

CHAPTER II

STRATIGRAPHY AND CHRONOLOGY OF BRONZE AGE LEVELS AT RAS SHAMRA-UGARIT

§ 2. *The first level at Ras Shamra or Recent Ugarit and its subdivisions*

The superficial levels. The Northwest and Northeast parts of the Ras Shamra tell,¹ plates II to V, explored to date, contain, in surface, mixed with remains of the modern occupation of the tell,² generally modest vestiges dating back to Arab,³ Byzantine, Roman,⁴ Hellenistic⁵ and Hellenic⁶ periods.

In some places of the tell, we have brought to light in the surface layer, immediately below the present surface, some vestiges from the Iron Age, consisting of tombs and ceramic fragments posterior to ca 1000 B.C.⁷ No Assyrian monument has been found up to now.⁸ Depending on the location, the thickness of the surface layer varies from a few centimetres to around 1 m. It is generally not stratified and often appears reshuffled through agricultural labor or funnel-shaped excavations undertaken by treasure hunters who have been haunting the tell for centuries, until shortly after the beginning of our own researches in 1929.⁹

§3. *Level I of Ras Shamra or Recent Ugarit.* The first, generally intact stratified archaeological level under the surface level contains the vestiges of the last period of ancient Ugarit. Having been recognized, from the beginning of our excavations, as a stratigraphic and, up to a point, a cultural unit, this level has been baptized level I at Ras Shamra, abridged as RS I. We shall continue to use this appellation and this acronym in the stratigraphic discussions themselves. But when we will be alluding to the archaeological remains included in this level, or to the epoch of the history of Ugarit to which these remains are corresponding, we will preferably use the term Recent Ugarit. The main thing being that the equivalence of the terms level I (RS I) and "Recent Ugarit" be kept in mind.

¹ See the map published in our report on the 9th campaign, *Syria*, xix, 1938, p. 195, fig. 1; *ibid.*, pl. xviii; *Syria*, xx, 1939, p. 279, fig. 1.

² White earthen pipe-heads from Turkish times, blue glass pearls which the Alawis of today are attaching to the necks of young asses and calves as a talisman, silex sherds coming from the sledges (*tribulum*) used to shell grain.

³ Some small silver coins.

⁴ Small and middle-sized bronze items.

⁵ Fragments of painted ceramics.

⁶ Fragments of ceramics and archaic strateres; the latter have been published in *Mélanges Syriens*, Paris, 1939: C.F.A. Schaeffer, *Une Trouvaille de monnaies archaïques grecques à Ras Shamra*, pp. 461-87.

⁷ Report of the 6th campaign at Ras Shamra, *Syria*, xvi, 1935, p. 148 ff.

⁸ Should this fact not be contradicted by futures discoveries, it would oppose the hypothesis sometimes brought forward of a conquest of ancient Ugarit by Teglath-Phalasar at the end of the 12th century.

⁹ Cf. the reports of our excavations in *Syria*, 1929 to 1937, especially 1934, p. 122, and our study of the archaic strateres, see above, note 6.



PLATE I: RAS SHAMRA. Minet-el-Beïda (Leukos Limen), harbor of Ancient Ugarit. In the foreground, the excavations in the harbour quarter at the beginning of operations. On the horizon, the Djebel Akra or Mount Casius, the "high place" of Ugarit. (Aerial photograph by C.F.A. Schaeffer.)

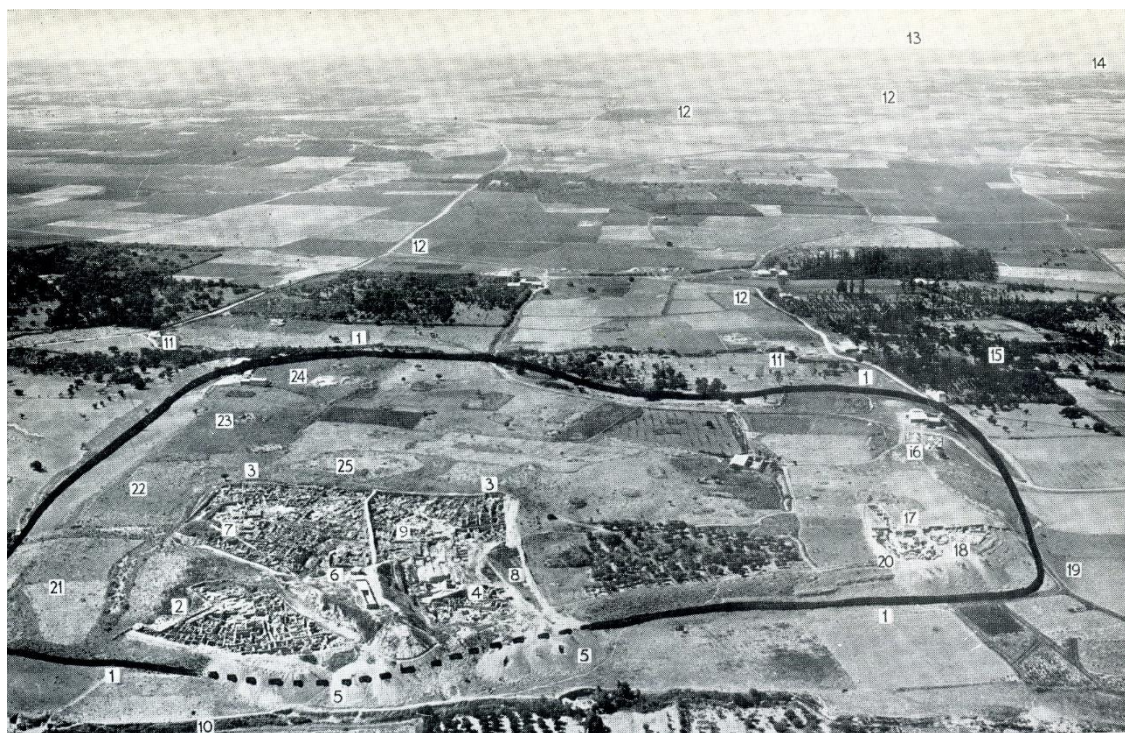


PLATE II: RAS SHAMRA. Overview of the tell, North-South aerial picture (1937). 1. The tell's limits; 2. NW district of Ugarit being excavated; 3. Limits of clearing towards South; 4. District at the foot of the eminence carrying the temple of Baal (6); 5: North cone of clearing debris; 6. Temple of Baal; 7. Temple of Dagon; 8. Location of depth soundings; 9. large building destroyed by earthquake (cf. here, fig. I); 10 and 11. North and South branches of the Nadr el Fidd; 12. road to Latakia; 13. Latakia; 14. Bay of Latakia.

§ 4. *Tripartite subdivision of level I at Ras Shamra or Recent Ugarit.* Together with our earlier remarks,¹⁰ our observations during the last two excavation campaigns at Ras Shamra in 1938-9 allow us to subdivide the RS I or Recent Ugarit level in three layers. In the order of their stratigraphic formation from the bottom up, that is, chronologically from the beginning to the end, these are the following layers:

Ras Shamra I,1 or Recent Ugarit 1

Ras Shamra I,2 or Recent Ugarit 2

Ras Shamra I,3 or Recent Ugarit 3

§ 5. *RS I, 3 or Recent Ugarit 3.* The least ancient layer, RS I, 3 or Recent Ugarit 3, the one which we find immediately under the surface layers of the tell, includes cultural places, dwellings and tombs of the last epoch of the existence of Ugarit before its final destruction which occurred during the 13th century. Among these vestiges, we have gathered many bronze objects, scarabs from the 19th Egyptian dynasty, alabaster vases carrying the cartouche of Ramses II and abundant pottery remains, among them many Mycenaean and Cypriot vases, *pl. XI* and fig. 305. The tombs, which number several hundred, are all of the inhumation type; no incineration has as yet been observed at Ras Shamra.

The buildings brought to light in RS I,3 or Recent Ugarit 3 show traces of fire and destruction which from all evidence are anterior to the final destruction of the old city. Many of the walls are cracked or have tumbled down. But they had been for the most part repaired or reconstructed, *pl. VII*. These damages and fires, as we have established,¹¹ have been caused by a violent earthquake. This event corresponds to the catastrophe which, according to a cuneiform letter of Abimilki of Tyre to Amenophis IV, ravaged Ugarit between ca 1370 and 1360.¹² So that RS I,3 or Recent Ugarit 3 must be attributed to the period between the earthquake and the final destruction of the city, between ca 1365 and 1200 B.C.¹³

§ 6. *RS I,2 or Recent Ugarit 2.* The middle layer of the first level, or Recent Ugarit 2 ends chronologically with the partial destruction of Ugarit around 1365. It includes temples, dwellings, tombs and fortifications which are anterior to that event, *pl. II to V*. It has yielded bronze objects, tools and weapons, fig. 44, objects of fine craftsmanship, stone or ivory sculptures, scarabs bearing the names of Amenophis III and IV, as well as abundant ancient Syrian ceramic remains mixed with Mycenaean and Cypriot pottery. In this layer too were found numerous Egyptian hieroglyphic inscriptions and, notably, Canaanite texts in alphabetic cuneiform, others

¹⁰ During the second excavation campaign at Ras Shamra (cf. *Syria*, xiii, 1932, pp. 22-3) we had noticed the restorations to which the constructions of level I had been subjected and which correspond, as we now know, to the reconstruction of the parts of the city which were laid waste by the Ugarit fire signalled in the El Amarna letters (cf. below, § 5).

¹¹ *Syria*, xvii, 1937, p. 137 ; xix, 1938, p. 194 ; *Ugaritica*, I, p. 35.

¹² About the date of the El Amarna letters, see for the latest W.F. Albright, *JEA*, xxiii, p. 193.

¹³ The date of the end of Ugarit is still problematic; it falls into the 13th century.

in Babylonian, in Sumerian and in Hurrite,¹⁴ most of them written in the time of King Nqmd, a contemporary of Amenophis III and IV and of Suppiluliuma.

The beginning of Ras Shamra I,2 or Recent Ugarit 2 can be approximately fixed at around 1450. It is characterized by the appearance of Mycenaean ceramics of the Helladic Recent type, which was then imported into Ugarit in considerable quantities, where it competed with the Cypriot ceramics which had already been so common at Ugarit since the beginnings of the Recent Bronze, or Ras Shamra I,1. The funerary architecture in RS I,2 also presents some differences in relation to the one in RS I,1 and to the one in the following level, I,3. The import of Recent Helladic 3 ceramics to Ugarit indicates the arrival in its harbour of a new commercial flux, whereas the changes in the funerary traditions indicate additions of populations. It is certainly not by chance that precisely beginning in 1450 the custom of incineration is beginning to be introduced in Syria and in Palestine. At Ugarit, in the part of the tell explored to date (about one eighth of the total surface) we have not yet found any cremation tomb. But a great number of them have been brought to light at Hama (§ 62), others at Atchana (§ 52), Jericho (§ 82), Beit Mirsim (§ 70). This revolution in funeral practices must have been provoked by the arrival in Syria-Palestine of a population which had a tradition of cremation, a population which may be the same one that introduced cremation at the same period in Asia Minor (Troy § 119, Boghazkeuy § 140).

In our opinion, these are clues attesting to an infiltration, or an invasion by a foreign population of the syro-palestinian zone beginning in 1450. Its arrival coincided with upheavals which were serious enough to warrant repeated interventions by the Egyptian army. We know that during the second year of the reign of Amenophis II (1450-1425), a revolt had broken out in Northern Palestine and in Syria and that the Pharaoh had undertaken several campaigns to put it down. The well-known stele of Amenophis II at Karnak¹⁵ and a new commemorative stele of the same sovereign recently discovered at Memphis¹⁶ have preserved for us a narrative of these campaigns. During the punitive expedition undertaken during the seventh year of his reign, around 1444 therefore, Amenophis II put down an insurrection in Ugarit itself. The account tells us: "His Majesty reached Ugarit and quashed all his enemies. He afterwards proceeded rejoicing in his heart because he had made of the whole land his property."¹⁷

From 1444 therefore, Ugarit had become or had returned to being a base for the Egyptian army during its operations in Northern Syria and an entrance point for Egyptian economic and political penetration to the North. The city and the harbor became more open to commercial currents from the South and West, one of which, beginning at that time, brought in this large body of Mycenaean ceramics. Aside from these changes, RS I,2 or Recent Ugarit, 2, represents a normal continuation of the preceding layer of RS I,1 or Recent Ugarit I, and prolongs itself into Recent Ugarit 3 after the destructions caused by the 1365 earthquake had been repaired.

¹⁴ Cf. bibliography in our *Ugaritica*, p. 153 ff.

¹⁵ G. Legrain, 'La grande stèle d'Aménophis II à Karnak,' in *Annales du Serv. Des Antiquités d'Égypte*, iv, 1903, p. 126 ff.

¹⁶ A.M. Badawi, 'Die neue historische Stele Amenophis II,' in *Annales du Serv. Des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, xlii, 1943, p. 1 ff.

¹⁷ Cf. the report of our 3rd campaign, *Syria*, 1932, p. 11, fig. 7; *Syria*, 1935, pl. xxx, 2; our *Missions to Cyprus*, p. 52ff.

§ 7. *RS I,1 or Recent Ugarit 1.* The deeper and most ancient layers of level I denominated as RS I, 1 or Recent Ugarit 1 contain vestiges of dwellings and tombs which, judging by the archaeological material, especially the Syrian or Canaanite ceramics, mixed with a portion of imported Cypriot vases, go back to the middle of the 16th century. At the base of RS I,1, we have also found rather numerous decorated vases, painted in red and black, representing fishes and birds framed in geometric patterns, fig. 307, so-called bicolored ceramics maybe going back to about 1600.¹⁸ In reality, judging by the clues at our disposal to date, the *terminus post quem* of Recent Ugarit 1 should be fixed around 1575, but as a mnemonic help, we prefer the approximate date of 1600.

§ 8 *Chronology of level I of Ras Shamra or Recent Ugarit.* Which brings us to the following schema:

RS I,1 or Recent Ugarit 1 from 1600 to 1450

RS I,2 or Recent Ugarit 2 from 1450 to 1365

RS I,3 or Recent Ugarit 3 from 1365 to 1200.

