THE GRACIOUS GODS

AND THE

ROYAL IDEOLOGY OF UGARIT

by

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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 ᵓilm nᶜmm 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

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ABBREVIATIONS

AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung
ANEP	Ancient Near East in Pictures, ed. J. B. Pritchard, 1954.
ANET	Ancient Near Eastern Texts, ed. J. B. Pritchard, 3rd ed., 1969.
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
Archiv Or.	Archiv orientální
ASTI	Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute
BAR	Biblical Archaeology Review
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BZAW	Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
CML	Canaanite Myths and Legends, G. R. Driver, 1956.
CML^2	Canaanite Myths and Legends, J. C. L. Gibson, 1977.
HTR	Harvard Theological Review
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
IDB	Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, eds. G. A. Buttrick et al., 4 vols., 1962.
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JNWSL	Journal of North West Semitic Literature

JPOS	Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
JSOT	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies
KBo	Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi
KTU	Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit, Teil I, M. Dietrich, O. Loretz and J. Sanmartin, 1976.
KUB	Keilschrifturkunden aus Bohazköi
LC	The Legacy of Canaan, J. Gray, 2nd ed., 1965.
OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung
PRU	Le Palais royal d'Ugarit
RA	Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale
RB	Revue Biblique
RHR	Revue de l'histoire des religions
RSP, I	Ras Shamra Parallels, I, L. R. Fisher, ed., 1972.
RSP, II	Ras Shamra Parallels, II, L. R. Fisher, ed., 1975.
TGUOS	Transactions of the Glasgow University Oriental Society
UF	Ugarit-Forschungen
UL	Ugaritic Literature, C. H. Gordon, 1949.
UT	Ugaritic Textbook, C. H. Gordon, 1965.
VT	Vetus Testamentum
WTJ	Westminster Theological Journal
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation presents a new interpretation of the enigmatic

Ugaritic text CTA 23.[1] 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

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[1] This text is cited as SS 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 Yariḫ 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. Laroche, 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 ʾilm nᶜmm, 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.[2] 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.[3] The present study indicates that CTA

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[2]W. G. Lambert and A. R. Millard note that there is only one specific example in Mesopotamia of a myth that served in the cult. That is Enuma eliš, which was recited before Marduk during the New-Year's Festival at Babylon; see Atra-ḫasis: The Babylonian Story of the Flood (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 7. For the liturgy of this festival, see A. Sachs, "Temple Program for the New Year's Festival at Babylon", Ancient Near Eastern Texts, ed. J. B. Pritchard, 3rd ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), pp. 331-334 (cited as ANET).

[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.

(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1958) and I. Engnell, Studies in Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1967). J. Gray states, "This text [CTA 23] then plainly demonstrates the close connection between myth and ritual." See J. Gray, The Legacy of Canaan, VT, Supplement, V; 2nd ed. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965), p. 15 (cited as LC).

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

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[1]C. F. A. Schaeffer, La deuxième campagne de fouilles à Ras Shamra
(Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1931), pp. 6-8 (extract
from Syria, 1931); C. F. A. Schaeffer, ed., Ugaritica, II, Mission de
Ras Shamra, V (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1949), p.
VII; G. R. Driver, Canaanite Myths and Legends, Old Testament Studies,
III (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1956), p. 1 (cited as CML); T. H.
Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama: The Spring Festival at Ugarit", JAOS,
LXVI (1946), 49; J. A. Montgomery and Z. S. Harris, "The Ras Shamra
Mythological Texts", Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, IV
(1935), 7. An account of the pre-war excavations at Ras Shamra may be
found in R. de Langhe, Les textes de Ras Shamra-Ugarit et leurs rapports
avec le milieu biblique de l'Ancient Testament, I (Gembloux: J. Duculot
Editeur, 1945), pp. 7-31.

[2]Ch. Virolleaud, "La naissance des dieux gracieux et beaux", Syria,
XIV (1933), 128. A. Caquot et al., Textes Ougaritiques, Tome I,
Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf,
1974), p. 355, lists the tablet's dimensions as 190 mm. by 127 mm.

characters written in a single column on both sides of the tablet. The
obverse contains twenty-nine lines, while ll. 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 ll. 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 ll. 15-25, 29, 57 and 63, problematic.

<u>CTA</u> 23 is complete.[3] 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 <u>CTA</u> 23. The fact that such tablets were not used

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[3]The 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 <u>Textes Ougaritiques</u>,
p. 356. This position contrasts with Gaster's view that the text
continued on a subsequent tablet; see T. H. Gaster, <u>Thespis</u>, 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

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[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

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The Conflict between El and Ba^cal in Canaanite Religion, Supplementa ad
Numen, Altera Series (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1969), pp. 110, 122.

[6]The occurrence of the sixteenth letter of the Ugaritic alphabet
(d ⟨/⟩) 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 xxxii 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 (l. 4) and lr²išhm (l. 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.[8] 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

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Clark, 1978), pp. 28-30, 123-127 (cited as CML^2) is also included.

[8]In translating CTA 23, I have adopted the methodology of
interpretation outlined by J. C. de Moor in The Seasonal Pattern in the
Ugaritic Myth of Ba^{c}lu according to the version of Ilimilku, Alter
Orient und Altes Testament, Band XVI (Kevelaer / Neukirchen-Vluyn,
1971), pp. 44-46. The use of biblical material is justified by the
close relationship between the literature and religion of Ugarit and
Israel, a relationship attested in the use made of Ugaritic material in
M. Dahood's Psalms, I, II, III (Garden City: Doubleday and Company,
Inc., 1965, 1968, 1970), and M. H. Pope, Song of Songs (Garden City:
Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1977), both in The Anchor Bible series.

fraught with uncertainty. Despite this drawback, the vocalization does clarify the translator's understanding of the text.[9] 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. ʾiqrʾa . ʾilm . n[ʿmm ǧlm ʾil]   I will call on the gods, the

[gracious ones, sons of El],

wysmm . bn . š[rm ....]   And the fair ones, p[rinces].

ytnm . qrt . l[ʿl[ynm......]   Let a city be given to [those

most high ......]

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[9]R. J. Clifford, The Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament, Harvard Semitic Monographs, IV (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), "Preface".

bmdbr . špm . yd[y p⸰i]r

In the wilderness, the bare heights, [let a crown be set]

L. 5.   lr⸰išhm . wyš[t lqdqdh]m

On their head and [placed on their pates].

lḥm . blḥm . [⸰a]y . wšty ..
bḫmr yn ⸰ay

Eat of the bread of [⸰a]y and drink of the wine, wine of ⸰ay.

šlm . mlk . šlm . mlkt .
ᶜrbm . wtnnm

Peace, O King! Peace, O Queen, ᶜrbm and tnnm!

---

mt . wšr . ytb . bdh . ḫṭ .
ṯkl . bdh

Mot-and-Šar sits; in his hand (is) the sceptre of child-lessness, in his hand (is)

ḫṭ . ⸰ulmn . yzbrnn .
zbrm / gpn

The sceptre of widowhood. The vine-pruners prune him.

L.10. [yṣ]mdnn . ṣmdm . gpn .
yšql . šdmth

The vine-binders [bind] him. They cause his šdmt to fall

km gpn

Like a vine.

šbᶜd . yr[g]m . ᶜl . ᶜd .
wᶜrbm . tᶜnyn

Seven times it shall be said to the ᶜd and the ᶜrbm shall reply.

---

wšd . šd . ʾilm . šd ʾaṯrt .	And the fields, the fields of
wrḫm⟨y⟩	the gods, the fields of
	Athirat and Raḥmay.
ᶜl . ʾišt . šbᶜd . ġzrm .	Over the fire seven times the
ṭb . (?) [g]d . bḥlb .	ġzrm shake (?) [coria]nder
	in milk,
ʾannḫ bḫmʾat	mint in butter.
L.15. wᶜl . ʾagn . šbᶜdm . dġ[t	And over the fire seven times
......]t	[incense (?)......]

tlkm . rḫmy . wtṣd [ʾaṯrt	Raḥmay goes forth and
gp ym] (?)	[Athirat] scours [the shore
	of the sea] (?).
tḥgrn . ġzr . nᶜ[m tlbšn] (?)	They are girded in might, in
	gra[ce clothed] (?).
wšm . ᶜrbm . yr[.....]	And the name the ᶜrbm [.....].

m[t]bt . ʾilm . ṯmn .	The thrones of the gods are
ṯ[bt......]	eight; the [seats......]
L.20. pʾamt . šbᶜ	Seven times.

ʾiqnʾu . šmt	Lapis lazuli, carnelian
[b]n . šrm .	(of) princes.

ʾiqrʾan . ʾi[l]m . nˁm[m

ʾagzr ym bn y]m

ynqm . bʾap zd . ʾaṯrt .

[wrḥmy]

L.25. špš . m[s/ṣ]prt . dlthm

[......]

wġnbm . šlm . ˁrbm .

tn[nm]

hlkm . bdbḥ nˁmt

šd [ʾil]m . šd . ʾaṯrt .

wrḥmy

[......] . y[ṯ]b

L.30. [......] . gp ym

wyṣ[ġ]d . gp . thm

[....] ʾil mštˁltm .

mštˁltm . lrʾiš .

ʾagn

hl[h] [t]špl . hlh . trm

hlh . tṣḥ . ʾad ʾad

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, ˁrbm,

tn[nm]

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";

whlh . tṣḥ . ᵓum . ᵓum .

    tᵓirkm . yd . ᵓil .

    kym

And behold, she shouts,
"Mother, Mother, let the
hand of El grow long as the
séa

wyd ᵓil . kmdb . ᵓark .

    yd . ᵓil . kym

And the hand of El as the
flood." The hand of El is
long as the sea

L.35.   w . yd . ᵓil . kmdb . yqḥ .

    ᵓil . mštᶜltm

And the hand of El (is) as the
flood. El takes two
torches,

mštᶜltm . lrᵓiš . ᵓagn .

    yqḥ . yš⟨t⟩ . bbth

Two torches to the top of the
fire. He takes (them);
he places (them) in his
house.

ᵓil . ḫth . nḫt . ᵓil .

    ymnn . mṭ . ydh .

    yšᵓu

yr . šmmh . yr . bšmm .

    ᶜṣr . yḫrṭ yšt

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)

lpḥm . ᵓil . ᵓat̲tm . kypt .

    hm . ᵓat̲tm . tṣḥn

On the coals. El surely
entices the two women. If
the two women shout,

L.40.   ymt . mt . nḥtm . ḥtk .

        mmmnm . mṭ ydk

       h[l] ᶜṣr . tḥrr . lʾišt .

        ṣḥrrt . lpḥmm

       a[t]tm . ʾaṯṯ . ʾil . ʾaṯṯ .

        ʾil . wᶜlmh . whm

       ʾa[t]tm . tṣḥn . y . ʾad

        ʾad . nḥtm . ḥtk

       m[m]nnm . mṭ ydk . hl .

        ᶜṣr . tḥrr . lʾišt

L.45.   wṣḥrrt . lpḥmm . btm .

        bt . ʾil . bt . ʾil

       wᶜlmh . whn . ʾaṯṯm .

        tṣḥn . y . mt mt

       nḥtm . ḥtk . mmmnm . mṭ

        ydk . hl . ᶜṣr

"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

thrr . l²išt . wshr<r>t .
lphmm . ³attm . ³a[tt
 ³il] .

Is roasting on the fire and
burning on the coals--
the two women are [wives of
El],

³a[t]t . ³il . w⁶lmh .
yhbr . špthm . yš[q]

Wives of El and his forever.
He stoops; he kisses their
lips.

L.50.   hn . špthm . mtqtm .
mtqtm . klrmn[m]
[b]m . nšq . whr . bhbq .
hmhmt . tqt[nsn]

Lo, their lips are sweet,
sweet as pomegranates.
[As] he kisses, there is
conception; as he embraces,
they become pregnant.
They [travail]

tldn . šhr . wšlm . rgm .
l²il . ybl . ³a[tty]

They bear šhr and šlm. Word
is brought to El. "My [two
wives,]

[³i]l . y[l]t . mh . ylt .
yldy . šhr . wšl[m]

El, have given birth." "What
have they borne?" "My two
children, šhr and šlm."

š²u . ⁶db . lšpš . rbt .
wlkbkbm . kn[m]

Take up, prepare (offerings)
for Lady Shapash and
for the fixed stars.

L.55.   y[h]br . spthm . yš[q] .
hn . [šp]thm . mtq[tm]

He stoops; he kisses their
lips. Lo, their lips are
sweet.

bm . nšq . whr‹. [b]ḥbq .

wḥ[m]ḥmt . ytbn

As he kisses, there is

conception; as he embraces,

they become pregnant. It

shall be

yspr . lḥmš . lsb[ʾi

wlišr . pḫr . klʾat

·Recited again five times

by [the troupe and by]

the leaders of the assembly.

Both

tqtnṣn . wtldn . tld [ʾilm]

·nᶜmm . ʾagzrym

Travail and bear. They bear

the [gods],/the gracious

ones, the voracious ones,

bn . ym . ynqm . bʾap [d]d

⟨št⟩ [r]gm ‹ lʾil · ybl

A day old, who suck at the

teats of the breasts [of

the ladies].

Word is brought to El.

L.60.   ʾatty . ʾil . ylt . mh ·.

ylt . ʾilmy nᶜmm

"My wives, El, have given

birth."

"What have they borne?"

"The gods, the gracious ones,

ʾagzrym . bn ym . ynqm .

bʾap . dd . št .. špt

The voracious ones, one day old,

who suck at the teats of

the breasts of the ladies."

A lip

lʾarṣ . špt lšmm .

Td earth, a lip to heaven.

w[l]ʿrb . bphm .
ʿṣr . šmm

And verily, enter their
mouths
the bird(s) of the
heavens

wdg bym . wndd . gz[r]
l⟨g⟩z[r] . yʿdb .
ʾuymn

And the fish in the sea. And
they wander. Morsel upon
morsel they set, the right
hand

ʾušmʾal . b[p]hm . wl[(?)]
tšbʿn . y . ʾatt . ʾitrḫ

The left hand in their mouths,
but they are not sated.
O wives (whom) I have
acquired for the bride
price,

L.65.   ybn . ʾaš[l]d šʾu . ʿ[db]
tk . mdbr qdš

O sons (whom) I have begotten,
take up, [prepare]
(offerings) in the midst of
the holy desert.

ṯm . tgrgr . lʾabnm . wl .
ʿṣm . šbʿ . šnt

There they run to and fro, to
stones and to trees (for)
seven years

tmt . ṯmn . nqpt . ʿd .
ʾilm . nʿmm . ttlkn

Complete, (for) eight
revolutions of time. The
gods, the gracious ones,
themselves walk

šd . tṣdn . pʾat . mdbr .

wngš . hm . nġr

(In) the field(s); they roam
the corner(s) of the
desert. And they approached
behold, the guardian of

mdrᶜ . w[ṣ]ḥ hm . ᶜm .

nġr . mdrᶜ . y . nġr

The sown. And they shout,
behold, to the guardian of
the sown: "O guardian,

L.70.   [nġ]r . pt[ḥ] . wptḥ hw .

prṣ . bᶜdhm

Guardian, open." And he opens
an opening for them

wᶜrb . hm . hm [ʾit...(?)

lḥ]m . wtn

And they enter. "If [there is
bread...(?)], then give

wnlḥ[m] . [ḥ]m . ʾit [yn

...(?) w]tn . wnšt

That we may eat. If there is
[wine...(?)], then
give that we may drink."

wᶜnhm . nġr mdrᶜ [ʾit lḥm

...(?)]

And the guardian of the sown
answers them: ["There is
bread...(?)

ʾit . yn . d[ᶜ]rb . b[t]k

[......]

There is wine. Those who enter
(?) [......]

L.75.   mġ hw (?)   . lhn . lg

He comes (?). Therefore (?) a
log of his

ynh [......]

wine [......]

wḥ[b]rh . mlʾa yn [...

......]

And his companion is full of
wine [......].

II. Textual Notes

L. 1. The word ꜣiqrꜣa (ꜣiqraꜣa), which functions as the verb of
ll. 1, 2, is a yqtl 1 c. sing. form of qrꜣ corresponding to the Hebrew
cohortative both morphologically and semantically.[10] The basic meaning
is "call". Ginsberg, Largement and Driver attribute to ꜣiqrꜣa in this
context the sense of proclaiming. Driver cites Deut. 32:3 as a biblical
analogy: kī šēm yhwh ꜣeqrāꜣ, "For I will proclaim the name of the
Lord."[11] The weight of scholarly opinion, however, favours translating
ꜣiqrꜣa as "I invoke".[12] The verb qrꜣ occurs eleven times in RS 24.224
in the clause qrꜣit / tqrꜣu . l . špš, "She called / calls to Shapash".
As the text is an incantation against snake-bite, the implicit sense is

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[10]H. L. Ginsberg, "Notes on 'The Birth of the Gracious and
Beautiful Gods'", JRAS (1935), 46. Cf. W. L. Moran, "The Hebrew
Language in its Northwest Semitic Background", The Bible and the Ancient
Near East, ed. G. E. Wright (New York: Doubleday and Co. Inc., 1965),
pp. 73-74.

[11]Ginsberg, "Notes", 63; R. Largement, La naissance de l'aurore:
Poème mythologique de Ras Shamra-Ugarit, Analecta Lovaniensia Biblica
et Orientalia, Ser. II, Fasc. ii (Gembloux et Louvain, 1949), p. 21;
Driver, CML, p. 121 and n. 4. The sense of "proclaim" is apparent in
the use of qārāꜣ in 1 Kg. 21:9, 12 and Amos 4:5.

[12]Ch. Virolleaud, "La naissance des dieux gracieux et beaux",
Syria, XIV (1933), 132; R. 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; C. H. Gordon, Ugaritic Literature (Rome:
Pontifical Biblical 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'Universitié Saint-Joseph, XXIX (1951-52), 6;
J. Gray, LC, p. 94; P. Xella, Il mito di Šḥr e Šlm: Saggio sulla
mitologia ugaritica (Rome: Istituto di Studi del Vicino Oriente, 1973),
p. 39; D. T. Tsumura, "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 qārāꜣ meaning "invoke".

one of invocation.[13] The form ꜣiqrꜣa is used in the Rephaim text CTA 21(122),A:2, 10 in parallelism with ꜣaṣḫ: ꜣaṣḫkm [.] ꜣiqrꜣa 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 nᶜmm, initially suggested by Virolleaud on the basis of ll. 23, 60, is generally accepted.[15] Largement restores n[ᶜmm . 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 l. 2. A more plausible restoration is n[ᶜmm ǵlm . ꜣil]. The phrase nᶜmm ǵlm ꜣil 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 ꜣilm nᶜmm are offspring of El (CTA 23:49 ff.). Thus their designation as ǵlm ꜣil would be appropriate. The parallel occurrences of nᶜm and ysm lend support to this suggestion. In CTA 5(67),VI:6-7, 28-30; 6(49),II:19-20 the phrase lnᶜmy . ꜣarṣ . dbr parallels lysmt . šd . šḫlmmt. This general pattern also is apparent in CTA 14(Krt),III:

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[13]Ch. Virolleaud, "Les nouveaux textes mythologiques et liturgiques de Ras Shamra XXIVᵉ campagne, 1961", Ugaritica, V, Text no. 7, pp. 564-572; M. C. Astour, "Two Ugaritic Serpent Charms", JNES, XXVII (1968), 13-36.

[14]The root ṣyḫ is cognate with Hebrew ṣāwaḥ, "charge", "command", "order". Gordon, UT 19.2162 suggests "shout", "order" or "invite".

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

[16]Largement, L'aurore, p. 21.

145-146, 291-292; VI:291-292: <u>dk . n^cm . ^cnt . n^cmh km . tsm . ^ct̲rt .</u>

<u>ts[mh].</u> In these passages both <u>n^cm</u> / <u>ysm</u> and their antecedents ·are

parallel. Thus it is probable that in <u>CTA</u> 23:1-2 n[^cmm......]

originally paralleled <u>wysmm bn šrm.</u> The reconstruction n[^cmm ġlm ʾil]

suits the pattern. Thus ll. 1-2 would be a bicolon exhibiting incomplete

synonomous parallelism:

> ʾiqraʾa ʾilīma na^cīmīma ġalmī ʾili
> wayasimīma banī šarrīma.

L. 2. The extant portion of the line ends with the signs ⟨T⟩ ≽⁄⁄.
The final sign could designate /w/ ≍≻≻, /k/ ≍≻, /p/ ≍ or /r/ ≍≻≻ .
Virolleaud's restoration of <u>šrm</u> 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 <u>šrm</u> is clear in l. 22,

the initial letter of the line has been obliterated so that <u>bn</u> is a

reconstruction. She reads <u>š(p/r)</u>, while suggesting the possibility of

restoring <u>špš</u>.[18] <u>KTU</u> reads <u>šp*[ ]</u>.[19] Despite the condition of the

lines, <u>bn šrm</u> is the most probable reading in both l. 2 and l. 22.

The meaning of <u>bn šrm</u> is controversial. The vocable <u>šr</u> has a wide

semantic range.[20] Arguing that the expression <u>bn</u> x was used in Ugaritic

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[17]Virolleaud, "La naissance", 129, 137.

[18]Herdner, <u>CTA</u>, p. 98 and n. 2.

[19]<u>KTU</u>, p. 67. The asterisk to the right of a letter indicates that
the letter is damaged. See also Gibson, <u>CML</u>[2], p. 123.

[20]Cf. Gordon, <u>UT</u> 19.2476-2481a. The most probable meanings in this
instance are "singer" from <u>šyr</u>, "to sing", (Hebrew <u>šārīm</u>) or, "prince",
corresponding to Hebrew <u>šār</u>, "prince", and Akkadian <u>šarru</u>, "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 šarri in RS 17.423 and RS 20.03.[26]

The fact that the expression mār šarri is an Akkadian phrase found in

royal correspondence does diminish its value for the explication of CTA

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

[22] Tsumura, "The Good Gods", p. 8.

[23] A.F. Rainey, "The Kingdom of Ugarit", The Biblical Archaeologist Reader, III, ed. E. F. Campbell and D. N. Freedman (New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1970), pp. 98–99.

[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, Šukurtešub, to Ammistamru II of Ugarit, in which the Hittite refers to himself as mār šarri. See J. Nougayrol, "Textes Suméro-Accadiens des archives et bibliothèques privées d'Ugarit", Ugaritica, V, pp. 91–94. Rainey (pp. 429, 430) also cites mārū šarrim / mār šarri in the Mari texts (ARM I, No. 27) and the el-Amarna tablets (EA 44) respectively. D. J. Wiseman points out that at Mari, royal princes are designated for the most part as mār šarri; cf. Wiseman's review of M. L. Burke's Textes administratifs de la salle III du palais (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1963) in JSS, X (1965), 125.

23:2. The Ugaritic equivalent of Akkadian mār šarri would be bn mlk (Hebrew ben melek). The parallel use of nᶜmm and ysmm is more helpful. As nᶜm + associated words parallels ysm + associated words in CTA 5(67); 16(49) and 14(Krt), it is probable that here ysmm bn šrm qualifies ᵓilm in the same manner as n[ᶜ mm ...]. Although El is never referred to as šr[27], 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]rᵓu skn, 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".

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[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 + mimation 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 mrᵓu skn see UT 19.1543 and 19.1754. In the latter section Gordon notes that in UT 2014: 8, 11, 12, 15, 27 skn parallels "king" and "queen".

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

[30]Virolleaud, "La naissance", 132, 137; Ginsberg, "Notes", 30, 64; Driver, CML, p. 121; Caquot, Textes Ougaritiques, p. 369.

L. 3. The end of the line is missing, the extant portion ending

ᛏᛏᛏ⟨ ᛏᛏᛏ 𝄚 . The final letter is /y/ ⚏⚏ or /ḥ/ ⚍ . A number of

reconstructions have been suggested, including l^{c}l[ḥ/y][31], l^{c}ly[32] and

l^{c}lynm.[33] KTU reads l^{c}ly*[   ].[34] While ^{c}lynm is not otherwise

attested in the Ugaritic corpus, this reading is the most probable

one.[35] It denotes the ᵓilm of l. 1 and may be compared with the

Hebrew ^{c}elyōn.

The meaning of qrt is contested. Ginsberg, Gaster, Driver and

Gray, among others, translate "honour" from a root w/yqr (Aramaic

yĕqār).[36] While this meaning suits the text in general and the opening

lines in particular, it is doubtful. The word qrt, "honour", would be

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[31]Gordon, UT, p. 174, although in UL (p. 58) he translates "on high". Largement, L'aurore, p. 21. Largement suggests l^{c}lḥ 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 Good Gods", p. 7.

[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 (l^{c}lynym).

[34]KTU, p. 67. See also Gibson, CML^2, p. 123.

[35]The word ^{c}alyānima is the m. pl. acc. form of ^{c}lyn, from ^{c}ly, "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 primae w/y roots: šebet from yāšab, redet from yārad, etc.

a *hapax legomenon*. Moreover, Tsumura's argument that, "... the feminine abstract noun qrt, based on the verb yqr, cannot be subject of ytn", is telling.[37] The feminine qrt would require ytnt. Trujillo suggests that the Ugaritic qrt is the equivalent of the Akkadian qarītu, "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 nĕtīnīm.[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

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[37]Tsumura, "The Good Gods", p. 25.

[38]G. van Driel, *The Cult of Aššur* (Assen: van Gorcum and Co., 1969), pp. 161-165.

[39]Trujillo, "A Sacrifical Meal", pp. 50, 61-64.

[40]Virolleaud, "La naissance", 132, 137; Largement, *L'aurore*, pp. 21, 28; A. van Selms, "Paᶜyal 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.

[41]B. A. Levine, "Notes on a Hebrew Ostracon from Arad", IEJ, XIX (1969), 50-51; B. A. Levine, "The Netinim", JBL, LXXXII (1963), 211; N. M. Sarna, "אתנחים, Job 12:19", JBL, LXXIV (1955), 273; L. R. Fisher, ed., *Ras Shamra Parallels*, II, Analecta Orientalia, L (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1975), II.16, pp. 53-54 (cited as RSP, II). Note the biblical references to the nĕtīnīm: Ez. 2:43; 7:7; Neh. 3:26; 7:46; 1 Chron. 9:2; Num. 3:9; 8:19; etc.

Rainey.[42] The suggestion that ytnm designates cultic functionaries is

based in part on the understanding of the bn šrm in l. 2. If the

latter are cultic personnel, then we should not be surprised to find

similar functionaries in l. 3. The thought process tends to be

circular.[43]

We prefer to regard ytnm as the internal passive G-stem of ytn,

"give", with the final /m/ being the equivalent of the Akkadian particle

-ma which may be affixed to any word for emphasis.[44] Thus we read

yutanma qiratu laᶜalyānīma; "Let a city be given to those most high."

L. 4. The latter part of the line is damaged. The restoration

ydℂ....ℑr is probable: /ℍℍℍ ▶.[45] Gaster's suggestion ℂytn-m pℑiℑr,

"Let a crown be set", has been adopted with slight modification by

Driver and Trujillo.[46] The restoration ytnm is impossible as the final

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[42]Tsumura, "The Good Gods", pp. 25, 26; Rainey, "The Kingdom of Ugarit", p. 99. Rainey notes that the rendering of ytnm as "libation pourers" is a "conjecture".

[43]For Levine ("The Netinim", 211) and Rainey ("The Kingdom of Ugarit", pp. 98-99), the identifications of bn šrm as musicians / singers and of ytnm as the Hebrew nĕtīnīm confirm each other.

[44]Ginsberg, "Notes", 46-47; 64; Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", 51; Driver, CML, p. 121; Trujillo, "A Sacrificial Meal", p. 61.

[45]Ginsberg, "Notes", 64; Gordon, UT, p. 174; Largement, L'aurore, p. 21; Herdner, CTA, p. 89; KTU, p. 67; Gibson, CML2, p. 123.

[46]Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", p. 56, n. 3. Driver, CML, pp. 120-121 reads ydℂy....pℑiℑr, "let a turban.... be put". Trujillo, "A Sacrificial Meal", p. 67, suggests ℂytnm ᶜtℑr, "ℂLet a garℑland ℂbe putℑ on...". Trujillo notes that a ᶜăṭārāh, "diadem" or "garland", is worn by royal dignitaries (Ez. 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 ᶜăṭeret pāz upon the king's head. The suggestion that

letters before the lacuna are yd[ ]. Thus Driver's yd[y ... pʾi]r is preferable, though ydy is not particularly common.[47]

The meaning of mdbr špm is problematic. The expression is usually compared with Jer. 12:12: kol šepāyim bammidbār, "all the bare heights of the steppeland".[48] It is possible that the meaning of mdbr špm is similar. Another possibility would be to regard špm as similar to Hebrew šāpat, "set on fire", perhaps analogous to mišpětayim, "fire-places" or "ash-heaps". While this understanding may be less likely than interpreting mdbr špm on analogy with Jer. 4:11; 12:12, the references to "fire" in 11. 14, 39 f. are interesting. A reading such as "region of the fire-places", referring to sacrificial altars or a cult site similar to šdmt 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 qdqdhm. This restoration is based on those passages in which rʾiš and qdqd are found

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ᶜṭr occurs in CTA 16(127),II:11; VI:8 is of dubious value. In CTA 16 (126),III:11 the word is ᶜṭrṭrm while in CTA 16(127),VI:8 Herdner (CTA, p. 76) reads [p/t/ᶜ:]ṭr while Gray (The Krt Text in the Literature of Ras Shamra, 2nd ed. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1964), p. 28) reads ᶜṭrptm.

[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 nātan, "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 šepī, "bareness", "bare height".

in parallelism.[49]   Ginsberg and Gray restore wyšɛt ꝺm.[50]   Both of

these restorations are adopted by Gaster, Driver and Trujillo. Thus the

restored portion reads wyšɛt lqdqdhꝺm, "and place on their pates."[51]

Given the frequent occurrence of rꝺiš // qdqd in both Ugaritic and

Hebrew, this restoration is reasonable.

L. 6. While the /ꝺa/ of the initial ꝺay 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 ꝺay, "ho!" or "yes".[52] 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 hl as an exclamative (11.

32, 33, 41, etc.). The translations "island" / "coast" and "any" are

possible but not compelling.[53] Ginsberg believes that ꝺay is a

particular term of unknown meaning, translating, " ... bread of ꝺay (?)

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[49]Virolleaud, "La naissance", 137. Note CTA 5(67),VI:15–16; 16
(127),VI:56–57; 17(2 Aqht),VI:37. The words rōꝺš and qādqod occur
together in Gen. 49:26; Deut. 33:16; Ps. 7:17 (EV.16); 68:22 (EV.21).
See U. Cassuto, The Goddess Anath, trans. I. Abrahams (Jerusalem: The
Magnes Press, 1971), p. 27; see also Cassuto, Biblical and Oriental
Studies, Vol. II, trans. I. Abrahams (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1975),
p. 48.

[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]Largement (L'aurore, pp. 21, 30) reads "island" or "coast" after
Hebrew ꝺīy, "coast". Gordon (UT 19.142) suggests "any" on analogy with
Hebrew ꝺēy.

