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U. CASSUTO

# The Goddess Anath

Translated from the Hebrew by Israel Abrahams

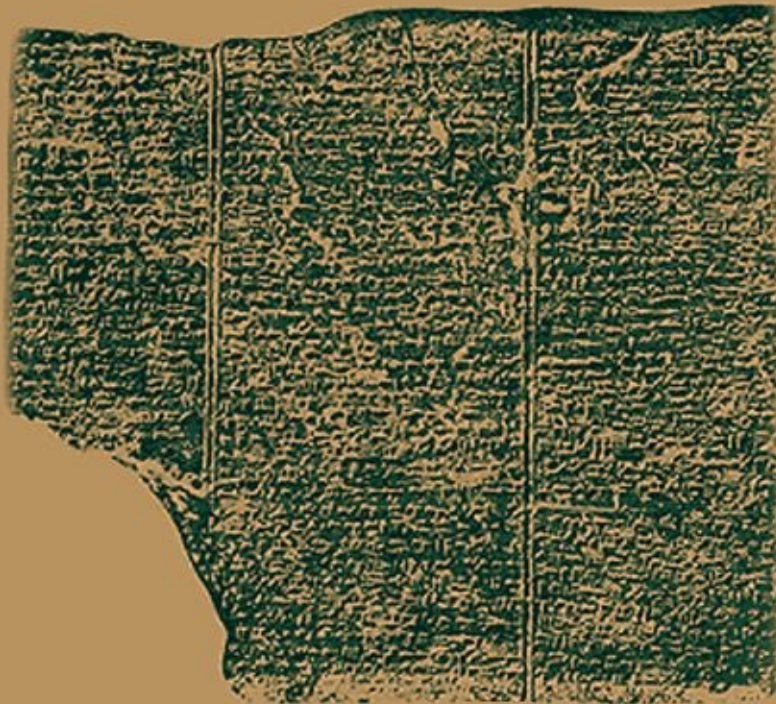


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The goddess Anath (*stone stele*)

# THE GODDESS ANATH

CANAANITE EPICS OF THE PATRIARCHAL AGE

Texts, Hebrew Translation, Commentary and Introduction

by  
U. CASSUTO

*Late Professor of Bible at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem*

*Translated from the Hebrew by*  
ISRAEL ABRAHAMS

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## TRANSLATOR'S FOREWORD

*The Goddess Anath* (in Hebrew: *Ha-'Ela 'Ānath*) was first published in Hebrew in 1951, the closing year of the author's life. It may seem strange, if not unwarranted, that an English version of this work should appear two decades after the original had seen the light of print. In all spheres of research today science is advancing at an unparalleled tempo, and the study of Ugaritic is no exception. Within the last twenty years our knowledge of the Ugaritic language and literature has grown phenomenally, and inevitably *The Goddess Anath* has become antiquated in certain details.

Nevertheless the rendering of the work into English is justified for two reasons. For one thing the late Prof. Umberto Cassuto was a pioneer in the field of Ugaritic study, and *Ha-'Ela 'Ānath* was a basic and seminal contribution to this new discipline. Historically it will always occupy a place of honour in Ugaritica. But this aspect apart, the work has shed invaluable light on important and hitherto unexplained linguistic usages in the Bible. These insights remain valid to this day, while the author's brilliant methodology may continue to serve as an enduring beacon of light to many generations of researchers. Felicitous expression has been given to the intrinsic merit of this treatise by Prof. C. H. Gordon, himself a leading Ugaritic authority, in the following words:

This book is no ordinary publication. More than any other work that has appeared for several years, it raises the level of Ugaritica as a whole. Of special interest is the section on the relation between Old Testament and Ugaritic literature . . . The whole question of Ugaritic and Old Testament relations is a problem of major importance that will engage scholars for some time to come. Any one working in this field should first digest Cassuto's writings, especially *The Goddess Anath* (JAOS, 62, 1952, pp. 180-181).

Unfortunately many scholars were unable to 'digest' *The Goddess Anath* because of their unfamiliarity with modern Hebrew. It was

actually a distinguished South African Hebraist who suggested to me the need to render this work into a Western language, and though many years have passed since the happy idea was put forward, I am glad that it has at last been implemented.

No attempt has been made to bring Cassuto's work up-to-date. The bibliography and references have been left as they were. Any other course would have destroyed the historical and 'classical' character of the original. After careful consideration, however, two innovations have been introduced. In the first part of his book Cassuto quoted Ugaritic passages in Hebrew translation. This procedure was justifiable in a Hebrew work, since Hebrew is akin to Ugaritic, and the omission of the original text was an aid rather than a hindrance to the reader. But it would have been unscientific to follow the same method in English. Hence in the present edition every Ugaritic citation is given in transliteration (Cassuto's textual readings being reconstructed from his earlier articles) as well as in English translation (pp. 20–65 *passim*).

In the second part of the book Cassuto gave the Ugaritic texts in Hebrew transcription and in a beautiful Hebrew rendition that preserved, as far as possible, the etymological features of the original. He used for the purpose two parallel columns. In our English version there are three parallel columns: the first gives a transcription of the Ugaritic text in Latin characters, the second contains Cassuto's Hebrew translation, and the third comprises the English rendering. The author's Hebrew translation has been retained on account of its outstanding literary and scientific worth, and there is reason to believe that Cassuto himself, could he have been consulted, would have approved the arrangement (see his Italian article in *Orientalia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 238–243, where the transcription of the Ugaritic text is followed by a Hebrew, in addition to an Italian, version).

In conclusion I wish to thank a number of friends whose assistance has been of inestimable value to me in the preparation of my translation. First, I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Milka Cassuto Salzmänn, the daughter of the author, whose contribution to every aspect of the undertaking cannot be overestimated. She checked and rechecked the Hebrew original as well as the translation. She searched out articles and traced references in old periodicals and made numerous suggestions of the utmost value, including the use of three versions of the Ugaritic texts. I hope that her filial devotion will be rewarded by the wide dissemination of the present work, together with her father's other

writings, in their English garb.

**VIII**

Prof. S. E. Loewenstamm, a former pupil of Cassuto, and today a distinguished Ugaritic scholar, was a tower of strength to the translator. He read the entire translation in manuscript and helped by his scholarly advice to assure scientific accuracy of the rendering.

My appreciative thanks are also due to Dr. Spitzer for his authoritative guidance in all typographical matters, and to Mr. Alex Berlyne for his expert assistance with the reproduction of photographic plates, tablets, and diagrams.

To Mr. Silas S. Perry, who with characteristic graciousness encouraged me to undertake the task, to the Biblical Committee of the Perry Foundation, who lent their imprimatur to the project, and to Mr. Toren, Director of the Magnes Press, who took a special interest in the work, I feel especially indebted.

Finally I wish to acknowledge, with thanks, the kind courtesy of the Bialik Institute, which published the original Hebrew edition, for giving its ready consent to the present English version, and to thank the Central Press for the patient care it gave to the printing and production of the book.

ISRAEL ABRAHAMS

Jerusalem  
Tebet 5731  
January 1971

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## ABBREVIATIONS

*AfO* *Archiv für Orientforschung*

*AJSL* *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*

*ARI* *W. F. Albright, Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*

*BASOR* *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*

*B.D.B.* *F. Brown, S. R. Driver and C. A. Briggs, A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament . . . Based on the Lexicon of W. Gesenius*

*Biblica* *Biblica, Commentarii periodici Pontificii Instituti Biblici*

*BJPES* *Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society (In Hebrew)*

*CIS* *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*

*Clara Rhodos* *Clara Rhodos, Studi e materiali pubblicati a cura dell' Istituto storico-archeologico di Rodi*

*Cowley* *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C., edited, with Translation and Notes, by A. Cowley, Oxford 1923*

*Gesenius–Kautzsch* *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar as edited and enlarged by the Late E. Kautzsch (English Translation)*

*Handbook* *see UH*

*IEJ* *Israel Exploration Journal*

*Iraq* *Iraq, British School of Archaeology in Iraq*

*JAOS* *Journal of the American Oriental Society*

*JBL* *Journal of Biblical Literature*

*JNES* *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*

*JPOS* *The Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*

*JRAS* *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*

*Kedem* *Kedem, Studies in Jewish Archaeology (In Hebrew)*

*Lešonénu* *Lešonénu (A Quarterly for the Study of the Hebrew Language [In Hebrew])*

*Orientalia* *Orientalia, Pontificium Institution Biblicum*

*PEQ* *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*

*REJ* *Revue des Etudes Juives*

*RES* *Revue des Etudes Sémitiques*

*Syria* *Syria, Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie*

*Tarbiz* *Tarbiz, A Quarterly for Jewish Studies (In Hebrew)*

*UH* *Ugaritic Handbook, by C. H. Gordon, Rome 1947*

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## PREFACE

THE FRENCH archaeological expedition that conducted excavations in the ruins of the ancient city of Ugarit, in northern Syria, from 1929–1939, found there, inscribed on whole or fragmentary tablets, a number of literary relics in the Ugaritic language, belonging to the period of the Hebrew Patriarchs. The Ugaritic tongue is one of the Semitic languages closest to Hebrew, and Ugaritic literature is, in form, very much akin to the literature of the people of Israel. In this lies the great importance and value attached to these remains by those who love and esteem the Bible.

In 1936, not long after the French mission had begun its excavations, H. L. Ginsberg presented Hebrew readers with all the Ugaritic texts known at the time, together with a Hebrew translation and commentary. His book, entitled *Kitbe Ugarit [The Ugarit Texts]*, remains to this day one of the most important contributions to the study of Ugaritic literature. Subsequently, a number of additional Ugaritic texts were discovered and published, and research work in the field of Ugaritic literature became greatly extended. All the texts are now to be found in C. H. Gordon's *Ugaritic Handbook* (Rome 1947),\* transcribed in Latin characters. The French expedition is also preparing a general edition of all the texts in facsimiles and in transcription, accompanied by a French rendering.\*\* It is desirable that the complete material should also be made available in Hebrew, and that all the texts that were not included in Ginsberg's book should likewise be published in a Hebrew edition. For some time now I have devoted myself to the preparation of such an edition, which would reproduce the texts in Hebrew characters, in conjunction with a translation and

\* Since then two revised editions of this work have been published under the following titles: *Ugaritic Manual* (Rome 1955); *Ugaritic Textbook* (Rome 1965).

\*\* The facsimiles and transcriptions of the Ugaritic texts have been published in two volumes by A. Herdner under the title *Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alphabétiques découvertes à Ras Shamra-Ugarit de 1929 à 1939*, Paris 1963. So far, however, no French translation has appeared.

detailed commentary in Hebrew.\*\*\* In the volume that I am now placing before the reader, two series of texts are included:

- (a) Two tablets (Tablet V AB and Tablet VI AB), which belong to the great epic poem that narrates the deeds and adventures of Baal. These tablets, which were first published by Virolleaud in his book *La déesse Anat* (Paris 1938), preceded, in the original order of the poem, the tablets included in Ginsberg's work.
- (b) Two fragments, which were first published in Virolleaud's article 'Fragments mythologiques de Ras Shamra' in the periodical *Syria*, xxiv (1944–1945), pp. 12–14. These fragments correspond in content to the aforementioned Tablet V AB.

Seeing that in all these texts the goddess Anath plays an important role, I have also, like Virolleaud, called this book after her.

The labours of my predecessors in this field, which were invaluable and deserving of the utmost honour and respect, were of a pioneering character and left ample room for further contributions to the subject. Hence both my translation and commentary represent, in the main, a new and original approach. I endeavoured, to the best of my ability, to advance our understanding of the texts under discussion both in elucidating their details and in clarifying their general contents as well as the inner nexus between them and the other Ugaritic texts of the same group. I devoted particular attention to the parallels between the Ugaritic writings and the books of the Bible, since they help to shed light on both literatures.

In regard to the sigla that I employ in this book to indicate each of the Ugaritic literary tablets, see below, at the end of the first chapter of the Introduction.

The figure of the goddess Anath that serves as frontispiece reproduces a relief on a stone stele, which belongs to the private collection of Mr. G. Michaelidis of Cairo. It is published here for the first time by kind permission of the owner, through the good offices of Dr. J. Leibovitch. It is my pleasant duty to express my appreciation to both of them. I also wish to thank Professor Schaeffer and Professor Virolleaud, and likewise the publishers Geuthner of Paris, who kindly permitted me to reproduce from their books the photographs on plates I–VIII, which are appended to this volume.

U. C.

Jerusalem, 1951

\*\*\* Owing to the untimely demise of the author this undertaking did not reach fruition.

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# INTRODUCTION

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## CHAPTER

# 1

### THE NATURE OF THE UGARITIC WRITINGS

THERE WAS an ancient city in northern Syria, near the small harbour called by the Arabs Minet-el-Beida (which means 'the white port'), facing the north-eastern headland of the island of Cyprus, about twelve kilometres north of Latakia. Some three thousand years ago already it was destroyed and became completely forgotten. Its ruins were covered with dust and remained hidden within the mound (*tell*) now called Ras Shamra ('Fennel Hill'); and till a few years ago no one could have imagined that in this mound lay concealed the remains of the city of Ugarit, whose name is known to us from Akkadian, Hittite and Egyptian documents. Even less was it possible to surmise the great significance of these relics.

It would be superfluous to tell again, in detail, the story of the chance discovery in 1928 of an ancient necropolis in the neighbourhood of 'the white port', and of the systematic excavations carried out by the French expedition, from 1929 until the outbreak of the Second World War, at the harbour and the nearby mound, resulting in discoveries of exceptional importance. On these aspects of the subject adequate information will be found in H. L. Ginsberg's book, *Kitbe Ugarit* (Jerusalem 1936), and in my article on 'Ugarit' in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (Hebrew). Here it will suffice to deal somewhat more fully with the Ugaritic poetic literature, to which the texts presented to the reader in this volume belong.

