

**CONTENTS, TEXTS AND CONTEXTS:
A CONTEXTUALIST APPROACH TO THE UGARITIC TEXTS
AND THEIR CULTIC VOCABULARY**

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this study is to formulate and apply a new 'contextualist' approach to the interpretation of the texts from Ugarit. With a review and critique of mainstream scholarly debate, this study argues that the continued separation of archaeological and textual material has limited the success of attempts to reconstruct Ugaritic religion. As a development of, and reaction to, the interpretative methods that have been applied to the available source material, this study advocates a holistic approach to the Ugaritic evidence. It examines the distribution of 'cultic vocabulary' that arises in texts recovered from two distinct archaeological contexts—namely, the 'House of the High Priest' and the 'House of the Hurrian Priest'. It involves a systematic search of the Ugaritic corpus for other applications of the cultic vocabulary. The integration of textual and archaeological evidence results in the production of 'topographically sensitive' text references, the analysis of which, it is argued, will allow for a more nuanced understanding of the Ugaritic cult and its workings. The results gathered in the preparation of this study are collated together in the form of a database (a copy of which accompanies the main volume as a CD-ROM). A summary of the database is supplied and a provisional interpretation is given. As an aid to future applications of the contextualist approach, the principles of data interpretation are offered.

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Annexe 1

**PRIME TEXTS AND PRIME CONTENT IN CONTEXT:
THE TEXTS OF THE HIGH PRIEST’S LIBRARY (GP)
AND THE HURRIAN PRIEST’S HOUSE (PH)
(Supplied in separate volume)**

Annexe 2

**A DATABASE OF UGARITIC CULT VOCABULARY:
THE TOPOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF UGARIT’S CULTIC TERMINOLOGY
(Supplied on accompanying CD-ROM)**

Appendix

**A COMPLETE LIST OF THE FINDSITES OF THE UGARITIC TEXTS
(IN *KTU* SEQUENCE)
(Supplied on accompanying CD-ROM)**

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ABBREVIATIONS

1. Bibliographical Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	David Noel Freedman (ed.), <i>The Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> (New York: Doubleday, 1992)
<i>AbrN</i>	<i>Abr-Nahrain</i>
ALASP	Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syrien-Palästinas
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AOS	American Oriental Series
<i>ArOr</i>	<i>Archiv orientální</i>
ARTU	J.C. de Moor, <i>An Anthology of Religious Texts from Ugarit</i> (Nisaba, 15; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1987)
ASOR	<i>American School of Oriental Research</i>
ASTI	Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute
<i>AuOr</i>	<i>Aula Orientalis</i>
<i>AuOrSup</i>	<i>Aula Orientalis, Supplements</i>
BA	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
BAH	Bibliothèque Archaéologique et Historique
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BASORSup	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Supplements</i>
BGUL	S. Segert, <i>A Basic Grammar of the Ugaritic Language with Selected Texts and Glossary</i> (Berkeley, LA: California University Press, 1984)
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
BibOr	Biblica et orientalia
BIES	<i>Bulletin of the Israel Exploration Society</i> (= <i>Yediot</i>)
BO	<i>Bibliotheca orientalis</i>
<i>Bsac</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Sacra</i>
BSO(A)S	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies</i>
BT	<i>The Bible Translator</i>
BZAW	Beihefte zur ZAW
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
CML ¹	G.R. Driver, <i>Canaanite Myths and Legends</i> (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1956)

- CML*² J.C.L. Gibson, *Canaanite Myths and Legends* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1978)
- CR* G. del Olmo Lete, *Canaanite Religion: According to the Liturgical Texts of Ugarit* (trans. W.G.E. Watson; Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 1999)
- CRAIBL* *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*
- CRB* *Cahiers de la RB*
- CTA* A. Herdner (ed.), *Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alphabétiques découvertes à Ras Shamra–Ugarit de 1929 à 1939* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale Geuthner, 1963)
- DBS* *Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément*
- DDD* K. van der Toorn, B. Becking and P.W. van der Horst (eds.), *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2nd edn, 1999)
- EncJud* *Encyclopaedia Judaica*
- Greg* *Gregorianum*
- GUL* D. Sivan, *A Grammar of the Ugaritic Language* (Handbuch der Orientalistik, I.28; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997)
- HUCA* *Hebrew Union College Annual*
- HUS* W.G.E. Watson and N. Wyatt (eds.), *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies* (Handbuch der Orientalistik, I.39; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1999)
- IEJ* *Israel Exploration Journal*
- HSM* Harvard Semitic Monographs
- HSS* Harvard Semitic Series
- JAOS* *Journal of the American Oriental Society*
- JBL* *Journal of Biblical Literature*
- JCS* *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
- JEOL* *Jaarbericht...ex oriente lux*
- JHC* *Journal of Higher Criticism*
- JNES* *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
- JNSL* *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages*
- JPOS* *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*
- JRAS* *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
- JSL* *Journal of Semitic Languages*
- JSOT* *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
- JSOTSup* *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, Supplement Series*
- JSS* *Journal of Semitic Studies*
- KTU*¹ M. Dietrich, O. Loretz and J. Sanmartín, *Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit* (AOAT, 24/1; Neuckirchen–Vluyn: Neuckerchener Verlag; Kevelaer: Verlag Butzon & Becker, 1976)
- KTU* M. Dietrich, O. Loretz and J. Sanmartín, *The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Shamra Ibn Hani and Other Places* (ALASP, 8; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1995)

MLC	G. del Olmo Lete, <i>Mitos y leyendas de Canaan</i> (Fuentes de la Ciencia Bíblica, 1; Madrid: Cristiandad, 1981)
MRS	Mission de Ras Shamra-Ougarit
NorTT	<i>Norsk Teologisk Tidsskrift</i>
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensa Analecta
Or	<i>Orientalia</i>
OTS	<i>Oudtestamentische Studiën</i>
PEFQS	<i>Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement</i>
PEQ	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>
PIBA	<i>Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association</i>
PRU	<i>Palais royal d'Ugarit</i>
PRU 2	C. Viroilleaud, <i>Textes en cunéiformes alphabétiques des archives est, ouest et du petit palais</i> (MRS, 7; Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, Klinksieck, 1965)
PRU 3	J. Nougayrol, <i>Textes accadiens et hourrites des archives est, ouest et centrales</i> (MRS, 6; Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, Klinksieck, 1955)
PRU 4	J. Nougayrol, <i>Textes accadiens des archives sud</i> (MRS, 9; Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, Klinksieck, 1956)
PRU 5	C. Viroilleaud, <i>Textes en cunéiformes alphabétiques des archives sud, sud-ouest et centrales</i> (MRS, 11; Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, Klinksieck, 1965)
PRU 6	J. Nougayrol, <i>Textes en cunéiformes babyloniennes des archives grand palais et du palais sud d'Ugarit</i> (MRS, 12; Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, Klinksieck, 1970)
RB	<i>Revue biblique</i>
RHPR	<i>Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses</i>
RHR	<i>Revue de l'histoire des religions</i>
RSO	Ras-Sharma—Ougarit
RSO 1	O. Callot, <i>Une maison à Ougarit, études d'architecture domestique</i> (RSO, 1; Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1983)
RSO 3	M. Yon et al., <i>Le centre de la ville, 38–44^e campagnes</i> (RSO, 3; Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1987)
RSO 4	D. Pardee, <i>Les textes paramythologiques de la 24^e campagne (1961)</i> (RSO, 4; Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1988).
RSO 6	M. Yon (ed.), <i>Arts et industries de la pierre</i> (RSO, 6; Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1991)
RSO 8	H. de Contenson, <i>Préhistoire de Ras Shamra, les sondages stratigraphiques de 1955 à 1976</i> (2 vols.; RSO, 8; Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1991)
RSO 9	P. Amiet, <i>Corpus des cylindres de Ras Shamra—Ougarit II. Sceaux-cylindres en hematite et pierres diverses</i> (RSO, 9; Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1992)
RSO 10	O. Callot, <i>La tranchée 'ville sud': Etudes d'architecture domestique</i> (RSO, 10; Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1994)

- RSO 11 M. Yon, M. Sznycer and P. Bordreuil (eds.), *Le pays d'Ougarit autour de 1200 av. J.-C.: Actes du Colloque International de Paris, 28 juin–1er juillet 1993* (RSO, 11; Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1995)
- RSP Fisher, L.R., et al. (eds.), *Ras Shamra Parallels* (AnOr, 49-51; 3 vols.; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1972–81) (vol. III = S. Rummel [ed.]
- RTU N. Wyatt, *Religious Texts from Ugarit: The Words of Ilimilku and his Colleagues* (The Biblical Seminar, 53; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998)
- SAU W.H. van Soldt, *Studies in the Akkadian of Ugarit: Dating and Grammar* (AOAT, 40; Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker Verlag; Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1991)
- SEÅ *Svensk exegetisk årsbok*
- SEL *Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici*
- SCHANE Studies in the History and Culture of the Ancient Near East
- SPUMB J.C. de Moor, *The Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Ba'lu according to the Version of Ilimilku* (AOAT, 16; Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1971)
- SS Studi Semitici
- TEO P. Bordreuil and D. Pardee, *La trouvaille épigraphique de l'Ougarit. I. Concordance* (Ras-Shamra–Ougarit, 5; 2 vols.; Paris; Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1990)
- TO I A. Caquot, M. Sznycer and A. Herdner, *Textes Ougaritiques. I. Mythes et legends* (Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient, 7; Paris: Cerf, 1974)
- TO II A. Caquot, J.-M. de Tarragon and J.-L. Cunchillos, *Textes Ougaritiques. II. Textes religieux et rituals; Correspondence* (Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient, 14; Paris: Cerf, 1989)
- TRU P. Xella, *I testi rituali di Ugarit* (SS, 24; Rome Istituto di Studi del Vicino Oriente)
- TU J.-L. Cunchillos and J.-P. Vita, *Banco de datos filológicos semíticos noroccidentales. Primera Parte: Datos ugaríticos. I. Textos Ugaríticos* (Madrid: CSIC, Institución Fernando et Católico, 1993)
- TynBul *Tyndale Bulletin*
- UB Brooke, G.J., A.H.W. Curtis and J.F. Healey (eds.), *Ugarit and the Bible: Proceedings of the International Symposium on Ugarit and the Bible, Manchester, September 1992* (UBL, 11; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1994)
- UBL Ugaritisch-Biblische Literatur
- UF *Ugarit-Forschungen*
- Ugaritica *Etudes relatives aux découvertes de Ras Shamra* (BAH, 31; MRS, 3; Paris: Guethner, 1939)

<i>Ugaritica</i> , V	J. Nougayrol, E. Laroche, C Virolleaud and C.F.A. Schaeffer, <i>Nouveaux textes accadiens, hourrites et ougaritiques des archives et bibliothèques privées d'Ugarit et nouveaux. Commentaire des texts première partie</i> (BAG, 80; MRS, 8; Paris: Guethner, 1956)
URC	N. Wyatt, W.G.E. Watson and J.B. Lloyd (eds.), <i>Ugarit, Religion and Culture: Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Ugarit, Religion and Culture; Edinburgh, July 1994; Essays presented in Honor of Professor J.C.L. Gibson</i> (UBL, 12; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1996)
UT	Cyrus H. Gordon, <i>Ugaritic Textbook</i> (Analecta orientalia, 38; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute Press, 1965)
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i> , Supplements
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WUS	J. Aistleitner, <i>Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache</i> (ed. O. Eissfeldt; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 4th edn, 1974)
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>

2. Findsite Abbreviations

Acr	Acropolis
Agp	Agašarri's house
GP	The House of the High Priest
L	House of the 'Lettré'
MeB	Minet el-Beida
MPC	'Maison au Porche à Colonnes'
MT	Tablet House, 'Ville Sud'
NW	Northwestern Area
PC	Central Palace (Royal Palace)/Palais Royal
PH	House of the Hurrian Priest
P.N.	Northern Palace
PS	Southern Palace
QR	Residential Area
Rap	Rap'ānu's House, QR
Ras Ibn Hani	Ras Ibn Hani
Ršp	Rašap'abu's House, QR
SA	'Sud Acropole'
T	tomb
TTE	Eastern Terrace Trench, Nord-Est du Tell
VB	lower city, Ville Basse
VS	'Ville Sud'
WE	Western Entrance, PC

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this study is to formulate a new methodological strategy to be used in the interpretation of the Ugaritic texts—a strategy that will, it is hoped, allow for meaningful conclusions to be drawn from the integration of textual and archaeological data.

In the six chapters that comprise the main body, I will lay down the principles of what I will call a ‘contextualist’ approach. In Chapter 1, a summary of the interpretational trends in mainstream scholarly discussion is presented. The overview provided recognises the chronological development of the various interpretative methods, as well as the distinctions that have been drawn between archaeological and documentary sources. The presence of a small number of studies that have attempted a ‘re-reading’ of the Ugaritic documents alongside their findsite data is also acknowledged.

In Chapter 2, I will offer a critique of the methods used in the interpretation of Ugaritic religion. While acknowledging the immense advancements that have been made in the seven decades of discussion, I will identify a number of ‘pervasive tendencies’ that have contributed to the limitations of some accepted reconstructions of ‘the religion of Ugarit’, a phrase and concept that is, I argue, indicative of a tendency towards the ‘homogenous reading of the evidence’. The tendencies towards ‘the promotion of texts (and the relegation of archaeology)’ and ‘the discriminate treatment of texts’ are also identified.

Building on, and reacting to, the methodologies used over the last 70 years, in Chapter 3 I will lay down the framework of the contextualist method. Acknowledging that texts have a special communicative power, it will be argued that the epigraphical sources should be retained as the primary point of contact for the interpreter. At the same time, with a recognition that archaeologically sensitive reassessments of text-only hypotheses promotes the consideration of findsite data, the inclusion of topographically specific information at the initial stages of text interpretation is also advocated.

In Chapter 4 the new contextualist framework is put into practice. With ‘cultic vocabulary’ used as a heuristic device for gaining new insight into the workings of the Ugaritic religious institution(s), as well as for testing the efficacy of the contextualist method, the parameters of this ‘prime content’ will be presented. Acknowledging the

archives of the 'House of the High Priest' and the 'House of the Hurrian Priest' as two prominent repositories of 'religious texts', the texts belonging to these 'prime contexts' are subjected to contextualist analysis. (The translation work appears as 'Annexe 1' to the main volume.)

The contextualist approach looks for patterns in the distribution of 'prime' content in the texts that were dispersed across Ugarit. As a result, a systematic way of gathering and presenting the topographically 'fleshed out' text references in the 'prime' locations as well as in non-prime locations (a.k.a. 'derived' contexts) is needed. A databasing approach is proposed in Chapter 5, where the detailed rules of presentation and arrangement will be made clear. Working with the rules that are laid down in Chapter 5, the 'Database of Ugaritic Cult Vocabulary' that was constructed as part of the present enquiry should be navigable. (The database is supplied as Annexe 2 and is presented as a CD-ROM that accompanies the main volume. [A printed version will be made available to the thesis examiners.])

Chapter 6 offers a distillation of the database results and provides a detailed analysis of the distribution patterns of the 'cultic' and (where appropriate) 'non-cultic' applications of the items selected as 'prime' content. In the interpretation section that rounds off the study, provisional conclusions based on the database results are offered. Recognising that more detailed analysis will be needed before the full potential of the contextualist approach can be realised, the principles to be used in future analysis of the database are spelled out.

In essence, the approach advocated in this study represents something of a 'reversal' of the mainstream interpretative methods that can be detected in the chronological development of Ugaritic studies into a discipline. If it is accepted that the early years of research were characterised by an 'outward-looking' concern for analysing the Ugaritic *texts* in order to place 'the religion of Ugarit' into the wider context of ancient Near Eastern religions (particularly the form of Israelite religion relayed in the Hebrew Bible), and that a narrower, 'inward-looking' concern with the physical *context* of individual tablets has emerged in more recent times, the new framework should be seen as an attempt to invert (conceptually) this methodological progression. The contextualist framework that is recommended for the study of the Ugaritic texts begins by paying attention *at the initial stages of enquiry* (see presently) on the findsite location of the individual text fragments. From there, the field of view broadens out, successively, to the appreciation of the archive, the archive's function within its immediate setting (i.e. the building in which it appears), and within its wider situation (i.e. the city, the city-state and the surrounding ancient Near Eastern cultures). According to the contextualist scheme, only when the internal situation of Ugarit is better understood (by means of an examination of the texts and their contents in context) is the correlation of Ugarit and its cultural and religious milieu to be attempted.

With its concentration on findsite location at the *initial* stage of interpretation (just mentioned), the contextualist approach is perhaps also to be viewed as a kind of reversal of the context-sensitive readings that encouraged it into being. While earlier studies of archaeological context of the text fragments sought to *corroborate* (or not) past readings of the documentary sources, the method advocated in what follows tries to *innovate* new ones. As a way of gaining insight in to the nuances of the individual archives, the method is offered as a springboard.

A couple of practical issues need to be dealt with before the contextualist discussion can commence. It is to be noted that the systems of text numbering and transcription follow the conventions used in the second edition of Dietrich, Loretz and Sanmartín's *Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit* (see *KTU* in Abbreviations list for publication details). The second edition is the 'default' edition used by the present study, the abbreviation *KTU*¹ being used when the first edition is specifically intended. (Perhaps it also worth recording that italicised '*KTU*' refers to the volume, and that roman '*KTU*' signifies the individual reference number that is assigned by the editors of the *KTU* collection.)

Finally, in the light of the discussion that follows (particularly in Chapter 4, 5 and 6), it is right that the reader is encouraged to peruse the plan of Ras Shamra/Ugarit that follows on the next page along with the list of findsite abbreviations on p. x (above). Acquaintance with the layout of the site and a familiarity with the conventional abbreviations are recommended.

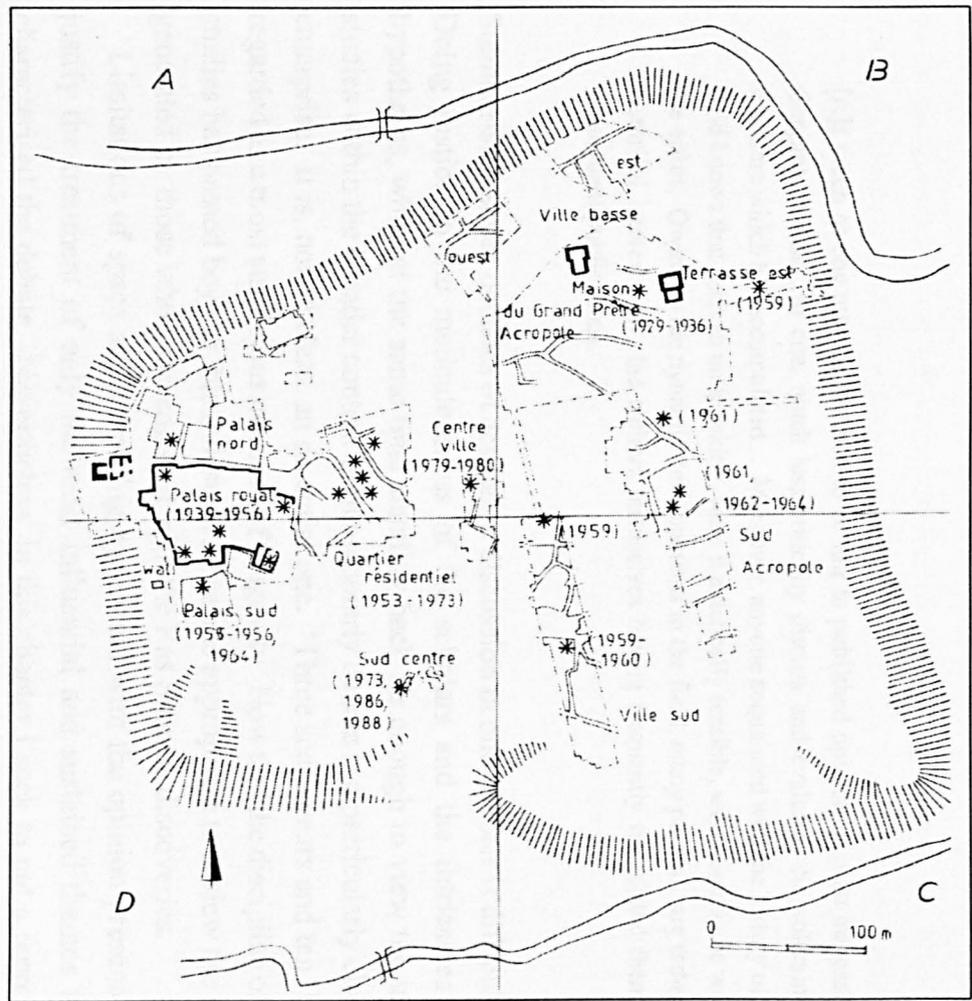


Figure 1. *An Overview of Tel Ras Shamra (Ugarit) Showing Prominent Findsite Locations (Reproduced from TEO, I, p. 6)*

Chapter 1

REVIEW: SEVENTY YEARS OF UGARITIC RESEARCH

[A]s much as one may be inclined to be fair to published opinion, it is an impossibly Gargantuan task...to cite, much less critically discuss and evaluate, the voluminous literature which has accumulated... Moreover, anyone acquainted with the history of the field knows that such an undertaking, were it practically feasible, would hardly be worth the effort. Owing to the dynamic developments in the field, many papers...are today of historical interest only, the authors themselves having frequently repudiated them in subsequent publications.¹

Summarising seven decades of academic discussion in one chapter is difficult indeed. Doing justice to the meticulousness of the scholars and the intricacies of their hypotheses, while at the same time standing back far enough to view the individual studies within the broader context of the scholarly debate is a particularly challenging enterprise. It is, nonetheless, an essential one. 'Three score years and ten' is widely regarded as a most auspicious measure of longevity. Now that the discipline of Ugaritic studies has passed beyond this milestone, it seems appropriate to review the literature generated by those who have engaged with the Ras Shamra discoveries.

Limitations of space and a nodding agreement with the opinion presented above justify the treatment of only the most influential and sustained themes that have characterised the debate. Nevertheless, in this chapter I seek to cut a representative slice through 70 years of Ugaritic research. My aim is to capture the essence of the evolutionary phases in the interpretation of the Ugaritic evidence, to reflect the progressive development of the methodologies employed by those who have engaged with this material, and to prepare the way for the critical assessment that will follow in the next chapter.

¹ B. Margalit, *A Matter of "Life" and "Death": A Study of the Baal–Mot Epic (CTA 4–5–6)* (AOAT, 206; Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1980), p. 8.

The present chapter is divided into three main sections. The first two will deal with the interpretations of the textual and non-textual evidence, respectively. The third section discusses the small number of studies that have sought to incorporate the analysis of documentary and archaeological data. This division is not imposed for the sake of convenience (though, of course, such a partition is a handy device for maintaining a logical structure to the synopsis). That the discussion of the textual evidence is split into two parts reflects the fact that no systematic interpretation of Ugaritic religion making use of the literary *and* non-literary texts has so far been offered. That the textual evidence precedes that of the non-textual data is likewise no mere coincidence. Instead, the presentation of the text-based discussion before archaeologically oriented approaches reflects the predilection of mainstream Ugaritic (and Hebrew Bible/Old Testament) specialists. It also mirrors (broadly speaking) the chronological sequence of events that began with an initial rush to engage with the epigraphical remains from Ras Shamra, and that seems to be moving towards a more archaeologically sensitive reading of the data.² More will be said about all this in Chapter 2.

So, despite the inherent difficulties of trying to provide a broad-brush summary, it is now time to proceed with the distillation of the last seven decades of Ugaritic research.

1. *Texts*

The texts discovered at Ras Shamra come in a whole host of shapes, sizes, languages and types. Some have emerged from over 3000 years of interment remarkably well preserved; others, regrettably, less so. The majority of the Ugaritic texts take the form of baked clay tablets that attest the use of cuneiform as the most popular means of preserving written information.³ Several thousand documents of this type have been discovered in the ruins so far, and the number increases as excavation of the site continues.⁴

² Although, in reality, the transformation has not involved a purely diachronic chain of succession, the general principle of methodological mutation is, I think, defensible.

³ M. Dietrich, 'Aspects of the Babylonian Impact on Ugaritic Literature and Religion' in *URC*, pp. 33-47, provides a summary of his earlier work (M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, *Die Keilalphabet. Die phönizisch—kanaanäischen und altarabischen Alphabete in Ugarit* [ALASP, 1; Münster: Ugarit Verlag, 1988]) in which it was proposed that Ugarit had previously employed papyrus as the writing medium and that cuneiform was not established to its full extent in Ugarit before the fourteenth century (pp. 36-37).

⁴ *KTU* provides 1385 of the published texts, and lists some 529 that have not yet been made available.

The variety of languages and scripts found at Ugarit is to be explained by the fact that in the second millennium BCE the city served as an international commercial crossroads on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean. In a bustling trading post like Ugarit, the site of considerable cultural convergence, it was necessary for (at least) some factions of society to be able to converse in a number of different tongues. Unsurprisingly, given the city's polyglot character, numerous languages are attested, including Sumerian, Akkadian,⁵ Ugaritic, Egyptian hieroglyphs, Hittite, Cypriot, as well as an unknown indecipherable script (which displays similarities with Hurrite or Mitannian). Syllabaries and a bilingual lexicon have been discovered which show that there was a conscious effort to grapple with the difficulties arising from the convergence of so many different linguistic traditions.⁶

In addition to the tablets, there are not a few examples of writing on seals,⁷ ivories, weapons/tools, monuments and pottery.⁸ These 'texts' are often rudimentary in style, frequently using only a handful of words. Though these compositions are of a cursory nature, they have not been without value in the field of Ugaritic studies. To be sure, two inscriptions in particular have played role in the discussion of Ugaritic religion—KTU 6.13 and KTU 6.14 were pivotal to the identification of a supposed 'Dagan' temple at Ugarit.

Without doubt, however, it is the inscribed tablets that have received the greater amount of scholarly attention. More precisely, it is those tablets bearing the native alphabetic⁹ cuneiform script known as 'Ugaritic' that have dominated the discussion.

a. *The Literary Texts*

Of all the texts discovered at Ugarit it is the poetic 'literary' texts that have been scrutinised most fully. As the following discussion will make clear, the texts comprising the 'Baal Cycle' have been foremost in the discussion of Ugaritic religion.

It is now time to outline four of the main interpretative approaches to the Ugaritic literary documents. It is important to state at this point that in assigning scholars to a specific category, I am not restricting them exclusively to that category. It will be seen

⁵ For a treatment of these texts see J. Huehnergard, *The Akkadian of Ugarit* (HSS, 34; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989).

⁶ Note also that KTU 10.1 appears to be a text that has the alphabetic Ugaritic script 'converted' into syllabic cuneiform.

⁷ See W.H. van Soldt, 'Labels from Ugarit', *UF* 21 (1989), pp. 375-88.

⁸ For these texts see *KTU*, pp. 499-513.

⁹ Here using 'alphabetic' in line with convention. See M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, 'The Ugaritic Script', in W.G.E. Watson and N. Wyatt (eds.), *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies* (HdO, 39; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1999), pp. 81-89, for a discussion of the Ugaritic script and the appropriateness of 'alphabetic' as a term to describe a language that used three separate characters to signify 'aleph' (i.e. *a, i, u*).

that a number of scholars appear in one or more area. This attests to the lively debate, and persuasiveness of developing arguments. The following are assigned to the categories only in the most general terms.

(1) *Myth and Ritual Rationalisations*

The 'Myth and Ritual' era represents a most significant phase in the interpretation of the Ugaritic texts. Rising to prominence during the 1930s and enduring through to the 1960s, many of the first attempts to engage with the Ugaritic literary corpus subjected the material to Myth and Ritual scrutiny. While the members of the so-called 'Myth and Ritual School' had a profound effect on the early years of Ugaritic studies, modern interpreters have now largely cast this work aside.¹⁰ Nevertheless, the Myth and Ritual mode of interpretation has greatly influenced the study of the literary texts from Ras Shamra.

The Myth and Ritual principles have been expressed in a number of ways and to varying degrees. For some, the myth provides the essential ingredient; for others, it is ritual. All of the approaches are united in the belief that there is some manner of association between the two components:

In its most uncompromising form, the theory contends that myths and rituals cannot exist without each other. In a milder form, the theory asserts that myths and rituals originally exist together but may subsequently go their separate ways. In its mildest form, the theory maintains that myths and rituals can arise separately but subsequently coalesce.¹¹

What is more, as the following sketch of the Myth and Ritual approach will demonstrate, the consensus view contends that the texts relate the actual cultic situation of ancient Ugarit. However, before dealing with some applications of the method on the Ugaritic literary material, it seems useful to trace the historical development of the Myth and Ritual agenda.¹²

¹⁰ Note the comments offered by N. Wyatt, 'Arms and the King: The Earliest Allusions to the *Chaoskampf* Motif and Their Implications for the Interpretation of the Ugaritic and Biblical Traditions', in M. Dietrich and I. Kottsieper (eds.), *'Und Mose schrieb dieses Lied auf': Studien zum Alten Testament und zum Alten Orient* (Festschrift Oswald Loretz; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1998), pp. 833-82.

¹¹ From the editor's 'Introduction' to R.A. Segal (ed.), *The Myth and Ritual Theory: An Anthology* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1998), pp. 1-13 (1). Cf. the bold assertion offered by J.C.L. Gibson, 'Myth, Legend and Folk-Lore in the Ugaritic Keret and Aqhat Texts', in *Congress Volume, Edinburgh 1974* (VTSup, 28; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975), pp. 60-68 (60): 'Where there is a myth we must also have a ritual'.

¹² I will deal here only with the issues that have direct implications for Ugaritic studies. For a summary of the cross-disciplinary application of the Myth and Ritual approach see the articles appearing in Segal (ed.), *The Myth and Ritual Theory*.

(a) *Historical Context*

In his 1795 work,¹³ Charles-François Dupuis proposed that behind the figures of Christ and Osiris lay a common tendency to personify the sun in its annual course. This theory led to the establishment of the comparative approach that sought to find some common interpretative principle that would explain and account for the origin of religion and/or its essential structure.¹⁴ Since the Myth and Ritual interpretation sought to analyse the connection between the mythological compositions and their allusions to ritual elements, it may be placed in the broad interpretative tradition initiated by Dupuis.

i. *Robertson Smith*

The first application of the Myth and Ritual theory may be attributed to the Victorian biblical and Arabic scholar William Robertson Smith. In the first series of his *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*,¹⁵ Robertson Smith warned against the prevailing tendency of looking at 'belief' rather than 'practice' in order to explain ancient religion.¹⁶ 'Behaviourist'¹⁷ in approach, he maintained that instead of 'creed' shedding light on the 'ritual', the ritual, once found, unlocks the associated creed.¹⁸ Significantly, Robertson Smith claimed that established practices were often performed without attaching a meaning to them; if a meaning was provided, it was usually secondary and able to fluctuate.¹⁹ According to Robertson Smith, mythology took the place of creed or dogma in ancient religion. Because there was no fundamental concern with *why* rituals came into being, myth functioned more as a subsequent explanation of *how* they were established.²⁰

For Robertson Smith, then, myth was a 'secondary' development,²¹ more often than not 'the myth was derived from the ritual and not the ritual from the myth'.²² By

¹³ C.-F. Dupuis, *L'Origine de tous les cultes ou la religion universelle* (Paris: E. Babeuf, new edn, 1822).

¹⁴ This tendency to find one single phenomenon to explain all religious origins was continued by M. Müller ('Comparative Mythology', in *Chips from a German Workshop* [London: n.p., 1867]), the founder of the so-called 'Philological School'. Following Dupuis, Müller shared the view that solar mythology was the basis of all religion, maintaining that this could be shown by means of comparative philology.

¹⁵ W. Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites: First Series* (Edinburgh: Black, 1889).

¹⁶ Robertson Smith, *Lectures*, p. 17.

¹⁷ Segal, 'Introduction', in *idem* (ed.), *The Myth and Ritual Theory*, p. 1.

¹⁸ In fact, according to Robertson Smith, *Lectures*, p. 18, an associated creed was not an essential accompaniment to ritual: 'the antique religions had for the most part no creed; they consisted entirely of institutions and practices'.

¹⁹ Robertson Smith, *Lectures*, p. 18.

²⁰ Robertson Smith, *Lectures*, p. 19.

²¹ Robertson Smith, *Lectures*, p. 20.

arguing that mythology represented the explanation of ritual, Robertson Smith departed from the standard theory that myths are an explanation of the world. According to this view, which was defined classically by Sir Edward B. Tylor,²³ ‘Myth is more important than ritual, which is the *application*, not the *subject*, of myth’.²⁴ Robertson Smith went one step further by arguing that myths came into being only when the original meaning for the ritual had been lost or forgotten. With or without a mythological explanation, the ritual would continue to be performed. Far from being a compulsory accompaniment, myth was only attendant to ritual if the need arose; rituals antedate myths

In observing a connection between myth and ritual Robertson Smith can be seen as the pioneer of the approach under discussion. Although later scholars adapted his view that myths sprang out of ritual, Robertson Smith’s work was central to the founding of the principle that there exists some indispensable connection.

ii. Frazer

The so-called ‘Anthropological School’ provided a development of the Myth and Ritual theory towards the end of the nineteenth century. While accepting the core belief that a connection between myth and ritual existed, members of this scholarly movement maintained that anthropological analysis provided the key to understanding religious commonality. One celebrated proponent of this thesis, Sir James G. Frazer, argued in his monumental twelve-volume work *The Golden Bough*, that the needs of the agriculturist’s life profoundly affected religious thought. S.G.F. Brandon provides a concise summary of Frazer’s position:

The spectacle of the annual cycle of Nature’s year, with its recurrent drama of the death and revival of vegetation, inspired, so [Frazer] maintained, the pregnant idea of the dying-god, of which Adonis, Attis, and Osiris are the classic examples, and from which derived the institution of divine kingship, whereby communities at a certain level of cultural development believed that their well-being was essentially bound up with the well-being of their king, who impersonated or was the incarnation of the spirit of vegetation.²⁵

So, for Frazer, there existed at the very core of religious belief a common element or ‘pattern’ which was shared across diverse communities; in general terms this was the

²² Robertson Smith, *Lectures*, p. 19.

²³ E.B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, I (London: Murray, 1st edn, 1871), Chapters 8–10.

²⁴ Segal, *The Myth and Ritual Theory*, p. 3 (emphasis in original).

²⁵ S.G.F. Brandon, ‘The Myth and Ritual Position Critically Considered’, in S.H. Hooke (ed.), *Myth, Ritual, and Kingship: Essays on the Theory and Practice of Kingship in the Ancient Near East and in Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), pp. 261-91 (262).

result of a universal human experience, a process of cultural evolution rather than of diffusion from a single original source.²⁶

Frazer's application of the Myth and Ritual theory was not free from inconsistency and contradiction.²⁷ For the most part, however, he maintained that the intermediary period between the ages of magic and religion saw myth and ritual working together. Unlike Robertson Smith, Frazer considered that myth arose before ritual.²⁸

Although Frazer was not responsible for formulating the Myth and Ritual approach, the popularity of his work served, more than any other that had preceded it, to highlight the importance of the ritual element in ancient religion.

In early times myth has been generally regarded either as the poetic imaginings of primitive peoples or it was interpreted aetiologically, i.e. as being the naïve explanations of natural phenomena concocted by the primitive mind. But now [with Frazer] attention was given to the close connexion holding between ritual and myth, and since the former was generally believed to be prior in order of appearance, myth in its original form was held to be an explanation of the ritual, a kind of libretto designed to make intelligible sacro-

²⁶ Frazer did, however, recognise that cultural diffusion played an important role in the commonality of religion; see *The Golden Bough*. VIII. *Balder the Beautiful* (London: Macmillan, 1913), pp. vi-vii. An important feature of Frazer's Myth and Ritual is his theory that there existed a three-phase division in all culture; these phases he called the 'ages' of magic, religion and science. In the earlier age of magic, ceremonial rites were performed in order to affect some desired result; at this stage of development there were no mythical accompaniments, as there were no gods. In the age of religion, however, there existed both myths and rituals, but these were not intimately connected: myths provided a description of the gods, while rituals were used to curry their favour. For Frazer, it was at the juncture of the ages of magic and religion that a connection of myth and ritual is to be found. For a convenient and easily accessible summary see Chapter 4 ('Magic and Religion') of J.G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough: A History of Myth and Religion* (London: Macmillan, abr. edn, 1922), pp. 48-60 (55-57).

²⁷ Segal, *The Myth and Ritual Theory*, pp. 4-5, notes that Frazer had *two* distinct 'versions' of his Myth and Ritual agenda. The first, which Segal calls 'Frazer's true myth-ritualist scenario' (p. 5), maintains that the 'ritual operates on the basis of the Law of Similarity, according to which the imitation of an action causes it to happen. The ritual does not manipulate vegetation directly. Rather, it manipulates the god of vegetation. But as the king goes, so goes vegetation. The assumption that vegetation is under the control of a god is the legacy of religion. The assumption that vegetation can be controlled, even if only through the king, is the legacy of magic... In the ritual a human being plays the role of the god and acts out what he magically causes the god to do. While the actor may be the king, Frazer does not strongly tie his version of myth-ritualism to kingship' (p. 4). In the second 'version' identified by Segal: 'the king himself is divine, by which Frazer means that the god resides in him. Just as the health of vegetation depends on the health of its god, so now the health of the god depends on the health of the king: as the king goes, so goes the god of vegetation and so, in turn, goes vegetation itself. To ensure a steady supply of food, the community kills its king while he is still in his prime and thereby transfers the soul of the god to his successor' (p. 4).

²⁸ Segal, *The Myth and Ritual Theory*, p. 5.

magical acts when the original emotions which prompted them were no longer remembered or understood.²⁹

Thus, Frazer's efforts were central to the new appreciation of myth and the belief that the examination of mythological material afforded a direct route to the understanding of cultic practice.

iii. *Hooke*

By the 1930s the Myth and Ritual 'school' had risen to prominence. Within this scholarly movement two distinct—though methodologically very similar—branches emerged: the first, led by Jane Harrison,³⁰ examined the Classical evidence; the second, spearheaded by S.H. Hooke, concentrated on the ancient Near Eastern sources. Representing 'far purer exemplars of the myth-ritualist theory',³¹ these scholars and their followers provided a refined application of the theory developed by Robertson Smith and Frazer. For the interpretation of the Ugaritic texts, Hooke's remains the enduring influence.

Although Hooke is perhaps best remembered for editing three of the most important volumes in the history of Myth and Ritual studies,³² he also contributed directly to the

²⁹ Brandon, 'The Myth and Ritual Position', p. 263.

³⁰ J.E. Harrison, *Themis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912), and *Epilogomena to the Study of Greek Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1921).

³¹ Segal, *The Myth and Ritual Theory*, p. 5.

³² The first, entitled *Myth and Ritual* (London: Oxford University Press, 1933) featured eight papers that concentrated on aspects of the Myth and Ritual pattern in the ancient Near East. The purpose of this collection was to investigate the possibility of Babylonian and Egyptian influence on Israelite religion; five of the contributions were concerned with the Myth and Ritual pattern as manifest in the cultures of the eastern Mediterranean. The second of Hooke's collections, *The Labyrinth* (London: SPCK, 1935), carried on from *Myth and Ritual* and, notably, contained an essay by Aubrey R. Johnson which reflected an important new phase in the Myth and Ritual interpretation. Johnson's work, which highlighted the role of the king as the representative/substitute for God in Hebrew religious ceremonies, shows the development of a general concern with Myth and Ritual circles for explaining the institution of kingship. (It is interesting to note that in assigning a divine role for the king, the Myth and Ritual approach moved close to Frazer's second Myth and Ritual formulation [see above].) The third book, *Myth, Ritual and Kingship: Essays on the Theory and Practice of Kingship in the Ancient Near East and in Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), appeared some 25 years after the first volume. The title, no less than the content, indicated the change that had taken place in Myth and Ritual circles. In his editorial Preface Hooke recognised the shift in Myth and Ritual orientation: 'Special emphasis has been laid on Kingship, because it has become plain that the place of the king in the myth and ritual of the ancient Near East is now the focal point of the discussion that has arisen over *Myth and Ritual* during the quarter of a century since its publication' (p. v). (A tendency championed most vigorously by Ivan Engnell, whose work will be discussed shortly (see p. 28).

development of the approach.³³ A characteristic feature of Hooke's thesis is his belief that religious elements originated and were dispersed throughout the ancient Near East from Mesopotamia. While Frazer maintained that the fundamental similarities between religious phenomena resulted from universal human experience,³⁴ Hooke, by contrast, argued that cultural diffusion from an original source accounted for this pattern. Employing the example of the winged-disk symbol from Egypt, Hooke maintained that a process of 'culture spread'³⁵ allowed for the transmission of religious elements far from their original setting. Hooke pointed out that his viewpoint differed from the popular form of 'diffusionism'. Unlike the theory of cultural diffusion propounded by Sir Grafton Elliot Smith and W.J. Perry, which considered Egypt to be the source of certain fundamental institutions and inventions of human society,³⁶ Hooke offered a 'deviationist'³⁷ form of diffusionism. Sceptical of the pan-Egyptian tendency which the diffusionists were developing, Hooke turned his attention to the cuneiform sources and 'reached the belief that Babylonian influence on the Semitic-speaking countries of the ancient Near East was more evident than Egyptian'.³⁸

Hooke's most important contribution, as far as the interpretation of the Ugaritic texts is concerned,³⁹ is his identification of five central elements which give the general outline of myth and ritual characteristic of the ancient Near East. These were: (1) the dramatic representation of the death and resurrection of the god, (2) the recitation or symbolic representation of the myth of creation, (3) the ritual combat, in which the triumph of the god over his enemies was depicted, (4) the sacred marriage, and (5) the triumphal procession, in which the king played the part of the god followed by a train of lesser or visiting deities.⁴⁰ For Hooke, these elements represented the 'skeleton' not only of the New Year Festival, but also of coronation rites, initiation ceremonies, and so

³³ For a list of Hooke's contributions see Segal (ed.), *The Myth and Ritual Theory*, pp. 83-84.

³⁴ See p. 11, above.

³⁵ Hooke, 'The Myth and Ritual Pattern', p. 4. Hooke went on to explain that the transmission of religious symbols and rites could take place without a transmission of the 'meaning' of them. He proposed that a three-phase process which involved adaptation, disintegration and degradation, allowed for the spread of religious phenomena (pp. 5-6).

³⁶ G. Elliot Smith, *The Ancient Egyptian and the Origins of Civilization* (London: Harper & Brothers, 1911 [2nd edn, 1923]), *idem*, *Human History* (London: W.W. Norton, 1930); W.J. Perry, *The Children of the Sun: A Study in the Early History of Civilization* (London: Methuen, 1923), *idem*, *The Growth of Civilization* (London: Methuen, 1924).

³⁷ Hooke, 'Myth and Ritual: Past and Present', p. 1.

³⁸ Hooke, 'Myth and Ritual: Past and Present', p. 2.

³⁹ See my discussion of Theodor H. Gaster, p. 19, below.

⁴⁰ S.H. Hooke, 'The Myth and Ritual Pattern of the Ancient East', in Hooke (ed.) *Myth and Ritual*, pp. 1-14 (8-9).

on. These events, which combine both ritual performance and mythical recitation, were common throughout the ancient Near East.

While he frequently denied his dependence on the earlier theories of Frazer,⁴¹ Hooke's theory nevertheless exhibited some correspondence with the Frazerian method. Like Frazer, Hooke maintained that rituals operate according to the Law of Similarity: rituals were employed to affect the desired divine response, particularly at times of transition between the end of one year and the beginning of another.⁴² Thus, Hooke followed Frazer's view that what was done in the realm of the human was mirrored in the realm of the deities. Furthermore, Hooke shared the opinion that the king was in some way the embodiment, or at least representative, of the deity on whom all fertility depended; the vegetation deity, according to Hooke, was the main god of the pantheon. The core of the religious pattern was the enactment of the death and rebirth of the god of vegetation. In this respect Hooke once again displays the Frazerian position—religious activity was directly associated with agricultural concerns.⁴³

Hooke's appreciation of myth, however, differs somewhat from that of Frazer. Rather than simply explaining the ritual activities, myth is afforded the same magical power as the ritual actions:

The spoken word had the efficacy of an act... In general the spoken part of a ritual consists of what is being done, it is the story which the ritual enacts... The original myth, inseparable in the first instance from its ritual, embodies in more or less symbolic fashion, the original situation which is seasonally re-enacted in the ritual.⁴⁴

Hooke's definition provides insight into the development of the Myth and Ritual theory from its first formulation. While Robertson Smith considered ritual to have developed before myth, and Frazer proposed that myth originated before ritual, Hooke's view was that both aspects are bound together. Inextricably linked, myth and ritual function with equal potency.⁴⁵

⁴¹ See the opening sentences of Hooke, 'The Myth and Ritual Pattern', pp. 1-2, as well his comments in 'Myth and Ritual: Past and Present', in Hooke (ed.), *Myth, Ritual and Kingship*, pp. 4-5.

⁴² Hooke, 'The Myth and Ritual Pattern', pp. 8-9.

⁴³ Hooke, 'The Myth and Ritual Pattern', pp. 2-3.

⁴⁴ Hooke, 'The Myth and Ritual Pattern', p. 2.

⁴⁵ As Segal puts it, Hooke's branch of Myth and Ritualism maintained that 'The ritual works magically to effect the myth'; see the editor's introductory comments to Hooke, 'The Myth and Ritual Pattern', in Segal (ed.), *The Myth and Ritual Theory*, p. 83.

(b) *Hvidberg*

In 1938 the Danish scholar Flemming Friis Hvidberg published one of the first major Myth and Ritual analyses of the Ugaritic texts.⁴⁶ (The long-awaited English translation, *Weeping and Laughter in the Old Testament*,⁴⁷ appeared posthumously in 1962, bringing his contribution to a wider audience.)

While a large portion of Hvidberg's monograph was devoted to the study of the newly discovered Ras Shamra texts, the true object of his treatment can be inferred from the title. Working on the assumption that the Ugaritic texts were 'Canaanite' in origin,⁴⁸ they were studied so as to create a picture of Canaanite religion which could then be employed in the analysis of the 'Canaanite' aspects in Israelite religion as preserved in the biblical record. Weeping and laughter—which Hvidberg saw as cultic rites—were used as a means of establishing the essential character of this Canaanite religion. By comparing the allusions to weeping and laughter in the Ras Shamra myths and Hebrew Scriptures, he aimed to prove that the Israelite immigrants borrowed from native cultic practices upon settling in Canaan.⁴⁹ Hvidberg was in no doubt that there had been such a syncretistic movement, stating that: 'It is not only likely. It is unbelievable that it should not have happened.'⁵⁰

Hvidberg grounded his work on the theory that 'From the Nile to the Euphrates, far north in Asia Minor and much further west, there has been weeping and wailing over the death of gods and laughing and rejoicing over his resurrection and marriages to

⁴⁶ F.F. Hvidberg, *Graad og Latter i Det gamle Testamente, En Studie i kanaanaeisk-israelitisk Religion* (Copenhagen: NYT Nordisk Forlag, 1938).

⁴⁷ F.F. Hvidberg, *Weeping and Laughter in the Old Testament: A Study of Canaanite-Israelite Religion* (trans. Niels Haislund; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1962). The English translation was eagerly anticipated by the scholarly community; see G. Widengren's comments in his 'Early Hebrew Myths and their Interpretation' in Hooke (ed.), *Myth Ritual and Kingship*, pp. 178-79.

⁴⁸ The terms 'Canaanite-Phoenician' and 'Phoenician-Canaanite' are also used extensively in relation to both Ras Shamra texts and deities. Hvidberg explained this by considering that 'The men who were the supporters of the cult of the Ras Shamra texts, belonged to the branch of The Canaanite ethnic group which as regards later times mainly are designated as Phoenicians' (*Weeping and Laughter*, p. 78). In my 'Excursus: Ugarit, Canaan and the Hebrew Bible', I will deal fully with this issue. For the time being, however, I follow Hvidberg's use of 'Canaan', 'Canaanite' etc. (reluctantly) in order to avoid unnecessary confusion.

⁴⁹ While interesting, Hvidberg's discussion of the Canaanite syncretistic influence on Israel is not of direct relevance here. See instead my discussion of Ugarit and the Bible (pp. 112-22, below). As a point of interest, however, it can be noted that Hvidberg concluded that a transfer of both literary motifs and actual cultic practice took place via the Northern Kingdom: as both artistic device and religious custom, weeping and laughter found their way into Israelite religion.

⁵⁰ Hvidberg, *Weeping and Laughter*, p. 13.

goddesses'.⁵¹ In so doing, Hvidberg accepted the evidence of ancient Egyptian and Babylonian sources, which suggested to him that the worship of Osiris, Tammuz and Marduk all involved ceremonial outpourings of emotion.⁵² While other Near Eastern gods were connected with stories of death and resurrection⁵³—with weeping and laughter serving as attendant cultic responses—Hvidberg deduced that such rites were most commonly associated with the dying and rising deity of vegetation and fertility.⁵⁴ Because 'the two great cultural worlds of Egypt and Babylonia influenced Canaanite civilisation'⁵⁵ not a small amount of significance is attached to their testimonies.⁵⁶

Having sanctioned the theory that the worship of vegetation spirits was often associated with tears and celebration, Hvidberg turned his attention to the Ras Shamra material. A key feature of Hvidberg's study is that he attached primary significance to the Baal myth; more precisely, he dealt solely with those texts that deal with the conflict of Baal and Mot, namely, KTU 1.3–1.4.⁵⁷ For him, these Ras Shamra texts were cultic in character: 'Their importance lies first and foremost in the fact that they give us a direct insight into the ancient Phoenician-Canaanite cult'.⁵⁸ Moreover, the texts were so rich in cultic information that 'He who wants fully to realize what Canaanite religion was...at present cannot do anything better than tackling the clay tablets from Ras Shamra and trying to master the contents of the texts and understand their nature'.⁵⁹

Thus, Hvidberg's Myth and Ritual disposition led to his connecting the Ras Shamra myth with activities of the Ugaritic cult. For Hvidberg, the content and character of the

⁵¹ Hvidberg, *Weeping and Laughter*, p. 11.

⁵² Hvidberg acknowledged that his sources were somewhat limited; in many cases he was working with 'hints and isolated details' as well as 'direct and indirect evidence' (*Weeping and Laughter*, pp. 15, 17).

⁵³ Included among these were the Sumero-Akkadian god Lil; Hvidberg, *Weeping and Laughter*, p. 17.

⁵⁴ Hvidberg, *Weeping and Laughter*, p. 13.

⁵⁵ Hvidberg, *Weeping and Laughter*, p. 15.

⁵⁶ Hvidberg believed that the Ras Shamra cult was 'parallel to the cult known previously within the old culture areas of Egypt and Babylonia' (*Weeping and Laughter*, p. 19). Rejecting the diffusionist theory in favour of the (Frazerian) explanation of cultural evolution, he later concluded that the Ras Shamra deities Baal and Mot originated independently of any Egyptian and Babylonian influence. In his attempt to explain the obvious similarities between Osiris, Tammuz and Adonis, Hvidberg concluded that they originally parallel deities who were 'later confused and identified' (pp. 66-76 [76]).

⁵⁷ In the first instance this may be down to chance; the tablets dealing with Baal and Yam, for example, had been only partially published at the time of his writing. Another reason, however, may be related to his belief that the texts dealing with the Baal–Mot encounter are of 'fundamental importance' (*Weeping and Laughter*, p. 20) for the understanding of Ugaritic/Canaanite religion.

⁵⁸ Hvidberg, *Weeping and Laughter*, p. 13; cf. pp. 20, 52.

⁵⁹ Hvidberg, *Weeping and Laughter*, p. 20.

Baal myth suggested that they were probably utilised at some dramatic cultic performance:⁶⁰

What characterizes the texts is their *simplicity*...there is no trace of a motif of world creation in them, no inclusion of fairy-tale motifs, and probably little of what has been called 'retroaction' from myths which might have contributed to giving the play a richer dramatic form or a further development and gradation... The texts obviously are simply a 'recipe' for a cultic drama in ancient Phoenicia-Canaan. They are a record of words and actions as they took place at a festival at which the ancients created and experienced 'salvation'. They are 'the programme of the play'... They reproduce 'history as it really happened, viz as it was enacted on the ceremonial stage during the festival.' What we have before us is a series of ritual words and actions which with great simplicity describe the life of the field. The predominant motif is the death and revival of rain and grass.⁶¹

Recognising that the Baal myth was entwined with the actual agricultural concerns of the people, Hvidberg attributed the cultic play with a wider significance. Rather than being a simple allegory for the changing seasons, the drama was imbued with redemptive potential. Hvidberg considered the Baal myth to be full of 'divine life and creative power', with the ability to '*create and renew* rain, the crop of the soil, the fertility of human being and animals'.⁶² With the functions of everyday life incorporated into the ritual drama, daily events became sacred; through their association with the deities, they became 'eternal and dynamic'.⁶³

Hvidberg argued that the deities in the Ras Shamra myth displayed agricultural and climatological characteristics; like Osiris in Egypt and Tammuz in Sumero-Babylonia, the Ugaritic deities Baal and Mot were vegetation deities.⁶⁴ Moreover, the texts' predominant motifs supported this identification. Thus, mythic events were seen as alluding to specific agricultural and meteorological phenomena; the most significant of these being: (1) Baal's death, which was marked by the withdrawal of rain, thunder and dried-up springs; (2) the killing of Mot, which was described using harvest imagery; (3) the fixing of the hatch in Baal's palace following his return to life, which was a metaphorical allusion to the return of the rain and thunder at the end of summer, as well as the early and winter rains; and (4) Baal's copulation with the heifer, which represented procreation and birth among human beings and animals.⁶⁵ Hvidberg was

⁶⁰ While others offered this interpretation, Hvidberg maintained that he had reached the conclusion independently (*Weeping and Laughter*, p. 53 n. 1).

⁶¹ Hvidberg, *Weeping and Laughter*, p. 53.

⁶² Hvidberg, *Weeping and Laughter*, p. 52, cf. p. 51.

⁶³ Hvidberg, *Weeping and Laughter*, p. 51.

⁶⁴ Hvidberg, *Weeping and Laughter*, pp. 52, 60; this identification, Hvidberg opined, 'is made clearer and profounder the more we learn to understand the texts' (p. 20).

⁶⁵ Hvidberg, *Weeping and Laughter*, pp. 51-52.

certain that Mot and Baal were to be connected with the corn-ripening sun and the fructifying rain respectively: 'Mot's supremacy is identical with the glowing season... Aliyn Ba'al's death represents the disappearance of rain, thunder, and grass in the glow of the sun in summer.'⁶⁶

Being the spoken accompaniment to the ritual drama, the Baal myth was associated with cultic performance. While Hvidberg argued that little could be said about the actual gestures or imitative movements used by the actors in the drama,⁶⁷ he considered that some of the cultic responses were anticipated by the text: as Anat wept for Baal, so the people also shed tears; when El and the gods celebrated a banquet and had sexual intercourse, 'all the people of the god must also feast with noisy manifestations of joy and erotic wildness';⁶⁸ as the battle between Baal and Mot raged, a similar contest was enacted mimetically. Once again, parallels were seen with other ancient Near Eastern cults: Anat's weeping was seen as identical to that of Ishtar for Tammuz in Babylonia; 'the combat between Ba'al and Mot presumably was performed rather realistically like the fights in the Osiris drama in Egypt'.⁶⁹

Hvidberg provided a distinctive appreciation of the Baal myth's cultic setting. Importantly, he showed an awareness of the difficulty encountered when trying to correlate a myth that describes all-year-round phenomena with one religious event. This necessarily involves the compression of the yearly cycle. For Hvidberg, this could be done two ways:

As the drama contains the whole cycle of the year, the actions belonging to the autumn have been moved back (summer festival, spring festival) or the actions belonging to the beginning of the summer must have been moved forward (autumnal festival) in order to produce a full account of the year. Presumably the latter is the case and we have the drama of the autumnal festival before us.⁷⁰

Observing two predominant themes in the poetic narrative of KTU 1.4—(1) the building and consecration of Baal's temple with the installation of the hatch, and (2) Baal's accession to the throne—Hvidberg concluded that sufficient emphasis is placed

⁶⁶ Hvidberg, *Weeping and Laughter*, p. 51.

⁶⁷ Hvidberg, *Weeping and Laughter*, p. 52.

⁶⁸ Hvidberg, *Weeping and Laughter*, p. 52.

⁶⁹ Hvidberg, *Weeping and Laughter*, p. 52-53. Further support for this theory was derived from the fact that at various points in the Baal poem there are only a very few narrative lines. Often placed in the midst of direct speech, those narratives that are present are usually brief (e.g. 'and Aliyn Baal said', KTU 1.4.V.111), having the appearance of cues for dramatic oration. Such stock phrases, Hvidberg proposed, 'suggest that we have a dramatic performance before us, a play... in which words and actions supplement each other' (p. 50).

⁷⁰ Hvidberg, *Weeping and Laughter*, p. 54.

on Baal's return (i.e. the return of the autumn rains) to confirm his theory.⁷¹ By this reasoning, mythic allusion correlated with actual climatic phenomena. By virtue of the significance attached to the autumn rains in the myth, he concluded that 'The autumnal festival must have been the main festival among the Canaanites... This festival was the centre of sacredness, it was the fateful hour of the year. It was the New Year's festival.'⁷² It was on this occasion that the Baal myth was recited as a part of the ritual drama. Weeping and laughter served as cultic acts at this momentous event.⁷³

As a final point, it is interesting to observe that Hvidberg attributed this form of Baal worship with—geographically speaking—widespread significance. In so doing, he maintained that the Baal cult was of primary religious significance not only in the city of Ugarit, but also throughout the whole of the Ugaritic kingdom. He envisaged a situation in which

the whole population in and around Ugarit lived through the drama with fear and responsibility of first carrying through Mot's victory and Ba'al's death...and then of carrying through Ba'al's final triumph... And we may be convinced that this drama was not something special to the temples of Ugarit. It did not only belong to this city, but to the whole Phoenician-Canaanite area.⁷⁴

Taking his cue from the Ras Shamra Baal myth, then, Hvidberg maintained that the whole of Ugarit would have resounded to the sound of cultic weeping and laughter. Baal worship was the most prevalent form of worship in and around ancient Ugarit.

(c) *Gaster*

Theodor Gaster was arguably the most dogmatic proponent of the Myth and Ritual interpretative agenda. In his 1950 work, *Thespis*,⁷⁵ which drew together and expanded upon a number of earlier studies of individual documents and passages,⁷⁶ Gaster provided perhaps the best developed Myth and Ritual reading of the Ugaritic material.⁷⁷

⁷¹ Hvidberg, *Weeping and Laughter*, p. 54; even those passages in texts KTU 1.5 and KTU 1.6 which represent the history of spring and summer, Hvidberg noted, also contain the conspicuous motif of the return of the rain: 'Heaven rains fatness, and the wadies flow with honey. Then I know that Aliyn Baal has revived!' (KTU 1.6.III.12-15).

⁷² Hvidberg, *Weeping and Laughter*, pp. 54-55.

⁷³ Hvidberg, *Weeping and Laughter*, p. 56.

⁷⁴ Hvidberg, *Weeping and Laughter*, p. 52.

⁷⁵ T.H. Gaster, *Thespis: Ritual, Myth and Drama in the Ancient Near East* (New York: Henry Shuman, 1950).

⁷⁶ See, for example, T.H. Gaster, 'The Ritual Pattern of a Ras-Šamra Epic', *ArOr* 5 (1933), pp. 118-23; *idem*, 'The Battle of the Rain and the Sea: An Ancient Semitic Nature Myth', *Iraq* 4 (1937), pp. 21-32; *idem*, "'Ba'al is risen...": An Ancient Hebrew Passion-Play from Ras Shamra-Ugarit', *Iraq* 6 (1939), pp. 109-43. On examination, these works resemble 'seasonal' interpretations of the Ugaritic myths.

Gaster began by identifying the ‘standard pattern of seasonal rites’, which he believed was ‘projected into myth and developed into drama’.⁷⁸ In Gaster’s mind, the rites performed at seasonal ceremonies were to be divided into two main types. On the one hand, there were rites of *kenosis*, or emptying, which served to indicate that life hung in a state of suspended animation; these included Lenten periods, the observance of fasts, expressions of mortification and other austerities.⁷⁹ On the other hand, Gaster maintained that there were rites of *plerosis*, or filling, all of which were intended to effect the reinvigoration of life; among these were included mass-mating, mock combats, ceremonial purgation of evil and noxiousness (both physical and moral), as well as magical rites to promote rain and fertility. According to Gaster, these seasonal ceremonies stemmed from the ancient belief that life was dependent not on divine Providence or an automatic Law of Nature but on a series of ‘leases’. Gaster produced numerous examples, ancient and modern, which demonstrated the universality of the ritual pattern.⁸⁰ All of this, he asserted, was the result of a (universal) superstition attached to the end of the year (or life-lease) when the start of the next was not yet assured. The rites of *kenosis* and *plerosis* were the essential ingredients of the New Year festival, the most important ceremony in most ancient religions.

On the basis of his comparative evidence, Gaster formulated an elaborate reconstruction of the ritual pattern in the ancient Near East. Providing a ‘synthetic and composite’ picture of a typical seasonal ceremony, Gaster attempted to demonstrate that the majority of ancient mythic texts derive from such occasions and reflect, in a more or less fixed form, their basic elements.⁸¹ Drawing on Babylonian, Assyrian and biblical

However, in these treatments Gaster attempts to place the Ras Shamra material into the context of comparative mythology and folklore, and does not provide any systematic attempt to relate the rituals alluded to in the myths with particular seasons of the year. For that reason I have chosen to discuss Gaster’s work in the context of Myth and Ritual interpretation.

⁷⁷ In *Thespis* Gaster did not deal solely with the Ugaritic evidence. As well as the texts from Ugarit, Gaster also treated the Babylonian Epic of Creation (*Enuma Elish*), the Hittite myths of *Hahhimas* and *Telipinu* as well as a number of Egyptian ‘dramatic’ texts. Gaster’s ultimate purpose was to show that many ancient Near Eastern mythological texts, some of which had been considered as mere literary pieces, actually go back to the basic ritual pattern, and reflect, in mythic form, its several essential elements.

⁷⁸ Gaster, *Thespis*, p. x.

⁷⁹ Gaster, *Thespis*, p. 6. Gaster pointed out that such practices persist in modern times; examples being Christian Lent and Muslim Ramadan.

⁸⁰ Gaster, *Thespis*, pp. 6-33.

⁸¹ Gaster, *Thespis*, pp. 34-35. Gaster recognised that his ritual framework represented the most basic form of the seasonal ceremony; his model allowed for regional variations and idiosyncratic embellishment. Gaster divided his hypothetical model into five stages. First, public rites of *kenosis* were performed to show that life was in a state of suspended animation; at this time the king as representative

evidence, it was proposed that most seasonal ceremonies took place on a crucial calendar date—most likely a solstice, equinox or other significant astral event.

Gaster perceived of a situation in which ritual acts brought about the closure of the previous ‘lease’ and initiated and promoted the opening of the next. Following a line of interpretation closely akin to that of Frazer and Hooke, Gaster believed that rituals were effective in the physical realm. Along with other Myth and Ritual interpreters, Gaster also considered the king to have played a significant role in the religious lives of ancient communities. Seasonal rituals were traditional actions, conforming to a time-honoured pattern, that were repeated in the hope of securing and maintaining the desired order; they served the immediate needs of the earthly community.⁸² This ‘canonical pattern of seasonal ceremonies’ lay at the heart of Gaster’s methodology.⁸³ Because many ancient myths contain striking allusions to such ritual acts, Gaster concluded that they ‘were designed for recitation or enactment in connection with temple ceremonies...they were part of an established order of service rather than mere specimens of literary creativity’.⁸⁴

The distinctive feature of Gaster’s theory was the belief that myth was somehow able to ‘translate the real into terms of the ideal, the punctual into terms of the durative and transcendental’.⁸⁵ Gaster maintained that a process of evolution led to the original meaning of the ritual acts being ‘historicised’ as deeds and encounters of the gods, a

of the topocosmic spirit was deposed or slain. Second, there followed a ‘vacant period’ marking the end of the old lease and the inauguration of the new; at this point a temporary king, or *interrex*, was appointed. Third, rites to remove or expel evil were performed; accordingly the king was ceremonially purified or underwent a formal abasement, often involving the atonement of sins. Fourth, the rites of *plerosis* were initiated; concomitantly the king participated in the *hieros gamos*. Finally, there followed a joyous celebration designed to cement, through commensality, the social bond of the community; the king was now ceremonially reinstated, or a successor inducted.

⁸² Gaster, *Thespis*, p. 3.

⁸³ Gaster, *Thespis*, p. 68. The presence of identical imagery and scenarios, or ‘anchors’, within many ancient myths allowed Gaster to that ‘they drew upon a stock of phrases and expressions (“clichés”) which had become familiar, stereotyped and—so to speak—canonical by dint of repetition, year in year out, in traditional, time-honoured ceremonies’ (p. 71). Cf. ‘“Ba‘al is risen...”’, p. 113, where Gaster stresses that the parallels usually have *dramatic* rather than *literary* connections—that is, they typically recount the same ritual *actions* in connection with specific stereotyped events.

⁸⁴ Gaster, *Thespis*, p. 71.

⁸⁵ Gaster, *Thespis*, p. 5. This aspect of Gaster’s argument broadened the scope and significance of myth beyond that of the previous Myth and Ritual formulations; myth was now endowed with the power to elevate ritual to the divine level. Rather than simply providing the accompaniment to and/or explanation of the ritual acts, Gaster’s view of myth saw it as having a spiritual meaning. Whereas ritual alone served to bring about the reinvigoration of life on earth, myth and ritual combined—ritual drama—enabled the whole of the topocosm to be reborn anew.

kind of ‘mimetic representation’.⁸⁶ Rituals that had formerly served to affect the successful transfer of life-leases came to be explained as the commemoration of some historical encounter.

Gaster’s theory struck another distinctive pose with his proposal that the basic form of the ritual pattern lay behind *all* myth. The growth of urban life, he argued, led to a further evolution by which ritual drama became drama proper.⁸⁷ The ritual pattern was not only preserved in the form of full-fledged drama; for Gaster, it survived also in the structure of hymns and similar liturgical compositions.⁸⁸ Armed with his reconstructed ritual pattern Gaster set out to show that ‘our Ancient Near Eastern Texts are...the libretti (or, at least, the residual forms) of seasonal pantomimes’.⁸⁹

Applying his theoretical framework to the ancient Near Eastern ‘dramatic’ material, Gaster provided a lengthy discussion of the Ugaritic texts. Considering them to be ‘Canaanite’ in origin, Gaster concentrated his analysis on three of the major poetic works: ‘the Poem of Baal’ (according to Gaster’s reconstruction this was to be restored as KTU 1.2; 1.4; 1.5; 1.6; 1.3 [+1.10]; 1.1), ‘the Poem of Dawn and Sunset’ (KTU 1.23) and ‘the Poem of Aqht’ (KTU 1.17–1.19).

Regarding the Baal mythology, Gaster believed that the proper names of the main gods provided the key to interpretation. On the basis of the Arabic cognates *b’l* and *ard b’l*, Gaster concluded that ‘Baal’ and ‘land of Baal’ referred to ‘rain’ and ‘soil watered by rain’ respectively; similarly, Mot was considered in the light of Arabic *mawāt*, meaning ‘dead soil which remains arid and infertile’, and was thus characterised as ‘the god of all that lacks vitality’;⁹⁰ in the same way, Yam was identified with the common Semitic root *ym* meaning ‘water’ and viewed to be the god of the sea (as well as lakes, rivers and springs). Further support for this view was derived from the names of subsidiary characters in the story.⁹¹ These lesser figures, according to Gaster, were ‘but

⁸⁶ Gaster, *Thespis*, p. 6; cf. *idem*, “‘Ba’al is risen...”, pp. 118-19.

⁸⁷ Gaster, *Thespis*, p. 55.

⁸⁸ See Gaster’s treatment of the Hebrew Psalms (*Thespis*, pp. 73-97), which is similar in orientation to Sigmund Mowinckel’s *The Psalms in Israel’s Worship* (2 vols.; Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1962). For Gaster, the Psalms are not the out-pourings of pious individuals, but the *liturgical* accompaniments of ritual ceremonies and procedures. Throughout his treatment Gaster attempts to link the biblical passages with the ritual pattern as contained in Enuma Elish and the Baal Cycle.

⁸⁹ Gaster, *Thespis*, p. 72 (emphasis in original).

⁹⁰ Gaster, *Thespis*, pp. 124-25.

⁹¹ For example, on the basis of Hebrew טל (‘dew’), Ṭalliya was identified as the nymph of dew or morning mist; Arṣiya by comparison with Hebrew ארץ (‘land, earth, soil’), was seen as the nymph of the soil; Shapash, using Ugaritic špš (‘sun’), was recognised as the solar deity; the failure of ‘Ashtar to fill Baal’s throne became understandable in the light of Arabic ‘ṭarī (‘soil artificially irrigated’); and the

personifications of natural phenomena, designed to point up its seasonal character'.⁹² Interestingly, Gaster recognised that the Baal myth had to some extent developed away from its cultic origin; none of the minor deities in the poem, with the exception of Shapash, appear in any of the ritual texts from Ras Shamra: 'This shows that they were figures of myth rather than of formal cult'.⁹³

Nonetheless, while recognising the literary embellishment of the text, Gaster was in no doubt about the interpretation of the Ugaritic Baal myth:

On the face of it, the *Poem of Baal* is a simple, exciting story of the quarrels and contentions of various gods and goddesses, and it is as such that it has been generally regarded. To dismiss it as this and no more is, however, to lose sight of its essential significance; in reality, *it is a nature myth and its theme is the alternation of the seasons*.⁹⁴

Thus, according to Gaster, the 'three-cornered contest for dominion'⁹⁵ of the Baal myth symbolised the climatic cycle of the Syro-Palestinian year.⁹⁶ Central to all this, claimed Gaster, was the principle that ownership of land is established by 'quickenning' it.⁹⁷ A direct link, it seems, could be drawn between the mythic account and the 'real world' of ancient Ugarit. By highlighting a number of passages in the Baal–Mot conflict (KTU 1.3–1.4) Gaster was able to conclude that the poem was 'more than a literary allegory of the seasons' and '[b]oth its structure and its sequence correspond exactly to those of the Ritual Pattern'.⁹⁸ By comparing the Baal myth with his ritual pattern, Gaster

association with agriculture and seasonal phenomena for Baal's couriers Gpn and Ugr self evident when Hebrew יָבֵשׁ ('vine-plant') and Akkadian *ugaru* ('field') are brought into the frame (Gaster, *Thespis*, pp. 123, 126–28).

⁹² Gaster, *Thespis*, p. 128.

⁹³ Gaster, *Thespis*, p. 128.

⁹⁴ Gaster, *Thespis*, p. 122 (emphasis in original); cf. *idem*, "'Ba'al is risen...'", p. 109.

⁹⁵ Gaster, *Thespis*, p. 125.

⁹⁶ Elsewhere Gaster provided an even narrower definition by proposing that the conflict of Baal and Mot mythologizes the ongoing tension between 'the respective personifications of Fertile and Sterile Soil' (Gaster, 'The Ritual Pattern', p. 119), and the struggle of Baal and Yam represents 'the natural rivalry between rain on the one hand and sea and river on the other as sources of irrigation at the end of the dry season' (*idem*, 'The Battle of the Rain and Sea', p. 21).

⁹⁷ Gaster, *Thespis*, p. 126. Further support for this was be drawn from the fact that Baal's replacement fails to 'make the grade' when given the opportunity to rule heaven and the waters. The god 'Athtar, by virtue of his lesser status as a god of artificial irrigation, is unable to retain his dominion precisely because the mode of watering he represents was a temporary stop-gap in ancient Syrian agriculture. Such artificial means of providing fertility, Gaster noted, are no replacement for rain (p. 126). Cf. *idem*, 'The Battle of Rain and Sea', p. 23, where Gaster identifies Athirat, 'Athtar's sponsor, as the female equivalent of the South Arabian field-irrigation goddess, 'Aṭtar

⁹⁸ Gaster, *Thespis*, p. 128. For Gaster, the significant incidents in the myth included: (1) the actual combat between Baal and Mot, (2) the construction of Baal's palace and his installation as king, (3) the

pronounced that on ‘*internal and external grounds...there is every reason for seeing in the Canaanite Poem of Baal a seasonal myth based on the traditional ritual drama of the autumn festival*’.⁹⁹

Gaster went on to place the Baal poetry from Ugarit into the wider mythological framework. Observing that the three main figures of the Baal poem—Baal, Yam and Mot—were identical in function and character to the Greek deities Zeus, Poseidon and Hades, Gaster concluded that both sets of gods represented the sky, waters and Netherworld, respectively.¹⁰⁰ By so doing Gaster imposed his principle that, from the mythological point of view, the gods are ‘interchangeable’ in character.¹⁰¹

Notably, Gaster said very little about the *Sitz im Leben* of the Baal myth in his *Thespis* treatment.¹⁰² In his earlier studies, however, Gaster provides sanguine statements of his belief that the myth was ritually performed in a religious context.

The Epic of ‘Aleyan the Ba‘al and Môt is in reality the μῦθος of a ceremony which has world-wide parallels—the annual ‘Expulsion of the Death, or Blight’ prior to the return of the fertile season. It is, in fact, more than probable that the poem was recited by the priests, as a kind of running commentary during the ritual performance of this rite, all the customary elements of which find therein their exact mythological counterparts.¹⁰³

In another work, while stressing the cultic application, Gaster reaffirms his conviction that the Ugaritic poem can be placed in a broader religious context: ‘The battle between Ba‘al and his foes is thus the ancient Semitic counterpart of those annual combats and tug-o’-wars between Summer and Winter which are enacted as part of the harvest ceremonies all over the world’.¹⁰⁴

lure of the god to the Netherworld, (4) the wailing for Baal and the installation of the his replacement, ‘Athtar, and (5) Baal’s triumphant restoration with the assistance of the sun-goddess, Shapash. All of this coincided with the standard framework of ritual acts: (1) the mock battle, (2) the coronation of the victorious king, (3) the discomfiture of the king, (4) the seasonal ululations and installation of the *interrex*, and (5) the reinstatement/replacement of the monarch coinciding with a solar event. By this reasoning the seasonal rites of *kenosis* and *plerosis* become evident. (In both cases 1, 2 and 5 represent rites of *Plerosis*, while 3 and 4 represent rites of *Kenosis*.)

⁹⁹ Gaster, *Thespis*, p. 129 (emphasis in original).

¹⁰⁰ Gaster, *Thespis*, p. 125. Elsewhere, Gaster stressed the analogies within the complex of ancient Near Eastern deities, and highlighted the similarities between Baal, Tammuz and Osiris, Anat and Artemis, as well as (Aleyan) Baal and Dionysos (*idem*, “‘Ba‘al is risen...”, pp. 111-13).

¹⁰¹ Gaster, “‘Ba‘al is risen...”, p. 111.

¹⁰² Except for his general conclusions about the cultic application of myths (*Thespis*, p. 71), cited above (p. 21).

¹⁰³ Gaster, ‘The Ritual Pattern’, p. 118.

¹⁰⁴ Gaster, ‘The Battle of Rain and Sea’, pp. 23-24.

Regarding 'the Poem of Dawn and Sunset' (= KTU 1.23), Gaster had less hesitation in pronouncing that the text 'may best be described as the libretto of a religious performance'.¹⁰⁵ Moreover, 'it is, in fact, nothing but the order of service for the Canaanite festival of firstfruits, in spring, prototype of the Israelite Feast of Weeks (Pentecost), and that it includes the libretto of a sacred pantomime then performed'.¹⁰⁶ Thus, once again, Gaster's comparative proclivities became apparent.

An important feature of Gaster's analysis is his sensitivity to both the form and content of the text. On the matter of form Gaster noted that the clay tablet is inscribed on both sides and carries a number of scored horizontal lines; this, he concluded, indicated a deliberate demarcation of the text into distinct sections. As for the text's content he observed that the text divides comfortably into two distinct parts: the first (ll. 1-22) enumerating ritual acts and quoting the accompanying chants of a cultic event; the second, (ll. 23-76) providing the mythical portion of 'a traditional mummery or miracle play'.¹⁰⁷ The ritual portion of the text was seen as providing direct insight into the ceremonial acts performed by the Ugaritic cult.¹⁰⁸ (Interestingly, Gaster tried to correlate some of these rites with specific times and seasons of the Syro-Palestinian year.¹⁰⁹) For Gaster, the mythic section also contained allusions to religious rites.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁵ Gaster, *Thespis*, p. 225. Accordingly, Gaster divides his summary of the text into 'acts' and 'scenes', further underlying his theory that the text was associated with a dramatic enactment.

¹⁰⁶ Gaster, *Thespis*, p. 227.

¹⁰⁷ Gaster, *Thespis*, p. 225.

¹⁰⁸ For Gaster, *Thespis*, pp. 225-26, these rites included: (1) the seething of a kid in its mother's milk (l. 14); (2) the seven-fold repetition of a passage that refers to the 'binding' and 'pruning' of the vine (ll. 8-11) which, for Gaster, represented a 'typical vinedresser's chantey'; (3) the references to the suckling of the gods at the breasts of the divine wetnurses (ll. 14-15, 28-29) which allude to the ritual milking of a goat or cow; and (4) the ceremonial procession of statues.

¹⁰⁹ For example, on the basis of the Gezer Calendar, the vine pruning was located in the month of June. In the same vein, the passage referring to the cooking of a kid in milk provided Gaster with two datables: (1) the milk or 'fat milk', which on comparison with the biblical evidence (Exod. 23.19; 34.26), is seen to be associated with the presentation of the first-fruits (Gaster, *Thespis*, pp. 243-45); and (2) the specific reference to a kid points to a vernal connection on the observation that 'Goats normally [w]ean in the winter in Palestine' (p. 231).

¹¹⁰ Accordingly, the reference to El's water carrying (KTU 1.23. 30-31), is taken by Gaster as most likely being an allusion to a ceremony akin to the rain charm performed in Jerusalem at the autumnal harvest festival of Booths (*m. Suk.* 4.9), and El's shooting of a bird (ll. 38-39) was assigned ritual significance, and paralleled, on the basis of K. 3476 obv. 4, with the Babylonian Akitu festival, where the same action appears to have been used at autumn to induce rain (Gaster, *Thespis*, pp. 235-36).

Gaster's interpretation of KTU 1.23 rested upon his drawing direct connections between the supposed references to seasonal rites and astronomic phenomena.¹¹¹ For him, the gods Šhr and Šlm were to be understood, on etymological and comparative grounds, as 'Dawn' and 'Dusk', the Ugaritic equivalents of the Dioscuri, the Classical sons of Zeus. These 'comely gods', as they are also called in the myth, were to be identified astronomically with the constellation of Gemini.¹¹²

Gaster recognised KTU 1.23 as the Ugaritic exemplar of a widely attested dramatic ritual, the parallels of which, he argued, are to be found throughout the ancient Near East and the modern world.¹¹³ On the basis of the mythic portion, which recounts the sexual union of El and two human women on the seashore and the subsequent birth of divine offspring, Gaster pronounced that the text was associated with the performance of the *hieros gamos*.¹¹⁴ The combination of both myth and ritual on one tablet drove Gaster to see it as 'a dramatic mythologization (or mythological dramatization) of ritual practices'.¹¹⁵ For him, the texts represented 'the "book of words" for a ceremony in the cult of the two comely gods',¹¹⁶ an occasion on which ritual acts and dramatic performance are brought together. Gaster's interpretation of KTU 1.23 produces an interesting characterisation of the god El. Gaster concluded that, despite El's advanced years, the two females became 'inflamed' with lust on seeing the aged deity, and willingly succumbed to his amorous advances. Describing El as an 'irrepressible old man', Gaster thus considered El to be a potent and energetic lover, able to copulate with and impregnate his two admirers in quick succession. The siring of divine offspring demonstrates that El's sexual power is undiminished by his age and suggests a belief in his being responsible for bringing into existence (at least some of) the gods revered and worshipped in ancient Ugarit.¹¹⁷

¹¹¹ Gaster, *Thespis*, p. 232. He considered it significant that the sun is expressly referred to as 'fructifier of boughs' (ll. 25-26), and that offerings to the sun and stars are also mentioned (l. 54).

¹¹² Gaster, *Thespis*, p. 229, provides numerous parallels in other religions.

¹¹³ See especially *Thespis*, pp. 236-37, where the supposed similarities between the rituals contained in the first part of the Ugaritic tablet and those performed at the ancient Laconian festival of Hyakintha, the primitive Minoan vegetation-deity, are outlined.

¹¹⁴ Gaster, *Thespis*, pp. 231, 233, accepted that there was no actual evidence that the sacred marriage took place at Ugarit. However, he pointed to the occurrence of the Phoenician and Punic female name 'Aršt-B'l, 'espoused of Baal' (Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*, p. 515), and maintains that the evidence suggests the existence.

¹¹⁵ Gaster, *Thespis*, p. 232.

¹¹⁶ Gaster, *Thespis*, p. 225.

¹¹⁷ Gaster, *Thespis*, p. 226.

Gaster conceded that mythic texts did not necessarily have ritual counterparts at Ugarit. For Gaster, the ‘Poem of Aqht’ (KTU 1.17–1.19) represented a move away from the phase of primitive sacred drama to that of ‘developed literary myth’.¹¹⁸ The text was ‘never formally acted and probably not even formally recited as a liturgical chant. It is a piece of literature pure and simple.’¹¹⁹ Acknowledging that the text was discovered within the confines of the temple library—a fact that, for him, linked the text with the Ugaritic cult—Gaster nevertheless proposed that the Aqhat poem was, *au fond*, nothing but an artistic transformation of the time-honoured seasonal drama.

While he dismissed the possibility that the Aqhat text was directly connected with religious performance, Gaster nevertheless maintained that its roots lie in the ancient ritual pattern. This conclusion was formed by looking at the allegorical significance of various features of the myth; the most important of these being the desiccation of the crops following Aqhat’s death. For Gaster, this phenomenon indicated that ‘The primary purpose of the myth would have been to account for the summer drought’.¹²⁰ The main character, Aqhat, was therefore seen as the allegorical representation of fertility—his demise being mirrored exactly in the realm of vegetation. While the mutilated tablets did not include an account of the return of fecundity, Gaster considered it logical that the original (undamaged) composition provided this information. By this reasoning Gaster filled in a gap in the tablet and concluded that the text fitted neatly into the widespread ritual pattern: ‘the myth would have had to end with the resurrection of the discomfited hero, or at least with a promise of that event... In other words, his character would have had to be assimilated, more or less, to that of such “dying and reviving” gods as Tammuz, Osiris, Adonis and the like’.¹²¹

Having stated that the Poem of Aqhat ultimately derives from the ritual pattern, Gaster sought to ascertain when the original form of the (in his view) now purely literary piece was acted or recited. The theme of the poem, he observed, was not just the death and resurrection of the huntsman, but also the loss and (apparent) recovery of the bow. Therefore, the underlying festival must have taken place when Orion set and rose and when the bowstar/dogstar (i.e. Sirius) was in view. Since the story probably concluded with the bow’s recovery, Gaster proposed that the festival must have taken place when this astral event was complete: ‘the most probable date of the festival here

¹¹⁸ Gaster, *Thespis*, p. 257.

¹¹⁹ Gaster, *Thespis*, p. 257; it is interesting to observe that Gaster opens his synopsis of the text with ‘Once upon a time...’

¹²⁰ Gaster, *Thespis*, p. 260.

¹²¹ Gaster, *Thespis*, p. 260; see also pp. 266–67, for his discussion of the similarities. Note that in his discussion of the parallels between the classical Orion myth and the Ugaritic Poem of Aqhat (p. 266) Gaster acknowledges his dependence on the comparative work of Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, p. 408.

mythologized was that of the early rising of Sirius toward the end of July or the beginning of August'.¹²²

As a footnote to this discussion of Gaster's interpretation it is helpful to qualify his position in the Myth and Ritual cultural-diffusion debate. While Gaster did not enunciate his viewpoint in *Thespis*, in an earlier study he provided a cogent declaration of his diffusionist agenda:

The position is that a primitive *Urmythus* has become distributed and disintegrated over many centres, each preserving and embellishing, adapting and accommodating, one or another incident of it. By studying these versions and embellishments side by side, and by stripping away the ostensibly local features of each, we may restore the pattern of the original story... And we must recognize also that the *whole* of the original pattern survives in no one of the localized versions, but can be recovered only by a combination and comparison of them all.¹²³

(d) *Engnell*

In his *Studies in Divine Kingship*,¹²⁴ Ivan Engnell advanced a more narrowly defined application of the Myth and Ritual framework. Essentially, the purposes of Engnell's study were twofold: (1) to demonstrate that the king had divine status in Israelite religion; (2) to show that there was widespread acceptance of the ritual pattern among Israel's neighbours and that in these cultures the king was considered to be the personified deity. Despite the fact that Engnell's proposed second volume concentrating on the biblical evidence failed to materialise,¹²⁵ by providing a thorough treatment of the ancient Near Eastern material, which included a lengthy analysis of the Ugaritic evidence, Engnell's remains a significant contribution in the history of Myth and Ritual research.

Like Hooke, Engnell tried to distance himself from Frazer.¹²⁶ By accepting Hooke's ritual pattern,¹²⁷ however, Engnell's position ultimately builds on Frazerian

¹²² Gaster, *Thespis*, p. 267.

¹²³ Gaster, "'Ba'al is risen...'", p. 111.

¹²⁴ *Studies in Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1943). Citations in the following discussion are from the second edition published in 1967 by Basil Blackwell (Oxford). Cf. the later study by R. de Langhe, 'Myth, Ritual, and Kingship in the Ras Shamra Tablets', in Hooke (ed.), *Myth, Ritual, and Kingship*, pp. 122-48.

¹²⁵ Engnell, *Studies in Divine Kingship*, pp. 3, 174.

¹²⁶ Engnell, *Studies in Divine Kingship*, p. 1: 'Many objections may...be raised against Frazer and his methods or, rather, his want of method...as well as his inadequate analyses and his evolutionistic theoretical conception of religion on the whole. The reader will also find out...that my attitude is far from being Frazerian.'

foundations. Engnell's adherence to the theory of common ritual elements was total (although he remained sensitive to the fact that not all of the elements might appear at the same place at the same time with equal prominence¹²⁸). Again like Hooke, Engnell argued that myth and ritual should be seen as co-dependent and supplementary. The actions and gestures described in the myths were considered to correspond with the actions and gestures of the cult. Together the words and deeds combined to form the cult-drama.¹²⁹

The distinguishing feature of Engnell's work is his vigorous assertion that the king was more than a mere human. Going one step further than Frazer and Hooke, who maintained that the king represented the deity, Engnell proposed that the king *was* the deity.¹³⁰ Furthermore, the king was understood as the high priest *par excellence*; and although a priest often took the role of the king in performing the day-to-day tasks of the cult, the monarch retained supreme significance.¹³¹ It was at the New Year festival, the most important of all ancient Near Eastern religious ceremonies, that the king's divine status was expressed; it was here that the cardinal motifs of the ritual pattern could be observed. During the festival the cult-drama was performed: the death and resurrection of the deity would be enacted with the god mimic-dramatically impersonated by the king; the chaos battle was fought and won; the victorious king was crowned and that the *hieros gamos* was celebrated. It was at these ceremonies, Engnell maintained, that the king, the god incarnate, played the central role.¹³²

Significantly, in his treatment of the Ugaritic evidence Engnell considered the matter of the king's divine status to have been secured beyond question, and he did not detain himself with confirming this aspect of the texts within the Ugaritic mythology: 'the Ras Shamra texts in general are precisely rituals of the annual and enthronement festival'.¹³³ For him, the repetitious nature of the mythological compositions, with their stock phrases and recurring scenarios, supplied implicit instructions for enactment; direct

¹²⁷ Engnell, *Studies in Divine Kingship*, p. 89.

¹²⁸ Note Ivan Engnell, 'New Year Festivals', in *idem*, *A Rigid Scrutiny* (ed. and trans. J.T. Willis; Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1969), p. 181: 'everyone admits that this pattern in its complete form is a synthetic construction and therefore that, in every reconstruction of these different forms, we must allow for local variations which depend on different factors, including national and religious peculiarities'. Cf. Engnell, *Studies in Divine Kingship*, p. 2.

¹²⁹ Engnell, *Studies in Divine Kingship*, p. 104.

¹³⁰ According to Engnell (*Studies in Divine Kingship*), this divine status could be predetermined—'The king is divine from birth or even in a pre-natal existence' (p. 4)—or could be conferred upon the king at his coronation (p. 5).

¹³¹ Engnell, *Studies in Divine Kingship*, pp. 30, 32.

¹³² Engnell, 'New Year Festivals', pp. 180-83.

