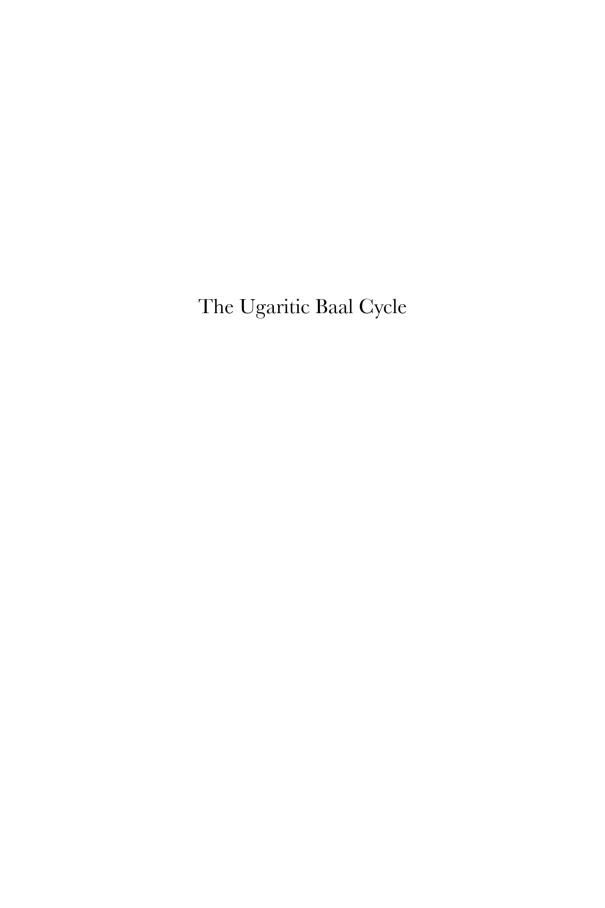MARK S. SMITH AND

WAYNE T. PITARD

The Ugaritic Baal Cycle

VOLUME II

*Introduction with Text, Translation
and Commentary of KTU/CAT 1.3-1.4*

The Ugaritic Baal Cycle

Supplements

to

Vetus Testamentum

VOLUME 114

The Ugaritic Baal Cycle

Volume II

Introduction with Text, Translation and
Commentary of KTU/CAT 1.3–1.4

By

Mark S. Smith and Wayne T. Pitard

BRILL

For our teachers,
Frank Moore Cross,
Thomas Lambdin,
William Moran,
and Michael Coogan,
in deepest gratitude

CONTENTS

Text, Translation and Commentary

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

> Again we see that the cooperation of successive students is necessary, and that no one man can hope to solve most of the difficulties with which Ugaritic mythological poems swarm.

These words were penned by William Foxwell Albright (1943:40) over six decades ago, and they could hardly be truer today (apart from the gender language). This commentary on the Baal Cycle draws on the work of successive generations of Ugaritic scholarship. There have been many triumphs of well-founded scholarship as well as numerous detours and mistakes. To cite what Marvin Pope used to call "Ginsberg's dictum," "the only people who have never made mistakes in Ugaritic philology are those who have never engaged in it" (Ginsberg 1950:156). It is worth noting as well Ginsberg's lesser known comment about the field expressed in 1948:139: "Each of these texts by itself is a happy hunting-ground for philological sportsmen, abounding as it does in lacunae and obscurities, while the intricate and tantalizing problem of the mutual relations of the texts among themselves can afford even more ambitious nimrods of research scope for weeks and weeks of congenial activity." Because of the efforts of so many, we begin our acknowledgements by expressing gratitude for the labors of our predecessors in this field. The indebtedness of this volume to the work of other scholars will be evident to anyone who uses this commentary.

This volume is the result of collaboration between the two of us. It began when Smith, having worked intermittently on this volume for over a decade, invited Pitard to do the textual edition for the book. But as we began working together, it became clear that two heads were better than one (and, for the textual edition, four eyes were better than two), and so the project became a full-scale collaboration across all aspects of the book. The results, we believe, are considerably superior to anything that either of us might have produced individually.

Each of us has a number of people to acknowledge, so in this section we will take our turns:

Mark Smith:

A great deal of work on this commentary was conducted in tandem with the first volume of this commentary, published in 1994 under the title, *The Ugaritic Baal Cycle. Volume 1*. As a result, all the thanks expressed in that volume applies equally to this one. Moreover, many persons and organizations have supported this work since 1994. Marvin Pope, as usual, stood at the forefront of the list until his death in 1997. He constantly offered encouragement. Moreover, he provided a copy of his unpublished translation and notes to 1.4 I–VIII, and I am grateful for his permission to use that material (notes cited as MHP). Similarly, Dennis Pardee permitted me to use his epigraphic notes to CAT 1.3, based on his collation of this tablet mentioned in Pardee 1988b:1 n. 4 (these are cited as DP). He has since published a translation and notes to the Baal Cycle (Pardee 1997a), and readers may gain better insight into his own views by perusing that work of his. I am grateful for his generous permission to cite his readings and notes.

I spent part of the summer of 1995 at the Ecole Biblique in Jerusalem working on this volume. I am grateful to Simon Parker for having inviting me to contribute the text, translation and notes to the Baal Cycle and some smaller Ugaritic texts for a volume entitled *Ugaritic Narrative Poetry* (cited as *UNP*). This work provided an opportunity to put to paper a basic complete translation and text and to think about the process and details of translation. The text there was informed by photographic materials produced by the West Semitic Research Project under the care, good will and generosity of Bruce Zuckerman and Wayne Pitard. The project subsequently produced the photographic material for this volume. My debt to Professors Zuckerman and Pitard for this material is immense, for while many of the translation options and discussions in this volume can be found among the myriad of articles and books, the photographs cannot; they are gems, and I am very fortunate to have them inform and accompany my work. I am grateful also to the Director of the French mission to Ras Shamra and to the Syrian Directorate of Antiquities for permission to publish the photographs in this volume.

From 1993 to 2000, Saint Joseph's University was unfailing in its support of my research. In 1995 the university provided me with a grant that took me to Jerusalem to conduct research on this book. The academic community at Saint Joseph's University also took an active interest in the research. A contribution to this commentary was provided by my former departmental colleague, David Carpenter. From Professor

September of 2000. Under the capable leadership of its chairs Lawrence Schiffman and David Engel, the department has provided me with all the benefits in teaching and research a faculty member could desire. In the fall of 2000, Andrés Piquer Otero came to New York University to work with me on the Baal Cycle. His M.A. thesis on the verbal syntax in CAT 1.1–1.2, completed in spring 2000, offers a text linguistic analysis of the verbal syntax of the first two tablets of the Baal Cycle (Piquer Otero 2000); his recently completed doctoral research follows this line of research on all of the Baal Cycle (Piquer Otero 2003). During his visit to New York University, we worked through CAT 1.3. Piquer Otero has also generously granted me permission to present this work in the context of this commentary, and I have acknowledged his contributions in citing his 2003 thesis. (A basic presentation of Piquer Otero's work may be found in the Introduction.) I wish to acknowledge further my debt and thanks to Piquer Otero and the faculty at the Universidad Complutense de Madrid for inviting me to serve on his doctoral tribunal (dissertation defense committee). As a result of this process, I was provided with an English version of this doctoral thesis, which facilitated not only the defense process, but also my citation of his work in this volume. Unfortunately, Piquer Otero 2007 appeared too late for us to include.

Beginning in the spring term of 2001 and the fall of 2002, I was able to read parts of the Baal Cycle with graduate students, which was an impetus for rethinking and rewriting. Their questions and suggestions were very helpful, and I thank them: Deena Grant, Tony Badran, Alan Yuter, Hugh White, Hwan Yi, Diego Bayreera and Stephen Russell. My departmental colleagues as well as my colleagues in the Department of Classics have spurred me to further consideration of many issues. In particular, I am deeply grateful to my departmental "better half" in Bible and Ancient Near East studies, Professor Daniel Fleming. His books and articles as well as his personal communications to me have been a constant help in my efforts to bring the texts from Emar and Mari to bear on the Baal Cycle. As a pioneer in the field of Emar, the site closest to ancient Ugarit in many respects, Professor Fleming's experience with the Emar corpus, not to mention the texts of Middle and Late Bronze Age Syria more generally, has been an important aid to my research.

My spring 2004 term on leave as Catholic Biblical Association Visiting Professor at the Pontifical Biblical Institute helped to bring this volume to a conclusion. I am grateful to the Institute and its personnel

for all of its help. I am grateful to New York University for providing me with sabbatical time and to the Pontifical Biblical institute and the Catholic Biblical Association for their support of my time in Rome. I save my final word of thanks for Wayne Pitard whose hard work on all aspects of this volume has vastly improved it. In the process of co-authoring this volume, I have especially enjoyed his learning, insight and good humor.

Wayne Pitard:

First of all I must thank Mark for inviting me to join him on this project. This collaboration has been one of the most enjoyable and fruitful experiences in my professional career, and I cannot imagine a better working partner than Mark. And secondly, I wish to thank Dr. Bruce Zuckerman, an old friend and delightful colleague who took me under his wing in 1989 and taught me how to photograph clay tablets using large-format cameras. This led to a number of photographic expeditions to Syria and Paris, during which I (with the help of Theodore Lewis, Andrew Vaughn, and Brian Schmidt in various years) photographed most of the literary texts from Ugarit. Some of the fruits of this work will be seen here.

The photos published in this volume were taken in the Aleppo National Museum in Syria and were made with the generous cooperation of the Syrian Directorate of Antiquities. I am grateful to Drs. Ali Abu-Assaf and Sultan Muhesen, successive Directors of Antiquities for their support and cooperation. In Aleppo I was greatly helped by Wahed Khayata, Director of Antiquities for the Aleppo Region, and the staff of the Aleppo National Museum, who supported me at every turn. I must also thank the members of the Mission de Ras Shamra for their help in years past.

Financial support for the photographic work came from several sources. The University of Illinois has always been enormously supportive of my work in Ugaritic, providing me with funding for the expeditions to Syria and Paris, along with computer support at home. Bruce Zuckerman, Marilyn Lundberg and Ken Zuckerman, all part of West Semitic Research, have been the *sine qua non* of the photographic project. Not only were they my instructors, but they also provided the equipment for the expeditions and care for the original negatives in the WSR collection. A National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Stipend in 1991 allowed me to begin work on the methodologies that are used here for the drawings of the tablets. In addition, some of the

This volume of the commentary is dedicated to our teachers, Frank M. Cross, Thomas O. Lambdin, William L. Moran (in memoriam), and Michael D. Coogan. We count ourselves most fortunate to have studied with this team of scholars, who have enriched the field of ancient Near Eastern languages and literatures with many magisterial works (for profiles, see Smith 2001b:154–58). In the different areas of research addressed in this volume, the published works and classroom instruction of these four scholars have served as inspiring models. We offer this work to them as a small token of our thanks.

CITATIONS, ABBREVIATIONS AND SIGLA

The abbreviations, listed in *The SBL Handbook of Style: For Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, and Early Christian Studies* (ed. P. H. Alexander et al.; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1999) and *The Assyrian Dictionary. Volume 15 S* (ed. E. Reiner et al.; Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1984) vii–xxii, are used with the following additions, changes and sigla:

I. Books, Journals and Series

AEM I   *Archives Épistolaires de Mari* (= *ARM* XXVI/1), by J. M. Durand. Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1988.

AEM II   *Archives Épistolaires de Mari* (= *ARM* XXVI/2), by D. Charpin et al. Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1988.

AKY   *'Al Kanfei Yonah: Collected Studies of Jonas C. Greenfield on Semitic Philology*. Ed. S. M. Paul, M. E. Stone and A. Pinnick. Leiden/Boston/Köln: Brill; Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press, 2001.

ANET   *ANET*. Third edition.

AO   *Aula Orientalis*

AP   A. Cowley. *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* Oxford: Clarendon, 1923. Reprinted ed.; Osnabruck: Otto Zeller, 1967.

ARM   Archives Royales de Mari

Baal   P. J. van Zijl. *Baal: A Study of Texts in Connexion with Baal in the Ugaritic Epics*. AOAT 10. Kevelaer: Verlag Butzon & Bercker; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1972.

Benz   F. L. Benz. *Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions: A Catalog, Grammatical Study and Glossary of Elements*. Studia Pohl 8. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1972.

Biella   J. C. Biella. *Dictionary of Old South Arabic: Sabaean Dialect*. HSS 25. Chico, CA: Scholars, 1982.

BOS   U. Cassuto. *Biblical & Oriental Studies. Volume 2: Bible and Ancient Oriental Texts*. Trans. I. Abrahams. Jerusalem: Magnes, 1975.

CAT   M. Dietrich, O. Loretz and J. Sanmartín, eds. *The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani and Other Places (KTU: second enlarged edition)*. ALASPM 8. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1997. Texts cited by number.

CDA   J. Black, A. George, N. Postgate, eds. *A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian*. SANTAG 5. 2nd (corrected) printing. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000.

CHANE   Culture and History of the Ancient Near East series

CMCOT   R. J. Clifford. *The Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament*. HSM 4. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1972.

CMHE   F. M. Cross. *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*. Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University, 1973.

CML[1]   G. R. Driver. *Canaanite Myths and Legends*. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1956.

CML[2]   J. C. L. Gibson. *Canaanite Myth and Legends*. Second ed. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1978.

COS   *The Context of Scripture*. Ed. W. W. Hallo and K. Lawson Younger Three vols. Leiden/Boston/Köln: Brill, 1997, 2000, 2002.

CPU   J. L. Cunchillos and J. P. Vita. *Concordancia de Palabras Ugaríticas*. Three vols. Madrid/Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1995.

CS   S. E. Loewenstamm. *Comparative Studies in Biblical and Ancient Oriental Literatures*. AOAT 204. Kevelaer: Verlag Butzon & Bercker; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1980.

CTA   A. Herdner. *Corpus des tablettes en cuneiforms alphabétiques découverts à Ras Shamra-Ugarit de 1929 à 1939*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1963.

DDD   *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible (DDD)*. Ed. K. van der Toorn, B. Becking, P. W. van der Horst. Second ed. Leiden: Brill, 1999.

DLU   G. del Olmo Lete and J. Sanmartín, *Diccionario de la Lengua Ugarítica. Vol. I: ʾ(a/i/u)-l*. Aula Orientalis Supplementa 7. Barcelona: Editorial AUSA, 1996. *Diccionario de la Lengua Ugarítica. Vol. II: m-z*. Aula Orientalis Supplementa 8. Barcelona: Editorial AUSA, 2000. Continuous pagination between the two volumes.

Dozy   R. Dozy. *Supplément aux dictionnaires Arabes*. Two vols. Second ed. Leiden: Brill, 1927.

DUL   G. del Olmo Lete and J. Sanmartín, *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition. Part One [('a/i/u–k]; Part Two [l–z].* Trans. W. G. E. Watson. HdO 67. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2003. Continuous pagination between the two volumes.

DW   P. D. Miller. *The Divine Warrior in Early Israel.* HSM 5. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1973.

EHG   M.S. Smith. *The Early History of God: Yahweh and the Other Deities in Ancient Israel.* Second Edition. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002.

Emar   D. Arnaud. *Recherches au pays d'Aštata. Emar VI. Tome 3. Textes sumériens et accadiens. Texte.* Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1986. Cited by text number.

Études   M. Yon and D. Arnaud, eds. *Études ougaritiques I. Travaux 1985–1995.* RSO 14. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 2001.

EUT   M. H. Pope. *El in the Ugaritic Texts.* VTSup 2. Leiden: Brill, 1955.

Freytag   G. W. Freytag. *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum.* Four volumes. Alle A.S.: Schwetschke et filium, 1830.

GA   U. Cassuto. *The Goddess Anath.* Trans. I. Abrahams. Jerusalem: Magnes, 1971.

GLH   E. Laroche. *Glossaire de la langue hourrite.* Études et commentaires 93. Paris: Éditions Klincksieck, 1980.

Jastrow   M. Jastrow. *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Rabbinic Literature.* New York: The Judaica Press, 1971.

KTU   M. Dietrich, O. Loretz and J. Sanmartín. *Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit: Einschliesslich der keilalphabetischen Texte ausserhalb Ugarits. Teil 1. Transkription.* AOAT 24/1. Kevelaer: Verlag Butzon & Bercker; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1976.

KU   H. L. Ginsberg. *Kitve 'Ugarit.* Jerusalem: The Bialik Foundation, 1936.

LC[1]   J. Gray. *The Legacy of Canaan.* First ed. VTSup 5. Leiden: Brill, 1957.

LC[2]   J. Gray. *The Legacy of Canaan.* Second ed. VTSup 5. Leiden: Brill, 1965.

Leslau   W. Leslau. *Comparative Dictionary of Geèz (Classical Ethiopic).* Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1987.

LS	C. Brockelmann. *Lexicon Syriacum*. Second ed. Göttingen: Max Niemeyer, 1928.
MARI	*Mari Annales de Recherches Interdisciplinaires*
MHP	M. H. Pope, unpublished notes to the Baal Cycle.
MLC	G. del Olmo Lete. *Mitos y leyendas de Canaan segun la Tradicion de Ugarit*. Institucion San Jeronimo para la Ciencia Biblica 1. Madrid: Ediciones Cristiandad, 1981.
MLD	B. Margalit. *A Matter of >Life< and >Death<: A Study of the Baal-Mot Epic (CTA 4–5–6)*. AOAT 206. Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1980.
MLR	G. del Olmo Lete. *Mitos, leyendas y rituals de los semitas occidentals*. Madrid: Editorial Trotta, 1998.
NABU	Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires
NJPS	*TANAKH The Holy Scriptures: The New JPS Translation According to the Traditional Hebrew Text*. Philadelphia/New York/Jerusalem: The Jewish Publication Society, 1988.
Orel and Stolbova	V. E. Orel and O. V. Stolbova. *Hamito-Semitic Etymological Dictionary: Materials for a Reconstruction*. HdO I/18. Leiden: Brill, 1995.
PE	Eusebius. *Praeparatio evangelica*, cited according to Attridge and Oden 1981.
PRU III	J. Nougayrol. *Le palais royal d'Ugarit. Vol. III*. MRS VI. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale/Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1955.
PRU IV	J. Nougayrol. *Le palais royal d'Ugarit. Vol. IV*. MRS IX. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale/Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1956.
PRU VI	J. Nougayrol. *Le palais royal d'Ugarit. Vol. VI*. MRS XII. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale/Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1970.
PTU	F. Gröndahl. *Die Personnamen der Texte aus Ugarit*. Studia Pohl 1. Rome: Päpstliches Bibelinstitut, 1967.
RAI	Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale
RDAC	Reports of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus
RNAB	Revised New American Bible
RSO	Ras Shamra—Ougarit. Series of the Mission de Ras Shamra.
RSP III	*Ras Shamra Parallels III: The Texts from Ugarit and the Hebrew Bible*. Ed. S. Rummel. AnOr 51. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1981.
SPUMB	J. C. de Moor. *The Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Ba'lu: According to the Version of Ilimilku*. AOAT 16. Kevelaer:

	Butzon & Bercker; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag des Erziehungsvereins, 1971.
Thespis	T. H. Gaster. *Thespis: Ritual, Myth, and Drama in the Ancient Near East*. New York: Norton, 1977.
TO I	A. Caquot, M. Sznycer and A. Herdner. *Textes ougaritiques I. Mythes et legendes*. LAPO 7. Paris: Cerf, 1974.
TO II	A. Caquot, J. M. de Tarragon and J. L. Cunchillos. *Textes ougaritiques: Tome II. textes religieux. rituels. correspondance*. LAPO 14. Paris: Cerf, 1989.
UBC 1	M. S. Smith. *The Ugaritic Baal Cycle. Volume I: Introduction, with Text, Translation and Commentary of KTU 1.1–1.2*. VTSup 55. Leiden: Brill, 1994.
UG	J. Tropper. *Ugaritische Grammatik*. AOAT 273. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2000.
UgM	J. Obermann. *Ugaritic Mythology: A Study of its Leading Motifs*. New Haven: Yale University, 1948.
Ug V	J. Nougayrol, E. Laroche, C. Virolleaud and C. F. A. Schaeffer. *Ugaritica V.* Mission de Ras Shamra XVI. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale/Librairie orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1968.
Ug VII	C. F. A. Schaeffer et al. *Ugaritica VII*. Mission de Ras Shamra XVII. Paris: Paul Geuthner; Leiden: Brill, 1978.
UH	C. H. Gordon. *Ugaritic Handbook*. AnOr 25. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1947.
UL	C. H. Gordon. *Ugaritic Literature: A Comprehensive Translation of the Poetic and Prose Texts*. Scripta Pontificii Instituti Biblici 98. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1949.
UM	C. H. Gordon. *Ugaritic Manual*. AnOr 35. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1955.
UNP	*Ugaritic Narrative Poetry*. Ed. S. B. Parker. SBL Writings from the Ancient World 9. Atlanta, GA: Scholars, 1997.
UT	C. H. Gordon. *Ugaritic Textbook*. AnOr 38. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1965.
V	Virolleaud's *editio princeps* cited in textual notes.
WdM	H. W. Haussig. *Götter und Mythen im Vorderen Orient*. Wörterbuch der Mythologie I. Stuttgart: Ernst Klett, l965.
WLCAT	M. Dietrich and O. Loretz. *Word-List of the Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani and Other Places: (KTU: second, enlarged edition)*. ALASP 12. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1996.
Wright	W. Wright. *A Grammar of the Arabic Language. Translated from the German of Caspari and edited with numerous additions and corrections.*

Two vols. Third edition, rev. W. R. Smith and M. J. de Goeje. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1898.

WSS   N. Avigad and B. Sass. *Corpus of West Semitic Stamp Seals*. Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities/The Israel Exploration Society/The Institute of Archaeology, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1997.

WUS   J. Aistleitner. *Wörterbuch der ugaritischer Sprache*. Ed. O. Eissfeldt. Third ed. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1967.

YGC   W. F. Albright. *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan: A Historical Analysis of Two Contrasting Faiths*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990. Originally published in 1968.

II. Terms

1. *Languages and Dialects*

BH   Biblical Hebrew
ESA   Epigraphic South Arabic
Heb.   Modern Hebrew
IE   Indo-European
MA   Middle Assyrian
MB   Middle Babylonian
MH   Mishnaic Hebrew
NA   Neo-Assyrian
NB   Neo-Babylonian
OB   Old Babylonian
PS   Proto-Semitic
WS   West Semitic

2. *Grammatical Terms*

acc.   "accusative case"
C   causative stem (BH "hiphil")
cst.   construct state
D   double stem (BH "piel")
DN(s)   divine name(s)
Dt   double stem with *-t* reflexive or reciprocal (BH "hithpael")
fem.   feminine gender

G	ground or simple stem (BH "qal")
GN(s)	geographical name(s)
Gt	ground stem with -*t* reflexive or reciprocal
impf.	imperfect or prefix tense
impv.	imperative
inf.	infinitive
masc.	masculine gender
L	*L*-stem (cf. *D*-stem for geminates and middle-weak roots)
N	*N*-stem (BH "niphal")
p	person
pass.	passive voice
perf.	perfect or suffix tense
pl.	plural
PN(s)	proper names(s)
prep.	preposition
ptcp.	participle
sg.	singular
Št	causative stem with -*t* reflexive or reciprocal

3. *Other Terms*

ANE	ancient Near East or ancient Near Eastern
EA	El-Amarna (cited according to Moran 1992)
LBA	Late Bronze Age
LXX	Septuagint
MT	Masoretic Text
n(n).	footnote(s)
RS	Ras Shamra (text number)

III. Sigla

a b c…	used to schematize parallelism (in the first line of a colon, with corresponding items in other lines rendered with the same letters with primes or further letters)
ʾ	ʾaleph
ʿ	ʿayin
p of q	construct within a single x or y (see below "x, y," and "x of y")
q of r	construct within a single x or y (see below "x, y," and "x of y") when in apposition to p

v	unknown vowel in vocalized text
x, y, z	apposition (used in renderings of semantic parallelism)
x of y	construct phrase (used in renderings of semantic parallelism)
x + y	phrase coordinated by *w-* (used in renderings of semantic parallelism)
*	hypothetical form or root
<	etymological derivation from a root
/ˊ/	damaged, but relatively clear letter
/˚/	epigraphically uncertain letter, but likely reading
/x/	remains of an unidentified letter
< >	haplography restored by editors
//	parallel words or lines
{ }	incorrect scribal addition

PREFACE

The Format of This Volume

This volume represents the continuation of *The Ugaritic Baal Cycle. Volume 1* (henceforth *UBC* 1). The first volume provided a general introduction to the cycle, plus detailed commentary on its first two tablets (CAT 1.1–1.2). This second volume contains a detailed commentary on the next two tablets (CAT 1.3–1.4). While the introduction in the first volume covered most of the major interpretive issues involved in the cycle, subjects specific to CAT 1.3–1.4 are treated in the Introduction here. In addition, further research on the cycle has prompted us to make some additional comments about the cycle as a whole. The main features of this volume generally follow the conventions described in *UBC* 1:xxviii–xxxvi, although we have added a few new features. Here is the general arrangement for this volume:

I. *The Introduction*

Addressed in this section are general matters supplementing and occasionally revising the Introduction to the first volume: research on the Baal Cycle since 1994; textual and literary issues; verbal syntax in the Baal Cycle; the structure of the building narrative in 1.3–1.4 and the role played by royal/family etiquette and protocol in the story; the role of both divine geography and Ugaritic family structure in the presentation of the narrative; the relationship between El and Baal's enemies; and a discussion of the identification between the divine palace and the earthly temple.

II. *Translation of the text of 1.3 and 1.4*

Here we provide our translation of the text in order to give the reader a sense of the entire flow of the narrative.

III. *The Commentary Proper*

1. *Physical description of the Tablet*

For each of the two tablets, we provide a physical description, a discussion of the find spots of its fragments and an analysis of its individual characteristics.

2. *Bibliography*

The study of each column of text begins with a bibliography of editions, translations and studies.

3. *Text and Textual Notes for Each Column*

This section constitutes a new edition of these tablets, based fundamentally on Pitard's collations of the texts in the Aleppo National Museum in 1995 and 1999, supplemented by both authors' study of the photographs taken during those trips to Syria. Most of the photographs of 1.3 and 1.4 I–III used here were taken by Pitard and Theodore Lewis in 1995, while Pitard took the photos of 1.4 IV–VIII in 1999. The transcriptions of the text and the textual notes are intended to be used alongside the images found on the accompanying DVD. It has become clear to the authors that digital images provide a greatly superior access to the photographic data than traditional published photos. A wider range of photos can be provided, and more sophisticated analysis can be used on digital images. The DVD not only allows the interested scholar to examine the images in detail, but also provides a complete set of drawings of the text that can be superimposed upon the image. These allow the reader to see exactly what we believe are the preserved traces of the letters on the tablets. In addition to our own examinations, the authors also have had access to Dennis Pardee's 1981 collation of 1.3, for which we are grateful. The textual notes in our commentary will often be in dialogue with the readings of *CTA, CAT*, Pardee and occasionally others.

Four levels of certainty are indicated in the transcription of the text. (1) Letters that are clearly preserved, for which there is no question of their identity, appear without modification. (2) Letters that are badly damaged, but which retain enough evidence for the editors to be certain of their reading, have been marked with a solid dot, / ˙ /, above them. (3) Badly damaged letters that cannot be certainly identified epigraphically, but which can be identified with a great deal of probability

through context and parallel passages, are marked with a circle, /°/. (4) Extremely fragmentary letters for which certainty of identity cannot be reached are marked by *x*. The textual notes often discuss the possible readings for these letters.

4. *Text Restored and Put in Poetic Form*

This section provides our first interpretation of the text. Here we propose our understanding of the poetic structure of the narrative. We arrange the words according to our interpretation of the poetic lines or cola, and then group them together according to the related sets of lines, usually bicola or tricola, but occasionally a larger unit. Rather than inserting the line numbers into the transcription, as is often done, we have chosen to follow the style used in *UNP* of providing the line numbers of complete poetic units in the left margin, while placing a slash between lines in the transcription (except where the end of a poetic unit coincides with the end of a line—this is not marked).

Reconstructions of broken passages have been kept to a minimum and are based on clear parallels. We are aware that even in formulaic passages the poet can vary the wording, and thus that some reconstructions can only be considered approximate. Emendations are discussed either in footnotes or in the commentary.

5. *Translation and Vocalized Text*

We have attempted a fairly literal translation that we hope is not too wooden. We have also retained the poetic structure of the original, following the poetic lines, emphasizing the parallelism and terseness of the units (cf. Pardee 1988b). Only rarely is it necessary to move a word in one colon of the Ugaritic into a different colon of the English translation (something done only when English syntax requires it). Furthermore, an attempt has been made to capture some of the original's paronomasia. Finally, since the language of the Baal Cycle probably sounded somewhat archaic to its original audience, we have tried to retain a touch of archaism in the translation (see *UBC* 1:29–58).

As an aid to our readers, we have added explanatory headings before major sections of the narrative to indicate the plot. These headings have been set in bold print to distinguish them from the translations.

A vocalized text, prepared by Smith, has been provided next to the translation of each column. The *Ugaritica V* polyglot lists, Ugaritic loanwords into Akkadian texts from Ras Shamra and the three Ugaritic

forms of ʾ (ʾaleph in Hebrew)[1] provide information about the vocaliza-
tion of many Ugaritic words. Because of these sources, it is possible
to do more than simply compare the vocalizations of cognate words
in other Semitic languages. But still, as noted by numerous scholars,[2]
there are many uncertainties in the attempt to vocalize Ugaritic. On
this score, we would cite the well-placed evaluation of the situation
offered by Ullendorff (1994:359):

> I remain, however, profoundly convinced that our knowledge of the
> vowel system of Ugaritic and of its operational and functional aspects is
> much too limited to believe that we could reconstruct a mode of pronun-
> ciation that possesses any semblance of credibility. A small measure of
> progress in this field is, however feasible once we have transferred all of
> the recognitions derived from the patterns connected with the tripartite
> *ʾalef* into such features of the system as may be amenable to such trans-
> ference—with all the *caveats*, contingent allowances, and regard for the
> intricacies of a linguistic organism that has been transmitted in a form
> that is far from perfect.

A plausible vocalization is not always possible, both for individual words
and for some obscure passages. Because of this, some of the text has
been left without vowels. In several places a lower case "v" is used to
indicate the likelihood of a vowel in a word when the identity of the
vowel is unknown. "Anceps" vowels (i.e., vowels that may be long or
short) are unmarked.

Despite these obvious problems facing the vocalization of Ugaritic
texts, there are three reasons we believe it is appropriate to provide
such a rendering. First, for those knowledgeable in Ugaritic, a vocalized
text makes explicit the grammatical analysis underlying the transla-
tion. Secondly, we believe that it thus makes the commentary easier
to follow. The vocalized text and the translation can be read together
as the reader peruses the commentary. Third, it helps to indicate to
an imperfect degree some of the assonance that occurs in the poetry.
While the assonance represented in a vocalized text must remain largely
theoretical, it still gives the reader a sense of this device that would be
much more difficult to envision when looking at the unvocalized text.

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[1] For the first two categories, see Huehnergard 1987b. For the "three ʾalephs," see
Marcus 1968. For further discussion of particulars, see notes to the vocalizations.

[2] See the cautionary remarks of *CMHE* 21 n. 50; Pope 1977a:181–82 n. 90; Pardee
1978:75 n. 5, 1988b:1; Tuttle 1978:253–68.

Indeed, we would encourage the reader to speak the lines aloud a few times to gain a feeling for its sonant quality.

6. *Commentary*

The commentary for each column begins with a poetic analysis, primarily the work of Smith, consisting of the vocalization of each colon, followed first by a scanning of semantic parallelism (indicated by lower case letters) and then by word and syllable counts. The scanning of semantic parallelism renders construct phrases as a single unit, but where construct phrases in a second or third line correspond to a single word in the previous line within a colon, the siglum "x + y" is given in parentheses, following the practice of Pardee (1988b:9, 77–78). In a number of instances, this practice has been extended by indicating apposition within clusters, especially for divine names with epithets, with the comma in "x, y." While the sigla for parallelism include both grammatical and semantic parallelism (cf. Pardee 1988b:9–10 n. 15), some of the more distinctive features of grammatical parallelism are discussed in the remarks that follow the presentation of the cola. The word and syllable counts indicate the length of lines within a poetic unit. At times, a word count may be misleading by suggesting an imbalance in the length of the lines, while the syllable count in the same unit not infrequently corrects this misimpression. The word count remains of some help, however, since the syllable count naturally depends on our vocalization and is therefore somewhat theoretical.

An analysis of each poetic unit follows. It provides remarks bearing on various sorts of parallelism—syntactical, morphological and sonant (among many works on the subject, see Hrushovski 1971:1201–2; Berlin 1985; Greenstein 1986–87). The syntactical parallelism is not treated according to any specific system, but an attempt is made to indicate how these sorts of parallelism may bind and contrast lines of cola, especially in the absence of apparent semantic parallelism. Berlin's treatment of sound pairs has advanced the understanding of sonant parallelism, and her definition of a sound pair (Berlin 1985:104; Berlin's italics) is followed in this volume: "*the repetition in parallel words or lines of the same or similar consonants in any order within close proximity*." Observations regarding various links between cola in this commentary are based more specifically on three criteria used by Berlin to delimit sonant parallelism (Berlin 1985:105): (i) "at least two sets of consonants must be involved"; (ii) "the sets must be in close proximity, within a word or adjacent words in both lines"; and (iii) "'same or

similar consonant' means the identical phoneme, an allophone…, or two phonemes which are articulated similarly…". Berlin's observations are a helpful beginning point. Morphology also combines with root letters to generate sonant parallelism. For the sake of discussion, we have also entertained some cases of anacrusis, although it is difficult to know how operative a feature this truly was.[3] Furthermore, it is occasionally possible to suggest how formal features may affect the understanding of the content. They may shape the perspective given to the content or suggest further meaning. In these instances, one may sense the performative character of the poetic medium. Indeed, the poetry of the Baal Cycle is sometimes so passionate and imaginative that even modern minds molded by sensibilities so distant from ancient Ugarit may be profoundly moved. Clearly, we have not exhausted the observations that might be made about poetic features on the colonic and super-colonic levels in the meticulous manner presented by Pardee (1988b). Without denying the value of Pardee's approach, we have attempted instead to identify distinctive features especially within cola (see Berlin 1985:130–40; Parker 1990:504). We have not ventured a strophic analysis of the texts, largely because we find it more useful to discern the units according to type-scenes and other aspects of content in combination with syntax (such as different uses and positions of verbal forms, discussed below). We both have found it impossible to discern strophes as such in the narrative poetry (for comparable skepticism on this issue, see Pardee 1993:156–57).

The poetic analysis is followed by a brief introduction to the literary context of the column and sometimes to the primary interpretational issues raised by the text. The commentary then presents detailed exegesis. The smallest unit of interpretation is the word followed in complexity by the syntax of a phrase; the clause; the sentence (often equivalent to a line); the colon (of which there are three general types, the monocolon, the bicolon and the tricolon); multi-cola units; and the larger setting of narrative or direct speech. Within these various units of length are other indicators of meaning: formulas varying in intricacy,

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[3] For other proposed cases, see Ginsberg 1936:171; Watson 1986a:110–11. For anacrusis, we have operated with two implicit assumptions, following Ginsberg: (i) with the opening term set off from the rest of the colon, the basic poetic parallelism of the rest of the colon is simpler; and (ii) the line-lengths of the remaining lines (without the term in anacrusis) appear more proximate with line-lengths generally found in Ugaritic narrative poetry. For interesting cases of line-length, see the discussions of 1.3 II 5–7 (*whln*); 1.3 V 35–36//1.4 I 4–6//1.4 IV 47–48 (*'any*); and 1.4 I 20–22 (*šskn m'*).

form-critical elements, type-scenes, and intertextual relationships with other passages.[4] Each of the units of length and other features provide insights, as well as checks and balances, on interpretation. In short, there is no philology without literary analysis; in turn, literary analysis has no foundation without sound philology. Literary structures and form-critical elements are noted in the section-by-section commentary, which correspond to the divisions made in the translation.

Detailed philological notes for some words appear in the commentary proper. Otherwise, they have been relegated to footnotes to the translation when philological discussions are judged not to be central to the commentary. Readers will find further available philological options not discussed in this volume provided either in the notes of Caquot, Sznycer and Herdner (*TO 1*), Cassuto (*GA*), de Moor (1987), Pardee (1997a), the glossaries of *UT* and del Olmo Lete (*MLC*), the monographs of de Moor (*SPUMB*) and van Zijl (*Baal*), the list of Pardee (1987c; cf. 1980), the dictionary of del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín (*DLU*, now in an important, expanded edition, *DUL*), or the many other studies provided in the bibliography for each column. It seems unnecessary in most cases to duplicate the philological information given in all of these works. Indeed, it appears misguided to list every proposed etymology, although some philological controversies have been deemed significant enough to warrant fairly detailed discussion. For the most part, we would characterize our philological analyses as tending toward the scholarly consensus and avoiding highly irregular interpretations, although we have not avoided making new suggestions when the evidence points in such a direction. The context of a word, whether it involves the syntax of the line, the parallelism within a colon, or a fixed expression or *topos* or even a word's usage elsewhere within Ugaritic, represents the final determinant for suggested etymologies. While it is not always possible to offer a solution that meets all the criteria suggested by the various levels of unit (line, colon, etc.), this standard remains the goal.

In this commentary we have tried to avoid including extraneous material. But occasionally a brief side trip into a peripheral area seemed worthwhile. The larger of these have been placed into excurses, which we hope may provide some wider background to specific passages. These are delimited from the rest of the commentary, so readers wishing to

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[4] Ginsberg 1948:139; Parker 1989b:7–59; Fisher, *RSP III* 253, 260 n. 16; Whitaker, *RSP III* 209–11.

avoid this extra material may skip over these sections. In the body of the commentary, we have also frequently quoted a text and/or translation of various passages not in 1.3 or 1.4 in order to illustrate their pertinence, instead of assuming that by mere citation of their text number, readers would understand the point of comparison. The commentary is fairly inclusive and representative of scholarly views, without the massive encumbrance to reading that a full citation of scholarly views would entail.[5] We apologize in advance to any scholars who judge that their work has been overlooked or slighted by omission. Finally, we felt it worthwhile at times to duplicate some material in order to reduce the already great amount (albeit necessary) of cross-referencing in this volume and back to the first volume of the commentary.

A few other additional features distinguish this volume of the commentary from its predecessor volume, *UBC* I. The first involves an effort to offer more remarks bearing on verbal syntax, and in particular, the position of the verb. In his Memoria de Licenciatura, Andrés Piquer Otero (2000) applied the approach of text linguistics (as found in the work of Niccacci 1990 and others) to the first two tablets of the Baal Cycle. He has since applied the same strategy to the cycle as a whole (Piquer Otero 2003). The approach holds three theoretical advantages over most discussions of the verb in narrative poetry, including *UBC* 1:39–57. First, it systematically distinguishes usage in direct discourse from usage in narrative. Second, it further refines usage within both direct discourse and narrative based on word order. As a result, the approach yields a systematic examination of the usages of the verb. Third, establishing the standard types of verbal syntax provides a baseline for recognizing further rhetorical departures and elaborations (for a good example, see the commentary on 1.3 II 3–16). Piquer Otero's approach, which is laid out in the Introduction, offers a further means to clarify the verbal system beyond the remarks offered in *UBC* 1:39–58.

A second additional feature of this volume involves the range of material consulted. This volume pays more attention to the material culture of the Late Bronze Age Levant. The last decade has seen an ever-increasing recognition of the need to bring into dialogue all sorts

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[5] A detailed bibliographical listing for the two tablets treated in this volume can be found in AOAT 20/6:404–30. For further bibliography more generally, see AOAT 20/1–6 for works up to 1988. For works during the 1970s, see also the *Newsletter for Ugaritic Studies*.

of evidence, including different genres of texts, iconography in various media, and all kinds of the realia afforded by archaeological excavations. Such an approach issues in this volume's regular reference to cultural artifacts, which we hope will help readers visualize the realia alluded to by the texts. We would note that such a synthetic approach may skew textual interpretation in favor of those social segments that produced and patronized such realia. In the case of ancient Ugarit, this would be the monarchy, the priesthood and related elites. However, this may not be as great a difficulty as it may first appear, since the Baal Cycle itself is a product of such social settings; the colophon of the text (1.6 VI) indicates that it was created in the context of the monarchy and transmitted within royal-priestly circles. Indeed, the Baal Cycle, a text putatively concerned with Baal's divine kingship, is a basic resource for understanding the conceptual world of kingship at Ugarit in the Late Bronze Age. From comparison with various texts, iconography and material culture, it is possible to understand just how deeply the Baal Cycle has drawn from the world of ancient Ugarit, and, consequently, just how vividly the text has presented an order and vision of an ideal world for Ugarit.

Occasionally we range beyond the comparative material from the Near East, generally in areas where previous scholars have already noted parallels from distant cultures. For example, earlier comparative studies of Anat and Kali have required us to consider how the Hindu deity might illuminate the understanding of the Ugaritic goddess. In so doing we have also found that insight into other aspects of the poem may be gained through the examination of the living temple traditions of India. At the same time we remain acutely aware of the vast cultural difference between such distant cultures and try to avoid any simplistic or superficial parallels in our analysis.

We have also attempted to make use of studies in anthropology, sociology, psychology, evolutionary biology and psychobiology to look at more broadly human aspects of the narrative, particularly with regard to social structure, emotions, and perceptions concerning parts of the body. We make no claim to expertise in these fields, but attempt to engage them in the search to understand some features of the Baal Cycle. Some of the more extended discussions based on these fields are confined to the excurses so that they can be clearly demarcated from ancient evidence as such.

One final point. We have tried to minimize outright speculation in this commentary. But with the vast uncertainties that plague the

interpretation of these tablets, we have found it worthwhile sometimes to indulge ourselves. We have tried to signal clearly when we propose ideas that are less grounded in the evidence than we might wish. As long as readers can recognize the difference between what the data support reasonably well and what represents more speculative territory, then we think it is appropriate to present both sorts of discussions. It is evident that the text evoked for its ancient audience considerably more than we can guess, even in our more speculative explorations. All we can do is examine the limits of what we know, offer our best scholarly guesses, and lay out for readers both the evidence and interpretive proposals in the hope that in the future students of these texts will be able to correct and extend the understanding of them.

7. *Bibliography*

The bibliography at the end of the commentary provides documentation for the secondary sources cited in the volume. The bibliography for the Baal Cycle is extensive. The "social science" format is used for citing secondary literature, thereby reducing the number of footnotes. In most cases, we have updated references to the most recent editions of works (e.g., *DLU* to *DUL*; and *KTU* to *CAT*). In a handful of cases, we have retained citations of an older work, in order to credit the earlier stage of research (e.g., Schloen 1995). The bibliography runs up into 2005 (with the most recent number of *UF* available being volume 35). A few more recent items have been dealt with during final revisions.

8. *Images of the Tablets and Overlaid Facsimiles*

A DVD-ROM accompanies this volume. It provides a selection of images of 1.3, 1.4 and 1.8 (along with a pair of shots of 1.13) taken by Pitard in 1985, 1995 (with Theodore Lewis) and 1999 in the Aleppo National Museum. Besides general shots of the obverse and reverse of each tablet, the images include more detailed shots that cover usually between ten and fifteen lines of text. Each of these images is supplemented with a superimposable drawing produced by Pitard, whose function is to illustrate what we as editors actually read on the tablet. The drawings may be clicked on and off to allow the viewer to evaluate the drawings by comparing the image directly below them. The images may also be enlarged for better inspection.

The images are numbered consecutively from 1 to 92. Each number is followed by a longer tag that tells the viewer the tablet, column and lines that are the focus of the image. Thus 35–T4C1L17–30 is Image

35, Tablet 1.4, Column 1, Lines 17–30. The line numbers indicate the lines that have an accompanying superimposable drawing. There are many cases where lines appear in more than one image, but they are drawn only once. Tablet 1.3 is covered in Images 1–26; Tablet 1.4 in Images 27–87. Images 88–90 show *CAT* 1.8, which is now identified as the top of 1.3 VI, while Images 91–92 show part of *CAT* 1.13, discussed on pp. 178–80. The latter two images do not have accompanying drawings.

Most of the images are in color and come from the 1995 and 1999 projects. Unfortunately, a political indiscretion by Pitard led to an abrupt termination of the 1999 project before new and better photographs of the edges of the tablets could be taken. Thus for the edges, we have been forced to use Pitard's early black and white photographs from 1985, before he had been trained in photographic technique by Bruce Zuckerman. Most of these provide serviceable images of the signs. The only problematic spot among these images is #12, which shows 1.3 III 45–47 on the lower edge of the tablet. This photo is somewhat out of focus, and particularly the right sides of the lines are difficult to read. There is also one set of lines for which we have no photo—the three broken lines on the obverse of the small fragment of 1.3, RS 2.[014] = III 1–3. However, the original photograph from the Mission de Ras Shamra's archive is available, as are Pitard's images, on the important epigraphic website, InscriptiFact, at http://www.inscriptifact.com, an undertaking of the West Semitic Research Project, directed by Bruce Zuckerman.

In the abridged 1999 season, measurement indicators were included in the images (Images 27–33, 43–49, 56–63, 68–86, 88, 91–92). On the general shots of the obverse and reverse of 1.4, the measurement intervals are one centimeter. In the detail shots, the intervals represent five millimeters.

The drawings make use of different colors to indicate aspects of the tablets. The *turquoise* lines show where the edges of the wedges are preserved. *Dark blue* areas indicate the deep interiors of wedges whose edges have not survived. *Red* lines indicate uncertain hints of wedges. *Purple hatching* indicates places where the surface of the tablet is broken away, *green dots* indicate where encrustations have filled in wedges and *yellow* wedges mark wedges that the scribe mistakenly made, but did not cover before continuing his work.

We wish to thank Joshua Tomaszewski of ATLAS Digital Media at the University of Illinois, and Paul Bengt Riismandel, also of ATLAS,

for taking on the project of developing the DVD-ROM. The Flash application is designed to be run on a web-browser (which does not need to be connected to the internet for this). On most PCs, the disc should begin automatically. For Apple and Linux, open the disc icon and click on the "ClickToStart.html" icon. The opening page allows one to enter the Tablet Viewer application or to look over the Instructions. After clicking to start the Viewer, one will find the image menu screen. On the right are forward and backward buttons for scrolling up and down the thumbnails of the images. To look at an image, you click on the thumbnail. The number of the image will appear in the small tab at the top of the screen. Then you click the left button at the bottom, and you will be taken to the Main Screen for that image. (Most web browsers will also allow you to simply double-click the thumbnail to bring up the full image). The buttons along the bottom are fairly self-explanatory. From left to right they are as follows:

Button with C: re-center the image
Button with left-pointing arrow: move image toward left
Button with right-pointing arrow: move image toward right
Button with up-pointing arrow: move image up
Button with down-pointing arrow: move image down
Button with overlying rectangles: toggle switch to overlay the facsimile
    drawing, or return to the original photo
Button with plus: Zoom in
Button with minus: Zoom out
Button with X: Reset to original size
Button with four small squares: Return to image menu

The Tablet Viewer may be run directly from the DVD, or it may be downloaded onto your computer's hard drive and run from there. The images, including the overlays, are JPEGs and may be opened separately from the viewing program using any imaging application, such as Adobe Photoshop.

INTRODUCTION

The commentary to the first two tablets of the Ugaritic Baal Cycle (KTU/CAT 1.1 and 1.2), which dealt with Baal's battle against Sea, appeared in print in 1994, under the title, *The Ugaritic Baal Cycle: Volume I. Introduction with Text, Translation and Commentary of KTU 1.1–1.2* (henceforth *UBC* 1; for corrections, see Smith 1994b; see also the reviews of Loretz 1995b; del Olmo Lete 1996 and Pardee 1998c; note also Pardee ip 2 on the epigraphy of CAT 1.1, and Piquer Otero 2000 and 2003:67–72, 80–197 on the verbal syntax of CAT 1.1–1.2). This second volume of commentary treats the middle two tablets of the cycle, 1.3 and 1.4, which recount the story of how Baal got his great palace on Mount Sapan. These two tablets are the best-preserved texts of the Baal Cycle, although they are far from complete. Tablet 1.3 has lost approximately the upper third of the obverse, and the corresponding lower third of the reverse. Approximately 75% of 1.4 is preserved, with at least portions of some 396 out the tablet's original 540–550 lines surviving. Although a few scholars have expressed doubts that these two tablets belong together as a single narrative (see the discussion in *UBC* 1.7–11), a fully plausible, coherent and consecutive storyline across the tablets can, in fact, be easily discerned.

Our analysis of the general plot is as follows. 1.3 begins with Baal hosting a feast on Mount Sapan, although the identities of the attendees and the purpose of the banquet are lost in the lacuna at the beginning of column I. If we are correct in seeing 1.3 as a continuation of the story from 1.2, then we may suggest that the feast is a celebration of Baal's victory over Yamm. The scene is broken off prematurely by a long lacuna of some 37–40 lines at the end of column I and at the beginning of column II. When the text reappears in column II, we find ourselves in a very different scene, whose relationship to column I is quite unclear. In this section Anat is at the center of the story, as she marches out to battle against a human army. The reason for this conflict is not preserved, but Anat slaughters the enemy forces in a strikingly brutal fashion. After wiping out even her prisoners, the goddess cleanses and beautifies herself. In column III we find the beginning of the storyline that constitutes the primary theme of the two tablets: Baal's need for a palace appropriate for his new position as leader of

the divine council and as provider of the rain for the earth. When the text becomes extant, the scene has shifted back to Baal, who is giving his messengers Gapn and Ugar a message for Anat. As they approach Anat, the goddess' first reaction is that they must be bringing bad news of another attack against Baal. Gapn and Ugar assure her that that is not the case and deliver their message, a request that she come to Mount Sapan to confer with Baal (column IV). She immediately departs, and upon her arrival, hears Baal's lament over his lack of a palace. It is clear that Baal must have El's permission before he can build one. Anat agrees to take Baal's lament to El to get the old patriarch to give his okay to the project. If he does not, Anat threatens, she will beat him up until he gives in. She journeys to El's abode, but finds herself unable even to get a proper audience with the god. Speaking from an outer room, she belligerently presents Baal's case (column V). In the lacuna at the end of column V, it appears that El turns down her request, apparently unintimidated by her threats. Anat returns to Mount Sapan (also in the lacuna), where Baal proceeds with a second plan, i.e., to enlist the aid of Athirat, the mother of the gods and the wife of El, to convince the latter about Baal's need for a palace (column VI + *CAT* 1.8). He now sends his messengers Gapn and Ugar to the craftsman god, Kothar-wa-Hasis, to ask him to make elaborate gifts for Athirat (1.4 I). Kothar immediately enters his smith shop and forms spectacular gifts of gold and silver, primarily pieces of furniture fit for the Mother of the gods. After a lacuna of some sixteen lines at the beginning of column II, we find Athirat going about her domestic duties by the seashore. As Baal and Anat approach, the goddess at first is afraid that they are about to attack her and her family. But seeing that they are bearing gifts, she realizes that they are coming with peaceful intentions. She prepares a feast for her guests, and after a lacuna at the beginning of column III, we find Baal recounting an event in which he had been treated very badly at an assembly of the gods. The significance of this passage within the larger context is not clear. But following this speech, Baal and Anat arrive at the banquet, give Athirat the gifts and secure Athirat's cooperation. In column IV Athirat travels to El's abode, where she is greeted with great warmth by El. She presents Baal's situation to her husband, and El grants his permission. In her reaction to this (column V), Athirat articulates the critical function of this new palace, stating that with the building of the palace, Baal will be able to send forth his rains upon the earth.

Athirat then calls upon Anat (who had accompanied her to El's tent) to take the news to Baal. Baal rejoices and begins to gather the materials for the palace. He also sends for Kothar-wa-Hasis to supervise the construction. When Kothar arrives, he proposes putting a window in the palace, but Baal rejects the idea. In column VI the palace is built, and Baal invites the seventy children of Athirat to a grand banquet in celebration. The gods come and eat and implicitly accept Baal's position as ruler of the gods. After the banquet, Baal comes to the earth, and in traveling across it, he accepts the submission of all its cities. The god then returns to his palace and tells Kothar that he has changed his mind; he will allow a window in the palace. The window is built and through it (it is portrayed as a rift in the clouds), Baal sends forth his mighty voice. The earth trembles and his enemies flee to the mountains. With a cedar spear in his hand, he sits enthroned as ruler of heaven and earth. But Mot, the god of the netherworld, has not recognized Baal's authority. Baal calls his messengers Gapn and Ugar and instructs them on how to take a message to Mot (column VIII). The tablet breaks off as Baal begins to recite his message.

The story of the building of Baal's palace, which takes up the bulk of 1.3 and 1.4, is the central story of the Baal Cycle physically, as it is flanked on each side by the accounts of the conflicts with Yamm and Mot. Theologically this middle section is also central: the climactic image of the episode in 1.4 VII of Baal enthroned, lord of heaven and earth, mighty warrior whose voice is the thunder and who sends forth the rains to water the earth, is certainly the primary image of the god for his worshippers in Ugarit. No matter how many difficulties the story places before Baal in reaching this point, he does arrive at his epiphany with full power and no rivals. The previous episode concerning Yamm shows his ability to overcome great challenges. The following episode depicting his challenge of Mot points out something that everyone knew: even the god of life must share the universe with death. But on earth, life remains the more powerful and more durable. At the end of each of these episodes, Baal's rulership is proclaimed (1.2 IV 32–37; 1.4 VI 38–VII 42; 1.6 VI 33–35). But the truly defining image of his kingship is the one in 1.4.

RESEARCH ON THE BAAL CYCLE SINCE 1994

In the decade since the first volume *UBC* 1 was published, a number of new works on the Baal Cycle have appeared, both translations (Dietrich and Loretz 1997; Pardee 1997a; Wyatt 1998; Smith in *UNP*) and studies on specific aspects of the poem (Greenstein 2006; Herr 1995; Korpel 1998; Kruger 1995; Page 1998; Piquer Otero 2000, 2003; Wiggins 2000; Wyatt 2002; see also Wyatt 1996). Smith 2001a deals with a number of aspects concerning the nature of the Ugaritic understanding of the gods that may be considered a supplement to the discussions in both *UBC* 1 and this introduction. The field has also benefitted from some new archaeological discoveries, especially the recovery of a substantial archive of tablets in the house of Urtenu, a high official in the court of Niqmaddu IV (formerly III—see Arnaud 1999) at the end of the thirteenth century. Texts found there from the 1986 to 1992 seasons have been published (Yon and Arnaud, *Etudes* 235–407; cf. also Pardee 2002), while a large number of tablets found during the 1994 season and a few subsequent finds are in preparation. Of signal importance for the history of the city of Ugarit are four new king-lists, one found in 1988 and three in 1994, which have dramatically increased our knowledge of the succession of Ugaritic monarchs from the eighteenth to the early twelfth centuries (Arnaud 1999; Lackenbacher 2002:23 n. 12, 210, 253, 357, and the bibliography cited therein; Pardee 2002:195–210).

Perhaps the most significant discovery specifically concerning the Baal Cycle came to our attention just as we were completing the final revisions of this commentary in March, 2008. Dennis Pardee informed us of his startling discovery that CAT 1.8, a small fragment that has traditionally been thought of as a school text made of up a series of random quotes from the Baal Cycle, is actually the missing beginning of column VI of tablet 1.3. Pardee has kindly provided us with his unpublished manuscript concerning this discovery, and we find his discussion compelling (Pardee i.p.). We have thus revised our discussion of 1.3 VI in light of this, and also 1.4 VII, where a close parallel to several lines of 1.8 is found.

The study of the Ugaritic texts has advanced in other areas. New editions of many of the alphabetic tablets by Pardee (1998b, 2000, 2002) and by Pitard (1998) have dramatically improved and stabilized the readings of the texts. The improved readings are reflected in a number of the recent translations, including Pardee (1997a), Wyatt (1998) and *UNP*. New dictionaries of Ugaritic, *DLU* (now in a second

edition in English, *DUL*), and grammars of the language by Sivan (1997), Tropper *UG*; Tropper 2002a; and Bordreuil and Pardee 2004; see also Pardee 2005, an exhaustive review of Tropper) have provided comprehensive aids to the study of Ugaritic texts. A new translation, with extensive notes, of many of the Akkadian texts from Ugarit has appeared in the LAPO series (Lackenbacher 2002). Recent studies of Ugaritic and other West Semitic iconography (e.g., Cornelius 1994) and archaeological remains (e.g., Callot 1994; Yon, Sznycer and Bordreuil 1995; Bounni and Lagarce 1998; *Etudes* 9–190) have contributed important background for the realia mentioned in the texts. Important articles (see *UF*), dissertations (Dalix 1997; Burns 2002) and books (e.g., Clemens 2001b; Zamora 2000) that focus on a wide range of aspects concerning the culture of Ugarit continue to appear as well.

Of comparable importance, the study of the broader landscape of northern Syria during the Middle and Late Bronze Ages has developed considerably since 1994 when *UBC* 1 appeared. New religious texts from Mari have been published (Durand 2002). More Emar texts have appeared (Beckman 1996; Westenholz 2000), and the texts from Emar published in the late 1980s and early 1990s have benefitted from further research and studies (e.g., Fleming 2000a, 2000b). Ebla continues to provide further backdrop (e.g., Fronzaroli 1997; Pomponio and Xella 1997; Viganò 2000). Important new works in the wider area of the West Semitic languages have also appeared (e.g., Hoch 1994; Mankowski 2000; Pentiuc 2001). A significant study of Emarite glyptic has also appeared (Beyer 2001). New studies on ancient Syrian culture and religion have likewise added considerably to our knowledge (e.g., Schwemer 2001; Feliu 2003; see also *DDD*). The advances afforded by these works have been considerable. Readers of this second volume will note several instances in which this material plays a role in our reconstructions. As we will indicate, the literary presentation of the Baal cycle was certainly informed by the real-life cultural phenomena that are illustrated in other types of texts from Ugarit, Emar and Mari. Literature, of course, emerges out of cultural experience, and this is very true of religious literature.

We have also found that the cultures of Mesopotamia, Egypt and Anatolia have added to the general fund of valuable information pertinent to the study of the Baal Cycle. The new large-scale compilation of Near Eastern texts in English translation, *The Context of Scripture* (1997–2002) has made available a vast array of compositions in an easily accessible format. In addition, the publication of Mesopotamian texts

in two monumental series has been a boon to historians: The Royal
Inscriptions of Mesopotamia series (produced by the team at the Uni-
versity of Toronto led by Douglas Frayne), and the State Archives of
Assyria series (headed by Simo Parpola at the University of Helsinki).
Study of later periods throughout the ancient Near East likewise con-
tinues to transform the scholarly understanding of the entire region.

All of these areas have added considerably to our knowledge of the
cultural and linguistic phenomena in the Baal Cycle, and we believe
that this commentary makes its own contribution to the ongoing study
of the text. However, standing at the end of our labor on CAT 1.3–1.4,
we find it quite evident that this text continues to hold many impen-
etrable secrets. Scholars of Ugaritic labor under the massive constraint
described by Qohelet 7:24 (in a somewhat free translation):

rāḥôq mâ-ššĕhāyâ	Distant is the past,
wĕ'āmōq 'āmôq	Deep, so deep:
mî yimṣā'ennû	Who can discover it?

Even if the tablets of the cycle had not suffered from their many mate-
rial lacunas, the gaps in our cultural knowledge suggest that for all that
may be achieved by way of an overarching understanding of the text's
plot and its political and cultural importance, much of its depth remains
beyond the plumbing by its modern students. This commentary can
therefore offer only a partial reading of this text. Nonetheless, from what
has survived, we believe that readers may gain a sense of its power, its
beauty, its glory. Of necessity then, this volume of the commentary like
its predecessor volume *UBC* 1 constitutes a step along the journey.

Before launching into the commentary proper, this Introduction
addresses several issues: (1) textual matters, additional to the material
presented in *UBC* 1; (2) verbal syntax in the Baal Cycle; (3) a discus-
sion of the literary character of the building narrative in 1.3–1.4;
(4) reflections on the presentation of the divine geography and fam-
ily relationships in the Baal Cycle and (5) some consideration of the
connection between the heavenly realm described in the cycle and its
earthly reflection in the temple of Baal at Ugarit.

Textual Matters

Authorship and Date of the Tablets (cf. UBC *1.1–2)*

The inscribing of the extant tablets of the Baal Cycle is attributed to Ilimalku (or Ilimilku),[1] whose name is preserved in the colophon at the end of 1.6 VI. The clear consistency of the scribal hand of this tablet with the other tablets and fragments assigned to the cycle indicates that he produced the entire series. Ilimalku has been dated traditionally to the middle of the fourteenth century. However, in recent years, several scholars (particularly those connected to the Mission de Ras Shamra) have suggested that he may have flourished instead during the late thirteenth century (Dalix 1996; Pardee 1997a:241 n. 3). The issue has arisen because of the discovery in 1992 of a fragmentary mythological text (RS 92.2016) in the house of Urtenu that contains a colophon that probably belongs to Ilimalku (Caquot and Dalix 2001). Since Urtenu's library belongs essentially to the end of the thirteenth century, when he was an official in the court of Niqmaddu IV, one can plausibly propose that Ilimalku was contemporary with Urtenu. Pardee has pointed out that the "House of the High Priest" where the Baal Cycle was recovered, also survived until the end of the Late Bronze city, ca. 1185 BCE (1997a:241 n. 3). Assuming that the tablets were part of the library at the end of the house's existence,[2] there is no reason to reject the possibility that they were written in the thirteenth century.[3]

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[1] The vocalization for this name standard in Ugaritic studies has been *'ilimilku*. However, van Soldt has argued for *'ilimalku*. For this view, see van Soldt 1991:21 n. 182, 27–29; *UBC* 1.3 n. 6; Lackenbacher 2002:237 n. 808. The evidence for **malku* based on the vocabularies is admittedly not definitive for a proper name. See the more extensive discussion below, pp. 727–28.

[2] Schaeffer argued in the original report for the third season (1931) that some of the tablets had been incorporated into the mortar for the walls of the house, suggesting that part of the texts belonged to an earlier period of the site; see Schaeffer 1932:22. But the original inventory only lists three fragments, RS 3.321, 339 and 346, as being found in mortar (Cunchillos 1989:60–61) and, as Cunchillos 1989:87 notes, the mortar more likely adhered to the tablets only during the fire that destroyed the house.

[3] Pardee has noted that there is no certainty that the Ugaritic script was in existence during the reign of Niqmaddu III. Only one tablet besides the Ilimalku texts (CAT 3.1) has been attributed to the reign of this king, but Pardee (2003a) has made a plausible case for attributing it to the reign of Niqmaddu IV in the thirteenth century.

The primary evidence for dating the tablets to the fourteenth century and the reign of the Niqmaddu of that period (i.e. now III instead of II) is the appearance of a scribe Ilimalku on two Akkadian legal tablets (RS 17.61 and 17.67) found in the house of Rašapabu (*Ugaritica* V 13–15). RS 17.61 contains the names of two other persons, Irib-ilu, the governor (*rābiṣu*) of Raqdu (lines 3 and 21) and ʿAbdu the son of ʿAbdi-rašap (line 17), who also appear on other tablets that can be clearly dated to the mid-fourteenth century (see van Soldt 1991:27–28). The first name, Irib-ilu, is also found in RS 16.190 (*PRU* III 64), in which Niqmaddu the son of Ammištamru gives him a field. Irib-ilu is referred to in the text as "his governor (*rābiṣišu*)." ʿAbdu son of ʿAbdi-rašap is well-known from five tablets found in the royal palace (RS 15.254D, 16.239; 16.143; 16.157; and 16.250; *PRU* III 78–86); he flourished during the reign of Arḫalba, the son of Niqmaddu III, in the fourteenth century (cf. the chronological list in Arnaud 1999:163). Thus it seems clear that a scribe Ilimalku lived and worked in Ugarit during the mid-fourteenth century. However, there is no real reason to insist that this Ilimalku is the same one who wrote the Ugaritic tablets, since neither the Akkadian nor the Ugaritic texts provide us with a patronymic for the scribe, and Ilimalku appears to have been a relatively common name (cf. *PTU* 326). One should note, however, that Dalix (1996:87–88), while attributing the two Akkadian texts with Ilimalku's name to the thirteenth century (she does not deal with the issue of the other names just discussed, cf. 83–84; however, we have not had access to her dissertation), argues that the handwriting style of the Akkadian and the Ugaritic texts shows a great deal of similarity. But Huehnergard (2003:296) has pointed out the difficulty of identifying the handwriting of a single scribe on tablets written in two different scripts.

Thus we have plausible arguments for both of the proposed dates. On the one hand, if the scribe Ilimalku of the Akkadian texts is the same person as the Ilimalku of the Ugaritic tablets, then the evidence would support a fourteenth century date. But there is not solid evidence that they are the same person, and the discovery of the new Ilimalku Ugaritic text in the early twelfth century destruction layer of the house of Urtenu may point to a later date for the scribe. Until further evidence arises, it seems that this issue will remain unresolved.

The Order of the Tablets and their Narrative and Thematic Continuity
*(*UBC *1.2–19)*

UBC 1 argues that the Baal Cycle consists of three major episodes: (1) the conflict between Baal and Yamm, which can be viewed as ending with Baal's victory banquet in CAT 1.3 I, or perhaps the cessation of hostilities in 1.3 II; (2) the quest for Baal's palace (1.3 III–1.4 VII); and (3) the conflict between Baal and Mot (1.4 VIII–1.6 VI). As can be seen, these three parts do not correspond exactly to the beginnings or endings of the tablets. This situation is strong support for understanding the tablets as an organic unity, and indicates that it is misleading to refer to the three parts as 1.1–1.2, 1.3–1.4 and 1.5–1.6, as is conventionally done. The case for arranging 1.3 and 1.4 as a continuous story has been substantially strengthened by the placement of CAT 1.8 at the beginning of 1.3 VI (Pardee i.p.). 1.8 begins with a specific reference to the making of gifts for Athirat in order that she might support Baal's argument for a new palace. That removes any doubt that the events of 1.4 I immediately follow the events of 1.3 VI.

UBC 1:2–19 argued for the unity of the cycle, but it also noted that this issue is not fully resolved. The greatest uncertainty pertains to the first two tablets. There is no doubt that 1.5 and 1.6 constitute a continuous narrative, and, as will be seen in this commentary 1.3–1.6 show very strong congruence. The question of the relationship between 1.1 and 1.2 with the rest of the cycle was discussed in *UBC* 1.12–19. In response to arguments offered by Meier (1986, 1989; cf. Pardee 1997a:245 n. 34), *UBC* 1.12 discussed the possibility that the extant tablets and fragments may represent more than one version of the Baal-Yamm story. Pardee (1997a:242 n. 4; see also Pardee 1998c:47–48) disputed that proposal by arguing that it is highly unlikely that there were multiple copies of the Baal Cycle in the House of the High Priest:

> An element often omitted in the discussion of whether these six tablets constitute a literary unity is the indisputable fact that, up to the present, no single instance of a duplicate mythological text is known: there are six clear instances of brief "quotations" from known texts…and there are clear instances of formulaic repetition in different texts. But it nonetheless appears beyond the realm of plausibility that the six tablets known today of the Baʿlu cycle would come from "two versions of the Baal Cycle" (Smith 1994:12) and yet show no overlapping text.

This argument is worthy of serious consideration, in spite of the fact that it is an argument from silence. But one should note that it is

possible that some overlap can be observed between 1.1 III and 1.2 III
(*UBC* 1.22). If this is the case (the damaged nature of both columns
precludes certainty in this matter), and particularly if 1.2 III, which
does not have an actual join with 1.2 I–IV, belongs to an independent
and otherwise unattested tablet (cf. *UBC* 1.22–25), then the two tablets
might in fact be duplicates (on this particular issue Pardee does not
comment directly). Thus we must still leave open the possibility that
either 1.1 or 1.2 III does not belong to the copy of the cycle repre-
sented by 1.3–1.6. In spite of this uncertainty, however, there seems
little reason to doubt that the story of the conflict between Baal and
Yamm, particularly as discernable in 1.2 I and IV, was a major part
of the Baal Cycle (for criticism of Meier 1986 and 1989:154–55 who
argued against the relationship of 1.2 to the rest of the cycle, see *UBC*
1.12–14 and Korpel 1998:90, n. 16).[4] Our proposal suggesting that 1.3
I (and perhaps II) constitute the conclusion of the Yamm episode, if
accepted, would further support a close relationship between 1.2 and
the rest of the cycle.

Literary History and Social Setting

The last decade has seen considerable discussion of the role of Ilimalku
in producing the major Ugaritic literary texts, including the Baal Cycle.

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[4] The concern expressed in *UBC* I (p. 14) about the distance between the find spots
of 1.1, 1.2 III and the other tablets of the cycle was misplaced. 1.1 was discovered
just outside the southern doorway of the house (p.t. 345), while 1.2 III and fragments
of 1.4 were found either in the doorway, or just inside the entry room (p.t. 338, 343,
341). The main fragment of 1.3 was located in the northeastern quadrant of the entry
room. Also in the doorway were 1.19, 1.15 and a fragment of 1.14. The exact findspot
of 1.2 I–II–IV is uncertain. Bordreuil and Pardee identify the fragment as RS 3.367,
and list its point topographique as 203, which is not noted on the published plans of
the House of the High Priest. If this identification is correct, the information provided
by Bordreuil and Pardee 1989:29, 32 suggests that it was found in the eastern rooms
of the house, no great distance from the rest (cf. also the map in Cunchillos 1989:94).
Cunchillos 1989:70–72, however, argues that 1.2 I–II–IV is to be identified with RS
3.347, which was found in the same vicinity as 1.2 III (RS 3.346), at p.t. 338, 343, 341.
See the discussion on 1.4 below on pp. 381–85. For the issue at hand, the uncertainty
is largely irrelevant, since both potential locations for 1.2 I–II–IV are within the house.
The location of the tablet fragments of the Baal Cycle fits well into the probable condi-
tions of the destruction of the house, in which the house was ransacked before being
burned. The issue of the discovery of a fragment of 1.6 (RS 5.155) at a location some
thirty meters from the House of the High Priest will be discussed in *UBC* 3.

In his review of *UBC* 1, Pardee (1998c:47–48) offers his thoughts on the subject:

> The fact that the scribe 'Ilīmilku inscribed most of the major mythological texts (Baal, Kirta, Aqhat) perhaps near the end of the thirteenth century, leads me to believe—until contrary evidence appears—that 'Ilimilku himself was the instigator and executor of these "hard" copies of age-old traditions, that he only wrote them down once, that no one else wrote down the same versions, and that the similar texts written by other scribes represent essentially different myths.

Pardee thus sees the extant tablets as the original and unique written version of the stories of Baal, Kirta and Aqhat. He does not take a stand as to whether the version of the story can be attributed directly to Ilimalku, or whether it came from a separate source, such as dictation from his teacher Attenu, as has often been suggested. However, Korpel (1998) and Wyatt (2002) assign to Ilimalku a central creative role in the production of the Baal Cycle. Both scholars try to discern a specific historical event that led the scribe to create a new and unique version of the Baal myth that we find in the tablets. Korpel (1998:106–10) argues that Ilimalku wrote the Cycle shortly before the destruction of Ugarit during a period when, she suspects, "the Ugaritic dynasty was in danger of collapsing" (107). She sees the primary theme of the Cycle (and the other poems of Ilimalku) to be that male kingship is ineffective, and that "the real power is in the hands of women" (106). She argues this from the fact that several of the female characters, Anat, Athirat and Shapshu, play significant roles in helping Baal, whom she sees as weak and timid. She suggests that Ilimalku was attempting to prepare the people of Ugarit for a possible female ruler, should the male line fail. In addition, she analyzes the texts to identify elements that show Ilimalku's individual writing style, arguing that some phrases that appear only in the Ilimalku corpus are his own original contributions, rather than traditional formulas (96–105).

Wyatt on the other hand, sees Ilimalku as the author who originally removed the Baal-Yamm story from its cosmological context, and added the stories of the building of Baal's palace and the conflict with Mot, as well as the Athtar subplots in 1.2 III and 1.6 I (2002:849–50). He also suggests that CAT 1.10 is an account of Baal's wedding, which originally ended the Cycle. For Wyatt, this is the key to understanding Ilimalku's composition—it is a mythological rendering of the royal wedding between Niqmaddu IV and a Hittite princess, as well as a

mythic counterpart to the sovereign-vassal treaty between Hatti and Ugarit (852–54).

Neither of these proposals is convincing, and neither scholar is able to marshal any clear evidence to support the reconstructions (cf. discussions of earlier attempts at placing the formation of the cycle in a specific historical context in *UBC* 1.87–96). Korpel's proposal founders on several problematic presuppositions. First, there is no evidence of her suggested crisis of succession. Secondly, her reading of the text seems to miss two important points. Although Baal does indeed need help in the stories of his conflicts, he still ends up at the conclusion of each of the three primary episodes as the undisputed ruler of the gods (1.2 IV 31–37; 1.4 VI 36–VII 42; and 1.6 VI 31–35). This is particularly emphasized in 1.4 VI–VII, where gods and humans recognize his rule, and he sends forth his mighty voice (and the rains that attend it) across the earth. Thus Anat, Athirat and Shapshu remain quite subordinate politically throughout the cycle. Thirdly, Korpel does not take into consideration the fact that stories of strong female characters are quite common in Near Eastern literature in contexts that have nothing to do with the kind of succession crisis she envisions here. One need only to look at the stories of Eve, Sarah, Rebekah and Rachel in Genesis, Deborah and Jael in Judges, and Jezebel and Athaliah in Kings, as well as the myths of Ishtar's Descent to the Netherworld and Gilgamesh Tablet VI (Ishtar and the Bull of Heaven) to see that such stories appear in texts for numerous reasons. Fourthly, her attempts to find specific duplicated passages that can be considered Ilimalku's personal compositions relies on the idea that because these passages are only found in tablets attributed to Ilimalku, they must be his own work. But such conclusions are impossible to draw, given that the only substantial literary works preserved at Ugarit are the tablets of Ilimalku. Thus there is not enough additional material with which to make such an argument. All of her examples can plausibly be viewed as traditional formulas, and her supposition that variations in the repetitions of formulas are evidence against oral tradition as the background for these phrases (1998:102) simply ignores what is known of the way oral tradition works (see Lord 1965:124–28; cf. *CMHE* 51–52, 112–117). Variations in oral formulas are quite common, particularly in the written text of a dictated oral poem.

In Wyatt's case, his arguments presuppose a specific historical event as the catalyst for the composition of the cycle, while no evidence can be produced to support the connection. It also relies heavily on his proposal

that 1.10 belongs to the cycle, something that is quite problematic (as he is aware, 2002:853), since the latter tablet gives no real indications of such a relationship, and it was written by a different scribe. Both the views of Korpel and Wyatt (also Pardee 1998c:47–48) presuppose that the tablets we have were the first time this version of the Baal story was committed to writing. But this cannot be demonstrated. In fact, there seems to be some plausible evidence that Ilimalku inscribed these tablets using a previous, written source. A number of errors found in the texts have the appearance of copying errors, rather than mistakes committed while a person freely composes (see especially Segert 1958 and note particularly his discussion of 1.17 II 17 on p. 200, which appears to be a fairly obvious case of homoeoarchton; and 1.4 II 13 on p. 202, where the mistake appears much more like a copyist's error than anything else. See also the less convincing but interesting work by Horwitz 1977, 1979). Also suggestive is the startlingly unprofessional look of the obverse of 1.4 (see the discussion in the introduction to this tablet, pp. 386–89), which seems to indicate that Ilimalku was very inexperienced when he began writing this tablet, inexperience that does not appear on any of the other tablets written by Ilimalku. This may suggest that 1.4 was the first multi-columned tablet Ilimalku attempted to inscribe. If so, then it would be unlikely that he was either composing the poem or inscribing it from dictation, since the tablet starts in the middle of the story. If one is copying from other tablets, one need not do so in order.

Pardee's emphasis on the idea that only one copy of the texts was written (since no duplicates are known), also seems to presuppose that Ilimalku wrote the tablets in the house where they were found and that any copies that might have been made from these tablets would have been stored in the same house, and thus found by the excavators. Of course, neither of these presuppositions is confirmable. There is no evidence beyond the presence of the tablets that specifically links Ilimalku's scribal activities directly to the House of the High Priest. The appearance of another Ilimalku tablet across town at the house of Urtenu shows that the mere presence of tablets attributed to a specific person does not indicate where they were produced. Nor is there clear evidence that the House of the High Priest served as a scribal school, where additional copies of the myth might have been copied (cf. van Soldt 1991:747–53 cf. Pitard i.p.). The house may rather have simply contained a real library, stocked with tablets inscribed elsewhere. A single copy of the literary works may have been all that the owner of

the library (i.e., the high priest?) needed in his house. Other copies may have existed elsewhere in the city, but there seems little reason to expect additional copies of these tablets in one house unless the house was a scribal school. In sum, the issue of Ilimalku's relationship to the poems he wrote on the tablets remains obscure.

Very little new work attempting to reconstruct the prehistory of the cycle has been done since the publication of *UBC* 1 (see pp. 29–35). Herr (1995) has attempted the most detailed recent reconstruction of the poem's development, proposing a six-layered growth but, as always, such reconstructions must rely on unprovable, though often plausible, assumptions. It seems better to pursue a more modest and general goal of illuminating the social setting and purpose of the Baal Cycle, supported by the evidence at hand (cf. the earlier discussion in *UBC* 1.105–12). The material provided by the colophon in 1.6 VI 54–58 gives us a fair amount of information about the social context in which the Cycle circulated. Ilimalku was a scribe (*spr*) who was a student or apprentice (*lmd*) under Attenu, the chief priest. If the series of epithets in lines 55b–57a belongs to Attenu, as seems likely (see the discussion in the commentary, pp. 725–28), the latter was also a highly placed member of the royal court. Although the colophons contain no specific reference to royal patronage in the production of the tablets[5] (and there may have been no specific necessity for there to be such a patronage), it seems likely that the Cycle as we have it was particularly of interest to the elite within the priestly and royal circles of Ugarit. The central theme of the cycle is the kingship of Baal. Since Baal was the patron deity of Ugarit, there seems little doubt that a text dealing with the status of Baal among the gods would have a great deal to say about the status of Ugarit and its king. At the same time, the cycle's intense focus on the divine realm probably indicates that the poem also wishes to emphasize the importance of the priestly element of society, who are involved particularly with that realm.

The focus on concerns of royalty can be observed in the way the story is told, and most significantly in the way the story of the relationship between Baal's palace and his functioning as giver of rain upon the earth

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[5] Some scholars have interpreted the word *t͟ly* in 1.6 VI 57 as a verb meaning "to donate, present," and have thus understood this line as a reference to royal patronage for the production of these tablets. But, as discussed in the Commentary below, pp. 728–29, we do not believe that this interpretation of the word is likely. We understand it as a noun, the title of an office.

is described in 1.4 V–VII. The central importance of Baal's provision of rain is quite clear throughout the corpus of Ugaritic texts (and beyond into the Hebrew Bible; e.g., 1 Kings 17–18). It is the subject of one of the loveliest passages in the Ugaritic literary texts, 1.16 III 4–11 (on this passage, see *ANET* 148; Lipiński 1967:284–87; de Moor 1979:645–46; Parker 1989a; Greenstein, *UNP* 35; Wyatt 1997:783–84):

> Look to the earth for the rain of Baal,
> And to the field for the rain of the Most High.
> Sweet (*n'm*) to the earth is the rain of Baal,
> And to the field, the rain of the Most High,
> Sweet for the wheat in the furrow,
> In the ploughed land for the grain,
> On the tilth like a crown.

The curse from Aqhat 1.19 I 42–46 likewise illustrates the importance attributed to Baal's precipitation (see *ANET* 153; Held 1974:108 n. 8):

> For seven years may Baal curse you,
> Eight the Cloudrider:
> No dew, no rain,
> No upsurging of the double-deeps,
> No sweetness of Baal's voice.

The importance of Baal's rain is also described in 1.4 V, when Athirat reacts to El's granting his permission for Baal to build his palace by saying:

> So now may Baal make his rain abundant,
> May he make the water greatly abundant in a downpour,
> And may he give his voice in the clouds,
> May he flash to the earth lightning.

There are two very striking things about the Baal Cycle's description of the god's function as provider of rain. The first is that his ability to send the rains is closely linked to the building of his palace. Until the palace is constructed, Baal does not bring the rain. The second is that when the story reaches its climax, and the palace has been built with the window through which Baal will send the rain, the poet describes the inaugural theophany of the god by talking of his sending forth of his voice, the thunder, without any direct mention of the rains (1.4 VII 25–42)! The emphasis on Baal's thunder appears to focus the audience's attention on Baal's power in a political sense, connecting his meteorological manifestation with his role as king and with the presence of his great palace. It seems probable that this shift in focus was intended to

re-contextualize the popular meteorological notion of Baal by dramatizing that it was through Baal's kingship—and implicitly the kingship of the human king whom Baal patronized—that the fertility of the rains would be ensured. Thus this central episode of the Baal Cycle in particular may have been intended to situate the king of Ugarit, as representative of Baal, at the center of the maintenance of fertility within the realm. Some caution is appropriate, however, in this interpretation, since the cycle never explicitly connects the story of Baal to Ugarit or its king. This is in striking contrast to the Enuma Elish in Mesopotamia, which specifically narrates the founding of Marduk's temple in Babylon as a climactic event in the story and attributes its construction directly to the gods, as an important part of its clear intention to use Marduk's story to explain Babylon's political dominance. For whatever reasons, the Baal Cycle is considerably subtler in drawing connections like these. Baal's palace/temple is not built in Ugarit, but rather on Mount Sapan, which is both a mythic and a geographic location that is far from the city itself. When he makes his triumphal tour of the cities of the world 1.4 VII 7–14, the poem makes no attempt to elevate Ugarit as a place where Baal has a special presence on earth. These facts should give us some grounds for caution in our attempts at reconstructing the purposes the poet had in composing the text.

UBC 1.96–114 discussed the issue of the apparent limited nature of Baal's kingship, noting both his subordination to El and the fact that unlike Marduk in the Enuma Elish, he finds himself regularly in need of support from other deities to establish himself. Baal's relative weakness as a divine hero is an important aspect of the narrative and will be dealt with in the course of the commentary. We have found it worthwhile in examining this problem to pay attention to some additional issues beyond those analyzed in the first volume. By noting the similarities and differences between parallel narratives about the rise of gods and humans to kingship in both Mesopotamian and Israelite literature, one may attempt to place the Baal Cycle into a wider, comparative context. An important aspect of this centers upon recognizing the contrasting literary topoi that underlie the portrayal of the ruler's rise to power in a narrative like the Enuma Elish and the portrayal of Baal's rise in the Cycle. In fact, the two narratives make use of very different models for royal succession in telling their stories. In the Enuma Elish, Marduk rises to kingship in a power vacuum. None of the other gods is effective as a leader against Tiamat, and Marduk steps in as the savior. He does not actually replace a previous king of the younger gods, but is essentially

the first occupant of the position. With regard to his defeat of Tiamat and Qingu, the image is that of a revolution in which the old regime is overthrown and destroyed (note the royal language for Qingu in I 148–56). In the Baal Cycle, on the other hand, the imagery used to describe the situation is that of regular royal succession, in which the old patriarch/king, toward the end of his reign, appoints his successor, who then takes on both the title of king and the duties delegated to him by the patriarch. The older ruler continues to retain his title, so that both are called "king," and, while he may hand over a great deal of power to his successor, he holds on to the primary authority of his office and must be consulted with regard to major policy issues. In the Baal narrative (as often in real life), more than one potential successor surfaces, and a struggle ensues. A parallel to the succession theme in the Baal Cycle may be seen in the story of Solomon's succession to the throne in 1 Kings 1. Here also the old king is expected to appoint his successor before he dies, and two candidates, Adonijah and Solomon, surface for the position. When Adonijah presumptuously announces that he is taking on the role of king without consulting David, Solomon's mother, Bathsheba, and the prophet Nathan intercede on Solomon's behalf before the old ruler, who then proclaims Solomon his successor. At this point both David and Solomon hold the title of king, as do El and Baal in the Cycle. The primary difference between the human set- ting of 1 Kings and the divine context of the Baal Cycle is that in the former, the appointing of the successor will be followed by the death of the old king and the subsequent assumption of complete power by the son, while in the mythological world, time is frozen—El will not die and will thus retain aspects of power that will keep Baal from exercising the complete authority of a Marduk. The combined reign of El and Baal is a co-regency. This makes Baal's kingship essentially different from those depicted for Marduk and Yahweh.

Baal's relatively weak position and his need for allies also fit into the motif of the young candidate for the succession whose claim to the throne is not as strong as that of his rival. In the case of the Cycle, Yamm is El's first choice, and he apparently enjoys the support of most of the divine council. Baal, on the other hand, is overlooked by El, but in the view of the narrator, he is the superior candidate who must work hard to make his superiority clear to the old king. There are similarities here to the situation of Solomon in 1 Kings 1. Adonijah appears to have been the eldest living son of David, the obvious successor, and was supported by the primary members of David's old guard. Solomon's

candidacy relies on the support of younger, but influential members of the court, who use their influence to get the king to move toward the less obvious candidate.

The reason that Baal would be portrayed as a god of somewhat limited power, who must struggle to reach his goal and who must rely heavily upon the help of his allies, is not clear. As indicated in *UBC* 1, scholars have proposed that the position of Baal in the divine realm may have been intended to parallel Ugarit's limited and often precarious position in the larger political landscape of the Late Bronze Age, in which it played the role of vassal to powers much stronger than itself. This continues to seem plausible. At the same time, it is possible to see this portrayal as dealing with a religio-political situation within Ugarit itself. The narrative may reflect the rising popularity of the storm god in Ugaritic culture, while indicating at the same time a strong reluctance to drop El as head of the pantheon. The Cycle may be intended in part to address this situation by portraying Baal in much more tentative terms than we find in the Enuma Elish. The latter poem is clearly intended to show Marduk as unquestioned ruler of the universe, reflecting Babylon's status as the dominant city in Mesopotamia.

Actually, the depiction of the ruling god as somewhat limited in his power is not unique to the Baal Cycle, but appears to be characteristic of several Mesopotamian myths that predate the Enuma Elish. For example, in the Old Babylonian Atrahasis Epic, Enlil, who in many ways is portrayed as being in a status similar to that of Baal in the Cycle,[6] finds himself under siege by the Igigi gods, who have gathered around his temple and threaten to burn it down. He is protected and aided by Enki, who actually resolves the volatile situation, and by his vizier Nusku. In an older Sumerian poem, Enlil is banished from Nippur, the city from which he rules, for having committed an offense. The story does not provide an account of his eventual return, but it is apparent that he did (Jacobsen 1987:167–80). What is important in these stories is that the ruling god is not an absolute monarch. He can find the divine council standing opposed to his policies, he can be threatened with harm by other gods, and he must rely on other deities to help him out. The multiple attestations of this motif in the

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[6] Like Baal, he is the ruler of the earth, while officially still subordinate to Anu, the king. See Atrahasis (Old Babylonian version) I 7–10 (Lambert and Millard 1969:42–43).

literature, compared with the rarity of parallels to Marduk's absolute control over the universe, may suggest that the Enuma Elish, instead of the Baal Cycle, is the unusual myth.

Parallels also exist for the idea that Baal's power does not extend to the netherworld, the subject of the final episode of the cycle. It is clear from many Mesopotamian, Israelite and Egyptian texts that the realm of death was generally believed to lie outside the control of the gods of heaven and earth. In "Inanna's Descent to the Netherworld," the gods Enlil and Nanna indicate that they have no power in the netherworld, and Inanna is saved from the infernal regions by Enki only through the use of trickery, not by a threat of power (Jacobsen 1987:216–22, lines 178–272). The Middle Assyrian text of the "Story of Nergal and Ereshkigal" emphasizes this fact by noting that the gods of heaven and earth are not able to descend to the netherworld, nor can the neth-erworld gods ascend to heaven (Foster 2005:509, lines 1–5). In some parts of the Hebrew Bible, Yahweh's presence also does not extend to the netherworld (cf. Pss 6:6; 30:10; 88:11–13). It is a simple fact that death exists and that it cannot be fully controlled by the forces of life. But the story of Baal and Mot insists that while life must tolerate the intrusion of death, life still has the edge and is ultimately the stronger of the two (1.6 VI 33–35).

Although this motif appears to illustrate a universal limitation on the gods of heaven and earth, its inclusion into the Baal Cycle, a narrative which otherwise deals with Baal's rise to kingship, is unique, in that it appears after the episode in which Baal reaches the height of his power and thus concludes the cycle with a story that emphasizes the god's limitation (certainly a stark contrast to the Enuma Elish and other texts featuring a divine hero). The reasons for this placement of the episode are again unclear. One might suggest that the poet has attempted in the cycle to provide a comprehensive theology of the universe, in which he first settles the issue of who rules heaven and earth before dealing with the netherworld. In this case, its placement may not have been intended to emphasize Baal's weakness, but simply to complete the exposition of the divine geography of the universe.

In spite of all these parallels and considerations, however, it remains a fact that no other god seems to reach his position of power with so little evidence of physical prowess as does Baal in the Cycle. He needs significant help from his divine allies against Yamm and Mot, his two rivals, in order to triumph. Thus Kothar in 1.2 IV provides Baal with the weapons to use against Yamm, and the weapons themselves leap

from Baal's hand to batter the sea god. In 1.6 Anat rescues Baal following his defeat by Mot, by seizing and killing the latter herself.[7] Such a portrayal may indeed reflect the relative helplessness the rulers of Ugarit may have felt at times when the larger political events of the region spun out of control. An affirmation of the necessity for establishing alliances in a world of enemies may be an underlying reason for this aspect of the Cycle.

On the other hand, one cannot ignore the fact that at the climax of each episode of the Cycle, the limited nature of Baal's kingship is submerged in a proclamation of his power (1.2 IV 31–37; 1.4 VI 38–VII 42; 1.6 VI 30–35). This is most emphatically narrated in 1.4 VI–VII. With the construction of his palace, the members of the divine council come for a banquet that is clearly intended to show finally that the gods recognize Baal's sovereignty (VI 38–59). This is followed by his victory tour of the earth in which all the population also submits to him (VII 7–14). Finally, with his grand theophany in VII 25–42, there can be no question of his complete control of heaven and earth. So in spite of his weaknesses, Baal sits enthroned on Mt. Sapan as king. As patron deity of Ugarit, this image of Baal was certainly the primary way in which he was envisioned. Whatever the vicissitudes the city underwent in the political turmoil of the times, in moments of danger, they could call upon Mightiest Baal as a protector (1.119.26'–31a'; 34b'–36'):

> When a strong one attacks your gates,
> A warrior your walls,
> You shall lift your eyes to Baal:
> "O Baal, if you will drive the strong one from our gates,
> The warrior from our walls,
> A bull, O Baal, we will offer,
> A vow, O Baal, we will fulfill."
> …
> And Baal will hear your prayer.
> He will drive the strong one from your gates,
> The warrior from your walls.

It is this image of Mightiest Baal and his close relationship to the city of Ugarit and its king that also appears to be illustrated in the famous

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[7] We would no longer emphasize Baal's sending of intermediaries to El concerning his palace as an example of weakness, since we argue below that this action probably represents the proper protocol for approaching the elder king with requests of a delicate nature, and thus does not belong in this discussion.

"Baal with Thunderbolt" stela found near the Temple of Baal in 1932 (AO 15.775 = RS 4.427; for a picture, see Schaeffer 1949:pl. XXII; *UBC* 1.107). The primary figure on the stela is clearly Baal, with a war club in his raised right hand and a javelin (lightning bolt) in his left. Below his feet appear to be representations of the sea and the mountains. Between the lower part of his body and the javelin, we find a considerably smaller figure that almost certainly represents the king of Ugarit. The striking difference in the size of the figures must be an attempt to strike the right balance between the glory of the god and the relative weakness of the king, while indicating that the king has a clear and close relationship to the god. The stela almost certainly was located originally in the courtyard of the Temple of Baal, and thus provided an eloquent illustration for both elite and commoner of the subtext of the version of the Baal Cycle that Ilimalku inscribed.

This leads us to the question of the audience for this version of the Baal story and the purpose of Ilimalku's written copy. The fairly obvious relationship between the tablets and the royal/priestly classes indicates that the latter represent the primary audience for the cycle. This does not mean that the royal version was not also readily known among the ordinary people of Ugarit. In fact, the importance of assuring a general sense of the power of the patron deity and the centrality of kingship and proper succession to the throne for the divine and human community would suggest that this form of the myth was widely disseminated. The purpose of Ilimalku's copy of the story was certainly not to set it away in a library where only a few might read it. An important feature of tablets 1.3 and 1.4 shows that the written version was intended to be a guide for an oral and presumably public presentation of the poem, not a "canonical and final written exemplar" to be used primarily for reading. The feature is the use of double horizontal lines at particular points in the narrative to indicate that a portion of the story has been left out and that it should be replaced by the oral narrator of the poem when that point of the narrative is reached. This technique of abridgement appears in 1.3 III after line 31; 1.4 V after line 41; 1.4 VIII after line 47, and possibly in 1 4 I after line 43. In each of these cases, Ilimalku (or the scribe who produced tablet that Ilimalku copied) has chosen not to write down the standard accounts of messengers' journeys from the home of the sender to the home of the recipient. But it is quite clear from the instructional note given after the lines in 1.4 V—"And return to the recitation about when the lads are sent—" that the scribe expected an oral storyteller to be able to

produce this largely formulaic section without a written exemplar. This clearly indicates that the written version was not an end in itself, but was intended to help in the performance of the cycle. Unfortunately, the poem itself gives no real hints as to the specific occasions upon which it might have been performed (on the suggestions about this, see *UBC* 1.58–114, esp. 60–75; Petersen 1998).

In whatever way the cycle was used, one can assume that it functioned to support the elite culture as it existed in the city of Ugarit. Clifford Geertz speaks of ritual, including the recitation of myth, as expressing "the world as lived and the world as imagined, fused under the agency of a single set of symbolic forms" (1968:28). Such symbolic forms also express a model of the way things are and a model for the way they should be (Geertz 1968:8–9). Literary texts such as the Baal Cycle offer a model of and for reality. The cycle would have provided the royal household and its supporting figures and groups with ideological support and expression to support their privileged life: the life of Baal the patron-god of the Ugaritic dynasty and of the divine figures subservient to him parallels and provides a vision of life for the human king, his household and his servants.

The power of the Baal Cycle to make a political statement has actually reemerged in the years since its rediscovery. *The Jerusalem Report* (September 19, 1986, p. 32) describes how on August 15th of that year, the Palestinian Ministry of Culture sponsored in Sebastia (ancient Samaria) a dramatic enactment of the Baal Cycle as a political polemic (against Zionism). The report situates this use of the Baal text within the larger issue of Israelis and Palestinians drawing on the past for present political justification. Thus in more recent times as in antiquity, politics has informed the understanding of the Baal Cycle.

Verbal Syntax in the Baal Cycle

Verbal syntax in the Ugaritic narrative poetry has received some important treatments, but little exegetical significance has been attached to it, and it remains something of a mystery.[8] Fortunately for Ugaritic studies,

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[8] In a letter addressed to Pammachius (Letter 57, discussed in Brock 1979:69–70, reference courtesy of Dr. James Robinson), Jerome refers to "the Holy Scriptures, where even the word order is a mystery" ("scripturis sanctis, ubi et verborum ordo mysterium est").

the situation has improved, thanks to the Masters thesis of A. Piquer Otero (2000) on verbal syntax in CAT 1.1–1.2 and his recent dissertation on the entire cycle (Piquet Otero 2003), as well as a new treatment by Greenstein (2006), which unfortunately arrived too late to be fully incorporated into this discussion. The textual-linguistic approach, especially of Piquer Otero, provides some significant findings for following the narrative in the Baal Cycle. In Piquer Otero's study, three fundamental levels are evident in narrative syntax: (i) sequences that initiate the main narrative line (particle + *yqtl, and *qtl); (ii) sequences that continue a narrative line (w- + *yqtl) or subdivide a narrative line (w- + *qtl); and (iii) sequences that develop the narrative line, either by backgrounding, foregrounding (e.g., clauses fronted by presentative particles) or circumstantial description (e.g., nominal clauses; particle [+ subject] + *qtl). The following summary represents the main-clause structures as identified in Piquer Otero's research (see his summary in Piquer Otero 2003:442–591). Grammatical items given in square brackets represent optional elements in verbal sequences. Narrative *yqtl and *qtl clause-types as well as nominal-clause structures are presented first, then direct discourse *yqtl and *qtl, as well as nominal clauses and clauses with imperatives.

<div align="center">Narrative</div>

I. *yqtl

1. *Particle (optional) + *yqtl + [subject]*
At the main narrative level, this sequence may initiate or continue a narrative sequence. The subject may be implicit when it has appeared in a preceding sentence. Examples for the initiation of a section with a particle: 1.1 II 13 (and its parallels, 1.2 III 4; cf. 1.2 I 19–20, etc.): *'idk lytn pnm*, "then they indeed set out"; 1.2 I 30: *'aḫr tmǵyn ml'ak ym*, "then Yamm's messengers arrived." Examples for continuing a sequence without a particle include: 1.2 I 23: *tgly 'ilm r'išthm*, "the gods lowered their heads"; 1.2 I 29: *tš'u 'ilm r'ašthm*, "the gods raised their heads." See also the long sequences of this sort in 1.2 IV 24, 25–26, 27; 1.3 I 9–10, 18–19, 20–25 (see below II, #1 for further discussion of the verbs in this passage); and 1.3 II 5–8.

One difficulty with the main claim here involves whether a particle necessarily or optionally *initiates* such a sequence. For Piquer Otero, the

particle is optional. However, the examples do not bear out this claim. His main example for a sequence of this type without the particle is the complex case of 1.2 I 19–20 cited above. The opening word may be understood not as *yqtl* but *qtl*. If the latter is correct, it may be that either *qtl* or particle + *yqtl* can begin a sequence. For further discussion, see below under II, #1. Furthermore, in the vast number of clear cases, *yqtl* does not initiate a sequence, but continues it (cf. BH particle + *yqtl* for narrative, e.g., Exod 15:1; cf. BH *wayhî* at the beginning of a sequence?). In sum, *yqtl* in opening position seems to signal continuation of narrative sequence, while the addition of the opening particle apparently marks a further nuance in relating parts of a long narrative, in particular shifts in scene.

2. *W-* + *yqtl*

i. This sequence of the conjunction *w-* plus *yqtl* follows or continues the main level of narrative. The construction develops the narrative sequence by articulating related contents. Examples: 1.1 IV 13: *wyʿn lṭ<p>n ʾil d[pʾid]*, "and Beneficent El the Beni[gn] spoke"; 1.1 III 17: *wyʿn kṯr wḫss*, "and Kothar wa-Hasis answered" (also 1.2 III 18); 1.2 IV 11, 18: *wypʿr šmthm*, "and he proclaimed their names"; 1.2 IV 26: *wydlp tmnh*, "and his form collapsed"; 1.2 IV 23: *wyrtqṣ ṣmd bd bʿl*, "and the weapon leapt from the hand of Baal." For this last example, Piquer Otero suggests that *w* + *yqtl* also articulates a paragraph, which includes a change of subject (compared to the preceding quotation). The difference between this sequence and [particle] + *yqtl* + [subject] is not maintained, for example in 1.2 IV 15 (*yqtl* without *w-*)//1.2 IV 23 (*yqtl* with *w-*). Evidently, stylistic and discourse factors affect usage.

ii. According to Piquer Otero, "*w-* of apodosis which may appear in sentences belonging to the main narrative line after an anticipated subordinating commentary could be considered similar to the introducing *w-* just mentioned…Its few attestations do not permit a firmer hypothesis." Example: 1.2 IV 6–7: *wttn gh* is the logical apodosis. A more complex case is involved in 1.3 II 3–5: *klʾat ṯǵrt bht ʿnt/wtqry ǵlmm bšt ǵr*, "The double-gates of the house of Anat closed, she met youths at the foot of the mountain." For Piquer Otero, *wtqry* initiates the narrative sequence (contrary to the usual rule described above in 2i). This difference is attributed to the preceding clause, which is logically subordinate. Accordingly, Piquer Otero suggests rendering: "Once the gates of Anat's house are closed, she meets youths at the foot of the mountain." For him, *wtqry* then begins the narrative sequence in this context.

3. *X + *yqtl*

In the context of the main narrative line, the appearance of a sentence element before the verb conforms to precise syntactical conditions, involving style and rhetoric. One sort involves a complement (in agreement with the subject), for example 1.2 I 31: *qmm 'a[mr] 'amr*, "standing, they spoke a speech." A second sort is constituted basically by chiasm, for example in 1.2 I 40 (assuming the correctness of the reconstruction), with the object fronted for emphasis: *[ymnh 'n]t t'uḫd//šm'alh t'uḫd 'ttrt*, "[His right hand An]at seized//his left hand Athtart seized." A third sort, involving an initial prepositional phrase, is more difficult to classify: either textual reasons may be involved (the introduction of a new agent or point of view), or style may be significant, for example in the "reverential" emphasis placed on a character as in 1.6 I 36–37: *lp'n 'il thbr wtql*, "at El's feet she bowed down and fell" (and its parallel in 1.1 II 14–17; cf. its thematic reversal in 1.2 I 30: *lp'n 'il ltpl*, "at El's feet they did not fall"); or fronting for emphasis in some cases, e.g., 1.2 I 24: *bhm yg'r b'l*; "them Baal rebuked," and 1.2 IV 28: *bšm tg'rm 'ttrt*, "by name Athtart rebuked (him)." (In both of these cases, it may be of some significance that they open a verbal rebuke.) This category also includes a case such as 1.2 I 32–33, *'išt 'ištm y'itmr*, "a flame, two flames they appeared." Here we have a description of the figures discussed in the preceding three bicola. Piquer Otero also suggests 1.3 II 13–15 as an example: *brkm tġl[l] bdm ḏmr/ḫlqm bmm['] mhrm*, "knee-deep she glea[n]ed in warrior-blood, neck-deep in the gor[e] of soldiers." This *yqtl clause does not discontinue the narrative line, but the verb's position following the initial adverbial accusative focuses the description on the goddess and her action. It is to be noted further that the prepositional phrases, with the nouns *ḏmr//mhrm*, suggest that this bicolon elaborates the preceding mention of *mhr* introduced initially in 1.3 II 11 (just as the nouns in 1.3 II 11–13, *r'išt//kpt* signal an elaboration of the nouns *r'i[š]//kp*, introduced in lines 9–10).

4. *yqtl in final position appears in two patterns:*

i. *Particle + subject + *yqtl*
1.2 I 21–22: *hlm 'ilm tphhm*, "look! the gods perceive them." The presentative particle plus the subject preceding the verb continues the action of the narrative chain, but with a particular dramatic effect given to the gods and their reaction. The presentative particle serves to foreground the action (cf. the English expression, "Look here!"), and

in these cases one might use the present tense for the verbs in order
to highlight the particular foregrounding expressed by these particles.
Such foregrounding appears in the initial line in the four-line unit in 1.3
III 32–34: *hlm 'nt tph 'ilm*, "Look! Anat perceives the gods." Related is
the case of 1.3 II 5–6, *whln 'nt tmtḫṣ b'mq*, "and look! Anat fights in the
valley." Compared to the preceding examples, the syntax of the initial
lexeme in this case is more complex: the presentative clause fronted by
hln is linked by *w-* to the preceding sentence. In these cases the narra-
tive line continues with these clauses, but with an added foregrounding
marked by the presentative particle. An even more complex case with
the presentative particle appears in 1.3 II 17: *whln 'nt lbth tmǵyn*, rendered
literally, "and look! Anat to her house goes." Given the unusually high
number of instances of this clause-type in 1.3 II, it may be recognized
that it plays a key rhetorical role in this particular narrative. Piquer
Otero regards this construction as a "complex nominalized sentence"
with **yqtl*. For him, these are not variations of nominal clauses in the
traditional sense. Instead, in text-linguistics such verbal clauses involve
extended presentations of the subject and its actions. For Piquer Otero,
such clauses may be distinguished formally by their departure from the
standard clauses-types discussed above.

ii. *Subject + object + *yqtl*
1.2 IV 11, 18: *kṯr ṣmdm ynḫt*, "Kothar fashioned the weapons" (note the
chiasm with second line: *wp'r šmthm*).

II. **qtl*

1. *[Particle] + *qtl + [subject]*
For Piquer Otero, this sequence provides initial circumstantial informa-
tion immediately prior to the beginning of a narrative sequence, and it
can function as a transition between such a narrative sequence and the
preceding unit. Example: 1.3 II 3: *kl'at ṯǵrt bht 'nt*, "the double-gates of
the house of Anat being closed" (followed by *w-* + **yqtl*, *wtqry ǵlmm bšt
ǵr*, "she met youths at the foot of the mountain," discussed above in I,
#2, ii). Analogous is the case of 1.2 IV 6–7 in #3 below.

   This sequence can also be inserted in the narrative chain to provide
a circumstantial comment. In these cases the subject coincides with the
subject of the preceding sentence and may therefore remain implicit.
Examples: 1.1 IV 9, 28–30; 1.2 I 33, 38; 1.2 IV 7 (?); 1.3 II 11–13.
As Piquer Otero (2003:208) discusses, the cases of **qtl* in 1.3 II 11–13

are particularly complex insofar as the actions of these verbs are not distinguished in time-frame from the preceding nominal clauses in 1.3 II 9–11 and perhaps from the following bicola in 1.3 II 13–15 or 15–16 (both with the syntax of X + *yqtl). Given this apparent simultaneity, the bicola would seem to be regarded as belonging to the same time frame (or at least overlapping), with an alternation of a variety of clause-types (nominal, then *qtl + X, then X + *yqtl; cf. parallelism of *yqtl with *qtl within cola, with examples presented in *UBC* 1.49, #7). For further discussion, see the commentary to 1.3 II. The *qtl verbs in 1.3 I 4, 8, and 18 reflect stylistic purposes. Each one opens a set of actions in Baal's feast, continued by a series of *yqtl forms. These verbs may not be circumstantial (or subordinate, so Blake, discussed in *UBC* 1.48); rather, such verbal forms might initiate the series of actions involved (see the Commentary to this column; and *UBC* 1.55–56), which are continued with *yqtl forms along the lines suggested by Piquer Otero described above in I, #1.

2. *W- + *qtl
Within units providing comment longer than a single sentence, *w-* may be used as a subdivider of the text. This usage is analogous to *w* + *yqtl on the narrative main level (see I, #1 above). Examples: 1.1 IV 15: *wpʿr šm ym*, "and he pronounced the name Yamm"; and 1.1 III 4–5: *wrgm lk[ṯr wḫss]*, "and they spoke to Ko[thar wa-Hasis]."

3. *[Particle] + X + *qtl
Complex nominalized sentences with *qtl (cf. above I, 4, 1), these sequences introduce a background comment or an explicative parenthesis inserted into the main narrative sequence. Piquer Otero cites 1.2 I 20: *ʾap ʾilm lḥ[m] yṯb*, "meanwhile the gods sat down to fea[st]" (the verb might be viewed as *yqtl, but Dobrusin 1981 has shown the plural prefix for the third masc. pl. of *yqtl to be *t-*, not *y-*). The particle *ʾap* suggests that this scene is parallel to the preceding in time-frame (hence "meanwhile" or the like). Another example appears in 1.4 III 23–26: *ʾaḫr mǵy ʾalʾiyn bʿl*, "then (or, just as) Mightiest Baal arrived…" This usage with the particle *ʾaḫr* + *qtl as circumstantial appears prior in time frame (or "pluperfect"; see *UBC* 1.47) relative to the same construction of *ʾaḫr* + *yqtl, noted above in I, #1. Comparable, but with fronting for emphasis, is the clause in 1.2 IV 6–7, *[b]ph rgm lyṣʾa…wttn gh*, "The word had not yet left his mouth,…then she raised her voice."

III. *Simple nominal sentences*
This structure can be inserted as an explicative parenthesis into the narrative chain. Word order may be either subject + predicate or predicate + subject. The analysis of the corpus thus far has not revealed any kind of opposition between these two options. Examples: 1.1 III 1 = 1.3 VI 14–16: *kptr ksʾu ṯbtẖ//ḥkpt ʾarṣ nḥlth*, "Kaptor, the throne where he sits, Memphis, the land of his heritage"; and the similar clauses, 1.4 VIII 12–14: *mk ksʾu ṯbtẖ//ẖẖ ʾarṣ nḥlth*; 1.2 I 32–33: *ḥrb lṭšt [lš]nhm*, "a sharp sword (is) their [ton]gue (?)" (*UBC* 1.307). For three further examples (in parallelism), see 1.3 II 9–11. For a sustained set of examples, see the list of furniture described in 1.4 I 30–43.

Two questions about Piquer Otero's description involve whether initial **yqtl* without particle begins a main narrative line and the corresponding issue of whether an initial **qtl* does not sometimes initiate a main narrative line as well. For Piquer Otero, initial **qtl* constructions represent a comment, such as, for example, a circumstantial description.[9] It does indeed seem plausible that initial **qtl* may involve a comment in some cases, but in other instances it seems to begin a sequence. Fenton long ago (1969:35) argued that **qtl* can begin a narrative section, and Watson (1994b:249) has supported the same interpretation (see also *UBC* 1.53–56). Indeed, to claim that all initial **qtl* forms are to be understood as background or circumstantial requires an unlikely reading of the forms in several contexts. A number of **qtl* forms, especially verbs of motion, can be read more easily as beginning a narrative chain (e.g., **ʿly* in 1.4 I 23; and **tbʿ* in 1.2 I 19, 1.5 I 9, II 8, 13; see *UBC* 1:54 for further examples and discussion). In short, **qtl* continued by *yqtl* may open a narrative (as Lambdin 1971:164–65 argues for BH syntax). Similarly, **qtl* may close a section (Lambdin 1971:164–65; Smith 1991:69; Heller 2004:435–39; for an example in Ugaritic, see *tbʿ* in 1.17 V 31) or highlight a climactic point in the narrative (e.g., **sbb* in 1.4 VI 34–35; see the Commentary there).

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[9] Regarding initial **qtl* forms, Greenstein (1998:412–13) comments in terms somewhat similar to Piquer Otero's view: "The *qatala* forms serve mainly to convey background…and to produce rhetorical functions and patterns such as those observed by Held…, Fenton…and Smith." However, **qtl* is sometimes used to begin or close as well as to highlight a narrative sequence. See Greenstein 2006:96–98.

Direct Discourse

I. **yqtl*

1. *[Particle] + *yqtl + [subject]*
i. This type occurs on the main level of discourse when it is part of a sequence of anticipated action ("future narrative speech"). This sequence corresponds to the standard sequence in narrative: 1.3 IV 24//29, *'ask šlm lkbd 'arṣ*, "I will pour peace amid the earth."

ii. The particle *'al + *yqtl* belongs to a main line of discourse of commands as the negation of the imperative. Example: 1.2 I 15, *'al tšthwy phr [m'd]*, "do not prostrate yourselves before the [Assembled] Council." In this case, the clause is preceded by a further clause with a fronted prepositional phrase in line 14 (see below), with chiasm resulting. This construction (*'al + *yqtl*) may also be combined with a preceding imperative (1.2 I 13, reconstructed). See also 1.4 VIII 15–16.

iii. In some very specific circumstances (after imperatives and after substantives), **yqtl* can appear in an asyndetic relative clause. Examples: 1.2 I 18, *tn 'ilm dtqh*, "give up, O Gods, the one you obey"; 1.3 III 27//IV 15 (the second line of a tricolon), *rgm ltd' nšm*, "the word people do not know."

iv. Some particles (*d-, k-, kd-, hm*) mark the subordination of **yqtl* to a preceding main verb. Examples: 1.2 I 18, *dtqyn hmlt*, "the one you obey, O Multitude"; 1.3 III 26, *'abn brq dl td' šmm*, "I understand the lightning that the Heavens do not know." See also 1.3 V 3; and the two cases in 1.4 VII 49–52, that are dependent on a preceding nominal clause; 1.6 I 52. Some particles (*k-*) may mark the subordination of **yqtl* to a following main verb. Example: 1.5 I 1–4//27–31, *ktmhṣ ltn…, ttkh…šmm*, "when you smote Litan…, the heavens became hot."

2. *w- + *yqtl*
i. Instead of linking sentences on the same textual level (as this syntactical structure does in narrative), this structure in direct discourse introduces a comment subordinate to the clause that precedes it. Example: 1.3 III 20–21//1.3 IV 13–14, *dm rgm 'it ly w'argmk*, "for a message I have and I will tell (it) to you."

ii. *w- + *yqtl* volitive to link to prior **yqtl* volitive. Example: 1.2 IV 22b–23a, *yprsh ym wyql l'arṣ*, "may Yamm sink and fall to the earth" (see #3 below for further discussion).

3. *X + *yqtl*

i. With commands, this structure functions as an alternative to the imperative, sometimes in isolation (1.2 IV 6–7, 10, 13, 20b–21a), or in more complex imperative structures according to the rule furnished by Fenton (1969), what might be called "Fenton's law": command given in the imperative is executed in the narrative with *qtl*, while commands given in *yqtl* volitives are implemented in the narrative with *yqtl* indicative forms (1.4 IV 4–12, 1.14 II 13–27 with III 55–IV 9, 49–50; for discussion see *UBC* 1.51). The two *yqtl* volitives in 1.2 IV 22–23 follow the imperative in line 21 in order to express change of subject: the direct objects following the imperative in line 21 are the parts of Yamm's body that the weapon is to strike, while Yamm himself is the subject of the following jussives in lines 22–23.

ii. In the discourse of narrative anticipation, topicalization by personal pronoun subject seems to be designed to emphasize the subject or actant. Examples: 1.2 I 37, *hw ybl 'argmnk*, "he himself will bring tribute to you"; 1.3 IV 22, *['a]n 'aqry…*, "I myself will offer…". In some cases, it marks a shift in actant: 1.6 II 15, *'an 'itlk*, "I myself was going about…".

iii. Subject + *yqtl* constitutes a further possibility of what Piquer Otero calls the "complex nominalized sentence" (discussed above). Example: 1.3 V 33–34//1.4 IV 45–46, *klnyn qśh nbln/klnyn nbl ksh*, "all of us will bring him a chalice, all of us will bring him a cup." See also 1.2 IV 8–9.

iv. Object + *yqtl* to front the former: 1.5 VI 24–25, *'aṯr b'l 'ard b'arṣ*, "after Baal I will descend to the underworld" (paralleled in 1.6 I 7–8).

4. *W- + X + *yqtl*

i. This construction in discourse contexts of commands (after imperatives) gives a nuance of what Piquer Otero calls subordinate comment finality (traditionally labeled purpose or result clauses). Example: 1.3 III 28–31//IV 18–19, *'atm w'ank 'ibǵyh*, "come that I myself may reveal it." Note also the asyndetic variation (without *w-*) in 1.2 I 18–19, 35: *bn dgn 'arṯm pḏh*, "the Son of Dagan that I may possess his gold" (cf. 1.3 III 46–47; 1.4 VII 47–48). For the comparable syntax for subordinate comment finality, but expressed with the negative, *'al + *yqtl*, see 1.3 V 22, *'al 'aḫdm by[mn]y*, "lest I seize it with my [right han]d"; cf. 1.4 VI 10–11; 1.4 VIII 17–18 may be read in this manner; 1.6 I 45–46; 1.6 V 19–20.

5. *Particle + X + *yqtl*

i. Fronting for emphasis: 1.2 I 25, *'aḥd 'ilm t'ny*, "together will the gods answer…?" Or, 1.2 IV 9 (second line of a tricolon), *ht 'ibk tmḫṣ*, "now you will smash your enemy."

On a higher level of discourse, a particle may function as part of the means for connecting two speeches: *'ap mṯn rgmm 'argmn/k*, "also on a second subject I would speak (with you)" (1.3 IV 31–32, 1.4 I 19–20).

II. *qtl*

1. *[Particle] + *qtl + [subject/object]*

1. As in narrative sequences, this structure in direct discourse may introduce circumstantial comments inserted into the main level of the speech. Example: 1.2 IV 7–8, *lrgmt lk lzbl b'l// ṯnt lrkb 'rpt*, "indeed, I tell you, Prince Baal// I reiterate, O Cloudrider." See also the lengthy series in 1.5 VI 3–10.

2. After an initial background frame or recapitulation coda, a series of structures with initial *qtl* may extend the comment into several clauses, constituting a series without temporal sequence. See the discussion of 1.3 III 38–46 in the Commentary.

3. With the appropriate initial particles, the structure appears in interrogative sentences, which may work as parentheses, initial frames or recapitulation. Example: 1.2 I 24–25, *lm gltm 'ilm r'ištkm*, "why have you lowered, O Gods, your heads?" See also 1.2 I 40–41 (if correctly reconstructed; and 1.3 III 36.

2. *W- + *qtl*

A rare structure in direct discourse, it works as a comment. The usage of *w-* derives from the principle of internal subdivision within a paragraph (see above II, 2 under narrative).

3. *[Particle] + X + *qtl*

i. Through topicalization with a subject pronoun, it can mark a change of subject or actant in a comment. Example: 1.2 I 45, *'an rgmt lym b'lkm*, "I myself say to Yamm, your lord." See also 1.2 I 28 (unless the verb is an infinitive absolute).

ii. This structure may function as a general background frame or recapitulation coda (complex nominalized sentence). See 1.3 III 36–38 and 1.3 IV 4; 1.4 VI 36–38.

4. *W- + X + *qtl*
This structure works as a copula subdivision between comments.

III. *Imperative*

1. *Imperative + X.*
This structure functions on the main level in texts of commands.
Examples: 1.2 I 16, *ṯny d'tkm*, "recite your instructions." See also 1.2
I 27; 1.2 IV 12, 14, 19b–20a, 21b; 1.4 I 20–21; 1.4 VIII 7–9; 1.5 V
13–14. For an imperative within larger imperative structure, see the
imperative *tn* used twice in 1.2 I 18 and repeated in 1.2 I 35. For this
structure with a preceding vocative noun, see 1.2 IV 12, 19.

2. *W- + Imperative + X*
w- acts as a subdivider structuring a chain of imperatives into sections.
Example: 1.2 I 16, *wrgm lṯr 'aby*, "and say to Bull [my] fa[ther]"; 1.3 VI
21–22, *wrgm lkṯr wḥss*, "and say to Kothar wa-Hasis." See also 1.4 V
18//33–34; 1.4 VIII 7–8 and 14; 1.5 V 14–15.

3. *Vocative + imperative*
This structure focuses on the addressee of the following imperative.
Example: 1.6 II 12, *'at mt tn 'aḫy*, "You, O Mot, give up my brother."

IV. *Nominal sentence*
1. It can constitute an initial background frame before the start of the
main narrative line. Example: 1.2 I 36–37, *'bdk b'l yymm*, "your slave is
Baal, O Yamm." See also 1.2 IV 11–12, 19 for background nominal
clause prior to imperative structures, *šmk 'at ygrš/'aymr*, "your name,
yours, is *ygrš/'aymr*." See also 1.4 IV 59–62.

2. It can be inserted as an explicative or background parenthesis inside
a speech. Example: 1.2 IV 29–30, *kšbyn zb[l ym]//[k(?)]šbyn ṯpṯ nhr*, "for
our captive is Prin[ce Yamm], [for (?)] our captive is Judge River." See
also 1.1 III 13–14//1.3 III 22–25 (see 1.3 IV 14–15); 1.2 I 17; 1.3 IV
48–53//1.3 V 39–44//1.4 I 12–17; the second line of the tricolon
in 1.3 V 30–31 (cf. stative *qtl*-form used instead in parallel in 1.4 IV
41–42); 1.3 V 32–33//1.4 IV 43–44; 1.5 II 12//20; 1.5 III 19–20;
1.6 VI 48–50.

In conclusion, Piquer Otero's text-linguistic research clarifies the uses
of verbal syntax in Ugaritic narrative poetry, and as such it marks a
significant advance in the study of Ugaritic verbal syntax.

In addition to what Piquer Otero has discussed, some further observations can be made about progression from colon to colon. As Piquer Otero's research nicely demonstrates, Ugaritic poetry can mark continuation of the narrative line with *yqtl* in initial position. However, in sections where the narrative line is not being advanced by *yqtl* in initial position, movement from one colon to another within a description or a speech may unfold by combining the verbal syntax with a repetition of nouns or verbal roots in a variety of ways. The following provides a number of illustrations:

1. Sometimes this occurs simply in the single repetition of a word or root from one colon to the next (e.g., *tn* in 1.2 I 34–35; **ʾḥd* in 1.2 I 39, 40; *bʿl* in 1.2 IV 7–8, 8–9; **mḫṣ* in 1.3 II 5–7, 7–8).

2. As a corollary, a description may use multiple terms from the same word-field in addition to simple repetition (e.g., terms for cup in 1.3 I 8–17, which includes the repetition of *ks//krpn*; terms for precipitation in 1.3 IV 42–44, including *ṭl šmm* repeated; cf. the terms for precipitation in 1.4 V 6–9).

3. In other instances, a root may repeat from one unit to a second, and another root introduced in the first or second colon is repeated in the third, etc. The effect in this sort of progression is one of cascading down from one unit to the next (e.g., *ysq* in 1.4 I 25–29 plus *ksp//ḫrṣ* in 1.4 I 25–28, 30–32 and in 1.4 V 15–19, 31–35), or further development or repetition of the initial term (e.g., *rgm* across 1.3 III 20–28, with *šmm* and *ʾarṣ* introduced in 22–25 and repeated in 26–28). A more complex situation obtains in 1.2 III 7–10 and 1.4 V 50–57, where various sets of phrases, with some shift in morphology, are operative over three cola.

4. In some cases, a word may repeat many times, lending a list-like quality to the unit (e.g., **mḫšt* in 1.3 III 38–47; *ʾil* in 1.4 I 12, 30–43, and *mṯb* in 1.3 IV 48–53//1.3 V 39–44//1.4 I 12–18//1.4 IV 52–57). Within a description, at a higher order of complexity, an entire colon with minor variations can be repeated several times (e.g., the seven-day fire burning in Baal's palace in 1.4 VI 22–33, or the fêting of the deities in 1.4 VI 47–54).

5. The repetition of terms binds different figures together in dialogue (e.g., **mgn//*ġzy* used four times in 1.4 III 25–26, 28–30, 30–32, 33–36).

6. Sometimes a repeated root can run through a description or dialogue or both (e.g., *rbt/rb/rbbt/rbtm/rbbt*, in 1.4 I 13, 17, 21, 28, 30, 43). Or, a word-pair can be similarly repeated (**mḫṣ//*ḫṣb* in 1.3 II 5–7, 19–20, 23–24, 29–30).

7. At a higher order of complexity, an entire colon repeated may frame either a section of a speech (e.g., 1.3 IV 22–24//27–29 and 24–25//29–31) or a whole speech (e.g., 1.3 III 37–38//1.3 IV 4). Or, a repeated colon may link (e.g., 1.4 VI 36–38 and 1.4 VIII 35–37).

8. Repetition of word-pairs can create parallelism of scenes (e.g., see the many repetitions in 1.3 II 3–16//17–30), which combine description with some movement forward.

1.3 and 1.4 show multiple strategies at work within a single column. Some of these poetic features, such as repetition of a word (#1, 3, 4; cf. #2), word-pairs (#5, 8) or of roots (#6), also indicate that many of the same phenomena found within cola serve further to bind cola or whole sections. Stated differently, the strategies utilized at the micro-level of the colon are paralleled at the macro-level, that is, across cola. The same point applies to Biblical Hebrew poetry (Smith 2001b:217–20). The collection and classification of such features at the macro-level remain a major desideratum for the study of West Semitic poetry.

At a higher level of complexity, many of these features operate to generate parallelism of entire scenes in different passages across columns. For example, the repetition of Baal's lament in 1.3 IV 47–53//1.3 V 35–44//1.4 I 4–18//1.4 IV 47–57 serves to highlight what is crucially at stake throughout the middle section of the Baal Cycle in 1.3–1.4. Similarly, the repetition of terms binding the different figures together in dialogue within a column (e.g., **mgn//*ġzy* used four times in 1.4 III 25–26, 28–30, 30–32, 33–36) exists at a higher order of complexity across columns. For example, the repeating cola about the window in the palace thread through three columns (1.4 V 61–62, 64–65, 1.4 VI 5–6, 8–9; 1.4 VIII 17–19, 25–27). As with Baal's lament, this repetition highlights the importance of the theme within the larger building story.

1.3 III–1.4 VII: The Building Narrative and the Role of Etiquette in Its Structure

As mentioned above, the story of the building of Baal's palace is best understood as the central episode of the Baal Cycle. The image of Baal at the climax of this episode is the primary image of the god as king and as provider of the fertile rains. The significance of the palace for the cycle is reinforced in the first episode as well, where the attempt to build a palace for Yamm is clearly intended as a sign of that god's claim to sovereignty (1.1 III and 1.2 III). In that way, the discussion of Yamm's palace acts as an anticipation for the urgency that is clearly emphasized about building the palace for Baal. This theme, then, binds the two episodes together in an important way.

As also described above, the story of the construction of Baal's palace does not appear to begin in 1.3 I, which rather seems to be the conclusion of the story of Baal and Yamm. It is not clear whether column II should be seen as the opening of the new storyline or the end of the previous one. But there is no doubt that the palace story has begun by column III, where Baal is instructing his messengers on what they are to say to Anat. The palace story is startlingly long and complicated, and from a modern perspective appears rather bloated, since it takes eleven columns of text to get to the completion of the task. The majority of the story is taken up with getting permission from El to build the palace. This is done in two major steps: an initial attempt by Anat to secure the permission (1.3 III–V), which fails; and a second attempt by Athirat, which is a success (1.3 VI–1.4 V). The account of the actual building of the palace is relatively short and schematic (1.4 V 35–VI 38). The whole story climaxes with the inauguration of the palace at a feast for the children of Athirat, i.e., the pantheon (1.4 VI 38–VII 6), followed by a triumphal tour of the earth (VII 7–14), and the grand theophany of the newly established king of the gods (VII 25–42).

Hurowitz 1992 has significantly illuminated the fact that this episode can be identified as an example of the literary genre of the temple or palace building narrative, well attested in both Mesopotamian and West Semitic literature. His work shows that the poet has used traditional motifs in arranging the story and that the narrative units about getting permission to build the palace can be related to the general characteristics of this genre (47–48; 100–05, 139–40). Hurowitz' list of the major traditional elements of the building narrative can be related to the Baal narrative as follows:

1. The divine decision to build (= 1.3 III–1.4 V, in two stages—Anat's attempt, then Athirat's attempt)
2. The announcement relayed to the builder (= 1.4 V 2–35, in two stages—Athirat tells Anat, who tells Baal)
3. The acquisition of construction materials (= V 35–40, VI 18–21)
4. The commissioning of a chief artisan (= V 41–VI 15; this is characteristic only of West Semitic building narratives, cf. Hurowitz 1992: 102–03)
5. The building of the palace/temple (= VI 22–38)
6. The dedication/inauguration of the palace/temple (= VI 38–VII 6 and the theophany VII 25–42)

Hurowitz' careful analysis of the various building narratives from Mesopotamia and the Levant makes it possible to determine the elements that have been given particular emphasis in the Baal Cycle, as well as those that are unique to it. To begin with, the extraordinary length of the account of securing El's permission to build the palace is quite unusual and requires some discussion. This part of the narrative clearly emphasizes the status of El as the head of the pantheon and patriarch of the family (see the discussion of the divine family below, pp. 46–52). Although he is not actively involved in the administration of the universe any longer, he is clearly still the deity of highest status, and divine etiquette and protocol absolutely require his permission for beginning a project that is critical to the status of the new ruler of the divine council. A recognition of the importance of royal/divine protocol in this part of the story is critical for understanding several of the events that occur in 1.3 III–1.4 V. The failure to do so has often led to what we consider to be substantial misinterpretations of the narrative. It is also clear that the poet is very concerned to show the value and efficacy of proper etiquette in this section, recounting both breaches of etiquette and the resulting failure (Anat's visit with El) and exemplary performance of correct procedures (Baal and Anat's carefully orchestrated visit to Athirat, which gains her support, and Athirat's successful request of El). Stories that deal with this kind of proper conduct (and sometimes its opposite) are well attested throughout Near Eastern literature. One might note, for example, the emphasis on the appropriate etiquette of hospitality that plays the fundamental role in the story of Sodom and Gomorrah in Genesis 18–19. Abraham acts as a model of hospitality in chapter 18, and is blessed because of it, while the men of Sodom show the ultimate breach of hospitality in 19 and are severely punished. Breach of etiquette plays an important role

in the story of Gilgamesh, particularly in the Bull of Heaven episode, where Gilgamesh roughly rejects Ishtar's advances, which leads to her sending the Bull of Heaven against Uruk. Upon killing the bull, Enkidu again breaches appropriate protocol by throwing the bull's leg at Ishtar, an act of hubris that leads to his death.

Once we begin to look at 1.3 III–1.4 V with an eye toward the importance of etiquette, we can better understand several aspects of the story. Since protocol plays such a central role, we may suggest that the fact that Baal does not appear personally before El to plead his case is an appropriate step on Baal's part. The fact that he sends an envoy should probably be understood as the correct protocol in a situation where a high official needs a somewhat personal favor from another high official. A similar situation is attested in 1 Kings 1, where Solomon's mother Bathsheba goes to David to request that the king appoint her son as successor. Solomon plays no direct role in the negotiations. By sending an envoy, the petitioner avoids the potential embarrassment of being turned down in person, which might also be an unpleasantness to the one petitioned. So, while interpreters in the past have sometimes criticized Baal's behavior here, it seems more likely that this was in fact the expected way such a request should be put forward to El.

Anat's fiery personality shows itself to be a negative example of how to get things done within the divine court. After being called to Baal's mountain and commissioned to go to El with Baal's request, Anat is described (perhaps humorously) as ready to beat El up if he is not forthcoming. Interpreters have often noted the similarity between this scene (1.3 IV 53–V 44) and the scene between El and Anat in the Aqhat Epic (1.17 VI 48–1.18 I 20), in which she asks permission to kill Aqhat because of his breach of etiquette and also threatens El with bodily harm if he refuses. In that case El gives her his permission. Several scholars (e.g., *MLD* 9–11; Pardee 1997a:255 n. 116) assume that a similar scenario occurs in the lacuna at the end of 1.3 V, and that El is probably bullied into giving his permission (although this creates the problem of explaining why Baal subsequently has to go through the entire effort of recruiting Athirat to get the same permission again!) But this is a case of over-reliance on a parallel scene, which has led people to ignore the major differences in the two episodes. It is a mistake to assume that a similar motif is used identically in all contexts. In our narrative, Anat's behavior becomes the centerpiece of the account. When she arrives at El's abode (V 7–9) her actions are in stark contrast to those in the Aqhat Epic (1.17 VI 48–51). In the latter, she arrives, comes into the presence of El and bows at his feet, according to proper

protocol. In our passage, she arrives in great agitation and shouts
angrily as she enters his abode (lines 8–9). She breaches protocol and
because of that she is not even allowed into El's presence (lines 10–12).
El communicates with her rather brusquely from his inner room, while
she is kept at the entrance to his tent. Although the end of the episode
is not preserved, it is clear that permission has not been granted. The
story is used here to indicate the futility of a belligerence that ignores
appropriate etiquette.

Recognizing the importance of protocol and etiquette in the poet's
presentation of the story also allows a better understanding of the
Athirat episode (1.4 II–III). Interpreters have often characterized Baal's
decision to take gifts to Athirat as an attempt to bribe her to support
his cause (e.g., Wyatt 1998:92 n. 95; Pardee 1997a:256 n. 121). This
idea is to be rejected in the light of what we now understand about the
use of gifts between rulers in Late Bronze Age Syria-Palestine (Liverani
1978:21–26; 1990:211–23; see the discussion in the Commentary on 1.4
I, pp. 407–09). There is no doubt that the story assumes some hostility
between Baal and the family of El and Athirat. El's support for Yamm
in the first episode of the cycle is a clear indication of that, as is the list
of Baal's enemies that Anat says she fought in 1.3 III 38–47—appar-
ently all of them (see the commentary on this passage) having been
closely related to El. Similar rivalries were common also between
the various states of the Levant during the second millennium BCE.
Liverani has studied the use of gifts in the political context of the era
and has shown how they were used both for indicating a wish for good
political relations, but also for promoting one's own status as a ruler of
great generosity. The gifts Baal takes to Athirat are not portrayed as a
bribe, but rather as a peace offering to secure long-term close relations.
When Athirat first spies the approaching Baal and Anat, her initial
reaction is fear that they are coming to attack her family. But when
she sees the gifts, she realizes that they have come to make peace with
her, and that they are thus not a threat. Her subsequent happiness has
nothing to do with greed, but everything to do with politics and status.
Baal's gifts recognize her status, and they honor Baal too in showing
both his intention to honor Athirat and his generosity in bringing such
magnificent confirmation of his peaceful intentions.

The account in 1.4 III 23–44 of the banquet Athirat gives for Baal
and Anat also focuses on protocol. It is, of course, Athirat's duty to
provide a meal for her guests. They present the gifts to her, but she
does not immediately accept them. One issue is made explicit by her
speech in lines 28–32: "Have you brought gifts to Bull El the Beneficent,

or honored the Creator of Creatures?" She shows concern about a potential breach of protocol in which accepting these gifts might seem to place her at a higher priority than El. Anat's response (lines 33–36) seems to allay her concerns. But the larger issue about the gifts is not spoken. If Athirat accepts the gifts, then they put her under obligation to reciprocate. This is a very important aspect of the etiquette of political gift-giving (Liverani 1978:21–26). So if she accepts the gifts, she will be expected to help Baal. It seems clear that in the lacuna at the end of the column she does accept them, since she takes on the role of envoy for Baal in the next column.

Athirat's visit with El (1.4 IV–V) is a model of appropriate behavior. She arrives and bows before the god. El in return gives her a warm welcome, as befitting his wife, offering her a meal and perhaps a little sex. Her response, sometimes characterized by interpreters as a brusque rejection of his offer (e.g., de Moor 1987:53 n. 235; *EUT* 37), is not that at all, but rather a fully appropriate attending to business. She is indicating that she has come, not primarily as a guest, but as a messenger, and that her first priority must be to deliver the message. There is time for more intimate relations with her husband after her business is concluded. Her message is identical to that of Anat, but the response is exactly the opposite. El gives his permission for the palace. Athirat responds with an appropriate word of praise for El's wisdom in his decision.

By taking into consideration the importance to the storyteller of royal and family protocol and etiquette, the flow of the story can be understood in a very plausible way. It can also at least partially explain the damaged discussion in 1.4 III 10–22 that Baal has before he and Anat arrive at Athirat's banquet, for here Baal complains specifically about a terrible breach of protocol that took place in the assembly of the gods. The exact context of the discussion remains obscure because of the broken nature of the preceding lines, but it is clear that the subject matter of the speech is intimately related to the theme of the larger context.

Another element of the narrative in 1.3 III–1.4 VII that deviates from the standard tradition of building narratives is the debate between Kothar and Baal over the installation of a window in Baal's palace (1.4 V 58–VI 15, VII 14–29). There is no full-scale parallel to this scene in any other preserved building narrative (see below, pp. 580–81, for a discussion of the Akkadian text RS 94.2953, which describes the building of an "opening," *aptu*, in a temple, but without any debate). The uniqueness of the episode indicates both its singularity and importance

within the story. The function of the window is very clear—it represents
the means by which Baal produces the rains for the earth. Because the
granting of rain is one of Baal's most central functions on the earth,
this indicates just how important the story of its construction is within
the context of the Baal Cycle. But it is not at all clear why Baal at
first refuses to allow Kothar to build it. Baal's own explanation of his
reluctance to allow a window in the palace is found in 1.4 VI 7–13,
but the passage is badly damaged. However, it makes a reference to
Yamm and to Baal's daughters, which suggests that perhaps he is con-
cerned about an attack against the latter by the former. But even if we
are correct about this interpretation, Baal's explanation does not give
a clear sense of the poet's intent for this story device. Some scholars
have interpreted it as another indication of Baal's relative weakness
(see the commentary for 1.4 VI, pp. 602–10). But as we have noted
already, it does not seem that the storyteller is using the palace story
to emphasize weakness on Baal's part. The entire story of the cycle is
filled with obstacles placed before Baal along the road to his exaltation,
some requiring combat (Yamm and Mot), others requiring diplomatic
skills and patience (gaining permission from El). But the overcoming of
obstacles along the way to exaltation need not be thought of as always
suggesting weakness. Rather some of the episodes may have been
intended to show the determined nature of the god's character. Over
and over again, it appears that his goal of rulership over the universe
will not succeed. But with the help of allies among the gods, Baal is
able to overcome the difficulties. West Semitic storytelling is filled with
narratives in which an obstacle appears to derail the goal of the hero,
but in the end the problems are resolved and the hero reaches his goal.
For example, the opening scenes of the Aqhat Epic present the elderly
Dan'il without a male heir and with little hope of getting one. But first
Baal, then El intervene, and Dan'il is granted a child, Aqhat. Similarly,
Kirta, whose family is wiped out at the beginning of his epic, now
alone and without hope, is eventually granted a new family. In both
of these stories, further disaster strikes—Aqhat is killed, and Kirta is
nearly killed by disease, and then he is challenged by a son who rebels
against him. Although we do not have the conclusions of either tale, it
seems likely that both stories were resolved with the family line being
restored and (especially for Kirta) the proper succession to the throne
being assured. Similar storytelling techniques are found in the narra-
tive of Abraham and Sarah in Genesis 12–25. Yahweh promises them
an heir, but obstacle after obstacle is placed in the way, so that it often

appears that the promise will not be fulfilled. A significant reason for the popularity of this narrative motif has to do with the joy of telling and hearing a story in which there is an unexpected and happy reversal of fortune at the climax. In the story of Baal's palace, we cannot ignore this aspect of the storyteller's art. The audience is certainly aware of the conclusion toward which the story is heading. i.e., that the palace will be built, Baal will send forth the rains. It seems possible that the controversy over the window is intended to provide one last piece of suspense before Baal reaches his final goal. Because of uncertainty about the continuing threat of Yamm, Baal is reluctant to put in the window, in spite of the fact that the window is necessary for him to be able to send forth his voice and rains. Without the window, Baal cannot perform his divine function—thus we have a suspenseful moment. Baal summons all the gods to his new palace, and, unfortunately in the broken passage at the end of column VI and the beginning of column VII, the problem with Yamm is resolved (Yamm's name arises again in the broken line VII 3–4), though we do not know how. After this, Baal is willing to put the window in, and the climactic theophany provides the successful conclusion to the story. It seems plausible then to recognize in Baal's delay of putting in the window a narrative element that emphasizes that Baal is the one who determines when and how he fulfils the divine function. He chooses to manifest his power at the time he determines.

Divine Geography and Family Relations in the Baal Cycle

The purpose of this section within the Introduction is to present a sketch or "map" of divine reality in the Baal Cycle, in part to explain some of the dynamics involved in the divine family leading up to the construction of Baal's palace. In particular, the Baal Cycle presents a number of important relationships, which can be difficult to understand without some background. These include Baal's conflict not only with the cosmic enemies, Sea (Yamm) in 1.1–1.2 and Death (Mot) in 1.5–1.6, but also his strained relations with El and Athirat as well as El's apparently amicable relations to Sea and Death. In addition, expressions of Baal as a relative outsider to the divine family require background explanation. Some of the numerous gaps in our information about these relationships can be partially filled in by comparisons with other Ugaritic texts, and occasionally also with Mesopotamian and West

Semitic material (including the Bible). The following sketch begins with
an examination the geography of the gods and their abodes. This will
be followed by analyses of the Ugaritic concepts of the divine family
and its inner workings.

The Abodes of the Gods

The action of 1.3 and 1.4 takes place in numerous locales, but pri-
marily at the abodes of the various deities who play the major roles in
the story. Tablet 1.3 opens at Baal's home on Mount Sapan, shifts in
column II to Anat's abode on her mountain, ʾUġar/ʾInbub. Anat then
travels to Sapan and consults with Baal before going to El's home at
his mountain at the confluence of the double deeps. Returning from
that trip, the action shifts to messengers who are sent from Sapan to
Kaptor/Memphis, the home of Kothar-wa-Hasis. The latter makes the
gifts for Athirat. Then Baal and Anat take the gifts to the latter goddess'
home and gain her support for the palace. In turn, Athirat and Anat
travel to El's abode again, where Athirat gets El to give his permis-
sion for the palace. Anat returns to Sapan with the news. The palace
is built there, the gods come to celebrate and give their allegiance to
Baal, Baal makes a victory tour of the earth, and then has the window
built, from which he sends forth his thunder. Once he is established
in the palace, he calls his messengers to send them to Mot's abode in
the netherworld with a message. The locales involved here are largely
mountains upon which the gods live. In some cases, such as those of
El and Mot, it does not appear that the abode is on the summit of the
mountain. El's home (1.4 IV 20–24) may be at the foot of the moun-
tain where the waters emerge from below, and Mot's mountain (1.4
VIII 1–6) is actually at the boundary of the netherworld, and not the
specific location of his residence. Baal and Anat both appear to live at
the summits of their respective mountains, while Athirat's home is not
fully described, but appears to be located by the seashore. This does not
mean that it was not on a mountain, since mountains in the region of
Ugarit descend very close to the Mediterranean shore. Kothar-wa-Hasis
appears to be the only one who might have been understood to live
in a human city, Kaptor/Memphis, but even this is not clear. Kaptor
is a country name, and *ḥkpt*, Memphis, is referred to in the text as a
land, not a city, (1.3 VI 15–16). Thus it is not certain how the poet
envisions Kothar's home.

There are several key points to be made about these locales. First of all, each of these abodes is isolated from the other. The gods are not envisioned in Ugaritic mythology as living together in "heaven," but rather at different locales around the earth, primarily on the mountains. The gods must make substantial journeys to get from one divine abode to another. Regular communication between them is portrayed as relatively rare and primarily through messengers.

Secondly, it is important to note that in the mythological texts the gods have virtually no contact with cities on earth. No relationship is explicitly made in the literary texts between the abode of the gods and the temples of these gods in the towns of the kingdom of Ugarit, even those in the capital. This is quite striking and is in substantial contrast to the divine geography of Mesopotamia. There the gods are intimately tied to their cities both by cult and by mythology. While the Mesopotamian gods are often portrayed as spending time in heaven, the mythological texts depict them regularly as spending much of their time in their temples in the cities of which they are patrons. Thus, Marduk lives in the Esagila in Babylon and the temple is portrayed as the actual location of the divine council itself (Enuma Elish VI 39–92). Enlil spends his time at the Ekur in Nippur and the town is described as a dwelling place of gods before it was a dwelling place for humans ("The Story of Enlil and Ninlil," Jacobsen 1987:167–80, esp. 171, lines 10–12). When Inanna decides to journey to the netherworld, she is described as leaving from each of her major temples in the cities of Sumer (Jacobsen 1987:206–7). This blending of local sanctuaries into the mythic patterns in Mesopotamia is quite significant in showing the close relationship between the temple personnel and the stories. It indicates the importance of myth in the political sphere of Mesopotamian life.

The fact that the Baal Cycle draws no explicit connection between Baal and Ugarit is thus quite striking. Even in the Hebrew Bible, where mythology is largely replaced with the "historiographic" account of Israel's story, the relationship between Yahweh and his people is placed on a quasi-mythological ground in the account of the building of Yahweh's tabernacle in Exodus 25–31 and 35–40, which culminates with Yahweh's divine presence, in the form of a cloud, entering the shrine. The account of the building of the temple in Jerusalem in 1 Kings 5–8, has a similar climax. Ps 48:2–3 clearly links the Jerusalem temple to a divine palace on Mt. Saphon (= Sapan). There can be

little doubt that the connections between the mythic sphere and the local temple and palace were on the minds of those involved in the production of the Baal Cycle, but why the connections are so much less evident here is a puzzle to which we have not found a solution. Perhaps the poet assumes that the audience is sophisticated enough to draw the relationships themselves. Perhaps there was a sense in which the poet felt that it was inappropriate to draw an explicit connection between the gigantic mythological palace ("a thousand fields, a myriad hectares") with the relatively modest temple at Ugarit.[10] If so, it may hint at the possibility that at Ugarit the religious leadership had already developed a form of the idea that is articulated in 1 Kgs 8:27: "But will God really dwell on earth? Even the heavens to their utmost reaches cannot contain you, how much less this house that I have built!"

Within the construction of the cycle, the isolation of each of the gods' abodes is emphasized by the relative lack of detail in the depictions of the various scenes of the cycle, an aspect of the narrative most noticeable in 1.3 and 1.4. The poet makes very little attempt to provide a visual background to the events described in the poem—only rarely is there a reference to a servant or an element of furniture, and no attempt is made to indicate the liveliness of a banquet or the drama of a journey by indicating the large number of people involved, either as attendees to the banquet or servants bustling about at their duties. The narrative focuses almost exclusively on the primary characters.

Divine Time

Besides divine geography and its role within the cycle, it is also important to examine the role of time here. The temporal setting of the story of Baal provides some interesting insight into the way the poet intends for the audience to understand the action of the epic. F. A. M. Wiggerman (1996) has examined the role of temporal setting in the mythological texts of Mesopotamia and has argued that the stories of cosmic conflict, in which anthropomorphic gods battle enemies that are portrayed as dragons and monsters, and which often have to do with creation and the establishment of order in the cosmos, are more clearly depicted as occurring in the ancient past. Stories that do not

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[10] We thank Prof. Gary Porton of the University of Illinois for this suggestion.

deal with monstrous enemies and creation of the world are generally set in a vague present.

While the Baal Cycle presents episodes of cosmic conflict (the battles with Yamm and Mot), one of the most noteworthy aspects of these stories is that they do not culminate in creation. It is thus not too surprising that there is no indication that these stories are set in a distant past. Rather the cycle seems to be set in the vague near present. Thus, in 1.3 II, Anat goes forth to fight against human armies, which clearly indicates that the story is not being portrayed as a series of events that preceded the creation of humanity. The only aspect of the story that clearly suggests a time in the distant past (but still after creation) is the use of the construction of the palace to provide an aetiology for Baal's function as sender of the rain. From a modern point of view, the long-term presence of humanity on earth suggested by Anat's battle conflicts with the idea that it was only after Baal built his palace that he sent forth his rains. How could the world have existed so long without the rain? But such chronological lapses are not of significance in most mythological storytelling.

The apparent return of Yamm and Mot after their defeat also indicates in a clear way something that is less obvious, but also present, in the Enuma Elish, that the death of these antagonists is never considered final, that the threat that they represent (chaos, death) never fully subsides and that thus these battles in a certain way remain or perhaps repeat themselves eternally. This concept informs Enuma Elish, VII 132–34 (Foster 2005:483), in which the poet explains one of Marduk's fifty names by stating, "He shall keep Tiamat subdued, he shall keep her life cut short." This is stated after Marduk has killed her and created the world with her body. And yet, she must still be subdued. Thus even in a tale that is ostensibly set in the distant past, there is a significant undercurrent of meaning that connects those primordial events to the present. In the Baal Cycle that undercurrent is considerably more obvious than in the Enuma Elish, as Yamm continues to play a role in the story of the building of the palace in 1.4 VI 12, VII 3–4, and Mot, after dying in 1.6 II 30–37, returns after seven years in 1.6 V 8ff to fight Baal again. Recognizing the eternal nature of the struggles in the poem helps in understanding how Baal can eternally be the king of the gods, while at the same time he can also be defeated by Mot and killed. All of this occurs together in an eternal present. One simply focuses on the aspect of Baal that is of importance to the moment.

A further aspect of time in the mythological universe concerns the "frozen" nature of the divine family's lives, discussed briefly above (p. 17) in relationship to Baal's appointment as successor to El. As mentioned there, the portrayal of Baal's rise to power is based on the notion of the elderly king designating his successor before he dies. But while the human king will eventually pass from the scene, the divine family is frozen in time, so that there is no anticipation that El will die and leave the full powers of kingship to Baal. Rather, Baal will eternally act as the ruler of the council, and El will eternally remain at the head of the pantheon. This does not mean that Baal's status is somehow compromised and weakened. It is simply the way that the theologians at Ugarit understood the composition of the divine family to be. The temples, the rituals and the offerings to the gods never take into consideration that time might force changes on the gods, leading to the death of the old king and the crowning of a new one. In the mythology, whatever successions there may be, have taken place in the past or take place during the telling of the story. From that point on, mythologically, nothing will change, and it is the priesthood's function to emphasize the eternality of the way things are now. It is only in major cultural shifts that mythology allows for significant changes to take place in the relationships between the gods. The rise of Babylon as the great political power brought about the exaltation of Marduk at the expense of Anu, Enlil and Ea. But such events are rare. Thus in Ugarit, the rise of Baal as depicted in the cycle may reflect the rise of Baal's popularity in the city, perhaps due to a change in dynasty, where perhaps El had at one time been more popular. But if so, (and such a reading of the cycle is by no means certain), the rise of Baal did not affect the central characteristics of El, but rather incorporated Baal into the tier of younger and more active gods, without attempting to provide him with creator-god characteristics.

The Divine Family

Smith (1984b; 2001a:45–58) analyzed the composition of the divine council at Ugarit and argued that it is best understood as having been composed of four distinct tiers of status (cf. also Handy 1994:65–167). He also argued that the structure of the divine council was intimately related to the structure of the family in ancient Ugarit. Beginning with insights on the patrimonial household at Ugarit published by Schloen (1993, 1995, 2001:349–57), Smith also argued that the household of the

gods at Ugarit divides into a similar four-tiered structure. As the basic unit of society, the family household could include the patriarch and his wife, their sons and families, along with other relations, as well as workers and slaves.[11] Given the royal language for the deities, it is evident that the four-tiered household more specifically reflects the model of the monarchic household. A look at the deities of the cycle and how they fit into the royal household structure should be profitable.

At the top tier is El, accompanied by his wife Athirat. He is the creator god and ruler of the universe, but he is also the patriarch of a large family that includes sons who are rivals for the power that he, as head of the family, can bestow upon them. The patriarch functions to mediate internal, domestic conflict, as well as to protect against external threat. The goal of the patriarch is to preserve the family line, its prosperity, land and honor (reputation). It is El's patriarchal position that explains much of his role within the Baal Cycle.

El and Athirat are the divine royal parents of the pantheon, the gods who compose the second tier of the family hierarchy. This level includes Shapshu, Yariḫ, Athtar, Athtart, Anat, Shahar, Shalim and Rašap, among others. It appears that Baal is an outsider, as he is called *bn dgn* "son of Dagan" (1.2 I 19, 35, 37, 1.5 VI 24, 1.6 I 6, 52, 1.10 III 12, 14, 1.12 I 39; cf. 1.4 II 25) and *ḥtk*[12] *dgn* (1.10 III 34). At this point it is unclear what Dagan's relationship to the family of El, and thus Baal's own relationship, was. The ambiguity is compounded by the fact that Baal does claim some sort of familial relation to El. Like the other deities (1.3 IV 54; 1.92.15), Baal can refer to "Bull El" as his father (1.3 V 35; 1.4 IV 47; cf. 1.4 I 5). It is possible that El and Dagan were essentially merged together at Ugarit (cf. Feliu 2003:264–66).

Yamm and Mot also probably belong to the second generation of gods, since both are given titles that suggest a close relationship to El, and both are portrayed as holding substantial power. Yamm is briefly raised to kingship over the divine council, while Mot has dominion over the netherworld. At the same time, the destructive nature of these two figures and the occasional portrayal of Yamm as a monstrous dragon suggest that they may stand outside of this household despite the clear indication of their relationship to El. (This question is discussed in

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[11] See Schloen 1995: esp. 41, 73. In the general approach and areas of data pertaining to this subject, Schloen follows Stager 1985. For an older appreciation of the family as the basic unit of society, see Mendelsohn 1948:24–40.

[12] For this word, see the options discussed in Healey 1980 and Dietrich 1995.

detail below.) In any case, it is worth noting that the conflicts described in the Baal Cycle all involve the gods of this level. No deity ever disputes the status of El or Athirat.

Although we have the names of several members of this tier, we know that there were many more. The gods of this rank were collectively called, "the seventy, the children of Athirat" (1.4 VI 46). "Seventy" is well known as a conventional number for a large and clearly defined group (see Judg 9:5; 2 Kgs 10:1; cf. Exod 1:5; KAI 215:3; Montgomery 1933:120; Fensham 1977), usually under the authority of a patriarchal figure, often a king.[13] In the narrative of Elkunirša, a West Semitic myth written in Hittite, Ashertu's children number 77//88 (Hoffner 1998:91), the same number of Baal's divine rivals in 1.12 II 48–49. Also at Emar the traditional number of the gods in the pantheon appears to have been seventy (Emar 373.37–38; Fleming 1992:73, 242; 2000b:57–59, 238–39). This tradition perhaps survives in the later Jewish notion of the seventy angels who deal with the seventy nations (1 Enoch 89:59, 90:22–25; Targum Pseudo-Jonathan to Deut 32:8; bT. Shabbat 88b; Sukkah 55b; see *TO* 1.214 n. k; J. Day 1994:184; 2000:23–24). It is to be noted that in some of these cases, specifically Judg 9:5 and KAI 215:3, the groups of seventy family members play roles in dynastic conflicts. The number expresses the entirety of a family line that may be threatened with extinction, precisely the issue raised in the Baal Cycle. When Athirat first sees Baal and Anat coming to her in 1.4 II 21–26, her reaction is one of fear that they have come to attack her children. In fact such a conflict appears to occur when Baal returns from the dead in 1.6 V 1–4. The notion that the key gods of the cosmos belong to the familial group, the children of Athirat, explains the importance of Baal's feast for this group when his palace is completed (1.4 VI 38–59). The presence of the children of Athirat at the inauguration of the palace and their taking part in the grand banquet indicates the acknowledgment of Baal's position by the entire pantheon (Mot, of course, excluded), and thus assures the audience of the established nature of Baal's kingship.

Besides Baal, the other primary deity from the second tier who plays an important role in 1.3–1.4 is Anat. She is Baal's sister, but at the same time appears to be a daughter of El (cf. 1.3 V 25; 1.18 I 16).

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[13] For more examples and further discussion of this "seventy," see the Commentary to 1.4 VI 46 on p. 629.

Her relationship to Athirat, however, does not suggest that she is one of her offspring. Her character is unique among the deities in Ugaritic myth, closely related to that of Inanna/Ishtar in the Mesopotamian texts. She is portrayed as a young woman who is legally unattached to any male, and therefore her place in the pantheon remains fluid (Walls 1992; P. L. Day 1991). She sometimes expresses a startling contempt for authority and is willing to threaten even El to get her way (1.3 V 19–25 and 1.18 I 11–14). She also occasionally breaks out into unrestrained anger and violence. Her shockingly brutal attack on her enemies in 1.3 II, her killing and dismemberment of Mot in 1.6 II 30–35 and her harsh murder of Aqhat because of his stubbornness in refusing to give her his bow (1.18 IV 16–39) all illustrate what Frymer-Kensky (1992:65) calls her "sheer force, rage, and might, with a physical power, that exists in a somewhat uneasy relationship to the orderly world of the hierarchical pantheon." But the key characteristic of Anat is her intense love for and loyalty to Baal. She is his strongest ally and will do anything in her power to help him. In 1.3 III 35–47 she refers to her own mighty battles with Baal's enemies. She is the first one Baal enlists in trying to gain El's permission for the palace (1.3 III–V), and although her threatening demeanor appears to derail her attempt, the passion released against El is grounded in her devotion to Baal. She continues to support him in his meeting with Athirat (1.4 III 23–44), and she is the happy messenger who brings Baal the good news of El's permission (1.4 V 20–35). She will go on to play a key part in the story of Baal and Mot.

Another element of the second tier would presumably be the offspring of the children of El and Athirat, i.e., the gods of the third generation. Very little is preserved about this generation of gods at Ugarit, unlike in Mesopotamia, where several generations of gods were constructed, with major deities coming from different genealogical levels. At Ugarit the only children of the third generation who make an appearance are Baal's daughters, Pidray, Tallay and Arṣay (cf. 1.3 I 22–25; III 5–8; 1.4 I 14–18 and parallels; VI 10–11; 1.5 V 10–11). The vagueness with which these three women are described in the cycle makes it difficult to be certain that they are literally Baal's daughters. It is also possible they are his wives instead (see particularly 1.3 III 5–8), and that the term, "daughter" is not being used literally in this context. On the other hand, Pidray is explicitly portrayed as Baal's daughter in CAT 1.24.26–27, when Ḫarḫab, king of summer, suggests that Yariḫ marry Pidray rather than Nikkal, saying, "I will introduce you to her father Baal." But with

these exceptions (if correctly interpreted), the divine family appears to end essentially with the second generation of gods.

The third level of the pantheon is made of gods of relatively high rank, who primarily serve the gods of the upper two tiers. Only one deity of this rank appears in the Ugaritic texts—Kothar-wa-Hasis, the craftsman god. He plays an important supporting role in 1.3–1.4, as he does in 1.1–1.2, both in the account of his providing the gifts that Baal takes to Athirat (1.4 I) and as the artisan in charge of building Baal's palace (1.4 V–VII). It is not entirely clear that a distinction in rank ought to be made in Kothar's case. He is portrayed as wise and clever. The weapons he makes for Baal soundly defeat Yamm. When he arrives to be commissioned to build the palace, Baal himself serves him his food, and he is given a throne at the right hand of Baal (1.4 V 44–48).[14] And yet his entire function within the cycle is to serve the other gods. Of additional interest is the fact that his home is located neither in the mountains to the north of Ugarit, nor in the vague mythological lands at the borders of the earth (like El's abode), but rather in Egypt/Kaptor (Crete), a region very much a part of the real world, although well beyond the borders of the Levant. This also suggests a separateness and foreignness about Kothar within the divine household.

The fourth level of the pantheon consists of deities who serve other deities as "support staff." The most commonly mentioned members of this tier are the messenger-gods. El, Yamm, Baal and Athirat are all described as sending messengers to other deities. Baal's pair of messengers, Gapn and Ugar (1.3 III–IV, esp. III 36; and 1.4 VII 52–1.5 II, esp. 1.5 I 12), plays an important role in the sending of communications between Baal and other gods. In 1.3–1.4, they take Baal's message to Anat at the beginning of the story of Baal's palace, and they take the storm-god's message to Mot at the beginning of the Baal-Mot episode. They are explicitly called *ʾilm*, "gods," several times in the narrative (1.3 III 32; IV 34; 1.5 I 9, II 13), as well as *ʿnn ʾilm*, "divine servants" (1.3 IV 32; 1.4 VIII 15), *ʾilnym*, "godly ones/deities" (1.3 IV 35), and *ǵlmm*, "youths" in 1.3 IV 5. It is quite likely that these two deities were not limited in their functions to the delivery of messages. A similar servant deity, Qudš-wa-ʾAmrar (who appears to be a single character with a compound name), plays the role of personal attendant to Athirat, as

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[14] On this god, see M. S. Smith 1985, and Pardee, *DDD* 913–14.

well as messenger. He is assigned by Athirat to prepare the welcome
for Baal and Anat when they come to visit the goddess in 1.4 II, and
he is put in charge of travel arrangements when Athirat goes to visit
El in 1.4 IV. In addition, he is given the epithet, *dgy ʾaṯrt*, "fisher of
Athirat," which suggests an additional job that he is not shown doing
in the preserved texts. The Kirta Epic mentions one other named
member of Baal's staff, Ilish, who is the herald (*ngr*) of Baal's house
(1.16 IV 3–12).

Other members of this tier are often only inferred in the text: ser-
vants who attend to the banquets that so often occur in the narrative,
musicians who entertain, attendants in the retinue of the gods (cf. 1.5
V 6–9; 1.47.26//1.118.25//1.148.8; 1.84.8; 1.109.21–22). A specific
servant of this type is described in 1.3 I 2–22, as he places food and
drink before Baal and then appears to sing for the god. But most of
the time these servants stay totally in the background. The genealogical
relationship of these minor deities to El and Athirat is unclear, so that
it is impossible to say for certain to what degree this tier was thought
to be related genealogically to the rest of the pantheon.

Baal appears to exist outside the boundaries of El's family. Smith
(2001a:61–66) pointed out that the family of El seems to be strongly
related to the astral aspects of the cosmos. Numerous of El's children
(e.g., Shapshu, Yarih, Athtar, Shahar and Shalim) are explicitly related
to the heavenly realm. Baal on the other hand is a storm god, and this
may be part of the background to the tension between him and the
family of El (for a different approach to this question, see Wyatt 2002).
As mentioned above, Baal's outsider status is expressed in the epithets
bn dgn, "son of Dagan"[15] and *ḥtk dgn*.[16] Dagan's status at Ugarit is very

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[15] The name of Dagan has been derived from Arabic *dajana, "to be cloudy, rainy"
(cf. Wehr 272: "to be dusky, murky, glomy (of day)"). Renfroe (1992:91–94) and Healey
(1993:507) are critical of this etymology, given the distance in time and space (see also
UBC 1.91 n. 174; Feliu 2003:278–87). Dagan was a major god of the middle Euphra-
tes from Hadidi/Azu upstream to Terqa downstream, and at points in between, such
as Tuttul and Emar. For Dagan at Emar, see Fleming 1992:169–71, 203–8, 240–56,
282–83; Fleming 1993; Beckman 1996:27–28, text 15, line 32, where along with the
warrior-god Ninurta he is invoked to destroy anyone who would contest the words of
the testament. For Dagan in Ur III texts, see Sharlach 2001:95–96. For a recent survey
of the god, see Feliu 2003.

[16] Another indication of Baal's outsider status is found in CAT 1.24.25–26, where
the moon-god Yarih is called the "brother-in-law of Baal." For the situation that Dagan
and Adad appear to share a wife in Babylonia ca. 1900, see Lambert 1980:137; Feliu
2003:290.

vague. He plays no role in the preserved mythological texts, but he received regular offerings in the cult at Ugarit (1.46.3; 1.48.5; 1.119.21; 1.162.9; 1.173.4). At Emar Dagan appears to have played the role of creator and father of the gods that El plays at Ugarit (Feliu 2003:301, 304–5). Dagan and Haddu are associated with one another at Mari, in the Zimri-Lim epic (cited in Schwemer 2001:224; see also p. 285), and perhaps also at Emar (see the largely reconstructed line 6 of the verso of AEM I/1 108, cited in Schwemer 2001:280). But at Ugarit it seems that Dagan was eclipsed by El, while Haddu/Baal thrived. The Baal Cycle seems to retain the connection between Baal and Dagan, but at the same time make an attempt to relate him at some level to El. This ambiguous status certainly is an important element in the tension between Baal and the family of El and in the slowness of El within the story to recognize Baal as the ruler of the council.[17]

El's Relationship to Baal's Enemies

Looking at the divine family as a patrimonial household (Smith 2001a: 54–61) also gives us insight into the interpretation of the fact that El has a close relationship to all of the enemies of Baal in the cycle. This has been discussed already also in *UBC* 1.93–94, particularly in relationship to the conflict between Baal and Yamm. The latter deity is referred to several times as *mdd 'il*, "the Beloved of El" (1.3 III 38–39; 1.4 II 34, VI 12; VII 3–4) and is apparently supported by El for the kingship of the gods in 1.2 I 36–38, III 7–11). But Yamm is not the only enemy that shows a connection with El. Mot, the key figure of the cycle's third episode, is also called "Beloved of El" (usually *ydd 'il*, 1.4 VII 46–47, VIII 31–32; 1.5 I 8, II 9, etc.). In this episode, however, it seems clear that the title is more related to his previous appointment as ruler of the netherworld than to any plan to extend his dominion over the earth or heaven. In spite of the epithet, El does not support Mot in his struggle with Baal. In fact, the opposite seems to be the case. Besides Yamm and Mot, there is also a brief reference in a speech of Anat (1.3 III 38–46) to a number of other enemies of Baal who show a

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[17] Texts from outside Ugarit provide other versions of the conflict between Baal and the family of El and Athirat, as well as indications of his irregular birth. See particularly the story of Elkunirsha (a Hittite version of a West Semitic myth) and Philo of Byblos (see Smith 2001a:63–65). An anthropological perspective to such inner-familial conflicts can be found in Hrdy 1999: esp. 33, 179–85, 236.

close relationship to El. In this passage the goddess describes a number of Baal's foes that she has defeated in the past:

> Surely I struck down Yamm, the Beloved of El (*mdd 'il*),
> Surely I finished off River, the Great God (*'il rbm*),
> Surely I bound Tunnanu and destroyed (?) him,
> I struck down the Twisty Serpent,
> The Powerful One with Seven Heads.
> I struck down Desi[re] (*'ar[š]*), the Beloved of El (*mdd ilm*),
> I destroyed Rebel (*'tk*), the Calf of El (*'gl 'il*).
> I struck down Fire (*'išt*), the Dog of El (*klbt 'ilm*),
> I annihilated Flame (*dbb*), the Daughter of El (*bt 'il*)
> That I might fight for silver, inherit gold."

Five of the nine names and epithets are accompanied by additional epithets relating the deity in some way to El. In the commentary below (see pp. 246–58) we present arguments that suggest that the other four names and epithets, those found in lines 39–42, could refer to Yamm, so that all of the enemies listed by Anat are portrayed in the speech as having an intimate relationship to El. Who are these gods, and what does their relationship mean within the context of the narrative?

Smith (2001a:27–35) looked at these enemies from an anthropological perspective, viewing them as beings that were related to the "other," to the "periphery" and to the "foreign." He placed them (along with Yamm and Mot) in this series of categories that contrasted them to the "center," the "home" and the "benevolent." This analysis was based on Wiggerman's similar study of Mesopotamian views of cosmic monsters (1992:158–59; 1996:207–15). While this perspective provides a number of insights, it is important to recognize that Ugaritic mythology has numerous differences from the Mesopotamian tradition. Here we examine the cosmic enemies from an additional perspective.

Rather than looking at the enemies of Baal only as foreign and distant, we propose here that the Baal Cycle in particular emphasizes the nearness and close relationship of his enemies to the family of the gods. Yamm/Nahar is not portrayed simply in the cycle as some distant being, unrelated (or distantly related) to the gods involved in the story. He may be regarded as a member of the second tier of gods, with a close relationship to El, who has gained his support to become head of the pantheon. Indeed, in 1.2 I 16, 33, 36 El is explicitly referred to as Yamm's father. This is quite different from the portrayal of Tiamat in the Enuma Elish, where she fully represents chaos and a dire threat not just to order, but to the assembly of the gods itself. She is also of

the divine family but belonging to a far distant generation. Compared to Tiamat, Yamm is no longer cosmic in scope, i.e., he never threatens the entire pantheon or universe with destruction. Mot, likewise, has been granted rulership over a major aspect of the cosmos and is also consistently described as "beloved of El," not an epithet of a foreign, peripheral deity. Mot is also characterized as one of the *bn 'ilm*, like the other deities of the divine family (1.4 VIII 16, 30). Accordingly, he too is best understood as part of the second tier of deities.

But what about the other enemies of Baal described by Anat in 1.3 III? Here we find deities portrayed as dragons (Tunnan, Litan in 1.5 I 1, the Twisty Serpent, the Powerful One with Seven Heads). In the commentary below, we point out that the epithets, "Twisty Serpent" and "Powerful One with Seven Heads" arguably describe Tunnan in 1.3 III 40–42 and Litan in 1.5 I 1–3. Thus in each case only one dragon is referred to. In addition, the use of the identical epithets for Tunnan and Litan suggests that these two names may very well refer to a single being. We also argue that the structure of 1.3 III 38–42 suggests the possibility that Tunnan is to be identified with Yamm/Nahar, as an alternative image of the deity who is portrayed anthropomorphically in 1.2 IV. If this is correct, then the image of the dragon in the Baal Cycle is not an image of an unrelated deity divorced from the divine council. It would follow that this image has been modified to fit into the story of a family quarrel over power within the patrimonial household, although presumably the image holds negative connotations. It seems likely that compared to what we see in Mesopotamia (as in the view expressed in Smith 2001a), the Ugaritic mythographers have removed the combat myth from the context of cosmology, and have thereby domesticated the old cosmic enemies and have brought them into the family, or at least into proximity to it.

The same can be said for the other four enemies listed by Anat. The insistence in the text on their close relationship to El domesticates them too. We argue in the Commentary to 1.3 III that the four names may refer to only two deities, each provided with an epithet showing a familial relationship to El and another using the name of a domesticated animal in relationship to El. But whether the list refers to two or four beings, Arshu, "the beloved of El," and D̲abibu, "the Daughter of El," are clearly to be reckoned with the divine family. The other two epithets, "calf of El," and "dog of El," also indicate the location of the deities within the household, since both animals mentioned are

domesticated, rather than wild. We cannot, however, fully determine their position within the household, since no other information is preserved about them.

If we recognize that even Baal's enemies have been incorporated into, or related to, the family structure of the divine household of El, then we can see that most of the events described in the Baal Cycle fit within the sphere of what might be expected to occur in the extended family. The conflicts between Baal, Yamm and Mot, then, fit into the theme of inner-generational struggles for power. El's support of Yamm in the first episode and his slowness to respond to Baal's request in the second may be seen as a reluctance to acknowledge a member of the council who is somewhat outside the biological family. The necessity of getting the permission and support of the patriarch of the family for building the palace that is the symbol of Baal's kingship clearly makes sense in the context of the patrimonial/royal household. El's granting of permission for the palace only after Athirat, the chief wife, whose own child should have been the one to take the kingship, shows her acceptance of Baal, also fits into the etiquette and protocol of the royal family. And Baal's attempt to force Mot, the only other god who refuses to recognize his dominion, fits the pattern for securing one's position within the extended family.

Divine Reality in the City of Ugarit

Perhaps more than any other document from the city of Ugarit, the Baal Cycle gives us a window into the understanding of religious reality in the context of the northern Levant (what many scholars would view as "Canaan" or perhaps "northern Canaan," although technically Ugarit lies north of the political "Land of Canaan"). By imagining their deities as constituting a complex, but essentially unified household, the theologians of Ugarit argued for a strong cohesion and unity in their universal outlook that was not shared by their culturally superior neighbors to the east. In the concepts of the divine assembly and family, which largely became one and the same, Ugaritic polytheism offered its adherents a more integrated vision of reality than is generally realized. The Baal Cycle downplays the dangers of outside chaos by making even the classic conflict between the storm-god and the sea a matter of family dispute, rather than cosmic danger. And even the fact that life (Baal) cannot completely overcome death (Mot) is viewed as a

necessary accommodation to the way things are in a divine household. Mot remains a beloved of the patriarch, not an implacable enemy that threatens to bring an end to the cosmos. He remains in his place, briefly ascendant during the summer or a drought, but returned to his proper position regularly by the true king, Baal.

While the stories play out very much as human dramas within the divine family, and very much on an anthropomorphic level, it is also clear that the theologians of Ugarit knew that the ways of the divine were greater, deeper and more mysterious than they could describe. The sense of the transcendent does not often appear in the Ugaritic material, but it does show up in the beautiful message that Baal sends to his sister at the beginning of the story of his palace (1 3 III 14–31):

> For a message I have, and I will tell you,
> A word, and I will recount to you,
> Word of tree and whisper of stone,
> The word people do not know,
> And earth's masses do not understand,
> Converse of Heaven with Earth,
> Of Deeps with Stars.

While the cycle makes strong use of the imagery of the patrimonial household and of court etiquette, the poem was also very much influenced by the religious context in which it was composed and written down. We will see in the commentary that a number of genres related to temple liturgy clearly influenced the way the poem was written (cf. *UBC* 1.58–114 for an earlier discussion). Thus, for example, we will see echoes of sacrificial offerings and processes in the descriptions of Baal's feasts in 1.3 I and 1.4 VII. We will also note a close connection between the concept of *ḥrm*-warfare and the description of Anat's battle with her enemies in 1.3 II. But beyond these connections to the ritual and liturgical life of Ugarit, the poet is able to make use of other genres effectively to bring the story to life. The cycle provides elements that show relationships with the language of royal land grants, lamentations, curses, diplomatic correspondence, hymns, magical incantations, legal terminology, and numerical sayings, and certainly other genres that are lost to modern readers. As noted above, the story of 1.3–1.4 is dominated by the building of Baal's palace, which reflects a known pattern of temple and palace-building stories with all of their various religious elements; some components in these stories derived ultimately from rituals for the dedication of temples in the ancient Middle East.

Recognizing these elements helps to flesh out the overall intent of the poet and brings the reader to a grander sense of what the epic may have meant to its ancient audience.

The centrality of rain for the agricultural economy of Ugarit plays a foundational role in the portrayal of Baal in the cycle. *UBC* 1.97–99 argued that each of the three primary episodes of the cycle appears to come to a climax with the arrival of Baal's rains. This can be interpreted as each episode focusing in on the beginning of the rainy season in the autumn. Thus the weapons used by Baal against Yamm in 1.2 IV can easily be seen as representing Baal's lightning, the harbinger of the rains. In the second episode, Baal's grand theophany from his palace climaxes and concludes the story of his palace, and there is no doubt that it refers to the fall inauguration of the rainy season. Again, in the story of Baal and Mot, Baal's return to life is explicitly connected to the return of the rains after a long period of dryness (1.6 III 4–7), thus again using the imagery of the autumn return of rain. The threefold use of the image of the arrival of the rains emphasizes the importance of this theme within the poem. It also suggests that each separate episode was intended to climax with the image of triumphant Baal sending the rains. As mentioned above, this is clearly the image of Baal with which the poet intended to leave the audience, not with a sense of Baal as a relatively weak king (as has often been assumed). Baal works his way through numerous obstacles in each of the episodes, but ends as the undisputed ruler of the cosmos. This is exactly the way we would expect the god whose function it is to mediate the blessings of the natural universe to human society to be portrayed. Baal is exactly as powerful as he needs to be to perform his cosmic function, in balance with Sea and Death. He is not described as an absolute ruler such as Marduk is in the Enuma Elish because he is envisioned by the poet as being part of a divine household, while the poet of the Enuma Elish envisions Marduk as an absolute monarch, according to the political imagery that developed in Mesopotamia—something quite divorced for the portrayal of the patrimonial household. Thus the expectations concerning the type of power attributed to the two gods are quite different. But to his subjects at Ugarit Baal is king and triumphant warrior. Under El's tutelage, he is the most powerful of the gods, bringer of rains and fertility.

LIKE DEITIES, LIKE TEMPLES (LIKE PEOPLE):
BAAL'S PALACE AND ITS REFLECTION ON EARTH

We have already noted above that in the Near East there often appears to have been a strong relationship between the mythic presentation of the divine world and the human world on earth. This seems true of the connection between Baal's palace and his temple at Ugarit, even though the latter is never explicitly connected to the former in the text. The palace on Mount Sapan is the central issue of the episode that dominates 1.3 and 1.4, and it seems that in many ways the palace and the mountain play a key part in defining the character of Baal himself. The poet's focus upon the palace in the narrative in turn almost certainly amplified for the audience in Ugarit Baal's critical role for the people of the city, and also strongly hinted at the function of Baal's temple (and the cult undertaken within it) in the city. In this section we will look into some aspects of the function of the mythological motifs in merging the depiction of the divine world with the realities in the mundane context of Ugarit.

In the ancient Near East there was no closer relationship between the divine and the human than that expressed in the temple of the god and the cultic activities that were performed there. The priesthood made significant attempts through ritual and through narrative to identify the heavenly sanctuary on the holy mountain with the temple in the city, itself also often (but not always) located on a hill. The goal was to make the god accessible to the city, to encourage him to bless the city, and to join the population to the god. We will examine some of the ways in which the two worlds of the divine and human came together at Ugarit and how this is sometimes reflected within the Baal Cycle. Four aspects of this relationship will be examined in this final section of the Introduction (see also Smith 2005): (1) the intersection of deity and humanity at the temple; (2) the deity's story and its relationship to the temple; (3) the close relationship between the divine and earthly palace or temple and the character of the deity; and (4) how the features of the temple were used to actually create an image of the god himself.

Intersection: Ownership, Presence, Fertility and Revelation

Perhaps the most obvious intersection between the divine world and the human realm is found in the temple. Within the temple the divine presence (theophany) confronts the human (led by the priesthood) in

a most intimate way. At the core of this intersection is ritual, which provides the context for the presence and blessing from the divine side and for the presence and offerings of the priests and (on the periphery) the people from the human side. The temple and its court are holy and sanctified both by the presence of the deity and by the fact that the site is in fact the property of the god. The deity is not the visitor in the temple; rather the human devotees are. The god's ownership of the temple allows it to be linked firmly to the mythic palace/temple of the narratives. In the Enuma Elish, the heavenly and earthly temples are actually merged when the gods themselves build the Esagila in Babylon for Marduk. More commonly, as will be examined in the commentary, the earthly temple is provided with a construction myth of its own, in which the god commissions the building of his temple on earth (see above pp. 35–6, and below 549–53).

The concept of theophany is, of course, not limited to a god's perceived appearance at the temple. Baal's theophany is the rainstorm, and the greatest of his divine appearances was in the return of the rain in the fall. It is this theophany that is described in 1.4 V 6–9 and VII 25–42. But in the narrative the sending forth of Baal's voice in the latter passage takes place within the god's palace, through the window that is identified with the break in the clouds from which the rains pour (lines 25–29). Thus in the Baal Cycle, the palace/temple (presumably both divine and earthly) is the focal point from which even the greatest theophany emerges. The theological identity of the two temples is obvious and is further expressed by the vocabulary they share: the terms house (*bt*) and palace (*hkl*) apply to both the cosmic palace and the terrestrial temple. The god is present simultaneously in both, and the priests make their offerings simultaneously in both (cf. Isa 6:1–4 for a description which shows this kind of identity).

Divine Narrative and Divine Abode

A second dimension of intersection between the divine palace and earthly temple can be seen in their relationship to the divine narrative itself. Religious storytelling such as the Baal Cycle ties itself very closely to the temple in such a way that the story of the temple becomes a central element of the divine story itself. In 1.3 III 20–31, Baal summons Anat to hear a revelation of enormous importance. That revelation is his plan for the palace, his holy temple. The vital connection between temple and narrative is seen over and over again in Near Eastern literature, but nowhere more clearly than in the Enuma Elish, where

the building of Marduk's temple represents the climax of the story (VI:45–67), and in the book of Exodus, where Yahweh gives Moses the detailed plans for his shrine as the first item of business following the making of the covenant (Exodus 25–31; 35–40). Thus the temple itself is divine revelation. In Israel the temple also becomes the center for ongoing divine instruction (cf. Isa 2:3, where all people will come to the temple to learn God's ways; and Psalm 50, where God speaks forth from the temple to his people).

Evidence from the neighboring cultures has suggested that the link between the temple and divine narrative went beyond just the description of the structures themselves. There are indications that much of the decoration of the earthly temple was intended to call forth elements of divine narratives in a way that identified the earthly with the heavenly. For example, Bloch-Smith (1994) has cogently suggested that the cultic accoutrements of the Jerusalem temple (1 Kings 5–8) might have conveyed the narrative of Yahweh's victory over the sea, his acceptance of the people's offerings and his accession (or re-accession) to the divine throne within the temple. Thus the strikingly large "molten sea" located in the courtyard may have represented Yamm in his defeat by Yahweh, standing just outside the temple in which Yahweh triumphantly sat enthroned. The image of Yahweh in his temple, protecting his people seems to be reflected in the names of the two pillars that flanked the temple's entrance, *yākîn* and *bōʿaz* (1 Kgs 7:21). When read together as a formula, **yākîn bōʿaz* (or, **bĕʿōz*), "May he [Yahweh] establish [the temple/king/people] in strength," such a relationship is suggested.

It has often been noted that some of the décor of the Jerusalem temple can be related to the imagery of the divine garden/Garden of Eden, as known from the literary texts. As Bloch-Smith (1994:27) observes, the Jerusalem Temple evokes not only a statement of power, but also one of Edenic beauty: "Solomon's choice of palmette and cherubim motifs to adorn the walls and doors conveyed to Temple visitors that the Temple proper recreated or incorporated the garden of Eden, Yahweh's terrestrial residence."[18] The garden image is sometimes

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[18] In addition to these explicit markers of garden imagery in the Temple, Bloch-Smith (1994:27) observes: "the molten sea perhaps symbolized secondarily the primordial waters issuing forth from Eden (Gen 3:10), and the twin pillars modeled the trees (of life and knowledge) planted in the garden." Bloch-Smith's observations about the Jerusalem temple as the divine garden known also from Genesis 2–3 stand in a long line of scholarship (for references and discussion, see Wallace 1985:70–89; Stordalen 2000:409–37).

explicitly connected to the motifs of the mountain of the god as the god's home (e.g., Ezek 28:13–16), and also to the image of the garden as the source of the waters of the earth and thus of fertility. For the latter, note that the Garden of Eden is located at the source of the great rivers of the world (Gen 2:10–14), which links the garden clearly to fertility and abundance (the word *ʿēden*, probably means "abundance"). See also Ezek 47:1–12, in which the prophet describes a river that flows directly out of the Jerusalem temple to water the earth. There also seems to be an additional theme that portrays the garden as a place where precious stones abound as well (Ezek 28:13).

The tradition of the garden of the gods and its relationship to the mountain home of the god, as well as its strong connection with fertility appear to go back at least into the late third millennium. In a study, McCarter (ip) has suggested that these themes were early associated with mountain sanctuaries in the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon ranges (see also Lipiński 1971). One might consider the common motif (found in Mesopotamian, Ugaritic, Israelite and Egyptian texts) of bringing cedar wood from this area to use in building a temple as a reflection of the idea of the sanctity/fertility of the Lebanon/Anti-Lebanon, which may be transferred elsewhere by the importation of the wood.

Unlike the Israelite literature, the Baal Cycle does not provide substantial descriptive passages of Baal's abode that would allow us to see this type of identification between the narrative and his earthly temple at Ugarit. And unfortunately, the excavations of the temple of Baal on the acropolis have provided very little indication of the decorative motifs that were used. Thus we are limited in what we can say about the relationship between the cycle as narrative and the temple as its reflection. However, the description in the cycle of the importation of cedars from Lebanon for the construction of the palace (1.4 VI 18–21), as well as precious metals and stones (1.4 V 15–19), as brief as it is, still suggests that such identification was made. On the other hand, the "garden of God" motif seems more likely to have been related to El and his temple than to Baal. El's home, rather than Baal's, is the one that is related to the subterranean waters, the important motif related to the garden in Gen 2 and Ezek 47 (cf. Wallace 1985:76–78).

Participation: The Character of the Deity as Reflected in the Temple

Where the medieval metaphysical concept of ontological participation involves "Being" and "beings," ancient Near Eastern texts express participation in terms of power. Like the king, the sanctuary-site participates

in the power of the deity. Baal's mountain is the site of "victory" (*tl'iyt*), according to CAT 1.3 III 31 and 1.10 III 31. Similarly, Yahweh's power is manifest terrestrially in the tradition of Jerusalem's strength (Psalm 46). Its titles include terms of power and security, "refuge and stronghold" (*maḥăseh wā'ōz*; Ps 46:2) and "haven" (*miśgāb*; Pss 46:8, 48:4). Great size is also an element of this discourse of strength (discussed below). Given the widespread nature of the discourse of power in West Semitic texts, power may be regarded as one of the dominant shared predications made between deities and their temples or mountains. Just as the deity guarantees the security of their temple/palace, the latter remains the terrestrial manifestation of the deity's power.

A further expression of participation and identification between god and temple involves holiness. Smith (2001a:93–97) has discussed this element at length, so we will merely summarize here. Both gods and temples/mountains are referred to as "holy" in the Ugaritic texts. A common epithet of the gods is *bn qdš*, "sons of holiness," or possibly, "sons of the Holy One" (CAT 1.2 I 20–21, 38; 1.17 I 3, 8, 10–11, 13, 22; cf. the Phoenician inscription KAI 4:4–5 referring to the deities in general as the "holy ones," *qdšm*; cf. *UBC* 1. 294–95; Merlo 1997:50). Baal's voice is called holy in the account of his great storm theophany in 1.4 VII 29. At the same time the mountain where Baal lives, Mount Sapan, is called *qdš*, "holy." In the Aqhat Epic, the word is used specifically as a synonym for "temple" (1.17 I 26 and parallels). The use of this term for deity, temple and sacred mountain is also found in the Hebrew Bible. Thus the temple mount in Jerusalem is called "his holy mountain" (*har qodšô*; Ps 48:2) and "the holy dwelling-place of the Most High" (*qĕdôš miškĕnê 'elyôn*; Ps 46:5). Israelite texts also mention the Holy Ones collectively as a divine body or assembly led by Yahweh, their king (Ps 89:6b–7a). It is the god's presence, of course, that imparts holiness to the location, and thus the temple gains its status through its participation with the god.

Holiness within a cult site plays a central role in the development and maintenance of political and religious power and status (cf. Guthrie 1996:133–35). Those in charge of maintaining the holiness within the sacred area themselves become influential and powerful. Thus we find at Ugarit that the king (and sometimes his family—1.112.6–7) plays a key role in the ritual of the major temples in the city (cf. 1.46.10; 1.105.19–20; 1.109.2; 1.112.1–17; 1.119.1–24'; etc.). The holiness then comes from the god to the temple to the king, who becomes the conduit for bringing its blessings to the state and its people.

Analogy (and/or Homology):[19] *Temple and Deity*

There are some ways in which the temple itself can be used to provide a sense of the physical character of the god who inhabits it. We will look particularly at how the size of the temple is used to depict the god as vastly larger than mere humans, and we will see how terms of physical appearance were used to describe the beauty of both god and temple.

In previous studies Smith (1988, 2001a:83–86) examined the literary evidence from Ugarit that depicted the gods as being of superhuman size. They stride across the earth with enormous steps ("a thousand fields, a myriad of hectare," 1.4 V 22–24). Similarly, their eyesight is greater than that of mortals ("From a thousand fields, a myriad of hectares/The advance of his sister Baal eyes," 1.3 IV 38–39). Finally, messengers bow down before the gods at similar distances to show their deference (e.g., 1.1 III 1–3, II 13–17; 1.3 VI 17–20; 1.4 VIII 24–29). It should not be surprising then that the palace that Baal builds for himself covers "a thousand fields, ten thousand hectares" (1.4 V 56–57). While the god himself is never explicitly referred to as being of enormous size, the fact that his throne is so large that even Athtar, another divine warrior, finds himself too small for his feet to reach the footstool and his head to reach the headrest (1.6 I 59–61) clearly indicates that he was envisioned as gigantic. His voice causes the earth to shake (1.4 VII 30–35).

The superhuman size of the deity is reflected in the building of a temple that is larger than the size of an ordinary house. Of course, the earthly temple cannot be on the scale attributed to the heavenly palace, but this does not appear to keep anyone from identifying the former with the latter. The building is large enough for the giant god to enter and dwell there. That worshippers took the idea that the gods were giants seriously can be seen from the remains of the great early Iron Age temple at ʿAin Dara in Syria (Abou Assaf 1990:13–16; Bloch-Smith 1994:21–25; Lewis 1998:40). At the threshold of the entrance, the designers carved a pair of giant footprints, ca. one meter long, facing toward the interior of the temple. On the next flagstone in, a second left footprint was carved, indicating that the god was walking

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[19] See Levenson 1988:82–88.

into the temple. Finally at the threshold to the cella, a right footprint was carved, indicating both the giant stride of the god who needed only two steps to reach the interior of the temple, but also indicating (since there are no footprints pointing out of the rooms) that the deity was now in residence.

Israel also understood its deity and the cultic appurtenances devoted to him in terms of superhuman size (Greenfield 1985; Smith 1988; Bloch-Smith 1994). The large size of certain of the structures in the Solomonic Temple courtyard would suggest that they were not intended for human use, but belonged to the realm of the divine. Accordingly, a sort of homology between the size of the deity and temple is assumed. Such a homology between the divinity and the temple functions to increase the identification of the two, to use the temple to house not just the deity, but also the deity's story and to use the deity to express the social and political importance of the house.

A second area where the physical aspects of the temple merge with the appearance of the deity is in its perceived beauty and pleasantness. In the texts we find that both the gods and their abodes are described occasionally with identical terms of beauty. Thus deities are called "lovely, pleasant" (*n'm*) and "beautiful, attractive" (**wsm*). In CAT 1.14 III 41–42 (paralleled in 1.14 VI 26–28), Kirta's prospective bride is compared in her beauty to both the goddess Anat, who is described with the word *n'm*, "loveliness" and the goddess Athtart is said to possess *tsm* (< **wsm*), "beauty" (followed by a description of eyes like lapis and alabaster—in short "blue eyes"). The newborn gods of 1.23 are called both *'ilm n'mm* (1.23.23, 60, 67 and probably in the damaged lines 1 and 58) and *ysmm* (< **wsm*; 1.23.2), "handsome ones". In general, *n'm* and words from the root **wsm* both refer to aspects of a "good" physical appearance (see Pardee 1997b:276 n. 5).

Baal's mountain also has *n'm*. In 1.3 III 30–31 and in 1.10 III 31, Mount Sapan is described as "the lovely mountain/hill of victory." The attribute of beauty given to the god's abode is elaborated upon in the brief description of the palace he builds in 1.4 V–VII. While no details of the décor are given, the poet refers several times to the use of gold, silver and lapis lazuli as primary components of the temple structure. The Israelite temple is described in greater detail, with a clear emphasis on the beauty and splendor of its appearance (1 Kings 6–7; cf. the description of the heavenly palace of Yahweh in Exod 24:10, with its sapphire pavement). The attractiveness of the temple is apparently intended to evoke the attractiveness of the deity worshiped there.

One Ugaritic text, CAT 1.101 describes Baal enthroned on his mountain, Sapan[20] in such a way so as to evoke an explicit aesthetic analogue between Baal and the peak/palace:

Baal sits (enthroned) like the sitting of a mountain,	*bʿl ytb ktbt ġr*
Haddu…like the (cosmic) ocean,	*hd r[ ] kmdb*
In the midst of his mountain, divine Sapan,	*btk ġrh ʾil ṣpn*
In [the midst of?] the mount of victory,	*b[tk] ġr tlʾiyt*
(With) seven lightning-flashes,	*šbʿt brqm*
Eight store-houses of thunder (?).	*tmnt ʾiṣr rʿt*
A tree-bolt of lightning.[..]	*ʿṣ brq y[ ]*
His head is adorned (?),	*rʾiš tply*
With dew between his eyes	*tly bn ʿnh*
…at his base,	*ʾuzʿrt tmll ʾišdh*
…the horn[s]…on him (?),	*qrn[m] b(?)t ʿlh*
His head with a downpour from the heavens	*rʾiš bglt bšm[m]*
…is watering,	*[ ] tr ʾit*
His mouth like two clouds (?)…	*ph ktt ġbt[…]*
Like wine is the love of his heart…	*kyn ddm lbh*

This passage identifies several features of Baal with those of his mountain, resulting in a vivid evocation of the god's enormous power (cf. Pope and Tigay 1971:122; Irwin 1983:54–57). This is most obvious in the first part of the poem, where the homology between the god and his temple-mountain conveys the power of both his kingship and his meteorological weaponry. The second part continues with images of precipitation, ending in a personal envisioning of the god's mouth in a way that is perhaps[21] suggestive of lovemaking (implying the image of his lips kissing). In this text we find combined the two major themes we have been discussing in this section—the god's size and strength,

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[20] For text, translation and notes, see Pardee 1988a:119–52. See also Pope and Tigay 1971; Irwin 1983:54–57; Xella 1996:396–98; and Wyatt 1998:388–90. Pardee sees *tly* as a reference to the goddess Dewy associated with Baal, which is possible. Pardee rightly compares *glt* and *tr* in this text with *glt* in the Baal Cycle (1.4 V 6–9) cited above. The word *tkt* in the latter context is accordingly to be emended to *trt*. See the Commentary to 1.4 V 6–9 for further details.

[21] Pardee (1988a:124, 125) reconstructs "lips" before the simile *kyn ddm*, hence "lips like wine-jars," and he takes *lbh* with what follows in the lacuna. This approach is philologically possible, since *ddm* may be either "jar" (e.g., *dd šmn gdlt*) or "love" (//ʾahbt//yd in CAT 1.3 III 2; cf. Akkadian *dadu*). This approach is, however, less likely syntactically. With Pardee's rendering, one would expect instead *kdd yn. Or, perhaps assuming "lips" is to be reconstructed, perhaps *kyn ddm lbh* is an extended simile, "like the wine of the love of his heart" (this translation assumes enclitic *mem* on *ddm*).

alongside his beauty, both connected thematically and analogically to the mountain/palace/temple of Baal.

This kind of language, so central to the legitimation of the local temple and its royal and priestly sponsors, is found elsewhere in the Near East in the genres of the temple hymn and temple narrative, neither specifically preserved at Ugarit. But from the evidence provided above, there can be little doubt of its importance in the city as a discourse of the elite. The use of the themes of overwhelming size and power, along with incomparable beauty establishes a sense of order, symmetry and identity, at least for the priestly and royal echelons of Levantine societies.

Human Need and Divine Help

The intimate relationship between the mythic portrayal of the divine sphere and the earthly temple at which human concerns met the divine explains the importance of the temple as the focus for supplications for divine aid. The temple is where humans access the power of the god on their behalf. Smith (2001a:83–103) discussed several characteristics of deities emphasized in ancient Near Eastern texts that could be contrasted with human traits, but that made it possible for the gods to come to the aid of their servants. Some have been discussed above, and some have not. They include the following: strength and size; fertility and beauty; holiness; immortality and knowledge. In contrast, humans generally lack these qualities, but long for them anyway. Temples offer a context in which humans can call upon the gods to help them solve the problems that come from their weakness. The divine characteristics that contrast with human weaknesses and contradictions may be correlated in an augmented form of a chart (developed first in Smith 2001a:102–3, and extended in 2005:21):

human problems	*human contradictions*	*divinity*	*temple*
powerlessness	limited human power, but experience of suffering and evil people	strength, size	strength, size
lack of prosperity/ blessing/ infertility	experience of divine presence and divine absence	sexuality/ love/beauty	channel of beauty
unholiness	knowledge and experience of self as both wrong (sinning) and whole (holy)	holiness	intersection/ transition

mortality	limited time, but intuiting eternity	eternity	duration
ignorance	some knowledge of the world/God, but experience	wisdom and	source
	of disorder and unintelligibility	knowledge	revelation

In sum, the temple is the primary locus for creating a bond between the human and the divine. It is intended to define the god for the people—who the god is, where he or she is, and how he or she affects the world and the people. Whether in cultic activity or in literary form (such as the Baal Cycle), temples focus attention on a variety of relationships between deities and people, by serving as a meeting-site for them. Accordingly, the crucial term in the title of this section is the word "like," which expresses both similarity and difference, connection and disjunction between deities and their temples, or specifically in the case under consideration here, Baal and his palace. The key word "like" conveys the fundamental point that the mostly visible yet inert buildings marked as temples and the mostly imperceptible yet animate deities are deeply analogous. They also have little life apart from one another on the extra-familial levels of social and political organization (cf. Wright 2001:47). The ancient people of Ugarit offered their devotion, their lives to Baal and other deities in their temples, and the meanings of this devotion were expressed in cultic and literary forms. The mediating power of sacred places both captured and expressed the basic connection between themselves and their deities. The human worshippers experienced ritually what they perceived as beyond them, but expressed these experiences in modes that they likened to themselves and to the world around them. Cultic activity in the Baal temple and the images in texts, as epitomized by the Baal Cycle, provided different avenues for expressing ancient Ugarit's deep fears and great hopes about the forces surrounding their world. The palace of Baal, whether in literature or ritual, served as the site where the difficulties of life in Ugaritic society could be checked at least temporarily, thanks to the presence and power, blessing and beauty of the divine king.

TRANSLATION OF CAT 1.3 AND 1.4

1.3 I

[*About 25 lines are missing at the beginning of the column.*]

2–4	He served Might[iest] Baal,
	Waited on the Prince, Lord of the Earth.
4–8	He stood, arranged and offered him food,
	Sliced a breast before him,
	With a salted knife, a cut of fatling.
8–11	He stood, served and offered him drink,
	Put a cup in his hand,
	A goblet in both his hands:
12–13	A large, imposing vessel,
	A rhyton for mighty men;
13–15	A holy cup women may not see,
	A goblet Athirat may not eye.
15–17	A thousand jars he drew of the wine,
	A myriad he mixed in his mixture.
18–19	He stood, chanted and sang
	Cymbals in the virtuoso's hands.
20–22	Sweet of voice the hero sang
	About Baal on the summit of Sapan.
22–25	Baal gazed at his daughters,
	Eyed Pidray, Daughter of Light,
	Then Tallay, [Daughter] of Rain.
25–27	Pidru knew…
	Indeed, the [No]ble [Brides]…

[*About 14 lines are missing at the end of the column.*]

1.3 II

[*About 25 lines are missing at the beginning of the column.*]

1	…
2–3	Henna for seven girls,
	With scent of musk and murex.
3–5	The gates of Anat's house closed,
	She met youths at the foot of the mountain.

5–7   And look! Anat fights in the valley,
        Battl[es] between the two towns!
7–8   She fought the people of the se[a]-shore,
        Struck the populace of the su[nr]ise.
9–11   Under her, like balls, were hea[ds],
        Above her, like grasshoppers, hands,
        Like locusts, heaps of warrior-hands.
11–13   She fixed heads to her back,
        Fastened hands on her waist.
13–15   Knee-deep she glea[n]ed in warrior-blood,
        Neck-deep in the gor[e] of soldiers.
15–16   With a club she drove away captives,
        With her bow-string, the foe.
17–18   And look! Anat arrives at her house,
        The goddess takes herself to her palace,
19–20   But she was not satisfied
        With her fighting in the valley,
        With battling between the two towns.
20–22   She arranged chairs for the soldiery,
        Arranged tables for the hosts,
        Footstools for the heroes.
23–24   Hard she fought and looked about,
        Anat battled, and she surveyed.
25–27   Her innards swelled with laughter,
        Her heart filled with joy,
        Anat's innards with victory.
27–28   Knee-deep she gleaned in warrior-blood,
        Neck-deep in the gore of soldiers,
29–30   Until she was sated with fighting in the house,
        With battling between the two tables.
30–32   Warrior-blood was wiped from the house,
        Oil of peace was poured in a bowl.
32–33   Adoles[ce]nt Anat washed her hands,
        The In-law of the Peoples, her fingers.
34–35   [She] washed her hands of warrior-blood,
        Her [fi]ngers of the gore of the soldiers.
36–37   [S]et chairs next to chairs,
        Tables to table<s>;
        Footstools she set to footstools.
38–40   [She] drew water and washed
        [With D]ew of Heaven, Oil of Earth,
        Showers of the Cloud-[R]ider,
40–41   Dew (which) the Heavens poured on her,
        [Show]ers the Stars poured on her.

1.3 III

1–2   She beautified herself with mure[x],
         [Whose] extract from the sea [is a thousand fields.]
2–3   …

[*Some twenty lines are missing.*]

4–5   "[S/he holds her/his harp in her/his] ha[nds,]
         The setting of the lyre to her/his breast,
5–6   A song about the love of Mightiest Baal,
         The passion of Pidray, Daughter of Light,
7–8   The desire of Tallay, Daughter of Showers,
         The love of Arsay, Daughter of the Wide World.
8–10   Like two youths, then enter,
         At Anat's feet bow down and fall,
         May you prostrate yourselves, honor her.
11–12   And say to Adolescent Anat,
         Recite to the In-law of the Peoples:
13–14   'Message of Mightiest Baal,
         Word of the Mightiest of Warriors:
14–15   'Offer in the earth war,
         Place in the dust love;
16–17   Pour peace amid the earth,
         Tranquility amid the fields.
18   You must hasten!   You must hurry!   You must rush!
19–20   To me let your feet run,
         To me let your legs race,
20–22   For a message I have, and I will tell you,
         A word, and I will recount to you,
22–25   Word of tree and whisper of stone,
         Converse of Heaven with Earth,
         Of Deeps with Stars,
26–28   I understand the lightning which the Heavens do not know,
         The word people do not know,
         And earth's masses do not understand.
28–31   Come and I will reveal it
         In the midst of my mountain, Divine Sapan,
         On the holy mount of my heritage,
         On the beautiful hill of (my) might.'"

32–34   There! Anat perceives the gods;
         On her, feet shook,
         Around, loins trembled,
         Above, her face sweated.

34–35	The joints of her loins convulsed,
	Weak were the ones of her back.
35–36	She raised her voice and declared:
36–38	"Why have Gapn and Ugar come?
	What enemy rises against Baal,
	What foe against the Cloud-Rider?
38–40	Surely I struck down Yamm, the Beloved of El,
	Surely I finished off River, the Great God,
	Surely I bound Tunnanu and destroyed (?) him.
41–42	I struck down the Twisty Serpent,
	The Powerful One with Seven Heads.
43–44	I struck down Desi[re], Beloved of El,
	I destroyed Rebel, Calf of El.
45–47	I struck down Fire, Dog of El,
	I annihilated Flame, Daughter of El,
	That I might fight for silver, inherit gold.

1.3 IV

[*This column continues directly from the previous one.*]

III 47–IV 2	Did he banish Baal from the summit of Sapan,
	Making (him) flee his (place of) lordship like a bir[d]?
2–3	Did he drive him from his royal throne,
	From the resting place, the throne of his dominion?
4	What enemy has risen against Baal,
	What foe against the Cloudrider?"
5	The youths [sp]oke up, they answered:
5–6	"No enemy has risen against Baal,
	No foe against the Cloudrider.
7–8	Message of Mightiest Baal,
	Word of the Mightiest of Warriors:
8–9	'Offer in the earth war,
	Place in the dust love;
9–10	Pour peace amid the earth,
	Tranquility amid the fields.
11	You must [ha]sten! You must [hu]rry! You must rush!
11–12	To me let your feet [ru]n,
	[T]o me let your legs race,
13–14	[For a message I have,] and I will tell you,
	A word, [and I will recount to you],
14–16	[Word] of tree and whisper of [stone],
	[The word] peop[le do not kno]w,
	[And ea]rth's [masses do not under]stand.
16–18	[Converse of Heaven with Ea]rth,
	Of Deeps [with Stars],
	[I understand the lightning] which [the He]avens do not k[now.]

18–20   [Come and I] will re[veal it]
           [In the midst of] my [moun]tain, [Div]ine Sapa[n],
           On the ho[ly] mou[nt of] my heritage.'"

21–22   And Adolescent [A]nat an[swered],
           [The In-law] of the Peoples replied:

22–24   "I myself will offer [in the ea]r[th] war,
           [Pu]t in the dust lo[v]e;

24–25   I will pour [peace] amid the earth,
           Tran[quili]ty ami[d the fie]lds.

25–27   May Baal set his harness in [the Heavens],
           May [the Clo]ud[rider] radiate his [ho]rns.

27–29   I mys[elf] will offer in the ea[r]th war,
           Put [in] the dust love.

29–31   I will pour peace am[id] the earth,
           Tranquility amid the fi[elds].

31–32   On a second subject I would speak:

32–33   Go, Go, Divine Servants!
           You, you delay, but I, I depart.

34–35   UGR is very far, O Gods,
           INBB is very far, O Deities—

35–36   Two lengths beneath Earth's springs,
           Three *mth*-measures of the caves."

37–38   Then she headed out
           For Baal on the summit of Sapan.

38–40   From a thousand acres, a myriad of hectares
           The advance of his sister Baal eyed,
           The approach of the {In-law}/
           Daughter(?)} of his Father

40–42   He removed women from his presence;
           He placed an ox before her,
           A fatling right in front of her.

42–43   She drew water and washed
           With Dew of Heaven, Oil of Earth,

43–44   Dew the Heave[ns pou]red on her,
           Showers the Stars poured on her.

45–46   She beautified herself with murex,
           [Who]se extract [from the sea] is a thousand fields.

[*There is a gap of about 15 lines. The extant text picks up with Baal's complaint about his need for a palace.*]

47–48   ['For Baal] has [no house like the gods'
           [Or court] like [Athirat's] children's.

48–49   [The dwelling of El is the shelter of] his son,
           The dw[elling of the Lady Athirat of the Sea,]

50–51   The dwelling of Pidr[ay, Daughter of Light],
           [The shelter of] Tallay, Daughter of Sho[wers],

51–53   The dwelling of Arsay], Daughter of the Wide World,
         [The dwelling of the] Noble [Brides].
53   And [Adolescent Anat] answers:
54–55   "Bull El, [my Father], will heed me,
         He will heed me, or to him (?)[   ]"

1.3 V
[*This follows directly from the previous lines.*]

1–3   "[…I will] drag him to the ground like a lamb;
         [I will ma]ke his gray hair [run] with blood,
         The gray hair of his beard [with gore],
3–4   Unless he gives Baal a house like the gods',
         [And a cou]rt like that of Athirat's children."
4–7   [She planted (her) fe]et, [and] the earth [shook];
         S[o she hea]ded out
         [For E]l at the springs of the River[s],
         [Ami]d [the stream]s of the [Dee]ps.
7–8   She came to the moun[tain] of E[l],
         And entered [the te]nt of the Ki[n]g, the Father of [Years].
8–9   She shouted angrily as [she en]tered the mountain,
         She repeated it [to] the Lord of [the children of E]l.
10–12   Her voice Bull [E]l, her Father, he[ard];
         H[e] an[sw]ered from the seven r[oo]ms,
         [From the] eigh[t openings of the en]closures.

[*Lines 12b–16 are too damaged to translate.*]

17–18   "The Divine Lamp, Shapsh, [is r]ed;
         The heavens are weak in the ha[nds of Divine M]ot."
19   And Adolescent Ana[t] answered:
19–21   "[In the construction] of your house, O El,
         In the construction of your hou[se] do [not re]joice,
         Do not rejoice in the he[ight of your pa]lace.
22–23   Or else I will seize it with my right hand,
         …by my mighty, long arm.
23–25   I will sm[ash…] your head;
         I will make your beard run [with blood],
         The gray hair of your beard with gore."
25–27   El answered from the seven rooms,
         From the eight bolted entrances:
27–29   "[I] know [you], daughter, that [you are fu]rious,
         For there is not among goddesses sc[or]n like yours.
         What do you desire, O Adolescent Anat?"
29   And Adolescent Ana[t] ans[we]red:

30–31	"Your decree, O El, is wise,
	Your wisdom is eternal,
	A fortunate life is your decree.
32–33	Our king is Mightiest Baal,
	Our ruler, with none above him.
33–34	All of us will bring him a chalice,
	All of us will bring him a cup.
35–36	In lament,
	Indeed he cries to Bull El, his Father,
	To El, the King who created/established him.
36–37	He cries to Athirat and her children,
	The goddess and the band of her brood:
38–39	'For Baal has no house like the gods',
	No court like [A]thirat's child[ren's].
39–41	The dwelling of El is the shelter of [his so]n,
	[The dw]elling of Lady Athirat of the Sea,
41–42	The dwelling of [Pidr]ay, Daughter of Light,
	[The shelter of] Tallay, [Daughter of] Showers,
42–44	The dwelling of [Arsay, Daughter of the Wide World],
	The dwelling [of the Noble Brides].'"

[*About 22 lines are missing at the end of the column.*]

1.3 VI + 1.8
1.8

1–2	"…a gift for Lady Athirat of the Sea,
	A present for the Creatress of the Gods,
3–5	In order that she might give a house to Baal like the gods',
	A court like Athirat's children's."
5–6	Aloud to his lads Baal declared:
6–9	See, O Gapn and Ugar,
	Sons of the Lass(?), kinsmen of Day(?),
	Sons of *zlmt*, the exalted princess(?).
9–12	[Too broken for translation]

1.8 13–17 + 1.3 VI 2–6

13–14 + 2–3	The downpour is the binding (upon) your (two) heads,
	The lightning between your (two) eyes.
15–17 + 4–6	[Travel] a thousand *š'i[r on]* the sea,
	A myriad [ ] on the rivers.

1.3 VI 7–25

7–9   Cross over the mountain, cross over the summit,
        Cross over the coasts of the heavenly height.
9–11   Proceed to the Fisher of Athirat,
        Go to Qudsh Amrar.
12–14   Then you shall head
        For great and wide Memphis,
14–16   For Kaphtor, the throne where he sits,
        Memphis, the land of his heritage.
17–20   From across a thousand acres, a myriad hectares,
        At the feet of Koth<ar> bow down and fall,
        May you prostrate yourself and honor him.
21–23   And say to Kothar wa-Hasis,
        Recite to the Skilled Craftsman:
24–26   'Decree of Migh[tiest Baal],
        Wo[rd of the Mightiest of Warriors]:

[*Approximately 22 lines are missing at the end of the column.*]

1.4 I
[*About 23 lines are missing at the top of the column.*]

1   "'...
2   ...
3   ...
4–6   [In lament]
        [He cr]ies to Bull [El, his Father],
        [To E]l, the King [who created him].
6–8   [He cri]es to Athi[rat and her children],
        The goddess [and the band of] her [brood]:
9–11   ['For Baal has no house like the gods'],
        [No court like Athi]ra[t's children's].
12–14   The dw[el]ling of El is the shelter of his son,
        The dwelling of Lady Athirat of the Sea,
14–16   The dwelling of the Noble Brides,
        The dwelling of Pidray, Daughter of Light,
17–18   The shelter of Tallay, Daughter of Showers,
        The dwelling of Arsay, Daughter of the Wide World.'
19–20   On a second subject I would speak with you:
20–22   Please, see to a gift for Lady Athirat of the Sea,
        A present for the Creatress of the Gods.'"
23–24   The Skilled One ascended to the bellows,
        Tongs in the hands of Hasis.

25–28   He cast silver, he poured gold,
          He cast silver by the thousands,
          Gold he cast by the myriads.
29   He cast a canopied resting-place:
30–32   A grand dais of two myriads (-weight),
          A grand dais coated in silver,
          Covered in liquid gold.
33–35   A grand throne, a chair of gold,
          A grand footstool overlaid in electrum.
36–37   A grand couch of great appeal (?),
          Upon whose handles was gold.
38–40   A grand table filled with creatures,
          Animals of the earth's foundations.
41–43   A grand bowl (pounded) thin like those of Amurru,
          Crafted like those of the country of Yaman,
          On which were water buffalo by the myriads.

1.4 II

[*About 16 lines are missing at the top of the column.*]

1   [   ]
2   …the stone [   ]
3–4   She took her spindle [in her hand],
          An exalted spindle in her right hand.
5–7   As for her robe, the covering of her skin,
          She conveyed her garment into the sea,
          Her double-robe into the rivers.
8–9   She set a jar on the fire,
          A pot on top of the coals,
10–11   She would exalt Bull El the Beneficent,
          Honor the Creator of Creatures.
12–14   When she lifted her eyes, she looked,
          Athirat indeed saw Baal's advance,
14–16   The advance of Adolescent Anat,
          The approach of the In-law [of the Peoples].
16–18   On her, feet [shook],
          [Arou]nd, loins [trembled],
          [Above,] her fa[ce] sweated.
19–20   [The joints of her loi]ns convulsed,
          Weak were the ones of [her] back.
21   She raised her voice and declared:
21–24   "Why has Mightiest Baal come?
          Why has Ado[les]cent Anat come?

24–26 Are they my murderers, or the [mur]derers of my children,
Or [the destroyers of the ban]d of my brood?"
26–28 [The gle]am of silver [A]thirat eyed,
Gleam of silver, g[lin]t (?) of gold.
28–29 Lady Ath[irat] of the Sea rejoiced,
Aloud to her attendant [she declared]:
30–31 "See the skilled work of the source [of the Deeps (?)],
O Fisher of Lady Athir[at of the Sea].
32–33 Take a net in hand…,
A great one in your hands.…
34–36 Into the Beloved of El, [Sea],
Into Divine Sea [   ],
[Ri]ver, the God [   ]
37–38 Mightiest [Baal   ],
Adolescent [Anat   ]…"

[*Lines 39–48 are too damaged to translate.*]

1.4 III
[*About 12 lines are missing at the top of the column.*]

[*Lines 1–4 are too damaged to translate.*]

5   [   ] "may he not escape
6   [   ] he will establish you
7   [   ] for ever and ever
8   [   ]….
9   [   ] the god who is king."
10–11 Mightiest Baal an[swe]red (?),
The Cloud-Rider testified(?):
12–14 "He rose, stood and abased me,
He stood up and spat on me,
Amid the ass[em]bly (?) of the children of El.
14–16 I drank dis[grace(?)] at my table,
Dishonor from (my) cup I drank.
17–18 For two feasts Baal hates,
Three, the Cloud-Rider:
18–21 A feast of shame, a feast of strife,
And a feast of the whispering of servant-girls.
21–22 For in it shame indeed was seen,
For in it was the whispering of servant-girls."
23–24 Just then Mightiest Baal arrived,
Adolescent Anat arrived,
25–26 They brought gifts to Lady [A]thirat of the Sea,
Honored the Creatress of the Gods.

27	And Lady Athirat of the Sea answered:
28–30	"Why do you two bring gifts to Lady Athirat of the Sea,
	Honor the Creatress of the Gods?
30–32	Have you brought gifts to Bull El the Beneficent,
	Or honored the Creator of Creatures?"
32–33	And Adolescent Anat answered:
33–36	"We are bringing you (?) gifts, Lady Athirat of the Sea,
	[We are hono]ring (you), Creatress of the Gods,
	[ ] we will bring gifts to him."
37–39	Mightiest Baal […],
	Lady Athirat of the Sea […],
	Adolescent Anat […].
40–43	[As the gods a]te, drank,
	A suckling of [breast was provided],
	[With a sal]ted [knife], a cut of [fatling].
43–44	[They drank] wine from goblets,
	[From a cup of gold, the blo]od of trees.