...". Aistleitner also leaves this word untranslated.[54]

The word ḫmr is perplexing. Most scholars understand ḫmr to denote wine and to allude to the fermentation process. Note, for example, Trujillo's translation of bḫmr yn as "foaming wine".[55] De Moor suggests that ḫmr is equivalent to Hebrew ḥemer, "wine", and refers to a special kind of wine that is differentiated from yn. This is probably a new wine still in the process of fermenting.[56] Dahood argues for interpreting ḫmr as a "vat" or "bowl" and cites several biblical and Ugaritic passages in support of this understanding.[57] Emending the MT ḥāmer in Deut. 32:14c to ḥōmer, he reads, dam ᶜēnāb tisteh ḥōmer, "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, kī kōs bĕyad yhwh wĕyayin ḥāmar mālēʾ mesek, "For in the hand of the Lord there is a cup, with foaming

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[54]Ginsberg, "Notes", 48, 64. See also J. Aistleitner, Mythologische und kultische Texte aus Ras Shamra (Budapest: Akademiai Kidao, 1959), p. 58 and "Götterzeugung in Ugarit und Dilmun (SS und Ni. 4561)", Acta Orient. Hung., III (1953), 295.

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

[56]De Moor, The Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Baᶜlu, p. 75. Note the Hebrew verb ḥāmar, "ferment", "boil".

[57]Dahood, Ugaritic-Hebrew Philology, p. 59; Dahood, Psalms, II, pp. 209, 214; Psalms, III, p. 449. See also L. R. Fisher, ed., Ras Shamra Parallels, I, Analecta Orientalia, XLIX (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1972), II.199, pp. 186-187; III.59, pp. 416-417 (cited as RSP, I).

[58]Dahood, Psalms, II, p. 214.

[59]RSP, I, III.59, pp. 416-417.

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(ᶜnt),I:15-17
reads ᵓalp kd . yqḥ . bḥmr rbt . ymsk . bmskh. The issue hinges on the
parallelism bḥmr // 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(ᶜnt),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 ḥmr designates some form of
wine, probably wine still in the fermenting process.

Proverbs 9:5 provides an interesting parallel to 1. 6: lĕkū laḥămū
bĕlaḥămī ūšĕtū bĕyayin māsāktī, "Come, eat of my bread, and drink of the
wine which I have mixed".[64]

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[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 ḥmr in the banquet scene in CTA 3
(ᶜnt),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

(⟨⟨⟨⟨√⟩⟩ ///⟨⟨/⟨⟨/ ⊢) has given rise to a variety of reconstructions.[65]

Herdner's restoration is the most probable one: šlm . mlk . šlm . 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 ʿrbm and ṯnnm 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 oases.[68] Gaster translates ʿrbm and

ṯnnm as "sacristans" and "votaries" respectively, on analogy with the

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[65]Virolleaud, "La naissance", 130, 133: šlm + (?) mlk (?) . šlm
. mlkt, "(O) Salem! you will exercise, (O) Salem! the Kingship ...".
Largement, L'aurore, p. 21: šlmt mlk . šlm . mlkt, "you have filled,
Mlk-šlm, the queen ...". Ginsberg, "Notes", 64: šlm [l] tmlk . šlm .
mlkt, "Peace reigneth. May Peace reign ....". He suggests (p. 64, n.
2, 3) that the subject (šlm) 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: šlmt mlk . šlm . 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; Xella, Il mito, p. 33; Gibson, CML[2], p. 123.
KTU reads š*l*m* . m*l*k* . š*l*m . mlkt (p. 67).

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

[68]Dussaud, "Le commerce", 62, after ʿrb, "to go in", and ṯnn, "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 ʿrbm wtnnm.

Akkadian priests, the ērib bītī.[69] Translating ⁽rbm as "assailants" and

tnnm as "combatants", Largement suggests that they were important groups

in the community and that they originally had a military character.[70]

This position is probable with respect to the tnnm. In CTA 14(Krt),II:

90-91, tnnm parallels ḫpṯ, "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 ḫpṯ (11. 5, 25). Lete believes

that the tnnm of Keret's army may be similar to the Hebrew šin⁾ān and

the Akkadian šananu, "archer".[71] 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).[72] In UT 169:4

they occur together with the mrynm (1. 11). The latter are a ruling

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[69]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).

[70]Largement, L'aurore, pp. 21, 31-32.

[71]D. O. Lete, "Notes on Ugaritic Semantics I", UF, VII (1975), pp.
100, 101, n. 70, 71. D. J. Wiseman, The Alalakh Tablets (London: The
British School of Archaeology in Ankara, 1953), pp. 11-12, suggests that
the Ugaritic tnnm are equivalent to the šananu-warriors of Alalakh. He
regards the latter as "archers" on the basis of Egyptian snn, meaning
"chariot-warrior", "archer". See also W. A. Ward, "Comparative Studies
in Egyptian and Ugaritic"; JNES, XX (1961), 39; Dahood, Psalms, II, pp.
142-143; W. F. Albright, "Early Hebrew Lyric Poems", HUCA, XXIII (1950),
25; A. F. Rainey, "The Social Stratification of Ugarit", (Ph.D.
dissertation, Brandeis University, 1962), p. 140.

[72]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 ṯnnm as military personnel in the retinue of the king is substantial. There is less certainty with respect to the ʿrbm. The Akkadian ērib bīti is suggestive, though not conclusive. In CTA 23 the ʿrbm make a liturgical response (1. 12) and, together with the ṯnnm, bring sacrifices (11. 26-27)ᵉ. 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 mt wšr (mōtu-wašaru) is a binomial 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]

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[73]The ṯnnm and mrynm appear together in UT 1031:1, 3, 9 and UT 1028:1, 2, 4. The mrynm are well attested at Ugarit. For a discussion of the mrynm, see Rainey, "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, mt-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 <u>ṯkl</u>, "bereavement", and <u>ᵓulmn</u>, "widowhood" (1. 9).
The use of these words in close proximity is familiar from the Old
Testament.[76] Driver translates <u>ṯkl</u> as "miscarriage" while Gray reads
"sterility".[77] Astour asserts, however, that the proper meaning of <u>ṯkl</u>
in both Hebrew (<u>šākal</u>) and Arabic (<u>ṯakila</u>) is "to bereave of children",
that is, "children already born".[78] Tsumura agrees with Astour,
rejecting the suggestions that in <u>CTA</u> 23:8 ·ṯkl may suggest
"miscarriage", "sterility".[79] While Astour and Tsumura are correct
with respect to the basic meaning of <u>ṯkl</u>, there is merit in attributing
to this word nuances such as those suggested by Driver and Gray. Astour
admits that in RS 24.244:61-62 the words <u>wṯkl bnwth</u> 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

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p. 21; Driver, <u>CML</u>, p. 121; Gray, <u>LC</u>, p. 95. Conversely, Ginsberg,
"Notes", 48-51 argues that <u>bd</u> is a verb having the sense of "to seize",
"to handle". He translates <u>dbh ḥṭ</u> as "a rod of bereavement has struck".
Given the treatment of Mot and the prominence of birth in the text, this
interpretation is highly improbable.

[76]Isa. 47:9: <u>běyōm ᵓeḥād šěkōl wěᵓalmōn</u>, "In one day, the loss of
children and widowhood." Note also Isa. 47:8; Jer. 15:7-8; 18:21.

[77]Driver, <u>CML</u>, p. 122; Gray, <u>LC</u>, p. 96.

[78]M. C. Astour, "Two Ugaritic Serpent Charms", <u>JNES</u>, XXVII (1968),
22.

[79]Tsumura, "A Ugaritic God", 409. On the analogy of the occurrence
of <u>šěkōl</u> and <u>ᵓalmōn</u> in Jer. 15:7-8 with the <u>Piᶜel</u> form of <u>ᵓābad</u>, "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 <u>šěkōl</u> and <u>ᵓalmōn</u> 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 <u>CTA</u> 23, it is fitting that

descendants, who was affected. The statement refers to Ḥoron's loss of virility or procreative power.[80] Thus <u>tkl</u> can denote sterility. In Ex. 23:26 the Pi^cel participle mĕšakkēlāh, from šakal, occurs with the adjective ^cāqārāh, "barren", and means "miscarriage". As <u>CTA</u> 23 is concerned primarily with the birth of <u>šḥr</u> and <u>šlm</u>, we follow Albright in translating <u>tkl</u> 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 <u>ḥt tkl</u> occur in the fragment RS 19.179(<u>UT</u> 2002):4, which may represent the remains of another text of <u>CTA</u> 23.[82]

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

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<u>tkl</u> and <u>ʾulmn</u> refer specifically to this theme.

[80]Astour, "Two Ugaritic Serpent Charms", 22-23; Virolleaud, "Les nouveaux textes", <u>Ugaritica</u>, V, pp. 570-571.

[81]Albright, "The Myth of the Gracious Gods", 133.

[82]<u>PRU</u>, V, No. 2, p. 6.

[83]<u>UT</u> 6:16-17; 9:15; cf. Tsumura, "The Good Gods", pp. 33, 119, n. 110.

[84]<u>UT</u> 19.2170. The /ṣ/ of <u>yṣmdnn</u>, while damaged, is certain. <u>KTU</u> reads yṣ*mdnn (p. 67).

expression simdē kerem, "vineyard", in Isa. 5:10. The words km gpn in

l. 11 suggest that km is to be understood as preceding gpn in 11. 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 11. 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" (yašaqīlū).[86] Another possibility is that the verb is a G-

stem 3 m. pl. form of a verb šql, "to slay" (yašqulū).[87] In either

case, the meaning of l. 10 would be the same. Note that in CTA 4(51),

VI:40-41 and CTA 22(124),B:12-13 šql parallels ṭbḫ, "to slaughter":

> ṭbḫ . ʾalpm . ʾap ṣʾin
> šql ṯrm wmrʾi ʾilm

> They have slain oxen, also sheep
> They have felled bulls, fatlings of rams.[88]

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

[86] Largement, L'aurore, p. 22. The suggested translation, "he trims his vineyards", is incorrect. Tsumura, "The Good Gods", p. 34 and "A Ugaritic God", 408, 412.

[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.

The word šdmth has been subjected to different interpretations. A
number of scholars have equated it with the Hebrew šĕdēmāh, "field".[89]
If this view is accepted, the word refers to the domain or territory of
Mot. In 2 Sam. 9:7 śādeh refers to the personal estate of the king.[90]
Note also the Ugaritic expression dd ʾil, "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, moreoever, that šdmt in
CTA 23 is a similar technical term.[93] Lehmann's position is probable.

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[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".

[90]Cf. Brown, Driver and Briggs, A Hebrew Lexicon of the Old
Testament (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1907), p. 461.

[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 śĕdēh māwet, "field of death". M. R. Lehmann, "A New Inter-
pretation of the Term שדמות", 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 šdmt designates that region where Mot holds sway. This domain of death may be an actual cult site. Note that šādmōt 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, ⲧ /g/, ⲫ /z/ or ⲫ /ḫ/ are credible. A number of commentators favour /ḫ/, restoring yrḫm.[94] The meaning of yrḫm 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.[95] Those who favour this interpretation of yrḫm believe ᶜd to designate a cultic object or structure as well.[96]

While this interpretation is possible, the restoration yrgm is preferred.[97] The word is an internal passive of the G-stem yqtl 3 m. sing. form of rgm, "to cry", "call", "speak out" (yurgamu). Similarly,

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[94]Virolleaud, "La naissance", 133, 139; Dussaud, "Les Phéniciens", pp. 12, n. 5, 13; Barton, "The Spring Festival at Jerusalem", 63; Ginsberg, "Notes", 65; Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", 52; Gordon, UT, p. 174.

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

[96]Virolleaud suggests that ᶜd 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 yrḫm is also possible. See also KTU, p. 67 and Gibson, CML2, p. 123.

it is unlikely that ꜥd designates a sacred object or building. A

number of commentators have regarded Ugaritic ꜥd as a cognate of the

Arabic ꜥudu, "seven-stringed lute".[98] Gray cites the use of the

preposition ꜥal in Psalm superscriptions to indicate musical

accompaniment in support of this interpretation.[99] Note, for example,

the following phrase in the superscription of Ps. 6:1: binginōt ꜥal

haššĕmīnīt, "with stringed instruments, according to the eighth."[100]

This analogy suggests that ꜥd may designate a form of chant or perhaps

even a rhythm or key. The notion that ꜥd has some connection with music

finds support in the occurrence of ꜥny in l. 12. In Hebrew ꜥānāh can

mean either "answer/reply" or "sing".[101] It has this latter meaning in

Ex. 32:18. Thus l. 12 would read, "Seven times it shall be said to (the

accompaniment of) the ꜥd (lute or chant, etc.?) and the ꜥrbm shall

sing."

Another possibility is that ꜥd is derived from wꜥd, "to appoint",

and is cognate with the Hebrew noun ꜥēdāh, "congregation", "assembly".

If this rendering of ꜥd is correct, there is a structural balance

between yrgm ꜥl ꜥd and wꜥrbm tꜥnyn. Yet the fact that pḫr is used for

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

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

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

[101]In the superscription of Ps. 88, the word lĕꜥannōt seems to be
derived from ꜥānāh, "sing"; cf. Dahood, Psalms, II, p. 302?

"assembly" in l. 57 suggests that <u>ᶜd</u> should be translated in some other manner. Thus we interpret <u>ᶜd</u> as a musical term.

L. 13. A number of commentators have seen in the word <u>šd</u> reference to either the breasts of the goddesses or the milk thereof.[102] While the general theme of birth and the fact that Athirat, and perhaps Raḥmay as well, nurse the <u>ʾilm nᶜmm</u> (ll. 24, 59, 61) make this interpretation attractive, it is fraught with philological difficulty. Ugaritic /š/ becomes Hebrew /ś/ as in <u>śādeh</u>, "field", while Ugaritic /t̠/ shifts to Hebrew /š/ as in <u>šōd</u>, "female breast".[103] Free from philological difficulty, the translation of <u>šd</u> as "field" is preferable to the problematic rendering "breast".[104]

Unlike <u>mt wšr</u>, <u>ʾat̠rt wrḥm</u> is not a compound name designating a

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[102] In "A Canaanite Ritual Drama" (p. 63), Gaster notes that if <u>šd</u> 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 <u>šd</u> as "fields" (cf. p. 52). Ginsberg ("Notes", 51) suggests that when <u>šd</u>, <u>dd</u> and <u>zd</u> are juxtaposed with <u>ʾat̠rt wrḥm⟨y⟩</u>, <u>ʾat̠rt</u> alone, or <u>št̠</u>, they are miswritten for <u>t̠d</u>. Gray (<u>LC</u>, p. 96, n. 8) follows Driver (<u>CML</u>, pp. 121, 148) in translating <u>šd</u> as "effluence" (<u>šdy</u>, "outpouring", "issue", "discharge"), after Aramaic <u>šĕdā</u>ʾ, "pour out". Driver (p. 121, n. 8) suggests that <u>šd</u> refers to "milk from the breasts".

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

[104] Virolleaud, "La naissance", 133, 140; Largement, <u>L'aurore</u>, pp. 22, 34; Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", 52; Gordon, <u>UL</u>, p. 59; <u>UT</u> 19.2385-6; Tsumura, "The Good Gods", p. 39; Xella, <u>Il mito</u>, pp. 36, 53.

single deity.[105]   Such a binominal designation of Athirat is not

attested in the Ugaritic corpus, even though there are innumerable

references to this deity.   Nor is rḥm ever used as an epithet or

attribute of this goddess.   This word is associated with Anat, however,

in the phrase rḥm ᶜnt in CTA 6(49),II:27.[106]   Here rḥm is a title of the

goddess, comparable to the characteristic epithet btlt.   This passage

raises the possibility of equating rḥm(y) with Anat in CTA 23.[107]   The

goddess rḥmy 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 rḥmy in CTA 23

is Anat and initially Kapelrud shared this opinion.[108]   Subsequently

Kapelrud has concluded that this identification is by no means certain

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[105]Contra Gordon, UT 8.61.

[106]The words rḥm ᶜnt are restored in CTA 6(49),II:5.   In the
fragmentary and obscure mythological text CTA 13(6):2, rḥm is restored
on the basis of the occurrences of rḥm(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 Athtart and Anat.   De Moor suggests
that ᶜttrt wᶜnt in RS 24.258:9 is a composite deity similar in type to
ktr-wḥss 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'aurore, 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.[109] While refraining

from explicitly equating rḥmy with Anat, Driver suggests that both

Athirat and Anat appear in CTA 23.[110] While the equation of Raḥmay with

Anat cannot be demonstrated conclusively, the phrase rḥm ᶜnt does

support such an identification. The name rḥmy is derived from the noun

rḥm (Hebrew reḥem), "womb", with the feminine suffix -y (-ay) which

occurs most frequently in feminine personal names.[111] The word rḥm is

not associated solely with divine beings. Keret's eighth daughter is

designated as rḥmt in CTA 16(125),I:33. This usage has an analogue in

Jdg. 5:30, where raḥam denotes a young woman. Both contexts are

poetic.

L. 14. The text is badly damaged between ġzrm and bḥlb.

Virolleaud's restoration of tb[ḥ . g]d has been widely accepted, despite

the fact that Virolleaud admitted that this reconstruction is

conjectural.[112] There are numerous difficulties with this suggestion.

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[109]A. S. Kapelrud, The Violent Goddess (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1969), pp. 33-37.

[110]Driver, CML, p. 23, n. 3. See also Gaster, Thespis, p. 422; Oldenburg, The Conflict between El and Baᶜal 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.[113] The word ṯbḫ poses a greater problem. The occurrences of ṯbḫ in association with šql·in CTA 4(51),VI:40-41 and in CTA 22(124), B:12 indicate that this word does not mean "cook", but "slaughter".[114] The translation of gd as "kid" is equally problematic. The usual Ugaritic word for "kid" is gdy (Hebrew gědīy). The parallelism gd bḫlb // ʾannḫ bḫmʾat provides no support, as the meaning of ʾannḫ is uncertain. This word is translated as "kid" or "lamb" on the basis of gd.[115]

Pope has proposed that sense can be made of Herdner's reading ṯb . (?) [g]d.[116] He suggests that gd may mean "coriander" and ʾannḫ "mint". Note the occurrence of Hebrew gad, "coriander", in Ex. 16:31 and Num. 11:7. Ugaritic ʾannḫ would be cognate with Akkadian nanaḫu and Syriac nanha.[117] Pope understands ṯb to be a verb, cognate with Arabic

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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 l. 10. See also S. E. Loewenstamm, "Lexicographical Notes on 1. ṯbḫ; 2. hnny/ḫlny", UF, V (1973), 209-210.

[115]UT 19:257, 560.

[116]M. Pope, "23 52 The Birth of the Beautiful Gods". A paper presented to the Ugaritic Studies Group at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, Chicago, 1975. Mimeographed, pp. 2, 10-11. See Herdner, CTA, p. 98; Gibson, CML², p. 123, n. 11. KTU, p. 67 reads g . ṯb . g*(?)d (see also n. 2).

[117]Driver, CML, pp. 121, 135, n. 28; Aistleitner, Wörterbuch, No. 1794, p. 206.

ṯbb, "beat", "shake". Thus he translates, "Over the fire seven times the heroes, / Shake (?) [coria]nder 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 ǵzrm. While leaving this word untranslated, Virolleaud suggests that it either refers to a deity or corresponds to Arabic ǵazr which means "abundance of milk" when applied to animals.[118] Driver and Gray translate "sacrificers", apparently on the basis of the context.[119] The usual meaning of ǵzr is "hero" and this is the meaning adopted by Follet and Gordon.[120] In CTA 3(ᶜnt),II:22 and CTA 19(1 Aqht)XV:206 ǵzr is synonymous with ṣbᵓu.[121] This supports the translation "heroes", while imparting a military connotation. Citing a bilingual inscription from Leptis Magna in which the Punic title ᵓdm ᶜzrm is translated by the Latin praefectus sacrorum, Largement suggests that ǵzr is the title of

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[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 ǵzr; see "Notes", p. 65, n. 2.

[119]Driver, CML, p. 121; Gray, LC, p. 97.

[120]Follet, "Notes sur une traduction récente d'un texte religieux d'Ugarit", 8; Gordon, UL, p. 59. Cf. UT 19.1956.

[121]On the basis of these occurrences of ǵzr, 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 ꜥrbm and tnnm.[122] This view is consistent with the occurrences of ġzr in the passages cited above. Like the tnnm, the ġzrm 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 dġ[ ]t.[123] Ginsberg restores dġ[ṣt ?]t, "fresh water". Driver, followed by Gray, suggests dġ[ṣt yṣ]qt, "fresh water is poured."[124] As Largement acknowledges, the restoration and the translation "fresh water" are based on a rare Arabic cognate daġiṣtu, "pure water", and on the need to fill a lacuna.[125] While possible, these restorations are not compelling. Gibson's dġ[ṭ .....]t is preferable.[126]

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

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[122] Largement, L'aurore, p. 35. See J. G. Février, "Magistratures et sacerdoces puniques", RA, XLII (1948), 80-87.

[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, CML², p. 124. KTU (p. 67) reads dġ*ṭ*(?)t* [. dġ]ṭ*t.

CTA 19(1 Aqht),IV:185, 186, 192, 193.[127] 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 tuḫḫuwai, he suggests that dġt might mean "incense of purification."[128] The usual Ugaritic term for "smoke" or "incense" is qṭr.

The restoration dġt is plausible in light of the references to fire (ʾišt in l. 14 and ʾagn in l. 15). It is less conjectural than dġġt. On the basis of the parallelism with l. 14, it is also possible that /d/ is the relative pronoun prefixed to ġzrm.[129]

Several translations of ʾagn are possible. A number of commentators favour "bowl", after Hebrew ʾaggān.[130] In Ex. 24:6 ʾaggān occurs in a ritual context. The parallelism l . ʾišt . šbᶜd (l. 14) // wᶜl . ʾagn . šbᶜdm (l. 15) suggests, however, that ʾagn means "fire". Thus ʾagn is an Indo-European loan word related to Sanskrit agni and

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[127]H. A. Hoffner, "An Anatolian Cult Term in Ugaritic", JNES, XXIII (1964), 66-68. Hoffner explains the form dġt by noting the occurrence of Ugaritic ḫtt (Anatolian ḫattuš), and the shift from Hittite /ḫ/ to Ugaritic /ġ/, as exemplified in the personal name tutḫaliya > tdġl.

[128]J. C. de Moor, "Frustula Ugaritica", JNES, XXIV (1956), 355-356. He suggests that Ugaritic dġt is related to two Hittite words, tuḫs which denotes some form of ritual purification, and tuḫḫueššar which names an unknown substance used in purification rites and is related to tuḫḫuwai, "smoke".

[129]UT 6.23-27; 13.68-69, 71.

[130]Virolleaud, "La naissance", 133; Largement, L'aurore, 35; Driver, SML, 121; Gray, LC, 97; Caquot, Textes Ougaritiques, p. 371, Gibson, CML², p. 124.

Latin ignis.[131] The meaning "fire" is preferred in 1. 15 on the basis

of the parallel ʾišt // ʾagn and is as appropriate in 11. 31, 36 as

"vessel" or "bowl".

The parallel between 1. 14 and 1. 15 suggests that šbᶜdm is

probably šbᶜd + enclitic /m/, rather than a dual form meaning "twice

seven times."[132]

L. 16. Several restorations have been proposed for the missing

portion of the line. On the basis of 11. 67-68, Largement restores

pʾat mdbr.[133] While this is possible, it is the gracious gods who

roam the "corners of the wilderness" in 11. 67-68, not Raḥmay. As

both Raḥmay and Athirat appear together in 11. 13, 28, Athirat may have

been the subject of wtṣd.[134] Thus tlkm . rḥmy would have paralleled

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[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 1. 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 ʾagn as "the blazing fire", on
the basis of Arabic ʾjj, "to burn fiercely".

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

[133]Largement, L'aurore, pp. 22, 36. Driver, CML, pp. 120, 121,
suggests wtṣd[ʾaṯrt mdbr].

[134]Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", 52; Driver, CML, pp. 120,
121; Gray, LC, p. 98, n. 2. Goddesses are often the subjects of ṣd.
In RS 24.258:23, ᶜnt w ᶜṯtrt go hunting (tṣdn). Anat hunts game
(tdd ᶜnt .ṣd) in CTA 22(124),B:10-11, and in RS 19.39(2001):2-3
"Astarte the huntress" goes into the desert: ᶜṯtrt ṣwd[t...] tlk b
mdb[r...]. See Ugaritica, V, pp. 545-550; PRU, V, pp. 3-4; de Moor,
"The New Alphabetic Texts", 170-171, 174.

wtṣd ᵓaṯrt. This restoration is probable. The verb tlkm is the G-stem,

3 f. s., yqtl form of hlk, "go" or "walk", with the enclitic /m/

(talikuma). The verb tṣd is the G-stem, 3 f. s. yqtl form of ṣ(w/y)d,

"to walk", "scour", "range", "hunt". This word is cognate with Hebrew

ṣūd, "hunt", and Akkadian ṣadu, "to prowl", "roam", "hunt". The verbs

hlk and ṣ(w/y)d occur together in CTA 5(67),VI:26-28: ᶜnt . ttlk . wtṣd

. kl . ġr lkbd . ᵓarṣ . kl . gbᶜ l[k]bd . 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 ṣ(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 Raḥmay, it is possible that l. 16 placed

the goddesses at the shore. Thus we suggest the reconstruction: wtṣd

[ᵓaṯrt gp ym].

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[135]Note also CTA 6(49),II:15-17 and CTA 12(75),I:34-35. The latter
reads, bᶜl . ytlk . wyṣd yb pᵓat . mlbr, "Baal goes forth and roams, he
hastens to the corners of the desert." Mlbr is written for mdbr (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
*ṣwd constitutes a hendiadys and indicates that *ṣwd 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^{c}m, although only the horizontal stroke of the /m/ remains. Believing ġzr to be a deity, Virolleaud reconstructs n^c[m ᵓilm], "You shall encompass Gazir, the most grac[ious 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] Ġzr does occur as an epithet of Mot in the phrase ydd ᵓil ġzr, "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 ll. 8-11. Moreover, the word ġzr 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^c[m tlbšn]. Ġzr 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: tḥgrn ġzr // n^{c}m tlbšn, "They are girded in might // in grace they are clothed." A similar idea is expressed in Prov. 31:17: ḥāġĕrāh bĕ^{c}ōz motneyhā, "She girds her loins with strength." The verb

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[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 rḥmy and ġzr n^{c}m 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 (tahgurānī) or a passive
G-stem 3 f. .pl. yqtl form (tuhgarūnā) of hgr (Hebrew hāgar), "gird".
The same description is applicable to tlbšn (talbušānī or tulbašūnā).
The root of this verb is lbš, "dress", "put on clothing", which is a
cognate of Hebrew lābaš, "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
wnšm, "and men", suggested initially by Virolleaud, is not possible.
Nor is wtšm, "and they set".[140] It is possible to read the enclitic
particle /k/+ tšm, "When the Crbm set".[141] Herdner's reading wšm seems
more plausible.[142] Ugaritic šm is equivalent to Hebrew šēm, "name".

Several reconstructions have been suggested with respect to the
final extant letters: yr[d], "go down"; yr[nn], "sing"; yr[hm].[143]
Another possibility would be yrgm, after 1. 12. Any restoration of
this line is conjectural. The only certainty is the reference to the

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[140]Virolleaud, "La naissance", 130, 133; followed by Ginsberg,
"Notes", 65; Largement, L'aurore, p. 22. The reading wtšm 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]UT 12.3.

[142]Herdner, CTA, p. 98; Gibson, CML², p. 124; KTU, p. 67.

[143]Virolleaud, "La naissance", 141 (yrd); Ginsberg, "Notes", 65
(yrnn). 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 yrhm.

ᶜrbm.

L. 19. There is general agreement as to the restoration of /t̪/ in m̪t̪bt and of t̪[bt......]. [144] Both m̪t̪bt (mot̪ābātu) and restored t̪bt ‑(t̪ābātu) are f. pl. const. forms of nouns derived from yt̪b (Hebrew yāšab), "sit", "dwell". T̪bt means "seat" (Hebrew šebet) and m̪t̪b (Hebrew mōšāb) usually denotes a "dwelling". [145] In CTA 16(126),V:24‑25, however, m̪t̪bt designates the princely dwelling-place, perhaps throne room, of the divine assembly: t̪b . bny . lm̪t̪b[t̪]km lkh̪t̪ . zblk[m], "Return, my sons, to your m̪t̪bt, to your princely thrones." The parallelism suggests that m̪t̪b means "throne" or the like. The word m̪t̪bt is found in a liturgical context in CTA 35(3):51, while m̪t̪bt ᵓilm occurs in the fragmentary line CTA 47(33):5. Neither of these contexts is helpful in elucidating m̪t̪bt in l. 19 or the meaning of the line.

Tsumura suggests that ᵓilm is the singular ᵓil + enclitic /m/. The plural m̪t̪bt refers to the eight chambers mentioned in CTA 3(ᶜnt),V: 19-20, 34-35. [146] Not only are the passages dissimilar, but it is difficult to equate m̪t̪bt with h̪drm, "rooms", and ᵓap sgrt, "compartments". Tsumura's suggestion is not compelling.

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[144] These restorations were suggested initially by Virolleaud, "La naissance", 130, 141, and adopted by scholars such as Ginsberg, "Notes", 65 and Largement, L'aurore, pp. 22, 37. Herdner, CTA, p. 99 and Gordon, UT, p. 174 prefer the more cautious reading t̪[...] to t̪[bt...]. KTU, p. 67 reads m*t̪*bt and t̪[ ], while Gibson, CML2, p. 124 restores the final word as t̪[mn ....].

[145] Gordon, UT, 19.1177, 2646a.

[146] Tsumura, "The Good Gods", pp. 48, 131, n. 207.

L. 20. Several meanings have been suggested for p'amt. Although

he refrains from translating this word, Virolleaud suggests that it

designates female deities associated with the 'ilm of the preceding

line. He asserts that the general sense of p'am is "strong", after

Hebrew piymāh, "superabundance", and Akkadian piyāmu, "strong".[147] 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

'amt (Hebrew 'āmāh), "maid", "handmaid", with the co-ordinating

conjunction pa-. Note that 'amt does occur in association with Athirat

in the Ugaritic corpus.[148] The presence of 'ilm and particularly of

šbʿ suggest, however, that a plural form is required. The plural of

'amt is 'amht. Thus "handmaid" is also improbable. Largement believes

that p'amt denotes a divine habitation, paralleling mtbt in meaning.[149]

There is no evidence to support this assertion.

The correct translation of p'amt šbʿ is "seven times".[150]

According to Gordon, p'amt is cognate with Hebrew paʿam, "a time". The

different laryngeal results from the blending of pʿn, "foot", and

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

[148]CTA, 4(51),IV:61; 12(75),I:16-17: 'amt 'atrt.

[149]Largement, L'aurore, p. 36.