RS I,3 or Recent Ugarit 3 (1365-1200) therefore corresponds, *grosso modo*, with the 19th Egyptian dynasty. RS I,2 or Recent Ugarit 2 (1450-1365) and RS I,1 or Recent Ugarit 1 (1600-1450) together are covering fairly exactly the period of the 18th Egyptian dynasty, whereas the whole of level I or Recent Ugarit 1 to 3 is approximately contemporaneous with the New Kingdom of Egypt .

§ 9. *Correspondence between the chronology of Recent Ugarit and the Recent Minoan and Recent Helladic classification.* In relation to the Aegean chronology, the subdivisions of the first level at Ras Shamra correspond fairly closely to the Recent Minoan classification by Sir Arthur Evans:

Recent Ugarit 1 (1600-1450) = Recent Minoan 1 (1580-1450)

Recent Ugarit 2 (1450-1365) = Recent Minoan 2 (1450-1375)

Recent Ugarit 3 (1365-1200) = Recent Minoan 3 (1375-1100).

The correspondence with Mycenaean chronology is satisfying, too. There is only a slight difference between our dates and those proposed by Professor A.J.B. Wace for the Recent Helladic:¹⁹

Recent Ugarit 1 (1600-1450) = Recent Helladic 1 (1600-1500)

Recent Ugarit 2 (1450-1365) = Recent Helladic 2 (1500-1400)

Recent Ugarit 3 (1365-1200) = Recent Helladic 3 (1400-1100).

¹⁸ Cf. report of our 3rd campaign, *Syria*, 1932, p. 11, fig. 7; *Syria*, 1935, pl. XXX, 2; our *Missions on Cyprus*, p. 52ff.

¹⁹ A.J.B. Wace, 'Chamber Tombs at Mycenaean,' *Archaeologia*, lxxxii, p. 2.

The synchronicity of level I at Ras Shamra or Recent Ugarit 1 with the New Kingdom of Egypt on the one side and, on the other, with Recent Minoan and Recent Helladic and their subdivisions is a useful mnemonic aid. In fact, it reflects the intercommunication between the Nile Valley, the Aegaeo-Mycenean world and Syria, as a result of the economic interdependence of these countries.

§ 10. *The chronology of Recent Ugarit in relation to the chronologies of Asia Minor.* The correspondence between the chronology of Recent Ugarit with the Hittite, Babylonian, Assyrian and Mitannian chronologies is more complicated. In that period, the coast as well as the kingdom of Ugarit were politically and economically in closer connection with Egypt and the Aegaeo-Mycenean countries than with the powers to the North and East of Syria. The latter did not then stretch their domination beyond the Orontes Valley. So that, sheltered behind their mountain rampart in the East, the political and economic life of the coast and of Ugarit proceeded at a slightly different pulse from the one that ruled life in the Syrian interior and its neighbouring countries to the North and East, *pl. I.*

One can nevertheless state that RSI,1 or Recent Ugarit 1 (1600-1450) corresponds more or less to the period of antagonism between the Mitanni Kingdom and Egypt at the beginning of the 18th dynasty, a period which ended in the acknowledgment of Egyptian supremacy in Northern Syria at the time of Thutmoses III (1465-1450). On the coast, particularly at Ugarit, this supremacy had probably taken the form of a protectorate.

The RS I,2 or Recent Ugarit 2 period (1450-1365) corresponds approximately with the time of the Egyptian-Mitannian alliance emerging under Amenophis II, effective beginning with Thutmoses IV and probably conceived as a preventive measure against threats of invasion, particularly by the Hittites. The beginning of this period is characterized by the insurrection at Ugarit put down by Amenophis II in the year 1444, which coincided with the arrival in Syria and Palestine of a foreign population practicing incineration. That same practice was introduced at the same time in Asia Minor.



PLATE III : NW view of the tell. A. Excavations of 1929-1937 in the NW quarter of Ugarit (temples of Baal and Dagon); B. excavations of 1937-1939 in the palace and fortification area of Ugarit of which one can see, to the right, the square tower, postern and buffer zone.



PLATE IV: The excavations in the NW quarter of Ugarit, state of clearing in February 1939. (Aerial picture, 1939.)

RS I,3 or Recent Ugarit 3 (1360-1200) is contemporary to the period during which the Hittites took over political supremacy, hitherto exercised by Egypt, in Northern Syria. The trial of strength between the two empires which culminated in the battle of Qadesh at the beginning of the 13th century ended in the famous treaty concluded between Ramses II and Hattusil III around 1275, by which Egypt preserved its influence on the coast, whereas the interior of Syria passed under the political authority of the Anatolians. Ugarit, which had had to pay tribute to the Hittite kings for a number of years, as confirmed by a text discovered by us in 1939,²⁰ returned under Egyptian suzerainty at the time of Ramses II. A proof of this is brought by the alabaster vases carrying this Pharaoh's cartouche which were found in 1938 among the ruins of the palace of Ugarit.

The end of RS I,3 or Recent Ugarit 3 coincided with the final disappearance of Egyptian supremacy in Syria, the destruction of the Hittite empire and the fall of Troy.

§ 11. *The second level of Ras Shamra or Middle Ugarit and its subdivisions. – A stratigraphic and chronological rupture between levels I and II at Ras Shamra.* Almost everywhere we have been able to undertake excavations on the tell of Ras Shamra to date, we have observed a stratigraphic and chronological rupture between level I or Recent Ugarit and level II situated underneath it, which we shall now designate as Middle Ugarit. Middle Ugarit is the realm of Syrian ceramics mixed with Middle Minoan vases imported from Crete or with copies made following these models, fig. 46 to 49. In the contrary, during Recent Ugarit, as we have seen, Syrian ceramics, which save for some exceptions are themselves different from level II, seem to be overwhelmed by the vases of Cypriot origin, to which are added in the middle of that period the products of Mycenaean import.

We find the same difference in the domain of bronze implements and armament, fig. 44 (1), 45. The socket spears equipped with tightening ferules of Middle Ugarit are distinguishable at first sight from the corresponding weapon from Recent Ugarit; the same is true of the daggers and of the axes. One type of weapon which is exceptionally frequent in level I, the bronze arrow, is completely lacking in level II. On the other hand, during Middle Ugarit, defensive weaponry included no means of protection at all to oppose to an archer, such as these scale-like bronze platelets with which the soldiers of Recent Ugarit protected their torsos.²¹

No less profound are the differences between the objects of personal adornment in these two levels. In comparison with the number and variety of pearls made of diverse materials, the bronze, silver and gold pendants, and the bracelets of Recent Ugarit, corresponding jewellery in Middle Ugarit found until now in Ras Shamra show a much greater sobriety. Gold and silver are rarer, pearls are almost exclusively made of cornelian, rock crystal or bronze. Some pieces of jewellery which are particularly characteristic of Middle Ugarit, such as the torque, are no longer known in the time of Recent Ugarit.

Very significant, too, is the disappearance of the numerous forms of clothing pins used during Middle Ugarit. Only a few, typologically degenerated elements survive into the beginning of level I, and disappear completely even before the middle of Recent Ugarit. Glyptic in Ugarit also is

²⁰ Cf. the provisory account of our 11th excavation campaign, *Syria*, xx, 1939, p. 287, fig. 10.

²¹ Cf. reports in *Syria*, xviii, 1937, p. 144, fig. 9; xix, 1938, p. 316, and identical platelets found at Yorgan Tépé, fig. 311 (12, 18-20).

undergoing, after the end of level II, a radical transformation, as shown by the rich series of cylinders found by us.

Such profound differences as are found between the archaeological material of levels I and II at Ras Shamra are in contrast with the continuity of evolution which can be observed within each one of these two levels. We are confronted here with two environments which developed in succession on the same soil, doubtlessly with a basis of common traditions. And yet, the material aspect of their civilizations could not have been more different. This fact forces us to admit that at the end of Middle Ugarit changes in the social, political and economic domain had intervened, that had so drastically transformed the environment because they were aggravated by a chronological rupture. Indeed, the very great majority of the archaeological vestiges gathered up to now from level I are not the immediate successors in time of the archaeological material and monuments brought to light to date from level II situated underneath. This fact explains the extreme rarity of industrial types common to both levels. However poor they may have been, such vestiges can nevertheless not remain totally absent from a tell of the expanse of Ras Shamra, occupation of which can never have been totally interrupted. In fact, we have already found at Ras Shamra some monuments and objects which belong to this intermediary period (§ 17).

§ 12 *Subdivisions of level II or Middle Ugarit.* As long as we did not have enough elements at hand, we thought of adjourning the study of the subdivisions to be introduced in the chronology of level II, the long duration of which was evident. During our two last excavation campaigns before the beginning of the war in 1939, we were able to secure the needed clarifications. This allows us now to bring to the fore the information for which our colleagues have been prodding us with justifiable insistence. In the same time, we are able to rectify certain chronological propositions which have been advanced following our first campaigns and which, judging from recent discoveries, revealed themselves to be inexact or insufficiently precise. We are entering here a new domain in the archaeology of Ras Shamra. Given that the *in extenso* publication of our discoveries can only be taken up again after the war, we will limit ourselves here to the presentation of three stratigraphic cross-sections which are particularly demonstrative for the classification of Middle Ugarit. This presentation will allow us to expose the main observations on which we are basing ourselves in order to justify dividing this level into three sub-periods.

§ 13. The first of them, cross-section I, *pl. V* is an amplification of a cross-section published in my report of the 9th campaign.²² It cuts through funerary vault XXXVI discovered in 1937 in the district situated at the foot of the eminence carrying the temples of Baal and Dagon, square 5 of the overall map of the tell published in that same report.²³ As shown on the drawing, we have brought to light under the present surface of the tell a layer marked A which is stuffed with dispersed vestiges of RS I,3 or Recent Ugarit 3 (1365-1200). Underneath there appear, as B and C, the walls with levelled off summits of a dwelling, the period of occupation of which corresponds to Recent Ugarit 2 (1450-1365), before the Ugarit earthquake and fire.

²² *Syria*, xix, 1938, fig.3.

²³ *Ibid.*, figs 1 and 2.

PLATE V.

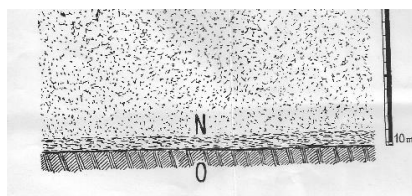
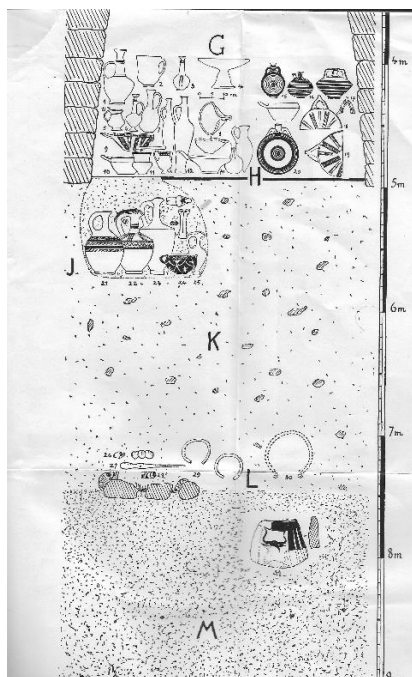
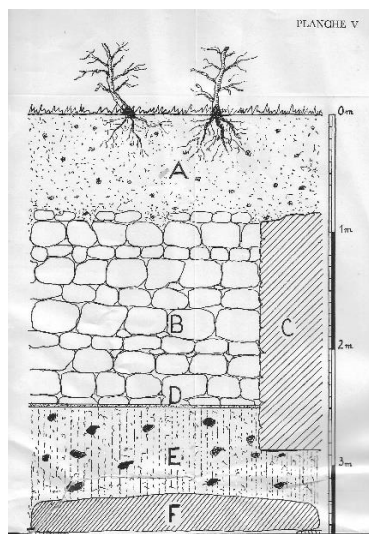


Plate V: RAS SHAMRA. Stratigraphic cross-section I. Cf. § 13, [pp. 15 ff] Drawing C.F.A. Schaeffer.

A. Layers containing vestiges of RS I,3 or Recent Ugarit 3 (1365-1200).

B.-C. Walls with abraded summits of dwelling D.

D. Floor of a dwelling the last period of occupation of which corresponds to Recent Ugarit 2 (1450-1365) before the earthquake and fire at Ugarit. During this period, some rearrangements of the early plan of the house were undertaken, and the funerary vault XXXVI (G) situated underneath had been evacuated and reused. The construction of the dwelling and of vault XXXVI (G) date back to RS II, 2 or Middle Ugarit 2 (1900-1750).

E. Filling layer between floor (D) and F.

F. Cover slab (F) of the funeral vault.

G. Funeral chamber of vault XXXVI containing the furnishings (1-20) of the secondary burial from Recent Ugarit 2 (1450-1365).

H. Floor of the earlier, evacuated, vault.

J. Ossuary of the earlier vault having remained intact, containing a fragment of an *egg-shell ware* cup of the Kamares type, imported from Crete (24) dating to the Middle Minoan 2 (1900-1750) as well as painted jugs (21, 22) or jugs covered with a shiny red or black engobe (23-25).

K. Layer of loose, brownish earth mixed with pebbles and some rare fragments of undated, coarse vases.

L. Tomb surrounded and partly covered with stones, accompanied by bronze adornments composed of a heavy pin with a bulging head and pierced stem (27), several open bracelets (29), a necklace made of bi-conic pearls (26) and spring-shaped spirals (28), adornments found in other locations at Ras Shamra together with massive torques with flattened and lipped ends (30). Date: Middle Ugarit 1 (2100-1900).

M. Layer of ashy, black soil of a hard texture containing one fragment of a painted vase of level IV of Ras Shamra, of the type called of Tell Halaf (31).

N. Decomposition layer of rock O.

O. Natural rock, basis of the sounding.

The building of this dwelling belongs farther up, to Middle Ugarit. During its reoccupation during Recent Ugarit, some rearrangements were undertaken, but without the general plan of the dwelling undergoing any change. At that time, too, funerary vault XXXVI, which was a part of the first dwelling, *pl. V, F, G, H, J*, had been opened, emptied and then reused.

As is shown in the plan published with our excavations report,²⁴ this vault is composed of a funerary chamber with a rectangular plan (2m x 2m50) the heavy covering slabs of which, *pl. V, F*, rest 80cm below the floor of the dwelling, *pl. V, D*, at 3m30 overall depth. They lean awkwardly on the lateral dry-stone walls which are covered, on the interior side of the vault, with a thick coating of sand and lime.

