", *SEL*, 19 (2002): 37-57; Pierre Bordreuil, "L'alphabet ougaritique", in *Histoires de déchiffrements. Les écritures du Proche-Orient à l'Égée*, eds. Brigitte Lion & Cécile Michel (Paris: Éditions Errance, 2009), 129-38; Pierre Bordreuil, Robert Hawley & Dennis Pardee, "Données nouvelles sur le déchiffrement de l'alphabet et sur les scribes d'Ougarit", *CRAIBL* (2010): 1623-35; Edward Lipiński, *Semitic Linguistics in Historical Perspective*, OLA 230 (Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 461-63, and the articles in *Les écritures mises au jour sur le site antique d'Ougarit (Syrie) et leur déchiffrement 1930–2010. Commémoration du quatre-vingtième anniversaire du déchiffrement de l'alphabet cunéiforme de Ras Shamra-Ougarit. Colloque international tenu au Collège de France le jeudi 2 décembre 2010, et à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres le vendredi 3 décembre 2010*, ed. Pierre Bordreuil (Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 2013).
- 4 For the archives and libraries in Ugarit and Ras Ibn Hani, see the pertinent excavation reports, and also the overviews in Olof Pedersén, *Archives and Libraries in the Ancient Near East 1500–300 B.C.* (Bethesda: CDL Press, 1998), 68-80; Gregorio del Olmo Lete, *The Private Archives of Ugarit. A Functional Analysis* (Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona Edicions, 2018); Jacques Lagarde, "Le contexte archéologique des textes de l'âge du Bronze récent découverts à Ras Ibn Hani (1977 à 2002)", in *Ras Ibn Hani II. Les textes en écritures cunéiformes de l'âge du Bronze récent (fouilles 1977 à 2002)*, BAH 214, eds. Pierre Bordreuil, Dennis Pardee & Carole Roche-Hawley (Beyrouth: Institut Français d'Archéologie du Proche-Orient, 2019), 13-22.

As can be seen immediately from the map, the Kingdom of Ugarit was surrounded on three sides by natural borders: The Şaphon mountain range to the north, the Gebel al-Ansariye mountain range to the east, and the Mediterranean Sea to the west. Running between the Şaphon mountain range and the Gebel al-Ansariye, the Bdama-Pass leads into Inner Syria, and from thence to Anatolia and Mesopotamia. In the south, the coastal strip continued directly up to the Kingdom of Tyre in southern Lebanon. Bordreuil has described the Kingdom of Ugarit’s environment in the following manner:

*Une telle configuration ne pouvait que renforcer le sentiment identitaire des Ougaritains, mis à l’abri des invasions, et bénéficiant certainement d’une sorte d’autosuffisance alimentaire.*⁵

Such a configuration could only strengthen the sense of identity of the Ugaritans, sheltered from invasions, and certainly benefitting from a kind of food self-sufficiency. (transl. author)

FIGURE 3.1 Map of the Kingdom of Ugarit

5 Pierre Bordreuil, “La littérature d’Ougarit, creuset de traditions venues d’Outremer et d’Outremonts”, *Res Antiquae*, 7 (2010): 33-44, esp. 34.

These natural factors are also responsible for the special linguistic situation in the Kingdom of Ugarit because, as swiftly becomes clear, this polity had been shielded from many influences from northern and Inner Syria. Mountains often function as a linguistic barrier, as can also be seen in the Lebanon, wherein the Phoenician language in the 1st millennium BCE did not undergo an Aramatisation.⁶ Hence, the Ugaritic language as a northwest Semitic language developed independently, and must be categorised as a specific branch of the northwest Semitic languages, which is to be distinguished from the Canaanite languages, on the one hand, and the Amorite language, on the other.⁷

This separation of Ugarit from northern and inner Syria does not however mean that other languages were not employed at Ugarit. The existence of several other languages and scripts in Ugarit can be explained by two factors: firstly, Ugarit was situated at the crossroads two routes, one running from Inner Syria to the Aegean via Cyprus, and another from Egypt to Anatolia via the Levantine coast.⁸ Secondly, during the

- 6 See Herbert Niehr, "Phoenicia", in *The Aramaeans in Ancient Syria*, HdO I/106, ed. Herbert Niehr (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 329-38; Maria Giulia Amadasi Guzzo, "What do we know about the Borders and Exchanges between Aram and Phoenicia in the 9th-8th Centuries B.C.E. in Anatolia and Syria?" in *Aramaean Borders. Defining Aramaean Territories in the 10th-8th Centuries B.C.E.*, CHANE 101, eds. Jan Dušek & Jana Mynářová (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 149-71.
- 7 For Canaanite, see, e.g., Anson F. Rainey, *Canaanite in the Amarna Tablets. A Linguistic Analysis of the Mixed Dialect Used by the Scribes from Canaan I-IV*, HdO I/25 (Leiden: Brill, 1996); Josef Tropper & Juan-Pablo Vita, *Das Kanaan-Akkadische der Amarnazeit*, LOS I/1 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag 2010); Juan-Pablo Vita, *Canaanite Scribes in the Amarna Letters*, AOAT 406 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2015), for Amorite, see Michael P. Streck, *Das amurritische Onomastikon der altbabylonischen Zeit 1. Die Amurriter. Die onomastische Forschung. Orthographie und Phonologie. Nominalmorphologie*, AOAT 271/1 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2000); Michael P. Streck, "Amorite", in *Semitic Languages. An International Handbook*, Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft 36, ed. Stefan Weninger (Berlin: De Gruyter 2011), 452-59; Viktor Golinets, *Das amurritische Onomastikon der altbabylonischen Zeit 2. Verbalmorphologie des Amurritischen und Glossar der Verbalwurzeln*, AOAT 271/2 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2018); Mary Ellen Buck, *The Amorite Dynasty of Ugarit. Historical Implications of Linguistic and Archaeological Parallels*, SAHL 8 (Leiden: Brill, 2020). For the position of the Ugaritic language within the Northwest Semitic languages, see, e.g., Edward Lipiński, *Semitic Languages. Outline of a Comparative Grammar*, OLA 80 (Leuven: Peeters, 1997), 50-53; Issam K.H. Halayqa, *A Comparative Lexicon of Ugaritic and Canaanite*, AOAT 340 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2008); Dennis Pardee, "Ugaritic", in *Semitic Languages. An International Handbook*, Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft 36, ed. Stefan Weninger (Berlin: De Gruyter 2011), 460-72; Josef Tropper, *Ugaritische Grammatik. Zweite, stark überarbeitete und erweiterte Auflage*, AOAT 273 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2012), 3-5; Paul Noorlander, "The Problem of Classifying Ugaritic. A Study of the Debate on the Classification of Ugaritic and its Relationship to the History of Hebrew", *KUSATU* 20 (2016): 51-92.
- 8 See, e.g., Dagmar Stockfisch, "Ugarit – 'Internationale' Handelsmetropole im Schnittpunkt des vorderasiatisch-ostmediterranen Verkehrsnetzes", in *'Schnittpunkt' Ugarit*, Nordostafrikanisch/Westasiatische Studien 2, eds. Manfred Kropp & Andreas Wagner (Frankfurt: Lang, 1999), 255-70; Carol Bell, *The Evolution of Long Distance Trading Relationships across the LBA/Iron Age Transition on the Northern Levantine Coast. Crisis, Continuity and Change* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2006); Jorge Vidal, "Ugarit and the Southern Levantine Sea-Ports", *JESHO* 49 (2006): 269-79; Christopher Mountfort Monroe, *Scales of Fate. Trade, Tradition, and the*

Late Bronze Age, Ugarit had first belonged to the Egyptian Kingdom (14th century BCE), and then fell under Hittite dominion (last quarter of the 14th century BCE) without losing contact with Egypt.⁹ Thus, Ugarit was open to manifold cultural and linguistic influences from outside. Despite all these foreign cultural and linguistic influences connected to the polity's geography and history, Ugaritic always remained the vernacular language of the Kingdom and its capital.

In total, the excavations at Ugarit have yielded tablets and other inscribed objects in nine languages and five scripts. Ugaritic, Hurrian, Akkadian, Sumerian, Hittite, Luwian, Cypro-Minoan, Egyptian, and Phoenician are all attested as languages at Late Bronze Age Ugarit. The scripts in which these languages were written are Ugaritic alphabetic cuneiform, Babylonian syllabic cuneiform, Luwian hieroglyphics, Cypro-Minoan, and Egyptian hieroglyphics, respectively. However, not all the objects with these languages and scripts were inscribed in the kingdom or city of Ugarit; several of them had been imported from abroad, and it must be asked as to how many scribes in Ugarit would have been able to decipher some of these.

This variety of languages and scripts attested in Ugarit has already been observed and discussed within the field of Ugaritic studies.¹⁰ Furthermore, the skills of the Ugaritic scribes in learning different languages and scripts, as well as the scribal curriculum in Ugarit have been analysed in several contributions.¹¹

Transformation in the Eastern Mediterranean ca. 1350–1175 B.C.E., AOAT 357 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag 2009).

- 9 On the history of Ugarit, see, e.g., Mario Liverani, *Storia di Ugarit nell'età degli archivi politici*, Studi Semitici 6 (Rome: Centro di Studi Semitici, 1962); Mario Liverani, "Ras Shamra II. Histoire", *Dictionnaire de la Bible. Supplément IX* (1979), 1295-348; Michael C. Astour, "Ugarit and the Great Powers", in *Ugarit in Retrospect. Fifty Years of Ugarit and Ugaritic*, ed. Gordon D. Young (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1981), 3-29; Itamar Singer, "A Political History of Ugarit", in *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*, HdO I/39, eds. Wilfred G.E. Watson & Nicolas Wyatt (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 603-733; Jacques Freu, *Histoire Politique du Royaume d'Ougarit*, Collection KUBABA. Série Antiquité 11 (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2006); Gabriel Saadé, *Ougarit et son Royaume. Des origines à sa destruction*, BAH 193 (Beyrouth: Institut Français d'Archéologie du Proche-Orient, 2011).
- 10 See, e.g., Robert De Langhe, *Les Textes de Ras Shamra-Ugarit et leurs Rapports avec le Milieu Biblique de l'Ancien Testament*. Dissertationes ad gradum magistri in Facultate Theologica vel in Facultate Iuris Canonici consequendum conscriptae. Series II – Tomus 35. I-II (Gembloux – Paris: Duculot, 1945), 86-217; Florence Malbran-Labat, "Langues et écritures à Ougarit", *Semitica*, 49 (1999): 65-101; Florence Malbran-Labat, "Textes religieux et multilinguisme à Ougarit", in *Panthéons locaux de l'Asie Mineure pré-chrétienne. Premier Colloque Louis Delaporte – Eugène Cavaignac* (Institut Catholique de Paris, 26-27 mai 2000), *Hethitica XV*, ed. René Lebrun (Louvain-la-Neuve: Peeters, 2002), 173-81; Pavel Čech, "Mehrsprachigkeit und Mehrschriftlichkeit in Ugarit", in *Mehrsprachigkeit. Vom Alten Orient bis zum Esperanto*, dubsar 2, eds. Sebastian Fink, Martin Lang & Manfred Schretter (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2018), 151-70.
- 11 See Wilfred H. Van Soldt, "Babylonian Lexical, Religious and Literary Texts and Scribal Education at Ugarit and its implications for the alphabetic literary texts", in *Ugarit. Ein ostmediterranes*

For the purposes of this contribution on multilingualism, the central question is as to how this linguistic diversity was negotiated within Late Bronze Age Ugarit.