[150]Follet, "Note sur une traduction récente d'un texte religieux
d'Ugarit", 9; Aistleitner, "Götterzeugung", 296; Gordon, UL, p. 59 and
UT 19.1998; Trujillo, "A Sacrificial Meal", p. 127; Tsumura, "The Good
Gods", p. 49.

pᵓamt, "a time", producing Hebrew pᶜm, meaning either.[151] Note that

pᵓamt may precede or follow a number. In CTA 33(5), a ritual text

depicting numerous sacrifices, šbᶜ pᵓamt occurs (ll. 7, 26), while in

CTA 35(3), which also enumerates various sacrifices to be offered, the

word order is reversed (rev., l. 52).[152] The subject matter qualified

by pᵓamt šbᶜ 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.[153]

A number of commentators take ᵓiqnᵓu to be a G-stem, yqtl 1 c. sing.

(ᵓiqnaᵓu) form of qnᵓ (Hebrew qānāᵓ; Piᶜel qinnēᵓ), "be jealous",

"zealous". They regard šmt as a pl. const. of šm, "name", in the

oblique case (šumāti). Thus they translate, "I am zealous for the

names of ...".[154]   This interpretation is dubious. The verb form

ᵓiqnᵓu is a ḫapax in Ugaritic. Moreover, in Hebrew the translation of

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

[152]The expression pᵓamt šbᶜ also occurs in a Hurrian offering list; cf. RS 24.254:11 in Ugaritica, V, pp. 507-508.

[153]Virolleaud's addition of [ᵓilm nᶜmm (?)] on the basis of l. 1 is unwarranted; cf. Virolleaud, "La naissance", 130, 142. Ginsberg's assertion that, "... ll.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.

qn> as "to be zealous" requires an indirect object.[155]

Several interpreters have translated >iqn>u and šmt as "lapis lazuli" (Akkadian uqni) and "carnelian" (Akkadian šamtu) respectively.[156] These words are well attested in Ugaritic.[157] More-over, they occur together in several administrative texts which concern the distribution of vestments to various personnnel and deities. Virolleaud interprets ḫpn . d . >iqn>i . w . šmt in RS 15.82(1107):1 as denoting vestments decorated with lapis and carnelian. He suggests that >iqn>im in RS 18.28(2100):4 refers to "blue wool".[158] Likewise, Tsumura interprets >iqn>u and šmt in CTA 23:21 as either lapis and carnelian, perhaps used as ornaments on vestments, or as different kinds or colours of wool.[159] Although any explanation of l. 21 can be little more than speculation, this line of interpretation has much to

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[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: wĕqinnē>tī lĕšēm qodšī, "and I will be jealous for my holy name." With a direct object, qn> denotes jealousy, as in Num. 5:14: wĕqinnē> et >ištō, "and he is jealous of his wife".

[156]Trujillo, "A Sacrificial Meal", pp. 128-131; Tsumura, "The Good Gods", pp. 51-52; Caquot, Textes Ougaritiques, p. 372.

[157]Cf. Whitaker, Concordance, pp. 65-66, 602; Gordon, UT 19.323, 2445; Aistleitner, Wörterbuch, Nos. 367, 2644, pp. 33, 311.

[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, šmt occurs in l. 7. See also Trujillo, "A Sacrificial Meal", pp. 128-131.

[159]Tsumura, "The Good Gods", pp. 51-52.

recommend it.

L. 22. There is no reason to doubt that this line is complete.[160]
The first word has been restored in two different ways. Virolleaud's
[b]n, after l. 2, is accepted by the majority of commentators.[161]
Herdner is less certain, suggesting (b/t)n, while KTU reads t*n.[162]
While either bn or tn is possible, the present study accepts
Virolleaud's restoration. For the meaning of bn šrm, see the note for
1.2.[163]

Those who read tn suggest several translations for l. 22. Trujillo
translates tn šrm as "two bracelets", claiming that šrm is the plural
of šry, "bracelet" (Hebrew šērāh and Aramaic šēraᵓ).[164] The difficulty
with Trujillo's position is that šry, "bracelet", is not otherwise
attested in Ugaritic. Gibson renders tn as "scarlet" (Hebrew šanī).[165]

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[160]Ginsberg, "Notes", 52; Largement, 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 šrm.

[161]Virolleaud, "La naissance", 130; Ginsberg, "Notes", 65;
Largement, L'aurore, p. 22; Gaster, Thespis, p. 426; Driver, CML, pp.
120, 121; Gray, LC, p. 98; Caquot, Textes Ougaritiques, 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 t(?)n. Gibson, CML[2], p. 124 also reads
tn.

[163]See above, pp. 22-24.

[164]Trujillo, "A Sacrificial Meal", pp. 128-131.

[165]Gibson, CML[2], pp. 124, 160. See Gordon, UT 19.2702.

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 ll. 58-59, 61. The word ꜣagzrym is problematic with respect to both form and meaning. Several commentators suggest that ꜣagzr 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 ꜣagzrym is a feminine dual ꜣafᶜel (causative) imperative, ꜣagziriya-ma, "Feed ye my two sons...", from a root gzr, "to eat voraciously".[169] There is no ꜣafᶜel causative in Ugaritic. Yet Albright's association of the word with the root gzr, "to eat voraciously", is plausible. Note Is. 9:19:

> wayyigzōr ᶜal yāmīn wĕrāᶜēb
> wayyōꜣkal ᶜal śĕmōꜣl wĕlōꜣ śābēᶜū

> And he eats voraciously on the right hand and is hungry;
> And he eats on the left hand, and is not satisfied.[170]

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[166] Largement, L'aurore, pp. 22, 38; Gordon, UL, 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 wayyigzōr and is supported by the parallel wayyigzōr // wayyōꜣkal; see Trujillo, "A Sacrificial Meal", p. 136.

The form ʔagzrym is a plural substantive in the oblique case derived from gzr, with a prefixed /ʔa/ and a nisbe ending. Vocalized ʔagzarāyīma, the word means "the voracious ones".[171] This epithet is appropriate in light of ll. 62-64.

The verb ʔiqrʔan (ʔiqraʔanna) is an energic 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 ll. 66 ff. portray the ʔilm nʕmm 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 ʔaṯrt is

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[171] Trujillo, "A Sacrificial Meal", pp. 133, 136. He notes that words with an /ʔa/ prefix, though rare in Ugaritic, do occur. See UT 8.40-42. Tsumura, "The Good Gods", p. 53. Pope suggests that gzr, "to eat voraciously", is similar to Arabic jazara, "eat much", while the form ʔagzrym is analogous to Hebrew ʔakzārīy, "cruel", and ʔakzěriyyūt, "cruelty". He translates "gluttons". See Pope's paper presented for discussion to the Ugaritic Studies Group, Society of Biblical Literature, 1975, notes on ll. 23, 58, 61. See also Gaster, Thespis, p. 426; Xella, Il mito, pp. 36, 59.

[172] Pope, notes on ll. 23, 58, 61 in the Ugaritic Studies Group, Society of Biblical Literature 1975, discussion paper; Trujillo, "A Sacrificial Meal", p. 136.

[173] Driver, CML, p. 121; Gray, LC, p. 98.

followed by a word divider indicates that at least one word has been

lost. Largement suggests that the missing word is either r̩ḥmy, after

l. 16, or š̆t, after l. 61.[174] The restoration of rḥmy is preferred on

the basis of the pairing of Athirat and Raḥmay in ll. 13, 28.

The word ynqm (yāniqīma) is a m. pl. participle in the oblique

case, from the verb ȳnq, "to suck".[175] The noun zd, derived from

proto-Semitic *d̄īd, is synonomous with td, "breast".[176]

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 uncertainity of the second sign. Several

readings are possible: m̩sprt, msprt, or myp̆rt.[177] Tsumura follows

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[174]Largement, L'aurore, p. 37. Gibson, CML[2], p. 124 restores
[wrḥmy].

[175]Ginsberg, "Notes", p. 66, n. 2; Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual
Drama", 52; Gordon, UT 9.23; Xella, Il mito, p. 59.

[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 *zīd (cf. Hebrew zīd). J. J.
Scullion has noted that in Isa. 66:11 mizzīz 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/ is written for /t/. If so, the proto-Semitic
form *d̄īd is assured.

[177]Prior to Herdner's CTA, the majority of commentators favoured
restoring myprt, which they understood to denote abundant or luxurant
growth. The root cited is ypr, "to increase", "make fruitful" (Arabic.
wafara, "to increase", "multiply"). See Ginsberg, "Notes", 53, 66;
Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", 22; Largement, L'aurore, p. 39;
Driver, CML, pp. 122, 123; Gray, LC, p. 99; Aistleitner,

Gordon in reading _msprt_, "illumines", which he identified as a D-stem
f. participle of _spr_, "to shine" (Arabic _safara_).[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,[179] the Arabic _safara_,
"make yellow", can be cited as a cognate. This restoration is supported
by the mention of _dlthm_ (1. 25) and _gnbm_ (1. 26). Gibson translates
msprt as an adjective, "pale" or "yellow" (Arabic _ɔaṣfaru_), qualifying
spš.[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 (_dalītihumu_) as a f. pl. construct form in the accusative case,
with the 3 pl. possessive suffix -_hm_. The basic noun is _dlt_, cognate
with Hebrew _dālīt_, "branch", "vinestalk".[181] As the root of _dlt_ / _dālīt_

"Götterzeugung", 296 and _Wörterbuch_, No. 1218, p. 133. Herdner reads
msprt, claiming that /ṣ/ ⵏ is more probable epigraphically than /ẏ/ ⵏⵏ,
with /s/ ⵣ also being possible. See _CTA_, p. 99, n. 4 and Plate XXXII,
Fig. 67. _KTU_, p. 67 reads _m*s*(?)/s*(?)p*r*t*_. Gibson, _CML_[2], p. 124
is more certain, suggesting _msprt_.

[178]Tsumura, "The Good Gods", p. 57; Gordon, _UL_, p. 59. In _UT_,
p. 174 Gordon reads _myprt_. See _UT_ 19.1136.

[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. 269; _UT_, 19.2186.

[180]Gibson, _CML_[2], pp. 124, 151.

[181]Ginsberg, "Notes", 53, 66; Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama",
52, 57 and _Thespis_, p. 426; Largement, _L'aurore_, 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 *dlyt, not dlt.[182] Tsumura follows

Gordon in suggesting that dlt is the pl. const. of "door" (Hebrew

delet).[183] The analogous Hebrew and Phoenician forms indicate that this

explanation is dubious.[184] According to Aistleitner, dlt is the s.

const. form of dl, "low", "weak" (Hebrew dal).[185] Gibson treats dlt

as the jussive perfect of a verb dl, "guide", "lead" (Arabic dalla).[186]

Given the context, neither of these suggestions is credible. The

occurrence of ġnbm in l. 26 indicates that dlt should be translated as

"branch", despite the philological difficulty involved.

Ll. 26-28. The words tnnm (l. 26) and ʾilm (l. 28) are restored

after ll. 7 and 13 respectively.[187] The word hlkm (hālikūma) in l. 27

is a m. pl. participle of hlk, "to walk". While nᶜmt seems to suggest

that dbḥ (dibḥi) is feminine (contra Hebrew zebaḥ and Aramaic dĕbaḥ),

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[182]Tsumura, "The Good Gods", p. 57. Note Ugaritic and Phoenician hmyt, the plural of ḥmt < *ḥmy, "wall"; cf. Gordon, UT 19.876; S. Segert, A Grammar of Phoenician and Punic (Munich: Verlag C. H. Beck, 1976), p. 289.

[183]Gordon, UL, p. 59 and UT 19.668; Tsumura, "The Good Gods", p. 57.

[184]Note the Hebrew forms dĕlātōt / daltōt and the Phoenician dlht. The translation of dlthm as "their doors" makes little sense in the context of ll. 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 tn[nm] and [ʾi]lm. KTU, p. 67 reads tnn*m* and ʾi*l*m*.

it is more probable that the word is an abstract noun with the ending -ūt, rather than a feminine form ending in -(a)t.[188] Thus the form would be naᶜmūti, "of pleasantness". Caquot's translation of dbḥ nᶜmt as "propitiatory sacrifice" is appropriate.[189]

L. 29. Only two letters of this short line are legible. The restoration of ytb is generally accepted, though the /t̲/ is by no means certain.[190] Any identification of the form or translation of ytb 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 /ġ/ in

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[188]Gordon, UT 8.57.

[189]Caquot, Textes Ougaritiques, p. 373.

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

[191]Virolleaud, "La naissance", 130 and Ginsberg, "Notes", 66 read [   ]bh?, while Gordon, UT, p. 174 is more cautious, reading [.]b[   ]. Herdner, CTA, p. 99 transliterates [....?]p. Several scholars have attempted a full restoration of the line. Largement, L'aurore, pp. 22, 40 restores [yᶜl]bh, "Go to the field...", taking the /h/ to be a pronominal suffix designating šd which occurs in l. 28. Driver, CML, pp. 122, 123 suggests [ʾil yn]bh, "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 [ʾil yṣ]ʾi, "[El went out]"..

wyṣġd remains, this reading is plausible and widely accepted.[192]

The verb wyṣġd (wayaṣġudu) is a 3 m. sing. yqtl form of ṣġd, a cognate of Hebrew ṣāʿad, "to step", "to march". This verb occurs in CTA 10(76),III:8: bᶜl . yṣġd . mlʾi[   ]. Driver translates mlʾi as "terrace", after Akkadian mulu, and bᶜl yṣġd as "Baal ascends".[193] This translation is plausible, as ll. 11-14 describe Baal going up (yᶜl) to his throne. If Driver's position is accepted, then ṣġd is a verb of motion. The context of l. 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 l. 30. Given the parallelism gp ym // gp thm, Virolleaud's suggestion that l. 30 began with a verb parallel in meaning to yṣġd followed by ʾil is correct.[194]

The noun gp, "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 tĕhōm of Gen. 1:2. The parallelism ym // thm

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[192] Virolleaud, "La naissance", 130, 144: Largement; L'aurore, pp. 22, 40; Driver, CML, p. 122; Xella, Il mito, p. 34, 62; Herdner, CTA, p. 99. Ginsberg, "Notes", 66 and Albright, "The Gracious Gods", 134 read wyg[m]d. Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", 53 suggests wyṣ . d. Gordon, UT, p. 174 reads wyṣᶜd. Herdner, CTA, p. 99 and Gibson, CML², p. 124 read wyṣġd. KTU, p. 67 lists wy*ṣ*ġ*d.

[193] Driver, CML, pp. 117, 162; Aistleitner, Wörterbuch, No. 2339, p. 268.

[194] Virolleaud, "La naissance", 143-144; Driver, CML, pp. 122, 123.

occurs frequently in the Old Testament.[195]

L. 31. The initial letters of the line have been destroyed.
Herdner's restoration yqḥ ʾil, based on 1. 35, is probable, but not
without problems.[196] The verb yqḥ (yiqqaḥu) is a G-stem yqtl 3 m. sing.
form of lqḥ (Hebrew lāqaḥ), "to seize", "to take".

The meaning of mštˁltm is controversial. The word may be related
to the Hebrew noun šoˁal, "hollow hand", "handful". Virolleaud and
Gaster suggest that the Ugaritic root is šˁl, "be concave". Thus,
either "handfuls" or "ladlesful" would be appropriate translations.[197]
This translation of mštˁltm is plausible only if ʾagn means "bowl".
The meaning of ʾagn is, however, "fire".[198] Thus the translation

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[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] Herdner, CTA, p. 99. See also Gordon, UL, p. 59; Follet,
"Notes sur une traduction récente d'un texte religieux d'Ugarit", 10;
Caquot, Textes Ougaritiques, p. 373; Xella, Il mito, pp. 34, 62. The
difficulty with this restoration is that the remains of the two letters
preceding mštˁltm (////ḴỾ/⧣//) suggest /lp/ (ꓔꓔꓔ ⋍). A variety of
other readings have been suggested: Virolleaud, "La naissance", 130,
[ ]lp(?); Ginsberg, "Notes", 66, [? byld(?)h(?), "in his hand (?)";
Largement, L'aurore, p. 22, [tsˁl ˁl p], "They raise to the mouth";
Driver, CML, pp. 122, 123, [t.. ydllp, "he lets it trickle"; Trujillo,
"A Sacrificial Meal", p. 148, [yˁn]. ʾil, "El sees...". Gibson, CML[2],
p. 124 attempts no restoration, but suggests that "a verb of seeing is
assumed." KTU, p. 67 reads [ ]x[ ] . ʾi*l*.

[197] Virolleaud, "La naissance", 144; Albright, "The Gracious Gods";
134; Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", pp. 53, 57, n. 34; Driver,
CML, p. 123; M. Dahood, "Ugaritic-Hebrew Syntax and Style", UF, I
(1969), 35. F. M. Cross suggests "ladlesful"; see Canaanite Myth and
Hebrew Epic (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), p. 22.

[198] See textual notes for 1. 15, pp. 47-48.

"handfuls" for m&t^{c}ltm is dubious.

Several commentators suggest that m&t^{c}ltm refers to the two women of the subsequent lines and defines a family relationship. Aistleitner regards m&t^{c}ltm as a Št-stem dual f. participle of ^{c}yl, "family member", meaning "women family members". The Arabic ^{c}ayilat, "family", would be a cognate.[199] Trujillo suggests that m&t^{c}ltm is related to Arabic ^{c}allat, "a woman's fellow wife", and translates "two concubines". M&t^{c}ltm 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" (r$^>$iš . $^>$agn).

Caquot and Sz[.....] m&t^{c}ltm as the Št-stem f. dual participle of ^{c}l[.....] and suggest that it refers to the two women who make the w[....] rise to the top of the basin ($^>$agn).[201] The Š-stem of ^{c}ly occurs in CTA 6(62),I:15 (tš^{c}lynh, "she lifts him up") and in CTA 19(1 Aqht),IV:185, 192 (yš^{c}ly, "he offers up" a sacrifice; š^{c}ly, "he offered up" sacrifice). In these examples of the Š-stem of ^{c}ly, the /y/ of the root remains. This fact suggests that Caquot's and Sznycer's analysis of m&t^{c}ltm is incorrect. Gibson's translation is similar to that of Caquot and Sznycer. He regards m&t^{c}ltm as an Št-stem f. dual participle of ^{c}ly and interprets the line as describing

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[199] Aistleitner, "Götterzeugung", 296, 299: Wörterbuch, No. 2028, p. 230.

[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.[202]

Several scholars interpret mšt ʿltm as designating ritual objects that represent or become the women. Gordon believes the mšt ʿltm to be "effigies" on the basis of Ethiopic šaʿala, "to make an effigy".[203] It is more plausible to construe mšt ʿltm as a Gt-stem f. dual participle of a verb šʿl, a cognate of Arabic šaʿala, "to kindle", "to enflame". The word denotes burning objects, such as coal, kindlings or torches.[204] The association of the mšt ʿltm with the "top of the fire" (rʾiš ʾagn) supports this interpretation. "Two torches" is the best translation.

L. 32. The initial portion of the line is damaged. Virolleaud, followed by Albright and Largement, reads hlh (?) lšhl.[205] Tšpl is preferable, both epigraphically and contextually.[206] Note the anti-

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[202] Gibson, CML², pp. 124, n. 8, 154.

[203] Gordon, UT 19.2458.

[204] Ginsberg, "Notes", 66; Gordon, UL, pp. 59-60; Segert and Zgusta, "Indogermanisches in den alphabetischen Texten aus Ugarit", 275; M. H. Pope, El in the Ugaritic Texts, VT Suppl., II (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1955), p. 37; Tsumura, "The Good Gods", pp. 60-62.

[205] Virolleaud, "La naissance", 130, 134, 144; Albright, "The Gracious Gods", 134; Largement, L'aurore, pp. 23, 40.

[206] Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", 53; Herdner, CTA, p. 99; Xella, Il mito, pp. 34, 63; Gibson, CML², p. 125. KTU, p. 67 reads t*špl. The following commentators read lšpl; 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 lšpl is miswritten for tšpl. The form lšpl would be either an infinitive or the qtl 3 f. pl. form, with proclitic /l/; cf. Gordon, UT 9.16.

thetical parallelism of tšpl and trm, and the use of ṣyḥ, "to shout",

rather than hll, "to shout", "to praise", in ll. 32, 33, 39, 43. The

yqtl-forms of trm and tṣh also support tšpl. The verb tšpl is

probably 3 f. s. (tišpalu), although it could also be a plural (tišpalū)

or a dual (tišpalā).[207] The verbs trm (tarūmu) and tṣh (taṣīḥu) are

yqtl, 3 f. s. forms.

The parallelism šāpēl // rūm is well attested in the Old Testament.

Note, for example, Ps. 75:8: zeh yašpīl wēzeh yārīm, "He puts down one,

and he lifts up another."[208] Usually when these words occur in

parallelism, the order is the reverse of that used here.[209] The

parallel use of hl extends into l. 33. Other examples of hl // hl

include CTA 17(2 Aqht),V:12; Isa. 10:8-9; 40:21; Amos 9:7; and Ps. 94:

9.[210] The usual meaning of hlh is "lo", "behold". It is possible that

in CTA 23:32-33 hlh ... hlh means "the one ... the other", after the

Akkadian allū.[211]

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

[208] Dahood parses zeh 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 rm and špl, 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.

[211] Gordon, UT 12.7; 19.764; L. Oppenheim et al., The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958-   ), Part I, p. 358.

Ll. 33-34. These lines are complete and intact. The verb t'irkm

is either an indicative (ti'rakuma) or a jussive (ti'rakma), 3 f. s.

form of 'rk, "to be long", with the enclitic /m/. We prefer to inter-

pret it as a jussive. The Hebrew cognate 'ārēk, "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 'ark in l. 34

is a qtl m. s. verb before a f. s. subject is unlikely. Rather 'ark is

an infinitive absolute ('araku) 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 t'irkm and the general use of

the yqtl 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 yd (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" (yuddu).[215]

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[212]Ginsberg, "Notes", 54-55; Tsumura, "The Good Gods", p. 141, n.
294; Gordon, UT 9.8.

[213]Gordon, UT 9.29.

[214]Gordon, UT 9.30.

[215]D. Nielsen, Ras Samra Mythologie und biblische Theologie,
Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Band XXI, 4 (Leipzig:
F. A. Brockhaus, 1936), pp. 83f; Pope, El in the Ugaritic Texts, p. 39;
Gaster, Thespis, p. 428; Cross, Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic, p. 23,
n. 56.

The noun mdb (madūbu), which together with ym qualifies El's yd, is
derived from dwb (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).[216]

Ll. 35-36. See the textual notes for ll. 31-34. Although only yš
appears on the tablet, the word is restored as yš<t>.[217] This verb is
a G-stem yqtl 3 m. s. form of šyt (Hebrew šīt), "to place". Xella
cites CTA 4(51),VI:22 as an analogue to l. 36: tšt . ʔišt . bbhtm,
"Fire is set in the houses."[218]

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

The phrase mt 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

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[216]Ugaritica, V, Nos. 3 and 8, pp. 557-558, 576, 580; Astour, "Two
Ugaritic Serpent Charms", 29, 35. See also Albright, "The Gracious
Gods", p. 135, n. 181; Driver, CML, p. 161; Dahood, Psalms, II, p. 5;
de Moor, "Studies in the New Alphabetic Texts", 181.

[217]Virolleaud, "La naissance", 131, 145; Ginsberg, "Notes", 67;
Largement, L'aurore, p. 23; Driver, CML, p. 122; Herdner, CTA, p. 99;
Gibson, CML², p. 125; KTU, p. 68.

[218]Xella, Il mito, p. 65. Note the parallel use of lāqaḥ and šīt
in Jb. 22:22.

is probable that <u>mṭ ydh</u> has a similar connotation in ll. 37 ff. In

<u>CTA</u> 3(ᶜnt),III:2-5 <u>yd</u> is not "hand" or "penis" (yadu), but "love"

(yuddu):

> tšr . l . dd . ʾalʾiyn bᶜl
> yd . pdry . bt . ʾar
> ʾahbt [.] ṭly . bt . rb
> dd . ʾarṣy bt . yᶜbdr

> She sings of (her) love for mightiest Baal,
> of (her) affection for Pidray daughter of mist,
> of (her) devotion to Ṭallay daughter of showers,
> of (her) love for Arṣay daughter of yᶜbdr.[219]

Pope's translation of <u>mṭ ydh</u> as "his love-staff" appropriately combines

the idea of El's "love" with a reference to his penis.[220]

Ll. 38-39. The verb <u>yr</u> (yarī̆ < yariyu) is a G-stem 3 m. s. <u>yqtl</u>

form of <u>yry</u> (Hebrew yārāh), "to throw", "to shoot". The verb <u>yḫrṭ</u>

(yaḫruṭu) is the G-stem 3 m. s. <u>yqtl</u> form of <u>ḫrṭ</u>. Gordon suggests that

<u>ḫrṭ</u> denotes "what one does to a bird between shooting and cooking it =

to pluck (and clean)."[221] The Arabic <u>ḫaraṭa</u>, "to pull off the leaves,

the bark, or peel", is a cognate. In l. 38, the bird is obviously the

object of <u>yḫrṭ</u> and <u>yšt</u>.

Dahood interprets l. 39a as employing <u>casus pendens</u>: "El, his two

wives are truly beautiful". The /k/ of <u>kypt</u> would be an emphatic

particle prefixed to an adjective <u>ypt</u> (Hebrew yāpeh), "fair",

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[219] Gibson, <u>CML</u>², p. 48; Caquot, <u>Textes Ougaritiques</u>, pp. 162-163.

[220] Pope, <u>El in the Ugaritic Texts</u>, pp. 38-39.

[221] Gordon, <u>UT</u> 19.1005; Aistleitner, <u>Wörterbuch</u>, No. 1082, p. 117
also suggests "pluck".

"beautiful". The use of the plural rather than the dual (yptm) is permissible despite the dual ꜣattm as ypt is predicative rather than attributive.[222] It is more plausible to regard kypt as the emphatic proclitic /k/ and a form of the verb pty.[223] On analogy with Hebrew pittāh, "to seduce", ypt (yapattī < yapattiyu) is a D-stem 3 m. s. yqtl form.[224] 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 ꜣim and its cognates."[225]

Ll. 40-41. The /l/ of hl in l. 41 is restored on the basis of the parallel with ll. 44-45.[226] The word mmnnm is the internal passive L-stem participle (mumānanu) of mnn, "to lower", with enclitic /m/. The parallelism nḫtm ḥṭk // mmnnm mṭ ydh suggests that nḫtm is also a

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

[223] Ginsberg, "Notes", 56; Gordon, UT 9.17; 13.51.

[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, (CML, pp. 123, 127), and Cross (Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic, p. 23) who translate hm as "behold" or "lo".

[226] Herdner, CTA, p. 99 and Gibson, CML², p. 125 read h[l.]. KTU, p. 67 reads h[l] . .

participle with a suffixed /m/ (nāḫituma).[227]

De Moor suggests that El is the subject of both ṯḫrr and šḫrrt. He translates, "Lo, you roast the bird on the fire (and) fry (it) brown on the coals."[228] 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 ḥārar, "be hot", "scorched", which is cognate with Ugaritic ḫrr, is stative. The verb ṯḫrr (tiḫraru) is a G-stem 3 f. s. yqtl form. The parallel verb šḫrrt (šiḫrarat) is a G-stem 3 f. s. qtl form of the qtll type. De Moor states that this word denotes a colour and is cognate with Hebrew šāḥōr, "brownish yellow", "reddish", and Arabic ʾišharra, "to become dust-coloured", "brownish yellow", "reddish".[229] The sentence bnt . šdm . šḫr[rt], "the daughters of the fields are parched", in CTA 12(75),II:44 indicates that šḫrr denotes a condition.[230] Thus we translate šḫrr as a stative meaning "to burn",

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

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

[229]De Moor, Seasonal Pattern, p. 114. He translates nrt . ʾilm . špš [. šḫrr]t, "The luminary of the gods, Šapšu, became dust-coloured." (CTA 6(49),II:24; 4(51),VIII:21-22).

[230]See Driver, CML, pp. 72, 73; A. S. Kapelrud, "Baal and the Devourers", Ugaritica, VI, Mission de Ras Shamra, XVII, ed. C. F. A. Schaeffer (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1969), pp. 326-329.

"parch", "be scorched."[231]

L. 42. The /ṯ/ of ʾaṯtm is restored after 1. 48.[232] This line is the apodosis of the conditional sequence introduced by hm in 1. 39. Another and alternative conditional statement is introduced by whm, the apodosis of which begins in 1. 45.

The Ugaritic wᶜlmh expresses the eternal duration of the women's wifely status. The word is comprised of the noun ᶜlm (Hebrew ᶜōlām), "eternity", and the adverbial suffix -h which imparts a temporal meaning. Thus wᶜlmh (waᶜālamaha) means "forever".[233] A similar construction is employed in CTA 19(1 Aqht),III:161-162: ᶜnt . brh pᶜlmh ᶜnt . pdr . dr, "Now flee eternally, now and forevermore". Note the parallel pᶜlmh // 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 ʾa[ṯt . ʾil] in 1. 48 on the basis of 1. 42. In 1. 48 the text reads wṣhrt, but the occurrences of wṣhrrt in

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

[232] Herdner, CTA, p. 99; KTU, p. 68; Gibson, CML[2], 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.

ll. 41, 45 indicate that the scribe omitted an /r/ in this instance.[235] The apodosis of the second conditional sequence concludes with w'lmh in l. 46. The following whn introduces the resolution of the conditional sequences. See the textual notes for ll. 39-42.

L. 49. The word ʾatt 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 yšʾu after l. 55.[237] This reading is problematic as l. 55 is damaged so that yšʾu there is by no means certain. Moreover, the verb nšʾu, "lift up", is not appropriate in the context of either l. 49 or l. 55. Ginsberg reads yšʾu, "he kisses", stating that, "It is just possible that a root nšʾ existed as a parallel formation to Hebrew nšk, nšb, nšp, nšm."[238] Albright suggests that having written yš in l. 55, the scribe completed the word with /ʾu/, to form the commonly used imperfect yšʾu. He believes this spelling to be an error. The word should be yšq in l. 49. This is a more plausible explanation than that offered by Ginsberg. Herdner also restores yš[q] and claims that this

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[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 ʾatt, while KTU, p. 68 reads ʾat*t.

[237] Virolleaud, "La naissance", 131, 147; Dussaud, "Les Phéniciens", p. 10, n. 3; Largement, 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 l. 55 is certain epigraphically and contextually.[239]

The verbs yhbr (yihbaru) and yšq (yiššaqu) are both G-stem 3 m. s. yqtl forms of hbr, "bow down", and nšq (Hebrew nāšaq), "kiss", respectively. The noun špthm (šapatêhuma) is a dual construct with the dual 3 c. accusative suffix -hm. There is a biblical parallel to l. 49b in Prov. 24:26: śĕpātayim yiššāq, "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/.[240] We regard lrmn as masculine, as is Hebrew rimmōn, "pomegranate", and restore /m/. In RS 66.29:96 the occurrence of lrmmm indicates that the plural of lrmn ends in /m/.[241] Note the Akkadian luremtu / lurmūm, "pomegranate". The word lrmmm (lurimmānima) is a m. pl. noun in the oblique case.

The word mtqtm (matuqatāmi) is a dual feminine form of the adjective mtq (Hebrew mātōq), "sweet". Both Driver and Tsumura note

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[239] Albright, "The Gracious Gods", p. 136, n. 188; Herdner, CTA, p. 100, n. 7. This reading has been adopted by Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", 54; Gordon, UL, p. 60 and UT, p. 174; Driver, CML, p. 123; Gray, LC, p. 100; Caquot, Textes Ougaritiques, p. 375; Xella, Il mito, p. 68; Gibson, CML², p. 125. KTU, p. 68 reads yšq*.