The vault is rendered accessible by a 1m60 long *dromos*, with four steps. It passes underneath the threshold of a door communicating between two rooms situated above.²⁵ The beaten earth floor of the vault, *pl. V, H*, lays 1m40 under the covering slabs which form the ceiling, at 5m overall depth. At the moment of discovery, it was covered with vases, most of them broken, with some bronze spatulae which had been part of the funeral furnishings of the secondary inhumations laid down in the vault at the time of Recent Ugarit 1 and 2. The different types of ceramics, among them many Cypriot and Mycenaean painted vases figure on our cross-section, *pl. V, G (1-20)*; for further details, one can refer to our excavation report.²⁶

In the funerary chamber, with the exception of some small fragments of vases, no object of the original furnishings of vault XXXVI has been found. But a small number of them have survived in the ossuary, which has remained intact, and the entrance of which is at the base of the Southern wall of the vault, on the same side as the *dromos* and the entrance door.²⁷ The bottom of the ossuary descends to 60cm below the beaten-earth floor of the vault,²⁸ *pl. V, J (21-5)*.

Among the vases and fragments retrieved from the bottom of the ossuary, there were several jugs painted in red and black as well as others of grey earth covered with a handsome, shiny wine-red or black engobe, *pl. V, J (21-3, 25)*. Finally, we have found there a fragment of a Cretan vase in fine clay (*egg-shell ware*) painted in red and white on a dark brown background with metallic reflections, in the best style of Kamares or Middle Minoan 2, *pl. V, J (24)*.²⁹ Exhibited at the occasion of the centennial of the British School at Athens in London in 1936, it has been described by Arthur Evans³⁰ as follows: "Part of a cup of the finest egg-shell ware. It answers both in texture and in details of decoration to the remains of similar cups from the royal pottery store of Knossos, approximately dated by the Harageh deposit to the reign of Senusert II (*ca* 1906-1888 B.C.)."

As we have stated in our *Ugaritica*,³¹ the Kamares ceramics of the type designated by Evans as distinctive of Middle Minoan 2 A, seems to have remained in use at Ras Shamra until the 18th century. But we have not put in doubt the initial date of use of this kind of ceramic. During our

²⁴ *Ibid.*, fig. 3.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, fig. 2 plan and fig. 3.

²⁶ *Syria*, xix, 1938, pp. 201, 328 and fig. 5.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, fig. 3, cross-section A-B.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, cross-section C-D, M; same arrangement in the contemporaneous vaults LIV and LV, *ibid.*, fig. 24.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, xviii, 1937, pp. 144-5; xix, 1939, pp. 203-4, fig. 6; *Ugaritica*, I, pp. 54-6, figs 43, 44, 47, 48, here *pl. v, J (24)*.

³⁰ *British Archaeological Discoveries in Greece and Crete*, Roy. Acad. of Arts, 1936, pp. 8 and 15.

³¹ *Ugaritica*, I, p. 55ff.

two last excavation campaigns, new vase specimens of Middle Minoan 2 A, imported from Crete, have been found, this time in strata which are indisputably contemporaneous with the Egyptian monuments of the time of Sesostriis II (ca. 1906-1888) and Amenemhat III (ca. 1850-1800), unearthed at Ras Shamra. The Cretan *egg-shell ware* was therefore known in Ugarit as early as the beginning of the 19th century BC. It follows from these observations that the group of Syrian and Minoan vases found in the ossuary of vault XXXVI, *pl. V, J*, must be placed chronologically between about 1900 and 1750 BC.

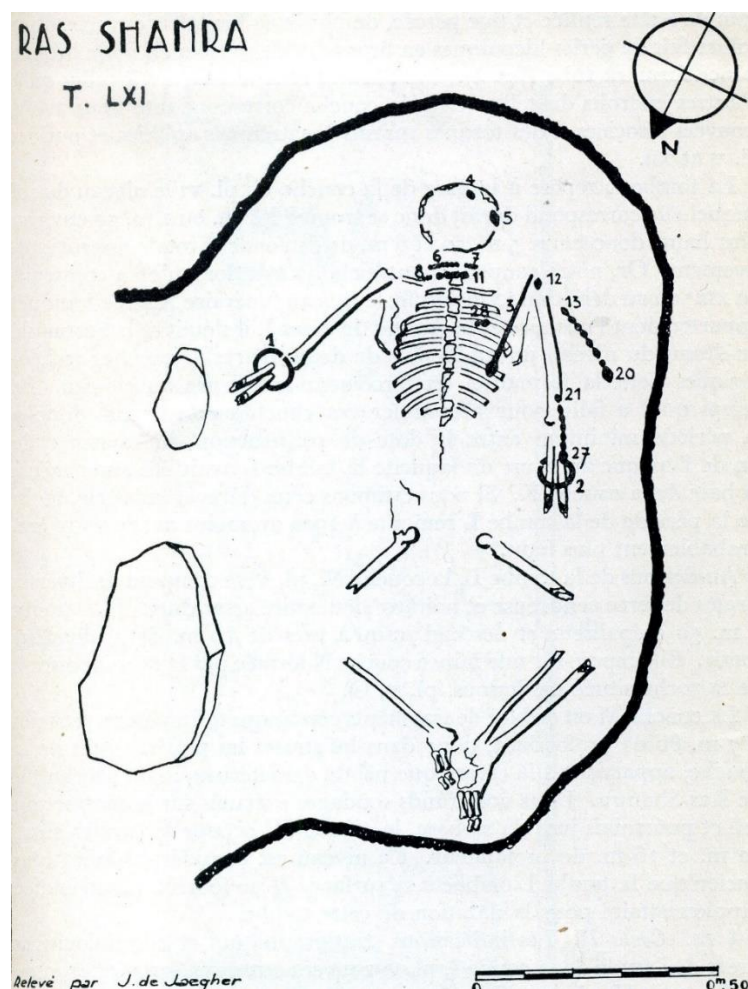


Fig. 4: Tomb LXI of cross-section I (L) from the beginning of the Middle Bronze.

Said ossuary is dug in a layer of fairly loose ground soil, mixed with stone fragments and some rare and very small fragments of rustic vases, the age of which we have been unable as of now to set precisely. This layer, *pl. V, K*, which at the point of our sounding did not contain any identifiable vestiges of any dwelling, reaches a depth of 2m50. At its base, between 6m50 and 7m50 overall depth, we have brought to light a burial place surrounded and partly covered with stones, L of cross-section I, *pl. F* and fig. 4.

Adornments accompanying this skeleton include a thick pin with a bulging head and a pierced stem, several open bracelets, a necklace made of bi-conic bronze pearls and spirals of bronze wire forming a tube (fig. 4). These adornments are identical with those which in other places of

the tell and in the corresponding layer we have found associated with massive torques with flattened, lipped ends, *pl. V* and *XII*.

Tomb L rests at the base of layer K, *pl. V*; the ground level to which it corresponds must therefore have found itself some 1m or 1m50 higher up, that is, between 5m50 and 6m of overall depth approximately. However, as clearly shown on our cross-section, when, in the 19th or beginning of the 18th century, the funerary vault XXXVI to which belonged the ossuary and the group of vases J was constructed, over two meters of archaeological layers had already accumulated above ground level K, the formation of which is necessarily anterior to the vault. The time needed to accumulate these layers is therefore corresponding to the minimum period between the date of construction of the vault and the end of the period during which tomb L had been installed at the base of level K. If we estimate this duration to be of one century, the end of the period of tomb L must go back to at least 1900 BC, and probably farther.

Above tomb L, layer M, *pl. V*, is composed of diverse strata of rather hard-textured, ashy and black earth. It reaches a thickness of 2m50 and goes down to nearly 10m of overall depth. It rests on a thin layer N formed by the decomposition of the rock situated underneath, *pl. V, O*.

Layer M is riddled with ceramic fragments: one of them, retrieved at a depth of 7m80, therefore in the most recent strata of the layer, belongs to the painted ceramic characteristic of level IV at Ras Shamra. In our big soundings, executed at the top of the tell and carried through to the base, level IV occupies the strata between 12m and 16m depth. This level is considerably older than tomb L established at its surface. It does not contribute any additional clue to the dating of this tomb.

§ 14. *Cross-section II*. Stratigraphic and chronological indications drawn from the study of cross-section I, *pl. V*, can be verified by examining cross-section II, *pl. VIII*. This cross-section was obtained in the same region of the tell, about 150m to the East of the first one, in the centre of square 5 on the overall plan.³²

As in the preceding cross-section, we found here, under the surface and recent humus, vestiges (ceramics, bronzes, cylinders) of RS I,3 or Recent Ugarit 3 (1365-1200) marked A, *pl. VIII*. Immediately below, we have unearthed the ruins of several dwellings (B) the occupation of which was spread over the period of Recent Ugarit 2 (1450-1365). Some of these dwellings had been built at the beginning of Recent Ugarit, in the 16th century. But most of them go back to Middle Ugarit and have, with slight structural changes, been reused during Recent Ugarit.

The floor of the dwelling marked D on our cross-section II, *pl. VIII*, rests at an overall depth of 2m60, at the same level as the floor of the dwelling of cross-section I, *pl. V*. Like the dwelling in cross-section I, the dwelling of cross-section II was also equipped with a funerary vault, here designated by the number LV. But in contrast with vault XXXVI described above, vault LV had remained intact and had preserved in place its original funerary furnishings,³³ *pl. VIII, G*.

The most ancient ceramic types of vault LV, particularly those contained in the ossuary³⁴ and those which had accumulated on the floor of the funerary chamber at the entrance of the

³² *Syria*, xix, 1938, fig. 1 ; *Ugaritica*, i, fig. 40.

³³ For the description of vault LV and of its furnishings, see our report in *Syria*, xix, 1938, p. 222ff, figs 24-8.

³⁴ In order to keep our drawing simple, we have not figured the ossuary in cross-section II, but it is indicated on the plan and in the cross-sections published in our excavation's report, *ibid.*, fig. 24.

ossuary,³⁵ are identical with the vases retrieved from the ossuary of vault XXXVI, *pl. V, J*, which had also yielded the Kamares fragment. We must therefore attribute them to the period between 1900 and 1750, in rounded numbers. This attribution is confirmed by the presence among them of several sphere-bellied, painted jugs, which are typically Syrian, *pl. VIII (44, 46)*, similar ones having been found in Egypt, at Kahun,³⁶ mixed with Kamares fragments in the ruins of dwellings inhabited by workers, probably of Syrian origins, who were employed in the construction of the pyramid of Sesostris II (1906-1888), fig. 53 (13-18).

Among the other types of ceramics of tomb LV of which it is possible to determine the date, there are several small pitchers of grey earth, covered with a bright red, carefully polished engobe. Similar vases have been found in the large tombs I and II of the princes or local kings of Byblos who were contemporaries of Pharaohs Amenemhat III and IV (1850-1792), fig. 64, E. As for the more recent vases of vault LV, to which belong the jugs with trilobed necks, a shape of metallic origin, *pl. VIII (35)*, none is posterior to 1700 approximately, if we judge by our latest observations at Ras Shamra, and contrarily to what we had thought at the time of the discovery of the vault.³⁷ The types of bronzes, daggers and pins, as well as the cylinders, confirm these indications.

Whereas in cross-section I, *pl. V*, virgin soil was reached only at an overall depth of 10m, in cross-section II, *pl. VIII*, our workers' pickaxes already hit it at 6m45. Yet the stratigraphic sequence is the same in both cross-sections. Layer K which, in cross-section I reaches a thickness of 2m50, is merely represented in cross-section II by weak traces which, moreover, are mixed up with the superior strata of the underlying layer M, *pl. VIII*. The excavations done at the moment of the construction of vault LV are the cause of this melange.

At this occasion, the builders of the vault had encountered a grave similar to the one which we found at the base of layer K in cross-section I, *pl. V*. They did not evacuate its bones, nor its funerary furnishings; it is hard to say whether they did this out respect or indifference.

§ 15. *Cross-section III*. Cross-section III, *pl. XIII*, was obtained at the occasion of our excavations in the necropolis uncovered as early as our second excavation campaign, in 1930, on the North-East eminence of the tell, between the temples of Baal and Dagon,³⁸ and we continued our exploration of it in 1931 and 1932.³⁹

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 224, fig. 26, B, C, T, X, Y, Z ; they are represented in our cross-section *pl. VIII* in the row resting on the floor of the vault.

³⁶ Flinders Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, London, 1890, p. 21, M; by the same, *Illahun, Kahun and Gurab*, London, 1891, p. 5ff. The monument having been completed, the workers' dwellings were abandoned; some of them were reoccupied at the time of the 18th dynasty, but the relatively poor remains of that period do not merge with those of the Middle Kingdom. The same type of jug has also been encountered in strata G to F at Beit Mirsim in Palestine, attributed by Mr Albright to the 19th-18th centuries; *AASOR*, xiii, 1933, pl. 22 (T), and here § 68.

³⁷ Cf. *Syria*, xix, 1938, p. 224 where we surmised that the most ancient vases of the vault went back to the end of the Middle Kingdom, the majority to the 17th century, whereas the most recent ones might reach down to the 16th century.

³⁸ About in the middle of the line separating squares 9 and 10 of the overall plan, *ibid.*, p. 195, fig. 1. The first stratigraphic and chronological observations are consigned in our report of 1930, cf. *Syria*, xii, 1931, p. 4.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, xiii, 1932, pp. 16-20 ; xiv, 1933, p.111.

Under the present level, we have brought to light very poor remains of RS I,3 or Recent Ugarit 3 (1365-1200), which are corresponding to those of layer A of cross-sections I and II, *pl. V* and *VIII*.

Beginning at a depth of 50cm and down to 1m10 on average, we have found vases and bronzes as well as a few tablets inscribed in cuneiform, *pl. XIII* (5 and 12) from Recent Ugarit, the period between 1550 and 1365. Level I does not contain any burials. We noticed some installations of a ritual character, described in our excavations account.⁴⁰ It has not been possible as yet to establish if they were in connection with neighboring sanctuaries or with the underlying necropolis going back to the second level, that is, Middle Ugarit.

The demarcation between the two levels is facilitated in this location of the tell by the fact that the most recent layers of the necropolis are made up of a compacted, yellowish clay which contrasts sharply with the loose brown-colored soil of level I situated above.⁴¹



PLATE VI: RAS SHAMRA. The excavations of the palace and of the fortress of Ugarit, state of the clearing in February 1939. (Aerial photograph).