¹³³ Engnell, *Studies in Divine Kingship*, p. 78.

instructions of enactment were not necessary since cultic *Sitz im Leben* was ‘so obvious’ that it need not be specially noted.¹³⁴

Engnell’s distinctive emphasis on the king’s religious centrality permeates his reading of the Ugaritic sources. Treating the major mythological compositions in turn, each text is understood to contain cultic allusions—the comparative method supplies parallels with Tammuz liturgy, Osiris rites, the Solomonic Sukkoth festival, and the Babylonian *Enuma Elish*—all of which are more or less directly associated with the active participation of the priest-king. Most notably, Engnell’s idiosyncratic outlook also extended into his reading of the Keret narrative (KTU 1.14–1.16);¹³⁵ rejecting previous historical readings of the poem,¹³⁶ a *mythological* interpretation of the composition is advanced. For Engnell, the Keret poem represented a

distinct part of the great ritual cycle bound up with the ‘Tammuz’ character... a fragment of the same kind and of the pronounced Tammuz character with which we have made acquaintance before in the R[as] Sh[amra] texts. In it we meet with several well-known ritual elements such as the initial ‘devastation’ and ‘massacre’ in the temple, the wailing of the king-god thereover, the sham-fight, etc., and, above all, the rage and ecstasy typical of a festival of such a markedly ‘Feast of the Tabernacles’-character as here. The latter I venture to emphasize so strongly that I should like to say we are dealing with *an older Canaanite pattern of the O.T. sukkot-festival*.¹³⁷

Thus, in sum, with his mythological reading of the Keret *myth*, Engnell’s application advanced the Myth and Ritual method to the study of new texts. More than that, however, by virtue of its ‘king = priest = deity’ formula Engnell’s work gave new focus to the examination of the ‘myth’ and ‘ritual’ association.

(2) Seasonal Interpretations

The ‘seasonal’ interpretation of the Ugaritic can best be understood as an extension of the Myth and Ritual agenda. By seeking to correlate the ‘myth’ and ‘ritual’ components, the seasonal readers betray their methodological heritage; by incorporating ‘seasonal’ data (more or less) systematically into their correlations, however, these interpreters offer a distinctive development of the earlier methodology.¹³⁸

¹³⁴ Engnell, *Studies in Divine Kingship*, p. 104.

¹³⁵ Engnell, *Studies in Divine Kingship*, pp. 143-75 (Chapter 6: ‘The Krt Text’).

¹³⁶ Among these, C. Virolleaud, *La Légende de Keret, roi des Sidoniens* (Mission de Ras Shamra, 21; Paris: Guethner, 1936); J. Pedersen ‘Die KRT Legende’, *Berytus* 6 (1941), pp. 63-105.

¹³⁷ Engnell, *Studies in Divine Kingship*, p. 149.

¹³⁸ René Dussaud, ‘Le myth de Ba’al et d’Aleyan d’après des documents nouveaux’, *RHR* 111 (1935), pp. 5-65, was among the first to propose that the mythological vicissitudes represent the alternation of the seasons. In Ugaritic scholarship it is somewhat commonplace for scholars to restate that Baal is the ‘god of storm/rain’ and Mot is the ‘god of grain/corn’ (or something similar) sometimes with little (if any)

(a) *Rosensohn Jacobs*

The early, less-developed seasonal reading offered Vivian and Isaac Rosensohn Jacobs was targeted specifically on the mythological conflict between Baal and Mot (KTU 1.1–1.2). Grounding themselves on the comparison of religion and folklore, and relying heavily on the evidence produced by Frazer,¹³⁹ the authors worked on the premise that the Ugaritic poem ‘is a work of schematizing imagination’.¹⁴⁰ The purpose of their study was to demonstrate that the myth was composed around the alternation of the seasons. The myth, the Rosensohn Jacobses argued, represented an ancient attempt to explain the forces of nature and the annual decay and growth of vegetation. The authors considered this objective so successfully achieved that they placed the myth in ‘the twilight zone between mythology and the speculations of the early physical philosophers’.¹⁴¹ The Baal–Mot conflict was not, however, to be considered as a simple allegory of the rhythmic changing of the seasons. For them, the myth was a text that illustrated the experiences of the gods using images from the reality of its day:

Not only are the vicissitudes of the farmer’s year, the growth of and decay of vegetation, the alternations of the seasons, the changes of atmosphere by which the products of the earth are ripened and matured, portrayed as episodes in the life of gods, the varying fortunes of the gods themselves are conceived as episodes in an unbroken sequence of causation.¹⁴²

The lives of the gods, then, followed the same pattern of bounty and hardship as the physical world—just as the seasons of the year were tied in with the unbreakable and inevitable chain of events, so too the deities had to conform to the prescribed order.

qualification. See, among *many* others: T. Worden, ‘The Literary Influence of the Ugaritic Fertility Myth on the Old Testament’, *VT* 3 (1953), pp. 273–97 (277); P.J. van Zijl, *Baal: A Study of Texts in Connexion with Baal in the Ugaritic Epics* (AOAT, 10; Neukirchen–Vlyun: Neukirchener Verlag, 1972), pp. 155–244; Kenneth L. Barker, ‘The Value of Ugaritic for Old Testament Studies’, *BibSac* 133 (1976), pp. 119–29 (121). As such, I will not concern myself with these scholars here. I deal only with those protagonists who have attempted a *sustained* ‘seasonal’ reading.

¹³⁹ V. Rosensohn Jacobs and I. Rosensohn Jacobs, ‘The Myth of ‘Môt and ‘Al’eyan Ba‘al’, *HTR* 38 (1945), pp. 77–109.

¹⁴⁰ Rosensohn Jacobs and Rosensohn Jacobs, ‘Môt and ‘Al’eyan Ba‘al’, p. 77 cf. p. 109. It is important to note that while they consider the myth to be the product of a ‘schematizing imagination’, the authors make no attempt to determine the origin of the myth. Similarly, no mention is given to the texts’ (cultic) setting.

¹⁴¹ Rosensohn Jacobs and Rosensohn Jacobs, ‘Môt and ‘Al’eyan Ba‘al’, p. 77.

¹⁴² Rosensohn Jacobs and Rosensohn Jacobs, ‘Môt and ‘Al’eyan Ba‘al’, p. 78.

The Rosensohn Jacobses rejected the identification of Mot *solely* as the god of death—an interpretation that had been advanced (chiefly) on etymological grounds.¹⁴³ To them, he was not to be seen as an exclusively ‘emaciating, attenuating, abating or curtailing force’,¹⁴⁴ but as a god who was also responsible for the generation of fertility. Drawing parallels from the rites of Osiris and Tammuz, they maintained that Mot and his mythological counterparts are to be identified as the god of corn.¹⁴⁵ These chthonic deities, it was argued, would have been seen in ancient Near Eastern religion as guaranteeing two things to their worshippers: (1) the increase and of the fruits of the soil, and (2) the acceptance of souls into the underworld.¹⁴⁶ To see Mot as a deity incongruous with the provision of life, was to impose a modern conception of death on the ancient mind: ‘Death is a positive figure...and not the embodiment of the abstract idea of nothingness’.¹⁴⁷

According to the Rosensohn Jacobses, Baal is to be identified as the Syrian god Hadad, the god of rain.¹⁴⁸ It was he who delivered the replenishing rains that quickened the vegetation and assured life for the people. For the authors, Baal’s replacement, Athtar, represented ‘the lord of the rainless skies’, whose arrival coincided with the hottest period of the year,¹⁴⁹ and whose appearance was welcomed by the ancient Ugaritic agriculturalists.¹⁵⁰

In the Rosensohn Jacobses scheme both Baal *and* Mot represent gods of fertility. The conflict between Baal and Mot, it was argued, mythologised the struggle between two fertility gods to gain sole dominion over the quickening of the physical world.¹⁵¹ Crucially, the Rosensohn Jacobses drew support for their thesis from the way in which the myth describes the gods’ demise. They recognised that just as Mot, the god of corn

¹⁴³ See, e.g., U. Cassuto, ‘Baal and Mot in the Ugaritic Texts’, *IEJ* 12.2 (1962), pp. 77-86 (86) (an English translation of the Hebrew article published in *BIES* 9 [1942], pp. 45-51).

¹⁴⁴ Rosensohn Jacobs and Rosensohn Jacobs, ‘Môt and ‘Al’eyan Ba‘al’, p. 79

¹⁴⁵ They defended this view vigorously. They argued that to deny Mot’s identification with corn ‘is baselessly to postulate a grave state of mental confusion on the part of the artificers of our myth concerning a simple matter well within their competence to apprehend’; Rosensohn Jacobs and Rosensohn Jacobs, ‘Môt and ‘Al’eyan Ba‘al’, p. 79.

¹⁴⁶ Rosensohn Jacobs and Rosensohn Jacobs, ‘Môt and ‘Al’eyan Ba‘al’, p. 81.

¹⁴⁷ Rosensohn Jacobs and Rosensohn Jacobs, ‘Môt and ‘Al’eyan Ba‘al’, p. 87.

¹⁴⁸ Rosensohn Jacobs and Rosensohn Jacobs, ‘Môt and ‘Al’eyan Ba‘al’, pp. 72, 92.

¹⁴⁹ Rosensohn Jacobs and Rosensohn Jacobs, ‘Môt and ‘Al’eyan Ba‘al’, p. 96.

¹⁵⁰ After all, they claimed, ‘there comes a time when rain is not wanted’; Rosensohn Jacobs and Rosensohn Jacobs, ‘Môt and ‘Al’eyan Ba‘al’, p. 97.

¹⁵¹ Rosensohn Jacobs and Rosensohn Jacobs, ‘Môt and ‘Al’eyan Ba‘al’, p. 88. This battle motif was necessary because, as both deities were male, the ancient mythmakers were unable to produce an impregnation mythology to explain the transfer of fertilising power.

and death, is treated like the last sheaf and buried in the ground (i.e. the underworld),¹⁵² so too Baal, the god of rain, expired and descended into the underworld (i.e. soaked into the ground).¹⁵³ Both gods, they claimed, were aware in advance of their fate and, no matter how reluctantly, accepted that they must accede to their enemy.¹⁵⁴ In the realm of myth, then, Baal and Mot are 'caught in a web of destiny from which they cannot extricate themselves... It is an affirmation that the order of nature is superior to the gods who embody and by their actions express its processes.'¹⁵⁵

By identifying the gods Baal and Mot with agricultural and meteorological phenomena, the Rosensohn Jacobses connected (albeit in a rudimentary fashion) the mythic events with seasonal fluctuation of the Syrian year. Baal's identification as the weather-god linked his death and resurrection with the cessation and return of the rain. Similarly, Mot's treatment at the hands of Anat coincided with the harvesting of the grain-crop. The replacement of Baal by Athtar corresponded with the period of cloudlessness during the summer months.

For the Rosensohn Jacobses, the Ugaritic myth of Baal and Mot represented a finely crafted schematisation of both mythic and physical events:

The cunning of nature is reflected in ingenious mythological contrivance, and its periodic regularity in the subordination of the gods embodying its elements, themselves mutable, to a neatly devised plan.¹⁵⁶

(b) *De Moor*

In his 1971 work, *The Seasonal Pattern in the Myth of Ba'lu*,¹⁵⁷ Johannes C. de Moor offered the quintessential application of the seasonal interpretation. While other 'Seasonist' scholars had maintained that passages from the Baal myth reflected seasonal/annual rites, and that in general terms the chief Ugaritic gods represented aspects of nature (especially meteorological phenomena), de Moor attempted to correlate the *whole* poem to the seasonal theory. De Moor's *The Seasonal Pattern* has

¹⁵² Rosensohn Jacobs and Rosensohn Jacobs, 'Môt and 'Al'eyan Ba'al', pp. 98, 106; for parallel cultic rites in other ancient Near East religions see pp. 99-100.

¹⁵³ Rosensohn Jacobs and Rosensohn Jacobs, 'Môt and 'Al'eyan Ba'al', 93-94.

¹⁵⁴ In the case of Mot, the Rosensohn Jacobses noted that he submits to Baal even though he is on the verge of winning the battle; he does this, they claimed, 'in order to permit Baal to function'. In Baal's case, it was seen that the text Anat actually predicts Baal's demise (KTU 1.5.I. 6-7) (Rosensohn Jacobs and Rosensohn Jacobs, 'Môt and 'Al'eyan Ba'al', p. 95)

¹⁵⁵ Rosensohn Jacobs and Rosensohn Jacobs, 'Môt and 'Al'eyan Ba'al', p. 93.

¹⁵⁶ Rosensohn Jacobs and Rosensohn Jacobs, 'Môt and 'Al'eyan Ba'al', p. 109.

¹⁵⁷ J.C. de Moor, *The Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Ba'lu according to the Version of Ilimilku* (AOAT, 16; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1971). (Hereafter *SPUMB*.)

been recognised as an important stage in the interpretation of the Ugaritic Baal myths.¹⁵⁸

De Moor's work was sensitive to the strengths and weaknesses of earlier readings of these documents. He observed that in as much as there had been strong representations in favour of the seasonal interpretation, equally strong objections had been offered. In de Moor's mind, however, 'none of the theories of those who had their eyes open to these matters is completely satisfactory'.¹⁵⁹ On the one hand, the advocates of the seasonal theory, in relating the mythical actions of Baal and the other deities to the vicissitudes of the weather, had failed to account for the *whole* of year; interpretations of the Baal myth would often 'skip' the winter months, despite the fact that they represent a season of particularly bad weather.¹⁶⁰ Moreover,

None of those advocating such an interpretation seriously discussed the crucial problem of the sequence of the tablets. None of them made a systematic comparison between the myth and local information about climate and agriculture, and none of them asked himself whether there might have occurred a change in the climate between now and then. None of them was able to prove that the text really follows the course of the seasons...many of their arguments were ill-considered.¹⁶¹

For de Moor, not only had the previous efforts failed to prove conclusively that the myth was related to the annual weather cycle, they have also failed to consider the weather cycle with which the myth was supposed to be related!

On the other hand, he saw that the opponents of the earlier seasonal reading, had they set their minds to it, could have multiplied the number of their objections. According to de Moor, those who argue against a seasonal interpretation on the basis of the references to 'seven years' in the Baal myth—notably Cassuto¹⁶² and Gordon¹⁶³—

¹⁵⁸ M.S. Smith, *The Ugaritic Baal Cycle. I. Introduction with Text, Translation and Commentary of KTU 1.1–1.2* (VTSup, 60; Leiden; E.J. Brill, 1994), p. 68; cf., however, the 'withering attack' (Wyatt, 'Arms and the King', p. 854) offered by L.L. Grabbe, 'The Seasonal Pattern and the "Baal Cycle"', *UF* 8 (1976), pp. 57-63 (66-61).

¹⁵⁹ De Moor, *SPUMB*, p. 30.

¹⁶⁰ De Moor, *SPUMB*, p. 30. The notable exception being O. Kaiser, *Die mythische Bedeutung des Meeres in Ägypten, Ugarit, und Israel* (BZAW, 18; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1959).

¹⁶¹ De Moor, *SPUMB*, p. 30.

¹⁶² Cassuto, 'Baal and Mot'; L.E. Toombs, 'Baal, Lord of the Earth: The Ugaritic Baal Epic', in C.L. Meyers and M. O'Connor (eds.), *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman in Celebration of His Sixtieth Birthday* (ASOR Special Volume Series, 1; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1983), pp. 613-23 (614), who comes out in direct support of Cassuto.

¹⁶³ C.H. Gordon, 'Sabbatical Cycle or Seasonal Pattern? Reflections on a New Book (A.S. Kapelrud, *Baal in the Ras Shamra Tablets*)', *Or* 22 (1953), pp. 79-81; cf. A.S. Kapelrud, 'Baal and Mot in the Ugaritic Texts', *IEJ* 13 (1963), pp. 127-29.

fail to comprehend the nature of the texts and their mode of reference; 'seven years', for de Moor, was not to be taken literally, but served as a literary exaggeration similar to the descriptions of Baal's potency, the proportions of Baal's palace, and so on.¹⁶⁴ By this reasoning the 'sabbatical theory' was rejected as an argument against the seasonal interpretation. The seven years of dryness of which Gordon spoke is to be considered as hyperbole, as no year was without rainfall. Quite simply, the opponents of the seasonal theory had followed a line of argument that had also failed to consider the actual weather cycle in the region around Ugarit.

Having reviewed the arguments for and against the seasonal interpretation,¹⁶⁵ de Moor concluded that the debate had reached a stalemate. The arguments on both sides had been hampered by the fact that 'Next to forceful and even brilliant reasoning we encountered many rash or even erroneous statements, based on dubious translations, inadequate local information and wishful thinking'.¹⁶⁶ Recognising the inherent weaknesses of past discussions, de Moor set out to provide a more satisfactory appreciation of the seasonal content of the Baal texts.

A significant feature of de Moor's analysis is his choice of source material. While acknowledging that there are other mythic texts from Ugarit that have Baal as their main character, he chose to discuss only those texts which were inscribed by the scribe *ilmlk* (conventionally, Ilimilku).¹⁶⁷ It was concluded that the other Baal texts, on the basis of apparent graphological differences and variant episodes, could be either (1) 'duplicates of the Ilimilku tablets', (2) 'different versions of the same myth', or (3) 'totally different texts about Ba'lu'.¹⁶⁸ Accepting that the texts contain some similarities with the Ilimilku version,¹⁶⁹ on occasions providing exact linguistic and thematic parallels, they were not considered alongside those documents produced by the famous Ugaritic scribe. The presence of differing Baal myths inscribed in a variety of hands lead de Moor to the conclusion that at Ugarit

A canonical written tradition does not yet seem to have been established. Probably we have to do here with the first attempts to record a myth until then transmitted orally. So much is certain that Ilimilku wrote the great Ba'lu-series down from the oral teaching of no less a person than the high priest himself. The fact that no lower-ranking priest qualified for this

¹⁶⁴ De Moor, *SPUMB*, p. 33.

¹⁶⁵ See de Moor, *SPUMB*, pp. 9-28, Chapter 2, 'History of the Seasonal Interpretation' for his discussion.

¹⁶⁶ De Moor, *SPUMB*, p. 34.

¹⁶⁷ The identification was made by comparing the handwriting, writing style, and/or the occurrence of colophons which bore the scribe's name; see de Moor, *SPUMB*, pp. 1-2, 8.

¹⁶⁸ De Moor, *SPUMB*, p. 2.

¹⁶⁹ For de Moor's comments on each of the variant texts see *SPUMB*, pp. 3-8.

task justifies the conclusion that this was not an everyday affair, but a ceremony of utmost importance, perhaps the first of its kind.¹⁷⁰

While de Moor recognised that Ilimilku did not compose the Baal myths, authority is nevertheless attached to his work as it records the version known to *atn prln*, a chief priest of Ugarit. Accordingly, he considered Ilimilku's handiwork as authoritative and thus limits his discussion to the Baal tablets produced by the scribe; namely, texts KTU 1.1, 1.2, 1.3, 1.4, 1.5 and 1.6.

De Moor saw significance in clarifying the order in which the tablets should be arranged; he stressed that such an ordering should be established independently of any seasonal theory.¹⁷¹ De Moor maintained that 'there is not the smallest doubt' about the order of texts KTU 1.4, 1.5 and 1.6: for him 'they belong together should be read in the sequence indicated by their numbering'.¹⁷² However, regarding texts KTU 1.1, 1.2 and 1.3 he recognised a considerable degree of uncertainty. Employing internal evidence,¹⁷³ de Moor tentatively accepted the view that KTU 1.1–1.3 belong with KTU 1.4–1.6—his main justification being that 'no conclusive evidence has been provided to disprove this hypothesis'.¹⁷⁴ However, de Moor went on to declare Herdner's original sequence KTU 1.1–1.2–1.3 untenable: the order KTU 1.3–1.1–1.2–1.4–1.5–1.6 does most justice to the narrative by displaying the cyclical nature of the composition.¹⁷⁵

With his Baal 'cycle' established, the rest of de Moor's investigation was designed to support his theory that the myth 'contains a large number of references to climatological and agrarian data *which exactly follow the course of the Syrian agroclimatic year when the tablets are arranged in the [KTU 1.3–1.1–1.2–1.4–1.5–1.6] order*'.¹⁷⁶

In an effort to correct the defective methodological approach used in other seasonal readings, de Moor amassed a body of modern meteorological information from

¹⁷⁰ De Moor, *SPUMB*, p. 8.

¹⁷¹ De Moor, *SPUMB*, p. 35.

¹⁷² De Moor, *SPUMB*, p. 36.

¹⁷³ On the basis of content it was concluded that the order KTU 1.1–1.2 was likely. KTU 1.3, however, had it followed KTU 1.1 and 1.2, would have Anat claiming victory in a battle against Yam immediately after Baal had engaged in a similar contest; see de Moor, *SPUMB*, p. 36–40.

¹⁷⁴ De Moor, *SPUMB*, p. 40.

¹⁷⁵ Interestingly, this ordering of the texts was established by means of a passage from the Poem of Aqhat (KTU 1.17.VI.28–33). For de Moor, the references to the minstrel's playing and Baal's return to life in this text correlated neatly with the details in the Ilimilku Baal texts. Particular emphasis was placed on KTU 1.3.I.18–22, in which the minstrel plays (apparently) in honour of Baal, and with KTU 1.6, in which Baal's death is graphically depicted. Thus, for de Moor, external evidence had provided the necessary confirmation that KTU 1.3 represented the opening tablet of the Ilimilku version of the Baal myth, while KTU 1.6 served as the conclusion. See de Moor, *SPUMB*, pp. 43–57.

¹⁷⁶ De Moor, *SPUMB*, p. 42 (de Moor's emphasis).

weather-stations, military records and Syrian government agencies. By building up a database of annual atmospheric pressures, maximum/minimum temperatures, precipitation and humidity levels, as well as the occurrence of siroccos, de Moor attempted to gain insight into the typical weather cycle of the north Syrian year.¹⁷⁷ The inclusion of these modern data in the discussion was acceptable, he claimed, because there had been no significant climate change in northern Syria throughout historic times.¹⁷⁸ Moreover, a deliberate attempt was made to use only those data that were collected from the vicinity of Ras Shamra.¹⁷⁹ Recognising that there are obvious allusions to agrarian rites contained in the Baal myth, de Moor also considered a familiarity with Palestinian agricultural and stockbreeding to be of importance.

Any attempt to correlate the Baal myths with the weather pattern of the Ras Shamra area would, of course, have been futile if the poem had originated from anywhere other than Ugaritic environs. Importantly, de Moor observed that the myth makes reference to both a palace/temple for both Baal and El; in addition, there are repeated references to the sea and wine. Basing himself on mythical references, de Moor concluded that from

the historical and cultural evidence it appears that the myth originated in an international centre at the coast, probably possessing a temple of Ilu as well as one of Ba'lu. Hence it is natural to think of Ugarit itself... All this leads up to the conclusion that the mythopoeist has couched his narrative in terms which reflect the specific situation of Ugarit...the Ras Shamra tablets offer a version which was tailored to suit the local needs of the people of Ugarit.¹⁸⁰

Significantly, de Moor dated the myth to the nineteenth century BCE, a dating which effectively ruled out the possibility of there being any influence on the Baal myth by the foreign contingent of Ugarit's population.¹⁸¹

For de Moor, the Ugaritic Baal poem represented 'a combination of a nature-myth and a cult-myth'.¹⁸² This identification was not based solely on the content of the tablets, which tell of the deeds of supernatural figures, but also on the fact that they were found in the *scriptorium* next to the Baal temple.¹⁸³ Regarding the myth's cultic *Sitz im Leben*, the reference to the minstrel (noted above) again provided de Moor with

¹⁷⁷ See tables I-XVII, de Moor, *SPUMB*, pp. 251-69.

¹⁷⁸ De Moor, *SPUMB*, pp. 63-64, accepted that there had been *fluctuations* in climate over the last three and a half thousand years, but considered them to have been relatively minor.

¹⁷⁹ Fortunately for de Moor, a weather station was situated at Latakia, some 4.5 miles from Ras Shamra.

¹⁸⁰ De Moor, *SPUMB*, pp. 52-53.

¹⁸¹ De Moor, *SPUMB*, p. 50.

¹⁸² De Moor, *SPUMB*, p. 55.

¹⁸³ De Moor, *SPUMB*, p. 55.

important evidence. On comparison with the Babylonian *Enuma Elish*, which tells that the poem was recited before the statue of Marduk, the reference to the ‘count[ing] years like Baal’ in the Baal myth suggested to de Moor that this latter text was similarly associated with an annual ceremony. Most likely, he argued, this was the Ugaritic New Year festival.¹⁸⁴ In an attempt to elucidate further the details of this ceremony, de Moor turned his attention to the texts. Revealing the Myth and Ritual heritage of the seasonal interpretative method, he stated that ‘some relation with the ritual must be expected’.¹⁸⁵

The main thrust of de Moor’s analysis was to confirm his theory that the Baal myth was associated in some way with the New Year ceremony at Ugarit.¹⁸⁶ Interestingly, the first few lines of the KTU 1.3—the first lines studied by de Moor—furnished the necessary confirmation that the poem was, in fact, linked with the autumnal New Year festival of the agriculturists.¹⁸⁷ Observing that the text speaks of copious pourings of ‘foaming wine’ (KTU 1.3.I.10-17), de Moor used both his seasonal and agricultural data to provide a probable date for this divine drinkfest:

The festival was held about the time of the autumnal equinox, *i.e.*, about the 23rd of September... This date is confirmed by the fact that Ba‘lu drinks enormous amounts of new wine... Although the ingathering of grapes and consumption may begin in June or even earlier, its peak is reached in August. However, the grapes that are destined for the manufacture of wine are picked later, when they have reached a high content of sugar. Normally this picking will take place from the beginning of September onwards. These grapes are pressed in September and the beginning of October. Very soon the first pressing the new wine is available.¹⁸⁸

The mythological references to festivity and the new vintage thus enable the correlation of the Baal text to the actual ceremonials of the Ugaritic community. Notably, in a statement which is reminiscent of the myth-ritualism of Robertson Smith, de Moor stated: ‘Of course the mythopoet has situated the feast in the realm of the gods, but as

¹⁸⁴ De Moor, *SPUMB*, p. 55. De Moor encountered some initial difficulty in establishing the date of the Ugaritic New Year. On comparison with the Hebrew Bible (Exod. 23.16; 34.22), the Phoenician Karatepe-inscription of Azitawadda, and the Gezer calendar, de Moor concluded that there may have been *two* new years at Ugarit: one for the agricultural cycle, in the autumn; another for the civil year or ‘New Year of kings’, in the spring (pp. 57-62).

¹⁸⁵ De Moor, *SPUMB*, p. 56.

¹⁸⁶ De Moor discussed 37 passages from the poem in total. Not wishing to repeat every aspect of de Moor’s treatment, I will touch upon only the most interesting aspects of his discussion—by ‘most interesting’ I mean those instances where he attempts to relate the seasonal data with the text, and where he posits a new interpretation of a passage.

¹⁸⁷ See de Moor, *SPUMB*, pp. 67-80 §1

¹⁸⁸ De Moor, *SPUMB*, p. 78.

such it is merely the projection or the reverse of what is taking place on earth during the celebration of the New Year'.¹⁸⁹ The myth, it seems, was considered to be a later explanation of the meteorological phenomena that played a significant role in the lives of the ancient Ugaritians.

Another noteworthy aspect of de Moor's work is his evaluation of the mythological conflict between Baal and Yam.¹⁹⁰ On the basis of the meteorological data, de Moor established that between November and March the temperature often drops as low as 12.0°C, violent storms and gale-force winds batter the region, and the sea is rough sixteen days out of the season. November–March, it appears, was and still is a time of chaotic weather conditions in and around Ugarit/Ras Shamra:

The inhabitants of ancient Ugarit, with its important overseas trade and fishery, were held in deep awe by the winter sea. They knew that the storms made it impossible to sail from November to early in March and even the ports themselves were sometimes assaulted by spring-tides. They interpreted this season from December to February as a time of violent clashes between the god of the winds, clouds and thunder (Ba'lu) and the god of the hostile sea (Yammu)... Seeing that in January the growth of the vegetation came to a halt, the Ugaritians were compelled to assume that their fertility god Ba'lu suffered a temporary defeat and was unable to perform his normal functions. Presumably his fate was the fate of many a daring seafarer at Ugarit.¹⁹¹

For de Moor, then, the mythic actions parallel the dramatic phenomena of real life. A product of Ugarit, the myth of Baal is considered to relate the emotional anxieties of the region's maritime community.

A final example should suffice to demonstrate de Moor's distinctive approach to the Ugaritic material. In his treatment of KTU 1.5.V.4-24,¹⁹² a passage that recounts how Baal copulated with a heifer before descending into the Netherworld, de Moor brought together seasonal, astronomical as well as comparative data. In the first instance, it was observed that the text begins with an instruction for Baal to take with him his 'rain clouds', 'winds', 'lightnings' and 'rains' (ll. 7-8); all of which are considered to be manifestations of the fertility god. Furthermore, (the goddesses and daughters of Baal) Pidrayu and Tallayu, who are explicitly referred to as the girls of 'honey-like dew' and 'rain-like dew' (ll. 10-11), are also commanded to accompany him. According to de Moor's interpretation, the blunt order to Baal is issued by Mot, who is to be considered as the god of sirocco.¹⁹³ Relating the instruction to the seasonal data, it was concluded

¹⁸⁹ De Moor, *SPUMB*, p. 78.

¹⁹⁰ See de Moor, *SPUMB*, pp. 124-42 §14.

¹⁹¹ De Moor, *SPUMB*, p. 141.

¹⁹² De Moor, *SPUMB*, pp. 187-89 §26.

¹⁹³ For this identification see de Moor, *SPUMB*, pp. 173-74 n. 1.

that none of the above meteorological phenomena ever occur in the sirocco season, traditionally the 50 days around the vernal equinox. In addition, it was also seen that there is a reference to Baal's 'seven lads, eight boars'. Considering these attendants to be meteorological phenomena also, de Moor proposed that they represent the star-group Pleiades which, to judge by the Talmudic association (*b. Shem. R. 11b*), would have indicated the arrival of the dry season. According to de Moor's estimations, this constellation would have been visible to the naked eye around the beginning of March. Lastly, the sexually explicit description of Baal's (repeated) coupling with the heifer in the steppe-land before he descends into the Netherworld is taken as a further seasonal indication.

The picture of the heifer being mounted in the pasturage or on the shore was a familiar one about this particular time of year. During one month, from the middle of March to the middle of April, the oxen were allowed to graze in the mountain-valleys and along the sea-shore. It was the specific rutting-time of the cattle and obviously the serving bull was regarded as a symbol of the god of fertility. The circumstance that the heifer bears at once is only in the mythical realm of possibility of course, but nevertheless this too may reflect conditions on earth as well as many cows dropping their calves.¹⁹⁴

In this passage, then, the needs of the agriculturists are served by the Ugaritic myth. In mythic form, the actions of Baal reflect the real-life couplings of the Ugaritians' livestock.

From all this, it can be seen that by bringing together seasonal, meteorological, agricultural and other data, de Moor was able to allocate specific times of the year to mythic events, and vice versa. For him, the Ugaritic myth of Baal as recorded by Ilimilku was a mythological *explanation* of the 'origin and alternation of the seasons as well as the origin of the Ugaritic cult which was largely determined by the same seasons'.¹⁹⁵ Apparently, de Moor considered the poem of Ugaritic poem to be intertwined with that which it was designed to explain.

Finally, and most significantly, de Moor provided a clear rejection of the Baal myth's association with an annual ritual performance at Ugarit. Despite considering the work as a myth from of cultic origin, he concluded that

no proof could be furnished that the integral text of the myth of Ba'lu was based on, or would have been recited parallel to, some kind of ritual drama. On the contrary, it has become apparent that the rituals reflected in the myth took place at different times of the cultic year... Therefore the myth cannot be regarded as the script of one great ritual drama which would have been performed during the New Year Festival. It is far more likely that

¹⁹⁴ De Moor, *SPUMB*, p. 189.

¹⁹⁵ De Moor, *SPUMB*, p. 61.

on that occasion it was only recited in full as an assurance that once again the eternal cycle of the seasons would develop along the expected lines which long ago had been established by the gods themselves.¹⁹⁶

(3) *Historical and Political Explanations*

The early years of Ugaritic discussion were characterised by the claims that the newly discovered texts provided real historical confirmation of material appearing in the Old Testament, particularly the Patriarchal Narratives of Genesis. In a flurry of enthusiasm, personal¹⁹⁷ and geographical names¹⁹⁸ were identified within the cuneiform texts related with supposed biblical counterparts. However, despite the fact that such interpretations—most notably the so-called ‘Negebite hypothesis’, which claimed that the Ugaritic Keret poem provided direct allusions to the migration of Abraham’s father, Terah¹⁹⁹—were swiftly batted aside,²⁰⁰ sustained efforts were made to recognise an historical nucleus to the Ugaritic poetic compositions.

¹⁹⁶ De Moor, *SPUMB*, p. 248.

¹⁹⁷ In particular, discussion centred on the supposed connection between *dnil* in the Ugaritic poem of Aqhat (KTU 1.17–1.19) and Daniel of the biblical book of Ezekiel. The debate can be traced through the following works: H.H.P. Dressler, ‘The Identification of the Ugaritic Dnil with the Daniel of Ezekiel’, *VT* 19 (1979), pp. 152–61; J. Day, ‘The Daniel of Ugarit and Ezekiel and the Hero of the Book of Daniel’, *VT* 30 (1980), pp. 174–84; B. Margalit, ‘Interpreting the Story of Aqht: A Reply to H.H.P. Dressler’, *VT* 29 (1979) 152–61’, *VT* 30 (1980), pp. 361–65; H.H.P. Dressler, ‘Reading and Interpreting the Aqht Text’, *VT* 34 (1984), pp. 78–82.

¹⁹⁸ O. Eissfeldt, ‘Zum geographischen Horizont der Ras-Schamra-Texte’, *ZDMG* 94 (1940), pp. 59–85; B. Margalit, ‘Studia Ugaritica II: Studies in *KRT* and *AQHT*’, *UF* 8 (1976), pp. 172–77; *idem*, ‘The Geographical Setting of the *AQHT* Story and Its Ramifications’ in G.D. Young (ed.), *Ugarit in Retrospect: Fifty Years of Ugarit and Ugaritic* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1981), pp. 131–58; cf. M.C. Astour, ‘A North Mesopotamian Locale of the Keret Epic?’, *UF* 5 (1973), pp. 29–39; A.F.H. Naccache, ‘El’s Abode in His Land’, in *URC*, pp. 249–72.

¹⁹⁹ C.F.A. Virolleaud, *La Légende de Kéret, roi des Sidoniens* (MRS, 2; Paris Geuthner, 1936); *idem*, ‘La Naissance des dieux gracieux et beaux, poème phénicien de Ras Shamra’, *Syria* 14 (1935), pp. 128–51; R. Dussaud, *Les découvertes de Ras Shamra (Ugarit) et l’Ancient Testament* (Paris: Geuthner, 1937 [2nd end, 1941]), pp. 160–73; cf. *idem*, ‘Le commerce des anciens phéniciens à la lumière du poème des dieux gracieux et beaux’, *Syria* 17 (1936), pp. 58–66.

²⁰⁰ Early doubts were cast by W.F. Albright, ‘The North-Canaanite Poems of Al’êyân Ba’al and the “Gracious Gods”’, *JPOS* 14 (1934), pp. 101–40 (138–40). Later commentators hammered the nails into the coffin: A.L. Merrill, ‘The House of Keret: A Study of the Keret Legend’, *SEA* 33 (1968), pp. 5–17; Gibson, ‘Myth, Legend and Folk-Lore’, p. 64. While rejecting the historicisation proposed by Virolleaud and Dussaud, H.L. Ginsberg, *The Legend of King Keret: A Canaanite Epic of the Bronze Age* (BASORSup, 2-3; New Haven, CT: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1946), p. 15, accepts a core of (local) history in the Keret poem; cf. *idem*, ‘Ugaritic Studies and the Bible’, *BA* 8.2 (1945), pp. 41–58.

(a) *Obermann*

In two separate studies, Julian Obermann²⁰¹ proffered his reconstruction of the historical background to the Ugaritic Baal texts. Importantly, Obermann's argumentation required the dissolution of the 'cycle' of Baal mythology—rather than forming a single poetic plot, he argued, the texts were separate stories 'told by different narrators, no doubt in different communities or locales, and perhaps first committed to writing by different scribes'.²⁰²

Obermann's thesis rested on his identification of recurring scenarios arising in the texts; for him, the temple-building episode provided the crucial evidence of *parallel* and not *continuous* narrative. Obermann recognised that building motifs appeared in KTU 1.1, KTU 1.2.III, KTU 1.4 and (possibly) KTU 1.3,²⁰³ and looked to the differences between the texts for the explanation of their parallel composition. By examining the different divine allegiances within the texts—he referred to this as the 'alliance–enmity motif'—Obermann's conclusion was that the Ugaritic mythology 'reflect[s] an acute crisis', in which resulted the supreme authority hitherto held by El shifting 'from this ageing god to his son Baal'.²⁰⁴ The installation of Baal in his own palace (KTU 1.4) stood, for Obermann, in direct contrast with the El-sanctioned construction of palace of Yam (KTU 1.2.III). Furthermore, the shifting allegiance of Kothar and Hasis—in KTU 1.2.III he constructs Yam temple at El's behest, while in KTU 1.4 he accepts a commission from Baal—demonstrated the shifting allegiance of Ugarit's worshippers.²⁰⁵

See also J. Gray, *The Krt Text in the Literature of Ras Shamra: A Social Myth of Ancient Canaan* (Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui, 5; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1954 [2nd edn, 1964]), p. 3.

²⁰¹ J. Obermann, 'How Baal Destroyed a Rival: A Magical Incantation Scene', *JAOS* 67 (1947), pp. 195-208; *idem*, *Ugaritic Mythology: A Study of Its Leading Motifs* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948).

²⁰² Obermann, *Ugaritic Mythology*, pp. 12-13.

²⁰³ Obermann, *Ugaritic Mythology*, pp. 11-14.

²⁰⁴ Obermann, *Ugaritic Mythology*, p. 83. This theme is also explored by U. Oldenburg, *The Conflict between El and Ba'al in Canaanite Religion* (VTSup, 3; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1969), who argues that the tension within Ugaritic religion stemmed from the spread of the cult of the Amorite god, Baal-Hadad, across the Levantine coast during the second millennium BCE.

²⁰⁵ The references to Kothar and Hasis, Obermann postulated (*Ugaritic Mythology*, pp. 13-14, 84), served as an aetiology of metallurgy necessitated by the real-life emergence of metalworking and smelting; having Baal and not El calling for the services of Kothar and Hasis underscored the deity's superiority and, concomitantly, reflected the changing theological priorities of the Ugaritic community.

Obermann's interpretation of KTU 1.2.IV offered another real-life explanation of the narrative events. Developing an interpretation first offered by Virolleaud,²⁰⁶ Obermann understood the conflict between Baal and Yam as

a myth designed to explain, etiologically how the people of Ugarit succeeded in expelling a hostile invasion effected by the inhabitants of a sea region, say, on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean, how they routed and deranged the invader's forces, how they destroyed his ranks into ruin.²⁰⁷

The victory of Baal, the most popular god of Ugarit, over the (real or assumed) principal deity of a coastal-region aggressor represented, for Obermann, the retrogression into myth of an actual event in Ugaritic history.

(b) *Pope*

In his *El in the Ugaritic Texts*,²⁰⁸ Marvin Pope, a student of Obermann, continued his teacher's search for social, political and historical details contained in the documentary evidence.

Pope began by observing that until the discovery of the Ras Shamra texts there had been increasing scepticism among specialists in ancient Near Eastern religion that the terms 'ēl and il(u) ever served as the proper name of a deity; he observed an emerging tendency to see the 'ēl and il(u) components as general appellatives meaning 'god' in the broadest sense. The discovery of texts from Ugarit, however, changed all this:

The Ugaritic mythological texts have completely dispelled any doubt as to the existence of El as the proper name of a specific deity. The long mooted question whether the Semites in general or any considerable section of them originally, or at least anciently, worshipped a god named El is now answered in the affirmative, as far as the Ugaritians are concerned...²⁰⁹

However, Pope warned against making premature and far-reaching conclusions on the basis of the Ugaritic evidence—despite the fact that the Ugaritic documents date from the middle of the second millennium, they were still far removed from the origins of Semitic religion. Nonetheless, for Pope, an appraisal of the position and significance of El in the Ugaritic pantheon was of 'crucial importance'.²¹⁰

²⁰⁶ C.F.A. Virolleaud, 'Le dieu de la Mer dans la mythologie de Ras Shamra', *CRAIBL* (1946), pp. 498-509.

²⁰⁷ Obermann, 'How Baal Destroyed a Rival', p. 205.

²⁰⁸ M.H. Pope, *El in the Ugaritic Texts* (VTSup, 2; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1955). See also *idem*, 'The Status of El at Ugarit', *UF* 19 (1989), pp. 219-29.

²⁰⁹ Pope, *El in the Ugaritic Texts*, p. 5.

²¹⁰ Pope, *El in the Ugaritic Texts*, p. 5. Pope recognised that the vocable *il* was used in Ugaritic as both a proper name and an appellative in the Ugaritic material. Because of this, Pope provided an extensive

Pope sought to provide such an appraisal by observing the epithets and attributes assigned to El in the Ugaritic texts. Pope recognised that while El is frequently referred to as ‘king’ in the Ugaritic myths, a fact that ‘presumably establishes him as at least the titular ruler of the Ugaritic pantheon’,²¹¹ the god does not always receive the deference that a presiding deity would expect—on more than one occasion (KTU 1.3.V9-11, 27-37; KTU 1.18.VI.11-20) Anat, El’s own daughter, threatens the king of the gods with physical violence in order to attain his permission. In an attempt to reconcile the presence of such episodes in the myths, Pope proposed that the El must have undergone a progressive degradation in the minds of the Ugaritians: ‘If he once held sway supreme and later in his old age was deposed, he may have retained his ancient titles and prestige without any real power except in advisory capacity’.²¹² The actual rule of the world, he claimed, was most likely transferred to his deponents; thus, Baal controlled the heavens and the earth’s surface, Mot ruled the Netherworld, and Yam commanded the seas.²¹³ Support for this theory was mustered from the Greek legends about Kronos. Identifying Greek Kronos with Ugaritic El, the banishment of Kronos by his sons Zeus, Hades and Poseidon (Baal, Mot and Yam respectively), and the subsequent dividing up of their father’s dominion, provided, he claimed, an exact parallel to the Ugaritic myth.²¹⁴

Sensitive to the fact that the Ras Shamra texts contain no account of how El came to be deposed as the active head of the Ugaritic pantheon, Pope turned to the Hurrian Kumarbi myth from Boğazköy.²¹⁵ This myth, which relates how the god Kumarbi rebelled against the sky-god Anu and dethroned, emasculated and banished him, provided a valuable tool with which to approach the Ugaritic evidence.²¹⁶ Having outlined the ‘standard’ way in which high gods were overthrown by lower ranking figures, Pope focussed on the badly mutilated fifth column of KTU 1.1. Though he accepted that this section of the tablet is extremely fragmentary, Pope maintained that references to, among other things, ‘attack’ (ll. 4, 17) and ‘loins’ (ll. 12, 14, 25) could be

etymological analysis as well as a study of proper names compounded with the *il* component. Notably, comparison was made with the use of *il* in the Hebrew Bible in order to provide ‘clarification’. See Pope, *El in the Ugaritic Texts*, pp. 7-24, for the discussion.

²¹¹ Pope, *El in the Ugaritic Texts*, p. 27; cf. pp. 25-26.

²¹² Pope, *El in the Ugaritic Texts*, p. 29.

²¹³ Pope, *El in the Ugaritic Texts*, p. 29.

²¹⁴ Pope, *El in the Ugaritic Texts*, p. 29.

²¹⁵ See Pope, *El in the Ugaritic Texts*, pp. 29-32 for a full discussion.

²¹⁶ Pope (*El in the Ugaritic Texts*, p. 30) also observed that a similar pattern was present in the Kronos myth.

discerned in what remained of the text.²¹⁷ Thus, it can be seen that for Pope the evidence provided by outside sources was

by no means irrelevant to the question of El's kingship over the gods of Ugarit. The deposed god Kumarbi corresponds to El in the succession of gods in the Hurrian theogony in Hittite. Kumarbi was known and worshipped at Ugarit where a considerable proportion of the population, to judge from the proper names was Hurrian. It is to be expected that the Hurrian citizens of Ugarit and probably also the Semitic populace, knew the story of Kumarbi, his deposition of Anu and his own disposition in turn by the Storm-god (Teshub). It is natural that Kumarbi should be identified or at least equated with El at Ugarit, as actually he appears to have been from the prefixing of the Semitic *il* to his name in the Hurrian text 4 : 6, 7, 8, *il lmr̄b*. If El, like Kumarbi, was deposed king of the gods, his baffling status in the Ugaritic mythological texts is thereby clarified.²¹⁸

Thus, for Pope, an awareness of the cultural context in which the Ugaritic documents came into being provided offered the key to rectifying apparent incongruities within the texts. By emphasising that there was a sizeable Hurrian contingent in Ugarit, Pope constructed a cultural bridge in support of his thesis.

Another important factor in Pope's evaluation of El's position and significance was the fact that in the mythic texts he is characterised as being old and grey. Taking the frequently used epithet *ab šnm* to mean 'Father of Years' on the basis of the Arabic cognates,²¹⁹ Pope attempted to further strengthen his argument using the evidence from the Egyptian portrayals of the gods Nun and Re. Seeing the latter god as being in an advanced stage of senility, a direct parallel between the Egyptian deities and Ugaritic El was suggested: 'As a drivelling dotard, Re had difficulty maintaining his control among the gods and even humanity plotted against him. In like manner El's decline in physical power in his old age apparently left him helpless in the face of gross disrespect... 'Anat's threat of violence to his person is the crowning indignity of his old age.'²²⁰ For Pope, not only was El a deposed deity, his mental and physical capability was also brought into question.

Pope's interpretation of El in KTU 1.23 also provides a negative appreciation of El's physical prowess. For him, a number of details in the myth indicate that El's amorous

²¹⁷ Pope acknowledged that U. Cassuto (*The Goddess Anath: Canaanite Epics of the Patriarchal Age. Texts, Hebrew Translation, Commentary and Introduction* [Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1951], pp. 42-43) had previously suggested that such a mythic account of deposition may have been present in the Ugaritic corpus. See also Oldenburg *The Conflict between El and Ba'al*, pp. 112-13.

²¹⁸ Pope, *El in the Ugaritic Texts*, p. 32.

²¹⁹ Pope (*El in the Ugaritic Texts*, pp. 32-33) used the Arabic roots *snw*, *sny* 'shine, be exalted, eminent, old', or *sanima* 'be tall, prominent'

²²⁰ Pope, *El in the Ugaritic Texts*, p. 34.

advances toward the two goddesses²²¹ are hampered by a difficulty in achieving and then maintaining an erection. Notably, Pope considers the reference to the roasting of a bird (l. 38) to be an allusion to a rejuvenation rite, employed by El to help him ‘rise to the occasion’.²²² Furthermore, El is seen to attempt intercourse several times before he is successful; three times the myth draws attention to the fact that his ‘rod’ is drooping (ll. 40, 43, 46-47).²²³ Despite the fact that El eventually rouses himself to impregnate his partners and sire offspring, the implications for El are disastrous. For Pope, the fact that El has to perform magical rites in order to overcome his initial impotence may well indicate that this is El’s ‘last fling and farewell to sex’;²²⁴ after all, he contended, ‘in a fertility religion a god whose procreative powers are waning must soon give way to a younger and more virile successor’.²²⁵

Pope recognised an apparent contradiction surrounding the nature and setting of El’s abode. First, he observed that such phrases as *mbk nhrm* (‘source of the [two] rivers’) and *apq thmtm* (‘channel of the [two] deeps’)²²⁶ are suggestive of a watery and subterranean location.²²⁷ At the same time, he noted, El also appears to be associated

²²¹ Pope rejected Gaster’s interpretation of the scene as rite involving two human women, perhaps reflecting the *hieros gamos* (*Thespis*, pp. 226-27, noted above); instead, Pope proposed that the female figures represented the goddesses, El’s wife and daughter, Asherah and Anat (*El in the Ugaritic Texts*, pp. 35-36).

²²² Pope, *El in the Ugaritic Texts*, pp. 39-41 (41).

²²³ While Oldenburg *The Conflict between El and Ba’al*, wholeheartedly supports the view that El’s status underwent a dramatic degradation at Ugarit, he provides a wholly different explanation of KTU 1.23 and El’s sexual prowess: ‘This poem is the only Ugaritic text in which El is seen as sexually active, working as a procreator. This fact suggests that the poem *Birth of the Gods* is perhaps the oldest Ugaritic myth preserved, reflecting the time when El was still absolutely dominant in the Ugaritic pantheon, fully taking care of provision of fertility’ (p. 110)

²²⁴ Pope, *El in the Ugaritic Texts*, p. 42.

²²⁵ Pope, *El in the Ugaritic Texts*, p. 41. In an effort to find a likely candidate in the Ugaritic tradition, Pope turned his attention to the Boğazköy and biblical literature. From the Hittite myth he noted that the goddess Asherah made an unsuccessful advance on the storm god, claiming that her consort, Elkinurša, was unable to perform the conjugal act. Furthermore, when the storm-god informs Elkinurša of Asherah’s actions, Elkinurša encourages the younger deity to sleep with her (p. 37). (The implicit assumption of all this is that Elkinurša recognises his inability to copulate.) Believing that the Hittite myth is ‘without doubt ultimately Canaanite in origin and probably has some relationship to the Ugaritic myths about El’ (p. 42), Pope reasoned that the most likely deity to replace El as Asherah’s consort at Ugarit was (the Ugaritic storm god) Baal. The biblical tradition that frequently associates Baal and Asherah, he claimed, offered even more support in favour of this conclusion. Drawing all this together, Pope concluded that ‘Asherah’s infidelity is justified in the mythology of El’s impotence’ (p. 42).

²²⁶ See, e.g., KTU 1.2.III.4-6; 1.4.IV.1-V.20-24; 1.6.I.4-10.

²²⁷ Pope, *El in the Ugaritic Texts*, p. 61.

with *gr* ('mountain') and *śd* (perhaps 'mountain' or 'field').²²⁸ For Pope, this paradox could be resolved by means of philological comparison. Noting El's association with the term *hršn* (KTU 1.1.II.23, III.22), Pope compared Ugaritic *hršn* with the occurrences of *ḪUR.SAG* in the Mesopotamian Ullikummi myth and *huršān* in Akkadian; on the strength of these parallels, he concluded, Ugaritic *hršn* referred to 'an infernal cosmic mountain... adjacent to the sources of the subterranean cosmic waters'.²²⁹

Having identified the nature of El's abode, Pope set about determining its whereabouts. The starting point was determining whether or not El's dwelling place referred to in the myths had an actual geographical location or whether it had 'a purely mythical and imaginary existence in some never never land'.²³⁰ The answer, for Pope, was provided '*a priori*';²³¹ most likely the Ugaritians localised El's abode somewhere within the geographical horizon. Scouring the modern-day place names in and around Ugarit for connections with *apq* and *mbk*—believing that ancient place names often carried down into modernity—Pope arrived at Muḡārat Afqa. This site, he argued, corresponded with the picture provided by the mythic description of El's residence; the site composed mountainous ridges, deep dark caverns and, most importantly, *two* large watercourses emerging from underground springs.²³² (Interestingly, Pope offers Muḡārat Afqa as the setting for KTU 1.23's love scene between El, Asherah and Anat.²³³)

The location of the divine abode was not an insignificant feature of Pope's evaluation. Had El been the *active* chief god of the Ugaritic pantheon it could be expected that, keeping in mind most other ancient Near Eastern mythologies, his residence would have been situated in the heavenly realm. The fact that El is almost always located in subterranean environs was taken by Pope as further support for the theory of degradation in the god's status.²³⁴ In an attempt to reconcile the one passage in which reference is made to El's residing in heaven (KTU 1.2.IV.19-31), it was proposed that a conflict scene, similar to that in the Kronos and Kumarbi mythologies, would have had a place in the Ugaritic corpus. For Pope, this deposition account was most likely contained in the badly mutilated second column of KTU 1.1.²³⁵ By this

²²⁸ See Pope, *El in the Ugaritic Texts*, pp. 60-69, for the discussion.

²²⁹ Pope, *El in the Ugaritic Texts*, p. 71.

²³⁰ Pope, *El in the Ugaritic Texts*, pp. 72-73.

²³¹ Cf. Naccache, 'El's Abode in His Land', pp. 249-72.

²³² Pope, *El in the Ugaritic Texts*, pp. 72-81. In addition, Pope observed that a considerable number of ancient legends were also attached to the site. Cf. Oldenburg, *The Conflict between El and Ba'al*, pp. 101-108, who agrees with Pope's proposed location and supplies confirmation from Classical sources.

²³³ Pope, *El in the Ugaritic Texts*, pp. 80-81.

²³⁴ Pope, *El in the Ugaritic Texts*, pp. 94-97.

²³⁵ Pope, *El in the Ugaritic Texts*, p. 96.

reasoning, the single reference to El's residency in heaven was explained away as a reflection of the time *before* El's overthrow. By the time the myths were composed to writing, then, El's degradation was already complete. But for an honorific sovereignty, El had become *deus otiosus*.²³⁶

Finally, Pope made an attempt to explain why this process of degradation took place. For Pope, the myths reflected the shifting social and religious situation of second millennium Ugarit. A response to new cultural influences the religious beliefs of (some of) the Ugaritians evolved away from the former leader of the pantheon; judging by the myths, Baal had become the new focus of religious veneration.

The social and political forces that caused El to be displaced before Baal at Ugarit can only be surmised. The displacement of one god by another is probably brought about chiefly by the influx of new cultural and ethnic groups, whether by conquest or peaceful infiltration. At Ugarit there was a large Hurrian element mixed with the Semitic population. For the Hurrians, Kumarbi, like El, was the father of the gods, but Hittite texts of about the 14th century B.C. or earlier mythologize the displacement of this god before the Storm-god, and the Ugaritic texts, we believe, do the same in regard to El and Baal... The displacement of El before Baal, as at Ugarit, need not have been general over the whole area in which El was worshipped. Nor the displacement complete even at Ugarit where El still has a place in the cult and an important though quite ambiguous role in the myths. Here El retains his titles and prestige of former days, though he is no longer the real head of the pantheon. Still he may have had for a long time diehard devotees who refused to accept his displacement, but they are submerged by the tide of Baal-worship.²³⁷

For Pope, then, myth mirrors social history, and social history is mirrored in myth. Religious and especially mythic documents testify to the changing composition and fortunes of the community that produced and used them. The texts from Ras Shamra, as from elsewhere, provide direct insight into the historical development of religious tradition.

(4) *Cosmogonic Readings*

In essence, the cosmogonic interpretations of the Ugaritic texts challenge—directly and indirectly—the view, succinctly phrased by Marvin Pope, that

There is hardly anything that could be called a creation story or clear allusion to cosmic creativity in the Ugaritic texts so far exhumed... It is altogether probable that El was creator God, but the Ugaritic evidence is by no means explicit.²³⁸

²³⁶ Cf. M.H. Pope, 'The Ups and Downs in El's Amours', *UF* 11 (1979), pp. 701-708; *idem*, 'The Status of El at Ugarit' *UF* 19 (1989), pp. 219-29; Oldenburg, *The Conflict of El and Ba'al*, pp. 146-47.

²³⁷ Pope, *El in the Ugaritic Texts*, pp. 103-104.

²³⁸ Pope, *El in the Ras Shamra Texts*, p. 49; cf. Hvidberg, *Weeping and Laughter*, p. 50.

Rising to prominence during the 1960s, the reactions to the ‘no creation at Ugarit’ viewpoint have taken a variety of forms. A characteristic feature of the cosmogonic readings of the Ugaritic texts is that they focus upon the central characters of the Baal mythology—Baal, Yam and Mot—and their battles for supremacy.²³⁹

(a) *Fisher*

Loren Fisher’s 1965 study represents an unambiguous rebuttal of Pope’s position.²⁴⁰ A direct reaction to the statement by Pope, noted above, Fisher set about proving that the Ugaritic texts contain creation mythology. For him,

Those who say ‘no creation at Ugarit’ must have a very narrow definition of creation. It may mean that they are looking for a *creatio ex nihilo*. Certainly they do not consider ‘recreation’ or the ordering of chaos as creation. However, some probably mean by ‘no creation at Ugarit’ that there is no ‘Marduk scene’ or a description of the process.²⁴¹

Fisher believed that the failure to detect a creation motif in the Ugaritic poems was due, in part, to scholars’ preconceived expectations. The Babylonian and biblical creation stories, he urged, had become the bench-mark by which all creation accounts were to be judged; the negative conclusion reached about the Ugaritic myths resulted, Fisher suggested, from an over-dependence on these mythological traditions. Fisher maintained that scholars had become so familiar with the ‘creation out of nothing’ or ‘El type’ framework, that they were unable to recognise the creation imagery used in the Ugaritic myths. Simply because the Ugaritic myths contain no immediate parallel to these versions, did not mean that creation mythology was not a part of the Ugaritic religious tradition.

Fisher set out to provide a synthesis of three significant interpretations of the Baal–Mot and Baal–Yam conflicts. He observed that while Kapelrud and others had detected a kingship tradition,²⁴² Obermann had observed a building motif,²⁴³ and Gray had

²³⁹ U. Cassuto, ‘The Palace of Baal’, *JBL* 61 (1942), pp. 51-56; S.E. Loewenstamm, ‘The Ugaritic Myth of the Sea and its Biblical Counterparts’, in *idem* (ed.), *Comparative Studies in Biblical and Ancient Oriental Literatures: Collected Essays* (AOAT, 204; Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag; Kevelaer: Verlag Butzon & Becker, 1980), pp. 346-61 (first published in Hebrew in *Eretz-Israel* 9 [1969], pp. 96-101); J.H. Grønbaek, ‘Baal’s Battle with Yam: A Canaanite Creation Fight’, *JSOT* 33 (1985), pp. 27-44; M.S. Smith, ‘Baal in the Land of Death’, *UF* 17 (1986), pp. 311-14.

²⁴⁰ L.R. Fisher, ‘Creation at Ugarit and in the Old Testament’, *VT* 15 (1965), pp. 313-24.

²⁴¹ Fisher, ‘Creation at Ugarit’, pp. 315-16.

²⁴² A.S. Kapelrud, *Baal in the Ras Shamra Texts* (Copenhagen: G.E.C. Gad, 1952), p. 91; G.R. Driver, *Canaanite Myths and Legends* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1956), p. 21.

²⁴³ J. Obermann, *Ugarit Mythology: A Study of Its Leading Motifs* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948), p. 21; A.S. Kapelrud, ‘Temple Building: A Task for Gods and Kings’, *Or* 32 (1963), p. 56.

formulated a creation interpretation,²⁴⁴ none of them had offered a balanced evaluation of the Baal–Mot and Baal–Yam conflicts together. To ask if the conflict theme related to kingship, temple building *or* creation was, to him, an ‘improper question’.²⁴⁵ Fisher’s aim was to show that the all of the elements combine together to represent a different form of creation mythology.

Fisher observed that the central theme of KTU 1.2.IV, which depicts the battle between Baal and Yam, portrays a battle not just for kingship, but *eternal* kingship. Working on the assumption that ‘the meaning of the text has to do with the meaning of the kingship’,²⁴⁶ the Baal–Yam conflict was seen to be related to an overarching concept of creation. For him, another text (KTU 1.2.IV) also had to do with kingship; Baal is acclaimed as overall monarch. Thus, it was seen that ‘in text 68 [= KTU 1.2.IV] Baal wins his kingship and in text 51 [= KTU 1.4] it is proclaimed’.²⁴⁷

Fisher also recognised KTU 1.4 as a text associated with temple building. Drawing on the work of Mowinckel,²⁴⁸ Fisher concluded that Baal’s temple represented a microcosm of the world.²⁴⁹ In further support, he noted that it takes ‘seven days’ to construct the building. For Fisher, the comparison with Genesis 1 provided immediate confirmation that seven days served as a mythological device associated with creation.²⁵⁰ Tying the theme of kingship and temple building together, the message of KTU 1.4 was clear: ‘the new king has a temple which is a microcosm and the ordering of this temple resembles the creation of the cosmos’.²⁵¹

Fisher also turned his attention to the Baal–Mot conflict. Discussing only the first part of KTU 1.5, Fisher observed that reference appears to be made—the text is fragmentary—to the heavens collapsing after Baal smote Leviathan, and Mot’s subsequent death. For Fisher, this incident has clear cosmogonic connotations: “‘the death of Môt’ is a way of saying ‘order out of chaos’”.²⁵² Thus, the gods Baal and Mot stand in a position of cosmic antithesis.

Bringing these features together, Fisher proposed that creation was a definite aspect of the Ugaritic mythology. Together the elements of conflict, kingship, order and temple building all combine to form a definite pattern of creation: the entire series he

²⁴⁴ Gray, *The Legacy of Canaan*, pp. 18, 20, 28-29.

²⁴⁵ Fisher, ‘Creation at Ugarit’, p. 316.

²⁴⁶ Fisher, ‘Creation at Ugarit’, p. 317.

²⁴⁷ Fisher, ‘Creation at Ugarit’, p. 317.

²⁴⁸ Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel’s Worship*, I, p. 134; Kapelrud, ‘Temple Building’, p. 56

²⁴⁹ Fisher, ‘Creation at Ugarit’, p. 318.

²⁵⁰ Fisher, ‘Creation at Ugarit’, p. 318; cf. M.S. Smith, *The Ugaritic Baal Cycle*, p. 78, for a discussion of Fisher’s use of the ‘seven day’ motif.

²⁵¹ Fisher, ‘Creation at Ugarit’, p. 319.

²⁵² Fisher, ‘Creation at Ugarit’, p. 320.

called a creation of the 'Baal type'.²⁵³ Even when only one of the element in the series is used in a myth, he proposed, it must not be separated from the larger context of creation imagery. In order to find creation at Ugarit Fisher had to readjust the understanding of what does and does not constitute creation. Those who looked for a creation account which involves theogony and 'creation out of nothing' were too narrow in outlook. According to Fisher's cosmogonic reading of the evidence, Baal represents the creator god at Ugarit in so far as he established order in the cosmos. The fact that there is no theogonic myth, he concluded, may be due to the fact that for the ancient mind order was more important than ultimate origins.²⁵⁴

(b) *De Moor*

Johannes de Moor provided another reaction to the 'no creation at Ugarit' theory.²⁵⁵ In response to Pope's differentiation between 'generation' and 'cosmic creation', de Moor took issue with what he thought was a modern-day demarcation imposed on the ancient Ugaritic literature. By observing the character and epithets of the Ugaritic god El, an attempt was made to demonstrate that creation mythology was present in the Ras Shamra material, and that the head of the pantheon was most likely to be considered as the creator god at Ugarit.

De Moor recognised that even though Ugaritic El is frequently referred to as *qn arš*, usually translated 'creator of the earth', a distinction is to be drawn with the Ugaritic epithet and the comprehensive title of El Elyon, קנה שמים וארץ ('the creator of heaven and earth'), in the Hebrew Bible (Gen. 14.22). Even if this was a distinction without any real difference, he stated, the question remains whether Ugaritic El can be linked with the creation of the world or even the universe.²⁵⁶ Furthermore, despite the fact that El is given the title of *ab adm* 'father/creator of humanity', this epithet does not automatically make him the creator of world. In an attempt to resolve the matter, de Moor offered an analysis of El's role in the Ugaritic texts.

First, de Moor proposed that a tradition of El's 'Creation by Procreation' could be detected in the Ugaritic material.²⁵⁷ Importantly, it was argued that the mythology reflected the belief that El was able to bless humans with progeny. Attention was drawn to the fact that in one mythic passage (KTU 1.17.I.17-53), Baal approaches El to make a supplication for offspring on behalf of the childless Danel. The significant

²⁵³ Fisher, 'Creation at Ugarit', p. 320.

²⁵⁴ Fisher, 'Creation at Ugarit', p. 321.

²⁵⁵ J.C. de Moor, 'El, the Creator', in G. Rendsburg, R. Alter, M. Arfa and N.H. Winter (eds.), *The Bible World: Essays in Honor of Cyrus H. Gordon* (New York: Ktav, 1980), pp. 171-87.

²⁵⁶ De Moor, 'El, the Creator', p. 171.

²⁵⁷ De Moor, 'El, the Creator', pp. 172-77.

features here being that (1) El is thought to be able to resolve the situation, and (2) that Baal is considered, and considers himself, unable to bestow children on humans.²⁵⁸ Furthermore, de Moor observed that El is involved in a special kind of procreation in the mythic text *Shahar and Shalim*. Opting for a literal reading of the birth narrative (ll. 56-59), which tells that the divine offspring are born almost instantaneously after copulation takes place, El is associated with both procreation and miraculous generation. For de Moor, all this tallied with El's titles *ab adm* and *ab ilm*.

With regard to the meaning of *qn* in *qn arš*, de Moor observed that in one text (KTU 1.10.5-7) *qny* ('produce') is used in association with *kwn* ('to create'); apparently, it was concluded, *qn* was attributed with some figurative meaning similar to that of creation. In addition, *qny* was also used in the sense of 'establish' and 'invent' in relation to inanimate phenomena (KTU 3.9.1-4; 1.17.41-42). Moreover, on the basis of the Hebrew and Phoenician personal names אֱלֹהִים קִנָּה and קִנָּאֵל, it was proposed that El was considered in a figurative sense to be the divine progenitor of the bearers of these names.²⁵⁹

In addition to procreative creativity, de Moor connected El with the power of 'creation by word alone'.²⁶⁰ In one mythic text (KTU 1.12.7-13), he noted, the dual goddess Tuliš-Dangay makes reference to El's ability to sire offspring without needing to perform an act of sexual union; he merely has to utter the words, and his will is done. For de Moor, the significance of this passage had far-reaching implications. The fact that El appears to be able to create life through word alone

underscores again that to the ancient mind there is no basic difference between creation and procreation. El could generate divine beings either way. In other oriental cultures creation by word alone is attested both for what we would call cosmology and creation of living creatures.²⁶¹

The most notable parallel to this, it was claimed, being the Genesis 1 creation account.

De Moor attempted to connect El's name with creative activity. He adduced that because the name of El was associated with the Babylonian loan word *tbš* in a text that referred to the dead (KTU 1.22.4-7), El's name must have had creative or life-giving power for the Ugaritians. The Babylonian use of *bašū* (in Š-form) he noted, had the meaning 'to bring into being' with the connotations 'to bring forth' and 'to create'.²⁶²

²⁵⁸ Further support for this was taken from the biblical polemic against Baal in Hos. 9.10-14; de Moor, 'El, the Creator', pp. 172-73.

²⁵⁹ De Moor, 'El, the Creator', pp. 173-76.

²⁶⁰ De Moor, 'El, the Creator', pp. 177-79.

²⁶¹ De Moor, 'El, the Creator', p. 179.

²⁶² De Moor, 'El, the Creator', p. 179.

Babylonian evidence featured again in de Moor's theory that El could bring about 'creation by modelling'.²⁶³ Attention was drawn to the fact that in the Keret poem (KTU 1.16.V.23-30) El exorcises Keret's illness by fashioning a healer from clay. Importantly, when El has finished his modelling, a formula which was traditionally used after childbirth was recited (KTU 1.16.V.40-41); evidently El had brought the modelled clay to life. In addition, it was remembered that in the Baal myth (KTU 1.5.I.18-20) the god Mot sought to devour 'clay'—that is, humanity. All this, for de Moor, was firmed up by the fact that in Egyptian and Babylonian myths the creator gods performed similar acts of modelling to create human beings.

Drawing all of his arguments together, de Moor concluded that 'it would seem unlikely that in contrast to other Canaanites who called El *qn 'rṣ* or *קנה שמים וארץ* the people of Ugarit would not have regarded El as the creator of heaven and earth'.²⁶⁴ However, one final detail stood in the way of an outright confirmation of El's identification as the creator god; in the so-called 'canonical god-lists' (KTU 1.47; 1.118) another deity, *il ib* stands before El, apparently as the head of the pantheon. In addition, another text (KTU 1.148) places *il ib* and *arṣ wšmm* before El. De Moor explained these occurrences by means of a comparison of the Ugaritic 'hierarchy' with those of the pantheons. For him, *il ib* and *arṣ wšmm* represented hypostases of El, 'as a differentiation of El in his quality as the Father of all living beings'.²⁶⁵

For de Moor, there was only one candidate for the job of creator at Ugarit: 'It is hardly imaginable that the god who created the whole cosmos would have been a minor deity in Ugarit. No other Ugaritic god than El, the head of the pantheon, qualifies for this role.'²⁶⁶ Far from being a *deus otiosus*, El retained the title and function as principle deity of the Ugaritic divine assembly.

b. *The Non-Literary Texts*

At the beginning of this chapter it was noted that a large number of 'non-literary' texts are also considered to be 'religious' in nature. Yet, despite the fact that these documents dramatically outnumber the poetic works, relatively few serious attempts have been made to rationalise the information they contain.²⁶⁷ That is not to say that the non-poetic texts have been banished from mainstream Ugaritic scholarship.

²⁶³ De Moor, 'El, the Creator', pp. 180-82.

²⁶⁴ De Moor, 'El, the Creator', p. 182.

²⁶⁵ De Moor, 'El, the Creator', p. 184.

²⁶⁶ De Moor, 'El, the Creator', p. 186.

²⁶⁷ See B.A. Levine, 'The Descriptive Ritual Texts from Ugarit: Some Formal and Functional Features of the *Genre*', in C.L. Meyers and M. O'Connor, *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth: Essays in Honor*

As the designation ‘non-literary’ suggests, the style of writing used in the non-literary texts is of a more rudimentary nature. Sometimes using a minimalist, non-poetic style,²⁶⁸ these documents often take the form of lists, containing: (1) sacrificial offerings to specific deities; (2) dates, occasions and sites where rites are performed; (3) ritual acts, such as purifications and processions, which compose overall celebrations; and (4) officiants, quite often the king, who had a significant role in the cult.

Although studies of individual or small collections of these texts are becoming more commonplace—appearing most frequently in the pages of *Ugarit-Forschungen*. As scholarship begins to turn its attention to the non-literary religious texts, it seems that an imbalance will be redressed. Dennis Pardee’s forthcoming volume on the sacrificial and ritual texts will surely serve as a landmark in Ugaritic research.

Studies of the non-literary texts have brought about a recognition that they provide additional data not reflected in the poems. Scholarship has for some time noted that the god Dagan, who is almost absent in the mythological texts, appears frequently in the sacrificial lists.²⁶⁹ Conversely, it has also been observed that some of the main figures in the mythological texts—Athirat, Anat, Athtart, Shapash and Yamm—receive almost no recognition in the sacrificial tariffs.²⁷⁰

It might be expected that texts which deal explicitly with offerings would be the primary source of information on the cult in ancient Canaan. In effect, though the administrative texts reveal an elaborate religious establishment at Ras Shamra, the offering-lists and other ritual texts are surprisingly barren of detailed information, especially of the sacrificial system...²⁷¹

of David Noel Freedman, in Celebration of his Sixtieth Birthday (ASOR SS, 1; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1983), pp. 467-75 (467).

²⁶⁸ Poetic techniques are not, however, totally absent from these texts. See D. Pardee, ‘Poetry in Ugaritic Ritual Texts’, in J.C. de Moor and W.G.E. Watson (eds.), *Verse in Ancient Near Eastern Prose* (AOAT, 42; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neuckirchener Verlag; Kavelaer: Butzon & Bercker, 1993), pp. 207-18.

²⁶⁹ Among others see N. Wyatt, ‘The Relationship of the Deities Dagan and Hadad’, *UF* 12 (1980), pp. 375-79 (376); *idem*, ‘Baal, Dagan, and Fred: a Rejoinder’, *UF* 24 (1992), pp. 428-30; S.A. Wiggins, ‘Old Testament Dagan in the Light of Ugarit’, *VT* 43 (1993), pp. 268-74; J.F. Healey, ‘Grain and Wine in Abundance: Blessings from the Ancient Near East’, in *URC*, pp. 65-74; R.A. Oden, Jr, ‘Theoretical Assumptions in the Study of Ugaritic Myths’, in *Maarav* 2.1 (1979), pp. 43-63 (53).

²⁷⁰ P.D. Miller, Jr, ‘Aspects of the Religion of Ugarit’, in P.D. Miller, Jr, P.D. Hanson and S.D. McBride (eds.) *Ancient Israelite Religion: Essays in Honor of Frank Moore Cross* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987), pp. 53-66 (57).

²⁷¹ J. Gray, ‘Canaanite Religion and the Old Testament in the Light of New Alphabetic Texts From Ras Shamra’, *Ugaritica*, VII, pp. 79-108 (102).

(1) *Dussaud*

Published within the first decade after the discovery of the Ugaritic texts, René Dussaud's *Les origines cananéennes du sacrifice israélite*²⁷² was dedicated to the comparison of the sacrificial and ritual terminology arising from the Ugaritic texts and that contained in the biblical (and particularly Priestly) literature—a methodology broadly accepted by some of his contemporaries,²⁷³ and vigorously rejected by others.²⁷⁴ More than that, however, Dussaud's work was intended to demonstrate a connection between the Ugaritic and levitical sacrificial system; a connection that was the result, in fact, of a direct borrowing from the Ugaritic cult—Dussaud understood that to mean the same as 'Canaanite'—by the Israelite settlers.²⁷⁵

Essentially, Dussaud's contact with the Ugaritic non-literary texts was restricted to the isolation of specific terminology, and the equation of these terms with their Hebrew counterparts—etymological analysis allowed a simple one-for-one correspondence to be established. Objections to Dussaud's technique were raised, however, when it became apparent that the all-important connectors between the two sacrificial systems were

general terms which might belong to the matrix of Semitic languages in the ancient Near East. They are not sufficiently specific to establish a necessary connection between the cult of Ugarit and that of the Hebrews... The equivalence of technical terms is actually the weakest argument for a correspondence between the cultic systems of Israel and Ugarit.²⁷⁶

In the end, it was Dussaud's emphasis on the comparative approach that contributed to the rejection of his theory of Israelite 'borrowing',²⁷⁷ as well as realisation that a better-

²⁷² R. Dussaud, *Les origines cananéennes du sacrifice israélite* (Paris: E. Leroux, 2nd edn, 1941).

²⁷³ See, especially, T.H. Gaster (ed.), *Mélanges syriens offerts à monsieur René Dussaud* (Paris: Geuthner, 1939). See also J.W. Jack, *The Ras Shamra Tablets: Their Bearing on the Old Testament* (Old Testament Studies, 1; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1935), pp. 29-32; C.F. Pfeiffer, *Ras Shamra and the Bible* (Baker Books in Biblical Archaeology; Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1962), pp. 38-39; A.S. Kapelrud, *The Ras Shamra Discoveries and the Old Testament* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1965), p. 17. D.M.L. Urie, 'Officials of the Cult of Ugarit', *PEQ* [no number] (1948), pp. 42-47; *idem*, 'Sacrifice among the West Semites', *PEQ* [no number] (1949), pp. 67-82.

²⁷⁴ J. Gray, 'Cultic Affinities between Israel and Ras Shamra', *ZAW* 21 (1950), pp. 207-20; H. Ringgren, *Religions of the Ancient Near East* (trans. John Sturdy; London: SPCK, 1973), p. 161.

²⁷⁵ Dussaud, *Les origines cananéennes*, p. 154. The dating of this appropriation, Dussaud believed, was some time before the Exile, during the period of settlement in Canaan when the Hebrew nomads took over the Canaanite agricultural system. Later, in his *Les Découvertes de Ras Shamra* however, Dussaud withdrew from this position.

²⁷⁶ Gray, 'Cultic Affinities', pp. 210, 214; cf. *idem*, *The Legacy of Canaan*, p. 143.

²⁷⁷ A. Caquot and M. Szyner, *Ugaritic Religion* (Iconography of Religion, XV, 8; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1980), p. 17.

developed methodology was needed for tackling the Ugaritic texts exhibiting the sacrificial terminology.

(2) *De Tarragon*

Sacrificial terminology came under scrutiny again in Jean-Michel de Tarragon's *Le culte à Ugarit*,²⁷⁸ a work that acknowledged the need to treat the Ugaritic evidence independently from the biblical text and to avoid the arbitrary reconciliations ('rapprochements arbitraires') characteristic of Dussaud's approach.²⁷⁹

In accepting the Ugaritic corpus as an entity worthy of separate examination, de Tarragon acknowledged the differing characters of the mythological and 'practical texts' ('textes de la pratique').²⁸⁰ Recognising the 'essentially religious' ('essentiellement religieuse') character of the poetic narratives, de Tarragon understood the practical texts as being more closely related to the actualities of the cult.²⁸¹ Crucially, de Tarragon acknowledged the non-poetic texts as being of primary importance for the evaluation of Ugaritic cult practice. The fact that the practical and mythological texts rarely match ('répondent rarement'), de Tarragon argued, merited a differentiation between them:

The practical texts are recent: they date from the last decades of Ugarit's political and religious history; the literary texts are more ancient stories, preciously preserved by the scribes. These two literatures do not refer to the same epochs.

Les textes de la pratique sont récents : ils datent des dernières décennies de l'histoire politique et religieuse d'Ugarit ; les textes littéraires sont des récits plus anciens, précieusement conservés par les scribes. Ces deux literatures ne se referent pas à des époques semblables.²⁸²

For de Tarragon, the discordance between the mythological and practical material—or, more accurately, the lack of references in the practical texts to the rites proposed in the Myth and Ritual reading of the mythological texts—justified his selection of sources.

De Tarragon's evaluation of the Ugaritic practical texts took the form of a systematic linguistic analysis of the cultic vocabulary appearing in them. A schematic approach resulted in the division of the terminology and the arrangement of the corresponding analysis into six separate categories: cultic calendar, offerings, cultic vocabulary, rites, personnel and cultic pantheon. And, although de Tarragon supplies all but the briefest

²⁷⁸ J.-M. de Tarragon, *Le culte à Ugarit d'après les textes de la pratique en cuneiform alphabétiques* (CRB, 19; Paris: J. Gabalda, 1980), pp. 149-79.

²⁷⁹ De Tarragon, *Le culte à Ugarit*, p. 14.

²⁸⁰ De Tarragon, *Le culte à Ugarit*, p. 12.

²⁸¹ De Tarragon, *Le culte à Ugarit*, p. 11.

²⁸² De Tarragon, *Le culte à Ugarit*, p. 184.

introductory remarks at the head of each of six chapters, and makes no attempt to synthesise his findings—a fact that, for some, has curtailed the value of the enterprise²⁸³—his work provided the valuable first full-scale and (in relation to the mythology) *independent* examination of the non-mythological religious texts from Ugarit.

(3) *Del Olmo Lete*

With his 1999 study, *Canaanite Religion*,²⁸⁴ Gregoria del Olmo Lete went some way to supplying the thematic interpretation of the non-literary texts. In this revised and expanded version of the Spanish original, *La religión cananea*,²⁸⁵ the author provides a comprehensive study of the Ugaritic cult based on 52 of *KTU*'s 'religious' texts²⁸⁶ and a single 'unclassified' document.²⁸⁷ Notably, del Olmo Lete sought to sidestep any criticism about his continued use of the term 'Canaanite' as a synonym for 'Ugaritic':

both the author and the translator considered [it] to be inappropriate and debatable...in view of the unsuitability of any possible replacement and in order to maintain agreement with the Spanish edition, the term 'Canaanite' has been chosen as a label in common use, even though inexact and generic, and it is clarified by the subtitle: *According to the Liturgical Texts of Ugarit*.²⁸⁸

Del Olmo Lete stated from the outset that his objective was to treat his source material as 'separate compositions with a single meaning', to identify (by means of philological and linguistic analysis) various 'elements' within these documents, and to draw together and arrange the material analysed into an 'organic synthesis' that tries to emphasise the key points of Ugaritic liturgy and its underlying ideology.²⁸⁹ Significantly, apart from a brief discussion of the Ugaritic pantheon (see below) the

²⁸³ This arrangement was criticised by del Olmo Lete, *CR*, p. 6, who protested that 'the disadvantage of this type of systematic treatment is that the texts are not analyzed according to their inner structure and thus the meaning of the cult action of which they form a part is lost'.

²⁸⁴ G. del Olmo Lete, *Canaanite Religion: According to the Liturgical Texts of Ugarit* (trans. W.G.E. Watson; Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 1999). (Abbreviated hereafter as *CR*.)

²⁸⁵ G. del Olmo Lete, *La religión cananea según la liturgia de Ugarit* (*AuOrSup*, 3; Sabadell: Editorial AUSA, 1992).

²⁸⁶ Del Olmo Lete's corpus is defined, *CR*, p. 21 n. 42, as: *KTU* 1.39; 1.40; 1.41; 1.42; 1.43; 1.46; 1.47; 1.48; 1.65; 1.78; 1.81; 1.82; 1.87; 1.90; 1.91; 1.96; 1.100; 1.102; 1.103; 1.104; 1.105; 1.106; 1.107; 1.108; 1.109; 1.110; 1.111; 1.112; 1.113; 1.114; 1.115; 1.116; 1.118; 1.119; 1.123; 1.124; 1.127; 1.130; 1.132; 1.140; 1.141; 1.142; 1.143; 1.144; 1.148; 1.155; 1.161; 1.162; 1.163; 1.1164; 1.168; 1.169.

²⁸⁷ *KTU* 7.63. Del Olmo Lete, *CR*, p. 176, proposes that this text offers 'additional light on this overall view of the royal *titulary* of Ugarit and its use in ritual'.

²⁸⁸ Del Olmo Lete, *CR*, p. ix.

²⁸⁹ Del Olmo Lete, *CR*, p. 7.

‘mythological’ and ‘legendary’ texts are largely excluded from the discussion, these having been analysed in the same author’s earlier work, *Mitos y leyendas de Canaan*.²⁹⁰ For del Olmo Lete, Ugaritic mythology and cultic practice are to be recognised as distinct entities, and are best discussed in isolation.²⁹¹

Before embarking on his analysis of the liturgical texts del Olmo Lete provided a valuable discussion of the methodological steps necessary for their interpretation. Having observed that semantic and cultural difficulties are inevitable barriers faced by the interpreter of ancient texts in general,²⁹² and that additional problems arise in the study of cultic literature in particular,²⁹³ he went on to note that the interpretation of a cultic text involves semantic and literary analysis operating on three levels; these are, in order of increasing importance: lexicographical, formulaic and structural.²⁹⁴

Alongside this, however, del Olmo Lete asserts that the cultic text operates as a ‘functional whole’ that can be defined as a literary unit. While individual lexemes come together to create formulae, and sequences of formulae come together to form texts, it is through the appreciation of the structural arrangement of the text in its

²⁹⁰ G. del Olmo Lete, *Mitos y leyendas de Canaan* (Fuentes de la Ciencia Bíblica, 1; Madrid: Cristiandad, 1981). (Abbreviated hereafter as *MLC*.)

²⁹¹ Note that del Olmo Lete underlines this point, *CR*, pp. 5-6, when he applauds H. Gese for paying minimal attention to the ‘cultic element’ in his 1970 work *Die Religionen Altsyriens* (Die Religionen der Menschheit; Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1970).

²⁹² According to del Olmo Lete, *CR*, p. 7, *semantic* difficulties arise due to the different linguistic systems used by the composer of the text and the interpreter, while *cultural* difficulties are the result of the different ‘virtual “implicit universe”’ inhabited by the author and the exegete.

²⁹³ The characteristic features of the cultic literature (for example, the minimalist style and lack of a ‘logical’ and ordered sequence resulting in the loss of context) represent additional hurdles for the interpreter; del Olmo Lete, *CR*, p. 8.

²⁹⁴ Del Olmo Lete, *CR*, p. 8. Accordingly, the interpretation of the cultic text in the first instance relies upon ‘the semantic description and precise definition of every incomprehensible lexeme, i.e., every word that makes the meaning of the discourse obscure’ (p. 9). He observes that while the cultic documents do not make use of the ‘parallelism’ characteristic of the literary documents, the utilisation of ‘formulaic’ phrases that occur as fixed and unchangeable units assists in the translation of the obscure vocable. (By accepting that ‘the close relationship among the different cultic vocabularies of neighboring civilizations/cultures’ allows for productive comparative philology, del Olmo Lete maintains that the identification of relevant ‘isoglosses’ used in similar formulaic contexts should take precedence over etymology—which he describes as the ‘last and almost desperate resort’ [p. 9].) The meaning of a lexeme is, therefore, closely associated with the formula in which it operates; in fact, it is the ‘sense unit’ that gives it semantic confirmation. Furthermore, the self-contained cultic rubrics help to determine the literary form and the general category of the text (pp. 9-10). (In fact, the repetitive and ‘fixed’ nature of the stock phrases is seen to offer even more scope for the interpreter: ‘It is precisely the formulaic nature of the ritual texts that enables the fragmentary texts to be reconstructed, always within the limits imposed by the lack of running context and the free arrangement they display’ [p. 10].)

entirety that ‘the real significance and meaning become apparent’.²⁹⁵ Importantly, del Olmo Lete proposes that the all-important structure of the cultic text is built upon the arrangement of certain well-defined ‘components’ of ‘variables’: namely, ‘time’, ‘place’ and ‘rite’, with the latter component further subdivided to give an indication of the ‘offering’, ‘divine recipient’ and ‘sacrificer’. Appearing either separately or in sequence, these essential components shape the cultic formulae that are arranged to make up the text as a unit.²⁹⁶ According to del Olmo Lete, the six variables function together to produce a ‘ritual syntax’ that affords direct access to the realities of the Ugaritic cult.²⁹⁷

Primary importance is attached to the identification of the rite in del Olmo Lete’s system. For him, the verb served as the primary determinant of the type of ritual act. An appreciation of the semantic value of the ‘verbal’ syntax, which for del Olmo Lete was to be established on the basis of use in parallel contexts in neighbouring cultic areas, was proposed as the best way of gaining access to the rites. To put it another way, a study of the verbs used in the cultic texts allow the interpreter to ‘form a picture of the wide range of action that the liturgy of Ugarit comprises’.²⁹⁸ Working on this principle, del Olmo Lete is able to extract 47 verbs from his 53-text corpus that, for him, denote specific ritual action.²⁹⁹ For del Olmo Lete, these semantic fields represent the actions or basic sets of cultic actions transmitted by his corpus of Ugaritic liturgical texts.³⁰⁰

²⁹⁵ Del Olmo Lete, *CR*, p. 10.

²⁹⁶ Del Olmo Lete, *CR*, p. 10; cf. p. 87.

²⁹⁷ Del Olmo Lete, *CR*, pp. 11-12.

²⁹⁸ Del Olmo Lete, *CR*, p. 21.

²⁹⁹ The following arrangement into eight semantic fields is proposed: (1) ‘offering/sacrifice’: *dbh, ytn, kbd, nkt, (\$np, nrr, nša, ntk, ql, qrb, šlm, šl(?), t’y*; (2) ‘procession’: *dn(?), yša, yrd, hlk, lqh, ‘ly, ‘rb*; (3) ‘enthronement’: *yīb, št, rbd*; (4) ‘vesting’: *azr, ytn, npš, lbš, n‘r*; (5) ‘banquet’: *kly, lhm, nšl(?), ‘db, ‘rk, ‘šr, šty*; (6) ‘invocation/recitation’: *dn(?), nša yd, pth, yd(?), šh, qra, šr*; (7) ‘divination (oracle/visit)’: *phy(?), rgm, šr, tīb, rgm*; (8) ‘atonement: *brr, hta, mhy, npy, rhš, šny yp*. See Del Olmo Lete, *CR*, pp. 21-23. In del Olmo Lete’s study primary emphasis is placed on the analysis of the ‘sacrificial rituals’ (see pp. 87-139), while the ‘non-sacrificial liturgies’ (that is, texts displaying verbal syntax other than that found in the offering/syntax semantic field), perhaps due to their relative infrequency in the Ugaritic corpus, receive less-exhaustive discussion (pp. 139-65).

³⁰⁰ Del Olmo Lete, *CR*, p. 15. Having isolated the basic building blocks of his ritual syntax, del Olmo Lete proposes that these components function together to produce the characteristic rubrics that, once identified, help in the classification and interpretation of a cultic document. The appreciation of syntactic structure combined with an awareness of the contents of the text as a whole allows for three basic types of cultic text to be identified within the Ugaritic corpus: (1) cultic records, (2) prescriptive rituals (especially sacrificial offerings) and (3) recited rituals. These classifications provide the framework for

Del Olmo Lete proposed that a 'nominal' syntax works alongside the verbal component to help describe the details of the rite. (For del Olmo Lete, this nominal syntax was particularly useful for establishing whether or not a ritual involved sacrifice and offering.³⁰¹) For him, the nominal syntax is of limited value by itself, however, and must be completed by the 'verbal' aspect.³⁰² Working together, the key nouns and verbs of the ritual syntax fulfilled the objective of the cultic text—to 'fix' a ritual act by its elements, usually its variables.³⁰³

With his treatment of the second of his components, 'sacred time', del Olmo Lete provides a succinct summary of the discussion surrounding the Ugaritic calendar.³⁰⁴ The sacred times of the Ugaritic cult, he maintains, were arranged pre-eminently around the lunar cycle; as such, the 'month' served as the determinative unit. This preoccupation with the lunar rhythm is, according to del Olmo Lete, highlighted by the apparent significance attached to lunar ephemerides, the days of the new moon and the full moon, on the 0–1st and 14th–15th days of the month (cf. KTU 1.41//1.87; 1.105;

his detailed, text-based analysis; see pp. 87-96, 96-128 and 138-139, respectively, for discussion of these categories.

