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THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF RAS SHAMRA - UGARIT FROM THE  
FIFTEENTH CENTURY B.C. TO ITS FALL

BY

SOFIA ANTUN SAADEH

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of  
the degree of Master of Arts in Ancient History at the  
American University of Beirut. Beirut, Lebanon, 1965.

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### ABBREVIATIONS

AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
ANET	J.Pritchard, <u>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament</u> , (2d.ed., revised; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955).
Ar.Or.	Archiv Orientalni
ARE	J.Breasted, <u>Ancient Records of Egypt</u> , (5vols.; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1906-7).
ASAE	Annales de Service de l'Antiquité d'Egypte
BASOR	Bulletin of American Schools of Oriental Research
CAE	J.Wilson, <u>Culture of Ancient Egypt</u> , (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1963).
CAH	Cambridge Ancient History
CRAI	Comptes Rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres
EA	S.A.B.Mercer, <u>The Tell el-Amarna Tablets</u> , (2 vols.; Toronto: Macmillan, 1939).
JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies

- Kitchen K.A.Kitchen, Suppiluliuma and the Amarna Pharaohs, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1962).
- PRU II Ch.Virolleaud, Le palais royal d'Ugarit II, (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1957).
- PRU III J.Nougayrol, Palais royal d'Ugarit III, (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1955).
- PRU IV J.Nougayrol, Palais royal d'Ugarit IV, (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1956).
- RA Revue d'Assyriologie.
- Ugaritica I Cl.F.A.Schaeffer, Ugaritica, (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1939).
- Ugaritica III Cl.F.A.Schaeffer, Ugaritica III, (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1956).
- Ugaritica IV Cl.F.A.Schaeffer, Ugaritica IV, (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1962).

SYNCHRONISTIC TABLE

<u>EGYPT</u>	<u>UCARIT</u>	<u>HATTI</u>	<u>MITANNI</u>
16th c. Kamose 1580 Thutmosis I 1525-1495 Thutmosis II 1495-1490 Thutmosis III 1490-1436 Amenophis II 1439-1404	Ammistamru I 1400	Tudhaliya II 1460-1440 ?	Shuttarna II 1400
15th c. Amenophis III 1398-1361 Akhenaten 1369-1353 Smenkh-Ka-Re 1355-1352 Tutankh-Amon 1352-1344 Eye 1344-1342	Niqmadu II 1370-1330	Suppiluliuma 1380-1340	Tushratta 1370 Mattiawaza 1350 Artatama II 1340

Haremhab 1342-1303	Arkhalbu 1330-1325?	Mursili II 1339-1306	ASSYRIA Adad-Nirari I 1307-1275
Rameses I 1303-1302	Niqmepa 1325-1265	Mwatalu <sup>1</sup> 1306-1282	BABYLON Kadashman-turgu 1297-1280 Kadashman-Enlil 1279-1265
13th c.			
Seti I 1302-1290		Urhi-Teshub 1282-1275	
Rameses II 1290-1224	Amnistamru II 1260-1230 Ibiranu	Hattusili III <sup>2</sup> 1275-1250 Tudhaliya IV 1250-1220	
Merneptah 1224-1214	Niqmadu III		
	Ammurapi 1290-1190?	Arnuwandas III 1220-1190 Suppiluliuma II 1190 - ?	

- 
1. 1285 B.C.: Battle of Qadesh between Mwatalu and Rameses II.
  2. 1269 B.C.: Peace-treaty between Hattusili III and Rameses II.

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### THE FIFTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES B.C.: A GENERAL VIEW.

By the fifteenth century, Ras Shamra already had a long history behind it since it had been occupied from prehistoric times. The position of Ras Shamra between two rivers on one hand, and its proximity to the sea on the other, was ideal, and people settled on this site almost continuously till the end of the thirteenth century.<sup>I</sup>

Around 1450, Ras Shamra was already a prominent city. It was a prosperous trade-center and a meeting point between three great powers: Egypt, Mitanni and Hatti.

Before going into the history of Ugarit itself, the three great powers of the day will first be briefly discussed. The power which had the shortest lifespan was Mitanni. The formation of the Mitanni empire in the course of the late seventeenth century was brought about by Indo-Aryans who came from the north-east. The Indo-Aryans were a ruling caste

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<sup>I</sup>Ugaritica I, 3.

while the substrate population was Hurrian. Still, some Hurrians were able to share the rule of Mitanni with the Aryans.<sup>1</sup> The language of Mitanni was Hurrian.

The fifteenth century was the golden age of Mitanni for the "Hurrian kingdom was powerful enough to hold in check the Assyrians in the East, the Hittites and Egyptians in the West."<sup>2</sup>

The Mitanni empire, or more generally the Hurrians, influenced life at Ras Shamra to a large degree, for many Hurrian proper names have been found in cuneiform texts.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, two Hurrian statuettes were found as well as a Mitannian dagger that has been dated to the fifteenth-fourteenth century B.C.<sup>4</sup> This is the oldest weapon made of iron that was ever found in this part of the ancient Near East. The Mitannians seem to have known how to treat iron since the fifteenth century thanks to their closeness

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<sup>1</sup>R.T.O'Callaghan, Aram Naharaim, (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1948), p.65. He proves this theory by saying that two of the Mitannian princesses bore Hurrian names: Kelu-Khepa and Tatu-Khepa, and Hurrian names were even found among rulers such as Ir-Teshub, prince of Barga.

<sup>2</sup>G.Roux, Ancient Iraq, (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1964), p.193.

<sup>3</sup>Ugaritica I, 140; Ugaritica IV, 83: "Decouverte dans les archives Sud-Ouest d'un lot de 21 tablettes en langue hurrite."

<sup>4</sup>Ugaritica I, 112. Schaeffer is the only source for the Mitannian iron dagger, and O'Callaghan refers to it in Aram Naharaim, p.68.



to Armenia, a country rich in iron.<sup>1</sup>

After the Amarna Age, Mitanni fell into oblivion (ca.1350 B.C.), and ceased to play a role in the politics of the Near East because of the rising power of Assyria and Babylon.

As for Egypt, it was not until the beginning of the sixteenth century that she was able to free herself from the dominion of the Hyksos, led by her Pharaoh, Kamose. Interestingly enough, Ugarit, during the Hyksos period, also sank into unimportance. An abundant supply of Hyksos scarabs were found during the excavation of the site, as well as juglets of Tell Yahudieh ware, and deliberate mutilation of Egyptian monuments can be seen.<sup>2</sup> Schaeffer attributes this destruction to the arrival of Hurrians and Mitannians on the site.

After the expulsion of the Hyksos, Egypt undertook an adventurous conquest of Syria-Palestine, for the invasion of the Hyksos had opened the Egyptians' eyes to the fact that other people and

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<sup>1</sup>For a summary of what is known about the use of iron in the ancient world, see the discussion by R.J.Forbes in Singer, Holmyard and Hall (eds.), A History of Technology I (London: Oxford University Press, 1957), 593, 595; Studies in Ancient Technology IX (Leiden: E.J.Brill, 1964), 183. The view of Schaeffer is supported by that of Forbes who says that through the second millenium till 1300 B.C., iron was prepared in small quantities solely in the Armenian mountains.

<sup>2</sup>Ugaritica I, 25.

other civilizations were living beyond their boundaries, people that could threaten their own land any time. From that time on, Egypt found no peace, and refused to be content within her own boundaries.

With Egypt coming into prominence in Syria and Palestine, Ugarit regained its prosperity and calm after the upheaval. This is attested by excavations north of the tell which uncovered buildings erected during the sixteenth century. These houses, built of stone, had funerary caves on square or rectangular plan with inclined walls supporting the large flat flagstones which formed the roof of the cave. The funeral equipment comprised well-decorated Canaanite pottery.<sup>I</sup>

Both Thutmosis I and Thutmosis II ventured into Syria-Palestine, but Thutmosis III was the Pharaoh who decided not only to conquer the land but to make it an Egyptian territory for as long as possible. To ensure this, he had to spend seventeen years campaigning in Syria. In the first years he went to war with Syrian princes, but afterwards his campaigns were mere parades of force, his two main enemies being the prince

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<sup>I</sup>Ugaritica I, 25.

of Kadesh who rallied the Syrian princes in revolt as soon as Thutmosis III turned his back, and the Mitanni empire.<sup>1</sup>

For the soldiers of Thutmosis III it was a delight to parade every year into Phoenicia<sup>2</sup> since: "Why, his majesty's army was as drunk and as anointed with oil every day as if at feasts in Egypt."<sup>3</sup>

With Syria-Palestine open to Egypt, all the trade, tribute and gifts, converged into it, so that Egypt witnessed an unprecedented wealth and luxury. Moreover, communications and contacts between different civilizations, were an outcome of the Egyptian empire, which led to the international Amarna Age, and to the free movement of Egyptians abroad.

At the death of Thutmosis III, Mitanni's sphere of influence was restricted to Alalakh and Carchemish. Yet, when Amenophis II ascended the throne of Egypt, he had to fight the Syrians and the Mitannians who had revolted at the

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<sup>1</sup>ARE II, 167; R.O.Faulkner, "The battle of Meggido," JEA 28(1942), 2-15; "The Euphrates campaign of Thutmosis III", JEA 32(1946), 39-42.

<sup>2</sup>We must note that not once in the Annals of Thutmosis III or his predecessors was Ugarit mentioned. The important city at that time was Arwad not Ugarit. However Gubla was the Egyptian center in Phoenicia and remained so till the end of the Amarna age.

<sup>3</sup>ARE II, 196.

death of his father. He also had to stop an insurrection at Ugarit which was on the point of cutting him off the coast, and thus would have put him in a very bad position.

Seine Majestät gelangte nacht Ugarit und bezwang (dort) alle seine Widersacher. Er vernichtete sie wie wenn sie nie dagewesen wären, indem sie niedergemacht wurden und rücklings dalagen. Darauf zog er frohen Herzens fort und dieses gesamte Fremdland wurde sein Eigentum.

Amenophis II led his armies into the field, and he boasted of being the best sportsman that ever lived; this was compatible with his being a cruel and ruthless warrior. Once, after having set a boundary tablet at his extreme advance in Mitanni, he returned to Thebes in triumph bringing seven Syrian princes with their bodies hanging downwards from the prow of his ship, then he sacrificed them to Amon:

When his majesty returned with joy of heart to his father, Amon, he slew with his own weapon the seven princes who had been in the district of Tikshi and had been placed head downward at the prow of his majesty's barge.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>A.M.Badawi, "Die Neue Historische Stele Amenophis' II," *ASAE* XLII(1943), 10; G.Legrain, "Stele d'Amenophis II au Karnak," *ASAE* IV(1903), pp.126-132; C.F.A.Schaeffer, *Stratigraphie comparée et chronologie de l'âge du Bronze*, (London:Oxford University Press, 1948), p.II.

<sup>2</sup>*ARE* II, 313. Also mentioning the incident, G.Bratton, *The Heretic Pharaoh*, (Great Britain: Robert Hale Ltd, 1962), p.48; *CAE*, p.199.

Both historical and archaeological evidence point to the fact that Ugarit favored Mitanni over Egypt at first, and joined the general rebellion in Syria against the Pharaohs of Egypt.

But the Egypto-Mitannian hostilities came to an end. An explanation given by most historians<sup>1</sup> as to why after bitter wars such a reversal took place, is that Hatti had become strong enough to be noticed by both Mitanni and Egypt.

The Hittites were Indo-Europeans who came to Hatti and settled there mixing with the Hattians, the original substrate population.<sup>2</sup> During the Old Kingdom (nineteenth century B.C.), they were busy putting things into order in central Asia Minor and subduing neighbouring kings,

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<sup>1</sup>Ugaritica I, 29; O'Callaghan, Aram Naharaim, p.82.

<sup>2</sup>The Indo-Europeans came in waves that is why no exact date is given. J.Mellaart, "The end of Early Bronze age in Anatolia and the Aegean," AJA 62(1958), 9-33; "Anatolia 2300-1700," CAH (1964), p.28:

The period with which this chapter is concerned is of particular interest to the historian, for it is during these five and a half centuries or so that the greater part of Anatolia came to be dominated by newcomers from the north, speaking a variety of Indo-European languages, and having a culture, religion, economy and customs which had little in common with those of the earlier populations.

but after they had pacified their country and chose their capital Khattusha, they started expanding towards the rich and prosperous area of north Syria.

Tudhaliya II, founder of the new dynasty, which would give birth later on to the Hittite empire, destroyed Aleppo. This was the only record left by him; Aleppo was destroyed by Tudhaliya II because it sided with Hanigalbat.<sup>1</sup>

The attack of Tudhaliya II is thought to be simultaneous with that of Thutmosis III on Hanigalbat, especially since Aleppo is not mentioned among the cities taken in the accounts of the Egyptian campaign.<sup>2</sup>

Suddenly, Egypt and Mitanni became friends sending gifts and good wishes to each other! The fear of this new power, Hatti, made both Egypt and Mitanni forget their dissensions and start negotiating. Under Thutmosis IV, a treaty was signed and it was sealed by the marriage of Thutmosis IV to a Mitannian princess.

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<sup>1</sup>O.R.Gurney, The Hittites, (Harmondsworth-Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1961), p.26. Mursili had long before also attacked Aleppo, and this event is recorded in the Telepinu text: "Mursili went to Aleppo and destroyed Aleppo and brought captives and goods of Aleppo to Hattusa." See Gurney, The Hittites, p.23.

Hanigalbat is considered to be the territory occupied by the Hurrians in north-west Mesopotamia.

<sup>2</sup>loc.cit. p.23

His son and successor, Amenhotep III kept the good relations between the two countries. He also married a Mitannian princess. The announcement was formal and was written on a scarab:

Year 10 under Amenhotep and great king's wife Tiy whose father's name is Yuyu and whose mother's name is Tiya. Marvels brought to his majesty: Gilu-Khepa, daughter of the prince of Mitanni, Suttarna, and the chief of her harem ladies, 317 women.<sup>1</sup>

Moreover, the scarab of the former marriage of Amenhotep III with queen Tiy, was found at Ugarit.<sup>2</sup>

Amenophis III, given life, and the Royal Wife Tiy, may she live, whose father's name is Yuya and whose mother's name is Thuya. She is (now) the wife of a mighty king whose southern boundary is at Karoy, his northern boundary at Naharain.<sup>3</sup>

Amenophis III did not have to parade through Syria because Mitanni, the original instigator had become a friend and the Syrian princes having no support, did not dare revolt.

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<sup>1</sup>ARE III, 347. Shuttarna was the father of both Gilu-Khepa and Tushratta.

<sup>2</sup>Ugaritica III, 22I; plate I.

<sup>3</sup>The text is translated by the advisor of this thesis Pr. W.A.Ward.

The reign of Amenophis III marks the turning point in the history of Egypt, for the moment Egypt reached its climax, it began to decline. At first, Mitanni, Palestine, Syria and "Phoenicia" remained faithful to Egypt, but the Hittites had begun to move again and another army-leader was needed; instead, a religious zealot ascended the throne of Egypt.



Ugarit is one city which would profit most from the alliance between Mitanni and Egypt. Formerly, trade was restricted either to Mitanni or to Egypt, and this restriction harmed the economy of Ugarit, but with this alliance the port of Ugarit was open to all, and the roads were safe. The two great powers had come to terms and Ugarit could safely trade with Mitanni without making Egypt angry, and vice-versa. It was the golden age of Ugarit, a golden age that would last around one hundred years.<sup>I</sup>

The whole situation in Canaan and Syria seems to have been pacified. One example is the territory of Iamkhad and Alalakh. Its king, Idri-Mi, had formerly been ousted from his kingdom, and had to gain the favors of Shuttarna II before regaining Alalakh:

Now lord Sutarna, the mighty king, king of the warriors of the Khurri-land, had been hostile to me for a period of seven years. . .

Then they set down for us in writing the mighty oath between them. The great king sent word as to the treaty

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<sup>I</sup>Ugaritica I, 29.

of our fore-bearers, and the oath between them.<sup>I</sup>

With Suppiluliuma a new era begins in the history of the ancient Near East, an era where the smallest city found itself entangled in the struggle, and obliged to take sides. For these small cities, there was no hope of survival. Their territory was the battleground, their field continuously trampled by enemy troops. Yet, one must admit that the fate of Ugarit was not the worst. On the contrary, its shrewd kings were able to maintain a balance that enabled them to survive. This was not the case with hundreds of other cities such as Byblos. In fact, Byblos and its king appear in a tragic situation, where emotion overcame logic, thus cutting all strings of hope and deliverance.

As we have said before, the history of Ugarit is not clear at all before the age of Suppiluliuma. We only know that after the Aramean invasion which took control of the city, Ugarit is mentioned in the Mari and Alalakh Archives of

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<sup>I</sup>S. Smith, The Statue of Idri-Mi, (London: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 1949), p.17.

around 1800 B.C.<sup>1</sup> In both references, Ugarit is mentioned in connection with trade, an indication that commercial ties linked the Syrian coast with the interior at the beginning of the eighteenth century B.C.