[*Lines 45–53 are too broken to translate.*]

1.4 IV

[*About 12 lines are missing at the top of the column.*]

1	…Bull [El…Father].
1–2	[And Lady] Athir[at of the Sea answered]:
2–4	"[Hear, O Qudsh] wa-Amrar,
	[O Fisher of Lady] Athirat of the Sea:
4–7	[Tie the horse,] harness the stallion;
	[Set ropes of] silver,
	Golden [bridles];
	Prepare the ropes of [my] mare."
8	Qud<sh> wa-Amra[r] complied:
9–12	He tied the horse, harnessed the stallion;
	He set ropes of silver,
	Golden bridles;
	He prepared the ropes of her mare.
13–15	Qudsh wa-Amrar clasped,
	Set Athirat on the back of the horse,
	On the beautiful back of the stallion,
16–17	Qudsh flared up as a flame,
	Amrar, like a star in front.
18–19	Behind (came) Adolescent Anat,
	But Baal departed for the summit of Sapan.
20–22	So she headed out
	For El at the springs of the Rivers,
	Amid the streams of the Deeps.

23–24   She came to El's mountain
         And entered the tent of the King, the Father of Years.
25–26   At the feet of El she bowed down and fell,
         Prostrated herself and honored him.
27–28   There—El indeed perceived her!
         He loosened his brow and laughed.
29–30   His feet on the footstool he stamped,
         And twirled his fingers.
30   He raised his voice and decl[ared]:
31–32   "Why has Lady Athir[at of the S]ea arrived?
         Why has the Creatress of the G[ods] come?
33–34   Are you very hungry, having travelled,
         Or are you very thirsty, having jour[neyed]?
35–38   Eat, indeed drink!
         E[at] food from the tables,
         Drink wine from goblets,
         From a golden cup, the blood of trees!
38–39   Or does the 'hand' of El the King excite you,
         The love of the Bull arouse you?"
40   And Lady Athirat of the Sea answered:
41–43   "Your decree, O El, is wise,
         You are wise for eternity,
         A fortunate life is your decree.
43–44   Our king is Mightie[st] Baal,
         Our ruler, with none above him.
45–46   All of us will br[ing] him a cha[lice],
         All of us [will b]ring him a cup.
47–48   [In lame]nt
         Indeed he cries to Bull El, his Father,
         To [E]l, the King who created/established him.
48–50   He cries to Athirat and her children,
         The goddess and the band of her brood:
50–51   'For Baal has no house like the gods',
         No court like Athirat's children's.
52–53   The dwelling of El is the shelter of his son,
         The dwelling of Lady Athirat of the Sea,
54–55   The dwelling of the Noble Brides,
         The dwelling of Pidray, Daughter of Light,
56–57   The shelter of Tallay, Daughter of Showers,
         The dwelling of Ars<ay>, Daughter of the Wide World.'"
58   And Beneficent El the Benign replied:
59–60   "So am I a servant, Athirat's slave?
         So am I a slave who handles tools?
61–62   Or, is Athirat a servant?
         Does she make bricks?
62   Let a house be built for Baal like the gods',

1.4 V   A court, like Athirat's children's."

2   And Lady Athirat of the Sea answered:
3–5   "You are great, O El, so very wise;
          The gray hair of your beard so instructs you,
          The soft ones (?) o[f] your chest.
6–7   So now may Baal make his rain abundant,
          May he make the water greatly abundant in a downpour,
8–9   And may he give his voice in the clouds,
          May he flash to the earth lightning.
10–11   Is it a house of cedars that he would complete,
          Or a house of bricks that he would construct?
12   Indeed, let it be told to Mightiest Baal:
13–14   'Call a caravan into your house,
          Wares inside your palace.
15–17   Let the mountains bring you abundant silver,
          The hills, the choicest gold.
          Let the finest ore be brought to you.
18–19   And build the house of silver and gold,
          The house of purest lapis lazuli.'"
20–21   Adolescent Anat rejoiced;
          She planted (her) foot, the earth shook.
22–24   So she headed out
          For Baal on the heights of Sapan,
          Across a thousand acres, a myriad hectares.
25–26   Adolescent Anat laughed,
          She raised her voice and declared:
26–27   "Receive the news, O Baal,
          Good news I bring you!
27–29   'Let a house be given you like your brothers',
          A court, like your kin's.
29–31   Call a caravan into your house,
          Wares inside your palace.
31–33   Let the mountains bring you abundant silver,
          The hills, the choicest gold.
33–35   And build the house of silver and gold,
          The house of purest lapis lazuli.'"
35–37   Mightiest Baal rejoiced;
          He called a caravan into his house,
          Wares inside his palace.
38–40   The mountains brought him abundant silver,
          The hills, the choicest gold;
          The best ore was brought to him.
41   He <s>ent for Kothar wa-Hasis.

42–43   And return to the recitation (about)
         when the lads are sent.

_____

44–46   Then Kothar wa-Hasis arrived;
         An ox was set before him,
         A fatling right before him.
46–48   A throne was set up and he was seated,
         At the right hand of Mightiest Baal,
         As [the gods] ate, dran[k].
49   [And] Mighti[est Baal] spoke up:
50–52   "[…   ]
         Quickly, the house [build,]
         Quickly erect the pal[ace].
53–55   Quickly shall you buil[d] the house,
         Quickly shall you erect the pal[ace],
         Amid the summit of Sapan.
56–57   A thousand fields let the house cover,
         A myriad hectares, the palace."
58   And Kothar wa-Hasis replied:
59–60   "Hear, O Mightiest Baal,
         Understand, O Cloud-Rider:
61–62   Shall I not install a window in the hou[se],
         An aperture inside the palace?"
63   And Mightiest Baal answered:
64–65   "Don't install a window in [the house],
         [An aper]ture inside the pala[ce]."

[*Perhaps up to three lines are missing at the bottom of the column.*]

1.4 VI

1   And Ko[thar wa-Has]is replied:
2   "You will reconsider [my word], O Baal."
3   Again Ko[thar] wa-Hasis spoke:
4–6   "Please listen, O Mi[ghti]est Baal:
         Shall I not install a win[dow] in the house,
         An aperture ami[d the pala]ce?"
7   And Migh[tiest] Baal answered:
8–9   "Do not install a wi[ndo]w in the house,
         An aperture a[mid the pa]lace.
10–11   Lest [Pidr]ay, Daughter of Light,…
         …[Tall]ay, Daughter of Showers…
12–13   [The Be]loved of El, Yamm…,   [
         …abased me,
         And spat…"

14–15   And Kothar [wa-Hasis] replied:
15   "You will reconsider my word, O Baal."
16–17   [Quickly] his house was built,
        [Quickly] his palace was erected.
18–19   He [we]nt to Lebanon for its trees,
        To [Si]ryan for its choicest cedars.
20–21   [Le]banon for its trees,
        Siryan for its choicest cedars.
22–23   A fire was set in the house,
        A f [l]ame in the palace.
24–26   There! For a day and a second,
        A fire burned in the house,
        A flame in the pa[l]ace.
26–28   For a third and a fourth day,
        [A f]ire burned in the house,
        A fla[me] in the palace.
29–31   For a fifth and a si[x]th day,
        A fir[e] burned [in] the house,
        A flame a[mid the pal]ace.
31–33   Then on the seven[th] d[ay],
        The fire went out in the house,
        The f[la]me, in the palace.
34–35   The silver had turned to plates,
        The gold had turned to bricks.
35–36   Mightiest Baal rejoiced:
36–38   "My house I have built of silver,
        My palace of gold."
38–40   [Baa]l made arrangements for [his] house,
        Hadd made [arrange]ments for his palace.
40–43   He slaughtered large stock [as well as] small:
        He felled bulls [and] fatling rams,
        Calves a year old,
        Sheep by the flock with k[i]ds.
44–46   He invited his brothers into his house,
        His ki[nf]olk inside his palace;
        He invited the seventy, the children of Athirat.
47–48   He provided the gods with suckling(?) rams,
        Provided the goddesses with ewes.
49–50   He provided the gods with bulls,
        Provided the goddesses with cows.
51–52   He provided the gods with thrones,
        Provided the goddesses with chairs.
53–54   He provided the gods with jars of wine,
        Provided the goddesses with vessels.
55–58   As the gods ate, drank,
        A suckling of breast was provided,
        With a salted knife, a cut of [fatl]ing.

58–59   They drank [wi]ne from gob[lets],
         [From] gold [c]ups, the blo[od of trees].

[*Lines 60–63 are too broken to translate. Between 2 and 5 additional lines are
missing at the end of the column.*]

1.4 VII

1   …]lapis lazu[li]…
2   …Mightiest Baal
3–4   …the Beloved of El, Ya[mm]…
4   …on top of his head.
5   El/the god[s]…departed from the mountain…
6   When/Indeed the gods [X-ed] on/from Sapan.
7–8   He crossed to [the chief] city,
         He turned to the [chie]f town.
9–10   Sixty-six (surrounding) cities he seized,
         Seventy-seventy towns.
11–13   Eighty Baa…
         Ninety Baal…
13–14   Baal [ent]ers (?) into the house.
14–15   And Mightiest Baal spoke:
15–16   "I will install, O Kothar, Son of Sea,
         Kothar, Son of the Confluence:
17–20   Let an aperture be opened in the house,
         A window inside the palace.
         So let a break in the clouds be [op]ened,
         According to the w[ord of] Kothar wa-Hasis."
21–22   Kothar wa-Hasis laughed,
         He raised his voice and declared:
23–25   "I truly told you, O Mightiest Baal:
         'You will reconsider my word, O Baal.'"
25–28   An aperture was opened in the house,
         A window inside the palac[e].
         Baal opened a break in the clouds,
29–30   Baa[l] gave forth his holy voice.
         Baal repeated the is[sue of (?)] his [li(?)]ps,
31–35   His ho[ly (?)] voice covered (?) the earth,
         [At his] voice…the mountains trembled.
         The ancient [mountains?] leapt [up?],
         The high places of the ear[th] tottered.
35–37   The enemies of Baal took to the woods,
         The haters of Hadd to the mountainsides.
37–38   And Mightiest Baal spoke:
38–39   "O Enemies of Hadd, why do you tremble?
         Why tremble, you who wield a weapon against the Warrior?"

40–41   Baal looked forward;
        His hand indeed shook,
        The cedar was in his right hand.
42   So Baal was enthroned in/returned to his house.
43–44   "Will it be a king or a non-king
        Who establishes dominion in the earth (netherworld)?
45–47   A herald I will indeed send to Divine Mot,
        An envoy to El's Beloved, the Hero,
47–49   That he may proclaim to Mot into his throat,
        Inform the Beloved in his insides:
49–52   It is I alone who reign over the gods,
        Indeed fatten gods and men,
        Who satis[fy] the earth's multitudes."
52–53   Aloud to his l[a]ds Baal declared:
53–54   "See, [O Gapn] and Ugar,
54–56   So<ns> of the Lass(?), Kinsmen of Day(?),
        Sons of z̧lmt, the exalted Princess(?).

[*Lines 57–60 are too broken, and about seven additional lines are missing at the end of the column.*]

1.4 VIII

1–4   "Then you shall head out
        To Mount Trġzz,
        To Mount Thrmg,
        The twin hills at Earth's edge.
5–6   Lift the mountain on your hands,
        The hill on top of your palms.
7–9   And descend to the House of Servitude, the Netherworld;
        Be counted among those who descend to the Netherworld.
10–12   Then you shall head
        to his town, the Watery Place,
12–14   Low, the throne where he sits,
        Phlegm, the land of his heritage.
14–17   But take care, divine servants:
        Do not get too close to Divine Mot,
17–20   Lest he take you like a lamb in his mouth,
        Like a kid, you be crushed in the chasm of his throat.
21–24   The Divine Lamp, Shapsh, is red;
        The heavens are weak in the hands of the Beloved, Di[vi]ne Mot.
24–29   From across a thousand acres, a myriad of hectares,
        At the feet of Mot bow down and fall,
        You shall prostrate yourselves and honor him.
29–32   And say to Divine Mot,
        Repeat to El's Beloved, the Hero:

32–35   'Message of Mightiest Baal,
         [Wor]d of the Mightiest of Wa[rriors]:
35–37   'My house I have built [of silver],
         My pa[lace, of gold…].'

[*Lines 38–47 are too broken to translate.*]

———————————————————————
———————————————————————
———————————————————————
———————————————————————

Following the four horizontal lines, another twenty or so lines are missing at the end of the column.]

[*The edge of the tablet has the following prose colophon:*]

[The scribe is Ilimalku, student of Attenu, the *t*ʿ]*y*-priest of Niqmaddu, king of Ugarit.

Other numbers: RS 2.[014] + RS 3.363. KTU 1.3 = CTA 3 = V AB
(Virolleaud 1938: *editio princeps*) = 'nt I (Gordon 1965)

Museum numbers: RS 3.363 = M8217 = A2749 (Aleppo Museum)
= AO 16.638 (older Louvre number). RS 2.[014] = M3352 = A2737
(Aleppo Museum) = AO 16.639 (older Louvre number).

Dimensions: RS 3.363: 130 × 160 × 32mm. RS 2.[014]: 52 × 39 ×
22mm (cf. Bordreuil and Pardee 1989:26, 32).

Find Spots: The larger fragment, RS 3.363, was found in 1931 (third
campaign) at "point topographique" 339, in the northeast quadrant
of the southern entry room of the House of the High Priest, (see
the plan in Bordreuil and Pardee 1989: 25, fig. 7). The fragment RS
3.364 = CAT 1.8, which is now identified as the upper part of 1.3 VI
(Pardee i.p.) was found at the same location and is also listed under
"point topographique" 339. See the introductory material on 1.3 VI for
detailed discussion of 1.8 (pp. 408–9). The small fragment, containing
a few lines of columns III, IV, and V, was found the previous year, in
a different location. Unfortunately, the inventory list for the second sea-
son has been lost, and the locations of the tablets found in this season
can only be narrowed to the topographical points numbered 210–264.
These points comprise finds that were made in several different places
across the house, including the room directly to the west of the one
in which the larger fragment was found, the room at the far west side
of the house where the first season's tablets were discovered, a room
in the northeastern corner of the house, and in the street outside the
southern door ("Rue de la bibliotheque"). This fragment could have
been found in any of these locations. In any case, it was discovered
several meters away from the main body of the tablet.

   When found, the main fragment was in good company. The area
composing the southern entry room, the southern doorway and the
street just outside the door was the location where CAT 1.1, 1.2 III,

probably 1.2 I, II, IV (see the discussion above, p. 10, n. 4), two frag-
ments of 1.4, and parts of the Kirta and Aqhat Epics were found.

It appears that many of the tablets in the House of the High Priest
were found in the rubble of the collapse, rather than on the floor (cf.
Schaeffer's description of the finds of the third season 1932:22). This
indicates that the tablets had been located on the second floor of the
house (cf. Pardee 2002:8 n. 3). The fact that fragments of 1.3 (as well
as fragments of 1.4, 1.6, and probably 1.16) were widely dispersed
across the house suggests that the tablets had already been ransacked
and broken in pillaging that occurred before the house collapsed.

The three fragments of 1.3 (including 1.8) preserve slightly over
half of the text originally written on the tablet. RS 3.363 contains the
lower parts of columns I–III on the obverse, and the upper sections
of columns IV–VI on the reverse. The small fragment preserves part
of the top lines of column III and the last few lines of column IV,
while RS 3.364 contains at least parts of the first seventeen lines of
column VI. Each column probably held ca. 65–70 lines of text, giv-
ing the tablet approximately 390 to 420 lines, of which at least part
of 239 lines remain. As is characteristic of Ilimalku, the first column
on the obverse is narrower than the other two columns. The middle
column is the widest of the three, but the right-hand column has the
advantage that the scribe may continue around the right edge of the
tablet to finish a long line. On the reverse, the pattern continues, with
column IV (on the right side) making use of the right edge, column V
the widest on the side, and column VI the narrow one. One can see
the same pattern on CAT 1.4 and 1.5, and to a lesser extent, 1.6.

In his *editio princeps* (1938), Virolleaud chose to divide his presenta-
tion of the tablet into six units that do not always correspond to the
columns of text. He designated them with the letters A–F. Section A
corresponded to column I, but B contained column II, plus the opening
three lines of column III, preserved on the small fragment, RS 2.[014].
Section C was made up of column III 4–31, ending with the double
line that marks a jump in the narrative. Section D picked up with III
32 and went to IV 46, while E included the end of column IV from

RS 2.[014] and all of column V. Finally, Section F corresponded to column VI. *CTA* retained these unit designations, but they have not been used elsewhere.

The script is small and precise, easily legible where the tablet is not damaged. It is typical of the script of the rest of the Baal Cycle tablets and was certainly inscribed by Ilimalku.

CAT 1.3 I

Bibliography

Text Editions: Virolleaud 1938:1–10, pls. I, XI, 1936:336–45; CTA 14–15, fig. 7, pls. IV, VI; KTU 9–10; CAT 10; Pardee 1988b:1–2.

Studies and Translations: Aistleitner 24–25; Caquot and Sznycer, *TO* 1.153–56; Cassuto, *GA* 84–85, 107–13; Coogan 1978:89–90; Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1135–37; Driver, *CML*[1] 82–85; Gaster, *Thespis* 235–6; Gibson, *CML*[2] 46–47; Ginsberg, *ANET* 135–36; Gordon, *UL* 17, 1977:76; Gray, *LC*[2] 38–39; Jirku 26; Lipiński 1970; Loretz 2002b; de Moor, *SPUMB* 67–84, 1987:2–4; Obermann, *UgM* 8–12; del Olmo Lete, *MLC* 179–80; *MLR* 66–67; Pardee 1988b:2–67; 1997a:249–50; Smith 1990, *UNP* 105–7; Wyatt 1998:70–72; Xella 1982:97; van Zijl, *Baal* 47–52.

Text (See Images 02–03)

[About 25 lines are missing.]

1   ʾal.tg̊l̊[ ]x̊l̊[ ]
    prdmn.ʿbd.ʾäl̊ʾi̊[   ]
    bʿl.sʾid.zbl.bʿl
    ʾarṣ.qm.yt̠ʿr
5   w.yšlḥmnh
    ybrd.t̠d.lpnwh
    bḥrb.mlḥt
    qṣ.mrʾi.ndd
    yʿšr.wyšqynh
10 ytn.ks.bdh
    krpn[[m]]m.bkl ʾat.ydh
    bkrb.ʿzm.rʾidn
    mt.šmm.ks.qdš
    ltphnh.ʾat̠t.krpn
15 ltʿn.ʾat̠rt.ʾalp
    kd.yqḥ.bḥmr
    rbt.ymsk.bmskh
    qm.ybd.wyšr
    mṣltm.bd.nʿm
20 yšr.ǵzr.t̠b.ql
    ʿl.bʿl.b̊.ṣrrt
    ṣpn.ytmr.bʿl
    bnth.yʿn.pdry
    bt.ʾar.ʾapn.t̠ly

25   [   ]r̊b.pdr.yd'
      [   ]t.r̊mxlt
      [   ]
      [   ]mkt

[About 12 to 14 lines are missing.]

Textual Notes

Line 1. 'al.tg̊l[ ]x°l[Only the lower diagonal wedge of the /ġ/ is preserved, but that assures the reading. Following it, the tips of two long verticals are barely visible. The context argues for /l/ over /ṣ/. In the succeeding break, there is room for a word divider and perhaps a letter before the lower line of a horizontal wedge appears. This could be /t/, as suggested by CAT, but it may also be the right wedge of /k/ or /r/, or perhaps, /n/ or /'a/. That wedge is followed by vague traces of perhaps three vertical wedges, a possible /l/, although the traces seem rather bunched together in comparison to other /l/'s.

Line 2. prdmn.ᶜbd. 'äl'ï[The /n/ has four wedges. The top parts of /'al'i/ have been lost, but each is certain epigraphically as well as contextually.

Line 5. yšlḥmnh   The /n/ here also has four wedges.

Line 6. lpnwh   The form of the word with a /w/ is unusual and might involve an error (for /n/?). The /h/ has four horizontals.

Line 8. ndd   Another four-wedged /n/.

Line 9. wyšqynh   CTA's reading of the last three letters as /nyh/ is a typo. The /h/ has four wedges.

Line 10. bdh   The /h/ again has four wedges.

Line 11. krpn[[m]]m.   Things are complex at the /n/. It is clear that the scribe wrote an /m/ first, then replaced it with an /n/. Cf. Pardee (1998b:87): krpn. The second /m/ encroaches on the right wedge of the /n/, suggesting that it was written after the scribe corrected the first /m/ with the /n/. Thus it is presumably part of the word.
   ydh   The /h/ has four wedges.

Line 12. rʾdn   The /n/ appears from its upper line to have four wedges.

Line 17. rbt   The form for the word, "ten thousand" or "myriads," elsewhere is *rbbt*. Accordingly, haplography may be suspected here.

Line 21. ʿl. bʿl.bṣrrt   The /ʿ/ is clear, even though the edges are abraded away. Pardee sees a word divider between /b/ and /ṣrrt/. There is clearly a dimple there, but we are reluctant to identify it as a word divider. It is possible though.

Line 25. [   ]r̊b   We see no trace of the /b/ read by CAT at the beginning of the line. The /r/ is certain only due to context. The only part preserved is the right horizontal; there are no actual traces of wedges to the left along the break.

Line 26. [   ]t.l̊i̊mxlt   We believe that what CAT reads as an /ʿ/ before the first /t/ is actually just a break. The /h/ is read as an /ʾi/ in both CTA and CAT. However, what both identify as the lower left vertical of the /ʾi/ is actually breakage. The letter following /m/ is virtually gone, but there appear to be lines of two horizontals consistent with a /k/. The following /l/ is certain, although only the tops of the wedges are preserved.

Line 27. [   ]   We see no traces that match the /t.w/ proposed by CAT. Most of what CAT appears to take as wedges is actually breakage. There may be the upper line of a horizontal partially preserved under the /hm/ of the previous line, but that is doubtful too.

Line 28. [ ]mkt   Both wedges of the /m/ are partially preserved and are certain. The /k/ is also clear, with all three wedges visible. The upper part of the /t/ is broken, but the letter is certain.

Text Restored and Set in Poetic Form

[About 25 lines are missing.]

1–2 *[   ]/ʾal.tg̊l*
    [ ]xl[ ]/prdmn.

2–4   ʿbd.ʾalʾi[yn]/bʿl.
        sʾid.zbl.bʿl/ʾarṣ.
4–8   qm.ytʿr/w.yšlḥmnh/
        ybrd.ṯd.lpnwh
        bḥrb.mlḥt/qṣ.mrʾi.
8–11   ndd/yʿšr.wyšqynh/
        ytn.ks.bdh/
        krpn[[m]]m.bklʾat.ydh
12–13   bkrb.ʿzm.rʾi
        dn/mt.šmm.
13–15   ks.qdš/ltphnh.ʾaṯt.
        krpn/ltʿn.ʾaṯrt.
15–17   ʾalp/kd.yqh.bḥmr/
        rbt.ymsk.bmskh
18–19   qm.ybd.wyšr/
        mṣltm.bd.nʿm
20–22   yšr.ġzr.ṭb.ql/
        ʿl.bʿl.b.ṣrrt/ṣpn.
22–25   ytmr.bʿl/bnth.
        yʿn.pdry/bt.ʾar.
        ʾapn.ṯly/[bt.]rb.
25–27   pdr.ydʿ/[ ]t.
        hm [k]lt/[knyt]
27–28   [   ]/[   ]
        [   ]mkt

[About 12 to 14 lines are missing.]

TRANSLATION AND VOCALIZED TEXT

See Pardee 1988b:55 for a vocalization, to which the following is heavily indebted.

Baal's Victory Banquet: Food

2–4   He served Might[iest] Baal,   ʿabada ʾalʾi[yāna] baʿla[1]
      Waited on the Prince, Lord of the Earth.   saʾida[2] zabūla baʿla ʾarṣi[3]

_____

[1] For the syllabic evidence for this form, see Huehnergard 1987b:114; *UG* 169.
[2] Pope (in Smith 1998b:653) compared Arabic *sayyid*, "a noun of respect." See *DUL* 751.
[3] For the syllabic evidence for this form, see Huehnergard 1987b:110; *UG* 172.

4–8	He stood, arranged and offered him food,	qāma yat'uru[4] wa-yašalḥimuna-hu
	Sliced a breast before him,	yabrudu[5] tada lê[6]-panawi-hu[7] (?)
	With a salted knife, a cut of fatling.	bi[8]-ḥarbi malūḥati qaṣṣa marī'i

Baal's Drink

8–11	He stood, served and offered him drink,	nadada[9] ya'šuru wa-yašaqqi-yuna-hu
	Put a cup in his hand,	yatinu kāsa[10] bâdi-hu[11]
	A goblet in both his hands:	karpana-ma bi-kil'atê yadê-hu
12–13	A large, imposing vessel,	bika rabba[12] 'azūma (?)
	A rhyton for mighty men;	ru'danna mutī šamîmi[13]

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[4] See *DUL* 898; Pope (in Smith 1998b:653); and Commentary below on p. 105–6.

[5] Often related to BH/Aramaic *prd, "to separate," also Akkadian *parādu*, Arabic *farada*; see *DUL* 236; cf. PN *ybrdmy* in 1.24.29; see Garr 1986:50 and Sivan 1997:27 explaining the shift from *p > *b as a partial assimilation of *b* to the following unvoiced phoneme.

[6] For the syllabic evidence for this form, see Huehnergard 1987b:142; *UG* 172. Huehnergard prefers a vocalization of *li-*. Blau and Greenfield (1970:16) explain the form: "in 'Proto-Ugaritic' *'ilā* which no longer exists in Ugaritic, left a mark on its partial synonym *la* by influencing its ending: *la* + *'ilē* (< *'ilay*) = *lē*." Tropper (*UG* 758) proposes either *le-* or *lê-* (*< *lay*, to which he compares "zsem. *'ilay*"). Following Blau and Greenfield, the latter option is assumed here.

[7] See *UG* 198, which understands *lpnw-* as an uncontracted form.

[8] For the syllabic evidence for this form, see Huehnergard 1987b:112; *UG* 187, 755.

[9] Like Akkadian *uzuzzu*, the Ugaritic verb was originally formed from the *N*-stem of middle weak *dwd*, as noted independently by Pope 1947 and Rosenthal 1940:293 n. 1, and as endorsed recently in Huehnergard 2002:177.

[10] For a recent discussion of cognates, see Mankowski 2000:62–63. He argues that Akkadian *kāsu* is the source of Sumerian GU-ZI/KU-ZI and not the other way around. For comparative evidence, see also Fox 2003:75. He reconstructs PS *ka's* or *kās*.

[11] Cf. *ba-di-ú* in EA 245:35, normalized *bâdi* by Rainey 1996:3.23 and Sivan 1997:43, 198. Rainey also compares Phoenician-Punic *bd* (*DNWSI* 1.434, which includes PNs, e.g., KAI 17; see also Israel 1989:53–54). Rainey derives the reconstruction of a collapsed triphthong of the preposition of *b-* plus *yad-*. This view coheres with Greek transliterations of the Phoenician form as *bod-* (see KAI II:24). See the discussions also in Sivan 1984:209; *UBC* 1.153, 322 n. 182; *UG* 161, 774. Within the West Semitic languages, this usage of *bd* may be an isogloss linking several so-called "Canaanite" languages. For the syllabic evidence for the third masc. sg. suffix on nouns, see Huehnergard 1987b:120; Sivan 1997:53.

[12] For the syllabic evidence, see Huehnergard 1987b:176.

[13] Cf. the gloss *ša-mì-ma* in EA 264:16 (Sivan 1997:77).

| 13–15 | A holy cup women may not see, | kāsa qudši lā[14]-taphîna-hu 'aṯṯātu |
| | A goblet Athirat may not eye. | karpana[15] lā-ta'înu 'aṯiratu[16] |

| 15–17 | A thousand jars he drew of the wine, | 'alpa kadda[17] yiqqaḥu bi-ḫamri[18] |
| | A myriad he mixed in his mixture. | ribbata[19] yamsuku bi-miski-hu |

Music for the Feast

| 18–19 | He stood, chanted and sang | qāma yabuddu wa-yašîru |
| | Cymbals in the virtuoso's hands. | maṣillatâmi[20] bâdê na'imi |

| 20–22 | Sweet of voice the hero sang | yašîru[21] ġāziru ṭābu[22] qāli |
| | About Baal on the summit of Sapan. | 'al ba'li bi- ṣarirāti ṣapāni |

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[14] For the syllabic evidence, see Huehnergard 1987b:141.

[15] In addition to cognates cited in the lexica, cf. Akkadian *karpatu*, "pot," in Akkadian texts from Ras Shamra (e.g., RS 20.425 in *Ugaritica V*, p. 192 and RS 20.20.04 in *Ugaritica V*, p. 193).

[16] Her name appears as ᵈ*aš-ra-tu₄* in deity-lists from Ugarit (RS 20.024.19, Pardee 2002:14; and RS 92.2004.13, Pardee 2002:17). For the syllabic forms, see further Huehnergard 1987b:111; *UG* 183. It is possible that the Ugaritic form is to be vocalized accordingly as **'aṯrat-*. Note also that the name of this goddess is Ashertu in the Hittite-Hurrian story of "Elkunisha and Ashertu;" in this case, it would appear that the *a*-vowel has undergone syncope (*ANET* 519; Hoffner 1965; 1998:90–92). In the Amarna correspondence, personal names with her name as a divine element vary the spelling of her name even within the same letter (Abdi-Ašrati and [<Abdi>-Aš]eratu in EA 138; Abdi-Ašrati, Abdi-Aširti and Abdi-Aširta in EA 137; see also Abdi-Ašratu in EA 60:2 as opposed to [Abd]i-Aširti in EA 62:2; see Moran 1992:132 n. 1; *DDD* 100).

[17] For the syllabic evidence for this noun, see Huehnergard 1987b:136. For cognates in Indo-European languages, see *UT* 19.1195, *DUL* 429–30. The word is standard in Ugaritic lists of liquid measure (e.g., 4.279.1–5). For the possibility that the word is a loan, see Watson 2000a:570; cf. M. Cohen 1947:124, #226. For BH *kad* as a storage jar for water or flour, see Kelso 1948:19.

[18] For cognates, also with the **qatl* base, see Pentiuc 2001:55.

[19] Sivan 1997:63.

[20] Cf. the syllabic evidence for *maṣillu*, "cymbalist," see Huehnergard 1987b:171.

[21] The root is common Semitic. For the noun *šîru* in an Ugaritic polyglot, see Huehnergard 1987b:181.

[22] For syllabic evidence, see Huehnergard 1987b:131.

Baal's "Daughters"

22–25	Baal gazed at his daughters,	yittamiru[23] ba'lu bināti[24]-hu
	Eyed Pidray, Daughter of Light,	ya'înu pidraya bitta[25] 'āri
	Then Tallay, [Daughter] of Rain.	'appuna ṭallaya [bitta] ribbi (?)
25–27	Pidru knew…	pidru yada'a (?)
	Indeed, the [No]ble [Brides]…	himma [ka]llāti [kanniyāti] (?)
	…	

<div align="center">COMMENTARY</div>

Poetic Parallelism and Word/Syllable Counts

Pardee (1988b:1–67) has produced a comprehensive poetic analysis of this column (for overviews of various features, see esp. pp. 40–41, 43, 47, 55, 57, 62–67). The following comments, largely found in augmented form in his study, mark the most salient points about parallelism within cola.

		semantic parallelism	word/ syllable count
2–4	'abada 'al'i[yāna] ba'la	a b c	3/9
	sa'ida zabūla ba'la 'arṣi	a' b' c'	4/10

Although the word count appears imbalanced, with the unusual feature of the second line showing an apparently longer unit than the first, the syllable count reflects overall symmetry in line-length. Most prominently binding the two lines together is the name of Baal in the first line and the use of the same noun as part of his title in the second line. The *b* and *l* of *zbl* in the second line echo the name of Baal, and perhaps

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[23] *Gt*-stem of the root **'mr*, "to see," cognate with Amorite **'mr* and Akkadian *amāru*, "see," and Eth *'ammara*, "show, know"; see Sanmartín 1973:265–6; Barr 1974:4–7; Greenfield 1993:26–27 (with criticism of Barr); Zadok 1993:3. For the phonological change, see Sivan 1997:32, 130; *UG* 520. For Afro-Asiatic cognates, see M. Cohen 1947:78, #9.

[24] Pl. with masc. suffix, *bnth* = **bināta-hu*. See the next note for the singular form.

[25] Sg. *bt* = **bittu* < **bintu*, so in syllabic spelling in PNs in Akkadian texts from Ugarit, etc.; see Gröndahl 1967:119; Sivan 1997:62, *UG* 249. Cf. Arabic *bint*.

such a resonance might suggest that a similar resonance obtains in the
first line, in the *b* of *ʿbd* and *l* of *ʾalʾi[yn]* preceding *bʿl*. Furthermore,
the identical **qtl*-verb + object syntax binds the two lines (for the verbs,
see Watson 1994b:246). The dominance of *a*-vowels in both lines is
perhaps also noteworthy; most of it is generated morphologically.

4–8	qama yaṯʿuru wa-yašalḥimuna-hu	a b c d	3/12
	yabrudu ṯada lê-panawi-hu (?)	b' e d'	3/10
	bi-ḥarbi malūḥati qaṣṣa marīʾi	f e'	4/12

The syllable count suggests overall balance despite four words in
the last line as opposed to three in each of the preceding two lines.
For the semantic parallelism, the suffix *-h* in the first line has been
assigned a separate unit ("d"), as it is picked up and augmented by the
prepositional phrase at the end of the second line, itself paralleled not
semantically but morphologically in the first two words of the third
line. This latter morphological parallelism points up the chiasm between
the prepositional phrases and direct objects evident in the second and
third lines. The alliteration between two words in the last two lines is
further notable: *ybrd* and *bḥrb*; this alliteration perhaps dictated in part
the particular selection of verb. The alliteration, as well as the syntax
of the last two lines suggests a basic bicolon to which the first line has
been prefixed. Indeed, the syntax of the first line, consisting of **qtl* +
*yqtl + **yqtl* verbs, noticeably demarcates it from the second and third
lines (a feature also in lines 8–9 and 18; see discussion below for the
significance of this feature). However, the first line is tied to the following
ones in other ways. It would appear that *qm* in the first line is echoed
sonantly by *qṣ mrʾi* in the third line. Similarly, the consonants of the
third verb in the first line are perhaps to be seen as echoed by the pas-
sive participle in the third line: *yšlḥmn* and *mlḥt*. The variation in verbal
syntax contrasts with the apparently significant sonant resonances.

8–11	nadada yaʿšuru wa-yašaqqiyuna-hu	a b c	3/13
	yatinu kāsa bâdi-hu	c' d e	3/8
	karpana-ma bi-kilʾatê yadê-hu	d' e'	3/11

As with the preceding tricolon, the unusual syntax of the first line differs
markedly from the second and third lines, which stand together syn-
tactically. Read by themselves, these two lines may be seen as a simple
bicolon with fundamental semantic, syntactical and morphological
parallelism: a b c//b' c', with *bi-kilʾatê yadê-hu* standing as a semantic

expansion of *bâdi-hu*, with basic syntactical, morphological and sonant parallelism. Yet some features bind the three lines. The final *-h* suffix at the very end of all three lines particularly stands out, and perhaps to a less conspicuous degree (because of the variation in position), the initial syllable **ya-* resonates in all three as well.

| 12–13 | bika rabba ʻaẓūma (?) | a b | 4/7 |
| | ruʼdanna mutī šamîmi | aʼ bʼ | 3/8 |

Watson (1994b:131, 472) includes the initial line here among examples of parallelism within single lines. It is difficult to make strong claims regarding this bicolon's parallelism, as the interpretation of the lines is highly debated. If correctly interpreted, the syntactical parallelism of direct objects for vessels followed by modifying phrases is evident in the two lines, as with the objects *ks//krpn* in the next bicolon. In both lines 12–13 and lines 13–15, a two-syllable word for a vessel would be parallel to a three-syllable term (and in the case of the three-syllable terms, *r* and *n* appear in both). Morphological parallelism of at least the initial term in the two lines follows suit. Finally, the single *m* in the first line might be seen as echoing three times in the second line; the observation might be increased under the rubric of bilabials, *b* and *m*.

| 13–15 | kāsa qudši lā-taphîna-hu ʼaṭṭātu | a b c | 4/12 |
| | karpana lā-taʻînu ʼaṯiratu | aʼ bʼ cʼ | 3/11 |

The basic morphological and syntactical parallelism is strong in this bicolon: direct objects plus asyndetic relative clauses both consisting of negative + verb followed by the subject. The objects in line-initial position also echo the same parallelism of terms in the preceding tricolon in lines 8–11. Their word-initial *ka-* likewise reinforces the parallelism of terms. The poet might have chosen another word for "cup" or "goblet" (e.g., *qbʻt*, as in *ks//qbʻt* in 1.19 IV 53–54), but perhaps for reasons of consonance selected *krpn* to go with *ks* (Watson 1994b:434). Semantic and sonant parallelism also marks the verbs: both verbs involve visual perception, not to mention the negative particle *l-* preceding both of them, *t-* prefix forms in both, *a-i* vowels (if correctly vocalized), and the *-n* at their end. Finally, the nouns at the end of the lines show sonant parallelism in three of their consonants and most of their vowels. Perhaps this sonant proximity reinforces the view that the goddess may be understood as the superlative example of the category of woman, the word to which Athirat is parallel in the first line. For a "female"

versus "male" contrast between this bicolon and the preceding one,
see Watson 1994b:472.

15–17	'alpa kadda yiqqaḥu bi-ḥamri	a b c d	4/10
	ribbata yamsuku bi-miski-hu	a' c' d'	3/10

The lines are nicely balanced in length, as indicated by the syllable
count. The syntax as well as morphology is markedly similar in the two
lines. The objects are fronted prominently; and perhaps by the paral-
lelism of amounts placed in both lines, it would seem that it is the
amounts themselves that draw the audience's attention. Sonant paral-
lelism is evident with the single m in the first line echoed by the same
consonant appearing twice in the second; the other bilabials arguably
reinforce this feature.

18–19	qāma yabuddu wa-yašîru	a b c	3/9
	maṣillatâmi bâdê naʻimi	d e	3/10

Watson (1994b:319) takes the two lines here with the following as a
tricolon and then claims that with the second line of the next bicolon,
the four lines together comprise a four-line stanza. Despite the lack
of syntactical and semantic parallelism, some sonant parallelism is
apparent. The sequence b-d stands out in the middle of both lines.
Moreover, the triple occurrence of m in the second line echoes the
single use in the first.

20–22	yašîru ġāziru ṭābu qāli	a b c	4/10
	ʻal baʻli bi-ṣarirāti ṣapāni	d e f	4/11

The second line is perhaps a syllable longer relative to the first line.
The sort of disparate syntax between the two lines (specifically with
no verbal syntax in the second line) somewhat recalls the syntax in
the preceding bicolon. Indeed, the verb *yšr* in this bicolon semantically
marks this bicolon as an expansion of the topic in the preceding bicolon.
Sonant parallelism here is more limited: the single use of b in the first
line is echoed twice in the second line, complimented further by the
bilabial p in the last word. On the assumption that the words involved
are vocalized correctly, perhaps noteworthy in connecting the end of
the first line with the beginning of the second is the resonance between
qāli and *ʻal*. By the same token, each line also has its own alliteration,
with r twice in the first and $ṣ$ twice in the second.

22–25	yittamiru baʻlu bināti-hu	a b c	3/10
	yaʻînu pidraya bitta ʼāri	aʼ cʼ d	3/10
	ʼappuna ṭallaya [bitta] ribbi (?)	e cʼ dʼ	4/10

The lines are balanced in the length and overall syntax. (The initial word of the third line is unusual, from the perspective of poetic syntax, but since it fits the length of line well, there is no need to view it as intrusive or mistaken. Beyond the strong morphological, syntactical and semantic parallelism, sonant parallelism is particularly evident in the bilabials and secondarily with the letters ʻ and *l*, echoing the main protagonist's name in this scene. Sonant emphasis placed on the names of divine protagonists is hardly confined to this tricolon. Fitzgerald (1974:61) notes Baal and Yamm in the alliterative pattern of 1.3 III 36–39, as well as the name of Baal in 1.19 I 42–46 and 1.101.1–2. A similar alliteration echoes the title of Athirat in 1.4 I: the paranomasia of her title *rbt* with *rbtm* in line 30 and *rbbt* in lines 28 and 43 further evokes the vastness of the goods made for her benefit throughout the rest of the column (for further discussion, see the Commentary at 1.4 I). Watson (1994b:436) suggests that the names of the women "are held over to the second and consecutive lines," thereby showing a "delayed identification" for these figures, a poetic feature he notes elsewhere as well (e.g., 1.2 I 34–35).

Introduction

The surviving portion of this column is clear on the whole, especially in lines 2b–22. These lines describe a feast prepared and served for Baal's benefit and form an identifiable unit. Lines 22f. may likewise belong to this scene, but the context of the lines is so unclear that it is impossible to be sure. The location of the scene here is not mentioned (at least not without some ambiguity; see the discussion of lines 21–22 below), but it may be safely inferred from CAT 1.3 IV. When Anat travels to Baal following his summons, she arrives at Mount Ṣapan, and Baal sends his women away, presumably because of the nature of his meeting with Anat (cf. Zamora 2000:581). These are probably the same women mentioned at the end of 1.3 I, and it is evident from this narrative link that Mount Ṣapan is the site of Baal's activity in both columns.[26] Given Baal's presence on Mount Ṣapan in 1.3 I, the

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[26] For a discussion of Mount Sapan (with references), see Fauth 1990; Koch 1993a; *UBC* 1.122–23, 232–33 n. 26. Sapan appears in god-lists (RS 24.264.4, 14

purpose of the banquet there can be suggested with perhaps somewhat greater confidence. If 1.3 I follows directly on 1.2 IV, then a victory feast celebrating Baal's defeat of Yamm would be in order. There is no evidence opposing this continuity between tablets, but such a reconstruction cannot be proven (*UBC* 1.12–14). On the assumption that 1.3 I describes a victory feast (whether or not 1.2 IV and 1.3 I are directly continuous), it shows one outstanding feature compared to other such scenes in ancient Near Eastern literature: Baal celebrates his victory apparently without his divine peers. The feast does not appear to be, in Gray's words (1979b:315), "a banquet of the gods" or the divine council in general. It is true that Baal's divine subordinates are present: a servant provides him with food, drink and music; and at the very end of the column his "women" are noted. Yet it is striking that no other major divinities appear, at least in the extant text (there are ca. 25 lines missing lines above this passage, which could have included the arrival of guests, and there is room at the bottom of the tablet for the guests to depart). We may have a scene limited to members of his household (on Baal's household, see Smith 2001a:56).

Such an understanding of the scene would fit our general interpretation of the Cycle, in which Baal is not confirmed as king/coregent of El until the latter has given his permission for Baal to build his palace, and the pantheon come to the palace for a banquet that confirms their acceptance of Baal in his new role (1.4 VI 38–VII 42). It thus appears inappropriate for the full pantheon to be present here. See the Introduction above, p. 48.

Lichtenstein (1968:25; 1977:25–30) has studied the *topos* of the feast in numerous Mesopotamian, Ugaritic and Israelite texts and observes a narrative pattern with a sequence in which preparations are made, food is served, then drink is served. This three-fold pattern is apparent in 1.3 I as well. Here a fourth element, music, follows the serving of the drink. This element is found in other Ugaritic banquet scenes, notably 1.17 VI and 1.108.1–5. These four elements, plus a possible fifth (suggested in Smith 1990:319 n. 7; *UBC* 1.138 n. 29) are found in the following lines:

//20.024.5, 14; 24.643.27//92.2004.10) as ᵈHUR.SAG.ḫa-zi (Pardee 2002:14, 17). For Mount Hazzi (Sapan) in Anatolian ritual from Emar, see Emar 472.58', 473.9', 476.21' (where the dinger sign is used). For a possible reference to Sapan in *Maqlû*, see Abusch 1995:486–88, 494 n. 75.

A. preparation   lines 2b–4a
B. food   lines 4b–8a
C. drink   lines 8b–17
D. music   lines 18–22a
E. sexual relations (?) lines 22b–28 (?)

Another narrative structure is visible in Sections B–D, each of which begins with a line consisting of three verbs (Watson 1975:484; Pardee 1988b:6, 9, 16–17). The first verb is a *qtl* form, while the second and third are *yqtl* verbs, linked by the conjunction *w*. This triple occurrence of the initial *qtl* is highly exceptional, perhaps unique, in Ugaritic literature (Smith 1990:318 n. 5; Watson 1994b:248) and indicates a close relationship. In addition, the synonymous meanings of the verbs (*qm*, "he arose," in lines 4 and 18, and *ndd*, "he stood," in line 8) argue for a connection between the elements. Accordingly, sections B–D as larger units may be read as poetically parallel. Moreover, these sections are bound further by the third person masculine suffixes in lines 5, 6, 9, 10–11, 14, 17 and 23 (Pardee 1988b:9). We may also note the sonant parallelism between the *yqtl* verbs in the three initial lines: *ytʿr* in line 4; *yʿšr* in line 9; and *yšr* in line 18 (also line 22). Section A opens with a *qtl* verb (*ʿbd*, line 2b), but does not contain the rest of the pattern. However, there is little doubt that it is an essential part of the standard narrative design for a feast story.

   The proposal that lines 22–27 might have to do with sexual relations and that a description of such activities might be a feature of some feast accounts is fairly tenuous (Smith 1990:319 n. 7; *UBC* 1.138 n. 29; see also the discussion below, pp. 115–21). Possible examples, neither clearly applicable (see our discussions below on these passages), include El's speech to Athirat upon her arrival to his abode in 1.4 IV 33–39, where he offers her first food and drink and then sexual relations,[27] and the possible allusion to sexual relations at feasts in 1.4 III 19–22 (but see the discussion below, pp. 476–78). Section E's verbs of vision connect this section with the preceding units: *ʿyn* in lines 15 and 23, and *ʾmr* in line 22 (cf. *phy* in line 14).

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[27] Cf. El and Athirat's sexual relations in the West Semitic myth of Elkunirsha and Ashertu (*ANET* 519; Hoffner 1965; 1998: 90–92; Beckman 1997:149).

Lines 1–2

Very little of certainty can be determined about this section. Line 1 is seriously damaged, and the first word of line 2 is ambiguous. In line 1, *tgl* is thought to derive from a root that is either geminate or final weak. Assuming the latter, Aartun (1967–68:294) reconstructs *'al tgl[y r'a/'išthm]* on the basis of *tgly 'ilm r'išthm* in 1.2 I 23. Since the context is unknown, the reconstruction lies beyond verification (see *SPUMB* 68). The word *prdmn* in line 2 is likewise problematic. Many commentators take the vocable as a PN serving as the subject of the verbs in lines 2f. (e.g., *CML*² 47). Pardee (1980:274) has noted that "inclusion of *prdmn* in this poetic line results in a line length of fourteen or fifteen syllables (depending on the vocalization of *prdmn*), longer than any line in this column…Moreover, the second line of the bicolon in ll. 2–3 has only ten syllables." Accordingly, *prdmn* probably belongs with the preceding words, now lost. It may be that the subject of the verbs in line 2 and following could be impersonal or unnamed ("he"), referring back to *prdmn* (*ANET* 135; *GA* 84) or *rdmn*, if *p-* were taken as a separate particle (meaning "so," perhaps with a temporal connotation of "then" or "at that moment"). *Prdmn* has no parallel while *rdmn* has been compared with Akkadian PNN *rādimu, radmanu*, ESA PNN *rdmn, rdmyn, rdmw*, Tham. PN *rdm* (so *SPUMB* 68). De Moor also notes a possible relationship to the Greek god Radamanthys, a deity of foreign origins thought to rule over the Elysian fields (Odyssey 4:561f.); see also Loretz 2002b. In a particularly original stroke, Dahood (1979:146 n. 21) took the vocable as two words meaning "mule of destiny."

Lines 2–4: Baal's Banquet: Preparation

These lines set the stage for the feast. A figure unnamed in the preserved text (*GA* 11), though perhaps *rdmn* of the ambiguous line 2, serves and regales Baal. This figure may not have been named at all, since he is a servant. His actions are reminiscent of cultic activities of priests who offer sacrifice and music to the gods. Such a ritualistic background may underlie the use of "the knife" (*ḥrb*), mentioned in line 7 (see below for further discussion). The context of the overall passage suggests that the servant here is also the singer in lines 18–22a.

Baal is the focus of the feast. The resonance of this name is carried further with his title, *zbl*, "prince," literally "exalted one" (from the root **zbl*, "to carry"; cf. the semantic analogous development of BH *nāśî'*, "prince," literally "lifted one" from the root **nśʾ*, "to raise").

The full title, *zbl bʿl ʾarṣ*, "Prince, Lord of the Earth," appears for the first time in the Baal Cycle. The second word is the same as Baal's name and may be regarded as a pun. Or, the title could be translated "Prince Baal of the Earth" (cf. Athirat's title, *rbt ʾaṯrt ym*, "Lady Athirat of the Sea"; *Astartu ša a-bi*, "Astarte of the sea" (?), e.g., Emar 373.92', 452.17', but other possibilities are discussed in Pentiuc 2001:20, 21–25).[28] The appearance of Baal's full title here may not be accidental, as the placement of epithets may signal a particular aspect of a deity in a given context. This specific epithet may signify that now that Baal has defeated Yamm, Baal has become lord of the earth.

Lines 4–8: Food

Lines 4b–8a describe the serving of food. The three verbs in 4b–5a constitute a progression either of three sequential finite verbs ("he rises, prepares and feeds him"; *UNP* 106; Wyatt 1998:70), a complex syntactic construction involving a main and subordinate clause ("after he arises, he prepares and feeds him"; so Blake 1951:80 n. 1), or possibly a participle plus two prefix indicative forms (Piquer Otero 2003:199–200; cf. *MLC* 179). In this third view, the initial verb does not mean "to rise," but "to be standing" at attention, a position suitable to a servant (cf. *bʿl qm ʿl ʾil* in 1.2 I 21; see *UBC* 1.295), and our translation above follows this interpretation of the semantics of *qm* here and in line 20 (as well as *ndd* in line 8). The interpretation of the initial form as a participle may be supported by *qmm* in 1.2 I 31 and by *ʾany* in Baal's lament before *lyṣḥ* in 1.3 V 35; both of these forms seem to be participles in initial position. Yet elsewhere according to Piquer Otero, initial **qatala* may convey subordinate action when preceding other finite verbs. If so, then the initial verb might be understood: "as he stands (at attention), he serves." However, the line may involve a sequence of three finite verbs: a servant stands at attention and then serves; a servant does not serve while standing (still). The second verb in this sequence, **ṯʿr*, refers to arrangement in 1.3 III 20, 36: "she arranged/set chairs/tables." A comparable usage appears both in 1.3 II 20–22 (Sivan 1997:125; see p. 161 below), and in 1.24.36–37: *ʾiḫh yṯʿr*

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[28] To the list of attested variants on the motif of Astarte and the Sea (*UBC* 1.23–24), Houwinck ten Cate (1992:117–19) adds KBo 26.105, possibly a song belonging to the "Cycle of Kumarbi."

mšrrm, "her brother(s) prepared/arranged the measures" (for cognates, see *DUL* 893; cf. Hoch 1994:272–73 for a possible West Semitic loan of the verb's root into Egyptian).

The remainder of the tricolon here describes the preparation. The unnamed figure *ybrd*, "cuts" (?) the breast. The somewhat uncertain verb is perhaps explicated more fully in the third line with the verbal noun *qṣ*, which refers to a cutting or slicing (**qṣṣ*; cf. BH **qṣṣ*; Syriac *qeṣṣō*, Arabic *qaṣaṣa*, Akkadian *g/qaṣāṣu*, cited in *DUL* 715, 717; see also *UT* 19.2259). As long noted, *qṣ* is not a verb in this line, since it is followed by a noun in the genitive, not in the accusative case (for the correct syntactical analysis, see C. L. Miller 1999:356–57). The object named in the third line used to make the cut is **ḥrb*, a knife, likewise indicating the force of **brd* in this context. The noun is cognate with BH *ḥereb* and Aramaic *ḥarbā* (cf. **ḥarba*, a West Semitic loanword into Egyptian discussed by Hoch 1994:233–35). LBA repertoire of weaponry included both the shorter dagger and the longer sickle-sword (Paul and Dever 1973:233, 236). A variation on the former would seem to be the operative "kitchen tool" in this context (cf. the preference of J. P. Brown 1968:178–81 for the translation, "sickle," comparing Greek *harpē* and Latin *harpē*). The alliteration between *ybrd* and *bḥrb* is further notable, which perhaps helped to inspire the selection of this particular verb.

The knife (*ḥrb*) has long been regarded as "salted" (**mlḥt*). Salt was put on the knife for "its ritual, purifying, antiseptic and preservative properties," according to Ullendorff (1962:345–6). The word *mlḥt* designates salt in 1.175.6 in a list of medical items (with *ḥmṣ*) and in 4.344.22 and 4.720.1 in lists of quantities of items (*DUL* 549). The use of salting for meat may also be attested in 4.247.20, *'uz mr'at mlḥt*, "a fatted salted goose."[29] If correctly translated, this phrase shows the use of **mr'*, "fatling," in a close context with *mlḥt*, "salted." Accordingly, the context of *bḥrb mlḥt qṣ mr'i* in 1.3 I 7–8 is best understood as evoking a picture of meat salted and cut (and perhaps not so much that the knife itself is salted unless this were an ancient method of applying salt to meat). Salt was used as a condiment for food in Mesopotamia (see *CAD K*:493 under *kuddimmu*; Potts 1984:247, 265, 267; Lackenbacher 2002:132 n. 407, with further bibliography) and Israel (Job 6:6). That

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[29] This phrase has been interpreted alternatively as a "good fatted goose" (see *UT* 19.119, 19.482; Sivan 1997:74), but in view of the other uses of *mlḥt* as salt, this approach seems less appealing.

salt was an important Levantine commodity may be deduced from an edict of Mursilis II found at Ugarit (RS 17.335 + 17.379 + 17.381 + 17.235, in *PRU* IV, 71–72; Lackenbacher 2002:137–38), in which the Hittite king adjudicates the secession of the kingdom of Siyannu from under the control of Ugarit and its movement into the political sphere of Carchemish. In addition to designating which towns belong to Ugarit and which to Siyannu, the king carefully divides a salt marsh between the two (Potts 1984:252). Potts (1984:230) also notes what was called "Amurru salt" (although it is unclear whether Amurru in this case is a general reference to the west or a specific designation for the region in Syria known as Amurru). In the Mesopotamian heartland, salt was a valued commodity. Salt was distributed in the form of lumps or bricks (Potts 1984:258–9). Royal banquets used salt in the food (*CAD K*:49), and workers' rations included allotments of barley, dried fish and salt (Potts 1984:265).

Alternative interpretations for *bḥrb mlḥt* have been proposed, such as a "good knife" (*UT* 19.482; cf. M. Cohen 1947:191, #482), or a "jaw-shaped knife" (see the discussion and citations of Wyatt 1998:70 n. 2 and Watson 2000b:141; for other possibilities, see Ullendorff 1962:345–46, esp. n. 4; and Dietrich, Loretz and Sanmartín 1974:40). In support of *mlḥt* as "jaw-shaped," Wyatt cites BH *lĕḥî*, "jaw." While this facial feature might seem odd as a characterization of a knife, it is quite possible that *ḥrb* by itself may suggest a curved shaped knife analogous (as noted by Wyatt) to Greek *harpē* (mentioned above).

Lines 8–17: Drink

These lines comprise the longest section in the description of the feast. The initial unit, a tricolon, follows and echoes the preceding unit, with phonological, morphological and semantic parallelism between lines 4b–5 and 8b–9: *qm* and *ndd*, *yt'r* and *y'šr*, and *yšlḥmnh* and *yšqynh* (see Avishur 1984:77–78). Further parallelism links lines 18–21 as well (cf. *qm* and *wyšr* in line 18). As noted at the outset of this discussion, the first line of this tricolon syntactically, morphologically and semantically resembles lines 4b–5 above and line 18 below. The second line may follow suit: the verb of the second line in line 6 is *ybrd*, a prefix form, which may suggest a similar morphological analysis for *ytn* (Smith 1990:318); cf. *yšr* in line 20. The verb *ytn* governs the direct objects in lines 10–15a. The larger clause *ytn ks bdh* forms a rather stereotypical expression in feasts (see Gen 40:13; cf. Iliad 18:545f.; Odyssey 3:51, 53;

so *SPUMB* 72). The verb *šr (Dietrich and Loretz 1991:313) applies to meal-service in CAT 1.16 I 39–41: *krtn dbḥ dbḥ mlk 'šr 'šrt*, "Kirta made a meal, the king served a feast" (cf. CAT 1.43.2: *'šr 'šr*). In the prayer recommended in 1.119, addressees are to include the words (lines 32–33), *ḥtp b'l nml'u 'šrt b'l [n']šr*, "A *ḥtp*-offering for Baal we will fulfill, a feast for Baal [we will of]fer" (for the possibly related *ašīrūma* in Akkadian texts from Ugarit as a designation of a profession, see *DUL* 189; Lackenbacher 2002:239 n. 814; cf. *CAD A/2*:440). Similarly, the verb *šqy might evoke a ritual libation (cf. *šqym* in 1.115.11; del Olmo Lete 1995:46; Pardee 2002:67; cf. 1.86.24, 25, 4.246.8). This tricolon uses two standard terms for vessels, *ks*//*krpn* (see Kelso 1948:109–20 concerning BH *kôs*). These are two common terms for drinking vessels. For example, they appear in parallelism in 1.15 II 16–18.

In contrast, lines 12b–17 stress the superlative quality of Baal's drinking vessel, first in terms of its appearance, second in terms of the limits on who may behold it, and finally by way of its immense volume (for a full survey of views of lines 12–15, see Loretz 2002b). With a series of appositional clauses (enjambment; see Watson 1994b:138), the vessel is described initially in line 12 as large, *bk rb*. The word *bk* has been compared commonly with Greek *bikos* (Lipiński 1970:81; Zamora 2000:524). Apparently an Indo-European *Kulturwort*, *bk* may evoke the larger atmosphere of international trade and the accompanying cosmopolitan life enjoyed by the upper class at Ugarit (see the discussion of *kd* below).

In line 12, there has been considerable discussion as to whether the letters *r'idn* should be taken as one word or two, *r'i* and *dn*. If one were to view *r'i* as a form of the verb *r'y*, "to see," and connect it to the first bicolon, then the line could be translated as, "A large vessel great to behold."[30] The succeeding word *dn* often has been taken as the name of a receptacle for liquid, related to Akkadian *dannu*, "vat," and Arabic *dann* in this meaning in *DUL* 276; cf. also *CML²* 145). But *CAD D*:98–99 points out that *dannu* appears quite late in Akkadian, only in the first millennium, and, in addition, that it was probably a late loan word into Aramaic and Arabic.

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[30] Smith, *UNP* 106. Similar renderings include: Jirku (26): "mächtig zu sehen"; and Pardee 1997a:250: "mighty to look upon." For comparable expressions for positive appearance, Pardee 1988b:19 cites Josh 22:10 and 1 Sam 16:12. See also BH *rō'î* in the inverse expression for unpleasing appearance in Nah 3:6.

Other commentators such as Watson (1989:50) take *r'dn* as a single word for a drinking vessel, possibly cognate with OB *urīdum* or *uriddu* (see also Zamora 2000:517, 524–25). Loretz (2002b:303, 312), following Korpel (1990:401), relates *r'idn* to the common Greek drinking vessel, the rhyton (Greek *ruton*). In this case, *r'idn* would be another Indo-European loanword. In favor of this, he notes the number of other words for drinking vessels in this passage apparently cognate with Greek terms (*bk /bikos, kd /kados*); for further Aegean influence at Ugarit, Loretz cites Buchholz 1999 (see also Buchholz 2000). Caquot and Sznycer (*TO* 1.155) take *r'idn* as a PN followed by a title, *mt šmm*, "man of heaven," and argue that this is the name of Baal's cupbearer. The name *r'idn* apparently occurs in CAT 1.41.36 as the recipient of a sacrifice (del Olmo Lete 1999:119–20). But the context in our passage does not favor this view.

The second line of the bicolon contains other interpretational problems. The issue centers on the meaning of *mt šmm*. Ginsberg (*ANET* 136) translates the line, "*A jar to dumbfound (šmm) a mortal (mt).*" Obermann (*UgM* 10 and n. 13) and Pope (in Smith 1998b:654) relate *mt* to Arabic *matta*, "extend, stretch" and suggest: "Which he stretches out heavenward." Gibson (*CML*[2] 46) renders the whole phrase "a cask of mighty men" (see also *LC*[2] 31). Watson (1994b:472) translates: "A vat for giants (lit. men of the sky)." This approach assumes taking *mt šmm* literally as "men of heaven" (see Zamora 2000:518). Though philologically feasible, this would be an unparalleled expression. At the same time, it would be appealing contextually, since as suggested by Lipiński (1970:82), it would suggest a contrast between men participating in the feast as opposed to women who are not to do so, as mentioned in the following bicolon. Pardee (1988b:2, 3) divides *dnmt* differently, as relative *d-* plus *nmt*, "furnishings" (Akkadian *numātu*, "furnishings" in *CAD N*:334–35); he translates "Belonging to the furnishings of heaven." Although the word *nmt* is otherwise unattested in Ugaritic and the syntax assumed by this translation might call for **dlnmt* (*d + l + nmt*), this proposal is attractive.

The goblet is also one which no women, not even Athirat, may see (see Gordon 1977:7). The reference to Athirat here has spawned a variety of interpretations. Perhaps perceiving a reference to the goddess odd in this context, some interpreters have sought a different interpretation of the word. Ginsberg (*ANET* 136 n. 1) and Gibson (*CML*[2] 46), for example, render the name generically as "goddess," based on the appellative use of Ishtar in Akkadian. The proposal to take *'aṯrt*

as "wife" (so Margalit, cited and followed by Wyatt 1998:71 n. 6) is based on an etymologizing midrash of sorts, that this word refers to a wife as a female who walks behind her husband. Addressing the first alternative, Pardee (1988b:19) observes:

> Though some have taken *'aṯrt* in the *'nt* text as a common noun 'goddess' rather than as a proper noun, the force of the statement is stronger if it is understood to declare that not even the consort of El may look at this particular cup. This notion is, of course, contained in the phrase 'no goddess', but it is stronger if the goddess in question is 'Aṯirat herself.

In the prosodic analysis of this bicolon above, the sonant parallelism of *'aṯṯatu* and *'aṯiratu* is noted, perhaps leading to the choice of the goddess' name in this context. This sonant proximity reinforces the view that the goddess may be understood as the superlative example of the category of woman, the word to which Athirat is parallel in the first line (cf. the parallelism of "human" and "one of the princes" in Ps 82:7). It may also denote the exclusion of females (here goddesses) from religious ceremony (Lipiński 1970:82, citing Roman custom; *TO* 1:155 n. n; de Moor 1987:3 n. 13), and one may wonder if this expression reflects social associations of men and not women. In this connection, Zamora (2000:578) compares the notice in the sacrifice described in 1.115.8 that "a woman may eat of it" (*wtlḥm 'aṯṯ*; see Pardee 2002:66). The fact that this stipulation is even mentioned would suggest that it was a practice to exclude women from some sorts of sacrifices. In other settings, it would seem that women were evidently excluded as well. The marzeah, for example, was an ancient social organization of men known from Ebla, Ugarit and other sites (for surveys, see *UBC* 1.140–44; McLaughlin 2001). It is quite possible that women generally did not belong to the marzeah; indeed, one Ugaritic text mentions the "men of Shamumanu" as its members (CAT 3.9). That women may have been excluded from participation may lie also in the background of the obscure 1.4 III 10–22. No matter which view is preferred, lines 10–13a focus on the drinking cup.

Finally, lines 13b–17 stress the superhuman volume that Baal's drinking cup can hold, in accordance with his superhuman size (Greenfield 1985; Smith 1988). It can handle "a thousand" (*'alp*), even "ten thousand" (*rbt*, normally *rbbt; see epigraphic notes above) jars' worth. The word *kd*, though formally singular, is presumably of a collective character in the context here (cf. *'alp šd* in 1.3 IV 38, 1.4 VIII 24–25; see *UG* 363). Zamora (2000:348–56, 517) understands *kd* as an amphora, a

type of vessel common in the Late Bronze Age Mediterranean world, including Ugarit. Kelso (1948:19) notes biblical examples where the context provides some indication of the vessel's size. Kelso describes the *kād* primarily as a large jar used for carrying water (Gen 24:14f.; Eccles 12:6); he also notes that it had an egg-shaped bottom which made it easier to carry. These comparisons suggest the image of a vessel normally used for larger measure of water and hardly a regular drinking vessel. Indeed, in Baal's feast the vessel's size is emphasized (cf. Deut 32:20; Ps 91:7; *CS* 267–69). At other feasts, it is the numbers of jugs of wine that express the superlative quality. The famous example of Ashurbanipal's inaugural feast at Calah (Nimrud) includes in its huge inventory of food and drink "10,000 jugs of beer, 10,000 skins of wine" (Grayson 1991:292). Baal's feast by comparison translates human superlative drinking in the form of number of vessels into a single divine vessel capable of handling a comparable quantity of wine.

The word *ḫmr* has been taken as either a container or type of wine. Dahood (1964; 1968:214), followed by Tromp (1969:86 n. 34) and van der Weiden (1970:87), argued that *ḫmr* is a jug here and in Deut 32:14 and Ps 75:9. Dietrich and Loretz (1972:28–29) had rejected the view of Dahood, primarily on the basis of the parallelism: in 1.3 I 15–17 the syntax indicates that the parallel sets of terms are *'alp kd//rbt* and *bḫmr//bmskh*. As noted below, there is no evidence for *msk* as a vessel. The biblical examples are arguably more ambiguous. Rejecting the counterarguments of Dietrich and Loretz, O'Connor (1980:198) accepts *ḫmr* here and in Deut 32:14 as "jug." Lloyd (1990:180–81) and Wyatt (1998:71 n. 9) likewise support this view for 1.3 I 15–17. Unfortunately there is no further etymological basis offered for this proposal.

There appears to be greater support for *ḫmr* as a type of *yn*. De Moor (*SPUMB* 75) notes the expression *ḫmr yn* in 1.23.6, which is parallel with *lḥm*; there is no container or vessel mentioned. De Moor asserts further that *ḫmr* is "the new wine which is still in the process of fermentation…available very soon after the pressing of grapes in September." Cross (1969:72) likewise connects the word to fermentation. Loretz (1993) follows suit in understanding *ḫmr* as new wine. Possible support of this view has been suggested based on the Emar texts (see Fleming 1992:143 nn. 238, 239; Westenholz 2000:62; Pentiuc 2001:55–56; *DUL* 395). According to Grabbe (1976:61), *ḫmr* in this context may be only a general synonym for *yn*, "wine" (cf. J. P. Brown 1969:147–48), as the term *yn* is absent from 1.3 I 15–17. Or, here it may be simply a fermented drink, not specifically wine (cf. Amorite *ḫi-*

im-ri, "a fermented drink" in Zadok 1993:324). This approach enjoys the merit of a clear etymology. In Lam 1:20, 2:11 the root refers to the churned innards of a person in lamentation, while in Ps 46:4 it is used for the churning of water (*BDB* 330; see below, pp. XXX). It is difficult to know how specific the sense of *ḥmr* is in the context of Baal's feast, but given the usages elsewhere in Ugaritic and Hebrew (see Zamora 2000:306–14, 512; see further below), it seems unlikely that *ḥmr* designates the vessel that contains wine.

As for *msk* in line 17, nominal and verbal cognates are well attested in biblical literature (Ps 75:9; 102:10; Prov 9:5; Isa 5:22; 19:14; cf. *mmsk* in Isa 65:11; Prov 23:20). Ps 75:9 is the most pertinent of these passages where *ḥmr* stands in parallelism with *msk* (Pope 1977b:619–20). The further sense that *msk* involves a spiced drink has been suggested (see *KB*[4] 605 which relates Ugaritic *msk* and Arabic *misk* to BH *msk* in Ps 75:9). For its use of both *msk* and *yyn*, Prov 9:5 may be compared: *lĕkû laḥămî bĕlaḥămî//ūštû bĕyayin māsāktî*, "Come, eat my food, And drink the wine that I have mixed" (NJPS). This usage would point to *ḥmr* in 1.3 I 16 as a wine of sorts, as suggested also by the expression *ḥmr yn* in 1.23.6 (see Zamora 2003:512). That the word may be a loan or *Kulturwort* may be suggested by the further Semitic and Indo-European cognates (if correctly) proposed by Pope, including Hebrew *mezeg*, Aramaic *misgā*, Greek *misgō* (or *mignumi*) and Latin *miscēo*. A container that is so large that a mixture of liquor can be made in it further conveys the superlative size not only of the vessel, but also of Baal's ability to consume it.

Finally, the vessel is also made the focal point in lines 10–17 by the interplay of identical consonants in the various words for the vessel. Pardee (1988b:53) noted the appearance of *k* in three of the vessel's names, *ks*, *krpn* and *bk*. But one may also note the recurrence of *r* and *n* in *krpn* and *ridn*.

The importance of drinking as the centerpiece of the feast is clear from the emphasis placed on the description of Baal's vessel (Smith 1990:319). Drinking appears to be the hallmark of the high life in the pantheon. According to Judg 9:13, wine is the drink that "cheers gods and men." It is the divine drink given as a gift to humanity (Ps 104:15; Eccles 3:13; cf. 2:24; see Ahlström 1978:22). Perhaps in keeping with wine's connotation expressed in Judg 9:13, the great emphasis given in this section to wine may imply the great joy of the celebration in proportion to the great victory won by Baal over Yamm in the preceding column, 1.2 IV.

Lines 18–22: Music

These lines contain the penultimate section of the feast proper. In the bicolon of lines 18–19, someone stands/rises (**qwm*, as in line 4), and then "chants" (**bdd*) and "sings" (**šyr*) (see Ginsberg 1946:44). A figure (probably not another one) called *n'm* plays *mṣltm*, "cymbals." Or, more literally, the cymbals are in the figure's hands. This syntax in line 19 is somewhat unusual for Ugaritic poetry. The first line of the bicolon, line 18, has a series of verbs unparalleled outside of this column (see above), and the second line, line 19, follows with noun (of agency, namely the instrument accompanying the singing described in line 18) + preposition + object of preposition (who is the also subject of the verbs in the first line). Such syntax may seem particularly unusual, but the syntax of the second line is paralleled for the most part in 1.4 I 24: *bd ḫss mṣbṭm*, a nominal clause which may be rendered literally, "in the hands of Hasis are the tongs." The only syntactical difference in the second lines of these two passages involves the word order: the noun falls at the end in 1.4 I 24 instead of at the beginning as in 1.3 I 19. It is difficult to know how much significance is to be inferred from this difference. Does 1.4 I 24 front the prepositional phrase in order to highlight the craftsman-god, while 1.3 I 19 fronts the musical instrument, thereby emphasizing the activity and not the figure? Given that the figure goes unnamed in line 18, this interpretation appears plausible. Indeed, throughout this column the stress falls on the activities offered to the pleasure of Baal and not the figure involved in his service. In 1.4 I 24 the figure designated by the title in the second line, Hasis, is clearly the same person named in the first line, Kothar, since Kothar wa-Hasis is known to be the full name of the craftsman god. In 1.3 I 18 no such parallel name precedes the mention of *n'm* in line 19, but on the basis of the parallel syntax it would appear that *n'm* is the subject of the verbs in line 18.

Yet the meaning and significance of the word, *n'm*, is not entirely clear here. Elsewhere it is an aesthetic term, describing the physical appearance of places: Baal's abode in 1.3 III 31 and 1.10 III 31; the land by the underworld in 1.5 VI 6, 1.6 II 19. It may also apply to persons: in 1.14 III 41, *dk n'm 'nt n'mh*, said of Huray, "whose beauty is like the beauty of Anat" (cf. *n'm* in 1.96.2); and to deities in PNs (see Benz 362, *WSS* 515). The obverse of 1.113 uses this word in the context of a number of musical instruments, as in our passage, though it does not do so with cymbals. BH *n'm* has been understood as a term

for singer (2 Sam 23:1; Pss 81:3; 135:3; 147:1; Ben Sira 45:9).[31] RSV renders: "the sweet psalmist of Israel," but "Favorite" (*CMHE* 236) is also possible in this instance (cf. Levenson 1985:66; Barré 1992:627–28). The sense of *n'm* as "singer" stands in the Psalm verses, yet the Ugaritic noun may be understood as denoting a physical attribute, either that the figure is handsome or is a figure with a good voice, parallel to "good (*ṭb*) of voice" in the next colon (suggested as a possibility by B. Zuckerman, personal communication; for the semantic range, see Huehnergard 1987b:60), based on an expression found in 1.23.29, *ġ[zr]m g ṭb*, "the l[ad]s with a good voice" (see *UNP* 209). Cassuto compared BH *yĕpeh qôl*, "beautiful of voice" in Ezek 33:32 (*GA* 112). Taking Ugaritic *n'm* as "singer" would entail an etymological difficulty. Arabic attests to both **n'm*, "to live in comfort, enjoy" (cf. *nu'm*, "favor, good will, grace" in Wehr 980) and **nġm*, "sing, hum a tune" (Wehr 981; cf. *KB*⁴ 705). Ugaritic, which has both consonants 'ayin and ghain, would be expected likewise to use **nġm* and not *n'm* for "singer." It is possible (though irregular) that the two roots had already coalesced in Ugaritic, in which case perhaps the word's range included both senses (Cross 1998: 140; see pp. 243–44 below), perhaps with some word-play involved. The translation, "virtuoso," is an attempt to retain the etymological sense of Arabic *n'm* and BH *n'm* operative in the word-field pertaining to music suggested by Arabic *nġm*.

Cymbals are the player's instrument of choice (*mṣltm*; see also in 1.19 IV 26, 1.108.4; cf. BH *mĕṣiltayim* in Ezra 3:10 and *ṣelṣelîm* in 2 Sam 6:5; Sivan 1997:72, 79). Professional cymbal players are attested in the Akkadian documents from Ugarit as *ᴸᵘma-ṣi-lu* (Rainey 1973a:4). Caubet (1996:10, 25) notes that excavations at Ras Shamra (Ugarit) and Minet el-Bheida have yielded five pairs of bronze cymbals. According to Caubet, this type of cymbal seems to be original to the Levant, with Late Bronze Age examples known from Megiddo, Tell Abu-Hawam, Hazor, Shiqmona, Tell Mevorakh and at Pyla Kokkinokremos in Cyprus. Paul and Dever (1973:248) describe later Iron Age examples at Beth-Shemesh and Achzib: "They were shaped like plates with a central hollow boss and a metal thumb-loop; their average diameter was about 4.5 cm." (see also Eaton 1984:92). The example drawn in Caubet 1996:29, fig. 1

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[31] See *GA* 111–12; Lewis 1989:52; *UBC* 1.65 n. 126. Note also Ps 81:3 where *nā'îm* is predicated of the lyre (*kinnôr*). For a derivation of Greek *neuma* from Semitic **nġm*, see Kugel 1981:113 n. 36.

is larger, measuring ca. 9 cm. in diameter (Caubet 1996:27). Cymbals were also among the instruments that the Levites are said to have played in the Jerusalem temple.

The prepositional phrase in line 21 is ambiguous. It could denote either the singer's song about Baal (cf. Anat's song of Baal and his three women in 1.3 III 5–8a; cf. *'al* in Joel 1:8: "lament…over the husband of her youth"), or the singer's physical posture before Baal (so Watson 1994b:61; cf. **qwm 'l*, "to stand before," in 1.2 I 21). If *'l* means "about," the song may concern Baal's exploits on Mount Sapan (his victory over Yamm; see *UBC* 1.3–14; for *ṣrrt*, see *UBC* 1.173 n. 108 and *UT* 19.2199, which notes a possible wordplay on *ṣrwr//ṣpwnh* in Hos 13:12). Gibson (*CML²* 46) renders *'l* as "over," which conveys ambiguity as to the precise meaning (*UNP* 106). Pope (in Smith 1998b:654) thought that "perhaps the poet intended all these senses." In view of the similar scene of song in 1.3 III, the song seems to be "about Baal." Obermann (*UgM* 10–11) took lines 13–16f. as direct discourse, the content of the song. The location of the singing and hence the feast is Mount Sapan, a fact indicated contextually by 1.3 IV 38 (see p. 303). For music in the context of banquets (and sacrifices), see Koitabashi 1998:380–81. For further consideration of the figure of the singer, see the discussion at the end of this column (pp. 121–22).

Lines 22–29: Baal's "Daughters"

The syntax of the line that begins this section, with the prefix form *ytmr* as the first word, indicates that the narrative is continuing, rather than shifting to a new scene. If so, perhaps these lines could constitute the content of the song sung by the singer mentioned in the previous section (APO). Here Baal "takes sight" (*ytmr*) of his daughters. As Ullendorff (1978:21*) notes, this meaning of the root only occurs with the *t*- infix, which suggests perhaps reflexive or repeated (or, perhaps in this case, ongoing) action (Greenfield 1979). Then he literally "eyes" (**'yn*) Pidray and Tallay. It is to be noted that elsewhere Baal's three females, Pidray, Arsay and Tallay, are named in tandem (1.3 IV 48–52, V 3–4, 35–44, 1.4 I 4–18, IV 47–57, IV 62– V 1). Here Arsay is not mentioned. It is unclear whether "daughters" (*bnth*) is meant literally or more broadly as Baal's girls or females. In view of their title *klt* elsewhere (see line 26 for discussion), it has often been thought that they are Baal's own "brides" or "fiancées." Wiggins (2003:86–87) instead understands them to be Baal's unmarried daughters. If this is correct (and it may well be), who

is their husband-to-be? In 1.24.25–26, it is the moon-god Yarih who is presented as Pidray's potential spouse, but in the context of the Baal Cycle, no alternative figure is named. Wiggins's hypothesis makes sense of the idea that not only Baal but also his "females" lack for a house according to his lament (in the passages listed above); in other words, this father cannot provide a home for his family. Despite the advantages to Wiggins's theory, it remains possible that the Baal Cycle may offer an alternative mythology that casts Baal himself as their husband, prospective or otherwise. It is unclear that the more literal interpretation of *bnth* here is in fact the case (for more generalized usages, see *DUL* 245). Despite unanswered questions, Wiggins has drawn attention to an important lacuna in our knowledge; his reconstruction is plausible, and it makes sense of a number of details.

As the epithets of these two females in lines 24–25 (*bt ʾar* and *bt rb*) indicate, the term, "daughter" (*bt*), often expresses affiliation[32] with meteorological phenomena and thereby with Baal. The term "daughter" may also express a lower rank, compared for example to the term "sister" for a lover, who would have been a social equal (cf. Song of Songs 4:9 cited above). The text casts in narrative form this relationship in terms of both affiliation and subordination, namely that these are his "women." Taken in these terms, they are understood as his daughters or wives, in other words, of a lesser divine rank than himself. In sum, these females are affiliated with Baal (see below for their shared meteorological associations), either as his daughters or brides.

The nature of the visual attention that Baal lavishes upon these two females is left unstated. Ugaritic has a number of verbs involving seeing. In addition to **ʾmr* and **ʿyn* (see also 1.3 II 23), Ugaritic uses **phy* (spelled fully in *phy* in 3.1.15; see Coote 1976; and in *ynphy* in 1.163.5, so Sivan 1997:168; cf. *phy* in 7.75.1 and the royal PN *ʿmph* in 1.113.15, discussed in Arnaud 1999:160); **rʾy*, "to see" (1.3 I 12); and **ḥdy*, "to look about, survey" (1.3 II 24). The *t*-form of *ytmr* may suggest prolonged vision, perhaps "to gaze" or "to stare." The verb **ʿyn* is quite common. For example, Baal "eyes" Anat approaching in 1.3 IV 39. There the nuance seems to be that he catches sight of her for the first time. It is possible that such a nuance informs Baal's eyeing

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[32] The construction **bn* + PN produced by way of analogy **bn* + common noun to denote belonging to a category named by the noun. For example, BH *ben ḥayil*, literally "son of strength," is a strong person.

Pidray here. If so, Gibson's translation "perceives" might be close to the mark (*CML²* 46).

   Yet more may be involved. Some speculations may be most tentatively offered on the basis of the field of neuropsychology. About the nature of visual experience, the dream neuropsychologist J. Allan Hobson (1999:144) comments: "Every sensory experience, be it veridical or illusory, involves both action and belief, both movement and concept. In the case of vision, the crucial and fundamental role of eye movement is clear. Eye movement is likewise central to the orienting response. And as such, it interacts with orientation…". In this case, Baal's gaze is directed toward the two (or possibly three) women; the "action" and "movement," to use Hobson's terms, are evident. The further issue is the nature of the god's motivation. Or, in Hobson's words, what is the god's "belief" or "concept"? Unlike Anat's travel and arrival in 1.3 IV 38–40, the entrance of the three women in 1.3 I is not mentioned; during Baal's feast, they may have been in attendance. Their relationship with Baal may furnish a further clue to the meaning of Baal's visual attention lavished on them in this final section of 1.3 I. The description of Baal's love and his three women in 1.3 III 5–7 uses terms that suggest a sexual aspect to their relationship, and it may be that Baal's interaction at the end of 1.3 I involved more than visual recognition. Indeed, the approximately fourteen lines in the lacuna could accommodate a description of Baal's sexual relations with his females. As noted above, sexual relations were possibly an optional component of divine banquet stories, and perhaps this is the case here (see Pope 1977b:293). If Baal's gaze is only prelude to sexual relations, then the visual nuance involves more than catching sight of his women, but perhaps a gaze induced by and further inducing the god's sexual passion. Gazing or prolonged eye contact, also called "the 'copulatory' gaze" (H. E. Fisher 1992:21) is a "labile psychophysiological response" that may involve the dilation of the pupils, "a sign of extreme interest" (Fisher 1992:21–24, 29, 30, 129–30; 1998:32).[33] One might suggest that it is the dilation of the pupils, a sign of visual intensity signaling sexual intent that Baal's gaze involves. Is it the "reflexive" use of one's eyes in the action that dictates the use of infix *t*-stem form, as with other bodily actions (such

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[33] For attraction and its other psychophysiological responses with some discussion of their chemical bases, see Fisher 1998:30–39; for arousal and its effects on the brain more generally, see LeDoux 1998:288–90.

as the *Gt*-stems of **ṛḥṣ for washing, of **šql for locomotion, **ḥṣb and
**mḫṣ for battling, of **wpy for beautifying oneself; Greenfield 1979), but
not for other verbs of vision?

The "copulatory gaze" is evoked by the female protagonist's mention
of the intensity of her lover's visual attention in Song of Songs 6:5:
hāsebbî ʿênayik minnegdî šehem hirhîbūnî, "Turn your eyes away from me,
For they overwhelm me!" (Ginsberg 1974:13). Her lover describes the
emotional intensity of her eyes in 4:9 (Ginsberg 1974:10):

> *libbabtînî ʾăḥōtî kallâ*   "You have captured my heart, my own (literally,
>   my sister), my bride,
> *libbabtînî běʾaḥad mēʿênayik*   You have captured my heart with one [glance]
>   of your eyes."

Visual interaction as a prelude to further sexual activity is apparently
depicted on a copper pin-head from the second half of the third mil-
lennium from south-west Iran. In Leick's characterization (1994:pl. 3),
the pin depicts a couple in a house: "the woman on the right touches
the man's shoulder while they gaze into each other's eyes."

It is to be noted that Pidray may be mentioned in what might
be understood as a sexual context. 1.132.1–3 opens: *btš' 'šrh trbd 'rš
pdry bšt mlk*, "on the nineteenth of the month you are to prepare the
bed of Pidray with the king's bed-covers" (Pardee 2002:98; see also
Moran 1992:199 n. 11; cf. EA 84:13; and texts 54 and 55 in Parpola
1987:50–52). Following several sections of sacrifices, the ritual ends
with the order: "before nightfall, you will remove the bed" (*pn ll tn'r
'rš*; Pardee 2002:98–99). Some commentators interpret this text as a
reference to "sacred marriage" involving Pidray and the king (Dijkstra
1994:121), although the context affords little insight into the precise
nature of this ritual (Pardee 2002:96). The ritual of the installation of
the *entu*-priestess at Emar (Emar 369.73) mentions "her place of repose"
or "bedchamber" (*ur-ši-ša*; Fleming 1992:116; Pentiuc 2001:190–91).
In this connection, Fleming observes that the *bit eršî*, "bedroom," is a
regular feature Mesopotamian palaces and temples, mostly in the first
millennium, but also once at Ugarit (RS 17.28.5 in *PRU* IV, 109). From
these contexts, it might be inferred that the end of 1.3 I might have
described sexual relations between Baal and his women. However, such
a possibility must remain a matter of speculation. One might further
speculate that the end of 1.3 I envisioned a pairing of Baal and Pidray,
possibly informed by the language of sacred marriage; and if so, Baal
may be the model of the divine king with whom Pidray was thought

to enjoy sexual congress. This pairing may underlie a much later reference to the two of them in a late Aramaic text written in Demotic, Papyrus Amherst Egyptian 63 (Bowman 1944:227): "May Baal from Zephon bless you; Pidra[i]/<i> from Raphia—she should bless you" (Steiner 1997:313).

Baal's "women" (*'att*),[34] are known by the collective epithet *klt knyt*, "honored brides" in 1.4 I 15 (and reconstructed in the parallel passages in 1.3 IV 52, V 44; see *GA* 113). Akkadian *kallātu* at Ras Shamra may denote fiancée and not bride, according to Lackenbacher (2002:233 n. 794).

The names Pidray and Tallay evidently reflect their meteorological nature (see Wiggins 2003 for a recent review). Like Baal's epithet, "Cloud-rider" (*rkb 'rpt*), the name Tallay and her epithet contain expressions for precipitation. Tallay means "Dewy" (*tly < *tll + -ay* feminine ending; see Layton 1990:244; also Pope 1978a:30 n. 8; *CMHE* 56 n. 45; cf. the theophoric element *tá-la-ya* listed in *PTU* 359). Her name may also be reflected in an Amorite PN ÌR-ᵈ*ta-li-tum* (YOS 13, 6; Zadok 1993:331). Her title means "daughter of showers" (*bt rb < *rbb*; cf. BH *rĕbîb*). The Ugaritic word-pair *tl*//*rbb* is attested elsewhere (1.3 II 39–40, IV 43–44, 1.19 I 44–46; Avishur 1984:57; for biblical references to dew and rain, see *DDD* 250). 1.101.5 appears to present the goddess Dewy as a feature of Baal's cosmic face: "Tallay is between his eyes" (*tly bn 'nh*). The association of dew with the storm-god is attested in less symbolic modes elsewhere. In 1.3 II 39–40, "dew of heaven" stands in parallelism with "showers of the Cloudrider." The storm-god Adad is the recipient of the following request in Atrahasis: "in the morning let him (Adad) make a mist fall, and during the night let him furtively make dew fall" (*CAD N/1*:203; Lambert and Millard 1999:74, 75, II ii 16–18).

As for Pidray, an Akkadian letter from Ugarit provides a syllabic spelling of her name as ᵈ*pí-id-ra-i* (RS 17.116.3; Izre'el 1991; Lackenbacher 2002:120; cf. *PRU* IV, 132 and n. 2 reading *bi-it-ra-i*). Wyatt (1998:72 n. 11) proposes a connection with Greek Pandora. The etymology of Pidray's name is highly debated. Gray (1979b:315 n. 3), apparently followed by Pardee (1997a:250 n. 69; 2002:15, 282), connects Arabic *afzar*, "fleshy," despite the irregular correspondence of the second radical

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[34] For the form, see Sivan 1997:65. Cf. Amarna Akkadian *aššatu* used for both woman and wife in the Byblian corpus (so Marcus 1973a:283); BH *'iššâ*.

(noted by MHP). Similarly, Wyatt (1998:71 n. 11) calls her "Fatty" citing BH *peder*, or "cloudy" (without cognates). Pope (in Smith 1998b:654) commented: "PDR may be related to Arabic *badr* which relates to perfection, youthful maturity, and to shining (of sun or moon)." Instead, one might compare Arabic *ba<u>d</u>ar*, "scattering," hence "Flashy" (see Ginsberg 1945:10 n. 19b) or Arabic *badray*, "rain that is before...or in the first part of winter" (Lane 166; cf. Smith 1985:290). Under either of these two interpretations, Pidray's name is meteorological. Her title also has some natural connection: *bt 'ar* means either "daughter of light," "daughter of lightning" (cf. BH *'ôr* in Job 37:15; Ginsberg and Maisler 1934:249 n. 15; Ginsberg 1945:10 n. 19b; cf. Gray 1979b:315 n. 2), or perhaps least convincing, "daughter of honey-dew" (see *CML*[1] 85, 135; de Moor, *SPUMB* 82–83, and 1975:590–91; Gray 1979b:315 n. 2). It may be noted in circumstantial support of the first of these three alternatives that one deity list from Ugarit equates Pidray with Hebat, evidently a celestial goddess (*DDD* 392, 725). Wyatt (1998:72 n. 11) claims further an attestation of this goddess' name as a title of Ishtar.

Biblical texts offer interesting associations between light and dew. Isa 26:19 juxtaposes *'ôr* and *ṭal: kî ṭal 'ōrōt ṭallekā*, "for dew of lights is your dew." The context in this biblical verse involves the resuscitation of the dead; the meaning of the elements of dew and light in this context is unclear (*DDD* 250). The two meteorological terms in Pidray's name and title have been connected to Isa 26:19, which is characterized as "a hint of the ultimate transformation of the natural order" (Blenkinsopp 2000:370). Another passage possibly bearing mythological overtones for dew (Ps 110:3; cf. Isa 18:4) is also difficult to interpret (*DDD* 250). Both Ps 110:3 and Isa 26:19 may convey a picture of cosmic well-being. One might speculate that much like Baal's rains, the meteorological associations of the names and titles of Baal's females likewise communicate a sense of cosmic well-being.

The final intelligible clause of the column is *pdr yd'* in line 25. The subject of the verb is problematic. This epithet appears also in CAT 1.49.4, 1.50.5 and 1.92.33 (*SPUMB* 82, 188; *TO* 1.156 n. n; *MLC* 609; Ribichini and Xella 1984:271; see also *PTU* 172). It is possibly a title of Baal (*TO* 1.78; *CML*[2] 47 n. 1). Or, it is the name of Baal's attendant here as in 1.92.33 (so Dijkstra 1994:121; see also Ribichini and Xella 1984). Or, there may be a haplography here, masking the name Pidray: *pdr<y>.yd'*, "Pidray he [Baal] knows" (de Moor 1987:4 n. 19). If the former is correct, it would be interesting that Baal bears a title related to the name of one of his women. While the verb presents no

etymological difficulties, the question of whether the knowledge is sexual (a sense of the word found in biblical and Akkadian texts; see Akkadian *idû* in *CAD I/J*:28) or merely cognitive, remains unclear from the broken context. Yet, as discussed above, a sexual interpretation of the phrase is plausible, and it may be noted that Baal's love for Pidray, Tallay and Arsay is the topic of the song being sung in 1.3 III 4–8 (the various synonyms here in parallelism, *yd//'ahbt//dd*, seem to be concrete in nature, i.e., love-making, and not simply abstracts for love; for discussion, see pp. 219–21). However, given the broken nature of the end of this column, all interpretations remain hypothetical.

The Meaning of the Banquet

Many interpreters (*MLC* 114) believe that the feast described in CAT 1.3 I celebrates Baal's victory over Yamm, an interpretation that argues for narrative continuity with 1.2. Others view 1.3 as a separate text providing a variant tradition regarding Anat, not related to the rest of the narrative concerning Baal (Fisher and Knutson 1969:162; Rummel 1981). Fisher and Knutson, followed by Rummel, argue that 1.3 I recalls the description of Baal in 1.101.4: which also celebrates Baal at Mount Sapan. However, the language and imagery of the two passages differ strikingly. 1.3 I marks a banquet celebrating Baal's status as "prince, lord of the earth", and in this respect it foreshadows the great feast in 1.4 VII, which marks the full recognition of Baal's sovereignty by the pantheon.

De Moor (*SPUMB* 40–43, 77–78; see Dijkstra and de Moor 1975:188) has emphasized an important verbal correspondence between 1.3 I 9, 18–22 and CAT 1.17 VI 26–33. This passage reads (cf. *CML*[2] 109; Dijkstra and de Moor 1975:187–88; Loretz 1979:462–68; de Moor 1979:643; Marcus 1972:82; *MLC* 377–78):

> *'irš hym l'aqht ġzr*   "Ask for life, O Hero Aqhat,
> *'irš hym w'atnk*   Ask for life and I will grant (it) to you,[35]

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[35] For the language of request (**'rš*) in prayer, see 1.108.20. To request and to give (*ytn) appear in Ugaritic letters (see also 5.9.7–16). Note also *miriltu* in a letter to the king of Ugarit (Arnaud 1991:219). Similarly, *mēreštu* used with *nadānu* in *CAD* M/II:22 (including letters); of the examples cited the closest seems: "The wish will be granted to him" (*mēreštum nadnaššu*; *ZA* 43 92:41). See also the correspondence from Ebla: "whatever desire you express, I shall grant and you, (whatever) desire (I express), you shall grant" (Michalowski 1993:13–14).

blmt w'ašlḥk	Non-death and I will bestow (it) upon you.
'ašsprk ʿm bʿl šnt	I could make you count the years with Baal,
ʿm bn 'il tspr yrḥm	You could number the months with the children of El.[36]
kbʿl kḥwy	Like a baal (lord)/Baal, when he is made alive,[37]
yʿšr ḥwy	The one made alive is served:
yʿšr wyšqynh	One serves and gives him drink,
ybd wyšr ʿlh	He chants and sings over him,
nʿm[n.ʾ] d/wy]ʿnynn	The pleasant one, [and he?] answers him (or: The singer [who is?] his servant?).[38]
'ap 'ank 'aḥwy 'aqht [ǵ]zr	So I, too, could make you live, O Hero Aqhat."

As de Moor has recognized, the correspondences between 1.3 I 9, 18–22 and 1.17 VI 30–32 are unmistakable:

1.17 VI 30: *yʿšr wyšqynh*   1.3 I 9: *yʿšr wyšqynh*
1.17 VI 31–32: *ybd wyšr ʿlh nʿm[n.ʾ] wy]ʿnynn*   1.3 I 18–22: *qm ybd*
                                                            wyšr mṣltm bd nʿm

The primary issue is the question of the significance of the correspondence. For de Moor, 1.17 VI 30 is an allusion to Baal's revival in 1.6 III–IV, and 1.17 VI 31–32 alludes to 1.3 I 9, 18–22. Anat claims to have the ability to give people life. De Moor assumes that the analogy drawn by Anat is between Baal and herself.[39] De Moor observes that

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[36] Either singular or plural is possible. If the former, the reference could be to Baal as suggested by the parallelism, as N. Wyatt (personal communication) notes; the plural is the standard cliché, however. Note the prayer in 1.108 that ends in line 27: *w nʿmt šnt 'il*, "for the goodly years of El" (see Pardee 2002:195); comparison with the formulas in 5.9.1–6 suggest that this means *ʿd ʿlm*, "forever."

[37] The verbal forms of *ḥwy* are taken as D-stem passive forms. De Moor and Spronk takes these forms as active transitive and assume that Baal is the subject, but the absence of an object has been taken against this view (see van der Toorn 1991b: 46). Van der Toorn's translation of the occurences of *ḥwy*, "he comes to life" has difficulties. As Marcus (1972) shows, *ḥwy* in these cases is a D-stem (see the Ugaritic D-stem infinitive syllabic form *ḥu-PI-ú* = /ḥuwwû/ in Huehnergard 1987b:123; see also Sivan 1997:41, 169, 170). The translation, "comes to life," would not appear to be within the usage of the D-stem of this verb. Like other commentators, van der Toorn deletes *ḥwy* (before *yʿšr*) due to dittography. To be on the conservative side, it has been retained here.

[38] The reconstruction *[dy]ʿnynn* is suggested by Spronk. For *ʿny* in this sense, see KAI 202:2.

[39] See also Spronk 1986:152–54; Baldacci 1999 and ip. In contrast, van der Toorn suggests that the analogy may be drawn between Baal and Aqhat: in exchange for his bow, Anat promises to give to Aqhat the return to life commonly associated with Baal (see van der Toorn 1991b:46). Clemens (1993:66 n. 19; Clemens' underlining)

these passages presuppose on the part of the cycle's audience knowledge of its religious significance. But what significance was involved here? De Moor argues that the spirits of dead heroes and kings were revivified as part of a New Year's Festival, a view seemingly supported by the allusions to summer fruit in the so-called "Rephaim texts" (1.20–1.22).[40] However, the New Year festival is a matter of major debate, well beyond the scope of this study; suffice it to say that at best it is extremely hypothetical,[41] and it may better to avoid this particular designation in favor of a more general label of the fall harvest festival. Clearly 1.41//1.87 do not emphasize the first of the month, corresponding to the so-called "New Year," but the fifteenth of the month and the seven days following it, i.e., the period closer to the Israelite feast of Sukkot. Evidently, the brief ritual in 1.41//1.87.1–2 is prelude to the more ritually celebrated middle of the first month. This qualification does not detract from de Moor's basic insights. Finally, de Moor (*SPUMB* 43) reckons that the events of 1.6 were followed very shortly by those of 1.3 (for these issues, see *UBC* 1.7–8). Parenthetically, it is to be noted that 1.132, the ritual for "Pidray's bed with the king's covers" (Pardee 2002:97), may occur in the same ritual time in the autumnal harvest as 1.41//1.87. According to Pardee (2002:96), days three to five of 1.132 correspond to days three to five in 1.41//1.87. A maximal interpretation would see components of both royal resurrection and sacred marriage in the early fall as the ritual material that informed the presentation of Baal's feast in 1.3 I.

De Moor's theory requires a number of presuppositions that are open to question. The first is the presupposition that given the parallels to 1.17 V, the language of 1.3 evidences language of resurrection as such. However, we must reckon with the possibility that the verbal correspondences noted by de Moor may be a matter of set phrases reused in different ways in different contexts. One element in Anat's speech crucial to de Moor's interpretation has gone relatively unchal-

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likewise takes the analogy to be drawn between Baal and Aqhat, with "the *reception* of life through Anat's intervention (cf. 1.5.VI–6.IV), to which the image of Baal *giving* life is foreign in this context."

[40] De Moor 1987:238–39. See also de Moor, *SPUMB* 42; and Spronk 1986:151–61.

[41] For problems in the evidence, see Marcus 1973b; Grabbe 1976; *UBC* 1.62–63, 99, 109. Despite difficulties, de Moor's understanding of the agricultural year is quite sensitive. For the putative biblical and Mesopotamian evidence, see van der Toorn 1991a. Loretz 1999 reviews the biblical evidence; see also Loretz 1990:96–109.

lenged, and that is the meaning of *bʿl* in Anat's speech. It is almost universally taken as a reference to Baal, laboring under the force of the doubtful theory of dying and rising gods (see J. Z. Smith 1989; M. S. Smith 1998a, 2001a:104–131, esp. 120–29; for criticism with respect to the so-called Sumerian evidence, see Fritz 2003; cf. works that presume the validity of the category, such as Mettinger 2001 and some essays in Xella 2001). Instead, *bʿl* in Anat's speech may just as easily refer to "a lord," more specifically a dead king. In support of this, one may note that *bʿl* in CAT 1.161.20, 21 seems to refer to the deceased king(s) invoked in the royal funerary cult (see Pardee 2002:114 n. 128). Accordingly, this may be the *bʿl* in Anat's speech who is alive and served. Thus the musical elements shared by 1.3 I and 1.17 VI may draw in a literary way from the royal cult.

De Moor (1982:8–9) may be correct in seeing the influence of the autumn on this column. In *UBC* 1.97–99, it is suggested that each major part of the Baal Cycle draws on elements in the early fall when the rainy season begins anew and the royal cult celebrated the summer harvest of the fruit, including grapes (the fall royal festival is reflected in the ritual text 1.41//1.87 and in the ritual with mythic narrative in 1.23; cf. de Moor 1972:13–24; del Olmo Lete 1999:39).[42] If 1.3 I truly describes the feast celebrating the victory described in 1.2 IV (so *UBC* 1.11), then 1.3 I belongs to the end of the first part of the cycle, and like 1.2 IV, this column draws on ritual elements known from the early fall. Indeed, it may be this dimension behind the text that best explains the great emphasis laid on the amount of wine consumed by Baal in 1.3 I. The suggestion of abundant wine likewise occurs in

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[42] Note also the possible late summer/early autumn backdrop of 1.24: the name of the moon-goddess, Nikkal (< nin.gal, pronounced Nikkal according to *DDD* 783) wa-'Ib, "Great Lady and One-of-the-Fruit" (< *inbu*, "fruit"; see *DDD* 783); the title, *mlk qz*, "king of summer" (or "summer fruit") in lines 2, 17 and 24; and perhaps the metaphor of the vineyard in line 22 (for 1.24, see Theuer 2000:135–266, with full discussion and relevant bibliography). Curiously, 1.24 escapes de Moor's list of fall texts (de Moor 1987: "It seems likely that this text was used in connection with an ordinary wedding ceremony."). For a later association of fruit with the new moon (mentioned in lines 5–6 and 41), see also "Fruit" as a title of the moon-god Sin in NA and SB texts (*CAD I/J*:146, sub *inbu*, 1d; cf. the name of the tablet series, "the Fruit, lord of the new moon" mentioned also in *CAD A/2*:260, sub *arḫu*, 2a). It is to be noted then that the group of texts in 1.20–1.24 revolves around the fall harvest. For some biblical evidence concerning cultic contexts for grapes and wine in the fall, see Walsh 2000:167–92; the feast of Sukkot is addressed briefly on pp. 137–42. While some Egyptian and Mesopotamian evidence is brought into the discussion (Walsh 2000:21–27), the Ugaritic data go untreated.

1.23.6 (cf. the very difficult lines in 1.23.72–76). Following figures such as Gaster, de Moor is therefore to be credited with noting the connections between the late summer/early autumn and a variety of Ugaritic texts, including some passages of the Baal Cycle. By the same token, we would read the Baal Cycle as a literary text evoking and incorporating such seasonal themes, not as a liturgical or drama for cult. 1.3 I presents the victory-feast of the divine king. As the divine patron of the Ugaritic dynasty, Baal may have been expected to support the human monarch in battle (see *UBC* 1.114–18; see further for Mari, Guichard 1999). The post-battle feast may follow suit. Finally, de Moor's basic insight need not necessarily point to 1.3 as the initial tablet of the cycle (as he as well as Fisher, Knutson and Rummel argue), only that some prior religious material about Baal has been introduced into the literary presentation about the god in this context. Evoking the imagery of the same time of year, namely the autumn, the presentation of the Baal Cycle does not suggest a linear sequence based on meteorological imagery. Instead, it shows an impressionistic or perhaps kaleidescopic incorporation of natural and religious material into a great religious epic. Stated differently, out of liturgical experience came a brilliant piece of religious literature.

CAT 1.3 II

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Text Editions: Virolleaud 1938:11–28, pls. II, IX; 1937a: 85–102; CTA 15–16, fig. 8, pls. IV, VI; KTU 10–11; CAT 10–11.

Studies and Translations: Aistleitner 25–26; Caquot and Sznycer, *TO* 1.157–61; Cassuto, *GA* 85–89, 113–23; Clifford, *CMCOT* 73, 142–53; Coogan 1978:90–91; Dietrich and Loretz 1981:83–84, 1997:1137–40; Driver, *CML*[1] 84–85; Gaster, *Thespis* 236–38; Gibson, *CML*[2] 47–48; Ginsberg, *ANET* 136; Good 1981; Gordon, *UL* 17–18, 1977:76–78; Gray 1947–53, 1979, *LC*[2] 40–44; Jirku 27–28; Lloyd 1996; de Moor, *SPUMB* 85–101, 1987:5–7; del Olmo Lete, *MLC* 180–82; *MLR* 67–69; Pardee 1997a:250–51; Pope 1977b:352–53, 606; Smith, *UNP* 107–9; Wyatt 1998:72–76; Xella 1982:98–99.

TEXT (SEE IMAGES 04–07)

[About 25 lines are missing.]

1   *x [   ]š[   ]*
    kpr.šb'.bnt.rḥ.gdm
    w'anhbm.kl'aṯ.ṯġrt
    bht.'nt.wtqry.ġlmm

5   *bšt.ġr.whln.'nt.tm*
    tḫṣ.b'mq.tḫ̇tṣ[ ].bn
    qrytmtmḫṣ.l'im.ḫp̊y[ ]
    tṣmt.'adm.ṣ'at.š[ ]š
    tḥth.kkdrt.r'i[ ]

10   *'lh.k'irbym.kp.k.qṩm*
    ġrmn[ ]kp.mhr.'tkt
    r'išt.l̊bmth.šnst
    kpt.bḥbšh.brkm.tġ̊l̊
    bdm.ḏmr.ḫlqm.bmm[ ]

15   *mhrm.mṭm.tgrš*
    šbm.bksl.qšth.mdnt
    whln.'nt.lbth.tmġyn
    tštql.'ilt.lhklh
    wl.šb't.tmtḫṣh.b'mq̇x

20   *tḫtṣb.bn.qrtm.tṯ'r*
    ks'at.lmhr.ṯ'r.ṯlḥnt
    lṣb'im.hdmm.lġzrm
    m'id.tmtḫṣn.wt'n
    tḫtṣb.wtḥdy.'nt

25   *tǵdd.kbdh.bṣḥq.yml'u*
     lbh.bšmḫt.kbd.'nt
     tšyt.kbrkm.tǵllbdm
     ḏmr.ḫlqm.bmm'.mhrm
     'd.tšb'.tmtḫṣ.bbt
30   *i̊ḥtṣb.bn.tlḫnm.ymḫ*
     ḫbt.dm.ḏmr.yṣq.šmn
     šlm.bṣ'.trḥṣ.ydh.bt
     [ ]t.'nt.'uṣb'th.ybmt.l'imm.
     [ ]ṙḥṩ.ydh.bdm.ḏmr
35   *[ ]ṣb'th.bmm'.mhrm*
     [̥]'r[ ]ks'at.lks'at.tlḫnt
     ltlḫṅ.hdmm.tṯ'ar.lhdmm
     [ ]ḥi̊špn.mh.wtrḥṣ
     [ ]l̇šmm.šmn.'arṣ.rbb
40   *[ ]kḇ[ ]'rpt.tl.šmm.tskh*
     [ ]ḇ]]nskh.kbkbm

Textual Notes

Line 1. xx[   ]ṣ̌ [   ]   There are traces of the very bottom of the
first letter on the line. The lower left tips of three short horizontals in
a row seem to be preserved. This suggests that the letter is either an
/n/ or a /d/. To the right are possible traces of the lower lines of
two more horizontals, but these remain uncertain. The /š/ seems fairly
certain, with parts of all three wedges visible.

Line 6. tḫtṣ[   ]   The /ḫ/ is assured by context, but damage to the
letter obscures the upper two wedges. The final letter of this word
is assured by context to be a /b/, but the damage on the tablet has
removed all discernable traces of it, although one can easily see its
general shape.

Line 7. l'im   The /l/ is fairly certain. Only the left two wedges have
survived, but they are both thin, indicating that a third, thick wedge
followed. The /'i/ is also damaged, with no trace preserved of the
lower vertical. Context argues for the /'i/ rather than /h/.
    ḫpẙ   The /y/ at the end of the line is uncertain. If it is /y/, then
the left half has been preserved, and the right half could have been in
the margin, which is broken here. But if that is the case, there is very
little room to place a lost /m/ into the margin, as normally restored
here. CTA 15, n. 2, may be correct in suggesting that the scribe

accidentally wrote only the left half of the /y/, so that the /m/ was placed in the now damaged margin. For the reading *ḫpy[m]*, see Pardee 1980:275 and KTU.

Line 8. š[ ]š   There are no traces remaining of the letter (/p/) between the two /š/'s.

Line 9. r'i[ ]   There are no traces left of the letter following /r'i/.

Line 10. qṣm̊   The /m/ of /qṣm/ is assured by context, but only the lower left tip of the horizontal is preserved.

Line 11. ġrmn[   ]   There are no surviving traces of a word divider after /ġrmn/.

Line 12 l̊bmth   The /l/ is assured by context. Only the right side of the right wedge is preserved.

Line 13. tġl̊   The only trace of the /l/ at the end of the line is the interior of a long vertical wedge. There is certainly no room for an additional /l/ as proposed by CAT.

Line 14. bmm[There are no traces of the /'/ proposed by CAT after /bmm/, though there is sufficient room for it in the break at the end of the line.

Line 16. mdnt   All three heads of the wedges of *n* are visible along the lower line (cf. Pardee's reading *md'at*). The final /t/ breaks across the right margin into column III.

Line 19. b'mq̊x   The /q/ is certain, although most of the right wedge is lost in the margin depression. In the area between the two vertical margin lines is the right side of a large vertical wedge. It is not part of the /q/, but is very clear. Is it perhaps a word divider?

Line 21. ṯlḥnt   The final /t/ is placed in the margin and intrudes slightly into column III.

Line 25. tġdd   CAT suggests that there is a /d/ underneath the /ġ/. There are traces that resemble the heads of verticals to the left of the

upper diagonal of the /ġ/, and perhaps a hint that the horizontal of the /ġ/ may have had multiple wedges (i.e., was first the horizontal part of a /d/. But none of these potential traces is certain, and they may all be simple damage to the surface.

Line 26. İbḥ   The /l/ is certain. A crack along the bottom of the letter makes it superficially resemble a /d/. The /h/ is also damaged. Only two wedges are visible here.

Line 28. mhrm   The right wedge of the /r/ is significantly reduced in length in order for the scribe to get the final /m/ on the line. That /m/ is written with the horizontal running across the margin, and the very thin vertical actually in column III.

Line 30. t̊ḫtṣb   Only the right tip of the first /t/ is preserved, but context argues for the reading. Most of the right side of /ḫ/is lost.

Line 31. ḅ̊bt   The first /b/ is virtually destroyed, but a bit of the lower line is visible, and the upper right corner of the right vertical is preserved. Parts of all four wedges of the second /b/ are preserved.

Line 32. šlm   Only the right wedge of the /š/ is preserved, but the reading is certain.

Line 33. [ ]t.ʿnt.ybmt.   We see no traces of the /l/ which certainly began the line.
   ʾuṣbʿth   The /ṣ/ here is in a unique form, in which the left half of the letter has two wedges, while the right has the regular one vertical. This is presumably a scribal mistake.
   lʾimm.   The final /m/ of the line has been placed in column III. A word divider follows it to mark it off from the beginning of column III 37.

Line 34. [   ]r̊ḥṣ   The /r/ is certain by context. Only the right wedge, and a possible right tip of a middle wedge have survived. The /ṣ/ is badly damaged, with the left wedge preserved along the left line, and only the upper right corner of the right wedge.

Line 35. [   ]ṣbʿth   The indentation taken by CAT as a fragment of the /ʾu/ at the beginning of the line appears to be simply part of the crack.

Line 36. [ ]ʿr[ ]   We see no traces of the /t̠/ proposed by CAT at the beginning of the line or of the word divider proposed for the space after /ʿr/. The /ʿ/ and the /r/ are damaged, but easily identifiable.

Line 37. l̊t̠lḫn̊   The /l/ is certain from context. Only the right wedge of the letter survives. Both /ḫ/ and the /n/ are damaged, but certain. Context strongly argues that a /t/ has been left off the form, cf. Line 21.

Line 38. [ ]ḫ̊ṣ̊pn   We see no trace of the first letter on the line (/t̠/ in CAT). The /ḫ/ is probable, although the lower left wedge, which distinguishes it from /ṭ/ is not definitely preserved (perhaps vague traces of the latter are visible, but this remains uncertain). The /ṣ/ is also badly broken, with only part of the left wedge preserved. But the width of the letter assures that it is not an /l/. The center of the /p/ is poorly preserved, but the letter is certain.

Line 39. [ ]l̊[ ]   The beginning of this line is also badly damaged. We see no evidence of CAT's reading /ṭ/ at the beginning of the line. The first traces that do appear are two very poorly preserved verticals, which could represent /ṣ/ or /l/. Context argues for /l/. We see no trace of a succeeding word divider.
   š̊mm   The /š/is also uncertain. One can make out the bottom tip of the middle vertical and the right side of the right wedge.

Line 40. [   ]k̊b̊[   ]   The outline of the /k/, though abraded, is sub-stantially preserved. Only the right lines of the /b/ are visible, and thus the letter remains uncertain.
   ʿrpt   The upper lines of the /ʿ/ still survive.

Line 41. [ ]b̊[ ]   The upper right side of a vertical wedge, joined to the upper part of a horizontal is preserved. Context argues for a /b/.
   nskh   The /n/ is certain. Traces of all three wedges are preserved, including the point at which the left two wedges meet, along with the right tip of the letter. The latter has been the basis for the reading *t* (Virolleaud, Gaster, Gordon [CTA p. 16 n. 4] and Pardee).
   For parallels between this column and CAT 1.7, see Dijkstra 1983:26–28.

TEXT RESTORED AND SET IN POETIC FORM

[About 25 lines are missing.]

1	*x[ ]š[ ]*
2–3	*kpr.šbʿ.bnt.*
	rḫ.gdm/wʾanhbm.
3–5	*klʾat.t̲ǵrt/bht.ʿnt.*
	wtqry.ǵlmm/bšt.ǵr
5–7	*whln.ʿnt.tm/t̲ḫṣ.bʿmq.*
	t̲ḫtṣ[b].bn/qrytm
7–8	*tmḫṣ.lʾim.ḫpy[m]/*
	tṣmt.ʾadm.ṣʾat.š[p]š
9–11	*tḥth.kkdrt.rʾi[š]/*
	ʿlh.kʾirbym.kp.
	k.qṣm/ǵrmn.kp.mhr.
11–13	*ʿtkt/rʾišt.lbmth.*
	šnst/kpt.bḥbšh.
13–15	*brkm.tǵl[l]/bdm.d̲mr.*
	ḫlqm.bmm[ʿ]/mhrm.
15–16	*mt̲m.tgrš/šbm.*
	bksl.qšth.mdnt
17–18	*whln.ʿnt.lbth.tmǵyn/*
	tštql.ʾilt.lhklh
19–20	*wl.šbʿt.tmt̲ḫṣh.bʿmqx/*
	t̲ḫtṣb.bn.qrtm.
20–22	*tt̲ʿr/ksʾat.lmhr.*
	t̲ʿr.tlḥnt/lṣbʾim.
	hdmm.lǵzrm
23–24	*mʾid.tmt̲ḫṣn.wtʿn/*
	t̲ḫtṣb.wtḥdy.ʿnt
25–27	*tǵdd.kbdh.bṣḥq.*
	ymlʾu/lbh.bšmḫt.
	kbd.ʿnt/tšyt.
27–28	*kbrkm.tǵllbdm/d̲mr.*
	ḫlqm.bmmʿ.mhrm
29–30	*ʿd.tšbʿ.tmt̲ḫṣ.bbt/*
	t̲ḫtṣb.bn.t̲lḥnm.
30–32	*ymḥ/bbt.dm.d̲mr.*
	yṣq.šmn/šlm.bṣʿ.
32–33	*trḥṣ.ydh.bt/[l]t.ʿnt.*
	ʾuṣbʿth.ybmt.lʾimm.
34–35	*[t]rḥṣ.ydh.bdm.d̲mr/*
	[ʾu]ṣbʿth.bmmʿ.mhrm
36–37	*[t̲]ʿr[.]ksʾat.lksʾat.*
	t̲lḥnt/lt̲lḥn<t>.
	hdmm.tt̲ʾar.lhdmm
38–40	*[t]hspn.mh.wtrḥṣ/*

[t̪]l[.]šmm.šmn.’arṣ.
rbb/[r]kb[.]’rpt.
40–41   t̪l.šmm.tskh/
[rb]b[.]nskh.kbkbm

Translation and Vocalized Text

Anat's Preparations for Battle

1   …

2–3   Henna for seven girls,   kupru šab‘i bināti
        With scent of musk and murex.   rīḥi gadīma wa-’anhibīma

Anat's Battle

3–5   The gates of Anat's house closed,   kula’tā[1] taġarātu[2] bahatī[3] ‘anati[4]
        She met youths at the foot of the   wa-taqriyu ġalamīma bi- šiti ġāri
          mountain.

5–7   And look! Anat fights in the valley,   wa-halluna ‘anatu timtaḥiṣu[5]
                                                              bi-‘amuqi[6]
        Battl[es] between the two towns.   tiḥtaṣi[bu] bêna qiryatêmi[7]

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[1] It is evident from the form of the verb that it is not plural (which would be *kl’a; see *UG* 466); it could be either dual or singular. Assuming that the verb's subject is "gate(s)", which stands in construct to the following noun (see n. 3 below), the verb could be either dual or singular. Pardee (1997c:250) and Tropper (*UG* 464) favor a singular here. Since a set of gates belonging to an entry to Anat's house makes good sense, Piquer-Otero (2003:206) prefers the dual. It is possible that an unnamed feminine singular agent is the subject of the verb, which would then be third fem. sg. active (see *ANET* 136; Pardee 1980:275). In contrast, Gordon (*UL* 17) had taken the form as the substantive "both." In this view, the syntactical connection of the clause to its context is unexplained.

[2] For the possible syllabic evidence of the word, see Huehnergard 1987b:188. For cognates, including loans into Egyptian, see Hoch 1994:273–74.

[3] The form without -*m* indicates that this noun stands in construct to the following name of the goddess, as recognized in particular by Ginsberg (*ANET* 136), Gordon (*UL* 17), Jirku (1962:27), and Pardee (1980:275; 1997c:250), followed by Smith (*UNP* 107). Several translations have taken the verb in the active voice with Anat as its subject (e.g., *CML*² 47; Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1137; Wyatt 1998:72; for a defense of this view, see *SPUMB* 89).

[4] For vocalization, see the syllabic form discussed in Huehnergard 1987b:161.

[5] Cf. the Ugaritic noun *miḫīṣi*, apparently a type of tool or weapon (Huehnergard 1987b:146). For the word, see further Heltzer 1982:123; and in addition to the standard lexica, see M. Cohen 1947:190, #469.

[6] The syllabic evidence (Huehnergard 1987b:160–61) militates in favor of this vocalization (cf. BH ‘*āmōq*) as opposed to ‘*imqu* (cf. BH ‘*ēmeq*).

[7] The sg. form appears as *qryt* in 1.14 II 28, IV 9 (*DUL* 715; *UG* 195, 291). For

7–8	She fought the people of the se[a]-shore, Struck the populace of the su[nr]ise.	timḫaṣu lu'ma ḫuppi[8] ya[mmi] taṣammitu[9] 'adama ṣi'ati ša[p]ši
9–11	Under her, like balls, were hea[ds], Above her, like grasshoppers, hands, Like locusts, heaps of warrior-hands.	taḫta-ha ka-kaddurāti ra'[šu] 'alê-ha ka-'irbiyīma kappu ka-qaṣami ǵarimānū kappī mahīri
11–13	She fixed heads to her back, Fastened hands on her waist.	'atakat ra'šāti lê-bamati-ha šannisat kappāti bi-ḫabši-ha
13–15	Knee-deep she glea[n]ed in warrior-blood, Neck-deep in the gor[e] of soldiers.	birkama taǵalli[lu][10] bi-dami[11] ḏamiri ḫalqa-ma bi-mam['î][12] mahīrīma
15–16	With a club she drove away captives, With her bow-string, the foe.	maṭṭî-ma tagarrišu šabîma bi-kisli qašti[13]-ha madanati

Anat's Slaughter of Her Captives

17–18	And look! Anat arrives at her house,	wa-halluna 'anatu lê-bêti-ha timǵayuna

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this base of the noun, see also BH *qiryat* (*KB* 3.1142–43), Arabic *qaryat* (Lane 2988). The noun appears in a different base as *qrtm* in line 20 below. The root of the noun is evidently **qry*, "to meet," (see *BDB* 899, 900). This verb is attested in line 4 (see the poetic analysis for the additional discussion of this verbal connection).

[8] See the discussion of *ḫuppu*, "shore" (?), Huehnergard 1987b:129.

[9] For the vowel of the prefix of the *D*-stem **yqtl* indicative, see *UG* 544–46. Tropper would reconstruct /a/ for the first person sg. form, but /u/ for the other forms. Despite the comparative evidence in favor of /u/, the first person sg. form may reflect the prefix vowel operative in the other forms.

[10] The form is vocalized as suggested in *UT* 9.36, which describes geminate verbs in the *D*-stem prefix indicative vocalized with a long vowel in the second syllable; cf. BH prefix indicative verbal forms in comparable thematic usage in Judg 6:9 and 20:45.

[11] For the syllabic forms, see Huehnergard 1987b:119. Like other biconsonantal nouns lacking a corresponding verbal root in Semitic languages, this one may be traced back to an early, Afro-Asiastic stratum; see M. Cohen 1947:154, #335.

[12] For cognates, see *DUL* 559; Leslau 23; see also M. Cohen 1947:189, #467.

[13] For the syllabic form in Ugaritic, see Huehnergard 198b:175.

The goddess takes herself to her palace,	tištaqilu[14] 'ilatu lê-hêkali[15]-ha
19–20 But she was not satisfied with her fighting in the valley,	wa-lā-šaba'at tamtaḫiṣi-ha bi-'amuqi
With battling between the two towns.	taḫtaṣibi bêna qarîtêmi[16]
20–22 She arranged chairs for the soldiery,	tiṯ'aru kissi'āti[17] lê-mahīri
Arranged tables for the hosts,	ṯa'āru ṯulhanāti lê-ṣaba'īma
Footstools for the heroes.	hadāmīma[18] lê-ġazarīma
23–24 Hard she fought and looked about,	mu'da[19] timtaḫiṣuna wa-ta'înu
Anat battled, and she surveyed.	tiḫtaṣibu wa-taḫdiyu 'anatu
25–27 Her innards swelled with laughter,	taġaddidu kabidu[20]-ha bi-ṣaḥqi

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[14] For this verb (*šql) and its Gt-form, see Gaster 1936:234; Greenfield 1979; UG 525; cf. Dietrich and Loretz 2000b:190 and DUL 699, who take the form as the Št-stem of *qyl. Pertinent to the latter etymology, the C-stem of *qyl means, "to cause to fall" in 1.17 VI 43–44 when Anat threatens the life of the hero Aqhat: bntb g'an 'ašqlk, "on the path of rebellion I will bring you down." In a different context, 1.22 I 12–13//1.4 VI 40–42, the C-stem of *qyl//*ṯbḫ are used for slaying animals. The form yšql is also used for trimming vegetation in 1.23.10. These usages undermine a posited Št-stem of *qyl as a verb of locomotion. If a Št-form were involved, the semantics would approximate better what DUL 699 cites as ql II (< *qll, "to go quickly, run").

[15] For a recent discussion of cognates, see Mankowski 2000:51–52, especially for the issue of initial h- in West Semitic forms versus Akkadian ekallu < Sum É.GAL. As opposed to the well-known view that Akkadian ekallu (derived from Sumerian E.GAL) was the source for the West Semitic forms, the initial h- in the West Semitic forms does not comport with a borrowing from Akkadian into the West.

[16] For this form, see DUL 715, UG 189 (including qa-ri-t[u₄] in an Ugaritica V polyglot, discussed also in Huehnergard 1987:175). For the base of this form, see also Ph qrt (DNWSI 1037), BH qāret in Prov 8:3, 9:3, 14, 11:11 (Ginsberg 1973:134 n. 19). Cf. above in line 7 for the same word with a different nominal base (qrytm). For another noun with this same base as qrt, see ḥmt, "wall" (for discussion, see Huehnergard 1987b:125).

[17] See Emar kissû (Fleming 1992:258–59) and BH kissē'. For discussion of the word with cognates, see p. 291 below.

[18] Cf. BH hādôm; Egyptian hdm/Demotic htm; see Hoch 1994:221–22; and possibly Hurrian atmi according to Watson 1996; DUL 335. See also Watson 2000a:569.

[19] With the 'i-aleph evidently closing the syllable, the word might be vocalized ma'da (cf. syllabic *ma'du (?), discussed in Huehnergard 1987b:144; Sivan 1997:64).

[20] For cognates, Akkadian kabattu, BH kābēd, Aramaic kabdā, Arabic kabid (kabd-, kibd-), see DUL 425–26 and Pentiuc 2001:93. See further the discussion below.

	Her heart filled with joy,	yimla'u libbu[21]-ha bi- šimḫati
	Anat's innards with victory.	kabidu ʿanati bi-tušiyati
27–28	Knee-deep she gleaned in warrior-blood,	birkama taġallilu bi-dami ḏamiri
	Neck-deep in the gore of soldiers,	ḫalqa-ma bi-mamʿî mahīrīma
29–30	Until she was sated with fighting in the house,	ʿad tišbaʿu tamtaḫiṣi bi-bêti
	With battling between the two tables.	taḫtaṣibi bêna ṯulḫanīma[22]

Anat Cleans Her Palace and Herself

30–32	Warrior-blood was wiped from the house,	yumḫâ[23] bi-bêti damu ḏamiri
	Oil of peace was poured in a bowl.	yuṣṣaqu šamnu šalāmi bi-ṣaʿi[24]
32–33	Adoles[ce]nt Anat washed her hands,	tirḫaṣu yadê-ha batu[la]tu ʿanatu
	The In-law of the Peoples, her fingers.	ʾuṣbuʿāti-ha yabimtu liʾimīma[25]
34–35	[She] washed her hands of warrior blood,	[ti]rḫaṣu yade-ha bi-dami ḏamiri
	Her [fi]ngers of the gore of the soldiers.	[ʾu]ṣbuʿāti-ha bi-mamʿî mahīrīma
36–37	[S]et chairs next to chairs,	[ṯa]ʿāru kissiʾāti lê-kissiʾāti
	Tables to table<s>; Footstools she set to footstools.	ṯulḫanāti lê-ṯulḫanā<ti> hadāmīma tiṯʿ(!)aru lê-hadāmīma

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[21] In addition to the well-known cognates (e.g., BH *lēb*, *lēbāb*, Akkadian *libbu*, Arabic *lubb; DUL* 489), see Leslau 304–5. For possible cognates in Egyptian and other African languages, see *UT* 19.1348; M. Cohen 1947:18, #443. See further the discussion below, especially Excursus I.

[22] Given the plural with *-t* in line 36, this form is apparently dual (so Sivan 1997:80). If correct, the use of the dual form perhaps is driven by the parallel image in lines 19–20, where "valley" in line 19 is paralleled by "house" in line 29, and the dual, "two towns" (line 20) is paralleled by the dual "two tables" (line 30).

[23] So *UG* 512, 668.

[24] For the syllabic evidence, see Huehnergard 1987b:170.

[25] For the first /i/, cf. West Semitic *li-me-ma* ("peoples") in EA 195:13, and Moran 1992:273 n. 2). For the second /i/ (unless the plural is unexpectedly not a "broken plural," hence *liʾmīma*, also in accordance with the rule of the three alephs and owing to vowel harmony found in words with alephs), correcting *UBC* 1.196. As indicated by the discussion of the word in *UBC* 1.196 n. 149 (see further below), the word may be narrower in meaning, designating a "clan."

38–40	[She] drew water and washed	[ta]ḥsupuna maha[26] wa-tirḥaṣu
	[With D]ew of Heaven, Oil of Earth,	[ṭa]lla šamîma šamna 'arṣi
	Showers of the Cloud-[R]ider,	rabība [rā]kibi 'urpati
40–41	Dew (which) the Heavens poured on her,	ṭalla šamûma tissaku-ha
	[Show]ers the Stars poured on her.	[rabī]ba nasaku-ha kabkabūma

COMMENTARY

Poetic Parallelism and Word/Syllable Counts

		semantic parallelism	word/ syllable count
2–3	kupru šabʻi bināti	a b	3/7
	rīḥi gadīma wa-'anhibīma	a' c	3/10

Differences over interpretation of these lines make discussion of poetic parallelism somewhat precarious, except for sonant parallelism. The last word in each line contains the consonants *b* and *n*, preceded by a gutteral.

| 3–5 | kula'tā ṯaġarātu bahati ʻanati | a b c | 4/13 |
| | wa-taqriyu ġalamīma bi-šiti *ġāri* | d e f | 4/13 |

Despite the highy divergent syntax of the two lines, some resonance between them is evident in *bahati* and *bi-šiti* (*b* plus final cluster *-ti*) and *ʻanati* and *ġāri* (gutteral plus medial *a* vowel and final *-i* ending). The lines are also balanced in length.

| 5–7 | wa-halluna ʻanatu timtaḫiṣu bi-ʻamuqi | a b c d | 4/15 |
| | tiḫtaṣi[bu] bêna qiryatêmi | c' d' | 3/10 |

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[26] Beyond well-known cognates (e.g., BH *mayim*), see Leslau 376. Like other biconsonantal nouns lacking a corresponding verbal root in Semitic languages, this one may be traced back to an early, Afro-Asiastic stratum; see M. Cohen 1947:191–92, #485. The *-h* in the Ugaritic form may reflect an expansive element (cf. medial *-h-* in plural forms of weak nouns, see Huehnergard 1987a:182; *UBC* 1.235 n. 29).

The syntax of the second line, namely main verb plus prepositional phrase closely follows, and is dependent on, the first line's syntax involving: *w-* + presentative particle + subject + main verb + prepositional phrase. Despite a longer prepositional phrase in the second line than in the first, the first line remains quite a bit longer in both the number of words and syllables. Some sonant parallelism may be detected: the verbs share a number of consonants (due to both the root letters and the infixed *-t* of their *Gt*-stem form) as well as vowels (the latter due to morphological parallelism of these verb forms); and the final word in the two lines both contain *m* and *q* in addition to the final case ending. A final note: the last word in this bicolon, *qrytm*, picks up the verb *tqry* in the preceding bicolon. Accordingly, Anat's fighting in the area of the two cities (*qrytm*) may be seen as developing the action of her meeting (*tqry*) her retinue at the gate. Given the disparity of line-length, one might suspect anacrusis in *whln*.[27]

7–8	timḫaṣu lu'ma ḫuppi ya[mmi]	a b c	4/9
	taṣammitu 'adama ṣi'ati ša[p]ši	a' b' c'	4/12

The syntactical parallelism is closely matched in this bicolon. As a result, the vowel endings of the four words in the two lines are the same (as is the initial consonant of each of the two lines). The semantic parallelism is likewise precise. On the whole, the letter *m* dominates both lines and thus further binds them. Another consonant, *p*, also appears in both lines. Taken cumulatively, the bilabials are particularly pronounced in this bicolon.

9–11	taḫta-ha ka-kaddurāti ra'[šu]	a b c	3/10
	'alê-ha ka-'irbiyīma kappu	a' b' c'	3/10
	ka-qaṣamī ġarimānū kappū mahīri	b" c"	4/13

The parallelism of this first tricolon in the column is marked first syntactically: prepositional phrase (referring to the goddess' body) + prepositional phrase of comparison + subject in the first two lines, extended in the third line by a longer comparative phrase + longer subject. The terms of comparison are likewise parallel in content in the second and third lines: *kp* is compared with some aspect of locusts.

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[27] See the discussion of *'any* in the lacuna before 1.3 IV 47 (below on p. 287).

| 11–13 | 'atakat ra'šāti lê-bamati-ha | a b c | 3/11 |
| | šannisat kappāti bi-ḫabši-ha | a' b' c' | 3/10 |

These two lines, matched closely in length, show significant syntactical and morphological parallelism, which issues in a notable degree of sonant parallelism. Otherwise, sonant morphology is not particularly heightened. Yet *k* and *t* in *'atakat* and *kappāti* and *š* and *t* in *ra'ašāti* and *šannisat* produce striking instances of sonant chiasm.

| 13–15 | birkama taġalli[lu] bi-dami ḏamiri | a b c | 4/13 |
| | ḫalqa-ma bi-mam['î] mahīrīma | a' c' | 3/10 |

Again morphological and syntactical parallelism is striking in this bicolon, perhaps accentuated by the fronting of the goddess' body parts in each line. The consonant *m* heightens the sonant parallelism of the lines, and in conjunction with the consonant *b* used three times, all in initial position, the lines show a particularly strong bilabial effect (cf. the bilabials in lines 7–8 above). Also notable within each line is the alliterative wordplay in the syntactically parallel prepositional phrases: *dami ḏamiri*//*mam['î] mahīrīma*.

| 15–16 | maṭṭî-ma tagarrišu šabîma | a b c | 3/10 |
| | bi-kisli qašti-ha madanati | a' c' | 3/10 |

The lines here are the same length, and the parallelism closely follows suit. The single departure in the syntactical parallelism, created by the fronting of the prepositional phrases, focuses attention on the semantic parallelism.

| 17–18 | wa-halluna 'anatu lê-bêti-ha timġayuna | a b c d | 4/15 |
| | tištaqilu 'ilatu lê-hêkali-ha | d' b' c' | 3/12 |

The parallelism on all levels is tightly maintained, and perhaps heightened by the chiasm between the subjects and the verbs (Watson 1994b:314). Apart from the sonant parallelism generated by morphology, the repetition of *l* in the two lines is notable. If *wa-halluna* were regarded as an instance of anacrusis, the two lines would yield parallelism of a b c//c' a' b' as well as closer counts of 3/11 and 3/12.

| 19–20 | wa-lā-šaba'at tamtaḫiṣi-ha bi-'amuqi | a b c | 3/14 |
| | taḫtaṣibi bêna qarîtêmi | b' c' | 3/10 |

See lines 5–7 above for similar parallelism and line-length. The main difference involves the initial element in the first line that governs the two *Gt*-stem forms. The new element contributes no further parallelism of great significance (though note the main verbs' minor addition of final *-t* to the initial *t-* of the two *Gt*-stem verbs).

20–22	tiṯ'aru kissi'āti lê-mahīri	a b c	3/11
	ṯa'āru ṯulḫanāti lê-ṣaba'īma	a' b' c'	3/12
	hadāmīma lê-ġazarīma	b'' c''	2/9

This tricolon shows the sequence of **yqtl* followed by infinitive absolute of the same root (Loewenstamm 1969a). More pronounced over the three lines is the parallelism of direct objects (all furniture) and of prepositional phrases (all terms for soldiers).

| 23–24 | mu'da timtaḫṣuna wa-ta'înu | a b c | 3/10 |
| | tiḫtaṣibu wa-taḥdiyu 'anatu | b' c' d | 3/11 |

Apart from the fronted adverbial accusative, the parallelism is tight (as is the line-length): *Gt*-stem **yqtl* verb (of battle) + *w-* + *G*-stem **yqtl* verb (of vision). A particularly strong sonant parallelism marks the end of the two lines: the final verb of the first line shares all the same consonants as the goddess' name at the end of the second line. Watson (1986a:159) observes that the root **ḥdy* may also mean "to rejoice," and so he proposes that it may form here a case of "Janus parallelism" with the following lines. However, Noegel (1995:91–92) has argued that Ugaritic maintains a clear distinction between **ḥdy*, "to see, gaze," and **ḫdw*, "to rejoice." For this reason, he rejects Watson's proposal for Janus parallelism here. In Watson's defense, it is to be noted that **ḫdw* is not clearly attested in Ugaritic. The citations by Gordon (*UT* 19.933) for this root, on whose work Noegel depends for this point, in fact do not exist in the texts, and neither *DUL* nor *CPU* has an entry for this root (apart for possibly related PNs). Despite the separate etymological origins of the two roots, as correctly noted by Noegel, it is not clear that Ugaritic maintained a clear distinction between them.

25–27	taġaddidu kabidu-ha bi-ṣaḥqi	a b c	3/11
	yimla'u libbu-ha bi-šimḫati	a' b' c'	3/10
	kabidu 'anati bi-tušiyati	b d c''	3/11

The parallelism is very similar to what is contained in lines 20–22: two parallel verbs in the initial two lines, plus parallel subjects (in this case both body parts, both containing (*b*), followed by prepositional phrases (referring to the goddess' reaction, all with a sibilant) in all three lines. The words *kbd* and *lb* form a standard word-pair in Ugaritic, Akkadian and Hebrew (Avishur 1984:562–63). Watson (1994b:193) notes the gender-matched parallelism of *kbd* (feminine) with *lb* (masculine), as suggested by the gender of the verbs. Although the name of the goddess in the third line is marked as "d" in the sigla above, it is parallel to the pronominal suffixes on the body-parts in the first and second lines. The name of the goddess may be viewed then as a delayed referent of these pronominal suffixes. Noegel (2004:11–12) notes the presence of what he calls a "geminate cluster," consisting of *tǵdd* in this unit and *tǵll* and *mmʿ* in the following unit.

27–28	birkama taǵallilu bi-dami ḏamiri	a b c	4/13
	ḫalqa-ma bi-mamʿî mahīrīma	a' c'	3/10

See the same bicolon in lines 13–15 above.

29–30	ʿad tišbaʿu tamtaḫiṣi bi-bêti	a b c	4/11
	taḫtaṣibi bêna ṯulḥanêma	b' c'	3/10

Relative to the similar bicolon in lines 19–20, the additional element of a preposition in the first line contributes nothing to the sonant parallelism and only slightly to inner-line alliteration (with *tišbaʿu*).

30–32	yumaḫḫu bi-bêti damu ḏamiri	a b c	4/11
	yuṣṣaqu šamnu šalāmi bi-ṣaʿi	a' c' b'	4/11

Despite the lack of semantic parallelism compared to most cola in this column, the line-length and syntactical and morphological parallelism—including the chiasm of subjects and prepositional phrases—match closely. The consonant *m* is further evidence of general sonant binding between the two lines, in contrast with the alliteration of word-initial *d* in only the first line and the alliteration of word-initial *š* in only the second line.

32–33	tirḫaṣu yadê-ha batu[la]tu ʿanatu	a b c	4/13
	ʾuṣbuʿāti-ha yabimtu liʾimīma	b' c'	3/12

Although the first line contains one more word than the second line
(the initial word, a verb that governs the rest of the bicolon), the latter
contains some longer words, which help to balance out the line length
of the bicolon. The parallelism is close on all levels except for sonant
parallelism, which is generated mostly by shared morphology. However,
the sonant parallelism of ʿ and *t* in *ʿanatu* and *ʾuṣbuʿāti* and of *b* and *t*
in *batu[la]tu* and *yabimtu* may be noted.

34–35	[ti]rḥaṣu yadê-ha bi-dami ḏamiri	a b c (x of y)	4/12
	[ʾu]ṣbuʿāti-ha bi-mamʾî mahīrīma	a' b' (x of y)	3/12

The same syntax of the same verb and direct objects of the prior bico-
lon carry over into this bicolon. This bicolon reintroduces prepositional
phrases paralleled in the bicolon in lines 27–28 (see also the discussion
of the poetic features in lines 13–15 above).

36–37	[ṯa]ʿāru kissiʾāti lê-kissiʾāti	a b c	3/12
	ṯulḥanāti lê-ṯulḥanā<ti>	b' c'	2/8 <9>
	hadāmīma tiṯʿ(!)aru lê-hadāmīma	b'' a' c''	3/12

The progression dictated by the terms of furniture provides overall
balance. The inversion of order of verbal forms, infinitive absolute +
*yqtl indicative (see Loewenstamm 1969a), suggests a thematic reversal
(APO), namely that the usage of these verbal forms relative to the same
forms in lines 20–22, perhaps suggests the return of the furniture to
its proper place. In the third line, the position of the verbal form in
second position is unusual; if it were to be omitted (as a dittography?),
it would provide better balance in line-length with the preceding line.

38–40	[ta]ḥsupuna maha wa-tirḥaṣu	a b c	3/10
	[ṭa]lla šamîma šamna ʾarṣi	b' [x of y] b''	4/9
		[x' of y']	
	rabība [rā]kibi ʿurpati	b''' [= x'' of y'']	3/9

The second and third lines develop the theme of the "water" introduced
in the first line. As such, the latter two lines provide a list of standard
forms of precipitation that the more general term "water" may assume.
The Ugaritic word-pair *ṭl*//*rbb* is attested elsewhere (1.19 I 44–46; see
Avishur 1984:57). The use of a "list" here constitutes a less common
form of parallelism. The tricolon demarcates the first line from the
rest by "front-loading" the two verbs there, rather than placing them

in parallelism as expected, and then by presenting the list of objects in the second and third lines.

40–41   ṭalla šamûma tissaku-ha   a b c   3/9
         [rabī]ba nasaku-ha kabkabūma   a' c' b'   3/11

The parallelism for continuing the description of precipitation, *ṭl*//*[rb]b*, uses a well-known syntax of direct object followed by asyndetic relative clause consisting of subject plus verb (with resumptive object suffix). As a result, the bicolon shows parallelism on all levels, with the added feature of chiasm of elements in the relative clauses. The verbs are parallel in that they belong to the same root, with the **yqtl* form paralleling the **qtl* form, as noted by Held (1962). Finally, some sonant quality (beyond what is generated morphologically) is evident in the bilabials.

Introduction

Following a long lacuna of about twenty-five lines and an unintelligible first line, the text opens with the end of a scene. Lines 2–3a refer to cosmetics. One of these terms, *'anhbm*, appears in Anat's application of make-up later in 1.3 III 1–2 (Pope 1977b:353). Perhaps the scene in part of the lacuna preceding II 2–3a and the scene in II 30b–III 2, in which Anat and her palace are cleansed from the gore of battle, were intentionally designed as a contrasting envelope to surround the violent battle scene of lines 3b–30a. Anat's conflict with her enemies is clearly the central element of this part of the story. Two battles are depicted here, in lines 3b–16 and 17–30.[28] Thus, if correctly understood, this section may be divided into four basic parts:

A	Anat's self-cleansing	?–II 3
B	Anat's bloody fighting	II 3b–16
B'	Anat's slaughter of captives	II 17–30a
A'	Anat's self-cleansing	II 30b–III 2

The two-part structure exemplified by the central battle scene (B and B') is a feature common to poetic narrative in the Baal Cycle. It is

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[28] One may note that the two battle accounts have coalesced into a single one in 1.7.1–9.

found several times in speeches and in their narrative implementation (1.2 I; 1.3 VI–1.4 I and 1.4 VIII; cf. 1.5 I) and also in straight narrative passages similar to the one here. In 1.2 IV the battle between Baal and Yamm is also divided into two parallel parts. Two-part speeches are linked by a standard expression, *'ap mṯn rgmm 'argm*, "also on a second subject I would speak," a line found in 1.3 IV 31–32 and 1.4 I 20 (see also 1.17 VI 39; Smith 1985:290). The longest two-part section in the Baal Cycle is perhaps the parallel narratives detailing first Anat's quest for El's permission for Baal's palace (1.3 III–V) and then Athirat's more successful effort toward this goal (1.3 VI–1.4 V). The two parts also correspond to the two elements that are common in descriptions of *ḥerem* warfare, discussed below.

Lines ?–II 3

The first item in lines 2–3, *kpr*, has been identified as *lawsonia alba/inermis*, a fairly large shrub that can grow up to ten feet in height. It was (and is) common in the Levant and has been used as a hair dye (Pope 1977b:352). In English this dye is known as henna (see *ANET* 136; *Thespis* 236; *CML²* 47; Pardee 1997a:250). The root appears in Song of Songs 1:14 and 4:13 as a perfume (*Thespis* 236; Pope 1977b:352; Brenner 1982:153). Whether or not the West Semitic root is related to the word for the reddish metal, copper, is debatable (Lambert 1991:186 n. 13). In line 2 *kpr* may stand in construct with *šbʿ bnt*, "of seven girls," perhaps as a reference to a great amount (Kapelrud 1968; Pardee 1997a:250; cf. the temporal use of "seven times" in the Amarna correspondence meaning "over and over" (Moran 1992:xxx n. 85); and "seven roads" in Deut 28:7 meaning all sorts of directions. Or, *šbʿ bnt* could form an asyndetic relative clause meaning "(which) gratifies girls" (Pope 1977b:353). Or, *bnt* may refer to tamarisk (see Wyatt 1998:72 n. 15, citing Akkadian *bīnu* and Syriac *bīnā*, "tamarisk"). De Moor (1987:5) understands seven girls to be the ones putting the cosmetics on Anat.

Line 2 mentions a further term, *gdm*. It is often considered to be coriander, based on the parallel occurrence in 1.23.14 (there formerly thought to be a "kid," with its mother's milk as in Exod 23:19; 34:26; Deut 14:21; see Haran 1978, 1985; Keel 1980; Milgrom 1985; Ratner and Zuckerman 1985, 1986; and Smith 2006: 52–57). Pope (1977b:353) renders "smell of musk for *rḥ gdm*, which perhaps captures better the sensual appeal of the words. Similarly, de Moor (1968:214 n. 5) prefers saffron for *gdm* (though this word in Arabic is written with *ghain*).

The first word in line 3, *'anhbm* (1.3 III 1, IV 45), is "murex," or perhaps better the shell containing the purple snails producing the murex (de Moor 1968:213–14: *TO* 1.157 n. e; *DUL* 78–79). Akkadian *yānibu* (cf. *aynibu, nibu*) is not only a stone, but perhaps also a type of shell (Oppenheim 1963; *CAD I/J*:322; *AHw* 411). Schaeffer (1929: 290, 293, 296; 1938:38; *PRU* II, pl. XIV; see below the discussion of 1.3 III 1–2) reported that at Minet al-Beida, Ugarit's port, mounds of crushed murex shells accumulated prior to the sixteenth century (see McGovern and Michel 1984). The Phoenician purple dye industry was well known to later classical authors (Jensen 1963:105). The Ugaritic word has been compared with Arabic *nahaba*, "to plunder, take booty," in accordance with statements by classical authors who describe the murex as a carnivorous and gluttonous shell-fish (so de Moor 1968:215; cf. Renfroe 1992:80–81). While the purple was used principally to dye textiles, the Romans also used it for face paint and hair dye. The murex produces shades not only of purple, but also deep blue, red and black (Jensen 1963:109–14). Red ocher for human skin decoration seems to be very old; it has been detected at a number of Neanderthal sites (H. E. Fisher 1992:244–45). Its meaning would presumably vary within different cultures. Anat's cosmetics in II 2–3 appear to be a prelude to battle. Pughat likewise reddles herself with murex before avenging the death of her brother, Aqhat (CAT 1.19 IV 42). It is possible that Pughat's beautification may be in imitation of the murderer's boss, Anat herself.

Lines 3–16: Anat's Battle

In the battle section of lines 3b–16, Anat fights in a valley at the foot of her mountain. This section shares some thematic material with the next section; the overlapping material helps to show a frame around the battle proper (as discussed below in the treatment of lines 17–30, this overlap likewise frames the "battling" in that section). The battle proper is framed first by the action of Anat's movement with respect to her house/palace in lines 3b–5a and 17 (A and A') and highlighted by the use of *hln*, "and then," in lines 5b and 17 (B and B'). The battle proper stands at the center of the section (C). Taking into account the parallel bicola of lines 3b–5a and 17–18, the whole might be diagrammed accordingly:

> A   Anat proceeds from her house   lines 3b–5a
>> B   *whln*   line 5b
>>> C battling enemies   lines 5b–16
>> B' *whln*   line 17
> A' Anat proceeds to her house   lines 17–18

The battle itself in lines 5b–16 shows a basic balance: Anat's battling in lines 5b–8 and gleaning for captives in lines 13b–16 on either side of her attaching of body-parts to herself in lines 9–13a.

    The description as a whole shows an integrated sequence of verbal clauses and repetition of nouns. Lines 3–5 open the narrative sequence with a transition from the prior action in lines 2–3 marked by the verb **kl'at*. Piquer Otero (2003:207; cf. *UG* 692) would view *kl'at ṯġrt bht 'nt* as the logical protasis to the second line of the bicolon, *wtqry ġlmm bšt ġr*, with *wtqry* beginning the narrative sequence. It is also possible that *kl'at* initiates the sequence of **yqtl* verbs, beginning with *wtqry* (this reading conforms more closely to the bulk of **yqtl* verbs preceded by *w-* in Piquer Otero's analysis, as discussed above on pp. 24–5). In either reading, the bicolon of lines 3–5 initiates the narrative sequence. The two following bicola in lines 5–8 continue the narrative sequence with four **yqtl* verbs. The only significant departure involves *w-* + the presentative particle *hln* at the beginning of the sequence; this addition is to provide a dramatic foregrounding for Anat and her battling. What follows in lines 9–13 is a description of the results of the actions in lines 5–8, as indicated by the departures in syntax. The tricolon of lines 9–11, a series of nominal clauses, describes the results of Anat's battling. The bicola in lines 11–15 elaborate two resulting actions stemming from the situation described in lines 9–11. First, the bicolon of lines 11–13 with its switch to **qtl* verbs, describes what Anat does with the heads and hands introduced in lines 9–10 (see Greenstein 2006:92). Second and parallel, the bicolon of lines 13–15 with its switch in syntax to **yqtl* clauses fronted by adverbial accusative nouns, explains what Anat does finally with the warriors first introduced in line 11. The repetition of the nouns in particular suggests this reading of lines 11–15 as actions stemming from the situation presented in lines 9–11: *r'iš//kp* in lines 9–10 is followed by *r'išt//kpt* in lines 11–13, and *mhr* in line 11 is followed by *ḏmr//mhrm* in 13–15.[29] Lines 15–16 mark a shift in

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[29] For the variation of *'aleph* in the spelling of *r'iš* and *r'ašt*, see Sivan 1997:63; *UG* 295, 299. Dahood (1965:37) compared the collective use of Ugaritic *r'iš* with the BH *rō'š* attested collectively in Num 24:18; Hab 3:13; Pss 68:22, 110:6; Job 22:12.

perspective. Anat turns from the dead to the living. The weapons are fronted before the verb in this bicolon, perhaps as a rhetorical means to highlight the goddess' victory over the living. The *yqtl* form of the verb *tgrš* would suggest narrative continuity from the *yqtl* verbs in lines 7–8, themselves following the verbs in lines 5–7.

The battle scene opens in line 3b with a bicolon locating the action in the environs of Anat's house. The "house" here may presuppose the image of a fortified palace located on top of the mountain at the base of which (*bšt ġr*) the battle takes place. The word *ġr* may compare possibly with ESA *ġr* and BH *'ār* in Num 21:15, Deut 2:18, 29, etc. (see *KB* 2:876), and perhaps not, as commonly assumed, with BH *ṣûr* and Aramaic *ṭûrā*.[30] Anat's mountain is named in other passages as *'inbb* (1.1 II 14; 1.3 IV 34; 1.13.9, 32; 1.100.20; *CML*2 47 n. 3; *CMCOT* 86–87) and perhaps *'uġr* (1.3 IV 34, but see Wyatt 1998b:82 n. 58).

The theme of the divine dwelling on a mountain is well attested, both at Ugarit (especially, of course, Mt. Ṣapan) and in the Hebrew Bible (Exod 15:13, 17–18 and Ps 48:2–3). De Moor (1987:5 n. 25) suggests that the names Inbb and Uġr refer to Ugarit and its harbor "in mythological disguise." This is unlikely, however, since the name Inbb appears not just in mythological texts, but as a genuine, terrestrial location, clearly not Ugarit, in 1.100.20. In this way it is similar to Mount Ṣapan, which is also described as a mythic location and as the terrestrial mountain, Mt. Cassius, several miles north of Ugarit. Anat is also referred to occasionally as Anat of Ṣapan, suggesting either that she is sometimes viewed as living on the same mountain as Baal, or that her mountain is in the same mountain range covered by the term Ṣapan (CAT 1.46.17; 1.109.13–14, 17, 36; 1.130.26; Pardee 2002: 26–33). The iconography of the storm-god shows him standing on top of his mountain (for discussions, see *EHG* 54, 73 n. 86; Dikjstra 1991; for seals from Ugarit and Emar, see Beyer 2001:48–49, 301, 302, A3).

In line 4, *bht 'nt* is a construct phrase (the absolute form elsewhere being *bhtm*). Therefore, Anat is not the subject (cf. *UG* 464, 622); instead, the verb is evidently passive (*ANET* 136; Pardee 1980:274–5). Anat's two gates or double-gates are said to be closed or bolted shut. The final *-t* of the *qatala* form would suggest a singular or dual subject (*UG* 463) and the form of the noun may be construed as dual (cf. singular *ṯġr*), as recognized by Piquer Otero (2003:206–7). In BH, the root *kl'*

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[30] See *UBC* 1.173 n. 108. For a proposal to interpret *ṣrrk* in Ps 8:3 as the divine stronghold, and as cognate with *ġr/'r*, see Smith 1997:640–41.

means to "shut up, restrain, withhold" (see *BDB* 476; *DCH* 4:413). It also appears with the word, "house," as in the phrase *bêt (hak)kele'* in 1 Kgs 22:27//2 Chron 18:26, 2 Kgs 17:4, 25:27, Isa 42:7, but this expression refers to a prison (as in Akkadian *bīt kīli*; see *BDB* 476). The palace gate is a point of departure to battle or returning from it (cf. Ps 24:7–10; Ezek 44:2; cf. Ps 118:19–20) and a site for conflict itself (Judg 5:8, 11). The latter motif is an old one in Mesopotamian literature as well, as illustrated by the following speech pronounced by the divine warrior Nuska in a fragment of the Assyrian recension of Atrahasis (2:15–17//25–27; Lambert 1980:73):

> Who is responsible for battle
> [Who is responsible for hostilities]?
> Which is the god who has started [war],
> So that battle has come up to [my gate]/the gate of Enlil?

Like the palace of Anat, the house of Kirta has a gate (1.16 I 52, II 26). One may wonder if the goddess' gate in this literary context reflects an older or contemporary ritual notion of the goddess exiting her temple gate in order to begin ritual combat against her enemies? (For general considerations of this sort, see Kilmer in Barnett 1981:20.)

The foot of the mountain is the site where Anat meets the figures called *ġlmm*, presumably her retinue, since her foes appear in lines 7–8 (see Pardee 1997a:250 n. 72). The term **ġlmm* is used for Baal's retinue in 1.5 V 9. Perhaps comparable is Emar 370.90' (Fleming 1992:213) where the warrior-goddess Astarte is the recipient of ritual obeisance: "The men of battle wi[ll fall] at her feet" (LÚ.MEŠ *ta-ḫa-zi a-na* GÌR. MEŠ *ša i-[ma-qu-tu]*). Fleming (1992:213 n. 29) raises the question of whether the priests who accompany the ark into battle in Joshua 3 and 1 Samuel 4 represent a similar sort of ritual personnel. In these cases, the ritual personnel may reflect a mythological notion of the deity's retinue. The verb, *tqry*, "she meets," appears in a context of violence in 1.17 VI 43–44 when Anat threatens the life of the hero Aqhat: *hm l'aqryk bntb pš' […] bntb ġan 'ašqlk*, "if I meet you on the path of transgression…on the path of rebellion I will bring you down" (Gray 1979b:317 n. 10; for **qry*, see *DUL* 714 and Hoch 1994:296–97, including West Semitic loans in Egyptian). Both here and in 1.3 II the word seems to signal an aspect of conflict on the goddess' part, anticipating the destruction to come. Yet in the immediate context the root refers to the goddess' retinue joining her.

The battle scene depicts Anat at her most savage. Her propensity toward violence and warfare is a consistent theme of the mythological texts. In 1.1 III 19–20, 1.3 III 14–17 and IV 8–10, she is commanded by Baal to desist from war. In 1.6 II Anat kills and dismembers Mot, the god of death and enemy of her beloved brother Baal. In 1.3 V 24–25 and 1.18 I 11–12 she threatens to beat El's head to a bloody pulp. In 1.18 IV she arranges for Aqhat's death. She describes her conflicts with a number of divine enemies in 1.3 III 38–46. A brief description of a similar battle is found in 1.83 (on these passages, see Pitard 1998). Her portrayal as a warrior goddess extended far beyond Ugarit and is attested in texts from Egypt to Mari. Anat's popularity in New Kingdom Egypt has left some traces. To what is noted in the discussions above, the following may be added: the PN Anat-em-nekhu, "Anat is a Protection"; an Egyptian stele depicting Anat carrying a spear; and a description from a papyrus, in which she is called, "Anat, the goddess, the victorious, a woman acting (as) a man [i.e., a warrior], clad as a male and girt as a female" (*ANET* 250, esp. nn. 18 and 21; see Stadelmann 1967:91–96). Beth Shean stratum V yielded an Egyptian stele dedicated to Anat (Rowe 1930:pl. 50, n. 2; 1940:33–34, pl. 65a, no. 1). In addition, the dedication at the outset of a Phoenician-Greek bilingual text from Lapethos in Cyprus (*KAI* 42:1) refers to *'nt m'z ḥym*, which may be rendered either "Anat the stronghold of life" (so *DNWSI* 668), or "Anat, strength, life," which would be more proximate to the Greek text, *Athēna Sōteira Nikē*, literally, "Athena, Savior, Victory." For Anat in other sources, see *DDD* 36–43.

The etymology of the name Anat is ambiguous. Lambert (1988:132, following an older proposal in *RLA* 1:104–5, cf. *DDD* 36, 39–40) argued that the name is to be identified with Ḥanat, a goddess mentioned in the Mari archives as a goddess of the Amorite group, the Ḥanaeans. From the Mari evidence Lambert deduced that Anat was originally an Amorite deity.[31] This seems plausible. The same could be suggested concerning Baal (see *UBC* 1.112–13; for linguistic discussions of Ugaritic in this direction, see Greenfield 1969b and Israel 2003). It remains only to be said that even assuming the validity of Lambert's identification of

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[31] Lambert (1985a:526 #14, 534) also notes a city in the Mari texts called ᵈḤa-na-atᵏⁱ, located some 125 km south of Mari, and connects it with the Ḥanaean goddess. P. L. Day (*DDD* 43), however, notes a glitch in Lambert's theory, namely that the city of Ḥanat was not located in primarily Ḥanean territory. A city of Anat is also attested in the Emar tablets (Bassetti 1996).

Anat with Ḥanat, the issue of the etymology of her name remains to be explained; he does not address the question of the root and meaning behind Ḥanat (see *UBC* 1.195–96 n. 147; *DDD* 36).[32]

The battle account begins in line 5 with the word *hln*. It is a presentative particle not unlike BH *hinnê* (*UBC* 1.337). It gives an immediacy to Anat's action, the bloody battle which the first bicolon, lines 5b–7a, describes as taking place in a valley lying between two towns. The topographical description evokes the image of two armies engaged in battle on the open field. Several scholars have proposed specific locations for this battle. De Moor (*SPUMB* 94 n. 3) identifies the two cities as Ugarit and its port two miles away at the modern Minet al-Beida (*CML*[2] 47 n. 4; Gray 1979b:317 n. 11; cf. Pope 1977b:607). Pope (1977b:607) and Pardee (1980:275) suggest the possibility that *bn qrytm*, "between the two cities," refers to ʾUġr and ʾInbb, i.e., Anat's mountainous abode (for references see above; see also *CMCOT* 86–90). While this seems possible, one should note that there is no evidence that ʾInbb was understood to be a city rather than a mountain like Ṣapan (see above for the discussion of the mountain). The character of Uġr is even more ambiguous.

Anat's battle at her mountain abode appears to contain elements related to the wider literary representation of *Volkerkampf*, the motif of foreign enemies opposing the divine warrior at the divine mountain (e.g., Ps 48:5–8; cf. Joel 4:9–14; Zech 12:3–4; 14:2). Clifford (*CMCOT* 142–53)

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[32] There are at least five other suggestions (see Deem 1978; Gray 1979b:321–22 n. 42; Walls 1992:114–5):

1. To "sing" as in a dirge (Kapelrud 1969:28), assuming the root **ʿny*, although the word does not have this meaning in Ugaritic.

2. Gray (1979b:321) compares Arabic *ʿanwat*, "violence," lacking for evidence in Ugaritic.

3. Albright (1957:373) suggests "sign" (followed by McCarter 1987:137–55) connecting her name with Akkadian *ittu*, "sign." The goddess is the sign of the presence of the god (for discussion, see Gray 1979b:321–22 n. 42). See also Dahood (1958:81): "sign, indicator of purpose, active will."

4. "Vorsorge, Vorsehung" (Pope 1965:238), related to **ʿnw/y*, "to answer" (Zadok 1993:320).

5. Deem (1978:30) relates the goddess' name to a putative BH root **ʿnh*, "to love, to make love," and with an agricultural term *mʿnh/mʿnt*, "a turn of the plow, a furrow." On the basis of Anat's sexual activities, Deem (1978:26) concludes: "It would appear, therefore, appropriate to seek an etymology of her name to reflect this aspect of love and fecundity." While it is true that sexual connotation may be found in some passages with the root **ʿnh*, it is unclear whether a separate root **ʿnh* denotes sexual love. Indeed, the passages cited in support of this view (Exod 21:10, 23:6, 18; Hos 2:16–17, 23–25) are difficult and have been interpreted in other ways.

has plausibly connected this biblical motif (Ps 2:1–2) with the human enemies of Anat here and Baal in 1.4 VII 35–36. However, only in Anat's battle do human enemies meet in battle at the deity's mountain. And only in Anat's battle—and not Baal's—are there motifs of divine scorn and laughter, characteristic of some of the biblical parallels (see Clifford 1975:302 n. 7, 305). Similarly, the depiction of the violence in the battle (*EHG* 61–64) is characteristic in Ugaritic literature only of the descriptions of Anat's behavior, not Baal's.

Psalm 2 deploys the *Volkerkampf* motif in service of Yahweh's defense of the king, a form of divine protection for the monarch also attributed to Anat in New Kingdom Egypt and perhaps implicitly underlying the use of this material at Ugarit. Ramses II calls himself "beloved of Anat" and "nursling of Anat." In an inscription Anat is said to declare to him: "I have borne you like Seth" (identified with Baal in the New Kingdom period). A chariot team of Ramses II was named "Anat is content, his sword Anat is victorious." One of his dogs was called "Anat protects." He also calls Anat and Astarte his shield (*ANET* 250).

The verbs of the next bicolon, **mḫṣ*//**ṣmt* (lines 7b–8), also appear in Anat's description of her battle with cosmic monsters in 1.3 III 43–44, though not in parallel (for **ṣmt* used of Anat, see also 1.18 IV 38; cf. BH **ṣmt* in *BDB* 856; *UT* 19.2176; *DUL* 786–87). The bicolon describes the vast size of the combatant army, encompassing the people from the west and the east. The terms used to indicate west and east form a merismus, suggesting not only the world-wide origins of Anat's enemies, but also the world-wide implications of the battle (cf. Pardee 1997a:250 n. 74). The sense, "west," has been deduced from the literal phrase, "shore of the sea."[33] This view appears apt in view of the parallel phrase indicating the east, *ṣ'at špš*, "rising of the sun" (= **ṣi'atu šapši*; see Sivan 1997:62, 64 for the forms). Anat engages all human enemies in battle (Dahood 1965:42; 1979:146; *TO* 1.158 n. j; Pardee 1980:275). At that point, it is important to note Pope's studies of Anat (1965, 1974, 1977b:606–11), which have transformed the understanding of this goddess' battle (see also Fensham 1965; Walls 1992). Those familiar with Pope's comparisons of Anat with other goddesses of love and death, notably Egyptian Hathor, Sumerian Inanna, Akkadian Ishtar and Indian Kali, will recognize the debt owed his work (Pope 1977b:608–10) in the

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[33] For "shore" used in reference to Anat's bathing in an Egyptian context, see Hoch 1994:241–42.

following remarks. As in 1.3 II, universal destruction at the goddess' hands is the subject of the Egyptian myth sometimes labeled "The Deliverance of Humanity from Destruction" (*ANET* 10–11; Fensham 1965; Lichtheim 1997:36–37; Pope 1977b:607–8; Batto 1987). In the myth the sun god, Re, discovers that humankind is plotting against him, so he commissions the goddess Hathor to destroy it. Upon her return from her first battle she proclaims: "I have prevailed over mankind, and it is pleasant in my heart." The extent of the slaughter and the enjoyment felt by the goddess during the battle are both parallels to the account of Anat's battle here. The depiction of the divine warrior's pleasure in battle is perhaps modeled upon the similar portrayals of the warrior king's own delight in bloody victory over his enemies (see *ANET* 254 for a New Kingdom Egyptian example).

Anat's demeanor is also similar to Sumerian Inanna (and her Akkadian counterpart Ishtar, with whom she was identified). The Sumerian goddess manifests in the words of Frymer-Kensky (1992:65), "sheer force, rage, and might, with a physical power that exists in a somewhat uneasy relationship to the orderly world of the hierarchical pantheon." In Enheduanna's hymn to Inanna, we again find the theme of the goddess fighting a rebellious people (Hallo and van Dijk 1968:20–21, lines 43–46; see also *ANET* 579–82; Mann 1977:30–33):

> In the mountain where homage is withheld from you,
>   vegetation is accursed.
> Its grand entrance you have reduced to ashes.
> Blood rises in its rivers for you;
> Its people have nought to drink.
> It leads its army before you of its own accord.
> It disbands its regiments before you of its own accord.

The epilogue to the Code of Hammurapi refers to the goddess in a similar manner in calling upon the goddess to curse those who do not keep the law (col. rev. 27: 92–28: 23; *ANET* 179–80):

> May Inanna, the lady of battle and conflict, who bears my weapons, my gracious protecting genius, the admirer of my reign, curse his rule with her great fury in her wrathful heart! May she turn his good into evil; may she shatter his weapons of the field of battle conflict; may she create confusion (and) revolt for him! May she strike down the warriors (and) water the earth with their blood! May she throw up a heap of his warrior's bodies on the plain; may she show his warriors no mercy! As for himself, may she deliver him into the hands of his enemies and may they carry him away in bonds to a land hostile to him!

In his comparative study of the warrior-goddesses, Pope (1977b:608–10) added the figure of the India goddess Kali. She refuses to desist from bloody battle such that the gods fear her violence would destroy the world, as she tramples on the slain and shakes the earth with her victory dance (Kinsley 1996:78). In one version, she is stopped only after her consort Shiva has thrown himself under her feet and she recognizes much to her belated dismay that she has trampled her lover to death (see Kinsley 1975:81–109, 1996:78–80, 83; Erndl 1993; Brown 1983:117). Like Anat, Kali is not only a bloody goddess; she is also uncontrolled by the social order (see Flood 1996:182–83).

Though neither Anat nor any other goddess of this type survives in the extant literature from ancient Israel (apart from PNs), something of the descriptions do. The bloody destruction of humanity is an Israelite theme, especially stressed in oracles directed against Edom in Isa 34:2–10 and 63:1–6 as well as Obadiah (the latter inspiring in part the words to the American Battle Hymn of the Republic). Though the divine fury is aimed above all against Edom, Yahweh is angry at the nations in Isa 34:2 and 63:3, and Obad 15 involves all the nations in Yahweh's holy war against Edom (cf. Jer 51:7). These biblical texts as well as other parallels mentioned in the discussion thus far are probed in further detail below.

The weapon of Anat's initial destruction is left undescribed in the two bicola in lines 5–8. Only later, when she rounds up her captives, are any weapons mentioned, namely a staff and a bow (lines 15–16). Yet Anat may have been imagined using additional means during the actual fury of the fight. An Egyptian stele depicts her seated on a throne, holding a shield and spear in her left hand and wielding a battle-axe in her right (Beyerlin 1978:194). On the lower part of a second stele, she holds a shield and lance in one hand and brandishes a club or axe in the other (*ANEP* #473; for a summary of LBA weaponry, see Paul and Dever 1973:233, 236). In the Leiden Magical Papyrus I 343 + I 345, Anat wields a shield (Massart 1954:52, 105, 107). According to Barnett (1978), LBA iconographic representations of Anat present her with a long dagger in her girdle.

The central and most vivid image of battle appears in the tricolon and bicolon in lines 9–13a, which describe Anat amidst severed hands and heads. Pardee (1997a:250 n. 75) succinctly explains: "This verse contains three distinct images of destruction: (1) severed heads rolling like balls at the goddess' feet, (2) severed hands flying through the air like locusts, then (3) being gathered together in heaps like grasshoppers

after a plague." This section of the battle receives the most attention in both length and placement. Ceresko proposed seeing a chiastic arrangement of hands and heads in lines 9–12: A *r'i[š]*, "head" (line 9); B *kp*, "hand" (line 10); B *kp*, "hand" (line 11); A *r'išt*, "heads" (line 12). This view of the poetics does not take into consideration the further reference to *kpt* in line 13. The more significant shift appears to be the switch from singular nouns in 9–11 to their plural forms in 12–13, which perhaps signals an intensification of the imagery. Severed heads and heaps of hands from battle are stock motifs. Like Anat, Inanna is praised for her smiting of human heads:

> That you smite the heads—be it known!
> That you devour cadavers like a dog—be it known![34]

A relief from Medinet Habu depicts a heap of hands severed from the enemies of Ramses III (*ANEP* #348; for similar imagery cf. Judg 8:6; *ANET* 254; Černy 1958:96*). In 2 Kgs 10:8, Jehu orders that heaps of heads from the slaughter of the Omride princes are to be laid out at the entrance of the city-gate. In both cases, the heaps serve as an object lesson to those who see them. In our passage the spectacle occurs in a literary context rather than in a visual relief (as at Medinet Habu) or in an ostensible historical narrative (as in 2 Kings 10), and its function is to dramatize the goddess' power.

The hands and heads are compared in lines 10–11 with insects, denoting their profusion. Cognates for *'irbym* are well known from Hebrew (*'arbeh*) and Akkadian (*erbu*). For *qṣm*, commentators compare Arabic *qaṣāmu*, "locust"; *qaṣamu*, "locust eggs" (Dozy 2.360; Pope 1974:293; Pardee 1980:275). The word *ġrmn*, which follows *qṣm* in line 12, is somewhat more ambiguous. Working from the cognate terms BH *'ărēmâ*, "heap," Syriac *'rmt*, "heap," Arabic *'aramatu*, "heap of grain,"[35] Pope (1966:236; 1974:293) took the word with the following phrase and

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[34] Hallo and van Dijk 1968:30–31; lines 126–127; cf. Groneberg 1997:xiii–xiv, 61–62, 66–67, 71, 76–77, 123, 125 for descriptions of Ishtar in battle. In a late bilingual text from Babylon, the goddess brags: "in the battle I fly like a swallow, I heap up heads that are so many harvested rushes" (Hallo and van Dijk 1968:51; for the iconography of the winged goddess, see Wiggermann 1994:239). Closer to the world of Ugarit, a seal of Mukannishum of Mari depicts the goddess (Ishtar, though possibly Anat), holding a sickle sword and standing on corpses behind a male figure who also tramples on corpses while chopping up another victim with his sickle sword (Pope 1970:82; see also Gordon 1953:249, no. 32). Isa 34:2–3 describes the stench of the victims' corpses and their bloody viscera (cf. Isa 63:6).

[35] Apparently an Aramaic loan; see Pardee 1980:275.

translated "heaps of warrior hands." Pardee (1997a:251) follows suit: "heaps of fighters' hands are like (heaps of) grasshoppers." But he also assumes ellipsis here, that the word for "heap" belongs to the construct chain following, but is to be assumed as well before *qṣm*. In contrast, Gray (1979b:317), followed by Gibson (*CML*² 47), took *ǵrmn* as the end of a construct chain with *kqṣm* and rendered "like destructive/avenging grasshoppers," proposing that *ǵrmn* is related to Arabic *ǵarima*, "pay a debt," and here means, "destruction, vengeance, punishment." In support of this interpretation, it may be noted that the lack of plural mimation on *kqṣm* may suggest that it stands in construct with the following noun (although it may also indicate that the noun is used as a collective). Pardee (1980:275) argues that the point of the image is the number, not the destructive power of the locusts as such.[36] In either case, the mention of locusts evokes a sense of massive destruction (as in Joel 1:4), an image suitable to Anat's conflict here.

Lines 11b–13 provide further description of Anat in battle, as she takes the time to place severed heads around her back or torso and hands around her waist. The noun rendered "waist" in our translation (*ḥbš*) is ambiguous and can also mean "belt" (see the discussion in Loretz 2001a). The latter is in fact the word's primary meaning. However, the parallel with *bmt* "back/torso," suggests that here the meaning is also a part of the body, "waist."

The victims, whose heads and hands now litter the field of battle, are labelled *mhr* at the end of the tricolon. Attested in lines 11, 15, 21, 28 and 35, the related root in Hebrew and Arabic appears to have a basic sense of "skill, expertise" (e.g., BH *sôpēr māhîr*, "expert scribe" in Ps 45:2). It seems also to be a West Semitic loan into New Kingdom Egyptian texts, where it may refer to a scribe, military information-gatherer and soldier (Zorn 1991; see also Hoch 1994:147–49, 181). The military meaning occurs also in Sabean *tmhrthw*, "elite corps" (Biella 268). The military sense is evident in 1.3 II, as it is used in parallel in this passage with two common West Semitic terms for warriors: *ḏmr* (lines 14, 28, 31 and 34; for the root see Sivan 1997:21 and see pp. 157–58 below); and *ṣb'im* (line 22). It seems that *mhr* is a term for the elite troops within the army.

The bicolon of lines 13b–15a describes the profusion of blood in the battle. The verb *tǵll* in line 13 is usually rendered "wade" or the

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[36] For a different image of locusts in divine warfare, see Jer 51:27.

like, based on Aramaic *ʿll*, "to enter" (*ANET* 136; *LC²* 41; Kapelrud 1969:50; *SPUMB* 88; *TO* 1.159; *CML²* 47: Pardee 1997a:250; note the GN *tġll* in a place-name in 1.19 III 50). However, Aramaic **ʿll* does not show this particular nuance of "wading" (i.e., entering water). Good (1982:56–58) insightfully suggests that Anat "gleans" for captives, by arguing that Ugaritic **ġll* is related instead to BH *ʿōlēl* (Judg 8:1–2; 20:44–46) and Arabic *ġalla*, "to give forth agricultural produce." It is the combination of etymological support and comparable literary contexts that makes Good's proposal persuasive. As Good observes, the notion that warfare involves "gleaning" (that is, "clean-up operations" or the like) is evident from the agricultural imagery used in military contexts, not only in Judg 8:1–2 and 20:44–46, but also Jer 49:9 and Obad 5. This idea of an action of "cleaning up" following the activity of combat also fits the context of the battle description here: first she fights, resulting in warrior heads and hands around her, then she clothes herself in heads and hands, and finally she "gleans" (**ġll*) the battlefield for captives.[37]

As support for his view of **ġll*, Good cites CAT 1.13.3–7 as another passage that describes Anat's battle with this sort of viticultural imagery (see *SPUMB* 95; Caquot 1978; see below, pp. 178–80):

3–4	*]ḥrm ṯn ym/m*	Devote to destruction for two days,
	šp[k dm (?) ṯlṯ] ymm	Po[ur blood (?) for three] days,
4–5	*lk/hrg ʾar[bʿ] ymm*	Go, kill for fo[ur] days.
5–6	*bṣr/kp šsk [dm?]*	Harvest hand(s), pour out [blood?],
6–7	*lḥbšk/ʿtk rʾiš[t]*	To your waist attach heads.

Like **ġll* in 1.3 II 13 and 27, **bṣr* in this passage draws from agricultural imagery, in this case from the wine vintage, in order to dramatize Anat's grisly harvest. These two West Semitic roots appear together in the military context of Judg 8:2. Harvest imagery is also used for Inanna's battle, in Enheduanna's hymn: "I heap up heads that are so many harvested rushes" (Hallo and van Dijk 1968:51).

Anat fights through warrior-blood knee deep, even neck deep. For the second noun, Rendsburg (1987:628) compares Arabic *ḥalq*, "neck" (following *UT* 19.867) as well as Mehri and Harsusi *ḥelqemōt* and Jibbali *ḥalqut*, meaning "Adam's apple" or "side of the throat." (Based on the South Semitic cognates, Rendsburg regards final *–m* "an integral part

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[37] Psalm 137:9 may involve a pun on this root in its curse that "your sucklings" (*ʿōlālayik*) be dashed against the rock (Ogden 1982:93).

of the word" in Ugaritic, but he does not supply further grammatical analysis.) Pardee (1980:276) also suggests "neck-deep," and compares Rev 14:14–20. Like the passages cited by Good noted above, this NT passage evokes the image of the grape harvest to signify human destruction. In vv. 19–20 an angel puts the vintage in "the winepress of God's anger…where it was trodden until the blood that came out of the winepress was up to the horses' bridles as far as sixteen hundred furloughs." The physical dimensions convey the enormous amount of blood, while the horses' bridles give some indication as to the level to which the blood rises; it is neck-height. Perhaps the most proximate parallel appears in the phrase *ḥelqat ṣawwā'rāyw* in Gen 27:16. Usually taken to be the "smooth" part of Jacob's neck,[38] it seems to be a part of the neck, as the South Semitic cognates cited above suggest. The alternative interpretation that *ḥlqm* refers to Anat's clothing (*TO* 1.159 p) is unpersuasive, given the lack of any other usage of the term for apparel. Following battle in Ps 68:22–24, Yahweh allows the human warriors to bathe their feet in the blood of their enemies (cf. Gray 1977:24). Huge numbers of corpses and amounts of blood are a standard motif in Near Eastern royal descriptions of military victory, for example, Tiglath-Pileser III boasts: "I spread out the corpses of their warriors on mountain ledges like sheep (and) made their blood flow into the hollows and plains of the mountains" (Grayson 1991:24, V: lines 92–96; cf. VI: lines 5–7). Accordingly, the description of Anat's victory might be viewed as echoing the style of such royal inscriptions.

The warriors in lines 13–15 are called *dmr*//*mhrm*. A form of the first term is attested also in the singular in 1.108.22', 24', as part of a list of terms meaning "strength" and the like (cf. 1.17 I 27–34). This meaning, along with a close relationship to the synonym *'z*, "strength," is paralleled in the syndetic parataxis of Exod 15:2: *'ōzzî wĕzimrat yāh*, "Yah is my might and strength." This pairing is repeated in Isa 12:2 and Ps 118:14 (see Barré 1992:624–25). Also cognate are Arabic *damir*, "brave, gallant" (*UT* 19.377) and possibly ESA *mdmr*, "brave man" (for the disputed ESA **dmr*, see Barré 1992:624–25; cf. Biella 96: "to ordain, pronounce judicial sentence, though in the contexts concerning protection"). The word also underlies the element in PNs, Zimri-Lim

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[38] For pointing out this passage, Mark Smith is grateful to Dr. Alan Yuter. It may be noted further that the verse refers only to Jacob's arm, not the "smooth part" of his arm. Similarly, no "smooth part" need be assumed of the neck.

and King Zimri of Israel (cf. Num 25:14; see *WSS* 495 for further PNs
with the element). Perhaps, as *mhr* emphasizes the skill of the warrior,
so *ḏmr* emphasizes the warrior's strength.

The final colon of the first battle-scene (lines 15b–16) depicts Anat
driving away the survivors. The words used for the captives, *šbm*//*mdnt*
have been translated in a number of ways. A number of scholars have
rendered them as "old men"//"townspeople" (*CML*² 47) and "old
men"//"weaklings" (Gray 1979b:318). Pope (in Smith 1998b:654)), in
order to explain Anat's strong reaction, proposed translating them as
"revilers"//"wretches" who "provoked the goddess' violence." Held
(1965b:404 n. 122) argued that they are best understood as terms
for enemies, specifically "captives" and "foes" (cf. Pardee 1997a:250:
"captors" [!]//"opponents"). For the first word, *šbm*, Held compared
šby//*ṣr* in Ps 78:61 and *šbyh*//*ʾwyb* in Deut 32:42 (the latter having other
relations to our passage; see below for discussion). The second word,
mdnt, is an *m-* preformative noun, with final *-t* denoting an abstract
for concrete noun. The question is whether the word's root is **dyn* or
*dnn (biforms?); in either case, a form of the word is evidently attested
as *mĕdānîm* in Prov 6:19, where it means "discord."[39] Mesopotamian
texts likewise narrate the capture of captives following major conflicts.
In Enheduanna's Hymn to Inanna (lines 46, 50; Hallo and van Dijk
1968:20–21), the army surrenders after the battle and is taken captive
by Inanna: "It (the mountain) leads its army captives before you of
its own accord…It drives its young adults before you as captives."
Somewhat more distant thematically, Marduk rounds up Tiamat's army
after he defeats her in the Enuma Elish (IV 105–128). The verb **grš* is
used in a slightly different context in 1.2 IV 12, where it expresses the
intention to drive Yamm from his throne. Here it is used in a context
after the defeat of the enemy.

Anat drives the captives toward her palace with two weapons, one a
staff (*mṭm*), the other a bow (literally a bow-string, *bksl qšth*). The former
can refer to a common staff (1.19 III 49; 1.23.47), but it can also des-
ignate a weapon. In Hab 3:9, 14 the noun stands in parallelism with
qšt, "bow," and in this context it may mean "shaft" or perhaps "arrow"
(*CMHE* 23 n. 59; Pope 1979:706; *CML*² 47 n. 8). In line 16, *bksl qšth*
serves as a metonymy for bow and arrows. Renfroe (1992:124) compares
Arabic *kisl*, "sinew on the bow with which cotton is carded" to the first

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[39] Reference courtesy of Dr. Alan Yuter.

noun in the phrase (see also Held 1965b:401–2). Anat's use of bow and arrows comes up in her conversation with the young Aqhat. In 1.17 VI 39–40 Aqhat boasts to Anat: "Bows are [weapons for] warriors. Shall women now hunt [*with it*]?" Aqhat appears unaware that this weapon is in fact her regular one. Anat later (1.19 I 14–15) says: "So I struck him for his bow (*qšth*), for his arrows (*qsʿth*) I did not let him live".

At the end of the battle scene in lines 17–18, Anat "then" (*whln*) takes her captives to her palace, ostensibly for a feast that continues to use the language of battle. The switch in scene from the battlefield to the house marks the end of this major battle section.

Lines 17–30: Anat's Slaughter of Her Captives

As noted above at the end of the discussion of the previous column, the battle in 1.3 II has appeared to many commentators as intrusive material hardly belonging to a narrative otherwise centered on Baal. Such a thematic disjunction led Ginsberg (*ANET* 136 n. 4) to ask: "What is all the carnage about?" In keeping with ritualistic presuppositions (see *UBC* 1.60–63), Gaster and Gray located this passage against the background of a particular rite. Gaster (*Thespis* 209f.) understood 1.3 II as an example of ritual combat for a New Year ceremony. Gray (1979b:323) also interpreted the passage as a ritual: "The fact…that…the passage is also the prelude to the activity of Baal and Anat in the fertility of the new season makes it feasible that it reflects blood-letting as a rite of imitative magic." In support of this interpretation, Gray cited the self-laceration of Baal's prophets on Mount Carmel in 1 Kgs 18:44f. Gray himself was aware of the most significant difference between the two passages: Baal's prophets shed their own blood, while Anat sheds the blood of her victims. Gray (1979b:323) further offers a historical conjecture that the passage represents "Ugarit's assertion of independence of Beirut under Egyptian hegemony." Kaiser (1959:71 n. 289) proposed that Anat's slaying the enemies of the east and west may constitute a ritual slaying of war prisoners: "Im Hintergrund dürfte wohl eine rituelle Tötung von Kriegsgefangenen bzw. die Verstümmelung von Gefallenen stehen." Kaiser then compares 1 Sam 31:8f. Gese (in Gese, Höhner and Rudolph 1970:66–67) believed that the slaughter is an offering that Anat makes to herself in order to strengthen herself with the blood. In terms of his ritual approach, Lloyd (1996:157–58) largely follows suit. Pardee (1997a:250 n. 78) comments: "Though an invitation is not mentioned, the preparations are appropriate for a

feast. Apparently, (unidentified) soldiers enter expecting a feast, only to be attacked." We now turn to the difficult and ambiguous second part of the battle scene, lines 17–30, after which we will discuss the larger West Semitic context of Anat's battle and its place in the Baal Cycle. To anticipate the discussion below, we will find that the context of *ḥrm*-warfare informs both the activity of battle in lines 3–16 and the slaughter of captives in lines 17–30. The approach suggested by Kaiser is particularly pertinent for understanding the latter section.

Lines 17–30 show a very close relationship to lines 3–16 with its reuse of a number of images, words and poetic structures from the latter, including the nearly identical bicola in lines 5–7//19–20 and lines 13–15//27–28. The parallel nature of the two sections may be illustrated further through an overview of the verbal syntax in the two parts. Lines 3–5 set the scene, with the closed gates mentioned in lines 3–4 as background information, and with the verb *wtqry* beginning the chain of events (APQ). The bicola in lines 5–7 and 17–18 foreground the action that follows by using the presentative particle *hln*. Furthermore, the locations named in each of these two bicola set the stage for the action: the scene in lines 5–16 takes place in the valley between two cities, while the action in lines 17–30 transpires in Anat's house. Lines 19–20 further mark the two sections as related, for these lines strongly echo lines 5–7, yet lines 19–20 also present a strong contrast to the latter. Lines 5–7 present Anat fighting in the valley, while lines 19–20 comment that the goddess was not satisfied with that combat. The bicolon in lines 19–20 uses a stative **qtl* form of *šbʿ* to provide circumstantial information (off the narrative line as such) that Anat's desire remains unfulfilled. Finally, lines 13–15//27–28 offer the same comment about the depth of the victims' blood through which Anat marches, but in the second battle there are no survivors to be gathered up.

Besides these parallel elements that connect the two scenes, the second scene has its own unique parts as well. Lines 19–20 begin to build toward a new action. As suggested by the **yqtl* form, *ṯṯʿr*, in line 20, the narrative line picks up again from line 18 by describing Anat arranging the furniture in the house, apparently for a feast. Within lines 20–22, the infinitive absolute *ṯʿr* indicates parallel action (see Lowenstamm 1969a; Gai 1982; *UBC* 1.50–51). The narrative sequence continues in lines 23–24 with the use of **yqtl* verbs. The verbs in line 23 are preceded by *mʾid*, an adverb which indicates an intensification of Anat's fighting over what it had been in the first battle. This combat brings about the joy expressed in lines 25–27 (the initial **yqtl* indicating its

sequential nature). This is quite different from the account of the first battle, where no indications of Anat's emotional state are mentioned. The success of this battle is described with the same words as in the first battle (lines 27–28//13–15), while the final two lines, lines 29–30, indicate the resolution of Anat's dissatisfaction that had been described in lines 19–20. Thus the first battle results in Anat's victory, but does not assuage her anger. It is only the second event that brings her back into an emotional equilibrium.

Lines 17–18, rendering Anat's return to her house with her captives, make use of rather stereotypical phrases attested in a number of other texts that belong to various genres (see 1.100.67–68, 1.114.17–18; for another context with the same roots in parallelism, see 1.100.72). The scene continues (lines 19–20a) with the description of Anat's lack of satisfaction with the previous battle. The suffix on *tmtḫṣh* indicates that this word and its parallel term in line 20, *tḫtṣb*, are verbal nouns dependent on the preceding verb, *šbʿt*, and not independent verbs following sequentially on *šbʿt*. Given the verbs' lack of expressed objects, Pardee (1997a:250 n. 73) explains their *-t* infix as "plausibly a sort of middle: 'she smites for her own benefit.'" However, this type of notion for a middle sense is far from certain. Several forms in the *Gt*-stem involve verbs that are related to the use of the body (see Greenfield 1979).

In lines 20–28 Anat's voracious appetite for human destruction enters a second phase. The motif of a goddess' bloodlust appears also in the Egyptian "Deliverance of Humanity from Destruction" (*ANET* 10–11; Lichtheim 1997:36–37). Dissatisfied with her slaughter of humanity, Hathor-Sekhmet continues her carnage, to the anxiety of Re. He devises a plan to stop her. He sends servants to prepare beer mixed with red ochre that looks like blood and has it poured out on the battlefield. The goddess, thinking it is blood, drinks it, gets drunk and falls asleep. By this ruse Re prevents the complete destruction of humanity. Anat in contrast is not restrained at all. The use of language describing her eventual satisfaction emphasizes that she is under no compulsion to reign in her emotions.

Lines 20b–22 describe Anat's preparations for her captive victims. Commentators generally have been hard put to explain Anat's arrangement of her furniture just before the resumption of her battle. As Gray (1979b:318 n. 21) observes, it seems "surprising to find tables and chairs prepared for the victims." Scholars have made a number of suggestions to explain these lines. Ginsberg (*ANET* 136), took **ṯʿr* in lines 20b–21 to be related to the rather dubious Hebrew verb, *šʿr*

II, defined in *BDB* 1045 as "to calculate, reckon" and translated the passage as "She pictures the chairs as heroes,/pretending tables are warriors,/And that footstools are troops." His idea is that this second battle is only in Anat's imagination. This proposal has met with little acceptance. Gray (1979b:319 n. 21) seems closer to the mark: Anat indulges her blood-lust on her seated human victims. The description of the arrangement of furniture indicates that it is a feast that is involved here (more on this below).

This merging of battle and feasting imagery is well attested in the Hebrew Bible. For example, Yahweh says in Deut 32:42:

> I will make my arrows drunk with blood,
> and my sword shall feed on flesh:
> the blood of wounded and captives,
> the skulls of enemy leaders.

Unlike Hathor, Yahweh is never said explicitly to consume the blood; rather that image is left metaphorically to the divine sword, as in Isa 34:6–7 (Pope 1977b:606–11). This passage uses the imagery of sacrifice, the terrestrial counterpart to the type of divine feast that Anat enjoys in 1.3 II 19–30:

> Yahweh has a sword;
> It is sated with blood,
> It is gorged with fat,
> With the blood of lambs and goats,
> With the fat of the kidneys of the rams.
> For Yahweh has a sacrifice in Bozrah,
> A great slaughter in the land of Edom.
> Wild oxen shall fall with them,
> And young steers along with the mighty bulls.
> Their land shall be soaked with blood,
> And their soil made rich with fat.

The terms used for animals appear elsewhere as terms for political and military leaders (P. D. Miller 1970a), and the overtones of such terminology are likely at work in this biblical passage (cf. Ezek 32:3–6; Isa 49:26; Rev 19:17–21). More broadly speaking, battle and sacrifice in this passage and elsewhere in Israelite literature (Jer 46:10; Zeph 1:7) share the feature of immense bloodshed (*TDOT* 3:239). In sum, in order to describe human destruction, Israelite literature drew on a constellation of traditional West Semitic motifs, including wine for blood and animal sacrifice for human destruction. This may help us to understand the meaning of Anat's arranging of the furniture, appar-

ently in preparation for her slaughter of the captives. We will examine this below, but suffice it to say at this point that the imagery of Anat's slaughter may vaguely imply the consumption of her human victims in 1.3 II 17–30a.

Lines 23–27a contain a bicolon (lines 23–24) and a tricolon (lines 25–27a). In the bicolon we find two standard verbs for fighting (*tmtḫṣn* and *tḫtṣb*), but here each is succeeded by a verb that commentators normally interpret as a verb concerned with seeing (**ʿyn*, "to eye" //**ḫdy*, "to survey," cognate with BH **ḥzy*). Tropper (2001a) has suggested a different interpretation, taking the first verb from **ʿny*, "to sing, raise a shout" and **ḥdy*, "to rejoice." This approach for the first verb requires the unusual correspondence of Ugaritic *ʿayin* with Arabic *ghain*, possible but hardly likely given the plausibility of the older alternative proposal that requires no such departures in phonological correspondence. Moreover, the primary sense of **ʿny* elsewhere does not seem "to sing" (much less "to shout"), but to respond or answer. Tropper's view is not to be ruled out entirely, but for these reasons, it seems problematic. In either case, the bicolon shows wordplay between *tʿn* and *ʿnt* ("Anat"). The sort of paranomasia in lines 23–24 with divine names is not uncommon in Ugaritic poetry (cf. the divine title *rbt* and its puns in 1.4 I; on *ym* in 1.2 IV 16–17, and less so in 24–27).

The bicolon of lines 23–24 has no parallel in the preceding section, and its content perhaps demarcates it from the sort of battle described in lines 3–16. More specifically, Anat's eyes seem to take in the new carnage, expressing a sort of satisfaction that the initial engagement in lines 5–16 did not provide her. Piquer Otero (APO; see 2003:202) makes the nice observation that the verbs of visual perception here might be expected to take objects; with no stated objects, the whole scene is evidently taken in by the goddess. Furthermore, the battle here is described for the first time as *mʾid*. The word here is fronted to the bicolon, and it evidently serves to describe the character of the fighting in a way that was not true of the battle in lines 5–16. Accordingly, the fighting in lines 17–30 may be characterized as reaching a new level. Ugaritic *mʾd* denotes "abundance" (*DUL* 512). The root **mʾd* in biblical literature, especially in the Shema (Deut 6:5) may express "strength," which would suit the larger context of Anat's engagement here. It may denote the more specific sense of "the fullest capacity" of the activity that the word characterizes or modifies (see the discussion in Overland 2000:431). Viewed in this manner, the word here suggests a whole new level of martial intensity in lines 17–30 which was not operative in lines

5–16. Such intensity is attributed in CAT 2.10.11–14 to the power of Death, characterized as *ʿz mʾid*, "very strong" (cf. Song of Songs 8:6; see *UBC* 1.76).

As a result of this new level of martial intensity, Anat reacts with emotion. Lines 25–27a express Anat's sheer pleasure in the destruction. This tricolon, which shows an ABA structure emphasizing Anat's interior organs as the seats of emotion (*kbdh*, "her liver/innards" . . . *lbh*, "her heart," . . . *kbd*, "liver/innards"), marks the shift from her lack of satisfaction in lines 19–20a to the beginning of her satiety, expressed as complete in lines 29–30a (see Watson 1981:190). Her survey of the battle scene in lines 23–24 produces in Anat the joyful reaction.[40] Anat's innards (**kbd*) swell with laughter, and her heart (**lb*) is filled with joy.

Anat's victory produces a full-bodied pleasure. The goddess's laughter (cf. 1.17 VI 41) has apparent echoes in Israelite literature. Yahweh laughs at those kings who would oppose the chosen anointed on earth (Ps 2:4). Woman Wisdom "laughs" at those who reject her advice (Prov 1:26), a parallel noted by Clifford (1975:302 n. 7, 305). The slaughter is felt as a victory for Anat as for Inanna and Hathor (see Pope 1977b:609; Hallo and van Dijk 1968:32–33, lines 123–132). Anat is called "the victorious" in the Papyrus Chester Beatty (VII, verso i 8–9; cited in *ANET* 250 n. 18). "Victory" is also the hallmark of Athena in a late fourth century bilingual Greek-Phoenician inscription from Larnax tes Lapethou in Cyprus which identifies her with Anat (KAI 42; see Ginsberg 1945:8; *CMHE* 29 n. 91). The Greek version is dedicated to "Athena, Sustainer, Victory" (*Athēna sōteira nikē*), while the Phoenician to "Anat, Strength [of/, (?)] Life" (*lʿnt mʿz ḥym*). Anat's epithet *bʿlt drkt*, "Mistress of Dominion" (CAT 1.108.6–7) may be mentioned in this context.

Excursus I: Liver/Innards (kbd) *and Heart* (lb) *in West Semitic Expressions of Emotions*

To understand the physical expressions of Anat's pleasure, it is worthwhile to examine the use of body-parts in the expression of emotions. West Semitic texts locate the emotions in a number of internal organs of the body. Two such organs that figure in emotional communication

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[40] See Renfroe 1992:30–31 for the semantic development underlying the root **ǵdd* in Arabic and Ugaritic; see also Watson 1996a:76–77 for the argument that the word here may connote swelling as well as joy.

in Ugaritic are *kbd* and *lb*, usually translated "liver" and "heart" respectively. A selective survey of Israelite, Ugaritic and Akkadian literatures will be helpful for understanding the use of this language, and some considerations from the field of psychobiology will aid in clarifying the reason for this sort of usage.

Lam 2:11 uses BH *kābed* in describing the personal distress caused by the neo-Babylonian destruction of Jerusalem:

> My eyes (*ênay*) are worn from tears,
> My guts (*mē'ay*)[41] are in ferment,[42]
> My liver/innards (*kĕbēdî*) are poured out on the ground,[43]
> Over the destruction of the daughter of my people (*'ammî*),
> As babes and infants faint[44] in the city squares.

Apart from Lam 2:11, BH *kābēd* is rare at best in expressions of emotions, but it has been read by emendation in a number of Psalms. It has been claimed that the consonantally similar word *kābôd*, usually rendered "glory," should be reinterpreted as *kābēd* in some psalms that express human emotion. Ps 16:9 MT reads (and Vulgate assumes) *kĕbôdî*, "my majesty, glory," but LXX has *glossa mou*, "my tongue," and Targum *bĕśārî*, "my flesh." Scholars suggest emending to *kĕbēdî*, "my

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[41] According to J. M. Sasson (1989:24), **mē'îm*, "refers to the bowels, intestines, i.e. the internal organs below the abdomen." The Ugaritic cognate *mm'* denotes what comes out of the human body due to violence done to it, specifically used in CAT 1.18 I 12 of oozing brains and in 1.3 II 14, 35 of bodily viscera flowing with blood out of the corpses of slain soldiers. Accordingly, the word might be translated "guts." The word is used with the heart in Jer 4:19 and elsewhere, but not for emotions in the Psalms. Ps 22:15 uses this word in an emotional context, locating the heart in it; but this word is not said to be the internal part that experiences the emotion. Pss 40:9 and 71:6 are the only other Psalm verses which use this word; neither instance involves emotional expression as such. For further biblical evidence, see *BDB* 588–89; J. M. Sasson 1989:24. A relation of the word to Ethiopic **m'*, "to be angry" is viewed as "unlikely" by Leslau 325.

[42] On the reduplicated form of the verb, see Joüon-Muraoka, para. 51b. The meaning seems evident from the context here, cf. Job 16:16.

[43] Cf. RNAB's translation: "My gall is poured out on the ground." This rendering nicely preserves a general sense of *kābēd*. "Gall" in general English usage may refer to liver bile, although liver bile and gall bladder bile are differentiated medically. On this point, see Moore 1992:190. However, the BH word for "gall" is **mĕrôrâ* (e.g., Job 20:14; see *BDB* 601) and such a word used with the phrase **špk l'rṣ* (as in Job 16:13) would evoke a picture of bile pouring out of the body (see Pope 1980:124; for comparable Akkadian usage, see *CAD M/2*:299). The picture in Lam 2:11 seems more proximate to 2 Sam 20:10 which uses **mē'îm* with **špk 'rṣh* to denote disembowelment.

[44] On the infinitive as a possible *G*-stem form, see *GKC* para. 51l; Joüon-Muraoka, para. 59b. For the expression, see Lauha 1983:105 (reference courtesy of T. N. D. Mettinger).

liver, innards" here and in other Psalm passages (Pss 7:6; 30:13; 57:9; 108:2).[45] The best case for emendation in these passages is based on three criteria: (1) a text-critical difficulty with the word; (2) the absence of honor as a theme, or the absence of parallelism with words such as "I" (as in Pss 30:13, 57:9 and 108:2), "my life" (*ḥayyāy*) (as in Ps 7:6) or "my self/soul" (*napšî*) (also in Ps 7:6); and (3) the presence of a parallel internal body part such as *lēb*, "heart." Ps 16:9 is the only case that meets all three criteria. In this case (but possibly others), the word may have been secondarily interpreted as *kābôd*, "majesty, glory." If, however, the emendations are not accepted, only Lam 2:11 uses *kābēd* to communicate emotion. This single instance stands in sharp contrast with BH *lēb*, "heart," which commonly conveys emotional distress (Ps 13:3) and joy (Pss 4:8; 13:6; 16:9; cf. 9:2). To advert to one particular expression of the heart, "a broken heart" in Hebrew does not refer to unrequited love as in English, but to more general grief and sorrow (Pss 34:19; 51:19; 147:3; Isa 61:1; cf. Jer 23:9). It conveys what in English would be called a "crushed spirit," and indeed this expression is found in contexts with the "brokenhearted" (e.g., Ps 34:19).[46] Given that BH *lēb* commonly expresses emotion while *kābēd* does not, the use of the latter in Lam 2:11 is all the more striking, and the reason for its selection is perhaps due to other considerations.[47]

In any case, both thought and emotions are attributed to the heart,[48] while the liver/innards appears only in expressions of emotion. In contrast, other organs symbolize psychological processes apart from emotions. Fat (*ḥēleb*, cf. Pss 17:10, 119:70; cf. Judg 3:22) serves as a metaphor for human unreceptivity.[49] Dahood (1966:97) comments: "fatness sometimes connotes arrogance; cf. Deut xxxii 15; Jer v 28, and especially Ps lxxiii 7–8." Kidneys (*kĕlāyôt*) are the organs that Yahweh examines for human malice or goodness (Pss 7:10, 11:2, 26:2, 73:21; cf. Jer 11:20; 17:10). According to Ps 16:7 the speaker's kidneys discipline

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[45] Stensman, *TDOT* 7:22. See also Johnson 1964:75 n. 5. So also on Ps 7:6 see Hillers 1992:106.

[46] See Collins 1971a:32–33, 1971b:189. In Ps 147:3 the expression corresponds to wounds on the outside of the body.

[47] Similarly, was the choice of *mē'ay* in Lam 2:11 instead of **libbî* dictated at least in part by assonance with *'ēnay* in the same verse? Cf. the end-rhyme between *kĕbēdî* and *'ammî* in the following couplet.

[48] For a listing see *BDB* 524–25. For a survey, see Fabry, *TDOT* 7:412–34.

[49] *BDB* 316. See further 4Q424, frg. 3, l. 6; Harrington 1996:61–62.

or admonish him. NJPS renders "conscience" for the word in Ps 7:10.[50] For the most part, the kidneys do not involve emotional states in the Psalms. Ps 7:10, Jer 11:20, 17:10 and 20:12 associate the kidneys with the heart, but these contexts are concerned with divine inspection of human character.[51]

Liver, kidneys and fat were all known from sacrifices (e.g., Exod 29:13, 22; Lev 3:4; 6:4; 8:16, 25). Accordingly, it might be suspected that the use of these in literary contexts was based on the knowledge of internal anatomy, drawn from sacrifices and perhaps augmented by experience of physical injury and death,[52] and possibly from their use for divination in neighboring cultures.[53] The question remains: why does Israelite prayer mention these internal organs in communicating emotions?

Two strategies have been used to address this question. First, scholars have looked for answers specifically in the biblical literature. The studies of Johnson, Wolff and Lauha are classic examples of collecting and analyzing biblical cases.[54] Perhaps the most insightful instance of this line of investigation has been the research of Collins (1971a, 1971b). Collins closely studies many biblical passages and reconstructs the Israelite understanding of the physiology of tears as liquid that wells up from the abdominal viscera and makes its way up to the head. This

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[50] Cf. CAT 1.16 VI 26: "his gullet instructed him" (*ywsrnn ggnh*). See below p. 690.

[51] Ps 73:21 is a possible exception in its pairing of heart and kidneys, but the image may be one of self-conviction, which would be appropriate given the context of the psalmist's self-questioning. Prov 23:16 associates the kidneys with emotional expression, namely rejoicing. The larger context of this verse includes the human heart (v. 15); perhaps the mention of the kidneys with emotion in this context is derived from the combination of the heart and kidneys elsewhere in the general sense of innards (see the following note).

[52] Kidneys along with the heart are said to be vulnerable to arrows (Job 16:13; Lam 3:13; cf. CAT 1.82.3). The word for "kidneys" in these instances might be understood metaphorically as innards or "vitals" in general (see Pope 1973:124; Hillers 1992:113). Job 19:27 locates *kĕlāyôt* in the *ḥêq*, normally translated "bosom." If correct, *kĕlāyôt* would refer not specifically to kidneys, but innards.

[53] The kidneys were one part of the body read for omens in Mesopotamia. While there is no Israelite evidence that animal kidneys were read for signs, the Akkadian cognate, *kalītu*, figures prominently in omen literature. See *CAD K*:74–76. For liver models in Mesopotamia and the Levant, see Stensman, *TDOT* 7:15; and the essays in Dietrich and Loretz 1990.

[54] Johnson 1964:74–81; Wolff 1974:40–58, 64. For a review of scholarly literature in this vein, see Lauha 1983:7–24. For his discussion of *lēb*, "heart," see in general Lauha 1983:46–50.

reconstruction might explain Lam 2:11's image of the *kābēd* poured out on the ground.

Despite the hypothetical nature of this reconstruction,[55] Collins offers additional points helpful for understanding the heart and innards in emotional expression. He comments: "It is not obvious that the Hebrew poets had clear and precise ideas on the *functional* anatomy of the human abdomen" (1971a:27; Collins's italics). Furthermore, biblical language for internal organs, sickness and emotions tends to overlap to a greater extent than in English. Again Collins (1971a:36) observes: "The principal difficulty…is precisely to sort out the references to physical sickness from those concerned with emotional suffering. We tend to sharply differentiate between the two, but…the ancients did not." It is quite possible to infer ancient ideas about internal anatomy, as Collins has done especially for tears. However, the reason for using heart and liver/innards for expressing emotions remains unclear, despite Collins' close study.

The second avenue for research has been to examine these terms in the literatures of Israel's neighbors. In the last century, it was Dhorme who developed this line of study.[56] Here Akkadian and Ugaritic sources have been helpful in showing the extent of the usage and their semantic range. In particular, they have helped shed light on the use of *kābēd*. More specifically, while the biblical evidence for *kābēd* in expressing emotion is limited to grief, Akkadian *kabattu* and Ugaritic *kbd* can convey both grief and joy.[57] The latter is precisely the usage attested for Anat in 1.3 II 25: *tǵdd kbdh bṣḥq*, "her *kbd* swells with laughter." This physical reaction constitutes the polar opposite of the physical reaction to disaster. Despite the comparable examples provided by the Akkadian and Ugaritic corpora, they provide little explanation as to why internal organs are used in expressions of emotions.

To the inner-biblical and comparative evidence may be added further information drawn from cross-cultural, psychological and physiological research about the use of internal organs in communicating emotions. This research provides an interpretation that suits the presently known

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[55] Cf. Lauha's critique of attempts to recover an ancient Israelite understanding of pyschology based on the use of terms such as *lēb*, *nepeš* and *rûaḥ*. See especially Lauha 1983:239–41, 244.

[56] For Akkadian evidence, see Dhorme 1923:112–30 (reference courtesy of A. Fitzgerald); *CAD K*:11–4, *CAD L*:164–75. For Ugaritic information, see Collins 1971a:36.

[57] Dhorme 1923:119–20; *CAD K*:11–14.

data about the use of the imagery of heart and liver/innards in Israelite texts. The evidence of the usage of *kbd* in Ugaritic (outside its technical usage in sacrificial or divination texts) will also be helpful here. The starting point for this investigation is cross-cultural information supporting the hypothesis that specific emotions are associated with the heart and innards because they are physically experienced there. Social science research has recently produced findings that strongly support this idea. In the journal, *Cross-Cultural Research*, several scholars compared their findings on how anger, envy, fear and jealousy were reported to be felt by various parts of the human body among people from Germany, Mexico, Poland, Russia and the United States.[58] The results indicate that people across cultures have several similar notions about the relationship between certain emotions and particular parts of the body. This finding may be applied to aspects of the Israelite and Ugaritic association of various parts of the body with specific emotions. It seems likely that the peoples of the Near East associated emotions with the internal organs where those emotions were perceived to have been felt physically. Or, as Hupka *et al.*, put the point, "Metaphors in emotion words similarly may identify particular corporeal sites and body processes."[59]

This point applies to the heart and innards. Before proceeding to these two cases, one other instance may serve to show the heuristic value of the study by Hupka *et al.* Biblical idioms to express anger involve a group of expressions centered on the image of the burning breath, issuing from one's nose (or nostrils) and mouth. "Burning rage" (NJPS), in Ps 124:3, is literally "burning of their nose" (**ḥărôt ʾappām*). Ps 106:40 applies the same image to God: "And the nose of Yahweh burned against his people" (*wayyiḥar-ʾap yhwh běʿammô*). Ps 18/2 Sam 22:9 describes Yahweh's furious anger in more detail:

> Smoke went up from his nose (*ʿālâ ʿāšān běʾappô*),
> And fire from his mouth consumes (*wěʾēš-mippîw tōʾkēl*).

The question is: why does the expression of anger center on such a physical image? The study of Hupka *et al.*, answers this question. According to their survey, "anger was felt in the face, head, heart,

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[58] Hupka, Zaleski, Otto, Reidl and Tarabrina 1996:243–64. For more general background to the correlations between emotions and organs of the body, see Plutchik 1994; reference courtesy of J. Chapman. See further below.

[59] Hupka, Zaleski, Otto, Reidl and Tarabrina 1996:245.

and the throat in all nations."[60] Thus the biblical texts correlate quite well to the findings of the study. Evidently the Israelites associated the emotion of anger with the physical locations where this emotion is felt.[61] This point seems to hold a key to emotional expressions felt in the heart and innards as well.

It is evident from both the Psalms and other biblical books that the heart is the locus of many emotional states. It is the organ expressing both joy (Pss 4:8; 13:6; 16:9; cf. 9:2) and grief (13:3). Hupka *et al.* 1996 indicates that this relationship is widely felt across cultures. The heart, in fact, appears to be the most significant organ in terms of its relationship to emotion. The study indicates that cultures connect a wide range of emotions to the heart, including anger, envy, fear and jealousy.[62] This is no doubt related to the fact that the heart physically changes during the experience of these emotions, increasing its pumping speed and capacity.

The word *kbd* is a different matter. Usually identified as the liver, this specific meaning is attested for BH *kābēd* in divination (Ezek 21:26), as well as sacrifices in priestly literature (e.g., Exod 29:13, 22; Lev 8:16, 25; 9:10, 19), and paralleled in Syro-Mespotamian texts and liver models (Landsberger and Tadmor 1964).[63] It is known in technical contexts of sacrificial cult and the "scholarly" polyglot published in *Ugaritica V* (see Huehnergard 1987b:135). The noun is evidently related to the common Semitic verb **kbd*, "to be heavy," perhaps due to the liver's large size.[64] The liver is the largest gland in the body, accounting for about 2% of body weight in human adults and about 5% in infants. It is also the largest abdominal organ (Moore 1992:190).

Outside of technical usages, Ugaritic literature uses the word *kbd* in two ways. The first is physiological, not for the liver specifically, but

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[60] Hupka, Zaleski, Otto, Reidl and Tarabrina 1996:250.

[61] This physiological explanation for anger was touched upon by Johnson 1964:49.

[62] Hupka, Zaleski, Otto, Reidl and Tarabrina 1996:255. We prescind from the problem of why the heart is attested also for thought. West Semitic languages have no word for brain as such, and functions often accorded the brain in English are expressed with the heart. For example, self-conscious thought is expressed as "saying in the heart" (e.g., Pss 10:6, 11, 13; 14:1 [= 53:2]; 15:2). The heart is also the location of malice (Ps 5:10).

[63] It is to be noted that the priestly literature on sacrifices employs **qereb* to denote the internal viscera in general including the internal organs. For references, see *BDB* 899, sub *qereb* #3. For discussion, see Dhorme 1923:109–12; Milgrom 1991:159.

[64] So Gesenius citing Galen; see *BDB* 458'; and Leslau 273.

for abdominal innards. As in Hebrew, Ugaritic *kbd* stands in poetic parallelism with "heart" (*lb*) for emotional expression (as in our current text, 1.3 II 25–27). The issue for the attestation of the word outside of technical usage is whether it refers specifically to the liver as such. The sense, "innards," comports best with the usage in CAT 1.5 II 3–4:

> [Ba]al will enter into his innards,   *y'rb [b']l bkbdh*
> Into his mouth he will descend…   *bph yrd…*

"Liver" would hardly suit the context of entering the mouth of Mot and his digestive system. "Liver" also does not fit Danil's search for Aqhat's corpse in the predatory birds' *kbd*, specifically their digestive system (CAT 1.19 III 10, 18, 24, 33, 38). CAT 1.13.31 may likewise suggest a more general sense for *kbd: kbdh lyd' hrh*, which Watson translates: "her liver/womb had not known pregnancy."[65] Pregnancy is also indicated in relation to the *kbd* in 1.12 I 10. The liver is hardly involved; the womb, located in a woman's "innards" or "insides," is the correct sense.

A second, analogous usage in Ugaritic applies the term to places: *lkbd 'arṣ*, "in the midst of the earth," and *lkbd šdm*, "in the midst of the fields" (CAT 1.3 III 16–17, IV 10, 24–25). In these passages, it is evident that "liver" is not the sense of *kbd*; rather, the more general meaning of "insides" is the proper sense. Ugaritic *'irt* furnishes an analogy in semantic usage. It refers to breast or chest in 1.3 III 5 = 1.101.17 (apparently 1.4 V 5 and 1.5 V 25), and to the "midst" of Lebanon in 1.22 I 25 (cf. "inside me" or "within me" in 1.6 III 19 and 1.17 II 13). In one passage, 1.18 IV 17–19, *kbd* and *'irt* stand in parallelism, evidently both referring to insides in general, not to the specific body-parts (cf. *UNP* 64).[66]

In cases of expressing emotion, Ugaritic *kbd* and BH *kābēd* should be compared also with the Akkadian cognate *kabattu*, which is used in exactly the same way (*CAD K*:11–14; cf. Ezek 21:26). In fact, "liver" is the exceptional meaning of *kabattu*, while "insides" is the common meaning (*CAD K*:11–14; see also André-Salvini and Salvini 1999:272).

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[65] Watson 1991:175. Scholars take the particle *l-* as a negative or an asseverative. The issue does not affect the question of *kbd*'s meaning here. For Hebrew *m'ym* used for pregnancy in a manner comparable to 1.13.31, see Tobit 4:2 in 4Q200, fr. 2, line 2. Both refer to bodily insides.

[66] For *'irt* in 1.3 III 5, see below on pp. 218–19.