In his article “Rechtsurkunden in ugaritischer Sprache”, B. Kienast noted the following unequivocal statement forty years ago:

Die schriftliche Überlieferung aus Ugarit läßt eine grundsätzliche Verteilung von Schrift und Sprache auf bestimmte Literaturgattungen erkennen: Lassen wir die Widergabe des Hurritischen und die Gruppe der Schultexte als Sonderfälle beiseite, so dient das Ugaritische mit seiner Alphabetschrift vorzüglich der einheimischen religiösen Literatur, ‘Inlandsbriefen’ und den Wirtschaftsurkunden, während das Akkadische mit seiner Silbenschrift einerseits dem internationalen Schriftverkehr (Briefe, Verträge) diente, andererseits aber auch im internen Rechtswesen Verwendung findet.¹²

The written tradition from Ugarit shows that writing and language were basically distributed over certain types of literature: If we leave aside the presentation of Hurritic and the group of school texts as special cases, Ugaritic with its alphabet script was primarily used for local religious literature, ‘domestic letters’ and economic documents, while Akkadian with its syllabary was used on the one hand for international correspondence (letters, contracts), but on the other hand also in internal legal systems.
(transl. author)

This answer is essentially still valid, albeit the qualification of Hurrian as a ‘Sonderfall’ does not do justice to the linguistic situation as Hurrian was a living language in Ugarit, which was especially important for cultic matters.¹³ Furthermore, several details of the linguistic situation in Ugarit deserve more attention.

Kulturzentrum im Alten Orient. Ergebnisse und Perspektiven der Forschung I. Ugarit und seine altorientalische Umwelt, ALASP 7/1, eds. Manfred Dietrich & Oswald Loretz (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1995), 171-212; Anne-Sophie Dalix, “Exemples de bilinguisme à Ougarit. Iloumilkou: La double identité d’un scribe”, in *Mosaïque de langues mosaïque culturelle. Le Bilinguisme dans le Proche-Orient ancien. Actes de la Table-Ronde du 18 novembre 1995 organisée par l’URA 1062 “Etudes Sémitiques”*, Antiquités Sémitiques 1, ed. Françoise Briquel-Chatonnet (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1996), 81-90; Manfred Schretter, “Kulturkontakte im Umfeld ugaritischer Schreiber”, in *Altertum und Mittelmeerraum: Die antike Welt diesseits und jenseits der Levante. Festschrift für Peter W. Haider zum 60. Geburtstag*, Oriens et Occidens 12, eds. Robert Rollinger & Brigitte Truschnegg (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2006), 183-93; Robert Hawley, 2008, “Apprendre à écrire à Ougarit: une typologie des abécédaires”, in *D’Ougarit à Jérusalem. Recueil d’études épigraphiques et archéologiques offert à Pierre Bordreuil*, Orient et Méditerranée 2, ed. Carole Roche (Paris: De Boccard, 2008), 215-32; Jeanette C. Fincke, “The School Curricula from Hattuša, Emar and Ugarit: A Comparison”, in *Theory and Practice of Knowledge Transfer. Studies in School Education in the Ancient Near East and Beyond*, PIHANS CXXI, eds. Wolfert S. van Egmond & Wilfred van Soldt (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2012), 85-101; Carole Roche-Hawley, “Mesopotamian Cuneiform at Ugarit: Learning versus Using”, in *Devins et lettrés dans l’orbite de Babylone. Travaux réalisés dans le cadre du projet ANR Mespériph 2007–2011*, Orient et Méditerranée. Archéologie 10, eds. Carole Roche-Hawley & Robert Hawley (Paris: De Boccard, 2015), 59-66.

12 Burkhard Kienast, “Rechtsurkunden in ugaritischer Sprache”, *UF*, 11 (1979): 431-52, esp. 431.

13 On Hurrian in Ugarit, see below fn. 23.

3.2 AN OVERVIEW OF THE LINGUISTIC SITUATION AT LATE BRONZE AGE UGARIT

Before proceeding to an evaluation of the linguistic variety at Ugarit, the linguistic situation at this late Bronze Age capital must first be described in overview.

3.2.1 Ugaritic

As Ugaritic was the vernacular spoken and written both in the capital and throughout the Kingdom of Ugarit, it hardly comes as a surprise that ca. 50% of the texts found during the excavations are in the Ugaritic language and script.¹⁴ The Ugaritic cuneiform alphabetic script is attested from ca. 1260 BCE onwards.¹⁵

The texts in Ugaritic script and language belong to several different literary genres, namely mythical and epical traditions, rituals, oracles and omens, letters, legal and juridical texts, economic texts, school texts, as well as inscriptions, respectively.

FIGURE 3.2 Clay tablet with two columns of the Ba'al cycle (KTU 1.1 II and II)

14 On Ugaritic, see the edition of the cuneiform alphabetic texts by Manfred Dietrich, Oswald Loretz & Joaquín Sanmartín, *Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani und anderen Orten. Dritte, erweiterte Auflage/The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani and Other Places. Third, Enlarged Edition*, AOAT 360/1 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2013), but also the critical remarks in Jörg Hartlieb, "Towards a Solid and Supportive Textual Base for Ugaritic Studies – A (More) Comprehensive Review of KTU", *BibOr* LXXIII (2016): 309-45. Furthermore, see the grammars by Stanislav Segert, *A Basic Grammar of the Ugaritic Language. With Selected Texts and Glossary* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984); Daniel Sivan, *A Grammar of the Ugaritic Language*, HdO I/28 (Leiden: Brill, 1997); Pierre Bordreuil & Dennis Pardee, *Manuel d'Ougaritique I-II* (Paris: Geuthner 2004); Tropper, *Grammatik* and the recension of this grammar by Dennis Pardee, *AfO*, 50 (2003/2004): 1-404.

15 See section 3.4 below.

One interesting exception must be mentioned: there is one text in Ugaritic language written in Babylonian syllabic script found in the *Maison de Rap'ānu* (KTU 10.1).¹⁶ It is highly likely that this tablet was an exercise because the *Maison de Rap'ānu* served as a school for scribal training.¹⁷

As concerns the mythical and epical traditions in Ugaritic, these have been qualified as an expression of an “identité nationale forte”.¹⁸ The writing of these texts was commissioned by the Royal Palace and they were composed and housed in the *Maison du Grand Prêtre*. It is here that we can make out a language policy of the Royal Court which sought to stress the cultural heritage of Ugarit.¹⁹

3.2.2 Hurrian

The 2nd millennium BCE witnessed an expansion of the Mitanni Empire, as well as a dispersion of Hurrians all across Syria. The impact of Hurrian civilisation and language was even intensified after the defeat of the Mitanni Empire by the Hittites in the second half of the 14th century BCE, leading to a high degree of Hurrianisation within several regions, such as Kizzuwatna and Mukiš to the North of the Kingdom of Ugarit.²⁰ Ugarit, however, did not undergo such a Hurrianisation because it was protected from external linguistic influences by the Şaphon mountain range to the north, and the Gebel al-Ansariye mountain range to the east, with the Bdama-Pass situated between these two ranges serving as a route to Anatolia, northern and Inner

16 Cf. for this archive, Pedersén, *Archives*, 77; Robert Hawley, Dennis Pardee & Carole Roche-Hawley, “A propos des textes akkadiens alphabétiques conservés au Musée d'Alep: notes épigraphiques”, in *Études Ougaritiques* III, RSOu XXI, eds. Valérie Matoïan & Michel al-Maqdissi (Leuven: Peeters, 2013), 395-401; del Olmo Lete, *Archives*, 65-76.

17 See John Huehnergard, *The Akkadian of Ugarit*, HSM 34 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 8; Tropper, *Grammatik*, 80; David M. Clemens, *Sources for Ugaritic Sacrifice and Ritual* I. *Ugaritic and Ugarit Akkadian Texts*, AOAT 284/1 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2001), 573-75; Del Olmo Lete, *Archives*, 74.

18 Pierre Bordreuil, “La littérature d'Ougarit, creuset de traditions venues d'Outremer et d'Outremonts”, *Res Antiquae*, 7 (2010): 33-44, esp. 36.

19 See also section 3.4 below.

20 On this, see Gernot Wilhelm, *Grundzüge der Geschichte und Kultur der Hurriter*, Grundzüge 45 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1982), 48-58; Jacques Freu, *Histoire du Mitanni*, Collection KUBABA. Série Antiquité 3 (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2003), 139-208; Thomas Richter, “Hurriter und Hurritisch im Bronzezeitlichen Syrien”, in *Motivation und Mechanismen des Kulturkontaktes in der späten Bronzezeit*, Eothen 13, ed. Doris Prechel (Florenz: LoGisma Editore, 2005), 145-78; Mauro Giorgieri, “Diffusion et caractéristiques de la culture écrite d'origine hurrite dans le Proche-Orient asiatique et à Ugarit”, in *Les écritures mises au jour sur le site antique d'Ougarit (Syrie) et leur déchiffrement 1930-2010. Commémoration du quatre-vingtième anniversaire du déchiffrement de l'alphabet cunéiforme de Ras Shamra-Ougarit. Colloque international tenu au Collège de France le jeudi 2 décembre 2010, et à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres le vendredi 3 décembre 2010*, eds. Pierre Bordreuil et al. (Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 2013), 157-85, esp. 158-78.

Syria, and from thence also to Mesopotamia. Nevertheless, there were Hurrians in Ugarit, Hurrian was spoken by a minority within the population,²¹ and Hurrian names are widely attested in Ugarit.²² Furthermore, Hurrian cults stood in high esteem in northern Syria. Hence, it hardly comes as a surprise that texts in Hurrian from Ugarit are mainly religious texts such as rituals and incantations. These were written either in Ugaritic alphabetic cuneiform or in Babylonian syllabic cuneiform.²³

- 21 See Juan-Pablo Vita, "Hurrian as a living language in Ugaritic society", in *Reconstruyendo el Pasado Remoto. Estudios sobre el Próximo Oriente Antiguo en homenaje a Jorge R. Silva Castillo / Reconstructing a Distant Past. Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Tribute to Jorge R. Silva Castillo*. AulOrSuppl 25, eds. Diego A. Barreyra Fracaroli & Gregorio del Olmo Lete (Barcelona: Editorial AUSA, 2009), 219-3; Joseph Lam, "Possible Ugaritic Influences on the Hurrian of Ras Shamra-Ugarit in Alphabetic Script", in *Semitic Languages in Contact*, Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics 82, ed. Aaron M. Butts (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 267-79, esp. 276.
- 22 See Wilfred H. van Soldt, "The Use of Hurrian Names at Ugarit", *UF*, 35 (2003): 681-707.
- 23 On Hurrian in Ugarit, see De Langhe, *Textes*, 98, 212-16; Emmanuel Laroche, "Les textes hourrites", in *Le Palais Royal d'Ugarit* III, ed. Claude F.A. Schaeffer (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale – Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1955), 325-35; Emmanuel Laroche, "Documents en langue Hourrite provenant de Ras Shamra", in *Ugaritica*, V (1968): 447-544; Emmanuel Laroche, "Textes de Ras Shamra en langue hittite", in *Ugaritica*, V (1968): 769-84; Jean Nougayrol & Emmanuel Laroche, "Tablette bilingue accado-hourrite", in *Le Palais Royal d'Ugarit* III. *Textes accadiens et hourrites des archives est, ouest et centrales*, MRS 6, eds. Claude F.A. Schaeffer & Jean Nougayrol (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale – Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1955), 309-24; Manfred Dietrich & Walter Mayer, "Hurritische Weihrauchbeschwörungen in ugaritischer Alphabetschrift", *UF*, 26 (1994): 73-112; Manfred Dietrich & Walter Mayer, "Sprache und Kultur der Hurriter in Ugarit", in *Ugarit. Ein ostmediterranes Kulturzentrum im Alten Orient. Ergebnisse und Perspektiven der Forschung I. Ugarit und seine altorientalische Umwelt*, ALASP 7/1, eds. Manfred Dietrich & Oswald Loretz. (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1995), 7-42; Manfred Dietrich & Walter Mayer, "Festritual für die Palastgöttin Pidray. Der hurro-ugaritische Opfertext KTU 1.132", *UF*, 28 (1996): 165-76; Manfred Dietrich & Walter Mayer, "Ein hurritisches Totenritual für 'Ammištamru III. (KTU 1.125)", in *Ana šadī Labnāni lū allik. Beiträge zu altorientalischen und mittelmeerischen Kulturen. Festschrift für Wolfgang Röllig*, AOAT 247, eds. Beate Pongratz-Leisten, Hartmut Kühne & Paolo Xella (Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker/Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1997), 79-89; Manfred Dietrich & Walter Mayer, "Das hurritische Pantheon von Ugarit", *UF*, 29 (1997): 161-81; Manfred Dietrich & Walter Mayer, "The Hurrian and Hittite Texts", in *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*, HdO I/39, eds. Wilfred G.E. Watson & Nicolas Wyatt (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 58-75; Mirjo Salvini, "Ugarit et les Hourrites", in *Le pays d'Ougarit autour de 1200 av. J.-C.*, RSOu XI, eds. Marguerite Yon, Maurice Szyner & Pierre Bordreuil (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1995), 89-97; Dennis Pardee, "L'ougaritique et le hourrite dans les textes rituels de Ras-Shamra-Ougarit", in *Mosaïque de langues mosaïque culturelle. Le Bilinguisme dans le Proche-Orient ancien. Actes de la Table-Ronde du 18 novembre 1995 organisée par l'URA 1062 'Etudes Sémitiques'*, Antiquités Sémitiques 1, ed. Françoise Briquel-Chatonnet (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1996), 63-80; Joaquín Sanmartín, "Sociedades y lenguas en el medio sirio-levantino del II milenio a.C.: Ugarit y lo hurrita", *AulOr*, 17-18 (1999/2000): 113-23; Béatrice André-Salvini & Mirjo Salvini, "Le liste lessicali e i vocabolari plurilingui di Ugarit. Una chiave per l'interpretazione della lingua hurrica", *La Parola del Passato*, 55 (2000): 321-48; Manfred Dietrich, "Der hurritische Kult Ugarits zwischen König und Volk", in *Offizielle Religion, lokale Kulte und individuelle Religiosität. Akten des religionsgeschichtlichen Symposiums "Kleinasien und angrenzende Gebiete vom Beginn des 2. bis zur Mitte des 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr."* (Bonn, 20-22. Februar 2003), AOAT 318, eds. Manfred Hutter & Silvia Hutter-Braunsar (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2004), 137-55; Vita, "Hurrian"; Juan-Pablo Vita, "Alphabet ougaritique et langue hourrite: interactions et adaptations", in *Les écritures mises au jour sur le site antique d'Ougarit (Syrie)*