The Egyptian records bring Ugarit back to the foreground; the cartouche of Thutmosis III was found on a vase at Ras Shamra,<sup>2</sup> and we have already mentioned the insurrection that took place at Ugarit during Amenophis II's reign.

It is really only with Niqmadu II (ca. 1370) that the history of Ugarit becomes clear thanks to the documents we have. The line of kings and dynasts that preceded him is hazy and uncertain. One cannot discuss the political history of Ugarit before the reign of Niqmadu II, because the documents lack information about his predecessors. However, we can be fairly certain that Ammistamru I was the father of Niqmadu II. The only direct reference to Ammistamru I is letter 45 of the Amarna Letters.<sup>3</sup> In the

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<sup>1</sup>G. Dossin, "Les archives économiques du palais de Mari," *Syria* XX (1939), III; *Ugaritica I*, I5; D.J. Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets*, (London: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 1953), #358, p.99.

<sup>2</sup>PRU IV, 28.

<sup>3</sup>EA 45, 1.29-32.

letter, the king of Ugarit seems to be attached to the Egyptian policy and is afraid of the Hittites:

Behold, [I am] to the Su[n, my lord, a servant.]  
Furthermore, if only [the kings of Hatte] does not  
begin hostilities with me! [Let the Sun, my lord,]  
[favor] the life [of my soul.]<sup>1</sup>

The loyalty of Ammistamru I to Egypt could be a reason why Suppiluliuma does not mention him in his letter I7.I32 among the ancestors of Niqmadu II.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid, p.27.

<sup>2</sup> PRU IV, no. I7.I32, p.35.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY OR THE AGE OF SUPPILULIUMA

(1380-1340).

The fourteenth century was an amazing century during which all the forces of the ancient Near East mingled and mixed, when cities and nations changed sides, and when diplomacy was used before action. It was an age when three great powers were struggling to have the upper hand, and which ended with a struggle between Egypt and Hatti, a struggle that put all of Syria and the coast into a tumultuous state. Plots were hatched every day, spies were sent, and neighbouring cities fought against each other trying to take advantage of the unsettled times.

The Amarna letters are a compilation of the plots that were taking place in Syria, and the attitudes of the Syrian princes who were eager to send letters to the Egyptian Pharaoh, each one trying to demonstrate his faithfulness and dedication to the Egyptian cause.

All this tumult, or most of it, was caused by Suppiluliuma, a king who ruled over a barbarian hoard as believed by Egypt, Mitanni, Syria and the coast.

Suppiluliuma probably ascended the throne twenty years before the death of Amenophis III.<sup>1</sup> In the twenty fifth year of Amenophis III, around 1385, Akhenaten was born from queen Tiy. Amenophis IV came to the throne at the age of fifteen, around 1369 B.C..<sup>2</sup>

It seems from the Amarna letters that Akhenaten was wed at a very early age to the daughter of Tushratta, Tatu-Khepa. Tushratta mentions Tatuhepa as both a wife of Amenophis III and Amenophis IV:

To Nimmuria, king of Egypt,  
my brother, my son-in-law, whom I love,  
and who loves me, say.  
Thus saith Tushratta, king of Mitanni,  
who loves thee, thy father-in-law:  
It is well with me. May it be well with thee!  
With thy house, with Tatuhepa, my daughter,<sup>3</sup>  
thy wife, whom thou lovest, may it be well!

And in his letter to Tiy, widow of Amenophis III, he writes:

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<sup>1</sup>Kitchen, p.23; CAE, p.320, Wilson says the event took place ten years before the death of Amenophis III; S.Smith, The Statue of Idri-Mi, p.70; O'Callaghan, Aram Naharaim, p.81 gives other dates.

<sup>2</sup>CAE, p.320.

<sup>3</sup>EA 23, 1.I-8.

T[o Teie,] Queen of Egy[pt, say.]  
[Thus saith Tushr]atta, king of [Mitanni: with me]  
it is [well.] [May it be we]ll with thee. [With thy house,]  
with thy son may it be well. With Tatuhepa, [My daughter,]  
thy daughter-in-law, may it be well . . .

It could be that Tatukhepa was originally meant to become the wife of Amenophis III, but he then changed his mind and decided to give her to Amenophis IV, thus, ensuring the friendship of Mitanni after his death.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, Akhenaten was too young to rule, and his mother must have ruled in his stead for at time, for Tushratta writes to her as the formal queen:

Thou knowest of me, that I[with]  
Mimmuria, thy husband, [have been on friendly te]rms,  
and that Mimmuria, [thy]husband,  
was on friendly terms with me.

. . . . .  
With Mimmuria, thy husband, friendship I have not  
forgotten; as was formerly the case, now,  
with Nahurria, thy son, tenfold,  
will I be on very friendly terms indeed.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> EA 26, l. I-5.

<sup>2</sup> CAE, p.230. Wilson feels that the old king, Amenophis III did not marry Tatukhepa and only got married to Gilukhepa as we saw, but Kitchen, p.24, note 2, believes that the two Pharaohs married Tatukhepa.

<sup>3</sup> EA 26, l.7-10, 30=33.

Immediately following these lines, we have the reason why Tushratta asks for friendship: The Pharaoh of Egypt did not send him the so-long promised statue of gold. Moreover:

But now Nap[hurria, thy son,] has [statues] of wood, overlaid (with gold,)[despite the fact that in the land of thy son] gold is as dust. Why did they [cast statues] in the [land of] thy son, and he did not give them [to me]? These it was that I asked him to get and send. Is this friendship?

When Akhenaten came of age, he ascended the throne of Egypt. Akhenaten was hardly a match for Suppiluliuma, for while Suppiluliuma loved war, Akhenaten hated it, or at least was disinterested in it. He had much more important subjects to think of.

The first few years of Akhenaten's reign were peaceful and calm. The peace was due to his father's achievements rather than his. He benefitted from what the preceding Pharaohs had done and the other powers were waiting to see what policy Akhenaten

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<sup>I</sup>EA 26, 1.40-45.



would follow. Would he be a warrior, an aggressive person, a compromiser, or a pacifier? But none of the powers dreamt that Akhenaten would be a thinker, deeply interested in religious affairs.

On his accession, his sovereignty in Asia was recognized by both Hatti and Mitanni.<sup>1</sup> The Syrians would naturally follow the general trend and not revolt.

Even Burraburiash, the king of Babylon, felt that he was important enough to write to Akhenaten and treat him as an equal friend!<sup>2</sup>

All the letters, were letters of congratulations, but in every letter a demand was formulated, almost all the letters asked for gifts, and Suppiluliuma's letter asked why the new Pharaoh had refused to resume correspondence with him as his father did.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>As we have seen in EA 26, Tushratta asks queen Tiy to be the emissary of his good-will and his desire to befriend Akhenaten as he had befriended his father before him.

From Suppiluliuma, a letter was immediately sent, EA 41, 1.7-10, also showing the desire of the king to be the friend of Amenophis IV:

"My messengers whom I have sent to thy father  
In respect to the wish which thy father expressed  
Let us establish a new relationship. And, O king,  
I have not refused anything of that for which thy  
father has asked."

<sup>2</sup>EA 10, 1.II: "Now are we, you and I, good friends."

<sup>3</sup>EA 41.

A certain awe and respect was still prevailing in the letters, for the military achievements of Egypt during the early eighteenth dynasty were great. Egypt was the leading power, and was receiving tribute from her provinces and gifts from the other empires. All the wealth and luxury of Asia were pouring into the Nile Valley. Akhenaten may have thought that no one would dare revolt against his country, paying little attention to the letters he received from these kings, especially the letter from Suppiluliuma where a certain hidden discontent subtly appears. The congratulations were just a start, a move to test the reaction of the Pharaoh, until then, the strongest. The Pharaoh had to have the proper reaction or else he would be lost. Unfortunately, Akhenaten made a wrong move and decided to disregard the whole affair. With a turbulent country like Syria, this policy could not succeed.<sup>I</sup>

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I  
By its very nature, and its geographical position, Syria could not but be a turbulent country, for it was located between two, even three great powers; Egypt, Mitanni and Hatti. Syria was forced to side with one party or the other, so as a general policy, in order to keep its peace and commerce going on, it sided with the strongest. At first it was Egypt, then Hatti. Had it been that Akhenaten was a warrior-king, Syria would have remained loyal to the Egyptian cause.

Another reason why peace prevailed at the beginning is that Suppiluliuma was busy fighting in Asia Minor and consolidating his empire. This could be a very good reason why he sent a letter of congratulations to Akhenaten in which he offered his friendship. He thought it wise not to fight on more than one front:

These (all the lost Anatolian territories), my grandfather Suppiluliuma brought back until he had reduced them to order. And he took twenty years until he had reconquered them.<sup>1</sup>

This war of twenty years was recorded by Hattusil III and took place from 1375 to 1355,<sup>2</sup> that is before his "first Syrian war".<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>A. Goetze, Kizzuwatna and the Problem of Hittite Geography, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940), p.21; Kitchen, p.4: "That the twenty years in Asia Minor came between Suppiluliuma's 'first' and 'second' Syrian wars in quite unwarranted."

<sup>2</sup>E. Cavaignac, Subbiluliuma et son temps, (Paris: Société d'Édition: Les Belles Lettres, 1932), pp.14, 34. Cavaignac disagrees and says that the war in Asia Minor took place between the first and the second Syrian wars. This belief stems from the fact that Suppiluliuma had relations with Amenophis III, and this could not have taken place before 1375. The fighting in Asia Minor is dated: 1378 to 1358.

Since Akhenaten proved to be a very weak king with regard to military affairs, the other kings saw fit to take advantage of the situation and despoil Egypt of all its riches. Thus, the following situation developed. Some kings and princes remained faithful to the Pharaoh despite strong opposition in their own countries by a pro-Hittite party, like Rib-Adda of Byblos who was finally overthrown by his own people who saw that he was following a disastrous policy.

From 1400 to 1200, the situation was similar, though even more complicated because a king might decide to change sides depending on who seemed to have the upper hand. On the surface it looked like a struggle between two major powers, Hatti and Egypt, but if we examine the situation in detail, we see on the scene innumerable kings, and a multitude of skirmishes between princes, every one trying to dominate the others in a desperate try for survival. Suppiluliuma must have had a terrible time trying to know who was with whom, for the princes were eager to get the most out of it, and bargaining went on, with the threat of defecting to the other side if protection was not guaranteed.

For this reason, from the moment Suppiluliuma took the affairs of his country in hand, he decided that one of the safest ways to insure the neutrality of a third power in

the struggle between Hatti and Egypt was to conclude treaties with these powers, subduing the people who refused to submit.

The Hittites had a system that worked well in Syria and Mitanni: The feudal system. Yet the king could not always impose on the vanquished people a simple vassalage, so he had recourse to a "protectorate treaty". Such a treaty was concluded with the king of Mitanni.<sup>1</sup> Thus, the protected king was superior to the vassal, but the essential clause of this treaty was that the king could not carry on an independent foreign policy.<sup>2</sup>

Even when his vassals revolted, the king never killed them, mainly because he felt that the treaty was sworn to in front of the gods and that the latter would punish the one who failed to fulfill his promise. (As when Mursili ascribes plague to the breaking of a treaty, as we will see below). It could also be that the Hittite king never

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<sup>1</sup>J. Pirenne, "La politique d'expansion hittite envisagée à travers les traités de vassalité et de protectorat," Ar.Or. no. I-2 XVIII (1950), p. 380.

<sup>2</sup>The protectorate treaty was accepted by the king of Mitanni because, psychologically, he felt that he was superior to a vassal and almost equal to the dominating power itself. The Hittites themselves devised this means and differentiated between a "protected king" and a "vassal king".

punished the guilty because he was afraid that the whole country in question would revolt. This tolerant attitude was a matter of practical politics and played an important role in the expansion of the Hittite Empire.

Ugarit seems to have been the key city in the struggle between the two powers. Both Egyptian and Hittite spheres of influence had their boundaries somewhere near Ugarit, so that both powers saw in Ugarit a strategic city that could be used against the enemy.

Ugarit must have been an extremely strategic city, for as the other Syrian cities were fighting and getting poorer, Ugarit had its golden age, an age that started in 1440 and ended in 1360 B.C.,<sup>1</sup> an end caused by a natural catastrophe and not through human intervention. During this period, Schaeffer found that the funerary equipment was very rich;<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ugaritica I, 29.

<sup>2</sup>Rib-Adda of Byblos was not exaggerating when in one of his letters to Amenophis IV, he mentions the splendour of the palace of Ugarit. A new translation of the text is given by W.F. Albright, "Rib-Adda of Byblos and the affairs of Tyre, EA 89," JCS III (1950), 163:

The palace occupied by Ugarit in the age of Niqmad about 1375 B.C. seems to have been great since it was

during the sack of Ugarit in the twelfth century, these tombs were pillaged, but only objects of precious metal were taken -- faience vases, ivories, alabaster vases and pottery were left behind to prove the wealth and prosperity of Ugarit during the Amarna age. One further reason why Ugarit remained prosperous is that it had a vast commercial exchanges with the Aegean world. This is amply illustrated by the numerous objects of Minoan, Mycenaean and Cypriote origin found in the excavations. Aegean pottery has been discovered in abundance, and the site of Ugarit was first located when a peasant's plow broke through a Mycenaean tomb. Mycenaean art exerted an influence at Ugarit and

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regarded by its southern-Phoenician contemporaries as the wealthiest of Canaanite seaports.

EA 89, l.48-53:

\* Behold the house of Tyre  
There is no governor's house  
like it. It is  
like the house of Ugarit!  
Exceedingly great is the wealth  
within it.\*

Ugaritica IV, 9. The palace uncovered by Schaeffer was made purely of stone, and had an area of 10.000m<sup>2</sup>, which makes the palace at Boghazkoy look rather small in comparison.

there is a strong relationship between Ugaritic literature and that of the Aegean.<sup>1</sup>

As noted above, Suppiluliuma tried to conclude treaties with important cities and countries, thus gaining at least their neutrality. One of the important cities with which Suppiluliuma concluded a treaty was Ugarit. Niqmadu II was the name of the king ruling Ugarit and contemporary with Suppiluliuma.

In his letter I7.I32,<sup>2</sup> Suppiluliuma tries to persuade Niqmadu to be on his side sharing the advantages of such an alliance, especially since two neighbours of Ugarit, Mukish and Nuhashshe, were with Egypt. For Suppiluliuma, it was essential that in a hostile neighbourhood he should at least have one ally, and he chose Ugarit, or more correctly Ugarit chose to side with Suppiluliuma against Egypt.

Ainsi (parle) le Soleil Grand-roi [... :]  
à Niqmadu, dis:

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<sup>1</sup>C.M.Gordon, Before the Bible, (London: Collins, 1962)  
For a general statement see ch.V.

<sup>2</sup>PRU IV, 1.I-6, p.35.



Du fait que le Nuhaš et le Mukiš  
sont en guerre avec moi, toi,  
Niqmadu, ne les crains pas;  
en toi-même aie confiance!<sup>1</sup>

This passage shows clearly why Niqmadu chose to sign a treaty with Suppiluliuma; he needed his help against Mukish and Nuhashshe for these states were eager to swallow Ugarit, and Niqmadu was sure that Egypt would not help Ugarit if ever Mukish or Nuhashshe invaded her. With Hatti's support, Ugarit was safe!

Of course, tribute had to be paid by Niqmadu II to show that he was a faithful vassal. We know from the archives at Boghazkoy that the tribute was annual.<sup>2</sup> The tribute to be paid was indeed much compared with tribute paid by other cities. The kings of Amurru had to pay 300 shekels of gold, while Niqmadu II was paying around 500 shekels of gold, almost double, besides other gifts.<sup>3</sup> This difference in payment could well be due to the importance and wealth

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<sup>1</sup>PRU IV, no.I7.I32, p.35.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, p.37. Reference is made to: EF.Weidner, Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien, pp.60,76; V.Korosec, Hethitische Staatsvertrage, both not found in Beirut.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid. p.37.

of Ugarit.<sup>1</sup> This shows how important Ugarit was.<sup>2</sup>

The treaty was concluded and sworn to before Adad and Arinna. This made Mukish and Nuhashshe stir to action and invade Ugarit, not so much for the Egyptian cause as for their own interests. Immediately, Niqmadu II warned Suppiluliuma and reminded him of the clause in the treaty where he promised help to Niqmadu II should any country attack him. Suppiluliuma turned out to be faithful to his promises, for

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<sup>1</sup>Ch.Virolleaud, "Les villes et les corporations du royaume d'Ugarit," *Syria XXI*(1940), 124-151, letters I6.I53, I6.202, I6.244, I6.276; Virolleaud, "Lettres et documents administratifs de Ras Shamra," *SyriaXXI*(1940), 247-276. Virolleaud made up a list of all the Ugaritic cities that had to contribute to the payment of the tribute. Lists were made up with the nature of the contribution that was to be given by every city to the king; Virolleaud, "Les nouvelles tablettes alphabetiques de Ras Shamra," *CRAI* (1956), 63. The incomplete tablet I9.I7 written in Ugaritic with a Babylonian summary, comes from the first floor of the south-west archives and shows how the king of Ugarit had managed to fill his treasury in view of the payments he had to give to his master. He had to raise a special tax on all the cities and localities of his kingdom. See J.C.Courtier, "Deux villes du royaume d'Ugairt," *Syria XL* (1963), 261-272; *Ugaritica IV*, 74.