Like the biblical and Ugaritic usages, the Akkadian word appears in contexts of emotion (both happy and unhappy) and thought, sometimes in parallel with *libbu*, "heart."[67]

Finally relevant to this interpretation of *kbd* is the observation made by medical doctors and psychobiologists that strong negative emotions are not distinctly felt in the liver (see Plutchik 1994:30). In contrast, the innards, including the digestive tract, feel strongly in negative situations. More specifically, strong negative emotions are felt in the lower abdominal region. In responding to a "flight or fight" situation, the body's sympathetic nervous system induces several bodily changes: dilation of pupils; inhibition of tear glands and salivation; opening of respiratory passages; increase in heartbeat and blood pressure; release of sugar into the blood for energy; and most importantly for situating innards in emotional expressions, inhibition of digestive secretion and stomach contractions, as well as movement of blood from the digestive system to muscles in arms and legs used for physical activity.[68] Stomach contractions and movement of blood from the digestive system to the muscles in the limbs prepares the body of a person to address a perceived threatening situation. In distressful situations stomach contractions and the movement of blood are felt as a physical experience of anxiety (cf. English "stomach tied up in knots" and "butterflies in the stomach"). The use of "innards" for distress (for example, in biblical literature) fits these symptoms of the sympathetic nervous system. Anat's joy in 1.3 II 25–27 reflects the opposite physical response, namely the restoration of blood to internal organs as her complete victory becomes clear. She is physiologically and emotionally restored and relieved, and she exults in the result. In short, the use of the nose and mouth to express anger, the innards for distress and joy and the heart for a range of emotions suggests that ancient West Semites identified emotions with some particular bodily parts where these emotions are physically felt.

There are two other aspects of emotion that have been studied by psychologists, which appear to be further useful in dealing with ancient texts. The first is the communicative function of emotions, an aspect that often has not been properly appreciated in biblical research. While

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[67] The Amarna Akkadian word *kabattuma*, an adverb denoting "on the belly," likewise shows a more general meaning (*CAD K*:14). Cf. the meaning "belly" for Ethiopic *kabd*, according to Leslau 273.

[68] For a detailed list of symptoms, see Moore 1992:29–30. See Baron 1992:51, 388; Gleitman 1996:61 (references courtesy of J. Chapman). For a discussion of these physical reactions in the context of dream experience, see Hobson 1999:161.

many believe that they feel their emotions first and then communicate them, psychologists have observed that people communicate emotions as, or even before, they recognize them cognitively.[69] Accordingly, emotions are part of the larger process of human communication. A number of psychologists, including Richard S. Lazarus, Nico Fridja and Andrew Ortony, have emphasized the role that emotions play in helping people address and adapt to situations around them (see Plutchik 1994:4). Emotion "is said to be a form of readiness for adaptive action. In other words, emotions change an ongoing situation and help the individual prepare for appropriate action" (Plutchik 1994:4). Following this approach, the emotions expressed in West Semitic literature may be viewed as serving to address an ongoing situation and to help figures move toward action. This emotional communication is a religious and ritualized reaction to situations of disaster or relief.

The second psychological aspect to note is the function of emotions in maintaining psychological continuity. Two models predominate in the current discussion in the research. The more traditional view is espoused by the psychologist Plutchik (1994:262):

> Emotions may thus be conceptualized as homeostatic devices (patterns of inner and outer action) that are designed to maintain a relatively steady ("normal") state in the face of environmental emergencies. Emotions represent transitory adjustment reactions that function to return the organism to a stable, effective relationship with its immediate environment when that relationship is disrupted.

In contrast, a non-homeostatic model has been proposed. D. A. Oren, a clinical psychobiologist specializing in mood disorders, comments:

> We were taught in college biology two decades ago that the function of physiology is to preserve homeostasis. The Plutchik view follows this dictum well. But, it is increasingly clear that the homeostasis paradigm is wrong. The powerful evidence of a biological clock in animals that

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[69] See Plutchik 1994:4–5. See further Kandel and Kupfermann 1995:595–612 (reference courtesy of J. Chapman); Gleitman 1996:345–50; LeDoux 1998. For decades the timing between physical-emotional response and the cognitive recognition or labeling of that response has been a major point of debate among psychologists. The idea of *simultaneous* development of emotional feeling and bodily reactions has been associated with the studies of Walter B. Cannon, while the view that emotional feeling *follows* physical reaction is associated with the names of William James and Conrad Lange. Although the view of Cannon presently dominates the discussion, research on some forms of depression (e.g., Seasonal Affective Disorder) supports the view of James and Lange; so D. A. Oren (personal communication), citing Young, Watel, Lahmeyer, and Eastman 1991:191–7. See further discussion in LeDoux 1998:45–48, 87–92, 292–93.

regularly changes our physiological functions (e.g., our body temperature rises and falls by about a degree each day; or when a heart stops having occasional *irregular* rhythms it becomes susceptible to fatal heart attacks) gives increasing evidence that physiology is all about *inducing* change. The only truly homeostatic organism is a dead one. (And even that point is debatable.) Aaron Beck and others have proposed that emotions, and mood disturbances in particular, may not be designed to maintain homeostasis, rather they take the evolutionary view that depressive moods are meant as a form of energy conservation in a time of scarce resources or opportunities when such expenditures are likely to be unproductive and manic moods are energy expenditures at a time when such expenditures are more likely to be rewarding.[70]

Whether one accepts the homeostatic view or not, it is evident from both positions that "emotional expenditures" serve self-preservation. In short, emotions are not part of an interior world of feeling separate from external communication to others. Instead, negative emotions play a large role in communicating to others and preparing the self for action while positive emotions, such as Anat's in 1.3 II, express the fulfillment of action and the achievement of well-being. Hobson (1999:164) would go further in stressing the role of emotion in the very act of perception (and by implication not simply as a matter of reaction): "Emotion is a way not only of perceiving, but also of orienting to the world." For Anat, the cosmos is transformed for good by her furious, even savage battle that intoxicates her with satisfaction.

To return to the commentary on 1.3 II, the central section of the episode, lines 23–27a, is followed by two bicola, lines 27b–30a. The first (lines 27b–28) describes Anat's wading in captives' blood, using the identical language of lines 13b–15. Here again the passage suggests the completeness of Anat's victory. But while the first battle ends with her gathering up survivors, the second battle does not. The following bicolon (lines 29–30) describes the conclusion of the battle, depicting Anat as fighting until she is finally satisfied with her carnage. But now there is no hint of any survivors.

  The general interpretation of this passage remains very difficult. There is ambiguity about the nature of the entire conflict depicted in this column, since no motivation for Anat's anger is given in the preserved text. And while the depiction of the first battle (lines 3–16) is

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[70] In a letter dated January 16, 1997 (Oren's italics), used with permission. Beck's research can be found in his 1996 article; see also Oren 1996 (references courtesy of D. A. Oren).

fairly straightforward, the account of the second battle (lines 17–30) is peculiar, with its combination of battle language similar to that in the first battle, alongside the setting of the battle's location within Anat's palace, where she precedes her slaughter by arranging chairs, tables and footstools for her captives. Nor does the passage appear to have any reflex in either the preceding or succeeding columns. It seems that our best chance for understanding is to look toward comparative evidence for possible clues.

There are a number of elements in this section that can be compared to the practice of *ḥerem*-warfare, known from ancient Israel (on *ḥerem*, see Lemaire 1999). The Hebrew term *ḥerem* is usually translated as "ritual destruction, ban" and describes a type of warfare in which all living things connected to the enemy in a battle are consecrated to the god by killing them, either in the battle itself or in mass executions afterwards. This concept is well known in the Hebrew Bible, especially in such stories as the captures of Jericho (Josh 6:21) and Ai (see Josh 8:18–29), as well as Saul's battle with the Amalekites (1 Sam 15:1–23). Josh 6:21 is noteworthy: "They devoted to destruction (*wayyăḥărîmû*) everything that was in the city, men and women, young and old, bulls, sheep and donkeys, with the edge of a sword." *Ḥerem*-warfare is not considered ordinary warfare, but a sacred and solemn form of military engagement (Deut 20:15–18, Joshua 6:17–19). No mercy is to be given to the enemy, and no survivors among people or animals are allowed (Deut 7:1–6, 22–26; Josh 10:28–39; and Deut 13:12–18, where the law allows *ḥerem* to be declared against an apostate Israelite town). In Deut 13:17 the *ḥerem* is called a "whole offering to Yahweh" (*kālîl lĕyahweh*). The concept is also used to describe the warfare of Yahweh against his enemies in such passages as Isa 34:1–7 and 63:1–6, with similar imagery in Jer 46:10 and Deut 32:40–42 (see below). In Isaiah 34, for example, Yahweh declares war against all the nations (vv 1–4) and slaughters them. The poem then turns to Yahweh's war with Edom, whose destruction is explicitly called *ḥerem* (v 5) and is described as a sacrifice (vv 6–7). A key element in understanding several biblical attestations of *ḥerem* is an underlying assumption that divine retribution and judgment are being exacted against those destroyed in the ban.

The custom of *ḥerem* is attested also in Iron Age Moab. The Mesha Stele (KAI 181) describes three battles that King Mesha undertook against Israelite towns in Transjordan. The descriptions of his conquests of Ataroth (lines 10–13) and of Nebo (lines 14–18a) are particularly helpful. Mesha thus describes his capture of Ataroth (line 11–12):

"I fought against the city and seized it, and I killed all the people. The city became a possession (*hyt l*) of Kemosh and of Moab."[71] Of the conquest of Nebo he says (lines 15–18): "I fought against it from the break of dawn until noon, and I seized it, and I killed everyone, seven thousand, men and resident aliens, women and female resident aliens, and servant women, for I had devoted them to destruction (*ḥḥrmth*) for Ashtar-Kemosh. I took from there the [   ]s of Yahweh and dragged them before Kemosh."[72] These descriptions of *ḥerem* match the kind of practice found in the Hebrew Bible, and certainly relate thematically to the description of Anat's battle in 1.3 II. Like the biblical texts, the Mesha Stele indicates that the slaughter of the people is a sacred action dedicated to the god. One key difference to note between the *ḥerem* tradition here and 1.3 II is that Anat does not appear to capture or kill noncombatants as we find in the Israelite and Moabite versions of the practice.

Moving beyond the Levant, we find examples of a female goddess undertaking a campaign against human forces in both Mesopotamian and Egyptian texts. As noted above, Inanna/Ishtar in Mesopotamia is well known for her martial exploits. A particularly interesting parallel is found in the hymn to Inanna attributed to Enḫeduanna (late third millennium BCE), lines 43–50 (Hallo and van Dijk 1968:20–21):

> In the mountain where homage is withheld from you
>   vegetation is accursed.
> Its grand entrance you have reduced to ashes.

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[71] Following the reading of Lemaire 1987:206–07; cf. also Parker 1997:45. On *ryt*, the more traditional reading, see Stern 1991:32. The latter reading cannot be completely dismissed. Stern relates this form to the BH root *rwh* in Isa 34:5, where it appears in a context specifically related to *ḥerem*, and in 34:7 and Jer 46:10. If this were the correct reading and etymology, the two latter cases would provide support for interpreting *ryt* here as "satisfaction." Lemaire's reading, which matches the traces on the stone (and, according to Lemaire, personal communication, also on the squeeze), makes fine grammatical sense of the text. Schade (2005) has argued for *ryt* from his examination of the stone and squeeze, but his attempt to find the *r* is unconvincing. As Lemaire has pointed out to us (personal communication), Schade's proposed *r* is much too low on the line. It is better to see the top line of his triangle as the lower horizontal of a *h*. In addition, Schade's proposed *r* on the squeeze shows little relationship to the one he proposed on the stone—its head is much bigger and the proposed lower line is at a different angle from what he suggests on the stone.

[72] Iconographic representations of captives being brought before a god may be seen in Cornelius 1995:21–23, 24, 33–36, figs. 10–15; Amiet 1992:123, figure 292; Bounni and Lagarce 1998:61 n. 69, 62, figures 91:5, 92:1–2, 103–104.

> Blood rises in its rivers for you, its people have nought to drink.
> It leads its army captive before you of its own accord.
> It disbands its regiments before you of its own accord.
> It makes its able-bodied young men parade before you of their
>   own accord.
> A tempest has filled the dancing of its city.
> It drives its young adults before you as captives.

Here we have several themes familiar from the texts thus far surveyed. The people punished by Inanna were rebellious, in this case, having failed to give proper homage to the goddess. The settlements have been destroyed, and so many have been killed that the rivers are polluted with blood to the point that no one can drink the water. The survivors surrender to the goddess and are taken captive. It might also be suggested that in 1.3 II Anat's opponents are presumed to be rebels against her power. But there are differences between this passage and both the Levantine *herem* tradition and 1.3 II as well, particularly in the fact that there is little explicit indication that the captives are to be killed.

The Egyptian story of Hathor/Sekhmet's near-destruction of all humanity, apparently dating to the Middle Kingdom (Lichtheim 1976:197; see also *ANET* 10–11), also provides significant parallels to Anat's battle. In this story humanity plots against Re, the sun god, so he sends out Hathor to fight against the people. She slaughters them in the desert for a while, then returns to Re, and announces, "As you live for me, I have overpowered mankind, and it was balm to my heart" (line 14, Lichtheim 1976:199). Re appears to be satisfied with the punishment, but Hathor, now also known as Sekhmet, is ready to continue until she kills all of humanity. Re arranges for beer that has been colored blood-red with ochre to be poured on the fields where Hathor will fight. When she sees the beer, she believes that the rest of humanity has been destroyed. She drinks the presumed blood, gets drunk and returns home satisfied. Thus Re saves the remnant of humanity. As in the other accounts discussed above, this story uses the motif that the slaughter is brought about by the wickedness of humanity, here plotting against Re. But it also contains elements found in 1.3 II. Hathor here refers to her pleasure at slaughtering humans, a trait that Anat shares with her. We also find a two-stage battle in the Egyptian text, as we have in 1.3 II, although in the Hathor story the second battle is short-circuited by Re. However, it is clear that Hathor intends to wipe out all remaining survivors in the second battle, as Anat actually does in hers. Of course, neither the Mesopotamian nor the Egyptian texts

calls the battle *ḥerem*, but the overall similarities of the stories to the *ḥerem* accounts strongly indicate a close relationship.

The significant similarities between all this material and 1.3 II suggest that the conflict described here is also related to the concept of *ḥerem*. This is supported by another Ugaritic text, CAT 1.13, lines 3–13, which describes a very similar conflict between Anat and an enemy army. In this passage the cognate root *ḫrm* itself seems to be used in the context of divine warfare. The passage reads as follows (See Images 91–92):

3–4	]ḫrm.t̠n.ym/m.	Devote to destruction (?) for two days,
	šp̱[k dm (?) tl̠t̠]ymm.	Pour [blood (?) for three] days,
4–5	lk./hrg.'ar[bʿ] ymm.	Go, kill for fo[ur] days.
5–6	bṣr/k̠p šsk.[dm?]	Harvest hand(s), pour out [blood?],
6–7	lḥbšk/ʿtk.r'iš[t]	To your waist attach heads.
	[t̠b?]lmhrk	[Return?] to your soldiery,
8	w ʿp.ldr[ʿ].nšrk.	And fly at the arm of your raptors.
9	wrbṣ.lg̠rk.'inbb.	And repose at your mountain, Inbb,
10	kt g̠rk.'ank ydʿt	The dais of your mountain (that) I know.
11	[ ]n 'atn 'at	To the dais (that) I give, come (?).
	mt̠bk b'a (?)	To your throne, come (?).
12	[š]mm rm lk	To the high heavens, go,
12–13	pr̠z kt/[k]bkbm	Then rule the dais [of the s]tars (?).

Textual Notes[73]

Line 3. While the /ḫ/ is not entirely certain, the reading seems the most probable. Only a single short low vertical is preserved, and could be part of a /ḫ/, /y/, /z/ or /s/.

It is theoretically possible to reconstruct *[ʾa]ḫrm* or some other root besides *ḫrm*, but none makes good sense. *ḫrm* fits with the parallel command *lk hrg* in lines 4–5. The Ugaritic root occurs in syllabic form, *ḫa-ri-mu*, in the Ugaritic column of *Ugaritica V*, text 137 ii 39', 40', 42'. Huehnergard (1987b:41, 89–90, 126) translates the first instance, which he normalizes as an adjective /ḫarimu/, by "foe," and the other two cases, "desecrated" (see also *UG* 261, 474), which he relates to a different root. He relates the first instance to BH causative verb *heḥĕrîm*, "to declare sacred, exterminate" and Arabic *ḫaruma*, "to become sacred, be forbidden." De Moor compares the use of *ḫrm* in line 3 with the biblical usage of Josh 8:24, 26 where Ai is put under the warfare ban.

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[73] For standard translations, see *MLC* 487–94; de Moor 1987:137–41; *TO* 2.19–27.

Line 4. The *p* is epigraphically uncertain. There are clear traces of two long horizontals, but the letter could also be /h/. Stern's suggestion of /ḫ/ (1991:5–6, 79–80) must be ruled out. Wyatt's suggestion /q/ (1998:169, n. 4) relies upon there only being one horizontal. The expression **špk dm* appears elsewhere in contexts related to Anat (see 1.18 IV 23–24; cf. 1.7 II 7).

Line 5. Reading *bṣr* as "to harvest" (so Good) rather than "in anguish" (so de Moor). The cognate in Hebrew is regularly used for the harvesting of grapes (Lev 25:5; Deut 24:21; Judges 9:27 etc.)

Line 6. Reading *šsk* as a causative from **nsk*. If correct, then blood appears to be the most probable object to restore in the break. Different renderings may be found in Walls 1992:140 and Wyatt 1998:170.

Line 7. The *š* of *riš[t]* appears certain, although only the upper left part of the left diagonal of the letter is preserved. The restoration between *rišt* and *lmhrk* is based on the likelihood that another imperative verb should go here. Since *mhr* here has the second fem. sg. possessive suffix on it, the soldiers are probably not the enemy (as the term was used in 1.3 II 11, 15, 21 and 28), but Anat's own soldiers, and thus the verb is probably not a battle-based one.

Line 8. For Anat as a flyer, see CAT 1.108.8: *w'nt d'i d'it rḫpt* (Tuttle 1976); and 1.18 IV. For discussions, see Fensham 1966; Pope 1971.

Line 10. For *kt*, see 1.4 I 30. The phrases for Anat's abode beginning in line 9 recall a series of terms for Baal's abode in CAT 1.3 III 29–31, IV 19–20. The first and second person forms in line 10 indicate direct discourse, either a prayer (so de Moor) or a speech of a deity to Anat, possibly Baal. Caquot takes the latter part of the text (from line 21) as a prayer to bless the king with a formula reminiscent of El's blessing of king Kirta in 1.15 II 25–27 (*TO* 2.20, 25–27).

Line 12. For *[š]mm rm*, perhaps compare *b'lt šmm rmm*, Anat's title in CAT 1.108.7. See also *šmm rmm*, perhaps the name of a Sidonian district in KAI 15; and a descendant of the Levantine sacred mountains, "Samemroumos, who is also called Hypsouranios" in PE 1.10.10

(Attridge and Oden 1981:42–43).[74] It is possible that *[šmm]rm* is to be reconstructed in 1.108.9.

If *ḥrm* in line 3 is interpreted correctly here, then we have at Ugarit an explicit designation of this kind of warfare with that term in a context with Anat as the combatant. There is little doubt about the similarity of the battle described here and the one depicted in 1.3 II. In both, we find a description of Anat participating in bloody warfare, references to severing hands and heads, placing the latter on her body, and a return to her mountain after the battle (cf. *SPUMB* 95; Good 1982:55–59; *EHG* 61–64; Walls 1992:140–41). Also noteworthy is the fact that while both accounts dwell heavily on the mythic level of the conflict, they also mention Anat's soldiers, who presumably take part in the battle, even though they are not mentioned in its description. This corresponds to the similar situation in biblical literature, where Yahweh's march to war is often related to Israelite battles. This human element in the battle further emphasizes the relationship between the earthly *ḥerem* and the mythic depictions. The stories of Inanna and (perhaps less likely) Hathor described above may also have assumed an earthly counterpart in their conflicts.

If this approach is correct, then we can make a few suggestions about the context of Anat's battle. First, we note that every other account of *ḥerem*, whether on the divine or human level, assumes that the enemy being slaughtered has done some action that deserves punishment. Thus we may propose that Anat, too, has good reason to go out against these enemies, even if the reasons are not stated in the preserved text. It seems unlikely that a conflict of the scale described here would simply be an example of Anat's violent and unpredictable nature, or that it simply occurs on a whim of the goddess (cf. Wyatt 1998:73, n. 17). Even Aqhat, whom she kills most unjustly, seriously insults Anat about her prowess with the bow, thereby inspiring her violence against him (1.17 VI 39–42). Secondly, we can suggest that the battle probably has a sacrificial connotation just under the surface, and that the references to the goddess' satiety (lines 19, 29) are related to the similar references in Isaiah 34:5–6; Jer 46:10 and the Mesha Stele, line 12.

What is still not clear about 1.3 II, however, is the peculiar account of Anat setting up the chairs, tables and footstools in lines 20–22. None of the other Levantine texts has a parallel to this element of the

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[74] For *šmm rmm* and its various reflexes, see further Weinfeld 1991.

story. But again we may get some clues from the Mesopotamian and Egyptian texts described above, along with a further examination of the biblical descriptions of Yahweh and ḥerem-warfare. These provide us with references to the devouring of the enemy as the climax and conclusion of the battle. We will shortly draw this theme into our discussion of Anat.

Enheduanna's Hymn to Inanna provides us with a startling description of the goddess in the latter part of the poem (lines 125–127, Hallo and van Dyke 1968:30–31):

> That you devastate the rebellious land, be it known!
> That you roar at the land, be it known!
> That you smite the heads, be it known!
> That you eat bodies like a dog, be it known!

The context of this description indicates clearly that the goddess' devouring of bodies takes place within the context of divine participation in battle. And in the story of Hathor's Destruction of Humanity, the story climaxes when Hathor, seeing what she believes to be the aftermath of the slaughter of all humanity, drinks what she thinks is blood until she gets drunk. Thus these texts show two goddesses, each with characteristics closely related to those of Anat, completing their battles against the wicked by either devouring their bodies or drinking their blood.

Turning to the biblical texts, we find elements of this notion of devouring the enemy preserved in accounts describing Yahweh as taking part in ḥerem-warfare. In such passages as Isa 34:5–6 and Jer 46:10, the language of ḥerem is mixed with language of eating and of sacrifice in a particularly interesting way. For example, Jer 46:10 reads, "That day belongs to the Lord Yahweh of Hosts, a day of retribution to be avenged upon his enemies. His sword shall devour and be sated, and it shall drink its fill of their blood. For a sacrifice belongs to the Lord Yahweh of Hosts in the land of the north, as far as the Euphrates." Here we find the connection between a battle in which God slaughters the enemy, the notion that the slaughter is a sacrifice and the idea that the slain are devoured. In this case, however, it is Yahweh's sword that does the devouring, rather than Yahweh himself. Isa 34:5–6 reads: "When my sword is satisfied in heaven, it will come down upon Edom and upon the people of my ḥerem for judgment. Yahweh has a sword—it is filled with blood, it is gorged with fat, with the blood of lambs and goats, with the fat of kidneys of rams. For Yahweh has a

sacrifice in Bozrah, a great slaughter in the land of Edom!" Here too we find the combination of war, sacrificial and eating imagery, again with the sword of Yahweh doing the devouring.

The close connection between the sacrificial imagery and the notion of eating the enemy and drinking its blood provides a clue about a central aspect of ḥerem. It is clear that in the special nature of ḥerem, where all things captured in battle are to be given to the god, including all living things, the killing of the enemy is seen as a sacrifice to the god. It is also clear that in Israel and elsewhere, sacrificial offerings were often envisioned as food for the deity (Anderson 1987:14–19; Oppenheim 1964:187–193; Quirke 1992:75; Pardee 2002:226). This is explicitly stated numerous times in Leviticus (3:11; 21:6, 8; 21:17; 22:25). The critical point here is the recognition that what from a human level is a sacrifice, from the divine perspective is a meal. Thus, when the army slaughters the enemy in a ḥerem situation, they are, on the human level, providing a sacrificial offering, which on the mythic/divine level the god is receiving as a meal, which he or she presumably devours, as any other offering is consumed.[75] This imagery of the slaughtered enemy as a sacrificial meal for the deity may explain the setting up of the tables and chairs in the story of 1.3 II. This element may preserve traces of a version of the story, similar to those about Inanna and Hathor, in which the victorious Anat sits at the table and devours her enemies. However, that story does not exist explicitly in the text as we have it, though it may have been assumed by the imagery. As the text stands, the poet simply has Anat set up the tables and then slaughter the captives. No clear reference to eating them appears, except in the form of the references to Anat's appetite for war being satisfied, an image related elsewhere to devouring the enemy.

If this view is correct, then what might have led to the difference in the story? There is no way to answer this question definitively. But again there are some potential clues from neighboring cultures. As mentioned above, the mythically oriented biblical texts, Isa 34:1–6 and Jer 46:10, both attribute the eating of the enemy to the sword of Yahweh. This attribution may be a substitution for the image of Yahweh

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[75] One should note that, while the practice of human warfare cannibalism is attested in some societies (Harris 1987:204–34; Sahlins 1979:45–47; 1983:72–93; cf. Sanday 1986:125–50), there is no evidence of such a practice in the ancient Near East. Ḥerem-warfare cannibalism seems restricted to the divine realm. For further anthropological discussion of cannibalism in myths, see Sanday 1986:41–44, 152–54, 179–81.

himself devouring the human sacrifice. Whether or not this change may have been made because of discomfort aroused by the image of a cannibalistic deity cannot be determined, although it is arguable that within Israel and perhaps some other cultures in the ancient Near East there developed theologies of sacrifice that downplayed the notion of the offering as a meal for the gods. This evidently occurred in certain elite circles of Israel, climaxing in the famous statement of Yahweh in Ps 50:12–13: "If I were hungry, I wouldn't tell you, for the world and its fullness belong to me. Do I eat the flesh of bulls, or do I drink the blood of goats?" If there is some discomfort about the notion that Israel needs to feed its God, this discomfort is not strong enough to cause a consistent removal of the imagery of sacrifices as Yahweh's food. However, the explicit image of Yahweh eating people might have been removed under such conditions or fallen out of use, as the conceptualization of the divine received increasing deanthropomorphic formulations (*EHG* 100–2). In the context of such changes, the motif of the god eating the enemy in ḥerem-warfare remained part of the poetic palette, though attributed to Yahweh's sword.[76]

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[76] One may also see a somewhat similar development in Mesopotamian thought about the nature of sacrifice. There too we find a long tradition of the notion that sacrificial offerings constitute food for the gods. This is visible in the ritual texts that describe the presentation of food to the gods each day (Oppenheim 1964:188–189). But at the same time, some people rejected this idea. There is no obvious statement in Mesopotamian texts like the one we have in Psalm 50, but there are clear indications in some important literary texts that there was an attempt to downplay the notion of sacrifice as meals for the gods. Tigay (1982:224–29) pointed out that when the Flood Story from the Old Babylonian Atrahasis Epic was adapted into the Standard Babylonian version of the Gilgamesh Epic (late second millennium BCE, or perhaps early first), the adaptor intentionally deleted every passage in the earlier text that mentions either the gods being hungry or their eating (see also Anderson 1987:16–19). He particularly pointed out the following sections: Atrahasis III.iii.30–31 reads, "The Anunna, the great gods, were sitting in hunger and thirst." This comes into Gilgamesh XI:113–144 as "The gods feared the Flood. They retreated and went up to the heaven of Anu." Atrahasis III:iv.15–23 reads: "The gods wept with her for the land, she was sated with grief, thirsty for beer. Where she sat, they sat weeping. Like sheep they filled the trough. Their lips were feverishly athirst, they suffered in starvation." But Gilgamesh XI:124–126 reads in parallel: "The gods of the Anunnaki were weeping with her. The gods humbly sat weeping. Their lips burned; they were taken with fever sores" (for Atrahasis, see also Lambert and Millard 1969:94–101). The Gilgamesh text changes the Atrahasis line, "They (the gods) gathered like flies around the sacrifice," to "The gods gathered like flies around the one who made the sacrifice." It also leaves out Atrahasis III.v.36: "[After t]hey had eaten the offering." Not all of the elements of the story related to eating are removed from the Gilgamesh version—it doesn't entirely remove the story of Atrahasis/Utnapishtim offering the sacrifice and the gods smelling the sweet savor—but the most explicit elements are gone. One might also notice how the

This same sort of omission, in depicting a deity explicitly devouring enemies, may underlie the description of the goddess in 1.3 II. Although such portrayals of deities were clearly used earlier in Mesopotamia and Egypt, it may be that by the Late Bronze Age, such images were decidedly less in vogue, at least in some quarters. So perhaps here in 1.3 II Anat (like Yahweh in the passages above) becomes the one who slays the captives, rather than the one who accepts and devours the captives as an offering. At the same time, certain elements of the classic notion of the sacrifice as a meal are preserved in the reference to the preparation of the tables and chairs for a feast and the noting of her satisfaction at the end. As an alternative, the poet simply chose to mute the more explicit elements in a subtle, evocative picture of Anat's cannibalistic feast. The fighting is described as a feast with chairs, tables and footstools arranged for the "guests of honor," namely the soldiers who are her captives whom she drives back to her palace in lines 15b-16. In this alternative view, these "guests" would also be the main course (see *EHG* 78 n. 131; Smith 1995), although there is no explicit depiction of the devouring.[77]

The motifs involved in this depiction of warfare are distinct from the portrayal of the storm god in battle. Following in part Jeremias (1965), Cross describes the march of the divine warrior as a "*Gattung*" (*CMHE* 147 n. 1) or "an archaic mythic pattern" (*CMHE* 162–63) showing four elements: (1) the march of the divine warrior; (2) the convulsing of nature as the divine warrior manifests his power; (3) the return of the warrior to his holy mountain to assume divine kingship; and (4) the utterance of the warrior's "voice" (i.e., thunder) from his palace, providing rains which fertilize the earth (for a more recent survey, see Dion 1991). If this conglomerate of elements may be said to constitute

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story of humanity's creation in Atrahasis is reworked in the later Enuma Elish. In the older work, the lower gods are forced to grow the food that feeds the upper gods. They go on strike until Ea comes up with the idea of creating humans to grow the food. In the Enuma Elish, the creation of humanity is part of the original creation of the world. There is no clear context to indicate exactly which burdens the humans will take from the gods. But it is clear that for the Enuma Elish, growing food to feed the gods plays no real role.

[77] Lloyd (1996:157) has made a similar proposal that this passage is informed by "ritual sacrifice of prisoners-of-war before cultic statues." He argues that Anat is destroying them, which hardly explains the need for tables and chairs in 1.3 II. For this reason one may maintain for this context a specific sort of destruction in the form of a divine meal, in other words warfare cannibalism.

a "*Gattung*," or "pattern," then some cases of *ḥrm*/*ḥerem*-warfare predicated of deities may also be defined as a pattern possessing three chief identifying characteristics: (1) the divine pursuit of warfare proper; (2) the deity's return of the captives to the divine palace; and (3) the divine destruction of the captive-warriors. As noted above, optional elements of the pattern would include divine laughter, viticultural imagery and mention of the victims' body-parts.

We now turn to the question of how 1.3 II fits into the context of the rest of 1.3. It is not immediately obvious how this story belongs between the feast of Baal in 1.3 I and the sending of Baal's messengers in 1.3 III. Two possibilities seem plausible. First, Anat fights enemies on the terrestrial level while Baal wars against Yamm on the cosmic level. As allies and siblings, they join ranks in fighting hostile forces. Here Baal's words to Anat in 1.10 II 24–25 illustrate their joint action: *nṯ'n b'arṣ 'iby*/ *wb'pr qm 'aḫk*, "we will thrust my enemies into the earth, /And in the dust the enemies of your brother." The same verbs of fighting appear in contexts related to these two deities, specifically **mḫṣ* in 1.3 III 47, **ṣmt* in 1.3 III 44 and 1.18 IV 38 (of Anat); 1.12 II 34 (*UT* 19.2176; *DUL* 786–87) and **grš* in 1.2 IV 11–13 (of Baal; cf. 1.1 IV 24). The grouping of the god and goddess in a martial manner may be reflected in the expression, *mhr b'l wmhr 'nt*, in 1.22 I 8–9.[78]

The second possibility is that the portrayal of Anat at war appears in this context because this activity was considered typical of her. In the Ugaritic mythological texts, when messenger-deities arrive to deliver their master's words or when a deity travels to see another divinity, the narratives often present the divine recipients of the communication in an activity considered characteristic of them. Thus when Yamm's messengers arrive at the divine council in 1.2 I, it is in its characteristic mode of feasting. When Baal and Anat reach Athirat in 1.4 III, she is presented working at her domestic chores. When Athirat visits El in 1.4 IV, he is seated on his throne (Pope 1971). Here, then, Anat is portrayed

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[78] The unnamed war goddess of Ashqelon was called *phane bal* on Greek coins; perhaps the goddess in question was Anat (see *CMHE* 28, 31; cf. Ginsberg 1945:10). If correct, *phane bal* would reflect her close identification with Baal. Iconographic evidence may likewise reflect this alliance of divine siblings. The theme of the battling god with the winged goddess is well-known from seals attested from Syrian sites (Tessier 1984:79–80, 241–7; Amiet 1982:30–33), including Emar (Singer 1993:185, seal 2); the figures of Baal and Anat seem to be one Syrian literary version of this theme, as Anat's fighting here as in 1.6 II may be to aid her brother. Schaeffer-Forrer (1979:42) identifies the winged goddess depicted on cylinder seals with Anat.

in her role as punisher of the rebellious on earth, in preparation for the account of the messengers' arrival. There is no reason to view 1.3 II (or 1.3 more generally) as intrusive (cf. Batto 1987).[79] Even if modern interpreters cannot fully determine the reasons why an episode appears in its context, it is better to assume that the storytellers had their reasons for doing so that were clear to them and had a narrative logic that we may be unable to recover today.

Lines 30–1.3 III 2: Anat's Cleansing

The final section of 1.3 II involves Anat's cleansing herself and her house following the slaughter. The section opens with a *yqtl form in the initial position, denoting continuity of the narrative line, but the switch of subject and the use of the passive voice indicates a shift in perspective and topic. The verbal action is narrated (with one exception) in a series *yqtl forms in the cola through line 38. There the narrative stops for a moment to focus on the precipitation that Anat uses to wash herself. The description is elaborated by a series of extended direct objects in lines 39–40, themselves followed by parallel asyndetic relative clauses in lines 40–41. The only departure from the string of *yqtl forms in lines 30–38 is the infinitive absolute ṯʿr in line 36 preceding the parallel verb ṯṭʿr in line 37. This unusual sequence, involving an infinitive absolute preceding the parallel *yqtl form (instead of the other way around, as would be expected, as in lines 20–22 above), is a stylistic reversal of the same verbs in lines 20–22 (APO). The first two lines of column III,[80] which directly succeed line 41, resume the *yqtl sequence (ttpp), indicating a return to the narrative. Following the legible part of line 2, the text essentially breaks off (there are a few signs on line 3), beginning a gap of about twenty lines.

1.3 II 30b–41 plus 1.3 III 1–2 depicts Anat's cleaning in three parts: (1) Anat's initial washing due to her preceding battle (lines 30b–35);

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[79] Without discussing Batto's otherwise valuable proposals in their entirety, it is untrue that the Baal Cycle here involves "a newly created humanity." Batto assumes this view on the basis of his helpful comparison with "The Deliverance of Humanity from Destruction" (*ANET* 10–11). While an older mythic tradition about Anat thematically akin to this Egyptian text may have existed prior to, and/or independent of, the Baal Cycle, such a tradition certainly has been placed in 1.3 II–III largely in the service of the Baal Cycle's presentation of Baal.

[80] Lines 1–3 are part of the smaller separate fragment of CAT 1.3, RS 2.[014], while the following lines of column III belong to the main piece of this tablet.

(2) Anat's restoration of the furniture to its proper place (lines 36–37); and (3) Anat's further washing and application of cosmetics (lines 38–1.3 III 1–2). The two outside descriptions of cleansing frame the inside narration about the furniture's return (ABA'). It is suggested above at the outset of the commentary to column II that this section balances with Anat's application of cosmetics before the battle, when this column becomes legible (lines 2–3b). Lines 31b–41 are also tied in two ways to the preceding section, lines 19–30a. In this prior scene Anat is engrossed in the blood of warriors, while in this scene she washes herself of the warrior-blood. In the preceding scene Anat arranges furniture for her victims and then destroys them, whereas in this scene she returns the same items of furniture to their place.

The initial action in the first section involves wiping away blood from her palace, followed in the same bicolon by the pouring of oil in a bowl (lines 30b–32a). It is also possible to render the verbs as active voice impersonal verbs in the singular[81] ("one wipes.., one pours"; see Dietrich and Loretz 1981:93). The other issue in this bicolon is the precise nature of *šmn šlm*, usually rendered "oil of peace" or the like. It is possible that this is oil which is provided as a "peace-offering" (see *CML*² 48; Sanmartín 1976:462; *MLC* 629; del Olmo Lete 1978:41; see *SPUMB* 96, 104). However, Levine (1974:13) rejects a specifically sacrificial nuance here. He comments: "it is more likely that the use of oil was for the purpose of anointing the goddess, as a form of purification or as a means of investing her in a cultic office" (for the latter, see the case of Emar 369.3–4, 20–21; see Fleming 1992:10, 20, 49, 51, 77). While there is no sign of cultic office apparent in this context, the notion that anointing with oil is used for purification seems likely. In CAT 2.72.29–32, we find such a use of oil: "He also took oil in his horn[82] and poured it on the head of the daughter of the king of Amurru. Whatever sin she has committed against me, you should know it has been atoned" (Pardee (1977:4). In this case the symbolic act of pouring oil signals a transition from sin to purification (see the fine discussion of Pardee 1977:14–17). A transition of state or status is found also in the anointing in RS 8.303 (8.208; *PRU* III, 110–11). In this text, a servant is released by her owner, Kilbi-ewri, who "poured oil on her head and rendered her pure" (Lackenbacher 2002:329–30,

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[81] The plural is unlikely, as *t-* marks the third person plural (Dobrusin 1981).
[82] For the motif, cf. 1.10 II 21–23; and 5.23.1–2 (?).

332–33). Oil in anointing rituals is known from Ebla (Viganò 2000), in the Amarna letters EA 34.47–53 and 51.5–9 at Mari A.1968 (so Malamat 1998:18 n. 19, 152) and at Emar (see Fleming 1992:174–79). In 1.3 II, the context suits a notion of purification. By way of connotation, this phrase may further signal the cessation of hostilities between Anat and her enemies. Dietrich and Loretz (1981:83) follow Janowski (1980:238) in rendering *šmn šlm* by "wohltuendes Öl." An "oil of well-being of Baal" is part of the ritual in 1.119.24–25. Later in 1.3 III, when Baal sends his message to Anat, the phrase represents "an offering of oil meant to induce well-being from Baal" (Pardee 1997b:284 n. 19). As observed by Pardee (1977:14–17), anointing marks a transition as well as an elevation in rank in several instances (for further cases, see Fleming 1992:178–79). In sum, here in 1.3 II, the phrase signals Anat's purificatory transition from battle, and it may anticipate the message to come from Baal.

In the second bicolon (lines 32b–33), Anat washes her hands. Here Anat is called *btlt*, not "virgin," as the word is often translated, but a young female married or unmarried who has not yet borne children (for evidence and earlier discussions, see *UBC* 1.8–9 n. 20). A parallel situation apparently obtains in the Egyptian lexicon. According to Teeter (1999:410),[83] Egyptian contains no term for "virgin," and following J. Johnson, Teeter argues that the Egyptian terms often understood in this manner (*ꜥḏdt, rnnt, ḥnwt*) actually denote a young female. Teeter (1999:411) suggests: "Just as there is little evidence for a moral value attached upon virginity, there is little evidence that pre-marital (as opposed to extramarital) sex was considered to be impure." In this connection, one might also note the characterization in the Middle Kingdom work known as "Three Tales of Wonder" (Lichtheim 1973:216). In the narrative, an old tale is recounted about how King Snefru decided one day to go boating, and he wished to include in his boating-party "twenty women with the shapeliest bodies, breasts, and braids, who have not yet given birth." The description perhaps captures an ancient male standard for sex appeal in females, not so much that they are virgins, but young shapely women. In Anat's case, her stage of life exemplifies the young woman prior to motherhood (P. L. Day 1991; Walls 1992).

In line 33, the goddess is also called *ybmt l'imm*, "the In-law of the Peoples." The first is a legal term for in-law familial relations (*ybmt*;

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[83] Reference courtesy of Professor O. Goelet.

see the discussion in *UBC* 1.196 n. 148; see also J. M. Sasson 1979:29;
Pardee 1997a:243 n. 12). The second word refers to peoples or clans
(*UBC* 1.196 n. 149; for the term at Emar, see Fleming 1992:74 and
Pentiuc 2001:110–11; and at Mari, see Malamat 1998:165–67). Alter-
native interpretations of the phrase go back at least to Løkkegaard
(1953:226). More recently Wyatt (1992:418) reads *ybmt l'imm* as a variant
of *ymmt l'imm* (attested once, though usually regarded as an error; see
p. 197) and compares Arabic *yamamat*, "pigeon, dove." This approach
requires interpreting the single occurrence of *ymmt l'imm* as the key
to the multiple occurrences of *ybmt l'imm* (1.3 II 33, IV 22 [partially
reconstructed], 1.4 II 15–16 [partially reconstructed], 1.10 III 3 [par-
tially reconstructed], 1.17 VI 19, 25), an approach which is possible,
but problematic. Wyatt (1992:419) and Pardee (1997a:243 n. 12) read
l'imm as the name of the Amorite deity Li'mu. But to do this, they must
regard the second *m-* on Ugaritic in each instance as enclitic—possible,
but not compelling. Critics rightly point to the fact that the precise
significance of this epithet, "the In-Law of the peoples," is unknown.
The title may express Anat's relations to the world and humanity, but
it is difficult to determine a more precise sense. The word as a term of
expressing Anat's familial relation to humanity need not be regarded as
being "nonsensical" (Pardee's characterization), or showing "implausibil-
ity" (Wyatt), even if it could stand further elucidation. An alternative,
"sister-in-law to the terrible ones" (i.e., the gods) has been proposed
by Fox (1998), who otherwise musters no other cases of Ugaritic **'imm*
without prefix *l-* in this meaning, much less any other application of
this meaning to the word to deities.

The third bicolon (lines 34–35) augments the description of Anat's
washing. In other words, lines 32–33 inform that Anat washes her hands,
while lines 34–35 explains either what Anat washes from herself or in
what she washes herself (see below). In Watson's terms, the first bicolon
delays the identification of the persons' blood until the second bicolon
(Watson 1994b:436). Accordingly, lines 34–35 do not represent a new
narrative action, but a specification of the action first identified in lines
32–33. Many commentators take this bicolon to mean that Anat cleans
the blood from herself (*ANET* 136; *GA* 89; *Thespis* 237; Moroder 1974:
252; *CML*² 48 and n. 3; Pope 1977b:606; Wyatt 1998:75). This view
would accord with common suppositions about cleaning and blood,
that blood is something to be cleaned from oneself and not a liquid
to use to wash oneself. Yet, when it comes to blood, Anat is extraor-
dinary. According to Driver (*CML*¹ 85), Aartun (*PU* 2:22) and Pardee

(1980:276), the line does not mean that the goddess "washes from her hands warrior-blood," which would more likely be expressed by *bydh dm ḏmr* (followed by Smith, *UNP* 108). Instead, the syntax *ydh bdm ḏmr* would appear to indicate that she washes "her hands in warrior-blood" (see also Smith, *UNP* 108; cf. de Moor 1968:212).[84] Pardee comments: "bathing in victims' blood was part of the process of restoring peace after wiping out enemies." However, the reasoning of Driver, Aartun and Pardee is unnecessary, as shown by the syntax in 1.16 VI 10. The passage describes the healing of Kirta by Shataqat: *trḥṣ nn bdʿt.* 1.16 VI 10 means: "She washes him of sweat." (It hardly likely that Shataqat washed Kirta "in" sweat.) As this line shows the identical syntax of 1.3 II 34–35, it appears reasonable to translate the latter lines similarly: "She washes her hands of the warrior blood, her fingers of the gore of the soldiers." At the same time, the parallel does not definitively disqualify the view of Driver, Aartun and Pardee. In any case, the prepositional phrases here (*bdm ḏmr//bmmʿ mhrm*) echo lines 27–28 as well as the earlier lines 13–15, suggesting a sense of overall continuity with these parts of 1.3 II.

Lines 36–37 similarly echo lines 20–22 (as noted above). They describe the restoration of the furniture, perhaps another indicator of the return to routine life following the violence. In line 37, the major crux is *ṯṯʾar*. The other occurrences in lines 20–21 (and presumed for line 36) derive from the similar sounding root *ṯʿr*, "to arrange," a root that applies to food (1.3 I 4), furniture (1.3 II 20, 21) and apparently hinges (1.24.35), although a clear etymology is lacking.[85] Since the ordinary meaning of *ṯʿr* seems to involve blood-relations or revenge (see *UBC* 1.250–51), an unlikely verb in association with furniture, it would seem that a scribal error is involved here and that the word should be emended to *ṯʿr*.

Lines 38–1.3 III 2 return to the theme of Anat's ablutions. The first phrase, *[t]ḥspn mh*, presumably in preparation for washing, is somewhat unclear. The verb is a word that seems to apply broadly to liquids, since it used also with reference to wine (1.91.29, 36) and dew (1.19 II

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[84] Moroder, Gibson and Pardee compare Ps 58:11: "The righteous will rejoice when he sees the vengeance; he will bathe his feet in the blood of the wicked." Other biblical passages which may reflect such an idea include Ps 68:24; cf. 1 Kgs 21:19, 22:38 and 2 Kgs 9:36. The combination of applying both blood and oil to persons may be found in the cultic contexts of Exod 29:21 and Lev 8:30.

[85] See *TO* 1.153–4 n. f for suggestions, all somewhat problematic; cf. Pentiuc 2001:117 for a proposed connection with Emar *maśʾirtu*, a kind of vessel.

2, 6, IV 37), as noted by Zamora (2000:459). A tentative translation, "she draws water," fits contextually and can be defended on the basis of BH *ḥsp and Arabic *saḥafa* (*DUL* 373; see Zamora 2000:460–62). The liquids characterized in the next two cola involve two forms of natural precipitation. First, dew (*ṭl*) of heaven is further characterized metaphorically as oil (*šmn*) of the earth. Watson (1994b:104) regards this line as a case of parallelism within the verse line, and in this case the second and parallel term *šmn ʾarṣ* functions to further define or describe the initial term *ṭl šmm*. Perhaps the sense is that the dew functions as purifying oil for the earth. Second, showers (*rbb*) of Baal the Cloud-rider also provide Anat's water. The Ugaritic word-pair *ṭl//rbb* is attested elsewhere of precipitation generated by Baal (1.19 I 44–46; Avishur 1984:57): *bl ṭl bl rbb/bl šrʿ thmtm/bl ṭbn ql bʿl*, "No dew, no downpour, No swirling of the deeps, No welcome voice of Baal" (Parker, *UNP* 69).

The second bicolon in lines 40–41 further describes the two forms of precipitation, "the dew (*ṭl*) which the Heavens pour on her" and "the showers (*rbb*) which the Stars pour on her." Craigie (1977:34–35; cf. 1978:379–80) argued that the stars are part of Anat's retinue and, in this case, her servants providing rain for her ablutions. It is true that Anat is called *bʿlt šmm rmm*, "mistress of the high heavens," in CAT 1.108.7 and that CAT 1.13, a text devoted to a description of Anat, refers, even if somewhat unclearly, to the stars (line 13): *[k]bk(!)bm ṭm ṭpl klbnt*, "the stars fall there like…" (see *TO* 1.162). Yet these passages may reflect no more than Anat's well-known capacity for flight (Pope 1971). Hanson (1972:46–47 n. 2) offered a different explanation for the precipitation in our passage. He noted biblical parallels, such as Isaiah 34–35, 63, Ezekiel 39, and Zechariah 9, which present the divine warfare discussed above. Hanson suggests that the structures of 1.3 II and Zechariah 9 conform to what he calls a "ritual pattern":[86]

> In Zechariah 9, as in the ʿAnat text, a battle has been fought which is crucial in the struggle against the forces. But the actual restoration of fertility is tied up with the sacrifice and banquet which follow, where the

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[86] This expression, found quite commonly in Hanson's work, suggests that elements of a ritual constitute a pattern in literary texts such as the Baal Cycle or Zechariah 9. The question is the evidence for the actual ritual lying behind this pattern, an issue that Hanson does not address. In support of Hanson's use of this term, it is precisely *ḥrm*-warfare and destruction of enemies discussed above that is the ritual informing this pattern (or more precisely, group of shared elements).

> treading and blood-shedding have the effect of unlocking the forces of
> fertility of the earth. We thus recognize in the sacrifice and banquet an
> example of what has been described as a *rite de passage*…As the second
> column of the 'Anat ends with the goddess bathing in the dew of heaven,
> the fat of the earth, the rain of Baal, Zechariah concludes with a similar
> celebration of the restored fertility…

While one may note a parallel between the divine warfare in 1.3 II and
that in Zechariah 9, it is unclear that a parallel exists between Anat's
washing and the conclusion of Zechariah 9, as Hanson suggests. The
precipitation in II 38–41 does not appear to be related to cosmic fertility
here. The dew and showers are not particularly special in the cosmic
scheme of reality. The sort of cosmic fertility that Hanson invokes
does appear in the Baal Cycle, but it is the content of the secret that
Baal will unveil to Anat later in 1.3 IV, namely the thunder and light-
ning and the resultant cosmic fertility unleashed by the construction
of his palace and specifically his window in 1.4 V–VII. In contrast,
the precipitation used by Anat here in 1.3 II 38–41 is more mundane,
accessible even to mortals.

The dew is associated with the heavens also in Gen 27:28, 39. The
source of this precipitation is known also to the human Pughat who
"gathers dew (*ṭl*) from the barley," and "kn[ows] the way of the stars"
(1.19 II 2–3, 38–39). The notion that the stars provide precipitation
(*TO* 1.161 n. e) is known from an Akkadian text from Ugarit (*Ug VI*,
pp. 393–408), col. III, line 41' which reads *ki-ma na-áš-š[i šá MUL.MEŠ]*,
"like the dew [of the stars]" (Watson 1977:274). Weinfeld (1983:133
n. 56) also compares Isa 26:19: "For your dew is like the dew of light"
(cf. Job 37:15, discussed above on p. 120, in connection with Pidray's
epithet, *bt 'ar*). The more generic biblical expression, "dew of heaven"
(Gen 27:39; Deut 33:13), likely reflects this notion as well (*GA* 121).
Classical and Arabic sources preserve the idea that rain is an astral
effluvium (see *Thespis* 237; cf. Judg 5:20–21). The purpose of Anat's
washing may not involve anything so heightened as cosmic fertility.
More likely her ablutions simply involve cleansing the gory viscera of
battle. Precipitation from various cosmic sources lies at Anat's disposal:
dew and rain come from above. Oil of the earth may be a phrase
characterizing the dew of heaven, since dew and showers are twice
parallel (lines 39–40 and 40–41), and in the first parallel, oil of earth
simply follows dew of heaven. Yet, if oil of earth were to connote a
further source of precipitation, one might think that it refers to pre-
cipitation produced by the earth, in other words, water from a spring

(cf. Gen 49:25, "blessings of the Deep lying below"; see the suggestion along these lines in Bordreuil 1990 and Smith 1995). However, such a proposal is not necessary.

The goddess' contact with death and blood apparently involves two of the more "polluting" phenomena that would require ritual purification. Scholars have compared purification ideas from other cultures with Anat's washing in this context. Some have related this sort of cleansing to the removal of defilement following contact with corpses in Israelite cult. Cassuto (*GA* 140) compared Numbers 19 that prescribes washing following contact with a corpse. Cassuto also noted Num 31:19, which involves purification for those who have had contact with corpses and return from battle.

As a heuristic contrast, we may note Kali's contact with blood and death. Kinsley's discussion of Kali is perhaps illustrative of these ritual sensibilities (1996:83–84):

> Kali…is almost always associated with blood and death, and it is difficult to imagine two more polluting realities in the context of a purity minded culture of Hinduism. As such, Kali is a very dangerous being. She vividly and dramatically thrusts upon the observer things that he or she would rather not think about. Within the civilized order of Hinduism, the order of dharma, of course, blood and death are acknowledged. It is impossible not to acknowledge their existence in human life. They are acknowledged, however, within the context of a highly ritualized, patterned, and complex social structure that takes great pains to handle them in "safe" ways, usually through rituals of purification. For those inevitable bloody and deathly events in the human life cycle, there are rituals (called *saṃskāras*, "refinements") that allow individuals to pass in an orderly way through times when contact with blood and death is unavoidable…. Kālī, at least in part, may indicate one way in which Hindu tradition has sought to come to terms with the built in shortcomings of its own refined view of the world…Kālī puts the order of dharma in perspective, or perhaps puts it in its place by reminding the Hindu that certain aspects of reality are untameable, unpurifiable, unpredictable, and always threatening to society's feeble attempts to order what is essentially disorderly: life itself.

This description of Kali provides a helpful contrast to Anat. Both goddesses of death and bloody conflict, Kali and Anat are young females unbound by the patriarchal order of divine society. In Kali's case, this unboundedness carries over to her unpurified state. As in Hindu society, purification is a regular feature of West Semitic cultures. Compared to Kali's apparently permanent condition of defilement, Anat's washing in this context may reflect two sides of blood and purification

marked by the separation of the two sets of ablutions; lines 32–35, on the one hand, and lines 38–41 on the other hand, are demarcated by the goddess' return of the furniture in lines 36–37. Lines 30–35 may represent an initial stage of cleaning (from blood), while lines 38–41 constitute a more conventional sort of cleaning, the sort that is customary for human participants in rituals (see the bathing and anointing of Ashurbanipal's guests at his dedicatory feast at Calah, in Grayson 1991:293), but occasionally for deities as well (for an example of the latter, see Emar 369.84: "I will draw water for the bathing of Ashtart, my mistress"; see Fleming 1992:211). The first set of "ablutions" are Anat's washing from blood, perhaps a sign of her separation from death, while the second represents her engaging in the more common purificatory ablution. If Kali, especially in her defiled state, evidences the unpredictability of life as Kinsley would have it, the presentation of Anat and her double washing perhaps accents the intersection between the general beneficial cosmic order of divinities and the violent dimensions of life in the cosmos that divinities sometimes share with, and on occasion visit upon, humanity.

From a literary viewpoint, Anat's attention to her physical care ends in the next column (III 1–2), which is treated below after presenting the text and translation of that column.

CAT 1.3 III

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Text Editions: Virolleaud 1938:26–58, pls. III, IV, XI, 1937b:256–70; CTA 16–17, fig. 8, 9, pls. IV, VI; KTU 11–12; CAT 11–12.

Studies and Translations: Aistleitner 26–28; Albright 1941a; Caquot and Sznycer, *TO* 1.162–69; Cassuto, *GA* 90–93, 123–35; Clifford, *CMCOT* 66–75; Coogan 1978:91–92; Cross, *CMHE* 119; Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1140–43; Driver, *CML*[1] 84–87; Gaster, *Thespis* 238–40; Gibson, *CML*[2] 48–50; Ginsberg, *ANET* 136–37; Gordon, *UL* 18–20, 1977:78–79; Gray, *LC*[2] 45–47, 1979:315–6; Jirku 29–31; Loewenstamm, *CS* 91–92, 465–70; P. D. Miller, *DW* 45–46; de Moor, *SPUMB* 102–8, 1987:8–12; del Olmo Lete, *MLC* 183–85; *MLR* 69–71; Pardee 1984; 1997a:251–52; Pitard 2007; Smith, *UNP* 109–11; Wyatt 1998:76–80; Xella 1982:99–102; van Zijl, *Baal* 52–66.

Text (See Images 08–12, and Images 13–14 for letters on the right edge of the tablet. We have no image of this side of the small fragment, RS 2.[014], that contains lines 1–3).

1   *ttpp.ʾanhb[   ]*
     z̧ʾuh.bym[   ]
     [   ]rn.l[   ]

[*About 20 lines are missing*]

     [   ]ẏ[   ]m̊štrʾimt
5   *lʾirth.m̊šr.l.dd.ʾalʾiyn*
     bʿl.yd.p̊dry.bt.ʾar
     ʾahbt[ ]t̊ly.bt.rb.dd.ʾarṣy
     bt.ẙʿbdr.kmǵlmm
     w.ʿ̊bn.lpʿn.ʿnt.hbr
10   *wql.tšth̬wy.kbd.hyt*
     wrgm.lbtlt.ʿnt
     t̠ny.lymmt.lʾimm
     th̬m.ʾalʾiyn.bʿl.hwt
     ʾalʾiy.qrdm.qryy.bʾarṣ
15   *m̊lh̬mtšt.bʿprm.ddym*
     sk.šlm.lkbd.ʾarṣ
     ʾarbdd.lkbd.šdm
     h̬šk.ʿṣk.ʿbṣk
     ʿmy.pʿnk.tlsmn.ʿmy

20   *twtẖ.ʾišdk.dm.rgm*
     ʾit̠.ly.w.ʾargmk
     hwt.w.ʾat̠nyk.rgm
     ʿs̩.w.lẖšt.ʾabn
     t̠ʾant.šmm.ʿm.ʾars̩
25   *thmt.ʿmn.kbkbm*
     ʾabn.brq.dl.td̠ʿ.šmm
     rgmltd̠ʿ.nšm.wltbn
     hmlt.ʾars̩.ʾatm.w.ʾank
     ʾibǵyh.btk.ǵry.ʾil.s̩pn
30   *bqdš.bǵr.nḫlty*
     bnʿm.bgbʿ.tlʾiyt

     ————————

     hlm.ʿnt.tph.ʾilm.bh.pʿnm
     t̠t̠t̠.bʿdn.ksl.t̠t̠br
     ʿln.pnh.td̠ʿ.tǵs̩.pnt
35   *kslh.ʾanš.dt.zrh.tšʾu*
     gh.wtṣḫ.ʾik.mǵy.gpn.w̩.ʾugr
     mn.ʾib.ypʿ[ ]lbʿl.s̩rt
     lrkb.ʿrpt.lmḫšt.mdd
     ʾilym.lklt.nhr.ʾil.rbm
40   *lʾištbm.tnn.ʾištmxẖ*
     mḫšt.bt̠n.ʿqltn
     šlyt̠.d.šbʿt.rʾašm
     mḫšt.mddʾilm.ʾår[ ]
     s̩mt.ʿgl.ʾil.ʿtk
45   *mḫšt.klbt.ʾilm.ʾišt*
     klt.bt.ʾil.d̠bb.ʾimt̠ẖs̩.ks̩p
     ʾitrt̠.ẖrs̩.t̠rd.bʿl

Textual Notes

Line 4.]ẙ[There appears to be the lower part of a vertical wedge preserved just above the left wedge of the š in *mšr* of line 5. Its location is consistent with the proposed reconstruction of /bydh/, since the wedge can be read as the lower wedge of the left side of a /y/, and there is room for the proposed /dh/ before the /m̊/ of /mšt/. The reconstruction below, [*y/t̠ʾiḫd.knrh.bydh*], is offered tentatively; it is based on the apparent parallel in CAT 1.101.16.

    m̊št   The broken sign to the left of /št/ consists of the bottom part of a single vertical wedge. An /m/ seems by far the most likely reading. The form, *mšt*, thus parallels the form of *mšr* in the following line; Pardee (1988a:150) notes this reading. See also Pardee 1997a:251 n. 83.

Line 5. ṁšr   The /m/ is certain. The entire horizontal survives, and the left side of the vertical is preserved along the break. *mšr* often has been emended to *tšr*, based on the parallel passage from CAT 1.101.17. Yet Pardee (1997a:251 n. 83; cf. the substantial discussion in Pardee 1980:276–77) defends the text as it stands. The emendation is to be resisted in view of other differences between this text and CAT 1.101.

Line 7. 'ahbṭ[ ]   The upper line of the /ṭ/ of /'ahbṭ/ is preserved. We see no traces left of the following word divider read by CAT.
    ṭly   The /ṭ/ is poorly preserved, but the lower parts of the two right wedges are visible.

Line 8. ẙ'bdr   The /y/ is certain by context, although only the upper right wedge is preserved, with slight traces of the indentations of the two wedges below it.

Line 9. 'r̊bn   The left side of the /r/ is damaged, so only the three right wedges of the letter are preserved, thus making it look like a /k/. But there is plenty of room for the two left wedges in the break.
    ḣbr   The /h/ is damaged, but the lower line of the bottom horizontal and the right point of the upper one are preserved.

Line 10. kbd.hyt   There is a small word divider between the two words, not noted in previous editions.

Line 11. wrgm   CAT reads a word divider after w. We see no trace of it.

Line 12. lymmt   /ymmt/ is certainly the correct reading, although this first /m/ is likely a scribal error for /b/, since the epithet *ybmt l'imm* is well attested, while this is the only occurrence of *ymmt l'imm*. So also Pardee 1997a:251 n. 85. For a defense of the reading, see Wyatt 1992:418. If the reading is an error, it suggests an aural misunderstanding by the scribe involving bilabial consonants (see Sivan 1997:28).

Line 15. ṁl̊ḥmt   The upper line of the first /m/ is visible, as is the lower tip of the vertical. The three tips and part of the right side of the right wedge of the /l/ are preserved.

Line 19. tlsmn   The /n/ has four wedges, rather than the usual three.

Line 21. w.   There is a clear word divider between /w/ and /ʾargmk/, as noted by CAT (and Virolleaud's original drawing).

Line 27. rgmltdʿ   There is no word divider after /rgm/ as CAT proposed.
    wltbn   There is a break after the /w/, but there are no clear traces of a word divider here, as proposed by CAT.

Two horizontal lines are inscribed across the column following line 31.

Line 32. ʿnt   The /n/ has four wedges.

Line 35. tšʾu   The /š/ is damaged, but parts of all three wedges survive.

Line 36. gpṅ.ẇ   Only two wedges of the /n/ are preserved, but context assures the reading. The interior of the /w/ is also largely gone, but the reading is certain.

Line 37. This line begins well to the right of the margin, since line 33 of column 2 has come over the margin line. The scribe placed a word divider between the end of 1.3 II 33 and the beginning of 1.3 III 37.
    ypʿ[The only surviving part of the /ʿ/ is the deep interior of the wedge. None of the edges survive. No clear remnant of a word divider after this word is preserved, but there likely was one.

Line 40. ʾištmxḣ   The last two letters are uncertain. Following the /m/, we find the upper left edge of a vertical wedge and possibly the upper right tip of another vertical on the right side. CAT's reading of the first wedge as a word divider seems unlikely. The possible readings include /l/, /b/, /d/, /s/. The area of the letter is wide, suggesting either /l/ or /d/.
    The final letter on the line is also uncertain epigraphically. All that is preserved are two horizontal wedges, one above the other. The lower part of the letter is destroyed. The upper wedge is long enough to suggest either /h/ or /ʾi/ here, with context arguing for /h/. The translation below assumes reading *ʾištmᵈʰh*. See Pardee 1984:252–54 and the Commentary below.

Line 42. .d.   This letter has four verticals, rather than the usual three.

ảašm   The /š/ is badly damaged, but fragments of the left and right wedges are visible.

Line 43. ʾilm   The *ỉ* is made with four horizontals instead of the usual three.

ʾår[The two surviving letters of this word are damaged. The lower line of the /ʾa/ shows evidence of two wedges, although breakage has destroyed the entire interior of the letter. The /r/ is in better shape, with all five wedges preserved. There appear to be no traces of the next letter (š) as read by CAT.

Line 44. ʿgl.ʾil   Both *l*'s are made with four vertical wedges instead of the usual three.

Line 45. klbt   The /l/ of /klbt/ has four wedges. This is not a word divider plus regular /l/, as proposed in CAT (cf. Pardee 1984:254, who already noted this). See earlier discussions about the supposed word divider, in Watson 1978:397–98; del Olmo Lete 1978:51 n. 20).

Line 46. klt   The /l/ has four wedges.

kṣp   The upper wedges of the /ṣ/ are preserved, and the indentation of the lower wedge can also be seen. Unfortunately, our photograph does not show the right section of this line well. Cf. the discussion in CTA p. 17, n. 4 and Pardee 1980:277.

Line 47. ḫrṣ   The /ḫ/ has four wedges.

bʿl   The /l/ is poorly preserved, with only two wedges clear. But the reading is certain.

(The last two words of line 47 will be discussed with column IV).

TEXT RESTORED AND SET IN POETIC FORM

1–2   *ttpp.ʾanhb[m.]*
       [d̄ʾalp.šd]/ẓʾuh.ḫym
2–3   *[   ]/[   ]rn.l[   ]*

[*About 20 lines are missing.*]

4–5	*[t/y'iḫd.knrh.b]ŷ[dh]*
	m̊štr'imt/l'irth.
5–6	*mšr.l.dd.'al'iyn/b'l.*
	yd.pdry.bt.'ar
7–8	*'ahbt[.]ṭly.bt.rb.*
	dd.'arṣy/bt.y'bdr.
8–10	*kmǵlmm/w.'rbn.*
	lp'n.'nt.hbr/wql.
	tštḥwy.kbd.hyt
11–12	*wrgm.lbtlt.'nt/*
	ṯny.lymmt.l'imm
13–14	*tḥm.'al'iyn.b'l.*
	hwt/'al'iy.qrdm.
14–15	*qryy.b'arṣ/mlḥmt*
	št.b'prm.ddym
16–17	*sk.šlm.lkbd.'arṣ/*
	'arbdd.lkbd.šdm
18–20	*ḥšk.'ṣk.'bṣk*
	'my.p'nk.tlsmn.
	'my/twtḥ.'išdk.
20–22	*dm.rgm/'iṯ.ly.w.'argmk/*
	hwt.w.'aṯnyk.
22–25	*rgm/'ṣ.w.lḥšt.'abn/*
	t'ant.šmm.'m.'arṣ/
	thmt.'mn.kbkbm
26–28	*'abn.brq.dl.td'.šmm/*
	rgmltd'.nšm.
	wltbn hmlt.'arṣ.
28–31	*'atm.w'ank/'ibǵyh.*
	btk.ǵry.'il.ṣpn/
	bqdš.bǵr.nḥlty
	bn'm.bgb'.tl'iyt
	———————
32–34	*hlm.'nt.tph.'ilm.*
	bh.p'nm/tṭṭ.
	b'dn.ksl.tṭbr/
	'ln.pnh.td'.
34–35	*tǵṣ.pnt/kslh.*
	'anš.dt.zrh.
35–36	*tš'u/gh.wtṣḥ.*
36–38	*'ik.mǵy.gpn.w'ugr/*
	mn.'ib.yp'[.]lb'l.
	ṣrt/lrkb.'rpt.
38–40	*lmḫšt.mdd/'ilym.*
	lklt.nhr.'il.rbm/
	l'ištbm.tnn.'ištmd(?)h

41–42   *mḫšt.bṯn.ʿqltn/*
        šlyṭ.d.šbʿt.rʾašm

43–44   *mḫšt.mdd ʾilm.ʾar[š]/*
        ṣmt.ʿgl.ʾil.ʿtk

45–47   *mḫšt.klbt.ʾilm.ʾišt/*
        klt.bt.ʾil.ḏbb.
        ʾimtḫṣ.ksp/ʾitrt.ḫrṣ.

Translation and Vocalized Text

1–2   She beautified herself with mure[x],   tatāpipu ʾanhib[īma],
      [Whose] extract from the sea is [a   [dā[1]-ʾalpu šadû[2]]/ẓiʾu-hu
        thousand fields]   bi-yammi

2–3

…(Some twenty lines are missing).

Baal Instructs His Messengers

4–5   [S/he holds her/his harp   [t/yuʾḫadu[3] kinnāra[4]-ha/u
      in her/his]ha[nds,]   bi-ya[dêha/u]
      The setting of the lyre to her/his breast,   mašîtu riʾmta lê-ʾirti-ha/u

5–6   A song about the love of Mightiest Baal,   mašîru lê-dādi ʾalʾiyāni baʿli
      The passion of Pidray, Daughter of Light,   yadi pidrayi bitti ʾāri

7–8   The desire of Tallay, Daughter of   ʾahbati ṭallayi bitti ribbi
      Showers,
      The love of Arsay, Daughter of the   dādi ʾarṣayi bitti yaʿibadari (?)
      Wide World.

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[1] For the syllabic form, see Huehnergard 1987b:117; see further *UG* 234–35. The relative pronoun *d-*, like biconsonantal nouns lacking a corresponding verbal root in Semitic language (e.g., *dm* and *ʾab*), might be traced back to an early stratum of the Afro-Asiatic family; see M. Cohen 1947:158, #347. For the comparable case of mono-consonantal *p-*, "mouth," see the cognates proposed by Cohen 1947:171, #380.

[2] Cf. *UBC* 1.169 n. 96; *DUL* 809. For the vocalization, based on the syllabic spelling in Ugaritic polyglot, see Huehnergard 1987a:55, 180. This term might instead be Ugaritic *šd*, Akkadian *šiddu*, referring to a surface measure of land. See p. 280 n. 8.

[3] For prefix forms of I-ʾaleph verbs with the *ʾu-*ʾaleph, see *UBC* 1.268 n. 93.

[4] For the syllabic form of the divine name *knr*, see Huehnergard 1987b:138; *UG* 178.

8–10	Like two youths, then enter, At Anat's feet bow down and fall, May you prostrate yourselves, honor her.	kama[5] ǵalamêma wa-'urubā-na lê-pa'nê 'anati huburā wa-qîlā tištaḥwiyā kabbidā hiyata
11–12	And say to Adolescent Anat, Recite to the In-law of the Peoples:	wa-rugumā lê-batulati 'anati ṯanniyā lê-yabimti li'imīma
13–14	'Message of Mightiest Baal, Word of the Mightiest of Warriors:	taḥmu 'al'iyāni ba'li hawatu[6] 'al'iyi qarrādīma
14–15	'Offer in the earth war, Place in the dust love;	qiriyi(y)[7] bi-'arṣi malḥamata šiti bi-'apari-ma dûdayama
16–17	Pour peace amid the earth, Tranquility amid the fields.	siki šalāma lê-kabidi 'arṣi 'arabbvdada lê-kabidi šadîma

18	You must hasten!
	  You must hurry!
	    You must rush!
		ḥāšu-ki 'āṣu-ki 'abāṣu-ki

19–20	To me let your feet run, To me let your legs race,	'imma-ya pa'nā -ki talsumāni 'imma-ya tiwtaḥā 'išdā-ki

20–22	For a message I have, and I will
	  tell you,
	A word, and I will recount to you,
		dam rigmu 'êṯa lê-ya
		  wa-'argumu-ki
		hawatu wa-'aṯanniyu-ki

22–25	Word of tree and whisper of stone, Converse of Heaven with Earth,[9] Of Deeps with Stars,	rigmu 'iṣṣi[8] wa-laḥšatu 'abni ta'anatu šamîma 'imma 'arṣi tahāmāti[10] 'immana kabkabīma

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[5] See *UG* 760.

[6] For the syllabic forms, see Huehnergard 1987b:120–21; *UG* 171, 194. Tropper reconstructs *hôwatu* < *hawayatu*. Cf. Akkadian *awatu*.

[7] See *UBC* 1.203 n. 158. A *D*-stem imperative is also plausible.

[8] For the syllabic evidence for this word, see *UG* 167.

[9] The context here suggests an ever-widening range of objects: tree and stone, heaven and earth, the Deeps and the stars. None of the appearances of *šmm/'arṣ* elsewhere in the Ugaritic texts suggest a meaning of "Underworld" as the opposite for "Heaven" (1.16 III 2; 1.3 II 39; 1.23.62; 1.47.12; 1.118.11; 1.148.5, 24). In the Hebrew Bible, the overwhelming meaning of *'ereṣ* when joined to *šĕmāyim* is "earth," not "Underworld" (Gen 1:1; 2:1; 2:4; 14:19, 22; Isa 1:2; 49:13; 51:13, 16; 55:9; 69:35; 89:12; 115:15, etc.)

But *'arṣ* can also mean the netherworld in Ugarit and elsewhere. See *DUL* 107; *UBC* 1.145, 176 n. 118. A similar meaning occurs for Akkadian *erṣitu*, "earth". See *CAD E*:310–11; Wassermann 2003:84. The biblical passages with *'ereṣ* in this sense sometimes show some contextual indicator, such as *šaḥat* in Jon 2:7, or the image of the underworld swallowing up (**bl'*) the enemy in death in Exod 15:12 (see *CMHE* 129 n. 62). For discussion of the biblical evidence, see Tromp 1969:23–46; some of the examples marshalled are debatable.

[10] For the syllabic evidence, see Huehnergard 1987b:184–85.

26–28	I understand the lightning which the Heavens do not know,	'abînu baraqa dā-lā-tida'ū šamûma[11]
	The word people do not know,	rigma lā-tida'ū našūma
	And earth's masses do not understand.	wa-lā-tabînū hamulātu 'arṣi

28–31	Come and I will reveal it	'ati-ma wa-'anāku[12] 'ibǵayu-hu
	In the midst of my mountain, Divine Sapan,	bi-tôki[13] ǵāri[14]-ya 'ili ṣapāni
	On the holy mount of my heritage,	bi-qidši[15] bi-ǵāri naḥlati-ya
	On the beautiful hill of (my) might.'"	bi-nu'mi bi-gab'i[16] tal'iyati

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Baal's Messengers Come to Anat

32–34	There! Anat perceives the gods;	halum 'anatu taphî 'ilīma
	On her, feet shook,	bi-ha pa'nāmi taṭṭiṭā[17]
	Around, loins trembled,	ba'dana kisalū taṯburū
	Above, her face sweated.	'alêna panū-ha tadi'ū[18]

| 34–35 | The joints of her loins convulsed, | taǵǵuṣū pinnātu kisalī-ha |
| | Weak were the ones of her back. | 'anašū dūtu ẓāri-ha |

| 35–36 | She raised her voice and declared: | tišša'u gā[19]-ha wa-taṣûḫu[20] |

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[11] For the syllabic evidence, see Huehnergard 1987b:182.

[12] For the syllabic evidence, see Huehnergard 1987b:108; _UG_ 178, 208.

[13] See the discussion in Huehnergard 1987b:185.

[14] See the discussion in _UBC_ 1.173 n. 108, to which add Talmon 1986:110.

[15] For the syllabic spelling, see Huehnergard 1987b:101, 173; Sivan 1997:65. Cf. the _qutl_ base of BH _qōdeš_.

[16] See the Ugaritic PN _gáb-a-na_ cited in _DUL_ 292 and Pentiuc 2001:31–32, who further compares Emar _ga-ab-a_ (Emar 373.104').

[17] The root here is *_nṭṭ_ (cf. Arabic and Eth _nṭṭ_; _DUL_ 653). The root is also compared to BH *_nwṭ_ (_BDB_ 630), attested only in Ps 99:1 (_CML_[2] 152). Geminate/middle weak root biforms are attested in *_mṭṭ_ (11QPS[a] 28:2)//*_mwṭ_ (see _BDB_ 556), also in the meaning, "to totter, shake." Cf. *_nwb_ and *_nbb_, discussed below on p. 417.

[18] Cf. BH _zē'â_, Akkadian _zûtu_, Syriac _dû'ta_, meaning, "sweat" (_UT_ 19.686).

[19] For the length of the case vowel, see the discussion of Huehnergard 1987a:189.

[20] The root is middle weak (cf. BH *_ṣwḥ_ and the BH noun _ṣĕwāḥâ_ (_BDB_ 846); cf. Akkadian _ṣiāḥu_ (see Rainey 1987:402).

36–38	"Why have Gapn and Ugar come?	'êka maǵiyā gapnu wa-'ugaru
	What enemy rises against Baal,	mannu 'ibu[21] yapi'u lê-ba'li
	What foe against the Cloud-Rider?	ṣarratu[22] lê-rākibi 'urpati
38–40	Surely I struck down Yamm, the Beloved of El,	la[23]-maḫaštu[24] mêdada 'ili yamma
	Surely I finished off River, the Great God,	la-kallitu nahara 'ila rabba-mi
	Surely I bound Tunnanu and destroyed (?) him.	la-'ištabimu tunnana 'ištamdu-hu
41–42	I struck down the Twisty Serpent,	maḫaštu baṭna 'aqalatāna
	The Powerful One with Seven Heads.	šalliyaṭa[25] dā- šab'ati ra'ašīma
43–44	I struck down Desi[re], Beloved of El,	maḫaštu mêdada 'ili-ma 'ar[š]a
	I destroyed Rebel, Calf of El.	ṣammitu 'igla 'ili 'ataka
45–47	I struck down Fire, Dog of El,	maḫaštu kalbata 'ili-ma 'išita[26]
	I annihilated Flame, Daughter of El,	kallitu bitta 'ili ḏabība[27]

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[21] The noun 'ib corresponds to syllabic Ugaritic e-bu and Amarna i-bi (EA 252.28, so Sivan 1997:158), like the base of BH gēr from *gwr (so Huehnergard 1987b:57). Tropper (UG 188) prefers to see here a *qatl form (cf. abstract BH 'êbâ, "emnity" versus *qātil form underlying the concrete BH 'ôyēb).

[22] The fem. sg. abstract (< *ṣrr) used for concrete (DUL 792). NJPS (p. 1356, n. d) cites the same usage for this root in Nahum 1:9: lō'-tāqûm pa'amayim ṣārâ, "No adversary opposes Him twice!"

[23] For the assevertive l- (which might be vocalized lu), see Huehnergard 1983; UG 810.

[24] For mḫšt from *mḫṣ, see Held 1959 and Sivan 1997:23, 28. See below.

[25] For *šlṭ, "to be powerful," cf. BH šallîṭ, Aramaic šallīṭā; Arabic sulṭan, the loanword into English "sultan"). The consonantal spelling with -y- might mark a long i-vowel or more likely a secondary expansion of the vocalic base of the noun as rendered in the vocalization above (see Blau and Loewenstamm 1970:28; Sivan 1997:15, UG 53, 602, with discussion of other possibilities). Caquot and Sznycer take the -y- as a diminutive (so TO 1.168 n. l), which, however, in Aramaic forms precedes the third radical.

[26] For the syllabic forms 'išit/u₄/ and iš-tu₄, see Huehnergard 1987b:110; UG 182, 249. Tropper hypothesizes that the original form of the former was *'išatu > 'išitu perhaps through vowel harmony. Van Soldt (1991:732), followed by Fox (2003:73), reads the Ugaritic syllabic forms as 'ištu.

[27] The initial consonant bears an irregular correspondence with proposed cognates Akkadian šibūbu, "spark, sparkle, scintillation," BH šābîb, and Aramaic šbîbā, "flame" (CAD Š/2:399; HALOT 4:1392; see further M. Cohen 1947:133, #259); see WUS 2710 and others cited in HALOT 4:1392. For dbb instead derived from BH zĕbûb, Arb. dubab, see UT 19.719, DUL 285; HALOT 4:1392. Context argues in favor of the former suggestion (see the discussion in Commentary on p. 263), while rules of consonantal correspondence among the Semitic languages militate in favor of the latter. However, for the question of Ugaritic ḏ possibly corresponding to Hebrew (etc.) shin, see Greenfield 1969:95; for another possible example in Ugaritic ḏd = Akkadian šadû, "mountain," see UBC 1.187 and the discussion on p. 325 n. 1.

| That I might fight for silver, | 'imtaḫiṣa kaspa[28] 'ittariṯa |
| inherit gold. | ḫuraṣa[29] |

COMMENTARY

Poetic Parallelism and Word/Syllable Counts

Lines 9–31 are closely paralleled in 1.1 II. For vocalization, parallelism, grammatical notes, and discussion of lines 9–31, see *UBC* 1.195–209.

		semantic parallelism	word/ syllable count
1–2	tatāpipu 'anhib[īma]	a b	2/8
	[dā-'alpu šadû]/ẓi'u-hu bi-yammi	c d e	4/11

In view of the extraordinary difference in line-length, one might consider seeing a tricolon here, as in the following arrangement:

	semantic parallelism	word/ syllable count
tatāpipu 'anhib[īma]	a b	2/8
[dā-'alpu šadû]/	c d	2/5
ẓi'u-hu bi-yammi	e f	2/6

In this arrangement, the word and syllable counts show a balance of lines. However, the syntax does not militate in favor of this alternative. For this reason, the first alternative remains preferable. In this reading, the lines are bound by bilabial sonant parallelism despite the lack of other forms of parallelism. Because of the bilabials, each preceded by *h*, the ends of the lines somewhat echo one another. In addition, the initial *'a* in a word with a bilablial in the two lines adds to the sonant parallelism. The lines also begin with a dental consonant plus two *a*-vowels.

4	[t/yu'ḫadu kinnāra-ha/u bi-] y[adê-ha/u]	a b c	3/11
4–5	mašîtu ri'mta/lê-'irti-ha	a' b' c'	3/9

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[28] For the syllabic evidence for this form, see Huehnergard 1987b:139.
[29] For the syllabic evidence for this form, see Huehnergard 1987b:130; *UG* 172.

It would be possible to vocalize *r'imt* as **ri'mata*, in which case the lines
would have almost the same number of syllables. Syntactical, mor-
phological and semantic parallelisms are especially notable. By way of
variation, the lines contain their own internal aliteration. The first line,
of course, is largely a restoration. But if correct, it shows alliteration
(*d...d, h...h*), and, if the subject of this passage is male, rather than
female, there might be additional alliteration between the verb *yu'ḫadu*
and *yadê-hu*. But this must remain speculative, since the reconstruction
is not certain. The second line, however, has two words that share three
letters (*r'imt... 'irth*).

5–6	mašîra lê-dādi 'al'iyāni/ba'li	a b c	4/12
6	yadi pidrayi bitti 'āri	b' c'	4/9

Apart from the overarching semantic, syntactical and morphological
parallelism, the classes of words, specifically DN plus epithet, form a
chiastic structure within this bicolon. Sonant parallelism is evident with
the two words for love, which rhyme due in part to the syntax (genitive
case). Also partly because of the syntax, the vowel *i* rings through both
lines: out of twenty-one vowels, twelve are *i*-vowels. Finally, the second
line exhibits internal alliteration: *yadi pidrayi*. Observing this feature
may suggest the further significance of dentals in the second line, and
to a lesser extent, in the first line as well, adding in a small way to the
overall sonant parallelism in this bicolon.

7	'ahbati ṭallayi bitti ribbi	a b c	4/10
7–8	dādi 'arṣayi/bitti ya'ibadari (?)	a' b' c'	4/12 (?)

This bicolon is syntactically dependent on the verb of the preceding
bicolon, and its parallelism follows that of the preceding bicolon very
closely. The semantic, morphological and syntactical parallelism is
particularly strong here. The classes of nouns further strengthen the
parallelism; each line contains word for love + DN + epithet. Even
within this precise sort of parallelism, there is some variation: the first
line has a longer word for love and a shorter divine title, while the
second line has a shorter word for love and a longer divine epithet.

8–9	kama ǵalamêma/wa-'urubā-na	a b c	3/11

| 9–10 | lê-pa'nê 'anati huburā/wa-qîlā | d e f f' | 4/12 |
| 10 | tištaḥwiyā kabbidā hiyata | f'' f''' e' | 3/10 |

As reflected in the semantic parallelism (spelled out in the column of letters), this tricolon actually consists of a bicolon preceded by a single line (e.g., 1.1 III 2–3, 24–25, 1.2 III 5–6, 1.3 VI 18–20, 1.4 IV 25–26, VIII 26–29; cf. 1.2 I 14–15, 30–31). The bicolon is attested with a different preliminary line in 1.3 VI 17–20 and in 1.4 VIII 24–29. In a sense, the first line is not only prefixed, but is also a prelude to the action described in the next two lines. Despite the apparent disjunction between the first and other two lines, sonant parallelism between *'urubā-na* and both *pa'nê* and *huburā* helps to connect the first line to the second. Indeed, final *a*-vowels, driven largely but not entirely by verbal morphology, punctuate all three lines.

| 11 | wa-rugumā lê-batulati 'anati | a b | 3/12 |
| 12 | ṯanniyā lê-yabimti li'imīma | a' b' | 3/11 |

Closely balanced in length and parallelism (as well as classes of terms), the two lines show some minor sonant notes involving the letters *l*, *m* and *t*. Adding vowels into consideration would suggest shared syllable clusters such as final *-ati* (twice in the first line, and perhaps once in the second if *ybmt* were to be vocalized as *yabimati) and *ma* (once in the first line, twice in the second).

| 13 | taḥmu 'al'iyāni ba'li | a b | 3/8 |
| 13–14 | hawatu/'al'iyi qarrādīma | a' b' | 3/10 |

The lines are well balanced, though the second line is slightly longer. As with the preceding lines, this bicolon shows strong parallelism in part because of the divine names and epithets, especially *'al'iyāni* and *'al'iyi*.

| 14–15 | qiriyi(y) bi-'arṣi/malḥamata | a b c | 3/10 |
| 15 | šiti bi-'apari-ma dûdayama | a' b' c' | 3/11 |

The parallelism is semantically contrastive, with "war" and "love" as an antithetical pair. The syntactical and morphological parallelism

is close. Added parallelism is afforded by the bilabials in the last two words of each of the lines. The sonant quality of *qiriyi(y) bi-'arṣi* is echoed in *bi-'apari*.

16	siki šalāma lê-kabidi 'arṣi	a b c d	4/11
17	'arabbvdada lê-kabidi šadîma	b' c d'	3/12

The semantic parallelism is notable overall, but is especially conspicuous with the repetition of the same phrase, *lkbd*. The term at the head of the second line adds sonant effect of *b-d* to this repetition, and the final term of the second line adds a further, final *d*. Hence the combination of *b-d* in the first line echoes through the second. Further sonant parallelism involves *šalāma* and *šadîma*.

18	ḫāšu-ki 'āṣu-ki 'abāṣu-ki	a a' a''	3/10
19	'imma-ya pa'nā-ki talsumāni	b c d	3/10
19–20	'imma-ya/tiwtaḫā 'išdā-ki	b d' c'	3/9

The initial line may be regarded as a monocolon, with little apparent relationship with the bicolon that follows. However, the semantics of the opening line and the bicolon clearly indicate that the first line leads into the bicolon. Further, the emphatic punctuation of final *-ki* syllables in the first line likewise continues through the bicolon. Finally, all three lines match rather closely in length. By the same token, the parallelism of the final lines is considerably stronger, matching closely in semantics, morphology and syntax. Both express the wish that Anat hurry to Baal, by means of synedoche mentioning those parts of the goddess' body that provide her locomotion. A final note on the initial line: its alliteration apart from the suffixes is evident, with its gutterals and sibilants (cf. the initial line in Nah 2:11).

20–21	dam rigmu/'êṭa lê-ya wa-'argumu-ki	a b c d e	5/12
22	hawatu wa-'aṭanniyu-ki	b' e'	2/9

At first glance, this bicolon appears to be severely unbalanced, until one notes the syllable count: each term of the second line is longer in length than its counterpart in the first line, hence compensating by way of length for the absence of other elements. The syntax of the two lines also matches closely: noun + *w-* + **yaqtulu*-verb + second sg.

suffix. The end-rhyme of the two lines is produced by morphology. Internal sonant parallelism may be noted in the two opening letters (ʾṭ) of the otherwise non-parallel ʾêṭa and ʾaṭanniyu. Within the first line, the letter m- appears three times, while, to a lesser extent, wa- echoes in the second line. The -ki suffixes also provide continuity with the preceding tricolon.

22–23	rigmu/ʿiṣṣi wa-laḫšatu ʾabni	a b aʾ bʾ	4/10
24	taʾanatu šamîma ʿimma ʾarṣi	aʾʾ c d e	4/11
25	tahāmāti ʿimmana kabkabīma	cʾ dʾ eʾ	3/11

The word-pairs in this unit nicely mark out the structure of this tricolon: within the first line, the nouns ʿṣ and ʾabn form a pair (Avishur 1984:593–94), as do šmm and ʾarṣ, and thmt and kbkbm in the second and third lines (for a less convincing, but interesting interpretation of the parallel words here, see Avishur 1984:353–54; 566–67; 593–94). The second and third lines are clearly more proximate in their syntactical parallelism (in chiastic arrangement), and accordingly, the first line may be viewed as leading into the other two. (This structure resembles that in other tricola such as 1.3 II 38–40, though here verbs predominate in the initial line; see also below, in this column, lines 28–31.)

26	ʾabînu baraqa dā-lā-tidaʿū šamûma	a b c d	4/14
27	rigma lā-tidaʿū našūma	bʾ c dʾ	3/9
27–28	wa-lā-tabînū/hamulātu ʾarṣi	cʾ dʾ	3/11

It is possible that hmlt should be vocalized as *hamultu, in which case the length of the second and third lines would be more closely balanced, in accordance with their overall parallel syntax and semantics. All three lines share semantic parallelism in referring to an element of the cosmos that lacks understanding of Baal's secret knowledge, first the heavens, then two terms for humanity. The term "heavens" is cosmic in sense, while the terms for humanity are terrestrial in perspective. All three of them share minimal sonant parallelism in containing the consonant m, and the negative verbs of the first two lines are identical (lā-tidaʿū), while that of the third line (lā-tabînū) is synonymous and repeats the verb that begins the first line. Thus while the second line is closer syntactically and semantically to the third line, both lines also provide strong connections to the first. Finally, it should be noted that

within the larger cascading effect of words repeated down through this
message (in particular, *rgm* in both nominal and verbal forms as well
as *ḥwt* and *’arṣ*), *šmm* in line 26 picks up the same word in the preced-
ing tricolon in line 24. Similarly, on the sonant level, *’abînu* in line 26
picks up the similar form of *’abni* from the preceding tricolon in line
23 and issues in word-play.

28–29	’ati-ma wa-’anāku/’ibǵayu-hu	a b c	3/11
29	bi-tôka ǵāri-ya ’ili ṣapāni	d e (x, y)	4/11
30	bi-qidši bi-ǵāri naḥlati-ya	d’ e’ (x of y)	3/10
31	bi-nuʿmi bi-gabʿi tal’iyati	d” e” (x of y)	3/10

The syllable counts show the overall balance of the four lines, which
constitute a complex unit. The first line provides the verbal structure
that governs the other three lines, which are clearly more parallel in
syntax and semantics. The last two lines are particularly close in both
aspects, perhaps suggesting a more basic bicolonic unit, but the second
line shows roughly the same syntax, especially with its beginning *b-* +
object of preposition + further noun phrase. Moreover, the second and
third lines share the noun *ǵr*. There are differences, however. The sec-
ond line shows the final noun phrase in apposition (hence the comma
in "x, y" above), while the third and fourth lines contain a double
prepositional phrase, the final one in each consisting of a construct
phrase (hence "of" in "x of y" above). The last two lines each use the
preposition *b-* twice, where the second line has only one phrase headed
by *b-*. Finally, a nice final touch is apparent in the sonant chiasm in
the final two syllables of the words at the conclusion of the last two
lines: *naḥlati-ya* and *tal’iyati*.

32	halum ʿanatu taphî ’ilīma	a b c d	4/10
32–33	bi-ha paʿnāmi/taṭṭiṭā	d e f	3/8
33	baʿdana kisalū taṯburū	d’ e’ f’	3/9
34	ʿalêna panū-ha tadiʿū	d” e” f”	3/9

The parallelism of the last three lines is particularly balanced in length
and order: fronted prepositional phrases plus nominative subject (all
parts of the body) plus verbs (all denoting bodily reaction). The mor-
phology generates a considerable level of sonant parallelism. This
effect is increased by the word-choice of *pʿnm, bʿdn,* and *pn,* a fine set

of sonant terms. The initial words in the second, third and fourth lines cascade down, with *b-* in the second and third lines, and then ' and *-na* in the third and fourth. Two verbs contain dentals that echo the morphological parallelism of prefix *ta-* in all three verbs.

34–35	taǵǵuṣū pinnātu/kisalī-ha	a b c	3/10
35	'anašū dūtu ẓāri-ha	b' c'	3/8

The verb in the first line governs both lines of the bicolon, and the second line in turn expands the subject phrase by adding the explicit marker of the construct state (see below lines 41–42 for the same phenomenon), in this case the plural form, *dt*. With *-tu* in both *pinnātu* and *dūtu*, this particle adds to the sonant parallelism otherwise generated by morphological parallelism (as in line-ending, *-i-ha* and perhaps, more distantly, the final sibilant plus *-u* in the first word in each of the lines).

35–36	tišša'u/gā-ha wa-taṣûḥu	a b c	3/9

This monocolon is a common speech-opening formula. Although the unit is extracolonic, its line-length does not break the flow of the preceding and following units. The verbs of this monocolon are continuous in their morphology with the preceding verbs, and the direct object refers to a part of Anat's body just as the subjects do in the preceding unit.

36	'êka maǵiyā gapnu wa-'ugaru	a b c	4/11
37	mannu 'ibu yapi'u lê-ba'li	d e f g	4/10
37–38	ṣarratu/lê-rākibi 'urpati	e' g' (x + y)	3/10

The similar text in 1.4 II 21–24 suggests that the initial line is formulaic and can be attached to different succeeding lines. This construction, a formulaic line prefixed to a bicolon or tricolon, is a common characteristic of oral poetry. While all three lines are similar in length, the last two lines show syntactical parallelism, with the verb in the second line governing both of them. The elements in the last line are longer than their counterparts in the second line, thereby balancing the verb in the latter; this is particularly true of the two-word epithet in the third line parallel to the name of Baal in the second. Despite the semantic and syntactical disjunction between the first line and the other two, these latter two lines do show some slight sonant echoes of the initial

line, with the syllable *ma-* in the first and second lines and the *u*-vowel
+ *p*-consonant in the first and third lines. Furthermore, bilabials are
notable in all three lines.

38–39	la-maḫaštu mêdada/'ili yamma	a b c d	4/11
39	la-kallitu nahara 'ila rabba-mi	a' d' c' b'	4/12
40	la-'ištabimu tunnana 'ištamvdu-hu	a'' d'' a'''	3/13 (?)

The lack in understanding the last word precludes a precise syllable
count, but even if the estimate is off by a syllable, the length of the
lines remains reasonably close. All three lines show the line-initial
syntax of asseverative *l-* + prefix verb form + direct object. The first
two lines are further parallel with respect to their elaboration of the
nature of the object where the third line instead adds a further verb,
whose prefix *Gt*-stem form provides some inner line assonance (cf. lines
45–47 below). The first two lines further share the element *'il*, though
they apparently use the word in different ways (see the Commentary
below). Moreover, *ym* and *nhr* form a standard word-pair (Avishur
1984:369–70). The third term *tnn* is not commonly used as a parallel
word with the other two names (see the discussion in the Commentary
concerning this issue). Accordingly, the third line elaborates the first
two lines, both by way of verbal syntax and the content of the noun.
Overall resonance through the tricolon is achieved by dentals, bilabials
and the consonant *l*.

41	maḫaštu baṯna ʿaqalatāna	a b c	3/10
42	šalliyaṭa dā- šabʿati raʾašīma	b' c'	3/12

With the verb governing the nouns in both lines, the second line offers
longer expressions of the object: the initial word in the second line is a
syllable longer than its counterpart in the first; the second line adds the
explicit marker of the construct (see lines 34–35 for the same phenom-
enon); and contains a two-word description compared to its one-word
counterpart in the first line. The single instance of *š* in the first line
is echoed strongly throughout the second line. Of lesser strength, the
combination of the consonants *l* and *t* connects the last word of the
first line with the first word of the second line.

43	maḫaštu mêdada 'ili-ma 'ar[š]a	a b c d	4/11

| 44 | ṣammitu ʿigla ʾili ʿataka | a' b' c d' | 4/10 |

The line-length, syntax and overall semantics (especially with the appearance of *ʾil* in both lines) are particularly close in this unit. The consonants *m* and *t* appear in the initial part of each line, while *l* and gutteral letters appear in the final words of each line.

45	maḫaštu kalbata ʾili-ma ʾišita	a b c d	4/12
46	kallitu bitta ʾili ḏabība	a' b' c d	4/10
46–47	ʾimtaḫiṣu kaspa/ʾittariṯu ḫuraṣa	e f e' f'	4/13

This unit resembles lines 38–40 above, with a verb plus a direct object in the first two lines and two verbs with their objects in the third line (also *Gt*-stem prefix verbs as in line 40). The verbs in the third line also belong to a different word-field from that of the verbs in the first two lines. In a sense, the third line provides additional closure to the action rendered in the preceding two lines. It also shows inner-line parallelism.[30]

Introduction

1.3 III may be divided into four parts. The first section consists of lines 1–2 of the column, preserved on the smaller fragment of CAT 1.3. In these lines Anat applies cosmetics to her face in the continuation of the account of the cleansing of her palace and herself after the battles described in column II. Following this, there is a lacuna of about twenty lines before the main fragment of the tablet picks up the story. After the lacuna, we find ourselves in the middle of a speech by Baal as he gives instructions to his messengers, Gapn and Ugar, concerning a message to Anat that they are to deliver. This section as preserved opens in the middle of a description in lines 4–8 of someone performing a song about Baal and his women. It is unclear whether the performer is Anat or someone else (see Commentary below). Immediately after this description, Baal turns directly to the message he wishes to send to Anat

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[30] For the two nouns in intercolonic parallelism, see also 1.4 I 25–26; discussed in Watson 1994b:129; see also Nahum 2:10. On the parallelism of these words in Hebrew, Akkadian and Sumerian, see *RSP* I:234–35, and de Moor and van der Lugt 1974:16.

(lines 8–31). The final section of the column, lines 32–47, begins the account of the messengers' arrival at Anat's palace that continues into column IV. The part of the story here in column III deals particularly with her fearful reaction to seeing them approach.

Baal's message to Anat represents the beginning of the story about the building of Baal's palace that will extend from here to 1.4 VII. Most of the narrative of this episode focuses on the process by which Baal gains El's permission to construct the palace (1.3 III–1.4 V). The long and detailed account of the negotiations, with Baal sending first Anat, then Athirat to El as intermediaries, seems puzzling to the modern reader. But it is clear that this element of the narrative was considered a key component in the story that could not be trimmed down. As indicated in the Introduction (pp. 35–41) we have concluded that a major reason behind this circumstance has to do with the importance of royal protocol and family etiquette (which often overlap), particularly with regard to events revolving around the succession to the royal or family leadership. The appointment of a royal successor while the older king is still alive raises a number of issues about authority. In this episode, the poem explores both proper and improper etiquette with regard to significant symbols of royal power that the young successor might wish to take on. We will argue below that Baal's behavior in sending intermediaries to ask El for permission to build the palace is presented in the poem as the appropriate way to handle the issue. Anat's unsuccessful appeal provides a negative example of how inappropriate behavior fails to produce the desired results. Athirat's intercession, on the other hand, is presented as a model of the protocol involved in making such requests and is successful in its conclusion.

Scholars have often criticized Baal's failure to come before El himself and have viewed it as another example of how the Cycle presents Baal as a weak character. We believe on the contrary that a case can be made that Baal's behavior here is not being portrayed negatively in any way, but rather is illustrative of the appropriate protocols in a royal court. Although we have no preserved texts that specifically discuss court etiquette in the ancient Near East, the importance attached here to the negotiations, along with narrative examples from elsewhere in the Ugaritic corpus and the Hebrew Bible, suggest that important issues such as this one were regularly handled through intermediaries. Perhaps the best examples of this are found in 1 Kings 1–2. In 1 Kgs 1 David has become old, and it is clear that a successor needs to be appointed. Adonijah, the eldest son and obvious heir, presumptuously proclaims himself king without consulting David (a negative example

of flaunting the protocol). The other contender for the succession is Solomon, but the latter does not go before the king to seek his support. Rather his mother, David's favorite wife Bathsheba, intercedes on her son's behalf, along with the prophet Nathan. Solomon is brought in only after the negotiations are completed. A similar protocol is described in 1 Kgs 2:13–25, when Adonijah enlists Bathsheba to negotiate with Solomon, now king, about marrying Abishag, David's former concubine. In this case, the answer is a violent, "No," but the protocol of indirect negotiations seems to be well illustrated. Part of the function of such intermediation presumably has to do with the potential embarrassment on both sides should the king's answer be negative while the two face each other. By sending negotiators, rather than dealing face to face, shame and dishonor can be kept at a minimum.

Royal/family protocol and etiquette thus makes a plausible framework upon which an interpretation of the central episode of the Baal Cycle can be made. Proposals along this line will occur throughout the commentary.

Lines 1–3: Anat's Cleansing (Conclusion)

The small fragment of 1.3 (RS 2.[014]), preserves sections of the first three lines of column III on its obverse, and parts of the last eight lines of column IV on the reverse. Only the first two lines of column III can be reconstructed, however, from the parallels in 1.3 IV 45–46 and 1.19 IV 42–43. The verb *ttpp* is a **Gt*-stem **yqtl* indicative of **wpy*. This form indicates continuity with the preceding narrative. Anat beautifies herself with the purple of the murex mentioned earlier in column II 3. De Moor renders the relative clauses in lines 1b–2a: "whose thousand fields of habitat are in the sea" (1968:213) or "whose habitat covers (literally, is) a thousand acres in the sea" (1968:213 n. 3; cf. Aartun 1967–68:298). He takes the description to refer the great amount of murex shells from the sea required to produce the purple dye. As noted in the discussion on the beginning of the preceding column, excavations at the port of Ugarit, Minet al-Beida, yielded the remains of thousands of crushed murex shells. The Greeks also emphasized the connection between the purple dye and the sea. One of the common Greek terms for the dye, *halourges*, means "wrought in or by the sea" (Liddell and Scott 73). Following de Moor's general understanding of the relative clause, but taking **ẓ'u-* from **yḏ'* (for a phonological explanation, see Garr 1986:48; Sivan 1997:23), the clause may be rendered "whose extract (literally, 'going out') in (or from) the sea is (i.e., requires the

yield of) a thousand fields" (see *Thespis* 310; for resumptive suffixes in relative clauses, cf. 1.14 III 41: *dk nʿm ʿnt nʿmh*, "whose beauty is like the beauty of Anat"). That such murex may be used to rouge a female, is mentioned more explicitly in 1.19 IV 42–43: *ťadm*[31] *ťid(!)m bǵlp y[m]*, "She reddled herself red with the shell (?) of the se[a]."

Lines 4–31: Baal Instructs His Messengers

The end of line 2 is lost, and only a few letters survive on the third line. The lacuna of about twenty lines that follows certainly contained the conclusion of this scene and began the subsequent account of Baal's instructions to his messengers that appears to be in progress as the main fragment of 1.3 begins. Lines 4–8 describe the performance of a song about the love of Baal and his three women, Pidray, Tallay and Arsay. The preserved text begins in the middle of this passage. No verbs are found in the lines as they stand, so that there is no indication preserved about who is singing and how this song fits into the context of Baal's instructions to his messengers. CAT 1.101.17–19 provides a general parallel to this passage, but it also contains a number of differences. In 1.101, there is no doubt that Anat is the one who plays the lyre and sings the song:

ťiḫd.knrh.byd[h.]	She takes her lyre in [her] hand.
[tšt.]rʾimt.lʾirth.	[She puts] the lyre to her breast.
tšr.ddʾal[ʾiyn] bʿl.	She sings the love of Mightiest Baal.

The first line has no certain parallel preserved in 1.3 III 4–6, but it seems likely that a version of it stood directly before line 4. The presence of a vertical wedge in the spot where we would expect to find the *y* of *bydh* supports this suggestion. In the second and third lines our text uses the same roots (*št* and *šr*) as the lines in 1.101, but they both appear to have *m*-preformatives, apparently verbal nouns, instead of indicative verbs:

| *m̊št.rʾimt.lʾirth.* | The setting of the lyre to her/his breast, |
| *mšr.ddʾalʾiyn bʿl.* | A song about the love of Mightiest Baal. |

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[31] For the root, with syllabic evidence, see Huehnergard 1987b:104.

Since neither CTA nor KTU/CAT read anything before *št* in line 4,[32] many scholars have simply used the parallel in 1.101 to read [*t*]*št* in III 4, and have also emended *mšr* to *tšr*. However, with the clear indication that line 4 has *mšt*, such readings now must be rejected. At the same time, it remains quite plausible to identify the singer with Anat. The passage could be a description of what Baal expects Anat to be doing when the messengers arrive. At the same time, it is also possible to propose that the singer is a male here, who, according to Baal, will be entertaining Anat when the messengers arrive.

Two words for musical instruments appear in parallel here, *knr* and *rʾimt*. The first term occurs also in 1.19 I 8 and 1.108.4. It is cognate with Akkadian *kinnāru* (attested also at Emar, discussed in Pentiuc 2001:98) and BH *kinnôr*. The importance of this instrument in ritual at Ugarit can be seen in the fact that it appears in a deified form in three god lists (1.47.32, 1.118.31, and in a syllabic form, RS 20.024:31) and one list of sacrifices (1.148.9; see Pardee 2002:11–19; 44–49, and 2000:310–11). There can be little doubt that the *knr* listed in these texts is a deified harp and not simply a god with a similar name, since the syllabic version of the deity list provides the word with the *giš*, "wood" determinative ([d.giš]*ki-na-ru*) typical of the musical instrument. In addition, the *knr* is preceded in the lists by a deified censer (*ʾuṯḫt*), another important utensil in ritual activities (for deification of musical instruments in Mesopotamia, see Selz 1997). The lyre is known archaeologically as early as the mid-third millennium from the Royal Tombs of Ur, where the remains of eight lyres were found (see Zettler and Horne 1998:30–31, figs. 27 and 28; p. 37, fig 34; pp. 53–59; cf. also pp. 77–78, #17, a cylinder seal depicting a female musician playing a lyre, and p. 79, #19, another seal on which a woman plays a bull lyre). It also appears on depictions from Late Bronze Age contexts, including an ivory plaque from Megiddo that shows a lyre player in a line of figures standing before the king sitting on a cherub throne (*ANEP*, title page, #332; Bunimovitz 1995:327, pl. 2; cf. also the depiction from Kamid el Loz, Lawergren 1996:1017, fig. 3g and Caubet 1996:13). An early eighth century pithos from Kuntillet ʿAjrud depicts a figure playing on a lyre to the right of a couple (Avigad 1978:148, fig. 10, 149), whom some scholars have interpreted as Yahweh and his consort. In general, lyres from the ancient Levant had a "rectangular soundbox, the unequal

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[32] Herdner (CTA: 16, n. 6) already indicated that traces on the tablet made the restoration of a /t/ dubious.

arms and the oblique yoke. With a few exceptions it is held in a slanting
position, the upper end away from the player, with the shorter support
downwards" (Avigad 1978:150). In his more comprehensive survey of
ancient lyres, Lawergren (1998) distinguished between thin and thick
types and noted the presence of the former at Ugarit (see especially
1998:1015, fig. 2). He also argues that *knr* is a West Semitic term (by
implication then a loanword into Akkadian) and that it specifically
designates the thin type of lyre (which he notes at Ebla, Mari, Alalakh,
Hattusas, Ugarit, Emar, Egypt and Israel, 1998:59). The distribution of
both the word and the thin type of lyre across the Levant (as opposed
to the thick type, giant lyres or harps) suggests that *knr* indeed refers
to this particular type of lyre. The importance of the lyre in temple
ritual is underlined by an inscription of Hammurapi that mentions the
dedication of a lyre and a bronze kettledrum in the Emeslam Temple at
Kutha, "for holy songs, which please the heart" (Frayne 1990:345–46,
lines 31–34).

The word *r'imt* in line 5 is more difficult to define securely. There
are two plausible cognates in Hebrew, each of which has been used
by scholars to understand *r'imt*. The first is *rĕ'ēm*, "wild bull," and the
second is *rā'môt*, "corals." Since the meaning "bull" does not obviously
fit in the context, several scholars have taken the other cognate as more
likely and translate *r'imt* accordingly, assuming that it refers to a type of
pectoral ornamentation that the goddess places on her clothing (Gordon
1977:78; *CML*² 48; Løkkegard 1982:133). But others have argued that
there should be a closer parallelism between *knr* and *r'imt*. Greenfield
(cited in Pope 1977b:294) argued that *r'imt* was a form of lyre and
compared it to the Mesopotamian harps decorated with bull heads (see
Lawergren 1996:1012–14; Wiggermann 1996:217; see also examples
in Dumbrell 1998:plates 22–28, 31–36). Watson (1996a:78) compares
**ra'*, "to sing" in Burunge, perhaps suggesting Ugaritic *r'imt* as a musical
instrument that accompanies singing. Lawergen's study suggests that
bull-lyres are primarily a Mesopotamian and not Levantine type (see
1998:60 n. 5), but in the absence of further specific information, this
point of realia does not preclude the use of a name for a lyre that no
longer corresponds to its original form. In any case, the unusual word
selection might be attributed to the alliteration that it forms with the
following word, *l'irth*.[33] This latter term perhaps hints at a Mesopotamian

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[33] For possible syllabic evidence, see Huehnergard 1987b:109. For cognates Akkadian
irtu, iratu (*AHw* 386; *CAD I/J*:183–84), see *DUL* 110. For further proposed cognates,
see *UT* 19.326; M. Cohen 1947:178, #411.

genre of love-poetry known as *irtum*-songs. For example, a summary of texts of love poetry in BM 47507 reads: "Four *irtum*-songs of the series: 'Where is my beloved, the precious one?'" (see Nissinen 2001:120; cf. *CAD I/J*:188a, #4).

The two bicola in lines 4–8 describe the topic of the love-song being performed, without providing any details beyond the parties involved, namely Baal and his three "daughters." Three different terms for love appear in lines 4–8: *dd*, *yd* and *'ahbt*. Usually these terms are understood as objective genitives (*TO* 1.162–3 n. c; *CML*² 48), namely Baal's love for his three daughters. It is possible that the performer is singing of her/his love for Baal and his daughters (*CML*² 48) or of their love for her/him (*TO* 1.162–3 n. c), but given the focus on Baal, it is his love that is most likely the topic (note the interesting remarks made by Clemens 2001a:112). In 1.24.22–23 the West Semitic lunar god, Yarhu, says of his intended bride, the Mesopotamian lunar goddess, Nikkal (< Ningal), that he will make her bloom and produce fruit,[34] natural indicators of fertility:

> I will make her field (into) vineyard[s],
> The field of her love (*dd*) (into) orchards.

Isa 5:1–7 presents Yahweh singing "a song of my love" (*šîrat dôdî*) to his vineyard, Israel. Akkadian *dādu*, cognate with both Ugaritic *dd* and BH *dôd* (cf. Song of Songs 5:1; Pope 1977b:223, 324, 507–8), designates both the object of love and the activity of making love, i.e., sexual

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[34] Cf. the name of the hemerological series, *inbu bel arḥi*, "the Fruit, lord of the new moon" (*CAD A/2*:260a, #1d). Part of this association between the new moon and fruit is evidently based on analogy of the two as self-renewing on a cyclical basis. According to C. Rochberg (personal communication), this notion is reflected in a bilingual hymn to Sin (cited in Tallqvist 1938:445), which calls the deity *enbu ša ina ramanišu ibbanu*, "fruit, which is brought forth of its own self." This same point apparently underlies 1.18 IV 9: *'ik 'al yḥdt yrḥ*, "How will Yarikh not be renewed?" (*UNP* 65). It would seem that the shared round shape of the two also played a role in the association, although we are not aware of any texts that explicitly make this connection. In his work on the moon entitled *On the Decisive Days*, Galen wrote that "the moon makes fruits swell," apparently based on an ancient notion of "natural sympathy" between different parts of nature, in this case not only the moon and fruit, but also the onsets of female menstrual periods and the periods of epileptics (for citation and discussion, see Stol 1993:123). For the associations of fruit and the moon in Mesopotamian texts, see further *CAD A/2*:260; Parpola 2000:175–76. Note also passages discussed in Livingstone 1986:23 (K 2164 obv. 13), 28, 29 (K 2670) and 30, 31 + 45 (K 170); these come courtesy of Professor Rochberg. The first of these texts departs from natural associations in favor of mathematical equations and verbal associations.

relations.[35] Akkadian *dādu*, "love-making," also appears in the incipits of songs (KAR 158 r. ii 11, 29; *CAD D*:20).

Ugaritic *yd* in this context is somewhat ambiguous. As with *rʾimt* above, it is possible to derive *yd* from two distinct roots, *yd*, the standard word for "hand," or *ydd*, a root that means, "to love." Both are well attested in Ugaritic, Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic. In this passage, it seems most plausible to relate *yd* to *ydd* and render it "love, passion." However, the Ugaritic term for "hand," *yd*, also appears to have connotations related to love and passion. There are a number of passages in which *yd*, "hand," seems to be a euphemism for penis, as 1.23.33–35 illustrates:

tʾirkm yd ʾil kym	El's "hand" lengthens like the sea,
wyd ʾil kmdb	Indeed, El's "hand", like the flood.
ʾark yd ʾil kym	El's "hand" is long like the sea,
wyd ʾil kmdb	Indeed, El's "hand," like the flood.

The repetition of the term in the passage is certainly for emphasis. Pope (1979:706) argued that this usage was intentionally ambiguous, playing with both meanings of the word here, and the same perhaps applies in 1.3 III 5–7. Where love is involved, the Ugaritic texts tend to present concrete actions as opposed to general abstractions. This is clear also in 1.4 IV 38–39 which uses both *yd* and *ʾahbt* in a sexual manner. After Athirat's journey to El, he offers her food and drink and then more:

Or, does the hand/love (*yd*) of El the King excite you,
The affection (*ʾahbt*) of the Bull arouse you?

The ambiguity of the word in this passage suggests that the two originally separate roots perhaps have coalesced into one in Ugaritic, so that the term *yd* comes to have a meaning that combines the definitions of the two older roots. The coalescence of roots, while rare, is attested in other Semitic languages as well. See the discussion of another example in 1.3 III 37 (**ypʿ*) below.[36] The topic of love in 1.3 III 4–8 probably

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[35] In view of the similar context in Song of Songs 1:4, A. Yuter (personal communication) asks if *mêšārîm* in this verse might refer to love-songs.

[36] De Moor and van der Lugt (1974:14) have suggested that the two uses of *yd* remain slightly distinctive semantically, that *yd* in 1.23.33–35 indeed refers to penis, but in 1.4 IV 38 it means affection. The semantic distinction is suggested, to them, by the difference in grammatical gender: the former governs a feminine verbal form (*tʾirkm*), while the latter takes a masculine verbal form (*yḫssk*). However counterintuitve

then involves Baal's love-making activity with his women, perhaps comparable to the well-known episodes of this god's love-making in 1.5 V 17–22; and probably 1.11.1–4 and 1.10 II–III.

Unlike the passage at the end of 1.3 I, where only Pidray and Tallay are mentioned, lines 6–8 list all three of Baal's women, including *'arsy bt y'bdr* (see above pp. 115–20 for the other two females). Her name may mean either "the earthy one" or "the netherwordldly one"; both senses are known for Ugaritic *'ars* (the final *-y* on the name is an older WS marker for the feminine. Her title, *bt y'bdr*, might mean "Daughter of the Wide World," cognate with *y'b*, "wide" (cf. Arabic *wa'ib* in Lane 2954) and *dwr*, "house, world" and comparable to Akkadian *erṣitu rapaštu*, "wide world," an expression for the underworld (Tallqvist 1934:14–15; *CAD* E:310; favoring the comparison, MHP; see *UBC* 1.72 n. 143). This netherwordldly interpretation of the name and title fits her equation with Allatum (in RS 20.024: 22),[37] who was associated and often identified with Ereshkigal, the primary Mesopotamian goddess of the underworld (*CMHE* 56; *TO* 1.79; Astour 1980:232; Sharlach 2002:99–100). Such an interpretation of Arsay and her epithet would accord with Baal's chthonic experience in 1.5–1.6 (just as Pidray and Tallay's titles correspond to Baal's character as a storm god). Noting the little evidence about her in the Ugaritic texts, Astour (1980:232) concludes: "it is difficult to visualize more clearly her status in the circle of chthonic deities." Another proposal for Arsay's title involves relating *dr* to Arabic *drr*, "copious flow" (Lane 862–64), hence understanding it as a reference to another meteorological phenomenon rather than the netherworld (*UgM* 32; *SPUMB* 84 n. 6; *CML²* 48 n. 8; *MLC* 560). Pardee (1997a:251 n. 84) notes the advantage that the second proposal holds, given the meteorological names and titles of Baal's other two women.

It remains unclear as to how these lines fit in with the context of the succeeding section. While some scholars have viewed the performance of the song as the end of a scene, with an abrupt shift in line 8b to the account of Baal's instructions to his messengers (e.g., Wyatt

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it may seem to see a word for penis as grammatically feminine, it is perhaps to be remembered in this context that "breasts" in Biblical Hebrew are masculine in gender. It is possible then some nuance might be maintained, but the two meanings are not far from association.

[37] See *Ugaritica V*, pp. 44–45 and especially Pardee 2002:14, where the text is shown with its Ugaritic parallels, 1.47; 1.118 and 1.148.

1998:76–77, most commentators (e.g., *MLC* 183, *CML²* 48–49; de Moor 1987:8; Pardee 1997a:251 n. 82) have regarded this section as part of Baal's speech, perhaps describing what the messengers are to expect when they arrive at Anat's palace. This interpretation helps to explain the total lack of a narrative introduction to lines 8b–31, where there can be no doubt that Baal is speaking.[38] But there are uncertainties here too. If these lines are Baal's description of what the messengers will find upon arrival at Anat's palace, it is surprising that the scene of their arrival appears to make no mention of the singing at all. In most cases in Ugaritic poetry, a prediction of what will occur is fulfilled in the description of the event. But there is no hint of this in the account of the messengers' arrival in lines 32ff. On the other hand, line 32 is preceded by a double line cut across the column, which clearly was intended to indicate an abridgement of the account of the messengers' journey to Anat, and the scribe may have assumed that the material presented through line 8a would be repeated by the storyteller. There is a further observation that may be raised about the nature of lines 4–8. It is evident from other scenes in which characters instruct their messengers that they customarily contain the element of introductory or prefatory remarks, which also does appear certainly in 1.3 VI and 1.4 VII 53f., and perhaps in 1.14 V (see the discussion of this subject in the Commentrary on 1.4 VII and VIII, pp. 696, 710). The usage of prefatory remarks heading instructions to messengers appears to be a reasonable argument for recognizing 1.3 III 4–8 as part of the speech for sending the messengers, since no other example starts a commissioning with the command to do obeisance. Despite these considerations, with the ambiguity about the identity of the singer or even the location where the song is sung, there is simply not enough surviving evidence to be certain about the interpretation of this passage.

With line 8b it becomes certain that we are in the middle of a speech by Baal to his messengers, identified in line 36 as the minor deities Gapn and Ugar. These two gods appear to have played no role in the ritual life of Ugarit and are not attested in any of the offering texts discovered

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[38] Wyatt 1998:76–77 suggested that the singing is taking place in Baal's palace while he gives the instructions to the messengers. He also takes *mšr* as a masc. sg. participle and identifies the singer as a male. This interpretation does not address the lack of any introduction to the speech of Baal, if it is beginning in line 8b.

in the city.[39] They may thus be entirely literary characters. The assumed but unspecified setting for this scene is Mount Sapan, last mentioned in column I and mentioned later in IV 38. Since Baal is participating in a feast in column I and appears to be doing the same in column IV, it seems likely that the scene here in III also takes place at the same feast, which simply continues throughout the narrative of 1.3.

In the tricolon of lines 8b–10, the two gods are told to go to Anat "like youths (attendants)" (*km ǵlmm*) and to follow the divine etiquette of inferiors bowing down before their superiors (Smith 1984b). The phrase *km ǵlmm* precedes *w'rbn*, the initial imperative (with nunation) of a series of imperatives that continue over the next four lines. Blau (1977:90) usefully describes this structure (non-verbal element + *w* + verbal clause) elsewhere as a sentence adverbial construction modifying the whole verbal clause. According to Piquer Otero (2003:219), the phrase *km ǵlmm* is a nominal apodosis to the verbal protasis constituted by *w'rbn*. The bicolon in lines 9b–10 is formulaic, with variations paralleled in 1.3 VI 18–20, 1.2 I 14–15, 30–31, 1.4 IV 25–26, VIII 26–29). The first line of the bicolon (lines 9b–10) begins with a prepositional phrase like its predecessor, in lines 8b–9a. Such a structure in Piquer Otero's analysis would customarily signal a shift in the line of verbal syntax.

The following bicolon in lines 11–12 continues the series of commands, with two imperatives concerning the recitation of Baal's message. The description given in lines 8–12 of the messenger bowing down before an official before announcing the message appears to reflect the standard practice of the royal court. Lines 13–14 provide the messengers' introductory formula for proclaiming their message. There are several parallels to this bicolon, e.g. 1.5 I 12; II 10, 17; 1.6 IV 10; 1.14 VI 40. On epistolary style and terms, see the earlier discussion in *UBC* 1.169–70, 282, 289, 304–5; for further discussion and clarifications, see Pardee 2003; and for etymologies proposed for *ṯḥm* in line 13, see Watson 1999; cf. *DUL* 865.

Much of the message here in lines 14–31 is paralleled in 1.1 II 19–23 and 1.1 III 10–16, and it is repeated in full in 1.3 IV 8–31. Readers may find treatment of the parts of this speech found in 1.1 in the commentary to those sections (*UBC* 1.173–81, 195–209; see also *SPUMB* 106–8). The comments here focus on specific differences

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[39] See Pardee 2000:962–96 for a comprehensive list of deities mentioned in the ritual texts.

found in 1.3 III 14–31, as well as the general significance of the speech in this context. One point insufficiently stressed in the discussion in *UBC 1* regards the use of the word *rgm*, itself a common epistolary term used in requesting from addressees word about their well-being (e.g., 2.12.14, 2.14.17, 2.16.20, 2.24.12; cf. 2.13.16). In one letter, RS 92.2010.18–19 (Bordreuil and Pardee in *Études Ougaritiques*, 376; Tropper 2002a:113–14), the king's communication is characterized as *rgmk n'm*, "your goodly word." In his message to Anat, Baal refers to his word as *rgm*, and the quality of *n'm* applies to his mountain, found in the message's conclusion.

Examining the different accounts of the message and its implementation, one can see that it consists of three basic blocks of material: (A) the message to desist from war, a section only given to Anat in both 1.1 II 19–21 and 1.3 III 14–17, IV 8–10 (and repeated by the goddess in IV 22–25 and 27–31); (B) an order to hurry to the sender of the message, first given to Anat by El in 1.1 II 1–3a, 21–23, then to Kothar by El in 1.1 III 10–12a, and then to Anat by Baal here in lines 18–20 and in IV 11–12; and (C) a reference to a further secret message that will be given to the recipient when he or she arrives at the abode of the sender (to Kothar in 1.1 III 12b–16a, and to Anat here in lines 20–31 and IV 13–20). The following synoptic chart indicates the correspondences more precisely:

A: Command to refrain from war	B: Command to hurry	C: The cosmic message
1.	1.1 II 1–3a	
2. 1.1 II 19–21	1.1 II 21–23	
3.	1.1 III 10–12a	1.1 III 12b–16a
4. 1.3 III 14–17	1.3 III 18–20	1.3 III 20–31
5. 1.3 IV 8–10	1.3 IV 11–12	1.3 IV 13–20
6. 1.3 IV 22–25, 27–31		

The verbal syntax clearly demarcates part (A) of the message, with its series of imperatives, from part (B) with its initial line (here line 18) consisting of three infinitives used as imperatives (see *UG* 492 and *UBC* 1.159 n. 76), each with an attached pronominal suffix: *ḥšk 'ṣk 'bṣk*. An alternative interpretation of line 18, found in *MLC* 184 and Wyatt 1998:78 understands the line as the imperative of **ḥšk* followed by two nouns, *'ṣ* and *'bṣ* with 2nd fem. sg. suffixes, thus meaning, "Grasp your spear (and) your mace," but this view founders on the fact that there is not a single additional appearance of any of the proposed words in Ugaritic. The three infinitives form a verbal exclamation point as

they precede the summons to come to the sender of the message. Exhortations for messengers to hurry are common in the Amarna correspondence (EA 28, 32, 37, etc.), but here the urgency is perhaps all the greater, since the message from Baal bears cosmic importance. Lines 19–20a invert the focus of the persons involved in the discourse: while line 18 emphasizes "you" three times in a row, the two lines of this bicolon begin with the prepositonal phrase *'my*, "to me," stressing the direction of the requested action back toward the speaker, Baal. This bicolon places emphasis on the parts of the body that are used in running. The lines show a fine chiastic structure, with the subject *p'nk* preceding the verb *tlsmn* in the first line, while the subject *'išdk* follows the verb *twth* in the parallel line.

The transition to Part C occurs in line 20b, where the heart of the message proper begins. The first line of the bicolon in lines 20b–22a opens with the relative *d-* + the adverbial *-m* (*TO* 1.165 n. i'; cf. *UG* 809), a particle that binds the preceding with the succeeding clause by indicating a general dependence of the upcoming clause upon the previous one. The center of Baal's message here is in fact the promise of another message ("a message I have"//"a word"). The first line uses a nominal clause (*rgm 'iṯ ly*), paralleled in the second line simply with *hwt*, a synonym for *rgm*.[40] Each of these two clauses is followed by *w-* + **yqtl* verb (evidently indicative, though possibly modal, "I would relate" or the like), with a 2nd fem. sg. object suffix, *-k*. The fronting of these words for communication, *rgm*//*hwt*, is hardly surprising given the emphasis placed on the message. Such clauses appear in similar contexts in BH, e.g., *dābār lî 'elayik* in 1 Kgs 2:14, where the expression introduces Adonijah's speech to Bathsheba, and in 2 Kgs 9:5 (with a 2nd masc. sg. suffix), where it begins the speech of Elisha's servant to Jehu. These two parallels suggest that the expression customarily serves as the announcement of a message. Another biblical example of this syntax confirms this view. In Judg 3:19–20, the expression appears twice in introducing Ehud's speech to Eglon. This passage is pertinent to Baal's speech for another reason. Baal's message is couched in the language of secrecy. It is a divine message that only a few can know. In Judg 3:19–20, *dābār* is twice fronted, first with *sēter*, "secret" (*dĕbar-sēter lî 'ēlêkā*), and then by *'ĕlōhîm*, "divine" (or "of God") (*dĕbar-'ĕlōhîm lî 'ēlêkā*).

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[40] Evidence for the meaning of the root, **rgm*, "to speak," is provided by an Ugaritic polyglot; see Huehnergard 1987b:177. For the root in the Baal Cycle (including the parallel passages to 1.3 III 20–28), see *UBC* 1.49, 169–70, 175, 180.

Thus we find Ehud claiming a type of divine message that he describes with imagery quite similar to what appears in our text.

In Ugaritic letters requesting *rgm* from the addressee, the word is likewise placed toward the front, for example: *w mnm rgm d tšm' ṯmt w št b spr 'my*, "and whatever word you hear there, put in a letter to me" (CAT 2.10.15–19; cf. 2.14 17–19; for Akkadian examples, see EA 145:22–29 and the remarks of Moran 1992:232 n. 6). The emphasis extends more broadly in Baal's message to Anat, for it is precisely at this point in lines 21–22 that the audience finally reaches the core of the message, the "word" (*rgm*//*hwt*) within the more general "word" (*ṯḥm*//*hwt* in lines 13–14 above). This deeper *rgm* is a cosmic mystery to be explained only when the summoned one stands before the sender of the message. This may be analogous to references to secret messages between two allied parties, found in some political contexts. Here one might compare "this secret message," *ṭe₄-ma-am ša-a-tu na-aṣ-ram-am*, in a treaty between Zimri-Lim of Mari and Ibal-pi-el II of Eshnunna, A.361, col. III, line 9' (Charpin 1991:143). Mari texts also use the term *naṣrum* for the transmission of a "secret" message (*ARM* XXVI/2: 217, 357, 358, discussed in Lafont 1997:319, 324; cf. *[ṭup-pa]-at ni-ṣi-ir-tim*, "secret tablets" in M.7338.3 in Joannès, *ARM* XXVI/2 = *AEM* I/2, p. 329). In the context of Baal's message to Anat, the two deities are analogous to allies sharing secret information about Baal's power. Accordingly, *rgm*//*hwt* at this point bear a certain diplomatic freight (on the secret nature of the message, see also below).

Lines 22b–25 continue the presentation of Baal's *rgm* in a series of nominal clauses, all standing in apposition to the bicolon of lines 20–22a. See the discussion in *UBC* 1:175–79. Here we propose noting a possible, additional nuance for the interpretation of the lines. The three pairs of nouns in these cola—tree and stone, heaven and earth, deeps and stars—each present pairs of opposites. The trees reach upward to the sky, while stones are earthbound and found on the ground; heaven and earth are a very characteristic pair, most commonly and naturally describing the sky, which is the celestial abode of the gods, and the earth, where humans live.[41] There are few, if any, usages of this particular pair of words that can be interpreted convincingly as

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[41] The term *'arṣ* in the phrase *šmm w'arṣ* may actually be a general term for what we call earth and the Underworld, i.e., all the landbound areas in which humans, in one way or another, exist.

referring to heaven and the netherworld. The deeps (*thmt*) and the stars represent the regions of the universe that are the most remote from each other. The deeps are the primordial waters below the earth (and the netherworld), while the stars, for example in Gen 1:16–17, were believed to be actually placed on the solid dome that represents the upper limit of heaven. Thus, in the three lines here we may have a series of opposite locations that become increasingly remote from one another until the third set, which stand as far from each other as is possible. These would show the universality of the significance of Baal's message. We may also note that *rgm* in lines 22–25 is qualified by a series of discourse terms, as noted by Watson (1983b:263). The terms evoke language that traverses the universe, and depending on the interpretation of *t'ant*, either the more neutral "converse" (*CMCOT* 68–69; cf. Ps 19:2–5) or the more negative sounding "lamentation" or "groaning" (*CML²* 159; Watson 1983b:263; cf. Rom 8:22), the passage may convey an additional urgent communication within nature waiting to be understood by humanity. Two significant examples of this type of communication between heaven and earth are found in the Gilgamesh Epic IV:101 and VII:166 (George 2003:592–3; 642–3): (1) "The heavens cried aloud, while the earth was rumbling;" and (2) "The heavens thundered, and the earth gave echo." In both cases the events described here open an account of an ominous dream.

Line 26 begins with an ambiguous word, *'abn*. It may be taken as a noun (as it is in line 23), here the construct plural, "stones." If this is correct, the series of nominal clauses begun in line 22b continues on through this and the following line. The word may also be interpreted as a 1st singular **yqtl* of the verb **byn*, "I understand" (*TO* 1.165–66 n. k; Wyatt 1998:78; see also de Moor and van der Lugt 1974:11). If one takes it as a noun, the resulting phrase, *'abn brq*, "stones of lightning" (so *EUT* 99; *MLC* 184), is fairly ambiguous, but possible, and a nominal phrase here makes reasonable sense of the syntax in the context. Based on the occurrence of *'abnê 'ēš* in Ezek 28:14, Pope (*EUT* 99–101; cf. Fensham 1959) translated the first two words as "stones of lightning" and interpreted the phrase as an allusion to Baal's house. However, the putative connection with Ezek 28:14 has been strongly criticized by Wallace (1985:82).

The interpretation of *'abn* as a verb seems more plausible. The tricolon in lines 26–28 focuses on knowledge and understanding, clearly emphasizing Baal's superiority, not just to mere mortals, but to the heavens themselves. By taking *'abn* as a verb, one finds a clear chiastic

structure to the verbs in the tricolon: *ʾabn: tdʿ: tdʿ: tbn*. The other three verbs are preceded by the negative partical *l*, thus emphasizing the contrast between Baal and the rest of the referents. This emphasis on Baal's knowledge is an element of this message that is not paralleled in the earlier message of El in 1.1 III 10–16 (Smith 1984a). There the tricolon also found in lines 22b–25 is followed directly by the lines found in 27–28. The reference to Baal understanding "the lightning which the Heavens do not know" is only found here in Baal's message (1.3 III 26 and IV 17–18; *pace* Xella 1997:440—this line cannot be reconstructed in 1.1 III 12a–16). It therefore may be assumed to have a significant point to make about Baal and his character. As the god of storm, Baal's connection to lightning and thunder is very clear. It is also clear that the real message that Baal will give to Anat when she arrives at Mt. Ṣapan, one that is echoed in 1.1 II and III, is that the god must have a palace as a foundation for his kingship. Baal's full manifestation of his power will only come when his house is built (see 1.4 VII 29), where, upon completion of the palace, Baal utters his "voice" (*ql*), that is, his thunder. Line 26 here emphasizes Baal's unique mastery of the lightning (cf. Pardee 1997a:251 n. 86) . It may be that he has not yet made the lightning manifest in the heavens, since Anat, in her response to Baal's message (1.3 IV 25–27), suggests that its appearance is something that will occur in the future, rather than in the present: "May Baal set his bolts [in the heavens,] may [the Clo]ud-[rider] radiate his [ho]rns." The lightning will thus be the sign of Baal's kingship (similar in some ways to Marduk's bow hung up after battle in Enuma Elish VI:82–90; or Nintu's fly-necklace in Atrahasis II.v.46–vi.4; cf. Gilgamesh XI:163–165; and the bow in Gen 9:12–17; so Batto 1987:191, 194–95).

In lines 26–28a, the addition of this line affects the way the following two lines are understood. When the latter lines appear without line 26 (in 1.1 III 15; 1.3 IV 15–16) the opening word of the first line, *rgm* retains its standard meaning, "word." However, when this line is added, *rgm* becomes the second part of the word pair *brq//rgm*, where it apparently means "thunder" (see *SPUMB* 107; *TO* 1.166 n. l; Pardee 1980:277; see also Smith 1984a). The semantics create a new understanding of these phenomena, which Wiggins (2000:581) has noted:

> The semantic field of *byn* encompasses cognitive abilities rather than physical ones, although "understanding" may indeed lead to effective action. What Baal lays claims to in this statement is likely the cognitive ability needed to act effectively in regard to lightning. In an era before

the agricultural benefits of lightning were understood, the effective use of lightning was primarily that of a weapon. The functions of weather control and warrior are closely associated in the minds of the Ugaritians.

The claim concerning Baal's understanding then is a claim about the impending revelation of his meteorological power through the building of his palace. Thus the addition of this line into the formulaic message that has been used elsewhere focuses the otherwise generic statements of the message specifically upon Baal in his uniqueness, setting up the subject matter of the rest of this tablet, and the succeeding one.

Some ambiguity also affects the interpretation of the final unit, the double bicolon of lines 28b–31. The initial word of line 28b, *'atm*, may be interpreted either as an imperative, commanding Anat to "come" to Baal's mountain;[42] or, it may be understood as a noun, for which there are two possible meanings. It may mean "sign" (cf. BH *'ôt*), in which case it would represent a further characterization of Baal's word. Or, it could be related to the Akkadian noun, *atmû*, "word, speech." The latter appears in parallel with *rigmu* in the Babylonian Theodicy XXVII, line 292 (Lambert 1996:88–89; *CAD A/2*:497–98; discussed by Watson 1994b:283, but not in reference to Ugaritic *'atm*). This alternative, however, seems unlikely, since in the parallel passage in 1.1 III 16 the word appears without the *m*, as *'at*. This strongly intimates that the *m* is enclitic and not part of the root. In any case, our passage would be the only attestation of this word in Ugaritic. Taking the word as "sign" may fit plausibly into the context of the passage. But, as in the case of *'abn* in line 26, the interpretation of *'atm* as a verb appears more likely. Interpreted in this manner, the following verbal clause, *w'ank 'ibġyh*, fronted by the first person independent personal pronoun (see *UBC* 1.180 n. 125), may be taken as a purpose clause in the *yaqtula volitive form, "so that I may reveal it" (as discussed in the Introduction, p. 30), or as a statement of future intention with a *yqtl indicative, "and I myself will reveal it" (cf. *ANET* 136; the verb being cognate with Arabic *faġā*, "to reveal' [talking of a secret], according to Caquot 1974:203; see the discussion in *UBC* 1.181).

The surprisingly poignant and poetic nature of this passage has led a number of scholars to focus carefully on these lines. Some have

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[42] This is the most widely-held view (Ginsberg, *ANET* 129; *CML²* 49; *TO* 1.166; *MLC* 184; de Moor 1987:10; Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1141; Pardee 1997a:251; Smith, *UNP* 110; Wyatt 1998:78).

proposed a number of deeper meanings which, while at times a bit more speculative, are worth considering. O'Bryhim (1996:134–6), a classical scholar, pointed out a number of passages in the Hebrew Bible and in classical Greek literature that indicate the use of trees and stones in mantic practices during the first millennium BCE. He proposed that these passages might be related to the reference here to "the word of tree and whisper of stone." O'Bryhim noted the significance of sacred trees near or in Israelite sanctuaries, including the oak of Moreh (Gen 12:6–7), the oaks of Mamre (Gen 13:18 and 18:1), and the Diviner's Oak (Jud 9:37). He also pointed out the appearance in the biblical text of *maṣṣĕbôt*, standing stones that were erected within the sanctuary complex, such as the pillar of Bethel (Gen 28:18, 35:14) and the witness stone (Josh 24:26–27, cf. Micah 5:12–14). It seems likely that communication with the divine was undertaken in the context of these elements of the sanctuary. O'Bryhim then used these phenomena as a means to interpret a passage in Hesiod (line 35), in which the poet, having described how he was given inspiration by the muses even though he was a mere rustic shepherd, at first responded to this gift by saying, "What business have I with these things that happen around oak and rock?" He argued that the reference here is to the communications with the gods that occur through mantic ritual before oak trees and rocks. This seems plausible, as does his idea that the reference to "tree" and "rock" in 1.3 III 22b–23 is also related to similar usage at Ugarit.

In fact, this suggestion leads one to note that all of the items mentioned in lines 22–26 (with the possible exception of the *thmt*) played a significant role in the omen literature of the Near East. The science of finding and interpreting omens was highly developed in Mesopotamia, as well as among the Hittites and in the Levant. To date only a few fragments of omen literature have been found at Ugarit, but they show a strong native strain of the "science," since the texts reveal virtually no dependence on Mesopotamian or Anatolian omen literature.[43] The Mesopotamian omen material is the most extensively preserved. The importance of omens and signs located both in heaven and on earth (the subjects of line 24) is emphasized in a remarkable Babylonian

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[43] See Pardee 2002:134–148, for both discussion of the language of the Ugaritic omen texts and for translations. The four preserved omen texts cover malformed fetuses, both animal and human (CAT 1.103+1.145 and 1.140), lunar omens (1.163) and dream interpretation (1.86). See also the more detailed discussions of these texts in Pardee 2000a: 532–64 (1.103+1.145), 763–65 (1.140), 859–71 (1.163), and 457–68 (1.86).

diviner's manual (Oppenheim 1974:204, lines 38f., cited in Binsbergen and Wiggerman 1999:33) which explains to the reader, "The signs on earth, just as those in the sky, give us signals. Sky and earth both produce portents, (and) though appearing separately, they are not, (because) sky and earth are interrelated." Related to the omens in the heavens and the earth are, of course, numerous omens specifically referring to lightning (mentioned in our line 26; for several Mesopotamian examples, see CAD B: *birqu*, 258–59), and those describing unusual situations related to the stars (mentioned on our line 25; cf. *CAD K*: 46–48). What this suggests is that the poet is making use of these elements, all of which may be looked to for signs from the gods, to give the passage a portentous and anticipatory feel.

A related aspect, the emphasis on "word" in this passage, resonates strongly with the usage of such terms in the context of the divine delivery of an oracle, i.e., the pronouncement of a prophetic message from a god to a human recipient, i.e., the word of god. (In the Hebrew Bible, the phrase *děbar Yahweh*, "the word of Yahweh," is the most common designation of an oracle (e.g., Jer 1:4, 11; 2:1, 4 *passim*).) In Baal's message, of course, the actual oracle is not given, but is anticipated. However, the repeated promise to reveal the secret word in lines 20b–22 and 28b–29a certainly evokes an oracular context. To date, no clear description of a message from a god to a human has been found at Ugarit,[44] but the ubiquity of the practice of transmitting divine messages through priests and prophets in the Near East makes it highly likely that religious specialists delivered such messages to the king and other officials at Ugarit as well.[45] Thus the message Baal sends

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[44] The closest thing we have to a prophetic message at Ugarit is the account of the inquiry made by the enigmatic *ʾadn ʾilm rbm*, "lord of the many gods" to a certain *dtn*, perhaps the deified founder of the clan to which the king of Ugarit belonged, concerning the sickness of a child (CAT 1.100). *Dtn* answers the enquiry with instructions on how to care for the child. Several elements of this text remain obscure (see Pardee's rendering and discussion 2002:170–72).

[45] From the Levant, see the oracle delivered to the king of Byblos in the story of Wen-Amun (Lichtheim 1976: 225), the message of Baal-Shamayn to Zakkur, king of Hamath and Luash (KAI 202:13–15), and the Balaam vision from Deir Alla, Jordan (Hackett 1980:25–30). There are numerous messages from the gods in the Mari letters. See, for example, Durand 1988: 413–15, letter 192, in which messages from three gods are sent to Zimri-Lim; and pp. 417–19, letter 194, in which a message from Shamash to Zimri-Lim is given. See the discussion of prophetic texts at Mari on pp. 377–412. More directly pertinent, in his discussion of M.15297, Durand (1988:332) characterizes the *rigmu* of the storm-god Addu as "un moment de la fixation du term de validité d'oracle." He comments in a vein quite fitting to our context here: "Certaines fois, l'arrivé de la pluie semble être, par contre, un presage bénéfique".

to Anat draws in a number of broad connotations related to the kinds
of communications that the audience would recognize as belonging to
the sphere of omens and prophetic utterance, all of which broaden
the power of the language employed in the passage.

Some hint of the mantic/incantational subtext of Baal's speech to
Anat may be found in a badly damaged and very difficult tablet, RS
92.2016 (Caquot and Dalix 2001:393–405). Labeled "un texte mythico-
magique" by the editors André Caquot and Anne-Sophie Dalix, it
appears to contain an incantation (lines 2–21), followed by a mythic
description of a meeting between Horon[46] and a female deity called
"the Queen of the Incantation" (lines 23–38), along with a final pre-
sentation of a drink offering to the goddess (line 39). The descriptions
in line 7 ("the heat in your flesh") and line 14 ("my [dri]nk is sweat")[47]
suggest that the incantation was intended to remove a fever. However,
line 22, a rubric marked off from the rest of the text by horizontal
lines, refers to childbirth, and Caquot and Dalix (401) note that the
term *ḫlm* in line 35" appears elsewhere in the context of the Kotharatu,
goddesses related to birth. It is possible then that the ritual described
here has to do with childbirth. Despite the difficulty in discerning its
context, this text, particularly the incantational part, uses a surprising
number of terms found also in Baal's speech. For example, the star or
stars (*kbkb*) belonging to several different deities seem to be invoked in
lines 8'–12':

>]star of stars, may there be no star
>]star(s) of heavens (*šmm*) and deep (*thm*)
>]star(s) of Baal and Pidray, star(s) of
> Koth]ar wa Hasis, star(s) of Ydd and Sd
>]   star(s) of Qudšu.

As seen in this passage, *šmm wthm*, both important elements of Baal's
speech, occur here (*thm* appears also in line 6'). In addition, lines 31
and 32 mention *ʾabn*, "stone," while line 31 also uses the word, *hwt*,
so important in Baal's speech. Of interest too, though it is not a strict
verbal parallel, is the incantational phrase (in line 16', 20' and prob-
ably 21'), *prṭt bʿl*, which probably means, "secret of Baal" (Caquot and

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[46] This god plays an important role in the Ugaritic incantations RIH 78/20 (CAT
1.170) and CAT 1.100 as well.

[47] The latter rendering is not certain. The word translated "sweat" is *dʿt*, which
can also mean "knowledge," in this context either supernatural and incantational
knowledge. Both readings of the line fit into an incantational interpretation of the
larger context.

Dalix 2001: 400). In this context the secret probably has to do with the healing of sickness (or safe delivery of a child), which is clearly not the specific concern of the Baal Cycle, but its use of the theme of Baal's secret knowledge is certainly related to the similar theme that is the focus of 1.3 III 26–31.

The imagery focused on nature here and in other West Semitic texts might reflect a mythology of natural elements, which in the Baal Cycle have been integrated into a larger narrative centered around anthropomorphic divinities (cf. Shepherd 1995:28). Other texts provide some hint of the sensibility about natural elements that may lie in the background of Baal's speech to Anat. In Ugaritic ritual literature, one snake-bite incantation (1.100.1) invokes "the daughter of the spring, the daughter of stone,//The daughter of the heavens and the abyss" in terms reminiscent of the cosmic locales evoked by Baal in his speech to Anat (see Pardee 2002:186–87). More relevant for the context of Baal's speech is a Sumerian cosmological account (sometimes referred to as the "Barton Cylinder"). In this text, the raging of the storm is represented as the speech of heaven and earth to one another (Alster and Westenholz 1994; Clifford 1994:25): "Heaven (An) spoke with Earth (Ki), Earth (Ki) spoke with Heaven (An)." This image is presented in the context of the beginning of a creation account. In Baal's message, the speech of nature may evoke old cosmological elements that now sing of the world's impending renewal, thanks to the anticipated palace of the storm-god and the full manifestation of his natural power in the storm. In this connection, it is worth noting a more recent proposal suggesting that "tree" and "stone" are allusions to the building-materials which will be used to build Baal's house (Good 1999), although neither word appears in the building narrative later in 1.4 V–VII. If this proposal is correct, echoes of both divination and old cosmological elements may be at work here.

According to van Binsbergen and Wiggermann (1999), divination of cosmic elements and astrology predate the dominance of anthropomorphic deities. In their view, in the attested texts, these older features of the ancient Syro-Mesopotamian religious landscape were situated and partially submerged within the wider praxis of the anthropomorphic divine cosmos.[48] Or, in the terms posed by Horowitz and Hurowitz (1992:115), psephomancy in Mesopotamia "was assimilated to prevailing

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[48] The argument is involved, and for readers interested in this view, an examination of the article is recommended.

religious practices, 'Shamashizing' it, while in Israelite religion it was
'Yahwehized'." Correspondingly, at Ugarit, the practice was assimilated
into the religious literature and "Baalized" (to use the turn of phrase
of Horowitz and Hurowitz). It might be argued that Baal's speech
draws on this ancient divinatory worldview in service to his message
of cosmological wonder.

Some of the notions related to this passage that we have discussed
above enjoyed a long, later life in West Semitic thought and literature.
UBC 1.176–79 discusses other Ugaritic, biblical and post-biblical texts
that seem to refer to the secret language of nature. The theme of
the god revealing a cosmic secret is also found in later traditions. For
example, the so-called "Hymn to the Creator" from the Qumran cave
11 Psalms scroll (11Q5 = 11QPsᵃ, col. 26) appears to provide a version
of this theme. According to lines 11–12 of this text, God "separated
light from darkness, the dawn he established with the knowledge (*bdʿt*) of
his heart. Then all his angels saw and sang, for he showed them what
they had not known (*lwʾ ydʿw*)."[49] The theme of the divine knowledge
hidden from the angels until creation appears to be a development of
the type of theme of the cosmic secret found in our text.[50]

The last three poetic lines of Baal's message (lines 29–31) contain
expressions for Mt. Sapan reflecting its sanctity (*qdš*), its status as Baal's
patrimony (*ǵr nḫlty*), its aesthetic aspect (*nʿm*), and its character as the
place reflecting Baal's victory in the cosmos (*gbʿ tlʾiyt*). The description
of a god's place of residence as holy (*qdš*) is common. Presumably the
god's presence is what makes the location holy. In this connection, we
may note *bn qdš*, a designation of the gods in 1.2 I 21 (on the question
of whether it means, "the holy ones," or "the sons of Qudšu," i.e., a title
for Athirat, see *UBC* 1.294–95). Yahweh's mountain is accordingly called
har haqqōdeš, "the mountain of holiness" (Jer 31:23), *gĕbûl qodšô*, "his holy
territory" (Ps 78:54), *nĕwēh qodšekā*, "your holy dwelling" (Exod 15:13;
cf. Jer 31:24) and *miqqĕdaš*, "sanctuary" (Exod 15:17). Exod 15:17 also
captures the patrimonial character of the divine mountain, describing
Yahweh's mountain as *har naḥălātĕkā*, "the mount of your inheritance."

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[49] This theme of the angels at the beginning of creation is attested also in Jubilees
2:2–11 and other Second Temple literature (as recognized by Skehan 1975, followed
by VanderKam 1994:14, 16, 2000:505–10, and Weinfeld 1995). Its antecedent appears
in Job 38:7, as noted by VanderKam (2000:506, 509–10). This biblical passage in turn
reflects an older astral divine family headed by El (Smith 2001a:61–66).
[50] For the homology between temple-building and creation, see the discussion in
UBC 1.75–87 (with some criticisms in its application to the Baal Cycle).

The root *nḥl* here is legal in character, derived from the realm of family inheritance in West Semitic (Amorite) cultures, attested at Ugarit (*nḥl/nḥlt* in *DUL* 627–28; see also Pardee, *ABD* VI:713; Schloen 1995: 68), Emar (Arnaud 1995; Pentiuc 2001:177), and Mari (*niḥlatum*; see *CAD* N/2:219; *AHw* 712 which identifies the word as a Canaanite loan). Greenfield (1993:36) compared Baal's *nḥlt* to a passage in a Mari letter (A.1121+A.2731.4, 31–33) in which the storm-god Addu of Kallassu demands the town of Alahtum as a *niḥlatum* (Durand 2002:137–38; Fleming 2000b:114, 138; Malamat 1998:109). Both the Baal Cycle and the Mari letter apply *nḥlt* to the divine property analogically: just as the family has a legal right with respect to the family land, so too the deity has a legal claim to his/her sanctuary. From the more mundane aspect, this reflects, as the Mari letter shows, the practice of the deity's priests making the legal claim explicitly for the god and implicitly for themselves.

A poetic reference to the beauty of the divine mountain (*bn'm*, line 31) is less commonly attested, but Cassuto (*GA* 129) and Greenfield (1990:164) compare *n'm* in Ps 27:4: "One request I have of Yahweh, it I seek, for me to dwell in the house of Yahweh all the days of my life, to gaze on the pleasant place (*n'm*) of Yahweh and to make inquiry in his temple." To capture the aesthetic quality of the divine mountain, BH also uses the word, **ypy*, "beautiful," *yĕpēh nôp*, "beautiful of height" (Ps 48:3); and *miklal-yōpî*, "utterly beautiful" (Ps 50:2).

The last three lines, 29–31, contain terms applied to Baal's enthronement in 1.101.1–4 (see Irwin 1983):

b'l ytb ktbt ǵr	Baal sits (enthroned), like the sitting of a mountain,
hd r['y] k mdb	Hadd the she[pherd], like the flood,
btk ǵrh 'il ṣpn	In the midst of his mount, Divine Sapan,
b[m] ǵr tl'iyt	On the mount of victory.

In both passages the mountain appears to take on its patron's divinity, becoming "the Divine Ṣapan" (see Lambert 1990; Smith 2001a:93–97). This is not simply poetic license. Mt. Ṣapan appears in the god and offering lists from Ugarit (e.g., CAT 1.118.14; 1.148.6, where a ram (*š*) is listed as the offering; 1.41.34, 42; 1.46.4, 7, where the offering is an ewe (*dqt*); 1.105.24, where it is a bird (*'ṣr*); and the Akkadian text RS 20.024.14, where the name is written *ᵈHUR.SAG.ḫa-zi* [Mt. Ḫazzi = Mt. Ṣapan]; see Pardee 2002:12–16, 26–29). The notion that Mt. Ṣapan was divine was not restricted to Ugarit. Mount Hazzi appears also in an Anatolian ritual from Emar with the dingir sign, Emar 476.21'; cf. *ᵈKur gal*, another divinized mountain, in Emar 378.3). In

Papyrus Sallier, the mountain appears in a list of Egyptian and Syrian deities (Hoch 1994:384). Baal's intimate connection with Ṣapan is clear from the use of the title *bʿl ṣpn* in several texts (e.g., the god lists, cf. the entry in the god-lists in Pardee 2002:14). The connection also appears in names, e.g., BH place-name *baʿal ṣĕpôn*; Punic personal name *ṣpnbʿl*; and Akkadian *baʿal-ṣapuna/baʿli-ṣapuna* (see Koch 1993a; Hoch 1994:323, 384; Fauth 1990; for Latin Mons Casius and Zeus Casius, see Turcan 1996:171–72). The elaborate description of the mountain in the last lines of the message intimates the importance of the mountain for the upcoming events of the narrative. It will be on this mountain that the palace for Baal will be built, and thus from this mountain that the fructifying rains will issue forth to the world.

Patrimony and beauty are linked to power on Baal's mountain, the site of *tlʾiyt*, "victory" (cf. 1.19 II 35). It is both the location where the actual conflict occurs and the place where the victory is celebrated. The word *tlʾiyt* echoes Baal's own epithets mentioned at the outset of his message, namely *ʾalʾiyn bʿl* and *ʾalʾiy qrdm* (for these titles see *UBC* 1.153). Akkadian texts from Ugarit use *qarrādu* as a royal title (e.g., RS 17.68.4 in *PRU* IV, 164; PN Baʿal-qarrad, a priest at Emar, discussed by Singer 1995:58). The military emphasis on Baal's character and that of his cosmic home in the Baal Cycle may have found particular favor in the royal-priestly circles that patronized the production of this text. While fertility is an important dimension of Baal's character, it is given less consideration in the Baal Cycle than elsewhere (e.g., 1.16 III). The issue of Baal's status among the gods and thus his (and Anat's) conflicts with other deities overshadow the theme of fertility. While non-elites might focus on fertility, it seems likely that political issues within Ugarit played a significant role in the way the poem is presented here. The position of Baal in the pantheon and the central role played by the temple that becomes the focus of this story certainly reflect the royal/priestly views of the author and sponsors of this literary work. Baal as grantor of fertility and well-being becomes the type for the king and his function within the state (a similar view appears in Israel, illustrated by Psalm 72, esp. verses 6–9 and 16). The central importance of the temple/palace of Baal in Ugarit (presumably identified with the palace on Mt. Ṣapan) for the wellbeing of the citizenry is re-enforced by the focus on the temple as the beginning point of Baal's blessing to the world (for further discussion of this interpretation, see above Introduction, pp. 58–67).

This speech is perhaps the most beautiful poem in all Ugaritic literature. While certain elements of it were apparently drawn from a formula for divine messages, the particular version here, with its additions of the reference to lightning in line 26 and its description of Mt. Ṣapan in lines 29–31, may be placed in the ranks of the finer literary works of Mesopotamia and Israel.

Baal's message is followed by a pair of horizontal lines demarcating it from the following scene, which shifts, rather abruptly, to Anat spying the messengers as they approach her palace (Horwitz 1979:392). Such lines, while relatively rare, were used for a variety of purposes on tablets written by Ilimalku. For example, the scribe used them at times to mark the text off from the colophon at the end of the tablet (see 1.6 VI, after line 53; and RS 92.2016, after line 39). Double lines were also used often, but not consistently, to mark the end of a column (1.4 I; 1.6 II; 1.12 I and II; 1.14 II [here apparently a single line]; 1.15 I and II). But in two, possibly three cases, including the one under discussion (along with 1.4 V, after line 41 and probably 1.4 VIII, after line 47—see below), the lines have a different function. The occurrence that illuminates most clearly their particular role within the text is the set of lines in 1.4 V. In the preceding lines (lines 35–41), Baal prepares to build his palace, and in line 41 he sends for Kothar-wa-Hasis. At this point on the tablet Ilimalku drew two horizontal lines across the column, below which he placed the following instruction: "And return to the recitation about when the lads are sent." This note is followed by another horizontal line before the story resumes with Kothar's arrival at Baal's mountain. It is clear that the two lines mark a point at which the person reciting the story is expected to fill in the account of the messengers journeying to the palace of Kothar, summoning him to Baal and his journey there. Ilimalku has made this explicit in 1.4 V with his instructions. But it is clearly a similar situation in 1.3 III as well. The double lines following 31 also indicate a missing section of the story, which was expected to be filled in by the storyteller during his recital. Here less of the story has been left out, but it seems likely that the storyteller is supposed to describe the journey of the messengers, using the common formulas for such accounts. Some hint of what the missing section contained may be found in 1.2 I 19–20 and 1.5 I 9–11, which contain standarized accounts of the messengers hastening on their journey. Dijkstra (1986:152) suggested that the entirety of the battle described in column II would have been repeated here in order

to set the scene for the messengers' arrival. While this is possible, there is no certainty about this.

<center>Lines 32–47: Anat's Reaction to the Messengers' Arrival</center>

Following the double lines, the narrative resumes with Anat noticing the approach of Baal's messengers. Whether this is understood as picking up the previous scene with Anat, in which she is washing and beautifying herself and perhaps singing the song described in III 4–8, or whether there is no real connection, cannot be determined with certainty. But the syntax of line 32 may signal such a resumption. The use of a presentative particle + subject + *yqtl verb is hardly the sort used to begin a new section (which may consist, for example, of a temporal particle + *yqtl indicative, with the subject following). The syntax here focuses on the goddess *in medias res*. The cases of the similar syntax in 1.3 II 5b–7 and 17–18 are instructive here. In these lines, Anat is described with *whln* + subject + *yqtl verb as in III 32. In both cases, *whln* assumes the background information and narrative introduction provided in 1.3 II 3–5a. The same may apply in III 32: *hlm 'nt tph 'ilm* may resume the narrative line from 1.3 III 1–2 (and perhaps 1.3 III 4–8, if these lines are narrative and not direct discourse, an issue discussed above).

In 1.3 III 32–35, Anat responds to the sight of Baal's messengers with a series of physical reactions that convey her great fear. The goddess is concerned that this unexpected visit presages bad news. The poet uses identical language in 1.4 II 12–20 in describing Athirat's reaction to Baal and Anat when she sees them coming. Both Anat and Athirat break into a physical frenzy, first in their feet, then their loins, face, joints and back; in other words, each goddess appears more than simply afraid or fearful (note the lack of terms for fear such as *yr'//tt'* as in 1.5 II 6–7 and 1.6 VI 30–31). Perhaps a more precise understanding of the bodily reaction may be inferred from the language shared between line 34 and 1.2 IV 25 where the defeated Yamm (*tnġsn pnth*, "His joints convulsed") is said to suffer in the same manner as Anat (*tġs pnt kslh*, "The joints of her loins convulsed"). From this comparison, it might be suggested that the goddess' body expresses a sense of potential defeat. In short, the goddess is panic-stricken (for the physiology of panic, see Nesse 1988, 1990:270–71; LeDoux 1998:227–30, 259–60). Interestingly, panic serves functions of communication: "facial and vocal expressions of fear solicit aid and warn kin of danger" (Nesse 1990:271); and family, in this case Baal, is precisely Anat's concern. The same is true for

Athirat in 1.4 II; she expresses concern for her children (lines 24–26). In both passages, the description of the goddesses' physical reaction is followed by a verbal outburst. This type of description (physical reaction to a visitor, followed by verbal reaction) appears to be a set literary convention. We can also see it in passages such as 1.4 IV 27–39, in the story of Athirat's arrival before El. Here, in a cordial context, we still find the description of El's reaction to her arrival. Here it is one of happiness and anticipation, rather than fear. Like 1.3 III 32, this passage also begins with *hlm* followed by a form of the verb **ph(y)*, and it continues with several formulae present in 1.3 III 32–36//1.4 II 12–26. The narrative then continues with a speech by El. It is worth remembering that this order corresponds to current physiological theories that argue that the body often reacts to an unexpected situation prior to the conscious identification of an emotional reaction by the individual (LeDoux 1998; see Excursus I above on pp. 164–74). One may note that in the lines preceding Athirat's noticing the arrival of Baal and Anat, she is described as taking part in her characteristic activities of doing the domestic chores (lines 3–11). With the strength of the parallels in the succeeding lines, we may suggest that Anat too may be assumed to have been performing her characteristic activities prior to the point where she sees the messengers approaching. It would seem that those activities would likely be washing and beautifying herself (1.3 II 38–1.3 III 2), and perhaps singing (1.3 III 4–8).

Descriptions of this kind of physical collapse are not confined in Ugaritic literature to Anat and Athirat. Such descriptions represent a standard convention in West Semitic literature (cf. Ginsberg 1946:46; Held 1965b; and Hillers 1965). The phrases in 1.3 III 32–35 and 1.4 II 16–20 are used again in 1.19 II 44–47 (in a slightly different order) to describe Danil's reaction to the news of Aqhat's death (Parker 1989b:124). The response of the divine council to the arrival of Yamm's messengers in 1.2 I 21–24 is also described in physical terms, as they lower their heads to their knees (for a more precise analysis of the divine council's reaction as deference or submission, see *UBC* 1.297–300). Biblical parallels presented by Hillers (1965) as well as Held (1965b) are discussed below.

The first line of the passage, *hlm 'nt tph 'ilm*, is a formula (see also in 1.2 I 21b–22a). Each of the three following lines consists of three words in identical syntactical order, namely a prepositional phrase, noun, and a verb denoting the effect on the body-part. The syntax of the first line, *bh p'nm ṯṯ*, is clear, but that of the second and third is more ambiguous.

In the first line the singular suffix on the preposition *b*, followed by the dual noun *p'nm* shows that the suffix does not govern this noun as an anticipatory pronoun. Thus we read literally, "Upon her, the two feet shake." (For another example of initial adverbial *'l*, see 1.19 IV 46: *w'l tlbš nps 'att*, "and on top she put on a woman's garment.") Because of the identical positioning of the elements of the second and third lines, it seems likely that they contain the same syntax, and thus the nouns here are not objects of the preceding prepositions. However, it is theoretically possible that the two lines differ syntactically from the first line and join the nouns with the preceding prepositions. Such is attested in the bicolon in 1.16 VI 48–50: *lpnk ltšlḥm ytm/b'd kslk 'almnt*, "You don't feed the orphan who faces you, /Nor the widow who stands at your back" (Greenstein, *UNP* 41). However, the poetic parallelism would tend to support the former interpretation. In this case the nouns are best understood as the subject of the verbs, taken as **yaqtul* indicatives (at least the first two verbs, *ttt* and *ttbr* would be **yaqtul* since the putative subjects are dual or plural, while the third verb *td'* could be either **yaqtul* or **yaqtulu* given the singular form of its subject). Alternatively, the nouns might be interpreted as adverbial accusatives, with Anat understood as the subject of the verbs, which would then be **yaqtulu* indicative forms.

The reactions described in this tricolon all have parallels in other Near Eastern literature. The first line in the description of Anat's reaction is perhaps comparable to Belshazzar's knees knocking together upon seeing the disembodied handwriting on the palace wall (Dan 5:6; cf. *ANET* 132 n. 18; Held 1965b; Waldman 1969:251–52). The second line reads, "Around, (her) loins tremble" (cf. *b'dh* in 1.100.71–72), translated perhaps more prosaically, "her back muscles snap" (so Pardee 1997a:252). The Enuma Elish (4:87–90; cf. Watson 1978:401) describes Tiamat's reaction to Marduk's challenge to single combat in very physical terms: "Her lower limbs (*išdāša*) trembled everywhere, to their roots." In biblical literature, this reaction is attested in Ezek 21:11, "As for you, son of man, moan with breaking of loins (*běšibrôn motnayim*), and with bitterness shall you moan before their eyes" (as noted by Ginsberg in *ANET* 132 n. 18). BH *motnayim* is comparable to Ugaritic *ksl*. In Isa 21:2–3 the prophetic figure expresses fear at the divine message, the "hard vision" (*ḥāzût qāšâ*) which he is receiving. So he responds: "This is why my loins (*motnay*) are wracked with shuddering; I am seized with pains like the pains of a woman in labor; I am too distressed to hear, too afraid to see." Just as the speaker of this verse has a negative physical

reaction to the divine message, so too the bodies of Anat and Athirat (in 1.4 II 12–20) are wracked with fear at the sight of the messengers because of the disastrous message which they may bear (cf. Job 41:17). Nahum 2:11 includes a melting heart (*lēb nāmēs*), buckling knees (*ûpîq birkayim*) and trembling loins (*weḥalḥālâ bĕkol-motnayim*) as responses to panic at the news of destruction.

In the third line, Anat's face is the subject: "Above, her face sweats." Biblical descriptions of panic at bad news rarely include mention of the face, but it is found in Nahum 2:11, just cited above: *ûpnê kullām qibbĕṣû pā'rûr*, "all faces grow pale(?)" and similarly in Joel 2:6: *kol-pānîm qibbĕṣû pā'rûr*, "Every face grows pale(?)". In these two prophetic passages, as well as in other biblical texts (e.g., Ps 48:6–7), the response of panic involves "trembling" (**ḥw/yl*).

The next bicolon (lines 34–35) continues the description of Anat's physical reaction, now with a **yqtl* indicative verb in initial position, the customary means of signaling the continuation of the narrative (APO). In these lines, the focus is on her bones: as Pardee (1997a:252) renders: "her vertebrae rattle, her spine goes weak" (for the ellipsis of the antecedent of *dt*, see Sivan 1997:215). In this rendering, as in the translation offered in this commentary above, *'anš* is understood as a verb parallel to *tǵṣ*. Given the rarity of these two roots in parallelism, and given the common pattern of a verb appearing only in the A line of a biclon, it is possible that *'anš* is the nominal (or nominalized passive participle?) antecedent of *dt* ("the weak [or weakened] ones of her back"?). In either case, this reaction, like the other ones, has parallels. As noted above, it is mentioned in Yamm's battle with Baal in 1.2 IV 17–18//25–26 (see *UBC* 1.349–51). In Job 4:12–15 Eliphaz describes the fear engendered by the appearance to him of a mysterious supernatural being. In the passage he states, "and all my bones were filled with dread" (*wĕrōb 'aṣmôtay hipḥîd*). Like the prophetic figures mentioned above, Daniel physically suffers upon receiving the divine message (Dan 10:8, 16–17). These verses convey the notion of a loss of physical strength because of the experience of revelation.

Anat's physical reaction is matched in lines 35–38 by her verbal reaction, which voices her particular concern. The narrative introduction to Anat's speech with *tš'u* (an indicative **yqtl* verb) in the initial position, marks narrative continuity with the preceding actions; it is also a common formula (note that it occurs also in the identical context in 1.4 II 21 and 1.19 II 47b–48a, but it is used *passim*; for parallels and discussion, see Polak 2006:290–95). The following *wtṣḥ*,

is another *yqtl indicative. In his study of tš'u gh wtṣḥ and its parallels in Akkadian, Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic, Polak (2006:296) regards the initial clause of this speech-opening formula as inceptive and the second verb as constituting the main action. The first line of Anat's speech (line 36), 'ik mǵy gpn w'ugr, is also a common formula for the beginning of speeches in the context of a visitor's unexpected arrival (see 1.4 II 21b–24a and 1.4 IV 31). It is a natural response to the situation, posing the question of the reason for the visit. The verb *mǵy, "to arrive," is very common in Ugaritic (1.4 II 22, III 23, V 44; 1.15 II 11; 1.20 II 6, 1.100.67; 2.31.45; 2.34.11; 2.61.4; 2.76.3; 2.80.10). Held (1962:289 n. 1) believed that this root was a variant of Ugaritic *mz', cognate with BH *mṣ', Aramaic mṭ'/mṭy, Arabic maḍa, "to pass," and ESA mz', "to go, proceed, reach" (Beeston 1982:89–90; Biella 273; note also ESA mṭw, advance" cited in and compared by Biella 272–73 to Arabic maṭa, "hurry" and Aramaic mṭā, "reach"; see also Leslau 375). Blau (1972:67–72) disputed the equivalence, but Greenfield (1994:88 n. 10) faulted Blau for overlooking the various correspondences which Ugaritic ǵ shows with PS *ṯ (see further Garr 1986:48 nn. 25, 27). Despite Greenfield's well-placed misgivings, Blau's arguments cannot be entirely dismissed (cf. the discussion of Ugaritic ǵr above).

One could translate the line, "How have Gapan and Ugar arrived?" (i.e., have they arrived in good health?). However, it is clear that that is not the thrust of the question in this context. Rather, the particle 'ik bears the force of asking why they have come (Ginsberg 1944:26 n. 7, 1946:35; pace Sivan 1997:182). The same is true for the parallel passages, 1.4 II 21b–24a and IV 31–32. A similar occurrence is found in the Hittite translation of the West Semitic myth of Elkunirsa and Ashertu, when Elkunirsa (that is, El) poses a similar question to Baal upon his arrival: "[Why] have you come?" In his response Baal tells El: "I have not come to you [as] a messenger" (Beckman 1997:149).

The second and third lines of the tricolon, closely parallel syntactically and semantically, reveal the reason for Anat's fear and concern. Has Baal again been attacked? It is unclear whether mn means "who" or "what" in this context. Sivan (1997:59) discusses usages of mn in both meanings. If we interpret it as the former, the question means, "who is the enemy who has appeared against Baal?" For this syntax Sivan compares the prosaic mn bnš d l'ikt, "who is the person whom you have sent?" But Sivan (1997:59, 60) also cites mn yrḥ, "what month" (1.16 II 19–20) and mnm rgm, "whatever word" (2.11.16; 2.12.12–13; 2.68.14–16), and so the phrase mnm 'ib may mean "what enemy." Either

interpretation seems plausible here. A parallel biblical usage may appear in Deut 33:11: *ûmaśn'āyw min-yĕqûmûn*. Grasping the difficulty of MT *min*, normally a preposition meaning "from," even NJPS—as faithful as it is usually to the MT—renders: "Let his enemies rise no more." NAB translates the whole bicolon: "Break the backs of his adversaries//and of his foes, that they may not rise." Although both translations are true to the syntax of the lines, neither faces the difficulty of the word *mn* here. It would appear, given both the use of *mn* and the larger context relating to enemies, that a final interrogative is involved ("...of his foes—which ones could arise?") or perhaps a final relative clause ("...of his foes who would arise?"). That this biblical line involves an interrogative use of *mn* is suggested not only by the Ugaritic usage in 1.3 III 36//1.3 IV 4, but also from the interrogative usage in Gen 49:9//Num 24:9 (cf. Ps 61:8), which involve a question similar to the one posed by Anat: *mî yĕqîmennû*. This question is usually understood as a reference to the image of the lion in the line: "who dare rouse him (the lion)?" While this translation (found, for example, in NJPS) is idiomatic English, it may disguise the more precise sense of the verb. Given the use of **qwm* for enemies in both BH and Ugaritic (e.g., 1.10 II 25) as well as the usage attested in Deut 33:11, it might be considered whether the verb in Gen 49:9//Num 24:9 is an energic indicative meaning, "who rises up (as enemy)?" If this was the original sense, it is not difficult to understand how it was lost in later interpretation, since the energic indicative became rare later in Hebrew and the ending on the verb became secondarily understood as a suffix.

Either of two roots could underlie **yp'* in Ugaritic and in Hebrew, as both languages show the shift of the initial /w/ > /y/. PS **yp'* apparently underlies Ugaritic **p'*, "to arise," in 1.19 II 16: *ynp' bp'alt bṣql*, "may (this) stalk arise in the parched land." In ESA, the root **yf'* is used in this manner: "any enemy who continues to rise against them (*yf'hmw*)" (so Biella 233). The second possible root, PS **wp'*, apparently underlies the PN *yp'b'l* (*PTU* 117, 144), given the PN Ba'alwapi' in Emar documents (see Arnaud 1991:166; for WS and Arabian PNs with this root, see *WSS* 505.) *HALOT* (424) compares Akkadian *(w)apû*, "to be visible" and *šūpû*, "to make visible" and BH *hôpî'â* (e.g., Deut 33:2; Pss 50:2, 80:2). Appealing to the two psalm verses, P. D. Miller (*DW* 77–78) renders Anat's question: "what enemy has *shone forth* against Baal?" Both Proto-Semitic roots appear to be used in contexts of divine conflict, and as a result of their contextual compatibility, in Ugaritic usage, as well as in Hebrew, the two roots may have coalesced

in form. As a result, the originally different meanings of the two roots may have been seen by ancient users of the language as the semantics of a now single root.[51]

The initial pair of lines in Anat's speech, lines 37–38a, also occurs at the very end of the same speech in 1.3 IV 4. They therefore serve as a frame for the entire speech (III 34–IV 4). Inside this frame, Anat refers to a number of cosmic enemies of Baal whom she claims to have defeated. The list is somewhat startling, since it includes a number of deities whose defeat is attributed to Baal elsewhere in the cycle (Yamm// Nahar in 1.2 IV, *bṯn*//*šlyṭ* in 1.5 I 1–3). This apparent contradiction has led to considerable discussion. Some scholars have proposed that these lines refer to a battle that Anat fought with cosmic enemies who were defeated prior to the creation of the world (as is the case in Israelite tradition in Psalm 74:12–17 and other biblical texts including Job 7:12; 26:7–12; 38:4–11; Prov 8:29, as well as in the Mesopotamian creation epic; see below). Such a tradition would be quite significant, since there is no other creation story from the Near East in which a female deity defeats the primeval forces of chaos. But this interpretation seems unlikely, in view of the fact the Ugaritic texts appear to attribute the creation of the world (the standard outcome of the cosmic battle) to El (cf. El's epithets, *bny bnwt*, "creator of creatures," *ʾab bn ʾil*, "father of the sons of El," and *ʾab ʾadm*, "father of humanity"), and never to Anat (or Baal). In the same way that the story of Baal's combat with Yamm appears unrelated to creation mythology in 1.2, it seems likely that the battles described here were not connected to the creation, but rather to another episode concerned with Baal's acquisition of status

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[51] There are some other examples of the process of coalescing roots. West Semitic *ʾit*, a sacrificial term in Ugaritic, and *ʾiš*, "fire" (cognate with Ugaritic *ʾišt*) coalesced in BH *ʾiššeh* as an offering made by fire (*BDB* 77–78). It seems unlikely the biblical authors recognized BH *ʾēš* and *ʾiššeh* as two entirely different words. One Hebrew root may serve as a further illustration, namely the verb *taʿăzôb* in Ps 16:10, often derived from the old or original root *ʿḏb > BH *ʿzb, "to put, place," as suggested by the parallelism with *ntn, "to give" (Dahood 1966:90–91). The meaning "abandon, leave" from the PS root *ʿzb which merged with the root *ʿḏb (both became *ʿzb in Hebrew) does not suit the context, and it may be argued that the original root therefore was *ʿḏb > BH *ʿzb, "put, place." For the author of this psalm, however, this distinction did not exist; rather, the author associated within this one Hebrew word the range of meanings and connotations of the two original roots, *ʿḏb and *ʿzb. Another case may be *ʿōlām* in Eccles 3:11, but the word is highly debated, and a discussion of it lies beyond the scope of this digression (see Smith 2001b:217, 236 n. 163). The delineation of other examples of words in West Semitic languages with coalesced consonants remains a desideratum in lexicographical research.

within the council of the gods.[52] In fact, these deities, like Yamm in 1.2 and Mot in 1.5–6, are portrayed here specifically as enemies of Baal, not particularly as foes of Anat or of the cosmic order as such. However, one should also keep in mind that this passage could represent a separate, parallel tradition about Baal's conflict with Yamm, in which Anat played a key role, but which was unused in the Cycle except for this reference. In this case we would assume that the poet made no effort to harmonize the two distinct traditions (cf. Cross 1973:149).

A general issue still unresolved about these lines is whether these cola are declarative sentences or questions. Many commentators regard them as questions (e.g., Ginsberg, *ANET* 137; Caquot, *TO* 1.167), perhaps in keeping with the question which frames the speech, but this view is not necessary, and these cola may just as easily be regarded as declarative statements (Pardee 1984; 1997a:252). There appears to be no clear way to resolve this issue, and in the translation they have been rendered as statements, although the alternative remains plausible.

The verb that clearly dominates this section and serves as a *Leitwort* for this part of Anat's speech is *mḫṣ, in the *G*-stem form, "to strike down, smite, crush, and in the *Gt*-stem, "to fight" (the form *mḫšt* almost certainly derives from this root, the ṣ dissimilating to š when followed directly by the *t*; see Held 1959; Sivan 1997:23, 28; Hutton 2006:78–80). The passage from line 38b to 47a may be subdivided into a tricolon, two bicola and a second tricolon, each unit beginning with the verb *mḫšt* (cf. Pardee 1984:252–55, and 1997a:252, who divides the lines differently in each case). There can be no doubt that this verb is 1st common sg., as it stands in parallelism with four certain first person forms in lines 40 and 46b–47a (Ginsberg 1941:13). Four of the five other verbs used in these lines are closely related semantically to *mḫṣ, though only two of them are without serious ambiguity (*klt*, "I finished off," and *ṣmt*, "I destroyed"; for the latter, see 1.3 II 8). The twice-used *klt* (<*kly*) is applied also to Baal's destruction of Yamm at the end of 1.2 IV 27, and a form of the root *ṣmt* is found in 1.3 II 8, in parallel with a form of *mḫṣ, as we find here. The other two are less certain in meaning: *'ištbm*, often thought to derive from *šbm*, "to muzzle" (?)

(Dietrich and Loretz 1982; see further below); and *ʾištm[ ]ḫ̊* which suffers from key epigraphical uncertainties, with correspondingly ambiguous etymological origins. The most likely restoration of the latter is *ʾištmdh*, "I destroyed him," or, as plausibly suggested by Hutton (2006:80–81), "I harnessed him" (see below). The fifth verb, *ʾitrt̠*, in line 46b–47a, moves this part of Anat's speech into a different subject (see below).

The pair of **qtl* forms, *mḫšt* and *klt*, appear in parallel twice, in the two tricola, lines 38b–40 and 45–47, thus framing the small section of the speech in lines 38–47. Each pair is accompanied additionally by a third colon that contains two first person singular *Gt*-stem **yqtl* verbs. The third line of the final tricolon begins appropriately with *ʾimtḫṣ*, a form of the dominant root for conflict in the passage.

Another *Leitwort* of this section is *ʾil/ʾilm*, appearing entirely within the enemies' epithets. The word appears in the two epithets of Yamm/Nahar, *mdd ʾil* and *ʾil rbm*, but does not occur in the following three lines, where *tnn*, *bt̠n*, and *šlyt̠* are described. Then the remaining four beings each have an epithet that includes either *ʾil* or *ʾilm*. These epithets show an interesting and ambiguous pattern. In line 43, Arish is described as *mdd ʾilm*, while the following creature, ʿAtik, is called *ʿgl ʾil*. The pattern of mimation on *ʾil* in the first line of the bicolon, then lack of mimation in the second line is repeated in 45–46, where ʾIšitǔ is called *klbt ʾilm*, while D̠abibu is called *bt ʾil*. The mimation may be interpreted in two ways. It could be the marker for the plural, so that the two phrases *mdd ʾilm* and *klbt ʾilm* would be understood as "the beloved of the gods," and "the (female) dog of the gods." But it seems more likely that all four of the beings described here are related specifically to El and that the -*m* is enclitic. The two larger stories of conflict in the Baal Cycle, those about Yamm and Mot, both emphasize the fact that Baal's enemies are particularly beloved by El. Especially in the story of Yamm, El's support of Baal's rival is overt and constitutes a legal legitimization of Yamm's claims (see Wyatt 1985; Szubin 1993, 1995). The four enemies in III 43–46 appear to belong to the same category. If the word *ʾilm* is correctly identified as the proper name El, the epithets in lines 43 and 45 would mean, "Beloved of El" (as is the case for *mdd ʾil* in line 38b–39a; cf. Pardee 1997a:252) and "dog of El." Thus in her speech Anat explicitly emphasizes that her previous conflicts have been with deities closely allied to El. The latter's dominant position and his lack of support for Baal in the past may explain her fear that new enemies have emerged from the camp of El.

The cosmic enemies mentioned by Anat here include several names and epithets: the beloved of El, Yamm; Nahar, the great god; Tunnan; the twisty serpent; the powerful one with seven heads; ʾAršu, Beloved of El; ʿAtaku, Calf of El; ʾIšatu, Dog of El; and D̲abibu, Daughter of El. Each will be discussed in turn (cf. Pitard 2007).

1. The first enemy, Yamm, is well known as Baal's major antagonist in 1.2. As his name indicates, he represents the Sea, although because his alternate name is Nahar, "River," it appears that this deity represents the full range of water flowing on the earth. In CAT 1.1 and 1.2 Yamm is Baal's chief rival for leadership over the divine council. In the conflict described in 1.2 IV, Baal defeats him with the help of Kothar-wa-Hasis, who provides him with weapons (see *UBC* 1.318–61). Anat does not appear in the account of this battle. Thus it remains unclear what relationship exists between the narrative in 1.2 and the reference here to Anat's defeat of Yamm. Although some scholars have suggested that this section represents an alternative account of the battle with Yamm from that of 1.2, it also seems plausible that this section simply refers to another episode of the story which has not been preserved, perhaps in the lost parts of 1.1. As discussed in *UBC* 1: xxv–xxvi and in the Introduction above, the entire Baal Cycle portrays Baal time and again as receiving help from other deities in defeating his enemies (and in getting his palace built, too). Thus a story of Anat encountering and defeating a number of enemies of Baal would fit reasonably well into the overall picture of the cycle. The epithet used for Yamm here, *mdd ʾil*, "Beloved of El," appears only a few times in the Baal Cycle (1.1 IV 20; 1.4 II 34, VI 12, VII 3–4), mostly, unfortunately, in broken contexts. The most significant appearance of it for understanding its role here comes in 1.1 IV 20, where it is used by El himself in his proclamation of Yamm as head of the council. It seems clear that Anat uses it here particularly to emphasize the warm relationship between El and Yamm (cf. also the Introduction, pp. 52–5 above), as part of her overall intent to place all the conflicts at El's doorstep.

2. Yamm's name stands in parallelism with *nhr*, as commonly occurs in 1.2. This parallelism also appears in Israelite tradition (Ps 13:3–4; Hab 3:8; Nah 3:4; cf. Pss 66:6; 74:15). Because of the usage in 1.2, there is little doubt that Yamm and Nahar are a single figure there, and are thus likely to be so here. Nahar is given the epithet *ʾil rbm*, which may be rendered "the Great God," or possibly "the God of the Great Waters,"

i.e., the cosmic waters (cf. Pss 29:3; 93:4; so *TO* 1.167 n. h), if *rbm* here were elliptical for *mym rbm*, "great waters." The former seems preferable (but cf. Yamm's epithet in Isa 51:10, *těhôm rabbâ*, "the Great Deep"). Nahar may appear alone in a small and somewhat obscure text (CAT 1.133) that presents a brief speech by Mot (lines 1–11) in which the god apparently speaks of Nahar as his servant: "Indeed, Nahar mixes my cup, and my seven portions in a bowl" (so Pardee 2002: 212–13). But the passage is ambiguous, and others read *nhr* here as "in torrents" (cf. *DUL* 599, *sub mt* III). The reading of the word as the divine name seems the most natural way to understand the syntax, although this would be the only hint that Nahar has a relationship with Mot.

3. The third name in the tricolon (lines 38b–40) is *tnn*, which may be taken as a proper name or as an epithet, "the dragon." The word *tnn* appears to be vocalized in the *Ugaritica V* polyglot (# 137: 8') as *tu-un-na-nu* (see Blau and Greenfield 1970:16; Huehnergard 1987b:72, 186; Sivan 1997:70). Unfortunately, the Sumerian, Akkadian and Hurrian equivalents are not preserved on that tablet. However, #135: 15', which is probably a parallel text, reads *MUŠ* = *ṣi-i-ru*, "snake" in the Sumerian and Akkadian columns.[53] The dragon is also found in an uncertain context in CAT 1.82.1, where it is preceded before a break by *]mḫṣ. bʿl]*. This strongly suggests that the line is describing a conflict between Baal and Tunnan. The name almost certainly appears too in 1.83.8, where the text reads *tʾan*. The context of the passage, with references to Yamm/Nahar (lines 4, 6, 11–12), as well as the appearance of the root *šbm* directly after *tʾan* in line 8 (the verb that also occurs with *tnn* in III 40), seems to assure that the *ʾa* in *tʾan* is a mistake for *n* (simply missing a third horizontal wedge; cf. Pitard 1998). A third additional reference to Tunnan, alongside *ʾarš*, is found at the very end of the Cycle, in 1.6 VI 51. It will be discussed below, in the commentary on *ʾarš*. Finally, the word may appear in the PN *bn tnn* (4.35 I 13, 4.103.42).

Tunnanu is clearly related to Hebrew Tannin, also a mythological being, related closely to Yamm/Nahar/Leviathan/Rahab in

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[53] With regard to identifying *tu-un-na-nu* with the *tnn* of our text, note should be made that the word in the polyglot vocabulary apparently is equivalent to the natural creature, the snake, not the monster described in our text. It is thus possible that our *tnn* was pronounced differently from the standard word, *tunnanu*, listed in the polyglot. See Landsberger and Hallock 1955 for the Mesopotamian texts of this syllabary, esp. p. 34.

Ps 74:13–15, Isa 27:1, 51:9; Job 7:12. In these passages he is identified as a snake-like dragon, sometimes with multiple heads. This is probably the portrayal assumed in our text as well. The relationship between Tunnan and Yamm/Nahar will be discussed after we examine the next two epithets (lines 41–42).

4. The fourth and fifth terms for Anat's enemies are both epithets rather than proper names. The first, *bṯn 'qltn*, in line 41 means "the twisting snake." The noun, *bṯn*, appears most often in Ugaritic literature with reference to the natural snake (1.6 VI 19; 1.17 VI 14; 1.19 IV 61; 1.166.28; 1.169.3; 1.175.11, RS 92.2014:4, 6, cf. Bordreuil and Pardee 2001:387 and Pardee 2002:158–59; and in 1.100.73–76, where it is parallel to *nḥš*). However, in this line and twice in 1.5 I 1–3//27–30, it refers to a cosmic monster. It is modified by the adjective *'qltn*, "twisting, winding" (Syriac **'qll*, "to twist"; cf. Arabic *'aqala*, "to bind a camel's folded fore-shank and arm together"; Lane 2113; see also *DUL* 177), the same adjective (*'ăqallātôn*) that describes Leviathan, "the twisting snake (*nāḥāš*)" in Isa 27:1 (cf. the comparable semantics for the reduplicated form in Judg 5:6).

The cosmic foe in the form of a snake-like dragon is common throughout the Near East. The term *bašmu*, presumably cognate to *bṯn*, is used of some of the monstrous offspring of Tiamat that form her army against the young gods (Enuma Elish I:141, II.27, III.31 and 89). In a mythological text, KAR 6, a huge snake-like dragon, also called a *bašmu*, threatens the gods, and Nergal is called upon to defeat him. The story of his confrontation with the *bašmu* is not preserved, but the text clearly suggests that the creature is powerful enough to threaten the gods (see Foster 2005:579–80). His close connection with the sea is clear from the description of his birth in the unpersonified ocean (*i-na A.AB.BA ib-ba-ni* ᵐᵘˢ*ba-[aš-mu]*, *KAR* 6 ii 21, as cited in Lewis 1996:31, n. 18). *CT* 13:33–34 offers a similar story, in which Tishpak must fight a gigantic snakelike dragon that also has characteristics of a lion (Lewis 1996:31). In the preserved portion of the text, the monster is regularly called a *labbu*, "lion," but in lines 5–6, which are unfortunately broken, he is called snake (the Sumerian determinative *MUŠ*, "snake" is preserved before the break; *ba-aš-mu* is the most likely restoration for this lacuna; see Lewis 1996:31; Foster 2005:581–82). Here too the monster threatens the gods, who then send off Tishpak as their champion after offering him the kingship. In this story, the monster performs the role that Tiamat plays in Enuma Elish and that Yamm plays in CAT 1.2.

The combat with the monster leads to confirmation of the heroic god's kingship.[54] The *bṯn* may also appear in an Ebla incantation, *ARET* V, 4, as *ba-ša-nu* (Fronzaroli 1997).

The term does not appear as such in the Hebrew Bible, but many commentators (listed in Day 1985:113–19) have proposed seeing at least an allusion to the *bṯn* behind the geographical reference to Bashan in MT Ps 68:23: "The Lord said: 'From Bashan I will return (*mibbāšān ʾāšîb*), I will return from the depths of sea (*ʾāšîb mimmĕṣulôt yām*).'" The lack of a definite article on *yām* suggests that it is to be understood as a proper name. If so, then the reference to *bāšān* might be a reference to the cosmic monster. One could suggest further that the second colon of the verse has been misdivided by the Massoretes and that the verb here is cognate with **šbm* from III 40 and 1.83.8. We could thus read *ʾešbōm mĕṣulôt yām*, "I will muzzle the depths of Yamm." From here one could also suggest that the *m* before Bashan is misplaced and originally belonged to the *ʾāšîb* of the first colon, allowing us to read, *bāšān ʾešbōm*, "Bashan (the snake) I will muzzle." This, of course, is highly speculative (cf. Day 1985:113–19), but given the apparent antiquity of Psalm 68 and its allusions, it is certainly possible that later tradents might not preserve such an allusion intact. At a minimum, it seems possible that an allusion or wordplay on the *bašan*-serpent is to be found here.[55]

5. The epithet in line 42, *šlyṭ d šbʿt rʾašm*, is an extended title that provides a striking element of description of the cosmic enemy as a seven-headed dragon. This type of monster is an old and well-known motif in ancient Near Eastern iconography. The Tel Asmar seal (ca. 2200) depicts a god battling a seven-headed dragon (*ANEP* #691; van Buren 1936:3, 1946:19–20; Gordon 1966a:4, pl. I; Rendsburg 1984; Lewis 1996:29; A. Green 1997:141, 155, fig. 14; see *UBC* 1.346–47). A shell plaque of unknown provenience (*ANEP* #671) portrays a god

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[54] Note should be made that snakes and dragons play a much larger role in Mesopotamian mythology and art than we have discussed here. Wiggerman 1997 describes the use of snake imagery among chthonic/netherworld deities, where their primary home is in the earth, rather than the sea. There is also a netherworld god named Bašmu who appears to be an upstanding member of Ereškigal's court and fully anthropomorphized on the seals; see Wiggerman 1997:39). Many of the snake/dragon deities do not appear to be connected to the forces of chaos and destruction. Wiggerman points out the relationship between some snake deities and the administration of justice (p. 43). Dragons are also portrayed on a number of seals as their mode of transportation.

[55] We are grateful to J. J. M. Roberts for bringing this issue to our attention.

kneeling before a seven-headed fiery dragon (Green 1997:155, fig. 13). The body appears to have flames rising from its back (for some further examples, see van Buren 1946:19–20). Green (1997:141) has pointed out the interesting fact that Mesopotamian literature has very little to say about seven-headed monsters,[56] while they appear quite clearly in the preserved iconography.

On the other hand, the seven-headed monster is well-attested in West Semitic literature, including, besides our passage, CAT 1.5 I 3 and its broken parallel in 1.5 I 30–31, where the creature is identified with *ltn*; as well as in Israelite literature, Ps 74:13–14, which mentions the heads (no number) of Tannin and Leviathan. Early Christian and Jewish texts likewise attest to the long life of the motif of the seven-headed monster. Rev 12:3 and 13:1 (cf. 17:3, 20:2) describe a dragon and a beast, each with seven heads. BT. Qidd. 29b also knows the tradition of the seven-headed monster, in this case a seven-headed demon destroyed by the prayers of the righteous Rav Acha. Green (1997:141 n. 50) follows the tradition to "the seven- or nine-headed *hydra* of Greek mythology . . . and ultmately to dragon-slaying stories such as that of St. George."

The title *šlyṭ* given to the seven-headed monster can be understood in two ways. It has the primary meaning of "powerful," and can be understood as the substantive, "the Powerful One." In BH the word came to be used as a designation for a ruler. Pope rendered it aptly, if a bit archaically, as "Potentate," thus effectively evoking both meanings. If *šlyṭ* in our passage is to be understood as an epithet of Yamm (see below), then the meaning "Potentate" might be appropriate. If, however, *tnn/bṯn/šlyṭ* are names of a subordinate deity, then the emphasis of the name must have been on strength, rather than status, and thus "the Powerful One" would be more appropriate. Because of the uncertainty surrounding the relationship of the name to Yamm, we have chosen to translate with the less committed "Powerful One." Pope noted one final feature of interest about the word (1978a:30 n. 12): "In addition to lofty power, the Arabic cognate also relates to slanting direction, which may suggest serpentine, sidewinding locomotion."

Epithets such as these in lines 41–42 are not normally used independently of a proper name. Usually a character is named in the first

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[56] See Lugale-e in Jacobsen 1987:243; Wiggermann 1992:153, 162; and van Buren 1936:3 for references to seven-headed dragons in some early Babylonian lists and in the omen literature.

line of a bi- or tricolon, then referred to in the next line or two with epithets.[57] It is unlikely that such epithets would be used to introduce a completely different character in a context such as we have here. We may also be fairly certain that the two epithets themselves describe a single entity. Similar examples of this type of usage abound in Ugaritic poetry. An example is just above in 1.3 III 29–31:

> In the midst of my mountain, Divine Saphon,
> In the holy mountain of my heritage,
> In the beautiful hill of my might.

An even better example is found in 1.5. I 1–3, where the same epithets appear in the second and third lines of a tricolon in which the monster Litan is named in the first line.

> *ktmḫṣ.ltn.bṯn.brḥ*
> *tkly.bṯn.ʿqltn*
> *šlyṭ.d.šbʿt.r'ašm*

> When you struck down Litan, the fleeing snake,
> Annihilated the twisting snake,
> The powerful one with seven heads

There can be little doubt that the second and third lines describe Litan, particularly since there is the clear connection between *baṯna bāriḥa*, "the fleeing snake," Litan's epithet in line 1, and *baṯna ʿaqalatāna*, "the twisting snake" (note that Leviathan is described as both *nāḥāš bāriaḥ* and *nāḥāš ʿăqallātôn* in Isa 27:1, just as we find here; cf. also Job 26:13). Looking back at 1.3 III, it seems most reasonable to argue that the two epithets must refer back to the character named in the previous line. In this case, that creature is Tunnan (line 40). It seems reasonable then to argue that the first five names/epithets in lines 38–42 refer to no more than two distinct beings.

Pardee, in his translation (Hallo and Younger 1997:252), recognized the relationship between Tunnan and the epithets in the two lines that follow, and thus he proposed joining line 40 to those lines as a tricolon. However, the appearance of the thrice-repeated *l* in lines 38–40

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[57] For bicolonic examples, see 1.4 IV 23–24 and par.: "She comes to the mountain of El/and she enters the tent of the King, the Father of Years." 1.5 II 8–9: "Go, say to Divine Mot,/Recite to the Beloved of El, the Hero." 1.5 VI 9–10: Dead is Mightiest Baal,/Perished the Prince, Lord of the Earth." 1.6 IV 10–11: "Message of Bull El, your father,/Word of the Beneficent One, your begetter."

argues for an intimate relationship between line 40 and the preceding two cola as well.

The appearance of the word *tnn* in the third line of the tricolon has generated a considerable amount of discussion about the relationship between Tunnan and Yamm/Nahar of the first two lines. Could the dragon with seven heads described in lines 40–42 be Baal's primary enemy Yamm/Nahar, so that all five of the lines, 38–42, actually refer to a single opponent (as proposed by e.g., Løkkegaard 1953: 224)? While a definitive answer cannot not be given, there are a number of reasons to suggest that Tunnan should be identified with Yamm/Nahar.

Significant evidence for this identification is found in KTU 1.83, which presents another context in which Yamm/Nahar is found in close relationship with *tnn*. This small tablet originally contained some 25–27 lines, but now only fourteen survive. In these lines we find a description of a conflict between Yamm/Nahar/Tunnan and an unnamed opponent, who is certainly a deity, and perhaps Anat herself (Pitard 1998). When arranged in poetic lines, the text preserves three clear bicola (lines 5–12), preceded by the second line of a bicolon (lines 3–4) and followed by the first of another (lines 13–14). The text reads as follows (for text and photographs, see Pitard 1998):

3–4	*bʾarṣ m̊ẖn̊m.ṯrp ym*
5–7	*lšnm.tlḥk.šmm.*
	tt̊rp ym.d̠nbtm.
8–10	*tn!n.lšbm tšt.*
	ı̊rks ¹⁰lmrym.lbnṅ
11–12	*p̊l.tbt̠n.yymm*
	hmlt.ẖt.ynhr̈
13–14	*ltph.mk ṯhmt̊.*

Translation of the text is difficult in that it is not clear whether the verbs in lines 5–10 are 3nd fs, 2nd ms, or 3rd plurals (those in lines 4–7 could also be interpreted as 3rd c duals; cf. Mazzini 2003:391–94). It is also unclear whether they all refer to a single subject, or whether those in lines 5–6 refer to one being, while those in line 9 refer to a different person (see Mazzini's translation, 2003:392). A case can be made for all these renderings (cf. Pitard 1998:273–74).[58] This problem

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[58] Lines 3–6 are extremely difficult because of the broken context. The number of different translations is about equal to the number of scholars who have studied the text. There is even some uncertainty about whether the text is actually poetic, or whether it simply is using elegant prose (Dijkstra 1999a:152). Nor is the division of

does not play a significant role in the issue at hand, however. Below is the passage translated with the verbs as 3rd fem. sg.

3	[ ]…on the earth.
4	With *mḫnm*, (do something to) Yamm!
5–7	With (her) tongues she licks the heavens.
	With (her) twin tails she……..s Yamm.
8–10	She sets a muzzle on Tunnan.
	She binds him on the heights of Lebanon.
11–12	"Toward the desert (*or*: Dried up,) shall you be
	scattered, O Yamm!
	To the multitude of ḫt, O Nahar!
13	You shall not see (*or*: Indeed shall you see); lo! You
	shall foam up!" (*or*: "you shall be parched!)"

The two bicola that precede the reference to Tunnan in line 8 both refer to a conflict with Yamm.[59] Unfortunately, the verb used with Yamm as its object is otherwise unknown; thus, its meaning is unclear. But the context indicates that the opponent of Yamm is defeating him. This is followed directly in lines 8–10 by an account of the opponent binding Tunnan on the heights of Lebanon, which in turn is followed by a direct address (presumably by the opponent) to Yamm/Nahar in lines 11ff. In this context it seems unlikely that lines 8–10 are describing a separate conflict with a dragon as a parallel scene to the battle with Yamm (although theoretically there could be a single conflict involving more than one cosmic enemy—one would have to presuppose extremely elliptical jumps in the storytelling here). Since the lines preceding 8–10 apparently deal with the battle against Yamm, and those following are directly addressed to the defeated and captured Yamm, the context here strongly suggests that all of this is describing a single scene with a single antagonist, and that Yamm/Nahar and Tunnan are parallel names for that single character.

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the lines, particularly lines 3–4, clear, if we assume a poetic structure (see, for example, the proposals of Loewenstamm 1980:357–58; Parker 1997:192).

[59] Several scholars understand *ym* in lines 4 and 7 as references to the non-personified sea (e.g., del Olmo Lete 1999:131; Mazzini 2003:392). They have often assumed that the description in lines 4–7 must be of the dragon rather than its opponent. This is certainly possible. However, one should note that such a large circumstantial description of the enemy in such a small text seems odd. In addition the shift of the verbs from 3rd dual to 3rd fs with no clear indication of the shift in subject seems awkward. It still seems better to argue that all these lines have the same subject, and that *ym* in lines 4 and 7 is a proper name, just as it is in line 11.

Turning back to 1.3 III 38b–42, one may note in these lines a few features that suggest the identity of *tnn* and Yamm/Nahar here as well. First, the appearance of Tunnan in the third line of the tricolon, parallel to Yamm and Nahar, is suggestive of their identity, particularly in light of the close relationship between the three names in 1.83 just discussed. Secondly, as mentioned above, five of the opponents listed by Anat here are explicitly linked with El by epithets (i.e. Yamm in lines 38b–39 and the four creatures that follow the section we are concerned with, in lines 43–46). Since Nahar in line 39 is clearly equivalent to Yamm, then it is only Tunnan (with his epithets, *bṯn* and *šlyṭ*, in lines 41–42), who does not have an epithet relating him to El. This situation would seem surprising, and it seems more plausible suggest that Tunnan is in fact to be identified with Yamm, so that *mdd ʾil* in lines 38b–40a refers to him as well. If all five of the names and epithets belong to a single divine being, then line 40, the third line of the tricolon, with its mention of *tnn*, becomes a pivot, connected to the preceding lines and to the following lines, joining them together in one large, elegant description of Baal's powerful enemy.

If we are to identify the five names in lines 38–42 as a single character, then we must also address the fact that Yamm is not portrayed as a multi-headed sea monster in 1.2. In the description of Baal's battle with Yamm (1.2 IV) the latter appears to be portrayed in fully anthropomorphic style. He has shoulders (*ktp*) and hands (*ydm*) (1.2 IV 16–17), a single head and a pair of eyes (1.2 IV 22–23).[60] However, this does not preclude his appearing in literary texts in other forms. In the first instance, it is important to remember that even though he is portrayed anthropomorphically in 1.2 IV, he is also the sea and the rivers, the waters upon the earth, and therefore not humanlike at all. We see a similar multiformism in the presentation of Tiamat in the Enuma Elish. At certain points in the narrative she is specifically the water of the Ocean (cf. I:4–5), but elsewhere she is clearly being portrayed anthropomorphically (cf. I:29–34, II:92, 144 [where she is called *si-in-iš-tu*, "woman"]; see Foster 2005:440, 449, 451).[61] Then she

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[60] Matthiae (1992) has identified an anthropomorphic figure on a number of second millennium north Syrian cylinder seals as a depiction of Yamm. This seems an uncertain identification. Perhaps the most troubling problem is that the deity is regularly shown with wings, a characteristic that is hard to connect with any of the known aspects of Yamm.

[61] The same multiformism can be seen with Apsu, who is the fresh water at the opening of the epic, but who is described in I:53–54 in clearly humanlike terms. Eventually, in I:69, he is tied up and killed by Ea, a difficult feat if he is water.

seems to show a different shape again in the climactic battle, where she opens her mouth, apparently to swallow Marduk (IV:97–104). Here she appears to be a dragon with a ferocious maw. Upon her death, Marduk splits her in two, "like a fish for drying" (IV:137) and later on coils up her tail to make "The Great Bond" (V:59). Within this same section that deals with Tiamat's dismemberment there are also references to her strictly as ocean (e.g., IV:140: "he ordered them not to let her waters escape"). Thus, within the Enuma Elish we see three different forms of Tiamat, sometimes used within the same scene. Wiggerman (1997:37–39) shows examples of iconographic multiforms on cylinder seals. On several seals that he discusses (51, fig. 2c; 52, fig. 3c; 53, fig. 4a), an anthropomorphized god who is related to snakes is portrayed as a human with snake-heads emerging from his shoulders or feet. In view of these multiform presentations of deities in the surrounding cultures (particularly that of Tiamat), there is no reason to preclude the notion that Yamm/Nahar might be also portrayed as a dragon/sea monster in a poetic description such as we find in 1.3 III 38–46.[62]

While the Mesopotamian evidence is helpful in the discussion of this issue, biblical passages that use both *yamm* and *tannîn* together provide little firm evidence about Israelite views concerning the relationship between the two names. Ps 74:13 places Tannin (the MT reads it as a plural, though it probably was originally the singular with an enclitic *-m*) in parallel with Yamm: "It was you (Yahweh) who destroyed Yamm with your might./You shattered the heads of Tannin upon the waters." Although one could easily identify the two here, the context is not precise enough for certainty. In Job 7:12, Job asks God, *hă-yām ʾānî ʾim tannîn*, "Am I Yamm or Tannin that you set a guard over me?" One can interpret this passage as indicating either that the two are the same or are two distinct characters. Isa 51:9–10 is a fascinating passage, where

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[62] Wiggerman has recently proposed identifying a Mesopotamian god directly with *tnn* (1997:35 n.15). He notes the appearance in the *An-Anum* godlist (V 234) of a deity named ᵈDan-ni-na, which he identifies with Ugaritic and Hebrew *tnn*. This identification, however, is problematic. The deity appears in a section of the *An-Anum* list devoted to netherworld gods, where Dannina appears as one of the deities in Ereškigal's court. Ugaritic and Israelite *tnn* has no obvious connections to the netherworld. The Akkadian word, *danninu*, is in fact a name for the netherworld ("the Strong Place", or perhaps, "the Stronghold"), and the deity is certainly a personification of that name. There is no evidence in *An-Anum* for identifying him as a snake or dragon-like god, much less for connecting him to water, as *tnn/tannîn* regularly are. Nor is there a compelling reason to relate the Ugaritic/Hebrew root *tnn* to Akkadian *danānu*, "to be strong," although the meaning would be an attractive one.

reference is made to Yahweh smiting Rahab//Tannin, followed by a bicolon that refers to the drying up of Yamm//Tehom rabbah. The context allows for the possibility that all four of the terms refer to the same being, but this is uncertain. It is striking here that Rahab and Tannin are mentioned first, rather than Yamm and Tehom. In the other passages Yamm is always in the primary position, and the placement of Rahab/Tannin in the first line of the bicolon suggests that they are at the same level as Yamm/Tehom, not subordinate. But here the wider context must be considered. The bicolon describing the drying up of Yamm and Tehom is already being modified from the classic story of the cosmic battle into a reference to the drying up of the Sea of Reeds in the Exodus tradition. This may explain the surprising appearance of Yamm in the second bicolon: the poet may have used the reference to the sea in this position in order to focus the imagery toward the historicized climax of the passage. So again, no certainty about the identity of Yamm and Tannin can be reached from this passage. The only other text that mentions the two together, Isa 27:1, may be under the influence of the worldview represented by Gen 1:21, where the *tannînîm* are part of Yahweh's created world. Here Leviathan and the *tannîn* (with a definite article) are to be killed in the future, when Yahweh brings on a new age.[63]

A brief look at iconographic evidence is also in order. Across the Near East the image of the god battling snakes or dragons was quite popular. Examples can be found in Cornelius (1994:212–24, esp. 223 and pl. 50 BM 74, 75, 77, 79) and Wiggerman (1997:48–50, figs. 1e–h).[64] Undoubtedly many of the West Semitic examples are best interpreted as depicting Baal fighting one of the cosmic enemies we have been discussing. But the images themselves do not identify the snake that he battles, and they therefore offer no further help in determining whether Yamm was portrayed as a snake or not.

Thus the identification of *tnn* in III 40 as another name for Yamm/ Nahar remains plausible, but uncertain. However, the evidence from 1.83, the usage in lines 38–46 of epithets relating the other enemy gods to El, the common appearance of multiforms of a deity in mythological texts, and especially on that account, the likely appearance of Tiamat

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[63] For the classic study of much of this material from before the discovery of the Ugaritic tablets, see Gunkel 1895:3–88.

[64] This theme can also be found in Aegean iconography; see Buchholz 2000.

as both an anthropomorphic deity and a dragon, all argue in favor of
identifying *tnn/bṯn/šlyṭ*, in this passage (and *tnn* in 1.83) with the god
of the sea. At the same time, the existence of several texts that depict
snake monsters who are independent of the sea-god (Isa 27:1; Dan 7;
the Mesopotamian texts discussed above) allows for the possibility that
Tunnan was a distinct being from Yamm.

One final potential identification should be noted. Because the bicolon
of lines 41–42 is largely repeated in reference to *ltn* in 1.5 I 2–3, the
question arises whether Tunnan and Litan are also the same creature.
This is certainly possible. It is also arguable that BH Tannin and Levia-
than are the same being in Ps 74:13–14. If they are to be related, then
all six terms, *ym/nhr/tnn/bṯn/šlyṭ/ltn* could be seen as names and titles
of a single deity. But here too the evidence from Ugarit remains too
ambiguous to firmly decide the issue. It is also possible that these two
lines are simply formulaic and are used by the poet as a standard way
to describe a dragon in this type of context.

We now turn to other issues in these lines. The verb *'ištbm* in line 40
remains ambiguous. The root, **šbm*, has been related to Arabic *sabama*
(e.g., Løkkegaard 1953:225 n. 41), in the sense of "gag" or "muzzle",
but Loewenstamm (1959; 1975) and Barr (1973) have been strongly
critical of this etymology. Loewenstamm noted what he saw as a con-
textual problem: most of the other verbs in this passage involve words
for destruction. Barr argued that the Arabic *sabama* does not have a
meaning related to the muzzling of a dangerous animal and instead
related it to the Arabic word which commonly means, "to be cold".
He also considered a number of other etymological possibilities, but
none of these were particularly persuasive. C. Cohen (cited in Sivan
1997:40) interpreted *šbm* in 1.83.8 to mean "captivity," relating it to
the Hebrew cognate, *šĕbî*, and suggested a meaning "to capture" for
the verbal form in 1.3 III 40. While this suggestion is suitable for the
semantics and context, an enclitic *-m* attached to both the verbal and
nominal forms would be surprising; this consonant seems to be part of
the root. In defense of the standard interpretation, Hutton (2006:82)
has noted that the Arabic noun from *sbm* is used to designate the
threads that are attached to a woman's face veil, which are tied around
the back to keep it secure. He argues that this meaning can be easily
derived from a kind of face restraint, such as a bit (or even a muzzle,
although he prefers the former). He renders the verb here, "I put a bit
in the mouth of Tannin," a plausible proposal.

Despite the etymological difficulties noted above, other Mesopotamian and Ugaritic passages describe divine conflict in a manner that may be taken to support the idea of binding. The sufferer in *Ludlul bel nemeqi* appears to describe Marduk's intervention on his behalf as the god's muzzling a rhetorical lion: "Marduk put a muzzle (*nap-sa-ma*) on the mouth of the lion who was eating me" (Lambert 1960:56, line q; Loewenstamm 1959, 1975; Barr 1973:25–26; Greenstein 1982). In 1.83.8–10, *trks*, the word parallel to *lšbm tšt* in the second line of the bicolon, is clearly a word for binding. Loewenstamm's objection about the incompatibility of this meaning in the context of the other verbs in the passage is not valid. The verb need not be in the very same semantic field as the other verbs if this verb expresses the treatment accorded Tunnanu in preparation for his subsequent destruction, expressed in the second verb of the same line, *ʾištm[d]h*.

Hutton (2006:80–81) has proposed a plausible new interpretation of *ʾištm[d]h* that links it semantically with *ʾištbm*. He derives *ʾištm[d]h* not from the root *šmd*, "to destroy," but rather from *ṣmd*, "to harness," seeing the *š* in the word as the same kind of dissimilation from *ṣ* when followed by a *t* that occurs in the form *mḥšt > mḥṣ* (in lines 38, 41, 43 and 45; see above). He thus links the meanings of the two verbs in the line: "I put a bit in the mouth of Tannin and harnessed him." Both interpretations of *ʾištm[d]h* seem possible at this point.

6. ʾARŠ, "Desire" or "Demander" (so Pardee 1997a:252) is one of the more obscure figures in this list (for the root, see 1.17 VI 26, 27; also CAT 5.11.12; cf. 2.23.16, 18). The name appears only one other time in the Ugaritic texts, in 1.6 VI 51 in an unfortunately ambiguous context. The line there reads, *bym ʾarš wtnn*, which could mean, "In the day of Arš and Tunnan," or "In the sea are ʾArš and Tunnan." If the latter is correct, then this would suggest that ʾArš is another sea creature, and that both ʾArš and Tunnan are not equated with Yamm; rather, they would be cosmic creatures in the Sea. Daniel 7:1–7 provides a potential parallel in the case, with a series of monsters emerging from the sea. However, ʾArš is paralleled in line 44 with a land creature, *ʿtk*, the calf of El. The following bicolon mentions two more beings that are also land-based. This suggests that with line 43 we may have moved away from the water monsters to land creatures. In view of this observation, it might be preferable then to understand *bym* in 1.6 VI 51 as "on the day of." However, the obscurity of the context of this line and the fact

that land monsters emerge from the sea in Daniel 7 make it impossible to make a firm decision.

Moving beyond the Ugaritic material, little help for defining this deity can be found. The biblical corpus provides no parallel material. Dahood (1965:52) suggested that a god named *pothos*, "desire," a son of Kronos and Astarte according to Philo of Byblos' *Phoenician History* (*PE* 1.10.1) and Damascius' *De Principiis* might be a reference to ʾArš (see Attridge and Oden 1981:36–37, 76 n. 26; 102–3; Baumgarten 1981:96–97, 110–111). Gray (1979b:316 n. 5) argued that the name was an "ʾaphʿel-type adjective from rʾaš," and proposed rendering it as "the many-headed." Unfortunately this explanation does not account readily for the loss of the middle root-letter (ʾaleph), and so the proposal seems unlikely.

7. The deity named ʿtk stands in parallelism with ʾArš, but its distinctive epithet, "calf of El" (ʿgl ʾil), might suggest a separate identity. The name of this figure has been understood in two ways. It has been translated "the Attacker" or the like (see *CML*² 50 n. 9; Gray 1979b:316 n. 6), based on Arabic ʿataka, "rush to attack" (cf. directional use in an ESA prepositional phrase, ʿtk/ʿd ʿtk, "(in) the direction of," cited in Biella 388). Another rendering, "Binder" (Pardee 1997a:252) is more defensible, based on *ʿtk attested elsewhere in Ugaritic, apparently in the meaning "to attach" (in 1.3 II 11//1.7.2//1.13.7; cf. *DUL* 191).[65]

The epithet of ʿtk, namely ʿgl ʾil, provides some information about this being. There is little doubt about the meaning of ʿgl, "calf," known from the cognate in Hebrew, ʿēgel.[66] While in English the term, "calf," perhaps gives a sense of youth and weakness, it is clear that the word may evoke a connotation of divine power in West Semitic religion. In the context of III 38–46, ʿtk the calf is a powerful enemy of Baal and Anat. In the Hebrew Bible ʿēgel is used of the "molten calf" made by Aaron in the wilderness (Ex 32:4, 8) and the golden images of Jeroboam for the temples at Bethel and Dan (1 Kgs 12:28, 32). Gray (1979b:316 n. 6) compared ʿtk to the Bull of Heaven in the Gilgamesh Epic VI, though the term used there is $GU_4 = alpum$, "ox." At the same time, the use of a title that is a diminutive, suggests both the subordination

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[65] The semantics are unclear, however. It is to be noted that the BH word ʿatak is attested as a place name in the Negev.

