THE GRACIOUS GODS
AND THE
ROYAL IDEOLOGY OF UGARIT 

by

CHRISTOPHER M. FOLEY, B.A., M.A.

A Thesis
Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

McMaster University
June 1980
THE GRACIOUS GODS
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (1980)  McMaster University
(Religious Studies)  Hamilton, Ontario

TITLE:  The Gracious Gods and the Royal Ideology of Ugarit

AUTHOR:  Christopher M. Foley, B.A.  (Carleton University)
          M.A.  (McMaster University)

SUPERVISORS:  Professors A. E. Combs and A. M. Cooper

NUMBER OF PAGES:  vii, 282
ABSTRACT

This dissertation presents a new interpretation of the enigmatic Ugaritic text CTA 23. This study is supported by a critical transliteration and translation of the text, together with detailed textual and philological notes. A history of interpretation is included to indicate both areas of consensus and of disagreement concerning the meaning and purpose of the text.

The study indicates that CTA 23 must be understood in the context of the ancient Ugaritic concept of kingship. It substantiates this perspective by demonstrating that there are numerous points of contact between CTA 23 and the royal ideology reflected in the epic texts from Ras Shamra. Like the kings and royal progeny in the legends of Keret and Aqhat, the 'ilm nûmû are the offspring of deities and are nursed by goddesses. These gods, who are invoked and honoured in the text, are identified with princes. The interest shown in the circumstances of their birth indicates that the text and its underlying ritual served as a royal apologia. The solicitude for royal parents and offspring that is reflected in CTA 23 suggests that the text's Sitz im Leben was a royal liturgy designed to ensure the well-being of royal figures.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank my supervisors, Dr. A. E. Combs and Dr. A. M. Cooper, for their assistance in the preparation of this dissertation. Their criticism, guidance and encouragement have been invaluable. Dr. Combs' methodological suggestions and interest sustained me over many barren periods. Dr. Cooper's detailed comments and advice imparted a thoroughness and incisiveness to the work that it would have lacked otherwise. Several people, including my mother, Mrs. Camilla Foley, have shared in the typing of this dissertation. For their work I am grateful. I owe a particular debt of gratitude to Mrs. Jane Brown for her excellent work in typing the final draft of this manuscript. Finally, I wish to acknowledge the assistance and support of my wife, Laura. Not only did she assist in typing, proofreading and bibliographical work, but she helped organize my time and responsibilities so that I could work on this project. Without her support, the work would not yet be completed.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<p>| ABBREVIATIONS | vi |
| INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| CHAPTER I. CTA 23: TEXT, TRANSLATION AND NOTES | 5 |
| I. Transliteration and Translation | 10 |
| II. Textual Notes | 20 |
| CHAPTER II. HISTORY OF INTERPRETATION | 109 |
| CHAPTER III. THE ḫILM Nḥmm: ROYAL FIGURES | 145 |
| I. The Royal Ideology in the Epic Texts | 145 |
| Royal Offspring of El | 150 |
| Royal Offspring of Athirat | 160 |
| Athirat as Royal Wet-nurse | 164 |
| II. CTA 23 and the Royal Ideology | 167 |
| The ḫilm nḥmm as Offspring of El | 168 |
| The ḫilm nḥmm as Offspring of Athirat | 171 |
| The ḫilm nḥmm as Nurselings of Athirat and Rahmay | 175 |
| The Epithets of the ḫilm nḥmm | 176 |
| III. The ḫilm nḥmm, CTA 23 and the Royal Ideology | 179 |
| Excursus I: ḫbr and ḫlm | 186 |
| Excursus II: Divine Kingship at Ugarit? | 198 |
| CHAPTER IV. THE FUNCTION OF CTA 23 | 222 |
| I. CTA 23 as a Royal Apologia | 222 |
| II. CTA 23: a Ritual for the Well-being of Royalty | 227 |
| CONCLUSION | 257 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY | 260 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AfO</td>
<td>Archiv für Orientforschung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AOAT</td>
<td>Alter Orient und Altes Testament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archiv Or.</td>
<td>Archiv orientální</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASTI</td>
<td>Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAR</td>
<td>Biblical Archaeology Review</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BASOR</td>
<td>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BZAW</td>
<td>Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBQ</td>
<td>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CML</td>
<td>Canaanite Myths and Legends, G. R. Driver, 1956.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CML²</td>
<td>Canaanite Myths and Legends, J. C. L. Gibson, 1977.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HTR</td>
<td>Harvard Theological Review</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HUCA</td>
<td>Hebrew Union College Annual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IEJ</td>
<td>Israel Exploration Journal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JAOS</td>
<td>Journal of the American Oriental Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JBL</td>
<td>Journal of Biblical Literature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JCS</td>
<td>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JNES</td>
<td>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JNWSL</td>
<td>Journal of North West Semitic Literature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JPOS</td>
<td>Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JRAS</td>
<td>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JSOT</td>
<td>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JSS</td>
<td>Journal of Semitic Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KBo</td>
<td>Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KUB</td>
<td>Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OLZ</td>
<td>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRU</td>
<td>Le Palais royal d'Ugarit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RA</td>
<td>Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RB</td>
<td>Revue Biblique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RHR</td>
<td>Revue de l'histoire des religions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TGUOS</td>
<td>Transactions of the Glasgow University Oriental Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UF</td>
<td>Ugarit-Forschungen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VT</td>
<td>Vetus Testamentum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WTJ</td>
<td>Westminster Theological Journal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZAW</td>
<td>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

This dissertation presents a new interpretation of the enigmatic Ugaritic text CTA 23. The first twenty-nine lines of the text present liturgical rubrics, proclamations, and hymns or prayers in an abbreviated form. The remaining forty-seven lines depict the seduction of two women by El, the subsequent birth of the "gracious gods", and the latter's passage through the wilderness until they find sustenance of bread and wine in the "sown land". The study argues that the liturgical rubrics, hymns and mythological narrative of this ritual

1 This text is cited as 55 by Virolleaud, Eissfeldt and de Langhe. C. H. Gordon lists it as 52 in his Ugaritic Textbook, Analecta Orientalia, XXXVIII (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1965) (cited as UT). We follow A. Herdner's Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alphabétiques, Mission de Ras Shamra, X (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1963) (cited as CTA) in designating it as 23. Three methods of citing Ugaritic texts are employed in this work. Where possible, texts are listed as they are in R. E. Whitaker's A Concordance of the Ugaritic Literature (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), as outlined by the author on p. vi. Thus the fourth line of the text concerning the marriage of Nikkal and Yarh is cited as CTA 24(77), I:4. The first number is that of Herdner, while the number in parentheses is that used by Gordon in UT. The Roman numeral refers to the tablet column and the final number to the line. Texts not included in CTA but found in UT are cited by their UT number. Texts published in Ch. Virolleaud, Le Palais royal d'Ugarit, II, Mission de Ras Shamra, VI (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1957) and Le Palais royal d'Ugarit, V, Mission de Ras Shamra, XI (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1965), J. Nougayrol, Le Palais royal d'Ugarit, III, IV, Mission de Ras Shamra, VI, VII (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1955, 1956) (cited as PRU) and J. Nougayrol, E. Laroché, Ch. Virolleaud, and C. F. A. Schaeffer, Ugaritica, V, Mission de Ras Shamra, XVI (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1968) are cited by their excavation number, such as RS 24.244, and cross-referenced to the volume in which they were originally published or to UT if they are included in that work.
text must be understood in the context of the ancient Ugaritic royal ideology.

The initial chapter of the dissertation presents a transliteration and translation of CTA 23, supported by detailed textual and philological notes. This translation forms the basis of the inquiry. Chapter II surveys the major interpretations of the text suggested to date. It indicates areas of consensus and isolates those aspects of CTA 23 which require further study for its proper explication. The third chapter argues that CTA 23 is related to ancient Ugaritic theories of kingship. It demonstrates that the ūšimm, whose birth is celebrated in the text, have characteristics in common with kings and royal offspring as portrayed in the epic literature from Ras Shamra. Like Ugaritic royalty, the "gracious gods" are begotten by El and Athirat and are suckled by Athirat and Anat. These shared features indicate that the "gracious gods" are royal figures. The final chapter makes several suggestions as to the function of CTA 23 and its ritual. The emphasis placed on the divine origin and divine suckling of royal figures suggests that the text and ritual served in part as an apologia for royal status. The general tenor of the text possibly reflects a propitiatory rite enacted to ensure the well-being of royal persons.

This study draws primarily upon Ugaritic material, particularly the epic texts, in elucidating CTA 23, as this material is part of the same cultural, religious and literary milieu as the text. The use of comparative material from other ancient Near Eastern traditions is restricted to minimize the possibility of imparting to CTA 23 concepts,
and nuances which may have been foreign to Ugaritic thought. Yet as the Ras Shamra corpus is limited and contains numerous difficulties, it is useful to employ information gleaned from Near Eastern sources to supplement the Ugaritic material. This comparative material is used to support and clarify interpretations already suggested by an analysis of material from within the Ugaritic corpus.

The interpretation of CTA 23 is important for several reasons. It is one of the few major Ugaritic texts that has withstood successfully all attempts at explication. Its meaning and significance have remained a mystery. More important is the fact that it contains one of the few myths in which El is prominent. Thus it attests to one aspect of the Ugaritic religious tradition that is not reflected in the other major mythological works recovered from Ras Shamra. Moreover, CTA 23 is the only Ugaritic text recovered thus far, and in fact one of the few extant Near Eastern texts, in which ritual and myth are combined explicitly. Thus it is one of the few concrete examples that can be cited to support the theory that Near Eastern mythology was essentially the sacred word of cultic rites. The present study indicates that CTA

---


3 The close association of myth and ritual is asserted in such influential works as S. H. Hooke, ed., Myth, Ritual, and Kingship
23 also contributes to our understanding of kingship in ancient Ugarit. As the text is the lectionary for a royal ritual which defined the relationship between royal figures and gods, it contributes to our understanding of the religious basis of Ugaritic kingship and clarifies the sacral character of royal persons. In so doing, CTA 23 may elucidate certain aspects of kingship in other West-Semitic traditions, such as that of ancient Israel.

CTA 23: TEXT, TRANSLATION AND NOTES

Ugaritic text CTA 23 was unearthed during the second season of excavation at Ras Shamra in 1930 by La Mission archéologique de Ras Shamra under the direction of C. F. A. Schaeffer and G. Chenet. The tablet was recovered with a number of other texts from a building which apparently served as a temple library and school. The archaeological context of the tablet was Level I, a stratum dating from approximately 1600 B. C. to 1200 B. C. The clay tablet itself is regarded by most scholars as dating from about the fourteenth century B. C.\(^1\)

Virolleaud gives the dimensions of the tablet as 195 mm by 130 mm.\(^2\) The text consists of seventy-six lines of alphabetic cuneiform.

---


characters written in a single column on both sides of the tablet. The obverse contains twenty-nine lines, while 11. 30-34 are written on a short edge and the remaining lines are inscribed on the reverse. The obverse is punctuated at irregular intervals by horizontal demarcations. There are nine such demarcations, following 11. 7, 11, 12, 15, 18, 20, 22, 27 and 29.

The text is in relatively good condition. One corner of the tablet has been broken off and there are several areas where the text has been effaced. The broken portion is the upper right corner of the obverse and the lower right corner of the reverse. This break poses some difficulty for the understanding of the first five lines of the obverse. Similarly, the last six lines of the reverse require substantial restoration before sense can be made of them. The rubbed areas do not pose insurmountable difficulties but they do make the interpretation of particular lines, such as 11. 15-25, 29, 57 and 63, problematic.

CTA 23 is complete. This fact is indicated both by the nature of the tablet and by the manner in which the scribe used it. The large two and three column tablets, such as those employed for the Baal cycle and for the legends of Keret and Danel, were probably available to the transcriber of CTA 23. The fact that such tablets were not used

---

3The argumentation for the completeness of the text is that of I. Trujillo, "The Ugaritic Ritual for a Sacrificial Meal Honoring the Good Gods" (Ph. D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1973), p. 3. Caquot also asserts that the text is complete; see Textes Ugaritiques, p. 356. This position contrasts with Gaster’s view that the text continued on a subsequent tablet; see T. H. Gaster, Thespis, 2nd ed. (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), pp. 434-435.
suggests that they were not required to preserve the text. More conclusive evidence is found in the manner of writing, which indicates that the scribe wished to use but one tablet. A comparison of the obverse of the tablet with the reverse reveals that the signs on the former are both larger and more widely spaced than those on the latter side. From l. 70 onward, however, the signs become large again and a wider space is left between the lines. It appears that prior to l. 70, the scribe was concerned about completing the text on one tablet. With the completion of l. 70, he realized that his fears were unfounded. As Trujillo observes, "The space left at the end of the tablet and the lack of economy in the use of space in the last six lines strongly suggest that CTA 23 is complete."4

As is the case with all the literary and religious texts of the Ugaritic corpus, it is impossible to determine precisely the date of CTA 23. While the tablet itself dates from the Amarna period, it is possible that, given the conservative nature of religious traditions, its content is considerably older. Conversely there is no reason to regard this text as an archaic remnant of a phase of Ugaritic religion that predates the bulk of the Ras Shamra corpus.5 The prominence of El

---

4 Trujillo, "A Sacrificial Meal", p. 3.

5 Kapelrud believes that in comparison to the other Ugaritic text CTA 23 is old, perhaps originating in a period when El played the principal role in the fertility cult and before the rise in popularity of Baal. In support of this view, he cites the prominence of El and the absence of Baal in the text. See A. S. Kapelrud, Baal in the Ras Shamra Texts (Copenhagen: G. E. C. Gad, 1952), pp. 71, 73. Citing similar evidence, Oldenburg suggests that CTA 23 may contain the oldest Ugaritic mythological passage that has been preserved. See U. Oldenburg,
and the absence of the younger Baal in CTA 23 could be a result of
cultic association and function rather than a result of the age of the
tradition which underlies the text. Nor does the occurrence of the
archaic dd for td, "breast", in ll. 59, 61 necessarily indicate the
antiquity of the text.\(^6\) The form dd itself may be simply an older form
that continued to be used. Irrespective of the age of CTA 23 and of the
tradition which stands behind it, the fact that it was copied and
preserved during the latter phase of the life of Ugarit indicates that
this text was important to the Late Bronze Age Ugaritians.

The following transliteration of CTA 23 is based primarily on the
hand-drawn representation of the cuneiform tablet provided in Herdner's
Corpus and on Herdner's own transliteration.\(^7\) Extensive use was made

---

\(^6\) The occurrence of the sixteenth letter of the Ugaritic alphabet
d (\(\lambda\)) in CTA 12(75) and CTA 24(77) is cited as a characteristic
denoting the archaic nature of these texts. See J. Blau, "On Problems
of Polyphony and Archaism in Ugaritic Spelling", JAOS, LXXXVIII (1968),
523-526; F. M. Cross, "Yahweh and the God of the Patriarchs", HTR, LV
(1962), 249; E. Ullendorff, "Ugaritic Marginalia II", JSS, II (1962),
349-351.

\(^7\) Herdner, CTA, pp. 98-101, and Figures 67, 68. The photographs of
the tablet supplied by Herdner (Plates xxxi and xxxiii) are of little
practical value, as they are extremely difficult to read. The
transliteration of CTA 23 published in M. Dietrich, O. Loretz and J.
Sanmartín, Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit, Alter Orient und
Altes Testament, Band XXIV (Kevelaer / Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1976), pp. 67-
68 (cited as KTU) also was consulted. Many word-dividers omitted in CTA
but supplied in KTU are included in the transliteration. I have
followed CTA rather than KTU in not separating the preformatives in such
forms as bmdbr (1. 4) and l\(\text{r\|y\|shm} (1. 5). Significant alternate
readings listed in KTU are cited in the textual notes which follow the
transliteration and translation. Material from J. C. L. Gibson,
Canaanite Myths and Legends, 2nd revised ed. (Edinburgh: T. and T.
of epigraphical, philological and textual studies in preparing the transliteration, translation and notes. In establishing the meaning of a given word or phrase, I have ascribed foremost importance to the contexts in CTA 23 and to analogous passages in the Ugaritic corpus. Extensive use has been made of the information gleaned from parallelism and from the use of word pairs. Etymology also has proved to be an invaluable tool in determining the meaning of numerous words. With respect to the reconstruction of damaged sections of the text, I have followed a middle course between conservatism and undue speculation. Only those restorations which receive support from analogous passages, constructions, expressions or words are accepted. Where appropriate, plausible alternate readings and translations have been noted. Biblical material has been used frequently to elucidate and/or support the translation of CTA 23. In many instances philological judgment is informed by the overall understanding of the text.

The system of transliteration that is presented in tabular form in Gordon's UT, pp. 13-15, is employed throughout this chapter. The vocalization of the Ugaritic is approximate as this area of study is

---

Clark, 1978), pp. 28-30, 123-127 (cited as CML²) is also included.

fraught with uncertainty. Despite this drawback, the vocalization does clarify the translator's understanding of the text. All restored letters are enclosed in square brackets. Restored words in the translation are treated in a similar manner. Word dividers are not restored. Where the sense of the text or proper English usage requires additional words in the translation that are not found in the cuneiform text, these words are enclosed in round brackets. Letters omitted accidently from the text are indicated in the transliteration by angular brackets. A series of dots is used to indicate the approximate number of cuneiform signs required to fill a lacuna. When depicting the condition of the tablet, textual damage is indicated by shading drawn at an angle to the perpendicular. As the lacunae cause insurmountable difficulties in presenting the text according to the poetic structure of the cola, I have followed the lines of the tablet throughout the transliteration and translation.

I. Transliteration and Translation

L. 1. ḫîqra. Ṣûlm. n[<mm ḫlm ḫil] I will call on the gods, the [gracious ones, sons of EL],

wysmm. bn. ᵐ[rm ........... ] And the fair ones, princes.

ytnm. qrt. 1[c]ynm...... ] Let a city be given to [those 
most high ....... ]

---

In the wilderness, the bare heights, [let a crown be set] on their head and [placed on their pates].

Eat of the bread of [?] and drink of the wine, wine of [?].

Peace, O King! Peace, O Queen, [crbm and ?nnm].

Mot-and-Šar sits; in his hand (is) the sceptre of childlessness, in his hand (is) the sceptre of widowhood. The vine-pruners prune him. The vine-binders [bind] him. They cause his šdmt to fall. Like a vine.

Seven times it shall be said to the šd and the crbm shall reply.
And the fields, the fields of the gods, the fields of Athirat and Rahmay.

Over the fire seven times the ʂrm shake (?) coriander in milk, mint in butter.

And over the fire seven times incense (?)......

Rahmay goes forth and [Athirat] scours [the shore of the seal (?)].

They are girded in might, in gra[ice clothed] (?)

And the name the ʂrm[...].

The thrones of the gods are eight; the [seats......]

Seven times.

Lapis lazuli, carnelian (of) princes.
I proclaim the gods, [the gracious ones, the voracious ones, one day old,]

Who suck at the teats of the breasts of Athirat [and Rahmay]

Shapash (???) their branch(es)

And grapes. Peace. Crbm.

Going with a propitiatory sacrifice.

The fields of [the gods], the fields of Athirat and Rahmay.

[......] (???)

[......] the shore of the sea and proceeds to the shore of the deep.

[......] El two torches, two torches to the top of the fire.

Behold, she bows down; behold, she stands; behold, she shouts, "Father, Father";
And behold, she shouts,

"Mother, Mother, let the hand of El grow long as the sea
And the hand of El as the flood." The hand of El is long as the sea
And the hand of El (is) as the flood. El takes two torches,
Two torches to the top of the fire. He takes (them);
he places (them) in his house.
As for El, his sceptre is down; as for El, the staff of his love is lowered. He raises;
He shoots towards the heavens;
he shoots a bird in the heavens. He plucks (it);
he places (it)
On the coals. El surely entices the two women. If the two women shout,
L.40. ymt . mt . nḥṭm . ḫtk .

"O Husband, [Husband, your
sceptre is down; the staff
of your love is lowered"

Behold, the bird is roasting
on the fire, burning on
the coals—

Then the two women are wives of
El, wives of El and his
forever. And if

The two women shout, "O Father,
Father, your sceptre is
down,

The staff of your love is
lowered"—behold, the bird
is roasting on the fire

And burning on the coals—
the two daughters are
daughters of El, daughters
of El

And his forever. And behold,
the two women shout, "O
Husband, Husband,

Your sceptre is down, the staff
of your love is lowered"—
behold, the bird
Is roasting on the fire and
burning on the coals--
the two women are [wives of
El],
Wives of El and his forever.
He stoops; he kisses their
lips.
Lo, their lips are sweet,
sweet as pomegranates.
[As] he kisses, there is
conception; as he embraces,
they become pregnant.
They [travail]
They bear šhr and šlm. Word
is brought to El. "My [two
wives,]
El, have given birth." "What
have they borne?" "My two
children, šhr and šlm."
Take up, prepare (offerings)
for Lady Shapash and
for the fixed stars.
He stoops; he kisses their
lips. Lo, their lips are
sweet.
As he kisses, there is conception; as he embraces, they become pregnant. It shall be
Recited again five times by [the troupe and by]
the leaders of the assembly.
Both Travail and bear. They bear the [gods], the gracious ones, the voracious ones,
A day old, who suck at the teats of the breasts [of the ladies].
Word is brought to El.
"My wives, El, have given birth."
"What have they borne?"
"The gods, the gracious ones, The voracious ones, one day old, who suck at the teats of the breasts of the ladies." A lip
To earth, a lip to heaven.
ḥṣr . ṣmm

And verily, enter their
mouths
the bird(s) of the
heavens
And the fish in the sea. And
they wander. Morsel upon
morsel they set, the right
hand
The left hand in their mouths,
but they are not sated.
O wives (whom) I have
acquired for the bride
price,

L 65. ybr . ḫš[t]d ḥṣu . ṣ[db]

0 sons (whom) I have begotten,
take up, [prepare]
(offerings) in the midst of
the holy desert.
There they run to and fro, to
stones and to trees (for)
seven years
Complete, (for) eight
revolutions of time. The
gods, the gracious ones,
themselves walk.
(In) the field(s); they roam
the corner(s) of the
desert. And they approached
behold, the guardian of
The sown. And they shout,
behold, to the guardian of
the sown: "O guardian,
Guardian, open." And he opens
an opening for them
And they enter. "If [there is
bread...(?)] , then give
That we may eat. If there is
[wine...(?)] , then
give that we may drink."
And the guardian of the sown
answers them: "There is
bread...(?)
There is wine. Those who enter
(?) [......]
He comes (?). Therefore (?) a
log of his
wine [......]
And his companion is full of
wine [......].
II. Textual Notes

L. 1. The word *riqra* (רִקְרָּא), which functions as the verb of
11. 1, 2, is a qal l c. sing. form of *qra* corresponding to the Hebrew
cohortative both morphologically and semantically. The basic meaning
is "call". Ginsberg, Largement and Driver attribute to *riqra* in this
context the sense of proclaiming. Driver cites Deut. 32:3 as a biblical
analogy: "אֶֽהָלָֽם יָהָֽוֵה יָשֵ֑רָה, "For I will proclaim the name of the
Lord." The weight of scholarly opinion, however, favours translating
*riqra* as "I invoke". The verb *qra* occurs eleven times in RS 24:224
in the clause *qra* l / *tqra* u l . *spa* , "She called / calls to Shapash".
As the text is an incantation against snake-bite, the implicit sense is

10 H. L. Ginsberg, "Notes on "The Birth of the Gracious and
Language in its Northwest Semitic Background", The Bible and the Ancient
pp. 73-74.

11 Ginsberg, "Notes", 63; R. Largement, La naissance de Phi:
Poème mythologique de Ras Shamra-Ugarit, Analecta Lovaniensia Biblica
Driver, CML, p. 121 and n. 4. The sense of "proclaim" is apparent in
the use of *qara* in 1 Kg. 21:9, 12 and Amos 4:5.

12 Ch. Virolleaud, "La naissance des dieux gracieux et beaux",
Syria, XIV (1933), 132; W. Dussaud, "Les Phéniciens au Négeb et en
Arabie", RHR, CVIII (1933), 6; W. F. Albright, "The Myth of the Gracious
Gods", JPOS, XIV (1934), 138; G. H. Gordon, Ugaritic Literature (Rome:
Pontificio Biblicai Institute, 1949), p. 58 (cited as UL) and UT 9.10;
R. Follet, "Note sur une traduction récente d'un texte religieux
d'Ugarit", Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph, XXIX (1951-52), 6;
J. Gray, LC, p. 94; P. Xella, Il mito di *mr* e *slm* : Saggio sulla
mitologia ugaritica (Rome: Istituto di Studi del Vicino Oriente, 1973),
p. 39; D. T. Tsamura, "The Ugaritic Drama of the Good Gods" (Ph.D.
dissertation, Brandeis University, 1973), p. 8. Note 2 Kg. 5:11 as a
biblical example of *qara* meaning "invoke".
one of invocation. 13 The form ḫqr₂a is used in the Rephaim text CTA 21(122), A:2, 10 in parallelism with ḫap: ḫapkm şa ḫqr₂a l[km...], "I order you, I call [you...]." 14 This passage suggests that "call" may be the preferred translation, though either "proclaim" or "invoke" is suitable in this context.

The restoration n[mm, initially suggested by Virolleaud on the basis of 11, 23, 60, is generally accepted. 15 Largement restores n[mm . bn . mlkm], "gracious among the kings". 16 While there is sufficient room for this reconstruction, there is no evidence for it apart from bn šrm in 1. 2. A more plausible restoration is n[mm šlm. 17 The phrase n[mm šlm 11 is a stock epithet of Keret (CTA 14(Krt), I:40-41; II:61-62; 15(128), II:15-16, 20; cf. 14(Krt), VI:306). Moreover, the šlm n[mm are offspring of El (CTA 23:49 ff.). Thus their designation as šlm 11 would be appropriate. The parallel occurrences of n[mm and šmm lend support to this suggestion. In CTA 5(67), VI:6-7, 28-30; 6(49), II:19-20 the phrase ln:mm . ḫr . dbr parallels lysmt . šd . šłmm. This general pattern also is apparent in CTA 14(Krt), III:


14 The root syh is cognate with Hebrew śăwah, "charge", "command", "order". Gordon, UT 19.2162 suggests "shout", "order" or "invite".

15 Virolleaud, "La naissance", 129, 137. Hardner (CTA p. 98, n. 1) notes that 11, 23, 60 and 67, cited in support of this restoration, are not identical with 1. 1.

16 Largement, L'aurore, p. 21.
145-146, 291-292; VI:291-292: dk. nṣm. ṭat. nṣmh km. tsm. ṣṛt. ts[ml]. In these passages both nṣm / ysm and their antecedents are parallel. Thus it is probable that in CTA 23:1-2 nṣṣm...] originally paralleled ywṣmm bn šrm. The reconstruction nṣṣm ḡlm šll suits the pattern. Thus li. 1-2 would be a bicolon exhibiting incomplete synonmous parallelism:

\[\text{ṣqra'a ṭllima naṣṣmā ḡalmā šbīli wayasīmā bani šarrīma.}\]

L. 2. The extant portion of the line ends with the signs \(\langle \rangle \equiv \). The final sign could designate /w/ \(\equiv \), /k/ \(\equiv\), /p/ \(\equiv\) or /r/ \(\equiv\).

Virolleaud's restoration of šrm on the basis of l. 22 has won general acceptance. 17 Herdner cautions that the use of l. 22 to support this restoration is not without difficulty, for while šrm is clear in l. 22, the initial letter of the line has been obliterated so that bn is a reconstruction. She reads š(p/r), while suggesting the possibility of restoring špū. 18 KTU reads š[pū]. 19 Despite the condition of the lines, bn šrm is the most probable reading in both l. 2 and l. 22.

The meaning of bn šrm is controversial. The vocable šr has a wide semantic range. 20 Arguing that the expression bn x was used in Ugaritic

---

17 Virolleaud, "La naissance", 129, 137.
18 Herdner, CTA, p. 98 and n. 2.
19 KTU, p. 67. The asterisk to the right of a letter indicates that the letter is damaged. See also Gibson, CMI 2, p. 123.
20 Cf. Gordon, UT 19.2476-2481a. The most probable meanings in this instance are "singer" from šyr, "to sing", (Hebrew šārîm) or, "prince", corresponding to Hebrew šär, "prince", and Akkadian sarru, "king".
to designate guild members, B. A. Levine views bn šrm as musicians. 21
Tsumura translates "singers". 22 A. F. Rainey initially held a similar
view, regarding bn šrm as cultic singers. 23 Yet in an article entitled
"The Military Personnel of Ugarit" he characterizes Levine's assertion
that bn x designated members of guilds as being without any real
foundation. 24 More recently, Rainey argues that the phrase "son of a
king" should be taken literally. 25 He asserts that there can be no
doubt as to the royal nature of mār šarrī in RS 17.423 and RS 20.03. 26
The fact that the expression mār šarrī is an Akkadian phrase found in
royal correspondence does diminish its value for the explication of CTA

21 B. A. Levine, "The Netinim", JBL, LXXXII (1963), 211.


23 A. F. Rainey, "The Kingdom of Ugarit", The Biblical Archaeologist
Reader, III, ed. W. F. Campbell and D. N. Freedman (New York: Doubleday

24 A. F. Rainey, "The Military Personnel of Ugarit", JNES, XXIV
(1965), p. 20, n. 58. He describes bn šrm in CTA 23 as "doubtful
references to 'sons of singers'."

25 A. F. Rainey, "The Prince and the Pauper", UF, VII (1975), 427-
432.

26 Rainey, "The Prince and the Pauper", 427-432. RS 17.423 is a
letter from the King of Carchemish to Ibiranu, King of Ugarit,
concerning the arrival of a royal prince at Ugarit. See PRU, IV, p. 193.
RS 20.03 is a letter from a Hittite prince, Sukurtešub, to Ammismaru II
of Ugarit, in which the Hittite refers to himself as mār šarrī. See
J. Nougayrol, "Textes Suméro-Accadiens des archives et bibliothèques
privées d'Ugarit", Ugaritica, V, pp. 91-94. Rainey (pp. 429, 430) also
cites māru šarrī / mār šarrī in the Mari texts (ARM I, No. 27) and the
ei-Amarna tablets (EA 44) respectively. D. J. Wiseman points out that
at Mari, royal princes are designated for the most part as mār šarrī;
cf. Wiseman's review of M. L. Burke's Textes administratifs de la salle
23:2. The Ugaritic equivalent of Akkadian mar šarri would be bn mlk (Hebrew ben melek). The parallel use of n'mm and ysmm is more helpful. As n'em + associated words parallels yam + associated words in CTA 5(67); 16(49) and 14(Krt), it is probable that here ysmm bn šrm qualifies 3'im in the same manner as n'em ...]. Although El is never referred to as šr27, the title "princes" would be an appropriate epithet for his sons. "Singers", on the other hand, would be much less appropriate. Finally, Gordon has suggested that šrm in UT 2058, rev. frag. B:3 might mean "princes". It parallels [m][r][p][u] škn, which designates a class of officer.28 Gordon's suggestion that bn šrm in 11. 2, 22 refers to the sons of the Hittite storm god Šarruma is improbable, as is Gray's translation "the Shining Ones" on the basis of the Arabic šry, "to flash"29 Though not absolutely conclusive, the evidence in favour of restoring bn šrm, "princes", is substantial. Thus we follow Virolleaud, Ginsberg, Driver et al. who read bn šrm.30 Their translation of bn šrm as "sons of princes" is incorrect. The sense of the phrase is "princes".

27 Trujillo, "A Sacrificial Meal", p. 59. J. Aistleitner (Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1963), No. 2680, p. 315) suggests that šrm = šr + imitation and that it is an epithet of El. This is improbable as such an epithet is unattested elsewhere.

28 Gordon, UT 19.24 ff; for m[p][u] škn see UT 19.1543 and 19.1754. In the latter section Gordon notes that in UT 2014: 8, 11, 12, 15, 27 škn parallels "king" and "queen".

29 Gordon, UL, p. 58; Gray, LC, p. 94.

30 Virolleaud, "La naissance", 132, 137; Ginsberg, "Notes", 30, 64; Driver, CMII, p. 121; Caquot, Textes Ugaritiques, p. 369.
L. 3. The end of the line is missing, the extant portion ending
YY< <NN. The final letter is /y/ $$ or /y/ ।. A number of
reconstructions have been suggested, including $`\text{lîh}/y/ 31$, $\text{liy}/ 32$ and
\text{liynm}. 33 KTU reads $\text{liy}$ [ ]. 34 While \text{liynm} is not otherwise
attested in the Ugaritic corpus, this reading is the most probable
one. 35 It denotes the $\text{šilm}$ of l. 1 and may be compared with the
Hebrew $\text{šelyôn}$.

The meaning of $\text{qrr}$ is contested. Ginsberg, Gaster, Driver and
Gray, among others, translate "honour" from a root w/yqr (Aramaic
yēqār). 36 While this meaning suits the text in general and the opening
lines in particular, it is doubtful. The word $\text{qrr}$, "honour", would be

31 Gordon, UT, p. 174, although in UL (p. 58) he translates "on
high". Largemant, L'auroré, p. 21. Largement suggests $\text{lîh}$ in his
notes, while admitting that such a form is unattested in Ugaritic (p.
29).

32 Virolleaud, "La naissance", 129; R. Dussaud, "Le commerce des
anciens Phéniciens à la lumière du poème des dieux gracieux et beaux,"
Syria, XVII (1936), p. 61, n. 3; Herdner, CTA, p. 98; Tsumura, "The

33 Ginsberg, "Notes", 46, 64; Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama,"
51; Gray, LC, p. 94; Xella, Il mito, p. 43; cf. Driver, CML, p. 120
($\text{liynm}$).

34 KTU, p. 67. See also Gibson, CML, p. 123.

35 The word $\text{šalyānima}$ is the m. pl. acc. form of $\text{šlyn}$, from $\text{šly}$, "to
go up", "ascend", which is well attested in Ugaritic.

36 Ginsberg, "Notes", 47, 64; Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama,"
51, 56; Driver, CML, p. 121; Gray, LC, p. 94. In support of this
translation, Ginsberg (p. 47) notes a number of Hebrew nouns derived
from $\text{primae}$ w/y roots: $\text{šebet}$ from yāšah, redet from yārad, etc.
a hapax legomenon. Moreover, Tsumura's argument that, "... the feminine abstract noun qrt, based on the verb qar, cannot be subject of ytn", is telling.37 The feminine qrt would require ytn. Trujillo suggests that the Ugaritic qrt is the equivalent of the Akkadian garitu, "festive meal" or "drinking party".38 He admits that the usual meaning of qrt is "city" and that qrt as "meal" is not attested elsewhere in Ugaritic. Nevertheless, he suggests that the word may be a homograph designating more than one concept.39 Ugaritic qrt means "city",40 and to translate it differently raises both philological and lexical difficulties.

A number of scholars have asserted that ytnm designates temple servitors and is a cognate of the Hebrew néténim.41 Tsumura notes that in CTA 115(301), I:1 the ytnm are a class of Ugaritic citizens. He states that they are "libation pourers", as does

39 Trujillo, "A Sacrificial Meal", pp. 50, 61-64.
40 Virolleaud, "La naissance", 132, 137; Largement, L'aurore, pp. 21, 28; A. van Selms, "Pašyal Formations in Ugaritic and Hebrew Nouns", JNES, XXVI (1967), 293. Note qrt in CTA 5(67), II:15; 14(Krt), III:117; 19(1 Aqht), IV:163-164. For further references see UT 19.2278. See also Gibson, CML², p. 123.
Rainey. The suggestion that \textit{ytnm} designates cultic functionaries is based in part on the understanding of the \textit{bn šrm} in 1. 2. If the latter are cultic personnel, then we should not be surprised to find similar functionaries in 1. 3. The thought process tends to be circular.

We prefer to regard \textit{ytnm} as the internal passive C-stem of \textit{ytn}, "give", with the final /m/ being the equivalent of the Akkadian particle \textit{-ma} which may be affixed to any word for emphasis. Thus we read \textit{yutanna qiratu la'alyānīma}, "Let a city be given to those most high."

L. 4. The latter part of the line is damaged. The restoration \textit{yd[...]} is probable; \textit{ytn-n p[...]} Gaster's suggestion \textit{lytn-n p[...]}, "Let a crown be set", has been adopted with slight modification by Driver and Trujillo. The restoration \textit{ytnm} is impossible as the final

\begin{itemize}
\item 42 Tsumura, "The Good Gods", pp. 25, 26; Rainey, "The Kingdom of Ugarit", p. 99. Rainey notes that the rendering of \textit{ytnm} as "libation pourers" is a "conjecture".
\item 43 For Levine ("The Netinim", 211) and Rainey ("The Kingdom of Ugarit", pp. 98-99), the identifications of \textit{bn šrm} as musicians / singers and of \textit{ytnm} as the Hebrew \textit{nētīnīm} confirm each other.
\item 44 Ginsberg, "Notes", 46-47; 64; Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", 51; Driver, \textit{CML}, p. 121; Trujillo, "A Sacrificial Meal", p. 61.
\item 46 Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", p. 56, n. 3. Driver, \textit{CML}, pp. 120-121 reads \textit{ydy[...]}\textit{p[...]}, "let a turban... be put". Trujillo, "A Sacrificial Meal", p. 67, suggests \textit{lytnm p[...]} \textit{[Let a garland be put] on...". Trujillo notes that a \textit{ṣārārāh}, "diadem" or "garland", is worn by royal dignitaries (Ex. 21:31; Cant. 3:11; Jer. 13:14) and by idols (2 Sam. 12:30; 2 Chron. 20:2) in the Old Testament. In Ps. 21:4 (EV.3) God sets a \textit{ṣārētēt pūz} upon the king's head. The suggestion that
\end{itemize}
letters before the lacuna are yd[l]. Thus, Driver's ydy ... p' ilr is preferable, though ydy is not particularly common.

The meaning of mdr špm is problematic. The expression is usually compared with Jer. 12:12: kol šepāyım bammīḏār, "all the bare heights of the steppeland". It is possible that the meaning of mdr špm is similar. Another possibility would be to regard špm as similar to Hebrew šāpat, "set on fire", perhaps analogous to mšpērāyım, "fire-places" or "ash-heaps". While this understanding may be less likely than interpreting mdr špm on analogy with Jer. 4:11; 12:12, the references to "fire" in 11. 14, 39 l. are interesting. A reading such as "region of the fire-places", referring to sacrificial altars or a cult site similar to šdoṭ in 1. 11, would be appropriate.

L. 5. The final portion of the line is missing. Virolleaud suggests that the end of the line might be restored l qdqdm. This restoration is based on those passages in which r'ls and qdq are found

---

5 occurs in CTA 16(127),II:11; VI:8 is of dubious value. In CTA 16 (126), III:11 the word is ṭrprm while in CTA 16(127),VI:8 Herder (CTA, p. 76) reads ṭp/t/Ṭrrm while Gray (The Kt Text in the Literature of Ras Shamra, 2nd ed. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1964), p. 28) reads ṭrprm.

47 Driver (CML, p. 157) suggests a root ndy, "laid", "spread", "set", cognate with Akkadian nadū, "to put", citing the use of ydy in CTA 5(67), VI:18. An Ugaritic ndn, cognate with Assyrian nadānu and Hebrew natan, "to give", "to place", is another possibility.

48 Note also Jer. 4:11. See Virolleaud, "La naissance", 137; Ginsberg, "Notes", p. 64, n. 1; Gray, LC, p. 94, n. 5; M. Dahood, Ugaritic-Hebrew Philology, Biblica et Orientalia, XVII (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1965), p. 74. The word špm is taken to be a cognate of Hebrew šēpī, "bareness", "bare height".
in parallelism. Ginsberg and Gray restore wyš[t] lqdqm. Both of these restorations are adopted by Gaster, Driver and Trujillo. Thus the restored portion reads wyš[t] lqdqm, "and place on their pates." Given the frequent occurrence of rōš // qdqd in both Ugaritic and Hebrew, this restoration is reasonable.

L. 6. While the /'a/ of the initial ḫay is not clear, the restoration is accepted universally. The meaning of the word is uncertain. Several commentators suggest that it is an exclamative "ho!", "after Arabic ḫay, "ho!" or "yes". This view is improbable. Not only is it unusual for an exclamatory particle to occur at the end of a clause, but the text consistently uses ḫl as an exclamative (11. 32, 33, 41, etc.). The translations "island" / "coast" and "any" are possible but not compelling. Ginsberg believes that ḫay is a particular term of unknown meaning, translating, "... bread of ḫay (?)

---


50 Ginsberg, "Notes", 64; Gray, LC, p. 95.

51 Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", p. 56, n. 3; Driver, CML, pp. 120, 121; Trujillo, "A Sacrificial Meal", p. 67.

52 Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", 51; Driver, CML, pp. 121, 137; Gray, LC, p. 95.

53 Largemont (L'aurore, pp. 21, 30) reads "island" or "coast" after Hebrew ḫy, "coast". Gordon (UT 19.142) suggests "any" on analogy with Hebrew ḫay.
...". Aistleitner also leaves this word untranslated. 54

The word ḥāmar is perplexing. Most scholars understand ḥāmar to denote wine and to allude to the fermentation process. Note, for example, Trujillo's translation of ḥāmar ʾyn as "foaming wine". 55 De Moor suggests that ḥāmar is equivalent to Hebrew ʾhēmēr, "wine", and refers to a special kind of wine that is differentiated from ʾyn. This is probably a new wine still in the process of fermenting. 56 Dahood argues for interpreting ḥāmar as a "vat" or "bowl" and cites several biblical and Ugaritic passages in support of this understanding. 57 Emending the MT ʾḥāmer in Deut. 32:14c to ʾḥōmer, he reads, ʾānāʾāb tīšēḥ ʾḥōmer, "The blood of grapes you will drink by the bowl." 58 This evidence is problematic, for apart from the emendation the passage lacks a required preposition. 59 Ps. 75:9 (EV. 8), another passage cited by Dahood, is of little real assistance. The MT reads, kāʾ kōs bēyād yhwē wēyayin ʾḥāmar mēlēʾ mesek, "For in the hand of the Lord there is a cup, with foaming


55 Trujillo, "A Sacrificial Meal", p. 70.

56 De Moor, The Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Baʾlu, p. 75. Note the Hebrew verb ʾḥāmar, "ferment", "boil".


wine, full of mixtures." Again Dahood emends the text to read, "... and with wine the bowl (ḥōmer) is filled."\(^60\) Apart from the syntactical difficulty, Hebrew mesek (Ugaritic msk) is "mixture".\(^61\) In both biblical examples, the MT supports the position of Trujillo and de Moor. Dahood's Ugaritic example is no more convincing. CTA 3( contempt ), I:15-17 reads ẓalp ḫd, yq̄h, bmr rbt, ymsk, bmskh. The issue hinges on the parallelism bmr // bmskh. In UT 145:17-18, mmsk occurs in parallelism with spt, which is a metal vessel. This passage suggests that mmsk designates a vessel while msk retains its expected meaning.\(^62\) Thus CTA 3 ( contempt ), I:15-17 is best translated, "A thousand pitchers he took from his wine (ferment), ten thousand he mixed from his mixture."\(^63\) Again the evidence supports the notion that bmr designates some form of wine, probably wine still in the fermenting process.

Proverbs 9:5 provides an interesting parallel to 1. 6: lēkū ṭahāmū bēlāhāmī qaṣētē bēyāyin māṣāktī, "Come, eat of my bread, and drink of the wine which I have mixed".\(^64\)

---

\(^60\) Dahood, Psalms, II, pp. 209, 214.

\(^61\) RSP, I, III.59, pp. 416-417.

\(^62\) Cf. UT 19.1509, 1791.

\(^63\) As opposed to Dahood's "A thousand pitchers he took from his bowl, ten thousand he drew from his vat"; Psalms, II, p. 214. De Moor (Seasonal Pattern, p. 67) translates bmr in the banquet scene in CTA 3 ( contempt ), I:15-17 as "foaming wine".

\(^64\) See RSP, I, I.22, pp. 28-29; II.89, p. 134; II.332-335, pp. 249-252 for other examples of the use of components of CTA 23:6 in Ugaritic and biblical literature.
L. 7. The damage to the initial portion of this line
($\text{ร base}$) has given rise to a variety of reconstructions. 65
Herdner's restoration is the most probable one: 81m . mlk . 81m . mlkt.
She suggests that what is often mistaken for /t/ is a word divider that
has been deformed by a horizontal fracture in the tablet. 66

The words 8rbm and tnnm have been interpreted in a variety of
different ways. Virolleaud believes that they refer to national or
racial groups, while Albright understands them as socio-economic
groups. 67 Dussaud regards them as caravaneers, that is, "those
entering" and "those leaving" the cases. 68 Gaster translates 8rbm and
tnnm as "sacristans" and "votaries" respectively, on analogy with the

---

65 Virolleaud, "La naissance", 130, 133: 81m + (?) mlk (?) . 71m . mlkt. "(O) Salem! you will exercise, (O) Salem! the Kingship ...". Large, L'aurore, p. 21: 81mt mlk . 71m . mlkt, "you have filled, Mlk-81m, the queen ...". Ginsberg, "Notes", 64: 81m (11) mlk . 81m . mlkt. "Peace reigneth. May Peace reign...". He suggests (p. 64, n. 2, 3) that the subject (81m) is feminine and that the verb mlkt is an
example of the optative (jussive) use of the perfect tense. Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", 51, concurs, save that he attributes to both
verbs a jussive force. Driver, CML, pp. 120, 121: 81mt mlk . 81m . mlkt,
"May thou have peace, O King; may queen, ... have peace!" Gray's
rendering is similar (LC, p. 95).

66 CTA, p. 98, n. 6. This transliteration is generally accepted.
See Gordon, UT, p. 174; Kella, Il mito, p. 33; Gibson, CML, p. 123.
KTU reads $\text{ร base}^*$. m*l*k*. 81m . mlkt (p. 67).

67 Virolleaud, "La naissance", 133; Albright, "The Myth of the
Gracious Gods", 133.

68 Dussaud, "Le commerce", 62, after 8rb, "to go in", and tnnm, "to
go out". Ginsberg's position is similar ("Notes", 48, 64). G. A.
Barton, "A Liturgy for the Celebration of the Spring Festival at
Jerusalem in the Age of Abraham and Melchizedek". JBL, LIII (1934), 63
suggests "those who enter and pour a libation" for 8rbm wttnm.
Akkadian priests, the ērib bītī. Translating ērbān as "assailants" and tnnm as "combatants", Largeman suggests that they were important groups in the community and that they originally had a military character. This position is probable with respect to the tnnm. In CTA 14(Krt), II: 90-91, tnnm parallels hpt, "soldier", in the description of Keret's army. In CTA 2015, a list of personnel, many of whom are military in nature, the tnnm also appear with the hpt (11. 5, 25). Lete believes that the tnnm of Keret's army may be similar to the Hebrew šinān and the Akkadian šanašu, "archer". The tnnm are found in other administrative texts listing various personnel, including a list of archers supplied by towns and guilds (CTA 17(113):70). In UT 169:4 they occur together with the mrynā (1. 11). The latter are a ruling

Gaster, A Canaanite Ritual Drama", pp. 51, 56, n. 7, 8. Follet's position is similar ("Note sur une traduction récente d'un texte religieux d'Ugarit", 7). Gordon (UL, p. 58), Driver (CML, p. 121) and Gray (LC, pp. 95, 213-214) also interpret these words as referring to types of cultic officials. In "Götterzeugung", Aistleitner also follows the analogy of the ērib bītī (pp. 295, 299).

Largeman, L'aurore, pp. 21, 31-32.


CTA 85(80), IV:1 and 116(303):1 indicate that the tnnm were members of a particular guild.
class of chariot warriors prominent in Canaan during the later stages of the Bronze Age. 73

The evidence in favour of regarding the tnnm as military personnel in the retinue of the king is substantial. There is less certainty with respect to the crbm. The Akkadian ērib bīrī is suggestive, though not conclusive. In CTA 23 the Crbm make a liturgical response (1. 12) and, together with the tnnm, bring sacrifices (11. 26-27). This involvement in the ritual indicates that they are cultic functionaries.

L. 8. This line is separated from the preceding lines by a horizontal demarcation drawn across the tablet. While it is not possible to state with certainty the significance of these lines, they seem to indicate a change in the subject matter.

The name mr wēr (mōtu-wašāru) is a binominal designation of the god Mot, "Death". 74 This phrase indicates a single deity, a fact reflected in the 3 m. sing. possessive suffix -h in bdh. The word bdh (badihu) is a bound uniconsonantal comprised of the preposition b- + d < yd, "hand", + -h. 75

---

73 The tnnm and mryum appear together in UT 1031:1, 3, 9 and UT 1028:1, 2, 4. The mryum are well attested at Ugarit. For a discussion of the mryum, see Bailey, "The Social Stratification of Ugarit", pp. 134-138; and H. Reviv, "Some Comments on the Maryannu", IEJ, XXII (1972), 218-228.

74 D. T. Tsumura, "A Ugaritic God, mr-w-Šr, and his two weapons", UF, VI (1974), 409. Tsumura translates the name as "Death-and-Evil", Šr being a cognate of Arabic šarr, "evil" (cf. UT 19.2479). He notes that Mot's two staffs confirm his destructive nature.