[240] Ginsberg, "Notes", 69; Gray, LC, p. 102; Herdner, CTA, p. 100; Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", 54; Gordon, UT, p. 174. Driver refrains from making any restoration, but admits that either /m/ or /t/ is possible; see CML, p. 122. Gibson, CML², p. 125 and KTU, p. 68 restore lrmm[m].

[241] Gordon, UT Suppl., p. 556; Tsumura, "The Good Gods", p. 70.

the occurrence of an Akkadian expression <u>lurindu matqu</u>, "sweet

pomegranate".[242] This type of imagery is common in the Song of Songs.

Note, for example, Cant. 4:3:

> kĕḥūṭ haššānī śiptōtayik
> ūmidbārēk no³weh
> kĕpelaḥ hārimmōn raqqātēk
> mibbaᶜad lĕṣammātēk

> 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 <u>tqt[nsn w(?)]</u> 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 <u>hmḫmt</u> and

that an omitted <u>wtldn</u> be restored after <u>tqtnsn</u>.[245] The restoration of

tqtnsn is indicated by the presence of the first three letters of this

word before the fracture in the text. The other suggested restorations

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[242]Driver, <u>CML</u>, p. 123, n. 6; Tsumura, "The Good Gods", p. 70; cf.
J. N. Strassmaier, <u>Inschriften von Darius, König von Babylon</u> (Leipzig:
Eduard Pfeiffer, 1892), Text no. 193, Ob. 8.

[243]Pope, <u>Song of Songs</u>, 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
<u>tqt[nsn]</u> 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 (<u>CML</u>, p. 122) accept
the /w/. <u>KTU</u>, p. 68 also reads <u>tqt[nsn w]</u>. Others, such as Ginsberg
("Notes", p. 69), Gray (<u>LC</u>, p. 102), Herdner (<u>CTA</u>, p. 100) and Gibson
(<u>CML</u>², p. 126) do not.

[245]Tsumura, "The Good Gods", pp. 70-71; Trujillo, "A Sacrificial
Meal", pp. 179-180.

. are plausible and would make l. 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 l. 51. Moreover, there are

slight differences in the two accounts, such as the intrusion of

ytbn yspr ... pḫr, the use of kl⁾at and the substitution of ⁾ilm nᶜmm·

for šḥr wšlm, all in the second account. Further minor variations

between ll. 51-52 and ll. 56-58 pose no difficulty. Therefore we

prefer to omit the suggested restorations other than tqtnṣn and

follow Herdner's reading.

·The prepositions bm and b- have been interpreted as examples of

beth causalis.[246] The preposition b- followed by the infinitive

construct, however, forms a temporal clause rather than a causal one.[247]

The words nšq (nušuqi) and ḥbq (ḥubuqi) are infinitives construct. The

noun hr (hirī) is derived from hry, "to conceive". It is similar in

form to Hebrew pĕrī, "fruit" (< pārāh, "be fruitful"), and is cognate

with Hebrew hērāyōn, "conception" (< hārāh, "to conceive", "become

pregnant"). The parallelism in the two cola of l. 51 suggests that·

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[246]Tsumura, "The Good Gods", pp. 70-71; RSP, I, II.93, pp. 135-136; Dahood, Ugaritic-Hebrew Philology, p. 35.

[247]Pope, El in the Ugaritic Texts, pp. 39, 40, n. 74; Trujillo, "A Sacrificial Meal", p. 179; Gordon, UT 9.26; 10.4; A. E. Cowley, ed., Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar, 2nd English ed. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1910), Sec. 114e, pp. 347-348; Sec. 164g, p. 503. See also J. Obermann, "How Daniel Was Blessed with a Son", JAOS Suppl., VI (1946), 20-21.

ḥmḥmt is also a noun (hamhamatu).[248] It is also possible that it is
a G-stem 3 f. dual form of a reduplicated verb (hamhamta) meaning "be
pregnant", cognate with Hebrew hāmam, "be/become warm".[249] The
passage CTA 14(Krt),I:31-35, which is cited by Pope to support the
interpretation of ḥmḥmt as a noun, is in effect a two-edged sword. In
the second colon nhmmt, "slumber", is in parallel with šnt, "sleep".
In the initial colon, however, nhmmt is in parallel with wyšn, "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.[250] Thus we are inclined to translate ḥmḥmt as a
verb. The /w/ prefixed to hr is the existential particle, "there is/
are".[251] A similar description of intercourse and conception is found
in CTA 17(2 Aqht),I:40-41: [ynbr] . bm . nšq . ʔatth [ḥmḥmt] bḥbqh .
ḥmḥmt, "...(he 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 bm + the

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[248] Pope, followed by Trujillo, asserts that hr and ḥmḥmt "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 yāham, "be hot" (in the
Piʕel, "conceive") is cognate with Ugaritic ḥmḥmt.

[250] CTA 14(Krt),I:31-35 (divided according to the cold rather than
according to the lines): bm . bkyh . wyšn / bdmʕh . nhmmt / šnt .
tlʔuʔan wyškb / . nhmmt wyqms, "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.

[251] Gordon, UT, 12. 1, n. 3; Dahood, Ugaritic-Hebrew Philology, p.
35; Tsumura, "The Good Gods", pp. 70-71.

infinitve construct.[252]

The verb _tqtnṣn_ is a G-stem _yqtl_ 3 c. dual form (_tiqtaniṣāni_) of the denominative verb _qnṣ_, "to crouch". The verb is cognate with Akkadian _qinṣu_, "shin", and _qamāṣu_, "to crouch". It undoubtedly refers to the common position adopted by women in the ancient Orient when giving birth.[253]

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

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[252] Obermann, "How Daniel Was Blessed with a Son", 4, 6, 20-21.

[253] Virolleaud, "La naissance", 148; Follet, "Notes sur une traduction récente d'un texte religieux d'Ugarit", 12; Dahood, _Ugaritic-Hebrew Philology_, pp. 70-71; Xella, _Il mito_, p. 69; Tsumura, "The Good Gods", p. 72; Trujillo, "A Sacrificial Meal", pp. 179-180; Gordon, _UT_ 19.2251.

[254] Virolleaud, "La naissance", 131. Herdner, _CTA_, p. 100 and Gibson, _CML_², p. 126 restore ꜣa[ṭṭy]. KTU, p. 68 reads ꜣaṭ*[ty].

[255] Barton, "The Spring Festival at Jerusalem", 69; Largement, _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, _UL_, p. 61; Gibson, _CML_², p. 126 regard ꜣaṭṭy as a dual noun in a construct relationship with ꜣil. See also J. Blau and S. E. Loewenstamm, "Zur Frage der

case. The nominative dual construct form is ʾaṯatā. While the /y/ could be a <u>mater lectionis</u> for the final /ē/ of the oblique case, it is not appropriate for the final /ā/ of the nominative. The form ʾatty cannot be explained by parsing it as a feminine dual construct. Rather ʾatty is best explained as a dual construct nominative form of ʾaṯt with the 1 c. sing. possessive suffix -ya. Thus the form is ʾaṯatāya, "my two wives".[257]

The foregoing analysis of ʾatty requires that ʾil in l. 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 <u>ybl</u> (yubala) must be an internal passive of the simple conjugation.[258] The Hebrew <u>yābal</u>, "conduct", "bear along", is a cognate. The initial word <u>tldn</u> (talidānī) is a G-stem 3 c. dual <u>yqtl</u> form of <u>yld</u> (Hebrew <u>yālad</u>), "bear".

<u>scripto plena</u> im Ugaritischen und Verwandtes", <u>UF</u>, II (1970), 29-30 and Trujillo, "A Sacrificial Meal", p. 181. The occurrence of <u>matres lectionis</u> in Ugaritic is attested by such forms as ʾily ʾugrt (ʾilē ʾugarita), "the gods of Ugarit", in <u>PRU</u>, II, 15(1015): 4-5 and <u>ky</u> (kī) in <u>PRU</u>, II, 15(1015):7. See Gordon, <u>UT</u> 4.5.

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

[258]Dahood, <u>Ugaritic-Hebrew Philology</u>, p. 24; Xella, <u>Il mito</u>, p. 70.

The names of the new-born gods are transparent. The word šhr is the common Semitic word for "dawn". Note, for example, Hebrew šaḥar and Akkadian šeru, both meaning "dawn". The name šlm is cognate with the Hebrew root šlm, which underlies the verb šālēm, "be complete", and the noun šālōm, "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 ll. 52, 60 make the restoration of this line certain.[260] The verb ylt (yalattā < yaladtā) is a 3 f. dual qtl form of yld, "bear".[261] Ginsberg states that yldy is an alternate form of the 3 f. du. qtl of yld.[262] This form would be a hapax. Others interpret yldy as a passive dual form of yld[263] or as a passive form with the 1 c. sing. pronominal suffix.[264] There is

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

[260]Herdner, CTA, p. 100 and Gibson, CML², p. 126 restore only wšl[m]. 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 ᵓi*l . ẏl*t.

[261]Virolleaud, "La naissance", 135, 148. Virolleaud suggests that ylt is a contracted form of yldt, 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 1 c. sing. pronominal suffix having a dative force.[265] The
syntax would be rather forced. A number of commentators have suggested
that yldy is a plural or dual noun, cognate with Hebrew yeled, "child",
with the 1 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 yldy would be vocalized yaldēya. The antecedent of
the possessive suffix is problematic. The words ʾatty ʾil . ʾylt 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 yldy šhr wšlm is appropriate
from the tongue of either El or the messenger. As the
possessive suffix of ʾatty refers to the messenger, it is probable that
the suffix -y of yldy also has the messenger as its antecedent.[267] This

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[265]Gordon, UT 6.21; 13.44.

[266]The form yldy is regarded as a dual by Barton, "Spring Festival
at Jerusalem", 64. The following interpret yldy 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, Thespis, p. 431. Gaster
does suggest, however, that yldy may be simply a dual form of the noun;
see "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", pp. 54, 57, n. 52, and Thespis, p. 432.
As a simple dual form, yldy 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 (L'aurore, pp. 24, 43), Albright ("The Gracious Gods", p.
136, n. 191) and Gaster (Thespis, 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 wšlm 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 1. 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 (kānīma) of a middle w/y verb kn
(Hebrew kūn), "be firm", "established", "fixed".

The meaning of 1. 54 is problematic. A number of commentators
translate ᶜdb as a noun meaning "offering", object of šʔu.[270] The noun

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[268]Tsumura, "The Good Gods", pp. 76-77. CTA 12(75),I:28-29, ʔilm
. ypᶜr šmthm, "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 ʔilm as referring to El is
accepted. See Driver, CML, p. 71; Kapelrud, "Baal and the Devourers",
Ugaritica, VI, pp. 320, 323.

[269]Virolleaud, "La naissance", 148; Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual
Drama", 54; Largement, L'aurore, p. 24; Driver, CML, p. 122; Gibson,
CML², p. 126. Others attempt no restoration: Ginsberg, "Notes", 69;
Gordon, UT, p. 174. Herdner, CTA, p. 100 reads kn[-] and KTU, p. 68
lists knx[ ].

[270]Virolleaud, "La naissance", 135, 148; Albright, "The Gracious
Gods", 136; Caquot, Textes Ougaritiques, p. 376. Ginsberg also regards
ᶜdb as a noun but assigns no meaning to it; see "Notes", 69.

^{c}db denoting an offering or the like is a <u>hapax</u> in Ugaritic. The

alternative to this interpretation is to regard both š$^{\circ}$u and ^{c}db as

verbs. The difficulty arising from this interpretation is that these

verbs have no obvious object. Several scholars have suggested that šhr

and šlm are the objects of these verbs and that l. 54 places the new-

born gods in the heavens with the divine sun and stars.[271] This

interpretation receives support from the occurrence of šhr wšlm šmmh in

RS 24.244(607):52[272] and is consistent with the supposed astral

character of the gods. It necessitates, however, that šhr and šlm be

regarded as distinct from the $^{\circ}$ilm n^{c}mm, who are sent to the desert in

ll. 65 ff. As šhr and šlm are identical to the $^{\circ}$ilm n^{c}mm, it is

unlikely that this line places the deities in the sky.[273] Driver and

Gray suggest that an offering, unstated but understood, is the object

of both š$^{\circ}$u and ^{c}db.[274] In <u>CTA</u> 14(Krt),II:79-81, ^{c}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 El. It has connotations which are closer to the

notion of "offering" or "sacrifice" in <u>CTA</u> 17(2 Aqht),V:16, 21, where

Danitiya is instructed to prepare a sheep for Kathir-and-Hasis. While

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[271]Gordon, <u>UL</u>, pp. 58, 61; Gaster, <u>Thespis</u>, p. 431; Tsumura, "The Good Gods"; p. 74; Trujillo, "A Sacrificial Meal", p. 182.

[272]<u>Ugaritica</u>, V, No. 7, pp. 566, 570.

[273]See below, pp. 86-90.

[274]Driver, <u>CML</u>, p. 123; Gray, <u>LC</u>, p. 102; see also Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", 54; Gibson, <u>CML</u>^{2}, p. 126.

in this instance a human prepares food for a god, it is difficult to
regard this passage as reflecting sacrifice. Moreoever, in all the
instances cited, the object of ᶜdb is stated. The evidence for the use
of nšᵓ to denote sacrifice is much more positive. The verb is used
with this meaning in CTA 32(2):15-17:

        ·d[bḥn . ndbḥ]
        hw . ṯᶜ . nṯᶜy.
        hw . nkt . n[k]t.
        ·ytšᵓi [lᵓab . bn . ᵓil]
        ytšᵓi . ldr . bn . ᵓil.
        lmpḫrt . bn . ᵓil

        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 šᵓu in l. 54 implies sacrifice.

      We prefer to interpret l. 54 and l. 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 šḥr and šlm
are the ᵓilm nᶜmm and that it makes little sense to place them in
heaven in l. 54 and then in the desert in l. 65. If, however, these
deities belong to distinct groups, then this latter situation is most
plausible. In either case, the verbs šᵓu (šaᵓū) and ᶜdb (ᶜudubū) are
m. pl. forms as is indicated by the ᵓaleph /ᵓu/ in šᵓu and by the
context in l. 65.[276]

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[275]See also ll. 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 mtqtm klrmmm 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 hmhmt 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 ytbn 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 ʾilm nʿmm.[281] This interpretation is based on the context in which the line

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[277] See Herdner, CTA, p. 100; Gibson, CML², p. 126.

[278] Trujillo, "A Sacrificial Meal", p. 183. KTU, p. 68 reads yh*br* . špthm . yšq* . h*n . š*p*thm . m*tqt*[m . mtqtm . klrmmm].

[279] Herdner, CTA, p. 100 and Gibson, CML², p. 126 restore ytb[n]. KTU, p. 68 reads ytbn*.

[280] Herdner, CTA, p. 100 and Gibson, CML², p. 126 reads yspr . lhmš . lg[.....]šr ..phr . klʾat. KTU, p. 68 reads yspr . lhmš . lg*l*m*m*[.]w* y*š*r . phr klʾat.

[281] Virolleaud, "La naissance", 131, 148; Albright, "The Gracious Gods", 136; Dussaud, "Les Phéniciens" 12; Gordon, UL, p. 61 and The Common Background of Greek and Hebrew Civilization (New York: Norton, 1965), pp. 176-177.

is found, on the occurrence of yspr (< spr, "count") and ḥmš, "five",
and on the view that the ᵓilm nᶜmm are other than šḥr and šlm. This
understanding of l. 57 is conjectural. There is nothing in the line or
in the text to suggest that ḥmš points to the ᵓilm nᶜmm.

Tsumura suggests that as l. 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 l. 57
depicts El counting the months until his wives give birth. He reads
yṯbn yspr . lḥmš . lᵍb [lᶜ]šr ᵍr, "He sits (and) counts to five
for . . [to t]en for completion." The numbers ḥmš and ᶜšr represent
the initial and final phases of pregnancy. Pḥr denotes the completion
of the pregnancy. The verb yspr would be a 3 m. sing. yqtl-form of
spr, "count", while yṯbn in l. 56 would be a 3 m. sing. yqtl energic
form of either yṯb, "sit", or ṯwb, "return".[282] Tsumura cites CTA 17
(2 Aqht),II:43 as an analogous passage to l. 57: yṯb . dnᵓil . [ys]pr
yrḥh, "Danel sits and counts his/her months".[283] The evidence supplied
by this passage is by no means conclusive. The pronominal suffix -h

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[282] Tsumura, "The Good Gods", pp. 15, 16, 79-80; Gordon, UT 19.2037.

[283] Tsumura, "The Good Gods", p. 79. See also H. L. Ginsberg, "The
North-Canaanite Myth of Anath and Aqhat", BASOR, XCVII (1945), p. 4, n.
7 and M. Held, "The Action-Result (Factitive-Passive) Sequence of
Identical Verbs in Biblical Hebrew and Ugaritic", JBL, LXXXIV (1965), p.
279, n. 35. The motif of counting the months of pregnancy is a common
introduction to childbirth in ancient Near Eastern literature. In Atra-
ḫasis I:278-282, Nintu counts the months, with birth occurring in the
tenth month; cf. Lambert and Millard, Atra-ḫasis: The Babylonian Story
of the Flood, p. 62. The same motif appears in the Hittite Kumarbi
myth; cf. H. G. Güterbock, "Hittite Mythology" in Mythologies of the
Ancient World, ed. S. N. Kramer (New York: Anchor Books, 1961), p. 157.

attached to yrḫ 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.[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: yṯb[n . w] yspr . lḫmš ~ lṣb[ʔ]i wl]šr pḫr, "--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.[285] The noun pḫr is used frequently to designate the assembly of the gods.[286] The noun ṣbʔ, "host" or "army",

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Note also Jb. 39:2.

[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.

[285]Driver, CML, pp. 122-123. Gray's reading is similar in meaning but differs in detail. He restores lṣb[r ? w]šr, "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 lṣb[   ]šr; cf. Textes Ougaritiques, p. 376. Note also Gibson, CML², p. 126: yṯb[n] yspr . lḫmš . lṣ[.....]šr . pḫr, "this shall be recited again five times for [   ] the assembly".

[286]CTA 4(51),III:14 (p[ḫ]r . bn . ʔilm); 29(17),II:7 (pḫr ʔilm); 32(2),I:26 (mpḫr . bn . ʔil).

occurs in the Keret epic in the same context as tnnm. The appearance

of these latter functionaries in ll. 7, 26 supports the restoration of

sbꜣ.[287]

Trujillo's approach is similar to that of Driver, but differs in

detail: ytb[n] yspr . lhmš . lṣ[Ṯ][ṣlm t]šr phr klꜣat, "They shall

proce[ed] to recite (it) five (more) times. The assembly [shall s]ing

the conclusion with the accompaniment of cy[mbals]." The word klꜣat is

translated as a noun related in meaning to the Hebrew verb kālāꜣ,

"close", "restrain", while phr denotes "totality". Together phr klꜣat

refer to the "conclusion". Ugaritic ṣlṣlm, according to Trujillo, is

cognate with Hebrew ṣelṣelîm, "cymbals". Ṣlṣlm is a hapax in Ugaritic;

the usual word for "cymbals" is mṣltm.[288] This reconstruction and

interpretation of l. 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 ṣlmm is

the plural of ṣlm (Hebrew ṣelem), "image". The word is a hapax in

Ugaritic. The verb yšr is the G-stem yqtl 3 m. s. of šyr (Hebrew šîr),

"to sing". Thus ll. 56-57 read: ytbn* yspr . lhmš . lṣ*l*m*m* [.]

w*y*š*r . phr, "It shall be recited again five times to the images and

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[287] CTA 14(Krt),II:86, 88. If Driver is correct, then sbꜣ 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 l. 7.

[288] Trujillo, "A Sacrificial Meal", pp. 174, 183-184.

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 wtb lmspr . . ktlʾakn ġlmm, "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: w . tb . lmspr . m[šr]mšr . bt ʾugrt, "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 ytbn (yatubūna) and yspr (yaspurū) are G-stem 3 m. pl. yqtl forms of twb, "return", and spr, "count", respectively. The construction ytbn . w yspr parallels the Hebrew construction whereby šūb is used to qualify the action introduced by a second verb in the

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[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 wšqrb . ʿr . mšrmšr bn . ʾugrt, "And offer a bull mšrmšr son of Ugarit".

same form as šūb and related to it by means of the co-ordinating conjunction.[292]

L. 58. The restoration of ʾilm is based on ll. 1, 23, 60.[293] The verb tld (talidū) is the 3rd. pl. of yld. For ʾagzrym, see the textual notes for l. 23. For tqtnṣn and wtldn, see the notes for ll. 51-52.

L. 59. The middle of the line is in poor condition. The restoration bʾap[dd št r]gm was suggested initially by Virolleaud on the basis of l. 61.[294] The word dd (Hebrew zīz) is a synonym for td, "breast". The word št, "lady", is regarded by most scholars as denoting Athirat.[295] The fact that Athirat suckles the gods in l. 24 supports this interpretation. This view, however, is not without some

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[292] Note, for example, Gen. 26:18 wayyāšob yiṣḥāq wayyaḥpōr, "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] Herdner, CTA, p. 100 and Gibson, CML[2], p. 126 restore [ʾilm]. KTU, p. 68 reads t*l*d* [.ʾi]l*m* .. One would expect the dual tldn (talidānī).

[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 Herdner (CTA, p. 100). There is some discussion as to whether the initial word restored is dd, šd or zd; cf. Ginsberg, Gaster and Gordon. Herdner suggests that there is not sufficient space for the complete restoration proposed; št may have been omitted by mistake. Gibson, CML[2], p. 126 also restores ⟨št⟩. KTU, p. 68 reads bʾa*p* [.] d*d* [.] r*g*m.

[295] Virolleaud, "La naissance", 149; Ginsberg, "Notes", 70; Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", pp. 55, 57, n. 56; Xella, Il mito, p. 38; Tsumura, "The Good Gods", p. 81. Gibson, CML[2], p. 126, n. 7 suggests that št denotes Anat.

difficulty. It is probable that in l. 24 Athirat was paired with Raḥmay, as is the case in ll. 13, 28. Moreover, the presence of El's two wives also suggests that two nurses might be more appropriate than one. Finally, in CTA 15(128),II:25-28 the lad Yaṣṣib is nursed by two goddesses, Athirat and Anat. This evidence suggests that we might expect two nurses in both l. 59 and l. 61. In response to this difficulty Driver suggests that št in l. 61 is an error for tt, "two".[296] This is possible, in light of the similarity of /š/◁▽ and /t/✶. Gray translates št as "two".[297] This interpretation is problematic, as the feminine form of "two" in Ugaritic is tt (< tn). A possible solution is that št in ll. 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 ʾatty, see the textual notes for l. 52. The form ʾilmy is an anomaly. If the /y/ is the 1 c. sing. possessive suffix, the word should be ʾily. Thus either the /m/ or the

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[296]Driver, CML, pp. 122, 123, n. 12.

[297]Gray, LC, p. 103.

[298]See Gordon, UT 8.12. Gordon cites ʾatt, "woman", and qšt, "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.[299]

The three or four final letters of the line represent ꝓagzr and were defaced deliberately to correct a dittography or because there was not sufficient room for the whole word.[300]

Ll. 61-62. For l. 61, see the textual notes for ll. 23-24, 58-59. Virolleaud suggests that earth and heaven are personified as having lips and a mouth.[301] It is clear from the context, however, that the lips are those of the ꝓilm nᶜmm.[302] 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.[303]

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

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[299]Virolleaud, "La naissance", 135, Largement, L'aurore, pp. 24, 44, and Driver, CML, p. 122 suggest that ꝓilmy was miswritten for ꝓilm 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; KTU, p. 68; Gibson, CML[2], p. 126, textual note for l. 60.

[301]Virolleaud, "La naissance", 136, 149; Dussaud, "Les Phéniciens", 13.

[302]The word špt does not stand in a construct relationship with either ꝓarṣ or šmm, as is indicated by the preposition l- and the parallel passage CTA 5(67),II:2-3.

[303]Dahood, Psalms, II, pp. 186, 190-191. The notion of the wicked gorging themselves is peculiar to Dahood's translation. It is nevertheless possible. See also H. Ringgren, "Einige Bemerkungen zum lxiii Psalm", VT, III (1953), 267-269; K. T. O'Callaghan, "Echoes of Canaanite Literature in the Psalms", VT, IV (1954), 169.

most probable restoration.[304] The word ^{c}rb is the infinitive absolute

(^{c}arābu) of ^{c}rb, "enter" (Akkadian erēbu).[305] The prefix /l/ is either

the negative particle lā-, "not", or the proclitic lū-, "verily".[306]

Tsumura believes that the context requires a negative sense, indicating

that there is insufficient food to satisfy the ^{ɔ}ilm n^{c}mm.[307] We

prefer, however, to interpret the /l/ as "verily". This reading

contrasts lū- 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 ^{ɔ}agzrym.

L. 63. The center of the line is badly damaged. Herdner's reading

gzr . l<g>zr is the most probable restoration.[308] The verb ndd is

either an infinitve absolute (nadādu) or a G-stem 3 m. pl. qtl form

(nadadū) of ndd (Hebrew nādad), "wander", "go". In either case the

meaning is similar.[309] The subjects are the ^{ɔ}ilm n^{c}mm. The absence of a

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[304] Virolleaud, "La naissance", 132; Ginsberg, "Notes", 58, 70; Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", 55; Largement, L'aurore, p. 25; Gibson, CML^2, p. 126. KTU, p. 68 reads wy*^{c}r*b*.

[305] Gray, LC, p. 103, n. 1; Tsumura, "The Good Gods", pp. 83-84.

[306] Gordon, UT 9.16.

[307] Tsumura, "The Good Gods", pp. 83-84.

[308] Herdner, CTA, p. 100; see also Ginsberg, "Notes", 71; Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", 55; Gibson, CML^2, p. 126. KTU, p. 68 reads gzr* [.] l zr (gzr). Gordon is more cautious: [ ]z[ ]lz[ ](k/r) y^{c}db; UT, p. 175.

[309] Tsumura ("The Good Gods", pp. 83-84) and Gray (LC, p. 103, n. 1) interpret ndd as an infinitive, while Xella (Il mito, p. 73), regards it as a finite verb. See also Gordon, UT 9.4 (particularly n. 1); 13.

proclitic /b/ or /l/ before <u>gzr lgzr</u> suggests that <u>ndd</u> and <u>gzr lgzr</u> are not related syntacticly.[310]

The phrase <u>gzr lgzr</u> is least problematic if understood as the object of <u>yᶜdb</u>. The form <u>yᶜdb</u> (yaᶜdubū) is a G-stem 3 m. pl. <u>yqtl</u> form of <u>ᶜdb</u>, "make", "prepare", "set".[311] Ugaritic <u>gzr</u> is cognate with Hebrew <u>gezer</u> (< <u>gāzar</u>), "part". We read: <u>gazra lagazri yaᶜdubū</u>, "Morsel upon morsel they set."[312] This sentence is similar syntactically to Jer. 9:2: <u>kī mērāᶜah ᵊel rāᶜāh yāṣoᵊū</u>, "For they proceed from evil to evil".[313] The statement is completed by ᵊuymn ᵊušᵊal . bphm. The words ᵊuymn and ᵊušᵊal are composed of the correlative ᵊu (ᵊō) ... ᵊu (ᵊō) and the nouns ymn (Hebrew <u>yāmīn</u>), "right hand", and <u>šmᵊal</u> (Hebrew <u>śᵉmᵊōl</u>), "left hand".[314] The complete statement is made up of two cola exhibiting climactic parallelism, with the ellipsis of the verb: O + V // O + (V) + IO:

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

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

[311] It is possible to read <u>yᶜdb</u> as a passive G-stem (yuᶜdabu), though this is unnecessarily awkward.

[312] Ugaritic <u>l-</u> and <u>ᶜl</u> may be interchanged similar to Hebrew <u>ᶜal</u> and <u>ᵊel</u>; cf. Gordon, <u>UT</u> 10.13. Gibson, <u>CML</u>², p. 126 translates <u>gzr</u> as "cleaver".

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

[314] Ginsberg, "Notes", 60; Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", 57; Gordon, <u>UT</u> 12.2; 19.108.

gazra lagazri ya^cdubū
ꜣōyamīna ꜣōšamꜣāla bapīhuma

Notice the phrase wdg bym, which parallels ^cṣr . šmm (1. 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

w[.]d šb^cny ꜣatt ꜣetrh was widely accepted initially, but has been

rejected by all recent commentators.[316] The phrase ybn ꜣašld in 1. 65

suggests that /y/ in 1. 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 šb^c (Hebrew šābā^c), "sated",

"satisfied", might be expected. He reads w[. (?)] tšb^cn.[317] This

reading is possible epigraphically and appropriate contextually. The

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[315]M. Dijkstra and J. C. de Moor, "Problematical Passages in the Legend of Aqhatu", UF, VII (1975), 186.

[316]Virolleaud, "La naissance", 132, 136; Dussaud, "Les Phéniciens", p. 14, n. 3; Barton, "The Spring Festival at Jerusalem", 65; Ginsberg, "Notes", 60, 71. These scholars saw in 1. 64 reference to the subsequent birth of a child, either šb^cny or the son of šb^cny. 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 Ougaritiques, 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 wl* [.]tšb^cn ..

/1/ is the negative particle $l\bar{a}$-, "not". The verb $t\check{s}b^cn$ ($ti\check{s}ba^c\bar{u}na$) is the G-stem 3 m. pl. yqtl form of $\check{s}b^c$. A number of commentators espouse the alternative reading $wl^{\jmath}u\ \check{s}b^cn$, in which $l^{\jmath}u$ is cognate with Hebrew $l\bar{o}^{\jmath}$, "not", and $\check{s}b^cn$ is a noun $\check{s}ab^canu$ meaning "satiety" or "satisfaction".[318] 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 ndd and y^cdb in the preceding line.

The construction $^{\jmath}att\ ^{\jmath}itr\underline{h}$ is an asyndetic relative clause composed of the dual construct $^{\jmath}atat\bar{a}$ followed by the G-stem 1 c. s. yqtl form ($^{\jmath}itra\underline{h}u$) of $tr\underline{h}$, "to acquire a woman by paying the bride price."[319] The Akkadian $tara\underline{h}u$, "espouse", "pay the bride-price", is cognate.

L. 65. While several letters preceding tk are damaged, there is a consensus as to the reading of ^cdb.[320] A number of early interpreters who adhered to the Negebite hypothesis read the second word of the line

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

[319] Gordon, UT 8.16; Dahood, "Ugaritic-Hebrew Syntax and Style", 19; Xella, Il mito, p. 74; Trujillo, "A Sacrificial Meal", p. 188; Tsumura, "The Good Gods", p. 90.