The tablets inscribed with Ugaritic script and in the Ugaritic tongue represent the most important find at Ugarit. A great number of clay tablets with texts on both sides, or on one side only, was uncovered among the remains of a large edifice that was used as a library and a school for priests, and in several halls of another building that served as the general and diplomatic archives for the kings of Ugarit, and also here and there in other places. In some cases the texts are in the Mesopotamian cuneiform writing, which has been known for some time, and comprise letters, bonds, certificates, accounts, various records in the Akkadian language, and lexicographical fragments that give, alongside Sumerian ideographic signs, explanations in the Akkadian or Human tongue; but most of the tablets are covered with a script that was hitherto unknown. This

form of writing (which

has also been found in several small inscriptions on vessels and stone monuments) is likewise to be classified as cuneiform—that is to say, its symbols are composed of wedge-shaped lines;<sup>1</sup> yet it differs in its essential character from the Mesopotamian cuneiform script, for whereas the signs of the latter, which partly represent syllables and partly whole words, are extremely numerous and are mostly constructed of many wedges in a complex pattern, the new script contains only a small number of very simple symbols—thirty, approximately. When the first texts were published in 1929, this new type of writing was a complete enigma to scholars, yet within a year of their publication the riddle was solved. The fewness of the signs immediately showed that the script was neither ideographic nor syllabic, but alphabetic. The number of letters in each word, which can clearly be discerned because of the small wedge customarily used in this form of writing to separate the words almost everywhere within the line, is very limited, and rarely exceeds five. This appeared to indicate that only the consonants were represented, after the manner of ancient Semitic writings, and it seemed probable that the language of the texts in question was Semitic. On the basis of this assumption attempts were made to decipher the script, and these proved successful. When deciphered, it was established that all the alphabetic texts, except for a few that were written in the Human tongue, actually belonged to a language of the Semitic group. The question whether this Ugaritic idiom pertains to the branch of Semitic tongues that we usually designate Canaanite, and which includes Hebrew, has not been settled. However, it appears to me that the more correct view demands that we answer the question affirmatively and regard Ugaritic as an off-shoot of the Canaanite family of languages. The difference between it and the other Canaanite idioms that are known to us may be explained on the basis of the following two factors: (a) that we have here before us a north Canaanite dialect; (b) that this dialect appears in the texts concerned in a very early form of development.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See below the table of symbols of the Ugaritic script.

<sup>2</sup> For a different view, see in particular Goetze's article, 'Is Ugaritic a Canaanite dialect?' in the periodical *Language*, XVII (1941), pp. 127 f. Gordon (*UH*, pp. 114–116) inclines at present towards a cautious and indecisive attitude. According to N. H. Torczyner [now, Tur-Sinai], in *Ha-Lašon w'-ha-Sepher*, I, pp. 266 f., Ugaritic belonged to an eastern branch of the Semitic group of tongues, which those who spoke it brought to Ugarit in the north, where they continued to use it in an alien environment; whereas the Ugaritic epic poems, which are akin in spirit and in style to the Canaanite culture, are, in his opinion, only

translations from the Canaanite tongue.

The Ugaritic script, apart from the signs for the different consonants, which, as is normal in early Semitic writings, have no vowel indication, comprises three different characters for the letter 'Aleph, each one of which also represents one of the three vowels *u*, *i*, *a*. On the use of these three signs scholars hold different opinions. According to the majority view, whenever a vowel is pronounced after the 'Aleph, it is the vowel indicated by the symbol; but where no vowel is enunciated after the 'Aleph, the latter coming at the end of the syllable (as in the Hebrew words **יֵאָסֵם, נִאָזֵר**, and the like), some hold that the sign denotes the vowel preceding the 'Aleph, whilst others are of opinion that the Ugaritic scribes employed, in such cases, the symbol connected with the vowel *i*, or any of the three characters for 'Aleph without distinction. I have expressed the view<sup>3</sup> that although the three symbols mostly reflect the vowel following the 'Aleph, yet in a number of instances they come to indicate the primary, accented vowel of the word, even if it does not adjoin the 'Aleph. Thus, for example, it may be assumed that the word written 'ulp, which corresponds to the Hebrew **אֵלִיד**, does not represent the sequence of sounds' + *u* + *l* + *p*, but only that of the consonants' + *l* + *p*, connected with the accented vowel *u*, and that its correct pronunciation is *allûp*—as in Hebrew.

On pages [10–11](#) will be found the table of Ugaritic characters.

In this table I have arranged the symbols according to the order in which they are given in the small tablet containing the Ugaritic alphabet, which was uncovered in November 1949,<sup>4</sup> when the head of the French mission, Claude F. A. Schaeffer, resumed his excavations at Ras Shamra after an interval of ten years (covering the period of the Second World War and post-war years), and in a fragment of a similar slab,<sup>5</sup> which had indeed been published some time ago, but

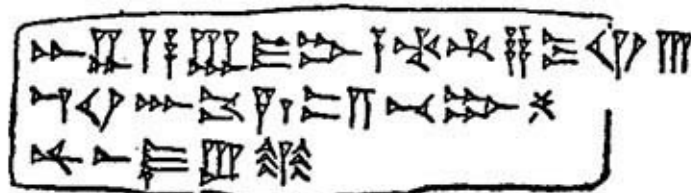
<sup>3</sup> See my detailed observations regarding my own theory and other opinions in *Orientalia*, XVI (1947), pp. 466–476, and my lecture at the Congress of Jewish Studies (Jerusalem 1947), published in the proceedings of the Congress, pp. 134–139 and in *Lešonénu*, XVII, pp. 123–127.

<sup>4</sup> A facsimile of this tablet was first published in the *Manchester Guardian* of 3.3.1950, in a report of a lecture, by Virolleaud, and I reproduced it in my article on 'Ugarit' in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica* [Hebrew], plate IV. A photograph of the tablet appeared in the *Manchester Guardian Weekly* of 23.3.1950 (p. 13), and also in Gordon's article in *Orientalia*, XIX (1950), pp.

374–376. [Now see Virolleaud, *Palais Royal d'Ugarit* II, Paris 1957, p. 199 and the bibliography cited *ibid.*]

<sup>5</sup> So Virolleaud informed me in a private letter. He published a facsimile of the fragment in *Revue d'Assyriologie*, XXXVII (1940–41), p. 34, whence it was reproduced in Latin transcription in Gordon's *UH*, II, No. 320.

was not understood till the discovery of 1949. I append here a facsimile of the complete tablet according to Virolleaud, and a facsimile of the fragment with my restorations, which are indicated by dotted lines.



The tablet discovered in November 1949 (*above*)

The preceding tablet (RŠ 10087) with my restoration (*left*)

In the table of Ugaritic symbols I have recorded only the usual forms found in literary texts, since these are the signs used in the texts discussed in this volume. The secondary forms, which are employed only occasionally, or in texts of a different type, are listed in Gordon's *Grammar*.<sup>6</sup> Even in the two tablets of the alphabet are to be found several letters that deviate somewhat from norm; the reader will easily be able to discern these divergences by comparing the alphabetic chart with the facsimiles of the tablets.

This is not the place to enter into the problems pertaining to the origin, characteristics and order of the characters of the Ugaritic script.<sup>7</sup> I wish to observe only that I incline to the view that the

<sup>6</sup> *UH*, 4.13–33. The few secondary forms that occur in the fragments that parallel V AB I shall discuss later on.

<sup>7</sup> See N. H. Torczyner (Tur-Sinai), *Ha-Lašon w'-ha-Sepher*, II, pp. 191 f. [In Hebrew].



sequence of the letters in the Phoenician alphabet, which comprises twenty-two signs, is earlier than that of the Ugaritic alphabet, and that the letters that were added to the Ugaritic alphabet in order to denote phonemes that required no special symbol in the Phoenician alphabet, were introduced at the end, after the letter *Taw*, or next to letters resembling them in appearance. I would add further that the Ugaritic alphabet now discovered may serve to confirm my view regarding the values to be assigned to the three forms of the Ugaritic 'Aleph. At the beginning of the alphabet there is only one form of 'Aleph, the two supplementary forms being placed at the end after the *Taw*. Apparently the three symbols were not invented simultaneously, but at first only one sign was in regular use for every type of 'Aleph in the language, as in the Phoenician–Hebrew script, irrespective of the vocalization, and only after a time were two additional signs introduced in order to indicate the two long, accented vowels  $\hat{i}$  and  $\hat{u}$ , when this was felt to be necessary for the sake of greater clarity. In the course of time the use of the three forms was extended, evolving into the system found in the texts before us.

This alphabetic script was employed by the people of Ugarit also for the writing of texts in other languages. To the alphabetic inscription in the Human tongue, which I mentioned above, there were added in 1939 several tablets whose script is alphabetic yet their language is Akkadian. However, these are exceptional; the great majority of the tablets are in Ugaritic.








The Ugaritic texts were published consecutively from 1929 onwards, nearly all of them, at first, by Ch. Virolleaud. Now they have been completely collected, as I have indicated, in the Ugaritic Handbook by C. H. Gordon.

We cannot deal here with all the different types of tablets, which include epistolary, administrative, statistical, commercial, industrial, and ritual documents, as well as many other kinds of records. Our primary concern here is with the group of literary texts.

The Ugaritic literary texts belong mainly to the order of epic poetry, describing the heroic deeds of the gods and of mighty men. In view of the fact that almost all the tablets are broken and impaired, and that our knowledge of Ugaritic is still imperfect in many respects, it stands to reason that the interpretation of these texts is still doubtful on particular points, and that differences of opinion continue to exist among the scholars studying the documents and seeking to elucidate them. But in regard to fundamentals general

agreement has already been achieved in large measure, and thorough research and prolonged


## THE UGARITIC ALPHABET

| No. | Ugaritic character  | Phonetic value   | Transliteration |
|-----|---|--|-----------------|
| 1   |    |  together with the vowel a  | 'a              |
| 2   |    |   | b               |
| 3   |    |   | g               |
| 4   |    |   | h               |
| 5   |    |   | d               |
| 6   |    |   | h               |
| 7   |    |   | w               |
| 8   |    |   | z               |
| 9   |    |   | h               |
| 10  |    |   | t               |
| 11  |    |   | y               |
| 12  |  |   | k               |
| 13  |  |  or  | š               |
| 14  |  |   | l               |
| 15  |  |   | m               |

### NOTES

A. With regard to the three symbols of the 'Aleph (Nos. 1, 28, 29), I have indicated, for the sake of simplicity, the vowel associated with this letter, although, in my opinion, it does not always denote the vowel to be pronounced after the 'Aleph.

B. Symbol No. 13 represents a sound deriving from the proto-Semitic *Šîn* or *Śîn*. Symbol No. 25 indicates a sound originating in the proto-Semitic , which becomes, as we know, *Šîn* in Hebrew and *Taw* in Aramaic, but is preserved unchanged in classical Arabic.

The position of symbol No. 25 after the letter *Rêš*, like that of the Hebrew  possibly indicates that its pronunciation in Ugaritic resembled that of *Šîn* in Hebrew. This would accord with the fact that in the transcription of Akkadian words in Ugaritic writing (see the observations, on this form of transliteration, of

A. Dhorme, *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 37 [1940], pp. 83–96, and of P. Thureau-Dangin, *ibid.*, pp. 97–98) this symbol is used to represent every letter Šîn, irrespective of

THE UGARITIC ALPHABET (*cont.*)

| No. | Ugaritic character | Phonetic value              | Transliteration |
|-----|--------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------|
| 16  |                    | 𐎗 or some other sibilant    | š               |
| 17  |                    | 𐎗                           | n               |
| 18  |                    | 𐎗 derived from ظ            | z               |
| 19  |                    | 𐎗                           | s               |
| 20  |                    | 𐎗                           | '               |
| 21  |                    | 𐎗                           | p               |
| 22  |                    | 𐎗 derived from من or من     | š               |
| 23  |                    | 𐎗                           | q               |
| 24  |                    | 𐎗                           | r               |
| 25  |                    | 𐎗 derived from ث            | t               |
| 26  |                    | 𐎗                           | g               |
| 27  |                    | 𐎗                           | t               |
| 28  |                    | 𐎗 together with the vowel i | 'i              |
| 29  |                    | 𐎗 together with the vowel u | 'u              |
| 30  |                    | 𐎗                           | s <sub>2</sub>  |

its origin. The matter becomes somewhat complicated, however, when we note that it is actually symbol No. 13 whose form resembles that of the Hebrew-Phoenician 𐤗, but this is not the place to enlarge upon the subject. Symbol No. 16 is used especially in Hurrian texts to denote a Hurrian, non-Semitic, sound (ž), while in the transcription of Akkadian words it represents *Zayin*. In texts written in the Ugaritic language it stands for sounds deriving from proto-Semitic Šîn, and at times from Šîn, or *Zayin*, or *d* or *t*.

C. Symbol No. 30 occurs particularly in the texts discovered in 1929 and in the texts pertaining to the healing of horses. Apparently its pronunciation did not differ greatly, or at all, from that of symbol No. 19, which sometimes interchanges with it.

D. In the transliteration of Akkadian words, symbol No. 18 serves to indicate the letter *Sadê*.

investigation should enable us to attain adequate understanding of the details also. These texts have revealed to us an entirely new world—the world of Canaanite culture, which had sunk into oblivion. Canaanite mythology, of which we knew but very little, has begun to unfold for us its wonderland and magnificent structures. The figures of the Canaanite deities, which were hitherto almost unknown to us, except for their names—and even of some of their names we were ignorant—we are beginning to envisage as the Canaanites pictured them, and many of the legends that the Canaanites used to relate concerning their divinities and illustrious men of old, but which had become forgotten in the course of time, are now available to us. Of special importance is the fact that this new knowledge of the culture, beliefs and traditions of the environment in which the Israelites lived and achieved in the Biblical period, and in which the books of the Bible evolved, is, of course, of immense value for the study of Scriptural literature.