<sup>2</sup>C.F.A.Schaeffer, "Les fouilles de Ras Shamra, 15<sup>ème</sup>, 16<sup>ème</sup>, 17<sup>ème</sup> campagnes, 1951, 1952, 1953," *Syria XXXI*(1954), p.44. Because it was such an important city, Ugarit was able to keep its independence: "Tout en payant des tributs aux rois hittites, les rois d'Ugarit agissaient en tant que souverains de leur territoire."

Ugarit was such a strategic city that he could not help but strengthen its power. Mukish and Nuhashshe were repelled, and Niqmadu went to Alalakh to pay tribute to Suppiluliuma who was campaigning in his first Syrian war.

Ainsi parle le Soleil Suppiluliuma Grand-roi, roi du  
Hatti, le héros:  
Alors que Ituraddu, roi du Mukish, Addunirari  
roi de Nuhashshe, et Agittessub, roi de Ni'i,  
s'écartant du Soleil Grand-roi leur maître, étaient  
en guerre (avec lui),  
ils rassemblèrent leurs soldats, détachèrent des villes  
de l'Ugarit, pressèrent l'Ugarit,  
sur les gens de Niqmadu, roi de l'Ugarit, firent  
du butin, et détruisirent l'Ugarit.  
Alors, Niqmadu, roi de l'Ugarit,  
à Suppiluliuma Grand-roi s'en vint mander:  
Que le Soleil Grand-roi mon maître, des mains de  
L'ennemi me délivre!

That is exactly what Suppiluliuma did, and:

Niqmadu, roi de l'Ugarit rendit grandement hommage  
aux fils du roi et aux Grands (...): argent, or, et cuivre,  
à son tour il leur offrit. Puis, il arriva  
à Alalah (...) devant le Soleil Grand-roi son maître.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>PRU IV, no. I7.340, l. I-II, p. 48.

<sup>2</sup>loc. cit.

The devotion of Niqmadu II to the Hittite cause brought to him some extra territory taken from both Mukish and Ni'ii!<sup>I</sup>

These tablets sent by Suppiluliuma to Niqmadu II had the royal Hittite seal on them, and the seals were found with what Schaeffer calls "Les Archives Sud du Palais d'Ugarit." These archives contain only the Hittite correspondence or that of their allies in the northern part of Syria.

The "southern Archives" have three stamps of the seal of Suppiluliuma and queen Tawananna.<sup>2</sup> The signs are in Akkadian: "Seal of Suppiluliuma Great king, king of the land of Hatti, favored by the god of thunder; seal of Tawananna, Great queen, daughter of the Babylonian king."<sup>3</sup>

Tawananna was then of Kassite origin. She was the third and last wife that Suppiluliuma ever married, and survived him.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>I</sup>PRU IV, no. I7.340, l. 5'-10'.

<sup>2</sup>Ugaritica III, I, seals on the letters I7.227, I7.373, I7.340.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, p. 2. And Plate III, fig. I.

<sup>4</sup>Kitchen, p. I.

We know the destiny of this foreign queen after the death of her husband. Mursili II, when he became king, seems to have been disturbed by such an influential presence at the Hittite court; so, accused of intrigues against the wife of Mursili II, Tawananna was condemned after a political trial.<sup>1</sup>

Mais quand mon père devint dieu, Arnuwanda, mon frère, et moi, nous n'avons fait aucun mal à Tawananna, ni ne l'avons en rien humiliée. Comme elle gouvernait la maison du roi et le pays hittite du vivant de mon père, et de mon frère, de même alors elle les gouverna. Et les coutumes qui, du vivant de son époux, lui étaient à cœur, et les choses qui du vivant de son époux, ne lui étaient point permises, (...).

The last sentence was translated by Gutterbock as:

Do you, O gods, not see how she has turned the entire house of my father into a graveyard? One thing she let come from Sanhara (Babylonia); another thing she gave away in Hattusa to the whole population.

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<sup>1</sup>E.Cavaignac, Le problème hittite, (Paris: Librairie Ernest Leroux, 1936), p.52.

<sup>2</sup>Ugaritica III, Laroche's translation, p.I02

<sup>3</sup>Ibid. Gutterbock's translation, pp.I02-I03.

It is important to note that Tawananna was directing the affairs of the Empire after the death of her husband, and Mursili II had to wait till after the death of his wife to send her away. In his address it is even apparent that he tried to explain why he had to do what he did. He seems to have been obliged to justify his actions to all those important aristocrats who were on her side for, as queen-mother, she would naturally have had a large following among the Hittite nobility who hoped to gain something by giving her their support.

Even though Niqmadu II signed a treaty with Suppiluliuma, he never broke relations with Egypt. This was the case throughout all this period until the fall of Ugarit. Strong support for this opinion is a vase where the marriage of Niqmadu II to an Egyptian woman is painted.<sup>1</sup>

The vase is made of alabaster,<sup>2</sup> and bears a hieroglyphic

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<sup>1</sup>Kitchen, p.34:

The 'vase de mariage' constitutes pretty good evidence for the marriage of Niqmad II to an Egyptian woman of high rank. The woman concerned was probably not a princess of the blood royal, but some other girl of noble birth from the Egyptian court.

<sup>2</sup>Plate II.

inscription read by J.Vandier<sup>1</sup> as: "Le Grand du pays d'Ugarit, Nikamedi."<sup>2</sup> The fragments of this vase were found in room 3I.<sup>3</sup> This room is part of the "central archives" and contained a hundred other fragments of alabaster. Two of these fragments: I5.202 and I5.203 have the cartouches of Amenophis IV and Nefertiti. Another fragment found in the same place bore the cartouche of Ramesses II.<sup>4</sup>

The marriage took place somewhere at the end of the eighteenth dynasty of Egypt. With the eighteenth dynasty, Pharaohs were more liberal and asked foreign wives to be brought to them, and followed the policy of giving Egyptian women to be wed to foreign kings.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ugaritica III, I64.

<sup>2</sup>For an interpretation of the scene, see the discussion in Ugaritica III by Ch.Desroches-Noblecourt, 204ff.

<sup>3</sup>Ugaritica III, fig.II9.

<sup>4</sup>Ugaritica III, I64. At the same place, a lot of tablets signed by Ammistamru II were found: I5.I09, I5.I27, I5.I32, I5.I26, I5.I24, I5.I67, I5.70, I5.I4I, I5.I40 and I5.000. Schaeffer believes that the Egyptian woman was a royal princess, but in EA 4, Kadashman-Enlil answers a previous letter of Amenophis III where he specifically says that no Egyptian princess was wed to a foreigner.

<sup>5</sup>Drioton et Vandier, L'Egypte, (Paris: Les Presses Universitaires de France, 1938), p.395; Schaeffer, "Les fouilles de Ras Shamra I5<sup>ème</sup>, I6<sup>ème</sup>, et I7<sup>ème</sup> campagnes, 195I,52,53," Syria XXXI(1954), I4-67.

One interesting point is that the royal archives of Ugarit contain a number of texts signed by a queen named Shar-el-li. This queen had a personal seal engraved with two lines of Egyptian hieroglyphs . It could be that this is the same person wed to Niqmadu II, and that she changed her name after the wedding from an Egyptian name to an Ugaritic one to conform to her society.<sup>I</sup>

It is evident that this marriage tried to strengthen the links between Ugarit and Egypt<sup>2</sup> now that Suppiluliuma was putting such an effort to make out of Ugarit one of his strongholds. But Ugarit, thus given favors by one party then the other, was able to stay just in-between, to remain independent and grow prosperous.

At that time, Mitanni had as king Tushratta, son of Sutarna. He followed the policy of his father, allying himself with

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<sup>I</sup>Ugaritica III, 8I. Schaeffer likes to equate Sharelli with the Ugaritic Sryl, but this seems impossible from the phonetic point of view.

<sup>2</sup>Later on, Talmiyan the son of Sharelli seems to have gone to Egypt. PRU II, no. I5.08, p.30.



the Egyptians against Hatti.<sup>1</sup> Also, both Shutarna and Tushratta sent daughters to marry Amenophis III. This best illustrates the pro-Egyptian policy.

Suppiluliuma did go into Mitanni proper and took Washukani, its capital.<sup>2</sup> He then followed a southerly road subjecting the kingdoms of Aleppo and Mukish, and defeating a coalition of Maryannu leaders from Ni'i and Arakhti. While he was campaigning in Nuhashshe, he took the city Qatna and destroyed it. Akkizzi, the king of Qatna, wrote to the Pharaoh of Egypt exposing the situation in Syria:

For six days has Azira in the [land of Amurru] remained, and he will indeed take them (all lands). If however in this year the troops [and chariots] of my lord do not go forth and do not [take them,] they will subject themselves to Azira.

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<sup>1</sup>From what we know of Mitanni history, it seems that Tushratta was a usurper and Artatama II, his brother was the legitimate heir to the throne. O'Callaghan, Aram Naharaim, p.85; I.Gelb, Hurrians and Subarians, (Chicago: The Chicago University Press, 1944), p.79. Furthermore, Artatama II being against his brother, concluded a treaty with Suppiluliuma.

<sup>2</sup>ANET, p.318. But E.Cavaignac, Subbiluliuma et son temps, p.18, says that Suppiluliuma did not enter the Mitanni kingdom proper, but rather conquered the territory laying west of the Euphrates river.

The gods and the [men] of [Qatn]a  
the king of Hatti takes.  
My lord, the people of Qatna, my servants,  
that Azira takes, and he puts them  
out of the land of my lord,  
and now th[ey dwell] away from the land of my lord.<sup>I</sup>

In this same letter Akkizzi mentions the taking of the sun-god of Qatna by the Hittites, and asks money from the Pharaoh to ransom the people and the god.

Qadesh also was pro-Egyptian and its king Suttarna fought Suppiluliuma, but he was defeated and taken with his son Aitagama as a prisoner to Hatti. Aitagama eventually returned to Qadesh, but he was now an ally of the Hittites. It seems that Suppiluliuma was following the same policy as that of Thutmose III which consisted of taking princes to Hatti, educating them in a Hittite fashion and then setting them up in their cities so that they would remain faithful agents, and no trouble would be caused by that city again.

Akkizzi denounced Aitagama to the Pharaoh:

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<sup>I</sup>EA 55, 1, 23-27, 42-47.

I [lov]e my lord. But now Aitagama has [with]  
the king of Hat[te] come out [again]st me,  
and [he] seeks [my] head.  
And now [Aitagam]a has sent to me  
and said: "[Come] with me  
to the king of Hatte." But I said:  
If I sh[ould] die, I will not go to the] king of Hatte.  
I am a servant of the k[ing, my] lor[d, the] k[ing of E]gypt.<sup>I</sup>

Akkizzi said that the kings of Nuhashshe, Ni'i, Zinzar<sup>2</sup>  
and Tunanak<sup>3</sup>, were with him.

Suppiluliuma, in order to appease Akkizzi and his vehement  
flood of letters to the Pharaoh returned the sun-god.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>I</sup>EA 53, 1.8-15.

<sup>2</sup>Zinzar occurs only in this letter from the Amarna, but  
it also appeared in the Syrian list of Thutmose III and has  
been identified with modern Kalat Seidjar, north-west of  
Hamath, on the railroad going from Aleppo to Homs. See  
M.C.Astour, "Place-names from the kingdom of Alalah in the  
north Syrian list of Thutmose III: A study in historical  
topography," *JNES* 22(1963), 226, no.39.

<sup>3</sup>The location of this city is still unknown.

<sup>4</sup>EA 55, 1.59-60. Abimilki is another prince who says the  
same thing. EA 151, 1.59-63:

Etagama, lord of  
Kidsi, and  
Azira have begun  
hostilities  
against Namiawazi.

It is at this point that we get the letter of Rib-Adda of Byblos who talks about a Hittite invasion into northern Syria:

The king of Hatti has overcome  
all lands, which belonged  
to the king of Mitta or  
the king of Nahma.  
The land of the [great] kings  
Abd-Ashirta, [the slave,] I  
the dog, has gone with him. I

While this was taking place in Syria, Egypt seemed to be in a passive state and showed no reaction. This silence can be explained partly by the general state of Syria-Palestine itself; the Habiru<sup>2</sup> were invading the Canaanite cities as we know from the Amarna letters. Moreover, the letters that reached the Pharaoh were so contradictory that he did not know who was speaking the truth especially since he never ventured to go to Syria, although Haremhab, an able general was campaigning in Asia at the time and must have known about the situation there.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>M.Greenberg, The Hab/piru, (New Haven: The American Oriental Society, 1955), p.85.

<sup>2</sup>Drioton et Vandier, L'Egypte, p.339; W.A.Ward, "Review of Kitchen's book, Suppiluliuma and the Amarna Pharaohs," Orientalia XXXIII(1964), 475.

<sup>3</sup>EA 65, 1.9-14.

Did Akhenaten know about the truth? and if so, how could he allow the lies of Abd-Ashirta, who was writing to the Pharaoh informing him that he was obeying him faithfully and that he was trying hard to repel the Hittites while Rib-Adda was denouncing him as a traitor to the Egyptian cause.

Obviously, Abd-Ashirta wanted to profit the most from the struggle between Hittites and Egyptians, so that he kept the appearance of being faithful to the Pharaoh, and pretended to be a vigilant guardian, sending word as soon as he felt any strange movement:

And the cities of the king, (which are ) in (my) care,  
which I protect  
and preparation  
for the troops  
[of the king,] my lord  
[is made.]

and:

And I hurried [up her]e from Ir[qat,]  
and I b[uilt] Sumur,  
and thy [house] was delivered from the hand  
of the troops of Sehlal. If I had not dwelt  
i[n Irqat,] if I ha[d dwe]lt in a place where the house  
is quiet,  
then verily the troops of Sehlal would now have  
[bu]rned [with fir]e Sumur  
and her palace.

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<sup>1</sup>EA 65, 1.9=14.

<sup>2</sup>EA 62, 1.13-20.

Indeed, Suppiluliuma found a wonderful ally in Abd-Ashirta against Egypt, especially since the latter was subtle like his master, never opening war overtly and unnecessarily, but doing everything under cover. Abd-Ashirta moreover, helped Suppiluliuma maintain a free-hand in north Syria; and a treaty between the two against a mutual enemy has been preserved at Boghazkoy.<sup>I</sup>

After the death of Abd-Ashirta, who was killed by Tushratta when the latter was expanding into north Syria,<sup>2</sup> his sons tried to reconstitute the Amurru kingdom. Aziru turned out to be a replica of his father.

Aziru stayed for a while in Damascus which was still considered part of the Egyptian territory, and Rib-Adda hastened to send a note to the king of Egypt:

Behold Aziru, a son  
of Abd-Ashirta, is with  
brothers, in Dumasqa.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>I</sup>O'Callaghan, Aram Naharaim, p.87.

<sup>2</sup>E.Cavaignac, Subbiluliuma et son temps, p.25.

<sup>3</sup>EA 107, 1.26-28.

Aziru started conquering Amurru. This is known to us from a letter sent to Pharaoh by Akkizzi, prince of Qatna. It says:

For six days has Azira in the land of Amurru remained, and he will indeed take them (all lands).<sup>1</sup>

By the end of the first Syrian war, (years I3 and I4 of Akhenaten's reign),<sup>2</sup> Aziru had taken all of Amurru, even attempting to take Sumur, as well:

Then will Azira  
make us like the city of Nii.  
\* \* \* \* \*  
And when Azira enters Sumur,  
then will Azira do to us  
as he pleases, in the house  
of the king, our lord.<sup>3</sup>

The inhabitants of the city of Tunip were afraid that Aziru would invade them as he actually did with Ni'i. Ni'i being a neighbouring city to Ugarit, it was pro-Egyptian

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<sup>1</sup>EA 55, l.23-24.

<sup>2</sup>Kitchen, p.3I.

<sup>3</sup>EA 59, l.27-28, 34-37.

and because of that it was utterly destroyed by Aziru and the Hittites.

A second warning came from Rib-Adda who never failed to notice important events:

If thou holdest back in the same manner,  
they will surely take  
Sumura and  
kill the deputy,  
and the rescue-troops,  
that are in Sumura, what  
shall they do? For I  
cannot enter  
Sumura.<sup>1</sup>

Sumur was finally taken by Aziru.<sup>2</sup> He even wrote to the Pharaoh, sent him one of his sons as a gift, and said that he had taken Sumura from the hands of the Hittites!

I am devoted to the servants  
of the king, my lord; but the chief men  
of Sumur have not admitted me.  
even now I have not sinned.

.....  
If the king of Hat[te. . .]  
[comes] for hostility against me,

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<sup>1</sup>EA 104, 1.31-39

<sup>2</sup>EA 116, 131, 132, 149.



then, O king, my lord, give me  
soldiers . . . and chariots  
for my assistance. <sup>I</sup>!