[66] The Akkadian cognate, *agalu*, is more ambiguous and likely refers to a different animal, perhaps a type of donkey. See *CAD A/1*:141 for a discussion of the problem.

of the person to his superior (here, El) and perhaps even a familial relationship ("calf" of Bull El the Father?) A number of Akkadian names show the use of animal names as indicators of subordinate status to a god. For example, a number of personal names use the noun *būru*, the Akkadian equivalent of *ʿgl*, with a DN: Bur-ᵈAdad, "Calf of Adad," Bur-ᵈIštar, "Calf of Ištar," Bur-ᵈDamu, "Calf of Damu," etc. (see CAD B: 342, *būru* A2b). A few names using the Akkadian cognate *agalu* also are attested: Agal-ᵈMarduk, "Donkey (?) of Marduk" (Koenen 1994:399 n. 5) and Agal-Shimegi, "Donkey (?) of Shimegi" (attested at Emar, Fleming 2000b:31).

The epithet of *ʿtk* here might appear in CAT 1.108.9, 11: *ʾaklt ʿgl ʾiʾl…ʾil ǵnt ʿgl ʾil*. Both lines are problematic. Line 9 reads *ʿgl.tl*, but the /t/ has been circled, perhaps to indicate it is a mistake. Pardee (1988a:106–7) argues persuasively for emending the text to *ʾil*. The second occurrence of *ʿgl il* in line 11 is certain, but the meaning of the phrase within the context of the line is very unclear.[67] L'Heureux (1979:180) suggested that this passage describes a divine banquet where deities dine on the flesh of the cosmic enemy. L'Heureux observes: "the present text may be the earliest existing prototype of the biblical tradition of the eschatological banquet at which the mythological dragon is served as food." Leviathan appears in this very capacity in 2 Esdras (4 Ezra) 6:52 and 2 Baruch 29:3–8. However, the ambiguity of the passage precludes any certainty for this proposal.

The second noun in *ʿgl ʾil* has most commonly been rendered as the name of the god El (so *ANET* 137; *GA* 93; *CML*² 50; Coogan 1978:93; West 1992:383; Pardee 1997a:252). This seems most likely in the context. Others, however, have translated it as a generic noun indicating divinity, i.e., "the divine calf" (*TO* 1.168; *MLC* 185) or have taken it as a superlative use of *ʾil*, indicating the greatness of the creature, i.e., "the mighty calf" (*Thespis* 240). None of these can be entirely ruled out.[68]

8. ʾIšatu, "Fire" as a deity makes its only appearance in the Ugaritic texts here. A god ᵈ*i-ša-tù* is attested also at Ebla (see the Commentary at 1.2 I 14–15, in *UBC* 1.267). In our text she is given the epithet, *klbt ʾilm*, which has been rendered in several possible ways: "the (female)

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[67] Context does not allow a determination as to whether the word *ǵnt* is a verb or a divine name. Thus the meaning of *ʾil* is also ambiguous here. It could be the god-name El, or it could be the common noun "god." See Pardee 1988a:109–10.

[68] The same ambiguity also affects the translation of the phrase in 1.108.

Dog (Bitch) of El" (e.g., Pardee 1997a:252; Wyatt 1998:80), or "of the gods" (*TO* 1.168; *CML*² 50), or "the Divine Bitch" (*ANET* 137; Coogan 1978:93; West 1992:383, *MLC* 185), or finally, "the Mighty Bitch" (*Thespis* 240). As discussed above, the first rendering seems most likely. For this epithet there is additional support for the rendering "Dog of El." Akkadian sources mention a number of deities who have divine dogs who attack their enemies, including Marduk (who has four such dogs), Ea, Damkina, Gula, Ninkarrak, "the Lady of Byblos," and others (see *CAD K*:71, sub *kalbu* 1f). The "Dog of El" fits well into this context. In the same way that *ʿgl ʾil* suggested both strength and subordination to another deity, so the title *klbt ʾil* does the same. Dogs can be ferocious enemies, but they, like calves, have an inferior status in the social order.[69]

One may ask why "calf" and "dog" and not other animals are used to express this sort of status and relationship. The usage seems to derive from their domestication; under normal conditions, they are safe and pliable servants. To be sure, dogs could be threatening. *ARM III* 18:15–16 remarks on the stereotype of the biting "mad" dog: "Like a mad dog I do not know where he will bite (next)" (Marzal 1976:52). One Ur III incantation, refers to "a furiously biting dog" (Velduis 1993; for another case, see Sigrist 1987). Exod 11:7 mentions dogs as a potential problem, and Ps 22:17 draws on the image of menacing dogs in referring metaphorically to enemies as dogs. See a similar metaphor cited in *CAD K*:69b: *ana qāte* UR.GI₇.MEŠ *muššurāni*, "we are delivered to the dogs" (*ABL* 1431 rev. 4, line 4, NB). Firmage (1992:1143) comments: "Feral pariah dogs roamed in packs on the outskirts of town (Ps 59:6, 14; cf. Rev 22:15), where refuse was plentiful." Dogs, however, also helped humans care for their flocks (Job 30:1) and accompanied

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[69] The el-Amarna correspondence regularly uses *kalbu*, "dog," to express subservient status, specifically vassalage to Pharaoh (EA 67:16–18; 76:12–16; 84:6–10, 16–18; 90:19– 26; 91:3–5; 108:25–28; 134:11–13; 201:9–16; 320:16–25; cf. 109:44–49; 130:31–38; 138:95–97; see Galán 1993:174). The juxtaposition of this title with "servant" (*ardu*) is especially indicative of this understanding of "dog": "What is Abdi-Ashirta, servant and dog, that he takes the land of the king for himself ?" (EA 71:16–19; cf. 60:1–9; 88:9–11). The question implicitly identifies Abdi-Ashirta as a dog, which is supposed to be obedient to its owner. *ARM* I 27:28 likewise refers to captive princes as "dogs" (Marzal 1976:53; see also the self-disparaging expression of "dead dog" discussed in Paul 1993:242–44). Subservience is the point of the term in a Lachish letter as well (KAI 192:3–4; cf. 195:3–4, 196:3) and in 2 Kgs 8:13. To be sure, "dog" was used as a term of derision for a disobedient servant as well. The point of both usages is servitude.

them on journeys (see Tobit 6:1).[70] Humans were helped also by calves as beasts of burden (1 Sam 28:24). Iconographic representations depict dogs in human company (for examples, see van Buren 1936:11–15; Eichmann 1997).

9. The last named enemy is *ḏbb*, a *hapax legomenon* in Ugaritic. One would initially expect this name to be cognate to Hebrew *zĕbûb* and Arabic *ḏubab*. However, these words mean "fly (the insect)," an unlikely name for a deity. A somewhat problematic, but possible alternative is to relate it to BH *šābîb*, and Aramaic *šbibā*, "flame" (Greenfield 1994:89; see also *DUL* 285). Job 18:5 and Ben Sira 8:10 refer to *šĕbîb 'iššô*, "the flame of his [Yahweh's] fire." The collocation of BH *šĕbîb* with *'iššô* in these two passages recalls the parallelism here of Ugaritic *ḏbb* and *'išt*, suggesting that BH *šĕbîb* may be cognate with Ugaritic *ḏbb* despite the irregular correspondence of their initial consonants (Greenfield 1994:89). The name, "Flame" would then be parallel to the name "Fire" in the previous line.

Fire and flame are paired in connection with the destructive activities of divinities. They appear together in the epic of Tikulti-Ninurta I (ca. 1244–1208). In this Assyrian king's battle against the Kassites, the gods fight: "Assur led in the vanguard; he kindled a biting fire (*išâtu*) against the foes. Enlil danced (?) in the midst of the enemy; he fanned the burning flame (*nablu*)" (5:25–26; *CAD N*:26; Mann 1977:40–41; for other Mesopotamian examples, see Borger 1956:97, rev. 14; Weinfeld 1983:132 n. 53a). Similarly, as noted above, Job 18:5 and Ben Sira 8:10 refer to *šĕbîb 'iššô*, "the flame of his [Yahweh's] fire." In Pss 50:3 and 97:3 the word *'ēš* appears in close proximity to the word *sābîb-*, "around." In view of the parallelisms discussed here, one might tentatively suggest that **sābîb-* in these two psalms might mask an older reference to "flame." It may be that a word **šābîb*, "flame" simply became obsolete and was forgotten, so that the occurrences in the biblical text came to be merged in later tradition with the much more common **sābîb-*. P. D. Miller (1965:257) compares Fire and Flame in this list to *pur* and *phlox* ("fire" and "flame") in Philo of Byblos (*PE* 1.10.9; Attridge and Oden 1981:40–41, 81 n. 53). One other fascinating, but enigmatic pairing of fire and flame occurs in the Akkadian wisdom tale, "The Fable of the

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[70] For domesticated dogs, see CAT 1.16 I 2, 15. For examples of domesticated dogs in shepherding and hunting, see *CAD K*:71a.

Fox," in which the wolf says of the dog, "The mother who bore you is Fire (*girra*)...Your brothers are Flames" (Lambert 1960:196, lines 19–20; Watson 1978:397). Here we have fire and flame connected to the dog, as in our text, although, as Watson notes, the connection is quite vague to us. Finally, it is to be noted that of all the cosmic foes, only *d̲bb* is called El's daughter, a term denoting both proximate affiliation and subordination.

The enemies that Anat describes here appear to be divided into two groupings, water-based and land-based figures (for discussions about this, see above, and *BOS* 2.116; see also Pardee 1997a:252 n. 92 and 93). The former, with five names and epithets, appear to represent either one or two beings (Yamm/Nahar, Tunnan/Snake/Powerful One). The latter set of four may be interpreted as separate deities, perhaps all closely related in an otherwise unknown story of conflict (they presumably have little or nothing to do with a story of pre-creation cosmic conflict, which is usually related to the cosmic waters). But it is also possible to view each pair, ʾAršu/ʿAtaku and ʾIšatu/D̲abibu, as a single deity, since the epithets of each pair may easily be understood as complementary, each consisting of a relational and an animal designation (*mêdada ili-ma/ʿigla ili*, "beloved/calf of El" for the god ʾAršu/ʿAtaku, and *kalbata ili-ma/bitta ili*, "dog/daughter of El" for the goddess ʾIsătu/D̲abibu). In addition, the names in each bicolon, "Desire/Binder" and "Fire/Flame" can be seen as reasonable parallel names for a single deity. But because nothing else is known about these gods, no firm conclusion can be reached. None of these names appears in any of the offering or deity lists from Ugarit (cf. Pardee 2000:962–96).

The two sets of enemies seem distinguished not only by realm, but to some degree by their identification with various animals. In the first group we find snake-dragon(s) (on this type in Mesopotamia, see Wiggermann 1997). Snakes are wild animals, clearly viewed as enemies to humanity (cf. the snake-incantations). The four land figures are manifest, however, as domesticated species such as calf and dog, but in their specific relation to El, not in any formal nature as cosmic enemies. In this context, one might see the enemies as divided according to their association with two different gods: the first group of names is associated (or completely identified) with Yamm, while the second is attached to El. But because Yamm in 1.1–1.2 is the protégé of El (*mdd ʾil* in lines 38–39), everything leads back to the latter god's lack of support for Baal.

The last tricolon of 1.3 III (in lines 45–47a) ends with a reference to the spoils of silver and gold, presumably the result of Anat's victory over these enemies. This line brings in a political element to the battle(s) that accords well with the idea that Anat's conflict here is not so much cosmogonic; it is primarily related to the theme of Baal's achievement of authority among the gods. In a political conflict, the seizure of booty is a prime indicator of the extent of the victory. The Mesopotamian monarchs never tire of recording the booty taken from their defeated enemies. The same can be seen in the Hebrew Bible. For example, 2 Sam 12:30 mentions gold as part of the spoils brought to David after Israel's victory over the Ammonites. Zech 14:12–14 refers to the gold and silver of the nations that will be gathered as spoils in the end-times. The political importance of seizing this booty is also clear in CAT 1.2 I 19//35, in which Yamm's message to the divine council is, "Give up Baal that I may humble him,//The Son of Dagan, that I may possess his gold" (cf. *TO* 1.130 n. r, 168 n. o; Pardee 1984:255; for discussion see *UBC* 1.293). Gold and silver were the two most precious metals in the Near East, gold naturally being the more valuable (Stieglitz 1979; Heltzer 1977; Nasgowitz 1975), but the reference to silver and gold here has to do with less acquisition of wealth as such, and more with the symbolism of victory. It emphasizes Anat's complete overthrow of these enemies of Baal and also confirms her fierce loyalty to Baal and her clear readiness to come to his aid.[71] Anat's speech continues in the following column, 1.3 IV.

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[71] The importance of this line in concluding the discussion of the conflict in lines 38–46 assures its placement as part of a tricolon with the two previous cola, rather than with the following section of the speech (as found in Pardee 1997b:252).

CAT 1.3 IV

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Text Editions: Virolleaud 1938:56–68, pls. IV, V, VI, XII; CTA 17–18, fig. 9, 10, 11, pls. V, VI; KTU 12–13; CAT 12–13.

Studies and Translations: Aistleitner 28–30; Caquot and Sznycer, *TO* 1.169–73; Cassuto, *GA* 94–97, 135–39; Clifford, *CMCOT* 86–90; Coogan 1978:93–95; Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1143–46; Driver, *CML*[1] 86–89; Gaster, *Thespis* 240–2; Gibson, *CML*[2] 50–52; Ginsberg, *ANET* 137; Gordon, *UL* 20–22, 1977:79–82; Gray, *LC*[2] 47–49; Jirku 31–33; de Moor, *SPUMB* 109, 1987:12–15; del Olmo Lete, *MLC* 185–88; *MLR* 71–74; Pardee 1997a:252–54; Smith, *UNP* 111–15; Wyatt 1998:80–84; Xella 1982:102–5; van Zijl, *Baal* 67–73.

TEXT (SEE IMAGES 16–19, AND IMAGES 20–21 FOR LETTERS ON THE RIGHT EDGE OF THE TABLET)

[This column continues directly from the previous one.]

1   *bmrym.ṣpn.mšṣṣ.k̊.ʿxx*
    ʾudnh.gršh.lks̊ʾi.mlkh
    lnḫt.lkḫṯ.drkth
    mnm.ʾib.ypʿ.lb̊ʿl.ṣrt.lrkb.ʿrpt
5   *[ ]ʿn.ǵlmm.yʿnyn.lʾib.ypʿ*
    l̊b̊ʿl.ṣrt.lrkb.ʿrpt
    tḥm.ʾaliyn.bʿl.hwt.ʾalʾiy
    qrdm.qryy.bʾarṣ.mlḥmt
    št.bʿp̊r̊m.ddym.sk.šlm
10 *lkbd.ʾarṣ.ʾarbdd.lkbd.šdm*
    [ ]šk.[ ]s̊k̊.ʿbṣk.ʿmy.pʿnk
    [   ]mn[ ]my.twtḥ.ʾišdk
    [   ]i̊wʾar̊gmk.hwt
    [   ]ʿṣ.wlḫšt
15 *[   ]ʿ.nš[ ]bn*
    [   ]r̊ṣ̊.[   ]rṣ
    tḥ̊mt.ᵉ[   ]
    dl.t[ ]mṁ[   ]
    ʾib[   ]rẙ[ ]l̊.sp̊[   ]
20 *bqd̊[ ]b̊ǵ[ ]n̊ḥlty*
    wi̊[   ].btlt.[ ]n̊t.tṯb
    [   ]l̊ʾimm.[ ]n̊.ʾaqry

[ ]ř̊[ ].mlḫm̊t[ ]t.bʿprm
d̑d[ ]m̊ʾask.[ ]lkbd.ʾarṣ
25 ʾar[ ]d̑.l̊kb[ ]d̑m.yšt
bʿ[ ]bʿl.mdlh.ybʿr
[ ]p̊t̊.[ ]rnh.ʾaqry
ʾan̊[ ]bʾa[ ]ṣ.mlḫmt
ʾašt[ ]ʿpr̊m̊.ddym.ʾask
30 šlm.lkb[ ]ʾawṣ.ʾarbdd
lkbd.š[ ]ʾap.mt̠n.rgmm
ʾargmn.lk̊ʾ.lk.ʿnn.ʾilm
ʾatm.bštm.ẇ̊ʾan.šnt
ʾugr.lrḥq.ʾilm.ʾinbb
35 lrḥq.ʾilnym.t̠n.mt̠pdm
tḥt.ʿnt.ʾarṣ.t̠lt̠.mt̠h.ǵyrm
ʾidk.lttnpnm.ʿm.bʿl
mrym.ṣpn.bʾalp.šd.rbt.kmn
hlk.ʾaḥth.bʿl.yʿn.tdrq
40 ybnt.ʾabh.šrḥq.ʾat̠t.lpnnh̊
št.ʾalp.qdmh.mrʾiʾa.ẇtk
pnh.tḥspn.mh.wtrḥṣ
t̠l.šmm.šmn.ʾarṣ.t̠l.šm[ ]kh
rbb.nskh.kbkbm.
45 ttpp.ʾanhbm.d̑ʾalp.šd̑
z̊ʾů[   ]

About 15 lines are missing. The following lines appear on the smaller
fragment, RS 2.[014].

[[l̊[
kbn[
bnh.m[
50' mt̠b.pdr[
t̠ly.bt.r[
bt.yʿbdr[
knyt.wtʿn̊[
yt̠bly.t̠r.ʾil̊[
55' yt̠b.ly.wlh.[

Textual Notes

Line 1. k̊.ʿxx   The end of the line has been damaged. There appears
to be the left line of a fairly large word divider after the /k/, although
this may simply be damage. Following the /ʿ/ is a damaged letter with at

least one long vertical still preserved. We see no certain traces of other wedges. Thus it could be /g/, /ṣ/ or, least likely, /l/, since there does not appear to be enough room for three wedges here. There appear to be highly damaged remains of short horizontals at the end of the line and along the edge, which make the proposed /r/ possible, though not certain. The translation assumes the reading *kṣr* (so also KTU and Pardee with qualifications).

Line 2. ʾudnh   The first three letters each have more wedges than usual. The /ʾu/ has four verticals, the /d/ has four verticals as well, and the /n/ has four horizontal wedges.

Line 3. lnḫt   The /ḫ/ has four wedges.

Line 4. mnm.ʾib   The /n/ has four wedges. The /ʾi/ has four horizontal wedges.
    /lbˤl./   There is a clear word divider after this word, contra CAT.

Line 5. [ ]ˤn   There are no traces of the first letter of the line, contra CAT.
    /yˤnyn/   The two /n/'s both have four wedges.

Line 6. l̊bˤl   Only the right wedge of the first /l/ is preserved, along with the lower tip of the middle wedge and the possible lower right edge of the left wedge. Context assures the reading. The second /l/ has four verticals.

Line 9. bˤp̊r̊m   The /p/ is certain. The letter certainly consists only of the two horizontal wedges. The /r/ is represented only by the right tip of the right horizontal, but the parallels to this passage assure the reading.

Line 10. lk̊b̊d̊.ʾår̥ṣ   The letters /kbd.ʾar/ have all been damaged, but there are traces of each that strongly support the reading. /k/ is certain, with both left wedges and the upper left part of the right wedge well preserved. The lower line of the /b/ is visible, as is the general line of the top of the letter. The /d/ is more fragmentary, with only the three vertical wedges preserved. The lower line of the /ʾa/ is visible, and parts of the right three wedges of the /r/ survive.

Line 11. [ ]šk   In the damage at the beginning of the line, there is an indentation that is probably what CAT read as a fragment of /ḫ/ here. But it is part of the damage, not an element of a letter. While it appears to be part of the upper line of the right wedge of the /ḫ/, it is actually far too much to the left to be that part of the letter.

   [ ]ṣ̌k   We see no hint of an /ʿ/ in the second break, contra CAT. The following /ṣ/, while certain from context, is only barely preserved along the right side of its right wedge.

Line 12. [ ]my   The damage in the break is generally in the shape of an /ʿ/, but no actual traces of the letter itself appear to be preserved.

Line 13.]ẇʾaṙgmk   The upper wedges of the /w/ are visible. While badly damaged, the r is certain, with parts of all five wedges preserved. The rest of the line is clear.

Line 15.]ʿ.nš[Only the right slope and the deep interior of the /ʿ/ have been preserved.

Line 16. [ ]ṙṣ̣.[For the first /rṣ/, the /r/ is badly damaged, but three short horizontals on the left side are preserved and assure the reading. The probable /ṣ/ is also badly damaged. The left vertical is only preserved along its right line. Most of the right vertical survives, with only its head missing. Most of the word divider is visible. There do not appear to be any certain traces of the succeeding /t/ proposed by CAT.

Line 17. iṫḣmṫ.ʿ̊[The lower line of the /t/ is preserved, and only the lower line of the bottom wedge of the /h/ survives. Only a portion of the lower line of the second /t/ is discernable. All of these letters are assured by parallels. The lower left portion of a wedge follows the damaged word divider. Its base seems almost completely horizontal, suggesting an /ʿ/ like those in line 11 above. Context argues for the reading as well.

Line 18. dl.t[The /d/ has four vertical wedges. The left side of the word divider is preserved here. To its right one can the see the lower part of the left side of the /t/.

   ]mṁ[The first /m/ is very clear and largely preserved and was noted by CAT. Only the tops of the two wedges of the second /m/ are visible.

Line 19. 'ib̭[The left horizontal and the lower half of the right horizontal of the /b/ are preserved, as are some of the indentations of the tops of the two verticals. The reading is certain also by context.

]rẙ.[ ]l̥˚   The /y/ is certain by context. Only two vertical wedges of the right half of the letter are visible after the break. This is followed by a short, but deep, vertical wedge, which sits very low on the line. CTA and CAT read this wedge as a word divider. But it is extremely low for a word divider. It is also possible that it is the lower vertical of the /'i/, although no traces of the horizontals are visible above or to the right of the wedge. There are a few examples of /'i/ in which the vertical is substantially separated from the horizontals (see Ellison 2002:II:189, fig. 764), but they are rare. The /l/ is certain by context, although only two large verticals are preserved.

ṣp̊[The /p/ is only preserved along its left side. No traces survive anymore of the following /n/, which must have been visible at one time. Virolleaud's drawing (*CTA* II, fig. 10, line 63) suggests that it and the full lines of the /p/ were visible. There appears to have been further deterioration of this break since then.

Line 20. bqḓ[The upper left line of a vertical wedge follows the /q/. This is compatible with /d/, which is assured by context.

b̊ġ[Following the break after /bqd/, the lower lines of the two horizontal wedges of the /b/ are preserved, as is much of the lower diagonal of the following /ġ/, along with what appears to be the very bottom of the indentation of the horizontal stroke of that letter. We see no traces of the succeeding /r/ recorded in CAT.

]n̊ḫlty   Following the second break, two wedges of the /n/ are visible, with the right side of it and the left side of the /ḫ/ lost in another break.

Line 21. wṱ[ ]   The /t/ is damaged, but easily discernable. We see no traces of letters following it, contra CAT, which reads /ʿn/ there.

Line 22. [ ]l̥̊'imm   There are no traces of a /y/ at the beginning of the line, as in CAT. The two right wedges of the /l/ are preserved.

[ ]n̊.å̊qry   The letter after the second break is very badly damaged. All that can be said with certainty is that it is a horizontal letter. It could be a /t/, /n/, /k/ or /r/. The length of the letter and context argue for an /n/ here. Pardee has suggested reading it as a /k/, but the indentation he presumably identifies as the lower left wedge of the

/k/ appears to be breakage, rather than a wedge. However, the reading cannot be ruled out. The /ʾa/ is also badly damaged, but hints along the upper line of the letter suggest two wedges.

Line 23. [ ]r̊[ ]   There appear to be the merest of indentations of three right horizontals of an /r/ in the damage of the beginning of the line.
   mlhm̊t   Only the horizontal wedge of the second /m/ survives.

Line 24. d̊d[ ]m̊   Both of the initial /d/'s are badly damaged. The context assures the readings. Only the lower parts of the horizontals still survive on the first one, while most of the interior of the second has been destroyed. The right side of the /m/ is the only part preserved, but the context argues for the reading.

Line 25. ʾar[ ]d̊. The /r/ is certain, though only three horizontals are preserved. The bottom half of the right horizontal of a /d/ is clearly visible on the tablet. Its identity as a /d/ is assured by context. The lower tip of the following word divider is also discernable, as is a bit of the impression of the upper part of the wedge.
   l̊kb[The /l/ is assured by context, although only the upper part of the right wedge is preserved.
   ]d̊m   The /d/ following the second break is also preserved only at the bottom, with the lower left part of the left horizontal and the right tip of the right horizontal still visible. The interior of those wedges suggests that the letter had four horizontals, rather than the usual three, a characteristic fairly well attested on this tablet.

Line 26. b̊[ ]bˁl   Fragments of both vertical wedges of the /b/ at the beginning of the line are preserved, as is part of the indentation of the left lower horizontal. We see no other traces of letters or a word divider before /bˁl/, contra CAT, which records an /m/ in the break and Pardee, who discerns the left-hand wedge of a /š/ directly after the /b/. The restoration /bšmm/, advocated by Driver (1956:88) and Good (1984:81), is plausible. The /l/ has four wedges.
   mdlh   The /d/ of /mdlh/ is certain, in spite of only two vertical wedges being visible. There are clearly three horizontals in the letter. The /h/ has four wedges.

Line 27. [ ]p̊t̊.[ ]rnh.'aqry   The right tips of both wedges of the /p/ are visible, as is most of the /t/. Pardee's suggestion (1997a:253 n. 95) to read the three wedges as the right part of an /r/ seems unlikely, since the point of the lower left horizontal meets the large horizontal at a level much higher than the lower horizontal of an /r/ normally does. The reading /pt/ seems more likely. The head of the word divider is located at the right tip of the /t/. There is sufficient room to fit the reconstruction /rkb.ʿr/ in the broken section of the line preceding /pt/.

Line 28. 'àṅ[ ]   The lower line of the /'a/ is largely preserved. The lower line of the /n/ is also visible, along with the upper line of the right horizontal. The restored /k/ fits the damaged space very well.
   ]b'a[ ]ṣ   We do not see the word divider CAT places before /b'a/. Nor are there any traces of the /r/ that follows in CAT (correctly reconstructed by context).

Line 29.]ʿpr̊m̊   The upper line of the /ʿ/ is preserved. Both wedges of the /p/ are also visible. To the right are two damaged horizontals, one above the other. Only the left side and the lower left corner of the lower wedge survive, but a fair amount of the upper wedge is visible. The right line of the vertical of the following /m/ is preserved. The readings are assured by context.
   ddym̊.   All that is preserved of the /m/ is the left part of the horizontal and the lower tip of the vertical. The right side of the succeeding word divider is preserved.

Line 30. lkb[ ]   The /l/ has four wedges. Contra CAT, there are no traces of the /d/ that context indicates followed /lkb/.
   'awṣ   The /w/ is certainly a scribal error for /r/.

Line 31.]'ap   There are no traces of the /m/ CTA places before /'ap/. The depression that CTA and CAT identify as a word divider before /'ap/ appears to be damage, rather than a wedge.

Line 32. l̊k̊.lk   The first /lk/ is badly broken, but parts of all three wedges of the /l/ are preserved. Only the lower left wedge and a section of the lower line of the larger right horizontal of the /k/ survive.

Line 33. ẇ'an   The /w/ is damaged, with much of its interior missing, but the reading is certain.

Line 34. lrḥq   The /l/ has four wedges.
   ʾilm   The /ʾi/ is badly damaged, but certain, since the lower verti-
cal is partially preserved.

Line 37. ʾidk.   The /ʾi/ has four horizontal wedges.
   ttnpnm   Both /n/'s in this line have four wedges.

Line 38. ṣpn   The /n/ has four wedges.
   rbt.   The /r/ of /rbt/ has been written with one left upper wedge
instead of two, while the bottom left part of the sign has the regular
two wedges.

Line 39. yʿn   The /n/ has four wedges.

Line 40. pnnḫ   Only the top wedge of the /h/ is preserved, but the
context argues for the reading.

Line 43.]kh   The /h/ has four wedges.

Line 44. kbkbm.   There is a word divider at the end of the line.

Line 45. šd̦   Only a few traces of the /d/, certain from context, are
preserved. One can make out the vague lines of two verticals and the
left side and lower line of the horizontals.

Line 46. ẓʾů[ ]   The first letter could be /q/ also, but context argues for
/ẓ/. It is not likely to be /ṭ/ as proposed by CTA, since the indentation
that would indicate the upper vertical of the /ṭ/ is much too small. It
appears to be a break. The context argues that the upper left part of
a vertical next to the /ẓ/ is part of a /ʾu/. There are undistiguishable
traces of letters further on down the line.

The Small Fragment of the End of the Column

Line 47. [ ]l̊[ ]   We see no traces of the *bt* proposed at the beginning
of the line by *CAT*. There are vague impressions that might be the
lower tips of two verticals. This might be the remains of a /l/. But
this is uncertain.

Line 49. bnh.m[There are no clear traces of the /*t*/ read by CAT
after the /m/.

Line 53. knyt.   The right half of the /y/ has four wedges, while the left half has three.

  wt'n̊[Only the left wedge of the /n/ survives, but context argues for the reading.

Line 54. 'il̊   The /l/ is broken, with only the left wedge preserved.

Text Restored and Set in Poetic Form

[This column continues directly from the previous one.]

III 47–IV 2	*ṭrd.b'l/bmrym.ṣpn.*
	mšṣṣ.k.'[ ]/'udnh.
2–3	*gršh.lks'i.mlkh/*
	lnḫt.lkḫṯ.drkth
4	*mnm.'ib.yp'.lb'l.*
	ṣrt.lrkb.'rpt
5	*[y]'n.ǵlmm.y'nyn.*
5–6	*l'ib.yp'/lb'l.*
	ṣrt.lrkb.'rpt
7–8	*tḥm.'aliyn.b'l.*
	hwt.'al'iy/qrdm.
8–9	*qryy.b'arṣ.mlḥmt/*
	št.b'prm.ddym.
9–10	*sk.šlm/lkbd.'arṣ.*
	'arbdd.lkbd.šdm
11	*[ḥ]šk.['']ṣk.'bṣk.*
11–12	*'my.p'nk/[tls]mn*
	['']my.twtḥ.'išdk
13–14	*[dm.rgm.'iṯ.ly.]w'argmk.*
	hwt/[w'aṯnyk.]
14–16	*[rgm.]'ṣ.wlḫšt/['abn.]*
	[rgm.ltd]'.nš[m.]
	[wlt]bn/[hmlt.'a]rṣ.
16–18	*[t'ant.šmm.'m.'a]rṣ/*
	thmt.'[mn.kbkbm.]
	['abn.brq]/dl.t[d'.š]mm[.]
18–20	*['atm.w'ank]/'ib[ǵyh.]*
	[btk.ǵ]ry.['i]l.ṣp[n]/
	bqd[š.]bǵ[r.]nḥlty
21–22	*wt['n].btlt.['']nt.*
	ttb/[ybmt.]l'imm.
22–24	*['a]n.'aqry/[b'a]r[ṣ].mlḥmt[.]*
	['aš]t.b'prm/dd[y]m

24–25 *'ask.[šlm.]lkbd.'arṣ/*
         'ar[bd]d.lkb[d.š]dm.
25–27 *yšt/b[šmm.]b'l.mdlh.*
         yb'r/[rkb.'r]pt.[q]rnh.
27–29 *'aqry/'an[k.]b'a[r]ṣ.mlḥmt/*
         'ašt[.b]'prm.ddym
29–31 *'ask/šlm.lkb[d.]'ar(!)ṣ.*
         'arbdd/lkbd.š[dm]
31–32 *'ap.mṯn.rgmm/'argmn.*
32–33 *lk.lk.'nn.'ilm/*
         'atm.bštm.w'an.šnt
34–35 *'ugr.lrḥq.'ilm.*
         'inbb/lrḥq.'ilnym.
35–36 *ṯn.mṯpdm/tḥt.'nt.'arṣ.*
         ṯlṯ.mtḥ.ġyrm
37–38 *'idk.lttn pnm.*
         'm.b'l/mrym.ṣpn.
38–40 *b'alp.šd.rbt.kmn/*
         hlk.'aḫth.b'l.y'n.
         tdrq/ybnt.'abh.
40–42 *šrḥq.'aṯt.lpnnh/*
         št.'alp.qdmh.
         mr'i'a.wtk/pnh.
42–43 *tḥspn.mh.wtrḥṣ/*
         ṭl.šmm.šmn.'arṣ.
43–44 *ṭl.šm[m.ts]kh/*
         rbb.nskh.kbkbm.
45–46 *ttpp.'anhbm.*
         d'alp.šd/ẓ'u[h.bym]

[About 15 lines are missing, including the following two bicola and
the first two words of the bicolon in lines 47b–48. The following lines
appear on the smaller fragment.]

         ['any.lyṣḥ.ṯr 'il.'abh]
         ['il mlk.dyknnh]
         [yṣḥ.'aṯrt wbnh.]
         ['ilt.wṣbrt.'aryh.]
47–48 *[wn.'in.bt.]l'[b'l.km.'ilm.]*
         [wḥzr]/kbn['aṯrt.]
48–49 *[mṯb.'il.mzll]/bnh.*
         m[ṯb.rbt.'aṯrt.ym]
50–53 *mṯb.pdr[y.bt.'ar.]*
         [mzll]/ṯly.bt.r[b.]
         [mṯb.'arṣy]/bt.y'bdr[.]
         [mṯb.klt]/knyt.

53   *wt'n[.btlt. 'nt]*
54–55   *ytb ly.tr.'il[.'aby]/*
        ytb.ly.wlh.[   ]

Translation and Vocalized Text

[This column continues directly from the previous one.]

Anat's Response to Baal's Messengers Continued

Column III 47–Column IV 2

	Did he banish Baal from the summit of Sapan,	ṭarada baʿla bi-maryāmi[1] ṣapāni
	Making (him) flee his (place of) lordship like a bir[d]?	mušaṣṣisu ka-ʿu[ṣṣūri[2]] ʾudna-hu
2–3	Did he drive him from his royal throne,	garrišu-hu lê-kissiʾi mulki-hu
	From the resting place,[3] the throne of his dominion?	lê-nūḫti lê-kaḫti darkati-hu
4	What enemy has risen against Baal,	mannuma ʾibu yapiʿu lê-baʿli
	What foe against the Cloudrider?"	ṣarratu lê-rākibi ʿurpati

The Message of Baal

5	The youths [sp]oke up, they answered:	[ya]ʿnî ġalamūma yaʿniyūna

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[1] The plural form would be theoretically possible as well, but the singular is used of Baal's mountainous abode in 1.3 III 29–31; cf. the singular form for the divine mountain in Ezek 20:40; cf. 2 Kgs 19:23 = Isa 37:24; Jer 49:16, 51:53; Ezek 17:23; Obad 3.

[2] The word is attested for example in 1.6 II 36 and 1.23.38. See the syllabic evidence and further discussion in Huehnergard 1987b:162. Avishur (1984:612) connects Ugaritic *ʿṣr* with Akkadian *iṣṣūru* in contrast to Hebrew and Aramaic *ṣpwr* and Arabic *ʿuṣfur*. *CAD S*:155 similarly distinguishes Akkadian *ṣibāru*, Arabic *ʿuṣfur*, Hebrew *ṣippôr* and Aramaic *ṣippārā* from Akkadian *iṣṣūru* and Ugaritic *ʿṣr*. The distinction works apart from the anomalous Arabic *ʿuṣfur*, which would suggest a more complex situation. In contrast to *CAD*, Pope (1977b:575) identifies Ugaritic *ʿṣr* with all the other terms except for Akkadian *ṣibāru*, which he does not mention.

[3] The word is usually derived from Semitic **nwḫ*, "to rest" (see *DUL* 630). In his discussion of the word, Watson (1995:227) compares Hurrian, *naḫḫa-*, "to sit" (cf. *GLH* 175–76: "sens inconnue").

5–6	"No enemy has risen against Baal,	lā-'ibu yapi'u lê-ba'li
	No foe against the Cloudrider.	ṣarratu lê-rākibi 'urpati
7–8	Message of Mightiest Baal,	taḥmu 'al'iyāni ba'li
	Word of the Mightiest of Warriors:	hawatu 'al'iyi qarrādīma
8–9	'Offer in the earth war,	qiriyi(y) bi-'arṣi malḥamata
	Place in the dust love;	šîti bi-'apari-ma dûdayama
9–10	Pour peace amid the earth,	siki šalāma lê-kabidi 'arṣi
	Tranquility amid the fields.	'arabbvdadi lê-kabidi šadîma
11	You must [ha]sten!	[ḥā]šu-ki ['ā]ṣu-ki 'abāṣu-ki
	You must [hu]rry!	
	You must rush!	
11–12	To me let your feet [ru]n,	'imma-ya pa'nā-ki [talsu]māni
	[T]o me let your legs race,	['im]ma-ya tiwtaḥā 'išdā-ki
13–14	[For a message I have,] and	[dam rigmu 'êṭa lê-ya] wa-
	I will tell you,	'argumu-ka
	A word, [and I will recount	hawatu/[wa-'aṭanniyu-ka]
	to you],	
14–16	[Word] of tree and whisper	[rigmu] 'iṣṣi wa-laḥšatu ['abni]
	of [stone],	
	[The word] peop[le do not	[rigmu lā-tida]'ū našū[ma]
	kno]w,	
	[And ea]rth's [masses not	[wa-lā-ta]bînū/[hamulātu 'a]rṣi
	und]erstand.	
16–18	[Converse of Heaven with	[ta'anatu šamîma 'imma 'a]rṣi
	Ea]rth,	
	Of Deeps w[ith Stars].	tahāmāti 'i[mmana kabkabīma]
	[I understand the lightning]	['abînu baraqa]/
	which [the He]avens do not	dā-lā-ti[da'ū ša]mûma
	k[now.]	
18–20	[Come and I] will re[veal it]	['atî-ma wa-'anāku] 'ib[ġayu-hu]
	[In the midst of] my	[bi-tôki ġā]ri-ya ['i]li ṣapā[ni]
	[moun]tain, [Div]ine	
	Sapa[n],	
	On the ho[ly] mou[nt of]	bi-qid[ši] bi-ġā[ri] naḥlati-ya
	my heritage.'"	

Anat Responds

21–22	And Adolescent [A]nat	wa-ta['nî] batulatu ['a]natu
	an[swered],	
	[The In-law] of the Peoples	taṯûbu/[yabimtu] li'imīma
	replied:	

22–24   "I myself will offer   ['a]na 'aqriyu/[bi-'a]r[și]
          [in the ea]r[th] war,   malḥamata
          [Pu]t in the dust lo[v]e;   ['aší]tu bi-'apari-ma/dûda[yi]-ma

24–25   I will pour [peace] amid the   'assiku [šalāma] lê-kabidi 'arși/
          earth,
          Tran[quili]ty ami[d the fie]lds.   'ara[bbvda]da lê-kabi[di ša]dîma

25–27   May Baal set his harness in   yašît/bi-[šamîma] ba'lu madali-hu
          [the Heavens],
          May [the Clo]ud[rider] radiate   yib'ar/[rākibu 'ur]pati [qa]ranī-hu
          his [ho]rns.

27–29   I mys[elf] will offer in the   'aqriyu/'anā[ku] bi-'a[r]și
          ea[r]th war,   malḥamata
          Put [in] the dust love.   'ašîtu [bi-]'apari-ma dûdayi-mi

29–31   I will pour peace am[id] the   'assiku/šalāma lê-kabi[di] 'arși
          earth,
          Tranquility amid the fi[elds].   'arabbvdada lê-kabidi ša[dîma]

31–32   On a second subject I would   'ap maṯnê ragamīma⁴/'argumu-na
          speak:

32–33   Go, Go, Divine Servants!   likā likā 'anî-na 'ilêma
          You, you delay, but I, I depart.   'attumā baššatumā wa-'ana šanôtu⁵

34–35   Ugar is very far, O Gods,   'uǵaru la-raḥāqu 'ilêmi⁶
          Inbab is very far, O Deities—   'inababu⁷ la-raḥāqu 'ilāniyyêmi

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⁴ *maṯnê is the vocalization based on *ma-aš-nu-ú* in *Ugaritica* V polyglot, see Sivan 1982:212–13. For the etymology of *rgm, see *UBC* 1.169 n. 97. See below for the discussion of the phrase.

⁵ The root is *šnw, as indicated by 1.96.1: *hlkt w šnwt* (Sivan 1997:161, 162; for a different derivation, see *UG* 597, 670). Therefore, the *qatala base is *šanaw-, suggesting the vocalization here (so too Sivan 1997:162 with a question-mark).

⁶ For the vocative in the genitive case, see Greenstein 1998:414, who proposes that the genitive is indicated for the vocative in 1.17 I 23 by the presence of the *-y* first person suffix on the noun *'ab. But according to Gordon and Sivan this suffix is added also to a noun in the accusative case (for discussion and examples, see *UT* 6.6; Sivan 1984:51–52). Tropper (*UG* 215, 216) points out the complexities of the use of *-y* on the accusative. He also (*UG* 314–15) provides examples that suggest that either genitive or accusative forms can be used for the vocative. So it remains unclear which case is used in the vocative. The comparative evidence available is also insufficient to resolve the question. However, according to Greenstein (personal communication), "the reason the genitive is used for vocative is that it is preceded sometimes (or in deep structure) by the preposition *li-*." In other words, in Greenstein's view, the vocative *l-* is a subusage of the preposition *l-*, which takes the genitive case.

⁷ The vocalization of this word is unknown. The vocalization here is based on the assumption that a vowel intervenes between the second and third consonants (since *-nb-* might be expected to assimilate to *-bb-*) and between the third and fourth consonants (since otherwise only a single *b* would be represented).

35–36 Two lengths beneath Earth's   ṯinâ maṯpadāmi taḥta ʿênāti ʾarṣi
       springs,
       Three *mṯḥ*-measures of the caves."   ṯalāṯu mataḥū ġayarīma

Anat's Travel to Baal's Home and Their Meeting

37–38 Then she (Anat) headed out   ʾiddaka la-tatinu panīma
       For Baal on the summit of Sapan.   ʿimma baʿli maryama ṣapāni

38–40 From a thousand acres, a   bi-ʾalpi šiddi ribbati kumāni
          myriad of hectares[8]
       The advance of his sister   halaka ʾaḥati[9]-hu baʿlu yaʿînu
          Baal eyed,
       The approach of the {In-law}/   tadarriqa[10]/{yabimti/
       Daughter(?)} of his Father   bitti(?)} ʾabī[11] -hu

40–42 He removed women from   šarḥiqa[12] ʾaṯṯāti lê-panī-nhû[13]
          his presence;
       He placed an ox before her,   šata ʾalpa qudmi-ha
       A fatling right in front of her.   marʾiʾa wa-tôka panī-ha

42–43 She drew water and washed   taḥsupuna maha wa-tirḥaṣu
       With Dew of Heaven, Oil   ṯalla šamîma šamna ʾarṣi
          of Earth,

43–44 Dew the Heave[ns pou]red   ṯalla šamû[ma tissa]ku-ha
          on her,
       Showers the Stars poured on   rabîba nasaku-ha kabkabūma
          her.

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[8] It is difficult to render *šd* and *kmn* into the English or American systems of spatial measurement. We settle for a mixture of British and American terms (cf. "rods"// "furlongs" in *UNP* 58). The Ugaritic words are not distance measurements as such, so that Wyatt's rendering, "miles"//"leagues" (1998:82), is not accurate. They are measurements of field-size in Akkadian documents (noted by Loewenstamm 1956 and since followed; *UBC* 1.169 n. 96). For *šiddu* as one-sixth of an *ikû* at Emar, see Arnaud 1991:13 n. 2; Westenholz 2000:xiv; Mori 2003:104–5. Here the nouns are collective singular.

[9] For the syllabic evidence for this form, see Huehnergard 1987b:105; *UG* 172.

[10] For the root, see Huehnergard 1987b:119–20. It is generally understood as a *Dt*-stem verbal noun, but it could also be a *t*- preformative noun.

[11] For the length of the case vowel, see Huehnergard 1987a:189. In addition to the standard lexica, see M. Cohen 1947:77, #4. As Cohen's discussion might suggest, old biconsonantal bases without corresponding verbal roots in Semitic languages may be traced to an older Afro-Asiatic linguistic stratum.

[12] The form is vocalized here as **qatala* (as in Sivan 1997:138; *UG* 599), but it could be an infinitive (as could be the following verb).

[13] See *UG* 777. Or, is a dittography involved?

| 45–46 | She beautified herself with murex, | tatāpipu ’anhibīma |
| | [Who]se extract [from the sea] is a thousand fields. | dā-’alpu šadû/ẓi’u-[hu bi-yammi] |

[There is a gap of about 15 lines. The extant text picks up with Baal's complaint about his need for a palace.]

	['… In lament,]	[’āniyu]
	[he indeed cries to Bull El his Father,]	[la-yaṣûḥu[14] ṯôra ’ila ’abā-hu]
	[To El the King who created/established him.]	[’ila malka dā-yakāninu-hu]
	[He cries to Athirat and her children,]	[yaṣûḥu ’aṯirata wa-banī-ha]
	[The goddess and the band of her brood:]	[’ilata wa-ṣibbirata[15] ’aryi-ha]
47–48	['For Baal] has [no house like the gods',]	[wa-na ’ênu bêtu] lê-[ba‘li[16] kama ’ilīma]
	[Or court] like [Athirat's] children's.	[wa-ḥaẓiru] ka-banī [’aṯirati]
48–49	[The dwelling of El is[17] the shelter of] his son,	[môṯabu[18] ’ili maẓlalu] bini-hu
	The dw[elling of the Lady Athirat of the Sea,]	mô[ṯabu rabbati[19] ’aṯirati yammi]
50–51	The dwelling of Pidr[ay, Daughter of Light],	môṯabu pidra[yi bitti ’ari]
	[The shelter of] Tallay, Daughter of Sho[wers],	[maẓlalu]/ṭallayi bitti ri[bbi]
51–53	The dwelling of Arsay], Daughter of the Wide World,	[môṯabu ’arṣayi] bitti ya‘ibidrayi

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[14] For *lyṣḥ ṯr ’il ’abh* implying *ṣ(w)ḥ l-*, "to cry to," see Pardee 1997a:255 n. 113.

[15] For the syllabic evidence for *ṣibbiru*, see Huehnergard 1987b:169. It is possible that an alternative base such as *ṣibburat-* underlies the alphabetic form.

[16] For the syntax, see the examples in the Commentary below; cf. 1.10 II 4: *’in b‘l bbhth*.

[17] For nominal complementation in this instance, see Sivan 1997:203.

[18] For the syllabic spelling *mu-ša-bu* = *môṯabu* < *mawṯabu*, see Sivan 1997:71; Huehnergard 1987b:135; *UG* 188.

[19] The Akkadian cognate for this word is *rabītu* (see discussion on pp. 404–6). It might be that the vocalization here should follow suit.

	[The dwelling of the] Noble [Brides].	[môṯabu kallāti] kaniyāti
53	And [Adolescent Anat] answered:	wa-taʿnî [batulatu ʿanatu]
54–55	"Bull El, [my Father], will heed me,	yaṯûb lê-ya ṯôru ʾilu [ʾabī-ya]
	He will heed me, or to him (?)[ ]"	yaṯûb lê-ya wa-lê-hu…

COMMENTARY

The vast bulk of this column repeats or presents in modified form lines from prior columns in the Baal Cycle. The following list provides the parallels between lines in 1.3 IV and lines in other columns. Accordingly, notes for poetic parallelism are minimal. For commentary (including poetic parallelism), readers should consult the treatment of these parallel passages:

lines 2–3 with 1.2 IV 12–13 (*UBC* 1.322, 326, 341, 343)

lines 5, 6 with 1.3 III 37–38 (*UBC* 2.211–12)

lines 7–20 + 22–25 and 27–31 with 1.1 III 10–16 (*UBC* 1.159–60, 162–63, 173–81), and 1.3 III 13–31 (*UBC* 2.207–10), and reconstructed at the head of 1.1 II to lines 2 and repeated in lines 17–24 (*UBC* 1.195–96, 197, 198–199, 202–9)

lines 32–36 with 1.1 III 17–21 (*UBC* 1.160, 163–64, 181–84).

lines 37–38 with 1.1 III 21–22 (*UBC* 1.160, 164, 184, 186; see also 195, 199)

line 38, reconstructed at the beginning of 1.1 II and in line 15 (*UBC* 1.195, 199)

lines 42–46 with 1.3 II 38–41, III 1–2 (*UBC* 2.142–43, 205)

lines 47–53 with 1.3 V 35–44, 1.4 I 4–17, 1.4 IV 47–57 and 1.117.1–7 (Pardee 1988a:257–60).

Poetic Parallelism and Word/Syllable Counts

		semantic parallelism	word/ syllable count
1.3 III 47–	ṭarada baʻla/bi-maryāmi ṣapāni	a b c	4/12
IV 2	mušaṣṣiṣu ka-ʻu[ṣṣūri]/ʼudna-hu	a' d b'	3/11
2–3	garrišu-hu lê-kissiʼi mulki-hu/	a b c	3/11
	lê-nūḫti lê-kaḫti darkati-hu	b' (x, y) c'	3/10

For the formulas in this bicolon, see the discussion of Parker 1989b:15, *UBC* 1.153, 343.

4	mannuma ʼibu yapiʻu lê-baʻli	a b c	4/11
	ṣarratu lê-rākibi ʻurpati	a' c' (x of y)	3/10
5	[ya]ʻnî ġalamūma yaʻniyūna	a b c	3/10

The line-length of this extra-colonic, speech-opening formula maintains a consistency between units.

| 5–6 | lā-ʼibu yapiʻu/lê-baʻli | a b c | 3/9 |
| | ṣarratu lê-rākibi ʻurpati | a' c' (x of y) | 3/10 |

For the unit in lines 5–6, see above 1.3 III 36–38.

| 7–8 | taḥmu ʼalʼiyāni baʻli | a b | 3/8 |
| | hawatu ʼalʼiyi/qarrādīma | a' b' | 3/10 |

For the units in lines 7–20, see above 1.3 III 13–31 and the Commentary below.

8–9	qiriyi(y) bi-ʼarṣi malḥamata/	a b c	3/10
	šîti bi-ʻapari-ma dûdaya-ma	a' b' c'	3/11
9–10	siki šalāma/lê-kabidi ʼarṣi	a b c d	4/11
	ʼarabbvdada lê-kabidi šadîma	b' c d'	3/12
11–12	[ḫā]šu-ki [ʼā]ṣu-ki ʼabāṣu-ki	a a' a''	3/10
	ʻimma-ya paʻnā-ki/[talsu]māni	b c d	3/10
	[ʼim]ma-ya tiwtaḫā ʼišdā-ki	b d' c'	3/9
13–14	[dam rigmu ʼêta lê-ya] wa-ʼargumu-ka	a b c d e	5/12
	hawatu/[wa-ʼatanniyu-ka]	b' e'	2/9

14–16	[rigmu] 'iṣṣi wa-laḫšatu/['abni]	a b a' b'	4/10
	[rigmu lā-tida]'ū našū[ma]	a c d	3/9
	[wa-lā-ta]bînū/[hamulātu 'a]rṣi	c' d' (x of y)	3/11
16–18	[ta'anatu šamîma 'imma 'a]rṣi/	a b c d	4/11
	tahāmāti 'i[mmana kabkabīma]	b' c' d'	3/11
	['abînu baraqa]/dā-lā-ti[da'ū ša]mûma	e f g h	4/14

For the problem of the position of this third line, see the discussion
below. As it stands, the line might be viewed as summing up the pre-
ceding description.

18–20	['atî-ma wa-'anāku]/'ib[ġayu-hu]	a b c	3/11
	[bi-tôki ġā]ri-ya ['i]li ṣapā[ni]/	d e (x, y)	4/11
	bi-qid[ši] bi-ġā[ri] naḥlati-ya	d' e' (x of y)	3/10
21–22	wa-ta['nî] batulatu ['a]natu	a b	3/10
	taṯûbu/[yabimtu] li'imīma	a' b'	3/10
22–24	['a]na 'aqriyu/[bi-'a]r[ṣi] malḥamata	a b c d	4/12
	['aš]îtu bi-'apari-ma/dûda[ya]-ma	a' b' c'	3/12
24–25	'assiku [šalāma] lê-kabidi 'arṣi/	a b c d	4/12
	'ara[bbvda]da lê-kabi[di ša]dîma	b' c d'	3/12

Lines 22–25 and 27–31 each have two bicola, four lines, all beginning
with 'a- (Watson 1980:446). For the rest of the parallelism in these four
bicola, see above in lines 8–9.

25–27	yašît/bi[-šamîma] ba'lu madali-hu	a b (?) c d	4/12 (?)
	yib'ar/[rākibu 'ur]pati [qa]ranī-hu	a' c' (x of y) (?) d'	4(?)/12(?)

This bicolon is the only one in Anat's response that is not paralleled
in Baal's message. The two preceding and the two following bicola
directly echo his request in lines 8–9 above. Because of the lacunas, it
is difficult to ascertain the full force of the parallelism here. However,
the line-initial *yqtl volitive verbs are notable, and if the reconstruction
for the end of the second line is correct, then the objects with their
third sg. masc. suffixes are likewise parallel.

27–29	'aqriyu/'anā[ku] bi-'a[r]ṣi malḥamata	a b c	4/13
	'ašîtu [bi-]'apari-ma dûdaya-mi	a' b' c'	3/12
29–31	'assiku/šalāma lê-kabi[di] 'arṣi	a b c d	4/12
	'arabbvdada/lê-kabidi ša[dîma]	b' c d'	3/12
31–32	'ap maṯnê ragamīma/'argumu-na	a b c d	4/11

This formulaic line regularly serves as a transition between two parts of a speech (e.g., 1.4 I 19–20). It shows no break in line-length compared to the preceding and following units, and one may detect some morphological and sonant continuity as well (for example, with the ending -*ima*).

| 32–33 | likā likā ʻanî-na ʼilêma/ | a a b | 4/10 |
| | ʼattumā baššatumā wa-ʼana šanôtu | c d e f | 4/13 |

This bicolon is very helpful in showing the wide range of "parallelism" in Ugaritic poetry. Both lines concern travel of the addressees and the speaker, but the morphology and syntax are totally different in the two lines. Even sonant parallelism hardly binds these lines, perhaps with the exception of the gutterals + *n*'s in *ʻanî-na* and *wa-ʼana*. Instead, alliteration within each line (*l* in the first line, *t* in the second) is more conspicuous. See *UBC* 1.163 for this bicolon.

| 34–35 | ʼuġaru la-raḥāqu ʼilêmi | a b c | 3/10 |
| | ʼinababu/la-raḥāqu ʼilāniyyêmi | a' b c' | 3/13 |

| 35–36 | t̠inâ mat̠padāmi/taḥta ʻênāti ʼarṣi | a b c | 5/13 |
| | t̠alāt̠u mataḥū ġayarīma | a' b' c' | 3/10 |

For these two bicola, see *UBC* 1.163–64.

| 37–38 | ʼiddaka la-tatinu panīma | a b c | 3/10 |
| | ʻimma baʻli/maryama ṣapāni | d e f | 4/10 |

For the formula of this bicolon, see above *UBC* 1.159, 161.

38–40	bi-ʼalpi šiddi ribbati kumāni/	a b a' b'	4/11
	halaka ʼaḫati-hu baʻlu yaʻînu	c d e	4/11
	tadarriqa/{yabimti} bitti (?) ʼabi-hu	c' d' (x of y)	3/9 (?)

This tricolon is fairly balanced. It opens with a well-attested formulaic line which is used in two primary contexts: (1) it can indicate the distance at which a person sees another approaching, like here and 1.17 V 9–10; or (2) the distance that someone travels to reach a destination, such as in 1.18 III 21–22 and 1.3 VI 17–18; 1.4 V 24; VIII 24; 1.1 III 2. By fronting the verbal nouns of travel, the focus remains on the traveller (in this case Anat), but it is cast from Baal's perspective. The second

and third lines show a high degree of parallelism. A parallel, but more complex version of this passage is found in 1.4 II 12–16, describing the arrival of Baal and Anat at Athirat's house. In this passage, the narrative has been expanded into four lines, set up as two bicola, instead of a tricolon. The initial line of our passage is missing and is replaced by a line that describes Athirat lifting her eyes and seeing. The next two lines both begin with *hlk*, as does the second line of our passage, the first describing the advance of Baal, the second one the advance of Anat. The fourth line is directly parallel with the previous line about Anat, referring, as does our third line, to the approach, *tdrq*, of Anat (for more details, see below, pp. 437–38). These lines in 1.4 II 12–16 might best be viewed as an expansion of the more basic presentation of the formula as it appears in 1.3 IV (specially with the duplication of *hlk* + DN.

40–42	šarḥiqa 'aṯtāti lê-panī-nhû/	a b c	3/10
	šata 'alpa qudmi-ha/	d e f	3/7
	mar'ī'a wa-tôka panī-ha	e' f'	3/9

The second and third lines of this tricolon are closely matched both in line-length and parallelism. The same two lines appear as the second and third lines of a tricolon in 1.4 V 44–46, with a different preceding line. In that passage, the first line describes the arrival of Kothar-wa-Hasis at Baal's home. The first line here contains some syntactical and sonant elements that connect it with the following two lines. The verbs stand in initial position in both the first and second lines, and it is possible that they are the same form (**qatala*). Both verbs also begin with the same consonant. Furthermore, one may discern a further slight resonance between these lines, with the ending *-at* appearing both with the direct object in the first line and the verb in the second. Despite their morphological and syntactical differences, *lê-panī-nhû* and *'alpa* offer further sonant parallelism. The prepositional phrase in the first line, *lê-panī-nhû*, also echoes with *panī-ha* in the third line. Together the two phrases form the outside terms of a chiasm with *qudmi-ha* and *wa-tôka* as the inside terms. In short, there is a significant degree of parallelism, especially sonant parallelism, between the first line and the other two lines.

| 42–43 | taḥsupuna maha wa-tirḥaṣu/ | a b a' | 3/10 |
| | ṭalla šamîma šamna 'arṣi | b' (x of y) b'' (x of y) | 4/9 |

For this bicolon, see above 1.3 II 38–39 on p. 142.

| 43–44 | ṭalla šamû[ma tissa]ku-ha/ | a b c | 3/9 |
| | rabîba nasaku-ha kabkabūma | a' c' b' | 3/11 |

For this bicolon, see above 1.3 II 40–41 on p. 143.

| 45–46 | tatāpipu 'anhibīma | a b | 2/8 |
| | dā-'alpu šadu/ẓi'u-[hu bi-yammi] | c d e | 4/11 |

For this colon, see above 1.3 III 1–2 on p. 205.

[There is a gap of about 15 lines.]

| | ['āniyu la-yaṣûḥu ṯôra 'ila 'abā-hu] | a b c d e | 5/14 |
| | ['ila malka dā-yakāninu-hu] | d c' e' | 3/10 |

Restored from the parallel passage in 1.3 V 35–36. The difference in line length in this bicolon suggests that *'āniyu* constitutes an instance of anacrusis, i.e., it is an initial word that doesn't belong to the metrical scheme of the line (see Watson 1986a:110–11). We thus rendered it as belonging to a separate line in the translation above. If we take *'any* this way, the parallelism appears in stronger relief, and the length of lines now match more closely (4/11 and 3/10). The repetition of the noun *'il* perhaps highlights El's capacities as both *'ab* and *mlk*. Despite the difference in syntax, the verbs are both prefix indicative forms.

| | [yaṣûḥu 'aṯirata wa-banī-ha] | a b c | 3/11 |
| | ['ilata wa-ṣibbirata 'aryi-ha] | b' c' (x of y) | 3/11 |

Restored from the parallel passage in 1.3 V 36–37. The syntax and semantics manifest clear and regular parallelism. In addition, the name of the goddess in the first line is picked up by *'ary* in the second line; perhaps such resonance was the reason for the choice of this otherwise rare noun. Final *-a*, on five forms over the length of the bicolon, is generated by three instances of the accusative case and two instances of the third fem. sg. suffix.

| 47–48 | [wa-na 'ênu]/[bêtu] lê-[ba'li kama 'ilīma] | a b c d e | 6/14 |
| | [wa-ḥaẓiru]/ka-banī ['aṯirati] | a' c' d' e' | 3/11 |

We have treated *wa-na* and *wa-* as distinct units in defining both the
semantic parallelism within these lines and in the word count. This is
in order to draw attention to their parallelism. Making this distinction
for such relatively minor particles is defensible on the grounds that
wa-na itself is not a proclitic. But one could also render the semantic
parallelism and word-count without considering them as separate units
by emphasizing that *wa-* is, after all, a proclitic. This would yield the
following (and more seemingly regular) parallelism: a b c d/b' d'; and
a word count of 5/3. In any case, the syllable count reflects a general
balance in line length, and the semantic and syntactical parallelism
match closely. Apart from what the shared syntax provides, parallelism
in this unit shows no special features, except for the partial resonance
between *ba'li* and *banī*.

48–49	[môṯabu 'ili maẓlalu]/bini-hu	a b a' c	4/11
	mô[ṯabu rabbati 'aṯirati yammi]	a b'' (x, y)	4/12

The formula of an initial noun + DN + epithet that begins in this
bicolon's second line and continues through the two following bicola
creates an overall repetitive, listing effect in these lines. Within this
bicolon each of the three initial nouns, all *m-* preformative forms, stand
in construct to a divine referent.

50–51	môṯabu pidra[yi bitti 'ari]	a b c	4/10
	[maẓlalu]/ṭallayi bitti ri[bbi]	a' b' c'	4/10

The balance in this bicolon is very conspicuous and formulaic. Picking
up the same two nouns for divine dwelling used in the preceding bicolon,
these lines continue to list inhabitants of the dwelling of El. Here and
in the next bicolon Baal's women are listed with their standard titles
(as in 1.3 I 22–27 and III 5–8). The listing continued in this bicolon
issues in identical line length and precisely parallel components, in both
semantics and syntax.

51–53	[môṯabu 'arṣayi]/bitti ya'ibidrayi	a b c	4/13
	[môṯabu kallāti]/kaniyāti	a' b'	3/10

This bicolon largely follows the pattern of the preceding one, except
that the term *mṯb* is used at the beginning of each line, and the final
epithet characterizes all three of Baal's women.

| 53 | wa-taʿnî [batulatu ʿanatu] | a b | 3/10 |

Here, this speech-opening formula is extracolonic (compared to 1.3 III 21–22, where it is the first line of a bicolon). The same line is also extracolonic in 1.3 V 29.

| 54–55 | yaṯûb lê-ya ṯôru ʾilu [ʾabī-ya]/ | a b c d | 5/11 |
| | yaṯûb lê-ya wa-lê-ha... | a b ? | 3 + (?)/5 + (?) |

The broken nature of this bicolon makes it difficult to provide a full assessment of the parallelism here. The first two units in the two lines match each other exactly. Beyond that observation, little can be added.

Introduction

This column concludes Anat's speech from the preceding column, then goes on to describe the delivery of Baal's message by Gapn and Ugar, Anat's response and subsequent journey to Mt. Sapan, Baal's reception of the goddess and his announcement of his desire for a palace. The latter element will motivate the action of the rest of 1.3 and most of 1.4.

   This column provides the first exposition of Baal's lament over not having a palace appropriate for his position. It becomes clear here that Baal requires the permission of El in order to build such a palace. The requirement focuses attention on the fact that while Baal is taking on the position of ruler of the divine council, he is still subordinate to the older god, who remains the patriarch and retains the title "king," in spite of sharing it with the younger deity. In the overall context of the story as we understand it, it is not until El gives Baal his permission for the palace that the former is officially granting his recognition of Baal as his coregent. See the discussion on the relationship between El and Baal in the Introduction, pp. 16–17.

Lines 1–5: Anat's Reaction to the Messengers' Arrival (Continued)

Anat's speech, which began in 1.3 III 36, concludes with three final bicola. The translation and interpretation of the first two have been controversial. As the discussion below will indicate, these lines may be understood as follows. Anat, after having spoken of her previous battles

in support of Baal, now returns to the question with which she began the speech—has a new enemy attacked Baal? Here she expresses her worst fears. Has the enemy forced Baal from his mountain and removed him from his kingship, so recently established by his defeat of Yamm?

The ambiguity of the passage centers on two issues. The first is the uncertainty of the forms of the verbs, *ṭrd* and *grš*. Each of these could be understood as a **qatala* form or as an active participle. The other verb in the passage, *mšṣṣ*, is a participle, but its presence does not clarify the forms of the other two. The second issue is whether *bʿl* in the first colon should be understood as the subject or object of the verbs in these lines. Both of these issues can be resolved only through careful consideration of the context of the passage within the speech of Anat, and even then certainty cannot be reached. Some grammatical comments will precede the discussion of interpretation of the passage.

The first verb, *ṭrd*, is rare in Ugaritic, occurring elsewhere only in two or three broken passages (1.151.3; 4.428.3; cf. 1.6 VI 1). But it is well known in other Semitic languages (*AHw* 1380). The context here is suitable to the Akkadian and BH meaning, "to drive away, pursue." The terms, **ṭrd* and **grš* (cf. Avishur 1984:69), both denote expulsion from one's home or property (see Greenfield 1977b:187). The second line of this bicolon is the most problematic part of the passage. On the face of it, the line consists of a *C*-stem participle from **nṣṣ*, "to flee" (*DUL* 648), followed by a comparative that probably reads, *kʿṣr*, "like a bird," and the direct object *ʾudnh*. The general sense of the overall image may follow from a somewhat similar line, 1.117.10: *ʾaṣṣ knṣ*, "I will take flight like a bird" (Sanmartín 1978c; cf. Pardee 1980: 278; 1998a:259, 260). Regarding *ʾudnh*, Gray (*LC*²: 47; see also Pardee 1997a:252; *DUL* 20) offered a contextually suitable explanation by connecting *ʾudn* to the root, **ʾdn*, related to the noun *ʾadn*, "lord, father." The apparent **qutl* form of this noun likely expresses an abstraction, "lordship." On the whole, this seems superior to interpreting *ʾudn* as "ear," and rendering the line, "the One who pecks his ear like a bird" (so *CML*² 50; Smith, *UNP*, 112). The usage of the bird imagery here, if correctly understood, is striking and rare, since more commonly comparison to a bird is related to a person being caged in like a bird or being snared in a trap, rather than to a person fleeing away.[20] We

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[20] For images of a bird to express royal conflict, cf. also EA 74:45–48: "Like a bird in a trap, so am I in Gubla" (Moran 1992: 143; for discussion of the passage, see Gianto

have been unable to find a comparable simile in West Semitic literature, and Black's 1996 study of images of birds in Sumerian poetry includes no such presentation.

The second bicolon, 1.3 IV 2–3, has a number of general parallels elsewhere in the Baal Cycle, which also occur in the context of divine conflict and include the usage of *ks'u* and *khṯ drkth* (see 1.1 IV 23–24; 1.2 IV 12–13, 20). The first noun in line 2b, *ks'i*, is well known across the Near East. It is usually identified as a loanword from Sumerian, GU.ZA, which came into the Semitic languages (*UT* 19.1277) as Akkadian *kussû*, as well as Emar *kissû* (Fleming 1992:258–59), Ugaritic *ks'u*, BH *kissē'*, Phoenician *ks'* (pl. *kwrsy*) and Aramaic *krs'* (cf. Arabic *kursiyy*; Lane 2605; see *DUL* 460–61; Hoch 1994:337). However, Kaufman (1974: 28–29) has argued forcefully that the Sumerian form is in fact a loanword from Akkadian and that the Akkadian might originally have derived from either West Semitic or from a foreign or substrate word (cf. Mankowski 2000:70–71). As evidence that the Sumerian is not the original noun, Kaufman notes that GU.ZA has no clear etymology in Sumerian and that that most Sumerian words ending in *-a* are loanwords. With regard to this point, Fleming (1992:258 n. 219) has also pointed out that Sumerian has a native term for "throne," DÚR.GAR, which is derived from the verb, "to sit." That the word is also not originally Semitic is suggested by the lack of a generative root in either East or West Semitic. This is perhaps supported by the alternative writing of Ugaritic *ks'u* as *kś'u*, e.g., in 1.53.7 (*DUL* 460), since in Ugaritic, the letter *ś* is normally used for foreign words (Kaufman 1974:29 n. 83).

The parallel word for throne, *khṯ*, is considered a loanword (with metathesis) from Hurrian *kišḫi* (*GLH* 143). The word is attested in Amarna Akkadian as *kaḫšu* (*AHw* 420; *CAD K*:36; *UT* 19.1219; *MLC* 564; and as a loan into Egyptian, according to Hoch 1994:337. EA 120:18 mentions "one chair (1 [G]U.ZA *ka-aḫ-šu*) ove[rlaid] in gold" (see Moran 1992:198 and 199 nn. 8 and 9). In 1.4 V 51–52 the plural form of *khṯm* stands in parallelism with *ks'at*.

Translations of the two bicola in lines 1b-3 have been quite varied. Several scholars have related them directly to the preceding colon, 1.3 III 46b–47a, as a further description of one (or more) of the enemies

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1995:69). See also 79:35–36, 81:34–35; cf. 105:8–10, 116:18–19; cf. Ps 124:6–7; Eccles 9:12; Amos 3:5. Also see Tiglath-Pileser III's Calah Annals 23:11' (Tadmor 1994:78–79) and the Sennacherib Prism, col. 3:27–28 (cf. Hoch 1994:155; *COS* 2.286, 303).

of Baal that Anat defeated (Pardee 1997a: 252, see also Wyatt 1998: 80; Ginsburg in *ANET* 137):

> I have smitten for silver, have (re)possessed the gold of
> Him who would have driven Baʿlu from the heights of Sapanu,
> Him who would have caused (him) to flee like a bird (from)
>   (the seat of) his power,
>
> Him who would have banished him from his royal throne
> From (his) resting-place, from the seat of his dominion.

There are reasons to be skeptical of this rendering. First, it ignores the strong evidence that lines 46b–47a belong as the conclusion to the previous pair of lines, paralleling grammatically and prosodically the third line of the tricolon earlier in the speech (lines 38–40, see Commentary above). Second, this rendering requires that III 46b–IV 1 be read as a case of enjambment of a type that is not attested elsewhere in the Ugaritic corpus. Enjambment is very rare in the Ugaritic poetic texts (Watson 1994b:138 n. 165). Several of Watson's proposed examples are quite uncertain and can be read without invoking enjambment (cf. 1.3 III 10–15; 1.19 IV 58–59; 1.23.62–63; three of the eight listed in Watson 1994b:138). Otherwise, most of the other cases occur under two circumstances: (1) when the formula ʾapnk PN + epithet appears as a single line with a second line providing the verb (1.6 I 56–58; 1.17 V 28–29; 1.19 I 38–40); and (2) when the formula in which a series of days pass, i.e., "One day and two", is used, so that these verbless phrases are continued in the next line (e.g., 1.17 I 5–13; II 32–40). Two certain cases of enjambment are found in 1.14 VI 36–38 and 1.16 I 44–45. But we are not aware of another case in which the break between the lines comes in the middle of a construct phrase, as proposed for this passage. Third, this interpretation is somewhat impressionistic. If these lines continue to describe the enemy that Anat defeated in the past, then with the exception of the framing question, "What enemy rises against Baal,//What foe against the Cloudrider?", the entire speech refers only to Anat's battles in the past. This seems unlikely, since it is clear from the context of the speech that she intends to register her concern about Baal's current safety.

Caquot and Sznycer (*TO* 1.169) read these two bicola as separate from what has gone before and take Baal as the subject of the first and third verbs, i.e., "Baal a repoussé loin des hauteurs du Ṣapon/celui qui…[ ] son oreille. Il l'a chassé loin de son trône royal." However, this reading does not seem to fit the context, since Anat is clearly

expecting to hear of disaster. It seems unlikely that she would speak assuredly of such a victory of Baal here.

One could render the passage as a question (cf. *UNP* 112):

> Has Baal banished from the summit of Sapan
> The One who makes his lordship flee like a bir[d],
>
> Who had driven him from his royal throne,
> From the resting place, the throne of his dominion?

In this case, one might interpret the bicola as a query whether Baal had defeated Yamm, the one who had previously defeated him. But this might seem to require that Baal had earlier been king of the gods, then was deposed by Yamm, and then reinstated as king. This does not appear to be the scenario of 1.1 and 1.2, although it could be argued that this speech reflects a different tradition about the conflict with Yamm anyway and thus could have presupposed such a scenario (so Wyatt 1998:80 n. 55). Another problem for this interpretation is that by understanding the first bicolon this way, there is a complete lack of syntactical and semantic parallelism between the two lines, thus turning them into another proposed case of enjambment.

The interpretation proposed in our translation sees the two bicola as questions, but Baal as the object of the verbs, and the enemy that Anat fears as the subject:

> Did he banish Baal from the summit of Sapan,
> Making (him) flee his place of lordship like a bir[d]?
> Did he drive him from his royal throne,
> From the resting place, the throne of his dominion?

In this interpretation Anat asks the messengers whether Baal has been forced from his kingship. In this case, we may assume that Anat is well aware of Baal's previous victory over Yamm and that the kingship referred to here is the one that came as a result of that victory. This interpretation has several advantages. First, it fits well into the overall context of the passage, in that it returns the focus of the speech to Anat's fear for Baal's safety, something that the other translations do not do. Second, it fits more satisfactorily into the colonic structure of the entire speech and does not rely on finding the rare device of enjambment here for its interpretation. Third, it minimizes the extent of discontinuity between this passage and the rest of the cycle, removing the problem of assuming that Anat is referring to an earlier kingship of Baal in these lines.

The final bicolon, line 4, is identical with the opening bicolon of this speech in III 37–38, as noted in the Commentary on that passage (see p. 242–44 above). It provides a frame for the passage that emphasizes Anat's fear and concern.

Lines 5–20: Baal's Message to Anat

This section presents the answer of Baal's messengers to Anat's fearful speech. The speech-opening formula in line 5, *[y]'n.ǵlmm.y'nyn*, is an unusual variant of the common formula, (*w-* +) **y'ny* + PN (cf. Watson 1983:254). Here we have verb + noun + verb, where the noun acts as a "pivot" (Sivan 1997:212), governing both verbs. At the start of their speech (lines 5–6), they depart from the norms of message delivery by first allaying Anat's concern. Using the words of her question in line 4, they tell her that no enemy[21] has risen against Mighty Baal, no foe against the Cloudrider. Then the messengers present their master's words. There are some differences between Baal's version of the message in III 14–31 and the one here:

1. This presentation of the speech omits only the final words of line 31, *bn'm bgb' tl'iyt*. There appears to be no major significance to this omission.
2. There is also a reversal of material here: the bicolon, *rgm ltd' nšm/ wltbn hmlt 'arṣ*, has been moved up, forming a tricolon with *rgm 'ṣ wlḫšt 'abn* (lines 14–16). The two lines that constituted the second and third lines of this tricolon in 1.3 III 24–25, now follow the new tricolon and form the first two lines of a new tricolon along with *'abn brq dltd' šmm* as the final line (lines 16–18). None of this shift

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[21] The anomaly of the negative *l-* prefixed to a noun was noted by Cassuto and Ginsberg (see Ginsberg 1946:46). C. L. Miller (1999:348, esp. n. 55) takes the negative *l-* here as modifying the verb and not the noun as such; technically this view is grammatically correct. Nonetheless, it is significant that the particle fronts the noun and not the verb. (Miller's appeal to a theoretical gloss of "non-foe," if *l-* were to be taken as modifying the noun, is potentially misleading; one may understand the thrust of *l-* as a negative of *'ib* to signify "no enemy.") A contextual argument may be added to this point. Just as *l-* precedes the noun and not the verb, so too *mn*, which precedes *'ib* in the goddess' corresponding question, modifies the noun and not the verb; the phrase means "what enemy…?".

ing has a significant impact on the interpretation of this section (cf. *SPUMB* 107).

3. Although we have taken the colon in lines 17b–18a as the third line of a tricolon, one might, however, propose that the line could be placed with the following colon (lines 18b–19a) to form a separate bicolon. If it does belong to the preceding unit, then taking the initial word of this line not as a verb (as treated in the Commentary to 1.3 III 26–28), but as a noun (an alternative possibility discussed there) might seem less implausible, since the two preceding lines are noun phrases dependent on the preceding tricolon (lines 14–16). But it is also quite plausible to interpret ʾabn as the verb, "I understand," in this context, viewing the line as a sort of summing up of the preceding material. We have chosen to go with the latter interpretation, though the former cannot be completely dismissed.

Lines 21–36: Anat's Answer

Lines 21–31 provide Anat's specific response to Baal's invitation. The narrative rubric of lines 21–22 that opens the speech is more substantial than the usual one-line introduction:

> wtʿn btlt [ʿ]nt.
> ttb/[ybmt] l'imm

According to Watson (1983:256, 260), this expansion of the regular pattern (*w* + *ʿny + PN) marks what follows as a key passage. It is connected to the preceding narrative by the use of *w-* + *yqtl indicative (*wtʿn*), and it is augmented by the parallel *yqtl indicative form, *ttb*.

The lines of the speech in lines 22b–31 contain a clear structure revealing Anat's favorable response to the Cloudrider's communication:

> A Anat declares her agreement to desist from war (the two bicola in lines 22–25)
> > B Anat declares her hopes for the situation that will result (the bicolon in lines 25–27)
> A' Anat repeats her agreement to desist (the two bicola in lines 27–31)

A and A' closely match one another in wording. Both lines 22–24 and 27–31 have two bicola, four lines, each of which begins with the consonant, ʾa- (Watson 1980:446). Watson (1994b:433) offers a daring interpretation of the significance of the pattern of initial sounds in Anat's entire speech (lines 21–36). He notes that the speech is made up

of series of cola beginning with the same sound: lines 22–24 with *ʾa*, lines 25–27 with *y*, lines 27–31 with *ʾa*, lines 33–35 with an initial *ʾ*, and lines 35–36 with *t*. The only line that doesn't follow the pattern is line 32b: *lk lk ʿnn ʾilm*, "Go, go, divine servants." From this Watson argues that line 32b must be the "main content of her message and therefore the focus of interest." While it is clear that initial alliteration is indeed a significant poetic device here, the content of the speech argues against viewing this one line as the central element of Anat's response. In fact, her assent to Baal invitation and her announcement of her immediate departure are more central to the speech than line 32b.

Lines 22–25 and 27–31 closely follow the wording of Baal's commands delivered in 1.3 IV 8–10 and earlier in III 14–15 (and also by El to Anat in 1.1 II 19–21; cf. *UBC* 1.202–09), with the imperatives changed into first person imperfects. One additional element, the first person independent pronoun, *[ʾa]n*, appears in the first line of the speech. The pronoun in this context is not grammatically necessary since the verb that follows it is first person singular. Adding the personal pronoun in this manner may be viewed (see *UBC* 1.180 n. 125) as a means to emphasize Anat's agreement to Baal's summons. It is possible, but not necessary, to regard the pronoun as a *casus pendens* ("As for me, I will…"). The repetition of the content of lines 22–25 in lines 27–31 probably serves to confirm her willingness to accede to his wishes.

The bicolon in lines 25b–27a introduces the only new content into this part of the conversation between Anat and Baal's messengers. In response to Baal's promise to reveal his profound secret, Anat expresses a wish in this bicolon which, because of its damaged state, has occasioned considerable debate over its reconstruction and significance (see *Baal* 67–69; de Moor 1966, *SPUMB* 109; Good 1984:81; cf. Batto 1987:200–1). The common reconstruction reflected in these treatments is the following:

yšt/[bšmm.]bʿl.mdlh.	"May Baal set his bolts [in the Heavens],
ybʿr/[ʾil.hd. q]rnh.	May [the god Hadd] radiate his ['ho]rns'."

The reading of the first colon has been improved with the recognition of parts of the *b* at the beginning of line 26. The restoration *šmm* seems quite plausible, though it is by no means certain. The restoration of the second line has also been illuminated by collation of the tablet. It is evident that the second line calls for a title to match the mention of Baal's name in the first line. With the improved reading which shows evidence of the letters *pt* on the line, it is clear that the epithet here is

[*rkb 'r*]*pt*, "Clo[udrider]," rather than the proposed [*'il hd*]. This title is especially appropriate to this sort of meteorological setting, and as indicated in the epigraphic notes, the reconstructed letters fit nicely into the damaged space before]*pt*.

The word *mdl* is attested as a meteorological phenomenon associated with the rainstorm in 1.5 V 6–8. This passage lists *mdlk* with clouds, wind and rain. But the exact meaning of the word in this context is uncertain. The word as a noun appears nowhere else in the Ugaritic texts and its etymology remains obscure. Three main interpretations have been proposed. First, a verb, *mdl*, appears in Ugaritic in 1.4 IV 9 and 1.19 II 3, 9, where it clearly has to do with harnessing a donkey. Some have argued that the noun *mdl* here means something like "harness," and is intended to evoke the image of Baal's storm chariot (Weider 1965:164; cf. also *Thespis* 210 and *Baal* 68, n. 1). This is the common mode of transport for Near Eastern storm-gods. The Sumerian storm-god Ishkur is said to ride on the storm (*CT* 15, pls. 15–16, line 7; see *ANET* 578). His "seven storms" are harnessed for him to ride (line 17). Marduk's storm-chariot is described in Enuma Elish IV:50–51. If this is the correct interpretation of *mdl*, the list of elements in 1.5 V 6–8 is paralleled precisely by the Storm-god's weaponry in the Kumarbi myth: "rains," "winds," "clouds" and "carts" (Güterbock 1952:14–17, tablet 2.III. 9'–13'; Weinfeld 1973:424). Yahweh likewise rides a meteorological chariot, assumed in a number of biblical verses (e.g., 2 Sam 22:10–11 = Ps 18:10–11). The storm chariot becomes a central image in the biblical book of Ezekiel (see especially chapters 1–3). Baal's common epithet, "Cloudrider" (*rkb 'rpt*), assumes the context of a storm-chariot (see *EHG* 50; cf. *rkb for Adad, for example in Atrahasis, see Lambert and Millard 1999:122, 123, in line 5 of the rev. of the Assyrian recension U). In spite of the frequent occurrence of this imagery, however, the use of a term that might mean "harness" to refer to the storm chariot is not elsewhere attested and may seem excessively allusive in this context.

Second, a rather obscure Akkadian noun, *mu-du-lu*, "pole," also has been proposed as a cognate (de Moor 1966; cf. *SPUMB* 109; *Baal* 67–69). From this etymology, de Moor suggested that the word might have the meaning of "bolt," with an extended meaning in a meteorological context of "lightning bolt." This etymology seems unlikely. The clear cognates of the Akkadian word are BH *măṭîl* and Aramaic *mĕṭal*, both of which also mean "pole or javelin." This strongly indicates that the Akkadian word, which is only attested in a single Sumerian/Akkadian

lexical text, and has not yet appeared in a literary context, should be read as *mu-ṭù-lu*, rather than *mu-du-lu* and that it has no relationship to *mdl*.

Third, Gaster (*Thespis* 210) proposed connecting the word with Akkadian *madlû*, "bucket, pail," from the root, **dly*, also attested in BH as a verb, "to draw water." He suggested that in the Ugaritic context the term refers to the objects from which the rain is poured out. Pardee (1997a:253, cf. n. 95) follows this etymology, rendering the word, "watering devices." This proposal has the advantage of deriving the word from a root with a transparent connection to water.[22] Though it remains uncertain, the first view remains preferable to the other two proposals, in view of its connection with traditional storm-god imagery and the attestation of *mdl* elsewhere in Ugaritic.

We have discussed above the restoration in the first gap of line 27 and have argued that it reads *[rkb ʿr]pt*. This leaves the issue of a restoration for the latter part of the colon, *]rnh*. The most common suggestion has been *[q]rnh*, "his horns," generally understood to refer to lightning. Another possibility, proposed by Pardee (1980:278), but later rejected by him (1997a:253 n. 95),[23] is to read *[mṭ]rnh*, i.e. *mṭr*, "rain," with sufformative *-n* (cf. Smith 1984a:297). Space considerations make this reading less likely, since an *m* and *ṭ* would have to fit very snugly into the break between *pt* and *rnh*. But it is indeed a possible restoration. In this case, the verb *ybʿr* would not mean "to burn, to radiate," as it would if reconstructing *[q]rnh*, but "to bring" as in 1.14 II 48 and IV 27. *Mṭr* and *mdl* appear together in the list in 1.5 V 8–11, but *mṭr* does not have a sufformative here or elsewhere. If the reconstruction of *[q]rnh* is correct, then the "horns" might refer here metaphorically to Baal's double-lightning attested in iconography. A similar radiance from the head of a god is attested in the description of Marduk as he

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[22] Good (1984:81) has proposed that **mdl* might underlie the very difficult text in Hab 3:4, which reads, *qarnayim miyyādô lô*, "(With) his rays (literally, horns) from his hand." This passage, like ours, appears in the context of a theophany, and, if the reconstruction [*q]rnh* is correct, they both contain the noun *qrn*, "horn" (cf. also Batto 1987:201 n. 42).

[23] Pardee rejected this reconstruction because he read the wedges that we read as *pt* in the center of line 27 as an *r*. So he proposes reading *mṭr* as the word before the one that ends *]rnh*. If our reading of the line is correct, then Pardee's reason for not reading *[mṭ]rnh* is moot.

prepares for battle with Tiamat (Enuma Elish IV:39–40, 58; for cognates of *b ʿr*, see *SPUMB* 109).

The thrust of this bicolon seems to be Anat's desire for Baal to manifest his royal power in the cosmos, perhaps as a sign to the world that hostilities have now ceased. (This sign may then be compared to the bow which Marduk hangs up after battle in Enuma Elish VI:82–90 and the rainbow in Gen 9:12–17, as suggested by Batto 1987.) The manifestation of this sign will initiate an era of divine well-being, human peace and natural fructification. It may be inferred from the larger narrative of the cycle that because this sign is expressly given by Baal after he installs the window in his palace (1.4 VII 25–31), the palace marks the new era of universal fructification. From here on the narrative will move, albeit somewhat laconically, toward the climax of the construction of Baal's palace.

The beginning of the second part of Anat's speech is marked by the expression in lines 31b–32a, *'ap mṯn rgmm 'argmn*. This appears to be a common way to raise a second topic in a speech (see 1.4 I 19–20 and 1.17 VI 39). In a rather different context, two omen texts, *mṯn rgmm* is best rendered, "ditto" (1.103 + 1.145.6,18, on which see *TO* 1.171; Dietrich, Loretz and Sanmartín 1975b:136–37; Pardee 2000:555, 1211 and 2002:139; and 1.86.10, Pardee 2000:465, 1211 and 2002:146). A Ugaritic letter also seems to contain the word *mṯn⸢* (2.60.1) in a broken context, but its usage in a letter comports with its occurrences in the literary texts. Etymologically related to *mṯn* is Akkadian *šanūtam*, "a second (matter)," which provides a parallel also in usage to the Ugaritic literary and epistolary contexts. As in the Ugaritic literary texts, *šanūtam* regularly introduces a new topic in letters from Boghazkoi, Byblos (e.g., EA 126:14), Mari, Rimah, Taanach and Ugarit.[24] The geographical distribution would suggest a West Semitic provenience for the usage.

In the first bicolon of this part of her speech (lines 32–33), Anat commands the messengers to depart with an urgency expressed in the double use of the imperative (cf. *ʿûrî ʿûrî* in Judg 5:12 and Isa 51:9 as a double imperative to battle). The second line contrasts the messengers' apparent delay with Anat's determination to hasten toward Baal. In the second bicolon, lines 34–35a, Anat indicates the great distance of

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[24] For a listing, see *CAD Š/*1:387b–88a. The West Semitic usage continues to be shown in more recently published texts from Mari: see, for example, A.999.59, 71 in Durand 1988:83; A.163+A.4240.66 in Durand 1988:88; A.416.19 in Durand 1988:92.

her abode from Baal's mountain as a reason for the urgency of her command that the messengers leave and for her immediate departure. The bicolon may presume the conventional notion that the deities cover enormous, superhuman distances in their travels (e.g., 1.4 V 22–24; cf. the distance of fifty *bēru* or over 500 km per day covered by Gilgamesh and Enkidu in the Gilgamesh Epic IV:34–36; George 1999:31; for *bēru*, often translated "league," see *CAD B*:208b–211a. For this case and other examples, see Hallo 1996:79).

The third bicolon, lines 35b-36, seems to describe the underground route which Anat presumably will take on her journey to Mt. Ṣapan. The two difficult words here are *mṯpdm* and *mtḫ*. Context suggests that both of them are terms of distance or measurement. Unfortunately, no precise cognate has appeared for *mṯpdm*, although several scholars have cited Arabic **ṯfd*, "one thing set upon another" (see Renfroe 1992:154; *UBC* 1.183; *DUL* 605–6). The proposed cognate would suggest "layer" or the like. However, the site of Emar has recently provided a precise cognate for *mtḫ* in texts containing instances of *mataḫu* specifically used as a measurement of length, for example in a legal contract for the sale of a field (Beckman 1996:84; Mori 2003:105; see also Emar 168:14' and Arnaud 1991:11). This Akkadian cognate from Emar suits the Ugaritic term both etymologically and semantically (Pentiuc 2001:123). The word is also attested in texts from Ekalte and Tell Hadidi (for references, see Mori 2003:105 n. 19; cf. the less precise cognates, Arabic *mattaḫ*, "long," Lane 2688; Akkadian *matāḫu*, "to carry, transport; to lift," *CAD M/1*:403b–405a; BH **mtḥ*, "to stretch out" in Isa 40:22; *DUL* 599; *HALOT* 2.654). Given the lack of a plural ending for *mtḫ*, it seems evident that this word is best understood syntactically to be in construct with the noun that follows, *ġyrm* (cf. *UBC* 1.183). Most commentators have construed the numbers at the beginning of each line (*ṯn* and *ṯlṯ*) as being in construct with the two measurements that follow them (e.g., Pardee 1997a:253). However, the occurrence of *mtḫ* in construct here might suggest instead that both lines are either nominal clauses ("two are the *mṯpdm*'s beneath the springs//three, the *mtḫ*-lengths of the caves") or appositional ("two, the *mṯpdm*'s beneath the springs//three, the *mtḫ*-lengths of the caves"). This syntactical interpretation is paralleled elsewhere in the Baal Cycle (1.4 VIII 12–14). Semantically, the bicolon in lines 35–36 elaborates upon the distance of Anat's home from Mt. Ṣapan mentioned in the preceding bicolon, and so implicitly the lines are to be understood: "two are (their, i.e. UGR and INBB) *mṯpdm*'s (of distance) beneath the springs//three, the(ir) *mtḫ*-lengths of the caves."

This section of Anat's speech closely parallels Kothar's response to El's messengers in 1.1 III 17–21 (for full discussion, see *UBC* 1.44, 181–84). Both involve three sets of bicola: (i) a command to depart (1.1 III 17–18; 1.3 IV 32–33); (ii) a nominal sentence expressing the great distance of the deity's home from the destination (1.1 III 18–19; 1.3 IV 34–35); and (iii) nominal clauses in apposition describing the great distance beneath the earth's surface (1.1 III 20–21; 1.3 IV 35–36). Only the names of divine abodes differ in these two parallel passages. Here Anat calls her home *ʾugr* and *ʾinbb*. It is also attested (as *ʾinbbh*, with locative *-h*) in 1.100.20. Ginsberg (*ANET* 137) took the name as possibly Hurrian meaning "god's mountain" (cf. Hurrian *eni*, "god (or goddess)" in *GLH* 80). Clifford (*CMCOT* 86–87) regarded these words as generic nouns for mountains. However, these terms do not appear as words for mountains outside of these very specific contexts, and there is no doubt that *ʾinbb* is a GN in 1.100, since throughout that text various gods are located at specific places, including Baal at Mt. Ṣapan (line 9), Dagan at Tuttul (lines 14–15), etc.

Lines 37–55: Anat's Travel to Baal and Their Meeting

Lines 37–55 describe Anat's journey and her meeting with Baal. The first bicolon, lines 37–38, marks the shift in scene from Anat's home to Baal's. The use of the particle *ʾidk*, followed by the asseverative *l-* and the idiom *ttn pnm*, "she sets the face" explicitly marks the shift in the narrative (Piquer Otero 2003:232; see *UBC* 1.167). The idiom denotes "to start out toward, to proceed" (for references, see *UBC* 1.165), comparable to the Akkkadian idiom, *šakānu panu* (*CAD Š/1*:139, #5a). One may note also the use of *ʾid* following a passage marked off by a scribal line in 1.41.50.[25] The second line of the bicolon refers to Anat's destination as, "the heights of Ṣapan," which is exactly paralleled in the description of Baal's location in 1.100.9 (see also 1.4 V 23).

While Anat is still a great distance from his mountain, Baal catches sight of her approach (lines 38–40; for the verb *yʿn*, see the commentary to 1.3 I 23 on p. 116 above). As discussed above (p. 285), the first line of this tricolon is a well-attested formula, used either to indicate the long distance traveled by a deity, or the great distance from which someone is seen, as here. The fronting of the prepositional phrase in

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[25] Cf. also the compositional structure—and also sometimes redactional technique—of BH *ʾz* plus **yqtl*.

this line marks a shift in perspective from the person of Anat to that of her brother.

The second and third lines of the tricolon begin with a word pair, the nouns *hlk//tdrq*. The first is a common West Semitic root, probably the infinitive ("construct," so Sivan 1997:125; for a similar construction, see 1.17 V 10–11). The second, either a *t-* preformative (verbal?) noun (*WUS* 794) or infinitive (*UT* 8.48), has been compared with Arabic *daraqa*, "to reach, overtake, follow" (Lane 873–74; cf. Dietrich, Loretz and Sanmartín 1974:24–25, 37; Huehnergard 1987b:120). The only syntactical question for the second line involves the placement of the verb at the very end. In a parallel usage in 1.4 II 13–14, the asseverative *k-* particle prefixed to the verb shifts the verb to the end of the clause; whether such an understanding is implicitly operative in the placement of the verb in the final slot in 1.3 IV 39 cannot be determined. According to Sivan (1997:213), the subject plus verb serve as a "pivot" between the two object phrases preceding and following.

These two lines also provide parallel epithets of Anat. The first is common, but the second is enigmatic. In the second line of the tricolon she is called *'aht*, "his sister," which is common enough. But the parallel epithet in the third line is *ybnt 'abh*, whose meaning is unclear. As noted above in the Textual Notes, the scribe may have begun to write *ybmt l'imm*, but then perhaps switched after the second letter to *bnt 'abh*. We have rendered the phrase in the translation tentatively as "Daughter of his Father," while indicating the possible element of *ybmt*, "In-law," as underlying the peculiar form that is present here. It is usually assumed that Anat's father here is El, but it is to be borne in mind that Anat is well attested as Baal's sister and that Baal's paternity is hardly simple (see Introduction on pp. 51–2). Baal's familial status in the Ugaritic texts and his sibling relationship to Anat raises a question about her own family status: how was Anat's paternity understood, or was it just not regarded as an issue?

In the next tricolon, lines 40–42, Baal's response at his sighting of Anat is a positive one. Immediately he prepares an extravagant meal for her. Preparations for hospitality customarily follow directly on the host's sighting of the approaching guest (1.17 V 9–25; cf. Genesis 18; Xella 1978), but Baal first attends to one further detail. Baal dismisses his "woman" or collectively "women," presumably Pidray, Tallay and Arṣay (see p. 49) or simply one of them. The **qtl* form of the verb *šrḥq*, an initial *C*-stem form standing in initial position, may convey either circumstantial information or, less likely, the beginning of a new nar-

rative section or subsection. From lines 40–42, it might be suggested that Baal has been engaged at his banquet, first mentioned in 1.3 I, throughout the narrative action of 1.3 II through 1.3 IV 38. Baal seems to set these women aside in order to deal with the presumably more weighty matter of enlisting Anat in his plan to acquire permission for his palace's construction. As discussed above in the Commentary to 1.3 I 22b–25, Baal has perhaps been engaging in sexual relations with these females, who are called his *klt*, his "brides" (or perhaps his "fiancées," cf. the BH, *kallāh*; see discussion above on p. 119). It has often been argued that Anat is not only Baal's sister, a familial relation expressed explicitly in the texts, but also his lover as well. This relation, however, is not clearly indicated in the texts, as pointed out by Walls in his fine study of the goddess (1992).[26] Unfortunately, the texts that suggest sexual relations between Baal and Anat are all damaged enough to prevent a clear understanding of them. To these, however, may be added an Egyptian text, "The Contest of Horus and Seth for the Rule," in which Anat and Astarte are described as the daughters of Re and the wives of Seth,[27] commonly identified as the local Egyptian substitution for Baal. In addition, a sixth or fifth century Aramaic funerary stele from Egypt calls Baal "the husband of Anat" (Dupont-Sommer 1956:79–89). These two Egyptian texts, of course, cannot prove that at Ugarit Baal and Anat were viewed as husband and wife, but they are suggestive enough that the issue must remain open for now (cf. Good's critique in 1994:149 n. 8).

The second and third lines of the tricolon (41–42) describe Baal's presentation of food to his sister. He sets a prepared, fattened ox//bull before her (*ʾalp//mrʾia*). The second of the two phrases for "before her" (*wtk pnh*) is interesting. The phrase literally means, "and in front of her

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[26] For example, one text commonly cited as providing evidence for sexual relations between Baal and Anat, 1.10, does not in fact do so. In this case, where Anat is identified with a cow that has sexual relations with Baal and produces a calf, Anat actually plays the role of the announcer of the offspring's birth (and perhaps nursemaid as well). It is unlikely that Anat would be both the producer of the offspring and the announcer of the birth.

[27] *ANET* 15. The value of this evidence for Anat as Baal's consort has been challenged, however, by Te Velde 1967:29–30), seconded by Walls (1992:144–52) and P. L. Day (1991, 1992). Te Velde's chief argument is that except in this one text Anat is otherwise never called the consort of Seth. On the one hand, the uniqueness of this characterization of Anat might be viewed as arguing in favor of its authenticity as a witness to the West Semitic tradition, but on the other hand, Te Velde may be correct that it is better understood as an eccentric text.

face." The *w*- is placed in this context for emphasis, a usage known as the "pleonastic *waw*" (see Pope 1953; *UG* 783–84). Thus we render, "A fatling right in front of her." The emphasis here on the proximity at which he places the food before Anat suggests the joy and enthusiasm with which Baal is greeting his guest. (This proximity arguably contrasts with the distance at which Baal has placed his women in the first line of the tricolon.) The description of the feast here is somewhat abbreviated compared to other examples of such events (1.17 V 13–31), but this short account is not unparalleled: Baal's feast for Kothar in 1.4 V 44–46 is similarly described. To both Anat and Kothar Baal serves steak, namely the cooked meat of the best animal. The high life of the pantheon involves the same menu as royal feasts, fitting fare since the pantheon is a divine royal family.

The brief account of the feast is followed immediately in the text (lines 42–46) with Anat washing and beautifying herself. The language of this section is largely duplicated in the account of the goddess washing after her battle in 1.3 II (see the Commentary there, pp. 190–93).[28] Lichtenstein (1977:35–37) suggests that the banquet in our passage concludes with Anat anointing herself, by drawing evidence from Mesopotamian banquet accounts where the anointing of guests follows the feast. The fact that the verbs *thṣpn* and *ttpp* in lines 42 and 45, respectively, are **yqtl* indicative forms in an initial position, suggests that this passage is to be understood as a continuation of the action of the preceding narrative. Accordingly, the verbal syntax accords with Lichtenstein's understanding of this passage.

A lacuna of approximately fifteen lines follows here before the badly damaged small fragment provides parts of the last eight lines of the column (lines 48–55). Much of its content may be inferred from parallels to this part of the narrative. When the text resumes in line 48, Baal is in the middle of a speech bemoaning the fact that he has no palace, the pre-eminent sign of divine kingship. This speech is repeated three additional times in the next several columns (1.3 V 29–44; 1.4 I 4–18; and IV 40–57), so our fragmentary passage here can be reconstructed with a great deal of confidence. There can be little doubt that Baal is the speaker here, since Anat specifically responds to the speech in line

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[28] The only difference between the two passages is that 1.3 II contains a line (lines 39b–40a) that is missing from 1.3 IV. It should also be noted that the fragmentary beginning of column II (lines 2–3) indicates that Anat beautifies herself before the battle too.

53 (*wt'n [btlt 'nt]*). Only the left sides of the lines on the small fragment are preserved, and the speech is already in progress on the first preserved line. The parallel sections in 1.3 V and 1.4 IV contain two bicola prior to the point where the extant text of 1.3 IV picks up (line 48) that probably are part of the speech here:

['any.]	[In lament]
[lyṣḥ.tr'il.'abh]	[He indeed cries to Bull El his Father,]
['il/mlk.dyknnh]	[To El the King who created/established him.]
[yṣḥ.'aṯrt/wbnh.]	[He cries to Athirat and her children,]
['ilt.wṣbrt.'aryh.]	[The goddess and the band of her brood:]

On the face of it, Baal might not be expected to speak of himself in the third person to Anat, as this reconstruction assumes. Baal is Anat's intimate, and the first person would seem more appropriate. However, the third person may fit the context here better. Since the extant part of the speech is reiterated by Anat to El in V 30–44, then it seems likely that the version here is being given by Baal as part of his instructions to Anat on what to say to El. Since messages tend to be repeated verbatim or virtually so, Anat's delivery of the message in 1.3 V 29–45 should provide the text for our passage. There she uses the third person in speaking of Baal from lines 35–38, i.e., the two bicola we have reconstructed above, and the first line of the complaint, "There is no house for Baal." It would be highly unusual for a messenger to change persons in delivering a message (see, for example, 1.2 I 16–19//33–35; 1.3 III 11–31//IV 7–20).[29]

It is less certain whether Baal's speech here would have included any of the earlier lines with which Anat opens hers in 1.3 V 30–34. Messengers sometimes preface their message with their own words (cf. 1.3 IV 5–6 just above), and all these lines may be such a preface. But they also could be an element of Baal's careful instructions to Anat and thus be part of the content of our lacuna. The two bicola that occur in 1.3 V 32–34 in particular may be legitimate to reconstruct in here:

| *[mlkn 'al'iyn b'l]* | Our king is Mightiest Baal, |
| *[ṯpṭn 'in d'lnh]* | Our ruler, with none above him. |

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[29] The broken state of the small fragment would allow for one to reconstruct the first line of Baal's complaint as *[wn 'in bt] l[y k'ilm]*, "For I have no house like the gods," following a parallel text, CAT 1.117.5. But the fact that the message is repeated elsewhere with *lb'l* each time argues for reading the latter here as well.

> *[klnyy qšh nbln]*   All of us will bring him a gift,
> *[klnyy nbl ksh]*   All of us will bring him a cup.

In the other presentations of this message, these lines are critical because they introduce the name Baal, which otherwise does not appear until the line "Baal has no house like the gods." The appearance of the name here is the only indicator of who is "crying out to El his Father." They are also fundamental to the whole speech, since they alone give the rationale for Baal's argument that he needs a palace. It thus seems likely that they should be reconstructed here.

Other elements that probably occurred in the lacuna include the introduction to Baal's speech to Anat, commands to set her face toward El and to travel to his abode, and an introductory formula to the speech (cf. other examples of this type of scene in 1.2 I 13–17; 1.3 VI 7–25).

Baal's speech here is a lament without a specific request. This is unusual. Laments in prayer (rather than literary settings) generally include a direct address to the deity ("O DN"), a request of that divine party, and a complaint of the lamentable state which only answering the request will relieve. The complaint (lines 48–53) is introduced by the third-person introduction, beginning, in its fully attested form in 1.3 V 35, with the verbal form, *ʾany* (probably a participle or **qtl* indicative form), a term which denotes the speech-act of lamentation. Within the message proper, Baal does not speak for himself, but rather sets the speech up as coming from Anat. Perhaps there is a sense here that it would be inappropriate for Baal to make such a request of El in his own voice. And perhaps the lack of a specific request here also has to do with court etiquette, for which we have no evidence, however. In any case, the request is obvious, but remains unspoken. The third-person character of the speech also requires the dropping of the standard invocation, "O, DN," which in the speech is instead described: "he cries to Bull El, his father."

The transition from the introductory part of the speech to the complaint proper is marked by the particle *wn* (line 47 reconstructed from 1.3 V 38).[30] This type of complaint, i.e., comparing one's lack relative

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[30] Cf. Watson 1994a:230; for the form, see *UT* 12.9; *PU* 1:65 and n. 4; *UBC* 1.257 n. 77. The particle *wn* arguably consists of coordinate *w-* plus *-n*, analogous to adversative or contrastive *p-* plus *-n* (in BH, *pn*, "lest"; so also in 1.114.12, so *DUL* 674). Might *hn* be understood accordingly as deictic *h-* plus *-n*? If so, final *-n* in these three particles might serve to explicitly mark it as governing a clause.

to others, is a traditional *topos* of the lament. 1.2 III 19–22 describes a god (either Athtar or Yamm; see *UBC* 1.258) making a complaint about his lack of a house and wife, "like the other gods" (*UBC* 1.253). The same sort of complaint appears also in 1.17 I 18–19 where Baal speaks to El on behalf of Danil that he "has no son like his brothers, nor offspring like his kinsmen'" (*d'in bn lh km 'aḫḫ wšrš km 'aryh*). The latter passage is further noteworthy since it, like ours, involves a divine intercessor stating the lament on behalf of another party (see further Parker 1989b:69). It might be suggested then that the model for the presentation of Baal's lament to El via Anat in 1.3 V (and later by Athirat in 1.4 IV) is not so much a general liturgical lament, but specifically the image of the personal god interceding before a chief god on behalf of his or her human devotee. Job 33:22–23 also appears to reflect this concept in the form of the heavenly "angel" who speaks for the suffering righteous in the divine assembly (cf. Job 16:19, 19:25; *CMHE* 180; Ross 1975). On a human level, one can see a similar intercession in 1 Kgs 1, where Bathsheba, Solomon's mother, speaks on Solomon's behalf to David concerning his appointment as successor to the throne (see the Introduction above, p. 17).

The content of Baal's lament reflects a widely held royal concern: the importance of the palace as a symbol of the king's status. This concern is expressed, for example, by the monarch Bar-rakab in KAI 216:16–19, as noted by Hurowitz (1992:103; see *ANET* 655):

wby(t).ṭb.lyšh.l'bhy.mlky.šm'l	And my fathers, the kings of
	Sam'al, had no good house.
h'.byt.klmw.lhm	They had the house of Kilamuwa;
ph'.byt.štw' lhm	So it was a winter house for them,
wh'.byt.kyṣ'.	And it was a summer house (for them).
w'nh.bnyt.byt'.znh	But as for me, I have built this house.

Baal is, at this point in the narrative, a king without a castle, as Gaster (1944) aptly called him. It is not that he has no house. The events concerning Baal on this entire tablet presuppose that he is living in a house on Mt. Ṣapan. But it is not a house appropriate for the king of the gods. Thus some of the complaint in the lament may be seen as containing elements of exaggeration and hyperbole.

The complaint itself (lines 48–53) is striking. It is composed of a series of nominal clauses (APO), which are all closely linked together by a series of repeated nouns (*mtb*, *mzll* and the additional synonyms, *bt* and *ḥzr*), each emphasizing what Baal lacks. In addition, an alternation of familial expressions runs through this part of the speech:

> A Lament to El his father (first reconstructed bicolon)
> B Lament to Athirat and her children (second reconstructed bicolon)
> A' No house like the gods, *'ilm* (first line of the bicolon; line [47])
> B' No court like the children of Athirat (second line of the bicolon; lines [47b]–48a)
> A'' The dwelling of El/his son (first line of the bicolon; lines 48b–49a)
> B'' The dwelling of Athirat (second line of the bicolon, plus the following two bicola; lines 49b–53)

Except for A', the complaint alternates between the names of El and Athirat. (By way of paranomasia, A' is not fully exempt from this alternation, for even though the name of El is absent, in its place is the virtual homonym *'ilm*.) Each bicolon will be addressed in turn.

The first of the two reconstructed bicola identifies Baal's act as a lament (**'any*),[31] which he intends to have addressed to "Bull El, His Father." The phrase *dyknnh* in the second line is slightly ambiguous and can be taken in two ways, "who established him" or "who created him." In the first interpretation of *dyknnh*, Baal is emphasizing the fact that El has already approved Baal's appointment as king, and thus should also approve the building of a palace. This usage may be compared with 2 Sam 7:13, "I will establish (*kōnantî*) the throne of his kingship forever." But the *D*-stem ("polel"/*L*-stem) of *kwn[32] is also used to refer to the creation specifically of a person, for example, in Job 31:15 "Did not the one who made me (*ʿōśēnî*) make him, and did not One create us (*wayĕkūnennû*) in the womb?"(*EUT* 50). This is the nuance evidently intended here, since the immediate context of the passages emphasizes family. A similar argument would apply to the description

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[31] This form is evidently *G*-stem active participle, 3 masc. sg., nominative case or possibly *qtl indicative masc. sg. The root is **'ny*, evidently a verb of speech attested also in the *t*- preformative forms *t'ant*/*t'unt* (*SPUMB* 107; *CMCOT* 68–69). The typical translation is "groaning," (Gibson *CML*² 159;Watson 1983:263; Pardee 1997a:255; Wyatt 1998:87; cf. *MLC* 191: "suspirando." Cf. also BH *'ny*, "to groan." and Ugaritic *'un*, "complaint" (CAT 1.79.3; see Pardee 2002:119). The specific nuance of lamentation was at one time thought to occur with this root also in 1.16 I 8 and II 46, where the word was thought to be written *'any* in 1.16 I 8, but *nny* in 1.16 II 46. Recently, scholars have been taking the latter as the correct reading, rather than the former (cf. Dijkstra (1991:337) and Greenstein, *UNP* 31, 35 and 46 n. 109, following Bordreuil 1989; cf. Brody 1998:15–16 n. 30). In fact, the upper line of the letter in 1.16 I 8 shows indications that there are three wedges here, and thus that the letter is *n* in both occurrences, as read by CAT.

[32] For the *L*-stem form as the *D*-stem of middle weak and final weak verbs, see Sivan 1997:159, 174.

of Yahweh in Deut 32:6 with the same verbal form: "Is he not your father, who fashioned you, who made you and created/established you (*waykōnĕnekā*)?" The root **ʿśh* in this context would likewise militate in favor of the meaning "to create" rather than "to establish." These terms and the titles that follow show Baal's capacity to invoke the pantheon's head as his father,[33] even though technically El would not seem to be Baal's "birth-father" (cf. Baal's appellation elsewhere, *bn dgn*, "son of Dagan"). These epithets are standard ones for El, but in this context they may further indicate Baal's generally belonging to the family of the gods and even his acknowledged need of El's help. He therefore addresses El with conventional titles, perhaps as a signal of traditional respect expected especially from someone requesting help from El.

The second reconstructed bicolon adds Athirat and her family as invoked parties of the lament. Both this and the previous bicolon (attested clearly in 1.3 V 35–37 and 1.4 IV 47–50, and less so in the badly damaged 1.4 I 4–8) are governed by the same verb, *yṣḥ*. This suggests that both bicola may be understood as referring to a single act of lamentation directed at El and Athirat and their royal family. Athirat's children are first called "her children," *bnh*, and then the "band of her brood" ([*wṣbrt ʾaryh*]). The first term, *bnh*, has usually been rendered more literally as "her sons," but the banquet scene in 1.4 VI 38–59 specifically describes the *bn ʾaṯrt* as including both gods and goddesses (see the discussion below, pp. 628–30). The first word of the second phrase refers to a collection or grouping, therefore Athirat's "band" (Gordon 1977:110 n. 77; see also Pope in Smith 1998b:654). The BH meaning of **ṣbr* is "to heap up," as a verb used for grain in Gen 41:35, 49 and dead frogs in Exod 8:10, and "a heap" as a noun referring to severed heads in 2 Kgs 10:8 (MHP). Applied to people in Ugaritic and post-biblical Hebrew, it signifies a group or community.[34] Within our context, it designates Athirat's extended household of the pantheon. The second word **ʾary* is more ambiguous; the parallelism would suggest a familial designation. Different cognates have been proposed. Gordon (*UT* 19.349) compared Egyptian *iry*, "companion." Pope, assuming that the language of an animal group stood behind the term (1977b:34, 504–5), compared the Arabic use of *ʾry* with reference

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[33] It may be noted that in the Hurrian-Hittite story of "Elkunisha and Ashertu" (*ANET* 519; Hoffner 1998:90–92), the Storm-god addresses Elkurnirsa as "father."

[34] So *UT* 19.2142; Dietrich and Loretz 1974:35; *TO* 1.193; Heltzer 1976:70–71; *MLC* 613. For this usage in post-biblical Hebrew, see Pirqe Abot 2:2 (Jastrow 1274).

to a manger and eating at the same manger (with another animal); Pope also proposed a verbal use of the root in Ps 80:13, meaning perhaps "to eat." He further connected the word to BH *'aryeh*, "lion." However, this element of the etymology seems less likely now that the word for "lion" in Ugaritic has turned up as *'arw* (CAT 6.62.2; *DUL* 111; cf. M. Cohen 1947:83, #34).[35] Renfroe (1992:83–84) notes Akkadian *ayaru*, "young man" (*CAD A/1*:230). *DUL* (111) compares Hittite LÚ *ara-* as well as Egyptian *'iry* and Akkadian *erâ/irâ* (an adverb meaning "side by side"; *CAD E*:254). As the proposals of Gordon and *DUL* would seem to suggest, a loan-form may be involved. In any case, the language evidently denotes here a family unit. The same word occurs in 1.4 VI 45 in a tricolon that also deals with the children of Athirat. Here the word is paralleled with "his brothers," *'aḫḫ*, and with "the seventy, the children of Athirat." Baal's relationship with the children of Athirat is rather rocky. Although he holds a feast for them in 1.4 VI 38–59, he eventually fights and defeats them in 1.6 V 1–4 (cf. Ashertu's 77//88 sons whom Baal slays in the West Semitic myth of Elkunirsa, attested in Hittite-Hurrian; *ANET* 519; see Beckman 1997). El and Athirat act together in 1.6 I in regulating the course of divine politics, and in our passage Baal expresses the reality that their support is required to secure recognition of his own divine kingship. Yet Baal does not ask for the support of El and Athirat only; his lament implicitly enlists the support of their children. In general, the family of El and Athirat generically constitutes the pantheon, and this list of invoked parties betrays Baal's problematic status. It is evident from the second bicolon that Baal himself does not belong to the family of El and Athirat properly speaking (see the discussions at *UBC* 1.91–94; Smith 2001a:34, 61–66).

The complaint in lines 47–53 compares Baal's unfortunate situation to that of several other gods who live happily in theirs. The point of this section is quite clear, but the exact syntax involved is ambiguous. Two primary interpretations have been proposed. Driver (*CML*[1] 89), Caquot and Sznycer (*TO* 1.172–73), Pardee (1997a:253) and Wyatt

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[35] One should note, however, that an originally III-*w* root may retain the final *-w* root letter in some forms but otherwise may conflate with III-*y*. For example, *bnwt* and *bnwn* but **bny* elsewhere, or even both forms in a single expression, *bny bnwt* (see *DUL* 233; and below p. 447). Whatever the relationship between the two roots, the Hebrew pun that Pope sees in Judg 14:14 (connecting the reference to "eater" with the "lion," but without mentioning the root *'ary*), is still plausible.

(1998:83–84) read the entire list of dwellings as a list of deities who possess palaces in contrast to Baal:

> For Ba'lu has no house as (do) the (other) gods,
>   no court as (do) the sons of ʾAthiratu,
> No dwelling (as does) Ilu, (no) shelter (as do) his sons,
>   (no) dwelling (as does) the great Lady, ʾAthirat of the Sea,
> (No) dwelling (as does) Pidray, daughter of ʾAru,
>   (no) shelter (as does) Tallay, daughter of Rabbu,
>   (no) dwelling as does ʾArsay, daughter of Ya'ibdarru,
>   (no) dwelling (as do) the honored brides
>   (Pardee 1997a: 253).

The other major interpretation (de Moor 1971: 110–11; 1987:14–15; *CML*² 52) has been to take line 48–49a as a nominal sentence, "The dwelling of El is the shelter of his son," and to render the passage as follows:

> [The dwelling of El is the shelter of] his son
> The dwelling of the Lady Athirat of the Sea is
>
> The dwelling of Pidr[ay, Daughter of Light,
> The shelter of Tallay, Daughter of Showers,
>
> The dwelling of Arsay, Daughter of the Wide World,
> The dwelling of the Noble Brides.

In this interpretation, the son referred to in the first line is Baal, who complains that he must live in El's home and his women must live in Athirat's home, while all the other gods have their own houses.

While both interpretations are grammatically plausible, the second one seems to fit the context better. In the first interpretation even Baal's three women are said to have palaces, while Baal does not. Such a notion seems problematic, as noted even by Pardee (1997a:253 n. 99). The second interpretation suggests that everyone but Baal and his women have houses, an argument that, while probably hyperbolic, still fits the story better.[36] Four terms are used in this passage for the divine domiciles. "House" (*bt*) is a regular term for "temple." Baal's temple

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[36] Smith earlier in *UNP* 115 proposed reading *bnh* in line 49 as "his children," but this seems unlikely, since it would suggest that all of El's offspring lived in his dwelling, and thus had no separate homes of their own. This would undercut Baal's argument for a palace of his own. In addition, the reference to Baal's three women in the following lines suggests that the reference to *bnh* here refers to Baal.

in Ugarit (*bt bʿl ʾugrt*) is mentioned in CAT 1.109.11 and 1.119.3, 9. Royal dedicatory inscriptions regularly refer to the temple built for the deity as *bt* (see KAI 4:1, and the royal inscription from Ekron, line 1; see Gitin, Dothan and Naveh 1997:9, 10, 12). Yahweh's home is also conventionally referred to in BH as *bêt Yahweh* (1 Kgs 3:1; 6:37; Jer 36:6, 8; Ezek 44:4, 5, *passim*). The term rendered "court," *ḥzr*, is also a common designation for a palace or large house (cf. 1.14 IV 40–42; also 1.19 IV 9–11, where it is paralleled with *hkl*). The term is used of Yahweh's temple in Ps 116:19: *běḥaṣrôt bêt Yahweh*. The word *mṯb* appears to have two major meanings, "dwelling," as here (cf. 1.41.50–51, Pardee 1997b:275), and "chair, throne" (cf. 1.16 V 24). It does not appear regularly as a word for "house, temple" in BH, but may be used in that way in Ps 132:13. Ezek 28:2 perhaps refers to a Phoenician tradition of El's dwelling in a *môšāb*: "I am El, in the dwelling (*môšab*) of Elohim." Also cognate are *myṯbʾ* of the Teima inscription (CIS ii 114) and Sabean *mwṯb* (Gaster 1946:24 n. 23). The unusual term for divine domicile in Baal's lament is *mẓll*. The word *mẓll* only occurs in this passage and its parallels in 1.3, 1.4 and 1.117. It appears to be cognate with Syriac *maṭllā*, "cover" (*LS* 275), *taṭlīlā*, "roof" (*LS* 276) as well as the BA *C*-stem impv. *taṭlēl*, "give shelter," in Dan 4:9 (see further Gaster 1946:24 n. 23). In view of these cognates, the Ugaritic usage seems to represent an example of *pars pro toto*.

1.3 IV 53 is a narrative rubric introducing Anat's response. The **yqtl* verb in the initial position with *w-* marks the continuation of the narrative line (APO). In lines 54–55 Anat tells Baal that El will heed her words (literally, "turn to me," **ṯwb ly*). Pardee (1997a:253–4) renders this line aptly as "The bull, my father, ʾIlu, will come around to me." The similar use of **ṯwb* in reference to a verbal response is found in 1.4 VI 2, 15; VII 24–25 (cf. also 1.3 IV 21–22 and 1.19 IV 18–20; cf. Watson 1983:254). The last line of the column breaks off at the beginning of a new clause, "He will heed me, or/and to him … [". The context of the phrase *wlh* is uncertain, but in the next line, at the beginning of column V, Anat is describing the violence she will inflict upon El if he does not agree to her request. The syntax *w* + preposition, suggests a disjunctive clause is beginning here. Thus *wlh* may be understood best as the beginning of Anat's threat. In 1.3 V 22–25 she does threaten El at his abode just as she promises Baal here. Such a violent threat is hardly exceptional; she offers a similar one to El in 1.18 I 11–12. Anat's intimidating demeanor is comparable to Ishtar's

toward Anu in Gilgamesh VI:97–100 (*ANET* 84; see Abusch 1986), as well as her threatening behavior in the Descent of Ishtar (lines 15–20; *ANET* 107). For Anat, either El will pay attention to her, or he will suffer the consequences.

CAT 1.3 V

Bibliography

Text Editions: Virolleaud 1938:71–84, pls. VI, VII, XII; CTA 18–20, fig. 11, 12 pls. V, VI; KTU 13–14; CAT 13–15.

Studies and Translations: Aistleitner 30–31; Caquot and Sznycer, *TO* 1.173–77; Cassuto, *GA* 98–103, 142–51; Coogan 1978:95–96; Cross, *CMHE* 184; Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1146–49; Driver, *CML*¹ 88–91; Gaster, *Thespis* 242; Gibson, *CML*² 52–54; Ginsberg, *ANET* 137–38; Gordon, *UL* 22–23, 1977:82–84; Jirku 33–35; de Moor, *SPUMB* 110–15, 1987:15–18; Mullen 1980:62–67; del Olmo Lete, *MLC* 189–91; *MLR* 74–76; Pardee 1997a:254–55; Smith, *UNP* 115–18; Wyatt 1998:84–88; Xella 1982:105–6; van Zijl, *Baal* 74–81.

Text (See Images 22–24)

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 1    [        ]mṯḥ.nn.k'imr.l'arṣ
      [        ]k̊.šbth.dmm.šbt.dqnh
      [        ]xd.lytn.bt.lb'l.k'ilm
      [        ]r̊.kbn.'aṯrt[        ]'nm̊
 5    [     ]'arṣ.'id[ ].[     ]m̊m
      [     ]mbkn̊h̊r̊m̊[     ]b.[     ]ġ
      [     ]tm.tgl.d̲[ ]'i[ ]wtb̊'u
      [     ]š.m̊[     ]k.'ab[     ]tṣr
      [     ]b'u.d̲dm̊.t̲tnẙ[     ]'ådn.[     ]lm̊
10    ġlh.yš[     ].t̲r.[     ]l.'abh.ẙ[     ]ẙ
      bšb't.ḥ[     ]rm.[     ]mn[     ]
      sgrt.g[     ]x[     ]bh̊[     ]
      'n.t̲k[                    ]
      'ln.t̲[                    ]
15    lp'n.ġl[ ]m[                ]
      m'id.'ax[        ]s̊n[     ]
      nrt.'ilm̊.špš[     ]r̊x
      l'a.šmm̊[ ]bẙ[        ]t
      wt'n.btlt.'n̊[     ]bht
20    k.y'ilm.bnt[ ]bh[     ].'a[     ]šmḫ
      'al.tšmḫ.br̊[     ]k̊l[     ]
      'al.'aḫdhm.bym̊xẙ.[     ]b̊[     ]
      bgdlt.'arkty[     ]'am[     ]
      qdqdk.'ašhlk.šbtk̊[     ]
25    šbt.dqnk.mm'm[     ]y'ny
      'il.bšb't.ḥdr̊m̊.bt̲mnt
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’ap.sgrt.yd‘[   ]bt.k’an[   ]
k’in.b’ilht.qĺ[   ]k̊.mh.t’aršn̊
lbtlt.‘nt.wt[   ]n̊.btlt.‘n[   ]
30   tḥmk.’il.ḥkm[   ]ḥkmk
‘m.‘lm.ḥyt.ḥzt.tḥmk
mlkn.’al’iyn.b‘l.ṭpṭn
’in.d‘lnh.k̊lnyy.qs̊h
nbln.klnŷy.nbl.ksh
35   ’any.lys̊ḥ.ṭr̊.’il.’abh.’il
mlk.dykṅnh.ys̊ḥ.’aṯrt
wbnh.’ilt̊.ws̊brt.’arḥh
wn.’in.bt[   ]lb‘l.km.’ilm
ḥzr.kb[   ]ṯrt.mṯb.’il
40   mzll.b[   ]ṯb.rbt.’aṯrt
ŷṁ.mṯb[   ]y.bt.’ar
[   ]t̊b̊ŷ[   ]rb.mṯb
[   ]ṁ i̱b

ca. 15 lines missing

The small fragment, RS 2.[014] (See Image XX):

[   ]
[   ]
[   ]
[   ]
[   ]
[   ]
50   [   ]r̊s̊
[   ]

<center>TEXTUAL NOTES</center>

Line 1. nn   The two /n/’s both have four wedges.

Line 2. [   ]k̊.   The letter is identified from context. Only two wedges
are preserved, the right horizontal and a smaller one to its left. Epi-
graphically it could be an /r/.
   dqnh   The /h/ at the end of the word has four wedges.

Line 3. [   ]xd.lytn   Only a right large horizontal survives for the first
letter. From context, the most likely reading is /k/, as Pardee reads,
but epigraphically one cannot be certain. The /l/ of /lytn/ is unusual
for its very small right wedge. The scribe has failed to impress it deep
enough into the clay.

Line 4. [   ]ř   The first letter surviving on the line has three preserved horizontals, thus looking like a /k/, but the context argues for /r/.

]ʿnm̊   CTA identified the remains of a /p/ preceding /ʿn/, and this is certainly the correct reading of the line. The damage to the tablet at this spot is horizontal and creates the look of a /p/. But there are no clear traces of any actual remains of wedges along the break. The /ʿ/ is certain; most of it is preserved. The /m/ was not noted in either CTA or CAT. While it is badly damaged, the left part of the horizontal is clearly preserved. This word appears as *pʿnm* in both parallel passages, 1.4 V 21 and 1.17 VI 46.

Line 5. [   ]ʾàrṣ.ʾid̊[Both wedges of the /ʾa/ are preserved. The /d/ is almost entirely effaced, but the general shape of the letter survives.

]n̊m Only the right horizontal of the /n/ survives, but the context assures the reading.

Line 6. [   ]mbk̊n̊hr̊m̊[Unlike Herdner in CTA, we see no trace of an /l/ at the beginning of the preserved portion of the line (Virolleaud's drawing in CTA 2, fig 11 shows no traces either). Nor is there a word divider before the /m/, as proposed in both CTA and CAT or a word divider between /mbk/ and /nhrm/. Only the left two wedges of /n/ are preserved, but context assures the reading.

The /r/ is certain as well, although only the left sides of the left two wedges and the upper line of the right wedge are preserved.

The upper left corner of the horizontal of the /m/ is also discernable, although only context assures the reading of the letter.

]q̊   The upper line and right side of the /q/ are preserved at the end of the line.

Line 7. d̲[   ]ʾi[   ]   We can discern no traces of a letter following /d̲/ or following /ʾi/ as proposed by CAT. Deep gouges in the tablet have removed any evidence of wedges.

wtb̊ʾu   The /b/ is represented only by the bottom horizontals.

Line 8. [   ]š.m̊[The /m/ is damaged. The left wedge is fine, but there is only a hint of the left side of the vertical.

]k.ʾab̊[The /b/ is represented only by the left upper corner of the left vertical and the upper line of the right vertical.

]tṣr   As Pardee (1997a:254 n. 102) recognized, the first letter of this word is /t/, not /m/ as previously read. The lower center part of the

horizontal wedge has been damaged by a chip that resembles a vertical wedge. This has caused the misreading.

Line 9. [   ]bu.ḏdm̊.ttnẙ[This is a badly damaged line. The /m/ is not entirely certain. The preserved wedge appears to be the vertical, but it leaves a fairly limited space for the left horizontal. What is read here as /tt/ has been read as a /q/ in the other editions, but this is unlikely. While there is a horizontal wedge on the left, the indentations on the right do not resemble the *Winkelhaken* wedge of a /q/, but rather the complex indentations of the /t/. In addition, reading this complex as a /q/ makes the letter unusually long. The /y/ seems fairly certain, although only the left half of the letter survives. Pardee (1997a:254 n. 103) reads as here.

]'ådn[The /ʾa/ seems very likely, although it could theoretically be a /n/ or /w/. The /d/ is fairly certain, with the entire line of the top of the letter preserved, as well as the lower left horizontal and the right tip of the right horizontal. The upper line of the letter gives no clear indications of the number of verticals in the letter, but the width of the letter argues for /d/ over /b/.

]lm̊   The final letter seems likely to be /m/, although only the horizontal is preserved. Its shortness fits with an /m/ better than as a truncated /t/(so CTA). The gap between ʾadn and]lm is easily wide enough for two to three letters. Undoubtedly the last word should be reconstructed as ʾi]lm, but there is also room for the proposed restoration, /bn/. Pardee (1997a:254 n. 103) discerned traces of the ʾi in this position, but we could not identify any such traces. CAT's proposal *[bnʾi]lm* seems plausible.

Line 10. q̇lh.yš[   ].ṯr.[The right wedge of the/q/ is completely preserved, as is part of the lower line of the horizontal. We see no traces of letters /mʿ/ between /yš/ and /.ṯr/, as proposed by CAT.

]l̂.'abh.ẙ[   ]ẙ   Following the break after /ṯr./ is the faint trace of the right side of a vertical, probably the right vertical of /l/. The /y/ following /'abh./ is epigraphically uncertain. Two short verticals indicate that it is either /y/ or /ḫ/. In context the former seems more likely. Following the break, there are the tops of two vertical wedges side by side. This was read by CTA as /l/. But because the right wedge is significantly higher than the left wedge, it is more likely that this is a /y/. (The wedges of /l/ are usually, but not always, at the same height.) Pardee (1998b:87) reads *y['n]y*.

Line 11. ḥ[   ]rm.   Contra CTA, there are no traces of a letter between /ḥ/ and /rm/. The reconstruction of /d/ is based on the parallel in lines 25–27.

Line 12. sgrt.g[   ]x[We see no traces of an /m/ after the second /g/, contra CAT. The /x/ stands for a large horizontal wedge, preserved without context. CTA reads this as part of a /z̤/, but this is not likely. What Virolleaud and Herdner took as the upper line of the right wedge of the /z̤/ is actually part of the damage on the tablet's surface. Nor is there any evidence that a depression below the wedge is an additional horizontal.

    ]b̊ẖ̊[Following the break, we find a small vertical wedge, and the tip of a horizontal below it. The clear space to the left of the vertical suggests this is probably a /b/. There is often some space between the verticals in /b/, much less commonly in /d/ (see Ellison 2002.II: figs 864, 871, 874). This is followed by the three wedges of an /h/ or /ʼi/.

Line 13. ʻn.t̤k[The /n/ seems to have four wedges.

Line 16. mʼid.ʼax[The letter following /ʼa/ is too badly damaged to identify. The few traces suggest a letter with a horizontal orientation, perhaps /t/ or /n/.

    ]s̊n[The /s̤/ is not entirely certain. The letter looks superficially like an /m/, but the top of the left wedge seems too horizontal for a /m/. There seem to be traces of the right line of the left wedge going down to the same level as the right wedge. It cannot be /y/ as proposed by CAT, since the right wedge is clearly just a single wedge.

Line 17. nrt.ʼilm̊.špš[The /m/ is uncertain epigraphically. While there are fragments of the preceding /l/, there appears to be little beyond a general shape to indicate the /m/. Context, however, assures that the letter was there. The right half of the first /š/ is preserved. There are no certain remains of a word divider after /špš/.

    ]r̊x   The right and lower middle wedges of the /r/ are preserved, along with hints of the left lower wedge. The last letter has been read as /t/, but this is not entirely certain. The right tip of the horizontal seems quite wide and suggests that it is a small wedge, rather than the typical long form of the /t/. There are also vague traces of what may be an additional horizontal to its left. In spite of these uncertainties, however,

the commonly proposed restoration, *[shr]rt*, based on parallels (1.4 VIII 21–24; 1.6 II 24–25) makes the reading /t/ seem fairly likely.

Line 18. l'a.šmm̊   The second /m/ only survives in the general shape of the horizontal. No clear lines of it are visible. No word divider is preserved after /šmm/.

]b̊ẙ[   ]t   Only the very tops of the probable /b/ and /y/ are preserved, so the readings are epigraphically uncertain. The readings seem assured by context. We see no trace of the /m/ that Pardee (personal communication) reads shortly after /by/. Two restorations are plausible from the parallel passages: *by[d.bn.'ilm.m]t* is suggested by 1.6 II 24–25, but *by[d.mdd.'ilm.m]t* follows 1.4 VIII 21–24.

Line 19. ʿn̊[The /ʿ/ is almost completely gone, but the right edge appears to be faintly visible.

Line 20.]b̊h[Only the right wedges of the /b/are preserved, and thus the reading is epigraphically uncertain.

]šmḫ   The /š/ is very damaged, but the left and right wedges are visible and assure the reading.

Line 21. br̊[   ]   The /r/ is uncertain. The lower line of the letter suggests /r/, but only two wedges along the bottom of the letter are certainly visible.

]k̊l[The /k/ is likely, although epigraphically, it could also be a /r/.

Line 22. by m̊xẏ.[   ]b̊[   ]   The only remaining part of the /m/ is the lower tip of the vertical. That means it is epigraphically uncertain. The only trace of the next letter is a thin portion of the deep interior of a horizontal wedge. The /y/ is certain, with the right half showing the three wedges. Part of a word divider follows.

Toward the end of the line, parts of two verticals side by side are preserved. The shortness of the wedges suggests that this is either a /b/ or /d/. Pardee (1997a:254 n. 109) identifies these wedges as a /ṣ/, which is also possible, and suggests that there are traces of a /š/ to the left of it. We do not see the latter traces. He proposes the following reconstruction, ['a] ⌜šṣ⌝ [qhm], "I will squeeze them."

Line 23.]'am[We see no traces of a letter after /am/ as proposed by CAT.

Line 24. 'ašhlk.   Although CTA read the /h/ as a /p/ and treated it as a scribal error for /h/, the letter does in fact have three horizontals, making it a /h/. The middle wedge is very close to the upper wedge, but is clearly distinguishable from the latter.
   šbtk̊[Only the bottom half of a short horizontal letter survives after the /t/. Context, however, argues strongly for /k/.

Line 26. ḥdrṁ   The two left upper wedges and the upper line of the lower left wedge of the /r/ are preserved. Only the upper line and the right side of the /m/'s vertical survives. But both are certain by context.

Line 27. k'an[There are no traces of a letter beyond the /n/, contra CAT.

Line 28. ql̊[   ]k̊   The /l/ of /ql/ is epigraphically uncertain. Only two wedges are preserved, so the letter could be /l/ or /ṣ/. The restoration proposed here, /ql[ṣ]k/, is plausible from a parallel and argues for the reading /l/. The same issue affects the /k/ on the other side of the break. Only a long horizontal is preserved for this letter, which allows it to be interpreted as a number of possibilities. But the reconstruction seems likely, and the wedge is compatible with /k/.
   t'aršn̊   The /n/ at the end of the line is also very broken. Only the left edge of the letter survives, and that could be interpreted as a number of different letters. The context, however, argues for /n/.

Line 29. wt[   ]n̊   The left half of the /t/ is preserved, enough to assure its identification. The right two wedges of the /n/ are visible, but context assures the reading.
   'n[   ]   There are no traces of a /t/ at the end of the line, as proposed by CAT.

Line 32. tpṭn   The /n/ has four wedges.

Line 33. kl̊nyy.   The /k/ is certain. The two left wedges are fully pre-served, and the left edge of the right wedge is partially visible. The /l/

is partially preserved, with the lower tip of the middle wedge and the complete right wedge.

   qšh   The /h/ has four wedges.

Line 34. klnẙy   The right side of the first /y/ is lost in the break, but the context assures the reading.

Line 35. ṯṙ   The three right wedges of the /r/ are preserved completely, and the right tip of the lower left wedge is just visible, assuring the reading.

Line 36. dyk̇ṅnh   The upper left wedge of the /k/ is broken away, but the letter is certain. The two left wedges of the /n/ survive, along with the lower left corner and the right tip of the right wedge, assuring its reading.

Line 37. ʾilṫ   The /t/ is almost completely lost in the break. Only the left line of the wedge remains. But context assures its reading.
   ʾarḫh   Based on the parallels, the /ḫ/ is a scribal error for /y/.

Line 41. ẙṁ   The first two letters are badly damaged. Only the upper vertical of the right side of the /y/ is preserved. Faint traces of the upper line of the horizontal and of the interior of the /m/ are discernable.   Context assures the reading.

Line 42. [   ]ṯlẙ[   ]rb   The left side of the /y/ is partially preserved, but not the right. Context confirms the reading. Both /r/ and /b/ are badly damaged, but enough remains of both to assure the reading.

Line 43. [   ]ṁṯḃ   Only the tops of the three letters survive, but all are certain.

Line 50.]rṣ   The small fragment contains the very right edge of column V, covering the space of the last eight lines of the column. Only the two letters, /rṣ /are preserved (we find no traces of the ḥ CAT reads in line 47). The /r/ is certain. The three right wedges are preserved, with traces of the right tips of the two left wedges. This assures the reading.

Text Restored and Set in Poetic Form

1–3   *[ʾi]mṣḫ.nn.k'imr.lʾarṣ/*
           [ʾašhl]k.šbth.dmm.
           šbt.dqnh/[mmʿm]

3–4   *[ ]xd.lytn.bt.lbʿl.kʾilm/*
           [wḫz]r.kbn.ʾaṯrt[.]

4–7   *[td'ṣ.p]ʿnm/[wtr.]ʾarṣ.*
           ʾid[k].[ʾal.ttn.p]nm/
           [ʿm.ʾil.]mbk nhrm[.]
           [qr]b.[ʾap]q/[thm]tm.

7–8   *tgl.ḏ[d.]ʾi[l.]*
           wtbʾu/[qr]š.m[l]k.ʾab[.šnm.]

8–9   *tṣr/[t]bʾu.ḏdm.*
           ttny[.l]ʾadn[bn ʾi]lm

10–12   *qlh.yš[mʿ].ṯr.[ʾi]l.ʾabh.*
           y[ʿn]y./bšbʿt.ḥ[d]rm.
           [bṯ]mn[t.ʾap]/ṣgrt.

12–16   *g[…]x[…]bh/*
           ʿn.ṯk[…]/
           ʿln.ṯ[…]/
           lpʿn.ǵl[m]m[ ]/
           mʾid.ʾax[ ]ŝn[…]

17–18   *nrt.ʾilm.špš[.ṣḥr]rt*
           lʾa.šmm[.]by[d.bn.ʾilm.m]t

19   *wtʿn.btlt.ʿn[t.]*

19–21   *[bnt]bht/k.yʾilm*
           bnt[.]bh[tk].ʾa[l.t]šmḫ/
           ʾal.tšmḫ.br[m.h]kl[k]

22–23   *ʾal.ʾaḫdhm.bymmy.*
           [ ]b[ ]/bgdlt.ʾarkty[.]

23–25   *ʾam[ḫṣ]/qdqdk.*
           ʾašhlk.šbtk[.dmm]/
           šbt.dqnk.mmʿm[.]

25–27   *yʿny/ʾil.bšbʿt.ḥdrm.*
           bṯmnt/ʾap.ṣgrt.

27–29   *ydʿ[tk.]bt.kʾan[št]/*
           kʾin.bʾilht.ql[ṣ]k.
           mh.tʾaršn/lbtlt.ʿnt.

29   *wt[ʿ]n.btlt.ʿn[t]*

30–31   *tḥmk.ʾil.ḥkm[.]*
           ḥkmk/ʿm.ʿlm.
           ḥyt.ḫẓt.tḥmk

32–33   *mlkn.ʾalʾiyn.bʿl.*
           ṯpṭn/ʾin.dʿlnh.

33–34 *klnyy.qšh/nbln.*
       klnyy.nbl.ksh

35–36 *'any.lyṣh.ṭr.'il.'abh.*
       'il/mlk.dyknnh.

36–37 *yṣh.'aṭrt/wbnh.*
       'ilt.wṣbrt.'ary(!)h

38–39 *wn.'in.bt[.]lb'l.km.'ilm/*
       ḥẓr.kb[n 'a]ṭrt.

39–41 *mṯb.'il/mzll.b[nh.]*
       [m]ṯb.rbt.'aṯrt/ym.

41–42 *mṯb[.pdr]y.bt.'ar/*
       [mzll.]ṯly[.bt.]rb.

42–44 *mṯb/['arṣy.bt.y'bdr.]*
       mṯb/[klt.knyt…]

[About 22 lines are missing.]

Translation and Vocalized Text

Anat's Response to Baal Continued (This follows directly upon the last line of column IV).

1–3   "[…I will] drag him to the ground   […'i]mṣaḫuna-nu ka-'immiri
          like a lamb;   lê-'arṣi
      [I will ma]ke his gray hair [run]   ['ašahali]ku šêbata-hu
          with blood,   dama-ma
      The gray hair of his beard   šêbata daqini-hu
          [with gore],   [mam'ê-ma]

3–4   Unless he gives Baal a house like   [   ]d lā-yatinu bêta lê-ba'li
          the gods',   ka-'ilīma
      [And a cou]rt like that of Athirat's   [wa-ḥaẓi]ra ka-binī
          children."   'aṯirati

Anat's Journey to El

4–7   [She planted (her) fe]et, [and] the   [tid'aṣu pa]'nāmi/ [wa-tarra]
          earth [shook];   'arṣu
      S[o she hea]ded out   'idda[ka 'al tatin pa]nīma
      [For E]l at the springs of the   ['imma 'ili] mabbikê
          River[s],   naharêmi
      [Ami]d [the strea]ms of the [Dee]ps.   [qir]ba ['appi]qê tahāma]têmi

| 7–8 | She came to the moun[tain] of E[l], And entered [the te]nt of the Ki[n]g, the Father of [Years]. | taglî d̲a[da][1] ’i[li] wa-tabu’u [qar]ša ma[l]ki ’abī [šanīma] |

| 8–9 | She shouted angrily as [she en]tered the mountain, She repeated it [to] the Lord of [the children of E]l. | taṣṣuru [ta]bu’u d̲ada-ma tat̲anniyu [lê-]’adāni [binī ’i]li-ma |

El's Response and Anat's Threat

| 10–12 | Her voice Bull [E]l, her Father, he[ard]; H[e] an[sw]ered from the seven r[oo]ms, | qāla-ha yiš[ma‘u] t̲ôru [’i]lu ’abū-ha ya[‘ni]yu/bi- šab‘ati ḥu[du]rīma[2] |

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[1] For this word, see *UBC* 1.187–89; Watson 1995:221–22; *DUL* 285. Loretz (1995b:727) compares *d̲d* not with Akkadian *šadû*, "mountain," but with Akkadian *šiddu*, "Seite, Rand; Vorhang." As a parallel, Loretz cites *ARM* IV, 10, line 6' from *AHw* 1230, B, #3 *ana ši-id-da-at ekallim* as meaning "einen Bereich vor Gebäuden" (*AHw* leaves the phrase untranslated). Loretz would also see *qrš* not as a tent-term but "der Raum, in dem die Gäste empfangen werden." The advantage of this approach is to understand the two parallel terms in a single word-field. However, it does not account for evidence that El's abode is a tent structure. Furthermore, it is unclear how common the use of Akkadian *šiddu* is that Loretz proposes to compare with Ugaritic *d̲d*. Additionally, according to *AHw* 1230 (which Loretz cites), the term seems to refer generally not to the room itself, but to the long side of a room. The parallelism achieved by Loretz's proposal would otherwise be attractive. Akkadian *šiddu* compares better with Ugaritic *šd* where it is parallel to *kmn* (see p. 280 n. 8). A third possibility for Ugaritic *d̲d* is to compare Akkadian *šadu*, "field," and hence "encampment" here (see *UNP* 78). However, Ugaritic *šd* covers the meaning "field" (*šd//p’at mdbr* in 1.23.67, see also lines 13, 28). Therefore, Ugaritic *d̲d* does not mean "field." Like Akkadian *šadû*, it may mean "mountain" here. The context of *d̲d* in 1.19 IV 51–52, often taken to mean "camp" or the like (*UNP* 77) or "tent" (*CMCOT* 51–53, *CMHE* 36 n. 143, 55 n. 43) is problematic. The view assumes parallelism with <’a>hlm, which in turn requires an emendation (Pope 1987:223 = 1994:51–52; for further criticisms of Clifford's etymological argument, see Renfroe 1992:97–98). An appeal to 1.19 IV apparently complicates the discussion, as both *d̲d* and *šd* appear in its larger context, the former in line 51 and the latter in lines 48; it is logical to suggest some difference in nuance. If *šd* means "field" as it does elsewhere in Ugaritic, then it seems unlikely (though not impossible) that *d̲d* here has the same meaning. In short, 1.19 IV 48–52 provides little clarification of the lexical situation of *d̲d* (see also the difficult context of lines 58 and 60). In view of the clearer use of Ugaritic *šd* for "field," it would seem better not to see this meaning here, while "mountain" appears highly plausible (cf. Cross's earlier view, as noted in *CMHE* 55 n. 43). Jonas Greenfield (personal communication) suggests that the form *d̲d* was used instead of *šd* for Ugaritic "mountain" because Ugaritic *šd* was used for "field." For more details, see *UBC* 1.187–88.

[2] For the syllabic evidence for this base for the noun, see Huehnergard 1987b:123; Sivan 1997:67.

[From the] eigh[t openings of the en]closures.

[bi-ṯa]manî[ti 'appi³]/ sagūrati

[*Lines 12–16 are too damaged to interpret their prosodic arrangement.*]

17–18   "The Divine Lamp, Shapsh, [is re]d;
        The heavens are weak in the ha[nds of Divine M]ot."

niratu⁴ 'ilīma šapšu⁵ [ṣaḥrv]rat⁶
la'a šamîma bi-ya[di bini 'ili-ma mô]ti

19   And Adolescent Ana[t] answers:

wa-ta'nî batulatu 'ana[tu]

19–21   "[In the construction of your house, O El,
        In the construction of your hou[se] do [not re]joice,
        Do not rejoice in the he[ight of your pa]lace.

[banîti⁷] bahatī/-ka ya⁸-'ili-ma
banîti baha[tū-ka 'a[l ti]šmaḥ
'al tišmaḥ bi-rā[mi hê] kali-[ka]

22–23   Or else I will seize it with my right hand,
        …by my mighty, long arm.

'al 'a(')ḫud⁹-hu-ma bi-yamīni-ya
[   ]/bi-gadulati 'arkati-ya

23–25   I will sm[ash…] your head;
        I will make your beard run [with blood],
        The gray hair of your beard with gore."

'am[ḫuṣu   ]qadqada-ka
'ašaḥaliku šêbata-ka [dama-ma]/
šêbata-ka daqini-ka mam'ê-ma

25–27   El answered from the seven rooms,
        From the eight bolted entrances:

ya'niyu/'ilu bi- šab'ati ḫudurīma
bi-ṯamānîti/'appi sagūrāti

27–29   "[I] know [you], daughter, that [you are fu]rious,

yada'[tu-ki] bitti kī-'ana[što]

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³ On the syllabic evidence for this form, see Huehnergard 1987b:108.

⁴ *UG* 190 favors the plausible reconstruction *nûratu* (<*nuwrat-*), but the admittedly difficult syllabic evidence would suggest *niratu* compared to the BH base of *nēr*; see Huehnergard 1987b:152.

⁵ For the syllabic evidence, see Huehnergard 1987b:183.

⁶ For the form, see *UG* 680.

⁷ The final *-t* supports taking this form as a noun (e.g., *DUL* 232 citing Akkadian *binītu*).

⁸ For the vocative *y-*, see *UG* 804.

⁹ The particle *'al* takes a jussive form. The verb derives from *'ḫd, with ellision of root letter 'aleph of the first person prefix form (as vocalized here) or less likely a participle; see Sivan 1997:32, 116.

	For there is not among goddesses sc[or]n like yours.	kī-'ênu bi-'ilahāti qala[ṣi]-ki
	What do you desire, O Adolescent Anat?"	maha ta'arrišuna/[10] la[11]-batulati 'anati
29	And Adolescent Ana[t] ans[we]red:	wa-ta['·]nî batulatu 'ana[tu]
30–31	"Your decree, O El, is wise, Your wisdom is eternal, A fortunate life is your decree.	taḥmu-ka 'ili ḥakama[12] ḥukmu-ka/'imma 'ôlami ḥayyatu[13] ḥaẓẓati taḥmu-ka
32–33	Our king is Mightiest Baal, Our ruler, with none above him.	malku-na 'al'iyānu ba'lu ṯāpiṭu-na/'ênu du-'alênu-hu
33–34	All of us will bring him a chalice,	kullu-na-ya-vya(?)[14] qaša[15]-hu/ nabilu[16]
	All of us will bring him a cup.	kullu-na-ya-vya nabilu kāsa-hu
35–36	In lament, Indeed he cries to Bull El, his Father, To El, the King who created/ established him.	'āniyu la-yaṣûḥu ṯôra 'ila 'abā-hu 'ila/malka dā-yakāninu-hu
36–37	He cries to Athirat and her children,[17] The goddess and the band of her brood:	yaṣûḥu 'aṯirata wa-banī-ha/ 'ilata wa-ṣibbirata 'aryi-ha
38–39	'For Baal has no house like the gods', No court like [A]thirat's child[ren's].	wa-na 'ênu bêtu lê-ba'li kama 'ilīma ḥaẓiru ka-ba[nī 'a]ṯirati

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[10] For the root, with syllabic evidence, see Huehnergard 1987b:110; *UG* 547.

[11] For the vocative *l-*, see *UG* 804.

[12] For the verbal use of this root, see *ḥkmt* in 1.4 IV 41 (the parallel to *ḥkmk* in the next line), 1.4 V 3 and 1.16 IV 2. It is also possible that *ḥkm* here is the nominal form, **ḥukmu*, as in the next line.

[13] Cf. syllabic *ḥiyyūma* (Huehnergard 1987b:124). Accordingly, perhaps *ḥyt* is to be vocalized as **ḥiyyātu* instead.

[14] Alternatively, but unlikely, "the two of us." See the commentary on these lines below. For the form, see Pardee 1997a:255 n. 112; *UG* 224–25. Cf. *klnyn* in the parallel passage in 1.4 IV 45.

[15] For cognates, see *TO* 1.176 n. v; *KB*[4] 1150; cf. *DUL* 717: "all together we shall carry his tankard."

[16] For the form, see Huehnergard 1987b: 132, 133. If the subject is dual (see n. 14 above), then the vocalization would be *nabilā*.

[17] Cf. the rendering "Athirat and her children" as the subject rather than the object in Sivan 1997:104. This view overlooks the fact that this is part of a quoted speech from 1.3 IV 47–53 repeated here and in 1.4 I 4–18.

39–41	The dwelling of El is the shelter of [his so]n,	môṯabu ’ili/maẓlalu bi[ni-hu]
	[The dw]elling of Lady Athirat of the Sea,	[mô]ṯabu rabbati ’aṯirati/ yammi
41–42	The dwelling of [Pidr]ay, Daughter of Light,	môṯabu [pidra]yi bitti ’āri/
	[The shelter of] Tallay, [Daughter of] Showers,	[maẓlalu]/ṭallayi [bitti] ribbi
42–44	The dwelling of [Arsay, Daughter of the Wide World],	môṯabu/[’arṣayi bitti ya‘ibidrayi]
	The dwelling [of the Noble Brides].”	môṯabu/[kallāti kaniyāti]

Commentary

Poetic Parallelism and Word/Syllable Counts

		semantic parallelism	word/ syllable count
1–3	[… ’i]mṣaḫuna-nu ka-’immiri lê-’arṣi/	a b c	3/12
	[’ašahali]ku šêbata-hu dama-ma	d e f	3/12
	šêbata daqini-hu/[mam‘ê-ma]	e (x of y) f’	3/10

The second and third lines are closely parallel, but the first line considerably less so. That this is the case is evident from the description of Anat delivering this same threat in lines 23–25, which uses a different initial line, though it is of generally similar semantic content. Accordingly, it is evident that the second and third lines form a bicolon at a more basic level of composition. The repetition of the word of *šbt* in those lines points up the sonant parallelism of *dama-ma* and *daqini-hu [mam‘ê-ma]*.

| 3–4 | [ ]d lā-yatinu bêta lê-ba‘li ka-’ilīma/ | a b c d e | 5 (?)/14 (?)[18] |
| | [wa-ḫaẓi]ra ka-binī ’aṯirati | c’ e’ (x of y) | 3/11 |

The syllable-count provides a better indicator of the balance of lines than the word-count. What the second line lacks in a verb or initial

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[18] The latter count assumes that a vowel precedes or follows the first attested consonant.

prepositional phrase, it expands in the comparative prepositional phrase (e as a single word as opposed to e' as x of y, as in the second and third lines of the preceding tricolon)

4–7	[tid'aṣu pa]'nāmi/[wa-tarra] 'arṣu	a b c d	4/11
	'idda[ka 'al tatin pa]nīma/	e f g	4/9
	['imma 'ili] mabbikê naharêmi	h i j (x of y)	4/11
	[qir]ba ['appi]qê/tahāma]têmi	h' j' (x' of y')	4/10

A line is prefixed to a basic tricolon that is attested in the parallel passages in 1.4 IV 20–22 and 1.6 I 32–34 without such an initial line (cf. similar lines in 1.3 IV 37–38; 1.5 I 9–11; II 13–15). The four lines also appear in 1.17 VI 46–48 (for a discussion of quatrains in biblical poetry, see Watson 1986a:186–87; cf. also Parker 1989b:25). The first line also stands in front of a similar tricolon in 1.4 V 20–24, but there it seems to belong with the preceding colon, rather than the succeeding tricolon. This line's three occurrences all refer to Anat as the subject. Although the second line occurs quite often without the first, there is a strong resonance between the lines, especially in the similar *[pa]'nāmi* and *[pa]nīma*. This sonant parallelism is complemented by these two words' semantic parallelism as terms for body-parts.

7–8	taglî ḏa[da] 'i[li]	a b c	3/6
	wa-tabu'u/[qar]ša ma[l]ki 'abī [šanīma]	a' b' c' (x, y of z)	5/14

The second line is considerably longer than the first in this interpretation (so also *CML²* 53; *TO* 1.174; Pardee 1997a:254; Wyatt 1998:84; cf. Parker, *UNP* 62 for the parallel in 1.17 VI 48–49), contrary to the general norm in Ugaritic that the second line is, roughly speaking, either the same length or shorter than the first line. However, this layout shows good syntactical parallelism, and there are in fact instances elsewhere the second line exceeds the first line in length (1.19 III 40–41, IV 15–17; 1.22 I 21–22; apparently also 1.10 II 8–9). As another possibility, the unit is a bicolon with two verbs in the initial line (see Ginsberg, *ANET* 137; del Olmo Lete, *MLC* 189, *MLR* 74; Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1147; Smith, *UNP* 116), as in the following layout:

taglî ḏa[da] 'i[li] wa-tabu'u	a b c a'	4/10
[qar]ša ma[l]ki 'abī [šanīma]	b' c' (x, y of z)	4/9

This alternative issues in nearly perfect line-length, and it retains some balance of syntactical parallelism of the objects plus divine name and titles. In terms of its line-length, it also fits the larger context very well. (It is to be noted that the parallel in 1.4 IV 23–24 belongs to a larger section running from line 8 through line 28, where the ends of the lines epigraphically correspond precisely to the ends of the poetic lines; if this is any indication, then the second alternative would be preferable.) The commentators, as noted above, are fairly divided between these two alternatives. We consider this second arrangement to be as plausible as the first. There is also a plausible, though arguably less likely, third alternative for the unit as a tricolon, to be rendered along the following lines:

tagliyu ḏada 'ili	a b c	3/7
wa-tabū'u qarša malki	a' b' c'	3/8
'abī šanīma	c'' (x of y)	2/5

This arrangement issues in greater balance in line-length than the first alternative, and the parallelism works reasonably well. It may be justified further on the basis of other cases of cola with short lines (e.g., the tricolon in 1.19 IV 13–15; cf. the very short bicola of 1.19 III 11, 25, 39). However, it is also true that epithets generally do not occupy a line in a colon by themselves, and the quite short length of lines does not fit very well into the larger context. Thus the first and second alternatives appear to be superior. A further reason for taking this unit as a bicolon, as we have decided with the first alternative, is offered in the following discussion of lines 8–9.

8–9	taṣṣuru /[ta]bū'u ḏada-ma	a b c	3/9 (?)
	taṯanniyu [lê-]'adāni [binī 'i]li-ma	a' d (x of y of z)	4/13

When lines 7–9 are considered together, these four lines appear to be an example of alternating parallelism, in which the first and third lines show a close relationship, as do the second and fourth. Here the first and third lines both have the word _ḏada_, and both describe Anat's arrival at El's abode. The parallelism in the second and fourth lines focuses on the three-word epithets used of El: "the king, the father of years," and "the lord of the children of El." As with the preceding unit, the first bicolon is a formulaic expression attested elsewhere (1.4 IV 23–24; 1.17 VI 48–49). At the same time, there are close relations

between the first/second lines and between the third/fourth lines. The
only outstanding aural resonance between the first and the second lines
may be detected in *tabū'u* and *'abī*. The lines of the second bicolon are
bound by repeated /t/, /b/, /d/ and /m/.

10a	qāla-ha yiš[ma'u] ṯôru ['i]lu 'abū-ha	a b c	5/13

This line acts as a transition between the quatrain above and the bico-
lon below. Its length echoes that of the previous line, as does its use
of a three-word description of El. Yet the subject changes here from
Anat to El.

10b–12	ya['ni]yu/bi- šab'ati ḫu[du]rīma	a b c	3/11
	[bi-ṯa]mānî[ti 'appi]/sagūrāti	b' c' d	3/11

Beautifully constructed according to parallel semantic and syntactical
patterns, the lines in this bicolon show further resonance, thanks to the
morphological parallelism of final feminine endings on the numerals
and the passive participle.

Lines 12b–16 are too damaged to interpret.

17–18	niratu 'ilīma šapšu [ṣaḥrv]rat	a (x of y) b c	4/11
	la'a šamûma bi-ya[di bini 'ili-ma mô]ti	d e f g (x, y)	6/15

Despite the wide divergence in syntax, the occurrence of *'ilīma* and *'ili-
ma* plus the resonance of this word with *šamîma* provides some sonant
parallelism between the lines. Again the longer second line is produced
by a compound epithet (see lines 7–9 above).

19	wa-ta'nî batulatu 'ana[tu]	a b	3/10

This monocolon is the standard rubric for indicating the beginning of
a new speech. It stands separately from the surrounding colonic units.
At the same time, its line-length is in keeping with the following unit
that it introduces.

19–21	[banîti] bahatī/-ka ya-'ili-ma	a (x of y) b	3/11
	banîti baha[tī-ka] 'a[l ti]šmaḫ	a (x of y) c	4/10
	'al tišmaḫ bi-rā[mi hê]kali-[ka]	c a' (x' of y')	3/10

This sort of step (or climactic) parallelism appears also in 1.2 IV 8–9. Both units present the addressee in the third slot of the first line, and then delay the verb to the second line in final position, and then reverse its position in the third line. The broken lines in 1.18 I 7–10 appear to be a parallel text for these lines and for the following bicolon.

22–23	'al 'a(')ḫud-hu-ma bi-yamīni-ya	a b c	3/10
	[ ]/bi-gadulati 'arkati-ya	d (?) c' (x of y)	3(?)/9+(?)

Unfortunately, the parallel text in 1.18 I 9–10 does not help to complete the lacuna at the beginning of the second line. As a result, it is impossible to describe fully the parallelism in this bicolon. In the lacuna one might expect another verb parallel to *'aḫd*, or some form of a direct object (parallel to the suffix on the verb in the first line), or perhaps another term parallel to *bymny* (e.g., *bšm'aly*); and appositional to the prepositional phrase that follows; for the latter sort of usage, cf. 1.3 III 30 (= IV 20), 31. The BH cognate words for *gdlt 'arkt*, are also used innercolonically (e.g., Ps 145:8) and as parallel terms (e.g., Ezek 17:3; see Avishur 1984:31, 61; see discussion below).

23–25	'am[ḫuṣu]/qadqada-ka	a b(?) c	3(?)/7+(?)
	'ašahaliku šêbata-ka [dama-ma]/	d e f	3/12
	šêbata-ka daqini-ka mam'ê-ma	e' (x of y) f'	3/12

See the discussion of the basically parallel tricolon in lines 1–3 above. The remaining portion of the parallel in 1.18 I 11–12 aligns with the version of the tricolon attested here. Unfortunately, it does not help to complete the lacuna in the first line.

25–27	ya'niyu/'ilu bi- šab'ati ḫudurīma	a b c d	4/13
	bi-ṭamānîti/'appi sagūrāti	c' d' e	3/11

See the discussion of lines 10–12.

27–29	yada'[tu-ki] bitti kī-'ana[šti]	a b c	3/10
	kī-'ênu bi-'ilahāti qala[ṣi]-ki	e f c'	3/12
	maha ta'arrišuna/la-batulati 'anati	g h i	4/15

The first two lines of this tricolon are closely parallel, compared with the third line (see the variety of departures in the third lines of tricola in 1.3 III 38–40, 45–47, 1.4 I 30–32, 41–43, V 46–48). In addition to

the semantic and syntactical parallelism of the first two lines, the use of both suffix -*k* and subordinating conjunction *k-* mark these two lines. Despite such differences, perhaps *btlt* in the third line echoes *'ilht* in the second line, and *'nt* in the third line echoes *'anšt* in the first line.

29   wa-ta[ʿ]nî batulatu ʿana[tu]   a b c   3/10

See line 19 above.

30–31   taḥmu-ka 'ili ḥakama   a b c   3/8
         ḥukmu-ka/ʿimma ʿôlami   c d   3/8
         ḥayyatu ḥaẓẓati taḥmu-ka   d' (x of y) a   3/9

The lines convey a staccato rhythm, compared to the lines in the preceding tricolon. They are shorter and somewhat rhythmic thanks to the repetition of consonants. These lines reverberate with the consonants for *ḥkm*, "wisdom." In this way, the theme of wisdom echoes through every line (*CMHE* 184 n. 163). Ceresko (1975:75) also notes chiasm here: *tḥmk: ḥkm:: ḥkmk: tḥmk*.

32–33   malku-na 'al'iyānu baʿlu   a b c   3/9
         ṯāpiṭu-na/'ênu du-ʿalênu-hu   a' b' c'   3/11

Apart from the parallelism of the word-pair *mlk//ṯpṭ* plus the parallel suffixes on them, the syntax and morphology appear markedly different in the two lines. However, the suffix at the end of the second line is in fact parallel to the last word in the first line, and *'al'iyānu* and *'ênu du-ʿalênu* are semantically parallel (in antithetical terms). These words also show a particularly striking sonant parallelism: *'al'iyānu* and *'ênu du-ʿalênu-hu*.

33–34   kullu-na-ya-vya qaša-hu/nabilu   a b c   3/12
         kullu-na-ya-vya nabilu kāsa-hu   a c b'   3/12

The repetition of the subject and verb in the two lines highlights further the sonant parallelism of the direct objects, including their identical suffixes. A touch of variation is achieved thanks to the chiasm of the verbs and their direct objects.

35–36   'āniyu la-yaṣûḥu ṯôra 'ila 'abā-hu   a b c d e   5/14
         'ila/malka dā-yakāninu-hu   d c' e'   3/10

For the poetic parallelism here and in the remainder of Baal's lament, see the discussion of poetic parallelism in 1.3 IV 47–53 (above pp. 287–89).

36–37	yaṣûḫu 'aṯirata/wa-banī-ha	a b c	3/11
	'ilata wa- ṣibbirata 'aryi-ha	b' c' (x of y)	3/11
38–39	wa-na 'ênu bêtu lê-ba'li kama 'ilīma/	a b c d e	5/14
	ḫaẓiru ka-ba[nī 'a]ṯirati	a' c' d' (x of y)	3/10
39–41	môṯabu 'ili/maẓlalu bi[ni-hu]	a b a' c	4/11
	[mô]ṯabu rabbati 'aṯirati/yammi	a b (x, y [= p of q])	4/12
41–42	môṯabu [pidra]yi bitti 'āri/	a b c d	4/10
	[maẓlalu]/ṯallayi [bitti] ribbi	a' b' c d'	4/10
42–44	môṯabu/['arṣayi bitti ya'ibidrayi]	a b c d	4/13
	môṯabu/[kallāti kaniyāti]	a b (x, y)	3/10

Introduction

Lines 1–4a conclude Anat's response to Baal that began in 1.3 IV 54. Most of the column describes Anat's journey to El's abode and their conversation, which climaxes with her delivery of Baal's complaint. Unfortunately, the column breaks off before we find out what El's reaction to Anat's message is, although the subsequent events in 1.4 I indicate that he has refused her request.

Lines 1–4: Anat's Response to Baal (Concluded)

Lines 1–4a complete Anat's response to Baal that began in the final lines of the preceding column. Here she describes what she plans to do to El if he refuses to grant her request. As seems characteristic of the volatile goddess, she threatens to pull El to the ground as if he were a domesticated animal, perhaps prepared for the slaughter (*SPUMB* 111). This type of action is characteristic of the treatment of an enemy. Ps 7:6 shows somewhat similar language: "May the enemy pursue my life and overtake (it), and may he trample my life to the ground, and may my glory dwell in the dust." The verbs in Ps 7:6 are quite different from Anat's actions, but the reference to the trampling of the enemy "to the ground" is comparable. Then Anat describes more graphically her intent actually to strike El, focusing specifically on the image of his bloodied head. In hyperbolic language, she uses the word pair, *dmm//mm'm*, "blood//gore," previously used in the description of her

slaughter of the warriors above in 1.3 II 13–15 and 27–28. The word *šbt* (line 2a) is attested also in BH (*śêbāh*), as "gray hair," with the derived meaning of "old age."

In the extended phrase (*šbt dqnh*) that parallels *šbt* (line 2b), the second word has been understood in two ways. Most commonly it is rendered as "beard," thus parallel to BH *zāqān* (e.g., *ANET* 137; Pardee 1997a:254). Others have related the word to another meaning of BH *zqn* and have rendered in "his old age" (so *SPUMB* 112; de Moor and van der Lugt 1974:13). An expression similar to what is found in lines 2–3 appears in 1 Kgs 2:9 (noted by *GA* 143 and *CML*² 52 n. 5). In his last words to his son (1 Kgs 2:9b), David tells Solomon how he is to treat Shimei: "you will cause his gray hair to descend in blood to Sheol" (*wĕhôradtā ʾet-śêbātô bĕdām šĕʾôl*). The locative in final position, Sheol, clarifies the final end intended by the violence (cf. Gen 42:38, 44:29, 31, where the phrase is used of death from sorrow, rather than from violence; note also Tobit 3:10, 6:15). David's speech also contains the negative expression of the same idiom (1 Kgs 2:6; for another image of smashing the head, cf. Ps 68:22). In 1.3 V 1–3 it appears unlikely that Anat is seriously threatening to kill El, but rather to deliver a beating that would only be a means of "changing his mind." This type of hyperbolic bravado, as we will see, does not appear to be taken too seriously by El.

The following bicolon in lines 3–4 states the conditions under which Anat would carry out her threat. The lines echo Baal's lament in referring to a "house like the gods', a court like that of Athirat's children." Pardee (1997a:254) takes the *l-* before *ytn* as negative ("That is if he does not give…"). An asseverative would read more smoothly ("unless he surely gives…"). In this case, one might compare Arabic *ʾiḏa* + *lā* used in negative conditional sentences in the sense "unless."[19] Perhaps Ugaritic *k* + *l* functions in this manner here, as understood generally by commentators for this passage.

Lines 4–9: Anat's Journey to El

With the completion of her speech, Anat takes off for El's abode. Lines 4b–7a describe her journey. The description is a formulaic one, with close parallels in 1.17 VI 46–49 and 1.4 IV 20–24. The first line, however, is not always joined to the more conventional tricolon that

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[19] This possibility was suggested by Smith's student, Tony Badran. For Arabic *ʾiḏa*, see Lane 38; Wright 1.291–92, para. 367.

constitutes the rest of the description. It does not appear in 1.4 IV
20–24, but it does in 1.17 VI 46, as well as in a related travel scene
in 1.4 V 20–21, which describes a journey to Baal's mountain. In all
three of its occurrences, Anat is the subject of the sentence. Unfortu-
nately, both verbs in the line are ambiguous. The first verb, *dʿṣ*, occurs
only in this passage and its two parallels. There are no cognates in the
contemporary languages that would help determine the meaning. (For
example, the only early cognate, Akkadian *dâṣu*, means "to treat with
injustice, to dupe," which is clearly not applicable to this context.) In
Targumic Aramaic and in Syriac the verb means "to prick, squeeze,
fix, stick" (Jastrow 316; Leslau 127). Interpreters have generally worked
from the latter meaning, trying to provide a related sense that would
fit the context. Since the verb describes some action with the feet, the
range of possibilities is somewhat limited. Proposals have included, "Anat
planted her feet" (Driver, *CML*[1] 89); "she stamps her foot" (*ANET* 137);
"She digs in (her) feet" (Pardee 1997a:254); "She takes to her heels"
(Parker, *UNP* 62, in his translation of the parallel in 1.17 VI 46). *DUL*
(259) renders: "she pressed (?) her feet (down)."

   Also difficult is the second clause (cf. *TO* 1.174 n. i). The verb here
too is ambiguous, and its root is disputed. Some derive it from *twr*,
known in Hebrew with the meaning, "to spy out, explore." In the
context here, those who accept this etymology suggest that the word
has the nuance of "to travel across" (see *TO* 1.174). Others have
proposed Akkadian *tarāru*, "to tremble, shake," as the cognate. In this
case, "the earth" becomes the subject of the sentence: "and the earth
trembled" (see Driver *CML*[1]: 89; Gibson *CML*[2] 53; Wyatt 1998:84).
The third common interpretation is to see the verb as related to *yry*,
whose cognate in Hebrew (*yārāh*) means, "to shoot." The sentence is
then read as, "and she takes off across the earth" (Pardee 1997a: 254)
or "[she] shot (from) earth" (Pope 1971:400, 402).[20] The latter may be
supported by the verb's appearance in 1.10 II 10–11. Here the text
reads, *tšʾu knp btlt ʿn[t], tšʾu knp wtr bʿp*, plausibly rendered, "Adolescent
Ana[t] lifts the wing, she lifts wing and shoots off in flight."[21] However,
the lack of a preposition with *ʾarṣ* in 1.3 V 5, while not entirely ruling
out the rendering "to shoot (from) the earth," requires seeing here a

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[20] So too *GA* 101; for the adverbial accusative with the sense of "from," see CAT
1.119.28.
[21] Pope 1971:402. For the final clause, compare CAT 1.13.8 (see p. 178).

rare construction, which taking the noun as subject and relating the verb to *trr* does not. Accordingly, we have tentatively translated the clause as, "and the earth shook."

This interpretation does not, however, exclude the notion that Anat takes flight to make her journey to El's mountain. There are several references to her travelling by flight (cf. Fensham 1966, Pope 1971). In addition to the passage from 1.10 II 10–11 discussed above, one can cite 1.18 IV 17–22, 27–33, which describes the goddess hovering (**rḫp*) over the hero Aqhat. CAT 1.108.8–9 also makes use of **rḫp* in describing Anat in the air (cf. Tuttle 1976; Pardee 2002: 194). The West Semitic myth of Elkunirsa preserved in Hurrian-Hittite (*ANET* 519; Hoffner 1998:90–92) also has a scene in which El and Athirat engage in conversation at El's home, while another goddess, disguised as an owl, eavesdrops in the background. The second goddess' name is written as ᵈIŠTAR in the text. Hoffner has argued that she is to be identified as Anat and Astarte merged into a single goddess (1975:6). There may also be iconographic representations of Anat in the form of a bird or a winged goddess, although the interpretation of these depictions remains speculative. Pope (1971) proposed an interpretation of a scene painted on a drinking mug from Ugarit that identifies a bird in the scene as a representation of Anat, but this interpretation is disputed (see the Commentary on pp. 505–06). A Ugaritic seal includes the scene of a figure holding a spear standing before a seated figure (Amiet 1992:95 and 107, no. 237) with a bird positioned between the two figures. The presence of the bird might suggest that the standing personage is Anat, perhaps before the seated El. As noted above (p. 185 n. 78), a well-known theme of seals attested from Syrian sites is that of a warrior god in the company of a winged goddess. This scene may reflect the pair of Baal and Anat. Finally, it is to be noted that Anat's violent counterpart in Mesopotamian myth, Inanna/Ishtar is also sometimes depicted as a winged goddess (see above on p. 154, n. 34).[22] In short, the passage here may assume the idea of Anat flying even though it may not use explicit language for this picture.

The tricolon in lines 5b–7a and the following bicolon in lines 7b–8, which describe the goddess' travel to and arrival at El's abode, are formulaic and are used elsewhere when a deity goes to see El (1.1 III

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[22] Hallo and van Dijk 1968:17, lines 17, 27. On bird imagery for the gods in Mesopotamia, see Black 1996.

21–24 and 1.2 III 4–5 [Kothar-wa-Hasis]; 1.4 IV 20–24 [Athirat]; 1.17 VI 46–49 [Anat]).[23] The nature of El's abode has been discussed in *UBC* 1:188–89 (see also the survey in Homan 2002:94–99). Recently, Fleming (2000a) discussed an administrative text from Mari (M.6873, published in Durand and Guichard 1997:65–66) that provides an interesting description of a large tent that illuminates the presentation of El's tent in here in 1.3 V:

1 *ḫu-ur-pa-tum* GAL 16 LÚ*meš*	One large tent[24]: 16 men;
10 *giš qé-er-su* 20 LÚ	10 framing (?) units: 20 men;
5 *giš mu-za-az-zu* 5 LÚ	5 stands (?): 5 men;
14 *giš mu-ru-du-ú*	14 fence(?) units: 2 men;
ŠUNIGIN 43 LÚ*meš* *ša ḫu-ur-pa-tim*	Total: 43 men
	pertaining to the big tent.

Fleming (2000a:487) identifies the *qersum* in the second line as the large wooden frames upon which the fabric of the tent is arranged (see also Homan 2002:116–18). In this text, it takes two men to carry each frame. This is parallel to the Hebrew *qĕrāsîm*, the large frames for the tabernacle (cf. Exod 26:15–27). That such large tents at Mari were clearly used as shrines is evident from another text, M12803 (a *kispum* text first published in Birot 1980), where a tent is installed for a ceremony on "the day of gimkum" (col. II, lines 7–14, following Fleming's reading, 2000a:490):

> On the *gimkum* day, tent frames (*qé-er-su-ú*) are set up (*iš-ša-ak-ka-nu*). A donkey is put to death. The gods and the paraphernalia depart from the midst of the tent frames (*i-na li-ib-bi qé-er-si*); (each) deity goes to his temple and the king to his palace.

This material gives us a clearer picture of the complexity and substantial size of ceremonial tents in the second millennium BCE. It certainly allows us to see El's *qrš* as a substantial tent-shrine, with the large number of separate rooms that are described in our passage (lines 11–12). El's tent is thus a full-scale shrine, as we might expect for the abode of a major god. Although the tent was portable and could therefore be moved from place to place, there is no indication within the Ugaritic texts that El traveled with it. He always seems to be in one location.

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[23] See *UBC* 1.184–87, 225. Cf. *tgl* rendered as "she turns," in Sivan 1997:101.

[24] For this term, see also Durand 1988:114–15, and below p. 671.

One might compare this loosely to the tent-shrine David sets up in Jerusalem to house the Ark of the Covenant (2 Sam 6:17–19), which apparently stays in a permanent location.[25]

The passage in M12803 quoted above also shows that such tent-shrines were used in rituals involving gods who had regular temples as well. In this case the gods, presumably their statues, come to the tent shrine for a ritual involving the slaughter of a donkey, and then they return to their temples (*bi-ti-šu*). Thus it seems possible that a god could have both a regular tent-shrine and a permanent temple at the same time. Some have suggested such a coexistence for Yahweh at Shiloh, where both a tent-shrine and a more solid temple (1 Sam 1:9) seem to be described. A similar situation might be attested also for Jerusalem in the time of David (2 Sam 6:17; 12:20). In this case, the rhetoric of 2 Sam 7:6–7, which contrasts the tent-shrine and a temple, may obscure the older religious usage; perhaps later tradents for whom the tent and temple in tandem was no longer part of their religious experience interpreted the two as stages of Israelite religion, with the shift to the temple brought on by Solomon's temple. A similar duality also seems to be suggested at Ugarit, where the abode of El is regularly described as a tent in the mythological texts (and presumably had some basis in reality), while the ritual texts from Ugarit only refer to a house of El (*bt ʾil*), similar to the other temples of the gods in the texts (1.87.42; 1.119.14, cf. see also *qdš ʾil* in 1.119.6).[26]

In each of the four parallel passages narrating the journeys of deities to El's dwelling (1.1 III 21–24; 1.2 III 4–5; 1.4 IV 20–24; 1.17 VI 46–49), the succeeding lines describe the newly-arrived deity bowing

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[25] It is possible that *qrš* is related to Akkadian *quršu/guršu* (so Loretz 1995b:727). The phrase E-*quršu*, "a wedding pavilion" (Mattila 2002:120, line 9, and 313), perhaps literally "the pavilion house," appears as one part of an acquired property: "a built house with its beams and doors in Nineveh, a tool shed, *a wedding pavilion*, a storehouse, an upper story (with) 4 doors within" (Mattila's italics). This list distinguishes the É-*quršu* from a number of structures, including the first and main structure of the "built house."

[26] The duality may also be noticed in 1.17 I 31–32 and its parallels, where the duties of the good son include "to eat his portion in the house of Baal, and his share in the house of El (*bt ʾil*)." This passage clearly refers not to the mythic tent of El, but to the regular site of offerings to the deity, a temple within a town. The only mythological text that refers clearly to a house of El is 1.114, which is somewhat unclear in its geography. It appears that El holds a feast in his house, but in lines 17–18, he seems to leave his house to go to "his house." But here too there is no hint that the "house" is also a tent. Homan (2002:96) suggests the terms such as *bt* and *hkl* could be used to refer to the large tent-shrines, but none of his examples is decisive.

down before El (1.1 III 24–25; 1.2 III 5b–6; 1.4 IV 25–26; 1.17 VI 50–51). However, in 1.3 V, uniquely, no such obeisance is mentioned. Instead, the bicolon (lines 8b–9) describes different actions on Anat's part. The first line uses two words from the previous bicolon (*[t]b'u ḏdm*, "she enters the mountain"), but they are preceded by *tṣr*, a word of uncertain meaning and etymology. Previously read as *mṣr* and interpreted accordingly, much (but not all) of the previous scholarship on this word must now be rejected. Pardee (1997a:254) was the first to recognize that the supposed vertical wedge of the *m* was actually a break in the tablet and that the text thus read *tṣr*. With this reading, parallels now can help in the interpretation of the word here. Most usefully, the same form appears three times in 1.16 II (in lines 25, 26, 34). This is also a fairly difficult and broken passage, which almost certainly describes the reaction of Thitmanit, Kirta's daughter, to the news that her father is seriously ill. The key to understanding this passage is the largely preserved bicolon in lines 33–34, which reads:

| tb̆k̆ [.q]l trm | She wept, she raised (her) voice, |
| tṣr.trm.t[n]qt | She shouted, she raised a wail. |

Although several different renderings have been proposed for these lines (cf. Gibson, *CML*[2] 97; *TO* 1:557–58, Margalit 1995:281–82), Wyatt (1998:229 n. 243) has provided a strong defense of this understanding of the passage, which certainly fits the context better than the other proposals (Greenstein, *UNP* 34 and *DUL* 647 also support this interpretation). The surrounding phrases would suggest that *tṣr* is a verb referring to some kind of emotional cry. This bicolon may be used to help tentatively reconstruct the earlier bicolon in lines 25–26 as:

| tṣr q̇[l.trm] | She shouted, [she raised] (her) [voi]ce, |
| tṣr.trm.tnq[t] | She shouted, she raised a wai[l].[27] |

Following this description in lines 25–36 of her intense reaction to the news, Thitmanit gives an impassioned and angry speech about her father's mortality (lines 36–49). *DUL* (588) derives the three attestations

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[27] Lines 25–26 are still quite ambiguous, and it is not entirely clear how the words we have used from line 25 relate to what precedes them. It is possible that *tṣr* here is second fem. singular and that the line (and maybe the following line) belong to Ilha'u's speech. The general meaning of the lines would change little, however.

of *ṯṣr* in 1.16 II from the root *nṣr*, which it interprets to mean "to sob." This specific meaning, however, is not attested in the contemporary languages and has been deduced largely from the context of 1.16 II. There is clearly an element of anger as well as sorrow in the outburst described in this passage, which suggests that the cry is more than just a sob. Now that we are able to add 1.3 V 8 to the picture, it is plausible to suggest that the verb refers to a shout of anger rather than sobbing as such, both in 1.16 II and in 1.3 V. The close relationship between 1.3 V 8b–9 and 1.16 II 26 and 34 can be seen in the fact that not only do they share the word, *ṯṣr*, but they are also syntactically identical in form: each is constructed of a **yqtl* verb + **yqtl* verb + direct object. Considering the available etymological and contextual evidence, we have rendered the bicolon in 1.3 V 8b–9, "She shouted angrily as she entered the mountain. She repeated it (i.e., the shout) to the Lord of the children of El." It is to be noted that a proper etymology for this interpretation remains a desideratum.

Before leaving *ṯṣr*, however, two other interpretations of the verb in 1.3 V should be mentioned. One alternative is to relate the word to the BH root, *ṣûr*, "to show hostility, treat as a foe." Here, one could suggest rendering the line, "She was hostile (or: confrontational) as she entered the mountain." But this meaning does not fit the context of 1.16 II very well, nor does it provide a connection with the following line's *ṯṯny*, as our interpretation does. Pardee (1997a:254) also related the verb to the hollow root *ṣr*, but chose to interpret it from an Arabic meaning and rendered "she bends over." But he does not explain why she has to bend over to enter El's abode (one could imagine her entering through a low tent flap perhaps). Such a description is not found elsewhere. Beyond this, the interpretation again fails to provide any parallel to the second line of the bicolon. Thus although neither suggestion can be ruled out, they both seem less likely than the one we propose above.

Pardee (1997a:254 n. 103) was also the first to recognize the reading *ṯṯny* for the first word of the second colon (line 9). The verb **ṯny* occurs a number of times in the Ugaritic texts and means, "to repeat, reiterate." It normally is the second element of a word pair with *rgm*, "to tell" (e.g., 1.3 III 11–12; VI 21–23; 1.4 VIII 29–32; 1.16 VI 28–29; see the discussion in *UBC* 1.49, 170). Its appearance here in the second line of the bicolon also suggests that it is the second word of a parallel pair and that *ṯṣr* should be viewed as the first word. The appearance of *ṯṯny* here supports our interpretation of *ṯṣr* as referring to a vocal

action, and the shout referred to in the first line explains what Anat repeats in the second line. Anat is clearly not repeating a message at this point, since no message is even hinted at yet. She arrives at El's abode and shouts out at him twice. In the next bicolon he hears her shout and responds. This interpretation seems more plausible than Pardee's, "(she) addresses the lord," which requires a meaning of *ṯny* that is unattested elsewhere.

Lines 10–25: El's Response and Anat's Threat

El hears Anat's shouts from his interior room (line 10a) and responds to her (lines 10b–12a), not by coming out to meet her or by having her ushered into his presence, but by leaving her where she is and calling out to her from where he is. The bicolon in lines 10b–12a refers to the room in which El is located as "the seven rooms//the eight entrances to the enclosures." This suggests that he is in the interior-most part of his dwelling. The appearance of the numeric pair, 7//8, is a typical formula, occasionally used elsewhere of movement toward the interior. One might note in particular the parallel usage of the number seven in the description of the seven gates that must be entered to reach the center of the netherworld in the Mesopotamian myth, "Ishtar's Descent to the Netherworld" (lines 12–74; cf. Foster 2005:499–501; *ANET* 107–9; D. Freedman 1972:91–92). It is not clear whether the interior room is El's throne room or his private chambers. The BH cognate of *ḥdrm*, *ḥeder*, usually refers to a private room, such as a bedroom, rather than a public one (*HALOT* 293), but this is not decisive. The word *sgrt* suggests a well-protected area (cf. BH *sāgar*, "to shut, close," *sûgar*, "cage"). The usage of *ʾap*, usually "nose," for an architectural feature, "entrance," is also attested in South Arabian (*ʾf*, "façade" in Leslau 28).[28]

The substance of El's response to Anat is lost in the badly damaged lines 12b–16. It is not entirely clear whether the tricolon in lines 17–18 belongs to El's speech, but that seems to be the more likely interpretation. These lines represent a formulaic reference to Shapshu and Mot,

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[28] For such usage elsewhere in Ugaritic, see *UBC* 1.189, esp. n. 141. Such an analogy lies behind the application of the architectural verbs, **bny//*mgr*, to the human person (more specifically, the person praying) in Ps 155 (11QPsᵃ 24:5; see Greenfield 1992:313). From the linguistic side, the analogical use of bodily terms for architecture and vice-versa may enlighten both the so-called allegory of Eccles 12:3–7 (esp. vv 3–4) as well as the Christian notion of the individual as a temple of the holy spirit. The subject bears wider study in West Semitic languages.

but their relevance to the scene here is unclear. It is, however, certain that El's speech did not contain an invitation for Anat to enter his presence, since after her response to El in lines 19–25a, the bicolon in lines 25b–27a reiterates El's separate position in his inner room. Thus during the entire scene preserved here in 1.3 V, Anat is kept at the entrance to El's tent and is never allowed a real audience with the king of the gods. Such a peculiar situation is unique to this passage. In all other depictions of a deity's visit to El, there is a face-to-face meeting. This includes the thematically similar meeting between El and Anat in the Aqhat Epic (1.17 VI 46–53), where she also arrives in great anger. But in that case, she is admitted immediately to El's presence, bows down before him, and then makes her plea before proceeding to threaten him in very similar terms as those in this passage. Why is Anat kept away from El here? Some scholars have proposed that El is so afraid of Anat's violence that he refuses to let her in to his chamber (for example, Pardee 1997a:254 n. 105; Wyatt 1998:85 n. 64). However, the old god's reaction to Anat does not particularly express such grievous fear, nor is there any indication that Anat's threats are taken very seriously by him. They do not force him to agree to her demands. There are formulaic descriptions of such fear found elsewhere in the cycle (cf. 1.3 III 32–35; 1.4 II 12–20), but nothing of the kind occurs here. She clearly represents no serious threat to El, and his decision in a matter of importance, such as granting Baal permission to build a palace, will not be influenced by such theatrics. So why does he refuse to see her? The most obvious reason is that she has clearly broken court protocol with her boisterous entry. But El may also have political reasons not to give her an official audience. In CAT 1.1 and 1.2, El is not a supporter of Baal for the position of ruler of the council. He instead supports Yamm and even instructs Kothar-wa-Hasis to build Yamm a palace as a confirmation of his position. The preserved text of 1.2 unfortunately gives no indication of El's reaction to Yamm's defeat by Baal, but this passage may. El is certainly aware of Anat's relationship to Baal, and as will be discussed below, it appears that he will not grant her request for a palace. This suggests reluctance on El's part to support Baal's assumption of power. His refusal to allow Anat into his presence may thus be a political snub, indicating to her and to Baal that he has not yet recognized Baal's rise in stature. This highlights again Anat's relative weakness in this situation and Baal's by extension.

Comparing similar stories in Mesopotamian literature further illuminates Anat's comparatively weak position in the context of the story

here. Anat uses similar threats in the Aqhat Epic (1.18 I 7–14) and gets a positive response for her request. In the Epic of Gilgamesh (*ANET* 84), Ishtar, having been insulted by Gilgamesh after she proposes marriage to him, goes to Anu, to ask for his permission to send the Bull of Heaven to kill Gilgamesh. She also makes a threat during her request. Similarly, in the Descent of Ishtar to the Netherworld (*ANET* 107), Ishtar makes a threat when she demands that the gates of the netherworld be opened to her, so she can meet with her sister Ereshkigal. The episodes from the Aqhat Epic and Gilgamesh are closely related thematically, since in both the goddesses seek permission to kill a person who has insulted them; in these instances, the requests of the goddesses represent a matter of honor. And while neither El nor Anu seems particularly convinced of the need for such a drastic punishment, they do not question the basic need to requite those who express contempt for a deity. Neither of these requests has any impact on the divine sphere and its governance, unlike the situation in our passage, where the acquisition of El's permission for the palace is actually the gaining of El's full and final acceptance and authorization of Baal's kingship.

There is also a significant difference in the types of threats used by the two goddesses. Anat's threat is directly against El, a threat to beat him up. Ishtar's threat, on the other hand, is not directly against the deity that she seeks to influence (Anu or Ereshkigal). Instead, she threatens to endanger the cosmic order, by destroying the gates that keep the dead in the netherworld from returning to the surface of the earth. This would set two of the three great divisions of the universe into chaos. Such a threat clearly suggests the great power of Ishtar as one of the leading deities in the Mesopotamian pantheon. Compared to this, Anat's threat pales in relative significance. Anat's is personal and provides no hint that she has a major role in the sustenance of the universe.

The larger contexts of the goddess' requests in the Aqhat and Gilgamesh Epic show both similarities and contrasts as well. When Ishtar requests permission to use the Bull of Heaven in her plan, Anu points out to her that allowing the Bull to attack Gilgamesh will result in a seven year drought. He asks whether Ishtar has made arrangements for stocking up food for the people of Uruk and grasses for the animals so that they will be able to survive the disaster. She answers that she has provided such stores. Anat's action of killing Aqhat also results in a drought situation, but in this case there is no hint that Anat has made any provision for the people to survive the drought. Once again,

Ishtar, while volatile and violent, is still shown to play a major role in maintaining stability within the universe, while Anat seems to have little responsibility in this realm. This perhaps relates to her depiction as a young woman, as opposed to Ishtar's depiction with greater maturity, as the great lady. It additionally reinforces the impression that Anat, like the god whose cause she supports, stands in a somewhat weak position at this point in the narrative. As CAT 1.4 I–IV indicates, it will require the help of Athirat to win El's permission for the palace of Baal.

When the text resumes in lines 17–18, we are confronted with a formulaic passage that appears also in two other places within the Baal Cycle (1.4 VIII 21–24 and 1.6 II 24–25).[29] The interpretation of the passage is difficult in the two latter contexts, but is even more ambiguous here. Its position in 1.3 V suggests that the lines are the conclusion of El's spoken response to hearing Anat's angry shouts. But exactly how the passage fits into this context is not clear. There is even uncertainty as to whether it should be understood as a bicolon or a tricolon. We have chosen to render it as a bicolon (see also *CML²* 53; Pardee 1997a:254; two similarly unequal bicola appear just above in lines 7–9). A problem with this division of the lines is the significant imbalance this creates between the two parts of the bicolon (the word/syllable count being 4/11 to 6/15). Because of this, some have divided the passage into a tricolon (Ginsberg, *ANET* 135 [1.4 VIII 21–24]; del Olmo Lete 1984:162–67; Smith, *UNP* 116). Both divisions appear possible, and because of the uncertainty of the interpretation, neither can be considered clearly preferable. Neither rendering solves the additional problem that there is virtually no parallelism between the lines. The minor advantage of rendering it as a bicolon is that this allows the passage to be understood as two complete clauses, rather than one long sentence.

The first line calls the sun-goddess Shapshu, *nrt ʾilm*, "the divine light" (or "lamp"), an epithet commonly given to the goddess in the Baal Cycle (see 1.2 III 15; 1.6 I 8–9, 11, 13, III 24; IV 8, 17) and in the Aqhat Epic (1.19 IV 47, 49). The title in the newly published

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[29] Wiggins (1996:330) expresses doubt about whether these badly damaged lines are actually parallel to the lines from 1.4 VIII 21–24 and 1.6 II 24–25. While caution is appropriate in this situation, it seems that all the letters (including the final /t/ on line 18, questioned by Wiggins) match the parallel passages, thus making it likely that they are parallel. At the same time, one must remember that at this point no clear interpretation of this passage within the context of our passage has been forthcoming. Thus the possibility that we are wrongly reconstructing the lines must be kept in mind.

mythological text RS 92.2016, line 38' varies slightly: *nrt 'il* (*EO* 394).
This form of the sun-goddess' epithet suggests that the second word
in *nrt 'ilm* is singular with mimation, meaning either "El" or "divine."
In either case, it does not mean "gods." A similar title, *nyr rbt*, "great
light," appears in the funerary text, 1.161.19, and probably in 1.16
I 37. It is against the background of these titles that the biblical title
for the sun, "great light" (Gen 1:16), may be better understood. Many
of the occurrences of the title come in contexts related to sunset and
death, such as we have in this passage (cf. 1.6 I 8–10, 13–15). This calls
to mind Shapshu's role in the netherworld, which may have involved
her providing light to that region during the night, and with bringing
spirits of the dead to the netherworld (see Lewis 1989:35–46). Thus
the reference to Shapshu here may have to do with her relationship
to the nether realm, even though the context does not provide any
further insight.

The next word, *ṣhrrt*, is also difficult. It derives from **ṣhr* (on the
reduplication of the final radical, see *UG* 680). Two primary mean-
ings have been proposed for the verb. It is commonly interpreted
from Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic cognates as describing a color, either
white, yellow, yellowish-red or reddish (cf. *HALOT* 1019). Reduplication
of the final radical is known for MH color terms (abstracts), such as
'admûmît, labnûnît, šaḥărûrît (Brenner 1982:188, 190; cf. *ḥaklîlî* discussed
in Brenner 1982:130–31). The Arabic IX and XI forms also duplicate
the final radical for a number of colors (see Wright 1.43–44, paras.
58–59), including the cognate for *ṣhrrt*, *'iṣḥārra* (Lane 1654; *DUL* 783).
Reduplication of second and third radicals also takes place in a number
of West Semitic color terms: BH **'ădamdām* in Lev 13:42, 49; **yĕraqraq*
in Ps 68:14, Lev 13:49, 14:37; and BH *šĕḥarḥōret* in Song of Songs 1:6
versus *šĕḥôrâ* in 1:5 (for details and a proposal to see "brightness" as
the distinguishing feature of these reduplicated forms, see Brenner
1982:106–10, 121, 124, 129–30, 167, 186, 190, 191). But some mod-
ern South Arabian dialects use the word in the meanings, "to brand,
cauterize" (see Rendsburg 1987:625), which suggests a possible mean-
ing here, "to burn." Both meanings have been attributed to a word
from the same root in the difficult passage, 1.23.41, 45 (for the first
see *SPUMB* 114; *CML*[2] 125, the second, Pardee 1997a:254). We have
taken it to mean, "to shine red" in our translation. It possibly refers
to the weaker shining of the sun near sunset, rather than the bright,
hot sun of the midday. This view would conform to the notion of the
sun-goddess at sunset, as suggested by some of the other contexts that

use the title *nrt 'ilm* (noted above). This image then may fit with the image of the heavens' weakness in the following line.

The next word, *l'a*, is also ambiguous. Many understand it as a verb meaning either "to be weak" (Pardee 1997a:254 n. 107), or the opposite, "to be strong" (Sivan 1997:43). The latter meaning is well known, in particular in Baal's title, *'al'iyn b'l* (*DUL* 486), but such a rendering here seems difficult. The context suggests the former meaning, which is also attested in Ugaritic (1.100.68; cf. *DUL* 489): *tl'u ḥ<m>t*, "the venom is weak" (Pardee 2002:178). In this interpretation of *l'a*, the final *'a-'*aleph has been understood as indicating the form as third masculine singular **qatala* (e.g., Huehnergard 1987b:292 n. 117). But if so, then the verb does not match the succeeding *šmm*, which is plural. Sivan (1997:43), Tropper (*UG* 482–83), and Pardee (1997a:254 n. 107) identify it is an infinite absolute. While one might object that the form might then appear as *l'u*, contracted from *la'āyu* (cf. Sivan 1997: 42–43 for examples of the reduction of *-ayu* to *û*), Tropper (*UG* 482) argues that the infinitive sometimes could also take the accusative or "Absolutivkasus" ending, *-a*, thus allowing the contraction from *la'āya* to the form seen here, *la'â*. Unfortunately, the occurrence of *l'a* in this passage is the only attested II-'/III-y example of this proposed phenomenon, and the ambiguity of the entire sentence does not allow for certainty in regard to Tropper's proposal. A third interpretation of the word as a verb relates it to the Akkadian D-stem verb, *lu''u*, "to defile, desecrate, sully, soil" (see *CAD sub lu'u*; *DUL* 486, *sub la'*; de Moor 1987: 16). *CAD* notes a passage in Maqlu III 48, in which the verb is used with "the heavens" as in our passage: *mu-la-'-i-tum ša šamê mulappittu ša erṣeti*, "she is the one who defiles heaven, desecrates the earth (or netherworld)." De Moor does not press a sacral meaning for the word in his translation of our passage, rendering it as "the heavens are soiled by Motu," and assuming that it refers simply to the dusty atmosphere being referred to in the bicolon.[30] The word has also been taken as a noun, meaning "strength, power" (e.g., Wyatt 1998: 85; Watson 1977a) or "orb" (Pope 1981a:168), as a reference to the sun itself, or "expanse" (Ginsberg *ANET*, 137), as a reference to the heavens. If so, the final letter suggests an accusative case ending, indicating that this word would be a direct object. In this case, one would have to connect it to the previous verb *šḥrrt*. But as

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[30] De Moor 1987:16, see note 87. We thank Juliane Kutter for drawing our attention to this possibility. She deals with it in her thesis written at Tübingen.

discussed above, that verb is in all likelihood a stative verb, and thus would not take a direct object.

The passage's final section refers to the god of Death, Mot. This is the first mention of the god in the Baal Cycle. As a character in the narrative, he does not appear until 1.4 VIII. While *byd*, literally "in the hand of," seems a generic reference to Mot's power, it bears a further sensibility, which may be educed thanks to a Ugaritic letter, CAT 2.10 (Pardee 1987). This text appears to mention "the hand of the god(s)," i.e., a disease, in a comparative context with *mtm*, "death/Mot." Following the introductory identification of speaker and addressee in lines 1–3 and greetings in line 4, the body of the letter in lines 5f. takes up the matter of the pestilence. In lines 11–13, the speaker describes the severity of the epidemic (see Marcus 1974:406; Pardee 1987):

w.yd/'ilm.	For the hand of the god(s)
p.kmtm/'z.m'id	(is) here, like death/Mot, exceedingly strong.

The comparison here suggests that the power of death, perhaps even the god of Death, is proverbial for its strength. In this letter, the power of death/Mot is manifest as pestilence on the terrestrial level; here in our formula Mot's power is expressed on the cosmic level. Despite the sense 2.10 provides about the perception of death, the passage's meaning of "the hand of Death" within the storyline of 1.3 V remains obscure. Wyatt has attempted to interpret it by appropriating the verb that precedes the passage in the two parallel occurrences as the verb for the first line. He proposes:

> Will the Luminary of the gods, Shapsh, [carry me off, **ḫt'*],
> The Burning One, Strength of the Heavens,
> Into the han[ds of the divine Mo]t?

He interprets this as perhaps a mocking response from El to Anat's threatening arrival. While this rendering actually places it into an appealing context, the problem lies both with the poetical arrangement, which suggests that the verb Wyatt incorporates into the line actually belongs with the preceding bicolon. Furthermore, the verb, **ḫt'*, appears never to mean, "to carry off," as Wyatt renders it, but rather "to crush, grind up, annihilate" (cf. *DUL* 413). These meanings fit the context of the previous bicola, rather than those with which we are dealing. In addition, Wyatt's interpretation would not fit well with Shapshu's role elsewhere in the story, since in this understanding of

the passage, Shapshu appears to be in league with Mot, while particularly in 1.6, such is clearly not the case. Thus it appears that while the bicolon generally indicates a perception of cosmic difficulty, its precise meaning must remain a mystery for now.

Lines 19–25 present Anat's angry response to El. The speech-opening formula in line 19 manifests the standard verbal syntax for continuing the narrative, namely *w-* plus **yqtl* indicative. She registers her displeasure at El's apparent attitude toward her, and then threatens to attack him even though she has yet to even present her request from Baal. Her threat appears in terms that are related to, but not identical to, her speech in 1.3 V 1–3. In the first tricolon (lines 19–21), Anat addresses El's apparently flippant demeanor towards her. The exact details of her speech here are ambiguous once again, although the general point is quite clear. The problem concerns the interpretation of the word *bnt*, which appears in the second line of the tricolon and is usually, and probably correctly, reconstructed in the first line. Pardee (1997a:254 n. 108) suggested the possibility of interpreting *bnt* in the first two as "daughters" and proposed that Anat could be referring to the family of El in this part of her speech, "May the daughters of your house, O El,/ May the daughters of your house not rejoice." Several commentators (e.g., de Moor 1987: 17; Wyatt 1998: 86) have reconstructed the parallel in the first colon as *bn* or *bnm* and rendered, "Let not the sons of your house, O El, Let not the daughters of your house rejoice." While these proposals are possible, it seems more likely that Anat here is focused upon El, rather than the family at large (cf. Pardee 1997a:254 n. 108). A second interpretation was proposed by Margalit (1983:91–92), followed tentatively by Pardee (1997a:254), who took *bnt* as a derivation from **nty/w*, which in Arabic means, "to swell up," and proposed understanding the word here as "grandeur." Thus they read: "In the grandeur of your house, O Ilu, In the grandeur of your house do not rejoice." The third major interpretation is to read it as a noun from **bny*, "to build," and read, as we do, "In the construction of your house, O El,// In the construction of your house do not rejoice" (*CML*[2] 53; *UNP* 117; cf. *TO* 1.175, where the verb is taken as suffix indicative, "tu as bâti"). This seems the more likely rendering. Anat thus opens her speech with a criticism of El's self-satisfaction in the comfort of his home, which contrasts with the situation for the new king Baal. As far as the extant text shows, this section is not part of the message Baal has given to Anat. Instead, it flows from the dramatic logic of the scene, which in numerous details (i.e., his failure to allow her

into his room, her earlier speech to Baal in which she already assumes
a need to threaten him) emphasizes the strained relationship between
El and Anat. A similar outburst appears in Anat's discussion with El
about Aqhat's rejection of her in 1.18 I 7–8. The badly broken lines
there only preserve *]k 'ilm*, "your_____, O El," from the first line, and
'al.tš[mḫ], "do not re[joice]," from the third. Thus it is impossible to
determine whether the lines there are exactly parallel to 1.3 V 19–21,
or whether only the call for El not to rejoice is identical with our pas-
sage, while the description of what he is not to rejoice in is different.
Whatever the case, in both scenes Anat seems to perceive a smugness
in El that she does not like.

Both speeches continue with an explicit threat against El (1.3 V
22–25//1.18 I 9–12). These latter lines appear to be completely par-
allel. The primary difference between the two passages is that in 1.3
the speech is Anat's prelude to making her request, while in 1.18, it
concludes Anat's request, apparently after having received no clear
answer from El following her actual request. In the latter case, the
threat leads to El giving in to her demands. The context in 1.3 seems
quite different, however.

Returning to the details 1.3 V 19–21, it is to be noted that El's house,
given in the plural form (*UBC* 1.235), is not said to be a palace, which
is what Baal requests. In contrast, El's home is a tent. This contrast
between tent-shrine and temple can be found also in the biblical texts,
where the contrast is between Yahweh's earlier home (the tent) and
his newer home in Jerusalem (2 Sam 7:5–7; see also Ps 78:60; cf. Ps
132:6–7; *CMHE* 72–73; and the discussion above on p. 339). Despite
the contrast between the two sets of imagery, the verb **bny*, "to build,"
presumably can apply to both. As its *-t* ending indicates, the word *bnt*
is a noun (*DUL* 232) and the same may be inferred for the parallel *rm*
in the third line of the tricolon (the verbal form being *rmm*; see refer-
ences below). The parallelism with *bnt* suggests the further connotation
with the meanings of building construction elsewhere associated with
rmm. The BH noun *rāmâ* is used as a term for shrine in Ezek 16:24
(*BDB* 928) where it is governed by the verb **bny*. The use of the verb
*rwm is found in both Ugaritic and Israelite texts for construction of a
divine palace (1.4 V 52, 54, VI 17; Ezra 9:9; Ben Sira 49:12; see *CS*
407; Avishur 1980–81; *UBC* 1.235). Given the parallel usage of *bny*
and *rmm* in 1.4 V–VI, their joint appearance here in Anat's speech
may represent the poet's anticipation of the language of construction
for Baal's palace.

Anat's threatening speech continues in lines 22–25. As noted above, this section appears to be paralleled closely in 1.18 I 9–12. If our understanding of the previous tricolon is correct, Anat then threatens to seize and demolish El's abode in the succeeding bicolon (lines 22–23). The suffix on 'aḫdhm in line 22, would refer back to bh[tk]//[h]kl[k] (so de Moor and van der Lugt 1974:22). The restoration, bym[n]y, appears certain, since it clearly parallels bgdlt 'arkty, literally, "in the greatness of my length," in the second line, which certainly refers to Anat's long and powerful arm. This image belongs to the warrior. Baal's right hand (ymn) is presented likewise as part of his martial pose in 1.4 VII 41. Similarly in 1.2 I 39 Baal takes a weapon in his right hand. The storm god's iconography shows him brandishing weapons in both hands (ANEP #490, 501, 537). Verbally more proximate to the bodily terms used in Anat's threat, Yahweh's arm is called yĕmînĕkā, "your right (hand)" and bigdōl zĕrô'ăkā, "with your long arm" (Exod 15:6, 16, respectively; see CML² 53 n. 10; Pardee 1997a:254 n. 110; cf. Isa 24:10, 50:2). The term gdl certainly refers in such contexts to the strength and power of the deity's arm. Length, in terms of the arm, also evokes a superior capacity for action in combat.

The second and third lines of the tricolon in lines 23–25 appear to parallel exactly the words used by Anat in her discussion with Baal back in 1.3 V 1–3. The first line, however, is different from that in 1.3 V 1 (an indication that parallel passages are not always so parallel). This line, however, does appear to be reiterated in 1.18 I 11, although very little of the line there is preserved. In 1.18, the parallel passage is followed by a unique tricolon (I 12–14) that flows directly from the story line of Aqhat: "Then [cry to?] Aqhat to rescue you,/To [Daniel's] son to save you/From the hand of [Anat] the Girl" (Parker, UNP 63). This once again shows the flexibility of the use of formulaic passages within similar but fully distinct contexts.

Lines 25–44: El's Answer and Anat's Plea

El responds to Anat and her menacing pose in lines 27–29. As in lines 10b–12a, the narrative mentions (lines 25b–27a) that El speaks again from his inner chamber, rather than in the direct presence of Anat. The appearance of this bicolon a second time, rather than the standard single-line rubric, "Beneficent El the Benign answers" (cf. 1.1 IV 13; 1.4 IV 58; 1.18 I 15), indicates that this is a significant datum for understanding the dynamics of the story. It appears to emphasize again

that El has not granted an actual audience to Anat that would allow her to bring her request officially before him. This probably foreshadows an unsuccessful outcome to her mission.

El's response is short and hardly complementary. His exact meaning once again, however, is ambiguous because of the uncertainty of the meaning of the key parallel pair, *ʾnš and *qlṣ (the latter reconstructed from the parallel, 1.18 I 17). The first word, ʾanšt, can be related to two roots, ʾnš, one meaning "human, man, person," and the other, "weak, ill." De Moor (1987:17) and Pardee (1997a:254) relate it to the first of these, and the latter renders the line, "I know you, (my) daughter, (I know) that [you] are a manly sort." Others (e.g., Driver, *CML* 91; Coogan 1978:95) assume that the word is related to the second verb and translate it, "you are gentle," assuming that El is speaking ironically here. A third approach suggests that an extended meaning of "weak" can be "angry, furious" (*DUL* 83, which also gives bibliography for other suggestions). Such a meaning fits the context here very well, and is possible also for the appearance of ʾanš in 1.2 I 38, 43.

The second word, qlṣ, is not much less problematic. Three approaches have been taken here. The first is to relate it to Arabic *qallaṣa* (Lane 2559; so *DUL* 701), "to resist, oppose." This allows one to translate, "Among goddesses there is nothing that resists you" (e.g., see Parker's translation of 1.18 I 16–17, the parallel in Aqhat, in *UNP* 63). Pardee (1997a:254 n. 111) relates the word to Arabic *qalaṣa*, "to shrivel," which he takes here in an emotional sense ("there is none so emotional as you"). While such a characteristic is an appropriate description of Anat, this interpretation assumes no real parallelism between the two lines of the bicolon, and thus remains uncertain. A third approach, suggested tentatively here, is that the word is cognate to BH *qls*, "scorn, contempt, mockery" (*CML*[2] 54; *UNP* 117). In terms of the two scenes in which this speech appears (here and in Aqhat), the meanings of the two ambiguous words that best fit the context appear to be "angry" and "scorn."

In the final line of El's speech (lines 28–29) the old god simply asks what Anat wants. It gives no hint as to his inclination to grant the request or lack thereof. The speech of El also shows no hint that he is intimidated by the goddess' bluster, but rather perhaps suggests a bit of tolerance toward the excesses of youth evident in Anat.

The rest of column V is taken up with Anat's request on Baal's behalf. Her speech divides into two parts, lines 30–34, which constitute an introduction to the matter, and lines 35–44, which quote the original

lament of Baal from the end of 1.3 IV. The second part is treated in full in the Commentary on 1.3 IV. The introduction (lines 30–34) is closely parallel to 1.4 IV 41–46, in which Athirat speaks to El about the same subject. A minor variation between the passages is found in the second line of the first tricolon, in which the goddess proclaims El's wisdom:

1.3 V 30–31	1.4 IV 41–43
tḥmk.'il.ḥkm[.]	*tḥmk.'il.ḥkm.*
ḥkmk/'m.'lm.	*ḥkmt/'m'lm.*
ḥyt.ḫzt.tḥmk	*ḥyt.ḫzt/tḥmk.*[31]

As can be seen, the passage in 1.3 uses *ḥkmk*, a noun with a possessive suffix, which shows the line to be a nominal sentence ("Your wisdom is eternal"). In contrast, in 1.4, the text reads, *ḥkmt*, which is the stative **qatala* form ("You are wise for eternity"). Grammatically, the comparison has the value of suggesting the similarity if not the equation of the two formations. The third line has occasioned some difficulty, especially with the sense of the first two words. Some of the older translations presumed an etymological connection between *ḫzt* and BH *ḥṣ*, "arrow," and suggested a relationship of the word to divination by arrows (bellomancy) with the notion that "good fortune" lies behind the sense of this line. They also connect *ḥyt* with *ḥym*, "life." Pope (*EUT* 43) translates: "*Triumphant* life is your word." Cross (*CMHE* 16, 184) renders *ḫzt* somewhat similarly: "A life of fortune thy decree." Accordingly, de Moor (1987:643) suggests: "long live the excellence of your judgment!" (see also Wyatt 1998:87). Renfroe (1992:52–56) disputes any relation to bellomancy and translates the expression on the basis of Arabic *ḥazz, ḥuzwat* (*DUL* 383): "declaration of *fate*." Whatever the correct view of *ḫzt*, it is clear that all three lines praise El's wisdom, which is proverbial according to 1.16 IV 1–2 (see *CML²* 99; de Moor and Spronk 1982:187; Greenstein, *UNP* 36):

'amrk ph[t] k'il	"Your word, [I] see, is like El's,
ḥkmt kṯr lṭpn	You are wise like Bull the Beneficent."

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[31] Sivan (1997:98) reads *'m 'lm ḥyt*, "may you (m.s.) live [*ḥayêta/ḥayîta*] forever!" This approach evidently presumes the division of the unit's lines as *tḥmk 'il ḥkm ḥkmt/'m 'lm ḥyt/ḫzt tḥmk*.

The themes of the god's great wisdom as well as requests for eternal life and wisdom given by the deity are West Semitic stock elements. Requests for long life and well-being were at home in royal prayer (see 1.108.20–27; KAI 10:8–10, 26 A III:2–7; Pss 21:5, 72:15; see Barré 1982; Greenfield 1990:164).

In the context of Anat and Athirat before El, it may seem odd to view this tricolon of lines 30–31 as part of the plea for Baal, but other ancient Near Eastern prayers use praise in order to motivate deities to respond to the supplicant's wishes (for an example in the biblical corpus, see Psalm 74). In this regard, a prayer to Ea, Shamash and Asalluhi (a byname of Marduk) furnishes a constructive parallel to Anat's praise of El in 1.3 V 30–31. Here the speaker praises the gods (Foster 2005:646, lines 6–9, closely paralleled in Foster 2005:648):

> "The destiny of life is yours to ordain,
> The design of life is yours to draw up,
> Your spell is life,
> Your utterance well-being,
> Your speech is life."

This prayer uses praise to advance the goal of persuasion to make the addressees more positively disposed toward the request of the prayer. Similarly, Anat's praise of El in this tricolon may serve to prepare him for her plea for Baal.

The next bicolon of Anat's speech in lines 32–33 proclaims Baal's kingship among the members of the pantheon. The two nouns denoting his position, *mlk* and *ṯpṭ*, are both complex and are used in various ways. Here both describe Baal, with the additional note, "there is none above him." This recognition of Baal is being addressed to El, who is, in fact, above Baal and who himself will be called *mlk* by Anat four lines later (line 36). The term *ṯpṭ* is most regularly used in the phrase *ṯpṭ nhr*, "Judge Nahar," the parallel term for Yamm in 1.2 I 17, 22, 26, 28, 30, 34, 41. But Yamm is not referred to as *mlk*, but *zbl*, "prince." It thus appears clear that these epithets are not to be considered absolute in designating hierarchical status, but rather are used as more general indicators of authority within various social realms. This is also suggested by the appearance of such personal names at Ugarit as ᵈIM-*ma-lak*, "Baal rules," alongside *špšmlk, ršpmlk* and *kṯrmlk* (Gröndahl 1967:157–58).