The Ugaritic epic poems that have so far been discovered and published are as follows:

(1) The Epic of Baal [*B'l*]. In this poem are narrated the adventures of Baal the god of heaven and life, and particularly the details of his conflict with his brother Mot [*Mt*],<sup>8</sup> the deity of the netherworld and death. Many tablets pertain to Baal, which are marked in Virolleaud's publications by the letters AB, the abbreviation of 'Al'iyn B'l ('Puissant Baal'), preceded by an ordinal number in Roman numerals (e.g. I AB, II AB, and so forth).

The tablets known up to 1936 are included in Ginsberg's Hebrew work (Baal I–V, pp. 17–76). Other tablets and fragments, which were discovered or published after the appearance of Ginsberg's volume, will be found in this book, and we shall therefore deal with this epic in detail later.

After Ginsberg had published his Hebrew treatise, the following texts came to light:

(2) The Epic of Danel [*Dn'il*] and Aqhat [*'Aqht*].<sup>9</sup> A few fragments

<sup>8</sup> The name is spelt in Ugaritic *mt*, but apparently it is to be read *môt* (see below, Ch. III). In this volume the name will be spelt simply Mot.

<sup>9</sup> It was first published by Ch. Virolleaud in a monograph entitled, *La légende phénicienne de Danel*, Paris 1936. Two sections of my Hebrew translation were printed in *Orientalia*, VIII (1939), pp. 238–243; other passages

were cited in my Hebrew article 'The Story of Daniel the Righteous', which appeared in *Mahbarot*

of this work were found in various tablets. Virolleaud designated them by the letter D, preceded by an ordinal number in Roman numerals. This Danel, the hero of the epic, was apparently, according to the Canaanite tradition, one of the famous men of old, a wise and righteous king, who used 'to judge the cause of the widow and adjudicate the case of the orphan'.

The order of the tablets in the epic was, so far as we can surmise, different from that of the numbers attached to them by Virolleaud.<sup>10</sup> The sequence of the tablets and the essential theme of the epic may be given as follows:

Danel the Righteous was very unhappy because he had not been blessed with a son; so he prayed to the gods and offered sacrifices to them that they might grant his request and vouchsafe him a male child. In the end the deities answered his prayer, and his wife gave birth to a son. To this son, called Aqhat, the gods sent a bow and arrows as a gift, and promised him that he would become a mighty hunter before them. But in some way he offended the goddess Anath (according to some scholars he refused to deliver his bow to Anath, when she asked him for it), and she decided to slay him (Tablet II D). At her behest, one of her retainers, Yatpan [*Ytpn*], killed him (Tablet III D). Danel mourned for his son many years, and his daughter Paghat [*Pgt*] resolved to avenge her brother's death. Yatpan attempted to placate her with conciliatory words, and also used threats, and for the moment she pretended that she was reconciled. It seems that in the continuation of the epic, which is still missing, it was related that eventually she succeeded in avenging Aqhat and at the end it was possibly narrated that Aqhat was restored to life (Tablet I D). To which stage of the story the fragment IV D belongs it is not possible to decide; recently Virolleaud grouped it with the fragments that appertain to the Rapha-men (*Rp'um*; on these fragments see below, No. 4), and designated it I Rp.

It is apparently to the traditional portrayal of this Danel as a wholly righteous king that we have to refer the allusion in Ezekiel (xiv 14, 20) which mentions Noah, Daniel and Job, in juxtaposition, as models of righteousness, and also the second reference in that book, occurring in the words addressed to the prince of Tyre (xxviii 3):

*le-Siphrûth*, II, No. 4 (Kislev 5704 [1944]), pp. 51–55. All the texts are to be found in Gordon's *Handbook*, pp. 179–184.

<sup>10</sup> On the order of the tablets see my observations in *Rendiconti délla R. Accademia del Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, ser. VI,

Vol. 14 (1939), pp. 264–268.

‘You are indeed wiser than Daniel; no secret is hidden from you.’ Undoubtedly this Daniel of the Book of Ezekiel is to be distinguished from the Daniel of whom the Biblical book named after him speaks; for it is hard to suppose that Ezekiel would have placed a young contemporary of his alongside Noah and Job—especially in a position in between the two—and it is even harder to imagine that in his communication to the prince of an alien city, the Canaanite city of Tyre, the prophet would make mention of a young Jewish contemporary as a famous exemplar of wisdom. Furthermore, the spelling of the name is not the same: in the Book of Ezekiel it is written דַּנְיֵאל and not דַּנְיָאֵל as in the book bearing that title; there can be no doubt, therefore, that דַּנְיָאֵל and דַּנְיֵאל are different persons. Apparently the prophet had in mind a traditional personage, who was known both to the Israelites and to the Canaanites, a righteous man of antiquity, like Noah and Job, and not necessarily an Israelite, just as neither Noah nor Job were of Israelite origin. And it is of this very traditional figure that the Canaanites sang in the epic poem that we now have before us, in part, inscribed on the remnants of the Ugaritic tablets.

(3) The Epic of Keret [*Krt*]. To this poem belong three tablets, which Virolleaud has designated by the letter K preceded by an ordinal number.<sup>11</sup> Only one of these tablets, I K, has reached us in a satisfactory condition; of the remaining two, II K and III K, only fragments survive. This poem does not relate mythological stories concerning the gods, like the Epic of Baal; nor yet legends of which some of the heroes are gods and some human beings, like the Epic of Danel and Aqhat; and although here, too, the deities play an important role, nevertheless the events recounted are, as far as we know, almost entirely happenings that occurred to people. The surviving texts that have come into our possession tell how King Keret succeeded, in accordance with the advice of El, the father of

<sup>11</sup> The tablet designated I K was first published by Virolleaud in a monograph entitled, *La légende de Keret roi des Sidoniens*, Paris 1936; he also published two additional Tablets, II K and III K (the Roman numeral indicates the order of the publication of the tablets and not their position in the epic, for Virolleaud, too, recognized correctly that Tablet III K preceded II K), in the periodical *Syria*, XXII (1941), pp. 105–136, 197–217; XXIII, Nos. 1–2 (1943), pp. 1–20, Nos. 3–4 (1945), pp. 137–172. Our understanding of the epic was greatly advanced by H. L. Ginsberg in his edition, *The Legend of King Keret: A Canaanite Epic of the Bronze Age*, New Haven 1946. All the texts are to be found in Gordon’s *Handbook*, pp. 164–166, 184–187.



the divinities, in forcing King Pabel [*Pbl*], by means of a military expedition, to give him his daughter (or his son's daughter), to wit, the beautiful Hurriya [*Hry*], and what befell him in the course of time, and how one of his sons, Yassib [*Ysb*], sought to rebel against him and reign in his stead.

Virolleaud thought he found in the Epic of Keret a reference to Terah, the father of Abraham, and to the invasion of the land of Canaan by the sons of Terah, and he supposed the geographical background of the epic to be the land of Edom and the Negeb. At first several scholars agreed with him; but now it is clear that the Ugaritic text makes no mention whatsoever of Terah, nor of the names of the tribes and localities that Virolleaud found there. The 'Negeb hypothesis' put forward by Virolleaud and his followers has nothing to support it.

(4) Also to be classified as epic poesy are several fragmentary texts that mention the *rp'um*.<sup>12</sup> It would seem that these denote not the shades of the dead, in accordance with the meaning of the word רַפְאִים in a number of Biblical passages, nor yet, possibly, the 'giants', who also bear this appellation in Scripture, but simply 'those who are gathered', 'the assembled ones'. These fragments are the remains of three tablets designated by Virolleaud I Rp, II Rp, III Rp. In the first tablet Danel is mentioned (see above, § 2). The meaning of their contents is still in doubt.

Apart from the remnants of epic poems, there were found in Ugarit also the following literary texts:

(5) Hymn to the Gracious and Beautiful Gods.<sup>13</sup> It is a kind of liturgy for a religious festival, linked to a legend covering the birth of two gods—*Šhr*, ['Dawn'] and *Šlm* ['Sunset']—which two women bore to the father of the deities. Virolleaud designated it SS.

(6) Epithalamium in honour of the nuptials of Nikkal [*Nkl*], the moon-goddess, and Yarikh [*Yrh*], the moon-god.<sup>14</sup> This poem (referred

<sup>12</sup> These fragments were published by Virolleaud in *Syria*, XXII (1941), pp. 1–30. Prior to this he had published the first fragment in his aforementioned book on the Epic of Danel and Aqhat. They are all to be found in Gordon's *Handbook*, pp. 161–162, Nos. 121–124.

<sup>13</sup> Virolleaud first published it in *Syria*, XIV (1933), pp. 128–151; now available in the aforementioned *Handbook*, pp. 144–145, No. 52; it had

previously been included in Ginsberg's Hebrew work, pp. 77–86.

<sup>14</sup> First published by Virolleaud in *Syria*, XVII (1936), pp. 209–228; now in the above-mentioned *Handbook*, p. 153, No. 77.

to by Virolleaud as NK) was intended apparently for the wedding celebrations of human beings, to convey blessings to the bridal couple and to wish them fruitfulness.

(7) Prayers to the gods.<sup>15</sup>

The tablets containing the Ugaritic literary texts were written, apparently, in the first half of the 14th century B.C.E. This is evidenced by the fact that they were discovered among, or underneath, the burnt remains of the conflagration that broke out in Ugarit in the middle of that century. Even clearer testimony is provided by the colophons of several tablets, where it is expressly noted that the writing took place in the days of Niqmadu [*Nqmd*] king of Ugarit; now his date is clearly established by a Ugaritic document that describes the relations between him and the Hittite king Šuppiluliumaš (written in Ugaritic, *Tpllm*), who reigned precisely in the first half of the 14th century.

But the date when the tablets were inscribed does not serve to determine the time when the texts were composed. It may well be that the composition took place earlier—earlier, even, by centuries. Later we shall see that several of the epic poems were known to the Ugaritic writers in various recensions, which proves that the texts underwent a gradual process of development spread over a considerable period. In view of this, we shall not err if we state that the Ugaritic poems were composed approximately in the age of Israel's Patriarchs.

Obviously this Canaanite literature, which predates the earliest books of the Bible, has much to teach us regarding the characteristics of the Hebrew literary tradition. To this subject we shall devote the next chapter.

But as a preliminary step it is necessary to explain the symbols that we shall use in citing the texts. We shall employ symbols only for the mythological texts, and when we have occasion to quote from one of the remaining minor inscriptions, we shall indicate it by its number (if it is one of the texts discovered in 1929), or by some other designation that will suffice to identify it.

Ch. Virolleaud, who was the first to publish the Ugaritic writings, designated each of the mythological tablets, as we have seen, by a particular symbol. Most of the scholars who studied the texts subsequently, suggested other forms of identification, each one according to his predilection, and consequently considerable confusion was

<sup>15</sup> It will suffice to refer here to the texts in Ginsberg, *Kitbe Ugarit*, pp. 88–

92, and in Gordon's *Handbook*, p. 129, No. 2; p. 157, No. 107.

created. For the sake of simplicity it is undesirable to deviate from Virolleaud's sigla, even when we disagree with the reasons that gave rise to them. This is the course I adopted in all that I have previously written about the Ugaritic documents, both in Hebrew and in other languages, and I shall do the same in the present work.

In the following table are listed, in parallel columns, the symbols for all the mythological tablets as given by Virolleaud and by Gordon (*Ugaritic Handbook*):

| <i>Virolleaud</i> | <i>Gordon</i>   |
|-------------------|-----------------|
| I AB              | 49 + 62         |
| I* AB             | 67              |
| II AB             | 51              |
| III AB            | 68 + 129 + 137  |
| IV AB             | 76              |
| V AB              | 'nt             |
| VI AB             | 'nt pl. IV      |
| BH                | 75              |
| I D               | 1 Aqht          |
| II D              | 2 Aqht          |
| III D             | 3 Aqht          |
| IV D (= I Rp)     | 121             |
| I K               | Krt             |
| II K              | 125 + 126 + 127 |
| III K             | 128             |
| NK                | 77              |
| I Rp              | 121             |
| II Rp             | 122             |
| III Rp            | 123 + 124       |
| SS                | 52              |

The reader will be able to find, in accordance with Virolleaud's designations, a detailed bibliography for each tablet in R. de Langhe's comprehensive work.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>16</sup> R. de Langhe, *Les textes de Ras Shamra–Ugarit et leurs rapports avec le milieu biblique de l'Ancien Testament*, Gembloux, Paris 1945.

## CHAPTER

## 2

### THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN UGARITIC LITERATURE AND THE BIBLE\*

When we examine the initial stages of Biblical literature, we are struck by a fact that, at first, appears surprising: they do not give the impression of being ‘first steps’ or ‘first-fruits’, and they show no signs of experimental groping or of searching for techniques. On the contrary, they are perfected and polished writings, which bear witness to the existence of an artistic tradition that had evolved in the course of many centuries. But there was no time for such development in Israel’s history, since the first phase of Scriptural literature coincides with the inception of the nation’s life. This phenomenon calls for an explanation.

At the first blush, we might say that the Israelites learned the art of literary writing from the works available to them among the great nations in whose midst they dwelt, such as the Egyptians, on the one hand, and the Babylonians and Assyrians, on the other. It is, indeed, a fact that the basic elements of poetry, such as verse rhythm, sentence structure, and the special rules of parallelism, were the common heritage of all the nations of the ancient East; and even in prose the rhetorical forms and ways of expression were largely alike in all the literatures of these peoples. Hence it was possible to surmise that there occurred in antiquity a process not unlike that which took place in the Middle Ages, when the Jewish poets learned from their Arab neighbours the art of poesy in all its details—the laws of prosody, the structure and arrangement of poems, the choice of themes and the use of traditional motifs, the literary embellishments and images, and in less than half a century from the time that the Hebrew singers ‘began to chirp’ (to use the phrase of Abraham b. David), they had already attained a high and distinguished level of artistic perfection.