After entering Sumur, Aziru seemed to loiter and did not  
rebuild the city. The Pharaoh sent an urgent message asking  
him why he delayed in building.<sup>2</sup> Aziru did not fail to give  
a reason:

A[n]d the kings of Nuha[šše]  
are hostile to [m]e  
a[n]d consequently I have not built  
Sumur, (but) in one<sub>3</sub> year  
I will build Sumur.

The Pharaoh suddenly got impatient, and wrote a letter to  
Aziru asking him: "All which thou hast said is not right.  
And behold, the king has heard that thou hast come to an  
agreement with the man of Kidsa."<sup>4</sup>

Apparently, the Pharaoh tried to bring Aziru to his side  
and started promising him all he wanted if the latter

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<sup>I</sup>EA I57, l. 10-13, 28-32.

<sup>2</sup>EA I59, l. 43-44.

<sup>3</sup>EA I60, l. 24-28.

<sup>4</sup>EA I62, l. 20-22.

remained faithful. Also, the king wanted him to come and see him in Egypt. "Come thou, or send your son."<sup>1</sup>

Aziru decided to go to Egypt, most probably because things were getting worse, and his trip could not be delayed any longer. The Pharaoh retained him in his court and his sons started sending messages asking the king to release their father, since he was badly needed in Amurru:

. . . Aziri is thy servant.  
Do not detain him there.  
Send him (back) quickly,  
that he may protect the lands of the king our lord.<sup>2</sup>

At the death of Akhenaten, Aziru was able to escape, no one knows how, and return to Amurru.<sup>3</sup>

Ugarit remained undisturbed by the mischief of Aziru, mainly because it compromised and signed a treaty with him. The treaty ends by a promise on the part of Aziru to defend the city whenever attacked:

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<sup>1</sup>EA 162, 1.48.

<sup>2</sup>EA 169, 1.12-15.

<sup>3</sup>Kitchen, p.46. Kitchen believes that Aziru came back in the sixteenth year of Akhenaten's reign and that he made an alliance with both Niqmadu II and Suppiluliuma after his return.

A dater d'aujourd'hui,  
Niqmadu, roi d'Ugarit,  
et Aziru, roi d'Amurru,  
ont fait entre eux  
cet accord par serment.

• • • • •  
D'autre part, s'il est un roi  
qui fasse acte de hostilité contre  
le roi de l'Ugarit,  
Aziru, avec ses chars<sup>I</sup> et ses soldats,  
combattrait contre lui.

All the dissensions between Amurru and Ugarit were forgotten, and Niqmadu II gave Aziru, as compensation, a sum of money!

It is really Gubla which suffered most from the situation. Its faithful king Rib-Adda, and his blind policy put him in a tragic position. He belonged to the past tradition of Gubla, and not to its present history. If he wanted to survive, he should at least have compromised, especially since Egypt did not care to help him in his desperate situation.

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<sup>I</sup> PRU IV, 284, l.I-5, 20-24. This text was found south of the palace of Ugarit, in a room at the periphery of the "petit palais" along with two other illegible documents. Nougayrol, "Les nouveaux textes Babyloniens de Ras Shamra," CRAI (1956), p.126-135. At the end of the article Schaeffer comments, and his commentary seems odd, since he says:

\* Ainsi l'accord entre Ugarit et Amurru signifie que les deux pays avaient décidé d'aligner leur politique envers le principal ennemi commun, non-nommé. Mais vu la situation générale au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle en Syrie, il ne peut s'agir que des hittites ou de leurs alliés.

This statement runs contrary to all that others have written; disagrees with all the historical data found at Ras Shamra so far which has been noted above.

The imploring letters that Rib-Adda<sup>I</sup> sent constitute the largest number that any single Syrian prince sent to Egypt, and this is a further proof of the complex situation in which Gubla found herself in trying to defend Egypt against all, even against her own interests. Finally, Byblos passed into Aziru's hands while Rib-Adda was in Beruta.<sup>2</sup>

To instigate more trouble in the Near East, one of Tushratta's sons killed him,<sup>3</sup> and Suppiluliuma was accused of plotting against the life of Tushratta. In any case, at the death of the latter, the Mitanni empire fell into Hittite hands. Mattiawaza, son of Tushratta could not succeed his father and fled to Hatti. The Assyrians took over with Artatama II, but Mattiawaza came back as son-in-law of Suppiluliuma and took back Mitanni with the help of Sharrikushuh of Carchemish.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Gubla is given as an example to show the contrast between two coastal towns which were not very far from each other.

<sup>2</sup>EA I36, I37, I42, I62.

<sup>3</sup>O'Callaghan, Aram Naharaim, p.89.

<sup>4</sup>Kitchen, p.48. Yet, Kitchen puts the death of Tushratta during the second year of Ay and second year of the second Syrian war.

This was a blow to the Egyptians, for one of their staunchest friends had gone into the enemy's hand. Tushratta was trying all the time to save Syria from the Hittites and he represented the only real power which was actually fighting. But Suppiluliuma had the Mitanni empire won by diplomacy or conspiracy. Thus, because of her passive attitude, Egypt was left alone, without strong allies to support her.

Most probably, it was during Niqmadu II's reign that Ugarit was shaken by an earthquake vaguely mentioned by Abimilki of Tyre in his letter to the Pharaoh:

. . . And fire has consumed  
Ugarit, the city of the king; half of it  
it has consumed, and its other half is not,  
and the people of the army of Hatti are not there.<sup>I</sup>

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<sup>I</sup>EA 151, 1.55-58. In the whole Amarna letters, Ugarit is only mentioned six times. This is the most important event recorded in the Amarna letters concerning Ugarit. EA 39; 89,5I; 98,9; I26,6 all mention Ugarit, but in the last letter which is equally important, Rib-Adda says that he could not transport a shipment of wood from Ugarit for Aziru intercepted him; Schaeffer, Ugaritica I, 37.

The earthquake is dated by Schaeffer around 1365. The second part of level I ends chronologically by the destruction of Ugarit at this time. In this level, bronze weapons, ivories and scarabs were found with the names of Amenophis III and Amenophis IV. Also were found hieroglyphic inscriptions, Canaanite texts in cuneiform alphabetic, Babylonian texts, Sumerian and Hurrian, all dated during the lifetime of Niqmadu II.<sup>I</sup> The earthquake seems to have brought a tidal wave with it which covered Minet-el-Beida and fire must have broken immediately after.

In all his articles and books Schaeffer dates the earthquake by archaeological and historical means to approximately 1365 B.C. He also specifically says that Niqmadu II was the

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<sup>I</sup>Schaeffer, *Stratigraphie comparée et chronologie*, p.10. Schaeffer believes that Ugarit was destroyed by an earthquake and not by an enemy because of the walls of the buildings which changed their position after the earthquake: "Glissement subi par les assises inférieures de la façade d'un bâtiment d'Ugarit écroulé au cours du tremblement de terre de 1365."

Fig. I, 2 shows clearly the displaced position of the walls. Yet, some historians disagree with Schaeffer such as W.F. Albright, "New Canaanite historical and mythological data," *B.A.S.O.R.* 63(October, 1936), 26 who believes that Abimilki of Tyre means in his letter that Ugarit had just been destroyed by the Hittites.

king of Ugarit at the time of the earthquake,<sup>1</sup> except in one instance, where, strangely enough, he prefers to date Ammistamru II around 1365 B.C., making him a contemporary with Amenophis IV!<sup>2</sup> It could be that he was misled by the new archives he found on the site. For the three archives, Central, East and West, uncovered in the palace of Ugarit, date from the end of the sixteenth century to the middle of the thirteenth, though the largest number of the texts are from the fourteenth.

Now, during his 1951 excavation, Schaeffer found that among the ruins and the burnt archives of the palace, were fragments of vases belonging to Amenophis IV, and contracts signed by Niqmepa and Ammistamru II. Documents bearing the names of these two kings were found also among the archives after the fire.

For this reason, Schaeffer wanted to conclude that the catastrophe mentioned by Abimilki of Tyre took place under Ammistamru II's reign and that of Amenophis IV. Or, that the fire took place immediately after the reign of

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<sup>1</sup>Schaeffer, Stratigraphie comparée et chronologie, p.10; "Les fouilles de Ras Shamra, 15ème, 16ème, 17ème campagnes," Syria XXXI(1954), 16-67.

<sup>2</sup>Schaeffer, "Fouilles à Ras Shamra, (1951)," CRAI (1952), pp.235-241.

Amenophis IV and Ammistamru II of Ugarit, so that the former tablets were replaced with the archives.<sup>1</sup>

Now we know that Ugarit was prey to two catastrophes, the second one took place around 1320 B.C., during the reign of Mursili II as we will see below. The reign of Niqmepa was contemporary to Mursili II. As for the vases of Amenophis IV, this can be easily explained for objects inscribed with one's name survive after him. The vases could have been kept in the palace by the son of Niqmadu II, Niqmepa, or archaeological disturbance could have caused these fragments to be found among this layer of ashes.

A recent article published in Syria at the end of last year, presents a very interesting view on the date of the earthquake. The author wishes to date it earlier, 1385 instead of 1365, because he identifies Niqmadu II with Nicomedes, an Achaean Greek, suggesting that the latter took advantage of the earthquake and seized Ugarit.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid, p.238.

<sup>2</sup> Tertius Chandler, "Date of the earthquake at Ugarit," Syria XLI(1964), 181-2.



The only proof for the story, and it is a weak proof, is that the two names resemble each other.<sup>1</sup>

The second campaign of Suppiluliuma started in 1358 B.C. and ended in 1353. At the outset he took Aleppo, and it did not present any more problems for him for he made his son Telepinu, the priest of Kizzuwatna, its king.<sup>2</sup> Suppiluliuma then directed his attacks against Carchemish with its strong fortress; he was able to control the water canals that brought water to the city so that the latter fell into his hands. He destroyed it and appointed his son as its king. The name of his son was Piyassili.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> B. Hrozný, "Les Ioniens à Ras Shamra," Arch. Or. IV(1932), 169-178.

<sup>2</sup> E. Cavaignac, Subbiluliuma et son temps, p.37.

<sup>3</sup> From the deeds of Suppiluliuma as told by his son Mursili II, we know that Suppiluliuma placed at Carchemish his son Sarrikushuh, and not Piyassili. See Gutterbock, "The deeds of Suppiluliuma as told by Mursili II," JCS X(1956), 121. On the other hand, Hattusili III says that the name of the son was Piyassili. Gutterbock is inclined to assume that Piyassili and Sarrikushuh are one and the same person, with the Hurrian name: Sarrikushuh, and the Hittite, Piyassili. This is backed by the evidence that many Hittite kings had double names like Tudhaliya IV called X-Sharruma in a seal from Ugarit. See FRU IV, 126.

An unexpected offer came to Suppiluliuma around 1355 by the queen of Egypt. Cavaignac says that the queen is Teye wife Eye,<sup>1</sup> but further research has proved that the queen in question was the wife of Tutankhamon and not Eye. Elmer Edel identified in 1948, the name Nibhururias with that of Tutankhamon.<sup>2</sup>

The widow refused to marry an Egyptian commoner<sup>3</sup> and being afraid, asked Suppiluliuma to send a son. From the deeds of Suppiluliuma<sup>4</sup> we know that a winter passed between the first

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<sup>1</sup>E. Cavaignac, Subbiluliuma et son temps, p.70.

<sup>2</sup>E. Edel, "Neue Keilschriftliche Umschreibungen Agyptischer Namen aus den Bogazkoytexten," JNES VII(1948), 14.

Now most scholars agree with this view, mainly Gutterbock, loc.cit; Kitchen, p.22. As to O'Callaghan he agrees with Meyer against Edel that this was a throne name of Amenophis IV. On neutral side stands Wilson, CAE, p.234: "A cuneiform document must be introduced here, although it is not certain whether it belongs after the death of Tutankhamon or after the death of another of the Pharaohs in the Amarna period. Among the archives found at the Hittite capital was a letter from the king Mursili III, telling about previous trouble between the Hittites and Egypt in north Syria. He then relates that the Pharaoh had died and that the widow wrote to Suppiluliuma."

<sup>3</sup>She eventually married her grandfather Eye.

<sup>4</sup>Gutterbock, "The deeds of Suppiluliuma as told by Mursili II," JCS V(1956), col.III, tablet VII.

letter of the Egyptian queen, which Suppiluliuma received during the siege of Carchemish and the arrival in Hattusha of Hattusaziti and Hani, (the two messengers Suppiluliuma had sent to inquire about the truth of the matter). Suppiluliuma decided to send one of his sons to get married to the Egyptian queen, obviously for political reasons and not for pity's sake, but Mursili II wanted to make out of his father a chivalrous figure for he says: "Since my father was kind-hearted, he complied with the word of the woman and concerned himself with the matter of a son."<sup>1</sup>

Unfortunately for the Hittite cause, Suppiluliuma's son was slaughtered on his way to Egypt, most probably by Egyptian fanatics who refused to have on the throne of Egypt, a foreigner, and who called themselves; "the men and horses of Egypt."<sup>2</sup>

After the death of his son at the Egyptian border, Suppiluliuma decided to attack. His son Arnuwandas, acting as co-regent,


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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, fragment E3 24.

<sup>2</sup>CAE, p.234.

led the troops into Syria-Palestine. Marsili II tells us in his annals that Arnuwandas reached Amqi (on the Orontes), and won a battle over the Egyptians.

This is not the first time that Amqi was invaded, many times we hear in the Amarna letters that the Hittites had reached Amqi and destroyed its cities. The first raids on Amqi date to the reign of Amenophis IV, the so-called first Syrian war.<sup>I</sup>

Aharoni defined more closely than other scholars did before him, the limits of the Amqi land by studying the names of the cities that occurred in the Amarna letters: I74, I75 - - Hasabu, Hazi, Esazi - - and he identified Amqi with the southern part of the Beqa',<sup>2</sup> especially since Amqi (  ) means deep, a depression in the land, and the Beqa' is the only depression among a wide range of mountains.

While an army under Arnuwandas was marching into Syria-Palestine, another army led by Sarrikushuh was fighting the Hurrians trying to put Mattiwaza on the Mitanni throne.

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<sup>I</sup>EA I40; I70,16; I74,9; I75,8; I76,8.

<sup>2</sup>Y.Aharoni, "The land of Amqi," Israeli Exploration Journal III(1953), 153.

At this point, Suppiluliuma heard that Gasga were invading the Hittite territory at Pala.<sup>I</sup> Suppiluliuma sent Hatubiyanza his faithful general to fight the Gasga who stayed there for twenty years, but he eventually decided to go himself; he left Syria and was never to see it again.

The country Tumanna was invaded and it was while fighting there that Suppiluliuma died in 1340 B.C.

After the death of Suppiluliuma things were never the same again in the political picture of the ancient Near East. Suppiluliuma was a great politician who had brought an era of internationalism and who knew how to profit from the smallest occasions, always trying to storm a place and take it while still keeping his diplomatic relations with it. He also knew how to profit from the dissensions among the petty princes of Syria and use one against the other so that all the conquered territory of Egypt fell into chaos.

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<sup>I</sup>The Gasga were barbaric tribes that kept invading the Hittite empire and its capital Hattusha from the north. The Hittite kings had to fight them continuously. Pala is north-east of Hatti. For its exact location see, J.Garstang and O.R.Gurney, The Geography of the Hittite Empire, (London: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 1959), pp.22-31.

The successors of Suppiluliuma tried to follow his policy, but the greatness of the empire would never come back again, and it would grow weaker and weaker with each Hittite king.

### CHAPTER THREE

#### CONTINUATION OF THE POLICY BEGUN BY SUPPILULIUMA

The chronology of Egypt and Hatti is fairly clear, for lists of kings have been found both in Hatti and Egypt which allow historians to give approximate dates of each reign, at least within the range of ten years.

Unfortunately, no such lists were ever found at Ugarit. The succession of kings starting with Ammistamru I and ending with Ammurapi is established, but the exact date of the reign of the Ugaritic kings is not known.

After the death of Niqmadu II (ca. 1330), confusion spread at Ugarit, for we have two kings succeeding each other: Arkhalbu and Niqmepa with two different policies: a pro-Egyptian policy and a pro-Hittite policy.

With the death of Suppiluliuma many Syrian princes revolted, and sought independence. Arkhalbu must have thought that a pro-Egyptian policy at this time would be more beneficial to Ugarit. Nevertheless, Mursili II turned out to be as determined as his father to keep the Syrian territory under Hittite domination, and Haremhab an energetic general decided to restore order in Egypt, and restrained from any campaigns

into Syria-Palestine.<sup>I</sup>

Ugarit never broke its relations with either camp. Its kings always wished to maintain good relations with Egypt, not because they preferred Egypt over Hatti, but because they profited commercially. Hatti however, had dominion over the whole of north Syria, and Ugarit could not ignore that fact.