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, xii, 1931, p. 4 ; xiii, 1932, p. 16.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, xiii, 1932, p. 16.



PLATE VII: RAS SHAMRA-UGARIT. The square tower and, hidden behind it, the postern and glacis.

When digging was undertaken in order to bury the ritual deposits mentioned above, some of the tombs contained in the superficial layers of the underlying necropolis were accidentally upturned. Yet the diggers of the past put themselves at pains to rebury the bones as well as the left-over ceramic furnishings.⁴²

The tombs of the necropolis of level II or Middle Ugarit are buried at a depth between ca 1m75 and 4m, exceptionally even lower. A fact which proves the long duration of use of this necropolis.⁴³

In the upper, most recent levels, we have brought to light individual burials or burials of three to four individuals accompanied by offerings generally contained in a small number of vases: small, shiny black flasks similar to those of vault LV, *pl. VIII* (31), basins and bowls of ordinary buff earthenware, as well as painted jugs, several of which are adorned at the base of the neck with radiating brush-strokes of a purple or reddish color, *pl. XIII* (17). None of these ceramic types are posterior to ca. 1650, judging by their similarities with contemporary vases from Egyptian monuments of the time of the 12th and 13th dynasties found at Ras Shamra. The youngest date proposed, with reservations, (16th century),⁴⁴ at the beginning of our excavations for these last burials of the necropolis was in error, due in part to our lack of experience of the stratigraphical structure of level II, which was still insufficiently explored, in part to the trust we put into the

⁴² *Ibid.*, xii, 1931, p. 5.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, xiii, 1932, pp. 16-20 and *pl. XVII*.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, xii, 1931, p. 5 ; 1932, pp. 17-19.

PLATE VIII

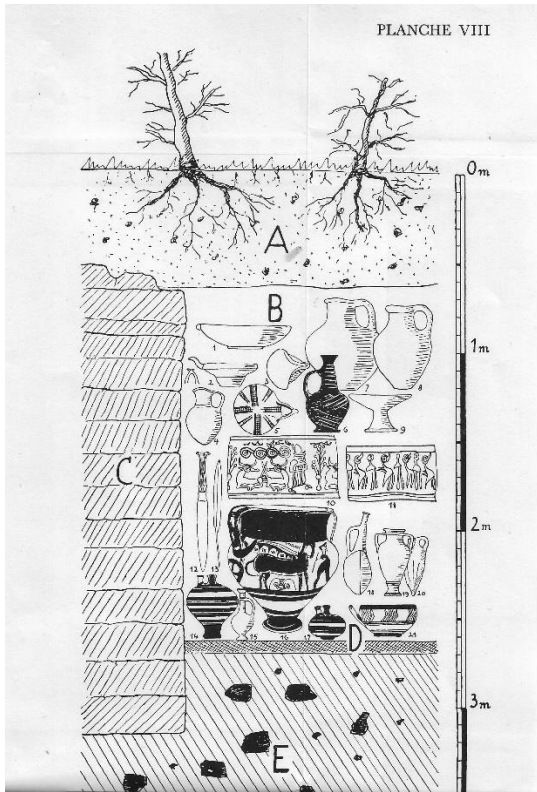


PLATE VIII. RAS SHAMRA. Stratigraphic cross-section II. Cf. § 14, [pp. 18 FF]. Drawing by C.F.A. Schaeffer.

A. Superficial layer containing isolated vestiges of RS I,3 or Recent Ugarit 3 (1365-1200).

B.-C. Ruins of a dwelling built during RS II or Middle Ugarit and reused, after few structural changes, during Recent Ugarit, as testified by objects found on the floor.

D. Floor (D) or the original dwelling.

E. Filling layer between floor (D) and F.

F. The covering slab (F) of vault G.

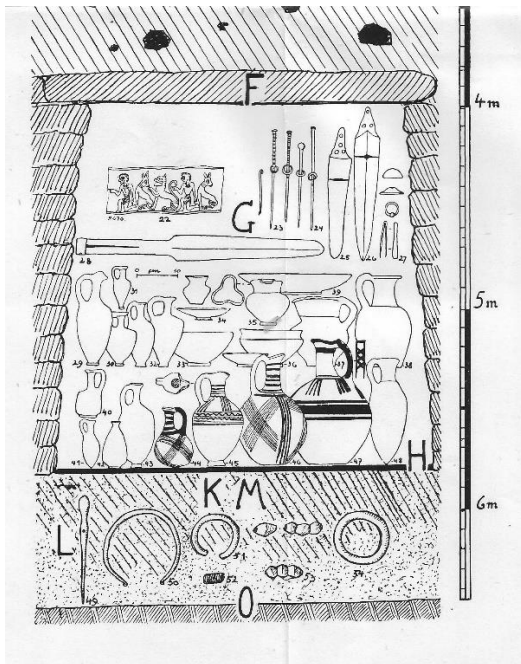
G. Funeral vault LV found intact and containing its original funeral furnishings *in situ*, dating to RS II, 2 or Middle Ugarit 2 (1900-1750).

H. Beaten earth floor of funerary vault LV (G).

K. Layer of loose soil and black ashes, a mixture created during construction of vault LV (G).

L. Remains of a tomb of Middle Ugarit I (2100-1900) similar to the one cross-section I (*pl. V*), L.

O. Natural rock, base of the sounding.



chronology of Syrian ceramics, then in the process of being studied.⁴⁵ So that we had missed recognizing the extent of the chronological hiatus inserting itself between the period of the oldest burials of the necropolis of level II and the more ancient remains of level I contained in the layer immediately above.

The most recent burials of the necropolis of Middle Ugarit being older than ca 1650, and the remains of Recent Ugarit, such as we came upon them on the location of the necropolis, not being older than 1550 (rounded), the observed hiatus lasted at least one century. In other locations of the tell, the hiatus seemed to have lasted for nearly two centuries. For instance, in the lower city, at the foot of the eminence crowned with the temples of Baal and Dagon, dwellings and funerary vaults of Recent Ugarit 2 (1450-1365) are the successors of dwellings and vaults going back to the period between 1900 and 1700 (see cross-section II, *pl. VIII*). At the beginning of Recent Ugarit 1, the reoccupation of the tell seems thus to have been only partial; the city had only gradually recovered the prosperity and importance it had enjoyed in the time of Middle Ugarit, corresponding to the time of the Middle Kingdom in Egypt.

On our cross-section III, *pl. XIII*, the limit between levels I and II is at a depth of about 1m40. From that limit on, the brownish, loose soil which is distinctive of level I is replaced by packed, yellowish earth which, as we have pointed out, is characteristic at this location of the levels of the necropolis of level II. A few meters to the East of cross-section III, at a depth between 1m and 1m40, we have found fragments of two statues of a sphinx by the name of Amenemhat III (1850-1800 or 1790). They constitute offerings formerly made at the temple of Baal.⁴⁶ We indicated one of these sphinges in dots on our cross-section III, *pl. XIII* (14), as it was not retrieved at the very spot where this cross-section was established. A little farther to the South of the latter, and at the same level as the sphinx fragments, we found a mutilated statuette representing princess Chnoumit Nofre Hedj, who became the wife of Sesostri II (ca. 1906-1888). After having been intentionally decapitated and broken⁴⁷ like the sphinges and all other Egyptian monuments of the Middle Kingdom found to date at Ras Shamra, the fragments had been left abandoned on what had been the surface of the ground at the time. The level at which they were found thus indicates the habitation level of Ugarit at the time of the 12th Egyptian dynasty.

Burials corresponding to this period must be at ca. 1m to 1m50 deeper than this level of habitation. However, as shown on cross-section III, *pl. XIII*, at this depth, between 2m and 3m from the present surface, we have found, in the middle layers of the necropolis, tombs which were characterized by the presence of Syrian and Cretan vases of the Middle Minoan 2, similar to those retrieved at the same time as a Kamares fragment from the ossuary of vault XXXVI, cross-section I, *pl. V*. The date attributed to that ceramic, 1900-1750 in rounded numbers, is therefore confirmed by the testimony of cross-section III.

We point out that at the edge of cross-section III, in the layers containing the tombs of the time of the Egyptian Middle Empire, we have brought to light a kind of a *cist* [[cistern, *n. of tr.*]], made of stand-up limestone slabs, formerly covered with other slabs which were laid flat to form a lid. In the South of the necropolis, we have encountered a second tomb of the same type of which

⁴⁵ We were also, then, under the influence of the generally very low dates attributed to the scarabs of the type called Hyksos (*Syria*, xiii, 1932, pp. 17-19); finds which have been made since taught us that some of the scarabs go back to the times of the 13th dynasty and even to the end of the 12th (cf. below, § 76).

⁴⁶ *Syria*, xiv, 1933, p. 120 ; *Ugaritica*, i, p. 25.

⁴⁷ *Syria*, xiii, 1932, p. 20, pl. xiv, 1, and fig. 13.

the *cist*, with the exception of the lid, had remained intact, fig. 51.⁴⁸ It was part of a dwelling the ruins of which were cleared at the same location. The *cist*'s interior was covered with a coating of earth-clay apparently baked in place. The bones and ceramic fragments were dispersed inside the *cist* and around it fig. 50 (A-H), the tomb having been anciently broken into.



PLATE IX: RAS SHAMRA-UGARIT: The postern (after removal of blockage) and the glacis which had been anciently stripped of its stone covering. Cf. *pl. III*, (B) and *VII*. (Photogr. Mission de Ras Shamra, 1939)

⁴⁸ Unpublished material of our third and sixth excavation campaigns (1931 and 1934).

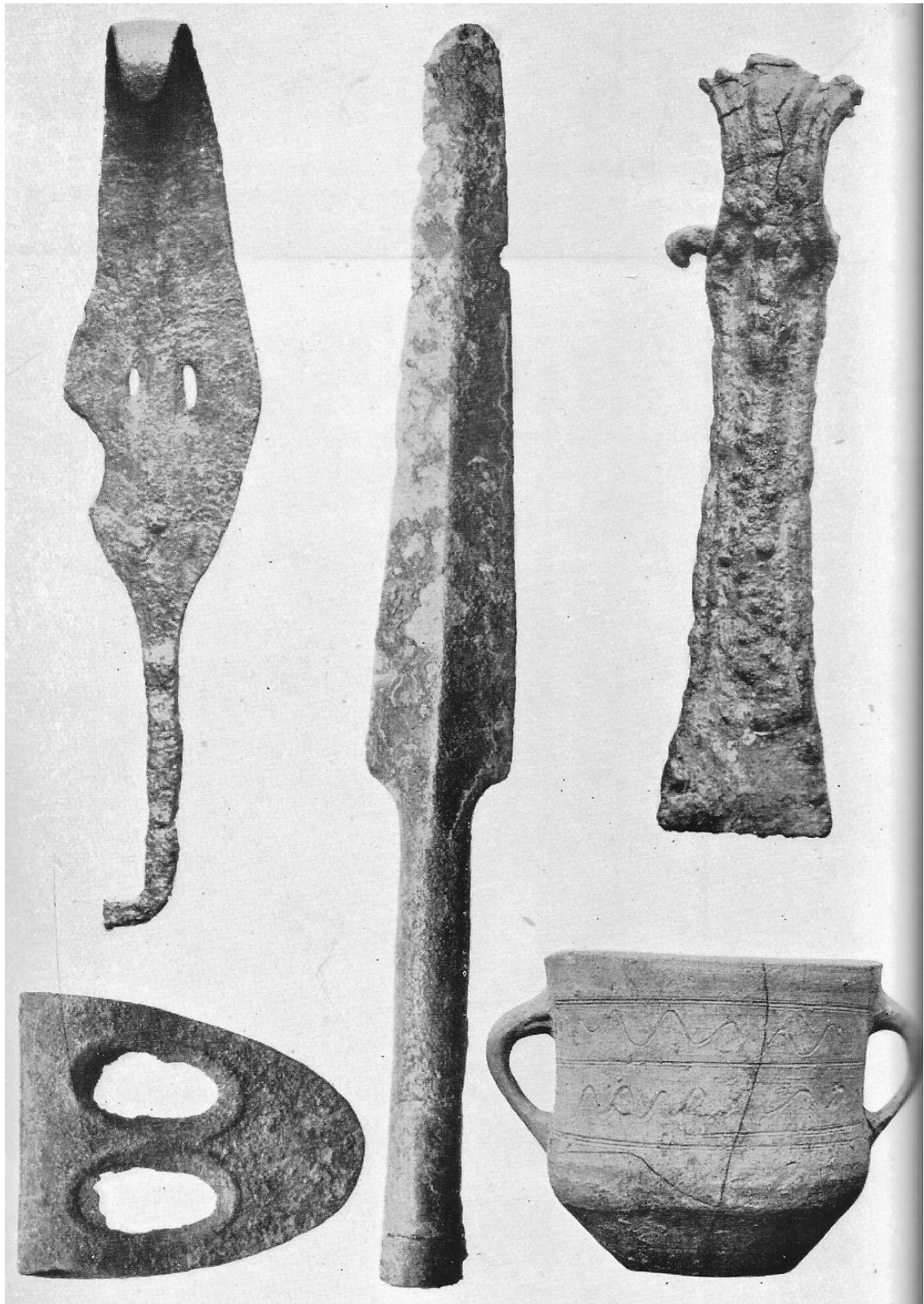


PLATE X: RAS SHAMRA-UGARIT. Above, from left to right: spear-head of Ancient Ugarit 3 of the type known also from Troy III (cf. here §§ 24, 114, 125); 2 and 3 spear-tip and hatchet in bronze from RS II,2 or Middle Ugarit 2 (1900-1750). Below: bronze battle-ax and so-called bell-shaped vase of Middle Ugarit 1 (2100-1900). Cf. § 15 and cross-section III, *pl. XIII*.