However, such a course of development appears feasible only at

\* I dealt at length with this subject in my Hebrew article ‘Biblical and Canaanite Literature’, *Tarbiz*, XIII (1942), pp. 197–212; *ibid.*, XIV (1943), pp. 1–10. Subsequently I published a supplementary article [Hebrew], ‘Corresponding words in Hebrew and Ugaritic’, in *Sepher Torczyner* [=

*Lešonénu*, XV] (1947), pp. 97–102. Here I summarize those articles and add some details that have since become clear to me.

the first glance. Deeper study leads us to the conclusion that Hebrew literature could not possibly have evolved in this manner, for three reasons:

(a) The languages of the peoples mentioned, to wit, Egyptian, Sumerian and Akkadian, were not known among the Israelites, except by a few outstanding individuals, and hence the writings of these nations were a closed book to the vast majority of the people of Israel; whereas in the Middle Ages the Jews, being inhabitants of Islamic countries, used Arabic as their everyday vernacular.

(b) It is difficult to imagine that the founders, prophets and poets of the religion of Israel deliberately took as their model the books of the gentile nations, which were almost wholly of a cultic character, or had at least some religious aspect; nor can any conclusions be drawn from the influence exerted on the Jewish poets by medieval Arabic poesy, for this influence emanated only from Arabic secular poetry and its effect was limited almost solely to non-religious Hebrew verse.

(c) The artistic heritage of Biblical literature is not confined to such matters as would be transmitted from one language to another, like the characteristics of poetry, for example, which I have mentioned above; it also comprises a linguistic tradition. Moreover the literary language appears in the earliest Hebrew writings in a fully developed state, having already crystallized its idioms and expressions, its forms and usages, its typical traits and qualities.

Consequently we must seek the explanation of this phenomenon in another direction. Now the problem is easily solved if we assume that the Bible is but a continuation of Canaanite literature, which antedates the former. Just as the Hebrew language is simply one of the dialects that grew from the ancient Canaanite stem, and just as it continues—with some dialectical differences that arose in the course of the ramification and development of the various Canaanite dialects in the second millennium B.C.E.—the oldest and most homogeneous Canaanite idiom,<sup>1</sup> so Hebrew literature is heir to the Canaanite literary tradition, which had already taken shape among the Canaanite-speaking populations before the people of Israel had come into being. This theory is not disproved by any of the three objections by which we refuted the first hypothesis. The first and third difficulties fall away since the language of the Canaanites and that of the Israelites were

<sup>1</sup> See the general survey by Albright in *BASOR*, No. 70 (April 1938), p. 21; Z. Harris, *The Development of the Canaanite Dialects*, New Haven, 1939.



essentially one. Nor does the second argument present a problem, since we do not assume that there was a deliberate process of imitation here, but natural and spontaneous literary continuity; not assimilation but development; not the acceptance of foreign influence; but the continued employment of linguistic expressions that were already in use both in religious and secular life. If this was the case, the reason for the artistic integrity of Biblical literature at its very inception is clear. The rules and techniques of literary expression had long ago been established in the ancient Canaanite dialects, and consequently when the Israelites came to express their thoughts for the first time in literary form, they had no need to fashion for themselves modes of expression. These were already to hand, and there was no difficulty in using them for the purpose of creating a new literature, new in its content and spirit, but continuing the old tradition in its linguistic form—new wine, as it were, in an old vessel.

The Ugaritic writings prove this. They are Canaanite literary works pertaining to a period anterior to the burgeoning of Israel's literature, and in them we actually find numerous features that are identical with those that characterize the Bible. It is evident, therefore, that these literary qualities are actually a heritage bequeathed both to the people of Ugarit and to the Israelites by the Canaanite tradition hailing from earliest antiquity.<sup>2</sup>

It will be of value to cite here the most interesting examples of these common characteristics. We shall not, of course, dwell on simple words or expressions, which have their origin in daily speech. If we find both in Ugaritic poetry and in the Bible words like 'ars—ארץ ['earth', 'land'], šn(y)m—שמים ['heavens'], r'iš—ראש ['head'], yd—יד ['hand'], ksp—כסף ['silver'], or even phrases like, špk dm—שפך דם ['shed blood'] or ntk 'ars—נטך ארצה ['poured upon the earth'], all these are of no importance to our purpose, since the vocabularies of two dialects belonging to the same linguistic group, like Hebrew and Ugaritic, naturally have many words in common. Of interest to us is the common use of literary expressions that emanate from a crystallized literary tradition; these we shall discuss in the following sections.

<sup>2</sup> In the echoes of the Canaanite hymnology that are discernible in the letters of El Amarna it is also possible to find parallels with Biblical literature, as I have already demonstrated in my aforementioned article in *Tarbiz* (XIV, p. 9).

## A. METAPHORICAL EXPRESSIONS

It is preferable to deal, first of all, with metaphors. A great many figurative expressions are used in identical form in Ugaritic and Biblical literature, and it is impossible to regard this fact as fortuitous. Here are a few examples:<sup>3</sup>

(1) Dissolving the couch with tears. In the Bible, Psalms vi 7 [E.V., v. 6]:  
אִשְׁחָה בְּכֹל לַיְלָה מִטָּתִי, בְּדַמְעוֹתַי עָרְשִׁי אֲמַסָּה – ‘Every night I make my bed to swim; I dissolve my couch with my tears’.

In Ugaritic writings, I K, 30–31: *tmh mšt mtth bm bkyh*–‘and his bed . . . was dissolved<sup>4</sup> by his weeping’.

(2) Drinking tears and being sated with weeping. In the Bible, Psalms xlii 4 [E.V., v. 3]: הַיּוֹתָה לִי דַמְעוֹתַי לֶחֶם – ‘My tears have been my food’; *ibid.*, lxxx 6 [E.V., v. 5]: שָׁלִישׁ הָאֲבִלָתָם לֶחֶם דַּמְעָה דַמְעָה וְתִשְׁקֹמוּ בְּדַמְעוֹתַי – ‘Thou hast fed them with the bread of tears, and given them tears to drink in full measure; *ibid.*, cii 10 [E.V., v. 9]: וְשִׁנְוִי בְּכַבִּי מִסִּבְתִּי – ‘and I mingled my drink with weeping’.

In the Ugaritic writings, I AB, 9–10: *tšb' bky tšt kyn 'udm't*–‘she was sated with weeping, drank tears like wine’.

(3) Counting of the months, in two different senses:

(a) Calculating the period of conception.

In the Bible, Job xxxix 2: תִּסְפֹּר יָרְחִים תִּמְלֹאנָה וְיָדַעְתָּ עַת לְדַתְנָה – ‘Can you number the months that they fulfil, and do you know the time that they bring forth?’

In the Ugaritic writings, II D, ii, 43–44: *ytb dn'il [ys] pr yrhh yks y[m] [mld]*–‘Danel sat and counted her months, and calculated the day of birth’.

(b) Calculating, generally, the time that has passed.

In the Ugaritic writings, II D, vi, 28–29 (when Anath promises Aqhat, the son of Danel, that he would live for ever): *'ašsprk 'm b'l šnt 'm bn 'il tspr yrhm*–‘I shall make thee count years with Baal, with the sons of El shalt thou count months’.

In the light of this usage, we can now understand why Job, when he cursed the day of his birth, used the words (Job iii 6): בְּמִסְפַּר יָרְחִים – ‘let it not come into the number of the months’. The phrase

<sup>3</sup> Additional examples will be found in my aforementioned article in *Tarbiz*, XIII, pp. 207–210.

<sup>4</sup> I have rendered this word in accordance with the meaning of the Aramaic stem אלהיבא [‘dissolve’].

‘number of the months’ can be understood only on the basis of the idiom ‘to count months’ in this ancient tradition.

(4) To descend to Sheol after a deceased son. In the Bible, Genesis xxxvii 35: **כִּי אָרַד אֵלַי בְּנִי אֲבֵל שֹׂאֵלָה** – ‘No, I shall go down to Sheol to my son, mourning’. In the Ugaritic writings, I\* AB, vi, 24–25 (when El, the father of the gods, is told that his son Baal is dead, he says): *’atr b’l ’ard b’ars* – ‘After Baal I shall descend into the earth’ (that is, into Sheol).<sup>5</sup>

(5) Death comes up into the windows. In the Bible, Jeremiah ix 20 [E.V., v. 21]: **כִּי עָלָה מוֹת בְּחַלּוֹנֵינוּ כִּאֲבָרְמֹנֹתֵינוּ** – ‘For death has come up into our windows, it has entered our palaces’. In the Ugaritic writings we find the key to this strange expression. In the Epic of Baal it is narrated that when Baal built his beautiful palace, he gave instructions at the beginning that no window should be opened therein, so that his enemy Mot (corresponding to the Hebrew **מוֹת**, ‘death’) should not be able to enter by way of the windows and kill his wives (II AB, v, 120–127; vi, 1–15); and only after he succeeded in defeating Mot decisively did he permit the windows to be opened (*ibid.* vii, 1–28). It appears that a traditional notion was current that Mot, in the sense of **מוֹת** ‘death’, was accustomed to enter houses through the windows.

(6) The appetite of Sheol (or of death) knows no satiety. In the Bible, Isaiah v 14: **לִבְנוֹ הִרְחִיבָה שְׂאוֹל נַפְשָׁהּ וּפְעֵרָהּ פִּיהָ לְבִלְי הַקַּיִן** – ‘There fore Sheol has enlarged its gorge and opened its mouth beyond measure’; Habakkuk ii 5: **כִּשְׂאוֹל נַפְשׁוֹ וְהוּא כְּמוֹת וְלֹא יִשְׂבַּע אֲשֶׁר הִרְחִיב** – ‘His gorge is as wide as Sheol; like death he has never enough’. So, too, in Proverbs xxx 15–16 Sheol occupies the first place among the three things that are never satisfied.

In the Ugaritic writings, Mot (= **מוֹת**, ‘death’) describes himself (I\* AB, i, 18–22) as one whose constant desire is to kill, to slay heaps upon heaps, and as one who eats with both his hands, and is served with seven portions, and a cup (of drink) [as big] as a pitcher.<sup>6</sup>

(7) The ‘freedom’ of the dead in Sheol. In the Bible, Psalm lxxxviii 6 [E.V., v. 5]: **בְּמֵתִים חֲפְזִי** – ‘free among the dead’;

<sup>5</sup> *Ersitu* in Akkadian sometimes signifies ‘Sheol’; so, too, does **אֲרִי** in the Bible (Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, Göttingen 1921, p. 18, n. 1). For my interpretation of this passage, see *Tarbiz*, XII, p. 180.

<sup>6</sup> This is how I explained the passage in the Mahler Jubilee Volume,

Budapest 1937, pp. 53–57; see the translation of the words of Mot below, in Chapter III.

Job iii 19: וְעַבְדֵי הַפֶּשֶׁי פְּאֲדָנָיו – ‘and the slave is free from his master’. In ii Kings xv 5 and ii Chronicles xxvi 21 there occurs the term *בית התפשית* – ‘house of freedom’ as a designation for a lazaret, but this usage cannot be satisfactorily explained unless we assume the existence of an ancient tradition that attributed ‘freedom’ to the dead. Thus *בית התפשית* signifies ‘the house of the dead’, Sheol, because a leper was accounted as one dead.

In Ugaritic *bt hptt* (= *בית התפשית*) is one of the by-names for Sheol (II AB, viii, 7; I\*AB, v, 15).

From all this it is manifest that no emendation is required in the aforementioned verse, Psalms lxxxviii 6 [E.V., v. 5] (various textual changes have been proposed: *נְקַשְׁלָתִי* [‘I am like’], *נִשְׁכַּחְתִּי* [‘I am forgotten’], *נִחְשַׁבְתִּי* [‘I am deemed’], *הִלַּשְׁתִּי* [‘I have become enfeebled’], *הִבְשַׁתִּי* [‘I have been bound up’, ‘enwrapped’], *הִשְׁבַּחְתִּי* [‘I have been reckoned’], *הוֹשַׁבְתִּי* [‘I have been made to dwell’], *נַפְשִׁי* [‘my soul’], and so forth). We now see that all these suggested amendments are unnecessary.

(8) ‘Sacrifices of strife’, in the sense of a feast full of quarreling. In the Bible, Proverbs xvii 1: ‘Better is a dry morsel with quiet than a house full of sacrifices of strife’.

In the Ugaritic writings (II AB, iii, 19–20), among the feasts that Baal hates is also mentioned *dbh dnt*, ‘a sacrifice of strife’ (*dnt* in the sense of the Hebrew *קָדוֹן* ‘strife’).

Further on in this volume, in my commentary on Tablet V AB, I shall refer to additional metaphorical expressions that occur both in Scripture and in the Ugaritic writings, namely (the sigla in square brackets indicate the number of the section and the verse in V AB):

(9) ‘Sucking the breasts’, in the sense of enjoying great pleasure of any kind [i, C].

(10) ‘Breaking of the loins’ [i. e. breaking of the heart] at evil tidings [iv, B].

(11) To bring someone down with blood to Sheol [v, O].

(12) ‘Portion of the cup’, in the sense of determination of one’s destiny [vi, S].