³⁰¹ Del Olmo Lete, *CR*, pp. 20-21. Employing the siglum 'X' to represent a single or multiple offering, del Olmo Lete identifies a number of uniform and frequently attested noun clauses. These may be summarised as follows: (1) formulas linking divine name (DN) with offering: (a) X + *l* + DN; (b) DN + X (c) X + DN + X; (d) *l* + DN + X; (2) formulas indicating type of sacrifice (type): (a) type + X; (b) X + type + (*l*) + DN; (3) formulas defining sacred time: (a) *b ym/yrh*; (b) *l ll*; (4) formulas fixing sacred place: (a) *b bt/ḡr/gb*; (b) X + *b* + GN.

³⁰² Del Olmo Lete, *CR*, p. 21.

³⁰³ Del Olmo Lete, *CR*, p. 19. Del Olmo Lete observed that a relatively large number of generic and quasi-technical terms are also used in the ritual texts to further define the type of cultic rite. While the precise meaning of these cultic vocables is not always clear—cf., e.g., the uncertainty surrounding *mḏr*, *ḥtp*, *šnpt* and *m'rb* (pp. 35-38)—he maintained that they seem to clarify the precise action to be performed. According to del Olmo Lete, a distinction is to be made between the 'global', 'specific' and 'special' rites. On these three divisions see pp. 34-36, 36-37, 37-39, respectively. It is helpful to offer illustrative examples: (1) global (or generic) rites: (a) *dbḥ*, 'cultic celebration' or 'festival'; (b) *šr(t)*, 'banquet'; (c) *l'(y)*, 'offering'; (2) specific rites (usually performed as part of the 'global' celebrations): (a) *šrp*, 'holocaust'(?); (b) *šlmm*, 'peace offering' or 'communion sacrifice'; (c) *ntk*, 'libation'; (3) special rites: (a) *brr*, 'purification' (component of *yrḥš mlk brr*); (b) *ḥll*, 'desacrilisation' (component of *ḥll ydm*).

³⁰⁴ See del Olmo Lete, *CR*, pp. 24-27. The footnotes provide a valuable bibliography of the scholarly discussion. No mention is made of Johannes de Moor's theory that two New Year festivals may have been celebrated at Ugarit (*New Year with Canaanites and Israelites*. I. *The Canaanite Sources* [Kamper Cahiers, 21; Kampen: Kok, 2 vols., 1972], pp. 4-6; *idem*, *SPUMB*, pp. 61-62).

1.106; 1.109; 1.112).³⁰⁵ Alongside these observations, however, del Olmo Lete recognises that a number of ritual texts (e.g. KTU 1.91) list cultic events with no temporal marker. These undated rituals of the liturgy of Ugarit, ‘no doubt corresponded to specified and well-known moments in its cult, which did not need this notation, although it cannot be excluded that in some cases they were generic rituals that could be used on different occasions’.³⁰⁶ In view of this, the specification of sacred time is not considered to be an essential component of the ritual text.

Del Olmo Lete’s discussion of the third of his cultic components, ‘sacred place’,³⁰⁷ stands out because of his attempt to position the cultic locations mentioned in the texts within the physical remains of Ugarit. In order to achieve this he endeavoured to synthesise the testimonies of mythology, archaeology and ritual document. Observing that the mythological action of KTU 1.4 centres around Baal’s desire for and acquisition of a ‘house’, and the archaeological discovery of the ‘Baal Temple’ on the acropolis of Ugarit, del Olmo Lete considers the identification of *bt b’l (ugrt)* of the liturgical texts (KTU 1.46; 1.63; 1.104; 1.119) to be secure. Furthermore, he went on to relate specific features of the physical remains to the locations occurring in the ritual sources: one of the three areas within the excavated structure is seen to represent the ‘*d bt b’l* (KTU 1.119.9); a stone altar is considered to be the *mdbh b’l* (KTU 1.41.41); and the two steps leading up the altar perhaps believed to correspond to the *m’lt mdbh* (KTU 1.41.23-4). It is also worth noting that a similar connection is drawn between the other major structure unearthed on the acropolis, the ‘Dagan Temple’, and the text references to *bt il* and *qdš il* (KTU 1.119.6; 1.41.38).³⁰⁸ In addition, archaeological finds provide a primary means of identifying the ‘Hurrian sanctuary’, the ‘house of the incantation priest’ and the ‘sanctuary of the rhytons’.³⁰⁹

³⁰⁵ Del Olmo Lete proposes that certain months appear to be associated with specific rituals or liturgies (e.g. *yrh riš yn* may be linked with the first month of the Ugaritic year [KTU 1.41//1.87], while *yrh hyr* seems to be associated with funeral rites [KTU 1.78; 1.105; 1.112; 1.148]), and that ritual activity can also be linked to particular days within these monthly units (e.g. the rite of purification/desacrilisation, *yrhš mlk brr*, takes place every seven days [KTU 1.41//1.87; 1.106; 1.112]). See del Olmo Lete, *CR*, pp. 27, 112 n. 20; cf. W.W. Hallo, ‘New Moons and Sabbaths: A Case-Study in the Contrastive Approach’, *HUCA* 48 (1977), pp. 1-18.

³⁰⁶ Del Olmo Lete, *CR*, p. 25.

³⁰⁷ For the full discussion see del Olmo Lete, *CR*, pp. 27-34.

³⁰⁸ On the basis of his theory of a syncretism (*CR*, p. 74), del Olmo Lete identifies the structure as the temple of *Dagānu-Ilu* (p. 30).

³⁰⁹ For a bibliography of each of these sites see del Olmo Lete, *CR*, pp. 30-31 nn. 61, 63, 65, respectively.

According to del Olmo Lete the ‘material’ normally used in the sacrificial rites can be recovered from the ritual texts. Distinguishable into categories,³¹⁰ the terms used for these cultic commodities represent del Olmo Lete’s fourth component.

The divine names attested in the Ugaritic texts represent the fifth. According to del Olmo Lete, the gods, goddesses and divine beings worshipped and served by the people of Ugarit are to be understood as the ‘recipients’ of the cultic activity.³¹¹ For him, the divine name functions as an immediate point of contact with the concept of divinity, and the texts provide the primary means of gaining access to it. Importantly, del Olmo Lete admits that the written documents are not the only means by which the concept of divinity and humanity’s approach and relationship to it find expression—archaeological remains (temples, stelae, reliefs, cult objects, seals, and so on), personal and place names also provide information about the various gods and their functions. Nevertheless, perceiving that ‘the greater importance and clarity of written data is clear’,³¹² del Olmo Lete devotes the bulk of the analysis to the testimony of the documentary sources. These documents, he proposes, are divisible into three distinctive types: (1) mythological and literary texts, (2) cultic (and administrative) texts, and (3) god lists.³¹³ On the basis of this tripartite categorisation of the written evidence, as well as the supposition that ‘the religious universe or “pantheon” provided by each of these levels has to be distinct’,³¹⁴ the author distinguishes three corresponding pantheons of the Ugaritic cult.

Since, according to del Olmo Lete, mythology represents an ‘organigram’ or ‘systematic tabulation of the pantheon of Ugarit in terms of function’,³¹⁵ the gods appearing in the myths are the projection of the importance humanity places on the natural order: ‘Very often they take on the literary and theological form of “theogony”, “cosmology” or “eschatology,” paradigms that try to solve questions concerning the

³¹⁰ Del Olmo Lete, *CR*, pp. 40–41. These identifiable cultic commodities can be arranged thus: (1) whole animal: (a) bovine: *alp, tr, gdl*; (b) ovine/caprine: *dqt, ‘z(?)*, *šin, tat*; (a) avian: *uz, ‘šrm, ynt (qrt), tr*; (d) piscine: *dg, šbšlt*; (e) animals of a specific age: *imr, gdy, ‘l, nbšt*; (2) animal parts: (a) entrails: *hbd, kbd, lb, mtnt, npš, slh, ġhb, rt, ššrt*; (b) non-visceral portions: *‘l/dd(?)*, *ap w npš(?)*; (3) vegetable: (a) liquid: *yn, nbt, šmn*; (b) cereal: *ksm, ‘rkm, š‘rm*; (4) metal and textile: (a) precious metals: *‘ql/nskt, ksp/hrš*; (b) metal objects: *‘rgbt, šp hršh*; (c) clothing: *hpn, ktn, lbš, mšlt, npš*. In addition to the terms listed above, del Olmo Lete observes that other terms for animals are attested in the Ugaritic texts but have no specific ritual meaning (*bhmt, ibr, dkr, arw, atn, btn, nħš, irn, pr, ‘qšr, mr*) (see p. 41 n. 102).

³¹¹ See del Olmo Lete, *CR*, pp. 43–86, for the comprehensive and schematic discussion of the Ugaritic deities.

³¹² Del Olmo Lete, *CR*, p. 43.

³¹³ Note also del Olmo Lete’s discussion of the letters and personal names (*CR*, pp. 336–40).

³¹⁴ Del Olmo Lete, *CR*, p. 45.

³¹⁵ Del Olmo Lete, *CR*, p. 52.

origin, function and cessation of human life and the real world that it unfolds.³¹⁶ Dealing with the fundamentals of human existence, then, the mythological narratives offer a restricted view of those gods who were considered to influence and control aspects of daily life. As a direct consequence of this limited sphere of interest the gods mentioned in the mythological (and to a lesser extent epical) narratives are relatively few in number.³¹⁷

On the basis of this del Olmo Lete concluded that the mythology present in the Baal Cycle is a ‘special synthesis’ of specific geographical and social factors,³¹⁸ one that seeks only(!) to rationalise the fundamental concerns of human existence. Because the mythology of the Baal Cycle is an ‘unfinished and incomplete...reflection of the Canaanite religious universe’, the pantheon contained within it is necessarily reduced. Even taking into account the additional testimony of the ‘minor’ myths, which, for del Olmo Lete, serve to sketch out functional aspects of the three regions of sky, sea and underworld,³¹⁹ the pantheon of Ugarit remains only partially revealed and understood.³²⁰

According to del Olmo Lete, a much wider picture of the deities worshipped at Ugarit is provided by the cultic texts. Considering them to be expressions of the practical piety of the official cult, the author observes that the ritual documents supply the names of additional deities that do not necessarily fill a relevant place in the mythological organigram.³²¹ Quite often, he noted, ‘lesser’ and, in varying degrees, ‘specialized’ gods appear.³²²

³¹⁶ Del Olmo Lete, *CR*, p. 43 (emphasis in original).

³¹⁷ Del Olmo Lete, *CR*, p. 46.

³¹⁸ Ugarit’s coastal location, dependence on rain, and the monarchic and feudal organization of the state are all considered to be determining factors in the shaping of Ugaritic mythology: del Olmo Lete, *CR*, p. 53.

³¹⁹ Del Olmo Lete, *CR*, p. 54, distinguishes between the ‘standard’ system of the Baal Cycle (KTU 1.1–1.6) and the ‘secondary system’ of the ‘minor’ myths. According to his reading, these minor myths sketch out functional aspects of theology, cosmology and eschatology: the region of Baal or the fertility of the earth in KTU 1.10–1.11; 1.12; 1.13; the astral region in KTU 1.23; 1.24; and the region of the underworld in KTU 1.20–1.22.

³²⁰ Interestingly, del Olmo Lete observes that the Baal myth presents a pantheon divided into two camps—those who oppose Baal, *dr il* (‘the family of El’); and those who collaborate with him, *phr b’l* (‘the assembly of Baal’). For him, the presence of this theme of enmity between the gods may be the result of ‘the upstart-syncretistic nature of *Ba’lu*’s presence in *Ilu*’s pantheon or, possibly, the merging of two pantheons, one “Amorite,” the other “Canaanite”’ (*CR*, p. 51). For del Olmo Lete this fact has its reflex in the series of double names for the principal deities: *il dgn*, *ilt airt*, *b’l/hdd* and *’nt ’irt*.

³²¹ For him, the expanded cultic pantheon represents the functional concept of divinity; that is, the hierarchical position of a divine name is directly related to the deity’s ability to answer the immediate demands of the faithful. Because the cult employed a variety of well-defined rituals in order to control

Del Olmo Lete's view is that there was no one pantheon of the Ugaritic ritual texts. Instead, he observes the presence of smaller 'series' (or lists) of gods who act or are invoked in each cultic act. Significantly, these lists are seen to represent the 'small specialized "pantheons," of different classes or social situations'.³²³ Del Olmo Lete's appreciation of the functionalism associated with the divine names leads him to the recognition of three distinct divisions within the overall pantheon of Ugarit: (1) 'the pantheon of the palace or patron gods of the dynasty',³²⁴ (2) 'the pantheon of prayer and magic',³²⁵ and (3) 'the pantheon of the sacrificial rituals'.³²⁶ (This latter group of texts

and coordinate aspects of daily life, and because it was essential that the worshipper be put in contact with the appropriate god for every case, the number of deities attested in the ritual texts is relatively large.

³²² Del Olmo Lete, *CR*, p. 44-45.

³²³ Del Olmo Lete, *CR*, p. 55.

³²⁴ Interestingly, del Olmo Lete observes that a significant number of these texts were unearthed at Ras Ibn Hani which, for him, may have been 'a mere "palace," with an archive containing only the "palace" texts' (*CR*, p. 58 n. 39). Aside from those texts considered to belong to the 'royal' liturgy by virtue of the active participation of the king (discussed below), del Olmo Lete recognises that a series of rituals take place in 'the palace' (*bt mlk*) and more specifically in the palace 'chapel' (*hmn*). These texts, he argues, are associated with a specifically dynastic sense of worship. On the basis of the presence and distribution of the divine names within these texts del Olmo Lete deduces that the royal cult had a special cult of particular or selected gods. These deities, he suggests, can be divided into three groups: 'some are particularly special and can be called "dynastic"; others have a direct relationship to the palace and can be called "tutelary" deities; lastly, others still are tangibly connected with the ancestor cult and thus represent the "ancestral/infernal" gods' (p. 60).

³²⁵ Del Olmo Lete, *CR*, p. 65, isolated three characteristic features of divine name usage in non-sacrificial ritual texts. (1) The non-sacrificial ritual texts display a marked tendency towards presenting divine names in the form of double epithets—either of the 'construct' (*b 'l špn*) or 'copulative' type (*il w atrt*). Such divine names tend to express 'ethnic' and 'functional' origin (*b 'l-dgn*, '*nt- 'ttrt*, *yrḥ-ršp*). For del Olmo Lete, 'This predominant use of a particular linguistic construction possibly has cultic reasons and is perhaps connected with the correct use of the "name" of the god and his proper match as an expression of his particular personality and therefore of his invocation' (p. 65; cf. n. 57 on the same page, where del Olmo Lete accepts that this phenomenon may be due to the fusion of pantheons). (2) Organising the divine names into fixed sequences also appears to be a feature of the non-sacrificial ritual texts. Recognising that KTU 1.65 and KTU 1.40 present the same divine names in the same order (*ill/ab bn il*, *dr bn il*, *mpḥrt bn il*, *ḫmn w šnm*) leads del Olmo Lete to the conclusion that it undoubtedly comprises 'a cultic sequence of prayer and general invocation to the supreme god and to all "his family," the pantheon, in a nutshell' (p. 65). (3) Del Olmo Lete also observes that a number of texts (KTU 1.100; 1.107; 1.123) combine in a systematic way both of the preceding characteristics. All this leads del Olmo Lete to the conclusion that 'the pantheon of these texts appears to be strongly fixed and sequential' (p. 66).

was, in fact, foremost in del Olmo Lete's estimation. Considered to be the main body of cult texts, the sacrificial ritual texts 'comprise the best evidence of the cultic and official pantheon of Ugarit, of the system of gods of liturgical practice in its most generic and popular form: sacrifice as a rite of offering and communion, of supplication and worship, the rite, let us say, of everyday religious life'.³²⁷)

Having highlighted specific pantheons present within mythological and sacrificial-ritual texts, del Olmo Lete turns his attention to the 'canonical lists' of gods. Seeing that two almost identical lists of divine names appear in KTU 1.47 and KTU 1.118 and that the same ordering of deities appears to have provided the framework for the sacrificial-ritual text KTU 1.148, del Olmo Lete proposed that the fixed and sequential arrangement of the divine names at Ugarit represents

a conspicuous attempt at arranging the religious universe into a system... It represents an attempt at synthesis, at system, which includes the data of mythological conception and cultic practice and tries to construct a sort of global 'creed' of the divine universe. It is, therefore, a speculative and definitive ('canonical') list that is also a practical guide. The operation is essentially syncretistic and as such, extremely important, as the culmination of giving structure to the 'theme' of the pantheon by Canaanite believers and thinkers.³²⁸

³²⁶ Del Olmo Lete, *CR*, pp. 67-71, points out that within the sacrificial texts identical and stereotypical sequences of deities are frequently attested, the most notable being found in KTU 1.39 and 1.41//1.87. A number of shorter lists are also attested. (1) In KTU 1.41//1.87 the subsections *il/h*, *ilhm*, (*il*), *škmn w šnm/(il)*, *b'l bhtm*, *inš ilm*, (*ilš*), *ilhm* are repeated several times. (2) Other stereotypical lists of deities include: *b'l špn, rms, šlm, b'l špn, špn* (KTU 1.46.12-15/1.109.5-10); *b'l ugrt, ilib, il, b'l, 'nt, špn, pdry* (KTU 1.46.16-17; 1.109.11-14); *b'l ugrt, b'l hlb, yrh, 'nt špn, pdry* (KTU 1.130.10-15; 1.109.16-18). Within these series del Olmo Lete acknowledges several features. (1) The first divine name appearing in the sequence is consistently that of El (*il, ilib*), followed by Baal (*b'l, b'l špn, špn*). (2) The hierarchy presented in the sacrificial series of divine names does not always follow the one expected from mythology: 'The order is now determined by different criteria from "importance" and "function" in the pantheon; perhaps the criteria are "patronage" and cult "specialization"'. (3) The lack of 'vertical' order in the pantheistic structure is mirrored by the lack of 'horizontal' order—that is, there are no sequences of divine 'pairs'. The few exceptional cases (*ym-'nt; b'l-qrt*) are considered 'unorthodox'. (4) Local epithets (*b'l ugrt, b'l hlb, b'l špn, 'nt hlb, 'nt hls[?]*) retain their meaning in the sacrificial ritual texts. (5) Some of the deities attested in the dynastic and divinatory pantheons (*gtr[m], 'itr, 'itpr, bbt[m], b'lt bhtm, inš ilm*) are also found in the sacrificial texts. For del Olmo Lete this provides 'clear testimony to the introduction of the palace cult into the town cult'. (6) The absence of the god Mot as a recipient of sacrifices is also noted.

³²⁷ Del Olmo Lete, *CR*, p. 67.

³²⁸ Del Olmo Lete, *CR*, p. 46. For del Olmo Lete the systematisation of the deities is confirmed by the Akkadian text RS 20.24. This text, which appears to be a translation of KTU 1.118, is considered to be of inestimable value for determining the meaning of the Ugaritic names/epithets as well as their relation to the Mesopotamian pantheon. Affording direct insight into the syncretistic nature of Ugaritic cult, a

On the basis of the Ugaritic and Akkadian evidence del Olmo Lete observed a discernible and recurring structural arrangement of the divine names.³²⁹ A comparison of the sequences present in the god-list documents leads del Olmo Lete to the conclusion that a process of ‘modernizing/replacement’ lead to successive revisions of the official canonical god lists at Ugarit.³³⁰

comparison of the god lists ‘allows us to determine the “personality,” “function,” and “attributes” of the Ugaritic gods from their Mesopotamian equivalents, which are better known to us’ (p. 72).

³²⁹ (1) Leaving aside the title/reinterpretation *il špn*, the canonical god lists always begin with *ilib* followed by *il* and *dgn*. For del Olmo Lete this creates a ‘tri-unity’ of epithets. ‘Although the epithets might be distinct in the cult and in the prayers of the faithful, in myth and theology they correspond to the same god. There can be no doubt that the equation of *Ilu* and *Dagānu* expresses the process of cultural and cultic identification of two (Canaanite/Amorite) pantheons’ (p. 74). (2) Next follow the seven epithets of Baal/(H)ad(a)du: *b’l špn* and *b’lm* (occurring six times). For del Olmo Lete: ‘This deity is central to the Canaanite pantheon: he is the great protector god of Ugarit...seven times god... In this way the list is a kind of “litany,” a text of invocation or recitation... It is, therefore, not merely or originally a “literary” text or a document of “theological” synthesis’ (p. 75, emphasis in original). (3) Directly after the seven epithets of Baal are listed seven deities headed by the dual deity/divinisation *arš w šmm* (‘Earth and Heaven’). Del Olmo Lete understands this second group of seven deities (*arš w šmm*, *kīrt*, *yrh*, *‘itr // špn*, *ktr*, *pdry*) to represent ‘chthonic-astral’ or ‘cosmic’ deities. Particular attention is drawn to the corresponding section in the Akkadian translation: ‘It is not merely a transcription of names into syllabic writing but a real syncretistic interpretation, a comparison of pantheons’ (pp. 75-76). (3) A similar chthonian-astral character is seen to be evident in the next group of seven deities headed by the dual name/divinisation *ḡrm w ‘mqt* (‘Mountains and Valleys’). Del Olmo Lete considers the six goddesses to be arranged hierarchically and related to the gods of the previous two groups (*ill/aītr*, *b’l’l’nt*, *yrh’/špš[?]*, *špn/arsy*, *ktr’/ušhry*, *‘itr’/‘trt*). ‘This separation of the sexes confirms the absence of “pairing” in the Ugaritic pantheon’ (p. 76). (4) The remaining names of the god lists appear under the heading *il t’dr b’l* (‘the helper gods of Baal’, corresponding to *phr b’l* ‘the Assembly of Baal’), and *phr ilm* (‘the Assembly of El’, corresponding to *dr ilm* ‘the Generation of El’). According to del Olmo Lete ‘this last group is rather torrential and possibly contains later additions... It includes, for example, several “foreign,” non-Semitic deities (*ddmš*, *uḫt*), which are very rare in the religion, cult, and myth of Ugarit. These additions complete the syncretistic process and adaptation of pantheons, assimilations of various ethnic, cultural, and religious strata in the social framework of Ugarit’ (p. 77).

³³⁰ Del Olmo Lete, *CR*, p. 72. For him, KTU 1.118 represents an earlier version of the god list, with KTU 1.47 and RS 20.24 (as well as KTU 1.148) understood to be later reworkings. According to del Olmo Lete, the heading *il špn* may have been inserted at a later stage in an attempt to express the coordination of the ‘El-centred’ and ‘Baal-centred’ aspects of the supreme god—a possible attempt to bring together the ‘parental’ religion (associated with *ilib*) and the ‘cosmic’ religion (linked to *špn*). Note del Olmo Lete’s erroneous transcription KTU 1.118 and KTU 1.47 (p. 72): *il špn* should, in fact, appear in the text of KTU 1.47 and not that of KTU 1.118.

As an aside to his study of the divine names of Ugarit, del Olmo Lete acknowledged the presence of a distinctive Hurrian pantheon at Ugarit.³³¹ Significantly, the influence of the Hurrian religious, mythological and cultic tradition is considered to be extensive and supported by the presence of a large number of texts written in the Hurrian language found in various archives,³³² as well as the bilingual documents KTU 1.111 and 1.132. Furthermore, the acceptance of apparently Hurrian divine names into the canonical pantheon of Ugarit suggests that a degree of integration had taken place, although little is known about Hurrian religion and its meaning.³³³

Perhaps the single most momentous feature of del Olmo Lete's interpretation of the ritual texts is his treatment of the sixth and final component of the ritual syntax, the cultic 'sacrificer' or 'officiant'. Based on the observation that 'Apart from the king...no other specific officiant is mentioned in the cultic text in connection with offering and sacrificial rites' del Olmo Lete attached primary importance to evaluating the role of the monarch in the religious life of Ugarit.³³⁴ Del Olmo Lete recognises the king acts as 'supreme and almost exclusive officiant'. Not only is the king the 'epicentre' of the Ugaritic cult,³³⁵ he is the focal point of del Olmo Lete's interpretation.

The identification and illumination of the royal aspect of the Ugaritic cult represents a characteristic feature of del Olmo Lete's reading of the texts—the concomitant differentiation between 'official' and 'unofficial' religious activity is a hallmark of his interpretation, and serves as the framework within which his analysis of the texts is arranged.³³⁶

³³¹ Del Olmo Lete, *CR*, pp. 82-86.

³³² Del Olmo Lete (*CR*, p. 82 n. 99) lists the following texts as Hurrian: KTU 1.26; 1.32(?); 1.33; 1.34; 1.35; 1.36; 1.42; 1.44; 1.51; 1.54; 1.59; 1.60; 1.64; 1.66; 1.68; 1.110; 1.116; 1.120; 1.125; 1.128; 1.131; 1.135; 1.149.

³³³ For a bibliography of Hurrian religion see del Olmo Lete, *CR*, p. 83 n. 101.

³³⁴ Del Olmo Lete, *CR*, pp. 41-42. In connection with non-sacrificial rites del Olmo Lete recognises the participation of the *mhlm* (KTU 1.119.23), *šr* (KTU 1.106.15), *qdš* (KTU 1.112.21), *hđrglm* (KTU 1.112.2[?]). The presence of a priestly class (*khn*) is apparent from the administrative texts, although their association with sacrifice is not made explicit. In addition, the function of the '*rb*' of KTU 1.23.7 remains unclear.

³³⁵ Del Olmo Lete, *CR*, p. 11.

³³⁶ Four out of del Olmo Lete's seven chapters are dedicated to the appreciation of royal cultic activity: Chapter 3, 'Royalty: Its Myth and Cult' (pp. 166-212); Chapter 4, 'The Funerary Cult of the Palace' (pp. 213-53); Chapter 5, 'The Non-Funerary Palace Cult' (pp. 254-91); Chapter 6, 'The Royal Liturgy of the Word: Prayers and Oracles' (pp. 292-323). Discussion of the non-royal cult is to be found in Chapter 7, 'The Religion of Everyday Life' (pp. 324-88).

For del Olmo Lete, the appearance of *mlk* in a cultic text is the primary indicator of the king's participation in the religious activity;³³⁷ at the same time, references to the king help to establish the text's derivation. What is more, the affiliation (or otherwise) of the king with the other elements of the ritual syntax—the rites, offerings, locations, times and deities—determines the character of these components. Accordingly, and most notably, del Olmo Lete is able to identify 'royal festivals', 'royal processions', 'royal rites', and so on.³³⁸ In del Olmo Lete's scheme, then, references to the king in cultic contexts represents a kind of royal warrant that leads on to the identification of Ugarit's 'official' religion.³³⁹

For del Olmo Lete, the prominence of the royal/official religion—and, by implication, his preoccupation with it—is motivated by the available sources. Maintaining that 'we have barely any evidence of personal religion' at Ugarit,³⁴⁰ del Olmo Lete acknowledged that hints of the unofficial religion are detectable at Ugarit, being found particularly in the letters and personal names.³⁴¹ In del Olmo Lete's system, the non-presence of the king (and the inability to secure a royal connection) prompts the interpretation of the remaining religious texts as standing somehow outside

³³⁷ References to other members of the royal family (e.g. *mlkt*, *bn mlk*, *bnt mlk*) supply added support for this view. Del Olmo Lete, *CR*, p. 24, identifies five characteristic formulas that signify the king's cultic involvement: (1) *yrthš mlk brr* (KTU 1.41.3; 1.46.10; 1.48.21(?); 1.87.4, 55; 1.105.6; 1.109.2; 1.112, 17; 1.119.5); (2) *'rb/šba/šbu špš whl mlk/ym* (KTU 1.41.47-48, 53; 1.46.9; 1.87.51-52; 1.112.9, 14-15; 1.119.4, 23-24; 1.132.27-28); (3) *mlk brr rgm ytb / rgm ytb mlk brr* (KTU 1.41.44, 46//1.87.49, 51); (4) *ytb rgm whl mlk* (KTU 1.106.23, 32); (5) *mlk ytb brr* (KTU 1.41//1.87.7-8).

³³⁸ Del Olmo Lete, *CR*, pp. 166-212 (166-68), extended his notion of the king's religious centrality by proposing the presence of a distinct 'royal ideology' and a separate 'palace cult' that possessed its own mythological and epical tradition. KTU 1.20–1.22, the so-called 'Rpum texts', supply important support for his thesis. Several epithets arising in these texts are taken as support for this thesis: *rpu(m)* and *mlkm* are understood to be deified dead kings; *mlk 'lm* and *'lm* are 'probably connected with the "protective" function of the god king in the political sphere'; *gtrm* refers to the king's intervention in oracles; *trmnm* refers to his pre-eminence in the royal funerary cult (perhaps the Hurrian tradition).

³³⁹ Del Olmo Lete, *CR*, p. 11: 'By means of the structural components, the cultic texts of Ugarit and Ras Ibn Hani present a liturgy of an urban sanctuary with quite an elaborate structure, with rituals that have precise meaning and a precise social function. They reflect the prevailing "ideology" with the "king" as its epicenter in his role as supreme and almost exclusive officiant.'

³⁴⁰ Del Olmo Lete, *CR*, p. 1.

³⁴¹ Del Olmo Lete, *CR*, pp. 336-40. Note also 'At the margins of this conception and official organization of the religious universe, the faithful exhibit their own religious feeling in a much freer and more fluid way in the customs of the family cult or in expressions of personal piety. Personal names comprise one of the few approaches to non-official religion... This popular level of religious feeling also undoubtedly constructs its own pantheon in which many more or less neutral elements that surround existence attain 'divine' nature' (p. 45, emphasis in original).

the official cult institution.³⁴² The prominence within these texts of deities who do not appear (or at least do not appear prominently) in the official religious documentation is another deciding factor.³⁴³

2. Archaeological Data

To date, there have been relatively few studies dedicated to interpretation of the archaeological data generated by the excavators at Ras Shamra. Apart from a small number of volumes appearing in Ras-Shamra–Ugarit series,³⁴⁴ the information has not been subjected to systematic consideration. What is more, the excavation records remain incomplete and are scattered throughout the early issues of the journal *Syria*, as well as the volumes of the series *Ugaritica* and (to a lesser extent) the *Ugarit Forschungen* annuals.

Within mainstream scholarship the primary focus has been on archaeological information relating to the temple discovered at Ugarit. A consideration of the temple dimensions, for example, has prompted some to conclude, on the basis of their small size and closed construction, that the temples could not have been the venues of large-scale, temple-based cult ceremonies.³⁴⁵ Others have attempted a comparison of the position, plan and orientation of the structures with other ancient Near Eastern temples, with the conclusion that the ‘The Temples at Ras Shamra were located some distance

³⁴² See del Olmo Lete, *CR*, pp. 324–88 (Chapter 7: ‘The Religion of Everyday Life’).

³⁴³ Del Olmo Lete, *CR*, p. 65; cf. above p. 60 n. 325.

³⁴⁴ O. Callot, *Une maison à Ougarit, études d’architecture domestique* (Ras-Shamra–Ougarit, 1; Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1983); M. Yon *et al.*, *Le centre de la ville, 38–44^e campagnes* (Ras-Shamra–Ougarit, 3; Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1987); M. Yon (ed.), *Arts et industries de la pierre* (Ras-Shamra–Ougarit, 6; Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1991); H. de Contenson, *Préhistoire de Ras Shamra, les sondages stratigraphiques de 1955 à 1976* (2 vols.; Ras-Shamra–Ougarit, 8; Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1991); P. Amiet, *Corpus des cylindres de Ras Shamra—Ougarit II. Sceaux-cylindres en hematite et pierres diverses* (Ras-Shamra–Ougarit, 9; Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1992); O. Callot, *La tranchée ‘ville sud’: Etudes d’architecture domestique* (Ras-Shamra–Ougarit, 10; Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1994).

³⁴⁵ W.G. Dever, ‘The Contribution of Archaeology to the Study of Canaanite and Early Israelite Religion’, in Miller, Hanson and McBride (eds.), *Ancient Israelite Religion*, pp. 209–47 (229–30). See also Kapelrud, *Baal in the Ras Shamra Texts*, pp. 53–55 (55): ‘the peculiar character of the temple of Dagan did not allow public cultic performances. What happened there must have been for the few.’ Cf. A.L. Oppenheim, *The Mesopotamian Temple* (BA Reader, 1; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1975), p. 161, who suggests that the so-called longroom temples (of which type the Ugaritic exemplars are seen to belong) meant greater contact between devotee and image (p. 133).

from the palace and they would have had considerable religious independence'.³⁴⁶ Yet others have attempted to connect physical features of the temples with details appearing in the texts—most notably, the 'rooftop ritual' in the Keret poem (KTU 1.14.II.20; IV.8) and the remains of a staircase in the 'Baal temple'.³⁴⁷

In the main, however, archaeology has played a supporting role to text-based discussion, most often with the findsite location of tablets (particularly the poetic tablets) being invoked in support of a proposed cultic *Sitz im Leben*.³⁴⁸ On the basis of the observation that texts were discovered in a building situated between the two temple structures on the acropolis, structures that are commonly referred as the 'Baal' and 'Dagan' temples, an association between the texts and the cult structures is 'confirmed'. (It is noteworthy that in their reading of this archaeological datum, only a few scholars³⁴⁹ have called into question the identification of the 'Dagan' temple³⁵⁰—an identification proposed by Claude Schaeffer³⁵¹ based on the discovery of a votive stele within the structure.³⁵²)

That is not to say that readings of the archaeological data in isolation have not been attempted. While such studies are, admittedly, few in number, they have nevertheless made a valuable contribution to the study of Ugaritic religion.

³⁴⁶ C.J. Davey, 'Temples of the Levant and the Buildings of Solomon', *TynBul* 31 (1980), pp. 107-46 (41).

³⁴⁷ E.g. C.F.A. Schaeffer, *The Cuneiform Texts of Ras Shamra-Ugarit* (London: Oxford University Press, 1939), p. 67; Kapelrud, *Baal in the Ras Shamra Texts*, p. 55.

³⁴⁸ See, e.g., Gaster, *Thespis*, p. 257; Ringgren, *Religions of the Ancient Near East*, p. 148. See, however, de Langhe, 'Myth, Ritual, and Kingship in the Ras Shamra Tablets', pp. 140-41, who raised objections to this assumption.

³⁴⁹ John Healey remains undecided about the identification of the Dagan temple (Healey, 'Grain and Wine in Abundance', p. 68). Wyatt, for example, rejects the identification of the temple as a structure dedicated to Dagan (preferring to see Dagan as a guest deity in *El*'s temple); Wyatt, 'The Relationship of the Deities', p. 376.

³⁵⁰ The acceptance of the identification is widespread. See, among many others, W.F. Albright, 'The Old Testament and Canaanite Language and Literature', *CBQ* 7 (1945), pp. 5-31; J. Gray, 'Social Aspects of Canaanite Religion', in G.W. Anderson, *et al.* (eds.), *Congress Volume, Geneva 1965* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1966), pp. 170-92; Miller, 'Aspects of the Religion of Ugarit', p. 58; *idem*, 'Ugarit and the History of Religions', *JSL* 9 (1981), pp. 119-28 (123).

³⁵¹ Schaeffer, *The Cuneiform Texts*, p. 8.

³⁵² Note the iconographical reading of the stele by T. Fenton, 'Baal au Foudre: of Snakes and Mountains, Myth and Message', in *CRU*, pp. 49-64.

a. *Yon*

In her article ‘The Temple of the Rhytons at Ugarit’,³⁵³ Marguerite Yon, former director of the Mission de Ras Shamra–Ougarit, proposed the existence of an additional temple building situated in Ugarit’s central district.³⁵⁴ Providing a detailed description of the building and its locale, Yon based her interpretation of the site primarily on the plan of the structure and the archaeological features presented within. The building, she observed, had a main room set back from the street outside, contained a number of low benches and a well-constructed platform that closely resembles contemporary examples known from Palestine, which could have functioned as an altar.³⁵⁵ The general layout of the building and its position within a residential district tallied, for Yon, with the Ingot God Sanctuary at Enkomi in Cyprus³⁵⁶

Yon supported her thesis further by noting the presence of number of ‘religious’ artefacts. These included the fragmentary remains of a stele, a statue of El, a terracotta stand and, most importantly, 17 conical clay rhytons. According to Yon, these ‘typically cult items’, which are similar to examples from Crete that were used for the pouring of libations, confirm the building’s religious connection.³⁵⁷

Importantly, Yon’s reading of the archaeology led her to make conclusions about the status and function of the temple. First, Yon noted that the temple contained a number of anterooms, which may have been used for collective cult activities. Second, Yon observed that there was no sacrificial area within the complex; a fact that, for her, is suggestive of ‘the presence of united worshippers’, perhaps the *mrzḥ* fellowship. Third, the detail that the temple’s passageway was narrowed (as the house next door was enlarged), led Yon to the conclusion that the ‘an impoverishment of the sanctuary and its influence’.³⁵⁸ Furthermore, the likelihood that the Rhyton Temple did not have the same status as those situated on the acropolis can be deduced from ‘the mediocre quality of the architecture’ and the ‘common quality of the offerings and furnishings’ recovered from within it.³⁵⁹

Finally, Yon attended to the matter of which gods were worshipped at the temple. In spite of the discovery of the ‘El’ statue (noted above), the iconography was not sufficiently decisive: ‘the cult of the god El appeared in so many places that the

³⁵³ M. Yon, ‘The Temple of the Rhytons at Ugarit’, in *CRU*, pp. 405-22.

³⁵⁴ That is, in addition to the ‘Baal’ and ‘Dagan’ temples mentioned already, and the sanctuary located in the vicinity of the Royal Palace. For a discussion of this cult location see G. Saadé, *Ougarit: Métropole cananéene* (Latakia: Imprimerie Catholique, 1978), pp. 115-16.

³⁵⁵ Yon, ‘The Temple of the Rhytons’, pp. 408-409.

³⁵⁶ Yon, ‘The Temple of the Rhytons’, p. 413.

³⁵⁷ Yon, ‘The Temple of the Rhytons’, p. 415.

³⁵⁸ Yon, ‘The Temple of the Rhytons’, p. 411.

³⁵⁹ Yon, ‘The Temple of the Rhytons’, p. 416.

Temple of Rhytons was not necessarily reserved for him'; alongside this that fact that 'There are no royal aspects'.³⁶⁰ According to Yon, 'Even if the temple is dedicated to El, it is probably not his main temple in the city'.³⁶¹

b. *Frost*

In two separate studies Honor Frost attended to the curious fact that a number of stone anchors were discovered in close association with the Baal temple at Ugarit.³⁶² Frost's reckoning was that 'Once pierced stones are identified as anchors, their presence in ancient buildings takes on a new significance' and that 'being neither accidental nor structural, it must relate to the customs of the early communities'.³⁶³ For Frost the conclusion was 'the anchors grouped in the Temple of Baal are votive'.³⁶⁴

Several details were used to support the votive interpretation of the anchors. Among other things, Frost observed that: (1) several of the anchors are made from chalk, an unusual choice of material since its fragility makes it unsuitable for practical purposes; (2) a number of the anchors display non-functional cupules similar to examples discovered at Byblos; (3) the anchors appear to be new, and show no evidence of having being used at sea; (4) all of the anchors, with the exception of one basalt specimen, are made from local rock; (5) the anchors discovered at Ugarit display typological affinities with examples attested at Kition.³⁶⁵

Most important to Frost's reading of the archaeological data is the fact that several of the anchors were used in the construction of the Baal temple, while other, larger examples appeared grouped together in their original position outside the entrance to the Baal temple.³⁶⁶ Moreover, the fact that there are no anchors associated with the Dagan temple lends added significance to their appearance in and around the Baal temple.

Finally, Frost attempted to rationalise the appearance of the 'votive'³⁶⁷ anchors on land, in general: 'The places where anchors are excavated on land reflect the basic

³⁶⁰ Yon, 'The Temple of the Rhytons', p. 416.

³⁶¹ Yon, 'The Temple of the Rhytons', p. 416.

³⁶² H. Frost, 'The Stone Anchors of Ugarit', in *Ugaritica*, VI, pp. 235-43; *idem*, 'Anchors Sacred and Profane: Ugarit-Ras Shamra, 1986; The Stone Anchors Revised and Compared', in *RSO* 6, pp. 355-410.

³⁶³ Frost, 'The Stone Anchors of Ugarit', p. 235.

³⁶⁴ Frost, 'The Stone Anchors of Ugarit', p. 235.

³⁶⁵ See, in particular, Frost, 'Anchors Sacred and Profane'. This article provides a more detailed and explorative reading of the evidence than the earlier 'The Stone Anchors of Ugarit'.

³⁶⁶ For Frost, 'Anchors Sacred and Profane', pp. 359-60, the sheer scale of the anchors suggests that the placement of the anchors was deliberate, and that their present position is likely to have been their original position.

³⁶⁷ See Frost, 'Anchors Sacred and Profane', p. 357, for Frost's definition of 'votive'.

needs of seafarers: taking on water (wells); a safe passage in this life (temples) and after death (tombs)'.³⁶⁸ Furthermore, in the case of Ugarit, 'the concentration of anchors in and around a single building, which is not only associated with a storm god, but which navigators (unless blindfolded!) must have used as a land-mark, cannot be fortuitous'.³⁶⁹

c. Pitard

Re-examination of previous readings of the archaeological evidence has also proved useful for the appreciation of Ugaritic religion. In his 1994 article, 'The "Libation Installations" of the Tombs at Ugarit',³⁷⁰ Wayne Pitard looked again at the archaeological remains that, some 55 years earlier, had prompted Claude Schaeffer to propose that troughs, ducts and pipes found in and around the tomb structures at Ugarit represented cultic apparatus associated with a 'cult of the dead'.³⁷¹ These features, Schaeffer maintained, allowed the living to provide sustenance for the dead, and testified to the existence of ancestor worship at Ugarit: 'The hydraulic system for supplying the dead with drinking-water prescribed by the rites reveal a highly complicated cult of the dead'.³⁷² Schaeffer's interpretation was seized upon by a number of scholars—most notably, Theodore Lewis³⁷³—and used in the development of the mortuary aspect of the Ugaritic cult.³⁷⁴

Pitard provided a step-by-step rebuttal of Schaeffer's cultic reading of the physical remains. At the heart of the (mis)interpretation, Pitard argued, was the early and erroneous identification of the Ugarit's nearby harbour (Minet el-Beida) as a 'necropolis'—an identification that was based on the discovery of tombs in the first year of excavation. Later, in the sixth or seventh campaign sixth or the seventh

³⁶⁸ Frost, 'Anchors Sacred and Profane', p. 358.

³⁶⁹ Frost, 'Anchors Sacred and Profane', p. 357. Cf. P.C. Craigie, 'Ugarit, Canaan, and Israel', *TynBul* 34 (1983), pp. 145-67, who seems to follow Frost's reasoning: 'If it may be surmised that the presence of these stone anchors in the temple has religious significance, then presumably we may see the way in which Ugarit's maritime location has influenced the local cult of Baal'.

³⁷⁰ W.T. Pitard, 'The "Libation Installations" of the Tombs at Ugarit', *BA* 57.1 (1994), pp. 20-37.

³⁷¹ Schaeffer, *The Cuneiform Texts*, pp. 18, 46-56.

³⁷² Schaeffer, *The Cuneiform Texts*, p. 18.

³⁷³ T.J. Lewis, *Cults of the Dead in Ancient Israel and Ugarit* (HSM, 39; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989). See also J.W. Ribar, 'Death Cult Practices in Ancient Palestine' (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Michigan, 1973); M.H. Pope, 'The Cult of the Dead at Ugarit', in Young (ed.), *Ugarit in Retrospect*, pp. 59-79. See also Oldenburg *The Conflict between El and Ba'al*, p. 89. Pitard himself subscribed to this view before he re-examined the archaeological data: W.T. Pitard, 'The Ugaritic Funerary Text RS 34.126', *BASOR* 232 (1978), pp. 65-75.

³⁷⁴ See, especially, Lewis, *Cults of the Dead*, pp. 97-98.

campaign, when similar tombs turned up under the houses in Ugarit, Schaeffer revised his position. Yet, despite this change of mind, the archaeological features of his early thesis have never been reanalysed. And so the cultic interpretation was perpetuated.³⁷⁵

Looking again at the physicalities of the tombs, Pitard noted that the so-called ‘windows’ were, in fact, examples of familiar niche structures, but with a missing sealing stone. Also, none of the ‘libation’ jars found in some of the niches were connected with the surface—if they had been used in ritual acts, Pitard argued, these would have been rites performed at the time of funeral. In addition, the ceiling openings were not libation hatches, but were the result of tomb plundering—after all, it was hardly likely that the people living in the rooms above would have tolerated the odours emanating from the tomb below their feet. Furthermore, Schaeffer’s spouted ‘libation tables’ were now understood to be the flat beds of olive presses.³⁷⁶

Thus, Pitard’s reassessment contributed to the demise of the theory that Ugaritic tombs were peppered with cultic ‘libation pits’ and ‘drains’. Observing that many of the conduits actually ran *away* from the tombs, Pitard urged that the ritual structures be understood as domestic sumps, latrines and gutters. Thus, with one yank on the interpretive chain Pitard brought about a shift from ‘libation installation’ to ‘household sanitation’!³⁷⁷

3. *Combined Readings: Texts in Archaeological Setting*

Thus far it has been shown that the study of textual and archaeological evidence has been carried out with a fair degree of independence. While it has already been noted in the preceding section that the archaeological data have sometimes featured in the text-based discussion, it seems reasonable to say that the consideration of the archaeology has been largely a matter of noting the approximate location of a text, or the existence of a particular architectural feature or artefact.

A small number of studies have attempted the systematic incorporation of the textual and archaeological data, however. The studies discussed in the closing pages of this chapter represent deliberate and methodical attempts at synthesis. By combining the

³⁷⁵ Pitard, ‘The “Libation Installations”’, p. 23.

³⁷⁶ O. Callot, ‘Les huileries du Bronze récent à Ougarit’, in *RSO* 3.

³⁷⁷ Pitard’s reassessment did not, however, call for the dissolution of the ‘cult of the dead’ thesis. Instead, he urged for a more measured approach: ‘There is simply less evidence about Ugaritic funerary practices and beliefs concerning afterlife than was generally supposed’ (Pitard, ‘The “Libation Installations”’, p. 35).

testimonies of the textual and archaeological resources, they display a characteristic outlook that makes them deserving of a separate treatment.

a. *Van Soldt*

In his 1991 work, *Studies in the Akkadian of Ugarit*,³⁷⁸ Wilfred Hugo van Soldt offered the first comprehensive combined study of textual and archaeological evidence from Ugarit. Despite the fact that van Soldt's monumental work was intended primarily as an examination of the syllabic cuneiform documents discovered at Ugarit and as such does not deal directly with tablets bearing the native alphabetic script, his methodological approach has nevertheless had knock-on effects that are relevant for the study of the Ugaritic texts (and, by implication, the study of Ugaritic religion).

Van Soldt recognised that previous studies of the Akkadian tablets recovered from Ras Shamra had failed to take into account the physical placement of the texts. A comprehensive examination of the distribution of the texts within the archaeological remains, van Soldt proposed, would allow for a better appreciation of the practices of the Akkadian-writing scribes:

We do not know the place of origin of the masters who taught them. However, in the Akkadian they wrote we can detect features of characteristic of the two main Mesopotamian dialects, Babylonian and Assyrian, and indication of influences from such languages as Hurrian and Ugaritic. It will be our task to trace these influences and distinguish between them.³⁷⁹

Examination of *contexts* as well as the *contents* of the texts would be instrumental in the realisation of this objective.

Van Soldt prefaced his linguistic analysis of and dialectal differentiation between the Akkadian texts from Ugarit with a summary of the chronological dating of the texts their physical distribution within the archaeological remains. It is this portion of the study that impacts most directly upon the treatment of the alphabetic cuneiform documentation.

The principles for reconstructing the chronological framework of the texts are based on the recognition of 'datable' components within the texts, namely, the proper names of kings, queens and scribes mentioned in the texts. Using the Assyrian King List as his starting point,³⁸⁰ van Soldt combined the testimony of Egyptian records to produce

³⁷⁸ W.H. van Soldt, *Studies in the Akkadian of Ugarit: Dating and Grammar* (AOAT, 40; Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker Verlag; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1991). (Hereafter *SAU*.)

³⁷⁹ Van Soldt, *SAU*, p. xxii.

³⁸⁰ For van Soldt, *SAU*, p. 1, this text represents 'the most reliable source for this period'.

synchronisms with Hittite and Ugaritic monarchs. Although van Soldt's chronology cannot be rigidly applied—he admitted that his reconstructive work was not without problems, since 'two texts with two different successive kings can in fact be closer in time than two others dated to the same king'—it provides a broad framework within which the texts can be placed.³⁸¹ The principle, in essence, is that the presence of a 'datable' name (of a king, queen, or scribe) serves to 'date' the text in which it appears, a 'dating' that carries over onto any texts that can be proved to have been physically proximate to the 'dated' text (taking into account accidental displacement by building collapse and earthquake).³⁸²

In the second chapter of his study³⁸³ van Soldt provided a methodical site-by-site and room-by-room summary of each 'archive'³⁸⁴ and its contents. Restricting himself to a general description of each text's genre classification, van Soldt placed each text fragment within a vertical axis according to its recorded position relative to the surface ground level prior to excavation. Correlating this with the stratigraphical data supplied Claude Schaeffer,³⁸⁵ and incorporating the chronologically specific evidence supplied by names (discussed above) and artefactual remains allowed van Soldt to provide a reconstruction of the locations and relative distribution of the text fragments. In effect, van Soldt's reading of the archaeological records allowed him to regroup the texts and place them back into the physical context from which they were recovered.

The following tables represent a summary of van Soldt's site-by-site treatment of the Ugaritic archives.³⁸⁶ Column A lists each of van Soldt's genres. In Tables 1-11 Column B provides the total number of each text type, while Columns C and D, which are to be read vertically and horizontally present (in percentages) the relative portion of the text type within an archive (Column C) and within the rest of the Ugaritic corpus (Column D). (Note that van Soldt's 'religious texts' include 'divination', 'magical' and 'medical texts'.) In Table 12 Columns A and B supply the total number of each text type along with their respective proportions of the total corpus. (It should be noted that the statistics offered in the following tables are *inclusive* of the Akkadian texts.)

³⁸¹ See van Soldt, *SAU*, pp. 1-46, for the suggested sequence.

³⁸² Although van Soldt does not make this logic explicit, it is implicit in his conclusions.

³⁸³ See van Soldt, *SAU*, pp. 47-231 ('The Archaeological Context of the Tablets').

³⁸⁴ Van Soldt used the term 'archive' in its broadest possible sense, referring to 'a cluster of texts found within a building'. See van Soldt, *SAU*, p. 47 n. 1.

³⁸⁵ C. Schaeffer, *Stratigraphie comparée et chronologie à Ras Shamra-Ugarit (III^e-I^{er} millénaire)* (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum; London: Griffith Institute).

³⁸⁶ See van Soldt, *SAU*, pp. 226-27.

Table 1. *Royal Palace*

A	B	C	D
(International) Letters	40	3.75	44.5
Letters	62	6	39
(International) legal texts	55	5.25	95
Legal texts	210	20.25	85.5
Treaties	24	2.25	96
Economic/administrative texts	596	57.25	76
Literary texts	2	0.25	5.25
Religious texts	40	3.75	25.5
Lexical/School texts	12	1.25	3
Miscellaneous texts			
Total	1041		48.7

Table 2. *Southern Palace*

A	B	C	D
(International) Letters	1?	1	1
Letters	5	5	3.25
(International) legal texts	2	2	3.5
Legal texts	1	1	0.5
Treaties			
Economic/administrative texts	86	90	11
Literary texts			
Religious texts			
Lexical/School texts	1	1	0.25
Miscellaneous texts			
Total	96		5.3

Table 3. *Rašap'abu*

A	B	C	D
(International) Letters			
Letters			
(International) legal texts	(1)	4	1.5
Legal texts	10	38	4
Treaties			
Economic/administrative texts	9	34.5	1
Literary texts			
Religious texts	1	4	0.5
Lexical/School texts	4	15.5	1
Miscellaneous texts	1	4	
Total	26		1.5

Table 4. *Library of the 'Lettre'*

A	B	C	D
(International) Letters			
Letters	3	20	1.75
(International) legal texts			
Legal texts	1	6.7	0.5
Treaties			
Economic/administrative texts	1.	6.7	-
Literary texts			
Religious texts	2	13.3	1.25
Lexical/School texts	8	53.3	2
Miscellaneous texts			
Total	15		0.6

Table 5. *Rap'anu*

A	B	C	D
(International) Letters	25	7.25	28
Letters	38	11	24
(International) legal texts			
Legal texts	14	4	5.75
Treaties			
Economic/administrative texts	28	8.25	3.5
Literary texts			
Religious texts	2?	0.5	1.25
Lexical/School texts	235	68.5	58
Miscellaneous texts	2	0.5	
Total	344		18.8

Table 6. 'Maison aux tablettes'

A	B	C	D
(International) Letters	3	3.6	3.5
Letters	7	8.4	4.5
(International) legal texts			
Legal texts	3	3.6	1.25
Treaties			
Economic/administrative texts	10	12.1	1.25
Literary texts	3	3.6	7.75
Religious texts	3	3.6	2
Lexical/School texts	54	65.1	13.25
Miscellaneous texts			
Total	83		4.6

Table 7. Hurrian Priest

A	B	C	D
(International) Letters			
Letters	2	2.5	1.25
(International) legal texts			
Legal texts			
Treaties			
Economic/administrative texts	10	11.5	1.25
Literary texts			
Religious texts	56	65	36
Lexical/School texts	3	3.5	0.75
Miscellaneous texts			
Total	86		4.4

Table 8. Lamaštu

A	B	C	D
(International) Letters	1	1.5	1
Letters	5	6.5	3.25
(International) legal texts			
Legal texts	5	6.5	2
Treaties			
Economic/administrative texts	9	12	1
Literary texts	8	10.5	20.5
Religious texts	13	17	8.5
Lexical/School texts	35	46	8.5
Miscellaneous texts			
Total	76		4.1

Table 9. *Library of the High Priest*

A	B	C	D
(International) Letter	1?	1	1
Letter	12	10.5	7.5
(International) legal text			
Legal text			
Treaty			
Economic/administrative text	22	19.25	3
Literary	22	19.25	56.25
Religious text (including divination, magical and medical texts)	35	30.5	22.5
Lexical/School text	17	15	4.25
Miscellaneous			
Total	114		6.2

Table 10. *Tablets of the 34th Campaign (1973)*

A	B	C	D
(International) Letters	18	18.5	20
Letters	25	26	15.5
(International) legal texts			
Legal texts	1	1	0.5
Treaties	1	1	4
Economic/administrative texts	15	15.5	2
Literary texts	1	1	2.5
Religious texts	3	3	2
Lexical/School texts	32	33	7.75
Miscellaneous texts	1	1	
Total	97		5.2

Table 11. *Tablets Found During the 39th and 40th Seasons (1979–80) between the Residential Quarter and the 'Ville Sud'*

A	B	C	D
(International) Letters	1	10	1
Letters			
(International) legal texts			
Legal texts			
Treaties			
Economic/administrative texts			
Literary texts	3	30	7.75
Religious texts	1	10	0.5
Lexical/School texts	5	50	1.25
Miscellaneous texts			
Total	10		0.6

12. Summary Table

A	B	C
(International) Letters	90	4.5
Letters	159	8
(International) legal texts	58	3
Legal texts	245	12.5
Treaties	25	1.25
Economic/administrative texts	786	40
Literary texts	39	2
Religious texts	156	8
Lexical/School texts	406	20.75
Miscellaneous texts		
Total	1964	

It is important to stress (1) that the data presented in the above tables are the overall statistics for each of the locations studied by van Soldt, and (2) that more narrowly defined statistics are supplied (wherever appropriate) for the separate rooms/courts/wings of the buildings examined. Nevertheless, van Soldt's general findings are sufficient to demonstrate the value of his enterprise—for the first time the distribution of the texts within the topography of Ugaritic was laid bare and the archiving tendencies of the Ugaritic scribes highlighted.

Thus, although not targeted specifically at the elucidation of the Ugaritic religious texts, van Soldt's study produced valuable evidence that impacts directly on them. The opening chapters of van Soldt's study of Ugarit's Akkadian texts served to graphically illustrate the concentration of 84% of the total number of such texts within three main locations—the Royal Palace (PC), the Library of the High Priest (PH) and the High Priest's archive (GP). Furthermore, the relative concentration of religious texts within these archives—PC = 3.75%, PH = 65%, GP = 30.5%—assists (possibly) in the estimation of each location's involvement with religious affairs.

Finally, van Soldt's study performed a further service for Ugaritic scholars. Despite being pipped to the publication post by Bordreuil and Pardee's *La trouvaille épigraphique de l'Ougarit*,³⁸⁷ which was dedicated to the same task, an Appendix to van Soldt's work provides an exhaustive compilation of the available findsite data for

³⁸⁷ Pierre Bordreuil and Dennis Pardee, *La trouvaille épigraphique de l'Ougarit*. I. *Concordance* (Ras-Shamra–Ougarit, 5; 2 vols.; Paris; Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1990).

each inscribed object recovered at Ugarit.³⁸⁸ Van Soldt's reconstructive work on the findsite numberings, or 'points topographiques',³⁸⁹ is also noteworthy.

b. *Petersen*

In his 1994 article 'Where Did Schaeffer Find the Clay Tablets of the Ugaritic Baal-Cycle?',³⁹⁰ A.R. Petersen provides an exploration of whether archaeological context sheds any light on the understanding of the *Sitz im Leben* of the Ugaritic texts. As the title of the work suggests, the primary focus of his work is to evaluate the find-locations of the mythological tablets KTU 1.1, 1.2, 1.3, 1.4, 1.5 and 1.6. Importantly, however, Petersen's investigation throws up interesting findings for other textual discoveries (most notably, KTU 1.23).

Petersen takes as his starting point the observation that while scholarship has shown some sensitivity to the fact that the Baal tablets were discovered within the confines of the High Priest's residence and has used this datum to help identify the documents as 'religious texts',³⁹¹ little or no attention has been given to determining the role of the High Priest's residence in the religious life of Ugarit. In addition, he observes that the designation 'religious text' itself had been imprecisely defined. In an attempt to redress the inaccuracy regarding this latter point, Petersen offers the following definition:

Some of these texts [that is, the texts discovered in the High Priest's complex] are obviously religious texts in the sense that they describe cultic actions; they enumerate the sacrifices, they tell us who is to carry out the sacrifice, how and to which deity. The ritual texts are often extremely difficult to translate partly because of the *termini technici* involved, and partly because they apparently have been written for initiates; the ritual texts were not intended to be introductions to Ugaritic religion for detached spectators. They more likely served as some sort of checklist for the cult personnel who knew the rites already.³⁹²

Perceiving there to be less ambiguity surrounding the classification of epic texts, correspondence 'and the like',³⁹³ Petersen observed that a number of documents,

³⁸⁸ Van Soldt, *SAU*, pp. 525-671 (Appendix 1).

³⁸⁹ Van Soldt, *SAU*, pp. 673-746 (Appendix 2).

³⁹⁰ First published in *SJOT* 8.1 (1994), pp. 45-60, and republished with 'minor and insignificant changes' as Chapter 5 of his *The Royal God: Enthronement Festivals in Ancient Israel and Ugarit?* (Copenhagen International Seminar, 5; JSOTSup, 259; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), pp. 72-85. In the following survey I use the page numberings of the reprinted version.

³⁹¹ Kapelrud, *Baal in the Ras Shamra Texts* (1952), p. 17.

³⁹² Petersen, 'Where Did Schaeffer Find the Clay Tablets?', p. 72.

³⁹³ Petersen, 'Where Did Schaeffer Find the Clay Tablets?', p. 73. Though no explanation is given for the catchall phrase, presumably Petersen includes legal, economic and administrative texts within this category.

including those comprising the 'Baal Cycle' and KTU 1.23, defy satisfactory categorisation.³⁹⁴

In an attempt to resolve such ambiguities Petersen turns his attention to the location of the texts within the physical remains of Ugarit as a possible source of supplementary data. Posing the question 'what has the archaeological find-site to do with the *Sitz im Leben?*', he concludes:

The answer is, not a great deal. It is the texts themselves or, rather, our interpretation of them, that are decisive in this connection. However, when a text does not yield decisive clues to its interpretation it is legitimate to investigate the archaeological context in an attempt to find useful information here (of course it is always not only legitimate but mandatory to check the archaeological evidence—but in cases where the text is difficult to interpret the archaeological information might be of greater importance).³⁹⁵

Petersen goes on to speculate how an appreciation of physical location might assist in the understanding of those texts that are, in terms of classification, ambiguous:

It would be interesting to see if there is some kind of pattern in the way the clay tablets were distributed in the building complex of the high priest. It would be very useful, indeed, to have correspondence in one distinctive room or on one 'shelf', rituals in another, epics in another, and so on. This would give us a hint as to how to interpret some of the more difficult texts...³⁹⁶

In order to place the documentary evidence back into its physical setting Petersen makes use of the available archaeological evidence as recorded in the excavation reports published in 1935 edition of the journal *Syria* (issue 16), *Ugaritica*, III, as well as the information presented by *TEO*, I. Taken together, these three sources provide virtually all that is known of the excavations made during the 1929–32 campaigns (the years in which almost all of texts from the High Priest's complex, including some of the Baal texts and KTU 1.23, were unearthed). Armed with the archaeological evidence, and reproducing the two available plans of the site,³⁹⁷ Petersen sets about drawing conclusions.

³⁹⁴ The problems with KTU 1.23 stem from the fact that the text combines both ritual and epic elements. The situation with the Baal mythology is seen to have a different cause: 'The Baal-cycle has been difficult to place, not because of the text itself (it is obviously an epic text which belongs to the "literature" of Ugarit together with *aqht* and *krt*), but because of hypotheses made during the history of research' ('Where Did Schaeffer Find the Clay Tablets?', p. 72).

³⁹⁵ Petersen, 'Where Did Schaeffer Find the Clay Tablets?', pp. 73-74.

³⁹⁶ Petersen, 'Where Did Schaeffer Find the Clay Tablets?', p. 74.

³⁹⁷ See Petersen, 'Where Did Schaeffer Find the Clay Tablets?', pp. 76 and 77. Figure 1 reproduced from *Ugaritica*, III, p. 252 Fig. 216; Figure 2 reproduced from *Syria* 16 (1935), Pl. 36.

In the first instance, Petersen observes that the majority of his 'religious texts' (see above) were brought to light during 1929 excavations and were clustered together in a single room to the west of the High Priest's complex, sharing the same find-spot (p.t. 300). A list of deities (KTU 1.65) and a disputed text (KTU 1.13)³⁹⁸ also hailed from this location.

Next, the texts from the 1931 campaign are brought into focus. Underlining the fact that 'No ritual texts were found in this area', Petersen points out that most of the 'epic' texts (he does not specify which ones—but it seems likely that he is referring to KTU 1.1; 1.2; 1.15; 1.16; 1.18; 1.19; 1.20) were given locus-numbers which place them in an area to the south of the building.³⁹⁹

Petersen's investigations demonstrate that securing the find-locations for the texts discovered during the 1930 excavations is an altogether more difficult task. Significantly, some of the documents belonging to the Baal Cycle (KTU 1.3; 1.4; 1.5; 1.6) were discovered in this year. Petersen's study shows that many of texts unearthed during the campaign were given the general and imprecise locus-number 'p.t. 210-264'; an examination of the excavation plans reveals that p.t. 210 is situated some 27 m northwest of p.t. 264. Furthermore, the two available maps of the site present conflicting evidence: while *Ugaritica's* plan suggests a location in a room to the east of the complex, the map published in *Syria* indicates a locus nearer to that at which the 1931 tablets were harvested.⁴⁰⁰ (A few texts discovered in 1930 are given a precise location. It is worth noting that KTU 1.23, a text that defies classification because of its mixed content [see above], is assigned a locus-number that places it in the eastern part of the building, that is, among the 'religious texts' proper.)

In an attempt to resolve this apparent difficulty, and thus secure find-locations for all of the Baal Cycle tablets, Petersen reasons that the general reference 'p.t. 210-264' might mean that originally the texts discovered during 1930 were each given a number between 210 and 264 (inclusive), though the exact locus-number of each object is now unknown. The observation that locus-numbers within this range are shown in a region close to the area marked 'Tablettes 1931' on the *Ugaritica* plan (p.t. 239, 240, 242, 243, 244, 248 and 264), that is, the area marked 'T 30' on the map published in *Syria*, raises

³⁹⁸ The text might be construed as a mythological text or else 'some sort of incantation or prayer': Petersen 'Where Did Schaeffer Find the Clay Tablets?', p. 75.

³⁹⁹ Petersen, 'Where Did Schaeffer Find the Clay Tablets?', p. 75.

⁴⁰⁰ The apparent contradiction hinges upon the understanding that the sigla 'Tablettes 1930' and 'T 30' were used to mark the general area of the 1930 discoveries. See Petersen, 'Where Did Schaeffer Find the Clay Tablets?', p. 77.

the possibility that at least some of the documents discovered during 1930 hailed from an area to the south of the site.⁴⁰¹

Further support is offered by the proposal that in some cases a thematic continuity would exist were the 1930 epic tablets assigned to an available locus-number adjacent to the 1931 tablets. Petersen suggests that it is 'highly probable' that KTU 1.14—a text excavated in 1930 and given the general locus-number 'p.t. 210-264'—was found in a place close to KTU 1.15 and 1.16—texts discovered in 1931 within the southern part of the High Priest's building—with which it is clearly related. For him, the presence of adjacent find-sites within the range p.t. 210 and p.t. 264 makes such an association possible; the undisputed continuity of the texts makes it all the more likely.

When one thinks about it, it is more likely that clay tablets that contain different parts of the same story, were stored together and therefore have been found close to one another... [I]t is most likely that, since some parts of the Baal-cycle were found in the southern parts of the building complex, the rest of this epic was stored in the same place.⁴⁰²

The results of Petersen's analysis are not insignificant for the understanding of the Ugaritic texts. His archaeologically sensitive analysis leads him to make the observation that the 'religious texts' were grouped in an area to the west of the High Priest's complex, while the 'epic texts' (a group of texts that, for Petersen, includes some if not all of the texts that make up the Baal Cycle), were located in an area to the south of the complex. On the basis of this observation Petersen calls for a readjustment of the scholarly mindset:

The fact that the Baal-cycle was found in the building complex of the high priest does not point to the probability that this text must be considered as a text intended for use in the temples. The fact that the Baal-cycle was (apparently) kept together with the *aqht*- and *krt*-epics (texts that are obviously not cultic texts) and apparently separated from the ritual-texts...suggests rather that the Baal-cycle will have to be construed as part of the epic tradition of Ugarit.⁴⁰³

As a footnote to this summary of Petersen's survey of the archaeological context of the Baal Cycle tablets, it seems worthwhile to note that the role and function of the High Priest's complex remains unresolved. Having drawn attention to the fact that scholarship uncritically accepts the identification of the building as a cultic structure, and having argued that a reappraisal of this widely held thesis is necessary (see above),

⁴⁰¹ The implication—though Petersen does not make the point explicit—is that *Ugaritica*'s siglum 'Tablettes 1930' has been inserted in the wrong location, and that *Syria*'s 'T 30' marks the general location of the 1930 excavation.

⁴⁰² Petersen, 'Where Did Schaeffer Find the Clay Tablets?', p. 78.

⁴⁰³ Petersen, 'Where Did Schaeffer Find the Clay Tablets?', p. 79.

Petersen does not explore this issue. As a result, the position of the High Priest's complex within the religious life of ancient Ugarit remains obscure.

c. Appa

In an as yet unpublished paper entitled 'An Archaeological Re-Evaluation of the Proveniences of the Tablets Assigned to the Baal "Cycle"',⁴⁰⁴ Anthony Appa offers another archaeologically oriented investigation of the distribution of Baal Cycle tablets within the physical remains of Ugarit. Written without prior knowledge of Allan Petersen's article,⁴⁰⁵ Appa's work shares the belief that an appreciation of find-site location may assist in the analysis of the documentary evidence. In essence, Appa's analysis serves as an archaeological test of the scholarly practice of grouping the mythological Baal texts together to form a single continuous document—for him, 'defining the archaeological context of each fragment is a fundamentally crucial factor in answering the final question of whether or not sufficient evidence exists to substantiate the theory of a Baal "cycle"'.⁴⁰⁶ The work is characterised by the author's close reading of the original excavation reports and excavation plans.

Appa's first step is to clarify the position of the High Priest's complex within its physical setting between the 'Baal' and 'Dagan' temples. An analysis of surrounding street patterns, the distribution of doorways as well as the materials used in construction, leads him to the conclusion that the High Priest's complex was a self-contained structure separated on the north, east and south sides from other buildings.⁴⁰⁷ Appa's evaluation of the construction characteristics and general layout of the Acropolis are not insignificant:

The rue de la bibliotheque extends in opposite directions toward the enclosed forecourts of the two temples. That the well structured facade of the house of the high priest was built on this street which links the two temples suggests that the house of the high priest was intentionally designed for use as a ritual structure (in addition to being a priestly residence) associated with the two temples.⁴⁰⁸

⁴⁰⁴ I wish to thank Professor Mark Smith (New York University) for drawing my attention to this work, and especially Dr Tony Appa (Harvard University), for making a copy of his study available to me.

⁴⁰⁵ Appa's study contains no references to Petersen. In a personal communication Appa informs me that he became aware of Petersen's study after he had finished working on his paper.

⁴⁰⁶ Appa, 'An Archaeological Re-Evaluation', p. 2.

⁴⁰⁷ The extreme western limits of the building are indeterminable due to the removal of any previous structures by the excavators of the site in an attempt to make deeper soundings. See Appa, 'An Archaeological Re-Evaluation', p. 6.

⁴⁰⁸ Appa, 'An Archaeological Re-Evaluation', p. 2; cf. C.F.A. Schaeffer, 'Les Fouilles de Ras Shamra: Sixieme Campagne (Printemps 1934)', *Syria* 16 (1935), pp. 141-76 (157).

The next phase of Appa's investigation is the interpretation of the High Priest's building itself. Reconnecting damaged walls,⁴⁰⁹ Appa offers a tentative reconstruction of the interior 'traffic patterns';⁴¹⁰ on the basis of this model he is able to conclude that the central section of the complex (consisting of Rooms 6, 7, 8a, 8b, 9, 9a, 10, 11 and 12) functioned as a self-contained area, with only one doorway connecting these rooms with the eastern portion of the building. Importantly, it was within the central section of the 24-room⁴¹¹ High Priest's complex that many of the tablet fragments were recovered (Rooms 6, 7, 8, 10 and 11). By virtue of the fact that the Baal Cycle tablets were discovered within their confines, particular attention is afforded Rooms 6 and 7.

According to Appa's reading of the evidence, Room 6 was centrally and strategically located within the central section of the High Priest's complex. His analysis reveals that the doorway in the western wall of Room 6 (connecting with Room 3) functioned as transitional portal between the central and western sections of the High Priest's complex. For Appa, the importance or sacredness of this doorway is suggested by the presence of a large deposit of bronze tools (some of them inscribed) under the threshold. Despite the fact that five tablet fragments were discovered within Room 6, it is concluded that the area 'may have functioned as an anteroom to the central section [of the High Priest's complex] rather than as an archive or library'.⁴¹²

Next, Appa proposes that Room 7 served to connect Room 6 with the 'Rue de la Bibliothèque'. For him, the exterior doorway built into the monumental southern wall of Room 7 may have functioned as 'the official street access for the center section of the house'.⁴¹³ The author notes that many tablet fragments, deposited at various depths, were recovered from or on the exterior (that is, street) threshold of Room 7.

Turning his attention to the text fragments recovered from Rooms 6 and 7, Appa, like Petersen, recognises the inaccuracies associated with the general locus number 'p.t. 210-264' assigned to many of the tablets unearthed during the 1930 campaign.⁴¹⁴ He also observes the fact that find-sites between the range p.t. 210 and p.t. 264 are to be found in Room 7, and that the presence of 'T 30' on the *Ugaritica* III map supports the

⁴⁰⁹ This is done by joining the dash marks and broken walls indicated on the plan published in *Ugaritica*, III. See Appa, 'An Archaeological Re-Evaluation', p. 8 n. 11.

⁴¹⁰ For a graphic representation see Appa, 'An Archaeological Re-Evaluation', p. 9 Plan 3.

⁴¹¹ Appa, 'An Archaeological Re-Evaluation', p. 8. Appa considers the figure 24 to be a minimum—the destruction of the western wall makes for uncertainty (p. 6).

⁴¹² Appa, 'An Archaeological Re-Evaluation', p. 15.

⁴¹³ Appa, 'An Archaeological Re-Evaluation', p. 15.

⁴¹⁴ Importantly, only 20 find-spots within this range are attested: p.t. 210, 213, 216, 220, 226, 228, 230, 231, 233, 234, 235, 239, 240, 242, 243, 244, 260, 260/261, 261 and 264. Appa's observation ('An Archaeological Re-Evaluation', pp. 15-16 n. 22) that 29 texts are assigned to the 20 locations highlights the possibility that texts may have been grouped together.

thesis that at least some of the 1930 tablets were recovered from this area.⁴¹⁵ Importantly, however, Appa's attentive reading of the sources throws up additional evidence. Seizing upon a comment made by Virolleaud in 1931 that five distinct fragments of the Baal myth totalling 1000 lines, constituting 'two lots' of 500 lines each, were discovered during the 1930 campaign,⁴¹⁶ Appa concludes: 'The fact that there were two *lots* of mythological texts in large and small pieces recovered in 1930 suggests, at least, a localized find-spot. The only suitable location of this group of five tablet fragments... would be Room 6 (p.t. 239, 240 and 242–244).'⁴¹⁷ In a move similar to that made by Petersen,⁴¹⁸ Appa seeks to confirm his argument by noting (1) the close proximity of the confirmed find-sites of Baal mythology (Room 6 p.t. 338, 343, and 341), and (2) the apparent consistency of subject matter. Significantly, however, Appa also notes that sound physical joins are created when the fragments from Rooms 6 and 7 are brought together.

In view of this general position Appa seeks to provide a systematic appraisal of the five tablet fragments he associates with Room 6 of the High Priest's complex. Concentrating on thematic content as well as the physical characteristics of the tablets, Appa clarifies the relationship between the tablets tentatively restored to Room 6 and those texts located in or around Room 7.⁴¹⁹ On the basis of the linguistic evidence

⁴¹⁵ According to Appa ('An Archaeological Re-Evaluation', p. 16) only p.t. 239, 240, 242, 243 and 244 are to be equated with the 'T 30'.

⁴¹⁶ C. Virolleaud, 'Le Déchiffrement des Tablettes Alphabétiques de Ras Shamra', *Syria* 12 (1931), pp. 15-23.

⁴¹⁷ Appa, 'An Archaeological Re-Evaluation', p. 18.

⁴¹⁸ See pp. 81-82.

⁴¹⁹ Appa, 'An Archaeological Re-Evaluation', pp. 19-20 (20). Since Appa's article remains unpublished, it is helpful to sketch the essential features of his observations:

RS 2.[014] (= KTU 1.3.III.1-3; IV.48-55): a small fragment, exhibiting standard orthography, which is usually understood to have formed part of RS 3.363 (= KTU 1.3). Against this, Appa notes that there is no physical join between the tablet pieces, and the proposed thematic association on which the connection hinges is uncertain (KTU 1.3.III.1-2 is generally restored on the basis of KTU 1.3.IV.46). Therefore: 'the suggested provenience of RS 2.[014] as Room 6, among p.t. 239, 240, 242–244, is based solely on the proximity of Ras Shamra 3.363 in Room 7 (p.t. 339) which was separated from RS 2.[014] by a distance of 3.5 m–5 m'. RS 2.[022] (= KTU 1.5): two fragments recovered from two different locations (now unknown) during two sequential campaigns, forming a definite physical join with RS 3.[565]. The extant fragments suggest that the original tablet was probably divided into six columns (three per side), with an average of 16 words per line. The orthography of the text resembles KTU 1.3, KTU 1.4 and KTU 1.6. The theory that KTU 1.6 represents the continuation of KTU 1.5 is based on thematic correspondence—KTU 1.5.VI ends the discovery of Baal dead in the field while KTU 1.6 opens with Anat mourning for Baal. RS 2.[009] (= KTU 1.6.I.29–VI.38): like KTU 1.3 and KTU 1.5 this tablet is divided into three columns per side. The horizontal dividers appearing at the end of column II

Appa concludes his discussion of the Room 6 fragments with the observation that even though only one fragment (RS 2.[008]) has definite joins with fragments from Room 7 (RS 3.341, 3.347 and 3.364)—brought together to form KTU 1.4—there are enough thematic and phraseological links to tentatively secure a Room 6 location for the 1930 Baal fragments. Furthermore, the availability of appropriate locus-points, and the position of these find-sites within the geography lead Appa to the speculative conclusion that ‘The location of this many tablets together would suggest that Room 6 contained some kind of shelving, probably against the east wall column’.⁴²⁰

The next phase of Appa’s analysis is the discussion of the texts discovered in Room 7, the majority of which were discovered in a concentration on or near the exterior doorway leading to the ‘Rue de la Bibliotheque’ (at p.t. 338, [341], 343, 344, and 345). Recognising that there is considerable uncertainty surrounding the depth measurements recorded by the excavators,⁴²¹ Appa observes that the texts discovered around the threshold (at p.t. 338, [341], 343, 344, and 345) are recorded at a depth of between 20–65 cm while those texts hailing from inside Room 7 (at p.t. 336 and 339) are located at a depth of 1.0–1.2 m. This significance of this datum is not overlooked:

The shallow depth at which the threshold concentration was recovered suggests that these fragments were originally located in an upper level of the building. Consequently, they did not originally belong to Room 7. Therefore, if this is correct, Room 7 may be considered neither a library nor an archive. From the recorded depths, it seems only three of these fragments (RS 3.360 [p.t. 336], RS 3.364 and RS 3.363 [both p.t. 339]) may be assumed to have been in Room 7 at the time of its destruction.⁴²²

signifying the end of scene are unique within the ‘Baal Cycle’ texts. Since its publication, RS 2.[009] has been ‘joined’ with the fragment RS 5.155, a text that was unearthed some 40 m southwest of Room 6. RS 2.[012] (= KTU 1.12): inscribed on one side only (as are KTU 1.8 and KTU 1.11), the orthography is standard except for two occurrences of variant *i* (I.22 and 28). The lines of column I have an average of ten letters per line, though seventeen lines extend over the column divider (an impromptu column divider is drawn on the tablet to separate this text from the lines of column II). Column II also displays standard orthography, although the text becomes increasingly compact as the scribe (apparently) tried to cram in the remaining text into the available space. Two thematic links connect RS 2.[012] with texts from Room 7: (1) the ‘birth-of-a-bull-calf’ motif (cf. KTU 1.10.III.4, 20–22); (2) the conflict of Baal and Yam (cf. KTU 1.2.IV.1–40). RS 2.[008] (= KTU 1.4): an unusually large tablet of eight columns, made up of three pieces, that form physical joins with two other fragments (RS 3.341 and RS 3.347). That these two fragments were discovered c. 5.5 m away on the street threshold of Room 7 (p.t. 338, 343 and 341) is not considered problematical. The orthography resembles KTU 1.3, having several attestations of variant *i*, *h* and *l* signs.

⁴²⁰ Appa, ‘An Archaeological Re-Evaluation’, p. 30 (cf. n. 37).

⁴²¹ Appa, ‘An Archaeological Re-Evaluation’, p. 31; cf. van Soldt, *SAU*, p. 49.

⁴²² Appa, ‘An Archaeological Re-Evaluation’, p. 31.

In an attempt to explore whether there is a discernible pattern to the distribution of the texts, Appa moves on to provide a discussion of the tablet fragments discovered in and around Room 7. (The discussion centres on the tablets associated with Baal; because of their subject matter, the Keret and Aqhat fragments are not included in the investigation.) Weighing up the evidence gleaned from his survey of the Room 7 Baal fragments,⁴²³ Appa concludes that while almost all of the fragments associated with this

⁴²³ Appa, 'An Archaeological Re-Evaluation', pp. 32, 35, 40. Once again, it seems appropriate to summarise his findings: RS 3.364 (= KTU 1.8): located at p.t. 339 at a depth of 1.2 m, the fragment originally formed the upper edge of the tablet. Despite the strong thematic commonalities with KTU 1.4, physical features prevent the identification of RS 3.364 as a part of this text—most notably, RS 3.364 is inscribed on one side only, whereas the only available point for text insertion into KTU 1.4 requires writing on both sides of the tablet. For Appa, 'This creates the likelihood that RS 3.364 may have been part of a duplicate text'. RS 3.363 (= KTU 1.3): a large fragment of six columns that was certainly located at p.t. 339. Although orthographically standard, there are a considerable number of variant forms attested (*l* appears with an additional wedge ten out of 177 times, and the letters *h*, *s*, *d*, *u* and *i* are all found with unusual forms). 'Without a beginning and an end it is impossible to suggest that this tablet originally composed a unified poetic cycle with any of the other Baal texts. As the surviving text stands, it seems to have been a self-contained story'. RS 3.319 (= KTU 1.11): recovered on the inside of the street threshold of Room 7 (p.t. 338) at a depth of 20 cm, the fragment was inscribed on one side and appears to have formed the right corner of a tablet. Other than the presence of the names of Baal and Anat there is nothing to link this tablet with any other Baal text. In addition, if the popular interpretation of the text is correct, it is the only extant document to suggest sexual intercourse between the two deities. RS 3.361 (= KTU 1.1): the fact that this fragment was discovered on the street side of the Room 7 threshold (p.t. 345) at a relatively shallow depth (65 cm) suggests that the location is due to the (outwards) collapse of an upper level. On the analogy with KTU 1.3, KTU 1.5 and KTU 1.6 it is likely that the tablet originally comprised six columns. The text is associated with the 'Baal Cycle' because of the presence of common divine names (e.g. Mot, Kothar and Hasis, Laṭipan, and so on), although the relationship with the other texts remains unclear. The orthography exhibits a high percentage of variant forms. RS 3.346 (= KTU 1.2.III): like RS 3.361, this fragment was unearthed in the street outside Room 7; it is probable that the text originates from the upper level of the High Priest's building. The fragment seems to have been incorporated in the building's structure. 'If in fact RS 3.346 and other fragments had been fixed in the masonry of an upper level of the building, then it is questionable that they were actually used during the existence of, at least, this part of the building. Nevertheless, it would seem that many of these tablet fragments which has been incorporated into the masonry were not in contemporaneous use with other tablet fragments from Rooms 6 and 7'. It is questionable that RS 3.346 (= KTU 1.2.III) should be joined with RS 3.367 (= KTU 1.2.I; II; IV). The tablet is inscribed on one side with particularly long lines; no column dividers are used, and only standard orthography is used. RS 3.341 and RS 3.347 (= KTU 1.4): these fragments form joins with RS 2.[008] (see above). RS 3.347 contains a partial colophon. RS 3.362 (= KTU 1.10.III.24b-37): a small fragment discovered along the west wall of Room 7, located at p.t. 337 at unknown depth. The fragment joins (physically and thematically) with RS 3.362 and RS 5.181, tablet fragments discovered around 40 m away at T IV p.t. 470. The question of how the fragments came to be so widely dispersed remains unresolved.

area (and the corridor to the north) are mythological, and the fragments share several stereotypical images, phrases, and/or words that tend to suggest a common thematic unity, there is enough evidence to suggest a 'cycle' of stories forming some kind of necessary sequence. For Appa, the archaeological evidence helps with the appreciation of the Room 7: 'The depth of many fragments and their incorporation into construction masonry strengthens the arguments against seeing Room 7 as a library/archive'.⁴²⁴

The next phase of Appa's work is the discussion of two Baal fragments recovered during the fifth season of excavation from an area located approximately 40 m southwest of the High Priest's complex. Although nothing is known of the distribution of the find-spots within this area—the general area is designated simply as 'Acropolis' by *KTU*—on analogy with the locus-points of the High Priest's complex Appa tentatively suggests that the fragments were grouped together in one room. By virtue of its close proximity to the 'Rue de Dieu Alein' Appa refers to this hypothetically unified location as the 'Alein Room'. The presence of intersecting walls and rooms between the Alein Room and the High Priest's complex serves to close off direct access between the two areas: 'Thus, the Alein Room is isolated sufficiently from the house of the high priest so as to be considered [*sic*] its deposit as separate from those in the house'.⁴²⁵ While the majority of the 31 tablets were found at a depth of between 1.0-1.4 m, seven were deposited within the relatively shallow depth of 50-95 cm. Two of these fragments, RS 5.181 and RS 5.155, are understood to be Baal texts.⁴²⁶

⁴²⁴ Appa, 'An Archaeological Re-Evaluation', p. 43. In a personal communication, Tony Appa offered a tentative explanation of this phenomenon. The presence of tablet fragments incorporated in the walls of a building could mean that they were no longer served any purpose and were fit only for use as construction aggregate. Alternatively, however, it is possible that they maintained some significance. Appa speculates that 'by the time of the destruction of the last city, the tablet(s) had become mere sacred objects within the ritual precinct of the acropolis. Being such, they were placed upon, or affixed to, the walls as plaques would be today, say, in a church. Not to contradict myself, however, I would still want to hold to my conclusions in the paper and try to tie that into the sacred object idea somehow. Perhaps it is similar to that of icons with runes in a Celtic church, nice to look at but the symbolism and message is completely lost upon those who have no background, understanding, etc.'

⁴²⁵ Appa, 'An Archaeological Re-Evaluation', p. 45.

⁴²⁶ Appa, 'An Archaeological Re-Evaluation', p. 47.

RS 5.181 (= *KTU* 1.10.I.1-III.23): in form, style and orthography RS 5.181 is not much different from the mythological fragments recovered from the High Priest's complex. The fragment appears to be the lower part of a large three-columned tablet and is inscribed on one side—a feature that makes this text distinctive among the other Baal texts. RS 5.181 appears to join with RS 3.362, a text fixed with certainty to p.t. 337 of Room 7. 'While the distance which separates these two fragments from one another is problematic, it is clear that the dieu/alien room deposit should be seen as an important factor in linking this section of the acropolis with the house of the high priest.'

The last Baal fragment discussed by Appa, RS 3.367, was recovered from p.t. 203 of Trench N 3, a location either in the building north of the High Priest's complex or in the eastern section of the latter structure, near to the Dagan Temple.⁴²⁷ RS 3.367 (= KTU 1.2.I.1-17; IV.1-40): clearly showing the remains of four columns, the position of RS 3.367 within the original (six- or eight-columned) complete tablet cannot be determined. The lines are much longer than those of any other tablet considered to belong to the 'Baal Cycle', although the script is small, compact and neatly written, and is consistent with the Baal fragments from the High Priest's complex. Indications of intense heat are seen to be evident: the clay has melted, the bottom edge is warped and the surface is fractured. In style and content RS 3.367 (= KTU 1.2.I; IV) is dissimilar from the other Baal tablets and is, according to Appa, to be dissociated from RS 3.346 (= KTU 1.2.III), the fragment with which it is usually joined.⁴²⁸

The survey of the distribution and content of the Baal fragments complete, Appa draws his findings together to offer a damning indictment of the concept of a 'Baal Cycle'. Despite the fact that the archaeological evidence is limited and incomplete,⁴²⁹ it is maintained that enough information is available to allow the formulation of preliminary conclusions regarding the creation of a unified and continuous narrative out of individual fragments. The observation that all the Baal tablets were recovered in a severely damaged state, often with only the central sections remaining, suggests to Appa that the texts were not damaged during the violent destruction of the city—the fact that some of the larger tablets show signs of having been broken 'in half', with the 'other half' of the tablet never located, is a cornerstone of this thesis.⁴³⁰ For him, the wide distribution of joinable fragments over the whole Acropolis area underlines the intentional separation of the portions. So too the fact that some of the pieces that were

RS 5.155 (= KTU 1.6.I.1-28; VI.39-58): inscribed on both sides, the fragment exhibits two unique features (among the extant texts): (1) the inscription / *b'* / on the left edge of the tablet, which may have served as a reference guide for the shelved tablet or as a kind of title for its contents; (2) the complete colophon at the end of column VI. The supposed join between RS 5.155 and RS 2.[009] is questionable due to the fact that the former fragment exhibits variant forms while the latter does not. In addition, the columned lines on the reverse of the tablet do not align when the fragments are placed together. The contents too seem disjunctive.

⁴²⁷ Appa, 'An Archaeological Re-Evaluation', p. 49.

⁴²⁸ Appa, 'An Archaeological Re-Evaluation', p. 51.

⁴²⁹ For Appa, 'An Archaeological Re-Evaluation', p. 51, this is due to the fact that 'the original excavators were functioning with a completely different archaeological agenda in terms of methodology, recording and interpretation'.

⁴³⁰ Appa, 'An Archaeological Re-Evaluation', p. 52. This phenomenon is contrasted with the situation pertaining to the other large poetic tablets (e.g. the poems of Keret and Aqhat). It seems that the Baal texts in particular have suffered from an acute lack of completeness.

located at relatively shallow depths—suggesting an original location in the upper level of a building—join with portions that were certainly discovered at other locations and depths. In addition, the apparent use of text fragments as wall-fill during the construction of a part of the High Priest's complex should not be overlooked.