75 Cf. UT 8.19. Translated with Virolleaud, "La naissance", 133, 139; Albright, "The Myth of the Gracious Gods", 133; Largement, L'aurore,
Mot's staffs are ṭkl, "bereavement", and ḫulmn, "widowhood" (1. 9). The use of these words in close proximity is familiar from the Old Testament.  Driver translates ṭkl as "miscarriage" while Gray reads "sterility".  Astour asserts, however, that the proper meaning of ṭkl in both Hebrew (šākal) and Arabic (ṭakila) is "to bereave of children", that is, "children already born".  Tsumura agrees with Astour, rejecting the suggestions that in CTA 23:8 ṭkl may suggest "miscarriage", "sterility".  While Astour and Tsumura are correct with respect to the basic meaning of ṭkl, there is merit in attributing to this word nuances such as those suggested by Driver and Gray. Astour admits that in RS 24.24:p.61-62 the words ṭkl bwnwth mean "she deprived him of his virility". The expiatory ritual performed by the god Ḥoron to rid himself of the curse indicates that it was he, rather than his

---

76 Isa. 47:9: b̄yöm pēḥād šēkōl wē-almōn, "In one day, the loss of children and widowhood." Note also Isa. 47:8; Jer. 15:7-8; 18:21.
77 Driver, CML, p. 122; Gray, LC, p. 96.
78 M. C. Astour, "Two Ugaritic Serpent Charms", JNES, XXVII (1968), 22.
79 Tsumura, "A Ugaritic God", 409. On the analogy of the occurrence of šēkōl and pālμn in Jer. 15:7-8 with the Pīqēl form of pābab, "perish", Tsumura suggests that the function of Mot here is that of the destruction of life in general. He asserts that Death is the antithesis of life in the widest sense, not simply the antithesis of fertility and birth. There is no reason, however, why šēkōl and pālμn in Jer. 15:7-8 are not particular examples singled out from the general scene of destruction. Given the prominence of the theme of birth in CTA 23, it is fitting that...
descendants, who was affected. The statement refers to ḫoron’s loss of virility or procreative power. 80 Thus tkl can denote sterility. In Ex. 23:26 the Piel participle mēšakkēlāh, from šakal, occurs with the adjective ṣaqārān, "barren", and means "miscarriage". As CTA 23 is concerned primarily with the birth of ḥbr and ṣlm, we follow Albright in translating tkl as "childlessness", 81 referring in all probability to the "bereavement" of sterility or of miscarriage. The death of children already born, however, cannot be completely discarded as a possibility.

The words ḫt tkl occur in the fragment RS 19.179(UT 2002):4, which may represent the remains of another text of CTA 23. 82

L. 9. This line introduces three parallel cola in which each colon is introduced by a yqtl form of the verb, followed by a cognate subject and concluding with gpn (11. 9-11). The verb yzbrūn is a yqtl 3 m. pl. form (yiqqūlū(na)) of zbr, "to prune", with the 3 m. sing. accusative pronominal suffix -nū / -nu. 83 In l. 10, yṣmdnn is similar in form. Ugaritic ṣmd refers to some form of viticultural operation, such as tying or binding vines (Heb. ṣāmad, "join", "bind"). 84 Note the

---


82 FRU, V, No. 2, p. 6.


84 UT 19.2170. The /ṣ/ of yṣmdnn, while damaged, is certain. KTU reads yṣ-mdnn (p. 67).
expression šimdē kerem, "vineyard", in Isa. 5:10. The words km gpn in l. 11 suggest that km is to be understood as preceding gpn in ll. 9, 10 also.

L. 10. The initial letters of the line are damaged, but can be restored with certainty on the basis of the parallelism in ll. 9-10. The words yšql and šdmth are noteworthy. In translating yšql šdmth as "He is felled in his field", Gordon regards yšql as a passive š-stem of the verb qll /ql, "to fall". 85 The preceding verbs in the parallel tricola are, however, active in voice and third masculine plural in person and number. This suggests that yšql should be regarded as such also. In all probability yšql is a š-stem 3 m. pl. form of qll /ql, "to fall" (yāsaqīlū). 86 Another possibility is that the verb is a G-stem 3 m. pl. form of a verb šql, "to slay" (yāsqulū). 87 In either case, the meaning of l. 10 would be the same. Note that in CTA 4(51), VII.40-41 and CTA 22(124), B:12-13 šql parallels šbī, "to slaughter":

šql trm wmrš iš film

They have slain oxen, also sheep
They have killed bulls, fatlings of rams. 88

---

85 Gordon, UL, p. 59; UT 19.2227, 2231.


87 UT 19.2473, though Gordon acknowledges the possibility that šql is the š-stem of qll.

88 CTA 22(124), B:12-13; translated with Driver, CML, p. 69.
38.

The word šdmth has been subjected to different interpretations. A number of scholars have equated it with the Hebrew šədemāh, "field".\(^{89}\) If this view is accepted, the word refers to the domain or territory of Mot. In 2 Sam. 9:7 šādeh refers to the personal estate or throne of the king.\(^{90}\) Note also the Ugaritic expression dd ʔił, "territory of El".\(^{91}\) Another possibility is to regard šdmth as a composite word formed from šd, "field", and mt, "Mot", meaning "the field of Mot".\(^{92}\) M. R. Lehmann has amassed substantial evidence in support of the position that the Hebrew šadmōt is a terminus technicus "of strictly definable cultic, mythological and agricultural connotations", associated with a state of dominance of the powers of death. He suggests, moreover, that šdmth in CTA 23 is a similar technical term.\(^{93}\) Lehmann's position is probable.

---

\(^{89}\) Virolleaud, "La naissance", 133, 139; Largement, L'aurore, p. 22; Gordon, UL, p. 59 and UT 19.2388. Thus it would be "his fields".


\(^{91}\) CTA 1(Cnt),III:23; 2(68),III:5; 17(2 Aqht),VI:48.

\(^{92}\) Tsumura, "A Ugaritic God", 412. Tsumura suggests that if šdmth is "the field of Mot", the /h/ would be the adverbial suffix of direction.

\(^{93}\) Lehmann notes that the biblical uses of šadmōt are characterized by the following features: 1) though apparently feminine plural in form, the word is treated as a masculine singular; 2) it carries connotations of non-Jewish cults and/or peoples; 3) in agrarian terms, it has the character of aridity and barrenness. These peculiarities are evident in Hab. 3:17 and Isa. 16:8. This usage suggests that the word is a compound form of šādeh mwēr, "field of death". M. R. Lehmann, "A New Interpretation of the Term סָדָה מָיוֶר", VT, III (1953), 361-371. See also N. J. Tromp, Primitive Conceptions of Death and the Nether World in the Old Testament, Biblica et Orientalia, XXI (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1969), pp. 50-53.
Thus šadmēt designates that region where Mot holds sway. This domain of death may be an actual cult site. Note that šadmēt parallels gepen in Deut. 32:32 and Isa. 16:8.

L. 12. This line is separated from both the preceding and following lines by horizontal demarcations. The seventh letter is uncertain. As it is a thin vertical sign, ꞌ /g/, ꞌ /z/ or ꞌ /h/ are credible. A number of commentators favour /h/, restoring yrhm. The meaning of yrhm is problematic. Neither "moon" nor "month" seems appropriate. Virolleaud and Gaster suggest that in this context the word refers to a moon-shaped object used in the ritual. Those who favour this interpretation of yrhm believe ạd to designate a cultic object or structure as well.

While this interpretation is possible, the restoration yrgm is preferred. The word is an internal passive of the G-stem yrglm 3 m. sing. form of rgm, "to cry", "call", "speak out" (yurgamu). Similarly,

---


95 Virolleaud, Dussaud, Barton, Ginsberg and Gaster. See note 94.

96 Virolleaud suggests that ạd is a sacred structure or building; "La naissance", 133, 139. See also Dussaud, "Les Phéniciens", 13; Barton, "The Spring Festival at Jerusalem", 63; Ginsberg, "Notes", 65; Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", 52; Largement, L'aurore, pp. 22, 33.

97 Largement, L'aurore, pp. 22, 33; Gordon, UL, p. 59; Driver, CML, pp. 120, 121; Gray, LC, p. 96. Herdner (CTA, p. 98, n. 7) also reads yrgm, admitting however that yrhm is also possible. See also KTU, p. 67 and Gibson, CML, p. 123.
it is unlikely that CD designates a sacred object or building. A number of commentators have regarded Ugaritic CD as a cognate of the Arabic Cddu, "seven-stringed lute". Gray cites the use of the preposition CAL in Psalm superscriptions to indicate musical accompaniment in support of this interpretation. Note, for example, the following phrase in the superscription of Ps. 6:1: BINGISOT CAL haššēminīt, "with stringed instruments, according to the eighth." This analogy suggests that CD may designate a form of chant or perhaps even a rhythm or key. The notion that CD has some connection with music finds support in the occurrence of Cny in 1. 12. In Hebrew Cănâh can mean either "answer/reply" or "sing". It has this latter meaning in Ex. 32:18. Thus 1. 12 would read, "Seven times it shall be said to (the accompaniment of) the CD (lute or chant, etc.) and the CRBM shall sing."

Another possibility is that CD is derived from WCd, "to appoint", and is cognate with the Hebrew noun Cēdâh, "congregation", "assembly". If this rendering of CD is correct, there is a structural balance between YRM C1 CD and WCēRM Cēnym. Yet the fact that PHR is used for

---

98 Gordon, UL, p. 59; Follet, "Note sur une traduction récente d'un texte religieux d'Ugarit", 8; Driver, CMH, pp. 121, 141; Gray, LC, p. 96.

99 Gray, LC, p. 96, n. 6.

100 Dahood (Psalms, I, p. 38) notes that šēminīt is probably a musical notation.

101 In the superscription of Ps. 88, the word lēqannōt seems to be derived from Cănâh, "sing"; cf. Dahood, Psalms, II, p. 302.
"assembly" in l. 57 suggests that șd should be translated in some other manner. Thus we interpret șd as a musical term.

L. 13. A number of commentators have seen in the word șd reference to either the breasts of the goddesses or the milk thereof. While the general theme of birth and the fact that Athirat, and perhaps Raḥmā as well, nurse the 2ilm n=mm (ll. 24, 59, 61) make this interpretation attractive, it is fraught with philological difficulty. Ugaritic /š/ becomes Hebrew /š/ as in šādeh, "field", while Ugaritic /t/ shifts to Hebrew /š/ as in šod, "female breast". Free from philological difficulty, the translation of șd as "field" is preferable to the problematic rendering "breast".

Unlike mt wār, 2arr ṯrēm is not a compound name designating a

---

102 In "A Canaanite Ritual Drama" (p. 63), Gaster notes that if șd was translated as "breast", l. 12 "would yield excellent and appropriate sense as an exclamation of praise addressed to those holy breasts at which the 'Gracious Gods' are suckled (cf. ll. 24, 59, 61)." Aware of the philological difficulty involved in this suggestion, he rejects the idea and renders șd as "fields" (cf. p. 52). Ginberg ("Notes", 51) suggests that when șd, ẓd and zd are juxtaposed with 2arr ṯrēm, 2arr alone, or șt, they are miswritten for td. Gray (LC, p. 96, n. 8) follows Driver (CML, pp. 121, 148) in translating șd as "effluence" (ṣdy, "outpouring", "issue", "discharge"), after Aramaic šēdā, "pour out". Driver (p. 121, n. 8) suggests that șd refers to "milk from the breasts".

103 UT 3.2; 5.12; S. Moscati, An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1964), pp. 28-29, 33-37; F. M. Cross, "Yhwh and the God of the Patriarchs", HTR, LV (1962), 245 ff. The word šdmăr / šdmēr is an exception, but may be explained as a direct borrowing; cf. Lehmann, "אִישׁ", 363-364.

single deity. Such a binominal designation of Athirat is not attested in the Ugaritic corpus, even though there are innumerable references to this deity. Nor is ṭḥm ever used as an epithet or attribute of this goddess. This word is associated with Anat, however, in the phrase ṭḥm šnt in CTA 6(49),II:27. Here ṭḥm is a title of the goddess, comparable to the characteristic epithet ḫlt. This passage raises the possibility of equating ṭḥm(y) with Anat in CTA 23. The goddess ṭḥwy is numbered among the divine guests in attendance at Keret's wedding feast in CTA 5(128),II:6. The fact that Anat is mentioned by name in l. 27 does not preclude the possible identification of the two goddesses. Largement and Gordon suggest that ṭḥwy in CTA 23 is Anat and initially Kapelrud shared this opinion. Subsequently Kapelrud has concluded that this identification is by no means certain.

105 Contra Gordon, UT 8.61.

106 The words ṭḥm šnt are restored in CTA 6(49),II:5. In the fragmentary and obscure mythological text CTA 13(6):2, ṭḥm is restored on the basis of the occurrences of ṭḥm(y) in CTA 6(49) and CTA 23. This occurrence is of no help whatsoever in elucidating the nature of the goddess.

107 Such a possibility cannot be used to argue for the existence of a composite deity Athirat-and-Anat. The goddesses that exhibit a tendency towards coalescence are Aṯtar and Anat. De Moor suggests that ṣprt šnt in RS 24.258:9 is a composite deity similar in type to ktr-wḥṣ and that the pairing of these goddesses produced eventually Atargatis. See J. C. de Moor, "Studies in the New Alphabetic Texts from Ras Shamra I", UF, I (1969), pp. 170, n. 19, 171. The distinctive characters of Athirat and Anat mitigate against such a pairing of these two deities.

108 Largement, L'aurora, p. 34; Gordon, UL, p. 57; Kapelrud, Baal in the Ras Shamra Texts, p. 70.
and should not be used in any portrait of Anat. While refraining from explicitly equating ṭḥmy with Anat, Driver suggests that both Athirat and Anat appear in CTA 23. While the equation of Rahamay with Anat cannot be demonstrated conclusively, the phrase ṭḥm ħmt does support such an identification. The name ṭḥmy is derived from the noun ṭḥm (Hebrew ṭḥem), "womb", with the feminine suffix -y (-avy) which occurs most frequently in feminine personal names. The word ṭḥm is not associated solely with divine beings. Keret's eighth daughter is designated as ṭḥmt in CTA 16(125),I:33. This usage has an analogue in Jdg. 5:30, where raham denotes a young woman. Both contexts are poetic.

L. 14. The text is badly damaged between ʾżr̂m and bhlb. Virolleaud's restoration of ṭb[l h gld has been widely accepted, despite the fact that Virolleaud admitted that this reconstruction is conjectural. There are numerous difficulties with this suggestion.


110 Driver, CML, p. 23, n. 3. See also Gaster, Thespis, p. 422; Oldenburg, The Conflict between El and Baal in Canaanite Religion, pp. 19, 88; J. C. de Moor, New Year with Canaanites and Israelites, I, II; Kamper Cahiers, XXI (Kampen: J. H. Kok, 1972), I, p. 6; II, pp. 18, 19; Gibson, CML², pp. 28, 30, 123, n. 10.

111 Cf. UT 8.54.

112 Virolleaud, "La naissance", 130, 140; Ginsberg, "Notes", 65; Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", 52, 61-62; Largement, L'aurore, p. 22; Driver, CML, p. 120; H. Kosmala, "The So-Called Ritual Decalogue", ASTI, I (1962), 52-53. This ready acceptance of Virolleaud's restoration is grounded to some extent upon the desire to find a Canaanite practice related to the biblical prohibition against boiling
There is insufficient space between /b/ and /d/ for the restoration of two letters. The word ṭbh poses a greater problem. The occurrences of ṭbh in association with ṣql-in CTA 4(51), VI:40-41 and in CTA 22(124), B:12 indicate that this word does not mean "cook", but "slaughter". The translation of ḡd as "kid" is equally problematic. The usual Ugaritic word for "kid" is ḡdy (Hebrew ḡḏiy). The parallelism ḡd ḥḥl // ḥmn ḥḥl ḥat provides no support, as the meaning of ḥmn is uncertain. This word is translated as "kid" or "lamb" on the basis of ḡd.

Pope has proposed that sense can be made of Herdner's reading ṭb . (?). ḡd. He suggests that ḡd may mean "coriander" and ḥmn "mint". Note the occurrence of Hebrew ḡḏ, "coriander", in Ex. 16:31 and Num. 11:7. Ugaritic ḥmn would be cognate with Akkadian Ṣannāhu and Syriac Ṣanāḥ. Pope understands ṭb to be a verb, cognate with Arabic a kid in its mother's milk. Note the discussion of this restoration and the biblical prohibition in RSP, I, I.23, pp. 29-32; III.30, pp. 402-403. See also Cassuto, The Goddess Anath, pp. 29, 50-51.

113 See Herdner, CTA, p. 98, n. 9.

114 See the textual notes for 1. 10. See also S. E. Loewenstamm, "Lexicographical Notes on 1. ṭbh; 2. ḥ̄n̄y/ḥ̄n̄y", UF, V (1973), 209-210.

115 UT 19:257, 560.


117 Driver, CML, pp. 121, 135, n. 28; Aistleitner, Wörterbuch, No. 1794, p. 206.
thb, "beat", "shake". Thus he translates, "Over the fire seven times the heroes, / Shake (?) corialnder in milk, / Mint in butter." He asserts that this rendering "seems as palatable, philologically or aesthetically, as a kid cooked in milk." This interpretation, while not certain, is less problematic than that proposed by Virolleaud.

Several different meanings have been assigned to ḡzm. While leaving this word untranslated, Virolleaud suggests that it either refers to a deity or corresponds to Arabic ḡzr which means "abundance of milk" when applied to animals. Driver and Gray translate "sacrificers", apparently on the basis of the context. The usual meaning of ḡzr is "hero" and this is the meaning adopted by Follet and Gordon. In CTA 3(4nt),II:22 and CTA 19(1 Aqht) V:206 ḡzr is synonymous with ḡb-u. This supports the translation "heroes", while imparting a military connotation. Citing a bilingual inscription from Leptis Magna in which the Punic title ṣdm ḡzm is translated by the Latin praefectus sacrorum, Largement suggests that ḡzr is the title of

---

118 Virolleaud, "La naissance", 133, 140. He is followed by Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", pp. 52, 56, n. 21. Ginsberg differs slightly, suggesting "abundant water" on the basis of the Arabic ḡzr; see "Notes", p. 65, n. 2.

119 Driver, CML, p. 121; Gray, LG, p. 97.


121 On the basis of these occurrences of ḡzr, Gaster translates this word in l. 17 as "might"; cf. "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", pp. 52, 56, n. 23.
a magisterial office analogous to that of the crbm and tmmm. This view is consistent with the occurrences of gzr in the passages cited above. Like the tmmm, the gzrm appear in both martial and liturgical settings. Thus they may be some form of magistrates or royal officials.

L. 15. The final portion of the line is missing. A number of commentators read dgt ḫt. Ginsberg restores dgt ḫt, "fresh water". Driver, followed by Gray, suggests dgt ḫt ḫqṯ, "fresh water is poured." As Largement acknowledges, the restoration and the translation "fresh water" are based on a rare Arabic cognate dagistu, "pure water", and on the need to fill a lacuna. While possible, these restorations are not compelling. Gibson's dgt ḫt ḫt is preferable.

Hoffner has suggested that Ugaritic dgt may be an Anatolian loan word duğūš from the Hittite duḫḫuš (ḫtuḫḫuš, "smoke"). The meaning of dgt would be "smoke", "incense" or "smoke-offering". This translation accords well with the four occurrences of dgt in Ugaritic.

---

123 Virolleaud, "La naissance", 130; Largement, L'aurore, p. 22; Gordon, UT, p. 174; Herdner, CTA, p. 98.
124 Ginsberg, "Notes", 65; Driver, CML, pp. 120, 121, 153; Gray, LC, p. 97.
125 Largement, L'aurore, pp. 35-36.
126 Gibson, CML 2, p. 124. KTU (p. 67) reads dgt(?)*t* t L dgt*t*t.
De Moor disagrees slightly with this interpretation, arguing that Hoffner gives the loan word a more specific meaning than it had in Hittite. Acknowledging an original relation with tūḫḫuwaḥ, he suggests that dgt might mean "incense of purification." The usual Ugaritic term for "smoke" or "incense" is qfr.

The restoration dgt is plausible in light of the references to fire (を持っている in 1. 14 and ḫagm in 1. 15). It is less conjectural than ḫgṭ. On the basis of the parallelism with 1. 14, it is also possible that /d/ is the relative pronoun prefixed to ḫzm. 129

Several translations of ḩagm are possible. A number of commentators favour "bowl", after Hebrew ṣaggān. 130 In Ex. 24:6 ṣaggān occurs in a ritual context. The parallelism 1. 14 ḫiṣṭ. ṣḥd (1. 14) // ḫl. ḩagm. ṣḥdm (1. 15) suggests, however, that ḩagm means "fire".

Thus ḩagm is an Indo-European loan word related to Sanskrit agni and

---

127 H. A. Hoffner, "An Anatolian Cult Term in Ugaritic", JNES, XXIII (1964), 66-68. Hoffner explains the form dgt by noting the occurrence of Ugaritic ḫṭ (Anatolian ḫṭtuḥ), and the shift from Hittite /b/ to Ugaritic /8/, as exemplified in the personal name ṭuḫḫaliya > tdghl.

128 J. C. de Moor, "Fructula Ugaritica", JNES, XXIV (1956), 355-356. He suggests that Ugaritic dgt is related to two Hittite words, ṭuḫḫuwaḥ which denotes some form of ritual purification, and ṭuḫḫuwaḥ which names an unknown substance used in purification rites and is related to tūḫḫuwaḥ, "smoke".


130 Viroleaud, "La naissance", 133; Largement, L'aurore, 35; Driver, CML, 121; Gray, LC, 97; Caquot, Textes Ugaritiques, p. 371; Gibson, CML, p. 124.
Latin ignis. The meaning "fire" is preferred in l. 15 on the basis of the parallel ḫāṣ // ḫagīn and is as appropriate in ll. 31, 36 as "vessel" or "bowl".

The parallel between l. 14 and l. 15 suggests that ṣbʾḏm is probably ṣbʾḏ + enclitic /m/, rather than a dual form meaning "twice seven times."  

L. 16. Several restorations have been proposed for the missing portion of the line. On the basis of ll. 67-68, Largement restores ʿḥat mdbr. While this is possible, it is the gracious gods who roam the "corners of the wilderness" in ll. 67-68, not ṭaḥīmay. As both ṭaḥīmay and Athirat appear together in ll. 13, 28, Athirat may have been the subject of wrgd. Thus ʿḥlm ʿrpm would have paralleled

---

131 Gordon, UT, 19.65; S. Segert and L. Zgusta, "Indogermanisches in den alphabetischen Texten aus Ugarit", Archiv Or., XXI (1953), 274-275; Tsumura, "The Good Gods", p. 43. Indo-European influence at Ugarit is attested by the presence of the feudal maryannu-class; cf. notes for l. 7. See P. C. Craigie, "EL BRT. EL DTN (RS 24.278, 14-15)", UF V (1973), 278-279, in which Craigie notes the possibility of syncretism involving EL and Mitra in the Hurrian pantheon at Ugarit. Ginsberg, "Notes", 51, 65 translates ḫagīn as "the blazing fire", on the basis of Arabic ḫğl, "to burn fiercely".

132 Tsumura, "The Good Gods", pp. 43-44 suggests that ṣbʾḏm is dual.

133 Largement, L'aurore, pp. 22, 36. Driver, CML, pp. 120, 121, suggests wrgd ʿḥṭṛt mdbr.

wtqd *patrt. This restoration is probable. The verb tilk is the G-stem, 3 f. s., yqt1 form of hlk, "go" or "walk", with the enclitic /m/ (talikum). The verb trg is the G-stem, 3 f. s. yqt1 form of g(w/y)d, "to walk", "scour", "range", "hunt". This word is cognate with Hebrew gūd, "hunt", and Akkadian sadu, "to prowl", "roam", "hunt". The verbs hlk and g(w/y)d occur together in CTA 5(67), VI:26-28: cnt . ttilk . wtrd . kl . ḫr lkbōd . jarr . kl . gūf lkbd . šdm, "Anat goes and searches every rock, to the centre (lit. liver) of the earth, every mountain, to the centre of the fields." 135 This passage depicts Anat searching for Baal. On analogy with these lines, we suggest that "search" or "scour" is the most appropriate translation of g(w/y)d in l. 16. "Roam" is also an appropriate translation. 136

L. 16 presents the first example of divine activity in the text. The action of a divine figure is not depicted again until l. 30, in which El proceeds to the shore and meets the two women. Assuming that these woman are Athirat and Rahmay, it is possible that l. 16 placed the goddesses at the shore. Thus we suggest the reconstruction: wtqd *patrt gp yml.

135. Note also CTA 6(49), II:15-17 and CTA 12(75), I:34-35. The latter reads, bšt . ytlk . wtrd yh pšt . mlbr, "Raal goes forth and roams, he hastens to the corners of the desert." mlbr is written for mbš (cf. Herdner, CTA, p. 54, n. 3; Gibson, CML2, p. 134). The verb yh is an imperfect form of why, "to hasten" (see UT 19.802, 813; Gray, LC, p. 78, n. 2; Gibson, CML2, p. 145).

136. Tsumura suggests that the occurrence side by side of hlk and *swd constitutes a hendiatris and indicates that *swd probably means "to walk" or "to go (around)"; see "The Good Gods", p. 97. See also RSP, I, II.166, p. 172.
L. 17. The end of the line is missing. It is generally accepted that the final extant word is n Crom, although only the horizontal stroke of the /m/ remains. Believing ֹגֶר to be a deity, Virolleaud reconstructs n Crom ֹיְיְמָא, "You shall encompass ֹגֶר, the most gracious of the gods." Virolleaud is followed by a number of commentators who see in this line an encounter, perhaps amorous, between a god and a goddess. 137 ֹגֶר does occur as an epithet of Mot in the phrase ydd ֹיְיְמָא ֹגֶר, "beloved of El, the hero" (CTA 6(49), VI:31; 4(51), VII:7). It is unlikely, however, that L. 17 refers to Mot, as this deity has been subdued in 11. 8–11. Moreover, the word ֹגֶר is used to qualify Aqhat and Danel (CTA 19(1 Aqht), IV:166; 17(2 Aqht), I:18, 36). 138

"A more probable restoration is n Crom ֹיְיָבָא. ֹגֶר should be interpreted as a noun denoting a quality proper to a hero, such as "valour" or "might." 139 Thus L. 17 contains a synonomous chiastic parallel: thgyn ֹגֶר // n Crom ֹיְיָבָא, "They are girded in might // in grace they are clothed." A similar idea is expressed in Prov. 31:17:

בָּגְרָה בְּֽכֶּֽזָּו מְטָנְיָהָ, "She girds her loins with strength." The verb

137 Virolleaud, "La naissance", 130, 133; Ginsberg, "Notes", 52, 65; Gordon, UL, p. 59; Xella, IL mito, p. 36. A. van Selms suggests that L. 17 depicts preparation for sexual intercourse, or the union itself; see Marriage and Family Life in Ugaritic Literature (London: Luzac and Co., Ltd., 1954), pp. 42–44. Tsumura also finds a sexual encounter between ֹיְיָמ and ֹגֶר n Crom in L. 17; see "The Good Gods", pp. 46–47.

138 See Whitaker, Concordance, pp. 512–513.

139 Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", pp. 52, 56, n. 23. Driver, CML, pp. 120, 121, 142 and Gray, LC, p. 98 follow Gaster, with slight variation.
thgrn is either a G-stem 3 c. dual yqtl form (tapgrănî) or a passive G-stem 3 f. pl. yqtl form (tuḫgarûnâ) of bgr (Hebrew hâgar), "gird". The same description is applicable to tîbhûn (talbušânî or tâlbâšûnâ). The root of this verb is 1bš, "dress", "put on clothing", which is a cognate of Hebrew lûbâš, "put on a garment"; "clothe".

L. 18. The spacing of the initial signs and the lacuna at the end pose several difficulties for the translation of this line. The first word begins with either /w/ or /kt/. The reading wnsm, "and men", suggested initially by Virolleaud, is not possible. Nor is wnsm, "and they set". It is possible to read the enclitic particle /k/+ tôm, "When the Cîhm set". Herdner's reading wnsm seems more plausible. Ugaritic ̖m is equivalent to Hebrew šôm, "name".

Several reconstructions have been suggested with respect to the final extant letters: yrîdl, "go down"; yrînnî, "sing"; yrîhîm. Another possibility would be yrîgm, after l. 12. Any restoration of this line is conjectural. The only certainty is the reference to the

140 Virolleaud, "La naissance", 130, 133; followed by Ginsberg, "Notes", 65; Largement, L'aurore, p. 22. The reading wnsm was suggested by Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", 52, and has been adopted by Driver, CML, pp. 120, 121. See Herdner's note, CTA, p. 98, n. 12.

141 DT 12.3.

142 Herdner, CTA, p. 98; Gibson, CML, p. 124; KTU, p. 67.

143 Virolleaud, "La naissance", 141 (yrâ); Ginsberg, "Notes", 65 (yrtnî). Barton, "The Spring Festival", 63, Dussaud, "Les Phéniciens", 13, Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", p. 57, n. 26 and Driver, CML, p. 120 all read yrîhîm.
L. 19. There is general agreement as to the restoration of /r/ in mtbt and of t[bt....].

Both mtbt (mošabatu) and restored tbt (tabātu) are f. pl. const. forms of nouns derived from yrb (Hebrew yāsāb), "sit", "dwell". Tbt means "seat" (Hebrew šebet) and mtb (Hebrew mōšāb) usually denotes a "dwelling". In CTA 16(126), V:24-25, however, mtb designates the princely dwelling-place, perhaps throne room, of the divine assembly: tb . bny . lm tbr tkm lkb . zbl kmal, "Return, my sons, to your mtbt, to your princely thrones."

The parallelism suggests that mtb means "throne" or the like. The word mtbt is found in a liturgical context in CTA 35(3):51, while mtbt rlm occurs in the fragmentary line CTA 47(33):5. Neither of these contexts is helpful in elucidating mtbt in l. 19 or the meaning of the line.

Tsumura suggests that rlm is the singular rlm + enclitic /m/.

The plural mtbt refers to the eight chambers mentioned in CTA 3(šat), V:19-20, 34-35. Not only are the passages dissimilar, but it is difficult to equate mtbt with bdrm, "rooms", and ṣap šgrt, "compartments". Tsumura's suggestion is not compelling.

---

144 These restorations were suggested initially by Virolleaud, "La naissance", 130, 141, and adopted by scholars such as Ginsberg, "Notes", 65 and Largemont, L'aurore, pp. 22, 37. Herdner, CTA, p. 99 and Gordon, UT, p. 174 prefer the more cautious reading t[bt...]. RTU, p. 67 reads mtbt and r[,...], while Gibson, CMZ, p. 124 restores the final word as t[mm ...].


L. 20. Several meanings have been suggested for pamt. Although he refrains from translating this word, Virolleaud suggests that it designates female deities associated with the pelm of the preceding line. He asserts that the general sense of p'amt is "strong", after Hebrew piy'māh, "superabundance", and Akkadian piyamū, "strong". Not only is the etymology questionable, but even if it is accepted, the translation "goddess" is dubious. The word p'amt could be the noun p̄amt (Hebrew p̄amāh), "maid", "handmaid", with the co-ordinating conjunction p̄an. Note that p̄amt does occur in association with Athirat in the Ugaritic corpus. The presence of pelm and particularly of šbc suggest, however, that a plural form is required. The plural of p̄amt is p̄amht. Thus "handmaid" is also improbable. Largement believes that p̄amt denotes a divine habitation, paralleling mtht in meaning.

There is no evidence to support this assertion.

The correct translation of p̄amt šbc is "seven times". According to Gordon, p̄amt is cognate with Hebrew pa'am, "a time". The different laryngeal results from the blending of p̄aⁿ, "foot", and

147 Virolleaud, "La naissance", 140-142. Virolleaud is followed by Driver, CML, p. 121 and Gray, LC, p. 98, who translate "great goddesses".


149 Largement, L'auroré, p. 36.

p^amt, "a time", producing Hebrew p^m, meaning either. Note that p^amt may precede or follow a number. In CTA 33(5), a ritual text depicting numerous sacrifices, šb^c p^amt occurs (11. 7, 26), while in CTA 35(3), which also enumerates various sacrifices to be offered, the word order is reversed (rev., 1. 52). The subject matter qualified by p^amt šb^c in CTA 23:20 is not known, due either to the lacuna in the preceding line or to the terseness of the text.

L. 21. Although this line is unusually short, it is complete. A number of commentators take s^iqn^u to be a G-stem, y^t^l 1 c. sing. (s^iqn^u) form of qa^ (Hebrew gânâ³; Pic^el qimnâ³), "pe jealously", "zealous". They regard šmt as a pl. const. of šm, "name", in the oblique case (šumâri). Thus they translate, "I am zealous for the names of ...". This interpretation is dubious. The verb form s^iqn^u is a šapax in Ugaritic. Moreover, in Hebrew the translation of

---

151 C. H. Gordon, review of Largement, La naissance de l'aurore, JNES, XI (1952), 144.

152 The expression p^amt šb^c also occurs in a Hurrian offering list; cf. RS 24.254:11 in Ugaritica, V, pp. 507-508.

153 Virolleaud's addition of [^l^m n^m^m (?)] on the basis of 1. 1 is unwarranted; cf. Virolleaud, "La naissance", 130, 142. Ginsberg's assertion that, "... 11.21 and 22 are probably complete despite their brevity, in view of the abundant blank space both before and after the break," is correct; cf. Ginsberg, "Notes", 52. This view is shared by Largement, L’aurore, pp. 22, 37; Driver, CML, pp. 120, 121; Gray LC, p. 98; and Gibson, CML², p. 124. Herdner, CTA, p. 99 and KTU, p. 67 indicate some hesitation.
$g^\nu$ as "to be zealous" requires an indirect object.  

Several interpreters have translated $\nu$gn$^\nu$ and $\nu$m as "lapis lazuli" (Akkadian unq) and "carnelian" (Akkadian $\nu$mt) respectively. These words are well attested in Ugaritic. Moreover, they occur together in several administrative texts which concern the distribution of vestments to various personnel and deities.

Viroleaud interprets $\nu$pn. d. $\nu$gn$^\nu$ w. $\nu$m in RS 15.82(1107):1 as denoting vestments decorated with lapis and carnelian. He suggests that $\nu$gn$^\nu$ w. $\nu$m in RS 18.28(2100):4 refers to "blue wool". Likewise, Tsumura interprets $\nu$gn$^\nu$ and $\nu$m in CTA 23:21 as either lapis and carnelian, perhaps used as ornaments on vestments, or as different kinds or colours of wool. Although any explanation of 1. 21 can be little more than speculation, this line of interpretation has much to

---

154 Ginsberg, "Notes", 65; Largement, L'aurore, pp. 22, 37; Gordon, UL, p. 59 and UT 19.2246; Driver, CML, p. 121; Gray, LC, p. 98; RSP, I, I.24, p. 32.

155 Note Ezek. 39:25: $\nu$gn$^\nu$ w. $\nu$m, "and I will be jealous for my holy name." With a direct object, $\nu$gn$^\nu$ denotes jealousy, as in Num. 5:14: $\nu$gn$^\nu$ w. $\nu$m, "and he is jealous of his wife".


158 Cf. RS 15.115(1106):5-6, 16-17; 15.82(1107):1; 18.28(2100):4. For a discussion of RS 15.115 and 15.82, see PRU, II, No. 106, pp. 138-141 and No. 107, p. 142. For RS 18.28, see PRU, V, No. 100, pp. 122-124. In this latter text, $\nu$m occurs in 1. 7. See also Trujillo, "A Sacrificial Meal", pp. 128-131.

recommend it.

L. 22. There is no reason to doubt that this line is complete. The first word has been restored in two different ways. Virolleaud's \[b\text{bn}\], after 1. 2, is accepted by the majority of commentators. Herdner is less certain, suggesting \([b/t/n]\), while KTU reads \([t^n]\).

While either \([b/n]\) or \([t^n]\) is possible, the present study accepts Virolleaud's restoration. For the meaning of \([b/n] \text{ṣrm}\), see the note for 1.2.

Those who read \([tn]\) suggest several translations for 1. 22. Trujillo translates \([tn] \text{ṣrm}\) as "two bracelets", claiming that \([\text{ṣrm}]\) is the plural of \([\text{ṣry}\), "bracelet" (Hebrew \(\text{ṣerah}\) and Aramaic \(\text{ṣērā}\)). The difficulty with Trujillo's position is that \([\text{ṣry}\), "bracelet", is not otherwise attested in Ugaritic. Gibson renders \([tn]\) as "scarlet" (Hebrew \(\text{ṣal}\)).

---

160 Ginsberg, "Notes", 52; Largemont, L'aurore, pp. 22, 37; Driver, CML, pp. 120, 121; Gray, LC, p. 98; Herdner, CTA, p. 99; Gibson, CML\(^2\), p. 124. KTU, p. 67 suggests that there is a lacuna after \([\text{ṣrm}]\).

161 Virolleaud, "La naissance", 130; Ginsberg, "Notes", 65; Largemont, L'aurore, p. 22; Gaster, Thespis, p. 426; Driver, CML, pp. 120, 121; Gray, LC, p. 98; Caquot, Textes Ugaritiques, p. 372; Tsumura, "The Good Gods", pp. 9, 50.

162 Herdner, CTA, p. 99; KTU, p. 67. Trujillo, "A Sacrificial Meal", pp. 128, 130, 131 reads \([k(?)]n\). Gibson, CML\(^2\), p. 124 also reads \([tn]\).

163 See above, pp. 22-24.


This suggestion receives support from the mention of lapis and carnelian in the previous line.

L. 23. The line is damaged but is restored with certainty on the basis of 11. 58-59, 61. The word ḫaqz̄ȳm is problematic with respect to both form and meaning. Several commentators suggest that ḫaqz̄r is cognate with Arabic jazīra, "island", and have translated, "... islanders, sons of the sea."\(^{166}\) Others relate the word to Hebrew gāzar, "to cut", "divide", and believe that it denotes either "twin figures born in (one) day"\(^{167}\) or individuals who cut or delimit the day.\(^{168}\) Albright suggests that ḫaqz̄ȳm is a feminine dual ḫafç̄al (causative) imperative, ḫaqz̄irīya-ma, "Feed ye my two sons...", from a root gār, "to eat voraciously".\(^{169}\) There is no ḫafç̄al causative in Ugaritic. Yet Albright's association of the word with the root gār, "to eat voraciously", is plausible. Note Is. 9:19:

\[
\text{wàyyiqz̄r} \text{ c̄al yāmîn wĕrāc̄ēb}\n\text{wàyyō}^{\text{g}}\text{k̄al} \text{ c̄al šēmō}^{3} \text{l wēlō}^{4} \text{ šābēc̄ēn}
\]

And he eats voraciously on the right hand and is hungry; And he eats on the left hand, and is not satisfied.\(^{170}\)

\(^{166}\) Largemant, L'aurore, pp. 22, 38; Gordon, UL\(_{2}\), p. 59.

\(^{167}\) Driver, CML, pp. 120, 121, 137, n. 7, 146, n. 9.

\(^{168}\) Gray, LC, p. 98, n. 7.

\(^{169}\) W. F. Albright, "Was the Patriarch Terah a Canaanite Moon-god?", BASOR, LXXI (1938), p. 37, n. 13.

\(^{170}\) This translation is preferable to the traditional "And he snatches" for wàyyiqz̄r and is supported by the parallel wàyyiqz̄r // wàyyō\(_{3}\)k̄al; see Trujillo, "A Sacrificial Meal", p. 136.
The form ḫagzę́rym is a plural substantive in the oblique case derived from gzr, with a prefixed /a/ and a nisbe ending. Vocalized ḫagzę́rāyimā, the word means "the voracious ones".171 This epithet is appropriate in light of 11. 62-64.

The verb ḫ iq̰ṟ an ( iq̰ ra an ni m) is an energetic yqtl form corresponding to the Hebrew cohortative. The expression bn ym may designate the age of the gods, as ben šānāh, "one year old", indicates age in Ex. 12:5.172 This translation is problematic, as 11. 66 ff. portray the piln niwm as being much older than one day old. It is possible, however, that bn ym limits their voraciousness to that period immediately following their birth. This is probable, in light of the subsequent references to their being suckled. It is also possible that bn ym indicates that the deities were born on the same day. In this case, the phrase would mean "sons of a day".173

L. 24. The end of the line is missing. The fact that esrēt is


173 Driver, CML, p. 121; Gray, LG, p. 98.
followed by a word divider indicates that at least one word has been lost. Largent suggests that the missing word is either ḫḫm, after l. 16, or št, after l. 61. The restoration of ḫḫm is preferred on the basis of the pairing of Athirat and Raḥmay in ll. 13, 28.

The word yāqūm (yāniqīma) is a m: pl. participle in the oblique case, from the verb yāqū, "to suck". The noun zd, derived from proto-Semitic *ḏd, is synonymous with ṭd, "breast".

L. 25. It is possible that at least one word is missing as a result of the fracture at the end of the line. The second word is difficult to identify due to the uncertainty of the second sign. Several readings are possible: ṭṣpr, ṭṣpr, or ṭṣpr. Tsumura follows

---


176 T. H. Gaster, "Ugaritic Philology", JAOS, LXX (1950), 10; J. Blau, "On Problems of Polyphony and Archaism in Ugaritic Spelling", JAOS, LXXXVIII (1968), 523, 526; P. Fronzaroli, La fonetica ugaritica (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letterature, 1955), p. 25. This explanation of zd is by no means clear-cut. Gordon, UT 19.818 suggests that zd is derived from an original *ḏḏ (cf. Hebrew ṭḏḏ). J. J. Scullion has noted that in Isa. 66:11 mizziz should be translated "breast" rather than "abundance"; see "Some Difficult Texts in Isaiah cc. 56-66 in the Light of Modern Scholarship", UF, IV (1972), 128. It is possible that /z/ Y is written for /t/ X. If so, the proto-Semitic form *ḏḏ is assured.

177 Prior to Herder's CTA, the majority of commentators favoured restoring ṭṣpr, which they understood to denote abundant or luxuriant growth. The root cited is ṭpr, "to increase", "make fruitful" (Arabic wafara, "to increase", "multiply"). See Ginsberg, "Notes", 53, 66; Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", 22; Largent, L’aurore, p. 39; Driver, CML, pp. 122, 123; Gray, LC, p. 99; Aistleitner,
Gordon in reading msprt, "illuminates", which he identified as a D-stem f. participle of spr, "to shine" (Arabic safara).\footnote{178} This reading is appropriate, given the presence of Shapash. Xella accepts Herdner's reading of msprt and translates "makes bloom". While no supporting evidence is provided for this interpretation,\footnote{179} the Arabic safara, "make yellow", can be cited as a cognate. This restoration is supported by the mention of dlthm (1. 25) and ṣnḥm (1. 26). Gibson translates msprt as an adjective, "pale" or "yellow" (Arabic ṣafaru), qualifying ṣpē.\footnote{180} This interpretation is improbable, as it requires that dlthm be taken as a verb.

The word dlthm is also problematic. Most commentators regard dlthm (dalīthhumu) as a fī pl. construct form in the accusative case, with the 3 pl. possessive suffix -hm. The basic noun is dlḥ, cognate with Hebrew dālīt, "branch", "vine stalk".\footnote{181} As the root of dlḥ / dālīt

---

"Götterzeugung", 296 and Wörterbuch, No. 1218, p. 133. Herdner reads msprt, claiming that /s/ ṣṣ is more probable epigraphically than /师事务所, with /s/ ṣṣ also being possible. See CTA, p. 99, n. 4 and Plate XXXII, Fig. 67. KTK, p. 67 reads mspr(t)(?) /s(?)/p*r*t*. Gibson, CML, p. 124 is more certain, suggesting msprt.


\footnote{179} Xella, Il mito, pp. 34, 36, 60. Aistleitner and Gordon cite no root from which msprt, "make bloom", might be derived; see Wörterbuch, No. 2346, 2347, p. 259; UT, 19.2186.

\footnote{180} Gibson, CML, pp. 124, 151.

\footnote{181} Ginsberg, "Notes", 53, 66; Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", 52, 57 and Thespis, p. 426; Largement, L'Auppre, pp. 22, 39; Driver, CML, p. 123; Caquot, Textes Ougaritiques, p. 373; Xella, Il mito, pp. 36, 60.
is *dly, the plural of dlt would be *dlvr, not dlt. Tsumura follows Gordon in suggesting that dlt is the pl. const. of "door" (Hebrew delet). The analogous Hebrew and Phoenician forms indicate that this explanation is dubious. According to Aistleitner, dlt is the s. const. form of ḫl, "low", "weak" (Hebrew dāl). Gibson treats dlt as the jussive perfect of a verb ḫl, "guide", "lead" (Arabic dālla). Given the context, neither of these suggestions is credible. The occurrence of Ḡmb in l. 26 indicates that dlt should be translated as "branch", despite the philological difficulty involved.

Ll. 26-28. The words ṭnnm (l. 26) and Ḥlm (l. 28) are restored after 11. 7' and 13 respectively. The word ḥlkm (ḥālikūma) in l. 27 is a m. pl. participle of ḥlk, "to walk". While nḥmt seems to suggest that ḥdbh (ḥibḥi) is feminine (contra Hebrew zebḥ and Aramaic ḥabḥ),

---


184 Note the Hebrew forms dēllātōt / daltōt and the Phoenician dlt. The translation of dltm as "their doors" makes little sense in the context of 11. 25-26.

185 Aistleitner, "Götterzeugung", 296, 299; Wörterbuch, No. 744, p. 77.

186 Gibson, CML², pp. 124, 144.

187 Herdner, CTA, p. 99 and Gibson, CML², p. 124 read ṭnnm and Ḥlm. KTU, p. 67 reads ṭnnm* and Ḥlm*.
it is more probable that the word is an abstract noun with the ending

-ur, rather than a feminine form ending in -(a)t. 188 Thus the form
would be na-cmûti, "of pleasantness". Caquot's translation of dbh ncmt
as "propitiatory sacrifice" is appropriate. 189

L. 29. Only two letters of this short line are legible. The
restoration of yrb is generally accepted, though the /k/ is by no means
certain. 190 Any identification of the form or translation of yrb is
pure speculation.

L. 30. The initial portion of the line is badly damaged. The
letter /b/ seems to be discernible and is followed by either /p/ or
/h/. 191 Apart from these letters, the first portion of the line
defies restoration. While only the horizontal wedge of /g/ of-in

188 Gordon, UT 8.57.

189 Caquot, Textes Ougaritiques, p. 373.

190 Virolleaud, "La naissance", 130; Ginsberg, "Notes", 66;
Largemont, L'aurore, p. 22; Driver, CML, p. 122; Herder, CTA, p. 99;
Gibson, CML², p. 124. KTU, p. 67 reads [ ] y-fr* (?).b.

191 Virolleaud, "La naissance", 130 and Ginsberg, "Notes", 66 read
[ Jbh?], while Gordon, UT, p. 174 is more cautious, reading
[ Jbh]. Herder, CTA, p. 99 transliterates [??.??]. Several
scholars have attempted a full restoration of the line. Largemont,
L'aurore, pp. 22, 40 restores [yil]bh, "Go to the field...", taking the
/h/ to be a pronominal suffix designating 3d which occurs in 1. 28.
Driver, CML, pp. 122, 123 suggests [»il ynhbh, "El bethinks him...".
He states that the root nbh, "perceive", is cognate with Arabic nabiha,
"took heed of"; cf. CML, p. 158. Both of these suggestions are
improbable. KTU, p. 67 reads [ ] x (?)[ ] x (?). Gibson, CML², p.
124 restores [»il ya]t, "[El went out]".
wygūd remains, this reading is plausible and widely accepted.\textsuperscript{192}

The verb wygūd (wayağūdu) is a 3 m. sing. yqtl form of gūd, a cognate of Hebrew qānad, "to step", "to march". This verb occurs in CTA 10(76), III:8: ḅel. yggūd. ml̄m[\ldots]. Driver translates ml̄m as "terrace", after Akkadian mulu, and ḅel yggūd as "Baal ascends".\textsuperscript{193}

This translation is plausible, as 11. 11-14 describe Baal going up (yq̄l) to his throne. If Driver's position is accepted, then gūd is a verb of motion. The context of 1. 8 is not sufficiently clear, however, to confirm Driver's interpretation.

As subsequent lines describe the activity of El, this deity is undoubtedly the subject of 1. 30. Given the parallelism ṣp ym // ṣp thm, Virolleaud's suggestion that 1. 30 began with a verb parallel in meaning to yggūd followed by p̣īl is correct.\textsuperscript{194}

The noun ṣp, "shore", is cognate with post-Biblical Hebrew gēp, "side", "shore". This word occurs in CTA 4(51), VII:36, where it is more appropriately rendered "edge". The Ugaritic thm may be compared with the Biblical tēhūm of Gen. 1:2. The parallelism ym // thm.


\textsuperscript{193} Driver, CML, pp. 117, 162; Aistleitner, Wörterbuch, No. 2339, p. 268.

\textsuperscript{194} Virolleaud, "La naissance", 143-144; Driver, CML, pp. 122, 123.
occurs frequently in the Old Testament.