[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[2], p. 127 read ^cdb.; KTU, p. 68 reads $^cd*b*$ ..

as ꜣašⅭdⅡd, "Ashdod".[321] The second letter of Ashdod is written in

Ugaritic as /ḏ/ 𐎄 rather than as /š/ 𐎌. Thus Ashdod is ꜣaḏdd.[322]

The word in question in l. 65 is ꜣašld (ꜣašōlidu), the Š-stem 1 c. s.

yqtl form of yld.[323] The phrase ybn . ꜣašld parallels y. ꜣatt . ꜣitrḫ

and is similar syntactically.

For šꜣu ꜥdḫ 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.[324]

There is no evidence, however, to support the notion that mdbr qdš

refers to a specific locale.

L1. 66-67. Several commentators take tgrgr to be a reduplicated

form of the verb gwr, "dwell". Note the Hebrew verb gūr, "sojourn",

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[321]Virolleaud, "La naissance", 137, 150; Dussaud, "Le commerce",
61; Barton, "The Spring Festival at Jerusalem", 72.

[322]See RS 1957.701, obverse:2; L. R. Fisher, ed., The Claremont
Ras Shamra Tablets, Analecta Orientalia, XLVIII (Rome: Pontifical
Biblical Institute, 1971), pp. 31-32.

[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, CML², p. 126 read ꜣašld; KTU, p. 68 reads ꜣašl*d.

[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 ꜣatrt. This identification is incorrect.

and the noun māgōr, "sojourning place", "dwelling place".[325] The verb would be a 3 m. pl. yqtl form (tagargirū). This interpretation is plausible. The occurrence of ttlkn and tṣdn suggests, however, that a verb of motion is required. Driver states that grgr is cognate with Ethiopic gargara, "to roll", and means "to run to and fro."[326] 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.[327] In the expression lĕhitĕggolēl 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, "romp", is cognate with Akkadian garāru, "run", and parallels ttlk and tṣdn.[328]

The meaning of tmn . nqpt . ᶜd 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).[329] Gordon

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[325] Gordon, UT 19.618; Tsumura, "The Good Gods", p. 93; Gibson, CML², p. 127.

[326] Driver, CML, p. 146.

[327] Moscati, Comparative Grammar, p. 32, Moscati cites the Akkadian raqraqqu 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 nqpnt. Gordon (UT, p. 181) reads simply nqpt while Driver (CML, p. 72) suggests that nqpnt is an error for nqpt.

suggests that <u>nqpt</u> means "year(s)" and is semantically parallel to <u>šnt</u>.
According to Aistleitner it denotes "years", "cycles of feasts", or
"turning of time."[330] In Jb. 1:5 and 2 Chron. 24:23, <u>nāqap</u> 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: <u>sĕpū šānāh ᶜal
šānāh ḥaggīm yinqōpū</u>, "Add year to year; let the feasts come round."
In Ex. 34:22 the expression <u>tĕqūpat haššānāh</u>, "the turn of the year",
designates the time of the celebration of the feast of ingathering.
These passages suggest that in Ugaritic <u>nqpt</u> may not be simply a
synonym for <u>šnt</u>, "year", but may denote the cyclical movement of time,
possibly as it relates to the liturgical calendar.

The word <u>ᶜd</u> also poses difficulty. It occurs in <u>CTA</u> 12(75):46
together with <u>nqpt</u>. The context in this passage is no more helpful
with respect to our understanding of <u>nqpt ᶜd</u> than is <u>CTA</u> 23:67.
Ginsberg suggests that <u>ᶜd</u> is cognate with Hebrew <u>ᶜōd</u>, "still", "more",
"yet".[331] If this view is correct, <u>ᶜd</u> parallels <u>tmt</u>. Others believe that
<u>ᶜd</u> denotes a "cycle of time" or "period". It is possible that <u>ᶜd</u> means
"appointed day" or "festival" and is cognate with Hebrew <u>ᶜēd</u> and

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[330]Gordon, <u>UT</u> 19.1700; Aistleitner, "Götterzeugung", p. 298 and
<u>Wörterbuch</u>, No. 1847, p. 213.

[331]H. L. Ginsberg, "Baᶜlu and his Brethren", <u>JPOS</u>, XVI (1936), 148.

Aramaic ^{c}ēdā$^{\supset}$.[332] De Moor believes that nqpt ^{c}d designates an

equinox.[333] While it is possible to interpret ^{c}d as the adverb "more",

"yet" on the basis of the supposed parallelism tmt // ^{c}d, we prefer to

interpret ^{c}d as denoting feasts or temporal cycles.

. The phrases šb^c šnt tmt and tmn nqpt ^{c}d are adverbial accusative

constructions indicating the duration of the action. The verb ttlkn

(tittalikūna) 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 tṣdn (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 $^{\supset}$ilm . n^{c}mm. ttlkm šd and tṣdn . p$^{\supset}$at . mdbr, the

ellipses of the subject is balanced by the ballast variant p$^{\supset}$at . mdbr.

The expression p$^{\supset}$at mdbr 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

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[332]Driver (CML, pp. 73, 125, 146) regards ^{c}d as a "cycle of time" and translated nqpt ^{c}d as "revolutions of time". Cassuto (The Goddess Anath, p. 29) suggests that nqpt ^{c}d may mean "the going round of the feasts". See also de Moor, New Year with Canaanites and Israelites, II, p. 23; Gibson, CML², p. 127.

[333]De Moor, Seasonal Pattern, pp. 57, n. 26; 148-149.

time."[334] Ugaritic ngš is cognate with Hebrew nāgaš, "draw near", "approach".

The title ngr mdr^c is composed of ngr, "guard", and mdr^c, "sown", which is the passive participle of dr^c, "sow".[335] The Hebrew cognates are nāṣar, "watch", "guard", "keep", and zāra^c, "to sow", "scatter seed". Note also the substantive *mizrā^c, which occurs in the construct form mizra^c in Isa. 19:7. The ngr mdr^c is known from administrative texts PRU, II, 24(1024): rev. 16 and PRU, V, 38(2038):6. In the latter text the ngr mdr^c 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.[336] The verb pth (pitah) is a singular imperative form of pth (Hebrew pātah), "open". The noun prṣ is cognate with Hebrew pereṣ, "breach". The word b^cdhm (ba^cdihum) is formed from the preposition b^cd (Hebrew bĕ^cad), "behind", "about", "on behalf of", and the 3 m. pl. pronominal suffix.

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

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[334] Gordon, UT 9.29; 13.57. The phrase wṣh hm is a similar construction, as is wpth . hw in 1. 70 and w^crb . hm in 1. 71.

[335] Gordon acknowledges the possibility that mdr^c is a passive participle (madru^c-), 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*g*r . pth* and h*w . prṣ*.

in 1. 72 suggest that ʾiṯ be restored after hm in this line. Moreover,

the words wt[n] (1. 72) wnlḥm confirm the restoration of lḥm. Thus

Herdner reads hm[.ʾiṯ..? 1]ḥm.[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 tn (tin) is the

imperative of ytn (Hebrew nātan), "give". The word ʾiṯ (ʾiṯ(ē)) is the

existential particle "there is", cognate with Aramaic ʾiṯ and Hebrew

yēš.

L. 72. The middle portion of the line is missing. The final word

wnšt and the occurrence of yn in 1. 74 indicate that yn should be

restored. The restoration of [w]tn is indicated by the presence of

wt[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 (šatāyu), "to drink", after yn would be appropriate, though this is

not required for a smooth reading.[339]

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[337] Herdner, CTA, p. 101. See also Ginsberg, "Notes", 71; Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", 56; Gordon, UT, p. 175; KTU, p. 68; Gibson, CML², p. 127.

[338] Virolleaud, "La naissance", 132; Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", 56; Gordon, UT, p. 175; Herdner, CTA, p. 101; Gibson, CML², p. 127. KTU, p. 68 reads wnlḥm* . hm . ʾiṯ* [w]t*n* . wnšt.

[339] Ginsberg, "Notes", 72 suggests ḥmr yn wtn after 1. 6 while Driver, CML, p. 124 and Gray, LC, p. 104 read yn dšrb wtn.

The verbs n̲l̲ḫm̲ (nilḫam) and n̲š̲t̲ (našti) 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 ʾi̲t̲ . l̲ḫm̲ is supported by ʾi̲t̲ . y̲n̲ in l. 74.[341]

The phrase w̲ᶜn̲ḫm̲ . n̲ǧr̲ m̲d̲r̲ᶜ 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 ᶜn̲y̲/w̲ is cognate with Hebrew ᶜānāh, "answer", "respond".

L. 74. The latter half of the line is missing. The final word may be restored b̲t̲k̲[n̲.............]. Ugaritic t̲k̲n̲ 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

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

[341]Herdner, CTA, p. 101 reads [ʾi̲t̲ . l̲ḫm̲ ....]. Gibson, CML², p. 127 restores [ʾi̲t̲ . l̲ḫm̲ . d̲ᶜr̲b̲], after 11. 71, 74. KTU, p. 68 reads [ ]x̲ʾa̲*t̲*.

[342]Gordon, UT 13.57.

[343]Largement reads b̲t̲k̲[m̲], "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.

d$\breve{s}$rb.[344] The form $\breve{s}$rb would be a participle of $\breve{s}$rb, "drink". If /d/

functions here as a determinative, d$\breve{s}$rb would qualify yn: "wine for

drinking" or "wine for those who drink".[345] Otherwise, d$\breve{s}$rb would be

a nominative relative clause: "he who drinks".

The alternate reading d^{c}rb was proposed initially by Virolleaud

and has been adopted by such scholars as Largement, Herdner, Caquot and

Xella.[346] The form ^{c}rb would be a participle (^{c}āribu) while the prefix

/d/ would be the relative pronoun dū, "that", "which", "of", a cognate

of Hebrew zū and Aramaic dī.[347] Thus d^{c}rb would be a substantivised

relative clause. It is probable that this clause is the beginning and

the subject of a new sentence.[348] This view is supported by the

particle b- prefixed to the following word. This particle also supports

the reading d^{c}rb over the alternative d$\breve{s}$rb.

L. 75. The latter half of the line is missing. A number of

commentators have read the initial word as mg^{3}ip, without being able

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[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 ^{3}it lhm lhm (11. 71, 73) and ^{3}it yn šty (1. 72).

[346]Virolleaud, "La naissance", 132; Largement, L'aurore, pp. 25,
48; Herdner, CTA, p. 101; Caquot, Textes Ougaritiques, p. 378; Xella,
Il mito, p. 77. KTU, p. 68 and Gibson, CML², p. 127 also read d^{c}rb.

[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 Ougaritiques,
p. 378.

to assign any meaning to it.[349] A more probable reading is mġ hw.[350]

The word mġ (maġā) is the infinitive absolute of mġy, "come", "reach",
"arrive".[351] The pronoun hw, "he", refers to the nġr mdrᶜ.

The word lhn admits several different interpretations. It may be
formed from the preposition l- and the noun hn (Hebrew hīn), which
denotes a unit of liquid measure.[352] The presence of lg (Hebrew lōg),
a unit of liquid measure, neither negates nor confirms this inter-
pretation. It also has been suggested that the word is composed of the
preposition l- with the Ugaritic cognate of Arabic huna, "here".[353]
Yet another alternative is to interpret lhn as the Ugaritic equivalent
of Hebrew lāhēn, "therefore".[354] Finally, it is possible to regard lhn
as a verb, cognate with Arabic lahhana, "give to eat".[355] All these
interpretations are possible, given the fragmentary nature of the text

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

[350]Gordon, UT, p. 175; Herdner, CTA, p. 101; Tsumura, "The Good
Gods", p. 102; Caquot, Textes Ougaritiques, p. 378. See also KTU, p.
68; Gibson, CML2, p. 127.

[351]Tsumura, "The Good Gods", p. 102. Gibson, CML2, p. 127, n. 4
suggests that both mġ and ml'a are "perfects with jussive sense".

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

[353]Caquot, Textes Ougaritiques, p. 378; Gibson, CML2, pp. 127, 145.
Gibson cites Hebrew hēnnāh as a cognate.

[354]Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", pp. 56, 57, n. 71.

[355]Driver, CML, pp. 125, 158; Caquot, Textes Ougaritiques, 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.[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 ḥln is a variant of ḥln, "window", while in Mirror Text 57:9 ypḥ, "witness", appears as ypḫ.[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.[358]

Some scholars suggest that ḫbr means "companion" and is cognate with Hebrew ḥābēr and Akkadian ebru. In RS 24.252 ḫbr occurs with this meaning in the expression ḫbr ktr ṯbm "the good companion of Kotar".[359]

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[356]Virolleaud, "La naissance", 151; Ginsberg, "Notes", 72; Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", pp. 56, 57, n. 73; Largement, L'aurore, p. 25.

[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.

[358]Caquot, Textes Ougaritiques, pp. 379, n. w, 515, n. x; Tsumura, "The Good Gods", p. 103.

[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 hbr 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.[1] 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 ʾilm nᶜmm and their birth.

The liturgical nature of CTA 23 was perceived by Ch. Virolleaud in his editio princeps of the text. He interpreted ll. 14-15 as depicting sacrifices or rites designed to stimulate the fertility of the fields. Lines such as ll. 1, 19-20, 23 were identified as invocations to the gods.[2] The awareness of cultic features was given more substance by

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[1] Largement, L'aurore, p. 9.

[2] Virolleaud, "La naissance", 140-142.

commentators like Dussaud and Barton, who described the text as the

programme for a spring festival.[3] Dussaud asserted that the festival

underlying CTA 23 included a communal meal, sacrifices and rites of

fertility.[4] Barton argued that the text reflects a spring festival

liturgy in use at Jerusalem between 1800 B.C. and 1600 B.C.[5]

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.[6] Gordon

asserted that it presents the myth, the prayers and invocations, and the

ritual acts which combine to produce the desired effect of fertility.[7]

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 entertain-

ment.[8] Recent publications such as those of Caquot and Xella continue

to acknowledge the ritual component of the text.[9] Caquot noted that the

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

[4]Dussaud, "Les Phéniciens", 6-8.

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

[6]Gordon, UL, pp. 57-58; Common Background, pp. 172-178; Tsumura, "The Good Gods", pp. 28-29, 100-101, 222-223.

[7]Gordon, Common Background, p. 178.

[8]Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", 51-76; Thespis, pp. 409-411, 412-413, 427, 433-435.

[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 primeval 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 ll. 1-38a present the ritual, while the remainder of the text is an accompanying epic narrative.[12] Interpreting ll. 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 ll. 1-29 as rubrics and ll. 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

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[10]Caquot, Textes Ougaritiques, pp. 363-365.

[11]Xella, Il mito, pp. 83-85.

[12]Largement, L'aurore, pp. 51-53.

[13]Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", 49-50.

[14]Gaster, Thespis, pp. 406-407, 409-410.

[15]Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", 49-51, 72-75; Thespis, pp. 406-409, 410-415.

and myth. This approach is reflected in Barton's understanding ll. 37–60 as a rite designed to secure human offspring for the community.[16] Recently I. Trujillo has argued convincingly that the distinction between a ritual portion of the text (ll. 1-29) and a mythological one (ll. 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."[17] The veracity of this claim is indicated by the mythological tone of ll. 16-17, which are embedded in rubrics (ll. 16-17) and by the instructions concerning the recitation of the birth narrative in ll. 56b-57, which are included in the mythological account of that blessed event.[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 ll. 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.[19] Largement asserted that fertility was the main concern of ll. 1-38a.[20] Gray and Oldenburg unhesitatingly categorised CTA 23 as a fertility cult text, while

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[16] Barton, "The Spring Festival at Jerusalem", 71-72.

[17] Trujillo, "A Sacrificial Meal", p. 18.

[18] See the textual notes for ll. 16-17 and 56-57, pp. 48-49, 86-91.

[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.

[20] Largement, L'aurore, pp. 51-52.

Gordon described it as "the complete formula for agricultural prosperity."[21] This emphasis on fertility stems particularly from attention to the concept of sacred marriage (11. 49b-61). For many commentators, this event is the core of the text.[22] The significance of the sacred marriage in the mythic narrative is indicated vividly by the consideration it receives in 11. 49b-53, 55-58. The elaborate prologue in 11. 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 (11. 68-76).[23]

Finally, there is general consensus concerning the central significance of the ꜣilm nᶜmm 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 11. 1-2.[24] Dussaud observed that the liturgy of CTA 23 recalled the birth of the ꜣilm nᶜmm, the lords of the region where the liturgy was celebrated.[25]

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[21]Gray, LC, p. 93; Gordon, Common Background, p. 178; U. Oldenburg, The Conflict Between El and Baᶜal in Canaanite Religion (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1969), pp. 19, 37, 109.

[22]Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", 73; Largement, L'aurore, p. 53; Gray, LC, p. 101.

[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 ʔilm nᶜmm.[26] The importance of the ʔilm nᶜmm and
of their birth is acknowledged in the recent studies of Tsumura and
Trujillo. According to the former, the birth of the ʔilm nᶜmm "... is
the main theme of this fertility myth and ritual."[27] Trujillo claimed
that "... the text is a ritual for a ceremonial banquet offered in
honor of the good gods Šaḥar and Šalim."[28]

This emphasis on the ʔilm nᶜmm 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 ʔilm nᶜmm. The remainder, which focuses upon El and his
wives, serves as a preamble to their birth. Their significance is
confirmed, moreoever, by the invocations of ll. 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

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

[27]Tsumura, "The Good Gods", p. 22.

[28]Trujillo, "A Sacrificial Meal", abstract. Trujillo equates šḥr
and šlm with the ʔilm nᶜmm; cf. pp. 177-178.

the ʾilm nᶜmm 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 ʾilm nᶜmm, 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 wšr) is portrayed in 11. 8-9 in the midst of

primordial chaos, similar to the tohū wābohū of Gen. 1:2. Apart from

the South-Arabian moon god, the heavens are empty; there are neither

gods nor men. In 11. 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 (šlm) stars, are named. According to

Nielson, 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]

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[29]D. Nielsen, Ras Šamra Mythologie und biblische Theologie, pp. 70-97.

René Follet also explained <u>CTA</u> 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
<u>CTA</u> 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 <u>ym</u> (1. 30) and that his sons are in <u>ym's</u> image
(ᵓagzrym) and are called "sons of <u>ym</u>" (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 <u>CTA</u> 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

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[30] R. Follet, review of Largement's <u>L'aurore</u>, <u>Biblica</u>, XXXII (1951),
317-319.

deities (šḥr wšlm). 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 Komóroczy, 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 šḥr and šlm, morning and evening twilight, is indisputable.

According to Komoróczy, moreover, the imagery associated with the ʔilm

nᶜmm confirms their relationship to the underworld. The "door" (prṣ)

in l. 70 and the "keeper" (nǵr mdrᶜ) in ll. 69 and 73 are analogous to

the gate of the netherworld and its keeper mentioned in a number of

Mesopotamian texts.[32] The words, nᶜm and ysm, epithets of the ʔilm nᶜmm

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

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[31]J. Aistleitner, "Götterzeugung", 285-312. For the Sumerian myth,
see S. N. Kramer, "Enki and Ninhursag: a Paradise Myth" in ANET, pp.
37-41.

[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 ʾilm nʿmm 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. Nielsen 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 Nielsen 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

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[33]G. Komoróczy, "Zum mythologischen und literaturgeschichtlichen Hintergrund der ugaritischen 'Dichtung ŠŠ'", UF, III (1971), 75-80. For the myth of "Enlil and Ninlil" see S. N. Kramer, Sumerian Mythology, revised ed. (New York: Harper and Row, 1961), pp. 43-47, 144, n. 49; T. Jacobsen, "The Cosmos as State" in Before Philosophy, ed. H. Frankfort (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1949), pp. 165-170.

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.[34] 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 Ninhursag 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 ym does not designate El, but indicates his destination. The words bn ym in ll. 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".[35]

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

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[34] U. Oldenburg, "Above the Stars of El: El in Ancient South Arabic Religion", ZAW, LXXXII (1970), 198, 203.

[35] See the textual notes for l. 23, pp. 58-59.

are quite dissimilar. Whereas CTA 23 is a liturgical text, there is
little in the myths of "Enlil and Ninlil", "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 ʾilm nᶜmm 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 ʾilm nᶜmm as under-
world deities. The imagery of the widespread "lips" of both the ʾilm
nᶜmm and Mot refers to the enormous appetite of the gods (CTA 23:61-62),
as well as to the rapacity of Mot (CTA 5(67),II:2-3). This imagery does
not justify an equation of the ʾilm nᶜmm with Death.

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

tn . ly . mtt . ḥry
nᶜmt . špḥ . bkrk
dk . nᶜm . ᶜnt . nᶜmh
km . tsm . ᶜttrt . ts[mh]

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

The words nᶜm 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^{c}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^{c}m 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 $^{)}$ilm n^{c}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 $^{)}$ilm n^{c}mm bestow fertility; rather they receive bread and wine from the ngr mdr^c. Moreover, there is nothing in the text, nor in Follet's interpretation, to indicate that the $^{)}$ilm n^{c}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 aetiology. 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 Sznycer 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 Sznycer, 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

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[36]Xella, Il mito, pp. 81, 93-96, 105-106. See also the discussions of Xella's work in M. Dahood's review in Orientalia, XLIV (1975), 329-330 and R. J. Clifford's "Recent Scholarly Discussions of CTCA 23 (UT 52)", Society of Biblical Literature: Seminar Papers, I (1975), p. 104.

[37]Caquot, Textes Ougaritiques, p. 364.

[38]Caquot, Textes Ougaritiques, pp. 363-365.

Sznycer are unsatisfactory. The fact that the ˀilm nᶜmm obtain bread

and wine from the ngr mdrᶜ (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 ˀilm nᶜmm be

nourished by the products of agricultural activity, as Caquot and

Sznycer have suggested. The entry of the gods into the region of the

sown hardly serves as an aetiology 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 ˀilm nᶜmm (11. 1-2,

23), the sexual allusions (11. 13, 28) and the number of lines alloted

to El's amorous activity and the procreation of the ˀilm nᶜmm indicate

that it is the ˀilm nᶜmm and the sacred marriage that are most

important in CTA 23. Neither the bread and wine nor the offering of

these substances to the ˀilm nᶜmm are as central in the text as Xella

or Caquot and Sznycer have suggested. In addition, the ˀilm nᶜmm 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 Raḥmay 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 mdbr qdš

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 Sznycer's assertion that the offering of these foods to the ˀilm

by the ngr mdr^c sanctions sacrifice are dubious.

More prominent than the theogonic and aetiological interpretations of CTA 23 are those studies which associate the ᵓilm nᶜmm 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 šḥr and šlm, 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 šḥr and šlm. Driver concurred with Gaster's suggestion that the astral nature of šḥr and šlm, who are similar to the classical Dioscuri, the viticultural imagery of ll. 8-11 and the rite of cooking a kid in milk in l. 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

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[39]Driver, CML, 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 l. 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 šḥr 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 ʾilm nᶜmm 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 šḥr 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 šḥr 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 ʾilm nᶜmm (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

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[41]Gray, LC, pp. 93-105.

the ʾilm nᶜmm invoked (11. 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, 11. 8-11 portray viticultural activity and 11. 13-15

present both an order to work the fields and sacrificial rites designed

to ensure their fertility. He suggested that 11. 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 mdbr qdš in 1. 65

designates the desert around Qadesh-barnea in the Negeb region and

reconstructed ʾašt ld 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

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[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.[45] Not only did he accept

Virolleaud's interpretation of l. 65, but he developed this line of

explication by equating mdbr špm in l. 4 with hammidbār derek yam sûp

in Num. 14:25 and Deut. 2:1 and by associating šbᶜny in l. 64 with the

well šibᶜāh at Beer-sheba in Gen. 26:33.[46] 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

(ll. 23-24), was composed of sacrifices (ll. 14, 27), a communal meal

(ll. 6, 71-72) and fertility rites (ll. 8-15) including a sacred

marriage in which El sired the "gracious gods" (ll. 49-61).[47]

Another commentator who found in CTA 23:65 reference to southern

Palestine was G. A. Barton.[48] 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

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[45]R. Dussaud, "Les Phéniciens", 5-49; "Le commerce", 59-66; Les découvertes de Ras Shamra (Ugarit) et l'Ancien Testament (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1941), pp. 83-85.

[46]Dussaud, "Les Phéniciens", 6-8, 14-15, 37; "Le commerce", 59-66.

[47]Dussaud, "Les Phéniciens", 6-8, 10-14, 37; "Le commerce", 61-65.

[48]G. A. Barton, "The Spring Festival at Jerusalem", 61-78.

denote both the city and its guardian spirit.[49] 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."[50] 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.[51]

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.[52] This approach to the

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[49] Barton, "The Spring Festival at Jerusalem", 67. According to Barton, l. 7 proclaims Salem to be queen of those who enter (ᶜrbm) and pour libations (tnnm), thereby identifying Jerusalem as the site of the liturgy (p. 65). The feminine verb form in l. 7 indicates that šlm is used in this line to refer to the city. The use of the masculine verb form in ll. 52-53 implies that šlm 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.[53] The interpretations of CTA 23 which suggest a southern
Palestinian provenance for the text are based on faulty identifications
and arbitrary associations.[54]

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
ll. 8-11 employ viticultural imagery, it is clear from the emphasis on
mt . wšr in ll. 8-9 and the reference to his šdmt in l. 10 that Death,
not vineyards, is the principal concern of this passage.[55] Moreover,

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encounter in the Negeb between the Phoenician Keret and Terah, the
progenitor of the Hebrew people. See also C. F. A. Schaeffer, The
Cuneiform Texts of Ras Shamra-Ugarit, Schweich Lectures, 1937 (London:
Oxford University Press, 1939), pp. 73 ff.

[53]W. F. Albright, "Was the Patriarch Terah a Canaanite Moon-God?",
35-40; C. H. Gordon, "ᶜTRḤ, TN, NKR in the Ras Shamra Tablets", JBL,
LVII (1938), 407-410; H. L. Ginsberg, "The Legend of King Keret, a
Canaanite Epic of the Bronze Age", BASOR, Supplementary studies 2-3,
(1946), 15 ff.

[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 ʾašt ld, mdbr qdš, tšbᶜn
in ll. 64-65, mdbr špm in l. 4 and šlm in ll. 7, 52 see the textual
notes, pp. 28, 32, 82, 97-99.

[55]See the textual notes on ll. 8-11, pp. 34-39.

the suggestions that ll. 13-15 and ll. 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 ʾilm nᶜmm 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 l. 65, the association of šlm in CTA 23:7, 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 (ll. 1-38a) presents various rituals and laudatory pericopes for the worship of the ʾilm nᶜmm. These lines express gratitude for various blessings of fertility, such as the

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

[57]Largement, L'aurore, p. 7.

favour bestowed by mlk-šlm, the chief of the ʾilm nᶜmm (l. 7), the work
of mt wšr in vineyards (ll. 8-11) and that of El in the šd ʾaṯrt wrḥmy
--the plain where grain is cultivated. Largement believed that the
recipients of the blessings reciprocate by presenting bread and wine to
mlk-šlm (l. 6), by performing the rites of ll. 14-15 in gratitude for
the work of El and mt wšr and by offering the sacrifice specified in ll.
26-27. The ritual reaches a climax with the sacred marriage (ll. 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 ʾilm nᶜmm and
the fertility which they confer are commemorated. After depicting the
subjugation of chaos, symbolized by the roasting of a bird (ll. 38b-39,
41, 44-45, 47-48), the myth portrays the sacred marriage of El and
Athirat, from which all fertility is derived (ll. 40, 42, 46-47, 48-61).
The new-born ʾilm nᶜmm, the products of this union, are invited by El
to construct in the mdbr qdš a dwelling or storehouse (ᶜd) to which they
come for provisions. El blesses the arid land with the rain necessary
for the sustenance of the gods (ll. 61-68). Largement asserted that in
the final lines of the text (ll. 69-76), the ʾilm nᶜmm in turn give to
their devotees the provisions which the latter require.[59] Thus the
ʾilm nᶜmm are the immediate sources of fertility, while El is the

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[58]Largement, L'aurore, pp. 51-53.

[59]Largement, L'aurore, pp. 51, 53-55.

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 nġr mdr^c. 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 mdbr (*dbyr) and r$^{\partial}$iš in ll. 4-5 suggest an obelisk temple of a coastal (ʾay, l. 6) city (qrt, 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

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[60]R. du Mesnil du Buisson, Nouvelles études sur les dieux et les mythes de Canaan (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973), pp. 91-92, 97.

[61]Du Mesnil du Buisson, Nouvelles études, pp. 91, 93, 98.

birth of "Seven Gods Gracious", including the divine saviour Shalem-Shahar "... 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 ᵓilm nᶜmm form the main theme of the drama. Šḥr and šlm, whom he equated with the ᵓilm nᶜmm, 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 ll. 8-14: the depiction of the June pruning of vines; the use of ġzrm, "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

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[62]T. H. Gaster, "An Ancient Semitic Mystery-Play", 156, 161.

[63]Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", 49, 69-73.

[64]Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", 59, 61, 72.

[65]T. H. Gaster; Thespis, pp. 406-435. While the first edition of Thespis appeared in 1950, Gaster notes on p. 15 of his "Preface" that this latest edition presents CTA 23 "in an entirely new form."

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 ʾilm nᶜmm,

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 ʾilm nᶜmm were

worshipped as deities of fertility. Gaster suggested that ll. 66b ff.

describe how these gods became patrons of crops. The text concludes

with a man generously allowing the ʾilm nᶜmm 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 l. 76, describing

how the divine guests rewarded their host with the promise that the

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[66] Gaster, Thespis, pp. 407-411.

[67] Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", 67-68, 69-72; Thespis, pp. 406, 410, 430-432.

[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 ʾilm nᶜmm 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

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[69] Gaster, Thespis, pp. 433-435.

[70] Gaster, Thespis, pp. 406, 412-413, 428-432.

[71] Gordon, UL, pp. 57-62; "Canaanite Mythology", Mythologies of the
Ancient World, pp. 181-215; The Ancient Near East, 3rd ed. (New York:
Norton, 1965), p. 99; Common Background, pp. 172-178. Gordon's
hypothesis has been adopted by Oldenburg and Tsumura; see Oldenburg,
The Conflict between El and Baᶜal in Canaanite Religion, pp. 19, 37,
109; Tsumura, "The Good Gods".

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 ll. 12-15, the birth of seven ʾilm nᶜmm (ll. 58-61, 64) and these gods' seven year sojourn in the wilderness (ll. 66-68).[74] Gordon and Tsumura asserted that the seven year sojourn of the ʾilm nᶜmm in the wilderness (ll. 66-68) indicates that a lean sabbatical cycle has occurred. The rite presented in ll. 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,

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[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.

[74]Gordon, Common Background, pp. 172-174, 177; Tsumura, "The Good Gods", pp. 192, 194, 198-202.

the ʾilm nˁmm, who are to preside over this coming prosperous period.[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 ʾilm nˁmm that El provides for the fertility of the
land and the well-being of the people.[76] The text concludes (11. 69-
76) as it begins (1. 6), with an affirmation of abundance symbolized
by bread and wine.[77]

Those interpretations which give CTA 23 a Sitz im Leben in the
fertility cult fail to account for the significance of the ʾilm nˁmm
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 ʾilm nˁmm
dispense nothing in CTA 23. In the rubric portion of the text they
receive a city (1. 3) and a crown (11. 4-5), while in the mythological
narrative they are the recipients of bread and wine donated by the
ngr mdrˁ (11. 69-76). The view that the ʾilm nˁmm bring to the
cultivated land the blessings of fertility is groundless.