For Appa the archaeological data rank alongside the textual evidence—the analysis of the former serves to test and correct the theories based on the latter. The Baal Cycle, it seems, does not stand up to archaeologically oriented scrutiny:

From an archaeological perspective there is little evidence to support the theory that these tablet fragments identified by modern scholars as the Baal 'cycle' had been regarded as a series of contemporaneous and unified movements of poetic epic literature. The modern concept, while perhaps useful in other fields, should not be used to define the numerous mythological texts (i.e. about Baal) which share common imagery, parallel lines, main characters and key words, for such features do not demand a 'cycle' of stories.⁴³¹

According to Appa's synthesis of textual and archaeological data at the time of the final destruction of Ugarit (c. 1195–1175 BCE) the Baal tablets were already fragmentary and separated. The legitimacy of regrouping the fragments is called into question.

⁴³¹ Appa, 'An Archaeological Re-Evaluation', pp. 51-52.

Chapter 2

CRITIQUE: TOWARDS A NEW METHODOLOGY

The incautious reader may be forgiven for thinking that when ten scholars have ten different views on a passage, none of them really knows what they are talking about...¹

Differing opinions are the hallmark of healthy scholarly debate, and the existence of opposing ‘camps’ a sign of the persuasiveness and potency of the divergent viewpoints. Happily, ‘innovation’, ‘adjustment’, ‘rejection’ and ‘replacement’ are all words that can be used to describe the emergence of Ugaritic studies. In the preceding chapter I sketched some of the most influential and enduring readings of the Ugaritic evidence. Arranged (broadly) in their chronological sequence, the waxing and waning of various methodologies can be traced.

From the foregoing summary it should have become clear that several topics have evoked continuous discussion over the last seven decades. At the foreground of the discussion has been the issue of the ‘meaning’ of the Baal poems and whether they were directly linked with the Ugaritic cult. As we have seen, not a few scholars have locked horns over whether the mythological texts were associated with an annual cult festival. While the Myth and Ritual readers in particular have argued vigorously in favour of such an explanation,² equally strong denunciations of it have been presented.³

¹ Wyatt, *RTU*, p. 18.

² Most vocally, J. Pedersen, ‘Canaanite and Israelite Cultus’, *ArOr* 18 (1939), pp. 1-14 (8); Hvidberg, *Weeping and Laughter*, p. 53; Gaster, ‘The Ritual Pattern’, p. 118; Kapelrud, *Baal in the Ras Shamra Texts*, p. 116; Ringgren, *Religions of the Ancient Near East*, p. 150.

³ J. Fontenrose, *The Ritual Theory of Myth* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), pointedly stated ‘there is simply no evidence of a well developed drama in the ancient Near East’, p. 23; D. Marcus, review of J.C. de Moor, *New Year with Canaanites and Israelites*, *JAOS* 93 (1973), pp. 589-91; M.S. Smith and E.M. Bloch-Smith, ‘Death and Afterlife in Ugarit and Israel’, *JAOS* 108 (1988), pp. 277-84; M.S. Smith, *The Ugaritic Baal Cycle*, p. 99; cf. the more cautious view of E. Hammershaimb, ‘History and Cult in the Old Testament’, H. Goedicke (ed.), *Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William Foxwell Albright* (London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1971), pp. 277-82 (275).

Another prominent topic has been the position of El within the Ugaritic pantheon. For some, the Baal and Keret poems and KTU 1.23 characterise El as a *deus otiosus* who is subjected to humiliating treatment and whose priapic potential is called into question;⁴ for others, these same texts portray El as retaining supreme control over all the gods and goddesses and possessing his full procreative powers.⁵ Yet others have sought to defuse the situation by redefining the parameters of what it means to be ‘head of the pantheon’.⁶

Looking back through the secondary literature it is possible to track the historical development of individual dialogues. One long-running example centres on the imagery used to describe the destruction of Mot at the hands of the goddess Anat (KTU 1.6.II.26-37). At issue is whether Mot’s demise, which for some is reminiscent of agricultural imagery—Mot is said to be ground, burned and scattered in the fields—should be interpreted as a reflection of an annual seasonal rite performed in the Ugaritic cult or as a metaphor for Mot’s complete annihilation. The ‘ding dong’ sequence of exchanges began with the agricultural/seasonal interpretation proposed by Dussaud,⁷ whose proposal was rejected by Cassuto⁸ and Gordon,⁹ whose rejections were countered by Kapelrud,¹⁰ whose counter was dismissed by Gordon¹¹ and

⁴ See above, p. 48. See also Gray, *The Legacy of Canaan*, p. 118; R. de Langhe, ‘Myth, Ritual, and Kingship in the Ras Shamra Tablets’, in Hooke (ed.), *Myth, Ritual, and Kingship*, pp. 122-48 (137-38).

⁵ Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, pp. 22-24; D.L. Petersen and M. Woodward, ‘Northwest Semitic Religion: A Study of Relational Structures’, *UF* 9 (1977), pp. 233-48; S.B. Parker, ‘The Historical Composition of *KRT* and the Cult of El’, *ZAW* 89 (1977), pp. 161-75; C.E. L’Heureux, *Rank among the Canaanite Gods: El, Baal, and the Repha’im* (HSM, 21; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1979), pp. 3-28; Toombs, ‘Baal, Lord of the Earth’, p. 614; N. Wyatt, ‘Quaternities in the Mythology of Ba’al’, *UF* 21 (1989), pp. 451-59.

⁶ L.K. Handy, ‘A Solution for Many *Mlkm*’, *UF* 20 (1988), pp. 57-59. Note also J.C. Greenfield, ‘The Hebrew Bible and Canaanite Literature’, in R. Alter and F. Kermode (eds.), *The Literary Guide to the Bible* (London: Collins, 1987), pp. 545-60 (548), who sees El as *deus otiosus* who remains in control of the pantheon even after Baal has become prominent.

⁷ R. Dussaud, ‘La mythologie phénicienne d’après les tablettes de Ras Shamra’, *RHR* 104 (1931), pp. 353-408.

⁸ U. Cassuto, ‘The Palace of Baal in Tablet II AB of Ras Shamra’, *Or* 7 (1938), pp. 265-90; *idem*, ‘Baal and Mot in the Ugaritic Texts’, *BIES* 9 (1942), pp. 45-51 (Hebrew; republished in English in *IEJ* 12 [1962], pp. 77-86).

⁹ C.H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Literature: A Comprehensive Translation of the Poetic and Prose Texts* (Pontifical Biblical Institute, Rome, 1949), p. 4.

¹⁰ Kapelrud, *Baal in the Ras Shamra Texts*, p. 126.

¹¹ C.H. Gordon, ‘Sabbatical Cycle or Seasonal Pattern? Reflections on a New Book (A.S. Kapelrud, *Baal in the Ras Shamra Tablets*)’, *Or* 22 (1953), pp. 79-81.

Loewenstamm,¹² whose dismissals were rebutted by Kapelrud,¹³ whose rebuttal was challenged by Loewenstamm,¹⁴ whose challenge was objected to by de Moor,¹⁵ whose objections were contested by Loewenstamm,¹⁶ whose dogged persistence seems to have been in vain given Day's recent pronouncement that 'Mot... corresponds in some way with the corn, which strongly supports the seasonal interpretation of the Baal text at this point!'¹⁷

A similar wrangle can be traced with the so-called 'pruning of the vine' imagery used in KTU 1.23.8-11. To some readers, the language used is indicative of the rite of circumcision¹⁸ carried out before the performance of the *hieros gamos*;¹⁹ to others, the language suggests a rite associated with viniculture.²⁰ The identity of *mt w šr*, on whom the rite was apparently performed, is a separate debate in itself.²¹

Scholarly disagreements, then, are plentiful in Ugaritic studies. What is more, they are vital for the continuation of the discipline. But there exist, I believe, more profound tensions within the field that are a good deal less desirable; tensions, as I will try to show, that are created by the continued influence of the same few ideological and methodological principles, and which serve to diminish the durability not only of the interpretative techniques used in the consideration of the Ugaritic evidence but also of the interpretations that are based on them.

Gloomy estimation of the methodologies used by scholars in their treatment of Ugaritic evidence is nothing new and appeals have already been issued for a conscious

¹² S.E. Loewenstamm, 'The Ugaritic Fertility Myth: The Result of a Mistranslation', *IEJ* 12 (1962), pp. 87-88.

¹³ Kapelrud, 'Baal and Mot in the Ugaritic Texts'.

¹⁴ S.E. Loewenstamm, 'The Ugaritic Fertility Myth: A Reply', *IEJ* 13 (1963), pp. 130-32.

¹⁵ De Moor, *SPUMB*, pp. 24-25, 27. For de Moor, Mot's treatment mirrors that of the grain sown in the Garden of Adonis.

¹⁶ S.E. Loewenstamm, 'The Killing of Mot in the Ugaritic Texts', *Or* 41 (1972), pp. 378-82.

¹⁷ J. Day, *Yahweh and the Gods and Goddesses of Canaan* (JSOTSup, 265; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), p. 195.

¹⁸ N. Wyatt, 'The Pruning of the Vine in KTU 1. 23', *UF* 24 (1992), pp. 425-27 (426).

¹⁹ Gaster, *Thespis*, p. 231.

²⁰ H. Kosmala, 'Mot and the Vine: The Time of the Ugaritic Fertility Rite', *ASTI* 3 (1964), pp. 147-51.

²¹ For some, *mt w šr* is to be understood as El: J. Aistleitner, *Die mythologischen und kultischen Texte aus Ras Shamra* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2nd edn, 1964), pp. 58-62; N. Wyatt, 'The Identity of Mt wšr', *UF* 9 (1977), pp. 379-81; *idem*, 'The Pruning of the Vine', p. 425. For others, the deity is Mot: Kosmala, 'Mot and the Vine'; D. Tsumura, 'A Ugaritic God Mt-w-Šr, and his Two Weapons (UT 52.8-11)', *UF* 5 (1973), pp. 407-13; *ARTU*, p. 20.

refinement of the techniques used in their interpretation of the available data.²² The situation has even been characterised as one of ‘methodological anarchy’.²³ In the following few pages I seek to pay due attention to the calls for reassessment and will look closely at the methodologies used in the selection and interpretation of the Ugaritic evidence. In the course of the discussion I will highlight the existence of a number of enduring unhelpful tendencies that underpin some of the most prominent interpretations of Ugaritic religion. This will not, however, be an exercise in ‘negativity for negativity’s sake’. Having identified the presence of the underlying assumptions guiding the treatment of the Ugaritic data and having speculated as to the possible reasons for their continued existence, I will try to build constructively upon my pessimism. Accordingly, in the final part of this chapter I will use my critical observations as a springboard for the invention of a revised frame of reference that will, I hope, allow for more satisfying and effective study of the Ugaritic evidence, and with that, a more robust and persuasive treatment of Ugaritic religious phenomena.

1. *The Problem: ‘Inter-Source’ Tensions*

Naturally, I do not wish to be identified with the ‘incautious reader’ mentioned at the beginning of this chapter—and, since I will not be basing my criticisms simply on the presence of divergent interpretations, I hope to avoid such an association. For me, difficulties arise from the realisation that the differences of opinion sometimes place the source materials at loggerheads and not from the presence of scholarly disagreements—though these can sometimes help to complicate matters further. The problem, as I will try to demonstrate, is not so much that Ugaritic scholarship has generated ‘*intra-source*’ differences of opinion, but rather that the influence of questionable methodological assumptions have guided ‘*inter-source*’ dissonance into existence. To put it another way: it is one thing for scholars to use different aspects of the ‘same’ source to formulate opposing viewpoints, or even to use aspects of ‘different’ sources to the same end, but it is quite another to utilise these ‘different’ sources in such a way that, intentionally or unintentionally, a situation of discord between the materials is created. The following discussion should help to clarify.

²² Oden, ‘Theoretical Assumptions’. Oden’s observations are of limited value, however, as his primary objective is to bring about a change *in the study of myths*, and his obvious leaning towards Lévi-Strauss’ ‘Structuralist’ method.

²³ Petersen and Woodward, ‘Northwest Semitic Religion’, p. 233.

a. Texts vs. Archaeology

It was mentioned already in Chapter 1 that although the texts and archaeology are generally kept apart in studies of Ugaritic religion, archaeological details have routinely been used to legitimise opinions constructed using the documentary material. Most commonly, the archaeological ‘fact’ that a number of texts were recovered from a building close to Ugarit’s major temple structures is offered as decisive proof of their cultic *Sitz im Leben*.²⁴ It has been seen that this is a notable feature in the discussions of the tablets comprising the so-called ‘Baal Cycle’.

But it has also been shown that recent reconsideration of the data has cast doubt on the prudence of mustering this particular titbit of archaeological evidence. The re-examinations of the archaeology performed by van Soldt, Appa and Petersen have clearly demonstrated that not all texts recovered within the supposedly cultic ‘house of the High Priest’ display an unconcealed religious connection. Add to this the archaeologically inspired observation that the physical dimensions of the Ugaritic temples, the presumed locations of the putative annual festival at which the Baal Cycle is said to have been recited/enacted, are unsupportive of the notion of ‘large-scale, much less public, rituals or “cult drama,” such as presupposed by most readings of the Ugaritic texts’,²⁵ and the probability of a sizeable cultic event making use of KTU 1.1–1.6 is diminished. Moreover, cracks begin to form not only in the theory that physical location assists in proving the cultic application of the Baal poetry, but also in the concept of the Baal ‘Cycle’ itself. Far from buttressing any theory of cultic *Sitz im Leben*, the introduction of archaeological evidence now seems to undermine its foundations. Rather than enjoying a state of symbiosis, the sources now seem to be in a state of conflict.

This situation of inter-source tension is magnified further when the ‘libation installation’ debacle is considered. In this instance, the contradistinction between the textual and archaeological readings could hardly be more compelling (or comical). What is more, this example graphically illustrates the friction that is created when seemingly divergent data are brought together—a choice *between* the textual and non-textual source material is needed to decide the fate of the ‘cult of the dead’ hypothesis

²⁴ From the summary appearing in Chapter 1 the importance of the Baal ‘cycle’ in the discussion of Ugaritic religion should be apparent. It should have also become clear that for some interpreters the poetic texts are central to their view that the Ugaritic cultic year was dominated by a great, centralised festival. Indeed, for a few interpreters the Baal mythology represents the words that accompanied the New Year sacred drama.

²⁵ Dever, ‘The Contribution of Archaeology’, p. 229. Note also his observation that ‘The small size and simple architectural layout of the temples—and especially the general lack of any associated structures except a small open court—all point...to little ritual beyond the presentation of individual gifts’ (pp. 229-30).

(or at least the notion of the regular performance of a developed series of tomb-centred libation/offering rites).

The implications of this ‘text vs. archaeology’ schism are not restricted to the understanding of the Baal mythology and the ‘cult of the dead’ texts, however. If, as we have seen, the interpretation of these documents is rendered susceptible by re-examination of their relationship with the physical factors supplied by archaeology, what impact might a similar reassessment have for other texts? And a natural corollary to the bringing down of archaeology-bolstered text interpretation is that text-driven archaeological interpretations may also become susceptible upon re-examination.

b. *Texts vs. Texts*

Speaking of tensions between the ‘separate’ textual sources seems legitimate in light of the widespread compartmentalising of the Ugaritic corpus into the broad categories of ‘literary’ and ‘non-literary’ documents. The fact (mentioned already) that no organised attempt has yet been made to correlate the testimony of these sources bears out the distinction.

Because the study of literary and non-literary texts has proceeded with a considerable degree of independence, discerning tensions between the sources is largely a matter of identifying isolated contrastive comments. But for a few clear-cut statements of supposed lack of agreement between the sources, the ‘text vs. text’ tension is identified by way of hint and suggestion. Nevertheless, while the standoff between literary and non-literary material is admittedly not as conspicuous as the ‘text vs. archaeology’ situation just discussed, the cumulative effect of the undercurrent is the subversion of inter-source harmony.

Although the non-literary documents from Ugarit have received a reasonable amount of attention, they are commonly encountered in much the same way as the archaeological data—that is, being used to support proposals based on literary texts. This perceived corroborative potential is expressed clearly by Kapelrud in his mythology-based treatise on Baal, *Baal in the Ras Shamra Texts*. Proposing Baal as the leading god of the pantheon—El, for him, retained only a nominal headship—Kapelrud states: ‘How important Baal’s place in cultic life was can be seen from some of the lists of sacrifices for various gods... Here is listed what has to be sacrificed to whom, and Baal’s name is mentioned again and again.’²⁶ (In the light of the present discussion it is

²⁶ Kapelrud, *Baal in the Ras Shamra Texts*, p. 26. Note, however, the apparently contradictory statement that ‘El and Asherah, as well as Baal and Anat, are frequently mentioned [in the sacrificial texts]. Sacrifices were offered to them all, but that does not say anything about their importance or their place in the pantheon’ (*idem*, *The Violent Goddess: Anat in the Ras Shamra Texts*, p. 113).

noteworthy that this non-literary morsel is thrown in along with iconographical and artefactual evidence.²⁷⁾

Reaching to non-literary materials in this way is not a universally accepted practice, however. Several scholars have noted that in addition to displaying differences in form the texts show a level of variance in that they list different gods. Albright, for example, observed that ‘the gods named and described in the epics differ from the divinities of the city as they appear (usually in a fixed order) in the official pantheon of Ugarit...and in sacrificial lists’.²⁸ Oden too recognised that non-literary sources occasionally present ‘conflicting conclusions’, the most prominent being that ‘the cultic deities at Ugarit are not the ones so celebrated in the myths’.²⁹ A general recognition that the literary texts offer something less than the full picture emerged from de Moor’s analysis of the distribution of divine names across the Ugaritic corpus. Noting that additional deities appear in the non-literary texts, de Moor stated: ‘it is completely clear that in the cult of Late Bronze Age Ugarit many more deities were worshipped than those mentioned in the preserved myths and epics’.³⁰ Drower shares the view that the discrepancy between the hierarchies in the Baal mythology and the ritual texts is particularly great.³¹

In his attempt to play down the degree of variance, Miller (by implication) underlines its existence: ‘We do not have different pantheons at Ugarit, and the differences among the gods of the myths, those of the cult, and those of the popular religion (as revealed in the proper names) are not extensive’.³² Not only do Miller’s words jar with Drower and de Moor’s estimation of the amount of the disagreement between the sources, but they also fail to tally with del Olmo Lete’s findings that distinct pantheons were a feature of Ugarit’s religious expression.³³ (More will be said about del Olmo Lete’s system shortly.)

²⁷ Kapelrud, *Baal in the Ras Shamra Texts*, pp. 22-26.

²⁸ W.F. Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan: A Historical Analysis of Two Contrasting Faiths* (London: Athlone Press, 1968), p. 103.

²⁹ Oden, ‘Theoretical Assumptions’, p. 53.

³⁰ J.C. de Moor, ‘The Semitic Pantheon of Ugarit’, *UF 2* (1970), pp. 187-228 (223). De Moor noted that ‘Of the canonical list of deities only 9 are missing in the myths and epics: *arṣ wšmm, ḡrm w[]t, ušhry, il t’ḡr b’l, ddmš, uḫt, knr, mlkm* and *šlm*’; his bottom line was that ‘the myths and epics do not mention a single name of a god or goddess whose absence from the cultic and profane texts is inexplicable’ (p. 222).

³¹ M.S. Drower, ‘Ugarit’, in I.E.S. Edwards, C.J. Gadd and N.G.L. Hammond (eds.), *The Cambridge Ancient History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 3rd edn, 1970–), II.2, pp. 130-60.

³² Miller, ‘Aspects of the Religion of Ugarit’, p. 56.

³³ As has already been noted above (see p. 64 as well as n. 325), del Olmo Lete proposes not only that different gods appeared in the different Ugaritic sources, but also that these can be arranged into three separate levels.

Those who have engaged with the discrepancy between the literary and non-literary sources have commonly fixed upon the presence or, indeed, non-presence of particular deities or groups of deities in one or other of the sources. So, for example, it has been noted that the mythologically 'minor' goddess Shapash appears prominently in 'sacrificial lists',³⁴ while Anat, one of the 'major' mythological figures, is seldom mentioned in these texts.³⁵

Most notably, however, the appearance of Dagan in prominent positions in the non-literary 'sacrificial' and 'god-list' texts has been contrasted with his almost complete absence from the mythological literary compositions.³⁶ Leaving aside the attempts that have been made to associate Dagan with El,³⁷ Hadad,³⁸ or some other deity,³⁹ the usual way of accounting for Dagan's 'complicated' status (my term) has been to suggest that the sources hail from different periods in Ugarit's history. (The same tactic is used to deal with other 'complicated' deities, including Shapash and Anat.) Importantly, no consensus has been reached: for some, the situation arises from Dagan's late arrival on the Ugaritic scene;⁴⁰ for others, an early dating is supposed.⁴¹ It is worth mentioning that del Olmo Lete, who acknowledges the possibility of a syncretistic development within the texts,⁴² does not incorporate his chronological distinction into his scheme—instead, the differences between the texts are accounted for by means of their association with different assemblages (e.g. the funerary cult of the palace, the non-funerary palace cult) and applications (e.g. sacrificial rituals, necromancy).

Passing over the dating issue for a moment, it seems that there is a general agreement that the literary and non-literary texts supply data that are, if not conflicting, somehow

³⁴ Miller, 'Aspects of the Religion of Ugarit', p. 57.

³⁵ Oldenburg, *The Conflict between El and Ba'al*, p. 90: 'In the sacrificial lists dating from the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries B.C., Anat is seldom mentioned. This seems to show a great decline in her function as fertility goddess already at an early time.'

³⁶ The only *direct* reference to Dagan in the mythological material arises at KTU 1.24.14. For the *indirect* references to *bn dgn* see KTU 1.2.I.19, 35, 37; 1.5.VI.24; 1.6.I.6, 52, and so on.

³⁷ J. Fontenrose, 'Dagan and El', *Oriens* 10 (1957), pp. 277-79; del Olmo Lete, *CR*, p. 52.

³⁸ Wyatt, 'The Relationship of the Deities'; *idem*, 'Baal, Dagan, and Fred: A Rejoinder'; Wiggins, 'Old Testament Dagan'.

³⁹ F. Løkkegaard, 'Some Comments on the Sanchuniathon Tradition', *StTh* 8 (1954), pp. 68-73, proposes that Dagan should be identified with Mot. J.J.M. Roberts, *The Earliest Semitic Pantheon: A Study of the Semitic Deities Attested in Mesopotamia before Ur III* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972), pp. 18-19, argues for an association with Enlil.

⁴⁰ Healey, 'Grain and Wine in Abundance', p. 68; Oldenburg, *The Conflict between El and Ba'al in Canaanite Religion*, pp. 3-4.

⁴¹ Caquot and Szyner, *Ugaritic Religion*, p. 3; Wyatt, 'The Relationship of the Deities', p. 379; Miller, 'Aspects of the Religion of Ugarit', pp. 57-58.

⁴² Del Olmo Lete, *CR*, p. 72. Cf. above p. 66 n. 330.

at odds and in need of explication. (Even Kapelrud, who made use of their synergy, was forced to concede that the disparity of the sources helps to turn Dagan into a 'shadowy figure'.⁴³) Being a subjective judgment imposed by the interpreters, the difference in estimation of the degree of variance is not of primary concern here. Much more important is the way in which the discordant evidence is handled. The use of the 'non-literary' material as a corroborative resource for the confirmation of positions formed on the basis of the 'literary' material is a practice that stands in contrast with the repeated assertions that the two groups of texts are in some sense divergent. (The appearance of opposing chronological explanations for any perceived dissonance does not contribute positively to the situation.) Furthermore, the continued bifurcation of the sources in the scholarly treatments of Ugaritic religion—it will be remembered that no integrated interpretation of the 'literary' and 'non-literary' texts has yet been offered—only serves to make matters worse. All of this, I propose, is instrumental in creating the inter-source 'text vs. text' tension.

2. *The Cause: Pervasive Tendencies*

In order to react positively to the downbeat assessment it is necessary to delve into the practical and motivational factors that have helped shape the development of Ugaritic studies in general, and the study of Ugaritic religion in particular. Isolating the influences that have conspired to create the inter-source tensions is a valuable step towards the exclusion of such influences from any new methodological framework. Discerning whether these factors have directly or indirectly impacted on past readings is a helpful part of this avoidance strategy.

At this stage it is vital to make explicit that the inter-source tensions result from scholarship's use of the sources and not from the sources themselves. (That is not to say that divergent information never appears in the source material—the different [hierarchical?] sequences arising in the so-called 'god lists' [KTU 1.47; 1.118; 1.148; RS 20.24] bear this out—or that the explanations used to rationalise the differences [e.g. chronological solutions] are unfounded—a syncretistic development in the Ugaritic pantheon may well account for the variations in the order of deities.⁴⁴) What is at issue here is the scholarly perception that the literary, non-literary and archaeological sources present '*conflicting conclusions*',⁴⁵ a perception that is surely symptomatic of an

⁴³ Kapelrud, *Baal in the Ras Shamra Texts*, p. 57.

⁴⁴ Cf. above, p. 66.

⁴⁵ Oden, 'Theoretical Assumptions', p. 53 (my emphasis). See above p. 101.

interpretative agenda that is unprepared for diversity and unable to synthesise the appearance of variant data.

In fact, the notion of ‘conflict’ between the Ugaritic sources themselves should, perhaps, be considered irrational. Unless the data are in some way corrupt—every effort should be made to preclude this possibility—a logical explanation for seemingly discordant evidence doubtlessly exists. Whether or not the interpreter is able to recover the *bona fide* explanation is a different matter altogether. (Only thorough and continued retesting will help to sustain the integrity of any proposed solution.) At any rate, the appearance of ‘conflicting’ source material provides an immediate indication that something is amiss.

And so, it is the purpose of this section to highlight some of the methodological and ideological principles that have recurrently underpinned past readings of the Ugaritic evidence and which may have contributed to the invention of inter-source tension. In the following paragraphs I will focus on the three most prominent examples:

1. The promotion of texts (and the relegation of archaeology).
2. The unbalanced treatment of texts.
3. The homogeneous reading of the evidence.

a. *The Promotion of Texts (and the Relegation of Archaeology)*

The carving up of the Ugaritic evidence into distinct categories is a widely accepted practice: texts are separated from archaeology, Ugaritic texts are separated from non-Ugaritic texts, literary texts are separated from non-literary texts, and so on. The organisation of Watson and Wyatt’s 1999 *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies (HUS)*⁴⁶ conveniently reflects this practice.

Occasionally, the dissection of the source material and the conferral of an elevated status on the documentary evidence are given direct expression. Craigie, for example, offered the following outright affirmation of text prioritisation:

Although the physical remains of the ancient city of Ugarit are of considerable significance, it is the written texts which have a particular and distinctive importance. Without those texts, we would have only a visual impression of the city, its layout, and principal buildings; we would know a little of the style of life from the surviving artifacts. But the past would remain essentially a skeleton; it is the written sources that flesh out that skeleton, providing an insight into...their religious beliefs...⁴⁷

For most, the preferential treatment of texts and the subordination of the archaeology are not made so unequivocally, but are implicit and to be inferred from the material

⁴⁶ W.G.E. Watson and N. Wyatt (eds.), *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies* (HdO, 39; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1999).

⁴⁷ Craigie, *Ugarit and the Old Testament*, p. 44.

chosen for study—hence the use of parentheses in the sub-heading of this section. It is worth noting, for example, that de Tarragon provides just two pages of archaeological discussion in *Le culte à Ugarit*⁴⁸ while, in his *Canaanite Religion*, del Olmo Lete restricts himself to occasional corroborative comments of the sort discussed already.⁴⁹ The wholesale exclusion of archaeological data is symptomatic of the prioritisation of the documentary sources.

(1) *'Vocal' Artefacts*

Turning now to the reasons for the bestowal of first-rate importance on the epigraphic sources, it is important to note that this is not just a trend affecting Ugaritic studies. Rather, the preferring of documentary evidence seems to be a feature common to the study of most (if not all) ancient Near Eastern cultures that have left a textual legacy. As Gordon notes:

Artifacts are relegated to secondary importance in historical studies whenever a civilization is literate. We rely heavily on artifacts for investigating Neolithic cultures, before the dawn of writing, because there are no texts from which we can derive more precise historic data.⁵⁰

Thus, the prioritisation of texts is based on a qualitative judgment relating to the perceived abilities of written and non-written sources to convey information. In other words, the texts are considered to be more 'vocal'.

The inevitability of text preference has not met with unanimous acceptance, however. Dever in particular has offered spirited admonitions against what he calls the 'minimization' of archaeology in the study of Ancient Israelite as well as, more generally, Syro-Palestinian religion.⁵¹ According to Dever, there exists a widespread and, for him, problematic belief that archaeological remains represent 'mute' artefacts liable to subjective interpretations, while texts serve as more 'eloquent' and reliable sources.⁵² Certainly his suggestion chimes with Craigie's statement (see above), and appears to be borne out by Lemche's unconcealed use of the term 'mute archaeological

⁴⁸ De Tarragon, *Le culte à Ugarit*, pp. 181-82.

⁴⁹ Note, however, del Olmo Lete's recognition of the potential role of a synthesised study; see above p. 61.

⁵⁰ C.H. Gordon, *Ugarit and Minoan Crete: The Bearing of their Texts on the Origins of Western Culture* (New York: Norton, 1966), p. 13.

⁵¹ Dever, 'The Contribution of Archaeology'; *idem*, 'Retrospects and Prospects', *BA* 45 (1981), pp. 103-107; *idem*, *Recent Archaeological Discoveries and Biblical Research* (The Samuel and Althea Stroum Lectures in Jewish Studies; Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1990).

⁵² Dever, 'The Contribution of Archaeology', p. 221.

remains'.⁵³ Gese seems to pitch his tent alongside these scholars with his declaration that 'The expressive potential of these [non-written source] materials is naturally extremely limited'.⁵⁴ Although Dever's call for the texts to be viewed as 'inscribed artefacts'⁵⁵ that share the same level of importance as the uninscribed artefacts⁵⁶ does not seem to have been taken up, he is certainly not alone in drawing attention to the general acceptance of archaeology's lesser status.⁵⁷

(2) *Historical Context*

Another possible cause for the elevation of the documentary is the residual influence exercised by the historical development of Ugaritic studies as a discipline. When one considers that the Ugaritic texts were chanced upon at the cusp of the third and fourth decades of the twentieth century, a time when the 'History of Religion School' held sway, the preoccupation with documentary sources in the early years becomes understandable. Geared first and foremost towards the study of ancient Near Eastern texts with an overarching concern for relating the material to the biblical text,⁵⁸ the History of Religion movement may, in part, have contributed to the sustained promotion of documentary sources. After all, as has already been acknowledged,⁵⁹ the prevailing scholarly climate contributed directly to the early emphasis on Myth and Ritual readings of the newly discovered material. It is feasible that the progressive development of and reaction to these early interpretations in some way accounts for the

⁵³ N.P. Lemche, *The Canaanites and Their Land: The Tradition of the Canaanites* (JSOTSup, 110; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), p. 172.

⁵⁴ H. Gese, 'Die Religionen Altsyriens', in H. Gese, M. Höfner and K. Rudolph, *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer* (Die Religionen der Menschheit, 10.2; ed. C.M. Schröder; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1970), pp. 1-232 (21) (cited in Petersen, 'Where Did Schaeffer Find the Clay Tablets?', p. 55).

⁵⁵ Dever, 'The Contribution of Archaeology', p. 209.

⁵⁶ Dever, 'The Contribution of Archaeology', p. 221.

⁵⁷ See H. Niehr, 'Some Aspects of Working with the Textual Sources', in L.L. Grabbe (ed.), *Can a 'History of Israel' Be Written?* (JSOTSup, 245; European Seminar in Historical Methodology, 1; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), pp. 156-65 (159). Cf. also the comments made by G.W. Ahlström, 'The Role of the Archaeological and Literary Remains in Reconstructing Israel's History', in D.V. Edelman (ed.), *The Fabric of History* (JSOTSup, 127; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), p. 117.

⁵⁸ See, in particular, R. Kittel, *A History of the Hebrews* (trans. J. Taylor, H.W. Hogg and W.B. Spiers; 2 vols.; London: Williams & Norgate, 1895); S.A. Cook, *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the Second Millennium in the Light of Archaeology* (London: Constable & Co., 1908); *idem*, *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the Second Millennium in the Light of Archaeology* (The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy, 1925; London: Oxford University Press, 1930); R.H. Pfeiffer, *Religion in the Old Testament* (London: A. & C. Black, 1960); H.H. Rowley, *Worship in Ancient Israel* (London: Lutterworth, 1959).

⁵⁹ See Chapter 1, pp. 9-14.

dominance of text-oriented study. The fact that scholarly discussion continues to centre on Ugaritic *religion*, as opposed to, say, Ugarit's economy or political history, may in itself be a hangover of the academic mood that obtained at the time of the texts' emergence. It may also be a testament to the enduring influence of the humanist agenda.

The historical happenstance of Ugarit's discovery may account for the subordinate status of archaeology in another way. Quite simply, the lesser status of the archaeological sources may be a consequence of archaeology's less developed techniques at the outset of the Ras Shamra excavations. The propensity towards studying Ugaritic texts in isolation from the non-textual remains was established for over 30 years when the dawn of the 'New Archaeology' broke.⁶⁰ A child of its time, it may be that from the moment of its inception Ugaritic debate was destined to set off down a text-oriented path.

(3) *Paucity of the Archaeological Data*

In fact, it is just possible that the quality of the data supplied by the excavators of Ras Shamra has contributed to the downgrading of the archaeological evidence. The relative paucity of the information tendered by the French team, as well as the less than systematic (and hurried) publication strategy,⁶¹ may have helped to reduce the allure of the non-textual data. Furthermore, if my personal experience is representative, the Directors of the Mission de Ras Shamra (Maison de l'Orient Méditerranéen, Université de Lyon) have shown themselves to be largely uncooperative when approached with a request for unpublished information.

Faced, then, with the prospect of trawling through disparate excavation reports and trying to extract missing data from disinclined archaeologists, it is small wonder that engagement with the non-textual sources has been limited.

(4) *Availability of Textual Evidence*

The path of least resistance leads straight to the texts from Ugarit. The publication of extensive and accessible text collections presents an invaluable opportunity to engage with primary source material; the successive appearance of Herdner's *CTA*, volumes 2–

⁶⁰ S.R. Binford and L.R. Binford (eds.), *New Perspectives in Archeology* (Chicago: Aldine, 1968); L.R. Binford, *In Pursuit of the Past: Decoding the Archaeological Record* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1983); P.S. Martin, 'The Revolution in Archaeology', in M.P. Leone (ed.), *Contemporary Archaeology: A Guide to Theory and Contributions* (Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1972), pp. 5-13. For a concise summary of the central tenets of New Archaeology see C. Renfrew and P. Bahn, *Archaeology: Theories, Methods, Methods and Practice* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 1996), pp. 36-39 (37).

⁶¹ See Chapter 1, p. 54.

6 of *PRU*, Gordon's *UT* and the two editions of *KTU* present an abundant and conveniently packaged study resource.⁶² Being readily available to scholars and students around the world, it is understandable that textual analysis has been the favoured channel for connecting with the Ugaritic remnant.

b. *The Discriminate Treatment of Texts*

Along with the overarching tendency towards elevating texts over archaeology comes the tendency towards prioritising one 'type' or 'genre' of text over another. Since even the separation of the Ugaritic corpus into the broad-spectrum categories of literary and non-literary has been seen to be instrumental in the creation of an inter-source 'text vs. text' tension, it is necessary to look at some of the other subdivisions that have been imposed upon the documents and to explore the possible reasons for the imposition of these classifications.

(1) *'Native' Texts*

The most rudimentary demarcation is surely between those texts bearing the Ugaritic script and those showing other languages. Although numerous documents attest to the variety of languages employed at Ugarit (see above), it is the texts in the native alphabetic cuneiform that have received the lion's share of scholarly attention. For some, the favouring of the indigenous Ugaritic texts has been explicit; Cassuto, for example, claimed that

The tablets inscribed with the Ugaritic script and in the Ugaritic tongue represent the most important find at Ugarit.⁶³

This line of thought appears to have been shared by Gray who deliberately relegated the non-Ugaritic texts in his discussion of the Ras Shamra discoveries.⁶⁴ The widespread preoccupation with the native Ugaritic documents is evinced by the exclusion of other material from mainstream discussion.

A couple of reasons can be offered for this state of affairs. First, the Ugaritic language was unknown until the discovery of the Ras Shamra remains; the recovery of documents in Akkadian, Hittite and Egyptian, while important, presented (merely?) another attestation of these widely dispersed languages. Second, the texts provide homegrown information about a community that was previously known only from passing references in Egyptian administrative documents. In an attempt to piece

⁶² See the Abbreviations list for full publication details (pp. vi-x).

⁶³ Cassuto, *The Goddess Anath*, p. 5.

⁶⁴ While discussing the cosmopolitan nature of the ancient city, Gray, *The Legacy of Canaan*, p. 2, stated, 'Though this aspect of the culture of Ugarit must be emphasised, it is nevertheless with its native elements that we shall be concerned in this work'.

together the history of Ugarit, and in particular the religious aspect of this history, the indigenous texts naturally play the pivotal role.

(2) 'Religious' Texts

For the study of the Ugaritic religion the 'religious' texts have, unsurprisingly, been of paramount importance. Remarkably, however, even though the label 'religious text' is routinely employed, the principles of categorisation remain indistinct. Indeed, a variety of classification systems has been adopted: note, for example, that while Gordon's *UT* arranges the texts into ten categories, *KTU* employs six, and *HUS* uses five (plus subdivisions).⁶⁵ Significantly, the rules governing the classification of texts are not spelled out in any of these works.

Though largely unexpressed, the fundamental principle governing the identification of religious texts seems to go hand-in-hand with a partitioning of the social realities of Ugaritic life. As Craigie puts it,

The great majority of the texts are relatively short and of an administrative or economic nature. They are vital for the reconstruction of Ugarit's civilization and history, but less valuable in providing information about the literature and religion of ancient Ugarit. For this kind of information, we must turn to those tablets containing legends and myths, which are at once literary in form and, to judge by the principal location in which they were discovered, religious in function.⁶⁶

Craigie's comment is suggestive of a classification framework built as much upon the delineation between perfunctory and artful form, as upon the differentiation between material and transcendental function—for the identification of religious texts the emphasis in both cases is on the latter. (Note, incidentally, the superficial use of archaeological findsite data to support the cultic *Sitz im Leben*.)

(a) Literary Religious Texts

As the Chapter 1 summary made clear, the literary texts have been considered the most important source for the study of Ugaritic religion. And yet, interestingly, a starting point for those studying the literary texts has often been the discussion of whether or not the documents contain any information bearing on the religious conceptions,

⁶⁵ *UT*: (1) literary texts, (2) religious or ritual texts, (3) letters, (4) tribute, (5) hippatric texts, (6) administrative, statistical and business documents, (7) tags, labels or indications of ownership, (8) Hurrian texts, (9) Akkadian texts written alphabetically, and (10) miscellaneous. *KTU* (not including the unclassified, illegible and unpublished categories): (1) literary and religious texts, (2) letters, (3) legal texts, (4) economic texts, (5) scribal exercises, (6) inscriptions on seals, labels, ivories etc. *HUS*: (1[a]) literary texts, (1[b]) cultic texts, (1[b1]) ritual texts, (1[b2]) offering and deity lists, (1[b3]) omen texts, (2) correspondence, (3) legal texts, (4) administrative texts, (5) hippatric texts.

⁶⁶ Craigie, *Ugarit and the Old Testament*, p. 53.

institutions and practices of the ancient community. Although it is apparent that the poetic compositions unearthed at Ras Shamra contain the names of the gods and cast them in intricate narrative contexts, their connections with the Ugaritic cult are not so clear that they can go undiscussed—an interpretative judgment is required when considering the purpose and meaning of the literary texts. As such, it is not uncommon to come across apologetic defences of the decision that has been taken.

For some, the large poetic texts are purely artistic works that were composed in order to please and entertain. Quite simply, they served an aesthetic purpose. According to this view the Ugaritic texts are not related (at least, not directly so) to the religious institutions of the ancient city. Sasson, for instance, maintains that

the whole cycles of *Baal* and *Aqhat*...were meant to satisfy literary, rather than religious sensibilities.⁶⁷

A minority view, such an interpretation limits the role and value that may be attributed to the poetic material. Having been denied any connection with the religious cult, the Ugaritic texts are of value only in so far as they offer insight into the creative literary techniques of the scribes and perhaps for the understanding of the few social practices that may be reflected in the activities of the gods.⁶⁸

Another perspective is that adopted by Margulit. While recognising that the literary documents are highly polished artistic pieces, Margulit proposed that they nevertheless serve some 'higher' purpose and that

the major poetic works in particular, merit serious consideration as 'literature', *i.e.*, as works of *art*, characterized by a self-conscious grappling in a literary mode with the fundamental questions of human existence, with the tragic fates and bitter ironies of life and the quest for Meaning, but without neglecting the major objective of *all* literature worthy of the name—to cultivate in the audience (whether as a reader or listener) a literary aesthetic as a source of pleasure and delight.⁶⁹

It would appear that for Margulit, certain Ugaritic works are to be considered as philosophical treatises that are combined with not a small measure of entertainment value. These documents are an early attempt to rationalise aspects of daily life.

In the main, however, the dominant opinion among interpreters is that the longer poetic compositions are the product of a religious community:

⁶⁷ J.M. Sasson, 'Literary Criticism, Folklore Scholarship, and Ugaritic Literature', in Young (ed.), *Ugarit in Retrospect*, pp. 81-98 (96). Note also Pfeiffer, *Ras Shamra and the Bible*, p. 36: 'The Ugaritic epics can be understood and enjoyed for their own sake, quite apart from any theory of cultic enactment and recital'.

⁶⁸ E.g. A. van Selms, *Marriage and Family Life in Ugaritic Literature* (Pretoria Oriental Society, 1; London: Luzac). Note, however, the objections offered by Oden, 'Theoretical Assumptions', pp. 51-55.

⁶⁹ Margulit, *The Ugaritic Poem of Aqht*, p. 488.

Our texts are not just 'l'art pour l'art', they were not told just for the enjoyment of the audience. We are entitled to suppose that they had a certain 'place in life' and we may assume that this 'place in life' plays a great part also for their contents and literary form.⁷⁰

This stance maintains that the poetic compositions belonged to the Ugaritic cult and that they served some primary role in the cultic activity of the ancient civilisation. According to this view the Ugaritic literary compositions are functional religious documents—they are texts from the cult, for the cult.⁷¹ For those interested in uncovering the religion of ancient Ugarit, then, the literary compositions provide a, if not *the*, primary source of information. So certain was Kapelrud that the texts are connected with the religious movement of Ugarit that he considered it beyond doubt that they are cultic in origin:

Baal is the central figure in the AB texts. His life and death are the main themes around which all is centred. It is then likely that also these texts are closely connected with the fertility aspect as well as with the cult. This means just one thing: that the AB texts were cult texts. This is actually so likely that the burden of proof ought to rest on the scholars who maintain that these texts are *not* cult texts.⁷²

For those who accept this line of interpretation, 'The role of the gods and goddesses in the Ugaritic religion can be reconstructed from the tablets'.⁷³

In addition to the (sometimes) assumed connection with the Ugaritic cult, practical reasons may also motivate the decision to promote the literary texts. Quite simply, the form and compositional character of the literary texts provide a valuable opportunity to deal with long portions of unbroken narrative poetry. Being fairly well preserved and sometimes spanning multiple tablets, the carefully inscribed texts offer scope for analysis on a variety of levels—grammatical analysis, poetics and philology—that are not presented by the non-literary documentation. The general recognition that the literary texts illuminate the cultural background of Israelite religion, and advance the

⁷⁰ Kapelrud, *Baal in the Ras Shamra Texts*, p. 15; cf. del Olmo Lete, 'Approaching a Description', p. 264, who expresses the similar view that 'the Ugaritic religious literature shows itself to be "immanent" and a direct expression of what it describes'.

⁷¹ See, for example, J.P. Hyatt, 'Canaanite Ugarit—Modern Ras Shamra', *BA* 2.1 (1939), pp. 1-9 (3), who believes that the texts are 'genuine literature: poetic myths and legends which give us first-hand information concerning the religion of the early Canaanites'; Mihalik, 'Ugarit and the Bible (A Question Still Unanswered)', *UF* 13 (1981), pp. 147-50, maintains that the Ugaritic texts are important for the study of the history of religions because they allow the 'rediscovery of the Canaanite Pantheon from original sources' (p. 147).

⁷² Kapelrud, *Baal in the Ras Shamra Texts*, p. 27.

⁷³ Hyatt, 'Canaanite Ugarit', p. 14.

study of Biblical Hebrew, only add to the mix.⁷⁴ (More will be said about ‘Ugarit and the Bible’ later.)

(b) *Non-Literary Religious Texts*

As we have seen, the prioritisation of the literary documents has not been embraced unanimously. In this respect it is notable that in his systematic treatment of the ‘liturgical’ texts, which is undoubtedly the most extensive attempt to develop a more complete reconstruction of the Ugaritic cult, del Olmo Lete limits the main body of his discussion to a core of non-literary texts—texts which, according to the popular view, are ‘humbrum’, and which ‘merely list how many sheep or oxen are to be sacrificed on which days of the month to which deities’.⁷⁵

In del Olmo Lete’s scheme, the literary texts are not tied inextricably with the practical concerns of the cult. Instead,

The *mythological texts* and the literary texts reflect, generally speaking, a theological universe with its corresponding pantheon, which we can define as *dogmatic*, intended to express an ideology with ‘answers’ to the serious existential concerns of the faithful.⁷⁶

Thus, del Olmo Lete’s agenda is significant in that it shifts the primary emphasis away from the literary texts and onto the non-literary, ‘functional reductions’.⁷⁷ This shift is undoubtedly linked with his emphasis on providing, first and foremost, ‘an organic synthesis that tries to emphasize the key points of Ugaritic liturgy’ and then, secondarily, its ‘underlying ideology’.⁷⁸ Crucially, however, though del Olmo Lete’s work represents an inversion of the mainstream preoccupation with the mythological/poetical material, it nevertheless demonstrates the tendency towards separation and prioritisation.

c. *The Homogenous Reading of the Evidence*

The third pervasive tendency is, perhaps, the most difficult to demonstrate. For although succinct quotes can be used to lay bare the deliberate ranking of one set of data over another, showing that a tendency towards the ‘homogeneous’ interpretation of the Ugaritic evidence exists is a much more challenging enterprise. In all likelihood this is because the first two pervasive tendencies are the practical expressions of the subtle underlying influence imparted by the third. In reality, it is probably the case that the ideological cart goes before the methodological horses. An explanation is needed.

⁷⁴ See the discussion of Mitchell Dahood and his methodology, below, pp. 111-12.

⁷⁵ Wyatt, *Religious Texts from Ugarit*, p. 14.

⁷⁶ Del Olmo Lete, *CR*, p. 43 (emphasis in original).

⁷⁷ Del Olmo Lete, *CR*, p. 19.

⁷⁸ Del Olmo Lete, *CR*, p. 7.

(1) *'Ironing out Wrinkles'*

In the preceding discussion it has been argued that treatments of Ugaritic religion have, by and large, involved a segregation of the source materials. It has also been shown that the sources supply data that are sometimes seen to be discordant. From the scholarly reactions two main strategies for dealing with this phenomenon are identifiable: downplaying the level of variance has been one route taken;⁷⁹ providing a chronological rationalisation has been the other.⁸⁰ In simple terms, the shared objective of both lines of attack is to iron out wrinkles. It is also possible that—and it is important to stress that this is a tentative suggestion since the decision to prefer one set of data is probably never thought out in these terms—the continued separation of the sources itself in some way serves as a means of suppressing the variant data. Intentional or otherwise, debarring the testimony of multiple sources sidesteps the need to explain away potentially difficult material.

An aspect of such interpretations, then, is the production of a single explanation for the phenomena under consideration—a 'homogeneous' reading of the evidence, if you will. But to what end? While it is, of course, the objective of every interpreter to avoid incoherence within his/her work, imposing a logical rationalisation upon phenomena that can quite happily exist in a state of 'contradiction' suggests some other form of motivation. (I am thinking here in particular of the attempts to provide chronological explanations for the disharmony created by the appearance and non-appearance of certain deities in the different textual sources, as well as the seemingly conflicting status of El and Baal as chief deity.)

In light of this it seems reasonable to ponder whether an aspect of the interpretative strategies used to explain the Ugaritic evidence is the reconstruction of a unified religious tradition. If this should prove to be the case, the mooted term 'homogeneous' would be a doubly apt choice of word: 'homogeneous' in the sense that the interpretations seek to supply a unified solution to any perceived inter-source discord; 'homogeneous' in the sense that the solutions serve to free up the possibility of reconstructing a single religion of Ugarit. Further consideration of this latter aspect is required.

(2) *Ugarit and the Bible*

The impact of the Ugaritic texts on biblical studies has been immense, and innumerable works have been dedicated to the exploration of the various connections between Ugarit

⁷⁹ See above, p. 54.

⁸⁰ See above, p. 54.

and the Bible (especially the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament).⁸¹ In addition to the many works that have concentrated on the religious commonality and contrast expressed in the Ugaritic and biblical texts,⁸² a good deal of attention has been given to the investigation of the linguistic affinities between Ugaritic and Biblical Hebrew.⁸³

It has already been noted that in the years immediately following the discovery of the Ugaritic texts eager attempts were made to demonstrate the points of connectivity between the newly excavated documents and the biblical record, and that the work of the pioneering interpreters (notably Dussaud) involved the identification of

⁸¹ Trying to present an exhaustive list of relevant publications is futile—it will never be complete! See the articles appearing in *UB*, for a representative sample of current opinion. In addition, see the introductions offered by Craigie, *Ugarit and the Old Testament*; M.J. Dahood, 'Ugaritic Studies and the Bible', *Greg* 43.1 (1962), pp. 55-79; Pfeiffer, *Ras Shamra and the Bible*; K.L. Barker, 'The Value of Ugaritic for Old Testament Studies', *BSac* 133 (1976), pp. 119-29; A.H.W. Curtis, *Ugarit (Ras Shamra) (Cities of the Biblical World; Cambridge: Lutterworth, 1985)*; Greenfield, 'The Hebrew Bible and Canaanite Literature'.

⁸² See, among many others, B.L. Goff, 'Syncretism in the Religion of Israel', *JBL* 58 (1939), pp. 151-61; Pedersen, 'Canaanite and Israelite Cultus'; W.F. Albright, 'The Ancient Near East and the Religion of Israel', *JBL* 59 (1940), pp. 85-112; 'Cultic Affinities'; F.E. Eakin, Jr, 'Yahwism and Baalism before the Exile', *JBL* 84 (1965), pp. 407-14; S. Segert, 'Surviving Canaanite Elements in Israelite Religion', *Studi sull' Orient e la Bibbia: Offerti al P. Giovanni Rinaldi nel 60 compleanno da allievi, colleghi, amici* (Genoa: Studi e Vita, 1967), pp. 155-61; Hammershaimb, 'History and Cult in the Old Testament'; M.H. Pope, 'Baal Worship', in *EncJud*, IV, pp. 7-12; P.D. Miller, Jr, 'Ugarit and the History of Religions', *JSL* 9 (1981), pp. 119-28; E.B. Schmick, 'Israel's Struggle with the Religions of Canaan', in R.L. Harris, S.-H. Quek and J.R. Vannoy (eds.), *Interpretation and History: Essays in Honour of Allan A. Macrae* (Singapore: Christian Life Publishers, 1986), pp. 123-33; T.N.D. Mettinger, 'The Elusive Essence: YHWH, El and Baal and the Distinctiveness of Israelite Faith', in E. Blum, C. Macholz and E.W. Stegemann (eds.), *Die Hebräische Bibel und ihre zweifache Nachgeschichte* (Festschrift R. Rentorff; Neukirchen-Vlyun: Neukirchener Verlag, 1990), pp. 393-17; J. Day, 'Ugarit and the Bible: Do they Presuppose the Same Canaanite Mythology and Religion?', in *UB*, pp. 35-52.

⁸³ H.L. Ginsberg, 'The Ugaritic Texts and Textual Criticism', *JBL* 62 (1943), pp. 109-15; F.C. Fensham, 'Ugaritic and the Translation of the Old Testament', *BT* 18 (1967), pp. 71-74; P.C. Craigie, 'The Poetry of Ugarit and Israel [The Tyndale Old Testament Lecture, 1970]', *TynBul* 22 (1971), pp. 3-31; *idem*, 'Ugarit and the Bible: Progress and Regress in Fifty Years of Literary Study', in Young (ed.), *Ugarit in Retrospect*, pp. 99-111; S. Segert, 'The Ugaritic Texts and the Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible', in Goedicke (ed.), *Near Eastern Studies*, pp. 413-20; S.E. Loewenstamm, 'Ugarit and the Bible. I', *Bib* 56 (1975), pp. 103-19; *idem*, 'Ugarit and the Bible. II', *Bib* 59 (1978), pp. 100-22; Y. Avishur, 'Should a Ugaritic Text be Corrected on the Basis of a Biblical Text?', *VT* 31 (1981), pp. 218-20; S. Gevirtz, 'Should a Ugaritic Text be Corrected on the Basis of a Biblical Text?'—A Response', *VT* 33 (1983), pp. 330-34; M.S. Smith, 'Myth and Myth-Making in Ugaritic and Israelite Literatures', in *UB*, pp. 293-41.

corresponding words and phrases within the two corpora.⁸⁴ However, in addition to the analysis of the sacrificial terminology appearing in the Ugaritic texts and the Bible, particularly the book of Leviticus, attempts were also made to resolve difficult passages in other biblical books. The gist of this methodological outlook is spelled out clearly by Cassuto, who announced that

a number of passages that were regarded by many scholars as corrupt and requiring emendation because they found them to contain strange, implausible forms...have now been clarified by comparison with the Ugaritic writings, and it has become evident that these Scriptural passages are without defect and require no amendment whatsoever.⁸⁵

A prominent example of this principle in action is offered by the treatments of the so-called ‘kid in milk’ passage in KTU 1.23.13-15, a passage that is widely understood to display close associations with previously obscure biblical stipulations (Exod. 23.19; 34.26; Deut. 14.21). Proposed as a tentative possibility by Virolleaud⁸⁶ and Ginsberg,⁸⁷ enough cumulative weight has gathered behind the interpretation over the years that the Ugaritic passage has come to be understood as a ‘Canaanite’ exemplar of the kind of fertility ritual prohibited in Israelite religion.⁸⁸ Although objections have been raised to this reading,⁸⁹ it nevertheless remains a popular explanation cited in mainstream Bible commentaries.⁹⁰

The less positive aspect of the linking of the Bible and the Ugaritic texts is also worthy of acknowledgement. Ignoring the issue of the use of ‘Canaanite’ for the time being (see below), the following statement by Lemche offers a succinct estimation of the bias imparted by Bible specialists:

The efforts of biblical scholars have generally been invested in the study of the Ugaritic epic literature, whereas other manifestations of ancient Ugaritic society have been more or

⁸⁴ See above, pp. 55-57.

⁸⁵ Cassuto, *The Goddess Anath*, pp. 51-52.

⁸⁶ Virolleaud, ‘La naissance des dieux gracieux et beaux’.

⁸⁷ H.L. Ginsberg drew attention to apparent biblical parallel, ‘Notes on “The Birth of the Gracious and Beautiful Gods”’, *JRAS* (1935), pp. 45-72.

⁸⁸ H. Kosmala, ‘The So-Called Ritual Decalogue’, *ASTI* 1 (1962), pp. 31-61 (52-55); *idem*, ‘Mot and the Vine’, p. 147. See also Hyatt, ‘Canaanite Ugarit—Modern Ras Shamra’, pp. 6-7; Ginsberg, ‘Ugaritic Studies and the Bible’, p. 49; Driver, *Canaanite Myths and Legends*, p. 23.

⁸⁹ R. Ratner and B. Zuckerman, “‘A kid in milk?’: New Photographs of KTU 1.23, Line 14’, *HUCA* 57 (1986), pp. 15-60; D. Pardee, ‘West Semitic Canonical Compositions’, W.W. Hallo (with J.L. Younger, Jr) (ed.) *The Context of Scripture. I. Canonical Compositions of the Biblical World* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997), pp. 239-375 (278-79 n. 26).

⁹⁰ See, e.g., J.I. Durham, *Exodus* (WBC, 3; Waco, TX: Word Books, 1987), p. 462; P.C. Craigie, *The Book of Deuteronomy* (NICOT; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1976), p. 232; cf., however, *idem*, ‘Deuteronomy and Ugaritic Studies’, *TynBul* 28 (1977), pp. 155-69 (155-59).

less neglected or left in the hands of specialists—and this development has been more pronounced in later years than it was at the beginning of Ugaritic studies. The result has been that the Ugaritic epic literature—and especially the cycle of Baal—has been decisive for the interpretation of Canaanite culture. Therefore, when the content of this literature—not least the description of the brutal and abnormal behaviour of the Ugaritic gods—has been compared to the supposed content of the pre-exilic Israelite religion, the fertility elements which evidently played a dominant part in the Ugaritic texts have also decided the interpretation of the Canaanite religion to the neglect of other aspects of Canaanite culture. Moreover, the way for such an understanding of Ugaritic religion was more or less paved by certain circles of Old Testament scholarship...⁹¹

That there was a clamour to establish links with the Bible is by no means a phenomenon restricted to Ugaritic studies; the archives of Qumran, Mari, Tell Mardikh/Ebla, and Emar have all enjoyed similar, though less long-lived periods of biblically oriented attention.⁹² As Chavalas points out in his recent discussion,⁹³ the discovery of an ancient archive in the eastern Mediterranean region is often received with considerable excitement—excitement that sometimes even captures the imagination of newspaper editors—as rumours spread of an archive offering verification of the biblical text. He also notes, however, that the initial furore normally dies away as conservative analysis of the evidence reveals no (major) direct connections with the Bible.⁹⁴

And this is precisely what has happened over the last 70 years of Ugaritic discussion. The initial impulse of biblical scholars to claim the Ugaritic documents as proof texts for the missing Canaanite history has gradually receded to a more balanced approach. Accordingly, the era of ‘parallelomania’, which perhaps found its quintessential expression in Fisher’s three-volume *Ras Shamra Parallels*,⁹⁵ has slowly been laid to rest.⁹⁶ So too the period of ‘pan-Ugaritism’, exemplified by the comparative (linguistic)

⁹¹ Lemche, *The Canaanites and Their Land*, p. 18.

⁹² Objections to the rush to treat these archives from a biblical orientation have been expressed by S. Sandmel, ‘Parallelomania’, *JBL* 81 (1962), pp. 1-13 (discussing the phenomenon in relation to the Dead Sea Scrolls and the texts from Ebla); W.G.E. Watson, ‘Ugaritic and Mesopotamian Literary Texts’, *UF* 9 (1977), pp. 273-84.

⁹³ M.W. Chavalas, ‘Assyriology and Biblical Studies: A Century and a Half of Tension’, in M.W. Chavalas and K. Lawson Younger, Jr (eds.), *Mesopotamia and the Bible: Comparative Explorations* (JSOTSup, 341; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), pp. 21-67.

⁹⁴ Chavalas, ‘Assyriology and Biblical Studies’, p. 44.

⁹⁵ L.R. Fisher *et al.* (eds.), *Ras Shamra Parallels* (AnOr, 49-51; 3 vols.; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1972-81) (vol. 3 = S. Rummel [ed.]).

⁹⁶ Sandmel, ‘Parallelomania’; S.B. Parker, ‘Some Methodological Principles in Ugaritic Philology’, *Maarav* 2.1 (1979), pp. 7-41 (16-18); F. Saracino, ‘Ras Ibn Hani 78/20 and some Old Testament Connections’, *VT* 32 (1982), pp. 338-43 (338).

work of Dahood⁹⁷ and his students,⁹⁸ fell away following Dahood's overindulgence in the third volume of his Anchor Bible *Psalms* commentary.⁹⁹ Dahood's methodology has now been rejected as excessive,¹⁰⁰ and has been replaced with a more phlegmatic approach to the evidence: 'the Ugaritic texts are not the "open sesame" to every biblical problem, any more than the Dead Sea scrolls are'.¹⁰¹

Nevertheless, the Ugaritic texts continue to be hyped as 'basic background material for Old Testament study',¹⁰² and the term 'Canaanite' is routinely employed in discussions of them, particularly in discussions offered by biblical scholars.¹⁰³

(a) Ugarit = Canaan?

Actually, the whole 'Ugarit = Canaan' issue may not be insignificant for the present discussion of the homogeneous reading of the Ugaritic evidence, since, as Craigie noted, the use of 'Canaan' and 'Canaanite' serves a key role in the construction of a 'cultural bridge' between Ugarit and Israel, a bridge spanning chronology, geography and context.¹⁰⁴ It is by means of this bridge that much of the comparative work on the Ugaritic and Israelite religions has been affected.

⁹⁷ Across a number of articles M. Dahood even argued that the Hebrew language had to be relearned in light of new data from Ugarit: see his 'The Value of Ugaritic for Textual Criticism', *Bib* 40.1 (1959), pp. 160-70; *idem*, 'Ugaritic Studies and the Bible'; *idem*, *Ugaritic and the Bible* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer); and the various articles appearing in Fisher *et al.* (eds.), *Ras Shamra Parallels*. For a comprehensive list of Dahood's publications see E.R. Martinez, *Hebrew-Ugaritic Index to the Writings of Mitchell J. Dahood* (2 vols.; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1967).

⁹⁸ K.J. Cathcart, *Nahum in the Light of Northwest Semitic* (BibOr, 26; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1973), and W. Kuhnigk, *Nordwestsemitische Studien zum Hoseabuch* (BibOr, 27; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1974).

⁹⁹ M.J. Dahood, *Psalms*. III. 101-150 (AB 17a; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1970).

¹⁰⁰ M. Held, 'Hebrew *ma'gal*: A Study in Lexical Parallelism', *JANESCU* 6 (1974), pp. 107-14. Barker, 'The Value of Ugaritic for Old Testament Studies', p. 124, credits Held with coining the phrase 'pan-Ugaritism'. See also G.R. Driver, review of M. Dahood, *Proverbs and Northwest Semitic Philology* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1963), *JSS* 10 (1965), pp. 112-17; P. van der Lugt and J.C. de Moor, 'The Spectre of Pan-Ugaritism', *Bibliotheca Or* 31 (1974), pp. 3-26; Mihalik, 'Ugarit and the Bible'; P.C. Craigie, 'The Tablets from Ugarit and Their Importance for Biblical Studies', *Biblical Archaeology Review* 9.5 (1983), pp. 62-72; A.H.W. Curtis, 'The Psalms since Dahood', in *UB*, pp. 1-10.

¹⁰¹ N. Wyatt, 'Understanding Polytheism: Structure and Dynamic in a West Semitic Pantheon', *JHC* 5 (1998), pp. 24-63 (24 n. 1).

¹⁰² See the cover blurb to Wyatt's, *Religious Texts from Ugarit*.

¹⁰³ A point made by T. Binger, *Asherah: Goddess in Ugarit, Israel and the Old Testament* (JSOTSup, 232; Copenhagen International Seminar, 2; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), p. 23.

¹⁰⁴ Craigie, 'Ugarit, Canaan, and Israel', p. 146. Note also that Gordon, *Ugarit and Minoan Crete*, p. 152, proposes that the Ugaritic texts provide bridge between Homeric literature and the Bible.

First of all it is important to note that the terms ‘Ugarit/Ugaritic’, ‘Canaan/Canaanite’ and, to a lesser extent, ‘Phoenicia/Phoenician’ have obtained a level of synonymy in some of the popular treatments of Ugaritic religion, as well as comparative studies of Ugaritic and Israelite religion.¹⁰⁵ In spite of the negative aspects seen to be associated with the ‘Ugarit(ic)/Canaan(ite)’ interchange, particularly when speaking of the language¹⁰⁶ or religion,¹⁰⁷ and regardless of Rainey’s attempts to argue that the presence of *kn’ny* in KTU 4.96.8 represents decisive proof that the Canaanites were considered to be ‘foreigners’ at Ugarit,¹⁰⁸ the seemingly free alternation between the terms persists.¹⁰⁹ Even when efforts are made to neutralize any negative connotations, as del Olmo Lete attempted at the beginning of his *Canaanite Religion*—he characterised the term ‘Canaanite’ as ‘a label in common use...inexact and generic’¹¹⁰—the inference is that the combined weight of previous applications has created an unfavourable association that needs circumventing. (I will return to this matter in a moment.)

The main factor motivating the connection of Ugarit with ‘Canaan’ and ‘Phoenicia’ is undoubtedly the fact that ‘Little was known about Canaanite culture before the discovery of the texts from Ugarit’.¹¹¹ Quite simply, a lack of indigenous ‘Canaanite’ texts deriving from the land into which and people among whom the Israelites settled created a void in the historical record that could not be filled by the relatively late testimony supplied by Eusebius of Caesarea (263–340 CE) in his *Preparatio evangelica*, a work that drew on the evidence supplied by Philo of Byblus in his *Phoenician*

¹⁰⁵ E.g. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*; Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan*; de Moor, *New Year with Canaanites and Israelites*.

¹⁰⁶ Z. Harris, *Development of the Canaanite Dialects* (AOS, 16; New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1935); Albright, ‘The Old Testament and Canaanite Language and Literature’; A. Haldar, ‘The Position of Ugaritic among the Semitic Languages’, *BO* 21 (1964), pp. 267-77. See most recently J. Tropper, ‘Is Ugaritic a Canaanite Language?’, in *UB*, pp. 343-54; B. Isaksson, ‘The Position of Ugaritic among the Semitic Languages’, *Orientalia Suecana* 38 (1989), pp. 54-70. See also I. Al-Yasin, *The Lexical Relation between Ugaritic and Arabic* (New York: 1952); A.S. Kaye, ‘Does Ugaritic Go with Arabic in Semitic Genealogical Classification?’, *Folio Orientalia* 28 (1991), pp. 115-18.

¹⁰⁷ See, e.g., L.L. Grabbe, ‘“Canaanite”: Some Methodological Observations in Relation to Biblical Studies’, in *UB*, pp. 113-22; Lemche, *The Canaanites and their Land*, pp. 13-24. Cf. Day, ‘Ugarit and the Bible’.

¹⁰⁸ See A.F. Rainey, ‘A Canaanite at Ugarit’, *IEJ* 13 (1963), pp. 43-45; *idem*, ‘Ugarit and the Canaanites Again’, *IEJ* 14 (1964), p. 101. Cf., however, Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan*, p. 101.

¹⁰⁹ See, most recently, Day, *Yahweh and the Gods and Goddess of Canaan*; K.L. Noll, *Canaan and Israel in Antiquity* (The Biblical Seminar, 83; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001).

¹¹⁰ See above, p. 57.

¹¹¹ Greenfield, ‘The Hebrew Bible and Canaanite Literature’, p. 545.

History,¹¹² who in turn was quoting the seventh-century BCE Phoenician, Sanchuniathon.¹¹³ That the Ugaritic texts were understood in the first instance as ‘Canaanite’ is therefore due in large measure to the belief that they are the earliest major collection of texts dealing with the gods and goddesses whose names at least appear to correspond with the principal deities of the biblical ‘Canaanites’—most notably, Baal and Asherah.¹¹⁴ That the Ugaritic texts continue to be understood as ‘Canaanite’ is in all probability linked to the fact that a collection of texts displaying closer geographical and chronological associations with the biblical ‘Canaanites’ has yet to be discovered.

The negative connotations associated with the use of ‘Canaan’ and ‘Canaanite’ as substitutes for ‘Ugarit’ and ‘Ugaritic’ likewise derive from the perceived connection with the Hebrew Bible. Viewed alongside statements that the Ugaritic texts ‘reveal the beliefs, the conceptions, and the customs which were...prevalent in Canaan at the time when the Israelites were settled there’,¹¹⁵ the ‘Ugarit(ic)/Canaan(ite)’ interchange is suggestive of a lack of independence and a frame of reference slanted towards illumination if not the corroboration of the biblical text. This outlook expresses itself particularly clearly when the use of ‘Canaanite’ serves as the conduit for comparative analysis of Ugaritic and Israelite religion. Grabbe, for instance, offered the following censure:

The contrast of ‘Canaanite’ and ‘Israelite’ should...be eliminated from scholarly discussion. Granted, this usage stems from the OT itself, but the context is a polemical rather than an academic one. Academic discussions are skewed by such usage unless they are focusing specifically on what the OT writers themselves stated... [M]isuse of the term ‘Canaanite’ has distorted too much writing and too many debates. It is time to stop assuming ‘Ugaritic is Canaanite and Canaanite is Ugaritic.’ Clarity in this case is for the advance of the field...¹¹⁶

¹¹² See H.A. Attridge and R.A. Oden, Jr, *Philo of Byblus, The Phoenician History: Introduction, Critical Text, Translation, Notes* (Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1981); A.I. Baumgarten, *The Phoenician History of Philo of Byblos: A Commentary* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1981).

¹¹³ O. Eissfeldt, *Taautos und Sanchunjon* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1952), p. 25. See also idem, *Ras Shamra und Sanchunjon* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1939).

¹¹⁴ Note Oldenburg, *The Conflict between El and Ba'al*, p. 2: ‘The Ugaritic pantheon, as revealed by the myths, was composed of gods characteristic of ancient Canaan, wherefore we must classify Ugaritic religion as Canaanite’.

¹¹⁵ Kapelrud, *The Ras Shamra Discoveries and the Old Testament*, p. 82. See also the virtually identical comments in Worden, ‘The Literary Influence of the Ugaritic Fertility Myth’, pp. 275-76; Hammershaimb, ‘History and Cult in the Old Testament’, p. 274 (although, admittedly, Hammershaimb sees Ugarit as a forerunner of the form of Canaanite religion to which the Israelites were exposed).

¹¹⁶ Grabbe, ‘“Canaanite”: Some Methodological Observations’, p. 122.

Though del Olmo Lete does not make his reasoning explicit, it seems likely that his efforts to explain his continued use of the term ‘Canaanite’ (mentioned above) are an acknowledgement of the pejorative undertones that have come to be associated with its usage.

Looking more closely at the structure of the ‘bridge’ analogy—others sometimes prefer to speak of a ‘continuum’¹¹⁷—it is vital to recognise that a ‘Hebrew/Israelite’ historico-religious tradition is positioned at one end. Reconstructed primarily on the basis of the biblical text, this singular ‘Hebrew/Israelite religion’ is presented, ready and waiting to be used in comparison, as though it represents a unified and cohesive system of worship. (Note the sense of internal continuity created by the ‘Hebrew/Israelite’ interchange.¹¹⁸) Crucially, this is where the problems arise. Because, as has long been recognised, the biblical account represents something of a ‘harmonization of traditions’, an ‘idealized conception of Israel’s unity’, a ‘unified traditional history’ retrojected by a later author/redactor¹¹⁹—the dating of this redaction is particularly late *if* the position taken by Thompson,¹²⁰ Davies¹²¹ and Lemche¹²² is accepted—the credibility of a bridge, continuum or any other framework for linking the Ugaritic and Israelite religions is immediately called into question. Already in the nineteenth century, in his *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*,¹²³ Wellhausen recognised that the biblical depiction of Israelite religion was not always strictly historical—a view that persisted and matured in the twentieth century with the work of, among others, Ringgren,¹²⁴ Vriezen¹²⁵ and Albertz,¹²⁶ and which seems to be progressing into the twenty-first with the work, for instance, of Zevit.¹²⁷

¹¹⁷ Ginsberg, ‘Ugaritic Studies and the Bible’, p. 49; Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, p. 9; Dahood, ‘Ugaritic Studies and the Bible’, p. 60; B. Margalit, *The Ugaritic Poem of Aqht* (BZAW, 182; Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1989), p. 488. Cf. M.C.A. Korpel, *A Rift in the Clouds: Ugaritic and Hebrew Descriptions of the Divine* (UBL, 8; Münster: Ugarit Verlag, 1990), p. 78.

¹¹⁸ The terms are used alternatively with relative freedom in Hooke, ‘Myth and Ritual: Past and Present’; Schmick, ‘Israel’s Struggle with the Religions of Canaan’; Oldenburg *The Conflict between El and Ba’al*.

¹¹⁹ N.K. Gottwald, *The Tribes of Yahweh: A Sociology of the Religion of Liberated Israel, 1250–1050 BCE* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1979), pp. 4–5.

¹²⁰ T.L. Thompson, *The Early History of the Israelite People* (SCHANE, 4; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992).

¹²¹ P.R. Davies, *In Search of ‘Ancient Israel’* (JSOTSup, 148; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992).

¹²² N.P. Lemche, *Die Vorgeschichte Israels: Von den Anfängen bis zum Ausgang des 13. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Biblische Enzyklopädie, 1; Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1996).

¹²³ J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel* (trans. J.S. Black and A. Menzies; Edinburgh: A. & C. Black, 1885).

¹²⁴ H. Ringgren, *Israelite Religion* (trans. D. Green; London: SPCK, 1966).

¹²⁵ T.C. Vriezen, *The Religion of Ancient Israel* (London: Lutterworth, 1967).

The realisation that, as Davies put it, ‘the ideas of the Bible are not the ideas of most ancient Israelites or Judaeans...the biblical Israel is an idealization, the vehicle for a philosophical or religious system’,¹²⁸ seems to have had minimal impact on the ‘compare and contrast’ methodology used in many of the studies of Ugaritic and Israelite religion, however. In spite of Albright’s early warning that such comparative explorations need to reckon with the ‘elusive problem of dating’ the biblical strands,¹²⁹ such reckonings do not generally feature in the discussion. All this means that when considering the Canaanite bridging tactic it is important to recognise that ‘history of Israel’ and with it the ‘history of the religion of Israel’ stands as something approaching a false construct—a construct created by the author/editors of the books in the Hebrew Bible, as well as, secondarily, the scholars (usually Old Testament scholars) who base their histories ostensibly on biblical texts.¹³⁰

In the light of this tendency towards unification and cohesion at the Israelite end of the Canaanite ‘bridge’—Albright referred to this as ‘the “henotheism” of Biblical scholars’¹³¹—it is interesting to reconsider the bias (mentioned already) towards presenting a homogenised reconstruction of Ugaritic religion. If, as we have seen, propensities exist towards offering one deity as the primary figure of the Ugaritic pantheon, and towards explaining away (by means of chronological speculation) the ‘difficulties’ present within the written sources, might it not be the case that the motivating factor in some instances is the reconstruction of a singularised Ugaritic religion that can be contrasted neatly with the similarly artificial Israelite religious reconstruction? Even if this is not accepted as a motive for all comparative/contrastive readings of the Ugaritic and Israelite religions, it must surely be accepted as a legitimate

¹²⁶ R. Albertz, *A History of Israelite religion in the Old Testament Period* (London: SCM Press, 2 vols, 1994).

¹²⁷ Z. Zevit, *The Religions of Ancient Israel: A Synthesis of Parallaxic Approaches* (London: Continuum, 2000).

¹²⁸ P.R. Davies, ‘The Intellectual, the Archaeologist and the Bible’, in J.A. Dearman and M.P. Graham (eds.), *The Land That I Will Show You: Essays on the History and Archaeology of the Ancient Near East in Honor of J. Maxwell Miller* (JSOTSup, 343; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), pp. 239-54 (245).

¹²⁹ Albright, ‘The Ancient Near East and the Religion of Ancient Israel’, p. 85.

¹³⁰ See P.R. Davies, ‘Whose History? Whose Israel? Whose Bible? Biblical Histories, Ancient and Modern’, in Grabbe (ed.), *Can a ‘History of Israel’ Be Written?*, pp. 104-22. The various articles appearing in *Can a ‘History of Israel’ Be Written?* provide a useful introduction to the (sometimes fierce) debate surrounding the use of the Hebrew Bible for historiography. See also W.G. Dever, ‘Will the Real Israel Stand Up? Archaeology and Israelite Historiography: Part I’, *BASOR* 297 (1995), pp. 61-80; K. Whitelam, *The Invention of Ancient Israel: The Silencing of Palestinian History* (London: Routledge, 1996).

¹³¹ Albright, ‘The Ancient Near East and the Religion of Ancient Israel’, p. 110.

explanation for at least some. In this connection the ‘loaded’ emphasis of, among others,¹³² Habel’s *Yahweh versus Baal: A Conflict of Religious Cultures*¹³³ and Albright’s *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan: A Historical Analysis of Two Contrasting Faiths* deserve particular consideration.

(b) *Theological Bias*

It might actually be the case that the theological prejudices of some members of the scholarly community have occasionally contributed to a jaundiced reading of the Ras Shamra evidence. If, as I have just suggested, the comparative studies have displayed a tendency towards preparing singularised restorations of the Ugaritic religion as a counterbalance to the singularised reconstruction of Israelite religion, the practice of *contrasting* the two constructs is especially significant, particularly when moral aspects are brought into the equation.

Although unequivocal pronouncements of theological predisposition are seldom encountered—‘declarations of faith’ might be a better choice of wording—the impact of scholars’ religious leanings are detectable. Particularly illuminating in this respect is Albright’s statement that:

There have been a good many attempts to picture the total impact of the new [Ras Shamra] discoveries on biblical history and literature. The best of them stem from Catholic scholars... This is not accidental; Protestant and agnostic circles were carried away by the historical extravagances of Virolleaud, Dussaud, and other French and British students, and published a great deal of appalling nonsense, whereas Catholic scholars saw at once these ideas could not possibly be correct.¹³⁴

Strong stuff! Nevertheless, despite Albright’s obvious prejudice, his words suggest that the interpretation of Ugaritic data is not impervious to the influence of the denominational disposition of those approaching them.

Very occasionally overt expressions of theological bias are encountered. The particularly fervent pronouncement made by Oldenburg at the outset of his *The Conflict between El and Ba‘al* is a rare case in point. Here, the author’s own religious perspective becomes clear and his belief in the pre-eminence of the biblical portrayal of the Canaanites is demonstrated:

¹³² Note also G. Ostborn, *Yahweh and Baal* (Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup, 1956); R. Rendtorff, ‘El, Baal und Jahweh’, *ZAW* 78 (1966), pp. 277-92; Mettinger, ‘The Elusive Essence: Yhwh, El and Baal and the Distinctiveness of Israelite Faith’.

¹³³ N.C. Habel, *Yahweh versus Baal: A Conflict of Religious Cultures* (New York: Bookman Associates, 1964).

¹³⁴ Albright, ‘The Old Testament and Canaanite Language and Literature’, p. 27.

That which impelled me to begin the study of Canaanite religion was my desire to investigate its relationship to Hebrew religion, to see whether the faith of Yahweh was a product of the soil of the Canaanite religion. The more I studied pre-Israelite religion, the more I was amazed with its utter depravity and wickedness. Indeed there was nothing in it to inspire the sublime faith of Yahweh. His coming is like the rising sun dispelling the darkness of Canaanite superstition.¹³⁵

That such statements arise in the scholarly treatment of the Ras Shamra material is particularly telling. Oldenburg's comment demonstrates not only that the study of the Ugaritic material proceeds, in some quarters at least, with an element of theological bias, but also that it is motivated by the desire to sustain the biblical rendering of non-Israelite religion. Accordingly, it is interesting to note the affinities between Oldenburg's declaration and Sayce's 1883 estimation of Canaanite religion:

Eunuchs, and worse than eunuchs, served in the temples; the foulest acts were performed in the name of religion, and the unmarried maidens were required to sacrifice their honour to the gods. It was all performed in cold blood, as a religious duty, not as gratification of the passions. No wonder that the Jewish prophets lifted up their voices at the abomination and cried aloud against the obscene rites of Canaan, which had defiled the inner sanctuary of the temple of Jerusalem itself.¹³⁶

Even before the discovery of the Ugaritic texts, it seems, the acceptance of the 'wilful distortions of "Canaanite" religious life put out by biblical propagandists, which are still unfortunately taken at face value by many scholars',¹³⁷ was a characteristic of treatments dealing with Canaanite religion. The correlation of 'Ugarit' and 'Canaan' has intertwined such a bias into the estimation of the Ras Shamra evidence.

3. *The Solution? A Revised Interpretative Agenda*

Despite there being an apparent general recognition that the Ugaritic evidence displays a degree of diversity in respect of the status and emphasis attached to particular deities and groups of deities, it has, as we have seen, been common for interpreters to tone down the level of such diversity or to explain it away by means of some kind of chronological progression. But in a cosmopolitan and, let us remember, *polytheistic* community such as Ugarit, is it so unlikely that opposing traditions were current at the same time? Could it not be, for example, that El *and* Baal were considered to be the primary deity at the same time, but by separate factions within Ugarit's society? In the same way, is the appearance of Dagan in the god-lists and texts dealing with sacrifice

¹³⁵ Oldenburg, *The Conflict between El and Ba'al*, p. xi.

¹³⁶ A.H. Sayce, 'The Gods of Canaan', *The Contemporary Review* (1883), pp. 385-99 (393).

¹³⁷ Wyatt, 'Understanding Polytheism', p. 24.

and offering and his non-appearance in Ugaritic mythology explicable *only* by means of an earlier or later dating for the respective documentation?

This brings me to my main point. In an attempt to bring order and unity to the Ugaritic evidence it seems that some of the multiplicity has been removed from 'Ugaritic religion'. (Indeed, the use of the singular in the now-conventional expressions 'Ugaritic religion' and 'the religion of Ugarit' could itself be taken as indicative of the kind of homogenising tendency already discussed.¹³⁸) To say this is not to deny the likelihood that attempts were made at Ugarit to rationalise and order the divine world—Wyatt is surely correct when he says that 'A pantheon list is axiomatically an exercise in organization'¹³⁹—or to propose that members of the Ugaritic community were not to some extent united in their beliefs—the notion of 'the official religion of Ugarit' is unquestionable in light of the evidence. Equally, the possibility of a religious syncretism as an explanation for the diversity found in the Ugaritic sources is not challenged. But what it does mean is that the methods used in the treatment of the Ugaritic evidence have been defined in such a way that their motivational integrity comes under suspicion and issues like the chronological explanation of diversity and the selection of sources become debatable—in other words, due to their lack of methodological rigour, the techniques used have become as much a talking point as the findings based on them.

And so it is now time to build constructively upon the somewhat negative assessment that I have just offered. The objective here is to sketch the fundamentals of a way of dealing with Ugaritic data that might allow for a more satisfying interpretation of them. Rather than laying down the nuts and bolts of an interpretative method, my aim at this stage is to provide a number of general principles that might profitably be employed in the formation of such a system. (A hands-on development of these principles will appear in the following chapters.) Essentially, this revised agenda is a reaction to and development of the interpretative strategies discussed so far; it represents an attempt to avoid (or at least minimise) the effect of the 'pervasive tendencies' in future reconstructions of Ugaritic religion.

In agreement with my earlier submission that the problems in the interpretation of Ugarit's religion derive from assumptions associated with an ideological/motivational outlook, I choose to offer the suggestions relating to this aspect before moving on to deal with more tangible matters pertaining to the selection and analysis of source material.

¹³⁸ In the remainder of this study the singular will be retained for convenience. In light of the following discussion the terms 'the religion of Ugarit' and 'Ugaritic religion' should be understood as 'inclusive' terms.

¹³⁹ Wyatt, 'Understanding Polytheism', p. 25.

a. *A Pluralistic Reading of the Evidence: The Religions(!) of Ugarit*(1) *Official and Unofficial Religion*

The concept of an 'official' cult of Ugarit has become firmly established. The realisation that the king served as the principal cult functionary, that many of the religious activities took place in 'royal' sanctuaries and that the majority of the 'religious texts' are in some way connected with this system of worship has contributed to the view that the centralised cult was *the* dominant religious institution.¹⁴⁰ At the same time, however, there has been an acknowledgement that the royally sanctioned official cult is only one part of Ugarit's religious experience. (In this respect Ugaritic discussion has reflected the developments taking place in the wider discipline of ancient Near Eastern studies.¹⁴¹) The notion of an 'unofficial', 'popular' or 'folk' religion is also accepted.¹⁴²

Occasionally, discussions of the texts have thrown up the possibility of separate cults dedicated to individual deities. In addition to the more prominent cults of El¹⁴³ and Baal¹⁴⁴ and, perhaps, Dagan, cults dedicated to other deities, for instance Resheph,¹⁴⁵ Anat¹⁴⁶ and Pidray,¹⁴⁷ have also been suggested. While it remains uncertain from the available evidence whether these cults made use of their own shrines or were accommodated as 'visitors'¹⁴⁸ in the temples of other deities¹⁴⁹—further excavations in

¹⁴⁰ See the discussion of del Olmo Lete's reconstructive work, above, pp. 57-69.

¹⁴¹ The dedication of entire symposia to the discussion of the relationship between official and unofficial religion is an interesting development. See, e.g., E. Matsushima (ed.), *Official Cult and Popular Religion in the Ancient Near East: Papers of the First Colloquium on the Ancient Near East, the City and its Life; held at the Middle Eastern Culture Centre in Japan (Mitaka, Tokyo), March 20-22, 1992* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1993).

¹⁴² See, e.g., Miller, 'Ugarit and the History of Religions', p. 122; Caquot and Sznycer, *Ugaritic Religion*, p. 6.

¹⁴³ See, especially, Parker, 'The Historical Composition'; also Gray, 'Social Aspects of Canaanite Religion', p. 174; Kapelrud, *Baal in the Ras Shamra Texts*, pp. 63-64; Pope, *El in the Ugaritic Texts*, p. 27.

¹⁴⁴ Among others see Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, p. 48; Schaeffer, *The Cuneiform Texts of Ras Shamra-Ugarit*, p. 8;

¹⁴⁵ M. Heltzer, *The Rural Community in Ancient Ugarit* (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1976), p. 73.

¹⁴⁶ Cassuto, *The Goddess Anath*, pp. 64-66; Davey, 'The Legacy of 'Anat'', p. 31; Kapelrud, *The Violent Goddess*, pp. 57, 70, 110; Margulit, *The Ugaritic Poem of Aqht*, pp. 480, 482.

¹⁴⁷ Kapelrud, *Baal in the Ras Shamra Texts*, p. 82.

¹⁴⁸ Brandon, 'The Myth and Ritual Position Critically Considered', p. 269.

¹⁴⁹ Gray, *The Legacy of Canaan*, p. 40, speaks freely of a 'shrine of Anat'. Note, however, Kapelrud's uncertainty with regard to Pidray: 'there can be no doubt that Pdry was a goddess and that she really had

and around Ras Shamra may help one day to settle this matter—it is altogether clear that conformity to a single system, official or otherwise, is not to be overstated.

At the same time, it is prudent to remain mindful of the fact that the written sources will only ever provide a partial picture of what went on at Ugarit. Since, as is widely recognised,¹⁵⁰ relatively few individuals in the ancient world displayed a level of literacy beyond, perhaps, the ability to read and write their own name,¹⁵¹ and because texts were normally produced by professional scribes who received payment for their services, it is appropriate to remember they are most likely to reflect the concerns of the elite. Notwithstanding the argument that the literary religious texts served as political propaganda reflecting a royal ideology,¹⁵² the connection between the tablets and the royal institution is made explicit in the case of the texts inscribed by Ilimilku, who, at the end of two Baal Cycle tablets (KTU 1.4.VIII.49; 1.6.VI.54-55)—the colophons appearing in the Keret poem (KTU 1.16.VI.59; 1.17.VI.56) *might* represent abbreviated forms—provides clear evidence of his royal patronage.¹⁵³

Thus, the fact that the ‘official religion’ has dominated the Ugaritic discussion may be due in part to the nature of the available sources:

There is no doubt, of course, that what has come down to us in these texts is the official religion of the priests of Ugarit as manifested in the ceremonies that took place in the temples close to the acropolis in the presence of the king of Ugarit. What, in any case, do we know of the religion of the ordinary people of Ugarit or indeed of any of the ancient civilizations? The only religion of any of these [ancient Near Eastern] civilizations,

a cult. If this does imply that she had a “house” of her own, is however, another question which cannot be solved on the meagre evidence we possess’ (Kapelrud, *Baal in the Ras Shamra Texts*, p. 82).

¹⁵⁰ See W.V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), p. 114; J. Baines, ‘Literacy: Ancient Near East’, *ABD*, IV, pp. 333-37; I.M. Young, ‘Israelite Literacy: Interpreting the Evidence. Part I’, *VT* (1998), pp. 239-53; A. Millard, ‘An Assessment of the Evidence for Writing in Ancient Israel’, in A. Biran (ed.), *Biblical Archaeology Today* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1985), pp. 301-12.

¹⁵¹ P.R. Davies, *Scribes and Schools: The Canonization of the Hebrew Scriptures* (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Know Press, 1998), p. 82.

¹⁵² Dietrich, ‘Aspects of the Babylonian Impact’, p. 38; Wyatt, ‘Arms and the King’, p. 852; M.S. Smith, ‘Myth and Myth-Making’, pp. 331-32; *idem*, *The Ugaritic Baal Cycle*, p. 90.