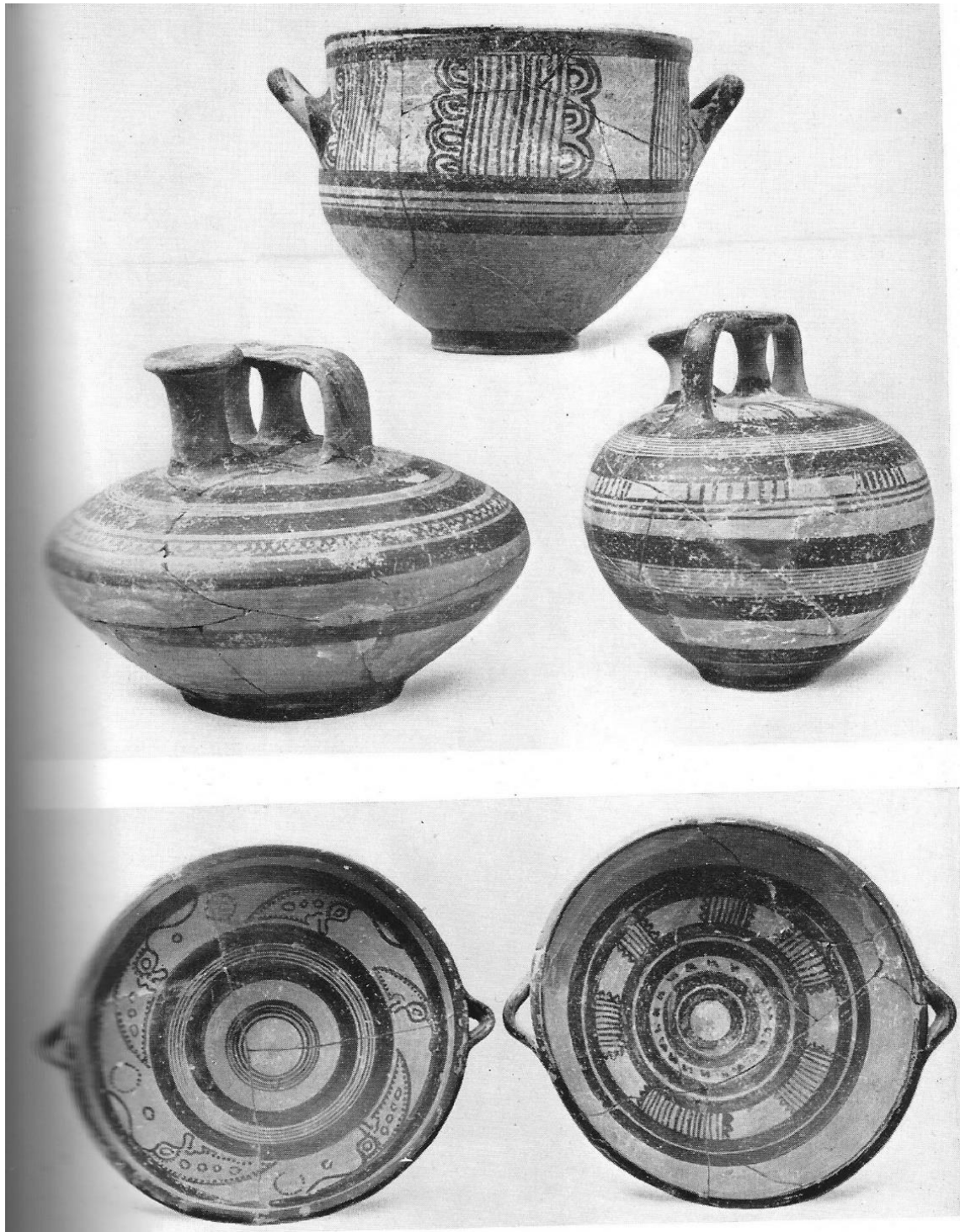


PLATE XI: RAS SHAMRA-UGARIT. Krater, Stirrup vases and Mycenaean plates from the funerary vault V of Minet-el-Beida from the end of Recent Ugarit 2 (1450-1365) or beginning of 3 (1365-1200). Cf. here §§ 5 and 6 and *Syria*, 1933, p. 100, fig. 5 and *pl. X*.



PLATE XII: RAS SHAMRA-UGARIT: Bronze bracelets, pearls and pin from Middle Ugarit 1 (2100-1900) from tomb LXI. Cf. here § 13, fig. 4 and cross-section I, *pl. V, L*.

The vases originating from it are the same as those laid down in the tombs contemporaneous to the Middle Kingdom: jugs without a stand, with spherical bellies decorated with horizontal

bands painted in red and black, fig. 50 (H), small flasks made of black earth with trilobed or circular necks, fig. 50 (A). In addition to these well-known types, we found others in the *cist*, which had been rarely or never found up to then, notably a goblet with a ring-shaped foot in hard-baked grey earth, showing striations at the inside betraying the use of a potter's-wheel, fig. 50 (E). Similar goblets have been found in tombs also equipped with a *cist* at Tell Ahmar (Till Barsib), at Karkemish and on other sites of Northern Syria, to which we shall come back (§ 46, 47 and *pl. XX*).

The Ras Shamra *cists* can be dated between 1900 and 1750 BC.

In the deepest layers of the second level necropolis, we have observed a very sharp change in the character of all the finds, cross-section III, *pl. XIII*. Here, at an overall depth between 3m and 4m, painted vases are lacking. In fact, most of the tombs brought to light up to now are devoid of ceramics offerings. One of the tombs situated at the base of the level contained a thick-walled vase, in a grey-yellowish earth, degreased by means of a fine, quartzic sand, and decorated with undulating lines incised by means of a comb, fig. 56 (20, 23). Other specimen of the same ceramics have been found at various locations on the tell, at the base of level II, *pl. X*, below, to the right.

At the same depth as this comb-decorated ceramics, we have found tombs with the skeleton lying on its side, with legs slightly bent, accompanied by bronze ornaments: bracelets, bi-conic pearls mixed with cornelian and quartz pearls, thin wire spirals, thick pins with bulging heads and pierced necks, *pl. XIII* (39, 40, 44), similar to the ornaments in tombs L signalled above (cross-sections I and II; *pl. V* and *VIII* (L)). Somewhat further, in the same layer, we have retrieved fragments of massive torques with lipped extremities from the same period, *pl. XIII* (45).

The tombs at the base of the level II necropolis are buried about one meter lower than the tombs of the time of Sesostri II and Amenemhat III of the 12th dynasty encountered in the median level of the same necropolis. On a terrain devoid of buildings like the one crossed by our cross-section III, it is not exaggerated to estimate at one century the duration represented by this difference in levels. We succeed in fixing the end of the period characterized by the use of comb-decorated ceramics, torques with lipped extremities and thick pierced pins to ca. 1900 BC, at the latest.

Following our soundings and excavations in the sanctuaries of Baal and Dagon, we earlier fixed at 2100 in rounded numbers the initial date of level II. These sanctuaries which, judging by stratigraphic clues, date certainly back to the beginning of the second level, had already received offerings at the time of Sesostri I, that is, as early as about the middle of the 20th century. Considering their dimensions, they must have been built during a time of prosperity for ancient Ugarit, the development of which presumes a certain passage of time, which brings back their foundation to the period of the 11th dynasty.⁴⁹ Based on the above, the initial period of level II to which belong the tombs buried at its base, *pl. XIII*, must be placed between 2100 and 1900 in rounded numbers. These results comfort the date of 1900 which, according to the clues furnished by cross-section I studied above (§ 13) constitutes the extreme *terminus ante quem* for the period of the L tombs, *pl. V*.

As to the dates of these tombs, two discoveries made in level II bring us additional information. In the median layers of the necropolis crossed by cross-section III, some tombs which go back to the period between 1900 and 1750 in rounded numbers, have yielded pins with lightly bulging

⁴⁹ *Syria*, xvii, 1936, p. 132.

heads and pierced necks, *pl. XIII* (31). These pins derive obviously from the similar, more massive type retrieved from the tombs at the base of this same level, *pl. XIII* (44). This evolution corresponds to a certain duration of time, which compels us to move up the date of the prototype to the 20th century at the least.

A few meters West of cross-section III we have found an open torque with lipped ends, noted in dashes in our cross-section, *pl. XIII* (36). Said torque was lying isolated in a stratum which is distinctly lower than the floor on which we had found the sphinges at the name of Amenemhat III and the statue of Chnoumit. Because of this location, this torque, fig. 56 (14) must be anterior to 1900 in rounded numbers.

§ 16. *Stratigraphic limit between levels II and III.* At the place where cross-section III was established, the nature of the layers at the base of level II changes radically at around 4m40 overall depth, *pl. XIII*. From this limit on, the compact, light-yellow colored clay earth is replaced with a blackish, ashy, fairly loose earth, mixed with bricks or brick fragments hardened by fire. This layer is quite distinctly the result of a vast fire which destroyed buildings built with sun-dried bricks.

As is still the case today, the most flammable part of Syrian dwellings was the flat roof made out of beams and branches covered with packed earth. When caving in, the roof would take with it in its collapse the upper part of the brick walls. The whole thing ended up consuming itself on the floor of the devastated dwellings, where a heavy layer of ashes mixed with fire-hardened bricks accumulated. It is this layer which we encounter under the base of level II from a depth of 4m40 in our cross-section III, *pl. XIII*.

The brick walls left standing after the catastrophe crumbled and disintegrated; they then underwent demolition and a general levelling. This is how they ended up covering the layer of ashes with a thick mattress of yellow clay earth. It is in this layer that the necropolis of level II was dug.

The thickness and extent of the layer produced by the disintegrated walls and the ash layer itself indicate a momentous conflagration which, at the location of our cross-section III, had consumed wide-reaching building areas. Among them must have figured the predecessors of the temples of Baal and Dagon. This explains why the terrain was not covered again with dwellings after the conflagration, but was transformed into a cemetery situated between the new temple of Baal in the West, the residence of the high-priest in the South and the temple of Dagon and its annexes in the East.⁵⁰

Said conflagration marks the end of a stage in the ancient history of Ugarit. This is confirmed by the different nature of the archaeological remains contained in the fire layer and in the layers below, in relation to the finds retrieved from the layers immediately posterior to the fire and the tombs of the necropolis of level II. Consequently, as early as our second excavation campaign,⁵¹ we considered the layer of disintegrated bricks to mark the limit between level II of Ras Shamra or Middle Ugarit and the underlying level III which we will forthwith designate under the term Ancient Ugarit.

⁵⁰ Cf. the map in our *Ugaritica*, i, fig. 9 and *Syria*, xviii, 1937, pl. xxvi.

⁵¹ *Syria*, xii, 1931, p. 6.

PLATE XIII

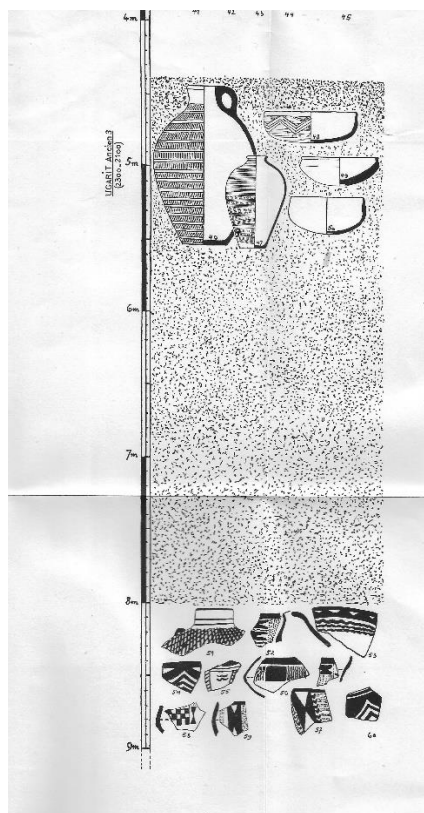
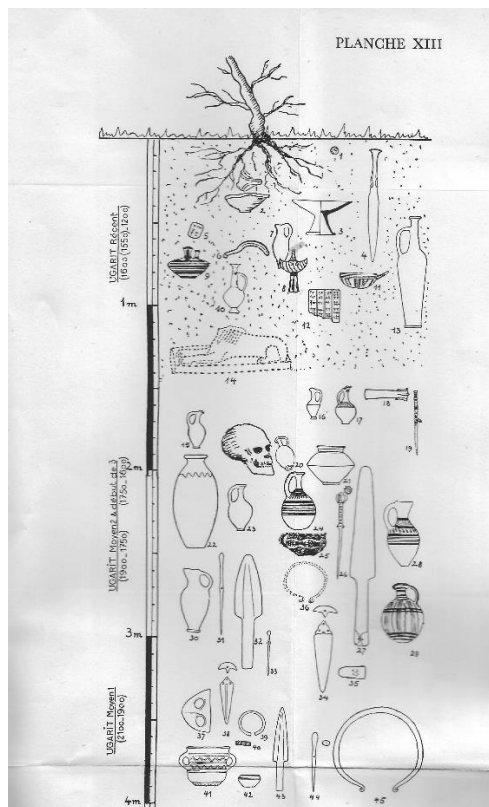


PLATE XIII. RAS SHAMRA. Stratigraphic cross-section III. Cf. 15, [pp. 20ff]. Drawing by C.F.A. Schaeffer.

1. Greek coin.
2. Cananean lamp of RS I,3 or Recent Ugarit 3 (1365-1200).
3. Cup with raised foot from RS I,2 or Recent Ugarit 2 (1450-1365).
4. Bronze dagger from RS I,2 or Recent Ugarit 2 (1450-1365).
5. Cuneiform tablets (contract) from RS I,2 or Recent Ugarit 2 (1450-1365).
6. Bronze sickle from RS I,2 or Recent Ugarit 2 (1450-1365).
7. Pointy bottle from RS I,2 or Recent Ugarit 2 (1450-1365).
8. Painted female idole of the Mycenaean type from RS I,2 or Recent Ugarit 2 (1450-1365).
9. Mycenaean stirrup vase from RS I,2 or Recent Ugarit 2 (1450-1365).
10. So-called bilbil vase from RS I,2 or Recent Ugarit 2 (1450-1365).
11. Cypriot bowl with a scaled decoration from RS I,2 or Recent Ugarit 2 (1450-1365).
12. Fragment of an alphabetic cuneiform tablet (cycle of Baal) from RS I,2 or Recent Ugarit 2 (1450-1365).
13. Spindle-shaped bottle in red, shiny earth from RS I,1 or Recent Ugarit 1 (1600-1450).
14. Fragments of a sphinx of Amenemhat III (ca. 1850-1800).
15. Flask in shiny red earth from RS II,2 or Middle Ugarit 2 (1900-1750).
16. Flask in shiny black earth from
17. Painted bottle from the beginning of
18. Bronze ax from RS II,2 or Middle Ugarit 2 (1900-1750).
- 19: Bronze pin from RS II,2 or Middle Ugarit 2 (1900-1750).
- 20.-23: flasks and jar of a tomb of RS II,2 or Middle Ugarit 2 (1900-1750).
24. Painted vase from RS II,2 or Middle Ugarit 2 (1900-1750).
25. Painted Cretan cup in *egg-shell ware* from RS II,2 or Middle Ugarit 2 (1900-1750).