At Ugarit and Ras Ibn Hani, only the archives of the *Maison de Yabninu*, also known as the *Palais Sud*, and the *Maison de Rašab'abu* did not yield texts in Hurrian, something demonstrating the spread and use of Hurrian in Ugarit.²⁴

One of the last inhabitants of the *Maison du Grand Prêtre* during the time of King Niqmaddu IV (ca. 1225–1215 BCE) was Hurrian. He is especially known from the colophon of the Ba'al Cycle: “Attenu, the diviner, chief priest, chief of the shepherds.”²⁵ In addition, he was the teacher of Ilmilku, the author of – amongst other works – the Ba'al-Cycle (KTU 1.1-1.6), and of the royal epics of Kirta (KTU 1.14-1.16), as well as Aqhatu (KTU 1.17-1.19) to which the *rapi'ūma*-texts (KTU 1.20-1.22) are further to be added.²⁶

et leur déchiffrement 1930–2010. Commémoration du quatre-vingtième anniversaire du déchiffrement de l'alphabet cunéiforme de Ras Shamra-Ougarit. Colloque international tenu au Collège de France le jeudi 2 décembre 2010, et à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres le vendredi 3 décembre 2010, eds. Pierre Bordreuil et al. (Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 2013), 203-17; Giorgieri, “Diffusion”; John D. Hawkins, “The Digraphic Seals of Ugarit: Emmanuel Laroche and the Decipherment of Hieroglyphic Luwian”, in *Les écritures mises au jour sur le site antique d'Ougarit (Syrie) et leur déchiffrement 1930–2010. Commémoration du quatre-vingtième anniversaire du déchiffrement de l'alphabet cunéiforme de Ras Shamra-Ougarit. Colloque international tenu au Collège de France le jeudi 2 décembre 2010, et à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres le vendredi 3 décembre 2010*, eds. Pierre Bordreuil et al. (Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 2013), 73-91; Gregorio Del Olmo Lete, *Canaanite Religion According to the Liturgical Texts of Ugarit. Second English Edition, thoroughly Revised and Enlarged*, AOAT 408 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2014), 63-66; Lam, “Ugaritic Influences”; Françoise Ernst-Pradal, “Paléographie des tablettes musicales hourrites de Ras Shamra-Ougarit”, in *Études Ougaritiques IV*, RSOu XXIV, eds. Valérie Matoïan & Michel al-Maqdissi (Leuven: Peeters, 2016), 73-94; Françoise Ernst-Pradal, “Paléographie des textes hourrites syllabiques d'Ougarit (suite et fin): la bilingue RS 15.010”, *UF*, 48 (2017): 787-805.

- 24 See Françoise Ernst-Pradal & Juan-Pablo Vita, “Paléographie des textes hourrites syllabiques d'Ougarit (suite et fin). Synthèse et conclusion”, *UF*, 48 (2017): 675-84, esp. 676.
- 25 See KTU 1.6 VI 55-56 and also the shorter colophons in KTU 1.17 VI (left edge, fragmentary) and KTU 1.179,40 (fragmentary). For an evaluation of these colophons, see Dennis Pardee, “L'autorité littéraire au XIII^e siècle av. J.-C.? 'Ilmilku d'Ougarit: Scribe/auteur”, in *Autorité des auteurs antiques: Entre anonymat, masque et authenticité*, Homo Religiosus. Série II 13, eds. Maria Gorea & Michel Tardieu (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 35-57.
- 26 On the question of Ilmilku as the author, see esp. Pardee, “L'autorité littéraire”; Aaron Tugendhaft, *Baal and the Politics of Poetry*. The Ancient Word (London/New York: Routledge, 2018), 29-37; Pierre Bordreuil, “Ilmilku le Shoubanite, mythographe d'Ougarit: Le scribe, le collaborateur, l'auteur”, in *Nuit de pleine lune sur Amurru. Mélanges offerts à Leila Badre*, eds. Françoise Briquel-Chatonnet, Emmanuelle Capet, Éric Gubel & Carole Roche-Hawley (Paris: Geuthner, 2019), 95-105.

3.2.3 Akkadian

At Ugarit, Akkadian was employed for multiple purposes, such as scholarship, education, international contacts, court decisions, and treaties.²⁷ This hardly comes as a surprise considering that Akkadian was the *lingua franca* and the prestige language studied and mastered by local élites in Late Bronze Age Syria.²⁸ Nevertheless, it is open to debate as to whether Akkadian was spoken beyond the scribal circles in Ugarit.²⁹

27 On Akkadian in Ugarit, see De Langhe, *Textes*, 99-124, 209-12; Jean Nougayrol, “L’influence babylonienne à Ugarit, d’après les textes en cunéiformes classiques”, *Syria*, 39 (1962): 28-35; Jean Nougayrol, “Textes suméro-akkadiens des archives et bibliothèques privées d’Ugarit”, *Ugaritica*, V (1968): 1-446; Daniel Arnaud, “Ras Shamra III. La culture suméro-accadienne”, in *Dictionnaire de la Bible. Supplément*, IX (1979), 1348-59; Daniel Arnaud, *Corpus des textes de bibliothèque de Ras Shamra-Ougarit (1936–2000) en sumérien, babylonien et assyrien*, AulOrSuppl 23 (Barcelona: Editorial AUSA, 2007); John Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary in Syllabic Transcription*, HSS 32 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987); Jean Nougayrol, *Akkadian*; Wilfred H. van Soldt, *Studies in the Akkadian of Ugarit. Dating and Grammar*, AOAT 40 (Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker / Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1991); Wilfred H. van Soldt, “Babylonian texts”; Wilfred H. van Soldt, “The Syllabic Akkadian Texts”, in *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*, HdO I/39 eds. Wilfred G.E. Watson & Nicolas Wyatt (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 28-45; Florence Malbran-Labat, “Akkadien, bilingues et bilinguisme en Élam et à Ougarit”, in *Mosaïque de langues mosaïque culturelle. Le Bilinguisme dans le Proche-Orient ancien. Actes de la Table-Ronde du 18 novembre 1995 organisée par l’URA 1062 “Études Sémitiques”*, Antiquités Sémitiques 1, ed. Françoise Briquel-Chatonnet (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1996), 33-61, esp. 56-61; Thomas Kämmerer, *šimâ milka. Induktion und Reception der mittelbabylonischen Dichtung von Ugarit, Emār und Tell el-Amarna*, AOAT 251 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1988); David M. Clemens, *Sources for Ugaritic Sacrifice and Ritual I. Ugaritic and Ugarit Akkadian Texts*, AOAT 284/1 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2001), 577-1053; Sylvie Lackenbacher, *Textes akkadiens d’Ugarit*, LAPO 20 (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2002); Ignacio Márquez Rowe, *The Royal Deeds of Ugarit. A Study of Ancient Near Eastern Diplomats*, AOAT 335 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2006), 139-74; Ignacio Márquez Rowe, “The Babylonian Incantation Texts from Ugarit”, in *Incantations and Anti-Witchcraft Texts from Ugarit*, SANER 4, ed. Gregorio del Olmo Lete (Boston/ Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014), 36-80; Leonhard Sassmannshausen, “Babylonische Schriftkultur des 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr. in den Nachbarländern und im östlichen Mittelmeerraum”, *AulOr*, 26 (2008): 263-93; Carole Roche, “Language and script in the Akkadian economic texts from Ras Shamra”, in *Society and Administration in Ancient Ugarit. Papers read at a symposium in Leiden, 13-14 December 2004*, PIHANS CXIV, ed. Wilfred H. van Soldt (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2010), 107-22; Carole Roche, “Les textes suméro-akkadiens”, in *Ras Ibn Hani II. Les textes en écritures cunéiformes de l’âge du Bronze récent (fouilles 1977 à 2002)*, BAH 214, eds. Pierre Bordreuil, Dennis Pardee & Carole Roche-Hawley (Beyrouth: Institut Français d’Archéologie du Proche-Orient, 2019), 283-96; Takayoshi Oshima, *Babylonian Prayers to Marduk*, ORA 7 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 205-15; Fincke, “School Curricula”; Yoram Cohen, *Wisdom from the Late Bronze Age*, SBL Writings of the Ancient World 34 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 81-198; Sylvie Lackenbacher & Florence Malbran-Labat, *Lettres en akkadien de la “Maison d’Urtēnu”*, RSOu XXIII (Leuven: Peeters, 2016); Françoise Ernst-Pradal, *Scribes d’Ougarit et paléographie akkadienne. Les textes juridiques signés*, RSOu XXVII (Leuven: Peeters, 2019).

28 See, e.g., Cohen, *Wisdom*, 22-25; Juan-Pablo Vita, “Akkadian as a *Lingua Franca*”, in *A Companion to Ancient Near Eastern Languages*, ed. Rebecca Hasselbach-Andee (Hoboken: Wiley Blackwell: 2020), 357-72.

29 See the sceptical remarks in Márquez Rowe, *Royal Deeds*, 140-66.

FIGURE 3.3 Clay tablet of King Ini-Teššub of Karkemish (RS 17.146)

In Ugarit, all contacts with foreign kingdoms were conducted in Akkadian. This is demonstrated, on the one hand, by the letters sent from Ugarit to Egypt³⁰ and to Cyprus³¹ – on the other hand, by the letters received in Ugarit from Egypt,³² Hatti, and Karkamis,³³ Assur,³⁴ Amurru and Qadesh,³⁵ the royal cities of Lebanon,³⁶ the southern Levant,³⁷ and Cyprus.³⁸

30 See EA 45-49; the texts are, e.g., in William Moran, *Les lettres d'El-Amarna. Correspondance diplomatique du pharaon*, LAPO 13 (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1987), 215-20 and in Anson F. Rainey, *The El-Amarna Correspondence. A New Edition of the Cuneiform Letters from the Site of El-Amarna based on Collations of all Extant Tablets*, HdO I/110/1-2 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 370-81, 1389-92.