¹⁵³ W.H. van Soldt, ‘The Title *l’y*’, *UF* 20 (1988), pp. 313-21; D.F. Freilich, ‘Ili-malku the *l’y*’, *SEL* 9 (1992), pp. 21-26. See also M.C.A. Korpel, ‘Exegesis in the Work of Ilimilku of Ugarit’, in J.C. de Moor (ed.), *Intertextuality in Ugarit and Israel: Papers Read at the Tenth Joint Meeting of The Society for Old Testament Study and Het Oudtestamentisch Werkgezelschap in Nederland en België, Held at Oxford, 1997* (OTS, 40; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1998), pp. 86-111. For the view that the Ilimilku’s work represents a subversive critique of the ideology see Parker, ‘The Historical Composition’. Note, however, the rejection of this view offered by Wyatt, ‘Quaternities in the Mythology of Ba’al’, p. 456.

including that of Ugarit, with which the historian can be concerned is that presented in the texts.¹⁵⁴

Furthermore, it is probably also the case that texts were not used to record every aspect of religious behaviour and belief. While the study of onomastics offers some scope for inference¹⁵⁵ and archaeology doubtlessly possesses the ability to expand our appreciation of non-written aspects,¹⁵⁶ it is certainly true that many features of Ugarit's religious heritage are not traceable in the material remains and are thus beyond recovery. As such, it is important to keep in mind that the preserved sources will only ever supply a fractional depiction of Ugarit's religion.

Be that as it may, it seems worthwhile to build in, if not an *expectation* of religious plurality, at least a *preparedness* for the appearance of variance within the material remains of Ugarit. Maintaining an awareness of Ugarit's geographical and socio-political position could well prove to be a useful part of the revised interpretative scheme.

(2) *The Geographical Position of Ugarit*

In a devolved way an awareness of Ugarit's geographical situation has already influenced past interpretations of Ugaritic religion. As we have seen, Frost reasoned that the 'votive' anchors placed in and around the Baal temple may reflect not only Ugarit's coastal location but also the religious sensitivities of Ugarit's maritime contingent.¹⁵⁷ A similar thread of geographically responsive interpretation runs through the work of the Myth and Ritual and Seasonist readers, who, by suggesting that the poetic narrative texts reflect the maritime and agricultural concerns of the ancient worshippers—'anxiety' is a word that is sometimes used¹⁵⁸—have shown themselves to be especially sensitive to the geographical setting of Ugarit in their treatments of the extant mythology. Irrespective of the methodological objections that have been levelled against their 'patternist' programme of interpretation,¹⁵⁹ in the sustained effort to establish Baal's conflicts with Yam (KTU 1.1–1.2) and Mot (KTU 1.3–1.4) as, respectively, battles between Baal and the gods of sea and sterility, these interpreters—de Moor is surely foremost among them—can be seen to take notice of Ugarit's physical location. Being positioned close to the Mediterranean shore and being

¹⁵⁴ Caquot and Szynger, *Ugaritic Religion*, p. 6.

¹⁵⁵ See del Olmo Lete, *CR*, pp. 338-40.

¹⁵⁶ See, for example, the discussion of Yon's 'Temple of the Rhytons' above, pp. 71-72.

¹⁵⁷ See above, pp. 72-73.

¹⁵⁸ See, e.g., Kapelrud, *Ras Shamra Discoveries*, p. 49; Gray, *Legacy of Canaan*, p. 11; de Moor, *SPUMB*, p. 248. For a reaction to this position see Oden, 'Theoretical Assumptions', pp. 50-51.

¹⁵⁹ See above, p. 34.

surrounded by fertile steppe, it is not inconceivable that the religious traditions attested at Ugarit were shaped by geographical realities.

Functioning as a crossroads for international trade,¹⁶⁰ Ugarit is known to have been something of a cultural melting pot. The variety of languages used in the texts makes this clear,¹⁶¹ as does the widespread appearance of foreign ceramic types¹⁶² (although the presence of non-native pottery could be the result of international trade rather than ethnic integration¹⁶³). Evidence obtained from within the texts also supports the existence of an ethnic diversity at Ugarit. Judging by the proliferation of non-Semitic personal names appearing in the documentary sources, Ugarit played host to a fairly large foreign contingent.¹⁶⁴ It is already quite well established that Ugarit had a permanent Hurrian community.¹⁶⁵ There is also evidence to suggest that foreign traders set up temporary residences in Ugarit and the nearby port.¹⁶⁶

Ugarit's standing as a staging post of international commerce is not insignificant for the appreciation of the religious worship that took place there. Serving as a trade and travel link between Asia, Africa and Europe, it is altogether likely that an array of religious customs were practiced there. As merchants, travellers and armies passed through Ugarit it is perhaps to be expected that they left traces of their religious practices and beliefs behind them,¹⁶⁷ either in the form of concrete artefactual evidence, or else in residual influences on the native traditions.¹⁶⁸ When discussing Ugaritic religious phenomena, then, it seems important to remain mindful of the ethnic mix of those who worshipped in the ancient kingdom of Ugarit and to factor in an expectation of religious diversity.

¹⁶⁰ See M. Heltzer, 'The Economy of Ugarit', in *HUS*, pp. 423-54 (439), and, more generally, *idem*, *The Internal Organization*.

¹⁶¹ Cf. above, pp. 5-6.

¹⁶² See C.F.A. Schaeffer, 'Corpus céramique de Ras Shamra-Ugarit', in *Ugaritica*, II, pp. 130-300; A. Courtois, 'Corpus céramique de Ras Shamra-Ugarit: Niveaux historiques d'Ugarit Bronze Moyen et Bronze Récent; Deuxième partie', in *Ugaritica*, VII, pp. 191-370.

¹⁶³ This is possibly the case for the ceramic objects displaying Mycenaean characteristics. See Yon, 'The Temple of the Rhytons'; T. Monloup, 'Figurines de terre cuite', in *RSO* 11, pp. 307-28.

¹⁶⁴ See, most recently, J.B. Vita, 'The Society of Ugarit', in Watson and Wyatt (eds.), *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*, pp. 455-98 (457-63).

¹⁶⁵ Mayer, 'The Hurrian Cult at Ugarit'; G. Wilhelm, *The Hurrians* (trans. J. Barnes; Warminster: Aris & Philips, 1989).

¹⁶⁶ A.F. Rainey, 'Business Agents at Ugarit', *IEJ* 13 (1963), pp. 313-21 (319-21); *idem*, 'A Canaanite at Ugarit'; R. Yaron, 'Foreign Merchants in Ugarit', *Israel Law Review* 4 (1969), pp. 70-79; E. Linder, 'Ugarit: A Canaanite Thalassocracy', in Younger (ed.), *Ugarit in Retrospect*, pp. 31-42 (36).

¹⁶⁷ F.J. Montalbano, 'Canaanite Dagon: Origin, Nature', *CBQ* 13 (1951), pp. 381-97 (382).

¹⁶⁸ See, for instance, Oldenburg, *The Conflict between El and Ba'al*, pp. 154-63, for a discussion of the traces of Amorite influence in Ugaritic religion.

(3) Ugarit: The Urbanised Capital of a City State

Closely related to the issue of Ugarit's geographical position and the likely effects this would have had on the religious phenomena is the need to recognise that *ugrt* refers to an entire city-state and not just the capital city. (See Fig. 1.) Covering around 2200 km² before Šuppiliuma I's granting of additional territory,¹⁶⁹ whereupon it grew to around 5425 km², the kingdom of Ugarit comprised a considerable number of additional towns and villages—Heltzer's cautious estimation is that there were as many as 200 such outlying communities.¹⁷⁰ The population of the kingdom of Ugarit is estimated to have been between 31,000 and 33,000, with 6000 to 8000 people living in the metropolitan centre.¹⁷¹

In view of this, a few scholars (notably, Heltzer¹⁷² and Rainey¹⁷³) have floated the possibility that differences existed between the religious traditions of the urban and rural settings. Heltzer, for instance, on the basis of the recurring association between particular deities and places, declared that it is 'beyond doubt that communal local religious cults existed in Ugarit'.¹⁷⁴ However, since the likelihood of religious diversity between urban and rural communities has remained largely unexplored, it is necessary to exercise caution when drawing conclusions about the nature of 'Ugaritic religion'. Furthermore, because minimal consideration has been given to the fact that extrapolations based on the Ras Shamra evidence are theories founded on the remnants of the urban capital of a largely unexplored (though presumably largely rural) city-state, it seems appropriate to concentrate on establishing as far as possible the internal workings of Ugarit's religious set-up before 'reading out' from the evidence. (More will be said about the future position of Ugarit in comparative studies of religion later.)

¹⁶⁹ See M.C. Astour, 'La topographie de royaume d'Ougarit', in *RSO*, 11, pp. 55-71 (55).

¹⁷⁰ Heltzer, *The Rural Community*, p. 7.

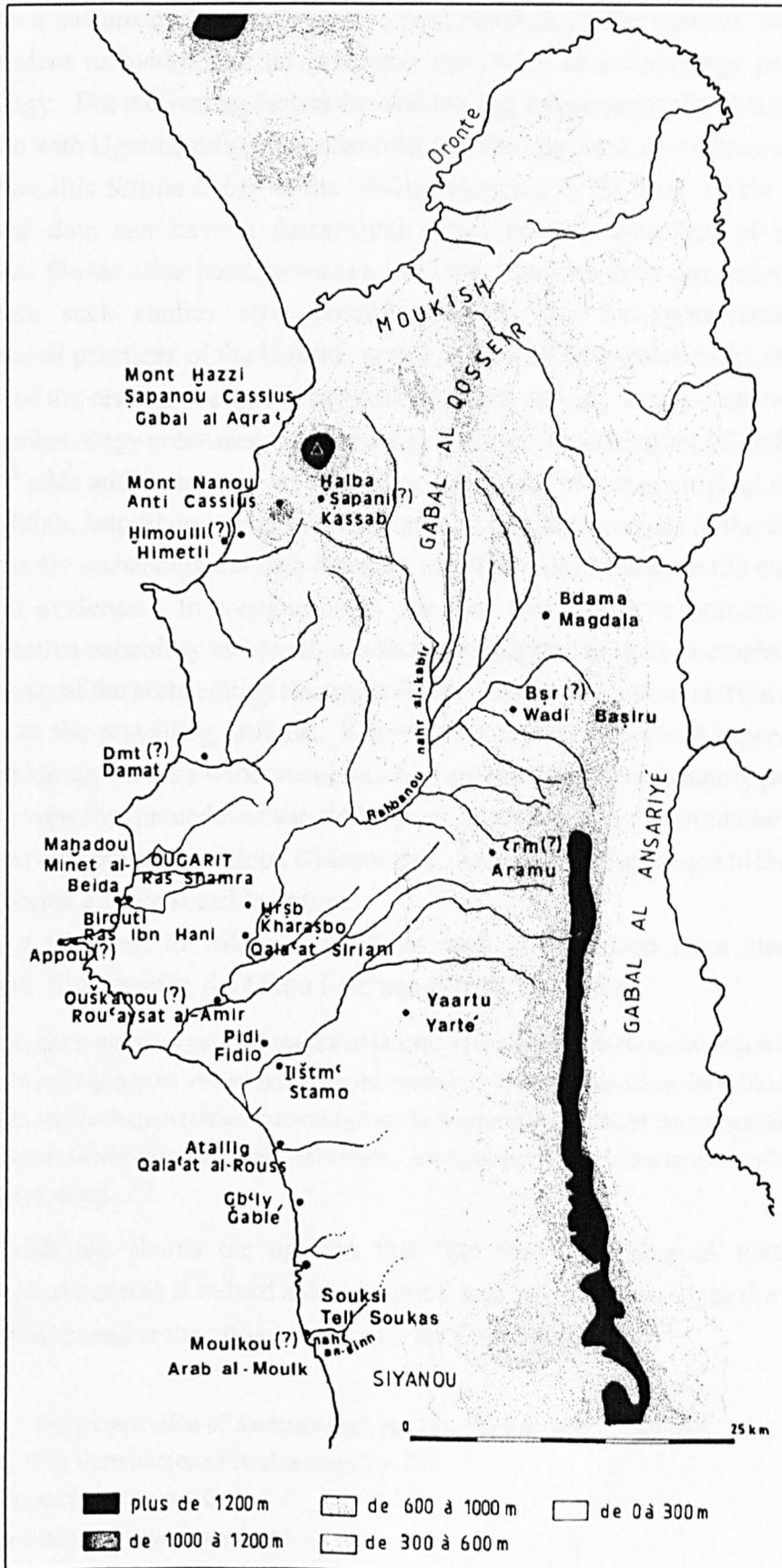
¹⁷¹ For the relevant bibliography see Vita, 'The Society of Ugarit', p. 455.

¹⁷² Heltzer, *The Rural Community*, pp. 71-74.

¹⁷³ A.F. Rainey, 'The Kingdom of Ugarit', *BA* 28.4 (1965), pp. 102-25 (122).

¹⁷⁴ Heltzer, *The Rural Community*, p. 74.

Figure 1. *The Kingdom of Ugarit (reprinted from TEO, I, p. 4)*



b. *The Incorporation of Archaeological Data*

First and foremost, in light of the observation that the archaeological record has undergone a sustained marginalisation in past readings of the Ugaritic evidence, it seems prudent to incorporate an enhanced sensitivity to archaeology in any new methodology. The motivating factors for considering archaeologically obtained data in connection with Ugaritic religion are twofold. On the one hand, as we have seen in the case of the cultic *Sitz im Leben* of the tablets belonging to the Baal 'Cycle', ignoring non-textual data can have a detrimental effect on the durability of text-based hypotheses. On the other hand, as we saw in connection with the examinations of tablet distribution, such studies offer possible benefits for the appreciation of the organisational practices of the Ugaritic scribes and with that, potentially, the internal workings of the civil and religious institution(s) they served. If any were needed, the fact that archaeology possesses an '*increasing capacity for writing social and economic history*'¹⁷⁵ adds additional support for the incorporation of archaeological material.

It is, I think, important to clarify here that the proposed increase in the importance attached to the archaeological data does not result in a diminution in the status of the epigraphic evidence. In recognition of the fact that the texts possess a special communicative capability as 'vocal' artefacts, the suggested shift in emphasis entails the raising up of the archaeology alongside the documentary sources and not the simple inversion of the prevailing attitude. While I find myself in general agreement with Dever and his appeal for a wider recognition of archaeology's explanatory potential, to accept his view that precedence should be given to archaeology¹⁷⁶ would be to replace one slanted interpretative outlook with another. An *integrated* approach to the available material seems a more sensible option.

As it happens, the likely benefits of such an approach have already been recognised. Importantly, del Olmo Lete has already noted that

a systematic study has yet to be made that incorporates all the archaeological data relating to cult and myth in its textual setting or the reverse: one that incorporates the textual data within archaeology, a riskier operation given the fragmentary nature of the archaeological evidence. In any case, the traditional divide...needs to be bridged in the interests of better understanding...¹⁷⁷

Van Soldt too shares the opinion that 'the study of religious texts in their archaeological context is indeed a desideratum' and also acknowledges the combined reading of texts and archaeology as an area for future research.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁵ Dever, 'The Contribution of Archaeology', pp. 221-22 (emphasis in original).

¹⁷⁶ Dever, 'The Contribution of Archaeology', p. 209.

¹⁷⁷ Del Olmo Lete, *CR*, pp. 10-11.

¹⁷⁸ In a private e-mail correspondence.

Interestingly, the integrated reading of the textual and archaeological evidence might help to resolve one of the problematical issues identified in the preceding discussion—namely, the dating of the texts. Although, as we have seen, chronological rationalisations of variance between the god lists and other texts are potentially important contributions to the discussion of Ugarit's religious history, the explanations themselves display a level of unhelpful disagreement. But such suggestions would be more potent if they could be moved out of the realm of theory and could be supported by additional evidence. In this respect the capacity of archaeological analysis and particularly stratigraphical analysis to provide clues to the dating of physical remains strikes me as being particularly useful. For, as in the case of the Baal Cycle texts, a consideration of the physical placement of the tablets provides a new context within which to view them—a context which, incidentally, might well have curtailed some of the more uninhibited interpretations had it been considered at an earlier stage in the discussion.

That is not to say that the study of archaeological context is the panacea for the study of the Ugaritic texts; the likelihood, for example, that the extant Baal Cycle texts are copies of earlier versions¹⁷⁹ presents an obstacle that cannot be surmounted by fixing a date to the surviving fragments. But what it does suggest is that further examination of the physical arrangement of the texts might assist in creating a relational framework that could at least contribute to the discussion. In such an exercise, correlating the distributions of texts that are likely to have had a relatively short lifespan and those that would have been stored for longer periods¹⁸⁰ might prove to be particularly useful.

¹⁷⁹ For the theory that the scribal errors appearing in the Baal tablets arise from copying, see S. Segert, 'Die Schreibfehler in den ugaritischen literarischen Keilschrifttexten', in J. Hempel and L. Rost (eds.), *Von Ugarit nach Qumran: Beiträge zur alttestamentlichen und altorientalischen Forschung; Otto Eissfeldt zum 1. September 1957* (BZAW, 77; Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann, 1958), pp. 193-212; J.C. Greenfield, Review of M. Dahood, *Ugaritic-Hebrew Philology*, *JAOS* 89 (1969), pp. 174-78 (175); W.J. Horwitz 'A Study of Ugaritic Scribal Practices and Prosody in *CTA* 2:4', *UF* 5 (1973), pp. 165-73. Note, however, that Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, pp. 112-13, 117 n. 18, 127 n. 50, proposed that the errors arose as the mythology was recited and written down; see M.S. Smith, *The Ugaritic Baal Cycle*, p. 32, for a reaction to Cross' theory.

¹⁸⁰ K.R. Veenhof, 'Cuneiform Archives: An Introduction', in *idem* (ed.), *Cuneiform Archives and Libraries: Papers Read at the 30^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Leiden, 4-8 July 1983* (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1986), pp. 1-36 (7-8), notes that 'important' documents such as legal contracts and juridical texts seem to have been preserved for a long time after their composition. Other texts, for example, scribal exercise texts and trade dockets have been shown to be more disposable.

c. *The Equitable Treatment of Texts*

(1) *An Inclusive Selection Policy*

Along with the integration of the non-textual data, the use of an expanded pool of source texts also seems appropriate. In point of fact, and aside from the difficulties generated by the partitioning of the Ugaritic corpus and the subsequent prioritisation/subordination of the included/excluded divisions, there are obvious difficulties with trying to produce a faithful portrait of Ugarit's religious traditions using an overly narrow range of source material. As we have seen, the interpretations offered by the Myth and Ritual as well as Seasonist readers, who mostly converged on KTU 1.1–1.6 and KTU 1.23, are shown to be particularly frail when the debarred evidence is considered. Common sense objections can be raised to the efforts to characterise Ugaritic religion on the basis of just a handful of poetic tablets: the successive steps taken to home in on such a limited repertoire of texts involve the writing off of a wealth of potentially valuable information.

In reality, of course, the selection and treatment of a limited body of 'relevant' source data is a necessary and justifiable aspect of the interpretative enterprise. Accordingly, and in order to counter charges of undue exaggeration of the kind levelled at Gaster, de Moor and their followers, it would seem helpful (1) to increase the number of texts accepted at the initial stage of the interpretation process and (2) to spell out clearly the parameters not only of the materials selected (along with the principles used in their selection), but also of the scope and extent of the conclusions drawn. Attentiveness to such details may result in more grounded and sustainable claims about the nature of the Ugaritic religion.

(2) *The Avoidance of Unexplained Genre Classifications*

It has already been acknowledged that the term 'religious text' is routinely employed in Ugaritic studies despite the fact that the principles used to decide what does and what does not constitute a religious text are poorly defined.¹⁸¹ In an attempt to provide a more equitable treatment of the texts it might be worthwhile to reflect on whether the use of such nomenclature is helpful in the debate and whether the genre categorizations used in the popular reference tools have had any bearing on the selection of 'relevant' source material and, with that, an impact on the interpretations of Ugaritic religion.

To date, the most comprehensive collection of Ugaritic texts is *KTU*, a compilation that, judging by the proliferation of *KTU* numberings in recent publications, is establishing itself as the primary reference tool of Ugaritic studies. Presenting the Ugaritic texts in transliteration, the documents are arranged into ten subdivisions based

¹⁸¹ Note, however, the discussion of genre provided by W.T. Pitard, 'The Alphabetic Ugaritic Tablets', in *HUS*, pp. 46-57 (51-57).

on 'genre': 'Literary and Religious Texts' appear first in the volume and are assigned a '1.' prefix; 'Letters' appear next and are assigned a '2.' prefix; and so on.¹⁸² Importantly, however, apart from an editorial disclaimer that the classifications offered are provisional,¹⁸³ the parameters for categorisation are not made explicit.

Some of the categories used in *KTU* are fairly obvious—'Inscriptions on Seals, Labels, Ivories [*sic*], etc' and 'Illegible Tablets and Uninscribed Fragments'—and the logic for including the inscribed tablets and artefacts within these divisions is self-evident. Less clarity surrounds the methods used to classify texts in the other categories. Furthermore, the rules governing the allocation of the individual *KTU* numbers are also left unexplained: note, for example, that the first Ugaritic text to be discovered, *KTU* 1.39 (excavation number RS 1.1001), appears *after* *KTU* 1.25 (excavation number RS 5.259). No logical reason for this arrangement is evident: to some extent the assigning of *KTU* numbers appears to ride roughshod over the recovery sequence and findsite location of the clay tablets.

It may be incidental, but it is interesting to observe that in the popular treatments of Ugaritic religion it is the texts assigned the 'KTU 1.' prefix that predominate.¹⁸⁴ While, in all likelihood, this phenomenon is testimony to the sagacious judgment of the editors of *KTU* and the interpreters of the texts, it is interesting to see that the Baal Cycle tablets—the texts that have been most dominant in the discussion of Ugaritic religion—appear at the very beginning of the first category of texts offered in *KTU*, among the 'Literary and Religious Texts'.¹⁸⁵ Ranged at the start of the section that heads the collection places the Baal myths in pole-position!¹⁸⁶

At the same time, however, texts assigned to the 'Economic Texts' category—these texts are assigned a 'KTU 4.' prefix—are relegated from discussions of Ugaritic religion. And this is in spite of the fact that the editors of *KTU* acknowledged a likely connection with the religious activity (e.g. *KTU* 4.168; 4.182; 4.734).

The point is this: as long as the principles of the *KTU*'s genre classifications remain unexplained, the potential exists for skewed text selection—quite simply, the less cautious user of *KTU* could be directed towards one 'set' of data and (by default) away

¹⁸² This phenomenon is not peculiar to the Ugaritic texts; the texts from Alalakh are also arranged according to genre rather than archive: see D.J. Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets* (London: The British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 1953).

¹⁸³ See *KTU*, p. vi.

¹⁸⁴ It has already been noted that in del Olmo Lete's study of 'liturgical' texts all but one of his source texts belong to *KTU*'s religious text category. See above, p. 57 n. 286.

¹⁸⁵ It is not clear whether the Baal texts are considered to be 'literary' or 'religious', or 'literary and religious'. In any case, as will be seen shortly, scholars have picked up on the religious aspect.

¹⁸⁶ Note that a similar arrangement appears in de Moor's *Anthology* and Wyatt's *Religious Texts from Ugarit*.

from another. The implicit suggestion made by *KTU*'s classification numbering system is that texts assigned with a number other than a 'KTU 1.' are not of immediate concern for the researcher of Ugarit's religious history. Even if this proposal is not accepted—I offer it as a tentative and deliberately provocative suggestion—it is a curious fact that in spite of the recognition that 'Even administrative documents connected with the cult can provide information about the various gods and their functions',¹⁸⁷ such texts have not yet been introduced into mainstream treatments. Leaving aside the vagaries of what constitutes an 'administrative document connected with the cult',¹⁸⁸ it seems imperative to reassess the classifications imposed on the texts and to find a way to harness the potential of a largely untapped resource. The favouritism shown to the 'KTU 1.' texts is understandable, but the idea that they, and only they, present information relevant to the appreciation of Ugaritic religion is one that needs to be tackled. In his 1997 study Pardee treated the Ugaritic religious texts—all of them bearing a 'KTU 1.' numbering—under the banner of 'Canonical Compositions'.¹⁸⁹ Given the lack of direct evidence to support the ancient canonicity of the texts he treated—Pardee provides no explanation of his use of the title—and in light of the prominence attached to them by modern interpreters, it might not be too off-beam to ask (tongue in cheek): "“Canonical”? For whom?"

d. *The New Framework in Summary*

To sum up this discussion it seems appropriate to re-emphasise that the suggestions offered are intended as a response to past interpretations of the Ugaritic evidence. They are designed to counteract the negative effects of the methodological techniques and the underlying ideological assumptions that have conspired to produce tensions *within the scholarly explanations* of the source materials, which have in turn served to limit the effectiveness of the reconstructions of Ugaritic religion. The reversal of the three 'pervasive tendencies' requires:

1. A pluralistic reading of the evidence.
2. The incorporation of archaeological data.
3. The equitable treatment of texts.

At the same time, the proposed revised agenda acknowledges the massive amount of progress that has been made in the last 70 years of debate. Accordingly, in essence, the suggested framework involves the fusion of the techniques that have been applied to

¹⁸⁷ Del Olmo Lete, *CR*, p. 43.

¹⁸⁸ See my comments of the classification of texts at the end of Chapter 6.

¹⁸⁹ D. Pardee, 'Ugaritic Myths', in W.W. Hallo, (ed.), *The Context of Scripture. I. Canonical Compositions from the Biblical World* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997), pp. 241-42 n. 4.

such great effect, but which up till now have been applied (for the most part) *independently*—namely, the translation and interpretation of texts and the examination of archaeological remains—along with a heightened awareness of Ugarit’s socio-political, geographical and demographic situation, a more transparent approach to the selection and treatment...and a more dispassionate use of comparative techniques.

Up to this point no mention has been made of the (Hebrew) Bible in the new interpretative agenda. This is not accidental. In view of the less than constructive influence that a biblical orientation has exerted on the discussion of Ugarit’s religious configuration, it seems worthwhile in the first instance to explore the evidence recovered from Ras Shamra in isolation. The comparison of ‘Ugarit and the Bible’ can be an incidental consequence of gaining a better appreciation of Ugarit’s internal religious situation, but it must not be a point of departure.

Chapter 3

THE CONTEXTUALIST METHOD IN PRINCIPLE

In the preceding pages I argued that there is a need for a well-defined methodological approach that elevates the status of the archaeological record so that it ranks alongside the epigraphic evidence. I also demonstrated that there has recently been a shift towards the archaeologically sensitive reading of the Ugaritic texts, and speculated that further exploration of the physical distribution of inscribed tablets within the ruins at Ras Shamra might help to corroborate or contradict (or at least call into question) the hypotheses proposed on the basis of text-only analysis. In what follows I will formulate and apply a new, topographically oriented approach that reconnects the documentary sources with their findsites. I will also explore whether this new strategy, which focuses on the texts and their contents in context, allows for meaningful conclusions to be drawn from the available evidence. Finally, I will evaluate whether this methodology assists in the selection, translation and interpretation of the Ugaritic texts.

All of this will be done against the backdrop of the debate surrounding Ugaritic religion. As the opening chapters of this study made clear, despite the fact that the examination of Ugaritic religious belief and practice has dominated the last 70 years of scholarly debate, the reconstruction of the ancient cult continues to be, at best, partial, and, at worst, contradictory. In light of the problems of methodology that have been identified and discussed, however, the primary emphasis of the present study will be on the practical issues of how a new reading of the texts might be tackled. Although a few interim conclusions will be ventured that will (hopefully) contribute to the understanding of the organisation of Ugarit's religious institution(s), this will be, in comparison, a secondary aspect of the present study.

It is worth restating at this point that the evaluation of the Ugaritic texts in context is in its infancy and that to date only a small number of studies have explored the connection between the documents and their find locations. Already discussed above, it should be emphasized here that none of these works seek to provide a large-scale evaluation of the documentary sources in their physical settings: the study carried out by van Soldt is, in reality, a single chapter geared towards the identification of general archiving principles that provides no discussion of text content, while the strikingly

similar analyses performed independently by Appa and Petersen provide narrowly focused investigations that deal with only a very small proportion of the documentary evidence (primarily the texts comprising the so-called 'Baal Cycle') and within a closely defined physical location (namely, 'the House of the High Priest'). Nevertheless, despite the limited scope of these investigations, the studies raise the interesting possibility that the examination of findsite data may be of value for the interpretation of the tablet fragments. In other words, the combined weight of the three studies seems to offer sufficient support for the thesis that factors external to the texts themselves may be brought to bear on the interpretation of the documents. The present study is an attempt to build upon the advancements made by this triad of topographically cognisant readers.

In essence, the 'contextualist' strategy I am about to devise provides a direct reaction to scholarship's uncritical prioritisation of the documentary sources over the material evidence supplied by archaeological excavation. It represents the first full-scale development of the theory that examination of the findsite location of tablets assists in the appreciation of the extant texts.

1. *The Contextualist Mindset*

The contextualist method is founded on the belief that an archiving principle was operative at Ugarit, that the topographical arrangement of texts is the result of an ancient mind's attempt to schematise the storage of the inscribed tablets, and that by identifying the principles used to decide the placement of texts the modern interpreter can gain a better understanding of both the texts and the people who stored them.

According to the method, the collation of documents to form archives and libraries is the physical expression of an intellectual classification (taxonomy) based on content (vocabulary and genre). Because, physically, archives and libraries exist and are organised around space (shelves, rooms and buildings), the contextualist approach places value on the consideration of the texts and their contents within the material contexts from which they are recovered. Thus, the method considers the archiving of texts to be the junction between the ideational and the physical—an increased emphasis on the examination of the physical, 'contextual' aspect is the distinguishing feature of the approach.

While it may, in principle, be possible to object that no deliberate system of filing was employed at Ugarit or that the arrangement of the tablets was determined by factors other than content, the burden of evidence from Ugarit¹ and elsewhere in the ancient

¹ See the discussion of van Soldt above, pp. 75-82, and also his 'The Palace Archives at Ugarit', in K.R. Veenhof (ed.), *Cuneiform Archives and Libraries: Papers Read at the 30^e Rencontre Assyriologique*

Near East² strongly supports the likelihood that a content-driven archiving principle was operative. It remains feasible, of course, that factors other than content (e.g. size, shape³) helped to decide the final arrangement of the tablets—just as oversized books are marked ‘Q’ and located in a separate location within modern libraries—or that subsequent events (e.g. building collapse, earthquake) have randomised the evidence. Nevertheless, the contextualist approach adopts a ‘positivist’ stance to the distribution of the documentary evidence within the material context—the belief is that there was a deliberate system of tablet arrangement at Ugarit, that it was based primarily on the content of the texts, and that it is still possible to discern the archiving system upon closer examination of the evidence.⁴ As a result, the contextualist approach holds that *the significance of a document cannot be appreciated independently of the physical and intellectual structure of the archive to which it belongs*. It follows that determination of the physical location of each text is as indispensable to its interpretation as the translation of its words. The positivist position requires that the thesis be considered valid until it is disproved.

The practical consequence of this revised interpretative viewpoint is that a contextualist reading analyses both the textual and archaeological records in order to provide a more comprehensive assessment of the available information. Hence, the method can be understood as an attempt to provide a more ‘holistic’ reading of the Ugaritic evidence. The method actively seeks to reverse the sustained marginalization of the archaeologist’s testimony by a sizeable proportion of mainstream text-specialists, and to secure the position of the archaeological alongside the textual data. An elevation of the status of the archaeological records, in particular the topographical information, is a prerequisite of the new approach.

However, notwithstanding this assertion that the archaeological records should rank alongside the texts, it is important to clarify that the contextualist agenda encourages the reader to exercise caution when considering the evidence supplied by the excavators of Ugarit. And there are good reasons for this circumspection. On the one hand—and this applies specifically (but not exclusively) to the Ugaritic situation—the archaeological

Internationale, Leiden, 4-8 July 1983 (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1986), pp. 196-204.

² For a discussion of the archiving of texts in the ancient Near East see R.S. Hess, ‘A Comparison of the Ugarit, Emar and Alalakh Archives’, in *URC*, pp. 75-83; E. Posner, *Archives in the Ancient World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972); Veenhof, ‘Cuneiform Archives: An Introduction’.

³ Veenhof, ‘Cuneiform Archives’, pp. 13-14.

⁴ The ‘positivist’ outlook adopted here is not to be confused with the philosophical principles of ‘Positivism’ (with capital ‘P’). For a succinct summary of Positivism applied to history writing see K. Noll, *Canaan and Israel in Antiquity: An Introduction* (The Biblical Seminar, 83; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), pp. 28-30.

record is not always complete, and sometimes provides only a partial representation of the physical conditions relating to a given location.⁵ On the other hand—and more generally—non-textual sources, being ‘mute’ witnesses, are susceptible to misunderstanding and erroneous interpretation.⁶ Special care is to be given to the estimation of the archaeological data before they are integrated with the textual material.

Crucially, the increase in the importance attached to the modern archaeological reports does not result in a decrease in the significance attached to the ancient writings—the contextualist reading is a text-based enterprise that recognises the immense value of the testimony supplied by the epigraphic sources. Yet, at the same time, the approach acknowledges the importance of the physical factors surrounding the position of text fragments, and seeks to consider these aspects when evaluating the text contents.

Fundamentally, then, the contextualist method challenges the scholarly conviction, enunciated by E.J. Kenney, that texts enjoy an elevated and detached status: ‘A text is not a concrete artifact, like a pot or a statue, but an abstract concept or idea’.⁷ Accordingly, this new approach concentrates on the material remains of Ugarit—both the textual and non-textual remnants—and seeks to bring parity to the equation of the preserved data. Quite simply, the interpretation of the texts and their contents is augmented by the evaluation of their physical location. In effect, the contextualist reader reads the ancient texts with one eye and the modern archaeological reports with the other.

2. *The Contextualist Framework*

Before embarking on the first large-scale contextualist analysis of the Ugaritic evidence, it is appropriate to establish the methodological steps that are to be taken. The following simple five-stage process lies at the heart of the contextualist programme:

- a. The selection and translation of ‘prime texts’.
- b. The selection and identification of ‘prime content’.
- c. The identification of ‘prime content’ in ‘derived texts’.
- d. The ‘recontextualisation’ of prime content.
- e. The interpretation of texts and contents in context.

⁵ Cf. my comments below on the reconnection of the texts with contexts (p. 142).

⁶ See p. 105.

⁷ E.J. Kenney, ‘Textual Criticism’, in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, XVIII (1974), pp. 189-95 (189).

Specific issues associated with the application of these stages will be discussed in the following chapter. In the meantime, it is necessary to touch upon a number of general matters relating to the framework.

a. *The Selection and Translation of 'Prime Texts'*

The selection and translation of texts is the indispensable first stage of the contextualist interpretation. This is in general agreement with the widely held view that the inscribed tablets have a 'particular and distinctive importance'.⁸ The epigraphic evidence remains the primary point of contact for the interpreter.

(1) *The Selection of Texts*

Just as the numbers entered into a mathematical calculation determine the sum total, so too the selection of source material directly influences the findings reached by an analysis of ancient texts. As I noted earlier, the uncritical preferring of certain texts (as well as certain types of texts) has greatly affected the conclusions drawn by those studying the Ugaritic documents. All too often underlying assumptions have influenced the choice of sources, and have in turn served to undermine the validity of conclusions advanced after even the most rigorous investigation. So, for example, the fact that the reconstruction of the Ugaritic 'fertility religion' has turned out to be disjointed and unconvincing is in no small measure the result of the unrestrained prioritisation of one body of mythological evidence that is supposed to represent the litany of a foremost cultic event. In the same way, the portrayal of El as a deity in decline may in part stem from the blinkered reading of specific passages together with a failure to cross-reference the proposal with other textual sources.⁹

As a reaction to such observations, the new method aims to be as 'inclusive' and 'comprehensive' as possible with regard to the admission of textual material. Accordingly, the whole Ugaritic corpus is considered to be a resource open to further examination.¹⁰

(2) *'Prime Texts'*

Notwithstanding the aspiration that the testimony of all texts should be included in contextualist readings of the Ugaritic evidence, it is appropriate for such interpretations to have a starting point. Crucially, the contextualist method seeks to avoid the imposition of preconceived expectations about the 'relevance' or 'suitability' of source texts. In particular it aims to circumvent the uncritical use of 'accepted' genre classification. As such, the classifications supplied by the editors of standard reference

⁸ Craigie, *Ugarit and the Old Testament*, p. 44.

⁹ See above, p. 48.

¹⁰ The practicalities of this inclusivist policy will be made clear in the section dealing with the construction of the database; see below, Chapter 5.

tools (e.g. *KTU* and the Northwest Semitic Philological Data Bank) and apparently followed by readers of the texts (e.g. Wyatt, del Olmo Lete, de Moor¹¹) are disregarded.

Instead of using categories of genre, the new method allows findsite location to steer text selection.¹² The guiding principle, expressed already, is that a text cannot be appreciated independently of the physical and intellectual structure to which it belongs. In view of the heightened sensitivity to the placement of texts, once a document has been earmarked for study (see shortly) the contextualist interpreter is obliged to explore the possible interconnectedness of contiguous documentation, as well as to scrutinise it within its physical setting. This topographically oriented method of text selection results in the isolation of a body of ‘prime texts’ that serves as the starting point for the contextualist enterprise.

(3) *The Translation of Texts*

The processes involved in the translation of ancient texts are well established, and are largely unaffected by their application within the contextualist framework. As del Olmo Lete puts it, ‘The hermeneutic difficulties that we face in connection with the cultic literature of Ugarit are basically the same as in the interpretation of any ancient text: *semantic* difficulties, due to the different linguistic system, and *cultural* difficulties, due to the different virtual “implicit universe”’.¹³ For the translation (and interpretation) of every text it is necessary to engage with the material on three levels—the lexicographical, the formulaic, and the structural.

The first step on the well-worn exegetical path involves the isolation of the lexical units and the estimation of the semantic value of these units within their immediate setting. In those cases where the meaning of a given word is obscure, comparative philology and etymological analysis provide valuable assistance. This enterprise is based upon the acceptance of ‘the close relationship among different cultic vocabularies of neighbouring civilizations/cultures that by nature are fixed and interchangeable’.¹⁴

Next, an assessment of the individual lexeme’s function within its surrounding literary context allows the identification of sense units. The appreciation of the self-contained nature of these sense units leads to the recognition of them as ‘rubrics’. The coordination of these rubrics with other sense-units (asyndetically or otherwise) into discernible sequences produces patterns of distinctive composition or formulas. Crucially, these formulas supply the semantic confirmation for the meanings proposed

¹¹ Curiously, although the predominance of texts numbered ‘1.’ by the editors of *KTU* is overwhelming, the principles of text selection are not stated in Wyatt, *RTU*; del Olmo Lete, *CR*; de Moor, *ARTU*. Cf. the respective Contents pages and Indices appearing in these works.

¹² More will be said about the role of the findsite data shortly; see below, p. 144.

¹³ Del Olmo Lete, *CR*, p. 7 (emphasis in original).

¹⁴ Del Olmo Lete, *CR*, p. 9.

at the lexicographical level, while also helping to determine the form and function of the text in which they appear. (In addition, the identification of formulaic constructions offers scope for the restoration of fragmentary texts.)

For all this, it has to be admitted that the presence of unbroken context is something of luxury when dealing with the epigraphic material from Ugarit. The fragmentary nature of the texts undoubtedly represents a barrier to the context-dependent technique. However, on the basis of *careful* and *well-reasoned* restorations of the texts it is possible to fill in some of the blanks and to re-establish lost context. As a result—and this is in line with Ugaritic scholarship’s general acceptance of text restoration—restored context is provisionally accepted into contextualist analysis.

Finally, by viewing the text as a functional whole it becomes possible to define the text as a literary unit. The translation of the lexemes, the formulas and the text can all be confirmed when the overall structure of the composition is considered—as del Olmo Lete notes, it is then that ‘the real significance and meaning become apparent’.¹⁵

In order to minimise the difficulties associated with the different virtual ‘implicit universes’ of the authors of the ancient Ugaritic texts and the modern readers of them, it is vital for the latter always to keep in mind the evidence supplied by similar texts in neighbouring religions.¹⁶ While the chronological and (in the case particularly of Western scholars) cultural differences are unlikely ever to be bridged satisfactorily, the consideration of evidence gleaned through comparative research is of immense value for crosschecking proposed readings.

b. The Selection and Identification of ‘Prime Content’

The second stage of the new approach seeks to identify the presence of specific terminology, or ‘prime content’, within the prime texts. (Later on in the contextualist process these lexical units will be used to highlight possible thematic associations between texts displaying the same vocabulary.) It has already been said that the contextualist method understands archives and libraries to be the physical expression of an intellectual classification based on content. That this is a legitimate position to take when approaching the Ugaritic texts is borne out by the work of van Soldt, who, by identifying the shared or related content of topographically proximate documents, was able to demonstrate that what is in the texts is not unconnected with their physical placement.

An important aspect of the identification of prime content is the ‘relevance’ of the terminology isolated. Significantly, the selection of units of prime content is determined by the scope of the investigation being performed. So, for example, an examination of Ugarit’s viniculture may be concerned with words relating to vineyard

¹⁵ Del Olmo Lete, *CR*, p. 10.

¹⁶ See J. Milgrom, *Studies in Cultic Theology and Terminology* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1983).

ownership, geographical locations of winepresses, tax obligations imposed on wine-producers, and so on. Alternatively, a survey of Ugarit's martial forces may concentrate on, among other things, terms denoting military rank, weaponry and rations allocated to personnel. In the light of the approach's versatility of application and the relative freedom available to the interpreter when deciding upon the suitability of terms to be advanced for further study, the contextualist method demands that the motives leading to the inclusion and exclusion of expressions be made explicit.

c. The Identification of 'Prime Content' in 'Derived Texts'

The third stage seeks to identify elements of prime content within the rest of the Ugaritic corpus—that is, in documents other than the prime texts. Because the texts encountered in this phase of the contextualist scheme are directly dependent upon the selection of prime content in prime texts, it seems appropriate to refer to these documents as 'derived texts'.

Identifying elements of prime content in derived texts involves the systematic search for and interpretation of those lexical units selected during the preceding stage of the contextualist process. The methods used in the identification of prime content in derived texts are essentially the same as those employed in the prime documentation. The objective is to locate every instance of the terminology within the available written sources. The value of this enterprise is rooted in the belief, already expressed above, that the arrangement of the Ugaritic texts was based on content, and that the identification of shared content provides the primary means by which the intellectual classification of texts can be recovered. In effect, the units of prime content function as 'lexical links' that serve to illustrate common themes in the prime and derived texts.

Crucially, then, the newly established emphasis on findsite location does not mean that contextualist readings overlook those similarities between texts that led to the identification of genres within the Ugaritic corpus. In fact, commonality of content continues to highlight the associations between individual documents and serves as an important indicator of possible common function. Importantly, while shared features have been used in the past to place boundaries around groups of texts, the contextualist method employs them to establish points of contact between documents and between the locations from which they derive. As a result, that which was used in the past to *exclude* unrelated material is used now to *include* evidence for further study.

d. The 'Recontextualisation' of Prime Content

In the light of the sustained marginalization of the archaeological evidence identified above, the fourth stage is, perhaps, the most innovative aspect of the new contextualist interpretative framework. It is at this point that scholarship's general lack of concern with the tablet findsite is addressed and the derived text references generated in the preceding phase are incorporated alongside the topographical data. Because so little

attention has been paid to the physical location of the tablets it seems wholly appropriate to speak of a 'recontextualisation' of the documentary sources.

The objective at this stage of the contextualist proceedings is to pinpoint (wherever possible) the precise physical setting of all instances of the prime content in non-prime texts. The reason for this is simple—plotting the relative positions of derived texts graphically illustrates the arrangement of prime content and allows the potential identification of patterns of distribution that reflect the intellectual classification imposed by the archiver(s) of the documents. These fleshed-out, topographically cognisant data produced in the fourth phase of the method are the bedrock on which the contextualist interpretation is built.

Reconnecting the derived texts with their physical contexts is ultimately dependent upon the accessibility of accurate archaeological information relating to the positioning of the tablet fragment(s). Regrettably, the application of less well-developed archaeological techniques in the early years of Ugarit's excavation as well as delays in publishing more recent findings mean that the available evidence provides only an incomplete description of the physical settings of some of the texts. Fortunately, however, enough topographical details have been published to allow for the reconnection of the majority of the Ugaritic texts with some basic information about their findsite location. By handling these data with care it should be possible to take positive steps towards the restoration of the material settings.

e. The Interpretation of Texts and Contents in Context

The final stage of the framework sees the interpretation of the texts and their contents in context. The culmination of the contextualist process, the interpretational phase involves the evaluation of single cases of lexeme distribution alongside an assessment of the cumulative effect that these individual examples have upon the Ugaritic evidence as a whole. The aim is to rationalise the newly integrated material in order to advance constructive observations about the presence (or non-presence) of schematic patterns of text arrangement within the topography of Ugarit. Given the fact that the contextualist method brings together a mixture of lexical, textual and topographical data in order to achieve this, it is reasonable to speculate that the interpretation of the synthesised evidence will impact at a variety of levels.

(1) The Lexical Level

Since lexical forms lie at the heart of the new approach, it seems reasonable to expect that the integration of the topographical data will serve to enhance the semantic values assigned to the individual words and phrases that are subjected to the contextualist inquiry. Plotting the distribution of specific terms within the topography of Ugarit might allow the interpreter to expose patterns of application that help to provide a more nuanced reading of the vocabulary. So, for example, detecting the limited usage of an

expression in a single and distinct location could make it possible to advance a more narrowly defined translation of the word or phrase in question. Similarly, observing the repeated appearance of a particular word in texts recovered from physically disparate locations might allow for a better estimation of the lexeme and its suitability for application in a variety of contexts.

Interestingly, distinguishing patterns of lexeme distribution could also assist the interpreter in resolving dilemmas encountered during the translation process. In those cases where a discernible system of placement can be identified, it becomes theoretically possible for the interpreter to utilise (retrospectively) this information to recommend the 'probable' rendering of a given term. Alternatively, these same data might be used to propose the 'most likely' restorations of a fragmentary or broken lexical form. Providing topographically quantifiable support for the translation and restoration of obscure terminology would mark a new phase in the interpretation of Ugaritic lexemes.

(2) The Textual Level

Having concentrated initially on the evaluation of the topographical arrangement of the specific lexical units, it may be possible for the interpreter to supply observations that cast new light on the individual texts in which they appear. For instance, revealing that several lexemes appearing in a particular text are attested nowhere else in the Ugaritic corpus might be used as evidence to support the interpretation of that document as a distinctive and atypical specimen.

(3) The Inter-Textual Level

The illumination of thematic commonalities between texts is likely to affect the way in which the documents containing the shared elements are perceived. Although several examples of documents exhibiting clear lexical, syntactical and structural similarities have already been identified in the course of Ugaritic research,¹⁷ it is conceivable that the contextualist approach will reveal new, more subtle associations in texts that had not previously been connected. Even the most modest and seemingly innocuous link might be of use in highlighting a level of conceptual agreement, and could help to produce a new or revised frame of reference within which the newly connected texts are to be viewed.

(4) The Contextual Level

Finally, the combined testimony of the texts and their contents could help to recover the intellectual scheme that governed the placement of the texts in their respective physical contexts. By identifying, compiling and correlating the individual instances of lexical

¹⁷ E.g. Petersen and Woodward, 'Northwest Semitic Religion: A Study of Relational Structures'.

and textual association the contextualist interpreter may be able not only to establish the presence of (an) archiving system(s) imposed upon a group of documents, but also to determine the criterion/criteria that rendered the documents suitable for inclusion in the various collections. In addition, by seeking to discover the principle(s) that governed the dispersal of texts within the topography of Ugarit, those factors that did not influence the archiving of tablets might also, by implication, be determined.

3. *Summary*

The new contextualist approach is designed to allow for a multivalent reading of the documentary and archaeological evidence that is based essentially on a two-way interaction between the sources—the topographical data supply the physical contexts that allow for a better understanding of the epigraphic material; the ‘recontextualised’ texts help to enhance the appreciation of the locations that furnished them. Brought together within the contextualist framework, it is hoped that the two previously distinct resources will coalesce to supply a unified body of evidence that will make possible the identification of deliberate systems of arrangement imposed on the epigraphic sources. In theory, deciphering these patterns of distribution, and thereby rediscovering the intellectual classifications imposed on the texts, should provide the interpreter of Ugaritic data with a new and potentially valuable opportunity to assess and revise the previous readings of the texts, the contents and the contexts.

Chapter 4

THE CONTEXTUALIST METHOD IN PRACTICE: THE 'CULTIC VOCABULARY' OF UGARIT AS A TEST CASE

Now that the broad theoretical framework of the contextualist approach has been established, it is time to put the new method into practice. It was stated at the beginning of the preceding chapter that this investigation represents the first full-scale contextualist study of the Ugaritic evidence, that it functions as a test case for the proposed approach, and that it also seeks to contribute to the understanding of Ugaritic religion. In order to achieve these objectives, it seems prudent to offer a targeted inquiry that allows for the unambiguous application of the method. Consequently, the study presented in the following chapters will focus specifically on the treatment of components of the cultic vocabulary and the evaluation of their relative distribution throughout the physical remains of Ugarit.

The present chapter will deal with the practical matters associated with the first two stages of the contextualist process, namely, the selection and translation of prime texts, and the selection and identification of prime content. The objective here is to deal with the nuts and bolts issues of *why* and *how* the elements of cultic vocabulary are to be identified from within the extant Ugaritic corpus. Annexe 1 of the present study provides a graphic demonstration of these principles in application. Chapters 5 and 6 will tackle the remaining three stages of the contextualist framework: the identification of prime content in derived texts and the recontextualisation of prime content will be discussed in Chapter 5; the interpretation of texts and contents in context will be dealt with in Chapter 6.

Before embarking on the contextualist examination of Ugarit's cultic vocabulary, it is necessary to say a few words about the scope of the present study.

Regrettably, in spite of the fact that the contextualist method demands the inclusion of *all* available textual evidence,¹ it will be necessary to place some restrictions on the range of prime texts admitted for further analysis. Pragmatic considerations force the imposition of these boundaries. First, due to restrictions of time and limitations on

¹ See above, p. 137.

space, the following analysis will deal only with the Ugaritic texts, that is, it will be concerned with those documents inscribed in the indigenous Ugaritic script recovered from the excavations at Ras Shamra, Ras Ibn Hani and Minet el-Beida. It is necessary to exclude all documents written in other languages, most notably the Akkadian and Hurrian texts.²

Second, it should be acknowledged that a large number of texts unearthed at Ugarit remain inaccessible because of delays in publishing new finds.³ Future publications and continued excavations at Ras Shamra will undoubtedly expand the corpus of documents available for contextualist examination. For the time being, however, it is appropriate to make use of the most complete collection of available texts, namely, *KTU*.

Nevertheless, despite these regrettable limitations, it is possible to remain upbeat about the fullness of the pool of epigraphic evidence admitted for contextualist examination. The present study will make use of *all published texts in the native Ugaritic script*⁴ and will incorporate (potentially) the testimony of all 1385 texts published in *KTU*.

1. *The Selection and Translation of Prime Texts*

The overriding principle guiding the selection of prime texts has been encountered already—findsite location governs the inclusion of texts admitted for contextualist inquiry. For the purposes of the present study, documents recovered from two provenances will supply the prime texts that are to be subjected to further analysis: the ‘House of the High Priest’/‘Maison du Grande Prêtre’ (GP) and the ‘House of the Hurrian Priest’/‘Maison du prêtre hourrite’ (PH).⁵

A number of factors motivate the choice of GP and PH as the starting point of this investigation. Primarily, these locations are selected because they have yielded a large number of the high-profile ‘religious’ documents that have featured so markedly in previous studies of the Ugaritic cult. By submitting these prominent texts to contextualist treatment it should be possible to provide an effectively focused reassessment of the foremost sources employed in mainstream Ugaritic research.

² It is, of course, theoretically possible and methodologically correct to include the evidence supplied by these texts. The reluctant exclusion of these sources does, however, grant the opportunity to examine the native texts in isolation and to supply preliminary results that can easily be supplemented with the findings of a later contextualist survey of the non-Ugaritic material.

³ Note that *KTU* lists 529 ‘Unpublished’ texts.

⁴ That is, up to the time of *KTU*’s publication in 1995.

⁵ At this point the reader is encouraged to consult the Findsite Abbreviations listed on p. x.

In addition, the selection of prime texts from two distinct locations affords the opportunity to test one of the central tenets of the method, namely, that texts were arranged in separate archives by virtue of their characteristic content. In order to make this possible the two groups of prime texts will be dealt with independently in the initial stages of the contextualist programme. By upholding the separation imposed on the documents by the ancient Ugaritic archivist(s) it should be possible to compare and contrast the material contained in the two topographically detached provenances and, perhaps, identify the principle(s) that governed the arrangement of texts within them. Effectively, the present study performs two separate contextualist analyses in tandem—one for the GP texts and another for the PH texts—that will be brought together at the end of the inquiry to allow comparative observations to be made.

Practical concerns also influence the choice of GP and PH as the starting point of this investigation. Conveniently, a good amount of archaeological information has been made available for these sites. When compared with other regions of the Ras Shamra site, GP and PH are relatively well documented and their topography fairly well defined.⁶ The excavators have published enough data to enable the demarcation of the physical structures within which the texts were housed.

A summary of the excavation reports for both GP and PH is a necessary component of the contextualist examination of the documents recovered from these areas—looking at texts in context is a central tenet of the contextualist approach. However, since it is possible to illustrate graphically the presence of prime content within prime texts, it seems appropriate to defer the hands-on treatment of the GP and PH texts until after the principles governing the selection and identification of the prime content have been laid out. Annexe 1 provides a comprehensive treatment of GP and PH and the texts recovered from there.

2. *The Selection and Identification of Prime Content*

In an attempt to engage with the debate surrounding Ugaritic religion, the present study concentrates on the examination of Ugarit's cultic vocabulary. It is worth remembering here that the use of individual units of cultic vocabulary for the interpretation of Ugaritic texts has already been established as a legitimate and profitable enterprise. Already discussed above, the important investigation of the Ugaritic evidence offered by del Olmo Lete serves to identify specific components—he also refers to them as 'parameters'⁷—in his source texts that assist in the estimation of the so-called

⁶ The topography of GP and PH are briefly sketched in the Annexe 1

⁷ Del Olmo Lete, *CR*, p. 15.

‘Canaanite religion’ and its institutions.⁸ What is more, a similar ‘elemental’ approach to the study of cultic documentation has also been advocated for the ‘Priestly’ literature of the Hebrew Bible.⁹

Thus, the weight of past interpretations of Ugaritic religion justifies the examination of cultically applied words and phrases; del Olmo Lete’s study in particular advocates the organisation of these terms into specific categories. If, as the previous terminology-based studies have demonstrated, cultic elements supply direct insight into the workings of ancient cult institutions, exposing the documents containing this terminology to contextualist examination could help to reveal whether any attempt was made to schematise their placement at Ugarit. Further still, it might be possible to say whether the cultic vocabulary played a part in any such deliberate arrangement. Establishing that a system of classification and archival distribution was imposed on texts making use of the cultic terminology would be of immense importance for the appreciation of Ugaritic religion—recovering the intellectual and physical structures to which the texts belonged would effectively ‘recontextualise’ the documentary sources and bear witness to the individuals and groups who deliberately arranged them. Demonstrating the correlation between text, content and context would oblige Ugaritic scholarship to rethink prevailing hypotheses based on the texts and would compel a reconsideration of the ways in which the inscribed tablets are analysed in the future. Accordingly, it is appropriate to consider the study of Ugaritic cultic vocabulary as a ‘heuristic’ device to gain new insight into the working of the Ugaritic religious institution(s) as well as to test the efficacy of the contextualist method.

However, before progressing to a discussion of the categories of terms that will be subjected to further analysis, it is necessary to firm up the definition of the expressions ‘cultic vocabulary’ and ‘cultic texts’, as well as to clarify the rules by which the terminology and documentation gathered together under these banners are identified.

The following functional definition will guide the selection of terms included in the present contextualist study: *an element of cultic vocabulary is understood to be any word or phrase that prescribes or describes human service of deities; that is, what is (to be) done, by whom, when, where, for which god and with what. Accordingly, a cultic text is considered to be any inscribed object that contains elements of cultic vocabulary that can, on the basis of cumulative evidence, be said to contain evidence of this human service of the divine.*

⁸ Note also that de Tarragon arranges his informative study (*Le culte à Ugarit*) under six headings: calendar, offerings, vocabulary, rites, personnel and pantheon.

⁹ See Frank F. Gorman, Jr, *The Ideology of Ritual: Space, Time and Status in the Priestly Theology* (JSOTSup, 91; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), esp. pp. 33-37.

From these statements it should become clear that the focus of the present investigation is upon the ‘tangible’ aspects of Ugaritic worship as laid down in the epigraphic output of the Ugaritic scribes. This study does not attend to the motives that lay behind the human activity directed towards the gods and goddesses of Ugarit—figuring out *why* Ugaritic cultic worship took its particular form(s) is outside the contextualist remit. After all, such matters are seldom, if ever, dealt with explicitly in the texts—hence, the abundance of circuitous speculation of, among others, the Myth and Ritual interpreters. The contextualist method’s concern is with actualities of the Ugaritic system of divine worship as well as the physical expression of intellectual thought processes associated with the placement of texts dealing with such realities; it is not intended as a means of assessing the elusive problems of theological inspiration and belief.¹⁰ As a result, it seems appropriate to uphold a distinction between ‘religion’—the ‘belief in and worship of God or gods; specified system of theology, ritual and morality based on this’—and ‘cult’—‘religious worship expressed in custom, ritual and ceremonies’.¹¹

a. *The Nine Elements of Cultic Vocabulary*

The following nine elements are targeted in the present contextualist study of Ugarit’s cultic vocabulary:

Element 1:	Divine Names
Element 2:	Personal Names
Element 3:	Geographical Names
Element 4:	Cultic Jargon
Element 5:	Cultic Commodities
Element 6:	Cultic Locations
Element 7:	Cultic Times and Events
Element 8:	Cultic Personnel
Element 9:	Cultic Actions

b. *The Reasons for Selection*

It has already been asserted that the contextualist approach enables versatile analysis and affords the interpreter considerable freedom when establishing the scope of inquiry. At the same time, it was also made clear that the method demands that the motives behind the selection of elements of prime content be made explicit. Accordingly,

¹⁰ This does not mean that the contextualist findings will not be useful in theologically oriented discussions—contextualist conclusions may be used to formulate enlightening proposals that bear on theological issues.

¹¹ *The Penguin Concise English Dictionary* (ed. G.N. Garmonsway; London: Bloomsbury Books, rev. edn, 1969), s.v.

before discussing the potential benefits associated with each of the nine categories, it is important to clarify the reasons underlying the selection of ‘relevant’ prime content, as well as to make clear that this selection is not driven by preconceived assumptions.

Although it is appropriate to be guided by an expectation based on educated reasoning, it must be borne in mind that alternative and/or additional archiving principles may have influenced the arrangement of the epigraphical material.¹² An examination that seeks to appreciate the topographical distribution of cultic vocabulary yields only limited results if no account is taken of the principles governing the placement of apparently non-cultic, secular documentation. The application of too narrow a search criterion might lead to the exclusion of an archiving principle that should not, *a priori*, be ruled out. It is vital that the modern ‘Dewey Decimalised’ mindset is not allowed to impose organisational patterns on the material that were unfamiliar to the ancient archivist.

(1) *Divine Names (DNs)*

Notwithstanding what has just been said, the inclusion of DNs in the present study hardly requires justification. As the objects of the cultic activity, the gods and goddesses were central to the religious institutions of ancient Ugarit; as the subjects of contextualist inquiry, the names of the deities are central to the modern-day appreciation of Ugaritic cultic vocabulary.

Not surprisingly, the study of DNs has played an important part in scholarship’s reconstruction of Ugaritic religion.¹³ And yet it is interesting to note that while the fixed arrangement of DNs within the individual ‘god lists’ and the partial repetition of these sequences in the ‘ritual’ texts have been central to the identification of ‘canonical’ pantheons at Ugarit¹⁴ that appear to have been the result of an intentional

¹² It is worth considering that non-textual characteristics of the tablets (e.g. size, shape) *may* have influenced their relative placement. A modern parallel would be the placement on library shelves of oversized volumes in a separate ‘Q’ sections—the physical dimension of a work overrides the subject-oriented system of archiving.

¹³ It has already been seen that the hypostatic interpretation of DNs helped to fuel the allegorical readings of Ugaritic mythology, particularly the Baal mythology.

¹⁴ See my discussion of the various pantheons identified by del Olmo Lete (see above, pp. 62-63). The order of the DNs appearing in KTU 1.47, 1.118 and the Akkadian text RS 20.24 are virtually identical. For an evaluation of all three texts see del Olmo Lete, *CR*, pp. 71-78; cf. Wyatt, *RTU*, pp. 360-62. For treatments of the KTU 1.47 and KTU 1.118 see de Tarragon, *Le culte à Ugarit*, pp. 15-62; Xella, *TRU*, pp. 325-27. For a discussion of RS 20.24 see J.F. Healey, ‘The Akkadian “Pantheon List” from Ugarit’, *SEL* 2 (1985), pp. 115-25. The sequence is partially reproduced in KTU 1.39; 1.41; 1.87; 1.102; 1.123; 1.148.

‘systematization’,¹⁵ no attempt has yet been made to explore whether a system of intellectual organisation was imposed on those texts containing the canonically arranged DNs. A contextualist analysis of Ugaritic DNs would tackle this anomaly head on. For instance, demonstrating that the texts mentioning the different pantheons were stored in separate archives would not only cast new light on the systematic nature of the cult organisation, but would also generate a physical and intellectual framework with which scholarly interpretations of the documents and pantheons must be reconciled. In addition, plotting the distribution of DNs might offer valuable insight into the cultic connectedness of the sites at which the names of the gods and goddesses appear,¹⁶ and could serve to highlight the differences between these locations.

(2) *Personal Names (PNs)*

Having stated that the primary aim of the present contextualist study is to explore the topographical distribution of elements of cultic vocabulary associated with human service of the deities, the inclusion of PNs may seem somewhat anomalous. After all, in all but a few cases (e.g. the liver and lung model ‘extispicy’ texts, KTU 1.141; 1.142; 1.143; 1.144; 1.155), the names of specific individuals associated with the cultic rites are omitted from the texts. Indeed, the impersonal nature of so many of the Ugaritic texts related to sacrificial activity has been used to lend support to the view that they belonged to the formal (and royally sanctioned) cult.¹⁷

But the almost total lack of PN references in the cultic texts does not undermine the inherent value of exploring their physical distribution. While it is undeniable that there are relatively few occurrences of PNs within documents explicitly referring to cultic activity, it should not be overlooked that they are not infrequently attested in texts found in close physical proximity to such tablets. Note, for example, the presence of several ‘PN lists’ (e.g. KTU 4.12; 4.16; 4.21) at GP Room 1 p.t. 300, the same location at which a number of ‘ritual’ texts (e.g. KTU 1.39; 1.40; 1.41; 1.43) were discovered. Note also that PH Room 10 p.t. 3745 dep. 0.75 m attests a PN list (KTU 4.730) as well as several overtly ritual texts (KTU 1.115; 1.124; 1.130). A similar situation is found at PC Court V (IV) p.t. 1331 dep. 2.90 m, where texts recording PNs (e.g. KTU 4.350; 4.354; 4.364) appear alongside an obscure document that has been interpreted as an omen text (KTU 1.86).¹⁸ On the basis of such instances of physical contiguity of

¹⁵ Del Olmo Lete, *CR*, pp. 71, 77.

¹⁶ By implication this would have an impact on the understanding of those locations that *did not* furnish references to DNs.

¹⁷ It has already been shown that del Olmo Lete (*CR*) distinguishes between the ‘royal cult’ and the ‘cult of everyday life’. See p. 65, above.

¹⁸ While *KTU* offers the classification ‘myth?, ritual?, incantation?’, opinion is divided about the interpretation of the fragmentary text. According to M. Dijkstra, ‘Ugaritic Prose’, in *HUS*, pp. 140-64

'religious' and 'secular' documentation, it seems appropriate to explore whether the PNs help to isolate and sustain the presence of identifiable archiving principles within the sources.

Thus, the inclusion of PNs is in keeping with the now-familiar contextualist mantra—*the significance of a document cannot be appreciated independently of the physical and intellectual structure of the archive to which it belongs*. In the present study the value of the PNs is collocational, and their inclusion is intended to serve a twofold purpose. On the one hand, the discernment of a pattern of PN distribution may well provide a yardstick alongside which any pattern of cultic element distribution can be considered. On the other hand, in the event that a striking distribution correspondence is identified between the so-called 'religious' and 'secular' texts, it could be possible to establish a cultic provenance of the PN lists.

(3) *Geographical Names (GNs)*

The case for the inclusion of GNs is akin to that used for the PNs. It can be noted, however, that the appreciation of the topographical distribution of GNs at Ugarit is somewhat more advanced than that of the PNs. Indeed, a scrutiny of GN distribution played a central role in the identification of the 'international' correspondence that guided van Soldt in his identification of the archiving principle at Ugarit. The inclusion of GNs in the present study is sustained partly by the provisional acceptance of van Soldt's theory that texts were archived according to subject-based principles, and his observation that texts appear to be grouped together on the basis of their geographical references.¹⁹

The argument in favour of including GNs in a contextualist investigation of cultic vocabulary is strengthened further by the repeated appearance of GNs in conjunction with recognisable DNs. These geographically specific forms are a fairly common feature of the Ugaritic texts and include such compounds as *b' l hlb* (e.g. KTU 1.109.16; 1.130.11; 1.134.8), *'nt w 'ttrt inbb* (KTU 1.100.20), *'nt hbly* (KTU 1.39.17; 1.102.11; 1.162.14), *dgn ttl* (KTU 1.100.15), and, of course, *b' l ugrt* (e.g. KTU 1.27.4; 1.41.34-35, 42; 1.105.6; 1.112.23). It is reasonable to speculate that such GNs functioned as modifiers that helped to clarify the specific manifestation of the god/goddess intended

(146, 163), the work is to be understood as a 'dreambook' deriving from Babylonian tradition. However, the recent study by G. del Olmo Lete and I. Márquez Rowe, 'Sobre KTU 1.86', *Aula Orientalis* 13 (1995), pp. 255-58, proposes that the tablet belongs to the body of Hippocratic texts and has to do with horse breeding.

¹⁹ See van Soldt, *Studies in the Akkadian of Ugarit*, pp. 134-41, who identifies patterns of distribution to the geographically specific texts appearing in the Palace Archive: the eastern wing was the location for international letters; the southern wing was the location for international treaties and legal documents; the northern wing of the central archive was the location for domestic legal texts.

or to reinforce the patronymic relationship between a deity and a particular geographical location (usually a prominent town or city).²⁰

(4) *Cultic Jargon*

The Ugaritic texts make use of a number of words and phrases that appear to be so closely connected with ritual action that it is appropriate to refer to them as a ‘cultic jargon’. These terms, which seem to function as the technical argot of those engaged in cultic activity, represent a broad-based category of lexemes that encompasses terminology expressing a range of aspects.²¹ While it may be relatively easy to identify elements of cultic jargon within the texts (see below), it is not always possible to advance a satisfactory translation and interpretation for the terms. Indeed, this semantic obscurity may be a reflection of an original elusiveness that surrounded the terminology. It is at least conceivable that the cultic jargon was intended to reflect a shrouded and mystical reality that was known and understood to a greater and lesser degree by the officiants and lay participants of the cult. A few words of clarification are in order here.

First, the cultic jargon category incorporates all terms that appear to function as the nomenclature of particular types/classes of formal ritual offering. Lexemes identified as cultic jargon include *dbḥ* (‘sacrifice, festival, cultic celebration’, e.g. KTU 1.41.20, 39; 1.48.14; 1.136.4, 5), a term applied to both sacrificial and non-sacrificial rites, and *šrp w šlmm* (‘holocaust and peace-offering’, e.g. KTU 1.39.4; 1.41.13, 29, 32-33), a composite expression that seems to refer to two of the basic types of sacrificial series.

Second, the category also embraces expressions relating to religio-magical procedures. Among the terms listed are ranked *att* (‘omen, consultation’, KTU 1.103.1), *iršt*, (‘consultation, prayer’, KTU 1.104.1), and *mnt* (‘incantation’, KTU 1.100.*passim*).

Third, vocabulary referring to abstract qualities or states of being that represent the reason for and/or the result of religious activity is also integrated as prime content. Such elements admitted for further study include, among others: *ḥta* (‘sin’, KTU 1.40.*passim*), *npy* (‘atonement’, KTU 1.40.*passim*; 1.121.6, 8), and *brr* (‘purity’, KTU 1.41.7; 1.46.10; 1.105.20).

Finally, lexemes that appear to have an overt cultic association but which have so far evaded satisfactory explication are also categorized as cultic jargon. These terms, which seem to be drawn from a Hurrian heritage but which appear to have been

²⁰ For a discussion of the status of the patron deity see Handy, ‘A Solution for Many *Mlkm*’.

²¹ For discussion and bibliography of the terms mentioned in this section see the notes to my translations supplied in Annexe 1.

integrated into the Ugaritic religious tradition,²² include *atḥlm* (KTU 1.110.1; 1.111.3.8; 1.116.3, 9, 10, 31) and *tzg(m)* (KTU 1.105.13, 21; 1.148.17).

Mapping and interpreting the arrangement of this cultic jargon might offer valuable new insights for the interpreter of Ugaritic religion. Highlighting the distribution of particular categories of rites or sacrifices, for example, could allow for the formulation of a more rounded understanding of the centralization and/or marginalization of the religious ceremonies that took place at Ugarit. Demonstrating that texts dealing with the various rites and liturgies were intentionally arranged together would introduce physically quantifiable evidence into the reconstruction of the cult.

(5) *Cultic Commodities*

Even a cursory reading of the Ugaritic texts makes it clear that the cult placed considerable emphasis on sacrifice and offering in the service of the gods. Accordingly, the inclusion of the materials utilised in the cult, or rather the words used to refer to them, seems appropriate. The terminology accepted into this classification of prime content includes lexemes relating to the animal victims (e.g. *alp*, ‘ox’, KTU 1.39.2; 1.41.11, 52; *gdlt*, ‘cow’, KTU 1.39.*passim*; 1.41.*passim*; *š*, ‘ram’, KTU 1.39.*passim*; 1.41.*passim*), animal parts (e.g. *ap*, ‘snout’, KTU 1.43.12, 15, 18, 20; *kbd*, ‘liver’, KTU 1.46.13, 14; 1.119.21), vegetable matter (e.g. *yn*, ‘wine’, KTU 1.87.1, 24; 1.91.1, 21-28; *nbt*, ‘honey’, KTU 1.41.21; 1.87.22), and precious metals (e.g. *ksp*, ‘silver’, KTU 1.50.11; *ḥrṣ*, ‘gold’, KTU 1.50.11; 1.139.18).

Importantly, accepting terminology relating to cultic commodities as prime content might assist the contextualist objectives on a collocational level. A contextualist examination of the cultic and apparently non-cultic references to these commodities could help to reveal socio-economic aspects of the cult’s organization. Identifying the presence of separate archives dedicated to cultic and secular business transactions would lead to a better understanding of the internal organization of the cult and its interactions with the rest of the economy of Ugarit.²³ (More will be said about this shortly.) By evaluating the physical distribution of references to the cultic commodities it might be possible to clarify the significance of any physically proximate documentation that makes reference to the same commodities without an overtly religious association. In addition, by comparing the distributions of references to DNs and cult commodities it might be possible to shed some light on the undetermined

²² See G. del Olmo Lete, ‘The Sacrificial Vocabulary of Ugarit’, *SEL* 12 (1995), pp. 37-49; *idem*, *CR*, p. 36 n. 81, and the bibliography cited there.

²³ Heltzer’s view is that there was one economy at Ugarit; see Heltzer, ‘The Economy of Ugarit’, p. 423, and, more generally, *idem*, *The Internal Organization*.

relationship between each type of sacrificial offering and the deity to whom it was offered.²⁴

(6) *Cultic Locations*

Various locations associated with cultic activity are mentioned in the Ugaritic texts. Interestingly, some of these cult sites can be connected with the material remains of structures recovered by the archaeological excavations at Ras Shamra, namely, the so-called ‘Temple of Baal’ and ‘Temple of Dagan’ on the Acropolis mound,²⁵ as well as, possibly, a ‘royal garden/mausoleum’ situated within the confines of the palace complex.²⁶ On the basis of these identifications it is possible to speculate about the probable positioning of more narrowly defined cult sites: among these are the *mdbh b l* (‘the altar of Baal’, KTU 1.41.41), *mgdl b l ugrt* (‘the tower of Baal of Ugarit’, KTU 1.119.12), and *ntbt bt b l* (‘the walkways of the temple of Baal’, KTU 1.119.33). Significantly, however, several of the locations named explicitly in the texts cannot be correlated with the physical remains so far recovered. For example, the cult sites referred to as *bt hrn* (‘sanctuary of Horon’, KTU 1.124.6), *m lt mdhbt bt ilt* (‘the steps of the altar of the sanctuary of the goddess’, KTU 1.41.23-24), and *tlhn b lt bht* (‘the table of the goddess of the mansion’, KTU 1.109.31) have not yet been plotted on the plans of Ugarit. At the same time, a small number of structures have been recognised within the ruins that seem to have been associated with religious activity but which cannot easily be equated with the cult sites mentioned in the documentary sources; most notably, the ‘Temple of Rhytons’,²⁷ situated in the southern part of the Acropolis zone, and the ‘Hurrian sanctuary’, located in the northern part of the palace complex.²⁸

Further excavation of the site and reinterpretation of the existing archaeological data could help to resolve the discord, so that in the future it might be possible to locate more of the named cult sites within the topography of Ugarit. In the meantime, even though most of the locations mentioned in the texts cannot be pinpointed on a topographic plan of Ras Shamra, a contextualist examination of the terminology relating to the ‘plotable’ cult sites could illuminate new facets of the workings of the Ugaritic cult. For example, it might prove beneficial to explore whether there is a pattern to the distribution of texts dealing with the Baal Temple, a structure that seems

²⁴ Del Olmo Lete, ‘The Offering Lists and the God Lists’, in *HUS*, pp. 305-52 (336).

²⁵ Cf. the summary above, p. 57. Note that if del Olmo Lete’s proposed syncretistic identification between *bt il* and *qds il* (KTU 1.119.6; 1.41.38) and the Dagan Temple is accepted, the number of archaeologically ‘disconnected’ epigraphic cult sites is reduced slightly.

²⁶ See Gregoria del Olmo Lete, ‘GN, el cemetario egio de Ugarit’, *SEL* 3 (1986), pp. 62-64.

²⁷ Discussed above, see pp. 71-72.

²⁸ J.-C. Courtois, ‘Ras Shamra–Ougarit’, *DBS*, IX, cols. 1124-1295, 1439-42 (1151-52).

to have been both physically²⁹ and theologically³⁰ prominent at Ugarit. In view of the fact that this structure has been so closely linked with the 'royal' cult of Ugarit, it would be interesting to explore whether texts dealing with *bt b l* are concentrated around 'royal' structures. At the same time, establishing the relationship between the topographically quantifiable cultic locations and the archives that accommodated texts referring to them might impact on the appreciation of the sites and terminology that defy recognition. For instance, revealing that texts dealing with the identifiable cult sites generally appear close to their physical points of reference would make it appropriate to reassess the topography around any cult-location terminology that had not yet been associated with a material structure.

(7) *Cultic Times and Events*

A number of words and phrases arise in the texts that seem to function as temporal markers for the cultic activity. By dint of their frequent application, some of these times and events appear to have been assigned particular prominence in the Ugaritic cult. These notable occasions include special days, nights and months on which cultic rites were apparently performed.

The dependence of the Ugaritic calendar on the lunar cycle³¹ results in the division of the month into familiar seven-day weeks. KTU 1.112, a text that attaches particular importance to the religious rites that take place on the first, eighth and fifteenth days of the month, provides a possible indication that a weekly liturgical pattern was followed.³² In addition, some of the texts indicate that the new moon and the full moon were considered to bear particular cultic significance (see KTU 1.47; 1.87; 1.106; 1.109; 1.112), and two texts (KTU 1.46; 1.109) preserve the liturgies for lunar events of this kind. Times of cultic significance were also linked with the solar cycle, the most common references being to the setting of the sun (*'rb špš*, KTU 1.41.47; 1.46.9; 1.119.4, 23; 1.126.23; *šbu špš*, KTU 1.41.47, 53; 1.87.51).³³

²⁹ Frost, 'Anchors Sacred and Profane', p. 357, speculates that the structure was so imposing that it could have functioned as a navigational aid to mariners.

³⁰ The detailed mythological account dealing with the temple's inception (KTU 1.3–1.4) would seem to confirm this.

³¹ For discussion of the Ugaritic calendar see de Tarragon, *Le culte à Ugarit*, pp. 17-28; del Olmo Lete, *CR*, pp. 24-27; J.P.J. Olivier, 'Notes on the Ugarit Month Names', *JNSL* 1 (1970), pp. 39-45; M.E. Cohen, *The Cultic Calendars of the Ancient Near East* (Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 1978), pp. 377-81; R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 2nd edn, 1965), pp. 178-94.

³² See del Olmo Lete, *CR*, p. 27, for a discussion.

³³ See P. Xella, 'Le formule rituali ugaritiche relative al sole', *UF* 16 (1984), pp. 165-68.

A number of the cultic times and events clearly relate to particular deities (e.g. *ll špš pgr w trmnm*, KTU 1.39.12; *k t 'rb 'trt šd gb bt mlk*, KTU 1.43.1-2; 1.91.10; 1.148.18) and perhaps also groups of deities (e.g. *b ym dbh tph b 'l*, KTU 1.48.14), while others have the appearance of being globalised references to occasions of ritual activity (e.g. *dbh mlk*, KTU 1.91; *dbh špn*, KTU 1.148.1[?]). Furthermore, KTU 1.91, a text that has been classified as a 'catalogue of royal festivals',³⁴ lists a host of undated rituals.³⁵ Importantly, the fact that the texts make no attempt at dating any of these events suggests that the name of the occasion was so closely associated with the requisite timing (and activity) that no further clarification was needed and could be taken as an indication that such texts were intended for use by 'the initiated'.

While several Ugaritic month names have been preserved in the texts, and some attempts have been made to coordinate these with the modern-day calendar³⁶ and to associate them with particular types of cultic activity,³⁷ the exact sequence of the months remains uncertain. Nevertheless, month names punctuate the cult texts in a way that suggests that they functioned as broad divisions in the Ugaritic liturgical year (see e.g. *yrh riš yn*, KTU 1.41.1; 1.87.1; *yrh hyr*, KTU 1.87.2; 105.1, 16; 1.112.1; 1.148.23). It is possible that each month was associated with a particular pattern of cult activity.

So, despite the uncertainties surrounding the finer workings of the Ugaritic religious calendar, it seems appropriate to subject the references to cultic times and events to contextualist investigation. Even though it is not yet possible to reconstruct the 'year-planner' of the Ugaritic cult, plotting the distribution of references to cultic times and events could help to expand scholarship's perception of them. For instance, it would be interesting to explore whether all references to the occasions listed in KTU 1.91 appear only in 'royal' contexts, or whether the 'religious' texts associated with particular months were deliberately stored alongside their 'secular' counterparts.

³⁴ The classification supplied by the editors of *KTU* (p. 109).

³⁵ See P. Merlo and P. Xella, 'The Ugaritic Cultic Texts. 1. The Rituals', in *HUS*, pp. 287-304 (294-95).

³⁶ The most sustained attempt by de Moor, *SPUMB*, has already been discussed in Chapter 1. See also *idem*, 'The Seasonal Pattern in the Legend of Aqhat', *SEL* 5 (1988), pp. 61-78, and Cohen, *The Cultic Calendars*, pp. 381-83.

³⁷ According to del Olmo Lete, *CR*, p. 26, the month of *hyr* was 'the principal month of the funeral "liturgy"...and can therefore be defined as the "month of the dead"'. He also attaches funerary significance to the months of *gn* and *pgr(m)*, the months of the 'garden [i.e. mausoleum]' and 'the dead/funerary offerings'. Del Olmo Lete is unable to establish the liturgical associations of the other months of the Ugaritic year.

(8) *Cultic Personnel*

It is widely recognised that apart from the king no other specific officiant is mentioned in the Ugaritic texts in connection with rites of cultic offering and sacrifice.³⁸ The king appears to have been the principal human activist in the cult.³⁹ Indeed, numerous texts reinforce the theory that the monarch served as the chief functionary in sacrificial ceremonies (e.g. KTU 1.41; 1.46; 1.115; 1.119), processions (most notably, KTU 1.43), and rites that relate to a funerary cult in honour of dead (and deified?) kings of the dynasty (e.g. KTU 1.108; 1.113; 1.161). In addition, KTU 1.91, a text that, as was just noted, represents a catalogue or record of royal festivals/rituals, clearly exemplifies the connection between king and cult.⁴⁰

Fathoming the role of the small number of other personnel mentioned in cultic documents has proved somewhat more difficult. The precise roles of the *šr(m)* (KTU 1.23.22; 1.106.15, 16; 1.147.10[?]), *qdš(m)* (KTU 1.112.21) and *mlḥš* (KTU 1.100.*passim*) have so far evaded full explanation, although comparative and philological analyses have bolstered the interpretations as ‘singer(s)’,⁴¹ ‘purifier(s)’,⁴² and ‘exorcist’,⁴³ respectively.

³⁸ An extensive treatment of the king’s cultic status is provided by J. Aboud, *Die Rolle des Königs und seiner Familie nach den Texten von Ugarit* (Forschungen zur Anthropologie und Religionsgeschichte, 28; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1994), pp. 123-92.

³⁹ The connection between Ugaritic royalty and cult is perhaps nowhere more fully explored than by del Olmo Lete in his *Canaanite Religion*. Del Olmo Lete devotes no less than four of his seven chapters to the topic: ‘Royalty: Its Myth and Cult’ (Chapter 3), ‘The Funerary Cult of the Palace’ (Chapter 4), ‘The Non-Funerary Palace Cult’ (Chapter 5) and ‘The Royal Liturgy of the Word: Prayers and Oracles’ (Chapter 6).

⁴⁰ The royal associations of this text are discussed by Xella in *TRU*, pp. 335-41, and his article ‘KTU 1.91 (RS 19.15) e i sacrifici del re’, *UF* 11 (1979), pp. 933-38. See also G. del Olmo Lete and J. Sanmartín, ‘Kultisches in den keilalphabetischen Verwaltungs- und Wirtschaftstexten aus Ugarit’, in M. Dietrich and I. Kottsieper (eds.), *Und Mose schrieb dieses Lied auf... Studien zum Alten Testament und zum Alten Orient* (Festschrift O. Loretz; AOAT, 250; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1998), pp. 175-97 (188-92), and *idem*, *CR*, pp. 254-64.

⁴¹ See B. Cutler and J. Macdonald, ‘The Unique Ugaritic Text UT 113 and the Question of “Guilds”’, *UF* 9 (1970), pp. 7-57 (22-23).

⁴² See de Tarragon, *TO*, p. 199; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín, ‘Kultisches’, pp. 181-83. Attempts to establish a connection with the Bible and the so-called ‘sacred prostitutes’ have not been successful. Cf. Urie, ‘Officials of the Cult of Ugarit’, pp. 43-44, and John Day’s ‘agnosticism’ in ‘Ugarit and the Bible’, p. 51.

⁴³ See M.C. Astour, ‘Two Ugaritic Serpent Charms’, *JNES* 27 (1968), pp. 13-36 (17); D. Pardee, ‘A Philological and Prosodic Analysis of the Ugaritic Serpent Incantation *UT* 607’, *JANES* (1978), pp. 73-108 (77).

It is a curious fact that the *khn*m and their leader, the *rb khn*m, appear to play no active role in the religious ceremonies, although the former are mentioned in ‘administrative’ texts (e.g. KTU 4.29.1; 4.36.1; 4.38.1),⁴⁴ and the latter makes a guest appearance at the end of one of the ‘Baal Cycle’ tablets (KTU 1.6.VI.55-56). Despite the estrangement of the *khn*m from texts overtly related to cultic activity, the weight of expectation created by the correspondence with terms for ‘priest’ in cognate languages (e.g. Arab. *kāhin*, Heb. כֹּהֵן) motivates the inclusion of *khn*(*m*) and *rb khn*m in the present inquiry. Although these terms do not meet any of the criteria laid out in the definition of ‘cultic vocabulary’ presented above, the urge to incorporate them is irresistible.⁴⁵ As a result, the terms *khn*(*m*) and *rb khn*m are included as a matter of interest.

Whether or not the obscure and much debated term *mrzḥ* refers to a class of cult personnel is open to discussion. While the *mrzḥ* has been variously understood as a pious religious organization,⁴⁶ perhaps linked with ancestor worship,⁴⁷ or as an all-male drinking fraternity with no overt cultic association,⁴⁸ the acceptance of the *mrzḥ* as a cultic institution would seem to rest on interpretation of the apparent intoxication of the participants. The jury is still out. For the time being, until the matter can be settled decisively, *mrzḥ* is incorporated.

Once again, there is collocation value to the contextualist analysis of lexemes relating to cultic personnel. Not least, it may prove worthwhile to examine the distribution of references to the king, and to establish whether there is a discernable pattern of placement to the texts that make mention of him in his cultic role. Identifying that an intentional differentiation was made between the monarch’s ‘cultic’ and ‘non-cultic’ aspects would be an interesting finding that testifies to the sophistication of the Ugaritic (cultic) administration. At the same time, investigating the proximity of the texts that contain ‘cultically active’ references to the king to the ‘administrative’ texts that refer to the ‘cultically inactive’ *khn*m might necessitate a re-evaluation of this latter group of documents and with it a reconsideration of the religious dormancy of the Ugaritic priesthood.

⁴⁴ The interpretation of *!lt khn*[*m*] at KTU 1.107.18 is disputed; cf. the notes to my translation of this text in Annexe 1.

⁴⁵ After all, rules are made to be broken!

⁴⁶ M.J. Boda, ‘Ideal Sonship in Ugarit’, *UF* 25 (1993), pp. 9-24 (18); J. Gray, ‘Canaanite Religion and the Old Testament in the Light of New Alphabetic Texts From Ras Shamra’, *Ugaritica*, VII, pp. 79-108 (94);

⁴⁷ D.B. Bryan, ‘Texts Relating to the Marzeah: A Study of Ancient Semitic Institution’ (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1973).

⁴⁸ Petersen, *The Royal God*, p. 58.

(9) *Cultic Actions*

The documentary sources testify to the elaborate and complex character of the Ugaritic cultic activity, and the actions performed in the cult are most directly transmitted through verbal components. Leaving aside the difficult issue of whether the texts function on the ‘prescriptive’ or ‘descriptive’ level,⁴⁹ it is clear from the multiplicity of terms used to refer to the ritual acts that the cult had a well-developed liturgical programme. According to del Olmo Lete, the cultic actions can be divided into eight main categories: (1) offering/sacrifice (e.g. *dbh*, KTU 1.41.50; *ytn*, KTU 1.104.12, 16; *nša*, KTU 1.40.*passim*; *ṯ’y*, KTU 1.40.6, 16, 24, 32), (2) procession (*yša*, KTU 1.106.28; *hlk*, KTU 1.43.23-25; *rb*, KTU 1.41.8), (3) enthronement (e.g. *yṯb*, KTU 1.41.7; *št*, KTU 1.48.9), (4) vesting (e.g. *lbš*, KTU 1.43.22), (5) banquet (e.g. *kly*, KTU 1.104.3; *lhm*, KTU 1.115.8, 10), (6) invocation/recitation (e.g. *nša* [*yd*], KTU 1.40.*passim*; *qra*, KTU 1.41.7), (7) divination (e.g. *rgm*, KTU 1.41.53), and (8) atonement (e.g. *mhy*, KTU 1.41.7, 54; *npy*, KTU 1.40.*passim*).

Importantly, the verbs denote specific ritual actions without explaining or describing them. Furthermore, there is no actual proof that what the texts *say* is what the cult *did*. Be that as it may, in view of the theoretical (and logically defensible) association between word and deed, a strong case can be made for the inclusion of verbs of cultic action in the contextualist investigation. Comparing and contrasting the distribution of cultic and non-cultic usage of these verbs would not, of course, prove or disprove the theory that they relate to actual religious praxis, but, if distinctions could be identified, it would certainly supply additional evidence to support the claim. This evidence would be even more compelling if it could be shown that the placement of documents containing the cultically applied verbs in some way reflected the separation of the categories of cultic action listed above.

c. *The Process of Identification*

Now that the units of cultic vocabulary have been outlined and the reasons for their inclusion in the present contextualist investigation have been spelled out, it is necessary to clarify the means by which they are identified. Making explicit the methods used in the recognition of the elements of prime content will help to reinforce and justify the interpretations proposed later on in this study. At the same time, it will serve to emphasize the methodological rigour of the contextualist approach.