## B. SIMILES

If we find both in Hebrew and in Ugaritic general and simple similes, like that of the eagle to indicate high and powerful flight, or that of

the locust to express an infinite number, these parallels are valueless for our investigation. But sometimes a simile is characterized by a particular feature that can give the parallel a certain significance. The following are examples of this kind:

(1) To bite like a serpent. There are many animals that bite, yet the customary simile in Biblical literature is to bite like a serpent: ... הנשך עקבי סוס – 'Dan shall be a serpent in the way . . . that bites the horse's heels' (Gen. xlix 17); הנחש כאשר ינוס איש... ונשכו – 'as if a man fled . . . and a serpent bit him' (Amos v 19); אחריתו כנחש ישך – 'at the last it bites like a serpent' (Prov. xxiii 32). Nor is this all; the verb נשך is used in the Bible mostly in relation to the serpent (ten times out of twelve). Although it is possible that this usage was influenced by the phonetic similarity between the words, yet we must bear in mind that also in the Ugaritic texts the serpent typifies the biting creatures, even though in Ugaritic there is no assonance between the noun (*bṭn*) and the verb (*ntk*). Thus we read in I AB, vi, 19 with reference to the combat between Baal and Mot: *yntkn kbṭnm*—'and they bit [each other] like serpents'. It appears that we have here a literary tradition.

(2) To gore like wild oxen [or buffaloes]. Both in Hebrew and in Ugaritic, the wild ox occurs as a type of goring cattle. In Deuteronomy xxxiii 17: וקרני ראם קרניו קהם עטים יגנה יתרו אפס־ארץ – 'and his horns are the horns of a wild ox; with them he shall gore the peoples, all of them, to the ends of the earth'; and in the aforementioned Ugaritic tablet, *ibid.*, 17–18: *yngħn kr'umm*—'and they gored [each other] like wild oxen'. Here, too, it seems, a literary tradition is reflected.

(3) Similarly, mention must be made of the parallel, which several scholars have already pointed out, between the simile in Psalms xlii 2 [E.V., v. 1]: אפיקו סים על קאיל תערג על – 'as a hart longs for flowing streams', and the Ugaritic simile (I\* AB, i, 17): 'n ksd 'aylt—'a hart longs for a spring'.<sup>2</sup>

It should also be noted that both in Hebrew and in Ugaritic there sometimes occurs a series of several, consecutive similes. In Isaiah xxxii 2, for example, it is stated: בציון קצל קלע קבד בארץ ענפה והיה איש כטחבארות וסתר זרם, כפלגי סים – 'Each will be like a hiding place from the wind, a covert from the tempest, like streams of water in

<sup>2</sup> Possibly there is also to be found in Ugaritic the simile *זי כמות* 'strong as death', as in Canticles viii 6; see on this below, D (2).

a dry place, like the shade of a great rock in a weary land'. Similar examples are also found in other parts of Scripture, but there is no need to multiply the citations.<sup>8</sup> In Ugaritic the simile of the hart, which I have just mentioned, is only the last in the series of four similes. There likewise occurs a series of similes in Tablet III D, 24–25; *ibid.*, 36–37.<sup>9</sup>

### C. CORRELATED SYNONYMS

In conformity with the principle of parallelism, which is a feature of the poetry of the ancient East, two synonyms, as we know, usually occur in the two parallel parts of a verse. Gradually, certain words became permanently paired, that is, it became standardized usage that when a given word occurred in the first member of a poetic sentence a correlated synonym would be used in the second. Now a large number of such correlatives is common to both literatures; the number is so great that we find examples of them at every turn both in Biblical and in Ugaritic poetry.<sup>10</sup>

(1) Thus, for instance, אֶרֶץ-עָפָר, 'ground–dust' are frequently paired in the Bible. A Hebrew poet who introduced the word אֶרֶץ into the first line knew beforehand that he must use עָפָר in the second line, or, *vice versa*, if he started with עָפָר he had to conclude with אֶרֶץ. It will suffice to cite Psalms vii 6 [E.V., v. 5]: וְיִשָּׁג וְיִרְמַס לְאֶרֶץ הַיָּם, – וְקִבְדֵי לְעָפָר יִשְׁכֹּן סֵלָה. . . and overtake me, and let him trample my life to the ground, and lay my soul in the dust. Selah'; xliv 26 [E.V., v. 25]: כִּי שָׁחָה לְעָפָר נַפְשֵׁנוּ, דְּבַקָּה לְאֶרֶץ בְּסַנְנוּ – 'For our soul is bound down to the dust; our body cleaves to the ground'. This word-pair occurs no less than thirteen times in the Bible;<sup>11</sup> so large a number suffices to prove that the usage was firmly established.

An identical correlation is to be found also in Ugaritic poetry. My intention, however, is not to convey that there exists in Ugaritic

<sup>8</sup> Many other examples are given by Yellin, *L<sup>e</sup>-tôrath ha-m<sup>e</sup>lîsa ha-t<sup>e</sup>nakhîth*, in *K<sup>e</sup>thabhîm Nibhharîm*, 2, Jerusalem 1939, pp. 47–49.

<sup>9</sup> On the similes, see further my aforementioned article in *Tarbiz*, XIII, pp. 210–211.

<sup>10</sup> The existence of stereotyped pairs was established already by Ginsberg and Maisler [now Mazar], in *JPOS*, XIV (1934), pp. 248–249; Ginsberg, *Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society*, III (1935–1936), pp. 55–56 (Hebrew); *idem*, *JPOS*, XV (1935), p. 327. My treatment of the subject here is much fuller and shows how great is its range and significance.

<sup>11</sup> I cited all the examples in my aforementioned article in *Tarbiz*, XIV, p. 1.

poetry a pair of words whose meaning is equivalent to that of the Hebrew, but that the very same words occur in both languages—actually אר"י and עפר are used in Ugaritic just as in Hebrew (the same applies to the other correlatives that I shall cite subsequently). We shall come across a number of examples of the word-pair 'ars–'pr below, in Tablets V AB and VI AB, and these can be augmented by many other citations, for instance, III AB, i, 5: *l'ars ypl 'ulny wl'pr 'zm*—‘To the ground shall fall the strong, to the dust the mighty’; IV AB ii, 24–25: *nt'n b'ars 'iby wb'pr qm 'ahk*—‘We shall thrust into the ground my foes, and into the dust those who rise up against thy brother’; II D, i, 28–29: *ztr 'mh l'ars mšs'u qtrh l'pr*—‘who causes his seed to sprout from the earth, who brings forth his offspring from the dust’ (similarly in the parallel passages of II D).

(2) An even more common word-pair in the Bible is עולם [literally, ‘world’; rendered: ‘for ever’, ‘of old’, ‘everlasting’] and דור (דור) [‘every generation’, ‘all (many) generations’]. It occurs twenty-six times in the Hebrew books of the Bible,<sup>12</sup> and twice more in the Aramaic portion of the Book of Daniel.<sup>13</sup> It will suffice to give here a few examples: Exodus, iii 15: זה שמי לעולם וזה זכרי לדור דר – ‘this is My name for ever, and thus I am to be remembered throughout all generations’; Deuteronomy xxxii 7: זכר ימות עולם בינו שנות דר ודר – ‘Remember the days of old, consider the years of many generations’; Isaiah lviii 12: דור ודור תקומם – ‘And your ancient ruins shall be rebuilt; you shall raise up the foundations of many generations’; Psalms cxlv 13: מלכותך מלכות קלי עלמים, וממשיךך: בקל-דור ודור – ‘Thy kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and Thy dominion endures throughout all the generations’; and so forth.

Examples in Ugaritic: III, AB, i, 10: *tqh mlk 'lmk drkt dr drk* – ‘Thou wilt take thine eternal kingdom, thine everlasting dominion’, a verse that is very similar to Psalms cxlv 13 (cited above), and to Daniel iii 33, iv 31; IV AB, iii, 6–7: *k qnyn 'lm k dr dr dyknn*—‘For he that made us is for ever, he that established us is for all generations’.

(3) The word-pair פה-שפתים, ‘mouth-lips’ occurs in the Bible twenty-four times.<sup>14</sup> Examples are: Psalms lxvi 14: בער לי אשר פני שפתי ודברתי – ‘that which my lips uttered, and my mouth promised when

<sup>12</sup> I cited all the passages in *Tarbiz, ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>13</sup> Cited *ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> I have quoted all the examples in *Lešonénu*, XV, p. 100.



I was in trouble’; *ibid.* cxli 3: שִׁתָּה הַ שְׁמֵרָה לְפִי, נִצְרָה עַל־דַּל שְׁפָתַי – ‘Set a guard over my mouth, O Lord, keep watch over the door of my lips’; Proverbs x 32: רְשָׁעִים תִּהְפְּכוּת – ‘The lips of the righteous know what is acceptable, but the mouth of the wicked what is perverse’. In Ugaritic: NK, 45–47: *hn bpy sprhn bšpty mnthn*–‘Behold their number is in my mouth, their total on my lips’; I D, 75: *bph rgm lys’a bšpth* [*hwt*]–‘speech went forth from his mouth, utterance from his lips’; and other examples of the same kind.

(4) ראש-קרקד , ‘head-crown of the head (pate)’. In the Bible, Genesis xix 26: תִּהְיוּ לְרֹאשׁ יוֹסֵף וְלִקְרָקֵד גִּזְרֵי אֶחָיו – ‘may they be on the head of Joseph, and on the crown of the head of the prince among his brothers’; Deuteronomy xxxiii 16: וְלִקְרָקֵד גִּזְרֵי אֶחָיו תִּבְוֹאֶתָה לְרֹאשׁ יוֹסֵף. – ‘Let these come upon the head of Joseph, and upon the crown of the head of him that is prince among his brothers’; Psalms vii 17 [E.V., v. 16]: וְשׁוֹב עֲקָלוֹ בְּרֹאשׁוֹ, וְעַל־קְרָקְדוֹ הִסְסוּ יָרֵד – ‘His mischief returns upon his own head, and on the crown of his head his violence descends’; *ibid.*, lxviii 22 [E.V., v. 21]: וַיִּשְׁחַן רֹאשׁ אֲבִיבִי, קְרָקֵד שְׁעַר סִתְהַלֵּךְ בְּאֲשָׁמָיו אֲדֵי־אֱלֹהִים – ‘But God will shatter the heads of his enemies, the hairy pate of him who walks in his guilty ways’.

In Ugaritic, I\* AB, vi, 14–16: *ysq ‘mr ’un lr’išh ‘pr ptt lqdqdh*– ‘He poured ashes of mourning upon his head, dust of sprinkling upon the crown of his head’; II D, vi, 37: *lr’iš . . . lzt qdqdy*–‘on my head . . . on top of the crown of my head’; II K, vi, 55–57: *ytbr hrn . . . r’išk ‘ttrt šm b’l qdqdk*–‘May Horon break . . . thy head, Astarte Name (?)– of–Baal thy pate’ (so, too, now in the new text No. 137 in Gordon, *ibid.*, lines 7–8).

(5) יְמִינָה לְהַלְמוֹת עֲמָלִים , ‘hand–right hand’. In the Bible, Judges v 26: וָדָה לְיָמֵד תִּשְׁלַחְנָה, – ‘She put her hand to the tent peg and her right hand to the workman’s mallet’; Isaiah xlviii 13: אִף יָדֵי וָסֵדָה אֲרִץ וְיְמִינִי סִפְפָה שָׁמַיִם – ‘My hand laid the foundation of the earth, and my right hand spread out the heavens’; Psalms xxvi 10: אֲשֶׁר בְּיָדֵיהֶם זָמָה, וְיְמִינָם מְלֹאָה שָׂחָד – ‘men in whose hands are evil devices, and whose right hands full of bribes; so, too, Psalms lxxiv 11; lxxxix 14 [E.V., v. 13]; cxxxviii 7; cxxxix 10 (also xci, 7, according to those who read, סִנְדָּד [‘at your hand’] instead of סִעְדָּד [‘at your side’]).

In Ugaritic, II AB, ii, 3–4: *’ahdt plkh [bdh] plk qlt bymnh*–‘She took hold of her distaff with her hand, she shook the distaff with her right hand’; *ibid.*, vii, 40–41: *’n b’l qdm ydh ktgś ‘arz bymnh*

‘Answer ye Baal, come to meet his hand, draw near to the cedar in his right hand’; IV AB, ii, 6–7; *qšthn ’ahd bydh qs’ th bm ymnh*—‘he took hold of his bow with his hand, his arrows with his right hand’; I D, 216: *ks bdy qb’t bymny*—‘a cup from my hand, a bowl from my right hand’; *ibid.*, 217–218: [*ks*] *bdh qb’t bymnh*—‘a cup from his hand, a bowl from his right hand’; I K, 66–67: *qh ’im[r byd] ’imr d[bh bm] ymn*—‘take a lamb in the hand, a lamb for the sacrifice in the right hand’; II K, i, 41–42: *qh tpk byd [ ]r [t]k bm ymn*—‘take thy timbrel in the hand, thy [ ] in the right hand’; *ibid.*, 47–48: [*m*] *rhh y’ihd byd [ ]rgrh bm ymn*—‘he took hold of his spear with the hand, of his javelin with the right hand’; III K, ii, 16–18: *’il ks y’ihd [b]yd krpn bm [ymn]*—‘El took a cup in his hand, a bowl in his right hand’. Compare also VI AB, ii, 24–25.

(6) *כסף-הריון*, ‘silver-gold’. Instead of the word *זהב* [‘gold’], which is common in Hebrew, there sometimes occurs in Biblical poetry the word *הריון* which is usual in Ugaritic (*hrs*). It is of particular interest that whenever the word *הריון* occurs in the Bible, it is invariably found in parallelism with the word *כסף* which accords exactly with the regular practice in Ugaritic poesy. Apparently, the ancient substantive *הריון* gradually fell into disuse among the Israelites in their ordinary speech, but nevertheless survived in their midst, too, as a poetic expression used in parallelism with *כסף*; traditional usage demanded that *הריון* should be the parallel to *כסף*. In Proverbs this word-pair occurs no less than four times (iii 14: *ומהריון תבואתה כי טוב סתרה מסתור כסף*—‘For the gain from it is better than gain from silver and its profit better than gold’; viii 10: *קחו מוסרי ואל-כסף, ודעת*—‘Take my instruction instead of silver, and knowledge rather than choice gold’; *ibid.*, v. 19: *נכסף נבחר טוב פריי מהריון ומפז, ותבואתי*—‘My fruit is better than gold, even fine gold, and my yield than choice silver’; xvi 16: *מהריון, וקנות בינה*—‘To get wisdom how much better than gold; to get understanding is to be chosen rather than silver’). Further examples will be found in Zechariah ix 3; Psalms lxxviii 14 [E.V., v. 13]. In Ugaritic poetry the occurrence of the word-pair *ksp-hrs* is so common that it would be superfluous to quote here all the examples. It will suffice to mention that in the portion left of Tablet II AB it occurs not less than nine times.