In lines 32–33, Anat does not say "my king"//"my ruler," but "our king"//"our ruler." A similar characterization occurs also in a commu-

nal setting in 1.15 V 21–22: *wymlk yṣb ʿln*, "and so let Yassib reign over us." In Anat's case, she is emphasizing the authority that she assumes all the gods recognize, even (she hopes) El. This statement is the foundational basis upon which she makes her request. Cross (*CMHE* 187 n. 176; cf. 183–84) takes the first common plural suffixes as an indication that this scene transpires in the context of the divine council held at El's abode. He also compares the divine discourse spoken in the first plural ("we," "us") in the parallel passage (1.4 IV 41–44) as a hallmark of divine council language, which is found also in Israelite tradition (e.g., Isa 6:8; Gen 1:26, 3:22, 11:7; see also Garr 2003:7–8, 17–21). However, the instances in Ugaritic do not actually transpire in a divine council context as such. In addition, the evidence suggests that the mountain of the divine assembly is a distinct location from the mountain of El's abode (*UBC* 1.230–34), and there are no clear indications of anyone else present or involved in the scene in 1.3 V.

The expression *ʾin dʿlnh* perhaps plays on Baal's title, *ʿly*, "Most High," known elsewhere in 1.16 III 6, 8 (cf. Ps 89:28). Ps 16:2 contains a similar praise: "I said to Yahweh: 'You are my lord, with none above you (*bal-ʿālêkā*)."[32]

A remaining question about this bicolon involves its word-order. Many commentators would take "Mightiest Baal" as the subject and "our king" as predicate (*CML*[2] 60; Pardee 1997:259). In contrast, we have rendered the passage according to the order given in the Ugaritic; hence, "Our king is Mightiest Baal,// Our ruler, with none above him" (*UNP* 117; cf. Wyatt 1998:87, reading as a tricolon with a different line division). C. L. Miller (1999:364) notes that it is difficult to render a judgment for such nominal sentences, but prefers the former approach since "personal names and epithets are more likely than common nouns to serve as subjects." Miller raises a valuable point. But here we would prefer to see emphasis being placed on the kingship, which is why it is placed in initial position. However, Miller may be correct in her assessment.

The next bicolon (lines 33–34) continues the discussion of Baal's position vis-à-vis the other gods. The gods continue to be referred to with

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[32] The parallel was noted by Dahood 1966:87. Pope took *ʿālêkā* as a corruption of Baal's title, ʿAliy (though without versional evidence); see *RSP III* 457. Sivan (1997:179) takes *wʿlm* in 1.164.10 in a comparably way, as "and above all" (= *w-* + *ʿl* + adverbial *-m*), but see the translation, "And on the next day," in Pardee 2002:75 (see also in 1.43.9 in Pardee 2002:70–71).

first plural suffixes, here in the repeated word, *klnyy*, "All of us indeed," i.e., *kl* + the first plural suffix *n* + a doubled emphatic particle *y* + *y*; this is the most common interpretation (cf. Ginsberg's translation of 1.4 IV 45–46 in *ANET* 133, Coogan 1978:95; Pardee 1997a:255; Wyatt 1998:87). A few translators (e.g. Gibson, *CML*² 54) have suggested that *klnyy* should be understood as *kl* + the dual suffix *-ny* + the emphatic particle, *-y*, and that Anat is referring to two specific gods, herself and one other. However, this view creates the problem of who the second god would be: Anat and El (cf. the discussion in Pardee 1997a:255 n. 112)? It seems hardly likely that Anat would be suggesting such a gesture of subordination from the chief deity. Gibson (*CML*² 54) suggested that the pair is Anat and Athtart, who he proposed might have accompanied her. This, too, seems quite unlikely, since Athtart is not mentioned anywhere in this tablet. Interpretation of this phrase as a reference to the gods in general seems more plausible.

The exact meaning of the gods bringing Baal a chalice//cup is debated. Some scholars believe that Anat is describing herself and the other deities as cup-bearers for Baal (cf. the discussion in Pardee 1997a:255 n. 112). Such a position is a traditional one in the royal court (1 Kgs 10:5 = 2 Chron 9:4; cf. Genesis 40; Neh 1:11) and would denote subordination of the deities to Baal. While this is a possible interpretation, it seems unusual to suggest that all deities should in some way be placed in that kind of office. More likely the point of these lines is to evoke the notion of the gods bringing tribute to their sovereign. Cassuto (1942:54) suggested a different nuance by looking at the usage of the term "cup" in several biblical contexts (Pss 11:6, 16:5). He then proposed the following interpretation: "We have come to receive the cup of Baal the portion it may please thee to give him. In other words, we have come to hear from thee the fate that thou wilt decree upon him." Cassuto's interpretation associates Baal's cup with the idea of fate or destiny. Despite the thematic connection between Ps 16:2 and line 33 (noted above), unlike Ps 16:5, Anat's speech in lines 33–34 focuses not on a decree of fate or destiny, but proclaims Baal's kingship, which the notion of tribute suits. This tribute constitutes symbolic recognition, the body language matching Anat's verbal proclamation of Baal's kingship.

With this introduction, Anat then proceeds in lines 35–44 to present El with Baal's lament that he has no palace. This section follows the wording of what is preserved in 1.3 IV 48–53 and 1.4 IV 47–57 (with the exception of the line *mṯb klt knyt*, which in the latter is transposed

to the point before the line *mṯb pdry bt ʾar*). The lament brings us to the climax of the scene, i.e., El's response to Anat's speech. Unfortunately, the column breaks off immediately after the conclusion of her speech, leaving us with no information about El's reaction. The lacuna at this point probably contained ca. 22 lines in the rest of column V and the first thirteen lines of column VI. When column VI becomes legible, it is clear that a new scene is in progress. There has been considerable disagreement as to whether El agrees to or refuses Anat's request for the palace. Many scholars understand Anat's intercession to be successful, sometimes on the assumption that 1.3 and 1.4 are parallel but independent versions of the narrative (Clifford 1984:189; *MLD* 9–11; see the discussion in *UBC* I:7–11). Others have assumed that because the parallel scene in 1.18 shows Anat as successful in her pleading, she must be successful here also. Pardee follows the latter interpretation, supposing that after Anat wins the permission from El in 1.3 V, El and Athirat must be further placated in order to win their "final" permission. This idea of a two-staged permission explains Anat's putative success on the one hand, and the need for the very same effort by Athirat, on the other. Before his discovery that CAT 1.8 belongs to the beginning of 1.3 VI, Pardee (1997a:255 n. 116 and 256 n. 121) found evidence for the success of Anat's mission in Baal's supposed usage of Athirat's own messenger, Qudsh-Amrur, in column VI 9–11. Now that 1.8 shows that Baal is addressing his own messengers Gapn and Ugar and not Qudsh-Amrur in this scene, this argument no longer holds.

   None of these arguments is compelling. The issue of the relationship between 1.3 and 1.4 has been discussed in *UBC* 1.7–11 (cf. pp. 9–10 above). The idea that Anat is successful at gaining El's permission, but that then Baal and Anat must go through an elaborate process of persuading Athirat to get El's permission a second time, or that El requires additional inducements ("baksheesh," as Pardee puts it in 1997a:256 n. 121) also seems very unlikely. Nor can Anat's success in the Aqhat Epic be used to assume a similar outcome here. This ignores the several differences in the contexts of the stories and in the details of the scenes, as described above.

   Other aspects of the scene in column V suggest that Anat's mission was a failure. Most significantly, as mentioned above, Anat is never given an actual audience with El. She is left in the outer room while El remains in the innermost chamber. In the similar account in the Aqhat Epic (1.17 VI 50–51), Anat arrives at El's abode and immediately comes into his presence, where she bows down before him and honors

him before she begins to denounce Aqhat. The common formula of obeisance before El upon arrival (cf. 1.1 III 24–25; 1.2 III 5b–6; 1.4 IV 25–26; 1.17 VI 50–51) does not occur in 1.3 V, since she does not come before him. Thus the entire setup of the scene here is quite different from that in Aqhat. The same holds for the similar scene concerning Athirat's request before El on Baal's behalf (1.4 IV). Upon her arrival, she does enter his presence and bow down before him (lines 23–26). Anat's angry entrance into El's tent has ignored the requirements of royal protocol, and that has in part led to the failure of her mission.

Significantly as well, the following scene in column VI presents Baal and Anat preparing their plan to entice Athirat to help them by enlisting Kothar-wa-Hasis as an ally. As mentioned above, this entire plot line seems redundant if Anat has been successful. However, if Anat's plea has been rejected, then it makes perfect sense for Baal to persuade Athirat to work with them. Athirat is regularly portrayed as working in close conjunction with El, and her role in the selection of Baal's successor in 1.6 I can been taken to reveal her singular influence on him. Thus we would expect that her request would get a hearing where Anat's might not. We suggest, then, that within the some thirty-fives lines missing in the text, the narrative probably recounted El's rejection of her plea, her return to Baal with the bad news, and his change of strategy. As the next column opens, Baal is giving instructions to his messengers to go to Kothar wa-Hasis, the Ugaritic craftsman god, and to enlist his talents in craftsmanship.

CAT 1.3 VI + CAT 1.8

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Text Editions 1.3 VI: Virolleaud 1938:85–90 pls. VIII, XII; CTA 20, fig. 13, pls. V, VI; KTU 15; CAT 15.

Text Editions 1.8: Virolleaud 1932:158–59; CTA 46–47, fig. 30, pl. I; *KTU* 30–31; CAT 30.

Other numbers 1.8: RS 3.364 = CTA 8 = 51fg (Gordon *UT*) = KTU 1.8.

Museum numbers 1.8: RS 3.364 = M3353 (Aleppo Museum) = A2738 (Old Aleppo Number) = AO 16.645 (old Louvre Number).

Dimensions 1.8: 64 × 42 × 10mm

Find Spot 1.8: This fragment was found in the third campaign (1931) at "point topographique" 339, the same spot where the main fragment of 1.3 (RS 3.363) was discovered (see Bordreuil and Pardee 1989:32, and the plan on p. 25, fig. 7).

Studies and Translations of 1.3 VI: Aistleitner 31–32; Caquot and Sznycer, *TO* 1.177–81; Cassuto, *GA* 104–05, 151–55; Coogan 1978:96; Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1150; Driver, *CML*[1] 90–91; Gaster, *Thespis* 242; Gibson, *CML*[2] 54–55; Ginsberg, *ANET* 138; Gordon, *UL* 23–24, 1977:84; Jirku 36–37; Maier 1986:3–5; de Moor 1987:19–20; del Olmo Lete, *MLC* 192; *MLR* 76–77; Pardee 1997a:255; i.p.; Smith 1985:279, 101–02, 225–31, 282–84, *UNP* 118–19; Wyatt 1998:88–90; Xella 1982:107.

Studies and Translations of 1.8: Caquot and Sznycer, *TO* 1.219, nn. w and x; Dijkstra 1983; Driver, *CML*[1] 118–120; Fensham 1966:162–64; Gibson, *CML*[2] 132; Ginsberg 1944:27–28, n. 13; *ANET* 131; Gordon *UL* 38; 1977:102; del Olmo Lete *MLC* 501; Wiggins 1993:79; Wyatt 1998:152.

TEXT (SEE IMAGES 25–26, 88–90)

CAT 1.8 (now joined to the top of Column VI)

1	*[ ]xk.mgn.rbt.ʾaṯrt*
	[ ]m̊.mǵz.qnyt.ʾilm
	[ ]xtnbt.lb ʿl.km
	[ ]lm.wḥẓr.kbn
5	*[ ]ṯrt.gm.lǵlmh*
	bʿl.yṣḥ.ʿn.gpn
	ẘʾugr.bn.ǵlmt
	ʿmmym.bn.zlm[ ]
	rmt.prʿt.ʾibr̊[ ]
10	*ṣhrrm.ḥbl[ ]*
	ʿrpt.tḥt.x [ ]
12 + VI 1	*mʿṣrm.ḥ[ ]b̊*
13	*glṯ.ʾiṣr̊[ ]r̊ʾišk*
14	*m.brq [ ]bn ʿnkm*

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15           ymtm [   ]°.ʾalp
16 + VI 5    šx [   ]ym.rbt
17           x [   ]xbnhrm
1.3 VI 7     [   ]b̊r̊gbl.ʿbr
             qʿl.ʿbr.ʾiht
             npšmm.šmšr
10           ldgy.ʾaṯrt
             mǵ.lqdš.ʾamrr
             ʾidk.ʾal.ttn
             pnm.tk.ḥqkpt
             ʾil.klh.kptr
15           ks̓u.ṯbṯh.ḥkpt
             ʾarṣ.nḥlth
             bʾalp.šd.rbt
             k̊mn.lpʿn.kṯ
             hbr.wql.tšṯḥ
20           wy.wkbdhwt
             wrgm.lkṯr
             wḫss.ṯny.lh
             yn.dḫrš.ydm
             tḥm.ʾả̊l[   ]
25           ẖ[
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[About 20 lines are missing.]

TEXTUAL NOTES

CAT 1.8

Line 1.]x   The upper right corner of a vertical wedge is visible, as is the right tip of a low horizontal below it. The possibilities for the letter are /b/, /d/ or /ʾu/.

   mgn   The /n/ has four wedges.

Line 2.]m̊   The right side of a badly corroded large vertical wedge is visible at the break. It is compatible with /m/, as expected by context.

   qnyt   The /n/ has four wedges.

Line 3.]x   A large horizontal wedge, broken on the left, could be /t/, /w/, /k/, /r/. The first two have been proposed by different editors—/w/ by CTA and CAT, while Virolleaud (1932: xx) and now Pardee i.p. argue for reading /t/. While both are epigraphically possible, Pardee's arguments for preferring /t/ are strong.

tnbt.   There is no word divider between /tn/ and /bt/ as proposed by Pardee i.p.

Line 4. wḫẓr   There is a thin, horizontal wedge above the primary left wedge of the /ḫ/. Its deformed lower line shows that it was inscribed before the primary left wedge. Ilimalku may have made it, then decided it was too thin and too high, so that he replaced it with the larger wedge just below it.

Line 5. [ ]ṯrt   There are no certain traces of the /ʾa/ that preceded the /ṯ/.

Line 6. b̓l   While the break on the left side of the /b/ might allow for reading it possibly as a /d/, the context assures the reading of /b/.
    yṣḫ   The /ṣ/ is written over the traces of a vertical wedge, whose head is visible above the right wedge of the letter, and a thin horizontal, traces of which are visible across the middle of the two wedges. An explanation of these wedges is not immediately apparent.

Line 8. ʿmmym   The four letters /ʿmmy/ are unusually widely dispersed on the tablet. In spite of the gap between the second /m/ and the /y/, there are no traces of a word divider between them, as proposed by Pardee, i.p.

Line 11. .x[To the right of the word divider are two small vertical wedges, the left one well preserved, the right one more damaged. The size and shape of the left one suggests that the letter is either /b/, /d/ or /ʾu/, although /s/ is also possible.

CAT 1.8 +1.3 VI 1–6

Line 1.8.12 + 1.3 VI 1.   ]b̓   On 1.3, the right vertical and horizontal are preserved, along with a few traces of a left horizontal. The letter could also be /d/.

Line 1.8.13 +1.3 VI 2.   glṯ   On 1.8, the /l/ has four wedges.
    ʾisr̓[Traces of three short horizontals, two above and one below, pretty much assure the reading of /r/ for the last letter of the word.
    ]r̓išk   On 1.3, the right tip of a horizontal, compatible with an /r/, is preserved just to the left of the /i/.

Line 1.8.14 +1.3 VI 3. brq̊[At the edge of 1.8, a large horizontal is preserved (accounting for CAT's t̠), but on the edge of the tablet, there appear to be the traces of the upper line of the *Winkelhaken* of a /q/.

]b̊n ʿnkm̊   At the left edge of 1.3, the /b/ could theoretically also be /d/, since only the right side of the letter is preserved. The /m/ is placed in the margin, and only the upper and right sides of the vertical are clearly preserved.

Line 1.8.15 + 1.3 VI 4. ymtm̊   CAT reads *n* for the last letter on the right edge of 1.8, but the preserved upper line of the horizontal wedge shows no hint of multiple wedges. To the right of the horizontal are vague traces of the head of the vertical wedge.

]̊. ʾalp   A small part of the left side of the word divider still remains.

Line 1.8.16 + 1.3 VI 5. šx[The uncertain letter after the /š/ must be either /h/ or /ʾi/. It is damaged in the area where the small vertical of the /ʾi/ would be. Although certainty cannot be reached, Pardee's proposal (i.p.) to read *š̌ʾi[r]* seems quite plausible.

]ym   We do not see any traces of a /b/ before /ym/, as in CAT. All the indentations to the left of the /y/ appear to be breakage.

Line 1.8.17 + 1.3 VI 6. x[Contra CAT, this letter is almost certainly not a /t/. The only surviving wedge is much thinner than the normal *t*. It is considerably more likely to be part of a /h/, /p/, or /ʾi/.

]xbnhrm   The lower line of a large horizontal is preserved to the left of the /b/. CAT's reading of /n/ is plausible, but relies on its reconstruction of the line. The traces could be /t/, /ʾa/, /r/, /k/, /w/, /b/ or /d/. We do not see traces of CAT's proposed word divider after the wedge.

CAT 1.3 VI 7ff.

Line 7.]b̊rgbl   The first /b/ is epigraphically uncertain. Only the slight indentations of two low horizontal wedges are preserved. There is no word divider between /]br/ and /gbl/. The /l/ has four wedges.

Line 8. qʿl   The /l/ has four wedges.

Line 9. npšmm   Contrary to CAT, there is no word divider after /np/.

Line 11. mǵ.lqdš   The probable word divider after /mǵ/ is small and nearly invisible. The /l/ has four wedges.

Line 12. ʾidk   There is an extraneous horizontal wedge between the /d/ and /k/. Perhaps it was a false start for the /k/.

Line 13. ḥqkpt   Based on the spelling of the word in the following bicolon, CTA and KTU emend to ḥkpt. Variant spellings of foreign proper names are not without parallel, however.

Line 16. nḥlth   The /ḥ/ has four wedges.

Line 18. ǩmn   The /k/ is damaged in the lower left part, but context assures the reading. The /n/ has four wedges

Line 19. ȟbr   The /ḥ/ is broken, but evidence of all three wedges is discernable. The interior of the /b/ is also destroyed, but the upper lines of the two verticals assure the reading.

Line 23. yn.dḥrš   The /n/ has four wedges. There is also an extra wedge to the lower left of the /š/, which almost looks placed intentionally for decorative effect.

Line 24. tḥm.ʾảl̊[The letter following the word divider is very damaged, but there appear to be traces of the top lines of two horizontals, strongly suggesting that the letter /ʾa/. All three tops of the probable /l/ are preserved, although epigraphically this could also be a /d/ or /ʾu/.

Line 25. ȟ[The upper line of a long, thin horizontal is preserved. Context argues for /h/, but it could also be /p/.

TEXT RESTORED AND SET IN POETIC FORM

CAT 1.8

1–2   *[   ]xk.mgn.rbt.ʾatrt/[y]m̊.*
       mǵz.qnyt.ʾilm
3–5   *[l]ttn bt.lb ʿl.km/[ʾi]lm.*
       wḥzr.kbn/[ʾa]ṯrt.
5–6   *gm.lǵlmh/ bʿl.yṣḥ.*

6–9   ʿn.gpn/ẇʾugr.
                     bn.ǵlmt/ʿmm ym.
                     bn.zlm[t]/rmt.prʿt.
9–10   ʾibṙ [gnt]/ṣḥrrm
10   ḥbl[   ]
11   ʿrpt.tḥt.x [   ]
12 + VI 1   mʿṣrm.ḥ[   ]ƀ
13–14 + VI 2–3   glṯ.ʾisṙ[ ]ṙʾišk/m.
                     brq[m] ƀn ʿnkm
15–17 + VI 4–6   y mtm
                     [   ]ˑʾalp/šʾi[r b]ym.
                     rbt x [   ]x bnhrm
1.3 VI 7–9   [ʿ]br gbl.ʿbr/qʿl.
                     ʿbr.ʾiht/npšmm.
9–11   šmšr/ldgy.ʾaṯrt/
                     mǵ.lqdš.ʾamrr
12–14   ʾidk.ʾal.ttn/pnm.
                     tk.ḥqkpt/ʾil.klh.
14–16   kptr/ksʾu.ṯbth.
                     ḥkpt/ʾarṣ.nḥlth
17–20   bʾalp.šd.rbt/kmn.
                     lpʿn.kṯ<r>/hbr.wql.
                     tštḥ/wy.wkbdhwt
21–23   wrgm.lkṯr/wḥss.
                     ṯny.lh/yn.dḥrš.ydm
24–25   tḥm.ʾal[ʾiyn.bʿl]/
                     h[wt.ʾalʾiy.qrdm]

[About 20 lines are missing.]

TRANSLATION AND VOCALIZED TEXT

For vocalization of 1.3 VI 7–25, see Smith 1985:307; Maier 1986:4.

Baal Instructs His Messengers

CAT 1.8

1–2   "…a gift for[1] Lady Athirat   [   ]xk.maganv rabbati ʾaṯirati/
               of the Sea   yammi

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    [1] Literally, "of," here and in the syntactically parallel following line.

	A present for the Creatress of the Gods,	magẓv qāniyati ’ilīma
3–5	In order that she might give a house to Baal like the gods’, a court like Athirat’s children’s.”	[la]tatinu bêta lê-baʻli/ kamā ’ilīma] wa-ḥaẓira ka-banī /[’a]ṯirati
5–6	Aloud to his lads Baal declared:	gā-ma lê-ǵalamī-hu/ baʻlu yaṣûḫu
6–9	“See, O Gapn and Ugar, sons of the Lass (?), kinsmen of Day(?), sons of ẓlmt, the exalted princess(?)	‘înā gapni/wa-’ugari banê ǵalmati/ʻammêmi yômi banê ẓlmt/ramati parʻati
9–10	….	’ibṙ [gnt]/ ṣḥrrm
10–11	….clouds under	ḫbr[ ] ʻurpatv taḥta x [ ]
12 + VI 1	….	mʻṣrm.ḫ[ ]ƀ
13–14 + VI 2–3	The downpour is the binding (upon) your (two) heads, The lightning between your eyes.	galaṯu.’isaṙu[]řa’šêku/mâ. baraqū[ma] ƀêna ʻênêkumâ
15–17 + VI 4–6	O men, [Travel] a thousand ši’[r(?) on] the sea, A myriad [ ] on the rivers.	ya-mutêma [ ]ʼ.’alpa/ši’[ra(?) bi-]yammi. ribbata x [ ]x bi-naharīma

CAT 1.3 VI 7–25

| 7–9 | [C]ross over the mountain, cross over the summit, Cross over the coast of the heavenly height. | [ʻu]burā gubla ʻuburā/ qiʻla ʻuburā ’ihāti²/nupi šamîma |

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² The plural is formed with infix *-h-* pluralizing element, found in words with largely bi-consonantal or weak root bases (for other examples, see *EUT* 19–20; *UBC* 1.235 n. 29). For cognates, see *DUL* 32.

9–11	Proceed to the Fisher of Athirat, Go to Quds Amrar.[3]	šamširā/lê-daggayyi 'atirati/ migâ lê-qudši 'amrari
12–14	Then you shall head For great and wide Memphis,	'iddaka 'al tatinā/panīma tôka ḥiqkupti/'ili kulli[4]-hu

14–16	For Kaphtor, the throne where
	   he sits,
	Memphis, the land of his
	   heritage.
		kaptāru/kissi'u titbi-hu
		
		ḥikuptu/'arṣu naḥlati-hu

17–20	From across a thousand acres,
	   a myriad hectares,
	At the feet of Koth\<ar> bow
	   down and fall,
	May you prostrate yourself
	   and honor him.
		bi-'alpi šiddi ribbati/kumāni
		
		lê-pa'nê kôta\<ri>/huburā
		   wa-qîlā
		tištaḥ/wiyā wa-kabbidā huwata[5]

21–23	And say to Kothar wa-Hasis, Recite to the Skilled Craftsman:	wa-rugumā lê-kôtari/wa-ḥasīsi tanniyā lê-ha/yyāni di-ḥarrāši[6] yadêmi
24–25	'Decree of Migh[tiest Baal], Wo[rd of the Mightiest of Warriors]:	taḥmu 'al['iyāni ba'li]/ hu[watu 'al'iyi qarrādīma]

[*Approximately 22 lines are missing.*]

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[3] Usually the compound names such as this one occur with *w-* before their second element. See 1.4 IV 13; 1.123.26 (in 1.4 IV 16–17, the two elements of the name appear in parallelism). The lack of *w-* before the second element of such DNs is, however, attested elsewhere and thus may not be a simple scribal error (e. g., *ktr ḫss* for *ktr w-ḫss* in 1.123.28). For further discussion, see Smith 2001a:70–72.

[4] For post-positional *kl* + suffix, see *UBC* 1.166 n. 90 (cf. *TO* 1.178 n. g; *CS* 36; Parker, *UNP* 58–59, to 1.17 V 21, 31). For another Ugaritic example, see *'atr tlt klhm* in 1.14 II 42, translated by Greenstein, *UNP* 15: "After three, all of them."

[5] For the syllabic evidence for the third masc. sg. independent pronoun, see Huehnergard 1987b:120.

[6] For the syllabic evidence, see Huehnergard 1987b:126. The base is the so-called *nomen professionalis*, *qattāl (see Sanmartín 1995:177–79, especially for a survey of prose texts containing this word). For an extensive discussion of the expression, see Dietrich and Loretz 1999.

COMMENTARY

Poetic Parallelism and Word/Syllable Counts

	semantic parallelism	word/ syllable count

For 1.8.1–2, see the discussion of 1.4 I 21–22 on p. 400; for lines 3–5a, see 1.4 IV 62–V 1 on p. 501. Lines 5–12 remain too ambiguous in meaning for us to attempt a poetic analysis.

1.8.13–14	galaṯu 'isaru ra'šêkumā	a b c	3/10
	baraqūma bêna 'ênêkumā	b' c'	3/10

The lines show basic semantic parallelism, accompanied by a slight variation in syntactical parallelism. The morphology, especially with the nominal forms, helps to generate further parallelism. The parallelism of final *-umā* is generated by the morphology of the final nouns in the two lines. These endings are echoed in the ending *-ūma* in the plural masculine nominal form at the head of the second line. The dual forms of the nouns at the ends of the lines with *-ê-* resonate in the preposition in the second line. In these two ways, the dual morphology of the final nouns of the two lines resonates with some further feature in the second line.

1.3 VI 4–6	ya-mutêma		
	[uburā] 'alpa ši'ra (?) bi-yammi	a b c	4/10
	ribbata…bi-naharīma	b' c' (?)	2(?)/8(?)

The vocative noun here is set off as a matter of anacrusis, which is not exceptional (see p. xxxiv n. 3). The syntactical parallelism of these two lines, though not fully understood, is apparent. The semantic parallelism of these numerals is common in Ugaritic as is for the bodies of waters. The notable sonant parallelism here involves bilabials, *b*, *p* and *m*.

7–9	['u]burā gubla 'uburā qi'la	a b a b'	4/10
	'uburā 'ihāti nupi šamîma	a b" (= x + y + z)	4/11

The three-fold repetition of imperatives dominates this bicolon (Watson 1980:446), which contains what Avishur (1984:56–63) designates as

intracolonic parallelism in the first line and what Watson (1994b:106, 122 n. 75) calls a "quasi-acrostic." The three-fold repetition of the verb may be viewed as even more emphatic than two-fold imperatives, which seem to be more common. For example, the first bicolon of Anat's speech in 1.3 IV 32–33 commands the messengers to depart with great urgency expressed in double use of the imperative, *lk lk*, "Go, go" (cf. *ʿûrî ʿûrî* in Judg 5:12 and Isa 51:9 as a double imperative to battle). The three imperatives may evoke a greater urgency, or it could be merely a means to structure this initial three-fold itinerary.

9–11	šamširā lê-daggayyi ʾaṯirati	a b c	3/12
	miġâ lê-qudši ʾamrari	aʾ bʾ cʾ	3/8

The syntax and semantics of the two lines are quite close. Only in the last word in each line, *ʾaṯirat* and *ʾamrari*, is there any sonant parallelism, beyond what is generated by morphology.

12–14	ʾiddaka ʾal tatinā panīma	a b c	4/10
	tôka ḥiqkupti ʾili kulli-hu	d e f	4/10

The travel itinerary here follows a fixed formula (see below; *UBC* 1.165–66, 220, 224), despite the lack of parallelism.

14–16	kaptāru kissiʾu ṯibti-hu	a b c	3/9
	ḥikuptu ʾarṣu naḥlati-hu	aʾ bʾ cʾ	3/9

The basic idea and syntax of these lines are formulaic (see also 1.4 VIII 12–14). Moreover, *ḥkpt* and *kptr*, the names of Kothar's abode (*UBC* 1.165–66), constitute a fine sonant pair, with both GNs containing the sequence *-kpt-* (Smith 1985:103).

17–20	bi-ʾalpi šiddi ribbati kumāni	a b aʾ bʾ	4/11
	lê-paʿnê kôṯa<ri> huburā wa-qîlā	c d eʾ	4/12
	tištaḥwiyā wa-kabbidā huwati	eʾʾ eʾʾ f	3/11

As noted by Avishur (1984:59), *šd* and *kmn* constitute a word-pair forming intra-colonic parallelism within the initial line (see also Watson 1994b:106 nn. 10, 13). As with the preceding lines, the language here is stereotypical for messengers' obeisance (see above 1.3 III 8–10 above; and *UBC* 1.167–68)

21–23	wa-rugumā lê-kôṯari wa-ḥasīsi	a b c	3/12
	ṯanniyā lê-hayyāni di-ḥarrāši yadêmi	aʾ bʾ cʾ	4/14

For the epistolary formulas reflected in these bicola, see the Commentary below. The parallelism in this instance stacks the epithets in the second line, making it longer than the first line (a relatively less common feature of bicola). The epithets *ḥasīsi* and *ḥarrāši* may be viewed as a minor sonant pair, with each one containing guttural and sonant plus the same initial and final vowel; however, the differences between the two words are evident as well.

| 24–25 | taḥmu ’al[’iyāni ba‘li] | a b c | 3/8 |
| | hu[watu ’al’iyi qarrādīma] | a’ b’ c’ | 3/10 |

The nominal syntax of the two lines (reconstructed after 1.3 III 13–14; IV 7–8) perhaps allows the stereotypical epistolary introduction to stand out in this narrative poetic context (Watson 1994b:283; see further discussion above on pp. 225–26). The initial words of the god's titles are basically the same word (discussed in *UBC* 1.153 n. 65), with the former differing in possessing a final *-ānu* sufformative (for other Ugaritic examples, see *UG* 271–73).

Introduction

The final column of 1.3 marks a new departure for the narrative. Since Anat's entreaty of El has failed, Baal pursues another avenue. He sends his messengers, Gapn and Ugar, to Kothar-wa-Hasis to secure the latter's aid, specifically to make gifts (1.4 I) designed in turn to enlist Athirat's support (1.4 III) and thus her assistance in gaining El's permission for Baal's palace (1.4 IV–V). Dennis Pardee's recent discovery (i.p.) that CAT 1.8 comprises the beginning of column VI (see Introduction, p. 4) has significantly improved our understanding of the beginning of this part of the story, providing eleven lines that were completely missing on 1.3 and filling in portions of five additional lines partially preserved on the main tablet (VI 1–5). In terms of the narrative itself, the most important improvement here is that we now know that the messengers Baal is addressing in this column are Gapn and Ugar, his regular pair. Until now, the broken text had suggested that Baal was addressing Athirat's servant, Qudš Amrar, an unusual situation (1.3 VI 9–11; for Qdš w’Amrr as a single figure, see Ginsberg 1944:25). This misunderstanding is now resolved,[7] and it is clear that

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[7] Lipiński 1973:35–37 had already argued that Baal was speaking to an unnamed

Gapn and Ugar are told to stop by Qudš Amrar's abode on their way
to deliver their message to Kothar (the purpose of this element of the
trip remains unclear).

CAT 1.8.1–17 and 1.3 VI 1–25: Baal's Instructions to His Messengers

As noted by Pardee (i.p.), the join of 1.8 to the top of column VI, with
its direct reference in lines 1–4 to the making of gifts for Athirat so that
she will support Baal's request for a palace, now definitively shows that
Tablet 1.3 directly precedes Tablet 1.4. A few scholars previously have
argued that 1.3 did not belong before 1.4 (cf. de Moor, *SPUMB* 41–3,
who placed 1.3 at the beginning of the cycle) or suggested that 1.3 was
simply a variant version of 1.4 and did not belong to the cycle proper
(Clifford 1984:191–93; for complete discussion see *UBC 1*: 7–11).

  The first four lines of 1.8 describe Baal's new plan, perhaps in the
form of a quotation from Baal himself or from Anat. Lines 1–2 find
a parallel in 1.4 I 21–22, where the first phrase of our passage is pre-
ceded by *šskn mʿ*, a C-stem imperative from either *skn*, "to see to," or
from *nsk*, "to (cause to) pour," accompanied by an enclitic *n*, (see the
commentary on 1.4 I 21–22, pp. 403–4, below). If the latter deriva-
tion is correct (cf. citations in Sanmartín 1995:181–82, *DUL* 644, *UG*
595 and cf. Pentiuc 2001:132–33; cf. *šsk*, the *C*-stem imperative of
*nsk, in 1.13.6, used for blood), then the /k/ that precedes the word
on line 1 might be the ending of the same verb here, i.e., *šsk*, without
the enclitic. But the context is too uncertain to rely that strongly on
the parallel passage.

  Lines 3 and 4 are familiar from the context of Baal's lament, but the
only near parallels for these two lines appearing alone and outside the
longer lament are 1.4 IV 62–V 1, in El's speech giving Baal permission
to build the palace, and, more distantly, in 1.4 V 27–29. The former
passage parallels the nominal phrases, "a house for Baal like the gods'/
a court like the children of Athirat," but uses the verb *ybn*, rather than
ttn. 1.4 V 27–29 uses *ytn* (as a passive), but shifts the nominal phrases
to "a house for you like your brothers', and a court like your kin's."
Although the first *t* is epigraphically uncertain, it seems contextually

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probable, as does Pardee's reconstruction (i.p.) of an *l* before it. Pardee has also noted the minor narrative difficulty this reading creates—the fact that Athirat, of course, cannot "give" Baal the palace; she can only persuade El to do so. But this kind of semantic shorthand (i.e., that Athirat's support will be instrumental in getting Baal his palace) does not seem to be problematic here.

Lines 5b–6a introduce Baal's speech of instructions to his messengers, Gapn and Ugar, which comprises the rest of the preserved column. This formula occurs occasionally elsewhere in the Ugaritic corpus (e.g., 1.6 III 22; 1.14 V 13; 1.15 IV 2; 1.17 V 15; 1.19 I 49), but most notably in 1.4 VII 52b–53a, where it introduces a close parallel to several lines of our passage. The similarity of 1.8.5–11 and 1.4 VII 52–57 has for years led scholars to connect 1.8 to 1.4, rather than 1.3. With the new placement of 1.8, it becomes clear that we have in 1.3 VI and 1.4 VII two distinct parallel passages, both of which inaugurate instruction speeches to Gapn and Ugar. The fact that these lines appear in two very different contexts allows us to use the larger contexts of both passages to interpret these difficult lines. Before now, these lines have often been understood as referring specifically to the circumstances of 1.4 VII, i.e., Baal's impending conflict with Mot (see especially the Commentary on 1.4 VII 52–57, pp. 694–96). The lines have been viewed as depicting the ominous indications that Mot's power is now extending into the sea and the heavens. Such interpretations now become unlikely, since it is now clear that the lines occur in a context completely unrelated to Mot in 1.3 VI. It appears more likely that lines 7–14 and the lines partially paralleled in 1.4 VII 52–57 (and maybe to line 60) focus on the messengers themselves, providing epithets for them and some indication of their close relationship to Baal.

The speech itself opens (lines 6b–7a // 1.4 VII 53b–54a) with an imperative, *ʿn*, "See!" addressed to Gapn and Ugar. The next two cola (lines 7b–9a//1.4 VII 54b–56a) remain ambiguous, in spite of our recognition that we now have two distinct contexts in which to interpret them. Uncertainties concerning the meaning of the vocabulary persist. Over the years, two general categories of interpretation have developed, although there is a great deal of variety within each. The first has been to see the bicolon as made up primarily or exclusively of epithets, that either belong to Gapn and Ugar (e.g., *TO* 1.219; *ANET* 135; Gordon 1977:101; *LC*² 54; Aistleitner 46, Lipiński 1981:384–85) or to some minions of Mot (Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1170; de Moor 1987:65). The first phrase, *bn ǧlmt*, is usually translated as an epithet,

"sons of *ǵlmt*." The meaning of the latter word is disputed. Several translators (e.g., *LC*² 54; Aistleitner 46; *UNP* 138) render it according to a clearly attested meaning in Ugaritic, "young woman, lass" (cf. 1.14 IV 41; 1.15 II 22; 1.23.7; BH *ʿalmâ*). Since the term is sometimes used as the title of a particular goddess (e.g., Nikkal in 1.23.7 and uncertain goddesses in the ritual texts, e.g., 1.41.25//1.87.27; 1.39.19; 1.119.8), some commentators have suggested that it refers to a specific goddess in our passage as the title or even the name of the mother of the messengers (cf. *ANET* 135; Gordon 1977:101). On the other hand, several scholars have noted that the words *bn ǵlmt* are parallel to the phrase, *bn ẓlmt* in the following line. Most scholars have related the word *ẓlmt* to Arabic *ẓalima*, Akkadian *ṣalāmu* and BH *ṣalmāwet*, and understand it to mean "darkness" (for cognates and discussion, see *SPUMB* 172; Leslau 556; Huehnergard 1991:706; C. Cohen 1996:305–6; note also Brenner 1982:163). If *bn ǵlmt* is parallel, then *ǵlmt* might have a meaning similar to "darkness." This is supported by the probable equation in the Ugaritic polyglot texts of Sumerian IDIM with Ugaritic *ḫu-ul-ma-tu₄*, which may be equivalent to *ǵlmt* (see Huehnergard 1987b:98–100, 164; Ginsberg 1946:34, 45). Thus the two phrases could be rendered something like, "sons of gloom," and "sons of darkness." When this passage was assumed to be restricted to the context of 1.4 VII, it seemed reasonable to propose that these epithets belonged to minions of Mot who are causing trouble in the world, and that they were to be understood as objects of the imperative, "See!" (Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1170; de Moor 1987:65). Wyatt (1998:111–12) suggested that the epithets refer directly to Mot ("the Dark One, the Gloomy One"). But now that the phrases occur in a context completely outside the Mot episode, this understanding must be abandoned. It seems more likely that *ǵlmt* here means "young woman, lass" and that *ẓlmt* has a parallel meaning.

  The context of this bicolon in 1.3 VI severely weakens the second common understanding of these lines as proposed by other scholars who did not see these phrases as epithets. The text of 1.4 VII 54 reads differently from 1.8.7. Instead of *bn. ǵlmt*, line 54 reads *bǵlmt*. Several scholars have argued that 1.4 VII 54 indicates that the *b* is the preposition, "in" and that the *n* in line 55's *bn.ẓlmt* is a -*n* energic. These scholars read the bicolon as a pair of sentences, to be translated along the following lines: "The sea/day is covered in darkness, the high lands/the exalted princess in gloom" or the like (e.g., *CML*¹ 101; *Thespis* 199; *CML*² 66; *MLC* 210; *MLR* 90; Pardee 1997a:263; i.p.).

To see how the latter interpret the passage, we must turn to the second phrase of the first colon (8a), *ʿmmym*. A few scholars have taken this as a further epithet: "Amami's twain" (*ANET* 135); "Errand lads" (Gordon 1977:101). Gray (*LC²* 54) took it to mean "large-limbed." But several scholars see *ʿmm* as a verb, related to Arabic *ġamma*, "to cover, veil," and BH *ʿmm*, which occurs in the Hophal in Lam 4:1 meaning, "to be darkened." They usually read *ym* then as "day(-light)" (cf. Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1170; *CML¹* 101; *Thespis* 199; *CML²* 66; de Moor 1987:65; Wyatt 1998:111; Loretz 2000:277). Pardee (1997a:263) and Olmo Lete (*MLC* 210; *MLR* 90) take *ym* to mean "sea." Good (1983:22) suggested a different etymology, proposing a relationship between *ʿmm* and BH *ʿām*, "people," based on the possible parallel between the forms *ʿmm*//*prʿt* here and *pĕrāʿôt*//*ʿām* in Jud 5:2.

The fourth phrase in the bicolon, *rmt prʿt* is also open to various interpretations. The first word, *rmt*, is generally identified as belonging to the root *rwm, "to be high," and normally translated as a feminine adjective, "high, exalted, lofty." The second word, *prʿt*, is more problematic. There appear to be two Semitic roots, *prʿ, the first one meaning, "to be high, best, first," and the second meaning, "to have long hair." The first is more likely the root involved here, but there is ambiguity about how it is to be understood in the passage. Most translators understand it as a feminine noun, literally, "the high one, princess, ruler" (e.g., Aistleitner 46; Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1170; *CML²* 66; de Moor 1987:65; Wyatt 1998:112). The identity of the princess remains unclear, and the proposals made depend on how the rest of the bicolon is translated. Some see the "exalted princess" as the mother of Gapn and Ugar (e.g., Aistleitner 46), while those who understand these lines as referring to the darkening of the world, see this epithet as a reference to the sun-goddess Shapshu, who is being darkened (Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1170; *CML²* 66; de Moor 1987:65; Wyatt 1998:112). Others have rendered *prʿt* as an adjective, "lofty" (*LC²* 54) or "distinguished" (Gordon 1977: 101). Pardee (1997a:263) takes the meaning "lofty" and substantivizes it as, "the [highest] peaks," making this phrase a contrastive parallel to his rendering of *ʿmmym*, "The sea is enveloped."

With the new placement of 1.8 into 1.3 VI, it seems less likely that these lines are referring to the darkening of the sea/day/princess/peaks. We are skeptical of reading *bn* as a preposition + *n*-enclitic, since the form is not attested with any assurance elsewhere in Ugaritic (cf. *UG* 781). The twin contexts appear to suggest rather that this bicolon constitutes epithets of Gapn and Ugar, and that *ġlmt* is probably "the

young woman," an epithet of their mother. This rendering argues for understanding *zlmt* as an epithet parallel to *ǵlmt*, and thus probably not related specifically to the meaning, "darkness."

Lines 9–12 of 1.8, even with the added context of 1.3 VI and some minor reconstruction from 1.4 VII 56, remain very obscure. Several scholars (*ANET* 135; *CML*² 135; Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1171; de Moor 1987:65) have taken a number of the words in these lines as references to birds. Thus *'ibr* perhaps means "pinions" (cf. BH *'ēber*). However, the reading *'ibr* is not certain, since the parallel reading of the word in 1.4 VII 56 seems to be *hbr* (see below, pp. 695–96). It is not clear which of the two readings is correct. If the reading *hbr* were preferred, one could relate the word to the verb that means, "to bow." Unfortunately, the reading of the next word, lost in our line, but probably *gnt* in 1.4 VII 56, produces no obvious meaning that would illuminate the sentence. A second word identified as a reference to birds is *ḥbl* in line 10, which can be rendered "flock," as in 1.18 IV 31, *ḥbl d'iy[m]*, "the flock of hawks" (cf. also *ḥbl kt[r]t*, "band of the Kotharat," in 1.11.6). In addition, the term *m'ṣrm* in line 12 could be related to *'ṣr*, the common Ugaritic word for "bird."

How *ṣhrrm* fits into the context is unclear. It presumably belongs to the same root as *ṣhrrt*, which is used to denote the burning or reddening of the sun due to the power of Mot (see 1.3 V 17–18, 1.4 VIII 22, 1.6 II 24). It presumably belongs in a colon with *h/'ibr gnt*, but how the words fit together is not discernable to us. The same can be said of *ḥbl 'rpt tḥt*. Gibson (*CML*² 66), de Moor (*SPUMB* 173; 1987:65) and Dietrich and Loretz (1997:1171) identify *tḥt* as a verb from the root *ḥt*, "to circle around" (cf. Arabic *ḥāta*). This seems plausible, although the preposition *tḥt* cannot be ruled out, since the context remains difficult. In sum, virtually nothing in these lines may be translated with any confidence. But in view of the likelihood that lines 7b–9a are probably epithets of Gapn and Ugar and that lines 13–14 are also describing the two messengers, it seems reasonable to suggest that lines 9b–12 also relate in some way to these two characters.

With the new join, lines 13–17 become considerably more understandable. The bicolon in lines 13–14 almost certainly refers to Gapn and Ugar, and *r'iškm* is best understood as dual in both noun and suffix (cf. *UG* 290). The two terms that begin the lines, *glṯ* and *brq[m]*, "flow, downpour, torrent" and "lightning" (see the Commentary on 1.4 V 6–7, pp. 556–60), are both intimately related to Baal's meteorological character. Here they are apparently used as visible symbols of the mes-

sengers' authority to represent the god in speaking with Kothar-wa-Hasis
(cf. Pardee i.p.). The appearance of the *m* at the beginning of 1.8.14
solves the problem of the suffix on 1.3 VI 2, where *rˀišk* was clearly
problematic. This bicolon completes what appears to be a rather florid
introduction of Gapn and Ugar before they hear Baal's instructions.

Lines 1.8.15–16/1.3 VI 4–5 mark the beginning of the instructions
proper. The section opens with a vocative, *ymtm*, "O men." The term
is primarily used of humans, but apparently could also be used of dei-
ties. In 1.3 I 12–13, the great goblet from which Baal drinks during
the feast celebrating his victory over Yamm is described as *dn mt šmm*,
"a container for men of heaven," a term that seems likely to refer to
gods, although the context is ambiguous.

The bicolon of 1.8.15–16/1.3 VI 4–6 begins a description that
continues through 1.3 VI 16 of the journey that Gapn and Ugar are
to undertake. This section may be subdivided into two parts: (1) 1.8
15/1.3 VI 4 to 1.3 VI 11, which describe the messengers' journey to
the abode of the Fisher of Athirat/Qudš Amrar, Athirat's servant; and
(2) 1.3 VI 12–16, which describe the journey on to Caphtor/Memphis,
Kothar's home. The verb that began the bicolon of 1.8.15–16/ 1.3 VI
4–6 is lost in the gap between the fragment and the tablet, but there
can be little doubt that it was a verb of traveling. The parallel pairs
ˀalp/rbt, "thousand/myriad" and *ym/nhrm* fit well into the geographical
and travel terminology that dominates the next nine lines. Pardee's sug-
gestion (i.p.) that *šˀi[ ]* be restored as *šˀi[r]*, a unit of measure known in
the prose texts as a surface measure, seems plausible, even though we
expect a unit of measure expressing distance here. No other alternative
is obvious. Another measure term is presumably lost in the lacuna at
the beginning of 1.8.17/1.3 VI 6.

Following the instructions to travel over the sea and the rivers, the
second bicolon of the section, 1.3 VI 7–9 calls upon the messengers
to "pass through/cross over" (**ˁbr*) three additional locations. Isaiah 23
offers a comparable, though much less succinct, three-fold use of **ˁbr*
(see vv 6, 10, 12) in an itinerary around the Mediterranean basin (see
also Arabic *ˁabara* and Sabean *ˁbr* for this usage, according to Biella 350).
The major issue of interpretation in lines 7–9 is whether the nouns are
GNs (so *CML*[2] 54; Watson 1980:446; Pardee 1997a:255; Wyatt 1998:
88–89; see *SPUMB* 51 n. 52) or common nouns representing general
topographical features (*GA* 105; *TO* 1.177–8; *MLR* 76; Lipiński 1973:36;
Pardee i.p.). It is to be noted that topographical features are often part
of place-names. The Ugaritic word *gbl* may mean "mountain, height"

(CAT 1.16 VI 57), or it may be the Canaanite city, Gubla, known in English as Byblos (see CAT 4.338.13, 15, for example). Similarly, *qˁl* could be a topographical feature, perhaps "summit" or "cape" (see Dijkstra 1991:128–9 n. 11, *DUL* 691), and such a feature may provide the basis for a GN as in biblical Qeilah (Keilah), a place in Judah near Philistia (Josh 15:44 and 1 Sam 23:1), perhaps to be identified with El Amarna Qilti in EA 279:22; 280:11, 17; 289:28; 290:10, 18 (see Renfroe 1992:139–40). The third term, *np*, can also be either a topographical feature, "height, elevation" (cf. BH *nôp*), or a place-name (BH *nōp* = Memphis; cf. *SPUMB* 51 n. 52; Sanmartín 1978b:352–53 n. 26). With the added context of 1.8, which definitively shows that the messengers are being instructed here to go visit Qudš(-wa-)Amrar before going on to Kothar's habitation, it seems less likely that *np* should be interpreted as "Memphis," since there is no reason to think that Qudš Amrar's abode was located in that region. If *np*, therefore, is better interpreted as a common noun, "the height (of heaven)," then it is likely that *gbl* and *qˁl* should be rendered similarly. Thus the two bicola here depict the great distance that the journey requires, across sea and rivers, across mountains, summits and the coast of the heavenly height.

The new join of 1.8 to 1.3 VI significantly changes the way the bicolon in 1.3 VI 9b–11 are to be interpreted. Before the join, most scholars assumed that the reference to "the Fisher of Athirat/Qudš Amrar" indicated that this deity was the addressee of the instructions. It is now evident that this is not the case. Rather, these lines are now to be seen as instructions to Gapn and Ugar to journey first to Qudš Amrar's abode before continuing on to meet with Kothar. The reason for this side visit is not discussed in the text. It is not possible at this point to determine whether Qudš Amrar is to accompany Gapn and Ugar to Kothar's, or whether the Baal's messengers are just to inform him of their mission.

"The Fisher of Athirat/Qudš Amrar" (more often as Qudš-wa-Amrar) appears also in 1.4 II 31, where he seems to be in Athirat's presence when the goddess first spots Baal and Anat approaching from a distance. If he accompanies Gapn and Ugar to Kothar, he appears to have returned to Athirat's abode before Baal and Anat set out to visit the goddess. Qudš-wa-Amrar also plays a role in 1.4 IV 1–19, where he prepares Athirat's horse for her trip to visit El and accompanies her there. His close relationship to Athirat as her attendant is clear, but his role in the embassy to Kothar remains very uncertain, presumably lost in the lacunae at the end of this column and the beginning of 1.4 I.

The title, *dgy*, is not the common *qattāl form or so-called *nomen profes-sionalis* (cf. *dawwāg, "fisher" in Jer 16:16 and Ezek 47:10, and *dayyāg in Isa 19:8, noted by Pope, personal communication), but another nominal base with the adjectival suffix *-ay/-ayyu* (Cross, *CMHE* 56, esp. n. 45; cf. Maier 1986:5). The double-name, *qdš amrr*, which elsewhere is writ-ten with *w-* between the elements, has been interpreted as "Holy and Most Blessed." This interpretation of the second element understands the form as an elative type *ʾaleph*-preformative of the root *mrr, "to bless, strengthen" (*Thespis* 181; *BOS* 2.183; Cross cited in Maier 1986:5; *DUL* 577–78; see also *TO* 1.178 n. f). The exact meaning of *mrr is not certain, but it appears in 1.15 II 14–15, 1.17 I 23–24, 34–35 and 1.19 IV 32–33 in conjunction with the parallel verb, *brk, the common word for "to bless" (*DUL* 577–78).

De Moor (*SPUMB* 52, 144) and Perlman (1978:81, 187) suggested that *ʾamrr* could be an Ugaritic spelling for the DN Amurru. Amurru was a storm-god (Kupper 1961:245–7; *WdM* 97–98; *CMHE* 58; *DDD* 32–33), with titles such as *ramān*, "thunderer" (for the title see Greenfield 1976) and *bāriqu*, "thunderbolter," as well as ᵈAdad *ša a-bu-be*, "Adad of the deluge" (*CAD A/*1:80).[8] An identification of the two cannot be ruled out. In Mesopotamian texts, Amurru was closely linked to the goddess Ashratu, i.e., Athirat. In the great god list, *AN = Anum*, Ashratu is listed as the spouse of Amurru, and in the Sumerian myth, "The Marriage of Martu," Amurru's wife's name is ᵈAdgarudu, who seems to be equated with Ashratu in *AN = Anum* (on the Mesopotamian references to the goddess, see Wiggins 1993: 132–50 see also Kupper 1961:61; van der Toorn, *DDD* 32–34; Klein 1997). Ashratu is also called "the daughter-in-law of Anu" in an inscription of Hammurapi. It is evident that her role in Ugaritic mythology is quite different from that in Mesopotamia. At Ugarit she has become the wife of the head of the pantheon and is the mother of the gods par excellence. Her shift to El would exclude a spousal relationship to Amurru. De Moor and Perlman suggest that Qudš-wa-Amrar might be a reflection of the eastern mythological tradition that related the two deities, with Amurru demoted now in the Ugaritic context to a mere servant's position.

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[8] Cross' identification of Amurru with El (*CMHE* 57), based on the Sargonic DN, *Amurru-kima-Il*, "Amurru-Is-Like-Il," cited in J. J. M. Roberts 1972:15, and on the similarity between the names El Shadday and Amurru's epithet, *bel šadê*, "lord of the mountain," seems problematic and unlikely. Amurru appears more closely related to Adad/Baal than to El in all his characteristics (cf. *DDD* 33–34).

All of this, however, remains speculative. Besides the lack of any characteristics of Amurru being attested for Qudš-wa-Amrar, there is the additional problem that the spelling of the messenger god's name does not correspond to the attested spelling of the word Amurru in Ugaritic. The place name, Amurru, is found in 1.4 I 41, 2.72.17, 24, 26, 29, 32 as *ʾamr*, rather than *ʾamrr*, as in the god's name here. It is possible that the latter was an alternative spelling designed specifically to distinguish the deity from the place/ethnic name, but this suggestion is not demonstrable from the current evidence. Any appeal to the two distinct spellings, *ḥqkpt* and *ḥkpt*, for Memphis in lines 13 and 15, while suggestive, is imperfect since both spellings here refer to the same thing and not to a deity and a place name.

Some scholars have related the title *qdš* to Athirat and have suggested that it appears here to emphasize the messenger's close relationship to the goddess. However, several scholars, including Pope (*EUT* 43–44), Wiggins (1991:386–89) and Cornelius (1993:29–33) have argued that the title in itself probably has nothing to do with Athirat. In sum, little can be said confidently about the relationship between *qdš (w)ʾamrr* and Athirat beyond the fact that he is her messenger and servant.

Of the five imperative verbs in lines 7–11 (*ʿbr* x 3, *šmšr*, and *mǵ*), only one is ambiguous. The verbs, *ʿbr*, "pass, cross over," and *mǵ*, "enter, arrive, go," are common travel words, but *šmšr* occurs only here in Ugaritic. It is clearly related in meaning to the verbs surrounding it, but its full nuance remains uncertain. Several scholars (e.g., Lipiński 1973: 36; Sanmartín 1978b:353; de Moor and Sanders 1991:288–89; Dijkstra (1991:129 n. 12; Pardee 1997a:255 n. 118) relate the verb to Akkadian *mašāru*, "to draw, drag, drive." But how this meaning fits the context has been a major problem. For example, Lipiński took the first *š* as the word for "sheep," and rendered the phrase, "drag a sheep to (the house of) the Fisherman of Athirat." Sanmartín took the word *šmm* from the previous line and translated, "Let the heavens drag, O Fish-Man of Athirat." Pardee, before his discovery of the connection with 1.8 read: "Have (your nets) drawn in, O fisherman of Athirat." Others compare Akkadian *D*-stem of *(w)ašārum*, "to abandon, leave (to), let go, release, send off" (cf. Maier 1986:4). Following al-Yasin, Caquot and Sznycer (*TO* 1.178 n. d) compared Arabic *simsar*, "entremetteur (mediator)" and translated verbally "Entremets-toi (Mediate!)" While the latter meaning somewhat fits the character of the messengers' mission, it seems unlikely that a meaning so different from those of the surrounding verbs would occur at this point. Although none of the

suggestions can be entirely ruled out, it appears that a meaning related to Akkadian *mašāru*, with its occasional meaning related to driving a chariot (cf. *CAD M/I*:359–60), fits closest to the context here. We have thus tentatively rendered *šmšr* as a *Š*-stem of *mšr*, with a meaning, "cause to drive, proceed ahead."

The second part of Baal's travel instructions (lines 12–16) names the goal of the messengers as Memphis, Kothar's home in Egypt/Kaphtor. The close identification of Memphis and Kaphtor (generally understood as Crete; see *UBC* 1.167 n. 92) in the descriptions of Kothar's home indicates some vagueness of the mythic geography in the Ugaritic literary material, even when real locations are referred to.

Some scholars (Driver, *CML*[1] 91; Wyatt 1998:87; Watson 1997:720) have argued that a colon giving the name of the god Kothar wa-Hasis should appear within the passage in lines 12–14 and was accidentally left out by the scribe. They have proposed inserting *'im (or tk) ktr wḫss*, either as the second line of a tricolon or as the third line. However, this seems unlikely. A very similar set of instructions in 1.4 VIII 10–12 presents Baal telling his messenger Gapn wa-Ugar to go to the land of Mot, also without giving Mot's name in the parallel part of the instructions. It is unlikely that our scribe would have left out the names of the gods in both passages by accident. It seems more likely that in the lacuna above our passage the craftsman god has already been named as the goal of this journey.

The description of Kothar's home appears also in 1.1 III 1*–3, and it is discussed extensively in *UBC* 1.165–67. Shipping between Syria and Egypt was a hallmark of the cosmopolitan Late Bronze Age trade. A Theban tomb wall-painting (now lost) thought to date to Amenhotep III depicts ships carrying Syrians docked at an Egyptian port with their wares (*ANEP* 111; for travel by ship within Egypt, see Partridge 1996). Memphis in particular was a destination for Syrians, as noted by Redford (1992:228): "The northern suburb of Memphis became a favorite haunt of Canaanite merchants, who early established a community there centered upon their own temple of Baʻal, 'the house of Baʻal in Memphis,' and which one thousand years later when Herodotus visited Egypt still survived as 'the Camp of the Tyrians.' Memphis in fact loomed large in the life of a foreign merchant doing business with Egypt. He knew it by the term *Ḥikuptaḥ* ('*ku*-chapel of Ptah'), a term specifically denoting the enceinte of Ptah, the chief god of the place." As observed by Redford (1992:40) and long noted by scholars of Ugaritic, the location of Kothar's home in Egypt is a

stock item; the craftsman god is called *bʿl ḥkpt*, "lord of Memphis," in
1.17 V 20–21, 30–31. As noted above, the names *ḥqkpt* and *ḥkpt* may
be variant spellings for Memphis, as such variants are not unparalleled
for foreign GNs (see *UBC* 1.166–67; Watson 1996a:74; see also Smith
1985:102–3), while *kptr* is evidently Kaphtor, probably Crete but argu-
ably Cyprus or some place on or part of the island (for references, see
UBC 1.167 n. 92). It has been thought, perhaps based on analogies
with Hephaistos' underground workshop, that Kothar's home and
more specifically his workshop is to be understood as located in the
underworld (e. g., Pardee 2002:205; see the following column 1.4 I for
Kothar at work in his workshop).

Lines 14–16 present a formulaic insertion within the travel itiner-
ary (Watson 1994b:320), noting Kothar's ownership of these homes,
couched first in royal language of enthronement (*ks'u ṯbth*) and then in
terms of familial patrimony (*'arṣ nḥlth*). The language seems stereotypical,
occurring also in the description of Mot's domain in 1.4 VIII 12–14.

Lines 17–20 command obeisance before Kothar at a great distance,
as a further sign of deference. The distances mentioned in line 17 are
enormous in size, also used for the length covered by divine travel. The
language for obeisance is common (see 1.1 III 1*–6; *UBC* 1.167–69);
it is aimed, as the final verb suggests, at honoring the great deity. The
commands to speak to Kothar begin with lines 21–25, using terms
stereotypical for such messages (*UBC* 1.169–70). The only variants are
the names of the addresser and addressee. In this case, these are Baal
and Kothar, and well-known titles of theirs are included.[9]

With line 25 the text breaks off. Presuming that 1.4 I 4–23 involves
the delivery of the message commanded at the end of 1.3 VI 25f., the
ca. twenty-two line lacuna at the end of 1.3 VI may be plausibly recon-
structed in part as containing the message repeated in 1.4 I 3–23. The
missing lines present the rest of Baal's message to Kothar—presumably
including Baal's complaint that he has no palace and his request that
Kothar produce gifts for Athirat—and the beginning of the messengers'
speech to Kothar, which is the scene that we find in progress in the
first column of the next tablet, 1.4.

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[9] For Baal's titles here see *UBC* 1.153. For those of Kothar, see *UBC* 1.170–72. Note
also ᵈḪasisu in Shurpu, tablet VIII 38 (Reiner 1958:41).

KTU/CAT 1.4

Other numbers: RS 2.[008] + 3.321 + 3.323 + 3.341 + 3.? (see below under Find Spots); KTU 1.4 = CTA 4 = *UT* 51 = II AB (Virolleaud 1932: *editio princeps*).

Museum numbers: M8221 = A2777 (Aleppo Museum) = AO 16.637 (older Louvre number).

Measurements: 253 mm height by 218 mm width by 40 mm thick (cf. Bordreuil and Pardee 1989:26)

Find Spots: The tablet was found in the House of the High Priest on the acropolis of Ugarit, to the southeast of the Temple of Baal. It was recovered in six fragments. Two (combined in Bordreuil and Pardee 1989:26 under the number RS 2.[008], since none of the original inventory numbers from the second season survive) were found in the second season of excavations (1930), while the other four were recovered during the third season in 1931 (Virolleaud 1932:113). It has been difficult to identify definitively the original RS numbers of most of the 1931 fragments of 1.4 because, while the inventory list for the season is preserved, no comprehensive account that attributed the RS numbers to specific texts has survived from the original mission team. Two recent attempts to do exactly this (Bordreuil and Pardee 1989; Cunchillos 1989) have each produced dramatically different results, thus indicating the difficulties involved.

   A look at both studies with regard to 1.4 will illustrate the issues. Bordreuil and Pardee 1989:29, 31 reconstruct the fragments in the following way (see Images 28 and 29). They identify the two fragments found in 1930 as those that constitute the central part of the tablet, the first being the one that preserves the upper surviving parts of columns I and II on the obverse and the lower parts of columns VI, VII and VIII on the reverse, while the second is the fragment that contains the majority of columns III and IV on the obverse and the central parts of columns V and VI on the reverse. Of the four third-season fragments, only two could be connected by the authors to RS numbers from the inventory list. They propose that RS 3.341 preserves the lower

right corner of the obverse (the end of column IV, along with a few letters from the right side of column III) and the corresponding upper corner of the reverse (the beginning of column V and some letters of column VI), while they identify the large fragment that comprises the lower left corner of the obverse, with portions of columns I and II, and the upper left of the reverse, with parts of columns VI, VII and VIII, as RS 3.347. They do not provide the other two fragments with RS numbers.

The second reconstruction was published independently of Bordreuil and Pardee's work by Cunchillos, also in 1989 (see Images 30 and 31). He was less certain about the identity of the left fragment from the 1930 season. He noted that Virolleaud (1931:21) in describing what had been found of tablet 1.4 in 1930 states: "la plus grande, qui measurait 23 centimètres de large, comprenait huit colonnes, ce qui représente un total de 600 lignes, mais le tiers seulement en a été conservé." Cunchillos found Virolleaud's reference to a specific width of the tablet to be significant. The only two fragments that fit together and span the entire width are the central right-hand fragment that Bordreuil and Pardee also identified as one of the 1930 pieces, and the fragment that the latter identify as one that was found in 1931, namely RS 3.347. Thus Cunchillos proposed that these two are the probable 1930 fragments. However, he left open the possibility that the upper fragment of columns I and II (i.e., the one Bordreuil and Pardee identify as the left 1930 fragment) was the second fragment.

Cunchillos' analysis of the 1931 fragments also differed from that of Bordreuil and Pardee. Most importantly, Cunchillos identified the RS number 3.347 not as a piece of 1.4, but rather as the main fragment of 1.2 (columns I, II and IV). He did this primarily because the dimensions recorded in the original inventory list for RS 3.347 (120 mm height by 100 mm wide; see Cunchillos 1989:61) almost exactly match the dimensions of 1.2 I, II, IV. The dimensions of the fragment of 1.4 that Bordreuil and Pardee identify as 3.347 are quite different: 140 mm height by 100 mm wide on the obverse and 132 mm height by 125 mm wide on the reverse.[1] In addition, Cunchillos identified the

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[1] The identification of RS 3.347 with 1.2 I, II, IV is significant for the discussion of the relationship between 1.2 III and 1.2 I, II, IV. RS 3.347 was found in the same location as RS 3.346, which is 1.2 III. One argument against identifying 1.2 III as part of the same tablet as 1.2 I, II, IV has been that the latter fragment (identified with RS 3.367 in Bordreuil and Pardee 1989: 32) was found at a substantial distance from 1.2

small fragment that contains the end of column IV and the beginning of column V (which Bordreuil and Pardee label RS 3.341) as RS 3.323, citing the measurements of the latter (77 × 50) as a very close match to this fragment, which he measured as 78 × 52, and which we measure at 76 × 50. He then identifies the fragment that preserves the end of column V as RS 3.341 (Bordreuil and Pardee do not identify this fragment of 1.4). Here too he notes the closeness of the inventory's measurements (70 × 63) to the size of this fragment (he measures 68 × 61, we measure 68 × 60). He does not propose identifications for the large fragment that Bordreuil and Pardee had identified as 3.347 or for the fragment preserving the beginnings of columns VI and VII.

Our analysis of the fragments differs from both of these studies (see Images 32 and 33). With regard to the 1930 fragments, we believe that Bordreuil and Pardee are correct in their identifications. The primary evidence comes from Virolleaud's brief description of the 1930 fragments of 1.4 quoted above. It should be noted that Virolleaud's measurement of the tablet's width, 23 cm, is too large. The widest point across the two fragments Cunchillos proposes for 1930 is only 21.4 cm. This suggests either that Virolleaud badly mismeasured the tablet, or that he was estimating the width from two fragments that did not actually span the entire length of the tablet. The left fragment proposed by Bordreuil and Pardee as the one found in 1930 provides evidence of columns I, II and III on the obverse, and VI, VII and VIII on the reverse, but columns I and VIII are incomplete on the left. These two columns are considerably thinner than the other columns on the tablet, so, if this were the fragment Virolleaud had available for the left side of the tablet, it would not be surprising that he estimated their widths to be ca. one to one and a half cm larger than they proved to be. This would also explain why his estimate of the number of lines on the complete tablet was also too high (600 instead of the probable 540–550)—he has reconstructed the supposed height of the tablet as a ratio to its width, but he has calculated it on a presumed width that is too large. His note that the two fragments preserve about a third of

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III (point topographique 209 instead of p.t. 338, 343, 341 for 1.2 III). If Cunchillos is correct, then 1.2 I, II, IV was actually found in the same context as 1.2 III. RS 3.367 is given little information in the inventory list. Its description reads, "fragment de tablette très empatée de calcaire." No measurements were given. Bordreuil and Pardee indicate that the identification of 3.367 with 1.2 comes from a card in Schaeffer's files that equates the two.

the tablet also fits the situation of Bordreuil and Pardee's reconstruction better than that of Cunchillos. The latter's two fragments hold at least parts of over 280 lines, close to half of the tablet in Virolleaud's calculations. The two fragments suggested by Bordreuil and Pardee preserve parts of ca. 230 lines, much closer to the number Virolleaud assumes (of course, there is no way of determining exactly what Virolleaud counted as a preserved line).

With regard to the 1931 fragments, it seems that Cunchillos' arguments for identifying RS 3.323 and 3.341 are strong and most convincing. The inventory measurements of 3.341 (70×63) seem quite problematic for accepting Bordreuil and Pardee's identification (their fragment measures 76×50), but fit the fragment Cunchillos proposes almost exactly. In addition, Bordreuil and Pardee do not provide a likely alternative identification for 3.323, which Cunchillos identifies from the dimensions of the fragment as the end of col. IV/beginning of col. V.

The issue of the fragment identified by Bordreuil and Pardee as RS 3.347 remains uncertain. There is no doubt that the inventory measurements for 3.347 do not match the measurements of the fragment of 1.4, while they do match those of 1.2 I, II, IV. At the same time, Bordreuil and Pardee have noted (1989:32) that a card in Claude Schaeffer's files identified 1.2 I, II, IV with RS 3.367. However, even if 3.347 is not 1.2 I, II, IV,[2] the dimensions of 3.347 still do not match the dimensions of the fragment of 1.4. We would point to RS 3.321, a substantial fragment which neither Bordreuil and Pardee (1989:30) nor Cunchillos (1989:85) identified with any tablet, as a more likely candidate for this fragment. The inventory list gives its measurements as 129×124 mm; these are virtually identical to our measurements of the reverse of this fragment, 132×125 mm.

We thus propose the following tentative reconstruction of the fragments belonging to 1.4. The two fragments found in 1930 were: (1) the fragment that preserves the upper surviving parts of columns I and II on the obverse and the lower parts of columns VI, VII and VIII on the reverse, and (2) the fragment that contains the majority of

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[2] We are inclined to agree with Cunchillos' identification here, since the dimensions of the inventory list match those of 1.2 so closely. We would note the near identity of the numbers of the two fragments involved here, 3.347 and 3.367, and might suggest that the Schaeffer note is a scribal error.

columns III and IV on the obverse and the central parts of columns V and VI on the reverse. Three of the four fragments found in 1931 can be identified tentatively as follows: (1) RS 3.321, the large fragment that preserves the lower part of columns I and II on the obverse and the upper parts of columns VI, VII and VIII on the reverse; (2) RS 3.323, the small fragment that preserves the end of column IV and a few letters of column III on the obverse, the beginning of column V and parts of column VI on the reverse; (3) RS 3.341 that contains the end of column V. The fragment that preserves part of the upper lines of columns VI and VII has not been identified with an RS number.

The exact find spots for the second-season fragments cannot be ascertained. Because the inventory lists for that season are lost, Bordreuil and Pardee were only able to narrow the find locations for the tablets to the topographical points numbered 210–264 on the excavators' plans. Since these topographical points are spread all across the house, no determination for specific tablets can be reached. A map published in Schaeffer 1935 (pl. XXXVI) places the tablet discoveries of the 1930 season primarily in the room to the northwest of the southern entry room, where most of the third-season tablets were found. The three third-season fragments that we have identified above (RS 3.321, 3.323, and 3.341), were found near the southern doorway of the house (the first two at *point topographique* 343, the third more generally in the vicinity of *points topographiques* 338, 343, and 341). If the RS 2.[008] fragments were found in the room northwest of the southern entry room, the sets of fragments were separated from each other by a distance of between 4.5 and 7 meters.

Other tablets found in the area where the third season fragments were discovered (the southern entry room, the southern doorway and the street outside the door) included 1.1; 1.2 III (and as discussed above, probably 1.2 I, II, IV); the main fragment of 1.3; important fragments of 1.14; 1.15; parts of 1.16; 1.18; 1.19; and 1.20 (see Bordreuil and Pardee 1989:30–32; Cunchillos 1989:59–86).

As mentioned above (p. 88), the tablets appear to have been located on the second floor when the house was destroyed. They were found, not on the surface of the floor, but in the rubble of the collapse from above. The apparent dispersion of the fragments of 1.4 (and also 1.3, 1.6 and probably 1.16) across the house suggests that the tablets had already been thrown off their shelves during pillaging that occurred before the house was destroyed.

CAT 1.4 is the largest of the preserved tablets from Ugarit. It is divided into eight columns, rather than the six of tablets 1.1, 1.3, 1.5 and 1.6 (1.2 is a four-column tablet). The almost completely preserved column V indicates that there were probably 67–69 lines per column, thus providing approximately 540–550 lines of text. At least parts of some 396 lines of the tablet are still preserved. As is typical of Ilimalku's tablets, the left hand columns (I and VIII) are considerably thinner than the other columns of the tablet. They are ca. 40 mm wide, while the others range from 51 to 58 mm. The amount of damage to the tablet can be schematized by laying out the approximate number of *missing* lines at the tops and bottoms of each column:

FRONT (obverse)				
Column	I	II	III	IV
TOP	23	16	12	12
BOTTOM	–	–	–	–

BACK (reverse)				
Column	VIIII	VII	VI	V
TOP	–	–	–	–
BOTTOM	20–21	7–8	2–5	0–3

CAT 1.4 provides some interesting insight into the scribe's technique for preparing the tablet (a more detailed analysis of this issue is found in Pitard i.p.). The obverse of the tablet shows a number of unique elements that suggest a significant uncertainty on the part of Ilimalku as to how he would format his text. Unlike all the other tablets attributable to Ilimalku, which use double vertical lines to mark the margins between the columns of text, 1.4 obverse divides the four columns with varying numbers of vertical margin lines. Between columns I and II we find the regular double lines, but between columns II and III there are three verticals, two of which are deeply incised, while the third one, to the right, is more lightly cut, but actually functions as the left margin for column III. The margin lines between columns III and IV are more surprising. Here we find four incised verticals. The reverse of 1.4 is completely normal, with standard double-line margins. What can be deduced from the peculiar situation on the obverse?

A series of scribal irregularities in column I may give us some hints. From the point where column I begins on the tablet down to line 22, there are traces of a vertical line ca. 4 mm to the left of the official margin lines. The line appears to have been partially smudged out, but one may notice that it appears to have acted as the margin line for the text up to our current line 15. Suddenly the right margin

expands with line 16, and the writing goes consistently farther to the right than on any of the lines above. This may suggest that the left vertical was tentatively drawn as the right margin line when Ilimalku began to compose the column. By the time he reached line 15, however, it appears that he decided the column was too thin. At this point, it seems likely that he drew the double lined margin, which became the basis for the right margin of the rest of the column. The letters which run through the double margin lines (e.g., the /m/ that breaks into the right vertical in line 21, where in making the horizontal wedge, the stylus has pushed some of the clay downward, filling in the incision of the vertical just below the wedge) indicate that the margin lines were made before the text from line 16 on was written. However, the scribe now tried to put in as much text as possible, and often placed letters into the margin lines and beyond (especially lines 16–18, 20–21 and 23). When he began working on column II, he used the right hand vertical of the margin lines as the left margin of the column until he reached the spot parallel to column I line 16, where the final letter of that line slips over into the space of column II. At this point, Ilimalku made a short vertical to the right of the margin lines to act as an *ad hoc* margin line for col II 21 and 22. Below line 22, we find the last two letters of I 18 sitting entirely in column II, followed by an *ad hoc* vertical. Ilimalku simply decided not to begin a line to the right of these letters and skipped down below the intrusive letters to begin line 23. But even here he starts that line well to the right of the margin and places an *ad hoc* vertical at the beginning. The next four lines are separated from the overextended lines of column I by another *ad hoc* vertical margin line. In fact, lines 24–31 all begin well to the right of the official margin line. This produces a very messy look to the first two columns of the tablet.

It is clear that Ilimalku had already inscribed the double margin line between columns II and III before he began writing column II. By the time he arrived down at the section where he had to abandon the margin on the left side of column II, he had already written a number of lines that intruded into the margin lines to the right. But he clearly recognized that his *ad hoc* solution in II 21–31 was unsuccessful. So before beginning column III, he drew an additional vertical to the right of his original margin lines and used it for the left margin of the column. This obviated the need to adjust a few lines to the right and gives column III a more professional look.

Ilimalku's work on column III indicates that he was still having trouble predicting how much he could fit on a line. In line 17 he runs short

of space and solves the problem by curving the last letters vertically up the edge of the margin line. This is obviously not a good solution. So in the lines below where he once again miscalculates the space that he has, he simply returns to writing the letters over the margin lines. Careful examination of the four verticals between columns III and IV indicates that we actually have two overlapping sets of double margin lines here. The leftmost vertical and the third from the left are clearly the original double lines. But once he saw that he had the same problem he had dealt with in the previous columns, Ilimalku chose this time to simply redo a complete double line a bit to the right, so that the new left vertical is about 1mm to the right of the old left vertical, and the new right vertical is far enough from the letters that broke into the old margin that it can act as the left margin for column IV. Thus the four verticals here.

Ilimalku found himself with a very messy obverse that clearly did not please him or perhaps someone in charge. By the time he began working on the other side of the tablet, he had clearly figured out how to calculate what could be placed on a line. On the reverse, we find lovely and professional two-line margins. In column VI, only one line (line 33) has a letter that touches the right margin line between V and VI. The same is true of column VII (only line 19) and VIII (line 35). The contrast between the two sides is dramatic.

No other tablets attributable to Ilimalku show anything close to this extent of scribal clumsiness. How are we to interpret this? These are not the errors of an established scribe. It seems perhaps best to suggest that this indicates Ilimalku was quite inexperienced with writing a large, multi-columned tablet when he produced 1.4. In fact, since none of the other tablets we have from Ilimalku shows these problems, the evidence suggests that this might have been the earliest multi-columned tablet that he inscribed among those that are preserved for us, and perhaps even his first such tablet ever. Here we can actually watch him struggle to develop his technique for dealing with margins and calculating how much text may be placed in a line. His lack of success on the obverse led either to his being given additional instruction by his teacher, or to a serious reevaluation on his own that allowed him to work more professionally on the reverse. If we are correct in the interpretation of the evidence, this has implications for the issue of whether the Baal tablets were written from dictation or from older copies. If this were Ilimalku's first major tablet, then he must have copied it from a written text (see *UBC* 1.35–36), since it begins in the middle of a story, a

very unlikely place for someone to begin reciting a poem for copying. If he had written sources, then it would not necessarily matter where he began his new set of tablets. Other implications of the characteristics of 1.4 obverse are discussed in the Commentary on the colophon below (pp. 725–29).

CAT 1.4 I

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Text Editions: Virolleaud 1932:114–21, pls. XXV, XXX (in the *editio princeps*, the captions for the two photos of the obverse and reverse have been exchanged; thus pl. XXIX, captioned as the obverse, is actually the reverse); CTA 22–23, fig. 14, pls. VII, VIII; KTU 15; CAT 15–16.

Studies and Translations: Aistleitner 37; Albright 1934:116–17, 1943, 1944; Caquot and Sznycer, *TO* 1.193–7; Cassuto, *BOS* 2.120–24; Coogan 1978:96–97; Dietrich and Loretz 1978; 1997:1151–53; 2000a; Driver, *CML*[1] 92–93; Galling 1936; Gaster 1944, *Thespis* 172–74; Gibson, *CML*[2] 55–56; Ginsberg, *ANET* 131–32 and *KU* 18–21; Goetze 1938:269 n. 8; Gordon, *UL* 28, 1977:89–90; Heyer 1978; Jirku 38–39; Maier 1986:5–6; Margalit, *MLD* 12–24; de Moor 1987:45–47; del Olmo Lete, *MLC* 193–94; *MLR* 77–78; Pardee 1997a:255–57; Pope 1977:444; van Selms 1975a; Smith 1985:279–81, 284–306, 308–9, *UNP* 119–21; Wyatt 1998:90–92; Xella 1982:107–8.

TEXT (SEE IMAGES 34–36)

[About 23 lines are missing.]

1   *[   ]*
    [   ]
    [   ]
    [   ]ḥ.tr
5   *[   ]lmlk*
    [   ]ḥ.'aṯ
    [   ]'ilt
    [   ]h
    [   ]
10 *[   ]*
    [   ]ř[   ]
    m̊[ ]b'il.mzll
    bnh.mṯb.rbt
    'aṯrt.ym.mṯb
15 *klt.knyt*
    mṯb.pdry.b'ar
    mzll.ṯly.btrb
    mṯb.'arṣy.bt.y'bdr
    'ap.mṯn.rgmm
20 *'argmk.šsknm'*
    mgn.rbt.'aṯrtym

   mǵz.qnyt.'ilm
   hyn.ʿly.lmpḫm
   bd.ḫss.m̑ṣbt̲m
25 ysq.ks̑p.yšl
   h.ḫrṣ.ysq.ksp
   l'alpm.ḫrṣ.ysq
   m.lrbbt.
   y{p/ṣ}q.ḫym.wtbt̲h̲
30 kt.'il.dt.rbtm
   kt.'il.nbt.bksp
   šmrḫ̲t.bdm.ḫrṣ
   kht̲.'il.nḫt
   bzr.hdm.'id
35 dprš'a.bbr
   nʿl.'il.d.qblbl
   ʿln.yblhm.ḫrṣ
   t̲lḫn.'il.dml'a
   mnm.dbbm.d
40 msdt.'arṣ
   ṣʿ.'il.dqt.k'amr
   sknt.kḫwt.ym'an
   dbh.r'umm.lrbbt

———————

———————

Textual Notes

There is a vertical line, ca. 4 mm to the left of the main margin lines between columns I and II, that appears to function as the right margin for the lines 1–15. Perhaps this was a provisional margin set up by Ili-malku, then abandoned before writing line 16 for the double margin line (see comments above).

Lines 1–3. The text of this column actually begins only with line 4. Virolleaud suggested in the *editio princeps* (1932:114) that there were vague traces of letters in three preceding lines, but we found no such traces. CTA and CAT both read a damaged /y/ at the end of line 2, and the original Louvre photo shows what appears to be the lower part of a vertical wedge. But this is a trick of the camera. There is no wedge at that point on the tablet, only damage to the surface of the tablet (this is clear in the new photo). Although we see no traces on these lines, we have maintained the numbering established by Virol-leaud and continued in CTA and CAT.

Line 4. [   ]ḫ̣.tr   Epigraphically, the identity of the first preserved letter is uncertain, though the context argues for /ḫ/. The traces are compatible with the right wedge of that letter. The lower tip of the word divider is preserved. It is best visible when light is shined from the upper right. Most of the vertical wedge of the /ṯ/ is preserved, along with the lower right tip of the *Winkelhaken*.

Lines 5–6.   There is a significant space between line 5 and the next inscribed line, large enough to suggest an intervening line that ended to the left of the preserved area of the column. But this seems unlikely, since the passage partially preserved here (lines 4–18) has parallels at 1.3 V 35–43 and 1.4 IV 47–57 that indicate that the following inscribed line follows directly upon line 5. This suggests that Ilimalku simply dropped a little too low when inscribing the next line, leaving an substantial gap between them. It is another example of the clumsiness of the scribe on this side of the tablet (see above). Although CTA gave the uninscribed space a line number, we follow CAT here in numbering the next inscribed line as line 6.

Line 6.]ḫ̣.'aṯ   Only the right wedge of the /ḫ/ is preserved. While damaged, the left half of the word divider is still visible.

Line 7.]'ị̈lt   Only the right tips of the two upper horizontals of the /'i/ are preserved. Epigraphically this could also be a /h/, but the context of the passage argues for /'i/. /l/ CAT reads the first vertical wedge here as a word divider, followed by a regular /l/. This seems unlikely, however, because of the large size of the left wedge. This is best read as a four-wedge /l/, as pointed out by Herdner (CTA p. 22, note 3). Note the similar four-wedge /l/ on line 17 (the first /l/ in *mzll*).

Lines 9–10   are lost in the break between fragments.

Line 11. [   ]r̊[   ]   Only two short horizontals survive on this line, with possible traces of the vertical left edge of another horizontal connected on the right. This is most likely an /r/, although it could be an /a/ or possibly an /n/. CAT finds traces of /'at/ preceding the proposed /r/, but we see no traces of letters elsewhere on this line.

Line 12. m̊[   ]b'il   Only a part of the vertical wedge of the first letter is preserved, but the context argues for an /m/. CAT reads /]b.'il/, but there is no word divider between the /b/ and the /'i/.

mẓll   The three wedges of the final /l/ are visible, although the tops are missing.

Line 16. b'ar   Notice that the scribe has placed an *ad hoc* vertical margin line at the end of the /r/, to the right of the double margin line, since the letter has crossed it. The corresponding line in column II then begins to the right of this temporary margin. This begins a series of lines (through line 23) which overflow into column II and cause a disruption in the left margin of that column (see the more complete discussion above). A scribal error is evident here, since Pidray's epithet is *bt 'ar*.

Line 17 mẓll   The first /l/ is made up of four wedges.

Line 18. mṯb.'arṣy.bt.yʿbdr   This line intrudes into column II with two full letters that run under the beginning of II 22. Rather than pushing the margin line between columns I and II even farther to the right, Ilimalku starts II 23 under the final letter of line 18.

Line 24. ṁṣbṯm   The vertical wedge of the first /m/ is damaged partially by a break, but partially from what appears to be a an ancient smudge that damaged not only this letter, but also a letter on the next line (see below) and the corner of a letter on line 26. The surface of the tablet has been indented here, perhaps by a finger, while the tablet was still wet.

Line 25. kṡp   The upper line of the /s/ is preserved, but the rest has been obliterated by the ancient smudge.

Line 28. lrbbt.   There is a very clear word divider on the end of the /t/, even though nothing is written afterward.

Line 29 y{p/ṣ}q   The scribe wrote /p/, then corrected himself to /ṣ/ without trying to erase the /p/. The wide heads of the /ṣ/ verticals almost obliterate the upper horizontal of the /p/, but the lower one remains very clear.

Line 32. šmrḫt   The /ḫ/ is uncertain, but a small upper wedge is partially preserved, with a nearly vertical left side and a sharply closing right slope, which indicates (with the clearly preserved larger wedge

below) a multi-wedge vertical letter here, either /z/ (which some early commentators entertained as a possibility), or /ḫ/. The small size of the head at the top of the letter shows that /g/, as read by *CTA*, is incorrect.

Line 34. ʾid   The /ʾi/ is made with four horizontals. The /d/ is certainly a scribal error for /l/.

Line 35. dpršʾa   /d/ is made with three vertical, but four horizontal wedges.

Line 36. d.qblbl   The word divider following /d/ is unusually large.

Line 40. ʾàrṣ   The /ʾa/is damaged on the left and on the right, but certain.

Line 41. ṣ'   The first letter is certainly /ṣ/, rather than /s/, as in *CTA*. There is no lower wedge that would make the letter an /s/. The left vertical is, however, considerably smaller than the right vertical (not an uncommon form).
    k'àmr   The /ʾa/ in the last word is badly damaged, having lost all of its bottom line, but is still clearly identifiable.

Text Restored and Set in Poetic Form

[About 23 lines are missing.]

1	*[ ]*
2	*[ ]*
3	*[ ]*
4–6	*[ʾany.lyṣ]ḥ.ṯr/[ʾil.ʾabh.]*
	[ʾi]lmlk/[dyknnh.]
6–8	*[yṣ]ḥ.ʾaṯ/[rt.wbnh.]*
	ʾilt/[wṣbrt.ʾary]h
9–11	*[wn.ʾin.bt.lbʾl/km.ʾilm.]*
	[wḥẓr/kbn.ʾaṯ]r[t]
12–14	*m[ṯ]b ʾil.mzll/bnh.*
	mṯb.rbt/ʾaṯrt.ym.
14–16	*mṯb/klt.knyt/*
	mṯb.pdry.b<t>ʾar
17–18	*mzll.ṭly.bt rb/*
	mṯb.ʾarṣy.bt.yʿbdr

19–20   ’ap.mṯn.rgmm/’argmk.
20–22   šsknm‘/mgn.rbt.’aṯrt ym/
        mġz.qnyt.’ilm
23–24   hyn.‘ly.lmpḫm/
        bd.ḫss.mṣbṭm
25–28   yṣq.ksp.yšl/ḫ.ḫrṣ.
        yṣq.ksp/l’alpm.
        ḫrṣ.yṣq/m.lrbbt
29   yṣq.ḫym.wtbṯḫ/
30–32   kt.’il.dt.rbtm/
        kt.’il.nbt.bksp/
        šmrḫt.bdm.ḫrṣ/
33–35   kḫṯ.’il.nḫt/bẓr.
        hdm.’il(!)/dprš’a.bbr/
36–37   n‘l.’il.d.qblbl/
        ‘ln.yblhm.ḫrṣ
38–40   ṯlḫn.’il.dml’a/mnm.
        dbbm.d/msdt.’arṣ
41–43   ṣ‘.’il.dqt.k’amr/
        sknt.kḫwt.ym’an/
        dbḥ.r’umm.lrbbt

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_____

Translation and Vocalized Text

Baal’s Messengers Convey His Message to Kothar

1   “‘…

2   …

3   …

4–6   [In lament]   [’āniyu]
        [He cr]ies to Bull [El, his Father],   [la-yaṣû]ḫu tôra/[’ila ’abā-hu]
        [To E]l, the King [who created   [’i]la malka/[dā-yakāninu-hu]
           him].

6–8   [He cri]es to Athi[rat and her   [yaṣû]ḫu ’aṯi/[rata
           children],   wa-banī-ha]
        The goddess [and the band of]   ’ilata/[wa- ṣibbirata ’aryi-]ha
           her [brood]:

9–11   [‘For Baal has no house like the   [wa-na ’ênu bêtu lê-ba‘li/
           gods’],   kama ’ilīma]

	[No court like Athi]ra[t's children's].	[wa-ḫaẓiru/ka-banī ʾaṯi]ra[ti]
12–14	The dw[el]ling of El is the shelter of his son, The dwelling of Lady Athirat of the Sea,	mô[ṯa]bu ʾili maẓlalu/bini-hu môṯabu rabbati¹/ʾaṯirati yammi
14–16	The dwelling of the Noble Brides, The dwelling of Pidray, Daughter of Light,	môṯabu/kallāti kaniyāti/ môṯabu pidrayi bitti ʾāri
17–18	The shelter of Tallay, Daughter of Showers, The dwelling of Arsay, Daughter of the Wide World.'²	maẓlalu ṭallayi bitti ribbi/ môṯabu ʾarṣayi bitti yaʿibidrayi
19–20	On a second subject I would speak with you:	ʾap maṯnê ragamīma/ ʾargumu-ka
20–22	Please, see to a gift for³ Lady Athirat of the Sea, A present for the Creatress of the Gods.'"	šaskin maʿ⁴/magana rabbati ʾatirati yammi/ magẓî qāniyati ʾilīma

Kothar's Response

23–24	The Skilled One ascended to the bellows, Tongs in the hands of Hasis.	hayyānu ʿalaya lê-mappaḫêmi/ bâdê ḫasīsi maṣbaṭāmi
25–28	He cast silver, he poured gold, He cast silver by the thousands, Gold he cast by the myriads.	yaṣuqu kaspa yašalli/ḫu ḫurāṣa yaṣuqu kaspa/lê-ʾalapīma ḫurāṣa yaṣuqu/-ma lê-ribabāti⁵
29	He cast a canopied resting-place:	yaṣuqu ḫayama wa-tabṯuḫa

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¹ Based on the Akkadian evidence for *rabītu* for this title (see discussion below on pp. 404–6), it might be that the vocalization should follow suit.

² The meaning of the title remains highly uncertain. For the interpretation suggested here, see Pope (in Smith 1998b:655), based on Arabic *waʿib* and *dr*, comparing Akkadian *irṣitu rapištu*, "broad land," an expression for the underworld.

³ Literally, "of," here and in the syntactically parallel following line.

⁴ For this particle, see *DUL* 519.

⁵ Sivan 1997:63.

30–32	A grand dais of two myriads (-weight),	katta[6] 'ili data rabbatêmi/
	A grand dais coated in silver,	katta 'ili nûbata bi-kaspi/
	Covered in liquid gold.	šumraḥata bi-dami ḫurāṣi
33–35	A grand throne, a chair of gold,	kaḫta 'ili nûḫata/baẓri
	A grand footstool overlaid in electrum.	hadāma 'ili/dā-puraš'a bi-barri[7]
36–37	A grand couch of great appeal (?),	na'la 'ili dā-qabalbilu/
	Upon whose handles was gold.	'alê-na yubalū-hu-ma ḫurāṣu
38–40	A grand table filled with creatures,	ṭulḥana 'ili da-mali'a/minīma
	Animals of the earth's foundations.	dabibīma dā<ta>[8]/-môsadāti 'arṣi
41–43	A grand bowl (pounded) thin like those of Amurru,	ṣa'a[9] 'ili daqqata[10] ka-'amurri/
	Crafted like those of the country of Yaman,	sakūnata ka-ḫuwwati[11] yam'ani/
	On which were water buffalo by the myriads.	dī-bi-hu ru'umūma[12] lê-ribabāti

_____

_____

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[6] The vocalization of the final vowel here and on the nouns that head the rest of the cola stands in the accusative case, governed by the verb in line 29. It is possible, however, that these nouns were considered to be in the nominative case.

[7] On this word, with possible attestation in syllabic form, see Huehnergard 1987b:115.

[8] The /d/ at the end of the line is grammatically problematic. A scribal error is likely involved here, as one might have expected _dt_, given the plural antecedent. Citing Gibson (_CML_[2] 56), del Olmo Lete (_MLC_ 194) suggested that _d_ may be an error for _b_ here (the translation in Wyatt 1998:92 assumes this view. The error may have involved a vertical mistake as well, as the combination of _d_ and _m_ appear also directly above in line 38 (_dml'a_). For this reason, one might incline slightly to _d<t>_, although this is hardly assured. Another alternative would be to take _dbbm_ as a sg. noun plus mimation, but this seems unlikely in view of the context evidently involving many animals depicted on the table; an excavated table of this sort discussed below in the Commentary involves multiple animals. Accordingly, some emendation appears warranted, but it is difficult to adjudicate between the two proposals. It may be noted that _d<t>_ would preserve a marked degree of inner-line alliteration with _dbbm_ and _msdt_, while _b_ would echo the two _b_'s in _dbbm_. On the assumption that the vocalization is correct, an emendation to _d<t>_ would also issue in the same number of syllables in the two lines of the bicolon in lines 38–40. Poetic considerations do not, however, constitute a basis for emendations.

[9] For the syllabic evidence, see Huehnergard 1987b:170.

[10] For the syllabic evidence for the form, _daqqu_, "small," see Huehnergard 1987b:119.

[11] For the syllabic evidence, see Huehnergard 1987b:123.

[12] _UG_ 295. Secondary vowel harmony appears to be involved.

COMMENTARY

Poetic Parallelism and Word/Syllable Counts

		semantic parallelism	word/ syllable count
4–6	['āniyu]		
	[la-yaṣû]ḥu/ṯôra ['ila 'abā-hu]	a b c d	4/11
	['i]la malka/[dā-yakāninu-hu]	c b' d'	3/11

This bicolon, with its possible anacrusis, is discussed above at 1.3 IV –47 (on p. 287). For this instance, the scanning and counts are given assuming the anacrusis.

6–8	[yaṣû]ḥu 'aṯi/[rata wa-banī-ha]	a b c	3/11
	'ilata/[wa- ṣibbirata 'aryi-]ha	b' c'	3/11

For lines 6–18, see the discussion of 1.3 IV 47–53 above on pp. 287–89.

9–11	[wa-na 'ênu bêtu lê-ba'li/kama 'ilīma]	a b c d e	6/14
	[wa-ḥaẓiru/ka-banī 'aṯi]ra[ti]	c' e' (x of y)	3/11
12–14	mô[ṯa]bu 'ili maẓlalu/bini-hu	a b a' c	4/11
	môṯabu rabbati/'aṯirati yammi	a b' (x, y)	4/12
14–16	môṯabu/kallāti kaniyāti/	a b c	3/10
	môṯabu pidrayi bitti 'āri	a b' d (x of y)	4/10
17–18	maẓlalu ṯallayi bitti ribbi/	a b c d	4/10
	môṯabu 'arṣayi bitti ya'ibidrayi	a' b' c d'	4/13
19–20	'ap maṯnê ragamīma/'argumu-ka	a b c d	4/11

See the same line in 1.3 IV 31–32 discussed above on pp. 284–85.

20–22	šaskin ma'/magana rabbati 'aṯirati	a b c d (x of y)	4/15
	yammi/		
	maǵẑî qāniyati 'ilīma	b' d' (x' of y')	3/9

The discrepancy in line-length might suggest the possibility that the opening verb plus particle stands as anacrusis, yielding a more balanced scan and counts, as shown in the following:

    šaskin maʻ/
    magana rabbati ʾatirati yammi/   a b c (x of y)   3/12
    maġẑî qāniyati ʾilīma   a' c' (x' of y') 3/9

In either case, the bilabials are especially resonant in this unit. The
consonant *m* marks the ends of the lines in either arrangement, and
if the latter payout were deemed preferable, then *ma-* would end the
anacrusis and begin each of the two following lines.

23–24   hayyānu ʻalaya lê-mappaḫêmi/   a b c   3/11
        bâdê ḫasīsi maṣbaṭāmi   d a' c'   3/9

Despite the divergence in syntax (discussed in the Commentary below
on p. 410), parallelism is evident in the use of Kothar's divine epithets,
the two *m-* preformative nouns (in associated word-fields), and the
prepositional phrases.

25–28   yaṣuqu kaspa yašalli/ḫu ḫurāṣa   a b a' b'   4/12
        yaṣuqu kaspa/lê-ʾalapīma   a b c   3/10
        ḫurāṣa yaṣuqu/-ma lê-ribabāti   d a c'   3/12

The word-pair, *ksp* and *ḫrṣ*, appear also within a line in 1.3 III 46–47.
This inner-line parallelism is played out in the second and third lines:
the second line develops the first half of the first line, while the third
line develops the second half. (This poetic relationship suggests further
that the two verbs in the first line are considered in this context to
indicate the same word-field of metal casting.) In general terms, this
tricolon characterizes the nature of the metalwork for the list of items
described in lines 29–43; that this is so is suggested by the carrying over
of both the word-pair, *ksp* and *ḫrṣ*, in lines 30–32 (see also *ḫrṣ* in line
37) and the verb *yṣq* in line 29. The final word *lrbbt* also gets picked
up in line 43.

29   yaṣuqu ḫayama wa-tabtuḫa   a b c   3/10

The translation above renders the line as a monocolon heading up
the entire list. It might also be construed as the first line within a
quatrain with the following three lines. Line-length is consistent with
this observation.

30–32	katta 'ili data rabbatêmi/	a b c d	4/10
	katta 'ili nûbata bi-kaspi/	a b e f	4/10
	šumraḫata bi-dami ḫurāṣi	e' f' (x of y)	3/10

This unit describes a single item, *kt*, by carrying over the word-pair for metals, *ksp* and *ḥrṣ*, from lines 25–28, and by describing in further detail the nature of their use with the object. By the same token, the nature of the gold is slightly elaborated with the characterization of it as *dm ḥrṣ* (see the Commentary below).

33–35	kaḫta 'ili nûḫata/baẓri	a b c d	4/9
	hadāma 'ili/da-puraš'a bi-barri	a' b c' d'	4/12

The lines here are finely balanced and semantically coordinated. A throne and footstool are associated items of royal furniture. Both are characterized as *'il*. Both items are further qualified with terms involving a further specification of metal; the first is apparently fine gold and the second may be electrum. The two nouns for metals also share sonant parallelism. The only major syntactical departure involves the third item in each line, but their vowel-pattern is basically the same (as reflected in the vocalization).

36–37	na'la 'ili da-qabalbili/	a b c	3/9
	'alê-na yubalū-huma ḫurāṣu	d e f	3/11

Despite the wide variation in both semantics and syntax, the two lines show stunning effects of sonant parallelism with *na'la* and *'alê-na* and with *qabalbili* and *yubalū-*. The final noun carries over from lines 26, 28 and 32. Note also the sequence within the first line: *-ili…-ili*.

38–40	ṭulḫana 'ili da-mali'a/minīma	a b c d	4/12
	dabibīma da<ta>/-môsadāti 'arṣi	d' e f (x of y)	3/12

Despite the great difference in syntax, the two fronted nouns, the two relative particles, and the two plural nouns provide a notable degree of semantic parallelism.

41–43	ṣa'a 'ili daqqata ka-'amurri	a b c d	4/11
	sakūnata ka-ḫuwwati yam'ani	e c' d'	3/11
	dī-bi-hu ru'umūma lê-ribabāti	f c'' g	3/12

All three lines contain a word with the consonants ' and *m*. Further-more, the endings -*ata* and -*ati* resonate through the tricolon, and the comparative particle *ka*- appears in the first two lines. The case ending is the same for all three of the final nouns in the three lines. Looking at the larger context of this tricolon, animal imagery continues from the preceding bicolon's description of the table. Two instances of distant sonant resonance may be discerned in this tricolon. The final word in the tricolon echoes also the end of the tricolon in lines 25–28 above. Similarly, *sknt* here may echo *škn* in line 20. Accordingly, this tricolon picks up various words in the larger context and ties together various elements.

Introduction

This column has two distinct parts. The first, lines 4–22, records a message to Kothar relating the familiar complaint that Baal has no palace like the other gods and a request that the craftsman god make gifts for Athirat. The second part, lines 23–43, describes Kothar at work on elaborate furnishings for the goddess made of gold and silver. At the end of the column is a pair of horizontal lines, whose meaning is discussed below (p. 426). The words to Kothar and his subsequent labor initiate the second part of the larger building saga. After Anat's failure to gain permission from El for Baal's house (1.3 III–V), the lat-ter seeks Kothar's help in crafting gifts (CAT 1.3 VI–1.4 I) which will gain Athirat's sympathy (1.4 II–III) and convince her to travel to El and petition him for the palace (1.4 IV–V). Only with this permission can the construction of the palace begin. (For more details see pp. 35–9.)

Lines 1–22: Baal's Message to Kothar

As mentioned above (p. 392) the text of the column begins with line 4. Lines 4–19 contain the third occurrence of Baal's lament that he lacks a palace. The other two instances, 1.3 IV 47–53 and V 35–43, help to provide for the reconstruction here. The form of the lament varies little (see the Commentary to 1.3 IV 47–53 on pp. 306–12 for the full details of this section). The only difference involves the placement of the phrase *mṯb klt knyt* at the end of 1.3 IV 52–53 and 1.3 V 43–[44], but moved up in 1.4 I 14–15. This variation would imply that lines 15b–19 are appositional.

The lament is part of the message that is sent by Baal to Kothar via the messengers Gapn and Ugar, as described in 1.3 VI. According to our understanding of the relationship between 1.3 and 1.4, the large lacuna that precedes the lament, amounting to about 23 lines in this column, along with the ca. 22 lines missing at the end of 1.3 VI, concluded Baal's giving of the message to Gapn and Ugar, described their journey to Kothar's abode, their obeisance before the god and the beginning of the delivery of the message. It is also possible that some additional message affirming Baal's kingship preceded the lament proper just as in 1.3 V 31–43.

The lament is followed by the conclusion of the message, a specific request. It is introduced by a well-attested formula, "On a second subject I would speak to you" (*'ap mṯn rgmm 'argmk*). The formula occurs also in 1.3 IV 31–32 (see commentary on p. 299) and 1.17 VI 39.[13] Although there is no explicit explanation of the relationship between the lament and the request in lines 20–22, it is clear that the request to make gifts for Athirat is no separate concern from the lament, but a matter closely related to it. It is not until the next column, especially 1.4 II 26–30, that the meaning of Kothar's gifts is made clear: they serve to bring about a cordial relationship between Baal and Athirat to encourage her to help Baal win El's permission for the palace.

The cola in lines 20b–22 do not request that Kothar actually make the gifts himself. Rather, Baal asks the craftsman-god to *šskn*, a *C*-stem imperative probably from **skn*, "to take care of" (cf. *TO* 1.194 n. c') or "to give heed to" (Sivan 1997:140), followed by an imprecatory particle *m'* possibly related to Egyptian *my/'* (so *PU* 1.77) and BH *nâ*, often translated "please." It follows the imperative in Ugaritic (Sivan 1997:194). Gaster (1946:25) and Pope (1965:149, 151; 1973:167) compare the expression *haskēn-nâ* in Job 22:21 (cf. Num 22:30; Ps 139:3). Pope (MHP) comments:

> The sense in both cases is "to act carefully," but the contexts of the unique occurrences in Ugaritic and in Job are different. What Baal wishes Kothar to do with great care is apparently what the latter proceeds to do, to prepare golden furniture.

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[13] For Hebrew *'ap* to mark a section or subsection within a unit, cf. 4QMMT B 13, 21, 24 [partially reconstructed], 42, 52, 56, 62, 64, 66, C 12, 18, 26; and also to mark an addition within a sentence-unit, cf. 4QMMT C 25).

Pope renders the verb in Job 22:21 "submit" and uses "prepare" in the Ugaritic context. Caquot and Sznycer (*TO* 1.194) also render "preparer" on the basis of BH *hiskantāh* in Ps 139:3 and Amarna Akkadian *sakānu ana* "to take care of, to see to." Von Soden (*AHw* 1011) and *CAD S*:69–70 regard the Amarna idiom as a Canaanitism. The primary examples are found in letters from Abdi-Hepa, king of Jerusalem (EA 285:29; 286:34, 38; 287:17, 40; 288:48; and 290:29), and they all appear in the context of the king of Jerusalem urging the pharaoh to "take care of" his land (Moran 1992:325–34 renders the verb, "provide for"). Abdi-Hepa is not pinpointing a specific action that he wants the king to do, but wants the pharaoh to take charge of determining what is necessary to protect the land. The verb appears to emphasize the high status and authority of the person to whom it is addressed. That seems to be the intent also in 1.4 I 20–22. Baal wants Kothar to do whatever is necessary to produce gifts that are appropriate for the Creatress of the gods. Note that in the Amarna passages, the verb is in the *G*-stem, rather than the *C*-stem of *šskn* in line 20. The causative form might suggest that Kothar should appoint someone, i.e., "cause (someone)" to see to the gifts. In this case, in keeping with his own capacity for craftsmanship, Kothar himself takes on the responsibility, which is surely Baal's intent. But he very politely leaves that decision to Kothar. A related noun, *sú-ki-ni/na* also occurs in the Amarna corpus as a West Semitic gloss on the Akkadian term *rābiṣu* (EA 256:9, 362:69 respectively), referring specifically to Egyptian officials in Canaan. The noun's meaning there is clearly "commissioner," literally "one who takes care of (things)" (cf. the discussion in Moran 1992:xxvi n. 70; and Rainey 1987:402). This noun also occurs in Ugaritic (see *DUL* 757–59), and in Akkadian documents from Ugarit (for a listing, see Sivan 1984:267; see the survey of van Soldt 2001).

Some scholars have proposed an alternative etymology for the verb, as a *C*-stem imperative of **nsk*, "to pour" with an enclitic *-n* (see citations in Sanmartín 1995:181–82, *DUL* 644, *UG* 595 and cf. Pentiuc 2001:132–33; cf. *ššk*, the *C*-stem imperative of **nsk*, in 1.13.6, used for blood). While this is possible, especially due to the relationship between pouring and the metalworking described in the following lines, the interpretation of the *n* as enclitic, followed by *mʿ*, seems forced.

The goddess Athirat is referred to here by the full form of her title, *rbt ʾaṯrt ym* (also in 1.3 V 40–41; 1.4 I 13–14, II 28–29, 31, III 27, 28–29, 34, IV 31, 40, 53, V 2–3; 1.6 I 44, 45, 47, 53; 1.8.1–2). The first element, *rbt*, literally means "great one" and is often translated "Lady"

(note the appearance of *ʾaṯrt rbt*, "the Lady Athirat," in the incantation, 1.169.16). The term is used in several contexts, among them as the regular designation for the king's primary wife, the mother of the heir to the throne (Gordon 1988). This matches Athirat's role in the text. She is, of course, the primary wife of El (whether he is understood in Ugaritic mythology to have other wives is not clear), and she is clearly the mother of El's children. In fact, the description of the appointment of her son, Athtar, to the throne in 1.6 I emphasizes Athirat's significant role as primary wife and mother in naming him to that role. However, her relationship as *rabītu* to Baal is much less clear, and the fact that he becomes ruler, presumably in contradiction to the expectation that the ruler should be one of Athirat's sons, may be part of the reason for Athirat's dismay about Baal's arrival at her palace in column II. Kühne (1973:180), Gordon (1988), and others also note that *rabītu* may be used as a designation for the queen mother, i.e., the widow of the king, whose son succeeds to the throne.[14] Gordon, followed by Wiggins (1993:65–67), compared Athirat to this aspect of the *rabītu* (so also Binger 1997:81), particularly in relationship to her role in the Athtar story of 1.6 I. However, this is somewhat problematic, since the queen mother is by definition a widow, whose son now holds the kingship. In the Baal Epic, El is quite alive and still the true king. Baal's position, and that of Yamm before him and Athtar after, is a subordinate one to that of El. Thus Athirat always remains the chief wife of the king, never a real queen mother.

The title does not appear in reference to royal women in the Hebrew Bible, but it may be extant on a Hebrew seal inscription (Dijkstra 1999). Gordon and others have related *rbt* to BH *gĕbîrâ*, generally assumed to be a title of the queen mother. Ackerman (1993) suggests that the *gĕbîrâ* was associated in Israel with Asherah, as wife of Yahweh and

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[14] The term is used of the widow of King Bentešina of Amurru in a number of texts belonging to the dossier concerning King Ammithtamru's divorce from his Amorite wife (see Kühne 1973; van Soldt 1991:15; *CAD R*:26a; Márquez Rowe 2000). EA 29:8, 63, 67 likewise uses *ra-bi-tum* to designate Teye as the principal wife and widow of Nimmureya (Amenophis III), who appears involved in the successful succession of her son, Amenophis IV, to the throne. Evidence for this royal female rank from Ebla and Mari is associated with the term AMA.GAL, according to Owen (1995:574 n. 4). Malamat (1998:177–78) has raised the further possibility that the *bēlet mātim* mentioned in three Mari letters (*ARM* II: 20, 28 and 117) was the mother of Zimri-Lim. This "Lady of the Land" is able to address the king without applying to herself the epithet, *amatkama*, "your maidservant" that always appears in letters attributed to Zimri-Lim's chief wife, Šiptu.

"mother" of the Judean king, as Yahweh was his "father." However, Bowen (2001) has emphasized the lack of clear information about the term in the biblical text. She argues that it cannot be connected strictly to the queen mother, but may have been used to designate the wife and perhaps even grandmother of the king (2001:603, 618). In Ugaritic literary texts, the title *rbt* is not confined to Athirat. Shapshu likewise bears this epithet, sometimes with *nyr*, "light, lamp," sometimes without (CAT 1.16 I 36–38; 1.23.54; 1.161.19); the title is indicative of her status relative to other celestial bodies in the Ugaritic pantheon.

Regarding the rest of Athirat's title, *'aṯrt ym*, Albright (1956:77–78; 1968:105) and many others following him (e.g., Lipiński 1972:110, 116–17; *CMHE* 31–35) have understood it as a sentence-name, "She who treads the sea." Others prefer to read it as a construct, "Athirat of the Sea" (for references, see Pardee 1989–90:440–41). Pardee (1997a:253 n. 98) correctly notes that the independent usage of her name without *ym* suggests that the latter "is added as a supplemental titular element." In either interpretation, Athirat is associated with the sea. Her relationship to the sea is made clear in other aspects besides her name. Her servant, already met in 1.3 VI, but also found in 1.4 II 31, is called *dgy 'aṯrt*, "Fisher of Athirat." 1.4 II opens with Athirat performing her domestic chores by the sea. But the further significance of Athirat's maritime association is not clear and rarely evident elsewhere. Brody (1998:26–30) argued for Athirat's maritime associations, by identifying her with an Egyptian goddess whose iconography portrays her with a crescent moon on her headdress. Brody suggested that the crescent, representing the new moon, provided aid to sailors in navigation. But the identification is debatable, since there is no clear evidence for identifying that goddess with Athirat. Another alternative was proposed by Watson (1993:431–32), who rendered *'aṯrt ym*, "she who determines the day," based on a comparable title of the goddess Ashratum. In lines 25–26 of an Akkadian hymn (Gurney 1989:15–19), Ashratum is called *be-ele[t] ši-ma-tum*, "Mistres[s] of fates" and ᵈ*aš-ra-t[um ši?]-ma-tim*, "Ashrat[um of f]ates." Watson argued that the Ugaritic title can be understood as reflecting a similar meaning. He suggested that the goddess' name should be connected to Akkadian *ašāru*, "to muster, organize, check, control." He then proposed that *ym*, "day," in this context means something like "fateful day," and is thus equivalent to *šimātum*. He also noted (1993:433) the occurrence in the Akkadian hymn (line 23) of the title, *[r]a-ba-a-at*. This interpretation has little to support it. The connection drawn between *šimātum* and *ym* is far from

evident, and Athirat shows significantly more connections with the sea than with the day and the sun (cf. Binger 1997:45–48 for an unsuccessful attempt to give solar characteristics to Athirat). The ambiguity of the evidence, however, forces us to agree with Pardee (1997a:253 n. 98): "the mythological background of the title remains obscure."

Athirat's parallel title is *qnyt 'ilm*, in line 22. The scholarly consensus understands this phrase as "creatress of the gods," a reflection of Athirat's capacity as mother of the divine family. The root *qny is used also of El. Many commentators have understood the root's meaning in Ugaritic and the Bible (e.g., Gen 14:19, 22; Deut 32:6) to refer to the divine role as progenitor (see van Selms 1954:64 n. 7; *EUT* 50–54; McCarthy 1967:92; *CMHE* 15; *DUL* 706). However, some scholars have suggested that the meaning does not involve creation but mastery, establishment or acquisition (see Montgomery 1933:116). As Pope (*EUT* 51) noted, this may be so from a purely etymological analysis, but it is evident that *qnyt 'ilm* does not refer to the elderly divine parents' act of acquiring the other deities, but to their parental role in producing the next divine generation (*UBC* 1.83). From another direction, Watson (1993:433) has challenged this view by arguing that the phrase does not mean "progenitress of the gods," but rather "creatress of [= among] the gods," i.e., "the goddess who creates (mankind)." He proposes the meaning in light of the epithet *baniat šimati*, "creatress of destinies," used of the birth-goddess in the Atrahasis Epic, whom he identifies with Ashratum. None of this seems likely, and even if the two goddesses were the same, the second words in the two epithets, "gods" and "destinies," are not proximate.

Kothar is asked to prepare *mgn* and *mġz*, meaning "present" and "gift of honor." The first word derives from *mgn, "to give."[15] Before discussing *mġz*, it is necessary to understand the meaning of the gifts being requested by Baal. It is important to understand that in planning to take these gifts to Athirat, Baal is not appealing to her greed, as is often assumed (e.g., Wyatt 1998:92 nn. 91, 95; Pardee 1997a:256 n. 121; cf. Gordon 1977:89 n. 65). Rather, this action is better understood within a political context, and particularly within the context of the gift culture of Late Bronze Age international diplomacy. Liverani

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[15] Note in particular BH *mgn in Prov 6:11, 24:34; Phoenician KAI 29; in Ugaritic and Phoenician-Punic PNs, see Benz 339; possibly in Hebrew and Ammonite PNs, see *WSS* 492, 510; and post-biblical *maggan*, "grace, undeserved gift" (Jastrow 729). See also the references in the following note.

(1978:21–26; 1990: 211–23) has discussed the political importance of gift-giving among the various rulers in the Late Bronze Age, pointing out its significance in providing prestige not just to the one who receives the gifts, but also to the one who provides it, who can expect some kind of reciprocation from the former in return. Extravagant gifts from one ruler to another were an established means of cementing friendships and alliances in Late Bronze Age Syria. Baal's bringing of the gifts to Athirat explicitly indicates his recognition of her power and authority, something that Athirat is not certain about, until she sees the gifts (1.4 II 21–29). From Baal's perspective it is a peace offering, indicating to her that he has no hostile intentions toward Athirat and her family in the aftermath of his defeat of Yamm. It is also clear from the numerous examples gathered by Liverani from the Amarna Letters and the Boghazkoy archives that once she accepts the gifts, she is under obligation to reciprocate, which she does in this case by using her influence on Baal's behalf before El. Since these roots in 1.4 III refer to Baal and Anat's means of honoring Athirat, namely the gifts, the nouns[16] *mgn* and *mġz* in I 21–23 further bear the connotation of gift and honor (for this use of *mgn, see Prov 4:9; Held 1969:75 n. 36; C. Cohen 1978:138–39 n. 78).

It is in this context that the nuance of the root *ġzy becomes clearer, not just in this line, but also in column II 11 and III 26, 29, 31, and 35. The root means, "to lower or shut (the eyes)" (cf. Arabic *ġḍw IV "to close one's eyes" and *ġḍḍ I "to lower" (one's eyes), and BH *ʿṣh*, "to shut one's eyes" in Prov 16:30; cf. Isa 29:10 and 33:15, where the verb is *ʿōṣēm*).[17] In 1.4 the root has developed a derived meaning that involves deference of one person to another. O'Connor (1989:27) observes about Ugaritic *ġzy: "In the Ugaritic texts, the nuance of the verb is self-deprecating; the eyes are closed out of modesty and respect for the person addressed."[18] He also observes that the verb is reflexive and focuses on the subject; he thus renders it "to humble oneself before." This render-

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[16] *UT* 19.1958 takes the words as *D*-stem participles, but the form for *mgn would then be *mmgn.

[17] See the discussion of these passages in Bryce 1975:27, esp. n. 28; for the two roots, see *DUL* 531, 534; Held 1969:36, 37; *CMHE* 4 n. 4; C. Cohen 1978:138 n. 58; Dietrich and Loretz 1974:31–32; O'Connor 1989:27.

[18] The *t-* preformative noun, *tġzyt*, is etymologically related to *mġz*. In 1.6 VI 44 it appears in the phrase *yn tġzyt*, "the wine of entreaty," parallel to *[l]ḥm trmmt*, "the bread of exaltation." In that context, the word has a cultic ring to it (see *UT* 19.2311; *SPUMB* 240–41).

ing takes into account the general semantic field of the word, but fails to note that its usage in columns II and III seem to suggest that it is a transitive verb, with *qnyt 'ilm* as its direct object. Within the context of gift giving it seems more likely that the meaning of "to lower one's eyes" is "to give honor to, to honor (sometimes with a gift)." Such a meaning parallels the root *mgn* very well, both in its nominal form in this passage, where its meaning is probably "a gift of honor," and in its verbal forms in column III, where the two verbs may be rendered, "to give gifts"//"to honor (with gifts)." In this context there is no specific sense of "entreaty" in **ǵzy* (cf. Smith, *UNP* 125), although this is what the gift-giving ultimately achieves. Lowering the eyes is body language for a person honoring another. So we would read the parallel in lines 20–22 as "gift"//"gift of honor." This translation comports with our view that the gift is not designed to appeal to Athirat's greed, but rather to be a political peace offering, in which Baal indicates his respect for Athirat, in the manner of the rulers of the ancient Near East in sending gifts back and forth. In short, this usage of the verbs is expressive of the political culture of LB Syria-Palestine.

Lines 23–43: Kothar's Response to Baal's Speech

Without a verbal answer, Kothar responds to the request by setting to work on the gifts. This section may be divided into two parts. The first, lines 23–28, describes Kothar at work. The second, lines 29–43, enumerates and describes the items that the craftsman god creates. Lines 23–28 contain a bicolon and tricolon. The bicolon skillfully evokes Kothar's arrival at his workplace and his setting to work at the furnace. The first colon begins with the title, *hyn*, "the Skilled One" (1.17 V 18, 24, 32; *DUL* 350), followed by a *qatala*-form of the verb, *'ly*. These two features indicate a shift in the scene from the preceding. Cognates for *hyn* are found in Syriac **hwn*, "be dexterous, deft," and specifically Targumic Aramaic *hawnā*, used to translate BH *tĕbûnâ*, one of the qualities of the craftsman, Bezalel (Gaster 1946:21 n. 3; for further discussion, see Dietrich and Loretz 1999). *Hyn* literally "goes up" to the bellows (*'ly*; see *DUL* 159–60; for Afro-Asiatic cognates, see M. Cohen 1947:88, #58). The **qatala* form, *'ly*, is notable in this context, as it is not the usual verbal form for continuing narration in Ugaritic narrative poetry, which is the prefixed form (Piquer Otero 2003). Elsewhere, new sections using verbs of travel may begin with the **qatala* (*UBC* 1.54). The verb **'ly* is usually translated "to go up," but it is unclear

that any ascension is involved; instead, it may denote movement more broadly. Perhaps the sense of the verb here would be better captured by rendering it, "he steps up to the bellows." The craftsman's workplace goes unmentioned, but a description may not have been necessary for an elite audience at Ugarit. Metallurgical workshops are found at Ugarit, even in some royal palaces. The northern palace of Ras ibn Hani, for example, included a room "avec ses traces d'activité métallurgique, son puits flanqué d'une cuve" (Bounni and Lagarce 1998:13; see figure 16). Another room yielded "plusiers fragments de creusets et de tuyères" (Bounni and Lagarce 1998:45; see figs. 144–148). The site of Ras Shamra likewise yielded tuyeres (pipes for forcing air into a furnace; Schaeffer 1949:210–11, fig. 87, 1–4).

The crafsman-god works with *mpḫm*, "bellows" (< *npḫ*, "to blow"). As noted by many scholars (e.g., Dietrich and Loretz 1978:59), the word is cognate with Akkadian *nappāḫu*, "smith, metalworker" (*CAD N/1*:307a–310b) and *nappaḫu*, "bellows" (*CAD N/1*:307a), a form attested in Akkadian texts from Ugarit (*awīlu nappāḫ eri*, "copper-smith," RS 15.172.A.10, *PRU* III, 205; see Heltzer 1982:93; Akkadian preformative *n-* here is dissimilated from an original *m-* preformative). BH *mappûaḥ*, "bellows," is attested once (Jer 6:29). Scheel (1989:16) provides drawings of bellows used for smelting in shaft furnaces and of dish bellows used for melting metals in ancient Egypt.

The second line of the bicolon (line 24) begins with a prepositional phrase that uses the name Hasis, "the Wise One," as the parallel to Hayyan, "the Skilled One." This title is, of course, the second element of the divine craftsman's full name, Kothar wa-Hasis. The syntax of this line, as a nominal clause dependent upon the preceding line, is similar to that of the bicolon in 1.3 I 18–19 (see the Commentary there). The order of elements in this syntax can vary: the appearance of *bd ḫss* before *mṣbṭm* may serve to emphasize the image of the god with his hands at work.

The word *mṣbṭm* here translated "tongs" is a dual form from *ṣbṭ, "to seize, hold" (*BOS* 2.122 n. 22). The closest cognate in terms of semantics is provided by Jewish Babylonian Aramaic *ṣebtā*, "tongs" (bT. Shab. 110a, Giṭ. 56b; Sokoloff 2002: 959) and post-biblical Hebrew *ṣĕbāt*, "a pair of tongs" (Jastrow 1260), for example in Pirqe Abot 5:6. The root *ṣbṭ is also cognate with BH *ṣbṭ*, used of Boaz's grabbing parched grain in Ruth 2:14.[19] The noun *mṣbṭm* accordingly refers to some metallurgi-

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[19] Cf. also Akkadian *ṣabātu*, used for holding an object, manipulating a tool; see *CAD*

cal equipment taken by hand; as the word is dual in number, scholars surmise that it means "tongs" (Sivan 1997:71). Ras Shamra Akkadian *ma-qa-ḫa* (RS 19.23.13, in *PRU* VI, 157; Sivan 1984:44, 244) and BH *hammelqaḥayim* (1 Kgs 7:49), both meaning "tongs," offer semantic parallels in the dual form.[20]

Heyer (1978:93–94) compares this passage with some iconography from the 18th Dynasty tomb of Rekhmire. Three panels present scenes of metallurgical activity (so Scheel 1989:25; Heyer 1978:94 shows two). Scheel (1989:24–25) comments:

> The introduction of dish bellows was crucial to enable the large quantities of metal used for the casting of large metal objects to be melted, as shown on a wall painting in the tomb of the Vizier Rekhmire at Thebes. In that foundry four hearths fired by charcoal are fanned by several dish bellows to melt a large quantity of metal, probably leaded tin bronze, for the casting of the leaves for a door intended for the Great Temple of Amun in Karnak.

The earlier sixth dynasty tomb of Mereruka depicts scenes involving goldworking (*ANEP* #133). In one panel, six men blow through tubes into a furnace to heat the metal for casting. Another panel depicts metalworkers fashioning molded objects on tables.

This bicolon sets the stage for the actual metallurgical activity, described initially in a tricolon (lines 25–28a). This tricolon contains the first mention of silver and gold, the two most valuable metals at ancient Ugarit (Stieglitz 1979:18; Heltzer 1977:204–6; Pardee 1981–82:270–72; Nasgowitz 1975). The tricolon describes the "pouring" (**ysq*) of these metals, used for the items listed in lines 29–43. The same verb applies also to wine (1.14 II 18, IV 1; 1.22 I 17), oil (1.3 II 31; 1.16 III 1), dust on the head (1.5 VI 14), medicine in a horse's nose (1.71.3, 5, 7, 9, 15, 25; 1.72.8, 11, 15, 20, 24, 26, 35, 39), and in the passage here, molten metals (lines 25, 26, 27, 30). In Exod 25:12 the verb refers likewise to the pouring of molten metals (cf. Paul and Dever 1973:200 for a discussion of molding techniques in Israel). The same verb may have the sense of "smelting" in Job 28:2 (Pope 1973:20). The meaning of **ysq* here is perhaps clarified by the further specification afforded by

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Ṣ:19, #3j. For the variation of emphatics in this root, see Greenfield 1962:292–95; Claasen 1971:296).

   [20] See Sivan 1997:81; see Held 1959:175; *CML*[2] 162 n. 10; cf. Steiglitz 1981:52–53. Ugaritic *mqḥm* derives from **lqḥ*, "to take"; cf. *lqḥ* in many contexts, e.g., 2.70.18–19, and *nlqḥt* in 4.659.1 (Sivan 1997:30). It is theoretically possible given the many occurrences of *yqḥ* in Ugaritic, that **lqḥ/*yqḥ* may be suppletive (as they appear to be in BH).

yšlḥ, the other verb in the colon (**šlḥ*, "to send forth," and thus here, "pour, cast;" cf. Pardee 1997a 256 n. 123). Some have proposed seeing here a separate verb, *šlḥ* II (cf. *TO* 1.194 n. e; Dietrich and Loretz 1978:59), but this does not seem necessary. Later languages also use **šlḥ* in a metallurgical sense. Driver (*CML*¹ 148) compared Arabic *suḥulâtu*, "fillings of gold and silver" (Lane 1320). Ginsberg (*KU* 20) appealed to Syriac *ḥšal*, "to fashion, adorn" (*LS* 263) used in the Peshitta in Exod 25:12 and 37:3 to translate BH **ysq*.

The context of 1.4 I does not involve smelting (so *CML*² 56), a process of melting and fusing metal, but melting and casting, as the verbs indicate (Pardee 1997a:256 n. 123; MHP; for microscopic analysis of metal casting, see Scott 1991:5). In this usage, the poetic **ysq* corresponds to **nsk*, "to pour," used in prose texts for metal casting, e.g., *nsk ksp*, "silversmith" (e.g., 4.47.6, 4.68.74, 4.99.14; Pardee 1974; Heltzer 1982:92) or *nskt ksp*, "item(s) cast in silver" (1.105.22; Pardee 2002:42–43, 112 n. 119). For the semantic range of **nsk*, one may compare Akkadian *patāqu* used for pouring both wine and metals (*AHw* 847). In Egyptian metallurgy open casting was used for smaller items (Scheel 1989:40–43). Melted metal was also used for plate or sheets (Scheel 1989:27–33; for gold sheet in Mesopotamia, see Moorey 1994:226–28).[21] For gold plating at Ugarit, see CAT 2.79.10, 2.83.9 and 4.167.1–6. It is not entirely clear whether Kothar is making the items completely out of solid gold and silver, or whether some of them are understood to be wooden furniture overlaid with gold and silver sheet (cf. the wooden throne of Tutankhamun with sheet gold set on a dais; *ANEP* #415–417). One might imagine the former, since these gifts are for a goddess. On the other hand, it seems that the furniture described here is based on items found in a royal palace, and thus could have been assumed to be similar to the latter.

The last two lines of the tricolon in lines 26–29a describe the vast amount of gold and silver used by the craftsman god: *'alpm*, "thousands" and *rbbt*, "ten thousands" or "myriads." Of course, these numbers are not intended to be precise in any way. They are used to indicate the limitless bounty of the divine realm, the measureless wealth that is poured into making appropriate gifts for the goddess. This pair of numbers

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[21] On Mesopotamian gold working, see also Zettler 1992:231; van de Mieroop 1992:186; Bjorkman 1968, 1993; Hittite inventories of gold and silver objects are discussed by Kempinski and Košak 1977:90.

is the largest that appear in the Ugaritic literary texts (or elsewhere). The text does not provide the unit of measure being described here. It could be the *kkr*, "talent," the *mn*, "mina," or the *ṯql*, "sheqel." But most likely the sheqel is meant here. Of the three weights, only the sheqel is regularly the object of ellipsis as in these lines (cf. *DUL* 929). In the real world of the Ugaritic royal house, amounts of silver and gold discussed in the tablets usually equal tens to hundreds of sheqels (cf. *DUL* 928–929). In a few cases, primarily in the international correspondence, weights of up to 5000 sheqels of silver are mentioned (RS 17.129.8, 10, 24 in *PRU* IV, 166–67). RS 18.20 + 17.371: rev. 4' (PRU IV 202–203) refers to a threatened judgment of ten talents (*biltu*) of silver in a court case. If there were 3000 sheqels in a Ugaritic talent (see *DUL* 435 *sub kkr*; Powell 1992:VI 905–6) then 30,000 sheqels are indicated here. Much smaller numbers are involved with gold. A sum of 12 minas and 20 sheqels of gold is mentioned as part of a tribute payment to the king of Hatti in RS 17.227.21 (PRU IV 41). Assuming 50 sheqels per mina, this would equal 620 sheqels. Of course, all these sums pale in significance in comparison to the amounts assumed in our passage.

The scene in lines 25–43 should not be viewed as reflecting regular offerings to deities at Ugarit. Pardee, in his study of the Ugaritic ritual texts (2002:110), notes that offerings of precious metals are not commonly found on the tablets. These items are special and probably reflect furnishings of a temple (see below).

In this passage, the poet uses *rbbt* twice (lines 28 and 43) and the dual form *rbtm* in line 30. This may be an intentional word play on Athirat's title, *rbt*, but the formulaic nature of the usage of *ʾalpm*//*rbbt* makes it impossible to be certain about this.

Line 29 appears to begin the description of the furnishings that Kothar makes, but its precise meaning has been the subject of a great deal of debate. The two items that the god casts here, *ḥym wtbtḫ*, are most commonly rendered as "canopy/baldachin/tent" and "resting-place/couch/bed" respectively (e.g., Caquot and Sznycer, *TO* 1.195 n. f, Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1152; Wyatt 1998: 91; Xella 1982:108; cf. also Heyer (1978:94–96). Van Selms (1975a:471) and *DUL* (416) related *ḥym* to *ḥmt* in 1.14 III 55 where the latter apparently means "tent." Caquot and Sznycer (*TO* 1.195 n. f), however, saw it as a plural cognate to Akkadian, *ḫaʾum*, understood to be a canopy over a royal throne (*AHw* 338). They proposed rendering it "baldachin," which is a canopy that covers a sacred object or a person of high status. Gordon,

in *UT* 19.401, 496, suggested that the two nouns could be names of metals, parallel to the usage of *ksp* and *ḥrṣ* in the previous lines.[22] The second word, *tbṯḫ*, has most generally been related to Akkadian *tapšaḫu*, "resting place," and *tapšuḫtu*, "bed." None of these proposals is without difficulties, and a number of scholars have decided not to translate the words at all (Ginsburg, *ANET* 132; Driver, *CML*[1] 93; Gibson, *CML*[2] 56; Pardee 1997a:256). Pardee (1997a:256 n. 124) best voices the perceived problems: "The image…of "casting" a tent appears strange and the Ug. word *tbṯḫ* though it could be cognate to the Akk. term [*tapšuḫtu* = "bed"], cannot be a loanword (Akkadian /ḫ/ would be written {ǵ}), and, in any case, the production of a bed is part of the list below." These are legitimate issues that need to be addressed.

As Pardee notes, it seems unlikely that Kothar would set out to make a tent out of gold and silver. Not only does it seem an odd thing to build with these materials, but such a tent would outshine El's tent, which is not portrayed as being made of precious metals. It seems further improbable that he would construct an entirely new dwelling for Athirat as part of the gift. The identification of *ḫym* as "canopies" or "baldachins," i.e., smaller coverings, seems preferable, although the connection with Akkadian *ḫa'um* is problematic, since the latter's meaning as "baldachin, canopy" is not certain (*CAD* Ḫ:162–63 understands the *ḫa'u*-cloth to be used for the seat-cover of the throne, rather than as a canopy). It is clear that canopies in the Near East were not completely made of cloth. Heyer (1978:94–95) shows some illustrations from Egypt and Mesopotamia that suggest that such covers had substantial frames made of wood (figs. 2, 3 and 4). Wooden canopy frames covered in gold appear to be mentioned in Mesopotamian texts (see *šamû* A, *CAD* Š/I:348). The tomb of Queen Hetepheres (4th dynasty) at Giza contained the fragments of a golden bed canopy frame (Killen 1980:35).[23] Perhaps *ḫym* refers specifically to the frame, but then is used as a *pars pro toto*. If the image is of a solid gold and silver canopy, however, then we have here the same kind of hyperbolic imagery that we often find in the descriptions of objects belonging to the gods (e.g.,

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[22] Gordon later abandoned this proposal, translating the line (1977: 90): "He pours a bedstead and a resting place."

[23] Comparison also may be drawn to the canopied structure found in the Iron II city gate of Tel Dan (Biran 1994:238–41). The material remains of this structure consists of a low podium of dressed ashlar masonry (a dais) probably used for a wooden throne, with four surrounding recessed stone column bases that served as supports for wooden beams to hold an overhead canopy (see also Dever 2001:200, 202).

Baal's magnificent cup in 1.3 I 12–17). Thus while a canopy made of gold and silver may be impractical and physically problematic in the human world, in the realm of the gods, such a magnificent item would be fully appropriate.

The second term *tbṯ*, as noted above, has been related to Akkadian *tapšaḫu*, "resting place" (*AHw* 1322b) and *tupšaḫtu*, "rest" (*AHw* 1323a), both deriving from *pašāḫu*, "to rest"; cf. Syriac *pšaḥ*, "to desist, cease"; *LS* 610 (see *TO* 1.195 n. g; Dietrich and Loretz 1978:60; *CML²* 159; *MLC* 634). There appears to be no reason to doubt a relationship between the words as cognates (Pardee's concern in 1997a:256 n. 124 focuses on the supposition that the Ugaritic term is a loanword from Akkadian). Although the Ugaritic word might refer more particularly to a "couch" or "bed" (not uncommon translations for this word), it seems more likely in this context to have a general referent, i.e., "resting place." Perhaps there is a semantic relationship here to the use of BH *měnûḥâ*, "resting place" in 1 Chr 28:2: "I set my heart upon building a house of rest for the ark of the covenant of Yahweh and for the footstool of our God" (cf. Ps 132:14; Isa 66:1, the latter in a context with a throne and footstool). The word need not be considered a synonym for *nʿl* in line 36, as Pardee (1997a:256 n. 124) assumes in the quotation above. The phrase, *ḫym wtbṯ*, literally, "a canopy and a resting place," may best be understood as a hendiadys, "a canopied resting place." This could be seen as a general introduction to the items that Kothar creates in the following lines. The furniture described in lines 30–43 may be viewed as the contents of the canopied resting place, somewhat in the way one might describe purchasing a "bedroom suite," meaning the furniture that is placed in the bedroom. Interpreting this line as a general introduction distinguishes it from the rest of the passage and would explain why it is the only item in lines 29–43 that is not modified by the word *ʾil*, "divine, grand" (see below).

Lines 30–43 describe the items that Kothar makes as gifts for Athirat: a dais, a throne and footstool, a palanquin or couch, a table and a bowl/platter. The list is quite appropriate for the furnishing of a deity's temple or resting place, but at the same time reflects the kind of furniture that one also might find in a royal palace.[24] Each of these items is

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[24] Actually, some of these items might be in any type of house. Cassuto (1942:53 = *BOS* 2.122) noted the similarity between this passage and the description of furniture in a room arranged for Elisha in 2 Kgs 4:10: "a couch and a table and a throne and a lamp."

modified by the word *'il*. Albright (1943:40–42), van Selms (1975:470) and Pardee (1997a:256 n. 125) have argued that the word here is the name of the god El, but van Selms (1975:470) also recognized the patent difficulty: "The problem arises how on the one hand Aṯiratu could be persuaded to intermediate for Baʿlu by presents which are called Ilu's property, while on the other hand Ilu's property was not brought by the gods to his abode, but remained with Aṯiratu." Van Selms finds a solution in positing a older sort of marriage arrangement where the wife does not dwell with her husband, but lives apart from him where she stands ready to receive his visits; according to this reconstruction, the furniture would indeed be for El's guestroom. The solution is *ad hoc*. More problematic, El is never described as traveling, except in 1.23.30. Other deities who desire contact with him proceed to his abode (Smith 1984b). While it is interesting that Athirat and El may not live together (*EUT* 41–42; Mullen 1980:18 n. 23), there is no indication that the presents here are intended to be his. It is more reasonable to reject the interpretation of *'il* as the god's name, and understand the word to mean "divine," used here to express the superlative quality of the goods, hence "grand" (Gaster 1946:26; cf. "the god" in *BOS* 2.123). A similar usage in Ugaritic is found in 1.3 III 29, 1.3 VI 14 and 1.101.1–4. In Amarna Akkadian, *ilu* is used once to refer to high quality silver (EA 35:20; *CAD I/Ĵ*:98; Moran 1992:107).[25]

The first item on the list (lines 30–31) is a dais or raised platform, designed to signify the elevated status of the person whose throne is placed on it. Albright (1943:40 n. 14) took *kt* from **kwn*, "to establish" and compared Aramaic *kannā, kannĕtā*, "stand, foundation, basis."[26] The word also occurs in reference to Anat in 1.13.10, 12 (pp. 178–80):

wʿp lḏrʿ nšrk	And fly at the arm of your raptors.
wrbṣ lǵrk 'inbb	And repose at your mount, Inbb,
kt ǵrk 'ank ydʿt	The dais of your mount which I know (?).
kt 'atn 'at	To the dais which I give, come (?).

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[25] Malamat (1998:185 n. 23) proposes to understand *kasap ili* either as "finest silver" or as silver reserved for the gods (*CAD* I/J:98, #1e).

[26] See also *TO* 1.195 n. h; *DUL* 467 under *kt* II; MHP; *CML²* 56, 149: "pedestal." Note also BH *kēn*, "base, pedestal," but *kann-* in suffixed forms. The root of the cognate nominal forms is apparently **knn* (so *BDB* 487) despite the claim that the root is **kwn*. The two could be related, either the former as the *D*-stem of the latter, or more likely as biform roots, a phenomenon not unparalleled for middle weak/geminate roots (see p. 203 n. 17). Cf. Cassuto's comparison with Akkadian *kutû*, "vessel," in *BOS* 2.123.

mṯbk b'a (?)	To your throne, come (?).
[š]mm rm lk	To the high heavens, go,
prz kt [k]bkbm	Then rule the dais [of the s]tars (?).

The canopied structure in the Iron II gate at Tel Dan (cf. n. 23 above) provides an actual example of a dais.

The dais made by Kothar is coated (*nbt*//*šmrḫt*) with silver and gold. To the first of these two feminine singular passive participles, Gotthold (cited in Albright 1943:41 n. 16) compared the geminate root in the expression, *nĕbûb lûḫôt*, "hollow, with boards," in the description of the altar in Exod 27:8 (cf. Galling 1936:595; *UT* 19.1603). Van Selms (1975a:471) derived *nbt* from the middle weak root, *nûb/nîb*, as in Ben Sira (Sirach/Ecclesiasticus) 32:5 (LXX; NAB) = 35:5 (in the Jerusalem Hebrew Language Academy edition); here the word refers to the setting of a precious stone in gold (LXX 32:5 renders *epi kosmooi chrusooi*, "in a setting of gold" [NAB]). Evidently the geminate and middle-weak roots are biforms (see *MLC* 587, and p. 203 n. 17).

The parallel word *šmrḫt* was often read as *šmrgt*, which scholars identified as a *C*-stem adjectival or nominal form. It was compared to Ethiopic *maraga* (*Thespis* 447; *TO* 1.195; Dietrich and Loretz 1978:60–61; *MLC* 583; *DUL* 830), defined by Leslau (357) as "to plaster, cement together." Leslau related the Ethiopic word to Arabic *maraja*, "to mix" (see also Pardee 1997a:256 n. 126). However, the traces on the tablet show that the letter identified as *g* is actually a *ḫ*, making the word *šmrḫt*. This alternative has long been noted (see Albright 1943:41; *KU* 20). Cassuto (*BOS* 2.123 n. 27), who championed this reading, translated the word as "inlaid." As cognates he noted Arabic *maraḫa* and Hebrew **mrḫ*, "to smear, rub" (see *BDB* 598; see also Talmudic Aramaic *mraḫ*; see also *TO* 1.195 n. j). In commenting on this word, Cassuto also noted that silver vessels were coated with smelted gold. Contextually, metal "coating" rather than "inlaying" seems indicated.

The third line evokes a striking image, *dm ḫrṣ*, "the blood of gold" (line 32). This phrase is analogous to *dm 'ṣm*, "the blood of trees" (1.4 III 44, IV 38; see also the Commentary to 1.3 II 20–22 on pp. 161–2). The latter phrase serves as a euphemism for wine based on the notion that wine is a liquid deriving from the vine; it also evokes the color of wine. The image of *dm ḫrṣ* does not involve gold's origins, but the liquid form that it assumes in this context. As with *dm 'ṣm*, *dm ḫrṣ* could further evoke the specific color of the gold (note Brenner 1982:167). Pope (1977:444) accordingly rendered the phrase "red gold" (so also Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1152; Wyatt 1998:91). One Hittite metal

inventory (KBo 18:153 verso 16) includes gold mixed with copper to make "red gold" (Kempinski and Košak 1977:90), more technically known as tumbaga (Scott 1991:84).

The next bicolon, lines 33–35a, describes the making of a magnificent throne and footstool. The two items likewise appear together in 1.5 VI 11–14 (using a different word for "throne"): "Then Beneficent Kindly El, descends from his throne (*ks'i*), and sits on the footstool (*hdm*), and from the footstool he sits on the ground." The two terms are also paired in BH (see e.g., Isa 66:1). The word for "throne" in line 33, *kḥṯ*, is generally considered a loanword from Hurrian *kišḫi* (discussed above on p. 291). The throne as a sign of royalty is assumed here and generally elsewhere. A letter sent by Ibal-pi-el of Eshnunna to Zimri-lim of Mari mentions that "a large throne" (offered by the former to the latter) is a "symbol of royalty" (A.1289+M.13103+M.18136, col. III, lines 28–29; Charpin 1991:155, 156). Dramatic examples of royal chairs emerged from the tomb of Tutankhamun, including one almost completely covered with thick gold sheet (see the descriptions in Killen 1980:58–63).

The last two words of the first colon, *nḥt bzr*, are ambiguous and have been interpreted in a number of ways. The first word, *nḥt*, literally means "rest" (< *nwḥ*; cf. Watson 1995:226–27), and scholars have differed as to what part of the throne the term might designate. Some have proposed that it refers to a high back of the throne (e.g., Driver, *CML*[1] 93; Gibson, *CML*[2] 56; Gordon 1977:90; *TO* 1.195; Wyatt 1998:92). Others argue that the term more likely refers to the seat of the throne (e.g., Aistleitner 37; de Moor 1987:46). Still others render it as a synonym for *kḥṯ*, and thus another synonym for "throne," usually rendered, "seat, divan, chair" (e.g., Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1152; del Olmo Lete, *MLR* 78; Pardee 1997a:256; Xella 1982:108). The latter seems most likely. The word appears even more clearly as a synonym for *kḥṯ*//*ks'u* in 1.3 IV 3; 1.16 VI 24; and probably 1.22 II 18.

The final word of the colon, *bzr* is also uncertain. It has been interpreted as the preposition *b* + *zr*, "back, top" (e.g., Albright 1943:41; Aistleitner 37; *TO* 1.195; Driver *CML*[1] 93; Gibson *CML*[2] 56; Wyatt 1998:92; cf. Arabic *ḍahr*; Akkadian *ṣēru*, as in the prepositional phrase *ina ṣēri*). Others, particularly those who view *nḥt* as "seat, divan, chair," identify *bzr* as a metal name, parallel with *br*, "electrum," in the following colon. In this case, a cognate appears in BH as *beṣer*, a word for a precious metal, probably gold (*HALOT* 149; cf. Løkkegaard 1955:20 n. 11; MHP).

The final two words of the second colon (lines 34b–35) are also ambiguous. The form *prš'a* is problematic. It appears to be cognate with BH *pāraś* and Arabic *faraša*, "to spread" (*DUL* 683; *UG* 51, 681; *KB* 917; Jastrow 1232; Lane 2369–72). In biblical and rabbinic literature, it is used for the spreading of a cloak. Here it applies analogously to metal overlay (*TO* 1.196 n. n; *MLC* 612; cf. **ṣpy* for overlay with gold in the prose texts, 2.79.10, 2.83.9 and 4.167.1–6). If the form is a verb (for some difficult suggestions for nominal cognates, see *RSP* 1.390–91), then it is **qatala*, and the context suggests a passive (or stative?) sense, "covered"; therefore the verb may be analyzed as a *G*-stem passive **qatala* 3rd masc. sg. Such passive forms are relatively rare, but not unknown (Sivan 1997:44, 122). The final *'aleph* is mysterious. *TO* (1.196) and Dietrich and Loretz (1978:61) argue that the consonant may serve to vocalize the final vowel. But this type of usage for *'* is quite rare (*UG* 50–51). *DUL* 683 suggests that the scribe may have added the vocalization here under the influence of the similar construction of line 38, where one finds, *ṯlḥn 'il dml'a*, although here the *'a* is part of the root. In addition to these proposals, one cannot rule out the possibility of a scribal error (cf. Cassuto, *BOS* 2.123). The problem remains.

The final word, *bbr* is usually interpreted as *b + br*, the latter understood as a metal name (also in CAT 4.608.3). Compared with Akkadian *barru* (*AHw* 107), the exact meaning of *barru* is actually somewhat uncertain (see *CAD B*: 113). The word is often translated "electrum," which is a mixture of gold and silver (de Moor 1987:46; *MLR* 78; for a chemical analysis of the process, see Scott 1991:11, 84; for discussion, see Moorey 1994:217). Or, the word may mean simply *br*, "pure (metal)," assuming a cognate with BH *bar* (so Pardee 1997a:256: "brightest metal"; Wyatt 1998:92: "polished metal"; cf. Pope in Smith 1998b:655).

The next gift Kothar makes is called a *n'l* (lines 36–37). Van Selms (1975a:473) suggested "platform," on the assumption that this word is *n*- preformative from **'ly*, "to ascend." The proposal has little, if any, supporting evidence. *N*-preformative nouns tend to be Akkadian loanwords into Ugaritic, but if a loan were involved here, it would not have come into Ugaritic with *'ayin*, a letter not found in Akkadian. Accordingly, van Selms' proposal may be rejected. Albright (1943:41 n. 21), Gaster (1946:26 n. 36), Dietrich and Loretz (1978:61) and Pope (MHP) suggest "couch" or "litter," while Pardee (1997a:256) translates "bed," assuming a cognate with Akkadian *majālu*, "sleeping place, bed" (*CAD M/*1:117b), derived from **ni'alu/nâlu*, "to lie down, rest" (see also Emar *maš-na-lu*, "sleeping couch," in HC7, line 16, Westenholz 2000:52, 54).

Because the other items in the list in 1.4 I involve furniture, these scholars understandably do not favor the etymologically unproblematic *nʿl*, "sandals" (cognate with BH *naʿal*, Syriac *naʿlā*, Arabic *naʿlu*; so translated in *TO* 1.196; *CML²* 56). (The noun stands in construct to *ʾil* and therefore it would lack a plural or dual consonantal ending.) It is to be noted, however, that the mention of footware might not be entirely out of place following the footstool (MHP). The suffix on *yblhm* in line 38 (< **ybl*, "to bear, carry," not "to place," so Pardee 1997a:256; cf. **bll*, "to pour," so Gaster 1946:29) would seem to refer to plural or dual items, which would rule out a single piece of furniture, unless *-hm* is the singular suffix plus enclitic *m-* (see Smith 1985:299–300). A dual or plural suffixal form would comport with *nʿl* as "sandals." Assuming *nʿl* as "sandals," the reduplicated form and *hapax qblbl* in line 36 may be related to the Arabic **qbl* "to provide a sandal with string or strap" (Freytag 487; so *KU* 20; Gaster 1944:22, 23; *TO* 1.196 n. o; for the root see Huehnergard 1991:695). Thus "sandals," as a less problematic choice morphologically, remains a viable interpretation (Smith 1985:280; *UNP* 121). However, the appearance of this item in the midst of substantial pieces of furniture (Pardee 1997a:256 n. 128) provides a context favoring the proposal that *nʿl* is a couch or bed. The meaning of the final word of the colon, *qblbl*, is less clear in this interpretation. Dietrich and Loretz (1978:62; 2000: 62) noted the BH cognate, *qābal*, "to accept, receive," and suggested "acceptable" as the meaning of *qblbl* (see Pardee 1997a:256 n. 128). This seems plausible. The reduplicated form could give the meaning an emphatic dimension, "most acceptable," i.e., "most appealing." However, this meaning for the word remains uncertain.

The next line (line 37) is equally difficult. Comparing ivory on bed panels from Ugarit, Pardee (1997a:256, and n. 128) suggests that the line be rendered: "above, he places an engraving." One might object that there is no reason not to see here the common word *ḥrṣ*, "gold," in this context, in view of its occurrences earlier. However, this is not a serious objection, since homonyms may occur in related contexts. Indeed, it might be viewed as poetically creative. More problematic for Pardee's proposal, the verb **ybl* does not really conform to the meaning, "to place." Rather, the root in Ugaritic seems to mean, "to carry, bring, take" (*DUL* 948–49), as in BH. Dietrich and Loretz (1978: 62) related it to BH *yôbēl*, "ram," suggesting that this referred to animal decorations on the couch. They have since (2000:20–21) joined several scholars (e.g., Albright 1943:41; Driver, *CML¹* 93; Wyatt 1998:92) in

taking it as a noun related to BH *ybl, "to bear, carry." Some, includ-
ing Albright and Wyatt, translate the word as "poles," envisioning the
n'l as a palanquin or litter with poles for being carried.[27] If the n'l is a
divan or bed, then the best translation of ybl is "handles" or the like.
Assuming that n'l is singular, then the suffix on yblhm is best understood
as 3rd masc. sg. -h + enclitic -m.

The divine table (lines 38–40) is the next item on the list. Tables
for royalty were often made of luxury woods, with carved and inlaid
decorations on them (cf. Meiggs 1982:279–99). This table is said to
be "full" (ml'a) of mnm and dbbm. This syntax recalls the description
of a swampland as "full of (wild) bulls" (ml'at r'umm) in 1.10 II 12. In
context, ml'a means "ornamented with," a usage found also in the
Amarna correspondence (with the Akkadian cognate malû in EA 22
II 38) and in Hittite texts (see CAD M/1:179; Moran 1992:59 n. 21).
Biblical texts likewise use the root for ornamentation or fittings with
precious stones or jewels (see Exod 28:17; Song of Songs 5:14). Pardee
(1997a:256 n. 130) suggests that "'filled' (ml'a) in this description "may
refer to the fact that the representational friezes [of the table] were
set inside a plain raised border" (cf. Schaeffer 1954:60, fig. 8). Heyer
(1975:104) compares the literary description here with the remains of
a circular table from Ras Shamra that had an inlaid top with carved
ivory animal figures on it, especially sphinxes (see Schaeffer 1954:59–61;
1962:23–24, 30, fig. 22).

The ornamentation consists of mnm and dbbm, explained in the
second line of the bicolon as things related to the foundations of the
earth. There are two primary interpretations of mnm. The first relates
the word to Akkadian mīnummê, "all, everything" (e.g., Albright 1943:41
n. 25; Coogan 1978:97). This word often appears unambiguously in
Ugaritic (DUL 563). Several scholars read it as belonging directly with
dbbm, and render the two words, "all sorts of creatures," or the like
(e.g., ANET 132; de Moor 1987:46; Wyatt 1998:92). This interpretation
seems unlikely, however, since the poetic meter strongly suggests that
mnm belongs to the first colon, and dbbm to the second. Other scholars
have related mnm to BH mîn, "species, kind" (e.g., TO 1.196; Dietrich
and Loretz 1997:1153; MLR 78). The latter seems more likely, as a

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[27] A cognate term, Akkadian nûbalu, is found in two letters from Mari: A.2679.41,
in which it is translated by Durand 1988:111 as "porteurs de chaise"; and in A.3892,
where it is rendered "chaise à porteurs" (Durand 1988:123; cf. 112 n. 13; cf. AHw
799; CAD N/2:306).

parallel to the following word, *dbbm*. Pardee (1997a:256) has deftly rendered the word "creatures," which fits into English better than the more literal "species," and we have followed his lead.

The second term is probably related to Arabic *dbb, "to crawl, walk slowly" usually referring to animals. Albright (1943:42) cited the Arabic noun *dâbbatu(n)*, "beasts," as the closest parallel. Some translators assume a fantastical element to the word and translate "monsters" (de Moor 1987:46; Wyatt 1998:92), but there seems to be no warrant for that view. Pardee (1997a:256) renders the noun as "creepy-crawlers," and the relation of these animals to the "foundations of the earth" supports the idea that they are the kinds of animals that live in holes in the ground, thus snakes and other reptilian creatures. But the general nature of the meaning of *dbb* (i.e., "to walk slowly") does not require an exclusively reptilian connotation here. One might note that many animals walk slowly, and that Arabic makes use of the root for various creatures. For example, the word *db*, "bear," is probably derived from the same root (cf. Albright 1943:42 n. 26) and, because of its living in caves, may also have been considered one of the creatures from earth's foundations.

The concluding phrase of the colon, *msdt ʾarṣ*, is also attested several times in the Hebrew Bible (Isa 24:18; Jer 31:37; Micah 6:2; Ps 82:5; Prov 8:29). The phrase appears, from its common contrast to the heavens in passages such as Isa 24:18 and Jer 31:37, to refer to the subterranean regions just below the surface of the earth, where animals might live when not creeping about, but not where the dead dwell (i.e., Sheol in Israel; cf. Albright 1943:42 n. 27).

The final object that Kothar makes for Athirat is a grand bowl or platter, *ṣ'*, described in a tricolon in lines 41–43. The word is cognate with Aram *ṣu'â*, "banquet dish or plate" (Gaster 1946:27; *UT* 19.2178; cf. BH **ṣ'ḥ*, "to pour out" in Jer 48:12; the Phoenician Larnax tes Lapethou III.1 *ṣw['*],"sacrificer," so Greenfield 1987a:396–97), and Punic *ṣw'ḥ*, "(a type of) offering," in KAI 69:3–7, 9, 13; 74:4, 5. The object itself is clear, but the description of the object that follows in lines 41–42 is again the subject of controversy. The term *dqt* is understood in two very different ways. Some relate it to a common word in Ugaritic, *dqt*, "small, tiny," which in numerous places in the Ugaritic tablets is used as a designation for small cattle, i.e., sheep and goats (see *DUL* 279; for the Akkadian cognate, see *CAD D*:107).[28] The other proposal

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[28] See Levine 1963:108; de Tarragon 1978:33. For a recent review of the evidence,

has been to derive it from the root *dqq*, "to pound thin, mold" (Aram cognate, Jastrow 319; *DUL* 279; Pardee 1997a: 256–57 n. 131). Before discussing the reasons for our interpretation, we need to look also at the parallel word in line 42, *sknt*, which suffers from a similar ambiguity, as well as at the phrases that follow each. Recognizing that *sknt* is parallel to *dqt* and interpreting the latter as "small animals," Albright (1943:42 n. 30) and van Selms (1975a:474–75) both looked to the root **skn*, "to care for," for its meaning. They each suggested that the word refers to an animal in some way cared for by humans. Albright proposed "tame (animal)," while van Selms put forward "tended, [i.e., domesticated] (goat)." This idea is plausible; it comports with the usual sense of Ugaritic **skn*, and it suffers no etymological difficulties. However, others (Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1153; *CML*² 56; de Moor, 1987:46; Pardee 1997a: 256; *DUL* 760) who do not see *dqt* above as an animal term, have translated it as "form, appearance" or the like. Proposed cognates have included Akkadian *šukuttu* or *šiknu*, "figure, image," or BH *maśkît*, "(carved) figure" (*BDB* 967). But neither of these etymologies is without problems.[29] All of this seems unnecessary for the word to be parallel to the second proposed meaning of *dqt*. It is possible that the standard meaning of *skn* in Ugaritic could have a manufacturing connotation related to the one proposed for *dqt*, i.e., "taken care of," i.e., "made."[30] Thus the parallel pair, *dqt* and *sknt* can be interpreted either as nouns for animals or passive participles concerning manufacture.

Each word is followed by a comparative phrase, *kʾamr*, and *kḫwt ymʾan*. Both words are best viewed as place names. The first of the place names, *ʾamr*, is the well-known region of Amurru, probably referring to the kingdom south of Ugarit. The location of *ymʾan* is unknown,[31] although

see Tropper 2001b, whose theory of *dqt* as "Brot als Opfermaterie" does not apply to *dqt* in 1.4 I 41.

[29] While Akkadian *šukuttu* or *šiknu*, "figure, image," may be semantically suitable (*WUS* 1908; *SPUMB* 50–51; Dietrich and Loretz 1972:30–31; see *CAD S/2*:436–39), the sibilant *š* does not correspond correctly to Ugaritic *s* (Healey 1979:354 n. 1). Gaster (1946:28 n. 51) tried to salvage the etymology by noting one other example of irregular correspondence of sibilants ("Canaanite *spr* = Acc. *šipru*"), but the exception to the rule is to be avoided in favor of the norm. For *maśkît*, the problem centers on the greater likelihood that that noun comes from the root *śky*, rather than *śkn*.

[30] The use of *sknt* here may be an intentional return to the root that appears in line 20, when Baal requests that Kothar *šskn* the gifts. Here at the conclusion of the description of Kothar's work, it may have been appropriate to reiterate the word.

[31] Proposals for identification include Ionia (*DUL* 966); the Aegean area in general (Dietrich and Loretz 1978:63); and Yemen (*CML*¹ 93). None of these carries conviction.

the context of its appearance in the ritual text CAT 1.40.27 suggests that it was located near Ugarit (cf. Pardee 2000:137; 2002:77–83). The word preceding *ym'an* is *ḫwt*, a common Ugaritic word meaning "country." In contrast, Albright (1943:42 n. 22) and Gaster (1946:27) both read *ḫwt* as an animal word. Citing Aramaic *ḥiwyâ*, Albright translated it as "python," while Gaster related the word to BH *ḥayyāh*, "animal." However, it is quite clear that the phrase *ḫwt ym'an* is parallel to *'amr*, since each follows the preposition *k*. Thus *ḫwt* almost certainly means "country."

We now return to the interpretation of *dqt* and *sknt*. Each noun is modified by a following comparative clause, "like (that or those) of Amurru," and "like (that or those) of the country of Yam'an." Taking *dqt* and *sknt* as "small cattle" and "domesticated animals" respectively, one wonders just how distinctive such animals might have been in these two regions that such a comparison might be made in a literary work. It seems much more likely that the comparisons made here would refer to the mode of manufacture, rather than the livestock of the areas. Thus we have rendered the two difficult lines, "A grand bowl (pounded) thin like those of Amurru, crafted like those of the country of Yam'an."

The third line of the tricolon then describes the decoration on the bowl—thousands of undomesticated water buffalo or wild bulls, *r'umm*. The excavations at Ras Shamra have yielded two fine examples of a similar motif dating to the 14th century. One is a gold bowl with repoussé decoration on its exterior, depicting hunting scenes with wild bulls. The other, a plate with decoration on the interior, depicts a figure in a chariot hunting deer and bulls (Schaeffer 1934:124–31, and pls. XV, XVI; a color photo of the plate may be found in Caubet and Pouyssegur 1998:118).

Cognates for *r'umm* include Akkadian *rūmu* (*AHw* 986), BH *rě'ēm*, Aramaic *rêmā*; Amorite *ri-iḫ-mu* (denoting a zoomorphic figurine; see Zadok 1993:328). The words show a variation of *u/i*, known from a number of Ugaritic words.[32] Diakonoff (1970:456) noted this particular variation in the environment of labial consonants; most of these examples have monosyllabic bases (see also Sivan 1997:43). Bisyllabic-based instances, also in the environment of labials, may also involve vowel harmony

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[32] Ugaritic *'um* and Akkadian *ummu* (cf. BH *'ēm*); Ugaritic polyglot, *bunušu* (cf. Akkadian *binu* and BH *bēn*). See Marcus 1968:54 n. 45, reference courtesy of W. R. Garr. For Ugaritic polyglot, *bunušu*, see Huehnergard 1987b:47. For further examples, see Marcus 1968:51 n. 8. Reference to Diakonoff is also courtesy of R. Garr.

(Ugaritic *'ulp* versus BH *'allûp*; Ugaritic *'urbt* versus *'arûbbâ*; see *UT* 5.19; Sivan 1997:44, 67). The word *r'umm* is well attested in Ugaritic (for Mesopotamian iconography of water buffalo, see van Buren 1946:6–7). According to 1.10 II 8–11, Baal goes hunting in *'aḫ šmk*, "the reed-marsh of ŠMK (cf. BH *'ḫw*, "reeds, reed-marsh"; Ginsberg 1973:131 n. 4), a place "full of water buffalo" (*ml'a[t r]'umm*). The undomesticated water buffalo (*Bubalus bubalis*), perhaps more specifically the river buffalo, was suited to marshy or flooded areas (Shkolnik 1994:17). The region of *'aḫ šmk* has been often identified as classical Semachionitis (Josephus, *BJ* III 515, IV 3), modern Lake Huleh, now a nature preserve in northern Israel located between Dan and Hazor (see Ginsberg 1973:131 n. 4 who leaves open the identification). Toward the end of the British Mandate period, only about 5,000 water buffalo were left in the Huleh and Batiha Valleys (Shkolnik 1994:17). From a herd surviving the Six Day War of 1967, 87 were transferred to the Huleh preserve; and as of 1994, there were about 150 there. The species' pattern of life has been so described: "the water buffalo established fixed spots for drinking, eating, bathing, urinating and defecating, and sleeping. Between these places, it proceeds along fixed routes" (Shkolnik 1994:17). Given these patterns, these animals would presumably have made easy targets for Baal on his hunt.

The gifts described in lines 29–43 may be taken as eminently appropriate for a deity. Indeed, as the survey of objects and iconography nicely amassed by Heyer (1978) would suggest, this passage lists items commonly associated with both divine and human royalty. A number of parallels with the Israelite tent of meeting may also be noted. 1.4 I 29–43 describes a canopied area with silver and gold furnishings made by a craftsman. Exodus 31 likewise describes a craftsman creating a tented area with items made of the same metals (Exod 31:1–5; 35:10–19, etc.). Functionally the throne mentioned explicitly in 1.4 I corresponds to the ark, upon which Yahweh is enthroned (1 Sam 4:4; 2 Sam 6:2; Exod 37:1–9). Closely connected to the ark is the idea of Yahweh's footstool (cf. 2 Chr 28:2, which mentions the ark, "and the footstool of our God."). A table is also made in both cases (cf. Exod 25:23–30). Van Selms compares further the juxtaposition of the table and bowl in Athirat's gifts with the golden flagons and bowls made for the table for the bread of the presence (Exod 25:29; Num 4:7; see also Cassuto 1967:340). Although Bezalel, the craftsman chosen to make the objects for the tabernacle, is not divine, he is described in this following manner in Exod 35:31: "He (God) has filled him with the

spirit of God, with wisdom, understanding, knowledge and in every kind of work." This is certainly a reasonable analogue or substitute for Kothar. A bed or couch does not appear in the paraphernalia of the Israelite God, nor is there evidence for a grand dais upon which the throne (ark) is set.

The column comes to a close with the conclusion of this scene. The gifts are ready for delivery. The end is marked by a double-line, but it is uncertain what the function of this line is. Although some have suggested that it simply marks the end of the scene (e.g., Gordon 1977:90), this seems unlikely, since such markings are not found between other scenes. It is more probable that it marks another place where a formulaic passage is omitted from the text, but is to be inserted by the performer of the poem (see Pardee 1997a:257 n. 132; *MLR* 79; Wyatt 1998:92 n. 97). See the similar lines after 1.3 III 31; 1.4 VIII 47; and the explicit instructions given with the lines at 1.4 V 41–43.

About sixteen lines of text are missing from the beginning of column II. In this short lacuna the gifts must be delivered to Baal and Anat, who then proceed on their journey to Athirat's abode.

CAT 1.4 II

Bibliography

Text Editions: Virolleaud 1932:121–26, pls. XXV, XXX (in the *editio princeps*, the captions for the two photos of the obverse and reverse have been exchanged; thus pl. XXIX, captioned as the obverse, is actually the reverse); CTA 23–24, fig. 14, pls. VII, VIII; KTU 15–16; CAT 16–17.

Studies and Translations: Aistleitner 38; Albright 1934:117–18; Binger 1997: 63–72; Caquot and Sznycer, *TO* 1.197–200; Cassuto, *BOS* 2.124–7; Coogan 1978:96–97; Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1153–55; Driver, *CML*[1] 92–95; Gaster, *Thespis* 175–78; Gibson, *CML*[2] 56–57; Ginsberg, *ANET* 132 and *KU* 21–24; Gordon, *UL* 29, 1977:90–91; Jirku 40–41; Maier 1986:6–10; Margalit, *MLD* 25–35; de Moor, *SPUMB* 143–45, 1987:47–49; del Olmo Lete, *MLC* 195–97; *MLR* 79–80; Pardee 1997a:257; Pope 1971; Smith, *UNP* 122–23; Wiggins 1993: 44–52; Wyatt 1998:92–95; Xella 1982:109–10; van Zijl, *Baal* 81–85.

Text (See Images 37–39)

[About 16 lines are missing.]

1 *[ ]x[ ]*
 [ ]xảbn[ ]
 ʾaḥdt.plkh[ ]
 p̃lk.tʿlt.bẏ mṅh
5 *npynh.mks.bšrh*
 tmtʿ.mdh.bym.t̠n
 npynh.bnhrm
 štt.ḫptr.lʾišt
 ḫbrt̠.lzr.pḥmm
10 *tʿpp.t̠r.ʾil.dpʾid*
 tg̃zy.bny.bnwt
 bnšʾi.ʿnh.wtphn
 hlk.bʿl.ʾat̠trt
 ktʿn.hlk.btlt
15 *ʿṅt.tdrq.ybmt*
 [ ]ˑbh.pʿnm
 [ ]dn.ksl
 [ ]nh.td̃ʿ
 tg̃s[ ]x̃[ ]xl[ ]
20 *ʾanš.dt.zr[ ]*
 tšʾu.gh.wtṣḥ.ʾik

mġẏ.'al'iynb'l
'ik.mġyt.b[]lt
'nt.mḫṣy.hm̊[]ḫṣ
25   bny.hm̊[ ]brt
'aryy[ ]l.ksp[]t̟rt
kt'n[ ]ẓl.ksp.wn̊[]x
ḫrṣ.šmḫ.rbt.'at̟[]
ẏm.gm.lġlmh.k [   ]
30   'n.mkt̟r.'apq̇[   ]
dġẏ.rbt.'at̟ṙ[   ]
qḥ.rt̟t.bdkx[   ]
rbt.'l.ydm̊[   ]
bmdd.'il.x[   ]
35   bym'il.d[   ]
hr.'il.y[   ]
'al'iyn.[   ]
btlt.[   ]
mh.kx̊[   ]
40   w'at̊[   ]
'at̟r[   ]
b'im[   ]
bll[   ]
mlx[   ]
45   dt[   ]
bt̟[   ]
gm[   ]
yx[   ]

Textual Notes

Line 1. We only see clear evidence of one letter. It consists of traces of a right vertical and traces of one, perhaps two, horizontals. It could be either /b/ or /d/. We found no evidence of the word divider given by CAT to the left of the letter. There is a possible indentation of a much-abraded horizontal to the right, but if it is a genuine trace, there is no evidence that it is the only wedge of the letter. Thus we would not read a /t/ with any confidence.

Line 2. x'àbn[/x/ has only the trace of a single vertical wedge. The /'a/ seems fairly certain. The lower line of the two-wedges of the letter are fairly clear, and there is no evidence of anything above the horizontals, which might turn it into a /b/.

Line 3. 'aḫdt   The first letter is fairly clear. The surface edges have completely disappeared, but the interiors of the two horizontals are visible.

Line 4. p̊lk.tʿlt.bẙṁṅḣ   Only the deep interior of one long horizontal wedge of the first letter is preserved. The context argues strongly for /p/. Although both CTA and CAT suggest that one could read /t ʿ/ as /q/, /t ʿ/ is certain here. The stance of the right wedge is that of the / ʿ/, not the right wedge of a /q/ (see Pitard 1992:265). The reading /bymnh/ is certainly correct and matches the remains of the lower parts of each of the letters.

Line 9. p̊ḥmm   One will note what appears to be a small vertical wedge at the lower left corner of the /p/, which makes it look somewhat like an /ʾi/ with only two horizontals. But the vertical there is not a wedge; rather, it is a straight-line incision, presumably an accident.

Line 15. ʿṅṫ.   Only the upper parts of these letters are visible. The word divider after / ʿnt/ is largely preserved.

Line 16. [   ]̇.bh   The upper part of the word divider before /bh/ is preserved.

Line 18. [   ]nh.tḏ̆ʿ   CTA records only two wedges of the /h/, but three are clearly visible. The upper two are very close together, but distinct. Only the two left verticals of the /d/ are preserved, but the context assures the reading. The lower right tip of the /ʿ/ is also visible.

Line 19. tġṣ[ ]x̊[   ]xl[   ]   Following the /ṣ/, after a gap that probably contained a word divider, there are possible traces of the lower left corner of a long horizontal, consistent with the reconstructed /p/ here. We see no traces of letters after that until the end of the line. There we find the top of a vertical wedge, which is consistent with the upper right wedge of an /s/ that parallels lead us to reconstruct here, while the next letter contains the three heads of an /l/. This has been read as the upper wedge of an /h/, based on the assumption that it is the last letter of the line, which can be reconstructed on the basis of 1.4 I 34–35. But one can clearly see the three distinct wedges. Thus we may assume that the final /h/ is lost in the break to the right.

Line 21. Line 17 from column I has broken through the double margin line. Ilimalku has created an *ad hoc* margin line for lines 21 and 22 to the right of the standard one. He has thus begun these lines somewhat to the right of the normal margin.

’ĭk   The right side of a low horizontal wedge is preserved just to the left of the /k/. It is fully consistent with the proposal to read it /’i/.

Line 22. ’al’iynbʻl   As CTA notes, there is no trace of a word divider after ’al’iyn/. But as CAT notes, the left vertical and horizontal of the succeeding /b/ are indeed preserved. The context assures that it is a /b/, rather than a /d/.

The run-on line from column I (line 18) places two complete letters into column II. Rather than beginning his next line after them, Ilimalku drops down below the letters, but still starts the next line well to the right of the regular margin lines. As he has done for lines 21 and 22, he draws an *ad hoc* margin line to indicate that the /’ik/ is the beginning of the new line.

Line 23. b[ ]l̀t   The right side of the middle wedge of the /l/ is visible, as is the complete right wedge.

Line 24. The final letter of col. I, line 20, crosses the margin line. This time Ilimalku moves the first letter of the line a little to the right, but does not make a new margin break.

ḥm̊   Only the deepest part of the lower wedge of the /ḥ/ is visible, but the letter is certain. The left horizontal of the /m/ is all that is left of that letter.

Lines 21 and 23 of column I once again intrude into column II. Ilimalku again draws a vertical margin line to the right of the original one until line I 23. However, Ilimalku continues to indent column II, lines 28–30 so that they match the beginning points of line 24–27. Only at line 31 does he move the left margin of column II back to the original margin line.

Line 24. ḥm̊[The bottom part of /ḥ/ is damaged, so that it could theoretically be /’i/. But context supports reading /ḥ/. The /m/ is epigraphically uncertain, since only the horizontal survives. But again the context supports the reading.

Line 25. ḥm̊[The /h/ is damaged, but elements of all three wedges survive. Only the upper left corner of a horizontal is preserved after the /h/. The reading /m/ is quite compatible with the traces.

Line 26.]l̊. k̊sp.[   ]t̊rt   Although neither CTA nor CAT see traces of the /l/, the lower tips of all three wedges are preserved. /k/ in /ksp/ is damaged and is missing its upper left wedge. But the reading is certain. /t/ is quite damaged, but partially visible.

Line 27. [ ] ẓl   We see no traces left of the probable word divider after /ktʻn/. While the *Winkelhaken* is abraded, it is clear enough to see that it has a vertical right side. This shows that the letter should be read /ẓ/, rather than /pʻ/, as proposed by Ginsberg and Gaster (see Pardee 1997a:257 n. 138). On the forms of /ẓ/ and /ʻ/, see Pitard 1992:267–68.

   /wn̊[   ]x   The /n/ is uncertain, though likely. There is a clear short horizontal that touches the right wedge of the preceding /w/, and there appear to be remains of the interior of an additional horizontal wedge to its right. It should be either an /ʼa/ or an /n/. To the right of the break, at the end of the line is a very damaged horizontal wedge that might be a /t/, but may also be the end of another letter (/ʼa, k, w, r/). CAT's proposed reading of /nr/ seems to assume that this wedge is the right wedge of an /r/. But there is too much space to argue that there is no intervening letter between /n/ and /r/. So *n[r]t*, "light" (see CTA p. 23 n. 9) is a plausible reading, as others might be (cf. the reading *n[b]t* in *CML*[2] 57).

Line 28. ḫr̊ṣ̊   Although badly damaged, the three letters are certain. Each is partially filled with an encrustation.

   ʼåṯ̊.   The left horizontal of the /ʼa/ and upper left tip of the right horizontal are visible. The /ṯ/ is much less well preserved, but the deep interior of the sign appears to have survived.

Line 29. ẏm   The /y/ is badly damaged and partially filled with an encrustation. But it is still fairly clear.

   k̊[Only the two left wedges and part of the left line of the larger right wedge are preserved, but this makes the letter certain.

Line 30. ʼapq̊ [The horizontal left wedge of the /q/ is well preserved, but also the upper left edge of the right wedge is visible, making /q/ the correct reading over /t/.

Line 31. dġy.   Several of the letters on this line, /dg/ and /r/are partially obscured by an encrustation that fills some of the wedges. But all the signs are still visible.

    'aṯṛ[The /r/ is very damaged, but certain, since traces of the four left horizontals are still visible.

Line 32. bdkx[A single horizontal is preserved to the left of the break. It could be a /t/, but epigraphically it could also be the left wedge of a /q/, or an /m/.

Line 33 ydṁ [The final letter is again at the edge of a break, but the upper part of the right vertical wedge is visible.

Line 34 'il.x[/x/ The deep interior of an upper left wedge of a letter is visible. The context argues for /y/, and this is consistent with the traces.

Line 35. bym'il   We see no word divider between /ym/ and /'il/.

Line 39. mh.kx̊[There appear to be traces of the upper left corner of a vertical wedge at the break.

Line 40. w'aẗ[The reading /t/ is not certain. It could also be part of a /q/ or /m/.

Line 43 bll[Although there is a gap between the two /l/'s, there is no word divider between them. Nor are there any traces of a letter at the end of the line.

Line 44. mlx[While /k/ seems plausible for the uncertain letter here, only the upper left corner of a wedge is preserved.

Line 45 dt[We see no trace of a word divider after the /t/, as proposed by CAT.

Line 47 gm[One last time Ilimalku has allowed column I to break past the margin line. Here col. I line 42 is the culprit, forcing the scribe to make one last short *ad hoc* margin line, followed by the /g/.

Line 48. yx[The second letter has a large vertical on the left, which suggests that it is a /g/, /ṣ/ or /l/.

Text Restored and Set in Poetic Form

[About 16 lines are missing.]

1	*[ ]x[ ]*
2	*[ ]x'abn[ ]*
3–4	*'aḥdt.plkh[.bydh]/*
	plk.tˤlt.bymnh/
5–7	*npynh.mks.bšrh/*
	tmtˤ.mdh.bym.
	ṯn/npynh.bnhrm/
8–9	*štt.ḫptr.lʾišt/*
	ḫbrṯ.lzr.pḥmm/
10–11	*tˤpp.ṯr.ʾil.dpʾid/*
	tġzy.bny.bnwt
12–14	*bnšʾi.ˤnh.wtphn/*
	hlk.bˤl.ʾaṯ{t}rt/ktˤn
14–16	*hlk.btlt/ˤnt.*
	tdrq.ybmt/[lʾimm].
16–18	*bh.pˤnm/[tṭṭ.]*
	[bˤ]dn.ksl/[tṯbr.]
	[ˤln.p]nh.tdˤ/
19–20	*tġṣ[.pnt.ks]l[h]/*
	ʾanš.dt.zr[h]/
21	*tšʾu.gh.wtṣḥ.*
21–24	*ʾik/mġy.ʾalʾiyn bˤl/*
	ʾik.mġyt.b[t]lt/ˤnt
24–26	*mḫṣy.hm[.m]ḫṣ/bny.*
	hm[.mkly.ṣ]brt/ʾaryy[.]
26–28	*[z]l.ksp.[ʾa]ṯrt/ktˤn[.]*
	zl.ksp.wn[r]t/ḫrṣ.
28–29	*šmḫ.rbt.ʾaṯ[rt]/ym.*
	gm.lġlmh.k[tṣḫ]/
30–31	*ˤn.mkṯr.ʾapq[ ]/*
	dgy.rbt.ʾaṯr[t.ym]/
32–33	*qḥ.rṯt.bdkx[ ]/*
	rbt.ˤl.ydm[ ]/
34–36	*bmdd.ʾil.x[ ]/*
	bymʾil.d[ ]/
	[n]/hr.ʾil.y[ ]
37–38	*ʾalʾiyn.[bˤl]*
	btlt.[ˤnt]
39	*mh.kx[ ]*
40	*wʾat[ ]*
41	*ʾaṯr[t]*
42	*bʾim[ ]*

43   *bll*[   ]
44   *mlx*[   ]
45   *dt*[   ]
46   *bṭ*[   ]
47   *gm*[   ]
48   *yx*[   ]

Translation and Vocalized Text

Athirat at Her Domestic Chores

[About 16 lines are missing.]

1	[ ]	
2	…the stone [ ]	
3–4	She took her spindle [in her hand],	'aḫadat pilakka-ha [bi-yadi-ha]/
	An exalted spindle in her right hand.	pilakka ta'lîti yamīni-ha
5–7	As for her robe, the covering of her skin,	napayāna-ha maksî bašari-ha/
	She conveyed her garment into the sea,	timta'u madda-ha bi-yammi
	Her double-robe into the rivers.	t̠inê[1]/napayāna-ha bi-naharīma
8–9	She set a jar on the fire,	šātat ḫupatara lê-'išiti/
	A pot on top of the coals,	ḫubrut̠a lê-z̠āri paḫamīma
10–11	She would exalt Bull El the Beneficent,	ta'āpipu t̠ôra 'ila dā-pā'ida/
	Honor the Creator of Creatures.	taġaz̠z̠iyu bāniya baniwāti

Athirat Receives Baal and Anat

12–14	When she lifted her eyes, she looked,	bi-našā'i 'ênê-ha wa-taphîna/
	Athirat indeed saw Baal's advance,	halāka ba'li 'at̠iratu/ kī-ta'înu

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[1] See *UG* 345. It is possible that the object should be understood as a plural.

14–16   The advance of Adolescent Anat,   halāka batulati/'anati
        The approach of the In-law [of   tadarriqa yabimti/
          the Peoples].   [li'imīma]

16–18   On her, feet [shook],   bi-ha pa'nāmi/[taṭṭiṭā]
        [Arou]nd, loins [trembled],   [ba']dana kisalū/[taṯburū]
        [Above,] her [fa]ce sweated.   ['alê-na pa]nū-ha tadi'ū

19–20   [The joints of her loi]ns convulsed,   taġġuṣū [pinnātu
                                                       kisa]lī[-ha]/
        Weak were the ones of [her] back.   'anašū dātu ẓāri[-ha]

21   She raised her voice and declared: tišša'u gā-ha wa-taṣûḥu

21–24   "Why has Mightiest Baal come?   'êka/maġiya 'al'iy'ānu
                                                       ba'lu/
        Why has Ado[les]cent Anat come?   'êka maġiyat ba[tu]latu/
                                                       'anatu

24–26   Are they my murderers, or the   māḫiṣū-ya himma [mā]ḫiṣū/
          [mur]derers of my children,   banī-ya
        Or [the destroyers of the b]and   himma [mukalliyū ṣi]bbirati/
          of my brood?"   'aryi-ya

26–28   [The gle]am of silver [A]thirat eyed,   [ẓi]lla kaspi ['a]ṯiratu/
                                                       kī-ta'înu
        Gleam of silver, g[lin]t (?) of gold.   ẓilla kaspi wa-ni[ra]ta/
                                                       ḫurāṣi

28–29   Lady Ath[irat] of the Sea rejoiced,   šamāḫu rabbatu 'aṯi[ratu]/
                                                       yammi
        Aloud to her attendant   gā-ma lê-ġalmi-ha
          [she declared]:   kī-[taṣûḥu]

30–31   "See the skilled work of the source   'în makṯara 'appiqê
          [of the Deeps (?)],   [tahāmatêmi (?)]/
        O Fisher of Lady Athir[at   daggayi rabbati 'aṯira[ti
          of the Sea].   yammi]

32–33   Take a net in hand…,   qaḥ raṯata bâdê…
        A great one in your hands.…   rabbata 'alê yadêmi…

34–36   Into the Beloved of El, [Sea],   bi-mêdadi 'ili [yammi…]/
        Into Divine Sea [   ],   bi-yammi 'ili…
        [Ri]ver, the God [   ]   [na]/hari 'ili…

37–38   Mightiest [Baal   ],   'ali'yānv [ba'lv…]/
        Adolescent [Anat   ]…"   batulatv ['anatv]

[*Lines 39–48 are too damaged to translate.*]

COMMENTARY

Poetic Parallelism and Word/Syllable Counts

		semantic parallelism	word/ syllable count
3–4	'aḫadat pilakka-ha [bi-yadi-ha]/	a b [c]	3/11
	pilakka ta'lîti yamīni-ha	b d c'	3/10

The bicolon is a good example of a common type of poetic syntax, with a single verb governing the direct objects in both lines (here actually the same word), the latter followed by prepositional phrases (in this case, the reconstructed *b-* in the first line doing double duty). The nouns at the end of the lines are almost certainly the well-known word pair *[yd]//ymn*. The single non-paralleled term in the second line is *t'lt*, which offers slight resonance with *'aḫdt* in the dental and guttural consonants.

5–7	napayāna-ha maksî bašari-ha/	a b c	3/11
	timta'u madda-ha bi-yammi	d a' e	3/9
	ṯinê/napayāna-ha bi-naharīma	a'' e'	3/12

Or, with transposition of lines (see Commentary below on p. 444), there would result the following arrangement:

timta'u madda-ha bi-yammi	a b c	3/9
ṯina napayāna-ha bi-naharīma	b' (x, y) c'	3/12
napayāna-ha maksî bašari-ha	b'' d (x of y)	3/11

The reference to the garment in line 5 does not fit with the two preceding lines (2–4) involving the spindle. Rather, it belongs with the reference to the garment in lines 6–7, and perhaps it is to be reconstructed after lines 6–7 (so Smith, *UNP* 122). However, the placement of line 5 before lines 6–7 might be explained as an unusually long *casus pendens* ("as for her robe, the covering of her skin,..."). By the same token, the customary poetic pattern would suggest that line 5 was the third line in the tricolon with lines 6–7. See further discussion in the Commentary below.

   If this were the correct order, it would highlight the sonant echo from *t'lt* in the preceding bicolon. However one reads this tricolon,

the parallelism is dominated by the accusative nouns + 3rd feminine singular suffixes. The last word in each line begins with *b-* (once a root letter of the noun, twice the preposition *b*). In addition, the repetition of *npyn* further binds the lines.

| 8–9 | šātat ḫupatara lê-'išiti/ | a b c | 3/10 |
| | ḫubruṭa lê-z̲āri paḥamīma | b' c' (x of y) | 3/10 |

The classic poetic syntax of parallel direct objects and prepositional phrases governed by a single verb in the first line here balances that verb with the expanded prepositional phrase in the second line. In addition, the same preposition is used in both phrases. Of particular note is the use of two rare words in Ugaritic (*ḫptr* and *ḫbrṯ*, both possibly loan-words), with their very closely related sonance (*ḫ, r,* and a medial bilabial *-p//b*).

| 10–11 | ta'āpipu ṯôra 'ila dā-pā'ida/ | a b (x, y, z) | 4/12 |
| | taġaz̲z̲iyu bāniya baniwāti | a' b' (x of y) | 3/11 |

The initial verbs, parallel in both syntax and form, govern parallel sets of titles for El. One subtle sonant effect involves a string of vowels, a-i-a, a pattern running two times through both *ṯôra 'ila dā-pā'ida* and *bāniya baniwāti*. This effect is generated partially through syntax (the nouns' final endings) and partially by morphology (the internal structure of these nouns).

| 12–14 | bi-našā'i 'ênê-ha wa-taphîna/ | a b c | 3/11 |
| | halāka ba'li 'aṯiratu/kī-ta'înu | d (x of y) e c' | 4/13 |

The visual vocabulary binds the two lines, with the same root used for the object in the first line and the verb in the second. Apart from this feature, the effects between the two lines appear less strong (i.e., *b-…-i* in *bi-našā'i and ba'li*; the string of *n*'s in the first line picked up at the end of the second line). In comparison, the parallel in 1.3 III 32 involves a single line.

| 14–16 | halāka batulati/'anati | a b (x,y) | 3/10 |
| | tadarriqa yabimti/[li'imīma] | b' c' (x of y) | 3/11 |

The unit picks up from the preceding with the repetition of *hlk*, and extends it with *tdrq*, parallel in meaning and syntax (with this parallelism

compounded sonantly by the string of shared *a*'s as well as similar consonants, *k/q* and *l/r*). The two initial parallel nouns are followed by syntactically parallel epithets for Anat. Internally each set of titles carries a certain resonance (in the first, *a-a-i* in the vowels plus final *–ti*; in the second, *i-i* plus bilabial consonants).

16–18	bi-ha paˈnāmi/[taṭṭiṭā]	a b c	3/8
	[baˈ]dana kisalū/[taṯburū]	a' b' c'	3/9
	[ˈalê-na pa]nū-ha tadiˈū	a'' b'' c''	3/9

For these lines, see the discussion of the parallel in 1.3 III 32–34 (pp. 210–11 above).

19–20	taǵǵuṣū [pinnātu kisa]lī [-ha]/	a b c	3/10
	ˈanašū dātu ẓāri[-ha]	a' b' (x of y)	3/8

For these lines, see the discussion of the parallel in 1.3 III 34–35 (p. 211 above).

21	tiššaˈu gā-ha wa-taṣûḥu	a (V + DO) a'	3/9

For this line, see the parallel in 1.3 III 35–36 (p. 211 above).

21–24	ˈêka/maǵiya ˈalˈiyˈānu baˈlu/	a b c (x, y)	4/11
	ˈêka maǵiyat ba[tu]latu/ˈanatu	a b c' (x, y)	4/12

The parallel in 1.3 III 36 is a single line (see p. 211), but here it is expanded into a bicolon since there are two subjects involved, Baal and Anat. The bicolon reuses the same initial particle and the same verb, and the subjects here are presented with their standard epithets, perhaps chosen here for thematic reasons. Baal's title suggests his martial demeanor, and Anat's status as *btlt* expresses her independent status, perhaps implying her capacity for conflict; see p. 188. By the same token, the initial *ba-*, the interior *l*, and the final *-u* in *ba[ˈlu]* and *ba[tu]latu* (as well as ˈ in both their names) add sonantly to the effect.

24–26	māḫiṣū-ya himma [mā]ḫiṣū/banī-ya	a b a'	4/12
		(x of y)	
	himma [mukalliyū ṣi]bburati/ˈaryi-ya	b a''	4/13
		(x of y of z)	

The two-fold use of *mḫṣ* in the initial line followed by the semantically parallel *[mukalliyū]* dominates these two lines, which are bound further by the repetition of *himma* (the marker of the second and third terms in double and triple questions; see Ginsberg 1946:35; Held 1969). The parties governed by the verbs expand through the unit from a simple pronominal suffix *-y*, to a single noun plus the same suffix, finally to a construct phrase with the same suffix.

26–28	[ẓi]lla kaspi [ʾa]ṯiratu/kī-taʿînu	a b c d	4/12
	ẓilla kaspi wa-nî[ra]ta/ḫurāṣi	a b aʾ bʾ	4/11

The same nominal phrase in the initial syntactical slot particularly binds the two lines, further connected (if the restoration is correct) in the sonant parallelism of *taʿînu* and *nî[ra]ta*.

28–29	šamāḫu rabbatu ʾaṯi[ratu]/yammi	a b (x, y of z)	4/12
	gā-ma lê-ġalmi-ha kī-[taṣûḫu]	c d aʾ	3/10

Reactions by the goddess, perhaps both verbal, appear in the two lines, which are otherwise disparate in their parallelism. The repetition of *m* in the two lines perhaps contributes to the binding of the two lines.

30–31	ʿîn makṯara ʾappiqê [tahāmatêmi?]	a b c	4 (?)/12 (?)
	daggayi rabbati ʾaṯira[ti yammi]	c d (x, y of z)	4/12

The broken condition of the first line makes it difficult to appreciate the poetics of this bicolon. It may be noted that as different as *mkṯr* and *ʾaṯrt* are semantically and syntactically, they still offer a limited sonant parallelism. If the reconstructions are correct, then there would also be semantic parallelism between *[tahāmatêmi]* and *[yammi]*.

32–33	qaḥ raṯata bâdê.../	a b c...	3+(?)/6+(?)
	rabbata ʿalê yadêmi...	bʾ cʾ...	3+(?)/8+(?)

What remains of this bicolon is highly parallel in a rather standard poetic syntax of a verb governing parallel direct objects and parallel prepositional phrases. In addition, the morphology of the direct objects (*ra-a-ta*) and the vowel patterns of the prepositions (*â/a-ê*) show sonant parallelism.

34–36   bi-mêdadi ʾili ya[mmi…]/   a b c…
        bi-yammi ʾili…[…   c b…
        [na]/hari ʾili…   c' b…

The three lines all use "god" (*ʾili*) as an element for parallelism, supplemented in the first two lines by the preposition *bi-* plus a title or name of the god. Because of the broken character of the ends of all three lines, it is impossible to offer a fuller appreciation of the parallelism involved in this tricolon.

37–38   ʾaliʾyānv [baʿlv…]/   a b
        batulatv [ʿanatv]   a' b'

For the parallelism of these titles, see above for lines 21–24.

Introduction

At some point in the lacuna of about sixteen lines at the beginning of the column, the scene shifts to Athirat, El's wife and mother of the gods. The column consists of three parts: (1) Athirat is introduced performing domestic chores (lines 2–11); (2) she then notices the approach of Baal and Anat and reacts in fear (lines 12–26); and (3) then she sees the gifts in tow and realizes they are coming in peace (lines 26–33?). Lines 34ff. are too broken for certain interpretation. Athirat is not mentioned by name until lines 28–29, but it is clear from context that she is the subject of the narrative in this column.

Lines 1–11: Athirat at Home

The initial section, consisting of lines 2–11, has produced a wide range of interpretations, due to a number of ambiguous words here, as well as to the general lack of clarity concerning the context. Our interpretation, like the others, remains tentative. Some things can be considered certain. While a few earlier scholars identified the character described in these lines as Anat (Driver, *CML*[1] 93; Gaster, *Thespis* 175–77), the majority rightly interprets this scene as a description of Athirat at home performing a series of activities. The first bicolon (lines 3–4) shows her at work with a spindle whorl (*plk*). The word is vocalized in the Ugaritic polyglot as *pilakku* (Sivan 1997:71); its cognates include Akkadian *pilakku*, Arabic *falak*, Aramaic *pilkā*, BH *pelek*, and Phoenician *plk* (possibly also

Emar *palakku*; see Pentiuc 2001:138). The latter West Semitic forms
are sometimes said to be loans from Akkadian, but perhaps the forms
generally derived ultimately from an early "Kulturwort."[2]

   The word that follows the second appearance of *plk* (line 4) has
been read as either *qlt* or *t'lt* (see the Textual Notes above). The latter
appears correct, and so the word likely derives from *'ly*, and may refer
to the spindle as "exalted" (?), or it could refer to Athirat ("befitting her
high station," according to Pardee 1997a:257). We have chosen to see
it as modifying *plk*, and tentatively render it "mighty." Spindle whorls
found at LBA Ugarit (Elliott 1991:41–45) are mostly domed or coni-
cal and circular in shape. The spindle was primarily used to produce
thread for sewing, an activity identified as the domain of women in
the ancient Levant: *'št tk (perhaps, t<l>k?[3]) lḥdy dl plkm*, "a woman walks
along (?) with (her) spindles" (KAI 26 A II 5–6); (see also *pilaqqi* as a
symbol for women in the Treaty of Esarhaddon, para. 91, in Parpola
and Watanabe 1988:56). Despite some doubts expressed by van Selms
(1954:55), weaving was evidently regarded as women's work (for a
Sumerian witness, see Frayne 1997:304, iv 23–31). This seems to be the
situation regularly in Egypt too, to judge from iconographic evidence.
A wooden tomb-model of an Egyptian weaver's house depicts the
processes of turning flax into cloth (*ANEP* #142). One of the figures,
an unclothed spinner, rotates the spindle with its whorl on her thigh,
giving the thread its twist (see the description of #142, p. 266). A tomb
painting at Beni Hasan (*ANEP* #143) and a stone relief from Susa
(*ANEP* #144) likewise show women working spindles. Administrative
texts from Mari (*ARM* IX 24:4:18, 25:38, and 27:5:43; *ARM* XIII rev.
21:9'–16') mention female weavers serving in the palace, and another
text (*ARM* X 126) refers to women designated *ugbabtum*, priestesses of
lower rank, sent to the weaving house, *bīt išparāti* (Malamat 1998:184).
Biblical literature situates weaving and its tool, the spindle, within the
domain of women's labor (Prov 31:13, 19). Women are attributed the
role of spinning in Exod 35:25–26. Tobit 2:11 calls weaving cloth,
"the kind of work women do" (NAB). It is considered a curse (2 Sam
3:29) that a man be one who "handles the spindle" (*maḥăzîq bappelek*; see
Malul 1992). The spindle evidently serves as a symbol for females. Upon

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[2] See Kaufmann 1974:82–3 and Huehnergard 1987b:83, 1991:693; see also *UT*
19.2050; Layton 1989; Malul 1992. Rendsburg 1997:272 also notes Eblaite *pilak(k)u*.
[3] So proposed by Greenfield 1978:75–76 and 1982:180.

birth, girls in Mesopotamian culture would be consecrated by placing beside them a spindle and a hairclasp (so van der Toorn 1994a:20; for further discussion, see Malul 1992:52–56).

A variety of goddesses are attributed spindles (cf. Layton 1989:85, 86 n. 16). Ashertu herself may wield a spindle in the story of Elkunirša (*ANET* 519; Beckman 1997), but there she uses it as a weapon, a function hardly suitable to the context of 1.4 II. The primary function of the spindle is the one most likely involved here, as domestic activities seem to be the general activity described in this section and since working with the spindle leads reasonably well into the next one. The idea that Athirat had a particularly close relationship to weaving may be hinted at in 2 Kgs 23:7. This passage recalls how women used to make garments in the cult devoted to Asherah in the Jerusalem temple (Meyers 2003:433, 560; Smith 2003:558). Thus weaving perhaps may have been a particular form of religious devotion to, or religious activity associated with Athirat. Perhaps Athirat, as the divine mother, was considered a patron of this women's work. Finally, one should also note that weaving and textile-work constituted an element in the wider arena of LBA Aegean-Mediterranean commerce (see Barber 1991). Perhaps Athirat's association with both the sea and weaving reflects this feature of ancient Ugarit's commercial links. This remains speculative.

The following tricolon in lines 5–7 is the most ambiguous of the passage. A wide range of interpretations may be found in the various translations. For the most part, scholars agree that Athirat does something with some of her clothing in the sea. But the details remain controversial. There seems little doubt that clothing is the central subject of these lines, given the terms, *mks bšrh*, "the covering of her flesh" (< **ksy*, "to cover") and *md*, a clear cognate with BH *madd*, *midd*, "robe, gown" (Lev 6:3; Judg 3:16; etc.). Controversy, however, centers upon *npynh* in line 5 and its parallel repetition in lines 6–7 as *ṯn npynh*. Most commentators recognize the first *npynh* as being appositional to *mks bšrh* in line 5, indicating that it is also a word for a article of clothing, presumably parallel in some way to *mdh*. Thus it is usually translated as "gown, robe, undergarment, clothing, etc." A somewhat distant cognate is found in Arabic *nafayân*, "foliage" (al Yasin 1959:80. In contrast, Caquot and Sznycer (*TO* 1.197–98, n. d) and Pardee (1997a:257 n. 133) take the word from **npy*, "to winnow, expel." Caquot and Sznycer interpret it as "excrement," and assume that Athirat is cleaning herself after having lost control of her bowels because of the approach of Baal and Anat. This, of course, may be rejected, since it is not until line 12

that she becomes aware of the two gods' arrival. Pardee takes the word to mean "rubbish," and here assumes that Athirat is cleaning both her garments and herself of the dust of weaving. This is not convincing, since it makes the subject of the tricolon shift awkwardly from her skin to her clothing and apparently back to her skin. In addition, it creates a peculiar interpretation of *ṯn npynh* as "two rubbishes." The context, we believe, argues more strongly for understanding *npynh* as a noun referring to an article of clothing. The phrase, *ṯn npynh*, probably refers to a garment with two layers of cloth. The phrase, *lābūš šānîm*, in Prov 31:21 may be related to *ṯn npynh*, as proposed by Driver (1947), if the LXX reading of the latter word (*dissás = šĕnāyim*) is correct, i.e., "her household is clothed in double garments," rather than "clothed in scarlet."

Assuming that this passage deals with clothing, there remains the problem of determining what Athirat is doing with the clothes. The verb governing these nouns, *tmtʿ*, has been related to Arabic *mataʿa*, "to carry off, carry away, remove." Two renderings of the verb provide very different interpretations of the scene. The first is "to remove," which would suggest that Athirat removes her clothes and rinses or washes them in the sea (cf. Albright 1934: 117; Cassuto *BOS* 2.124; Coogan 1978:97; Driver *CML*[1] 93; Wyatt 1998:93). The other is "to carry," in which the removal of clothing is dropped, while the assumption remains that the clothes are rinsed or washed in the sea (cf. Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1153; Gibson *CML*[2] 56; de Moor 1987:47; Smith, *UNP* 122). The sense of "remove" seems particularly awkward in the context, with the difficulty of understanding what line 6 would mean: "She removed her robe in the sea." The meaning "to carry, convey," works better here contextually, fitting well with the idea that she is performing some kind of domestic chore, although the value of washing clothes in sea water is not obvious.

Line 5, made up of two phrases without a verb, presents an interesting syntactical difficulty. As it stands, it appears to be either a pair of phrases dependent on the preceding line, or it may be seen as a *casus pendens* related to the following line, as rendered in our translation above.[4] Both alternatives are awkward. The first suggestion may be dismissed fairly easily. The subject matter of line 5 is not related to that of the preceding lines and is clearly part of the succeeding. A *casus pendens*

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[4] For discussion and examples of *casus pendens* in Ugaritic, see *UG* 882–84.

customarily elaborates a noun in the following clause to which it refers; in this case line 5 would refer to *mdh* in line 6. However, such a long *casus pendens* would be unusual, if not unparalleled, in Ugaritic poetry (see Dahood 1969:24; Sivan 1997:217–18).

Scholars have dealt with this problem in various ways. Ginsberg (*ANET* 132) simply translated it as a sentence fragment, connecting it grammatically neither to the preceding or succeeding lines. Gibson (*CML²* 56) applied the verb of line 6 in parenthesis before the nominal phrases of line 5. Using a different approach, *TO* (1.197–98) and Pardee (1997a:257 n. 133) take *mks* as a predicative participle governing *npynh*; while possible, the predicative participle would appear to be rare at best in Ugaritic (see Smith 1999) and thus dubious in this context. Wyatt (1998:93) takes the verb of line 6 with the words in line 5, thus making the three cola severely unbalanced in line-length (4/2/3). This, too, is problematic.

There is no obvious solution to this problem. One additional proposal is to suggest that the lines of the tricolon have been wrongly arranged. Ugaritic narrative poetry generally builds tricola with a verb in the initial line and then elaborates the other grammatical items in the following lines. For this reason, one might tentatively propose that line 6a should be the initial line of the tricolon instead of line 5. We would thus have the following translation (as in Smith, *UNP* 122):

6	*tmtʿ mdh bym*	She conveyed her garment in the sea,
6–7	*ṯn/npynh bnhrm*	Her double-robes in the rivers,
5	*npynh mks bšrh*	Her robe, the covering of her skin.

Rearranged in this manner, the tricolon has no syntactical problems, and it conforms to the standard canons of Ugaritic parallelism and line-length. De Moor 1987:47 switches just lines 5 and 6a: "She carried her clothing into the sea,//her skirts, the covering of her body,//her two skirts into the river." The former version, by keeping the parallelism of sea and rivers together, may be slightly more likely. But in the final analysis, such a radical solution to the problem without textual evidence must remain extremely tentative. There is no simple solution here.[5]

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[5] Miller (1999:370–72) uses the patterns of verbal ellipsis in Ugaritic texts to evaluate various proposals for reading this passage. She points out that, while some interpretations can be dismissed, several must be considered plausible, so that certainty in interpretation here cannot be reached.

The bicolon in lines 8–9 shifts from the cleaning of clothes to cooking. Most of the words in this bicolon are common Semitic: *štt* (< **šyt*, "to place, put"); preposition *l-* plus *ẓr*, "top" (cf. Arabic *ḍahr*, Akkadian *ṣēru*, BH *ṣōhar*); and *'išt*, "fire" (syllabic *'išitu*, Huehnergard 1987b:110; cf. BH *'ēš*), parallel to *pḥm* (BH *peḥām* and Arabic *faḥm*, *faham*, "(char)coal"). Many of these terms appear also in the cooking scene in 1.23.38–39, 41, 44–45: *yšt lpḥmm* and *l'išt//lpḥmm*. The two unusual words in the bicolon are the terms designating the cooking vessels. According to Pope (1971:399 nn. 12, 13; see *DUL* 385, 401), the parallel words, *ḫptr* and *ḫbrt̠*, are related to Hurrian *ḫuppat(a)ru* and Hurrian *ḫubrušhi*/Hittite *ḫuprušhi-*, listed in Akkadian inventories from Qatna, Nuzi and Alalakh (*CAD H*:238, 241, sub *ḫuppataru* and *ḫuprušḫu*; see Gaster 1935:476–77, 1936–37:384; and *BOS* 2.125 n. 38). The former appears to denote a type of ewer or jar, the latter a type of cooking pot.[6] Pope (1971:396, 399–400, 403) noted a relevant depiction painted on a drinking mug from Ras Shamra. The mug depicts a seated, bearded figure; in front of him is a stand with a large pot on it and behind him is a fish. On the other side of the pot is a standing figure. Pope relates this depiction both to our scene and to the scene of Athirat's arrival at El's abode in 1.4 IV. He suggests that the pot on the stand illustrates the *ḫptr/ḫbrt̠* of lines 8–9. While there is no certainty that the seated person on the mug is El, nor that the damaged figure to the left of the pot is Athirat, or even a female, the fish behind El's throne would constitute a good indicator that the scene on the mug is a watery one befitting the literary descriptions of El's abode (1.3 V 4–8//1.4 IV 20–24). The possible correlation of details between the text and the mug, however tentative, is impressive. Whether or not the identification is correct, the depiction may still furnish a depiction of the sort of pot involved in our scene.

The final bicolon of this section (lines 10–11) is in many ways the most important for understanding the entire passage. At the same time, it is surprisingly difficult to interpret, although only one word is ambiguous. To determine the meaning of the difficult *t'pp*, we first turn

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[6] Pope (1971: 299, n. 12) also suggested a correspondence between *ḫuppataru* and Mycenaean *o-pi-te-te-re*, thought to be a lid or cover. If this were correct, then the evidence may suggest that the word may have been an Indo-European loanword into Hurrian. If these terms were used by the poet to evoke a wider Mediterranean milieu, then perhaps they suggested as well Athirat's maritime associations (see Brody 1998:26–30).

to the second line of the bicolon. The latter reads, *tǵzy bny bnwt*, "She honors the Creator of Creatures" (on the meaning of *tǵzy*, see the Commentary on 1.4 I 22 above, pp. 408–9). The meaning of the first line of the bicolon, since it has an identical syntactic structure, almost certainly means something similar.

A variety of proposals for the etymology and meaning of *tʿpp* have been made. Some relate it to the root *ʿp, "to fly," and suggest a wide range of derived meanings, from "to flutter (the eyelids)" (Gibson *CML*[2] 56), to "to conjure, bewitch" (del Olmo Lete, *MLC* 195; *MLR* 79; *DUL* 173). Others relate the word to Arabic *ʿafa, ʿafw*, "to efface, pardon, forgive." From this come translations such as, "she propitiates" (*ANET* 132); "she implores" (*TO* 1.198; Coogan 1978:97; Wyatt 1998:94); "she would tame" (Margalit, *MLD* 25); "she entreated" (Pope 1971:396); "she is servile" (Smith, *UNP* 122). Most of these translations are problematic in the context of the scene, since they assume actions by Athirat that would require El to be present. It is clear, however, that El is not at Athirat's abode. Pardee (1997a:257) notes an Arabic cognate root *ʿff*, which is rendered, "to feed someone *ʿuffatun* (a kind of milk)." He translates the verb, "so as to prepare a (warm) drink for the Bull." As none of the translations (with the exception of Pardee's) makes use of meanings actually attested for the cognates, it becomes clear that most of the renderings are related to the understanding of the verb in the second colon, *tǵzy* (most often, "to entreat, implore"). Pardee's proposal, on the other hand, follows the meaning of his cognate, but does not match the meaning of the second line very closely at all. This seems problematic for his interpretation.

It seems at this point necessary to attempt a translation for the word that is in some way related to the relationship to the parallel word in line 11. We argued in the Commentary to the preceding column that the root of *tǵzy* is best understood as meaning "to give honor, to honor (with gifts)," and so it seems likely that *tʿpp* also has a similar meaning. However, a suitable cognate is not forthcoming. One might venture the speculation that the root is an *L*-stem form from *ʿp*, "to fly," and that it means "to cause to fly, give wing to, exalt, lift high, honor" El. In this case, the word evidences a semantic relationship to the flight of a bird (cf. BH *ʿwp, in the *L*-stem [polel], "to make to fly"). However, the semantic development cannot be confirmed and therefore remains tentative. As this etymology appears somewhat unpersuasive, it is possible that the sense, "to honor," here might be derivative of the better

attested meaning, "to make with the eye (lids)." This literal sense is often taken to be the actual meaning in 1.4 II 10 (e. g., *CML²* 154: "fluttered eyelids at," taken as an *L*-stem of **ʿwp* and related to the noun *ʿpʿp* in 1.14 II 43, VI 30), but this meaning cannot work since the verb takes a direct object, because El is not present for this act, and because it misses the larger context of Late Bronze Age political gift-giving.

Apart from the verbs, lines 10–11 are relatively clear. The epithets of El in these lines are standard ones, most appearing already in 1.1 III 26, IV 12, V 22, 1.2 I 16, 33, 36, 1.2 III 16, 17, 19, 21 (see *EUT* 35–42; *CMHE* 4–5 n. 6; *UBC* 1.128), and elsewhere in the Ugaritic religious texts for El. The word *ṯr* is also used an epithet of high rank for humans (1.15 IV 6, 8, 17 and 19), and was an "emblem of kingship" according to Philo of Byblos (*PE* 1.10.31; Attridge and Oden 1981:54–55). The word "bull" has been identified only rarely in biblical texts (BH *šôr*), as a divine title in passages such as Hos 8:6 (though in this case with a doubted revocalization; see *EUT* 35) and perhaps as a human title in parallelism with *ʾîš* in Gen 49:6. The second element of El's title is *dpʾid*, consisting of the two elements proclitic relative *d-* and the adjective *pʾid*, usually rendered "Benign" or the like (see already in 1.1 III 22, discussed in *UBC* 1.184). The title is a common one for El (1.4 III 31, IV 58, 1.5 VI 12, 1.6 III 10, 14, VI 39, 1.15 II 14, 1.16 V 23, 1.24.45). Moran (1961:61), with many others following him (e. g., *CMHE* 20 n. 44), compared the syntax with Mari names such as Zu-hatni(m), Zu-hadim, Zu-sumum and possible Zu-sa-abi as well as the biblical divine title, *zeh sînay*, "the One of Sinai" (Judg 5:5). The element **zu* + DN is also found in West Semitic personal names. Emar, for example, attests to a number of instances (see the listing in Beckman 1996:138). The title may not be entirely conventional or without purpose here. In the context of the Baal Cycle, the word may suggest El's amenability to the desires of the divine children of the pantheon, even that of Baal with his status as an outsider. Lines 10–11 contain the first occurrence of the parallel second title, *bny bnwt*, literally "Builder of Built (Ones)," usually taken to mean "Creator of Creatures" (*EUT* 47, 50).[7] This title has been compared with the Akkadian epithet *bān binûti* (*DUL* 233). The word *bnwt* is used in 1.100.62 to denote Horon's offspring (in this case, snakes). El is likewise the maker of his offspring.

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[7] See also *DUL* 233, with its discussion of the comparable Akkadian.

Several scholars have assumed that lines 10–11 involve a ritual, presumably magical, involving Athirat, often understood as her effort to influence El to do her will (cf. Aistleitner 38; Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1153; *MLC* 195; *MLR* 79; Pope 1981b:320). Although there may be an aspect of ritual in the description, there is no evidence that the honor paid to El here is anything beyond a regular practice that fits in with the domestic scene being described. There appears to be no evidence from the context that Athirat is attempting any special magical inducement concerning her husband. Nothing in the succeeding passages hints at such a story element. It certainly cannot be related to the primary theme of the tablet, the palace for Baal, since Baal and Anat have not yet appeared on the scene to ask for her help with El. As all of the previous actions in the passage seem to be ordinary, everyday work, there is no reason to assume that it is describing the goddess performing special magico-ritual activities. Whether there is a ritual underlying the description here (perhaps an offering of whatever Athirat is cooking on the fire) or not, it seems best to understand these lines as indicating Athirat's close and loving relationship with El. Pardee (1997a:257 n. 135) has suggested that Athirat may be expecting El to come for a visit and is thus preparing herself for his arrival. While possible, this does not seem particularly likely, since she will subsequently undertake the long journey to El's abode to ask him about Baal's palace. If she were expecting him to come to her soon enough to consume a warm drink, she could wait for his arrival.

Lines 12–26: Athirat Reacts to Baal and Anat's Approach

The second section of this column, lines 12–26, closely parallels 1.3 III 32–IV 4 in structure and sometimes in wording: (a) the perception and recognition of an approaching figure (lines 12–16 and 1.3 III 32a); (b) a consequential negative physical reaction (lines 16–20 and 1.3 III 32b–35a); (c) a question asking why the figure(s) has/have come (lines 21–24 and 1.3 III 35–36); and (d) an accompanying question regarding possible hostile action taken against the speaker or her allies (lines 24–26 and 1.3 III 37–IV 4). While the middle two elements just described are virtually identical in the two passages, the first and fourth sections are quite different in their wording. The description of Athirat catching sight of the approaching gods is substantially larger and more elegant than that of Anat in 1.3 III 32a. The passage in 1.4 II 12–16 uses two bicola to describe what occurs in a single colon in 1.3 III. We find here

three phrases or verbs for visual perception in the first bicolon (*bnš'i 'nh*, *wtphn*, and *kt'n*), in contrast to the single verb in 1.3 (*tph*). The phrase *bnš'i 'nh*, is an idiom attested not only in Ugaritic but also in BH (Gen 18:2, 24:63, 64, 43:29; see Díez Merino 1984:24–25; Reif 1985:239). The first bicolon describes with these verbs Athirat's spotting of Baal, while the second bicolon focuses on Anat. In his study of **yš'u gh wyṣḥ* in its various forms and its parallels in Akkadian, Hittite and Biblical Hebrew literatures, Polak (2006:285–89) regards the initial clause of this formula as naming (if at all explicitly) the subject of the action and the second verb as focusing on the object of perception. Compared to some briefer examples (e.g., CAT 1.10 II 26–27), our case here is complicated by the elaboration in the second line, line 13, and in the bicolon that follows in lines 14–16, the very sort found also in 1.17 V 9–11. As line 13 involves a subordinate clause and not an independent clause, the agent is not named until the second line of the bicolon. Furthermore, the object is mentioned only incipiently in the object suffix on the second verb in the first line of the bicolon of lines 12–13 and spelled out more fully in the second line of our bicolon and then further in the bicolon that follows in lines 14–16. Polak (2006:287) also cites the earliest example of the formula in OB Gilgamesh (University of Pennsylvania tablet, labeled as OB II, col. iv, line 137 in George 2003:176, 177), followed in time by the Hittite and Ugaritic cases. He thus proposes that the various attestations of the formula may "represent a common literary tradition that goes back to the Old Babylonian period" (2006:288).

Athirat's fearful reaction to seeing the approach of the two deities in lines 15–20 is identical to the description of Anat in 1.3 III 32–35a. For detailed discussion, see the Commentary there, pp. 238–41. The first question that the goddess asks ("Why has Mightiest Baal come?//Why has Adolescent Anat come?") is similar to the one Anat asks in 1.3 III 36. The primary difference is that Athirat's question is a bicolon, the first line referring to Baal, the second to Anat, while Anat's question in 1.3 is a single colon referring to Gapn and Ugar together.