The identification and classification of prime content is based primarily on the appreciation of lexeme context. To put it another way—and in a way that is more relevant to the present inquiry—an examination of the way(s) in which each word and

⁴⁹ This issue is discussed below, p. 182.

phrase functions within its various documentary settings is foundational to the recognition of the terminology as an element of cultic vocabulary. The broad steps of the process are these: first, once a lexical unit has been isolated, the function of the unit within its immediate setting of the phrase/clause is evaluated; second, the effect of the unit in relation to the rest of the text is assessed; third, the role of the unit in other documents is considered; fourth, the cumulative evidence is brought to bear on the lexeme under examination. Effectively, the identification of cultic vocabulary requires the following questions to be asked: (1) 'How does the word/phrase function in its present context?'; (2) 'Does the word/phrase function in other contexts in the same way?'; (3) 'Is there anything in the present context to suggest an alternative interpretation?'. Figuratively speaking, the identification of prime content mimics the ripples on a pond—concentric circles of context-awareness radiate outwards from the lexeme to the clause, the text and the corpus—before a final wave of judicious introspection rebounds inwards. If, at the end of this process, the lexical units still appear to function as elements of prime content—in the present study this means that they have to be a 'word or phrase that prescribes or describes human service of the deities; that is, what is (to be) done, by whom, when, where, for which god and with what'⁵⁰—they advance for further examination.

Actually, it is possible to paraphrase the methodological principle involved in the identification of elements of prime content. In truth, the principle is reminiscent of that which US President Richard Nixon invoked during the McCarthyist purge of the 1950s. Famously, at the height of the investigations, Nixon enunciated the now infamous guide to recognising a Communist: 'If it looks like a duck, walks like a duck—it is a duck'. Without wishing to damn the present study to the same destiny as the ill-fated US domestic policy, the contextualist method is characterised by a similarly positivistic *modus operandi*.

In light of the uncertainties created by lacunae as well as the consonantal character of the Ugaritic script, it is helpful to adopt an inclusive policy when dealing with terminology for which prime content status cannot be secured definitively. That is, while the classification of a word or phrase as an element of cultic vocabulary remains in doubt, it should not be debarred from further investigation.

Before moving on to provide a discussion of the next stage of the contextualist programme, it is worth outlining some of the distinguishing traits that help to identify the respective elements of cultic vocabulary. For each of the nine categories of prime content a variety of distinctive features assists identification.

⁵⁰ See above, p. 150.

(1) *DNs*

Formulaic construction is a characteristic of the sacrificial ritual documents recovered from Ugarit. These texts present a repetitive (somewhat monotonous) syntactical scheme that allows for almost effortless identification of DNs. With ‘X’ used here to represent the offering/sacrifice ‘variable’, the typical sequences of DN and commodity are $X + l + \text{DN}$, $\text{DN} + X$, $X + \text{DN}$ and $l + \text{DN} + X$. In texts presenting this type of grammatical structure the isolation of a DN is relatively straightforward; even when a previously unknown lexeme is encountered, the formulaic nature of the text allows for a good level of certainty to be achieved.

Most often, the DN components appearing in the ritual syntax refer to individual deities. In addition to the singular DNs, however, the Ugaritic texts make reference to groups or families of deities. An illustrative example is provided by KTU 1.39.5-8, which reads *alp w š ilhm . gdl[t] . ilhm | b'l š . atrt . š . tkmn w šnm . š | 'nt . š . ršp . š . dr . il w p[h]r b'l | gdl*, and which can be translated as ‘An ox and a ram to the divine ones; a cow to the divine ones; | (to) Baal, a ram; (to) Athirat, a ram; (to) Thkmn and Shnm, a ram; | (to) Anat, a ram; (to) Reshep, a ram; (to) the Generation of El and the A[ssemb]ly of Baal, | a cow’. In this context the units *ilhm*, *dr il* and *p[h]r b'l* function alongside singular DNs as identifiers of collective divine entities.⁵¹ Despite the fact that we cannot be entirely certain about which gods and goddesses belonged to these groups—in fact, it is even possible that the Ugaritic worshippers did not concern themselves with such detail⁵²—the terms function in such a way that it seems appropriate to treat them as if they were singular DNs.

The formulaic nature of the texts also assists in the identification of DNs in the so-called ‘god lists’. These texts, which display seemingly fixed or ‘canonical’ sequences, have been taken by some to represent two distinct traditions (compare KTU 1.47; 1.118; RS 20.24 [= Akkadian]; with KTU 1.102; 1.123), and used to illustrate the systematic nature of Ugaritic theology.⁵³ Despite variations in order and content,⁵⁴ the

⁵¹ The presence of the two groups *dr il* and *phr b'l* in the same text is particularly interesting given the fact that these two groups appear in the Baal mythology as separate and contrasting divine collectives. Del Olmo Lete (*CR*, p. 101) concludes from this that ‘In cultic praxis the mythological rivalry is forgotten and all the gods are invoked together’.

⁵² Note, for example, that in KTU 1.40 the forms *dr bn ilm* and *mphrt bn il* appear to be used as ‘catch-all’ designations for the heavenly host.

⁵³ G. del Olmo Lete, ‘The Offering Lists and the God Lists’, in *HUS*, pp. 305-52 (307). For treatments of the Ugaritic versions see de Tarragon, *Le culte à Ugarit*, pp. 150-62; Xella, *TRU*, pp. 325-27. On the Akkadian version see J. Nougayrol, ‘Textes suméro-accadiens des archives et bibliothèques privées d’Ugarit. Textes religieux §18—RS 20.24 (“Pantheon d’Ugarit”)’, in *Ugaritica*, V, pp. 42-64; Healey, ‘The Akkadian “Pantheon List”’; *idem*, ‘The “Pantheon” of Ugarit: Further Notes’, *SEL* 5 (1988), pp. 103-12.

majority of epithets appearing in the god lists are attested elsewhere in the Ugaritic corpus—within the sacrificial ritual texts (most notably KTU 1.148.1-9; cf. RS 24.643.23-45; 26.142 [= Akkadian]) and within the poetic material (see below)—and as such it is possible to be reasonably certain that all the terms appearing in these lists represent DNs. A number of the terms appearing in the god lists have, however, been understood as ‘divinised’ objects and people (e.g. *uḫt*, *knr*, *mlkm*).⁵⁵ Nevertheless, in view of their close association the recognisable GNs in the god lists, and in the absence of compelling arguments to the contrary, it is legitimate to at least consider these terms as DNs also.

The stereotypical format of the Ugaritic correspondence also allows for the identification of references to the gods.⁵⁶ Divided into three main sections—heading, main message and ending—the letters regularly employ DNs in ‘a wish with religious content’ immediately after the opening greeting.⁵⁷ In this section the sender wishes the recipient good health and expresses the hope that the gods will continue to preserve the state of well-being, typically making use of the formula *ilm tgrk tšlmk*, ‘May the gods protect and keep you’ (e.g. KTU 2.1.1-2), or a variant form of it.⁵⁸ Notable alternatives occur at KTU 2.16.4-6 (*ily ugrt tgrk tšlmk*, ‘May the gods of Ugarit protect and keep you’) and KTU 5.11.2 (*b l yšul šlmk*, ‘May Baal take care of your well-being’).

Finally, the use of deductive reasoning proves useful for the identification of DNs in the poetic ‘literary’ texts from Ugarit. It has already been noted that the distinction between epic/legend and myth is based largely on the appearance or non-appearance of human protagonists in the poetic narratives. Once the non-divine identity of a protagonist has been excluded—the recognition of ‘humans’ in these texts will be discussed shortly—the character can be elevated to a mythical/divine status.⁵⁹ From there, it is appropriate to consider any epithet or appellative used to refer to the god or goddess as a DN, that is, as a sobriquet by which the deity was recognised. Ultimately,

⁵⁴ KTU 1.148.1-9 presents a reduced the list of 33/34 names (KTU 1.47; 1.118) down to 28/29. According to del Olmo Lete, ‘The Offering Lists and the God Lists’, p. 308 n. 8, the reduction was ‘cultically’ determined by the number of days in the month.

⁵⁵ For bibliography see the notes to my translation of KTU 1.47 in Annexe 1.

⁵⁶ The Ugaritic letters have been examined comprehensively by J.-L. Cunchillos, *Estudios de epistolografía ugarítica* (Valencia: Institution San Jerónimo, 1989). See also his convenient introduction ‘The Correspondence of Ugarit. 1. The Ugaritic Letters’, in *HUS*, pp. 359-74;

⁵⁷ Cunchillos, ‘The Ugaritic Letters’, p. 363.

⁵⁸ Cunchillos, ‘The Ugaritic Letters’, pp. 363-64; *idem*, *Estudios de epistolografía ugarítica*, pp. 229-34.

⁵⁹ Additional support might come from the narrative action if, for instance, the character displays non-human characteristics (e.g. flight, miraculous birth). See G.S. Kirk, *Myth: Its Meaning and Functions in Ancient And Other Cultures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), p. 268.

the repetitive use of the terminology within the surrounding narrative provides the compelling evidence to support the identification of a DN in a 'literary' setting.

In sum, DNs are attested in a variety of contexts within the Ugaritic corpus. Many appear in several different types of texts; others are more limited in their application.⁶⁰ While the appearance of a suspected DN across a range of documentary contexts might help to secure an interpretation, it is by no means a statutory requirement for identification. For the purposes of the present study, a DN is understood to be any word or combination of words that appears to function as the proper name of individual deities or groups of deities. Epithets and appellatives are treated as DNs when there is clear evidence of individualisation, that is, when they can be shown to refer to a particular god/goddess or divine collective.⁶¹

(It should be noted here that due to limitations of time, the theophoric components of PNs are not accepted into the survey of Ugaritic DNs.⁶² Although theophoric PNs may supply information about possible individual and clan piety,⁶³ they are not considered to be *direct* applications of DNs—the primary focus of the PN was to identify the person bearing it. Thus, the presence of a theophoric element is considered incidental to the use of the PN; as a result, an examination of the theophoric element falls outside of the scope of the present contextualist inquiry.)

(2) PNs

The majority of Ugaritic PNs appear in so-called 'administrative' documents.⁶⁴ These texts, which generally record economic and agrarian transactions, deliveries and ration quotas, demonstrate a number of characteristic features. (The arrangement of such texts is so perfunctory that it seems inappropriate to speak of 'syntax'.) Most often, the administrative texts present PNs alongside commodities and statistical data (e.g. KTU

⁶⁰ J.C. de Moor supplies the most extensive analysis of the genre distribution of Ugaritic DNs in his pioneering study 'The Semitic Pantheon of Ugarit'.

⁶¹ This is in line with the principles established by de Moor, 'The Semitic Pantheon of Ugarit'.

⁶² Several interpreters have tried to draw conclusions from theophoric elements in the PNs. See, e.g., Gray, 'Cultic Affinities', p. 209; K. Koch, 'Ba'al Šapon, Ba'al Šamen and the Critique of Israel's Prophets', in Brooke, Curtis and Healey (eds.), *Ugarit and the Bible*, pp. 159-74 (165); Pope, *El in the Ras Shamra Texts*, p. 58. Wyatt, *Myths of Power*, p. 331, confidently asserts that 'The historical reality may be assessed by the use of theophoric personal names. These always give reliable evidence of the vitality of a cult, provided that we can place them in a chronological framework.'

⁶³ Wyatt, 'The Religion of Ugarit: An Overview', in *HUS*, pp. 529-85 (74).

⁶⁴ Michael Heltzer, 'The Economy of Ugarit', in *HUS*, pp. 423-54 (424), notes that it is sometimes difficult to draw a dividing line between administrative and commercial texts. In view of this difficulty it seems prudent to avoid such distinctions. In the following discussion, the term 'administrative texts' stands for the broad category of texts assigned a '4.' numbering by the editors of *KTU*.

4.285; 4.340; 4.344), though it is commonplace for such lists to omit either or both of the latter components.⁶⁵ Another trait of the texts is the grouping of PNs under distinctive headings—usually trade/profession (e.g. KTU 4.35; 4.96; 4.124) or place of residence (e.g. KTU 4.25; 4.45; 4.383). Sometimes the subdivision of texts is indicated by the scoring of horizontal lines on the surface of the tablet (e.g. KTU 4.35; 4.63; 4.183).

The PNs listed in the Ugaritic texts commonly follow the Semitic convention of expressing patronymic relationship—‘X *bn* Y’ (‘X son of Y’, e.g. KTU 4.75; 4.86) or simply ‘*bn* Y’ (e.g. KTU 4.7; 4.12)—though this is not always the case (e.g. KTU 4.114; 4.115). While the presence of *bn* is a useful indicator supporting PN identification,⁶⁶ the patronymic marker is sometimes replaced by the fratronymic component *ah* (‘brother’, e.g. KTU 4.103.5), or by the more general *bt* (‘house, family’, e.g. KTU 4.16.1; 4.272). PNs also appear in conjunction with gentilic GNs indicating nationality (e.g. KTU 4.33; 4.635) or town of birth/residence (e.g. KTU 4.51; 4.262).

As with the DNs, the formulaic nature of the Ugaritic letters assists in the identification of PNs. The address section of the letters commonly provide the PN of the sender (= X) and the PN of the intended recipient (= Y), along with additional indicators of the status of the sender/receiver (= Z1) and/or an expression of the real or figurative relationship (= Z2). With the PN of the more important individual preceding that of the person occupying the lower rank,⁶⁷ the basic form of the address in Ugaritic letters is either ‘*l* Y (Z1/Z2) *rgm* + *thm* X (Z1/Z2)’ (e.g. KTU 2.24; 2.68) or ‘*thm* X (Z1/Z2) + *l* Y (Z1/Z2) *rgm*’ (e.g. KTU 2.16; 2.17). Thus, recognition of the various components in the address section of the letters allows for relatively straightforward identification of PNs.

The names of several Ugaritic kings appear in the documentary sources.⁶⁸ The identification of these royal PNs, which have played a prominent role in the reconstruction of Ugarit’s political history⁶⁹ as well as the dating of the epigraphic

⁶⁵ Without commodity, but with statistical data: e.g. KTU 4.57; 4.58; 4.64; with commodity, but without statistical data: e.g. KTU 4.46; 4.52; without commodity or statistical data: e.g. KTU 4.2; 4.12; 4.16

⁶⁶ This is paralleled by the use of the logogram DUMU (‘son of’) in the Akkadian texts. Richard S. Hess, ‘The Onomastics of Ugarit’, in *HUS*, pp. 499-528 (529), notes that the masculine and feminine markers *Diš* and *Mi* alert the reader to the presence of a PN.

⁶⁷ M. Liverani, ‘Ras Shamra, histoire’, in *DBSup*, IX, (1979), pp. 1323-1348 (1328).

⁶⁸ Eight kings have been identified. In chronological order and with their queens appearing alongside in square brackets they are: Ammiṭtamru I, Niqmaddu I [Pišidqi], Arḫalba [Kubaba], Ammiṭtamru II [Bitti Rabiti], Ibiranu, Niqmaddu III, Ammurapi.

⁶⁹ For a convenient summary see I. Singer, ‘A Political History of Ugarit’, in *HUS*, pp. 603-733. See also the (slightly outdated) surveys supplied by Rainey, ‘The Kingdom of Ugarit’; M. Liverani, *Storia di*

sources, is simplified by their frequent appearance in the formula ‘X (*bn* Y) *mlk ugrt*’ (e.g. 2.19.6-8; 3.1.24-25; 3.2.2-4; 3.5.2-4; 7.63.1-3[?]). Notable examples of this construction are preserved in colophons appended to two of the ‘Baal Cycle’ tablets (KTU 1.4.VIII.le.e; 1.6.VI.57). The presence of the familiar PN *nqmd mlk ugrt* in these notes has been used to date the *terminus ad quem* of the tablets to 1380–1360 BCE.⁷⁰ In addition, the synchronism of *nqmd mlk ugrt* and the scribe *ilmk* and his teacher *atn prln* has also assisted in the reconstruction of a chronology of the Ugaritic scribes.⁷¹

The recognition of PNs in the poetic narratives deserves special attention. It has already been said that the presence of human protagonists in the ‘Keret’ and ‘Aqhat’ poems is central to the interpretation of these texts as ‘epics’ and/or ‘legends’. And yet, despite the fact that the enthusiastic attempts made in the early years of Ugaritic research to draw connections between the events, characters and places appearing in the Keret⁷² and Aqhat⁷³ poems and the Hebrew Bible have now been almost universally rejected⁷⁴ in favour of a more measured assessment of the historical ‘kernel’, opinion is still divided about whether the human protagonists in the Keret and Aqhat texts represent real figures of history. The result has been that Keret is variously recognised as the real-life eponymous ancestor of Ugarit’s royal family,⁷⁵ or as a strongly anthropomorphized deity of the Adonis-type;⁷⁶ similarly, Aqhat’s human status is proposed⁷⁷ and denied.⁷⁸ In view of this lack of consensus it seems appropriate to

Ugarit nell’età degli archivi politici (SS, 6; Rome: Centro di Studi Semitici, 1962); *idem*, ‘Ras Shamra, histoire’.

⁷⁰ M.S. Smith, *Baal Cycle*, p. 36. Cf., however, van Soldt, *SAU*, pp. 8-10, who discusses the problematic dating of the kings bearing the name *nqmd*.

⁷¹ See van Soldt’s treatment in *SAU*, pp. 19-33 (27-29).

⁷² C. Viroilleaud, *La Légende de Kéret*; Dussaud, *Les découvertes*, p. 160. Cf. W.F. Albright, ‘Was the Patriarchal Terah a Canaanite Moongod?’, *BASOR* 71 (1938), pp. 35-40.

⁷³ G.A. Barton, ‘Danel: A Pre-Israelite Hero of Galilee’, in M.-J. Lagrange (ed.), *Mémorial Lagrange* (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1940), pp. 29-37 (reprinted in *JBL* 60 [1941], pp. 213-25). For other ‘historical’ interpretations of the Aqhat poem see the works cited by Margalit, *The Ugaritic Poem of Aqhat*, pp. 14-17.

⁷⁴ E.g. Ginsberg, ‘Ugaritic Studies and the Bible’, p. 49; *idem*, ‘The North-Canaanite Myth of Anath and Aqhat, I’, *BASOR* 97 (1945), pp. 3-10; *idem*, ‘The North-Canaanite Myth of Anath and Aqhat, II’, *BASOR* 98 (1945), pp. 15-23; Gray, *The Krt Text in the Literature of Ras Shamra*, p. 3; Gibson, ‘Myth, Legend and Folk-Lore’.

⁷⁵ See J. Pedersen, ‘Die Krt Legende’, *Berytus* 6 (1941), pp. 63-105 (64-65); del Olmo Lete, *Mitos y leyendas*, pp. 354-64.

⁷⁶ See Engnell, *Studies in Divine Kingship*, p. 148, citing S. Mowinckel, ‘Immanuelsprofetien Jes. 7. Streiflys fra Ugarit’, *NorTT* (1941), pp. 129-58 (142-43).

⁷⁷ U. Cassuto, ‘La leggenda fenicia di Danel e Aqhat’, *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* 14 (1938), pp. 264-68.

acknowledge the names given to the non-divine characters as PNs—after all, no one has yet demonstrated that the human characters in the poetic narratives were *not* actual historical figures. And so, at this point, it is helpful to clarify the general principle adopted for the identification of human protagonists in the present study.

The extensive use of anthropomorphic imagery in the Ugaritic narrative poetry⁷⁹ means that distinguishing between human and divine protagonists is not an easy task. Nevertheless, it is possible to differentiate between human and divine characters. For the purposes of the present study, depictions of religious worship function as the discriminating factor. Religion is held to be the idiosyncratic trait of humanity since, *a priori*, gods and goddesses do not actively participate in cultic veneration.⁸⁰ On extension of this reasoning, any character engaging in activities that have the appearance of being religious in nature (e.g. sacrifice, prayer, invocation, vow-making) is considered to be non-divine—in other words, human. In addition, any protagonists displaying familial associations and/or who appear to share the same general level of functionality are also considered to be human characters. Essentially, then, the recognition of non-divine status in the poetic narratives is based on a two-stage process of (1) discerning activity that is so closely and incontrovertibly linked with human beings that it cannot be appropriated in the depiction of deities, and (2) evaluating the relationship that a given character exhibits towards this behaviour. Finally, following the principle established in the preceding discussion of DNs, once the human status of a character has been ascertained it is appropriate to consider any epithet or appellation used to refer specifically to this character as a PN. As with the DNs, repetition within the narrative adds additional support to the interpretation.

⁷⁸ Margalit, *The Ugaritic Poem of Aqht*, p. 491, argues that the poem of Aqhat is a purely literary piece intended as ‘an incisive social and religious critique of contemporary “Raphaite” society in the early LB age, a critique cleverly and artistically camouflaged as “history”’.

⁷⁹ This aspect features heavily in Hvidberg’s ‘emotional’ study *Weeping and Laughter in the Old Testament*. See also M.S. Smith, ‘Myth and Myth-Making’, pp. 335-36. Korpel, *A Rift in the Clouds*, p. 621, even tries to quantify the anthropomorphisms in percentages!

⁸⁰ While the language used in the banquet-scene of KTU 1.4.VI.39-55 is suggestive of ritual activity, it does not compel a cultic interpretation—notwithstanding Levine and de Tarragon’s assertion that ‘phenomenologically, a feast of the gods is a heavenly, sacrificial ritual’ (cited in Wyatt, *RTU*, p. 107 n. 148). Baal’s actions are consistent with a house-warming celebration at which he generously serves *his peers*.

(3) *GNs*

The gentilic provides valuable assistance in the recognition of GNs. Identifiable by the presence of a *-y* suffix,⁸¹ gentilics are attached to national, ethnic and geographical names to express relationship.⁸² In the main, gentilic forms function in two ways. First, as was noted already above, gentilics regularly appear after PNs. Typically following PNs of the '(X) *bn* Y' type, gentilics serve to provide additional detail to support an individual's identification (e.g. KTU 4.33; 4.51). Second, in the administrative texts, plural gentilic forms appear as headings in lists of PNs. Sometimes (but not always) making use of a *-ym* suffix (= *-y + -m*), these forms appear to function as organisational devices (e.g. KTU 4.25; 4.45; 4.50).

The preposition *b* is another grammatical form that assists in the identification of GNs. In such cases as [s]*pr . bnš . mlk . d . b . tbq*, '[L]ist of royal dependents, who are in *Tbq*' (KTU 4.367.1), the use of the *b* supports the interpretation of *tbq* as a GN (cf. KTU 4.643; 4.648).

GNs may also be recognised by virtue of their application alongside terminology that has an intrinsic geographical/topographical point of reference. Such terms can be related to natural features of the landscape (e.g. *hlb*, 'hill'; *gr*, 'mountain') as well man-made developments (e.g. *gt*, 'estate, [royal] farm';⁸³ *pdr* and *qry/qrt*, 'city'). So, for example, repeated appearance of *hlb krd* (e.g. KTU 4.6.2; 4.48.2; 4.119.7; 4.685.5) and *hlb rpš* (e.g. KTU 4.63.II.30; 4.94.12; 4.100.5) supports a GN reading of *krd* and *rpš*. In the same way, the recurrence of *gt iptl* (e.g. KTU 4.125.11; 4.213.19; 4.618.7) indicates that the term functioned as the GN of a specific location.

Because several of the GNs attested in the non-poetic texts also appear in the literary texts (e.g. *gbl*, KTU 1.3.VI.7; cf. 4.338.13, 15; 4.618.28; *lbnn*, KTU 1.4.VI.18, 20; cf. 4.684.3; 4.686.19), it seems appropriate to look for other GN references within this latter group of documents. In view of the stylistic differences between the sources, however, it becomes necessary to utilise different methods. One useful tactic is to employ the 'established' GNs—that is, GNs that can be confidently identified in non-poetic texts—as starting points for investigation of the poetic material.

Having observed that GNs are used in characteristic ways in non-poetic settings, it is worth exploring whether the literary texts also make use of them conventionally. In essence, the primary objective is to expose characteristics of GN usage within the poetic narratives that will assist in the identification of GNs that have no support in non-poetic

⁸¹ Not to be confused with the *-y* suffix attached to feminine PNs, which is generally understood as a hypocoristic. See F. Gröndahl, *Die Personnamen der Texte aus Ugarit* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1967), p. 26.

⁸² See M.E.J. Richardson, 'Ugaritic Place Names with Final *-Y*', *JSS* 23 (1978), pp. 298-315.

⁸³ See Heltzer, 'The Economy of Ugarit', pp. 425-27.

sources. In order to achieve this goal it is essential to evaluate the function of the established GN within its narrative setting(s). Next, it is necessary to compare the roles of other such GNs in an attempt to reveal stereotypical features of GN usage. Only then can these features be used to support a suggested GN interpretation that is not corroborated by external (that is, non-poetic) usage. An example will help to illustrate.

The presence of *gbl* and *hkpt*, GNs attested in non-poetic texts (*gbl*, KTU 4.338.13, 15; 4.418.28; *hkpt*, KTU 4.247.26), within the poetry of KTU 1.3.VI suggests the use of GNs in literary contexts. Furthermore, an examination of the poetic narrative appearing at KTU 1.3.VI, a passage that appears to recount the sending out of a messenger on a long mission to distant places, confirms the GN reading of the two terms at KTU 1.3.VI.7, 13, 15. In addition, the apparent use of poetic parallelism in this passage suggests a similar GN reading of *np* and *kptr* at KTU 1.3.VI.9, 24.

Broadening the focus out from KTU 1.3.VI provides additional support not only for the GN interpretations just mentioned, but also for the association between GN usage and the sending out of a messenger. While the text is fragmentary, KTU 1.1.III.1-20 contains enough text to show that the Ugaritic scribe repeated the text verbatim—as a result, it becomes appropriate to speak of a ‘messenger despatch scenario’ and to recognise GN usage as an integral part of it.

On the basis of all this it becomes possible to offer additional support for a dual GN interpretation at KTU 1.4.VIII.2-3. While a GN reading of *gr trgzz* and *gr trmg*, terms that are not attested anywhere else in the Ugaritic corpus, is suggested initially by the word *gr* (‘mountain’), the application of these terms in a context that appears to involve the sending out of a messenger—that is, the ‘messenger despatch scenario’—compels a GN interpretation. The fact that *gr trgzz* and *gr trmg* are mentioned in no other text does not stand in the way of this conclusion. In the same way, the attempts made by scholars to correlate them with real geographical locations are immaterial.⁸⁴

Thus, GN recognition in poetic literature demands an appreciation of the narrative action being described as well as an understanding of the formulaic and repetitive composition techniques used by the Ugaritic scribes to construct their poetry.

Finally, while the techniques spelled out above assist in the identification of possible GNs, they do not help to establish the actual locations of the places they refer to. In this respect, however, the evidence supplied by comparative philology can be of particular value.⁸⁵ By means of careful consideration of Ugaritic texts and documents produced

⁸⁴ M. Tsevat, ‘Sun Mountains at Ugarit’, *JNSL* 3 (1974), pp. 71-75; Margulit, *A Matter of ‘Life’ and ‘Death’*, p. 197.

⁸⁵ See W.H. van Soldt, ‘The Topography and the Geographical Horizon of the City-State of Ugarit’, in Brooke, Curtis and Healey (eds.), *Ugarit and the Bible*, pp. 363-82; *idem*, ‘Studies in the Topography of Ugarit (I): The Spelling of Ugaritic Toponyms’, *UF* 28 (1996), pp. 653-92. See also B. Margalit, ‘The

by neighbouring cultures, it becomes possible to produce a map indicating the positions of several GNs mentioned in the Ugaritic texts.⁸⁶

(4) *Cultic Jargon*

It was explained earlier that some of the words and phrases identified as cultic jargon are obscure, perhaps even deliberately so.⁸⁷ Generally speaking, however, the identification of such elements is aided by their habitual usage.

In the case of the terminology functioning as the proper names of particular types/classes of offering and sacrifice, it is common for the jargon to ‘punctuate’ texts displaying the ritual syntax. Moreover, the terminology is interspersed in such a way within these texts that they can be assigned some kind of qualifying role—that is, the jargon functions to define the ‘type’ of the offerings presented close by. As an example, it can be noted that the formula *šrp w šlmm* features repeatedly throughout the texts at points of juncture between ritual series (e.g. KTU 1.41.13, 29, 32-33; 1.46.7, 15; 1.87.14-15, 31-32, 35; 1.109.10, 15, 28), junctures made evident by the duplication of DN sequences already listed or the presentation of a new set of DNs.⁸⁸ Whether or not the *šrp w šlmm* formula closes one phase of ritual offering and begins another cannot be said with certainty.⁸⁹ Be that as it may, it is reasonable to suppose that the qualification offered by the *šrp w šlmm* extended beyond the immediately adjacent offerings.

Jargon relating to religio-magical techniques appears in a relatively small number of texts and is somewhat more difficult to identify. Nevertheless, such terminology, which has been associated with a range of cultic procedures—divination, incantation, astrology, necromancy, extispicy, teratomancy and incantation—offers valuable insight into the sophistication of Ugaritic religion.⁹⁰ A couple of clues suggest the interpretation of a word or phrase as an element of cultic jargon. First, it is not uncommon for the jargon to appear at the beginning of the text, as in the cases of *išrt* (KTU 1.104.1) and *att* (KTU 1.103.1). Such terminology appears to function as the explanatory ‘heading’ to the document, and is sometimes supported by additional

Geographical Setting of the Aqhat Story and its Ramifications’, in Young (ed.), *Ugarit in Retrospect*, pp. 131-58.

⁸⁶ See, for example, the plan published in *TEO*, I, p. 4 (reproduced above, p. 125).

⁸⁷ See above, p. 155.

⁸⁸ For the arrangement of DNs in KTU 1.41 see del Olmo Lete, *CR*, p. 127.

⁸⁹ De Tarragon, *Le culte à Ugarit*, p. 155, understands *šrp w šlm* at KTU 1.41.13 to be a unified formula at the end of the ritual sequence. Cf. de Moor, *ARTU*, p. 160, who takes *šrp* to be the qualifier of the preceding offerings and *w šlm* to be the commencement of a new series.

⁹⁰ For del Olmo Lete, *CR*, p. 345, such texts supply evidence of ‘a strong magical component’ that was ‘completely integrated into the official cultic system’.

features within the text.⁹¹ Second, the jargon can appear in fixed position within texts displaying recognisable litanies of ‘entreaty’—that is, verbal/spoken formulas of exaltation directed towards one or more deities that explicitly and repeatedly⁹² request divine intervention in the human realm.⁹³ For example, in the case of *mnt*,⁹⁴ which occurs over and over again in the phrase *mnt . ntk . nhš* (KTU 1.100.4 *et passim*), the probable apposition with *ql* (‘call, cry [for help?]’, KTU 1.100.2 *et passim*) supports the translation and interpretation of *mnt* as a technical term meaning ‘incantation’. This reading is supported by factors external to text KTU 1.100.⁹⁵

Finally, it should be noted that repetitive and consistent use provides support for the identification of jargon relating to qualities and states of being that constitute the reason for and/or the result of religious activity. Notable examples include *npy* (‘atonement’), *mšr* (‘purification’) and *hta* (‘sin’), terms that appear frequently and in fixed positions within the heavily stylised text of KTU 1.40 and its duplicates (KTU 1.84; 1.121). Although a variety of alternative translations have been offered for each of these terms,⁹⁶ the combined weight of evidence suggests that various ‘states of being’ were the motivating factor behind the ritual reflected in the texts.

Several texts (e.g. KTU 1.41; 1.46; 1.87; 1.105) also reflect a concern with the king’s ritual state—most notably, his *brr* (‘purified’) and *hl* (‘desacralised’) status before, during and after his engagement in cultic rites. This interpretation of the terms *brr* and *hl*, and the subsequent recognition of them as elements of cultic jargon, is supported by the occurrence of the formulas *yrhš mlk brr* and *ytb brr* at the beginning of sequences of ritual activity (presented in the familiar ritual syntax) along with the corresponding appearance of *hl mlk* at the end of such sections (see, e.g., KTU 1.41.44-48//1.87.49-

⁹¹ The recognition of the ‘protasis-apodasis’ structure has been used to connect KTU 1.103 (along with its less-well preserved counterparts, KTU 1.140; 1.145) with the Babylonian *šumma izbu* (‘if an abortion’) series. See E. Leichty, *The Omen Series šumma izbu* (Texts from Cuneiform Sources; Locust Valley, NY: J.J. Augustin, 1970). Cf. also J. Tropper, ‘Zur Grammatik der ugaritischen Omina’, *UF* 26 (1994), pp. 457-72 (469-70), for a discussion of the characteristic subject (–n) verb order in the opening lines.

⁹² Repetition may have been linked to the efficacy of the invocation, and could be indicated by duplication of the text (so KTU 1.100) or by the insertion of a rubric instructing duplication (so KTU 1.107.13-14). See *RSO* 4, pp. 124, 246.

⁹³ T.M. Ludwig, ‘Incantations’, in M. Eliade (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Religion* (New York: Macmillan, 1987), VII, pp. 147-52, defines an incantation as ‘rhythmic or formulaic words of power to accomplish a desired goal by binding spiritual powers’ (cited in K. Spronk, ‘The Incantations’, in *HUS*, pp. 270-86 [270]).

⁹⁴ See *RSO* 4, pp. 206-208.

⁹⁵ Spronk, ‘The Incantations’, p. 270, proposes *mnt* as the Ugaritic equivalent of Akkadian *manū*, ‘count’, a term that in *CAD* Š, III.89 is used alongside *šiptu*, the usual Akkadian term for ‘incantation’.

⁹⁶ Cf. the notes to my translation of KTU 1.40 in Annexe 1.

57), and by their more general application together in (sacrificial) ritual settings which make mention of the royal officiant.

(5) *Cultic Commodities*

Recognition of ritual syntax provides the simplest route to the identification of cultic commodities. It has already been noted that the most common form of this syntax—with ‘X’ used here to represent the commodity—is ‘X + l + DN’, ‘DN + X’, ‘X + DN’, ‘l + DN + X’, or some other variant thereof. This nominal sequence is easy to recognise and allows for transparent recognition of the material used in the cultic rites. Importantly, this syntax does not discriminate between animal and non-animal sacrifices/offerings. By virtue of the fact that indications of quantity generally do not accompany the terms relating to animal sacrifices,⁹⁷ the single (whole?) animal seems to have functioned (organically) as the self-contained unit of offering. However, in the case of the non-animal offerings appearing within the ritual syntax—for example, honey, wine, oil, precious metals—units of measurement are sometimes provided: *kt nbt* (‘a *kt*-measure of honey’, KTU 1.148.22), *kd(m) yn* (‘jug[s] of wine’, KTU 1.41.23; 1.191.27; 1.112.12-13), *lg šmn rqh* (‘a *lg*-measure of perfumed oil’, KTU 1.148.21), *ṭql ksp* (‘a shekel of silver’, KTU 1.41.38-39). If, as seems likely (judging by the presence of such specifications as well as their repeated application), these quantities represented the ‘correct’ cultic portion of the respective non-animal offerings, it is legitimate to include not only the commodity, but also the *measured* commodity in the contextualist survey.

Cultic commodities can also be identified in texts displaying a more ‘developed’, verbal syntax. In KTU 1.104, for instance, commodities known already from the nominal ritual constructions arise alongside verbs linked with cultic action (see below). Thus, the appearance in l. 12 of the phrase *ytn š qdš*, which can be translated ‘a ram will be offered in the sanctuary’, helps to confirm a ritual association for a commodity known already to have been used in sacrificial offering, and at the same time suggests a cultic association for materials also appearing in KTU 1.104 that were not previously connected with ritual activity (e.g. *npšm*, l. 16).

Identifying the cultic connection of a commodity is not always so straightforward. On the one hand, some of the texts (e.g. KTU 1.57; 1.137; 1.151) are so damaged that it is impossible to establish the presence of a recognisable (‘nominal’ or ‘verbal’) ritual syntax. In such cases it is not possible to offer unequivocal interpretation, despite the fact that traces of the telltale cultic syntax sometimes appear alongside the potential

⁹⁷ There are, however, a few exceptions. Note, for example, the numerical specifications appearing in a few texts (KTU 1.105; 1.139), as well as *šrm* (‘[two?] birds’), which, if the *-m* suffix is read as dual rather than plural, occurs quite frequently (e.g. KTU 1.39.21; 1.41.5, 24, 27, 38, 40; 1.48.1, 3, 18).

cultic commodities.⁹⁸ On the other hand, some of the texts are so unlike the texts displaying the ritual syntax that it is difficult to decide whether the commodities appearing in texts have an association with cultic activity. One such document is KTU 1.107. This text, which is generally recognised to be an incantation against snakebite,⁹⁹ makes reference to a number of commodities that could conceivably have featured in rites directed towards the deities. (Presumably, these rites were intended to provoke a favourable divine response.) However, despite the fact that some of these terms appear as cultic commodities elsewhere within unequivocal ritual syntax (e.g. *imr*, KTU 1.119.10; *npš*, KTU 1.27.9; 1.46.1, 16 [cf. *ap w npš*, KTU 1.43.12, 15, 18, 20, 1.46.18; 1.48.38]), the obscure (and fragmentary!) nature of KTU 1.107 stands in the way of outright interpretation. In view of the uncertainty, however, the terminology is accepted for discussion on a provisional basis.

Finally, the identification of cultic commodities is complicated further by the appearance of commodity terminology in seemingly ‘non-cultic’ documents. It has already been noted that the so-called administrative texts frequently list material (particularly animals and precious metals) that were undoubtedly utilised in the cult. However, in those cases where there is no ‘internal’ evidence to verify a ritual association—for example, the unambiguous reference to a cult installation or DN—cultic interpretation is deferred. Accordingly, on the strength of the attendant internal support, the materials listed in KTU 4.168 and KTU 4.182 are recognised as ‘cultic’ commodities; in contrast, the lack of such evidence stands in the way of such a reading for the commodity terminology in KTU 4.156 and KTU 1.185, despite the fact that the same materials are listed in both pairs of text. That is not to say that the commodities and the texts that make reference to them were unrelated to the cult; rather, it is the case that there exists no direct internal evidence to support a cultic reading. (Whether or not the contextualist enterprise supplies practical assistance in resolving interpretational dilemmas will be discussed later, but in the initial stages it seems prudent to hold back from ascribing cultic significance to the terminology in these cases.)

(6) *Cultic Locations*

References to cultic locations commonly take the form *bt b'l* (e.g. KTU 1.119.33; 1.124.8), *bt il* (e.g. KTU 1.41.48//1.87.42; 1.119.14), *bt ḥrn* (e.g. KTU 1.124.6), and so

⁹⁸ Note, for example, the recurring presence in KTU 1.151 of the *l* + DN construction beside verbs associated elsewhere with ritual activity (e.g. *šr*, ‘singing’, KTU 1.123.57; 1.108.3). It remains uncertain, however, whether the terms appearing with these elements (e.g. *kš*, l. 9; *kst*, l. 6[?]) should be identified as cultic commodities in KTU 1.151. Cf. my translation of this text in Annexe 1.

⁹⁹ Astour, ‘Two Ugaritic Serpent Charms’; B.A. Levine and J.-M. de Tarragon, ‘“Shapshu cries to heaven”: Dealing with Snake-Bites at Ugarit (KTU 1.100, 1.107)’, *RB* 95 (1988), pp. 481-518; Pardee, *RSO* 4, pp. 227-57.

on. The same form also appears with *bt mlk* (e.g. KTU 1.39.12; 1.43.2, 10; 1.91.7, 10, 11), which is most likely to be a reference to the royal sanctuary.¹⁰⁰ In these instances the interpretation is suggested by the appearance of *bt*, which has parallels in a variety of related languages (e.g. Akk. *bītu*, Heb. בֵּית, Arab. *bayt*), in conjunction with a recognisable DN or the primary cult functionary. On occasion, however, the term *bt* stands unmodified and appears to serve the same locative function (e.g. KTU 1.41.55; 1.119.22)—a function that, seemingly, did not require further specification.¹⁰¹

It has already been noted that the texts make mention of more closely defined cult locations.¹⁰² Among these are those that are *mdbh̄t b 'l* (KTU 1.41.41//1.87.19-20), *'d bt b 'l ugrt* (KTU 1.119.9-10), *tlhn b 'lt bhtm* (KTU 1.109.31). Once again, in such cases the association with recognisable DNs is persuasive.

Most importantly, it is the placement of locative terminology within the texts that offers the most compelling evidence for the cultic reading. Broadly speaking, the presence of such expressions at the beginning of a text or at the start of a sequence of ritual syntax—del Olmo Lete refers to this as a ‘a nominal apodosis of sacrifice’¹⁰³—motivates the cultic interpretation. Additional support may be supplied by the appearance of the preposition *b*, which commonly carries a directional force—‘with, in, from, (up)on, at, to’.¹⁰⁴

(7) *Cultic Times and Events*

The *b* preposition also plays a strong supporting role in the identification of cultic times and events. Orthographically indistinguishable from directional *b*, temporal *b* (‘on, at’) is frequently found in phrases displaying the ‘*b + ym + ordinal number*’ construction: *b ym šb* (KTU 1.119.1, 22); *b ym šrt* (KTU 1.104.15). Even more often, however, the *ym* component is omitted: *b hmš* (KTU 1.119.20); *b idt* (KTU 1.126.19); *b šb* (KTU 1.41.47). The absence of *ym* does not seem to affect the sense of the unit—note the forms *b ym šb* and *b šb* in the preceding examples—and in those cases where *ym* is lacking the meaning ‘day’ is best understood as implicit.

Activities taking place during particular months are also identifiable by the appearance of the (temporal) *b* preposition: *b yrh riš yn* (KTU); *b yrh ib 'lt* (KTU 1.119.1); *b yrh nql* (KTU 1.138.1). Cultic times related to specific astrological phenomena frequently take the same form: *b ym hdt* (KTU 1.41.1, 48; 1.46.1;

¹⁰⁰ Consult del Olmo Lete, *CR*, pp. 31-33, for a convenient summary.

¹⁰¹ The same is also true for the term *qds*, which, like *bt*, has parallels in ancient Near Eastern languages and literature, and which also appears in modified and unmodified forms (e.g. *qds*, KTU 1.104.12; *qds b 'l*, KTU 1.119.33; *qds mlk*, KTU 1.123.20).

¹⁰² Cf. p. 157, above.

¹⁰³ Del Olmo Lete, *CR*, p. 24.

¹⁰⁴ See Sivan, *GUL*, pp. 194-95; Gordon, *UT*, pp. 93-95 §10.4; Segert, *BGUL*, pp. 101-102.

1.105.15); *b ym mlat* (KTU 1.46.11).¹⁰⁵ This is also the case for a small number of the cultic events centred on specific deities (e.g. *b ym dbh tph b l*, KTU 1.48.14), although the more normal form of these occasions is ‘*dbh* + DN’ without one or both of the *b* and *ym* components (e.g. *dbh spn*, KTU 1.148.1). This configuration appears to be the preferred format for the royal sacrifices (*b dbh mlk*, KTU 1.91.2).

But not all cultic times are expressed using such rudimentary (nominal) formulations. Cultic moments are more closely defined using the more developed verbal style. Examples include the formulas *k t rb ttrt hr gb bt mlk* (KTU 1.43.1-2; 1.148.18; cf. 1.91.10) and *lm t rbn gtrm bt mlk* (KTU 1.43.9-10), which are widely accepted as references to the procession and installation of sacred images or statues of the deities.¹⁰⁶ Also worth mentioning here is *kyqny gzer b alty* (KTU 1.141.1), a phrase that gives rare insight into the personal circumstances that motivated cultic activity.¹⁰⁷ In these examples the presence of *k*, which is capable of carrying a temporal force (‘as, when’), as well as the cohesive particle ‘*lm*,¹⁰⁸ suggest the interpretation of such phrases as markers of cultic time.

As with the elements of cultic location, the interpretation of a word/phrase as cultic time terminology is bolstered by its position within the text. Like the locational elements, temporal markers also arise at the beginning of texts and/or new sections of ritual syntax (e.g. KTU 1.46.1, 5, 9, 11; 1.109.1, 3, 11; 1.130.16[?]). Crucially, this phenomenon, which compels the temporal reading of the *b* preposition, provides persuasive evidence for the cultic interpretation of the terminology.

(8) *Cultic Personnel*

Earlier it was noted that the king (*mlk*) is characterised as the primary functionary of the Ugaritic cult, that only a small number of other cultic personnel are identified, and that, surprisingly, the priests (*khn*) do not appear as activists in the rituals preserved in the extant written sources.

Dealing first with the king, the fact that his sphere of influence naturally extended beyond the realm of the cult means that references to the *mlk* are present in a large number of texts that display a wide range of functions. Not least, the existence of a ‘royal economy’ at Ugarit produced copious non-cultic references to the king.¹⁰⁹ Accordingly, it is appropriate to clarify the general principle for distinguishing the king

¹⁰⁵ Cf. the notes to my translation of KTU 1.46 (Annexe 1) for my interpretation of *ym mlat*.

¹⁰⁶ See de Tarragon, *Le culte à Ugarit*, pp. 98-107; Xella, *TRU*, pp. 86-90. See also D. Pardee, ‘RS 1.1005 and the Identification of the *gtrm*’, in J. Quaegebeur (ed.), *Ritual and Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East* (OLA, 55; Leuven: Peeters), pp. 301-17.

¹⁰⁷ See Xella, *TRU*, pp. 184-85; Dietrich and Loretz, *Mantik*, pp. 8-11.

¹⁰⁸ See Gordon, *UT*, p. 554 §19.1852.

¹⁰⁹ See Heltzer, ‘The Economy of Ugarit’, p. 427 n. 14.

in his ‘cultic’ guise since the lexeme *mlk* itself does not carry an instantly recognizable cultic meaning or nuance. First and foremost, the identification of the non-secular references to the king is dependent upon context-based interpretation—that is, the identification of surrounding evidence that supports the possibility of a cultic reading. Most forceful in this respect is the appearance of *mlk* as the subject of a verb of cultic action (see below).

Ascribing a cultic role to the other ‘personnel’ appearing in the texts is largely dependent upon the same strategy. Accordingly, the *rbm* (‘priests’) and *šrm* (‘singers’) are recognised in KTU 1.23.12, 22, the *mlḥš* (‘exorcist/magician’) is established in KTU 1.100.*passim*, and the *mḥllm* (‘desacrilisers’) are identified in KTU 1.119.23.¹¹⁰

Inference also helps to swell the ranks of identifiable cult activists. In this respect special mention should be made the ‘personnel’ appearing in ll. 1-29 of KTU 1.23. These lines, which have the appearance of being liturgical rubrics, expand the number of cultic attendants by associating the *mlkt* (‘queen’) and the *tnnm* (‘temple victuallers’) alongside the *mlk* and *rbm* in l. 7. While the *mlkt* and *tnnm* are not explicitly linked with ritual action, their proximity to the *mlk*, a well-known cult officiant, and to the *rbm*, who appear to have a clear ritual function in l. 12, suggests that the *mlkt* and *tnnm* also played some active part in the cult.¹¹¹

Finally, despite the aforementioned omission of the *khn* from texts overtly related to cultic activity, the terms *khn(m)* and *rb khnm* were admitted into the present inquiry ‘out of curiosity’—although the possible reference to *llt khn* (‘the band of priests’) at KTU 1.107.18 adds additional support.¹¹² As a result, they are never the subjects of the kind of interpretative wrangling encountered with *mlk*. (Fortunately, the lexeme *khn* is sufficiently distinctive as to allow for straightforward identification.) The close and repeated grouping of the *khn* alongside the *qdšm* (see, e.g., KTU 4.29; 4.36; 4.38; 4.68.72-73), another term displaying ritual affinities in cognate languages,¹¹³ at KTU 4.29, advocates the possibility of a cultic reading for *qdšm* at Ugarit, despite the fact that no extant text casts them as active participants in the rituals.

(9) *Cultic Actions*

The connection between cultic actions and the verbal forms appearing in the texts has been touched upon already and it was noted that the verbs denote specific ritual actions without explaining or describing them. As a result, the cultic verbs and actions they

¹¹⁰ See my translations of these texts in Annexe 1.

¹¹¹ Evidence from cognate languages supplies additional support for the identification of the *tnnm* as cult activists. See the notes to my translation of KTU 1.23.1-29 in Annexe 1.

¹¹² Cf. my treatment of KTU 1.107 in Annexe 1.

¹¹³ Cf. Heb. קדשִׁים and Akk. *bārū*.

represent 'have to be understood from parallel contexts in neighbouring cultic areas'.¹¹⁴ The elucidation of verbs of cultic action, perhaps more than any other component of the cultic vocabulary, is dependent upon comparative techniques. Be that as it may, a number of characteristic features within the Ugaritic texts assist in the initial identification of verbs associated with cultic action.

In agreement with the principle that a cultic document deals with the human service of the gods, the presence within a text of a human as subject of the verb—grammatically, the 'agent'¹¹⁵—opens the way to a cultic interpretation of the verbal component. In those cases where a non-divine subject can be confirmed, the accumulation of circumstantial evidence encourages the cultic interpretation of the verb and the action it signifies. For instance, the appearance of a DN as a complement-object of the active verb in *ydbḥ mlk l ilib* (KTU 1.164.3)—the construction is verb + (human) subject + (divine) object—satisfies the basic requirement of human action directed towards a deity. Furthermore, the proximity of unambiguous references to DNs, cultic locations and cultic commodities adds additional support to the reading of *ydbḥ* as a verb of cultic action. And all this is before the mass of comparative evidence supporting the cultic connectedness of *ydbḥ* is invoked!

That is not to say that all verbs with DN as subject are precluded from cultic interpretation and that specified human participation is a prerequisite of such readings. Note, for example, the construction *kt'rb 'ttrt šd bt mlk* at KTU 1.91.10, in which *t'rb*, a verbal form that can legitimately be read with either an active or passive voice, has DN *'ttrt šd* as subject. The lack of a direct reference to human participation in the adverb + verb + (divine) subject + object formulation does not rule out the cultic comprehension of *t'rb*: reading the verb as a passive¹¹⁶ allows for the possibility that the action was performed upon DN *'ttrt šd* by an unspecified, though implicit, human agent. (In Ugaritic it is not uncommon for such agents to go unmentioned in passive clauses, thereby creating the need to supply such agents from 'the extralinguistic reality'.¹¹⁷) Appropriately, the widely accepted understanding of DN *'ttrt šd* in KTU

¹¹⁴ Del Olmo Lete, *CR*, p. 21.

¹¹⁵ C.H.J. van der Merwe, J.A. Naudé and J.H. Kroeze, *A Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar* (Biblical Languages: Hebrew, 3; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), p. 352.

¹¹⁶ A consideration of surrounding context is sometimes the only way to differentiate between the various passive forms—Gp (simple passive), N (reflexive passive) and Dp (factitive passive)—since no orthographical clues are evident in the consonantal Ugaritic script. This is especially true for the so-called 'strong' verbs. See Segert, *BGUL*, p. 65; Sivan, *GUL*, p. 126.

¹¹⁷ Segert, *BGUL*, p. 112. A similar situation is found in the niph'al and hoph'al conjugations in Biblical Hebrew. See B.K. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990), pp. 383-84, 448-49. Note in particular the comments on hoph'al: 'The Hoph'al represents the subject as the undergoer of a causative situation involving an event. The object of the

1.91.10 (cf. KTU 1.43.1) as a reference to a cult image that is transported into the well-known cult location, *bt mlk*, is one explanation that accords well with this passive reading, and one which also tallies with the wealth of available comparative evidence.¹¹⁸ As a result, even though the form *t'rb* and its root *'rb* are not loaded with an innate cultic connotation, the presence of a divine subject, the analysis of surrounding context and the consideration of comparative data all help to draw out the cultic nuance.

In fact, discerning the cultic association of verbs that do not carry an in-built and overt religious overtone is by no means dependent upon explicit references to human or divine subjects and objects—though they certainly assist matters greatly. On numerous occasions the sheer weight of evidence supplied by the surrounding context and comparative analysis is enough to tip the scales in favour of a cultic reading. For instance, in the case of *w pamt ʔltm w yrđt mdbḥt* (KTU 1.39.20), the verbal form *yrđt*, deriving from the widely used root *yrđ* ('to go down, descend'), can be suspected of carrying a cultic force despite the fact that no divine or human subject or object is specified. The mention of *mdbḥt* ('altars'), the abundance of DNs and cultic commodities in the surrounding context, and the application of other conjugations of *yrđ* with seemingly cultic meaning in other texts (e.g. *šrd*, KTU 1.14.II.24; IV.6; *yrđ*, KTU 1.14.II.26; IV.8), as well as the comparative evidence, all support the line of interpretation. A similar set of circumstances applies to the cultic reading of, among others, the verbal forms *ytn* (KTU 1.104.12; cf. 1.173.16) and *yṣi* (KTU 1.126.6; cf. *tṣu*, KTU 1.106.28) which derive from the semantically broad roots *ntn* ('to give') and *yṣa* ('to go out').

The habitual application of certain verbs in the formulas appearing at the beginning of sections of nominal ritual syntax adds extra support to the cultic reading of them. Five such verbal formulas have so far been identified: (1) *yrthṣ mlk brr* (e.g. KTU 1.105.6), (2) *'rb/šba/šbu špš whl mlk/ym* (e.g. KTU 1.112.9, 14-15), (3) *mlk brr rgm yttb // rgm yttb mlk brr* (e.g. KTU 1.41.44, 46//1.87.49, 51), (4) *ttb rgm whl mlk* (KTU 1.106.23, 32), and (5) *mlk ytb brr* (KTU 1.41).¹¹⁹ Notably, the human king routinely stands as subject to the verbs appearing in these formulas.

To complete this discussion of verbs denoting cultic action, mention must be made of the matter of the descriptive or prescriptive value of the Ugaritic cultic texts. The debate, which stems largely from the ambiguities inherent in the consonantal writing

active causative notion with the *Hiphil* often becomes the subject with the *Hophal* stem; the agent expressed in the *Hiphil* is normally unexpressed in the *Hophal*' (p. 448).

¹¹⁸ On the rites of 'entry' and 'procession' of statues see de Tarragon, *Le culte à Ugarit*, pp. 98-112. Cf. del Olmo Lete, *CR*, pp. 283-84 n. 86.

¹¹⁹ See Del Olmo Lete, *CR*, p. 24.

system, is characterised by the polarised readings of the verbal forms appearing in the texts presenting ritual syntax. At issue is whether the verbs, particularly the *yqtl* forms, should be read with an indicative or subjunctive mood.

On the one hand, the position championed by Baruch Levine¹²⁰ understands the majority of ritual documents as ‘descriptive’ texts. Levine defends his position by stating that objections to his position confuse form with function: ‘The adjective “descriptive” is meant primarily to reflect the formulation and detailed structure of these texts, not their operative function’.¹²¹ For Levine, the ritual texts serve as records of what took place in the cult and supply the core details of the rituals (e.g. offerings, recipients, time-frame, location, ritual acts, officiants), around which the text is organised. The descriptive force of the texts, for him, is evinced by the regular use of adverbial indicators before verbal clauses—he cites *id ydbḥ mlk* (‘When the king performs a sacral celebration’) of KTU 1.41.50 as an example¹²²—in contrast to the relatively infrequent appearance of verbs preceded by modal counterparts—the sole instance, for Levine, being *l ydbḥ mlk* (‘Let the king perform a sacral celebration’) of KTU 1.119.13-14.¹²³ The presence of the latter formulation represents, Levine proposes, evidence of the evolutionary process that saw cultic material develop from (1) archival records, to (2) descriptions of coherent rites, to (3) prescriptions and actual codes.¹²⁴ Despite the evidence to suggest the presence of the ‘prescriptive’ aspect within the texts, the bulk of evidence, according to Levine’s reading, reflects a ‘descriptive’ purpose for the documents, as elaborate records of cultic activity.

On the other hand, the position adopted by Gregoria del Olmo Lete maintains that the basic sense of the ritual texts is ‘prescriptive’ or directive in nature—that is, they

¹²⁰ B.A. Levine, ‘Ugaritic Descriptive Rituals’, *JCS* 17 (1963), pp. 105-11; *idem*, ‘The Descriptive Ritual Texts from Ugarit’. Cf. L.R. Fisher and F.B. Knutson, ‘An Enthronement Ritual at Ugarit’, *JNES* 28 (1969), pp. 157-67; also L.R. Fisher, ‘An Ugaritic Ritual and Genesis 1.1-5’, in *Ugartica*, VI, pp. 197-205 (202), who accepts Levine’s classifications.

¹²¹ Levine, ‘The Descriptive Ritual Texts’, p. 468.

¹²² Levine, ‘The Descriptive Ritual Texts’, pp. 468-69 (Levine’s translation, my emphasis).

¹²³ Levine, ‘The Descriptive Ritual Texts’, p. 469 (Levine’s translation, my emphasis). Levine qualifies his observation by noting the appearance of the *l* preposition: ‘The fact that, in this instance, the *yqtl* form of the verb is introduced by *l* (= *lū*) implies that where modal force was intended, it was clearly indicated, and that elsewhere, *yqtl* forms were intended to have indicative force’ (p. 469).

¹²⁴ Levine, ‘The Descriptive Ritual Texts’, p. 469. Interestingly, Levine argues that the development was not inevitably chronological, ‘although there is evidence to suggest that the temple record is the oldest source of information on the operation of temple cults in the ancient Near East’ (p. 469). Note that Levine attempted to extend his evolutionary theory to the biblical text and other ancient Near Eastern literature; see B.A. Levine, ‘The Descriptive Tabernacle Texts of the Pentateuch’, *JAOS* 85 (1965), pp. 307-18; B.A. Levine and W. Hallo, ‘Offerings to the Temples Gates at Ur’, *HUCA* 28 (1967), pp. 17-58.

attempt to ‘fix’ or ‘define’ some kind of behaviour or action. For him this factor is tied in with the structure of the texts: “‘function’ and ‘form’ coincide... [T]he former is reflected in the latter”.¹²⁵ Central to this understanding is the belief that ‘description has the value of prescription’¹²⁶ for the recipient of the text, since the production of the ritual text was intended to maintain the rites that they transcribe:

They are cultic ‘acts’ that are fixed and immutable and have to be ‘reproduced’ faithfully, with a ‘sacred,’ even ‘magic’ value...never to be left to the decision of the recipient of the text. It is precisely for this faithful ‘reproduction’ that its fixing in writing serves. Only for someone not its recipient can the ‘ritual’ take on ‘descriptive’ or informative character...¹²⁷

Thus, for del Olmo Lete, who views the ritual texts from the perspective of the composer and recipient, the designation ‘descriptive’ is almost a contradiction in terms. In fact, drawing a distinction between ‘description’ and ‘prescription’ is of only relative importance, particularly in the case of texts displaying the ritual syntax: ‘Even in their function of simple “lists of offerings”...these texts do not lose their implicit prescriptive character; these lists include obligatory data of cult use, not mere administrative incidentals’.¹²⁸

With regard to the translation and interpretation of verbal forms in the ritual texts, del Olmo Lete draws attention to the volative mood that is generally accepted to have been expressed by the future-imperfect (*yqtl*) forms in Ugaritic and other North-West Semitic languages.¹²⁹ Offering the example of *yrḥṣ mlk* (e.g. KTU 1.42.3), del Olmo Lete maintains that the use of the *yqtl* verbal form offers a description of a cultic action that is ‘modal’ in character—that is, it offers a ‘description’ of the rite that *is* performed but also *has to be* performed. According to this reasoning, the two possible translations of *yrḥṣ mlk*, ‘the king washes himself’ (indicative) and ‘the king will wash himself’ (subjunctive), while being modally descriptive, both carry a prescriptive force that is expressed explicitly by the jussive.

The discussion surrounding the ‘descriptive’ and ‘prescriptive’ reading of the Ugaritic texts is of the utmost importance for the present contextualist investigation. Despite the differences in standpoint, both sides are united in the belief that there is a connection between the verbal form and the cultic action. (Thus, by implication, the discussion serves to affirm the decision to include verbal forms in a consideration of Ugarit’s cultic activity.) In recognition of this basic level of agreement, the definition

¹²⁵ Del Olmo Lete, *CR*, p. 12.

¹²⁶ Del Olmo Lete, *CR*, p. 12.

¹²⁷ Del Olmo Lete, *CR*, p. 13.

¹²⁸ Del Olmo Lete, *CR*, p. 14.

¹²⁹ Del Olmo Lete, *CR*, p. 12 n. 27. Cf. Segert, *BGUL*, pp. 62-63; Sivan, *GUL*, pp. 103-106.

of a cultic text¹³⁰ was phrased in such a way that it accommodates supporters of both positions— ‘An element of cultic vocabulary is understood to be any word or phrase that prescribes or describes human service of deities...’ In practical terms, the uncertainty surrounding the nature of the texts means that when dealing with the verbal component of the cultic vocabulary the present contextualist inquiry will not attempt to differentiate between so-called ‘descriptive’ and ‘prescriptive’ verbal forms. While it may be possible in the future to provide a more finely honed contextualist study that discriminates between the various verbal moods, until a greater level of agreement has been achieved on the descriptive vs. prescriptive issue, it seems apposite to concentrate on establishing the fundamentals of the topographically sensitive analysis of verbal forms. As a result, the emphasis will be on the identification of verbs that relate in their most basic sense to the ritual activity of the cult.

¹³⁰ Cf. above, p. 150.

Chapter 5

CONSTRUCTING THE DATABASE OF UGARITIC CULT VOCABULARY: TEXTS AND CONTENTS IN CONTEXT

1. *The Identification of 'Prime Content' in 'Derived Texts'*

Since, effectively, the contextualist approach seeks to identify and interpret the physical distribution of all incidences of prime content, a complete inventory of the terminology admitted for examination along with data relating to their topographical position is an invaluable resource. The third phase of the contextualist programme is an essential step in the composition of such a catalogue, which, in the present study, involves a systematic and exhaustive search for every occurrence of those words and phrases identified as components of cultic vocabulary from the GP and PH archives within non-GP and non-PH sources. Compiling a comprehensive list of each attestation of the lexemes appearing as prime content is a necessary chore.

Fortunately, it is possible to mechanise the search for prime content by making use of the online *Northwest Semitic Philological Data Bank (NSPDB)*.¹ By means of a 'virtual keyboard' one is able to subject individual lexical forms (*NSPDB* refers to them as 'graphematic strings') to an automated enquiry and to quickly compile a complete list of all occurrences of the given lexeme within the Ugaritic corpus.

And this is precisely what was done for the cultic vocabulary identified during translation of the prime texts from GP and PH. Every lexical element appearing with some form of highlighting in the Annexe 1 was duly processed. The result was an extensive list of all extant examples of the words comprising the cultic vocabulary in the prime texts. In view of the fact, noted earlier, that these references are directly dependent upon the identification of prime content in the prime texts, it is useful to refer to these spin-off documents *apparently* (see presently) bearing witness to the terminology as 'derived texts'.

Since, however, the *NSPDB* search engine is not able to distinguish between the various nuances of the lexical forms, it was necessary to establish the meaning and function of all derived references generated. The methods employed in the recognition

¹ Located at <www.labherm.filol.csic.es/BuscaCadena_us.html>.

of cultic vocabulary in derived texts are to all intents and purposes the same as those used in their prime counterparts. The only real difference is that at this stage the contextualist reader is led to the prospective element of prime content by the appearance of a graphologically identical² lexical form. From there, it is incumbent upon the interpreter to determine whether the derived reference represents an instance of prime content, or merely a homographic form with some other meaning/function. In the case of the present study, the definition of cultic vocabulary and the principles of terminology recognition were again put into service. As ever, it was necessary to distinguish between the cultic and non-cultic application of the terminology as well as the utilisation of a homograph.

(Before moving on, it should be noted that the *NSPDB* makes use of the transcription presented in *TU*,³ and that the transliterated text does not always tally with that supplied by the editors of *KTU*. In addition, while broadly similar, there are several variations in the text numbering assigned by *TU* and *KTU*. As a result, in the case of the present study, which accepts *KTU* as the primary source text, it was necessary to check manually the transcription and text numberings of every reference identified in the automated search against the *KTU* edition. Any variation in the text was adjusted to the *KTU* system; any divergent reading provided by *TU* was noted at the appropriate place in the database [see below]. Furthermore, in order to ensure that no occurrence was omitted from the inquiry, each list of references was double-checked against the entries appearing in Whitaker's *Concordance of the Ugaritic Language*.⁴)

2. *The Recontextualisation of Prime Content*

Producing a list of the derived texts in which prime content arises is only half of the task, however; reconnecting these text references with their findsite data is the essential counterpart that makes possible the 'recontextualisation' sought by the contextualist approach. An extensive pool of relevant topographical data is a must-have item.

Happily, the diverse archaeological data, which was published in a slow trickle by the French excavators in the journal *Syria* and later in volumes of the series *Ugaritica*, have already been compiled. The most up-to-date and exhaustive catalogues of the

² On rare occasions consonantal shifts, interchanges, assimilations and dissimilations allow for the inclusion of 'variant', though semantically identical forms. See Sivan, *GUL*, pp. 20-35

³ J.-L. Cunchillos and J.-P. Vita, *Banco de datos filológicos semíticos noroccidentales. Primera Parte: Datos ugaríticos. I. Textos Ugaríticos* (Madrid: CSIC, Institución Fernando et Católico, 1993).

⁴ R.E. Whitaker, *A Concordance of the Ugaritic Literature* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972).

topographical findsite data are to be found in Pardee and Bordreuil's *TEO I* and 'Appendix A' of van Soldt's *SAU*. By assembling all available findsite information for the inscribed objects recovered from Ras Shamra, *TEO I* and *SAU* fulfil an important function. There is, however, a common feature of data presentation that limits the user-friendliness of both works. The problem is that *TEO I*, which is divided into separate sections dealing with the successive archaeological campaigns at Ras Shamra, arranges its data sequentially according to the excavation number assigned to the individual text fragments. A similar organisational convention is adopted in *SAU*. While the two catalogues are of immense worth for the retrieval of findsite particulars for the tablet fragments—van Soldt's *SAU* is perhaps more useful since it provides a broader range of information (including details of script, genre, date, scribe, etc.)—the major drawback of both collections is that the *KTU* numbering of the texts is marginalised. In order to ascertain the location of a given text using its *KTU* numbering it is necessary in both cases to consult a supplementary index. In light of the fact that *KTU* has established itself as accepted sourcebook of Ugaritic scholarship—at least its text numbering system seems to have been almost universally adopted—both *TEO I* and *SAU* prove to be somewhat cumbersome when pressed into service. The same also applies to *KTU* itself, which, although presenting the topographical details ahead of each text transcription, hardly offers an express route to such data when the location of more than a few findsite locations are required.

To expedite the reintegration of the textual and topographical data, it proved necessary to compile a full list of the findsite information for the published Ugaritic texts arranged according to the *KTU* sequence. (To my knowledge no such list has as yet been published.) This catalogue, which supplies the occasionally conflicting topographical details supplied in both *TEO I* and *SAU*, appears as an Appendix to the present study.⁵ Such an arrangement allows quick and easy access to the location information. It is important to stress, however, that the text number assigned by *KTU* is used self-consciously as an organisational device, and the comments made earlier are no way contradicted.⁶ It should also be noted that throughout the findsite catalogue (as well as the database [to be discussed shortly]), the findsite information supplied by *TEO I* is presented as the primary witness; any variant data from *SAU* is supplied in a supplementary note. Practical issues (i.e. page layout) influenced this decision and no claim of superior accuracy is intended.

Armed with an extensive and accessible list of topographical information, the reconnection of the derived text references with their respective findsite data is a

⁵ The Appendix appears in electronic format on the accompanying CD-ROM, which also contains Annexe 2 (see below).

⁶ See pp. 132-33.

relatively straightforward matter. By pairing up the KTU number with the known locational details it becomes possible to produce the fleshed-out, topographically precise references that are the essential raw material of the contextualist interpretation. The remainder of this chapter deals with practical issues associated with the management of this body of evidence.

3. Presenting the Data: A Database of Ugaritic Cult Vocabulary

Not surprisingly, the integration of the textual and topographic information results in a large body of material. Given the nature and volume of the data it seems most prudent to present them together in the form of a database. This database is intended to serve as an accessible resource that makes it possible to scrutinize easily the topographical distribution of the various elements of prime content throughout the prime and derived texts.

a. Structure

In order to allow for successful interpretation of the evidence, it was imperative that the material is organised using an ordered and logical system. The next section lays down the rules of data presentation. The database itself is presented as Annexe 2. For convenience, the Annexe is supplied on a CD-ROM attached at the front of this study. The files contained on the disk are saved in 'PDF' format and can be read using Adobe Acrobat Reader⁷.

(1) The Workbooks

The database comprises nine workbooks (I-IX). Each workbook deals with a separate element of the cultic vocabulary (cf. above). The arrangement of the workbooks within the database is as follows:

Workbook I:	Divine Names
Workbook II:	Personal Names
Workbook III:	Geographical Names
Workbook IV:	Cultic Jargon
Workbook V:	Cultic Commodities
Workbook VI:	Cultic Locations
Workbook VII:	Cultic Times and Events
Workbook VIII:	Cultic Personnel
Workbook IX:	Cultic Actions

⁷ Adobe Acrobat Reader[®] is available as a free download from <www.adobe.com>. (Adobe Acrobat Reader is a registered trademark of Adobe Systems Incorporated.)

The nine workbooks of the database may be divided into two categories: Workbooks I-IV and Workbooks V-IX. In the following discussion I will refer to the two classes as the ‘mono-referential’ and ‘multi-referential’ workbooks, respectively. The principles governing lexeme identification and classification were discussed above and need not be repeated here. However, at this juncture it seems appropriate to reaffirm the observation that differing methods are used in the interpretation of the words and phrases appearing in Workbooks I-IV and Workbooks V-IX and to summarise briefly the theoretical differences between the cultic elements appearing in the mono-referential and multi-referential workbooks. Later on it will be shown that these differences make it necessary to adjust slightly the format of the data presented in the two classes of workbook.

(a) *The Mono-Referential Workbooks: Workbooks I-IV*

i. *Workbooks I-III*

Being proper nouns, the lexemes entered into the first three workbooks of the database are considered *relatively simple* to classify. That is, when compared with the process involved in the classification of the other components of the cultic vocabulary of Ugarit (see above), the identification of divine names (DNs), personal names (PNs) and geographical names (GNs) is less dependent upon the subjective reasoning of the interpreter. The exclusion of any possible homographic meaning results in the unequivocal identification of a single, fixed point of reference. The foundational premise (expressed above) is that the proper noun, once identified, provides an unambiguous reference to a particular, named deity, person or place, and that *a DN remains a DN, a PN remains a PN and a GN remains a GN, regardless of surrounding context.*

ii. *Workbook IV*

Workbook IV is a special case. I have already explained that the identification of ‘cultic jargon’ is dependent upon the interpretative discretion of the reader, and that the words/phrases belonging to the technical terminology of the cult are not always, strictly speaking, proper nouns. Nevertheless, for databasing purposes, they are considered to be ciphers for fixed points of reference that are unaffected by changing context.

(b) *The Multi-Referential Workbooks: Workbooks V-IX*

A different set of conditions governs the identification of lexemes appearing in Workbooks V-IX (see above). Many of the entries appearing in Workbooks V-IX are seen to have more than one point of reference and are applicable in both cultic and non-cultic contexts. So, in addition to identifying homographic forms, the translator is required to establish the likely *function* of the word or phrase within the wider and

narrower context. Accordingly, the lexemes or phrases entered into these workbooks demand a greater input on the part of the interpreter.

(2) The Worksheets

The division of all workbooks is the same—each of the nine workbooks is divided into five worksheets (1-5). The following arrangement of the worksheets remains the same for all workbooks:

Worksheet 1:	Prime content found in GP
Worksheet 2:	Prime content found in PH
Worksheet 3:	Other locations of prime content found in both GP and PH
Worksheet 4:	Other locations of prime content found only in GP
Worksheet 5:	Other locations of prime content found only in PH

(a) Worksheets 1 and 2

Worksheets 1 and 2 contain all prime content identified in the translated texts from GP and PH. Throughout the database relevant lexemes/phrases deriving from GP are to be found in Worksheet 1, while those from PH appear in Worksheet 2. The two worksheets are correspondent, sharing the primary position in the hierarchical status of the worksheets.

(b) Worksheets 3, 4 and 5

The entries appearing in Worksheets 1 and 2 determine the contents of Worksheets 3, 4 and 5. To put it another way, no entry can appear in Worksheets 3, 4 or 5 if it does not first appear in either Worksheet 1 or Worksheet 2 or both. Because Worksheets 3, 4 and 5 are all dependent upon Worksheets 1 and 2 they can be viewed to have an equivalent, secondary place in the worksheet hierarchy.

i. Worksheet 3

A comparison of the lexical entries appearing in Worksheets 1 and 2 often reveals the presence of ‘shared’ or ‘common’ cultic vocabulary. Earlier I explained that the insertion of a cultic lexeme in either Worksheet 1 or Worksheet 2 triggered a comprehensive search for the identified term(s) in the rest of the Ugaritic corpus. Worksheet 3 is the repository for the data generated by the search for terms appearing simultaneously in Worksheets 1 and 2. This means that all derived non-GP and non-PH references to lexemes/phrases appearing as prime content in both the GP and PH archives are contained in Worksheet 3. Presenting the search results for the ‘common’ lexical entries in a single worksheet avoids unnecessary duplication of the data.

ii. Worksheets 4 and 5

Throughout the database Worksheets 4 and 5 contain the results generated by the search for all derived non-GP and non-PH references to those lexemes/phrases of prime content that are ‘exclusive’ to the GP and PH archives—that is, any term found in Worksheet 1 that does not appear in Worksheet 2, and vice versa. Worksheet 4 houses the data relating to entries specific to Worksheet 1, while Worksheet 5 provides the data for entries specific to Worksheet 2.

(3) The Sections

The importance of including the alternative meaning(s) of any word or phrase identified as an element of the cultic vocabulary has already been discussed above, where it was argued that a better understanding of the Ugaritic language and future textual finds may bring about a reinterpretation of currently held positions. Nevertheless, it remains appropriate to make a practical distinction in the database between the various meanings of the graphologically identical forms. This distinction has a bearing on the format of the worksheets, and it is at section level that the differences between the mono-referential and multi-referential workbooks become apparent. It should be noted that the section divisions are applied to all worksheets within a workbook.

(a) Section α and Section β

The worksheets of the mono-referential workbooks are divided into two sections—Section α and Section β . Throughout Workbooks I-IV the α sections contain all words and phrases that seem to function as either a PN, GN, DN or an element of Cultic Jargon, respectively. The β sections list all homographic forms that appear to present some other meaning. Accordingly, two levels of probability are presented in the worksheets of the mono-referential workbooks.

(b) Section α in Two Parts: $\alpha 1$ and $\alpha 2$

Section α is divided into two parts throughout Workbooks V-IX. Elsewhere it has been discussed that the classification of lexeme(s) admitted into the multi-referential workbooks is particularly dependent upon interpretative decision making. It was proposed that in addition to isolating relevant words or phrases and excluding any possible alternative homographic meanings, the reader of the texts uses subjective reasoning to decide the *function* of the word or phrase within its setting. The worksheets in Workbooks V-IX are designed to accommodate differing applications of lexemes within the documentary sources—that is, the cultic and the (seemingly) non-cultic usage of words and phrases. In Workbooks V-IX all words or phrases considered to have a *probable* cultic function are listed in Section $\alpha 1$. Section $\alpha 2$ lists all instances of these lexemes for which no secure cultic application can be established. As ever,

homographs are listed in Section β. This arrangement reflects a three-fold division of probability within the worksheets of the multi-referential workbooks.

(4) *The Columns*

The information presented in the database is arranged into nine columns. Reading from left to right the arrangement is as follows:

Column A:	Lexical Entry
Column B:	KTU Text Number
Column C:	(Column and) Line Reference
Column D:	Locus
Column E:	Room
Column F:	Point Topographique (p.t.)
Column G:	Depth
Column H:	Location Disputed?
Column I:	Comments

(a) *Column A: Lexical Entry*

All words and phrases entered into the database appear alphabetically arranged in Column A. It should be noted that the sequence adopted is that which is used in most Ugaritic dictionaries: *a, i, u, b, g, d, ḡ, h, w, z, ḥ, ḥ, ṯ, ṣ, y, k, l, m, n, s, ś, ' , ḡ, p, ṣ, q, r, š, t, ṯ.*⁸ (A special situation governs the arrangement of the data presented in Workbook IX; see below.)

The use of round and square brackets in Column A needs explanation. The former are applied to the lemma forms to show that component appearing within them is 'optional'; in other words, the letters that are used inconsistently on the part of the Ugaritic scribe. (The *b* preposition attached to time and event terminology is a frequently encountered example.) The use of square brackets is in line with the policy adopted in *KTU*—material contained in square brackets has been restored. An opening or closing bracket appearing at the beginning and/or end of a lexical entry signifies, again following *KTU*'s transcription, that the form is 'broken'.

In Worksheets 3, 4 and 5 an additional type of bracket is used. In the event of a partial terminological association between prime and derived documentation, braces { } will be used to surround the part of the lexical entry that is to be omitted to secure the agreement.

⁸ Here I am following scholarly convention. The order attested in the 'alphabet' texts (*KTU* 5.6; 5.12; 5.13; 5.17) is as follows: *a, b, g, ḥ, d, h, w, z, ḥ, ṯ, y, k, š, l, m, ḡ, n, z, s, ' , p, ṣ, q, r, ṯ, ḡ, ṯ, i, u, ś.*

(b) Column B: KTU Text Number

Column B supplies the text identification number assigned by the editors of *KTU*.

(c) Column C: (Column and) Line Reference

In the third column the location of an identified lexeme within a text is clarified. Because only a relatively small number of Ugaritic texts are divided into columns, the majority of entries appearing in Column C are to line numbers. Arabic numerals are used for line references; upper case roman numerals supply any appropriate column numbering.

(d) Column D: Locus

If known, the general find locations of the tablet or fragment are listed in Column D. The locus abbreviations used are well established and the corresponding sites have been discussed elsewhere.

(e) Column E: Room

All room and/or court numbers are supplied in Column E. Note, however, that this information is not appropriate for all tablets discovered, and that it is not uncommon for the excavators to supply additional or alternative indications of a more precise find location. Accordingly, Column E also contains references to '[room number +] trench [+ trench number/letter]', '[room number +] dump', 'Tomb [+ number]', and so on.

Special note should be made of the fact that these location markers appear in Column E only when the excavator has supplied the general locus reference. Accordingly, it is appropriate to find 'surface' in Column E when the general locus 'Acr' is listed in Column D. Whenever no other indication of general locus is supplied, the 'surface' references take on the role of locus indicator and are listed in Column D as if they refer to a known location.

Further, because the topographical data supplied for the Northern Palace (P.N.) at Ras ibn Hani do not conform to the 'standard' format used for the Ugaritic specimens, the complete reference will appear in Column E.

(f) Column F: Point Topographique (p.t.)

Wherever possible the precise findsite details of text fragments are listed in Column F.⁹

(g) Column G: Depth

The recorded depth for each fragment is supplied in Column G. This depth is understood to be the relative distance from the Tel's surface prior to excavation.¹⁰

⁹ The complexities of the various number systems used at Ugarit are discussed by van Soldt, *SAU*, Appendix B, pp. 673-75.

¹⁰ For a discussion of this issue see van Soldt, *SAU*, pp. 57-58.

(h) *Column H: Location Certain?*

It has already been mentioned that a comparison of the findsite information provided in *TEO I* and *SAU* reveals a level of disagreement in the archaeological record. Column H indicates whether the topographic data supplied in Columns D-G are disputed. A 'y' entry in Column H signifies that *TEO I* and *SAU* provide the same locative information, while an 'n' entry indicates discord. Any disagreement between the sources can be checked against the full list of texts and find locations supplied in the Appendix.

(i) *Column I: Comments*

Short textual notes and/or brief explanations of lexeme classification are supplied in Column I. Variant readings and valuable scholarly discussions are also noted here.

b. *Navigation*

Now that the basic framework of the database has been explained, it is appropriate to establish the principles governing the arrangement of data within it. The following rules will enable the user of the database to navigate efficiently within and between the sections, worksheets and workbooks, and to interrogate successfully the database as a whole.

The information supplied in each worksheet of the database falls into three main categories: (1) the lexical data, (2) the textual data and (3) the topographical data. In practice, the format of the information presented in the worksheets is governed in the first instance by the arrangement of the lexical data, next by the arrangement of the topographical data, and finally by the arrangement of the textual data. It seems appropriate to present the rules of data arrangement according to this hierarchical sequence.

(1) *The Lexical Data*

The following rules apply to the organisation and appearance of all data appearing in Column A of the worksheets.

(a) *Alphabetical Arrangement of Lexemes*

It has already been explained that throughout the database all lexical entries are arranged alphabetically in Column A, and that the conventional sequence of Ugaritic characters is used. In effect, the alphabetically sequenced words and phrases function as subheadings under which the textual and topographical data are presented.

A special situation governs the arrangement of the lexical forms appearing in the workbook dealing with cultic actions (Workbook IX). The association between verb and action has already been discussed and need not be repeated here. However, before outlining the method of presentation used in Workbook IX it seems appropriate to

explain why a suspension of the normal rules of lexeme arrangement was considered necessary.

Like other Semitic languages, Ugaritic employed a system of prefix and suffix to express the various verbal tenses (e.g. preterite, present, present-future), modes (indicative and injunctive) and genders.¹¹ While the spoken form of the language undoubtedly made use of vowel sounds to help differentiate between the various verb forms, the consonantal nature of written Ugaritic in all but a few cases does not allow for such a distinction to be made with absolute certainty. Only when there is sufficient context can any degree of assuredness be claimed.

Within Workbook IX the putative verbal ‘root’ from which the lexemes of cultic action derive is invoked as an aid to alphabetic organisation. The alphabetically arranged roots function as the subheadings under which derived forms are gathered and, as ever, alphabetically sequenced. Thus, for example, all verbal forms deriving from \sqrt{dbh} are grouped together to appear ahead of $\sqrt{rh\text{ṣ}}$ conjugations, while the derived forms appearing under the heading \sqrt{dbh} (e.g. *ydbh*, *ndbh*, *tdbh*) follow the standard principle of alphabetical arrangement.

(b) *Common Lexical Entries*

To allow the database user to identify quickly any ‘common’ element of prime content—that is, lexemes/phrases that are attested in both the GP and PH archives—the siglum ‘*’ is suffixed to the entry where it appears in Worksheets 1 and 2. In line with the principles laid out above, these * markers appear in Sections α and $\alpha 1$ of Worksheets 1 and 2.

Because all common entries in Worksheets 1 and 2 are indicted using the * siglum, any element of prime content appearing in these worksheets without this marker can be considered to have no analogous reference in the corresponding archive. So, if an entry appears in Worksheet 1 without the suffixed * it does not appear in Worksheet 2; any derived references are placed in Worksheet 4. Similarly, if an entry appears in Worksheet 2 without a * marker it was not found in Worksheet 1, and the search results are provided in Worksheet 5.

By now the interconnectedness of Worksheets 1 and 4 and of Worksheets 2 and 4, as well as Worksheets 1, 2 and 3, should be clear. A simplified comparison of two fruit bowls should help to reinforce the association of the worksheets and demonstrate the role of the * suffix.

¹¹ For a concise summary of the Ugaritic verbal system see Sivan, *GUL*, pp. 96-177. Cf. J. Blau, ‘Marginalia Semitica III’, *Israel Oriental Studies* 7 (1977), pp. 14-32; A. Rainey, ‘A New Grammar of Ugaritic’, *Orientalia* 56 (1987), pp. 391-402.

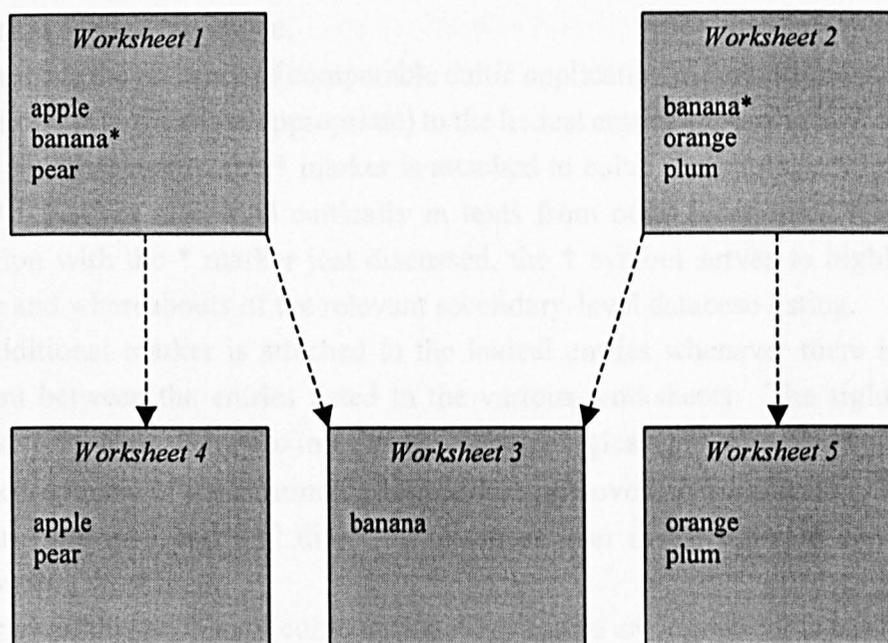


Figure 1. *The Interconnectedness of the Worksheets and the Role of Suffixed **

(c) *Drawing Attention to Analogous Usage*

Earlier it was established that the identification of an element of prime content within either (or both) of the GP and PH archives triggers a search for all other applications of the element in non-GP and non-PH texts. It is important to note, however, that this search does not always identify occurrences of parallel (cultic) usage. On the one hand, it is sometimes the case that the element is attested nowhere else in the Ugaritic corpus; on the other, the word or phrase is not infrequently found with a variant meaning or application. As an aid to the database user, attention is drawn to analogous usage.

Applying the principle that the content of the primary-level worksheets has a knock-on effect on the content of the secondary-level worksheets (see the section ‘Worksheets 3, 4 and 5’, above), every lexical entry appearing in Worksheets 1 and 2 is listed, as appropriate, in Column A of Worksheets 3, 4 and 5. Consequently, all ‘common’ elements are listed in Worksheet 3; all elements specific to the GP archive are listed in Worksheet 4; and all elements specific to the PH archive are listed in Worksheet 5. The insertion of lexical entries is carried out even when no parallel non-GP or non-PH occurrences were encountered in the corpus search. (Remember also that the appropriate section divisions in Worksheets 1 and 2 are replicated in Worksheets 3, 4 and 5.)

Whenever corresponding non-GP and non-PH references to the elements of Worksheets 1 and 2 are identified, they are, of course, entered into the secondary-level

worksheets alongside the corresponding lexical entry using the principles of data arrangement spelled out above.

To illustrate the presence of comparable cultic application in derived documentation the siglum '†' is suffixed (as appropriate) to the lexical entries appearing in Worksheets 1 and 2. In other words, the † marker is attached to cultic terminology found in GP and/or PH that are also used cultically in texts from other locations. Working in conjunction with the * marker just discussed, the † symbol serves to highlight the presence and whereabouts of the relevant secondary-level database listing.

An additional marker is attached to the lexical entries whenever there is partial agreement between the entries listed in the various worksheets. The siglum '!' is appended to the lexical entry to indicate that terminological agreement is present if one or more component of the terminology is added or removed. An explanatory note will appear in Column I and will direct the database user to the relevant entry in the corresponding worksheet.

In the event that an item of cultic terminology has no analogous cultic usage, a note is inserted in the secondary-level worksheets at the precise point at which the text reference would have appeared had such a correspondence been identified—that is, in Column B. These notes are intended to help the database user to recognise the absence (and, by implication, the presence) of comparable usage of GP and PH elements in the non-GP and non-PH texts. Quite simply, these notes serve to flag up the distinctiveness or otherwise of the cultic elements identified in the GP and PH archives. Thus, the formula 'Not attested outside GP and PH' is inserted into Worksheet 3 whenever no derived references to the 'common' elements of prime content were identified. In the same way, the formula 'Not attested outside GP' is used in Worksheet 4, and the formula 'Not attested outside PH' is used in Worksheet 5.

(2) *The Topographical Data*

The preceding summary explained that all available topographical data are supplied in Columns D-G. The following rules are applied to the findsite information presented in the database.

(a) *Topographical Arrangement of Multiple References*

Whenever multiple references to the same lexical entry are encountered, the topographic location rather than the allocated *KTU* text number is the controlling factor. In other words, physical location takes precedence over *KTU*'s text classification number (but cf. below). For all multiple entries an ascending numero-alphabetical sequence governs the ordering of references and the hierarchical sequence is as follows: locus (Column D) → room/court number (Column E) → point topographique (p.t.) (Column F) → depth (Column G). Accordingly, references from Acr texts precede Rap texts; references from texts located in GP Room 2 are listed before those located in GP

Room 7; references from texts unearthed at PH Room 10 p.t. 3680 appear before those texts from PH Room 10 p.t. 3771; and references from texts exhumed from PC Room 53 p.t. 82 at a depth of 1.05 m will precede those from PC Room 53 p.t. 82 at a depth of 1.40 m. Figure 2, showing an edited extract from the database, serves to illustrate this principle:

<i>A</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>E</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>H</i>	<i>I</i>
<i>yn</i>	4.123	8, 22, 23	PC	28	10	2.35		
	4.149	10, 14	PC	53	82	1.05		
	4.160	2	PC	53	87	1.40		
	4.216	1, 12	PC	71	437	0.60	n	
	5.9	1.15	PC	73	470	2.05	y	
	4.230	1, 11, 15	PC	73	470	2.30		
	4.691	3, 6	Rap	7	1828	0.80		
	4.747	5	SA	2.43W	4256	1.40		

Figure 2. *The Topographical Arrangement of Multiple References*

It should be noted, however, that the recorded locative data produced by the excavators of Ugarit often contain additional, non-numerical information—thus we encounter such locations as PH Room 10 (trench), PC dump and VS surface. The strict application of the numeric/alphabetic principle arranges references derived from PH Room 10 before PH Room 10 (trench), PC Room 1 before PC dump, and VS Room 13 before VS surface.