(7) *אהלים-משכנות*, ‘tents–dwelling (–places)’. In the Bible, Numbers xxiv 5: *מהיטבו אהליך ועקב, משכנתיך ישראל*—‘How fair are your tents, O Jacob, your dwelling-places, O Israel!’; Isaiah liv 2: *תרהיבי*

קקום אהלה, ויריעות משכנותיך ומו אל־תחשכי – ‘enlarge the place of your tent, and let the curtains of your dwelling-places be stretched out; hold not back’; Jeremiah xxx 18: ארחם הנני שב שבות אהלי יעקוב, ומשכנתיו – ‘Behold, I will restore the fortunes of the tents of Jacob, and have compassion on his dwellings’; compare also Job xxi 28: ואיה אהל משכנות רשעים – ‘Where is the tent in which the wicked dwelt’ [literally, ‘the tent of the dwellings of the wicked’]. This apart, the verb שכן [‘to dwell’] is found in parallelism with אהל in Psalms xv 1; lxxviii 60.

In Ugaritic poetry, II D, v, 31–33: *tb‘ tr l’ahlh hyn tb‘ lmšknth*–‘*Ktr* departed for his tents, *Hyn* for his dwellings’; III K, iii, 18–19: *t’ity ’ilm l’ahlhm dr ’il lmšknthm*–‘the gods proceeded to their tents, the congregation of El to their dwellings’.

(8) חלב-קמח, ‘milk–curd’. In the Bible, Deuteronomy xxxii 14: וחלב צאן הקריבה קמח – ‘Curds from the herd, and milk from the flock’; Judges v 25: הקריבה קמח – ‘He asked water and she gave him milk, she brought him curds in a lordly bowl’ (compare also Gen. xviii 8; Prov. xxx 33).

In Ugaritic poetry, SS 14: *tb[h g]d bhlb ’annh bhm’at*–‘Coo[k a ki]d in milk, a lamb in curd’ (see also below H, 4).

(9) כוס-קבעת cup-bowl. In the Bible, Isaiah li 17: התרעלה שתית כצית אשר שתית – ‘you who have drunk at the hand of the Lord the cup of his wrath, who have drunk to the dregs the bowl of staggering’; *ibid.*, v. 22: מנדרך את־כוס התרעלה את־קבעת כוס הקתי לא תוסיפי לשתותה עוד הנה לקחתי – ‘Behold, I have taken from your hand the cup of staggering; the bowl of My wrath you shall drink no more’.

In Ugaritic poetry, see the examples from Tablet I D, cited above, with reference to the word-pair יד-ימין [‘hand–right hand’], § (5).

(10) שנה-גורף, ‘year-go around (circuit)’. In the Bible, Isaiah xxix i: ספו שנה על שנה, הגים ונקפו – ‘Add year to year; let the feasts go around’.

In Ugaritic poetry, BH, ii, 45–46: *šb‘ šnt ’il ml’a wtmn nqpt ’d*– ‘Seven years did El complete, eight circuits still’; similarly SS, 66–67: *šb‘ šnt tmt tmn nqpt ’d*–‘seven whole years, eight circuits still’. Possibly the word ‘*d*’, which I have rendered here ‘still’ [Hebrew, עוד], is to be understood differently, in the sense of the Arabic word *عيد* that is, ‘feast’, in which case the phrase would mean ‘the going round of the feasts’, exactly as in Isaiah xxix 1.



(11) אֶל תִּשְׁתַּע כִּי־אֲנִי אֱלֹהֶיךָ נִרְא-שָׁתַע (11) ‘fear-be dismayed’. In the Bible, Isaiah xli 10: אֶל תִּשְׁתַּע כִּי־אֲנִי אֱלֹהֶיךָ נִרְא-שָׁתַע – ‘fear not, for I am with you, be not dismayed for I am your God’; *ibid.*, v. 23: וְנִשְׁתַּעַה וְנִרְא יַחְדָּי (the second word according to the *kethibh*)–‘that we may be dismayed and afraid together’. Ginsberg<sup>15</sup> already had drawn attention to the correspondence between these verses and the Ugaritic sentences cited immediately below, and to the correctness of the view that we have here not the *Hithpa’el* of the verb שָׁתַע, but the *Qal* of שָׁתַע. Now the verb שָׁתַע has also been found in the Phoenician inscriptions of King Azitawadda, which were discovered and published in recent years.

In the Ugaritic texts, I AB, vi, 30–31: *yr’ubn ’ilm mt tt’ ydd ’il gZR*–‘Afraid was godly Mot, dismayed was the beloved, the mighty god’; \*I AB, ii, 6–7: *yr’a ’un ’al’iyn b’l tt’ nn rkb ’rpt*–‘Afraid was the mighty Aliyn Baal, dismayed was the son, the rider of clouds’.

(12) בֵּי-בִקְרֵב (12) ‘in, among–within, in the midst of’. In the Bible, Micah, v 7 [E.V. v. 8]: וְהָיָה שְׂאֵרִית יִשְׂרָאֵל וְעַקֵּב בְּנֵיָם, בְּקִרְבַּ עַמִּים רַבִּים – ‘And the remnant of Jacob shall be among the nations, in the midst of many peoples’, etc.

In Ugaritic this pair of prepositions occurs a number of times. For example: II AB, v, 75–76: *sh hrn bbhtk ’šbt bqrb hklk*–‘Call caravans in thy house, companies in the midst of thy palace’; *ibid.*, v, 123–124: *bl ’ašt ’urbt bbh[tm] hln bqrb hklm*–‘Behold, I shall make a window in the houses, a casement within the palaces’; *ibid.*, 126–127: *’al tšt ’urbt b[bhtm] [hl]n bqrb hk[lm]*–‘Make not a window in the houses, a casement within the palaces’ (and repetitions *ibid.*, in the continuation); IV AB, ii, 4–5: *’in b’l bbht(t) ’il hd bqrb hklh*–‘Baal is not in his house, Hadd is not within his palace’; II D, i, 26–27: *wykn bnh bbt šrš bqrb hklh*–‘His son was in his house, his offspring in the midst of his palace’; and there are many similar examples.<sup>16</sup> Incidentally, it should be noted that the phrase commonly found in Ugaritic, ‘in the midst of thy palace’, ‘in the midst of his palace’, and the like, also occurs in the Bible (Psalms xlvi 10 [E.V., v. 9]: דַּמִּינוּ אֱלֹהִים חֲסֵדְךָ בְּקִרְבַּ הַיְכָלְךָ – ‘We have thought on Thy steadfast love, O God, in the midst of Thy temple [= palace]’).

I shall deal with other correlatives of this kind in detail in my commentary on Tablet V AB, in the continuation of this volume;

<sup>15</sup> *BJPES*, III (1935–1936), p. 55–56; *Kitbe Ugarit*, p. 49.

<sup>16</sup> See the list I have cited in *Tarbiz*, XIV, p. 6.



here it will suffice to list them (the sigla in square brackets indicate the section [Roman numeral] and the verse [capital letter] of Tablet V AB):

- (13) אֶלֶף-רִבְבָה *'alp-rbt*, 'a thousand–ten thousand' [I G].
- (14) אָדָם-לְאוּם *'adm-l'im*, 'mankind–people' [II D].
- (15) בֵּית-הַיִּקְבֵּל *bt-hkl*, 'house–palace' [II I]. See also above, No. (12).
- (16) בֵּית-הַחֲצַר *bt-hzr*, 'house–court' [V K].
- (17) יָדַיִם-אֶצְבָּעוֹת *'yd-'usb't*, 'hand–fingers' [II Q–R].
- (18) טַל-רִבִּיבִים *tl-rbb*, 'dew–rain' [II T–U].
- (19) שְׁעִירִים-רִבִּיבִים *šr'-rbb*, 'showers–rain' [latter *ibid.*; see note *ad loc.*]
- (20) קִדְשׁ-נֶעֱמ *qdš-n'm*, 'sanctuary–pleasance' [III N].
- (21) אֹיֵב-צָר, צוֹרֵר, צָרָה *'ib-srt*, 'enemy-adversary, vexer, group of adversaries' [IV F].
- (22) אֹיֵב-קָם *'ib-qm*, 'enemy–those who rise up' [former *ibid.*, see note on *srt*].
- (23) עָנָה-הַשִּׁיב *'ny|w-[Š]twb*, 'to answer–to reply' [IV Y].
- (24) אָב-בִּוּנוֹ *'ab-[L]kwn*, 'father–beget' [V I].
- (25) רָגַהּ-בִּוּנוֹ *qny-[L]kwn*, 'to create–to beget' [latter *ibid.*; see note *s.v. dyknnh*].
- (26) מֶלֶךְ-שׁוֹפֵט *mlk-tpt*, 'king–ruler' [VI R].

It is possible to add many more word-pairs to the above list, such as: (27) קָם-הִתְעוֹדֵד *qwm-[tL?]'dd*, 'to arise–to awake'; (28) יָרַד-יָשָׁב *yrd-ytb*, 'go down–sit' (as a sign of mourning); (29) בָּקָה-דָּמַע *bky-dm'*, 'weep–shed tears'; (30) נָתַן-שָׁלַח *ytn-šlh*, 'to give–to send'; (31) אָח-בְּנוֹתָם *'ah-bn 'um*, 'brother–son of mother'; (32) דוּדִים-אַהֲבָה *dd-'ahbt*, 'affection–love'; (33) דִּין-שֹׁפֵט *dn-tpt*, 'judgement–to judge, rule'; (34) חַיִּים-אַלְמוּת *hym-blmt*, 'life –immortality'; (35) שָׂמַח-גִּיל *šmh-gyl*, 'rejoice–exult'; (36) שָׂמַח-צֹהַל *šmh-shl*, 'rejoice–glow [as a sign of joy]'; (37) שָׁמַע-בִּין *šm'-byn*, 'to hear–understand'; (38) שְׂפָתַיִם-לְשׁוֹן *špt-lšn*, 'lips–tongue'; (39) יָגַק-מִצִּוֹן *ynq-mss*, 'to suck'; etc. The list could be considerably extended, if we

were to add word-pairs which form so natural a parallelism as to be insufficient in themselves to prove the existence of a literary tradition (such as, רָעֵב-צָמָא *rgb—gm*, ‘to be hungry—to be thirsty’, כִּסֵּא-הָרִים *ks’u—hdm*—‘chair, throne— footstool’, and the like), and word-pairs that have the same meaning in Hebrew and Ugaritic, but not the same stem, for example: יָפֵה-יָעִם [‘beautiful—pleasant’] in Hebrew; *ysm—n’m* [‘beautiful—pleasant,

lovely'] in Ugaritic. But there is no need to prolong the list, except to add that the two literatures contain not only identical pairs of single words but also pairs of composite expressions. I shall deal with one of them later on in my commentary on V AB, namely, the pair (40) שָׁל הַשָּׁמַיִם (ט) שְׁמַי הָאָרֶץ -[t]l šmm–šmn 'ars [II T].

#### D. STEREOTYPED ATTRIBUTIES AND TERMS

Another phenomenon testifying to the tradition that both Ugaritic and Biblical literature have in common is the fact that many terms and attributives that normally constitute a permanent feature in one of the two literatures in respect of a given subject, are used relative to the same theme in the other literature, too.<sup>17</sup>

(1) Thus, for instance, the Ugaritic poets are accustomed to apply to lapis gems ('iqn'im) the adjective *zhrm* ('pure', i. e. shining). In the Bible the abstract noun טָהוֹר ['purity'] occurs in parallelism with כַּפִּיר ['sapphire', 'lapis lazuli'], as expressing the characteristic quality of the latter (Exodus xxiv 10): לִבְנֵי הַסַּפִּיר, וְכַעֲזָם הַשָּׁמַיִם לְטָהוֹר וְתַחַת רַגְלָיו כְּסַעֲשָׂה – 'and under His feet there was the likeness of a pavement of lapis lazuli, like the very sky for purity'.

(2) In one of the Ugaritic letters, a letter addressed to 'iwršr, there occurs the sentence: *w yd 'ilm p kmtm 'z m'id*. The meaning of the sentence is disputed. Ginsberg and Maisler [now, Mazar]<sup>18</sup> translated it: 'And thou shalt love the gods here like death, exceeding strong', providing a surprising parallel to Canticles viii 6: 'for love is strong as death'. However, this rendering is doubtful; according to Albright and others<sup>19</sup> the translation should be: 'And the hand of the gods is here, for death is very strong'. This is not the place to discuss the correct meaning of these words, but it is at all events clear that the adjective 'z ['strong'] is applied here to 'death' as its characteristic attributive, precisely as in the passage cited above from Canticles. In addition, one may mention in this connection the proper noun עִזְקוֹרָה, the name of one of David's warriors and of other Israelites (ii Samuel xxiii, 31; i Chronicles viii, 36; ix, 42; xxvii 25), and the name, too, of a place near to Jerusalem (Nehemiah xii 29;

<sup>17</sup> See my aforementioned article in *Tarbiz*, *ibid.*, pp. 209–210, 211–212.

<sup>18</sup> *JPOS*, XIV (1934), pp. 243, 249; *Kitbe Ugarit*, pp. 93–95.