Arkhalbu, son of Niqmadu II, seems to have been the eldest, and thus entitled to become king after his father's death. Nothing is known of Arkhalbu's reign, and his name is mentioned only in some legal texts.<sup>2</sup> Thanks to the support of Mursili II, Niqmepa was able to oust his pro-Egyptian brother, Arkhalbu.<sup>3</sup>

Niqmepa (ca. 1325-1265) saw that his brother's policy was unsuitable to the geographical position of Ugarit, and since

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<sup>I</sup> Drioton and Vandier, L'Egypte, p.402.

<sup>2</sup> PRU III, no. 16.142, p.77; no.15Y, p.78.

<sup>3</sup> Schaeffer, "Les fouilles de Ras-Shamra Ugarit, 15<sup>ème</sup>, 16<sup>ème</sup>, 17<sup>ème</sup> campagnes," Syria XXXI(1954), 41. Schaeffer found the cartouche of Haremhab during this period, at Ugarit.



Mursili II turned out to be as much of a warrior as his father, Niqmepa decided to bring his city back into Hittite vassallage, for this was the only way of saving it.<sup>I</sup>

Both Ammistamru I and Arkhalbu<sup>2</sup> followed a pro-Egyptian policy, which is why we have no diplomatic letters belonging to those two kings among the royal archives. Could it be that the following kings found it wise to destroy such compromising remains?

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<sup>I</sup> PRU IV, no. I7.338, l. I-5, p. 85; Nougayrol, "Les archives internationales d'Ugarit," CRAI (1954), p. 38.

The official treaty between Niqmepa and the Hittite king suggests that Mursili II interfered in favor of Niqmepa and set him on the throne:

Ainsi (parle) le Soleil Mursil, [Grand-roi, roi du Hatti...:]  
En ce qui te concerne, Niqmepa, e[n ton pays, je t'ai  
ramené, et, roi, sur le trône de ton père]  
Je t'ai fait asseoir. Le pays, où, m[oi(?), je t'ai  
ramené, et toi, Niqmepa,]  
avec ton pays, vous êtes mes serviteurs. Ainsi [toi Niqmepa,  
à dater d'aujourd'hui et pour la suite des jours,]  
au roi du Hatti [ton] mait[re, et au Hatti tu seras fidèle...]

<sup>2</sup> PRU IV, 57. The name Arkhalbu is thought to be Hurrian by Nougayrol, and he says that it is the only Hurrian name encountered within the Ugaritic dynasty.

Arnuwandas II, son of Suppiluliuma, ascended the throne around 1340, but he soon fell ill and died.<sup>1</sup> Arnuwandas died during a plague that had broken out toward the end of the reign of Suppiluliuma and killed thousands of people in the Hittite empire. This has been determined by records of Mursili II who composed prayers to the storm-god and other Hattian gods concerning a catastrophic plague which had already lasted for twenty years.

Mursili II inquired as to the reasons which made the gods angry and led them to send a plague. One of the answers was that the Hattians brought Kurushtama-people to Egypt, making an agreement concerning them with the Egyptians. But the Hattians did not keep the oath before the storm-god, for Suppiluliuma sent soldiers to the country Amqi, an Egyptian territory, and brought some Kurushtaman prisoners, thus breaking the oath.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Gurney, The Hittites, p.216.

<sup>2</sup>A.Malamat, "Doctrines of causality in Hittite and Biblical historiography, a parallel," Vetus Testamentum V(1955), 2.

Amenophis III had asked some Kashka people to be sent by the king of Arzawa, as well as by the Hittite king.<sup>1</sup> The people of Kurushtama, a Kashka city, were sent. Later on, when Arnuwandas II was leading Suppiluliuma's troops into north Syria, he found these among the Egyptian troops. He captured them and brought them back to Hatti as prisoners, but as soon as they reached the Hittite country, an epidemic broke out among them and infested the whole Hittite territory.<sup>2</sup>

Mursili II succeeded his brother in 1339 B.C., and ruled for a long period, till 1306. Mursili II said that revolts broke out immediately after the death of Suppiluliuma because the neighbouring countries thought that a great king had died and that nobody could oppose them any longer, especially since Mursili II was still very young:

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<sup>1</sup>EA 41. Suppiluliuma talks about the previous relations with Amenophis III, and historians assume that the agreement on the Kashka was one of them.

<sup>2</sup>A.Goetze, "Plague Prayers," ANET, pp.394-396.

Et les pays voisins et hostiles disaient: Son père, qui était pour nous le roi de Hatti, était un roi vaillant: il infligeait des défaites aux pays ennemis; maintenant il est passé au rang des dieux. Puis son fils qui lui avait succédé sur le trône, celui-là aussi était d'abord un roi puissant; maintenant il est tombé malade, puis il est passé dieu. Et maintenant celui qui est assis sur le trône de son père, celui-là est petit: les confins (?) du pays de Hatti, le pays de Hatti même, il ne le tient (?) pas.<sup>1</sup>

Mursili II followed his father's general policy in Syria, and renewed the treaty with Ugarit. This was not very difficult to achieve since Haremhab was not interested in this part of the world. In fact, very little is recorded of Haremhab's relations with foreigners. The only sources are:

1. A list of names among which Khetā<sup>2</sup> appears.
2. A relief showing Haremhab leading three lines of captives. The captives were dressed as Asiatics.<sup>3</sup>

But this does not mean much, and could be a mere repetition of traditional scenes recorded many times by former kings.

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<sup>1</sup>E. Cavaignac, "Les annales de Mursil II," RA XXVI no. 4, (1929), p. 147; J. Nougayrol, "Les archives internationales d'Ugarit, II," CRAI (1954), pp. 239-253.

<sup>2</sup>Kheta was the Egyptian name for Hatti.

<sup>3</sup>ARE III, 20; Drioton and Vandier, L'Égypte, p. 339.

Nevertheless, Wilson suggests that "from later references, it is clear that there was a formal treaty between Egypt and Hatti along about this time."<sup>I</sup>

It seems that Egypt and Hatti did not come to grips during Haremhab's reign, and Mursili II spent his reign consolidating his father's conquests in north Syria.

Niqmepa received as reward for his loyalty to the Hittites a pledge from Mursili II that the boundaries of Ugarit would be preserved. After the death of Suppiluliuma, Mukish tried to appropriate certain boundary-cities, but Niqmepa immediately complained to Mursili II, and the latter decided that these cities had always belonged to Ugarit:

[Ainsi qu'antérieurement] Suppiluliuma, Grand-roi,  
[roi du Hatti, le héros, ses frontières, avec leurs terres  
et champs,  
[leurs montagnes et] leurs [villes] à Niqmadu  
[roi de l'Ugarit,] les avait attribuées,  
[voici que maintenant] Mursil Grand-roi  
[a Niqmepa roi de l'Ugarit et [à ses fils]

. . . . .

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<sup>I</sup>CAE, p.239, he means the treaty between Ramesses II and the Hittites which mentions a previous treaty.

<sup>2</sup>PRU IV, no.I7.62, l.26'-3I', p.67. Other letters confirm the frontier between Mukish and Ugarit: I7.237, p.63; I7.52, p.65; I7.339, p.67; I7.366, p.69.

Most of the letters bear the name of the cities and mounds situated on the frontier-line between Mukish and Ugarit. This throws some light on the geography of the land, and the extent of the territory of Ugarit, but the exact locations of these cities and mounds, still remain in the realm of speculation.<sup>I</sup>

Another frontier-problem arose with Siyannu. Siyannu was under the supervision of Ugarit, but suddenly it decided to withdraw its allegiance from Ugarit, and to attach itself to the Hittite prince of Carchemish. This upset Ugarit for Siyannu had always been a vassal city and Carchemish was far in the north, not even sharing the same frontier with Siyannu.

It is possible that Mursili II wanted to reorganize northern Syria in such a way so that all the Syrian states

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<sup>I</sup>PRU IV, I4; M.C.Astour, "Place-names from the kingdom of Alalah in the north Syrian list of Thutmose III: A study in historical topography," JNES XXII(1963), 220-241, and more peculiarly, see p.225, no.33, p.231 no.99, p.232 no.102, p.237 no.147.

would refer directly to a Hittite suzerain rather than to a Syrian one.<sup>1</sup>

Again, Niqmepa wrote, but this time Mursili II did not say that Siyannu would have to remain the vassal of Ugarit; instead he delimited the frontiers between the two countries, and settled their quarrels over some salterns:

J'ai [attribué] 1 arpent de saline a Niqmepa, roi de l'Ugarit.  
J'ai [attribué] 1 arpent de saline a Abdianti, roi du Siyannu  
pour le troisième arpent de terre, j'(en) ai attribué  
2/3 au roi de l'Ugarit et 1/3 au roi du Siyannu.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>PRU IV, 80. The letter I7.382+380, l.I0-20 written by Mursili II proves that he had interfered in this affair:

\*Mursil Grand-roi a donc séparé Abdianti roi du Siyannu, et ses fils, du roi de l'Ugarit, et il l'a donné comme "Serviteur" au roi de Carkemis. Siyannu avec ses villes environnantes avec leurs (zones) frontières, leurs montagnes, il les a attribuées par tablette scellée au roi du Carkemis.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, no.I7.335+.379+.38I+.235, p.75.

The secession of both Siyannu and Ushnatu from their union with Ugarit, made the latter hesitate to pay the usual tribute to Hatti. Niqmepa complained to Mursili II saying that he could no longer pay the same amount of money paid by his predecessors because, with the loss of Ushnatu and Siyannu, Ugarit was no longer as wealthy as it used to be. Mursili II seems to have accepted the proposal, and lowered the tribute to 250 shekels; henceforth, Ugarit would pay only as much as Amurru.<sup>I</sup>

Mursili II took great care in working out a detailed treaty between Hatti and Ugarit, in which he asked Niqmepa always to be faithful to the Hittite cause, and to help the Hittite king militarily whenever the latter was fighting the enemy:

[Si le roi du Hatti étant en H]anigalbat, Egypte, [?]  
[Karduniaš] ou Alti, que[lique] p[ays ennemi]  
[qui touche à la frontière de ton pays et est l']enn[emi]  
du roi du Hatti,  
[ou quelque pays qui touche à la frontière de ton pays]  
et est l'a[mi] du roi du Hatti: [Mukiš (?)]  
[Alep, Nuhašše, (mais) fait] volte-face, [se met en  
guerre] contre  
[le roi du Hatti, alors que le roi d]u Hatti est en  
[train d']attaquer (un autre pays),

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<sup>I</sup>PRU IV, no. I7.382+380, p.80; Plate III, fig.2.



[Si, par tes soldats et tes chars et en ton coeur tu  
n'es pas f[ide]le ...<sup>1</sup>

If the king of Ugarit did not help the king of Hatti when the latter was attacked from the rear while fighting another country, then all the gods would curse Niqmepa.

To complete his arrangements in Syria, Mursili II signed a treaty with Tuppi-Teshub, king of Amurru.<sup>2</sup> Mursili II was afraid that Tuppi-Teshub would ally himself with Egypt. He reminded him of his grandfather Aziru and how the latter had allied himself with the Hittites. But since Amurru was vacillating between Hittite and Egyptian influence,<sup>3</sup> Mursili II had a threatening tone in the treaty:

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<sup>1</sup> PRU IV, no. I7.407, l. I3'-I9', p. 9I. Hanigalbat=Mitanni, Karduniash=Babylon.

<sup>2</sup> J. Pirenne, "La politique d'expansion hittite envisagée a travers les traités de vassalité et de protectorat," *Ar.Or.* no. I-2 XVIII (1950), p. 376; PRU III, I86.

<sup>3</sup> By the end of Mursili II's reign, Egypt was pacified enough internally to start reclaiming her lost territory under Seti I. Mursili must have felt this, hence his threatening tone.

The tribute which was imposed upon your grandfather and upon your father, they presented 300 shekels of good, refined, first-class gold weighed with standard weights - you shall present them likewise. Do not turn your eyes to anyone else! Your fathers<sup>1</sup> presented tribute to Egypt; (you shall not do that!).

During Mursili's reign, part of the palace of Ugarit was destroyed. Among the ashes covering the royal court was found the seal of Mursili.<sup>2</sup>

Usually the treaties between Niqmepa and Mursili II bore the seal of the latter: "Sceau de Mursili, Grand-roi, roi du Hatti, héros, favori de Muwatalla, fils de Suppiluliuma, Grand-roi, roi du Hatti, héros."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>A. Goetze, "Treaty between Mursili and Duppi-Teshub of Amarru," ANET, pp. 203-204.

<sup>2</sup>Schaeffer, "Fouilles à Ras Shamra-Ugarit, 1951," CRAI (1952), p. 237. He dates the layer according to the seal, thus, to the reign of Mursili II. He is wrong because the seal turned out to be that of Mursili III and not Mursili II as we will see below. Hence, the palace was destroyed during Mursili III's reign (1282-1275) who was also contemporary with Niqmepa.

<sup>3</sup>Ugaritica III, 8; Cavaignac, Le problème hittite, pp. 50, 63.

How did the seal of the king of Hatti happen to be lost at Ugarit? No one has yet suggested an answer.

The seal was thought at first to belong to Mursili II, but a closer study by Gutterböck showed that the seal belonged to Mursili III and not Mursili II. The cuneiform inscription is read as "Mursili, son of Suppiluliuma," but the same signs, as it is now known, were used by Urhi-Teshub, grand-son of Mursili II.<sup>1</sup>

Gutterböck was fortunate in finding another seal at Boghazköy, this time with the complete genealogy: "Son of Muwatallu, Grand-son of Mursili, great-grandson of Suppiluliuma." Only Urhi-Teshub fits in this line, for he was the only son of Muwatallu who ascended the throne.<sup>2</sup> Urhi-Teshub then, used the same hieroglyphs as Mursili II, in order to ascertain his royal descent.

Mursili III was always named Urhi-Teshub in the cuneiform texts because they were written by Hattusili III who had

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<sup>1</sup>Ugaritica III, I6I.

<sup>2</sup>loc.cit.

usurped the throne from Urhi-Teshub, and did not want to mention the king except by his Hurrian name: Urhi-Teshub.<sup>I</sup>

Niqmepa survived Mursili II's reign, that of his son Muwatallu, and his grandson Urhi-Teshub, to die at the beginning of the reign of Hattusili III.

We have the correspondance between Niqmepa and Hattusili III, and it deals with an economic rather than a political problem: The merchants of Ura, a neighbouring city wanted to trade at Ugarit, but they were opposed by the merchants of Ugarit. Hattusili III decided that the merchants of Ura would trade during the summer when business is prosperous, but they would have to go back home during the winter, and they would not be allowed to buy any Ugaritic property:

Les fils de Ura, a la bonne saison,  
en Ugarit qu'ils exercent

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<sup>I</sup>Of Muwatallu and Urhi-Teshub no records were left at Ugarit, except for one commercial settlement. See Schaeffer, Ugaritica III, no.I7.346, p.28.

Muwatallu ruled from 1306 to 1282, and Urhi-Teshub from 1282 to 1275. Gurney, The Hittites, p.216.

Plate III, fig.3.

leur commerce, mais que, l'hiver  
venu de l'Ugarit  
on les renvoie dans leur pays.<sup>1</sup>

Another problem raised by Niqmepa is that many of his citizens were running away to join the Habiru,<sup>2</sup> so Niqmepa asked the help of Hattusili III who promised to return all the men from Ugarit who had joined the Habiru in his territory.

By the time of Hattusili III, many changes in the political scene had taken place. In 1302 B.C. Seti I ascended the throne of Egypt, after Ramesses I who ruled for only two years and who began the XIXth dynasty.<sup>3</sup> Seti I was an ambitious king who wanted to recapture the Asiatic empire. In his first year, he set out for Palestine, was successful in his war, and reached Harran.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>PRU IV, no.17.130, l.11-15, p.103; C.Gordon, "Abraham and the merchants of Ura," JNES XVII(1958), 28-31; Plate IV, fig.2.

<sup>2</sup>PRU IV, no.17.238, p.107. This is the first time that the Habiru are mentioned at Ugarit. For a fuller discussion of the Habiru see M.Greenberg, The Hap/biru, p.53; Virolleaud, Syria XXI(1940), 123.

<sup>3</sup>CAE, p.320.

<sup>4</sup>Drioton and Vandier, L'Egypte, p.403-4; ARE III, 39.

In the following years, Seti I undertook campaigns into Syria, and went as far as Simyra and Ullaza. He followed the same strategy as that of Thutmosis III. First, he conquered the Canaanite coast to assure that the reinforcements sent from Egypt would at least reach him by sea if not by land. Then, he fought his way into the interior, and very soon he found himself fighting the Hittites at Qadesh on the Orontes.<sup>1</sup> On the Karnak reliefs, we see the king carrying away captives:

Chiefs of the countries which knew not Egypt, which his majesty carried away, from his victories in the country of Retenu, the wretched. They say, in magnifying his majesty, in acclaiming his victories: "Hail to thee! How great is thy name, how mighty thy power! The countries rejoice to be subject to thee, and they that transgress thy boundary are bound. By thy Ka! We knew not Egypt, nor had our father trodden it. Give to us the breath that thou givest."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>CAE, p.240; ARE III, 71; M.Pézard, "Mission archéologique a tell Mend (1921)," *Syria*, III(1922), 108. At the tell was found the stele of Seti I, but no details of the conflict between the Hittites and Egyptians are known to us.