L. 31. The initial letters of the line have been destroyed.

Herder's restoration yq[h] [i]l, based on l. 35, is probable, but not without problems. The verb yq[h] (yiqqahu) is a G-stem yq[k] 3 m. sing. form of lq[h] (Hebrew lāqah), "to seize", "to take".

The meaning of mēc[lm] is controversial. The word may be related to the Hebrew noun šo't [l], "hollow hand", "handful". Virolleaud and Gaster suggest that the Ugaritic root is šci, "be concave". Thus, either "handfuls" or "ladlesfuls" would be appropriate translations. This translation of mēc[lm] is plausible only if bagn means "bowl". The meaning of bagn is, however, "fire". Thus the translation

195 Note; for example, Pss. 33:7; 106:9; 135:6; Prov. 8:28-29; Isa. 51:10; Jb. 28:14. See RSP, I, II.236, pp. 204-205.

196 Herder, CTA, p. 99. See also Gordon, UL, p. 59; Follet, "Notes sur une traduction récente d'un texte religieux d'Ugarit", 10; Caquot, Textes Ugaritiques, p. 373; Xella, Il mito, pp. 34, 62. The difficulty with this restoration is that the remains of the two letters preceding mēc[lm] (/m/ /y/ /l/) suggest /l/p/ (TTT). A variety of other readings have been suggested: Virolleaud, "La naissance", 130, [l] [l]p(?); Ginsberg, "Notes", 66, [l] ? byld(?), h(?), "in his hand (?)"; Largement, L'aurore, p. 22, [l] [t] [t]l [p], "They raise to the mouth"; Driver, CML, pp. 122, 123, [l] .. yd[l]p, "he lets it trickle"; Trujillo, "A Sacrificial Meal", p. 148, [l] ycn], [i]l, "El sees...". Gibson, CML, p. 124 attempts no restoration, but suggests that a verb of seeing is assumed." KTU, p. 67 reads [l] [x][l] .. [i]1k.


198 See textual notes for l. 15, pp. 47-48.
"handfuls" for mšš̄ltm is dubious.

Several commentators suggest that mšš̄ltm refers to the two women of the subsequent lines and defines a family relationship. Aistleitner regards mšš̄ltm as a št-stem dual f. participle of cly, "family member", meaning "women family members". The Arabic ġyyl̄at, "family", would be a cognate.\(^{199}\) Trujillo suggests that mšš̄ltm is related to Arabic ġyyl̄at, "a woman's fellow wife", and translates "two concubines".\(^{200}\) Mšš̄ltm denotes El's two women.\(^{200}\) This interpretation is problematic, as it is difficult to envision the relation of the women to the "top of the fire" (r̄unuš, pagn).

Caquot and Sznycer read mšš̄ltm as the št-stem f. dual participle of cly and suggest that it refers to the two women who make the water rise to the top of the basin (pagn).\(^{201}\) The š-stem of cly occurs in CTA 6(62), I:15 (r̄unuš, "she lifts him up") and in CTA 19(1 Aqht), IV:185, 192 (ȳcly, "he offers up" a sacrifice; čcly, "he offered up" sacrifice). In these examples of the š-stem of cly, the /y/ of the root remains. This fact suggests that Caquot's and Sznycer's analysis of mšš̄ltm is incorrect. Gibson's translation is similar to that of Caquot and Sznycer. He regards mšš̄ltm as an št-stem f. dual participle of cly and interprets the line as describing


\(^{200}\) Trujillo, "A Sacrificial Meal", pp. 148, 151.

\(^{201}\) Caquot, Textes Ougaritiques, p. 373.
the women moving up and down over a basin as if washing clothes. Several scholars interpret mš[l[tm] as designating ritual objects that represent or become the women. Gordon believes the mš[l[tm] to be "effigies" on the basis of Ethiopic ša'[cala], "to make an effigy". It is more plausible to construe mš[l[tm] as a Gt-stem f. dual participle of a verb š[î], a cognate of Arabic ša'[ala], "to kindle", "to enflame". The word denotes burning objects, such as coal, kindlings or torches. The association of the mš[l[tm] with the "top of the fire" (r'dîh āga) supports this interpretation. "Two torches" is the best translation.

L. 32. The initial portion of the line is damaged. Virolleaud, followed by Albright and Largemant, reads hîh (?) l̄shl. Tšpl is preferable, both epigraphically and contextually. Note the anti-

202 Gibson, CML, pp. 124, n. 8, 154.
206 Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", 53; Herdner, CTA, p. 99; Xella, Il mito, pp. 34, 63; Gibson, CML, p. 125. KTU, p. 67 reads tšpl. The following commentators read špl: Ginsberg, "Notes", 54, 66; Follet, "Notes sur une traduction récente d'un texte religieux d'Ugarit", 10; Gordon, UT, p. 174. Driver, CML, p. 122, suggests that špl is miswritten for ššp. The form ššp would be either an infinitive or the qpl 3 f. pl. form, with proclitic šl; cf. Gordon, UT 9.16.
thetical parallelism of tūpl and tr̄m, and the use of śȳh, "to shout", rather than h̄l, "to shout", "to praise", in 11. 32, 33, 39, 43. The yqtl-forms of tr̄m and t̄ṣḥ also support tūpl. The verb tūpl is probably 3 f. s. (tīṣpalū), although it could also be a plural (tīṣpalū) or a dual (tīṣpalā). The verbs tr̄m (tarūmū) and t̄ṣḥ (raṣīḥu) are yqtl, 3 f. s. forms.

The parallelism šāpēl // rūm is well attested in the Old Testament. Note, for example, Ps. 75:8: zēh yāṣp̄īl wēzeh yārīm, "He puts down one, and he lifts up another." Usually when these words occur in parallelism, the order is the reverse of that used here. The parallel use of h̄l extends into 1. 33. Other examples of h̄l // h̄l include CTA 17(2 Aqht), V:12; Isa. 10:8–9; 40:21; Amos 9:7; and Ps. 94: 9. The usual meaning of h̄l̄h is "lo", "behold". It is possible that in CTA 23:32–33 h̄l̄h... h̄l̄h means "the one ... the other", after the Akkadian allū. 211

207. Note the absence of the final /n/ which is often found in the dual and plural forms.

208. Dahood parses zēh as a determinative-relative rather than as the indefinite pronoun; cf. Psalms, II, p. 213.

209. RSP, I, II.576, p. 366 lists a number of parallel occurrences of tr̄m and tūpl, such as Ps. 138:6; Isa. 2:12; 57:15; Sir. 7:11. See also Dahood, Psalms, III, pp. 279, 456.

210. RSP, I, II.163, p. 171.

Ll. 33-34. These lines are complete and intact. The verb *pîrk* is either an indicative (*ti*-*rakuma*) or a jussive (*ti*-*rakma*), 3 f. s. form of *pîrk*, "to be long", with the enclitic /'m/. We prefer to interpret it as a jussive. The Hebrew cognate *šarēk*, "be long", usually refers to time, but it can mean "be long" with respect to stature, as in 1 Kg. 8:8 and 2 Ch. 5:9. Ginsberg's suggestion that *pîrk* in l. 34 is a gtl m. s. verb before a f. s. subject is unlikely. Rather *pîrk* is an infinitive absolute (*šaraku*) used as a finite verb and followed by its subject.212 Gordon states that an infinitive absolute which begins a sentence and is followed by its subject "... is commonly used to express past time."213 Yet in light of *pîrk* and the general use of the qatal form in this passage, a past sense is inappropriate. In this instance, the temporal aspect of the infinitive is governed by the preceding finite verb, with which the action of the infinitive is contemporary.214

The use of *yad* (yadu), "hand", in l. 33 and subsequent lines involves an extended double entendre in which allusions are made to El's general power, his penis and perhaps also to his "love" (yaddu).215


213Gordon, UT 9.29.


The noun mdb (madūbu), which together with ym qualifies El's yd, is derived from ḏub (Hebrew zūb), "to flow", and means "flood". This word occurs in RS 24.245(603):2, where it describes Baal enthroned on his mountain, and in RS 24.251(608):48, which depicts someone, perhaps Shapash, going to the ocean (l mdb).

Ll. 35-36. See the textual notes for ll. 31-34. Although only yd appears on the tablet, the word is restored as ydšt. This verb is a G-stem yqtl 3 m. s. form of šyr (Hebrew šīt), "to place". Xella cites CTA 4(51), VI:22 as an analogue to 1. 36: štš tŠt bbhtm, "Fire is set in the houses."218

L. 37. This line is intact. The stative verbs Ṧḥ (Aramaic ṣḥāḥ), "go down", and ymm (Arabic mana), "to be weakened", "lowered", are G-stem 3 m. s. qṭl and yqtl forms respectively. The use of the statives indicates that the line employs casus pendens, with šāl standing apart from the sentence.

The phrase Ṣḥ ydh continues the double entendre mentioned in the textual notes for ll. 33-34. As yd in ll. 33 ff. denotes El's penis, it


is probable that ṯ[ydh has a similar connotation in ll. 37 ff. In
CTA 3(cent).III:2-5 ṭd is not "hand" or "penis" (yadu), but "love"
(yuddu):

štšt . 1 . dd . ṭalšiyu bšt
yd . pdry . bt . šar
šahbt [·] ṭly . bt . rb
dd . ṭargy bt . yšbdšt

She sings of (her) love for mightiest Baal,
of (her) affection for Pidray daughter of mist,
of (her) devotion to Tallay daughter of showers,
of (her) love for Arqay daughter of yšbdšt.219

Pope's translation of ṯ[ydh as "his love-staff" appropriately combines
the idea of El's "love" with a reference to his penis.220

Ll. 38-39. The verb ṣr (yarš < yariyu) is a G-stem 3 m. s. yqtl
form of ṣry (Hebrew yərah), "to throw", "to shoot". The verb yḥršt
(yahratu) is the G-stem 3 m. s. yqtl form of ḫṛt. Gordon suggests that
ḥṛt denotes "what one does to a bird between shooting and cooking it-
  to pluck (and clean)."221 The Arabic ḫar埗, "to pull off the leaves,
the bark, or peel", is a cognate. In l. 38, the bird is obviously the
object of yḥršt and yšt./

Dahood interprets l. 39a as employing casus pendens: "El, his two
wives are truly beautiful". The /k/ of ḫypt would be an emphatic
particle prefixed to an adjective ḫpt (Hebrew yāpeh), "fair",

219 Gibson, CML, p. 48; Caquot, Textes Ugaritiques, pp. 162-163.


221 Gordon, UT 19.1005; Aistlieitner, Wörterbuch, No. 1082, p. 117
also suggests "pluck".
"beautiful". The use of the plural rather than the dual (yptm) is permissible despite the dual >attm as ypt is predicative rather than attributive. It is more plausible to regard kyp as the emphatic proclitic /k/ and a form of the verb pty. On analogy with Hebrew pittah, "to seduce", ypt (yapatt < yapattiyu) is a D-stem 3 m. s. ygt1 form. This interpretation is supported by the frequent reference to El's yd in both the preceding and following lines.

The particle hm introduces the protasis of a conditional statement. De Moor has demonstrated that "... there is not a single instance of hm in the texts published thus far where hm does not correspond to the meanings of Hebrew >im and its cognates."

Ll. 40-41. The /l/ of hl in l. 41 is restored on the basis of the parallel with ll. 44-45. The word mmam is the internal passive L-stem participle (mmananu) of mna, "to lower", with enclitic /m/. The parallelism nhtm htk // mmam mt ydh suggests that nhtm is also a

---

222 Dahood, "Ugaritic-Hebrew Syntax and Style", 24. He cites ṣissăh yāpāh in Prov. 11:22 in support of his translation.


224 Virolleaud, "La naissance", 146.

225 J. C. de Moor, "Ugaritic hm — Never 'Behold'”, UF, I (1969), 201-202. This view contrasts with that of scholars such as Virolleaud ("La naissance", 134), Ginsberg ("Notes", 67), Largement (L'aurore, p. 23), Driver, (CMT, pp. 123, 127), and Cross (Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic, p. 23) who translate hm as "behold" or "lo".

participle with a suffixed /m/ (nāhituma). De Moor suggests that El is the subject of both thrr and sḥrrt. He translates, "Lo, you roast the bird on the fire (and) fry (it) brown on the coals." This statement would be addressed to El by the two women. It is more probable, however, that in l. 41 the third person narration resumes. This view is supported by the fact that Hebrew ḫārār, "be hot", "scorched", which is cognate with Ugaritic ḫrr, is stative. The verb thrr (tibraru) is a G-stem 3 f. s. qvtl form. The parallel verb sḥrrt (sibharat) is a G-stem 3 f. s. qṭl form of the qṭl type. De Moor states that this word denotes a colour and is cognate with Hebrew sāhōr, "brownish yellow", "reddish", and Arabic šāhrāra, "to become dust-coloured", "brownish yellow", "reddish". The sentence but. šdm. sḥrrt, "the daughters of the fields are parched", in CTA 12(75), II:44 indicates that sḥrr denotes a condition. Thus we translate sḥrr as a stative meaning "to burn".

---

227 Gordon, UT 9.23, 37; 19.1505. Gordon notes that mmmām might be a D-stem participle. Trujillo suggests that nḥtm is a G-stem m. s. participle and also regards mmmām as a D-stem m. s. participle; see "A Sacrificial Meal", p. 168. The form nḥtm also could be a stative 3 m. s. perfect (nāhita) with enclitic /m/ (-ma).

228 De Moor, Seasonal Pattern, p. 114. Trujillo also believes El to be the subject of thrr. He does acknowledge the possibility that thrr is a 3 f. s. qvtl form, with ḫr as its subject. See "A Sacrificial Meal", p. 169.

229 De Moor, Seasonal Pattern, p. 114. He translates nrt. qīlt ṣāḥ ṣḥrrt, "The luminary of the gods, Sapānu, became dust-coloured." (CTA 6(49), II:24; 4(51), VIII:21-22).

"parch", "be scorched." 231

L. 42. The /l/ of ṣātm is restored after l. 48. 232 This line is the apodosis of the conditional sequence introduced by ḫm in l. 39. Another and alternative conditional statement is introduced by wḥn, the apodosis of which begins in l. 45.

The Ugaritic wlmh expresses the eternal duration of the women's wifely status. The word is comprised of the noun clm (Hebrew ḥālām), "eternity", and the adverbial suffix -n which imparts a temporal meaning. Thus wlmh (waḥlamaha) means "forever". 233 A similar construction is employed in CTA 19(1 Aqht),III:161-162: ṣnt . brb-

wlmh ṣnt . pdr . dr, "Now flee eternally, now and forevermore". Note the parallel wlmh pdr . dr, in which nouns are used with "temporal adverbial force." 234

Ll. 43-48. The damaged portions of these lines can be restored with certainty on the basis of parallel passages within the text. Note, for example, the restoration of >ätt . >ill in l. 48 on the basis of l. 42. In l. 48 the text reads wḥḥṛt, but the occurrences of wḥḥṛṭ in

231 Gordon, UT 9.42; 19.2160; Aistleitner, Wörterbuch, No. 2316, p. 266.

232 Herdner, CTA, p. 99; KTU, p. 68; Gibson, CML, p. 125.

233 Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", 54; Largement, L'aurore, pp. 23, 42; Gordon, UL, p. 60; Driver, CML, p. 123; Gordon, UT 8.56.

234 Driver, CML, p. 65; Gordon, UT, 11.1; 19.697.
11. la, 45 indicate that the scribe omitted an /r/ in this instance. 235

The apodosis of the second conditional sequence concludes with wclmh in l. 46. The following wnu introduces the resolution of the conditional sequences. See the textual notes for 11. 39-42.

L. 49. The word ḫatt is restored with certainty after l. 42. 236

The last word of the line poses some difficulty as the final letter is missing. A number of commentators follow Virolleaud in restoring yā pérd after l. 55. 237 This reading is problematic as l. 55 is damaged so that yā pérd there is by no means certain. Moreover, the verb nā pérd, "lift up", is not appropriate in the context of either l. 49 or l. 55. Ginsberg reads yā pérd, "he kisses", stating that, "It is just possible that a root nā pérd existed as a parallel formation to Hebrew nāb, nāb, nāp, nāṃ." 238 Albright suggests that having written yā in l. 55, the scribe completed the word with ḫu/, to form the commonly used imperfect yā pérd. He believes this spelling to be an error. The word should be yāq in l. 49. This is a more plausible explanation than that offered by Ginsberg. Herdner also restores yāq and claims that this

---

235 See Herdner, CTA, pp. 99-100; KTU, p. 68; Gibson, CML2, p. 125.

236 Herdner, CTA, p. 100 and Gibson, CML2, p. 125 read ḫatt, while KTU, p. 68 reads ḫatt.

237 Virolleaud, "La naissance", 131, 147; Dussaud, "Les Phéniciens", p. 10, n. 3; Largemant, L'aurore, pp. 24, 43; Follet, "Notes sur une traduction récente d'un texte religieux d'Ugarit", 11.

238 Ginsberg, "Notes", 57, 69.
reading in 1. 55 is certain epigraphically and contextually.\textsuperscript{239}

The verbs 

\textit{yhbr} (yihbaru) and \textit{yšq} (yissaq) are both G-stem 3 m. s. 

\textit{yqtl} forms of \textit{hbr}, "bow down", and \textit{nšq} (Hebrew nashaq), "kiss", 

respectively. The noun \textit{šptnm} (šapatāhāma) is a dual construct with the 

dual 3 c. accusative suffix -hm. There is a biblical parallel to 1. 49b 

in Prov. 24:26: \textit{špätayim yissaq}, "He kisses the lips".

L. 50. The final word is damaged. Ginsberg, Gray and Herdner 

restore /m/. Gaster restores /t/, while Gordon is undecided between 

/m/ and /t/.\textsuperscript{240} We regard \textit{lrmm} as masculine, as is Hebrew \textit{rimmōn}, 

"pomegranate", and restore /m/. In RS 66.29:96 the occurrence of 

\textit{lrmm} indicates that the plural of \textit{lrmm} ends in /m/.\textsuperscript{241} Note the 

Akkadian \textit{lurenu} / \textit{lurmūm}, "pomegranate". The word \textit{lrmm} (lurimmūnima) 

is a m. pl. noun in the oblique case.

The word \textit{mtqtm} (matuqatāmī) is a dual feminine form of the 

adjective \textit{mtq} (Hebrew mātōq), "sweet". Both Driver and Tsumura note

\textsuperscript{239} Albright, "The Gracious Gods", p. 136, n. 188; Herdner, CTA, 
p. 100, n. 7. This reading has been adopted by Gaster, "A Canaanite 
123; Gray, \textit{LC}, p. 100; Caquot, \textit{Textes Ougaritiques}, p. 375; Xella, \textit{Il 
mito}, p. 68; Gibson, \textit{CML}\textsuperscript{2}, p. 125. \textit{KTU}, p. 68 reads \textit{yšq}*. 

\textsuperscript{240} Ginsberg, "Notes", 69; Gray, \textit{LC}, p. 102; Herdner, CTA, p. 100; 
refrains from making any restoration, but admits that either /m/ or /t/ 
is possible; see \textit{CML}, p. 122. Gibson, \textit{CML}\textsuperscript{2}, p. 125 and \textit{KTU}, p. 68 
restore \textit{lrmm}(/m/).

the occurrence of an Akkadian expression lurindu matgu, "sweet pomegranate".242 This type of imagery is common in the Song of Songs. Note, for example, Cant. 4:3:

kēḥēt ḫāṣšānī ăṣīptōtāyīk
ūmiddārēk no[w]ēh
kēpelāh ħārimmōn raqqātēk
mîbbād lēgammūtēk

Like a scarlet fillet your lips,
Your mouth comely.
Like a pomegranate slice your brow
Behind your veil.243

L. 51. The initial word is restored with certainty after 1. 56. The end of the line was restored as tqt[nn] w(?) by Virolleaud on the basis of 1. 58.244 It has been suggested that the parallel between 1. 51 and 11. 56, 58 requires that /w/ should be prefixed to ḫmpt and that an omitted w̱lda be restored after tqt[nn].245 The restoration of tqt[nn] is indicated by the presence of the first three letters of this word before the fracture in the text. The other suggested restorations


243 Pope, Song of Songs, pp. 452, 463-464. See also Cant. 4:11; 5:13; 6:7; 7:10.

244 Virolleaud, "La naissance", 131, 148. While the restoration of tqt[nn] is generally accepted, there is some debate as to the presence of the final /w/. Such scholars as Albright, ("The Gracious Gods, 136), Gaster ("A Canaanite Ritual Drama", 54), and Driver (CML, p. 122) accept the /w/. KTU, p. 68 also reads tqt[nn] w. Others, such as Ginsberg ("Notes", p. 69), Gray (LC, p. 102), Hardner (CTA, p. 100) and Gibson (CML 2, p. 126) do not.

are plausible and would make 1. 51 correspond to the parallel lines in
the second account of the conception and birth. Such restorations are
not necessary, however, to make sense of 1. 51. Moreover, there are
slight differences in the two accounts, such as the intrusion of
ytnn yspr ... phr, the use of kl'at and the substitution of >ilm n"mm
for špr wälμ, all in the second account. Further minor variations
between 11. 51-52 and 11. 56-58 pose no difficulty. Therefore we
prefer to omit the suggested restorations—other than rtmnμq and
follow Herder's reading.

The prepositions bm and b- have been interpreted as examples of
beth causalis.\footnote{Tamura, "The Good Gods", pp. 70-71; RSP, I, II.93, pp. 135-
136; Dahood, Ugaritic-Hebrew Philology, p. 35.}

The preposition b- followed by the infinitive
construct, however, forms a temporal clause rather than a causal one.\footnote{Pope, El in the Ugaritic Texts, pp. 39, 40, n. 74; Trujillo,
1910), Sec. 114e, pp. 347-348; Sec. 164g, p. 503. See also J. Oerbermann,
"How Daniel Was Blessed with a Son", JAOS Suppl., VI (1946), 20-21.}
The words nọq (nuṣqi) and hbug (hubug) are infinitives construct. The
noun hr (hiri) is derived from hry, "to conceive". It is similar in
form to Hebrew pērī, "fruit" (< pārāh, "be fruitful"), and is cognate
with Hebrew hērāyōn, "conception" (< hārāh, "to conceive", "become
pregnant"). The parallelism in the two cola of 1. 51 suggests that

The words nọq (nuṣqi) and hbug (hubug) are infinitives construct. The
noun hr (hiri) is derived from hry, "to conceive". It is similar in
form to Hebrew pērī, "fruit" (< pārāh, "be fruitful"), and is cognate
with Hebrew hērāyōn, "conception" (< hārāh, "to conceive", "become
pregnant"). The parallelism in the two cola of 1. 51 suggests that

The prepositions bm and b- have been interpreted as examples of
beth causalis.\footnote{Tamura, "The Good Gods", pp. 70-71; RSP, I, II.93, pp. 135-
136; Dahood, Ugaritic-Hebrew Philology, p. 35.}

The preposition b- followed by the infinitive
construct, however, forms a temporal clause rather than a causal one.\footnote{Pope, El in the Ugaritic Texts, pp. 39, 40, n. 74; Trujillo,
1910), Sec. 114e, pp. 347-348; Sec. 164g, p. 503. See also J. Oerbermann,
"How Daniel Was Blessed with a Son", JAOS Suppl., VI (1946), 20-21.}
hımmt is also a noun (hamhamatu). It is also possible that it is a G-stem 3 f. dual form of a reduplicated verb (hamamta) meaning "be pregnant", cognate with Hebrew hâmam, "be/become warm". The passage CTA 14(Krt), I:31-35, which is cited by Pope to support the interpretation of hımmt as a noun, is in effect a two-edged sword. In the second colon nhımmt, "slumber", is in parallel with šnt, "sleep". In the initial colon, however, nhımmt is in parallel with wỳša, "he falls asleep". Moreover, this first colon provides a close parallel with 1. 51, as it employs the preposition b- + the infinitive to form a temporal sentence. Thus we are inclined to translate hımmt as a verb. The /w/ prefixed to hr is the existential particle, "there is/are". A similar description of intercourse and conception is found in CTA 17(2 Aqht), I:40-41: [ynbr] bm. nãq. ārth [hımmt] bbbqšt. Hımmt, "...the shall [crouch]. As he kisses his wife, [she shall conceive]. As he embraces (her), she shall conceive...". Note the use of the temporal clauses formed with the prepositions b- and b- + the.

248 Pope, followed by Trujillo, asserts that hr and hımmt "are nouns serving as the apodoses of temporal sentences". See Pope, El in the Ugaritic Texts, p. 40, n. 74; Trujillo, "A Sacrificial Meal", p. 179.

249 Another possibility is that Hebrew yâhäm, "be hot" (in the Pi-čt, "conceive") is cognate with Ugaritic hımmt.

250 CTA 14(Krt), I:31-35 (divided according to the old rather than according to the lines): bım bkyh. wỳšu / bdbbh. nhımmt / šnt. tlayuâ-n wỳšb / nhımmt wỳmag. "As he weeps, he falls asleep, / As he sheds tears, slumber. / Sleep overcomes and he lies down, / Slumber, and he reposes." See Pope, El in the Ugaritic Texts, p. 40, n. 74.

infinite construct. 252

The verb ṭqtng is a G-stem ygl 3 c. dual form (ttqtn̄qan̄i) of the denominative verb gns, "to crouch". The verb is cognate with Akkadian qingu, "shin", and qam̄gu, "to crouch". It undoubtedly refers to the common position adopted by women in the ancient Orient when giving birth. 253

L. 52. The word ḫatty is restored after l. 60. 254 The meaning of ḫatty is the subject of much debate. It has been suggested that the final /y/ is the vocative interjection ya preceding ḫil. 255 This interjection occurs in CTA 23:43, 69, to cite two instances. In l. 60, however, /y/ is separated from ḫil by a word divider and appears to be suffixed to the preceding ḫatty. Thus in l. 60, /y/ is hardly a vocative interjection. The suggestion that ḫatty is a dual construct form is no more satisfactory. 256 The word ḫatty is in the nominative


254 Virolleaud, "La naissance", 131. Herdner, CTA, p. 100 and Gibson, CMH2, p. 126 restore ḫat̂t̂yl. KTU, p. 68 reads ḫat̂t̂yl.

255 Barton, "The Spring Festival at Jerusalem", 69; Largey, L'aurore, pp. 24, 43; Caquot, Textes Ougaritiques, p. 376.

256 Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", pp. 54, 57, n. 50 and Thespis, p. 432; Ginsberg, "Notes", 57, 69; Gordon, UO, p. 61; Gibson, CMH2, p. 126 regard ḫatty as a dual noun in a construct relationship with ḫil. See also J. Blau and S. E. Loewenstein, "Zur Frage der
The nominative dual construct form is ²atān. While the /y/ could be a mater lectionis for the final /ē/ of the oblique case, it is not appropriate for the final /ā/ of the nominative. The form ²atty cannot be explained by parsing it as a feminine dual construct. Rather ²atty is best explained as a dual construct nominative form of ²att with the 1 c. sing. possessive suffix -ya. Thus the form is ²atāšya, "my two wives". ²⁵⁷ The foregoing analysis of ²atty requires that ²il in 1. 53 be in the vocative case. This fact, together with the use of the 1 c. possessive suffix, indicates that "word is brought to El" rather than from him. Therefore ybl (yubala) must be an internal passive of the simple conjugation. ²⁵⁸ The Hebrew yabal, "conduct", "bear along", is a cognate. The initial word tldn (taldan) is a G-stem 3 c. dual ydl form of tld (Hebrew yālad), "bear".

²⁵⁷ Virolleaud was the first to recognize that the /y/ of ²atty is the 1 c. sing. possessive suffix -ya; "La naissance", 135, 148. That ²atty is a nominative dual construct with the pronominal suffix is recognized by such scholars as Dusseau, "Les Phéniciens", 11; Albright, "The Gracious Gods", p. 136, n. 191; Gaster, Theaspis, p. 431; Driver, CML, p. 123; Gray, LC, pp. 101-102; de Moor, New Year with Canaanites and Israelites, II, p. 22; Tsumura, "The Good Gods", p. 75. See also Gordon, UT 6.6; 8.5.

The names of the new-born gods are transparent. The word šâr is the common Semitic word for "dawn". Note, for example, Hebrew šâḥār and Akkadian šēru, both meaning "dawn". The name šâlm is cognate with the Hebrew root šâlm, which underlies the verb šâlēm, "be complete", and the noun šâlôm, "completeness". Note also the Akkadian šulmu, denoting sunset. The identification of these deities as the morning and evening stars is generally accepted. 259

L. 53. Though damaged, the parallels with 11. 52, 60 make the restoration of this line certain. 260 The verb ĭl (yalattâ < yaladta) is a 3 f. dual qti form of ĭld, "bear". 261 Ginsberg states that ĭldy is an alternate form of the 3 f. du. qti of ĭld. 262 This form would be a hapax. Others interpret ĭldy as a passive dual form of ĭld 263 or as a passive form with the 1 c. sing. pronominal suffix. 264 There is

259 See, for example, Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", 69; Largement, L'aurore, p. 43; Tsamura, "The Good Gods", pp. 72-73; Caquot, Textes Ougaritiques, pp. 357-358.

260 Herdner, CTA, p. 100 and Gibson, CML2, p. 126 restore only ĭl[ml]. KTU, p. 68 indicates that the line has suffered more extensive damage, but also notes that only the final /m/ requires restoration. The first two words are read šiši šišt.

261 Virolleaud, "La naissance", 135, 148. Virolleaud suggests that ĭlt is a contracted form of ĭldt, but regards it as a 3 f. sing. verb. See Ginsberg, "Notes", 57, 69; Driver, CML, p. 122; Gray, LC, p. 102, n. 3; Gordon, UT 5.35; 9.7, 48.

262 Ginsberg, "Notes", 57.

263 Driver, CML, pp. 122, 123; Gray, LC, p. 102.

264 Virolleaud, "La naissance", 135, 148; Largement, L'aurore, pp. 24, 43.
no evidence for a passive 3 du. form terminating in /y/. The form could be a passive 3 m. du. or pl. form or an active 3 f. pl. verb form, with the l c. sing. pronominal suffix having a dative force. 265 The syntax would be rather forced. A number of commentators have suggested that yldv is a plural or dual noun, cognate with Hebrew yeled, "child," with the l c. sing. possessive suffix. 266 As there are two offspring mentioned in 11. 52, 53, the word is probably a dual form. The case is accusative. Thus yldv would be vocalized yaldvya. The antecedent of the possessive suffix is problematic. The words bnt t. ylt are spoken by the messenger. The response mh ylt may be either the messenger's question or a question posed by El. In either case it could be rhetorical or genuine. The answer yldv sp br wlm is appropriate from the tongue of either El or the messenger. As the possessive suffix of bntt refers to the messenger, it is probable that the suffix -y of yldv also has the messenger as its antecedent. 267 This

265 Gordon, UT 6.21; 13.44.

266 The form yldv is regarded as a dual by Barton, "Spring Festival at Jerusalem", 64. The following interpret yldv as a dual with the possessive suffix: Albright, "The Gracious Gods", p. 136, n. 191; Gordon, UL, pp. 58, 61 and UT 19.1097; Gaster, Theespis, p. 431. Gaster does suggest, however, that yldv may be simply a dual form of the noun; see "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", pp. 54, 57, n. 52, and Theespis, p. 432. As a simple dual form, yldv would be an anomaly.

267 It is probable that the suffix refers to the messenger even if yld is interpreted as a verb. Virolleaud ("La naissance", 135, 148) Largement (Lauror, pp. 24, 43), Albright ("The Gracious Gods", p. 136, n. 191) and Gaster (Theespis, p. 431) suggest that the antecedent of -y is the messenger. Barton, ("The Spring Festival", 64) and Gordon (UL, pp. 58, 61) regard El as the antecedent.
fact suggests that yldy šhr wälm are words addressed to El. The question mh ylt may be posed by El. We prefer, however, to regard it as the messenger's repetition of an implicit inquiry made by the divine father. Yet the possibility that mh ylt is a rhetorical question spoken by El which he then proceeds to answer must be acknowledged. As the children are El's, the suffix -y could refer to him. Thus l. 53 may depict El naming the new-born gods. 268

§ L. 54. The final letters of the line are missing. Virolleaud's restoration of kn(m), though conjectural, is generally accepted. 269

The word knm is a plural participle (kānāma) of a middle w/y verb kn (Hebrew kūn), "be firm", "established", "fixed".

The meaning of l. 54 is problematic. A number of commentators translate ḫdb as a noun meaning "offering", object of špən. 270

---

268 Tsukuma, "The Good Gods", pp. 76-77. CTA 12(75), I: 28-29, ïlm yfr šmtn, "The gods shall call their names" presents an analogous picture of the naming of new-born creatures. The analogy is even closer if Driver's interpretation of ïlm as referring to El is accepted. See Driver, CML, p. 71; Kapelrud, "Šaal and the Devourers", Ugaritica, VI, pp. 320, 323.


270 Virolleaud, "La naissance", 135, 148; Albright, "The Gracious Gods", 136; Caquot, Textes Ugaritiques, p. 376. Ginsberg also regards ḫdb as a noun but assigns no meaning to it; see "Notes", 69.
CDb denoting an offering or the like is a hapax in Ugaritic. The alternative to this interpretation is to regard both ṣ-pu and ẓ-db as verbs. The difficulty arising from this interpretation is that these verbs have no obvious object. Several scholars have suggested that ṣ-br and ṣ-im are the objects of these verbs and that l. 54 places the newborn gods in the heavens with the divine sun and stars. This interpretation receives support from the occurrence of ẓ-br wəšim ẓ-qimh in RS 24.244(607):52 and is consistent with the supposed astral character of the gods. It necessitates, however, that ṣ-br and ṣ-im be regarded as distinct from the ẓ-im nūmm, who are sent to the desert in ll. 65 ff. As ṣ-br and ṣ-im are identical to the ẓ-im nūmm, it is unlikely that this line places the deities in the sky. Driver and Gray suggest that an offering, unstated but understood, is the object of both ṣ-pu and ẓ-db. In CTA 14(Krt), II:79-81, ẓ-db denotes the preparation of food for Keret’s expedition. This verb is also used in a similar manner in RS 24.258(601):4, 7, 10, 12, etc. in the context of a banquet hosted by E1. It has connotations which are closer to the notion of "offering" or "sacrifice" in CTA 17(2 Aqht), V:16, 21, where Danitiya is instructed to prepare a sheep for Kathir-and-Yasis. While

---


272 Ugaritica, V, No. 7, pp. 566, 570.

273 See below, pp. 86-90.

274 Driver, CML, p. 123; Gray, LC, p. 102; see also Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", 54; Gibson, CML2, p. 126.
in this instance a human prepares food for a god, it is difficult to
regard this passage as reflecting sacrifice. Moreover, in all the
instances cited, the object of ḫaṣ is stated. The evidence for the use
of ṣāḥ to denote sacrifice is much more positive. The verb is used
with this meaning in CTA 32(2):15-17:

```
+d[bdn . ndbd]
hw . ṯt . nṯy.
hw . nkt . n[k]t.
yṯp . t[ab . bn .  tôl]
yṯp . ldr . bn . tôl
lmpy . bn . tôl
```

Our sacrifice is sacrificed.
It is the offering offered
It is the libation poured
It is carried to the father of the gods
It is carried to the assembly of the gods
To the totality of the gods.275

Therefore it is possible that ṣāḥ in 1. 54 implies sacrifice.

We prefer to interpret 1. 54 and 1. 65 as denoting sacrifice rather
than as assigning new-born groups of deities to their respective
domains. This interpretation is based on the belief that ḫbr and ḫm
are the реш nṣm and that it makes little sense to place them in
heaven in 1. 54 and then in the desert in 1. 65. If, however, these
deities belong to distinct groups, then this latter situation is most
plausible. In either case, the verbs ṣāḥ (ṣaḥū) and ḫaṣ (ḥudub) are
m. pl. forms as is indicated by the ṣālepḥ ūḥū in ṣaḥū and by the
context in 1. 65.276

275 See also 11. 24-26, 32-34. The translation is Gordon's; see
UL, p. 109.

276 Gordon, UT 4.8; 9.20.
Ll. 55-56. Both lines are damaged but are restored with certainty, l. 55 after ll. 49-50 and l. 56 after l. 51. 277 For the general structure of these lines, see the textual notes for ll. 49-51. Trujillo adds mtqrn klrmn to the end of l. 55 on the basis of l. 50. 278 This addition is plausible but not required to complete the sense of the line. The /w/ before hmn is not the existential particle, as is the case with whr, but the co-ordinating conjunction introducing the apodosis of the temporal statement. Although the end of l. 56 is damaged, the /n/ of yrhn is certain. 279 This word will be discussed with l. 57, as it is related to that line.

L. 57. The fragmentary condition of the central portion of this line has resulted in much controversy concerning its interpretation. 280 Virolleaud is followed by many commentators in suggesting that the line refers to the procreation and birth of five infants who are the ūlm nmm. 281 This interpretation is based on the context in which the line

---

277 See Herdner, CTA, p. 100; Gibbon, CML, p. 126.

278 Trujillo, "A Sacrificial Meal", p. 183. KU, p. 68 reads ybr* šp.thm. yq* h.n. šp*thm. m*tqt[m n mtqrn klrmn].

279 Herdner, CTA, p. 100 and Gibbon, CML, p. 126 restore yrhn.

280 Herdner, CTA, p. 100 and Gibbon, CML, p. 126 reads yspr lhm. l.g* j.r phr. kl'at. KU, p. 68 reads yspr lhm.

is found, on the occurrence of yspr (< spr, "count") and šm, "five", and on the view that the šlm n=um are other than špr and šlm. This understanding of 1. 57 is conjectural. There is nothing in the line or in the text to suggest that šm points to the šlm n=um.

Tsumura suggests that as 1. 57 comes between the description of the conception and that of the labour and birth, this line refers to something that transpires during the pregnancy. He believes that 1. 57 depicts El counting the months until his wives give birth. He reads yrbn yspr. šm šb [l]t=š-šr, "He sits (and) counts to five for... [to] ten for completion." The numbers šm and šr represent the initial and final phases of pregnancy. šhr denotes the completion of the pregnancy. The verb yspr would be a 3 m. sing. yqt-form of spr, "count", while yrbn in 1. 56 would be a 3 m. sing. yqt energetic form of either yrb, "sit", or ytb, "return". Tsumura cites CTA 17 (2 Aqht), II:43 as an analogous passage to 1. 57: yrb. Šm il. [ys]pr yrbn, "Danel sits and counts his/her months". The evidence supplied by this passage is by no means conclusive. The pronominal suffix -h


attached to ירח could be either masculine or feminine. Moreover, the immediate context in which this line occurs does not describe either conception or birth. Finally, when the text resumes after the lacuna beginning with l. 46, Aqhat is depicted as a young man. It is possible, therefore, that this passage does not portray Danel enumerating the months of his wife's pregnancy, but rather counting the months until Aqhat reaches manhood.\footnote{284} As the meaning of CTA 17(2 Aqhat),II:43 is ambiguous, it does not support Tsumura's understanding of l. 57.

A plausible reading has been suggested by Driver: ירחבו וyspr . 1הות לגבי wlvr prר. "--it shall again (literally 'it shall return') be recited (up) to five (times) by the troupe [and by] the leaders (?) of the assembly". He interprets this line as a rubric indicating that the account of the conception and birth is to be repeated a number of times.\footnote{285} The noun prר is used frequently to designate the assembly of the gods.\footnote{286} The noun גב, "host" or "army",

Note also Jb. 39:2.

\footnote{284} Gaster (Thespis, p. 340), Driver (CML, p. 51) and Caquot (Textes Ougaritiques, p. 426) believe Danel to be counting the months of Aqhat's youth and adolescence. Conversely, Cassuto (The Goddess Anath, p. 21) and H. L. Ginsberg ("The Tale of Aqhat" in ANET, p. 151) concur with Tsumura's interpretation.

\footnote{285} Driver, CML, pp. 122-123. Gray's reading is similar in meaning but differs in detail. He restores לגביב שוליר, "by the company and by the singers"; cf. LC, p. 102. Caquot's reading is also similar to Driver's, save that he does not restore לגביב שוליר; cf. Textes Ougaritiques, p. 376. Note also Gibson, CML, p. 126: ירחבו וyspr . 1הות ל(......)ליר . prר. "this shall be recited again five times for [ ] the assembly".

\footnote{286} CTA 4(51),III:14 (p[pr]. bn . ?ilm); 29(17),II:7 (pr נilm); 32(2),I:25 (wpr. bn . ?ilm).
occurs in the Keret epic in the same context as ḫnnmn. The appearance of these latter functionaries in 11. 7, 26 supports the restoration of ḫb>. 287

Trujillo's approach is similar to that of Driver, but differs in detail: yrb[n] yspr. lhmā . lṣl[ml sml tlr pr hr klqat, "They shall proceed to recite (it) five (more) times. The assembly shall sing the conclusion with the accompaniment of cymbals." The word klqat is translated as a noun related in meaning to the Hebrew verb kālā, "close", "restrain", while pr hr denotes "totality". Together pr hr klqat refer to the "conclusion". Ugaritic sglm, according to Trujillo, is cognate with Hebrew qelqelām, "cymbals". Sglm is a hapax in Ugaritic; the usual word for "cymbals" is nslm. 288 This reconstruction and interpretation of 1. 57 is also plausible, though it seems to be somewhat more contrived than that of Driver.

The restoration suggested in KTU is interesting. The word ḫnnmn is the plural of sml (Hebrew qelām), "image". The word is a hapax in Ugaritic. The verb yr is the G-stem yql 3 m. s. of yr (Hebrew šir), "to sing". Thus 11. 56–57 read: ybn* yspr. lhmā . lṣl[l mšm* ] . ] w*y*jkr . pr hr, "It shall be recited again five times to the images and

287 CTA 14(Krt),II:86, 88. If Driver is correct, then ḫb> may be another example of a functionary or class of people with a role that embraces both the military and religious aspects of state. See the textual notes for 1. 7.

the assembly shall sing."289

The idea that l. 57 is a rubric inserted into the mythic narrative receives support from several passages in the Ugaritic corpus. CTA 4(51), V:104-105 are separated from the text by horizontal demarcations. These lines read ḫrb lmspr . ktl šakn šllm, "Now return to the narration: 'When the lads are sent'."290 With these words, the reciter or reader is referred to another passage to be read at this point. In the ritual text CTA 32(2), l. 27 reads: ḫrb lmspr . mšrmšr . bt ygrt, "And return to the narration: 'mšrmšr daughter of Ugarit'." This rubric indicates that ll. 18 ff. are to be repeated with slight variations.291 This example is particularly relevant as it occurs in a liturgical text. These rubrics imbedded in narrative or descriptive liturgical passages lend support to the interpretation of l. 57 espoused by such scholars as Driver and Caquot. We prefer this understanding of the line to that suggested by Tsumura.

Both yrbn (yatubuna) and yspr (yaspurū) are G-stem 3 m. pl. yqtl forms of ḫrb, "return", and sps, "count", respectively. The construction yrbn w yspr parallels the Hebrew construction whereby ṣnḥb is used to qualify the action introduced by a second verb in the

289 KTU, p. 68; de Moor, New Year with Canaanites and Israelites, II, p. 22.

290 See also CTA 19(1 Aqht), IV, left edge of tablet, after l. 224 for a similar rubric.

291 L. 18 reads ḫqrb . ṣr . mšrmšr bn . ygrt, "And offer a bull mšrmšr son of Ugarit".
same form as šūb and related to it by means of the co-ordinating conjunction.  

L. 58. The restoration of ʿilm is based on 11. 1, 23, 60. The verb ʿld (talidā) is the 3rd pl. of yld. For ṣagzrām, see the textual notes for 1. 23. For ṭqwn and ṭldn, see the notes for 11. 51-52.

L. 59. The middle of the line is in poor condition. The restoration bʿapatdd ʿet rjm was suggested initially by Virolleaud on the basis of 1. 61. The word ḥd (Hebrew ḥtn) is a synonym for ṭd, "breast". The word ʿet, "lady", is regarded by most scholars as denoting Athirat. The fact that Athirat suckles the gods in 1. 24 supports this interpretation. This view, however, is not without some

---

292 Note, for example, Gen. 26:18 wayyāśōb yishāq wayyahātor, "And Isaac dug again". See Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar, Sec. 120d, p. 386; Brown, Driver and Briggs, Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament, p. 998, n. 8.

293 Herder, CTA, p. 100 and Gibson, CML, p. 126 restore [ʿilm]. KTU, p. 68 reads ʿd* [.]. One would expect the dual ʿldn (talidān).

294 Virolleaud, "La naissance", 132, 142, 149. This restoration has been adopted by such commentators as Ginsberg ("Notes", 70), Gaster ("A Canaanite Ritual Drama", 55), Driver (CML, p. 122), Gordon (UT, p. 175) and Herder (CTA, p. 100). There is some discussion as to whether the initial word restored is ḥd, ḥd or ṭd; cf. Ginsberg, Gaster and Gordon. Herder suggests that there is not sufficient space for the complete restoration proposed; ʿet may have been omitted by mistake. Gibson, CML, p. 126 also restores ʿet. KTU, p. 68 reads bʿapat* [.].

difficulty. It is probable that in 1. 24 Athirat was paired with Rahmay, as is the case in 11. 13, 28. Moreover, the presence of El's two wives also suggests that two nurses might be more appropriate than one. Finally, in CTA 12(28), II:25-28 the lad Yaqqib is nursed by two goddesses, Athirat and Anat. This evidence suggests that we might expect two nurses in both 1. 59 and 1. 61. In response to this difficulty Driver suggests that št in 1. 61 is an error for tt, "two". 296 This is possible, in light of the similarity of /š/ /ṭ/ and /ṭ/ š. Gray translates št as "two". 297 This interpretation is problematic, as the feminine form of "two" in Ugaritic is št (&Sg). A possible solution is that št in 11. 59, 61 is an example of the graphic convergence whereby the feminine singular and plural fall together orthographically. 298 Therefore št might be understood best in this particular instance as a plural form. This explanation suits the context and allows the reading št to stand without emendation.

L. 60. For a discussion of &ṣṭī, see the textual notes for 1. 52. The form &ṣṭīm is an anomaly. If the /y/ is the l c. sing. possessive suffix, the word should be ṣṭī. Thus either the /m/ or the

296 Driver, CMJ, pp. 122, 123, n. 12.
297 Gray, IC, p. 103.
298 See Gordon, UT 8.12. Gordon cites &ṣṭī, "woman", and ṣṭī, "bow", as examples of feminine nouns which have a plural form orthographically identical with the singular form.
/y/ is a mistake. It is probable that the /y/ is a scribal error. The three or four final letters of the line represent 'gazg and were defaced deliberately to correct a ditography or because there was not sufficient room for the whole word.

Ll. 61-62. For l. 61, see the textual notes for l. 23-24, 58-59. Virolleaud suggests that earth and heaven are personified as having lips and a mouth. It is clear from the context, however, that the lips are those of the 'ilm namm. Similar imagery involving lips extended to heaven and to earth is used to depict Mot in CTA 5(67), II: 2-3. The metaphor also occurs in Ps. 73:9-10, where the wicked are depicted with their mouths against heaven, perhaps gorging themselves and consuming the waters of the sea.

The letter which precedes cgb is damaged (////), but /l/ is the

299 Virolleaud, "La naissance", 135, Largement, L'aurore, pp. 24, 44, and Driver, CML, p. 122 suggest that 'ilmy was miswritten for 'ilm followed by a word divider. See also Herdner, CTA, p. 100, n. 13; Gibson, CML 2, p. 126, textual note for l. 60.

300 Virolleaud, "La naissance", p. 132, n. 1; Ginsberg, "Notes", p. 70, n. 1; Driver, CML, p. 122; Herdner, CTA, p. 100, n. 14; KU, p. 68; Gibson, CML 2, p. 126, textual note for l. 60.


302 The word spt does not stand in a construct relationship with either 'arg or 'amm, as is indicated by the preposition l- and the parallel passage CTA 5(67), II:2-3.

most probable restoration. The word črb is the infinitive absolute (Carābu) of črb, "enter" (Akkadian erēbu). The prefix /l/ is either the negative particle ₁₃₄₅, "not", or the proclitic ₁₆₇₈, "very". Tsumura believes that the context requires a negative sense, indicating that there is insufficient food to satisfy the >ilm nēmm. We prefer, however, to interpret the /l/ as "very". This reading contrasts ₁₆₇₈ with the negative particle in l. 64. The contrast serves to underline the voracious appetites of the new-born gods and is in keeping with their characterization as >agzrym.

L. 63. The center of the line is badly damaged. Herdner's reading gzt . lcg>zr is the most probable restoration. The verb add is either an infinitive absolute (nadādu) or a G-stem ₃ m. pl. qtl form (nadadū) of add (Hebrew nādād), "wander", "go". In either case the meaning is similar. The subjects are the >ilm nēmm. The absence of a

304 Virollesaud, "La naissance", 132; Ginsberg, "Notes", 58, 70; Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", 55; Largement, L'aurore, p. 25; Gibson, CML², p. 126. KDU, p. 68 reads wy*Cr*ēb*.


306 Gordon, UT 9.16.


308 Herdner, CTA, p. 100; see also Ginsberg, "Notes", 71; Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", 55; Gibson, CML², p. 126. KDU, p. 68 reads gzt* cr.* l s (gzt). Gordon is more cautious: [ ₁₃₄₅ ]₅₆ [ ₁₇₈ ]₉ₐ₅ [ ₁₅₇ ]₉₉ₔ (k/r) y*Cr*ēb*; UT, p. 175.