26-29. Bronze pin and spear and two painted vases from a tomb of RS II,2 or Middle Ugarit 2 (1900-1750).

30-31. Flask in shiny red earth and bronze pin from RS II,2 or Middle Ugarit 2 (1900-1750).

32-35. Spear, pin dagger and fenestrated ax from a tomb of RSII,1 or Middle Ugarit 1 (2100-1900).

36. Torque with curled endings from the end of RSII,1 or Middle Ugarit 1 (2100-1900).

37-45: Bronze weapons and personal adornments, and two vases with incised decoration from tombs buried at the base of RSII,1 or Middle Ugarit 1 (2100-1900).

46-47: Jars with decorations obtained by the use of a comb from RS III,3 or Ancient Ugarit 3 (2300-2100).

48-50: Bowls, two of which (48 and 50) are of the *Khirbet Kerak* type, in shiny red and black earth from RS III,3 or Ancient Ugarit 3 (2300-2100).

51-60: Fragments of painted vases from the beginning of RS III or Ancient Ugarit (Cf. the continuation of this work).

§ 17. *Chronology of level II of Ras Shamra or Middle Ugarit.* Taking into account the clues yielded by the study of cross-sections I to III, we were brought to subdivide level II or Middle Ugarit into three periods. These are, from the bottom to the top of the level, that is, chronologically from its beginning to its end:

RS II,1 or Middle Ugarit 1 from 2100 to 1900

RS II,2 or Middle Ugarit 2 from 1900 to 1750

RS II,3 or Middle Ugarit 3 from 1750 to 1600.

The beginning of RS II, 1 or Middle Ugarit 1 (2100-1900) is characterized by the levelling of Ancient Ugarit before the building of the temples to Dagon and Baal. Middle Ugarit 1 ends at the beginning of the period corresponding to the monuments of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom of Ras Shamra. The most ancient object of this period found to date at Ras Shamra, a grain of a necklace made of cornelian, carries the cartouche of Sesostris I, who, according to the short chronology, had reigned between 1970 and 1936. Scarabs named after the same pharaoh have been found at Beit Mirsim (§ 68), Lachisch (§ 97) and Gaza (§ 85) in Palestine where they also constitute the most ancient objects of Egyptian origin brought to light to date.

Egyptian diplomacy was therefore at work in all of these countries from Southern Palestine to Northern Syria during the reign of Sesostris I already. This fact would justify dating the limit between Middle Ugarit 1 and 2 at around 1950 instead of 1900. We preferred adopting the lowest date possible. For, as the monuments are indicating, it is only beginning with the reign of Sesostris II (1906-1888) that Egypt succeeded in insuring effectively its political supremacy all the way to Ugarit on the Northern coast and to Qatna situated on the interior penetration route along the valley of the Orontes. (§ 64). There, M. du Mesnil has found a sphinx carrying a dedication of princess Ita, a contemporary of Chnoumit, with whom she is sharing her last abode within the precinct of the pyramid of Amenemhat II.

The number and importance of official monuments of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom found at Ras Shamra force one to admit that the local dynasty of the time of Middle Ugarit 2 (1900-1750) saw itself as an ally of the Pharaoh if not, in effect, its vassal.

At the time of the Middle Kingdom, Ugarit, like Byblos (§ 36), imported fairly large quantities of Cretan products of the Middle Minoan; these had even reached inland, as proven by a fragment of the *egg-shell* type found at Qatna (§ 64). At the same period, the same products were also imported into Egypt.⁵² So that trade was freely circulating from the Nile Valley to the South all the way to Ugarit in the North and to Crete in the West, bringing to this sphere or rather to this economic triangle a level of prosperity never reached before. From its situation at the summit of this triangle, where trade routes of the South and West were joining and prolonging themselves to Anatolia in the North and towards East in the direction of the Euphrates, Ugarit was drawing a large profit. But this flourishing period would end in a revolution during which all the Egyptian monuments of the Middle Kingdom at Ugarit would be destroyed or systematically mutilated. From all evidence, the iconoclasts were barbarians who ignored the value of hieroglyphics: they crushed to splinters the heads of statuettes, but let subsist inscriptions which bear witness even to the present day to the power and prestige which the pharaohs had enjoyed at Ugarit. At the same occasion, the city must have suffered considerably and have lost part of its population, for the necropolis crossed by cross-section III, *pl. XIII*, as well as the numerous family vaults installed

⁵² Cf. our *Ugaritica*, i, pp. 22 and 67; here fig. 53 (15-16).

in the basement of the dwellings and used for generations, then ceased to be used. The event therefore must have signified more than a mere regime change.

Among the mutilated Egyptian monuments of Ugarit the date of which is assured by an inscription, the most recent brought to light to date is named after Amenemhat III (1850-1800 or 1790). It is not to be excluded that among the many anepigraphic monuments of level II of Ras Shamra there could be some reaching down to the end of the Middle Kingdom. It is, indeed, likely that some ten years later, under Amenemhat IV (1800-1792 or 1777), Egyptian authority was still recognized in Northern Syria, as was the case at Byblos.⁵³ It is even possible that this situation might have endured until the beginning of the 13th dynasty.⁵⁴ On the other hand, systematic mutilation of Middle Kingdom statues and of the portraits of the representatives of the pharaoh indicate that the intentions of the destroyers were indeed to make the monuments recalling the Egyptian regime disappear. The event is thus the marker of the end of this regime and must have occurred earlier than 1730, rounded. Ugarit which, like Byblos and other Syrian cities, which had been politically in the dependence of Middle Kingdom Egypt, must have shared the fate of the superpower which crumbled at the end of the 18th century under the blows of an Asian invasion. The upheavals must have reached Ugarit before reaching the Nile Valley. So that it is likely that the end of Middle Ugarit 2 should be placed around 1750.

RS II,3 or Middle Ugarit 3 (1750-1600) is one of the most obscure periods of our site. In the three cross-sections studied above (§§ 13 to 15), the end of this period is not represented by any monument; it is characterized by a chronological hiatus. Judging by the finds retrieved from the vaults signalled above (§§ 13 and 14), it is evident that at the beginning of Middle Ugarit 3 the types of ceramics and bronzes resemble the types of the period preceding, but they degenerate rapidly later on. Some types of vases, which appear only towards the end of Middle Ugarit 2 (1900-1750), remain in use until an advanced phase of Middle Ugarit 3 (1750-1600). This is the case, for instance, for the thin-walled, ringing ceramics covered in a brown-black engobe with metallic reflections on which are applied fasces of parallel lines in a matte red. Also known from Cyprus⁵⁵ and Palestine,⁵⁶ these ceramics are named by anglophone archaeologists *red on black*, its variants *red on red* or *light on dark* (§ 154). At Ras Shamra, it appeared in vault LVI,⁵⁷ fig. 46, S-T, and at various locations in the area of the palace of Ugarit.⁵⁸ Every time that stratigraphic conditions allowed to give a date, these ceramics revealed themselves to be older than the final period of Middle Ugarit 3, that is, anterior to 1650 in rounded numbers.

From the clues gathered hitherto, it stands out very clearly that during Middle Ugarit 3 (1750-1600), activity was suspended in a large part of the city, either because it had been partially destroyed, or because the population had been reduced through emigration, or an epidemic, or any other cause. We are reduced, so far, to recording the fact.

⁵³ P. Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte*, p. 278.

⁵⁴ W.F. Albright, 'New Light on the History of Western Asia,' *BASOR*, lxxvi, 1940, p. 27. E. Drioton and J. Vandier, *L'Égypte*, p. 275ff. Still under Khasekhemre, Neferhotep, the 13th pharaoh of the 13th dynasty, Egyptian authority was recognized at Byblos.

⁵⁵ Cf. our observations in *Syria*, xix, 1938, p. 238. According to the *Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, t. I, p. 371, this ceramic should be characteristic of Middle Cypriot III, that is, the period between 1750 and 1600. Cf. below (§ 154) our observations about this matter.

⁵⁶ Flinders Petrie, *Gaza*, i, pl. xxxiv; iii, pl. xxx.

⁵⁷ *Syria*, xix, 1938, p. 236 and fig. 31.

⁵⁸ Cf. our report of the 10th and 11th campaigns, *ibid.*, xx, 1939, p. 288.

On the other hand, some yet unpublished, or only partially published, finds at Ras Shamra, prove that life during that fatal period was not completely extinguished in Ugarit. The funerary vault LXXV brought to light in 1939 in the district of the city at the foot of the eminence topped by the temples of Baal and Dagon⁵⁹ has yielded a series of vases of the final period of Middle Ugarit 3 (1750-1600) establishing a junction with the beginning of Recent Ugarit 1 (1600-1450). The rarity of such finds only ends up emphasizing the general absence of remains for this period at Ugarit.

§ 18. *Correspondence between the Chronologies of Middle Ugarit and of Middle Kingdom Egypt.* Due to the close political relations which, as proven by the discoveries at Ras Shamra, had existed between Ugarit and Middle Kingdom Egypt, the subdivisions of RS II or Middle Ugarit correspond to many divisions in the history of the 11th, 12th and 13th dynasties. Middle Ugarit 1 (2100-1900) covers the period of the 11th dynasty and the first half of the 12th before Sesostri III (1906-1888), during whose reign the political predominance of Egypt over Ugarit became a *fait accompli*. The end of Middle Ugarit 2 coincides with the fall of Egyptian prestige in Syria during the 13th dynasty and with the invasion of the Hyksos in the Nile Valley around the end of the 18th century BC. RS II, 3 or Middle Ugarit 3 (1750-1600) is contemporary to the Hyksos period in Egypt and with the expulsion of the Asians from the Nile Valley.

§ 19 *Correspondence between the Chronologies of Middle Ugarit and of Middle Minoan.* A no less satisfying synchronicity exists between the subdivisions of Middle Ugarit and the tripartite division adopted by Sir Arthur Evans for Middle Minoan:

Middle Ugarit 1 (2100-1900) = Middle Minoan 1 (2100-1900)

Middle Ugarit 2 (1900-1750) = Middle Minoan 2 (1900-1700)

Middle Ugarit 3 (1750-1600) = Middle Minoan 3 (1700-1550)

It is true that the classification of some of the Middle Minoan finds according to the chronological scheme adopted by Arthur Evans presents some difficulties. As the late J.D.S. Pendlebury has shown, some Minoan types continued to be in use in the rural districts of the island, when the region of the capital and the palace at Knossos had already produced a new type. As a result, the Kamares ceramics of the Middle Minoan 2A, with the delicate shapes of the *egg-shell ware* due to the potters of Knossos, is a contemporary of the Middle Minoan 1 ceramic such as it appears, for instance, in the *tholos* B of Platanos, not far from the South coast. If this would not have caused confusion in the terminology generally adopted after Evans, Pendlebury would have preferred abolishing Middle Minoan 2, which he considered to be a local development of Middle Minoan 1.⁶⁰ His wisdom has been rewarded now that the discovery at Ras Shamra of Minoan products imported to Ugarit comes to bolster the tripartite division and the dates adopted by Evans for Middle Minoan.

⁵⁹ Cf. our report of the 10th and 11th campaigns, *Syria*, xx, 1939, p. 282, fig. 4 (J-L, N).

⁶⁰ J.D.S. Pendlebury, *The Archaeology of Crete*, London, 1939, p. 300; R.W. Hutchinson, 'Type-Specimens of Minoan Pottery from Palaikastro,' *Annual British School at Athens*, xl, 1939-40, p. 38.

As for the Platanos tomb, a find at Ras Shamra proves that the date is considerably lower than the one accepted by Evans and Pendlebury. We shall discuss this find in the next paragraph (§ 20) as it concerns equally the question of the concordance of the Middle Ugarit chronology with the one of the first Babylonian dynasty.

§ 20. *The Subdivisions of Middle Ugarit and of Babylonian chronology.* A satisfying relationship between the dates of the subdivisions of Middle Ugarit and those of the main stages of Babylonian history can only be established if we give up the chronology for the first dynasty hitherto in favour, according to which the beginning of this dynasty should supposedly go back to before 2000.⁶¹ According to that 'long' chronology, the first dynasty's arrival to power would coincide with the beginning of Middle Ugarit 2, at the time of Amenemhat III, when Egypt was predominant at Ugarit. From the point of view of the general history of the Near East, such a situation is unlikely. If Hammurabi had been a contemporary of the first pharaohs of the 12th dynasty, how could the Sesostrises and Amenemhats who had sent diplomatic gifts to Ugarit, to Qatna and even farther North into Asia Minor⁶² have ignored political and cultural centres as important as Babylon and Mari? How could one explain, also, that these centres which, according to the Mari texts, had bought products originating in countries as far away as Crete, could have remained in ignorance of the great culture in the Nile Valley at the time of the Middle Kingdom? Finally, how would one explain that at the occasion of the import of Aegean products to Mari and into Babylonia through the intermediary of Ugarit, which was then saturated with Egyptian influences, no Egyptian monument of the Middle Kingdom would have reached these countries, when they became objects of import⁶³ at the time of the New Kingdom?

But what is decisive for us, is that at Ras Shamra the Babylonian cylinders engraved with inscriptions of the time of the first dynasty, some of which could be attributed to the time of Hammurabi⁶⁴, are found in the strata or in the tombs of Middle Ugarit 2, and not of those of Middle Ugarit 1 (2100-1900), except in the case of reshufflings. Those can therefore be attributable with certainty to the period from 1900 to 1750 in rounded numbers. In several cases, we were able to establish that the strata containing said cylinders are more recent than the Egyptians monuments which begin at Ugarit with those of Sesostris I and end with those of Amenemhat III; this narrows even more the dates for some of the Babylonian cylinders coming from Ugarit, and allows them to be placed between about 1800 and 1700.

So that the stratigraphic and chronological observations of Ras Shamra match very well the dates proposed by Mr Sidney Smith, also accepted by Mr W.F. Albright,⁶⁵ according to which the

⁶¹ Cf. on this matter our remarks in *Ugaritica*, I, 1939, p. 18, note 2, and the various systems of the 'long' Babylonian chronology in G. Contenau, *Manuel d'Archéologie Orientale*, iii, tableau 1.