<sup>2</sup>ARE III, 53.

The Hittite spoil and the prisoners were presented to Amon, and then slain before him. But a more careful list of Seti's conquests was presented in his temple, at Karnak, with, among others, the following names: "The Nine Bows; Kheta; Naharin; Alasa; Akko; Simyra."<sup>I</sup>

Yet the conquests of Seti I were not thorough enough, for the Hittites were still strong and held north Syria in check, and Ramesses II, son and successor of Seti I had to spend his life fighting the Hittites.

Although the name of Ramesses II is not mentioned in the Ugaritic records found so far, Ramesses was campaigning almost continuously in Syria. He started by conquering Palestine and the Phoenician coast as far as Beirut, then

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<sup>I</sup>The Egyptian kings always liked to exaggerate so that their accounts cannot be trusted. Seti I followed this tradition and listed the whole of Kheta as conquered territory! Hatti proper was never conquered by any Egyptian army. Moreover, Alasa (Cyprus) could not have been taken by Seti I, but rather offered gifts to him, as she always did with the other Pharaohs.

went into Syria and clashed with the Hittites led by Muwatallu, at Qadesh on the Orontes, around 1285 B.C. Ramesses II took great care in describing the battle of Qadesh as a smashing victory over the Hittites! It is one of the very rare battles described so fully and in such detail in the records of the ancient Near East.

The following records were left by Ramesses II on the battle:

The literary record: The so-called 'Poem'.

The pictorial record: The so-called 'Report',

The legends accompanying the reliefs.<sup>I</sup>

When he translated these texts, Breasted did not recognize Ugarit as one of the enemy cities that gave troops and weapons to Muwatallu and joined the Hittite coalition.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>I</sup>A. Gardiner, The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II, (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1960), pp. I-6.

<sup>2</sup>ARE III, 138.



And they said to His Majesty: "See, the wretched Chief of Khatti is come together with the many foreign countries who are with him, whom he has brought with him as allies, the land of Dardany, the land of Nahrin, that of Keshkesh, those of Masa, those of Pidasas, the land of Karkisha and Luka, the land of Carchemish, the land of Arzawa, the land of Ugarit, that of Arwen (?), the land of Inesa, Mushanet, Kadesh, Khaleb, and the entire land of Kedy."<sup>1</sup>

Though Ramesses II, according to his own records, won a smashing victory, the fighting was not easy!

He (presumably Muwatallu) left no foreign country not to bring it of every distant land, their chiefs there with him; every man with his infantry and their chariotry exceeding many, without limit of the like of them. They covered mountains and valleys,<sup>2</sup> and they were like locust by reason of their multitude.

Despite the convincing tone of Ramesses II, it is now known that the Hittites won at the battle of Qadesh.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>A.Gardiner, The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II, p.29.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, p.8.

<sup>3</sup>Gurney, The Hittites, p.35; J.Macqueen, Babylon, p.II0.  
After the battle of Qadesh the Hittites were able to gain more territory and reached the city Abina, near Damascus.

Ramesses II covered the defeat by relating the story of his miraculous escape from death, for he and his troops fell into a Hittite ambush,<sup>1</sup> and were on the point of being slaughtered. Like Seti I, Ramesses II carved a relief at Karnak showing him bringing captives after the battle. The inscription below the relief says:

Receiving the captives brought by His Majesty from the victories of his strong arm in this wretched land of Khatti and this wretched land of Nahrin together with the chiefs of all the foreign lands who came with the fallen one of Khatti, being living prisoners.<sup>2</sup>

Shortly after the battle of Qadesh, Muwatallu died. Urhi-Teshub succeeded his father as Mursili III, but his uncle Hattusili III, who felt he was more capable of ruling than Urhi-Teshub, made a coup and sent Urhi-Teshub to Nuhasse as a place for his exile.

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<sup>1</sup>CAE, p.244.

<sup>2</sup>A.Gardiner, The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II, p.43.

With Hattusili III began a period of peace and prosperity. He ruled for twenty five years, from 1275 to 1250 B.C.<sup>1</sup>

Five years after his accession, negotiations started for a peace between Egypt and Hatti. What had happened 200 years before between Egypt and Mitanni was now repeated between Egypt and Hatti. A similar situation had developed in both cases.

Mitanni and Egypt were bitter enemies, and fought each other continuously, but with Hatti expanding into north Syria, both were frightened and joined hands against Hatti. Egypt and Hatti then started fighting over Syria. They were never so quarrelsome as under Ramesses II and Muwatallu, so why should they make peace, hardly fifteen years after the battle of Qadesh?

At his accession, Hattusili III was still afraid of Egypt for he signed a treaty with the king of Babylon, Kadashman-turgu, and asked him to support him militarily against Egypt.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Gurney, The Hittites, p.216.

<sup>2</sup>Macqueen, Babylon, p.110.

Who could have threatened the existence of both Egypt and Hatti?

After the collapse of the Mitanni empire, Suppiluliuma was able to control northern Mesopotamia. Assyria and Babylon were not important enough, at that time, to cause trouble on an international scale. Moreover, they were busy fighting each other.<sup>1</sup>

But Assyria managed to grow in military power, and Adad-Nirari was able to enter Syria and capture Carchemish,<sup>2</sup> the Hittite stronghold in northern Syria.

Up till now, Hanigalbat had played the role of a buffer-state between Hatti and Assyria, but Adad-Nirari upset the balance, so that the Hittite frontiers came in contact with the Assyrian frontiers. Adad-Nirari killed Washashatta, the king of Hanigalbat, took that region and asked the friendship of Hattusili III, but the latter refused to give it to Adad-Nirari.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

The success of Assyria came as a shock to both Egypt and Hatti who thought that their power was unchallenged. So, they hastened to sign a treaty between them: "It has been long evident that the rise to power of Assyria constitutes a plausible motive for the treaty."<sup>1</sup>

Another possible danger that could have compelled Egypt to sign the treaty was the Sea Peoples. Some of the tribes appeared with the Hittites at the battle of Qadesh, such as the Lukkash, Keshkesh and Meshwesh who dwelt in Asia Minor and Ramesses II was appalled by their number and strength.

The treaty was signed in 1269 B.C.<sup>2</sup> In Egypt, it was recorded on the walls of the temples, with the date of the treaty, the twenty-first year of Ramesses II's reign.

Fortunately we have both the hieroglyphic and the cuneiform versions of the treaty.<sup>3</sup> Each version begins by saying that

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<sup>1</sup>M.B.Rowton, "The background of the treaty between Rameses II and Hattusil III," JCS XIII(1959), I.

<sup>2</sup>Gurney, The Hittites, p.36. But Wilson, CAE, p.248 says that the treaty was signed around 1280 B.C. This is due to variant chronologies for the period.

<sup>3</sup>Langdon and Gardiner, "The treaty of alliance between Hattusili, king of the Hittites, and the Pharaoh Ramses II of Egypt," JEA VI(1920), 179-205.

the other side made the first move. In the Hittite version, Hattusili III said that Ramesses II sent envoys to suggest a treaty between the two powers. In the Egyptian version, however, it was Hattusili who had sent two messengers and asked for "peace and brotherhood."<sup>1</sup>

Now at the beginning, since eternity, the relations of the great ruler of Egypt with great chief of Kheta were such that the god prevented hostilities between them, by treaty. Whereas in the time of Metalla the great chief of Kheta, my brother, he fought with Ramses II, the great ruler of Egypt; yet, afterward, beginning with this day, behold, Khetasa the great chief of Kheta, is in a treaty relation for establishing the relations which the Re made, and which Sutekh made, for the land of Egypt with the land of Kheta, in order not to permit hostilities to arise between them, forever.

But the important clause in this treaty is the mutual defensive alliance.<sup>2</sup> This shows that Egypt and Hatti were afraid of a common enemy. For if not, they would not have been interested in stressing this point.

The treaty did not specify the boundaries between Hatti and Egypt in Syria. The reason is obvious. Any attempt to put down

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<sup>1</sup>ARE III, 167.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, p.169.

in writing the specific cities that belong to one party or the other would mean that the treaty would never be concluded. And since it was badly needed to stop Assyria, nothing concerning boundaries was ever mentioned. But one could guess that Egypt kept what it had conquered, and Hatti kept what Suppiluliuma had won in his wars. In general, Egypt took Palestine and southern Phoenicia as far as Byblos, and Hatti took it for granted that northern and central Syria belonged to her.

As was the case with Mitanni, so it was with Hatti. A marriage took place:

To delight the heart of his majesty, saying: Behold the great chief of Kheta comes, bringing his eldest daughter, bearing much tribute, being everything . . . The chief of Kheta, together with chief of (Kode and people) of Kheta, are bringing them.<sup>1</sup>

The treaty was kept faithfully and peace was restored in Syria, so that Ramesses II could boast: "If a man or woman

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, p.184.

proceeded on their mission to Djahi (Phoenicia), they could reach the land of Hatti without fear around about their hearts because of the greatness of the victories of his majesty."<sup>1</sup>

After his marriage to the Hittite princess, Ramesses II was to live yet for another twenty-two years,<sup>2</sup> no longer as a fighter, but as a victorious Pharaoh enjoying the peace and prosperity he brought about.

Ugarit did not suffer from this treaty, and was happy to resume freely her commercial intercourse with Egypt. Maimi, a royal Egyptian scribe whose stele was found in the ruins of the temple of Baal, proves that after Qadesh, Ugarit was very eager to renew its relations with Egypt.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>CAE, p.251.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, p.252.

<sup>3</sup>Schaeffer, "Les fouilles de Ras Shamra, 10eme, 11eme campagnes," Syria XI(1939), 287; Ugaritica I, 39.

At this early date, Schaeffer believed that the cartouche of Ramesses II and stele of Maimi found at Ugarit, are evidence that the Hittites lost the battle of Qadesh, and that the account of the battle at Karnak was true. But there is nothing proving that Maimi and the cartouche came after the treaty or after the battle of Qadesh. Most probably, relations between Ugarit and Egypt were resumed after the treaty, not after the battle. Most scholars now agree that the Hittites won at Qadesh, not the Egyptians.



After the Egyptian-Hittite treaty, Ugarit entered its last stage of peace and prosperity.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### UGARIT AFTER THE PEACE-TREATY: 1270-1200 B.C.

Hattusili III's reign extended into that of Ammistamru II, son and successor of Niqmepa.<sup>1</sup> Then his wife Puduhepa became regent after the death of her husband Hattusili III for Tudhaliya IV was very young when he ascended the throne. A letter bearing the seal of Puduhepa was sent to Ammistamru II. The letter settled the question of a ship that had sunk in Ugaritic waters. The owner of the ship, a foreigner, had accused the men of Ugarit of sinking his ship.<sup>2</sup> In order to discover the culprit, the king of Hatti asked the men of

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<sup>1</sup>It seems that Ahat-Milku, mother of Ammistamru II, became regent for a time, after the death of her husband. Her seal was found on a letter, as queen of Ugarit. PRU III, no. I6.I97, p.150; I6.I46+.I6I, p.182; Nougayrol, "Nouvelles tablettes accadiennes de Ras Shamra, 16<sup>ème</sup> campagne, 1952," CRAI (1953) p.45; Schaeffer, "Les fouilles de Ras Shamra-Ugarit, 15<sup>ème</sup>, 16<sup>ème</sup>, 17<sup>ème</sup> campagnes," Syria XXXI(1954), 37-38.

<sup>2</sup>PRU IV, no.17.I33, p.118.

Ugarit to swear that they were innocent; thus the owner of the ship would have to withdraw his complaint.<sup>1</sup>

After the death of Hattusili III and the accession of Tudhaliya IV (I250-I220)<sup>2</sup>, some members of the royal family at Ugarit plotted against Ammistanru II.

Ahat-Milku, mother of Ammistanru II, had married Niqmepa toward the end of Mursili II's reign, and seems to have been an Amurru princess, the daughter of Du-Teshub.<sup>3</sup> She wanted her youngest son, Ammistanru II to succeed his father after the latter's death. She defended his rights valliantly and successfully, but she had to wait for a long time because Niqmepa's reign was far from being short.

After Ammistanru II ascended the throne (ca. I260-I230), two of his brothers decided to dispose of him. The plot was discovered and the two brothers were sent to Alasia. There,

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<sup>1</sup> Sukku, the owner of the ship could very well be a Hittite merchant whose ship has sunk. At least, this is what Nougayrol suggests. PRU IV, I18.

<sup>2</sup> Gurney, The Hittites, p.216.

<sup>3</sup> PRU III, I82.

they had to swear before the deity Ishtar-of-the-Steppe that they renounce their claims to the Ugaritic throne.

Both Ini-Teshub of Carchemish and Tudhaliya IV condemned the two brothers:

Hišmišarruma et ARAD-Šarruma  
à l'égard de Ammistamru, roi de l'Ugarit  
ont commis une faute. Dame Ahat-Milku, leur mère,  
reine de l'Ugarit, leur ayant donné  
leurs parts d'argent et d'or,  
de mobilier et de toute (autre) chose,  
en Alasia  
les a amenés,  
et devant l'Ishtar-de-la-Steppe elle a instauré<sup>I</sup>  
un serment (d'accord), entre eux (et Ammistamru).<sup>I</sup>

Another problem soon broke out at the royal court of Ugarit. Ammistamru II had to divorce his wife, an Amorite princess, and daughter of king Bentesina. The sons of the Amorite princess had to take sides, and should any of them choose to follow his mother, he had to renounce all his claims to the throne.

Tudhaliya IV wanted to make sure that no prince influenced by the political views of the princess of Amurru should

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<sup>I</sup>PRU IV, no. I7.352, p. I2I; no. I7.35; I7.362; I7.367, pp. I23-  
I24.

ascend the throne of Ugarit. The reason for this is that Bentesina, king of Amurru, had defected to the Egyptian side at the battle of Qadesh in 1285.<sup>1</sup> Hattusili III was willing to forgive Bebtessina, but not so Tudhaliya IV who was afraid that a pro-Egyptian princess might influence the king of Ugarit, disturbing the whole political balance in northern Syria!

Schaeffer believes that after the battle of Qadesh, Muwatallu took Bentesina with him back to Boghazkoy, so as to secure Amurru. The latter must have stayed there till his death for he sent a letter during his exile to Ammistamru II who had inquired about his health: "Aux pieds de mon maitre, je tombe. Puisque le roi mon maitre, s'est enquis de mes nouvelles, mon maitre, quant a moi je vais bien."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>PRU IV, 125.

<sup>2</sup>Ugaritica IV, 65. Bentesina would not talk in such a humiliating tone if he were not in exile, and in an inferior position to that of the king of Ugarit.

The life-history of Bentesina is very complicated and historians do not agree on this issue, for while Schaeffer believes that Bentesina was exiled into Hatti by Muwatallu, Ibid, Nougayrol restrains from any comments on the subject except to say that Bentesina sided with the Egyptians at the battle of Qadesh. PRU IV, 125.

That Hattusili III forgave a former enemy is not exceptional. He had signed a treaty with Ramesses II and Syria was pacified, but with Tudhaliya IV matters started getting worse especially on the Assyrian front as will be seen later on. Also, the Syrian states were growing more independent so that the Hittites could not control them as thoroughly as they would have liked. Briefly, Tudhaliya IV made Ammistamru II divorce his wife on the grounds that she was hurting Ammistamru II:

Devant mon Soleil  
Tudhaliya Grand-roi  
roi du Hatti. Ammistamru,  
roi de l'Ugarit avait pris  
pour femme la fille de Bentesina,  
roi de l'Amurru: A l'égard de Ammistamru  
elle n'a cherché qu'a lui faire du mal.  
Ammistamru, roi de l'Ugarit  
a (donc) répudié  
la fille de Bentesina,  
pour toujours.<sup>I</sup>

If her son who had left with her ever came back to Ugarit after his father's death, he would be banished, and Tudhaliya IV would name a king for Ugarit from among the sons of Ammistamru II:

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<sup>I</sup>PRU IV, no.I7.I59, p.I26.

. . . . . Si  
[Ammistam]ru étant allé  
à son destin, Utrišarruma  
prend sa mère (avec lui)  
en Ugarit, et  
comme rein (-mère)  
la rétablit, que Utrišarruma  
pose sa tenue sur le trône  
et qu'il aille ou il lui plaira!  
C'est alors Mon Soleil qui nommera  
un autre fils de Ammistamru  
comme roi en Ugarit.

The picture is complicated further, because some of the tablets bear the name "Daughter of the Great-Lady" and others have "Daughter of Bentesina", and one wonders whether they are one and the same person, for one of them seems to have come back to Ugarit and the other was killed. Did the same princess, threatened, come back repentant, or was she killed, and after her death, Ammistamru II married her sister<sup>2</sup>?