The final part of this section, lines 24–26, in which Athirat expresses her fear that the two gods are coming to attack her and her family, is story specific and thus is different in many ways from the parallel passage in 1.3 III 37–38. However, there are connections: Anat's question ("What enemy rises against Baal,//What foe against the Cloudrider?") expresses a similar concern about an enemy. In addition, Athirat's question appears to use verbs parallel to those employed in Anat's continued

speech in 1.3 III 38–47 about her having smitten several of Baal's enemies (*mḫṣ*//*kly*- the latter restored in 1.4 II 25 on the basis of the former passage and on Pughat's vow of revenge in 1.19 IV 34–35). One final difference is that while Anat's speech in 1.3 continues for an additional sixteen lines, Athirat's speech ends after this short bicolon.

Athirat's fear seems well justified. Later on in the cycle, exactly what Athirat dreads appears to take place, when in 1.6 V 1–4 Baal is said to attack and kill Athirat's children. However, some caution is worthwhile in interpreting this passage, since its context is quite ambiguous. In a scene preserved on 1.4 VI 48–59, we find Baal inviting the children of Athirat to a feast. This suggests a more cordial relationship between Baal and Athirat's children. The West Semitic myth of Elkuniriša, preserved in Hittite, however, strengthens the view that Baal killed the children of Athirat. In this myth, after Baal and Athirat engage in sexual relations, he says to her: "I have slain your seventy-seven [sons]. I have slain eighty-eight" (Beckman 1997:149). So the strained relationship illustrated in our passage seems well attested. But great caution must be maintained in using the Elkuniriša myth to illuminate the Baal Cycle, since it portrays such a dramatically different mythic context.

A comment should be made concerning the interpretation of *hm…hm* in these lines. Scholars are divided as to whether *hm* is better understood here as the 3rd plural pronoun, "they" (e.g., Aistleitner 38; Gaster, *Thespis* 178; del Olmo Lete, *MLC* 196, *MLR* 80; Xella 1982:109), or as a conjunction with interrogative force (e.g., *TO* 1.199; Gordon 1977:91; Pardee 1997a:257; Pope 1971:397; Wyatt 1998:94). The latter interpretation is more likely. One may note that in the two similar passages, 1.3 III 36–38 and 1.4 IV 31–34, the initial question ("Why has PN come?") is followed by an additional question. The case of 1.4 IV 31–34 is the more instructive, since it makes use of the *hm* conjunction at the beginning of the second clause of the question. The Ugaritic practice of asking a double question without an interrogative marker on the first question, and *hm* in front of the second was discussed by Ginsberg 1946:35 (see also Held 1969:77).[8]

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[8] We may also note the thematically similar double-interrogative question in Isa 27:7 (here rendered literally): "Did he smite him like the smiting of his smiter, or was he killed like the killing of his killed?"

Lines 26–38: Athirat Sees Baal and Anat's Intentions

In the third and final extant section of the column (lines 26–38), it becomes clear that Athirat has nothing to fear, just as Anat had nothing to fear when she saw the approach of messengers in 1.3 III 31–34. Rather than bearing weapons, Baal and Anat are bringing gifts. As indicated above (pp. 407–8), the giving of gifts among ruling elites was an important way of affirming friendship and alliance. Athirat's relief here is political; she is not being swayed by greed.

Lines 26–28a describe the appearance of the gifts as Athirat sees them from afar. The words that precede the two occurrences of *ksp* and of *ḥrṣ* are broken or damaged. The least damaged of the three is the word before the second *ksp* (line 27). It may be read with certainty as *zl*. Earlier scholars had assumed that the wedges for *z* were identical to the wedges used to make *pʿ*, so that it was possible to read either *zl* or *pl* here. However, paleographic study of these letters has shown that they are not easily mistakable (Pitard 1992:267–68). The wedge of the *ʿ* is quite distinct in its stance from that of a right wedge of a *z*. Here the traces of the wedge show clearly that the letter must be *z*. Thus we have the phrase *zl ksp*. The first occurrence of *ksp* is also preceded by an *l*, with room for only a single letter before it. Thus it seems quite reasonable to reconstruct the word there also as *[z]l*. The meaning of *zl* in this context is different from its usual meaning, "shadow, shade." "The shadow of the silver" (so Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1154; Gordon 1977:91; Margalit, *MLD* 26) does not seem to work here. The word also appears in CAT 1.92.27 in the phrase, *zl k kbkbm*. The comparison to stars calls for a meaning that suggests shining, splendor, etc. (cf. Wyatt 1998: 370–74). Such a meaning also works well in our context. Thus we translate, "the gleam of silver."

The reading of the word that precedes *ḥrṣ* is more difficult. None of the letters of the word is certain, although the first letter is likely *n*, and the word ends with a letter that has a large horizontal wedge. The most common suggestion has been *n[r]t*, "light, glint." This fits well with our understanding of *zl*. Driver (*CML*[1] 92) proposed reading *nbt* here, relating the text back to 1.4 I 32, where the term means, "coated." Here it would mean, "overlay." However, with the uncertainty of both the second and third letters of the word, no firm decision is possible.

Having seen that the two visitors are not hostile, Athirat addresses her servant, here called "Fisher of Lady Athirat of the Sea," and gives him instructions, the import of which are not clear in the broken

context (lines 28–38 and probably farther). This servant has already
been introduced in 1.3 VI 9–11, where he is called "Fisher of Athirat//
Qudš-Amrar." As discussed in the Commentary for that passage, the
title "Fisher" apparently reflects the nature of his mistress, Athirat, as
suggested by the longer form of her name attested here, "Lady Athirat
of the Sea." Watson (1996a:319) compares a title of the Sumerian
goddess, Nanshe, "queen of the fisherman." Watson considers the
parallel with Athirat remarkable, especially as she is said to be "born
on the shore of the sea," a characterization that for him recalls her
title, "Lady Athirat of the Sea."

The first line of her speech (30) is somewhat difficult: *ʿn.mktr.ʾapq[ ]*.
The first word is easily identifiable as an imperative, "Look at, See,"
but the second word, *mktr*, is ambiguous. Many have interpreted it as
an epithet ("Skilled One, Deft One") of Athirat's servant (Aistleitner
38; Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1154; Driver, *CML*[1] 93; Gaster, *Thespis*
178; Ginsberg, *ANET* 132; Maier 1986:10). However, this does not seem
very likely, since the deity appears to function only as a messenger and
a stable hand in the scenes where he plays a role (1.3 VI; 1.4 IV). An
epithet referring to artistic skill, especially one closely related to the
name of Kothar, seems unlikely for this character. The noun *mktr* is
better understood as a reference to the gifts just described. Athirat refers
to them here as "skilled work" (Smith, *UNP* 123; cf. Coogan 1978:98:
"marvelous gifts"). The poet presumably uses the word to refer back
subtly to their maker and to emphasize that Athirat recognizes the
divine quality of the gifts.

The word that follows is ambiguous. The reading on the tablet
seems clear, *ʾapq[*, "source, channel." This word appears elsewhere in
the Ugaritic texts only with reference to El's abode, which is described
as being located *mbk nhrm//qrb ʾapq thmtm*, "At the springs of the riv-
ers,//amidst the sources of the two deeps" (e.g., 1.4 IV 21–22; 1.3 V
6–7; 1.17 VI 47–48). Might our passage be a reference to this location?
The tablet is broken to the right of the *q*, but there is sufficient room in
the break for *thmtm* to have been written there. One might then read,
"See the skilled work of the sources of the two deeps," and propose
that Athirat means that the gifts are of a quality that befits the lodging
of El. However, we cannot confidently restore the end of the line, and
thus the reference may have nothing to do with El's abode. We must
leave its interpretation open.

Beginning with the bicolon in lines 32–33, Athirat instructs her
servant to take a net (*rtt*, cognate with BH *rešet*) and apparently to use
it in the sea. The damage to this section keeps us from understanding

the import of these instructions. Some (e.g., Wyatt 1998:95 n. 108) have suggested that the servant is to gather the gifts up in his net and bring them in. This seems problematic, particularly if lines 34–36 continue the instructions by having the nets placed in the water. There is no reason to assume that Baal and Anat would actually arrive with the gifts floating freely in the water. Divine visitors usually appear to arrive by animal (1.4 IV 2–22) or on foot (cf. lines 13–14, where the noun *hlk* is used of their approach). In any case, it appears that Baal and Anat present the gifts to Athirat later in 1.4 III 25–26, so they presumably stay in their possession until then. It seems possible then that the Fisher is being instructed to catch fish in the sea in preparation for a welcoming meal for the guests. This is a common element of the stories of gods' arrivals at the homes of other deities. When Anat arrives at Baal's home in 1.3 IV 38–42, he has an ox/fatling set before her for dinner. When Athirat arrives at El's abode in 1.4 IV 31–38, El immediately offers her food and drink. And indeed a meal is given to the gods in 1.4 III 40–44. This seems then to be a plausible context for the instructions given here.

The tricolon in lines 34–36 appears to be intimately related to the previous bicolon. Pardee (1997a:257 n. 139) noted that if these lines do indeed describe the destination of the net, (i.e., ["cast it"] into the Beloved of El, Ya[mm],/Into Yamm, the god [   ],/Into Nahar, the god [   ]"), we may have here a remarkable blending of the mythic deity Yamm with a naturalistic depiction of the sea. Such an interpretation appears to be reasonable and illustrates the fluidity with which gods may be depicted in mythological narrative (see the discussion of 1.3 III 38–47 above, pp. 255–6).

Only the first word of each line is preserved for the next bicolon (37–38). The first line reads, *ʾalʾiyn*, clearly the epithet for Baal, while the second contains the epithet of Anat, *btlt*. These lines may be a continuation of Athirat's speech, or they may represent a change in subject, perhaps the description of the gods' arrival before Athirat. There is no way to know.

The final ten lines of the column are too broken to interpret. In addition, approximately 12 lines are missing from the top of column III, followed by nine additional lines that are too fragmentary to understand. Exactly what transpires in this thirty-one line break is unclear. When the text in the next column becomes intelligible, Baal is describing a very unpleasant meeting in the divine council from some time in the past. But it is unclear to whom he speaks, and why this event is being discussed. Thus little can be said about the lacuna here.

CAT 1.4 III

Bibliography

Text Editions: Virolleaud 1932:126–31, pls. XXVI, XXX (in the *editio princeps*, the captions for the two photos of the obverse and reverse have been exchanged; thus pl. XXIX, captioned as the obverse, is actually the reverse); CTA 24–25, fig. 15, pls. VII, VIII; KTU 16; CAT 17.

Studies and Translations: Aistleitner 38–39; Albright 1934:118–19; Binger 1997:72–73; Caquot and Sznycer, *TO* 1.200–2; Cassuto, *BOS* 2.127–30; Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1155–57; Dijkstra 1975:563–65; Driver, *CML*[1] 94–95; Gaster 1946:23–24, *Thespis* 178–80; Gibson, *CML*[2] 57–58; Ginsberg, *KU* 24–26; *ANET* 132; Gordon, *UL* 30, 1977:91–93; Jirku 42–43; Maier 1986:11–12; Margalit, *MLD* 36–44; de Moor 1987:49–51; del Olmo Lete, *MLC* 197–99; *MLR* 80–92; Pardee 1997a:258; Smith, *UNP* 124–26; Wiggins 1993:52–55; Wyatt 1998:95–97; van Zijl, *Baal* 86–95.

Text (See Images 40–42)

[About 12 lines are missing.]

1   [   ]
     [   ]xdn
     [   ]dd
     [   ]n.kb
5   [   ]x.ʾal.yns
     [   ]ysdk.
     [   ]x.dr.dr
     [   ]yk.wrḥd
     [   ]ẏ.ʾilm.dmlk
10   y[   ]ṅ.ʾalʾiyn.bʿl
     yxʿdd.rkb.ʿrpt
     q̇ṁ.ydd.wyqlṣn
     ẏqm.wywpt̠n.btk
     x[   ]r.bn.ʾilm.štt
15   p̣[   ]xbtl̠ḫny.qlt
     bks.ʾištynh.
     ảm.t̠n.dbḥm.šnʾa.bʿl.tl̠t
     rkb.ʿrpt.dbḥ
     bt̠t.wdbḥ.wdbḥ
20   dnt.wdbḥ.tdmm
     ʾampt.kbh.bt̠t.ltbt̠
     wbḥ.tdmmt.ʾamht

’aḫr.mǵy.’al’iyn.bʻl
mǵyt.bṯlt.ʻnt
25 tmgnn.rbt[ ]’aṯrtym
tǵzyn.qnyt’ilm
wtʻn.rbt.’aṯrtym
’ik.tmgnn.rbt
’aṯrt.ym.tǵzyn
30 qnyt.’ilm.mgntm
ṯr.’il.dp’id.hm.ǵztm
bny.bnwtwtʻn
bṯlt.ʻnt.nmgn
xm.rbt.’aṯrt.ym
35 [   ]ẓ.qnyt.’ilm
[   ]x.nmgn.hwt
[   ].’al’iyn.bʻl
[   ]rbt.’aṯrt.ym
[   ]b̓ṯlt.ʻnt
40 [   ]ḥm.tšty
[   ]ġ.mrǵtm
[   ]iḫt.qṣ
[   ]k̓rpnmyn
[   ]m̓.ʻṣm
[   ]
[   ]
[   ]
[   ]
[   ]
50 [   ]
[   ]š
[   ]ʻl
[   ]d

TEXTUAL NOTES

Line 2. [ ]xdn   /x/ is represented by a low, long horizontal. It could be the remains of /t/, /b/, /d/, /k/, /r/, /’a/, /n/.

Line 3. [ ]dd   The first /d/ is certain, since the lower line of the three horizontal wedges is visible.

Line 4. [ ]n.kb   We see nothing preserved before the n (contra CAT).

Line 5 [ ]x.ʾal.yns   /x/ The right tip of a low horizontal is preserved, but could be the remains of /t/, /b/, /d/, /k/, /r/, /ʾa/, /n/. CAT is correct that a word divider precedes /ʾal/.

Line 6 [ ]ysdk.   The trace of a letter to the left of the /y/, suggested by CAT, is probably just a break in the tablet. It is noted in red on the drawing. There is indeed a word divider at the end of this line.

Line 7. [ ]x.dr   /x/ is probably either a /k/ or an /r/. There are only two wedges preserved—the long right horizontal, and a smaller low horizontal to its left. We see no trace of an additional wedge that should be visible if the letter were /w/, as suggested by CAT.

Line 8. [ ]yk   CAT reads an /ḥ/ preceding the /y/, but the indentations there are once again merely damage marks at the edge of the break.

Line 9. [ ]y.°ʾilm   The indentations identified by CAT as a word divider between /y/ and /ʾilm/ may simply be damage.

Line 10. y[ ]n̊.   The /y/ is damaged on the top, but seems certain. The letter read here as /n/ has been read by CTA and CAT as /b/, However, if it were /b/ or /d/, we would expect to see traces of the right vertical in the well-preserved area above the only visible element of the letter, the low horizontal wedge. Reading the traces as an /n/ would work here, with a lost letter in the break to its left. One could also read a /k/ or /r/ here, but /r/ is less likely, assuming that another letter would need to fit into the break. Context suggests that this word is a verb of speech. While the most common proposal has been *y[t̠]b*, literally "he returned, responded," this seems unlikely, since, as remarked above, the preserved third letter is almost certainly not *b*. Thus the other common restoration, *y[ʿ]n*, seems most likely.

Line 11. yxʿdd   The reading of the second letter in CTA and CAT as /t/ is problematic. There is a substantial break between the /y/ and the horizontal identified as the /t/. This would be an extraordinarily large gap between the two letters if there were only blank space between the two. In fact, there appear to be the right tips of two horizontals adjoining the left face of the supposed /t/ wedge. It thus seems more

likely that the letter should be read as a /k/ or /r/. See the commentary on this line below.

Line 12. q̊m̊   These two letters are uncertain. There is a fairly small horizontal on the left side of the possible /q/, with part of the upper left line of the *Winkelhaken* probably (but not certainly) preserved. /m/ A large vertical wedge is completely preserved to the right of the break in the tablet, with a possible point where a horizontal for a /m/ would meet it at the upper left corner. Unfortunately that meeting point is cracked, and it is not clear whether any traces can be seen of the actual right tip of a horizontal there. The letter could conceivably be simply a /g/, or a /ṣ/, though this seems less likely than /m/. At the same time, one would expect the left side of the horizontal to appear to the left of the break in the tablet, and it doesn't, even though the face in that area is in good shape. Thus the reading must remain tentative.

Line 13. g̊qm   The first letter is broken, but certain. The left half is well preserved, but only the left line and a few interior traces remain of the right half.
    wywptn   The /n/ has four, rather than the usual three, wedges.

Line 14. x[ ]r   While the first letter has been read as /p/ by both CTA and CAT, there is uncertainty here. The points of the horizontals of the letter have been cut off by the break, and it is quite possible to see these wedges as part of a /k/, /r/, /w/, or /ẓ/. There are no traces left of a letter between /x/ and /r/, as proposed by CAT.

Line 15. p̊[ ]xbtlḫny   The /p/ in this line is much more certain than the proposed /p/ at the beginning of line 14. To the right of the following break, there is a depression that may be the trace of a letter with one or more horizontals. CAT reads /t/ here, but the damage makes the traces too vague to be certain. Either /t/, /p/ or (less likely because of the height of the wedge)/h/are possible. Both CTA and CAT read a word divider before /btlḫny/. We see nothing here but cracks on the surface. The /n/ has four wedges.

Line 16. b̊ks.'ištynh.   /b/ is certain, though badly damaged. Traces of the two verticals and left horizontal are discernable, along with the right tip of the horizontal on the right side of the tablet break. There is a word divider after /'ištynh/. The line ends about 25% short of the

right margin, while the next line is too long for the column and curves upward, taking up part of the unused space of this line and the right end of the space of line 15.

Line 17. ảm.ṯn.dbḥm.šn'a.b'l.ṯlt   Only the right side of /d/, the low horizontal and the right tip of the right vertical, is preserved. The space for the letter is cramped and perhaps it was written as a /b/, as several older commentators proposed. This is a strange, run-on line that curves up the column, rather than across the margin line (unlike the long lines in column I). The spacing of the line changes suddenly from quite normal to very squeezed at /šn'a/. The next two words curve dramatically up the tablet, so that /ṯlt/ is written vertically. Were these three words accidentally skipped, then inserted, perhaps even after column IV was written? See the discussion of the scribal practice above, pp. 386–89.

Line 19. wdbḥ.wdbḥ   The context indicates that the second /wdbḥ/ is a dittography.

Line 21. 'ampt   The /p/ here is an error for /h/, the scribe having written only two wedges, instead of three.

Line 25. 'àṯrtym   Part of the upper line of the right horizontal of /'a/ is preserved, the rest lost in a break. The context assures the reading.

Line 34. xm   Only a well preserved large horizontal of the first letter on the line clearly survives. It is possible that the upper line of the right tip of another horizontal can be discerned where it meets the horizontal on the left. This would suggest that the letter is a /k/, /'a/ or /n/. Context suggests that /k/ is the most likely choice.

Line 35. [ ]ẓ̇   Although we see the indentation that CAT suggests is the upper wedge of the probable /ǵ/ that preceded the /ẓ/, it appears to us to be part of the breakage and not a real wedge. The /ẓ/ also remains uncertain epigraphically. Only the right *Winkelhaken* is preserved, so the letter epigraphically could also be /q/. However, the context strongly supports the reading /ẓ/.

Line 36. [ ]x   /x/ The first surviving letter on this line is represented only by the remains of a single large horizontal. Without evidence from

traces of wedges to the left, there is no way to determine which letter it is. CAT reads and reconstructs *[ʾaḫ]r*, which is plausible.

Line 39. [ ]b̭tlt.ʿnt   The /b/ is certain from context. Part of the right vertical is preserved, but nothing else.

Line 40.]ẖ̭m   Only the upper and right wedges of the /ẖ/ are preserved, and thus epigraphically the letter could also be /ṭ/. But context argues for /ẖ/.

Line 41.]q̭.mrġtm   While the /q/ is damaged, it seems assured by the right tip of the left horizontal having been preserved.

Line 42.]ḽḫt   The right two wedges of the /l/ survive, but context assures the reading.

Line 43.]k̭rpnm   The /k/ is only definable by context. Only the right tip of a horizontal wedge is preserved, meeting the left end of the lower left wedge of the following /r/.

Line 44. [ ]m̭.ṣm   The first /m/ remains epigraphically uncertain, though context argues strongly for the reading. Only the right half of the letter is preserved, and it shows evidence of two wedges that make the preserved traces look a bit like a /z/. However, the remains of the upper wedge are slightly angled downward toward the right, which suggests that the wedge could be the right tip of a horizontal. This allows it to be read as an /m/, with the vertical wedge placed lower than usual (such forms are attested, see Ellison 2002:II:180 figs. 728, 729).

Line 51. [   ]š   This letter is very damaged, but traces are visible of all three wedges.

Line 52. [   ] ʿl   The traces CTA and CAT identified as an /n/ after /ʿl/ appear to be merely breakage.

Line 53. [   ]d   CTA and CAT both read /ln/ here. We see no traces of the /l/, but the supposed /n/ is actually a /d/. The three verticals are short and stumpy because the line is at the bottom of the column, and they have been misread as the /n/. The three horizontals are preserved on the very edge of the tablet.

Text Restored and Set in Poetic Form

[About 12 lines are missing.]

1	*[ ]*
	[ ]xdn
	[ ]dd
	[ ]n.kb
5	*[ ]x.'al.yns*
	[ ]ysdk.
	[ ]x.dr.dr
	[ ]yk.wrḥd
	[ ]ẙ.'ilm.dmlk
10–11	*y[ ]n.'al'iyn.bʿl/*
	yxʿdd.rkb.ʿrpt
12–14	*qm.ydd.wyqlṣn/*
	yqm.wywpṯn
	btk/p[ḫ]r.bn.'ilm.
14–16	*štt/p[ ]xb ṯlḥny.*
	qlt/bks.'ištynh
17–18	*dm.ṯn.dbḥm.šn'a.bʿl.*
	ṯlṯ/rkb.ʿrpt.
18–21	*dbḥ/bṯt.wdbḥ{.wdbḥ}/dnt.*
	wdbḥ.tdmm<t?>/'amh(!)t.
21–22	*kbh.bṯt.ltbṯ/*
	w bh.tdmmt.'amht
23–24	*'aḥr.mǵy.'al'iyn.bʿl/*
	mǵyt.btlt.ʿnt
25–26	*tmgnn.rbt[.]'aṯrt ym/*
	tǵzyn.qnyt 'ilm
27	*wtʿn.rbt.'aṯrt ym*
28–30	*'ik.tmgnn.rbt/'aṯrt.ym.*
	tǵzyn/qnyt.'ilm.
30–32	*mgntm/ṯr.'il.dp'id.*
	hm.ǵztm/bny.bnwt
32–33	*wtʿn/btlt.ʿnt.*
33–36	*nmgn/⌈k(?)⌉m.rbt.'aṯrt.ym/*
	[nǵ]z.qnyt.'ilm
	[ ]x.nmgn.hwt
37	*[ ].'al'iyn.bʿl*
38	*[ ]rbt.'aṯrt.ym*
39	*[ ]btlt.ʿnt*
40–43	*[ʿdtl]ḥm.tšty/['ilm.]*
	[wtp]q.mrǵtm/[ṯd.]
	[bḥrb.m]lḥt.qṣ/[mr'i.]
43–44	*[tšty.]⌈k⌉rpnm yn/*
	[wbks.ḥrṣ.d]m.ʿṣm

```
45   [                    ]
46   [                    ]
47   [                    ]
48   [                    ]
49   [                    ]
50   [                    ]
51   [              ]š
52   [              ]ʿl
53   [            ]d
```

Translation and Vocalized Text

Someone (Anat?) Speaks to Baal

[*Lines 1–4 are too damaged to translate.*]

5   [   ] "may he not escape

6   [   ] he will establish you

7   [   ] for ever and ever

8   [   ]..... .

9   [   ] the god who is king."

Events in the Divine Council are Recounted

10–11	Mightiest Baal an[swe]red (?),	yaʿ[ʿ]nî ʾalʾiyānu baʿlu/
	The Cloud-Rider testified (?):	yxʿdd rākibu ʿurpati
12–14	"He rose, stood and abased me,	qāma yaddidu
		wa-yaqalliṣu-nî[1]/
	He stood up and spat on me,	yaqûmu wa-yawappiṯu[2]-nî
	Amid the ass[em]bly (?) of the	bi-tôki/pu[ḫ]ri (?) binī
	children of El.	ʾili-ma
14–16	I drank dis[grace(?)] at my table,	šatîtu/pv[…] bi-ṯulḥani-ya
	Dishonor from (my) cup I drank.	qallata[3]/bi-kāsi ʾištayuna-hu

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[1] Cf. *UG* 555.

[2] If this verb were a *G*-stem form, its prefix would form a diphthong with the initial root letter that in Ugaritic would have collapsed (either *yiw- > *yî- or *yaw- > *yô-). Accordingly, the form is to be regarded as *D*-stem. See *UG* 564, 639.

[3] For the root in Ugaritic as well as the base (in syllabic form) *qallu*, "small, inferior," see Huehnergard 1987b:174. Cf. BH *qallôn*.

17–18	For two feasts Baal hates,	dam t̠inê dabaḥêma šani'a ba'lu
	Three, the Cloud-Rider:	t̠alāt̠a/rākibu 'urpati
18–21	A feast of shame, a feast of strife,	dabḥa⁴/but̠ati wa-dabḥa/ dinnati
	And a feast of the whispering of servant-girls.	wa-dabḥa tadvmvmi(<ati?>)⁵/ 'amahāti⁶
21–22	For in it shame indeed was seen, For in it the whispering of servant-girls."	kī-bi-hu but̠atu la-tubbat̠u/ kī-bi-hu tadvmvmatu 'amahāti

Baal and Anat Speak with Athirat

23–24	Just then Mightiest Baal arrived, Adolescent Anat arrived,	'aḫra maġiya 'al'iyānu ba'lu/ maġayat batulatu 'anatu
25–26	They brought gifts to Lady [A]thirat of the Sea, Honored the Creatress of the Gods.	tamaggināni rabbata 'at̠irata yammi/ taġaẓẓiyāni qāniyata 'ilīma
27	And Lady Athirat of the Sea answered:	wa-ta'nî rabbatu 'at̠iratu yammi
28–30	"Why do you two bring gifts to Lady Athirat of the Sea, Honor the Creatress of the Gods?	'êka tamaggināni⁷ rabbata/ 'at̠irata yammi 'êka taġaẓẓiyāni⁸/qāniyata 'ilīma
30–32	Have you brought gifts to Bull El the Beneficent, Or honored the Creator of Creatures?"	maggintumā/t̠ôra 'ila dā-pā'idi himma ġaẓẓîtumā/bāniya baniwāti
32–33	And Adolescent Anat answered:	wa-ta'nî/batulatu 'anatu
33–36	"We are bringing you gifts, Lady Athirat of the Sea, [We are hono]ring (you), Creatress of the Gods, [ ] we will bring gifts to him."	namagginā/ki-ma rabbata 'at̠irata yammi/ [naġa]ẓẓâ⁹ qāniyata 'ilīma/ [ ] namagginā huwata

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⁴ For the syllabic forms, see Huehnergard 1987b:117; *UG* 118.

⁵ See the discussion below; and *UG* 582.

⁶ Sg. *'amt*, pl. *'amht*. For the pluralizing medial *-h-* in so-called "primitive" biconsonantal or middle weak nouns, see *UBC* 1.235 n. 29; Sivan 1997:34–35. For Afro-Asiatic cognates, see M. Cohen 1947:84, # 41.

⁷ See Sivan 1997:136.

⁸ Compare *UG* 460, 669.

⁹ See *UG* 669.

37–39	Mightiest Baal […],	…'al'iyānv b'alv/
	Lady Athirat of the Sea […],	…rabbatv 'aṯiratv yammi
	Adolescent Anat […].	…batulatv 'anatv
40–43	[As the gods a]te, drank,	['adê ṯil]ḥamū tištayū/['ilūma]
	A suckling of [breast was provided],	[wa-tupa]qu¹⁰ maraġġiṯu-ma/ [ṯadi]
	[With a sal]ted [knife], a cut of [fatling].	[bi-ḥarbi malū]ḥati qaṣṣu/ [marī'i]
43–44	[They drank] wine from goblets,	[tištayū] karpanīma yêna/
	[From a cup of gold, the blo]od of trees.	[wa-bi-kāsi ḥurāṣi da]ma 'iṣṣīma

[Lines 45–53 are too broken to translate.]

<center>COMMENTARY</center>

<center>*Poetic Parallelism and Word/Syllable Counts*</center>

		semantic parallelism	word/ syllable count
10–11	ya[']nî 'al'iyānu ba'lu/	a b (x, y)	3/9
	yx'dd rākibu 'urpati	a' b' (x of y)	3/6 + x

The semantic and syntactical parallelism of verbs and divine titles strongly bind the lines. The divine epithets share some consonants, generating limited sonant parallelism. Furthermore, the consonant ʿ appears twice in each line (assuming the correctness of the reconstruction of the first line).

12–14	qāma yaddidu wa-yaqalliṣu-nî/	a b	3/11
	yaqûmu wa-yawappiṯu-ni	a' b'	2/9
	bi-tôki/pu[ḫ]ri (?) binī 'ili-ma	c d e	4/10

It is the syllable count rather than the word-unit count that better shows the balance in line-length in this tricolon. The verbs **ndd* and

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¹⁰ The root is **pwq*, "to provide" in the *G*-stem (see Greenfield 1984a:243; *DNSWI* 2.903). The issue is whether the form here is 3 masc. pl. *G*-stem active (so *UG* 645) or 3 masc. sg. *G*-stem passive. The semantics favor the latter.

qwm occur together elsewhere; it is the other set of verbs that stands out here. Together the verbs morphologically and syntactically bind the first two lines, and they govern the third line. This final line bears no further syntactical or morphological linkage to the first two, and unlike the preceding two lines, the third is particularly marked by bilabials. However, the syllable *-nî* appears at or toward the end of all three lines, and the last line perhaps further punctuates this usage with the vowels of the following word *'ili*. Considerably more muted in effect, the final mimation of the last line perhaps echoes the final *-m* of the first word of the second line.

14–16	šatîtu/pv[…] bi-ṯulḥani-ya	a b c	3/9 + (?)
	qallata/bi-kāsi 'ištayuna-hu	b' c' a'	3/11

As noted by Held (1962:289–90, followed by Sivan 1997:108), the parallelism of the **qtl//*yqtl* of **šty* appears to be operative in this bicolon, and as such would constitute with the prepositional phrases with *bi-* (with the nouns bearing the same case ending) the chief elements of semantic and syntactical parallelism here. The lacuna in the first line prevents further observations about its possible parallelism with *qlt* in the second line.

17–18	dam ṯinê dabaḥêma šani'a ba'lu	a b c d	5/12
	ṯalāṯa/rākibu 'urpati	b' d' (x of y)	3/9

The parallel of numbers and of the god's name and title mark the primary components of semantic parallelism. These words also occupy comparable syntactical slots and thus generate both syntactical and morphological parallelism (in some of the case endings). The words *ba'lu* and *'urpati* show limited sonant parallelism insofar as they share two vowels as well as ' and a bilabial.

18–21	dabḥa/buṯati wa-dabḥa/dinnati	a b a b'	4/11
	wa-dabḥa tadvmvmi (<ati?>)/'amahāti	a b" c	3/11 or 12

Following its introduction in the previous bicolon, *dabḥa* dominates the unit here, and alliteration is generated further by the word-choices of *dinnati* and *tadvmvmi <ati>*. The ending *-ati* likewise resonates through both lines. The semantics of the terms in addition to *dabḥa* also bind the lines.

21–22	kī-bi-hu buṯatu la-tubbaṭu/	a b c	3/10
	kī-bi-hu tadvmvmatu 'amahāti	a b' (x of y)	3/12

The "terms of disgust" in the prior unit cascade into this one, generating some of the same semantic parallelism (note also *-atu/-āti* and generally dental *t* in four of the words in this unit as well). The striking new feature of this unit is the parallelism of the fronted phrases, *kī-bi-hu*. This phrase sets up consonance of *b* which echoes through the first line, while by comparison the fronted phrase is picked up sonantly only with the medial *-h-* in the final word of the second line. The alliteration within each line is also notable.

23–24	'aḫra maġiya 'al'iyānu ba'lu/	a b c (x, y)	4/11
	maġayat batulatu 'anatu	b c' (x, y)	3/10

The **qtl//*qtl* verbal forms of **mġy* constitute the strongest element of parallelism on all levels. In addition, the divine titles generate not simply general semantic and syntactical parallelism (as well as shared case endings), but a subtle effect with the initial *b-* and followed by ʿ may suggest further resonance between them. Within the first line, gutturals evidently predominate, while in the second line the dental *t* offers additional consonance.

25–26	tamaggināni rabbata 'aṯirata yammi/	a b (x, y of z)	4/14
	taġaẓẓiyāni qāniyata 'ilīma	a' b' (x of y)	3/12

The standard divine titles here generate considerable parallelism, semantically and syntactically; they also provide slight sonant parallelism with the final syllables of *-ammi* and *-ima*. The initial verbs are strongly parallel through their shared semantics and morphology (see lines 28–30 below).

27	wa-ta'nî rabbatu 'aṯiratu yammi	a b (x, y of z)	4/12

The speech-opening formula of this sort is commonly considered a monocolon or as non-colonic. However, it carries over the divine titles from the previous unit and into the following unit, and the overall line-length is consistent with that of the surrounding cola. Moreover, the verb here occupies a relatively comparable position as the preceding verbs (also with prefix *ta-*). The point is not that this line forms the third

line of a tricolon with the preceding two lines, only that this line is not as disembedded poetically from its context as many speech-opening formulas are in Ugaritic poetry (e.g., lines 32–33 below).

| 28–30 | 'êka tamaggināni rabbata/'aṯirata yammi | a b c (x, y of z) | 5/16 |
| | 'êka taġaẓẓiyāni/qāniyata 'ilīma | a b' c' (x of y) | 4/14 |

This line echoes lines 25–26, and apart from the observations made above, the striking addition here is the initial parallelism of the same interrogative.

| 30–32 | maggintumā/ṯôra 'ila dā-pā'idi | a b (x, y of z) | 4/12 |
| | himma ġaẓẓîtumā/bāniya baniwāti | c a' b' (x of y) | 4/13 |

The rhetorical question marked by *himma* calls attention to the parallelism of these two lines, which for a third time in this column use **mgn* and **ġzy* in parallelism as verbs (the roots form a word-pair but in *m-* preformative noun forms in 1.4 I 20–22; see O'Connor 1989, and pp. 407–9 above). As in the bicola above in lines 25–26 and 28–30, divine names and titles appear in parallelism with this word-pair. In this case, bilabials dominate the titles. Almost completely due to morphology, both lines show final *-a* throughout, except in the final syllable of both lines where the final vowel is *-i*.

| 32–33 | wa-ta'nî/batulatu 'anatu | a b (x, y) | 3/10 |

The line is monocolonic or extra-colonic. See the discussion above for line 27 about the relative degree to which such speech-opening formulas are connected to their surrounding units. The title of the goddess is repeated from line 24.

33–36	namagginā/ki-ma rabbata 'aṯirata yammi/	a b (x, y of z)	4 (?)/15 (?)
	[naġa]ẓẓâ qāniyata 'ilīma/	a' b' (x of y)	3/10
	[ ] namagginā huwata	.a b'	2+(?)/7+(?)

The first two lines repeat the sort of parallelism found above with **mgn//*ġzy* plus divine titles. The third line, if correctly understood, seems to punctuate the point by repeating the first root that governs the relative pronoun referring back to El.

37–39	…'al'iyānv b'alv/	…a b
	…rabbatv 'aṯiratv yammi/	…a' b' (x of y)
	…batulatv 'anatv/	..a" b"

These lines are too broken to discern any more than the possible parallelism of divine names and titles.

40–43	['adê til]ḥamū tištayū/['ilūma]	a b b' c	4/11
	[wa-tupa]qu maraġġiṯu-ma/[ṯadi]	d e (x of y)	3/11
	[bi-ḥarbi ma]lūḥati qaṣṣu/[mari'i]	f (x of y) e'	4/12
		(x of y)	

These lines and the following bicolon present the standard formulae for divine feasting (e. g., 1.4 VI 55–59; cf. 1.1 IV 30–32, discussed in *UBC* 1.133, 154–55). The lines progress from a general statement that the gods eat and drink (first line), to their being provided with meat (second line), to a description of the provisions and their manner of presentation (third line). Verbs appear in decreasing frequency from line to line, while objects of the verbs appear increasingly over the unit. Binding between the first and second lines is evident in their three **yqtl* verbs, while the second and third lines have three substantives with initial *ma-*. As a corollary, the first two lines show as a result of the verbs (mostly) final *-u*, where the second and third lines contain several substantives in final *-i*.

43–44	[tištayū] karpanīma yêna/	a b c	3/9
	[wa-bi-kāsi ḫurāṣi da]ma 'iṣṣīma	b' (x of y) c'	4/12
		(x of y)	

Where the prior unit spells out in its second and third lines the nature of the eating mentioned in the first line, this unit details the drinking mentioned in the prior unit's first line. Especially through the repetition of the verb *tištayū* (and not generally the theme of drinking), the effect is to bind this unit with the preceding. With a couple of two-word units, the second line doubles the nominal components of the first line and follows its syntax as well. The phrase *[wa-bi-kāsi ḫurāṣi]* echoes *karpanīma* (especially with initial *ka-* in the nouns), while *[da]mi 'iṣṣīma* offers an evocative image for *yêna*. At a more subtle level, final *-ma* also binds the two lines.

Introduction

Between the last understandable lines in column II (lines 34–36) and the beginning of intelligible narrative in column III (line 10), there is a lacuna of over thirty lines: twelve badly broken lines at the end of column II, twelve additional missing lines at the beginning of column III, followed by nine that are too broken to give a continuous translation. When the text becomes complete, the narrative introduces a speech by Baal that recounts a meeting of the divine council in which he was shamefully treated by another god (lines 10–22). The function of this speech within the overarching story of Baal and Anat's visit with Athirat is not clear. Following the speech, the narrative continues with Baal and Anat arriving before Athirat, their presentation of the gifts they have brought, a conversation with Athirat that concludes with the gods having a meal together (lines 23–44).

One may note that a substantial amount of action occurs between the time when Athirat first sees the two gods approaching her home (1.4 II 12–16) and the time when they actually arrive into her presence (1.4 III 23–24). Such a delay between these two events is not unusual in the Baal Cycle. For example, in 1.2 I 21–22 the gods see the approach of Yamm's messengers. The narrative then describes their fearful reaction, and Baal's angry speech to rally the gods (lines 23–29) before they meet the messengers with their heads raised. The messengers finally arrive in line 30. In 1.3 IV 39–46, Baal sees the approach of Anat, and before she comes into his presence (somewhere in the lacuna following line 46), he prepares for a dinner, while Anat herself freshens up (at least lines 42–46) before she comes to meet Baal. Similarly, Dan'il sees Kothar wa-Hasis approaching in 1.17 V 9–11 and instructs his wife to prepare a meal for him (line 21), and she prepares the meal (lines 21–25) before Kothar arrives (line 25). Our passage (1.4 II 12–III 22) clearly contains a more elaborate interlude than in any of the passages just described. The scene here includes Athirat's fearful reaction and subsequent recognition that Baal and Anat are coming in peace (1.4 II 16–28). She then instructs her servant perhaps to prepare for a meal (1.4 II 29–36). The broken lines and lacuna that follow (1.4 II 37–III 9) give no clear sense as to the succeeding action, except that when the broken lines begin in 1.4 III 1–9, there appears to be a conversation going on between Baal and someone else. As it seems likely that lines 23–24 describe the actual arrival of the two gods before Athirat, it is probably not Athirat who is conversing here with Baal. It seems

more reasonable to suggest (tentatively) that the other member of the
conversation is Anat. Presumably the discussion is intended to prepare
for the meeting with Athirat, perhaps in a way somewhat similar to
Baal's speech in 1.2 I 24–28, which prepares the assembled gods for
their meeting with Yamm's messengers. But unfortunately, the reason
why this particular discussion is taking place before meeting with
Athirat is unclear.

Some fragments of the first nine lines of the column can be trans-
lated, and they hint at the content of the passage. Line 5, *'al yns*, can
be rendered, "may he not escape." Within the context that follows,
one may suggest that it refers to an enemy of Baal. Cassuto (1942:52;
BOS 2:127) identified the enemy as Mot, while Gaster (1946:21 n. 5)
suggested that it is Yamm here. Gibson (*CML*[2] 57 n. 5) believed that it
referred to any enemy who might oppose Baal. The context does not
allow us to determine the referent with certainty. However, it seems
possible that the subject of this line is also the deity who defied Baal
in the event described below in lines 12–14. Lines 6, 7 and 9 each
have clear reference to the establishment of someone as king, "he will
establish you,"..."for ever and ever,"..."the god who is king." They
most likely refer to Baal.

Lines 10–22: Events in the Divine Council Recounted

As we understand the episode, lines 10–11 introduce Baal's response to
the previous speech, and lines 12–16 describe an incident in which a
god grossly insulted Baal. This is followed in lines 17–22 by a discussion
of what offends Baal at a feast, apparently concluding with a statement
about the things that were present at the feast he has just described.
There has been some disagreement about this interpretation. Several
scholars have viewed these lines as describing, not a past event, but
rather a meeting of the assembly of the gods at the time when Baal
and Anat arrive to see Athirat (e.g., Albright 1934:119; Ginsburg, *ANET*
132; de Moor 1987:49; Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1155–56; Gordon
1977:91–92). This interpretation views lines 12–14a as a continuation
of the narrative, rather than as the beginning of Baal's quote. Thus
it is Baal who stands in the assembly and spits. This, however, seems
quite unlikely. There is too little space in the broken passage at the
end of column II and beginning of column III to make this plausible,
and since 1.4 II 12–38 and 1.4 III 23–44 show a clear continuation
of the plotline, the development of a scene taking place in the divine

council would constitute a major break, one rather difficult to explain. In addition, one should note that Athirat's abode, the setting of the scene both before and after this section, is never otherwise the site of the assembly. Recognizing the passage from lines 12–22 as a quotation of Baal describing a past event fits much more reasonably, in spite of its ambiguities, into the context of the overarching scene and is thus more likely to be the correct understanding (so for example, Aisleitner, 38–39; *TO* 1.200–01; Coogan 1978: 98; *CML*[1] 95; Pardee 1997a:258; Wiggins 1993:52; Wyatt 1998:95–96).

The bicolon of lines 10–11 indicates that the speech discernable in at least lines 5–9 has ended and that now Baal responds. The two verbs are both 3rd masc. sg., with Baal and his two epithets as the subjects. The verbs themselves, however, are uncertain because of a break in the tablet directly after the first letter of each. In the case of the first verb, only the *y* is certain. The second letter is completely lost, and the third is damaged. Above in the Textual Notes we pointed out that the best interpretation of the long horizontal that constitutes the remains of the third letter is as *n*, rather than *b* or *d*. Thus the most likely reconstruction of the verb is *y[ˤ]n*, "he answered." The second verb has been read universally as *ytˤdd* and is often identified as a *tD*-stem form from the root *ˤwd*, which can plausibly be interpreted as, "he replies" (cf. BH *ˤwd*, "to repeat, do again, admonish"), thus making a reasonable parallel to the first verb.[11] However, the epigraphic realities discussed in the Textual Notes above, p. 457, urge caution about this reading. The wide gap between the *y* and the supposed *t* wedge and the uncertain evidence of the tips of two possible wedges meeting the left side of the horizontal call the traditional reading into question, although a verb *ykˤdd* or *yrˤdd* would have to be understood as a *hapax* with a reduplicated final consonant. This root type, with geminated third and fourth consonants, is attested in Ugaritic (*ṣḥrr*), as well as in BH and Syriac (see *UG* 680). If we were to read the verb as one of these, *yrˤdd* would be more likely. It might then be related to BH *rˤd*, "to shake, tremble," and the form with the reduplicated consonants would

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[11] BH has an example of a Hithpolel of *ˤwd* in Ps 20:9b, but it does not have a meaning related to speaking: *waʾănaḥnû qamnû wannitˤôdād*, "but we stand and keep upright" (cf. *BOS* 2.128). The Hithpolel of the verb also appears in 1QH (Hodayot) XII:36: *hitˤwddty wʾqwmh*. *HALOT* 795 divides the occurrences of *ˤwd* into two distinct roots. See Margalit *MLD* 37, who uses this meaning in his translation and interprets the bicolon as describing Baal as he arises in the assembly. Cf. also van Zijl, *Baal* 87.

have *D*-stem transitivizing force, i.e., "to make tremble," which in our context would perhaps carry the connotation, "to speak in a loud and imposing voice." This line of approach, of course, is speculative.

The tricolon of lines 12–14a opens Baal's speech with his description of someone's outrageous actions against him in the assembly of the gods. Who is this opponent who abased and spit at Baal? The most obvious candidate would be Yamm, whose conflict with Baal plays such a central part in the cycle (1.1–1.2). Such personal confrontations between the two appear to be mentioned in two passages. 1.1 IV 13–27 describes El's proclamation of Yamm as ruler of the council and refers in a broken context (lines 22–23) both to Baal and to insults (*kd yn'aṣn*: "Thus he reviles me (?)"), although it is not clear who is the subject of the insults. The second passage is found in 1.4 VI 13, where the verbs *qlṣ* and *wpṯ*, central in our passage, appear in a somewhat broken context, but clearly related to a reference to Yamm in line 12.

In our interpretation of these lines, the first two cola consist of verbs. If our reading of the first two letters of line 12 is correct, then we find each colon beginning with a form of **qwm*, "to rise, stand up" (3rd masc. sg. perfect in line 12, imperfect in line 13). This is paralleled in the following bicolon (lines 14b–16), with similar forms of **šty*. The final verb in each of the two cola has the 1st sg. object pronoun -*n*. The only ambiguous element in the two cola is the word *ydd*, which is either a verb or a noun. Some scholars see it as the epithet, "the Beloved," and consider it the subject of the verbs in the two lines (Albright 1934: 119; Aistleitner 38; Wiggins 1993:52–53; Wyatt 1998: 95). This seems unlikely, however. The epithet *ydd* elsewhere is only used of Mot, and is always the B-word of a parallel pair, in which the proper name Mot is the A-word. Thus an appearance of the epithet without a prior reference to the name of the deity seems problematic. In addition, there is little reason to identify the opponent here as Mot, since he has not yet made an appearance in the story. It seems much more likely that *ydd* is a verb from the root **ndd*, "to move forward, stand" (cf. *DUL* 620; Pardee 1997a:258; *TO* 1.200, n. c; *CML*² 58). The same verb appears in another context with **qwm* in 1.10 II 17: *lpnnh.ydd.wyqm*, "Before her he got up and stood."

The verb **qwm* is a standard term for assuming the posture appropriate for addressing an assembly (1.2 I 15–16//31; Dan 7:10; cf. Job 19:25; see Mullen 1980:231; *UBC* 1.288, 295). In BH the synonym **'md* also is used in this manner in 1 Kgs 22:19; Jer 23:18, 22; Zech 3:4),

as is *nṣb in Ps 82:1 (cf. an Egyptian example in Wenamun; *ANET* 29; Hoch 1994:126). The last words of each line describe the actions that outraged Baal during the assembly. The first verb, *wyqlṣn*, has been discussed above in the commentary on 1.3 V 28, p. 352. While it could be cognate to Arabic *qallaṣa*, "to oppose," we preferred to relate it to BH *qls*, "to scorn, abase." Pardee comes to the latter meaning by suggesting it as an extended meaning of Arabic *qlṣ*, "to shrivel." However one reaches the meaning, "to scorn," this seems a reasonable meaning here as in 1.3 V 28, although the alternative meaning "to oppose," is also quite plausible.[12] The verb *wywptn* in line 13 is apparently cognate with Arabic *nafaṯa* "to spit" (Pope 1947:341 n. 29, and in Smith 1998b:655; *UT* 19.806; *TO* 1.200 n. e; *MLC* 544; cf. perhaps Jewish Babylonian Aramaic *tpp, see Sokoloff 2002:1226). Spitting as such was not considered inappropriate in some contexts, as reflected in Sumerian Proverb Collection 3.9 (as interpreted by Hallo 1985:27):

> To banquet without washing the hands,
> to spit without stamping (on the spittle),
> to blow (literally, cool) the nose without returning (the mucus) to dust,
> to use (literally, do) the tongue at noon without providing shade—
> these are abominations of Utu.

The issue seems not to be the behavior as such, but its obvious, derogatory meaning within the context of the assembly. As the object suffix indicates, the behavior was specifically aimed against Baal. Such an action is considered an act of contempt. De Moor (1987:49 n. 220) compares the offence of spitting in 1.4 II 12–14 to spitting in the community assembly in 1QS 7:13 (cf. Josephus, *BJ* II 147).

It is to be noted that the reading and reconstruction of *p[ḫ]r* in line 14 is not assured. However, the reference to the gods (*bn 'ilm*) and a setting in their midst (*btk*) are clear, which makes *p[ḫ]r* a highly plausible reconstruction.

The general intent of lines 14b–16 is clear, but the specific meanings of several words are not. In particular, there is uncertainty about

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[12] Pope (1947:340–41, esp. nn. 28, 31) suggested that *wyqlṣn* might be understood as referring to "hawking," that is, gathering up of saliva in the throat before spitting (and relating it to the same Arabic root as Pardee). However, if we identify the *n* at the end of the word as the 1st sg. object suffix, this rendering becomes virtually impossible.

the appropriate root of *štt*, about the identity of the broken word at the beginning of line 15, and about the meaning of the noun *qlt*. The verb, *štt*, could be from **šyt*, "to place, set" (so, for example, *TO* 1.200; Coogan 1978:98; Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1156; *CML*[1] 95; de Moor 1987:50; Pardee 1997a:258) or from **šty*, "to drink" (e.g., Albright 1934: 119; Aistleitner 38; Cassuto, *BOS* 2.128; Gordon 1977:92). While recent scholars have tended to interpret it as coming from the former, there is a strong argument for relating it to the latter. In the previous lines 12–13 we have seen the apparent occurrence of the suffix and prefix forms of a single verb used in parallel to one another (*qm//yqm*). It seems reasonable to argue that the same is operative here (*štt///'ištynh*). In addition, there is no other example of **šyt* and **šty* being used as a parallel pair.

Before discussing the damaged word in line 15, we first turn to *qlt*, since it represents the parallel B-word in the second line of the bicolon. Three major interpretations of this word have been proposed. Several scholars understand it as "filth, cheap drink," i.e., a contaminated drink of some sort, inappropriate for consumption (cf. Coogan 1978:98; Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1156; *CML*[1] 95; *Thespis* 179; *ANET* 132; de Moor 1987:50; *MLR* 81). Others have rendered it as "dishonor, humiliation, disgrace, scorn, mockery" (so Albright 1934:119; *CML*[2] 58; Gordon 1977:92; Pardee 1997a:258). This interpretation has stronger backing from cognates (cf. BH *qālôn*, "dishonor, shame," *qĕlālāh*, "curse"; Akkadian *qalālu*, "to humiliate, dishonor," in the *D*-stem; Aramaic **qll*, "to be dishonored, lightly esteemed"). It also has a fairly clear parallel use in 1.6 V 12: *'lk b'lm pht qlt*, "due to you, O Baal, I faced humiliation." A third translation, "whorl" (so Margalit, *MLD* 37; Wiggins 1993:52, 41–42; Wyatt 1998:96) has very little substantiation and relies largely on a mistaken reading of 1.4 II 4 (*qlt* instead of the certain *t'lt*, cf. *MLD* 28–29, see the Textual Notes above on the line, p. 429). From this passage Margalit attempts to build an etymology of "whorl," based on *qll*, "to be light," and then proposes an unlikely reconstruction of the broken word in line 15 as *p[lk]*, "spindle." The most plausible rendering, therefore, is "dishonor, humiliation."

Turning from *qlt* to the broken word that is its parallel term in the first colon, all that we can say with reasonable certainty is that the word probably begins with a *p* and may end with a *t*. The most popular proposal for restoring the word has been *p[gl]t*, "foul meat," first suggested by Gaster (1946:24 n. 18) and followed by *CML*[1] 95; de Moor 1987:80 and CAT (cf. also Dietrich and Loretz 1998:1156).

Gaster cited BH *piggûl*, a term referring to unclean sacrificial fare (cf. *BDB* 803). This word is otherwise unattested in Ugaritic, but might fit as a plausible A-word with *qlt*, if the latter is understood as "filthy drink." It would also require that *štt* be understood as deriving from *šyt. As noted above, neither of the latter two proposals is particularly likely, and so this reconstruction appears to be problematic as well (Held 1962:289–90; Sivan 1997:108). If *qlt* is best understood as "dishonor, humiliation," then the broken word in line 15 should have a similar meaning. Pope (MHP) suggested *p[q]*, perhaps with a meaning of "insult," here, which would be suitable, perhaps as *pgʿt* (cf. BH *pegaʿ*, "evil occurrence"). This suggestion, of course, is speculative.[13] If we are correct in our understanding of this word-pair, then it seems clear that the two are to be taken as metaphorical rather than literal. Such metaphorical drinking is a well-attested image in the ancient Near East. Biblical literature uses such cup imagery in various ways to express one's lot (MHP): cup of salvation (Ps 116:13), cup of wrath (Isa 51:17, 22; Jer 25:15); cup of suffering (Matt 26:39).

In lines 17–22, Baal apparently speaks of himself in the third person using the popular form of the numerical proverb. Such proverbs are well known in Mesopotamian, Aramaic and Israelite literature. Many of them include a list of items considered an abomination to the deity (cf. Hallo 1985). The formula of describing "two"//"three" detested things appears in other "abomination sayings." Ben Sira 50:25–26 [B] reads: "There are two nations that my soul detests, the third is not a nation." The numbers "two"//"three" appear in other kinds of proverbs as well (see Prov 30:15–16; Ben Sira 23:16, Ahiqar, col. vi, saying 12 [*ANET* 428; Lindenberger 1983:65–67]; cf. de Moor and van der Lugt 1974:23 for similar proverbs in Sumerian and Akkadian). Our passage uses this sort of parallelism to mark the types of feasts Baal considers inappropriate. It is made up of three parts: the introductory bicolon (lines 17–18a), followed by a tricolon that describes the three feasts (lines 18b–21a), and a concluding bicolon which appears to suggest

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[13] It may be noted that Avishur's list of word-pairs contains no pairs consisting of one word beginning with *p*- in the A-line and *qlt* in the B-line in any of the Semitic languages used in his study (Avishur 1984:765, 770, 774, 778, 780). Thus whatever word is reconstructed here, the pairing is thus far unique.

that the feast Baal mentioned in lines 12–16 was just such a detestable one (lines 21b–22).[14]

The word rendered "feasts" is *dbḥm*, which can also be interpreted as "sacrifices" (so Albright 1934:119; *CML*[1] 95; *CML*[2] 58; de Moor 1987:50; *MLR* 81; Wiggins 1993:52; Wyatt 1998:96). Pardee (1997a:258 n.142) has pointed out, however, that the Sumerian/Akkadian/Hurrian/Ugaritic polyglot text, *Ug* V 137 iii 6, equates Ugaritic *dabḥu* with Akkadian *isinnu*, Sumerian *EZEN*, "festival, feast." Since the context of the passage is a discussion about an assembly of the gods that clearly took place in connection with a feast (thus the reference in lines 14–16 to the "table" and "cup"), it seems best to render the noun here as "feast(s)" (so also *TO* 1.201; *BOS* 2.128; Dijkstra 1975:563; Gaster, *Thespis* 179; *ANET* 132).

The verb *šnʾa* occurs only here in the literary texts. A participial form appears in 1.4 VII 36, "haters of Baal," and the verb may appear in a very badly damaged economic text, 4.217.8. It commonly appears in the Hebrew Bible (as *śānēʾ*), in contexts associated with Yahweh (cf. Deut 12:31; 15:22; Amos 5:21). In Prov 6:16 the verb appears in a numerical saying similar to our passage: "Six things Yahweh hates (*śānēʾ*), and seven are abominations (*tôʿēbôt*) for him."

In characterizing the despised feasts, the tricolon of lines 18b–21a uses three terms, *bṯt, dnt* and *tdmm ʾamht*. Two major trends of interpretation are evident in the scholarly literature. The first sees these terms as referring to inappropriate sexual activity during a feast (cf. e.g., *Thespis* 179; Wiggins 1993:52; Wyatt 1998:96). Thus the first term, *bṯt*, "shame," cognate with BH *bōšet* (*BOS* 2.128; see *ANET* 132), is interpreted in such a sense. One may note that it sometimes occurs in the Bible in a context of sexual shame (cf. 1 Sam 20:30 and Jer 3:23–25). The second term *dnt* has been related to BH **znh*, "to fornicate" and is translated as such by some. But this proposed relationship between

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[14] Roth (1965:80–81) argued that lines 17–21a are a proverbial saying from the context of the cult of Baal at Ugarit. The saying was originally entirely separate from the Baal Cycle and was set in its form when it was incorporated into the speech found in our passage. For Roth, this explains the shift from first person in lines 14–16 to third person in 17–21a. This proposal does not seem likely, however, since he can provide no corroboratory evidence for his reconstruction (cf. de Tarragon 1980:58). In addition, the gods speak of themselves in the third person fairly often in Ugaritic narrative: El does so in 1.4 IV 38–39, 1.6 III 4–5, and 1.14 I 41–43; Athirat does it just below in lines 28–30a. Thus there is no need to see this as an indication of the presence of a foreign literary fragment here. Roth's approach also fails to address how such a ritual saying would fit into the present context.

the two words is problematic. The Arabic cognate of BH *znh is zana, which indicates that the first root consonant is *z. Thus the word's rendering in Ugaritic as *d̠* would be highly irregular (van Zijl, *Baal* 91). Del Olmo Lete (1978a:45–46) attempted to salvage this etymology by positing an inner-Ugaritic development of *z > *d̠ > *d for this root. Though not impossible, the development would be unusual. The third word, *tdmm(t)*, could be viewed as cognate with BH *zimmâ*, a common euphemism for fornication or incest (Lev 18:17; 19:29; 20:14; Judg 20:6; for the form of the noun, see Good 1981). As support for this interpretation, one may note Jer 13:26–27, which uses *qĕlōnēk*, "your shame" (= *qlt* in line 15) and *zimmat zĕnûtēk*, "your lewd fornication," in successive lines (MHP).

While this interpretation is possible, the question arises as to how this subject fits into the context of the speech in which it appears. Nothing in the preserved lines before this section, either in Baal's speech or in the broken speech in lines 1–9, nor anything in the subsequent scene (lines 23ff.) gives any hint of a discussion concerning sexual matters. On the other hand, Baal's speech until now has dealt with conflict in the assembly and outrageous behavior there against Baal. The issue has been divine status and authority and affront to his honor. The other line of interpretation fits more closely into the context of the overall passage. The term *bṯt*, "shame," is compatible with the subject of Baal's humiliation in the assembly. A more likely etymology for *dnt* than the one proposed above is found in BH *dîn*, "strife, contention, conflict" (e.g., Aistleitner 39; *BOS* 2.128; de Moor 1987:50; *Baal* 88, 90–93). Again, such a meaning fits the context of Baal's speech. This word appears in context with *qālôn* (again = *qlt* in line 15) in Prov 22:10: "Drive out the one who scorns, and strife (*mādôn*) goes away, and conflict (*dîn*) and abuse (*qālôn*) cease." One may also note Prov 17:1, which refers to the semantically related *zibḥê rîb*, "feasts of strife" (cf. *BOS* 2.128 n. 59). A third possible etymology for *dnt* is to relate it to Arabic *d(w)n*, "to be low, mean, vile" (*SPUMB* 93; for further references, see del Olmo Lete 1978a:45; cf. *TO* 1.201 n. g; Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1156; Dijkstra 1975:563; Pardee 1997a:258, 2004a:73). This may be the meaning of the text, although we would argue that the relationship between this passage and the surrounding narrative suggests that the second interpretation is the more likely.

Similarly, there is a potential cognate for *tdmm(t)* in BH *dĕmāmâ*, "whisper" (cf. 1 Kgs 19:12; Job 4:16; Levine 1993:101–2). Thus one might render the phrase, *tdmm ʾamht*, "whispering of the maidservants"

(so Albright 1934:119; *BOS* 2.128). In the context of humiliation and outrage, this may refer to quiet, but disrespectful derision among the serving girls at the feast (cf. "une fête où les servants se conduisent mal"; Pardee 2004a:74). Such treatment by servants is seen as the ultimate insult. In the Akkadian text, *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi* I:89–90 (Foster 2005:397), we see a more open defamation of this sort by a female servant. The narrator, in the midst of a disastrous change of fortune, states:

> My slave cursed me openly in the assembly (of gentlefolk),
> My slavegirl defamed me before the rabble.

This passage refers to defamation that all in the assembly can hear, while Baal's complaint refers to defamation whispered among female servants. Thus all three of the words and phrases describing the offending feasts can be related plausibly to the situation that Baal discusses directly above.

Recognition of this passage as a direct continuation of the discussion of the feast in lines 12–16 situates the concluding bicolon of the speech also within that context. Having described the kinds of actions during a feast that he hates, Baal then indicates that those very features were present in the feast he has been discussing, thus summing up his outrage over the events. Some simply see this bicolon as a further explanation as to why Baal dislikes the three kinds of feasts, for example Gibson (*CML²* 58):

> For therein shameful conduct is indeed seen
> And therein the debauchery of handmaids.

While not impossible, there are two objections to this interpretation. First, there is the same problem that was brought up concerning the sexual interpretation of the previous lines, namely that taking this whole section as a general discussion of feasts that offend the god makes the passage difficult to place into the context of the preceding part of the speech. Secondly, it hardly seems to be explanatory, as it repeats the descriptions given in the previous tricolon. Such repetition is not impossible, of course, in this type of poetry, but an interpretation that places the comment more clearly into the context of the overall speech seems preferable. Thus we render the verb *tbṭ* in the past tense.

The etymology of *tbṭ* is uncertain. Most scholars have taken it to be from *nbt, which appears regularly in BH only in the Hiphil, with the meaning, "to look, see," and in Akkadian with the meaning "to be bright, to shine" in the *G*-stem (*CAD N/I*:22–23). A meaning in this

semantic field appears quite plausible in the passage. One could render the line, "For in it (i.e., the feast discussed in lines 12–16) shame indeed shone forth" (cf. *Thespis* 179); or "For in it, shame indeed was seen" (so more commonly, e. g., Albright 1934:119; *TO* 1.201; Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1156; *CML*² 58; Pardee 1997a:258). Another interpretation (e.g., *BOS* 2.128 n. 60; *CML*¹ 95 n. 5) focuses on the Arabic and Mishnaic meaning of *nabaṭa*, "to sprout, flow out," also a plausible rendering for the verb in our passage. Dijkstra (1975) proposed relating the verb to the root *hbṭ, found in Ugaritic with the apparent meaning, "to knock down." His understanding of the line is quite different from the other renderings: "When they are shamefully abased (i.e., knocked down) there." His derivation incurs the problem that in neither of the two clear occurrences of the prefix form of the verb *hbṭ* in Ugaritic does the *h* assimilate (*yhbṭ* in *CAT* 2.4.20; *thbṭ* in 2.47.16).

An ambiguity arises concerning the fact that lines 20–21 read *tdmm ʾamht*, while line 22 has *tdmmt ʾamht*. Some scholars read the first *tdmm* as a verb, and the second, with the added *t*, as a noun (e.g., *CML*² 58; *TO* 1.201; Pardee 1997a:258). While plausible, it seems less likely that there would be such a striking semantic shift in this kind of repetition of phrases in succeeding poetic units. It seems more likely that both *tdmm* and *tdmmt* are nouns (so Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1156; *CML*¹ 95; Gordon 1977:92; Wiggins 1993:52; Wyatt 1998:96). It may be that the poet simply uses a masculine and a feminine form in the parallel passages for aesthetic purposes. It may also be the case that we have a scribal error in line 20 and that a *t* is to be reconstructed at the end of the word.

We may summarize our interpretation of the first twenty-two lines of this column thusly. The first nine broken lines appear, at least from line 5, to be a speech by someone discussing the kingship of a god, presumably Baal, perhaps referring to an enemy of Baal in line 5. The speaker is unclear, although Anat seems a likely candidate. Lines 10–11 introduce Baal's response (lines 12–22). In these lines he describes an event in the past when a male deity, perhaps Yamm, dishonored him during a feast and assembly of the gods. This god scorned Baal and spit in the assembly, clearly considered a highly insulting act toward Baal. In a metaphoric description, Baal states that he "drank" disgrace and dishonor from the outrageous behavior of the unnamed god. He then indicates that the feast during which this happened was filled with every element of inappropriateness that he hates. Baal's anger at this public humiliation is obvious in the speech. Thus the speech itself

can be seen to hold together in an artful way. Unfortunately, its place within the larger context of the narrative, spoken directly before Baal and Anat meet Athirat, remains unresolved. It is simply not clear why Baal brings up this event directly before the meeting, or what role it plays within the context of Baal's attempt to gain the support of Athirat for his goal.

Lines 23–44: Athirat's Meeting with Baal and Anat

This section describes the meeting of Baal and Anat with Athirat, their presentation of the gifts to the goddess, the resulting conversation and meal. The poet provides some dramatic suspense in the dialogue of lines 28–36, in which Athirat suggests an initial reluctance to accept the gifts. The significance of her acceptance is emphasized by the fourfold repetition of the word pair *mgn//*ġzy in lines 25–26, 28–30, 30–32, 33–36. The conversation is followed by a characteristic description of a meal for the gods, part of a typical welcome for visitors.

The section opens in lines 23–24 with the arrival of Baal and Anat before Athirat. As discussed above (p. 469), there is often a certain amount of action that occurs between the account of the arrival of a deity at the home of another god and the actual meeting between them (cf. 1.2 I 21–22; 1.3 IV 39–46). We may assume that this is their first meeting since the gods arrived. The bicolon opens with a temporal referent ʾaḫr, which can be a preposition, "after," or a conjunction, "afterwards, then, when." Most scholars have recognized it here as a conjunction (see Pope's discussion in 1986 = 1994:305–10), governing both lines of the bicolon. Thus Baal and Anat both arrive at the same time. A few have rendered it as a preposition and have suggested that Baal has arrived prior to Anat's appearance (e.g., *TO* 1.201; Coogan 1978:99; Gordon 1977:92; cf. Pardee 1997a:258 n. 125 holds open this possible reading). But this is unlikely. The conjunction ʾaḫr is used in several very similar contexts in which there is no question of a sequential arrival (e.g., 1.4 V 44, ʾaḫr mġy kṯr wḫss, "Then Kothar wa-Hasis arrived"; similarly in 1.17 V 25–26). The best parallel is in 1.2 I 30, where ʾaḫr appears at the beginning of a bicolon and clearly governs the two lines: ʾaḫr tmġyn mlʾak ym//tdʿt ṯpṭ nhr: "Then the messengers of Yamm arrived,//the legation of Judge River."

In lines 25–26, the two gods present the gifts to Athirat. On the meaning of the verbs *mgn and *ġzy, see above, pp. 407–9. For the

epithets of the three deities in lines 23–26, see UBC 1.153, and the Commentary, pp. 188 and 404–7. This presentation of gifts, of course, may be expected as the first order of business upon meeting with the goddess, and presumably it reflects the protocol of meeting among human royalty too. As discussed above, the bringing of gifts was an important political activity in the Late Bronze Age Levant (see above, pp. 407–8). Here it indicates that Baal desires friendly relations and an alliance with Athirat.

Athirat's response to the gifts (lines 28–32) is clearly not quite what Baal and Anat hoped for. There are two aspects of Athirat's questions here that are important to recognize. First, they indicate that she is not at this point ready to accept the gifts. Accepting them will indicate that she recognizes Baal's legitimacy and will also place her under obligation to reciprocate. Thus her pointed questions here, "Why are you giving gifts to me? Have you given gifts to El?" suggest a distrust of the motives of the givers, as well as a hint that they may not be following the appropriate protocol, if they have not taken similar or superior gifts to El himself. The emphasis on El in this response is marked by his standard epithets (appearing already in 1.1 III 26, IV 12, V 22, 1.2 I 16, 33, 36, 1.2 III 16, 17, 19, 21 as well as 1.14 II 10–11). Since we know that she does accept the gifts eventually and agrees to help Baal, it may be that these questions are intended by Athirat to remind the young gods of her superior status and their vulnerability. They thus may not actually represent serious doubts in Athirat's mind. In any case, this exchange creates suspense in the story.

Anat responds to Athirat's questions. In the same way that she brought Baal's request for a palace before El, she plays the role of intermediary before Athirat as well. As in the former situation, it was presumably inappropriate for Baal to speak directly in a situation where he is at a clear disadvantage. Anat's response is both defensive and conciliating, emphasizing as it does that they indeed want to honor Athirat with the gifts, but do not intend to ignore El either.

The broken word at the beginning of line 34, *[ ]m*, has caused some confusion among interpreters. A number simply ignore it in their translations (e.g., *TO* 1.202; *CML*[1] 95; Pardee 1997a:258). Several restored it as *[ʾu]m*, "mother" (e.g., Aistleitner 39; *CML*[1] 94–95; *Thespis* 180; *CML*[2] 58). This reading must now be dropped on epigraphic grounds, since the trace of the letter indicates that it is most likely /k/, ʾa/ or /n/. Of these, the only one that appears probable grammatically is /k/, which

forms ⌜k⌝m. This can be understood as the third fem. sg. direct object marker with enclitic -m, i.e., ("we give gifts to) you" (this reading already proposed in Coogan 1978:99 and de Moor 1987:50).

The next three lines (lines 37–39) unfortunately are broken. Each line contains the name of one of the three deities, but the verbs describing the action (or further direct discourse?) fall in lacunas at the beginning of these lines. They may describe the beginning of the banquet that is the subject of the following lines, since the two passages parallel to the description of the banquet in lines 40–44 (1.4 VI 55–59 and 1.5 IV 11–16) in neither case initiate the discussion of the feast, but occur after the banquet has been introduced. Less likely, they might describe Athirat's acceptance of the gifts. But none of this is certain.

The last five preserved lines are broken, but can be restored confidently on the basis of 1.4 VI 55–59 and 1.5 IV 11–16 (and other shorter passages, such as 1.4 IV 36–38 and 1.17 VI 3–6). They describe the banquet held in honor of Baal and Anat's arrival. The gods eat and drink at the feast, a conventional aspect of divine interaction (see *UBC* 1.154–55). This may be the divine equivalent of ritual as the setting in which divine-human communication takes place (cf. Wright 2001:47). The introductory line, 40b–41a, refers to the gods eating and drinking, the usual sequence for describing feasting (Lichtenstein 1968). If the line is to be restored closely to that in 1.4 VI 55, then it begins with ʿd, often translated "while." The particle is perhaps meant to suggest the divine feast as the general backdrop to the interaction of the three deities already described. At the same time, it is possible that the previous broken lines (lines 37–39) actually introduce the scene of the banquet.

The phrase in lines 41b–42a, mrǵtm [ṯd], "sucklings of the breast," has occasioned two very different interpretations. Some scholars (e.g., *Thespis* 180, 192; *TO* 1.202; Gordon 1977:92; Pope 1977:657; *PU* 2.72) have viewed it as the parallel B-word with ʾilm in the previous colon, and thus see it as an epithet for the gods, i.e., those who suckle the breast of the goddess, presumably Athirat. The majority of interpreters, however, see the phrase as the A-word in parallel with mrʾi in the following colon, and thus as a description of the meat eaten in the feast (*BOS* 2.159; *CML*² 58; cf. *ANET* 134; de Moor 1987:51; Pardee 1997a:258; Wyatt 1998:97).

Several arguments for reading the phrase as an epithet of the gods have been put forward. The gods sired by El in 1.23, for example, are variously called "suckers of the nipples/the breast of Athirat/the Lady"

(*ynqm b'ap zd/dd 'atrt*), in lines 24, 59 and 61. Kirta's son, Yaṣṣib, is
said to be one who "sucks the milk of A[thi]rat, draws the breast of
Adolescent [Anat], the wet nurses [of the gods]" (1.15 II 26–27). An
ivory panel from a royal bed excavated from Ugarit depicts a female
giving suck to two other figures (Pope 1977:pl. XI), perhaps a portrayal
of the divine nursing of the king. Another significant argument is that
in general, the initial parallel term in Ugaritic poetry is usually the
more common one and the following parallel term the less common
one and the one that is expanded in form. This is not the case if *mrġtm
[td]* is the A-word to the following *mr'i*. The latter is much more com-
mon than the former, and the former is certainly expanded in form,
as is expected of a B-word. Thus it seems plausible to relate it to *'ilm*
as an epithet of the gods.

But there appear to be better arguments in support of the interpreta-
tion of the phrase as food. The first colon of this passage, lines 40b–41a,
occurs also as a single line in another context (1.4 V 48) and therefore
it may best be seen here as a line prefixed here to the following bicolon
(lines 41b–43a). The verb *[wtp]q* in line 41 governs both lines of the
bicolon, thus tying the two nominal phrases together as parallels, even
though the second phrase (*qṣ mr'i*) is the more common of the two. In
addition, the final line, *[bḥrb m]lḥt qṣ [mr'i]*, actually appears elsewhere
(1.3 I 7–8; 1.17 VI 4) as the second line of other bicola, in which it is the
parallel of the preceding line. It is always dependent on the preceding
line and it expands the nominal elements of the preceding parallel. In
this context, then, *mrġtm [td]* must be the first part of the parallel pair.
On the basis of this reasoning, *mrġtm [td]* is best interpreted as part of
the rich fare of the divine feast.

The feast closes with a stereotypical bicolon for drinking, found in
complete form in El's invitation to Athirat to eat and drink in 1.4 IV
36–38 and in the description of the divine feast held at the inauguration
of Baal's palace in 1.4 VI 58–59. The vessels for drinking, *krpn//ks*,
appear twice in the description of Baal's feast in 1.3 I 10–11, 13–14.
An evocative, traditional sort of image, wine (*yn*) here is called "blood
of trees" (*dm 'ṣm*), or less literally "blood of the grapevines" (Ginsberg
1982:101 n. 131). This image is attested in comparable form as the
"blood of grape(s)," for example in Gen 49:11 (*bayyayin//ûbĕdam-'ănābîm*)
and Deut 32:14 (*wĕdam 'ēnāb tišteh-ḥāmer*).[15] The expression *dm 'nb* occurs

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[15] So *CML²* 58, which also cites 1 Macc 6:34. For further discussion, see *SPUMB*
146–7; M. L. Fisher 1969:66–67; cf. Akkadian *damu* in *CAD D*:79.

also in Ben Sira 39:26 [manuscript B]. In the Tyrian legend of the invention of wine cited by Achilles Tatius II:2 (Gaselee 1917:60–61; cf. *Thespis* 180), Dionysius the god of the vine said that wine "is harvest water, the blood of the grape (*haima botrous*)." Further parallels are provided in citations given in Lipiński 1970:86–87 and de Moor and van Lugt 1974:14 (see also Zamora 2000:599–601).

The feast often marks the close of such an episode, but here it may be assumed that the following lacuna moves to the next order of business between the deities, i.e., gaining Athirat's agreement to ask El about the palace for Baal. Nine lines are either completely or almost completely destroyed at the end of column III, and the following column IV begins with a lacuna of about twelve lines. The missing twenty-one lines presumably describe Athirat's acceptance of the gifts, Baal's request that she go to El to plead for him (probably including the oft-repeated lament [1.3 IV to Anat, and 1.4 I to Kothar]) about his lack of a palace, followed by her agreement to go. When column IV becomes legible, the goddess is preparing for her trip to El's abode.

CAT 1.4 IV

Bibliography

Text Editions: Virolleaud 1932:131–40, pls. XXVI, XXX (in the *editio princeps*, the captions for the two photos of the obverse and reverse have been exchanged; thus pl. XXIX, captioned as the obverse, is actually the reverse); CTA 25–26, fig. 15, pls. VII, VIII; KTU 17–18; CAT 18.

Studies and Translations: Aistleitner 39–41; Albright 1934:120–23; Caquot and Sznycer, *TO* 1.203–6; Cassuto, *BOS* 2.130–32, 178–87; Coogan 1978:99–101; Cross, *CMHE* 183–85; Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1157–61; Driver, *CML*[1] 94–97; Gaster, *Thespis* 181–85; Gibson, *CML*[2] 59–60; Ginsberg, *ANET* 132–33, *KU* 27–30; Gordon, *UL* 30–32, 1977:93–95; Jirku 44–46; Maier 1986:12–20; Margalit, *MLD* 206–12; de Moor 1987:51–54; Mullen 1980:70–72; del Olmo Lete, *MLC* 199–202; *MLR* 82–84; Pardee 1997a:258–59; Pope, *EUT* 36–37, 1971; Smith, *UNP* 126–29; Watson 1978:398–99; Wiggins 1993:55–61; Wyatt 1998:98–101; Xella 1982:111–13; van Zijl, *Baal* 95–106 (cf. 74–81).

Text (See Images 43–55)

[About 12 lines are missing.]

1   *ṯr*[*]*
     ʾaṯr̊[*]*
     w'amr̊r̊[*]*
     'aṯrt.ym̊[*]*
5   *ṣmd.pḥl*[*]*
     ksp.dt.yrå̊[*]*
     'db.gpn.'atn̊[*]*
     yšm'.qd.w'amr[*]*
     mdl.'r.ṣmd.pḥl
10   *št.gpnm.dt.ksp*
     dt.yrq.nqbnm
     'db.gpn.'atnth
     yḥbq.qdš.w'amrr
     yštn.'aṯrt.lbmt.'r
15   *lysmsmt.bmt.pḥl*
     qdš.y'uḫdm.šb'r
     'amrr.kkbkb.lpnm
     'aṯr.btlt.'nt
     wb'l.tb'.mrym.ṣpn

20 ʼidk.lttn.pnm
    ʻm.ʼil.mbk.nhrm
    qrb.ʼapq.thmtm
    tgly.dd.ʼil.wtbʼu
    qrš.mlk.ʼab.šnm
25 lpʻn.ʼil.thbr.wtql
    tšthwy.wtkbdh
    hlm.ʼil.kyphnh
    yprq.lṣb.wyṣhq
    pʻnh.lhdm.ytpd.wẙkrkr
30 ʼuṣbʻth.yšʼu.gh.wyṣ̊[ ]
    ʼik.mǵyt.rbt.aṯr[   ]m
    ʼik.atwt.qnyt.ʼi[   ]
    rǵb.rǵbt.wl̊ǵt[   ]
    hm.ǵmʼu.ǵmʼit.wʻs[ ]
35 lḥm.hm.štym.lḥ[ ]
    btlḫnt.lḥmšt
    bkrpnm.yn.bk.ḫrṣ̊
    dm.ʻṣm.hm.yd.ʼiml̊k̊
    yḥssk.ʼahbt.ṯr.tʻrrk
40 wtʻn.rbt.aṯrtym
    tḥmk.ʼil.ḥkm.ḥkmt
    ʻmʻlm.ḥyt.ḥzt
    tḥmk.mlkn.ʼalʼiy[ ]bʻl
    tptn.wʼin.dʻlnh
45 klnyn.q̊[ ]ḥ[.]n̊[   ]
    klnyn̊[   ]b̊l.ksh
    [   ]ẙ[ ]l̊y.ṣ̊ḥ.ṯrʼil.abh
    [ ]l̊.mlk.dyknnh.yṣḥ
    ʼaṯrt.wbnh.ʼilt.wṣbrt
50 ʼåryh.wn.ʼin.bt.lbʻl
    km.ʼilm.wḥẓr.kbn.aṯrt
    mṯbʼil.mẓll.bnh
    m̊ṯbrbt.aṯrt.ym
    m̊ṯb.klt.knyt
55 mṯb.pdry.bt.ʼar
    mẓll.ṯly[ ]bt.rb
    mṯb.ʼarṣ.bty ʻbdr
    wyʻnltpn ʼil.dpʼid
    pʻbd.ʼan.ʻnn.aṯrt
60 p̊ʻbd.ʼan̊k.ʼaḫd.ʼulṯ
    hm.ʼamt.aṯrt.tlbn
    lbnt.ybn.bt.lbʻl
V1 kmʼilm.ẘḥẓr.kbn.aṯrt

Textual Notes

Line 2. 'aṯr̊] The reading of the /r/ is uncertain epigraphically, but context assures the reading. There is a pockmark, not part of the /r/, to the right of the /t/. The left and upper line of one small wedge is visible just to the right of the pockmark. When a sharp light is shone directly from the right, there seem to be hints of the lowest interior of a small horizontal above the latter.

Line 3. w'aṁr̊r̊[ ] The /m/ is damaged, but the upper line and right tip of the horizontal are preserved, as is the deep interior of the vertical. Of the first /r/, traces of the left side of the two left horizontals are visible, along with the probable bottom line of the right wedge. The second /r/ is represented only by a possible lower line of the lower left wedge. But this may be breakage.

Line 5. ṣmd.pḥl [We see no traces of a word divider after /pḥl/. The indentation identified by CAT as part of a /š/ at the break is actually part of the break, not a wedge.

Line 6. yrå̊[The lower corner of the horizontal of the /q/ is preserved. While other letters are possible epigraphically, the context confirms /q/.

Line 7. 'atṅ̊[The final /t/, assured by context, is only represented on the tablet by the lower left corner of the wedge.

Line 27. kyphnh The final /h/ has four wedges.

Line 28. {y}wyṣḥq It appears that Ilimalku began to write a /y/ here, but recognized, after making two wedges, that he needed to place a /w/ before the /y/. He simply placed the two left wedges of the /w/ over the aborted letter.

Line 29. wẙkrkr /y/ is not certain epigraphically, though the context assures the reading. Only the general shape, which is compatible with /y/, seems present. We do not see any certain edges. The word wraps all the way around the right edge almost to the face of column V at line 31. For the final /r/, see the photo of column V edge, Image 66, bottom right.

Line 30. wyṣ̊[All that is left of the letter at the break is the upper left corner of a single vertical. But context assures the reading of /ṣ/.

Line 33. wt̊ġt[Of the first /t/, only the left indentation here is actually a wedge. The larger indentation is a break, not another large wedge; /t/ seems the best possibility. Following the second /t/, there need be no additional letters on this line.

Line 37. bk.ḫrṣ̊   Most scholars emend /bk/ to /bk<s>/, on the basis of the parallel in 1.4 VI 59. One may note, however, that *bk* could also could be a variant (< *bbk*, "from a cup"), so that emendation may not be necessary. Only the right wedge of the /ṣ/ is preserved.

Line 38. ml̊k   The /l/ is largely chipped away. The left line of the left wedge is preserved, however, along with perhaps the deep interior of the middle wedge. The /k/is shallow, but all three wedges are visible on the edge of the tablet.

Line 41. ḥkmt   The final /t/, on the edge, is damaged by a crease (not a crack) on the tablet. There appears to be an accidental vertical line along the edge from line 39 to line 42.

Line 45. klnyn.q̊[ ]ḥ[ ]n̊[The left side of the /q/'s left wedge is pre-served, as is the upper half of the right wedge. The right part of the upper wedge of the /h/ is clear, and the deep interior of the middle wedge is preserved. The letter is certain. There is no trace of a word divider after /h/. CAT sees a tiny break in the tablet that has been mis-read. The following /n/ is very worn, and only the upper half survives about the large crack. Little clear distinction between the individual wedges can be seen. Thus the letter is epigraphically uncertain, though the context argues strongly for /n/.

Line 46. klnyn̊[ ]b̊l̊. ksh   After the first five letters, the text moves onto the small fragment that constitutes the lower right corner of the tablet's obverse. It is particularly poorly preserved. The face of the fragment is mottled with tiny cracks, which make reading it more dif-ficult. The upper left part of the second /n/ is preserved along the break of the upper fragment, with a hint of the middle wedge's upper line (this is not easily seen in the photo). We don't see any traces of an

additional /n/ preceding the /b/, as proposed by CAT. The /b/ is not well preserved. The horizontals are visible, but the vertical that seems to show up on the left may only be some breakage. It is also possible that the crack above the right horizontal is the remains of the right vertical. The outline of the following /l/ is clear in the discoloring of the interior. Part of the upper left wedge is preserved. To the right one can discern the verticality of the letter.

Line 47. [   ]ẙ[ ] l̊ẙṣḥ   The first /y/ is uncertain. Two verticals are discernable, with only the right side of the left vertical surviving. No clear remains of multiple wedges are visible, but /y/ is most likely. Only the right wedge of the /l/ is visible, but context supports the reading. The edges of the /y/ and /ṣ/ are largely broken away, but the deep interiors are largely there.

Line 48.] l̊   Epigraphically uncertain, but parallels assure the reading. Only the right wedge is nearly complete, with the right side of the middle wedge partially preserved.

Line 49. ’å ṯrt   /’a/ The right tip of a horizontal is preserved on the broken left edge of the column. Context assures reading.

Line 50. ’åryh   /’a/ The right tip of the right horizontal is preserved at the break.

Line 53. ṁ ṯ b̊ rbt   The central section of the /m/'s horizontal is preserved, as is the right line of the vertical and perhaps part of its upper line. The first /b/ is in bad shape. The interior depths of the horizontals and perhaps part of one of the verticals survive. There seems little room for a word divider after /mṯb/, but the damage may mask one, as suggested by CAT.

Line 54. ṁ ṯ b̊ .klt.   /mṯb/ is badly damaged, but certain. Fragments of both the horizontal and the vertical of the /m/ are visible. Only the upper line and the right tip of the /ṯ/ are preserved. The upper lines of the two verticals of the /b/ are visible, plus the right side of the right horizontal. Contrary to CTA and CAT, there is a word divider still visible after /klt/.

LOWER EDGE

Line 58. wyʻnltpn   Contrary to CAT, there is no word divider after
/wyʻn/.

Line 60. p̣ʻbd   The /p/ is in bad shape, but certain. The upper wedge
is fairly well preserved, but only fragments of the lower wedge survive.
    ʼaṅk   The edges of the /n/ are badly worn. There are only vague
indications here of multiple wedges.
    ʼaḫd.   The /ḫ/ is only partially preserved. The left side is visible,
but the right is badly damaged.

Line 62. l̇bnt   The wedges of the /l/ were placed on the tablet very
unevenly. The left two wedges begin at a much lower level than the
right wedge. The /n/ has four wedges.
    bṫ   Only the left side of the /t/ is preserved.
    lbʻl   The last /l/ of this word appears to have four wedges.

Col. V 1 km   The /k/ is damaged, with the right wedge clear, along
with the right tip of the lower left wedge, and a hint of part of the
upper left wedge. That this is a /k/ is assured by context.
    ẇḥẓr   Very little of the /w/ is preserved, most of it having been
chipped away. But parts of the left wedges and of the two right wedges
are discernable. Pieces of all four of the wedges of the /ḥ/survive. The
lower horizontal of the /ẓ/ is visible, as is the upper left corner of the
upper horizontal and much of the *Winkelhaken*.

TEXT RESTORED AND SET IN POETIC FORM

[About 12 lines are missing.]

1   *ṯr[.ʼil.ʼab...]*
1–2   *[wtʻn.rbt]/ʼaṯr[t.ym]*
2–4   *[šmʻ.lqdš]/wʼamrr[.]*
        [ldgy.rbt]/ʼaṯrt.ym[.]
4–7   *[mdl.ʻr]/ṣmd.pḥl[.]*
        [št.gpnm.dt]/ksp.
        dt.yrq[.nqbnm]
        ʻdb.gpn.ʼatnt[y]
8   *yšmʻ.qd<š>.wʼamr[r]*
9–12   *mdl.ʻr.ṣmd.pḥl*

> *št.gpnm.dt.ksp*
> *dt.yrq.nqbnm*
> *'db.gpn.'atnth*

13–15 *yḥbq.qdš.w'amrr*
> *yštn.'aṯrt.lbmt.'r*
> *lysmsmt.bmt.pḥl*

16–17 *qdš.y'uḥdm.šb'r*
> *'amrr.kkbkb.lpnm*

18–19 *'aṯr.btlt.'nt*
> *wb'l.tb'.mrym.ṣpn*

20–22 *'idk.lttn.pnm*
> *'m.'il.mbk.nhrm*
> *qrb.'apq.thmtm*

23–24 *tgly.ḏd.'il.*
> *wtb'u/qrš.mlk.'ab.šnm*

25–26 *lp'n.'il.thbr.wtql*
> *tštḥwy.wtkbdh*

27–28 *hlm.'il.kyphnh*
> *yprq.lṣb.wyṣḥq*

29–30 *p'nh.lhdm.ytpd.*
> *wykrkr/'uṣb'th.*

30 *yš'u.gh.wyṣ[ḥ]*

31–32 *'ik.mǵyt.rbt.'aṯr[t.y]m*
> *'ik.'atwt.qnyt.'i[lm]*

33–34 *rǵb.rǵbt.wtǵt[ ]*
> *hm.ǵm'u.ǵm'it.w's[t]*

35–38 *lḥm.hm.štym*
> *lḥ[m]/btlḥnt.lḥm*
> *št/bkrpnm.yn.*
> *bk.ḫrṣ/dm.'ṣm.*

38–39 *hm.yd.'il mlk/yḫssk.*
> *'ahbt.ṯr.t'rrk*

40 *wt'n.rbt.'aṯrt ym*

41–43 *ṯmk.'il.ḥkm.*
> *ḥkmt/'m'lm.*
> *ḥyt.ḥzt/ṯmk.*

43–44 *mlkn.'al'iy[n.]b'l*
> *ṯpṭn.w'in.d'lnh*

45–46 *klnyn.q[š]h[.]n[bl]*
> *klnyn[.n]bl.ksh*

47–48 *['an]y[.]lyṣḥ.ṯr 'il.'abh*
> *['i]l.mlk.dyknnh.*

48–50 *yṣḥ/'aṯrt.wbnh.*
> *'ilt.wṣbrt/'aryh.*

50–51 *wn.'in.bt.lb'l/km.'ilm.*
> *wḥzr.kbn.'aṯrt*

52–53 *mṯb'il.mzll.bnh*
> *mṯb rbt.'aṯrt.ym*

54–55   *mṯb.klt.knyt*
       mṯb.pdry.bt.'ar
56–57   *mzll.ṯly[.]bt.rb*
       mṯb.'arṣ<y>.bt y'bdr
58   *wy'n lṭpn 'il.dp'id*
59–62   *p'bd.'an.'nn.'aṯrt*
       p'bd.'ank.'aḥd.'ulṯ
       hm.'amt.'aṯrt.
       tlbn/lbnt
62–V 1   *ybn.bt.lb'l/km'ilm.*
       wḥẓr.kbn.'aṯrt

Translation and Vocalized Text

Athirat and Her Servant Travel to El

1	…Bull [El…Father].	ṯôrv ['ilv 'abv…]
1–2	[And Lady] Athir[at of the Sea answered]:	[wa-ta'nî rabbatu]/'aṯira[tu yammi]
2–4	"[Hear, O Qudsh] wa-Amrar, [O Fisher of Lady] Athirat of the Sea:	[šama' la-qudši]/wa-'amrari [la-daggayi rabbati]/'aṯirati yammi
4–7	[Tie the horse,] harness the stallion; [Set ropes of] silver, Golden [bridles]; Prepare the ropes of [my] mare."	[madal 'êra]/ṣamad puḥala [šît gapanīma dūta]/kaspi dūta yaraqi[1] [niqabanīma]/ 'udub gapanī 'atānati[-ya]
8	Qud<sh> wa-Amra[r] complied:	yišma'u qud<šu> wa-'amra[ru]
9–12	He tied the horse, harnessed the stallion; He set ropes of silver, Golden bridles; He prepared the ropes of her mare.	madala 'êra ṣamada puḥala/ šāta gapanīma dūta kaspi/ dūta yaraqi niqabanīma/ 'adaba gapanī 'atānati-ha
13–15	Qudsh wa-Amrar clasped,	yaḥabbiqu qudšu wa-'amraru/
	Set Athirat on the back of the horse,	yašîtu-na 'aṯirata lê-bamati 'êri/
	On the beautiful back of the stallion,	lê-yasamsamati bamati puḥali

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[1] See the discussion in Huehnergard 1987b:134.

16–17	Qudsh flared up as a flame, Amrar, like a star in front.²	quršu yu'uḫadu-ma šab'iri/ 'amraru ka-kabkabi lê-panīma

18–19	Behind (came) Adolescent Anat,
	But Baal departed for the summit³
	    of Sapan.
		'aṯāru batulatu 'anatu/
		wa-ba'lu taba'a⁴ maryami
		    ṣapāni

20–22	So she headed out For El at the springs of the Rivers, Amid the streams of the Deeps.	'iddaka la-tatina panīma/ 'imma 'ili mabbikê naharêma/ qirba 'appiqê tahāmatêmi

23–24	She came to El's mountain
	And entered the tent of the King,
	    the Father of Years.
		tagliyu ḏada 'ili
		wa-tabū'u/qarša malki 'abi
		    šanīma

25–26	At the feet of El she bowed down
	    and fell,
	Prostrated herself and honored him.
		lê-pa'nê 'ili tahburu wa-
		    taqîlu/
		tištaḥwiyu wa-takabbidu-hu

27–28	There—El indeed perceived her! He loosened his brow and laughed.	halumma 'ilu kī-yaphîna-ha/ yapriqu liṣba wa-yiṣḥaqu
29–30	His feet on the footstool he stamped, And twirled his fingers.	pa'nê-hu lê-hadāmi yaṯpudu wa-yakarkiru/'uṣbu'āti-hu

El and Athirat Converse

| 30 | He raised his voice and decl[ared]: | yišša'u gā-hu wa-yaṣû[ḫu] |
| 31–32 | "Why has Lady Athir[at of the S]ea
    arrived?
Why has the Creatress of the G[ods]
    come? | 'êka maġayat rabbatu 'aṯira[tu
    ya]mmi/
'êka 'atawat qāniyatu
    'i[līma] |

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² The final word in this line, *lpnm*, may belong to the following bicolon instead. If so the lines would read:
    Qudsh flared up as a flame,
    Amrar, like a star.
    Ahead went Adolescent Anat,
    But Baal departed for the summit of Sapan.
See the Commentary on these lines below.

³ Cognates include BH *mārôm* (*BDB* 928). The only interpretive issue is whether the form is singular (e.g., 2 Sam 22:17, Isa 33:5, 57:15, Jer 25:30) or plural (used collectively for singular; see Isa 33:16). The singular is overwhelmingly predominant in the Hebrew, and nothing in the context here requires the plural.

⁴ Cognates include Akkadian *tebû*, "to depart, set out" Syriac *tb'* and Arabic *tabi'a*, "to follow" (cf., *UT* 19.2517); see also *UBC* 1.218 n. 5; *DUL* 857; and Huehnergard 1987b:184.

33–34   Are you very hungry, having travelled,   raǵābu raǵibti wa-taǵîti/
        Or are you very thirsty, having   himma ǵamā'u⁵ ǵami'ti wa-
          jour[neyed]?   'assa[ti]

35–38   Eat, indeed drink!   laḥami himma šitiyi-ma
        E[at] food from the tables,   laḥa[mi]/bi-ṯulḥanati laḥma
        Drink wine from goblets,   šitî/bi-karpanīma yêna
        From a golden cup, the blood of   biki ḫurāṣi/dama 'iṣṣīma
          trees!

38–39   Or does the 'hand' of El the King   himma yadu 'ili malki/
          excite you,   yaḫāsisu-ki
        The love of the Bull arouse you?"   'ahbatu ṯôri ta'āriru-ki

40   And Lady Athirat of the Sea   wa-ta'nî rabbatu 'aṯiratu
          answered: yammi

41–43   "Your decree, O El, is wise,   taḥmu-ka 'ili ḥakama
        You are wise for eternity,   ḥakamta/'imma 'ôlami
        A fortunate life is your decree.   ḥiyyatu ḥazzati/taḥmu-ka

43–44   Our king is Mightie[st] Baal,   malku-na 'al'iy[ānu] ba'lu/
        Our ruler, with none above him.   ṯāpiṭu-na wa-'ênu du-'alênu-hu

45–46   All of us will br[ing] him a cha[lice],   kullu-nayyanna qa[ša]-hu
                                                     na[bilu]/
        All of us [will b]ring him a cup.   kullu-nayyanna [na]bilu
                                                     kāsa-hu

47–48   [In lame]nt   ['āni]yu
        Indeed he cries to Bull El, his Father,   la-yaṣûḥu ṯôra 'ila 'abā-hu/
        To [E]l, the King who created/   ['i]la malka dā-yakāninu-hu
          established him.

48–50   He cries to Athirat and her children,   yaṣûḥu 'aṯirata wa-banī-ha
        The goddess and the band of her   'ilata wa-ṣibbirata/'aryi-ha
          brood:

50–51   'For Baal has no house like the gods',   wa-na 'ênu bêtu lê-ba'li/kama
                                                     'ilīma
        No court like Athirat's children's,   wa-ḥaẓiru ka-banī 'aṯirati

52–53   The dwelling of El is the shelter of   môṯabu 'ili maẓlalu
          his son,   bini-hu/
        The dwelling of Lady Athirat of the   môṯabu rabbati 'aṯirati
          Sea,   yammi

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⁵ For cognates, see *DUL* 322. For loans into Egyptian, see Hoch 1994:386.

54–55	The dwelling of the Noble Brides,	môṯabu kallāti kaniyāti/
	The dwelling of Pidray, Daughter of Light,	môṯabu pidrayi bitti 'āri
56–57	The shelter of Tallay, Daughter of Showers,	maẓlalu ṭallayi bitti ribbi/
	The dwelling of Arṣ<ay>, Daughter of the Wide World.'"	môṯabu 'arṣ<ayi> bitti ya'ibidrayi
58	And Beneficent El the Benign replied:	wa-ya'nî laṭipānu 'ilu dū-pā'idi
59–60	"So am I a servant, Athirat's slave?	pa-'abdu⁶'ana 'anû-na 'aṯirati/
	So am I a slave who handles tools?	pa-'abdu 'anāku 'āḫidu 'ulaṯi
61–62	Or, is Athirat a servant?	himma 'amatu 'aṯiratu
	Does she make bricks?	tilbanu/labināti⁷
62–V 1	Let a house be built for Baal like the gods',	yubnâ⁸ bêtu lê-ba'li/kama 'ilīma
	A court, like Athirat's children's."	wa-ḫaẓiru ka-binī 'aṯirati

COMMENTARY

Poetic Parallelism and Word/Syllable Counts

		semantic parallelism	word/ syllable count
1	ṯôrv ['ilv 'abv…]	a b c	
1–2	[wa-ta'nî rabbatu]/'aṯira[tu yammi]	a b (x, y of z)	4/12

This is a monocolon introducing direct speech below and further tied to it by the repetition of the goddess' name and title.

2–4	[šama' la-qudši]/wa-'amrari	a b (x + y)	3/9
	[la-daggayi rabbati]/'aṯirati yammi	b' (x of y = p, q of r)	4/13

The syntax binds the two lines, but as a further outstanding feature, the title of *'amrari* ties sonantly to that of his master, *'aṯirati yammi*.

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⁶ For syllabic evidence, see Huehnergard 1987b:158.
⁷ Fem. pl. For syllabic evidence, cf. the gloss in EA 296:17, *la-bi-tu*.
⁸ This jussive form derives from **yubnay*; see *UG* 511.

4–7	[madal ʿêra]/ṣamad puḥala	a b a' b'	4/9
	[šît gapanīma dūta]/kaspi	a c d e	4/9
	dūta yaraqi [niqabanīma]/	d e' c'	3/10
	ʿudub gapanī ʾatānati[-ya]	a'' c b''	3/10

These lines are parsed as a four-line unit and not simply as two bicola, since the initial line is preparatory for the middle two lines, while the fourth line recapitulates the preceding three lines. The three animal terms belong to the first and fourth lines, while the animal's bridles, etc., dominate the middle two lines. As recapitulation, the fourth line combines one term for bridle with one term for the animal.

8	yišmaʿu qud< šu> wa-ʾamra[ru]	a b (x + y)	3/9

This monocolon is similar to the speech-opening formula we saw in lines 1–2 above. In terms of line-length, it is continuous with the preceding unit.

9–12	madala ʿêra ṣamada puḥala/	a b a' b'	4/12
	šata gapanīma dūta kaspi/	a c d e	4/10
	dūta yaraqi niqabanīma/	d e' c'	3/10
	ʿadaba gapanī ʾatānati-ha	a'' c b''	3/11

This unit virtually duplicates lines 4–7, except that the imperatives of the latter are replaced with suffix verbs (following the command-fulfillment pattern of imperatives followed by narration with *qatal* forms, in contrast with the pattern of jussives, followed by prefix indicative forms, cf. Fenton 1969).

13–15	yaḥabbiqu qudšu wa-ʾamraru/	a b (x + y)	3/10
	yašîtu-na ʾaṯirata lê-bamati ʿêri/	a' c d (x of y)	4/14
	lê-yasamsamati bamati puḥali	d (x of y of z)	3/12

The second and third lines are particularly strong in their parallelism, highlighted by the repetition of *bmt*. The first line uses a verb that prepares for and leads into the verbal action of the next two lines. It also introduces the full name of the agent, who is the subject of the other lines. Despite these relations, the first line on the face of it seems quite at variance with the other two lines. Yet there are a few features tying the first line to the others. The occurrence of divine names, **yqtl* indicative verbs and perhaps a subtle resonance of *ʾamraru//bamati ʿêri*

connect the first and second lines. Note also *-am-* three times in the third line. Perhaps also a subtle resonance is *ya-* at or toward the head of all three lines. Noegel (2004:10) emphasizes the poetic clustering of reduplicated forms in this unit (*ysmsmt* and *’amrr*, as well as *’amrr and kbkb* in the following unit).

16–17	qudšu yu’uḫadu-ma šab‘iri/	a b c	3/10
	’amraru ka-kabkabi lê-panīma	a’ c’d	3/11
or	qudšu yu’uḫadu-ma šab‘iri/	a b c	3/10
	’amraru ka-kabkabi	a’ c’	2/7

There is uncertainty about whether *lpnm* belongs with this bicolon or the following. Because plausible interpretations can be made for both positions, we provide both versions here. The divine titles are parallel semantically and syntactically, and the overall semantics of the bicolon show general parallelism. Apart from the subjects, the lines show little or no syntactical, morphological or sonant parallelism. It is to be noted that Noegel (1995:92–93) has proposed seeing "Janus parallelism" in the use of *šb‘r* in this context; he suggests understanding double meanings of "to lead (a caravan)" connecting to what he views as a verb, **’aṯr*, in the next unit, and "to burn" relating to the image of Amrr "like a star." The former is clear; the latter is not. The validity of Noegel's proposal depends on the interpretation of **’aṯr* (see the Commentary below).

18–19	’aṯāru batulatu ‘anatu	a b (x, y)	3/10
	wa-ba‘lu taba‘a maryami ṣapāni	c’ b’ a’ (x of y)	4/12
or	lê-panīma’aṯāru batulatu ‘anatu	a b c (x, y)	4/14
	wa-ba‘lu taba‘a maryami ṣapāni	c’ b’ a’ (x of y)	4/12

The two deities—as well as the two lines describing each one's travel—move in very different directions. By the same token, travel and DNs are common to the two lines. Sonant parallelism between *panīma//ṣapāni* as well as *batulatu//ba‘lu* is notable. The cumulative effect of these features is to dramatize the semantic chiasm of the bicolon, perhaps echoing in a formal way the movement of the two divine figures in two directions.

20–22	’iddaka la-tatina panīma/	a b c	3/10
	‘imma ’ili mabbikê naharêma/	d e f (x of y)	4/11
	qirba ’appiqê tahāmatêmi	d’ f’ (x of y)	3/10

See the Commentary to 1.3 V 5–7 above, as well as the Commentary
on 1.2 III 4 in *UBC* 1.220.

| 23–24 | tagliyu ḏada ’ili | a b c | 3/7 |
| | wa-tabū’u/qarša malki ’abī šanīma | a’ b’ c’ (x, y of z) | 5/14 |

See the Commentary to 1.3 V 7–8 above, as well as that on 1.2 III 5
in *UBC* 1.220–21.

| 25–26 | lê-pa‘nê ’ili tahburu wa-taqîlu/ | a b c c’ | 4/12 |
| | tištaḥwiyu wa-takabbidu-hu | c’’ c’’’ b’ | 2/10 |

The scan for semantic parallelism counts the pronominal suffix on the
final verb in the second line, since it is parallel with *’ili* in the first line
(which echoes in *taqîlu*). The considerably longer verbs in the second
line balance the prepositional phrase and shorter verbs in the first line.
For more comments on the poetry, see the discussion of the parallel,
1.2 III 6, in *UBC* 1.221.

| 27–28 | halumma ’ilu kī-yaphîna-ha/ | a b c | 3/10 |
| | yapriqu liṣba wa-yiṣḥaqu | d e | 3/9 |

A semantic scan, by itself, would convey wide divergence between the
two lines, but even in semantics the lines are closer than they may
appear on an initial examination, since all three verbs entail body
language. In addition, all three verbs show morphological parallelism.
It is to be noted that the second line of this colon, the first line of the
following colon (line 29), and the first line of the colon after that (line
30) constitute a tricolon in 1.17 II 10–12 (see *UNP* 55).

| 29–30 | pa‘nê-hu lê-hadāmi yaṭpudu | a b c | 3/10 |
| | wa-yakarkiru/’uṣbu’āti-hu | c’ a’ | 2/10 |

The two sets of body-parts in different motions presented in chiastic
parallelism evoke a picture of a single body-expression of joy.

| 30 | yišša’u gā-hu wa-yaṣû[ḥu] | a (V + DO) a’ | 3/9 |

This is another monocolonic speech opening formula.

| 31–32 | ’êka maġayat rabbatu ’aṯira[tu ya]mmi/ | a b c (x, y of z) | 5/14 |
| | ’êka ’atawat qāniyatu ’i[līma] | a b c’ (x of y) | 4/12 |

This is a fine example of parallel structure. Both lines begin with *’êka*, followed by a *qtl verb and a title of the goddess. The titles used here seem particularly appropriate. They may be seen as denoting El's respect for his consort in referring to her first as *rbt*, "Great One, Lady" and then as *qnyt ’ilm*, "Creatress of the gods." These titles evoke what the goddess shares in status and role with El. Watson (2000c) has probed the fairly common characteristic of dialogue (seen here in lines 31–39) in which the speaker switches from third person address to second person address (or vice versa) in the middle of a speech. He suggests that it is a stylistic component of the poetry, comparable to parallelism, etc.

| 33–34 | raġābu raġibti wa-taġîti/ | a b c | 3/10 |
| | himma ġamā’u ġami’ti wa-‘assa[ti] | d a’ b’ c’ | 4/12 |

The syntax, quite unusual for Ugaritic poetry, is remarkably parallel here. The single variation involves the particle *himma*, which coordinates the two rhetorical questions (Ginsberg 1946:35; Held 1969). Alliteration with *ghayin* is particularly conspicuous (as well as *t*, to a lesser extent, along with *m* in the second line). The particle *himma* also links this bicolon to the next two units.

35–38	laḥami himma šitiyi-ma/	a b c	3/9
	laḥa[mi]/bi-ṯulḥanati laḥma	a’ d e	3/10
	šitî/bi-karpanīma yêna	c’ d’ e’	3/9
	biki ḫurāṣi/dama ‘iṣṣīma	d” (x of y)	4/10
		e” (x of y)	

For the structure, compare the four-line unit in 1.1 IV 30–32//1.4 VI 40–43. Apart from the parallelism of synonyms, the parallelism with *bi-* is conspicuous. Also notable is the end-rhyme of the lines, especially with *-ma* (which in the first, third and fourth lines follows other words with *-ma*). As with the preceding unit, the particle *himma* links this unit to the following unit.

| 38–39 | himma yadu ’ili malki/yaḫāsisu-ki | a b c (x, y) d | 5/13 |
| | ’ahbatu ṯôri ta‘āriru-ki | b’ c’ d’ | 3/10 |

The morphological and syntactical parallelism matches the basic
semantic parallelism, as expected of double questions (see Ginsberg
1946:35; Held 1969). Parallelism of *L*-stem prefix forms is relatively
rare in Ugaritic poetry.

| 40 | wa-taʿnî rabbatu ʾaṯiratu yammi | a b (x, y of z) | 4/12 |

This is another speech-opening clause.

For the poetry of lines 40–57, see the discussion of the parallel passage
in 1.3 IV 47–55 and V 29–44 (above pp. 287–89 and 333).

41–43	taḥmu-ka ʾili ḥakama	a b c	3/8
	ḥakamta/ʿimma ʿôlami	c d	3/8
	ḥiyyatu ḥaẓẓati/taḥmu-ka	d' (x of y) a	3/9
43–44	malku-na ʾalʾiy[ānu] baʿlu/	a b c	3/9
	ṯāpiṭu-na wa-ʾênu du-ʿalênu-hu	a' b' c'	3/12
45–46	kullu-nayyanna qa[ša]-hu na[bilu]/	a b c	3/11
	kullu-nayyanna [na]bilu kāsa-hu	a c b'	3/11
47–48	[ʾāni]yu		
	la-yaṣûḥu ṯôra ʾila ʾabā-hu/	a b c d	4/11
	[ʾi]la malka dā-yakāninu-hu	d c' e'	3/10
48–50	yaṣûḥu/ʾaṯirata wa-banī-ha	a b c	3/11
	ʾilata wa-ṣibbirata/ʾaryi-ha	b' c' (x of y)	3/11
50–51	wa-na ʾênu bêtu lê-baʿli/kama ʾilīma	a b c d e	5/14
	wa-ḥaẓiru ka-binī ʾaṯirati	a' c' d' (x of y)	3/11
52–53	môṯabu ʾili maẓlalu bini-hu/	a b a' c	4/11
	môṯabu rabbati ʾaṯirati yammi	a b (x, y	4/12
		[= p of q])	
54–55	môṯabu kallāti kaniyāti/	a b (x, y)	3/10
	môṯabu pidrayi bitti ʾāri	a b' c d	4/10
56–57	maẓlalu ṭallayi bitti ribbi/	a b c d	4/10
	môṯabu ʾarṣ<ayi> bitti yaʿibidrayi	a' b' c d'	4/13
58	wa-yaʿnî laṭipānu ʾilu dū-pāʾidi	a b (x, y of z)	4/13

This unit is extracolonic, but it is to be noted that the epithets selected
in this context suit the speech that follows. In other words, El the Benefi-
cent and Benign is about to show an instance of these qualities.

| 59–60 | pa-ʿabdu ʾana ʿanû-na ʾaṯirati/ | a b c d | 4/12 |
| | pa-ʿabdu ʾanāku ʾāḫidu ʾulaṯi | a b' c (x of y) | 4/12 |

The identical openings to these lines particularly highlight the parallelism of alternating first-person pronouns. The sonant parallelism of the goddess' name *'aṯirat* with *'ulṯ* may be one reason for the choice of this rare term for "tool." Alliteration with 'aleph and 'ayin mark the lines as well.

61–62	himma 'amatu 'aṯiratu	a b c	3/9
	tilbanu/labināti	b' (V + DO)	2/7

In view of the shared terms and the linking element *himma* in double questions (see Ginsberg 1946:35; Held 1969), this bicolon should perhaps be read with the preceding bicolon as a four-line unit. The internal vowels perhaps signal the semantic correlation of *'aṯirat-* and *labināt-*. The letter *t* in nearly every word perhaps binds them together.

62–V 1	yubnâ bêtu lê-ba'li/kama 'ilīma	a b c d	5/12
	wa-ḥaẓiru ka-binī 'aṯirati	b' d (x of y)	3/11

The basics of this bicolon appear in the first bicolon of Baal's lament (1.3 IV 48, V 38–39; 1.4 I 9–11, IV 50–51). The only departure involves the verb, perhaps signaling the reversal of the lament. The verb here also adds alliteration of *b* to the bicolon, and despite the altogether different grammatical nature of the terms, *yubnâ* and *binī*, these form sonant parallelism.

Introduction

This column begins the longest continuous passage preserved in the Baal Cycle, flowing through columns IV, V and VI (with perhaps a line or two missing at the end of column V). In this large section Athirat visits El and secures his permission for Baal to build his palace. Anat takes the news to Baal, who then sends for Kothar to begin construction. The palace is built, with the exception of a window that Baal at first does not want in the building. When the palace is completed, Baal hosts a banquet for the seventy children of Athirat. Column IV describes Athirat's journey to El's abode (lines 1–26), her welcome by El (lines 27–39), her plea on Baal's behalf (lines 40–57), and El's positive response (1.4 IV 58–V I).

Lines 1–19: Athirat's Travel Preparations

As described at the end of the Commentary to the preceding column III, the twenty-one line lacuna between the end of the preserved part of III and the preserved beginning of column IV probably described Athirat's acceptance of the gifts from Baal and Anat and her agreement to go to El on Baal's behalf. When column IV becomes legible, she is preparing to depart, giving her servant Qudsh-wa-Amrar instructions for arranging her transport (lines 2–7). There is one fragment of the unit that precedes the introduction to Athirat's speech, the single word *ṯr* on line 1. This is probably El's title, "Bull." In this context, it seems plausible to reconstruct the line as something like *ṯr ['il 'abh/y/n]*, "The Bull El, her/his/my/our Father," and to suggest that it occurs within a reference to Athirat's journey to visit him.

Unlike most of the passages that describe a god setting out on a journey to visit another deity (e.g., 1.1 III 10–12; 1.2 I 19–20; 1.3 IV 35–38; 1.3 V 3–4), here the poet lingers over Athirat's departure, giving a description of her preparations for the journey. He uses a number of formulae in lines 2–15 that are found also in the Aqhat Epic (1.19 II 1–11), where they describe Danil's preparation to travel the land to survey the results of a terrible drought. These two passages are far from duplicates; there is a great deal of variation in the similar descriptions, showing the freedom with which the poet could make use of these formulae. At the same time, the overall frameworks of the scenes are quite similar. In both we find an initial command, *šmʿ*, followed by the name and epithets of the subject of the imperative (1.4 IV 2–4 // 1.19 II 1–3), in our passage Qudsh-wa-Amrar, in Aqhat, Danil's daughter Pughat. This is followed in both by the instructions for preparing the animal for the journey (1.4 IV 4–7 // 1.19 II 3–5). In the Aqhat Epic, this unit only has three cola, while our passage adds a fourth line (line 7). The subject of the command is then described as having heard (obeyed) the instructions (1.4 IV 8 // 1.19 II 5–7). The parallel account in Aqhat is much larger than that in our passage, since the poet repeats Pughat's complete set of epithets, unlike the situation for Qudsh-wa-Amrar in our passage. The description of Pughat's activities in preparing the animal (lines 8–9) is quite different from the parallel in the Baal Cycle. The unit in 1.4 IV 9–12 is a virtual duplicate of the instructions Athirat gives in lines 4–7. But in Aqhat, the two lines of the description are not duplicates, adding an adverbial description of Pughat, *bkm* (either "then," or "weeping"), then paralleling the words of

the first line of Dan'il's instructions, but leaving out the other two lines. The lifting of Athirat onto the animal (1.4 IV 13–15) is paralleled by Pughat's similar assistance to her father (1.19 II 9–11), but the verb of the first line is the more common *tš'u*, instead of the rarer *yhbq* in 1.4. In both passages it is clear that the extended description is intended to indicate the importance of the character who is making the journey, as well as the significance of the journey upon which each is going. In the case of our passage, the description of Athirat riding upon an animal with gold and silver accoutrements contrasts with the apparently normal way in which the younger gods travel. They proceed on their own power, either by walking (cf. the formulaic call for the god to run to his or her destination in 1.1 III 10–12; 1.1 II 1–3; 1.3 III 19–20; IV 11–12), or, in the case of Anat, perhaps by flying (cf. the Commentary on 1.3 V 4–5). This difference in mode of travel presumably marks Athirat's high status as mother of the gods.

This passage begins with a standard, non-poetic speech-opening rubric, here largely lost in the breaks of lines 1 and 2. It is followed by Athirat's direct address to Qudsh-wa-Amrar, her servant, who has already played a role in 1.3 VI and 1.4 II (see the Commentary on each). He is told to prepare an animal for her journey. Three words are used to denote this animal: *'r*, *phl*, and *'atnt*.[9] It has been thought generally that these terms designate members of the asinine rather than equine family (cf. Pardee 1997a:258, esp. n. 148). The use of donkeys (onagers) for transportation is, of course, very old and well documented. Written evidence for their use in Syria is found in Old Assyrian trade texts, correspondence from Mari (e.g., A.3401; see Durand 2002:50–51), Ugarit (e.g., RS 20.211+ in *Ugaritica V*: 195–98) and elsewhere (cf. *CAD* I:113, sub *imēru*, d). Onagers were often captured and trained for work purposes (cf. the well-known hunt scene from Nineveh, *ANEP* #186). In view of the word-field, onagers might apply in all three instances, in contrast to horses elsewhere associated with chariots (1.20 II 2–4//1.22 II 22–24; 1 Kgs 10:26–29; 2 Kgs 2:11, 6:17; Song of Songs 1:9; on the latter, see Pope 1994:251–56).

However, the terms do not necessarily refer to donkeys. For example, in 1.20 II 2–4 and the closely related passage in 1.22 II 22–24, the term *'r* appears to be paralleled to the term *sswm*, "horses," and described

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[9] See Zamora 2000:638–40 for a more symbolic interpretation of the three animals.

in relationship to pulling a chariot (see Wyatt 1998: 316, n. 16 for a good discussion; cf. Lewis, *UNP* 198, 202; de Moor 1987:269, 271). The restored text of 1.22 II 22–24, based on 1.20 II 2–4, reads:

> ʾasr.mr[kbthm]
> [sswm.tṣmd]
> tʿln.lmr[kbthm]
> [tʾityn] ʿrhm

> They bound their chariots,
> They yoked their horses,
> They got up into their chariots,
> Their stallions went.[10]

The presence of horses at Ugarit is illustrated in the Akkadian letter RS 20.184.10, 9' (*Ugaritica V*:98), where King Ammithtamru refers to a gift of several horses sent to him by the king of Hatti. Also RS 20.211+ (*Ugaritica V*:195–98) provides a list of horses being distributed to various people.

Ugaritic *pḥl* and its cognates can be related to horses, as well as donkeys. Arabic *fiḥalu* and *faḥilu* can mean "horse," and Akkadian *puḥalu* similarly refers to a "horse" or "donkey, ass" (*AHw* 875, #4; cf. *CAD P*:479–81: "stud, breed animal"; cf. *CDA* 277: "male animal, stud," applied to ram, bull, stallion, elephant, duck; for horses and onagers in Mesopotamia, see Owen 1991).[11] The word has been understood by most scholars to refer to a horse in CAT 1.100, while the feminine form, *pḥlt*, is usually rendered "mare" (see Pardee 2002:174; Pope, MHP; Wyatt 1998:378; cf. Huehnergard 1991:694). Finally, *ʾatnt* is similarly ambiguous. The Akkadian cognate, *atānu*, regularly refers to a female horse (normally accompanied by the determinative for horse, *ANŠE.KUR.RA*), but may also refer to a female donkey (see *CAD A/II*:

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[10] The other common interpretation of the fourth colon reads "they go from/come to their city" (cf. *DUL* 178, ʿr (I)). While this is possible, this seems very unlikely in the context. The external parallelism evident between the two bicola suggests that *sswm* and *ʿrhm* refer to the same thing, i.e., the animals that pull the chariots.

[11] A Mari letter from Warad-ili-su to the king (M.7161.11, 13) seems at first glance to offer an interesting parallel in its reference to *pa-ḫa-al-li* ᵈIM (M.7161: 10, in Durand 2002:44 and A.1121+: 16 in 2002: 137), which might be the animal of the storm-god. However, it has been taken, more plausibly in the context, as animal genitals devoted to the storm-god Addu ("bas-ventre de Addu," so Durand 2002:136–7) in keeping with other cognates (Durand 2002:136 cites Syriac *paḥělata*, "testicles," and Mehri *feḥʿl* and Soqotri *fáḥal*, "penis"; see further Leslau 157). According to Pardee (1997a:258, n. 148), "the origin of the term [Ugaritic *pḥl*] seems to relate to the reproductive qualities of the male."

481–83). BH *'ātôn* appears to mean "donkey" in all its contexts, and the Bible includes examples of both men (Num 22:21–33) and women (2 Kgs 4:21–24) using them for riding.

Thus the occurrence of the three terms in our passage is ambiguous with regard to the exact kind of animal involved. Nor are there clear indications which animal might be considered the more appropriate to carry the queen of the gods. Some Akkadian texts seem to suggest that the horse enjoyed a higher status than the donkey. A Mari letter from Yaqqim-Addu to the king of Mari (A.3401, lines 6'–7'; Durand 2002:51) refers to a white horse and white mare, especially reserved for the king. Officials of the king are often described as *rākib imêrim*, "rider of an ass," in Mari letters (e.g., A.3263.11, in Durand 1988:296, cf. 297 n. b; and in a letter to Zimri-lim, A.2988.+ A.3008.16 in Charpin 1991:161–62). While the "rider of an ass" is certainly at a lower social level than the king, it is clear that the term is an honorific title, and thus does not indicate any type of pejorative sense with regard to donkey riding. But the relative status of riding a horse as opposed to a donkey is seen in EA 88:46–48, where Rib-Adda of Byblos complains that "the messenger of the king of Akko is honored more than my messenger, for they gave him a horse to ride (*kî nadnu ANŠE.KUR.RA šaplišu*)." On the other hand, the donkey appears in BH as the animal upon which the king rides in Zech 9:9. Yet for Israel, equally relevant is the use of the mule (*pirdâ*) as the royal animal in 1 Kgs 1:33, 38, 44, where David orders Solomon to be placed on David's own mule to indicate that Solomon is David's choice for successor and has become the legitimate king (cf. also 2 Sam 18:9).

One additional piece of evidence might support the proposal that Athirat is riding a horse in this passage. The evidence is found in a scene painted on a drinking mug recovered at Ugarit. The mug shows a seated male figure holding a cup in his hand. In front of him is a stand with a large jar on it, and on the other side of the stand, another figure, holding a wine jar. Behind the latter figure is a horse, above which is a bird, and behind which is a fish. Pope (1971:393–405 = 1994:17–27) proposed that this scene represents an amalgam of two scenes found in CAT 1.4, the first in column II, when Athirat prepares food on a fire, and the second in our column, when Athirat has her audience with El. If Pope is correct about identifying the scene, then the depiction of the horse here supports the equine interpretation of the three terms in lines 4–12. However, Pope's interpretation of the scene is questionable, and other views have been proposed (see Lewis

2005:78). At the same time, even if we cannot be certain about iden-
tifying the iconographic scene on the mug as a specific depiction of
the figures from 1.4 IV–V, the mug still shows an interesting witness
to the horse as the animal used for travel. Whatever the species of
animal is described by these words, it is clear that it is provided with
elaborate and beautiful equipment of gold and silver, as would befit the
divine/royal transport. Within the context, it seems that the purpose
of depicting her preparation to depart on an animal is to emphasize
her status and importance. She does not walk, but rides on her way to
see her husband (cf. Binger 1997:74).

We now can turn to the four terms in lines 4b–7 that involve the
preparation of the animals for travel and the equipment used to do
so, namely the two parallel imperatives, *mdl* and *ṣmd*, and the two
parallel direct objects, *[gpnm]* and *nqbnm*. The etymology of **mdl* is
in dispute. No basic root of **mdl* in other Semitic language has been
convincingly shown to relate to Ugaritic **mdl* (Greenfield 1964:529).
Goshen-Gottstein (1960) derived the root from **lmd*, "to teach, train,"
but Gordon (*UT* 19.1429) rejected this etymology because both **lmd*
and **mdl* occur in Ugaritic. Accepting Goshen-Gottstein's proposal,
Greenfield (1964:529–34) also compared MH *lĕmûdîn*, "binders" and
Syriac **lmd*, "to attach, join together." He also proffered an explanation
for the metathesis (1964:534): "Although *lmd*, 'to learn' is found in Uga-
ritic (albeit in unclear contexts) there is no need to see in *mdl* the reflex
of a different basic root, it is rather another instance of consonantal
change for differentiation of meaning." In a later discussion of this
root, Greenfield (1993:31) suggested that its meanings "to learn" and
"to join" compare with the two basic meanings of the root **ʾlp*.[12]

Good (1984; 1986) preferred to see *mdl* as a denominative verb from
a noun of instrument *mdl*, a lead-rope (to be derived from an original
*dll, "to guide"; cf. *dll*//*ʿdd* in 1.4 VII 45 discussed below on p. 686),

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[12] Pope (in Smith 1998b:655) noted the occurrence of a noun, *tlmdm*, in 4.384.8,
where it appears in conjunction with *ṣmdm* in a context related to horses. The obverse
of this text lists teams (so CAT) of horses (*[ś]św*) by town (marked by the preposition
b-), while the reverse (lines 8–14), which are marked off from the previous section by
a pair of scribal lines, lists groups of horses designated by three terms, *tlmdm, ṣmdm*,
"yokes, pairs," and *ʾaḥdm*, "single ones," along with the names of their owners. One
might interpret both of these terms as denoting the first two groups of horses by the
use of the names of horse equipment, *ṣmdm*, "yokes" and *tlmdm*, "ropes." However, in
the context of the text, the term *tlmdm* (line 8) may better be understood as relating to
the meaning "to learn, train." It appears to be a general designation for all the horses
listed in the following lines: *[śś]w tlmdm*, "trained horses."

itself derived from *lmd* by metathesis. Good accordingly reconstructed the Proto-Sinaitic pictographic form of the letter, lamed, as a rope coil. Good (1984:80) further argued that *mdl* does not refer to a saddle, but rather to the ropes used in riding, pointing out that iconographic and literary evidence attests the use of saddles in the Levant only very rarely during the late second millennium. Watson (1986c:73–74), on the other hand, sees *mdl* as the original root, citing Akkadian *madālu*, *muddūlu*, "to preserve," and *muddulû*, "elastic strip." From these terms, Watson (1986c:77 n. 17) suggests a derivation from "to preserve" to "strip" to "strap" and the noun, "halter" (the second shift being perhaps easier in English than in Semitic languages). He also notes (1986c:74) a potential cognate at Ebla, *ma-da-LUM*, in a list of equipment belonging to some equids. This too could be considered a word for a harness or halter. Watson (1996b:76) has also proposed that a depiction of a horse on a krater from Ugarit (RS 27.319) may show a halter that could be identified as a *mdl*.

Unfortunately, none of the proposals can be excluded, and none may be considered conclusive. Each one has plausible elements, but each also has difficulties. The argument for relating the term to *lmd* relies on the uncertainty that the metathesis developed to distinguish the meaning from the root's more common one. This is certainly not a regular feature of the language. In addition, the appearance of the term *tlmdm* in a context connected to horses may indicate that there was in fact a functioning cognate for the MH and Syriac words that Greenfield used to argue for the metathesis. This, of course, makes it harder to derive *mdl* from *lmd*. Good's argument relies on a similar metathesis. Watson's derivation from the Akkadian cognates is not entirely persuasive, either, although it remains possible. Until more evidence is discovered, we must withhold a decision on the matter. Further discussion of the root *mdl*, in a different context, can be found in the Commentary above on 1.3 IV 25–27, pp. 297–8. In spite of the uncertainty of its etymology, however, the general meaning of the verb here is clear. It has to do with preparing the animal for riding, and all of the proposed derivations fit in with that meaning. Good's recognition that the use of saddles was rare in the Late Bronze Age allows us to refine the understanding of the verb by narrowing its focus to harnessing, bridling or something similar (but cf. Wiggins 1993: 55, n. 156, for cautions against rejecting the idea that *mdl* refers to saddling the animal).

The root of *ṣmd* means "to bind, join" (cf. BH *ṣāmad*, Syriac *ṣmad*). It may have the connotation of "binding together," as in BH *ṣemed*,

which means "a couple, a pair," i.e., two things bound together. But it can also be used in contexts where something is bound onto something else. Thus in BH we find *ṣāmîd*, "bracelet," and Akkadian *ṣamādu*, "to bind, harness" (*CAD S*:89). The latter is certainly the meaning here. The use of the noun, *ṣmdm* in CAT 4.384 could be understood with either of these connotations, i.e., as "yokes," or as "harnesses."

The word *gpnm* used here for "ropes" elsewhere means "vine" (1.23.9–10), but in this context the usage is metaphorical (de Moor and van der Lugt 1974:25). Like rope, the care of vines involved binding or tying, as in 1.23.9–10: *ṣmd gpn* (// *zbr gpn*), "to bind a vine" (Greenfield 1964:528 n. 7). Epstein (see Greenfield 1964:527 n. 2) compared *gpn* here with Aramaic *kapnitā*, a noun for a type of saddle. The relationship is possible, but the probable meaning in our context is "rope, reins" rather than "saddle," since the noun is in the plural or dual (so De Moor and van der Lugt 1974:25). Pope (in Smith 1998b:656) proposed deriving *gpn* from a different root, cognate with Arabic *jaffa*, "to put war-armor on a horse." But this suggestion has little warrant.

The term *nqbnm* occurs only in this passage and its parallel in 1.19 II 5. It is translated variously as "bridles" (Greenfield 1964:527), "reins" (*Thespis* 181), "trappings" (Gordon 1977:93), "housings" (MHP), "decorations" (Pardee 1997b:258), or the like. These meanings are largely inferred on the basis of the parallelism of the term with *gpn*. The BH cognate, *nāqab*, means, "to pierce, make a hole" (see also Babylonian Aramaic *nqwb'*, "perforation," Sokoloff 2002:772), and this suggests that the term here might refer to straps on the harness that had holes in them for adjusting its size (so de Moor and van der Lugt 1974:25). De Moor and van der Lugt (1974:25) also cite a number of illustrations showing harnesses of royal horses decorated with gold and silver.

The word *yrq* is a color term. In Hebrew it is "green, " but in Akkadian (as *arqu*) it is used also for "yellow" and is attested as the color of gold (see *CAD A/II*:300, # 1d). In a reduplicated form, *yĕraqraq*, it also appears in Ps 68:14 as the color of gold. In fact, the root has the specific meaning, "gold" in Sabean and Ethiopic (see Leslau 618). Thus in our passage, it is normally assumed to be the metal gold, parallel with *ksp*, "silver."

The orders that Athirat gives in lines 2–7 are matched line by line in the narrative in lines 8–12. Fenton (1969) showed that fulfillment of commands given in imperative form are often narrated in the suffix form, in short, a correspondence of suffixal forms (in contrast to commands given in volitive prefix forms, which are usually followed in narrative with indicative prefix forms).

Having prepared her animal, Qudsh-wa-Amrar then assists Athirat onto its back. The first verb of this action, *ḥbq, is not entirely clear. In BH it means "to embrace, clasp," and in CAT 1.23.51, 56 it has the same meaning. In this context, however, the verb must be related to the setting of Athirat onto the back of the animal. In the parallel text in 1.19 II 9–10, the common verb, *nšʾ, is used in this line:

bkm tšʾu ʾabh	Then she lifts her father,
tštnn l[b]mt ʿr	She sets him on the [ba]ck of the ass,
lysmsm bmt pḥl	On the beautiful back of the donkey.

The pair of *nšʾ*//*šyt* in this passage functions contextually in the same manner as *ḥbq*//*šyt* in 1.4 IV 13–14. It thus seems likely that *ḥbq* means to hoist someone by wrapping one's arms around the person. Cassuto (*BOS* 2.186) proposed a very different reading of the line by relating the verb to the Mishnaic meaning of *ḥbq* as part of a harness for a horse or ass (Kelim 19:3; see the rabbinic evidence cited in Greenfield 1964:528; Jastrow 421, *sub ḥebeq*). He thus proposed that this line belonged with the previous lines, rather than the following: "Qdš-wa-ʾAmrr fastened the breast-collar." While possible, it seems unlikely, given the parallel passage in Aqhat that clearly shows a similar line as part of the description of placing the rider on the animal.

The second verb, *šyt*, is common in Ugaritic and is used in the parallel in 1.19 II. The third line of the tricolon (line 15) describes the back of the animal as *ysmsmt*, "beautiful." The word is the fem. sg. reduplicated adj. of *ysm* (cf. Arabic *wasama*, "to be pretty," and *wasîm*, "pretty," cited in *UT* 19.1119). The masculine form of this word (i.e., without the *-t*) is used in the parallel in 1.19 II, but also occurs in a context with at least one other term for good looks in 1.96.2–3. On the aesthetics here, Pardee (1997a:259 n. 149) observes: "It is debatable whether the donkey was beautiful in its own right, but it certainly was when its trappings were of gold and silver."[13]

Once Athirat has mounted the animal, the travelling party heads out. Qudsh wa-Amrar appears to take the lead (note *CAT* 4.337.12, where a ration is given to a functionary who is called "the messenger who leads the mule," *ql.d.ybl.prd*). The description of the servant in lines 16–17

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[13] Watson (1978:398–99) suggested the possibility that *ysmsmt* might be related to Akkadian *asmātu*, a "blanket-saddle" for a horse, according to a lexical text (only SB; *CAD A/II*:337). However, the context for the root in 1.96.3 shows that it applies to looks in Ugaritic and not to a "blanket-saddle."

is the subject of some controversy. The issue centers on the meaning of the phrase *yʾuḥdm šbʿr*. Both words are ambiguous. The verb **ʾaḥd* is familiar with the common meaning, "to seize, grasp," and some scholars interpret the word here that way. In so doing many interpret the following word, *šbʿr*, as a noun from the root *bʿr*, "to burn," and render it as "torch." Thus they read, "Qudsh seized a torch" or the like (e.g., *TO* 1.203; *CML*² 59; Maier 1986; Wiggins 1993:56; Wyatt 1998:99). A second proposal is to understand *yʾuḥdm* in the meaning, "to start, begin, proceed, undertake" (cf. *DUL* 36–38, section 6; *BOS* 2.180; Coogan 1978:99; Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1158; *ANET* 113; Gordon 1977:93 Pardee 1997a:259). In this case the following word is taken as a *C*-stem infinitive dependent on *yʾuḥdm*, either "Qudsh began to shine, or "Qudsh began to lead" (on the meaning of *šbʿr*, see below). In support of this approach, Cassuto (*BOS* 2.186–87) compares the semantically similar verb, **lqḥ*, in its use for commencing action in Num 16:1 and 2 Sam 18:18.[14] The problem with this translation is that there appears to be little evidence of any clear usage of *ʾaḥd* with this meaning elsewhere. The only cognate that has a similar meaning is Arabic *ʾaḫaḏa*, but it is normally followed in this meaning by an imperfect, rather than an infinitive. The few other proposed occurrences of **ʾaḥd* with the meaning "to begin" in Ugaritic are ambiguous at best (cf. *DUL* 38). This rendering thus remains problematic. A third proposal, suggested by Albright (1934:121 n. 88) and followed by Greenfield (cited in Watson 1978:399, n. 19) and Watson (1978:399), is to relate the form to the Akkadian *Št*-causative stem *šuḫāzu*, "to kindle a fire, to be set aflame" or the *N*-passive, "to flare up, be aflame."[15]

The *hapax legomenon šbʿr* has likewise been debated. Most scholars link it to the root **bʿr*, "to burn." This fits the context of the line quite well, since the parallel to the word in the following line is *kkbkbm*, "like a star" (comparative *k*- + **kabkab*-; see Sivan 1997:74), or less likely,

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[14] On the issue of I-ʾ verbs with *ʾu*-ʾaleph in their prefix forms, see the views mentioned in *UBC* 1.268 n. 93; Sivan 1997:18, 45, 47, 116; *UG* 611–13. A major issue involves the coincidence of this feature in a limited number of *I-ʾ* verbs in Ugaritic and Hebrew. Sivan 1996 plausibly proposes that the second *u*-vowel may have developed as a result of vowel harmony with the initial *u*-vowel in the prefix (cf. nominal forms apparently with various forms of *u*-vowel harmony (e.g., *rʾumm*, *ʾuṣbʿt*, *ʾulp*). However, this explanation would pertain to the Ugaritic forms only and would not explain the comparable forms in Hebrew.

[15] See *CAD A/1*:182 #9e, and 183 #10b and #11b; *CAD I/J*:230, #2ʾ aʾ.

"like (the deity) Star."[16] Under the first translation, the word is seen as a *Š*-stem infinitive meaning "to illuminate, set fire to, to shine" (cf. *DUL* 212, Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartín 1975:554; and BH Hiphil of **bʿr*), or as a verbal noun meaning "torch" (see the preceding paragraph). The interpretation of the word as an infinitive varies. For some, Qudsh himself begins to glow (e.g., Pardee 1997a:259; *CML¹* 95; Watson 1978:398; *Baal* 95), but for others he merely lights the way, presumably with an instrument of fire (i.e., a torch; see Gordon 1977:93: "to light the way").

Other scholars have interpreted *šbʿr* as meaning, "to lead" (e.g., Coogan 1978:99; Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1158; *ANET* 133; de Moor 1987:52). Where this meaning comes from is not entirely clear. We are aware of no cognates with this meaning. Gordon proposed it in *UT* 19.495 for 1.14 II 48 and IV 27; and 2.31.55 (= *UT* 1002:52), as well as our passage. However, the verb in the Kirta passages of 1.14 is much more likely to have a meaning, "to leave, to hand over," rather than "to lead" (see *DUL* 212, *bʿr II*; Dietrich, Loretz and Sanmartín 1975). In addition, the context of 2.31 is too broken to render with confidence. Thus such an understanding of this passage seems very tenuous.

If we place this colon into context with the second line of the bicolon, we can suggest a plausible interpretation. The second line (line 17) lacks a verb, which indicates that *yʾuḫdm* governs this clause as well. Since the phrase *kkbkb* describes Qudsh-wa-Amrar, then it seems likely that its parallel *šbʿr* is also a noun describing the deity and must be part of the imagery of light. We would tentatively conclude that the two words, *yʾuḫdm šbʿr* most likely are both related to the idea of fire or flame, and we have translated the bicolon: "Qudsh flared up as a flame/Amrar like a star." This seems more likely than the other primary suggested rendering of the first colon, "Qudsh seizes a torch." The latter interpretation does not fit well as a parallel with "Amrar like a star," since it leaves the second colon without a governing verb, nor does the comparison in the line make much sense in relation to the first colon in this case.

The colon concludes with the phrase *lpnm*. This form is unique in the Ugaritic texts by not having an expressed object connected to it (see *DUL* 676). It thus has an adverbial function here, presumably

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[16] Stieglitz (1990:86–87, esp. n. 37) compares an Eblaite deity Kabkab—perhaps a title of the god Athtar—with BH *kôkāb*, apparently a divine name, in Amos 5:26.

"in front," or "ahead." There is some uncertainty about whether the word belongs with the bicolon in lines 16–17 or the following one in lines 18–19. It has usually been connected to the previous colon as we have done here and is interpreted as describing Qudsh's position in front of Athirat as guide (e.g., *TO* 1.203; Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1158; *Thespis* 182; Gordon 1977:93; Pardee 1997a:259). This is a quite plausible way to interpret the word, syntactically, grammatically, and poetically, since it flows logically from the context, and it allows the second line of that bicolon to be approximately the same length as the first (3/10 and 3/11). However, some scholars have suggested that the phrase belongs more naturally with the bicolon in lines 18–19 (e.g., *UL* 31; *Baal* 95–96). See the discussion below.

   In any case, the resultant picture is a servant leading his mistress and burning in some sense "like a star." Cazelles (1960:231–32) infers that Athirat needs a light because her destination is subterranean and dark. However, divine servants may indeed appear as fiery in form regardless of the terrain covered. Gibson (*CML²* 59 n. 2) compares the fiery appearance of Yamm's messengers in 1.2 I 32–33. For parallels, Mann (1977:98) cites the shining vanguard that precedes some Mesopotamian deities. In cultic processions, divine journeys include the harnessing of an animal and the shining of the accompanying entourage (Mann 1977:76, 87). One Sumerian hymn describes the goddess Nininsinna's journey to Nippur to the temple of Enlil in order to secure the determination of her fate for the year (Falkenstein and von Soden 1953:68–70, #8). Her procession (lines 8–13) is presented by Mann (1977:87):

> Her benevolent protective spirit of the 'High Palace' goes behind,
> the benevolent Udug of the father Enlil goes at her right,
> the benevolent spirit of the lord Nunamnir goes at her left.
> Her emblem goes forth like a heavenly light before her.
> Schumach, the benevolent chamberlain of the 'High Palace' goes before
>   her,
> purifies for her the street, the market place,
>   purifies for her the city.

This hymnic passage captures the divine procession of the goddess and the accompanying servants to the abode of a higher god, the same basic scene presented in 1.4 IV 16–18. In particular, the image "like a star" in line 17 finds a suitable parallel in the simile above "like a heavenly light before her." Perhaps lying in the background of the description here of the fiery divine attendant was the image of a torch as part of

an evening cultic procession (attested, for example, in Emar 369.63; see Fleming 1992:24, 56, 108 n. 120).[17]

Lines 18–19 describe the divergent paths Anat and Baal take as Athirat and her servant depart. Anat travels with the party to El's abode, but Baal, as he has consistently done, does not go before El to present his case. Again the text appears to illustrate the etiquette in such matters. As discussed above in the Commentary on 1.3 III (pp. 214–5), it presumably was deemed inappropriate (perhaps embarrassing) either for Baal to present his request directly to El or to be present while another deity did so.

As mentioned above, the first line of this bicolon may or may not include the last word of line 17, *lpnm*. Connecting *lpnm* to the previous bicolon makes the first line of this bicolon a bit short in relation to the following line. Placing the word with line 18 makes the second colon of lines 16–17 significantly shorter than the first, but that could be explained as an example of incomplete parallelism. The phrase *lpnm* is not necessary in that situation. If *lpnm* belongs to lines 18–19, then the most likely translation would be, "ahead," or perhaps "forward" (so *UL* 31 and *Baal* 399). In many ways, the issue of locating *lpnm* centers on the meaning of the following word, *ʾaṯr*. If it is understood as a locative, "behind," then it describes Anat's position in relation to Athirat in the group heading toward El. In this case, *lpnm* is best understood as describing Qudsh-wa-Amrar's position leading the company, while Anat follows at the rear. Such an interpretation is plausible. However, *ʾaṯr* could also be a well-attested verb of travel, usually rendered, "to go." In this case, the form would be an infinitive absolute, which would be a fine parallel with the verb denoting Baal's travel in line 19, *tbʿ*, "to depart." If this is correct, then there is no contrast being made between Qudsh and Anat's positions vis-à-vis Athirat, and therefore no compelling reason for *lpnm* to be part of the first bicolon. It would quite plausibly fit with line 18. No firm conclusion can be reached on this issue. But it should be noted that descriptions of the relative positions

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[17] For further discussion of fiery divinities, including the disembodied *lahaṭ haḥereb hammithappeket*, the whirling fiery sword of Gen 3:24, see Hendel 1985; *UBC* 1.307. Berrin (2001:426 n. 19) notes the use of BH *lhwb* for flame and blade, as well as a related usage in 1QM 6:3, *šlhbt ḥrb*. The lexical connection may have inspired an implicit homology between flame and blade, which perhaps lies behind the image in Gen 3:24. One may suspect a comparable connection behind Song of Songs 8:6 in its line, *rěšāpêha rišpê ʾēš šalhebetyâ*. Here the image of the fiery weapon appears in a variant mode (echoed [?] in 1QM 6:3).

of deities who are traveling in a group are a popular *topos* in Near
Eastern literature. The Sumerian text cited above is a good example.
Watson (1978:399) quotes an Akkadian text that is thematically similar
to what may be in our passage:

> In front of it (= a chariot) marches Madanu
> Behind it marches Il-Martu.

Additional examples for the semantics of "in front"//"behind" are cited
by de Moor and van der Lugt (1974:17).[18] The popularity of this *topos*
leads us to lean toward a similar interpretation of our passage. But the
other view is plausible, too.

   While Anat then proceeds to El's abode with Athirat, Baal heads
off in line 19 to his own home on Mount Sapan. Maier (1986:13–14)
argued that both Anat and Baal are the subjects of the two verbs *'tr* and
tb', and believed that both traveled to Sapan. But this is quite unlikely.
Even though Anat is not mentioned during the scene in which Athirat
asks for El's permission, she is described in 1.4 V 20–24, directly after
Athirat instructs that Baal should be informed of the decision, as rejoic-
ing and departing to Mt. Sapan to bring the news to Baal (25–35a).
Thus she is clearly not at the latter location, and, since she appears
actually to hear Athirat's speech, she is most logically to be located at
El's abode.[19] It should not be surprising that she stays in the background
of the story, since Athirat is the central character here. And within the
context of the story, Anat's previous visit and her lack of success would
warrant her staying in the background during this conversation.[20] So
while Anat's destination goes unnamed here in 1.4 IV 18, it is evident
that Anat accompanies Athirat on her journey to El's home.

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[18] Perhaps clarifying the larger cultural understanding of *lpnm*, Mari texts mention
caravans with the gods (their images) proceeding in front (Durand 2002:170, 172).
A.4363.10 (Durand 2002:170) uses *i-na pa-ni-ka* for this idea, which compares to the
Ugaritic expression here *lpnm*.

[19] If Pope's interpretation (1971) of the iconography on the drinking mug is cor-
rect, the presence of the bird in the scene would likely be symbolic of Anat's presence
there.

[20] This last suggestion may be reading more authorial intent here than the text
warrants. But there is clear evidence throughout the poem that the poet is concerned
with issues of appropriate behavior in the divine/royal court and may assume that his
audience understands when characters are present, but silent.

Lines 20–30: Athirat's Journey and Arrival at El's Abode

In this section the traveling party makes its way to El's tent, and Athirat comes into the presence of the old ruler of the gods. This passage focuses directly on Athirat, with all the verbs in lines 20–26 being 3rd fem. sg. These lines contain the formulaic description of a journey to El's home. The same language appears for Anat's trips there in 1.3 V 5–9 and 1.17 VI 46–51 and for Kothar's travel there in 1.1 III 21–25 and 1.2 III 4–6 (see *UBC* 1.184–90, 225–34; for further discussion, see the Commentary on 1.3 V 5–9 above on pp. 337–9). As in the parallel passages, the poet here describes Athirat's arrival at El's tent, her immediate audience with him and her obeisance before him. Athirat's travel to El's abode suggests that the two deities, though husband and wife, do not dwell together. Few commentators have addressed this particular question. Van Selms (1954:69) is a notable exception in this regard. He considered the two deities to have a "*Muntfrei*" marriage, in which the husband has no legal power over his wife, and thus she may live separately from him. In addition, van Selms (1954:65), suggested that by indicating this separation between the two, the Ugaritic poets intended

> to convey that the period of sexual intercourse between the father god and the mother god was of the past, something which occurred before the beginning of the present era with its multitude of younger gods and goddesses, the offspring of the old couple.

Pope (*EUT* 37) interpreted this passage through the lens of the Hittite Elkunirsha text (in which El and Athirat show serious marital problems) to suggest that the two deities are estranged from one another here as well. This is problematic, since the story of Elkunirsha is strikingly different in the way that it portrays the characters of El, Athirat and Baal compared to the Baal Cycle. Interpreting either one of these texts via the other seems problematic. Indeed, recent scholars have questioned both ideas. Wiggins (1993:58–59) has argued that van Selms is reading too much into the text. He suggests that the story is not intended to provide information about El and Athirat's marital status at all, but rather it uses the motif of the long journey to El in order to emphasize the uniquely high status, the holiness and the sanctity of the god. We also would point out that there is otherwise no evidence for the "*Muntfrei*" type of marriage at Ugarit. Like Wiggins, Binger (1997:75–76) argues that there is no reason to suggest that that this scene indicates an estrangement between the two deities.

One may easily note that El's reaction to her arrival and his succeeding speech (lines 27–39) indicate great affection for Athirat, and there is nothing in what she does in this scene that indicates any less affection on her side. Why, then, do they live apart? We suggest that this might be related to the way people in the Near East understood the relationship between the gods and their temples. It seems that the reason the poet and others assume that Athirat is not normally at home with El is because they believed that she (like the other major deities) has a temple/palace of her own, and that she would spend most of her time there, receiving the offerings of her people and granting them various blessings. Certainly within the Baal Cycle it appears quite clear that each god lives at a distance from the others. While the Ugaritic texts refer several times to a temple of El (*bt ʾil*, 1.119.14; 4.341.5; *qdš ʾil*, 1.119.6; cf. Pardee 2000:1077–78; Pardee 2002:50–53) in the city of Ugarit, there is no attestation to a temple of Athirat there.[21] The only temple of Athirat found in the Ugaritic texts is mentioned in the Kirta Epic, 1.14 IV 34–36, "he (Kirta) arrived at the sanctuary of Athirat of the Tyrians (*lqdš ʾaṯrt ṣrm*),//at the goddess of the Sidonians (*lʾilt sdnym*)." Her temple there, if it were the primary one in the minds of the ancient authors of Kirta and the Baal Cycle, is located far from Ugarit (where El's temple presumably represents his abode symbolically at the springs of the Deep); this distance between the abodes of Athirat and El might be the underlying explanation for the idea that she lived a long distance away from her husband. In any case, it appears unlikely that the poet was particularly interested in delineating the marriage relations between the two deities. Furthermore, lacking any confirmatory evidence, one cannot use this passage to suggest that the circumstances here reflect a type of marital custom among the human population at Ugarit, as van Selms suggested.

We now reach the climax of the story that has held the poet's attention since 1.3 III. Will El grant Baal permission to build a palace? Athirat appears to be the god's last hope for persuading El. Anat's attempt

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[21] A temple of *ʾilt*, "the goddess" is mentioned in 1.41.24//1.87.26, in which a sacrifice to Athirat may have been made. But the unnamed goddess of the temple may not be Athirat, since offerings to numerous other deities are listed (1.41.24–35// 1.87.27–39) before the point where the sacrifice to Athirat may appear. Furthermore, both tablets are broken at this point, so that only the letters]*rt* are preserved, making the restoration [ʾa*ṯ*]*rt* uncertain. See Pardee 2002:56–65 for these texts. The only other offerings to Athirat that are specifically located by the texts in a temple are found also in 1.41.38–40//1.87.42–43, where they are made in the temple of El.

(1.3 V) was a complete failure. Will the great Lady be able to change El's mind? Lines 27–30a describe El's reaction to Athirat's unexpected arrival. As we have seen elsewhere, the poet first discusses the physical reaction of the god (lines 27–30a), before detailing his verbal response (lines 31–39). Unlike the previous two examples of a deity's reaction to a surprise visit (1.3 III 32–IV 4; 1.4 II 12–26), this one is a joyous affair. El's body language of laughter and movement of feet and fingers conveys his great pleasure at the sight of Athirat. Any doubt that this description refers to a joyful reaction is eliminated by examining the use of the same formulae elsewhere. In 1.6 III 14–16 two of the lines appear as El rejoices (*šmḫ*) in having perceived that Baal has returned to life. Danil likewise reacts to the news that El will grant him a son with laughter and stamping his feet (1.17 II 10–11). Danil's physical reaction is supplemented in 1.17 II 8–9 by the following bicolon: "As for Dan'il, his face lit up, // and above, (his) brow shone" (cf. *UNP* 55). Clearly Dan'il's response is one of joy (Gruber 1980:565, 570–76). El's follows suit. Gruber (1980:556, 613–14) views the god's putting his feet on the footstool as the joyful antithesis to the mourning practice of getting off the chair and removing one's feet from the stool and sitting on the footstool or the ground.

El's physical reactions to Athirat's arrival are three-fold (lines 28–30). The first reaction is *yprq lṣb wyṣḫq* (line 28). The third word, *wyṣḫq*, "and he laughed," is the best understood word in this line. Its placement in the line suggests that the preceding two words serve as preparation for laughter. The verb *prq means "to loosen, separate" (see Aramaic *prq*, "to separate, remove, take off; untie"), as noted by Ullendorff (1951:272), followed by van Zijl (1972:60), Pope (in Smith 1998b:656) and *DUL* 681. The particularly difficult word is *lṣb*. Arabic *lṣb means, "to be narrow," according to Ullendorff 1951:272 (cf. *UT* 19.1393). Ugaritic uses *lṣb* in CAT 1.114.29, where the word delineates the location on a person where a medicine, *šʿr klb*, "hair of a dog," is placed. The word also appears in an omen text (CAT 1.103+1.145.49) related to the Akkadian *šumma izbu* series, which explains the meanings of the appearances of malformed animal fetuses. In line 49, the malformation discussed is the appearance of an animal with its eye(s) *blṣbh*, "in its *lṣb*." There have been two primary lines of thought concerning the word. Several scholars have identified it with the region of the mouth, specifically "the opening between the rows of teeth" (*UT* 19.1393), "the narrow passage between rows of teeth and the jaws" (Maier 1986:15; see also Loewenstamm, *CS* 380, 413). If this is correct, it is difficult to find a

suitable single word to translate *lṣb* and many translators rely on "jaw, mouth, throat" (*ANET* 133; *CML*[1] 97; *Thespis* 184; Greenfield 1959:143, *EUT* 36; Gruber 1980:614; Wiggins 1993:58) or the like. American speakers of English might say that El cracks a smile and laughs (so Gordon 1977:94). The other common proposal is to relate the noun to the brow, forehead or temples (*TO* 1.204, n. f; Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1159; Pardee 1997a:259; Wyatt 1998:99; Lewis, *UNP* 196). The latter understanding seems to be more likely than the former, in view of the contexts in which the word appears in 1.114.29' and 1.103+ 1.145.49. In the former, the medication for curing a hangover appears to include placing "the hairs of a dog" onto the *lṣb*, while a mixture of a plant and olive oil is to be drunk by the patient. It seems more likely that the hairs would be placed on the forehead than into the gap between the teeth, although the latter is not impossible (an unpleasant item like the hair could be placed in the mouth and then washed down with the drink that is described in the following two lines). The reference in 1.103 +, however, seems stronger evidence for "brow." Here the malformed fetus being described has eyes in the wrong place on its head: *ʾaṯrt ʿnh w ʿnh b lṣbh*, "...the place of its eyes, and its eyes are in its *lṣb*" (see Pardee 2002:140). It seems unlikely that the omen is suggesting that the animal's eyes are in the gap between the teeth. Here the meaning, "brow, forehead" seems considerably more likely. Pardee (1988a:69) cites a parallel to this passage from the Sumero-Akkadian version of *summa izbu*, which reads, *BE iz-bu IGI.MEŠ-šu ina SAG.KI-šu*, "If the fetus' eyes are in his forehead." He also notes that there is no parallel in the Mesopotamian version to an omen concerning eyes of a fetus in the mouth. But the vagaries of interpreting the kinds of texts represented by 1.114 and 1.103+ force us to refrain from complete certainty here (see Renfroe 1992:126 for his cautions).

El's second physical reaction in these lines has to do with moving his feet with respect to his footstool (line 29). The verb, *ytpd*, is usually associated with BH, *šāpat*, "to set, place." Although there are uncertainties about this etymology (cf. *TO* 1.204, n. g), the meaning certainly fits the context; thus "He placed his feet on the footstool" is the standard translation for the line (e.g., *ANET* 133; Gordon 1977:94; *CML*[2] 59; Gruber 1980:614; Maier 1986:15; Wyatt 1998:99). Without additional contexts, it is impossible to determine whether something more emphatic is indicated by the verb (cf. Ahlström 1978:100–01; Renfroe 1992:153–54). Pope (*EUT* 36) suggested "stamps his feet," while Pardee (1997a:259) proposed "taps." Whatever its actual connotation,

it is clear that El's gesture is a positive expression of body language (Gruber 1980:613–14).

The third reaction depicted in these lines is El's twirling of his digits (line 29b–30a). The meaning of the verb, *ykrkr*, "to twirl" or "to twiddle," is not in doubt. This root refers to rotation, whether of twirling fingers, as in El's case here, or of the whole body, as in David's dance (*mĕkarkēr*) before the ark of the covenant (2 Sam 6:14,16; Ahlström 1978a:100). Renfroe (1992:152 n. 6) characterizes the verb as "reduplication to signify repetitive action." While the action of the verb seems clear, there has been some disagreement about the exact meaning of *ʾuṣbʿth*. Most translators take the noun as "fingers" (e.g., Albright 1934:121; Gruber 1980:614; Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1159; Pardee 1997a:259; Sivan 1997:176–77). However, Cross (*CMHE* 37), followed by Seow (1989:110), took the word to refer to the god's toes, which is philologically defensible (BH *ʾeṣbaʿ* is used of both fingers and toes, cf. 2 Sam 21:20) and arguably suitable, given parallelism with the preceding parallel line involving feet. It may be wiser to remain with the more common meaning for the direct object, however. The image of twirling or twiddling seems more appropriate for fingers than for toes. This particular physical act especially denotes particularly El's great joy or excitement, since this reaction is absent from the other two similar descriptions of body language expressing joy (1.6 III 14–16; 1.17 II 10–11).

Lines 30–62: El's Greeting and Athirat's Plea

In lines 30–39 El addresses Athirat. Lines 31–32 provide an excellent example of how context can significantly affect the meaning of a formulaic passage. Here we find the double question, "Why has PN arrived/come?" In the previous two occurrences of this question (Anat asking in 1.3 III 36, and Athirat in 1.4 II 21–24), it has a negative, fearful connotation. The visitors are initially perceived as unwelcome. In addition, the question is not directly asked of the visitors, but is part of the reaction of the speaker upon seeing the visitors approaching. But here the identical question is clearly used as a greeting, an exclamation of welcome and enthusiasm for Athirat's visit. Whether or not this question represents a common element of greeting in Ugaritic society is unclear. In the two parallel passages, there is little indication that the question is part of a standard welcome to one's house. But here, it prefaces a traditional offer of food and drink to the traveler.

On the other hand, since El's final hospitable offer in the speech (sex in lines 38–39) is obviously not part a standard welcoming formula, these opening lines may not be either. They may be more closely related to the way an intimate couple would address one another than to court etiquette.

In lines 33–38, El offers Athirat food and drink. There is a noticeable tenderness about this part of the speech, as it emphasizes El's concern that Athirat has suffered hunger and thirst on the long trip. In these lines, as in the previous three bicola (lines 27–32), the poet dwells upon El's enormous fondness for his wife. These lines perhaps represent some of the most accomplished and natural dialogue (from a literary perspective) in the Ugaritic corpus. The questions in lines 33–34 are formed in the common style we have seen before: no clear interrogative element in the first clause and *hm* preceding the second (Held 1969:74–75; on the common construction of finite verb preceded by the infinitive absolute of the same root, see Sivan 1997:123–25). There is some uncertainty about the etymology and meaning of the verbs, *tġt* // *'s[t]*, that end the two lines. Several scholars interpret the verbs as referring to traveling (Driver, *CML*[1] 96–97; Gibson, *CML*[2] 59; Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1159 n. 54; Pardee 1997a:259). As support for this understanding, Driver cited Hebrew *ta'â* // Aramaic *tĕ'ê*, "to wander, stray" (*CML*[1] 152 n. 24) and Arabic *'ašā*, "to go by night" (*CML*[1] 140 n. 17). Given the light that Qudshu-wa-Amrar provides in lines 16–17 above, this interpretation could fit the overall context (but see the reservations raised above about whether darkness on the trip is to be assumed). However, on semantic grounds, Held (1969:74–75 n. 35) rejected Driver's etymology of *tġt* with BH *t'h*, "to journey afar," and he further objected that a putative Ugaritic root *'sw "could not be philologically related to Arabic *'ašā*." The phonological reason for Held's objection to the latter is clear: Ugaritic *s* and Arabic *š* do not correspond in etymologies (*UT* 5.13). As a result, Held (1969:74–75) rendered these verbs quite differently: "Are you hungry and *fa[int]*, or are you thirsty and *pa[rched]*?" Held did not provide cognates to support his interpretation of these words, nor did his source for the renderings, Ginsberg, *ANET* 133. Instead, he appealed to some BH phrases that relate faintness to hunger and thirst. Cross (cited in Maier 1986:16) offered some support to Held's view by understanding *'s[t]* as "parched" and comparing Arabic *'asā*, "grow hard, dry." Held's objections hardly ended the issue of the verbs' etymologies. Pope (1981b:321; also in Smith 1998b:656) compared Arabic *'assa*, connected with night patrol (Lane 2039–40) and

Arabic *ʿ(w)s, "to roam (at night time)" (the former is noted also by Maier 1986:16). Pope also proffers Arabic *tǵy, "to perish" for the first verb, as well as the semantically suitable BH *tʿh*. In short, it is possible to salvage Driver's original suggestion with Pope's better philological basis, and at this point this seems to represent the best option. At the same time, the reconstructed character of the second form ʿs[t] makes it difficult to reach firm conclusions about this word.

Following the double-question of lines 33–34, El invites Athirat to eat and drink (lines 35–38a). It is a very elegant invitation; the four lines build nicely. The first (line 35a) opens with a double offer: "eat, indeed drink" (*lḥm hm štym*). A similar opening offer is made in 1.23.6–7: *lḥm blḥm ʾay //wšty bḥmr yn ʾay*, "Eat of food whatsoever, and drink of fermented wine whatsover." 1.23.6–7 and lines 35–38a differ, however, as the direct objects are not spelled in the initial line of our passage, but in the lines that follow it. The second (lines 35b–36a) expands the offer of the first imperative, while the third and fourth lines (lines 36b–38a) expand the offer of the second imperative. The food and drink are the typical fare of a divine feast (see 1.4 III 40–43, VI 56–59).

In the bicolon of lines 38b–39, El makes one final offer to Athirat, that of sex. It is an intimate proposal, but one quite appropriate from a husband to a wife. Using another double-question, El asks if he arouses her sexually (*ḫss//*ʿrr). The Akkadian verb *ḫss*, has a range of meanings, "to think, be mindful of, remember; be intelligent, wise" (*CAD H*:122–25; Pentiuc 2001:58–59). Ugaritic shows a comparable range: the root in the craftsman-god's binomial *kṯr wḫss* means "wise one"; and in 1.15 III 25, the verb *tḫss* means "she is mindful of" or "she remembers." The semantic development from these meanings to "to excite" or the like, as indicated by the context of El's question, is not entirely clear, but it has semantic analogies. As van Selms (1954:67 n. 23) notes, the development of *ḫss*, "to be wise, intelligent," here arguably parallels the root *ydʿ, "to know," but also "to be intimate (sexually)." In this connection, van Selms would also compare the BH verb *zkr, "to remember," and the BH noun *zākār*, "male." In the case of *ʿrr, the meaning is clearer. In 1.24.30, *ʿrr may mean to "stir up" (Marcus, *UNP* 217; cf. Akkadian *êru*, "to be awake," *CAD E*:326a–27a and *erūtu*, "wakefulness," *CAD E*:327b).[22] The *D*-stem of *ʿ(w)r occurs

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[22] Not to be confused with Akkadian *erû*, "to be pregnant, to conceive" (*CAD E*:325).

also in Song of Songs 2:7, 3:5, 8:4. The root there is generally taken to bear a different nuance, "to stir up," hence "to disturb" or the like, as opposed to the sexual sense, "to arouse," but it is possible that it puns on the sexual sense (Pope 1977b:386) or actually has a sexual sense (so *BDB* 735). Elsewhere the BH root bears a nuance of excitement (though not of a sexual nature), for example in Job 31:29 (so *BDB* 735). The parallel verb is **šmḫ*, "to rejoice," perhaps suggesting that excitement and joy belong to a larger shared field of emotional experience.

In this double question in lines 38–39, the nouns for love, namely *yd* and *'ahbt*, are hardly abstract in meaning, but are quite concrete, referring to passion (MHP) or making love. The word *yd* bears a further nuance of El's particular lovemaking organ (CAT 1.23.33–35). Both senses seem involved here, not one or the other (for full discussion, see the Commentary on 1.3 III 5–8, above on pp. 219–20; cf. de Moor and van der Lugt 1974:14). El refers to himself in the third person as "Bull El" (*ṯr 'il*). This title is conventional, but in this context it may evoke his sexual prowess, since the bull was famous for its sexual power (cf. Enki's sexual exploits in "Enki and the World Order" compared to the lust of "an attacking bull" (Leick 1994:23–25; for further mythological examples, see Leick 1994:48, 74, 91).

Athirat, however, wishes to discharge her errand before accepting any of these offers (lines 40–57). Several scholars have understood her intentional ignoring of El's invitations (especially the offer of sex) as a brusque rejection of the offers (cf. de Moor 1987:53 n. 235; *EUT* 37; the discussion in Binger 1997:75). Such a conclusion is entirely unwarranted. It is not unusual for a divine visitor to deal with the business of his or her trip before sitting down to a meal. Such a situation has just occurred in 1.4 III 23–39, where considerable business is done before the gods enter the banquet. Athirat first wants to fulfill her obligation to Baal before accepting El's offer of food, and presumably the sex. There is nothing in this passage that suggests any kind of rebuff on the part of Athirat. While it is true that the text never describes either the succeeding meal or amorous behavior, this is because the focus of the story after El grants his permission for the palace switches to Anat and her trip to Mt. Sapan to tell Baal the news.

So Athirat makes her plea. She opens her speech by praising El's wisdom (the tricolon in lines 41–43). She then acclaims Baal's kingship (the two bicola in lines 43b–46), and finally, presents Baal's lament that he lacks a palace (lines 47–57). Athirat's words here precisely parallel

Anat's speech to El in 1.3 V 29(?)–52 (see the Commentary there for discussion of the units, and see the Introduction for a discussion of the parallel structures). Although modern tastes may find this kind of long repetition to be dull, it is important to remember that this device was a very popular technique in ancient Near Eastern storytelling. Each repetition has its own unique context, and usually the final proclamation of the passage has a climactic function within the story. One can see this kind of dramatic build-up to a final repetition of a passage in the Aqhat Epic, where the lament concerning Danil's lack of a son is repeated several times, until in its final appearance it turns into a celebration of El's granting of a son to Danil (1.17 I 15–II 23). Our passage too is an excellent case of carefully constructed storytelling. We have heard Baal's lament, spoken by Baal to Anat (1.3 IV 48–53), by Anat to El (1.3 V 35–44), by Qudsh-wa-Amrar to Kothar-wa-Hasis (1.4 I 4–18), and perhaps by Anat to Athirat (in the lacuna at the beginning of 1.4 III). Now in Athirat's mouth, the lament has one last chance to convince El. For the storyteller, this is no simple rote repetition, but a suspense-building device that carries his audience with substantial tension up to the climactic point of El's definitive response.

And that response occurs in IV 59–V 1. The poet once again shows storytelling prowess by having the initial part of El's speech suggest that Athirat's plea has failed. In his first words, El appears unmoved and actually offended, suggesting that granting her request would damage his (and Athirat's) status. However, it seems clear from the following bicolon (IV 62–V1) that in fact, El is only delaying, and he actually intends to approve the request (although some have suggested that he is intending to be harsh and only concedes permission begrudgingly). The poet has employed the same tension-building technique he used in 1.4 III 27–32, where he has Athirat initially appear unwilling to accept Baal's gifts, when in fact (unbeknownst to Baal and Anat) she intends to do so. Here (as throughout this section), the poet may be characterizing El as a quickwitted and playful husband, whose love for his wife is shown in his willingness to grant what she asks.

There are some grammatical and vocabulary ambiguities in the initial response (lines 59–62). With rare exceptions (e.g., *Baal* 98), scholars have recognized that lines 59–60 are questions (or ironic exclamations, *CML*[2] 60; Pardee 1997a: 259). Some, however, read the third line (lines 61–62a) as an indirect command, "Let a handmaiden of Athirat make the bricks" (e.g., *UgM* 4; *CML*[1] 97), or "If Athirat is a handmaid, let her mold bricks," (Aistleitner 41). This understanding seems unlikely, since

nothing comes of the supposed command. No handmaids of Athirat are involved in the building of the palace.

That we have a series of questions here seems very likely from the appearance of *hm* at the beginning of the third colon, a standard marker for the final question in a series, where the previous question(s) appear unmarked (Ginsberg 1946:35; Held 1969:72). Building on Held's insight, we have tentatively offered the following translation:

A	*p'bd 'an 'nn 'aṯrt*	So am I a servant, Athirat's slave?[23]
B	*p'bd 'ank 'aḥd 'ulṯ*	So am I a slave who handles tools?
A'	*hm 'amt 'aṯrt*	Or is Athirat a maidservant?
B'	*tlbn lbnt*	Does she make bricks?"

Lines 59–62a constitute a complex double rhetorical question. Both of the lines of the first bicolon begin with the particle *p-*, "and, so" (cf. Arabic and ESA *fa*; Nebes 1995).[24] The two lines are also connected by the repetition of *'bd*, followed by the variant first person singular pronouns: *p'bd 'an//p'bd 'ank*. They are linked to the third line through the parallel use of the feminine noun *'amt*, "handmaid" (cf. the parallel pair, *'bd//bn 'amt*, in Kirta, 1.14 II 2–3; Avishur 1984:436–37). It is perhaps best to see in this parallelism an indication that the first and third lines may represent the basic double question (A and A' above): A—is El a servant; and A'—or, is Athirat a maidservant? The repetition of Athirat's name in A and A' poetically reinforces the relationship between these two lines. In apposition to the questions of A and A' stand two descriptions of physical labor, namely B, a nominal clause, and B', an asyndetic relative clause. Thus B and B' build on and link syntactically and semantically El's two basic questions. Accordingly, it might be argued that A and A' represent the main level of the double

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[23] An alternative reading of the first line (line 59a) might be proposed: "So am I a servant, Athirat a slave?" If correct, the first part of this initial line (line 59a) is expanded by *p'bd 'an 'aḥd 'ulṯ* in the second line (line 60), while *'nn 'aṯrt* in the second half of the first line (line 59b) is expanded by *hm 'amt 'aṯrt tlbn* in the third line (line 61). However, two considerations militate against this interpretation: if Athirat is the *'nn*, then a feminine form of the noun might be expected; and if a contrastive rhetorical question is involved in the initial line, it might be expected to be marked by *hm*. Either consideration, though not water tight, casts some doubt on this otherwise aesthetically plausible reading of the unit.

[24] Some scholars (Dahood 1970:410; van Zijl, *Baal*, 101–2) also suggest a cognate *p* in BH, e.g. in Ps 50:10 where in view of the phrase *bĕharĕrê-'ēl* in Ps 36:7, many commentators reread **bĕharĕrê-'ēl* and place *pa-* with the following verb in the next colon instead of MT *bĕharĕrê-'ālep*). Others do not find the proposed occurrences compelling (cf. *HALOT* 907).

question, with B and B' as further questions operating at a subordinate structural level.

An alternative translation for the third line (in lines 61–62a) proposes that El continues his rhetorical description of himself, rather than shifting the question to ask if Athirat is a maidservant. This rendering reads like the following: "Or (am I) a handmaid of Athirat who makes bricks?" (*TO* 1.206; Coogan 1978:101; Dietrich and Loretz 1998:1161; Gordon 1977:95; de Moor 1987:54; Wyatt 1998:101). This is a plausible interpretation. We prefer the former rendering, however, because of the verb *tlbn*, in the 3rd fem. sg., which might be more comfortably used in reference to Athirat, rather than continuing the image of El as a handmaid. But this is hardly a conclusive argument. Both renderings are possible.

However one reads lines 61–62a, it is clear that the context of the larger passage argues strongly for this series of questions to be understood as an ironic joke, rather than a serious objection. The suggestion that El might believe that Baal would expect him actually to construct the palace for him is ludicrous. Obviously, nothing in the preceding speech by Athirat suggests anything like that. Such a hyperbolic understanding of the request is on the face of it absurd, and El's immediate granting of the request directly after this passage clearly indicates that what has been said here is not taken seriously. Instead, the lines are probably intended to give a brief moment of suspense and doubt before the god grants Athirat's petition.

It is generally presumed that ʾaḫd ʾulṯ, which parallels *tlbn lbnt* refers in some way to brickmaking, a profession well attested at Ugarit (^{LÚ}*la-ba-nu*, in RS 16.257+16.258+16.126 III 55, *PRU* III, 202; Sivan 1997:70). El's discussion of this labor is compared by Hurowitz (1992:104–5) to the work of the Annunaki on Marduk's palace in Enuma Elish VI:60 (*CAD A/1*:357):[25]

^d*Annunaki itruku alla*	The Annunaki applied the implement;
šattu ištēt libittašu iltabnu	For one whole year they molded bricks.

Perhaps like Akkadian *allu*, Ugaritic ʾulṯ is a tool for working with bricks (trowel? so *CML²* 60) or for making bricks (a brick-mold? so Held 1969:72). In favor of the second alternative, Held (1969:72 n. 17)

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[25] For further passages, see citations in *CAD A/1*:357. See also Gudea Cylinder A, V:6, VI:6–8 (Falkenstein and von Soden 1953:143–44; Edzard 1997:72).

suggested that *ʾaḫd ʾulṯ*, might be semantically parallel to BH *ḥḥzyq mlbn*, "seize the brick-mold," in Nah 3:14 (cf. 2 Sam 12:31; see also *BDB* 527). Ugaritic *ʾulṯ* also appears in a list of cargo on a "ship of Ala[shiya] which (is) in Ataliga" (CAT 4.390.7). Assuming that the word refers to some sort of tool, one can plausibly derive the word from **lwṯ* (BH *lwš*, "to knead," Arabic *lāṯa*, "to mix," cf. Renfroe 1992:79; Akkadian *lâšu*, "to mix, knead," *CAD L*:110; see *DUL* 67). As a less likely alternative, one might compare it with Akkadian *unūtu* (OB), *enūtu* (Mari), *anūtu* (NA), "tool, equipment," including that of craftsmen (see *CDA* 423; note also Moran 1992:300 n. 6). The oddities of phonological correspondence required (*l/n*, and *ṯ/t*) are not impossible and not without parallel, especially if a loan process were involved (with the OB form being the one most proximate to the Ugaritic word).

It is clear that high gods do not take part in the construction of temples in Near Eastern mythology (cf. Atrahasis I:1–6, 189–97; Enuma Elish VI:1–8). This sort of labor belongs instead to lower ranking divinities (e.g., the Igigi-gods as in the passage from Atrahasis, cited above). Other texts likewise indicate the menial status of such construction. An Egyptian collection of spells for a mother and child dating to around 1700 BC includes one incantation that addresses an illness in the form of a child (Borghouts 1978:42) as "the one who spends the day moulding bricks for her father Osiris." Apart from its particular expressions of exorcism, the spell regards brick making as a dirty job, which may befit a demoness but not anyone of high status. Exod 1:11–14 describes brick making as the labor of slaves.

Following his questions in lines 59–62a, El finally gives permission for Baal's palace by proclaiming in the passive voice (Sivan 1997:127): "let a house be built for Baal like the gods', a court like the children of Athirat's." The bicolon in 1.4 IV 62–V 1 directly echoes the first couplet of Baal's lament, "For Baal has no house like the gods',//No court like Athirat's children's." In so reusing the opening words of Baal's lament, which runs throughout the building saga up to this point, El's decision directly addresses Baal's desire.[26]

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[26] There is a similar passage in 1.8.3–5, in which the imperative *tn* is used instead of *ybn*. From this comparison, it is evident that El has the authority "to give." Behind the use of **ytn* may lie an echo of the technical usage of WS **ytn/ntn* for royal land grants, a usage found in Ugaritic royal documents. Greenfield (1977a:88) describes these: "in the two royal grants in Ugaritic (PRU 2 8 and 9)…the king has *ytn* 'taken' (lit. 'given') the field of PN₁ and given it *ytn.nn* to PN₂." Akkadian documents from Ugarit likewise use **nadānu*, "to give," for land grants. A similar usage has been argued

In accordance with Baal's complaint (1.3 IV 47–48, V 38–39; 1.4 I 9–11; IV 50–51), his house is to compare with the dwellings of "the gods" // "Athirat's children." It is interesting to note that in the Baal Cycle, a narrative evidently devoted to Baal's exaltation, his palace is not here accorded a status or grandeur superior to the dwellings of the other deities, only one that is on par with theirs. The subsequent description of the palace when it is built suggests, however, that it is more spectacular than others. If the repetition of the phrase from the lament has any special significance here, it is presumably a reminder that Baal as coregent is still part of the younger generation and is not equivalent to the older king, Father El (see the larger discussion of the relationship between El and Baal in the Introduction, pp. 16–21).

The story continues on column V without any break.

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for some biblical texts as well (Greenfield 1977a:89–90). Whether such usage lies behind El's declaration about Baal's palace cannot be confirmed, but the royal role and authority assumed by royal land grants would fit this instance of divine permission for the building project.

CAT 1.4 V

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Text Editions: Virolleaud 1932:139–48, pls. XXVII, XXIX (in the *editio princeps*, the captions for the two photos of the obverse and reverse have been exchanged; thus pl. XXIX, captioned as the obverse, is actually the reverse and pl. XXX is the obverse); CTA 26–27, fig. 16, pls. IX, X; KTU 18; CAT 18–19.

Studies and Translations: Aistleitner 41–43; Albright 1934:123–26; Caquot and Sznycer, *TO* 1.206–11; Cassuto, *BOS* 2.130–34; Coogan 1978:101–3; Cross, *CMHE* 148–49, 184–85; Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1161–64; Driver, *CML*[1] 96–99; Gaster, *Thespis* 185–89; Gibson, *CML*[2] 60–62; Ginsberg, *ANET* 133–34, *KU* 30–34; Gordon, *UL* 32–34, 1977:95–97; Gray, *LC*[2] 49–50, 292–93; Greenfield 1984b; Jirku 46–48; Maier 1986:19–22; Margalit, *MLD* 45–50, 213–18; de Moor, *SPUMB* 148–54, 1987:54–57; Mullen 1980:71–73; del Olmo Lete, *MLC* 202–4; *MLR* 84–86; Pardee 1997a:259–61; Pope, *EUT* 100; Smith 1985:312–13, 317–28; *UNP* 129–32; Wiggins 1993:61–62; Wyatt 1998:101–4; Xella 1982:113–16; van Zijl, *Baal* 106–32.

TEXT (SEE IMAGES 57–67)

[This column continues directly from the previous one. Line 1 is discussed with column IV.]

2   *wt'n.rbt.'aṯrtym*
    rbt.'ilm.lḥkmt
    {ṯ}šbt.dqnk.ltsrk
5   *rḥnt.dx.l'irtk*
    wn'ap.'dn.mṭrh
    b'l.y'dn.'dn.ṯkt.bglṯ
    wtn.qlh.b'rpt
    šrh.l'arṣ.brqm
10 *bt.'arzm.ykllnh*
    hm.bt.lbnt.ŷ'msnh
    lyrgm.l'al'iynb'l
    ṣḥ.ḫrn.bbhmk
    'dbt.bqrb.hklk
15 *tblk.ġrm.m'id.ksp*
    gb'm.mḥmd.ḫrṣ
    yblk.'udr.'ilqṣm
    wbn.bht.ksp.wḫrṣ
    bht.ṯhrm.'iqn'im

20 *šmḫ.btlt.ʿnt.tdʿṣ*
    pʿnm.wtr.ʾarṣ
    ʾidk.lttn.pnm
    ʿm.bʿl.mrym.ṣpn
    bʾalp.šd.rbt.kmn
25 *ṣḥq.btlt.ʿnt.tšʾu*
    gh.wtṣḥ.tbšrbʿl
    bšrtk.yblt.yṅ
    bt.lk.km.ʾaḫk.wḫzr
    km.ʾaryk.ṣḥ.ḫrn
30 *bbhtk.ʿdbt.bqrb*
    hklk.tblk.ġrm
    mʾid.ksp.gbʿm.mḥmd.
    ḫrṣ.wbn.bht.ksp
    wḫrṣ.bht.ṭhrm
35 *ʾiqnʾim.šmḫ.ʾalʾiyn*
    bʿl.ṣḥ.ḫrn.bbhth
    ʿdbt.bqrbhklh
    yblnnġrm.mʾid.ksp
    gbʿm.lḥmd.ḫrṣ
40 *yblnn.ʾudrʾilqṣm*
    yʾak.lkṯr.wḫss

    ────────────
    ────────────

    wṯblmspr..ktlʾakn
           ġlmm

    ────────────

    ʾaḫr.mġy.kṯr.wḫss
45 *št.ʾalp.qdmh.mrʾa*
    wtk.pnh.tʿdb.ksʾu
    wyṯṯb.lymn.ʾalʾiyn
    bʿl.ʿd.lḥm.šṫ[   ]
    [ ]yʿn.ʾaḷ[   ]
50 *[   ]b[ ]x[   ]*
    ḥš.bhtm.[   ]
    ḥš.rmm.hk[   ]
    ḥš.bhtm.tbn[   ]
    ḥš.trmmn.px[   ]
55 *btk.ṣrrt.ṣpn*
    ʾalp.šd.ʾaḫdbt
    rbt.kmn.hkl
    ẇyʿn.kṯr.wḫsṡ
    šmʿ.lʾalʾiyn.bʿl
60 *bn.lrkb.ʿrpt*
    bl.ʾašt.ʾurbt.bbhṫ[   ]
    ḫln.bqrb.hklṁ

wy'n.'al'iynb'l
'al.tšt.'urbt.b[   ]
65   *[   ]n̊.bq̊rb̊.h̊k̊[   ]*

[Perhaps up to three lines are missing.]

TEXTUAL NOTES

CTA numbered the lines of column V consecutively from column IV.
CAT on the other hand begins the number of column V with line 1,
as in the other columns. We have followed that practice, but in the
textual notes provide the CTA line numbers after the slash.

Line 1 is discussed with column IV.

Line 4/66. {t} šbt.   Ilimalku wrote a /t/ as the first letter of the line,
but recognized his mistake and placed the left wedge of the /š/ over
it. Most of the /t/ is preserved, however.

Line 5/67. rḫnṅt.   The fourth letter of the line is /n/, rather than the
/t/ of CTA. The edges are peculiarly vague among otherwise fairly
well preserved letters to the right and left. The evidence for the multiple
wedges is visible along the upper line of the letter, and in the interior.
Perhaps, as CAT suggests, this is a dittography by Ilimalku, who slightly
smudged it, then wrote the correct /t/ after it. Note, however, /rḫnn/
in CAT 7.57.2, a broken context, but one that may suggest the text as
it stands is correct.
   /dx/   The letter denoted by the /x/ is badly deteriorated. We are
reluctant to agree with CAT that it is a /t/. There is a long horizontal
area, but it appears to have hints of at least two wedges. In addition,
there is a wedge above the horizontal that may be the damaged upper
edge of a horizontal.

Line 6/68. mṭrh   The /h/ has four wedges.

Line 7/69. b̊'l   The first letter, /b/, was damaged, apparently before
the tablet dried (see below). The clay has been pushed up from the
bottom and has smudged the letter badly. Clear wedge elements are
preserved only on the right side, with the right tip of the right vertical

and the right tip of the horizontal still visible. The left line of the left vertical may be preserved. Context assures the reading.

tkt   The middle letter of this word has often been emended to /r/, making it *tr(!)t*. The text as it stands can mean "ship" or "barque," but this image seems out of place in the context (see *UBC* 1.53 and the Commentary below).

There is a noticeable horizontal dip in the surface of the tablet from line 8 through 11 on the left margin and 9 through 14 at the right margin. It is about the thickness of a finger. The depression only affects column V. It seems as if a person held the tablet after it had been inscribed, but before it dried, slightly depressing the surface with a finger. This explains the flattened appearance of several letters, particularly on the right. The fingertip on the left side of the column apparently pushed the clay upward, damaging the first letter of line 7, as noted above.

Line 9/71. l'arṣ.brqm   The letters /ṣ.brq/ are very shallow because of the above-mentioned depression.

Line 10/72. b̓t   There does seem to be some disturbance at the beginning of the line, as noted by CAT, which proposes that a /d/was first written, then replaced with a /b/. There seem to be three horizontals in the letter, and some hints of a possible vertical to the left of the two preserved ones. The scribe may have written a /d/, then smudged out the left vertical to correct his error.

'ȧrzm   The line along the upper edge of the crack clearly shows two horizontals of the /'a/. There are no traces on the lower fragment.

The final word of the line, ykllnh, has sustained the flattening of the finger damage.

Line 11/73. lbnṫ   The /t/ is certain, though only its lower line is preserved.

ẙʿmsnh   The upper right line of the /ʿ/is preserved, but nothing else.

There is finger damage on /msnh/.

Line 12/74. l'al'iynb̓l   The letters /ynb̓l/ have almost been obliterated by the finger damage.

Line 13/75. /bbhmk/   should be emended to /bbhtk/. See lines 29–31 and 36–37 in the column for parallels.

Line 27/89. yᵗn   The /t/ is largely chipped away. Only the left edge of the horizontal is clearly preserved. There is no hint of a left vertical, which should be visible if the letter were a b (as reconstructed by CTA). The context supports /t/ over /ʾa/ or /n/, which are epigraphically possible. The /n/, on the edge of the tablet, is either a four-wedged example, or the leftmost wedge is the right tip of the preceding /t/.

Line 32. mḥmd.   The word is followed by a clear word divider.

Line 39/101. lḥmd   /lḥmd/ is an error for /mḥmd/. See lines 16 and 33. Sivan (1997:31) posits a possible phonological dissimilation and rejects a scribal error, since the signs for /m/ and /l/ are so dissimilar. This explanation seems unlikely, given that the correct forms in the same expression appear in the same column (line 16).

Line 40/102. ʾudrʾilqṣm   Contrary to CTA and CAT, there is no word divider after /ʾudr/.

Line 41/103. yʾak   Scribal error for /ylʾak/ (so also CTA, KTU, CAT; *CML*² 61; *TO* 1.210; *MLC* 203; Pardee 1980:280; 1997a:260 n. 165).
   lkt̲r   The /l/ has four wedges.
   Following line 41 is a double horizontal line across the column, marking off the note "Return to the recitation about when the lads are sent." A single horizontal line follows line 43 to indicate the end of the note.

Line 42/104. mspr.   There are actually two word dividers after /lmspr/, perhaps intentionally to indicate the following is a quotation. But see the commentary below, pp. 574–76.
   ktlʾakn   Both the /l/ and the /n/ have four-wedges.

Line 48/110. št̊[Only the upper line of /t/ survives along the edge of the break. We see no trace of the following /y/ proposed by CAT.

Line 49/111. [ ]yʿn.ʾå̊[The upper line of the two wedges of the /ʾa/ survives. The letter is certain. With light shining directly from above,

one can see to the right the top line of a single vertical wedge (not visible on the photograph). Context assures the reading of /l/.

Line 50/112. [   ]b[   ] x[The /b/ shows up fairly well, with only the top of the letter and the right end having been broken. There are no traces of the /ʿ/ or the word divider proposed by CAT.]x[There is what appears to be the base of a partially preserved horizontal, but CAT's proposed /k/ relies on the accidental direction of the breakage.

Line 51/113. ḫš   With a light shining directly from the right, one can see the corners of the right and lower wedges of the /ḫ/, assuring the reading.
   bhtm.[Only the lower tip of the word divider survives. We see no traces beyond the word divider. This is likely because the adhesive securing the modern reconstruction of the broken column has come over the broken edge here.

Line 54/116. px[The first letter is composed of only two horizontal wedges, making it a /p/. This, of course, might be a scribal error for the three-wedged /h/, as proposed by CTA and CAT, and followed here.
   /x/   All that remains of this letter is the lower left corner of a horizontal wedge.

Line 58/120. ẘyʿn.   The /w/ is badly broken but the upper line of the upper left wedge and upper line and tip of the right wedge survive.
   /wḫṡṡ/   The final /s/ is damaged, but a few lines of the upper wedges are discernable, as well as some of the interior of the sign. Some of the reddish reconstruction clay may be covering other evidence.

Line 59/121. šmʿ   Only the upper line of the right wedge of the /š/ survives, but the context assures the reading.

Line 61/123. bbⱨ[The /h/ is epigraphically uncertain. There is a large horizontal that could either be /t/, or the lowest wedge of an /h/. The context suggests the latter, although /bbt/ would not be impossible here. There may be the trace of the middle wedge of an /h/ above the clear wedge. But one should note that the low wedge is larger than the low wedge of most /h/'s on the tablet.

Line 65/127. [   ]ṅ.b�ṛb.ḥk̇[The upper line of the /n/ is preserved
and certain, as in CAT. The lower parts of all the other letters of
this line are also missing. Only the upper left wedge of the /k/ is
preserved.

TEXT RESTORED AND SET IN POETIC FORM

[This column continues directly from the previous one. Line 1 is dis-
cussed with column IV.]

2	*wt ̒n.rbt.ʾaṯrt ym*
3–5	*rbt.ʾilm.lḥkmt/*
	šbt.dqnk.ltsrk/
	rḫnnt.dx.lʾirtk
6–7	*wn ̓ap. ̒dn.mṭrh/b ̒l.*
	y ̒dn. ̒dn.ṯr(!)t.bglṯ
8–9	*wtn.qlh.b ̒rpt/*
	šrh.lʾarṣ.brqm
10–11	*bt.ʾarzm.ykllnh/*
	hm.bt.lbnt.y ̒msnh
12	*lyrgm.lʾalʾiyn b ̒l*
13–14	*ṣḥ.ḥrn.bbht(!)k/*
	̒*dbt.bqrb.hklk*
15–17	*tblk.ġrm.mʾid.ksp/*
	gb ̒m.mḥmd.ḫrṣ/
	yblk.ʾudr.ʾilqṣm
18–19	*wbn.bht.ksp.wḫrṣ/*
	bht.ṭhrm.ʾiqnʾim
20–21	*šmḫ.btlt. ̒nt*
	td ̒ṣ/p ̒nm.
	wtr.ʾarṣ
22–24	*ʾidk.lttn.pnm/*
	̒*m.b ̒l.mrym.ṣpn/*
	bʾalp.šd.rbt.kmn
25–26	*ṣḥq.btlt. ̒nt.*
	tšʾu/gh.wtṣḥ.
26–27	*tbšrb ̒l/*
	bšrtk.yblt.
27–29	*ytn/bt.lk.km.ʾaḫk.*
	wḥzr/km.ʾaryk.
29–31	*ṣḥ.ḥrn/bbhtk.*
	̒*dbt.bqrb/hklk.*
31–33	*tblk.ġrm/mʾid.ksp.*
	gb ̒m.mḥmd./ḫrṣ.

33–34   *wbn.bht.ksp/wḫrṣ.*
         bht.ṯhrm/ʾiqnʾim.
35–37   *šmḫ.ʾalʾiyn/bʿl.*
         ṣḥ.ḫrn.bbhth/
         ʿḏbt.bqrb hklh
38–40   *yblnnǵrm.mʾid.ksp/*
         gbʿm.m(!)ḥmd.ḫrṣ/
         yblnn.ʾudr ʾilqṣm
41   *y<l>ʾak.lkṯr.wḫss*

         ————————
         ————————

42–43   *wṯb lmspr..*
         ktlʾakn/ǵlmm

         ————————

44–46   *ʾaḥr.mǵy kṯr.wḫss/*
         št.ʾalp.qdmh.
         mrʾa/wtk.pnh.
46–48   *tʿdb.ksʾu/wyttb.*
         lymn.ʾalʾiyn/bʿl.
         ʿd.lḥm.št[y.ʾilm]
49   *[w]yʿn.ʾal[ʾiyn.bʿl]*
50–52   *[ ]b[ ]x[   ]*
         ḥš.bhtm.[bn(?)]/
         ḥš.rmm.hk[lm]/
53–55   *ḥš.bhtm.tbn[n]/*
         ḥš.trmmn.h(!)k[lm]
         btk.ṣrrt.ṣpn
56–57   *ʾalp.šd.ʾaḥd.bt/*
         rbt.kmn.hkl
58   *wyʿn.kṯr.wḫss*
59–60   *šmʿ.lʾalʾiyn bʿl/*
         bn.lrkb.ʿrpt
61–62   *bl.ʾašt.ʾurbt.bbh[tm]/*
         ḫln.bqrb.hklm
63   *wyʿn.ʾalʾiynbʿl*
64–65   *ʾal.tšt.ʾurbt.b[bhtm]/*
         [ḫl]n.bqrb.hk[lm]

[Perhaps up to three lines are missing.]

Translation and Vocalized Text

Athirat Proclaims the Permission for Baal's Palace

[Line 1 is discussed with column IV]

2	And Lady Athirat of the Sea answered:	wa-taʻnî rabbatu ʼatiratu yammi
3–5	"You are great, O El, so very wise;	rabbata ʼili-ma[1] la-ḥakamta/
	The gray hair of your beard so instructs you,	šêbatu daqini-ka la-tisaru-ka
	The soft ones (?) o[f] your chest.	raḫânvnātu (?) dū[tu(?)] lê-ʼirti-ka
6–7	So now may Baal make his rain abundant,	wa-na ʼap ʻaddina[2] maṭara-hu baʻlu
	May he make the water greatly abundant in a downpour,	yaʻaddinu ʻaddinu ṯarrata bi-galaṯi
8–9	And may he give his voice in the clouds,	wa-<ya>tin[3] qāla-hu bi-ʻurpāti
	May he flash to the earth lightning.	šaraha lê-ʼarṣi baraqīma
10–11	Is it a house of cedars that he would complete,	bêtu ʼarzīma[4] yakalliluna-hu
	Or a house of bricks that he would construct?	himma bêtu labināti yaʻammisuna-hu

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[1] Zeeb (1993:513–14) reads *rbt ʼilm* as a continuation of the narrative introduction: "Die 'Lady' dem El." In addition to the highly irregular variation in line-length within this putative bicolon, it might be a difficulty to see *ʼil-m* as an indirect object ungoverned by a preposition. Then Zeeb reads the rest of the unit as a bicolon: *lḫkmt šbt dqnk*, "Weise ist die Grauheit deines Bartes"//*ltsrk rḫnt dt lʼirtk*, "Es belehrt dich die 'Leidenschaft,' die in deiner Brust ist." The reading of the bicolon is grammatically plausible, despite the longer length of the second line compared with the first. But the assumed syntax involves some difficulty.

[2] For a discussion of this form as an example of the precative perfect, see *UBC* 1.51–53.

[3] The translation of Ginsberg (*ANET* 133), "and <he will> peal," implies the emendation to *w<y>tn* (so CTA), in which case **yqtl* would be involved, either an indicative (as in Ginsberg's rendering), a jussive form or a precative perfect **yatana*.

[4] For the syllabic evidence for this form (with evident pretonic vowel syncope), see Huehnergard 1987b:109.

12	Indeed, let it be told to Mightiest Baal:	la-yurgam lê-'al'iyāni ba'li
13–14	'Call a caravan into your house,	ṣûḫ ḫarrāna[5] bi-bahatī-ka
	Wares inside your palace.	'idabāta bi-qirbi hêkali-ka
15–17	Let the mountains bring you abundant silver,	tabilū-ka ġarūma mu'da kaspa
	The hills, the choicest gold.	gaba'ūma maḥmada ḫurāṣi
	Let the finest ore be brought to you.	yubalu[6]-ka 'udduru[7] 'ilqaṣīma
18–19	And build the house of[8] silver and gold,	wa-bnî[9] bahatī kaspi wa-ḫurāṣi
	The house of purest lapis lazuli.'"	bahatī ṭuhūrīma[10] 'iqni'īma[11]

Anat Delivers the News To Baal

20–21	Adolescent Anat rejoiced;	šamāḫu batulatu 'anatu
	She planted (her) foot, the earth shook.	tid'aṣu pa'na wa-tarra 'arṣu
22–24	So she headed out	'iddaka la-tatinu panīma
	For Baal on the heights of Sapan,	'imma ba'li maryāma ṣapāni
	Across a thousand acres, a myriad hectares.	bi-'alpi šiddi ribbati[12] kumāni

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[5] So vocalized at least since Albright (1934:124 n. 119) to *DUL* 405, citing Akkadian *ḫarrānu*. See Watson 2000a:569 for other cognates and the possibility that a loanword might lie behind this word.

[6] Following Dobrusin 1981, who argues against a 3rd masc. pl. prefix form beginning with *y*-, a singular collective for the subject and verb is reconstructed here. This rendering issues in a more proximate understanding between *mḥmd* and *'udr*, although the parallelism need not be so precise. The form below in line 38 argues in favor of a plural form.

[7] A vocalization instead as a qutl form is also possible. A number of qutl nouns express abstraction, which would work in this context.

[8] Or one could render, "with," both here and in the next line.

[9] For the sake of consistency, one might expect a vocalization, *wa-binî*. However, the initial vowel is considered particularly short (so *UG* 429), and with a proclitic it might be lost.

[10] For the syllabic forms, see Huehnergard 1987b:131; Sivan 1997:45; *UG* 176.

[11] In view of Akkadian *uqnû* (discussed below), the word might be vocalized *'iqnu'īma*, but the initial 'aleph suggests regressive vowel assimilation (cf. **'uṣbu'ātu* underlying *'uṣb't*).

[12] Sivan 1997:63.

25–26	Adolescent Anat laughed,	ṣaḥāqu batulatu ʿanatu
	She raised her voice and declared:	tiššaʾu gā-ha wa-taṣûḫu

26–27	"Receive the news, O Baal,	tabušširu baʿli
	Good news I bring you!	bašarata-ka yabaltu[13]

27–29	'Let a house be given you like your brothers',	yutan bêtu lê-ka kama ʾaḫḫī[14]-ka
	A court, like your kin's.	wa-ḥaẓiru kama ʾaryi-ka

29–31	Call a caravan into your house,	ṣûḫ ḫarrāna bi-bahatī-ka
	Wares inside your palace.	ʿidabāti bi-qirbi hêkali-ka

31–33	Let the mountains bring you abundant silver,	tabulū-ka ǵarūma muʾda kaspa
	The hills, the choicest gold.	gabaʿūma maḥmada ḫurāṣi

33–35	And build the house of[15] silver and gold,	wa-bnî bahatī kaspi wa-ḫurāṣi
	The house of purest lapis lazuli.'"	bahatī ṭuhūrīma ʾiqniʾīma

Baal's Preparations for the Building of His Palace

35–37	Mightiest Baal rejoiced;	šamaḫa[16] ʾalʾiyānu baʿlu
	He called a caravan into his house,	ṣāḫa ḫarrāna bi-bahatī-hu
	Wares inside his palace.	ʿidabāti bi-qirbi hêkali-hu

---

[13] The suffix is dative. This clause could be passive (so Smith, *UNP* 130): "good news is brought to you (*bašaratu-ka yubalat*)." However, active verbal forms are the case in the biblical passages, which also use the singular form of the noun (see BH *běśôrâ* in 2 Sam 4:10, 18:20, 22, 25, 27; 2 Kgs 7:9). All but the last of these passages use nominal and verbal forms of the root in the same context as in this bicolon.

[14] For the plural base, see *UG* 176. For a discussion of this plural base in connection with Akkadian *aḫu*, see Huehnergard 1987a:186.

[15] This could also be rendered, "with," both here and in the next line. Cf. lines 18–19 above.

[16] In view of the preceding narrative infinitives in line 20 and 25, an infinitive would be possible here, but usually a narrative infinitive follows a prior narrative finite verb with the same subject (Gai 1982). This condition is not met in the immediate context. The difficulties with understanding the syntax of the narrative infinitive have been noted (e.g., Moran 2003:56 n. 143).

38–40	The mountains brought him abundant silver,	yabulūna-nu[17] ǵarūma mu'da kaspa
	The hills, the choicest gold;	gaba'ūma maḥmada ḫurāṣi
	The best ore was brought to him.	yubaluna-nu 'udduru 'ilqaṣīma
41	He <s>ent for Kothar wa-Hasis.	yi<l>'aku lê-kôtari wa-ḫasīsi

_____

42–43	And return to the recitation (about)	wa-t̠ûb lê-maspari
	when the lads are sent.	kī-tul'akūna/ǵalamūma[18]

_____

44–46	Then Kothar wa-Hasis arrived;	'aḫra maǵiya kôt̠aru wa-ḫasīsu
	An ox was set[19] before him,	šūta 'alpu qudma-hu
	A fatling right before him.	marī'u wa-tôka panī-hu
46–48	A throne was set up and he was seated,	tu'dabu kissi'u wa-yut̠at̠ibu
	At the right hand of Mightiest Baal,	lê-yamīni 'al'iyāni ba'li
	As [the gods] ate, dran[k].	'adê laḥāmu šatā[yu 'ilūma]
49	[And] Mighti[est Baal] spoke up:	[wa-]ya'nî 'al'i[yānu ba'lu]
50–52	"[…]	[ ]
	Quickly, the house [build,]	ḫūšu bahatīma [binî[20]]
	Quickly erect the pal[ace].	ḫūšu rāmim hêka[līma]
53–55	Quickly shall you buil[d] the house,	ḫūšu bahatīma tabnî[na]
	Quickly shall you erect the pal[ace],	ḫūšu tarāmimuna hêka[līma]
	Amid the summit of Sapan.	bi-tôki ṣirarāti ṣapāni

_____

[17] The prefix indicative 3rd masc. pl. verbal form usually has prefix t- (Dobrusin 1981); so one might suspect here the sg. form with nunation. However, the context does not favor this interpretation.

[18] Or, to be vocalized as dual forms: *tul'akāni ǵalamāmi*.

[19] Or, arguably (so Smith, *UNP* 131 and 171 n. 127), "He (i.e., Baal) set an ox before him." See the Commentary below.

[20] Another possible reconstruction might be *[kôt̠ari]* (so Smith 1985:347 and in *UNP* 131; Pardee 1997a:260), following the type of climactic parallelism found also in 1.2 IV 8–9 (cf. 11–13). Here the addressee is named in the first line, while verbs appear in the second and third lines. The remains of line 50 are consistent with a reconstruction like the following: *[ḥš.]b[h]t[m kt̠r]*, "Quickly, the house, O Kothar."

56–57	A thousand fields let the house cover,	'alpa šidda 'aḫada[21] bêtu
	A myriad hectares, the palace."	ribbata kumāna hêkalūma
58	And Kothar wa-Hasis replied:	wa-ya'nî kôṯaru wa-ḫasīsu
59–60	"Hear, O Mightiest Baal,	šama' la-'al'iyāni ba'li
	Understand, O Cloud-Rider:	bîn la-rākibi 'urpati
61–62	Shall I not install a window in the hou[se],	bal 'ašîtu 'urubata bi-baha[tīma]
	An aperture inside the palace?"	ḫillāna bi-qirbi hêkalīma
63	And Mightiest Baal answered:	wa-ya'nî 'al'iyānu ba'lu
64–65	"Do not install a window in [the house],	'al tašît 'urubata[22] bi-[bahatīma]
	[An aper]ture inside the pala[ce]."	[ḫillā]na bi-qirbi hêka[līma]

[Perhaps up to three lines are missing.]

Commentary

Poetic Parallelism and Word/Syllable Counts

		semantic parallelism	word/ syllable count
2	wa-ta'nî rabbatu 'aṯiratu yammi	a b	4/12

The line is extra-metrical, but it is perhaps deliberate that Athirat's title *rbt* appears here, just before the next colon which refers to El with the same root. It also seems that although this sort of speech-opening formula is extra-colonic, it is produced in such a way so as to maintain the relative line-length of the preceding and/or following units.

3–5	rabbata 'ili-ma la-ḫakamta/	a b a'	3/10
	šêbatu daqini-ka la-tisaru-ka/	c d e	3/12
	raḫânvnātu (?) dū[tu] lê-'irti-ka	c' d'	3/11

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[21] For this form as an example of the precative perfect, see *UBC* 1.52.

[22] The Ugaritic form apparently shows vowel harmony of the first consonant (Albright 1934:126 n. 132). Cf. Latin transcription of Hebrew *orobbo* versus MT *'arubbâ*, discussed in Sivan 1997:67. Cf. Arabic *'araba*, "to combine, link"; Greek loan *arabbe*; so Loewenstamm 1984:193–94.

The last two lines are tied together in their syntax (as well as some sonant elements, including *d-* at the head of a word, *-ka* suffix, endings in *-tu, -atu* and *-ātu*, and sonant parallelism between *tisaru* and *'irti*). In contrast, the first line shows a different sort of syntax. By the same token, the parallelism between the three lines is tighter than the notation perhaps conveys, since the last two lines expand the theme of wisdom signaled with the last word of the first line. (Within the first line, the notation of a b a' is designed to show how wisdom is an expression of the god's greatness in this context; see the Commentary below for discussion.) The first line is further tied to the second by virtue of a notable sequence of shared components: noun in the nominative case, plus noun in the genitive (assuming that the vocative indeed takes the genitive; see p. 279 n. 6) plus particle ending in an *-a* vowel, plus *la-* with verb.

| 6–7 | wa-na 'ap 'addina maṭara-hu/ba'lu | a b c d e | 5/12 |
| | ya'addinu 'addinu ṯarrata bi-galaṯi | b (x, y) c' c'' | 4/14 |

Ginsberg (*ANET* 133), Gibson (*CML*² 60), *TO* (1.207), *MLC* (202) and Wyatt (1998:101) divide the bicolon with *y'dn* governing the first half and the second occurrence of *'dn* the second half. De Moor (1987:54) and Wiggins (1993:61) take Baal as the subject of the second line. The resulting imbalance in line-length does not favor either of these proposed divisions of the lines (see the Commentary below for further discussion). The subject of the first line carries over to the second, and the lines use the same verbal root in **qtl//*yqtl* parallelism (see Held 1962). If the emendation of the text is correct (*ṯkt* to *ṯrt*), the lines also have direct objects, *maṭara//ṯarrata*, belonging to the same semantic field of storm precipitation and sharing *r* and *t* (and vowels, if the vocalization is correct).

| 8–9 | wa-<ya>tin qāla-hu bi-'urpāti/ | a b c | 3/10 |
| | šaraha lê-'arṣi baraqīma | a' c' b' | 3/10 |

Assuming the reconstruction of the initial verb, the bicolon shows precise balance in length. The construction of the two lines is nearly identical in syntax, and the semantics are quite complementary. The chiastic structure of the direct objects and prepositional phrases ties together the effects of Baal's thunder ("voice") in the sky and lightning on the ground. A smaller note of sonant parallelism: *b* and *r* occur in the final units in each of the two lines.

| 10–11 | bêtu ʾarzīma yakalliluna-hu/ | a b c | 3/11 |
| | himma bêtu labināti yaʿammisuna-hu | d a bʾ cʾ | 4/14 |

The balance of elements is exact, except for *hm* in the second line. At first glance, *hm* has no balancing element in the first line, but this is standard for double questions in Ugaritic, as pointed out by Ginsberg (1946:35) and Held (1969). Otherwise, the two lines look very similar, with their identical word order and even the similar nominal forms (*bt* in construct to plural nouns, with gender balance) and *D*-stem verbs plus 3 masc. sg. resumptive object suffixes.

| 12 | la-yurgam lê-ʾalʾiyāni baʿli | a b (x, y) | 3/10 |

This line might be viewed as the first line of a tricolon with the following two lines.

| 13–14 | ṣûḥ ḫarrāna bi-bahatī-ka/ | a b c | 3/9 |
| | ʿidabāta bi-qirbi hêkali-ka | bʾ cʾ (x of y) | 3/11 |

This bicolon shows a classic pattern of Ugaritic poetry, both in terms of syntax and semantics. As expected, the B-line contains the more obscure direct object compared to the first line.

15–17	tabilū-ka ġarūma muʾda kaspa/	a b c d	4/11
	gabaʿūma maḥmada ḫurāṣi/	bʾ cʾ dʾ	3/10
	yubalu-ka ʾudduru ʾilqaṣīma	aʾ cʾ dʾ	3/11

In lines 31–33, the third line of this tricolon is not repeated, which perhaps suggests that the basic unit here is a bicolon to which a third line has been added. It is perhaps for this reason that the verb of the first line is resumed in the third line, a relatively uncommon construction for the third line of a tricolon in Ugaritic poetry. The third line is parallel in a further way. Its verb has been rendered in the passive, since the prefix of the **yqtl* verbal form is more likely singular and not plural (see Dobrusin 1981; but see *yblnn* in line 38), in agreement with *ʾudr* and not *ġrm//gbʿm*. If correct, the third line also shows classic parallelism of a passive verbal form with an active form of the same root (see Held 1965a). All three lines show fine semantic parallelism, with the third line culminating with the rarest vocabulary found in the noun phrases of the tricolon. The density of endings in *-a* is also maintained through all three lines.

18–19	wa-bnî bahatī kaspi wa-ḫurāṣi/	a b c (x + y)	4/11
	bahatī ṭuhūrīma ʾiqniʾīma	b c' (x, y)	3/11

The classic parallelism shown in this bicolon includes repetition of *bht* in construct to noun-phrases that are semantically parallel, with metals in the first line corresponding to stone in the second. Syntactically, the parallel construct phrases show a variation between a coordinated phrase in the first line and an appositional phrase in the second.

20–21	šamaḫu batulatu ʿanatu	a b	3/10
	tidʿaṣu/paʿna wa-tarra ʾarṣu	c d e f	4/10

There is no semantic parallelism in this unit that would indicate whether it constitutes a bicolon or a tricolon. In view of the line-length based on syllables, it would appear that a bicolon rather than a tricolon is involved. Final -*u* is characteristic of this bicolon, especially in the first line; consonantal *t* is also notable.

22–24	ʾiddaka la-tatinu panīma/	a b c	3/10
	ʿimma baʿli maryāma ṣapāni/	d e f	4/10
	bi-ʾalpi šiddi ribbati kumāni	g h	4/11

This tricolon stacks up three standard travel formulas without generating semantic parallelism.

25–26	ṣaḥāqu batulatu ʿanatu	a b	3/10
	tiššaʾu/gā-ha wa-taṣûḫu	a' (x + y)	3/9

At first glance, the two lines have little in common semantically. Each contains rather conventional expressions. The second line in particular is a common speech-opening formula. Upon further examination, it is evident that both lines are very much concerned with communication; all three verbs or verb-phrases depict the goddess' verbal expression (for a similar point, see the discussion of lines 35–37 below). So it would appear that the first line leads semantically into the second and conveys the mood of the following speech introduced by the formula of the second line. Perhaps with this understanding in mind, the two lines may be viewed as enjoying a dynamic sort of semantic relationship, even if it is not parallelism of the standard sort. With this view of the bicolon, lesser elements binding the two lines are apparent. The name

of the goddess in the first line is resumed in the second line by the pronominal suffix. On the sonant level, the number of both nominal and verbal forms ending in *-u* is particularly pronounced. Furthermore, the first and third verbs show slight sonant parallelism.

| 26–27 | tabušširu baʻli/ | a b | 2/6 |
| | bašarata-ka yabaltu | a c | 2/8 |

The scanning offered does not adequately convey the semantic parallelism operative in this bicolon. Semantically the lines begin with the same root, but vary expression by using different forms of the root. The name of the god in the first line is picked up on the sonant level in the second line, especially in the verbal form. The use of the same root in the initial word of the two lines also generates strong sonant parallelism. This is furthered by the morphological components with *ta-* (in the first line)// *-ata* (in the second line). Sonant parallelism extends to the second word in the two lines, as each one uses *b* and *l*. It is to be noted further that the shorter line-length demarcates this unit from the preceding or following units. Perhaps here form follows function: this departure in line-length may be designed to highlight the announcement of news.

| 27–29 | yutan/bêtu lê-ka kama ʼaḫḫī-ka | a b c d e | 5/11 |
| | wa-ḫaẓiru/kama ʼaryi-ka | b' d e' | 3/9 |

This bicolon (like 1.4 IV 62–V1) echoes the opening bicolon of Baal's lament. Here, however, the poet uses a third person jussive of the *G*-stem of **ytn*, "to give," in the initial syntactical slot (see the Commentary below for discussion), compared to the form *ʼin* in the lament and *ybn* in El's declaration of permission. A new parallel pair in the comparative phrase (*ʼaḫk// ʼaryk*) makes an appearance here.

| 29–31 | ṣûḥ ḫarrāna/bi-bahatī-ka | a b c | 3/9 |
| | ʻidabāti bi-qirbi/hêkali-ka | b' c' (x of y) | 3/11 |

See the discussion of this bicolon in lines 13–14 above.

| 31–33 | tabilū-ka ǵarūma/muʼda kaspa | a b c d | 4/11 |
| | gabaʻūma maḥmada/ḫurāṣi | b' c' d' | 3/10 |

See the first two lines of the tricolon in lines 15–17. The third line of that tricolon is not repeated here.

33–35	wa-bnî bahatī kaspi/wa-ḫurāṣi	a b c (x + y)	4/11
	bahatī ṭuhūrīma/'iqni'īma	b c' (x, y)	3/11

See lines 18–19 above.

35–37	šamaḫa 'al'iyānu/ba'lu	a b	3/9
	ṣāḫa ḫarrāna bi-bahatī-hu/	c d e	3/10
	'idabāti bi-qirbi hêkali-hu	d' e' (x of y)	3/11

These lines may be considered a monocolon (cf. the similar line 20a) plus a bicolon (attested in lines 13–14//29–31). Some binding between the three lines is achieved by virtue of the fact that the two verbs both involve expression on the part of the storm-god (for a similar observation, see the discussion of lines 25–26 above). Some minor sonant echoing may be detected, especially with the initial *ha-* in the second word of the second line corresponding in position to the final *-ha* of the verb in the first line. To be noted as well are *ba-/bi-* and final *-u* in the three lines.

38–40	yabulūna-nu ǵarūma mu'da kaspa/	a b c d	4/11
	gaba'ūma maḥmada ḫurāṣi/	b' c' d'	3/10
	yubaluna-nu 'udduru 'ilqaṣīma	a' c' d'	3/11

See lines 15–17 for discussion. The only major difference involves the switch to third person indicative verbal forms for narrative.

41	yi<l>'aku lê-kôtari wa-ḫasīsi	a b (x + y)	3/11

This line presently stands as a monocolon, but perhaps in view of what the text assumes, as indicated by the following prose insertion, this colon might have originally belonged to a larger unit.

42–43	wa-tûb lê-maspari
	kī-tul'akūna/ǵalamūma

As marked by the scribal lines preceding and following these words, this is a scribal, prose insertion (see the Commentary below).