<sup>19</sup> Albright, *BASOR*, 54 (1934), p. 26; 82 (1936), p. 47; similarly Dhorme, *Syria*, XIV (1933), p. 235; Gordon, *Orientalia* XII (1943), pp. 72–73. See the bibliography cited by De Langhe, I, pp. 175–176.



Ezra ii 24), which is also called (Nehemiah vii 28) <sup>20</sup>בֵּית עֲזָקוֹת.

(3) Regarding other expressions found in the Bible relative to *מָוֶת* [‘death’], which correspond to Ugaritic expressions applied to Mot, such as death coming up into the windows (Jeremiah ix 20 [E.V., v. 21]), or death’s appetite not knowing satiety (Isaiah v 14; Habakkuk ii 5), see my observations above, A, (5), (6).

(4) When the Ugaritic poets wish to relate that someone was riding on an ass, they customarily say that he was riding on *ysmsmt* [or *ysmsm*] *bmt phl*–‘the beauty of the back of the ass’.<sup>21</sup> Possibly an echo of this literary usage is to be found in Hosea x 11: *וְאֲנִי עֲבַרְתִּי עַל־טוֹב צֹאנֶיהָ, אֲרִכִּיב אֶפְרַיִם ... וְאֶפְרַיִם* – ‘Ephraim was a trained heifer . . . and I spared her fair neck [literally: ‘the goodness of her neck’]; but I will put Ephraim to the yoke’, etc.

(5) In the accounts of the wars of the gods given in the Ugaritic poems, the verbs *mhs* [‘to smite, slay’], *hsb* [‘to fight, slay’], *smt* [‘to destroy’] which signify the blows struck by the gods against their foes, are very common, and a number of examples of their use are to be found in the Tablet V AB, which tells of the battles waged by the goddess Anath, as we shall see later. In my notes to these passages I shall indicate the analogous use of these verbs (*עָצַת, הָצַב, מָחָו*) in Biblical Hebrew to connote the actions of God when smiting ‘the prince of the sea’, who rebelled against Him, or wicked human beings who are compared to the rebellious sea.

(6) Another term that very frequently occurs in Hebrew literature in connection with the sea’s submission to the Creator is the verb *נָעַר* ‘to rebuke’. In Psalms civ 7, in allusion to the story of Creation, it is written: *כִּן-קוֹל רַעֲמֵד יִחַפְּזוּן* – ‘At Thy rebuke they [the waters of the deep] fled; at the sound of Thy thunder they took to flight’ (the sense is that, by the thunder of His voice, the Lord uttered His rebuke to the waters of the sea, which had rebelled against Him, seeking to cover the whole earth, and they yielded to Him, and confined themselves within the boundaries that He had determined for them). Similarly, the expression ‘rebuke’ occurs a number of times in allusion to the sundering of the Sea of Reeds, which re-enacts the miracles that occurred at the dawn of history,

<sup>20</sup> It is possible that the place was called after a Canaanite shrine, dedicated to the god Mot = *מָוֶת* that stood there.

<sup>21</sup> See the texts and their interpretation in my essay in the *J.N. Epstein Jubilee Volume*, Jerusalem 1950 (= *Tarbiz XX*), pp. 1–7.

or to the subjugation of the enemies of the Lord and of Israel, who are compared to the rebellious waters of the sea: Isaiah xvii 13: וְנָעַר בּוֹ וְנָס כְּסִרְחָק – ‘but He will rebuke them, and they will flee far away’ (the comparison with the sea is made in the preceding verse and at the beginning of this verse); *ibid.*, l 2: לְהָשִׁיב בְּחֶמְדָּה – ‘Behold, by my rebuke I dry up the sea’; *ibid.* lxvi 15: אַפּוֹ, וְנִגְעַרְתּוּ בְּלִהְבֵי אֵשׁ – ‘to render His anger in fury, and His rebuke with flames of fire’; Nahum i 4: נֹעַר בַּיָּם וַיְבַשְׁהוּ – ‘He rebukes the sea and makes it dry’; Zechariah iii 2: . . . יְנַעַר ה' בְּדֵ הַשָּׂטָן . . . – ‘The Lord rebuke you, O Satan’, etc. (Satan symbolizes Israel’s enemies); Psalms ix 6 [E.V., v. 5]: נִגְעַרְתָּ גּוֹיִם אַבְרָתָה רָשָׁע – ‘Thou hast rebuked the nations, Thou hast destroyed the wicked’; *ibid.*, xviii 16 [E.V., v. 15]: . . . , וַיֵּרְאוּ אַפְיָיו מַיִם . . . מְנַעַרְתָּד ה. . . – ‘Then the channels of the waters were seen (i. e. the waters were dispersed and the bottom of the sea became visible; in ii Samuel xxii 16: אַפְיָיו יָם – ‘the channels of the sea) . . . from [= at] Thy rebuke, O Lord’, etc. (in ii Samuel xxii 16 ה' בְּנִגְעַרְתָּ ה' – ‘by [= at] the rebuke of the Lord’); *ibid.*, lxxviii 31 [E.V., v. 30]: נִעַר חַיֵּי הַקֶּנֶה – ‘Rebuke the beasts that dwell among the reeds’; *ibid.*, lxxvi 7 [E.V. v. 6]: מְנַעַרְתָּד אֱלֹהֵי יַעֲקֹב נִרְדָּם וְרֹכֵב וְסוּס – ‘At Thy rebuke, O God of Jacob, both rider and horse lay stunned’; *ibid.*, cvi 9: וַיִּנְעַר בַּיָּם יוֹתָרְב – ‘He rebuked the Sea of Reeds, and it became dry’; *ibid.*, cxix 21: נִגְעַרְתָּ זָדִים אָרוּרִים – ‘Thou didst rebuke the insolent, accursed ones’; Job xxvi 11: מְנַעַרְתּוּ עַמּוּדֵי שָׁמַיִם יִרְאָפוּ וַיִּתְמָחוּ – ‘The pillars of heaven tremble, and are astounded at His rebuke’. We also find similar statements in post-Biblical Hebrew literature relative to the insurgent sea. See, for example, B. Hagiga 12 a: ‘until the Holy One, blessed be He, rebuked it, and caused it to dry up’; Pirque de R. Eliezer, V: ‘until the Holy One, blessed be He, rebuked them and scolded them and put them beneath the soles of his feet’. Undoubtedly we have here an ancient and stereotyped literary usage. Now we observe that this tradition is reflected also in Ugaritic poetry. In the story of the war waged by Baal against the Prince of the Sea the verb *g'r* [‘rebuke’] serves to describe Baal’s action (III AB ii 24), and it occurs again in the same narrative in an obscure verse that is difficult to explain in detail (III AB i 28).

(7) In the Bible the adjective רָבָה [‘great’] is found a number of times in conjunction with the word תְּהוֹם [‘deep’]. It is written in Genesis vii 11, in a verse of poetic character: כָּל-מַעְיָנוֹת תְּהוֹם רָבָה – ‘all the fountains of the great deep’; in Amos vii 4: רָבָה וַתֹּאכַל אֶת-תְּהוֹם – ‘and it devoured the great deep’; similarly in Psalms xxxvi 7

[E.V., v. 6]: טַשְׁפֹּטִיךָ תְהוּם רָבָה – ‘Thy judgements are like the great deep’; *ibid.*, lxxviii 15: וַיִּשַׁק בְּתַהוֹמוֹת רָבָה<sup>22</sup> – ‘and gave them to drink abundantly as from the great deep’. There is something strange about the use of the attributive רָבָה in the Hebrew idiom in the sense of ‘great’. Although in Hebrew, too, the adjective רַב sometimes has the meaning ‘great’, yet mostly it is used to signify a large number or a multiplicity of parts that constitute a whole, while the adjective גָּדוֹל (‘big, great’) serves to denote greatness of size. The latter is especially applied to יָם the ‘sea’, which is synonymous with תְּהוֹם, ‘the deep’ (for example, Psalms civ 25: זֶה תֵּיִם גָּדוֹל וְרָחֵב יָרִים – ‘Yonder is the sea, great and wide’; Lamentations ii 13: כִּי־גָדוֹל כָּנָם שִׁבְרֶךָ – ‘For vast as the sea is your ruin’); in this sense [i. e., to denote ‘great sea’] it would not be possible to say in Hebrew יָם רַב. The reverse obtains in Ugaritic, where the attributive *rb* normally has the meaning ‘great’; we must conclude, therefore, that we have here an old Canaanite usage. Although the expression *thm rbt* has not been found in the Ugaritic texts published so far, it appears probable that this phrase was in common use among the Canaanites.

#### E. STEREOTYPED FORMULAS

In Ugaritic epic-poetry, as in general in the epic poetry of all nations, there exists an abundance of set expressions that recur in identical form whenever the poet reverts to a given theme, situation or action. Thus, for example, if the *ipsissima verba* of someone are quoted, they are introduced by a stereotyped formula; when it is narrated that a certain person saw something new before him, or someone else standing beside him, a set phrase is employed; similarly there are fixed formulas to describe a meal, or a person’s journey from one place to another, and the like.

Apparently, the same obtained also among the Israelites. Although we possess at present no example of Israelite epic poetry, it may be assumed with certainty, as I showed in my Hebrew essay on ‘The Epic Poetry of Israel’ [‘*Šîrat ha-‘Alîla be-Yîsra’el*’],<sup>23</sup> that among the Israelites, too, this literary category was widely current in antiquity. Nor can it be doubted that also in Israelite epic poesy stereotyped

<sup>22</sup> The word has a singular sense; see Tur-Sinai [formerly, Torczyner], *Ha-Lašôn w<sup>e</sup>-ha-Sëpher*, I, pp. 182–183.

<sup>23</sup> In *K<sup>e</sup>neseth*, dedicated to the memory of H. N. Bialik, VIII (1943–1944), pp. 121–142. See further on this subject my observations at the end of Ch. III of this Introduction.



expressions were common, and that many of them were similar to, or even identical with, the formulas that we now find in Ugaritic poetry.

Proof of this is to be seen in the expressions that occur in Biblical narrative prose. In the history of the literatures of most peoples the initial development of literary prose emerges, as a rule, later than poetry and follows in its footsteps, and the earliest prose evinces most traces of its origin in the poetic works that preceded it. Particularly in the language of ancient narrative prose there are often to be heard echoes of expressions that frequently occur in the antecedent epic poetry. For example, in the inaugural phase of Greek historical prose, in the language of the logographers and of Herodotus, we find a number of indications of the continuance of usages that are of common occurrence in Greek epic poetry. The same phenomenon (to cite another instance) obtains in French literature of the Middle Ages. The first French historians, like Villehardouin, still use phrases that were current in the French epos. Now in Biblical narrative prose we encounter set locutions that are to be regarded as a continuation and development of conventional expressions that were commonly employed in ancient Israelite epic poetry, and which resemble the formulas normally found in Ugaritic epic poetry. I have already given in my aforementioned article in Tarbiz,<sup>24</sup> and in other articles, examples of these locutions; here I shall indicate a few of them.

(1) Often we find in the Bible the expression וַיִּשָּׂא עֵינָיו וַיִּרְא he lifted up his eyes and looked [or, saw]’, when the intention is to state that so-and-so saw someone or something new. For example: וַיִּשָּׂא עֵינָיו וַיִּרְא וְהִנֵּה שְׁלֹשָׁה אַנְשִׁים נֹכְדִים עָלָיו – ‘And he lifted up his eyes and looked, and behold, three men stood in front of him’ (Genesis xviii 2); וַיִּשָּׂא עֵינָיו וַיִּרְא וְהִנֵּה נְמָלִים בָּאִים – ‘and he lifted up his eyes and looked, and behold, there were camels coming’ (*ibid.*, xxiv 63); עֵינֶיהָ וַתִּרְא אֶת־יִצְחָק – ‘And Rebekah lifted up her eyes, and saw Isaac’ (*ibid.*, v. 64); סִגְלָעַר וַיִּשָּׂאוּ עֵינֵיהֶם וַיִּרְאוּ וְהִנֵּה אַרְבַּת יִשְׁמַעֲאֵלִים בָּאָה – ‘and they lifted up their eyes and saw a caravan of Ishmaelites coming from Gilead’ (*ibid.*, xxxvii 25); אֶת־בְּנִימִן אָחִיו – ‘And he lifted up his eyes, and saw his brother Benjamin, his mother’s son’ (*ibid.*, xliii 29); and the list could still be considerably amplified. This expression is, therefore, a stereotyped Biblical locution, which always occurs in the same form, even when there is no specific reason for lifting up the eyes; it represents a kind of fossilized linguistic

<sup>24</sup> Vol. XIII, pp. 199–203.



formula that tends at times to puzzle the reader, who encounters it so often without variation. Without doubt we have here before us a residual element of the ancient epic idiom. Now we see that a similar phrase is commonly found in such cases in Ugaritic epic poetry.<sup>25</sup> Mostly it takes the form: *bnš'i 'nh wyphn* (or, in the feminine: *bnš'i 'nh wtphn*), which means precisely: 'On lifting up his eyes he saw, or, on lifting up her eyes she saw'. Sometimes the wording is exactly the same as in Hebrew, as, for instance, in Tablet IV AB, ii, 13–14: *wyš'u 'nh 'al'iyin b'l, wyš'u 'nh wy'n*, which signifies precisely: 'And Puissant Baal lifted up his eyes, yea, lifted up his eyes and saw'; similarly *ibid.*, 26–27: *wtš'u 'nh btl't 'nt, wtš'u 'nh wt'n*—'The Maiden Anath lifted up her eyes, lifted up her eyes and saw'.