309 Tsumura ("The Good Gods", pp. 83-84) and Gray (LC, p. 103, n. 1) interpret add as an infinitive, while Xella (Il mirto, p. 73) regards it as a finite verb. See also Gordon, UT 9.4 (particularly n. 1); 13.
proclitic /b/ or /l/ before gzi ṣez is suggests that ndd and gzi ṣez are not related syntactically. 310

The phrase gzi ṣez is least problematic if understood as the object of ycdh. The form ycdh (yaṣdubū) is a G-stem 3 m. pl. yqdl form of ṣdb, "make", "prepare", "set". 311 Ugaritic gzi is cognate with Hebrew gezer (גזר), "part". We read: gazra lagazri yaṣdubū, "Morsel upon morsel they set." 312 This sentence is similar syntactically to Jer. 9:2: ki mērāh el rāṣāh yāḡoḇū, "For they proceed from evil to evil". 313 The statement is completed by ṣuywm ṣūṣmāl · bphm. The words ṣuywm and ṣūṣmāl are composed of the correlative ṣu (ם) ... ṣu (ם) and the nouns ywm (Hebrew yāmin), "right hand", and ṣmāl (Hebrew šěmāl), "left hand". 314 The complete statement is made up of two cola exhibiting climactic parallelism, with the ellipsis of the verb: ṣ + V // ṣ + (V) + 10:

23, 25 (particularly n. 1)-26.

310Ginsberg ("Notes", 71) and Gaster ("A Canaanite Ritual Drama", 55) add an implicit "from" after ndd. Driver (CML, p. 122) and Gray (LC, p. 103) add /l/, "from".

311It is possible to read ycdh as a passive G-stem (yuṣdabu), though this is unnecessarily awkward.

312Ugaritic l- and ẓl may be interchanged similar to Hebrew ṣl and ṣel; cf. Gordon, UT 10.13. Gibson, CML², p. 125 translates gzi as "cleaver".

313See also Isa. 29:1 and Ps. 69:28.

314Ginsberg, "Notes", 60; Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", 57; Gordon, UT 12.2; 19.108.
gazra lagazri yaʿdubū
ˈɒyamina ˈɒʃamˈaːla bapīhuma

Notice the phrase ṣdg b'yım, which parallels ṣgr. ʂum (l. 62). Dijkstra and de Moor cite this parallelism as evidence that b- can replace a genitive construction in the same way that Hebrew may use min as an alternative to the construct state. 315

'L. 64. The center of the line is damaged. Virolleaud's reading wIIla ṣbḥny ˈaṭṭ ɒetra was widely accepted initially, but has been rejected by all recent commentators. 316 The phrase ybn ʿašlād in l. 65 suggests that /y/ in l. 64 is the vocative interjection ya-. Albright developed Ginsberg's suggestion that after all the eating in the previous lines, the occurrence of the root ṣb (Hebrew ṣābāʾ), "sated", "satisfied", might be expected. He reads wII. (?) ʃaṭb ɾa. 317 This reading is possible epigraphically and appropriate contextually. The

316 Virolleaud, "La naissance", 132, 136; Dossaud, "Les Phéniciens", p. 14, n. 3; Barton, "The Spring Festival at Jerusalem", 65; Ginsberg, "Notes", 60, 71. These scholars saw in l. 64 reference to the subsequent birth of a child, either ṣbḥny or the son of ṣbḥny. This position has been rejected by such scholars as Gaster ("A Canaanite Ritual Drama", pp. 55, 57, n. 60), Driver (CML, p. 124, 125), and Caquot (Textes Ugaritiques, p. 377).
317 Ginsberg, "Notes", 60. Ginsberg acknowledged that he was unable to develop constructively this line of thought. See W. F. Albright, "Was the Patriarch Terah a Canaanite Moon-God?", p. 37, n. 20. Albright's reconstruction has been accepted by such scholars as Herdner (CTA, p. 100), Xella (Il mito, pp. 35, 37), Trujillo, "A Sacrificial Meal", p. 187), and Gibson, CML2, p. 126. KTU, p. 68 reads wII* [.] ʃaṭb ɾa.

/1/ is the negative particle lā-, "not". The verb ṭāb·n (ṭība·'īna) is the G-stem 3 m. pl. yqtl form of ṭāb. A number of commentators espouse the alternative reading ʾl·b·n, in which ʾl·b is cognate with Hebrew lā-, "not", and ṭāb·n is a noun ṭāb·anu meaning "satiety" or "satisfaction". While the thrust of the passage is similar in either case, we prefer Albright's reading on both epigraphic and syntactic grounds, particularly in light of the verbs ʾadd and ʾṭdb in the preceding line.

The construction ʾāl ṭirḥ is an asynthetic relative clause composed of the dual construct ʾēlāta followed by the G-stem 1 c. s. yqtl form (ʾītīru) of ṭirḥ, "to acquire a woman by paying the bride price." The Akkadian ṭarāhu, "espose", "pay the bride-price", is cognate.

L. 65. While several letters preceding ṭk are damaged, there is a consensus as to the reading of ṭdb. A number of early interpreters who adhered to the Negebite hypothesis read the second word of the line

318 Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", pp. 55, 57, n. 60; Driver, CML, pp. 124, 125; Gray, LC, p. 103.


320 See, for example, Virolleaud, "La naissance" 132; Ginsberg, "Notes", 71; Gordon, UT, p. 175; Driver, CML, p. 124. Herdner, CTA, p. 100 and Gibson, CML, p. 127 read ṭdb; KTU, p. 68 reads ṭ=db.
as ḫaššld, "Ashdod".\textsuperscript{321} The second letter of Ashdod is written in Ugaritic as /d/ \(\text{𐎈} \) rather than as /s/ \(\text{𐎀} \). Thus Ashdod is ḫaššld.\textsuperscript{322} The word in question in l. 65 is ḫaššld (Paššlidu), the š-stem l.c.s. vgtl form of yld.\textsuperscript{323} The phrase ybn. ḫaššld parallels y. ḫar. ḫtrt and is similar syntactically.

For ḫaššl see the note for l. 54. The word qdš may be either the adjective "holy" qualifying mdbr or a proper name, "the wilderness of Qadesh", perhaps denoting a region like the Syrian desert. This latter interpretation has been adopted by Ginsberg and Dahood.\textsuperscript{324} There is no evidence, however, to support the notion that mdbr qdš refers to a specific locale.

Ll. 66-67. Several commentators take ḫgrgr to be a reduplicated form of the verb wgr, "dwell". Note the Hebrew verb gmr, "sojourn".

\textsuperscript{321}Virolleaud, "La naissance", 137, 150; Dussaud, "Le commerce", 61; Barton, "The Spring Festival at Jerusalem", 72.


\textsuperscript{323}Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", 55; Largement, L'aurore, pp. 25, 45; Gordon, UT, p. 175; Driver, CML, pp. 124, 125. Herdner, CTA, p. 100 and Gibson, CML\textsuperscript{2}, p. 126 read ḫaššld; KTU, p. 68 reads ḫaššld.

\textsuperscript{324}H. L. Ginsberg, "Ugaritic Studies and the Bible", in The Biblical Archaeologist Reader, II, ed. D. N. Freedman and E. F. Campbell (New York: Anchor Books, 1964), p. 46. Ginsberg suggests that both here and in Ps. 29:8, mdbr qdš refers to the Syrian desert. Dahood believes that mdbr qdš should be sought in the region around Kadesh on the Orontes; see Psalms, I, p. 178. Largement, L'aurore, p. 46 suggests that as qdš is a title of Athirat, the mdbr qdš is identical with the šd ḫtrt. This identification is incorrect.
and the noun māgar, "sojourning place", "dwelling place". The verb would be a 3 m. pl. yqtl form (tagargiru). This interpretation is plausible. The occurrence of ttlk and rgdn suggests, however, that a verb of motion is required. Driver states that grgr is cognate with Ethiopic garga, "to roll", and means "to run to and fro". The Hebrew verb gālal, "roll", may also be cited as a cognate, as the interchange between the lateral dental /l/ and the rolled dental /r/ is fairly common in Semitic languages. In the expression lēhitēggolēl cālēnū, "to roll himself upon us" (Gen. 43:18), the Hithpolel of gālal denotes motion against someone in terms of an overwhelming assault. Aistleitner's interpretation is similar. He suggests that Ugaritic grgr, "roam", is cognate with Akkadian garāru, "run", and parallels ttlk and rgdn.

The meaning of tum · nqpt · ʾd in l. 67 is problematic. Ugaritic nqpt is related to Hebrew nāqap, "go round". The statement obviously parallels šbc · šnt · tmt, "seven complete years". It occurs in CTA 12 (75), II: 46, again in parallelism with šbc šnt (l. 45). Gordon

326 Driver, CML, p. 146.
327 Moscati, Comparative Grammar, p. 32, Moscati cites the Akkadian raqrāqqu and laqlaqqu, "stork", as an example illustrative of the interchange between /l/ and /r/.
328 Aistleitner, "Götterzeugung", 299; Wörterbuch, No. 703, p. 69.
329 The text reads nqpt. Gordon (UT, p. 181) reads simply nqpt while Driver (CML, p. 72) suggests that nqpt is an error for nqpt.
suggests that \textit{ngpt} means "year(s)" and is semantically parallel to \textit{šnt}. According to Aistleitner it denotes "years", "cycles of feasts", or "turning of time." In Jb. 1:5 and 2 Chron. 24:23, \textit{nāgap} indicates the passage of time. In Isa. 29:1 the verb refers not only to the passage of time, but to the sequence of cultic feasts: \textit{sēpū šanāh} \textit{cal šanāh baggīm yinqēpū}. "Add year to year; let the feasts come round."

In Ex. 34:22 the expression \textit{tēqūpat haššanāh}, "the turn of the year", designates the time of the celebration of the feast of ingathering.

These passages suggest that in Ugaritic \textit{ngpt} may not be simply a synonym for \textit{šnt}, "year", but may denote the cyclical movement of time, possibly as it relates to the liturgical calendar.

The word \textit{cd} also poses difficulty. It occurs in CTA 12(75):46 together with \textit{ngpt}. The context in this passage is no more helpful with respect to our understanding of \textit{ngpt cd} than is CTA 23:67.

Ginsberg suggests that \textit{cd} is cognate with Hebrew \textit{ṣd}, "still", "more", "yet". If this view is correct, \textit{cd} parallels \textit{tmt}. Others believe that \textit{cd} denotes a "cycle of time" or "period". It is possible that \textit{cd} means "appointed day" or "festival" and is cognate with Hebrew \textit{ṣḥd} and

\begin{footnotes}
\item[331] H. L. Ginsberg, "BaçaIn and his Brethren", \textit{JPOS}, RVI (1936), 148.
\end{footnotes}
Aramaic ādā. De Moor believes that ngpr ād designates an equinox. While it is possible to interpret ād as the adverb "more", "yet" on the basis of the supposed parallelism tmt // d, we prefer to interpret ād as denoting feasts or temporal cycles.

The phrases švā šnt tmt and ṭmm ngpr ād are adverbial accusative constructions indicating the duration of the action. The verb ṭṭlk (rittalikūna) is a Gt-stem 3 m. pl. yqtl form of hlk meaning "they themselves walk".

Ll. 68-69. L. 69 is damaged slightly, but the reading is certain. The verb ṭgdn (taṣūdūna) is a G-stem 3 m. pl. yqtl form of ṣwd, "walk", "hunt". See the discussion of ṣwd in the notes for l. 16. In the parallel cola tilm. ṭṭlk šd and ṭgdn. p̣at. mdb, the ellipses of the subject is balanced by the ballast variant p̣at. mdb. The expression p̣at mdb also serves as a ballast variant for šd in CTA 14(Krt), II:105; IV:193.

The phrase wngš. hm is composed of the conjunction wa- followed by the infinitive absolute of ngš (nagāšu), "to meet", and the independent personal pronoun hum "they". As Gordon notes, this type of construction is used as a past tense to express "... specific action in past.

---

332 Driver (CML, pp. 73, 125, 146) regards ād as a "cycle of time" and translated ngpr ād as "revolutions of time". Cassuto (The Goddess Anath, p. 29) suggests that ngpr:ād may mean "the going round of the feasts". See also de Moor, New Year with Canaanites and Israelites, II, p. 23; Gibson, CML, p. 127.

333 De Moor, Seasonal Pattern, pp. 57; n. 26; 148-149.
Ugaritic ngs is cognate with Hebrew nāgas, "draw near", "approach".

The title ngr mdrc is composed of ngr, "guard", and mdrc, "sown", which is the passive participle of dr, "sow". The Hebrew cognates are nāsar, "watch", "guard", "keep", and zāra, "to sow", "scatter seed". Note also the substantive *mizra, which occurs in the construct form mizra in Isa. 19:7. The ngr mdrc is known from administrative texts PRU, II, 24(1024): rev. 16 and PRU, V, 38(2038):6. In the latter text the ngr mdrc is grouped with eight pairs of oxen and fourteen men for agricultural work. In the former text, this person is numbered among various craftsmen.

L. 70. Although several letters are damaged, the line is complete. The verb pth (pitaḥ) is a singular imperative form of pth (Hebrew pāšaḥ), "open". The noun prg is cognate with Hebrew peres, "breach". The word bc'dhm (ba'cdihum) is formed from the preposition bc'd (Hebrew bā'cdad), "behind", "about", "on behalf of", and the 3 m. pl. pronominal suffix.

L. 71. The center of the line is missing. The words hm . ptg

---

334 Gordon, UT 9.29; 13.57. The phrase wph hm is a similar construction, as is wptph . hw in l. 70 and wtrb . hm in l. 71.

335 Gordon acknowledges the possibility that mdrc is a passive participle (madru'-), though he prefers to regard this word as a noun analogous to magdal*, "tower"; cf. UT 8.46; 9.24.

336 KTU, p. 68 reads n*ṣ*r . pth* and h*w . prg*.
in 1. 72 suggest that 'ıt be restored after hm in this line. Moreover, the words wṭ[n] (1. 72) wnlpm confirm the restoration of lhp. Thus Herder reads hm: "It. ... lhp." 337 As this restoration does not seem to take up the available space, it is possible that a third word originally existed in the lacuna.

The particle hm introduces the protasis of a conditional sentence, while the apodosis is introduced by wtn. The verb ṭn (tn) is the imperative of ytn (Hebrew nātan), "give". The word πt (tē) is the existential particle "there is", cognate with Aramaic pity and Hebrew yēš.

L. 72. The middle portion of the line is missing. The final word wnsṭ and the occurrence of yn in 1. 74 indicate that yn should be restored. The restoration of wlttn is indicated by the presence of wṭ[n] in 1. 71. 338 Again the size of the break in the tablet suggests that a third word might be restored. The addition of the infinitive šty (šāṭāyu), "to drink", after yn would be appropriate, though this is not required for a smooth reading. 339

337 Herder, CTA, p. 101. See also Ginsberg, "Notes", 71; Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", 56; Gordon, UT, p. 175; KTU, p. 68; Gibson, CM2, p. 127.

338 Virolleaud, "La naissance", 132; Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", 56; Gordon, UT, p. 175; Herder, CTA, p. 101; Gibson, CM2, p. 127. KTU, p. 68 reads wnlpm* · hm · πt* wlttn* · wnsṭ.

339 Ginsberg, "Notes", 72 suggests ḫmr yn wtn after 1. 6 while Driver, CM2, p. 124 and Gray, LC, p. 104 read yn dērb wtn.
The verbs nāhm (nīlam) and nāt (naštā) are cohortatives. Note the use of the imperative + the cohortative to express purpose. 340

L. 73. This line also suffers as a result of the break in the lower right corner of the reverse side of the tablet. The restoration 3fr. lhm is supported by 3fr. yn in l. 74. 341

The phrase w-nhm . ngr mdr is the same infinitive absolute construction that is used in the preceding lines. While the subject usually follows the infinitive directly, an accusative pronominal suffix attached to the infinitive may intervene. 342 Ugaritic rny/w is cognate with Hebrew ānāh, "answer", "respond".

L. 74. The latter half of the line is missing. The final word may be restored btk[n. . .......]. Ugaritic 3kn would be related to Hebrew šākan, "settle down", "dwell". 343 This reading is purely conjectural.

The third word is problematic. A number of commentators read

---

340 See Gordon's discussion of Ugaritic parataxis and subordination in UT 13.59.


342 Gordon, UT 13.57.

343 Largement reads btk[n], "in the abode": see L'aurore, pp. 25, 48. Herdner, CTA, p. 101, KTU, p. 68 and Gibson, CML, p. 127 do not attempt to restore the line.
The form šrb would be a participle of šrb, "drink". If /d/ functions here as a determinative, dērb would qualify yn: "wine for drinking" or "wine for those who drink". Otherwise, dērb would be a nominative relative clause: "he who drinks".

The alternate reading dērb was proposed initially by Virolleaud and has been adopted by such scholars as Largemont, Herdner, Caquot and Xella. The form srb would be a participle (šāribu) while the prefix /d/ would be the relative pronoun dû, "that", "which", "of", a cognate of Hebrew zû and Aramaic dî. Thus dērb would be a substantivised relative clause. It is probable that this clause is the beginning and the subject of a new sentence. This view is supported by the particle b- prefixed to the following word. This particle also supports the reading dērb over the alternative dērb.

L. 75. The latter half of the line is missing. A number of commentators have read the initial word as nāp, without being able

---

344 Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", 56; Gordon, UT, p. 175; Driver, CML, p. 124; Gray, LC, p. 104.

345 This reading would give some support to the additional restorations pīt šlm šlm (11. 71, 73) and pīt šn šty (1. 72).

346 Virolleaud, "La naissance", 132; Largemont, L'aurore, pp. 25, 48; Herdner, CTA, p. 101; Caquot, Textes Ugaritiques, p. 378; Xella, Il mito, p. 77. KTU, p. 68 and Gibson, CML², p. 127 also read dērb.

347 Gordon, UT 6.23, 24; 13.68-75. Gordon notes that d may be used "regardless of gender or number."

348 Virolleaud, "La naissance", 136; Caquot, Textes Ugaritiques, p. 378.
to assign any meaning to it. A more probable reading is mg hw. The word mg (maqā) is the infinitive absolute of mār, "come", "reach", "arrive". The pronoun hw, "he", refers to the ngr mdrč.

The word lhn admits several different interpretations. It may be formed from the preposition l- and the noun hn (Hebrew ūn), which denotes a unit of liquid measure. The presence of lg (Hebrew lōg), a unit of liquid measure, neither negates nor confirms this interpretation. It also has been suggested that the word is composed of the preposition l- with the Ugaritic cognate of Arabic hūna, "here". Yet another alternative is to interpret lhn as the Ugaritic equivalent of Hebrew lāḥēn, "therefore". Finally, it is possible to regard lhn as a verb, cognate with Arabic lāhāna, "give to eat". All these interpretations are possible, given the fragmentary nature of the text.

---

349 Violleaud, "La naissance", 132, 136; Ginsberg, "Notes", 72; Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", 56; Driver, CML, p. 124, 125; Gray, LC, p. 104.


351 Tsumura, "The Good Gods", p. 102. Gibson, CML2, p. 127, n. 4 suggests that both mg and mlq are "perfects with jussive sense".

352 Gordon, UL, p. 62; UT 19.785.

353 Caquot, Textes Ugaritiques, p. 378; Gibson, CML2, pp. 127, 145. Gibson cites Hebrew hāmnāh as a cognate.


355 Driver, CML, pp. 125, 158; Caquot, Textes Ugaritiques, p. 378, n. u.
at this point. We prefer to translate "therefore", which we regard as the initial word in a new sentence.

L. 76. The latter half of the line is missing. The meaning of ḫbr is debated. A number of commentators translate this word as "jar", after Akkadian ḫuburu.\textsuperscript{356} It is possible that ḫuburu entered Ugaritic as ḫbr as a result of the phonetic convergence of /ḫ/ and /ḥ/. In RS 26.135 ḫln is a variant of ḫln, "window", while in Mirror Text 57:9 ḫpḥ, "witness", appears as ḫpḥ.\textsuperscript{357} This etymology of ḫbr is possible. It should be noted, however, that the word ḫbr occurs in CTA 14(Krt), II:82 in a context which indicates that it is associated with the storing of wheat. Therefore it is probable that Ugaritic ḫbr is equivalent to Akkadian ḫuburu.\textsuperscript{358}

Some scholars suggest that ḫbr means "companion" and is cognate with Hebrew ḫāḇēr and Akkadian ebūr. In RS 24.252 ḫbr occurs with this meaning in the expression ḫbr kdr ḫm "the good companion of Kotar".\textsuperscript{359}

\textsuperscript{356}Virolleaud, "La naissance", 151; Ginsberg, "Notes", 72; Caster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", pp. 56, 57, n. 73; Largement, L'aurore, p. 25.

\textsuperscript{357}Gordon, UT, 3.2, 6; Tsumura, "The Good Gods", p. 103. For a bibliography on the convergence of /ḫ/ to /ḥ/, see de Moor, "Studies in the New Alphabetic Texts from Ras Shamra", p. 188, n. 151.

\textsuperscript{358}Caquot, Textes Ougaritiques, pp. 379, n. w, 515, n. x; Tsumura, "The Good Gods", p. 103.

\textsuperscript{359}Gordon, UL, p. 62 and UT 19.834; Driver, CML, p. 125; Gray, LC, p. 104; Tsumura, "The Good Gods", p. 103; Caquot, Textes Ougaritiques, p. 379. See also CTA 6(62), VI:48.
On the basis of the occurrence of ḫbr in RS 24.252 and CTA 6(62), VI:48, we translate "companion".
II

HISTORY OF INTERPRETATION

This chapter will survey the major interpretations of CTA 23. Both the areas of agreement concerning the text and those problems which hamper a proper understanding of it will be indicated.

While René Largement's statement that the results of the scholarly analysis of CTA 23 are divergent and often contradictory is as appropriate today as in 1949, there is consensus concerning a number of the text's important features. It is generally recognized that CTA 23, comprised of both ritual rubric and mythological narrative, reflects a cultic celebration. The prominence of the theme of fertility is similarly acknowledged. Finally there is agreement as to the central importance of the *pilm* and their birth.

The liturgical nature of CTA 23 was perceived by Ch. Virolleaud in his *editio princeps* of the text. He interpreted 11. 14-15 as depicting sacrifices or rites designed to stimulate the fertility of the fields. Lines such as 11. 1, 19-20, 23 were identified as invocations to the gods. The awareness of cultic features was given more substance by

---


2Virolleaud, "La naissance", 140-142.
commentators like Dussaud and Barton, who described the text as the programme for a spring festival. Dussaud asserted that the festival underlying CTA 23 included a communal meal, sacrifices and rites of fertility. Barton argued that the text reflects a spring festival liturgy in use at Jerusalem between 1800 B.C. and 1600 B.C.

Most subsequent studies have underscored the liturgical nature of the text. Gordon and Tsumura regarded CTA 23 as a liturgical text designed to inaugurate a cycle of seven years of plenty. Gordon asserted that it presents the myth, the prayers and invocations, and the ritual acts which combine to produce the desired effect of fertility. Gaster located the text within the cultus of the Festival of First-fruits, though he believed that in its present form it has lost its functional significance and survives as burlesque popular entertainment. Recent publications such as those of Caquot and Xella continue to acknowledge the ritual component of the text. Caquot noted that the

---

3 Dussaud, "Les Phéniciens", 6-8; "Le commerce", 65; Barton, "The Spring Festival at Jerusalem", 68.


5 Barton, "The Spring Festival at Jerusalem", 68.


7 Gordon, Common Background, p. 178.


9 Caquot, Textes Ougaritiques, pp. 363-365; Xella, Il mito, pp. 78-85.
first twenty-nine lines of the text contain fragments of hymns and rubrics which probably are cited only by their initial phrases. These lines reflect a ritual which accompanied the mythological narrative.\(^{10}\) Xella suggested that the rites presented in the text actualized for the worshipping community the sacred primordial event that is depicted in the myth.\(^{11}\)

Initially there were diverse opinions concerning the division between the rubric and mythological sections of CTA 23. Largement, for example, asserted that 11. 1-38a present the ritual, while the remainder of the text is an accompanying epic narrative.\(^{12}\) Interpreting 11. 23-27 as a second prologue, Gaster suggested that the lines preceding this prologue are ritualistic, while those following it are dramatic.\(^{13}\) He later revised his position, taking 11. 1-29 as rubrics and 11. 30-76 as myth.\(^{14}\) Gaster remained consistent, however, in understanding the text as a cultic continuum which includes preliminary ritual acts followed by the dramatic presentation of the mythological narrative.\(^{15}\) Others have acknowledged no distinction between rubric

---

\(^{10}\) Caquot, *Textes Ougaritiques*, pp. 363-365.


\(^{13}\) Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", 49-50.


and myth. This approach is reflected in Barton's understanding 11. 37-60 as a rite designed to secure human offspring for the community.\textsuperscript{16} Recently I. Trujillo has argued convincingly that the distinction between a ritual portion of the text (11. 1-29) and a mythological one (11. 30-76) is inadequate. He stated that "the whole text is rather a ritual which includes prayers, hymns and readings from the mythological literature of the day."\textsuperscript{17} The veracity of this claim is indicated by the mythological tone of 11. 16-17, which are embedded in rubrics (11. 16-17) and by the instructions concerning the recitation of the birth narrative in 11. 56b-57, which are included in the mythological account of that blessed event.\textsuperscript{18}

Like the ritual nature of the text, the prominence in CTA 23 of the theme of fertility was recognized from the outset. Virolleaud noted that such lines as 11. 13-15 reflect this theme. Dussaud and Barton understood the purpose of the text and ritual to be the insurance of fecundity for the communities that employed them.\textsuperscript{19} Largement asserted that fertility was the main concern of 11. 1-38a.\textsuperscript{20} Gray and Oldenburg unhesitatingly categorised CTA 23 as a fertility cult text.

\textsuperscript{16}Barton, "The Spring Festival at Jerusalem", 71-72.
\textsuperscript{17}Trujillo, "A Sacrificial Meal", p. 18.
\textsuperscript{18}See the textual notes for 11. 16-17 and 56-57, pp. 48-49, 86-91.
\textsuperscript{19}Virolleaud, "La naissance", 140; Dussaud, "Les Phéniciens", 6-8, 37; "Le commerce", 61-62; Barton, "The Spring Festival at Jerusalem", 66-67, 71-72.
\textsuperscript{20}Largement, L'aurore, pp. 51-52.
Gordon described it as "the complete formula for agricultural prosperity." This emphasis on fertility stems particularly from attention to the concept of sacred marriage (ll. 49b-61). For many commentators, this event is the core of the text. The significance of the sacred marriage in the mythic narrative is indicated vividly by the consideration it receives in ll. 49b-53, 55-58. The elaborate prologue in ll. 30-49a, with its overt sexual imagery, also attests to this importance. The idea of fertility is reflected in a more general way in the allusion to the sown land and in the description of abundance with which the text concludes (ll. 68-76).

Finally, there is general consensus concerning the central significance of the Šîlm nēmm and of their birth. While Virolleaud noted that his title "La naissance des dieux gracieux et beaux" applied specifically only to the scene which depicts the birth of the gods, he did indicate that it is these same gods who are invoked in ll. 1-2. Dussaud observed that the liturgy of CTA 23 recalled the birth of the Šîlm nēmm, the lords of the region where the liturgy was celebrated.

---


23 See for example Gordon, Common Background, pp. 177.

24 Virolleaud, "La naissance", 128.

25 Dussaud, "Le commerce", 65.
Gaster expressed a similar understanding of the importance of the gods and of their birth in stating that the central feature of CTA 23 is a dramatic mythologization of the sacred marriage rite. The theme of this rite is the union of El with his wives and the subsequent birth and adoration of the $pilm\ n^c\ mm$. The importance of the $pilm\ n^c\ mm$ and of their birth is acknowledged in the recent studies of Tsumura and Trujillo. According to the former, the birth of the $pilm\ n^c\ mm$ "... is the main theme of this fertility myth and ritual." Trujillo claimed that "... the text is a ritual for a ceremonial banquet offered in honor of the good gods Šañar and Šalim."28

This emphasis on the $pilm\ n^c\ mm$ and their birth is well placed. In the mythic narrative, eleven and a half lines of a total forty-seven are devoted to the account of the gods' birth. Another fifteen lines depict their adventures. Thus more than half of the myth directly concerns the $pilm\ n^c\ mm$. The remainder, which focuses upon El and his wives, serves as a preamble to their birth. Their significance is confirmed, moreover, by the invocations of Il. 1-2, 23.

Despite general consensus concerning the ritual nature of CTA 23, the prominence of the theme of fertility, and the central importance of

26 Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", 72-73. Similarly, Driver states that CTA 23 presents a poem in honour of Šbr and Šlm; see CML, p. 22.


28 Trujillo, "A Sacrificial Meal", abstract. Trujillo equates Šbr and Šlm with the $pilm\ n^c\ mm$; cf. pp. 177-178.
the śīlān nēmm and their birth, the significance of the text is much disputed. The difficulty arises when an attempt is made to interrelate these three elements. The śīlān nēmm, whom the text invokes, and their birth, which it depicts, are the keys to an understanding of CTA 23. Unfortunately there is no explanation in CTA 23 or in any other Ugaritic text of why these gods should be worshipped and their birth celebrated.

Several commentators have focused upon the birth of the gods and have understood CTA 23 as a theogony. Interpreting the text in the light of archaic south Semitic religion, D. Nielsen described CTA 23 as a melange of hymns and dramatic processions which depict the way the sky was populated. El (mt wār) is portrayed in ll. 8–9 in the midst of primordial chaos, similar to the tōhō wābohu of Gen. 1:2. Apart from the South-Arabian moon god, the heavens are empty; there are neither gods nor men. In ll. 9–31 a wifely figure appears, the sun goddess Athirat or Shapash. It is the sexual union of El with Athirat-Shapash on the horizon which generates the benevolent and malevolent astral deities who inhabit the heavens. Of these deities, only the first-born, the morning (šhr) and evening (šīlm) stars, are named. According to Nielsen, the religious tradition reflected in this myth is archaic and older than the North-Semitic strata familiar to us from the other Ras Shamra texts. It presents the same world view as old Arabian religion.²⁹

²⁹ D. Nielsen, Ras Šamra Mythologie und biblische Theologie, pp. 70–97.
René Follet also explained **CTA 23** as a theogony. The birth of nature-gods is depicted liturgically to procure fertility for an urban society. The primordial god El presides initially over the resources of nature and the secrets of civilization. He sires the gods of sea and sky who eventually enter agriculturally-based civilization. There they bestow fertility and provide bread and wine, the symbols of civilization and objects of both the ritual and its mythology.\(^{30}\)

In 1953, J. Aistleitner published a study in which he compared CTA 23 to the Sumerian myth of "Enki and Ninhursag", in which the major theme is theogony. In both texts the principal deity begets numerous offspring. Aistleitner regarded these texts as composite works which were libretti for cultic dramas. The Ugaritic counterpart of the Sumerian god of the sweet waters is a coalescence of El and Yam, the personification of the sea. This identification is based on the facts that El is designated as **ym** (1. 30) and that his sons are in **ym**'s image (**pagzrym**) and are called "sons of **ym**" (11. 58-59, 61). In the two mythological texts, the situation into which the deities are born differs. In the Sumerian text, Dilmun is initially under-developed, as neither agriculture nor beasts nor sweet water nor plants exist. This is not the situation in CTA 23. Here heaven and earth, birds and fish, holy fields and their watchmen are present. Therefore the Ugaritic procreation myth is not a creation text. This is not to deny, however, the element of creation underlying the procreation of the twilight

---

deities (šbr wālm). According to Aistleitner, these first-born gods play only a secondary role in the Ugaritic pantheon. 31

Recently G. Komoróczy has proposed an interpretation of CTA 23 based on a comparison between the Ugaritic text and the Sumerian myth of "Enlil and Ninlil". According to Komoróczy, the Sumerian and Ugaritic texts are both anthropomorphic, erotic theogonies of a type that was widely diffused throughout Mesopotamia. The purpose of the Sumerian text is to illustrate that the moon god Sin and three deities of the netherworld are the children of Enlil and Ninlil. By analogy with the Sumerian text, the deities sired by El in CTA 23 are gods of heaven and of the underworld. The heavenly character of the divine twins šhr and šlm, morning and evening twilight, is indisputable. According to Komoróczy, moreover, the imagery associated with the šilm nāmm confirms their relationship to the underworld. The "door" (pra) in 1. 70 and the "keeper" (ngr mdr) in 11. 69 and 73 are analogous to the gate of the netherworld and its keeper mentioned in a number of Mesopotamian texts. 32 The words nēm and yam, epithets of the šilm nāmm in CTA 23:1-2, are employed to describe the realm of death in CTA 5(67), VI:6-7, 28-29 and CTA 16(49), II:19-20. Finally the description of the


32 Note, for example, "Descent of Ishtar to the Nether World", obv. 12-15 and "Nergal and Ereshkigal", obv. 52-53, both translated by E. A. Speiser in ANET, pp. 103, 107. See also the Neo-Assyrian "Nergal and Ereshkigal" text from Sultantepe, I:17-26, translated by A. K. Grayson in ANET, p. 508.
"lips" (špt) of the "ilm nimm in 11. 61-62 is similar to that of the jaws of Death in CTA 5(67), II:2-3. In CTA 23, the theogony which depicts the birth of the celestial and infernal deities is combined with a set of rubrics which impart a liturgical character to the text. Komoróczy suggested that while the ritual background of CTA 23 is obscure, the birth of underworld gods implies an association with the cult of the dead. 33

These theogonic interpretations are unsuccessful in elucidating CTA 23. A major deficiency common to the studies of Nielson, Aistleitner and Komoróczy is their insufficient consideration of the liturgical aspect of the text. Nielson did not explain the function of the dramatic processions in indicating how the sky was populated. Aistleitner made no attempt to account for the liturgy of which CTA 23 was the dramatic libretto. Komoróczy's association of CTA 23 with the cult of the dead is not helpful because he does not indicate what the function of the text might have been.

Another fundamental difficulty common to these studies involves their use of comparative material. The analogy drawn by Nielson between the stratum of religion reflected in CTA 23 and archaic South Arabian religion is unfounded. El cannot be identified with the moon god of the South Arabian triad. Rather, South Arabian El belonged to

an earlier stratum of that religious tradition. The pantheon reflected in CTA 23 is not analogous to the South Arabian triad of the morning star Attar, the moon god Wadd or Sin, and the sun goddess Šams. The deities of CTA 23, with the notable absence of Baal, are the same as those found in the other mythological, epic and ritual texts recovered from Ras Shamra. There is no need to equate El and Athirat in CTA 23 with the South Arabian celestial deities nor is there evidence to support such an equation. Therefore the suggestion that the Ugaritic text depicts the marriage of the moon god El with the sun goddess is untenable.

Aistleitner's comparison of CTA 23 to the Sumerian myth of Enki and Ninurta is not helpful. Even without such a study, it is clear that the myth of the Ugaritic text is theogonic in nature and yet is not associated with initial creation. Moreover, the identification of the divine father of the Ugaritic text with the Sumerian god of the "sweet waters" is erroneous. In l. 30 ȗm does not designate El, but indicates his destination. The words ȗn ȗm in 11. 23, 59, 61 define the new-born gods as a day old or as sons born on the same day, that is, as twins. They are not "sons of Yam".

Komoróczy's comparative study is more problematic than Aistleitner's. The Sumerian texts to which Komoróczy parallels CTA 23

---


35 See the textual notes for 1. 23, pp. 58-59.
are quite dissimilar. Whereas CTA 23 is a liturgical text, there is little in the myths of "Enlil and Ninhurta", "Nergal and Ereshkigal" or "the Descent of Inanna to the Netherworld" suggestive of a liturgical function. Unlike CTA 23, they contain no rubrics. The suggestion that the ‏אילמ נְמָמ‏ are underworld deities on the basis of a comparison between the occurrence of such words as "door" and "keeper" in the Sumerian and Ugaritic texts is not convincing. In "Nergal and Ereshkigal" and "the Descent of Inanna to the Netherworld", the context specifies that the "door" and "keeper" are associated with the realm of death. This fact contrasts with the association in CTA 23:68-70 of the "door" and the "keeper" with "sown land". Nor does the internal Ugaritic evidence support the identification of the ‏אילמ נְמָמ‏ as underworld deities. The imagery of the widespread "lips" of both the ‏אילמ נְמָמ‏ and Mot refers to the enormous appetite of the gods (CTA 23:61-62), as well as to the capacity of Mot (CTA 5(67),II:2-3). This imagery does not justify an equation of the ‏אילמ נְמָמ‏ with Death.

Nor does the occurrence of נְמ and ysm in contexts depicting the underworld support Komoróczky's position. The same terms describe Keret's bride נְמ in CTA 14(Krt),III:143-146:

tn . ly . mt . נְמ
nמ . šph . brk
dk . נְמ . cnt . nמ
km . tsm . цttrt . ts[ml]

Give to me the lady Hurriya,
The gracious, your first-begotten,
Whose grace is like the grace of Anat,
Whose beauty is like the beauty of Athirat.

The words נְמ and ysm also occur in poetic parallelism in CTA 10(76),II:
30, in which Anat travels to a region characterized as the "most pleasant" (n^2-mm) and "most fair" (ysmm). Here she mates with Baal and bears him a steer (CTA 10(76), III:1-38). The general context is one of power and fertility. There is no necessary association between n^2-mm and ysm and the realm of death. Finally it should be noted that Komoróczy, in suggesting that CTA 23 reflects rites of the cult of the dead, makes no reference to the treatment of the lord of death in ll. 8-11. The discomfiture of Mot in these lines indicates that the analogy drawn between the Sumerian "Enlil and Ninlil" myth and CTA 23, in which the pilm n^2-mm are equated with Sumerian underworld deities, is incorrect.

The only theogonic interpretation to account for the liturgical character of CTA 23 is that of Follet. This interpretation, however, is not supported by the details of the text. There is no indication in ll. 71 ff. that the pilm n^2-mm bestow fertility; rather they receive bread and wine from the ngr mdr^2. Moreover, there is nothing in the text, nor in Follet's interpretation, to indicate that the pilm n^2-mm are divinities of nature.

Several scholars, in focusing on the general liturgical nature of CTA 23 and specifically on the references to a meal (ll. 6, 70-76), have understood the text as an etiology. Paolo Xella has interpreted the text as an explanation of both the sacred quality and the cultic use of bread and wine. These elements draw the gods out of their domain in the wilderness (mdbr qdš) and into the cultivated fields of man, where they mediate between the divine and human realms, thereby bringing the sown land under divine protection. Thus it is through bread and wine,
mentioned in l. 6 and l. 71 ff., that communion between man and his gods is achieved. 36

André Caquot and Maurice Szynce have described CTA 23 as "... a myth in the full sense of the term, justifying behaviour by relating the events on which it is founded." 37 In this text, agriculture and sacrifice find sanction in the reminiscence of their origin. These scholars suggested that the thrust of the myth becomes clear when the new-born gods satisfy their appetites by gaining access to the cultivated land (ll. 69 ff.). It is apparent that El wishes that his offspring be nourished by bread and wine, agricultural products supplied by man as sacrificial offerings. For this to occur, it is necessary that El guarantee the fruitfulness of the earth. Thus the myth was accompanied by a ritual composed of hydrophoria, hierogamy and other actions of agrarian significance. In this respect CTA 23 reflects the same concern for fecundity that is reflected in the Baal cycle. For Caquot and Szynce, CTA 23 is not simply an aetiology explaining the origin of agriculture and sacrifice. It is also a functional text which is used liturgically to stimulate El to provide fertility for the land. 38

The aetiological interpretations of both Xella and Caquot and


37 Caquot, Textes Ougaritiques, p. 364.

38 Caquot, Textes Ougaritiques, pp. 363-365.
Szymczyk are unsatisfactory. The fact that the šīlm nūmm obtain bread and wine from the ngr mdr (11. 70 ff.) indicates that man was familiar with agrarian practices and had previously received the divine blessing of fertility. There is no evidence, moreover, that El guarantees the productivity of the earth or that he intends that the šīlm nūmm be nourished by the products of agricultural activity, as Caquot and Szymczyk have suggested. The entry of the gods into the region of the sown hardly serves as an etiology for the foundation of agriculture.

Nor does the text provide an explanation for the sacrificial use of bread and wine. The formal invocation of the šīlm nūmm (11. 1-2, 23), the sexual allusions (11. 13, 28) and the number of lines allotted to El's amorous activity and the procreation of the šīlm nūmm indicate that it is the šīlm nūmm and the sacred marriage that are most important in CTA 23. Neither the bread and wine nor the offering of these substances to the šīlm nūmm are as central in the text as Xella or Caquot and Szymczyk have suggested. In addition, the šīlm nūmm are not the sole recipients of sacrifices in CTA 23. Furthermore, bread and wine are not the only sacrificial offerings in the text. The ritual use of coriander, milk, butter and incense is associated with Athirat and Raqmay in 11. 14-15. El roasts a bird in 11. 38-39, 41, 44-45, 47-48. Offerings are prepared for Shapash and the stars in 1. 54. Finally El's wives and sons are instructed to repair to the mdr qds to offer sacrifices in 11. 64-65. Thus both Xella's hypothesis that the text accounts for the sacred qualities of bread and wine and Caquot's and Szymczyk's assertion that the offering of these foods to the šīlm
by the ngr mdrrc sanctions sacrifice are, dubious.

More prominent than the theogonic and aetiological interpretations of CTA 23 are those studies which associate the ūilm n核算 and their birth with the fertility cult ritual. These interpretations assert that the purpose of the text and of its liturgy was the restoration of either sexual potency or agricultural fertility.

Several commentators have asserted that CTA 23 reflects a ritual designed to restore sexual potency. According to G. R. Driver, the text presents a poem in honour of the gods ūbr and ūlm, the central theme of which is the rejuvenation of the aged El. 39 After shooting and cooking a bird, El is endowed again with sexual power and unites with two women in a rite of sacred marriage which produces ūbr and ūlm. Driver concurred with Gaster's suggestion that the astral nature of ūbr and ūlm, who are similar to the classical Dioscuri, the viticultural imagery of 11. 8-11 and the rite of cooking a kid in milk in 1. 14 reflect the Canaanite feast of firstfruits. 40

John Gray also understood CTA 23 as a ritual text designed to restore sexual potency. Gray asserted that its main theme is a sacred marriage in which women unite ritually with their husbands and sacramentally with El. The purpose of the ritual was the sexual

---

39 Driver, CMT, pp. 22-23. Pope also has suggested that El's impotence and rejuvenation are matters of great interest in CTA 23; see Pope, EL in the Ugaritic Texts, pp. 40-41.

40 See the discussion of Gaster's interpretation of CTA 23, pp. 132-134, 137, 140-142. See also the textual notes for 1. 14, pp. 43-45.
rejuvenation of the males whose virility was waning. Like both Gaster and Driver, Gray believed that the pruning imagery of ll. 8-11 suggests a celebration in early spring, probably March, and that the cooking of the kid in milk in l. 14 links the text to the offering of firstfruits. From these facts he surmised that the Sitz im Leben of CTA 23 was the annual spring reunion of nomadic husbands, who worshipped the astral deities špr and šlm, with their sedentary wives. The overt concupiscence of the mythological narrative is suggestive of this event. 41

Neither the interpretation of Driver nor that of Gray accounts adequately for the prominence of the Șilm nεmm in CTA 23. Nor do their studies define adequately the significance of fertility in the text. Driver's theory explains neither why a poem honouring špr and šlm should have the rejuvenation of El as its central theme, nor why this theme is appropriate for a harvest festival ritual. Gray's hypothesis suffers from similar difficulty in failing to indicate why špr and šlm should be so prominent in a ritual whose purpose was the restoration of sexual virility to males who are identified with El in the liturgy. These gods are the result of El's potency; they are not responsible for it. While reference to a rite of rejuvenation is made in ll. 36-49a, this rite is a necessary prelude to the birth of the Șilm nεmm (ll. 49b-61), who are the centre of interest in the text. Moreover, if the main theme of the text is the sacred marriage, as Gray has suggested, why are

41Gray, LG, pp. 93-105.
the ūlɪm nṣe mm invoked (ll. 1-2, 23-24) and their activity following their birth depicted? Finally, there is no evidence to support Gray's assertion that the Sitz im Leben of CTA 23 was the annual reunion of nomadic and sedentary peoples. 42

The most prominent fertility oriented interpretations of CTA 23 are those which relate the text to agrarian concerns. While Ch. Virolleaud refrained from ascribing a specific meaning or function to CTA 23 in his editio princeps of the text, he did assert that the first twenty-nine lines strongly reflect agricultural interests. According to Virolleaud, ll. 8-11 portray viticultural activity and ll. 13-15 present both an order to work the fields and sacrificial rites designed to ensure their fertility. He suggested that ll. 23-26 depict Shapash as the protectress of cattle and fruit. 43 Perhaps the most unique aspect of this initial study was Virolleaud's identification of the locale reflected in CTA 23. He asserted that mḏbr ḣḏ in 1. 65 designates the desert around Qadesh-barnea in the Negeb region and reconstructed ḥaš ḫd in the same line as Ashdod. He suggested that Ashdod is the city (qrt) referred to in 1. 3. 44

Virolleaud's approach to CTA 23 was adopted by René Dussaud in a series of studies in which he asserted that the Late Bronze Age

42 For an evaluation of the theory that CTA 23 was associated with a spring liturgy, see the discussion of Gaster's interpretation of the text, pp. 140-141.

43 Virolleaud, "La naissance", 136, 138-140, 142-143.

44 Virolleaud, "La naissance", 137-150.
inhabitants of the coastal region of Syria and northern Palestine originally migrated from the Negeb. Not only did he accept Virolleaud's interpretation of 1. 65, but he developed this line of explication by equating mibr špm in 1. 4 with hammidbār derek yam sūp in Num. 14:25 and Deut. 2:1 and by associating šb-ny in 1. 64 with the well šib'āh at Beer-sheba in Gen. 26:33. Thus he concluded that CTA 23 reflects a liturgy that was celebrated in the oases of the regions around Qadesh and Beer-sheba. He believed that the liturgy in question was that of a spring festival celebrated to ensure the fertility of the oases. This liturgy, which commemorated the birth of the "gracious gods" and the creation of the region over which they ruled (11. 23-24), was composed of sacrifices (11. 14, 27), a communal meal (11. 6, 71-72) and fertility rites (11. 8-15) including a sacred marriage in which El sired the "gracious gods" (11. 49-61).47

Another commentator who found in CTA 23:65 reference to southern Palestine was G. A. Barton. He differed from Dussaud, however, by suggesting that the Sitz im Leben of the text was Jerusalem. He based this view on the occurrence in the text of šlm, which he understood to

47 Dussaud, "Les Phéniciens", 6-8, 10-14, 37; "Le commerce", 61-65.
48 G. A. Barton, "The Spring Festival at Jerusalem", 61-78.
Barton asserted that CTA 23 presents the ritual for a spring festival celebrated in the early second millennium B.C. The function of the ritual was the establishment and maintenance of the community's well-being. He understood Ll. 8-11 to reflect a rite which coincided with the spring vine pruning and was designed "... to secure the fertility of the vines." The references to boiling a kid in milk (ll. 14-15), to fields (ll. 13, 28) and to cattle (ll. 25-26), suggest a ritual used "... to secure fertility for the husbandman." According to Barton, ll. 37-60 concern a rite employed to secure first human offspring (ll. 49-53) and then divine ones (ll. 55-60) for Jerusalem. Ll. 61-76 describe the tasks of the new-born gods. In this latter section, the gods give the cultivated land between Ashdod and Qadesh to their worshippers.

The association of CTA 23 with the Negeb was part of a larger pattern of interpretation which asserted that this region was also the location of events depicted in the Keret Epic. This approach to the

---

49 Barton, "The Spring Festival at Jerusalem", 67. According to Barton, 1. 7 proclaims Salem to be queen of those who enter (ṣhrm) and pour libations (rmm), thereby identifying Jerusalem as the site of the liturgy (p. 65). The feminine verb form in 1. 7 indicates that ʿšlm is used in this line to refer to the city. The use of the masculine verb form in ll. 52-53 implies that ʿšlm refers to the spirit in these lines (p. 67).

50 Barton, "The Spring Festival at Jerusalem", 68, 71.

51 Barton, "The Spring Festival at Jerusalem", 71-73.

52 C. Virolleaud, La légende de Keret, roi des Sidoniens, Mission de Ras Shamra, II (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1936), pp. 1-33. Virolleaud asserted that the Keret texts portray a military
Ugaritic texts, known as the "Negebite hypothesis", has been discredited by the subsequent studies of such scholars as Albright, Gordon and Ginsberg. The interpretations of CTA 23 which suggest a southern Palestinian provenance for the text are based on faulty identifications and arbitrary associations.