31 See RS 20.168.

32 See, e.g., Singer, "Political History", 673-75.

33 See, e.g., Lackenbacher & Malbran-Labat, *Lettres en akkadien*, 15-35.

34 See, e.g., RS 34.165.

35 See, e.g., Singer, "Political History", 666-68.

36 See Daniel Arnaud, "Deux lettres de 'Phénicie'", in *Une bibliothèque au sud de la ville. Les textes de la 34e campagne*, RSOu VII, ed. Pierre Bordreuil (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1991), 79-81; Daniel Arnaud, "Les ports de la 'Phénicie' à la fin de l'âge du Bronze Récent (XIV-XIII siècles) d'après les textes cunéiformes de Syrie", *SMEA*, 32 (1992): 179-94; Paolo Xella, "Ugarit et les Phéniciens", in *Ugarit. Ein ostmediterranes Kulturzentrum im Alten Orient. Ergebnisse und Perspektiven der Forschung I. Ugarit und seine altorientalische Umwelt*, ALASP 7/1, eds. Manfred Dietrich & Oswald Loretz (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1995), 239-66, esp. 257-60; Singer, "Political History", 668-73; Lackenbacher & Malbran-Labat, *Lettres en akkadien*, 99-113.

37 See Jorge Vidal, "Ugarit and the Southern Levantine Sea-Ports", *JESHO*, 49 (2006): 269-79.

38 See, e.g., Singer, "Political History", 675-78 and Lackenbacher & Malbran-Labat, *Lettres en akkadien*, 38-44.

Nonetheless, not only foreign contacts were settled in Akkadian at Ugarit, but also domestic affairs. Most legal documents found in Ugarit are in Akkadian,³⁹ this can perhaps be explained by the fact that legal terminology was still being developed within the Ugaritic language, whereas Akkadian already possessed very precise juridical terminology and phraseology.⁴⁰

Furthermore, several wisdom texts from Ugarit, e.g., *Šimâ milka*, The Ballad of Early Rulers, The Righteous Sufferer, et al. must also be mentioned here. All of these are in Babylonian script and the Akkadian language.⁴¹

Other genres of Akkadian texts found at Ugarit include incantations, prayers, omen texts, and hymns.⁴² Notable here is the famous coronation hymn *bulut bēli* also known from Emar.⁴³

There are also several lists with the names of the kings of Ugarit arranged in diachronic order,⁴⁴ which are of vital relevance for the reconstruction of Ugarit's history from the beginning of the 2nd millennium BCE onward.⁴⁵ Furthermore, some Akkadian texts in the Ugaritic cuneiform alphabetic script are also attested.⁴⁶

39 For the legal documents in Akkadian, see Ignacio Márquez Rowe, "The Legal Texts from Ugarit", in *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*, HdO I/39, eds. Wilfred G.E. Watson & Nicolas Wyatt (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 390-422, esp. 394-411; Ignacio Márquez Rowe, *Royal Deeds*; Wilfred H. van Soldt, "The Akkadian legal texts from Ugarit", in *Trois millénaires de formulaires juridiques*, Hautes Études Orientales – Moyen et Proche-Orient 4/48, eds. Sophie Démare-Lafont & André Lemaire (Geneva: Librairie DROZ, 2010), 85-124; Ernst-Pradal, *Scribes d'Ougarit*. For the legal documents in Ugaritic, see Kienast, "Rechtsurkunden"; Márquez Rowe, "Legal Texts", 411-20; Dennis Pardee, "Les textes juridiques en langue ougaritique", in *Trois millénaires de formulaires juridiques*, Hautes Études Orientales – Moyen et Proche-Orient 4/48, eds. Sophie Démare-Lafont & André Lemaire (Geneva: Librairie DROZ, 2010), 125-40.

40 See also the discussion in Márquez Rowe, "Legal Texts", 393, Márquez Rowe, *Royal Deeds*, 167-74 and Van Soldt, "Akkadian Legal Texts", 87.

41 For an overview, see Herbert Niehr, "Le roi divinisé et son image dans le culte à Ougarit", in *Représenter dieux et hommes dans le Proche-Orient ancien et dans la Bible*, OBO 287, eds. Thomas Römer, Hervé Gonzalez & Lionel Marti (Leuven: Peeters, 2019), 88-111, esp. 70 with fn. 4. Clemens Steinberger, "RS 25.460: Ein Marduk-Hymnus zwischen Tradition und Innovation", *UF*, 48 (2017): 431-52 should also be added to this.

42 See Van Soldt, "Babylonian texts", 176.

43 See Manfred Dietrich, "*bulut bēli* 'Lebe, mein König!' Ein Krönungshymnus aus Emar und Ugarit und sein Verhältnis zu mesopotamischen und westlichen Inthronisationsliedern", *UF*, 30 (1998): 154-200.

44 RS 24.257; 88.2012; 94.2518; 94.2528; 94.2501.

45 See Daniel Arnaud, "Prolégomènes à la rédaction d'une histoire d'Ougarit II. Les bordereaux des rois divinisés", *SMEA*, 41 (1999): 153-73.

46 KTU 1.67; 1.69; 1.70; 1.73,1-7. On these texts, see Stanislav Segert, "Die Orthographie der alphabetischen Keilschrifttafeln in akkadischer Sprache aus Ugarit", *SEL*, 5 (1988): 189-205; Robert Hawley, Dennis Pardee & Carole Roche-Hawley, "A propos des textes akkadiens alphabétiques conservés au Musée d'Alep: notes épigraphiques", in *Études Ougaritiques* III, RSOu XXI, eds. Valérie Matoïan & Michel al-Maqdissi (Leuven: Peeters, 2013), 395-401.

What do we know about the teaching and studying of Akkadian in Ugarit? W. van Soldt and Yoram Cohen have evidenced the presence of Babylonians and Assyrians who taught Akkadian at Ugarit.⁴⁷ The main schools for learning Akkadian can be identified in the *Maison de Rap'ānu*, the *Maison aux tablettes littéraires*, the *Lamaštu* archive, and the *Maison d'Ourtenou*.⁴⁸ As for the curriculum of learning Akkadian, a certain progression from lists with simple syllables, via the vocabulary, the Weidner god list and Harra-ḫubullu and some more can be made out.⁴⁹ Only then could the literary texts of the aforementioned genres be mastered.

3.2.4 Sumerian

Unlike the languages discussed so far – namely Ugaritic, Hurrian, and Akkadian – Sumerian was not a spoken language at Ugarit because Sumerian was already extinct in Mesopotamia after 2000 BCE and it only served scholarly purposes.

As concerns actual knowledge of Sumerian, W.H. van Soldt claimed that Sumerian “had become a mere collection of logograms rather than a written language”⁵⁰ for the scribes in Ugarit. Furthermore, D. Arnaud stressed that those scribes writing Sumerian texts did not have a real knowledge of this language, stating: “... les scribes d'Ougarit avaient donc une connaissance mal assurée du sumérien.”⁵¹ Hence, it is logical that the texts in Sumerian found in Ugarit are confined to a wisdom text, Enlil and Namzitarra, as well as lexical lists.⁵²

47 For Babylonian teachers in Ugarit, see Van Soldt, *Studies*, 373-521; Van Soldt, “Babylonian texts”, 179 and for the case of Assyrian teachers at Ugarit see Van Soldt, “Nahis-šalmu, an Assyrian Scribe Working in the ‘Southern Palace’ at Ugarit”, in *Veenhof Anniversary Volume. Studies Presented to Klaas Veenhof on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, PIHANS 89, eds. Wilfred H. van Soldt, J.G. Dercksen, N.J.C. Kouwenberg & Th.J.H. Krispijn (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2001), 429-44; Van Soldt, “The Palaeography of Two Ugarit Archives”, in *Palaeography and Scribal Practices in Syro-Palestine and Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age*, PIHANS 119, ed. Elena Devecchi (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2012), 171-83; Yoram Cohen, “An Assyrian Teacher at Ugarit? A New Reading of the Colophon of Šimā Milka (“Hear the Advice”) from the *Maison aux Tablettes*”, *BibOr*, LXXIV (2017): 274-83. However, note also the sceptical remarks in Márquez Rowe, *Royal Deeds*, 148-51.

48 See Jean Nougayrol, “La Lamaštu à Ugarit”, in *Ugaritica*, VI (1969), 393-408; Van Soldt, *Studies*, 160-93; Van Soldt, “Babylonian texts”, 178-80; Pedersén, *Archives*, 74-76, 77, 79; Cohen, *Wisdom*, 32. Del Olmo Lete, *Archives*, 50-59, 61-63, 65-76.

49 See Van Soldt, “Babylonian texts”, 172-74. For the curricula for learning Akkadian in Ugarit, see also Joachim Krecher, “Schreiberschulung in Ugarit: Die Tradition von Listen und sumerischen Texten”, *UF*, 1 (1969): 131-58; Fincke, “School Curricula”, and Cohen, *Wisdom*, 64-72; see also below section 3.3.1 on the multilingual wordlists.

50 Van Soldt, “Babylonian texts”, 171.

51 Arnaud, *Corpus*, 47.

52 On Sumerian in Ugarit, see De Langhe, *Textes*, 99-124; Nougayrol, “Textes suméro-akkadiens”; Krecher, “Schreiberschulung”; Arnaud, “Ras Shamra III”; Arnaud, *Corpus*; Cohen, *Wisdom*, 64-72, 152-63.

3.2.5 Hittite

In spite of Ugarit belonging to the Hittite Empire from the last quarter of the 14th century BCE onwards, texts in Hittite are rarely attested in Ugarit.⁵³ On the one hand, this lack of Hittite texts can be explained by the fact that the correspondence between Hatti or Karkamis and Ugarit was always made in Akkadian,⁵⁴ and, on the other, there are indications that texts written in Hittite were translated into Ugaritic to make them more easily accessible for the members of the Royal Court.⁵⁵ This insight might also be valid for a Hittite legal document found in the Royal Palace (RS 17.109) written in the script of Hattuša.⁵⁶ Furthermore, a trilingual tablet containing a literary text in Sumerian, Akkadian, and Hittite (RS 25.421) is attested.⁵⁷ Nonetheless, it is remarkable that the quadrilingual vocabulary found in Ugarit does not contain a column with Hittite words, implying that Hittite was not studied in Ugarit.⁵⁸

3.2.6 Luwian

Luwian is not attested in any longer texts or inscriptions at Ugarit. Three seal-inscriptions in Luwian found at Ugarit had been imported from abroad.⁵⁹ The most interesting of these objects is the seal impression of King Muršili II found in the

53 On Hittite in Ugarit, see De Langhe, *Textes*, 91-93; Emmanuel Laroche, "Textes de Ras Shamra en langue hittite", in *Ugaritica* V (1968): 769-84, esp. 769-71; Erich Neu, "Hethiter und Hethitisch in Ugarit", in *Ugarit. Ein ostmediterranes Kulturzentrum im Alten Orient. Ergebnisse und Perspektiven der Forschung I. Ugarit und seine altorientalische Umwelt*, ALASP 7, eds. Manfred Dietrich & Oswald Loretz (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1995), 115-29; Florence Malbran-Labat, "Les Hittites et Ougarit", in *Studia anatolica et varia. Mélanges offerts au Professeur René Lebrun*, eds. M. Mazoyer & Olivier Casabonne (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2004), 69-104; Wilfred H. van Soldt, "Ugarit as a Hittite Vassal State", *AoF*, 37 (2010): 198-207, esp. 206; Boaz Stavi, *The Reign of Tudhaliya II and Šuppiluliuma I. The Contribution of the Hittite Documentation to a Reconstruction of the Amarna Age*, Texte der Hethiter 31 (Heidelberg: Winter, 2015), 94-97; Charlotte Lebrun, *Présence et pouvoir hittites à Ougarit. Le cas des DUMU.LUGAL*, Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain 68 (Louvain-la-Neuve: Peeters, 2014).

54 See Stavi, *Reign*, 94-97.

55 See section 3.3.3 below.

56 Published by Laroche, "Textes de Ras Shamra", 769-72.

57 The Sumero-Akkadian portion was published by Nougayrol, "Textes suméro-akkadiens", 310-19, 444; the Hittite part by Laroche, "Textes en langue Hittite", 773-79.