The solutions which commentators have adopted to mitigate this

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[75]Gordon, Common Background, pp. 172, 177-178; Tsumura, "The Good
Gods", pp. 88-91, 200-202.

[76]Oldenburg, The Conflict between El and Baˁal, pp. 37, 109;
Gordon, Common Background, p. 178; Tsumura, "The Good Gods", pp. 222-223.

[77]Tsumura, "The Good Gods", pp. 28-29, 100-101.

difficulty are not convincing. Besides the erroneous assertion that the
ʾilm nʿmm 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.[78] His discomfiture in ll. 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 ʾilm nʿmm (ll. 49b-61a), he cannot be identified with them. There-
fore Largement's attempt to attribute activity to the ʾilm nʿmm 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
ngr mdrʿ (ll. 69-76), there is no indication, either explicit or
implicit, that the ʾilm nʿmm 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 l. 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

[78]Oldenburg, The Conflict between El and Baʿal, 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 ʾilm nʿmm, 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

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[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 Baʿal, p. 109; Gordon, Common Background, pp. 175-176.

concerned with human fecundity.[81] 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. Largement's suggestion that the ᵓilm nᶜmm construct a storehouse (ᶜd) (l. 67) in the mdbr qdš, from which they obtain and grant provisions in a case in point. The word ᶜd denotes time or festivals. There is no reference in ll. 65-67 to the establishment of a storehouse.[82] 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 ᵓay (l. 6) as "coast" is possible, the rendering of mdbr (ll. 4, 65, 68) as temple is probably incorrect. In Ugaritic, "temple" or "shrine" is usually designated by byt / bt or qdš. In CTA 23:4, the fact that mdbr is followed by špm suggests that "desert" or "wilderness" is the proper translation.[83] In l. 68, pᵓat mdbr is juxtaposed with šd, "field", while in CTA 14(Krt),III:105; IV: 193-194 pᵓat mdbr occurs in a context which requires a translation as "corners of the wilderness".[84] Therefore du Mesnil du Buisson's

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[81] For discussions of the roles of Baal and El in the Ugaritic texts see Oldenburg, The Conflict between El and Baᶜal, pp. 15-28; 69-77; Caquot, Textes Ougaritiques, 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 ll. 65-67, pp. 97-101.

[83] See the textual notes for l. 4, p. 28.

[84] See the textual notes for l. 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 l. 14 to support this hypothesis. The reading ṯbḫ gᴅd . bḥlb, "coᶜok a kiᴅd 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 ll. 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 yṣmdnn (ll. 9-10) indicates that mt wᵊr is the object of the actions depicted.[87] While vines may have been employed sympathetically in the

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[85] See the textual notes for l. 14, pp. 43-45.

[86] Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", 72.

[87] See the textual notes for ll. 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 ll. 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 ll.
32-33, ʾad ʾad and ʾum ʾum, need not be translated as "Oh, Daddy" and
"Oh, Mummy", exclamations which Gaster claims are suggestive of "...

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[88] W. F. Albright, "The Gezer Calendar", BASOR, XCII (1943), pp.
23, n. 37, 38; 25.

[89] Gaster, Thespis, p. 412. See the textual notes for ll. 31-36,
pp. 64-69.

the squeals and giggles of pert minxes in a light comedy."[90] 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

ll. 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.[91] It is

difficult to understand why such rubrics would remain in a text that

has been modified to entertain.. Moreover, the solemn invocations of

ll. 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 Tsumura

were correct in noting the prominence of the number seven ($\check{s}b^c$) 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.[92]. Danel mourns for his slain son seven years

(CTA 19(1 Aqht),IV:174-179); Keret marches seven days to arrive at

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[90] Gaster, Thespis, p. 412.

[91] Gaster, Thespis, pp. 407-408, 422-424.

[92] For a general discussion of "seven" see M. H. Pope, "Seven,
Seventh, Seventy" in IDB, IV, pp. 294-295. See also S. E. Loewenstamm,
"The Seven Day-Unit in Ugaritic Epic Literature", IEJ, XV (1965), 123-
133.

ᵓudm (CTA 14(Krt),III: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" (šbᶜ šnt) and "eight cycles of
feasts" (tmn qpnt ᶜd), with dire repercussions for both man and
nature.[93] Moreover, šbᶜ 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 šbᶜ in CTA 23 is not grounds for asserting the
text's association with the sabbatical cycle. Without the establishment
of a relationship between the ᵓilm nᶜmm and the fertility of the land,
there is no reason to suggest that the wilderness sojourn of the ᵓilm
nᶜmm 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 ᵓilm nᶜmm.
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, aetiology, or the procurement of fertility. A new line of
inquiry must be initiated if the explication of CTA 23 is to proceed.

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[93]The words šbᶜ and tmn occur frequently in parallelism, as they do
in CTA 12(75),II:45-46 and CTA 23:66-67. See RSP, I, II.531, p. 345.

THE ꞈILM NᶜMM: ROYAL FIGURES

The purpose of this chapter is to advance the hypothesis that <u>CTA</u>
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 ꞈilm nᶜmm 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 <u>CTA</u>
23, nᶜmm, 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 <u>CTA</u> 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

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[1]Rainey 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.[2] The story begins with the

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example, that Keret's role in the military campaign against ꜣudm 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 portrait 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, 1968), p. 4; M. J. Dahood,
"Ancient Semitic Deities in Syria and Palestine", Le antiche divinità
semitiche, Studi Semitici, I, 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 defence 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 Aqht),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.

[2] 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: yṯb . krt . lꜥdh / yṯb . lksꜣi mlk / lnḥt . lkḥt . 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).[3] Keret laments to El, who informs him in a dream that he should launch a military expedition against ꜣudm 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:

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associated with the clans dtn and ṯᶜy (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 dtn denotes Keret's clan (p. 36). It should be noted that the connotations of dtn are not merely genealogical. In a study of the Ugaritic Rephaim texts, including the recently discovered text RS 34.126, Pope argues cogently that dtn was a "deified dead" ancestor of West Semitic kings. See M. H. Pope, "Notes on the Rephaim 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.

[3]F. C. Fensham, "Remarks on Certain Difficult Passages in Keret", JNWSL, I (1971), 15-22. There is disagreement concerning the specific nature of the misfortune that befalls Keret. Scholars such as Fensham, Ginsberg ("The Legend of King Keret", 14), Driver (CML, pp. 28-29) and Gray (LC, pp. 132-134 and The Krt Text, p. 11) believe that CTA 14(Krt), I:14-21 depict the destruction of Keret's wife and children. Others such as Cassuto ("The Seven Wives of Keret", BASOR, XIX (1950), 18-20), Gibson ("Myth, Legend and Folk-lore in the Ugaritic Keret and Aqhat Texts", VT, Supplement, XXVII (1974) (Congress Volume, Edinburgh, 1974), p. 63) and Margalit ("Studia Ugaritica II", 137-145) maintain that the passage relates how Keret married seven women, all of whom died before bearing for him a male heir. See B. Margalit, "Studia Ugaritica II: Studies in Krt and Aqht", UF, VIII (1976), 137-145.

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

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[4]Gottlieb 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.

[5]Gibson, "Myth, Legend and Folk-lore in the Ugaritic Keret and Aqhat Texts", pp. 64-65.

[6]The Aqhat epic is composed of CTA 17(2 Aqht), 18(3 Aqht) and 19 (1 Aqht).

(2 Aqht),I:1-49).[7] 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 Yutpan (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.[8] 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.[9] Thus at

least the beginning of the Aqhat epic can be used to define the royal

ideology of ancient Ugarit.

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[7]Danel is a king. In CTA 19(1 Aqht),III:152 he is designated mlk.
Moreover, he dwells in an hkl, "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 Ougaritiques, p. 402. Danel's
epithets mt rp³i // mt hrnmy (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 Rāpi³u", 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:I-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):

> m$^{\circ}$at krt . kybky
> ydm$^{\varsigma}$. n$^{\varsigma}$mn . ġlm $^{\circ}$il
> mlk[. t]r $^{\circ}$abh y$^{\circ}$arš
> hm . drk[t] k$^{\circ}$ab . $^{\circ}$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 n$^{\varsigma}$mn ġlm $^{\circ}$il,

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[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.

[11]F. C. Fensham, "Remarks on Keret 26-43", JNWSL, II (1972), 46-52; Ginsberg, "The Legend of King Keret", 14-15, 35-36. See also L. Badre, P. Bordreuil, J. Mudarres, L.'Ajjan, R. Vitale, "Notes Ougaritiques I, Keret", Syria, LIII (1976), 105-106.

"the gracious one, the lad of El" (CTA 14(Krt),II:61-62; 15(128),II:15-16, 20) and as bnm ʾil šph ltpn 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" (dbh . ltr ʾabk . ʾil, CTA 14(Krt),II:76-77).

The assertion of a monarch's kinship with gods is well-attested in ancient Near Eastern literature.[12] 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".[13] 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.[14]

Similar expressions of the ruler's kinship with deities occur in Mesopotamian texts. Šulgi (ca. 2093-2045 B.C.), a ruler of Ur, was a son of the high god Anu.[15] Ishme-Dagan (1953-1934 B.C.) of Isin claimed

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[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.

[13]A. Erman, The Ancient Egyptians (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1966), pp. 43-45.

[14]J. A. Wilson, "The Asiatic Campaigning of Amen-hotep II", ANET, p. 245.

[15]R. Labat, Le caractère religieux de la royauté assyro-babylonienne (Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1939), p. 54.

filiation with both Dagan and Enlil,[16] while his successor Lipit-Ishtar (1934-1924 B.C.) regarded Enlil as his father.[17] 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.[18] Over a thousand years later, the Assyrian monarch Assurbanipal (668-633 B.C.) stated that he was the son of his god Assur.[19]

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."[20] 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 aetiological text KUB

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[16]W. H. Ph. Römer, Sumerische 'Königshymmen' der Isin-zeit, Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui, (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965), B II:119, p. 46; 13 II:11-12, quoted on p. 55; "Hymne an Baba", 1. 64, pp. 238, 240.

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

[18]T. J. Meek, "The Code of Hammurabi", prologue, II:13-14, 56; IV:27-28, ANET, pp. 164-165.

[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 indigeneous 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.[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):

> [tn b]nm ꜣaqny
> [tn t̠ꜣa]rm ꜣamꜣid
>
> [Grant that] I may beget [chil]dren;
> [Grant that] I may multiply [kins]men.[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 off-spring (CTA 15(128),II:1 ff.).[23] The fulfillment of this promise is

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

[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.

[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 <u>CTA</u> 15(128),III:20-25:

> wtqrb . wld bn⟨m ⟩ 1h
> wtqrb . wld bnt 1h
> mk . bšb^c . šnt
> bn . krt . kmhm . tdr
> ᵓap . bnt . ḥry
> 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 Ḥurriya 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 (<u>CTA</u> 15(128),II:21-28):

> ᵓa[tt . tq]ḥ . ykrt .
> ᵓatt tqḥ . btk .
> ġlmt . tš^crb ḥẓrk .
> tld . šb^c . bnm lk
> wtmn tṯmnm lk .
> tld . yṣb ġlm
> ynq . ḥlb . ᵓa[t]rt
> mṣṣ . ṯd . btlt . [^cnt]
> mšnq[t ᵓilm   ]
>
> "The wo[man that you ta]ke, O Keret,
> the woman that you take into your house,
> the maid you bring into your court,
> shall bear seven sons for you,
> yes, eight she shall produce for you.
> She shall bear Yaṣṣib the Lad,
> one who shall suck the milk of Athirat,

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

[24]Ginsberg, "The Legend of King Keret", 23. For slightly different
readings see H. Sauren and G. Kestemont, "Keret, roi de Ḥubur", <u>UF</u>, III
(1971), 206-207 and Gibson, <u>CML</u>², p. 92.

> one who shall milk the breasts of the Virgin [Anat],
> the two wet-nurs[es of the gods   ].[25]

By specifying that Yaṣṣib 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 Yaṣṣib is

expected to succeed his father (CTA 15(128),V:18-22):

> ᶜrb . špš . lymǵ krt .
> ṣbᵓiᵓa . špš bᶜlny .
> wymlk [y]ṣb ᶜln .
> wy[l]y [kr]t ṭᶜ .

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

In CTA 16(127),VI:52-54 the young prince demands that he should

supplant his ailing father:

> rd . lmlk ᵓamlk
> ldrktk . ᵓaṭbnn

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[25]Ginsberg, "The Legend of King Keret", 22-23; Sauren and Kestemont, "Keret, roi de Ḫubur", 206. Gordon, UT, p. 195 restores mšnq[t ᵓilm nᶜmm], suggesting a parallel with CTA 23.

[26]Van Selms, 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: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1954), pp. 247-248.

[27]Gibson, CML, pp. 93-94; Caquot, Textes Ougaritiques, pp. 546-547.

> Descend from the kingship —I will be king!
> From your authority —I will sit![28]

Yaṣṣib'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: ṣġrthn . ʾabkrn, "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

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[28] Ginsberg, "The Legend of King Keret", 32; Gray, The Krt Text, p. 29 and S. Izreʾel, "The Symptoms of King Krt's Illness", UF, VIII (1976), 447. These words occur initially in ll. 37-38, which depict Yaṣṣib'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 Yaṣṣib a curse and may have contributed to his loss of birthright.

[29] Van Selms, Marriage, p. 141. There are biblical analogies to Yaṣṣib'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 Yaṣṣib, 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 legitimation 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).[32] This purpose is stated explicitly in CTA 17(2 Aqht),I:17-27:

> [w]yqrb . bʿl . bḫnth .
> ʾabynt[?] [d]nʾil . mt . rpʾi
> ʾanh . ġzr [mt] hrnmy .
> dʾin . bn . lh km . ʾaḫh .
> w . šrš . km . ʾaryh
> bl . ʾiṯ . bn . lh . km ʾaḫh .

Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und Mandäer, Die Religionen der Menschheit, X. 2 (Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1970), pp. 86-87. It is possible that Yaṣṣib 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 Yaṣṣib 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 Ḥubur", 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, Thespis, p. 316; J. J. Jackson and H. H. 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.

wšrš km . ʾaryḥ ...

....

ltbrknn ltr . ʾil ʾaby
tmrnn . lbny . bnwt
wykn . bnh bbt .
šrš bqrb hklh ...

[Then] Baal approached, in his pity
for the misery (?) of [D]anel, man of Rapiu,
for the groaning of the hero, [man] of the Harnamite,
who had not a son like his brethren,
nor an offspring like his kinsmen,
(saying): "Has he not a son like his brothers,
nor an offspring like his kinsmen ...

....

Verily bless him, O Bull El, my father;
show him favour, O Creator of Creatures,
and his son shall be established in the house
and an offspring in the midst of his palace ..."[33]

As in the Keret epic, El responds in a dream. He blesses Danel by
promising that the king's virility (npš) 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]

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[33]Obermann, "How Danel was Blessed with a Son", 4, 5-6; Driver,
CML, pp. 48-49; Gibson, CML[2], pp. 103-104; and Caquot, Textes
Ougaritiques, 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. Ahiram funerary inscription states: "A sarcophagus made by [It]toba'l, the son of Ahiram, king of Byblos, for Ahiram, his father, as his eternal dwelling-place." See F. Rosenthal, "Ahiram of Byblos", ANET, p. 661. Pope suggests that Aqhat's filial duty to plaster his father's roof (ll. 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 Y'dy 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 (ll. 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 Danel's behalf in the temples of Baal and El (ll. 32-33). Finally, the Panammu votive inscription, dating from ca. 732 B.C., should be noted. It is found on a monument dedicated to Panammu II by his son Barrakkab shortly after the latter's accession to the throne. L. 1 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 (nṣb skn 'il'ib, l. 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, "Sohnespflichten im Alten Orient", Syria, XLIII (1966), 42-44.

[35] O. Keel, The Symbolism of the Biblical World (New York: Seabury Press, 1978), p. 248 and Fig. 334, p. 250; H. Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), p. 73 and Fig. 23.

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-res-isi I (1133-1116 B.C.) states that while he was yet in the

womb he was elected to sovereignty by the great gods.[36] 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.[37]

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),I:20-22:

> ᵓikm . yrgm .
> bn ᵓil krt [.]
> šph . ltpn wqdš .

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[36]Labat, Le caractère religieux, p. 59; A. K. Grayson, Assyrian Royal Inscriptions, I (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz; 1972), No. 950, p. 147.

[37]T. Ishida, The Royal Dynasties in Ancient Israel, BZAW, CXLII (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1977), p. 12. Similar claims were made by the Assyrian kings Adadnirari II (911-891 B.C.), Sennacherib (705-681 B.C.) and Esarhaddon (680-669 B.C.) and by the Babylonians Nebukadnezar II (604-562 B.C.) and Nabonidus (555-539 B.C.). See Labat, Le caractère religieux, pp. 59-60; de Fraine, L'aspect religieux, pp. 178-180; Ishida, The Royal Dynasties in Ancient Israel, pp. 9-10.

> "How can it be said:
> 'A son of El is Keret,
> an offspring of the Kindly
> One and the Holy?'"[38]

Qdš is an epithet of Athirat.[39] 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 ʔaṯrt (CTA 3(ʿnt),V:47; 4(51),IV:51).

The filial relationship of Keret to Athirat is typical of Near Eastern monarchs. Gudea, the ruler of Lagesh (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.[40] The founder of the Third Dynasty of Ur, Ur-nammu (2112-2095 B.C.), was a "son born of (the goddess) Ninsun."[41] The Assyrian monarch Esarhaddon (680-669 B.C.) was said to be a son of

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

[39]R. Dussaud, Les Découvertes de Ras Shamra (Ugarit) et l'Ancien Testament, pp. 106-109; Gese, Höfner, and Rudolph, Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer, p. 149; Aistleitner, Wörterbuch, Nr. 2394, p. 274; W. J. Fulco, The Canaanite God Rešep, American Oriental Series, VIII (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1976), p. 23; Gibson, CML², p. 38, n. 4. According to Albright, "One of Athirat's most common appellations was 'Holiness' (Canaanite Qudšu)." See Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan, p. 121. Conversely, Pope argues that in CTA 16(125),I:20-22 qdš is an epithet of El. See El in the Ugaritic Texts, pp. 43-44.

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

[41]J. J. Finkelstein, "The Laws of Ur-Nammu", 11. 36-40, ANET, p. 523.

the goddess Ninlil,[42] while his son Assurbanipal (668-633 B.C.) was described as a child of both Ninlil and Ishtar.[43] 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 ᵓudm, Keret stops at a shrine of Athirat (CTA 14(Krt),IV:197-206):