The difficulties inherent in these early fertility oriented interpretations of CTA 23 extend well beyond the question of geographical provenance. The studies of Virolleaud, Dussaud and Barton suggest that natural agricultural prosperity and communal well-being are the objects of the text. Yet the evidence cited in support of this type of interpretation does not stand up under careful scrutiny. While 11. 8-11 employ viticultural imagery, it is clear from the emphasis on mt. wār in 11. 8-9 and the reference to his ḫdmāt in 11. 10 that Death, not vineyards, is the principal concern of this passage. Moreover,


54 Note, for example, Gaster's evaluation of Barton's study in, "An Ancient Semitic Mystery-Play from a Cuneiform Tablet" discovered at Ras-esh-Shamra", Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni, X (1934), p. 156, n. 1. For a discussion of the meaning of šàrāt ḫd, mdbr qdē, tāb'ān in 11. 64-65, mdbr špm in 11. 4 and šlm in 11. 7, 52 see the textual notes, pp. 28, 32, 82, 97-99.

55 See the textual notes on 11. 8-11, pp. 34-39.
the suggestions that 11. 13-15 and 11. 25-26 reflect concern for fields and cattle are based on a misreading of the text. There is no reference either to the cooking of a kid in milk as a fertility charm or to cattle in these lines. 56 There is also no evidence to support either Dussaud's assertion that the text and associated ritual were designed to ensure the productivity of bases or Barton's view that the "gracious gods" give cultivated land to their worshippers. The šlm n-cmm are the products of fertility; they hardly bestow it. Finally, there is no reason to relate the text to the well-being of Jerusalem. Without the support of the erroneous references to Ashdod and Qadesh-barnea in 1. 65, the association of šlm in CTA 234, 52-53 with Jerusalem is arbitrary.

Despite the failure of these early hypotheses to explain CTA 23, the effort to understand the text in the context of a fertility cult ritual has remained prominent. In 1949 René Largement published a study in which he hoped to establish the text's meaning by isolating its more certain elements from its many obscurities. 57 Largement argued that fertility is the fundamental concern of CTA 23. He asserted that the first section of the text (11. 1-38a) presents various rituals and laudatory pericopes for the worship of the šlm n-cmm. These lines express gratitude for various blessings of fertility, such as the

56 Virolleaud acknowledged that the restoration tbkh . gJd (1. 14) is conjectural ("La naissance", 140). The reading my prt (1. 25) and translation "lean cows" ("La naissance", 130, 133, 143) lack support. See the textual notes for 11. 14, 25, pp. 43-45, 59-60.

57 Largement, L'aurore, p. 7.
favour bestowed by mlk-šlm, the chief of the ūilm n-cmm (1. 7), the work of mt wsr in vineyards (11. 8-11) and that of El in the šd pÔtrt wrhmî —the plain where grain is cultivated. Largement believed that the recipients of the blessings reciprocate by presenting bread and wine to mlk-šlm (1. 6), by performing the rites of 11. 14-15 in gratitude for the work of El and mt wsr and by offering the sacrifice specified in 11. 26-27. The ritual reaches a climax with the sacred marriage (11. 30-38a), in response to which El bestows favour by placing clouds—the ultimate source of vegetation—in the sky.58

Largement described the second part of CTA 23 as the mythological counterpart of the ritual, in which both the birth of the ūilm n-cmm and the fertility which they confer are commemorated. After depicting the subjugation of chaos, symbolized by the roasting of a bird (11. 38b-39, 41, 44-45, 47-48), the myth portrays the sacred marriage of El and Athirat, from which all fertility is derived (11. 40, 42, 46-47, 48-61). The new-born ūilm n-cmm, the products of this union, are invited by El to construct in the mbracht qaš a dwelling or storehouse (54d) to which they come for provisions. El blesses the arid land with the rain necessary for the sustenance of the gods (11. 61-68). Largement asserted that, in the final lines of the text (11. 69-76), the ūilm n-cmm in turn give to their devotees the provisions which the latter require.59 Thus the ūilm n-cmm are the immediate sources of fertility, while El is the

58 Largement, L'aurore, pp. 51-53.
ultimate source.

More recently, du Mesnil du Buisson suggested that the objective of CTA 23 and of its liturgy was the establishment of fertility. He asserted that the text was part of an annual late summer celebration commemorating and renewing the events depicted in its mythological narrative. The theme of CTA 23 is the conception and birth of the "gracious gods" of the Phoenicians. Du Mesnil du Buisson interpreted the final lines of the tablet (ll. 68b-76) as reflecting voluntary offerings to these gods made by worshippers, represented by the ngr mdr. The devotees know that in return for sacrifice they will receive the blessing of fertility for their cultivated fields. 60

Du Mesnil du Buisson was concerned particularly with the place where the liturgy was celebrated. He believed that this place is indicated in the first six lines of CTA 23. The words mdr (*dbyr) and r3t in ll. 4-5 suggest an obelisk temple of a coastal (3ay, l. 6) city (grt, l. 3), which the author identified as the obelisk temple at Byblos. 61

T. H. Gaster also approached CTA 23 from the perspective of a fertility cult ritual. Gaster initially suggested that CTA 23 was the libretto of a miracle-play performed at an autumn festival celebrating the advent of the early rains. He claimed that the text depicts the

---


61 Du Mesnil du Buisson, Nouvelles études, pp. 91, 93, 98.
birth of "Seven Gods Gracious", including the divine saviour Shalem-Shabar "... who brings back fertility to the languishing earth." 62

Gaster subsequently revised his interpretation, asserting that CTA 23 was "... the order of service for the Canaanite festival of firstfruits." He claimed that the text includes a ritual dramatization of a sacred marriage. The marriage and the resultant birth of the ²ilm n'üm form the main theme of the drama. ²hr and ²lm, whom he equated with the ²ilm n'üm, were adored and their birth celebrated because, like the Greek Dioscuri, they were the regnant constellation of June, the month of the festival. As such they were the deities who presided over the ceremony. 63 Gaster suggested a Sitz im Leben for CTA 23 in the firstfruits festival on the basis of three features of 11. 8-14: the depiction of the June pruning of vines; the use of ²širm, "fresh drawn milk", which he asserted was a common feature of spring festivals; and the rite of cooking a kid in milk. He believed the latter to be reminiscent of the biblical prohibition against cooking a kid in its mother's milk. This legislation is presented in the context of instructions for the offering of firstfruits (Ex. 23:19 and 34:26). 64

Gaster modified his interpretation slightly in Thespis. 65 While

---

64 Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", 59, 61, 72.
he continued to associate CTA 23 with a Canaanite thanksgiving celebration similar to the Israelite festival of firstfruits, he also suggested that the purpose of the text was to explain why the liturgy was addressed to the gods whose conception and birth were depicted therein, and why bread and wine were offered to them on this occasion. 66

Whereas Gaster had previously identified šhr and šlm with the ḫilm nâmm, in this study he distinguished between "the celestial princes Dawn and Sunset" and "the terrestrial Gods Gracious." 67 In Thespis Gaster continued to adhere to the view that the birth of šhr and šlm was celebrated because these gods form the regnant constellation of the month of the celebration. 68 He believed that the ḫilm nâmm were worshipped as deities of fertility. Gaster suggested that 11. 66b ff. describe how these gods became patrons of crops. The text concludes with a man generously allowing the ḫilm nâmm access to his meager stores of bread and wine. Gaster noted that:

... the passage could not have ended on this note, for that would not have explained why the gods should be recognized as patrons of the harvest festival, nor why "sacrifices in return for favors" (line 26) should then be presented to them.

Therefore he suggested that the text continued beyond 1. 76, describing how the divine guests rewarded their host with the promise that the

---

66 Gaster, Thespis, pp. 407-411.
68 Gaster, Thespis, pp. 409, 411-412.
steppeland would yield produce annually. According to Gaster, the annual fulfillment of the promise was the occasion of the festival and the reason why the 他曾 receive were honoured.69

Finally, Gaster asserted that while the underlying elements of the seasonal ritual exist in CTA 23, in its present form the text has lost its functional significance and has been disassociated from solemn religious ritual. It has survived only as a burlesque form of popular entertainment. This situation is reflected, claimed Gaster, in the "comically laborious" fashion in which El draws water (ll. 31, 35-36), in the exclamations of the two women (ll. 32-33), in the ribald multiple entendres involving yd (ll. 40, 43, 44), and in the voracious appetites of the new-born gods (ll. 61-64).70

The fertility oriented interpretation of CTA 23 which has attracted the most current support is that proposed by C. H. Gordon.71 Gordon, followed by Oldenburg and Tsumura, suggested that the text presents a liturgy celebrated at the close of one sabbatical cycle and the beginning of another. According to this hypothesis, the ritual of CTA 23 terminated a cycle of lean years and simultaneously inaugurated a

69 Gaster, Thespis, pp. 433-435.
70 Gaster, Thespis, pp. 406, 412-413, 428-432.
seven year period of plenty characterized by an abundance of bread and wine. 72 Gordon asserted that the text presents prayers, invocations, ritual acts and the myth of the primeval event on which fertility is based. CTA 23 would be invoked in a ritual context to bring about the fecundity of the land. Gordon described the combined features of the text as "the complete formula for agricultural prosperity." 73

According to Gordon and Tsumura, the association of CTA 23 with the sabbatical cycle is reflected in the "seven-motif" which permeates the text. Examples are the seven-fold recitation and repetition of ritual actions in 11. 12-15, the birth of seven ʾilm namm (11. 58-61, 64) and these gods' seven year sojourn in the wilderness (11. 66-68). 74 Gordon and Tsumura asserted that the seven year sojourn of the ʾilm namm in the wilderness (11. 66-68) indicates that a lean sabbatical cycle has occurred. The rite presented in 11. 8-11, in which "Death-and-Evil" is overthrown, ends this evil cycle and prepares for the advent of a bounteous one. Both authors have suggested that the mythological portion of CTA 23 relates how El sires a heptad of fertility deities,

---

72 Gordon, UL, pp. 57-58; Common Background, p. 177. Tsumura has asserted that the Sitz im Leben of CTA 23 was the end or a time near the end of an agriculturally unproductive sabbatical cycle. The ritual was celebrated at this time "so that the abundance of food and drink would be sympathetically assured for the next seven years' cycle." Tsumura, "The Good Gods", pp. 101, 201-202.

73 Gordon, Common Background, p. 178.

the Ṛilm n∔mm, who are to preside over this coming prosperous period.\textsuperscript{75} After spending seven years in the wilderness, these gods come to the cultivated land, bringing with them their blessing of fertility. Thus, as Oldenburg noted, it is through the rite of sacred marriage and the mediation of the Ṛilm n∔mm that El provides for the fertility of the land and the well-being of the people.\textsuperscript{76} The text concludes (ll. 69-76) as it begins (l. 6), with an affirmation of abundance symbolized by bread and wine.\textsuperscript{77}

Those interpretations which give CTA 23 a Sitz im Leben in the fertility cult fail to account for the significance of the Ṛilm n∔mm and their birth. They ascribe to the "gracious gods" the function of dispensing fertility. Yet these gods are not associated with fertility in the Ugaritic corpus. Nor are they members of the retinue of Baal, the deity responsible for the fruitfulness of the land. The Ṛilm n∔mm dispense nothing in CTA 23. In the rubric portion of the text they receive a city (l. 3) and a crown (ll. 4-5), while in the mythological narrative they are the recipients of bread and wine donated by the Ṛmr mdr\textsuperscript{6} (ll. 69-76). The view that the Ṛilm n∔mm bring to the cultivated land the blessings of fertility is groundless.

The solutions which commentators have adopted to mitigate this


\textsuperscript{76} Oldenburg, The Conflict between El and Ba\textsuperscript{c}al, pp. 37, 109; Gordon, Common Background, p. 178; Tsumura, "The Good Gods", pp. 222-223.

difficulty are not convincing. Besides the erroneous assertion that the $\text{šilm nēmm}$ give needed provisions to their worshippers, Largement numbered among these gods El and Mot and claimed that they work in fields and vineyards. Mot is well attested elsewhere, however, as the divine personification of death.\textsuperscript{78} His discomfiture in 11. 8-11 is hardly appropriate if he is counted among those deities whose birth is celebrated in CTA 23. As El's role in the text is that of fathering the $\text{šilm nēmm}$ (11. 49b-61a), he cannot be identified with them. Therefore Largement's attempt to attribute activity to the $\text{šilm nēmm}$ in CTA 23 by including in their number El and Mot is a distortion of the text.

The view, shared by Gaster, Oldenburg and du Mesnil du Buisson, that the "gracious gods" bestow fertility on the land in return for a hospitable welcome into the region of cultivation is also problematic. While the text does indicate that the gods are well received by the $\text{ngr wdr}$ (11. 69-76), there is no indication, either explicit or implicit, that the $\text{šilm nēmm}$ reciprocate by making the land fruitful. To assert that they do provide this blessing is unsupported speculation. Gaster's suggestion that the text originally continued beyond 1. 76 and described how the gods promised that the steppeland would yield produce annually is not helpful. Not only is there reason to believe that the text is complete, but it is methodologically inadequate to appeal to a hypothetically reconstructed narrative to account for

\textsuperscript{78}Oldenburg, The Conflict between El and Ba'al, pp. 34-39; Tsumura, "A Ugaritic God", 407-413.
material contained in the text. 79

Another major difficulty of the fertility cult interpretations of CTA 23 is their emphasis on the sacred marriage of El with the women as the ultimate source of fecundity. Largement and Oldenburg regarded El's intercourse with his wives as the act by which fertility is provided for the land. Gordon concurred with this view when he suggested that the long-range bounty of the land depends upon the women declaring themselves to be El's wives (11. 48-49). 80 If the purpose of CTA 23 and its ritual was to procure this blessing, then the text should both invoke El and his wives and celebrate their marriage. Yet it does not. Rather it summons the šilm n̄umm, who are the offspring of this marriage, and celebrates their birth. The text also depicts in some detail the activity of the new-born gods following their nativity (11. 61b-76). Their adventures are not related to the sacred marriage except insofar as they are the offspring of the marriage. The fact that El's sacred marriage is not the principal concern of CTA 23 undermines the theory that the text was designed to stimulate the powers of fertility. Moreover, in the mythological literature from Ras Shamra, Baal is the deity most closely associated with the productivity of the land. This fact contrasts with the epic texts' portrayal of El as being particularly

79 For the argument in favour of regarding CTA 23 as complete, see Chapter I, pp. 6-7.

80 Largement, L'aurore, p. 54; Oldenburg, The Conflict between El and Ba'al, p. 109; Gordon, Common Background, pp. 175-176.
concerned with human fecundity. Thus the sexual union of El and his wives does not prove the association of CTA 23 with the fertility cult.

Not only is the general thrust of the fertility cult interpretations of CTA 23 inadequate, but many of the ancillary aspects of these studies are also dubious. Largeman's suggestion that the zilm nammu construct a storehouse (cd) (1. 67) in the mdbr qds, from which they obtain and grant provisions in a case in point. The word cd denotes time or festivals. There is no reference in 11. 65-67 to the establishment of a storehouse. Du Mesnil du Buisson's view that the liturgy of CTA 23 was celebrated in a coastal temple is also unfounded. While the translation of pwy (1. 6) as "coast" is possible, the rendering of mdbr (11. 4, 65, 68) as temple is probably incorrect. In Ugaritic, "temple" or "shrine" is usually designated by byr / bt or qds. In CTA 23:4, the fact that mdbr is followed by ūpm suggests that "desert" or "wilderness" is the proper translation. In 1. 68, p̂at mdbr is juxtaposed with ṣd, "field", while in CTA 14(Kr),III:105; IV: 193-194 p̂at mdbr occurs in a context which requires a translation as "corners of the wilderness". Therefore du Mesnil du Buisson's

---

81 For discussions of the roles of Baal and El in the Ugaritic texts see Oldenburg, The Conflict between El and Baal, pp. 15-28; 69-77; Caquot, Textes Ugaritiques, pp. 55-68; 73-85. El's role in the sphere of human fertility is discussed below in Chapter III.

82 See the textual notes for 11. 65-67, pp. 97-101.

83 See the textual notes for 1. 4, p. 28.

84 See the textual notes for 1. 68, p. 101.
association of CTA 23 with a coastal temple is unsupported by the text.

Gaster's connection of CTA 23 with the Canaanite feast by first-fruits is no less replete with difficulties. No appeal can be made to the mention of the boiling of a kid in milk in 1. 14 to support this hypothesis. The reading *r*b*ch gld. bblb*, "cooking a kid in milk", is both hypothetical and improbable.\(^{85}\) Even if it is accepted, it does not conform to the practice that is associated in the Bible with the firstfruits offering. Ex. 23:19 and 34:26 specify that a kid is not to be boiled in its own mother's milk. And this prohibition need not be associated exclusively with the Feast of Firstfruits. In Deut. 14: 21 it occurs in the context of dietary laws, without any reference to firstfruits, while in the elaborate instructions for the offering of firstfruits in Lev. 23:10-21 and Deut. 26:1-11 no mention is made of cooking a kid. These passages suggest that the prohibition is a general one not necessarily connected to any specific occasion.

Gaster's use of 11. 8-11 to define the date of the liturgy is also questionable. These lines do not refer to June viticultural operations, as Gaster suggested, nor is a June pruning supported by the Gezer calendar.\(^{86}\) The accusative pronominal suffix /-n/ of *yzbrnn* and *yqmdnn* (11. 9-10) indicates that *mt wwr* is the object of the actions depicted.\(^{87}\) While vines may have been employed sympathetically in the

\(^{85}\) See the textual notes for 1. 14, pp. 43-45.

\(^{86}\) Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", 72.

\(^{87}\) See the textual notes for 11. 9-10, pp. 36-39.
ritual, the rite itself was not designed to ensure productive vineyards.
The activity involved need not be associated with any particular time
of the year. Furthermore, Albright has noted that according to the
Gezer calendar there were two periods when the vineyards were pruned,
during the free time of the wheat harvest in May and June and during
the months of summer fruits, that is in August and September. Albright
has also asserted that the agricultural time-schedule of the Gezer
calendar reflects conditions in the low hill country of southern Judah,
the Shephelah. 88 Therefore it can hardly be used as a universal
criterion for dating agricultural operations. In the final analysis,
Gaster's evidence for associating CTA 23 with a Canaanite firstfruits
festival is inadequate.

Also problematic is Gaster's view that CTA 23 has survived only
as a degenerate form of seasonal ritual, fit for popular entertainment.
In suggesting that the activity of El in 11. 31, 35-36 is "comically
laborious", Gaster has misinterpreted the text. These lines do not
depict El drawing water for domestic use, but engaged in a magical
rite involving torches and fire. 89 The expressions of the women in 11.
32-33, ʾad ʾad and ʾum ʾum, need not be translated as "Oh, Daddy" and
"Oh, Mummy", exclamations which Gaster claims are suggestive of "...

23, n. 37, 38; 25.

89 Gaster, Thespio, p. 412. See the textual notes for 11. 31-36,
pp. 64-69.
the squeals and giggles of pert minxes in a light comedy. These words can be translated simply "father" and "mother", without any humourous connotations. In short, there is no compelling reason to translate or interpret CTA 23 comically. Furthermore, passages such as 11.14-15 reflect formal religious rites. There is nothing to suggest that these lines should be interpreted in any manner other than literally, which is how Gaster himself interpreted them. It is difficult to understand why such rubrics would remain in a text that has been modified to entertain. Moreover, the solemn invocations of 11.1 ff., 23 ff., together with the welcome of such dignitaries as the king, queen and their attendants (1.7), have no comic value. On the contrary, these aspects of the text suggest a serious occasion.

Finally, the supposition that CTA 23 was associated with the sabbatical year has not been substantiated. While Gordon and Taumura were correct in noting the prominence of the number seven (טב) in the text, this feature need not indicate an association with the sabbatical year. Seven is a common number in the Ugaritic texts, as in Semitic literature in general. Danel mourns for his slain son seven years (CTA 19(1 Aqht), IV:174-179); Keret marches seven days to arrive at

90 Gaster, Thespius, p. 412.

91 Gaster, Thespius, pp. 407-408, 422-424.

92 For a general discussion of "seven" see M. H. Pope, "Seven, Seventh, Seventy" in TDB, IV, pp. 294-295. See also S. E. Loewenstamm, "The Seven Day-Unit in Ugaritic Epic Literature", IEJ, XV (1965), 123-133.
pudm (CTA 14(Krt) II:220-221); Keret's wife bears him seven sons in seven years (CTA 15(128),III:20-23). In CTA 12(75),II:45-46 Baal is mired in a swamp for "seven years" (šb\(^c\) šnt) and "eight cycles of feasts" (tmm qaṣṭu "d), with dire repercussions for both man and nature. Moreover, šb\(^c\) occurs frequently in liturgical texts from Ugarit (CTA 33(5):7, 26; 35(3):rev. 52; RS 24.254:11). Thus the frequent occurrence of šb\(^c\) in CTA 23 is not grounds for asserting the text's association with the sabbatical cycle. Without the establishment of a relationship between the pîlm n\(^c\)mm and the fertility of the land, there is no reason to suggest that the wilderness sojourn of the pîlm n\(^c\)mm indicates a poor seven year cycle, while their entry into the domain of the sown initiates a period of abundance. The validity of sabbatical-cycle theory has not been established.

The foregoing history of interpretation indicates that CTA 23 is a ritual text which invokes and celebrates the birth of the pîlm n\(^c\)mm. The study also reveals that the significance of the "gracious gods", of their birth and of the text itself cannot be explained in terms of theogony, etiology, or the procurement of fertility. A new line of inquiry must be initiated if the explication of CTA 23 is to proceed.

---

93 The words šb\(^c\) and tmm occur frequently in parallelism, as they do in CTA 12(75),II:45-46 and CTA 23:66-67. See RSF, I, II.531, p. 345.
III

THE ʾILM NʾMM: ROYAL FIGURES

The purpose of this chapter is to advance the hypothesis that CTA 23 is related to the royal ideology of ancient Ugarit and in particular that the text is a ritual that concerns royal figures. The hypothesis is developed by the elaboration in detail of two major considerations: the nature of the ʾilm nʾmm and the epithet of these gods. The connection between the gods' nature and the royal ideology is established by the circumstances of their birth. The "gracious gods" are offspring of El and Athirat and are, moreover, suckled by goddesses. These characteristics are typical of kings throughout the ancient Near East, including Ugarit. The stock epithet of the gods venerated in CTA 23, nʾmm, occurs in Ugaritic, Phoenician and biblical writings as a royal title. This chapter first isolates and articulates the Ugaritic royal ideology as it is reflected in the epic texts of Keret and Aqhat. It then shows the presence of the royal ideology in CTA 23. Finally it establishes the identity of the "gracious gods" as royal figures.

I. The Royal Ideology in the Epic Texts

The epic literature from Ras Shamra, particularly the Keret legend, is the primary source for the theory of Ugaritic kingship.¹ The Keret

¹Rainey cautions that "Literary pieces, such as myths and legends, do not always reflect the prevailing life situation." He notes, for
epic relates the vicissitudes of Keret, the king of a city which, though unidentified, was probably Ugarit. The story begins with the example, that Keret's role in the military campaign against 'udmu does not depict the actual military role of the king. Rather it is a literary embellishment typical of Near Eastern royal propaganda, the purpose of which was the "personal aggrandizement of the monarch". See Rainey, "The Kingdom of Ugarit", pp. 78-79. Gray suggests that the epics reflect "the ideal of kingship in Canaan in the heroic age." See J. Gray, "Sacral Kingship at Ugarit", Ugaritica, VI, pp. 294-295. This view which associates the portrayal of kingship in the epic texts with the dim past of the early second millennium is rejected implicitly by Albright, who believes that the texts concerning Keret and Aqhat were arranged in their extant forms between the seventeenth and fifteenth centuries B.C. Albright's dating of the texts is followed by Dahood, who cites earlier studies of Albright. See W. F. Albright, Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan (London: Athlone Press, 1958), p. 4; M. J. Dahood, "Ancient Semitic Deities in Syria and Palestine", Le antiche divinità semitiche, Studi Semitici, 1, ed. S. Moscati (Rome: Centro di Studi Semitici, 1958), pp. 71-72.

While the portrayal of the king in the epic texts is undoubtedly theoretical, in contrast with the practical aspects of monarchy that are reflected in the administrative and diplomatic texts, the theory and practice of kingship at Ugarit were not entirely distinct. The epics present the defense of the weaker members of society, such as the widow and the orphan, as a major and characteristic royal duty (CTA 16(127), VI:33-34, 45-47; 17(2 Aqhr), V:7-8). Throughout the Near East, the protection of the defenseless was a major obligation of society for which the king was ultimately responsible. Note, for example, T. J. Meek, "The Code of Hammurabi", prologue I:30-40; epilogue XXIV:60-61, ANET, pp. 164, 178; Isa. 1:17, 23; Jer. 22:1-5. Ginsberg states that the similarity between the admonitions in Jer. 22 and in the Keret epic reflect "the common premise that a king's job is to execute justice." See Ginsberg, "Ugaritic Studies and the Bible", p. 44.

The texts of the Keret epic are CTA 14(Krt), 15(128), 16(125, 126, 127). The conventional vocalization /Keret/ is retained for the sake of convenience, despite the fact that it is incorrect. A more accurate vocalization would be /Kirtu/ or the like. The vocalizations of other names follow similar convention.

Passages such as CTA 16(127), VI:22-24 indicate that Keret was a king: ysb . krt . l'dh / yrb . lks? mlnk / lnht . lbht . drkt, "Keret returns to his former estate; he sits upon the throne of kingship; upon the dais, 'the-seat of authority.'" (translated after Ginsberg, "The Legend of King Keret", 31; "The Legend of King Keret", ANET, p. 149; hereafter cited as Ginsberg, "Keret"). The fact that Keret is
destruction of the king's family, leaving him with neither wife nor heir (CTA 14(Krt), I:10-25). Kereg laments to El, who informs him in a dream that he should launch a military expedition against ṭudm in order to obtain a bride (CTA 14(Krt), I:25-III:153). After acquiring her and begetting numerous progeny, Keret becomes gravely ill (CTA 14(Krt), III:1).

associated with the clans ṭan and ṭev (CTA 15(128), I:8; III:4, 15), who are known from the administrative text CTA 113(400), VI:21-35 to have been among the highest paid priestly families, suggests that Keret was an early or legendary ruler of Ugarit. See Ch. Virolleaud, "Le mariage du roi Keret (III K): Poème de Ras Shamra", Syria, XXIII (1942-1943), 150-151; Gordon, UL, pp. 75, 122 and UT 19.712, 19.2346; Gray, LC, pp. 211-215 and The Krt Text, pp. 19, 59-60; Rainey, "The Kingdom of Ugarit", p. 81. Astour argues that the locale reflected in the Keret epic is neither Ugarit nor even Syria, but is north Mesopotamia. See M. C. Astour, "A North Mesopotamian Locale of the Keret Epic?", UF, V (1973), 29-39. This view is suspect in light of the prominence of clans associated with Keret in late Bronze Age Ugarit. Astour does acknowledge that the ṭan denotes Keret's clan (p. 36). It should be noted that the connotations of ṭan are not merely genealogical. In a study of the Ugaritic Repaim texts, including the recently discovered text RS 34.126, Pope argues cogently that ṭan was a "deified dead" ancestor of West Semitic kings. See M. H. Pope, "Notes on the Repaim Texts from Ugarit", Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Memory of J. J. Finkelstein, Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, Memoir XIX (Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1977), pp. 177-179.

154-16(125),II:120. El ultimately intervenes to save the king (CTA 16 (126-127),IV:I-VI:58). His concern for the well-being of the king and of his dynasty is the major theme of the epic.⁴ According to Gibson, the thrust of the Keret epic is "indisputably ideological". He characterizes the text as "a propaganda legend about the nature and value of kingship", and claims that "Keret is the typical sacral king of ancient Near Eastern belief, the channel of blessing to his community and the upholder of its order."⁵

The Aqhat epic supports the understanding of kingship derived from the legend of Keret.⁶ The epic begins by depicting a rite of incubation in which King Danel prays for a son. El visits Danel in a dream and blesses him with the promise that his prayer will be answered (CTA 17

⁴Gottlieb suggests that the relationship between El and Keret, who personifies the dynasty, is the primary theme of the epic. He notes that this association is reflected in El's care for the king. See H. Gottlieb "El und Krt —Jahwe und David", VT, XXIV (1974), 159, 162, 166-167. Similarly, Parker claims that the Keret epic is concerned with the "divinely protected status" of the royal office. See "The Historical Composition of KRT", 173. A prominent issue in the epic is that of royal progeny and dynastic succession. Pedersen and Cazelles believe that dynastic continuity is the central motif of the Keret epic; see J. Pedersen, "Die Krt Legende", Berytus, VI, (1941), 103-104; H. Cazelles, "Compte rendu de l'ouvrage précédent", VT, VII (1957), 421. Van Selms asserts that "The Krt-cycle could be regarded as the justification of the new dynasty", a dynasty inaugurated not by Keret's eldest son, but by his youngest daughter; see Marriage, p. 141. Driver and Gray also note the importance in the epic of Keret's quest for offspring and the issue of dynastic succession. See Driver, CML, p. 5; Gray, The Krt Text, p. 4 and LC, p. 15.

⁵Gibson, "Myth, Legend and Folklore in the Ugaritic Keret and Aqhat Texts", pp. 64-65.

⁶The Aqhat epic is composed of CTA 17(2 Aqht), 18(3 Aqht) and 19 (1 Aqht).
(2 Aqht), I:1-49). After the pledge has been fulfilled and the prince has matured, Danel gives to his son Aqhat a bow crafted by the god Kathir-and-Hasis (CTA 17(2 Aqht), II:1-V:39). This weapon excites the envy of Anat, who makes several unsuccessful attempts to obtain it. Anat's efforts eventually culminate in the murder of Aqhat (CTA 17(2 Aqht), VI:4-18(3 Aqht), IV:42). Danel mourns the death of his son, recovers his remains and buries them. The extant portion of the text ends with a confrontation between Aqhat's sister Pughat and his human murderer Yuṭpan (CTA 19(1 Aqht), I:1-IV:224). Gibson notes that despite some resemblances to the legend of Keret, the Aqhat epic is not connected to royal ideology. Yet the portrayal of El's involvement in the king's acquisition of a son (CTA 17(2 Aqht), I:1-49) does support the Keret legend's presentation of certain aspects of kingship. Thus at least the beginning of the Aqhat epic can be used to define the royal ideology of ancient Ugarit.

7 Danel is a king. In CTA 19(1 Aqht), III:152 he is designated mlk. Moreover, he dwells in an ḫk1, "palace" (CTA 17(2 Aqht), I:27) and adjudicates the case of the widow and orphan (CTA 17(2 Aqht), V:7-8). See Gray, LC, pp. 106-107; Caquot, Textes Ugaritiques, p. 402. Danel's epithets mt rp²i // mt ḫrmw (CTA 17(2 Aqht), I:18-19) indicate that like Keret he is associated with deified dead heroes or kings of Ugarit. See S. Parker, "The Ugaritic Deity Rapi²u", UF, IV (1972), 99-101; Pope, "Notes on the Rephaim Texts from Ugarit", p. 166.

8 Gibson, "Myth, Legend and Folk-lore in the Ugaritic Keret and Aqhat Texts", p. 66.

9 King Danel's quest for an heir is the exclusive concern of the beginning of the epic (CTA 17(2 Aqht), I:1-II:46). See Obermann, "How Daniel was Blessed with a Son", 1-30; Driver, CML, pp. 6, 8; Gray, LC, pp. 107-111.
Royal offspring of El.

The legends of Keret and Aqhat reveal that at Ugarit members of the royal family were considered to have a close relationship to El. This conviction is expressed most graphically in the instance of the sovereign. In the epic language of the Keret texts, the affinity of the king to El is described as that of a son to a father. ¹⁰ In CTA 14 (Krt), I:35–II:155, El responds to the king's lamentation over the loss of his family by appearing to him in a vision. The god's address underlines his paternal relationship to Keret (CTA 14(Krt), I:38–43):

\[
\text{m²at krt . kybk} \\
\text{ydm}² . n³mm . ḡlm >tl} \\
\text{mlk[. t]jr ̣abh yʔarā̂} \\
\text{hm . drk[t] k²ab . ̣adm}
\]

What is wrong with Keret that he weeps, that the gracious one, the lad of El sheds tears? Is it the kingship of the Bull, his father that he desires, or dominion like the father of mankind? ¹¹ Phrases which express a father-son relationship between El and Keret are common in the epic. Keret is often referred to as n³mm ḡlm ꞌṣl.

¹⁰ As indicated above in footnote 4, Gottlieb asserts that the relationship between King Keret and El is the central theme of the Keret epic. He defines this association as a covenant relationship similar to the one between David and Yahweh as expressed in Ps. 89:20–38. The epic both explains and manifests the covenant between the king and the high god and between El and the dynasty, personified by its founder. See Gottlieb, "El und Krt —Jahwe und David", 159, 161, 166–167.

"the gracious one, the lad of El" (CTA 14(Krt), II:61-62; 15(128), II:15-16, 20) and as bnm 3il 3ph 1ppn wqdš, "the son of El, the offspring of the Kindly One and the Holy" (CTA 16(125), I:10-11). Moreover Keret is instructed to "sacrifice to the Bull, your father, El" (dhh . lgr 3abk 3i1, CTA 14(Krt), II:76-77).

The assertion of a monarch's kinship with gods is well-attested in ancient Near Eastern literature. In Egypt, the Pharaoh is described as a son of Re or Amon and identified with Horus. On stelae erected at Memphis and Karnak to celebrate the Asiatic campaigns of Amen-hotep II (ca. 1447-1421 B.C.), the Pharaoh is referred to as "the God-Ruler-of-Heliopolis", "the son of Re", "son of Amon" and "Horus". The Westcar Papyrus from the late Middle Kingdom relates how the kings of the Fifth Dynasty resulted from the union of Re with Red-dedet, the wife of a priest.

Similar expressions of the ruler's kinship with deities occur in Mesopotamian texts. Sulgi (ca. 2093-2045 B.C.), a ruler of Ur, was a son of the high god Anu. Ishme-Dagan (1953-1934 B.C.) of Isin claimed

---

12 For a discussion of the significance of the king's divine filiation see the excursus on divine kingship of Ugarit following this chapter, pp. 198-221.


filiation with both Dagan and Enlil, while his successor Lipit-Ishtar (1934-1924 B.C.) regarded Enlil as his father. Hammurabi (1728-1686 B.C.) of the First Dynasty of Babylon declared himself to be son of Sin and Dagan and the brother of Zababa, whose father was Enlil. Over a thousand years later, the Assyrian monarch Assurbanipal (668-633 B.C.) stated that he was the son of his god Assur.

The terminology of divine filiation was also applied to Hittite kings, though this practice was not as prevalent among the Hittites as it was in Mesopotamia. In introducing his adopted heir, Mursilis, to the assembly of nobles, Hattusilis I (ca. 1650-1620 B.C.) stated, "He is now 'the offspring of My Sun' to you." At the moment of his adoption as crown-prince, Mursilis becomes the son of the king, the latter being identified with the sun-god. The etiological text KUB


17 Römer, Sumerische 'Königshymmen' der Isin-zelt, B I:57, p. 29; B II:2, pp. 29-30; Labat, Le caractère religieux, p. 57.


19 Labat, Le caractère religieux, p. 54.

20 KUB I. 16,II:44, as cited by O. R. Gurney, "Hittite Kingship", Myth, Ritual, and Kingship, ed. S. H. Hooke (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1958), p. 117. Gurney suggests that the identification of the king with the sun-god was not indigenous to the Hittite view of kingship, but probably was adopted from Syrian or Egyptian concepts "as little more than a form of words."
XXIII. 79 describes the king as the son of the sun-god.\textsuperscript{21}

The Ugaritic epics indicate that royal offspring also enjoyed a particularly close relationship to El. While they do not receive epithets indicative of divine filiation, their births are depicted as the direct result of El's promise and blessing. In the Keret epic, the cause of the royal lamentation that prompts El's appearance is Keret's desire for an heir. This desire is emphasized in Keret's response to El's pledge of wealth (CTA 14(Krt),II:57-58, as reconstructed by Ginsberg):

\begin{equation}
\begin{align*}
\text{[tn b]lnm} & \text{ \textasciitilde aqy} \\
\text{[tn t\textasciitilde a]rm} & \text{ \textasciitilde am\textasciitilde id}
\end{align*}
\end{equation}

\text{[Grant that] I may beget [children; [Grant that] I may multiply [kins]men.}\textsuperscript{22}

This passage illustrates that Keret regards El as the dynamic force behind the acquisition of children. Later, at a divine assembly in the house of Keret, El blesses the king with the promise of numerous offspring (CTA 15(128),II:1 ff.).\textsuperscript{23} The fulfillment of this promise is

\textsuperscript{21}G. Kellerman, "The King and the Sun-God in the Old Hittite Period", Tel Aviv, V (1978), 206.

\textsuperscript{22}Ginsberg, "The Legend of King Keret", 15; "Keret", p. 143. Driver (CML, pp. 28-29) adopts Ginsberg's restoration and translation. Fensham accepts Ginsberg's restoration, but interprets these lines as El's promise to Keret: "Give sons, I shall create them; / Give boys, I shall multiply them"; see Fensham, "Remarks on Keret 54-59", 32-33.

\textsuperscript{23}The occasion of this assembly might be Keret's wedding feast. Parker suggests that the setting is a marriage feast and that "... the blessing is pronounced in a formal gathering after the contracting of a marriage and before its consummation." See S. B. Parker, "The Marriage Blessing in Israelite and Ugaritic Literature", JBL, XCV (1976), 26-27. Van Selms (Marriage, pp. 37-41), Gray (The Krt Text, pp. 18, 58) and
recorded in CTA 15(128), III: 20–25:

wtqrh. wld bn>m > 1h
wtqrh. wld bnt 1h
mk . bsb' . 3nt
bn . krt . kmhm . tdr
ap . bnt . hrty
kmhm.

And she conceives and bears son<s> to him,
and she conceives and bears daughters to him.
Lo! In seven years,
the sons of Keret were even as had been
stipulated in the vows;
the daughters, also, of Hurriya were even so.24

Two aspects of El's blessing are of particular interest. The first
is the god's pledge that one of Keret's sons will be suckled by
goddesses (CTA 15(128), II: 21–28):

>al't . tq]h . ykrt.
>ark tq . btk.
1m . tcrb hbrk.
tld . shc . bmm lk
wmm tmnm lk.
tld . ygb 1m
ymq . ljl . >a[lt]rt
msq . tj . btil . [cmt]
manq't >ilm

"The woman that you take, O Keret,
the woman that you take into your house,
the maid you bring into your court,
shall bear seven sons for you,
yea, eight she shall produce for you.
She shall bear Yaqqib the Lord,
one who shall suck the milk of Athirat,

Caquot (Textes Ougaritiques, pp. 487, 537) also regard the occasion as
Keret's wedding.

Ginsberg, "The Legend of King Keret", 23. For slightly different
readings see H. Sauren and G. Kestemont, "Keret, roi de 2jubur", UF, III
one who shall milk the breasts of the Virgin [Anat],
the two wet-nurs[es of the gods].25

By specifying that Yaṣṣīb will imbibe the milk of Athirat and Anat, El
designates him as Keret's heir-apparent.26 This interpretation is
substantiated by a subsequent passage which reveals that Yaṣṣīb is
expected to succeed his father (CTA 15(128),V:18-22):

çrb. ʾspā. ʾlymj krt.
šb[a]pa. ʾspā bclny.
wymlk [ylj]b tln.
wyljy [kt]t tč.

To the setting of the sun Keret shall come,
to the darkening of the sun our lord;
and [Yaṣṣīb will rule over us
and he will re[place [Ker]et the noble.27

In CTA 16(127),V:52-54 the young prince demands that he should
supplant his ailing father:

rd. lmlk →mlk
ldrktk. apbmn

25 Ginsberg, "The Legend of King Keret", 22-23; Šauren and
Kestémont, "Keret, roi de Ḫubur", 206. Gordon, UT, p. 195 restores
mānq[t →lm nmm], suggesting a parallel with CTA 23.

26Van Selma, Marriage, pp. 92-93; Gray, "Sacral Kingship in
Ugarit", pp. 295-296. De Fraine describes the claim made by
Mesopotamian kings to have been nursed by goddesses as an
allegorization of both the judicial installation of the monarch and
the intimate relationship between ruler and deity; see L'aspect
religieux de la royauté israélite, Analecta Biblica, III (Rome:

27Gibson, CNL, pp. 93-94; Caquot, Textes Ugaritiques, pp. 546-
547.
Descend from the kingship—I will be king!
From your authority—I will sit.\(^{28}\)

Yaṣṣîb's unsuccessful attempt to claim the throne indicates that he did expect to ascend to that station.\(^{29}\)

El's assignment of the birthright is the second element of his blessing that merits particular attention (CTA 15(128), III:16). He concludes: gkrtn ṣbkrn, "To the youngest of them I will give first-born status".\(^ {30}\) With these words, El promises to bestow on Keret's youngest daughter the birthright.\(^ {31}\) It should be noted that

---

\(^{28}\) Ginsberg, "The Legend of King Keret", 32; Gray, The Krt Text, p. 29 and S. Izre'el, "The Symptoms of King Krt's Illness", UP, III (1976), 447. These words occur initially in 11. 37-38, which depict Yaṣṣîb's reflection on the situation. The accusation levelled against Keret is that he, old and 'ill, has let his hand "fall into error" and has judged neither "the case of the widow" nor upheld "the case of the wretched". This attempted usurpation earns Yaṣṣîb a curse and may have contributed to his loss of birthright.

\(^{29}\) Van Selms, Marriage, p. 141. There are biblical analogies to Yaṣṣîb's abortive coup. David's sons, Absalom and Adonijah, attempt to seize the throne. At the time of their respective conspiracies, both these men were the king's eldest surviving sons. Absalom's revolt is described in 2 Sam. 15:1-18:33, and that of Adonijah in 1 Kg. 1:1-53. Note also that Reuben's violation of his father's concubine (Gen. 35:22) results in his loss of pre-eminence among his brothers (Gen. 49:3-4).

\(^{30}\) Ginsberg, "The Legend of King Keret", 23; Sauren and Kestemont, "Keret, roi de Ḫubur", 206 and Parker, "The Marriage Blessing", 26. Ginsberg expresses some doubt as to the meaning of this line (pp. 23, 41). Parker suggests that as this line is inconsistent with the status of Yaṣṣîb, it is probably a secondary addition. See also Parker, "The Historical Composition of KRT", 169-170.

\(^{31}\) In accepting this interpretation, both van Selms and Gray suggest that an underlying motive in the Keret epic may have been the legitimization of a later dynasty related to Keret's line through the eighth daughter. See van Selms, Marriage, pp. 16, n. 6, 141; Gray, The Krt Text, pp. 1, 4, 10; H. Gese, M. Höfner and K. Rudolph, Die
El does not merely state that the daughter will receive this status, but that he will personally grant it to her. Thereby El's continuing concern for Keret's dynasty is illustrated. The two aspects of El's blessing considered above underscore the god's regard for and active involvement in the question of dynastic succession.

El's interest in royal offspring is also reflected in the initial tablet of the Aqhat epic, which focuses upon Danel's successful quest for a son. The narrative begins with the king engaged in a rite of incubation that he hopes will enable him to beget a son (CTA 17(2 Aqht), I:1-16). This purpose is stated explicitly in CTA 17(2 Aqht), I:17-27:

Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabischen und Mandäer, Die Religionen der Menschheit, X. 2 (Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1970), pp. 86-87. It is possible that Yaqqib lost his birthright as a result of his rebellion and Keret's subsequent curse. So Parker, "The Historical Composition of KRT", 169. It must be acknowledged, however, that it is not clear from the text whether Yaqqib succeeds his father. Nor is there any indication as to how the eighth daughter comes to inherit the birthright. The motif of the younger supplanting the older is common in biblical narratives. See Sauren and Kestemont, "Keret, roi de Hubur", p. 206, n. 64 and especially J. Goldin, "The Youngest Son or Where does Genesis 38 Belong?", JBL, XCVI (1977), 27-44.

32 Driver, CML, p. 6; Gaster, Thebes, p. 316; J. J. Jackson and H. E. P. Dressler, "El and the Cup of Blessing", JAOS, XCV (1975), 99. For a detailed discussion of this rite, see Obermann, "How Daniel was Blessed with a Son", 7-28.
As in the Keret epic, El responds in a dream. He blesses Danel by promising that the king's virility (nps) will revive. He will have intercourse with his wife and she will bear for him the desired son (CTA 17(2 Aqht), I:35-II:8). Again El's blessing is efficacious (CTA 17(2 Aqht), II:12-46). Danel's son, like Keret's offspring, is the direct result of El's intervention. Although the text does not state that Aqhat is Danel's heir, this view is a reasonable inference from the list of duties that he is expected to perform (CTA 17(2 Aqht), I:27-34). Aqhat is not simply a son, but an ideal son and heir. 34

33 Obermann, "How Danel was Blessed with a Son", 4, 5-6; Driver, CML, pp. 48-49; Gibson, CML2, pp. 103-104; and Caquot, Textes Ugaritiques, pp. 420-421.

34 See also CTA 17(2 Aqht), I:45-48; II:1-8, 13-23. The cultic acts required of Aqhat are associated with the cult of the dead. See Pope, "Notes on the Rephaim Texts from Ugarit", pp. 163-165. Later West
Analogues to El's creative activity in providing heirs for the legendary kings Keret and Danel are found in texts from both Egypt and Mesopotamia. The reliefs of Hatshepsut's temple at Deir-el-Bahri provide a striking example. In the sixth scene of the cycle which depicts the conception and birth of the future Horus, the god Khnum is portrayed fashioning Hatshepsut's body and ka on a potter's wheel, while Hathor quickens the fetus by extending towards it the sign of life. 35

Semitic inscriptions indicate that similar duties were required of and performed by kings for their deceased fathers. The tenth century B.C. Ahirom funerary inscription states: "A sarcophagus made by [It]toba, the son of Ahirom, king of Byblos, for Ahirom, his father, as his eternal dwelling-place." See F. Rosenthal, "Ahirom of Byblos", ANET, p. 661. Pope suggests that Aqhat's filial duty to plaster his father's roof (11. 33-34) may involve the roof of the paternal tomb (p. 165).

Of particular interest is an Aramaic inscription on a statue of Hadad which Panammu I (ca. 780-743 B.C.) of Ydy erected beside his tomb. Panammu demands that when his sons who will sit on the throne after him sacrifice to Hadad, they are to remember the soul of their father and pray that his soul may eat and drink with the god (11. 15-18). See J. C. L. Gibson, Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions, II (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), No. 13, pp. 60-61 and the introduction to the text, pp. 60-61. This requirement is reminiscent of Aqhat's responsibility to feast on Daniel's behalf in the temples of Baal and El (11. 32-33). Finally, the Panammu votive inscription, dating from ca. 732 B.C., should be noted. It is found on a monument dedicated to Panamm II by his son Barrakkab shortly after the latter's accession to the throne. L. I states: "This statue has Barrakkab set up for his father Panammu, son of Barsur, king of ...." See Gibson, Syrian Semitic Inscriptions, II, No. 14, pp. 78-79; for an introduction to the text, pp. 76-77. Similarly, Aqhat is to be the one who sets up the ancestral stela of his father (nph skn 'il'am, 1. 27); see Pope, p. 163. For discussions of Aqhat's filial duties see Obermann, "How Daniel was Blessed with a Son", 13-14, 24; O. Eissfeldt, "Sohnspflichten im Alten Orient", Syria, XLIII (1966), 42-44.

A similar view of the divine origin of kings is reflected in the claims of various Mesopotamian rulers to have been formed for or elected to kingship by the gods while in their mothers' wombs. The Assyrian Assur-ress-il I (1133-1116 B.C.) states that while he was yet in the womb he was elected to sovereignty by the great gods. Assurbanipal (668-627 B.C.) noted that the great gods Assur and Sin formed him in his mother's womb for the rulership of Assyria.

Royal Offspring of Athirat.

In the Keret epic, El is not the only deity who stands in a close relationship to the king and his offspring. Keret is a child of Athirat, while Keret's progeny are the result of the goddess's active concern. The king's filial relationship to Athirat is indicated unambiguously in CTA 16(125),1:20-22:

'ikm yrgm
bn 'il kr [ ]
šph 1tpn wqds


"How can it be said:
A son of El is Keret,
an offspring of the Kindly
One and the Holy?"

Qdš is an epithet of Athirat. In CTA 2(68),III:20 and 2(68),I:21, the numerous gods of the divine assembly are bn qdš. Elsewhere they are bn parr (CTA 3('nt),V:47; 4(51),IV:51).

The filial relationship of Keret to Athirat is typical of Near Eastern monarchs. Gudea, the ruler of Lagash (ca. 2135-2120 B.C.), claimed to be the offspring of three different goddesses, Ninsun, Nanshe and Baba. He also boasted that the goddess Gatumdug was both his father and mother. The founder of the Third Dynasty of Ur, Urnammu (2112-2095 B.C.), was a "son born of (the goddess) Ninsun." The Assyrian monarch Esarhaddon (680-669 B.C.) was said to be a son of

---

38 Ginsberg, "The Legend of King Keret", 26; Parker, "The Historical Composition of KRT", 173-174.


40 Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods, p. 300.

the goddess Ninlil, while his son Assurbanipal (668-633 B.C.) was described as a child of both Ninlil and Ishtar. The statement that Keret is an offspring of Athirat is consistent with this Near Eastern tradition concerning the relationship of kings to goddesses.