58 See Singer, "Political History", 650, and Neu, "Hethiter", 127, who mentions "Das in Ugarit scheinbare Desinteresse an der hethitischen Sprache, selbst seitens der (Schrift-)Gelehrten..." For the multilingual lists, see fn. 81.

59 RS 2.[035] is published by René Lebrun, "Sceau biconvexe", in *Le Royaume d'Ougarit. Aux origines de l'alphabet*, eds. Geneviève Galliano & Yves Calvet (Paris, Lyon: Somogy éditions d'art – Musée des Beaux-Arts, 2004), 106; RS 14.202 is published by Claude F.A. Schaeffer, "La matrice d'un sceau du roi hittite Mursil II retirée des cendres du Palais Royal d'Ugarit", *Ugaritica* III (1956), 87-92, and RS 19.160 is republished by Béatrice André-Salvini & Mirjo Salvini, "Note sur une bulle scellée de Ras Shamra (RS 19.160)", in *Archéologie, patrimoine et archives: Les fouilles anciennes à Ras Shamra et à Minet el-Beida II*, RSOu XXVI, ed. Valérie Matoian (Leuven: Peeters, 2019), 59-62.

Royal Palace of Ugarit.⁶⁰ Also hailing from abroad is a ring inscribed with Luwian hieroglyphic signs.⁶¹ There are no indications that Luwian was either spoken or written in Ugarit.

FIGURE 3.4 Ring inscribed with Luwian hieroglyphic signs (RS 24.145)

3.2.7 Cypro-Minoan

Communication between Ugarit and Cyprus and further kingdoms in the Aegean took place in Akkadian.⁶² Nevertheless, there are inscribed tablets and inscriptions on other objects imported from the Aegean evidencing Cypro-Minoan text.⁶³ As of yet, only nine small inscriptions in Cypro-Minoan have been found at Ugarit.

- 60 On RS 14.202, see Salvini, "Ougarit et les Hourrites"; René Lebrun, "Matrice du sceau royal hittite de Mourshili II", in *Le Royaume d'Ougarit. Aux origines de l'alphabet*, eds. Geneviève Galliano & Yves Calvet (Paris, Lyon: Somogy éditions d'art – Musée des Beaux-Arts, 2004), 105.
- 61 On RS 24.145, see René Lebrun, "Bague inscrite en hiéroglyphes hittito-louvites", in *Le Royaume d'Ougarit. Aux origines de l'alphabet*, eds. Geneviève Galliano & Yves Calvet (Paris, Lyon: Somogy éditions d'art – Musée des Beaux-Arts, 2004), 106.
- 62 See fns. 31 and 38.
- 63 On Cypro-Minoan in Ugarit, see Olivier Masson, "Documents chyro-minoens de Ras Shamra. I. Inscriptions diverses et tablette de 1953", in *Ugaritica*, III (1956): 233-47; Olivier Masson, "Documents chyro-minoens de Ras Shamra. II. Fragments de tablettes chyro-minoens de Ras Shamra (1955)", in *Ugaritica*, III (1956): 247-50; Olivier Masson, "Documents chyro-minoens de Ras Shamra. III. La tablette RS 20.25 de 1956", in *Ugaritica*, VI (1969): 379-92; Annie Caubet & Valérie Matoian, "Ougarit et l'Égée", in *Le Pays d'Ougarit autour de 1200 av. J.-C. Histoire et archéologie. Actes du Colloque International Paris, 28 juin-1er juillet 1993*, RSOu XI, eds. Marguerite Yon, Maurice Sznycer, & Pierre Bordreuil (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1995), 99-112; Hans-Günter Buchholz, *Ugarit, Zypern und Ägäis. Kulturbeziehungen im zweiten Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, AOAT 261 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1999); Manfred Dietrich, "Zypern und die Ägäis nach den Texten aus Ugarit", in *Zypern – Insel im Brennpunkt der Kulturen*, Schriften des Instituts für interdisziplinäre Zypern-Studien 1, ed. Sabine Rogge (Münster: Waxmann, 2000), 63-89; Silvia Ferrara, *Cypro-Minoan Inscriptions I. Analysis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 132-45; Silvia Ferrara, *Cypro-Minoan Inscriptions II. The Corpus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 108-13 nos. 210-216; Marcus Egetmeyer, "Ougarit et le déchiffrement de ses inscriptions en syllabaire chyro-minéen", in *Les écritures mises au jour sur le site antique d'Ougarit (Syrie) et leur déchiffrement 1930-2010*.

Some of these inscriptions were found in the *Maison du Grand Prêtre* (RS 3.389), the *Maison de Yabninu* (RS 19.01; 19.02; 27.237), the *Maison de Rap'anu* (RS 20.25), and the *Maison de Rašab'abu* (RS 17.06), respectively. Furthermore, two labels hail from the *Maison d'Ourtenou*, the first of which displays an anthroponym (RS 94.2328), and the second one presents a sign-group, which cannot presently be understood (RS 99.2014).⁶⁴ One silver object found on the acropolis further evidences a fragmentary inscription in Cypro-Minoan (RS 3.389).⁶⁵

FIGURE 3.5 Clay tablet inscribed with Cypro-Minoan signs (RS 99.2328)

It is also interesting to note that a scribe from Ugarit is attested in Alašiya (RS 94.2177+2491),⁶⁶ and that the Cypro-Minoan script was imitated in the Ugaritic inscription of Hala Sultan Tekke, the author of which could have been from Ugarit as indicated by his name Akiyu, son of Yiptah-Addu (KTU 6.68).⁶⁷

Commémoration du quatre-vingtième anniversaire du déchiffrement de l'alphabet cunéiforme de Ras Shamra-Ougarit. Colloque international tenu au Collège de France le jeudi 2 décembre 2010, et à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres le vendredi 3 décembre 2010, eds. Pierre Bordreuil et al. (Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 2013), 133-55; Hartmut Matthäus, "Ugarit, Zypern und die Ägäis. Spätbronzezeitliche Kulturkontakte, Grundlagen und Wirkungen", *UF*, 45 (2014): 413-72; Jean-Pierre Olivier, "La 'Maison d'Ourtenou' à Ugarit: Les textes chypro-minoens", in *Études Ougaritiques* IV, RSOu XXIV, eds. Valérie Matoïan & Michel al-Maqdissi (Leuven: Peeters, 2016), 149-54; Čech, "Mehrsprachigkeit", 154.

64 See Olivier, "Maison d'Ourtenou".

65 See Marguerite Yon, "Coupe en argent avec caractères chypro-minoens", in *Le Royaume d'Ougarit. Aux origines de l'alphabet*, eds. Geneviève Galliano & Yves Calvet (Paris, Lyon: Somogy éditions d'art – Musée des Beaux-Arts, 2004), 107.

66 See Lackenbacher & Malbran-Labat, *Lettres*, 38-40.

67 See, e.g., Dietrich, "Zypern", 83-85 with Figure 3 and Pierre Bordreuil, "L'usage de l'écriture et de la langue ougaritiques en Palestine", in *Sprachen in Palästina im 2. und 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr. Kolloquium des Deutschen Vereins zur Erforschung Palästinas*, 02.-04.11.2012, Mainz, ADPV 43, eds. Ulrich Hübner & Herbert Niehr (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2017), 75-90, esp. 88 with Figure 12.

3.2.8 Egyptian

The first traces of contacts between Egypt and Ugarit go back to the end of the Middle Egyptian Kingdom.⁶⁸ As attested by the five letters from Ugarit found at Tell el-Amarna (EA 45–49), the Kingdom of Ugarit had been part of the Egyptian Empire during the Amarna period⁶⁹ before it then fell within the Hittite Empire's pale. Nevertheless, even after this change of political hegemony, Ugarit remained on good terms with Pharaonic Egypt. Hence, it is little cause for surprise that several objects found in Ugarit evidence inscriptions in Egyptian.⁷⁰

The oldest objects from Egypt found in Ugarit are a scarab and a stone weight, both of which display the name of pharaoh Hatshepsut (ca. 1479–1458 BCE). These two objects were perhaps already brought to Ugarit by Egyptian merchants during the 15th century BCE.⁷¹

The most important object from Ugarit displaying an Egyptian inscription and imagery is the stela of the Egyptian official Mami (RS 1.089+2.033+5.183), which was found in the temple of Ba'al, and helped in identifying this building as being dedicated to Ba'al Saphon.⁷²

68 See Anna-Latifa Mourad, *Rise of the Hyksos. Egypt and the Levant from the Middle Kingdom to the Early Second Intermediate Period*, Archaeopress Egyptology 11 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2015), 265; Nadine Essbach, *Ägypten und Ugarit. Kulturkontakte und die Folgen* (PhD dissertation, Freie Universität Berlin, 2019), 7–24; Alexander Ahrens, *Aegyptiaca in der nördlichen Levante. Eine Studie zur Kontextualisierung und Rezeption ägyptischer und ägyptisierender Objekte in der Bronzezeit*, OBO SA 41 (Leuven: Peeters 2020), 250–252.

69 For the Amarna letters from Ugarit, see fn. 30, and for the political background, see Singer, “Political History”, 621–27; Freu, *Histoire Politique*, 30–34 and Essbach, *Ägypten*, 32–70.

70 On Egyptian in Ugarit, see De Langhe, *Textes de Ras Shamra*, 88–91; Wolfgang Helck, “Die Beziehungen Ägypten – Ugarit”, in *Ugarit. Ein ostmediterranes Kulturzentrum im Alten Orient I. Ugarit und seine altorientalische Umwelt*, ALASP 7, eds. Manfred Dietrich & Oswald Loretz (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1995), 87–94; Nicolas Grimal, “Diplomatie et écriture: à propos des inscriptions égyptiennes d'Ougarit”, in *Les écritures mises au jour sur le site antique d'Ougarit (Syrie) et leur déchiffrement 1930–2010. Commémoration du quatre-vingtième anniversaire du déchiffrement de l'alphabet cunéiforme de Ras Shamra-Ougarit. Colloque international tenu au Collège de France le jeudi 2 décembre 2010, et à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres le vendredi 3 décembre 2010*, eds. Pierre Bordreuil et al. (Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 2013), 187–202; Valérie Matoïan, “Le roi et la ‘quête’ d'éternité. Réflexion à propos du vase inscrit au nom de Niqmaddu (RS 15.239)”, *UF*, 48 (2017): 727–66; Béatrice Lagarce-Othman, “Un nouveau vase inédit d'Horemheb”, in *Études Ougaritiques III*, RSOU XXI, eds. Valérie Matoïan & Michel al-Maqdissi (Leuven: Peeters, 2013), 347–64; Béatrice Lagarce-Othman, “Une empreinte au nom de Ramsès II trouvée dans le secteur de la ‘Maison d'Ourtenou’”, in *Études Ougaritiques IV*, RSOU XXIV, eds. Valérie Matoïan & Michel al-Maqdissi (Leuven: Peeters, 2016), 155–65; Essbach, *Ägypten*; Ahrens, *Aegyptiaca*, 252–68.

71 See Béatrice Lagarce-Othman, “Deux petits objets au nom d'Hatchepsout à Ougarit”, in *Archéologie, patrimoine et archives: Les fouilles anciennes à Ras Shamra et à Minet el-Beida II*, RSOU XXVI, ed. Valérie Matoïan (Leuven: Peeters, 2019), 63–80.