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Ugaritica III, 3I, Schaeffer believes that both are the same person, and that the princess was called "fille de Bentesina" during her father's lifetime, then after his death "fille de la Grande-dame". He also suspects that her name was Ahat-Milku, thus making of this queen the wife of Ammistamru II, instead of his mother! On the other hand Nougayrol separates the two affairs: "The Daughter of Bentesina" was divorced without grave consequences, while the "Daughter of the Great Lady" had a tragic end. Nougayrol insists on separating the two ladies because there is not enough evidence to prove that both were the same person. PRU IV, 131.

Shausgamuwa, the brother of the guilty princess, hid her after she had run away from her husband's house. Then the prince of Amurru tried to appease Ammistamru II but to no avail.<sup>I</sup> Ammistamru II was set on punishing his wife for the grave mistake she had committed.

Shausgamuwa wrote to Ammistamru II and told him that as a solution, he would keep his sister in Amurru and the king would never see her again, but Ammistamru II was not satisfied with this proposition and decided to kidnap his wife. Shausgamuwa heard of the plot, and asked Ammistamru II to stop it immediately if he did not want to pay heavy amends for interfering into the affairs of Amurru.

Shausgamuwa tried to defend his sister at all costs, and he would have succeeded were it not for Tudhaliya IV who stood firmly by the side of Ammistamru II:

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<sup>I</sup>  
PRU IV, no. I7.II6, p. I33.



[Si] Ša[us]gamuw[a, fils de Bentesina, roi de l'Amurru,]  
fait violence à Amm[istamru], fi[ls de] Ni[qmepa,]  
[roi] de l'Ugarit, ou fait violence  
aux bateaux et aux soldats qui iront  
faire disparaître la fille de la Grande-dame,  
le Ciel et la Terre le connaîtront.<sup>1</sup>

That is, the Hittites would know about it and would surely  
send their troops against the territory of Amurru! At this  
threat Shausgamuwa could not but reply:

Prends-la et fais en  
ce qu'il te plait!  
Si cela te plait, tue-la!  
Si cela te plait,  
jette-la à la mer.  
Ou bien fais (toute autre chose) qu'il te plait de la<sup>2</sup> fille  
de la Grande-dame!<sup>2</sup>

Shausgamuwa found it wiser to sacrifice his siter and save  
his country. Nevertheless, Ammistamru II was compelled to pay  
1400 shekels of gold,<sup>3</sup> to Shausgamuwa as compensation. There-

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<sup>1</sup>PRU IV, no. I8.06+I7.365, p. I37; *Ugaritica* III, 30; Nougayrol  
"Nouveaux textes accadiens du palais d'Ugarit, 1954," *CRAI*  
(1955), p. I43.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.* no. I7.228, p. I42; Nougayrol, "Les archives internationales  
d'Ugarit, II," *CRAI* (1954), p. 243.

<sup>3</sup>Nougayrol, "Nouveaux textes accadiens du palais d'Ugarit,  
1954," *CRAI* (1955), p. I43.

upon, he killed his wife mercilessly. The sum of money is enormous and one wonders why Ammistamru II went through all this just to kill his wife. What crime did she commit so that only death could wipe it away? Tudhaliya IV declared that Shausgamuwa would never raise the question of the death of his sister to Ammistamru II or his descendants.

Most probably, the crime committed by the wife of Ammistamru II is political. She was an Amurru princess and Amurru seems to have taken a pro-Egyptian attitude after the peace-treaty, that is why Tudhaliya IV insisted on the death of this princess.

The intervention of Tudhaliya IV in favor of Ugarit is a sign that this city was far more important than the other Syrian states. This view is supported by further evidence: Ugarit asked Tudhaliya IV to relieve her from her military duties concerning Assyria, and Tudhaliya had to accept. Ugarit must have grown stronger and more independent after the treaty with Egypt so that it could dictate its own terms to Hatti with no fear of reprisal:

[Devant] Initešub, roi de Carkemiš,  
[fils de Šahurumuwa,] aussi roi de Carkemiš,

[Mon Soleil Tudhal]iya Grand-roi, roi du Hatti,  
a libéré [Ammistamru, roi de l']Ugarit,  
[avec (?) ses soldats et de ses chars]  
[Jusqu'a ce que la guerre d'As]syrie soit terminée.<sup>I</sup>

Ugarit was not in any economic difficulties so as to be relieved from this burden, and instead of the troops it sent, Ugarit was required to pay 50 minas of gold, four times more than the amount Niqmadu II had paid to Suppiluliuma.<sup>2</sup>

Ammistamru II made sure that Hatti would not take revenge later on, for the tablet signed by Tudhaliya IV states that the matter was closed, and Ugarit would not be punished even if peace was made with Assyria.

It is important to note that the Assyrian threat was not very serious at the time, and for that reason Tudhaliya IV agreed on relieving Ugarit. Initeshub, king of Carchemish,<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>I</sup>PRU IV, no.17.59, l.16, pp.150-1; Nougayrol, "Les archives internationales d'Ugarit, II," URAI (1954), p.243.

<sup>2</sup>This amount of money is much compared with what Niqmadu II paid but it could be due to inflation at Ugarit, the value of the money being no longer the same; the 50 minas could be approximately the same value as the 12 minas paid by Niqmadu II.

<sup>3</sup>Plate III, fig.4.

agreed with him. But Initeshub would not have agreed if he had felt any serious threat to Carchemish or Syria on the whole, and would have insisted on getting troops from Ugarit.

If Ugarit was able to prosper during this period, was the case similar with the whole of north Syria? What was the situation like in Syria, at the time of Ammistamru II?

Now that the Hittites and the Egyptians had made peace with each other, the Syrian states started plotting among themselves. Amurru as we have seen, took a pro-Egyptian attitude, and Tudhaliya IV was afraid that the wife of Ammistamru II would convince him to side with Amurru. The fear of Tudhaliya IV of the defection of Ugarit could be a reason why he suddenly became lenient and granted the wish of Ugarit not to contribute in the warfare against Assyria.

On the other hand, Carchemish was pro-Hittite; in fact its kings were all descendants of Suppiluliuma.<sup>I</sup> Moreover, its

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geographical position dictated such a policy. Carchemish was too near the Hittite territory to think of anything else except being a Hittite stronghold. Also, Carchemish was threatened by Assyria and needed the help of a great power such as Hatti. That is why Carchemish remained faithful to the Hittite cause till the end.

Because of the divergent interests of the Syrian states, each city started watching the other closely; spies were sent, and officials were bribed and urged to leave the court of their masters.<sup>I</sup>

The seal of Tudhaliya IV<sup>2</sup> was found at Ugarit and with it we come back to the imposing seals of the great Hittite kings. This type of seal is lacking at Ugarit for the period following the death of Mursili II. On the seal is a cuneiform inscription reading: "Sceau de Tudhaliya, Grand-roi, héros,

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<sup>I</sup>Ugaritica III, 40; PRU III, III.

<sup>2</sup>Plate IV, fig.I.

fils de Hattusili, Grand-roi, héros, et de Puduhepa, Grande-reine du Hatti, petit-fils de Mursili, Grand-roi, héros."<sup>1</sup>

Standing beside Tudhaliya IV is the god Muwatalla who wears a tiara like the king, but whose figure is much taller. Facing the king and the god is a goddess.<sup>2</sup>

Another Hittite seal was found at Ras Shamra. The seal was well polished and great care was taken in engraving it. This only reflects the importance of the owner of the seal, Tabrammi, since he was not a member of the royal Hittite family, and since his name has survived among the rare hieroglyphic documents at Boghazkoy.<sup>3</sup>

Tabrammi was an official at the Hittite court who states that he had given back to the queen of Ugarit, for 70 shekels, a Ugaritic servant who had been working for him.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ugaritica III, I9.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>All these Hittite seals found at Ugarit show that the relations with Boghazkoy were never broken, and intensive diplomatic relations were undertaken.

<sup>4</sup>PRU IV, no.I7.23I, p.238.

Nougayrol did not date this letter, and did not even attempt to explain who Tabrammi was. But Laroche discovered that Tabrammi was contemporary to Ini-Teshub, therefore also contemporary to Tudhaliya IV and Ammistamru II:

Devant Initešub, roi du Carkemiš,  
Tabrammi et le roi de l'Ugarit  
ont comparu en jugement au sujet de la "maison" de Šakianu.<sup>I</sup>

With Tudhaliya IV, the great seals of Hatti reappear at Ugarit, but it is also during his reign that the series of documents bearing the royal Hittite seals came to an end at Ugarit. So far, no documents belonging either to Arnuwandas III or Suppiluliuma II have been found. This is not strange since Arnuwandas III and Suppiluliuma II were busy fighting the first waves of the Sea Peoples, and could not pay much attention to their Syrian territory.<sup>2</sup> Already,

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<sup>I</sup>Ugaritica III, I5I, where Laroche believes that the two Tabrammis are the same person.

<sup>2</sup>V.R.d'A.Desborough, The Last Mycenaean and their Successors, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), p.249.



just before the death of Tudhaliya IV, the king of Ahhiyawa (Achaea) had invaded the Hittite western territory, and had taken Arzawa.<sup>I</sup>

Trouble from the West began to be felt in the East, and soon Hatti found herself cornered, and surrounded by enemies from all sides: Assyria in the south, barbarian tribes in the north, and the Sea Peoples coming from the west.

Despite all the plots that were aimed at killing Ammistamru II during his reign and replacing him, he was able to secure the throne and pass it to his son Ibiranu. Unfortunately, not much is known about the history of Ugarit during Ibiranu's reign or those of Niqmadu III and Ammurapi. The same can be said of Hatti where Arnuwandas III, then his brother Suppiluliuma II, succeeded their father around 1220 B.C.<sup>2</sup>

Even worse is the fact that historians are unable to draw a synchronistic table at this point. Merneptah started to

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<sup>I</sup>Gurney, The Hittites, p.38. The name of the king of Ahhiyawa is not mentioned.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, p.216.

rule four years before the reign of Tudhaliya IV, and his reign also extended into that of Arnuwandas III. Then, after the death of Merneptah, four or five kings succeeded him before the coming of a Syrian Interrnum between the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties.<sup>I</sup> Who was ruling at Ugarit, at the time, and where do Ibiranu and Niqmadu III fit?

Already before the end the picture starts blurring. The peace at Ugarit was upset by the fact that Egypt and Hatti were disturbed, for Ugarit depended commercially on these two powers.

Most of the documents bearing Ibiranu's seal are economic. Two letters only bear any political significance.

One came from Pihawalwi, the royal Hittite prince who was furious because Ibiranu did not send gifts at his accession to the throne as was the custom of the time:

Maintenant, voici que  
sur cette affaire

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<sup>I</sup>CAE, p.320.

Mon Soleil  
est fort irrité.  
Envoie donc  
en toute hâte des messagers  
auprès de Mon Soleil et fais porter ici  
les présents du roi,<sup>1</sup>  
avec mes présents.

Another letter came from the prince of Carchemish, who was also angry with Ibiranu because he did not send troops to Hatti.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the king of Carchemish asked him to receive well a Hittite prince who would stay at Ugarit:

Si tu  
ne le connais pas,  
(voici) c'est le frère  
de Upparmuwa, c'est  
le fils du Roi.  
Ainsi, tâche de lui procurer  
de bonne façon  
ce qui lui revient.<sup>3</sup>

This is all that is known from the reign of Ibiranu, and not much is known concerning his successors Niqmadu III and

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<sup>1</sup>PRU IV, no. I7.247, p. I91.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. no. I7.289, p. I92.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid. no. I7.423, p. I93.

Ammurapi. It was not until recently that Niqmadu III was recognized as king of Ugarit and son of Ibiranu for his name appears only in two legal documents.<sup>1</sup>

The legal document, no.18.02, bears the seal of the priest Kiliija. The inscription was written in Hittite hieroglyphs: "Seal of Kiliija, priest of Ishtar of Zinzara."<sup>2</sup>

After Niqmadu III ruled, supposedly for a brief time, Ammurapi succeeded him (ca.1220). It has been suggested by Nougayrol that Ammurapi's reign, the last king of Ugarit, came to an end at the beginning of Merneptah's reign, but this conclusion can be questioned.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>PRU IV, no.18.02 and 18.20, pp.201-2.

<sup>2</sup>*Ugaritica* III, 47. On Zinzara see M.C.Astour, "Place-names from the kingdom of Alalah in the north Syrian list of Thutmose III: A study in historical topography," *JNES* XXII(1963), 226, no.39; Plate IV, fig.3.

<sup>3</sup>PRU IV, 206. But the present writer feels, according to the chronology established throughout this Thesis, that Ammurapi was contemporary with Merneptah and Arnuwandas III, and possibly Suppiluliuma II.

A document sent by Talmi-Teshub, king of Carchemish, and son of Initeshub, settled the matter of a Hittite princess who had divorced the son of Ammurapi, and Ammurapi was given back his castle:<sup>1</sup>

Talmiteshub, roi du Carkemis  
le chateau du roi de l'Ugarit  
que Dame Ehlinikkalu, fille du Soleil, retenait (encore),  
maintenant, le roi du Carkemis a 'Ammurapi,  
roi de l'Ugarit l'a rendu ...<sup>2</sup>

It is during Ammurapi's reign that Tyre and Gubla are mentioned for the first time at Ugarit!<sup>3</sup> Both cities were

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<sup>1</sup>Dimtu is translated by the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary, Vol.D, (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1959), as castle in connection with the material from Ras Shamra (No.2, p.145) while in general it is translated as tower or fortified area.

<sup>2</sup>PRU III, No.I7.226, p.208.

<sup>3</sup>Virolleaud, "Les nouvelles tablettes alphabétiques de Ras Shamra," CRAI (1955), No.I8.3I, p.77.

Also at Ugarit was found a letter from Imtu-..., king of Sidon to the king of Ugarit, but the letter cannot be dated to any period. PRU III, No.II.723, p.9; Nougayrol, "Une lettre du roi de Sidon au roi d'Ugarit," Semitica III, 19-20. And a letter from the king of Beirut to his son the governor of Ugarit, here also the letter could not be dated. Virolleaud thinks that the letter suggests that at one time Ugarit was a vassal-state to Beirut. PRU II, XVI; "Lettres et documents administratifs provenant des archives d'Ugarit," Syria XXI(1940), 247-8. This theory is not based on facts for if the king of Beirut writes to his son who is governor of Ugarit, this does not mean that the son of the king of Beirut ruled Ugarit as a vassal-state. It could mean however, that he had married a daughter of the king of Ugarit and was given this post. PRU III, No.II.730, p.12.

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mentioned in connection with ships.

It is also at this time that Merneptah sent an urgent shipment of grain and asked Ammurapi to transport it to Hatti where they were suffering from a serious famine.<sup>2</sup>

In the oven of the palace were found these last baked letters before the destruction of Ugarit.<sup>3</sup> Among these tablets was a letter where the "Sun" does without the usual prologue and well-wishing formulas and orders the king of Ugarit, Ammurapi: "Ce qu'il y a cherche-le et envoie-le moi."<sup>4</sup>

Two things are mentioned in this letter: famine and the enemy. The inscription of Merneptah at Karnak is then right

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<sup>1</sup>Violleaud, "Les nouvelles tablettes alphabétiques de Ras Shamra," CRAI (1955), No.18.25, p.77.

<sup>2</sup>Ugaritica III, 175; Ugaritica IV, xiv. Important information is gathered about the navigable conditions at Ugarit during Ammurapi's reign. Ugarit had at its disposition over 150 ships.

<sup>3</sup>Ugaritica IV, 31. While Schaeffer was excavating at Ugarit he came across an oven meant to bake tablets. That was a surprising discovery since nowhere in the Near East has been found anything like an oven to bake clay. Sumerian, Babylonian, Assyrian and Syrian tablets seem to have been most of the time only exposed to the sun.

<sup>4</sup>Ugaritica IV, 39.

when it mentions an expedition to Hatti. Confirmation of the shipment of grain comes from both Ugarit and Boghazkoy.<sup>1</sup> Merneptah was far-sighted when he decided to send help, for he knew that trouble was starting. Egypt helped Hatti because the latter played the role of a buffer-state between the hordes of people coming from the north and civilized countries.

Moreover, in one of his campaigns, Merneptah met not only the Libyans but the Ekwesh (Achaean), Teresh (Lydians), Lukka, Sherden, Shekelesh and Meshwesh. The Sea Peoples were beginning to flood in and overwhelm the ancient Near East.<sup>2</sup>

A bronze dagger bearing the cartouche of Merneptah was found at Ugarit in 1952.<sup>3</sup> The dagger was found in the latest level of Ras Shamra, dated to the eighteenth century B.C.

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<sup>1</sup>G.A.Wainwright, "Merneptah's aid to the Hittites," JEA (1960), pp.24-28; ARE III, 243: ". . . The Pedetishew (Asiatics) whom I caused to take grain in ships, to keep alive that land of Kheta."

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.; CAE, p.254.

<sup>3</sup>Plate IV, fig.4.

Schaeffer prefers to think that this dagger was made at Ugarit, for nothing of its kind was found in Egypt before the enrollment of foreign troops. This type of dagger originated in Asia Minor and the East Mediterranean.<sup>I</sup> If this fact is true, the dagger of Merneptah may be a proof that more and more mercenaries were coming from the north due to the pressure of the Sea-Peoples, and were incorporated into the Egyptian army.