⁶² Cf. the Middle Kingdom statuettes found at Boghazkeuy, verbal communication by M. Bittel (Istanbul) and Kurigin Kaleh, *The American Journal of Semitic Lang. and Liter.*, xliii, 1927, p. 100, fig. 19; *OLZ*, 1927, p. 546; 1928, p. 426. Cf. also W.F. Albright, in *BASOR*, xcix, 1945, p. 13.

⁶³ Cf. the Egyptian or egyptoid products of the time of the New Kingdom imported to Mari during the 14th-13th centuries, together with faience objects of the type of those found at Ugarit-Ras Shamra (A. Parrot, in *Ras Shamra* (A. Parrot, in *Syria*, xviii, 1937, p. 82, and pl. xv).

⁶⁴ Cf. F. Thureau-Dangin and E. Forrer in our excavation reports of the 7th and 8th campaigns, *Syria*, xvii, 1936, p. 124 and xviii, 1937, p. 155.

⁶⁵ W.F. Albright, 'New Light on the History of Western Asia,' *BASOR*, lxxvii, 1940, p. 25. Since, Mr Albright has rectified his conclusions again to bring them into accord with the dates proposed by Mr Poebel, cf. *BASOR*, xcix, 1945, p. 10. French Assyriologists too have insisted until now on higher dates. Cf. on this matter the

first Babylonian dynasty acceded to power only in 1900 in rounded numbers and collapsed around 1600.⁶⁶ According to the same chronology, the reign of Hammurabi goes from 1792 to 1750, meaning that he is contemporary with the end of the period corresponding to the political preponderance which Middle Kingdom Egypt had enjoyed in Syria and Palestine.

Recently, Mr A. Poebel, basing himself on an examination of the dynastic list found at Khorsabad in 1933,⁶⁷ proposes to reduce the dates even more and to place the reign of Hammurabi towards the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 17th.

It seems to us that some discoveries at Ras Shamra are in favour of Mr Sidney Smith's opinion rather than that of Mr. Poebel. In addition to the indications of which the first has already been made use of in his study,⁶⁸ we want to point out here the discovery in vault LVII at Ras Shamra,⁶⁹ fig. 306, of a hematite cylinder in the best style of the Babylonian glyptic of the period of the first dynasty, fig. 5. From the same vault come objects of Egyptian origin of the end of the Middle Empire, fig. 47, F, G, and Syrian vases, fig. 48, the equivalent of which have been found in Egypt⁷⁰ and in Syria in association with finds of the time of Amenemhat III and IV (1850-1792 or 1777). They constitute the oldest funerary offerings in this vault. The objects deposited last into this same vault, as we were able to establish during our excavation campaigns in 1938 and 1939, are no more recent than 1700 in rounded numbers.

But it is not the archaeological context alone which allows one to give a date to the cylinder of vault LVII. It shows a proportionately very large Ankh sign,⁷¹ placed in the centre of the main scene, fig. 5.

résumé given by M. René Dussaud in 'Notice sur la vie et les travaux de M. François Thureau-Dangin,' *Acad. Des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1944. Thureau-Dangin who, in 1947, had fixed the beginning of the reign of the first Babylonian dynasty in the year 2105, proposed in 1942 to adopt for the accession of Hammurabi 'at least provisorily, the date of 1850.'

⁶⁶ The exact dates proposed by Mr S. Smith are 1894 for the beginning, 1595 for the end of the dynasty. Cf. the remarks of M. G. Contenau (*Rev. Arch.*, 1941, p. 159ff); the author approves these reductions without indicating his opinion as to the exact dates of Hammurabi.

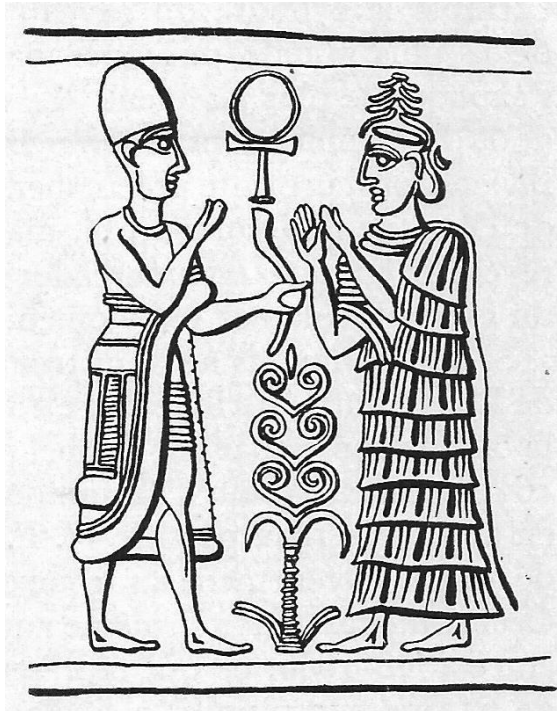
⁶⁷ A. Poebel, 'The Assyrian King list from Khorsabad,' *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, i, 1942, pp. 247, 460.

⁶⁸ S. Smith, 1.c., p. 15.

⁶⁹ Cf. or report in *Syria*, xix, 1938, p. 246. The cylinder will be published in our volume in preparation about the glyptic at Ugarit. We are only reproducing here, fig. 5, the central scene of the engraving.

⁷⁰ Our *Ugaritica*, i, pl. xiv, and fig. 50, D to H, M, 51, 52, 53, D, P, R.

⁷¹ Cf. or volume in preparation on the cylinders of Ras Shamra. One must mention here the cylinder engraved with the same symbols found at Taanak (§ 101).



The cylinder must have been engraved at the time of Egyptian preponderance at Ugarit, which would indicate the time of Amenemhat III or IV or, at the latest, of their successors of the beginning of the 13th dynasty. Let's admit that the collapse of Egyptian prestige occurred only at the time of the 13th dynasty, we cannot, for historic reasons, place the event after 1750 or 1730 at the latest. Moreover, as we have said already (§ 17), the iconoclasts, who systematically broke the heads of the Egyptian statues at Ugarit were obviously attacking the persons which they represented or the regime for which they stood as symbols. In sum, judging by its engraving, our cylinder is anterior to 1750 or 1730 at the latest, and judging by its archaeological context, it is posterior to 1850, the beginning of the reign of Amenemhat III.

Cylinders like those of vault LVII at Ras Shamra with its large personages carefully engraved have been considered distinctive of the period of Hammurabi; this is an opinion due to the first studies of the Babylonian glyptic and, in the end, more recent research⁷² has not been able to confirm them. It is a fact, nevertheless, that among the Babylonian cylinders found outside their country of origin, this is often the style that is encountered and it is also the style which has influenced many Syrian cylinders imitating the Babylonian prototypes, for instance the cylinder of vault LVII. It is of course at the time of the greatest Babylonian power that such a state of affairs would be most easily explainable. The cylinder of this type which has been found farthest from Babylonia, in the *tholos* B of Platanos in Crete, to which we shall come back, represents precisely this style. Chances are big that it belongs to the period of Hammurabi, now that the archives of Mari have revealed the trade relations between the island and Mesopotamia at the time of the great Babylonian legislator.⁷³

If these arguments are not misleading us, the cylinder of vault LVII at Ras Syghamra attributed at between 1850 and 1730 in rounded numbers, would exclude the date proposed by Mr Poebel for the reign of Shamsi-Adat I (1726-1694), contemporary to Hammurabi. This date has been put

⁷² H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, London, 1939, p. 147.

⁷³ G. Dossin, 'Les Archives économiques du palais de Mari,' *Syria*, xx, 1939, p. 111. Cf. already the penetrating remarks of Mr Sidney Smith in his *Early History of Assyria*, London, 1928, p. 203.

in doubt in 1942 already by Mr W.F. Albright, who then proposed to push back by 22 years Shamsi-Adat I's accession to the throne,⁷⁴ setting it to around 1748. This would compel one, according to the same author, to place the reign of Hammurabi between 1728-1686, which represents a new reduction in the order of 64 years in relation to the minimum date proposed by Mr Sidney Smith. The future will tell which of these two estimates should be retained, the one of the latter author, supported by the Ras Shamra finds as far as our present knowledge goes, or those of Mr Albright, based on a critical study of the Khorsabad list.

Vault LVII at Ras Shamra which has yielded the cylinder fig. 5 has also delivered Egyptian vases of the end of the Middle Kingdom,⁷⁵ imitations of Cretan ceramics of the Middle Minoan 2, fig. 47, H, J. This find allows one to conclude that the final period of Middle Minoan 2, the end of the Middle Kingdom and the first Babylonian dynasty of the time of the reign of Hammurabi are more or less contemporaneous. It is fitting at this point to go back to the *tholos* B at Planatos, mentioned above (§ 19), as well as to the Babylonian cylinder which it yielded. The principal scene of its engraving is very similar to the one of the cylinder from vault LVII at Ras Shamra. The two seals must be contemporaneous and belong, for the reasons just given, to the time of Hammurabi.⁷⁶ The ceramic from the *tholos* of Platanos has been classified as Middle Minoan 1, and as it was found associated with a cylinder of the style of the period of Hammurabi, it was the dates of the latter's reign, then set at around 2100,⁷⁷ which has been retained to set the age of the find. There is not the least doubt, in our opinion, that this date must be brought down by two centuries, maybe by three.⁷⁸ The Middle Minoan 1 vases of Platanos represent therefore survivals, at any rate the dating of this whole series of ceramics must be revised, in order to make it fit into the Middle Minoan 2 period (1900-1700).

§ 21. *A glance at the third level at Ras Shamra or Ancient Ugarit. The end of level III or Ancient Ugarit.* We shall here cast only a brief glance at the level III at Ras Shamra, also called Ancient Ugarit. Its specific study and the one of its three subdivisions called Ancient Ugarit 1, 2 and 3 shall be reserved for a later work. In this paragraph, we merely desire to set the date of the final layers of this level in order to give a good footing to the departure point of the chronology of level II or Middle Ugarit situated immediately above.

We have seen in paragraph 15 and in our schema, cross-section III, *pl. XIII*, that the oldest tombs of level II or Middle Ugarit 1 rest on a layer of crumbled bricks covering a heavy accumulation of ashes, indicating a vast fire that ravaged Ancient Ugarit 2. At the top of this layer, the ashes are greasy and sticky; they constitute from all evidence an ancient humus. We have there the

⁷⁴ A. Poebel, 1.c., p. 86. Cf. the rectifications proposed by W.F. Albright, 'A Third Revision of the Early Chronology of Western Asia,' in *BASOR*, lxxxviii, 1942, p. 28. In a letter to the author dated January 7, 1944, Professor Albright clarifies his position in the following terms: 'I agree that Poebel's reduction of the chronology is a little too drastic. However, as you will see from my article in *BASOR* lxxxviii, I think that we can settle with considerable probability on the nearest Venus date, which happens to be 22 years higher than his synchronism, i.e. Babylon 1 may be dated ca. 1830-1536 BC. All historical data now fit together so very well that I believe the process of reducing dates is at an end. Anyway, the slightest additional reduction brings serious conflict between Egyptian and Mesopotamian chronology in the 16th and 15th centuries.'

⁷⁵ Our *Ugaritica*, i, pl. xiv, figs 51-3 or *Syria*, xix, 1938, pl. xxiv.

⁷⁶ S. Xanthoudides, *The Vaulted Tombs of Mesara*, London, 1924, p. 117, fig. 1098; A. Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, I, p. 197 and fig. 146.

⁷⁷ Most recently by J.D. Pendlebury, 1.c., p. 121.

⁷⁸ Same opinion in S. Smith, *Middle Minoan I-II and Babylonian Chronology*, p. 24, of which the author is sending (August 1945) a private printing (21AJA, undated) just as I am revising my manuscript before submitting it for printing (sept. 1945). Cf. also W. F. Albright, in *BASOR*, xcix, 1945, p. 10, note 9.

indication of an ancient floor which, at the location of our cross-section III, is at an overall depth between 4m and 4m40. The existence of this floor is proof that after the fire of Ancient Ugarit 2, the abandoned ruins, invaded by vegetation, remained uncovered for a certain time.

In the upper part of level III, called RS III,3 or Ancient Ugarit 3, we have observed in all our soundings, from an average depth of 4m50, the presence of two specific types of pottery. One is a bowl of fine earth covered with a light red and black (sometimes salmon) engobe of exquisite polish, brilliant and soft to the touch. The outside of the bowls is generally black except for a band parallel to the upper rim, and all of the interior, which both remain light red. Some of the bowls are decorated on the outside with zigzag lines shallowly traced with a burin, *pl. XIII* (48) or, in the contrary, modelled in slight relief. This very carefully crafted pottery is foreign to Ugarit; it must have appeared all of a sudden, with all its characteristic already developed. In Palestine, where it is also foreign, this ceramic has been denominated *Khirbet Kerak ware*.⁷⁹ The polished red engobe which characterizes it is applied during Middle Ugarit 2 (1900-1750) to vases of the Syrian type, then disappears before the end of Middle Ugarit 3 (1750-1600).

The other ceramic type of Ancient Ugarit 3 is a big, very regularly pear-shaped jar in beige-colored earthenware, tending towards red or light yellow, strongly baked, with a narrow opening, a squat neck and broad flat foot, *pl. XIII* (46 and 47). The outer wall is decorated on all its surface with a pattern traced by means of a fine comb, arranged in fasces of horizontal lines, alternating with areas that are vertically combed. Some of these jars are equipped with a single handle, *pl. XIII* (46).

It is exclusively in the most recent upper strata of the Ancient Ugarit 2 fire layer, or in the layers of Ancient Ugarit 3, that we have encountered these two types of pottery which are so characteristic. They were lying there either in an isolated position, generally buried upright, or in contact with tombs for which they constitute the funerary furnishings. They are, at least for most of them, clearly posterior to the fire. Probably they have been used by the population which trod the ancient floor appearing at the surface of the fire layer. It is possible that the arrival of this population in Ugarit coincided with the catastrophe which had put an end to Ancient Ugarit 2. What is certain, is that this population has been the first to dwell there after the fire and before the formation of the thick mattress of yellow earth which covers the fire layer itself. At any rate, we must calculate with the existence of a chronological hiatus between the period to which belong the remains contained in the Ancient Ugarit 3 layer and the period of the more ancient tombs buried in the layer of yellow earth, attributed to Middle Ugarit 1.