72 See, e.g., Annie Gasse, “Les inscriptions”, in *Arts et industries de la pierre*, RSOU VI, ed. Marguerite Yon (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1991), 284–88; Matthias

FIGURE 3.6 The stela of Mami (RS 1.089+2.033+5.183)

There was also a certain imitation of Egyptian art and inscriptions in Ugarit due to the high prestige of goods from Egypt. The most famous example is a fragment of a vase (RS 15.239) representing King Niqmaddu IV (ca. 1220–1210 BCE) and his wife. This object was a product of Ugarit.⁷³ Similar production of Egyptian hieroglyphic inscriptions in the Levant is especially known from Byblos.⁷⁴

Still open to debate is the question as to whether a sword (RS 17.90) with the cartouche of pharaoh Merneptah (ca. 1213–1203 BCE) had been produced in Ugarit and not yet delivered to Egypt, or whether it was an Egyptian artefact which had been presented to the King of Ugarit.⁷⁵

3.2.9 Phoenician

The Kingdom of Ugarit was limited by natural borders to the north, east, and west, which were barriers for linguistic contacts. To the south however, there was no comparable barrier, explaining a linguistic continuum from the Ugaritic to the Phoenician language on the coastal strip stretching from Ugarit to Palestine by way of Lebanon.

Müller, “Ein Motiv an den Gott Ba‘al Sapon”, in *Grab-, Sarg-, Bau- und Votivinschriften*, Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments. Neue Folge 6, eds. Bernd Janowski & Daniel Schwemer (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlag, 2011), 88-90; Eythan Levy, “A Fresh Look at the Baal-Zaphon-Stele”, *JEA*, 100 (2014): 293-309; Essbach, *Ägypten*, 177-81; Ahrens, *Aegyptiaca*, 258.

73 For discussion of this object, see esp. Grimal, “Diplomatie et écriture”, 196-99; Matoïan, “Le roi”; Ahrens, *Aegyptiaca*, 260-61. Essbach, *Ägypten*, 143-49 argues in favour of a provenance from Egypt.

74 See Manfred Bietak, “The Enigma of the Hyksos”, *BibOr*, LXXV (2018): 227-47, esp. 242.

75 On this discussion, see Marguerite Yon, *La cité d'Ougarit sur le Tell de Ras Shamra*, Guides archéologiques de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie du Proche-Orient 2, 278 no.62 (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1997); Essbach, *Ägypten*, 184-86; Ahrens, *Aegyptiaca*, 264.

Intensive contacts existed between Ugarit and the royal cities of Lebanon, especially with Arwad, Beirut, Byblos, Sidon, and Tyre.⁷⁶ The correspondence with these cities was mainly rendered in Akkadian, as is proven by many documents found in Ugarit.⁷⁷ Nevertheless, there was also contact by means of the Ugaritic language and script.⁷⁸

The existence of the earliest Phoenician texts in Ugaritic cuneiform script has long been ignored. Nevertheless, at least two texts found in Ugarit and written in the short alphabet, KTU 4.31 and KTU 4.710, must be classified as Phoenician for linguistic reasons.⁷⁹ Whether these texts were written in Ugarit, or had arrived from elsewhere is still open to debate. Phoenician texts written in Ugaritic cuneiform were also found outside Ugarit in Kumidi (KTU 6.2; 6.62), and in Sarepta (KTU 6.70). This inscription from Sarepta is also in Phoenician, whereas the language of the texts from Kumidi is not clear due to the small number of signs.⁸⁰

3.3 LINGUISTIC INTERACTIONS AT UGARIT

3.3.1 Multilingual Texts

To organise internal correspondence, the scribes at Ugarit were compelled to learn foreign languages and scripts. For this purpose, multilingual lexical lists were created: indeed, bilingual, trilingual, and quadrilingual lists have been found at Ugarit.⁸¹ The bilingual lists present the vocabulary in Akkadian and Ugaritic, while the trilingual

76 See Paolo Xella, “Ugarit et les Phéniciens”, in *Ugarit. Ein ostmediterranes Kulturzentrum im Alten Orient. Ergebnisse und Perspektiven der Forschung I. Ugarit und seine altorientalische Umwelt*, ALASP 7/1, eds. Manfred Dietrich & Oswald Loretz (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1995), 239-66 esp. 257-60; Singer, “Political History”, 668-73; Marwan Kilani, *Byblos in the Late Bronze Age. Interactions between the Levantine and Egyptian Worlds*, SAHL 9 (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 184-96.

77 See fn. 36.

78 See KTU 2.38; 2.40 (?); 3.28; 3.29, 4.337; 4.338.

79 On Phoenician in Ugarit, see Manfred Dietrich & Oswald Loretz, *Die Keilalphabet. Die phönizisch-kanaanäischen und altarabischen Alphabete in Ugarit*, ALASP 1 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1988), 299-302; Josef Tropper, “Zur Sprache der Kurzalphabeten aus Ugarit”, in “Und Mose schrieb dieses Lied auf”. Studien zum Alten Testament und zum Alten Orient. Festschrift für Oswald Loretz, AOAT 250, eds. Manfred Dietrich & Ingo Kottsieper (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1998), 733-38; Josef Tropper, *Grammatik*, 78 sections 22.81-22.82 and on Phoenician in nearby Tell Kazel, see Françoise Briquel-Chatonnet & Éric Gubel, “Nouveaux documents épigraphiques de Tell Kazel (Syrie)”, in *Nuit de pleine lune sur Amurru. Mélanges offerts à Leïla Badre*, eds. Françoise Briquel-Chatonnet, Emmanuelle Capet, Éric Gubel & Carole Roche-Hawley (Paris: Geuthner, 2019), 131-42.

80 See Bordreuil, “L’usage de l’écriture”, 80-83.

81 See the pertinent overviews in Huehnergard, *Ugaritic Vocabulary*, 21-102; Wilfred H. van Soldt, “Recension of Huehnergard 1987”, *BibOr*, XLVII (1990): 728-36, esp. 728-33; Wilfred H. van Soldt, “Babylonian texts”, 196-206; Niek Veldhuis, *History of the Cuneiform Lexical Tradition*, GMTR 6 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2014), 297-99.

lists contain Sumerian, Akkadian, and Hurrian, and the quadrilingual lists evidence vocabulary in Sumerian, Akkadian, Hurrian, and Ugaritic. Further lists are too fragmentary to recognise the number of languages contained thereupon.⁸²

Beyond these lists, also literary texts in bilingual (Sumerian-Akkadian; Akkadian-Hurrian) and trilingual (Sumerian-Akkadian-Hittite; Sumerian-Akkadian-Hurrian) versions are attested in Ugarit.⁸³ The bilingual rituals (Ugaritic-Hurrian) will be discussed in what follows.

3.3.2 Languages in Contact

What can be said about the linguistic relations between the mentioned nine languages in Ugarit?

In terms of Ugaritic and Hurrian, a mutual relationship between these two languages can be observed.⁸⁴ Several Ugaritic texts display the reception of Hurrian (and Hittite) loanwords such as *ap* (ritual pit) and *ḥšt* (funeral temple).⁸⁵ The Hittite offering-term *malḥašše*, based on Babylonian *mālikū*, is also attested at Ugarit.⁸⁶

On the other hand, as the vernacular language of the city, the Ugaritic language had an influence on Hurrian as practised in Ugarit.⁸⁷ This evidences a vivid exchange between speakers of these two languages.

82 See Nougayrol, “Textes suméro-akkadiens”, 236-39, nos. 133, 134, 136.

83 See the overview in Van Soldt, “Babylonian texts”, 207.

84 On Hurrian in Ugarit, see the literature quoted in fn. 23. On Ugaritic and Hurrian in contact, see Pardee, “L’ougaritique et le hourrite”; Juan-Pablo Vita, “Alphabet ougaritique et langue hourrite: interactions et adaptations”, in *Les écritures mises au jour sur le site antique d’Ougarit (Syrie) et leur déchiffrement 1930–2010. Commémoration du quatre-vingtième anniversaire du déchiffrement de l’alphabet cunéiforme de Ras Shamra-Ougarit. Colloque international tenu au Collège de France le jeudi 2 décembre 2010, et à l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres le vendredi 3 décembre 2010*, eds. Pierre Bordreuil et al. (Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 2013), 203-17; Joseph Lam, “Possible Ugaritic Influences on the Hurrian of Ras Shamra-Ugarit in Alphabetic Script”, in *Semitic Languages in Contact*, Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics 82, ed. Aaron M. Butts (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 267-79; Alexander Andrason & Juan-Pablo Vita, “Contact Languages of the Ancient Near East – Three more Case Studies (Ugaritic Hurrian, Hurro-Akkadian and Canaanite-Akkadian)”, *Journal of Language Contact*, 9 (2016): 293-334, esp. 302-308.

85 KTU 1.16 I 3; on this terminology, cf. the literature in Herbert Niehr, “Mythen und Epen aus Ugarit”, in *Weisheitstexte, Mythen und Epen. Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments. Neue Folge* 8, eds. Bernd Janowski & Daniel Schwemer (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlag, 2015), 177-301, esp. 257, fn. 320.

86 See RS 94.2443,17-19 and 94.2389,1-6 in Lackenbacher and Malbran-Labat, *Lettres en Akkadien*, 44-46, 69; and KTU 2.40,16-17. On this term, see Yoram Cohen & Eduardo Torrecilla, “Hittite Cult in Syria: Religious Imperialism or Religious Pluralism”, in *Cult, Temple, Sacred Spaces. Cult Practices and Cult Spaces in Hittite Anatolia and Neighbouring Cultures*, StBoT 66, eds. Susanne Görke & Charles Steitler (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2020), 221-30, esp. 225-27.

87 See Lam, “Ugaritic Influences”.

Furthermore, some texts are bilingual, e.g., KTU 1.110, 1.111, 1.116, 1.132, and 1.148. This bilingualism was practised in different modes. KTU 1.111 is almost completely in Hurrian, but the rubric in the first lines is in Ugaritic.⁸⁸ In KTU 1.116, the ritual is introduced in Ugaritic, whereas the Hurrian “constitutes a group of quoted words which should literally and exactly be pronounced during a given ceremony, explained by the Ugaritic fragment”.⁸⁹ In KTU 1.132, the gods are named in Hurrian and the offerings in Ugaritic.⁹⁰ KTU 1.148 is mainly written in Ugaritic, but five lines are in Hurrian.⁹¹ It has been proposed that these lines were recited in Hurrian in order to render the invocation effective.⁹² In the Hurrian ritual of KTU 1.42, only the last three words are in Ugaritic.⁹³ Further research will have to clarify what these linguistic contacts between Ugaritic, on the one hand and Hittite and Hurrian, on the other, mean for the cult in Ugarit.⁹⁴

As concerns the contacts between Ugaritic and Akkadian,⁹⁵ KTU 1.73 occurs in both languages: lines 1-7 in Akkadian and lines 8-16 in Ugaritic. This might be compared to three Akkadian incantations written in Ugaritic cuneiform (KTU 1.67; 1.69; 1.70) and the school text KTU 10.1.⁹⁶ Further comparable contacts between Ugaritic and Akkadian appear in the Ugaritic label with a royal Akkadian seal inscription KTU 6.105,⁹⁷ in an alphabet tablet in Ugaritic cuneiform with its syllabic equivalents (KTU 5.14),⁹⁸ and in two school tablets with cuneiform alphabetic and syllabic script (KTU 5.15; 5.34).⁹⁹

88 See Dietrich & Mayer, “Sprache und Kultur”, 17-22.

89 Andrason & Vita, “Contact Languages”, 303.

90 See Dietrich & Mayer, “Festritual”; Pardee, “L’ougaritique et le hurrite”, 72-74; Andrason & Vita, “Contact Languages”, 305.

91 See Joseph Lam, “The Hurrian Section of the Ugaritic Ritual Text RS 24.643 (KTU 1.148)”, *UF*, 38 (2006): 399-413.

92 See Lam, “Hurrian Section”, 411.

93 See Joseph Lam, “A Reassessment of the Alphabetic Hurrian Text RS 1.004 (KTU 1.42): A Ritual Anointing of Deities?”, *JANER*, 11 (2011): 148-69, esp. 165.

94 For some provisional answers, see Patrick M. Michel, “L’emprunt lexical à Ougarit: indication(s) sur les pratiques rituelles?”, *UF*, 48 (2017): 767-85.

95 On Akkadian in Ugarit, see fn. 27.

96 See section 3.2.3 above.

97 See Pierre Bodreuil, Dennis Pardee and Robert Hawley, *Une bibliothèque au sud de la ville. Textes 1994–2002 en cunéiforme alphabétique de la Maison d’Ourtenou*, RSQu XVIII (Lyon: Maison de l’Orient et de la Méditerranée, 2012), 209.