44–46	'aḫra maǵiya kôṯaru wa-ḫasīsu/	a b c (x + y) 4/12
	šūta 'alpu qudma-hu	e f g 3/7
	marī'u/wa-tôka panī-hu	f' g' (x of y) 3/9

On the face of it, the first line is a monocolon, to which are appended the next two lines, a nicely balanced bicolon that may be scanned: a b c//b' c' (x of y). Essentially the same bicolon appears in 1.3 IV 40–42 (prefixed to these two lines is a different monocolon with rather different semantic content). Despite the semantic difference between the first line on the one hand, and the second and third lines on the other, the figure of Kothar named in the first line and referenced by pronominal suffixes in the second and third provides some semantic continuity. It is perhaps too much to suggest seeing sonant parallelism in *ma-…wa-* and *koṯaru* and *tôka* in the first and third lines.

46–48	tu'dabu kissi'u/wa-yuṯaṯibu	a b a' 3/11
	lê-yamīni 'al'iyāni/ba'li	d e (x, y) 3/10
	'adê laḫāmu šatā[yu 'ilūma]	f g (x, y) h 4/11

There is virtually no semantic or morphological parallelism in this tricolon. Instead, contrasting sorts of verbal forms in the first line on the one hand and in third line on the other frame the verb-less second line. There is perhaps to be noted some sonant echoing of the second line in the third (*l…-am* and *l…-am*).

49	[wa-]ya'nî 'al['iyānu ba'lu]	a b (x, y) 3/9

This line appears to be extra-colonic. As with other examples of extra-colonic speech-opening formulas, this one maintains the basic line-length of the preceding unit (and perhaps of the following colon as well). This may not be without some poetic sensibility (perhaps in order to proceed with little interruption).

50–52	[ ]	? ?
	ḫūšu bahatīma [binî (?)]	a b c 3/8 (?)
	ḫūšu rāmim hêka[līma]	a c' b' 3/8

A tricolon evidently underlies these lines. One might suggest that the first line read something like, *ḥš bhtm kṯr*, "Quickly, the house, O Kothar." The two extent lines balance nicely. Semantically, the corresponding terms in the two lines are either identical (*ḥš*) or word-pairs (*bhtm//hklm*, and

*bny//*rwm in the *L*-stem). Syntactically, the single variation in paral-
lelism involves a chiasm. Within this chiasm the dominant consonance
involves the bilabials *b* and *m.*

53–55	ḫūšu bahatīma tabnî[na]/	a b c	3/9
	ḫūšu tarāmimu-na hêka[līma]/	a c' b'	3/11
	bi-tôki ṣirarātī ṣapāni	d e f	3/10

The first two lines reiterate the preceding two lines, but with a switch
of verbal forms. The third line is not semantically parallel, but serves
instead to specify the setting for the activity commanded. The syntax
and morphology likewise set off the third line. Final *i*-vowels are, how-
ever, notable in the third line, and perhaps they pick up sonantly the
i-vowels in the first two lines. Noegel (2004:10) emphasizes the poetic
clustering of reduplicated forms in this unit, specifically in *tarāmimu-na*
and *ṣirarātī.*

| 56–57 | 'alpa šidda 'aḫada bêtu/ | a (x, y) b c | 4/9 |
| | rabbata kumāna hêkalūma | a' (x, y) c' | 3/10 |

This unit shows classic parallelism, with the objects fronted for emphasis.
The parallelism includes singular and plural forms in the word-pair,
bt//hklm, a word-pair that carries over from the preceding two units.

| 58 | wa-ya'nî kôṯaru wa-ḫasīsu | a b (x + y) | 3/10 |

As with other examples of extra-colonic speech-opening formulas, this
one maintains the line-length of the preceding unit.

| 59–60 | šama' la-'al'iyāni ba'li/ | a b (x, y) | 3/9 |
| | bîn la-rākibi 'urpati | a' b (x of y) | 3/8 |

Very tight parallelism, in terms of both syntax and morphology, mark
this colon. The only significant difference in syntax involves the divine
titles, one an appositional phrase and the other a construct phrase. The
final words in each of the two lines show partial sonant parallelism.

| 61–62 | bal 'ašîtu 'urubata bi-baha[tīma]/ | a b c | 4/13 |
| | ḫillāna bi-qirbi hêkalīma | b' c' (x of y) | 3/10 |

This bicolon shows one of the more common patterns of Ugaritic poetry, both in terms of syntax and semantics. The verbal phrase in the first line governs both lines, and the second line shows a longer prepositional phrase.

63   wa-ya'nî 'al'iyānu ba'lu   a b (x, y) 3/9

As with other examples of extra-colonic speech-opening formulas, this one maintains the line-length of the preceding unit.

64–65 'al tašît 'urubata bi-[bahatūma]/   a b c   3/12
    [ḥillā]na bi-qirbi hêka[līma]   b' c' (x of y) 3/10

This unit closely follows the bicolon of lines 61–62.

Introduction

This column directly continues the action of column IV. El grants his permission for Baal to construct a palace (line 1). Athirat, through whom this permission has been obtained, then praises El for his wisdom. This expression of praise additionally declares that this palace will allow for Baal to perform his cosmic duties. Athirat then announces (to Anat specifically?) that Baal is to be informed of the decision (lines 2–19). Anat journeys to Mount Sapan, and gives the good news to Baal (lines 20–35a). He in turn begins the preparations for construction, most importantly summoning Kothar-wa-Hasis to supervise the project (lines 35–57). This section includes a note (lines 42–43) indicating a significant abridgment of the written form of the story. The note contains very brief instructions on what needs to be added by the storyteller at this point in the narrative, i.e., Baal's instructions to the messengers whom he sends to Kothar, their journey to the god's abode, their delivery of the message, Kothar's response and journey to Mt. Sapan. The scribe then moves directly (line 44) to Kothar's arrival at Baal's home and commissioning by Baal. The column ends with a discussion between Kothar and Baal about whether a window should be put in the palace. Kothar wishes to insert such an opening, but Baal is opposed to it (lines 58–65).

 The story of the palace, its construction and dedication in 1.4 V–VII is a central moment in the Baal Cycle. The palace/temple of Baal is

clearly viewed in the narrative as the central symbol of legitimation for
Baal's role as leader of the divine assembly. Its completion in column
VI is portrayed as a military victory, somewhat similar to the way Baal's
defeat of Yamm in CAT 1.2 is depicted. It is followed by all the signs
of victory—a glorious feast for the gods (1.4 VI 38–59; cf. 1.3 I) and a
triumphal tour across the world in which town after town acknowledges
him as king and his enemies flee (1.4 VII 7–14; 25–37).

    While it possesses its own unique character within the context of the
Baal Cycle, the story of the palace's construction adheres to a well-
attested literary pattern of building narratives that stretches across the
literature of the ancient Near East. Hurowitz (1992) dealt extensively
with this pattern and has amply demonstrated how columns V–VII
contain the basic elements of the pattern (cf. also Hurowitz 1985:26–29;
RSP III:277–84; Kapelrud 1963; see also our Introduction, pp. 35–7).
We draw heavily on Hurowitz' careful work in the following. Four
particular elements in 1.4 V–VII may be compared with those of
building narratives from Mesopotamia and from Israel. Our primary
parallel examples for the following are the Bilingual Inscription B of
the Old Babylonian king Samsuiluna (Frayne 1990:374–78; Sollberger
and Kupper 1971:222–23), the Tiglath-Pileser I annals vii 71–viii 88
(Grayson 1991:28–31), and the biblical tabernacle and temple building
stories, while other narratives are occasionally noted:

1. A decision to construct a building with an expression of divine sanc-
tion: El gives permission in 1.4 IV 59–V 1 and the news is conveyed to
Baal in 1.4 V 2–35a. Samsuiluna receives a divine command to build
Sippar and the Shamash temple, Ebabbar (lines 1–38). In an exception-
ally elaborate version of this narrative element, the Gudea Cylinder
A (I 17–XII 11) describes Ningirsu appearing in two visions to Gudea
to inform him that he is to build the temple Eninnu and to give him
instructions on how to proceed (Edzard 1997:69–76; Falkenstein and von
Soden 1953:137–49; Hurowitz 1992:38–40). Similarly, Anu and Adad
command Tiglath-Pileser I to rebuild their temple in Ashur (VII 60–75).
In the Sippar cylinder of Nabonidus (I 8–22), Marduk appears to the
king in a dream and tells him to rebuild the temple of Ehulhul, Sin's
temple in Harran (*COS* 2.311; Langdon 1912:218–19). Besides these
Mesopotamian examples, Hurowitz (1992:97–100) compares a few West
Semitic texts as well, although few are clearly parallel to this element.
Perhaps there is reference to divine commissioning of construction in

the Amman Citadel Inscription, line 1, and in the Pyrgi Inscription (lines 5–6; cf. *KAI* 277). In addition to these, one might also note the Panammu Inscription, lines 13–14 (KAI 214), where Hadad apparently calls on Panammu to build something (his temple?). Yahweh likewise commissions Moses to build the tabernacle and reveals its plan (*tabnît*; see Exod 25:8–9, 40, etc.). The divine commissioning of the temple in Jerusalem is more complex, in that the primary narrative (2 Sam 7:5–13) seeks to explain why the great founder of the dynasty, David, did not build the temple, while Solomon his son did. Thus, Yahweh refuses to give permission to David, but commissions Solomon in advance. In 1 Kgs 5:16–20 when Solomon begins the process, he is quoted as referring back to the commission in 2 Samuel 7. 1 Chron 28:2–19 elaborates the story further by asserting that the plan of the temple was actually revealed to David, who passed it on to Solomon.[23]

2. Preparations for the building project, including the drafting of the labor force and acquisition of building materials. Informed of El's permission, Baal summons a caravan for securing the building materials and a craftsman (Kothar) to be in charge of the construction in 1.4 V 35–57. Kothar sends for wood from the Lebanon mountains (1.4 VI 18–21). Similarly, Samsuiluna employs his army and makes the bricks for the reconstruction of the wall of Sippar and the Ebabbar temple (lines 74–78). The inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I describes very briefly the making of bricks for the Anu and Adad temple and ignores the contribution of anyone besides the king in the construction of the temple (all the verbs in the description of the building of the temple in VII 75–114 are in the 1st person sg.). Preparations for the tabernacle appear in Exod 35:20–36:7. Here the narrative describes how the people

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[23] Some scholars (e.g., Kapelrud 1963:59–61) have suggested that the dream report in 1 Kings 3 was originally an account of Yahweh commissioning Solomon to build the temple. Later, they suggest, the commission was replaced with the current account of Yahweh giving Solomon wisdom. This is quite speculative, and assumes that the pattern discerned in narratives like that of Gudea must have been adhered to in the case of the Solomon story. It also assumes that a more complex commissioning narrative than we have in 2 Samuel 7, and 1 Kings 5 cannot be original since there is not an exact parallel in other texts. See Hurowitz 1992:165–66. In fact, however, an indirect commissioning such as we find in 1 Kings 5 is not extremely dissimilar from our passage in column V, where El's permission is passed to Athirat, then to Anat, who informs Baal. Clearly a direct encounter between the commissioner and the one commissioned is unnecessary.

contribute the materials for the sanctuary, and how Moses appoints Bezalel and Oholiab to oversee the project. Solomon's preparations for the Jerusalem temple are described in 1 Kgs 5:20–32. Here the materials are sent by Hiram from the Lebanon mountains, and Solomon places the laborers under the supervision of Adoniram.

3. The edifice is built and described, often in substantial detail. In our passage the description of the palace is rather vague (1.4 VI 22–38). The construction of the Ebabbar temple and its description are also fairly short and vague in Samsuiluna B, lines 82–92. On the other hand, the building narrative of Tiglath-Pileser I refers to numerous details concerning the aspects of the temple renovated by the king (VII 85–114). But none of these second millennium descriptions compare in detail with those found in the Hebrew Bible from the first millennium. 1 Kings 6 gives a remarkable description of Solomon's temple, and Exodus 25–27 and 36–38 provide an even more detailed depiction of the tabernacle.

4. The dedication ceremonies and official entry of the god(s) into the temple. In 1.4 VI–VII, Baal provides a divine feast for the gods (VI 38–59) and later issues his voice (thunder) from his throne in the temple (VII 27–42), indicating that he has taken possession of his palace. In Samsuiluna B (lines 88–92), the gods make their entry into the Ebabbar "amidst joy and rejoicing," i.e., during a dedication ceremony. The inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I does not mention the dedication ceremony, but does refer to the king bringing the gods Anu and Adad (that is, their statues) into the temple and setting them on their thrones. The dedication of the Israelite tabernacle takes place in Exod 40:9–15, followed by the description in Exod 40:34–35 relating the arrival of the Cloud that represents Yahweh's presence in the tabernacle (cf. the account in Leviticus 8–10; Numbers 7). Solomon dedicates his temple with a massive feast in 1 Kgs 8:62–66, and in the description in 8:10–13, the divine cloud enters the temple, marking the arrival of Yahweh's special presence.

The construction materials described in 1.4 V–VII also have a reflex in Mesopotamian literature. Bricks, mentioned in our text in 1.4 IV 61–62 and V 11, are commonly the primary constituent of such a building, and many Mesopotamian accounts refer to them (e.g., Gudea Cylinder A:xix, lines 13–21; Samsuiluna B, lines 77–78;

Tiglath-Pileser I:vii, lines 75–80; 103–4).[24] Several precious materials are additionally listed, including silver, gold, lapis luzuli, as in our passage (1.4 V 15–19, 31–35; VI 35–38). The latter three elements are also found in the description of Gudea's restoration of the Eninnu temple for Ningirsu (Cylinder A:xvi, lines 18–24 and xxiv, lines 15–17; cf. Edzard 1997:79, 84), as well as in that of the Dublalmah temple restored by Amar-Suen as found on three door-socket inscriptions of the latter (Frayne 1997:254, lines 28–29). For a palace of gold and lapis lazuli in Egyptian literature, see the Instructions of Amenemhet iii 1ff. (Lichtheim 1973:137; *ANET* 419). One should also note the Babylonian king, Burna-Buriyash's request to Nibhurrereya (Tutankhamun) for gold for a temple in EA 9:6–18.

In addition to these overall similarities, Hurowitz (1985:28–29) added a number of particularly close parallels between the Baal account and the tabernacle building narrative in Exodus 34–36. Both accounts have the deity give the command concerning the temple to someone who acts as a messenger to inform others of the commission. Thus Anat is given the message to take to Baal (1.4 V 12–35), while Moses is told to inform the people of the command to build the tabernacle (Exod 34:29–35:19). Both accounts also describe the recruitment of a person to be in charge of the construction: Kothar in the Baal Cycle in 1.4 V 41–48), and Bezalel and Oholiab in Exod 35:30–36:2. This element, also found to an extent in the reference to Adoniram as the supervisor of the laborers for the temple in 1 Kgs 5:14, is not a characteristic of the building accounts from Mesopotamia (Hurowitz 1992:102–3). It thus seems to be a feature specific to West Semitic stories. Taken together, all of these elements demonstrate that the building of Baal's palace in 1.4 V–VII adheres to traditional ancient Near Eastern patterns used for building narratives.

Lines 2–19: Athirat's Proclamation of the Palace for Baal

[Line 1 constitutes the conclusion of El's speech to Athirat at the end of the previous column. It is discussed there.]

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[24] For bricks and brick-making, see Excursus II: Brick-Making in Pre-Industrial Cultures, on pp. 623–5 below.

El's permission in 1.4 IV 59–V 1 is met understandably by Athirat's favorable reply. The goal of her trip has been successfully achieved, and she has fulfilled her obligation to Baal that she took upon herself by accepting his gifts. Her speech in lines 3–19 may be treated in three parts: (1) praise of El's wisdom (lines 3–5); (2) the prospect of Baal's rains, thanks to the palace (lines 6–10) and (3) an order for El's decision to be conveyed to Baal (lines 10–19). The first section consists of a tricolon in praise of El's greatness and wisdom. The initial word of the tricolon evokes the god's greatness, as expressed also in the PN, *rb'il* (*PTU* 179) and Amorite *rabi-il*, "El is great" (J. J. M. Roberts 1972:31). With the second verb in the line, *lḥkmt*, Athirat salutes El's wisdom, echoing her earlier acknowledgement of El's sagacity (1.4 IV 41–43a). Superlative wisdom is a mark of divinity, as the statement made to Enkidu in the story of Gilgamesh would suggest: "Thou art [wi]se, Enkidu, art become like a god!" (*ANET* 75; cf. OB version in II:11, in *ANET* 77). Despite differences in context and sentiment, this statement matches Athirat's initial praise of El's wisdom in both semantics and syntax (second masc. sg. verb + vocative + second masc. sg verb).

   In line 4, Athirat adds a further image to express her praise of El's wisdom. She states: "The gray hair of your beard instructs you." The word *dqn*, translated here as "beard" (so most other translators, e.g., *TO* 1.207; Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1161; *MLR* 84: Pardee 1997a:259; Wyatt 1998:101), can also mean "chin" in Ugaritic (Loewenstamm 1974, 1982; Marcus 1977:56–58). However, in this context, "beard" seems much more likely. The clearest occurrence of the word as "chin" is found in 1.6 I 3–4, where as part of her mourning for the dead Baal, Anat cuts her "cheeks and chin," *lḥm wdqn* (Loewenstamm 1974, 1982; Marcus 1977; *DUL* 278, 494. De Moor (*SPUMB* 193) has argued strenuously against this rendering, suggesting that the passage refers to Anat cutting off "side-whiskers and beard." For de Moor, this indicates that Anat was viewed as both a male and female figure. Loewenstamm (1974 and 1982), along with Marcus (1977) showed clearly how unlikely this proposal is. A few scholars (*BOS* 2.132; *Thespis* 185; de Moor 1987: 54; cf. *SPUMB* 112) have related *dqn* to Hebrew *ziqnâ*, or *zĕqunîm*, both meaning, "old age." While Marcus (1977: 56–57) argued against this interpretation, a relationship to *zĕqunîm* is plausible, although "beard" still seems more likely in the context.

   The point of the saying is certainly to recall the widespread equation of age with wisdom. El is portrayed throughout the Ugaritic literature as an elderly patriarchal figure with a beard (cf. 1.3 V 2 and 25). The

famed stela from Ugarit showing a bearded, elderly deity sitting on a throne almost certainly represents El (see *ANEP* #493; the caution expressed in Marcus 1977:58 about identifying the deity with El seems unnecessary). According to Dijkstra (1997:92), *d-ṯb* = **zû šiba(ti)* in the Serabit el-Khadem inscriptions refers to "the Grey(-haired) One," possibly a title of El (identified with Ptah). The idea that wisdom comes with age is a truism questioned by Job (12:12; 32:9). The second passage in Job is arguably pertinent to Athirat's praise here, as they share a number of terms (although with different meanings): "Seniors (*rabbîm*) may not be sage (*yeḥkāmû*), /Nor elders (*zĕqēnîm*) understand aright" (Pope 1973:240). The role of seniors as sages extended to the legal sphere. Juridical documents at Ugarit (e. g., RS 17.86 + 241 +208, in *Ugaritica V*, p. 263; RS 17.235 in *Ugaritica V*, p. 264) append a list of witnesses each called *šibu*, whose base meaning is "old man, elder" (see *CAD Š/2*:390–94, #A, 2), but which commonly is used as a term for "witness" (see *CAD Š/2*:394–99, #A 3, esp. f). Elsewhere "the fathers of Ugarit" ([ami]l*abbî*[M *al*u-ga-ri-it]) are asked to provide a witness in order to help adjudicate a case (e.g., RS 17.424 C + 397B, lines 24–27, in *PRU* IV, 219). The elders' legal role evidently stems from their status as patriarchs of their household units, where they exercised the domestic role of making rulings. Perhaps it is the role of the patriarch issuing rulings in the corresponding unit of the divine family that Athirat is evoking here with her praise of El. Her association of his wisdom with "the gray hair of your beard" (*šbt dqnk*) would have been at home in the society of ancient Ugarit. The verbal root **ysr* (< **wsr*)[25] in biblical wisdom literature denotes divine discipline (for example, Isa 28:26, cited by Albright 1934:123 n. 114; and Prov 3:11), and it fits praise of El's wisdom.

The final line of the tricolon (line 5) poses some significant difficulties. As discussed above, the epigraphic reading of the line is *rḥnn̂t. dx.l'irtk*. The smudged appearance of the second *n* of the first word has led a number of scholars to believe that it is a partially rubbed-out scribal error, corrected by the writing of the following *t*, and that the word should read *rḥnt* (e.g. CAT, p. 18; *TO* 1.207, n. s; Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1161, n. 69; *DUL* 739). The appearance, however, of *rḥnn[* in a

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[25] Cf. *ywsrnn* in 1.16 VI 26 (note *DUL* 943, which compares BH **ysr* and Akkadian *esēru*) and the possibly related form, *ystrn*, in 1.4 VII 48. For the first *w*- root consonant, compare the BH *N*-stem forms in Ps 2:10; Prov 29:19, etc., and the *Nt*-stem form in Ezek 23:48. For discussion of the root in the *G* and *D* stems, see Ginsberg 1946:48.

badly broken context in CAT 7.57.2 suggests the possibility that the
form *rḥnnt* is in fact correct. Nonetheless the word is quite obscure,
with no clearly identifiable cognate elsewhere in the Semitic languages.
Several scholars have suggested that it might be related to Arabic
raḥama, "to be gentle of voice" (*TO* 1.207) or Hebrew *rāḥam*, "to be
compassionate" (e.g., Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1161; de Moor 1987:54;
Wiggins 1993:61; Wyatt 1998:101). However, the proposed phonologi-
cal change of *m > n* before *t* assumed by the citation of Arabic *raḥama*
and Hebrew *rāḥam* appears unwarranted. A number of scholars have
simply decided not to offer a translation at all (e.g., Ginsberg, *ANET*
133; Gaster (*Thespis* 185) and Gordon (1977:95). Other scholars have
also tried to connect the final *t* of *rḥnnt* to the next word. For example,
TO (1.207 n. r) reads *rḥnt td[y] l'irtk* and renders, "Tu [fais sortir] de la
poitrine une voix douce," relating the second word to the Akkadian
verb *nadû*, "to throw, hurl." This is extremely unlikely, as there is word
divider clearly after and not before the *t*. Pope related *rḥnt* to Arabic
*rḫw, "to be soft," and he rendered the line: "Gently (?) the w[hiskers
(?)] on your chest" (Pope in Smith 1998b:656–57). While the render-
ing of the second word must be rejected due to space considerations
on the tablet (he reconstructed *d[qn]*, when there is room for only one
letter), the connection of *rḥnnt* with *rḫw cannot be ruled out. Pardee
(1997a:259–60) assumes the same cognate, but understands it in more
abstract terms (and arguably less befitting the parallelism with the previ-
ous line): "the respite that is yours alone (surely instructs you)." Largely
following Pope's lead, we very tentatively propose a related reading that
takes into account the parallel above, *šbt dqnk*, and propose "the soft
ones whi[ch] (belong) to your chest" (*rḥnnt d ⌜t⌝ l'irtk*). In other words,
the gray hair of El's chin is parallel to the hair of his chest. However,
even this remains problematic, since the etymology of *rḥnnt* remains
uncertain, and the proposed reading of the second word as *d ⌜t⌝* is also
problematic (see Textual Notes above).

   In the next section of her speech (lines 6–9), Athirat shifts her atten-
tion from El to the reason why his decision is such a wise one. In these
two bicola, the goddess asserts that the building of the palace will allow
Baal to fulfill his function in the cosmos, the sending of the life-giving
rains upon the earth. This emphasis on the close connection between
Baal's temple and his functioning as storm god is a central aspect of the
story, first brought up here, but then made the climax of the building
narrative in 1.4 VII 27–37.

The first bicolon (lines 6–7) is demarcated from the previous section as a separate topic, by the double particles, *wn ʾap* (Watson 1994a). Apart from these particles, every word in the first bicolon except *mṭrh* has occasioned substantial debate. Fortunately, *mṭr* indicates that rain is the subject of the bicolon, which is compatible with the "voice" (i.e., "thunder"; cf. Ps 29:3–9), clouds and lightning mentioned in the following bicolon (lines 8–9). Two basic approaches have been taken to the rest of the first bicolon, largely from the interpretation of the attestations of **ʿdn*. Many scholars take *ʿdn* as "time, season," based on Akkadian *adanu/adannu* (*CAD A/1*:97–101), Aramaic *ʿiddānā*, "time" and Arabic *ʿaddana*, "to fix the time of public distribution" (Leslau 56; see *UT* 19.1823; *CML²* 60; *SPUMB* 148; de Moor 1987:54; *CMHE* 149; Loretz 1995c:117–18; Pardee 1997a:260; Wyatt 1998:101). This is a plausible interpretation. The issue of the timing of Baal's rains is, of course, a major theme, and the sending forth of his voice from his completed palace at the climax of the building narrative in column 1.4 VII 27–37 is certainly the fulfillment of the thoughts expressed in this passage.

The second approach was proposed originally in the *editio princeps* of Virolleaud (1932:133, 140; cf. also Gaster 1933:119, n. 1; cf. Albright 1934:124 n. 116). While it was largely ignored for decades, more recently it has reemerged as a genuinely possible interpretation. Here *ʿdn* is related to BH and Aramaic *ʿdn*, "to be abundant, luxuriant," in the *D*-stem "to make abundant," and Arabic *ʿadānat*, "numerous party" (Ginsberg 1946:37; cf. Zadok 1993:320; also ESA **ʿdn*, "well-being," cited in Biella 354). The revival of this interpretation occurred with the publication of the Tell Fekheriyeh inscription. As Greenfield (1984b) immediately grasped, this Akkadian-Aramaic bilingual inscription provides strong support for it. The opening list of titles and common attributes of Hadad (a cognomen of Baal in the Ugaritic texts) includes the epithet *mutaḫḫidu kibrati*, the one "who makes the whole world luxuriant," in the Akkadian text (line 7), which is paralleled in the Aramaic (also line 7) by *mʿdn mt kln*, "the one who makes all lands luxuriant" (Greenfield and Schaeffer 1983:112–13). The word appears here very clearly in the context of Hadad's watering of the world, which makes the world "abundant, luxuriant." With the close contextual relationship between this passage and ours in 1.4 V, it seems quite plausible to argue in favor of understanding the latter in a similar way. In addition, this interpretation of the verb also works quite plausibly in 1.14 II 32–33,

as noted by Ginsberg (1946:37). In the latter, the root appears as an imperative, *ʿdn ngb wyṣ'i*, "Make abundant the supply and go forth." A similar meaning in BH is clear in Ps 36:9, and it probably is the meaning of the name Eden in Genesis 2 (cf. Greenfield 1984b: 224; Millard 1984, *BDB* 727). The root occurs in the Amorite onomasticon (Huffmon 1965:191; Zadok 1993:320). A BH Yahwistic name with the *ʿdn* element, Yĕhôʿaddan, is also attested in 2 Kgs 14:2 (Qere) and 2 Chr 25:1 (cf. Ezra 10:30), and one of the Wadi ed-Dâliyeh papyri contains the PN *'byʿdn*, probably meaning, "My father has given abundance" (cf. Aufrecht and Shury 1997:63). An early ninth century seal, probably Aramaic, contains the name *bʿlʿdn*, "Baal has given abundance" (Aufrecht and Shury 1997:60, 62–63). On the whole, the second interpretation seems more likely, and we have used it in our translation, but it should be noted that the first interpretation is also quite plausible.

The division of the lines of this bicolon has also been a matter of substantial disagreement. The primary issue is whether *bʿl* and *yʿdn* belong to the first or second line. The most common arrangement has been to put both words in the first line (e.g., Aistleitner 41; *TO* 1.207; Coogan 1978:101; Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1161; Gordon 1977:95; *LC²* 49; Wyatt 1998:101). This, of course, creates a substantial discontinuity between the lengths of the two lines, and while such unbalanced lines are attested, they are relatively rare. *TO* (1.207) and Wyatt (1998:101) have proposed a solution to the imbalance by suggesting that the opening words, *wn 'ap*, are extracolonic, so that the first line of the bicolon ends up as, *ʿdn mṭrh bʿl/yʿdn*. This, too, cannot be ruled out entirely, since such extracolonic elements seem to be attested elsewhere. De Moor (1987:54) and Wiggins (1993:61) place *bʿl yʿdn* in the second colon, but in so doing create the problem of a short first line and long second one. We have followed Cross (*CMHE* 148) and Olmo Lete (*MLC* 202) in taking the name *bʿl* with the first line and the verb *yʿdn* with the second line. We understand the first occurrence of *ʿdn* to be a precative perfect verb, with Baal as subject. The precative is paralleled then in the second line with the **yqtl* form of the same verb (on the use of **qtl// *yqtl* forms of the same verb in bicola, see Held 1962; note also the discussion in *UBC* 1.51–53). While the former proposals cannot be dismissed, the latter seems preferable and provides a considerably better scansion of the bicolon.

At least four interpretations have been offered for *ṯkt* in line 7. First, some render the word as "ship" or "barque" (de Moor 1987:54; *SPUMB* 150–51; *CML²* 60–61; Gordon 1977:95; Tuell 1993:101–02; for a depic-

tion of Syrians on a ship, see *ANEP* #111). Proponents promote the notion that Baal has, metaphorically speaking, a boat in the clouds; from there he dispenses his precipitation. The rendering has etymological support, but Loretz (1996:170) rightly criticizes the interpretation on the basis of the parallelism and questions its suitability in this context. Second, there is a proposal is to emend the *k* of *ṯkt* to an *r* (the two letters are closely related in form), thus producing **ṯrt*, a fem. sg, noun from **ṯry*, "to water" (cf. Arabic **ṯry*, "to be moist, well-watered" and *ṯaran*, "moist earth, ground";[26] ESA *ṯry*, "surplus" (?); see Lane 335–36; Wehr 103; Biella 549–50; *DUL* 904, 933). This view is the most popular among commentators (e.g., *CML*[1] 97, 151; Løkkegaard 1955:21 n. 10; *CMHE* 148–49; *TO* 1.207 n. t; *MLC* 202; *UBC* 1.53; Pardee 1997a:260 n. 159), for understandable reasons. The semantics of such a noun, meaning "water, gushing," or the like, admirably suit the context here. Moreover, the root **ṯry* appears in 1.101.7–8 in parallelism with *bglṯ*, the word that follows *ṯkt* in line 7. In 1.101, which is unfortunately somewhat broken and uncertain of translation, we find the following in a description of Baal:

> *r'iš bglṯ bšm[m]*   "His head (is?) in the torrent from/in the heav[ens],
> *['m (?)] 'il ṯr 'iṯ*   [with (?)] the god is (?) the watering.

It is the combination of **ṯry* and *glṯ* (see the discussion of the latter directly below) predicated of the storm-god in 1.101.7–8 that particularly militates in favor of the emendation in our passage. A third interpretation was proposed by Maier (1986:21), who avoids emendation by understanding *ṯkt* as related to Akkadian *šikkatum*, "harrowed land," and views it as referring to the dry land that is to receive Baal's rains. But this etymology is impossible, given the Arabic cognate *sikkatun*, "ploughshare" (Lane 1387). Fourth and finally, Loretz (1996), followed by Wyatt (1998:101) and Wiggins (2000:583), interpret *ṯkt* as a term for a chariot, as found in CAT 4.81 and 4.366, and possibly cognate with Hurrian/Akkadian *šukitu* attested at Nuzi (for references, see Loretz 1996:171, also equated with Amarna *šuḫītu* in EA 34:21). This interpretation suggests the picture of Baal's storm chariot. However, there is some question about the meaning of Akkadian *šukitu*. Some scholars define it as "spear" rather than "wagon" (Negri Scafa 1995:54; see also *CAD Š/3*:218; cf. *AHw* 1263; see Loretz 1996:171 n. 32). In short, this

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[26] Cf. Akkadian *šer'u*, "furrow, cultivated field" (*CAD Š/2*:327).

proposed etymology remains problematic. Overall, the emendation to *ṯrt* appears preferable, thanks to the root's use with *glṯ* elsewhere in Ugaritic; no other proposal enjoys greater contextual support.

The last word of line 7, *glṯ*, has also been the topic of much discussion. It appears elsewhere in Ugaritic in close relationships to water and to Baal. In 1.92.5, a verbal form is used to describe the watery abyss, *wtglṯ thmt*. There is little doubt there that the word describes the movement of the water. Greenfield (1969b:99 n. 36) rendered 1.92.5: "The abyss was roiled." Pope (1977b:459–60) proposed that the word might have the sense "to surge, to stream." It also appears as a noun in CAT 1.101.7–8 as part of a meteorological interpretation of Baal's body, as described above (cf. Irwin 1983:56; Pope and Tigay 1971:129; Pardee 1988a:125, 145–47). One may also note the biblical attestation of the root **glṯ* (BH **glš*) in Song of Songs 4:1 = 6:5, where the poet compares his beloved's hair to "a flock of goats that stream down (*gālěšû*) from Mount Gilead (Ginsberg 1974:9). Greenfield (1969b:99 n. 36; cf. Tuell 1993:100) also notes MH **glš* in the meaning, "to boil, seethe," in reference to water (bT. Pes. 37b as well as Palestinian Aramaic, cited in Jastrow 251). Perhaps more pertinent is the use of this word for water boiling over from a pot in Palestinian Aramaic (Kohelet Rabbah 19d, Pes. 31a; Sokoloff 1990:131). What appears common to the biblical usage and the Palestinian Aramaic cases is water overflowing or streaming from its source. Tuell (1993) argued for a somewhat different aspect of water movement. He proposed that the root **glṯ* has to do with waves, rather than a sense of streaming or flowing down. Thus he renders our passage, "the season of the ship (*ṯkt*) on the wave." Such a translation, however, seems to have little relationship to the previous parallel word (*mṭrh*) in line 6. It seems more likely that a noun related to the sense of water streaming or flowing down is the closer parallel. Thus we would render *glṯ* as "torrent, downpour" (cf. Pardee 1997a:260, "driving showers"). This also seems superior to another common interpretation of the noun, which is to relate it to *ṯlg*, BH *šeleg*, "snow," assuming it is a metathesis of the latter (so *SPUMB* 181 n. 105; *CMHE* 149; *CML*[1] 97; *CML*[2] 60; DUL 299; cf. Hoch 1994:264–65). But there is nothing in the context here or in the other attestations of the root to suggest a connection with snow or cold. This is particularly clear in its occurrence in 1.92.5, where it describes *thmt*.

In the next bicolon (lines 8–9), Athirat picks up the imagery of the thunderstorm, Baal's signature means for bringing the rain. The meta-

phor of Baal's voice for the thunder is a common one, and the expression *ytn ql* in this context is well attested also. It appears again in 1.4 VII 29 in the description of Baal's triumphant theophany that climaxes in the completion of the palace. The voice of a god as thunder also appears in several biblical passages (e.g., Pss 18:14; 29:3–9). It is to be expected that Baal expresses his "voice" in the clouds, since his standard epithets include *rkb 'rpt*, "Cloud-rider." Line 9 poses no grave difficulties. The word *brqm* is common for "lightning" (*UT* 19.524; Akkadian *birqu*, Arabic *barq*, "flash of lightning;" ESA *brq*, "lightning storm," in Biella 58), with other cognates meaning "flashing" (Akkadian *barāqu*; BH *bārāq*) and "sparkling" (Aramaic *brq*, Eth *baraqa*; cf. the loan-word into Egyptian for "sparkling" eyes or water, discussed in Hoch 1994:101–2). In contrast, the word *šrh*, is relatively rare. Ginsberg (1943:109–10 n. 1), followed by Pope (MHP) and Greenfield (1984b:221–22), detected it, however, in Job 37:3, within a passage (verses 2–6) that focuses on Yahweh's thunder (*qôl*):

> Hearken to the thunder of his voice (*rōgez qôlô*),
> And the rumbling that comes from his mouth.
> Under the whole heaven he lets it go (*yišrēhû*)
> And his lightning (*'ôrô*) to the corners of the earth.
> After it his voice (*qôlô*) roars,
> He thunders with His majestic voice,
> And he does not restrain them when His voice is heard.
> God thunders wondrously with His voice;
> He does great things that we cannot comprehend.
> For to the snow he says, "Fall on the earth";
> And to the shower (*gešem māṭār*) and the rain (*gešem miṭrôt*),
>   "Be strong."

This passage is another example of *ql*, "voice," used for thunder, and it illustrates the sense of Ugaritic **šrh*, "to release (lightning)." In turn, Ugaritic *šrh* would suggest, as Ginsberg noted, that what the MT treats as an *-h* suffix on *yišrēhû* is actually the third radical of the BH root.

Baal's capacity as a provider of water is the hope of humanity. Baal's rain is proverbial for its fructifying effects on the earth (1.16 III 7–8; see above pp. 14–16):

> Sweet (*n'm*) to the earth is the rain of Baal,
> And to the field, the rain of 'Aliy.

To lose Baal's help is to lose his rains, as the curse from 1.19 I 42–46 illustrates (see *ANET* 153; Held 1974:108 n. 8; Schwemer 2001:542):

> For seven years may Baal curse you,
> Eight the Cloudrider:
> No dew, no rain,
> No upsurging of the double-deeps,
> No sweetness (*nʿm*) of Baal's voice.

This passage emphasizes the vital relationship between the construction of Baal's palace and the manifestation of his rains mentioned above (in addition to other scholars cited above, see also Bronner 1968:72–73; Neiman 1969:246–49). This is the first time in the Baal Cycle (insofar as it is preserved) that Baal's role in bringing the rains explicitly appears, and while, up to this point in the narrative, the issue of political status has played the primary role in the story of the palace, it is clear from this passage and the following account of the palace's construction that the function of Baal as provider of fertility is a related central concern of the narrative of CAT 1.3 and 1.4. The poet never attempts to explain the link between the temple and the sending forth of the rain, but assumes that the audience understands it.

The close relation between the earthly temple/heavenly palace of a god and fertility on earth is also found in Mesopotamia. In the Gudea Cylinder A xi, lines 1–27, the god Ningirsu promises Gudea that in every step of building the Eninnu temple in Lagash, the god will provide an abundance of fertility for the land (Edzard 1997:75–76; cf. Hurowitz 1984:322–23):

> When you, O true shepherd Gudea, will effectively start (to build) my House for me, the foremost house of all lands, the right arm of Lagash, the Thunderbird roaring over the whole sky, my kingly Eninnu, then I will call up to Heaven for a humid wind so that surely abundance will come to you from above and the land will immediately (or: under your reign) gain in abundance (lines 1–9).

Generally in the ancient Near Eastern world, it was assumed that a parallelism existed between the heavenly palace of the storm-god and his earthly temple. In part, this relationship is expressed by the vocabulary that they share; house (*bt*) and palace (*hkl*) apply to both cosmic palace and terrestrial temple. The earthly temple provides the location to express cultic devotion to the storm-god, while the heavens remain a source of divine blessing. Expanding this notion, the picture of the heavenly palace, especially with its window in the palace, provides a conceptual mediating point between human dedication to the deity and the deity's response of blessing to the world. The heavenly palace,

and especially its window, serves as the place from which the storm-god is conceived as manifesting his power in lightning and thunder as well as his blessing in the rains (for a comparable association, see 2 Kgs 7:2, 19). The connection between the heavenly palace and the divine blessing of rain also underlies the Israelite understanding of the heavenly palace and earthly temple. In 1 Kgs 8:35–36 Solomon prays for a divine blessing of rain when anyone properly prays for forgiveness in the direction of the temple. Mal 3:10 correlates the exchange of divinely given rains from the heavenly window and the humanly provided tithe to the temple (cf. also the blessing in Deut 28:12). The rains are also experienced in the context of the temple, as the easterly procession of Yahweh's storm in Psalm 29 dramatizes. The storm issues in the community's recognition of Yahweh's theophany, indicated by *kābôd* (usually rendered "glory" but better understood as the divine "effulgence"). This survey of sources indicates the widespread belief in the underlying fundamental association between the divine provision of the rain and the presence of the storm-god in his palace.

Interestingly, while it is obvious that the rain is the means of bringing fertility to the earth, the account of Baal's actions at the completion of the palace with its window emphasizes not so much the rain, but rather his power as manifest in his thunder. This is where the two themes of the narrative (Baal's status as king and his function as bringer of fertility) come together. The thunder and lightning are indicative of the coming rain, but they themselves particularly emphasize the god's power and glory. Thus when Baal sends forth his voice in the thunder, he affirms his kingly status while announcing the coming of fertility to the world. The relationship between thunder and lightning and the royal status of the deity can be seen very explicitly also in Psalm 29.

In lines 10–19 Athirat directly addresses the matter of the palace, in announcing, presumably to Anat (since the latter reacts to the announcement directly afterward in lines 20–21), that Baal should be informed of El's positive decision. She prefaces her proclamation with a bicolon (lines 10–11) that is usually rendered as a pair of statements that Baal may build "a house of cedars"//"a house of brick" (e.g., Aisleitner 41; *TO* 1.208; Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1161; Maier 1986:21; de Moor 1987:55; Pardee 1997a:260; Wyatt 1998:102). But the syntax of the lines, in particular the presence of *hm* at the beginning of the second line, strongly suggests that the bicolon is a pair of questions rather than statements. This type of double question, recognized by Held

(1962:71–73), has already been discussed in the Commentary to 1.4 IV 33–34 and 59–62 (see also 1.14 I 41–43). The nominal phrases for the palace stand at the beginning of each line, and therefore the translation should reflect this fronting (with resumptive pronouns on the verbal forms). Thus we have rendered the bicolon: "Is it a house of cedar that he would complete//Or a house of bricks that he would construct?" The answer to the rhetorical questions is clearly affirmative, as Athirat now instructs that Baal should be informed of El's decision. It is possible, however, that there is more to these questions. There may be a tinge of irony here, somewhat as we have seen in the use of questions in the previous episodes of Athirat's conversation with Baal and Anat in III 28–32 and El's question to Athirat in IV 59–62 (see the discussions above, pp. 481 and 523–6). One may note that Athirat's instructions in lines 13–19 conclude with the command to build the palace of silver and gold/lapis lazuli (lines 18–19). It may be that the two questions in lines 10–11 are meant to say, "Is it just a house of cedar that he would complete,//or only a house of brick that he would construct? Instead, he should build a house of silver and gold, a house of purest lapis lazuli!" The lines may thus be intended to emphasize the expansive scale of El's permission. Athirat may be instructing Baal possibly to "think big" about his palace. This may also be Athirat's way of emphasizing the extent of her success in her mission to El. Not only has she fulfilled her obligation to Baal; she has perhaps exceeded it through the unlimited scope of the permission that she has received from El. Thus his palace may be greater than those of Athirat's children, not simply like theirs, as his request had been.

This context is the first to mention *'arzm*, usually rendered "cedars." A cautionary note regarding the meaning of this word needs to be sounded. It is usually thought to have been cedar, and the translations reflect this understanding. However, de Moor (*SPUMB* 167) maintains that elsewhere the word refers to a species of fir and is not cedar (note also *DUL* 113). In contrast, Moorey (1994:349–50) concludes that cedar remains a defensible understanding of the term. Yet, as the cautionary discussion of Nibbi (1996) indicates, firm conclusions cannot be expected in the precise identification of species. Still, Liphshitz and Biger (1991:169) point out the large amount of cedar recovered from the excavation of the Middle Bronze palace and the Late Bronze temple at Lachish, indicating its popularity in such constructions. This fact and the note in 1.4 VI 18–21 that the *'arz* for Baal's palace comes

from the region of the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon ranges would support the traditional translation.[27]

In lines 12–19, Athirat conveys the announcement in three parts. First, line 12 provides the command to have the following message relayed to Baal: "Let it be told (*lyrgm*) to Mightiest Baal." This is a standard formula for announcing a message by using the *G*-passive stem (Sivan 1997:126). The root **rgm* for an announcement is used similarly in the divine birth-announcement in 1.23.52: "Word (*rgm*) to El is brought, [two] wo[men] of El have borne" (cf. 1.10 III 32–36 for a different introduction to a birth announcement). The same text (in line 12) uses **rgm* in the passive voice to give directions for ritual recitation. Athirat's use of **rgm* may be compared also to the active verbal use of this root at the beginning of messages from one party to another. In these contexts, the verb is used in the imperative to instruct the messenger to give the message to the appropriate person: "To PN say (*rgm*)" (e.g., CAT 2.4.1–2; 2.10.2–3; 2.11.1–2; 2.12.1–3).

This is followed by Athirat's instructions to Baal for building the palace He is first to gather the materials for the construction (lines 13–17), and then to actually build it (line 18–19). The first step in the process is to call a caravan (*ḥrn*) "into your house" (*bbht(!)k*). The house referred to here may either be Baal's dwelling on Mt. Sapan, in which he has lived (cf. 1.3 I and IV 37–46; cf. Ginsberg *ANET* 133 n. 23), but which is inadequate for his current position, or it could be a reference to the building site for the new palace. The term used for "supplies," *ʿdbt*, is also found several times (as **ʿizbônîm*) in Ezek 27:12–33, where it designates ship cargo.[28] In the Baal Cycle, at least some of the cargo for Baal's house is to move from Lebanon and Sirion (see 1.4 VI 18–21).

Lines 15–17 focus not on the cedar and bricks of lines 10–11, but rather on precious metals from the mountains. They are listed in

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[27] Cf. the issue in interpreting the name of the site in Lebanon in OB Gilgamesh II–V often called the "Cedar Mountain." The issue is whether Akkadian *erēnu* means "cedar," or "pine" or whether it represents a broader category of tree; see Dalley 1991:126–27 n. 20.

[28] *TO* 1.208 n. y; *Baal* 122–24; *MLC* 559; Pope in Smith 1998b:657; cf. *DUL* 152–53. For a full discussion, see Dietrich and Loretz 2002a:95–101. The word is regarded as cognate with Ugaritic **ʿdb* and BH *ʿzb*, "to prepare," by *UT* 19.1818; Dietrich, Loretz and Sanmartín 1973:94–95; see also ESA **ʿdb*, "to repair" in Biella 354. The forms of **ʿdb* appear to belong to the same root; for examples, see the verb and cognate accusative used for Baal's preparations for his feast in 1.4 VI 39 (with discussion below on p. 626); and the verbal form *ʿdbt* in 1.100.71 (Pardee 1988a:219).

parallel form in this tricolon as "much silver" (*m'id ksp*)//"choice(st) gold" (*mḥmd ḫrṣ*)//"finest ore" (*'udr 'ilqṣm*). As mentioned above (p. 553), such items are commonly cited as important elements for building a temple. Both words of the last item in the tricolon pose interpretive difficulties. The term *'udr* has been interpreted in four primary ways. Several have related it to Akkadian *udru*, "camel" (*TO* 1.208; *BOS* 2.132; Coogan 1978:101; Maier 1986:21–22). A second proposal has been to connect it to the root, **ndr*, and to render the word, "slope" (de Moor and Spronk 1982:159 n. 55; de Moor 1987:55). Watson proposed a third interpretation (1999b:39), taking the word from a root **dry*, "to cut," and translating it as "quarry" (Gordon 1977:95 renders the word this way also, but does not discuss the etymology; *UT* 19.94; cf. also Wyatt 1998:103). All three of these proposals assume that *'udr* should be understood as a parallel to *ǵrm* and *gbʿm*, "mountains" and "hills," in the first two lines as a source of the precious materials used to build the palace. The fourth interpretation is quite different. Here the word is related to **'dr*, "noble, great, glorious," and is seen as the first member of a construct chain with *'ilqṣm*, literally "the noble of nuggets," i.e., "the finest of nuggets" (cf. Albright 1934:125; Dietrich and Loretz 1998:1161; *CML*[1] 97; *MLC* 203; *MLR* 84; Pardee 1997a:260). The latter interpretation seems the most likely. The parallel lines also use two-word construct expressions, *m'id ksp* and *mḥmd ḫrṣ*, to denote the metals: the first word expresses quality and the second identifies the actual metal. Given that the Ugaritic root **'dr* denotes quality elsewhere, in this context it would be suitable in the parallelism if each of the two-word expressions in the three lines were to characterize the high quality of metal ore. In view of the noun's *'u*-aleph, it may be that vowel harmony has affected its form, assuming it is to be vocalized **'uddur-*; as noted above, it is possible that the form is instead **qutl*.

The final word on the line, *'ilqṣm*, appears in Ugaritic only here and in line 40. Its meaning remains uncertain. Most translators have used a term like "gems, precious stones" (e.g., *TO* 1.208; Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1161; *CML*[2] 61; Pardee 1997a:260), but, as Caquot and Sznycer note (*TO* 1.208 n. a), the rendering is conjectural, based on the context. Sanmartín (1978b:351) proposes relating *'ilqṣm* to "common Semitic" **lqṭ* (e.g., Akkadian **laqāṭu*, "pick up, gather, collect") and translates it as "Auserlesenste," i.e., "the most exquisite things." De Moor and Spronk (1982:159 n. 56) prefer to compare a different word from the same root, Arabic *laqaṭ*, "a piece of gold and silver found in mines" (Lane 2670). In a tricolon like this one, we would expect the

parallel on the third line to be closely related to the corresponding words on the first two lines. Often in Ugaritic poetry, the second or third line provides specification of a parallel term that appears in the first line. If this guideline is applicable in this context, the more specific meaning afforded by the interpretation of de Moor and Spronk would appear preferable to Sanmartín's interpretation. The semantics of their suggestion also suit the context, allowing a plausible translation of "nuggets, ore." At the same time, it is to be noted that the irregular correspondence of the consonants between ʾilqṣm and Arabic *laqaṭ is problematic, which makes the proposed etymology uncertain. However, such a variation may not be unexpected with names of metals, which are sometimes loan-forms (see Albright 1934:124 n. 122; Dijkstra and de Moor 1975:208, esp. n. 305).

The metals listed in the tricolon of lines 15–17 are said to derive from the mountains. The wealth of the mountains is a traditional literary image with a long history in Mesopotamia (Waldman 1981:180; see J. P. Brown 1969a:176–80; Moorey 1994:350–51). Gudea of Lagash reports how he obtained gold, silver, carnelian and alabaster from various mountainous regions (Cylinder A: xvi, lines 18–24; see Edzard 1997:79). In his prism inscription (viii 11–16), Tiglath-Pileser I describes his transport of obsidian, ḫaltu-stone, and haematite from the mountains of Nairi (Grayson 1991:29). *Lugale-e* II:28 (van Dijk 1983; *CAD B*:229) refers to the mountain region as a supplier of silver and gold: "may it (the mountain region) bring you its yield, silver and gold, in great amounts." Another bilingual (*CAD B*:229) reads: "may the produce-bearing mountain region bring you its gold." The close connection between mountains and various riches is also found in a prayer from Emar (775, with a Sumerian duplicate at Ras Shamra), which includes the following blessings invoked upon the monarch:

> May a rich rain rain on you from the heavens,
> May a plant of joy grow for you.
> *May the mountain bring you its tribute*,
> May the waves carry to you their produce.
> May year after year, month after month, day after day, entrust life to you.[29]

The kind of wealth referred to in our passage was not foreign from the earthly palace of the kings of Ugarit. EA 126:4–6 mentions that fine

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[29] So Arnaud (with our italics). See also Sigrist 1993:407.

boxwood was exported from the mountainous environs of Ugarit. In EA 89:48–51, Rib-Adda of Byblos describes the magnificence of the palace of the ruler of Tyre by comparing it to the palace in Ugarit: "It is like the palace of Ugarit. Exceedingly great is the wealth in it." And there is little doubt that the same lavishness was poured upon the temple of Baal in the city.

Athirat's instructions end (lines 18–19) with the imperative: "Build the house of silver and gold"//"the house of purest lapis lazuli." As mentioned above, these lines may be intended to contrast with lines 10–11. Rather than merely having permission to build a house of cedar and brick, Baal may build a superlative palace of silver, gold and lapis. In fact, the description of the final phase of the construction in column 1.4 VII 22–38 describes the house being heated as if in a furnace for seven days, until the silver and gold form the outline of the palace. Baal's final word in lines 36–38 is, "My house I have built of silver,//my palace of gold." This calls to mind the lavishness of the use of gold and silver in the gifts that Kothar makes for Athirat in 1.4 I 25–37. It is possible that audience of this poem would recognize in Athirat's reference to the precious metals a further reciprocation to Baal for his gifts to her. As mentioned in the Commentary on column I (see pp. 407–8), court etiquette would expect Athirat to return an appropriate gift to Baal. While her primary gift was her intercession with El, it may also be that here she herself is suggesting an additional gift of silver and gold to Baal as well. To respond to a gift by giving a bigger one honors both the one who receives and the donor (Liverani 1990:220–23).

The word that Athirat uses for "house, *bht*, is actually a plural form, but clearly used as a singular. Previously in the text, in Baal's oft-repeated lament and in El's permission speech (1.4 IV 62–V 1), the singular form, *bt*, is used. But following Athirat's use of *bht* here, the latter is regularly employed when the palace is mentioned (cf. 1.4 V 33–35; 50–55; 61–62; VI 4–9; 16–17; 22–33; 36–40; VII 17–19; 25–27; 42). Perhaps this is done to emphasize the magnificence of the temple/palace. 1 Chron 28:11 refers to the Solomonic temple as having "houses," *bāttîm*, alongside other components. Also comparable in usage is *miškěnôt* for the Israelite temple (Pss 43:3; cf. 46:5) and shrine (Ps 132:5, 7; see Virolleaud 1932:117 n. 2; *CMHE* 97 n. 24, 116 n. 16; *UBC* 1.235). ESA appears to have a similar usage of the plural with *'byt* used to refer to a shrine (so *UT* 19.463; see *CS* 71 n. 85).

Besides the reference to silver and gold in this bicolon, we find mention in line 19 of *ṯhrm 'iqn'im*, "purest lapis lazuli." The three items appear as elements of the dowry that the god Yarikh pays for Nikkal in 1.24.19–22. In that passage *'iqn'im* is qualified by *zhrm*, an allomorph of *ṯhrm* in our bicolon. The word *'iqn'im* is well known as the term for lapis lazuli (Blau 1972:74–77), cognate with Akkadian *uqnu*, itself attested in Ras Shamra texts and elsewhere (*AHw* 1426; RS 17.383 and 422 in *PRU* IV 221–25; *DUL* 93; for the phonology of the initial vowel see Sivan 1997:44, 73), and with Phoenician *'qn'* (see Cross 1979:44 for the question of the precise sense involved). The word does not conform to a generative Semitic root-pattern and is likely a loanword or *Kulturwort* into second millennium Semitic languages (see the proposed cognates in Hittite, Linear B and Greek listed in *DUL* 93). Lapis lazuli was not indigenous to the ancient Near East (another reason to assume a loanword here); it was imported from Badakhshan in Afghanistan (Herrmann 1968; Majidzadeh 1982; Ohshiro 2000; Akkermans and Schwartz 2003:239–40, 270–71). An administrative quarter of Palace G of Early Bronze Ebla yielded both worked pieces and unworked chunks of lapis (Pinnock 1988). The word *ṯhrm* has been generally understood as "pure" (see Virolleaud 1932:142; Huehnergard 1987b:58; for the vocalization **ṭuhūrūma*, see Sivan 1997:45, 69); Akkadian *uqnû ebbu* for "pure lapis" appears to be related to *ṯhrm 'iqn'im* (Blau 1972:74–77; Ginsberg 1946:39; for the syntax of the adjective preceding the noun, see Sivan 1997:207–8). Pardee (1977:13) has suggested that *ṯhrm* may also have the further nuance of "genuine" lapis lazuli. In Ugaritic records, fake lapis was known to be a problem. King Ammishtamru once sent fake lapis to his Hittite overlord, Tudhalias IV who was understandably angry (CAT 3.1.23, 28, 32; RS 17.383 and RS 17.422, in *PRU* IV, 221–25; see Rainey 1965:111; Lackenbacher 2002:90–92). EA 11 (rev.):24–34 likewise qualifies the lapis sent by Burna-Buriyash to Naphururea (Amenophis IV) as "genuine" (Moran 1992:22 and 23 n. 21; cf. "schönem" in Knudtzon 1915:1.99). An ivory figurine from Ugarit used lapis for the inlays: "curls of lapis lazuli, silver locks of hair and eyes of copper and lapis" (Gachet 1992:71). Lapis was a major luxury item in the international trade relations among the great kings of the Amarna Age, and thus, here in the Baal Cycle, it also represents a mark of wealth.

Some hint as to how the lapis might have been envisioned as a building material for Baal's house may be found in Exod 24:10. In this scene,

at the climax of the story of Israel's making its covenant with Yahweh, the elders of Israel are invited to ascend the holy mountain to share a meal with God: "And they saw the god of Israel, and beneath His feet was like brickwork (*libnat*) of *sappîr* (lapis lazuli or sapphire) and it was like the very heavens in its purity (*lĕṭōhar*)." This description of the floor of Yahweh's heavenly palace (or possibly his footstool, as suggested by K. L. Roberts 2000:638–39) as being paved with *sappîr*, which may be another term for lapis (see *BDB* 705; *HALOT* 764), is quite possibly a parallel to how Baal's palace was envisioned. In Mesopotamia bricks were glazed with the color of lapis for use in pavements (see *CAD A/1*:162b #1e). One would expect the god's palace to have the real thing. The color of lapis would also conjure up the picture of a blue sky (see *BOS* 2.132; Brenner 1982:168), which is, of course, the primary locale of Baal's realm. The Hebrew word for pure, *ṭāhôr*, when used in the context of precious stones, sometimes refers not only to the purity of their quality, but also to their brightness and luminosity (van der Toorn 1985:28–29; cf. Smith 1985:321–23; note the comparable range for Akkadian *ebbu* discussed in Wilson 1994:80–82).

Lines 20–35: Anat's Delivery of the News to Baal

It is Anat who will travel to Mt. Ṣapan to give Baal the news. She has not been mentioned in the text since 1.4 IV 18, where the poet indicates that she joined Athirat on her journey to see El. Because she plays no role in the scene with Athirat and El in column IV, it is not surprising that she goes unmentioned. There are few indications in the text to determine where she might have been during the meeting between El and Athirat. However, some observations can be made. It may be that the poet envisioned Anat as waiting in a different room from that in which El entertains his wife. There is certainly no hint in the text that any other deities are present during the scene. Only Athirat is described as bowing down before El upon arrival (IV 25–26). And she is the only one who is offered a meal in El's presence (33–38). In addition, Anat is portrayed as reacting not to El's announcement of permission, but rather to Athirat's, which suggests that she did not hear the original announcement. On the other hand, one should note that Ugaritic narrative rarely includes descriptions of persons not directly involved in the action of a scene, even though there are often cases where one must assume that other characters are present (e.g., Baal's victory feast in 1.3

I, where there may have been other deities present besides the servant
and Baal's women, the only ones mentioned here). So it is possible
that Anat was nearby in the scene. Indeed, if Pope (1971) is correct in
identifying the scene painted on a mug from Ugarit as a depiction of
the scene in 1.4 IV, then it would suggest that Anat listened into the
conversation disguised as a bird. If correct, this feature remains in the
background of the scene here, as the text does not indicate this feature.
In sum, the context of this scene provides no information as whether
any other deities were in the room with Athirat and El.

Anat is described in line 20 as rejoicing (*šmḫ*), an appropriate emotion
in view of the long and complex maneuvers that have finally reached
fruition. The identical emotion will be ascribed to Baal as well in lines
35–36. One might remember that Anat uses this verb in the context
of the construction of a palace in her conversation with El in 1.3 V
19–21, where she says threateningly: "In the building of your house
do not rejoice (*ʾal tšmḫ*)//Do not rejoice (*ʾal tšmḫ*) in the construction of
your palace!" Immediately the goddess sets out for Mount Sapan (lines
20b-24). Lines 22–24 contain standard formulas for travel (see 1.1 III
21–22; *UBC* 1.167–68, 184). Only the language of lines 20b–21a is
particular to Anat. This planting of her feet issuing (perhaps implicitly)
in her shooting upward from the earth, is the same language used in
1.3 V 4–5 (see the Commentary on pp. 335–7). The poet omits any
description of her arrival before Baal and immediately has Anat address
the god with the good news (lines 25–35a). The two-line introduction
(lines 25–26a) conveys the joyful character of her speech.

Anat's speech in lines 26b–35a differs from Athirat's message of lines
12–19 in three ways. The first is Anat's announcement of glad tidings
in lines 26b–27a, which expands Athirat's less affective speech-opening
words back in line 12: *lyrgm lʾal'iyn bʿl*. The preface of glad tidings is
stressed by its double use of **bšr* in lines 26b–27a (for *tbšr* as *tD*-stem
imperative, either **tabaššar* or **tabaššir*, see Sivan 1997:138). The same
root appears in another announcement that Anat makes to Baal in
1.10 III 33–38:

> Aloud to Baal she cries:
> "Of the great (*ʾil*) news (*bšrt*) be informed (*bš[r]*), [O Ba]al,
> Indeed, receive the news (*bšr*), O Progeny of Dagan:
> 'For a bull to Baal [is bo]rn,
> A buffalo to the Cloudrider'."
> Mighty Baal rejoices (*šmḫ*).

In both passages Anat brings the news to Baal prefaced with the procla-
mation of glad tidings and then communicates the content of the news.
These passages illustrate both the particular use of *bšr for good news
(in the passive voice) in the context of the delivery of a message, as well
as the reasonable reaction of joy by Baal (1.4 V 35b–36a and 1.10 III
37). The root appears a number of times in BH as *bśr for good news
(McCarthy 1964). In Isa 40:9–10 God instructs Zion "who brings glad
tidings" (měbaśśeret ṣiyyôn) to ascend a high mountain to proclaim the
message of joy (cf. Isa 41:27; 52:7; 61:1). The proclamation of good
news is a conventional role of messengers (cf. Luke 2:10–11). It is mod-
eled on the role of human messengers, as illustrated by many Lachish
letters (šlm, "peace," in KAI 192:1–2, 193:2–3, 197:2; ṭb, "good," in
KAI 194:1–2; both šlm wṭb in 195:2 if correctly read): "May Yahweh
cause my lord to hear tidings of peace/good" (ANET 322). Yet this role
not uncommonly falls to women, as it does to both the goddess Anat
and Jerusalem, who in Isa 40:9–10 is personified as a woman. Indeed,
Ps 68:12 refers to a great company of women who bring glad tidings
(měbaśśěrôt) of victory in battle. It is this role as messenger and not only
as sister that may explain the place of Anat in 1.10 III and 1.11.

The second difference between Athirat's message and Anat's recount-
ing of it to Baal is the bicolon in lines 27b–29a. This bicolon is a new
variation on the bicolon in Baal's lament, "For Baal has no house like
the gods', no court like Athirat's children.'" Like El's version of this
bicolon in 1.4 IV 62–V 1, Anat uses a passive, jussive verb to announce
the permission that has been granted. Here the verb is *ytn* rather than
El's *ybn*. Also new are the comparatives at the end of each line, "like
your brothers," and "like your kin," instead of "like the gods" and
"like Athirat's children." This illustrates the types of variations that
are possible within even a highly formulaic passage.

The third variation in Anat's speech vis-à-vis the version given by
Athirat is that lines 31–33 repeat the two cola of lines 15–16, but
Anat's speech does not contain the third line (line 17) of the tricolon
(*yblk 'udr 'ilqṣm*), which had further described the precious metals to
be used in the construction of the palace. There is no obvious reason
why the line should have been left out here.

Lines 35–65: Baal's Preparations for the Building of His Palace

Baal's response to Anat's news is described in a rather abrupt mono-
colon: *šmḫ 'al'iyn b'l*, "Mightiest Baal rejoiced." This is immediately

followed by the account of him summoning the caravan into his house, i.e., performing the instructions given by Athirat through Anat (lines 36–40). Having finally reached the conclusion of an effort that has taken up the story of nearly two tablets, one might expect a speech of triumph or satisfaction from Baal at this point. In fact, such a speech appears in virtually all the thematically similar scenes in Ugaritic poetry. One might look, for example, at the story of Dan'il and his desire for a son in the Aqhat Epic, CAT 1.17 I 1–II 23. It too contains a lament about the lack of a critical element in the character's life that others possess (Dan'il, "who has no son like his brothers, no offspring like his fellows," in comparison to Baal, who "has no house like the gods, no court like Athirat's children"). The lament is brought by Baal to El, who in turn grants the request for a son. A messenger, perhaps Baal himself, is sent to Dan'il to give him the good news. Upon hearing it, Dan'il's face rejoices (*pnm tšmḫ*), he laughs (1.17 II 8–12) and gives a full-scale speech that is actually composed of the lament now turned into rejoicing (1.17 II 12–23). Another similar example occurs at the conclusion of the construction of Baal's palace in 1.4 VI 35–38, where the poet again notes, "Mightiest Baal rejoiced." This is followed by a brief speech from the god. Similarly, when El has a dream that indicates that Baal has returned to life in 1.6 III 10–21, he rejoices (*šmḫ*) in line 14 and then gives a speech (lines 18–21). Why do we not get a speech of satisfaction from Baal at his moment of rejoicing, when such a speech appears to be part of the regular formula? It is evident that the text here represents a slightly abridged version of the narrative. There is no way to answer this question with certainty. Having repeated Baal's lament several times in the previous columns, and having given the speeches by El, Athirat and Anat, perhaps Ilimalku (or the scribe whose text Ilimalku is copying) is ready to pass over one more discussion of the palace. It is perhaps significant that six lines later the scribe (or the tablet he is working from) will simply omit a significantly larger formulaic passage, leaving a note to any storyteller who might be using this text as a guide to fill in what he has not repeated in writing.

Lines 36–40 describe the preparations for building the palace, parallel to the instructions of Athirat in lines 13–17. Then Baal sets in motion the next step, which is not outlined in the previous speeches: he summons the craftsman-god Kothar wa-Hasis to oversee the construction of the palace (line 41). This seems to be a well-established function for this god. Kothar was similarly called upon in CAT 1.1 III to build a palace for Yamm, and an Egyptian text of the New Kingdom

period now in Budapest (Kákosy 1990:146–47, Col. C, lines 4–6) also portrays Kothar as the builder of an Egyptian shrine in the context of an incantation.[30]

At this point in the text, Ilimalku drew a double horizontal line across the column and wrote an instruction clearly intended for any storyteller who might be using this tablet as a guide to insert here an account of the sending of the messengers to Kothar (lines 42–43), an account that would be made up largely of formulaic material. The note is followed by a single, horizontal line across the column, below which the scribe resumes the story with the arrival of Kothar at Baal's abode. Two understandings of the instruction in lines 42–43 have been proposed. Some interpret it as referring to a written passage located elsewhere in the cycle, which would then be recited by the storyteller. In this interpretation, the last two words are generally viewed as a direct quotation of the line that the storyteller should find in the text: "When the lads were sent" (e.g., Aistleitner 42; Albright 1934:125; *TO* 1.105; Coogan 1978:102; *MLR* 85; Pardee 1997a:260). In the alternative interpretation, the note is less specific, telling the storyteller to make use of the standard narration about messengers being sent to a god. Thus the last two words are not seen as a direct quotation (e.g., Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1163; *ANET* 134; de Moor 1987:56; *MLC* 203). The assumption would be that the storyteller would know the formulas well enough to adapt them to the particular context required here. He would not need to actually turn to a fully written passage to read out to his audience.

This brief passage raises the question of the actual function of the literary tablets written down by Ilimalku. Were they supposed to be used as a source that could be read aloud verbatim to the audience (if one may assume this sort of use for the Baal Cycle)? Or, were they primarily aids to memory or general versions of the stories that would help a younger oral poet learn the basic lines of the plot, without the notion that the text on the tablet should be memorized in detail? If the former case were true, then the note might refer directly to a specific point on one of the tablets that the reciter would turn to at this point in the story. Perhaps this would explain the peculiar situation that *mspr* is followed by two word dividers, which could be interpreted as an indication that the two words that follow are a quotation. However,

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[30] We thank James Ford for pointing out this text to us.

one should point out that there is no indication in Ugaritic script that anyone ever thought of marking off quotations. This would, then, be a unique occurrence. One should also note that a line beginning, "When the young men were sent," as the proposed quotation reads, would not make sense contextually at this location in the story. The second interpretation therefore seems more likely. We have seen a previous instance (in 1.3 III between lines 31 and 32) where a double line across a column appears to mark a place where an abridgment has taken place in the narrative that needs to be filled in by the storyteller. In that location the text appears to be missing the account of the messengers' journey to Anat's abode. In addition, we have just noted the possibility of an unmarked omission of a speech by Baal after lines 35b-36a. These gaps in the narrative strongly suggest that the written forms of the literary works were not intended to be understood as complete, final or canonical texts. The specific instructions written here in lines 42–43 indicate that the person reading the tablet is expected to be one who understands (and tells?) the full story, not just reads along. Thus the tablets appear to be a general guide, presumably for performance, rather than an attempt to put down for posterity the complete text of a literary work. If this is so, then Ilimalku would simply be relying on the probability that storytellers using this work could provide this section of the story from their knowledge of how such messenger narratives should be told and how they are regularly incorporated into the overall narrative. We could also assume that the storytellers had some latitude as to how this part of the narrative might be told. If this is so, it also means then there is no absolutely set text for the Baal Cycle.

The marked omission in 1.4 V 42–43 appears to have been quite substantial. It presumably includes Baal's summoning and commissioning of the messengers, their journey to Kothar's abode, their arrival in his presence and delivery of the message, Kothar's response and announcement of his departure, and his journey to Baal's abode. We can only speculate about the details of the passage that the scribe assumed the storyteller would insert here. Of course, in an oral performance, a storyteller would be free to extend or condense the details of his story, depending on his audience or on his own inclinations. But there are parallels elsewhere in the text that may provide hints as to the basic story line. It seems quite plausible, since Baal actually asks Kothar to build the palace once the latter has arrived at Mt. Sapan (1.4 V 50–57), that Baal's message to Kothar would be parallel to the message found in the account of El's summons to Kothar that leads to El personally

commissioning the latter to build a house for Yamm (cf. 1.1 III 5–16). The same message is sent by Baal to Anat in 1.3 III 8–31. This message only asks the god to come, but does not say why. That would appear to fit the context here too. The messengers' journey would probably parallel the similar passage in 1.3 VI 12–20. Kothar's response and his journey to Mt. Sapan might generally approximate the passage in 1.1 III 17–25 or 1.3 IV 32–38.

The initial part of the scribal instruction, *wtb lmspr*, literally "and return to the recitation," finds a partial parallel in a line on 1.19, written along the side of the tablet that is part of the Aqhat story (1.19 IV 63, beginning opposite 1.19 IV 23): *whndt ytb lmspr*, "and here one returns to the story" (Parker, *UNP* 78). But its context is not the same, since it does not appear to mark an omission in the text. The words are found also in a ritual text, 1.40.35, as a direction that a recitation is to be repeated (de Tarragon 1980:93; Pardee 2002:80, 83). Albright (1934:125 n. 127) and Cassuto (*BOS* 2.132) compared Judg 7:15 (cf. v 13), which uses *mispar* to refer to the recounting of a dream.

The narrative then picks up with the arrival of Kothar (line 44). The text says nothing about Kothar doing obeisance before Baal. This may be a signal that by virtue of his anticipated service to Baal, the craftsman-god is an honored guest, for the present moment hardly regarded as lesser in rank (see Smith 1984b). The craftsman god is feted immediately (on *'ahr*, see Pope 1986; and the Commentary to 1.4 III 23–24 on p. 480). The description of the food in lines 45–46 is identical to that provided to Anat when she arrives at Baal's abode in 1.3 IV 40–42. Baal sets an ox "before" the god (*qdmh*),//"a fatling right in his face (*wtk pnh*)" (so Pope in Smith 1998b:657), or less literally, "a fatling right before him." The **'i-* in *mr'i'a* is a not a root letter but a "mater lectionis," an extra 'aleph indicating the internal vowel (cf. BH *mārî'*, Sivan 1997:13). As seen by Pope (1953; see also in Smith 1998b:657), the placement of the *w-* preceding the phrase *tk pnh* is attested as a way to denote emphasis (hyperbaton). It may also be found in BH and Arabic. Another case of an emphatic position for *w-* to highlight a noun mid-line appears in 1.4 VI 18 noted above: *y[t]lk llbbn w'sh*. While it might be translated literally as, "he [se]nds to Lebanon and its wood," this rendering makes little sense. It seems clear that *w-* here is not used to coordinate the terms "Lebanon" and "its wood"; instead, it is emphasizing the exact aspect of Lebanon that is important in the sentence, i.e., "to Lebanon, in particular its wood." There are a number of other cases, in nominal clauses, for example,

1.5 II 12: *'bdk 'an wd'lmk*, "your servant I am, indeed, forever yours" (see also 1.23.42, 46, 49).

The verb *št* may be understood as an active 3rd masc. sg. form, "He set an ox before him." In this case, Baal would be the subject (so *UNP* 131 and 171 n. 127; similar language is found in 1.3 IV 40–42, where this understanding seems almost certain). One could understand this action literally, where Baal himself places the food on the table. If so, this indicates the esteem in which Kothar is held by the storm-god. The close relationship between the two gods evident in the account of Kothar's support for Baal against Yamm in 1.2 IV supports this interpretation. At the same time, these lines could simply be the way one refers to the ruler signaling to his servants to serve the dinner. The ruler is credited with giving the meal, although servants actually do the work. A different understanding of the verb is possible when one notes that the subject of the first line of the tricolon is Kothar, and it would be unusual (though not impossible) to have an unmarked shift in subject on the second line. So it might be more plausible to understand the verb *št* as a passive form, i.e., "An ox was set before him." This would also match the pair of verbs in the following line (lines 46b–47a), which are clearly passive. It is worth noting that the language of this feast is similar to the language of sacrifice to the gods. Cassuto (*BOS* 2.133 n. 78) noted the comparable context of Mic 6:6: "Shall I come before him (*ha'ăqaddĕmennû*) with burnt offerings, with year-old calves?" It is in any case the sort of divine banquet customary for the pantheon, as the cliché of line 48 would suggest (for this line, see 1.4 III 40b–41 and the Commentary there).

A distinctive feature of this account is the description in lines 46b-48a of Kothar being set on a throne beside Baal. This is another indication of the close friendship between the two gods. The motif appears also in a ritual text (CAT 1.106.27–28): *wlll t'rk ks'u*, "and for *ll* (DN) a throne is arranged" (see de Tarragon 1980:117; cf. Emar 369.40; Fleming 1992:67). That *t'db* is in the passive is made clear by the nominative case ending of *ks'u* (Sivan 1997:126). There are similar constructions in BH related to thrones in such passages as Dan 7:9. It would be theoretically possible to render the second verb *ytṯb*[31] in the active voice, if one understands this form as being in the third person

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[31] For the shift of the *š*, the marker of the *C*-stem in *ytṯb*, > *ṯ* due to assimilation to following *ṯ*, see Sivan 1997:28–29.

plural impersonal, "and they seated (him)" (for the two possibilities, see Sivan 1997:154).

Seating arrangements at banquets, of course, have a significant relationship to status. Two Sumerian temple hymns refer to seating arrangements at divine banquets (cited in Ferrara and Parker 1972:38–39). The first, Gudea Cylinder B (xix:17–21) describes the banquet of Ningirsu which Gudea of Lagash prepared for the god:

> For Ningirsu he (Gudea) prepared a fine banquet, Anu sat at the 'big side'. Next to Anu was Enlil, next to Enil was Ninmah.

The second, a hymn to Enki's temple, describes the feast that Enki holds after the construction of the temple É-engurra:

> In the shrine Nippur, Enki prepared a banquet for his father Enlil. Anu sat at the "place of honor." Enlil was next to Anu. Nintu sat at the "big side" (of the table). The Anunna seated themselves at their places.

To be seated at the right hand of the host is to be accorded the place of honor at a feast. Following his own obeisance before Bathsheba, Solomon seats his mother at his right hand in 1 Kgs 2:19. In Ps 110:1 Yahweh tells the king of Judah, "Sit at my right hand until I make your enemies your footstool" (see also Mark 12:36; 1 Esdras 4:29). The risen Jesus is accorded the place of honor at the right hand of his heavenly Father (Rom 8:34; Heb 10:12; 1 Peter 3:22), an expression echoed in the Christian credal formula: "and he is seated at the right hand of the Father." For other Jewish and Christian texts attesting the motif of heavenly thrones, see Davila 2000:155–56. The description of the meal for Kothar ends with the common line 48: *ʿd lḥm št[y ʾilm]*. Here this stereotypical line is used to close a (sub)section, somewhat unusual, since the line usually serves as a subsection-opening line (e.g., 1.4 III 40, VI 55) in the description of divine feasting.

After the meal, Baal asks Kothar to construct his palace (lines 49–57). In a parallel context in 1.2 III 8–10 El commands Kothar to build a palace for Yamm with very similar instructions (see *UBC* 1.234–38). The instructions in lines 51–57 are particularly notable for their four-fold repetition of *ḥš*, "quickly." Four-fold repetitions are relatively rare but not unknown,[32] and here the repetition conveys an urgency on Baal's part. According to the bicolon of lines 56–57, the palace is to "cover

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[32] Examples include: *hlh* in CAT 1.23.32–33 observed by Watson 1982:267; *ṭm* in 1.22 I 4–9 noted by Tuttle cited in Pope 1977a:168; and *k-* in CAT 1.169.3–4.

(*'aḫd*) a thousand acres"//"ten thousand hectares" (for these measures, see 1.3 IV 38; see also *UBC* 1.169, esp. n. 69). This is, of course, a formulaic pair that basically means "a huge amount or distance." The pair is used quite often for distance. For example, Baal's messengers are to maintain this distance when they bow down before Mot (1.4 VIII 24–27). This is also the distance from which Dan'il first sees the approach of Kothar wa-Hasis (1.17 V 9–11). Like the members of the pantheon and their measures of travel, the size of Baal's palace is superhuman in scale (Smith 1988).

The meaning for the verb **'ḫd* in this passage, "occupy, take up," is rare, if not unique, in the Ugaritic texts (as noted by the listing in *DUL* 37). In spite of that, however, the context supports the meaning. It is proximate to Akkadian *aḫāzu* attested in the meaning, "to occupy, possess (a territory)" (*CAD A/1*:177, #3c), and to a lesser extent to BH *'ḫz* "to hold property" in the *N*-stem (Gen 34:10, 47:27; Num 32:30; Josh 22:9; *DCH* 1:187). It is unclear though whether the technical sense of land occupation found in these texts informs Baal's words to Kothar in lines 56–57.

Kothar does not even bother to explicitly assent to the invitation. He immediately turns to an apparently architectural issue, specifically whether the palace should have a window (lines 58–62). Kothar opens his speech with two imperative clauses (lines 59–60), "Hear, O Mightiest Baal"//"Understand, O Cloudrider." This introduction underscores the importance of the question that Kothar is about to pose to Baal. The use of the imperative *šmʿ* is fairly common in introducing the content of a speech (e.g., 1.4 IV 2–4; 1.15 IV 3; 1.16 IV 10–12, 1.17 V 16). The usage is also known from the famous biblical Shema (Deut 6:4): *šěmaʿ yiśrā'ēl yhwh 'ĕlōhênû yhwh 'eḥād*, "Hear O Israel: Yahweh (is) our god, Yahweh (is) one/alone" (for the possible latter sense, cf. *'aḫdy* in 1.4 VII 49; for full discussion, see Loretz 1995a). Usually, however, in the Ugaritic literature, this imperative is followed by a series of other imperatives. Here it is followed by a question. In addition, *šmʿ* is normally used as the only introductory imperative, while here it is paralleled with *bn*, "Understand!" which suggests that a very serious issue is about to be raised by Kothar. The choice of the term *bn* here perhaps marks a reciprocal relationship between Baal and Kothar in this scene: Baal asks Kothar to "build" (**bny*) in line 53, while Kothar in turn in line 60 urges Baal to "understand" (**byn*).

In lines 61–62 Kothar raises the matter of the window, called *'urbt* and *ḫln* (BH *ḥallôn* < **ḥll*, "to pierce" + *-ān* sufformative; see pp. 39–41

above). Windows are well-known architectural features, as indicated by the generic reference to "windows," 'urbtm (in parallelism with 'mdm, "columns") in CAT 1.169.3 (see Pardee 2002:160). A window ('urbt) is mentioned as the site of offerings to a number of important deities, including 'il'ib, Baal, Dagan, the "Helpers of Baal" (t'dr b'l), Anat and Resheph, in 1.109.19–23 (see Pardee 2000:609; 2002: 31). In Israelite tradition, perhaps the best-known windows are found in Gen 7:11, "the windows of heaven," which are elements in the great dome of the sky (on this verse, see Kselman 1973). The same windows appear in Mal 3:10, 'ărubbôt haššāmayim, where God promises to open them and pour down blessings upon the people, if they bring in their tithes (cf. 'ărubbôt mimmārôm in Isa 24:18). The verbs used for the installation of the window include *šyt in 1.4 V 61, 64, VI 5, 8, and VII 15, and *ptḥ in VII 17 and 25. The latter verb occurs in contexts with windows also in BH in Gen 7:11, Isa 24:18 and Mal 3:10, but in none of these cases does it refer to the construction of the windows as in 1.4 VII. In 1 Kgs 6:4 and 2 Kgs 7:2, 19, one "makes" windows (*'śh). In both the Hebrew and Ugaritic texts, the heavenly windows are imagined as functioning to allow the cosmic waters to reach the earth. It has been thought that Gen 7:11 assumes the technical language of irrigation (for discussion and further parallels, see Greenfield 1958:222 n. 34; Weinfeld 1977–78:244–45; cf. Neiman 1969:244); if so, the windows in Gen 7:11 are imagined, to an extent, as cosmic sluice gates. The biblical passages do not specify the location of Yahweh's windows apart from the "heavens" (šāmayim) or the "height" (mārôm). In contrast, the narrative of 1.4 V–VII identifies Baal's window with a break in the clouds (1.4 VII 17–20, 25–29), presumably hovering around his palace on the top of Mount Sapan (cf. 1.4 V 55).

   The motif of constructing a window in a shrine has recently emerged in RS 94.2953, an Akkadian text found in the house of Urtenu (Arnaud 2007:201–02; see also del Olmo Lete 2006). The fourteen-line text is a first-person report of a vision in which the god Ea commands the unnamed narrator to take a hoe and axe and make a window "on the foundations of stone," presumably a temple (lines 1–6). The narrator immediately acts upon the command, making the window just as Ea ordered (lines 7–12a). He reports that Ea returned to find everything completed (lines 12b–14). Although Arnaud (2007:42–43) explicitly relates this text to the Baal Cycle (he calls the text "Cycle de Ba'al", p. 201), the fact is that Baal is not mentioned in the text, only Ea, who in the god lists is equated with Kothar (see Pardee 2002:14-CAT

1.118.15//RS 20.024.15—p. 17—CAT 1.148.30//RS 92.2004.11).
Texts such as the Budapest Kothar Papyrus (Kákosy 1990) show that
Kothar was connected with temple building more generally and not
uniquely to the Baal temple in our cycle. None of the language within
the command to build the window in RS 94.2953 is parallel to that
in 1.4 V or VII. Nor is the person to whom the command is given a
god. Although he is never named, the standard context of this type
of literature strongly argues that he is a human king. Thus the text
does not have a mythological environment like the Baal Cycle. There
is also no hint of a controversy about the construction of the window
here. The recipient of the vision sets about the task without question
and fulfills it. There is no indication about the identity of the temple,
and although it could be referring to the Baal temple at Ugarit, the
fact that it is written in Akkadian does not allow us to be assured that
it actually comes from Ugarit or refers in any way to Ugarit. The pri-
mary significance of the text is that it suggests that remodeling projects
for temples could specifically focus on the opening of windows in the
older walls.

While virtually all commentators interpret Kothar's question in lines
61–62 as an offer to install the window, Margalit (*MLD* 45–50) inter-
preted the lines as a refusal by Kothar to build the window that Baal
desires. The crucial interpretational issue involves the particle *bl*. It is
generally a negative particle (Phoenician *bl*; cf. BH poetic *bal*; cf. BH
bĕlî), which would allow for a translation, "I will not put" (*bl 'ašt*), as
Margalit has proposed. Since contextually such a reading seems unlikely,
some commentators have proposed that *bl* may be understood as an
asseverative: "I will surely put" (cf. Albright 1934: 126; *ANET* 134;
Gordon 1977:97). The most popular and perhaps most likely solution
is to regard Kothar's words here as a question, "Shall I not put…?"
(Aistleitner 42; Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1164; de Moor 1987:57; Wyatt
1998:104) or "Must I not put…?" (Pardee 1997a:261). The contextual
indicator that illustrates that Kothar is offering to put in a window here
involves the craftsman's prediction that Baal will come around to his
view (1.4 VI 2, 15; cf. VII 24–25). When the window is installed, Baal
admits in the end that this is happening "according to the word of
Kothar wa-Hasis" (*'l h[wt] ktr wḫss*) in 1.4 VII 20. In addition, the verb-
preposition combination **twb l-*, which Kothar uses in the conversation,
is best understood to mean, "you will pay attention to," or better "you
come around to," i.e. "reconsider" (Pardee 1975:374, 1997a:261; 1.3
IV 54–55 may be interpreted similarly). The term **hwty* here means

"my word" (see above p. 226), yet in context it may bear the further connotation of "my suggestion, recommendation" or the like (cf. "my view" in Pardee 1975:374, 1997a:261).

Baal refuses Kothar's offer (lines 63–65), using the same language found in the craftsman-god's original question (lines 61–62). The tablet breaks off at line 65, and there could be two or three lost lines. But it is also possible that the column ended at this point. The story flows directly into the opening line of column VI, without an obvious break. However, it is possible that Baal gave an explanation for his refusal here, similar to the one found in VI 10–13 after Kothar asks a second time. The issue of the window and whether it should be installed in the palace, which continues into column VI and resurfaces finally in column VII, is given a great prominence in the narrative. There is no parallel to this focus in any other building narrative from the ancient Near East (cf. Hurowitz 1985, 1992). Further discussion of the meaning of the episode will appear below in the Commentary on 1.4 VI 1–15.

CAT 1.4 VI

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Text Editions: Virolleaud 1932:144–52, pls. XXVII, XXIX (in the *editio princeps*, the captions for the two photos of the obverse and reverse have been exchanged; thus pl. XXIX, captioned as the obverse, is actually the reverse and pl. XXX is the obverse); CTA 27–28, fig. 16, pls. IX, X; KTU 18–19; CAT 19–20.

Studies and Translations: Aistleitner 43–45; Albright 1934:126–28; Caquot and Sznycer, *TO* 1.211–15; Cassuto, *BOS* 2.134–38; Coogan 1978:103–04; Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1164–67; Driver, *CML*[1] 98–101; Gaster, *Thespis* 189–92; Gibson, *CML*[2] 62–64; Ginsberg, *ANET* 134, *KU* 34–38; Gordon, *UL* 34–35, 1977:97–99; Gray, *LC*[2] 51; Jirku 49–50; Maier 1986:22; Margalit, *MLD* 45–50; de Moor, *SPUMB* 155, 1987: 57–61; del Olmo Lete, *MLC* 205–7; *MLR* 86–88; Pardee 1997a:261–62; Pope, *EUT* 101; Smith 1985:314–15, 328–35, *UNP* 132–35; Wyatt 1998:105–08; Xella 1982:116–18; van Zijl, *Baal* 128–35.

TEXT (SEE IMAGES 68–74)

```
 1   wyʻn.k[      ]s
     ṯṯb.bʻl.l[      ]
     ṯn.rgm.k[   ]ẘḥss
     šmʻ.mʻ.lʼa[   ]ẙnbʻl
 5   bl.ʼašt.ʼur̊[   ]i̊.bbhtm
     ḥln.bqr[      ]l̊m
     wʻn.alʼi[   ]bʻl
     ʼal.tšt.ʼů[   ]t.bbhtm
     ḥln.bq̇[   ]k̊lm
10   ʼal.tx[   ]ẙ.btʼar
     [ ]xx[ ]ẙ.bt.rb
     [   ]dd.ʼilym
     [   ]ǻlṣn.wpṯm
     [   ]wyʻn.kṯr
15   [      ]l̊ṯb.bʻl.lḥwty
     [   ]bhth.tbnn
     x[ ]trmm.hklh
     ẏ[ ]k̊.llbnn.wʻṣh
     l[ ]r̊yn.mḥmd.ʼarzh
20   hx[ ]bnn.wʻṣh
     s̊r̊yn.mḥmd.ʼarzh
     tši̊[ ]ʼišt.bbhtm
     nb[ ]ʼat.bhklm
     hn[ ]ẙm.wṯn.tʼikl
```

25 *'išt*[ ]*bbhtm.nbl'at*
    bhk[ ]*ṁ.ṯlṯ.kbʻ.ym*
    t'ikl̇[ ]*št.bbhtm*
    nbl'a[ ]*bhklm*
    ḫmš.ṯ[ ]*ṯ.ym.t'ikl*
30 *'iš*[ ]*bhtm.nbl'at*
    b[   ]*lm.mk*
    bšb[   ]*ẏ*[   ]*.td.'išt*
    bbhtm.ṅ[   ]*'at.bhklm*
    sb.ksp.lrqm.ḫrṣ
35 *nsb.llbnt.šmḫ*
    'al'iyn.bʻl.ḫtybnt
    dt.ksp.hkly[ ]*dṫm*
    ḫrṣ.ʻdbt.bht[ ]*l*
    yʻdb.hd.ʻdb[ ]*bt*
40 *hklh.ṭbḫ.'alpṁ*[ ]
    ṣ'in.šql.ṯrm[ ]*ṁ*
    r'i'a.'il.ʻglm.d[ ]
    šnt.'imr.qmṣ.l̇[ ]*'im*
    ṣḫ.'aḫḫ.bbhth.'a[ ]*ẏh*
45 *bqrbhklh.ṣḫ*
    šbʻm.bn.'aṯrt
    špq'ilm.krm.yx[
    špq.'ilht.ḫprt[
    špq.'ilm.'alpm.ẏ[
50 *špq.'ilht.'arḫt*[
    špq.'ilm.kḫṯm.y[
    špq.'ilht.ks'at
    špq.'ilm.rḫbtyn
    špq.'ilht.dkr
55 *ʻd.lḥm.šty.'ilṁ*
    wpq.mrġtm.ṯḋ
    bḫrb.mlḥt.qṩ[ ]*ṙ*
    'i.tšty.krp[   ]*ň*
    [ ]*ṧ.ẖ̇ṙṩḋ*[   ]
60 [   ]*n*
    [   ]*t*
    [   ]*ṯ*
    [   ]*xt*

[Between 2 and 5 lines are missing.]

TEXTUAL NOTES

Line 1.]s   CAT reads another /s/ to the left of the final letter of the line. But there are no traces of that letter preserved on the tablet. The indentations are all breakage.

Line 2. ttb̂   The lower part of the /b/ is destroyed, but context assures the reading.

Line 3. k̊[ ]ẘḫss   The left two wedges and the upper left line of the right wedge of the /k/ survive. Context assures the reading. The right tip of what is surely a /w/ is visible about midway up the line of the /ḫ/.

Line 4. l'a[ ]ẙn   There are no longer any traces of the /l/ following the /'a/. It was apparently visible to Virolleaud. On the other hand, the right edge of the right half of the /y/ does still survive, though CTA did not record it. Two of the wedges are certain. Context assures the reading /l'a[l'i]yn.

Line 5. 'ur̊[ ]t̊.   Only the left parts of the two left wedges of the /r/ and the deep interior of the upper middle wedge are preserved. The letter is epigraphically uncertain, but the context assures the reading. Only the right tip of the /t/ is preserved. Context again assures the reading.

Line 6. ḫln   The /n/ has four wedges.
   bqr[   ]l̊m   There is no trace left of the /b/ after the /r/ in bqr[. CTA is correct against CAT here. The /l/ following the break is partially preserved. Part of the right line of the middle wedge is visible, alongside the complete right wedge. Context assures the reading. For [hk]lm, see 1.4 V 62, 65.

Line 8. 'al.tšt.ů[Of the /'u/, only the left vertical and upper left edge of the middle vertical are preserved. The horizontal has been completely chipped away, although superficially its looks as if it were there.

Line 9. ḫln.bq̊[A long horizontal chip that runs from the bottom of the /l/ through the /n/ makes the /l/ look superficially like a /d/. The left horizontal of the /q/ is preserved, along with a tiny bit of the upper left side of the *Winkelhaken*.
   ]k̊lm   Only the right tip of the /k/ is preserved, but the context assures the reading.

Line 10. 'al.tx[Three verticals of the letter marked as /x/ are attested here, but the tablet is broken away where potential horizontals might appear. Thus the letter may be /l/, /d/ or /u/.

   ]ẙ   Only the lower right wedge and a small piece of the right middle wedge are preserved. The context assures the reading.

Line 11. [ ]xx[The first letter is either /h/ or /ʾi/. Its lower left side, where the small vertical of the /ʾi/ would be, is broken. The second letter is either /ṭ/ or /ḥ/. Again, the lower part of the letter, where the differentiating wedge would be located is lost.

   ]ẙ   The /y/ is preserved only in the lower right part of the right half of the letter. But context assures the reading.

Line 13 [ ]q̊lṣn   The lines of the right wedge of the /q/ are preserved. The letter could theoretically be /ẓ/, but context argues for /q/.

Line 15.]t̊tb   The right side of the /t/ is preserved. Context assures its reading.

Line 16. [ ]bhtm   Unlike CAT, we find no traces of an /ʾi/ at the beginning of the line. Nor are there traces of a word divider before /bhtm/.

Line 17. x[The deep interior of a horizontal wedge is preserved at the beginning of the line.

Line 18. ẏ[The left half of the /y/is well preserved, and the left side of the right wedges are visible at the break.

   ]k̊   This letter could be a /k/ or an /r/. The right wedge and the right tip of an overlapping upper left wedge are preserved. Most restorations favor /k/.

Line 19. l[ ]r̊yn   Only the right tip of the right horizontal of /r/ is preserved, but the context assures the reading.

Line 20. hx[Only the tiniest lower left line of a horizontal wedge is preserved after the /h/. It is compatible with CAT's reading, /n/, but could also be read as several other letters.

Line 21. šr̊yn   Only the lower left horizontal of the /r/ is preserved, but the context assures the reading.

Line 22. tšt̊[The /t/ before the break is only preserved as the left edge of a horizontal. Context argues for /t/.
   ]ʾišt   The right tip of the vertical wedge of the /ʾi/ is preserved, though poorly. It does not show up clearly in the photograph, but when the light is shone from the right, it is visible.

Line 24. hn[ ]ẙm   Only a single short vertical of the /y/ survives, but context assures the reading.

Line 26. bhk[ ]m̊   The upper line of the horizontal of the /m/ and the head of its vertical are preserved.
   kbʿ   The /k/ is a scribal error for /r/ (haplography of two horizontal wedges).

Line 27. t̊ikl̊[Only two wedges of the /l/ are left: the lower tip of the left wedge, and the left side of the middle wedge.
   ]št   The right wedge of the /š/ is well preserved, as are the top and right lines of the middle wedge. Only the deep interior of the left wedge still remains.

Line 28. nblʾa[ ]bhklm   There are no traces of the /t/ after /nblʾa[, contrary to CAT.

Line 29. ḫmš.t̠[ ]t̠   The first two letters, /ḫm/, are both certain, although the lower part of the /ḫ/ is broken, as is most of the horizontal of the /m/. We see no traces of a /d/ between the two /t̠/'s, contrary to CAT.

Line 30. ʾiš[Both CTA and CAT read a /t/ after the /š/. There is an indentation to the right of the /š/, but it appears to be part of the breakage, not the remains of a wedge. Nor is there a word divider preserved, as CTA reads after the /t/. Virolleaud's drawing (CTA fig. 16) shows a clear /t/, but no word divider. This may be an example of a letter that was still visible when the tablet was first discovered, but has later been destroyed.

Line 31. ḃ[ ]lm   The two vertical wedges of the /b/ are preserved, but the horizontals are lost. CAT reads a /k/ at the break before /lm/. But again, we find no evidence of any part of a wedge along the break.

Line 32. bšb[Here too, we see no traces of /ʿ/ read by CAT after /bšb/.
   ]ẏ[/   The bottom parts of both sets of the /y/'s wedges are pre-served.

Line 33. ṅ[Only two wedges of the letter are preserved, but context assures the reading.

Line 35. nsb   CTA has a typo here, giving the letter as /ṣ/instead of /s/. But there is no question about the reading of the letter.

Line 37.]dṫm   After the break, the /d/ and /t/ are damaged. But in both cases, the upper lines of the horizontals are preserved along the break.

Line 40. ʾalpṁ[The left line of the /m/'s vertical is visible on the edge of the break.

Line 41. ṯrm[ ]ṁ   The /m/ to the left of the break still retains the left side of the vertical and the complete lower tip. The /m/ to the right of the break only has the right side of the vertical. But context assures the reading.

Line 43. l̇[ ]ʾim   Only the left vertical and the left line of the middle wedge of the /l/ are preserved, but the reading is certain.

Line 44. ʾa[ ]ẏh   CTA is probably correct that no traces remain of the letter that follows the /ʾa/ at the break. It is possible that the corner of the lower left wedge of an /r/ is preserved, but close inspection could not identify any certain traces. The indentation there appears to be damage. Context, however, assures the restoration of an /r/ in the break. The right half of the /y/ that follows the break is fairly well preserved. The reading is confirmed by context.

Line 47. špq'ilm   There is no word divider after /špq/. On the epigraphic issues of lines 47–54, see the Commentary below, pp. 630–34.

   yx[Only the lower left corner of a horizontal wedge is preserved after the *y*. The interior lines are comparable to what one sees in an /n/ (cf. the /n/ in line 46), making that or /ʾa/ the most likely candidates here. But one cannot exclude /t/, /m/, /ḥ/, /ṭ/, /q/or /ġ/. There is space for one or two letters after the /y/ here.

Line 48. ḫprt[There is very little space after the/t/ for the commonly proposed restoration /yn/.

Line 49. ẏ[Only the left half of the letter survives.

Line 50. 'ilht.   The /ʾi/ was smudged while the tablet was still wet.
   'arḫt[There is very little room between the /t/ of /ʾarḫt/ and the margin to place the commonly proposed restoration, /yn/.

Line 51. 'ilm   The /ʾi/ is also smudged here.
   y[Although CTA, CAT and Pardee (1997a:262 n. 178) read an /n/ at the end of the line, there are no surviving traces of wedges after the /y/. All of the depressions following the /y/ are breakage.

Line 52. ksʾat   There is no evidence to suggest any further writing on this line. The word /ksʾat/ is not followed by a word divider, and there is well-preserved surface to the right of the /t/ that could hold most, if not all of a succeeding letter, but it is blank. Thus the proposed restoration /yn/ is excluded.

Line 54. dkr   There is no writing on the line after this word. The proposed /t/ at the end of the line in CTA is clearly tablet damage in the form of an indentation and not a letter. The nature of the damage is such that one would expect still to be able to see traces of the upper line of a /t/ if it were there. It is also clear that no other letters were written at the end of the line. The surface of the tablet is fairly well preserved on the far side of the break, and there simply is no writing there.

Line 55. 'ilm̂   The final /m/ is assured only through the context. Only the upper left tip of the horizontal is preserved to the left of the

break. What appears to be the top of the vertical to the right of the break is in fact chipping. In any case, it would be too low on the line to be part of the vertical of an /m/.

Line 56. ṯd̐   /d/ is uncertain, but probable. Two vertical wedges, plus parts of two horizontals are preserved. The spacing suggests /d/, rather than /b/.

Line 57. qṣ̊[The /ṣ/ remains epigraphically uncertain. There are two certain vertical wedges side by side, which could be read as a /ṣ/ But there are traces of a possible third vertical to the left of the other two, and possible interiors of two horizontals below the certain verticals, which also leave open the reading of /d/. However, the parallel (1.4 III 42) to the passage gives the edge to /ṣ/.

   ]r̊   Only the upper and right elements of a horizontal are preserved here, but context argues for /r/.

Line 58. krp[   ]n̊   The right tip of a horizontal is preserved at the end of the line. /n/ fits the context well.

Line 59. [ ]š̊.ḫ̊r̊šd̊[This is all based on context (see IV 38). But the traces are all compatible with the reading. We see no traces of the /k/ that precedes the /s/.

Line 63.]xt   CTA/CAT recorded final letters of five lines at the end of this column. We, however, only see remains of four. The proposed /n/ that is presented as the end of a line 63 in CTA/CAT does not appear to exist. There is some damage just below the /ṯ/ of line 62, but it appears to be breakage, and is too close to line 62 to be part of a letter on a different line. Thus we see the signs of their line 64 as being line 63.

   /x/   This is not likely to be a wedge belonging to the same letter as the final horizontal. It is too pointed and separate to be a wedge of an /'a/ or /n/. It must be the end of another letter that has a single horizontal on the right (/k, w, r, t, 'a, n/).

Text Restored and Set in Poetic Form

1 *wyʿn.k[ṯr.wḫs]s*
2 *ṯṯb.bʿl.l[ḥwty]*
3 *ṯn.rgm.k[ṯr.]wḫss*
4–6 *šmʿ.mʿ.lʾa[lʾi]yn bʿl/*
   bl.ʾašt.ʾur[bt.]bbhtm/
   ḫln.bqr[b.hk]lm
7 *wʿn.ʾalʾi[yn]bʿl*
8–9 *ʾal.tšt.ʾu[rb]t.bbhtm/*
   ḫln.bq[rb.h]klm
10–11 *ʾal.tx[pdr]y.bt ʾar/*
   [ ]xx[ṯl]y.bt.rb/
12–13 *[m]dd.ʾil ym/*
   [ ]qlṣn./
   wpṯm/[ ]
14–15 *wyʿn.kṯr/[wḫss.]*
15 *ṯṯb.bʿl.lḥwty*
16–17 *[ḥš.]bhth.tbnn/*
   [ḥš.]trmm.hklh
18–19 *y[tl]k.llbnn.wʿṣh/*
   l[š]ryn.mḫmd.ʾarzh
20–21 *hx[.l]bnn.wʿṣh/*
   šryn.mḫmd.ʾarzh
22–23 *tšt[.]ʾišt.bbhtm/*
   nb[l]ʾat.bhklm
24–26 *hn[.]ym.wṯn.*
   tʾikl/ʾišt[.]bbhtm
   nblʾat/bhk[l]m.
26–28 *ṯlṯ.r(!)bʿ.ym/*
   tʾikl[.ʾi]št.bbhtm/
   nblʾa[t.]bhklm
29–31 *ḥmš.ṯ[d]ṯ.ym.*
   tʾikl/ʾiš[t.b]bhtm.
   nblʾat/b[qrb.hk]lm.
31–33 *mk/bšb[ʿ.]y[mm].*
   td.ʾišt/bbhtm.
   n[bl]ʾat.bhklm
34–35 *sb.ksp.lrqm.*
   ḫrṣ/nsb.llbnt.
35–36 *šmḫ/ʾalʾiyn.bʿl.*
36–38 *<b>hty.bnt/dt.ksp.*
   hkly[.]dtm/ḫrṣ.
38–40 *ʿdbt.bht[h.bʿ]l/yʿdb.*
   hd.ʿdb[.ʿd]bt/hklh.
40–43 *ṭbḫ.ʾalpm[.ʾap]/ṣʾin.*
   šql.ṯrm[.w]m/rʾiʾa.ʾil.

'glm.d[t]/šnt.
'imr.qmṣ.l[l]'im
44–46   *ṣḥ.'aḥh.bbhth.*
'a[r]yh/bqrb hklh.
ṣḥ/šbʿm.bn.'atrt
47–48   *špq'ilm.krm.yn[qm(?)]*
špq.'ilht.ḫprt
49–50   *špq.'ilm.'alpm.*
y/špq.'ilht.'arḫt
51–52   *špq.'ilm.khtm.*
y/špq.'ilht.ks'at
53–54   *špq.'ilm.rḥbt yn*
špq.'ilht.dkr<t>
55–58   *ʿd.lḥm.šty.'ilm*
wpq.mrǵtm.td
bḫrb.mlḥt.qṣ[.m]r/'i.
58–59   *tšty.krp[nm.y]n*
[bk]s.ḥrṣd[m.ʿṣm]
60   *[   ]n*
61   *[   ]t*
62   *[   ]t*
63   *[   ]xt*

[Between 2 and 5 lines are missing.]

Translation and Vocalized Text

Kothar and Baal Debate Over Installing A Window

1	And Ko[thar wa-Has]is replied:	wa-yaʿnî kô[ṯaru wa-ḫasī]su
2	"You will reconsider [my word], O Baal."	taṯûbu baʿli lê-[hawati-ya]
3	Again Ko[thar] wa-Hasis spoke:	ṯanî ragama kô[ṯaru] wa-ḫasīsu
4–6	"Please listen, O Mi[ghti]est Baal: Shall I not install a win[dow] in the house, An aperture ami[d the pala]ce?"	šamaʿ maʿ la-'a[l'i]yāni baʿli/ bal 'ašîtu 'uru[bata] bi-bahatīma/ hillāna bi-qir[bi hêka]līma
7	And Migh[tiest] Baal answered:	wa-ʿanâ 'al'i[yānu] baʿlu
8–9	"Do not install a wi[ndo]w in the house, An aperture a[mid the pa]lace.	'al tašît 'u[ruba]ta bi-bahatīma/ hillāna bi-qi[rbi hê]kalīma

10–11	Lest [Pidr]ay, Daughter of Light,…	’al… [pidr]ayu bittu ’āri/
	… [Tall]ay, Daughter of Showers…	… [ṭall]ayu bittu ribbi…
12–13	[The Be]loved of El, Yamm.… …abased me, And spat…”	[mê]dadv ’ili yammv…/ …qalaṣa-nî wapaṯa-ma[…
14–15	And Kothar [wa-Hasis] replied:	wa-yaʿnî kôṯaru/[wa-ḫasīsu]
15	"You will reconsider my word, O Baal."	taṯûbu baʿli lê-hawati-ya

The Construction of the Palace

16–17	[Quickly] his house was built, [Quickly] his palace was erected.	[ḫūšu] bahatū-hu tubnûna/ [ḫūšu] turāmimū hêkalū-hu
18–19	He [we]nt to Lebanon for its trees, To [Si]ryan for its choicest cedars.	yi[tal]iku lê-libanāni wa-ʿiṣṣī-ha/ lê-[ši]ryāni maḥmada ’arzī-ha
20–21	[Le]banon for its trees, Siryan for its choicest cedars.	h[—[1] li]banānv wa-ʿiṣṣī-ha širyānv maḥmada ’arzī-ha
22–23	A fire was set in the house, A f[l]ame in the palace.	tūšâtu ’išitu bi-bahatīma/ nab[l]a’atu bi-hêkalīma
24–26	There! For a day and a second, A fire burned in the house, A flame in the pa[l]ace.	hvnnv[2] yôma[3] wa-ṯanî ta’kulu/’išitu bi-bahatīma nabla’atu[4]/bi-hêka[lī]ma
26–28	For a third and a fourth day, [A f]ire burned in the house, A fla[me] in the palace.	ṯalīṯa[5] rabīʿa yôma/ ta’kulu [’i]šitu bi-bahatīma/ nabla’a[tu] bi-hêkalīma
29–31	For a fifth and a si[x]th day, A fir[e] burned [in] the house, A flame a[mid the pal]ace.	ḫamīša ṯa[dī]ṯa yôma ta’kulu/’iši[tu bi]-bahatīma nabla’atu/bi-[qirbi hêka]līma

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[1] See the Commentary below.

[2] For this particle, see *UG* 737–38; Sadka 2001.

[3] So based on the syllabic form, Huehnergard 1987b:133; Rainey 1987:401; *UG* 188.

[4] Without the second a-vowel as proposed in the reconstruction here, there would be three consonants without any vowel between, which would be abnormal for Ugaritic. For the vocalization *nab(a)lat-*, see *UG* 50.

[5] A *qātil-* base for ordinals is plausible, according to *UG* 364–66. However, the evidence cited there derives from languages outside the West Semitic group, which (esp. BH) would seem to favor *qatīl-*.

31–33	Then on the seven[th] d[ay],	makka/bi-šabī[ʿi] yô[mi-ma]
	The fire went out in the house,	taddî ʾišitu/bi-bahatīma
	The f[la]me, in the palace.	na[bla]ʾatu bi-hêkalīma
34–35	The silver had turned to plates,	sabba kaspu lê-raqqīma
	The gold had turned to bricks.	ḫurāṣu/nasabba lê-labināti
35–36	Mightiest Baal rejoiced:	šamaḫa/ʾalʾiyānu baʿlu
36–38	"My house I have built of silver,	\<ba\>hatī-ya banîtu/dūti kaspi
	My palace of gold."	hêkalī-ya dūti-ma/ḫurāṣi

Baal Prepares a Divine Banquet

38–40	[Baa]l made arrangements for [his] house,	ʿadabāta bahatī-[hu baʿ]lu/ yaʿdubu
	Hadd made [arrange]ments for his palace.	haddu ʿadaba [ʿada]bāta/ hêkalī-hu
40–43	He slaughtered large stock [as well as] small:	ṭabaḫa ʾalapīma [ʾap]/ṣaʾna
	He felled bulls [and] fatling rams,	šaqîla[6] t̲ôrīma [wa-]ma/rʾīʾī ʾili[7]
	Calves a year old,	ʿigalīma dū[ta]/šanati
	Sheep by the flock with k[i]ds.	ʾimmirī qamaṣi la[li]ʾīma[8]
44–46	He invited his brothers into his house,	ṣāḫa ʾaḫḫī-hu bi-bahatī-hu
	His ki[nf]olk inside his palace;	ʾa[r]yi-hu/bi-qirbi hêkalī-hu
	He invited the seventy, the children of Athirat.	ṣāḫa/šibʿīma binī ʾat̲irati
47–48	He provided the gods with suckling(?) rams,	šapîqa ʾilīma karrīma yān[iqīma?]/
	Provided the goddesses with ewes.	šapîqa ʾilahāti ḫaparāti
49–50	He provided the gods with bulls,	šapîqa ʾilīma ʾalapīma
	Provided the goddesses with cows.	ya/šapîqu ʾilahāti ʾarḫāti
51–52	He provided the gods with thrones,	šapîqa ʾilīma kaḫat̲īma
	Provided the goddesses with chairs.	ya/šapîqu ʾilahāti kissiʾāti

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[6] For the semantics of this verb, see *UBC* 1.154 n. 69. For 1.1 IV 28–32 and 1.22 I 12–14, the parallels to this passage, see *UBC* 1.154–55.

[7] Elsewhere within this stereotypical language, this word's form is plural (1.22 I 13; cf. 1.1 IV 31 where the word falls in a lacuna). The context would conform better to the plural.

[8] For the animals, see *UBC* 1.154–55, *DUL* 72–73, 498; for discussion of ʾimr and ll'u, cf. Akkadian *imeru* and *lalû* (Landsberger 1960:Excursus I:57–59; see also Morrison 1981:272). The linguistic structure of two identical initial radicals for Ugaritic ll'im is irregular for Semitic words. Cf. the discussion of M. Cohen 1947:183, #433.

| 53–54 | He provided the gods with jars of wine, | šapîqa 'ilīma raḥbāti yêni/ |
| | Provided the goddesses with vessels. | šapîqa 'ilahāti dakarā<ti> |

55–58	As the gods ate, drank,	ʿadê laḥāmu šatāyu 'ilūma/
	A suckling of breast was provided,	wa-pûqa maraǵǵiṯu-ma ṯadi/
	With a salted knife, a cut of [fa]tling.	bi-ḥarbi malūḥati qaṣṣu [ma]rī/'i

| 58–59 | They drank [wi]ne from gob[lets], | tištayū karpa[nīma yê]na/ |
| | [From] gold [c]ups, the blo[od of trees]. | [bi-kā]sī ḫurāṣi da[ma ʿiṣṣīma] |

[*Lines 60–63 are unintelligible. An additional 2 to 5 lines are missing.*]

COMMENTARY

Poetic Parallelism and Word/Syllable Counts

		semantic parallelism	word/ syllable count
1	wa-yaʿnî kô[ṯaru wa-ḫasī]su	a b (x + y)	3/10

This speech-opening formula begins a series of one-line units within the larger context of Kothar's communication with Baal.

| 2 | taṯûbu baʿli lê-[hawati-ya] | a b c | 3/10 |

This monocolon theoretically could have been prefixed to the tricolon in lines 4–6. Instead, it is here demarcated as a one-line unit, perhaps to punctuate the point made by Kothar. This line reappears in line 15 below and in 1.4 VII 24–25; so it is apparent that it plays a larger role in structuring the conversation about the window between Baal and Kothar.

| 3 | ṯanî ragama kô[ṯaru] wa-ḫasīsu | a b c (x + y) | 4/12 |

This is the third monocolon in a row (see the Commentary for further discussion).

4–6	šama' ma' la-’a[l’i]yāni ba'li/	a b (x + y)	3/10
	bal ’ašîtu ’uru[bata] bi-bahatīma/	c d e	4/13
	ḫillāna bi-qir[bi hêka]līma	d’ e’ (x of y)	3/10

With this tricolon, the column enters into a more conventional style of parallelism. The initial line sets up the strongly parallel second and third lines (see also below lines 8–9). The second line shows a high density of the consonants, *b* and *t*.

| 7 | wa-'anâ ’al’i[yānu] ba'lu | a b (x, y) | 3/9 |

Once again a monocolonic, speech-opening formula.

| 8–9 | ’al tašît ’u[ruba]ta bi-bahatīma/ | a b c | 4/12 |
| | ḫillāna bi-qi[rbi hê]kalīma | b’ c’ (x of y) | 3/10 |

This bicolon follows the patterns in lines 5–6 and is identical to 1. 4 V 64–65.

| 10–11 | ’al...[pidr]ayu bittu ’āri/ | a [b] b c (x of y) | 5/ (?) |
| | ......[ṭall]ayu bittu ribbi... | [a’] b’c’ (x of y) | 4/ (?) |

The divine names and titles are evidently parallel (especially *bittu//bittu*), and presumably they reflect parallel syntax and basic morphology.

Lines 12–13 are too fragmentary to scan.

| 14–15 | wa-ya'nî kôṯaru/[wa-ḫasīsu] | a b (x + y) | 3/10 |

While this line is a standard extra-colonic speech-opening monocolon, it is followed by another monocolon of identical length. The only other instance of this poetic arrangement is the same set of monocola in lines 1–2, where they serve as the conclusion to the first exchange between Baal and Kothar about the window (1.4 V 58–VI 2). In view of this distinctive feature, it would appear that Kothar's response is designed to be aurally striking. It thus aids the audience in keeping this saying in mind, thereby preparing for the eventual fulfillment of the prediction in the next column, in 1.4 VII 14–25.

15   tatûbu baʻli lê-hawati-ya   a b c   3/10

This section-closing monocolon maintains the line-length of both the preceding and following cola.

16–17   [ḫūšu] bahatū-hu tubnûna/   a b c   3/9
        [ḫūšu] turāmimū hêkalū-hu   [aʼ] cʼ bʼ   3/10

The narrative here echoes the commands in 1.4 V 51–55 (see the discussion of the poetry there), although this bicolon uses passive voice verbs. According to Noegel (2004:10), *tbnn* (*bny* with energic *-n*) creates a geminate "ballast" with *trmm* (and also with *lbnn* in the following unit).

18–19   yi[tal]iku lê-libanāni wa-ʻiṣṣī-ha/   a b c   3/13
        lê-[ši]ryāni maḥmada ʼarzī-ha   bʼ cʼ (x of y)   3/10

The unit shows classic syntactical and semantic parallelism. The unusual feature is the syntax of *w-*, which carries over to the second line (an instance of gapping of a particle); for a discussion of the usage here, see the Commentary below. From a poetic perspective, it may be noted that this *w-* stands out not only syntactically, but also in terms of the sounds of this bicolon, since it is the only instance of this consonant in the unit.

20–21   h[li]banānv wa-ʻiṣṣī-ha/   a b c   3/10 (?)
        širyānv maḥmada ʼarzī-ha   bʼ cʼ (x of y)   3/9

This unit matches the preceding almost word-for-word, except for the opening word.

22–23   tūšâtu ʼišitu bi-bahatīma/   a b c   3/11
        nab[l]aʼatu bi-hêkalīma   bʼ cʼ   2/9

The parallelism of syntax and morphology is nearly perfect, with feminine-marked subjects followed by prepositional phrases both consisting of *b-* plus plural nominal forms. In a small way on the sonant level, the first line wraps around to the beginning of the second line, as the internal vowels of the first line's final word is echoed by the internal vowels of the second line's first word.

24–26	hvnnv yôma wa-ṭanî	a b c	3/7
	ta'kulu/'išitu bi-bahatūma	d e f	3/11
	nabla'atu/bi-hêka[lī]ma	e' f'	2/9

The second and third lines build on the preceding bicolon, but there is a switch of verbal root. The initial line is distinctive from the rest of the unit. The ending of the second word in the first line, -*ma*, is echoed at the ends of the other two lines. That word, *yôma*, becomes the final word of the first colon of the next three tricola.

26–28	ṯalīṯa rabī'a yôma/	a b c	3/8
	ta'kulu ['i]šitu bi-bahatūma/	d e f	3/11
	nabla'a[tu] bi-hêkalīma	e' f'	2/9

This tricolon largely follows the preceding. The placement of *yôma* at the end of the first line produces end-rhyme throughout the unit.

29–31	ḫamīša ṯa[dī]ṯa yôma	a b c	3/8
	ta'kulu/'iši[tu bi-]bahatūma	d e f	3/11
	nabla'atu/bi-[qirbi hêka]līma	e' f'	2/9

This unit closely matches the preceding tricolon.

31–33	makka/bi-šabī['i] yô[mi-ma]	a b (x, y)	3/9
	taddî/'išitu bi-bahatūma	d e f	3/10
	na[bla]'atu bi-hêkalīma	e' f'	2/9

This tricolon contains many of the features found in the preceding three tricola, but departs in some important ways. Apart from the different numeral, the temporal marking in the initial line is distinctive, and the switch in verb in the second line is notable. The different numeral, *šabī['i]*, arguably generates a minor resonance with *bi-* located in roughly the same position in the second and third lines. It might be suggested that the particle *makka* adds to the effect of -*ma* elsewhere in the unit. The change of syntax in the first line in this unit, compared to the preceding units, with the prepositional phrase, slightly alters the end of the initial line on the sonant level. Instead of *yôma* as in the initial lines of the two preceding units, the initial line here has *yô[mi-ma]*; if correctly reconstructed, then the end-rhyme is extended from -*ma* as found in the preceding two units to -*īma*.

34–35	sabba kaspu lê-raqqīma	a b c	3/8
	ḫurāṣu/nasabba lê-labināti	b' a' c'	3/11

This beautifully constructed bicolon matches element for element, with chiasm at the head of the lines. The verbs match *G*-stem//*N*-stem suffix forms of the same root (as noted by Held 1965a), resulting in perfect sonant parallelism (*sabba//-sabba*).

35–36	šamaḫa/'al'iyānu ba'lu	a b (x, y)	3/9

This line is used here as an extra-colonic speech-opening formula. The verb elsewhere appears in a similar context preceding what may be called a climactic speech in 1.17 II 8–12 and 1.6 III 14–17. But in those cases it occurs in the first line of a five-line description of rejoicing that ends with *yš'u gh wyṣḥ*, "He lifts up his voice and shouts." Here it performs the double duty of indicating Baal's mood as well as introducing his response to the completion of the palace. In addition to approximating the line-length of the surrounding units, this line evidently maintains the **qtl* verbal form as found in them.

36–38	<ba>hatī-ya banîtu/dūti kaspi	a (x) b c (of y)	4/11
	hêkalī-ya dūti-ma/ḫurāṣi	a' (x) c' (of y)	3/10

The scanning by letters above fails to capture the construct relationship (x of y) in the two lines, because the verb in the first line is interposed between the two parts of the construct (this is the reason for the unusual designation of the construct relationship above, usually labeled x of y). Due to morphological parallelism, this bicolon also enjoys a particularly high density of words ending in *-i*.

38–40	'adabāta bahatī-[hu ba']lu/ya'dubu	a b c d	4/13
	haddu 'adaba ['ada]bāta/hêkalī-hu	c' d' a b'	4/13

This bicolon is perfectly balanced in length and in its various components, including the classic parallelism of *b'l//hd* and of **yqtl//*qtl* of the same root (Held 1962), used in a chiastic arrangement. Also notable (assuming the correctness of the reconstruction), is the identical cognate accusative used in both lines. Moreover, *b* and ' are prominent in the both lines, which echoes the god's name, *b'l*. In the second line, *h* and *d* are somewhat prominent, echoing the god's title *hd*.

40–43	ṭabaḫa 'alapīma ['ap]/ṣa'na	a b c	4/10
	šaqîla ṯôrīma [wa-]ma/r'ī'ī 'ili	a' b' c' (x of y)	4/12
	'igalīma dū[ta]/šanati	b'' (x of y)	3/9
	'immirī qamaṣi la[li]'īma	b''' (x of y) b''''	3/10

This unit is the same as in 1.1 IV 30–32 (*UBC* 1.154–55). Generally, the terms for the animals dominate this unit, which is very well balanced. The first two lines are headed by verbs plus double-objects. There is an interesting variation of particle between the sets of objects. The second set of two lines elaborate the objects, the first in a standard construct relationship, and the second with a stacking up of object nouns. The consonant *-m* runs through all four lines.

44–46	ṣāḫa 'aḫḫī-hu bi-bahatī-hu	a b c	3/10
	'a[r]yi-hu/bi-qirbi hêkalī-hu	b' c' (x of y)	3/10
	ṣāḫa/šib'ima binī 'aṯirati	a' b' (x, p of q)	4/11

The first two lines show classic parallelism. The third line picks up the verb of the first line and generates a parallel direct object, longer in length and without any following prepositional phrase. As a result, the emphasis in this unit falls on the identity of the guests. This tricolon may perhaps be viewed as providing a transition between the preceding four-line unit and the series of bicola that follows.

47–48	šapîqa 'ilīma karrīma yān[iqīma] (?)/	a b c	4/13 (?)
	šapîqa 'ilahāti ḫaparāti	a' b' c'	3/10

The larger unit of lines 47–54 is particularly notable for its sustained description of the items provided for the guests at the banquet, which is unparalleled in Ugaritic literature. The *C*-stem forms of **pwq* in particular (interpreted as cases of **qtl*//**qtl* in lines 49–50 and 53–54 framing two cases of **qtl*//**yqtl* in lines 49–50 and 51–52), combined with the similar syntax throughout the rest of the units, strongly bind together the four bicola. Each bicolon balances masculine and feminine plural indirect objects (in each case *'ilīma*//*'ilahāti*), as well as masculine and feminine direct objects. Each of the direct objects is further tied together on the sonant level in sharing at least one consonant.

49–50	šapîqa 'ilīma 'alapīma	a b c	3/10
	ya/šapîqu 'ilahāti 'arḫāti	a' b' c'	3/10

51–52	šapîqa ʾilīma kaḫaṯīma	a b c	3/10
	ya/šapîqu ʾilahāti kissiʾāti	aʾ bʾ cʾ	3/11
53–54	šapîqa ʾilīma raḫbāti yêni	a b c (x of y)	4/11
	šapîqa ʾilahāti dakarā<ti>	a bʾ cʾ (x of y)	3/11

The shift in the verb-forms in lines 53–54 back to the *qtl*//*qtl* forms
of lines 47–48 may be designed to mark the climax of this section of
narrative. The longer words in the second line balance the shorter but
greater number of words in the first.

55–58	ʿadê laḫāmu šatāyu ʾilūma	a b (x, y) c	4/11
	wa-pûqa maraġġiṯu-ma ṯadi	d e (x of y)	3/10
	bi-ḫarbi malūḫati qaṣṣu [ma]rī/ʾi	f (x, y) eʾ (x of y)	4/12

For this unit, see the discussion of 1.4 III 40–43. The second and third lines
of this colon expand on the initial mention of eating in the first line.

| 58–59 | tištayū karpa[nīma yê]na | a b (x of y) | 3/9 |
| | [bi-kā]sī ḫurāṣi da[ma ʿiṣṣīma] | c bʾ (x of y) | 4/11 |

For this unit, see the discussion of 1.4 III 43–44. This bicolon expands
the initial mention of drinking in line 55. It is to be noted that the
syntax of the second line in this colon parallels the syntax of the third
line of the preceding colon. In this way, the eating and the drinking
are further linked poetically.

Introduction

The story of the construction of Baal's palace continues from column
V and stretches through the entire column VI. For a detailed discus-
sion of the general characteristics of ancient Near Eastern construction
narratives, see above pp. 550–53. The column begins with a continu-
ation of the conversation between Baal and Kothar about whether a
window should be installed in the palace (lines 1–15). This is followed
by the account of the palace's construction (lines 16–38). Baal then
prepares a banquet in honor of the completion of the palace, inviting
the children of Athirat, i.e., the entire pantheon of deities, to the feast
(lines 38–59). The construction narrative concludes in column VII with
Baal's triumphal tour of the earth (lines 7–14) the installation of the
window and Baal's grand theophany (lines 14–42).

Lines 1–15: The Debate Over the Window Continues

At the end of column V Kothar strongly suggested that he install a window in Baal's new palace, but Baal rejected the idea (1.4 V 58–65). Kothar's response to Baal begins in column VI. In an unusual single-line quotation (line 2), Kothar offers a prediction, literally, "You will return, O Baal, to my word." (*ttb bʿl lhwty*)." Here the word "return" (**twb*) may more properly be understood to mean either to "heed" or "reconsider" (cf. the same root as used in 1.3 IV 54–55; cf. **těšûbâ* for "answer" in Job 21:34, 34:36). The appearance of this speech as a monocolon is a striking and rare occurrence in Ugaritic narrative poetry and is probably intended to focus the audience's attention on the speech. Kothar repeats the prediction in line 15 as well, and its fulfillment is extensively discussed in 1.4 VII 19–25, where first Baal mentions it (line 20), then Kothar happily reminds Baal that he knew the latter would reconsider the issue (lines 23–25).

In lines 3–6 Kothar asks his question a second time (**tn rgm*). Kothar emphasizes the importance of the question by adding *mʿ*, often rendered "please," to the imperative *šmʿ*, repeated from 1.4 V 59. The appearance of *mʿ* with an imperative indicates that the imperative is to be understood as a request rather than a command (cf. 1.4 I 20–21 for another example). The parallel to line 4 in 1.4 V 59 is followed by an additional colon (line 60) that does not appear in the reiteration of the speech here. Lines 5–6 repeat Kothar's question from 1.4 V 61–62.

Baal responds again with a refusal (lines 7–13). Lines 8–9 are a repetition of Baal's words in 1.4 V 64–65. Baal then apparently gives his reasons for not wanting the window in the unfortunately broken lines 10–13. It is not clear whether these lines were also given in his initial response to Kothar in the lacuna at the end of column V. It is possible that Baal gives no reason for his refusal during the first response, and only gives it now. However, there is no evidence to help to adjudicate the issue. Since these lines are the only place in the story in which Baal's motivation is directly discussed, it is particularly unfortunate that they are so broken. Their obscurity compounds the ambiguity of the episode about the window. The scene concludes in lines 14–15 with a repetition of Kothar's prediction (from lines 1–2) that eventually Baal will reconsider the proposal.

This is an appropriate place to consider the question of the meaning of the episode about the window (1.4 V 58–VI 15, VII 14–42). The motivation for Baal's actions with regard to the window in his palace has been the subject of a great deal of speculation over the decades.

Cassuto (*BOS* 2.135) produced a very influential explanation in 1938, arguing that Baal's concern about the window reflects his fear that his enemy, Mot, who becomes the god's great antagonist in the last part of the cycle, will attack him by slipping into the palace through the window. The primary support for this explanation was found in the extraordinary biblical passage, Jer 9:20, which appears to make allusion to an attack by Mot (Death) upon a fortress into which he enters through a window: *kî ʿālâ māwet bĕḥallônênû bāʾ bĕʾarmĕnôtênû*, "for Death has come up into our windows, he has entered our citadels." Cassuto saw this verse as a reminiscence of the story of Baal and Mot. This explanation of Baal's reluctance was widely accepted (e.g., Ginsberg 1943:113–14; Albright 1969:196 n. 45, Loewenstamm, *CS* 1–6; Petersen and Woodward 1977:239–40; cf. Saracino 1984; Paul 1968:373 n. 6 for further references; see also Margalit, *MLD* 45, who uses this view of the window to bolster his idiosyncratic view of the passage noted above).

A number of scholars, however, have rejected a relationship between the Baal Cycle and Jer 9:20. Several significant problems for the proposal may be noted. Most importantly, many have pointed out that the passage in 1.4 VI 10–13, Baal's own explanation of his reluctance to install a window, refers not to Mot, but rather to Yamm as the object of his uneasiness. In addition, Yamm is referred to again in the broken passage, VII 1–6, in a context that deals with Baal's establishment of his dominion over aspects of the world. Mot does not enter the story until after the palace is completed (see *Thespis* 188–9; Pope 1966:236; Paul 1968; cf. Talmon 1978:122–24; Pardee 1997a:261 nn. 168, 173). One may also note that the window in Baal's palace plays no role in the story of Baal and Mot (1.4 VII–1.6 VI), and Mot's fatal attack on Baal does not take place in Baal's palace, but rather in Mot's own realm (1.5 V). The link between the narrative of 1.3–1.4 and the following section in 1.5–1.6 is not the window, but the palace itself as the indicator of Baal's dominion. In columns VI and VII his dominion is accepted by the deities in heaven and by humans on earth, but not yet in the netherworld. The final part of the cycle deals with the issue of Baal's status in that region. When Baal sends his message to Mot (1.4 VIII 29–37), he begins by directly calling attention to his palace (not the window), because the palace is the symbol of his power, while the window is only a part of that symbol. Because he now has the palace, Baal expects Mot to recognize his dominion. Mot's refusal to do so propels the plot of 1.5–1.6. But none of this has any relationship to the window as such. There simply is no discernable link between the story of the window and Mot or Jer 9:20.

The influence of Cassuto's interpretation has lingered, however, even where the main lines of it have been rejected. Without embracing Cassuto's full view of the window, Caquot and Sznycer (*TO* 1.211 n. g) proposed that the window allows both Baal's rains and his descent into Mot. Gordon also (1977:99) saw the window as tied to Baal's fall to Mot, and Pardee (1997a:261 n. 168) stressed the "rather clear link between the palace, the window, and Ba'lu's eventual demise—so important to the overall structure of the myth." However, the cycle makes no statement that the window is the avenue or means by which Baal descends into the maw of Mot. As a result, relating the story of the window to the subsequent narrative of Baal and Mot misconstrues the function of the window episode within the structure of the cycle.

Once it is recognized that the window itself plays no role in the subsequent events involving Baal's conflict with Mot, then one can look back on the preceding story to find its meaning. When that is done, it becomes evident that the episode is the conclusion to the narrative of Baal's palace. It is, in fact, the climax of this entire part of the cycle. Careful consideration shows that Baal's concern about the window is a major issue in 1.4 V 58–VI 15. Whatever is its underlying cause, it is successfully resolved by 1.4 VII 14–25, so that the episode concludes triumphantly with Baal's use of the window in his theophany. The window is a subplot that focuses on the establishment of Baal's function as giver of rain for the earth. Its literary function is completed by the theophany, and it plays no further explicit role in the subsequent part of the epic. With this in mind, we will examine three aspects of the episode: first, the issue of why Baal does not want the window; second, the question of the circumstances that cause Baal to change his mind; and finally the meaning and significance of the window itself within the context of the narrative (for an earlier discussion of these issues, see Smith 1985:340–46).

As mentioned above, Baal's concerns about the window are directly addressed in 1.4 V 10–13, lines that unfortunately are severely damaged. Lines 10–11 mention two of Baal's women, namely [Pidr]ay, the daughter of light(ning?), and [Tall]ay, the daughter of showers. These two goddesses are very closely connected to Baal. They appear with him also in 1.3 I 22–25, where they are singled out as attending the victory feast of Baal following his defeat of Yamm (see the Commentary on pp. 115–20). They are also called upon to accompany Baal, along with his clouds, thunderbolts and rains, in his journey to Mot's abode in the netherworld when he has been defeated (1.5 V 10–11). The only other words surviving in these lines are *'al tx[* in line 10 and two uncertain

letters in line 11, the second and third of the probable verb for the line. The first letter could be either *h* or *ʾ*, and the second could be *ṭ* or *ḥ*. The word *ʾal* is a negative particle that customarily precedes **yqtl* forms of verbs. As a result, lines 10–11 may well constitute negative purpose clauses following an imperative: "Do not install a window…lest Pidray do X," or passive, "lest she be X-ed." Several suggestions for restoring the verb in line 10 have been made. The damaged letter following *t* could be read as *l, d* or *ʾu*, since three vertical wedges are preserved, but the lower part of the letter is destroyed. Several scholars propose reading it as *d*. In this case, some relate the word to **ndd*, "to flee" (*TO* 1.212; Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1165; *CML*[1] 99; *CML*[2] 62; Gordon 1977:98). Others connect it to **ndy*, or **ydy*, "to depart" (e.g., *Thespis* 189; cf. 1.4 VI 32, where this root is fairly clearly attested). Others have proposed reading *ʾal tʾu[mr*, "lest she be seen" (*ANET* 134) or "lest she see," or "look out" (Tsevat 1978b:156–57). Tsevat suggested that Baal is concerned that if Pidray and Tallay were to look out of the window, they would desire to return to their former domiciles. This view has gained little support. The proposed form *tʾumr* is otherwise unattested for the root **ʾmr*, "to see, look" (see the discussion in Smith 1985:331–33). In addition, there is not enough room to reconstruct the five letters, *mr pdr*, in the broken patch of the line. While the reading of the letter *d* may be somewhat more likely, one must admit that the proposed interpretations of the verb do not inspire much confidence. There is nothing in the Ugaritic literature that suggests a strained relationship between Baal and Pidray, Tallay (and Arsay) that would compel Baal to fear that they might try to escape from his presence through a window if it were installed. It has seemed wisest to us (and to others, including Albright 1934:126; Aistleitner 43; Coogan 1978:103; Pardee 1997a:261) simply not to attempt a reconstruction here. It appears likely that Baal's fear is that the women might be harmed in some way, rather than that they might escape from him.

The second bicolon (or tricolon), lines 12–13, focuses on Yamm, referred to in line 12 with his standard epithet, *[m]dd ʾil*, "Beloved of El." The two verbs preserved in line 13, *]qlṣn.wpṯm*, are also found together in Baal's description of the feast during which he was grossly insulted by a god (1.4 III 12–14). The verb **qlṣ*, "to scorn, abase" has been discussed in the Commentary on 1.3 V 28, p. 352 (see also the Commentary on 1.4 III 12). On *wpṯm* see the Commentary on 1.4 III 13, p. 473. The first verb may have been a **yqtl* form, perhaps preceded by *ʾal* like the verb in line 10. It is not clear whether these two words belong on a single line together, or whether, like 1.4 III

12–14, they belong on two lines of a tricolon. What these verbs suggest is that these lines describe a concern of Baal that Yamm in some way might be able once again to humiliate Baal if the window were built in the palace. It also seems quite likely that the two threats described here, one concerning Pidray and Tallay, and the other concerning Yamm, are related to one another, and that Yamm is here presented as a threat to Baal's women. But the relationship between lines 10–11 and 12–13 remains obscure.

Gibson (*CML*² 62 n. 4) offered another interpretation of the threat that Yamm poses here. For him, the reference to Yamm in line 12 signals a fear that "the chaos waters may break through" the window. While possible, one must note that none of the surviving text suggests this motivation. The preserved language in line 13 deals with status and honor rather than the surging of the deep. While there are certainly parallels in Mesopotamian and Israelite texts to the relationship between windows in heaven and water seen as existing above the sky (Weinfeld 1977–78), in the absence of evidence, it is not possible to confirm this line as a reference to this concept.

Between the changes that occur from the time Baal refuses to permit the window to be installed (1.4 V 64–VI 15) to the point in 1.4 VII 14–20 when he allows it, there are a number of important events: the palace is built (except the window; 1.4 VI 16–38); Baal hosts a dedicatory banquet for the family of the gods (1.4 VI 38–59); Baal deals in some way with Yamm (1.4 VII 1–4); and Baal takes a tour of power around the earth (1.4 VII 7–14), at which point he changes his mind about the window (1.4 VII 14–20). It seems likely that each one of these events is a stepping-stone toward Baal's achievement of divine dominance (and perhaps feelings of security that finally free him from fear). The successful completion of the spectacular palace of gold and silver, without any interference or problems, constitutes a landmark moment for the god. The grand banquet inaugurating the palace, attended by the seventy children of Athirat (i.e., the major deities) clearly indicates their recognition of his kingship and thus suggests stability in the pantheon. The broken reference to Yamm in the center of the scenes of triumph allow us to propose that these lines indicate a neutralizing of Yamm's potential danger that Baal fears in 1.4 VI 12–13. The damaged condition of 1.4 VII 2–5a does not allow us to draw conclusions about the exact nature of Baal's success against Yamm. The passage seems rather short to describe any type of actual battle between the two. But there seems little doubt that Yamm is no longer a problem from this point onwards. Perhaps, as proposed by Gibson (*CML*² 64,

n. 1), these lines constitute a declaration by the assembled children of Athirat rejecting Yamm's claims and assuring Baal of their support. Whatever the passage describes, it is clear that while Yamm was central to Baal's concern about the window, in these lines that concern is put to rest. And finally Baal's tour of cities of the world, in which each of them submits to the young king, assures his status upon earth. From the end of CAT 1.2 until this point, we have watched Baal's slow rise to power. But now, with universal support for his kingship in heaven and on earth, Baal is ready to install the window that will serve as the conduit for his life-giving rains.

We now turn to the issue of the meaning of the window itself. Several general interpretations have been proposed, often related to the overall conceptual framework the scholars have used to interpret the cycle as a whole (for a survey of the major approaches see *UBC* 1.60–96). De Moor (*SPUMB* 162–3) argued, as part of his seasonal interpretation of the cycle, that the window episode represents the occurrence of the late rains in the spring (shortly before the death of Baal in the summer). Gaster (*Thespis* 195), in accordance with his ritual interpretation, proposed that the narrative about the window originated in a rain-making ceremony at the Baal temple in Ugarit, in which windows in the temple were opened in the autumn to bring the rains after the dry summer (see also Gray 1979a:18 and n. 39). Gibson (1984:214–15) emphasized the literary dimension of the story of the window, in arguing that Baal's initial refusal is intended to increase tension within the narrative and to emphasize his independence of action (Engnell 1967:116 and Kapelrud 1952:95–96 also noted this literary function). Following in the footsteps of Gaster, Robertson (1982:318–19, 338–39) suggested a ritual basis in the window, but thought that the opening of the window indicates the conclusion of the rainy season rather than its continuation in the spring (de Moor) or the beginning of the season in the fall (Gaster). For L. R. Fisher (1965, 1969), the building of the palace represents an aspect of the creation of the universe. Margalit (*MLD* 51–74, esp. 58), who saw 1.4 merely as a prelude to the story of Baal and Mot, understood the installation of the window as an act of hubris by Baal (against the advice of Kothar!) that leads directly in 1.4 VII 35–58 to Baal's defeat by Mot.[9] In the end, the complexity of the meaning of

[9] Gordon (1966b:22 n. 14) suggested a historical background to the story of the window, arguing that windows were not known in the Late Bronze Age in Syria, but had long been used in the architecture of Crete, Kothar's home. For Gordon, Kothar's advocacy for a window represents cultural influence coming from the Mediterranean

myth requires that we not try to fit the palace narrative or the window subplot into a single interpretive framework. Several of the proposed insights in the previous paragraph are mutually plausible. The views of the Baal Cycle—seasonal, ritual, cosmogonic, life versus death—are hardly incompatible with one another or with the understanding of the cycle as the story of Baal's kingship. Some of these ideas appear to be supported by more evidence in the text than others.

The most critical passage for understanding the function of the window is 1.4 VII 25–35. Here the window is equated with a break in the clouds through which Baal issues his voice, the thunder, the sign of approaching rains. There can be little doubt then that the key function of the window involves Baal's primary characteristic as fertility deity. Indeed, this part of the story may be regarded as aetiological, in giving a mythic understanding of how Baal fulfills his primary divine duty. With this in mind, we can see (as mentioned above) that the opening of the window is the climax of the entire story of the construction of the palace, just as Athirat's speech in 1.4 V 6–9 indicates. It is only with the construction of Baal's palace (presumably related in some way to his temple at Ugarit) that his sovereignty is made manifest and that he is able to fulfill his capacity as provider of the rain. The importance of rain for the life of the people of Ugarit (and elsewhere) cannot be overestimated, and thus it should not be surprising that the story of how Baal came to deliver the rains to humanity should be so comprehensively described as we find it here in 1.3–1.4.[10]

In addition, as also mentioned above, it is clear that in focusing on Baal's sending forth of his voice (thunder) from the window in 1.4 VII 25–42, the poet is equally interested in emphasizing Baal's power and authority. This climactic scene superbly links together the two elements of fertility and kingship, building on the point made by the previous

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world, while Baal's resistance to this suggestion would be natural for a Syrian god. It is true that the examples of the so-called *bīt ḫilāni* are known better for the Iron Age in Syria (see *RLA* 4:406–9; Akkermans and Schwartz 2003:368–70), but the same style has been argued for a large building in the northwestern part of Emar (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003:345), and a palace at Alalakh has a two-column portico entrance, characterized as a "prefiguring" of the *bīt ḫilāni* type (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003:334).

[10] The appearance of this motif at Ugarit has been ascribed to the direct role of rain in the Levantine agriculture. In contrast, Mesopotamia, which is driven considerably less by direct rainfall (Neiman 1969:244), tends to employ the imagery of irrigation in its mythological expressions involving water (Weinfeld 1977–78).

two scenes, 1.4 VI 38–59 where the gods show their acceptance of Baal as king, and 1.4 VII 7–14 where the earth's population does the same. Baal's kingship is thus the foundation for his role as provider of rain and sustainer of the earth, and the episode of the building of the palace ends in triumph. This aetiological aspect of the window story may be understood as quasi-cosmological in intent. At this point in the narrative, the window constitutes the culmination of a process of cosmological significance (stressed in *UBC* 1.77, 105, but questioned in Pardee 1997a:261 n. 168).

But why does the story pay so much attention to Baal's initial reluctance to install the window? It seems likely that Engnell (1967:116), Kapelrud (1952:95–96) and Gibson (1984:214–15) were correct in focusing attention on the literary function of this element. We have seen throughout the story in 1.3–1.4 that the poet places obstacle after obstacle in the way of the successful completion of the palace, each one potentially disastrous to the goal, but each eventually overcome. Thus El initially refuses Baal's request (1.3 IV–VI); Athirat initially seems ill disposed to help him secure El's support (1.4 II–III, especially her speech in III 27–32), but then agrees to go to El on his behalf. El's initial response to Athirat's request appears to be negative (1.4 IV 58–62), but then he gives his permission. And in the climactic moment of the story, Baal refuses to put in the window, evidently because he is not yet sure that he has control of the universe. From the narrative's perspective, not to install the window will mean that the whole effort to build the palace will end in failure. This provides the story with a final element of suspense, which subsequently is resolved when Baal announces his change of mind.

This kind of narrative strategy is common in the Ugaritic narratives, as well as in thematically related biblical stories. Thus the Aqhat Epic opens with a childless Dan'il, whose desire for a son seems hopeless. However, through Baal's intervention, El grants him a son. But all of this appears in vain when Aqhat is murdered by Anat. The use of suspense to keep the story interesting is an important element here. Similarly, the Kirta Epic begins with an apparently hopeless situation in which Kirta has lost his entire family. El once again intervenes and helps Kirta regain a family line. But everything is almost scuttled by Kirta's failure to fulfill his vow to Athirat, so that she places a curse on him. El once again intervenes and things return to normal briefly. But then the appropriate transfer of power from one generation to the next

is jeopardized by the attempt of Yassib, his son, to usurp the throne. Here too the narrative probably ended with equilibrium being returned. The Abraham cycle in Genesis 12–33 presents similar episodes in which the goal of the narrative is continually placed in jeopardy, but always manages to be fulfilled. The window episode here also appears to be the final suspenseful moment, when the goal toward which the narrative has been moving takes one last turn toward potential failure. Of course, the story requires that Baal will install the window so that he can send the rains. His delayed decision provides the suspense.

Lines 16–38: The Construction of the Palace

The building of the palace is described in surprisingly vague terms. Only two phases of construction are discussed: the bringing of cedar wood from the Lebanon and Siryan (Anti-Lebanon) mountain ranges (lines 18–21); and the rather obscure burning of the palace that leaves it formed of silver plate and gold brick (lines 22–35).

The section opens in lines 16–17 with a general statement that the palace was built. We have reconstructed both lines of the bicolon with an initial *ḫš*, "quickly," on the basis of the very similar lines in Baal's commission to Kothar (1.4 V 53–55). The two verbs are best understood as passives. The lines provide a summary of the actions that succeed in lines 18–38. Lines 18–21, which describe the gathering of cedar wood for the palace, resume the account of the collecting of materials for the palace. This account began in 1.4 V 38–40 with the description of the arrival of the valuable metals, but is interrupted by the narrative of Kothar's commissioning (1.4 V 41–VI 15). Hurowitz (1985:28–29) notes that the account of the construction of the Tabernacle in Exod 35–36 provides a striking parallel to our passage. In Exod 35:20–29, the people bring materials for use in the Tabernacle, but the account is interrupted by Moses' commissioning of Bezalel and Oholiab as the craftsmen who will oversee the building of the shrine (Exod 35:30–36:2a). The description of the gathering of the materials is then resumed and completed in Exod 36:2b–7. The close similarity here suggests that these story elements were part of the West Semitic formula for construction narratives (cf. the discussion above, pp. 35–36).

Cedar wood (*ʾarz*) from the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon (Siryan) mountain ranges is collected for the palace (lines 18–21; on the exact meaning of *ʾarz*, see the Commentary on 1.4 V 10 above). The cedars

here are called "choice" (*mḥmd*) in lines 19 and 21, similar to the usage of *mibḥar ʾărāzêkā*, "your choice cedars" in Jer 22:7 (note also 2 Kgs 19:23; Isa 37:24; noted in *BOS* 2.135 n. 86). The geographical terms used here, *lbnn* and *šryn*, are also paired together in Israelite literature (Ps 29:6; cf. Ben Sira 24:13, which uses Hermon for Siryan, see Boadt 1978:492–94). The prized nature of this wood for construction is widely attested in Mesopotamian, Egyptian and West Semitic sources. Its importance in Mesopotamian tradition goes back to the third millennium (Waldman 1981:177–78; see J. P. Brown 1969:176–80; Moorey 1994:350–51). The earliest literary text on the subject comes in a text attested from Ebla with a duplicate from Abu Salabikh (Krebernik 1992:82): "The foreign lands yielded lapis lazuli and silver, the cedar forest yielded (pure) wood, boxwood and cypress, exquisite emblems (?)." Gudea of Lagash Cylinder A: xv, lines 27–34; Statue B: v, lines 21–40) reports how he obtained cedar wood from the Amanus, the Cedar Mountain (Edzard 1997:78–79 and 1997:33; *ANET* 268–69; Brown 1969:176–77; Moorey 1994:350–51). Mesopotamian monarchs, such as Gilgamesh, Sargon of Akkad, Gudea of Lagash, Yahdunlim of Mari and Shamshi-Adad I of Assyria, all make journeys to the Lebanon for its riches (Malamat 1965; Brown 1969:177–78; see *ANET* 267–68; for wood from Lebanon for the kingdoms in the mid-Euphrates region, see Durand 2002:63; for cedars of Lebanon taken by neo-Assyrian and neo-Babylonian monarchs, see Elayi 1988). From the third millennium down to the New Kingdom, Egyptian kings likewise patronized the import of cedar wood from Lebanon (see Brown 1969:175–79; for examples, see *ANET* 227, 240, 254; for a depiction from the Great Temple in Karnak showing Syrians cutting down trees, see Nibbi 1996:52, fig. 5a). Phoenician kings also went to the Lebanon for cedar. Josephus records an account derived from Menander of Ephesus in *Antiquities* VIII, 5, 3, paragraphs 144–46 (Thackeray and Marcus 1934:649–51) and *Contra Apion* I.119 (for the latter, see Thackeray 1926:209–11). The passage from *Antiquities* reads:

> These two kings are also mentioned by Menander, who translated the Tyrian records from the Phoenician language into Greek speech, in these words: "And on the death of Abibalos, his son Eiromos [Hiram] succeeded to his kingdom, who lived to the age of fifty-three and reigned thirty-four years. He it was who made the Eurychoros (Broad Place) embankment and set up the golden column in the temple of Zeus. Moreover, he went off and cut timber from the mountain called Libanos for the roofs of the temples, and pulled down the ancient temples and erected new ones to Heracles and Astarte."

Solomon's temple is famous from the Bible for its cedar wood (1 Kings 6:9, 15–20; cf. 2 Sam 7:2, 7; 1 Kgs 5:20, 23–25, 28). A temple at Bethel likewise is praised for its cedar from Lebanon as well as its lapis lazuli in an Aramaic text written in Demotic script (Papyrus Amherst 63, col. VIII, lines 8–10; translated by Steiner in *COS* 1.315). Administrative texts from Ugarit also mention the transport of wood from this region to the city. An Akkadian letter to the king of Ugarit from a certain Ewri-kili (evidently from Beirut) discusses ships hired by the former to transport wood to Ugarit (Arnaud 1991:219): "My lord, regarding the wood when you wrote, 'Much wood convey to me,' now my ship is here ready to depart and all the requests of my lord will be in my ship." The verb of transport here, *šu-bi-la-an-ni*, is the *C*-stem of **wbl*, the same root used in 1.4 V 15, 17, 31, 38 and 40.

A significant interpretational issue in lines 18–21 concerns the fact that these lines lack an expressed subject, so that it is not entirely clear whether Baal or Kothar or simply a group of workers journeys to the mountains to obtain the wood. In the Mesopotamian construction narratives, the king is usually the one depicted as the gatherer of the materials (see Hurowitz 1992:210–12). This may suggest that Baal should be understood as the subject of the verbs here. If this is the case, then the passage could either suggest that Baal himself went to find the appropriate wood, as some of the great monarchs of Mesopotamia are portrayed as doing, or it could presuppose rather that he simply commissioned a group of envoys to do so. For the latter interpretation, a comparable expedition is attributed more explicitly to Solomon in 1 Kgs 5:28: *wayyišlāḥēm lĕbānônâ*, "and he sent to Lebanon…" (perhaps with an enclitic *mem* apparently on the verb in view of the direct object that follows). However, the fact that West Semitic building narratives often depict a craftsman who is put in charge of the construction certainly raises the possibility that the overseer is expected to gather the materials. Thus Kothar, who is the subject of the last active verbs before this passage (lines 14–15), cannot be ruled out as the subject here.

Line 18 (repeated in line 20) provides another case in which the conjunction *w-* is used to emphasize a noun: *y[t]lk llbbn w'ṣh*. Our translation above renders the line rather conventionally: "he [se]nds to Lebanon for its trees." However, this translation does not fully reflect the intent of the *w-*. As discussed above in the commentary on 1.4 V 45 (p. 576), the particle in this context is not used to coordinate Lebanon and its wood, but rather to emphasize the latter: "to Lebanon, in particular its wood" (see the important article of Steiner 2000). It is not clear

whether the nouns, *ʻṣ*//*ʼarz*, are meant to be understood as singular ("wood"//"cedar") or plural ("trees"//"cedars"), or perhaps even as alternating singular and plural nouns ("wood"//"cedars"). With the pronominal suffixes, the singular and plural forms are indistinguishable. The plural form is used in other poetic texts. For example, Ps 29:5 refers to the "cedars of Lebanon." The related phrase, *mibḥar ʼărāzêkā*, "your choice cedars" in Jer 22:7 (see also 2 Kgs 19:23; Isa 37:24; noted in *BOS* 2.135 n. 86) shows a plural *ʼrz*, but a singular *mbḥr*. For *ʻṣ*, the situation is even less clear. The plural is adopted here, albeit tentatively.

Perhaps the greatest difficulty in lines 18–21 concerns the question of how to reconstruct the beginning of line 20. The particle *hn* has been read (so CAT; Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1165; Gordon 1977:98; de Moor 1987:58; *MLC* 205; *MLR* 87; Wyatt 1998:106; for this particle, see *UG* 736; Sadka 2001). As indicated in the Textual Notes above, this reading is possible, but not certain. Thus reconstructed as *h[n l]bnn*, the line would be understood as a simple nominative clause, with the place-names as adverbial accusatives: "Behold/Lo, to Lebanon for its trees,//to Siryan (for) its choicest cedars." Another approach taken has been to see some sort of verb here. Ginsberg (*KU* 35) raised the possibility of reconstructing *h[lk l]bnn*, "they/he/one went to Lebanon" (though the reconstruction required would be *h[lk ll]bnn* or the like). Held (1962:288) supported this reading on the analogy of other cases of the appearance of **yqtl*//**qtl* forms of the same verb in Ugaritic poetry. However, there is not enough room in the lacuna for all those letters. Cassuto (*BOS* 2.135 n. 86) suggested *h[pl]*, offering Isa 10:34 as a possible comparison (*wĕhallĕbānôn bĕʼaddîr yippôl*, citing RSV, "and Lebanon with its majestic trees will fall"). Also assuming a verb is Pardee's cautious proposal, "[They X] Lebanon…" (1997a:261). In the end, the interpretation of the lacuna remains inconclusive.

Lines 22–35 constitute the only actual descriptive passage concerning the construction of the palace. But it is not an ordinary construction. The palace is set aflame and burns for seven days. At the end of the process, it is complete, now overlaid with silver and constructed of bricks of gold (lines 34–35). There is a great deal of uncertainty as to how this passage should be understood. The dominant imagery of this section is the fire in a palace, with the use of the verb **ʼkl*, "to eat, consume," usually found in contexts of destruction, both in BH (see Exod 3:2; Ezek 15:4) and in Akkadian (see *CAD I/Ɉ*:230). The Akkadian usage is found in a report of a fiery conflagration at Ugarit (EA 151:55–57): É LUGAL ᵁᴿᵁ*Ugarit*ᵏⁱ *ikul išātum*, "fire has consumed

the royal palace of Ugarit" (*CAD I/J*:230b; Moran 1992:238–39, esp. n. 4). A Mari text (*ARM X* 150:9–11; Marzal 1976:23) cites a proverb with this idiom: "Now (these) men are like what the proverb (says): 'The fire consumes (*i-ša-tum i-ka-al-ma*) the reed and its companions pay attention.'" Some of the early translators interpreted this passage as describing the destruction of a previous palace or temple in preparation for the new building (e.g., Albright 1934:127; cf. also Cassuto, *BOS* 2.135). But the context shows this to be impossible. The fire is clearly a process for fabricating the finished palace. Cassuto (*BOS* 2.189) thought of the work of the fire as smelting. Bernhardt suggested the picture of a smelting furnace combined with a kiln for firing bricks (Bernhardt in Beyerlin 1975:229 n. 63). Pardee (1997a:261 n. 174) characterizes the scene as "a giant casting process." Something along these lines seems the most likely interpretation of the fire. (For further discussion of the possible background for this picture, see Excursus II below.) It is the means that Kothar uses for casting the silver and gold into the materials for constructing the palace (cf. also Gordon 1977:98; de Moor 1987:59 n. 262).[11] Some scholars have argued that the burning scene is a mythologizing of a regular ritual at Ugarit (e.g., de Moor 1987:59 n. 262; Robertson 1982:336–38). While such a connection with ritual cannot be ruled out, there is also very little evidence for it. No such ritual is attested in the Ugaritic texts, and none of the proposed parallel fire ceremonies from other cultures (see most significantly Robertson 1982) shows any relationship to the type of context found in our passage. Most fire rituals involve cleansing from sin, rather than any aspect of palace or temple construction. Other scholars have suggested that the appearance of the completed palace at the end of the seven days of burning is a quasi-magical occurrence, similar to the spontaneous appearance of the golden calf out of the molten gold in Exod 32:24 (e.g., *BOS* 2.136; Gordon 1977:98), but this too seems an unlikely interpretation. The presence of Kothar as the builder of the temple, while unexpressed directly in this passage, can hardly be doubted. We most likely have here a description of Kothar's brilliant metallurgical work in forming a spectacular palace of silver overlay and gold brick.

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[11] Gold bricks are mentioned in the Amarna Letters (*libit ḫurāṣe*), although they are certainly not the type of bricks used for construction as we have in our passage (e.g., EA 19:38). However, silver-plated bricking (e.g., *agurru*, kiln-fired brick, plated with *zaḫalû*-silver, in *CAD A/1*:162a, #1d) is attested.

The "fire" (*'išt*)//"flame" (*nbl'at*)[12] burns for a week (lines 24–33). The seven-day unit is, of course, a well-known one in ancient Near Eastern literature. It occurs very commonly in Ugaritic literature itself, for example, in 1.14 III 2–5, 10–16 (cf. IV 31–48); V 3–8; 1.17 I 5–16; II 32–40; 1.22 I 21–26; cf. Loewenstamm 1965 = *CS* 192–209; D. Freedman 1970–71:65–81), to convey either a complete or appropriate amount of time (on the significance of the number seven, see Kapelrud 1968; Pope, 1962:294–95; for examples in Mesopotamian literature, see Hallo 1996:128–29). In these instances (where the text is clearly preserved, cf. 1.22 I 21–26), the seventh day marks a shift in the activity in the scenes. Marching on days one through six gives way to arriving in 1.14 III 2–5, 10–16. King Pabil sleeps no more on the seventh day in 1.14 V 3–8. In 1.17 I 5–16, on the seventh day Baal draws near to Dan'il after six days of lamentation. In 1.17 II 32–40, the Kotharat depart on the seventh day after six days of feasting.

Biblical scenes have been compared as well. Hurowitz (1992:227) would further note the seven years taken for the building of Solomon's temple (1 Kgs 6:38). This case differs in using years rather than days, and it is evident that the symbolic use of the number seven does not mark a shift in activity in the seventh year. The case of Genesis 1 seems more proximate to the Ugaritic examples. L. R. Fisher (1963:40–41) compared the seven-day sequence here with the seven days of creation in Genesis 1:

> Now it is extremely interesting that it took seven days to build the house of Baal 'in the midst of the heights of Sapân'. Baal's house is also of cosmic proportions, and from it he controls the Heavens. If these temples were constructed in terms of "seven" it is really no wonder that the creation poem of Gen. i is inserted into a seven-day framework.

By noting the parallel to the first chapter of Genesis, Fisher means to suggest that it illuminates the construction of Baal's house as a cosmic creation that gives structure and meaning to the whole of the universe. Like Baal's house, Yahweh's creation issues in a fertile, habitable world previously lacking in conditions favorable to humanity (Fisher 1963, 1965). Baal's house is not, however, an act of creation or cosmogony in the sense in which Fisher, Clifford and other scholars employ the terms

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[12] With problematic 'aleph, Ugaritic *nbl'at* is cognate with Akkadian *nablu* and Ethiopic *nabal*, according to Albright 1934:127 n. 132b; Held 1965a:277 n. 211; Leslau 383; MHP. For further proposed cognates, see M. Cohen 1947:187, #460.

(see *UBC* 1.77–87). Baal's palace is not presented as a primordial event of creation like Yahweh's creation. Instead, the narrative concerning Baal's palace in 1.3–1.4 assumes a world already inhabited by people, who stand to benefit from his rains.

Despite these thematic differences, it would indeed appear that Genesis 1 uses the seven-day pattern to mark six days of one activity, in this case divine creation, plus a seventh day with a different activity, namely divine ceasing or rest. For this reason, the variant reading in Gen 2:2 of God completing the work on the "sixth" day rather than the "seventh," as in the MT, is understandable (see LXX, Samaritan Pentateuch and Peshitta); the MT does not maintain what appears to be the older convention. The shift in the activity on the seventh day in the Ugaritic contexts would appear to preclude understanding **klh* in Gen 2:2 as bringing to conclusion the final act of the activity on the seventh day, unless the author of this chapter sought to depart from the traditional convention in narrating the creation story. For this reason, one may propose that LXX and the other versions have the correct reading, as this would comport better with the Ugaritic usages. However, Genesis 1 in using **klh* is introducing a new element into the seven-day pattern, at least by comparison with the Ugaritic cases; it would seem that the root is intended to mark the end of one set of actions from what follows (cf. Exod 39:32, 40:33). Since **klh* does not appear in the Ugaritic cases, the question for Genesis 1 cannot be resolved only by appeal to them.[13] Still, in support of the reading of the versions in Gen 2:2, it is clear that Exod 31:15–17 and 35:2–3 fit better with their understanding rather than that of the MT.

In the Ugaritic cases, ordinals are used throughout this pattern, with the exception of the first day and perhaps the seventh. Ugaritic has no numeral for "first," and line 24 simply uses *ym*, "a day," to denote the first day, as in Gen 1:5 (see *CS* 13–16). There is uncertainty about how to interpret the phrase *b šbʿ ymm* (found also in 1.17 I 15, II 39). Sivan (1997:94) understands *šbʿ* as the ordinal here, with the second *m* of *ymm* being understood as an enclitic (so at an earlier time Loewenstamm, *CS* 16): "On the seventh day." However, Mario Liverani (cited by Loewenstamm, *CS* 194 n. 4a) argued that *šbʿ* here is the cardinal number and that the phrase should be rendered literally as, "in seven days." He pointed out parallels in the Idrimi inscription and in Phoeni-

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cian. This rendering has also been accepted in *UG* 348. While leaning toward the understanding of Liverani, we have chosen to translate, "on the seventh day," because that represents standard English usage. One unusual feature of this passage, when compared to other seven-day sequences, is the use of a different verb (*tšt*) in the first line of the passage (line 22) from that (*t'ikl*) used in the following lines (cf. 1.17 I 1–16; II 30–40, where the same verb is used throughout the repetitions over the seven days). The use of *tšt* in line 22 may be due to the strong alliterative effect that it produces in conjunction with the noun, *'išt*, at the beginning of the seven-day sequence (Smith 1985:335).

The burning process concludes on the seventh day (lines 31–33). The verb, *td*, used to describe the conclusion (line 32) is likely from *ndd, "to leave, depart, go away" (cf. BH *nādad*, " to flee, escape;" see Tropper and Verreet 1988:345–46). However, it could also be derived from *ndy, "to throw down, leave, abandon," (cf. Akkadian *nadû* and Syriac *ndā* [*LS* 415]; see Paul 1993:255–56). A related usage of this root is found in 1.17 I 3–5 and 13–15, where Dan'il throws down or leaves his cloak for the night. It could also be a passive form from the root *ydy, also attested at Ugarit in 1.16 VI 10–28 and 1.169.1, 9, which would mean "to be thrown, to be expelled" (see Ginsberg 1973:132–34; Tropper and Verreet 1988:340–43; Fleming 1991:142). The first proposal seems the most likely. A connection with Akkadian *nadû* seems improbable, since Akkadian phrase, *išatam inaddi*, is actually an idiom for "to set on fire, to burn," just the opposite of what the context calls for here in our passage (see Held 1965a:276 n. 19).

The finished palace is described very briefly in lines 34–35. The fire has allowed for the palace to be constructed of gold bricks and silver presumably overlaid upon the cedar wood. The word *rqm*, "thin sheets, plates, overlay," is certainly derived from *rqq, "to be thin" (cf. Akkadian *raqāqu*, "to become thin," "to thin, flatten," and the adjectival form *raqqaqu*, both used of metal, as noted by MHP; see *CAD R*:167–68) and Leslau 473; note also Akkadian *ruqqu/riqqu*, "hammered metal" in *CAD R*:418; cf. *AHw* 995: "(Metall-)Kessel, Schale," noted first by Virolleaud 1932:150). Ugaritic *lbnt*, "bricks," has long been compared to Akkadian *libittu* and BH *lĕbēnâ* (Albright 1934:127 n. 134; Held 1965a:277 n. 25).

The root *sbb is used here twice, first in G-stem *qtl form, *sb*, then in the N-stem *qtl. This is in contrast with the previous verbs in the passage, which are all prefix forms. The use of active and passive forms of the same verb in parallel cola is well attested in both Ugaritic and

Biblical Hebrew and is probably intended to indicate the climactic moment of an episode (see Held 1965a; Smith 1991:69; see Introduction, p. 28). Sivan (1997:202, 203) suggests that *sbb in these lines is acting as a copula for the nouns here, and that one could consider each line of the bicolon to be essentially a non-verbal clause. He points out a similar example of what he identifies as a "dynamic copula" in 1.103+1.145:52, where the verb thpk, "to turn into" comes to mean, "to become." Such a reading seems unnecessary for our passage, but cannot be ruled out.

The construction episode is completed with a statement of Baal's satisfaction in lines 35–38. The god first rejoices (lines 35b–36a) and proclaims the house completed. The *qtl indicative verbal forms, šmḥ and bnt, mark the conclusion of the action, just as in lines 34–35 (see Moran 2003:30 n. 72; cf. 1 Kgs 6:2). Baal's speech uses a well-attested formula. Solomon makes a similar statement at the dedication of Yahweh's temple in 1 Kgs 8:20: "I have built the house for the name of Yahweh, the God of Israel" (see also 1 Kgs 8:13). It should not be a surprise that in these statements the king takes credit for the work of building the temple. It is, of course, a regular feature of royal discourse. Similar statements are also well attested in Mesopotamian tradition, both in mythological and historiographic contexts. In Inanna and Ebiḫ (line 171; Limet 1971:18, 21, 27), Inanna says, "I have built a palace." In the Gudea Cylinder B II 21–22, Gudea states: "Ningirsu, I built you Your House, may you enter it in joy" (Edzard 1997:90). A similar statement is preserved in the Bar-rakab inscription from the Iron Age, KAI 216:14–16 (Hurowitz 1992:103; *ANET* 655):

wby(t).ṭb.lysh.l'bhy.mlky.šm'l	And my fathers, the kings of Sam'al, had no good house.
h'.byt.klmw.lhm	They had the house of Kilamuwa;
ph'.byt.stw' lhm	So it was a winter house for them,
wh'.byt.kys'.	And it was a summer-house (for them).
w'nh.bnyt.byt'.znh	But as for me, I have built this house.

It is at this point that Baal can rejoice. The symbol of his power has been completed. Despite the laconic style of the depiction of the palace, the overall image presented in the narrative is clear. It is a massive building of divine proportions: "A thousand fields may the house cover"//"A myriad hectares, the palace" (1.4 V 56–57). The walls are made of golden bricks, the roof of cedars, apparently overlaid with silver. The purest lapis lazuli has been used in its décor. While Anat refers to the palace as "a house like your brothers', a court like your kin's"

in 1.4 V 27–29, it seems likely that this palace is perceived to be considerably greater than those of the other gods. Its magnificence makes Baal's dominion obvious to the deities who enter it. When Baal sends a message to Mot in column VIII, certainly to demand his obeisance, he opens the message by referring directly to the palace.

While theologically there is certainly a significant relationship between the heavenly palace and the earthly temple of the god in Ugarit, the two buildings themselves are by no means actually comparable in size or splendor. The lack of any details about the structure of the heavenly palace keeps us from being able to say whether or not the people of Ugarit simply saw it as a larger version of Baal's temple in their city. The theological identification of the two places may in fact have had little to do with the physical form of the temple at Ugarit. A brief examination of the Ugaritic ritual texts and the archaeological remains at Ugarit may be helpful in this discussion. The ritual texts recovered from Ugarit speak primarily of temples of El (*bt ʾil*) and of Baal (*bt bʿl ʾugrt*). The temple of El is an important locus for offerings in CAT 1.41.38//1.87.42 (cf. Pardee 2002:56–65), and in 1.119 the offerings of the ritual alternate in their locations between the temple of El (lines 6, 14) and the temple of Baal (lines 3, 9, and probably 22'). The temple of "Baal of Ugarit" is also mentioned in 1.109.11, the closely related 1.130.11, and probably 1.46.16, as the locus of sacrifices to numerous deities, including ʾIlʾibu, El, Anat, Pidray, Yariḫ, Dagan, and Rashap (see Pardee 2002:26–33). CAT 1.105.6' also mentions Baal's temple. A few other temples are mentioned in the texts: the temple of ʾIlatu, "the goddess," perhaps Athirat, in 1.41.24//1.87.26, the temple of the Lady of the High Houses, *bt bʿlt btm rmm* in 1.41.37//1.87.40–41 (see Pardee 2002:60–61, 64), and the house of the star gods, *bt ʾilm kbkbm*, in 1.43.2–3. The preserved texts certainly do not provide a comprehensive list of temples at Ugarit, but there seems little doubt that the temples of Baal and El were the most important, since the king was regularly involved in the rituals occurring there. In addition, the preserved texts provide references to large numbers of offerings to these two gods: sixty offerings made to El, and 419 to Baal (under the names *bʿl, bʿlm, bʿl ʾugrt* and *bʿl ṣpn* (see Pardee 2000:963, 970–73).[14]

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[14] The only other individual deity whose offerings approach these numbers is the mysterious *ʾilʾib*, who received 126 offerings in the preserved texts (Pardee 2000:965–66).

Two major temples were found on the acropolis during excavations in the 1930s. They have generally been attributed to Baal and Dagan, based on inscriptional and iconographic materials found in and near them (Busink 1970:478–80; Yon 1984:43, 1992b:702–3). The temple on the northwest part of the acropolis has been linked to Baal. Two stelae, the famous "Baal with his thunderbolt" stela and an Egyptian stela dedicated to "Baal of Sapan," were found in the vicinity.[15] The temple compound was surrounded by a temenos wall that enclosed a courtyard on the south with a large, well-constructed altar (see the detailed description of the temple in Yon 2006). The temple itself was composed of two rooms and was situated on a podium. The first room (the vestibule) opened onto the courtyard and was entered via a staircase from the courtyard. Its interior dimensions were almost square. The back room (the cella) was larger than the vestibule and was a broad and rectangular chamber. In the east side of the room were the remains of a substantial staircase that evidently led to the roof of the temple, with traces along the north and west walls that indicate that the staircase extended around those parts of the room too. Yon (1992b:702–3) believes that above the back room was a tower that rose at least sixteen to twenty meters high. She suggests that rituals such as those described in texts like the Kirta Epic (1.14 II 21–22) as taking place "at the top of the tower," would have been performed here (cf. 1.41.50 in Pardee 2002:60, 65, where the king performs offerings "on the roof"). She also suggests that the tower acted as a landmark and perhaps a lighthouse for sailors bringing their ships into port. Seventeen stone anchors were found in the temple compound, likely votive offerings to the god by sailors for a safe trip on the sea (Frost 1991:356). It would be natural for Baal, as conqueror of Yamm, to be thanked by sailors for their successful journeys across the Mediterranean.

The second temple on the acropolis is similar in size to the temple of Baal. Unlike the latter, virtually none of its superstructure has been preserved, only its thick foundation walls, which give it a different

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[15] The Egyptian stela, erected by a royal scribe named Mami, was found broken inside the temple complex (Schaeffer 1931:10; 1939:39–41). The Baal stela was found along the western slope of the acropolis, apparently in dump from the temple area (Yon 1984:45; cf. Schaeffer 1933:122–24; 1949:87–89, 121–30), placed there in the early twentieth century when a Turkish governor dug up part of the temple in search of treasure (cf. Schaeffer 1931:9–10). His interests apparently did not include stone inscriptions and reliefs. There is little doubt that the Baal stela came originally from the temple compound.

initial appearance compared to the other temple. Yet its basic form is quite similar. It too is oriented toward the south, with a courtyard, a squarish vestibule and a larger, rectangular cella that also has traces of a staircase. It too probably had a high tower (Yon 1984:45). This temple has traditionally been attributed to Dagan on the basis of the discovery of two stelae (CAT 6.13, 6.14; see Feliu 2003:272–74) in the courtyard that were dedicated to that god (Schaeffer 1935:155–56, pl. XXXI; Yon 1984:45). The presence of these stelae in the temple compound constitutes strong support for identifying the occupant of the temple as Dagan, but unlike the situation for the temple of Baal, here there are arguments against attributing the temple to Dagan. The ritual texts seem to be problematic with regard to Dagan. Although Dagan was certainly given cult at Ugarit (there are forty-one offerings to him listed in the texts; Pardee 2000:975–76; see also Feliu 2003:266–72), there is no reference to a temple of Dagan, a surprising omission if the great temple on the acropolis belonged to him.[16] In addition, Dagan plays no role in any of the mythological texts found at Ugarit, except as the patronym of Baal. In contrast, there are a number of reasons favoring El as the god of this temple (see Niehr 1994). El was clearly a major deity in the Ugaritic cult. His temple, as described above, is mentioned several times, and in 1.119, the rituals alternate between the temple of Baal and the temple of El, which would be particularly appropriate if the temples neighbored each other, as do the acropolis temples. A close proximity of the two temples is also suggested in 1.41.38–43//1.87.42–47, where a set of offerings is given in the house of El (lines 38–40), then the officiant is to "return to the altar of Baal" to make additional offerings. Of less value is the parallel reference to the temples of Baal and El in the Aqhat Epic's list of a son's duties (1.17 I 31–32 and parallels): "To eat his portion in the house of Baal, his share in the house of El." Niehr (1994:424–25) assumes that Ilimalku is the author of the poem and that he is thinking of Ugarit in this passage. This view is far from certain, however, and it would be imprudent to give these lines much weight in the discussion of the temples on the acropolis. The overall evidence, however, suggests that the second great temple belonged to El rather than Dagan. The appearance of the two

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[16] The damaged passage in 1.104.13, which reads *bt.dxn*, was read as *bt.d ⌜g⌝n* in the original KTU, but this is impossible. The fragmentary wedge to the left of the break is clearly a horizontal. See Pardee 2000:566. CAT has corrected this error.

stelae dedicated to Dagan in the courtyard of the temple of El would not be particularly surprising, since it is clear that not every deity had her or his own temple. The ritual texts show that offerings were made to numerous deities at a single temple (cf. 1.41//1.87; 1.119; 1.105; 1.109; 1.130; 1.46; and texts such as 1.148 that do not mention the location of the sacrifices). The stelae to Dagan then could have been placed in the El temple because there was no individual temple for Dagan at Ugarit.

We can now return to the question of how the people of Ugarit viewed the relationship between the mythological, heavenly palace of Baal and the physical temple of Baal. If, as we have seen, there is good reason to believe that the southeastern temple on the acropolis was dedicated to El, then we can argue that the physical form of the earthly temples had little to do with the imagined form of the heavenly abodes of the gods. Nothing about the temple of El at Ugarit is reflected in the descriptions of El's abode. As we have seen, El is portrayed in the Baal Cycle as living in a tent, rather than a solid palace. The structure of the tent is such that there are seven chambers, the innermost being where El dwells (1.3 V 10–12, 25–27). The temple gives no indication of having a similar structure. The mythological abode of El provides no hint of a tower or of rooftop rituals. It thus seems likely that the Ugaritians did not conceive of the temple on earth as an exact copy of the one in heaven (this is in contrast to the Israelite tabernacle account, where there is a heavenly model for the earthly shrine, Exod 25:9, 40; 26:30; 27:8). The mythological imagery of the heavenly temples/palaces of the Ugaritic gods is in fact a combination of the architecture of both temple and royal palace. On earth the architectural styles of these two building types are very different from one another. In heaven they can merge into one another (see the discussion about the banquet below, pp. 634–36). The earthly temple may not physically resemble the heavenly one, but in religious and ritual language and thought, it can become the latter whenever needed.

One final interpretation of lines 22–35 should be discussed. While we have proposed above that the imagery of the fire in the palace is likely to be related to the image of metallurgy, it is also possible that the poet here is at the same time drawing on the image of baking bricks. The use of fire to create durable brickwork goes back to the third millennium BCE, and the connotation of permanence and strength related to baked bricks may be an additional background to this passage. Discussion of this picture is offered in the following excursus.

Excursus II: Brick-Making in Pre-Industrial Cultures

In ancient Egypt, mud, straw and sand were mixed to make bricks, although the custom of baking bricks did not become common there until the Roman period (so Spencer 1979). The tomb of Rekhire at Thebes contains a scene depicting the process of mixing mud and making rows of bricks by the use of wooden moulds (*ANEP* 115; Spencer 1979:3). Brick was used for several temples in ancient Egypt, notably during the 18th–20th dynasties (for citations, see Spencer 1979:3, 59–82). In modern rural Egypt, bricks consisting of mud mixed with chopped straw and sand and shaped by moulds are stacked into massive squares left to dry or be burned (Spencer 1979:3, 140). In 1984 co-author Smith witnessed a large, square stack of bricks being burned in a rural village south of Cairo.

Brickmaking in early 20th century Iraq and Iran also appears to have maintained the age-old traditions, thus providing insight into the ancient techniques (Delougaz 1933:5–7; Salonen 1972:34–35). Baked bricks were a feature of Mesopotamian practice as early as the third millennium, a considerably earlier period than in Egypt (Delougaz 1933:1–2; Salonen 1972:197; Moorey 1994:304–09; Paulus 1985; see Aurenche 1993:71–85 for early evidence of brick making down to ca. 6000).[17] Mesopotamian bricks were in many cases about 10 cm. thick.[18] The other dimensions varied a great deal, from place to place and period to period; baked bricks, since they were often used for pavements, tended to be square (as were mud bricks in many periods). A common size in Babylonia was 30–35 cm. square.[19]

Aurel Ionica (letter to Smith dated 9/2/1997) observed an example of pre-industrial eastern European brick making in the mid-twentieth century. We are grateful to be able to include the following account, cited here with permission:

> I saw brick kilns during the 1950's and 1960's in the southern part of Romania, a plain along the Danube River where the main source of fuel is made up of remains from harvesting such as straw and corn stalks. Unlike ordinary kilns, a brick kiln is not made of a permanent and

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[17] Bricks could also be kiln-fired (see *CAD A/1*:162), although this seems to be less common. For the lack of evidence for kilns, see Moorey 1994:306.

[18] Information here, courtesy of Richard Ellis. On Mesopotamian bricks and brick-making, see also Sauvage 1998.

[19] For brick-making in ancient Israel, see Kelso 1948:33–34. Many of the references in this paragraph come courtesy of Richard Ellis.

reusable structure that is repeatedly "filled" and "emptied," but rather by stacking bricks on a flat surface. Ideally a brick kiln approximates a cube because this shape has one of the smallest outside surfaces compared to its volume (surpassed only by a sphere) so that the loss of heat through the outside surface is minimal. In reality a kiln looked more like a ziggurat or a truncated pyramid with very steep sides receding inside. Bricks are stacked in layers so that each brick rests on the side which is the longest and narrowest and has the largest surface in vertical position and at a distance of about half an inch from the next brick so that heat can circulate between bricks and be absorbed by them through their largest surfaces. The bricks that form the next layer are placed on top of the previous layer in the same position but at right angles so that the structure is as steady as possible in spite of the empty spaces between bricks. The burning chamber consists of cavities left in the lowest part of the kiln. They look like tunnels with vaulted roofs resembling an inverted V going from one end of the kiln to the other. One end of each burning chamber is sealed and the other is left open and used to feed fuel. For better heat distribution, after some time the burning chamber is fed at the opposite end. Each burning chamber is provided with vents that go up through the roof of the chamber, then horizontally through layers of bricks, then up to the next layers, then horizontally again, and so on, like a serpentine pipe, until it reaches the top of the structure allowing for the smoke to go out. The number of burning chambers depends on the size of the kiln; a mid-size kiln would probably have about four or five. The kiln is coated and sealed on the outside with a thin layer of mud mixed with chaff so that the air and the heat can circulate only inside the kiln. After the kiln is fired and has cooled down, the bricks are removed layer by layer in the reverse order, that is, starting from the top, so that all that is left from the kiln is the initial flat surface.

Firing a brick kiln takes days and that is necessary for two reasons. First, the temperature inside the kiln builds up slowly because a kiln has a huge mass and because bricks are good insulators and therefore absorb and release heat slowly. Consequently the temperature inside the kiln does not depend so much on the power of the fire used but on how long the fire is applied. Usually straw is an ideal fuel because it burns easily and is abundant in agricultural areas where bricks rather than stones are used for building. Secondly, a long burning time is necessary for a sufficient temperature to permeate the whole structure so that even bricks in the remotest parts of the kiln reach the necessary temperature. No matter how long the process may be, however, the temperature will not be the same everywhere. For instance, a brick which is on the outside will be baked only on one side at best so that the opposite side remains dark, while bricks that make the inner walls of the burning chambers may reach the melting point and stick together so that they can no longer be separated. In order to prevent bricks from sticking together, coarse sand is sprinkled over each layer of bricks before starting a new layer above.

> Sand keeps a tiny space between bricks and has a higher melting point; therefore bricks can be easily separated. The hardness of bricks depends not only on the firing temperature, but on how long that temperature is applied as well. Therefore, when the kiln has reached the desirable temperature, the chambers are filled with hard wood, sealed, and left to smolder for weeks until bricks cool down enough to be handled safely. Although bricks are not all of the same hardness, the differences are small and actually only the bricks that are on the outside of a kiln may be discarded. In a building, the bricks that are baked the most are placed at the foundation while those less well backed are placed in the higher parts of the walls as the building progresses. The size of the kiln is decided by the amplitude of the building project and there is virtually no limit as to how large it can be. Although it cannot exceed a certain height (the initially sun dried bricks cannot support too much weight), the base of a kiln can be as large as one wants, and actually the larger the kiln, the more efficient it is. The ones I saw were a little over two meters tall and had a base of about four by four meters.

While this description of modern techniques for firing bricks may not correspond precisely to the ancient practices (see the warning in Moorey 1994:306), the general outlines of the modern practice may correspond broadly to the poetic, evocative picture of our passage, if the poet's intent was to depict the workings of a brick kiln.

Lines 38–59: The Banquet Celebrating Baal's Palace

The completion of the palace calls for a divine celebration that corresponds in other building narratives to dedication ceremonies (lines 38–59). The sequence of events in this passage is a common one for divine banquets: preparations for the feast (lines 38–43); invitation to the participants of the banquet (lines 44–46); and the feast of food and wine (lines 47–55; see Lichtenstein's 1968 discussion of these motifs). Prov 9:1–6 makes use of the same motifs in which the figure of Wisdom prepares her feast of food and wine, and then issues her invitation (Lichtenstein 1968:19–21; on the translation of Prov 9:1, see also Greenfield 1986). For Proverbs 9 the pursuit of Wisdom is likened to participating in a rich feast. CAT 1.15 IV 15–28 contains the same sequence in its description of the banquet prepared by Hurraya. The set of motifs is also found in Mesopotamian texts, including the myth of Nergal and Ereshkigal (MB version, lines 1–6; Foster 2005:509; *ANET* 103–4; cf. Lichtenstein 1968:22–23). In this myth the gods prepare a banquet, then send a message to Ereshkigal to have her messenger come

fetch her portion of the meal. In one of the Hittite myths of Iluyanka (Version 1: A i 14–B i 12 in Hoffner 1998:11–12; *ANET* 125–26), the goddess Inara prepares a lavish feast and issues a personal invitation to the great serpent she intends to kill. He and his offspring arrive and eat and drink.

The preparations are described in three bicola, the first one (lines 38b–40a) providing a general introduction and the other two (lines 40b–43) describing the slaughter of the animals for the meal. The first bicolon uses the pairing of "Baal"//"Hadd" for the subject of the clauses. The latter name actually appears quite rarely in the Baal Cycle (besides here, only 1.1 V 4, 17; 1.2 I 46; 1.4 VII 36, 38; and 1.5 I 23; II 22; IV 7). The key root in this bicolon is *ʿdb. Nominal and verbal forms from this root appear four times here. The root means, "to prepare, arrange," as a verb and "preparations, arrangements" as a noun. Thus a literal translation of the lines would run as follows: "Preparations in his house Baal prepared, Hadd prepared preparations in his palace." The root can refer to a wide range of preparations. Thus in 1.4 IV 7, 12 it refers to preparing an animal for riding, and in 1.4 V 46 it is used for the arranging of a throne for Kothar. Often the word applies to food preparation (1.14 II 27, IV 9; 1.17 V 16, 22; cf. Tsevat 1978a:26* n. 22; Pardee 1997a:261 n. 176). In 1.4 VIII 14b–20a Baal's messengers are warned to be careful lest Mot "prepare you" (*yʿdbkm*) like a lamb in his mouth (cf. 1.23.63–64); this is exactly the "preparation" that in 1.6 II 22–23 Mot says he made of Baal. According to Tsevat (1978a:26*), the word refers to food offered (*ʾnšʾu*) in 1.23.54: *šʾu ʿdb lšpš rbt wlkbkbm*, "lift up an arrangement (an offering) for Lady Shapshu and the stars" (cf. line 65, *šʾu ʿdb tk mdbr qdš*, "lift up an arrangement for the holy outback/steppe of Qadsh"). The verb *ʿdb used in the context of El's feasting in 1.114.6–8 has been understood in this way as well (Lewis, *UNP* 194; on this verb, see also Renfroe 1992:21; Dietrich and Loretz 1993; Dietrich and Loretz 2002a:94). Indeed, the preparation of animals for the feast immediately follows these lines.

There has been considerable disagreement on the interpretation of this bicolon in 1.4 VI 38–40. Several scholars understand it as the conclusion to the preceding account of the building of the palace and take the arrangements described here as Baal's furnishing of the palace (Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1166 n. 102; *CML²* 63; de Moor 1987:60; Pardee 1997a:261, esp. n. 176). The context of the food that follows seems to argue against this understanding. The feast is the immediate context, not furnishings. Additionally, lines 35–38, which describe Baal rejoicing, seems to conclude the preceding unit detailing the completion

of the palace. Hence, our bicolon in lines 38–40 does not continue the discussion of the house in the form of furnishings as these commentators would have it. That the preceding unit, in lines 35–38, finishes the section can be shown also from the two other examples of a climactic moment in which the protagonist is said to rejoice (*šmḫ*) and give a speech. In these instances the speech is the conclusion of that part of the story, and a new episode begins directly. Thus in 1.17 II, Dan'il receives word that he will receive a son (lines 1–8). He rejoices (lines 8–12) and gives a speech of gratification at the turn of events (lines 12–23). Directly after the speech the story moves to the next episode, in which he returns to his house/palace and prepares a seven-day feast for the Kotharat (24–40) in language reminiscent of the scene in our passage. In 1.6 III, El has a dream that indicates Baal's return from the dead (lines 4–13). Upon awakening he rejoices (lines 14–17), then gives a speech of satisfaction (lines 18–21). This is followed by a change of narrative direction, as El calls to Anat and sends her to speak to Shapshu (1.6 III 22–IV 5). Thus the parallels point to the speech of satisfaction as the conclusion of the episode. This seems a likely way to interpret the situation in our passage as well. Thus the bicolon of 1.4 VI 38b–40a is best viewed as the beginning of the following episode.

A few scholars find the root *ʿdb* to have a particular cultic sense, and they interpret 38b–40a as a reference to a ritual that Baal undertakes (e.g., Wyatt 1998:106, esp. n. 148; cf. Levine and Tarragon 1993:81–82). Wyatt in particular proposes a reading such as, "The offerings of his house Baal presented; Hadd presented the offerings of his palace." But this too seems problematic. There is only one context (1.23.54, 65) in which the root appears in a fairly clear cultic setting, "lift up an arrangement (*ʿdb*) to the Lady Shapsh /to the holy desert."[20] A supposed usage of the verbal form, *yʿd[b]*, in the Ugaritic ritual text 1.41.10 (CAT p. 78; Levine and de Tarragon 1993:89; Wyatt 1998:106 n. 148) has been shown by Pardee (2000:145–46) to be virtually impossible epigraphically. Pitard, following his own examination of the tablet, concurs with Pardee on this reading.[21] What is clear from the numerous examples of the root described above is that it does not have a specifically cultic

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[20] The appearance of the root in 1.114.4, 7 is set in a narrative context much like the one in our passage, a banquet of the gods. It is not used in a cultic context within the narrative.

[21] While CAT reads *yʿd[b.lʿnt]*, it is clear on the tablet that the last letter before the break is not a *d*. With Pardee we would read the letter as a probable *l*. However, it is clear from the tablet that Pardee's reading, *yˈlˈ* is not complete. There is room for, and there are clear traces of, another letter between *y* and *l*, which may be an *ʿ*.

connotation. In the context of our passage, the use of the root fits the common motif of preparation of food for a banquet. Within the story, the slaughter of the animals is not a sacrificial offering, but a meal for guests. Of course, there is an underlying religious connotation related to the poem as a whole, but in this passage, as elsewhere, that connotation is submerged in the story. In sum, these lines act as an introduction to the banquet, stating that Baal makes preparations for it.

The animals slaughtered for the feast (lines 40–43) fall into two categories: the larger animals (or, in Pardee 1997a:261, "bovids"), here called *'alpm, ṯrm* and *'glm*; and the smaller animals (Pardee's "caprovids"), namely *ṣ'in, 'il* (= "ram"), *'imr* and *ll'im* (Levine 1963:108 n. 19). As Levine notes, *'alpm* and *ṣ'in* in the first colon serve as general designations for the larger and smaller animals, respectively. The parallel colon, lines 41b–42a, also alternates between large and small animals, this time with more specific terms, *ṯrm* and *'il*, "bulls and rams." In the next bicolon, lines 41b–43, the first line refers to large animals (*'glm*), while the second names small ones (*'imr, ll'im*). In contemporary Hatti, the dividing line between a calf and a grown bull was set at two years of age (The Hittite Laws #57; *ANET* 192). These two bicola occur in virtually identical form in 1.22 I 12–14 and in 1.1 IV 30–32 (a broken passage), indicating that they are formulaic (see the earlier Commentary on these lines in *UBC* 1.154–55; for these animals in offerings at Emar, see Fleming 1992:135). The verbs pose no interpretational problems. The verb *ṭbḥ* means, "to butcher," and occurs quite commonly, but by no means exclusively, in the context of sacrifice. Here that context is submerged in the narrative. The parallel verb, *šql*, has no attested usages in a cultic sense in the preserved Ugaritic texts (*šql* < **qyl* in the *C*-stem; see 1.1 IV 30, 1.22 I 12; cf. 1.16 VI 32, 44; 1.17 VI 44; 1.23.10; see *UBC* 1.154).

Once the preparations have been made, Baal invites his "brothers"// "kinfolk" (lines 44–46), the seventy children of Athirat, as they are also called, to the banquet. There can be no doubt that the three parallel objects in this tricolon refer to the same group. This is clear from Anat's variant on the opening lines of Baal's lament in 1.4 V 27–29, where she substitutes "brothers"//"kinfolk" in the lines where the lament had "the gods"//"the children of Athirat." That the term *bn* in the phrase *bn 'aṯrt* should be rendered "children" rather than "sons" is clear from the fact that they are described as both males and females in lines 47–54. It would seem that technically in view of the absolute plural (and not construct) form of *šb'm* in line 46, the nouns

following the verb stand in apposition ("the seventy, the children of Athirat") rather than a long construct phrase ("the seventy children of Athirat"). For the sake of convenience or concision in English, one might still render the phrase along the lines of the second translation (e.g., Smith, *UNP* 134), but such a translation does not convey the sense that in this context, as "the seventy" stands as a demarcated group. Seventy is a conventional number for a generally large, but well-defined group (see Judg 9:5; 2 Kgs 10:1, both of which refer to seventy sons; cf. also Exod 1:5; 24:9; KAI 215:3; see Montgomery 1933:120; Pope 1962:295; Fensham 1977). In the narrative of Elkunirsa, a West Semitic myth written in Hittite, Ashertu's children number 77//88 (Hoffner 1998:91), the same number of Baal's divine rivals in 1.12 II 48–49. At Emar the traditional number of gods in the pantheon is seventy (Emar 373.37–38; Fleming 1992:73, 242; 2000b:57–59, 238–39; see *UBC* 1.92, esp. n. 180). This corresponds quite closely to the idea in our passage that the seventy children of Athirat represent the primary pantheon at Ugarit. The Tel Dan inscription refers to "seventy kings" defeated by the Aramaean king (Biran and Naveh 1995:12–13, 16; Parker 1997:46, 58). The usage of seventy in this manner enjoyed a long history; it occurs a number of times in Josephus's *Wars of the Jews* (e.g., *BJ* II 482, 570; IV 336, 341; *Vita* 79). The number of gods perhaps was transmuted in the later Jewish notion of the seventy angels, one for each of the seventy nations (1 Enoch 89:59, 90:22–25; see further *TO* 1.214 n. k; J. Day 1993:183–84). From these cases, it may be deduced that groups of seventy commonly represented royal polities, both divine and human, sometimes still subject to a higher level of authority, often in the form of a king, and sometimes not. In the case of the seventy children of Athirat, the group serves as a general designation for the divine family, virtually the totality of the great gods, but under El and Athirat. The relationship between Baal and the seventy involves no small amount of friction, as Baal is an outsider to this collective (see Introduction, pp. 47–49). One might note that in Judg 9:5 and KAI 215:3, the number of seventy kin plays a role in a dynastic conflict. In these cases, the number expresses the entirety of a family line that may be threatened with extinction, precisely the issue raised at one point in the Baal Cycle. When Athirat first sees Baal and Anat coming to her in 1.4 II 21–26, her reaction is one of fear and her words express her concern over whether Baal might murder her children. The presence of the divine family at Baal's feast is a major event, as it implies their general acceptance of his kingship. This feast follows a long path to

kingship for Baal, beginning with his victory over Yamm, and developing through Anat's, then Athirat's proclamation of his kingship, to El's eventual acceptance of Baal (with his decree allowing the building of Baal's palace), the construction of the palace, and finally the culmination in the divine feast within the palace for the entire pantheon. Now all of heaven recognizes Baal's dominion.

Lines 47–54 describe the feast. These lines pose substantial problems for interpreters. The subject is evidently Baal, as the verb *p(w)q in the C-stem, "to provide," is transitive (for the root, see above 1.4 III 41 on p. 483); here Baal is the consummate host. The objects in lines 47–54 include "the gods" ('ilm)//"the goddesses" ('ilht). The main difficulty involves the syntactical understanding of the various nouns for animals, furniture and jars. Numerous scholars, including Albright (1934:128), Ginsberg (KU 37; ANET 134), Gaster (Thespis 191–92), Gibson (CML² 63 n. 4), Gordon (1977:99), Jirku (50), del Olmo Lete (MLC 206–7), Xella (1982:117–18), Dietrich and Loretz (1997:1167), Pope (MHP), and Wyatt (1998: 107) have viewed these nouns as modifiers of the deities at the feast and rendered them as "ram-gods, ewe-goddesses, ox-gods, cow-goddesses, throne-gods, jar-gods" and the like. This creates the question of what Baal provided to these deities. The answer for most of these commentators was wine (yn), read or reconstructed at the end of each of the lines 47–54. Montgomery (1933:120–21), followed by Albright (1934:128 n. 139), proposed reading ym throughout instead; for them, the repetition signaled an eight-day feast comparable to the Feast of Sukkot (Tabernacles). This understanding, however, is ruled out by the clear reading of yn at the end of line 53. The resulting picture of such animal-deities feted at Baal's house hardly inspires confidence. The seventy children of Athirat constitute the high pantheon, not minor deities such as this interpretation would suppose. To suggest that the main narrative of this important feast would focus on Baal's serving these deities, while the seventy are simply forgotten strains credulity. In addition, the notion that there are multiple "ram-deities," etc. (lines 47–50), or "throne-deities" (lines 51–52), or "jar-deities" (lines 53–54) at Ugarit is a view without any support elsewhere in the Ugaritic texts (as noted by Pardee 1997a:262 n. 178).[22]

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[22] The closest parallel to such deities would be the gods Uṯḫatu, "Censer" and Kinnāru, "Lyre," who appear in the god lists 1.47:31–32; 1.118:30–31, 1.148:9; and the Akkadian RS 20.024:30–31 and RS 92.2004:36–37 (Pardee 2002:14–19). However, these are perceived as individual deities with proper names. There is no evidence of multiple "lyre-gods" or "censer-gods." See also Pardee 2000:310–311.

It is much more syntactically and contextually plausible to see the animals, furniture and jars as direct objects of the verb and therefore as the elements of the banquet provided to the gods and goddesses (so *TO* 1.214; *BOS* 2.137; Coogan 1978: 104; *CML*[1] 101; *CML*[2] 63; *MLR* 88; Pardee 1997a:262). This fits the context much better. Yet a number of these scholars who have rejected the idea of the "ram-gods," etc., still argue that the word *yn* should be read at the end of each line. They understand the deities as being provided with wine alongside each item mentioned in the lines, thus, "He provided the gods with rams (and) wine" and so on (e.g., *CML*[1] 101; *CML*[2] 63–64; *MLR* 88; Pardee 1997a:262). As evidence they point to the appearance of *yn* at the end of lines 47 and 53, as well as *y* at the broken ends of lines 49 and 51. Certainly *špq* (cf. BH *hēpîq*//*ntn* in Ps 140:9, as well as Phoenician **pwq*; see Greenfield 1984a:243; *DNSWI* 2.903; Renfroe 1992:138; *DUL* 677) could govern two objects, but it is quite peculiar that there is no coordinating *w*- between any of the animal, furniture and jar nouns and the proposed occurrences of *yn*. This represents a significant impediment to the theory.

The difficulty with this view is further evident when we examine line 53, the only certain appearance of the word *yn*, "wine," in the passage. Here the line reads quite naturally, *špq ʾilm rḥbt yn*, "He provided the gods with jars of wine." In this sentence, *yn* is in construct with *rḥbt* and is free from any grammatical problems (for *rḥbt* as a "broad" container of liquid, see also 1.6 I 66, 1.15 IV 4–5, 15; see further *UT* 19.2317; *DUL* 737). This is quite different from the proposed syntax in lines 47–52. We would argue first that there is no reason to reconstruct *[yn]* at all in lines 48, 50 and 52. None of these contexts provide the slightest reason for adding the word to the sentence (cf. Wyatt 1998:107, who only restores *y[n]* in lines 47, 49, 51). More importantly, examination of the tablet itself argues against such reconstructions on these lines (see Images 72–73). On lines 48 and 50 the *t*'s of both *ḫprt* and *ʾarḫt* are broken off on the right. Once the space for the rest of each *t* is taken into consideration, there is very little space to add a word divider and the letters *yn* on either line. Even more telling is line 52, where the word *ksʾat* ends well before the break. It is not followed by a word divider, and there is unused space easily large enough for most of the proposed *y* before the tablet breaks off. There can be little doubt that *ksʾat* ended line 52. This clear case casts serious doubt on the reconstructions of lines 48 and 50. In lines 47, 49, and 51, a reconstruction of *y[n]*, while epigraphically possible, remains syntactically and grammatically suspect.

An alternative proposal obviates several, though not all, of these difficulties. Cassuto (*BOS* 2.137–38) offered a solution many years ago, but apart from a handful of interpreters, it has been left unconsidered in the secondary literature (*TO* 1.214; *UBC* 1.50; Pardee 1997a:262 n. 178). Cassuto suggested that in lines 47–52, *yn* should not be read at all. He argued that only animals (lines 47–50) and furniture (lines 51–52) are provided to the deities in these lines, while wine is served in lines 53–54. Cassuto rejected the reconstruction of *y[n]* at the ends of lines 47, 49, and 51. Instead, in Cassuto's view, the *y* at the end of each line represents the first letter of a **yqtl* form of *špq*, alternating with the **qtl* form of the same root in each bicolon (for this stylistic feature of Ugaritic poetry, see *BOS* 2.128 n. 56, 149–50; Held 1962). With this interpretation, the six instances of reconstructed wine in lines 47–52 (*yn*) disappear. There is wine at the feast, mentioned in line 53, after the presentation of the food, as is common in the banquet *topos* (Lichtenstein 1968:24–28).

The celebration requires large quantities of wine for the seventy deities in attendance. The scene compares nicely with 1.15 IV–V, which depicts a banquet that Kirta holds for his seventy nobles, who likewise consume meat and wine, the latter of which is also characterized as *rḥbt yn*. Like Ginsberg (*KU* 37), Cassuto reconstructed *dkr[t yn]* in the following line 54, but *yn* is unnecessary here, and circumstances of the tablet argue against it. There is certainly room for a *t* on the line, but traces of it should be visible if it were there. The same is true of the proposed *yn* since the right end of the line is fairly well preserved, but no traces of writing exist. Thus line 54 ends with the word *dkr*, and the fact that the vessel was filled with wine is understood rather than stated. Overall Cassuto's approach not only avoids the multiple reconstructions of *y[n]/[yn]*. It also produces a verbal syntax well attested for Ugaritic poetry (**qtl//*yqtl* of the same root). As an additional major advantage, Cassuto's interpretation generally fits the epigraphic data better (his interpretation was adopted by *TO* 1.214, n. l; Coogan 1978:104; Smith *UNP* 134–35).

There remain issues concerning Cassuto's proposal that require discussion. The first is the likelihood that line 47 reads *yn[* at the end (see the Textual Notes above). There can be little doubt that on this line there is another word following *krm*, so that here we cannot accept Cassuto's interpretation. However, we do not need to assume that the word here is simply *yn*, "wine." There is room between the break and the margin for two, perhaps three squeezed letters. (For a case of

letter-squeezing at the end of a line elsewhere, see -*h* on *qdqdh* at the end of 1.4 VII 4. This example is particularly interesting, as the scribe did not calculate until he reached the final -*h* that he would have to squeeze in this letter; the other letters are not squeezed in.) This leaves open the possibility of a word here that is in some way related to *krm*. Because the parallel word in the second line of the bicolon (line 48) is *ḫprt*, "baby lamb" (cf. the Akkadian cognate, *ḫurāpu*, "spring lamb/kid," *CAD Ḥ*:245), one might propose a reading of *yn[qm]*, "sucklings." Thus we could read: "He provides the gods with suckling rams,/provides the goddesses with baby lambs." This is, however, a highly speculative reading without parallel in the Ugaritic corpus. It also relies on the supposition that these letters were all crammed into the lacuna at the end of the line, which cannot be demonstrated. Whether or not the word here is *yn[qm]*, the major point to be made is that "wine," which is awkward in the context of this line (and in lines 48–52), is not the only possibility here.

The second issue to consider is whether it can plausibly be argued that Ilimalku might have placed the prefix *y-* at the end of one line and the rest of the verb on the next. Did Ilimalku manipulate the ends of lines so as to create series of identical beginnings of lines? While he did not do so consistently, there are, in fact, examples where he leaves uninscribed the ends of lines in order to begin the following line with the same word that began the previous one. For example, in 1.4 VIII 2–4 each line begins with the word ʿ*m*. Examination of Image 81 shows that at the end of both lines 2 and 3 there was ample room to write the word ʿ*m*. Clearly here Ilimalku has chosen to leave those spaces blank specifically to start each line with the same word. A second clear example of this from 1.4 is IV 52–55 (Image 49), where each line begins with the noun *mṯb*. Here too there was ample room on lines 52–54 to write the word *mṯb* at the end of the line, but Ilimalku evidently wanted to begin each line with the word. This is most obvious on line 54, where virtually the last third of the space for the line is left unused. Lines 51–54 of column V are certainly another example of this scribal feature, although the ends of the lines are broken (cf. 1.15 III 7–12, where a similar situation obtains). These examples clearly show that Ilimalku could and did vary the ends of lines in order to create sets that began with the same word. We do not, however, have a parallel to the proposed idea that he actually split words in order to do this. But there are examples where he splits verbs in this way, including 1.17 II 30–31: *wy/ššq*; and 1.17 V 12–13: *yš/rbʿ* (C-stem, thus *yš-* is prefix).

One can also find examples of verbs being divided within their roots, e.g., 1.17 II 34–35: *yšl/ḥm*. This evidence shows that there is nothing implausible about suggesting, as Cassuto did, that Ilimalku intentionally divided the lines of this section so as to begin each with the same sequence, *špq*. The fact that the *y* in lines 49 and 51 is not directly at the right margin does not exclude the possibility that they are the prefix of the following verb. In taking this modified version of Cassuto's interpretation, we now propose the following schema: the bicola in lines 47–48 and 53–54 make use of the **qtl* forms of *špq* in both lines of each bicolon. They act as frames for the two interior bicola, lines 49–50 and 51–52, which alternate **qtl//*yqtl* forms. The grammatical and logical problems of the supposed repetition of *yn* disappear, and the standard formulaic pattern of the passage is visible. While this view is not free of uncertainties, it seems to represent the best of the options.

The items for the feast mentioned in lines 47–54 are all typical of this kind of scene. The customary food of the banquet is meat, though the variety described here is exceptionally, in fact uniquely, large. When one combines the animals mentioned in lines 40–43 with those of lines 47–50, one finds ten different terms. This is fitting for the importance of the banquet and its members within the narrative. Although two of the terms in lines 47–53 are unique to this passage (*ḫprt* and *dkr*), there is no controversy about their meanings. The serving of food and drink frames the enthronement of the guests. The somewhat unexpected sequence of food, seats and wine is apparently not problematic in Ugaritic storytelling, as the serving of food precedes the setting up of a throne for Kothar as well in 1.4 V 45–48. The language of lines 56–59 closely matches 1.4 III 40–44 (see the Commentary above), and in both passages these lines seem to close the scene of feasting.

The portrayal of this magnificent feast is not entirely the stuff of fantasy. Near Eastern texts provide indications of feasts in the real world perhaps as spectacular (though from later periods). In the year 879, the completion of Ashurnasirpal II's palace in Calaḫ occasioned a celebration whose menu included 1200 oxen, 14,000 sheep, 1,000 cattle, 1,000 lambs, 500 deer, 500 gazelles, 34,000 fowl, 10,000 fish, and 10,000 eggs as well as milk, butter, vegetables, nuts, grain and cakes of various kinds and a guest list of 69,574 (see Wiseman 1952:31–32; Barnett 1981:11). The biblical account of the celebration in honor of the completed temple in Jerusalem states that Solomon sacrificed 22,000 oxen and 120,000 sheep during the ceremony (1 Kgs 8:63).

These examples indicate the importance of such celebrations in both the political and religious spheres. These texts also hint at a meshing of the images of both palace and temple in our narrative. For Baal, the building of his palace and the celebration of its completion with the other gods is very much a political event, along the lines of Ashurnasirpal's feast. At the same time, its foundational meaning is certainly religious, in that ultimately the palace is understood as the conduit through which the rains come to the earth. The imagery of the banquet also seems to merge the practices of the palace and the temple. Banquet halls are attested in Late Bronze Age palaces, including the royal palace at Ugarit. The probable banquet hall in the palace of Ugarit ("Court VI") was a large roofed room quite impressive in size and had a raised section, upon which the king and his closest associates presumably dined, above the level of the other banqueters (see the palace description in Yon 2006:38–43). Such a hall might be the implied setting for the banquet in our passage. The temples at Ugarit do not have rooms that can be identified as banquet halls, but it seems probable that feasts in which certain citizens of Ugarit ate and drank in the presence of the gods were held in the courtyard, or perhaps in adjunct buildings.

Such banquets are attested at Emar, in the ritual for the installation of the NIN.DINGIR-priestess of the Storm God. In Emar 369:11–13, an ox and six sheep are sacrificed before ᵈIM (= Baal?). Part of the food is offered to "the gods," while the rest is given to a group of officials, who "will eat and drink at the temple of ᵈIM" (Fleming 1992:12, 50, 110). A separate feast appears to be set up "at the gate of the temple of ᵈIM, in the house of the NIN-DINGIR-priestess," probably an adjunct room, rather than a full, independent house (lines 15–19; see Fleming 1992:111–12). One might compare the banquet of lines 11–13 to our passage, in that it can be understood as a banquet presided over by ᵈIM (Baal), who welcomes the gods (and humans) into his house by providing them (through his human servants) with a fine meal (see Fleming 1992: 156–57). In some ways, however, it seems that our banquet scene might be based somewhat more heavily on a royal palace model, rather than on the imagery of a temple dedication. Unlike the accounts of temple dedications, where the god is portrayed as entering the temple for the first time, the celebration here has Baal already present in the palace and preparing for his guests. This is more in line with life in the royal palace, where the king plays host to his guests, rather than arriving to

be honored. The poet uses the motif of the temple dedication later in 1.4 VII 25–42, as Baal makes his great theophany and is enthroned in the palace (line 42).

As already mentioned, the status of the guests reflects upon the status of the host. In turn, the lavishness of the banquet reflects both the honor in which the guests are held and in turn the honor in which the host is perceived. The spectacular meal, the grand thrones and the free-flowing wine may be considered gifts of honor for the guests, comparable in many ways to the gifts Baal and Anat brought to Athirat in 1.4 I–III. The acceptance of these gifts by the pantheon of the gods commits them to recognize Baal in his new status as leader of the divine council (cf. the modern analogies in Grantham 1995). Although he was proclaimed king by a few gods in 1.2 IV, he does not actually become fully treated as king until now. The theme of recognized kingship in the context of a banquet may allow us to recognize in this passage the earliest prototype in West Semitic literature of what will eventually develop into the concept of the Messianic Banquet in later Jewish and Christian tradition (cf. *UBC* 1.xxvi–xxvii).

CAT 1.4 VII

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Text Editions: Virolleaud 1932:152–59, pls. XXVIII, XXIX (in the *editio princeps*, the captions for the two photos of the obverse and reverse have been exchanged; thus pl. XXIX, captioned as the obverse, is actually the reverse and pl. XXX is the obverse); CTA 29–30, fig. 17, pls. IX, X; KTU 19–20; CAT 20–21.

Studies and Translations: Aistleitner 44–46; Albright 1934:128–30; Caquot and Sznycer, *TO* 1.215–19; Cassuto, *BOS* 2.138–39, 141, 188–92; Coogan 1978:104–05; Cross, *CMHE* 149; Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1167–71; Driver, *CML*[1] 100–3; Gaster, *Thespis* 192–99; Gibson, *CML*[2] 64–66; Ginsberg 1936:181–82, *ANET* 134–35, *KU* 38–41; Gordon, *UL* 35–37, 1977:99–101; Gray, *LC*[2] 52–53, 293; Jirku 51–52; Miller, *DW* 34–37; Margalit, *MLD* 51–74; de Moor, *SPUMB* 156–76; 1987:61–66; Neiman 1969; del Olmo Lete, *MLC* 207–11; *MLR* 88–90; Pardee 1997a:262–63; Smith 1985:315–16, 336–38, *UNP* 135–38; Wyatt 1998:108–12; Xella 1982:118–20; van Zijl, *Baal* 135–56.

TEXT (SEE IMAGES 75–80)

1 [   ]ʾi̊q̇ṅʾi̊[   ]
   [   ]ʾal̉ʾiyn.b̉ʿl
   k̉[   ]xk.mddʾil
   y[   ]lzr.qdqdh
5 ʾil[   ]r̉ḥq.bǵr
   km.y[   ]ʾilm.bṣpn
   ʿb̉r.l[   ].ʿrm
   ṯb.lpd̉[   ]drm
   ṯṯ.lṯṯm.ʾiḥd.ʿr
10 šbʿm.šb̊ʿ.pdr
   ṯmnym.bʿl.m̊[   ]
   tšʿm.bʿl.mr[   ]
   bt[   ]b̊.bʿl.bqrb̊
   bt.wyʿn.ʾal̉ʾiyn
15 b̊ʿl̉[   ]ʾaštm.kṯrbn
   ym̊.kṯr.bnm.ʿdt
   ypiḥ.hln.bbhtm̊
   ảr̊b̊i̊.bqrb.hkl
   m.w[   ]iḥ.bdqt.ʿrpt
20 ʿl̉ḥ[   ].kṯr.wḥss
   ṣḥq.kṯr.wḥss
   yšʾů.ġḣ[   ]ẇyṣḥ
   lrgmṫ[   ]lk.lʾal̉i
   yn.bʿl.ṫl̊bṅ.bʿl̉

25   *lhẇtẏ[   ]ẏptḥ.ḥ*
     ln.bbhtm.ʾurbt
     bqrb.hkl̊[   ]ẙp̊tḫ
     bʿl.bdqtˋr̊p̊t
     qlh.qdš[   ]bˋ[   ]ytn
30   *ytny.bʿl.ṣ[   ]šp̊th*
     qlh.q[   ]k̊p̊r.ʾarṣ
     q̊l̊[   ]xg̊r̊m̊[   ]t̊ḫ̊šn
     rtq[   ]
     qdmym.bmt.ʾȧ[   ]
35   *tttn.ʾib.bʿl.tʾiḫd*
     yˋrm.šnʾu.hd.gpt
     g̊r.wyˋn.ʾalʾiyn
     bʿl.ʾib.hdi.lm.tḫš
     lm.tḫš.nṭq.dmrn
40   *ˋn.bʿl.qdm.ydh*
     ktg̊d.ʾarz.bymnh
     bkm.ytb.bʿl.lbhth
     ʾumlk.ʾublmlk
     ʾarṣ.drktyštkn
45   *dll.ʾal.ʾilʾak.lbn*
     ʾilm.mt.ˋddlydd
     ʾil.g̊zr.yqrʾa.mt
     bnpšh.ystrnydd
     bgngnh.ʾaḥdy.dym
50   *lk.ʿl.ʾilm.lymrʾu*
     ʾ̊ilm.wnšm.dyšb
     [ ].hmlt.ʾarṣ.gm.lg̊
     [ ]m̊h.bʿl.kyṣḥ.ˋn
     [   ].wʾugr.bg̊lmt
55   *[   ]ẙm.bn.zlmt.r*
     [   ]ẖbr[   ]g̊nt.
     [   ]ˋrpt
     [   ]ẙẖt
     [   ]m
60   *[   ]x*

[About 7 lines are missing.]

TEXTUAL NOTES

Line 1.]ʾ̊iq̇ṅʾi[The first /ʾi/ is identifiable only by context. The right tip of the lower horizontal is all that remains. The outline of the /q/ is easily visible, although most of the surface is destroyed. The left edge and lower line of the left wedge of the /n/ are visible, as is the lower

line of the right wedge. The second /ʾi/ is represented by much of the upper horizontal, the right tip of a lower one, and the deep interior of the vertical wedge.

CTA (p. 29) suggested that there might be a line above this one, but that seems unlikely. Line 1 runs along the very top of the upper edge of the tablet, parallel to the first lines of the other three columns.

Line 2.]ʾảlʾiyn   Only the right wedge of the /ʾa/ is preserved, but the context assures the reading.

b̉ʿl   The horizontal wedges of /b/ are preserved, as is part of the right side of the left vertical.