At this point it is important to stress that the use of the numero-alphabetical ordering system is to be recognised for what it is—an artificial means of organising text references. Indeed, a survey of the available archaeological plans illustrates graphically that sequential room numbering does not always reflect physical proximity. Note, for example, that PC Room 70 is plainly detached from PC Rooms 68, 69, 71 and 72. In the same way, the recorded ‘points topographiques’ are frequently distributed over a wide area. For instance, points 300 and 299 of GP are hardly be classed as neighbours: the former is located close to the eastern wall of Room 1, while the latter stands on the threshold between Rooms 3 and 6—several metres and two stone walls stand between the consecutively numbered findspots. Bearing this in mind, it must be stated that the grouping together of texts that were variously distributed within the material remains of Ugarit is designed to aid further study of the texts in their physical contexts. No claims of topographic contiguity and/or association are intended.

(b) *Incomplete Topographical Data*

Regrettably, the archaeological reports published by the excavators of Ras Shamra provide only a partial record of findsite information for many of the texts. In the event of one or more of the topographic referents being unknown and/or unspecified a ‘0’

appears in the corresponding column(s). Accordingly, when the application of the rule of numero-alphabetical ascendancy is applied any reference whose precise find location is unknown will appear before a text reference that has a more detailed topographic referent.

(3) *The Textual Data*

For the purposes of data presentation, the information supplied in Columns B and C of the worksheets occupies the third level of hierarchical significance.

Only when all possibilities of topographic ordering have been exhausted does the text number assigned by *KTU* have a bearing upon the position of an entry within a workbook. On those occasions when the *KTU* number is invoked as an aid to the arrangement of text references, a principle of ascending numerical sequencing is applied. Accordingly, because *KTU* 1.46 and *KTU* 1.47 derive from the same physical location (GP Room 1 p.t. 300 [depth unspecified]), *KTU* 1.46 will be listed before *KTU* 1.47 whenever they appear alongside each other in the database.

(4) *Division of Entries*

As a navigational aid to the database user, a system of horizontal line divisions is imposed on the presented data. Entries understood to be unambiguous applications of cultic vocabulary (i.e. entries appearing in Section α of 'Mono-Referential' Workbooks [I-IV] or Section $\alpha 1$ in 'Multi-Referential' Workbooks [V-IX]) are divided using a solid horizontal line:



In those cases where cultic application is less certain (i.e. entries appearing in Section $\alpha 2$ of Workbooks V-IX), a broken horizontal divider is used:



Throughout the Workbooks a 'wavy' line is used to separate entries belonging to the section containing 'homographic' references:



This scheme is intended as an aid to easy movement within and between the various sections comprising the database.

c. *Interrogation*

With the framework explained and principles of data arrangement established, it should now be possible to interrogate the database in order to identify patterns of lexeme distribution.

From the preceding summary it will have become clear that the structure of the database is governed by the distribution of texts within various physical and identifiable

contexts. In practical terms, the database framework distinguishes between three general areas of text distribution—GP, PH and ‘elsewhere’ (that is, all locations other than the GP and PH archives). While Worksheets 1 and 2 present the prime content obtained from the translation of the prime texts from the GP and PH archives, Worksheets 3, 4 and 5 are dedicated to the presentation of the search results deriving from all other published Ugaritic texts.

(1) *Worksheets 1 and 2 as a Starting Point*

It has already been stated that Worksheets 1 and 2 occupy the first level of the worksheet hierarchy. All lexemes, by virtue of their cultic application in either or both the GP and PH archives, enter the database via Worksheets 1 and 2. Because of this, Worksheets 1 and 2 can be considered as the starting point for topographically oriented analysis of the cultic vocabulary of the texts found in the GP and PH archives. More precisely, any investigation into the distribution of cultically applied lexemes commences with a survey of Section α (in the case of the mono-referential workbooks) or Section $\alpha 1$ (in the case of the multi-referential workbooks) of Worksheets 1 and 2. When combined, Sections α and $\alpha 1$ of the nine ‘Worksheet 1s’ worksheets provide the full list of identifiable elements of prime content from the GP archive. The same holds true for the corresponding sections of the ‘2’ worksheets, which supplies the equivalent data for the PH textual deposits.

With all this, it is important to remember that all terms appearing in the 3, 4 and 5 worksheets were initiated on the basis of the terms appearing in Worksheets 1 and 2. It is not claimed that the words and phrases isolated in the database represent the full vocabulary of the Ugaritic cult. Rather, they are the results of a systematic analysis of two specific test areas. It is probable that the cultic vocabulary would be expanded were the primary search area extended to include other zones. But, for the time being, the present study concentrates on the GP and PH archives in order to test the feasibility of identifying and interpreting patterns of distribution of terms identified from these two locations.

It has already been explained that the identification of a word or phrase with a cultic application within a GP or PH text activates a systematic search of the Ugaritic corpus for all other occurrences of the lexemes. Once the list of text references has been amassed, the next task is to establish the meaning and function of the relevant term in each context. The principles for identifying the cultic application/significance of a term were laid out earlier. Generally speaking, however, the decision is based upon an evaluation of the present context as well as an appreciation of the term’s application in other texts. All seemingly cultic applications are grouped together, all non-cultic applications are grouped together, and all homographic meanings are grouped together.

(2) *Worksheet 3 as a Shortcut*

Earlier it was explained that Worksheet 3 contains all derived references to those words and phrases attested in Worksheets 1 and 2. It was also explained that all ‘common’ elements are marked with a * suffix in these worksheets. The logical extension of this system results in Worksheet 3 functioning as an edited list of those cultic elements common to the GP and PH archives—a consultation of lexical entries appearing in Section α of Worksheet 3 represents a fast-track to uncovering those terms marked * in Worksheets 1 and 2.

(3) *Worksheets 4 and 5 as Shortcuts*

The same principle applies to Worksheets 4 and 5. Supplying all non-GP and non-PH attestations of terms specific to the GP and PH archives, Worksheets 4 and 5 provide the database user with a quick alternative to trawling through Worksheets 1 and 2 for specific terminology.

(*Special note.* In light of the uncertainty surrounding the restoration of PH texts KTU 1.121 and KTU 1.122 [on the basis of the PC text KTU 1.84], the decision was taken to adhere to the transliterations presented in *KTU* and to analyse and database [where appropriate] according to this version. The discussion that follows will remain mindful of the *possible* agreements that would be created with the GP text KTU 1.40 and the PC and PH texts just mentioned.)

Chapter 6

INTERPRETING TEXTS AND CONTENTS IN CONTEXT: WORKING WITH THE DATABASE OF UGARITIC CULT VOCABULARY

This chapter will deal with the final objective of the contextualist programme—namely, the interpretation of texts and contents in context. Before any *provisional* interpretation of the collected data can be ventured,¹ it is necessary to supply a manageable summary of the material presented in the accompanying ‘Database of Ugaritic Cult Vocabulary’. As a result, this chapter is divided into two main sections.

1. *Database Summary*

Given the amount of information presented in the accompanying ‘Database of Ugaritic Cult Vocabulary’, it seems appropriate to present a summary of the distribution data for the texts containing the various lexical elements selected for investigation. Being, in essence, a distillation of the database, this section will graphically illustrate the distinctiveness or otherwise of each item of the ‘cultic’ vocabulary. As will be shown later, the presence and, just as importantly, non-presence of terminological agreement between the particular findsite locations is the cornerstone of any attempt to interpret the respective textual deposits discovered within the remains of Ugarit.

Leading on from what has just been said about content and text connections, this summary section is divided into two parts: the first offers a broad overview of the content connections established between the ‘prime’ and ‘derived’ texts; the second takes a closer look at the degree of connectivity evident on the textual level with a view to obtaining a better appreciation of the content connections identified.

¹ It should be re-emphasised that it is not the aim of the present study to offer an exhaustive interpretation or synthesis of all the evidence presented in the database. No attempt will be made to propose a definitive explanation of how, why, when and by whom the Ugaritic texts were distributed across Ugarit.

a. *A Broad Overview*

In the following pages the nine elements of cultic vocabulary are treated in turn. Within each sub-section three tables are supplied. The first of these tables lays out the results for the ‘common’ terminology—that is, terminology appearing in both GP and PH texts. The second and third tables present, respectively, the results for the terminology found to be ‘exclusive’ to the GP and PH texts—that is, terminology that is not shared between the two ‘prime’ locations.² The point of the tables is to show where and how many times the selected terminology appears within the physical remains of Ugarit.

A few words are needed to explain the format of the tables presented in this summary section. First, the principles for presenting the lexical and topographical information are essentially the same as those employed in the organisation of the database: a system of alphabetical-numerical ascendancy presides. In the summary tables, however, the findsite data is reduced down to its most basic level—namely, the indication of the generalised location. Although it would be possible to differentiate further between the rooms and findspots in which the texts were recovered, doing so would make for a cumbersome duplication of the information appearing in the database. More precise topographical information can, of course, be obtained from the database.

Second, the summary tables for what I termed the ‘multi-referential’ workbooks³ will uphold the distinction between cultic and non-cultic usage. What this means is that two sets of totals and topographical data are presented for each entry appearing in the tables for Cultic Commodities, Cultic Locations, Cultic Times and Events, Cultic Personnel and Cultic Actions. As in Workbooks V-IX of the Database, a broken horizontal line will be used to distinguish between the ‘more likely’ and ‘less likely’ cultic applications of the terminology.

Third, remaining mindful of the potential significance of the repetition of a given item and its position within a text—the theories surrounding the six-fold repetition of DN *b'lm* after DN *b'l spn* in the ‘canonical’ god-lists KTU 1.47 and KTU 1.118 immediately spring to mind—each appearance of an item of cultic terminology is assigned equal status. Essentially, a binary principle is applied: a text either contains or does not contain the terminology in question. Accordingly, the ‘totals’ presented in the various columns of the summary tables indicate the number of content

² It is important to reaffirm that the designation ‘exclusive’ does refer to the terminology’s distinctiveness in relation to the entire Ugaritic corpus. Whether or not the terminology is to be considered truly ‘exclusive’ to the GP and PH texts can be determined in each case by observing the presence or absence of ‘derived’ references.

³ See pp. 189-90, above.

connections, and not the number of times that the lexical item arises within the particular texts.

Finally, while it would, in principle, be possible to produce percentage totals for each of the entries appearing in the summary tables, in practice it seems more equitable to avoid such machinations—at least at this initial stage of data presentation (see below). Taking *ab*, the first entry appearing in the ‘Common’ DN table, as an example, stating that ‘50% of all applications of *ab* as DN occur in GP’ would, perhaps, be to draw undue significance from the available evidence—especially when it is considered that the putative ‘50%’ represents one of just two known applications of *ab* as a DN. As such, a conscious decision has been taken to avoid the use of statistical representations.

(1) *DNs*

(a) *The ‘Common’ DN Terminology*

<i>Cultic Terminology</i>	<i>Total Texts ('Prime + Derived')</i>	<i>Total GP 'Prime' Texts</i>	<i>Total PH 'Prime' Texts</i>	<i>Total 'Derived' Texts</i>	<i>General 'Derived' Text Location</i>	<i>Total 'Derived' Texts per Location</i>
<i>ab</i>	2	1	1	0		
<i>ab bn il</i>	2	1	1	0		
<i>aliyn b'l</i>	13	10	2	1	PC	1
<i>arš w šmm</i>	4	2	2	0		
<i>aršy (bt y'hdr)</i>	9	3	3	3	Acr/SA PC SA	1 1 1
<i>aṛrt</i>	22	13	4	5	Acr PC P.N. SA	1 2 1 1
<i>il</i>	54	22	16	16	unspecified Acr PC P.N. SA surface	1 2 5 4 3 1
<i>il bt</i>	7	2	3	2	Acr PC	1 1
<i>il spn</i>	3	2	1	0		
<i>il t'dr b'l</i>	6	1	3	2	unspecified PC	1 1
<i>ilib</i>	11	5	1	5	Acr PC P.N.	1 2 2
<i>ilh</i>	5	2	1	2	PC	2

<i>ilhm</i>	4	2	1	1	PC	1
<i>ilm</i>	69	28	8	33	unspecified Acr dump SW PC P.N. QR Rap SA surface VB WE	1 2 1 19 2 2 1 2 1 1 1
<i>il(m)rbm</i>	3	1	1	1	PC	1
<i>ilt</i>	10	6	1	3	Acr PC	1 2
<i>ilm hnqtm</i>	2	1	1	0		
<i>inš ilm</i>	12	3	3	6	PC P.N. SA	2 2 2
<i>i/ušhry</i>	10	3	4	3	PC	3
<i>uḡt</i>	2	1	1	0		
<i>bbt(m)</i>	3	1	1	1	PC	1
<i>bn atrt</i>	5	4	1	0		
<i>bn il</i>	11	5	2	4	GM PC surface	1 2 1
<i>bn ilm mt</i>	5	4	1	0		
<i>b'l</i>	57	21	15	21	unspecified Acr MeB PC P.N. Rsp SA surface	2 2 1 8 4 1 1 1
<i>b'l ugrt</i>	11	4	5	2	PC SA	1 1
<i>b'l knp</i>	2	1	1	0		
<i>b'l mrym spn</i>	4	3	1	0		
<i>b'l spn</i>	16	6	4	6	unspecified PC P.N. SA	1 3 1 1
<i>b'lm</i>	18	10	3	5	Acr PC Rap	2 2 1
<i>b'lt</i> <i>bhtm/btm/bwtm</i>	12	5	2	5	PC SA	4 1
<i>bilt 'nt</i>	12	9	1	2	Acr surface	1 1

<i>gtr</i>	3	2	1	0		
<i>gtrm</i>	3	1	1	1	SA	1
<i>dgn</i>	16	3	6	7	unspecified Acr MT P.N.	1 3 1 2
<i>ddmš</i>	7	2	4	1	Acr	1
<i>ddn/dtn</i>	5	1	2	2	dump SW P.N.	1 1
<i>dqt</i>	2	1	1	0		
<i>dr bn il</i>	3	2	1	0		
<i>drm (ilm)</i>	2	1	1	0		
<i>hd(d)</i>	11	5	3	3	Acr PC	2 1
<i>hrn</i>	7	1	3	3	PC P.N.	1 2
<i>ṭly bt rb</i>	4	3	1	0		
<i>ybmt limm</i>	6	4	1	1	surface	1
<i>ydd il ḡzr</i>	5	3	2	0		
<i>ym</i>	13	7	4	2	unspecified Acr	1 1
<i>yrḥ</i>	23	10	9	4	unspecified Acr PC	1 1 2
<i>yrḥ kty</i>	3	1	2	0		
<i>knr</i>	3	1	2	0		
<i>kṯr</i>	13	7	5	1	surface	1
<i>kṯr w ḥss</i>	11	6	3	2	surface PC	1 1
<i>kṯrt</i>	8	3	3	2	Acr surface	1 1
<i>mlk</i>	22	7	5	10	Acr dump SW PC P.N. southern quarter surface	2 1 3 2 1 1
<i>mlkm</i>	2	1	2	0		
<i>mpḥrt bn il</i>	4	3	1	0		
<i>mt</i>	9	4	3	2	PC	2
<i>(mt/ 'd w) šr</i>	2	1	1	0		
<i>nhr</i>	8	5	1	2	Acr	2
<i>(ilm) n 'm(m)</i>	2	1	1	0		
<i>(il) nšb(t) (il)</i>	2	1	1	0		

'nt	33	16	7	10	Acr PC P.N. surface VB VS/MT	1 5 1 1 1 1
'nt hby	3	1	1	1	unspecified	1
'nt spn	3	1	2	0		
'trt rbt	6	4	1	1	P.N.	1
'itr	10	4	4	2	Acr PC	1 1
'itr w 'tplr	2	1	1	0		
'itrt	25	7	7	9	PC southern quarter	8 1
'itrt šd	4	1	1	2	PC	2
ğlmt	12	6	3	3	Acr PC	2 1
ğrm	4	2	1	1	Acr	1
ğrm w 'mqt	3	1	2	0		
pdr	3	3	2	1	SA	1
pdry	15	3	7	5	Acr PC P.N.	3 1 1
pdry bt ar	4	3	1	0		
phr ilm	3	1	2	0		
spn	14	4	5	5	unspecified PC P.N.	1 2 2
qdš	6	2	4	0		
qdš w amrr	3	2	1	0		
rpi	3	1		2	P.N. surface	1 1
rpi arš	3	1	1	1	dump SW	1
ršp	25	4	12	9	PC P.N. southern quarter	6 2 1
šhr w šlm	4	1	3	0		
šlm	6	1	3	2	PC	2
šnm	1			1	surface	1
špš	29	14	8	7	unspecified dump SW PC WE/1	1 1 4 1
špš w yrh	2	1	1	0		
špš pgr	2	1	1	0		
thmt	5	2	1	2	PC surface	1 1
trš	2	1	1	0		

<i>ikmn w šnm</i>	8	4	3	1	PC	1
<i>i'</i>	2	1	1	0		
<i>tr il (ab)</i>	9	6	2	1	surface	1
<i>irmn</i>	4	2	1	1	PC	1

(b) The 'Exclusive' GP DN Terminology

<i>Cultic Terminology</i>	<i>Total Texts ('Prime + Derived')</i>	<i>Total GP 'Prime' Texts</i>	<i>Total 'Derived' Texts</i>	<i>General 'Derived' Text Location</i>	<i>Total 'Derived' Texts per Location</i>
<i>ab adm</i>	1	1	0		
<i>ab šnm</i>	7	6	1	surface	1
<i>arš</i>	2	2	0		
<i>atrt w rhmy</i>	1	1	0		
<i>atrt</i>	2	2	0		
<i>il add</i>	1	1	0		
<i>il dbb</i>	1	1	0		
<i>il hd</i>	2	2	0		
<i>il w atrt</i>	1	1	0		
<i>il hš</i>	1	1	0		
<i>il limm</i>	2	2	0		
<i>ilhm b'lm</i>	2	2	0		
<i>ilht arht</i>	1	1	0		
<i>ilht dkrt</i>	1	1	0		
<i>ilht hprt</i>	1	1	0		
<i>ilht ksat</i>	1	1	0		
<i>ilm alpm</i>	1	1	0		
<i>ilm arš</i>	3	3	0		
<i>ilm kbkbm</i>	1	1	0		
<i>ilm khtm</i>	1	1	0		
<i>ilm rhbt</i>	1	1	0		
<i>ilnym</i>	7	7	0		
<i>ils</i>	4	2	2	PC	2
<i>ilt asrm</i>	1	1	0		
<i>ilt bt</i>	2	1	1	PC	1
<i>ilt mgdl</i>	1	1	0		
<i>bn dgn</i>	6	6			
<i>b'l w atrt</i>	1	1	0		
<i>gpn w ugr</i>	4	4	0		
<i>dmgy amt atrt</i>	1	1	0		
<i>dr il</i>	1	1	0		
<i>dr il w pbr b'l</i>	4	2	2	surface PC	1 1
<i>dtn il</i>	1	1	0		
<i>hyn (d hrš ydm)</i>	4	3	1	surface	1

<i>hlnr</i>	1	1	0		
<i>hrgb</i>	1	1	0		
<i>zbl b'l</i>	2	1	1	Acr	1
<i>zbl b'l arş</i>	3	3	0		
<i>zbl yrh</i>	2	2	0		
<i>hbl ktrt</i>	2	2	0		
<i>hnn il</i>	1	1	0		
<i>hrş</i>	1	1	0		
<i>htk dgn</i>	1	1	1	PC	1
<i>hss</i>	3	1	2	surface PC	1 1
<i>ydd</i>	3	3	0		
<i>yhpn</i>	1	1	0		
<i>ypn</i>	2	2	0		
<i>yrh zbl</i>	1	1	0		
<i>kbkbn</i>	5	4	1	P.N.	1
<i>knt il</i>	1	1	0		
<i>ktrm</i>	3	3	0		
<i>limm</i>	2	2	0		
<i>ltpn</i>	3	3	0		
<i>ltpn il dpid</i>	8	7	1	Acr	1
<i>ltpn w qdş</i>	1	1	0		
<i>mdd il</i>	1	1	0		
<i>mdd il ym</i>	2	2	0		
<i>mdd ilm arş</i>	1	1	0		
<i>mdd ilm mt</i>	1	1	0		
<i>mrh il</i>	1	1	0		
<i>nit il</i>	1	1	0		
<i>nyr rbt</i>	2	1	1	dump SW	1
<i>nkl</i>	4	1	3	Acr PC SA	1 1 1
<i>nptry</i>	1	1	0		
<i>nrt ilm şpş</i>	4	4	0		
<i>slhu</i>	1	1	0		
<i>slm</i>	1	1	0		
<i>'dk ilm</i>	1	1	0		
<i>'dk ktrm hbrk</i>	1	1	0		
<i>'dt ilm</i>	1	1	0		
<i>'nn</i>	1	1	0		
<i>'nth</i>	1	1	0		
<i>'ntm</i>	1	1	0		
<i>'tk</i>	1	1	0		
<i>'ırt hr</i>	2	1	1	SA	1
<i>'ırt şm b'l</i>	2	2	0		
<i>ğdyn il</i>	1	1	0		
<i>pbr bn ilm</i>	1	1	0		
<i>pbr kbkbn</i>	2	2	0		
<i>prgl şqrn</i>	1	1	0		

<i>šd il</i>	1	1	0		
<i>šhrrt la šmm</i>	3	3	0		
<i>šmd il</i>	1	1	0		
<i>šml</i>	1	1	0		
<i>qnyt ilm</i>	2	2	0		
<i>ridn</i>	2	2	0		
<i>rbt špš</i>	2	2	0		
<i>rdmn</i>	2	2	0		
<i>rhmy</i>	2	2	0		
<i>rkb 'rpt</i>	7	6	1	PC	1
<i>rmš</i>	1	1	0		
<i>rpi</i>	2	2	0		
<i>rpim</i>	5	3	2	dump SW PC	1 1
<i>rpum</i>	3	3	0		
<i>ršp zbl</i>	1	1	0		
<i>šhr</i>	1	1	0		
<i>šlm il</i>	1	1	0		
<i>šmym</i>	1	1	0		
<i>š'tqt</i>	1	1	0		
<i>šrp il</i>	1	1	0		
<i>tlš amt yrḥ</i>	1	1	0		
<i>tmq</i>	1	1	0		
<i>tph b'l</i>	1	1	0		
<i>tpt nhr</i>	1	1	0		
<i>tr</i>	1	1	0		
<i>trnm</i>	3	1	2	PC	2

(c) The 'Exclusive' PH DN Terminology

<i>Cultic Terminology</i>	<i>Total Texts ('Prime + Derived')</i>	<i>Total PH 'Prime' Texts</i>	<i>Total 'Derived' Texts</i>	<i>General 'Derived' Text Location</i>	<i>Total 'Derived' Texts per Location</i>
<i>adn ilm rbm</i>	1	1	0		
<i>ažhn</i>	1	1	0		
<i>atdb wtr</i>	1	1	0		
<i>il arḥlb</i>	1	1	0		
<i>il ibrn</i>	1	1	0		
<i>il ddm</i>	1	1	0		
<i>il hyr</i>	1	1	0		
<i>il ḥšm</i>	1	1	0		
<i>il w ḥrn</i>	1	1	0		
<i>il y'drd</i>	1	1	0		
<i>il yqr</i>	1	1	0		
<i>il lbnn</i>	1	1	0		

<i>il mlk</i>	2	2	0		
<i>il nqmd</i>	1	1	0		
<i>il nqmp'</i>	1	1	0		
<i>il 'mph</i>	1	1	0		
<i>il 'mrpi</i>	1	1	0		
<i>il 'mtmr</i>	1	1	0		
<i>ušhr ḥlmz</i>	1	1	0		
<i>b'l w dgn</i>	2	2	0		
<i>b'l ḥlb</i>	5	5	0		
<i>b'l 'rkm</i>	1	1	0		
<i>b'lt drkt</i>	1	1	0		
<i>b'lt kpt</i>	1	1	0		
<i>b'lt mlk</i>	1	1	0		
<i>b'lt šmm rmm</i>	1	1	0		
<i>brrn aryn</i>	1	1	0		
<i>bibt</i>	3	1	2	PC SA	1 1
<i>gtr w yqr</i>	1	1	0		
<i>dgn w b'l</i>	1	1	0		
<i>dgn tll</i>	2	1	1	Acr	1
<i>zbl</i>	2	2	0		
<i>hby</i>	1	1	0		
<i>ḥbr ktr zbm</i>	1	1	0		
<i>ḥbn il</i>	1	1	0		
<i>hrn mšdh</i>	1	1	0		
<i>ḥlb</i>	1	1	0		
<i>ḥlmz</i>	1	1	0		
<i>zz w kmt</i>	3	2	1	PC	1
<i>yrḥ w ksa</i>	1	1	0		
<i>yrḥ w ršp</i>	1	1	0		
<i>yrḥ lrgth</i>	1	1	0		
<i>yrḥm kṚy</i>	1	1	0		
<i>ksa</i>	1		1	dump SW	1
<i>ktr w ḥss kptrh</i>	1	1	0		
<i>ktr ḥss</i>	1	1	0		
<i>mlk</i>	5	5	0		
<i>mlk 'tirt(h)</i>	2	1	1	southern quarter	1
<i>mr mnmn</i>	1	1	0		
<i>mšr</i>	2	1	1	PC	1
<i>nbkm</i>	1	1	0		
<i>ngḥ w srr</i>	1	1	0		
<i>'nt w 'tirt</i>	2	2	0		
<i>'nt w 'tirt inbbh</i>	1	1	0		
<i>'nt ḥl</i>	1	1	0		
<i>'nt ḥlš</i>	1	1	0		
<i>'tirt w 'nt</i>	1	1	0		
<i>'mrpi</i>	1		1	dump SW	1
<i>'mtmr</i>	1		1	dump SW	1

<i>glm</i>	2	1	1	P.N.	1
<i>glmtm</i>	1	1	0		
<i>gšb šmald</i>	1	1	0		
<i>šdq w mšr</i>	1	1	0		
<i>qlh</i>	1	1	0		
<i>rbt aṛt ym</i>			0		
<i>rmš</i>	2	2	0		
<i>rpu mlk 'lm</i>	1	1	0		
<i>ršp idrp</i>	1	1	0		
<i>ršp bbt</i>	3	2	1	P.N.	1
<i>ršp hgb</i>	4	1	3	PC SA	2 1
<i>ršp mhbn</i>	2	1	1	SA	1
<i>ršp mlk</i>	2	1	1	PC	1
<i>šgr w itm</i>	1	1	0		
<i>šhr w šlm šmmh</i>	3	3	0		
<i>tlyn</i>	1	1	0		
<i>thr w bd</i>	1	1	0		
<i>Ṭt w kmṬ</i>	1	1	0		
<i>trty</i>	1	1	0		

(2) *PNs*(a) *The 'Common' PN Terminology*

<i>Cultic Terminology</i>	<i>Total Texts ('Prime + Derived')</i>	<i>Total GP 'Prime' Texts</i>	<i>Total PH 'Prime' Texts</i>	<i>Total 'Derived' Texts</i>	<i>General 'Derived' Text Location</i>	<i>Total 'Derived' Texts per Location</i>
<i>annyn</i>	3	1	1	1	PC	1
<i>dtn</i>	5	1	1	3	PC P.N.	2 1
<i>y'drd</i>	5	1	1	3	PC	3
<i>nqmd</i>	11	3	2	6	unspecified dump SW PC	1 1 4
<i>pbl</i>	2	1	1	0		
<i>štn</i>	4	1	1	2	PC Rsp	1 1

(b) The 'Exclusive' GP PN Terminology

<i>Cultic Terminology</i>	<i>Total Texts ('Prime + Derived')</i>	<i>Total GP 'Prime' Texts</i>	<i>Total 'Derived' Texts</i>	<i>General 'Derived' Text Location</i>	<i>Total 'Derived' per Location</i>
<i>abd'n</i>	3	1	2	Acr PC	1 1
<i>agmn</i>	5	1	4	PC P.N.	3 1
<i>adty</i>	8	1	7	unspecified PC P.N.	1 5 1
<i>(bt) admny</i>	1	1	0		
<i>ayl</i>	2	1	1	PS	1
<i>(bn) alg</i>	1	1	0		
<i>aln</i>	2	1	1	WE	1
<i>alty</i>	7	1	6	PC W of Rap	5 1
<i>aqht</i>	3	2	1	surface	1
<i>atn</i>	11	1	10	unspecified Acr GM PC QR surface	1 1 1 5 1 1
<i>idtn</i>	5	1	4	PC PS	3 1
<i>iwrdr</i>	3	1	2	unspecified	2
<i>iwrnr</i>	1	1	0		
<i>ihqm</i>	1	1	0		
<i>iydm w b'lh</i>	1	1	0		
<i>ilmlk</i>	13	3	10	PC TTE	9 1
<i>is</i>	3	1	2	PC	2
<i>ubdit</i>	1	1	0		
<i>uryy</i>	2	1	1	PC	1
<i>urm</i>	2	1	1	PC	1
<i>u\$bt</i>	1	1	0		
<i>bsn</i>	4	1	3	NW PC	1 2
<i>b'lsn</i>	2	1	1	PC	1
<i>bq'ty</i>	1	1	0		
<i>gln</i>	8	1	7	dump SW GM PC	1 1 5
<i>gpn</i>	4	1	3	PC	3
<i>gtr</i>	1	1	0		

<i>gtrn</i>	6	1	5	unspecified GM PC P.N. WE	1 1 1 1 1
<i>ddy</i>	3	1	2	PC	2
<i>ddmy</i>	2	1	1	PC	1
<i>dnil</i>	4	3	1	surface	1
<i>hl{</i>	1	1	0		
<i>zr</i>	1	1	0		
<i>hry</i>	4	3	1	PC	1
<i>hry</i>	4	3	1	PC	1
<i>hrs_n</i>	2	1	1	PC	1
<i>hty</i>	5	1	4	PC	4
<i>ydy</i>	3	1	2	PC	2
<i>ydlm</i>	2	1	1	unspecified	1
<i>ydl_n</i>	12	1	11	PC WE	10 1
<i>ydn</i>	7	2	5	PC PS	3 2
<i>ydr_m[[x]]t</i>	1	1	0		
<i>ytp_n</i>	2	2	0		
<i>yyn</i>	7	1	6	MT NW PC	1 1 4
<i>ymn</i>	9	1	8	unspecified NW PC PS	1 1 5 1
<i>yn</i>	1	1	0		
<i>yny</i>	2	1	1	Rsp	1
<i>y'rtym</i>	2	1	1	NW	1
<i>yşb</i>	2	2	0		
<i>yşm_h</i>	2	1	1	unspecified	1
<i>yry</i>	1	1	0		
<i>yrm</i>	7	1	6	unspecified Acr PC	1 1 4
<i>yrm_n</i>	5	1	4	unspecified Acr PC	1 1 2
<i>ytrhd</i>	1	1	0		
<i>ytrşp</i>	3	1	2	PC	2
<i>klby</i>	11	1	10	GM NW PC S of Rsp WE	1 1 6 1 1
<i>ksln</i>	2	1	1	PC	1

<i>ksn</i>	3	1	2	PC Rap	1 1
<i>krt</i>	3	3	0		
<i>(bn) ly[</i>	1	1	0		
<i>maḥbt</i>	1	1	0		
<i>mzy</i>	2	1	1	PC	1
<i>mkt ḡr[</i>	1	1	0		
<i>mnn</i>	10	1	9	unspecified Acr NW PC Rap VB	1 1 1 4 1 1
<i>mšrn</i>	5	1	4	PC QR	3 1
<i>(bt) ndbd</i>	1	1	0		
<i>(bn) nʒril</i>	1	1	0		
<i>nptry</i>	1	1	0		
<i>nqly</i>	4	1	3	dump SW PC PS	1 1 1
<i>(bn) sl[</i>	1	1	0		
<i>(bt) ssl</i>	1	1	0		
<i>(bn) srd</i>	1	1	0		
<i>'bdilm</i>	7	1	6	Acr NW PC	1 1 4
<i>'lr</i>	2	1	1	PC	1
<i>'my</i>	8	1	7	GM PC	1 6
<i>ḡbr</i>	2	1	1	PC	1
<i>ḡly</i>	4	1	3	P.N. PS	2 1
<i>pzry</i>	1	1	0		
<i>plsy</i>	6	1	5	PC Rsp	4 1
<i>pḡt</i>	3	3	0		
<i>prkl</i>	2	1	1	PS	1
<i>(bn) sdx[</i>	1	1	0		
<i>šnr</i>	6	1	5	Acr PC P.N.	1 3 1
<i>qṭy</i>	5	1	4	PC VB WE	2 1 1
<i>qrwn</i>	2	1	1	PC	1
<i>šbn</i>	2	1	1	PC	1
<i>tbdn</i>	3	1	2	PC Rap	1 1

<i>trğds</i>	3	1	2	PC WE	1 1
<i>ıbil</i>	6	1	5	PC	5
<i>ıkn</i>	2	1	1	unspecified	1
<i>ırn</i>	6	1	5	unspecified PC QR W of We	1 2 1 1

(c) *The 'Exclusive' PH PN Terminology*

<i>Cultic Terminology</i>	<i>Total Texts ('Prime + Derived')</i>	<i>Total PH 'Prime' Texts</i>	<i>Total 'Derived' Texts</i>	<i>General 'Derived' Text Location</i>	<i>Total 'Derived' Texts per Location</i>
<i>agpıtr</i>	9	1	8	Agp between PC and PS PC QR VS	1 1 4 1 1
<i>adb'l</i>	3	1	2	PC QR	1 1
<i>ađmık</i>	4	1	3	PC TTE	2 1
<i>ađrm</i>	2	1	1	PS	1
<i>ađrřp</i>	2	1	1	PC	1
<i>(bt) anry</i>	1	1	0		
<i>arđlb</i>	1	1	0		
<i>ıbrn</i>	10	1	9	NW PC QR WE	1 5 1 2
<i>(bt) ilib</i>	1	1	0		
<i>ıptı</i>	1	1	0		
<i>ırab</i>	3	1	2	NW PC	1 1
<i>ıttqb</i>	1	1	0		
<i>ubyn</i>	5	1	4	PC W of WE	3 1
<i>bdn</i>	10	1	9	GM NW PC P.N. PS	1 1 5 1 1

<i>byy bn try</i>	8	1	7	unspecified PC PS Rsp	1 3 1 2
<i>gbrn</i>	3	1	2	PC	2
<i>dbb</i>	3	1	2	PC PS	1 1
<i>dmrb'l</i>	1	1	0		
<i>yaršil</i>	1	1	0		
<i>ybnmlk</i>	1	1	0		
<i>ydbil</i>	1	1	0		
<i>ydbb'l</i>	1	1	0		
<i>ydbhd</i>	1	1	0		
<i>yy bn try</i>	1	1	0		
<i>(bt) ymtdr</i>	1	1	0		
<i>ypt bn ykn'</i>	1	1	0	NW	1
<i>yqr</i>	1	1	0		
<i>yrgbb'l</i>	1	1	0		
<i>yrgbhd</i>	1	1	0		
<i>yrgblim</i>	1	1	0		
<i>yrgmil</i>	1	1	0		
<i>yrgmb'l</i>	1	1	0		
<i>kāyn</i>	2	1	1	PC	1
<i>kkbn</i>	1	1	0		
<i>lbn</i>	7	1	6	Acr PC	1 5
<i>(bt) mhrn</i>	1	1	0		
<i>mnḥm</i>	11	1	10	NW PC PC/PS	2 7 1
<i>nqmp'</i>	4	1	3	PC	3
<i>'bdil</i>	9	1	8	Acr PC P.N. VS	1 4 1 2
<i>'bdilt</i>	6	1	5	Acr PC PC/PS	1 3 1
<i>'bdyrḥ</i>	17	1	16	Acr GM NW PC P.N.	1 1 1 12 1
<i>'dd</i>	1	1	0		
<i>'zb'l</i>	1	1	0		
<i>'myn</i>	13	2	11	unspecified NW PC W of WE	2 1 7 1
<i>'mp'h</i>	1	1	0		

' <i>mrpi</i>	6	1	5	dump SW PC P.N. S part of PC surface	1 1 1 1 1
' <i>m̄t̄mr</i>	4	1	3	dump SW PC	1 2
' <i>mtr</i>	1	1	0		
<i>pl̄t̄</i>	4	1	3	Acr PC	1 2
(<i>bt</i>) <i>prsg</i>	1	1	0		
<i>qnd</i>	3	1	2	PC W of WE	1 1
<i>q'mr</i>	1	1	0		
<i>rmib</i>	1	1	0		
<i>rdt</i>	1	1	0		
<i>šmmn</i>	11	1	10	unspecified NW PC P.N. Rsp TTE	1 1 5 1 1
<i>špšn</i>	6	1	5	unspecified PC	1 4
<i>šrgzz</i>	1	1	0		
(<i>bt</i>) <i>tuzn</i>	1	1	0		
<i>tgršp b(n)</i>	1	1	0		
(<i>kt</i>) <i>tmnn</i>	1	1	0		
(<i>bt</i>) <i>tnn</i>	1	1	0		

(3) GNs

(a) The 'Common' GN Terminology

<i>Cultic Terminology</i>	<i>Total Texts ('Prime + Derived')</i>	<i>Total GP 'Prime' Texts</i>	<i>Total PH 'Prime' Texts</i>	<i>Total 'Derived' Texts</i>	<i>General 'Derived' Text Location</i>	<i>Total 'Derived' Texts per Location</i>
<i>inbb</i>	3	2	1	0		
<i>ugrt</i>	17	3	3	11	unspecified dump SW PC P.N.	1 1 7 1
(DN +) <i>ugrt</i>	12	4	5	3	QR PC SA	1 2 1

(PN +) <i>ugrt</i>	19	3	0	16	unspecified L PC P.N.	1 1 13 1
<i>gbl</i>	5	1	1	3	PC	3
<i>hbs</i>	5	1	1	3	NW PC surface	1 1 1
<i>hbly</i>	3	1	1	1	unspecified	1
<i>yrgb</i>	2	1	1	0		
<i>kptr</i>	4	3	1	0		
<i>lbnn</i>	6	2	1	3	PC surface	2 1
<i>mlk</i>	14	1	1	12	unspecified PC QR WE	1 9 1 1
<i>mrym spn</i>	4	3	1	0		
<i>srnm</i>	2	1	1	0		
<i>gr</i>	4			4	PC P.N.	2 1
<i>gr</i> (= mountain)	14	8	1	5	Rap Acr PC VB	1 1 3 1
<i>gr il spn</i>	2	1	1	0		
<i>spn</i>	22	9	2	11	unspecified PC P.N. WE	1 7 2 1

(b) *The 'Exclusive' GP GN Terminology*

<i>Cultic Terminology</i>	<i>Total Texts ('Prime + Derived')</i>	<i>Total GP 'Prime' Texts</i>	<i>Total 'Derived' Texts</i>	<i>General 'Derived' Text Location</i>	<i>Total 'Derived' Texts per Location</i>
<i>ablm</i>	2	2	0		
<i>amr</i>	1	1	0		
<i>ar</i>	17	2	15	unspecified PC Rap WE	1 12 1 1
<i>arr</i>	6	1	5	PC P.N.	4 1

<i>atlg</i>	12	1	11	unspecified PC Rap WE	1 8 1 1
<i>išryt</i>	3	3	0		
<i>ubr'y</i>	15	1	14	Acr GM PC P.N. W of WE WE	1 1 9 1 1 1
<i>udm</i>	2	1	1	unspecified	1
<i>uḥnp</i>	10	1	9	PC P.N. Rap	7 1 1
<i>ulm</i>	21	1	20	unspecified GM PC PS W of MT	1 1 16 1 1
<i>uškn</i>	18	1	17	MT PC P.N. QR Rap WE	1 10 3 1 1 1
<i>bir</i>	11	1	10	PC R of Rsp WE	8 1 1
<i>gr trǵzz</i>	1	1	0		
<i>gr trmg</i>	1	1	0		
<i>hrnm</i>	3	2	1	surface	1
<i>ḥkpt</i>	5	3	2	PC surface	1 1
<i>ḥbr</i>	2	2	0		
<i>ṭbq</i>	15	1	14	PC P.N. Rap WE	10 1 2 1
<i>yman</i>	3	2	1	PC	1
<i>yny</i>	12	1	11	unspecified dump SW NW PC P.N. QR Rap	1 3 3 1 1 1 1
<i>kwn</i>	3	2	1	PC	1

<i>m'rbv</i>	13	1	12	unspecified Acr GM PC P.N. WE	1 1 1 7 1 1
<i>mrvt tğll bnr</i>	1	1	0		
<i>nny</i>	1	1	0		
<i>np</i>	2	2	0		
<i>'rmt</i>	3	1	2	PC	2
<i>ğbl</i>	5	1	4	PC	4
<i>ğr b'l şpn</i>	1	1	0		
<i>ğr ks</i>	1	1	0		
<i>ğr mkrm</i>	1	1	0		
<i>pdr hşyn</i>	1	1	0		
<i>pdr ml[</i>	1	1	0		
<i>şdynm</i>	1	1	0		
<i>şr</i>	6	1	5	PC SA	4 1
<i>şrm</i>	1	1	0		
<i>qr mym</i>	1	1	0		
<i>şmk</i>	2	1	1	Rap	1
<i>şryn</i>	1	1	0		
<i>tkm</i>	1	1	0		
<i>tmk</i>	1	1	0		
<i>trmn</i>	3	2	1	PC	1

(c) *The 'Exclusive' PH GN Terminology*

<i>Cultic Terminology</i>	<i>Total Texts ('Prime + Derived')</i>	<i>Total PH 'Prime' Texts</i>	<i>Total 'Derived' Texts</i>	<i>General 'Derived' Text Location</i>	<i>Total 'Derived' Texts per Location</i>
<i>arşh</i>	2	1	1	PC	1
<i>ittqb</i>	1	1	0		
<i>bbt</i>	3	2	1	P.N.	1
<i>hdr'y</i>	1	1	0		
<i>hzp</i>	10	1	9	PC P.N. WE	7 1 1
<i>hgb</i>	4	1	3	PC P.N. SA	1 1 1
<i>hl</i>	7	1	6	PC WE	5 1
<i>hlş</i>	1	1	0		
<i>hryt</i>	1	1	0		

<i>hīb</i>	36	5	31	unspecified GM NW PC Rap Rsp Slope W W of WE WE	2 1 3 18 1 1 1 1 3
<i>hīmz</i>	1	1	0		
<i>kt</i>	3	1	2	PC	2
<i>lrgt</i>	1	1	0		
<i>mhbñ</i>	2	1	1	SA	1
<i>mšd</i>	1	1	0		
<i>mrh</i>	1	1	0		
<i>nbkm</i>	2	1	1	PC	1
<i>'tirt</i>	4	2	2	PC southern quarter	1 1
<i>gr hd</i>	1	1	0		
<i>šmm</i>	1	1	0		
<i>tīl</i>	1	1	0		

(4) *Cultic Jargon*(a) *The 'Common' Cultic Jargon Terminology*

<i>Cultic Terminology</i>	<i>Total Texts ('Prime + Derived')</i>	<i>Total GP 'Prime' Texts</i>	<i>Total PH 'Prime' Texts</i>	<i>Total 'Derived' Texts</i>	<i>General 'Derived' Text Location</i>	<i>Total 'Derived' Texts per Location</i>
<i>urm</i>	4	2	1	1	PC	1
<i>brr</i>	8	2	3	3	PC SA	1 2
<i>dbḥ</i>	19	5	3	11	unspecified dump SW PC P.N. SA	1 1 6 2 1
<i>dbḥm</i>	5	3	1	1	Acr	1
<i>dbḥn</i>	2	1	1	0		
<i>ḥl</i>	8	2	2	4	PC SA	2 2
<i>mḥy</i>	4	1	2	1	PC	1
<i>mspr</i>	4	3	1	0		
<i>mšr</i>	3	1	1	1	PC	1
<i>nkt</i>	4	1	3	0		
<i>'šr(t)</i>	3	2	1	0		

<i>rgm</i>	4	1	1	2	PC SA	1 1
<i>šlmm</i>	15	4	7	4	PC P.N.	1 3
<i>šnpt</i>	4	1	2	1	SA	1
<i>šrp</i>	12	3	3	5	Acr SA P.N.	1 1 3
<i>šrp w šlm(m)</i>	10	3	4	3	unspecified PC P.N.	1 1 1
<i>š'(m)</i>	8	3	3	2	dump SW P.N.	1 1

(b) The 'Exclusive' GP Cultic Jargon Terminology

<i>Cultic Terminology</i>	<i>Total Texts ('Prime + Derived')</i>	<i>Total GP 'Prime' Texts</i>	<i>Total 'Derived' Texts</i>	<i>General 'Derived' Text Location</i>	<i>Total 'Derived' Texts per Location</i>
<i>argmn</i>	5	1	4	unspecified PC	1 3
<i>dbh n'mt</i>	1	1	0		
<i>h̄talth̄ta</i>	2	1	1	P.N.	1
<i>kbd</i>	2	1	1	PC	1
<i>mzy</i>	1	1	0		
<i>mkt</i>	1	1	0		
<i>m'rb</i>	2	1	1	PC	1
<i>mtnt</i>	2	1	1	PC	1
<i>nzl</i>	1	1	0		
<i>'gml</i>	2	1	1	PC	1
<i>šd</i>	1	1	0		
<i>qrt</i>	1	1	0		
<i>trmt</i>	1	1	0		

(c) The 'Exclusive' PH Cultic Jargon Terminology

<i>Cultic Terminology</i>	<i>Total Texts ('Prime + Derived')</i>	<i>Total PH 'Prime' Texts</i>	<i>Total 'Derived' Texts</i>	<i>General 'Derived' Text Location</i>	<i>Total 'Derived' Texts per Location</i>
<i>at(t)</i>	1	1	0		
<i>iršt</i>	1	1	0		

<i>dbh kl kl ykly</i>	1	1	0		
<i>dbh kl yrh</i>	1	1	0		
<i>dbh pdry</i>	1	1	0		
<i>dbh spn</i>	2	1	1	PC	1
<i>dbh</i>	1	1	0		
<i>dt nat</i>	1	1	0		
<i>dt nat w ytnt</i>	1	1	0		
<i>dt nat w qrwn</i>	1	1	0		
<i>hll ydm</i>	1	1	0		
<i>yph</i>	1	1	0		
<i>mnt</i>	1	1	0		
<i>ndr</i>	1	1	0		
<i>nskt ksp w hrs</i>	1	1	0		
<i>šqym</i>	1	1	0		
<i>šrp w sp</i>	1	1	0		
<i>tzg(m)</i>	2	1	1	PC	1

(5) *Cultic Commodities*(a) *The 'Common' Cultic Commodity Terminology*

<i>Cultic Terminology</i>	<i>Total Texts ('Prime + Derived')</i>	<i>Total GP 'Prime' Texts</i>	<i>Total PH 'Prime' Texts</i>	<i>Total 'Derived' Texts</i>	<i>General 'Derived' Text Location</i>	<i>Total 'Derived' Texts per Location</i>
<i>alp</i>	17	6	6	5	Acr PC P.N. SA	2 1 1 1
	20	5	0	15	unspecified PC PC/PS P.N. Rap surface W of WE	1 9 1 1 1 1
<i>alp w š</i>	18	4	6	8	unspecified PC P.N.	1 2 5
	0	0	0	0		
<i>alpm</i>	7	1	5	1	unspecified	1
	21	3	0	18	PC P.N. Rap	18 1 1
<i>amr/imr</i>	3	1	2	0		
	5	5	0	0		

<i>{ktn} ušpgt{m pld}</i>	3	1	1	1	PC	1
	11	0	0	11	unspecified PC P.N.	1 8 2
<i>gdlt</i>	18	5	8	5	unspecified PC P.N. SA	1 1 1 2
	0	0	0	0		
<i>dd{m}</i>	3	1	1	1	PC	1
	43	3	1	39	unspecified dump SW MPC NW PC QR Rap SA southern quarter VB W of WE	2 2 1 1 24 1 1 3 1 1 1
<i>dd šmn</i>	3	1	1?	1	PC	1
	6	5	1	0		
<i>dkr{m}</i>	3	1	1	1	PC	1
	0	0	0	0		
<i>dqt</i>	9	4	2	3	PC SA	1 2
	3	0	0	3	dump SW PC	1 2
<i>dqtm</i>	10	3	4	3	unspecified PC SA	1 1 1
	1	0	1	0		
<i>hn</i>	2	1	1	0		
	1	1	0	0		
<i>hmr</i>	3	1	2	0		
	2	2	0	0		
<i>hrs</i>	2	1	1	0		
	23	7	0	16	unspecified Acr dump SW PC P.N. surface	1 1 1 11 1 1

<i>yn</i>	7	3	1	3	PC	2
					SA	1
	50	10	2?	40	unspecified	1
					Acr	1
					N of MT	1
					near Arch.	
					E	1
					NW	1
					PC	28
					P.N.	1
					PS	2
					Rap	1
					SA	1
					surface	1
<i>ynt qrt</i>	6	2	3	1	PC	1
	0	0	0	0		
<i>kbd{m}</i>	11	3	7	1	WE/1	1
	0	0	0	0		
<i>ksp</i>	3	1	1	1	PC	1
	81	7	1	73	unspecified	8
					Acr	1
					NW	1
					PC	46
					PC/PS	1
					P.N.	8
					QR	2
					Rap/L	1
					Rsp	2
					SA E of	
					Agp	1
					W of MT	1
					WE	1
<i>mr{m}</i>	6	1	1	4	unspecified	1
					Acr	2
					Rsp	1
	2	1	0	1	PC	1
<i>mrqdm {dšn}</i>	2	1	1	0		
	1	1	0	0		
<i>mntm</i>	4	2	2	0		
	2	1	1	0		
<i>nbt</i>	4	2	1	1	PC	1
	4	1	0	3	P.N.	1
					QR	1
					VB	1
<i>npš</i>	13	2	7	4	PC	1
					P.N.	2
					SA	1
	1	0	0	1	W of WE	1
<i>'sr</i>	5	2	2	1	dump SW	1
	5	4	1	0		

'šrm	14	6	4	4	PC	1
					P.N.	2
					SA	1
	3	2	0	1	QR	1
{prs} {qmḥ}	6	1	1	4	Acr	2
					Rsp	1
					PC	1
	10	0	0	10	dump SW	1
					QR	1
					SA	1
					PC	7
šin	7	3	2	2	PC	1
					SA	1
	19	5	0	14	unspecified	1
					dump SW	1
					PC	10
					P.N.	1
					Rap	1
š	30	10	11	9	unspecified	1
					PC	5
					P.N.	1
					SA	2
	7	1	1	5	unspecified	1
					MT	1
					PC	2
					P.N.	1
					QR	1
šm	10	2	3	5	unspecified	1
					PC	2
					P.N.	1
					SA	1
	2	0	0	2	PC	1
					P.N.	1
šmn	3	1?	1?	1	P.N.	1
	41	5	1?	35	unspecified	2
					Acr	2
					N of MT	1
					PC	19
					P.N.	5
					PS	1
					Rsp	1
					VB	1
					VS	1
					W of MT	1
					W of WE	1
šmn mr	1	1	1?	0		
	3	1	0	2	unspecified	1
					W of WE	1
šmn rḡh	3	1	1	1	PC	1
	2	0	0	2	Rsp	1
					W of WE	1

<i>š'rt</i>	3	2	1?	0		
	2	1	1	20	unspecified	1
					dump SW	1
					NW	1
					PC	14
					S part of	
					PC	1
					W of MT	1
					W of Rap	1
<i>{tp w} msltm</i>	2	1	1	0		
	1	1	0	0		
<i>tr</i>	3	1	1	1	PC	1
	1	1	0	0		

(b) The 'Exclusive' GP Cultic Commodity Terminology

Cultic Terminology	Total Texts ('Prime + Derived')	Total GP 'Prime' Texts	Total 'Derived' Texts	General 'Derived' Text Location	Total 'Derived' Texts per Location
<i>ap w nps</i>	7	3	4	PC	1
				P.N.	3
	2?	1?	1?	PH	1
<i>iqnilu</i>	3	1	2	PC	2
	8	1	7	unspecified	1
				PC	2
				P.N.	2
<i>gd</i>	1	1	0		
	2	0	2	Rsp	1
				MT	1
<i>gl hrs</i>	1	1	0		
	1	1	0		
<i>gl htt</i>	1	1	0		
	1	1	0		
<i>dn</i>	1	1	0		
	1	1	0		
<i>dgtt</i>	2	2	0		
	0	0	0		
<i>dtr w ksm</i>	3	2	1	PC	1
	1?	0	1?	PC	1
<i>hlb</i>	1	1	0		
	1	1	0		
<i>hqrn</i>	1	1	0		
	0	0	0		
<i>yn isryt</i>	1	1	0		
	1	1	0		
<i>ynt</i>	1	1	0		
	0	0	0		

<i>kdr</i>	1	1	0		
	1	0	1	PC	1
<i>lbš</i>	3	1	2	PC	1
				P.N.	1
	15	4	11	NW	1
				PC	8
				P.N.	1
				W of MT	1
<i>lštm</i>	1	1	0		
	0	0	0		
<i>mzn drk</i>	1	1	0		
	0	0	0		
<i>mssr 'sr</i>	1	1	0		
	0	0	0		
<i>npt</i>	1	1	0		
	0	0	0		
<i>špm</i>	1	1	0		
	0	0	0		
<i>grn</i>	2	1	1	unspecified	1
	3	3	1	PH	1
<i>rmš</i>	1	1	0		
	0	0	0		
<i>šmt</i>	3	1	2	PC	2
	2	0	2	PC	2
<i>tpš šn't yqš</i>	1	1	0		
	0	0	0		
<i>tql hrs</i>	1	1	0		
	0	0	0		
<i>tql ksp {tb}</i>	2?	1	1?	SA	1
	0	0	0		
<i>tql ksp kbd</i>	2	1	1	PC	1
	2?	0	2?	unspecified	1
				PC	1
<i>tr bišt</i>	1	1	0		
	0	0	0		

(Although no 'cultic' application of unmodified *tql* are attested at GP, the following 'non-cultic' applications of the terminology are to be noted.)

<i>tql</i>			13	unspecified	2
				dump SW	1
				N of MT	1
				NW	1
				PC	5
				S part of	
				PC	2
				VS	1

(c) The 'Exclusive' PH Cultic Commodity Terminology

<i>Cultic Terminology</i>	<i>Total Texts ('Prime + Derived')</i>	<i>Total PH 'Prime' Texts</i>	<i>Total 'Derived' Texts</i>	<i>General 'Derived' Text Location</i>	<i>Total 'Derived' Texts per Location</i>
<i>akl</i>	1	1	0		
	0	0	0		
<i>ipd(m)</i>	1	1	0		
	3	0	3	PC P.N. S part of PC	1 1 1
<i>bnt</i>	1	1	0		
	1	0	1	Acr	1
<i>bšl</i>	1	1	0		
	0	0	0		
<i>dm zt hrpnt</i>	1	1	0		
	12?	0	12?	Acr dump SW GP PC VS W of WE	1 1 2 6 1 1
<i>hršh</i>	1	1	0		
	1	0	1	PC	1
<i>knr w ilb</i>	1	1	0		
	2?	1?	1?	GP	1
<i>ksp w hrš</i>	4	1	3	PC P.N.	1 2
	3	1	2	GP	2
<i>kt zrw</i>	1	1	0		
	1	0	1	PC	1
<i>mhlpt</i>	1	1	0		
	0	0	0		
<i>mšlt</i>	1	1	0		
	2	0	2	PC	2
<i>nskt ksp w hrš</i>	1	1	0		
	0	0	0		
<i>npšm</i>	1	1	0		
	9	0	9	unspecified dump Rap GP PC Rap W of WE	1 1 1 4 1 1
<i>spl</i>	1	1	0		
	2	0	2	PC	2

'z	2	1	1	PC	1
	0	0	0		
'r	1	1	0		
	0	0	0		
<i>pqq w šrh</i>	1	1	0		
	0	0	0		
<i>pr</i>	2	1	1	PC	1
	0	0	0		
<i>rkb rtn (atn)</i>	1	1	0		
	0	0	0		
<i>škm</i>	1	1	0		
	1	0	1	GP	1
<i>šmn šlm b'l</i>	1	1	0		
	2?	1?	1?	GP	1
<i>tr</i>	1	1	0		
	2	0	2	PC	2
<i>trh hdt mr</i>	1	1	0		
	0	0	0		

(6) Cultic Locations

(a) The 'Common' Cultic Location Terminology

Cultic Terminology	Total Texts ('Prime + Derived')	Total GP 'Prime' Texts	Total PH 'Prime' Texts	Total 'Derived' Texts	General 'Derived' Text Location	Total 'Derived' Texts per Location
<i>urbt</i>	6	2	2	2	PC	1
	1	1	0	0	P.N.	1
<i>bt</i>	13	3	8	2	PC	2
	28	15	1	12	unspecified	2
					MPC	1
					PC	6
					P.N.	1
					QR	2
<i>bt il</i>	7	3	1	3	PC	3
	17	15	1	1	surface	1
<i>bt ilm</i>	5	1	1	3	PC	3
	0	0	0	0		
<i>bt b'l</i>	5	1	3	1	PC	1
	1	0	0	1	surface	1
<i>bt b'l ugrt</i>	5	1	4	0		
	0	0	0	0		

<i>bt mlk</i>	10	3	2	5	PC P.N. SA	3 1 1
	13	0	0	13	dump of LB house dump SW PC W of MT	1 1 10 1
<i>hkl</i>	4	2	1	1	PC	1
	6	4	0	2	Acr PC	1 1
<i>hmn(h)</i>	6	2	1	3	P.N. SA	1 2
	0	0	0	0		
<i>mtbt ilm</i>	3	2	1	0		
	0	0	0	0		
<i>'d {bt b'l ugrt }</i>	4	3	1	0		
	2	2	0	0		
<i>'lyh</i>	4	1	1	2	PC SA	1 1
	0	0	0	0		
<i>qdš</i>	4	1	1	2	P.N. SA	1 1
	2	1	0	1	surface	1
<i>ilhñ {b'lt bhm }</i>	1	1	1	0		
	6	4	1	1	dump SW	1

(b) The 'Exclusive' GP Cultic Location Terminology

Cultic Terminology	Total Texts ('Prime + Derived')	Total GP 'Prime' Texts	Total 'Derived' Texts	General 'Derived' Text Location	Total 'Derived' Texts per Location
<i>('l) agn</i>	1	1	0		
<i>alt</i>	1	1	0		
	2	2	0		
<i>(b/ 'l) (i)št</i>	2	2	0		
	6	5	1	PC	1
<i>bt ilm kbkbm</i>	1	1	0		
	0	0	0		
<i>bt ilt</i>	2	1	1	PC	1
	0	0	0		
<i>bt b'lt btm {rmm }</i>	2	1	1	PC	1
	0	0	0		

<i>bt hrš</i>	1	1	0		
	0	0	0		
<i>(b) gb bt ilm kbbkm</i>	1	1	0		
	0	0	0		
<i>(b/l) gg(t)</i>	3	3	0		
	1	0	1	surface	1
<i>zr mgdl</i>	1	1	0		
	2?	2?	0		
<i>ksu</i>	2	1	1	SA	1
	12	7	5	unspecified	1
				Acr	2
				dump SW	1
				SA	1
<i>ksu ilt</i>	1	1	0		
	0	0	0		
<i>kśu</i>	1	1	0		
	0	0	0		
<i>kśu b'lt bhtm</i>	1	1	0		
	0	0	0		
<i>lb rmst ilhm b'lm</i>	2	2	1	PC	1
	0	0	0		
<i>mdbh b'l</i>	2	1	1	PC	1
	0	0	0		
<i>mdbht</i>	3	2	1	PC	1
	0	0	0		
<i>mabr</i>	3	3	0		
	1	0	1	PC	1
<i>m'lt mdbht bt ilt</i>	1	1	0		
	0	0	0		
<i>mšlt bt hrš</i>	1	1	0		
	0	0	0		
<i>mšbt azmr</i>	1	1	0		
	0	0	0		
<i>nbk</i>	2	1	1	PC	1
	0	0	0		
<i>'n</i>	1	1	0		
	0	0	0		
<i>gr</i>	2	1	1	PC	1
	0	0	0		
<i>qdš atrt srm</i>	1	1	0		
	0	0	0		
<i>qr bt il</i>	1	1	0		
	0	0	0		
<i>tkmm hmt</i>	1	1	0		
	0	0	0		

(c) The 'Exclusive' PH Cultic Location Terminology

Cultic Terminology	Total Texts ('Prime + Derived')	Total PH 'Prime' Texts	Total 'Derived' Texts	General 'Derived' Text Location	Total 'Derived' Texts per Location
<i>bt il bt</i>	1 0	1 0	0 0		
<i>bt bn bnš</i>	1 0	1 0	0 0		
<i>bt dgn</i>	1 0	1 0	0 0		
<i>bt hrn</i>	1 0	1 0	0 0		
<i>bt mnt</i>	1 0	1 0	0 0		
<i>bt mibth</i>	1 0	1 0	0 0		
<i>bt šr</i>	1 0	1 0	0 0		
<i>bt t' {y}</i>	1 0	1 0	0 0		
<i>mgdl b'l ugrt</i>	1 0	1 0	0 0		
<i>ntbt bt b'l</i>	1 4?	1 0	0 4?	PC surface	3 1
<i>'rk b'l hlb</i>	1 0	1 0	0 0		
<i>'rkm</i>	1 0	1 0	0 0		
<i>'r'r</i>	1 1	1 1	0 0		
<i>gb</i>	2 0	1 0	1 0	PC	1
<i>gb hyr</i>	1 0	1 0	0 0		
<i>gb spn</i>	1 0	1 0	0 0		
<i>gb ršp {mhbn}</i>	1 0	1 0	1 0	PC	1
<i>prsm bt</i>	1 1?	1 0	0 1?	GP	1
<i>qdš il bt</i>	1 0	1 0	0 0		
<i>qdš b'l</i>	1 1	1 1	0 0		
<i>qdš mlk</i>	1 0	1 0	0 0		

(7) Cultic Times and Events

(a) The 'Common' Cultic Times and Event Terminology

Cultic Terminology	Total Texts ('Prime + Derived')	Total GP 'Prime' Texts	Total PH 'Prime' Texts	Total 'Derived' Texts	General 'Derived' Text Location	Total 'Derived' Texts per Location
(b) <i>arb 't 'šrt</i>	6	2	2	2	PC SA	1 1
	0	0	0	0		
(b) <i>urm</i>	4	2	1	1	PC	1
	0	0	0	0		
(b) <i>ym) ḥdṯ</i>	10	2	3	5	PC P.N. SA WE/1	2 1 1 1
	2	0	0	2	PC	2
(b) <i>ḥmš</i>	5	1	2	2	PC	2
	6	3	0	3	SA surface	2 1
<i>ym</i>	5	1	3	1	PC	1
	22	10	0	12	Acr PC P.N. surface	1 8 2 1
<i>yrḥ kty</i>	3	1	2	0		
	0	0	0	0		
<i>k t 'rb 'ttrṯ šd bt mlk</i>	3	1	1	1	PC	1
	0	0	0	0		
<i>ym mlāt</i>	3	1	2	0		
	0	0	0	0		
<i>'rb(t) špš</i>	7	2	2	3	PC SA WE/1	1 1 1
	1	1	0	0		
<i>'šr</i>	2	1	1	0		
	0	0	0	0		
(b) <i>šb' (ym)</i>	6	1	2	3	PC P.N. SA	1 1 1
	4	3	0	1	surface	1
(b) <i>ṯdṯ</i>	4	1	1	2	PC P.N.	1 1
	4	3	0	1	surface	1
<i>ṯṯ(t)</i>	5	4	1	0		
	6	5	0	1	surface	1

(Although no 'cultic' applications of *yrh* were attested at GP or PH, the 'cultic' terminology at other locations is worth noting noted.)

<i>yrh</i>	2	0	0	2	PC	1
					P.N.	1
	15	0	0	15	MPC	1
					PC	13
					surface	1

(b) *The 'Exclusive' GP Cultic Times and Event Terminology*

<i>Cultic Terminology</i>	<i>Total Texts ('Prime + Derived')</i>	<i>Total GP 'Prime' Texts</i>	<i>Total 'Derived' Texts</i>	<i>General 'Derived' Text Location</i>	<i>Total 'Derived' Texts per Location</i>
<i>b ym dbh tph b'l</i>	1	1	0		
	0	0	0		
(b) <i>yrh riš yn</i>	3	1	2	PC	2
	1	0	1	PC	1
<i>ll</i>	5	2	3	PC	1
				P.N.	1
				SA	1
	0	0	0		
<i>ll špš pgr w trmnm</i>	1	1	0		
	0	0	0		
<i>'lm t'rbn gtrm bt mlk</i>	1	1	0		
	0	0	0		
<i>šbu špš</i>	1	1	1	PC	1
	0	0	0		
<i>riš argmn</i>	2	1	1	PC	1
	3	0	3	unspecified	1
				PC	2
(b) <i>šlt 'šrt</i>	3	1	2	PC	1
				SA	1
	0	0	0		

(c) The 'Exclusive' PH Cultic Times and Event Terminology

<i>Cultic Terminology</i>	<i>Total Texts ('Prime + Derived')</i>	<i>Total PH 'Prime' Texts</i>	<i>Total 'Derived' Texts</i>	<i>General 'Derived' Text Location</i>	<i>Total 'Derived' Texts per Location</i>
<i>ym ahd</i>	1 0	1 0	0 0		
<i>dbh kl yrh</i>	1 0	1 0	0 0		
<i>dbh spn</i>	2 0	1 0	1 0	PC	1
<i>dbht</i>	1 0	1 0	0 0		
<i>ym hrpnt kššr</i>	1 0	1 0	0 0		
<i>(yrh) ib 'lt</i>	1 0	1 0	0 0		
<i>(b yrh) hyr</i>	4 0	2 0	2 0	SA WE/1	1 1
<i>yrh nql</i>	2 0	1 0	1 0	PC	1
<i>k ypth yrk hnd</i>	1 0	1 0	0 0		
<i>k yqny gʒr b altyy</i>	1 0	1 0	0 0		
<i>rišyt</i>	1 0	1 0	0 0		
<i>rb'</i>	1 0	1 0	0 0		
<i>(b) šb't 'šrt</i>	2 0	1 0	1 0	SA	1
<i>tš'</i>	1 0	1 0	0 0		
<i>ym tmn</i>	1 0	1 0	0 0		
<i>tmnt 'šrt</i>	1 0	1 0	0 0		
<i>tmnt 'šrt ib 'lt</i>	1 0	1 0	0 0		

(8) Cultic Personnel

(a) The 'Common' Cultic Personnel Terminology

<i>Cultic Terminology</i>	<i>Total Texts ('Prime + Derived')</i>	<i>Total GP 'Prime' Texts</i>	<i>Total PH 'Prime' Texts</i>	<i>Total 'Derived' Texts</i>	<i>General 'Derived' Text Location</i>	<i>Total 'Derived' Texts per Location</i>
<i>att</i>	2	1	1	0		
	18	7	2	9	PC Rsp WE	7 1 1
<i>bnš(m)</i>	5	1	1	3	dump of LB house PC	1 2
	32	5	0	27	dump SW L PC P.N. NW WE	1 1 21 1 2 1
<i>khrm</i>	17	1	1	15	unspecified Acr dump SW PC PS QR SA E of Agp WE	1 2 1 7 1 1 1 1 1
	0	0	0	0		
<i>mlk</i>	20	7	7	6	PC P.N. SA	2 2 2
	59	9	1	49	unspecified dump SW L NW PC P.N. surface WE	2 3 1 1 37 3 1 1
<i>mlkt</i>	5	1	1	3	PC P.N.	2 1
	18	0	0	18	unspecified PC P.N. Rap TR WE	1 13 1 1 1

<i>'rbm</i>	2	1	1	0		
	0	0	0	0		
<i>šr(m)</i>	4	1	1	2	PC	1
					SA	1
	10	0	0	10	Acr	1
					PC	7
					WE	2

(b) The 'Exclusive' GP Cultic Personnel Terminology

Cultic Terminology	Total Texts ('Prime + Derived')	Total GP 'Prime' Texts	Total 'Derived' Texts	General 'Derived' Text Location	Total 'Derived' Texts per Location
<i>bn ugrt</i>	1	1	0		
	0	0	0		
<i>b<n>t ugrt</i>	1	1	0		
	0	0	0		
<i>n'm</i>	1	1	0		
	0	0	0		
<i>g̃zr[m {b ql}]</i>	1	1	0		
	1	1	0		
<i>qds(m)</i>	2	1	1	SA	1
	8	0	8	Acr	2
				NW	1
				PC	3
				QR	1
				WE	1
<i>rb khnm</i>	7	7	0		
	0	0	0		
<i>innm</i>	1	1	0		
	14	0	14	unspecified	1
				Acr	1
				NW	1
				PC	8
				QR	1
				SA	1
				WE	1
<i>t'y</i>	5	3	2	dump SW	1
				P.N.	1
	0	0	0		

(c) The 'Exclusive' PH Cultic Personnel Terminology

Cultic Terminology	Total Texts ('Prime + Derived')	Total PH 'Prime' Texts	Total 'Derived' Texts	General 'Derived' Text Location	Total 'Derived' Texts per Location
<i>adn ilm rbm</i>	1	1	0		
	0	0	0		
<i>mhllm</i>	1	1	0		
	0	0	0		
<i>mlak(m)</i>	1	1	0		
	5	0	5	GP P.N.	4 1
<i>mlhš</i>	1	1	0		
	0	0	0		
<i>mrzh</i>	1	1	0		
	4	0	4		
<i>srnm</i>	1	1	0		
	0	0	0		
<i>tgr(m)</i>	2	1	1	PC	1
	8	1	7	PC VS/MT WE	5 1 1

(9) Cultic Actions

(a) The 'Common' Cultic Action Terminology

Cultic Terminology	Total Texts ('Prime + Derived')	Total GP 'Prime' Texts	Total PH 'Prime' Texts	Total 'Derived' Texts	General 'Derived' Text Location	Total 'Derived' Texts per Location
<i>dbh</i>	7	2	3	2	PC	1
	0	0	0	0	P.N.	1
<i>hik</i>	5	1	1	3	dump SW P.N.	1 2
	47	30	2	15	Acr dump SW PC P.N. surface VS/MT	1 1 7 3 2 1

<i>hn</i>	3	1	2	0		
	18	6	1	11	Acr PC P.N. Rsp surface	1 6 2 1 1
<i>yrđ</i>	4	3	1	0		
	18	13	1	4	dump SW PC SA	1 2 1
<i>ytn</i>	10	3	2	5	PC P.N.	4 1
	79	32	5	42	unspecified Acr PC P.N. QR Rsp surface VS	4 4 25 1 1 2 4 1
<i>ytb</i>	5	2	2	1	PC	1
	45	28	4	13	PC P.N. PS surface	8 2 1 2
<i>kmm</i>	14	6	4	4	PC P.N.	2 2
	0	0	0	0		
<i>lhm</i>	4	1	3	0		
	24	17	0	7	PC P.N. surface	1 2 4
<i>lqh</i>	10	5	3	2	PC	2
	46	14	0	32	PC P.N. QR surface VB WE	24 1 4 1 1 1
<i>nkt</i>	3	1	2	0		
	0	0	0	0		
<i>npv</i>	4	1	2	1	PC	1
	1	0	0	1	VS/MT	1
<i>nša</i>	6	4	2	0		
	41	28	0	13	unspecified Acr PC P.N. surface	1 1 6 1 4

<i>ntk</i>	5	3	1	1	PC	1
	3	3	0	0		
<i>'db</i>	5	3	1	1	PC	1
	18	10	4	4	P.N. surface	1 3
<i>'ly</i>	5	3	1	1	SA	1
	31	13	2	16	Acr Agp PC P.N. SA surface	2 1 7 3 1 2
<i>'ny</i>	3	1	2	0		
	40	32	3	5	Acr NW SA surface	2 1 1 1
<i>'sr</i>	2	1	1	0		
	4	3	0	1	surface	1
<i>qtl</i>	8	3	2	3	PC	3
	0	0	0	0		
<i>qll</i>	4	1	2	1	P.N.	1
	43	19	3	21	unspecified dump SW PC P.N. PS QR Rap surface TR WE VB	1 2 8 3 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
<i>gra</i>	8	2	3	3	dump SW PC	2 1
	7	7	0	0		
<i>rhş</i>	14	7	3	4	PC SA	2 2
	8	5	1	2	surface SA	1 1
<i>şyr</i>	4	1	1	2	SA	2
	6	0	2	4	Acr surface PC	1 1 2
<i>şyt</i>	6	1	4	1	P.N.	1
	79	48	2	29	unspecified Acr MT PC P.N. Rsp	2 5 1 18 2 1

<i>slm</i>	4	1	1	2	Acr dump SW	1
	57	8	1	48	unspecified dump SW	2 4
					NW	2
					PC	32
					P.N.	1
					QR	3
					Rap	1
					VB	1
					WE	2
<i>šn(y)</i>	3	1	1	1	PC	1
	0	0	0	0		
<i>šty</i>	8	1	7	0		
	17	13	4	0		
<i>twb</i>	17	5	2	8	PC	2
					P.N.	1
					SA	2
	32	30	2	0		
<i>šy</i>	2	1	1	0		
	0	0	0	0		

(b) *The 'Exclusive' GP Cultic Action Terminology*

<i>Cultic Terminology</i>	<i>Total Texts ('Prime + Derived')</i>	<i>Total GP 'Prime' Texts</i>	<i>Total 'Derived' Texts</i>	<i>General 'Derived' Text Location</i>	<i>Total 'Derived' Texts per Location</i>
<i>adm</i>	2	2	0		
	0	0	0		
<i>dgt</i>	1	1	0		
	0	0	0		
<i>dmn</i>	1	1	0		
	0	0	0		
<i>hgr</i>	1	1	0		
	0	0	0		
<i>hta</i>	2	2	0		
	1	0	1	P.N.	1
<i>lbs</i>	3	2	1	P.N.	1
	4	4	0		
<i>slh</i>	2	1	1	P.N.	1
	0	0	0		
<i>spr</i>	1	1	0		
	0	0	0		

<i>rb</i>	4	3	1	PC	1
	36	17	19	unspecified	1
				Acr	1
				PC	12
				PC/PS	1
				PH	1
				PS	1
				surface	1
				WE/1	1
<i>qrb</i>	2	1	1	PC	1
	1	0	1	surface	1
<i>qry</i>	1	1	0		
	4	4	0		
<i>rgm</i>	3	2	1	PC	1
	73	24	49	unspecified	6
				Acr	1
				dump SW	2
				L	1
				PC	29
				P.N.	1
				PS	2
				QR	2
				Rap	1
				surface	2
				TR	1
				WE	1
<i>rkb</i>	1	1	0		
	6	6	0		

(c) *The 'Exclusive' PH Cultic Action Terminology*

<i>Cultic Terminology</i>	<i>Total Texts ('Prime + Derived')</i>	<i>Total PH 'Prime' Texts</i>	<i>Total 'Derived' Texts</i>	<i>General 'Derived' Text Location</i>	<i>Total 'Derived' Texts per Location</i>
<i>abd</i>	1	1	0		
	6	0	6	GP	2
				PC	2
				surface/GP	2
<i>bs'</i>	1	1	0		
	0	0	0		
<i>bšl</i>	1	1	0		
	0	0	0		
<i>dny</i>	3	3	0		
	0	0	0		
<i>dmr</i>	1	1	0		
	0	0	0		

<i>hdy</i>	1	1	0		
	4	0	4	Acr dump SW GP	1 1 2
<i>hdt</i>	1	1	0		
	2	0	2	GP PC	1 1
<i>trd</i>	1	1	0		
	2	0	2	GP	2
<i>yşa</i>	4	1	3	P.N. SA	2 1
	33	1	32	GP PC PC/PS P.N. surface surface/GP	15 11 1 2 2 1
<i>yıg</i>	1	1	0		
	0	0	0		
<i>kbd</i>	2	1	1	P.N.	1
	11		11	GP GP/Acr P.N. surface	5 1 2 1
<i>kly</i>	3	2	1	PC	1
	22	1	21	Acr dump SW GP GP/Acr PC surface/GP	1 1 10 2 6 1
<i>mla</i>	1	1	0		
	16	2	14	Acr GP GP/Acr surface/GP	2 9 2 1
<i>nşb</i>	1	1	0		
	3	0	3	GP surface	1 2
<i>qds</i>	2	1	1	dump SW	1
	0	0	0		
<i>rwq</i>	1	1	0		
	0	0	0		
<i>şal</i>	1	1	0		
	14	0	14	unspecified PC GP QR Rsp surface/GP	1 7 2 2 1 1

b. A Closer Look

Essentially, the evaluation offered in this section will entail a more detailed examination of the extent of the connections, identified in the initial stage by means of content, between texts and contexts. The aims here are (1) to register the number of texts that are associated by the identification of content connections—in other words, to state the number of text connections—and (2) to determine which locations display the most prominent degree of association with GP and PH.

In the following discussion a number of percentage figures will be offered. Having stated earlier that statistical presentation could serve to distort the amount of commonality perceivable on the level of content connection, demonstrating the degree of connectivity using percentages is considered to be worthwhile when discussing the number of text connections arising from given locations. In the same way that a whole new light is cast on a cluster of, say, 15 content connections when it is stated that the connections are established between just two texts—one ‘prime’, the other ‘derived’—offering percentages for the derived text location’s share of the total number of text connections serves as a useful device for demonstrating the uniqueness (or otherwise) of both the text connection and its findsite. In order to avoid an overstatement of the degree of association, the percentages will be presented alongside the actual number of text connections involved, and will be withheld whenever the total number of texts involved falls below five (an arbitrary cut-off point). In the interests of readability, percentages will be rounded up or down to two decimal places where appropriate.

Although it would be possible to adopt a more technical approach to the treatment of the data collected in the contextualist exercise, the reluctance to engage in intensive statistical analysis is defensible. Because one of the central tenets of statistical science is that ‘significance’⁴ is related to the size of the sample data, and because (by necessity) restrictions were imposed on the source material examined in the present study, submitting the generated data to formal statistical analysis aimed at determining the ‘significance’ of the distribution figures would be of limited value and would, perhaps, be rendered worthless by future applications of the contextualist method as well as the long-awaited publication of some or all of the 500+ texts that are listed as ‘Unpublished’ in *KTU*.

(1) *DNs*

Despite the fact that several of the forms admitted into Workbook I of the Database remain ambiguous—including, for instance, the terms appearing at *KTU* 1.65.6-9,

⁴ For an introduction to the calculation of statistical significance and the so-called ‘Null-Hypothesis Significance-Test Procedure’ see S.L. Chow, *Statistical Significance: Rationale, Validity and Utility* (London: Sage, 1996).

12-19, and KTU 1.113.13-26—a large number of DNs can be identified in the prime texts: c. 190 in GP; c. 160 in PH. If all the terms identified are accepted provisionally as DNs, and if all occurrences of DN usage highlighted in the prime texts and entered into the database are also sanctioned, it can be said that GP makes use of DN terminology c. 550 times in 52 texts; PH offers c. 340 such applications across 42 texts.

GP Room 1 supplies over half of the GP DN texts. Notably, 25 of the 52 documents share the same findspot within this area—p.t. 300 depth unspecified. Three additional findspots within Room 1 supply texts: single tablets were recovered from points 209, 430 and 431. (Ninety-six of the c. 190 DN terms arising at GP are mentioned in Room 1.) GP Room 7 supplies seven texts; the only ‘shared’ findspot location being p.t. 338/338, 343, 341, which is associated with fragments of five texts. None of the remaining GP texts share a findspot. The precise location of nine tablets is obscure due to the fact that they are associated only with the obscure topographic marker, p.t. 210-264.

It has already been mentioned that the topographical proximity of the PH texts will remain somewhat obscure until a plan depicting the ‘points topographiques’ is published. Even so, it is worthwhile to note that multiple texts are attested at the following findspots: p.t. 3759 (eight texts); p.t. 3745 (four texts); p.t. 3771 (four texts); p.t. 3681 (two texts); p.t. 3687 (two texts); p.t. 3753 (two texts); p.t. 3769 (two texts); p.t. 3777 (two texts); p.t. 3783 (two texts). A further four texts were recovered from Room 10 (trench) p.t. 3751 and p.t. 3772 (two texts each). It should also be mentioned that fragments of three texts (KTU 1.103; 1.107; 1.118) are associated with several of the findspots just mentioned. Within PH Room 10 points 3680, 3701, 3727, 3743, 3757, 3760 and 3780 each attest a single text, as do Room 10 (trench) p.t. 3732 and p.t. 3784.

A search of the Ugaritic corpus reveals that 89 different ‘derived’ texts contain at least one of the 94 DNs that are ‘common’ to the ‘prime’ documentation. (A total of 237 separate content connections can be established in the derived documentation.) Sixteen texts display connections with one or more of the c. 106 DNs that are found in GP (and not in PH), while 12 texts display connections with the c. 78 DNs that are ‘exclusive’ to PH.

(a) *The Distribution of the ‘Common’ DN Terminology*

Of the 89 ‘derived’ texts that make reference to the ‘common’ DNs of GP and PH, 12 originate from Acr, 13 come from P.N. and 39 derive from PC. Relaying these results in the form of percentages, it can be said that these three locations supply,

respectively, 13.48%, 14.60% and 43.82% of the ‘derived’ DN text connections. Thus, in terms of text connections delivered, PC is the most fertile location.⁵

The prominence of PC is emphasised still further when the incidence of ‘common’ DNs within the PC texts is examined more closely—109 content connections arise at PC, with 40 of the 94 ‘common’ DNs being mentioned. Acr provides 33 content connections and mentions 23 of the ‘common’ DNs; the texts from P.N. supply 31 content connections and refer to 17 of the ‘common’ DNs.

Exploring further the relatively high number of occurrences of ‘common’ DNs within the confines of PC, it is notable that ten (11.24%) of the 39 PC texts originate from Court V/Court V (oven), with eight (8.99%) of these deriving from the same findspot and depth—namely, p.t. 1331 depth 2.90 m. Multiple texts are also recovered in Rooms 53 (four texts [4.49%]), 73 (four texts [4.49%]), 81 (four texts [4.49%]), 56 (three texts [3.37%]), 90 (three texts [3.37%]) and 64 (two texts [2.25%]). Single texts (1.12%) arise in Rooms 5, 52, 62, 66, 77, 80, 84, Court I and p.t. 181.

For all of this, it should not be overlooked that 36 of the ‘common’ DNs are not mentioned outside GP and PH.

(b) *The Distribution of the ‘Exclusive’ GP DN Terminology*

A noteworthy feature of the GP DNs is that very few of them arise in texts recovered from locations external to GP—16 of the c. 106 ‘exclusive’ GP DNs are mentioned in 16 different ‘derived’ texts. In all, there are 23 separate content connections. Looking in more detail at the distribution of the texts displaying these connections, it can be said that the texts yielding terminological affinities are distributed across a number of locations. Eight texts (50%) were found within the confines of PC; PC Room 53 housed three of these eight texts (18.75%), with two (12.75%) of the texts coming from the same p.t. and elevation—namely, p.t. 124 depth 2.10 m. Two texts (12.75%) were recovered from Acr, at points 489 and 484/486, respectively, and two more texts (12.75%) were retrieved from SA at p.t. 3771 and 3783/(trench) p.t. 3772. The remaining four texts (25.5%) were recovered from assorted locations: P.N., the Tel surface, dump SW and an unspecified location.

(c) *The Distribution of the ‘Exclusive’ PH DN Terminology*

As with GP, only a small proportion of the DNs appearing ‘exclusively’ in the ‘prime’ texts of PH arise anywhere else at Ugarit—the 16 content connections

⁵ In descending order of text-connection frequency, the figures for the remaining ‘common’ DN findsites are as follows: four texts (4.5%) from unspecified; three texts (3.5%) from SA; two texts (2.25%) each for dump SW, QR, Rap, VB; one texts (1.12% each) for surface, Southern Quarter, GM, MeB, MT, Ršp, VS/MT, WE, WE/1.

established in 12 ‘derived’ texts make reference to just 12 of the c. 78 ‘exclusive’ PH DNs. (The DNs *ršp mlk* and *glm* are the only forms to appear in more than one text: the former occurs in KTU 1.90 and KTU 4.182 while the latter arises in KTU 1.106; 1.112; 1.169.)

The 12 text connections are spread over six (general) findsite locations. PC, with its five ‘derived’ texts (41.67%), supplies the most text connections—Room 53 contained three texts (two from p.t. 124 depth 2.10 m; one from p.t. 115+116 depth 1.60 m); PC Room 84 (p.t. and depth unspecified) produced one text (8.33%), as did PC p.t. 181 depth 2.00 m. Two text connections (16.67%) arose from SA (p.t. 3771 depth 1.10 m and p.t. 3783 depth 3.45 m, respectively). P.N. also yielded two texts (16.67%), while single text connections (8.33%) arose from Acr, dump SW and the Southern Quarter (centre).

(2) *PNs*

An important issue cannot be overlooked when considering the distributions of PNs at Ugarit, however. As van Soldt noted in his probative attempt at using PNs to fix the chronology of the texts and findsites,⁶ it is extremely difficult to ascertain whether two attestations of the *same name* actually refer to the *same person*. With the exception of royal PNs and also, perhaps, those PNs that express corresponding filiations, a considerable degree of insecurity will surround not only the identities of the individuals mentioned in the texts, but also the ‘connections’ that are created by the appearance of terminological agreements. Keeping in mind the inherent uncertainty of working with Ugaritic PNs, the following observations are to be treated with sensitivity.

As with the DNs listed above, a number of the PNs identified in the study of the GP and PH texts are dubious in respect of classification. (The terms appearing in KTU 1.65 and KTU 1.113 again contribute to the uncertainty.) Although the final totals might need adjustment as/when the uncertainty surrounding the questionable terms is settled, the provisional finding is that 27 texts from GP display c. 100 PNs and use PN terminology a total of c. 120 times. PH uses c. 68 PNs a total of 70 times across 16 separate texts.

Room 1 p.t. 300 depth unspecified again proves to be a rich source of PNs within GP; 13 of GP’s 27 PN texts were found at this spot. An additional text (KTU 2.10) displaying PN terminology was found at GP Room 1 p.t. 431 depth unspecified. Four texts recovered from Room 7 p.t. 338, 343, 341/343 depth 0.30-0.40 m/0.20 m also make reference (seemingly) to PNs—though the human characters mentioned in these texts (i.e. KTU 1.15; 1.18; 1.19; 1.20) *could* be understood as literary/legendary creations. Apart from GP p.t. 2, which offers two texts, and the

⁶ See van Soldt, *SAU*, pp. 39-43.

uncertain location p.t. 210-264/Tr. C-E. K-L p.t. 210-264, which supplies three texts, none of remaining GP texts share a findspot.

Eleven different findspots within PH Room 10 supply the 16 texts bearing PN terminology—five of these locations (points 3745, 3771, Room 10 [trench] 3743, 3751, 3781) supply two texts each. The remainder of the texts were recovered from points 3694, 3701, 3727, 3783, Room 10 [trench] 3708 and 3732.

The six PNs that are common to both GP and PH are mentioned a total of 14 times in 14 ‘derived’ texts. Some 146 texts demonstrate 210 content connections with the 92 PNs that appear ‘exclusively’ in GP; 110 ‘derived’ texts display 139 content connections with the 61 PH PNs that are not found in GP.

(a) *The Distribution of the ‘Common’ PN Terminology*

The majority of the 15 ‘derived’ texts originate from PC; eleven (73.33%) are attributable to this location. The distribution of texts showing ‘common’ PNs within PC is as follows: four texts (26.67%) come from Court V (four) p.t. 300 depth 2.90 m; Rooms 4, 31, 53, 54, 56, 90 and PC dump attest one text (6.67%) each.

The remaining four ‘derived’ texts that display ‘common’ PN terminology are dispersed thus: one text (6.67%) each from dump SW, P.N., Ršp and location unspecified.