§ 22. *Duration of the hiatus between Ancient and Middle Ugarit.* It is difficult to evaluate the precise duration of this hiatus. But we may estimate approximately an order of magnitude. At the location of our cross-section III, *pl. XIII*, the difference in level between the tombs and remains of Ancient Ugarit 3 and the most ancient tombs of Middle Ugarit 1 buried in the layer of disintegrated brick situated below, varies between 1m and 1m50. During the period corresponding to this difference in level, important events in the life of the city have occurred. The population which used comb-decorated, pear-formed jars, as well as the ceramics of the

⁷⁹ Cf. or report, *Syria*, xiii, 1932, p. 18, fig. 12 (15-16). It has been proposed to call this ceramic *Khirbet Kerak ware*. This denomination can induce in error as to the origin and character of this ceramic, which is foreign to Palestine as well as to Syria. But it is hard to set the record straight; the habit of citing these ceramics under the name of *Khirbet Kerak ware* is already very widespread in archaeological literature. In December 1947, I observed at Ankara that the bowls of Ahlatlibel and some of those of tomb MT of Alaça Huyuk (cf. § 131) are identical to the bowls of the same shape of the ceramic called *Khirbet Kerak ware* of Ras Shamra and Palestine. In my opinion, it must originate in Anatolia.

type called Khirbet Kerak, had dwelt on the floor recognized between 4m and 4m50 depth and had installed its tombs below this floor, in the fire layer of Ancient Ugarit 2. Judging by the small number of tombs brought to light, this population does not seem to have been very important numerically. At any rate, it had disappeared from Ugarit when the population which used the distinctive ceramics and bronze ornaments (torques and thick pierced pins) of the beginning of Middle Ugarit 1 was beginning to install its tombs at the base of the layer of yellow earth. During our digs, we noticed that these inferior strata, the oldest of the yellow earth layer, are extremely poor in archaeological remains,⁸⁰ with the exceptions of the tombs which had been dug in them. We gained the clear impression that during the period of formation of these layers, the part of the tell where the necropolis of level II was later installed, was only scarcely inhabited. Above, the superior strata which contain the tombs of Middle Ugarit 2 and 3, judging by their consistence and their composition, appear, in contrast, to have been the result of a systematic levelling. Among the levelled constructions, additionally to the ruins which could have survived after the big fire of Ancient Ugarit 2, there existed from all evidence constructions of the extreme end of Ancient Ugarit 3. Their destruction had been so radical that a general levelling of this part of the city became necessary before the erection of the temples of Middle Ugarit 1.

The more than three meters accumulation of yellow earth which contains the necropolis of level II or Middle Ugarit was therefore formed in two instances, which explains the fact that it contains tombs arranged on several levels without an intermediary floor. Being the result of a levelling, the superior part of the layer of yellow earth was formed all at once and in a short time. This arrangement must have occurred a short time before the construction of the neighboring great temple consecrated to Baal, which goes back to the 21st century, at the time of the 11th dynasty. During this period, as we have said (§ 15), the city was endowed with large sanctuaries, which from the 20th century on became the repository of the offerings of the 12th dynasty's pharaohs. Considering its thickness, the formation of the inferior part of the yellow layer must have required at least a century, probably more. We must therefore move up to 2200 in rounded numbers the *terminus ante quem* of the period of the pear-shaped jars and of the Khirbet Kerak ceramic. Granting the population who used this ceramics and who had tread the floor brought to light immediately above the ash-layer a duration of three or four generations, the conflagration of Ancient Ugarit 2 must have occurred between 2400 and 2300 in rounded numbers.

The value of these estimations is of course only approximate. But the finds retrieved from the conflagration layer, or from the layers immediately below it, reinforce the date situated between 2400 and 2300 obtained here for the fire of Ancient Ugarit 2. Publication of these finds is reserved for a coming study dedicated to the stratigraphy and chronology of the Early Bronze and anterior periods. Let's point out, however, that among them, there are objects the equivalents of which have been found at the Qalaat-er-Rouss (§ 27) and at Byblos (§ 35), also in the layers immediately following a vast conflagration of which we shall show that it is contemporaneous to the one at Ancient Ugarit 2. Finally, rapprochements can be established with some objects retrieved by Schliemann from the ashes of Troy II, which testify to the conflagration undergone by this famous site around 2300, according to the results of the control excavations undertaken by the American Mission (§ 110).

The fire at Ancient Ugarit 2 is thus more than an episode in local history; as we shall see in more details during our investigations, it is an event concerning the general history of the Near East.

⁸⁰ *Syria*, xii, 1931, p. 6 and later observations.

Forthwith, we must contemplate a relation between the events responsible for the partial or total destruction of Ancient Ugarit 2 and those which, in the form of an invasion originating in Asia, had caused the fall of the Ancient Kingdom in Egypt, after the reign of Pepi II. According to the short chronology proposed by several Egyptologists,⁸¹ to which we are rallying ourselves, the end of the 4th dynasty and the beginning of the first intermediary period take place around 2300 and not 2500, as has been admitted earlier.

This reduction of the final date of the Old Kingdom of Egypt is not only bolstered by our observations of level II at Ras Shamra-Ugarit. The late J.D.S. Pendlebury had arrived independently from us at the same conclusion. He had noticed that in Crete, the remains which were contemporary with the 5th and 6th dynasties and the first intermediary period in Egypt, those of the Ancient Minoan II and III, are too few and stratigraphically too insignificant⁸² for one to admit, as demanded by the long chronology, that they were spread over a period of six centuries, from 2800 to 2200.⁸³ He estimates that the date of 2300 proposed by Scharff for the end of the Old Kingdom would agree much better with the chronological and stratigraphic clues of Crete.⁸⁴

§ 23. *The Duration of Ancient Ugarit 3.* In conclusion to the preceding paragraph, and in order to keep matters straight, we are situating the last period of level III at Ras Shamra or Ancient Ugarit 3 between 2300 and 2100 approximately. The pear-shaped jars and the ceramics designated as Khirbet Kerak, for which the *terminus ante quem* has been fixed at around 2200, may of course have been used by the population which they characterized before the latter arrived at Ugarit. In other words, on other sites, and especially in Anatolia,⁸⁵ said ceramic may go further back, up to 2400. But, in the present state of our knowledge, it does not seem that it was in use at Ras Shamra before of the conflagration of Ancient Ugarit 2, which occurred between 2400 and 2300.

§ 24. *Types of Bronze weapons at Ancient Ugarit 3.* At the location of our cross-section III, *pl. XIII*, the more recent upper layers of level III or Ancient Ugarit 3 have not yielded any metal objects. This is due of course only to an excavation fluke. For, in other places on the tell, we have been able to observe that at the corresponding period, the use of bronze weapons was current at Ugarit. As testified by analyses, these arms were already made of bronze, that is, in an intentional alloy of copper and tin.

During our excavations in 1937 on the Northwest eminence of the tell, in the region where, in 1939, we were able to localize the place of the palace of the time of Recent Ugarit, we found a point of a spear, or blade of a dagger (see § 25) pierced with two elongated openings and endowed with a long, strong tang curved at its end, *pl. X (a)*. When it was analysed in the laboratories of the Forges et Acières de la Marine,⁸⁶ the weapon was shown to have been made

⁸¹ E. Drioton, J. Vandier, *Les Peuples de l'Orient Méditerranéen*, ii, *L'Égypte*, p. 598 ; A. Scharff, 'Some Prehistoric Vases in the British Museum and Remarks on Egyptian Prehistory,' *JEA*, xiv, 1928, p. 275; J.W. Sewell, 'The Calendars and Chronology,' in S.R.K. Glanville, *The Legacy of Egypt*, 1942.

⁸² Cf. the cross-section presented by Arthur Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, fig. 4.

⁸³ J.D.L. Pendlebury, *The Archaeology of Crete*, London, 1939, tables, p. 301.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 300, 302.

⁸⁵ Cf. above, § 21, p. 34 and note 1.

⁸⁶ We shall return to this analysis of the bronzes on a coming work on the *Porteurs de Torques du Bronze Ancien*; we are keen to express our thanks here to M. L. Brun, director of the Forges, for his precious help.

of a bronze with 3% of tin, cf. Appendix I at the end of this volume. It had been retrieved from a layer on the slope of the tell where, because of mudslides, the stratigraphy was difficult to make out. However, it was possible to establish that the layer is anterior to Middle Ugarit and most probably contemporaneous with Ancient Ugarit 3. We must therefore attribute this weapon to the period between 2300 and 2100 (cf. below Tarsus, § 125, Troy, § 114).

§ 25. *Spears with tangs from Ancient Ugarit 3 and from the beginning of Middle Ugarit 1.* In several instances, we have encountered in the layers at the limits of levels II and III a particular type of weapon the nature of which, as well as its exact chronological position, present a problem. Judging by the shape of the blade and its strong, very pronounced median rib, it must be a spear, fig. 55. The rib prolongs itself beyond the base of the blade into a strong stem with a circular section, or one which, sometimes, presents up to eight sides. The stem ends in an annular reinforcing serving as a bolster. From the middle of this bolster comes a solid tang the extremity of which is curved at a right angle and fastened like a rivet. This disposition indicates that the end of the tang stuck out laterally from the handle. We have already discussed this mode of handle-fixing about Cypriot daggers and we have shown that it can serve for a dagger as well as for a spear.⁸⁷ The discovery at the Tepe Hissar of weapons of the same type, the handle of which was still in place, has since confirmed our demonstration⁸⁸ (§ 193).

The four specimens of this type of tanged spears, fig. 55, found until now at Ras Shamra, were lying separately, or at the base of level II amid destruction layers, or in the layers on top of level III. We gained the impression that this type of weapon belonged to an ethnic element the presence of which at Ugarit corresponded with a time of troubles. We must observe that in the deepest tombs of our necropolis at level II, *pl. XIII* (43), we have not to date found this type of spear. In these tombs of Middle Ugarit 1 (2100-1900), spears are already endowed with sockets.⁸⁹ From the point of view of typology, the tang-spear is certainly older than the socket spear. The evolution of this type of weapon in all civilizations, in the Orient as well as in protohistoric Europe, is proof of it. But, given the technical difficulties presented by the making of the sockets, both types of handle-fittings must have coexisted for a time. On the other hand, if a socket offers real advantages in fixing the spear at the top of the handle, the hollowing out diminishes its solidity. The tang spear of Ras Shamra presents itself as an intermediary type; according to its shape, it looks like it was copied from a socket spear, but it was cast in massive bronze and furnished with the traditional tang. We must add that the tang spears of Ras Shamra, fig. 55, are made of a bronze that is fairly rich in tin, up to 9.6%, as shown by analysis; cf. Appendix I at the end of this volume.

From all stratigraphical, typological and technical observations, we believe that we may conclude that the tang spears of Ras Shamra belong to the period which covered the end of Ancient Ugarit and the beginning of Middle Ugarit, between 2200 and 2000 approximately.

⁸⁷ *Missions en Chypre*, Paris, 1936, p. 42.

⁸⁸ E.F. Schmidt, *Excavations at Tepe Hissar-Dhamgan*, Philadelphia, 1937, pls. I, xxxiv, 1, li. Cf. also C.L. Woolley, *Ur Excavations*, ii, *The Royal Cemetery*, pl. 153.

⁸⁹ In *Byblia Grammata*, p. 16, M. Dunand admits that the general use of the spear-head with a socket had spread only beginning in Middle Bronze 3 or period of the Hyksos (1750-1580). The Byblos excavator's own finds are in contradiction with his opinion (l.c., p. 16, note 4). The socket-spear was known in Syria and Palestine as early as the beginning of Middle Bronze, that is, since the 21st century.

§ 26. *Summary of the Chronology of levels I and II of Ras Shamra or Recent and Middle Ugarit.*

We are summarizing here in one single schema the subdivisions introduced into the chronology of levels I and II at Ras Shamra or Recent and Middle Ugarit according to the indications set out in the preceding paragraphs (2 to 20). We are adding to it the date established for the most recent of the subperiods of Ancient Ugarit, which we expounded in paragraphs 21 to 25.

One can see from the remarks in the fourth column that the dates of the ends of the subperiods of Ancient, Middle and Recent Ugarit could not be determined precisely, to this date. The end of Ancient Ugarit falls between 2200 and 2000 or, rather, between 2100 and 2000. The final dates for Middle Ugarit 1 and 2 have been established give or take fifty years. The date of Recent Ugarit 1, i.e. 1450, is also an approximation. On the other hand, the date of the end of the following level, RS I, 2 or Recent Ugarit 2, is more or less final. Indeed, the earthquake which ravaged Ugarit at the time of Amenophis IV must have occurred between 1370 and 1360; we have proposed 1365 as a mean. Having been a consequence of the great upheaval characterized by the invasion of the Peoples of the Sea and the North, the definitive destruction of Ugarit must have occurred during the 13th century. As it happens, at the beginning of that century, Ugaritians had taken part in the battle of Qadesh in the ranks of the coalition army commanded by the Hittite king Mouvatallou (cf. our *Ugaritica*, I, p. 38). Objects marked with the cartouche of Ramses II found at Ras Shamra go back, probably, to the time of the 1275 treaty concluded between the pharaoh and Hattusil III, when Ugarit had renewed its bonds with Egypt. Judging by our discoveries, the city seems to have pursued its career for some additional time after this date. Therefore, the destruction can hardly have occurred before 1250 and must fall between 1250 and 1200. However, a slightly more ancient date is not to be excluded.

<i>Levels</i>	<i>Periods</i>	<i>Dates</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
RS III, 2	Ancient Ugarit 2	?-2300	For the initial date of this period, see the continuation of the present project. ----- Destruction and fire between 2400 and 2300. City partially abandoned. -----
RS III, 3	Ancient Ugarit 3	2300-2100	Destruction between 2200 and 2000, levelling of part of the city before reconstruction. -----
RS II, 1	Middle Ugarit 1	2100-1900	From 1950, Egyptian monuments of the Middle Kingdom. Towards 1750, end of Egyptian preponderance at Ugarit. -----
RS II, 2	Middle Ugarit 2	1900-1750	
RS II,3	Middle Ugarit 3	1750-1600	Extreme paucity of archaeological remains for the period between 1700 and 1550. -----
RS I, 1	Recent Ugarit 1	1600-1450	From 1450, ethnic introductions at Ugarit, import of Mycenaean ceramics, introduction of incineration into Syria-Palestine, punitive expedition of Amenophis II to Ugarit (1444). Earthquake and fire in Ugarit around 1365. -----
RS I, 2	Recent Ugarit 2	1450-1365	
RSI, 3	Recent Ugarit 3	1365-1200	Final destruction of the city, between 1250-1200 (?).

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