98 See Ignacio Márquez Rowe, “Syllabic and Alphabetic Texts. A Further Note on Scribal Education at Ugarit”, *UF*, 28 (1996): 457-62, esp. 460 and Hawley, “Apprendre à écrire”, 217, 220, 224.

99 See Márquez Rowe, “Syllabic and Alphabetic Texts”, 460 and Bodreuil, Pardee & Hawley, *Bibliothèque*, 207.

One more influence from Akkadian on Ugaritic should be mentioned: a fragmentarily preserved ritual for the divinised kings of Ugarit (KTU 1.113, 1-11) displays a list of the kings of Ugarit on the reverse of the tablet, starting with King Niqmepa and ending with the founder of the last Ugaritic dynasty, Yaqaru (KTU 1.113, 14-26). Each royal name is preceded by the word *ilu*, which does not function as a construct state “the god of”, but rather as a determinative as known from the Babylonian script qualifying the subsequent names as possessing a divine status.¹⁰⁰

At the end of this paragraph, the existence of a fragmentary bilingual Akkado-Hurrian wisdom text (RS 15.10) found in the Eastern Archives of the Palais Royal should also be mentioned.¹⁰¹

3.3.3 Translations and Comparable Issues

Some texts in Ugaritic cuneiform are said to have been translated from foreign languages in order to make them easily accessible for the King or his servants at the royal court.

In the case of letters, a presumed translation has been proposed for KTU 2.23 (translation from Akkadian),¹⁰² 2.33 (translation from Akkadian),¹⁰³ KTU 2.38 (translation from Akkadian),¹⁰⁴ KTU 2.39 (translation from Akkadian),¹⁰⁵ KTU 2.44 (translation from Akkadian),¹⁰⁶ and KTU 2.46 (translation from Akkadian).¹⁰⁷ Such a procedure is also likely in the case for KTU 2.36+, a letter from Queen Puduḥepa to King Niqmaddu IV (1225/20–1215 BCE) of Ugarit.¹⁰⁸ Furthermore, KTU 2.77 and

100 See Del Olmo Lete 2014, *Canaanite Religion*, 145 and Niehr, “Le roi divinisé”, 89. Cf. also the use of the *Personenkeil* in the alphabetic inscription KTU 6.10, and see e.g. Bordreuil, “Ecriture dextroverse/sénestroverse”, 2.

101 See Jean Nougayrol & Emmanuel Laroche, “Tablette bilingue accado-hourrite”, in *Le Palais Royal d’Ugarit III. Textes accadiens et hourrites des archives est, ouest et centrales*. MRS 6, eds. Claude F.A. Schaeffer et al. (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale – Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1955), 309-24; Meindert Dijkstra, “The Akkado-Hurrian Bilingual Wisdom Text RS 15.010 Reconsidered”, *UF*, 25 (1993): 163-71; Arnaud, *Corpus*, 139; Cohen, *Wisdom*, 207-11.

102 See Liverani, “Ras Shamra”, 1328.

103 Ibid.

104 Ibid.; Vidal, “Ugarit and the Sea-Ports”, 271.

105 See Liverani, “Ras Shamra”, 1328.

106 See Kilani, *Byblos*, 189-91.

107 See Liverani, “Ras Shamra”, 1328 and Jacob Hoftijzer, “Une lettre du roi de Tyr”, *UF*, 11 (1979): 383-88, esp. 383.

108 On this letter, see Herbert Niehr, “Briefe in ugaritischer Sprache”, in *Briefe, Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments*. Neue Folge 3, eds. Bernd Janowski & Gernot Wilhelm. (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlag 2006), 264-72, esp. 266.

KTU 2.78, two letters found in Ras Ibn Hani, should be mentioned here in spite of their fragmentary preservation.¹⁰⁹

Further cases were letters due to be sent abroad but written in the Ugaritic language and script. KTU 2.81 is addressed to the Pharaoh, and it is hardly conceivable that the letter was sent to Egypt in this form. The tablet was found in the northern Palace of Ras Ibn Hani, and, as such, it might be considered a copy of a letter sent to Egypt, which was likely written in Akkadian, much akin to the Amarna letters from Ugarit had been before.¹¹⁰ Thus, KTU 2.81 was at the same time the *Vorlage* for the letter in Babylonian sent to Egypt, and the archive copy.¹¹¹

Similar reflections might also be valid for two cases in the legal texts. The treaty between the Hittite King Šuppiluliuma I (ca. 1350–1319 BCE) and King Niqmaddu III (ca. 1340–1315 BCE) from Ugarit¹¹² is also written in the Ugaritic language and script (KTU 3.1). This is extremely unusual for an international treaty. As the tablet had belonged to the western archives and was found broken in the entrance of the Royal Palace, it is judged to be either a translation from Akkadian for administrative purposes in Ugarit,¹¹³ or a sketch of the treaty.¹¹⁴

The second case is a treaty between the kings of Ugarit and Byblos (KTU 4.338), which is also in Ugaritic language and script. The tablet was found in Cour V of the Royal Palace. As the correspondence between Ugarit and Byblos was undertaken in Akkadian, as also for the other letters between Ugarit and the royal cities in Lebanon,¹¹⁵ it is likely that the treaty itself was in Akkadian. Furthermore, several documents found in this courtyard have been judged as being translations from Akkadian.¹¹⁶ It was also

109 On these letters, see Pierre Bordreuil & Dennis Pardee, “Les textes ougaritiques”, in *Ras Ibn Hani II. Les textes en écritures cunéiformes de l’âge du Bronze récent (fouilles 1977 à 2002)*, BAH 214, eds. Pierre Bordreuil, Dennis Pardee & Carole Roche-Hawley (Beyrouth: Institut Français du Proche-Orient 2019), 39–280, esp. 174–83.

110 See above, fn. 30.

111 For KTU 2.81, see Pierre Bordreuil & André Caquot, “Les textes en cunéiformes alphabétiques découverts en 1978 à Ibn Hani”, *Syria*, 57 (1980): 343–73; Bordreuil & Pardee, “Les textes ougaritiques”, 178–83; Essbach, *Ägypten*, 117–27.

112 See Anne-Sophie Dalix, “Šuppiluliuma (II?) dans un texte alphabétique d’Ugarit et la date d’apparition de l’alphabet cunéiforme. Nouvelle proposition de datation des ‘Archives Ouest’”, *Semitica*, 48 (1998): 5–15 who dates the tablet into the last quarter of the 13th century BCE.

113 See Kienast, “Rechtsurkunden”, 433, 444.

114 See Van Soldt, *Studies*, 57; Van Soldt, “Syllabic Akkadian Texts”, 30 fn. 12; Márquez Rowe, “Legal Texts”, 419.

115 See fn. 36.

116 See Hoftijzer, “Une Lettre”, 38.

proposed that KTU 4.338 should be considered an *aide-mémoire* for a treaty still to be negotiated.¹¹⁷

In this context, it should be mentioned that letters from Ugarit to abroad were written in Akkadian, as is demonstrated by the letters found at Tell el-Amarna in Egypt (EA 45–49)¹¹⁸ and by the letter found at Tel Aphek in Israel.¹¹⁹

Regarding further legal texts in Ugaritic (KTU 2.19; 3.2; 3.4; 3.5; 7.63), it could also be the case that these were “examples of memoranda or private copies of non-preserved (or not yet found) original deeds perhaps written in Akkadian and deposited in their corresponding archive”.¹²⁰

Unfortunately, the original documents in Hittite or in Akkadian have not been preserved in any of these cases. Hence, a comparison of the translations with their *Vorlagen*, which would be of great interest, is presently impossible.

However, something not incomparable may be attempted as the question of translations is also relevant for the deity lists in Akkadian (RS 20.24; 26.142; 92.2004), which clearly reflect their Ugaritic *Vorlage*. Nevertheless, this cannot be termed a translation in the proper sense because the Ugaritic god lists were adapted to Mesopotamian religion.¹²¹

3.4 THE UGARITIC SCRIPT AND LANGUAGE

It has already been stressed that Ugaritic was the vernacular both in the capital and the Kingdom of Ugarit. Therefore, several literary genres are attested on the ca. 2 000 clay tablets in Ugaritic script found at Ugarit. There are no indications that this status was ever threatened, e.g., by a Hurrianisation of Ugaritic civilisation.

Nonetheless, during the reign of king Ammištamru III (ca. 1260–1230 BCE), something novel and hitherto unprecedented happened which might be discussed here in terms of two aspects: (1) The invention of a new script, and (2) the consigning into writing of Ugaritic texts.

117 See Kilani, *Byblos*, 186.

118 See fn. 30.

119 See David I. Owen, “An Akkadian Letter from Ugarit at Tel Aphek”, *TA*, 8 (1981): 1-17; and Wayne T. Horowitz, Takayoshi Oshima & Seth Sanders, *Cuneiform in Canaan. Cuneiform Sources from the Land of Israel in Ancient Times* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2006), 35-38.

120 See Márquez Rowe, *Deeds*, 171.

121 For this process and its details, see Carole Roche-Hawley, “Procédés d’écriture des noms de divinités ougaritaines en cunéiforme mésopotamien”, in *Scribes et érudits dans l’orbite de Babylone, Orient et Méditerranée*. Archéologie 9, eds. Carole Roche-Hawley & Robert Hawley (Paris: De Boccard, 2012), 149-78.

(1) The new alphabetic cuneiform script used at Ugarit and elsewhere existed in two forms, i.e., in a long (consisting of 30 signs) and in a short alphabet (consisting of 25 signs), respectively. The order of the alphabet is roughly that of the later Phoenician alphabet. Furthermore, some tablets demonstrate an order (*hlhm*) typical for the later South Semitic alphabets. Immediately after the decipherment of this new alphabetic cuneiform script, a consensus came about that this script had been invented in Ugarit;¹²² hence its designation as Ugaritic script. Some scholars have even perceived a ‘national’ impetus behind the invention of this script because it was conceived to put Ugaritic traditions into writing, and thus to stress and to preserve the national heritage.¹²³ Nevertheless, one has to take into consideration that the number of the tablets containing these traditions is considerably smaller than that of the tablets with administrative texts.¹²⁴

However, the mainstream academic consensus, according to which this cuneiform alphabetic script was invented in Ugarit, does not do justice to two other phenomena.

Firstly, several inscriptions in the short alphabet have been found far outside Ugarit, namely at Tiryns (Greece), Hala Sultan Tekke (Cyprus), Tell Sukas and Qadesh (Syria), Kumidi and Sarepta (Lebanon), and on Mount Tabor, Tell Ta’anak, as well as Beth Schemesch (Israel).¹²⁵ None of these sites ever belonged to the Kingdom of Ugarit. Thus, the site of origin of this short alphabet must be sought for outside of Ugarit.

As for the second phenomenon, the existence of a short and a long version of this cuneiform alphabet cannot be explained by a secondary development of the shorter

122 See, e.g., Dennis Pardee, “The Ugaritic Alphabetic Cuneiform Writing System in the Context of Other Alphabetic Systems”, in *Studies in Semitic and Afroasiatic Linguistics Presented to Gene B. Gragg*, SAOC 60, ed. Cynthia L. Miller (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2007), 181–200, esp. 182 and Dennis Pardee, “Ugaritic”, 461.

123 Paolo Xella, “Tradition orale et tradition écrite au Proche-Orient ancien: Le cas des textes mythologiques d’Ugarit”, in *Phoinikeia Grammata. Lire et écrire en Méditerranée*, Collection d’Études Classiques 6, eds. Claude Baurain, Corinne Bonnet & Véronique Krings (Liège, Namur: Société des Études Classiques, 1991), 69–89, esp. 75 calls the mythological texts in Ugaritic script and language “une sélection du patrimoine traditionnel”. For similar opinions, see also Malbran-Labat, “Textes religieux”, 175 and Maria Grazia Masetti Rouault, “Écritures, cultures et mythes: ‘globalisation’ des savoirs et construction d’une identité locale à Ougarit”, in *Les écritures mises au jour sur le site antique d’Ougarit (Syrie) et leur déchiffrement 1930–2010. Commémoration du quatre-vingtième anniversaire du déchiffrement de l’alphabet cunéiforme de Ras Shamra-Ougarit. Colloque international tenu au Collège de France le jeudi 2 décembre 2010, et à l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres le vendredi 3 décembre 2010*, eds. Pierre Bordreuil et al. (Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 2013), 19–31.