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ym[ġy .] lqdš
ᵓaṯ[rt .] ṣrm . wlᵓilt
ṣd[yn]m . ṯm
yd[r . k]rt . ṯᶜ
ᵓiᵓiṯt . ᵓaṯrt . ṣrm
wᵓilt . ṣdynm
hm . ḥry . bty
ᵓiqḥ . ᵓašᶜrb . ġlmt
ḥẓry . ṯnh . kspm
ᵓatn . wṯlṯh . ḥrṣm
```

He ar[rives] at the shrine of
At[ḥirat] of Tyre and Elat of
Sid[on]. There
he mak[es a vow, Ke]ret the Generous:
"As surely as exists Athirat of Tyre
and Elat of Sidon;
if Ḥurriya 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]

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[42] R. D. Biggs, "Oracles Concerning Esarhaddon", IV:5, ANET, p. 605.

[43] R. H. Pfeiffer, "Oracle of Ninlil Concerning Ashurbanipal", ll. 20-21, ANET, p. 451.

[44] Ginsberg, "The Legend of King Keret", 18-19; Caquot, Textes Ougaritiques, pp. 529-530; Sauren and Kestemont, "Keret, roi de Ḫubur", 202 and Badre, "Notes Ougaritiques I", 114-116; Gibson, CML², 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.[45] 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:

> wtḫss . ʾaṯrt ndrh
> wʾilt . p[lʾah]
> wtšʾu . gh . w[tṣḥ]
> ph mᶜ . ʾap . kr[t ypr]
> ʾu ṯn . ndr[h mlk]
> ʾapr . h[..........]

> And Athirat remembers his vow
> and Elat his de[dication],
> and she lifts her voice and [cries]:
> "Look, now. Does Ker[et], then, [break],
> or [the king] alter his vo[w]?
> So shall I annul [.........].[46]

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

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[45]Van Selms, Marriage, pp. 13-15.

[46]Ginsberg, "The Legend of King Keret", 23-24, 41-42; Driver, CML,
pp. 36-39; Sauren and Kestemont, "Keret, roi de Ḫubur", 207 and Caquot,
Textes Ougaritiques, p. 542. The restoration of plʾ is suggested by
Lev. 22:21; 27:2 and Num. 15:3, 8; see Ginsberg, p. 41 and Driver, p.
39. Sauren and Kestemont restore h[wt ʾilm] in 1. 30, suggesting
that Athirat will annul the blessings which the gods have bestowed on
Keret.

concerning the procurement of children.[47]   Other commentators regard the

vows mentioned in <u>CTA</u> 14(Krt),IV:197-206 and <u>CTA</u> 15(128),III:25-30 as

identical.[48]   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.[49]

<u>Athirat as Royal Wet-nurse.</u>

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 Yaṣṣib (<u>CTA</u> 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 Yaṣṣib, Athirat and Anat designate him as the

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[47]Ginsberg, "The Legend of King Keret", 22, 41.

[48]Driver, <u>CML</u>, p. 3 and Gibson, <u>CML</u>[2], p. 92, n. 4; Gray, <u>LC</u>, pp.
145, n. 4, 147.

[49]Ginsberg, "The Legend of King Keret", 42; Parker, "The Historical
Composition of KRT", 163; Gibson, <u>CML</u>[2], pp. 21, 23.

successor to the throne.[50]

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 freize 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

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[50]See above pp. 154-156.

[51]See R. Labat, Le caractère religieux, pp. 64-66; de Fraine, L'aspect religieux, pp. 236-249; Gaster, Thespis, p. 192; Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods, p. 74 and Gray, "Sacral Kingship", pp. 295, 296, n. 31.

[52]C. J. Bleeker, Hathor and Thoth (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973), pp. 51-52; F. Abbate, ed., Egyptian Art (New York: Octopus Books, 1972), Fig. 39, p. 73.

[53]J. B. Pritchard, The Ancient Near East in Pictures (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954), Fig. 389, pp. 136, 295.

[54]Pritchard, The Ancient Near East in Pictures, Fig. 422, pp. 147, 298.

double.[55] 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,"[56] Similarily Lugalzaggesi, ruler of Ummu, was said to have been born of the goddess Nidaba and nourished with the "milk of life" by Ninhursag.[57] 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.[58] These Near Eastern parallels, together with Yaṣṣib's royal aspirations as reflected in his act of rebellion, confirm the roles of Athirat and Anat in designating him Keret's heir-apparent.

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[55]C. F. A. Schaeffer, "Les fouilles de Ras Shamra-Ugarit: quinzième, seizième et dix-septième campagnes (1951, 1952 et 1953)", Syria, XXXI (1954), 53-56, pl, VIII: W. A. Ward, "La déesse nourricière d'Ugarit", Syria, XLVI (1969), 225-239.

[56]S. N. Kramer, The Sumerians (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1963), p. 310; H. Ringgren, Religions of the Ancient Near East (London: S.P.C.K., 1973), p. 37 and de Fraine, L'aspect religieux, p. 237.

[57]E. Sollberger and J. R. Kupper, Inscriptions royales sumériennes et akkadiennes, Littératures Anciennes du Proche-Orient, III (Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1971), I H2b, p. 94; Kramer, The Sumerians, p. 232.

[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. Yaṣṣib's prenatal election to kingship is confirmed when he is nursed by Athirat and Anat. Finally, just as King Keret is nᶜmn ġlm ʔil, 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. <u>CTA</u> 23 and the Royal Ideology

The ʔilm nᶜmm, who are invoked and whose birth is celebrated in

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[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 Yaṣṣib is. Finally, they share with the King Keret and Prince Aqhat the epithet n^cm. These similarities suggest that the ʾilm n^cmm are princes.

The ʾilm n^cmm 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 ʾilm n^cmm, who occupy only a minor position in the Ugaritic pantheon.[61] The significance of El's sexual activity lies in the procreation of the ʾilm n^cmm. 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

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[60]El is referred to as bny bnwt, "creator of creatures", (CTA 4 (51),III:32; 6(40),III:5, 11) and ʾab bn ʾil, "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 bn ʾil, "sons of El", (CTA 10 (76),I:3; 32(2),I:2-3, 25-26) and dr ʾil, "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 Ougaritiques, pp. 56-57.

[61]Aistleitner, "Götterzeugung", 305.

corpus that shows why they merit the attention directed towards them in our text.[62] Whatever status they do enjoy in <u>CTA</u> 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 n^cmn ǵlm ^ɔil and bnm ^ɔil šph ltpn. Conversely, El is his father (^ɔabh). 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 ^ɔilm n^cmm 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.[63] The fact that the position of the ^ɔilm n^cmm is dependent solely on their filial relationship to El is analogous to

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[62] Note that if the ^ɔilm n^cmm 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 ʾilm nʿmm to the royal figures 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 ʾatty . ʾil ylt . (l. 60 and restored in ll. 52-53), the most plausible grammatical explanation of the -y suffix of ʾatt is to view it as the sign of the 1 c. sing. possessive suffix -ya.[64] The preceding sentence, rgm . lʾil . 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, ʾatt ʾil wʿlmh, 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 ʾatty . ʾil . ylt . supports the identification of the ʾilm nʿmm as princes. The messenger then is a king, the incumbent member of a line of rulers from which the ʾilm nʿmm arise.

The response to mh ylt in l. 53 is ambiguous. The antecedent of the -y suffix in yldy . šḥr . wšl[m] could be either El or the

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[64] See the textual notes for ll. 52-53, pp. 79-80.

messenger.[65] While the new-born gods are unquestionably El's progeny,

the use of the 1 c. possessive suffix -y with ʾatt 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 ʾatt ʾil wᶜlmh (l. 49a) prevents the messenger

from referring to them as ʾatty, "my wives". Since the ritual of CTA

23 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 CTA 23 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 ʾilm nᶜmm as the offspring of Athirat

The ʾilm nᶜmm are the offspring of Athirat and Raḥmay. The

liturgical refrain šd ʾilm šd ʾatrt wrḥmy (ll. 13, 28), which celebrates

the sexual charms of the goddesses, is inexplicable if they are other

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[65] See the textual notes for l. 53, pp. 81-83.

than the two women with whom El unites.[66] This identification is supported by 1. 16 which undoubtedly places the goddesses with El at the shore of the sea.[67] Finally, it is confirmed by the numerical correspondence between the two goddesses and the two women. It is not surprising that the ʾilm nᶜmm, sons of El, are also children of Athirat.[68] 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

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[66] The use of words such as šd as a euphemism for female genitalia was common throughout the ancient Near East, particularly in poetry. See A. Erman, "The Flowers in the Garden", The Literature of the Egyptians, trans. A. M. Blackman (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1927), pp. 248-249; S. N. Kramer, "Prosperity in the Palace", col. II: 24-31, ANET, p. 643; S. N. Kramer, The Sacred Marriage Rite (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1969), pp. 59, 62; A. Goetze, "The Nikkal Poem from Ras Shamra", JBL, LX (1941), 367; van Selms, Marriage, p. 24; Gray, LC, p. 248; Pope, Song of Songs, pp. 323-325. CTA 24(77):22-23 provides an example of this metaphorical use of šd that parallels CTA 23:13, 28.

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 Ougaritiques, 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 qnyt ʾilm, "creatrix of the gods", in CTA 4(51),I:23; III:26, 30. Conversely the gods are bn ʾaṯrt, "sons of Athirat", in CTA 3(ᶜnt), V:12; 4(51),V:63. For discussions of Athirat in the Ugaritic texts, see Oldenburg, The Conflict between El and Baᶜal, pp. 28-31; Caquot, Textes Ougaritiques, pp. 68-73.

with childbirth.[69]

The relationship of the ʾilm nʿmm 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 ǵlm or bnm of El; he is also šph ltpn wqdš, "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 ʾilm nʿmm 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
ʾilm nʿmm 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 ʾilm nʿmm. The mythological
portion of the text lacks any reference to the divine nature of El's

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[69]In CTA 11(132),I:1-19 and 10(76),III:1-38 Anat unites with Baal,
conceives and gives birth. For discussions of Anat in the Ugaritic
texts, see Oldenburg, The Conflict between El and Baʿal, pp. 83-90 and
Caquot, Textes Ougaritiques, pp. 85-92.

[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 ʾattm, "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.[71] The use of ʾattm in the myth, which focuses primarily on

divine activity, creates the impression that El's mates are human

rather than divine.[72] In the ritual section of CTA 23, which is

concerned with human acts of worship, the wives of El and the mothers

of the ʾilm nᶜmm are portrayed as goddesses. Thus CTA 23 presents the

mothers of the ʾilm nᶜmm 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.

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

[72]Unlike the ʾilm nᶜmm, 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 bĕnē hāʾĕlohīm with the bĕnōt hāʾādām in Gen. 6:4, the progeny are haggibborīm, "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 bĕnē hāʾĕlohīm 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 ᵓilm nᶜmm as royal figures. Like Ennanatum they claim both divine and human mothers and like Yaṣṣib 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 ᵓilm nᶜmm as nurselings of Athirat and Raḥmay.

The ᵓilm nᶜmm are not only generated by Athirat and Raḥmay, 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 ᵓilm nᶜmm is ynqm bᵓap zd ᵓaṯrt wrḥmy, "who suck at the teats of the breasts of Athirat and Raḥmay" (1. 24). This epithet is applied also to the gods immediately after their birth in ll. 59, 61, with the word št substituted for the names of the goddesses and dd written for zd. The parallel between ll. 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 ᵓilm nᶜmm by Athirat and Raḥmay. 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

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[73]Gods are nursed regularly by goddesses in mythological literature. The divine assembly are mrġtm ṯd[ ], "those who suck the breast", in CTA 4(51),VI:56. Since these deities are referred to as the šbᶜm bn ᵓaṯrt in 1. 46, ṯd [ᵓaṯrt] is the probable restoration of 1. 56. One may note also that Marduk is nourished by goddesses in Enuma eliš, Tablet I:85-86; see E. A. Speiser, "The Creation Epic", ANET, p. 60.

parallels between the nursing of the "gracious gods" by Athirat and

Raḥmay 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 ʾilm nᶜmm 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 Raḥmay 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

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 ʾilm nᶜmm.

The epithets of the gods who are born to El indicate that they

are royal figures. They are consistently designated as nᶜmm (ll. 1, 23,

58, 60). This epithet is applied frequently to King Keret in the phrase

nᶜmm ǵlm ʾil (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 nᶜmn mq rišm, "the

gracious one, strongest of men" (CTA 17(2 Aqht),VI:45) and nᶜmn ǵzr,

"the gracious one, the hero" (CTA 17(2 Aqht),VI:45; 18(3 Aqht),IV:14).

The use of nᶜm in these contexts suggests that the adjective serves as

a royal title.[74]

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

The occurrence of n^cm 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 nā^cîm,

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[74] The use of n^cm in the Ugaritic texts is not restricted to royal contexts. N^cm qualifies the fields of Mot 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^cm parallels qdš 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^cmn 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^cm 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.

[75] G. A. Cooke, A Text Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1903), No. 10, pp. 48-51; H. Donner and W. Röllig, Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften, II (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1968), No. 19, pp. 27-29. C. F. Jean and J. Hoftijzer, Dictionnaire des inscriptions sémitiques de l'ouest (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965), p. 181.

[76] Cooke, North-Semitic Inscriptions, No. 57, pp. 148-149; Donner and Röllig, Kanaanäische 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: měšiăḥ

ʾĕlohē yaʿăqob ūněʿīm zěmīrōt yiśrāʾēl, "The anointed of the God of

Jacob, And the favourite of the Defense of Israel".[77] The parallelism

měšiăḥ // něʿīm attests to the use of nʿm as a royal epithet. The

association of this adjective with kings and princes in the Ugaritic epic

texts, in Phoenician royal inscriptions and in biblical passages

supports the identification of the ʾilm nʿmm as princes.

The title bn šrm, restored in ll. 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 ʾilm nʿmm are royal figures.[78]

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[77]The word zěmīrōt 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 dmr, which designates a class of troops
(UT 19.727) and Amorite zmr, which is found in Amorite personal names
such as Zi-im-ra-IŠDAR and Zi-im-ri-ya. The sense of the root is
"safeguard" or "protect". This meaning should be ascribed to zimrāh
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. Huffmon,
Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins
Press, 1965), pp. 187-188.

[78]See the textual notes for ll. 1-2, pp. 21-24. If the suggested
restoration nʿmm ǵlm ʾil] (l. 1) is accepted, the titles ǵlm ʾil //
bn šrm present a concise characterization of the princes' religious and
dynastic legitimation. There is one other aspect of the description of
the ʾilm nʿmm that might be mentioned in the context of royal titles.
In l. 3 the gods are referred to as ʿly[nm]. In Ps. 89:27-28, the close
relationship between God and David includes the notion that God will

III. The ʾilm nᶜmm, CTA 23 and the Royal Ideology

The striking similarity between the relationship of the "gracious gods" to El, Athirat and Raḥmay in CTA 23 and the relationship of kings and royal children to these same deities in Ugaritic epic literature indicates that the ʾilmᶜnᶜmm 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 nᶜmm 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 nᶜmm 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

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make the king bĕkōr, "first-born", and ᶜelyōn, "highest/most high", of the kings of the earth. See G. W. Ahlström, Psalm 89. Eine Liturgie aus dem Ritual des leidenden Königs (Forlag: CWK Gleerup, 1959), pp. 111-113; T. N. D. Mettinger, King and Messiah: the Civil and Sacral Legitimation of the Israelite Kings, Coniectanea Biblica Old Testament Series, VIII (Forlag: CWK Gleerup, 1976), pp. 262-264. As ᶜlynm is restored and as it cannot be equated to Hebrew ᶜelyōn with certainty, the possible significance of this word as a royal epithet should not be pressed.

Athirat and Raḥmay is disclosed only when the characters of the ritual are compared with those of the myth. Thus the relationship of the ʾilm nᶜmm to the goddesses is implied strongly, but never overtly stated. These various relationships are summarized in the following diagram:

Epic Texts

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                                           god (El) + goddesses (Athirat and Anat)
                        metaphysical son of
   king
   prince
                        physical son of
                                           man (king) + woman (queen)
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CTA 23

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                                           god (El) + woman (wives of messenger)
                        physical son of
   ʾilm nᶜmm
                        implied son of
                                           man (messenger-king) + goddesses (Athirat and Raḥmay)
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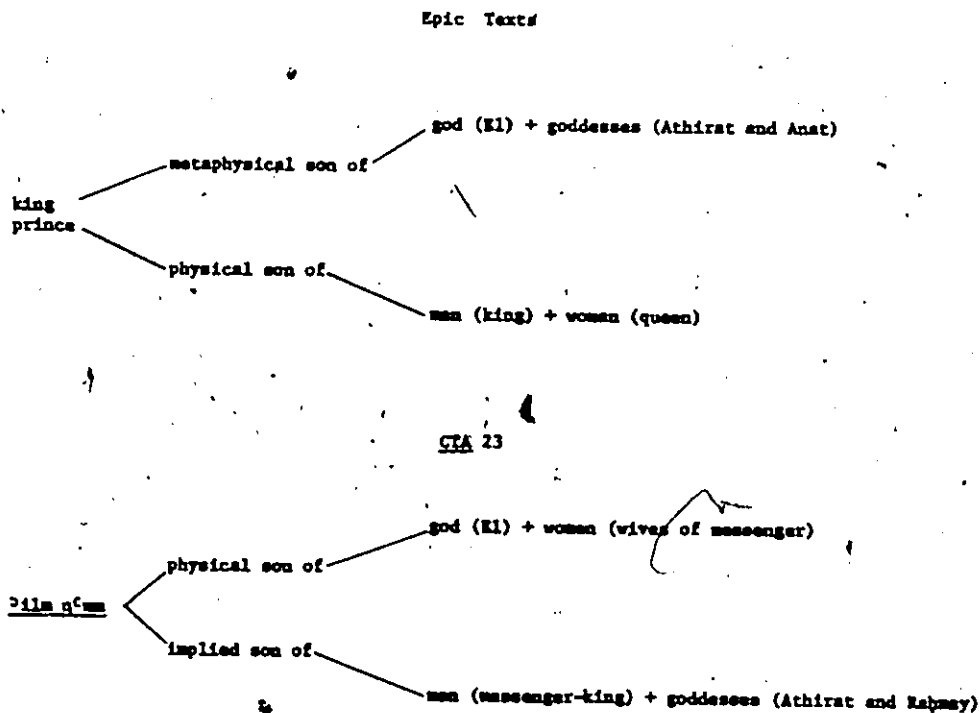
The differences between the portrayal of the royal filial relationships in the epics and in CTA 23 stem from the distinct genres and functions of the texts. The stories of Keret and Danel are epic narratives depicting past events and heroes. Their function is in a

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 (ll. 1-29) and the mythological
narrative (ll. 30-76).[80] The myth is part of the liturgy. There is a
natural oscillation between such ritual acts as sacrifice (ll. 14-15,
27) and incantation (ll. 8-11; 25-26) and the mythological recitation.
This fluctuation is reflected in the activity of Athirat and Raḥmay in
ll. 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,

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[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 ll. 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"

(11. 8-11), by El's sharing the women with the messenger (11. 52-53,

60), by the meeting between the ᵓilm nᶜmm and the ng̃r mdrᵗ (11. 68 ff.),

and finally by the filial relation of the "gracious gods" to both El

and the messenger (1. 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

Raḥmay; a corresponding human triad containing the messenger-husband

and the two women. The human triad functions in the cultic sphere,

while El, Athirat and Raḥmay participate in related activity in the

divine realm. El unites with his wives, Athirat and Raḥmay, and the

resultant offspring are the ᵓilm nᶜmm. On the earthly level, it is the

messenger-husband and his two wives who unite. The new-born children

are bn šrm.

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 is between El, Athirat and Raḥmay 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 Raḥmay are analogous to those
associated with the nourishment of Yaṣṣib in the Keret epic. They are
princes and heirs, bn šrm. Yet they can validly be described as bnm
ᵓil špḥm ltpn wqdš, "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 ᵓilm nᶜmm 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 ᵓilm nᶜmm 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 mythopoeic
terms of divine filiation, are underscored and in turn provided
religious legitimation for his sovereignty.

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

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[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:

Level of Action	Father	Mother	Offspring	Indication of Status of Offspring	Event being Celebrated
Mythological Level	El	Athirat and Raḥmay	ʾilm nʿmm	Nursed by goddesses; indicative of divine nature	Birth of ʾilm nʿmm
Cultic Level; CTA 23	King identified with El	Queen identified with Athirat and Raḥmay	Princes identified with ʾilm nʿmm	Rite in which princes are said to have been nursed by goddesses; indicative of both divine and royal nature	Birth of ʾilm nʿmm identified with birth of princes
Natural Level	King	Queen	Princes	Liturgy recalling and celebrating the mythological circumstances of the birth of princes; indicative of the royal nature of these persons	Birth of princes

The identification of royal figures with gods and goddesses, together with the central importance of the ʾilm nʿmm 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 (ll. 61b-64a), their sojourn in the mdbr qdš (ll. 64b-68a),

and their entry into the sown 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.[83] It is to this banquet that the ʔilm nᶜmm, 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.[84] Chapter IV will present several suggestions concerning the function of this cultic occasion.

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[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 ʔilm nᶜmm (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 ʔilm nᶜmm, 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: šḥr and šlm

Both the significance of the divine twins šḥr and šlm and the nature of their relationship to the ʾilm nʿmm have been subjects of considerable discussion. Many commentators have maintained that šḥr wšlm 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.[85] 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.[86] Thus šḥr wšlm are the ʾilm nʿmm.[87] As Gaster has noted in "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", the lack of reference to šḥr and šlm in the ritual section of CTA 23 is inexplicable unless these divine twins are the "gracious gods".[88] Equally problematic would be the absence of šḥr and šlm in the subsequent narrative. If these gods are not the

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[85]Virolleaud, "La naissance", 135, 137, 147-148; Dussaud, "Les Phéniciens", 12; Barton, "The Spring Festival at Jerusalem", 72; Gordon, Common Background, pp. 172-178; Gaster, Thespis, pp. 406, 410; Tsumura, "The Good Gods", pp. 74, 223.

[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.

[87]H. Gese, "Die Religionen Altsyriens", in Gese, Höfner and Rudolph, Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer, p. 80; Trujillo, "A Sacrificial Meal", pp. 176, 177-178.

[88]Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", 68. Gaster subsequently altered his position and suggested that šḥr and šlm are astral deities while the ʾilm nʿmm 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. Šḥr and šlm were believed to be the regnant

ꜣilm nᶜmm, the mention of their birth is pointless.[89] Therefore it can be stated with certainty that šḥr 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 šḥr and šlm occupied a minor position in the Ugaritic pantheon.[90] The title characteristic of these deities in CTA 23, ꜣilm nᶜmm, does not occur elsewhere. Šḥr wšlm appear in two incantation texts, RS 24.244 and RS 24.251, and in a list of divine names, RS 24.271.[91] 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.[92] Both šḥr and šlm occur as

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deities of that month, while ꜣilm nᶜmm were interpreted as gods of fertility who were directly related to the central theme of the celebration. See the discussion of Gaster's interpretation of CTA 23 in Chapter II, pp. 132-135.

[89]In separating the ꜣilm nᶜmm from the divine twins, both Gordon and Tsumura admit difficulty in ascribing any significance to šḥr 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.

[90]Aistleitner, "Götterzeugung", 305.

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

[92]RS 20.24 is an Akkadian duplicate of CTA 29(17) in which dša-li-mu is the equivalent of šlm. See J. Nougayrol, "Textes suméro-accadiens des archives et bibliothèques privées d'Ugarit", Ugaritica, V, pp. 42-64.

elements of theophoric names such as ꜣilšḫr, ꜣilšlm and ṣdqšlm.[93] It is

by no means certain whether or not these independent occurrences of šḫr

and šlm should be identified with the twins šḫr wšlm.[94]

The divine names šḫr and šlm are common Semitic nouns for "dawn"

and "dusk" respectively.[95] Thus the gods are the divine personifications

of dawn and dusk or are identical to Venus as the morning and evening

stars.[96] Their astral character is substantiated by the reference in

RS 24.244:52 to šḫr wšlm šmmh. Note also that after their birth,

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[93]The name ꜣilšḫr occurs in UT 146:15; 2051:27; 2116:19; ꜣilšlm in
UT 2015:27; 2116:19; and ṣdqšlm in CTA 80(119):23; 82(300):28; UT 1116:
11; 2039:5. See F. Gröndahl, Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit,
Studia Pohl, VII (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1967), pp. 192-
193.

[94]Gray assumes that in the Ugaritic texts independent šḫr and šlm
are identical with the corresponding figures of šḫr wšlm. Albright
suggests that the independent šlm is identical to the latter half of the
divine pair. See J. Gray, "The Desert God ꜥAttr in the Literature and
Religion of Canaan", JNES, VIII (1949), 71; Albright, Yahweh and the
Gods of Canaan, p. 144, n. 92. A number of scholars have equated
independent šlm with šulmān, a chthonic god of healing. See, for
example, W. F. Albright, "The Syro-Mesopotamian God Šulmān-Ešmūn and
Related Figures", AfO, VII (1931), 165; J. Lewy, "Les textes paléo-
assyriens", RHR, CX (1934), 62-64; E. Jacob, Ras Shamra et l'Ancien
Testament, Cahiers d'Archéologie Biblique, XII (Neuchatel: Éditions
Delachaux et Niestlé, 1960), p. 105; M. Pope and W. Röllig, "Die
Mythologie der Ugariter und Phönizier", Wörterbuch der Mythologie, Band
I, ed. H. W. Haussig (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett Verlag, 1965), p. 307;
Gese, "Die Religionen Altsyriens", p. 170; Fulco, The Canaanite God
Rešep, pp. 25-26. Fulco equates independent šlm/šulmān with the second
half of šḫr wšlm. Gese rejects such an equation. The astral identity
of šḫr wšlm mitigates against the identification of the twin šlm with
šulmān. See below, particularly fn. 95.

[95]Dahood, "Ancient Semitic Deities in Syria and Palestine", Le
antiche divinità semitiche, p. 91; Aistleitner, "Götterzeugung", 305,
308.

[96]A number of scholars have identified šḫr and šlm with Athtar /

offerings are made to "Lady Shapash" (špš rbt) and to the "fixed stars"

(kbkbm knm) in CTA 23:54. While many scholars regard the divine twins

as hypostases of Venus / Athtar, the relationship between šhr wšlm,

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 cttrt. Moreover, daš-ta-bi stands

for cttr, while dša-li-mu is equated with šlm.[97] In the pantheon lists

RS 24.271 and RS 24.251 šhr wšlm, cttr cttpr and cnt wcttrt occur

together. The simultaneous occurrence of these deities in such

catalogues suggests that they were distinct in the Ugaritic pantheon.

Since cttr and cttrt are identified with Venus as manifested in the

morning and evening stars, it is improbable that šhr wšlm also were

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Venus as the morning and evening stars. So Gray, "The Desert God
cAttr", 72–83 and LC, pp. 170–173, 184–186; Pope and Röllig, "Die
Mythologie der Ugariter und Phönizier", pp. 306–307; Gese, "Die
Religionen Altsyrien", p. 80; Clifford, Cosmic Mountain, pp. 165, 168;
P. C. Craigie, "Helel, Athtar and Phaethon (Jes 14,12–15)", ZAW, LXXXV
(1973), 224. Conversely, Dahood rejects the identification of šhr wšlm
with the morning and evening star. He suggests that they are the gods
of "dawn" and "sunset". See Dahood, "Ancient Semitic Deities in Syria
and Palestine", pp. 89, 91. Similarly, Nougayrol believes that šlm is
the divine personification of evening and, by association, that šhr is
the divine morning; see Nougayrol, "Textes suméro-accadiens",
Ugaritica, V, p. 60. Gese (p. 80) does acknowledge that the
identification is possible.

[97]Nougayrol, "Textes suméro-accadiens", Ugaritica, V, pp. 52, 63.
The identification of daš-ta-bi with Ugaritic cttr is supported by E.
Laroche in his discussion of the Hurrian documents recovered from Ras
Shamra. See E. Laroche, "Documents en langue hourrite de Ras Shamra",
Ugaritica, V, p. 525.

identified with this astral phenomonon.[98]

Although the evidence does not permit the identification of šḥr
wšlm with ʿttr and ʿttrt / ištar / 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 šḥr and šlm are masculine, there is
reason to believe that the deity šḥr was androgynous or perhaps
primarily feminine. J. W. McKay has marshalled substantial evidence
in support of the hypothesis that šḥr was known as a goddess of dawn

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[98]Albright regards Athtar as the "god of the morning-star"; see W.
F. Albright, 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. Oldenburg notes that in South
Arabian religion ʿttr is the morning star. He suggests that this same
deity appears in Isa. 14:2 as hll bn šḥr. This view acknowledges a
close relationship between ʿttr / Venus and šḥr (dawn), but asserts that
they are not identical. See Oldenburg, "Above the Stars of El", 199,
206-208. In South Arabia and Mesopotamia ʿttr / ištar was an astral
deity identified with Venus. Caquot suggests that the astral character
of Ugaritic ʿttr is supported only by the name, which elsewhere denotes
such a deity. He asserts, moreover, that even the association of ʿttr
with Venus among the southern Arabs or of ištar with the planet in
Mesopotamia may be secondary. Skeptical about the astral nature of
Ugaritic Athtar, Caquot delineates close parallels between this deity
and Baal. See A. Caquot, "Le dieu Athtar et les textes de Ras Shamra",
Syria, XXXV (1958), 51, 55-59. Dahood denies that the association of
ʿttr and ištar with Venus in both the South Arabian and Mesopotamian
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
ʿttrt was an astral goddess. In CTA 33(5):1 the phrase k ʿtrb ʿttrt,
"when Attart sets", confirms her astral nature. See Caquot, "Le dieu
Athtar", 51; Dahood, "Ancient Semitic Deities", p. 86. According to
Dahood (p. 88), ʿttr is the morning star and ʿttrt is the evening star.
Finally, he asserts that these deities were not identified with šḥr
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 (šaḥar), the moon (lĕbānāh instead of the masc. yārēaḥ), the sun

(ḥammāh in place of the more common masc. šemeš) and the hosts

(nidgālōt rather than the masc. ṣābāʾ). Both the context and the

parallelism šḥr // lbnh // ḥmh // ndglt suggest that šḥr 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 šḥr

is reflected in the word mēreḥem mišḥār, "from the womb of dawn".[101]

The combination of male and female characteristics in šḥr wšlm

is paralleled in the Ugaritic deities Athtarte and Athtar. Moreover,

the androgynous nature of šḥr is similar to that of Athtar and Ishtar.

Athtar's androgynous nature at Ugarit is reflected in the theophoric

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[99] J. W. McKay, "Helel and the Dawn-Goddess", VT, XX (1970), 451-464.

[100] McKay, "Helel and the Dawn-Goddess", 458-459. McKay suggests that the absence of the definite article with šḥr in contrast to its use with lbnh, ḥmh and ndglt 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 mrḥm mšḥr to mrḥm šḥr. Note might also be taken of the phrase ʾayyelet haššaḥar, "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 dSILIMni-tu (dšulmanitu), who appears among West Semitic deities in Middle Assyrian divine lists, is equivalent to dištar uru-silim-ma, "Ishtar of Jerusalem". According to Astour the equation of dšulmanitu 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 dšulmanitu with šulmān; Albright, "The Syro-Mesopotamian God Šulmān-Ešmūn and

names ᶜ<u>ttr</u>ᵓab, "Athtar-is-Father" (<u>UT</u> 1046,I:12; 1055,I:1), and

ᶜ<u>ttr</u>ᵓum, "Athtar-is-Mother" (<u>UT</u> 2162,B:6; 2133:12).[102] 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 ešᵛ-dar-mu-ti, "Ishtar-is-my-husband."[103] Moreover, Ishtar is

qualified by the Sumerian <u>UŠ</u>, "male", in a number of texts from Mari,

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

[102]Dahood, "Ancient Semitic Deities in Syria and Palestine", p. 87;
Gese, "Die Religionen Altsyriens", p. 137.

[103]J. Bottéro, "Les divinités sémitiques anciennes en Mésopotamie",
<u>Le antiche divinità semitiche</u>, p. 40. See also Th. Jacobsen, <u>The
Sumerian King List</u> (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, <u>Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften</u>, No. 24:10, I, pp. 4-5;
II, pp. 30-34; No. 26, A, I:3, I, pp. 5-6; II, pp. 35-43; F. Rosenthal,
"Kilamuwa of Yᵓdy-Samᵓal", <u>ANET</u>, p. 654 and "Azitawadda of Adana", <u>ANET</u>,
p. 653. Similarly, Marduk is likened to "a father and a mother",
though he is not androgynous; see Oppenheim, <u>The Assyrian Dictionary of
the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</u>, 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
ᵓab and ᵓem 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", <u>VT</u>, 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 ᶜ<u>ttr</u>ᵓab and ešᵛ-dar-mu-ti as well.

and has masculine qualities in some Akkadian texts.[104] Thus šḥr wšlm,
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 šḥr wšlm 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 traditions of ancient Israel.
The Hebrew Bible retains evidence of a tradition in which šḥr and šlm
were associated with the Davidic monarchy. The link between the West-
Semitic deity Šālim and Jerusalem, the royal city of David, is
recognized broadly.[105] Particularly significant is the occurrence of the
šlm element in the names of David's son Absalom, "Father-is-Šālim"
(2 Sam. 3:2-5; 1 Chron. 3:1-4), and Solomon (< šĕlomoh), "Belonging-to-
Šālim" (2 Sam. 5:14-16; 1 Chron. 3:5-9).[106] The theophoric element in

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[104]Bottéro, "Les divinités anciennes en Mésopotamie", p. 41; Dahood,
"Ancient Semitic Deities in Syria and Palestine", p. 87. For the
androgynous nature of Ishtar, see also Gese, "Die Religionen Altsyriens",
p. 137 and Ringgren, Religions of the Ancient Near East, p. 59.

[105]Lewy, "Les textes paléo-assyriens", 61-62; N. W. Porteous,
"Shalem-Shalom", TGUOS, X (1940/41), 1-3; Gray, "The Desert God ʿAttr",
77 and LC, p. 185; Jacob, Ras Shamra et l'Ancien Testament, p. 105;
R. E. Clements, God and Temple (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1965), pp. 43-
44; R. A. Rosenberg, "The God Ṣedeq", HUCA, XXXVI (1965), 166.

[106]Clements, God and Temple, p. 43; Gray, LC, p. 185; Rosenberg,
"The God Ṣedeq", 166. The fact that Absalom was born at Hebron
indicates that the šlm 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
šālim was associated with kingship in the Davidic court.[107]

Absalom and Solomon were not the only princes of Judah to bear
šlm-names. In Jer. 22:11 Josiah's son and successor, Jehoahaz, is
called Shallum.[108] Šlm appeared again in royal names during the post-
exilic period in the names of Zerubbabel's two children, Meshullam and
Shulamit (1 Chron. 3:19). Two other theophoric names containing šlm
deserve mention. An individual named Shallum 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 šlm-name in
Num. 34:27. This verse lists Ahihud son of Shelomi ("Dedicated-to-
Šālim") as a prince of the tribe of Ashur.[109]

The occurrence of theophoric šlm-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

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while the prophet Nathan called him Yedidyah, "Beloved-of-Yhwh" (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 šlm element in the names Absalom and
Solomon reflects David's devotion to the god šālim; "The God Ṣedeq", 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.

[109]Rosenberg, "The God Ṣedeq", 167.

associated the deity šalim 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.[110]

There are several biblical passages in which the deity šḥr is
connected with royal individuals. The most striking text is Ps. 110:3b
mutatis mutandi: běhadrē qōdeš mēreḥem šaḥar kěṭal yělidtīkā, "in
ornaments of holiness from the womb of Dawn like dew I have begotten
you."[111] These words are part of an oracle addressed to the Davidic

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[110] It is probable that the original significance of šlm 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 šalim
with David's sons, particularly with Absalom the Hebronite, discloses
that the šlm element in royal names was derived originally from a
connection between šalim and kingship.

[111] The text of this extremely difficult line is disturbed. The MT
reads běhadrē qōdeš mēreḥem mišḥār lěkā ṭal yalduteykā, "in ornaments
of holiness from the womb, from dawn to you is the dew of your youth."
We follow J. Coppens in reading yělidtīkā, after the LXX and Syriac
versions, and in emending lěkā ṭal to kěṭal. See J. Coppens, "Le
Psaume CX et l'idéologie royale israelite", The Sacral Kingship.
Studies in the History of Religions, Supplements to Numen, IV (Leiden, E.
J. Brill, 1959), pp. 338, 341, 342, n. 22. The form mišḥār is either
a poetic form of šaḥar, šaḥar with mem-preformative, or more probably
šaḥar with a mem prefixed as the result of the reduplication of the
final letter of mēreḥem. See McKay, "Helel and the Dawn-Goddess", 458
and Brown, Driver and Briggs, Hebrew and English Lexicon, p. 1007. For
discussion on various aspects of Ps. 110:3, see also J. Coppens, Le
Messianisme Royal, Lectio Divina, LIV (Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1968),
p. 58; G. Widengren, Psalm 110 och det sakrala kungadömet i Israel,
Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift, 1941:.7. I, pp. 11-12; G. Widengren,
Sakrales Königtum im Alten Testament und im Judentum (Stuttgart:
Kohlhammer, 1955), pp. 44-46; A. Johnson, Sacral Kingship in Ancient
Israel (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1967), p. 131. For
reference to the massive secondary literature on Ps. 110, see Coppens,
Le Messianisme Royal, p. 57, n. 73.

monarch which equates 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.[112] A tradition in which the Canaanite

goddess šaḥar gives birth to the king can be discerned behind this

image.[113]

Isa. 14:12 provides further evidence of a connection between šḥr

and kingship. In this line the King of Babylon is identified with the

mythological figure hēlēl ben šaḥar. Although the ruler in question is

a foreign tyrant, he stands in the same relation to šaḥar as the Davidic

ruler does in Ps. 110:3; he is šaḥar's son.[114] It is apparent that a

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[112]Coppens, "Psaume CX", pp. 341-342. Ringgren suggests that on
the day of his enthronement the King is told "... that he was born of
God in a miraculous way"; see H. Ringgren, The Messiah in the Old
Testament, Studies in Biblical Theology, XVIII (London: SCM Press,
1956), p. 13. See also S. Mowinckel, The Psalms in Israel's Worship, I,
trans. D. R. Ap-Thomas (New York: Abingdon Press, 1967), p. 63; A.
Bentzen, King and Messiah, 2nd ed., ed. G. W. Anderson (Oxford: Basil
Blackwell, 1970), pp. 17, 23, 29; L. Sabourin, The Psalms, 2nd ed. (New
York: Alba House, 1974), pp. 358-360. It should be noted that even in
the MT, there is a close association between šḥr and the king's youth.

[113]McKay, "Helel and the Dawn-Goddess", 458-459; G. Widengren,
Sakrales Königtum im Alten Testament und im Judentum, p. 46; Ahlström,
Psalm 89, pp. 137-138; S. Mowinckel, He That Cometh, trans. G. W.
Anderson (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1959), p. 75.

[114]The mythological background of Isa. 14:12 ff. has been the
subject of considerable debate. P. Grelot ("Isaïe XIV 12-15 et son
arrière-plan mythologique", RHR, CXLIX (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, Athtar 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 šḥr was

well known in ancient Israel. It must be acknowledged that the

relationship between šḥr and royalty in the Hebrew Bible is not

identical to that presented in CTA 23. In the former, kings are

offspring of šḥr whereas in the latter royal progeny are identified with

the deity. Nevertheless, Ps. 110:3 and Isa. 14:12 do support the

association of šḥr with kingship.

The biblical reminiscences of a tradition in which šḥr 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 šḥr 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 šaḥar" 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 Raḥmay. 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 šḥr

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

Raḥmay. Thus the present king and queen would have been identified as

šḥr and šlm while the previous royal couple would have been equated with

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parallel relationship of the king to šḥr in Isa. 14:12 and Ps. 110:3
suggests that the latter position is correct.

El and his consorts.[115]

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.[116] Was the king regarded as a god, like the Egyptian Pharaoh,

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[115]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.

[116]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 altorientalischen
Königsideologie im Alten Testament, VT, Supplement, VIII (Leiden, E. J.
Brill, 1961), pp. 73-78. Mowinckel suggests that the Canaanite under-
standing 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.[117]

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 ltpn ˀil dpˀid (CTA 4

(51),IV:58) as the son of El, an "enigmatic figure" whose activity was