Line 3. k̉ [   ]xk   Two small horizontal wedges, one above the other, are all that remains of the letter at the beginning of the line. They indicate that the letter is either /k/ or /r/. The size of the lower wedge is more compatible with a /k/than an /r/ (cf. the /k/ on the other side of the break). The letter cannot be /b/, as proposed by CAT, since the upper wedge is clearly horizontal and is not in the right location to meet the lower horizontal. The /x/to the right of the break is a large horizontal. Since its left side is broken, there are numerous possibilities for this letter: /t/, /ʾa/, /n/, /k/, /r/.

Line 4. y[There do not appear to be any surviving traces of an /m/ after the initial /y/, as CAT proposed.

qdqdh   The /h/ at the end of the line has four wedges, and is very stunted horizontally to fit inside the margin line.

Line 5. ʾil[The /l/ is broken on the right, so that the left wedge, the upper half of the middle wedge, and the upper left corner of the right wedge are all that remain.

]r̉ḥq   The /r/ seems probable by context, although the letter is almost completely obliterated. The interior of a right horizontal wedge is discernable, eliminating the other proposed reading, /ṣ/.

Line 7. ʿb̉r.l[The /b/ has been read as /d/, primarily because of its width. See *CML*² 64 (cf. *MLC* 96). However, there are only two verticals in the letter, along with a vague depression that resembles the upper left corner of a wedge in the middle of the letter, which does not appear to have been fully impressed into the clay. It may have been a false start for the right wedge, but considered too close to the left wedge.

Line 8. t̠b.lpd̬[ ]drm   The /d/ before the break is epigraphically uncertain. One vertical and two horizontals are preserved, thus allowing /b/ as a possibility. However, context argues for /d/. No traces of the /p/ to the right of the break survive, although Virolleaud's drawing (CTA fig. 17) suggests that the two right tips of the horizontals were still preserved when the tablet was newly discovered. Unfortunately, the early photo from the 1930s does not show this area to advantage.

Line 9. ʾaẖd   The /ʾa/is certain, although only the lower line of the two wedges is preserved.

Line 10. šbˁ̬   The supposed /ˁ/ in /šbˁ/ is problematic. The context urges this reading, but the surviving wedge is in a very odd stance for an /ˁ/, with its vertical right side. It looks more like the right wedge of a /q/ or /z̠/. Is a scribal error involved here?

Line 11. bˁl.ṁ[The /m/, unnoticed in CTA, appears certain. The lower left corner of the horizontal and the lower tip of the vertical are visible.

Line 13. bt̬[This is by far the most probable reading at the beginning of the line, rather than CAT's /bbt/. Driver (*CML¹* 100) suggested reading /bkm.t̠b/, "Forthwith he did return," based on VII 42, and others have followed his lead (cf. *Thespis* 195; Coogan 1978: 104; de Moor 1987:62; Pardee 1997a:262). But the second letter cannot be a /k/ (cf. CTA p. 29 n. 5). CAT apparently takes what we read as /t/ as the left horizontal of a /b/. But the horizontal is complete and solitary and much too large to be part of a /b/. There is a pockmark above the /t/, which CAT may have interpreted as part of a vertical. But it is only damage. There are no further traces of their purported /t/.

   ]ḇ.bˁl   Most of the /b/ after the break is preserved. We see no hint of an /r/ before that /b/, as read by CAT. There is room in the lacuna for three letters, Thus reconstructions like *[ˁr]b* (CAT) or *[yt̠]b* (see the Commentary) seem a little short for the space.

   bqrḇ   The final /b/ on the line consists only of the left horizontal wedge, and the lower left corner of the right horizontal. For efforts at reconstruction, see the Commentary below.

Line 15. bʿl̊[.]ʾaštm.   The surface of the tablet has chipped off on the left side of this line. All that is left of /bʿl/ is the interiors of the wedges. But they can all be made out on the tablet.

   kt̠rbn   There is no word divider after /kt̠r/.

Line 16. yṁ.k̊t̠r   Again the left side of the line is badly preserved. The vertical of /m/ is only barely discernable, and /kt̠/ only preserve their deep interiors, which, however, are visible.

Line 17. yṗt̊ḥ   The left side continues to be poorly preserved. The signs of /ptḥ/ are very badly damaged. The upper wedge of /p/ is discernable, but badly broken. The /t/ has no edges surviving, but the deepest part of the head of the letter seems preserved. The outline of /ḥ/ is clearly observable.

   ḥln   A stray vertical wedge is visible under the right tip of the /n/.
   bbhtṁ   The horizontal of the /m/ is partially filled with an encrustation. The vertical was placed in the left margin line, which is itself damaged.

Line 18. ʾůr̊b̊t̊   The damage on the left side of the column continues. The /ʾu/ is pretty certain from context, but the damage to the horizontal wedge makes it impossible epigraphically to decide whether it is made up of one, two or three wedges. Traces of three verticals narrow the possibilities to /ʾu/ or /d/. Only the two left horizontals of the /r/ are clear, though perhaps the deepest interior of the right horizontal is discernable. The /b/ is also very poorly preserved. The outline of the horizontal wedges has survived, and possibly the deepest interiors of the heads of two verticals are preserved as well. Only the lower line of the /t/ is preserved, but makes the letter certain.

   h̊kl   The /h/ is very shallow, probably due to an ancient smudge when the tablet was still wet. Only two wedges are visible.

Line 19. m.w[ ]t̊ḥ   There are no traces of a /y/ following the /w/, as in CTA, nor are there any remains of /p/ following the latter, as in CAT. Presumably the supposed trace of the /y/ is a pockmark to the right and above the end of the /w/. But it is certainly breakage and not the remains of a wedge. The /t/ is only visible in its lower line. The /ḥ/ survives almost completely, although the surfaces of the wedges are all broken away. Any of the popular reconstructions—*w[yp]tḥ*, *w[tp]tḥ*,

or *w[ʾip]th*—would fit into the lacuna. Tropper's insistence that there is only room for one letter between /w/ and /t/ is simply mistaken (2002b:800–1). See Image 76, which clearly shows that there is ample space for two letters.

For the reconstruction *w[ʾip]th*, with Baal as the subject, see Prosser 2001 following translations by Albright, Aistleitner and Ginsberg. The argument is largely contextual based on the narrative in lines 27–28 where Baal is said to open the break in the clouds. See the Commentary below for discussion.

Line 20. ʾl.ḥ̊[   ].kt̠r.wḫss   The reading of /ḥ̊/ before the break is epigraphically uncertain. Only a thin, low long horizontal is preserved. This could be either /h/ or /p/. The top is chipped away, so there is no way to determine how high the letter was. The /w/ proposed by CAT as following the possible /h/ is an illusion created by a break in the tablet. There are no traces of it or of a following /t/. With many commentators, we reconstruct h[wt], with the context in mind regarding the "word" (*hwt*) of Kothar wa-Hasis (1.4 VI 15, VII 27). The restoration proposal ʾl p[k] appears unlikely because of the lacuna's large space that suggests two letters in the break, besides the /h/ or /p/.

Line 21. k̠t̠r̊.ẘ   These four letters are badly damaged, but all of them are discernable. The left wedges of the /w/ are filled with encrustation.

Line 22. yš̊ʾů̊g̊ḥ̊   The word divider seems preserved in its upper and left lines., but filled with an encrustation. The /g/'s surface is gone but the interior of the letter assures the reading. The /h/ is epigraphically uncertain, since only a single long horizontal, high on the line, survives. But the context assures the reading.

ẘyṣḫ   The shape of the /w/ survives generally, with a few hints of the upper left wedge and part of the large right wedge. The left half of the /y/ has been filled with the encrustation, but the outline of the surface is almost completed preserved.

Line 23. lrgm̊t̊[   ]   Several signs in this line are badly damaged, but all are certain. The /m/ has lost most of its surface, but the deep indentations of both wedges are visible. The surface of the /t/ is also gone, but much of the line of the wedge is discernable. No traces of a word divider after the /t/ are preserved.

]l̇k   Traces of the left and right wedges of the /l/ are visible, assur-
ing the reading. The interiors of the two left wedges of the /k/ are
quite visible, although the surface lines are damaged.

Line 24. yn.bʿl̇   The /l/ is only preserved in the interior of the wedges,
but is certain.
    ṯṭbṅ   The upper line of the /t/ is preserved along the edge of a
deep chip. The /ṯ/ is the least well preserved and is epigraphically
uncertain, represented only by a deep roundish indentation to the right
of the /t/. The lower lines of the two right wedges of the /n/ are
preserved, as is the left line of the left wedge.

Line 25. lḥẇtẏ[Again several letters are badly damaged, but there
is nothing uncertain of reading. The /w/'s interior is damaged, but
the line of the edges indicates the certainty of the reading. Only the
right side of the /y/ has any remnants preserved. We see no traces of
a word divider between this /y/ and the one to its right.
    ]ẏptḥ.ḥ   While damaged, five of the wedges of the /y/ are discern-
able. The lower line of the /t/, as well as the interior of the wedge
are visible.

Line 27. hkl̇[   ]ẙṗtḥ   Traces of only two wedges of the /l/ are pre-
served, but the reading is assured by context. We discern no surviving
remnants of the succeeding /m/ read by CAT. There are two possible
indentations that may represent the two lower wedges of the left half
of a /y/. The right tips of the probable /p/ seem partially preserved,
though only the vague lower line of the lower one is visible. The paral-
lel in line 17 above supports the reading.

Line 28. bdqṭ[The /t/ is badly damaged, but pieces of its line are
preserved.
    ]ʿ̊ṙṗt   The first three letters of the word are very fragmentary and
epigraphically uncertain. However, the parallel in line 19 strongly sup-
ports these readings. Only the deep interior of the /ʿ/ is left, but the
traces are certainly compatible with that reading. A small piece of the
edge and the deep interior of the /r/'s right wedge is all that remains
of that letter. What appears to be the upper left corner of the top
wedge of the /p/ is also visible.

Line 29. qdš[   ]b̓ʿ[   ]ytn   The word divider after /qdš/ is lost in breakage. The lower line and left line of the /ʿ/ are partially preserved. The wedge is filled with an encrustation. The /l/ that follows is entirely lost in a deep gouge, contra CAT. The /y/ is certain. The deepest interior of the left half of the letter is still visible, as is the right side of the upper two wedges of the right half.

Line 30.]ṣ̌p̊th   Clear traces of what is most likely the right wedge of a /š/ that connects to the left edge of the lower wedge of the /p/. The upper wedge of the /p/ is considerably smaller than the lower wedge, but this is a fairly common form of the letter (cf. Ellison 2002:2.72, figs. 243, 248, and 2.73, figs. 249, 252).

Line 31. qlh.q[   ]k̊p̣r̊.ʾarṣ   The center of this line is very badly damaged. The reading here remains tentative, but fits the preserved traces. Probably two letters have been completely destroyed after the second /q/. Then the remains of a midsized high horizontal are visible, consistent with a /k/ or /w/ more than an /r/. There are also possible traces of both the lower horizontal and the left line of the large right horizontal of a /k/. We see no clear hint of a second horizontal that would identify the letter as /w/, but this reading cannot be ruled out. To the right is the upper line of a long horizontal, high on the line, which suggests /p/ or /h/. Its height on the line and the evident thinness of the wedge argue against reading it as a /t/. Most likely it is /p/. Enough traces of the succeeding /r/ are preserved to assure its reading. Ben-David (1980) had already suggested reading. *ʾpʾr.ʾarṣ*, and proposed a parallel with Isa 24:19. With the apparent /k/ in front, that parallel does not seem likely. But it would hold if the reading here were/wpr/).

Line 32. å̊l̊[The first two letters are uncertain, but likely. The lower part of a *Winkelhaken* is clearly visible, at approximately the same location as the *Winkelhaken* in the line above. To its right are vague hints of two long verticals, which suggest a /ṣ/ or /l/. A repetition of the word *ql* is compatible with the context.

   ]xg̊rṁ[The letter preceding the /ġ/ is represented by what appears to be the wide head of a vertical wedge with a hint of another vertical to its left. One might suggest /d/ /ʾu/, or /b/ as most likely here, although other letters are possible. The /ġ/ is certain since the oblique wedges are preserved in part. The horizontal of the /m/ is fairly well preserved, and the upper left corner of the vertical survives.

]t̊ẖšn   The reading of the last word here is assured, not by the current photograph in this edition, but by the original Louvre photo taken in the 1930s. This is an example of a tablet section that has significantly deteriorated between the 1930s and today. The original photo of the reverse of the tablet, when enlarged, clearly shows a well preserved /ẖ/ and /n/, neither of which survive today. Virolleaud read the first letter of this word as /ʾa/, while Herdner (CTA p. 29, n. 13) argued for reading a word divider and a /t/. Unfortunately, the original photo does not show this letter well, and all that can be said now is that it is a horizontal letter with either one or two wedges, i.e., either /t/ or /ʾa/. The context argues for /t/.

Line 33. rtq[The reading of /t/ is clear (cf. CTA: /rḫq/). The fact that it is a single wedge is clear from the smooth, finely preserved line of the interior. There is no trace of a word divider after the /q/.

Line 34. ʾȧ[The bottom line of the /ʾa/ is preserved and assures the reading. Contra CAT, there are no traces of an /r/ following.

Line 36. šnʾu.hd   The /h/ has four wedges.

Line 38. hdṫ   CAT has proposed that there is another letter underneath the /t/. There are traces of what appears to be the lower left outlying parts of a /ṯ/ along the left side of the letter (compare the /ṯ/ directly below in line 39). But these may simply be damage.

Line 39. lm.tẖš.nṯq.dmrn   This line is perfectly clear. CTA has two typos in the line (ḥ for /ẖ/ and /m/ for /n/ at the end of the line).

Line 41. bymnh   The /h/ has four wedges.

Line 44. drktyštkn   There is no word divider after /drkt/, as proposed in CAT.

Line 46. ʿddlydd   There is no word divider after /ʿdd/, as proposed in CAT.

Line 49. bgngnh   The /h/ has four wedges.
    ʾaḥdy   CTA has a typographical error, reading /ẖ/ for /ḥ/.

Line 51. ʾỉlm   The /ʾi/ is broken on the left, so that the distinguish-ing lower left vertical is not preserved. But the context assures the reading.

Line 53. [ ]m̊h   The /m/ is uncertain. The top of the vertical appears to be visible, with perhaps a hint of the right tip of the horizontal. But the vertical seems very low on the line to be an /m/. At the same time, one may compare the very low placement of the /l/ in Column VIII, line 32 in relation to /ʾi/ in /ʾil/.

Line 55. [   ]ẙm   The /y/ is represented only by the top two wedges of the right half of the letter.

Line 56. [   ]h̊br[The /t/ proposed by both CTA and CAT just before /h̊br/ appears to be merely the break in the tablet. The first preserved letter is most likely /h/ rather than /ʾi/ (as in CTA and CAT). There is no clear evidence of the low vertical required to make it an /ʾi/. A vertical crack runs down the left corner of the letter, giv-ing a slight appearance that there might be a low vertical. But there is plenty of room on the preserved surface of the tablet for traces of the vertical, were it here. There are a few examples of an /ʾi/ with a vertical substantially below and to the left of the horizontals, but they are rare (cf. Ellison 2002:2.189, figs 764, 765). In a parallel passage, 1.8.9, the text clearly reads /ʾibr/. However, neither reading produces an obvious translation of the word. Thus it seems best to keep open the possibility that both passages might read either *hbr* or *ʾibr* and that one text contains a scribal error.

]g̊nt.   CTA and CAT have read an /m/ for the first letter of this word, rather than /g/. There is damage on the left side of the letter, but there is no evidence of the horizontal of an /m/. In fact, there is probably too little space between the end of the /r/ and the preserved vertical for a horizontal to fit, particularly if one assumes a word divider belongs after /hbr/. Here, as with the previous word, the readings *gnt* and *mnt* do not produce obvious translations. There is a word divider at the end of /gnt/, though nothing follows.

Line 57. [   ]ʿrpt   The upper half of the /ʿ/ is well preserved along the edge of the break.

Line 58. [   ]i̇ḫt   Part of the upper line of a large horizontal
is preserved before the /ḫ/. /t/ is only one possibility. A reading of
/m/ would match the passage found in 1.8.12 (*mʿṣrm.ḫ[   ]*), but is not
likely, since the horizontal is low on the line, and there is little room
for the vertical.

Line 60. [   ]x   A thin horizontal wedge is certain, and perhaps
a hint of a lower horizontal. The letter is more likely to be /p/ or
/h/ than /t/.

Text Restored and Set in Poetic Form

1	*[ ]ʾiqnʾi[m…]*
2	*[ ]ʾalʾiyn.bʿl*
3–4	*k[ ]xk.mdd ʾil/y[m]*
4	*[ ]lzr.qdqdh/*
5	*ʾil[ ]rḥq.bǵr/*
6	*km.y[ ]ʾilm.bṣpn*
7–8	*ʿr.l[ʿr].ʿrm/*
	ṯb.lpd[r.p]drm
9–10	*ṯṯ.lṯṯm.ʾaḥd.ʿr/*
	šbʿm.šbʿ.pdr
11–13	*ṯmnym.bʿl.m[ ]/*
	tšʿm.bʿl.mr[ ]/bt
13–14	*[ ]b.bʿl.bqrb/bt.*
14–15	*wyʿn.ʾalʾiyn/bʿl[.]*
15–16	*ʾaštm.kṯr bn/ym.*
	kṯr.bnm.ʿdt
17–19	*ypṯḥ.ḥln.bbhtm/*
	ʾurbt.bqrb.hkl/m.
	w[t/ʾip]ṯḥ.bdqt.ʿrpt/
	ʿl h[wt].kṯr.wḫss
21–22	*ṣḥq.kṯr.wḫss/*
	yšʾu[.]gh[.]wyṣḥ
23–25	*lrgmt[.]lk.lʾalʾi/yn.bʿl.*
	ṯṯbn.bʿl/lhwty[.]
25–28	*ypṯḥ.h/ln.bbhtm.*
	ʾurbt/bqrb.hkl[m.]
	ypṯḥ/bʿl.bdqt ʿrpt/
29–30	*qlh.qdš[.]bʿ[l.]ytn*
	yṯny.bʿl.ṣ[ʾat (?).š(?)]pth/
31–35	*qlh.q[dš] k(?)p(?)r.ʾarṣ*
	ql[h]x ǵrm[.]tḫšn
	rtq[ṣ? ǵrm?]/qdmym.
	bmt.ʾa[rṣ]/tṯṭn.

35–37   *'ib.bˤl.t'iḫd/yˤrm.*
        šn'u.hd.gpt/ǵr.
37–38   *wyˤn.'al'iyn/bˤl.*
38–39   *'ib.hd{t}.lm.tḫš/*
        lm.tḫš.ntq.dmrn
40–41   *ˤn.bˤl.qdm*
        ydh/ktǵd.
        'arz.bymnh
42   *bkm.ytb.bˤl.lbhth*
43–44   *'umlk.'ublmlk/*
        'arṣ.drkt yštkn
45–47   *dll.'al.'il'ak.lbn/'ilm.mt.*
        ˤdd lydd/'il.ǵzr.
47–49   *yqr'a.mt/bnpšh.*
        ystrn ydd/bgngnh
49–52   *'aḫdy.dym/lk.ˤl.'ilm.*
        lymr'u/'ilm.wnšm.
        dyšb/[ˤ].hmlt.'arṣ.
52–53   *gm.lǵ/[l]mh.bˤl.kyṣḫ.*
53–56   *ˤn/[gpn].w'ugr.*
        b<n.>ǵlmt/[ˤmm.]ym.
        bn.zlmt.r/[mt.prˤt.]
56–57   *hbr[   ]gnt./[ṣḫrrm.]*
        [ḥbl.   ]ˤrpt
58   *[   ]tḥt*
59   *[   ]m*
60   *[   ]x*

[About 7 lines are missing.]

Translation and Vocalized Text

[*The import of lines 1–6 is unclear; perhaps Baal deals another defeat to Yamm.*]

1	…]lapis lazu[li]…	[…'i]qni'ī[ma]…
2	…Mightiest Baal	…'al'iyānv baˤlv
3–4	…the Beloved of El, Ya[mm]…	…mêdadv[1] 'ili yammv…
4	…on top of his head.	…lê-ẓāri qadqadi-hu…
5	El/the god[s}…departed from the mountain…	'ilv.…raḥāqv bi-ǵāri…

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[1] *mdd* is evidently *m-* preformative form, on analogy with BH *mêdād*; or, on analogy with the Arabic *maqtūl* passive participle, **môdūd/mêdūdu*, so Sivan 1997:123; cf. the form as a *D*-stem passive participle in Vaughn 1993:426). For the usage, see further in the Commentary.

6   When/Indeed the gods [X-ed]   kama [...]'ilvma bi- ṣapāni
             on/from Sapan.

Baal's Victory Tour

7–8   He crossed to [the chief] city,   'abara lê-['îri²] 'arīma
             He turned to the [chie]f town.   ṯāba lê-pad[ri pa]darīma

9–10   Sixty-six (surrounding) cities he   ṯiṯṯi lê-ṯiṯṯīma 'aḫada 'îra
             seized,
             Seventy-seven towns.   šib'īma šab'i padarīma

11–13   Eighty Baal...   ṯamāniyīma ba'lu...
             Ninety Baal...   taš'īma ba'lu...

13–14   Baal [ent]ers (?) into the house.   ['ara(?)]ba ba'lu bi-qirbi bêti

Baal Reverses His Decision

14–15   And Mightiest Baal spoke: wa-ya'nî 'ali'yānu ba'lu

15–16   "I will install, O Kothar, Son of Sea,   'ašîtu-mi kôṯari bini yammi
             Kothar, Son of the Confluence: kôṯari bini-ma 'idati

17–20   Let an aperture be opened in   yuptaḫ ḫillānu bi-bahatīma
             the house,[3]
             A window inside the palace.   'urubatu bi-qirbi hêkalīma
             So let a break in the clouds be   wa-[y/'ip/tup]taḫ
             [op]ened,[4]   bidqata/u 'urpāti
             According to the wo[rd of] Kothar   'al ha[wati] kôṯari
             wa-Hasis."   wa-ḫasīsi

21–22   Kothar wa-Hasis laughed,   ṣaḥaqa kôṯaru wa-ḫasīsu
             He raised his voice and declared: yišša'u gā-hu wa-yaṣûḫu

23–25   "I truly told you, O Mightiest Baal: la-ragamtu lê-ka la-'al'iyāni
                                                       ba'li
             'You will reconsider my word,   taṯûbuna ba'li lê-hawati-ya
             O Baal.'"

_____

[2] Sivan 1997:66.

[3] It is theoretically possible that the verb is active and not passive, especially in view of the following bicolon. See the following note for discussion.

[4] As indicated by the vocalization, the third person active is possible, with *bdqt* as the direct object. Another plausible reconstruction here is *w/'ip/tḥ*, the 1st s active. In this case, the line would read: "And let me open a break in the clouds." See the discussion in the Commentary.

The Window Is Installed

25–28	An aperture was opened in the house,	yuptaḥu ḥillānu bi-bahatīma
	A window inside the palac[e].	'urubatu bi-qirbi hêkal[īma]
	Baal opened a break in the clouds,	yiptaḥu ba'lu bidqata 'urpāti
29–30	Baa[l] gave forth his holy voice.	qāla-hu qudši ba'[lu] yatinu
	Baal repeated the is[sue of (?)] his [li(?)]ps,	yatanniya ba'lu ṣi['ata ši]ptê-hu
31–35	His ho[ly (?)] voice covered (?) the earth,	qālu-hu qu[dši] kapara 'arṣa
	[At his] voice…the mountains trembled.	qalv[-hu]ġārūma taḫûšūna
	The ancient [mountains?] leapt [up?],	rtq[ṣ? ġārūma (?)]qadmiyyūma
	The high places of the ear[th] tottered.	bamātū 'a[rṣi] taṭṭiṭūna
35–37	The enemies of Baal took to the woods,	'ibū ba'li tu'ḫadū ya'arīma
	The haters of Hadd to the mountainsides.	šāni'ū haddi guppāti ġāri
37–38	And Mightiest Baal spoke:	wa-ya'nî 'al'iyānu ba'lu
38–39	"O Enemies of Hadd, why do you tremble?	'ibî haddi lama taḫûšū
	Why tremble, you who wield a weapon against the Warrior?"	lama taḫûšū nāṯiqî damirāni
40–41	Baal looked forward;	'âna ba'lu qadma
	His hand indeed shook,	yadu-hu kī-taġdû
	The cedar was in his right hand.	'arzu bi-yamīni-hu
42	So Baal was enthroned in/ returned to his house.	bi-kama[5] yaṯibu ba'lu lê-bahatī-hu
43–44	"Will it be a king or a non-king	'ô[6]-malku 'ô-bal-malku[7]
	Who establishes dominion in the earth (netherworld)?	'arṣa darkata yištakinu
45–47	A herald I will indeed send to Divine Mot,	dallala 'al 'il'ak lê-bini 'ili-ma môti
	An envoy to El's Beloved, the Hero,	'ādida lê-yadīdi[8] 'ili ġāziri

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[5] See *UG* 745.

[6] See *UG* 188, 792.

[7] For *bl* + noun to form a complex noun, see *UG* 817.

[8] The term *ydd* is apparently **qatil*-base (cf. BH *yādîd*). See the Commentary for further discussion of the term.

| 47–49 | That he may proclaim to Mot into his throat, | yiqra'a môta bi-napši-hu |
| | Inform the Beloved in his insides: | yistarrana yadīda bi-gangani[9]-hu |

52–52	It is I alone who reign over the gods,	'aḫdu-ya[10] dū-yamluku 'alê 'ilīma
	Indeed fatten gods and men,	la-yimra'u 'ilīma wa-našīma
	Who satis[fy] the earth's multitudes."	dū-yišba['u] hamulāti 'arṣi

| 52–53 | Aloud to his l[a]ds Baal declared: | gā-ma lê-ġa[la]mī-hu ba'lu kī-yaṣûḥu |

53–56	"See, [O Gapn] and Ugar,	'înā [gapni] wa-'ugari
	so<ns> of the Lass (?), kinsmen of Day(?),	banî ġlmt/'ammêmi ym
	sons of ẓlmt, the exalted princess(?)	banî ẓlmt/ramti par'ati

[*Lines 57–60 are too broken, and about seven additional lines are missing.*]

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Commentary

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Poetic Parallelism and Word/Syllable Counts

</div>

	semantic parallelism	word/ syllable count

Lines 1–6 are too broken for purposes of poetic analysis.

| 7–8 | 'abara lê-['îri] 'arīma | a b c | 3/9 |
| | ṯāba lê-pad[ri pa]darīma | a' b' c' | 3/9 |

The two lines show close syntactical, morphological and semantic parallelism. The notable feature involves alliteration within each line, namely ' and *r* in all three words in the first line, and bilabials *b, p* and *m* in the second line.

| 9–10 | ṯiṯṯi lê-ṯiṯṯīma 'aḫada 'îra | a b c d | 4/11 |
| | šib'īma šab'i padarīma | b' a' d' | 3/9 |

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[9] See *UG* 146. See also the discussion below.
[10] See *UG* 344, also pp. 217, 228.

The numbers fronted at the heads of the lines stand in a chiastic arrangement, perhaps designed to emphasize them. The poetic syntax is reminiscent of 1.4 V 56–57. Dentals predominate in the first line, bilabials in the second.

11–12	ṯamāniyīma baʿlu...	a b (?)	(?)
	tašʿīma baʿlu...	a' b (?)	(?)

The two lines here constitute a bicolon that seems to be structured in a way similar to the preceding bicolon.

13–14	[ʿara]ba baʿlu bi-qirbi bêti	a b c (x of y)	4/10

Given the difficulties with the beginning part of line 13, not to mention lines 11–12 (see the Commentary below), remarks on this line's poetics cannot be made.

14–15	wa-yaʿnî ʾaliʾyānu/baʿlu	a b (x, y)	3/9

This is extracolonic, a common speech-opening line.

15–16	ʾasîtu-mi kôṯari bini/yammi	a b c (x of y)	4/11
	kôṯari bini-ma ʿidati	b c' (x of y)	3/9

At first glance, the parallelism here is classic, whether one views *bn ym//bnm ʿdt* as divine titles (as rendered here) or as expressions for time. Yet the repetition of the divine name is not the norm (the poet might have used the craftsman-god's epithet *ḫss* in the second line). The expressions following the divine name also repeat the element *bn//bn*. So the bicolon shows two examples of repetition of the same element. These elements contribute also to sonant parallelism, further enhanced by final *-mi/-ma*; final *-i* is particularly dominant, generated largely by the case endings.

17–20	yuptaḥ ḥillānu bi-bahatīma	a b c	3/10
	ʾurubatu bi-qirbi hêkalī/ma	b' c' (x of y)	3/11
	wa-[y/t/ʾip]taḥ bidqata ʿurpāti	a' b" c"	3/9
	ʿal ha[wati] kôṯari wa-ḫasīsi	d e f (x + y)	3/11

This unit largely follows the pattern of 1.4 V 61–62, 64–65 and VI 5–6 and 8–9. (Otherwise one might read this unit as two bicola, e.g.,

Ginsberg, *ANET* 135; Smith, *UNP* 136.) The major difference here is the initial verb, which slightly enhances the sonant patterning with bilabials and dental *t*'s in this bicolon. One may also notice the switching here of the A and B words for "window," in comparison to the parallels. The parallel structure of the third line emphasizes the identity of the window and the break in the clouds. The fourth line echoes Kothar's statement in VI 2 and 15 above and anticipates the repetition of it in lines 24b–25a below.

| 21–22 | ṣaḥaqa kôṯaru wa-ḫasīsu | a b (x + y) | 3/10 |
| | yišša'u gā-hu wa-yaṣûḥu | a' (x + y) | 3/9 |

Essentially the same bicolon, with Anat as the subject, appears in 1.4 V 25–26. In both cases, the first line represents a reaction to the preceding event, while the second line opens the following speech. At the same time, the two lines are linked in communicating the sentiment of the divine subject.

| 23–25 | la-ragamtu lê-ka la-'al'i/yāni ba'li | a b c (x, y) | 4/13 |
| | taṯûbuna ba'li/lê-hawati-ya | d c e | 3/11 |

On the face of it, these two lines are not parallel semantically, as the first makes an assertion about a speech (in American English, "I told you so!") and the second line the content of that speech. However, the prepositional phrases are syntactically and morphologically parallel, the name of Baal occurs in both lines, and there are various *l-* particles and *l-* consonance.

25–28	yuptaḥu ḥi/llānu bi-bahatīma	a b c	3/11
	'urubatu/bi-qirbi hêkal[īma]	b' c' (x of y)	3/11
	yiptaḥu/ba'lu bidqata 'urpāti	a' d b'' (x of y)	4/11

This is the narrative execution of what is ordered in lines 17–19. As Fenton (1969) has shown, the narrative execution uses the indicative verb form proximate to the volitive form used in the speech; in this case, the jussive **yqtl* form in the speech is followed by the prefix indicative **yqtl* form.

| 29–30 | qāla-hu qudši ba['lu] yatinu | a (x of y) b c | 4/10 |
| | yaṯanniya ba'lu ṣi['ata ši]ptê-hu | c' b a' (x of y) | 4/12 (?) |

This bicolon is a fine example of chiastic structure (assuming the cor-
rectness of the reconstruction in the second line). There is excellent
sonant parallelism between the verbs in the two lines, and the two
objects of the verb are balanced constructs.

31–35	qālu-hu qu[dši] kapara ʾarṣa	a (x of y) b c	4/9 (?)
	qalv[-hu]ġārūma taḫûšūna	d [e?] cʾ bʾ	
	rtq[ṣ? ġārūma (?)]qadmiyyūma	bʾʾ[f?] cʾʾ (x + y)	
	bamātū ʾa[rṣi] taṭṭiṭūna	cʾʾʾ (x+y) bʾʾʾ	3/9

These four lines are closely related to one another, describing the
tumultuous reaction of the earth to Baal's voice. The middle two lines
are too broken to determine the syllable count; in each there is room
for an additional word in the break, and in the third line the form of
the verb is uncertain. But assuming that the overall reconstructions
are generally correct, they join the others to follow a common parallel
structure. The primary discontinuity between the lines is the fact that
the geographical term in the first colon is the object of the verb, while
the parallel term in the other three lines is the subject. As will be dis-
cussed below in the commentary, the root *qdm appears in the phrase
harĕrê qedem, "ancient mountains," in Deut 33:15. If the third line here
is correctly reconstructed, such a phrase (like our proposed ġrm qdmym)
would offer a reasonable parallel to bmt ʾarṣ and would pick up on the
single-word subject of the first line.

| 35–37 | ʾibū baʿli tuʾḫadū/yaʿarīma | a (x of y) b c | 4/11 |
| | šāniʾū haddi guppāti/ġāri | aʾ (x of y) c (x of y) | 4/10 |

The bicolon enjoys classic parallelism in syntax, morphology and seman-
tics. Sonant parallelism generated apart from these sorts of parallelism
is arguable between yaʿarīma and ġāri.

| 37–38 | wa-yaʿnî ʾalʾiyānu baʿlu | a b (x, y) | 3/9 |

This line is extra-colonic.

| 38–39 | ʾibī haddi lama taḫûšū | a (x of y) b c | 4/9 |
| | lama taḫûšū nāṯiqī damirāni | b c aʾ (x of y) | 4/12 |

This bicolon echoes and extends the bicolon in lines 35–37. The appearance of *lama taḥûšū* in each colon significantly marks the parallelism here, and the other components, though not identical, are strongly parallel.

40–41	'âna ba'lu qadma	a b c	3/6
	yadu-hu/kī-taǵdû	a' d	2/6
	'arzu bi-yamīni-hu	e a''	2/7

This unit is hardly parallel in its syntax, but references to parts of the body help bind it together. It has been argued that this unit is really a bicolon: "Baal's eye precedes (is before) his hand" (*'n b'l qdm ydh*)//As the cedar shakes in his right hand (*ktǵd 'arz bymnh*). This approach is appealing in part because of the parallelism that it generates:

| | 'ênu ba'lu qudma yadi-hu | a (x of y) b c | 4/9 |
| | kī-taǵ´addû 'arzu bi-yamīni-hu | d e c' | 3/11 |

This arrangement generally comports better with the line-lengths in the surrounding context, and it yields better parallelism. Despite these advantages, the grammatical discord between the subject and verb in the second line (masculine subject, feminine verb) would seem to preclude this approach. Grammatical discord is attested in various Semitic languages, but working from the exception rather than the norm offers weak support. For further discussion, see the Commentary below.

| 42 | bi-kama yaṯibu ba'lu lê-bahatī-hu | a b c d | 4/13 |

As noted above, this monocolon serves to highlight a narrative high-point and conclusion.

| 43–44 | 'ô-malku 'ô-bal-malku | a a' | 2/7 |
| | 'arṣa darkata yištakinu | b c d | 3/9 |

This unit shows no parallelism from the first line to the second. The semantic parallelism of *malku* and *darkata* is attested. It appears to be one of the rare examples of enjambment in Ugaritic poetry. Since this bicolon serves as the introduction to the third primary episode of the Baal Cycle (the Baal/Mot conflict), this unusual setup may be intentional to make obvious the shift to the new subject.

| 45–47 | dallala ʾal ʾilʾak lê-bini/ʾili-ma môti | a b c (x = p of q, y) | 6/14 |
| | ʿādida yadīdi/ʾili ǵāziri | aʾ cʾ (x = p of q, y) | 4/11 |

The rather long lines of this bicolon show a traditional sort of parallelism. Standard semantic, syntactical and morphological parallelism is evident. The repetition of words for divinity balance a singular form in the first line, *ʾili-ma*, with a singular form in the second, *ʾili*. Moreover, alliteration with *d* is particularly strong in the second line, anticipated with only a single instance of the consonant in the first line. In contrast, alliteration with *l* is particularly strong in the first line, and weakly echoed in the second. Together these features generate a subtle sort of sonant chiasm. Noegel (2004:10–11) suggests that in this unit, *dll*, *ʿdd* and *ydd* (as well as *ydd* and *gngn* in the following unit) also reflect geminate roots clustering poetically in this section of 1.4 VII. The observation further highlights the prominence of the alliteration with *d* in these words.

| 47–49 | yiqraʾa môta/bi-napši-hu | a b c | 3/9 |
| | yistarrana yadīda/bi-gangani-hu | aʾ bʾ cʾ | 3/12 |

This unit enjoys exact syntactical and morphological parallelism, including two of the same elements in the prepositional phrases (*bi-*, *-hu*). The second line is slightly distinctive with its minor alliteration with *n*.

49–52	ʾaḫdu-ya dū-yam/luku ʿalê ʾilīma	a b c	4/12
	la-yimraʾu/ʾilīma wa-našīma	bʾ cʾ (x + y)	3/11
	dū-yišba/[ʿu] hamulāti ʾarṣi	bʾʾ cʾ (x of y)	3/10

A basic syntactical and morphological parallelism runs through the unit. In addition, the semantics of the objects is interlocking from line to line: the first mentions only deities, the second deities and humans, and the third a longer expression for humans. The particles fronting the clauses show some repetition of *d*, at least in the first and third lines. The morphologically parallel verbs are further parallel in each containing a bilabial.

| 52–53 | gā-ma lê-ǵa/[la]mī-hu baʿlu | | |
| | kī-yaṣûḫu | a b c | 4/13 |

This is an unusual speech-opening colon, attested elsewhere in 1.8 5–6 1.14 V 13; 1.15 IV 2; 1.17 V 15; 1.19 II 49. The last several lines have been a speech of Baal essentially to himself, perhaps envisioned by the poet as having been thought in Baal's mind rather than spoken. So now the poet makes it clear that Baal turns and speaks to his messengers.

53–56	'înā/[gapni] wa-'ugari	a b (x + y)	3/8
	…		
	…		

The initial line, consisting of an imperative plus a vocative, is followed apparently by further lines, the meaning of which is very difficult to determine. In view of the interpretational difficulties (see the Commentary below), we prescind here from any further poetic analysis for these lines.

Lines 56–60 are too poorly preserved for the purposes of poetic analysis.

Introduction

In this column the construction narrative that began in column V reaches its conclusion, with a depiction of divine blessing and power in the account of the storm-god's mighty theophany (see the discussion of Near Eastern building narratives, pp. 550–53). The construction narrative is in turn the final scene of the long story of Baal's acquisition of his palace that began in 1.3 III. Within this column the final elements of the tale are told, providing the climax of both the account of the construction of the palace and the larger story as a whole. Having feted the gods in his new palace at the end of column VI, Baal proceeds (following some actions in the broken lines 1–6) to march across the cities of the world to obtain their submission (lines 7–13). Having returned to his palace (lines 14–25), he announces to Kothar that he has changed his mind and will allow the installation of a window (on the entire window episode, see the discussion above, pp. 602–10). The window is installed, and through it (lines 25–42) Baal sends forth his voice, the thunder (and the rains that surely accompany it). At the overwhelming intensity of his voice, the earth trembles and Baal's enemies are scattered, while Baal sits enthroned in his palace. His rule has been established in heaven, on earth and in the sea; it has been recognized generally by deities and humans. This vivid description of Baal's power marks the end of one storyline and acts as the bridge to

the third and final act of the Baal Cycle, the account of Baal's conflict with Mot. This story begins in lines 43–52 with a speech in which Baal states (to himself) the issue that will drive the action of the next two tablets: will Baal establish his dominion in the netherworld? The controversy begins when Baal determines to send a message to Mot that clearly claims control over the latter's realm. At the end of the column (lines 52–60), Baal summons his messengers Gapn and Ugar and begins to instruct them about the message that they will take to Mot. These instructions continue in column VIII.

From an exegetical point of view, column VII has been one of the most controversial sections of the Baal Cycle to interpret. In part this is due to damage on the tablet, particularly at the beginning and at the end of the column. But there have also been considerable differences of opinion about the meanings of numerous key words in the text, which have led to widely variant interpretations of the events depicted here. Lines 1–6 are badly broken, and their exact meaning, as well as their relationship to the preceding and following events, is not clear. The relationship between Baal and his enemies in lines 35–41 has received startlingly different interpretations, and there has been considerable difference of opinion about the meaning of Baal's speech concerning Mot (lines 43–52), despite the fact that the lines are almost perfectly preserved.

Lines 1–6

The last legible lines on column VI described the great banquet Baal gave for the children of Athirat (lines 38–59). This is followed by between six and nine lines that are virtually or actually destroyed at the end of the column. The first six lines of column VII are also badly damaged, so that it is not clear whether the twelve to fifteen lines here continued the story of the banquet or moved into a new scene. Lines 1–6 make reference to Baal, Yamm, and the gods, but the context is very obscure. One important conclusion about the narrative can be drawn, however: we can say with some assurance that Baal's concern about Yamm's threat to his well-being, voiced in his explanation for the refusal to allow Kothar to install a window in the palace (VI 12–13), is resolved in this passage, since those concerns no longer apply in VII 14–20. Some scholars have argued that lines 2–4 describe a final combat between Baal and Yamm, in which Baal delivers a devastating blow to Yamm's head that ends any threat from the latter (e.g.,

BOS 2.138; *Thespis* 192–93; *DW* 33–34; *CML*[1] 16; *SPUMB* 154 n. 10). While this is certainly possible, such a battle in this context seems out of place, and the description of the battle would have been remarkably short. Gibson (*CML*[2] 64 n. 1) suggests that these lines may be part of a declaration by the assembled gods that their allegiance belongs to Baal and not to Yamm, thereby assuring Baal that Yamm is no longer a threat. This seems quite plausible, but no firm conclusion can be drawn. Whatever the case, it is clear that from this point Yamm is no longer an issue for Baal.

A few comments can be made about each of these lines. Line 1 preserves part of only a single word, the reconstructed, *[ʾi]qnʾi[m]*, "[l]apis lazu[li]." The word appears above in the previous column as one of the materials for Baal's new palace. Line 2 provides only the common title, *ʾalʾiyn bʿl*, "Mightiest Baal." Line 3 contains *mdd ʾil*, the epithet of Yamm in 1.3 III 38–39 (*mdd ʾil ym*), and probably his epithet here too, since the beginning of line 4 is likely (but not absolutely certainly) to be reconstructed *y[m]*. Mot is called *mdd ʾil* in VIII 23–24, but the *y* in line 4 makes an identification with Mot here very unlikely. A similar, but distinct title, *ydd ʾil ǵzr* "the beloved of El, the Hero," regularly applies to Mot (1.4 VII 46–47; VIII 31–32; 1.5 I 8, 13–14, II 9; 1.6 VI 30–31 and 1.133.16–17). The key difference involves the form of the initial term: Mot's title *ydd* is apparently **qatūl*-base (**yadūd-*; cf. BH *yādîd*) while Yamm's epithet *mdd* is evidently *m-* preformative form (**mêdad-*, on analogy with BH *mêdad*; or, **mêdud*, so Sivan 1997:123 on analogy with the Arabic *maqtūl* passive participle; cf. the proposal of Vaughn 1993:426 to read it as a *D*-stem passive participle, *muddadu*).

The end of line 4 reads *lzr qdqdh*, "on the top of his head," which is reminiscent of 1.2 IV 24–25: *ylm qdqd zbl ym*, "it (the weapon) struck the head of Prince Yamm" (cf. 1.16 VI 54–57; 1.18 IV 22; 1.19 II 30, where *qdqd* appears in contexts of conflict). It thus seems plausible to see this line as referring to the wounding of Yamm in the head. But it is also possible that the line could refer to placing a crown on Baal's head, although no parallel passages are known.

If the events described in lines 1–4 take place at the banquet, as seems possible, then lines 5–6 can easily be interpreted as describing the departure of the gods from Mount Sapan. Line 5 contains the root *rḥq*, which as a verb in Ugaritic means, "to go away" (see also 1.14 VI 14 and parallels; *DUL* 738). The other suggested reading of the verb, *ṣḥq*, "to laugh, make merry" (originally proposed by Virolleaud 1932:153; cf. CTA p. 29, n. 2 which has a mistaken publication note;

CML[1] 100; *Thespis* 193) must now be excluded on epigraphic grounds. Some scholars have suggested that the first line of the bicolon refers to Baal, while the second has the gods as its subject: "The god [Hadd de]parted from the mountain,/while the gods X-ed on Sapan" or the like (Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1168; de Moor 1987:61; see also *DUL* 738 for the first clause rendered along these lines). But the word *'il* at the beginning of line 5 is not necessarily complete, since the area directly after the *l* is broken, and thus reading it as a plural, *'il[m]* is plausible. In addition, the proposed reconstruction *'il[.hd]* is problematic, since this phrase, "the god Hadd" is not attested elsewhere in the Baal Cycle. It seems more likely that the gods constitute the subject of both lines.

The form *km* at the beginning of line 6 is ambiguous. It could be the conjunction "when," in which case the colon would be a temporal clause connected to the following line. But it could also be the adverbial, "thus, so," indicating the conclusion of the banquet scene. Or, it could be the emphatic *k* particle with enclitic *m*, "indeed, truly." None of the verb for the line has been preserved. It seems most likely that it would have been a parallel to *rhq* in the previous line, but certainty is impossible. The ambiguity of the preposition *b* means that it gives us no help in reconstructing the verb.

Lines 7–13: Baal's Victory Procession

This section describes Baal's victory march through the towns and villages of his domain. The first bicolon, lines 7–8, introduces the scene. Line 7 reads *'br* (see the Textual Notes above); in contrast, philological investigation has not yielded a suitable sense for the proposed reading of *'dr* (cf. *MLD* 55; *SPUMB* 156). Most scholars have emended the reading to *'br* anyway. The apparent parallelism with **t(w)b*, "turns," in the following line fits with *'br*, "to cross, travel, pass." The verb indicates that Baal is not journeying to a specific town, but is going from one town to the next in a steady procession (cf. 2 Chr 30:10 for a parallel usage of the verb). This passage appears to make use of the imagery of the divine warrior's campaign against his enemies (cf. similar imagery in Deut 33:2, Judg 5:4–5 and Ps 68:8–9, 18–19; cf. *CML*[2] 64; *Thespis* 193; de Moor 1987:61 n. 275). However, Baal's processsion does not seem to be a true military campaign, since there is no real indication of resistance by the towns. It rather seems to be a victory tour in which all the cities and towns demonstrate their submission to the conqueror. There are no clear references here to battle or carnage

as is found, for example, in 1.3 II, the account of Anat's defeat of her human enemies.

In lines 7–10, the poet uses the terms *'rm* and *pdrm* for the settlements that submit to Baal. The first term is easily identifiable as cognate with BH *'îr*, and related terms, ultimately derived from Sumerian *uru*, and is usually translated "cities." The more difficult term is *pdr*, which does not seem to have a Semitic background or cognates. De Moor (*SPUMB* 156–57), followed by *DUL* (662), related it to Mycenean *po-to-ri*, taken to be the antecedent form of Greek **p(t)ólis* (*polis*) and cognate English forms such as "metropolitan." The close parallelism of the word with *'r* strongly supports the interpretation of the word as "town, village" or the like. They appear together also in the Kirta Epic (1.14 III 6–7, IV 49–50; where they refer to dependencies of the capital city of Udum; and in 1.16 VI 6–7, and probably V 47–48). It cannot be determined with certainty at this point if the parallel terms *'r* and *pdr* designate different sizes of settlements, but it is likely that they are simply synonyms. The BH term *'îr*, can refer to large, fortified towns and small unfortified villages (cf. most clearly Deut 3:5). Similarly, the Akkadian equivalent, *ālu*, does not indicate size (cf. *CAD A/1*:381, 1c, 1': "75 strong walled cities of Kaldu and 420 small cities which are situated around them"). It seems likely then that each term in our passage can refer to any size of settlement, large or small.

The grammatical usage of *'r* and *pdr* in the first bicolon of this passage (lines 7–8) is not entirely clear. In each line the word appears twice, with its first occurrence preceded by the preposition *l*, and the second occurrence suffixed with *-m*. Most scholars have simply rendered the words from the general context as "from city to city//from town to town" or the like (*TO* 1.215; Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1168; *CML*[1] 101; *Thespis* 193; *CML*[2] 64; Gordon 1977:99; de Moor 1987:61; *MLC* 208; *MLR* 89; Pardee 1997a:262; Wyatt 1998:108).[11] To get this rendering, one might interpret the construction as follows: *l-* here means "from," and the second usage of the noun would be an adverbial accusative, giving it the sense of "to." The *-m* on the second occurrence of the word in this case would be enclitic. However, we are aware of no

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[11] De Moor cited 2 Chron 30:10 as a parallel for this passage, since it uses the verb *'br*, followed by twin use of *'rm*: "runners were passing from town to town (*'ōbĕrîm mē'îr lā'îr*) in the land of Ephraim and Manasseh, and as far as Zebulun." However, one will note that each occurrence of *'îr* is governed by its own preposition, unlike in our passage.

parallels to this construction. The text seems better interpreted as a pair of construct chains, *l'r 'rm* and *lpdr pdrm*, "to the city of cities" and "to the town of towns," the phrases being understood as superlatives (cf. Pardee 1997a:262 n. 180), i.e., the most important, or chief, city/town. We would suggest that these lines refer to Baal's arrival first at a major city, from which he receives submission; then lines 9–10 and probably 11–12 (see below) describe the subsequent submission of the dependent towns and villages.

It is worth noting that cities of the second millennium BCE in the ancient Near East were quite small, in no way comparable to cities of the modern era. The population of the kingdom of ancient Ugarit, a great center of the Late Bronze Age Syria, has been put by Heltzer at around 25,000, with the capital city's population estimated at about 7500–8000 and the rest of the population spread over approximately 190 villages (see Heltzer 1976:103–12). Yon (1992a:113) and Bunimovitz (1994:6) both accept Heltzer's population estimate, although Yon believes that there were only about 150 villages in the kingdom of Ugarit. For the city of Ugarit, Garr (1987) examined three methods for estimating population that produced numbers at 13,555, 7,635 and 3,115 depending on population density parameters. Of the three, Garr found the middle estimate the most plausible, which matches Heltzer's population figure. Whatever the merits of these estimates are, they serve to illustrate the huge difference between what existed in antiquity and what the modern word "city" may suggest.

In the next bicolon (lines 9–10), the poet makes use of a traditional numerical formula to describe the number of cities and towns that Baal takes possession of (*'aḫd*). Numbers such as 66//77 are clearly intended not to be taken literally, but to mean a large number in general (see 1.5 V 20–21; cf. 1.12 II 49–50). The third bicolon, lines 11–12, apparently raises the level to 80//90 towns, assuming that these numbers continue the specific sequence begun in the previous bicolon (see below for an alternative interpretation of these lines). The progression of 80//90, otherwise unattested in Ugaritic literature, appears to emphasize the vastness of Baal's terrestrial conquests. From a literal point of view, these numbers are not particularly large. As noted above, the kingdom of Ugarit itself contained at least ca. 150 towns and villages. But within the poetic formula, these numbers are as large as are necessary to make the point (only the pair *'alp* and *rbt*, "thousands" and "myriads" goes higher). They certainly are intended to suggest that Baal's conquests go beyond any conventional numerical scale; he is king over all the earth.

The verb in this bicolon is *ʾaḥd, "to seize, take possession of." It is not often used in military contexts in Ugaritic (cf. 1.127.30; 1.103.7), or in BH (cf. *HALOT* 31–32) or Akkadian (*CAD A/I*:173–83, esp. 3c), and there is no indication that it necessarily infers conquest in battle. It is not part of the regular Akkadian vocabulary for the royal military campaign reports and does not appear to mean, "to conquer by force" in that language. One can "seize" or "take possession of" a city through its voluntary submission as well. Thus these lines do not require us to envision Baal's tour as a violent conquest of the peoples of the earth (so *DW* 34–35; Dietrich and Loretz 1997: 1168; de Moor 1987:61). It appears to focus on taking hold or possession of the cities, without specifying the amount of violence required to do so.

Unfortunately, the latter parts of lines 11 and 12 are broken away. The last word of line 11 begins with *m*, and the first two letters of the last word of line 12, *mr*, survive. Most scholars who suggest restorations for these lines assume that the two broken words are verbs (*TO* 1.216; Coogan 1978:104; Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1168; CAT 20; *SPUMB* 156; de Moor 1987:61; Pardee 1997a:262). This interpretation is plausible. The most common restorations are *m[ḫṣ*, "to strike, crush" in line 11 and *mr[r* "to drive out, or pass through" in line 12. The verb *mrr*, translated as "to pass through" might fit in with the verbs of lines 7–8. If *m[ḫṣ* and *mr[r* (translated as "to drive out") are correct, then the passage as a whole takes on a more violent hew, with the destruction of cities and expelling of populations. While this is possible, it is by no means certain. If the function of Baal's trip is to gain recognition of his dominion, then battles need not be central to the story. However, lines 35–39 make reference to enemies of Baal, who could be the remnants of those defeated in lines 9–12. In any case, it is quite plausible to understand these lines as continuing the numerical count of cities that submitted to Baal.

However, another interpretation of lines 11–14a is possible. It emerges from the examination of related narrative motifs. However we interpret the details of lines 7–12, the general picture yielded by these three bicola is of the triumphant god sealing his dominion on earth as he has in heaven. One may compare this in some ways with the campaign accounts of the Assyrian kings. For example, in the Prism Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I, the king describes his movements from kingdom to kingdom, where he either fights a battle to conquer the land, or he accepts the submission of the king and people without conflict (for the latter, see e.g., ii 36–57, ii 89–iii 6; Grayson 1991:15–17). The

imagery here also clearly relates to that of the divine warrior in his conquests. By examining these thematic parallels, a different proposal for interpreting lines 11–14a can be made. This proposal emerged out of a brief comment made in P. D. Miller's discussion of this passage in *DW* 34–35 (cf. Mann 1977:98–100) in which he describes lines 7–12 as Baal's march

> to his palace conquering cities and towns on his way. It is quite probable that Ba'al was accompanied by his various hosts, *il t'dr, ġlmm, ḫnzrm, rpum*, etc. He enters his house as the mighty warrior, hesitant no longer to put windows in the palace.

The suggestion that his retinue might accompany Baal in this journey (see 1.5 V 6–9 for their mention and also 1.22 I 8–10) is an intriguing one and suggests a potential understanding of lines 11–14a in which part of the retinue is described. To understand the proposal we must first examine line 13–14a, *bt[ ]b.b'l.bqr[b]/bt*. If we assume that the end of line 12 is a verb related to the capture of cities, then all of line 13 and the first word of 14 must fit together. Almost certainly the break in line 13 conceals a verb, and the most likely reconstruction here is *['r]b*. Thus we could turn the passage into a bicolon reading:

bt ['r]b b'l	Into the house Baal enters,
bqrb bt	Inside the house.

The expression would be a bit stilted for Ugaritic poetry, and it is not particularly persuasive. The problem revolves around the repetition of *bt* at the beginning and end of the line. However, there is a way of taking the first *bt* as belonging to the preceding colon that would allow the rest of line 13 and 14a to be seen as a colon itself. In this proposal one would not see lines 11–12 as a continuation of the numbering of captured cities, but as a reference to Baal's military retinue:

ṯmnym.b'l.m[hrm?]	(With) eighty lords of tr[oops?],
tš'm.b'l.mr[k]/bt	Ninety lords of cha[ri]otry,
['r]b.b'l.bqrb.bt	Baal [ente]rs into the house.

In this understanding, lines 7–10 describe the victory procession, while lines 11–14a depict the entrance of Baal and his retinue into the palace following the march. The use of such numbers for military personnel also appears in the description of "my seventy captains" (*šb'm ṯry*)//"my eighty chiefs" (*ṯmnym ẓbyy*) summoned into Kirta's house (1.15 IV 6–7; translation, Greenstein, *UNP* 27). Not only the parallelism of numbers with leaders, but also the context of coming to Kirta's house fits

the scene in our passage. Apart from questions about its content, this proposal has two virtues. It accounts for all of the letters that are read for these lines. Furthermore, in view of the line length of *[ʿr]b.bʿl.bqrb. bt* in line 13, it makes sense that *bt* at the beginning of line 13 is to be read with the preceding line in some manner. The proposal also has its drawbacks. There are no parallels to these proposed members of Baal's retinue, and the usage of the word *bʿl* to refer first to members of the retinue, and then to Baal in the third line has no parallel either. Moreover, the first two lines as proposed are lacking grammatically: they are neither nominal clauses in their own right, nor are they linked syntactically to the third line.

In the final analysis, lines 11–12 remain uncertain in meaning, with more than one possible reconstruction. The common understanding, with reconstructed verbs, creates a problem with the reading of *bt* at the beginning of line 13. The proposal for seeing the lines as referring to Baal's retinue solves the problem of *bt*, but is awkward in its construction. We have simply decided not to reconstruct the passage and to leave open the question of its meaning.

Many scholars have seen in this passage a reflection of a ritual in which Baal's statue from the temple at Ugarit was taken to visit shrines in the surrounding towns (e.g., Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1168 n. 112; de Moor 1987:62 n. 277). This seems plausible, although it cannot be confirmed. Another possibility is that it might reflect a ritual, attested particularly at Emar and Mari, which uses the weapon of the storm god in processions. At Emar the divine weapon, apparently an axe (see Fleming 1992:50 n. 7, 206 n. 12) plays a significant part in a number of rituals (e.g., Emar 369, 403, 420, 446, 447; see Fleming 1992:119, 164–66). In Emar 369, a long ritual for the installation of the *entu*-priestess, the weapon stays with her through the ritual (Fleming 1992:165). The fragmentary ritual Emar 403 refers to the divine weapon and then to the god Dagan. Also quite broken, Emar 420 mentions the king, the divine weapon and the gods more generally. Emar 446 is a sustained ritual that mentions how the divine axe takes up residence in the temple of Dagan and then exits in ritual procession (100', 102'–103'; cf. also lines 15, 40, 43, and 88; see Fleming 2000:268–75). Though fragmentary, Emar 447 describes how the divine axe goes after all the offerings made at various temples, including those of Baal and Dagan. From the Emar texts, it is evident that the divine weapon played a part in rituals with processions; by the same token, it is unclear that the weapon is always to be associated with the storm-god

(Fleming 1992:166). Epistolary evidence from Mari is perhaps more telling about the storm-god's divine weapon. Writing from Terqa, one Sumu-Ila reports to Zimri-Lim the king of Mari that the weapons of Addu of Aleppo have arrived in Terqa and they are in the temple of Dagan (A.1858; Durand 2002:15; Malamat 2002). These are evidently the weapons said to have been used by the Storm-god Addu to defeat the Sea and later given to the king when he ascended his father's throne (A. 1968, lines 2'–4'; Durand 1993, 2002:134–35; Bordreuil and Pardee 1993:69–70; *UBC* 1.108–9; Fronzaroli 1997:286–88; Malamat 1998:18, 151–56). In the case of Sumu-ila's letter, the presence of the weapons in Terqa may be viewed as a symbol of its subservient status to Mari; in short, their travel to Terqa may convey Mari's political domination over it. In both the Emar and Mari material, divine weapons move from one site to another, as an expression of divine and human power. Perhaps the literary presentation of Baal's victory tour in 1.4 VII was informed by similar processions involving the divine weapons. At the same time, it is to be noted that the weapon does not go out of town in any of the ritual contexts described above to denote dominance over other towns. Therefore, the parallel drawn stands at a relatively general level of correspondence.

However one reconstructs lines 11–12, it is clear that Baal triumphantly returns to his palace in line 13. As mentioned above, most scholars have read the verb *[ʿr]b* here: "Baal entered into the midst of the palace." One might also propose *[yṯ]b* as a possibility, pointing out its appearance in the somewhat similar line 42 below. Whichever verb was there, the poet uses this line to shift the focus of the story once again to the palace, in order to complete the episode concerning the window, which immediately follows in lines 14–42.

Lines 14–25: Baal's Reversal of His Decision about the Window

Upon entering his palace, Baal announces to Kothar that he has had a change of heart about installing a window in his new home. In the first bicolon of his speech (lines 15b–16), Baal states his decision in a single word, *'aštm*, "I will put/install" (on the meaning of the verb here, see below). The rest of the bicolon is taken up by the name Kothar and two phrases of uncertain meaning. The window is not explicitly mentioned until the following tricolon (lines 17–19). The name Kothar is followed by the expressions, *bn ym//bnm ʿdt*. Of the various proposals for interpreting these phrases (see the surveys in *Baal* 138–41; *SPUMB*

160–61), two general ideas have emerged as plausible. The first is to take them as epithets of Kothar, understanding *bn*//*bnm* as "son of." The second is to see them as temporal expressions: "this day … this very hour" (e.g., Ginsberg, *ANET* 134; de Moor, *SPUMB* 159–61; Pardee 1997a:262). This view assumes that *bn* is not "son," but the preposition *b-* plus sufformative *-n* (so too for *bnm*, with additional mimation). Both interpretations have problems, and certainty about the meaning of these phrases is impossible with our present knowledge. The first problem understanding them as temporal expressions is that *'dt* is hardly a term for a period of time in Ugaritic. Instead, it is a spatial one in the preserved texts (cf. 1.15 II 7, 11; 1.100.3) denoting a meeting place or assembly (< **w'd*).[12] In 1.100.3 it refers to the meeting-point or confluence of the "Double-Deeps," the cosmic oceans (*thmtm*). This makes it an appropriate parallel term to *ym*, "sea." So the known meaning of *'dt* in Ugaritic argues for rendering these phrases as "Son of the Sea"//"Son of the Confluence" (MHP), which would then be epithets for Kothar.[13] The second problem is the lack of any unambiguous appearance of the preposition *b* with the *n* sufformative (cf. *UG* 781). On the other hand, the problem with accepting the phrases as epithets is that these titles would be unique in the preserved Ugaritic corpus. Although Kothar appears numerous times in the literature, he is never otherwise referred to with these epithets. Nor are they obvious descriptions of the god.

The significance of such putative titles is not easy to discern. Smith (1985:105–14) has argued that information about Kothar in Ugaritic texts and later literature associate him with the sea and that these epithets could reflect such an understanding. Kothar's abodes are Egypt (*ḥkpt*) and Crete (? *kptr*) mentioned in 1.1 III 1*–1 (*UBC* 1.167, esp. n. 92) and 1.3 VI 14–16 (see the Commentary above on pp. 378–9) lying across the Mediterranean from Ugarit. The corresponding Phoenician figure

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[12] Cf. BH *môʿēd* (*UBC* 1.232, 286–87) and post-biblical *waʿad* (Jastrow 374).

[13] Not necessarily "son of Yamm," i.e., the god (see Pardee 1997a:262 n. 182). It is to be noted that *bn ym* occurs in one other context, namely 1.23.59 where it is plausibly rendered either "sons of the sea" or "sons of a day" (i.e., "one day old" infants). Many commentators prefer the latter since the "beautiful gods" are newborns. Others observe that they seem to be born near the sea. This title seems to be juxtaposed to *'agzrm ym*, which has been taken to be "cleavers of the sea" or the like (*CML*[2] 126). No proposal has been made that would support this possibly parallel title as a temporal expression. Even if the temporal interpretation for *bn ym* were to be preferred in 1.23.59, it may have no real relation to the *bn ym* in our passage.

Chousor was thought, according to the euhemeristic reckoning of Philo of Byblos, to be the first of all men to sail (PE 1.10.11; Attridge and Oden 1981:44–45; on this and the following points, see *UBC* 1.255–56). Ptolemy's History records a river Chousor named according to this god. Finally, there is the enigmatic reference to Kothar in relationship to Shapshu and to Tunnan, the dragon image of Yamm/the sea in 1.6 VI 49–53 (see above p. 248). The information about Kothar's maritime background is thus quite wide and varied, but not well understood. Moreover, it cannot be said that such information proves that *bn ym* and *bnm 'dt* in 1.4 VII 16b–17 are divine titles. However, viewing them as epithets is contextually and grammatically compatible with initial addresses in divine direct discourse, and the use of *'dt* elsewhere in Ugaritic comports with this interpretation. We have thus tentatively translated them this way.

A few scholars have translated the verb *'aštm* in line 15 as "I will appoint," rather than "I will install" (e.g., *CML*[1] 101; *TO* 1.216; Pardee 1997a:262) and take Kothar as the object of the verb, rather than as a vocative. While grammatically possible, this seems rather unlikely. Kothar is clearly present since he directly responds to Baal's speech. Thus it seems more likely that Baal is addressing Kothar in these lines, rather than speaking of him in the third person. Furthermore, the verb **šyt* has been used with the meaning "to install" four times in the previous discussion of the window (1.4 V 58–VI 15), and thus it seems more likely that it retains that meaning here.

The first two lines of the tricolon in lines 17–19 use language similar to that in the previous rounds of conversation over the window (1.4 V 61–62, VI 5–6, 8–9). The only changes involve the use of the verb *ypth* here rather than *'ašt* (the poet has already used the latter in line 15) and the switching of the order of the word-pair *ḫln*//*'urbt*, which appears as *'urbt*//*ḫln* in V 61–62, 64–65, VI 5–6, 8–9. The verb **ptḥ* is used in lines 17 and 19, then again in 25 and 27. In line 17, the form has been taken as either active or passive. Since it seems most likely that Baal is addressing Kothar directly in lines 15–16 (Kothar, after all, directly responds to Baal in lines 21–25), then it is unlikely that Baal would refer to Kothar in 3rd masc. sg. active in these lines. It is much more likely that *ypth* should be read as passive. The reversal of the word-order of *ḫln*//*'urbt* in lines 17–19 was taken by Gevirtz (1963:39–40), followed by Watson (1981a:182 n. 12), as a poetic means of indicating Baal's reversal of his previous stand about having a window. While this is plausible, it may be reading too much into this change.

Line 19 concludes the tricolon by repeating the verb (*pth) from line 17 and substituting *bdqt ʿrpt* for the reference to the window in the palace. The clear parallelism of this line with the preceding two indicates the close relationship between the window and the "break in the clouds" described here. While the broken *[ ]th* can be confidently reconstructed with the verb *pth, there is less certainty about whether the verb should be read as 3rd ms, 3fs, or 1st s, i.e., *[yp]th, [tp]th,* or *[ʾip]th*. All three have been proposed. Those restoring *[yp]th* have interpreted it in two primary ways. Some (*TO* 1.216; *CML*[1] 101; Pardee 1997a:262) understand the references to Kothar in lines 15–16 not to be direct address, but objects of the verb *ʾaštm*; thus "I will charge Kothar…let him open a window…and open a break in the clouds." In this case, the subject of *[yp]th* is Kothar. A second interpretation of reading *[yp]th* understands it as an impersonal or passive form (cf. Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1168, based on their reconstruction in CAT 20; *CML*[2] 64; Smith, *UNP* 136): "Let a break in the clouds be opened." One could instead take the verb as a passive here and reconstruct *[tp]th* for the verb (since *bdqt* is almost certainly feminine), which is plausible epigraphically and contextually. Thus, the proposal to read *[tp]th* is quite reasonable. Construing the form *[yp]th* as impersonal results in the translation, "Let one open a break in the clouds." This rendering is grammatically possible, though awkward in the context. The final proposal, first offered by Albright (1934:129), is to take the verb as first singular, "and I will open a break in the clouds" (see also Albright 1934:129; Aistleitner 45; Prosser 2001:472–73). The best argument for this reading is the fact that in the following narrative about the building of the window//break (lines 25–29), the poet explicitly names Baal as the one who makes the break in the clouds. Thus it is natural that in his speech authorizing Kothar to build the window, the verb in line 19 should refer to Baal (cf. Prosser 2001:472–74). One final proposal that should be mentioned is Tropper (2002:801–2), who inexplicably[14] insists that the lacuna in line 19 only preserves room for one letter between

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[14] Tropper appears to rely much too heavily on Virolleaud's facsimile, apparently unaware that Virolleaud never attempted to provide accurate placements of the letters in the drawing. A simple comparison of his facsimile of 1.4 VII 18 and 19 with our photo shows this clearly. On the tablet, the last letter of line 18, *l* is largely over the final letter of line 19, while in Virolleaud's drawing it is situated over the *r* of *ʿrpt*. Virolleaud, following the tradition of his time, drew relatively standardized versions of the letters and did not try to depict the individual characteristics of each letter. Another good illustration is his drawing of 1.21, where line 5 appears to break across the margin

the *w* and *ṯ*. He thus proposes either *[p]ṯḥ* or *[ʾi]ṯḥ* as the reading. But there is easily enough room in the lacuna for any of the three proposals discussed above. It seems to us that none of the readings (except Tropper's) can be rejected out of hand. However, the reconstruction *[yp]ṯḥ* seems the least likely. Those who take Kothar as the object of *ʾaštm* are forced to give a very different meaning to that verb (i.e., "I will appoint Kothar"), which seems unlikely, as discussed above. The reconstruction *[yp]ṯḥ* as a passive or impersonal seems unlikely, since as a passive it does not agree in gender with the presumed subject, while an impersonal rendering seems unnecessarily awkward. Thus *[tp]ṯḥ* as a passive, matching the passive of line 17, "Let a break in the clouds be opened," or *[ʾip]ṯḥ*, matching the active voice of its parallel in line 27b–28a, "Let me open a break" seem to be the most likely restorations. While the latter would match the narrative account in line 27, we cannot be certain that the speech and the narrative fulfillment correspond that completely, so both possibilities must be left open.

The word *bdqt*, "break, rift, fissure," only occurs in this passage (lines 19 and 27), but its meaning seems certain. One can compare BH *bedeq*, "fissure, break, rent," used for cracks in the temple walls in need of patching in 2 Kgs 12:6–9, 13, 22:5, and for seams in a ship in need of caulking in Ezek 27:9, 27, as well as the denominative verb **bdq*, "to repair (cracks)" in 2 Chron 34:10 (cf. Greenfield 1958:219 n. 11, 221 n. 24). Pope (MHP) noted that Akkadian *batāqu* is used in the context of piercing dikes and canals to divert water (*CAD B*:163). The verb sometimes appears with the cognate noun *butuqtu* for cutting a sluice or diverting water to a channel (*CAD B*:357). Pope (MHP) also noted Arabic *fataqa*, "to undo the sewing (of a garment)," "to rip open," "to slit open" (citing Wehr 694). Pope also noted the nominal form *fatq* includes not only a rip or tear in a fabric, but also a cleft, crack or fissure (citing Wehr 695). Leslau (87) also compared Geez *bedeq, bedaq*, "cracks in a wall." Similarly, BH *bedeq* refers to a breach, whether in a temple (2 Kgs 12:6, 7, etc; 22:5) or in a ship (Ezek 27:9, 27; *DCH* 2:97). Post-biblical Hebrew *bidqâ* applies to a burst of water from a broken dam or a sudden shower of water. Setting the *bdqt* in the clouds here in 1.4 VII 19 evidently applies an architectural sense to an explicitly

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line on the right. In reality, the line ends well to the left of the margin line. The same thing occurs in the drawing of 1.22 (see Pitard 1992a:48, fig. 13; 62, fig. 25).

atmospheric context. The close relationship of this line to the previous two reveals what the audience knew and assumed of the narrative, that the window of the storm-god's heavenly palace is none other than the break in the clouds that produces the rains. It may reflect that fact that one can often see rain falling from one part of a large storm cloud. This looks like a particular break in the cloud through which the water is pouring. It also seems likely that this image presupposes that the rain comes from the cosmic waters that exist above the sky, a similar concept to that in the Enuma Elish and Genesis 1.

The noun *ʿrpt* is regularly understood to mean, "cloud" (see H. R. (C.) Cohen 1995:9–10). Fleming (2000a:493–95) has suggested a further nuance for the word, based on the occurrence of a possibly-related Akkadian term, *ḫurpatum*, which at Mari means "tent" or "tent cover" cf. the discussion of this word in Durand 1988:114–15). He suggests that the use of *ʿrpt* in Baal's title and here in the passage might evoke the sense of the cloud as a tent moving across the sky. This seems possible, but remains speculative, since there is no clear hint discernable in the texts that *ʿrpt* has any relationship to tents in Ugaritic.

In line 20, Baal ends his speech with an acknowledgment of Kothar's earlier position on the matter. This line represents Baal's nod of acquiescence to Kothar's previous urging. Kothar's response (lines 21–25) is another of the rare delightful pieces of simple character exposition. He laughs, clearly at his prediction having been shown to be right, and, almost certainly in a good-natured way says, "I told you so!" In the final line, he quotes his earlier prediction (1.4 VI 2, 15) almost verbatim, but with an additional energic *n* to the verb, thus giving an additional emphasis to it: "I truly told you, O Mightiest Baal, 'You *will* reconsider my word.'" The first line of Kothar's speech could also be rendered as a question: "Did I not tell you, O Mightiest Baal?" Kothar has a knack for making predictions that come true (Smith 1984c; *UBC* 1.336). In 1.2 IV 8–10, the craftsman-god informs Baal that the storm-god will defeat Yamm (see Obermann 1947; Smith 1984c:379). Chousor (= Ugaritic Kothar) had the gift of prophecy, according to Philo of Byblos' *Phoenician History* (*PE* 1.10.11; Attridge and Oden 1981:44–45; Baumgarten 1981:14): he "practiced verbal arts including spells and prophecies" (*logous askēsai kai epōdas kai manteias*). Kothar's speech perhaps holds a particular efficacy, a sort of verbal or incantational magic analogous to the marvels that he works with weaponry (1.2 IV), metals (1.4 V) and wood (1.17 V).

Lines 25–42: The Installation of the Window and
Baal's Victorious Theophany

Finally, in lines 25b–29 the window is installed. The tricolon in lines
25–28 is the narrative execution of what is ordered in lines 17–19. As
Fenton (1969) has shown, the narrative depiction commonly uses the
indicative verb form proximate to the volitive form used in the speech;
in this case, the jussive **yqtl* form in the speech is followed by the prefix
indicative **yqtl* form. We have argued that the form in line 17 is pas-
sive, so it seems likely that the form in 25 is also. If so, the subject is
understood and may be Baal, who is explicitly named as the subject
of the same verb in line 27b–28a. In line 27, *ypth* is certainly active,
"Baal opened," which may indicate that the damaged verb in line 19
was also active, and thus *ʾiptḥ*, "I will open." However, it is also pos-
sible that both appearances of **ptḥ* in lines 17 and 19 are passive, while
both verbs in lines 25 and 27 are active. In either interpretation, the
identity of the implicit subject of lines 25–26 is uncertain; it may be
either Baal or Kothar. Kothar is presumably the actual builder of the
window, but the tradition of attributing royal building to the king (cf. 1.4
VI 36–38) also allows for this passage, which is after all fairly cursory
in its description, to be understood as referring to Baal as the builder
(i.e., official sponsor). A few scholars have interpreted lines 25b–27a
(and sometimes more) as a continuation of Kothar's speech: "Let an
aperture be opened in the house, a window amid the palace" (Dietrich
and Loretz 1997:1169; *UL* 36; *Thespis* 197; de Moor 1987:63; Wyatt
1998:109). But this seems unlikely, since it would mean that the poet
does not actually narrate the installation of the window in the story.
That would be surprising because of the importance of the event. It
seems preferable to view these lines as narrative.

With the window built, the palace complete, Baal issues his voice,
the thunder, across the world, announcing his royal (and implicitly his
fructifying) presence to the world. The description of Baal's grand
theophany may be divided into three parts: (1) the uttering of Baal's
voice (lines 29–30); (2) the quaking of the earth in response (lines
31–35a) and (3) the fleeing of Baal's human enemies (lines 35b–37a),
Baal's taunting question for them (lines 37–39) and the final, climactic
image of the god facing his enemies with his cedar spear (which is the
lightning) lifted in his hand (lines 40–41). This general motif is attested
elsewhere in West Semitic literature (see, for example, Isa 24:18–22;
2 Sam 22:8–18 = Ps 18:8–16; see *CMHE* 147–63).

This portrait of Baal is certainly the one that was central to his cult at Ugarit. This is the ruler of the earth whose home was on Mt. Sapan and in the temple on the acropolis within the city. Although the mythic cycle may also show Baal defeated for a while by Mot, myth is not conceived in strictly linear terms. Baal is always the mighty king who sends the rains and who terrifies his foes with his thunder. This image of Baal is the central point of the Baal Cycle (*UBC* 1.98–99) the Yamm episode moves toward it, the palace episode explicitly deals with it, and the Mot episode will also confirm it in its concluding scene (1.6 VI 22–35).

The palace/temple of Baal on Mount Sapan was clearly conceived as the central location for the god mythically, cultically, and legally. His presence on the mountain is of course quite important in the Baal Cycle. But Baal of Sapan (or in Akkadian, Mt. Ḫazi) is an important figure in both the ritual and legal texts from Ugarit. In the sacrificial lists, *bˁl ṣpn*, "Baal (or: the Lord) of Sapan," as the object of offerings occurs quite often (e.g., 1.46.14; 1.109.9, 29; 1.112.22–23; 1.130.7, 9; 1.148.10, 27). In the legal texts, he is called upon as guarantor of contracts under the name *dIM bêl ḫuršān Ḫazzi*, "Baal, the lord of Mt. Hazi" (cf. RS 16.144:12, 16.157:27; 16.238:18; in *PRU* III:76, 83–84, 107–08). (The equivalence of the Ugaritic and Akkadian mountains is indicated by the god lists, 1.47.5, 1.118.4 and the parallel Akkadian version RS 20.024:4; cf. Pardee 2002:14.) He is certainly the same god who is also called *bˁl ʾugrt* in the liturgical texts (e.g., 1.119.3, 12, 21ʼ–22ʼ; 1.112.23; 1.130.11). This seems most clear in the god lists, where *bˁl ṣpn* is listed after El and Dagan, and *bˁl ʾugrt* does not appear at all (1.47.5//1.118.4; 1.148.27). The identification of these two manifestations of Baal suggests that on occasion the locations of Mount Sapan and Ugarit were ritually merged, and the identity of the temple in which the king worshipped the god was joined with that of the divine palace on Sapan. The process of identifying Mount Sapan, the god's primordial mountain, with his temple in the royal city finds a striking analogy in Ps 48:3, which identifies the recesses of Sapon with Jerusalem. A connection between Yahweh's waters, Sapon, and the clouds is also found in Job 26:7–8 (Pope 1973:163, 165; Weinfeld 1973:425–26). With the capital city implicitly associated with the mountain, Baal's theophany emanates from his heavenly palace on Mount Sapan, but also through the sacred sanctuary in the city. The use in the Hebrew Bible of the same names for the storm-god's abode, not to mention the same divine enemies such as Yamm, Leviathan and Tannin, indicates

that Israelite religious literature belongs to the long West Semitic literary tradition to which the Ugaritic religious narratives are an earlier witness (see Koch 1993a; Fauth 1990).

The account of the theophany begins with Baal's sending forth of his voice, the thunder (lines 29–30). In line 29, it is called *qlh qdš*, "his holy voice," emphasizing the sacral nature of the thunder and the thunderstorm within the context of the narrative. The idiom "to give the voice" (*ytn/ntn ql*) is well attested in West Semitic contexts, including the Hebrew Bible (e.g., Ps 18:14//2 Sam 22:14; Ps 46:7; Jer 25:30; Amos 1:2; Joel 4:16). In a letter of king Abimilki of Tyre to his Egyptian suzerain, Akhenaten (EA 147:13–15), the vassal compares his lord with the Egyptian sun-god, Re, and the Syro-Palestinian storm-god, Baal. The Egyptian king is one "who gives (**nadānu*) his cry (*rigmašu*) in the heavens like Addu and all the whole land trembles at his cry" (*ša iddin rigmašu ina šamê kīma Addi u tarkub gabbi māti ištu rigmašu*) (see Moran 1992:233; *ANET* 249; *Thespis* 196; *CMHE* 150–51; Weinfeld 1973:423 n. 23; Kloos 1986:49; cf. the Commentary to 1.4 V 6–9 above on pp. 560–61).

The reconstruction of the second line is uncertain, but the commonly accepted proposal, *ytny bʿl ṣ[ʾat š]pth*, literally "Baal reiterates the ut[terance of] his [li]ps" is quite plausible and makes a suitable parallel for *qlh qdš*. The verb **tny*, "to do again, repeat, reiterate," fits nicely into the context, as thunder continually rolls across the land. It also forms wonderful sonant parallelism with *ytn* in the previous line.

As a result of Baal's thunder in lines 29–30, all of nature is convulsed. Lines 31–35a describe this reaction of the earth with powerful, formulaic imagery. All four cola in this section are broken, but with the new readings recorded above, the general flow of each line is discernable. Most commentators reconstruct the first part of line 31 as *qlh q[dš]*, a suitable restoration given this phrase in line 29 (e.g., *CMHE* 149; Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1169; *Thespis* 197; *ANET* 135; de Moor 1987: 63; *MLR* 89; Pardee 1997a:262; Smith, *UNP* 136; Wyatt 1998:109). The rest of line 31 has been more problematic. Our new, somewhat tentative reading of the verb, *kpr*, here meaning, "to cover," fits into the context reasonably well (cf. Arabic *kafara*, "to cover," BH *kāpar*, "to cover" in Gen 6:14, and *D*-stem *kippēr* in Gen 32:21, "let me cover his face," and as the underlying meaning of "to atone," i.e., "to cover one's sin"). One cannot entirely rule out a reading of *wpr*, assuming a verb derived from *prr*, "to be broken, powerless" (cf. Akkadian *parāru*; cf. Cross *CMHE* 149; Ben-David 1980). Also slightly possible is *wtr*,

proposed by de Moor (*SPUMB* 162), from the root *trr. This reading has the advantage of being attested with *ʾarṣ* in the Baal Cycle (1.4 V 21, *wtr ʾarṣ*, where we translated, "the earth shakes"; see also 1.17 VI 46). The problem with this reading is that the horizontal wedge that would be read as *t* seems too thin and too high on the line to be that letter. Our proposal to read *kpr* appears to follow the traces more closely. If this reading is correct, then *ql* is the subject of the sentence. One should note the description of Marduk as Adad in Enuma Elish VII:119–121, where Adad's voice, the use of a verb, "to cover," and perhaps even the break in the clouds all appear together: "Adad shall be his name, the whole sky may he cover, may his beneficent roar ever hover over the earth, may he cut the shape of the clouds" (Weinfeld 1977–78:245 n. 15). If *wpr* is correct, then *ʾarṣ* is the subject, and the line would read, "At his holy voice, the earth was powerless."

Our new readings of lines 32–35a help to clarify the picture in this unit. The recognition of *ql* at the beginning of the line indicates the repetition of the word, "voice" in line 32, which ties the line to the previous one. The following word is broken away, but the reading and meaning of *ǵrm tḫšn* are clear: "the mountains tremble." The missing word is most likely an adjective modifying *ql[h]*. Line 33 is the most damaged line, with only the first three letters, *rtq*, preserved. It seems, however, pretty clear that the word *qdmym* at the beginning of line 34 belongs to the same colon as *rtq[*. Since it appears that the following line (34b–35a) shows a very close parallel relationship with line 32, it seems reasonable to assume a closely parallel colon in line 33–34a. Line 32 refers to mountains (*ǵrm*), and 34 talks about "the high places of the earth" *bmt ʾarṣ*. Thus it seems probable that line 33 referred to a geographical feature of a similar type. We have thus reconstructed *ǵrm] qdmym*, "the ancient mountains" (so de Moor 1987:63; *MLR* 89; Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1169; Wyatt 1998:109). The idea of ancient mountains is a formula found in BH, especially in the phrase *harĕrê qedem*, "ancient mountains," in Deut 33:15. For the use of *qdmym*, "ancient" at Ugarit, see the two references to "the ancient rapiʾuma," *rpʾim qdmym*, in 1.161.8, 24. Other understandings of *qdmym* have been proposed. A number of scholars have read the letters as two words, *qdm ym* "east (and) west" (Aistleitner 45; *CML*[1] 101; *Thespis* 197; *ANET* 135; *DW* 35). While this is possible, the meaning is not obvious for the context of the parallel cola, nor are there other attestations of these two words used in such a fashion in Ugaritic. Others have rendered the unit as "before Yamm" or "along the sea" (*TO* 1.217; *CMHE* 149;

MLC 209). Again, the broken context cannot rule this out, but there is
no other reference in this passage to divine enemies that would place a
reference to Yamm into a reasonable context, nor any other reference
to the sea that could support the other reading. Overall, the greatest
likelihood is that *qdmym* is an adjective modifying a word relating to
mountains or the like.

The reading at the beginning of the line, *rtq[*, is certain, but the
meaning is very obscure. There is an attested root **rtq*, which in its
cognate forms in Arabic, Akkadian and BH means, "to join together,
bind" (cf. *HALOT* 1300; *CAD* R 218; *DUL* 749). The word seems rare,
appearing only in a lexical text in Akkadian, and probably only once in
the Hebrew Bible (Nah 3:10; cf. the Qere of Qoh 12:6). Such a mean-
ing in our context is not impossible, and we could read the word as a
G-stem passive participle, *rtq[m   ġrm] qdmym*, "the ancient mountains
are bound." But the other two verbs around this line have to do with
shaking; thus "to be bound" seems awkward here. We most tentatively
propose reading *rtq[ṣ*, here, a *Gt*-stem form from the root **rqṣ* mean-
ing "to leap up" (attested in Ugaritic, cf. 1.2 IV 13, 15, 20, 23), or
perhaps *rtq[d*, a similar form from **rqd*, "to skip, dance," known also
in Ugaritic (*mrqdm*, either a musical instrument accompanying dance
or dancers, cf. 1.19 IV 27; 1.108.4–5) and from BH and Akkadian (cf.
HALOT 1288; *CAD* R 166–67). The image of mountains leaping or
dancing during a thunderstorm theophany is found in Ps 29:6: "He
makes Lebanon skip/dance (*yarqîd*) like a calf" (see also Ps 114:4, 6).
This imagery would be perfectly at home in our passage. The primary
problem is identifying the grammatical form of the word in such a case.
The attested *Gt*-stem suffix forms in Ugaritic all have a prosthetic ʾaleph
(*UG* 528–29), so we would expect *ʾirtqṣ* here in that case. The infinitive
form of the *Gt* is not certainly attested, and perhaps our form could be
such. However, this remains problematic, so the reconstruction must
remain very tentative indeed.

The reading of the final line of this unit, line 34b–35a, seems secure.
The expression *bmt ʾa[rṣ] ttṭn*, "the high places of the ea[rth] tottered,"
may be compared with Ps 99:1b, as part of a theophany, "the earth
quakes" (*tānûṭ hāʾāreṣ*). BH **nwṭ* seems to be a biform of Ugaritic and
Modern South Arabian **nṭṭ* (*TO* 1.166 n. b; Leslau 409; see also Rends-
burg 1987:627). The Ugaritic verb **nṭṭ* describes the trembling of feet
in fear (1.3 III 30; 1.4 II 17; see also 1.82.9; *DUL* 653).

In lines 34–35, Ugaritic *bmt ʾa[rṣ]* is a construct phrase. The first
word is a feminine plural noun that has more than one meaning. The

primary meaning of the word appears to be anatomical, referring to the "back" (Emerton 1997:118–19; Kogan and Tishchenko 2002:321–23, 331), as attested in 1.4 IV 14–15 and 1.19 II 10–11. In 4.247.17 the word appears in a list of meat deliveries, including *ʿšt bmt ʾalp mrʾi*, "ten rumps of fatted cattle." The other attestations of the Ugaritic word also conform to this meaning. Emerton (1997:118) objects to this interpretation of the word in 1.5 VI 21–22, arguing that El would have to be a "contortionist" if the passage in which he gashes himself on his *bmt* refers to his back. But laceration of one's back is not as difficult as Emerton evidently imagines. The phrase *bmt ʾarṣ*, perhaps literally, "the back of the earth" (cf. Kogan and Tishchenko 2002:331–32) enjoyed a long literary career in its association with storm-theophany. Crenshaw (1972) noted the pertinent biblical passages, but did not include a discussion of the helpful backdrop to them provided by our passage. In Deut 32:13 (*CML²* 65 n. 5; cf. Hab 3:19), the poet describes Yahweh as having caused Israel to ride (*rkb) upon the "back of the earth," the context suggesting that this means "the heights of the earth" (Ketib: *ʿal bāmôtê ʾāreṣ*; Qere: *ʿal bomotê ʾāreṣ*). The metaphorical context plays on the old traditional storm theophany, captured also in Baal's title, "Cloudrider" (*rkb ʿrpt*). Both this title and Deut 32:13 presuppose the tradition of the divine chariot driven by the Storm-god, a picture also underlying the reference to the divine horses in Hab 3:15. The divine warrior's treading or marching is an alternative expression for the manifestation of the storm-theophany at "the heights of the earth." According to Amos 4:13 and Micah 1:3, Yahweh is said to tread on "earth's heights." The doxological description of the divinity in Amos 4:13, according to Crenshaw (1972:43), "refers to Yahweh's conquest of his foes." In this respect, this conclusion resonates with Baal's conquest of his enemies below in lines 35–37. (Crenshaw's further suggestion, that this presentation of conquest in Amos 4:13 specifically involved "Canaanite-influenced sanctuaries," exceeds the evidence.) The background of this image might lie in the meteorological fact that eastward rain-bearing clouds coming from the Mediterranean release more moisture on the higher mountain ridges. Perhaps storm-gods, both Yahweh and Baal, drop more rain on "the high places of the earth," thus experienced as the central site of theophany (cf. Psalm 29). The storm-gods are also conceived as taking their stand on mountains in battle against terrestrial enemies (*EHG* 54). Micah 1:3, however, uses the image of divine treading in a theophany not of Yahweh as storm-god with rains, but as the god of the dry scirocco-storm (Fitzgerald

2002:108 n. 82). In this case, the image of divine treading on the heights
was extended in its application. In his discussion of the biblical texts,
Crenshaw (1972:52) regarded the use of this language as metaphorical,
except in the case of Hab 3:15. At the same time, metaphorical lan-
guage is rooted in religious experience, and given the earlier attestation
in Ugaritic and in the later metaphorical uses in the Bible, it may be
asked whether Israelite religious tradition in-between possessed a full-
blown mythic tradition of Yahweh as the storm-god on the heights or
"high-places." The question of the relationship between these poetic
contexts in the Bible and the so-called cultic "high places" (*bāmôt*) lies
beyond this discussion (for bibliography and discussion, see Emerton
1997). Based on the earlier Ugaritic and Hebrew poetic references, it
would appear that mountain heights as the site of storm-theophany
served to designate cultic installations, much as the "holy mountain"
(see above p. 58) as a conceptual designation for sanctuaries. One might
speculate that the criticism of the installations designated by this word
in the Deuteronomistic History may reflect competition between local
bāmôt and the national shrine in Jerusalem.

Lines 35b–37a describe the reaction of Baal's enemies to his thun-
derous manifestation: they take to the woods and the mountainsides.
Yahweh's enemies likewise hide in the rocks before his theophanous
appearance (Isa 2:10, 19; Rev 6:15–16). The fleeing foes of Baal are
here called *ʾib* (cognate with BH *ʾōyēb*, "enemy" but patterned like *gēr*
and the abstract *ʾêbâ*, "emnity"; cf. Ezek 35:5) and *šnʾu* (probably the
G-stem active ptcp., cognate with BH **śnʾ*; cf. *BDB* 971, #3; Ringgren,
TDOT 214); the latter term may carry a legal nuance designating
those in league with others against someone, not simply an emotional
expression (see Szubin 1995). These figures are not explicitly specified
as to whether they are human or divine. Ps 104:7–9 names the cosmic
waters as the one who flees at the sound of Yahweh's thunder. Yet the
topographical features mentioned in lines 35b–37a and the overall
context suggest human rather than divine foes.

Baal responds to the flight of his enemies by lines 37b–39 with an
ironic, taunting question to them: why are you trembling? There can
be little doubt about the tone in which the question is proffered. The
image of the god taunting his enemies is also found in Israel, particu-
larly in Ps 2:1–6, esp. v. 4: "The one who dwells in heaven laughs,
the Lord mocks them." Cross (1998:54–55, n. 7) has proposed an
alternative interpretation of these lines, suggesting that *lm* is not the
interrogative, "Why?" but rather the emphatic *l* with and enclitic *-m*. He

would thus read, "You, O enemies of Hadd, shall indeed tremble." This too is plausible and fits the tone of Baal's response quite well. One of the terms for the enemies is different from those in lines 35–36. It is *nṭq*, probably a participle in construct, "those who wield a weapon" (cf. BH *nōšĕqê qešet*, "those who wield a bow" in 1 Chr 12:2; 2 Chr 17:17). Baal is referred to in this bicolon with an unusual parallel pair, *hd{t}//dmrn*. The first seems to be a scribal error for *hd*, a name of Baal that usually appears as the "B-word" parallel to the "A-word" *bʿl*. The title *dmrn*, "the Powerful One," is quite rare, only attested otherwise in a somewhat unclear context, apparently in parallelism with Baal (1.92.30–31; cf. 7; see Dijkstra 1994:121). The root appears without coalescence of **d >* **d* in two PNs, *dmrbʿl*, "Baal is powerful" (4.75 II 5; 4.731.1; cf. 4.261.8) and *dmrd*, "Hadd is powerful" (4.682.10; 4.775.3) as well as in the PN *dmrn* (4.423.1), spelled with final -*n*, comparable to the form of Baal's title, *dmrn*. As first observed by Cassuto (*BOS* 2.188–92), this Ugaritic word almost certainly underlies the title, Demarous, given to Zeus (the Greek name used for Baal-Hadd), in Philo of Byblos' *Phoenician History* (*PE* 1.10.18–19; Attridge and Oden 1981:54–55; see the discussion in *SPUMB* 166–67. The verb form *dmr*, indicates that the connotation of the strength in this title focuses on strength for protection, more than for combat as such. Soldiers in 1.3 II 13–15 are called *dmr//mhrm*, perhaps suggesting a defensive function for these battalions (see the Commentary above on pp. 157–58). Other etymologies suggested for *dmrn* (surveyed by Wyatt 1992b:411–12) are unconvincing.

Lines 40–41 are difficult and have produced a great deal of controversy. Several scholars have interpreted them as a continuation of Baal's speech in lines 38–39 (some add line 42, thus producing a speech of Baal from line 38 to 52; so Aistleitner 45; *CML*[1] 101; *Thespis* 197–98; *CML*[2] 65; *MLC* 209; *MLR* 90; Pardee 1997a:263). But the third-person references to Baal in these lines suggest that the poet is reverting back to narrative action here (so *TO* 1.218; Coogan 1978:105; Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1170; *ANET* 135; Gordon 1977:100; de Moor 1987:64; Wyatt 1998:110–11). The second major interpretational issue centers on the question of how the words should be divided into cola. Several authors have construed them as a bicolon: *ʿn bʿl qdm ydh/ktǵd ʾarz bymnh*, with a translation like "The eye of Baal directs/precedes his hand, As the cedar shakes in his right hand" (e.g., *TO* 1.218; *ANET* 135; Gordon 1977:100; *MLC* 209; Pardee 1997a:263; Xella 1982:119). There is a grammatical problem with this view: *ʾarz* is masculine but the verb *tǵd* is feminine (**ǵdy*, "to shake, move"; see *DUL* 317; cf. Pardee

1997a:263 n. 191; Wiggins 2000:589). Renfroe (1992:33–34; see also Pardee 1997a:263) tries to deal with this problem by suggesting that the "eye" of Baal in the first line is also the subject of the verb in the second line. Thus he translates: "The Lord's eye is in front of his hand, When it *speeds* the cedar from his right." In terms of the parallelism, this rendering seems a bit forced, and the understanding of the cedar "from" the right as opposed to being "in" the god's right hand fits less well with the iconographic depictions known for the storm-god that we will discuss below. Other interpreters (e.g., de Moor 1987:64; Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1170; and Wiggins 2000:589) have taken the lines as a tricolon. This approach solves the problem of the subject/verb agreement, and, although it still remains uncertain, is followed in our translation. The resulting syntax, with a nominal clause following a verbal clause in parallelism in the same colon, is found elsewhere in Ugaritic poetry (e.g., 1.3 I 18–19; 1.23.8–9).

One other suggestion to deal with the problem of *ktǵd*, while allowing for the unit to be read as a bicolon, was proposed by Sanmartín (1978a). He compared *ktǵd* with Akkadian *kutāḫu*, "lance" (*CAD K*:603), which he posited as a Hurrian loan-word **kutāǵ(u)d-* with a sufformative **ssi* that shifts to *-d* in the Ugaritic word. He thus read, "Das Auge des Bʿl kommt seiner Hand zuvor,/eine k.-Lanze aus Zedernholz in seiner Rechten." The proposal, while possible, requires accepting some uncertain assumptions. It seems preferable to derive *ṯǵd* from **ǵdy*, to see *yd* as the subject, as it is the immediately antecedent feminine noun, and to understand this unit as a tricolon. One last ambiguity centers on the interpretation of the word *qdm* here. It could be understood in this context either as "forward" or "eastward." Because we know of no reason why Baal in this particular situation should look toward the east, we have chosen to render it, "forward," assuming that it means that as he holds his spear, ready to send it forth, he is looking directly toward his cowering enemies.

In spite of the ambiguities of interpreting these lines, it is clear that they present the figure of Baal standing with his cedar weapon raised in one hand. This seems closely related to the depiction of the god on the famous "Baal au foudre" stele found near the temple of Baal at Ugarit, which depicts Baal brandishing a mace in his upraised right hand and a stylized tree/spear in his left hand pointed downward (*ANEP* #490; see *UBC* 1.107; Bounni and Lagarce 1998: figures 92, 2–3, comparing a stele from Qadbun also showing the storm-god with spear in his left hand pointing downward). The same pose appears on a cylinder seal

excavated at Ras Shamra: the storm-god with a mace raised in his left hand and in his right hand a spear, described by Cornelius (1994:172, pl. 45, BM 5; see also Amiet 1992:81, figure 158; cf. Amiet 1992:78, figure 142): "with the sharp end pointing down, the top of the shaft spreads out into a plant at the top." The North Palace at Ras ibn Hani has yielded a similar seal impression (Bounni and Lagarce 1998: figure 91, 6; see also figures 103–104). Late Bronze Age Emar iconography of the "Syrian Baal" holding his weapon varies from being upraised (as in this passage of the Baal Cycle) or simply being held with the point upwards (see especially F13 in Beyer 2001:303–5). Hehn (1913:86) discusses a lapis lazuli statue of Adad, with lightning in his right hand and at his feet two dragon-like winged monsters.[15]

A Ugaritic text also explicitly refers to this spear of lightning, which is clearly distinct from Baal's ṣmd(m), "weapons" (1.2 IV 11, 15, 18, 23; 1.6 V 3)[16] or kṯp, "mace" (1.6 V 2) which appear in other stories of conflict[17] (see *UBC* 1.98, 180, 347–48). CAT 1.101.4 appears to call Baal's weapon ʿṣ brq, "a tree (or perhaps less literally, a spear) of lightning" (*CMHE* 148; see also Pardee 1988a:120–25, 135–39; Irwin 1983:53–58; Weinfeld 1983:139 n. 94; Lambert 1985b:441–42). The Egyptian magical text, Papyrus Leiden I 343 + I 345, presents a version of the West Semitic conflict myth pertinent to our passage (cited in Borghouts 1978:18–19, #23; see also *ANET* 249; Massart 1954:65):

> The raging of Seth is against the ʿakhu-demon; the grudging (ḥdndn) of Baʿal is against you! The raging of the thunder-storm—while it thirsts after the water in heaven—is against you!…Then you will taste the things the Sea tasted through his hand. Then the [lion] will make his approach [to you (?)]. Baʿal will hit you with the pine-tree (ʿš)[18] that is in his hand. He will treat you again with the pinewood (ʿš) spears that are in his hand!

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[15] Reference courtesy of T. N. D. Mettinger.

[16] For the possible meteorological background of ṣmd(m) in this passage, see *UBC* 1.330, 338–41.

[17] For Egyptian evidence for West Semitic kṯp as a weapon (e.g., Papyrus Leiden I 343, obverse II, lines 2–4), see O'Callaghan 1952, Hoch 1994:337–38 and *UBC* 1.360 n. 255. This word for weapon is attested in western peripheral Akkadian *katapu* at Emar (clearest in 44.14, 17, 18) and at Mari (A.3992.20; Durand 2002:114, 117 with further references). According to *CAD K*:30–31, the word elsewhere refers to a container or the like (see Emar 45.7, 9, 11, said to be of bronze in lines 7 and 9; 46.1–8; 47.1'–5', 7', 10').

[18] Although Egyptian ʿš has been traditionally identified as "cedar," Nibbi 1996:42–44 has argued strenuously that it must mean pine instead.

It thus seems likely that the tricolon in lines 40–41 is a verbal representation of the common iconographic motif of the storm god wielding his cedar/pine spear that represents the lightning. This depiction constitutes the conclusion of Baal's great theophany, and is the climactic image of Baal in his full power that the poet wishes to leave with the audience.

A few authors have given a very different interpretation of the final section of the theophany (lines 35–41). They suggest that this section tells of an attack on Baal's land by his enemies, in which they capture the forests and the mountains, and Baal appears powerless to stop them (see *UL* 36; *MLD* 63; de Moor 1987:63–64; Gordon 1977:100). This seems extremely unlikely, as it ignores the larger context of the theophany motif, in which flight of enemies is a significant and common element. Furthermore, it ignores the close relationship between the description of Baal holding his cedar spear and the iconographic depiction of this motif, which is certainly intended to portray the triumphant Baal, not a Baal who is losing his lands to the enemy.

Line 42 appears to act as a summation of the entire story of the construction of Baal's palace: "So Baal sat enthroned in his palace," or "So Baal returned to his palace." Both renderings are possible. The first assumes that *yṯb* here derives from the root **yṯb*, while the second relates it to **ṯwb*. The question might be raised as to whether **yṯb l-* can mean, "to be enthroned in." While the preposition *b-* is often used for enthronement (e.g., CAT 1.101.1–4; 1.108.3–4; Ps 2:4; see Pardee 1975:352, 353; 1976:246), both Ugaritic and biblical texts show that *l-* was also a possible preposition to use for that meaning (1.6 I 58; Ps 9:5). 1.6 I 57–61 represents another example of the ambiguity of the verb-preposition combination. In this passage Athtar ascends Mount Sapan to see if he can measure up to Baal as king. Although he could "turn to" to the throne, it seems much more likely that Athtar "sits on" (**yṯb l-*; so *DUL* 995) the throne, since we are told that his feet do not reach the footstool and his head does not reach the head-rest. In 1.6 V 5–6, as in our passage, the context is amenable to either interpretation. Elsewhere, context might be viewed as favoring **ṯwb l-*, for example, in 1.10 III 13–14 (*UNP* 185) and 1.16 VI 22 (*CMHE* 94 n. 14).[19] In 1.10 III 13–14, Baal seems to be returning to a throne after being away from his house. In 1.16 V 22, the context is slightly more

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[19] Note also *lammārôm šûbâ* in Ps 7:8.

ambiguous, yet here Kirta arguably returns to his throne after having been ill. However one translates the line, it is still best to see it as the concluding statement of the story of the building of Baal's palace. The word *bkm* can best be understood as *b* + *k(n)* +*m*, "In this way, thus." It emphasizes the summary nature of the sentence, making it clear that line 42 is not describing a sequential event that follows Baal's hefting of his spear, but rather is drawing the story to its end. It might be compared to the final sentence of the story of Solomon's succession to the throne in 1 Kgs 2:46: "So the kingdom was established in the hand of Solomon."[20]

Lines 43–52: The Conflict Between Baal and Mot Begins: Baal's Soliloquy

This speech of Baal constitutes the beginning of the third episode of the Baal Cycle, the story of Baal's conflict with Mot. Now having established his dominion over heaven (i.e., the divine council) and earth, the storm-god turns his attention to the only area of the universe that has not acknowledged him, namely the netherworld. In this speech Baal shows his determination to notify Mot of his claim to leadership in that realm too. The episode that begins here continues through CAT 1.5 and 1.6, and it is the concluding story of the cycle as we understand it. In those tablets it becomes clear that Baal will not gain full control over the netherworld, death and drought. He will ultimately have to coexist with Mot, but not as equals. Mot will eventually recognize Baal as the superior god thanks in no small measure to El's intervention (1.6 VI 33–35). Baal and Mot will eternally struggle with one another, with the hope and ultimate expectation that life, represented by Baal, will normally prevail over death.

Some scholars have characterized Baal's determination to subdue Mot as an act of hubris on his part (e.g., Pardee 1997a:261 n. 168). However, there is no support for that view in the poem itself. Instead, it appears better to look at how the myth works. It was obvious to the people of the ancient Ugarit that the force of life and fertility was balanced by the force of death and sterility. Most of the time, the rains

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[20] A very different proposal for understanding line 42 has been made by Watson (1992b:365), who suggests that line 42 serves "to introduce an interior monologue" for Baal's speech in the following section.

and sun were benevolent and allowed for the people to grow food
and prosper. Sometimes the rains would fail, and this would result in
lost crops and deprivation. This was part of their everyday existence.
It was also natural for them to see this as a struggle between the god
of fertility and the god of sterility. The theologians of Ugarit insisted,
not surprisingly, that even though death might periodically achieve the
upper hand, in the long run, Baal and life would be stronger than Mot
and death. Thus the story of Baal and Mot proceeds naturally from the
experience of the community and represents the notion that life should
seek to overcome death, even if that turns out to be impossible. The
people of Ugarit would expect Baal to challenge Mot as part of his
character and his divine role in the universe. That he might temporarily
lose does not indicate that he acted inappropriately. It is merely part
of the easily observable battle between the two gods.

The speech begins in line 43 without any introduction. This is
unusual, but not unattested. In cases where the speaker has been the
subject of the narrative, the standard speech opening formulae may be
omitted (cf. 1.2 I 11–14, 40–41; 1.6 I 4–8; 1.17 I 15–18; 1.19 II 12–15,
19–22). The opening bicolon (43–44) has been variously interpreted,
primarily because of the ambiguity of the syntax. The first issue cen-
ters on whether the sentence here is a statement or a question. Most
translators take it as a question (cf. *TO* 1.218; Dietrich and Loretz
1997:1170; *CML*[1] 101; *CML*[2] 65; de Moor 1987:64; *MLC* 210; Pardee
1997a:263; Wyatt 1998:111), but several see it as a declarative sentence
(Coogan 1978:105; *Thespis* 198; *ANET* 135; Gordon 1977:100–01;
MLD 63; *DW* 36). While the syntax is ambiguous, it seems likely that
the bicolon is to be understood as a question. Of those who render it
as a statement, only Gordon and Margalit (*MLD*) avoid a significant
problem. The others render the bicolon along the following lines:
"Neither king nor non-king shall establish the earth as a dominion."
The significant problem is that there is no negative particle here to set
up the construction, "neither…nor." The particle *ʾu* is clearly cognate
with BH *ʾô*, "or," and its double use, as in line 43, means "either…or,"
or "both…and," or even, "whether…or" (see 1.23.63–64; 1.40.19–22;
see further the apparent multiple attestations of *ʾu* in *ʾulp* in 1.40). It is
not attested with the meaning "neither…nor." Instead, that rendering
would require a negative particle with the verb. Gordon and Margalit
both avoid this problem, but in doing so, they incur unlikely interpreta-
tions of the surrounding context.

The two nouns of line 43 are easily understood as *mlk*, "king" and *bl mlk* "non-king." The use of the negative *bl* on a noun is also attested in *bl mt*, "non-death," which is parallel to *ḥym*, "life" in 1.17 VI 28–29. The exact referents of these two words will be discussed below. They constitute the compound subject of the verb *yštkn* in line 44. That verb is generally understood in the sense "to establish," although there is uncertainty about its etymology. One could view the form as a *Ct*-stem verb from **kwn* "to be" (cf. the *C*-stem form in 1.16 V 27), meaning, "to create, or establish for oneself." Or, it could be a *Gt*-stem derived from **škn*, which would likely have a very similar meaning, i.e., "to set up for oneself" (cf. *DUL* 815).

The next ambiguity concerns the relationship between the words *ʾarṣ* and *drkt* in line 44. Are they a construct chain functioning as the direct object of the verb, "the land of dominion" (so *CML*² 65; de Moor 1987:64; *MLC* 210; Pardee 1997a:263)? Or, is *drkt* the direct object (cf. BH *derek*; see 1.2 IV 10 discussed in *UBC* 1.128 n. 22), while *ʾarṣ* is an indirect object, "shall establish dominion on the earth" or the like? The second proposal appears the more likely; the proposed construct "the land of dominion" appears to be quite awkward, with no parallels attested for the idea of "establishing a land." On the other hand, to establish dominion in/on the earth seems to make for a more logical clause (so *CML*¹ 101; *LC*² 52; Wyatt 1998:111; *Baal* 145).

Based on these grammatical considerations, it seems best to render lines 43–44: "Shall a king or a non-king establish dominion in the earth?" However, the precise identity of the figures is in question: exactly who are the king and non-king of the sentence, and what does this question mean within the context of Baal's speech? Most translators see this question as a general, programmatic, rhetorical challenge to anyone who would try to usurp Baal's dominion over the earth. Many render "non-king" as "commoner," so that the question may be translated, "Can any (other) king or commoner establish dominion on the earth?" or the like (see *CML*² 65; Smith, *UNP* 137). The obvious answer it, "Of course not!" This understanding of the question is plausible. We, however, propose an alternative, which suggests that the question refers specifically to the primary issue of the story that is being introduced here. We would first note that the term *ʾarṣ* is a common name for the netherworld, Mot's realm. It is used twice in 1.4 VIII 8 and 9 very clearly as the designation for Mot's land. We also note that Baal is now thoroughly established as king of heaven and

earth, but has not been recognized by Mot, who sits on his throne in the netherworld as a rival. It may be that this question deals explicitly with the issue of rule over the netherworld: "Shall a king (i.e., Baal) or a non-king (i.e., Mot, as Baal views him) establish dominion in (i.e., over) the netherworld?" If this is the correct understanding of the passage, then it specifically introduces the theme of the story, and it flows directly into the next sentence (lines 45–47) where Baal decides to send messengers to Mot demanding his obeisance. Certainty about the meaning of the question cannot be reached, but it seems more likely that the question has a specific rather than general meaning here at the beginning of the new episode.

To determine the answer to his question, Baal decides to send a message to Mot to demand his obeisance. He expresses his intention to do so in lines 45–49a. The first bicolon, lines 45–47a, involves Baal's means of communicating. He will send a *dll*//*'dd* to Mot. Neither word appears elsewhere in this type of context. The second word, *'dd*, is readily identified as a word for "messenger." It appears to be related to *t'dt*, "legation," used of Yamm's messengers in 1.2 I 22, 26, 28, 30 (see also Greenfield 1971:176; *UBC* 1.282, esp. n. 103), and which Ginsberg (1958:62*) and Ross (1970:4–6) both relate to *'ddn*, in KAI 202:12. It may also be cognate with the damaged verb form *yt(?)'dd* in 1.4 III 11, which apparently has a meaning related to speaking. Becking (1986) understands *šlmy h'd* on a Persian period seal as a PN plus the epithet "the messenger," based on *'dd* in this passage (for other first millennium WS PNs with *'dd* see *WSS* 520).

If this understanding of *'dd* is correct, then *dll* is presumably also a term for a messenger or delegation. The Akkadian verb *dalālu* means, "to proclaim, glorify" (*CAD D*:46–47) and thus provides a suitable cognate. Caquot and Sznycer (*TO* 1.218 n. r) prefer quite plausibly "ambassador," "courtier" based on Arabic *dallāl*, which can mean "courtier" (see *DUL* 270). Albright (1934:130 n. 154) suggested translating it as "guide," based on Arabic *dalīl*, with that meaning. The problem with this rendering is that there is no indication in the story that anyone needs or uses a guide. The situation is complicated by the fact that Ugaritic has a verb *dll* that means, "to oppress, subdue" (cf. its use in 1.40:21', 30', 38'; 1.103.46; cf. Pardee 2002:77–83, 135–40). On the basis of this root, Ginsberg (*ANET* 135) took *dll* to be "tribute" and *'dd*, "dispatch" and interpreted the bicolon to be a refusal of Baal to send tribute to Mot. But the notion that the king of the gods of heaven and earth needs to send tribute to the god of the netherworld is not clearly

delineated anywhere in the text and seems somewhat improbable. It appears much more likely that the passage refers to the messengers that he will summon immediately below in lines 52–56. Ginsberg's interpretation is possible because of the ambiguity of the particle *'al* which precedes *'il'ak* in line 45. It can either be the prohibitive, "do not," or a positive emphatic in volitive statements, "indeed, surely." Most scholars read it as the latter, and our translation reflects this understanding (cf. its appearance in 1.4 VIII 1, below, in a context in which it is clearly the positive emphatic).

The other primary elements of lines 45–47 are the two titles for Mot, *bn 'ilm mt*, "Divine Mot"// *ydd 'il ǵzr*, "El's Beloved, the Hero." These are the two primary epithets of this character throughout 1.5 and 1.6. The phrase *bn 'ilm* literally means "son of the gods" or "son of El" (see *UBC* 1.287, esp. n. 116). In either case, the title represents his membership in the pantheon. The second title, *ydd 'il*, "the beloved of El," is similar to the title of Yamm, *mdd 'il* (1.3 III 38–39; 1.4 II 34, VII 3–4, and probably VI 12). Although this title suggests an intimate relationship between El and Mot, El does not support Mot against Baal in this story, as he had supported Yamm in 1.1–1.2 (cf. 1.5 VI 11–25 and 1.6 III 1–21).

The final epithet is *ǵzr*, "hero, mighty one," which is commonly described as deriving from a root meaning, "to be strong, mighty" (see V. Sasson 1982:204–8). It may be cognate with Arabic *ǵazîr*, "abundant,"[21] and BH *'zr* (for example, 1 Chr 12:1; Ezek 12:14, probably also *'ēzer* in Ps 89:20).[22] While most commentators have assumed that this word is here a title of Mot,[23] Vaughn (1993) has questioned this view, in arguing that here *ǵzr* is a title of El. Vaughn's teacher, P. D. Miller (*DW* 51–56, 205), had already made the argument for a largely lost tradition of El as a warrior based mostly on various titles and epithets: the Ugaritic PN *'ilhr*, "Il is a warrior" (*PTU* 156); the title *'ēl gibbôr* in Isa 9:5 and 10:21 (so too *CMHE* 40 n. 159); and the tradition in Philo of Byblos' *Phoenician History* that Elos (i.e., El) fought against Ouranos (Attridge and Oden 1981:48–51). Since the word *ǵzr* follows the mention of El,

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[21] Løkkegaard 1953:229; V. Sasson 1982: 204–05; but see the caveats in Held 1965a:278–79 n. 31; P. D. Miller 1970b:160–61; cf. Rainey 1973b:140.

[22] See Held 1965a:278–79 n. 31; Miller 1970b:160–61; Rainey 1973b:140; V. Sasson 1982:204–5.

[23] For example, Løkkegaard 1953:229; Rainey 1973b:140; Pardee 1997a:263; Xella 1997:436 n. 5.

Vaughn regards it as standing in apposition to El as his own epithet. Vaughn appeals further to Hebrew PNs, such as *’l‘zr* (e.g., Exod 6:23) and the less helpful *’ly‘zr* (e.g., Exod 18:4). Finally, he notes that there is no other example in Ugaritic texts of a construct chain epithet (like *ydd ’il*) followed by a second epithet. Rather he notes the use of *ǵzr* as an epithet to a personal name in the example of *’aqht ǵzr*, "Aqhat the hero," and argues that *ǵzr* thus describes El, rather than Mot. This is an intriguing proposal.

There are weaknesses in Vaughn's arguments, however. First, there remains considerable uncertainty about the idea that El at one time was understood to be a warrior deity. South Levantine texts (from the Iron Age or later) viewed as militating in favor of El as a warrior (Isa 9:5 and 10:21) are restricted to names and titles, probably vestigial at best and irrelevant at worst. The well-placed cautionary remarks of J. J. M. Roberts (1972:95–96 n. 233) may be noted in this context: If any warrior features accrued to El, it "may be the result of a partial coalescence of 'El, the creator and clan leader…with Baal…, the cosmic warrior." Second, it is to be noted that Ugaritic contains little or no such martial tradition for El apart from the single PN (cf. J. J. M. Roberts 1972:95–96 n. 233: see also Smith 2001a:44, 220 n. 34, with bibliography).[24] Indeed, the appeal to PNs is hardly compelling. Remove it from the base of data, and the "evidence" such as it is, is quite slim. Indeed, if *’ilmhr* were to be understood as "(My) god is a warrior," then there would be no Ugaritic evidence. Third, the interpretation of El as the referent of *ǵzr* incurs its own difficulties. As Pardee (1997a:263 n. 192) rightly observes, such an epithet befits a younger warrior and not an old god like El. Epithets are stereotypical, but their selection in specific contexts is not necessarily arbitrary. In this context, Baal as the warrior-king of the cosmos challenges Mot's power. Both are warriors, as 1.6 VI renders them in hand-to-hand conflict. Accordingly, *ǵzr* suits Mot in this context; in contrast, if this epithet were to be assigned to El, it would bear relatively little meaning in this context. Since this epithet is never applied to El elsewhere in the cycle, it would in fact seem quite

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[24] J. J. M. Roberts also notes some data in the Mesopotamian record: *Ilum-qurad*, "Il is a warrior" (see *CMHE* 13–14; Huffmon 1965:15), but this name may be rendered "The god is a warrior." Attempts to draw the martial evidence for Ilaba (*ᵈA.MAL*) into the discussion (so Roberts 1972:95–96) suffers from the fact that this deity may not be identified with El, but with *’il’ib* (Lambert 1981). As a result, the East Semitic evidence for El as a warrior is also slim. Roberts (1972:95–96 n. 233) observes: "The Old Akkadian Il is conspicuously lacking in any of the warlike traits…".

odd that it should make its appearance in this context, where El's virility plays no role in the story. We cannot, however, entirely reject Vaughn's proposal on this point, since the epithet *ǵzr* is also used of the elderly Danil in the Aqhat Epic (e.g., 1.17 I 17–18, 35, 37, II 29 etc.). Fourth, an appeal to Philo of Byblos' description of Kronos as a fighter (*PE* 1.10.29; Attridge and Oden 1981:54–55) is misplaced. In this context Philo describes conflict in royal succession, not a particular martial capacity of any of the figures mentioned. (Even more speculative is the view of Wyatt 1992b:411, who, based on the identification of El with Kronos and Ouranos [!], with the latter's battle, suggests that El and Yamm were combatants at one time). Fifth, the syntactical argument hardly resolves the issue in favor of Vaughn's view, since "the beloved of El, the Hero" (*ydd 'il ǵzr*) is exceptional according to all of Vaughn's syntactical categories, even if *ǵzr* is related to El. Vaughn marshals no other cases of "construct chain epithet" (CE) + "epithet name" (EN) that could support his view either. Given the anomaly (no matter how one takes the referent of *ǵzr*), the syntactical analysis does not solve the issue. Instead, the parallelism of the bicolon suggests that Mot is the *ǵzr*, not El: *bn 'ilm//ydd 'il* and *mt//ǵzr*. Given these points, there is no reason to depart from the older view that *ǵzr* in this context is Mot's title.

The bicolon in lines 47b–49a has been taken as a shift in the narrative subject to Mot, here also called *ydd*, "the beloved." In this view, Mot is said to be speaking "in his soul" (*npš*), a word that can refer to a person (4.338.1–2), his throat or appetite, all meanings applicable to Mot (Pope 1978a; cf. Akkadian *napištu*, BH *nepeš*). Ginsberg (*ANET* 135), Gaster (*Thespis* 197–98) and Pope (1978a:25–27) understood the verb-prepositional phrase *yqr'a…bnpšh* as Mot speaking to himself. This view seemed suggested by the similar expression, **wysrnn ggnh*, in 1.16 VI 26 (cf. **'mr blb* in Ps 14:1 = Ps 53:1; Isa 14:13; cf. Ps 36:1; etc.). This Ugaritic passage describes the speech of Yassib, Kirta's son, as he speaks to himself about rebelling against his father. Pardee (1997a:263, and n. 193) offers what is perhaps the most appealing translation following this line of interpretation: "(For) Môtu is always proclaiming, The beloved one (of 'Ilu) is always claiming: I am the only one…". Although this approach to *qr'a…bnpšh* and *ystrn gngn*, is attractive, it does not account for the volitive form of *yqr'a* (cf. Sivan 1997:104). This form would seem to indicate that this is a purpose clause dependent on the preceding bicolon (see Introduction, p. 30). Comparable syntax also with a volitive form occurs in 1.6 V 19–20: *tn 'aḥd b'aḥk 'isp'a*, "Give up

one of your brothers that I may eat." 1.4 VIII 14b–20a likewise shows
the syntax of imperative (*nǵr*) plus purpose clause expressed by *'al* +
*yqtl volitive (*y'dbkm*). If correct, this observation rules out the inter-
pretation of Mot as the subject of this sentence. Instead, the bicolon
is not a statement about Mot's own intention to invite Baal into his
throat or an introduction to lines 49–52 as a self-description of Mot,
but a purpose clause concerning the mission of the envoy. The poet is
providing an "interior monologue" of Baal in which he formulates his
plan (cf. Watson 1992b:365).

    The terms, *npš*//*gngn*, in lines 48–49 evoke Mot's well-known capacity
as a mass consumer (see 1.6 II 2–3). All who come into contact with the
god of Death risk the threat of descent into his throat (*npš*), parallel here
to *gngn*. On the basis of context, Ginsberg rendered "soul"//"heart"
(*ANET* 135).[25] The parallelism works well with the proposed Arabic cog-
nates, *janan/janjan/jinjin*, "interior, breast, chest" (see Pope 1978a:26 =
1994:146; *DUL* 303). Others, including Loewenstamm (1966:86; *CS*
230) and Renfroe (1992:105), have focused instead on BH *gargĕrōtêkā*
(Prov 3:22) and *gārôn* (Isa 58:1) for the derivation. The context of the
latter passage, with the verb **qr'* as in Baal's speech here, adds appeal
to this proposal. Renfroe (1992:105) also compared Akkadian *gangurītu*
(*gaggurītu*; cf. *CAD G*:9, "part of the body of an animal...possibly
referring to the gullet"). For Renfroe, the variation in the Akkadian
forms provides an indication of Ugaritic *gngn* having assimilated *r* >
n and the Hebrew form *gargar* having assimilated *n* > *r*. Renfroe sees
these words as unrelated to the proposed Arabic cognates. Yet another
approach favored by a few scholars is to relate *gngn* to Arabic *jinn, janan*,
"demon, spirit" (for the proponents, see *TO* 1.218 n. u; *SPUMB* 169–70;
MLD 70; cf. this view of *ggn-* in 1.16 VI 26 used with the same verb,
in Greenstein, *UNP* 40, 47 n. 163; cf. *CS* 231). Despite the apparently
similar context in 1.16 VI 26 (see further below), this etymology seems
arguably weak, in lacking the reduplication that the other proposals
show. The reference in these lines to Mot's throat and insides perhaps
anticipates the later instructions to his messengers that they remain
at a distance from Mot lest he crush them like a lamb in his mouth
(*ph*)//gullet (*qnh*) (1.4 VIII 16–20a).

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[25] In his earlier treatment (*KU* (41), Ginsberg cited Akkadian *gegunu*, "grave." However,
the word is listed as *gegu(n)nû* in *AHw* 284 as "Hoch-tempel" and in *CAD G*:67–670 as
gigunû as "a sacred building erected on terraces, also poetic designation of the temple
tower." Both dictionaries further regard it as a Sumerian loanword into Akkadian.

There has also been controversy over the verb in the second line of the bicolon (line 48). Many take *ystrn* as a *Gt* form from *wsr, "to instruct," and note the possibly similar clause in CAT 1.16 VI 26, *ywsrnn ggnh*, which describes Kirta's son as he ponders to himself whether to rebel against his father. In this passage there is no doubt that the verb derives from *wsr, and the clause can be translated, "his gullet instructed him." However, as noted by de Moor, *ystrn* should not derive from *wsr, since a *Gt* of *wsr should be *yittasiru and there would no morphological explanation for the metathesis of the *s* and *t* in our form (*SPUMB* 169, followed by *CS* 230). One might argue that reasons of euphony played a role in this metathesis. Despite the somewhat *ad hoc* basis for the explanation of the metathesis, and especially in view of the similarity of the line with 1.16 VI 26, one might continue to prefer this view (see Watson 1987:310). However, other interpretations have been offered. Preferring *str, "to hide," de Moor (*SPUMB* 164) translates: "to hide me in his tunnel." Gibson (*CML*² 65–66) renders similarly: "(That) the Beloved hide him within himself." Such translations work poorly with the parallel **qr' bnpš*, and their sense is dubious. Equally problematic in terms of context is the proposal *srr, "to be rebellious" (*TO* 1.218 n. t; for other problems with this and other less probable proposals, see *SPUMB* 169–70). The same root in Arabic, however, shows meanings closer to the context here. *DUL* (770) cites Arabic *sarra, tasarra* (Lane 1337–38), "to entrust someone with a secret, to inform someone confidentially," and suggests the meanings, "to instruct oneself, meditate." Tropper (*UG* 523, 677) favors this etymology ("anvertraue" ["entrust"]). *DUL*'s rendering, apparently influenced by the scholarly discussion about *wsr, basically gives the meaning of the latter to *srr. But such a translation is not very close to the Arabic cognate. The aspect of secrecy or confidentiality of the Arabic could provide an interesting counterpoint to the verb of the first line, *yqr'a*, "to proclaim." It is possible that the Ugaritic form does not preserve the connotation of secrecy, but if it does, then the two lines may be contrastive, "that he may proclaim to Mot into his throat, that he may confidentially inform the Beloved in his gullet." We have chosen to simply use "inform" in the translation, making no further assertion about the nuance.

Like the preceding bicolon, the tricolon in lines 49b–52a belongs to Baal's speech and not to Mot. Here in his ponderings Baal states the rationale for his planned actions, specifically that he alone is the ruler of heaven and earth, in charge of both gods and humanity, and provider of fertility for the earth. The objects of the verbs in the three lines of the

tricolon shift in stairstep fashion. Line 1 talks about the gods, line two, both gods and humans, and line three, humans. The opening phrase establishes the syntax that governs all three lines: *'aḫdy d-*, "I alone am he who…" or better, "It is I alone who…" (Sivan 1997:218–9 explains the clause as a cleft sentence). The first word is the number "one" plus -*y*, the first person pronominal suffix. The sense, "alone," or "the only one," accepted generally by commentators (see Sivan 1997:14), points to Baal's singular status with respect to the pantheon. A claim of singular action is made similarly by Biridiya of Megiddo (Magidda) who declares: "Only I: *ia₈-ḫu-du-un-ni* (by myself) furnish corvée workers" (EA 365:24–25; Moran 1992:363). It is possible that a similar claim of divine status is involved in the Shema of Deut 6:4, as suggested by Loretz (2002a:83). There *'eḥād* is traditionally taken to refer to God as "one," but it is possible that it was a statement of Israel's attachment to its god alone: "Yahweh is our God, Yahweh alone." Baal's claim to rulership over the gods is also echoed in the proclamation of Yahweh's kingship over the gods in Ps 95:3. Marduk's names include Lugaldimmerankia, meaning "king of the gods of heaven and earth" in Enuma Elish VI:28, 139 (Foster 2005:470, 474; cf. *ANET* 68–69, esp. n. 91).

The second line of the tricolon (lines 50b–51a) describes an action of Baal on behalf of both "gods and humans." The phrase "gods and humans" is attested throughout the Near East as the description of all the sentient beings in the universe. For example, Telepinu's absence from the land issues in the hunger of "humans and gods" (Hoffner 1998:15). The same expression (in the order "gods and humans,") occurs twice in Jotham's famous parable of the trees in Judges 9:8–15, with reference to olive oil, which "honors gods and humans" (v. 9) and to wine, which "makes gods and humans rejoice" (v. 13). The phrase, "gods and humans," indicates that divinities and humanity are generally considered incommensurate categories (see also Gen 32:29). The common Semitic term for "god," represented already in the oldest Semitic languages, is *'l*, (Akkadian *ilu*, Ugaritic *'il*, BH *'ēl*). The most likely etymology is **'y/wl*, "to be strong" (with reservations, see *EUT* 16–21; Smith 2001a:6, 135). If this is correct, it reflects the widespread notion that deities are by definition "strong," i.e., stronger than human beings. This difference is stated in the biblical corpus, in Hosea 11:9 when Yahweh reminds Hosea's audience: "For I am god and not a man" (*kî 'ēl 'ānōkî wĕlō'-'îš*; cf. Job 9:32).

The third line (lines 51b–52a) shifts specifically to Baal's relationship to humanity, referred to here as *hmlt 'arṣ*, "the masses of the earth" (see

UBC 1.290; BH *hamullâ*, "crowd, multitude"; *SPUMB* 108; cf. Watson 1996b:73–74 for a different interpretation). The two verbs *lymr'u*//*yšb[ ]* in lines 50–52a have been interpreted in two ways. Some scholars, noting that the parallel verb in the first line, *ymlk*, deals with ruling, assume that these two have similar meanings (Gordon *UL* 37, cf. n. 1; 1977:101, cf. n. 72; Gray, *LC*² 54). Under this view *ymr'u* is taken from **mr'*, "to command," attested in Aramaic and ESA (cf. Aramaic **mārē'* and ESA *mr'*, "lord, master;" see further Hoch 1994:133–34). A related noun may be attested at Ugarit in the office title *mr'u*, also found in syllabic form in Akkadian texts from Ugarit as *mur'u* (discussed in *UT* 19.1543, Heltzer 1982:154–56, Huehnergard 1987b:148–49; Sivan 1997:66; see further Lackenbacher 2002:250 n. 853; and *DUL* 571–72, especially for citations). But its etymological relationship to *mr'*, "command" is far from certain (see *SPUMB* 171; *DUL* 571–72). The *mur'u*, as depicted in the Ugaritic texts, do not particularly appear to be in command of matters (see Heltzer's description in 1982:154–56). The only certain root **mr'* attested at Ugarit means "to fatten," and is particularly found in its nominal form *mr'u*, "fatling animal" (cf. *DUL* 571). The other forms of *mr'u* (i.e., *mr'u* II and III in *DUL* 571–72), which include the office just described, may, as *DUL* suggests, derive from "to fatten" as well or from a Hurrian context. Finding a verb with a connotation "ruling" to reconstruct in the third line, which reads *yšb[ ]*, is an even bigger problem. Gordon proposed reading *yšb[m]*, which he understood to mean "to dominate" (*UL* 37 n. 1, 1977:101 n. 2). However, **šbm* apparently means "to muzzle" rather than "to dominate" (see 1.3 III 40 above), which does not fit this context. Gray compared Arabic *nasaba*, "to arrange, regulate" (*LC* 45 n. 2), which is plausible, although the root is otherwise unknown in Ugaritic.

The more common interpretation of these verbs is to see them as referring to the positive function of Baal in the universe, his granting of fertility across the world. Thus *mr'* is taken to mean, "to fatten," while *yšb[ ]* is reconstructed as *yšb['*, "to satisfy" (e.g., *TO* 1.219; Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1170; *CML*¹ 101; *ANET* 135; de Moor 1987:65; Pardee 1997a:263; Wyatt 1998:111). This fits the parallelism quite reasonably, since both ruling and providing for one's subjects are fundamental characteristics of the kingship of a god or a human (so Loretz 1995c:111, which compares Ps 65:12). This sense accords well with the imagery of Baal as giver of abundance (**'dn*) in Athirat's speech in 1.4 V 6–7, and here one may compare the description in Akkadian texts of Adad as "lord of fertility" or "who bestows fertility on the land" (*CAD Ḥ*:168).

Marduk, too, is one "who bestows abundance upon the gods" (*CAD H*:168; cf. Inanna's title, "sustainer of multitudes" in the "Exaltation of Inanna," Hallo and van Dijk 1968:22–23, line 63). Yahweh, too, is one "who satisfies" (*hammaśbîaʿ*) with "good" (*haṭṭôb*) (Ps 103:5; cf. **śbʿ* predicated of the deity also in Ps 145:16, Job 38:27 and Isa 58:11). The latter way of interpreting the verbs seems substantially more likely than the former. It is possible, however, that *ymr'u* involves "Janus parallelism," conveying a double-entendre of "he commands" (in accordance with the parallelism with "reigns" in the preceding line) and "he fattens" (in keeping with the parallelism with "satis[fies]" in the following line). Accordingly, in *UNP* 137, the word "order" was used in the translation as an attempt to cover both possible meanings of the verb, following a suggestion of S. B. Parker (personal communication). But English does not have a word that adequately covers both meanings, so we have reverted to the more likely and primary meaning, "to fatten" here.

The *l*- preceding *ymr'u* is understood as either asseverative *l*-, "truly," or an error for *d*-, "which," found in both the preceding and following lines. It seems preferable to avoid emendation when the text makes sense as it is (see Albright 1934:130 n. 156; Ginsberg 1936:182; Seow 1989:133 n. 168).

If we are correct in reading the verbs in the second and third lines as relating to "fattening" and "satisfying," then this understanding virtually eliminates the idea that Mot is the speaker of these lines. Neither phrase suits the god of death, and he is certainly not the one who satisfies the earth's masses. This job description fits Baal very well.

Lines 52–60: Baal Speaks to His Messengers

With lines 52b–60, Baal now to turns to his messengers, Gapn and Ugar, and prepares them in an extensive speech that continues into column VIII to travel to the netherworld where they will deliver Baal's message to Mot. Most of these lines are badly damaged and poorly understood. A fair amount of lines 54b–57 can be reconstructed plausibly on the basis of CAT 1.8. Until recently, this small fragment had been interpreted as a piece of a separate tablet related to the Baal Cycle, or as a school text that contained at least three "quotes" (or near-quotes) from 1.4 I 20–22 (or III 28–30), IV 62–V 1, and VII 52–57. Now Pardee (i.p.) has shown that 1.8 actually is the beginning of 1.3 VI, where the text describes Baal's plan to have Kothar-wa-Hasis make fine gifts for Athirat, which he will use to convince her to support his petition to El

for a new palace and his summoning of Gapn and Ugar to give them instructions for taking a message to Kothar about his plan (on the interpretation of 1.8, see above, pp. 369–77). Lines 5b–11a parallel VII 52b–57, and it is slightly possible that 1.8.11b–17 preserve parts of the continuation of our passage in lines 58–60 and following, but after 11a (ʿrpt) there is no more overlap in the preserved texts.

The first two cola of this passage are clear. The first (lines 52b–53a) introduces Baal's speech to Gapn and Ugar, using a fairly rare speech-opening formula (e.g., 1.6 III 22; 1.14 V 13; 1.15 IV 2; 1.17 V 15; 1.19 I 49, along with the close parallel of 1.8.5–7). The use of *gm*, "aloud," here may be intended to contrast the following speech with Baal's previous, silent musings (lines 43–52).

The speech itself opens (lines 53b–54a) with an imperative, ʿn, "See!" addressed to Gapn and Ugar. For the next two cola (lines 54b–56a), see the discussion above (pp. 372–73) for the explanation of our proposed translation. While before the placement of 1.8 into 1.3 VI, scholars have commonly suggested that these lines refer to aspects of Mot's threatening appearances in the realm of Baal, it is now clear that such interpretations must be abandoned. It seems most likely that the two cola are made up of epithets of Gapn and Ugar, likely referring to their divine mother. While the text of Line 54 reads *bǵlmt*, instead of 1.8.7's *bn. ǵlmt*, and could be read as "in darkness," the new context of 1.8 suggests much more strongly that the 1.8 reading is correct, and that both contexts should be translated, "sons of the Lass."

Even with the added context of 1.3 VI, we are still unable to make any real sense out of lines 56b–57. These lines, along with perhaps line 58, can be partially reconstructed from 1.8.9–12, but the meaning of these lines remains very obscure. Several scholars (*ANET* 135; *CML*[2] 135; Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1171; de Moor 1987:65) have taken a number of the words in these lines as references to birds. Thus *ʾibr* perhaps means "pinions" (cf. BH *ʾēber*). As discussed above in the Textual Notes, however, the reading in line 56 seems to be *hbr* and not *ʾibr* (as opposed to 1.8.9, where *ʾibr* is found). It is not clear which of the two readings is correct. Our reading, *hbr*, would presumably be related to the verb that means, "to bow." Unfortunately, the reading of the next word, probably *gnt*, produces no obvious meaning that would illuminate the sentence. Assuming that line 57 can be reconstructed on the basis of 1.8.10, we have *[ṣhrrm.hbl.]ʿrpt*, the second word of which is rendered "flock" by these commentators, as in 1.18 IV 31, *hbl dʾiy[m]*, "the flock of hawks" (cf. also *hbl kt[r]t*, "band of the Kotharat," in 1.11.6). In

addition, if line 58 is to be reconstructed on the basis of 1.8.12, *ʿṣrm*, the common Ugaritic word for "bird" appears to occur here. But the preserved traces in this case do not seem to fully follow the reading of 1.8 (see the Textual Notes above).

From line 57 to the end of the column in line 60, the damaged text provides little context for interpretation. What can be said is that these and the missing seven or so lines following continue the introductory speech of Baal that prefaces his actual commissioning of Gapn and Ugar to journey to Mot's abode (1.4 VIII), similar in its beginning to Baal's speech in 1.3 VI. Many commentators have seen this passage as filled with signs of gloom and danger for Baal (see de Moor *SPUMB*; 1987:65; *MLD* 68; Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1170–71). But the context as we understand it presents Baal at the height of his power. It appears more likely that the overall tenor of the speech is quite optimistic, emphasizing Baal's control of things, since he is about to send Mot a message demanding Mot's submission (so also *CML*[2] 12, n. 2).

CAT 1.4 VIII

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Text Editions: Virolleaud 1932:159–63, pls. XXVIII, XXIX (in the *editio princeps*, the captions for the two photos of the obverse and reverse have been exchanged; thus pl. XXIX, captioned as the obverse, is actually the reverse and pl. XXX is the obverse); CTA 30–31, fig. 17, pls. IX, X; KTU 20–21; CAT 21–22.

Studies and Translations: Aistleitner 46; Albright 1934:130–32; Caquot and Sznycer, *TO* 1.219–21; Clifford, *CMCOT* 79–81; Coogan 1978: 105–06; Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1171–73; Driver, *CML*[1] 102–3; Gaster, *Thespis* 199–200; Gibson, *CML*[2] 66–67; Ginsberg 1936:182–86, 1944, *ANET* 135, *KU* 41–44; Gordon, *UL* 37–38, 1977:101–2; Gray, *LC*[2] 54–56; Held 1973; Jirku 54–55; Loewenstamm, *CS* 526–38; Margalit, *MLD* 74–86; de Moor, *SPUMB* 177, 1987:66–69; Mullen 1980:76–77, 163–5; del Olmo Lete, *MLC* 211–12; *MLR* 90–92; Pardee 1997a:263–65; Pope 1964 = 1994:133–43; Pope 1978a = 1994:145–50; Smith, *UNP* 138–41; Wyatt 1998:112–14; Xella 1982:120–21.

TEXT (SEE IMAGES 81–87)

1 'idk.'al.ttn.pnm
   'm.ġr.trġzz
   'm.ġr.ṯrmg
   'm.tlm.ġṣr.'arṣ
5 š'a.ġr.'l.ydm
   ḫlb.lzr.rḥtm
   wrd.btḫpṯt
   'arṣ.tspr.by
   rdm.'arṣ
10 'idk.'al.ttn
   pnm.tk.qrth
   hmry.mk.ks'u
   ṯbth.ḥḥ.'arṣ
   nḥlth.wnġr
15 'nn.'ilm.'al
   tqrb.lbn.'ilm
   mt.'al.y'dbkm
   k'imr.bph
   kll'i.bṯbrn
20 qnh.tḫṯ'an
   nrt.'ilm.špš
   ṣḥrrt.l'a

šmm.byd.md
d.'i[ ]m.mt.b'a
25 *lp.šd.rbt.k*
mn.lp'n̊.mt
hbr.wql
tštḥwy.wk
bd.hwt.ẘrgm
30 *lbn{b̆}'ilm.mt*
ṯny.l̊ydd
'il.g̊zr.tḥm
'al'iyn.b'l
[   ]l̊.'al'iy.q
35 [   ]bḥtybnt
[   ]
[   ]l̊y
[   ]'å̇ḫy
[   ]'aḫy
40 [   ]xy
[   ]xb
[   ].ṣht
[   ]xt
[   ]x.'ilm
45 [   ]x'u.yd
[   ]x
[   ]w'ugr
——————————
——————————
——————————
——————————

[   ]
49 [   ]š̊

[About 20–21 lines are missing.]

The following colophon is written on the left edge of the tablet:

[   ]y.nqmd.mlk.'ugrt

Textual Notes

Note: Damage on the left edge of this column, from lines 9 to 12, looks ancient and could be another place where a finger damaged the tablet while it was still wet.

Line 9. ṙdm.ʾarṣ   The /r/ is damaged and thin, but still legible. The lower left wedges and the larger right wedge are easily visible.

Line 11. qrth   The /h/ has four wedges.

Line 14. nḫlt   The /n/ has four wedges.

Line 24. d.ʾi[ ]m   The /d/ has four pairs of wedges, rather than three. The word divider following it is horizontal, rather than the usual vertical. The /ʾi/ has four horizontal wedges. Close inspection of the damage where an /l/should follow /ʾi/ shows that none of the letter has survived.

Line 26. lpʿṅ   The /n/ is virtually gone, but traces of the left wedge (its lower left side and lower line) and the lower left tip of the middle wedge are discernable.

Line 29. ẘrgm   /w/ The two left wedges are preserved, but the middle wedge that would assure the reading seems completely destroyed. Both chipping and an encrustation cause the problem.

Line 30. lbn{ḫ}ʾilm   Between /lbn/ and /ʾilm/ is an erased /b/ or /d/. As was possibly the case in column V, line 5, the scribe perhaps did not recognize his error until after he had completed the line, thus leaving the offending letter with its own space. A further stray horizontal wedge is visible beneath the /n/ of /lbn/.

Line 31. l̇ydd   The lines of the left and right verticals of the /l/ are preserved fairly well, but only the lower tip of the middle wedge is visible. Most of the letter is filled with an encrustation.

Line 32. ʾil.ǵzr   Note the unusually low placement of the /l/ in relation to the /ʾi/. Encrustation has filled in much of the interior of /.ǵzr/, but the outlines of the wedges are generally quite clear.

Line 33. ʾalʾiyn.bʿl   The /y/ has been filled to the edges with the encrustation.

Line 34. [ ]t̊.   What we read as /t/ actually looks very much like a /ǵ/. Even a close examination of the tablet did not dispel the impression that the oblique lines here were genuine wedges. However, the context overwhelmingly argues for /t/.

Line 35. [ ]b̊htybnt   Only the verticals of the first /b/ survive. The horizontals have been completely broken away. There is no trace of a word divider between /bhty/ and /bnt/. The /t/ at the end of the line crosses the margin lines into column 7.

Line 37.]l̊y   The only surviving fragment of the probable /l/ is the lower part of a single long vertical. Context assures the reading.

Line 38. ʾå̊ḫy   The /ʾa/ is not epigraphically certain. While the hint of two wedges is preserved, one cannot exclude the possibility that the letter is a /n/.

Line 40.]xy   The /x/ is simply a large right horizontal. It could be any of a number of letters.

Line 41.]xb.   /x/ could either be /k/ or /r/. Three wedges are preserved, looking like a /k/, but the letter could have had two additional wedges to the left, which would make it an /r/.

Line 42.]̊.ṣḫt   The word divider, while largely effaced, is certainly there.

Line 43.]xt   The only survival of /x/ is a right vertical, with no hint of a horizontal below it. It could thus belong to /ṣ/, /l/, or /m/.

Line 44.]x.ʾilm   The /x/ is only the deep interior of a horizontal wedge, which gives no indication as to the letter to which it belongs. It touches the upper left tip of the word divider.

Line 45.]x'u.yd   Again we have the right tip of a horizontal wedge high on the line, with no additional information.

Line 46.]x   This /x/ is either /k/ or /r/. The three preserved wedges look like a /k/, but the break makes it possible to suggest it is an /r/. There is a vague dip to the left of the upper left wedge that might suggest a trace of an additional wedge. If so, then /r/ is probably the better reading. But visual inspection suggests that there is no certain trace of a wedge in that area.

   After line 47 there are remains of four horizontal lines, rather than the two that have usually been observed. The two everyone sees are the two middle lines. The upper additional line is less well preserved, but is visible along the left half of the preserved area of the tablet, at about the same distance above the second line as the latter is above the third. Only a fragment of the fourth line is preserved, a little closer to the third line than the third is to the second.

Line 49. Some two lines down from the horizontals, a single oblique wedge is preserved, breaking into the margin line. Its stance is not horizontal, and thus cannot a /t/, as CAT proposes. It seems most likely to be the right wedge of a /š/.

The colophon on the edge of the tablet:

[   ]y.nqmd.mlk.'ugrt   There are no remains of the /ʿ/ before the /y/ as suggested by CAT.

Text Restored and Set in Poetic Form

1–4	'idk.'al.ttn.pnm/
	ʿm.ǵr.trǵzz/
	ʿm.ǵr.trmg/
	ʿm.tlm.ǵṣr.'arṣ
5–6	š'a.ǵr.ʿl.ydm/
	ḫlb.lzr.rḥtm
7–9	wrd.bt ḫptt/'arṣ.
	tspr.by/rdm.'arṣ
10–12	'idk.'al.ttn/pnm.
	tk.qrth/ḥmry.

12–14   *mk.ks'u/ṯbṯh.*
         ḫḫ.{.}'arṣ/nḫlth.
14–20   *wnǵr/'nn.'ilm.*
         'al/tqrb.lbn.'ilm/mt.
         'al.y'dbkm/k'imr.bph/
         kll'i.bṯbrn/qnh.ṯḥt'an
21–24   *nrt.'ilm.špš/ṣḥrrt.*
         l'a/šmm. byd.md/d.'i[l]m.mt.
24–29   *b'a/lp.šd.rbt.k/mn.*
         lp'n.mt/hbr.wql/
         tštḥwy.wk/bd.hwt.
29–32   *wrgm/lbn.'ilm.mt/*
         ṯny.lydd/'il.ǵzr.
32–35   *tḥm/'al'iyn.b'l/*
         [hw]t.'al'iy.q/[rdm.]
35–37   *bhty.bnt/[dt.ksp.]*
         [dtm]/[ḫrṣ.hk]ly
         [   ]'aḫy
         [   ]'aḫy
40   *[   ]xy*
         [   ]xb
         [   ].ṣḥt
         [   ]xt
         [   ]x.'ilm
45   *[   ]x'u.yd*
         [   ]x
         [   ]w'ugr
         _____
         _____
         _____
         _____
         [   ]
49   *[   ]š*

About 20–21 lines are missing, but a significant portion can be reconstructed from 1.5 I 12–27. See the discussion below.

[tḥm.bn.'ilm.mt.]
[hwt.ydd.'il.ǵzr.]

[pnpš.npš.lb'im.thw]
[hm.brlt.'anḫr.bym.]

[hm.brky.tkšd.r'umm.]
['n.kḏḏ.'aylt.]
[hm.'imt.'imt.npš.blt.ḥmr.]

[p'imt.bkl'at.ydy.'ilḥm.]
[hm.šb'.ydty.bṣ'.]
[hm.ks.ymsk.nhr.]

[kn.ṣḥn.b'l.'m.'aḫy.]
[qr'an.hd.'m.'aryy]

[wlḥmm.'m.'aḫy.lḥm.]
[wštm.'m.'aḫy.yn]

[pnšt.b'l.ṭ 'n.'iṭ'nk]
[m k.]

The colophon on the left-hand edge of the tablet may be reconstructed as follows:

[spr.'ilmlk.lmd.'atn.prln.ṭ']y.nqmd.mlk.'ugrt

<div align="center">

Translation and Vocalized Text

</div>

Baal Sends Messengers to Proclaim His Kingship to Mot

1–4	"Then you sha]ll head out	'iddaka 'al tatinā panīma
	To Mount Trġzz,	'imma ġāri trġzz (?)
	To Mount Thrmg,	'imma ġāri ṯrmg (?)
	The twin hills at Earth's edge.	'imma tillê-ma ġaṣra 'arṣi
5–6	Lift the mountain on your hands,	ša'ā ġāra 'alê yadêmi
	The hill on top of your palms.	ḫalba lê-ẓāri raḫatêmi
7–9	And descend to the House of Servitude, the Netherworld;	wa-ridā bêta ḫupṯiti 'arṣa
	Be counted among those who descend to the Netherworld.	tusapparā bi-yāridī-ma 'arṣi[1]
10–12	Then you shall head	'iddaka 'al tatinā panīma
	to his town, the Watery Place,	tôka qarîti-hu hamriyi
12–14	Low, the throne where he sits,	makku kissi'u ṯibti-hu
	Phlegm, the land of his heritage.	ḫāḫu 'arṣu naḫlati-hu
14–17	But take care, divine servants:	wa-nġurā[2] 'anî-na 'ilêma
	Do not get too close to Divine Mot,	'al tiqrabā lê-bini 'ili-ma môti

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[1] Possible accusative. However, comparable BH idiom uses the construct phrase.

[2] For the root (with discussion of the syllabic evidence), see Huehnergard 1987b:153. On the issue of the vocalization, see above p. 538 n. 9.

17–20	Lest he take you like a lamb in his mouth,	'al ya'dub-kumā ka-'immiri bi-pī³-hu
	Like a kid, you be crushed in the chasm of his throat.	ka-lali'i bi-ṯabri-na qani-hu tuḫta'â-na⁴
21–24	The Divine Lamp, Shapsh, is red;	niratu⁵ 'ilīma šapšu⁶ ṣaḥrvrat⁷
	The heavens are weak in the hands of the Beloved, Di[vi]ne Mot.	la'a šamûma bi-yadi mêdadi bini 'i[li]-ma môti
24–29	From across a thousand acres, a myriad of hectares,	bi-'alpi šiddi ribbati kumāni
	At the feet of Mot bow down and fall,	lê-pa'nê môti huburā⁸ wa-qîlā
	You shall prostrate yourselves and honor him.	tištaḥwiyā wa-kabbidā huwata
29–32	And say to Divine Mot,	wa-rugumā lê-bini 'ili-ma môti
	Repeat to El's Beloved, the Hero:	ṯanniyā lê-yadīdi 'ili ġaziri
32–35	'Message of Mightiest Baal,	taḥmu 'al'iyāni ba'li
	[Wor]d of the Mightiest of Wa[rriors]:	[hawa]tu 'al'iyi qa[rrādīma]
35–37	'My house I have built [of silver],	bahatī-ya banîtu [dūti-kaspi]
	My pa[lace, of gold…].'	[dūti-ma ḫurāṣi hêka]lī-ya

Lines 38–48 are too broken to translate and another twenty or so lines are missing. It may assumed that in this section, Baal completed his message, Gapn and Ugar journeyed to Mot's abode and delivered the message, and Mot responded with a message of his own that concludes in the first eight lines of 1.5 I. Since all of this could not fit easily into the lacuna, it seems relatively certain that the multiple horizontal lines

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³ For monoconsonantal *p-*, "mouth," BH *peh*, Akkadian *pû*, etc., see *DUL* 657. Some monoconsonantal nouns (as well as the relative pronoun *d-*), and some biconsonantal nouns lacking a corresponding verbal root in Semitic languages (e.g., *dm* and *'ab*), might be traced back to a very early stratum of the Afro-Asiatic family. For Ugaritic *p-*, see the cognates proposed by M. Cohen 1947:171, #380.

⁴ An energic form (so *UG* 446, 460) rather than a long form of the *yqtl would suit the parallelism with the jussive in the first line. For the verb, see *DUL* 413.

⁵ *UG* 190 favors the plausible reconstruction *nûratu* (<**nuwrat-*), but the admittedly difficult syllabic evidence would suggest *niratu* compared to the BH base of *nēr*; see Huehnergard 1987b:152.

⁶ For the syllabic evidence, see Huehnergard 1987b:183.

⁷ For the form, see *UG* 680.

⁸ As noted in Sivan 1997:121.

following line 47 are the scribe's indication that he has left out the formulaic description of the messengers' journey, and in this case, probably the account of their delivery of the message. Most of the lacuna apparently is taken up with Mot's response, which is then repeated to Baal by Gapn and Ugar in 1.5 I 12–35. We thus can reconstruct a large part of the lacuna.

Mot's Invitation to Baal as His Guest and Main Course

["Message of Divine Mot,]	[taḥmu bini 'ili-ma môti]
[Word of El's Beloved, the Hero:]	[hawatu yadīdi 'ili ġāziri]
['Is my appetite the appetite of lions in the wild,]	[pa-napšî napšu labî'īma tuhwa⁹]
[Or the desire of the dolphin in the sea?]	[himma biriltu 'anḥiri bi-yammi]
[Or is it a buffalo's when it goes to a pond,]	[himma ru'umi-ma barikaya takšudu]
[Or it is a hind's as it travels to a spring,]	['êna kadāda 'ayyalati]
[Or, truly, truly,]	[himma 'imta 'imta]
[does my appetite consume like an ass?]	[napšu ballât¹⁰ ḥimra]
[So would I truly eat with both my hands,]	[pa-'imta bi-kil'atê yadê-ya 'ilḥamu]
[Or, are my portions in a bowl seven-fold,]	[himma šabi'u yadāti-ya bi-ṣa'i]
[Or, does my cup mix a river?]	[himma kāsî yimsaku nahara]
[So invite me, O Baal, with my brothers,]	[kinna ṣûḥ-nî ba'li 'imma 'aḫḫī-ya]
[Summon me, O Hadd, with my kin,]	[qara'a-nî¹¹ haddi 'imma 'aryi-ya]
[To eat food with my brothers,]	[wa-laḥāmu-ma 'imma 'aḫḫī-ya laḥma]
[And drink wine with my brothers.]	[wa-šatî-ma 'imma 'aḫḫī-ya yêna]

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⁹ *UG* 192.

¹⁰ *UG* 559, 669.

¹¹ The end of the speech provided without reconstruction in 1.5 I 26 suggests imperative plus *-a* volitive ending plus 1 c. sg. suffix. Cf. *UG* 622.

[So let us drink, O Baal,]   [pa-naštî baʻli]
[that I may indeed pierce you,]   [ṭuʻʻanu ʼiṭaʻʻina-ka]
[…]

[*The edge of the tablet has the following prose colophon:*]

[The scribe is Ilimalku,   [sāpiru ʼilimalku[12]
student of Attenu, the diviner,   lāmidu ʼattēni prln
the *ṯʻ̱y*-priest of Niqmaddu,   ṯāʻi]yu niqmaddi
king of Ugarit.   malki ʼugariti[13]

<div align="center">COMMENTARY</div>

<div align="center">*Poetic Parallelism and Word/Syllable Counts*</div>

		semantic parallelism	word/ syllable count
1–4	ʼiddaka ʼal tatinā panīma	a b c	4/10
	ʻimma ǵāri Trgzz	d e (x, y)	3/(?)
	ʻimma ǵāri <u>T</u>rmg	d e' (x, y)	3/(?)
	ʻimma tillê-ma ǵaṣra ʼarṣi	d e'' f	4/9

Among the four lines of this unit, the middle two lines show the great-
est parallelism. Especially with *ʻimma* in initial position, the fourth line
largely follows the middle two lines; there is also the notable sonant
parallelism of *ǵaṣra* in the fourth line with *ǵāri* in the middle two lines.
The first line is standard for travel-opening formulas.

| 5–6 | šaʼā ǵāra ʻalê yadêmi | a b c | 4/9 |
| | ḫalba lê-ẓāri rahaṭêmi | b' c' (x of y) | 3/9 |

This bicolon exhibits one of the classic patterns of Ugaritic poetry. The
parallelism is more highly involved than the scanning indicates, since
it does not indicate the parallel prepositions, the sonant parallelism of

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[12] The vocalization for this name standard in Ugaritic studies has been *ʼilimilku*.
However, arguments have been made for *ʼilimalku*. For this discussion, see van Soldt
1991:21 n. 182, 28–29; *UBC* 1.3 n. 6. The evidence for *malku is admittedly not defini-
tive for a proper name. See the discussion below in the Commentary.
[13] For the syllabic evidence for this name, see *UG* 182.

ġāra//zāri, or the morphological parallelism of the final nouns in the two lines or the four-fold occurrence of *ê*.

7–9	wa-ridā bêta ḫupṯîti/'arṣa	a b (x = p of q, y)	4/10
	tusapparā bi-yā/ridī-ma 'arṣi	a' b' (x [= a!] of y)	3/11

The two verbs are not precisely parallel, but their context expresses a generally parallel sense. This is based on the objects that they govern, which include the strikingly parallel *ridā* and *yāridī-ma* as well as *'arṣ*, which ends both lines.

10–12	'iddaka 'al tatinā/panīma	a b c	4/10
	tôka qarîti-hu/hamriyi	d e (x, y)	3/9

This is one version of a rather standard, but fluid, travel formula. The bicolonic version here is also found in 1.3 VI 12–14 (cf. also 1.3 IV 37–39). A tricolonic version is found in 1.5 I 9–12, and a quadracolonic version is attested in 1.5 II 13–15. In the latter case the parallel to our first line acts as the second line and is closely parallel to the first line of the quadracolon, while the parallel to our second line acts as the fourth line there and is closely parallel to the third colon. Thus the lack of parallelism in our short version may be the result of abridging an originally longer formula.

12–14	makku kissi'u/ṯibti-hu	a b c	3/8
	ḫāḫu 'arṣu/naḥlati-hu	a' b' c'	3/8

The formula here is paralleled in 1.3 VI 14–16. In both bicola, there is very close syntactical, morphological and semantic parallelism. In the case of our passage, the initial terms in each line add consonance within lines: *makka kissi'u*; and *ḫāḫu...naḥlati*.

14–17	wa-nġurā /'anî-na 'ilêma	a b (x, y)	3/9
	'al/tiqrabā lê-bini 'ili-ma môti	c d (x = p of q, y)	4/12

In some respects, the two lines would seem to be quite opposite in semantics. However, they express the same point in different terms. Moreover, the divine titles, though belonging to different sets of figures, resonate as parallel. This is strongest with *'ilêma//'ili-ma*.

17–20   ’al ya‘dub-kumā/ka-’immiri bi-pī-hu   a b c   4/12
        ka-lali’i bi-ṯabri-na/qani-hu tuḫta’â-na   b’ c’ (x of y) a’   4/15

These rather long lines show a classic pattern of syntactical and mor-
phological parallelism, especially marked by the elements, *ka-, bi-* and
-hu. In addition, it is arguable that the ends of *’immiri* and *ṯabri* show
sonant parallelism. Within the first line the suffix on the verb flows
sonantly into the following prepositional phrase: *-kumā ka-’immiri.*

21–24   niratu ’ilīma šapšu ṣaḥrvrat   a (x of y) b c   4/11
        la’a šamûma bi-yadi mêdadi bini   d e f g (x, y)   7/15
           ’i[li]-ma môti

See the discussion of this bicolon in 1.3 V 17–18 on pp. 345–49. The
surprising length of the second line is due to the addition of the word
mdd into the set of epithets, a word that does not appear in the other
two appearances of this passage (1.3 V 17–18 and 1.6 II 24–25. It thus
may be an error here. It is particularly suspicious since *mdd* is elsewhere
the epithet of Yamm, not Mot. Perhaps our poet got caught up with
the assonance of *bi-yadi mêdadi.*

24–29   bi-’a/lpi šiddi ribbati ku/māni   a (x, y) b (x, y)   4/11
        lê-pa‘nê môti/huburā wa-qilā   c (x of y) d d’   4/11
        tištaḥwiyā wa-ka/bbidā huwata   d” d” c’   3/11

This tricolon is rather standard as a formula (see 1.3 VI 17–20; for the
second and third lines, see also 1.3 IV 25–26). The difference of Mot’s
name does not add or detract much from the parallelism (unless one
were inclined to make a point of the sonant parallelism of this divine
name in the second line with *ribbati* in the first line, as both words
contain a bilabial followed by *-ti*).

29–32   wa-rugumā/lê-bini ’ili-ma môti   a b (x = p of q, y) 4/12
        ṯanniyā lê-yadīdi/’ili ġāzīri   a’ b’ (x = p of q, y) 4/12

See 1.3 VI 21–23 for the same bicolon, except for the divine titles. The
parallelism is magnified in lines 29–32 by *’ili-ma//’ili*, a plural form
parallel to a singular form of the same noun.

32–35   taḥmu ’al’iyāni ba‘li   a b (x, y)   3/8
        [hawa]tu ’al’iyi qa[rrādīma]   a’ b’ (x of y)   3/10

This is a common way to introduce messages (see the same bicolon in 1.3 V 24–25). The syntax and morphology generate close parallelism, which is enhanced in this case by the titles of Baal, in particular the two elative forms of *'al'iyāni//'al'iyi*.

| 35–37 | bahatī-ya banîtu/[dūti-kaspi] | a b c | 4/11 |
| | [hêka]lī-ya/[dūti-ma ḫurāṣi] | a' c' | 3/10 |

This bicolon cites Baal's speech from 1.4 VI 36–38:

| <ba>hatī-ya banîtu/dūti kaspi | a b c | 4/11 |
| hêkalī-ya dūti-ma/ḫurāṣi | a' c' | 3/10 |

In both instances, the scanning by letters above does not express the construct relationship (x of y) in the two lines, because the verb is interposed between the two parts of the construct.

Lines 38–48 are too broken to translate or scan. The reconstructed speech of Mot translated above is restored from the parallel passage in 1.5 I 12–27. Thus the poetic analysis of these lines will be treated in the third volume of this commentary, *UBC* 3.

The colophon on the edge of the tablet is extra-metrical:

[sāpiru 'ilimalku lāmidu 'attēni prln ṯā'i]yi niqmaddi malki 'ugariti

Introduction

This column continues Baal's speech to his messengers that began in VII 53. In lines 1–14 Baal gives them directions to Mot's abode. He then instructs them to do obeisance before Mot at a cautious distance (lines 14–29), and finally provides them with his message to Mot (lines 29ff.). Unfortunately, the column is broken off after line 35, so that between lines 36 and 49, only a few letters are extant at the ends of the lines. After line 49, some twenty lines are completely lost. Lines 36–37 can be reconstructed from parallels, but the rest of the partially preserved lines cannot. A set of four horizontal lines after line 47 suggests another scribal abridgement; presumably the scribe has dropped the account of the messengers' journey to the Netherworld and their delivery of the message. Thus most of the lacuna afterwards can be

reconstructed with the first part of Mot's reply, which is repeated by
Gapn and Ugar to Baal in 1.5 I 12–27. On the left edge of the tablet
is a short colophon, presumably of Ilimalku, as can be reconstructed
on the basis of similar colophons at the end of 1.16 VI left edge, 1.17
left edge, 1.6 VI 54–58 and RS 92.2016.

   Baal's instructions to Gapn and Ugar in 1.4 VII 53–VIII 47 constitute
the most elaborate version of the formula for sending messengers that
has been preserved in the Ugaritic tablets (cf. particularly 1.2 I 11–19;
1.3 III 4–31; 1.3 VI lacuna–25f; and 1.14 V 12–45). The elements of
this formula are:

	1.2 I	1.3 III	1.3 VI	1.4 VII–VIII	1.14 V
Sender summons					
messengers	11	lacuna	lacuna	52–53	lacuna
Prefatory remarks			…–6	53– …	
directions	13–14	lacuna	7–16	1–9, 10–14	29–31
unusual circumstances					
upon arrival		4–8(?)		14–24	
command to do obeisance	14–15	8–10	17–20	24–29	
command to speak	15–17	11–12	21–23	29–32	32
introductory formula to					
speech	17	13–14	24–25	32–35	33
content of message	18–19	14–31	lacuna	35–47(?)	34–45

There are parallels to each element in the instructions of 1.4 VII–VIII,
but no other example contains all of the ones found here. In particular,
our passage possesses two elements that seem to be rare: the prefatory
remarks and the description of unusual circumstances upon arrival.
This will be discussed below.

   In this column the word ʾarṣ is clearly used to refer to the land under
the surface of the earth, the netherworld. Since it is also the standard
word for the earth itself, its exact referent must be determined by con-
text. In some places we are unable to determine with certainty whether
"earth" or "netherworld" is the more appropriate translation (e.g., 1.4
VII 44). While the distinction between these two renderings is certainly
real, there was some haziness about where the boundary between the
upper and lower worlds actually occurred. Mot's domain is not simply
the realm of the dead, traditionally located in a great city under the
earth. His power extends to the entire area below the ground, as well
as the places on the earth that are dry and sterile, that can encroach
upon the lands of the living when Baal is dead, i.e., the desert and the

steppe-land at the periphery of the earth. Thus the multivalent meanings of the word *ʾarṣ* are used in this poem to indicate the ambiguity of the extent of Baal and Mot's domains. So in 1.4 VII 52 Baal explicitly uses the word for his domain in the land of the living, while using the same word for Mot's kingdom in 1.4 VIII 7–9. The boundary between the two realms is described in line 4 as *ǵzr ʾarṣ*, "the boundary of *ʾarṣ*." Is this the boundary of the earth or the boundary of the netherworld? Probably the word carries both meanings in this line. Because there is a sense in which *ʾarṣ* means the entire part of the universe below the heavens, the question raised and discussed in the story of Baal's conflict with Mot can be viewed as asking whether Baal's dominion stretches to all of *ʾarṣ* or not.

Lines 1–9: Baal Gives Directions to the Netherworld

Baal's directions to Gapn and Ugar concerning where they are to take his message are more detailed than most other parallel sets of directions. The first part of these directions (lines 1–9) deal with how they are to enter the netherworld in general; the second part (10–14) then instructs them to go to the great city of the netherworld, where they will find Mot himself. As mentioned just above, the netherworld was generally understood to be a vast place, much larger than the city of the dead. This passage indicates that idea quite clearly. The first part of the journey requires the messengers to travel to two mountains with unusual, non-Semitic names, *trǵzz* and *trmg*, located at the boundary of *ʾarṣ*. The names have occasioned considerable discussion in the literature. Albright (1934:131 nn. 157, 158) suggested that they may derive from South Anatolian (Luwian). Gaster (*Thespis* 119, 197) identified them with the names of the Hittite deity Tarḫu and the Hurrian-Hittite Sharruma (also Astour 1980:229). Tsevat (1974:71) criticized the latter proposal, noting that the two gods adduced here are weather gods, and are thus unlikely to be related in any way to the netherworld. Nor do the names account for the endings *-zz* and *g* on *trǵzz* and *trmg*. Tsevat rather related the names to Hurrian terms related to the sun and sun-god, identifying *trmg* with the sun-god Shimigi (*LHA* 232; attested in the *Ugaritica V* polyglot), and *trǵzz* with the term *tǵzt* that he thought existed in 1.24.3 and which he related to the sun. The word in 1.24.3, however, is *ʾaǵzt*, and thus has little in common with the mountain name. The loss of one of his two cognates substantially weakens Tsevat's arguments. Margalit (*MLD* 75) argued that *trǵzz* was

parallel to the name *šrġzz* in 1.107, a text dealing with Shapsh and the curing of snake bites. However, the identification of the two seems unlikely. The phonemes at the beginnings of the names are different, although it is possible that the spelling of foreign names might vary like that. More problematic, the character, *šrġzz*, in 1.107 is clearly a person who has been bitten by a snake, not a likely personification of a mountain at the boundary of the netherworld. None of the proposals seems compelling, and it is possible that the names are not specifically related to any other terms.

There are two somewhat ambiguous words in line 4: *tlm* and *ġsr*. The first word is generally assumed to be related to BH *tel*, "mound, hill" and is translated thusly (e.g., Aistleitner 46; *TO* 1.219; *CMCOT* 79; Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1171; de Moor 1987:66; Pardee 1997a:263, see esp. n. 195; Wyatt 1998:112). But Tsevat has suggested that the word is cognate with Akkadian *talūmu*, which can mean "twin." He argues that this is an epithet of the two mountains just mentioned in lines 2–3, "the twins," and correlates this idea with Mount Mašu, the twin peaks at the edge of the world in the Gilgamesh Epic (IX:37–41), which also appear to mark the boundary between the upper lands and the netherworld. Both of these etymologies appear plausible, and whichever one is correct, the image developed in these lines is basically the same—two mountains (perhaps explicitly called "twins") that mark the entrance to the land below. The motif of twin-mountains between which Shamash rises from below the earth is well attested in Mesopotamian iconography (e.g., Frankfort 1939:pl. XVIIIa, k; XIXa; cf. de Moor 1965:362 n. 67; cf. Lipiński 1971:49–50). The same image may survive in Job 17:2 (see Pope 1973:128), where *htlm*, vocalized by the Masoretes as *hătūlîm*, "mockers," is perhaps better recognized as a reference to the "mounds" that act as the threshold of the netherworld: "The Mounds loom before me."

The term *ġsr* is generally understood to mean, "boundary, border, edge" (e.g., *TO* 1.219; Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1171; *CML*[2] 66; de Moor 1987:66; *MLD* 75; Pardee 1997a:263, cf. n. 195) and to be related to Arabic *ġaḍara*, "to cut, to separate" (cf. *TO* 1.219, n. b.). Pope (in Smith 1998b:657), Clifford (*CMCOT* 79) and Coogan (1978:106) saw a different nuance to the word, also based on the Arabic root *ġdr*, which can also mean, "to hinder, prevent, cut off." They render the word as, "to block the way, to stop up, to plug," emphasizing a sense of the mountains as an obstacle to entering the netherworld. Pope thus describes it: "The mountains serve as the gates to Sheol frequently men-

tioned in the Bible, but since the entrance is downwards, the opening of the gates is likely the lid or stopper of a container." He also noted bT Pes. 94a and Ta'an. 10a, which compare the whole world to a pot leading to the netherworld. This interpretation seems as plausible as the first. Loewenstamm (*CS* 527, n. 8), followed by Wyatt (1998:112), took *ġsr* as an epithet of Mot, "ruler of the netherworld," based on the BH verb *'ṣr* II, "to rule" (cf. 1 Sam 9:17; Tsevat 1974:73). While this proposal cannot be entirely rejected, the context of the passage seems to fit better with a geographical term here rather than an epithet of Mot. The first two proposals seem much more likely (as already noted by Pardee 1980:281).

The connection between mountains at the edge of the earth and the entrance into the netherworld is well attested in Mesopotamian and Hebrew literature. Besides the twin-peaked Mount Mašu in the Gilgamesh Epic (IX ii 1–4; see *ANET* 88), which marks the subterranean route by which the sun traveled eastward during the night, the Sumerians often referred to the netherworld specifically as *KUR*, "mountain," and early on, apparently viewed the mountains to the north and east (which were foreign regions to the Sumerians) as the location of the land of the dead (Katz 2003:102–12). In the Sumerian poem *Edina-Usagake* the mother of the dying god Damu walks along with him toward the netherworld, which is referred to as "the dark mountain" (iv:1–9; Katz 2003:316). The name *KUR* continued to be used of the netherworld in Mesopotamian literature, even during the time when the netherworld was understood to be located below the earth (Katz 2003:105). In Israelite tradition, Jonah 2:7 suggests that the entrance to the netherworld is beneath the mountains (cf. *MLD* 76): "At the edges of the mountains (*lĕqiṣbê hārîm*) I descended to the underworld (*hā'āreṣ*)." Those who connect the names of the mountains in lines 2–3 to Anatolian or Hurrian backgrounds sometimes suggest that the mountains of the passage must have been located in the north (e.g., *Thespis* 197–98). However, the Mesopotamian tradition adduced above from Gilgamesh, along with the clear indication in CAT 1.161 that Shapsh has a role in bringing the dead to the netherworld in Ugaritic thought, suggests rather that at Ugarit these mountains were more likely viewed as being located in the west.

Lines 5–6 describe the method by which the messengers are to descend to the underworld from the mountains. The verb used in this bicolon, *š'a*, is most naturally identified as an imperative from **nš'*, "to lift." The image that appears to be given here is of the messengers

raising up the mountains in order to enter the subterranean world. Thus Pope's interpretation (in Smith 1998:657) of the mountains as lids or stoppers fits the image quite admirably. Such a means of entry into the netherworld, however, seems rather odd and is not elsewhere attested. The Mesopotamian iconographic imagery that shows the twin peaks at the edge of the world appear to show Shamash coming up from behind the peaks rather than from under them (cf. Frankfort 1939: XVIII a, k; XIX a). Margalit (*MLD* 77) felt this oddness very strongly and argued that *š²a* should be derived from Arabic *ša²a*, "to overtake.' He rendered line 4, "Scale the mountain on (your) two hands." This translation certainly fits the more natural idea that one enters the netherworld by crossing the mountains at earth's edge. There are problems, however, with this interpretation too. First, the verb **ša²a* does not otherwise appear in the preserved Ugaritic corpus. Secondly, the image of the messengers crawling over the mountains on their hands and knees seems as peculiar as the image of them lifting up the mountain to enter the netherworld. Third, the derived meaning, "to scale," is not an obvious one from a verb that means, "to overtake," and thus is questionable. It therefore appears that in spite of its unusual imagery, rendering the verb from **nš²* seems the more likely choice. It is possible that we have here an idiom that we do not understand. In the myths the gods can certainly do such a mighty feat, and even if this image is not the standard one, it may have been used here to emphasize the inaccessibility of Mot's abode from the earth.

The netherworld is provided with the epithet *bt ḫptt* in line 7, for which there is a BH parallel, *bêt haḥopšît* (2 Kgs 15:5). However, the meaning of *ḫptt* and *ḥopšît* has been the subject of controversy. Some commentators note the BH word, *ḥopšî*, which means "free" (1 Sam 17:25; esp. Job 3:19 and Ps 88:5–6 where it appears in the context of death) and suggest a meaning of "freedom" for *ḫptt* and *ḥopšît*, thus "house of freedom" (e.g., *CML*[2] 66; *CS* 527, 531; de Moor 1987:66). If this is the correct understanding of the word, then the epithet is most likely to be understood as a euphemism, in fact, suggesting the opposite of what was really thought about the netherworld (see Pope 1994:279–91 for euphemisms in West Semitic literature). This rendering of *bêt haḥopšît* in 2 Kgs 15:5 would provide a similar euphemism for the isolation facility in which the leprous King Azariah lived (for the comparison, see also Pope 1994:130; and the discussion further below). A related understanding is found in studies of Dietrich and

Loretz (1982a:84; 1997:1171), as well as in *DUL* (401–02), who focused on the usage of the Akkadian cognate, *ḫupšu*, as the designation for a social class in some of the Alalakh tablets (for the texts, see Dietrich and Loretz 1969:84, 87, 89–90, 91; cf. also Liverani 1975:148–52; *AHw* 357, sub. *ḫupšu* 3). Dietrich and Loretz argue that members of this social class were called "free ones," which to them meant that they had escaped from their responsibilities to the king by becoming runaways or fugitives. They interpret the noun *ḫptt* not as an abstract singular (i.e., "freedom"), but rather as a plural. They thus suggest for our phrase the meaning, "house of escapees." Others have rendered the phrase as "house of seclusion," based primarily on the context of *bêt haḥopšît* in 2 Kgs 15:5 as the isolation facility for Azariah (*TO* 1.220; *MLC* 211; Pardee 1997a:263; cf. Coogan 1978:106, "sanitorium"). Albright (1934:131 n. 162), on the other hand, connected *ḫptt* to the Arabic root **ḫbt̲*, "to be base, vile" and proposed rendering the phrase as "subterranean house, basement." Pope (1964 = 1994:141), following Albright, translated "infernal charnel house." Assuming the same root, Gray (following Gaster, see below) proposed "house of corruption" (*LC*[2] 55, n. 5).

Several scholars have divided the letters of this phrase differently, arguing that because there is no word divider, it is better to read it as the preposition *b* + *tḫptt*, and interpreting the latter part as a noun from **ḫpt̲*, with a *t*- preformative (Aistleitner 46; *CML*[1] 103; *Thespis* 199; Gordon 1977:101; see the discussion in Tromp 1969:158). Most of these scholars render the phrase "(in)to the depths of the earth," or something similar, assuming the etymology proposed by Albright, although Aistleitner (46) translated "zu den unreinen Gegenden."

Of these proposals, several seem plausible. The rendering, "house of freedom," while not an obvious epithet, remains possible as a euphemism for the netherworld, since the term *ḥopšî*, "free" is found in contexts of death and the netherworld in biblical literature. Likewise, "house of corruption, baseness," cannot be ruled out, nor can "into the depths." On the other hand, the rendering of Dietrich and Loretz (along with *DUL*) appears to be based on a view of the social group *ḫupšu* at Alalakh that is not widely accepted (see below). In addition, by taking the word *ḫptt* as a plural rather than a singular abstract, they make the word feminine, a form unlikely in this context. "House of seclusion" appears to be an attempt at using a literal English word for the meaning of the euphemism, but while it may describe the phrase

bêt haḥopšît in 2 Kgs 15:5, there is no reason to assume that the connotation of seclusion as such is the literal meaning of the word, or the sense of the word in our passage.

Although we find the translation of Dietrich and Loretz uncompelling, it does seem worthwhile to examine the meaning of *ḫptt* within the context of the social class *ḫupšu* at Alalakh and *ḫpt* at Ugarit. Schloen (2001:302–4) has shown that the class of people called *ḫupšu* at Alalakh were persons of low social status who were subject to forced labor and military service to the government. They are distinguished from people called in Hurrian *eḥelena*, who were apparently exempt from such service (cf. Liverani 1975:146–53). The Ugaritic term *ḫpt* appears in 1.14 II 37 clearly denoting soldiers in active service to the king (as also 2.72.10). It thus seems possible that the abstract form of the noun could mean, "service, servitude." Using this meaning for our phrase, the house of servitude would then refer to the netherworld as a place of servitude to the god of death. But as with the above plausible meanings, this one too remains uncertain.

The use of the verb **yrd*, "to go down, descend," appears regularly in contexts describing the descent into the netherworld. In CAT 1.114.22, El, in an inebriated state, is compared to "one who descends to the underworld" (*kyrdm ʾarṣ*); he is, to use a dynamic English equivalent, "dead drunk." In the funerary ritual text, 1.161.20–22, someone or something is commanded to "go down into the netherworld (*ʾarṣ rd*), go down into the netherworld and be low in the dust." In 1.5 VI 24–25, El, in his lamentation over the death of Baal, states (see Tromp 1969:32, esp. n. 58; Anderson 1991:63–65): "After Baal I shall descend to the netherworld" (*ʾard bʾarṣ*). It is also commonly used in BH (see, e.g., Pss 22:30; 30:10; 88:5; Job 7:9) and Akkadian (e.g., Ishtar's descent described as *a-na KUR.NU.GI ú-ri-du*, "she descended to the netherworld," in Ishtar's Descent, line 63; Borger 1963:II 90; cf. Foster 2005:501).

Lines 10–14: Baal's Directions to Mot's City

While lines 1–9 have focused on the process by which Gapn and Ugar will travel to the netherworld in general, lines 10–14 center on the journey to Mot's city once they have arrived in the netherworld. The geography of the netherworld depicted here is based upon the geography of the political states of the Late Bronze Age. Mot's city is here understood to be the capital of the larger principality of the netherworld, as one would expect to find in any earthly kingdom. In

Mesopotamian myth, the capital city of the netherworld goddess Eresh-kigal was viewed both as the location of her palace and administration, and as the place of habitation for the spirits of the dead. It is described in *Ishtar's Descent to the Netherworld* as a great city surrounded by seven concentric walls, through whose seven gates one entered, usually never to leave again (lines 1–63, Foster 2005:499–501; see also *Nergal and Ereshkigal* vi 18'–30', Foster 2005:522–23). Similar imagery of the abode of the dead in the netherworld as a walled city with gates is found in Israelite tradition (e.g., Job 38:17, Isa 38:10).[14] Albright (1956:81, 196 n. 29) also believed that the Phoenician DN Melqart meant "king of the city," namely the underworld.

Mot's city is described as *hmry* in line 12. The meaning of the word is again the subject of some discussion. Most scholars have considered it to be a proper name for the city, and several have related it to the Arabic *hamara*, "to pour (rain, water)," which suggests a sense of wetness for the name. Thus they have proposed such translations as "Miry" (*LC*² 55), "Ooze" (*CMCOT* 81), "Slushy" (Pope 1994:141), "Swamp" (Coogan 1978:106), "Watery" (Pardee 1997a:264) or "Muddy" (Wyatt 1998:113). The root's connection with water can also be seen in the probable Akkadian cognate, *amirānu*, "standing water (after a flood)" (*CAD A/II*:63). A word apparently from the same root, *mhmrt*, occurs in 1.5 I 7–8, where it is parallel to *npš*, "the throat" of Mot and prob-ably is best rendered, "gullet," i.e., the moist esophagus. A parallel to the latter word is found in Ps 140:11, where *mahămōrôt* is clearly to be understood as a pit or hole: "Let him drop them into the *mahămōrôt* from which they shall not rise." Assuming the etymology described above is correct, these pits would be understood as being wet or watery in char-acter (see the discussions in Ginsberg 1936:183; van Selms 1975b:482; Pope 1978a:146–48, 1964 = 1994:133–43; Loretz 2001b:317–18). The root may also appear in Job 17:2, as suggested by Pope (1973:127–28). Here, too, if interpreted correctly, the word, *hmrwtm*, would mean a watery pit that represents death or the netherworld. Held (1973:188), on the other hand, argued strenuously against the relationship between Ugaritic *hmry* and *mhmrt* and Arabic *hamara*, primarily on the grounds that the word *mahămōrôt* in post-Biblical Hebrew means "pit" or "grave" without any connotation of water or rain. But even if that is true of

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[14] For later use of this imagery cf. Wisdom of Solomon 16:13; Ben Sira 51:9; Matt 16:18; see Lewis 1992; Tromp 1969:152–54.

the later usage, it does not mean that the earlier forms did not have a
watery context, which was lost over time. Held almost certainly objected
to a watery image here because he assumed that the West Semitic view
of the netherworld was basically identical to that in Mesopotamia,
where the land of the dead was always portrayed as dry and water-
less. Thus a name "Watery" for the city of the dead would seem to
make no sense. However, there are a number of indications in West
Semitic, especially biblical, literature that these cultures did not have
exactly the same view as in Mesopotamia. Several passages in the HB
closely connect the netherworld with water imagery (cf. Jon 2:3–6; Pss
69:2–3, 14–16; 88:7–8; see Tromp 1969:54–69). There is, in fact, no
reason to doubt that *hmry* is related to Arabic *hamara* and that it should
be rendered as "miry, watery, slimey" or the like. The *-y* suffix on the
word is presumably the *-y* place ending (Richardson 1978), or less likely
an old feminine ending also attested on the names of the goddesses
Pidray, Tallay and 'Arsay and elsewhere (see Layton 1990:241–45; also
CMHE 56 n. 45; Pope 1978a:30 n. 8).

The next bicolon, lines 12b–14, provides two additional descriptive
names of Mot's city (*mk* and *ḫḫ*), along with two formulaic phrases that
refer to Mot's kingdom, *ks'u ṯbth*, "the throne where he sits" (lit. "of his
sitting"), parallel with *'arṣ nḥlth*, "the land of his patrimony." The lat-
ter phrases are used to describe Kothar's abode in 1.3 VI 14–16. The
apparent place name, *mk*, is generally related to the root **mkk/mwk*, "to
be low," but its exact connotation is variously rendered: "low, dilapida-
tion, the Ruin, the Pit" (cf. *TO* 1.220; Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1172;
CML[1] 103; *Thespis* 200; *CML*[2] 66; *ANET* 135; *LC*[2] 55; de Moor 1987:67;
Wyatt 1998:113; see the discussion in *CS* 528, n. 12 for rejecting the
interpretation of *mk* as the presentative particle, "Behold!"). Note the
root's usage in 1.2 IV 17 and Eccles 10:18, where it means, "to sink,
collapse" (*UBC* 1.350). The other name, *ḫḫ*, is generally interpreted in
one of two ways. The most common has been to relate it to Akkadian
ḫaḫḫu, "spittle, slime." From this etymology, Albright (1934:132, esp.
n. 166) proposed translating the word as "filth," which has been fol-
lowed by many others (e.g., *CML*[1] 103; *Thespis* 200; *CML*[2] 66; *ANET*
135; de Moor 1987:67). However, there seems little warrant for using
"filth" as the translation, which has connotations of unsavory bodily
excretions quite different from the Akkadian cognate, which focuses
particularly on expectorations from the mouth, "spittle, saliva, etc.,"
as noted by Pope (1994:142). If Pope was correct in relating *ḫḫ* to
Akkadian *ḫaḫḫu*, then the word should probably be rendered, "phlegm"

(so Coogan 1978:106) or "slime" (so *CMCOT* 81). Other scholars have related the word to Arabic *ḫawḫa*, "opening (in a wall)" (*TO* 1.220 n. g; Gordon 1977:101; *CS* 528; Pardee 1997a:264, n. 197) and have read it as "hole." Some have proposed that the occurrence of *ḥăwāḥîm* in 1 Sam 13:6, which appears in a series of words denoting hiding places (caves, rocks, tunnels, etc.), also should be rendered as "holes." The evidence for rendering *ḫḫ* as "hole" is relatively weak for two reasons. First, the Arabic word does not mean a vertical hole, but a horizontal opening in a wall. Secondly, the interpretation of *ḥăwāḥîm* in 1 Sam 13:6 as "hole" seems dubious, since the word *ḥô^aḥ* elsewhere in BH means "thornbush, thistle" (e.g., 2 Kgs 14:9; Isa 34:13; Hos 9:6; Song 2:2). That translation can be applied quite naturally to 1 Sam 13:6, i.e., one can hide among the thornbushes or thistles (cf. McCarter 1980:226). Thus, while the second interpretation, "hole, pit," cannot be fully discounted, the first seems considerably more likely. The meaning, "phlegm, spit," would fit into the wet imagery that we saw in the first name of Mot's city, *hmry*. But whatever the exact nuances of the three names in lines 12–14 are, they all are clearly negative and emphasize the grimness of the location to which the messengers are being sent.

Lines 14–24: Baal's Cautions to His Messengers

In these lines Baal carefully warns his messengers about the danger of approaching Mot too closely. In the ancient Near East the land of the dead was generally considered "the land of no return" (*erṣet lā tāri*, in Mesopotamia; cf. Tallqvist 1934:15–16; *CAD* E:310; Held 1973:180 n. 56; see further Katz 2003:24–25); *kol-bā'êhā lō' yĕšûbûn*, "all who enter it (the netherworld) do not return," Prov 2:19, in Israel).[15] Thus it was dangerous for anyone, divine or human, to venture into that realm with the hope of leaving afterward. Baal's warning here is an example of a well-attested motif in literary texts dealing with the netherworld,

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[15] See also 2 Sam 12:23; Job 7:9, 10:21, 16:22; 2 Macc 12:43–44; Tromp 1969: 189–90; Anderson 1991:67. There were actually numerous exceptions to this rule. In Mesopotamia, ghosts of ancestors whose descendents were not providing the appropriate food offerings to the dead could return to earth to punish their negligent relatives (cf. Scurlock 1988:233–36, line 79; 260–67, line r 9; 301–07, line 39; 307–10, lines 12–21, for examples of family ghosts returning from the netherworld). Also demons were believed to be able to go in and out of the netherworld (although they appear to have been thought to live, not in the city of the dead, but in the outskirts of the underworld).

particularly preserved in Mesopotamia. In the first millennium version of the story of *Nergal and Ereshkigal*, Ea instructs Nergal on how to avoid being trapped in the netherworld in col. ii 36'–48' (Foster 2005:515–16). In these instructions, Nergal is not to accept any of Ereshkigal's hospitality. In the much earlier Sumerian tale of *Gilgamesh, Enkidu and the Netherworld*, Gilgamesh also carefully instructs Enkidu on how to avoid capture when he enters the netherworld to recover the *pukku* and *mikku* that have fallen into it (lines 181–205; see George 1999:184). In this case the instructions are for Enkidu to try to blend into the crowd of the dead as much as possible, and avoid drawing attention to himself. In our passage, Baal tells his messengers to keep a safe distance away from Mot, lest the latter simply devour them. It is interesting to note that in *Nergal and Ereshkigal*, Anu's messenger Kakka is sent to the goddess of the netherworld and comes directly before her without any indication he is in danger (Late Version, i 16'–29', Foster 2005:513). This may suggest that the peril to Baal's messengers may be unusual and perhaps is related to the fact that their message calls for Mot to surrender his sovereignty to Baal, a proposal likely to anger him considerably.

The verb in line 14, *nǵr*, "take care," is equated with the cognate Akkadian word *naṣāru*, "to guard," in the *Ugaritica V* polyglot (Huehnergard 1987b:73, 153); also cognate are BH **nṣr* and Aramaic **nṭr*, "to guard," Arabic *nazara*, "regard, look, see," ESA *nzr*, "observe" and Ethiopic **nṣr*, "look, observe" (*DUL* 624).[16] The image of Mot potentially devouring Gapn and Ugar is clearly part of the larger motif of Death's endless appetite (cf. 1.5 II 2–3; 1.6 II 15–19). Baal's warning to the messengers ironically mirrors the language of 1.6 II 22–23, which describes the very fate that befell their master. Indeed, these lines may be seen as anticipating Baal's own crucial meeting with Mot. The command (lines 15b–17a) not to get too close to Mot is followed (line 17b–18) by the negative *ʾal* + **yqtl*, which here could be understood in one of two ways. It may be a parallel volitive: "Do not let him take you." Or, it may be an expression of negative purpose: "so that he may not take you." As noted in the Introduction (p. 29), comparable syntax for the latter interpretation is clearly attested in 1.3 V 22, *ʾal*

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[16] The base PS root is **nṭr*. For discussion of the West Semitic evidence, see Rainey 1973a:47; Sivan 1997:142–43; cf. Loewenstamm 1969b:52. For comparative Semitic evidence, see especially Leslau 406.

'aḥdm by[mn]y, "lest I seize it with my [right han]d" (cf. 1.4 VI 10–11, which may also be read in this manner).

The bicolon in lines 17b–20a seems to use the image of a large predator such as a lion attacking and devouring a lamb of a flock. This image appears even more clearly in 1.6 II 19–23, where Mot describes his killing of Baal, making use of these two lines as the climax of that description:

> I arrived at the pleasant place, the steppe-land,
> At a beautiful field in the Realm of Death.
> I approached Mightiest Baal.
> I took him like a lamb in my mouth,
> Crushed him like a kid in the chasm of my throat.

Note here the imagery of Mot stalking Baal in the steppe-land, very much like a lion. Similar imagery is found in the Hebrew Bible. For example, Isa 38:13 reads *ka'ărî kēn yěšabbēr kol ʿăṣĕmôtāy*, "Like a lion he breaks all my bones." Note the occurrence here of *yěšabbēr*, the Hebrew cognate of *ṯbr*, which occurs in the lines under discussion (1.4 VIII 19), as well as the motif of crushing the victim. Jer 50:17 reads, "Israel is a scattered sheep whom lions have driven away. First the king of Assyria devoured him, and afterwards, Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon devoured his bones." Ezek 22:25 reads: "Its princes within it are like a roaring lion tearing up the prey; they devour the spirit (*nepeš*)." And Amos 3:12 similarly declaims: "As the shepherd snatches away from the mouth of the lion two legs, or the piece of an ear, so shall the children of Israel be snatched away" (see also Ps 17:12; Isa 31:4; Jer 4:7; Hos 13:8; Nahum 2:13; Job 38:39).

The phrase **ʿdb bph* also appears in 1.23.63–64 in describing the appetite of El's two newborn sons: "They take—both left and right—in their mouths" (*yʿdb 'uymn 'ušm'al bphm*). The use of the verb **ḫt'*, "to crush," in the following colon emphasizes the strength of Mot's maw. The verb also appears in a letter, CAT 2.10, where it is used in the context of a serious epidemic (Lipiński 1983; Pardee 1987). In the letter the writer, Ewari-šarri, inquires about the health of two other persons:

| 5–6 | *ltrǵds/w.l.klby* | Regarding Targudissa and regarding Kalbiya, |
| 7–8 | *šmʿt.ḫt'i/nḫt'u* | I have heard that they have been sorely smitten. |

Turning to the situation in his own town in lines 11–13 Ewri-šarri says (see Lipiński 1983:124; Marcus 1974:406; Pardee 1987):

| 11–12 | *w.yd/'ilm.* | Also the hand of the gods |
| 12–13 | *p.kmtm/'z.m'id* | (is) here, like death/Mot, exceedingly strong. |

Thus in this letter we have the appearance of the root *ḫt'* in a context dealing with disease, one of Mot's manifestations (Jer 9:20; Hos 13:12; Smith 1988), and a reference to death or possibly Mot himself. This indicates a close relationship between the god and this verb, although the latter is used in 2.10 in a very different sense, without the imagery of jaws or eating.

The image of Mot as a ferocious devourer, introduced here, continues in 1.5 (I 6–8, 14–16; II 2–6, 21–24) and 1.6 (II 15–23). Here the poet refers to Mot's mouth (*ph*) and the "chasm of his esophagus" (*ṯbrn qnh*). The first noun, related to *ṯbr*, "to break, shatter," appears to mean, "opening, chasm" here. The use of this term in relation to the esophagus/gullet may recognize the fact that the back of the throat remains closed until it is used for eating. At that point, one can often feel the throat "break" open. Dietrich and Loretz (2002b) have emphasized the basic meaning of *ṯbr* as "breaker" and so translate *bṯbrn qnh* "durch die/den 'Brecher' seiner Speiseröhre." The word *qnh* is attested in BH with the meanings "reed, stalk, beam, shaft." It is used in Talmudic Hebrew in an anatomical sense as the name of the windpipe (Ginsberg 1936:183–84). Here there is little question that it refers to the esophagus.

The motif of death's insatiable appetite is well attested throughout the Near East. Isa 5:14 reads: "Therefore Sheol has enlarged its appetite; it has opened wide its mouth beyond limit." The Babylonian text *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*, in describing the suffering author's salvation reads: *ultu pî muti īkimanni*, "he (Marduk) snatched me from the mouth of death." Another Akkadian text refers to *nišik mūtim*, "the bite of death" (see *CAD M/2*:318, sect. e). Death devours all life in the end, and therefore may be seen as exercising an appetite capable of engulfing all living things, including the very god who embodies life, namely Baal.

As we have argued above, lines 17–20 appear to use the imagery of Mot as a lion. Other scholars have suggested that the god is portrayed in the Baal Cycle as a dragon-snake (e.g., Margalit in *MLD* 83, 102, 106, etc., Williams-Forte 1983:32–39). Margalit (*MLD* 83) particularly emphasizes the image in 1.5 II 2–3, which describes Mot have having one lip to earth, one lip to heaven. However, such imagery does not require seeing Mot as a snake. The phrase is also used in describing the newborn children of El in 1.23.61–62, and there is little reason to

imagine them as dragons/snakes. The image could be just as appropriate in referring to a ravenous lion, whose mouth also opens extremely widely. That would fit more closely the other imagery used of Mot (cf. Clemens 2001b:702–3, who also argues that there is no explicit evidence for the snake as an emblem for Mot). Another argument for seeing Mot as a dragon/snake is found in the NA text sometimes called "A Vision of the Netherworld" or "The Underworld Vision of an Assyrian Prince" or the like (Foster 2005:832–39). In this narrative, the author describes fifteen deities that act as courtiers in the royal palace of Ereshkigal. One of the courtiers is Death (ᵈmu-u-t[u?]), who is described as having the head of a *mušḫuššu*-dragon as well as the hands (and feet?) of a human (von Soden 1936:16, reverse, line 43 = reverse, line 3 in Livingstone 1989:70–71; see also see *ANET* 109; *CAD* M:270; Foster 2005:835). But this text is somewhat weak evidence for understanding the imagery of the Ugaritic Mot. In the first place, the minor deity Mūtu in the Assyrian text hardly corresponds to the powerful ruler of the Ugaritic myth. Secondly, as Wiggerman (1996:219) has pointed out, the "Vision of the Netherworld" is a highly idiosyncratic text, whose portrayal of the netherworld and its denizens shows very little relationship to other texts or to the iconography concerning the netherworld. Particularly the descriptions of the courtiers appear to be unique to this text, perhaps conceived by the author. Thus the description of Death with the head of the *mušḫuššu*-dragon in this Neo-Assyrian text cannot be used as direct evidence for the imagery of Ugaritic Mot.

Lines 21–24 contain a formulaic passage that is also found in 1.3 V 17–18 and 1.6 II 24–25.[17] Its interpretation is very difficult and its meaning in this context is obscure. See the Commentary on 1.3 V 17–18 (pp. 345–49) for detailed discussion of the vocabulary. The lines most probably emphasize Mot's power, even in relation to Shapshu. In the context of Baal's warning to Gapn and Ugar, this appears to be a further explanation of why they need to be careful in approaching Mot. Even Shapshu and the heavens themselves are weak compared to the power of Mot.

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[17] Cf. Wiggins 1996:331, with a dubious syntactical view for the governing of the final prepositional phrase.

Lines 24–37: Instructions of Obeisance and Speech

Lines 24b–35a contain common formulaic instructions for the messengers to perform obeisance before a deity and to present the speech to its addressee (see *UBC* 1.167–69, 287–88). These lines are closely paralleled in 1.3 VI 17–20 in Baal's instructions to his messengers when he sends them to Kothar. In both instances the messengers are to bow down to the god while still at a very great distance. In the case of Kothar in 1.3 VI, this appears to be intended to honor the god. Here, the distance is certainly related to Baal's warning above about staying at a safe distance from Mot. At the same time, the behavior to be displayed by the messengers is clearly expected to be in accordance with all courtly protocol. Baal's message is introduced to the addressee in standard fashion: "Message of Mightiest Baal, word of the Mightiest of Warriors." Unfortunately, only the first bicolon of the speech survives in lines 35b–37, telling Mot: "My house I have built [of silver]/My pa[lace of gold]." These lines echo Baal's words from 1.4 V 36b–38a, and here serve as Baal's proclamation of his kingship before Mot. The following ten lines are badly broken, with only the extreme right side of the column preserved. Thus the majority of Baal's message is beyond recovery. Lines 38–47 contain a few discernible words: *'aḥy*, "my brother(s)" (lines 38 and 39); *ṣḥt*, "I have called" (line 42); *'ilm*, "gods" (line 44); *yd*, "hand" (line 45); and *w'ugr*, "and Ugar" (line 47). These suggest that part of the subject matter of the message concerned the gathering of the gods at his new palace (1.4 VI 38–59) and presumably also his kingship over the gods. Little more can be said with confidence about these lines. It seems certain that the message ends at least by line 47, since the latter is followed by the quadruple lines that almost certainly indicate that the scribe has omitted from the written version of the story the account of the messengers' journey to the netherworld and their delivery of Baal's message (see above, pp. 704–05). Such lines for indicating abridgements of the story are also found after 1.3 III 31 and 1.4 V 41, in both cases indicating the deletion of the accounts of messengers' journeys and, in the case of 1.4 V, the delivery of the message, as is apparently the case here.

Lines 38–48: Lacuna and Colophon

A lacuna of about twenty lines follows the set of horizontal lines, but most of them can be reconstructed with confidence. The beginning of

1.5 I opens with the last several lines of Mot's response to Baal's message, the nearly complete response being preserved in lines 12 to ca. 35, where Gapn and Ugar relate it to Baal. By inserting the early lines of Mot's speech into the lacuna of column VIII, we can reconstruct at least sixteen of the twenty lines (cf. Pardee 1997a:264 n. 201). The two versions of the speech, where they both survive (1.5 I 1–4//27–30), indicate identical wording, and it is likely that little variation occurred in the two recitations of the speech. Since the passage is attested in 1.5 I, the Commentary on the reconstructed speech will appear in the third and final volume, *UBC* 3.

   The colophon, which identifies the scribe responsible for the tablet, appears on the left-hand edge. Other colophons of Ilimalku are attested on the left edges of 1.16 and 1.17—only the last word of the colophon survives on 1.17: *p]rln*, but the one of 1.16 is completely preserved and reads, *spr. ʾilmlk.t'y*, "The scribe is Ilimalku the *t'y*." A much more substantial colophon is found in 1.6 VI, at the end of the final column of the Baal Cycle. It also identifies the scribe as Ilimalku, and there is no doubt that the scribe of 1.6 is the scribe of 1.4. A fifth Ilimalku colophon is preserved on RS 92.2016.40"–43" (= CAT 9.432), also written at the end of a column, as is the one in 1.6. Like the colophon in the latter, it too is fairly long, but besides the first line, *[spr . ʾilmlk . š]⌜b⌝ny . lmd . ʾatn . prln*, "[The scribe is Ilimalku the Sh]ubanite, student of Attenu Prln (= the Diviner?)," there are no parallels to what is found in the rest of it. Unfortunately, the fact that the left side of the tablet is lost makes it difficult to understand the other three lines of the colophon. In contrast to the colophon at the very end of 1.6 VI, which is made up entirely of a list of names and titles, the colophon on RS 92.2016 appears to discuss the function of the text that is written on the tablet:

41	*]r . bb⌜-⌝.w. mspr . hnd . hwt.*	in …and this account, a word(?)
42	*]⌜- - -⌝rbh . w. ʾind ylmdnn*	…and there was no one who taught him.
43	*[ ]b spr*	]in the document.

Scholars have almost universally reconstructed the colophon of 1.4 as a rather brief one somewhat similar to that on 1.16: *[spr.ʾilmlk.t]'y.nqmd. mlk.ʾugrt*. There are good reasons to reject this reconstruction. First, as discussed elsewhere (pp. 386–89), it seems unlikely that Ilimalku, a student just beginning his career as a scribe, was also the *t'y*-priest of the king, a position that should have belonged to a well-established

courtier. That title almost certainly belonged to Attenu, and thus we should expect this colophon to mention the latter. Secondly, scholars have failed to take into account the location of the surviving part of the colophon on the tablet. A look at Images 27 and 87 shows that the preserved section of the colophon appears slightly over halfway down the side of the tablet. Thus the *y* of *ṯʿy* appears at the level of Column I line 13, and the *ṯ* of *ʾugrt* is parallel with line 28. The other two colophons that Ilimalku placed on the left edge (1.16 and 1.17) both suggest that he regularly began the colophon near the top edge of the tablet. That is where the complete colophon of 1.16 is located, and the fairly certain reconstruction of the 1.17 colophon also requires that the scribe began near the top. If this is the case here, then the standard reconstruction is far too short. It seems most likely that this colophon follows the examples of three of the other four Ilimalku colophons in referring to his teacher Attenu and that the epithet preserved at the end refers to the latter. We thus reconstruct the colophon as follows: *[spr.ʾilmlk.lmd.ʾatn.prln.ṯ ʿ]y.nqmd.mlk.ʾugrt*, recognizing that it could in fact be a little longer, perhaps containing *šbny*, "the Shubanite," after the name of Ilimalku, as in 1.6 and RS 92.2016 (see Pitard, i.p.).

In regard to the issue of Ilimalku's status, it is perhaps significant that in the one colophon that he does not mention Attenu (1.16), he calls himself merely *ṯʿy*, not *ṯʿy* of the king. This would indicate that as a student of Attenu, he was being trained not just to be a scribe, but a *ṯʿy* too. It seems likely that the colophon here indicates that Ilimalku is just a standard *ṯʿy* , and not one especially attached to the king. We might otherwise expect him to note such an honor here, since titles appear to have been important to people at Ugarit.

Some scholars interpret *spr* at the beginning of these colophons as a *qtl verb, "Ilimalku wrote (this)" (e.g., Aistleitner 46; *CML*[1] 103; Dietrich and Loretz 1997:1173), or as a passive participle, "Written by Ilimalku" (e.g., *ANET* 135; *TO* 1.221). Both interpretations are certainly possible. However, the colophon on 1.6 VI argues in favor of seeing it as an active participle, which equals the title, "scribe." In the colophon there, we find a series of titles that begins with *spr.ʾilmlk. šbny* and continues with:

lmd.ʾatn.prln.	student of Attenu *prln*,
rb khnm	chief of the priests,
rb.nqdm	chief of the shepherds,
ṯʿy.nqmd	*ṯʿy* of Niqmaddu,
mlk ʾugrt	king of Ugarit,

ʾadn yrgb	lord of Yargub,
bʿl.ṯrmn	master of Tharmanu.

With all these titles, it seems more likely that *spr*, at the beginning of the list, is Ilimalku's own title, "scribe," rather than a verb (so *CML²* 67; Gordon 1977:102; de Moor 1987:69; *MLC* 212; *MLR* 92; Wyatt 1998:114; Xella 1982:121; Rainey 1968:128). One may also note that the Akkadian colophons at Ugarit regularly contain the epithet "scribe" (*ˡⁱDUB.SAR* or *ˡⁱA.BA*) as an identifier (van Soldt 1988:314–17). The participle is used in the same way in BH for the term, "scribe" (e.g., Ps 45:2; Jer 36:26, 32; 1 Chr 27:32; for first millennium epigraphic evidence on seals, see *WSS* 467. Caquot and Dalix (2001:397) render the word, "Document." While this is possible, there do not appear to be any parallels to the appearance of a noun meaning, "document" in any of the Akkadian colophons from Ugarit (see van Soldt 1988). For scribes at work, see *ANEP* #230–236; *ANEP* #235 shows two scribes standing, one with a clay tablet and stylus in hand, one with a brush, writing on parchment. On the scribal profession, see Rainey 1968; Heltzer 1982:157–60).

The name of the scribe has been vocalized generally as Ilimilku, but a strong case can be made in favor of Ilimalku (see van Soldt 1991:21 n. 182; *UBC* 1.3, esp. n. 6; Lackenbacher 2002:237 n. 808). Both pronunciations of the element *mlk* are attested in Akkadian writings of Ugaritic names: *[a]-bi-ma-al-ku* (*PRU* VI, 79:17), *ᵈIM-ma-lak*, (*PTU* 157), alongside three feminine names, *ᶠmi-il-ka-ia* (*PRU* III, pp. 66 = RS 16.252:5), *ᶠmi-il-ki-[i]n-a-RI* (*PRU* III, pp. 54–56 = RS 15.92:16; see van Soldt 1991:8, n.70) and *ᶠNIN-mi-i[l-ki]* = Aḫatu-milku, the Amorite queen of Ugarit (see van Soldt 1991:14–15). Although the name that is written *ʾilmlk* in the Ugaritic script also appears in Akkadian texts, it is usually written with Sumerian logograms as DINGIR.LUGAL (see RS 17.61.22 = *Ugaritica V*, 13 and RS 17.67.15' = *Ug V*, 15), thus providing no evidence for pronunciation. But two exceptions to this are now known. One is *ˡDINGIR.mil-ku*, the name of a royal messenger in *PRU* IV, 294:8, which supports the *i*-pronunciation, although it is possible that the sign *mil* could also be read *mal$_x$* (see *UBC* 1.3, n. 6). The second has been found by Carole Roche in an as-yet-unpublished Akkadian list of personal names from Ugarit, where it is written *DINGIR-ma-al-ku*, more definitively supporting the *a*-pronunciation.[18] In addition to this

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[18] We thank Carole Roche and Dennis Pardee for providing us with this information.

evidence, it is worth noting that the polyglot vocabularies from Ugarit provide the pronunciation of the word "king" as *malku*. The evidence for rendering the element as *milku* seems weaker than that for *malku*. Van Soldt (p.c.) has noted that the name ˹*mi-il-ki-[i]n-a-RI* is best understood as Hurrian rather than Semitic and that Aḫatu-milku's name reflects a pronunciation from Amurru, the queen's homeland, rather than from Ugarit. In addition, the *mil*-sign of ¹*DINGIR.mil-ku* remains at least somewhat ambiguous. This leaves ˹*mi-il-ka-ia* as the only secure piece of evidence for that pronunciation at Ugarit. On the other hand, the appearance of *DINGIR-ma-al-ku* and *A-bi-ma-al-ku*, alongside the rendering of the word in the polyglot vocabulary suggests to us that *malku* is the more likely pronunciation at Ugarit.

The vocalization of the first element of the name, *ʾil*, as *ʾili* comes from the occurrence of several names with this element at Ugarit (van Soldt 1991:21, n.182). But in *ʾilmlk* it could also simply be *ʾilu*, and the name could mean, "El is king," or "The god is Mlk" (see Moran 1992:382). It seems more likely that the name means, "My god is king," or "My god is Mlk." We thus vocalize it as *ʾilimalku*, while recognizing that the evidence is far from definitive. The name itself was fairly common across the Levant. It appears in the Amarna letters (EA 151:45; cf. 286:36, where it is probably a mistake for Milkilu; cf. Moran 1992:382) and in the HB as ʾElimelek (Ruth 1:2, 3, etc.).

The fact that (if our reconstruction here is correct) four of the five colophons of Ilimalku refer to the scribe as a student/apprentice of Attenu strongly suggests that *t'[ʿ]y.nqmd*, the title that appears at the beginning of the preserved portion of the colophon, clearly a high and prestigious position, belongs not to Ilimalku, but to his teacher. As discussed above, the scribal weaknesses seen on 1.4 support the idea that Ilimalku was still early in his career, rather that at its height. The title appears in 1.6 VI 57 also in a context in which it is most plausibly identified as a title of Attenu (on this see van Soldt 1988:320; Pitard i.p.).

The meaning of the word *t'y* (reconstructed here on the basis of the colophons on 1.6 and 1.16) has been the subject of a great deal of discussion. The word has been interpreted in at least five different ways (cf. *DUL* 894). Some have seen it as a verb with the meaning "to present, donate." Ginsberg (*KU* 162; *ANET* 135; cf. Aistleitner 46; *TO* 1.221 n. k), followed by Greenstein in his rendering of the colophon in 1.16 (*UNP* 42), translated, "donated by Niqmaddu" and assumed that this referred to the king's sponsorship of the writing of the tablets.

Driver (*CML*[1] 103) rendered it, "Niqmad king of Ugarit has presented (it)." But this seems unlikely in view of the colophon of 1.16, which reads simply, *spr ʾilmlk ṯʿy*, thus omitting the name of the supposed donor. Most scholars have seen it as a noun, but interpret it in a variety of ways. Gordon initially (*UT* 19.2713; *UL* 38) and Rainey (1968:127) viewed the word as a gentilic on the basis of Kirta's title, *ṯʿ*, thus "the Thaʿite." Here one might compare the PN *bn ṯʿy*, the name of a priest (Rainey 1968:128). Yet Ilimalku's gentilic in 1.6 VI 54 would seem to be *šbny*, "the Shubanite." Several scholars have related *ṯʿy* and Kirta's title, *ṯʿ* to Hebrew *šôaʿ*, "noble," which is used as a title for one of the leading segments of Israelite society in Job 34:18–19 and Isa 32:5 (see Greenfield 1969a:60–61; cf. V. Sasson 1982:201–2, 207–8). Thus the word has been rendered "the master" (*CML*[2] 67) and "the noble" (Heltzer 1982:69 n. 157). Van Soldt (1988), on the other hand, equated this word with the title SUKKAL/*sukallu* (?) in the colophons of Akkadian texts from Ugarit, a title that often was used for a high-ranking scribal or bureaucratic office. Similarly, Dietrich and Loretz (1987:34–36; cf. also 1997:1173, n. 153) argued that the word is a designation for a high-ranking official in the royal government, "minister, vizier, secretary" (see also Zevit 1991:1714 n. 34). The final major proposal views the title as one particularly related to the priesthood. The root *ṯʿy* is used at Ugarit to mean "to offer, offering" in several ritual texts (cf. 1.40.24, 32, 40–41; 1.161.27–30; 1.90.23; see de Tarragon 1980:59; Xella 1981:330; Fleming 1991:146; cf. ESA *ṯʿy*, "offering of incense," so Biella 548). In 1.169.2, *ṯʿy* seems clearly used as the title of a priest who performs rituals (del Olmo Lete 1995:41; Pardee 2000:23–28; 2002:160; Freilich 1992). Fleming (1991:141) has noted that the apparent religious position of the scribe parallels the same type of joint activities as the Mesopotamian *āšipu*, the "incantation priest." At this point the evidence remains too ambiguous to decide whether the title *ṯʿy* specifically belongs to the priestly or the bureaucratic sphere in this context. It may, of course, belong to both.

The final part of the colophon mentions the king, "Niqmaddu, King of Ugarit" (*nqmd mlk ʾugrt*). The royal name derives from **nqm* plus the theophoric element of Addu (Hadd) (see *PTU* 17, 168; cf. J. J. M. Roberts 1972:13; for the variant writing of the name with ᵈIš-kur, see Arnaud 1999). The recent discovery of four king lists in the house of the high official Urtenu (see Arnaud 1999) shows that there were four kings of this name who ruled over Ugarit between the fifteen and thirteen centuries. Most commentators have tended to identify our Niqmaddu

with traditional Niqmaddu II, now III (see Arnaud 1999:163) who reigned in the mid-fourteenth century. However, with the discovery of RS 92.2016, with its Ilimalku colophon, among the tablets in the late thirteenth century house of Urtenu, several scholars now suggest that the scribe flourished during the reign of the final Niqmaddu in the late thirteenth century (Dalix 1996; Pardee 1997a:241, n. 3; cf. Yon 1995 for a discussion of the house, and Bordreuil and Malbran-Labat 1995 and Lombard 1995 concerning the discovery of the tablets). No firm conclusion is yet possible. As mentioned in the Introduction above, two Akkadian texts found in the house of Rašapabu list ᴵDINGIR.LUGAL as their scribe (RS 17.61 and 17.67: *Ugaritica V*, texts 9, 10, pp. 13–16). This person may be the Ilimalku of the Ugaritic tablets. Both tablets contain additional names that can be securely dated to the fourteenth century (see van Soldt 1991:27–28). However, this ᴵDINGIR.LUGAL is not necessarily the Ilimalku of the Baal Cycle. There is no reason why there could not have been two scribes named Ilimalku, one in the fourteenth and one in the thirteenth centuries. Thus, until we have further evidence, the question of the date of Ilimalku and the Baal tablets themselves remains unresolved.

The city name Ugarit has been related to Akkadian *ugaru*, "field" (cf. the name of Baal's messenger, ʾ*ugr*, which likely means "field," in relationship to *gpn*, "vine"; cf. Zamora 2000:631). The word *ugaru* at Nuzi was used for a specific area of land belonging to a town (see Maidman 1994:42). But this etymology is not secure.

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