Not only is Athirat the mother of Keret, but she also plays an important role in procuring for the king both a wife and offspring. On the third day of his march towards ʿudum, Keret stops at a shrine of Athirat (CTA 14[Krt], IV:197-206):

```
ymlgy.J1qdš
ṣaṭrt.Jṣrm.wl²ilt
ṣdyнмм.tм
ydr.KKrt.тc
ṣṣrt.ṣṣrt.ṣrm
w²ilt.ṣdyнмм
hm.ḥry.bty
ṣiqḥ.ṣaṣr.ḥlmt
ḥḥry.ṣnh.kspm
ṣañw.wlтh.ḥršм
```

He arrives at the shrine of Atšḥrātu of Tyre and Elat of Sidon. There he makes a vow, Keret the Generous: "As surely as exists Athirat of Tyre and Elat of Sidon; if Ḫurriya into my house I take, if I make enter the young woman in my court, her double of silver I will give and her triple of gold."44

---

44 Ginsberg, "The Legend of King Keret", 18-19; Caquot, Textes Ougaritiques, pp. 529-530; Saurens and Kestemont, "Keret, roi de Ḫubur", 202 and Badre, "Notes Ougaritiques I", 114-116; Gibson, CML, pp. 87-88.
The purpose of Keret's vow is not simply to obtain the goddess's assistance in acquiring Hurriya as his bride. As noted above, Keret's goal is to beget offspring. His marriage to Hurriya is the means by which this objective is to be realized. The vow is not mentioned again, until after Keret has married Hurriya and begotten numerous sons and daughters as promised. Then according to CTA 15(128), III:25-30:

\[\text{w̄t̄h̄s̄s̄} \quad \text{̄ār̄r̄t̄} \quad \text{n̄d̄r̄h̄} \]
\[\text{w̄t̄s̄̄̄l̄t̄} \quad \text{p̄[l̄p̄āh̄]} \]
\[\text{w̄t̄s̄̄̄h̄} \quad \text{ḡh̄} \quad \text{w̄[t̄s̄h̄]} \]
\[\text{p̄h̄} \quad \text{m̄r̄} \quad \text{̄āp̄} \quad \text{̄k̄r̄[t̄]̄ȳp̄]} \]
\[\text{̄ū} \quad \text{̄t̄n̄} \quad \text{̄n̄d̄r̄[h̄]̄m̄l̄k̄]} \]
\[\text{̄āp̄r̄} \quad \text{̄h̄[t̄]} \quad \ldots \ldots \ldots \]

And Athirat remembers his vow and Elat his dedication, and she lifts her voice and [cries]:
"Look, now. Does Ker[et], then, [break], or [the king] alter his vow? So shall I annul [\ldots]."

The nature of the unfulfilled oaths which provoke Athirat's anger is not specified in the passage. Ginsberg states that they "... were contingent upon the obtainment of offspring, not of the bride, and were therefore distinct from the vow of [CTA 14(Krt), IV:197-206]." He suggests that the missing ten lines at the beginning of CTA 15(128), II described how Keret fulfilled his initial vow and made another.

---


46 Ginsberg, "The Legend of King Keret", 23-24, 41-42; Driver, CML, pp. 36-39; Sauren and Keatemont, "Keret, roi de Ḫubur", 207 and Caquot, Textes Ougaritiques, p. 542. The restoration of pl2 is suggested by Lev. 22:21; 27:2 and Num. 15:3, 8; see Ginsberg, p. 41 and Driver, p. 39. Sauren and Keatemont restore h[wt̄ ?ilm] in l. 30, suggesting that Athirat will annul the blessings which the gods have bestowed on Keret.
concerning the procurement of children.\footnote{Ginsberg, "The Legend of King Keret", 22, 41.} Other commentators regard the vows mentioned in \textit{CTA} 14(Krt), IV:197-206 and \textit{CTA} 15(128), III:25-30 as identical.\footnote{Driver, \textit{CML}, p. 3 and Gibson, \textit{CML}², p. 92, n. 4; Gray, \textit{LC}, pp. 145, n. 4, 147.} This latter view has the virtue of not requiring a hypothetical reconstruction of the text. What is clear in either case is that Athirat's wrath follows hard upon the birth of Keret's children. The goddess's anger at this point suggests that Keret's vow and her subsequent activity were associated with those children. Perhaps Keret pledged gold and silver to the goddess in return for her assisting his effort to obtain both a bride and offspring. While Athirat fulfilled her part of the agreement, Keret reneged, provoking her wrath. Although the condition of the text precludes certainty, it is probable that Keret's subsequent illness was a concrete manifestation of Athirat's displeasure.\footnote{Ginsberg, "The Legend of King Keret", 42; Parker, "The Historical Composition of KRT", 163; Gibson, \textit{CML}², pp. 21, 23.}

\textbf{Athirat as Royal Wet-nurse.}

Athirat has a second role in Keret's quest for offspring and an heir. As indicated above, El promises that both Athirat and Anat will suckle Keret's son Yaqšīb (\textit{CTA} 15(128), II:26-28). While it is El's promise that singles out the prince as Keret's successor, it is the activity of Athirat and Anat as wet-nurses that transforms the promise into reality. By nursing Yaqšīb, Athirat and Anat designate him as the
successor to the throne.  

The notion that a king or an heir-apparent was suckled by a goddess was common throughout the ancient Near East. 51 In the texts and reliefs of Hatshepsut's (1490-1469 B.C.) temple at Deir-el-Bahri in Egypt, Hathor is depicted nursing the new-born princess. 52 A sandstone figure of Hathor and Amenhotep II (1438-1412 B.C.), also from Deir-el-Bahri, depicts the goddess in the form of a cow with the youthful king drinking from her udder. 53 A frieze from Abydos depicts a goddess suckling Seti I (1318-1301 B.C.). 54

The motif also appears in Ugaritic art. Among a series of ivory panels which depict various scenes from the life of the king and queen, is one portraying a goddess suckling two children. She is similar in appearance to Isis and Hathor and may be identified with either Anat or Athirat. The two youths are either two princes or the king and his

50 See above pp. 154-156.


54 Pritchard, The Ancient Near East in Pictures, Fig. 422, pp. 147, 298.
Since the panels also depict the king and queen, the former interpretation is the more plausible.

Sumerian rulers of the Ur III period also claimed to have been nursed by goddesses. In the "Stele of the Vultures", Eannatum of Lagash states that, "Ninhursag reached out her right breast to him." Similarly Lugalzaggesi, ruler of Ummu, was said to have been born of the goddess Nidaba and nourished with the "milk of life" by Ninhursag. Over fifteen hundred years later, a text purporting to record a dialogue between the deity Nabu and the Assyrian king Assurbanipal (668-633 B.C.) declared that the king sucks two of the breasts of Ishtar, Queen of Nineveh, while hiding his face in another two. These Near Eastern parallels, together with Yaqqib's royal aspirations as reflected in his act of rebellion, confirm the roles of Athirat and Anat in designating him Keret's heir-apparent.

---


58 de Fraine, L'aspect religieux, pp. 248-249 and Ringgren, Religions of the Ancient Near East, p. 102. Esarhaddon, Assurbanipal's father, was also nursed by Ishtar; see Biggs, "Oracles Concerning Esarhaddon", III:25, ANET, p. 605.
Several important observations concerning the nature of kingship at Ugarit can be drawn from the foregoing discussion. The king is an offspring of divine parents. In the Keret texts, the father-son relationship between El and the king is stressed. Athirat's maternal relationship to Keret is also acknowledged, though less emphatically. In both the Keret and Aqhat epics, the kings' procurement of offspring and an heir is an important theme. The royal children are not simply the fruit of the sexual union of their natural parents. Both Keret's progeny and Danel's ideal son are also the result of El's blessing and promise. In the former case, the children are born through the providential care of Athirat as well. The Keret epic emphasizes El's concern for dynastic succession by describing how he indicates which son will imbibe divine milk and which child will receive the birthright. Yağṣib's prenatal election to kingship is confirmed when he is nursed by Athirat and Anat. Finally, just as King Keret is na'mm gli₄, so also is the royal heir and future king. Both the king and the heir-apparent are offspring of deities in the sense that their birth and elevation to sovereign status are the result of divine promise and providence. While they are the natural offspring of mortal parents, they are also the spiritual progeny of the gods.⁵⁹

II. CTA 23 and the Royal Ideology

The ṭilm·na'mm, who are invoked and whose birth is celebrated in

⁵⁹ For a full discussion of this point, see the excursus "Divine Kingship at Ugarit?", which follows this chapter.
CTA 23, share a number of characteristics with the kings and heirs of the epic literature. Like the royal offspring of the epics, they are sons of El and Athirat. Moreover, they are nursed by Athirat and Anat, as Yaṣṣîb is. Finally, they share with the King Keret and Prince Ḫqat the epithet nūm. These similarities suggest that the ḫilm nūm are princes.

The ḫilm nūm as Offspring of El.

The mythological portion of CTA 23 is direct and unambiguous in presenting El as the father of the "gracious gods". Ll. 30-61a recount the initial encounter between El and the two women, their actual love-making and the resultant birth of the gods. El's role in the myth is consistent with his nature as reflected in his epithets in other Ugaritic texts.60 As is indicated in Chapter II, CTA 23 is not concerned primarily with El's procreative activity but with the ḫilm nūm, who occupy only a minor position in the Ugaritic pantheon.61 The significance of El's sexual activity lies in the procreation of the ḫilm nūm. Yet there is nothing in the activity of these gods in the mythological portion of CTA 23 nor in the other texts of the Ugaritic

60 El is referred to as bny bnyt, "creator of creatures", (CTA 4 (51),III:32; 6(40),III:5, 11) and šab μn μc, "father of the sons of El", that is, "father of the gods" (CTA 32(2),I:25, 33). Moreover the nameless multitude of divine beings whose existence was acknowledged at Ugarit is designated by such phrases as m b c ḫilm, "sons of El", (CTA 10 (76),I:1; 32(2),I:2-3, 125-26) and ḍr ḫilm, "generations of El", (CTA 15 (128)),III:17-19). See Pope, El in the Ugaritic Texts, pp. 47-54, 88-89; Cross, Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic, p. 15; Caquot, Textes Ugaritiques, pp. 56-57.

61 Aistleitner, "Götterzeugung", 305.
corpus that shows why they merit the attention directed towards them in our text. Whatever status they do enjoy in CTA 23 is based on their relationship to El.

In this respect their rank is similar to that of the kings and princes depicted in the Ugaritic epic literature. Keret is n̄m (glm
>p)̄l and bmu p)̄l ʾph 1tpn. Conversely, El is his father (pabh). While the royal offspring of Keret and Danel are not physical children of El, it is readily apparent that this god is the dynamic force behind their conception and birth. In the Keret epic, it is El who conveys the special status of heir first on a son and then on a daughter of the king. Though not their natural progenitor, he is in a real sense their "father".

The characterization of the pilm n̄mm as sons of El is also reminiscent of the general Near Eastern concept of the king as a son of god. The prominence of this concept, which cuts across cultural, political and geographical boundaries during the second and first millennia B.C., suggests that the claim to royal authority was explained and justified in part by an appeal to the filial relationship of the king to deities. The fact that the position of the pilm n̄mm is dependent solely on their filial relationship to El is analogous to

---

62 Note that if the pilm n̄mm enjoyed the stature of a god such as Baal, there would be much less difficulty in understanding why a liturgy should be addressed to them.

63 For a discussion of this aspect of the royal ideology, see Chapter IV, pp. 222-227.
this aspect of Near Eastern royal ideology.

The similarity of the ʿilm nāmm to the royal figure of Ugaritic epic literature is underscored further by ambiguity in CTA 23:52-53, 60 concerning the identity of the new-born gods’ father. These lines indicate that the messenger who notifies El of the gods’ birth (ll. 52, 59) regards both the children and the women who bear them as his own. In the sentence ʾarty ʿi1 ylt (l. 60 and restored in ll. 52-53), the most plausible grammatical explanation of the -y suffix of ṣart is to view it as the sign of the 1 c. sing. possessive suffix -ya. The preceding sentence, ṛgm ʿi1 ybl (ll. 52, 59), requires that the antecedent of the possessive suffix is the messenger who announces the children’s birth to their divine father. Unlike other solutions, this explanation raises neither grammatical difficulties nor requires textual emendation. It seems to be inconsistent, however, with the women’s relation to El as defined by l. 49a, ṣart ʿi1 wmlḥ, and with the fact that they conceive his children (ll. 49b ff.). This difficulty is resolved if the infants begotten by El are princes who, by their virtue of their royal status claim both divine and human ancestry. Therefore the sentence ʾarty ʿi1 ylt supports the identification of the ʿilm nāmm as princes. The messenger then is a king, the incumbent member of a line of rulers from which the ʿilm nāmm arise.

The response to ṓḥ ylt in l. 53 is ambiguous. The antecedent of the -y suffix in yldy ʾshr ʿi1cm could be either El or the

---

64 See the textual notes for ll. 52-53, pp. 79-80.
While the new-born gods are unquestionably El's progeny, the use of the possessive suffix -y with the in ll. 52-53 and 60 does suggest that the messenger regards the infants as his own, just as he does the women. The paternity of El does not exclude the possibility that the messenger claims the children, any more than the fact that the women are described as the prevent the messenger from referring to them as "my wives". Since the ritual of identifies earthly events with divine ones, thereby making the latter present and concrete to the worshipping community, it is possible that the ambiguity concerning the antecedent of y in yldy is deliberate. By not specifying whether El or the messenger claims the new-born gods, the text allows the reader or the listener to identify both as the father. While is not as direct in describing the dual origin of the "gracious gods" as the epics are with respect to royal offspring, such an origin is implied in the text's presentation of the actual birth.

The as the offspring of Athirat

The are the offspring of Athirat and Rahmay. The liturgical refrain šd šlm šd parrt rwmny (ll. 13, 28), which celebrates the sexual charms of the goddesses, is inexplicable if they are other

See the textual notes for l. 53, pp. 81-83.
than the two women with whom El unites. This identification is supported by 1.16 which undoubtedly places the goddesses with El at the shore of the sea. Finally, it is confirmed by the numerical correspondence between the two goddesses and the two women. It is not surprising that the ḫilm n̄mmu, sons of El, are also children of Athirat. Anat-Raḥmay's role as wife of El and mother of his children is problematic at first glance, as she is associated with Baal in the other mythological texts. Yet she is a major fertility deity and, apart from Athirat, is the only major Ugaritic goddess who is linked


The equation of the goddesses with the women is accepted by many scholars, such as Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", 50; Pope, El in the Ugaritic Texts, pp. 35-36, 39; Driver, CML, p. 23, n. 3; Caquot, Textes Ugaritiques, pp. 69, 356, 363.

67 See the textual notes for 1.16, pp. 48-49. The presence of the goddesses at the shore in 1.16 accounts for the abrupt introduction of the women in 1.32.

68 As El's consort, Athirat is the "mother" of the gods. Note her epithet qwy ḫilm, "creatrix of the gods", in CTA 4(51), I:23; III:26, 30. Conversely, the gods are bn ḫṣrct, "sons of Athirat", in CTA 3(5nt), V:12; 4(51), V:63. For discussions of Athirat in the Ugaritic texts, see Oldenburg, The Conflict between El and Baal, pp. 28-31; Caquot, Textes Ugaritiques, pp. 68-73.
with childbirth. 69

The relationship of the ūlim n-ūmm to Athirat in CTA 23 is similar to Keret's relationship to this same goddess in the epic texts. The king is not only a ūlim or bnm of El; he is also ūph lṭpn wqds, "an offspring of the Kindly One and the Holy One". To judge from the goddess's anger over the king's unfulfilled vow, Keret's children are also products of Athirat's active concern. Thus the ūlim n-ūmm are similar to the king and royal children of the Keret epic in that they are children of Athirat.

The filial relationship of the "gracious gods" to Athirat and Rahmay is also analogous to Near-Eastern rulers' relationships to goddesses. The claims of kings such as Gudea and Esarhaddon to be the offspring of several goddesses at once indicate that this filial relationship was a metaphor associated with their status and legitimacy as rulers. 70 Like their paternal lineage, the maternal lineage of the ūlim n-ūmm places them squarely within this Near-Eastern pattern of thought as royal figures.

The striking manner in which CTA 23 portrays the gods' mothers serves to underline the royal nature of the ūlim n-ūmm. The mythological portion of the text lacks any reference to the divine nature of El's


70 See *Excursus II* at the conclusion of this chapter, pp. 212-214.
wives. They are never referred to by name, nor are they designated as goddesses. Rather, they are described as אראמ "two women" or "two wives" (ll. 39, 42, 43, 46, 48, 49, 52, 60, 64). This word is not employed elsewhere in the Ugaritic corpus with reference to a goddess. The use of אראמ in the myth, which focuses primarily on divine activity, creates the impression that El's mates are human rather than divine. In the ritual section of CTA 23, which is concerned with human acts of worship, the wives of El and the mothers of the אדם Está are portrayed as goddesses. Thus CTA 23 presents the mothers of the אדם Está as both goddesses and women. This ambiguity as to the nature of the gods' maternal lineage is underscored further by the fact that they are wives of both El and the messenger. This latter individual could hardly claim El's consort Athirat as his wife. While the goddesses and women are identified with each other in the ritual of CTA 23, they cannot be completely equated.

71 See Whitaker, A Concordance of the Ugaritic Literature, pp. 27-29.

72 Unlike the אדם Está, the offspring of divine-human unions are not divine. In the figure Gilgamesh, who is the product of such a union, the human element predominates even though he is described as being two parts god; see E. A. Speiser, "The Epic of Gilgamesh", Tablet I, II:1, 31, ANET, pp. 73-74. In the biblical account of the amorous encounter of the בְּנֵי הָאָלֹהִים with the בֵּןֹת הָאָדָם in Gen. 6:4, the progeny are הָגִיסְבּוֹרִים, "mighty men", similar to the Titans of Greek mythology; see B. Vawter, A Path Through Genesis (London: Sheed and Ward, 1957), pp. 85-86. It is noteworthy that several scholars have seen the behaviour of dynastic rulers in the Near East behind the episode of the בְּנֵי הָאָלֹהִים in Gen. 6:1-4. See M. G. Kline, "Divine Kingship and Genesis 6:1-4", WTJ, XXIV (1963), 187-204; D. J. A. Clines, "The Significance of the 'Sons of God' Episode (Genesis 6:1-4) in the Context of the 'Primeval History' (Genesis 1-11)", JSOT, XIII (1979), 34 ff.
This dual aspect of the gods' maternal lineage supports the identification of the šilm nöm as royal figures. Like Ennanatum they claim both divine and human mothers and like Yaqšib they are generated by the activity of both human women and Athirat. This dual aspect corresponds to the twofold aspect of the gods' paternal genealogy.

The šilm nöm as nurselings of Athirat and Rahmay.

The šilm nöm are not only generated by Athirat and Rahmay, but are suckled by the goddesses as well. This fact sustains the identification of these gods as princes. In the ritual portion of the text, one of the epithets applied to the šilm nöm is ynm b3ap zd šarrt wrihym, "who suck at the teats of the breasts of Athirat and Rahmay" (1. 24). This epithet is applied also to the gods immediately after their birth in 11. 59, 61, with the word št substituted for the names of the goddesses and ṣd written for zd. The parallel between 11. 59, 61 and 1. 24 indicates that št in the former does denote the two goddesses. The threefold use of this epithet accentuates the nursing of the šilm nöm by Athirat and Rahmay. That young gods begotten by El are nursed by these goddesses is not surprising and hardly merits so much attention in CTA 23. 73

Their suckling is stressed not to indicate their divine nature but to designate them as princes. This view is substantiated by the striking

---

73 Gods are nursed regularly by goddesses in mythological literature. The divine assembly are mrktm šd[ ], "those who suck the breast", in CTA (51), VI:56. Since these deities are referred to as the šb-mn bš šarrt in 1. 46, šd [šarrt] is the probable restoration of 1. 56. One may note also that Marduk is nourished by goddesses in Enuma elš, Tablet I:85–86; see R. A. Speiser, "The Creation Epic", ANET, p. 60.
parallels between the nursing of the "gracious gods" by Athirat and Rahmay in CTA 23 and the suckling of Yaṣṣib by these same goddesses in the Keret epic. The suckling of Yaṣṣib certainly indicates his divine election as the king's heir. This parallel suggests that the suckling of the $\text{š}îlîm nṣmm$ denotes their election as future kings as well. Again, this interpretation is consistent with the portrayal of royal figures in the art and literature of the ancient Near East. The ubiquitous occurrence of the assertion that rulers were nourished by divine milk indicates that this concept was a well-established element in Near Eastern royal ideologies.

The foregoing analysis illustrates that the filial relationship of the "gracious gods" to El, Athirat and Rahmay in CTA 23 is similar to that of royal progeny in the Ugaritic epic literature. It also indicates that the elements which define this relationship were common to aspects of the royal ideology not only at ancient Ugarit, but throughout the Fertile Crescent during the two millennia before the Common Era.

The epithets of the $\text{š}îlîm nṣmm$.

The epithets of the gods who are born to El indicate that they are royal figures. They are consistently designated as $\text{nṣmm}$ (II. 1, 23, 58, 60). This epithet is applied frequently to King Keret in the phrase $\text{nṣmm šîlîm $\text{š}âtîl$}$ (CTA 14(Krt), I:40-41; II:61-62; 15(128), II:15-16, 20). In the Aqhat epic, the young prince is referred to as $\text{nṣmm $\text{qdr}âsm}$, "the gracious one, strongest of men" (CTA 17(2 Aqht), VI:43) and $\text{nṣmm $\text{qdr}ôr}$, "the gracious one, the hero" (CTA 17(2 Aqht), VI:45; 18(3 Aqht), IV:14). The use of $\text{nṣm}$ in these contexts suggests that the adjective serves as
a royal title. 74

This interpretation is supported by the use of n°C to characterize kings in Phoenician royal inscriptions. In the Ma'qūb inscription, Ptolemy III Euergetes (247-221 B.C.) is called p'C n°C, "the benefactor" or "the beneficient". 75 Similarly, in an inscription found in Algeria at Cherchell, Micipaa, King of Numidia (d. 118 B.C.), is styled ḫūb n°C, "one who directed good". 76 While n°C is used in these texts to describe what the king does rather than what he is, the use of n°C to qualify the rulers in question is striking nonetheless.

The occurrence of n°C is several Old Testament passages also supports the association of this word with kingship. In David's lament over Saul and Jonathan, both king and prince are described as n°C-im.

74 The use of n°C in the Ugaritic texts is not restricted to royal contexts. N°C qualifies the fields of Mut in CTA 5(67), IV:6-7, 28-30; 6(49), II:19-20 and the beauty of Ḥurriya, Anat and Athirat in CTA 14 (Krt), III:145-146, 291-292; VI:291-292. In CTA 3(cnt), III:27-28 n°C parallels qād in the description of Baal's abode on Sapon. This adjective also characterizes Sapon in CTA 10(76), III:32. As Clifford notes, however, in the Keret epic the adjective n°C is used to denote "the favorite or chosen of El"; see The Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament, p. 70. Similarly, Richardson suggests that in the Ras Shamra legends n°C is an epithet used for heroes and royal persons; see "The Last Words of David: Some Notes on II Samuel 23:1-7", JBL, XC (1971), 261.


76 Cooke, North-Semitic Inscriptions, No. 57, pp. 140-149; Donner and Röllig, Kanaänische und aramäische Inschriften, II, No. 161, pp. 150-151.
"pleasant" (2 Sam. 1:23, 26). This same adjective occurs as an epithet of David in a particularly illuminating context in 2 Sam. 23:1: המְשִׁיאָה
כֹּלֶה יְאָרָבֹּן נֹּכְלִמ רֶם רִיָּרָאֵל, "The anointed of the God of Jacob, And the favourite of the Defense of Israel". The parallelism המְשִׁיאָה // נֹּכְלִמ attests to the use of נֹּכְלִמ as a royal epithet. The association of this adjective with kings and princes in the Ugaritic texts, in Phoenician royal inscriptions and in biblical passages supports the identification of the נֹּכְלִמ as princes.

The title bn šrm, restored in 11. 2, 22, also is indicative of the royal identity of the "gracious gods". The word bn in this phrase is a generic marker rather than a genealogical indicator. Thus bn šrm, "princes", indicates that the נֹּכְלִמ are royal figures.

77 The word רֶם is not "singer of", as it is often translated, but "defense of". The plural form is used intensively. This Hebrew noun is cognate with Ugaritic īmr, which designates a class of troops (UT. 19.727) and Amorite ūmr, which is found in Amorite personal names such as ūm-r-IŠAR and ūm-r-I-ya. The sense of the root is "safeguard" or "protect". This meaning should be ascribed to רֶם in Ex. 15:2; Isa. 12:2; Ps. 118:14. See F. M. Cross and D. N. Freedman, Studies in Ancient Yahwistic Poetry, Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series, XXI (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1975), p. 55; Richardson, "The Last Words of David", 261; D. N. Freedman, "Divine Names and Titles in Early Hebrew Poetry", Magnalia Dei: the Mighty Acts of God, ed. F. M. Cross, W. E. Lemke and P. D. Miller, Jr. (Garden City: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1976), pp. 58, 73. See also H. B. Huffman, Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1965), pp. 187-188.

78 See the textual notes for 11. 1-2, pp. 21-24. If the suggested restoration נֹּכְלִמ גִּימ 311 (1. 1) is accepted, the titles גִּימ 311 // bn šrm present a concise characterization of the princes' religious and dynastic legitimation. There is one other aspect of the description of the נֹּכְלִמ that might be mentioned in the context of royal titles. In 1. 3 the gods are referred to as סֵיֵי (NML). In Ps. 89:27-28, the close relationship between God and David includes the notion that God will
III. The ʾilm nāmm, CTA 23 and the Royal Ideology

The striking similarity between the relationship of the "gracious gods" to El, Atmirat and Rahmay in CTA 23 and the relationship of kings and royal children to these same deities in Ugaritic epic literature indicates that the ʾilm nāmm are royal figures. It must be recognized, however, that CTA 23 and the epics portray these relationships differently. In the epic texts kings and royal children are depicted consistently as mortals, begotten by human parents. Their filial relationship to the deities is a metaphysical one expressed in mythopoeic language. The phraseology depicts lucidly the belief that the ruler is elevated to sovereignty through divine providence and choice. In the mythological portion of CTA 23 the portrayal of the relationship is more complex. The ʾilm nāmm are not human but divine. Their filial relationship to El is not metaphysical but corporeal. Their relationship to the second husband, the messenger, is implied, but never clearly delineated. The treatment of the maternal lineage of the ʾilm nāmm is the converse of that of the paternal one. The gods are conceived and borne by women. The myth gives no indication that the women are divine. The identification of the women with

make the king bēkōr, "first-born", and ʾelyōn, "highest/most high", of the kings of the earth. See G. W. Ahlström, Psalm 89. Eine Liturgie aus dem Ritual des leidenden Könige (Kopenhagen: CWK Gleerup, 1959), pp. 111-113; T. N. D. Mettinger, King and Messiah: the Civil and Sacral Legitimation of the Israelite King, Coniectanea Biblica Old Testament Series VIII (Kopenhagen: CWK Gleerup, 1976), pp. 262-264. As ʾelyōn is restored and as it cannot be equated to Hebrew ʾelyōn with certainty, the possible significance of this word as a royal epithet should not be pressed.
Athirat and Rahmay is disclosed only when the characters of the ritual are compared with those of the myth. Thus the relationship of the Pilam nwm to the goddesses is implied strongly, but never overtly stated. These various relationships are summarized in the following diagram:

Epic Texts

god (El) + goddesses (Athirat and Anat)

king prince

metaphysical son of

physical son of

man (king) + woman (queen)

CTA 23

Pilam nwm

implied son of

man (narrator-king) + goddesses (Athirat and Rahmay)

god (El) + woman (wives of messenger)

The differences between the portrayal of the royal filial relationships in the epics and in CTA 23 stem from the distinct genres and functions of the texts. The stories of Kerat and Danel are epic narratives depicting past events and heroes. Their function is in a
general sense didactic. The texts preserve past traditions which
inculcate religious or social values and perhaps account for the origin
of a particular dynasty.⁷⁹ Religious ritual texts such as CTA 23 differ
in that they do not only maintain tradition or convey information, but
they have the further objective of involving the worshipping community
in the events which they present. They achieve this goal by integrating
through word and action the divine and mundane aspects of life. While
these elements are distinct in the epic texts, they are not in CTA 23.
Moreover, as Trujillo has noted, there can be real distinctions between
the human or ritual features of the text (11. 1-29) and the mythological
narrative (11. 30-76).⁸⁰ The myth is part of the liturgy. There is a
natural oscillation between such ritual acts as sacrifice (11. 14-15,
27) and incantation (11. 8-11, 25-26) and the mythological recitation.
This fluctuation is reflected in the activity of Athirat and Rabbi in
11. 16-17, which is depicted in the midst of rubrics. It is mirrored
as well in the intrusion of a rubric instructing how the birth narrative
is to be recited into the actual account of the births.⁸¹ In one sense,
the ritual and mythic actions of CTA 23 occur on two different levels.

⁷⁹ See for example Gray, The Krt Text, pp. 1-10; Gottlieb, "El und KRT", 159-167; Parker, "The Historical Composition of KRT", 161-175.

⁸⁰ Trujillo uses the analogy of a modern religious service in
asserting that the whole text reflects a liturgy comprised of prayers,
hymns and readings from the mythological literature of the day; see "A Sacrificial Meal", p. 18.

⁸¹ See the textual notes for 11. 16-17 and 56-57, pp. 48-49, 86-90.
the human and the divine. In the context of religious ritual, however, these two aspects of reality are integrated. This merger is evidenced by the pruning and binding of Mot by "vine-pruners" and "vine-binders" (II. 8-11), by El's sharing the women with the messenger (II. 52-53, 60), by the meeting between the ḫilm nāmr and the ngr mdr (II. 68 ff.), and finally by the filial relation of the "gracious gods" to both El and the messenger (I. 53).

This integration of the divine with the mundane is reflected vividly in the mythic narrative. The myth depicts simultaneously the activity of two triads: a divine triad composed of El, Athirat and Rahmey; a corresponding human triad containing the messenger-husband and the two women. The human triad functions in the cultic sphere, while El, Athirat and Rahmey participate in related activity in the divine realm. El unites with his wives, Athirat and Rahmey, and the resultant offspring are the ḫilm nāmr. On the earthly level, it is the messenger-husband and his two wives who unite. The new-born children are bn ūrm. As both the divine and human spheres of activity exist simultaneously and are integrated by the liturgy of CTA 23, neither they nor their respective triads are kept rigidly distinct. Herein lies the source of apparent contradiction and ambiguity. While the text depicts the sexual charms of the two goddesses, it portrays El's union with two women. Although the women are El's wives and bear his children, they and the infants are claimed by the messenger. As a result the triads are integrated. The offspring by El and the women are gods insofar as
the union between El, Athirat and Rašmay in the divine realm. Thus it is natural that they are nursed by Athirat. They are human, however, due to their conception by two women. The implications of their being suckled by Athirat and Rašmay are analogous to those associated with the nourishment of Yāṣīb in the Keret epic. They are princes and heirs, bn šrm. Yet they can validly be described as bmn ʾilm ʾspḥm lṭpn wqḏš, "sons of El, offspring of the Kindly One and the Holy One", 82 for in the context of the liturgy preserved in CTA 23 they are begotten by El. The birth of the ʾilm nʾmm is important because it is a royal birth which assures dynastic succession and the well-being of the community.

By integrating the two triads, the text presents concisely both the divine and human dimensions involved in the birth of a royal heir. Although the ʾilm nʾmm are the children of women and therefore partake of the mundane aspect of existence as well as the divine, CTA 23 does not concentrate on their human nature. To those for whom the liturgy was relevant, the mundane nature of the prince was readily apparent. The circumstances of his divine election, expressed in the mythopoetic terms of divine filiation, are underscored and in turn provided religious legitimation for his sovereignty.

The foregoing discussion indicates that CTA 23 depicts the ʾilm nʾmm in a manner that is consistent with the Ugaritic royal ideology.

---

82 A plural rendering of the phrase often applied in the singular to Keret; see CTA 16(125), I: 10-11.
The text presents the "gracious gods" as princes and future rulers, and explains why a king, though the child of mortal parents, can be described as an offspring of deities. As this explanation is presented in a liturgical setting in which royal persons are identified with divine progeny of El and the goddesses Athirat and Raḥmay, it can be inferred that the king and royal wife who parent these regal persons are identified with El and the goddesses respectively. Thus the human lineage of the "gracious gods" is represented as divine. This identification of royalty with divinity is summarized in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Description</th>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Mother</th>
<th>Offspring</th>
<th>Indication of Status of Offspring</th>
<th>Event Being Celebrated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mythological Level</td>
<td>El</td>
<td>Athirat and Raḥmay</td>
<td>$txt_námm$</td>
<td>Nursed by goddesses; indicative of divine nature</td>
<td>Birth of $txt_námm$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultiic Level; CTA 23</td>
<td>King identified with El</td>
<td>Queen identified with Athirat and Raḥmay</td>
<td>Princes identified with $txt_námm$</td>
<td>Rite in which princes are said to have been nursed by goddesses; indicative of both divine and royal nature</td>
<td>Birth of princes identified with birth of princes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural Level</td>
<td>King</td>
<td>Queen</td>
<td>Princes</td>
<td>Literary recalling and celebrating the mythological circumstances of the birth of princes; indicative of the royal nature of these persons/</td>
<td>Birth of princes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The identification of royal figures with gods and goddesses, together with the central importance of the $txt_námm$ and of their birth, indicates that CTA 23 is the text for a royal liturgy. In depicting the attempt of the "gracious gods" to satisfy their voracious appetites (11. 61b-64a), their sojourn in the mdr₃ gdn (11. 64b-68a),
and their entry into the son land where they consume bread and wine (11. 68b-76) the text indicates that the liturgy in question is not concerned solely with the conception and birth of royal children. Rather CTA 23 addresses itself to a subsequent event for which the reminiscence of the conception, birth and divine nourishment of royal figures was of great importance. This subsequent cultic occasion can be equated plausibly with the banquet of bread and wine mentioned in CTA 23:6, 73-76. It is to this banquet that the šilm nāmm, together with the king, queen and their attendants, are invited in 11. 1-7. Moreover, it is with the actual attendance of the "gracious gods" at this feast in 11. 73-76 that CTA 23 concludes. Chapter IV will present several suggestions concerning the function of this cultic occasion.

83 Trujillo notes that commentators have not stressed sufficiently the importance of the meal in CTA 23. He suggests that it is the central event of the text. See "A Sacrificial Meal", p. 46.

84 The invitation to the sacred meal is extended in 1. 6. This line follows without interruption the initial invocation of the šilm nāmm (11. 1-5) and immediately precedes the welcome extended to the king, queen and attendants (1. 7). This context indicates that the invitation to partake of bread and wine is extended to those mentioned in the introductory portion of the text. The mythological narrative, which outlines both the pre-natal and post-natal history of the šilm nāmm, concludes with the gods feasting on bread and wine (11. 73-76). This fact demonstrates that the latter banquet is identical to that of 1. 6. The identification of these meals is supported by the similar fare of bread and wine consumed at each. CTA 23 is both the "order of service" for and the mythological legitimation of this celebration.
Excursus I: šbr and šlm

Both the significance of the divine twins šbr and šlm and the nature of their relationship to the pîlm n-îm have been subjects of considerable discussion. Many commentators have maintained that šbr wâlm are distinct from the "gracious gods". This understanding is based on an interpretation of ll. 49b-61a which posits the presence of two separate birth episodes. Careful examination of the text indicates, however, that there is only one moment of birth and that the account of the birth is repeated a number of times in the course of the liturgy. Thus šbr wâlm are the pîlm n-îm. As Gaster has noted in "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", the lack of reference to šbr and šlm in the ritual section of CTA 23 is inexplicable unless these divine twins are the "gracious gods". Equally problematic would be the absence of šbr and šlm in the subsequent narrative. If these gods are not the


86 See the textual commentary for a discussion of ll. 49b-61a. Of particular importance are ll. 56b-57 and the commentary on these lines, pp. 86-90.


88 Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", 68. Gaster subsequently altered his position and suggested that šbr and šlm are astral deities while the pîlm n-îm are distinct gods of fertility (Thespis, p. 406). This modification was prompted by the belief that CTA 23 presents the liturgy for the Canaanite feast of firstfruits which, Gaster asserted, was celebrated in June. šbr and šlm were believed to be the regnant
...ilm nám, the mention of their birth is pointless. Therefore it can be stated with certainty that šbr and šlm are the proper names of the deities with whom the royal figures honoured in CTA 23 are identified.

The existing evidence suggests that šbr and šlm occupied a minor position in the Ugaritic pantheon. The title characteristic of these deities in CTA 23, ˓ilm nám, does not occur elsewhere. šbr šlīm appear in two incantation texts, RS 24.244 and RS 24.251, and in a list of divine names, RS 24.271. In these texts, the gods have no distinctive status or function. The god šlm appears alone in two offering lists, CTA 34(1):8 and CTA 35(3):17, and in three pantheon lists, CTA 19(17), rev. 12, CTA 30(107):8 and RS 20:24. Both šbr and šlm occur as deities of that month, while ˓ilm nám were interpreted as gods of fertility who were directly related to the central theme of the celebration. See the discussion of Gašter's interpretation of CTA 23 in Chapter II, pp. 132-135.

In separating the ˓ilm nám from the divine twins, both Gordon and Tsumura admit difficulty in ascribing any significance to šbr and šlm. Tsumura's suggestion that the birth of these gods represents a preliminary event en route to the "climax", the birth of the good gods of fertility, simply avoids the problem. See Gordon, Common Background, pp. 172-178; Tsumura, "The Good Gods", pp. 74, 223.

Aistleitner, "Götterzeugung", 305.

Virolleaud, "Les nouveaux textes mythologiques et liturgiques de Ras Shamra", Ugaritica, V, Nos. 7, 8, 10, pp. 564-580, 583-586. Tsumura regards šbr šlīm in these texts as a single deity, like kār ˓ēša (CTA 4(51), V:103, etc.). He acknowledges, however, that the independent occurrences of both šbr and šlm argue against taking these names to reflect a single god in CTA 23 and elsewhere; see "The Good Gods", pp. 72-73.

RS 20.24 is an Akkadian duplicate of CTA 29(17) in which dša-lī-mu is the equivalent of šlm. See J. Nougayrol, "Textes suméro-akkadiens des archives et bibliothèques privées d'Ugarit", Ugaritica, V, pp. 42-64.
elements of theophoric names such as šlr, šlm and ṣḏqšlm. It is by no means certain whether or not these independent occurrences of šbr and šlm should be identified with the twins šbr wšlm.

The divine names šbr and šlm are common Semitic nouns for "dawn" and "dusk" respectively. Thus the gods are the divine personifications of dawn and dusk or are identical to Venus as the morning and evening stars. Their astral character is substantiated by the reference in RS 24.244:52 to šbr wšlm šmnḥ. Note also that after their birth,


96 A number of scholars have identified šbr and šlm with Athtar /
offerings are made to "Lady Shapash" (špš rbt) and to the "fixed stars" (kkbk bm knm) in CTA 23:54. While many scholars regard the divine twins as hypostases of Venus / Athtar, the relationship between šbr wālm, Venus and Athtar is unclear. In RS 20.24, the Akkadian duplicate of the Ugaritic pantheon list CTA 29(17), the Sumero-Akkadian goddess dištar (Venus) is equivalent to Ugaritic ċtrtr. Moreover, daš-ta-bi stands for ċtrtr, while daš-la-mu is equated with šlim. In the pantheon lists RS 24.271 and RS 24.251 šbr wālm, ċtrtr ċtrtrpr and ċnt w ċtrtr occur together. The simultaneous occurrence of these deities in such catalogues suggests that they were distinct in the Ugaritic pantheon. Since ċtrtr and ċtrtr are identified with Venus as manifested in the morning and evening stars, it is improbable that šbr wālm also were

---

97 Nougayrol, "Textes suméro-accadiens", Ugaritica, V, pp. 52, 63. The identification of daš-ta-bi with Ugaritic ċtrtr is supported by E. Laroche in his discussion of the Hurrian documents recovered from Ras Shamra. See E. -Laroche, "Documents en langue houritte de Ras Shamra", Ugaritica, V, p. 525.
identified with this astral phenomenon.\textsuperscript{98}

Although the evidence does not permit the identification of šbr wšlm with ṣṭṭr and ṣṭṭr / īštar / Venus, there can be little doubt that the twins are associated with them. The names "dawn" and "dusk" indicate such a connection, as do the other elements which reflect their astral nature. The gender of the deities also associates them with Ishtar / Venus. While the nouns šbr and šlm are masculine, there is reason to believe that the deity šbr was androgynous or perhaps primarily feminine. J. W. McKay has marshalled substantial evidence in support of the hypothesis that šbr was known as a goddess of dawn.

\textsuperscript{98} Albright regards Aḥtar as the "god of the morning-star"; see W. F. Albright, \textit{Archaeology and the Religion of Israel}, The Ayer Lectures of the Colgate-Rochester Divinity School, 1941, 4th ed. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1956), p. 86. Oldenberg notes that in South Arabian religion ṣṭṭr is the morning star. Hb suggests that this same deity appears in Isa. 14:12 as ḫl bn šbr. This view acknowledges a close relationship between ṣṭṭr / Venus and šbr (dawn), but asserts that they are not identical. See Oldenberg, "Above the Stars of El", 199, 206-208. In South Arabia and Mesoopotamia ṣṭṭr / īštar was an astral deity identified with Venus. Caquot suggests that the astral character of Ugaritic ṣṭṭr is supported only by the name, which elsewhere denotes such a deity. He asserts, moreover, that even the association of ṣṭṭr with Venus among the southern Arabs or of īštar with the planet in Mesopotamia may be secondary. Skeptical about the astral nature of Ugaritic Aḥtar, Caquot delineates close parallels between this deity and Baal. See A. Caquot, "Le dieu Aḥtar et les textes de Ras Shamra", \textit{Syria}, XXXV (1958), 51, 55-59. Dahood denies that the association of ṣṭṭr and īštar with Venus in both the South Arabian and Mesoopotamian religious traditions is secondary on the grounds that this identification was early and widespread. See Dahood, "Ancient Semitic Deities", pp. 85-86, 89-90. Both Caquot and Dahood concur that Ugaritic ṣṭṭr was an astral goddess. In CTA 33(5):1 the phrase k ṣṭṭr ṣṭṭr, "when Aḥtar sets", confirms her astral nature. See Caquot, "Le dieu Aḥtar", 51; Dahood, "Ancient Semitic Deities", p. 86. According to Dahood (p. 88), ṣṭṭr is the morning star and ṣṭṭr is the evening star. Finally, he asserts that these deities were not identified with šbr wšlm.
in southern Palestine. 99 Song of Songs 7:10 and Ps. 110:3 are of particular interest. In Song of Songs 7:10, the woman is compared to dawn (šābar), the moon (lēbānāh instead of the masc. yārēān), the sun (hammān in place of the more common masc. šēmēš) and the hosts (nidgālōt rather than the masc. qūbā'). Both the context and the parallelism šār // lbnh // bnh // ndgdlt suggest that šār was regarded as feminine. 100 The reference to a feminine dawn is less clear in Ps. 110:3, as the text is disturbed. Nevertheless, the belief in a goddess šār is reflected in the word mēreḵem mišbar, "from the womb of dawn". 101

The combination of male and female characteristics in šār wēlm is paralleled in the Ugaritic deities Athtarte and Athtar. Moreover, the androgynous nature of šār is similar to that of Athtar and Ishtar. Athtar's androgynous nature at Ugarit is reflected in the theophoric

---


100 McKay, "Helel and the Dawn-Goddess", 458-459. McKay suggests that the absence of the definite article with šhr in contrast to its use with lbnh, bnh and ndgdlt suggests that "dawn" was personalized. See also Pope, Song of Songs, p. 572.

101 McKay, "Helel and the Dawn-Goddess", 458. See below for a detailed discussion of Ps. 110:3. We prefer to emend MT mrm nūhr to mrm šhr. Note might also be taken of the phrase ἀγγελοί ἡδορα, "the doe of the dawn", in Ps. 22:1; see M. C. Astour, Hellenosemitica (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967), p. 154. Astour suggests šlm also may have been regarded as feminine. He argues that the goddess dšlmnu-tu (dšlmanitu), who appears among West Semitic deities in Middle Assyrian divine lists, is equivalent to ḫšt uru-silim-ma, "Ishtar of Jerusalem". According to Astour, the equation of dšlmanitu with Ishtar / Venus suggests that this goddess may have been the female counterpart of the god šlm. See Hellenosemitica, pp. 154-155. Using the same evidence, Albright argues for the association of dšlmnu-tu with šlmn; Albright, "The Syro-Mesopotamian God Šlman-Ešmun and
names *ṭṭa-ab, "Aṭṭar-is-Father" (UT 1046, I:12; 1055, I:1), and *ṭṭa-em, "Aṭṭar-is-Mother" (UT 2162, B:6; 2133:12). In Mesopotamia Ishtar also was regarded as both male and female. The latter aspect of the deity, which did predominate, is well attested and requires little comment. The masculine aspects of this deity are reflected not only in her name, which is a masculine form, but also in the theophoric name es-dar-mu-ti, "Ishtar-is-my-husband." Moreover, Ishtar is qualified by the Sumerian US, "male", in a number of texts from Mari.

Related Figures", 165. See also Lewy, "Les textes paléo-assyriens", 62-64.


103 J. Bottéro, "Les divinités sémitiques anciennes en Mésopotamie", Le antiche divinità semitiche, p. 40. See also Th. Jacobsen, The Sumerian King List (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1939), pp. 96 f. While Ishtar is certainly androgynous, the value of personal names for determining the sex of a person or deity is problematic. Inscriptions of the Phoenician kings Kilamuwa and Azitawadda describe the rulers as "father" and "mother" to their people. See Donner and Röllig, Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften, No. 24:10, I, pp. 4-5; II, pp. 130-34; No. 26, A, I:3, I, pp. 5-6; II, pp. 35-43; F. Rosenthal, "Kilamuwa and Yady-Sam'pal", ANET, p. 654 and "Azitawadda of Adana", ANET, p. 653. Similarly, Marduk is likened to "a father and a mother", though he is not androgynous; see Oppenheim, The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Part I, p. 69. These examples indicate that words such as "father" and "mother" can denote characteristics like care or concern. Such terminology need not refer to gender. Haran notes that in the poetic use of word-pairs like *ṭṭa-ab and *ṭṭa-em in biblical Hebrew, the second element of the pair may occur automatically for balance. See M. Haran, "The Graded Numerical Sequence and the Phenomenon of 'Automatism' in Biblical Poetry", VT, Supplement, XXII (1971) (Congress Volume, Uppsala, 1971), pp. 247-250. By analogy, a statement that a deity or king is "father" and "mother" may mean that he or his rule has fatherly characteristics. This analysis may be applicable to such theophoric names as *ṭṭa-ab and es-dar-mu-ti as well.
and has masculine qualities in some Akkadian texts. Thus šhr <šēmlûm.> Athtar–Athtarte and Ishtar share the characteristic of hermaphroditism. This common feature, together with their general astral nature and specific association with morning and evening indicates that these deities are related. As noted above, the evidence does not allow the simple identification of šhr <šēmlûm> with the Venus-star or its various divine personifications.

The identification of royal figures with the deified "Dawn" and "Dusk" at Ugarit finds an analogy in the tradition of ancient Israel. The Hebrew Bible retains evidence of a tradition in which šhr and šîlm were associated with the Davidic monarchy. The link between the West-Semitic deity Šâlim and Jerusalem, the royal city of David, is recognized broadly. Particularly significant is the occurrence of the šîlm element in the names of David's sons: Absalom, "Father-is-Šâlim" (2 Sam. 3:2-5; 1 Chron. 3:1-4), and Solomon (<šēlonôhîm), "Belonging-to-Šâlim" (2 Sam. 5:14-16; 1 Chron. 3:5-9). The theophoric element in


106 Clements, God and Temple, p. 43; Gray, LC, p. 185; Rosenberg, "The God Šedeq", 166. The fact that Absalom was born at Hebron indicates that the šîlm element in it is associated with the deity and not with the city Jerusalem. Solomon received his name from his mother,
the names of two of David's more prominent sons suggests that the god šālīm was associated with kingship in the Davidic court. 107

Absalom and Solomon were not the only princes of Judah to bear šīm-names. In Jer. 22:11 Josiah's son and successor, Jehoahaz, is called Shalum. 108 Šīm appeared again in royal names during the post-exilic period in the names of Zerubbabel's two children, Meshullām and Shulamit (1 Chron. 3:19). Two other theophoric names containing šīm deserve mention. An individual named Shalum ruled the northern kingdom of Israel for a month in 747 B.C. (2 Kgs. 15:10, 13–15).

Finally, reference is made to a royal person who bears a šīm-name in Num. 34:27. This verse lists Ahihud son of Shelomi ("Dedicated-to-Šālīm") as a prince of the tribe of Ashur. 109

The occurrence of theophoric šīm-names in the genealogies of the royal house of Judah suggests that at least at an early phase of the development of Israelite monarchy, there was a tradition which

while the prophet Nathan called him Yedidjah, "Beloved-of-Thw" (2 Sam. 12:24–25). It is possible that this latter name, which occurs only once in the text, was the child's birth name while Solomon was his coronation name; see R. de Vaux, Ancient Israel, I, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965), p. 108.