124 For this argument, see Robert Hawley, “On the Transmission of Knowledge and Lore in the Alphabetic Tradition of Ugarit”, in *Devins et lettrés dans l’orbite de Babylone. Travaux réalisés dans le cadre du projet ANR Mespériph 2007–2011*, Orient et Méditerranée. Archéologie 10, eds. Carole Roche-Hawley & Robert Hawley (Paris: De Boccard, 2015), 67–80, esp. 68–70.

125 For these texts, see esp. Tropper, *Grammatik*, 73–80; Horowitz, Oshima & Sanders, *Cuneiform in Canaan*, 157–66; Bordreuil, “L’usage de l’écriture”.

from the longer.¹²⁶ On the contrary, it is more likely that the long version came about by means of the invention and addition of new signs.¹²⁷ It is only accordingly that, not only the position of the *aleph-a*-sign right at the beginning and the *aleph-i*- and *aleph-u*-signs right after the *tha*-sign, but also the additional *s*-sign can be explained. This might be considered in analogy to another alphabet's secondary expansion in the 1st millennium BCE, namely that of the Greek alphabet, which adds several signs after the *teta*-sign of its Phoenician *Vorlage*.¹²⁸

As a consequence of these two phenomena, it should be apparent that the cuneiform alphabet was received and expanded in Ugarit,¹²⁹ but that this was not its place of origin. This cuneiform alphabet's beginnings must be sought at a site, where scribal practices from Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Syria-Palestine met, and several scripts were developed and tried out. The fact that several of the texts written in the short version of the alphabet are in Phoenician,¹³⁰ hints in favour of one of the royal cities of Lebanon. Here, the only noteworthy candidate is Byblos.¹³¹ The transfer of linear writing into a

126 Thus, e.g., Tropper, *Grammatik*, 73, according to whom the short alphabet is younger than the longer example but developed from a different linear tradition of 22 signs.

127 See Segert, *Grammar*, 23 who assumes an original alphabet of 27 signs, to which the last signs were then appended. See also Manfred Dietrich & Oswald Loretz, *Die Keilalphabet. Die phönizisch-kanaanäischen und altarabischen Alphabete in Ugarit*. ALASP 1 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1988), 99-143, 297-99 and Robert Hawley, Dennis Pardee & Carole Roche-Hawley, "L'alphabet 'court' sénestrogre à Ougarit aux XIII^e siècle avant J.-C. d'après le bordereau RS 5.197⁺", in *De l'île d'Aphrodite au paradis perdu, itinéraire d'un gentilhomme Lyonnais. En hommage à Yves Calvet*, RSOu XXII, eds. Bernard Geyer, Valérie Matoian & Michel al-Maqdissi (Leuven: Peeters, 2015), 155-66, esp. 163.

128 See e.g. Claude Brixhe, "De la phonologie à l'écriture: Quelques aspects de l'adaptation de l'alphabet cananéen au grec", in *Phoinikeia Grammata. Lire et écrire en Méditerranée*, Collection d'Études Classiques 6, eds. Claude Baurain, Corinne Bonnet & Véronique Krings (Liège, Namur: Société des Études Classiques, 1991), 313-56; Josef Tropper, "Entstehung und Frühgeschichte des Alphabets", *Antike Welt*, 32 (2001): 353-58, esp. 357 with Figure 6; Willemijn Waal, "On the 'Phoenician Letters'. The Case for an Early Transmission of the Greek Alphabet from an Archaeological, Epigraphic and Linguistic Perspective", *Aegean Studies*, 1 (2018): 83-125, esp. 98-100, 104f

129 For Tab'ilu as the first scribe who made use of this alphabet, see Bordreuil, Hawley, & Pardee, "Données Nouvelles"; Robert Hawley, Dennis Pardee & Carole Roche-Hawley, "A propos des textes akkadiens alphabétiques conservés au Musée d'Alep: notes épigraphiques", in *Études Ougaritiques III*, RSOu XXI, eds. Valérie Matoian & Michel al-Maqdissi (Leuven: Peeters, 2013), 395-401; Bordreuil, Hawley & Pardee, "Données nouvelles". It is important to note that Babylonian and Hurrian texts are also ascribed to Tab'ilu.

130 See section 3.2.9.

131 See also Segert, *Grammar*, 19: "The alphabetic principle was probably taken over from Byblos or some other place south from Ugarit." Furthermore, José-Ángel Zamora, "Les utilisations de l'alphabet lors du II^e millénaire av. J.-C. et le développement de l'épigraphie alphabétique: une approche à travers la documentation ougaritique en dehors des tablettes", in *Le Royaume d'Ougarit de la Crète à l'Euphrate. Nouveaux axes de recherche*, POLO 2, ed. Jean-Marc Michaud (Sherbrooke, Québec: Éditions G.G.C., 2007), 9-47, esp. 13f underlines the special position of Byblos for the development of the West Semitic scripts. For the good relations between Byblos and Ugarit, see also the letter RS 34.137, which proves "la chaleur entre les

cuneiform alphabet should be localised here, this new invention spreading thereafter to the south and to the north. The relationship between Byblos and Ugarit during the Late Bronze Age is well known.¹³² Furthermore, the form of the letters of the cuneiform alphabet and their order correspond very clearly to a preceding linear alphabet,¹³³ a circumstance pointing clearly in Byblos' direction.

(2) The mythical and epic traditions of Ugarit, the Ba'al-Cycle (KTU 1.1-1.6), the epics of Kirta (KTU 1.14-1.6), and of Aqhatu (KTU 1.17-1.19) to which the *rapi'ūma*-texts (KTU 1.20-1.22) are further to be added, are based on oral¹³⁴ and written¹³⁵ traditions. In Ugarit they were only consigned to writing during the second half of the 13th century BCE by the scribe and diviner Ilmilku.¹³⁶ The purpose of the Ba'al-Cycle consisted in explaining the bases of the royal ideology in Ugarit by establishing Ba'al as the patron-deity of the kingship and the city. Furthermore, the reconstruction of the Ba'al-Temple, which had been destroyed during the earthquake of 1250 BCE, received a mythological support by means of the palace-building episode of this cycle. The two royal epics of Kirta and Aqhatu were aimed towards the education of the members of the royal court, especially the crown-prince.¹³⁷

deux cours" (Arnaud, "Deux Lettres", 79). See also Juan-Pablo Vita & José-Ángel Zamora, "The Byblos Script", in *Paths into Script Formation in the Ancient Mediterranean*, SMEA NS Suppl. 1, eds. Silvia Ferrara & Miguel Valério (Rome: Edizioni Quasar, 2018), 75-102, esp. 99 for Byblos as meeting place of hieroglyphic and cuneiform scripts.

132 For Byblos and Ugarit, see Oswald Loretz, "Māri, Ugarit und Byblos", in *Biblo, una città e la sua cultura*, eds. Enrico Acquaro, Federico Mazza, Sergio Ribichini, Gabriella Scandone & Paolo Xella (Rome: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 1994), 113-24; Xella, "Ugarit", 258; Lackenbacher & Malbran-Labat, "Lettres en Akkadien", 99-102; Kilani, *Byblos*, 184-96.

133 See already Franz Rosenthal, "Recension of Cyrus H. Gordon, Ugaritic Handbooks, Roma 1947", *Or* 18 (1949): 252-57, esp. 254-56 and esp. Dietrich and Loretz, *Keilalphabet*, 99-143.

134 For the difficulties in assuming oral traditions in general, see, however, Waal, "Phoenician Letters", 113-19.

135 Written traditions underly the stories of Ba'al's fight against Yammu and his defeat of Motu, see, e.g., Alfonso Archi, "Orality, Direct Speech and the Kumarbi Cycle", *AoF*, 36 (2009), 209-29; Niehr, "Mythen und Epen", 183-85; Joanna Töyräänvuori, *Sea and the Combat Myth: North West Semitic Political Mythology in the Hebrew Bible*, AOAT 457 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2018), 125-222; Noga Ayali-Darshan, *The Storm-God and the Sea. The Origin, Versions, and Diffusion of a Myth throughout the Ancient Near East*, ORA 37 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020).

136 On Ilmilku and his dating, see Pardee, "L'autorité littéraire"; Niehr, "Mythen und Epen", 179-82; Bordreuil, "Ilmilku".

137 See Herbert Niehr, "Weisheit in den Königsepen aus Ugarit", in *Teaching Morality in Antiquity. Wisdom Texts, Oral Tradition and Images*, ORA 29, ed. Takayoshi Oshima (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018), 70-91, esp. 84-87.

3.5 CONCLUSIONS

What conclusions are to be drawn from these overviews on the different languages in use in Late Bronze Age Ugarit?

1. Ugaritic was and remained the vernacular of the city and the kingdom. Also spoken by a smaller part of the population were Hurrian, and to a lesser degree, Akkadian.
2. The internal affairs of the city and kingdom were mostly settled in Ugaritic. The only exceptions are legal cases, which were mostly documented in Akkadian. Moreover, Ugaritic was the main language for cultic purposes with Hurrian featuring to a lesser degree. Several ritual texts display a mixture of Ugaritic and Hurrian.
3. Akkadian and its script served as a *lingua franca* for all kinds of international affairs. This is shown by the el-Amarna letters from Ugarit, by letters to and from the Hittite overlords, by further letters received from abroad, as well as diplomatic and legal documents, even by domestic legal documents. Nevertheless, Akkadian is not documented for ritual practices in Ugarit.
4. These three spoken languages also show a certain degree of mutual influence, e.g., Ugaritic affecting Hurrian, or Akkadian texts with an Ugaritic substrate. Furthermore, there are Hurrian and Hittite loanwords in Ugaritic texts. Bilingual texts are also attested, e.g., Ugaritic-Hurrian, Ugaritic-Akkadian, and Akkadian-Hurrian.
5. All the other languages attested in Ugarit, namely Sumerian, Egyptian, Cypro-Minoan, Hittite, Luwian, and Phoenician, were only of minor importance. Some of these languages are only attested on objects imported from abroad or as Sumerian only used for the purpose of scholarship. This is also demonstrated by some trilingual texts, e.g., Sumerian-Akkadian-Ugaritic.

References for Figures

Figure 3.1 Map of the Kingdom of Ugarit, in Marguerite Yon, Maurice Sznycer & Pierre Bordreuil, eds. *Le pays d'Ougarit autour de 1200 av. J.-C.*, RSOu XI, (Éditions Recherche sur les civilisations, Paris, 1995), 6.

Figure 3.2 Clay tablet with two columns of the Ba'al cycle (KTU 1.1 II and II), in Izak Cornelius & Herbert Niehr, *Götter und Kulte in Ugarit*, Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie, (Mainz am Rhein: Von Zabern, 2004), 40, Figure 63.

Figure 3.3 Clay tablet of King Ini-Tešsub of Karkemish (RS 17.146), in Izak Cornelius & Herbert Niehr, *Götter und Kulte*, 22, Figure 32.

Figure 3.4 Ring inscribed with Luwian hieroglyphic signs (RS 24.145), in Geneviève Galliano & Yves Calvet, eds. *Le royaume d'Ougarit. Aux origines de l'alphabet* (Paris, Lyon: Somogy éditions d'art – Musée des Beaux-Arts, 2004), 106, Figure 76.

Figure 3.5 Clay tablet inscribed with Cypro-Minoan signs (RS 99.2328), in Izak Cornelius & Herbert Niehr, *Götter und Kulte*, 37, Figure 58.

Figure 3.6 The stela of Mami (RS 1.089+2.033+5.183), in Izak Cornelius & Herbert Niehr, *Götter und Kulte*, 46, Figure 72.