(b) *The Distribution of the ‘Exclusive’ GP PN Terminology*

Once again, the bulk of ‘derived’ PN texts have a findsite location within the confines of PC; of the 146 documents that display the 210 content connections with ‘exclusive’ GP PNs, 96 texts (65.75%) were recovered from within this structure. A total of 138 content connections are attributable to PC. In terms of text connections, the most fertile PN findspots within PC are Court V (oven) p.t. 1331 depth 2.90 m, which attests 17 (11.64%) texts, and Room 56 p.t. 901 (various depths), from where ten texts (6.85%) were recovered. Note also that two more texts (1.37%) were unearthed from Room 56—from p.t. 903 and p.t. 1521, respectively.⁷

With the exception of PS Room 203 p.t. 1635 depth 2.30 m and p.t. 1647 depth 2.30 m, which both supply two text connections (1.37%), no findspot furnished more than one of the remaining 50 ‘derived’ texts. Looking at the general locations of these tablets the following results can be observed: six texts (4.11%) each from NW and P.N.; three texts (2.05%) each from Acr and WE; two texts (1.37%) each

⁷ In descending order of text-connection frequency the other (generalised) PC locations are as follows: eight texts (5.48%) from Room 53; seven texts (4.79%) from Room 73, Room 81; six texts (4.11%) from Court V; four texts (2.74%) from Room 5; three texts (2.05%) each from Rooms 28, 66, 80, 90 and dump; two texts (1.37%) each from Rooms 4, 52, 54, 69, 77, Court VI; one text (0.68%) each from Rooms 1, 68, 71 and p.t. 867.

from dump SW, QR, Rap, Ršp and VB; one text (0.68%) each from Arch. S, GM, MT, Palace Street, S of Ršp, surface, TTE, W of Rap and W of WE.

Finally, it should not be overlooked that ten text connections (6.85%) are established with tablets for which no findsite data have been recorded.

(c) The Distribution of the 'Exclusive' PH PN Terminology

Sixty-six (60%) of the 110 'derived' texts that incorporate one or more of the 61 'exclusive' PH PNs were excavated from within the walls of PC; 85 of the 139 content connections appear in texts recovered from this structure. Of the 66 'derived' PC texts, 14 (12.73%) were recovered from Court V/Court V (oven) p.t. 1331 depth 2.90 m, and a further three (2.73%) from other Court V findspots (i.e. points 1250, 1361, 1362). The remaining 49 PC 'derived' texts were distributed as follows: ten texts (9.09%) from Room 81 (notably, with no one findspot displaying more than one text connection); eight texts (7.27%) from Room 53; five texts (4.55%) from Room 56; four texts (3.64%) from Room 5 (with all texts recovered from a variety of depths at p.t. 901); three texts (2.73%) from Room 66; two texts (1.82%) each from Room 4, 28, 52, 73 and Court IV; one text (0.91%) each from Rooms 32, 64, 76, 77, 90, Court I, Court VI, dump and an unspecified location within PC. Single texts were also recorded from a location recorded as 'S part of PC' (KTU 4.707), 'between PC and PS' (KTU 4.644) and 'PC/PS' (KTU 3.8).

The 44 non-PC 'derived' texts were unearthed from the following locations: seven texts (6.36%) from NW (multiple texts were found at none of the findspots); five texts (4.55%) from P.N.; three texts (2.73%) each from Acr, QR and Ršp; two texts (1.82%) each from PS, TTE, W of WE, WE and VS; one text (0.91%) each from Agp, dump SW, GM, PC/PS and an unknown location on the Tel surface. Five texts (4.55%) with no preserved findsite information are also connected with the 'exclusive' PH PNs by way of terminological agreement.

(3) GNs

The documents recovered from GP reveal c. 55 GNs that were utilised a total of c. 100 times within 32 texts; PH yields 21 texts containing c. 21 different GNs that were employed c. 55 times in all.

GP's Room 1 furnished over half of the 32 texts that make use of GNs—16 of the texts were found at p.t. 300 depth unspecified; one text was found at p.t. 430 depth unspecified. Five texts were found at various points within Room 7, while another text (KTU 1.16) was found at a findspot (p.t. 335) between Rooms 7 and 8. The imprecise designation p.t. 210-264 is given for five texts. None of the remaining findsites supply more than one text.

Fourteen separate PH Room 10 findspots are associated with the 21 texts displaying PN terminology. Seven of these locations contribute multiple texts (i.e.

two texts each): Room 10 p.t. 3687, 3745, 3753, 3759, 3771, Room 10 (trench) p.t. 3751 and 3772.

A total of 62 'derived' texts display connections with the 14 'common' GNs. For the 41 GNs appearing 'exclusively' in GP, 77 'derived' texts can be found that display at least one of the terms; at least one of the 21 PH GNs not arising in GP are mentioned in 41 non-GP and non-PH texts.

(a) The Distribution of the 'Common' GN Terminology

Less than one third of the 61 'derived' texts connected with the 'common' GN terminology appear in findsites outside of PC. Of these 19 (31.15%) non-PC 'derived' texts, four (6.58%) are attributed locations within P.N., while four texts (6.58%) have an unknown provenience. A single text connection (1.64%) can be identified with each of the following (generalised) locations: Acr, dump SW, L, NW, QR, Rap, SA, VB, WE and an unrecorded findsite somewhere on the surface of Tel Ras Shamra.

Taken together, the 43 PC texts account for 70.39% of the 'derived' text connections with the 'common' GN terminology; they also supply 43 of the 72 content connections. The distribution of the texts within PC is as follows: 11 texts (18.03%) from Court V/Court V (oven) p.t. 1331 depth 2.90 m, with an additional text (1.64%) from Court V (oven) p.t. 1326 depth 3.30 m; six texts (9.84%) from Room 81; five texts (8.2%) from Room 53; two texts (3.28%) from Rooms 28, 68 and 80; one text (1.64%) each from Rooms 5, 31, 52, 56, 64, 90, Court IV, Court IV/V and Court IV. A further three texts (4.92%) were assigned cursorily to 'PC'.

(b) The Distribution of the 'Exclusive' GP GN Terminology

Fifty-two (67.53%) of the 77 'derived' texts that make reference to one of more of the 'exclusive' GP GNs stem from PC. An examination of the content connections shows that 109 of the 157 content connections are associated with PC. Twelve (15.58%) of the 52 PC texts shared the same findspot, Court V/Court V (oven) p.t. 1331, with all but one text (KTU 4.477, depth unspecified) having a depth recording of 2.90 m. Three additional texts (3.9%) from Court V are also attested. The remaining PC texts are distributed thus: nine texts (11.69%) from Room 9; five texts (6.49%) from Room 56 (note that all texts come from a variety of depths at p.t. 901); three texts (3.9%) each from Rooms 63 and 73; two texts (2.6%) each from Rooms 64, 80, 90; one text (1.3%) each from Rooms 5, 16, 28, 52, 54, 66, 68, dump and Court I. Two additional texts (2.6%) from PC lack a precise topographical fix.

P.N. is the next most prominent (generalised) find location displaying text connections—four (6.49%) such connections can be established in texts from this building. Nine of the 157 content connections are displayed in the P.N. documents.

Text connections with GP's 'exclusive' GN terminology can be established with a number of other locations: three texts (3.9%) from NW; two texts (2.6%) each from QR and Rap; one text (1.3%) each from Acr, dump SW, GM, MT, PS, S of Ršp, SA, W of MT, W of WE and WE itself. A further two texts (2.6%) do not have a recorded findsite and a single text (1.3%) is said simply to have been recovered from the Tel surface. As with the P.N. texts, no single location produced more than one text, and none of the sites supplied content connections numbering in double figures.

(c) *The Distribution of the 'Exclusive' PH GN Terminology*

As with 'exclusive' GN terminology of GP, the majority of the terminological and textual associations can be linked to PC: 36 of the 57 content connections and 27 (65.85%) of the 41 text connections were garnered from this location. Within PC Room 81 proves to be the more prolific source of 'derived' texts by supplying seven (17.07%) texts; Court V/Court V (oven) p.t. 1331 supplies four (9.76%). The other 16 PC texts are variously distributed: two texts (4.88%) each from Room 5 (different findspots) and Room 56 (same findspot, different depths); one text (2.44%) each for Rooms 1, 16, 30, 53, 68, 80, 84, 90 and Room unspecified p.t. 181. Two further texts (4.88%) were plucked from the PC dump and a final text (2.44%) lacks specific coordinates.

Since none of the 14 non-PC 'derived' texts share a findspot, it is appropriate to give figures for the general locations: three texts (7.32%) for P.N.; two texts (4.88%) from WE; one text (2.44%) each for GM, NW, Rap, Ršp, SA, Slope W, Southern Quarter, W of WE and an unspecified location.

(4) *Cultic Jargon*

Notwithstanding the problems associated with deciding what does and does not constitute 'cultic jargon',⁸ approximately 50 terms are identifiable. Eleven texts display c. 29 items of cultic jargon a total of c. 50 times in GP; c. 35 items arise a total of c. 60 times in 21 texts from PH.

Room 1 p.t. 300 depth unspecified is the findspot location of eight of the 11 GP texts that supply cultic jargon. Two of the remaining three texts are associated with Room 7 p.t. 343 (note that two of the four fragments that comprise KTU 1.14 are located at p.t. 343/338, 343, 341). The final GP text is allocated the imprecise topographic marker p.t. 210-264.

In terms of the number of tablets recovered, Room 10 p.t. 3759 proves to be the most abundant source of cultic jargon texts within PH; four of the 24 texts were found at this findspot (though at a variety of depths between 0.90-1.15 m). Three

⁸ Cf. above, p. 155.

texts were recovered from Room 10 p.t. 3745. Two texts each were recovered from the three findspots—points 3681, 3727 and 3783. Room 10 points 3680, 3743, 3771, 3777 and Room 10 (trench) points 3732, 3751, 3772 and 3781 are the locations of single texts.

Seventeen items of the cultic jargon are found to be ‘common’ to both GP and PH texts. A search of the texts deriving from other locations reveals that 20 texts contain at least one of these common terms. (There are 28 content connections in total.) At the same time, four non-GP/non-PH texts present one or more of the 12 items of ‘exclusive’ GP jargon; one such text displays two of the c. 19 ‘exclusive’ items of PH terminology.

(a) *The Distribution of the ‘Common’ Cultic Jargon Terminology*

The distribution of the 20 ‘derived’ texts displaying ‘common’ terminology is as follows: seven texts (35%) from PC (two [10%] from Room 53, one [5%] each from Rooms 56, 81, 90, Court I and Court V [four]); six texts (30%) from P.N.; three texts from SA; two texts from Acr; one text (5%) each from dump SW and an unspecified location. No findspot within these generalised locations displays more than a single text connection.

(b) *The Distribution of the ‘Exclusive’ GP Cultic Jargon Terminology*

The four text connections established by the appearance of ‘exclusive’ GP cultic jargon are distributed in the following way: three texts from PC (one text each from Rooms 66, 81 and Court V [oven]); one text from an unknown location. Looking at the situation another way, it can be said that seven of the ten content connections that lead to the identification of the text connections are linked with PC. Not forgetting the uncertainty surrounding in the role of *argmn* (KTU 3.1; 4.261; 4.610), however, these figures should be considered as provisional.

(c) *The Distribution of the ‘Exclusive’ PH Cultic Jargon Terminology*

Since KTU 1.91 is the only text to display a terminological association with the ‘exclusive’ PH terminology—there are two content connections in all—a percentage representation is withheld. The single ‘derived’ text connection can be linked to PC Room 81 (p.t. and depth unknown).

(5) *Cultic Commodities*

Disregarding for the time being the non-cultic applications, the 80 or so items of cultic commodity terminology—the appearance of singular, plural and compound forms complicates the final figure—arise in 18 GP and 24 PH texts. The texts from GP supply c. 60 terms while those from PH employ c. 55; c. 35 terms are found to be ‘common’ to both sites.

Of the 18 GP texts that make use of cultic commodity terminology—there are 109 separate applications in all—14 were unearthed from Room 1 p.t. 300 depth unspecified. Room 1 p.t. 209 depth unspecified supplied one of the four texts that were not discovered at p.t. 300. Fragments of two texts are linked with GP Room 7 p.t. 343/338, 343, 341. Having been assigned the imprecise locational marker ‘p.t. 210-264’, the exact original location of the final GP text remains uncertain.

The distribution of the 24 texts that utilise commodity terminology within PH is as follows: six texts come from Room 10 p.t. 3759; four texts come from Room 10 p.t. 3745; two texts each come from Room 10 p.t. 3783 and Room 10 (trench) p.t. 3751; single texts come from Room 10 points 3680, 3681, 3687, 3743, 3753, 3760, 3769, 3777, 3780 and Room 10 (trench) 3743. In total, 111 separate instances of culturally applied commodity terminology are evident at PH.

A search of the remaining Ugaritic texts—that is, texts from outside GP and PH—reveals that 29 ‘derived’ texts make use of one or more of the c. 35 ‘common’ terms in a way that is suggestive of cultic association. A similar investigation shows that ten ‘derived’ texts make similar references to the c. 28 ‘exclusive’ GP cultic commodities, while four such texts display connections with the c. 20 ‘exclusive’ PH terms.

Before moving on to discuss the distribution of commodity terminology in ‘derived’ texts, it is worth recording the presence of non-cultic applications within GP and PH. In view of the prominence of GP Room 1 p.t. 300 for the cultic applications, it is interesting to observe that just four of the 24 texts making use of commodity terminology with no *overt* cultic association were obtained from this findspot.⁹ At the same time, it should also be noted that nine of the texts were recovered from GP p.t. 210-264/Tr. C-E. K-L p.t. 210-264 and a further eight were found at various findspots linked with Room 7. The remaining three texts were recovered from GP p.t. 345, Room 7/8 p.t. 335 and Room 1 p.t. 209. A total of 78 non-cultic applications of commodity terminology are evident at GP.

Within the eight PH texts that use commodity terminology ‘non-cultically’, a total of 11 such applications can be identified. Three of the texts share a common findspot—Room 10 p.t. 3771 (note, however, that because one of these texts has no recorded depth measurement it cannot be grouped assuredly with the other two texts, which both have a recorded depth of 1.10 m). Points 3745, 3753 and 3780 of Room 10 and points 3751 and 3772 of Room 10 (trench) are the locations for the remaining five texts.

⁹ Note, however, that the understanding of these texts is rather uncertain. The editors of *KTU* are somewhat hesitant in their classification of at least one of these texts. Although *KTU* 4.17, as the ‘4.’ prefix indicates, is considered to be an ‘economic’ text, the genre description appearing before the transcribed text reads ‘religious: most probably not economic’. See *KTU*, p. 210.

(a) The Distribution of the 'Common' Cultic Commodity Terminology

By supplying nine (31.03%) of the 29 text connections, PC establishes itself as the most abundant source of 'derived' texts. (The prominence of PC is, perhaps, underscored further by the appearance of 28 of the 72 content connections within the complex.) It should be noted, however, that none of the texts for which precise findspot information exists can be seen to share the same position: three texts (10.34%) come from Room 81 (p.t. and depth unknown); two texts (6.9%) come from Court V (oven); Rooms 41, 74, 77 and 84 furnish one text (3.45%) each.

Behind PC, P.N. offers the most number of text connections—although, as in PC, none of the eight 'derived' texts (27.59%) share the same findspot. The remainder of the text connections are distributed across several locations: four texts (13.79%) come from Acr; two texts (6.9%) come from SA; one text (3.45%) each from dump SW, Ršp and WE/1. Three additional texts (10.34%) display 'common' terminology; the original position of these documents has not, however, been recorded.

A total of 211 'derived' texts supply the 314 separate 'non-cultic' content connections with commodities that seem to have a cultic function in the 'prime' documentation. In all, 139 (65.88%) of the 211 text connections and 202 of 314 content connections are linked with PC.¹⁰

The 72 non-PC texts were recovered from a variety of locations. By supplying 13 texts (6.16%), which incorporate 23 separate content connections, P.N. establishes itself as the next most prominent source of 'derived' documentation.¹¹ It should not, perhaps, be overlooked that 14 'derived' texts (6.64%) containing a total of 20 content connections have no recorded findspot.

¹⁰ The distribution of texts within PC is as follows: 24 texts (11.37%) from Court V (oven) p.t. 1331; 17 texts (8.06%) from Room 53; 12 texts (5.69%) from Room 8; nine texts (4.27%) from Room 66; eight texts (3.79%) each from Room 56 and Court V; seven texts (3.32%) from Room 73; six texts (2.84%) from Court IV; five texts (2.37%) from Room 52; four texts (1.9%) from Room 64; three texts (1.42%) each from Rooms 5, 32, 77 and PC dump; two texts (0.95%) each from Rooms 4, 52/53, 68, 69, 76, Court II and Court VI; one text (0.47%) each from p.t. 867, Rooms 20, 28, 54, 57 (dump near Tomb), 71, 84, 90, Court I, Court IV/VI, Court V/Room 81, S of Room 3 and PC/PS p.t. 1596.

¹¹ The arrangement of the remaining texts is as follows: five texts (2.37%) from dump SW; four texts (1.9%) each from Acr, NW and SA; three texts (1.42%) each from PS and Ršp; two texts (0.95%) each from QR, VB and W of WE; one text (0.47%) each from MPC, MT, N of MT, near Arch. E, QR Tr. 503 S, Rap, Rap/L, S part of PC, SA E of Agp, Southern Quarter, surface, VS, W of MT, W of Rap and WE.

(b) The Distribution of the 'Exclusive' GP Cultic Commodity Terminology

Altogether, 14 content connections are present within the ten 'derived' texts that make use of the 'exclusive' GP cultic commodity terminology. The text connections established on the basis of the terminological agreement are distributed thus: four texts (40%) come from PC (two texts [20%] from Room 53 [though separate findspots], and one text [10%] each from Room 84 and Court V [four]); four texts (40%) come from P.N. (though from different findspots); one text (10%) comes from SA; one text (10%) comes from a location unknown. A similar pattern is reflected on the content level: PC supplies eight of the 14 content connections.

At the same time, 22 (56.41%) of the 39 'non-cultic' text connections and 20 of the 39 content connections can be linked with PC.¹² No more than four content and text connections are linked to any one of the non-PC locations at which similar documents were found.¹³

(c) The Distribution of the 'Exclusive' PH Cultic Commodity Terminology

Two (generalised) findsites furnish the four text connections for the 'exclusive' terminology identifiable at PH: two of these texts come from PC (one each from Court V [four] p.t. 1331 and Room 84); the other two come from P.N. (one each from E 85 NW, Court II [24 VII] and PN E 86 SW surface [30 VII]¹⁴). (On the level of content connection PC has the slight advantage—of the five instances of terminological agreement, three are linked to PC and two are linked to P.N.) No single findspot attests more than one text.

As for the 'derived' texts that employ the commodity terminology non-cultically, PC shows itself to be the most abundant source—16 (48.48%) of the 33 documents were recovered from within PC.¹⁵ Concomitantly, 19 of the 38 content connections are to be found in PC documentation.

¹² The texts were arranged within PC as follows: six texts (15.38%) from Room 53; three texts (7.69%) from Court V (oven); two texts (5.13%) from Room 56; one text (2.57%) each from Rooms 4, 36, 52, 57 (dump near Tomb), 64, 66, 90, Court I and Court VI. A further two texts (5.13%) were assigned to the general area 'S part of PC'.

¹³ Four texts (10.26%) come from P.N.; four more texts (10.26%) have no recorded findspot location; two texts (5.13%) come from NW; single texts (2.57%) come from dump SW, MT, N of MT, PH (note that because the association created with the PH text KTU 1.103 and the terminology of GP is between a 'cultic' and 'non-cultic' application no formal 'text connection' is established), Ršp, VS and W of MT.

¹⁴ Note that the texts are fragmentary and that these locations are those assigned to the first fragment listed in *KTU*. Cf. the Appendix for the topographic position of the other fragments.

¹⁵ Four texts (12.12%) each come from Room 53 (different findspots) and Court V (oven) p.t. 1331; two texts (6.06%) each come from Rooms 56 and 90; single texts (3.03%) come from the S part of PC, Rooms 28, 36 and 62. The distribution of the 18 texts that were found outside PC is as

(6) Cultic Locations

Close to 40 cultic locations are mentioned a total of c. 60 times in 18 texts recovered from the remains of GP. (The meanings of *tlhn* in KTU 4.13 and *b išt* in KTU 1.48 are somewhat obscure and stand in the way of certainty.) Some 50 separate references are made to 36 cultic locations in 18 texts from PH.

'Room 1 p.t. 300 depth unspecified' is the location recorded for 12 of the 18 GP texts that mention cultic locations. Room 1's p.t. 209 supplies an additional text. Four other findsites are assigned to the remaining five texts: p.t. 2; p.t. 210-264; Room 6/8 p.t. 334; Room 7 p.t. 343/338, 343, 341/342 (the findsites assigned to those fragments of KTU 1.14 and KTU 1.19 for which topographic data is supplied).

The distribution of the 18 documents making use of cultic location terminology at PH is as follows: five texts come from Room 10 p.t. 3759 depth 1.10 m; three texts come from Room 10 p.t. 3745; two texts come from Room 10 p.t. 3687; Room 10 points 3680, 3681, 3701, 3769, 3783, Room 10 (trench) points 3708 and 3772 supply single texts. A final text was obtained from PH Room 11 (Tomb) p.t. 3709.

A total of 13 non-GP and non-PH texts use one or more of the 14 'common' items of location terminology in a way that is suggestive of cultic significance. Two 'derived' texts make use of seven of the c. 25 'exclusive' GP locations; two 'derived' texts employ cultically two of the 21 'exclusive' PH locations.

With regard to the documents making non-cultic use of location terminology, it can be stated that 19 such texts arise at GP.¹⁶ Just three texts applying cultic location terminology non-cultically are evident at PH.¹⁷

(a) The Distribution of the 'Common' Cultic Location Terminology

Most of the 13 'derived' texts that employ the 'common' cultic location terminology were excavated from the ruins of PC. (This is reflected in the fact that 15 of the 24

follows: six texts (18.18%) come from GP (for the same reason given in the preceding note, no direct 'text connection' is established); two texts (6.06%) each come from Acr and W of WE; single texts (3.03%) come from dump Rap, dump SW, P.N., Rap, an unrecorded position on the Tel surface, VS and some other unknown location.

¹⁶ The distribution of these texts within GP is as follows: six texts (or fragments thereof) are linked with Room 7; four texts from Room 1 p.t. 300; one text each from GP points 203, 345 and Room 1 p.t. 209; a further six texts are assigned the imprecise locator 'p.t. 210-264'. It is important to establish that although four of the GP texts arise from Room p.t. 300—a location that, as has just been noted, produced the bulk of the texts displaying cultic application—three of the non-cultic texts are implicated by the appearance of the DN *il bt* (KTU 1.39.13; 1.41.32; 1.53.8); the uncertainty surrounding the remaining text from p.t. 300 (namely, KTU 4.13) is evident from *KTU's* genre classification. See *KTU*, p. 208.

¹⁷ These texts were recovered from Room 10 points 3687, 3780 and Room 10 (trench) p.t. 3784.

content connections are linked to PC.) Having said this, however, it is important to note that none of the eight PC texts (61.54%) share the same findspot: two texts (15.38%) come from Room 53; another two texts (15.38%) come from Court V (oven); Rooms 73, 81 and Court I each supply one text (7.69%), as does p.t. 181. The five non-PC 'derived' texts are divided between P.N. (three texts [28.08%]) and SA (two texts [15.38%]).

As with the texts that assign cultic meaning to the location terminology, over half of the texts attaching no discernible cultic value stem from PC; 17 (58.62%) of the 29 texts are linked to this location (as are 17 of the 41 content connections). Notably, six (20.69%) of the texts share the same precise findspot—Court V (oven) p.t. 1331 depth 2.90 m.¹⁸ With the exception of two texts (6.9%) that are linked with topographically inexact locator 'dump SW' and two others (6.9%) that have no recorded findsite, none of the remaining texts share a room, let alone a findspot.¹⁹

(b) The Distribution of the 'Exclusive' GP Cultic Location Terminology

The two 'derived' texts that display terminological agreement with the 'exclusive' cultic location terminology of GP were recovered from Court V [four] p.t. 1326 depth 3.30 m (KTU 1.87) and SA p.t. 3783 depth 3.45 m (KTU 1.106). On the level of content connection, the distribution is less balanced—the PC texts supply six of the seven correspondences.

Ten 'derived' texts attach no apparent cultic meaning to the 'exclusive' location terminology. Two texts (20%) each were recovered (from different findspots) from Acr, PC and PH, and one text (10%) each unearthed from SA, as well as the topographically imprecise locations dump SW, Tel surface and location unspecified. (Since none of the 'derived' documents make reference to more than one location, these distribution ratios also apply to the ten content connections.)

(c) The Distribution of the 'Exclusive' PH Cultic Location Terminology

KTU 1.91 and KTU 4.149, the only texts to make use of PH's 'exclusive' cultic location terminology, were both recovered from within the confines of PC; while the former text is fixed to Room 53 p.t. 82 depth 1.11 m, all that is known of the latter text is that it was recovered from 'Room 81'.

Five non-cultic applications of the 'exclusive' location terminology arise in five separate 'derived' texts. Although three of the text (and content) connections can be

¹⁸ The other PC texts are distributed as follows: four texts (13.79%) come from Room 53 (but from different findspots); single texts (3.45%) come from Rooms 52, 56, 66, 73, 81, 90 or dump and Court IV.

¹⁹ Individual texts (3.45% each) come from Acr, dump of LB house, MPC, P.N., QR N of Room 52, QR Tr. 601 S, W of MT and an unknown location on the Tel surface.

linked to PC, no common room or findspot is evident: Rooms 56, 77 and Court V each supply one text. Single texts were also recovered from GP Room 1 and an uncertain point on the Tel surface. For all this, it is worth remembering that four of the proposed connections are based on a *partial* terminological agreement between *ntb*, the component appearing in the ‘derived’ texts, and the full form *ntbt bt b’l* of the ‘prime’ documentation (i.e. KTU 1.119.33). These figures are to be treated carefully.

(7) *Cultic Times and Events*

Analysis of the GP documents reveals c. 20 cultic times and events mentioned a total of c. 30 times in nine texts. Twenty texts from PH supply c. 41 separate references to 30 temporal markers that appear to carry cultic significance.

All of the nine GP texts using cultic time and event terminology are linked with Room 1 p.t. 300 depth unspecified, though it is to be noted that the findspot for one fragment of KTU 1.41 is recorded simply to ‘Room 1’ and one fragment of KTU 1.27 is assigned the imprecise marker ‘p.t. 210-264’.

Four of the 20 PH texts share the same findspot location—namely, Room 10 p.t. 3759. Note, however, that three different depths are involved. Room 10 (trench) p.t. 3781, Room 10 p.t. 3745 and p.t. 3783 each yield two texts (but with different depths in the case of the latter). The ten remaining texts come from separate points: Room 10 p.t. 3680, 3681, 3701, 3743, 3760, 3769, Room 10 (trench) p.t. 2743, 3751, 3772/3687/Room 10 (trench) p.t. 3751/3784/3781 (KTU 1.107 is fragmentary), Room 11 (Tomb) p.t. 3709.

Seven separate ‘derived’ texts contain a reference to at least one of the 14 ‘common’ cultic times and events. Of the seven ‘exclusive’ GP terms, five arise with an apparent cultic meaning in six texts arising from non-GP/non-PH locations. Four texts from locations other than GP and PH make use of four of the 17 ‘exclusive’ PH terms.

Within the ‘prime’ texts a number of seemingly non-cultic applications of the time and event terminology occur. A total of 25 such applications in 12 texts arise at GP, the majority of which can be connected with points in and around Room 7 or the indefinite location ‘p.t. 210-264’.²⁰ No texts displaying non-cultic usage appear at PH.

(a) *The Distribution of the ‘Common’ Cultic Times and Event Terminology*

The seven ‘derived’ texts that (seemingly) make cultic use of the ‘common’ time and event terminology arise from the following locations: three texts (42.86%) come

²⁰ One or more fragments of six GP texts come from points within Room 7; four texts are assigned the marker ‘p.t. 210-264’; single texts come from GP p.t. 345 and Room 1 p.t. 300.

from PC (one text [14.29%] each from Rooms 53, 81 and Court V [four]); two texts (28.57%) come from P.N. (but from different findspots); SA and WE/1 supply one text (14.29%) each.²¹ Although at first sight it might be concluded that ‘the three texts from PC supply exactly half of the 20 identifiable content connections’, given the uncertainty surrounding the classification of *b urm* in KTU 1.87 (and elsewhere for that matter), as well as the partial nature of the terminological agreement between the ‘prime’ and ‘derived’ texts (cf. the database), a good measure of caution is needed when considering the connections between the documents.

Non-cultic usage of the ‘common’ terminology is found a total of 35 times in 29 ‘derived’ texts. Twenty two (75.86%) of the text connections can be linked to PC,²² two (6.87%) were found at P.N., two (6.87%) were found at SA; the remaining three texts (3.45% each) were found, respectively, at Acr, MPC and an unknown location somewhere on the Tel’s surface. None of the texts recovered from outside of PC share a findspot location. The prominence of PC is reflected on the terminological level—23 of the 35 individual content connections arise in the PC texts.

(b) The Distribution of the ‘Exclusive’ GP Cultic Times and Event Terminology

PC supplies three (50%) of the six ‘derived’ texts that display terminological agreement with the ‘exclusive’ cultic time and event vocabulary of GP. These PC texts are not found alongside each other, however; Rooms 53, 84 and Court V (oven) are the three locations implicated (16.67% each). The three remaining ‘derived’ texts come from SA (two texts [33.33%]) and P.N. (16.67%). One text (KTU 1.87) accounts for four of the nine content connections that can be detected; naturally, the five other ‘derived’ texts account for one connection each.

A total of four ‘non cultic’ content connections are present in four ‘derived’ texts, and all but one of these texts are associated with PC—Rooms 66, 71 and 88 each supplied one PC text. The fourth text (namely, KTU 3.1) has no recorded findspot location.

(c) The Distribution of the ‘Exclusive’ PH Cultic Times and Event Terminology

On the basis of five content connections to the ‘exclusive’ PH terminology, four text connections can be established: PC offers two texts (one each from Rooms 53 and

²¹ Because so few text connections are identifiable for the ‘common’ terminology percentage representation (again) seems superfluous here. The same is also true for the discussion of the ‘exclusive’ GP and PH vocabulary.

²² The distribution of texts within PC is as follows: three texts (10.35%) each from Rooms 56, 64 (shared findspot for two texts) and 73 (shared findspot for all three texts by means of p.t. 424 connection); two texts (3.9%) each from Rooms 52, 81, Court V and Court VI; single texts (3.45%) from Rooms 20, 62, 76, Court IV and another unrecorded location within PC.

81); SA p.t. 3771 and WE/1 p.t. 28 supply the others. KTU 1.112, the text recovered from SA, is the only text to supply more than one content connection..

No non-cultic applications of the 'exclusive' PH time and event terminology were identifiable within the Ugaritic corpus.

(8) *Cultic Personnel*

Although a degree of uncertainty surrounds the identification of some of the 'cultic personnel'—the classification of *att*, *bn ugri* and *b<n>t ugri* in KTU 1.40 is particularly precarious, as is the inclusion of *khn̄m*, *rb khn̄m* and *qdš̄m* (who are admitted into the analysis despite the lack of *direct* evidence to support their involvement in cultic matters at Ugarit)—until their connection with the cult can be firmly established one way or another it seems appropriate to accept provisionally their cultic association. With this in mind it can be stated that 17 texts from GP refer 27 times to 16 individuals or groups who might best be understood as cultic personnel. PH offers 20 references in 14 texts that incorporate one or more of the 14 cultically applied personnel terms found in that location.

Six of the 17 GP texts that use cultic personnel terminology were recovered from Room 1 p.t. 300 depth unspecified. Room 1 supplied an additional text at p.t. 209. Five inscribed axes bearing the words *rb khn̄m* recovered from the threshold of Rooms 3 and 6 are included among the tally of texts. Two texts were excavated from Room 7 p.t. 340 and from p.t. 368/Room 7 p.t. 338, 343, 341/Rooms 7/8 p.t. 335 (the latter locations being the ones assigned to KTU 1.16's fragments). Having been assigned the ambiguous topographic referent 'p.t. 210-264', the original locations of the three remaining GP texts remain obscure.

Points 3745 and 3759 of PH's Room 10 each supply three texts (although three different depths are mentioned for the latter p.t.). Room 10 p.t. 3687, Room 10 (trench) points 3687 and 3751, are the shared findspots for fragments of two more texts—KTU 1.103 and KTU 1.107—although the remaining fragments are found at separate locations; fragments of KTU 1.103 are linked with Room 10 p.t. 3772 and Room 10 (trench) p.t. 3732, while those of KTU 1.107 are fixed as Room 10 (trench) points 3751 and 3784. It should be noted that Room 10 p.t. 3687 is the location given for another of PH's texts—KTU 1.110—and Room 10 p.t. 3687 is the findspot given for KTU 1.109. Room 10 points 3681, 3753, 3780 and 3783 account for the remaining four texts.

Of the cultic personnel mentioned in GP and PH, seven are found to be 'common'—27 'derived' texts make use of one or more of these shared terms. Three texts from outside GP and PH supply a connection with two of the 'exclusive' GP terms; a single 'derived' text refers to one of the seven terms appearing only in the PH 'prime' texts.

The distribution of the texts making ‘non-cultic’ reference to the cultic personnel should also be acknowledged. Within GP, 17 texts employ terminology for which no *direct* cultic association can be established a total of 24 times: five of the texts come from Room 1 p.t. 300 depth unspecified; four of the texts come from p.t. 210-264/Tr. C-E. K-L p.t. 210-264; four of the texts can be linked with findspots in or around Room 7; individual texts come from points 203, 296, Room 1 p.t. 209 and an unrecorded location with GP.

Four texts from PH supply four separate non-cultic applications of the personnel terminology; four different locations are involved—namely, PH Room 10 points 3681, 3745, 3780 and points 3687/3772/Room 10 (trench) 3687/3732/3751.

(a) *The Distribution of the ‘Common’ Cultic Personnel Terminology*

Half of the ‘derived’ text connections established by the presence of items of the ‘common’ cultic personnel vocabulary are attested at PC; 13 (48.15%) of the 27 texts belong to PC. (A similar ratio is evident on the terminological level, with 14 of the 29 identifiable content connections being associated with PC.) Three texts (11.11%) each were recovered from Court V (oven) p.t. 13331 depth 2.90 m and Room 53 (though separate findspots are recorded here). Two other PC texts (7.41%) share the same findspot—namely, Room 4 p.t. 2387 depth 0.85-1.15 m. The remaining eight PC texts (3.7% each) were unearthed from Rooms 5, 56, 73, 84 and Court I.

The 14 non-PC ‘derived’ texts were found at various locations: three texts (11.11%) come from different findspots within P.N.; two texts (7.41%) each come from Acr and SA; single texts (3.7%) come from dump SW, dump of LB house, PS, SA E of Agp, QR, WE and an unspecified location. None of these texts that share a general findsite location share a precise findspot.

A search of the Ugaritic corpus reveals 95 ‘derived’ texts that use the personnel terminology ‘non-cultically’ a total of 113 times. It is notable that of the 73 non-GP/non-PH texts that have a recorded findsite within PC, 18 (24.68%) of these texts were recovered from the same findspot—namely, Court V/Court V (oven) p.t. 1331 (all but one text display a depth of 2.90 m).²³ Looking at it another way, it can be said that 85 of the 121 content connections that can be detected are also linked with PC.

²³ The rest of the PC texts were distributed as follows: ten texts (13.7%) from Room 53; seven texts (9.59%) from Room 81 (one of which is recorded as having been found on the floor); four texts (5.48%) each from Rooms 64 and 73; three texts (4.11%) each come from Room 56 and PC dump; two texts (2.74%) each from Rooms 52, 66, 77 and a point and depth unspecified; one text (1.37%) each from Rooms 1, 28, 31, 53 (dump); 57 (dump near Tomb I), 62, 68, 76, 80, 90 as well as Courts I, III, IV, V, VI and a point between Courts IV and V.

With the exception of the four documents (5.38%) assigned the vague locators ‘dump SW’, none of the remaining 22 texts share the same findspot.²⁴ Two ‘derived’ texts (2.74%) possess no indication of topographic location.

(b) *The Distribution of the ‘Exclusive’ GP Cultic Personnel Terminology*

The three ‘derived’ texts that are implicated by the three identifiable applications of ‘exclusive’ GP vocabulary were obtained from distinct findsites—namely, dump SW, SA and P.N.

‘Non-cultic’ applications of the ‘exclusive’ terminology appear in 17 ‘derived’ texts. While eight of these texts share the same general ‘PC’ location—note that 11 of the 22 content connections are similarly linked with PC—only two of the texts share the same findspot (Room 54 p.t. 109).²⁵ The non-PC documents are shared between Acr (three texts [17.65%]), NW (two texts [11.76%]), and QR Tr. 403 S, SA E of Agp, WE and an unknown location on the Tel surface (single texts [5.88%] each).

(c) *The Distribution of the ‘Exclusive’ PH Cultic Personnel Terminology*

The single ‘derived’ text that (possibly) employs an item of PH’s ‘exclusive’ cultic personnel terminology was found at PC Court V p.t. 432 at a depth of 0.55 m. Notably, the text connection is established on the basis of a single instance of terminological agreement.

None of the 16 texts that make ‘non-cultic’ use of PH’s ‘exclusive’ personnel terminology share a findspot location. (And since none of the texts display more than one instance of terminological agreement, the following observations apply to the 16 content connections upon which the text connections rest.) On the more general level of findsite location some grouping is evident: seven texts (43.75%) come from PC (two of which come from Room 53) and four texts (25%) come from GP.²⁶ The remaining five texts (6.25% each) come from P.N., VS/MT, WE, an unknown point on the Tel surface and yet another unspecified location.

(9) *Cultic Actions*

Twenty of the texts originating from GP contain terminology that can be related to the religious activities of the cult; 39 or 40 different verbs of cultic action are

²⁴ Four texts (5.48%) come from P.N.; three texts (4.11%) each come from NW and WE; single texts (1.37%) come from Acr, L, Rap, Ršp, TR and an unknown location on the Tel surface.

²⁵ Three texts (17.65%) come from Room 53 (but with different findspots); one text (5.88%) each from Room 90, Court I and Court V (oven).

²⁶ Because the connection between the PH terminology and the ‘derived’ GP references are between, respectively, ‘cultic’ and ‘non-cultic’ applications of the terminology, it is inappropriate to establish a ‘text connection’.

identifiable within them and are used with an apparent cultic meaning c. 85 times in all. (The problem of interpreting forms deriving from $\sqrt{y\bar{t}b}$ and $\sqrt{t\bar{w}b}$ precludes certainty.) Of the texts recovered from PH, 21 contain a total of 44 verbal roots that on c. 80 separate occasions seem to possess a similar cultic association.

Thirteen of the 20 GP texts are connected with GP Room 1 p.t. 300 depth unspecified. An additional text comes from p.t. 209 of Room 1. Three of the texts are associated with Room 7 p.t. 343; this findspot features in the topographic data supplied for at least one of the fragments of KTU 1.14, KTU 1.16 and KTU 1.19. With one text having no recorded findsite and two others being assigned to 'p.t. 210-264', the locations of the remaining three texts remains obscure.

The distribution of PH texts making use of cultic action terminology is as follows: four texts come from Room 10 p.t. 3759 (at varying depths); three texts come from p.t. 3745; two texts each come from Room 10 points 3687, 3727, 3769, 3783 (note, however, that a fragment of KTU 1.107 is also linked with p.t. 3687); single texts come from Room 10 points 3680, 3681, 3753, Room 10 (trench) points 3708, 3751/3781/3784 (including Room 10 p.t. 3687, just mentioned, these are the findspots for the various fragments of KTU 1.107), 3772 and Room 11 (Tomb) p.t. 3709.

One or more of the 44 or 45 'common' verbal roots—again forms derived from $\sqrt{y\bar{t}b}$ and/or $\sqrt{t\bar{w}b}$ are involved—are present in 18 of the 'derived' texts. The non-GP and non-PH texts also use terminology that is 'exclusive' to the GP and PH texts—four 'derived' texts display a cultic usage for five of the nine verbs used 'exclusively' in GP; four of the 17 verbs arising only in the PH 'prime' texts are employed in six 'derived' documents.

It should be recorded that non-cultic applications of the action terminology also appear in the texts from GP and PH. The 40/41 verbs are used a total of c. 390 times in 37 texts from GP; of these texts, 13 were recovered from Room 1 p.t. 300 depth unspecified.²⁷ In 16 texts PH furnishes c. 80 separate applications of the 44 verbs that elsewhere carry a seemingly cultic nuance.²⁸

²⁷ The distribution of the remaining GP texts is as follows: ten texts (or fragments thereof) come from Room 7; single texts were recovered from points 209 and 431 of Room 1, GP points 203, 296 and 345 as well as an unspecified location within GP. Uncertainty surrounds the original positions of the eight texts that are assigned the imprecise locator 'p.t. 210-264'.

²⁸ Three texts come from Room 10 p.t. 3745 depth 0.75m; single texts come from Room 10 points 3681, 3753, 3769, 3771, 3780, 3783. Points 3687 and 3772 of Room 10 and points 3687, 3708, 3732, 3751, 3772, 3781 and 3784 of Room 10 (trench) are the findspots that supply fragments of the remaining seven texts.

(a) The Distribution of the 'Common' Cultic Action Terminology

Topographically speaking, on the textual level, the 18 'derived' texts displaying 'common' cultic action terminology are evenly distributed—half of the texts were found within PC; half were found outside. (With 22 of the 44 content connections arising in PC, this ratio is also expressed on the terminological level.) Notably, however, none of the nine PC 'derived' texts share a p.t. The texts are distributed as follows: two texts (11.1%) from Room 53 (p.t. 115+116 and p.t. 124); one text (5.55%) each from Rooms 41, 84, 90, Court I, Court V, Court V (oven) and p.t. 181.

Three findsites supply the nine non-PC 'derived' texts; five texts (27.78%) are associated with P.N.; dump SW and SA attest two connections (11.1%) each. No findspot displays more than one text, however.

Non-cultic applications of the action terminology appear on 268 separate occasions in 143 'derived' texts. Of these, 87 (60.84%) were recovered from PC,²⁹ 12 (8.39%) were found at P.N.³⁰ and ten (6.99%) were retrieved from Acr.³¹ The remaining texts are variously distributed.³² The content connections for these three locations are 146, 28 and 17, respectively.

(b) The Distribution of the 'Exclusive' GP Cultic Action Terminology

P.N. and PC each supply two of the four 'derived' texts that make use of the 'exclusive' cultic action terminology identified in GP. All four texts were allocated separate findspots.³³ This equilibrium is preserved on the level of content connections: P.N. and PC both display three terminological associations.

²⁹ Twenty-two (15.38%) of these texts share the same findspot—namely, PC Court V/Court V (oven) p.t. 1331 (18 share the depth measurement 2.90m). The rest of the texts are distributed thus: 14 texts (9.79%) come from Room 81; six texts (4.2%) come from Room 53 (three texts share the same findspot); five texts (3.5%) come from Room 56 p.t. 901 (though at different depths); four texts (2.78%) come from Court V; three texts (2.1%) each come from Rooms 52 (two texts share the same findspot), 64 (two texts share a findspot) and 73 p.t. 470 depth 2.05m; two texts (1.4%) each come from PC dump, Rooms 62 (same findspot), 77, 80, 90 as well as Courts IV and VI; single texts (0.7% each) come from Rooms 1, 5, 6, 20, 31, 66, 68, 69, 76, the threshold between Room 68 and 69 as well as PC p.t. 181. Finally, two texts (1.4%) are assigned the imprecise locator, 'PC'.

³⁰ Only two texts share the same findspot—namely, P.N. E 85 SE, L. IV (29 VII).

³¹ With the exception of two texts, which come from p.t. 484/486, none of Acr texts share a findspot.

³² Three texts (2.1%) each come from dump SW, NW, PS and QR (two texts share a findspot); two texts (1.4%) each come from SA and VB; single texts (0.7% each) come from Agp, L, MT, Rap, Ršp, TR, VS, VS/MT, WE and an unknown location somewhere on the Tel surface. Eight texts (5.59%) have no recorded findsite location.

³³ The locations for P.N. are given as E 86 SE, L. VII (27 VII) and E 86 SE, L. VII (27 VII). Court V (oven) p.t. 1326 and Room 77 p.t. 1514 are the findspots for the PC texts.

Thirty-four (58.62%) of the 58 texts that supply non-cultic applications of the 'exclusive' GP verbs arise from PC. (This corresponds neatly with the fact that 41 of the 70 text connections come from this location.) Ten (17.24%) of the PC derived documents come from Court V/Court V (oven) p.t. 1331 depth 2.90 m.³⁴ Notably, none of the non-PC texts share a findspot.³⁵

(c) *The Distribution of the 'Exclusive' PH Cultic Action Terminology*

P.N. and PC both supply documents that use items of PH's 'exclusive' cultic action terminology: the former location supplies three (50%) of the six 'derived' texts from E 85 NW, Court II (25 VII), E 85 NW, Court II (24 VII) and E 85 SE (25 VII), respectively;³⁶ the latter supplies one text (1.67%) from Room 81. SA and dump SW are the locations from which the remaining two texts were recovered (1.67% each). Notably, none of the texts make reference to more than one item of action vocabulary.

Sixty 'derived' texts supply a total of 107 non-cultic applications of the verbal roots used 'exclusively' in PH with an apparent cultic meaning. In terms of text connections, PC, which supplied 25 texts (41.67%), shows itself to be the most abundant source of 'derived' documentation;³⁷ GP, with 21 texts (35%), is in second place.³⁸ (This situation is inverted on the level of content connections, however:

³⁴ Multiple texts are recovered from the following locations within PC: five texts (8.62%) come from Room (four texts are united by having no recorded findspot); four texts (6.9%) come from Room 53; three texts (5.17%) each come from Room 56 p.t. 901 (two texts share the same depth) and Room 64 (two texts share the same findspot). Single texts (1.72% each) come from PC p.t. 143, Rooms 52, 62, 73, 77, PC dump, PC/PS p.t. 1596 and an unknown location within PC.

³⁵ Three texts (5.17%) come from PS; two texts (3.45%) each come from P.N.; QR; single texts (1.72% each) come from Acr p.t. 485, L, PH, Rap, TR, WE and WE/1. Two texts (3.45%) are associated with the topographically imprecise locators 'dump SW' and 'surface', while six texts (10.35%) have an unrecorded findspot location.

³⁶ Note again that the texts are fragmentary and that these are findspots assigned to the first fragment listed in *KTU*. See the Appendix for a full listing.

³⁷ The four texts (6.67%) recovered from PC Court V/Court V (oven) p.t. 1331 depth unspecified are the only texts to share an exact find location. The distribution of the remaining PC texts is as follows: three texts (5%) each come from Rooms 52, 53 and 73 (note that while two texts share the same p.t. they were recovered from different depths); two texts (3.33%) each from Room 56, 64, 81 (points and depths unspecified); single texts (1.67% each) come from Rooms 36, 66, 77, Court IV, PC dump and PC/PS p.t. 1506.

³⁸ On the admissibility of texts from GP see n. 26, above p. 250. Within GP, six texts (10%) are associated with Room 7; five texts (8.33%) come from Room 1 p.t. 300 depth unspecified; single texts come from GP points 203, 296, 345, Room 1 p.t. 209 and Room 8 p.t. 331. A further five texts (8.33%) are assigned the imprecise location marker 'p.t. 210-264'.

while PC supplies 27 instances of terminological agreement, GP offers 49.) With the exception of the texts that are assigned to the topographically inexact locations 'dump SW' (two texts [3.33%]) and 'surface' (two texts [3.33%]), none of the remaining tablets share a findspot location.³⁹

2. *Provisional Interpretations*

The volume of data generated in the preceding phases of the contextualist process makes the detailed interpretation of them in the present study impracticable. Nevertheless, with a recognition that more detailed analysis is needed to allow the full potential of the information to be unlocked (see Conclusions), I will venture a cursory reading of the evidence collected and supplied in the database. In this section I will also lay down the principles that should guide future interpretations of the database results. Given the (alas) all-too-superficial level of the interpretation that can be attempted here, these principles should probably be seen as the most valuable part of this concluding section.

In the first instance, it is vital to make explicit that the interpretation of the material supplied in the database will hinge upon the identification of groupings of shared and distinctive cultic vocabulary within and between the various findsites as well as an estimation of the degree of commonality in the texts obtained from these locations. Thus, in agreement with the now-familiar principle that *the significance of a document cannot be appreciated independently of the physical and intellectual structure of the archive to which it belongs*,⁴⁰ the objective here will be to consider not only the amount of terminological concurrence between texts, but also, the nature of the locations from which the texts were recovered.

The belief underpinning the contextualist method of interpretation is that a commonality of terminology appearing in the texts is connected with a commonality of ideological and perhaps, in the case of the cultic vocabulary, theological principles and practices of those who wrote or used them. (In fact, the opposite is also held to be true—a lack of agreement is suggestive of differing ideological [and theological] organization.) This is, to be sure, a phenomenological conviction that has to be treated with caution (see presently). But it is a position that has already been established on a general level by the work of van Soldt and others.⁴¹ Seeking to analyse the relationships between *content* as well as texts and contexts is a

³⁹ Four texts (6.67%) come from P.N.; two texts (3.33%) each come from Acr and QR; single texts (1.67% each) come from Ršp and an unrecorded location.

⁴⁰ See p. 146, above.

⁴¹ See pp. 71-89, above

development of the view that discerning 'patterns' in the placement of ancient texts can be used to make assertions about the society to which they belonged.

Given that not every text recovered from Ugarit comes with an accurate record of its findsite location, a degree of 'volatility' is to be anticipated in the data. Similarly, because in ancient times some of the texts probably never belonged to a collection (formal or otherwise) that can be understood as a 'library' or 'archive', it is to be anticipated that portions of the data will defy any attempt to rationalise them. In spite of and perhaps also because of these factors it is important to be equipped with a way of deciding when an arrangement of data becomes a 'pattern'. For although distribution patterns are central (implicitly) to the work of van Soldt and his counterparts, no actual discussion of how these patterns are identified and assessed has been offered.⁴²

The working hypothesis of this contextualist study is that a 'pattern of distribution' is identifiable on the basis of recurrent connections between terminology, text and findsite. In simple terms, the more often the terminology arising in the topographically distanced texts is found to be correspondent, the more likely it is that the documents, along with the locations from which they derive, were in some way related. The appearance of identical terminology is not an automatic indication of the connectedness of the texts and the locations that contain them, however. Although matching content may be explained by direct association—as in the case, say, of two distinct locations housing texts belonging to the same individual or institution—casual or accidental correspondence may also account for the agreement—as, for example, in the case of two distinct locations being engaged in similar though separate activities. Be that as it may, the essential first step is to isolate connections between texts and findsites; deciding between the possible explanations for such phenomena is a secondary undertaking that can be reflected upon at leisure.

The present study recognises that the detection of shared vocabulary alone is not a failsafe mechanism for establishing a connection between text-yielding contexts—it is quite feasible for two genuinely independent texts from distinct locations to display any number of items of corresponding terminology. At the same time, however, it is also acknowledged that the isolation of terminological affinities is foundational to the discovery of prospective links between the locations from which the texts were retrieved. Accordingly, the contextualist method of evaluation will

⁴² Note too that in his *SAU*, van Soldt provides no discussion of the principles used to decide the classification of the texts he examines. Although the genre divisions he employs are broadly similar to those found in *KTU*, classifications that have themselves been criticised for their lack of transparency (see pp. 132-34) there are some differences. Note the distinction made between 'literary' and 'religious' texts; cf. pp. 77-81, above.

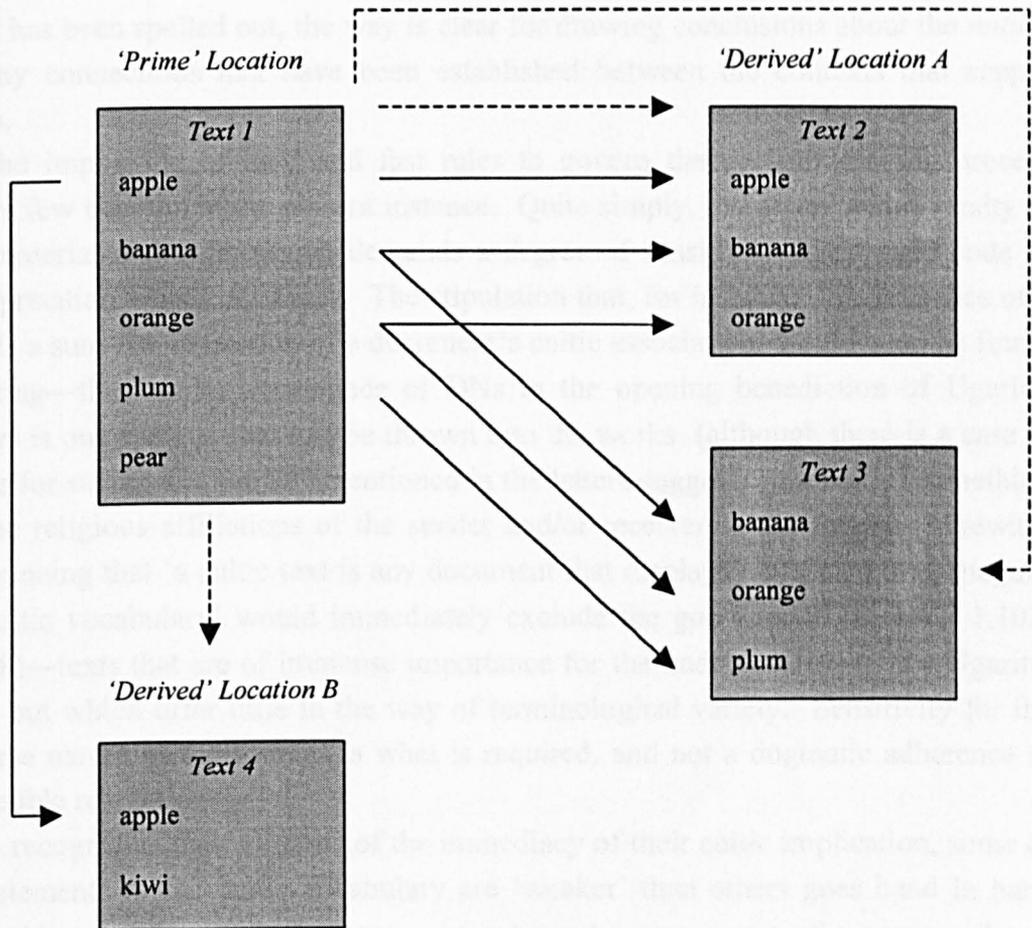
take notice of the *cumulative effect* of connections on the levels of terminology and text—while the appearance of abundant shared terminology within distinct findsites is suggestive of an affinity, the repeated application of the vocabulary in numerous texts makes the likelihood of is direct association even more compelling.

In the discussion that follows, the terms ‘content connection’, ‘text connection’ and ‘context connection’ will be employed. To avoid ambiguity, the following functional definitions are offered: a content connection is *an instance of terminological agreement between two or more texts*;⁴³ a text connection is *an association established between two texts on the basis of one or more ‘content connections’*; a context connection is *a linkage between findsites identified on the basis of the cumulative effect of recurring ‘content’ and ‘text’ connections*.

To clarify the difference between ‘content’ and ‘text’ connections, it is worth revisiting the hypothetical fruit bowl of Chapter 5 and presenting a diagrammatic illustration (see Fig. 1, next page). With solid arrows used to highlight the terminological agreement and dashed arrows used to highlight the textual association thereby created, the distinction between content and text connection should become clear: ‘Derived’ Location A displays six individual content connections across two separate texts, thus creating a brace of text connections; ‘Derived’ Location B exhibits a single content connection in one text, thereby generating a solitary text connection.

In an ideal world the steps leading to the recognition of a link between contexts would be relatively straightforward: content connections create text connections; multiple text connections combine with so many content connections that there is no option but the identification of a context connection. Since, however, the situation is unlikely to be so clear-cut, it will be necessary to draw a distinction between the unbiased detection of terminological and textual connections and the more subjective enterprise of deciding what is and what is not a ‘significant enough’ degree of correspondence on which to establish a direct linkage between topographically distinct findsites.

⁴³ In agreement with what will be explained later, the number of times a term actually appears within the particular source texts is not considered. The phrase ‘the number of content connections’ refers to the number of individual terminological connections that can be identified between two or more texts.

Figure 1. *Demonstrating 'Content' and 'Text' Connections*

Finally, a note of explanation is needed before the summary and interpretation work can commence. In the present study the various connections identified between content, text and context are one-directional—that is, they are established from the vantage point of the 'prime' locations, GP and PH. In light of the fact that this examination of the cultic vocabulary of Ugarit is the test case of the contextualist method and because the GP and PH were deliberately selected as the points of departure, no attempt will be made to identify non-cultic attestations in GP and PH of vocabulary that arises in other locations with a cultic meaning. For the same reasons, the connections established in the following pages do not include linkages that can be made between 'derived' texts.

It has already been said that any interpretation of the evidence supplied in the database hinges upon the careful assessment of the presence and non-presence of terminological and textual associations as well as an appreciation of the physical settings in which these agreements appear and fail to materialise. At the same time, it was also made clear that the all-important 'patterns of distribution' would only be

discernible following the identification of ‘content’, ‘text’ and ‘context’ connections. Now that the *amount* of terminological agreement between the prime and derived texts has been spelled out, the way is clear for drawing conclusions about the *nature* of any connections that have been established between the contexts that supply them.

The imposition of hard and fast rules to govern the decision-making process offers few benefits in the present instance. Quite simply, the nature and diversity of the material under discussion demands a degree of sensitivity that a rigid code of interpretation would not allow. The stipulation that, for instance, ‘the presence of a DN is a sure-fire indication of a document’s cultic association’ would soon be found wanting—the regular appearance of DNs in the opening benediction of Ugaritic letters is one spanner that can be thrown into the works (although there is a case to be made for saying that the DN mentioned in the letters suggests [implicitly] something of the religious affiliations of the sender and/or receiver of the letter). Likewise, announcing that ‘a cultic text is any document that displays more than one category of cultic vocabulary’ would immediately exclude the god lists (KTU 1.47; 1.102; 1.118)—texts that are of immense importance for the understanding of the Ugaritic cult, but which offer little in the way of terminological variety. Sensitivity for the diverse nature of the sources is what is required, and not a dogmatic adherence to inflexible regulations.

A recognition that, in terms of the immediacy of their cultic implication, some of the elements of the cultic vocabulary are ‘weaker’ than others goes hand in hand with this need for a case-by-case approach to the assessment of content and text connections. Undeniably—and this was acknowledged when the parameters of the cultic vocabulary were laid out⁴⁴—PNs and GNs are not as cultically ‘loaded’ as, for instance, those words that function as the proper names of types of sacrifice and offering. In simple terms, texts that are considered ‘cultic’ solely on the basis of their use of GNs and/or PNs are less likely to be linked to the cult than those that supply DNs. At the same time, as I have just noted, the use of DN terminology does not represent a hallmark of a text’s cultic involvement. Accordingly, it will be necessary to remain vigilant as to the way in which the ‘cultic’ classifications of the texts were arrived at, and to factor this into the ‘cumulative effect’ approach discussed already.

With all this in mind, it is worth re-emphasising that the ‘rule of thumb’ employed in the following discussion will be that the likelihood of a context connection is raised when locations display a richness of variety in their terminological agreements; better still if the extent of their association is similarly opulent.

⁴⁴ See pp. 149-51, above.

a. *The Contexts of the 'Prime' Content and Texts*(1) *GP*

In the preceding summary GP Room 1 p.t. 300 depth unspecified (hereafter 'p.t. 300') has consistently shown itself to be an abundant source of texts displaying cultic terminology. For each category of the cultic vocabulary, the findspot has repeatedly supplied a high proportion of the implicated texts.⁴⁵

If p.t. 300's cultic association is suggested by the presence of so many texts containing elements of cultic vocabulary, the depth of this association is surely underscored by the fact that the remaining 38 texts are either inadmissible by virtue of their being inscribed in Hurrian (13 texts) or so fragmentary that they could not be subjected to enquiry (22 texts).⁴⁶ What this means is that all but three of the 38 legible Ugaritic texts from p.t. 300 were found to demonstrate a cultic connection. (I will return to the discussion of the three 'non-cultic' p.t. 300 texts later in the 'Bonus Application' section, below.) On the face of it, then, p.t. 300 suggests itself as something of a 'cultic hotspot'.

To add further to the discussion of Room 1, it should be minuted that all three of the texts that were found at findspots other than p.t. 300 display one or more elements of cultic vocabulary—an indication, *perhaps* (see presently), that Room 1 as a whole should be understood as a storeroom for cult texts.

Sadly, a closer look at the classifications that drew attention to GP Room 1 cautions against the unrestrained celebration of this location as a repository for cultic texts. Although it would be tempting to settle for this exciting conclusion, it should be recorded that several of the texts classified as 'cultic' display only the relatively 'weak' PN and GN terms as well as, more problematically, single instances of such terminology. Figure 2 (below, pp. 275-76) provides a graphic demonstration of the breadth of cultic vocabulary used in p.t. 300 texts. Keeping in mind that a lack of terminological variety does not necessarily equate to a dubious cultic association, recognising the diffusion of the various classifications within the 'cultic texts' of GP

⁴⁵ The ratios are as follows: 25 (50%) out of 52 DN texts; 13 (48.15%) out of 27 PN texts; 16 (50%) out of 32 GN texts; eight (72.73%) out of 11 jargon texts; 14 (77.78%) out of 18 commodity texts; 12 (75%) out of 18 location texts; nine (100%) out of nine time and event texts; six (35.29%) out of 17 personnel texts; 13 (65%) out of 20 action texts. Altogether, 76 tablets were recovered from p.t. 300. Of this number, 38 (or 50%) were found to display one or more elements of the cultic vocabulary. To place this finding in perspective it must be stated (1) that a total of 123 documents were recovered from within the confines of GP, (2) that, on terminological grounds, 71 (or 57.72%) of these 123 texts appear to be cultically linked, and (3) that the 38 p.t. 300 tablets that display cultic vocabulary represent 30.89% of the total GP haul.

⁴⁶ Note that although KTU 7.43 is placed among the 'Unclassified' texts by the editors of *KTU*, a provisional identification 'religious text?, Hurrian' is ventured. As a result, it is considered to belong to the debarred Hurrian class of texts.

Room 1 is important for its appreciation. Even if these more susceptible texts are ‘declassified’, the density of undisputable texts in Room 1, and particularly at p.t. 300, sustains the conclusion that the findspot is a rich deposit of cultic documentation.

But what of the other GP texts? In answer to this question, it can be said that 37 of the 45 GP texts that are inscribed in Ugaritic—two texts, bearing dissimilar location markers (‘p.t. 210-264’ and ‘p.t. 344’) are excluded from the present study on account of their being inscribed in Hurrian—display some level of cultic vocabulary usage. Interestingly, most of these texts were allocated either to ‘p.t. 210-264’/‘Tr. C-E. K-L p.t. 210-264’ (12 texts) or else to findspots within GP Room 7 (ten texts). (In the light of the suggestions made by Appa and Petersen,⁴⁷ a fair number of the texts attached to ‘p.t. 210-264’/‘Tr. C-E. K-L p.t. 210-264’ might actually be attached to GP Room 7.)

A potentially important observation can be made when the Room 7 and p.t. 210-264 texts are examined in more detail. It is worth noting that eight of the ten documents that can be linked with certainty to Room 7 are admitted into the present contextualist enquiry on the strength of terminology that can, as I have already pointed out, be used without an immediate cultic connection—namely, DNs, PNs and GNs. With the exception of KTU 1.14.II.9-34 and KTU 1.19.IV.23-27, which use a range of terminology in their description of a human character performing seemingly sacrificial acts,⁴⁸ as well as, perhaps, the rubrics of KTU 1.4.V.42 and KTU 1.19.IV.le.e., which *seem* to contain an instruction relating to the recitation of the texts,⁴⁹ none of the Room 7 texts offer any other form of terminological evidence to support their cultic association.⁵⁰ (KTU 1.12.56-61 could possibly be included here too; however, the text is quite obscure and there is no compelling evidence to link the actions described with a *human* cult protagonist.) An investigation into the terminology displayed in the p.t. 210-264 texts shows a similar finding: with the exception of KTU 1.6, which contains a marginal note from the scribe Ilimilku using personnel terminology, eight of the 11 texts allocated the p.t. 210-264 marker do not

⁴⁷ See Chapter 1 pp. 82-93.

⁴⁸ Cf. the translation of KTU 1.14 and KTU 1.19 in Annexe 1.

⁴⁹ See Annexe 1.

⁵⁰ Notwithstanding the efforts made by D.P. Wright (*Ritual in Narrative: The Dynamics of Feasting, Mourning, and Retaliation Rites in the Ugaritic Tale of Aqhat* [Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2000]) to read the poem of Aqhat as a prototype of (quasi-)religious rites at Ugarit, the actions described in KTU 1.17–1.19—the recorded findsite of KTU 1.17 is ‘surface’ and so cannot be linked directly with GP—do not seem to be linked to cult activity. That is, the majority of the scenes portrayed in the Aqhat texts do not satisfy the definition of ‘cultic text’ that guides the present study. See above, p. 150.

supply cultic vocabulary other than DN, PN and GN. In sum, few of the texts recovered from Room 7 and p.t. 210-264 contain a breadth of terminological usage that secures their unequivocal identification as 'cultic texts' (see Fig. 3, p. 277 below). Further still, even though KTU 1.14 and KTU 1.19 make use of a richer stock of cultic vocabulary, their poetic application of the terminology is unparalleled in any other Ugaritic texts.⁵¹ These details, combined with the fact that the p.t. 210-264 and Room 7 texts are united in being formally and stylistically different from almost all other GP documents, may add further support to the theory of Petersen and Appa that the large poetic tablets recovered from Room 7 and p.t. 210-264 were originally and deliberately housed alongside each other in a setting that was physically set apart from the findspots of the other GP texts. This conclusion is underscored on examination of the terminological content of KTU 1.1 and KTU 1.2 (see Fig. 4, p. 278 below), texts that were also recovered from the findspots away from Room 1,⁵² and which display similarities (many would say *direct connections*) with the material present in Room 7 and p.t. 210-264.

As for the eight texts that do not contain internal, terminological evidence of their cultic character, it should be made clear that accurate findspot locations for four of them were not recorded. Moreover, despite the fact that locus points are available for the remaining four texts—note that two of the texts are actually assigned the same findspot (GP p.t. 2)—the position of the tablets within GP remains obscure. Frustratingly, points 1, 2 and 296 are not identifiable on the most detailed published plan of GP.⁵³

The following points succinctly summarise the situation:

1. GP supplies a large number of texts that appear to use cultic vocabulary and can therefore be considered as cultic texts.
2. These cultic documents represent the greater proportion of texts discovered within the GP complex.
3. On terminological grounds, a distinction can be drawn between the cultic texts recovered from p.t. 300 and Room 7, the locations from which the majority of GP's cultic documents derive.

⁵¹ Although KTU 1.23 contains an abundance of terminology *and* poetry, the separation of the text into sections of rubric and poem mark this text out as being different from KTU 1.14 and KTU 1.19.

⁵² Cf. the summary of Appa in Chapter 1, pp. 86-93.

⁵³ See the plan of GP in Annexe 1, p. 5.

Figure 2. *The Diffusion of Cultic Vocabulary within the 'Cultic Texts' from GP Room 1*

<i>Room 1 p.t. 300</i>									
<i>Text Number (KTU)</i>	<i>DNs</i>	<i>PNs</i>	<i>GNs</i>	<i>Jargon</i>	<i>Commodities</i>	<i>Locations</i>	<i>Times and Events</i>	<i>Personnel</i>	<i>Actions</i>
1.13	●		●						
1.27	●		●	●	●		●		●
1.39	●		●	●	●	●	●		●
1.40	●	●	●	●	●			●	●
1.41	●		●	●	●	●	●	●	●
1.43	●			●	●	●	●	●	●
1.45	●		●		●				●
1.46	●		●	●	●	●	●	●	●
1.47	●		●						
1.48	●	●	●	●	●	●	●		●
1.49	●				●		●	●	●
1.50	●				●	●	●		●
1.53	●				●	●			●
1.55						●	●		●
1.56	●				●	●			
1.57	●				●				
1.58	●				●				
2.3		●	●						
2.4	●	●						●	●
2.5	●								
2.6	●	●							
2.7	●	●							
2.8	●								
4.5			●						

4.10		●							
4.12									
4.13		●				●			
4.15		●				●			
4.16		●							
4.17	●		●			●			
4.19			●						
4.21		●							
4.22		●							
5.1		●	●						
7.37	●								
7.42			●						
7.46			●						
9.1	●								
<i>Other Room 1 Findspots</i>									
1.23	●			●	●	●		●	●
1.65	●		●						
2.10	●	●							

Figure 5. *The Diffusion of Cultic Vocabulary in the 'Cultic Texts' from PH*

<i>Text Number (KTU)</i>	<i>DNs</i>	<i>PNs</i>	<i>GNs</i>	<i>Jargon</i>	<i>Commodities</i>	<i>Locations</i>	<i>Times and Events</i>	<i>Personnel</i>	<i>Actions</i>
1.100	●	●	●	●		●		●	●
1.101	●		●						
1.102	●	●	●			●	●		
1.103	●	●		●	●			●	
1.104	●			●	●	●	●		●
1.105	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
1.107	●	●	●	●	●		●	●	●
1.108	●		●		●				●
1.109	●		●	●	●	●	●	●	●
1.111	●								
1.113	●	●							
1.114	●				●			●	
1.115	●		●	●	●	●	●	●	●
1.117	●		●						
1.118	●		●						
1.119	●		●	●	●	●	●	●	●
1.121		●	●	●					●
1.122	●			●					●
1.123	●					●	●		●
1.124	●	●		●	●	●		●	●
1.126	●				●	●	●	●	●
1.127	●			●	●	●	●	●	●
1.129	●								
1.130	●		●	●	●	●	●		
1.132									
1.133	●				●				
1.134	●		●	●	●		●		
1.136	●			●	●			●	
1.137	●					●			

1.138	•			•	•		•		
1.139	•		•	•	•	•			•
1.140								•	
1.141		•					•		
1.142		•		•			•		
1.143		•			•		•		
1.144		•							
1.146						•	•		•
1.147	•		•		•			•	•
1.148	•		•	•	•	•	•		•
1.151	•			•	•		•		•
1.152	•								
1.153	•			•	•				
1.155					•		•		
1.156	•								
1.157	•					•			•
1.158	•								
4.727		•							
4.728	•	•	•			•			•
4.730		•							
4.731		•							
4.732	•								
4.734		•	•						
7.136	•								
7.137			•						
7.162			•						
7.164	•								
7.168	•								

(2) *PH*

Once again the discussion of PH is frustrated by the lack of plans displaying the ‘points topographiques’. With no indication of how the findspots are arranged within its walls, the kind of discussion offered for the GP prime context is out of the question. Until a detailed plan is published, the following observations will have to suffice. First of all, it is possible to state that 57 (37.01%)⁵⁴ of the 154 texts recorded at PH were found to display at least one component of cultic vocabulary. Interestingly, however, the relative proportion of the PH texts displaying cultic terminology is magnified when the number of inadmissible, illegible and unpublished texts is factored out of the equation. In all, 83 tablets proved to be untreatable: ten of the texts were composed in Hurrian, 72 were fragmentary or uninscribed and a single specimen remains unpublished. Consequently, the 57 texts highlighted in the contextualist study of PH can be seen to represent 80.28% of a stock of 71 texts.

Though it may be tempting to speculate that this (roughly) 80% reflects something approaching the true proportion of the ‘cultic texts’ at PH and that there may originally have been around 120 such documents housed within its walls, a closer inspection of the ‘strength’ of the terminological evidence supplied in the texts recommends a more guarded way of thinking. Without overlooking the inherent insensitivities of diagrammatic representation, it is useful to supply a table depicting the classes of terminology transmitted in the PH ‘cultic’ documentation (see Fig. 5, pp. 279-80 above). Although such a depiction provides a rather unsophisticated account of the ‘strength’ of the PH ‘cultic’ connection of the texts—note, for instance, that the inscribed liver model KTU 1.144 registers just once, and in the PN classification at that—it nevertheless captures something of PH’s terminological ‘breadth’ and, possibly, cultic involvement.

Finally, as a footnote to the discussion of PH, a comment about the Hurrian texts seems appropriate. Although the ten Hurrian texts are officially excluded from the current contextualist exploration, the observation that in all but one case the findspot attached to a Hurrian text can be linked with a text bearing the ‘native’ Ugaritic script fleshes out the portrait of PH a little further.⁵⁵ Paying due caution to the dangers of accepting someone else’s classification,⁵⁶ it is noteworthy that all ten of the Hurrian texts are categorised as ‘religious’ texts by the editors of *KTU*. Not only

⁵⁴ Note the close agreement with van Soldt’s calculation of 36%; cf. Chapter 1, p. 80 (Table 9).

⁵⁵ Although PH Room 10 p.t. 3726 does not supply a Ugaritic text, the reconnection of its Hurrian fragment RS 24.269 with RS 24.297 from Room 10 p.t. 3694—together the fragments form KTU 1.120—creates an implicit linkage; p.t. 3694 is the findspot from which the Ugaritic text KTU 4.731 was exhumed.

⁵⁶ Cf. my comments above, pp. 132-33.

is PH a rich deposit of *Ugaritic* texts that seem to have been related to cultic matters, but it also a location at which ‘foreign’ or ‘non-indigenous’ texts⁵⁷ seem to have been integrated among the texts inscribed using the more familiar alphabetic cuneiform system.

b. The Contexts of the ‘Derived’ Texts Displaying ‘Common’ Terminology

Time and again, as the preceding summary section spelled out, PC ranks as the foremost supplier of terminological and textual association.⁵⁸ Invoking the principle that the likelihood of a context connection is raised when locations display a rich and plentiful amount of agreement, it is reasonable to venture the hypothesis that a context connection exists not only between GP and PH, but also between GP, PH and PC.

Additional to this is the observation that P.N. always takes second place—or joint second place in the case of PNs, GNs and locations—in terms of the number of ‘derived’ text connections it displays.⁵⁹ On this reading, a context connection involving P.N. might also be possible.

Seeking to make more detailed statements about the contexts in which the ‘derived’ texts displaying ‘common’ content appear is beyond the scope of the present enquiry. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that of all the many areas that supply documents that can be linked to GP and PH, two regions within PC frequently rank highly among those that offer text connections—namely, Court V (oven) and Room 53. This finding becomes even more fascinating when one considers van Soldt’s observation that ‘more than 90 pct of the last load of tablets submitted for baking (oven court V) was economic in nature’ and that the Eastern archive—the district in which Room 53 is located—was almost exclusively

⁵⁷ Whichever term one prefers to use, the Hurrian texts must be seen as being in some sense ‘different’.

⁵⁸ For each of the nine elements of the cultic vocabulary, PC offers the most ‘text’ connections: 39 out of 89 texts (43.82%) for DNs; 11 out of 15 texts (73.33%) for PNs; 43 out of 61 texts (70.39%) for GNs; seven out of 20 texts (35%) for jargon; nine out of 29 texts (31.03%) for commodities; eight out of 13 texts (61.54%) for locations; three out of seven texts (42.86%) for times and events; 13 out of 27 texts (48.15%) for personnel; nine out of 18 texts (50%) for actions. (When the appearance of different classifications of vocabulary is taken into consideration, 82 separate texts from PC are implicated.)

⁵⁹ Collected together, the results for P.N. are as follows: 13 out of 89 texts (14.06%) for DNs; 1 out of 15 texts (6.67%) for PNs; four out of 61 texts (6.58%) for GNs; six out of 20 texts (30%) for jargon; eight out of 29 texts (27.59%) for commodities; three out of 13 texts (28.08%) for locations; two out of seven texts (28.57%) for times and events; three out of 27 texts (11.11%) for personnel; five out of 18 texts (27.78%) for actions

associated with economic matters.⁶⁰ Regrettably, a consideration of van Soldt's lament that 'it is as yet impossible to detect a clear distribution of economic texts by which certain subject matters are assigned to certain archives'⁶¹ cannot be entered into here. A closer examination of the fact that ten texts from Room 53 and 24 from Court V were found to display links with those discovered at GP and PH might just help to move the discussion forward.

c. The Contexts of the 'Derived' Texts Displaying 'Exclusive' Terminology

(1) 'Exclusive' GP Terminology

When the placement of 'derived' texts displaying GP's 'exclusive' terms is examined, a pattern similar to the one found for the 'common' terminology becomes apparent—PC texts once again supply most of the text connections that can be established. The position is not identical, however, and it is notable that PC ranks equal first for three of the classifications when the text connections for each of the nine categories of vocabulary are considered. Furthermore, because no 'derived' content connections were found for GP's 'exclusive' personnel terminology, PC fails to register any association. Notwithstanding these observations, it is still true to say that PC is unsurpassed as a provider of 'derived' text connections. PC supplied: eight out of 16 texts (50%) for DNs; 96 out of 146 texts (65.75%) for PNs; 52 out of 77 texts (67.53%) for GNs; one out of four texts (25%) for jargon; four out of 10 texts (40%) for commodities; both of the location texts; three out of six texts (50%) for times and events; two out of four texts (50%) for actions. (When the appearance of different terminological classifications within individual texts is accounted for, 139 separate texts from PC are found to be associated with GP.)

Finally, if PC's share of the 'derived' text connections supports the theory that PC and GP are to be connected on a contextual level, the interchangeable appearance of Court V (oven) and/or Room 53 as the area at which most text connections were found could well support it even more.⁶² Even if some of the 139 texts from PC 'connect' with GP solely on the basis of the relatively 'weak' PN and GN terminology—it is not possible to examine this issue in the present study—the least that can be said is that the hypothesis of a GP-PC context connection is not contradicted.

(2) 'Exclusive' PH Terminology

A review of the physical contexts that supply the 'derived' texts displaying 'exclusive' PH terminology reveals that, once more, PC is a prominent source of text

⁶⁰ Van Soldt, *SAU*, p. 139.

⁶¹ Van Soldt, *SAU*, p. 139.

⁶² Cf. the nine discussions of 'exclusive' PH terminology supplied in the previous section.

connections. Again, however, the impact of isolated and, as far as the present enquiry is concerned, cultically 'weak' text connections based solely on PN and GN usage will need further examination. To be sure, it is notable that so many texts are 'connected' with PH on the basis of PN and GN terminology.⁶³

However the connections between PH and PC are to be explained—once more, this matter cannot be dealt with here—it is interesting to observe that Room 81 supplies more text connections than any other PC location when the links established on the basis of GNs and jargon are isolated (admittedly, just one text connection can be established on the basis of jargon terminology).⁶⁴ For all other classes of terminology, PC Court V and Room 53 again rank as (or alongside) the locations that supply the greatest number of PC text connections.

The conclusion that can be drawn from all this is that there is no evidence to discredit the hypothesis that a context connection existed between PH and PC. What does emerge is that, for whatever reason, the texts from PH showed a level of affiliation with the material stored in PC Room 81, a location situated in the South-western archive of PC. Whether or not this is a fluke finding remains to be seen. Van Soldt's observation that 'The great majority of the more or less complete texts [from the South-western archive] was found in room 81...and consists mainly of economic-administrative texts and Hurrian cultic texts'⁶⁵ demands further exploration.

⁶³ A check of the 'derived' text connections shows that PC supplies: five out of 12 texts (41.67%) for DNs; 66 out of 110 texts (60%) for PNs; 27 out of 41 texts (65.85%) for GNs; the single jargon text; two out of four texts for commodities; both of the location texts; two out of four texts (50%) for times and events; the single personnel text; one out of six texts (16.67%) for actions. (When the application of multiple classes of terminology is taken into account, 97 separate texts from PC display some form of linkage.)

⁶⁴ Cf. the nine discussions of 'exclusive' PH terminology supplied in the previous section.

⁶⁵ Van Soldt, *SAU*, p. 122.

3. *Bonus Application of the Contextualist Method: The (Re)Classification of Texts*

Following on from what was said in Chapter 3 where it was speculated that the synthesis of topographical and epigraphical data could offer additional benefits for the appreciation of the Ugaritic evidence,⁶⁶ and in the light of the discussion given to p.t. 300 (above), a ‘bonus’ section seems appropriate.

The lack of defined rules for the classification of texts and the potentially distorting effect of the *KTU* numbering system have already been discussed.⁶⁷ It is, therefore, interesting to look more closely at the classifications supplied by the editors of *KTU* in the light of topographically sensitive results gathered by the contextualist study.

The ‘economic’ texts *KTU* 4.14, 4.18 and 4.20 are cases in point. Discovered at GP Room 1 p.t. 300 (depth unspecified), a location from which, as this study has demonstrated, a concentration of cultically related documents were deliberately located, the presence of these ‘non-cultic’ document stands out. As was noted above, the *KTU* 4.14, 4.18 and 4.20 are the only three documents from p.t. 300 that cannot be linked, on the grounds of internal evidence, with cultic activity.

And so it is interesting to observe that *KTU* 4.14—the texts *KTU* 4.18 and 4.20 are too fragmentary to be of much use in this discussion—is laden with ‘non-cultic’ applications of commodity terminology that is elsewhere associated with cultic activity: *šmn mr*, *nbt*, *dd*, *hn* and *‘sr* are all listed. A recognition that all of these terms can be directly related with cultic activity in documents (notably, *KTU* 1.41) from the same location demands, at least, a reconsideration of the classification assigned by *KTU*. (An exploration of whether the other commodities listed in *KTU* 4.14 are used in cultic contexts would perhaps help to resolve the matter.)

If the categorisation of texts into genres is retained as a useful device, the findings recovered by means of the contextualist method may prove useful here too. Note, for example, that *KTU*’s reading of its ‘Unclassified’ text *KTU* 7.136.6 presents a possible occurrence of *hmr* (the transcription is given as]*hmr*[). If the restorations proposed for *KTU* 1.108.10 and *KTU* 1.126.24 are accepted (see my translations in Annexe 1) a ‘cultic precedent’ for understanding *KTU* 7.136 as a ‘religious’ text arises. In view of the fact all three texts (i.e. *KTU* 1.108; 1.126; 7.136) all arise from PH combined with the observation that *hmr* (seemingly) appears at PH only with a cultic application suggests the classification of *KTU* 7.136 alongside its PH counterparts. (And all this is on top of the fact that *KTU* 7.136.5 seems to contain a reference to *bt . i*[l.]) As ever with PH, the production of a

⁶⁶ See pp. 145-46, above.

⁶⁷ See pp. 152-53.

detailed map displaying the ‘points topographiques’ would be of immense use for making additional comments about the proximity or otherwise of the relevant findspots.

CONCLUSIONS

At the outset of this study the primary objective was stated as being the formulation of a new methodological approach that would allow for meaningful conclusions to be drawn from the integration of textual and topographical data. With the need for the method explained, the rules of the technique spelled out, the construction of the database ‘completed’ (see presently), and the principles that should guide interpretation made explicit, it is necessary to reflect upon the importance of the findings reached, as well as upon the benefits that a context-sensitive approach to the texts may hold for the appreciation of Ugaritic religion.

That the provisional reading of the database suggests a connection between the buildings known conventionally as the ‘House of the High Priest’ and the ‘Royal Palace’—it seems safe now to dispense with the abbreviated forms GP, PC, and so on!—is, at first blush, anticlimactic; the close association between the two sites has long been acknowledged. Similarly, that the cursory reading offered in the last chapter argues for a link between the Hurrian Priest’s House and the House of the High Priest (as well as the Royal Palace) is also unremarkable; the recovery of (possibly) duplicate texts (e.g. KTU 1.40; 1.121; 1.122) in the topographically distanced locations suggested this conclusion from the outset. In the same way—though it was beyond the scope of Chapter 6 to engage in a discussion of this matter—that some degree of religious/theological congruence will become evident on a closer reading of the results could have been anticipated; the retrieval of near identical god-list texts from the House of the High Priest and the (KTU 1.47) and the Hurrian Priest’s house (KTU 1.118) pointed to this conclusion without the need for a database.

But the true potential of the contextualist approach waits to be unlocked. The new framework offers the opportunity to look in detail at the contexts in which the texts and their contents arise, and, with this, the possibility of ‘grounding’ them to precise locations. By ‘plotting’ the appearance of individual items of terminology on the map of Ugarit—it might even be worthwhile to do this literally—it will become possible to determine what, if anything, are the common and distinctive features of the archives. The identification of nuances within the archives of Ugarit will be, perhaps, the most important and exciting prospect.

Consider, for instance, the ‘exclusive’ divine names recovered from the House of the Hurrian Priest.¹ Although recent reconstruction of the Ugaritic cult have to some extent accounted for the appearance of distinctive divine name terminology at this location—many of the dual-form divine names appearing in the list are incorporated into a ‘pantheon of prayer and magic’ and feature in a ‘religion of everyday life’²—another detail stands out. Scanning down the list of ‘exclusive’ (and ‘common’) terminology reveals a wealth of *geographically specific* divine names, many of which are specific to this one physical context.

Note, for example, the numerous forms presented in KTU 1.100: *b’l mrym špn* (l. 9), *dgn ttl* (l. 15) *ħrn mšdh* (ll. 58, 61, 67, 73?), *z̄z w km̄t ħryt* (l. 36), *yrĥ lrgth* (l. 26), *mlk ‘itrth* (l. 41), ‘*nt w ‘trt inbbh* (l. 20), *ršp bbt* (l. 31), *šħr w šlm šmmh* (l. 52). A look at the sacrificial list KTU 1.109 reveals that among the familiar geographically specific divine names (e.g. *b’l ugrt*, ll. 16, 34, 35-36?; *b’l špn*, ll. 5, 9, 29, 32-33; ‘*nt špn*, ll. 13-14, 17, 36)—note the abundance—the ‘new’ forms *b’l ħlb* (l. 16) and ‘*nt ħl/š* (l. 25) are also presented. A similar phenomenon emerges in KTU 1.130, another sacrificial list, in which *b’l ħlb* (l. 11) once more appears alongside *b’l ugrt* (ll. 10, 24, 26). (It should, perhaps, be noted here that the contextualist analysis reveals that divine name *b’l ħlb* arises nowhere else at Ugarit!) Furthermore, although, admittedly, the specificity present in KTU 1.105 is not at all times geographical in nature, the appearance of *b’l ‘rkm* (ll. 17-18), *ršp bbt* (l. 25), *ršp mhbn* (l. 1), *ršp mlk* (l. 7) and *b’l ugrt* (l. 6) is to be noted.

An acceptance of the principle that ‘predominant use of a particular linguistic construction possibly has cultic reasons’,³ raises the potentially important prospect that particular ‘cultic reasons’ have exerted a force on the deities appearing within the texts of the House of the Hurrian Priest. Although a good deal more analysis is needed before it can be claimed that anything approaching a ‘tendency’ towards the use of geographically specific divine names existed in the texts from the House of the Hurrian Priest—it is undoubtedly too soon to start linking the names with the detail that Ugarit was a cosmopolitan city of international trade—the fact that the contextualist approach has initiated a discussion on the ‘cultic reasons’ that influenced the composition (and distribution) of texts is an indication of the method’s potential.

¹ See the summary table on p. 209-211, or Workbook 1, Worksheet 2 of the database.

² See above, pp. 64-65 (n. 325). Though I find myself in broad agreement with del Olmo Lete’s reading of the documentation—to my mind his failure to acknowledge that so many of his ‘magical’ texts were concentrated in one location, namely the House of the Hurrian Priest, displays a lack of the topographical sensitivity I am advocating in this study—he seems to have overlooked a potentially useful detail that stands out when the terminology is subjected to contextualist enquiry.

³ Del Olmo Lete, *CR*, p. 65.

Future applications of the method to other contexts at Ugarit will surely supply valuable insight into the organisation of Ugarit's religious institutions. The engagement with a greater number of texts will make possible 'cross-directional' comparison of findsite locations, and at the same time supply more items of terminology that can be used to measure the levels of agreement and diversity between the various archives. In order to achieve this it will be necessary to extend the new method of study across Ugarit and to incorporate as many, but ideally all, of the locations from which texts were discovered. In the light of the preceding discussion, a treatment of the Royal Palace suggests itself as being most urgently needed.

Of course, none of this should be undertaken without an appreciation of the form and style of the texts in which the terminology arises. The new method advocated in this study is intended to be another weapon in the scholarly armoury. The 'traditional' methods that have been used to such good effect—methods that had identified the association between the High Priest's House and the Royal Palace long before a 'contextualist' framework came in to being—are to be supplemented; only the insensitivity that some scholars have shown towards the physical settings of the texts they study should be replaced.

As a final thought, and one that is related to scholarly techniques, it is worth considering that technological advancements are revolutionising the ways in which we encounter the Ugaritic texts. The Web offers us the opportunity to tour around a virtual Ugaritic Museum,⁴ take an online course in the Ugaritic language,⁵ and—most usefully for the researcher—to consult the *Northwest Semitic Philological Data Bank (NSPDB)*. The present study is representative of the move towards computer-based methods: maximum use was made of the *NSPDB*'s online search engine; undoubtedly, allowing a computer to do all the 'donkey work' expedited the generation of the database.

But there is a downside to the ease with which the ancient documents, or rather virtual representations of them, can be browsed, dismembered and downloaded. After three and a half thousand years the Ugaritic texts are being assigned a new context—an electronic/virtual context—that is even further removed from their original settings. If there was a need to take note of the physical placement of the Ugaritic texts when 'traditional' research techniques were employed, the development of computerised ways of engaging with the texts from Ugarit only increases the need to take account of their findsite locations.

⁴ Visit <www.ed.ac.uk/~ugarit/museum/welcome.htm>

⁵ With the Quartz Hill School of Theology <www.theology.edu>.

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