107 Rosenberg suggests that the šīm element in the names Absalom and Solomon reflects David's devotion to the god šālīm; "The God Šedeq", 166.

108 The list of Josiah's sons in 1 Chron. 3:15 includes Shallum but contains no Jehoahaz. Again it is possible that Shallum was the individual's birth name and Jehoahaz his throne name. See de Vaux, Ancient Israel, I, p. 108.

associated the deity šālim with human sovereignty. The use of such names by non-Davidic royal figures reveals that this tradition was not restricted to a Judaean or Jerusalemite provenance.  

There are several biblical passages in which the deity šāhr is connected with royal individuals. The most striking text is Ps. 110:3b

mutatis mutandis: bēhadār gōdeš mēreḥem šāhār kēţal yēlīdītākā, "in ornaments of holiness from the womb of Dawn like dew I have begotten you." These words are part of an oracle addressed to the Davidic

---

110 It is probable that the original significance of šālim in these names was lost due to the association of Jerusalem with "peace" (šālōm). See N. Porteous, "Shalem-Shalom", 1-7. Yet the association of šālim with David's sons, particularly with Absalom the Hebronite, discloses that the šālim element in royal names was derived originally from a connection between šālim and kingship.

monarch which equate the king's enthronement to his "birth" as a son of God. Yahweh's begetting the king "from the womb of Dawn" is a poetic metaphor for the sovereign's divine election and filiation which became a reality with his enthronement. A tradition in which the Canaanite goddess Šahar gives birth to the king can be discerned behind this image.

Isa. 14:12 provides further evidence of a connection between Špr and kingship. In this line the King of Babylon is identified with the mythological figure Šešêl ben Šahar. Although the ruler in question is a foreign tyrant, he stands in the same relation to Šahar as the Davidic ruler does in Ps. 110:3; he is Šahar's son. It is apparent that a


114 The mythological background of Isa. 14:12 ff. has been the subject of considerable debate. P. Grelot ("Isaie XIV 12-15 et son arrière-plan mythologique", RHR, CXLI (1956), 18-48) and McKay ("Helel and the Dawn-Goddess", 451-464) have sought Greek antecedents in the myth of Phaethon, son of Eos. Others, such as Albright (Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan, pp. 187, 232), Oldenburg ("Above the Stars of El", 206-208), Clifford (The Cosmic Mountain, pp. 160-162, 165) and Craigie ("Helel, Atlar and Phaethon (Jes 14,12-15)", 223-225) have seen in this passage a Hebrew adaptation of Canaanite mythological themes. The
tradition in which kings were associated closely with the deity šbr was well known in ancient Israel. It must be acknowledged that the relationship between šbr and royalty in the Hebrew Bible is not identical to that presented in CTA 23. In the former, kings are offspring of šbr whereas in the latter royal progeny are identified with the deity. Nevertheless, Ps. 110:3 and Isa. 14:12 do support the association of šbr with kingship.

The biblical reminiscences of a tradition in which šbr and šlm were associated with kings and princes sustain the identification of these deities with royal figures in CTA 23. As the divine pair partakes of both male and female characteristics, it is possible that šbr and šlm were identified in Ugaritic thought not only with princes but also with the king and queen. Such an identification is consistent with the image of the king being begotten "from the womb of šabar" in Ps. 110:3. Within the context of dynasty each king is the offspring of the previous king and queen. This view need not conflict with the previous identification of the royal couple with El, Athirat and Rahmay. As royal offspring, the king and queen are children of these deities. Thus they are not identified with the high god and his consorts, but with šbr and šlm. Yet as the source of dynastic continuity and the parents of the future king, the royal couple is identified with El, Athirat and Rahmay. Thus the present king and queen would have been identified as šbr and šlm while the previous royal couple would have been equated with parallel relationship of the king to šbr in Isa. 14:12 and Ps. 110:3 suggests that the latter position is correct.
El and his consorts.

Excursus II: Divine Kingship at Ugarit

The interpretation of CTA 23 as the text for a royal liturgy may make a contribution to the long-standing question of divine kingship at Ugarit. Was the king regarded as a god, like the Egyptian Pharaoh?

An analogy to this double identification is found in Egyptian belief concerning the king. The living Pharaoh was said to be Horus. Upon his death, he became Osiris. See J. A. Wilson, "The Theology of Memphis", ANET, pp. 4-6 and Frankfort's discussion of the text in Kingship and the Gods, pp. 24-35. See also Kingship and the Gods, pp. 36-47, 181-212 for discussions of the Pharaoh as Horus and Osiris.

This excursus does not present a detailed discussion of divine kingship. Rather it outlines the nature of the problem and indicates the contribution that the present interpretation of CTA 23 makes to the inquiry. T. H. Gaster cautions that the term "divine kingship" is problematic as it accommodates "entities and categories" of another culture to "the implications of our own inadequate translations or approximations." See T. H. Gaster, "Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East: a Review Article", Review of Religion, IX (1944/45), 267.

According to Bernhardt, the people of the ancient Near East regarded the king as more than a mere man. As both the representative of his subjects to the gods and the earthly representative of divine order to man, the king was responsible for maintaining harmony between the divine and human realms. He was simultaneously man and god; he lived and died as a man, but was identified with the god and was regarded as his earthly incarnation. As the son of a god, endowed with supernatural power, he claimed a divine throne upon his accession. The king was the recipient of godly honour as both the subject and object of cult. See K. H. Bernhardt, Das Problem der altertumlichen Königsideologie im Alten Testament, VT, Supplement, VIII (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1961), pp. 73-78. Mowinckel suggests that the Canaanite understanding of kingship was informed by the traditions of Egypt and Mesopotamia. These cultures regarded the king as divine; in Egypt as "a god incarnate begotten by the god", while in Mesopotamia as "a man made divine", predestined for kingship by the gods. See S. Mowinckel, "General Oriental and Specific Israelite Elements in the Israelite Conception of the Sacral Kingdom", The Sacral Kingship. Studies in the History of Religions, Supplements to NUMEN, IV (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1959), p. 283. Engnell has argued that among the West Semites and in
or was his power delegated to him by the gods through election or adoption, as is thought to have been the case with kings in Mesopotamia? Also at issue is the extent to which the king is identified with deities such as Baal or El in the mythological, epic and ritual texts from Ras Shamra and in cultic rites which may be reflected in these texts. 

This study shall focus primarily on the issue of "divine" kingship as formulated by studies of the Keret epic and as elucidated by CTA 23.

Evidence for the identification of king and god has been gleaned from most of the major Ugaritic literary texts, mythological as well as legendary. In the Baal cycle, Hooke regards ḫpn ʾḥl dpʾḥd (CTA 4 (51), IV:58) as the son of El, an "enigmatic figure" whose activity was

Ugarit, the king was considered to be not only the son of the god, but also "actually identical with the god." See I. Engnell, Studies in Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1967), p. 80; also pp. 113, 116, 171, 173. For major studies dealing with the divine or sacral nature of kingship in Ugarit and the ancient Near East see R. Labat, Le caractère religieux de la royauté assyro-babylonienne; J. de Fraine, L'aspect religieux de la royauté Israélite; Engnell, Divine Kingship, S. H. Hooke, ed., Myth, Ritual, and Kingship (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1958), Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods; Bernhardt, Das Problem der Altorientalischen Königsideologie im Alten Testament, particularly Chapters III and IV.

117 Gray defines the question of "divine kingship" at Ugarit in these terms when he rejects the view that the king of himself was "the repository of magical potency and indeed divine." See "Sacral Kingship in Ugarit", p. 290. Engnell's treatment of Ugaritic kingship in Divine Kingship, pp. 97-173 is particularly concerned with the identification of the king with the gods in the cultus and in texts associated with cultic rites.
that of "a human actor in the cult drama" rather than that of a deity. For Hooke, this figure was none other than the king. Engnell rejects Hooke's "fictitious opposition" between 1ppn 3il dp3id and El, claiming that 1ppn 3il dp3id is the king who is identified with El. According to Engnell, who was one of the more radical proponents of divine kingship, the king is also identified with Baal. This identification is underscored, he suggests, in CTA 2(68),IV:7-11:

\[\text{lrgrt 1k lzb1 b\textsuperscript{c}}\]
\[\text{tq\textsuperscript{h} mlk cmk} \]
\[\text{drkt dt dr drk} \]

"Verily, I pronounce to thee, O Zbl B\textsuperscript{c},
Thou shalt take thine eternal kingdom,
thy dominion for generation after generation." Engnell queries, "Could we find a better proof of a cultic oracular message from a priest-prophet to the king-god, assuring him of the victory in the forthcoming 'fight' —the ritual combat?" He asserts

---


119 Engnell, Divine Kingship, p. 122, n. 8. The interpretation of 1ppn 3il dp3id espoused by Hooke and Engnell is clearly incorrect. The phrase is an epithet of El. There is no reason to apply it to a human, much less to a king. See Caquot, Textes Dagueritiques, p. 61; the translation of CTA 4(51),IV:58 in Gibson, CML\textsuperscript{2}, p. 60 and the occurrences of 1ppn in CTA 15(128),II:13; 16(125),I:11; 21; and so forth.

120 Engnell, Divine Kingship, pp. 128-129. The passage is cited as emended and restored.

121 Engnell, Divine Kingship, p. 129.
that the identification of the king with Baal is attested also in the enigmatic text CTA 12(75), which describes the hunting and discomfiture of the fertility god. In Col. II:59-62, the phrases mlk _dn_ ("king of judgement"), š₂₄b₄ n₉ ("drawer from the spring"), qr _bt_ ṣ₁₁₅ ("a fount of the house of El"), and mg₄₄ bt ḫᵣ₅ ("a roof of the house of ḫᵣ₅") occur in parallelism and apparently are addressed to Baal. According to Engnell, words such as qr and mg₄₄ are royal epithets, while the phrase mlk _dn_ is an unambiguous reference to the king. Thus there can be little doubt as to the identification of the king with Baal in this passage.¹²²

Support for the identification of the king with deities also has been found in the Aqhat legend. According to Virolleaud, this text depicts king Danel as a son of El and Ḫd₅. He has power over such

¹²²Engnell, *Divine Kingship*, p. 127. Although he presents his conclusions as though they were definitive, Engnell does acknowledge that the passage is obscure and that "almost every word is a riddle" (p. 127 and n. 3). Both his reading and interpretation are uncertain. Even the crucial line (I. 59), ʾš₄₉₄ mlk _dn_, has been rendered in a number of ways other than Engnell's "I make thee king of judgement". Note H. Wyatt, "Atonement Theology in Ugarit and Israel", UF, VIII (1976), 411: "Let the king pour out jugs" (following J. Gray, "Baʿal's Atonement", UF, III (1971), 67 and A. S. Kapelrud, "Baʿal and the Devourers", *Ugaritica*, VI, p. 328, n. 34, which lists Arabic dann, "jug", as a cognate for _dn_); Caquot, *Textes Ugaritiques*, p. 350: "may you be a mighty king" (taking _dn_ to the cognate with Akkadian dannu). See also the criticism of Engnell's interpretation in Gaster, "Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East: a Review Article", 273. Even granting Engnell's identification of royal imagery in the passage, there is no reason to associate Baal with a human king. Baal's personal kingship is well attested in numerous passages of the Baal cycle, such as CTA 2(68), IV:10-11, 32; 3(넷), IV:40; 4(51), IV:43; 6(62), VI:33-35.
natural phenomena as seasons and crops and if not an actual god, he is certainly to be numbered among the circle of "demi-dieux". Pedersen and Engnell share similar views. Pedersen states that in Danel the character of "the king and god are merged." In classifying the Aqhat legend as Osirian in character, Engnell describes it as the text for "a ritual of the passion, death and resurrection of the divine king."

The Keret legend has been a particularly fertile source for those who wish to advance the hypothesis of divine kingship. Virolleaud suggests that Keret and Baal share similarities of character that indicate an identification of the king with the god. In his vicissitudes, Keret participates in the nature of the dying and rising fertility god, who in turn resembles the mortal king. According to Pedersen, the Keret legend attests to the fact that in ancient Semitic thought there was not an absolute distinction between god and man. As a king, Keret belongs to the circle of the gods. He is a son of El, is the recipient of direct revelation, and bears a divine epiphent, $n\text{mm} \text{glm}^3$. Engnell's understanding of Keret's nature is similar.

125 Engnell, Divine Kingship, p. 135.  
127 J. Pedersen, "Die KRT Legend", 64.
Suggesting that the Keret legend parallels the Baal cycle, he asserts that Keret is cultically and "religio-phenomenologically identical with ṢAlšišū Ba'ilu." Moreover, Keret's wife is identical with Athirat and Anat, a fact attested by the suckling of the king's son by these goddesses. According to Engnell, the central problem of the text is "that of the 'eternal' life of the king-god, individually and collectively." Keret's promised son is actually "the 'young' god — the 'new' king, implying actually his own rebirth and at the same time the revivification of all that is now 'dead' — a new vegetative life and a new humanity." 

Mowinckel agrees that behind the person of Keret there was originally a divine figure such as Baal. He believes, however, that in the poetic epic the original god has become a hero of legend and the founder of a dynasty. Although Keret is a son of El, he is nevertheless mortal — a human who occupies an intermediate position between god and man. Yet Mowinckel does not draw a clear distinction between king and god. He claims that "Keret is at once the deified ancestor and the god in the form of a hero." Keret is El's "supernaturally equipped, 'divine' representative".

131 Mowinckel, He That Cometh, pp. 52-54.
A number of scholars deny the existence of divine kingship in the Keret epic. De Langhe, in response to Engnell, asserts that there is no evidence for such a concept in the Ras Shamra texts. He also rejects any cultic explanation of the Keret epic itself. On the contrary, de Langhe characterizes the first tablet of the epic (CTA 14(Krt)) as "... a very human account of a king in search of a fiancée and wife ...". Similarly, Ginsberg states that "... KRT is unmistakably a legend about men", and Caquot cautions that language which appears to attribute divinity to Keret should not be interpreted literally. According to Caquot, Keret is not a god, but a legendary figure.

Keret's behavior and the circumstances of his life seem to confirm this view of the king. CTA 14(Krt),II:62-79 and III:156-170 indicate that Keret is required to sacrifice on his own behalf to Baal and El. The king needs the assistance of both El and Athirat in order to acquire a bride (CTA 14(Krt),III:296-305 and III:197-206). His reliance upon the gods is also indicated by the fact that it is only through the intervention of El that his illness is cured (CTA 16)126-127),V:23-VI:14). Keret's human limitations are reflected in the situations


134 Ginsberg, "The Legend of King Keret", 7-8; Caquot, Textes Ougaritiques, p. 485.

135 Both Gottlieb and Parker stress the importance in the Keret epic of the theme of El as the saviour of Keret; see Gottlieb, "El und Krt", 159-162; Parker, "The Historical Composition of KRT", 172, 174.
which underline his need for divine succour: the destruction of his house and his bereavement (CTA 14(Krt), I:7-43), and his illness and imminent death (CTA 16)125), I:1 ff.). 136

CTA 16(125), I:20-23 is cited as an eloquent expression of the king's humanity:

\[ \text{šph} \cdot \text{ltpn wqā} \cdot \text{tu} \cdot \text{ilm tmtt} \cdot \text{šph} \cdot \text{ltpn} \cdot \text{lyh} \]

"How can it be said:
'A son of El is Keret,
an offspring of the Kindly One and the Holy?
Or do gods die,
the offspring of the Kindly One not live?'" 137

Gray views this passage as a reflection of "popular reverence" in a "context of extravagant grief", rather than as an expression of Keret's divinity. 138 Coppens understands the text as a statement of hope in immortal life, and rejects the notion that it ascribes divinity to the king. 139 According to Parker, these verses raise fundamental questions

---

136 Mowinckel acknowledges that Keret's illness is an indication that the king is mortal; see He That Cometh, p. 54 and n. 12.

137 Ginsberg, "The Legend of King Keret", 26; Parker, "The Historical Composition of KRT", 173-174.


about the divine parentage of the king and the immortality of the gods: if Krt is divine, then gods are not immortal; if gods are immortal, then Krt cannot be divine. Parker asserts that as it would be absurd to question the immortality of the gods, the thrust of this passage denies the divine status of the king.\textsuperscript{140} Despite their differences on details, Gray, Coppens and Parker agree that there are no implications of divine kingship in the text. As Parker suggests, Keret's illness and imminent death indicate that despite his filial relationship to El, the king is a man and not a god.

The phrase $\text{nwm \ klm}$, which defines the relationship between Keret and El, has been subjected to similar scrutiny. According to Ginsberg, the title $\text{nwm \ klm}$ "... has the connotation of 'favourite and intimate of El'."\textsuperscript{141} Both Ginsberg and Gray compare this title with

\textsuperscript{140}Parker, "The Historical Composition of KRT", 174. Parker sees the passage as a polemic against the notion of divine kingship. He suggests that such a concept was an article of faith which required correction. The audience for the Keret epic had lost faith in an older concept of the king as "an extension of the divine sphere" (p. 173). Thus he believes that prior to the view of the royal institution presented in the epic, there was a concept of the monarchy which held the king to be divine. He presents no evidence in support of this position.

\textsuperscript{141}Ginsberg, "The Legend of King Keret", 35. Howinckel asserts that Keret's title $\text{nwm}$ is also an epithet of the god Adonis and suggests that there may be some connection between them; He That Cometh, pp. 52, 237. For this use of $\text{nwm}$, see W. F. Albright, "New Canaanite Historical and Mythological Data", BASOR, LXIII (1936), p. 28, n. 22 and Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan, pp. 186-187. Ginsberg denies that there was any relationship between Keret and Adonis, noting that $\text{nwm}$ is attested as a personal name (pp. 35-36). Fensham also rejects the claim that $\text{nwm}$ as applied to Keret has any connotations of divinity. Citing Huffman, Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts, pp. 237-238 and Gröndahl, Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit, p. 163, Fensham
the epithet "servant" in the Servant Songs (Isa. 42:1-4; 49:5-6; 52:13-53:12) and elsewhere. Gray suggests that such titles emphasize the king's role as the representative of the community and the executor of divine order. Similarly, Coppens believes that the passages which speak of Keret as El's son do not attribute to the king a nature or quality different from that of other men. Just as El is the father of Keret, so also is he *bab *adm (CTA, 14(Kr),1:38-43). Terms such as *glm, like "bd, define the role of the king as one of mediation between the gods and the people over whom he is sovereign. The king, as mediator, is not divine, but is subordinate to and dependent upon the gods. The titles of divine sonship give concrete expression to this role. Gottlieb develops the relationship further when he claims that epithets like *glm *ml express a covenant relationship between El and Keret that is analogous to the covenant relationship between Yahweh

observes that *mm occurs in both Northwest Semitic and biblical texts as a proper name, without any reference to divinity. See Fensham, "Remarks on Keret 26-43", 50. See also Gray, The Krt Text, p. 35.


Coppens, "L'idéologie royale cugaritique", pp. 84, 87. Coppens states that as mediator between god and man, the king has quasi-divine power. He offers sacrifice and performs diverse rites which assure the well-being of the people, principally by conferring fertility upon the fields and fecundity upon the flocks and herds. He also has access to the divine council. According to Coppens, these aspects of the king's role are expressed through mythological images (pp. 84, 88). See also Gray's suggestion that the king's "high-sounding titles" served to emphasize his role as mediator between man and god; "Sacral Kingship", pp. 290, 293.
and David.  

Gottlieb has overstated the significance of the parallel; there is no unequivocal evidence of a covenant relationship between El and Keret.

These scholars concur that the expressions which indicate Keret's filial kinship to El do not ascribe divinity to the king. Rather they indicate a close functional relationship between king and god in which the former is an intimate of his divine master and stands between man and god as mediator. This relationship often is styled sonship by adoption.

Similar conclusions are drawn with respect to the suckling of Keret's first-born son by Athirat and Anat (CTA 15(128),II:25-28).

---


145 Coppens suggests that while the role of the Israelite king was explained within the clearly defined framework of a covenant, mythological imagery was required at Ugarit; "L'idéologie royale ougaritique", p. 88.

146 This term is used by both Coppens ("L'idéologie royale ougaritique", p. 83) and Gray ("Sacral Kingship in Ugarit", pp. 295-296) in reference to Ugaritic kinship. See the discussion of CTA 15(128),II: 25-27 below.

147 As noted above on p. 203, this text has been cited in support of divine kingship.
Many commentators reject the notion that the suckling of Yaṣṣib attests to his divinity. He is the son of two mortals, Keret and Ḫurriya. Moreover, he makes no appeal to "divinity" when he demands that his father abdicate so that he may become king.\footnote{Van Selms notes that the nursing of the prince by the goddesses "makes him fit to succeed his father on the throne."} According to Soggin, the nursing of Yaṣṣib attests to the divine adoption of the crown prince and king.\footnote{Gray, Coppens and Ringgren concur with this interpretation. Gray describes CTA 15(128),II:26-27 as an "allusion to the designation of the heir-apparent" as El's earthly executive "by the rite of adoption."} Coppens regards the passage as a symbol of the rite of adoption in which the goddesses introduce Yaṣṣib into "the divine sphere". He suggests, moreover, that it is a mythological transposition of a rite of religious initiation in the course of which the prince consumes milk that was mystically regarded as that of the goddesses.\footnote{Ringgren states that the nursing of a royal person indicates that the Ugaritic king was "nurtured on divine power". By virtue of this fact, he is "the representative of El on earth" and "a mediator of divine power..."}
and blessing to the community."  

The arguments against the presence of a theory of divine kingship in the Keret epic are not conclusive. Limitations similar to those suffered by Keret are also endured by the gods of the mythological texts. Despite Baal's status as king, the construction of his palace requires El's consent (CTA 3(cnt), V:42-52; 4(51), IV:47-V:97). Baal's dependence on El is also evidenced in Shapash's assertion that El will overturn Mot's kingdom should he continue to battle the fertility god. In response to the warning, Mot acknowledges Baal's rule (CTA 6(49), VI: 22-35). Contrary to Parker's view, the gods are no more immune from death than Keret is. Baal's demise at the hands of Mot is recounted in CTA 5(67), I:1-VI:10, while Anat's subsequent annihilation of Mot is described in CTA 6(49), II:30-37. These mythological passages indicate that Keret's human limitations do not constitute conclusive evidence against the view that he is divine.

Moreover, there is reason to believe that from the Ugaritic writer's point of view, Danel and Keret are naturally deified in that they are numbered among the deified ancestral heroes, the Rephaim. Danel is a mt rp产妇, "man of Rapiu", and mt hrnmy, "man of the Harnamite" (CTA 17(2 Aqht), I:18-19). Both epithets associate the king with the inhabitants of the netherworld.  

153 Ringgren, Religions of the Ancient Near East, p. 171.  
btk. rp³ˡ ṣaršg bphr qbs dtu, "mid the Rephaim of the Earth, in the assembly of dtu" (CTA 15(128), III:13-15).\textsuperscript{155} The rp³ˡ ṣarš and qbs dtu (ṣdtu) are invoked in a ritual text which secures the blessing of royal ancestors for the king and his house (RS 34.126:2-3). This text confirms the view that the rp³ˡ ṣarš and bphr qbs dtu, with whom Keret is associated, are the "deified dead" ancestors of the Ugaritic kings.\textsuperscript{156} Danel's epithets mt rp³ˡ and mt hrumy associate him with these same manes. This interpretation is supported by RS 24.257 (KTU 1.113). The reverse of the tablet contains a king list in which the names of the dead kings are written with the divine determinative.

The fragmentary text on the obverse suggests that RS 24.257 was associated with a ritual in which Rapiu and the deified royal ancestors were honoured and invoked in order to obtain blessings for the reigning king.\textsuperscript{157} Both RS 34.126 and RS 24.257 support the view that Danel and Keret are to be numbered among the manes of the Ugaritic royal dynasty.\textsuperscript{158}

Near Eastern parallels may be used to support either interpretation of the king's nature as outlined above. Numerous texts contain language

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{155} Pope, "Notes on the Ugaritic Rephaim Texts", pp. 167, 179; Gibson, CML\textsuperscript{2}, p. 92.}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{156} Pope, "Notes on the Ugaritic Rephaim Texts", pp. 177-179.}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{157} K. A. Kitchen, "The King List of Ugarit", UF, IX (1977), 132, 139-140.}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{158} For further discussion of RS 34.126 and RS 24.257, see Chapter IV, pp. 230-233.}
indicating that the king was a son of gods or goddesses and had been
nursed with divine milk. In Egyptian literature, the idea that the
ruler is the physical child of Re or Amon denotes Pharaoh's divine
nature. 159 In life he is Horus, while in death he is identified with
Osiris. 160

While expressions of the king's filial relationship with deities
occur in Mesopotamian texts, their significance differs from that of
Egyptian literature. As noted in Chapter III, Gudea asserted his
descent from Minsum, Nanshe and Baba, while boasting simultaneously that
Gatumdug was both father and mother to him. 161 Similarly Hammurabi was
an offspring of Sin, Dagan and Enlil, while Assurbanipal is described
as a child of both Ninlil and Ishtar, as well as of Assur. 162

According to Labat, the notion of divine filiation is an imprecise
concept which even the Mesopotamian rulers themselves may not have

---

159 See the examples cited in Chapter III, p. 151. Note also Keel's
description of the reliefs at Deir-el-Bahri which depict Hatshepsut's
conception by Amon and her subsequent birth; The Symbolism of the
Biblical World, Figs. 332-342, pp. 247-256. For a discussion of the
divine nature of the king in Egyptian thought, see Frankfort,
Kingship and the Gods, pp. 36-47, 69-78, 148-151, 159-161; S. Morenz,

160 See Wilson, "The Theology of Memphis", ANET, pp. 4-6; Frankfort,
Kingship and the Gods, pp. 36-47, 181-212.

161 Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods, p. 300; see Chapter III, p.
161.

162 Meek, "The Code of Hammurabi", prologue, II:13-14, 56; IV:27-
28, ANET, pp. 164-165; Pfeiffer, "Oracle of Ninlil concerning
Ashurbanipal", 11. 20-21, ANET, p. 451; Labat, Le caractère religieux,
p. 54; see Chapter III, pp. 151-152, 161-162.
sought to clarify. Its significance is similar to the idea that the kings were formed in their mothers' wombs by gods and goddesses. Such imagery expresses belief in the divine origin of royalty, in the intimate relationship between god and king, and in the gods' bestowal upon the king of appropriate qualities such as great strength and wisdom. It proclaims not actual filiation, but the divine adoption of the king. Labat regards claims like those of Gudea and Assurbanipal to be assertions of divine adoption in which the ruler renounced his natural parents and recognized as his parents the deities of major cities and shrines over which he ruled. 163

Frankfort suggests that the descriptions of the king as the child of several gods or goddesses do not characterize the ruler as divine. 164 Rather the terminology of divine filiation indicates that the king has a privileged status as the gods' servant par excellence. This position is typified both by the ruler's devotion to the gods, and by the deities' solicitous care for the king—a solicitude that begins even before his birth. It is possible that this terminology alludes to the legal investiture of the individual who, as the ruler of the deity's city, is said to be the god's son. 165 Ringgren sees in expressions of divine filiation a reflection of the coronation ceremony, which "...


was clearly treated as a symbolic new birth." Both de Fraine and Ringgren suggest that complicated royal claims of divine parentage support the association of divine sonship with coronation. The deities involved tend to coincide with the pre-eminent deities of the different cities over which the ruler asserted sovereignty. Thus divine sonship is a royal apologia.

The image of goddesses nursing rulers has a significance similar to the language of divine filiation. Bleeker observes that the divine nourishment of Hatshepsut reflects a royal ritual through which the princess becomes the true ruler of Egypt. According to Frankfort health, joy and a long reign were the benefits which entered the child with the divine milk. While Hatshepsut asserted the typical pharaonic claim to divinity, this claim was based primarily on the fact that Amon, in the form of her father Tuthmoses I, begot her through intercourse with her mother. Apparently she did not appeal to her divine suckling to support her divinity.

Many Mesopotamian rulers claimed to have suckled at divine breasts. Both Eannatum of Lagash and Lugalzaggisi of Umma imbibed the milk of

---

166 De Fraine, L'aspect religieux, pp. 245-246; Ringgren, Religions of the Ancient Near East, p. 38. Both de Fraine and Ringgren cite Sumerian parallels.

167 Bleeker, Hathor and Thoth, pp. 51-52. See Chapter III, p. 165.

168 Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods, p. 74.

Ninhursag, while Assurbanipal was nursed by Ishtar. Labat suggests that the notion that a king was nursed by goddesses expresses the ruler's status as their adopted son.

Frankfort regards the claim of kings to have been nourished by divine milk as a figurative expression of the monarch's divine election and an assertion of the intimacy between king and deity. In support of this position, he notes that in spite of Eannatum's statement that he had been borne and suckled by Ninhursag, he never alleges divinity in his texts and specifically names his father and grandfather. Frankfort suggests that the language of divine sonship in this instance may intimate a "ritual birth" that makes "the beloved husband of Inanna" suitable for the goddess. He denies that any concept of the king's divinity underlies these expressions of intimacy with the deities. Rather this terminology articulates the principle of the sovereign's divine election. Similar views are espoused by Ringgren and de Fraine.

With reference to the Sumerian texts, Ringgren doubts that statements of sonship were understood literally or that they denoted sonship by adoption. They do allude, however, to the coronation ritual.

171 Labat, Le caractère religieux, pp. 64-65.
172 Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods, pp. 238-239, 300-301.
Concerning the suckling of Assurbanipal by Ishtar, he suggests that this declaration indicates that the king is the recipient of divine care and protection.\textsuperscript{173}

De Fraine asserts that the hypothesis of the ruler's divine adoption through the milk of the goddess is somewhat forced, since there is no direct proof for this method of adoption. He considers the king's nourishment by the goddess's milk to refer to the legal installation of the king. But he also notes that the concept of divine adoption is valid insofar as it indicates the close functional communion between the king and the gods. It provides tangible expression of the essence of Sumero-Akkadian kingship, the belief that the sovereign was a mortal who was both marked and changed by the grace of the gods who chose him to be their instrument.\textsuperscript{174}

In the final analysis, comparative material from the ancient Near East does not provide conclusive evidence either for or against the view that the Ugaritic king was thought to be divine. The Egyptian analogy may be cited in support of the assertion that divine kingship is attested in Ugaritic literature. Conversely, if Mesopotamian material is emphasized, a case can be made for regarding the Ugaritic monarch as a man chosen by the gods to be the instrument through which divine order is made concrete among men.


CTA 23 provides at least a partial solution to the question of divine kingship at Ugarit. Like the Keret legend, this text has been cited frequently to prove the identification of the king with gods. As early as 1933, Dussaud suggested that the hierogamy in CTA 23 was enacted by the god or "roi divinisé" who united with the fertility goddess, represented by "la grande prêtresse".175 Similar views have been put forward by Hooke, Engnell and de Moor. According to Hooke, either the king or high priest played the role of El in the liturgical presentation of the text.176 Engnell concurred with Dussaud, claiming that the sacred marriage was performed by the divine king (ʾāl ʾel) and the high priestess. Engnell regarded the word ʾāl ʾel as a hendiadys which indicates the unity of the god El and his servant (ʾlm), the king. The god and king are identical and yet distinct.177 Recently, de Moor has re-affirmed this line of interpretation in claiming that the role of El was portrayed by the king, while the roles of Athirat and Raḥmay-Anat were assumed by the queen and a princess respectively.178

The assertion that the king played an active role in the ritual of CTA 23 and in doing so assumed the identity of El is not supported

---


176 Hooke, The Origins of Early Semitic Ritual, p. 35. Hooke suggested, however, that the actual union of El and his consorts may have been enacted by priests of El and temple hierodules; pp. 35, 41.

177 Engnell, Divine Kingship, p. 131. Engnell's understanding of ʾāl ʾel is incorrect, as ʾlm is "eternity", not "servant" (ʾlm). See the textual notes for l. 42, p. 73.

178 De Moor, New Year with Canaanites and Israelites, I, pp. 6-8; II, pp. 18, 19, n. 63.
by the text. The king and queen are mentioned explicitly only in 1. 7,
in which they are greeted with the blessing of peace. 179

There is no lack of evidence for the participation of kings in rituals. CTA 36(9):10 depicts a king's ritual ablutions in an atonement ritual, while reference is made to a similar washing in the ritual calendar text RS 24.249:5. 180 CTA 33(5):23-26 depicts a ritual pilgrimage in which the king walks to the gods seven times. Text RS 24.
260(UT 611) refers to the king sacrificing to various deities. These examples, however, say nothing about the king's role in CTA 23. The most that can be said is that members of the royal entourage did have active roles in the ritual. Both the ppm and the crbm offer sacrifices (11. 26-27), while the latter also participate in an antiphonal response (1. 12). The crbm also may have been involved in the going forth of the goddesses (11. 16-18). The Hittite text KUB, IV, 9, which describes a liturgy in honour of the warrior-god, may provide an interesting analogy. In this liturgy numerous palace retainers, such as servants, guards and the major-domo, are active participants.

179 Note de Langhe's warning against the imaginative use of fragmentary evidence and analogy to assign accompanying actions and roles to the mythological texts from Ras Shamra. See de Langhe, "Myth, Ritual, and Kingship in the Ras Shamra Tablets", pp. 131-132, 139-140.

Rainey has suggested that the ‘man in CTA 23 were royal body-guards in
the ritual whose role was similar to that of the major-domo and his
nešedi-men in the Hittite ritual. The Hittite king and queen also
played major roles in the liturgy. There is no evidence, however, that
they assumed the roles of or were identified with deities. Moreover,
while the parallel between the Hittite text and CTA 23 is intriguing,
it cannot support any assertion concerning the specific role of the king
in CTA 23. The latter text does not contribute to our understanding of
the king's active participation in ritual.

CTA 23 does clarify the issue of divine kingship, however, by
indicating that the relationship of the king to the god is more complex
than one arising from either adoption or election. Such terminology is
potentially misleading in that it can obscure the nature of the king and
his relationship to the gods.

In CTA 23, royal figures are divine. The princes are depicted as
the products of divine generation. They are the physical offspring of
El and his consorts, Athirat and Rahmay. Moreover, they are given the

---

183 Aware of the problem of nomenclature, Gaster warns that
contemporary scholars tend to force ancient categories of thought into
modern molds and thereby fail to understand them. He suggests that the
ancient Semitic concepts of divinity and kingship are significant
examples of this difficulty, for in translating šîl and mlk as "god" and
"king" respectively we impose on the Semitic notions foreign meanings
associated with our own terminology and culture. See Gaster, "Divine
divine names ŠHR and ŠIM and are referred to consistently as ẒILM. Their status involves neither election nor adoption. In equating princes with the ẒILM nīmm, CTA 23 identifies their parents, the king and queen, with El, Athirat and Raḥmay. Thus in the liturgy associated with the text, the king coincides with El and is divine. 184

CTA 23 implies that there are several other aspects to the identification of royal figures with deities. As the ẒILM nīmm are future rulers and progenitors of royal offspring, they correspond potentially to El. Similarly, the king is the child of a previous ruler who was said to be the god. As a son of El, the present monarch coalesces with ŠHR and ŠIM. In the ritual of CTA 23, the Ugaritic king was identified with ŠHR and ŠIM and with El.

CTA 23 integrates divine and mundane reality by promulgating the view that the king is the avatar of the god. He is the particular, imminent manifestation of an eternal being. 185 In the cultic sphere,

---

184 This identification of the king with El is effected through the words of the text. As is indicated above, there is no evidence that the king was identified with El by means of a ritual drama in which he actively portrayed the god.

185 According to Gaster, the term ẒIL or ĪLU designates a much wider range of supernatural phenomena than the English word "god", including various forms of spirits, demons, and shades, as well as cosmic powers such as Baal, Assur and Ishtar. He suggests that the mlk also was to be numbered among such numinous beings. Thus he shared generic traits common to the genus ĪLU. The mlk is "the focus and quintessence" of the corporate life of the community, which he represents in imminent, immediate reality. In contrast, the ĪLU is the "focus and quintessence" of the community as a continuum, past, present and future. Thus the mlk is "an avatar of a continuous, perpetual being; but as such he is its real incarnation, and his divine qualities are inherent, not conferred." Thus both king and deity are subspecies of the genus ĪLU. See Gaster, "Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East: a Review Article", 269-270.
the king is a projection of the deity and is divine. This aspect of the Ugaritic royal ideology, at least insofar as it was operative in the cult, is closer to the Egyptian concept of kingship than it is to the Mesopotamian view, at least as outlined by scholars such as Labat, de Fraine and Frankfort.
CHAPTER IV

THE FUNCTION OF CTA 23

The lack of analogous texts makes it impossible to determine the precise function and Sitz im Leben of CTA 23. Nevertheless, the text's liturgical and mythological content reflects in a general sense its purpose and setting. By emphasizing the relationship of royal figures to El and his consorts, CTA 23 explains the basis of royal authority and serves as a royal apologia. The ritual, with its wish for the šlm of the king and queen (11. 7) and its subjugation of "Death" (11. 8-11), is designed to ensure the well-being of the royal figures whose birth it recalls. These distinct yet related themes are combined and celebrated in the sacrificial meal alluded to in 11. 6-7, 26-27, 71-76.¹

I. CTA 23 as a Royal Apologia

Common to the various royal ideologies current throughout the ancient Near East was the belief that the exercise of kingship depended on an intimate relationship between the ruler and the gods.² This

¹See Chapter III, pp. 184-185.

²This assertion does not suggest that the various Near Eastern cultures shared identical views of kingship. The Egyptian concept of the divine Pharoah differed substantially from the notions of kingship found in Mesopotamia. See C. S. Gadd, Ideas of Divine Rule in the Ancient East, Schweich Lectures, 1945 (London: Oxford University Press, 1948), pp. 33-34. Even among the kingdoms of the Tigris and Euphrates River valleys, the royal ideology was not homogenous, a fact
connection was characterized by either filiation or election.\(^3\) Underlying this notion was the belief that sovereignty found its source in the divine order. In Egyptian cosmology, kingship was established by either Re or Geb.\(^4\) According to Sumerian and Akkadian texts, royal authority was the possession of Anu and descended to earth after the creation of man and again following the flood.\(^5\) A Hittite text notes illustrated by the striking differences between later Assyrian and Babylonian concepts of kingship. According to Larsen, southern kings were the "divinely appointed servants of the gods". In contrast, Assyrian rulers were the chief priests of the gods, with whom they enjoyed "more intimate relationship" than did their Babylonian counterparts. Larsen warns that "synchronic and diachronic synthesizing" can result in an artificial construct which has no historical validity. See M. T. Larsen, The Old Assyrian City-State and its Colonies, Mesopotamia, IV (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1976), p. 109, n. 1. See also Labat, Le caractère religieux, pp. 15-25; Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods, pp. 228-230.

\(^3\) Labat, Le caractère religieux, pp. 40-69; de Fraine, L'aspect religieux, pp. 236-249; Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods, pp. 238-240, 299-301; T. Ishida, The Royal Dynasties in Ancient Israel, BZAW, CXLI (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1977), pp. 6-14. The ruler's relationship to deities was not the sole basis of royal authority. The dynastic principle and occasionally the relationship to an overlord also were significant. So Ishida, The Royal Dynasties, pp. 6-25.

\(^4\) A. Gardiner, Egypt of the Pharaohs (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 46; Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods, pp. 15, 24-35; Fairman, "The Kingship Rituals of Egypt", Myth, Ritual, and Kingship, pp. 75, 98. A text which attributes creation to Atum states that Re "began to rule that which he had made", that is, "began to appear as a king"; see J. A. Wilson, "Another Version of the Creation by Atum", ANET, p. 4. In the "Memphite Theology", Geb makes Horus the ruler of both Upper and Lower Egypt; see Wilson, "The Theology of Memphis", ANET, pp. 4-5.

\(^5\) The legend of Etana notes:

The beclouded people, in all, had not set up a king.
that the land of Hattusa was owned by the storm god, who established
the Labarna as king. 6 The biblical tradition relates how Israelite
monarchy arose in response to either human need or request, but with
divine sanction (1 Sam. 8-11). The view that royal authority and
status depended on divine filiation or election was an extension of
these views concerning the ultimate source of kingship. 7

Scepter, crown, tiara, and (shepherd's) crook
Lay deposited before Anu in heaven,
There being no counseling for its people.
(Then) kingship descended from heaven. (11. 6-14)

See E. A. Speiser, "Etana", ANET, p. 114. See also A. L. Oppenheim,
King List, Assyriological Studies, XI (Chicago: University of Chicago

6 See O. R. Gurney, "Hittite Kingship", Myth, Ritual, and Kingship,
pp. 113-114; H. G. Güterbock, "Authority and Law in the Hittite
Kingdom", JAOS, Suppl. XVII (1954), 16. See also Gurney, "Hittite
Kingship", p. 114 and A. Goetze, "Ritual for the Erection of a New
Palace", 11. 10-20, ANET, p. 356 for a similar text.

7 Divine filiation and election from the womb have been discussed
above and require no further comment. See Chapter III, pp. 150-156,
159-162, 164-166 and Excursus II, pp. 200-220. Instances of election
subsequent to birth are also attested in Near Eastern texts. Pharaohs
Thutmose III (1490-1436 B.C.) and Thutmose IV (1406-1398 B.C.) were
promised sovereignty by Amon and the Sphinx at Giza respectively. See
J. A. Wilson, "The Divine Nomination of Thut-mose III", ANET, pp. 446-
According to Ishida, Egyptian rulers claimed divine election to support
their rule "when their legitimacy was not perfect enough by birth";
see The Royal Dynasties, p. 6, n. 5. Despite the fact that
Assurnasirpal I (1050-1032 B.C.) was the son of his predecessor Samsi-
Adad IV (1054-1051 B.C.), he appealed to divine election by Ishtar to
vindicate his rule. See R. Labat, "La prière à Ishtar d'Assurnasirpal
Ier", 11. 21-27, in R. Labat, A. Caquot, M. Szynker and M. Vieyra, Les
religions du Proche-Orient asiatique, Le Trésor Spirituel de L'Humanité
(Fayard/Denoël, 1970), p. 251. See also Ishida, The Royal Dynasties,
pp. 7-8. Similar claims were made by the Sumerian Lipit-Ishtar (1934-
1924 B.C.) and the Late Babylonian ruler Nabonidus. See S. N. Kramer,
The Ugaritic corpus does not contain an account of the origin of kingship analogous to those of the Egyptian and Sumero-Akkadian traditions. Yet the extant texts indicate that the divine order, personified by El, was acknowledged as the ultimate source of sovereignty. It is El who designates Yam as king (CTA 2(129),III:4-24) and then confirms Baal's rule by sanctioning the construction of the latter's house (CTA 3(1nt),V:38-47; 4(51),IV:41-V:81). Moreover, it is El's name that Shapash invokes in order to curtail assaults upon the sovereignty of both Yam (CTA 2(129),III:17-18) and Baal (CTA 6(49),VI:22-29). Finally, El, in consultation with Athirat, establishes a substitute king during Baal's eclipse (CTA 6(49),I:43-65).

The view of El as the source of kingship is confirmed by the epic texts. El's concern for royalty as depicted in the legends of Keret and Aqhat has been indicated above. To this evidence might be added King Pabil's statement to Keret concerning the association of his domain with El (CTA 14(Krt),VI:277-278):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\textasciitilde}udm & \text{ y[tt}ntt]\text{ \textasciitilde}il [\ldots] \\
\text{\textasciitilde}usn [\ldots] & \text{\textasciitilde}ab [\ldots] \text{\textasciitilde}adjm
\end{align*}
\]

"Lipit-Ishtar Lawcode", ANET, p. 159 and A. L. Oppenheim, "Nabonidus and his God", ANET, p. 562 respectively. The idea of divine election was less prominent among the Hittites, appearing at a relatively late period. There are, however, several texts which refer to the conferment of kingship by the storm god. See Gurney, "Hittite Kingship", pp. 113-114; Güterbock, "Authority and Law in the Hittite Kingdom", 16; Güterbock, "Ritual for the Erection of a New Palace", p. 356. Divine election is attested in the biblical tradition in passages such as 1 Sam. 9:15-17; 10:1, 20-24; 2 Sam. 7:4-16.

8 Chapter III, pp. 150-160.
יודם is a gift of El, and a present from the father of mankind. ⁹

While the text is not free of ambiguity, the most probable interpretation of these lines is to regard them as an assertion by Pabil that El had given him יודם and thus his kingship. ¹⁰ Thus the evidence gleaned from the Ras Shamra corpus indicates that the ancient Ugaritians shared with other peoples of the Near East the belief that royal authority was vested in the gods.

The legitimacy of the Ugaritic king, like that of his Egyptian or Mesopotamian counterparts, rested on his relationship to the gods, specifically to El. This notion is readily apparent in the epic texts. El’s designation of Yasşib (CTA 15(128),II:25-28) and Aqhat (CTA 17 (2 Aqht),I:35-53) as their father’s successors represents the divine election of kings prior to birth. The god’s bestowal of the birthright on Keret’s youngest daughter (CTA 15(128),III:16) is similar. ¹¹ The fact that these instances of election reflect the future status of the individuals involved is confirmed by expectations concerning Yasşib (CTA 15(128),V:18-22) and by the youth’s own ambition (CTA 16(127),VI: 25-28). ¹² The king’s divine filiation is reflected in Keret’s stock epithet מכמ טלמ ¹³¹¹ (CTA 14(Krt),II:61-62) and his designation as אמן ישים לופפ ועמד (CTA 16(125-127),I:10-11). The concept is also

⁹Ginsberg, “The Legend of King Keret”, 20; Gibson, CML², p. 89.

¹⁰Gray, The Krt Text, p. 53.


¹²Chapter III, pp. 155-156.
inherent in the suckling of Yaṣṣib by Athirat and Anat (CTA 15(128), II: 25-28). Thus Ugaritic literature reflects the conventions that kings throughout the ancient Near East used to justify their rule. The weight of the evidence indicates that at Ugarit also the relationship of the king to the god provided the basis of royal status and authority.

The idea of the divine filiation of royal persons is prominent in CTA 23. Despite the ambiguity concerning the parents of the gods, the mythological narrative indicates that the šîlm nêmm are offspring of El and the goddesses Athirat and Rabûmay (ll. 30-61a). Both the rubrics and the myth underline the fact that these gods are nursed by goddesses (ll. 24, 59, 61). The royal figures honoured in CTA 23 clearly partake of those characteristics which legitimate the exercise of royal authority and justify an individual's status as king. In asserting that royal figures are sons of El who were nursed by goddesses, CTA 23 and the liturgy presented therein served as a royal apologia.

II. CTA 23: a Ritual for the Well-being of Royalty

Concern for the welfare of kings and their families is well attested in the Ugaritic corpus. This interest is not restricted to the epic texts which have been discussed in Chapter III. It is found as

---

14 Chapter III, pp. 168-175.
15 Chapter III, pp. 175-176.
well in administrative and ritual texts, some of which have striking
tpoints of contact with CTA 23.

One such text is an Akkadian document which pertains to the
troubled reign in Arḫalbu (late fourteenth century B.C.). RS 16.144: 2-11 reads:

Thus says Arḫalbu, king of Ugarit:
"Whoever, after my death, takes
(in marriage) my wife Kubaba,
daughter of Takan (?), from my
brother ---may Baal crush him,
may he not make great (his) throne,
may he not dwell in a (royal) house."

Tsevat has argued that this text is the political testament of a king
who, knowing that he is about to die without a male heir, provides for
the levirate marriage of his wife. The text's concluding curse is
designed to frustrate any attempt to secure the throne by violating the
levirate marriage. Thus Arḫalbu attempts to assure dynastic continuity
by securing the throne for his brother Niqmepa (c. 1300 B.C.) and for
the firstborn son of the levirate marriage.

---

17 The dates for Arḫalbu and the other Ugaritic kings are those
suggested by Kitchen, "The King List of Ugarit", 139.

18 PRU, III, p. 76; M. Tsevat, "Marriage and Monarchical Legitimacy
in Ugarit and Israel", JSS, III (1958), 237.

19 Tsevat's argument is supported by the fact that in the six cases
of royal succession at Ugarit known from the fourteenth and thirteenth
centuries B.C., son followed father. Thus the dynastic principle was
clearly operative. The one exception is the succession of Arḫalbu's
brother Niqmepa. This anomaly, together with Arḫalbu's provision for
the marriage of his widow to his brother, indicates that the king
lacked a son. Moreover, the Old Testament attests to traditions in
which a) possession of members of the royal harem constituted a claim
to the throne (2 Sam. 3:7; 12:8; 16:21; 1 Kg. 2:13-25) and b) the
RS 17.159 exhibits a similar regard for the welfare and continuity of the dynasty. This text reflects the endeavour of Tudḫaliya IV, the Hittite suzerain, to avoid ambiguity with respect to succession at Ugarit following a royal divorce. The context was the divorce of Ammištamu (mid thirteenth century B.C.), Niqmepa's son and successor, from the daughter of the king of Amurru. Ll. 22-31 read:

Utrišarruma is prince in Ugarit.
If Utrišarruma says, "I will go after my mother," let him place his garment on the throne, let him go. Ammištamu, king of Ugarit, shall establish another of his sons in Ugarit as prince.20

The fact that Ammištamu and his successor owed their positions to the favour of the Hittite overlord neither negated the principle of dynastic succession nor did it lessen interest in the welfare of the incumbent ruling family.