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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.[118] Engnell rejects

Hooke's "fictitious opposition" between ltpn ʾil dpʾid and El,

claiming that ltpn ʾil dpʾid is the king who is identified with El.[119]

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:

> lrgmt lk lzbl bᶜl
>
> . . .
>
> tqh mlk ᶜlmk ·
> drkt dt dr drk
>
> "Verily, I pronounce to thee,ʾO Zbl Bᶜl,
>
> . . .
>
> Thou shalt take thine eternal kingdom,
> thy dominion for generation after generation."[120]

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?"[121] He asserts

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[118] Hooke, Origins of Early Semitic Ritual, The Schweich Lectures,
1935 (London: Oxford University Press, 1938), pp. 42-43.

[119] Engnell, Divine Kingship, p. 122, n. 8. The interpretation of
ltpn ʾil dpʾid 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 Ougaritiques, p. 61; the
translation of CTA 4(51),IV:58 in Gibson, CML², p. 60 and the occurrences
of ltpn 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"), s'ibt 'n ("drawer from the spring"), qr bt 'il ("a fount

of the house of El"), and mġlt bt ḥrš ("a roof of the house of ḥrš")

occur in parallelism and apparently are addressed to Baal. According to

Engnell, words such as qr and mġlt 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 Qdš. He has power over such

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[122]Engnell, 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 (1. 59), štk . 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), 421: "Let the king pour out jugs" (following J. Gray, "Ba'al's
Atonement", UF, III (1971), 67 and A. S. Kapelrud, "Ba'al and the
Devourers", Ugaritica, VI, p. 328, n. 34, which lists Arabic dann,
"jug", as a cognate for dn); Caquot, Textes Ougaritiques, 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('nt),V: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".[123] Pedersen and Engnell share similar views. Pedersen states that in Danel the character of "the king and god are merged."[124] 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."[125]

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.[126] 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 epiphet, n^cmn ġlm ^ɔil.[127] Engnell's understanding of Keret's nature is similar.

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[123]Ch. Virolleaud, La légende phénicienne de Danel, Mission de Ras Shamra, I (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1936), pp. 91, 110-111, 145, 193.

[124]J. Pedersen, "Canaanite and Israelite Cultus", Acta Orientalia, XVIII (1939), 130.

[125]Engnell, Divine Kingship, p. 135.

[126]Ch. Virolleaud, "Les poèmes de Ras-Shamra", Revue historiques, CLXXXV (1939), 10-11.

[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

ᵓAlᵓiiān Baᶜlu."[128]   Moreover, Keret's wife is identical with Athirat

and Anat, a fact attested by the suckling of the king's son by these

goddesses.[129]   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."[130]

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.[131] Yet Mowinckel does not draw a clear distinction between king

and god. He claims that "Karit is at once the deified ancestor and the

god in the form of a hero." Keret is El's "supernaturally equipped,

'divine' representative".[132]

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[128]Engnell, _Divine Kingship_, p. 168.

[129]Engnell, _Divine Kingship_, p. 170.

[130]Engnell, _Divine Kingship_, pp. 152-153.

[131]Mowinckel, _He That Cometh_, pp. 52-54.

[132]Mowinckel, _He That Cometh_, pp. 99-100, 116.

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 ...".[133] 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.[134]

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).[135] Keret's human limitations are reflected in the situations

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[133] De Langhe, "The Ras Shamra Tablets", Myth, Ritual, and Kingship, pp. 142-145.

[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:

> ᵓikm . yrgm .
> bn ᵓil krt[.]
> šph . ltpn wqdš .
> ᵓu ᵓilm tmtn
> šph . ltpn . 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

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[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.

[138]J. Gray, "Sacral Kingship in Ugarit", p. 295.

[139]J. Coppens, "L'idéologie royale ougaritique", Symbolae Biblicae et Mesopotamicae: Francisco Mario Theodore de Liagre Böhl Dedicatae, Nederlands Instituut Voor het Nabije Oosten Studia Francisci Scholten Memoriae Dicata, IV, ed. M. A. Beek, A. A. Kampman, C. Mijland, J. Ryckmans (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973), pp. 83-84. Coppens' interpretation is not supported by the context of the text.

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.[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 n^cmn ġlm ʾil, which defines the relationship between
Keret and El, has been subjected to similar scrutiny. According to
Ginsberg, the title n^cmn ġlm ʾil "... has the connotation of 'favourite
and intimate of El'."[141] Both Ginsberg and Gray compare this title with

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[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.

[141]Ginsberg, "The Legend of King Keret", 35. Mowinckel asserts
that Keret's title n^cmn 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 n^cmn, 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 n^cmn is
attested as a personal name (pp. 35-36). Fensham also rejects the
claim that n^cmn as applied to Keret has any connotations of divinity.
Citing Huffman, Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts, pp. 237-238
and Gröndahl, Die Personennanmen 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.[142] 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 ꜣab ꜣadm (CTA, 14(Krt),I:38-43). Terms such as ġlm, like ꜥbd, 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.[143] Gottlieb develops the relationship further when he claims that epithets like ġlm ꜣil express a covenant relationship between El and Keret that is analogous to the covenant relationship between Yahweh

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observes that nꜥmn 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.

[142]Ginsberg, "The Legend of King Keret", 35; Gray, "Sacred Kingship in Ugarit", pp. 295-296.

[143]Coppens, "L'idéologie royale ougaritique", 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, 295.

and David.[144]   Gottlieb has overstated the significance of the parallel;
there is no unequivocal evidence of a covenant relationship between El
and Keret.[145]

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.[146]

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).[147]

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[144]Gottlieb, "El und Krt", 161-163. · Note especially the
description of David as Yahweh's son in Ps. 89:27-28. See Ahlström,
Psalm 89, pp. 111-117. For a recent survey of studies on the Davidic
covenant, see J. D. Levenson, "The Davidic Covenant and Its Modern
Interpreters", CBQ, XLI (1979), 205-219. Father – son terminology as
it relates to the relationship between the Davidic king and Yahweh is
discussed in F. C. Fensham, "Father and Son as Terminology for Treaty
and Covenant", Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William Foxwell
Albright, ed. H. Goedicke (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1971),
pp. 130-131.

[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:
26-27 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 Ḥurriya. Moreover, he makes no appeal to "divinity" when he demands that his father abdicate so that he may become king.[148] Van Selms notes that the nursing of the prince by the goddesses "makes him fit to succeed his father on the throne."[149] According to Soggin, the nursing of Yaṣṣib attests to the divine adoption of the crown prince and king.[150] 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".[151] 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.[152] 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

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[148]Rainey, "The Kingdom of Ugarit", p. 92.

[149]Van Selms, Marriage, pp. 92-93.

[150]J. A. Soggin, Das Königtum in Israel, BZAW, CIV (Berlin: Verlag Alfred Töpelmann, 1967), p. 117.

[151]Gray, "Sacral Kingship in Ugarit", pp. 291, 295-296.

[152]Coppens, "L'idéologie royale ougaritique", pp. 82-83.

and blessing to the community."[153]

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(ʿnt),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 rpᵓi, "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.[154] Similarly, Keret is greatly exalted

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[153]Ringgren, Religions of the Ancient Near East, p. 171.

[154]Pope, "Notes on the Ugaritic Rephaim Texts", p. 166.

btk . rp³i . ³ar[ṣ] bpḫr . qbṣ . dtn, "mid the Rephaim of the Earth, in

the assembly of dtn" (CTA 15(128),III:13-15).[155] The rp³i ³arṣ and

qbṣ ddn (=dtn) 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 rp³i arṣ and pḫr qbṣ dtn, with whom

Keret is associated, are the "deified dead" ancestors of the Ugaritic

kings.[156] Danel's epithets mt rp³i and mt hrnmy 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.[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.[158]

Near Eastern parallels may be used to support either interpretation

of the king's nature as outlined above. Numerous texts contain language

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[155] Pope, "Notes on the Ugaritic Rephaim Texts", pp. 167, 179;
Gibson, CML², p. 92.

[156] Pope, "Notes on the Ugaritic Rephaim Texts", pp. 177-179.

[157] K. A. Kitchen, "The King List of Ugarit", UF, IX (1977), 132,
139-140.

[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 Ninsum, 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 Asgurbanipal 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

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[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,
Egyptian Religion (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1973), pp. 33-41.

[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 "...

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[163]Labat, Le caractère religieux, pp. 56-63.

[164]Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods, p. 300; Ringgren, Religions
of the Ancient Near East, pp. 37-38.

[165]Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods, pp. 238-239, 300-301; de
Fraine, L'aspect religieux, pp. 236-247; Ringgren, Religions of the
Ancient Near East, pp. 37-38.

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.[166] 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.[167] According to Frankfort health, joy and a long reign were the benefits which entered the child with the divine milk.[168] 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 Tuthmose I, begot her through intercourse with her mother.[169] 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 Lugalzaggesi of Umma imbibed the milk of

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[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.

[169] Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods, pp. 44-45; H. W. Fairman, "The Kingship Rituals of Egypt", Myth, Ritual, and Kingship, p. 77.

Ninḫursag, while Assurbanipal was nursed by Ishtar.[170] Labat suggests
that the notion that a king was nursed by goddesses expresses the
ruler's status as their adopted son.[171]

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 Ninḫursag, 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.[172] Similar views are espoused by Ringgren and de
Fraine.

With reference to the Sumerian texts, Ringgren doubts that state-
ments of sonship were understood literally or that they denoted sonship
by adoption. They do allude, however, to the coronation ritual.

[170]Kramer, The Sumerians, pp. 232, 310; Sollberger and Kupper,
Inscriptions royales sumériennes et akkadiennes, p. 94; de Fraine,
L'aspect religieux, pp. 248-249; Chapter III, p. 166.

[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.[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.[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.

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[173]Ringgren, Religions of the Ancient Near East, pp. 37-38, 101-
102.

[174]De Fraine, L'aspect religieux, pp. 247-249 and Frankfort,
Kingship and the Gods, p. 301.

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 (ʾil wᶜlmh) and the high priestess. Engnell regarded the word ʾil wᶜlmh as a hendiadys which indicates the unity of the god El and his servant (ᶜlmh), 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 Rahmay-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

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[175]Dussaud, "Les Phéniciens", 10-11.

[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 ʾil wᶜlmh is incorrect, as ᶜlm is "eternity", not "servant" (g̱lm). See the textual notes for 1. 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 l. 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 ṯnnm and the ᶜrbm offer
sacrifices (ll. 26-27), while the latter also participate in an
antiphonal response (l. 12). The ᶜrbm also may have been involved in
the going forth of the goddesses (ll. 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.

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[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.

[180] Ugaritica, V, No. 12, pp. 588-590; L. Fisher, "A New Ritual
Calendar from Ugarit", HTR, LXIII (1970), 486. Levine suggests that
the epithet ḫrr, "purifier", corresponds to the priestly title mĕṭahēr,
"purifier", in Lev. 14:11; see B. Levine, "Ugaritic Descriptive
Rituals", JCS, XVII (1963), 106. Note that Keret washes his hands and
forearms before he sacrifices (CTA 14(Krt),III:156-158). See Ps. 24:4.

Rainey has suggested that the ṯnnm in CTA 23 were royal body-guards in the ritual whose role was similar to that of the major-domo and his mešedi-men in the Hittite ritual.[181] 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.[182] 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.[183]

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 Raḥmay. Moreover, they are given the

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[181] Rainey, "The Social Stratification of Ugarit", p. 140.

[182] A. Goetze, "The Festival of the Warrior-God", ANET, pp. 359-361.

[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 ʾil 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 Kingship in the Ancient Near East: a Review Article", 267, 269.

divine names s̆ḥr·and s̆lm and are referred to consistently as ʾilm. Their status involves neither election nor adoption. In equating princes with the ʾilm nᶜmm, 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 ʾilm nᶜmm 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 s̆ḥr and s̆lm. In the ritual of CTA 23, the Ugaritic king was identified with s̆ḥr and s̆lm 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,

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[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 ʾil or ilu 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 ilu. The mlk is "the focus and quintessence" of the corporate life of the community, which he represents in imminent, immediate reality. In contrast, the ilu 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 ilu. 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 (1. 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

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[1] See Chapter III, pp. 184-185.

[2] This 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 homogeneous, a fact

connection was characterized by either filiation or election.[3] Under-

lying 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

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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 artifical 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, CXLII
(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. (ll. 6-14)

See E. A. Speiser, "Etana", ANET, p. 114. See also A. L. Oppenheim,
"The Sumerian King List", ANET, p. 265 and T. Jacobsen, The Sumerian
King List, Assyriological Studies, XI (Chicago: University of Chicago
Press, 1939), p. 58; Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods, pp. 237-238.

[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", ll. 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-
447; J. A. Wilson, "A Divine Oracle Through a Dream", ANET, p. 449.
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'Assournasirpal
Ier", ll. 21-27, in R. Labat, A. Caquot, M. Sznycer 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(ʿnt),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.[8] 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):

> ꜣudm . y[t]n[t] ꜣil [.]
> ꜣušn [.] ꜣab [. ꜣad]m

"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 confer- ment 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.

> ꜣudm 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 inter-
pretation of these lines is to regard them as an assertion by Pabil
that El had given him ꜣudm 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 Yaṣṣib (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 birth-
right 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 Yaṣṣib
(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 nꜥmn ǵlm ꜣil (CTA 14(Krt),II:61-62) and his designation as bnm
ꜣil šph ltpn wqdš (CTA 16(125-127),I:10-11). The concept is also

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[9] Ginsberg, "The Legend of King Keret", 20; Gibson, CML[2], p. 89.

[10] Gray, The Krt Text, p. 53.

[11] Chapter III, pp. 154-158; Excursus II, pp. 208-210.

[12] Chapter III, pp. 155-156.

inherent in the suckling of Yaṣṣib by Athirat and Anat (CTA 15(128),II:
25-28).[13] 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 ᵓilm nᶜmm are offspring of
El and the goddesses Athirat and Raḥmay (11. 30-61a).[14] Both the
rubrics and the myth underline the fact that these gods are nursed by
goddesses (11. 24, 59, 61).[15] 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.[16] It is found as

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[13]Chapter III, pp. 164-167.

[14]Chapter III, pp. 168-175.

[15]Chapter III, pp. 175-176.

[16]Chapter III, pp. 145-167.

well in administrative and ritual texts, some of which have striking

points 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.).[17] RS 16.144:

2-11 reads:

> Thus says Ariḫalbu, king of Ugarit:
> "Whoever, after my death, takes
> (in marraige) 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.[18]

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.[19]

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[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 ambiquity with respect to succession at Ugarit following a royal divorce. The context was the divorce of Ammištamru (mid thirteenth century B.C.), Niqmepa's son and successor, from the daughter of the king of Amurru. Ll. 22-31 read:

> Utriśarruma is prince in Ugarit.
> If Utriśarruma says, "I will go
> after my mother," let him
> place his garment on the throne,
> let him go. Ammištamru, king of
> Ugarit, shall establish another of his
> sons in Ugarit as prince.[20]

The fact that Ammištamru 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.

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firstborn son of a levirate marriage was regarded as the son of the deceased brother (Deut. 25:6). Tsevat, "Marriage and Monarchical Legitimacy", 239-243. See also PRU, III, p. xxxvii, n. 2 and Rainey, "The Kingdom of Ugarit", pp. 83-84.

[20]PRU, 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 Niqmad (ll. 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.[21]

Interest in the well-being of the king underlies RS 34.126. This text presents what appears to be a week long feast for dead·kings and royal ancestors or heroes, a kispum.[22] The text begins with the invocation of various Rephaim or shades (ll. 2-10), among whom are the rpʾi ʾarṣ ("Rephaim/Shades of Earth") and the qbṣ ddn ("the gathering of Didan") (ll. 2-3, 9-10). In CTA 15(128),III:3-4, 14-15, Keret is associated with these latter groups.[23] Recently deceased kings of Ugarit, Ammiŝtamru and Niqmad, are then invoked, together with Niqmad's throne (ll. 11-13).[24] The next sections are problematic. Ll. 14-17

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[21]Gordon, UL, p. 110; Gray, LC, pp. 204-206; J. Gray, "Social Aspects of Canaanite Religion", VT, Supplement, XV (1966), pp. 186-189.

[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 Niqmad; see J. de Moor, "Rāpiʾūma - Rephaim", ZAW, LXXXVIII (1976), 335. See also Pope, "Notes on the Rephaim Texts from Ugarit", pp. 177-181.

[23]Pope regards Datanu/Didanu as an ancestor of West Semitic kings, the primus inter pares among the phr qbṣ dtn, that is, among the descendents of dtn, the deified dead. See Pope, "Notes on the Ugaritic Rephaim Texts", pp. 177, 179. According to de Moor, the rpʾi ʾarṣ are spirits of dead kings, while the qbṣ dtn is comprised of both deceased and living members of the dynasty; see "Rāpiʾūma - 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 Niqmad. See Pope, "Notes on the Ugaritic

depict either the violent weeping of a mourner, perhaps over a grave,[25]

or the weeping of the shades as they ascend and partake of the ritual

meal set for them.[26] 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,[27] or a rite in which

Shapash instructs the Rephaim to take their leave and return to the

netherworld.[28] 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):

> šlm ᶜmr[pʾi]
> wšlm bnh šlm ʾaryh
> šlm bth šlm ʾugrt
> šlm t̲ġrh

> Peace (to) Ammura[pi]
> Peace (to) his sons, peace (to) his progeny,
> Peace (to) his house, peace (to) Ugarit,
> Peace (to) its gates.[29]

Rephaim Text", pp. 177, 180; de Moor, "Rāpiʾūma - Rephaim", 333.
Gaster concurs with de Moor; T. H. Gaster, "An Ugaritic Feast of All
Souls", Concepts, Critiques and Comments: a Festschrift in Honor of
David Rose (New York: privately printed, 1976), p. 101.

[25]Pope, "Notes on the Ugaritic Rephaim Texts", pp. 177, 180.

[26]De Moor, "Rāpiʾūma - Rephaim", 133; Gaster, "An Ugaritic Feast
of All Souls", pp. 100, 101; A. Caquot, "Résumé des Cours de 1974-
1975", p. 427.

[27]Pope, "Notes on the Ugaritic Rephaim Texts", pp. 177-178, 180-
181.

[28]De Moor, "Rāpiʾūma - Rephaim", 333-334; Gaster, "An Ugaritic
Feast of All Souls", p. 102.

[29]Pope, "Notes on the Ugaritic Rephaim Texts", pp. 178, 181.

The specific reference to the king, his sons and his house is striking. This final blessing indicates that the deceased royal ancestors, the rp²i ²arṣ and qbṣ ddn, as well as the recently defunct kings Ammiṣtamru and Niqmad, 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 w rm tph, "and high is/the sound of his tambourine", and w rm tblm, "and high is/the sound of the flutes", alternately. In all four sections, the second line ends lnᶜmn, "to/for the Favoured One". The only line in section five also ends this way.[32] Kitchen associates the references of tp and tlbm with the god who sings and chants to the accompaniment of lyre (knr), flute (tlb), tambourine (tp) and cymbals (mṣltm) in RS 24.252:3-4. This deity is Rapiu, the ruler of the shades

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[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 šlm is "simply a concluding Pax Vobiscum pronounced over the reigning monarch and his subjects at a public ceremony". See Gaster, "An Ugaritic Feast of All Souls", p. 99.

[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.[33] 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.[34] Noting the

occurrence of n‘mn 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.[35] As the obverse of RS 24.257 is in very

poor condition, Kitchen's interpretation is at best tentative. Never-

theless, 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.

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[33]Kitchen, "The King List of Ugarit", 140; Pope, "Notes on the
Ugaritic Rephaim Texts", pp. 169-170; Ugaritica, V, No. 2, pp. 551-557.

[34]Kitchen, "The King List of Ugarit", 140.

[35]Kitchen, "The King List of Ugarit", 140.

Both Arḫalbu'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 ʾilm nˁmm and the

circumstances of their birth in CTA 23 are analogous in a general way

to the interests of these texts.[36] 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.[37] An article of clothing

may be mentioned in CTA 23:21-22:

> ʾiqnʾu . šmt
> bn šrm
>
> lapis lazuli, carnelian
> of princes[38]

The context and the horizontal demarcations which frame these lines

indicate that ʾiqnʾu and šmt are associated with the bn šrm. Virolleaud

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[36]For a discussion of the importance of the ʾilm nˁmm 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 hpn . d . ˀiqnˀi w . šmt in RS 15.82(1107):1 as denoting

vestments decorated with lapis and carnelian. Moreover, he suggests

that ˀiqnˀim in RS 18.28(2100):4 is "blue wool".[39] Though conjectural,

it is tempting to regard the ˀiqnˀu and šmt 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 nᶜmm

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.[40] 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 ˀilm nᶜmm. The king and queen, identified with El and

his consorts, are the parents of the royal figures who are the focus of

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[39] PRU, II, p. 142; PRU, V, pp. 122-124. See also Tsumura, "The Good Gods", pp. 51-52.

[40] See above, p. 231.

interest in the text.[41] 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 ṯkl ("childlessness") and ʾulmn ("widowhood") (11. 8-11). This material is treated in detail below. The second aspect is the prologue to the conception and birth of the ʾilm nʿmm (11. 37-49a).

This passage begins with a description of El's initial impotence, which is indicated by the facts that "his sceptre is down" (ḫṭh nḫt) and "the staff of his love is lowered" (ymnn mṭ ydh) (1. 37).[42] The mention of El's impotence and the subsequent comments of the women about his condition (11. 40, 43-44, 46-47) are followed by references to the roasting of a bird on coals (11. 37-39, 41, 44-45, 47-48). El's act of shooting, dressing and roasting a bird is designed to restore his potency.[43] Moreover, it is possible that shooting heavenwards reflects

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[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 1. 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 ᵓilm nᶜmm. This aspect of the text indicates that the well-being of the king and the queen is closely related to that of the ᵓilm nᶜmm and is of paramount importance. Therefore the wish for the šlm 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 <u>CTA</u> 23 has with the administrative and ritual

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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", <u>JBL</u>, LXXXV (1966), 327–329. Dressler argues that the bow can stand for masculinity but has no necessary sexual connotations; see H. H. P. Dressler, "Is the Bow of Aqhat a Symbol of Virility?", <u>UF</u>, VII (1975), 217–220. In <u>CTA</u> 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 <u>Thespis</u>, 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; <u>El in the Ugaritic Texts</u>, 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, <u>The Babylonian Akitu Festival</u>, Det. Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historiskfilologiske Meddeleser, 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 ꜣilm nꜥmm (ll. 61b-76), the discomfiture of Mot (ll. 8-11), and the invocation of Shapash (ll. 25-26a).

As noted in Chapter III, the ritual meal at which the ꜣilm nꜥmm consume bread and wine is the actual occasion of the liturgy.[45] The significance of this meal as an expression of concern for royal figures is established by contrasting the situations depicted in ll. 61b-72 and ll. 73-76. Ll. 61b-64a portray the ꜣilm nꜥmm 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.[46] Despite their gargantuan efforts, their hunger remains unsatisfied. In ll. 69b-68a the ꜣilm nꜥmm are dispatched to the mdbr qdš where they roam "the corner of the desert" (pꜣat mdbr) for "seven years complete" (šbꜥ šnt tmt) and for "eight revolutions of time" (tmn nqpt ꜥd). Upon meeting the ngr mdrꜥ, they request entry into the "sown" land and bread and wine to eat (ll. 68b-72). This plea for sustenance indicates that their hunger still remains. The text

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[45]Chapter III, pp. 184-185.

[46]The expressions špt lꜣarṣ špt lšmm (ll. 61-62) and ꜥṣr šmm wdg bym (ll. 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 ꜣagzrym, "the voracious ones" (ll. 23, 58, 61).

concludes with the gods feasting on the bread and wine provided for them by the n̄ḡr mdrᶜ (ll. 73-76). The movement throughout ll. 61b-72 is motivated by the hunger of the ᵓilm nᶜmm 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 ᵓilm nᶜmm 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 ll. 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

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[47]Tsumura sees a similar contrast between the lack of satisfaction in ll. 61b-64a and that satiety portrayed in ll. 73-76, noting the progression from "not enough food" to the climax of "enough food". See Tsumura, "The Good Gods", p. 83.

[48]H. Kosmala, "Mot and the Vine: the Time of the Ugaritic Fertility Rite", ASTI, III (1964), 149.

god.[49] Mot, or mt wšr ("Death-and-Evil") as he is called in CTA 23,

is the antithesis of life.[50] This characteristic is reflected in his

sceptres of ṭkl and ꜣulmn. These symbols represent the lack or

destruction of children and the loss of a spouse who might sire

offspring.[51] The sceptres are the antithesis of the šlm invoked on

behalf of the king and queen in l. 7. The impact of the ḥṭ ṭkl is,

moreover, the condition of El which is depicted and overcome in ll. 37-

49a.[52] Mot's šdmt also reflects his nature as the destroyer of life.

M. R. Lehmann has argued cogently that Ugaritic šdmt and its Hebrew

cognate šadmōt are technical terms designating the *sědāh māwet, "field

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[49]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: ᶜdbnn ꜣank . ⟨k⟩ ꜣimr . bpy (CTA 6(49),II:
22). During his temporary ascendancy over Baal, Mot gloats that life
languishes: npš . ḥsrt bn . nšm . npš ḥmlt . ꜣarṣ, "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.

[50]Tsumura, "A Ugaritic God", 409-410.

[51]See the textual notes for l. 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 23:8 is the possible extinction of the incumbent
royal line, represented by El and his consorts on one hand, and by the
ꜣilm nᶜmm on the other.

[52]While ṭkl (Hebrew šakal) 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 l. 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 mt wšr and his šdmt 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 ll. 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]

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[53]Lehmann, "The Term שדמות", 361-364; Tsumura, "A Ugaritic God", 412. See also the textual notes for l. 10. According to Lehmann, šdmt could denote either a shrine devoted to the cult of the dead or barren land. The association of šdmt with gpn is paralleled in biblical usage; see Deut. 32:32; Isa. 16:8 and Hab. 3:17. In Deut. 32:32 the occurrence of šadmōt and gepen 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 off-spring 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 שדמות", 364.

[56]Kosmala, "Mot and the Vine", 148-149; Tsumura, "A Ugaritic God", 413.

The significance of ll. 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 ᵓilm šd ᵓaṯrt wrḥmy (ll. 13, 28) and the šdmt (l. 10). The šd ᵓaṯrt wrḥmy symbolize the feminine principle of fertility which gives life to the ᵓilm nᶜmm.[57] The juxtaposition of life with the domain of death associates the discomfiture of Mot with the life of the ᵓilm nᶜmm. In ll. 8-11 the forces of death and sterility are negated while in ll. 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 ll. 33-35 yd denotes El's penis, while the phrase mt ydh (ll. 40, 44, 47) refers to both the god's genitalia and his "love".[58] El's yd contrasts with the hand of Mot, which holds the sceptres of childlessness and widowhood (ll. 8-9). Furthermore, the mt yd, "love staff", and ḫṭ, "sceptre", (ll. 37, 40, 43-44, 47) are the antithesis of Mot's ḫṭ ṯkl and ḫṭ ᵓulmn. The symbols used to denote those powers which produce the ᵓilm nᶜmm contrast in a direct and striking manner those used to characterize

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[57] The use of words such as "field" (šd) 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 (ll. 59, 61). If this is so, then both the generation and the nourishment of the ᵓilm nᶜmm 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 ᵓilm nᶜmm is the hymnic invocation or celebration of
Shapash's protection and favour (ll. 25-26a). Despite the difficulty
arising from m[ᶜa/ṣ]prt, both the context and the reference to "branches"
(dlthm) and "grapes" (ǵnbm) 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 šḥr and šlm offerings are
made to špš rbt (l. 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 ll. 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 Athtar
for not accepting the kingship of Yam and warns that El will uproot
Athtar's throne and overturn his kingship (CTA 2(129):15-18).[59]

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[59]Driver, CML, pp. 76-79; A. van Selms, "Yammu's Dethronement by
Baal", UF, II (1970), 252-257.

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.[60] 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.[61]

Shapash's association with Ugaritic royalty is reflected in the
kispum text RS 34.126. In ll. 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.[62] 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

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[60]Caquot, Textes Ougaritiques, p. 96.

[61]See Gordon, UT 19.2468.

[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 Rephaim Texts
from Ugarit", pp. 171-172.

for royal persons.[63]

The primary function of špš 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:

> ᵓěstēkā kěgepen pōriyyāh
> běyarkětē bětekā
> bāneykā kištilē zētīm
> sābīb lěšulḥānekā

> 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 kinṭiᶜīm
měguddālīm 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 (dālīyyōtāyw) and strong branches (maṭṭōt ᶜōz). The
latter are royal sceptres (šibṭē mōšělīm).

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[63] See above for the discussion of RS 34.126, pp. 230-232.

[64] The words dlthm and ġnbm denote the ᵓilm nᶜmm, with the 3 c. dual
possessive suffix -hm referring to Athirat and Raḥmay, the mothers and
wet-nurses of the royal children. Note špthm in ll. 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 ʾilm nᶜmm. This interpretation is substantiated, more-
over, by the contrasting use of viticultural imagery in ll. 25-26a and
ll. 8-11. In the latter passage, the vine (gpn) symbolizes the powers
of sterility and death. Conversely, this imagery in ll. 25-26a
represents the health and well-being of the ʾilm nᶜmm and the success
of the liturgy.

The beneficient 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]

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[67]A. L. Oppenheim, "The Dedication of the Shamash Temple by Yahdun-
Lim", ANET, pp. 556-557; G. Dossin, "L'inscription de fondation de
Iahdun-Lim, roi de Mari", Syria, XXXII (1955), 12-13, 16.

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]

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[68]Meek, "The Code of Hammurabi", ANET, pp. 164, 178-179. For a discussion of Shamash as the source of law in Mesopotamia, with specific reference to Hammurabi's code, see E. A. Speiser, "Authority and Law in Mesopotamia", JAOS, Supplement, XVII (1954), 13.

[69]F. J. Stephens, "Prayer of Ashurbanipal to the Sun-God", ANET, p. 387.

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.[70] In one prayer, the king asks Shamash to insure that his descendants succeed to his throne and that they remain "stable in the land".[71] This request is analogous to the invocation of špš'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.[72] 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.[73] Similarly, Assurbanipal asserted that Shamash, among others, caused him to take his throne.[74] The various examples cited

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[70]M. J. Seux, Hymnes et prières aux dieux de Babylonie et d'Assyrie, Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient (Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1976), pp. 509-511.

[71]Seux, Hymnes et prières, "À Shamash", IV;.p. 511.

[72]Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods, p. 238.

[73]A. L. Oppenheim, "The Fight for the Throne", ANET, p. 289; R. Borger, "Die Inschriften Asarhaddons Königs von Assyrien", AfO, IX (1956), Sec. 27 A, I:8-19, p. 40.

[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

ᵓilm nᶜmm, 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

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[75]A. Goetze, "Daily Prayer of the King", ANET, p. 397.

with favour:

> Look ye upon the king (and) the qu[een] 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![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. KUB XXI. 27 contains a prayer addressed by Queen

Pudu-hepas to the Sun-goddess of Arinna for the life of the king.[77] Tab-

lets KUB VI. 45 and KUB XXX. 14 record a prayer of King Mursilis 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

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[76]A. Goetze, "Evocatio", ANET, p. 352.

[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!"[78] The Palaic ritual text <u>KUB</u> XXXV. 165:21-22 states that the Sun-god is both father and mother to the king.[79] Similarly <u>KUB</u> 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.[80]

Several Hittite ritual texts which indicate concern for the welfare of the king and queen exhibit interesting similarities to <u>CTA</u> 23. <u>KUB</u> 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 <u>kinubi</u> 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

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[78]A. Goetze, "Prayer to be Spoken in an Emergency", <u>ANET</u>, p. 398.

[79]E. Neu, <u>Der Anitta-Text</u>, 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.

[80]G. Kellerman, "The King and the Sun-God in the Old Hittite Period", 205. Kellerman suggests that <u>KUB</u> XXXIII. 70,II:14-16 contradicts Neu's view cited in fn. 78.

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).[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.[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."[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!

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[81]Kellerman, "The King and the Sun-God", 203-204; A. Goetze,
"Ritual for the Erection of a New Palace", ANET, pp. 357-358.

[82]Goetze, "Ritual for the Erection of a New Palace", p. 358.

[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.[84]

This "formula of the scales" is similar to those rites in KUB XXIX. 1 which employed an eagle to bring back a kinubi 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.[85]

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.[86] While KBo XXI. 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):

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[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![87]

Finally, an old Hittite ritual for the royal couple preserved in
KBo XVII. 1,I-IV deserves mention.[88] 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.[89] 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.[90] A more extensive rite
is presented in KBo XVII. 1,III. Ll. 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 (ll. 3-7). Objects
are buried in the earth and the presiding functionary, addressing the

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[87]Kellerman, "The King and the Sun-God", 204-205.

[88]See H. Otten and V. Souček, Ein althethitisches Ritual für das
Königspaar, Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten, Heft VIII (Wiesbaden: Otto
Harrassowitz, 1969).

[89]Otten and Souček, Ritual für das Königspaar, pp. 103-106.

[90]Otten and Souček, Ritual für das Königspaar, p. 19.

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 ḫaḫḫal 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 partuni-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

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[91]Otten and Souček, Ritual für das Königspaar, pp. 31, 103-104.

[92]Otten and Souček, Ritual für das Königspaar, pp. 37-39.

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.

CONCLUSION

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 nᶜmm, the objects of veneration in the text, enjoy a relation-
ship to El, Athirat and Raḥmay 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 nᶜmm and bn šrm. 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 šḥr and šlm 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
šḥr and šlm, ᶜttr and ᶜttrt to each other attests to the need for a
thorough examination of astral deities in the Ugaritic and general West-
Semitic traditions.

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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 ʾilm nᶜmm. Moreover, elements in the text,
such as the gods' 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 (šlm) 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 under-
standing of Ugaritic religion and literature. It is possible that a re-
examination of Mesopotamian ritual texts in light of the new under-
standing 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 <u>CTA</u> 23 impinges upon the study of
Israelite kingship and of the Hebrew Bible in several ways. It
indicates that <u>CTA</u> 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 <u>CTA</u> 23 concerning the divine
filiation of royal figures may be useful in elucidating Davidic king-
ship 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.

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[1] Note 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 <u>LC</u>, pp. 171-173.

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