Toward the end of the reign of Arnuwandas III, Ramesses III began to rule in Egypt (around 1195 B.C.). It is during his reign that the Sea-Peoples invaded the Near East by land and by sea, destroying the Hittite civilization, and going south, burning the cities they passed by.

No record has been left either by Arnuwandas III or Suppiluliuma II mentioning directly the threat of the Sea-Peoples, thus, no records come to us from Hatti. Ugarit herself kept silent on the subject and the only testimony we have is the complete

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<sup>I</sup>Ugaritica III, 169; Schaeffer, Stratigraphie comparée et chronologie de l'âge du bronze, p.289.



destruction and abandonment of the city. It is only from Egypt which overcame the enemy that we find a record of those peoples when they clashed with the Egyptians in the eight year of Ramesses III.<sup>1</sup>

As for the foreign countries, they made a conspiracy in their isles. Removed and scattered in the fray were the lands at one time. No land could stand before their arms, from Hatti, Kode, Carchemish, Yereth, and Yeres on, (but they were) cut off at [one time]. A camp [was set up] in one place in Amor. They destroyed its people, and its land was like that which has never come into being. They were coming, while the flame was prepared before them, forward toward Egypt.

Their confederation was the Peleset, Theker, Shekelesh, Denye[ra] and Weshesh, lands united. They laid their hands upon the lands to the (very) circuit of the earth, their hearts confident and trusting: "Our plans will succeed!"<sup>2</sup>

Ramesses III was able to repulse the Sea-Peoples at Pelusium in the Delta, and they settled in Palestine. This settlement is attested by a unique document from the century following the death of Ramesses III: The story of Wenamon<sup>3</sup> who had

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<sup>1</sup>CAE, p.259.

<sup>2</sup>W.F.Edgerton and J.A.Wilson, Historical Records of Ramesses III, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936), Inscription of the Year 8, p.53; ARE IV, 35.

<sup>3</sup>J.Wilson, "The journey of Wen-Amon to Phoenicia," A.N.E.T., pp.25-29.

made a journey to Palestine and Phoenicia and described the situation there. He mentioned visiting the city Dor where the Tjeker lived. Those Tjekers are equated with Teukroi (Trojans? Sicilians?).

With the arrival of the Sea-Peoples around 1200 B.C., the Late Bronze civilization ended, and with it one of the wealthiest Syrian cities came to an end -- Ugarit, which never recovered from the blow of the Sea-Peoples. Ugarit, which always compromised and was thus able to survive, even prosper, did not have the opportunity to compromise with the Northerners who destroyed her.

## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSION

Ugarit was an important city because of its location on the coast. The Syrian coast had always played a vital role because of its geographical position which made of it a center for international trade. In the third millenium, Byblos had been the most prominent city and had maintained intensive relations with Egypt. By the middle of the second millenium, Ugarit replaced Byblos as the leading center of trade because Ugarit had worked out a political system that allowed her to prosper commercially. The political system followed by the kings of Ugarit consisted of compromise with other Syrian states and shifting alliances with the major powers of the age.

The cities of the Syro-Palestinian coast prospered commercially but remained mere cities, never expanding militarily. These states never thought of uniting and forming an empire, partly because of the geographical factor, that is, the difficulty of communication due to mountain barriers. Another major reason was the traditional desire for independence which these cities maintained throughout their history. But they

needed protection both from each other and from outsiders who sought to conquer them. This is why cities like Ugarit and Byblos had to accept the domination of larger powers who could protect them. They could thus continue their commercial activity, freely and without restraint.

It is true that Ugarit was not just a city overlooking the sea, but a large state that possessed vassals. Yet, Ugarit never thought of unifying Syria or creating an empire, for her main interest was commerce not politics, and it was only to secure her own safety that she expanded locally so as to secure her frontiers.

Because Syria and the coast were divided into small states, the surrounding powers found it easy to invade the area and make it their province. Both Byblos and Ugarit were pro-Egyptian at the beginning of the second millenium, but soon a new power appeared on the scene which seemed to threaten the existence of Egypt in Syria and the coast. This new power was Mitanni. It is true that Byblos remained an Egyptian city, but the sphere of influence of Mitanni was expanding into north Syria. Ugarit, which was located more

to the north than Byblos, felt this new influence and immediately changed sides, shifting her allegiance to Mitanni because of commercial interests. Much Hurrian influence is attested in this period (fifteenth century) at Ugarit, such as Hurrian texts and a Mitanni dagger. Moreover, Ugarit revolted openly against Egypt, and the heads of the Egyptian statues were cut off. Amenophis II had to subdue the city by force of arms.

When peace was established between Mitanni and Egypt, Ugarit witnessed a period of security and a revival in commerce for the trade-routes were open to both Egypt and Mitanni and were not limited to any single power. Trade could be safely carried on with Egypt without making Mitanni angry and vice-versa. With the revival of commerce came increasing contact with the West, evidenced by the presence at Ugarit of Mycenaean objects and a colony of Mycenaeans living in the city. The wealth of Ugarit increased tremendously and Ugarit became a city of leisure, a city of learning where dictionaries were compiled and texts written in eight different languages, where myths and legends were put into writing and where the first alphabet was invented.

But suddenly, the Hittites appeared as a third power wishing to share the wealth of Syria. With the emergence of this state, an international age, began during which Hatti, Egypt and Mitanni corresponded and fought, where they exchanged diplomats and wrote letters in Akkadian, the international language of the day.

In the struggle between Egypt on the one hand and Hatti on the other, both powers started looking for strong allies in Syria. Being such an important city, Ugarit caught the eyes of both Egypt and Hatti. Egypt wanted to have Ugarit because it was an invaluable port where supplies and arms could be landed for the Egyptian troops fighting the Hittites. Hatti coveted Ugarit because it was a wealthy port surrounded by pro-Egyptian cities. If Ugarit could be convinced to join the Hittites then all of northern Syria would fall into their hands. Moreover, the shrewd kings of Ugarit felt that by joining the Hittites, they would be safe from the attacks of such neighbouring pro-Egyptian cities as Mukish and Nuhashshe. For this reason, Niqmadu II signed a treaty with Suppiluliuma and agreed to pay a heavy tribute. Soon, Mukish

and Nuhashshe invaded Ugarit as expected, and Niqmadu II turned for help to Suppiluliuma who sent troops and subdued the two cities. To thank him, Niqmadu II went to Alalakh with gifts for Suppiluliuma.

Niqmadu II also signed a treaty with Aziru, the Amorite prince who had ambitious schemes in Syria. Aziru fought both for the Hittite cause and for his own which is why Niqmadu II found it necessary to sign a treaty with him in order to protect Ugarit.

Still, Ugarit was unwilling to break completely her relations with Egypt. Egypt herself was also unwilling to lose so easily such a strategic city, for this reason a marriage was arranged between an Egyptian noblewoman and Niqmadu II. The marriage took place toward the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

The diplomatic letters found at Ugarit prove that this city had extensive diplomatic relations with Hatti. The kings of Hatti, beginning with Suppiluliuma, sent letters to Ugarit and proposed treaties. Relations with Egypt were also carried on, for the names of several Pharaohs of the Eighteenth Dynasty were found at Ugarit. However, Ugaritic foreign policy leaned more heavily toward Hatti.

The death of Niqmadu II came at the beginning of both Haremhab's and Mursili II's reigns. Arkhalbu, son of Niqmadu II succeeded him, but not for long, for Arkhalbu, like his grand-father Ammistamru I, seems to have followed a pro-Egyptian policy. Arkhalbu felt that Egypt would help Ugarit now that Suppiluliuma was dead. As things turned out, he was mistaken and was put aside. Mursili II helped Niqmepa (I325-I265) oust his brother Arkhalbu and ascend the throne of Ugarit.

This is a clear example of the awareness of the royal house of Ugarit that if they ever joined with Egypt, Hatti would destroy them. This is why kings like Ammistamru I and Arkhalbu had to be put aside.

Under Niqmepa, Ugarit reverted to her former position as a vassal state of Hatti. Mursili II renewed the treaty with Niqmepa and gave him some territory taken from Mukish and Nuhashshe. On the other hand, he decided to put Siyannu under Hittite vassalage rather than keep it under Ugaritic vassalage. This was a step taken by Mursili II to ensure the centralization of Syria. Siyannu was no longer to obey Niqmepa, but the Hittite king of Carchemish. This led Niqmepa to ask for the reduction of the tribute which Mursili II seems to have granted.



Niqmepa's reign was very long for he survived Mursili II, Muwatallu and Urhi-Teshub, to die at the beginning of the reign of Hattusili III. When Muwatallu fought the Egyptians led by Ramesses II at the battle of Qadesh (1285/4), Niqmepa gave troops and arms to Muwatallu. Under Hattusili III, a peace-treaty was concluded between Egypt and Hatti (1269). The treaty relieved Ugarit from economic strain and trade with Egypt was resumed. Now that peace was achieved, Ugarit did not have to encounter anymore pressure from her neighbours Mukish, Nuhashshe and Ni'i.

Amnistamru II (1260-1230), the youngest son of Niqmepa was able to succeed his father after exiling two of his brothers to Alasia. Yet, it seems that the concept of kingship and heredity were already weak at this point. This is the first time that we hear of plots between brothers for the succession to the throne of Ugarit for purely internal reasons. The concept of kingship so far had been very strong: The eldest always succeeded his father, and received the seal of his ancestor. The same seal was used at Ugarit

by successive Ugaritic kings; the cylinder-seal designed by Niqnadu II was used by Arkhalbu, Niqmepa and Ammistamru II to sign diplomatic letters and treaties.<sup>I</sup> Thus, the royal house was apparently very stable and no one attempted to destroy it, until the reign of Ammistamru II when strife within the royal house itself began.

The reign of Ammistamru II seems to have been spent settling problems within his own family. After banishing his two brothers, he had to divorce his wife, the daughter of Bentesina who had defected to the Egyptian side at the battle of Qadesh. Tudhaliya IV was not willing to tolerate such a dangerous element at the court of Ugarit, so he ordered the divorce of Ammistamru II.

Besides the problems within the family, Ammistamru II decided to stop contributing troops and arms in the fight against Assyria, and Tudhaliya IV consented because he could not do anything else. This shows how independent the Syrian states in general, and Ugarit in particular, had become.

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<sup>I</sup> Ugaritica III, 66.

Despite the intrigues at the royal court of Ugarit, Ammistamru II was able to secure the throne for his son Ibiranu. Yet, of both Ibiranu and his son Niqmadu III nothing is known which is relevant to the political history of Ugarit.

Amurapi ascended the throne as the last king of Ugarit (1220-1190?), and it is not known whether he had any blood relation with the former kings of Ugarit. During his reign, Merneptah asked him to transport a shipment of grain to Hatti which was suffering from famine. Arnuwandas III was probably the king of Hatti at the time, and it was only natural to ask Ugarit to help since she had more than 150 ships at her disposal. Merneptah also mentioned an enemy threatening Hatti, the Sea-Peoples who eventually destroyed Hatti and the cities of the Syrian coast.

If one looks back, one cannot help but feel that Egypt would have won the struggle if she had been able to hold the coast as far north as Ugarit in check. Thus, the whole history of the second part of the second millennium would have been different. It also seems that at times of pressure

Ugarit was unaffected. For how could it produce such a wealth of literature at a time when war was being waged, and when Syrian cities were being utterly destroyed?

It would appear that Ugarit was the safest spot in the ancient Near East during the period studied in this Thesis. It seems to have been one of the greatest naval powers of the day and this could be a reason why neither Egypt nor Hatti dared to attack her. Ugarit seems to have been a power whose friendship rather than enmity was sought. Ugarit was like an island in an agitated sea, it was unaffected by the turmoil until the great wave of the Sea-Peoples came and submerged her.

With the destruction of Ugarit and the beginning of the Iron age, trade and commercial activity moved to the south; it was the turn of the Phoenician coast to take over the burden and fill in the gap left by Ugarit.

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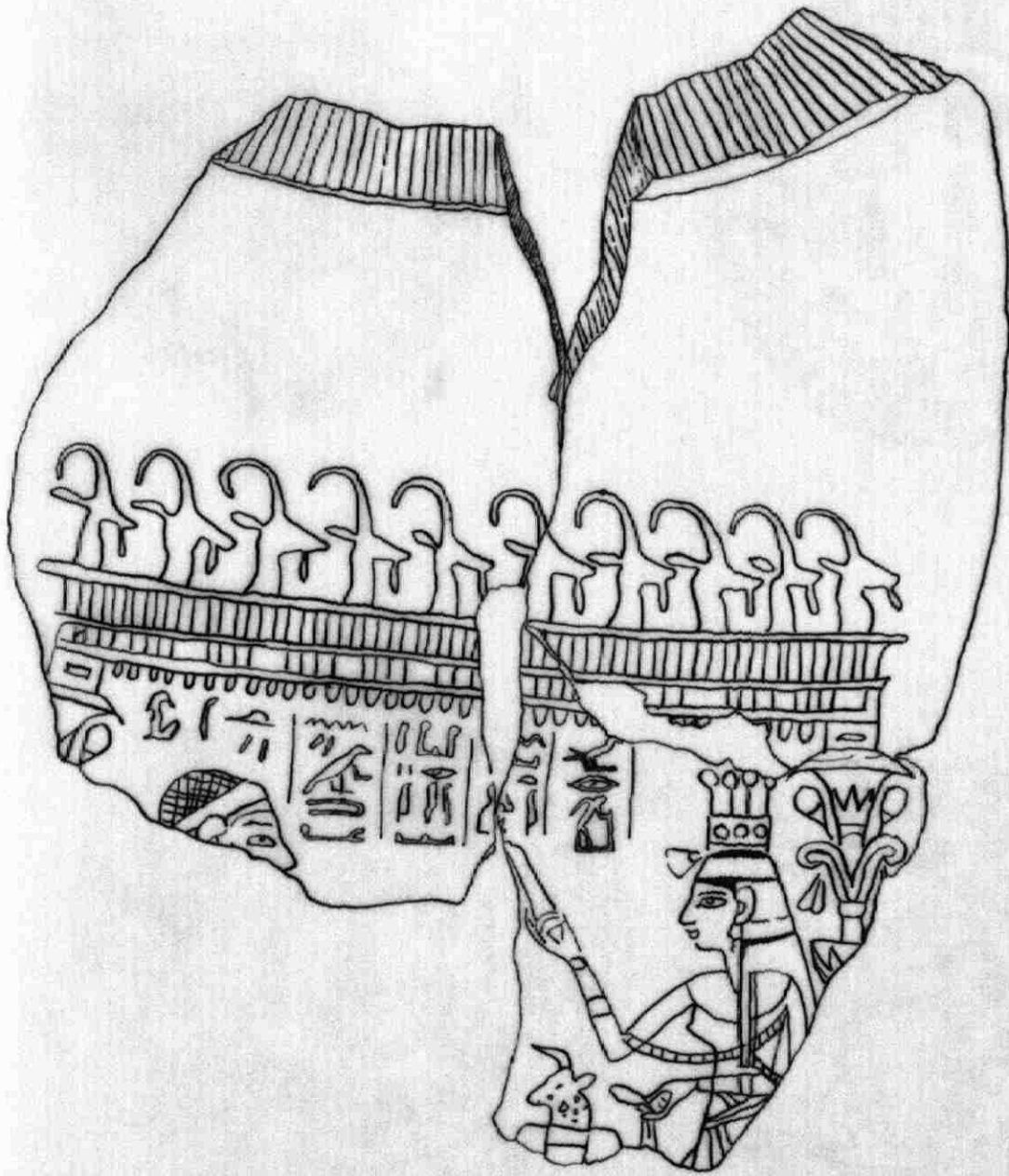


PLATE II



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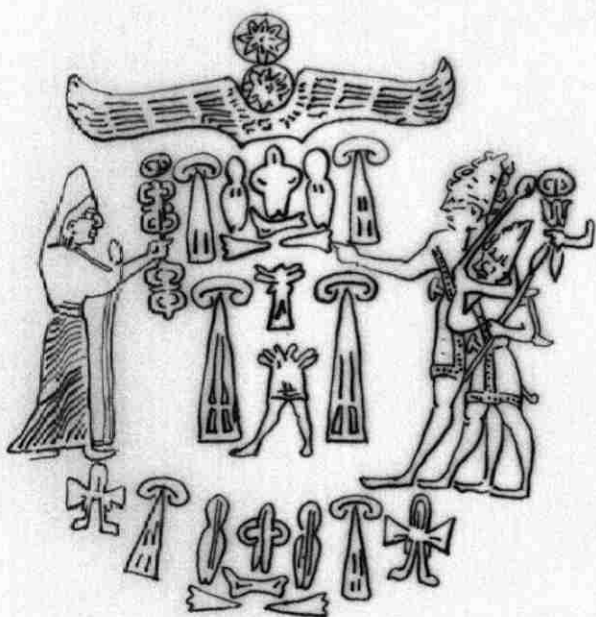
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PLATE III





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PLATE IV