The practical concern for the well-being of the royal family that is reflected in RS 16.144 and RS 17.159 is also found in ritual texts.

---

20PRU, IV, p. 126. The use of clothing to represent official status is attested in the biblical tradition. In 1 Sam. 18:3-4 Jonathan confers his throne rights upon David by giving the latter his robe and armor. The use of a garment to symbolize the transfer of an office is found also in 1 Kg. 11:30-31; Isa. 22:21 and Num. 20:24-28. For discussions of RS 17.159 and the biblical parallels see S. Rummel, "Clothes Maketh the Man—an Insight from Ancient Ugarit", BAR, II (1976), 6-8; RSP, II, IV.5, pp. 120-125.
CTA 32(2) appears to be the text for an atonement ritual. During
the course of the liturgy, gifts are offered to effect atonement for Ugarit
and King Niqmard (11. 18-19). The reference to the king cannot be
pressed, however, for he seems to have been mentioned as one element
of the greater community for which atonement was sought.

Interest in the well-being of the king underlies BS 34.126. This
text presents what appears to be a week long feast for dead kings and
royal ancestors or heroes, a kispum. The text begins with the
invocation of various Rephaim or shades (11. 2-10), among whom are the
$\text{rp}^2\text{i darg}$ ("Rephaim/Shades of Earth") and the $\text{qbg ddn}$ ("the gathering
of Didan") (11. 2-3, 9-10). In CTA 15(128), III:3-4, 14-15, Keret is
associated with these latter groups. Recently deceased kings of
Ugarit, Ammištamru and Niqmard, are then invoked, together with Niqmard's
throne (11. 11-13).

The next sections are problematic. Ll. 14-17

---

21 Gordon, UL, p. 110; Gray, LC, pp. 204-206; J. Gray, "Social

22 A. Caquot, "Résumé des Cours de 1974-1975", L'Annuaire du Collège
de France, 75e Année, pp. 426-429. J. de Moor suggests that the text
depicts a sacrificial meal which satisfies the deceased King Niqmard; see
J. de Moor, "Rāpīšuma - Rephaim", ZAW, LXXXVII (1976), 335. See also

23 Pope regards Datanu/Didanu as an ancestor of West Semitic kings,
the primus inter pares among the phr qbg dtn, that is, among the
descendants of dtn, the deified dead. See Pope, "Notes on the Ugaritic
Rephaim Texts", pp. 177, 179. According to de Moor, the rp'i darg are
spirits of dead kings, while the qbg dtn is comprised of both deceased
and living members of the dynasty; see "Rāpīšuma - Rephaim", 336. See
also Kitchen, "The King List of Ugarit", 141-142.

24 According to Pope, the throne is invoked, while de Moor suggests
that a seat is prepared for Niqmard. See Pope, "Notes on the Ugaritic
depict either the violent weeping of a mourner, perhaps over a grave, or the weeping of the shades as they ascend and partake of the ritual meal set for them. Then follows (11. 18-26) an expression of grief on the part of Shapash in which the mourner is instructed to identify with the deceased and follow them into the earth, or a rite in which Shapash instructs the Rephaım to take their leave and return to the netherworld. After referring to a seven-fold sacrificial rite (11. 27-31), the text concludes with a prayer for the peace of the king, his dynasty and his city (11. 31-33):

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{šlm } \text{mr[pi]} \\
&\text{wšlm } \text{buh } \text{šlm } \text{şaryh} \\
&\text{šlm } \text{bth } \text{šlm } \text{uşgrt} \\
&\text{šlm } \text{tgrh}
\end{align*}
\]

Peace (to) Ammur[pi]
Peace (to) his sons, peace (to) his progeny,
Peace (to) his house, peace (to) Ugarit,
Peace (to) its gates.


28 De Moor, "Râpi³ûma - Rephaım", 333-334; Gaster, "An Ugaritic Feast of All Souls", p. 102.

The specific reference to the king, his sons and his house is striking.

This final blessing indicates that the deceased royal ancestors, the
$\text{rt}^\circ \text{i pars}$ and $\text{gbs} \text{ddn}$, as well as the recently defunct kings Ammištamru
and Niqmadd, are invoked and feted to assure the well-being of the
reigning king, of his family, and of his domain.\(^{30}\)

RS 24.257 may have some affinity with RS 34.126. The reverse of
the tablet presents a king list while the obverse contains the remains
of a ritual text.\(^{31}\) The obverse is divided into six sections by
horizontal lines drawn across the tablet. Little remains of the actual
text. In each of the initial four sections, the first lines end $\text{w rm tph}$, "and high is/the sound of his tambourine", and $\text{w rm tblm}$,
"and high is/the sound of the flutes", alternately. In all four
sections, the second line ends $\text{ln cm}$, "to/for the Favored One". The
only line in section five also ends this way.\(^{32}\) Kitchen associates the
references of $\text{tp}$ and $\text{tblm}$ with the god who sings and chants to the
accompaniment of lyre ($\text{kntr}$), flute ($\text{tlb}$), tambourine ($\text{tp}$) and cymbals
($\text{mgltm}$) in RS 24.252:3–4. This deity is Rapiu, the ruler of the shades

\(^{30}\) So Pope, "Notes on the Ugaritic Rephaim Texts", p. 181 and
Caquot, "Résumé", p. 429. Gaster argues against this position
suggesting that the final wish of $\text{lml}$ is "simply a concluding Pax
Vobiscum pronounced over the reigning monarch and his subjects at a

\(^{31}\) KTU, 1.113, p. 119; Ugaritica, V, No. 5, pp. 561–562. The
following discussion is based on Kitchen, "The King List of Ugarit",
131–142.

\(^{32}\) Kitchen, "The King List of Ugarit", 139–140.
of the netherworld. The honouring of Rapiu suggests that the text pertains to a rite or hymn that involves the deified deceased kings of Ugarit, who are listed on the reverse of the tablet. Noting the occurrence of nūm as a royal epithet in the legends of Keret and Danel, Kitchen suggests that the object or beneficiary of the rite was "most probably the reigning king." Thus RS 24.257 presents a prayer or liturgy addressed to Rapiu in which royal ancestors are invoked for the purpose of obtaining blessings for or ensuring the well-being of the reigning king and Ugarit. As the obverse of RS 24.257 is in very poor condition, Kitchen's interpretation is at best tentative. Nevertheless, texts RS 34.126 and RS 24.257 are evidence for a cult of the dead in which deceased kings were invoked to secure well-being for the incumbent ruler.

The administrative and ritual texts cited above attest to the concern for the welfare of the ruler and his family or dynasty. While this solicitude is not necessarily the sole or even primary interest of all these texts, it is a striking aspect of them. Certain features of the texts which reflect this concern are paralleled in CTA 23. Such elements include interest in succession and offspring, the mention of clothing and the blessing of peace.


34 Kitchen, "The King List of Ugarit", 140.

35 Kitchen, "The King List of Ugarit", 140.
Both Aršalbu's political testament (RS 16.144) and the judicial decision concerning Ammištamru's divorce (RS 17.159) involve royal offspring. In the former an heirless ruler tries to ensure dynastic succession through levirate marriage; in the latter the Hittite suzerain hopes to clarify the line of succession on behalf of the Ugaritic king and his sons. The attention directed towards the šilm nēmm and the circumstances of their birth in CTA 23 are analogous in a general way to the interests of these texts. The birth of royal children has obvious dynastic implications.

The symbolic use of a garment may be a specific point of contact between RS 17.159 and CTA 23. In the former, Utrišarruma's robe symbolizes his status as crown prince. By removing his garment and placing it on the throne, he would renounce his right to kingship. By retaining the garment he retains his status. An article of clothing may be mentioned in CTA 23:21-22:

\[
\text{šilm nēmm} \\
\text{bn šrm} \\
\text{lapis lazuli, carnelian} \\
\text{of princes}^3\text{8}
\]

The context and the horizontal demarcations which frame these lines indicate that šilm nēmm and šmt are associated with the bn šrm. Virolleaud

---

^36 For a discussion of the importance of the šilm nēmm and of their birth in CTA 23, see Chapter II, pp. 113-114; Chapter III, pp. 179-185.

^37 See p. 229, n. 20.

^38 See the textual notes for l. 21, pp. 54-56.
understands bpn. d. ʿiqn̲aṭ l. ʾṣmt in RS 15.82(1107):1 as denoting vestments decorated with lapis and carnelian. Moreover, he suggests that ʿiqnāl in RS 18.28(2100):4 is "blue wool". Though conjectural, it is tempting to regard the ʿiqnāl and ʾṣmt of the "princes" as denoting a garment of similar significance to that of Utrišarruma.

There are striking parallels between CTA 23 and the ritual texts of the cult of the dead which support the assertion that CTA 23 is concerned with the well-being of royalty. The use of the epithet nāmm in RS 24.257 is suggestive. It cannot be pressed, however, due to the problematic nature of the text. The parallel between the wish for the šlm of the king and queen in CTA 23:7 and the concluding prayer or blessing in RS 34.126:31–33 is significant. The desire for the welfare of king and dynasty is vividly expressed in the latter passage, in which king, progeny, dynasty (bt) and domain are mentioned specifically. Moreover, the idea of well-being is emphasized by the sixfold repetition of the word šlm. The emphasis on the welfare of royal figures in CTA 23:7 is not as overt. Only the king and queen are mentioned, together with two groups of functionaries. The word šlm occurs but twice. Yet the importance of this blessing is clear when it is seen in the light of the birth of the šilm nāmm. The king and queen, identified with El and his consorts, are the parents of the royal figures who are the focus of


40 See above, p. 231.
interest in the text. Thus the šlm of the royal couple is vital not only for the welfare of the "gracious gods", but also for their very existence.

The importance of the šlm of the king and queen is emphasized by two important aspects of CTA 23. The first is the discomfiture of Mot, with his sceptres of ṭk1 ("childlessness") and ṭulm ("widowhood") (ll. 8-11). This material is treated in detail below. The second aspect is the prologue to the conception and birth of the šlm n'un
(ll. 37-49a).

This passage begins with a description of El's initial impotence, which is indicated by the facts that "his sceptre is down" (ḥrb nbt) and "the staff of his love is lowered" (ymn m ḫ dh) (l. 37). The mention of El's impotence and the subsequent comments of the women about his condition (ll. 40, 43-44, 46-47) are followed by references to the roasting of a bird on coals (ll. 37-39, 41, 44-45, 47-48). El's act of shooting, dressing and roasting a bird is designed to restore his potency. Moreover, it is possible that shooting heavenwards reflects

---

41 Chapter III, pp. 179-184.

42 The lowering of El's "love-staff" suggests an inability to maintain an erection. See Pope, El in the Ugaritic Texts, pp. 39-40. Albright suggested that these statements refer to "the subsidence of the penis after sexual intercourse"; see "The Myth of the Gracious Gods", p. 135, n. 186. This view is incorrect for, as Pope notes, there is no evidence of El's intercourse with the two women before l. 49b. Also see Gaster, Thespis, p. 430.

43 Pope, El in the Ugaritic Texts, pp. 40-41 and Song of Songs, p. 517; Gordon, UL, p. 58; Driver, CML, p. 23. While no bow is mentioned in CTA 23, the shooting of a bird implies the use of such a weapon. In this particular context the bow, though implicit, symbolizes the
a rite designed to control evil forces which might adversely affect the union of El and his wives or the fruit of that union. 44 Ll. 37-49a acknowledge a threat to the royal couple, specifically the problem of the king's impotence, and present a rite to eliminate this difficulty. Thus the liturgy removes a threat to the existence of the pílm nḫmn. This aspect of the text indicates that the well-being of the king and the queen is closely related to that of the pílm nḫmn and is of paramount importance. Therefore the wish for the ššm of the royal couple in l. 7 is not simply a greeting but an integral aspect of the text and the ritual.

The affinities that CTA 23 has with the administrative and ritual masculinity of the one employing it. Hoffner suggests that El's shooting a bird is associated with a test of his "dormant procreative powers". This interpretation is based on the belief that masculinity in the ancient Near East was measured by prowess in war, symbolized by implements such as the bow, and by the ability to sire children. The bow and arrow is used as a symbol of "virile manhood" in such Old Testament passages as 2 Sam. 1:22; 22:35; 2 Kgs. 13:15 ff.; Hos. 1:5; Ps. 127:4-5. See H. A. Hoffner, "Symbols for Masculinity and Femininity", JBL, LXXV (1966), 327-329. Dressler argues that the bow can stand for masculinity but has no necessary sexual connotations; see H. P. Dressler, "Is the Bow of Aqhat a Symbol of Virility?", UF, VII (1975), 217-220. In CTA 23, the context indicates that El's implicit use of a bow does have sexual connotations.

44 Gaster notes that shooting an arrow was employed as a charm to promote rain or to ward off evil influences; see, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", 75 and Thespis, p. 429. Pope suggests that the act may reflect the custom of shooting into the air to drive away the demons that were thought to hover over the marriage bed ready to take the place of the husband; El in the Ugaritic Texts, p. 40. In Akkadian text K 3476, which may have been associated with the Akitu Festival, "burning darts" are sent into the air (obv. 4) and "merciless darts", which spread terror and kill the strong, are sent from the quiver of Bel (obv. 9-13); see S. A. Pallis, The Babylonian Akitu Festival, Det. Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, HistoriskFilologiske Meddeleler, XII, 1 (København: Andr. Fred. Host & Son, 1926), pp. 212-215, 220-221.
texts discussed above indicate that concern for royalty is one of its striking aspects. Several other components of the text attest to the importance of this solicitude. These elements include the hunger and the feeding of the 3ilm nūmm (11. 61b–76), the discomfiture of Mot (11. 8–11), and the invocation of Shapash (11. 25–26a).

As noted in Chapter III, the ritual meal at which the 3ilm nūmm consume bread and wine is the actual occasion of the liturgy. The significance of this meal as an expression of concern for royal figures is established by contrasting the situations depicted in 11. 61b–72 and 11. 73–76. 11. 61b–64a portray the 3ilm nūmm as having monstrous appetites which they, though consuming large quantities of food, are unable to satisfy. They wander and forage, with their jaws extended from earth to heaven, swallowing both the birds of the air and the fish in the sea. Despite their gargantuan efforts, their hunger remains unsatisfied. In 11. 69b–68a the 3ilm nūmm are dispatched to the mdbr qdā where they roam "the corner of the desert" (p3at mdbr) for "seven years complete" (šb3 šnt tmt) and for "eight revolutions of time" (šmm nqpt c3d). Upon meeting the ngr mdrc, they request entry into the "sown" land and bread and wine to eat (11. 68b–72). This plea for sustenance indicates that their hunger still remains. The text

45 Chapter III, pp. 184–185.

46 The expressions špt 13arg špt lāmm (11. 61–62) and cgr šmm wdg bym (11. 62–63) are examples of merismus. The sense of the phrases is inclusive. Thus they emphasize the enormity of the gods' appetites. This aspect of their nature may be reflected in the epithet 3agzrym, "the voracious ones" (11. 23, 58, 61).
concludes with the gods feasting on the bread and wine provided for them by the ngr mdr₆ (11. 73-76). The movement throughout 11. 61b-72 is motivated by the hunger of the ²ilm n₃mm and their quest for satiety. Whatever the symbolic import of their hunger, it is clear that it is a negative condition which the text and its ritual strive to overcome. The gods' dilemma is resolved through their gratification by means of bread and wine, that is, through the liturgy itself.⁴⁷ The negative condition is overcome and the welfare of the ³ilm n₃mm is established.

The structure of the final portion of the text indicates that this well-being of the royal figures is the primary concern of CTA 23 and of its liturgy.

Concern for the welfare of royal figures is also reflected in the ritual of 11. 8-11. These lines celebrate and actualize the destruction of the powers of death. The passage is composed of two tricola. The initial tricolon depicts Death seated as king with his sceptres of "childlessness" and "widowhood". In the second, the destruction of Death and of his domain is likened to the pruning of vines.⁴⁸ Mot's nature as the divine personification of death in its manifold aspects is well attested in Ugaritic literature. This is particularly so in the Baal cycle where he appears as an arch-opponent of the fertility

---

⁴⁷ Tsumura sees a similar contrast between the lack of satisfaction in 11. 61b-64a and that satiety portrayed in 11. 73-76, noting the progression from "not enough food" to the climax of "enough food". See Tsumura, "The Good Gods", p. 83.

god. Mot, or mt wēr ("Death-and-Evil") as he is called in CTA 23, is the antithesis of life. This characteristic is reflected in his sceptres of ṭkl and ṣulmn. These symbols represent the lack or destruction of children and the loss of a spouse who might sire offspring. The sceptres are the antithesis of the šlm invoked on behalf of the king and queen in 1. 7. The impact of the ḫt ṭkl is, moreover, the condition of El which is depicted and overcome in 11. 37-49a. Mot's ṣdmt also reflects his nature as the destroyer of life. M. R. Lehmann has argued cogently that Ugaritic ṣdmt and its Hebrew cognate ṣadmōr are technical terms designating the ṣēḏāh mōwet, "field

In CTA 6(49), VI:16-31, a vicious hand-to-hand battle between Mot and Baal is depicted. Previously, Mot had destroyed Baal, making him "like a lamb" in his mouth: ṣdtn ẖkn . ṣrm . ṣlm . (CTA 6(49), II: 22). During his temporary ascendancy over Baal, Mot gloats that life languishes: ṣtr . ẖrt bn . ẖwtn . ṣlm hmt . ṣrm, "Life failed among men, life of the multitudes of the earth" (CTA 6(49), II:17-19). For a discussion of the role of Mot in the Baal cycle, see Caquot, Textes Ougaritiques, pp. 229 ff.


See the textual notes for 1. 8, pp. 34-36. At Ugarit, one important aspect of marriage, of having a wife, was the begetting of lawful sons and heirs. See van Selms, Marriage, pp. 13-15. Note that in Isa. 47:8-9 the divine wrath visited upon Israel takes the form of "loss of children and widowhood". This catastrophe threatens the very existence of the people. See also Jer. 15:7-8; 18:21. What is threatened in CTA 23:6 is the possible extinction of the incumbent royal line, represented by El and his consorts on one hand, and by the ṭlm n-smn on the other.

While ṭkl (Hebrew ṣākal) means "bereavement" of children already born, RS 24.244:61-62 indicates that the word can denote loss of virility. See the textual notes for 1. 8, pp. 35-36.
of death”. This field is that particular region where the powers of death are dominant. 53

The presence of Mot and his rule represent a serious threat to both the royal figures honoured in the text and to their regal parents. 54 It is essential that šdmēl and his šdmēl be pruned, bound and felled like vines, that is, be controlled, so that they cannot influence the events of the ritual or harm the central characters. 55 The rite reflected in 11. 8-11 is a necessary precondition for the successful union of El and his wives. Moreover, it assures the health and well-being of the fruit of that union. 56

---

53 Lehmann, "The Term Ṣāmar", 361-364; Tsumura, "A Ugaritic God", 412. See also the textual notes for 1. 10. According to Lehmann, šdmēl could denote either a shrine devoted to the cult of the dead or barren land. The association of šdmēl with qppn is paralleled in biblical usage; see Deut. 32:32; Isa. 16:8 and Hab. 3:17. In Deut. 32:32 the occurrence of šdmēl and qppn denotes evil while in Isa. 16:8 and Hab. 3:17 the connotation is one of sterility.

54 The Ugaritic epics indicate that the lack of a wife and/or offspring posed a serious dilemma for rulers. See Chapter III, pp. 145-149, particularly footnotes 4 and 9. The potential impact of death and sterility is portrayed vividly in the opening scene of the Keret legend, in which Keret's "house" is destroyed and the king is left with neither a wife nor an heir (CTA 14(Krt),I:7-25). See Chapter III, pp. 145-147 and n. 3.

55 Mot's treatment in this passage is comparable to his demise at the hands of Anat in CTA 6(49),II:30-35. In CTA 6 the imagery is reminiscent of the harvesting and processing of grain. Anat's purpose was the destruction of death and sterility and the revival of Baal. See W. F. Albright, From the Stone Age to Christianity, 2nd ed. (Garden City: Anchor Books, 1957), pp. 232-233; P. L. Watson, "The Death of 'Death' in the Ugaritic Texts", JAOS, XCII (1972), 60, 64; S. E. Loewenstamm, "The Killing of Mot in Ugaritic Myth", Orientalia, XLI (1972), 378-382; Lehmann, "The Term Ṣāmar", 364.

The significance of 11. 8-11 is indicated also by the way in which the imagery associated with procreation echoes the symbols of death in this passage. This characteristic of CTA 23 is readily apparent in the stark contrast between the šd ʾilm šd ʾarrt ʾwrhm (11. 13, 28) and the šdmt (1. 10). The šd ʾarrt ʾwrhm symbolize the feminine principle of fertility which gives life to the ʾilm nʾmm. The juxtaposition of life with the domain of death associates the discomfiture of Mot with the life of the ʾilm nʾmm. In 11. 8-11 the forces of death and sterility are negated while in 11. 13, 28 the powers of life and fertility are affirmed. Male generative power is also contrasted with death and sterility, through the use of the word yd. In 11. 33-35 yd denotes El's penis, while the phrase mt ydh (11. 40, 44, 47) refers to both the god's genitalia and his "love". El's yd contrasts with the hand of Mot, which holds the sceptres of childlessness and widowhood (11. 8-9). Furthermore, the mt yd, "love-staff", and ḫt, "sceptre", (11. 37, 40, 43-44, 47) are the antithesis of Mot's ḫt ṭkl and ḫt ʾilm. The symbols used to denote those powers which produce the ʾilm nʾmm contrast in a direct and striking manner those used to characterize

---

57 The use of words such as "field" (ʾ̄d) as a euphemism for female genitalia was common throughout the ancient Near East. For a discussion of this type of sexual symbolism, see Pope, Song of Songs, pp. 323-325. It is possible that there is a further word-play involving šd and dd (11. 59, 61). If this is so, then both the generation and the nourishment of the ʾilm nʾmm are contrasted with the realm of Death.

58 See Cross, Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic, p. 23 and n. 56; Pope, El in the Ugaritic Texts, pp. 38-39. Pope's translation of mt ydh as "his love staff" appropriately combines the idea of El's love (yuddu) with reference to his penis (yadu).
the destructive nature of Mot. This use of imagery indicates that the motivation for negating Death's power is related specifically to the life of royal figures.

Another aspect of CTA 23 that reflects a particular concern for the welfare of the šilm nám is the hymnic invocation or celebration of Shapash's protection and favour (11. 25-26a). Despite the difficulty arising from mšš/gšprt, both the context and the reference to "branches" (dlthm) and "grapes" (gšnbm) indicate that Shapash does something beneficial. The mention of the solar goddess is a point of contact with the birth narrative, for after the birth of šbr and šlm offerings are made to špt rbt (1. 54). The fact that Shapash is a recipient of offerings indicates that she is involved positively in the birth of the gods. As Shapash is not mentioned elsewhere, it is possible that her activity in 11. 25-26a is related to this offering and involvement.

Shapash's association with the royal theme of CTA 23, while not stated explicitly, is not difficult to define. Her role is twofold: first, to bestow protection and blessing on the royal figures; and second, to represent the divine order and rule of El. The latter role is reflected in the texts of the Baal cycle, where the sun functions as an exponent of divine order. Shapash chastises the impetuous Aḫtar for not accepting the kingship of Yam and warns that El will uproot Aḫtar's throne and overturn his kingship (CTA 2(129):15-18).

---

Similarly, she advises Mot that El will not tolerate his continued resistance to Baal (CTA 6(49), VI:22-29). In both passages Shapash serves as a messenger of El and as a representative of his order. In fulfilling this role, she firmly supports the established king.

The Ugaritic administrative diplomatic texts indicate a close association between kings and the sun. Špš occurs as an epithet of the Hittite ruler Shuppiluliuma (CTA 64(118):11, 25; UT 2009:13; UT 2058:1 et passim) and of the Pharaoh (UT 1018:1). Thus Špš could be used to refer to the suzerain. Špš may occur as a synonym for mlk in the letter UT 1015:8-10, where its use parallels that of mlk in CTA 50(117):17-18.

Shapash's association with Ugaritic royalty is reflected in the kispum text RS 34.126. In 11. 18-26 she presides over the assembly of the shades which includes deified royal ancestors and the recently deceased kings Ammištamru and Niqmad. Shapash's role in this text may be connected more directly with her association with the netherworld than with royalty. Nevertheless, the fact that she presides over a ritual in which royal ancestors are feted to secure the well-being of the incumbent King and dynasty is indicative of the goddess's solicitude.

---

60 Caquot, Textes Ougaritiques, p. 96.
62 For discussions of Shapash's connections with the netherworld, see A. Caquot, "La divinité solaire ougaritique", Syria, XXXVI (1959), 97-99 and Textes Ougaritiques, p. 96; Pope, "Notes on the Repha'aim Texts from Ugarit", pp. 171-172.
for royal persons. 63

The primary function of ūpē in CTA 23, that of bestowing
protection and blessing, is reflected in the reference to "branches"
and "grapes". 64 The Old Testament attests to the use of this type of
imagery to denote abundance and the well-being of family and offspring.
Note, for example, Ps. 128:3:

ēstēkā kēgepen pōriyyāh
bēyarkētel bētekā
bānēykā kīšīlē zētīm
sābīb lēšulhānekā

Your wife shall be like a fruitful vine
within your house;
Your children like olive shoots
around your table.65

In Ps. 144:12, the sons of the psalmist's community are kintīcīn
mēguddālīm binēCūrēhem, "as plants that grow well in their youth."66
Ezekiel 19:10-11 provides a particularly interesting example of this
type of imagery which has affinity with CTA 23:25-26a. This passage
depicts Judah as a mother who is likened to a vine (gepen), fruitful
with her tendrils (dālīyyotāwē) and strong branches (mātôt ćōz). The
latter are royal sceptres (ṣibētē mōšēlīm).

63 See above for the discussion of RS 34.126, pp. 230-232.

64 The words dlīm and ṣābm denote the dlīm nēmm, with the 3 c. dual
possessive suffix -hm referring to Athirāt and Rahmay, the mothers and
wet-nurses of the royal children. Note ṣēpēm in 11. 50, 55. See
Gordon, UT, 6.10.

65 Dahood, Psalms, III, pp. 227-228.

66 Weiser, Psalms, p. 823; see also Dahood, Psalms, III, p. 332.
The biblical analogies, the reference to offerings in 1. 54, and the general context indicate that Shapash is invoked to ensure the welfare of the 𒈹𒇼. This interpretation is substantiated, moreover, by the contrasting use of viticultural imagery in ll. 25-26a and ll. 8-11. In the latter passage, the vine (gpa) symbolizes the powers of sterility and death. Conversely, this imagery in ll. 25-26a represents the health and well-being of the 𒈹𒇼 and the success of the liturgy.

The beneficent attitude of the solar deity towards kings is well attested in Mesopotamian texts. The foundation inscription of a temple to Shamash constructed by Yahdun-Lim of Mari (c. 1810 B.C.) provides a striking example. The text describes Shamash as the king of heaven and earth/the netherworld who dispenses justice, protects what is right and shepherds the people. The god is, moreover, responsive to supplication, vows and prayers, bestowing on his worshippers happiness and long life. The inscription notes that Yahdun-Lim dedicated the temple to the sun god "on the occasion when Shamash was agreeable to his supplication and listened to his prayer" (col. I:28-30). The king asserts that Shamash came promptly to his aid (col. I:31-33). Later in the text, Shamash's eternal blessing is invoked for the king. The blessing consists of "a mighty weapon (able) to defeat the enemies, a long and happy rule and everlasting years of abundance and happiness" (col. IV:14-23).67

Shamash is also prominent in Hammurabi's law code. In the prologue, Hammurabi describes himself as "the wise king, obedient to mighty Shamash" (col. II:2-30). Frequent reference is made to Shapash in the epilogue. It is the sun-god who committed law to the king (reverse, col. XXV:90-100) and it is this god who is invoked to ensure that Hammurabi's justice prevails in the land (reverse, col. XXIV:80-90). Moreover, Shapash is also called upon to bless the king who adheres to the laws with a long reign (reverse, col. XXVI:1-16) and conversely to curse anyone who ignores them (reverse, col. XXVII:11-40). Finally, it is noteworthy that Hammurabi refers to Shamash as "my support" (reverse, col. XXVII:20). 68

A prayer addressed to the Assyrian king Assurbanipal (668-633 B.C.) also bears on the beneficent association of Shamash with rulers. In a prayer appended to a hymn to the sun-god, the king asks that the god "judge his case; turn his fate to prosperity." The blessings for which the king hopes include safety, splendor, a long reign and joy (ll. 17-21). The text concludes by invoking Shamash's blessing on rulers who use the psalm in the name of Assurbanipal and a curse on those who either neglect the hymn or substitute another name for that of Assurbanipal. 69

---


A series of royal prayers from the reign of the Chaldaean Nebuchadnezzar II (605-562 B.C.) also pertain to Shamash. In these prayers, the king asks the deity to look faithfully and favourably upon the work of his hands. Attributing his life and stable reign to the god, Nebuchadnezzar requests that Shamash maintain perpetually his just and legitimate reign, grant him a long life, and support his armies so that the king may defeat his enemies. In one prayer, the king asks Shamash to insure that his descendants succeed to his throne and that they remain "stable in the land." This request is analogous to the invocation of šps’s blessing for royal offspring in CTA 23:25-26a.

Finally, Shamash’s role in establishing individuals as kings is noteworthy. Hammurabi claimed that Shamash singled him out for kingship through his divine glance. In his account of his installation in the bīt redūti, Esarhaddon claimed that Shamash was one of the deities who indicated by means of oracles the proper line of succession. Similarly, Assurbanipal asserted that Shamash, among others, caused him to take his throne. The various examples cited


71 Seux, Hymnes et prières, "À Shamash", IV, p. 511.

72 Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods, p. 238.


74 Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods, p. 310.
above attest to a Semitic tradition in which the solar deity establishes the rule of the king and continues to protect, bless and guide that reign.

Various aspects of CTA 23, such as the hunger and feasting of the *dilm ru-mu*, the discomfiture of Mot, and the invocation of Shapash, indicate that the text and the related ritual were used to ensure the well-being of royal figures. This interpretation is sustained by the points of contact that CTA 23 has with other Ugaritic texts which reflect a similar concern. A number of Hittite texts which exhibit interesting parallels to CTA 23 provide further support for this understanding of the text. Many Hittite texts exhibit a serious regard for the vitality of the king or royal couple. Often the sun deity is prominent among those invoked to provide and ensure this vitality. Some of the ritual texts which try to assure the well-being of the king and the queen have formal similarities with the ritual portion of CTA 23.

Of the prayers requesting protection and security for royalty, several examples shall suffice. KUB XXIV. 1-4 and KUB XXX. 12, 13 record a royal prayer that was recited daily by a scribe. In the prayer the god Telepinus is asked to "turn with favor" towards the king, queen and princes. Moreover, he is asked to give the royal couple "enduring life, health, long years [(and) strength]." Children and grandchildren are also requested for them. 75 In KUB XV. 34, a divination text, the Cedar-gods are asked to regard the king and queen

---

75 A. Goetze, "Daily Prayer of the King", ANET, p. 397.
with favour:

Look ye upon the king (and) the queen with favor!

Provide ye for the king (and) the queen life,
good health, long years, power of
procreation, sons (and) daughters,
grandchildren (and) great-grandchildren.\footnote{76}

These requests for blessings of health and long life for the royal
couple are analogous in a general sense to the concern for the welfare
of royalty that is reflected in CTA 23 and the other Ugaritic texts
discussed above. The references to children and grandchildren are
particularly striking in light of the fact that the central characters
in CTA 23 are royal individuals whose conception and birth the text
depicts. In both CTA 23 and the Hittite texts, there is a close
association of offspring with the well-being of royalty.

There are Hittite texts in which the solar deity is requested to
or is said to extend care and protection to royal figures, just as
Shapash does in CTA 23.\footnote{KUB XXI. 27 contains a prayer addressed by Queen
Pudu-hepas to the Sun-goddess of Arinna for the life of the king.\footnote{77}

Tablets KUB VI. 45 and KUB XXX. 14 record a prayer of Kiš-nursilī that was
to be recited during a crisis. The prayer is addressed to a variety of
deities, including the Sun-goddess of Arinna and the Sun-god of Heaven.
The king notes that he has "taken refuge with the Storm-god" and
implores the deity to save his life. Moreover, he requests that the

\footnote{A. Goetze, "Evocatio", ANET, p. 352.}

\footnote{77 A. Goetze, "Prayer of Pudu-hepas to the Sun-Goddess of Arinna
and her Circle", ANET, p. 393.}
Sun-god beam upon him "like the full moon" and shine over him "like the sun in the sky." The Palaic ritual text KUB XXXV. 165:21-22 states that the Sun-god is both father and mother to the king. Similarly KUB XXXIII. 70,II:14-16 says that just as sheep, cattle and human parents recognize their offspring, so also does the divine Sun "recognize constantly the king, the queen and the children of the king." According to Kellerman, these texts employ comparison to indicate that the Sun-god watches over the king and the royal family as a parent watches over a child.

Several Hittite ritual texts which indicate concern for the welfare of the king and queen exhibit interesting similarities to CTA 23. KUB XXIX. 1 presents a ritual for the construction of a palace. The text depicts a variety of rites designed to protect the king from various evils such as sickness, terror and curses and conversely, to furnish him with vigor and prowess (II:15-38). Then an eagle is sent to "the fire place" to bring back a kinubî and the skins of a lion and a panther are fastened together over the king's heart. The purpose of this rite is reflected in the words, "Let the king's soul be united to

78 A. Goetze, "Prayer to be Spoken in an Emergency", ANET, p. 398.

79 E. Neu, Der Anitta-Text, Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten, Heft XVIII (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1974), p. 127. Neu believes that this passage indicates that the solar deity was regarded literally as the king's mother.

his heart" (II:39-46). The text then invites the Sun-god and the Storm-god to "enter into accord with the king" and entrust to him the land. As a result of this divine activity, the king's "years" and "awesomeness" are restored. This renewal is symbolized by the construction of the king's statue, which has eyes like an eagle and teeth like a lion (II:47-54).\textsuperscript{81} The effect of the various rites is summarized in III:5-8:

The Sun-god and the Storm-god have taken care of the king. They have renewed his strength and set no limit to his years.\textsuperscript{82}

KBo XXI. 22 has a number of affinities with KUB XXIX. 1. It is numbered by Kellerman among a group of ritual texts that ensured through magic and incantation "the life, health and fertility of the king or of the royal couple."\textsuperscript{83} KBo XXI. 22 presents in a very terse fashion a series of rites to protect the well-being of the sovereign and his consort. Ll. 9-20 describe the "formula of the scales", in which an eagle is sent to the kinubi and in which a lion skin and a panther skin are employed. The purpose of these rites is indicated clearly in ll. 14-20:

What the king labarna desires in his soul and heart, let it reach him!
What the queen tawananna desires in her soul and heart, let it reach her!


\textsuperscript{82}Goetze, "Ritual for the Erection of a New Palace", p. 358.

\textsuperscript{83}Kellerman, "The King and the Sun-God", 203.
Look! I take the scales. I weigh the long years of labarna. Look! I take the scales. And I weigh the long years of tawananna.  

This "formula of the scales" is similar to those rites in KUB XXIX, which employed an eagle to bring back a ka$nub$ and used the skins of a lion and a panther. In both texts, these rites are designed to secure for the king or the royal couple internal harmony, fulfillment of desires and longevity.  

In KBo XXIX. 22, the "formula of the scales" is followed by several rites in which "washing powder" from the temple of the Sun and the "fountain of the Sun" and that of the Storm-god are used to strengthen labarna. In the Sun temple the "washing powder" renews the god's statue, giving it the teeth of a lion and the eyes of an eagle (ll. 25-28). The description of this renewed statue is similar to that of the royal statue in KUB XXIX. 1,II:52-54. While KBo XXIX. 22 does not identify the god's statue with the king or with his statue, the similar description of the statues in these texts is suggestive.  

The fountains of the Sun and the Storm-god are employed in the "formula of the pebbles" (ll. 36-45). As Kellerman notes, the purpose of the rite is to ensure the safety of the king (ll. 39-40):  

---

84 Kellerman, "The King and the Sun-God", 201.  
85 Kellerman, "The King and the Sun-God", 203-204.  
86 Kellerman, "The King and the Sun-God", 202, 204.
Let the pebbles protect the king labarna!
Let him become the iron of the Sun.\footnote{Kellerman, "The King and the Sun-God", 204-205.}

Finally, an old Hittite ritual for the royal couple preserved in Kbo XVII. 1, I-IV deserves mention.\footnote{See H. Otten and V. Souček, Ein altethitisches Ritual für das Königspaar, Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten, Heft VIII (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1969).} While the occasion of the ritual is unknown, the purpose is clear: to remove evil from the king and queen. This goal is achieved through various magical rites. The deities to whom the ritual is addressed are the Sun-god and the Storm-god.\footnote{Otten and Souček, Ritual für das Königspaar, pp. 103-106.} A discussion of several rites portrayed in this lengthy ritual text shall suffice.

Kbo XVII. 1:11-17 depicts a ritual washing to remove evil from the king and the queen. The presiding functionary holds a basin and informs the royal couple that he has removed from them the slander of the people and sickness of both the heart and head. Then both the king and the queen wash their mouths three times.\footnote{Otten and Souček, Ritual für das Königspaar, p. 19.} A more extensive rite is presented in Kbo XVII. 1, III. 11. 1-2 are a prayer for the eternal life of the royal couple: just as the Sun and Storm deities and heaven and earth are eternal, so also shall be the king, the queen and their children. An eagle is released on behalf of the king and queen and is told to repeat the prayer to the Sun and Storm gods (11. 3-7). Objects are buried in the earth and the presiding functionary, addressing the
two gods, states that he has removed from the king, the queen and their children in Hattusa illness, blood-guilt, evil and dreadful things (11. 8-13). Then follows a ritual meal of lamb, bread and wine (11. 14-16). 91

The final text for consideration is KBo XVII. 1,IV. This passage also describes a rite designed to remove the royal couple's pain; grief and distress. When the functionary removes these evils from the king and queen, they give him five threads. These are hung on five branches of a tree. He then does something with a figure of mud, binds together "heads" of barley and spelt and places them in a basket. This latter object is set at the heads of the couple (11. 14-21). Thread is wound around the fingers and hands of the king and queen. The functionary holds a bahhal and a figure and, after laying wood at the couple's feet, tells the figure to remove their pain, grief and distress. The "heads" of barley and spelt are laid by their feet (11. 26-32). The king and queen spit in a basin. The functionary releases two partum birds and announces to the royal pair that he has taken away their pain, grief and distress (11. 34-39). 92

Although the Hittite ritual texts cited above and Ugaritic text CTA 23 are quite dissimilar in many respects, they do share several common features. All these texts exhibit a general concern for royal figures and are designed to secure their well-being. Moreover, they

91 Otten and Souček, Ritual für das Königspaar, pp. 31, 103-104.
associate this welfare in part with the interest and activity of solar
deities. The rituals which the texts present employ rites of
sympathetic magic to remove the threat or influence of evil and to
establish and ensure the health and vitality of the royal individuals.
Note, for example, the use of birds to remove evil in KBo XVII. 1, IV:
34-39 and the roasting of a bird to overcome El's impotence in CTA 23:
37-49. Finally, there are formal similarities in these texts with
respect to the manner in which the content is presented. The
descriptions of the rites are highly abbreviated and do not present
detailed accounts of either the actions or words used. It is apparent
that they served as supplements to the oral traditions of the relevant
cults. There are few, if any, transitional elements to introduce new
phases of the ritual or to indicate the relationship of one rite to
another. As a result the descriptions of the rituals are disjointed.
The similarities between the Hittite texts and CTA 23 support the
assertion that the latter was used in the royal cult to ensure the
welfare of royal figures.
CONCLUSIÓN

This dissertation demonstrates that CTA 23 must be understood within the context of the Ugaritic royal ideology. The study, supported by a transliteration and a translation of the text, indicates that CTA 23 has numerous affinities with the royal epics of Keret and Aqhat, not with the fertility oriented texts as has been suggested previously. The ʾilm nūmm, the objects of veneration in the text, enjoy a relationship to El, Athirat and Raḥmāy that is similar to the one possessed by kings and royal offspring in the epics. They are conceived through divine activity and are "sons" of El. Like Keret's eldest son, they are nursed by goddesses. Furthermore, the "gracious gods" bear royal titles such as nūmm and bn ṣrm. They are royal individuals.

The present investigation of CTA 23 bears on several aspects of Ugaritic religion and kingship. It indicates that within the cult the astral deities ʾḥr and ṣlm were identified with princes and with the king. The association of these gods with kingship may have some bearing on the royal ambitions of another astral deity, Athtar, as reflected in CTA 2(129),III:12-24 and CTA 6(49),I:43-67. This possibility requires further study. The difficulty in defining the precise relationship of ʾḥr and ṣlm, ʾṭṭr and ʾṭṭṭr to each other attests to the need for a thorough examination of astral deities in the Ugaritic and general West-Semitic traditions.
CTA 23 indicates that the standard terminology used to define the Ugaritic king's association with deities is inappropriate. The royal figures honoured in the text are not related to the gods and goddesses through election or adoption. Rather their relationship is inherent in the circumstances of their conception and birth. From the perspective of the royal cult, princes and kings are identified with deities and are divine. This concept of royalty calls for a re-assessment of the current understanding of ancient Semitic kingship.

The present state of knowledge does not permit the identification of the Sitz im Leben or of the precise purpose of CTA 23. Nevertheless, it is readily apparent that the text and its ritual served as a royal apologia. This function is indicated by the text's emphasis on the birth and nursing of the ²ilm n⁴mm. Moreover, elements in the text, such as the god's progress from hunger to satiety, the invocation of Shapash and the discomfiture of Mot indicate that the text and ritual were concerned primarily with the well-being (³lm) of the royal figures whose birth they depict and of their parents, the king and queen. The inability to define the Sitz im Leben and purpose more precisely points to the numerous lacunae remaining with respect to the present understanding of Ugaritic religion and literature. It is possible that a re-examination of Mesopotamian ritual texts in light of the new understanding of CTA 23 will prove fruitful in the further elucidation of the text. The Hittite material discussed in Chapter IV suggests that a comparative study using Hittite royal ritual texts might prove particularly illuminating.
The present explication of CTA 23 impinges upon the study of Israelite kingship and of the Hebrew Bible in several ways. It indicates that CTA 23 and such biblical texts as 2 Sam. 23:2-5, Ps. 110:3 and Isa. 14:12 ff. reflect different appropriations of a common West-Semitic tradition in which the astral deities of dawn and dusk were associated with kingship. The parallels between Ezek. 28:12 ff. and Isa. 14:12 ff., and the references to "the king's garden" (2 Kg. 25:4) and "the garden of Uzza" (2 Kg. 21:18, 26) suggest that the connection between kingship and astral deities, or at least astral imagery and motifs, was widely recognized in ancient Israel. Although there are numerous studies that touch upon this aspect of Israelite religion and monarchy, further investigation is required.¹

Finally, the information provided by CTA 23 concerning the divine filiation of royal figures may be useful in elucidating Davidic kingship and messianism. A comparison between the concept of divine filiation in the Ugaritic text and that expressed in such biblical passages as 2 Sam. 7:11-16 and Pss. 2:7; 89:26-27; 110:3 may clarify those aspects of Israelite kingship that were part of general West-Semitic traditions and those that were uniquely Israelite.

¹Note Gray's claim that the Hebrew Bible retains evidence of a tradition in which the cult of the Venus-star was associated with Jerusalem; see LG, pp. 171-173.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


--------. "Was the Patriarch Terah a Canaanite Moon-God?" BASOR, LXXI (1938), 35-40.


"Two Ugaritic Serpent Charms", JNES, XXVII (1968), 13-36.

Avishur, Y. "Addenda to the Expanded Colon in Ugaritic and Biblical Verse", UF, IV (1972), 1-10.


Bailey, L. R. "The Cult of the Twins at Edessa", JAOS, LXXVIII (1968), 342-344.

Barton, G. A. "A Liturgy for the Celebration of the Spring Festival at Jerusalem in the Age of Abraham and Melchizedek", JBL, LIII (1934), 61-78.


Caquot, A. "Le dieu Athtar et les textes de Ras Shamra", *Syria*, XXXV (1958), 45-60.


Clines, D. J. A. "The Significance of the 'Sons of God' Episode (Genesis 6:1-4) in the Context of the 'Primeval History' (Genesis 1-11)", *JSOT*, XIII (1979), 33-46.


---------. "Jar Inscriptions from Shiqmona", IEJ, XVIII (1968), 226-233.


---. "Mythes et rites dans les textes de Ras Shamra", La Nouvelle Clio, V (1953), 190-193.


---. New Year with Canaanites and Israelites, I, II. Kamper Cahiers, XXI. Kampeñ: J. H. Kok, 1972.

---. "Rāpi'ūma — Rephaim", ZAW, LXXXVII (1976), 323-345.

de Vaux, R. Review of La naissance de l'aurore by R. Largement, RB, LVIII (1951), 154-155.


Dussard, R. "Le commerce de l'or chez les Phéniciens, d'après le poème de la naissance des dieux gracieux et beaux." Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Comptes rendus des séances de l'année, 1933, pp. 374 and 375-376.


"Le commerce des anciens Phéniciens à la lumière du poème des dieux gracieux et beaux", Syria, XVII (1936), 59-66.


Finkelstein, J. J. "Collections of Laws from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor". *ANET*, pp. 523-528.


Gaster, T. H. "An Ancient Semitic Mystery-Play from a Cuneiform Tablet discovered at Ras-esh-Shamra", Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni, X (1934), 156-164.


Gaster, T. H. "Ezekiel and the Mysteries. II. A Canaanite Liturgy from Ras Shamra-Ugarit", JBL, LX (1941), 290-297.


Gaster, T. H. "A Canaanite Ritual Drama: The Spring Festival at Ugarit", JAOS, LXVI (1946), 51-76.


"Ba’lu and his Brethren", JPOS, XVI (1936), 138-149.


"Ugaritic Myths, Epics, and Legends". ANET, pp. 129-158.


"Hittite Prayers". ANET, pp. 393-404.


"The Poetic Literature of Ugarit", Orientalia, XV (1943), 31-75.


Review of Largement, La naissance de l'aurore, JNES, XI (1952), 144.


"Cultic Affinities between Israel and Ras Shamra", ZAW, LXII (1950), 207-220.


Harris, Z. S. "The Structure of Ras Shamra C", JAOS, LIV (1934), 80-83.


Izre’el, S., "The Symptoms of King Krt’s Illness", *UF,* VIII (1976), 446-447.


"Lipit-Ishtar Lawcode". *ANET*, pp. 159-161.


"Sumerian Myths and Epic Tales". *ANET*, pp. 37-59.


Loewenstamm, S. E. "The Seventh Day-Unit in Ugaritic Epic Literature", *IEJ*, XV (1965), 121-133.


"Lexicographical Notes on l. ṭbb; z. ḥnny/hlny", *UF*, V (1973), 209-211.


Mackay, C. "Salem", *PEQ*, LXXX (1948), 121-130.


Montgomery, J. A. "Ras Shamra Notes II", JAOS, LIV (1934), 60-66.


Obermann, J. "How Daniel Was Blessed with a Son", JAOS, Suppl. VI (1946), 1-30.


Parker, S. "The Ugaritic Deity Rapi' u", *UF,* IV (1972), 97-104.


"The Historical Composition of KRT and the Cult of El", *ZAW,* LXXIX (1977), 161-175.


"Die Krt Legende", *Berytus,* VI (1941), 63-105.

Pfeiffer, R. H. "Akkadian Oracles and Prophecies". *ANET,* pp. 449-452.


Porteous, N. W. "Shalem-Shalom", TGUOS, X (1940/41), 1-7.


--------. "The Creation Epic". *ANET*, pp. 60-72.

--------. "Descent of Ishtar to the Nether World". *ANET*, pp. 106-108.


"Nergal and Ereshkigal". ANET, p. 103.


"A Ugaritic God, mr-w-śr, and his two weapons", UF, VI (1974), 407-413.

Ullendorff, E. "Ugaritic Marginalia II", JJS, II (1962), 349-351.


Vroolleaud, Ch. "La naissance des dieux gracieux et beaux", *Syria*, XIV (1933), 128-151.


Watson, P. L. "The Death of ‘Death’ in the Ugaritic Texts", *JAOS*, XCII (1972), 60-64.


Widengren, G. Psalm 110 och det sakrala kungadömet i Israel. Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift, 1941: 7-1.


Wilson, J. A. "Egyptian Historical Texts". ANET, pp. 227-264.

"Egyptian Myths, Tales, and Mortuary Texts". ANET, pp. 3-36.

"Egyptian Oracles and Prophecies". ANET, pp. 441-449.


Review of M. L. Burke. Textes administratifs de la salle III de Palais, JJS, X (1965), 125.


"Atonement Theology in Ugarit and Israel", UF, VIII (1976), 415-430.