(2) Another common Biblical formula: When Scripture wishes to inform us that a certain person left his place of residence in order to settle with all his family in another place, or to stay there for a lengthy period, it states: 'And so-and-so (the head of the family) took so-and-so and so-and-so (members of his family) and such-and-such possessions (his cattle and his beasts and the like) and he went', etc. This, too, is a stereotyped formula that was regarded by the adherents of the Pentateuchal documentary hypothesis as one of the specific characteristics of source P. Thus we read in Genesis xi 31: וְאֵת שָׂרַי בְּלִתּוֹ אִשְׁתֵּי אַבְרָם בְּנֵי וַיֵּצְאוּ אֹתָם מֵאוּרִכְשִׁים לְלֶכֶת אֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן... וַיִּקַּח תֵּרַח אֶת־אַבְרָם בְּנוֹ וְאֶת־לוֹט בֶּן־הָרָן בְּנוֹ —'And Terah took Abram his son, and Lot son of Haran, his grandson, and Sarai his daughter-in-law, his son Abram's wife; and they went forth with them from Ur of the Chaldees, to go into the land of Canaan', etc; *ibid.*, xii 5: רְכוּשָׁם אֲשֶׁר רָכְשׁוּ וְאֵת רְכֻשָׁם אֲשֶׁר עָשׂוּ בְּחָרָן וַיֵּצְאוּ לְלֶכֶת אֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן... וַיִּקַּח אַבְרָם אֶת־שָׂרַי אִשְׁתּוֹ וְאֶת־לוֹט בֶּן־אָחִיו וְאֵת־כָּל־הַנֶּפֶשׁ אֲשֶׁר־עָשׂוּ בְּחָרָן וַיֵּצְאוּ לְלֶכֶת אֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן... —'And Abram took Sarai his wife and Lot his brother's son, and all their possessions which they had gathered, and the souls that they had won in Haran; and they set forth to go to the land of Canaan', etc.; similar examples are found *ibid.*, xxxvi 6 in regard to Esau, and *ibid.*, xlvi 6, in relation to the sons of Israel, and elsewhere. The formula occurs in an imperative form where it is related that a command was given to someone to migrate with his family from one place to another, as in Genesis xix 15: וַיֹּצִיאוּ הַמַּלְאָכִים בָּלוֹט לֵאמֹר קוּם קַח אֶת־אִשְׁתְּךָ וְאֶת־שְׁתֵּי בְנֹתֶיךָ הַנִּמְצָאוֹת... — 'the angels urged Lot, saying, Arise, take your wife and your two

<sup>25</sup> I have already dealt with this parallel in *Orientalia*, VII (1938), pp. 277–278, note 7.

daughters who are here', etc. Now this formula, too, is already to be found in the writings of Ugarit. When Mot, king of Sheol, sends a threatening message to Baal the god of the heavens, who makes the wind to blow and the rain to fall, and warns him that in a little while he will slay him and compel him to descend into Sheol, him and all that he has, he expresses himself as follows: (I\* AB, V, 6–13): . . . *w'at qh 'rptk rhk mdlk mtrtk 'mk šb't glmk tmn hnzrk 'mk pdry bt 'ar 'mk ttly bt rb 'idk pnk 'al ttn tk gr knkny . . .* ' . . . and thou take thy clouds, thy winds, thy chariots and thy rains, with thee thy seven attendants and thine eight swine, with thee Pdry, daughter of 'Ar, with thee Ttly, daughter of Rb (Baal's wives), and then shalt thou set thy face into the cave of Knkny', etc. Similar phrasing marks the utterance of El, the father of the gods when he banishes the handmaid of Asherah his spouse (BH, i, 17–22). This proves that the Biblical formula referred to is not peculiar to the style of a specific source like P, since it belongs to the general Canaanite tradition of antiquity, and if it was inherited by the children of Israel, it became the heritage of all the Israelite writers.

(3) The customary expression used in Ugaritic poetry as a formal preface to the speeches of its heroes is: *wyš'u gh wysh*—'he lifted up his voice and cried'. Where it is intended to cite the words of the speaker in a simpler manner, and particularly in a long duologue, Ugaritic poetry employs the word *y'n* ['he answered'] or *wy'n* ['and he answered'], followed by the subject, or some other expression, to complete the poetic rhythm. Examples of the two formulas will be given later in the texts discussed in this book. In Biblical narrative prose, whose diction is simpler than that of poetry, the word *וַיַּעַן* ['and he answered'] is, of course, more common, and it, too, is supplemented by several words, for example: *וַיַּעַן אַבְרָהָם וַיֹּאמֶר*—'And Abraham answered and said' (Genesis xviii 27), or: *וַתַּעַן מִרְיָם לָהֶם כִּרְגִים*—'And Miriam answered them' (Exodus xv 21), and the like. Nevertheless, traces of the more formal expression, *וַיִּשָּׂא קוֹלוֹ וַיִּקְרָא*—'and he lifted up his voice and called', are discernible in the Bible, especially:

(a) When the speaker is far from his listeners, and he actually needs to raise his voice. In Judges ix 7 it is narrated of Jotham that he addressed the people of Shechem from Mount Gerizim, and Scripture prefaces his speech there with the words, *וַיִּשָּׂא קוֹלוֹ וַיִּקְרָא*—'and he lifted up his voice and called', which corresponds precisely to the Ugaritic formula, word for word. A similar locution is employed by Potiphar's wife when she spoke to her household (Genesis xxxix 15):

וַיְהִי כִשְׁמָעוֹ בִּי־הַרְיִמְתִּי קוֹלִי וְאָקְרָא – ‘And it came to pass, when he heard that I lifted up my voice and cried’, and subsequently when she said to her husband (*ibid.*, v. 18): וַיְהִי כַהֲרִימִי קוֹלִי וְאָקְרָא – ‘And it came to pass, as soon as I lifted up my voice and cried’;<sup>26</sup> only here the verb הָרַיַם [‘to lift up, raise’], which is synonymous with נָשָׂא [‘to lift up,’] is used.

(b) When Scripture refers to lifting up the voice in weeping, the expression וַיִּשָּׂא קוֹלוֹ וַיִּבְכֶּה – ‘and he lifted up his voice and wept’ is used, an expression that is common and stereotyped in Biblical narrative diction (there is also another phrase that is actually identical in Hebrew and in Ugaritic, namely וַיִּתֵּן אֶת־קֻלּוֹ בִּבְכִי – ‘and he gave his voice in weeping’ [usually rendered: ‘and he wept aloud’], which occurs in Genesis xlv 2, and in its Ugaritic form, *ytn gh bky*, in Tablet II K, i, 13–14).

(c) In poetic diction, for example, in Isaiah xxiv 14: וַיִּשָּׂאוּ קוֹלָם יִרְנֹו – ‘They lift up their voices, they sing for joy’; *ibid.*, lii 8: יִרְנֹנּוּ נָשָׂאוּ קוֹל יַחְדָּו – ‘lift up their voice, together they sing for joy’. Similarly (although with the omission of the word קוֹל [‘voice’] for the sake of the terseness required by the rhythm, yet actually with the verb צָוַח [‘shout’], which occurs in Ugaritic) in Isaiah xlii 11: וַיִּשָּׂאוּ כַדְבָּר וְעָרֵיוּ ... – ‘Let the desert and its cities lift up [their voice]... let the inhabitants of Sela sing for joy, let them shout from the top of the mountains’. Compare Proverbs i 20–21; ii 3; viii 3–4.

It is also noteworthy that wherever the utterance of a speaker belongs to the category of מִשְׁלֵים<sup>26a</sup> the Bible uses the expression וַיִּשָּׂא מִשְׁלוֹ וַיֹּאמֶר – ‘and he took up his parable [i. e. discourse, theme] and said (seven times in the story of Balaam [Numbers xxiii–xxiv] and, in a slightly different form, twice in the Book of Job, xxvii 1; xxix 1). It is impossible to tell whether such an expression was current also in Ugaritic, since not a single passage of Wisdom Literature has so far been discovered in Ras Shamra. Be that as it may, it is clear that the structure of this Biblical idiom and the manner of using it are very similar to the construction and use of the Ugaritic expression that commonly occurs before the speeches of the heroes of the epic poems.

<sup>26</sup> The construction of the verse is similar to that of the Ugaritic sentence: *bnš'i 'nh wyphn* [‘when he lifted up his eyes he saw’]; see above No. (1).

<sup>26a</sup> B.D.B. defines מִשְׁלֵים as: ‘Proverb, parable (of sentences constructed in parallelism, usually of Hebrew Wisdom, but occasionally of other types)’.



(4) The Ugaritic poets, when they wish to indicate the direction in which a traveller is going, use the formula: *'idk lytn pnm 'm-* 'Then he gave [= set] his face to . . .' Traces of this formula are also discernible in Biblical narrative prose; for instance, Genesis xxxi 21: וַיִּשֶׂם אֶת־פָּנָיו הַר הַגִּלְעָד – 'and set his face toward the mountain of Gilead'; ii Kings xii 18 [E.V., v. 17]: וַיִּשֶׂם חֲזַאֵל פָּנָיו לָעֲלוֹת עַל יְרוּשָׁלַיִם 'and Hazael set his face to go up to Jerusalem'; and many similar examples. The idiom also occurs in a figurative sense in ii Chronicles xx 3: אֶת־פָּנָיו לְדַרֹּשׁ לַיהוָה וַיִּתֵּן יְהוֹשָׁפָט and Jehoshaphat set himself [literally: 'his face'] to seek the Lord'. Compare, outside narrative literature, Daniel xi 17–18.<sup>27</sup>

(5) In the Ugaritic poems there occurs a special formula for preparing an ass for riding.<sup>28</sup> Thus it is related of Danel, who made ready to go on a journey after there had appeared to him signs foretelling a terrible calamity (Tablet I D, 49–60): *gm lbth [kysh]: šm' pgt . . . mdl 'r smd phl št gpny dt ksp dt yrq nqbny; tš[m'] pgt . . . bkm tmdln 'r bkm tsmd phl bkm tš'u 'abh tštnn lbmt 'r lysmsm bmt phl-* 'Aloud he called to his daughter: Hear Pgt . . . saddle a young ass, harness a donkey, place my saddle of silver and my harness of gold; Pgt heard . . . she wept and saddled the young ass, she wept and harnessed the donkey, she wept and lifted her father and set him on the back of the young ass, on the comely back of the donkey' (see above, D [4]). Similarly it is related in Tablet II AB, iv, 1–15, that Asherah commanded Qdš-w-'Amrr, her attendant (and apparently one of her seventy sons) to prepare for her an animal for riding: *[wt'n rbt] 'at[rt ym] šm' qdš w'a[mrr]... [mdl 'r] smd phl š[t gpny dt] ksp dt y[rq nqbny] 'db . . . yšm' qd<š> w'amr[r] mdl 'r smd phl št gpnm dt ksp dt yrq nqbnm . . . yštn 'atrt lbmt 'r lysmsmt bmt pl-* '[Lady] Ashe[rah of the Sea declared]: Hear, Qdš-w-'A[mrr]... [saddle a young ass], harness a donkey, P[ut on my saddle] of silver [and my harness of go]ld . . . Qdš-w-'Amrr heard, he saddled a young ass, he harnessed a donkey, he put on the saddle of silver, the harness of gold . . . he set

<sup>27</sup> The Accadian expression *nadânu pana*, which corresponds to this Ugaritic idiom, occurs a number of times in the El-Amarna Letters, mostly in a figurative sense: 'to lift up the eyes in hope', or 'to pay attention' and the like (for example [I cite according to Mercer's edition, Toronto 1939], No. 117, p. 390, lines 20–21; No. 150, p. 492, lines 4–5, 14–16), but sometimes in a signification similar to that of the Ugaritic expression (for instance, No. 151, p. 494, lines 32–34).

<sup>28</sup> On this formula and the meaning of its details, see my article in the *J. N. Epstein Jubilee Volume* (= Tarbiz XX), pp. 1–7.



Asherah on the back of the young ass, on the comely back of the donkey’. Without doubt we have here a stereotyped formula, and traces of it are discernible in the Bible. In the story related in i Kings xiii concerning the man of God who came from Judah, a similar formula occurs twice; although it has a simpler form, as is usual in prose in contradistinction to poetry, it conforms essentially to the ancient literary tradition. When Scripture speaks of the journey of the old prophet, who wished to go after the man of God who came from Judah, it states (v. 13): *וַיֹּאמֶר אֵל בָּנָיו הַבְּשׂוּ לִי הַחֲמֹר וַיִּהְיֶה לּוֹ* —‘And he said unto his sons, “Saddle the ass for me”. So they saddled the ass for him and he mounted it’. Again, when reference is made to his second journey to search for the body of the man of God, it is written (v. 27): *וַיִּדְבַר אֵל בָּנָיו לֵאמֹר הַבְּשׂוּ לִי אֶת־הַחֲמֹר וַיִּהְיֶה לּוֹ* —‘And he said to his sons, “Saddle the ass for me”. And they saddled it’.

## F. REPETITIONS

Ugaritic epic poetry, like all epic poetry, whether Eastern or Western, is fond of repetitions. This phenomenon flows from the very nature of the epos, which is primarily intended to be heard and not read. People who are gathered to listen to heroic songs rendered by a singer are particularly delighted when he commences a passage that they already know and love, for then it is easier for them to follow him and to participate, as it were, in his singing. Although this is a general characteristic and is not peculiar to the Canaanite epic only, nevertheless it appears to me to merit our attention. Since we have already established that Biblical narrative prose continues in a sense the tradition of the Canaanite epos, then wherever we find in Scripture repetitions of an epic character, we may regard them as indicative of an underlying ancient Canaanite epopee.

The subject-matter to which the technique of repetition is commonly applied varies. One example is the delivery of a message by an emissary. The epic poet relates: So-and-so said to his messenger: Go and say to so-and-so thus and thus (here the whole message is given in full); thereafter he adds: The messenger came to so-and-so and told him: So-and-so sent me to tell you thus and thus (the whole message is then repeated in its entirety, word for word, as it was first given). Another type is the command to do something and its execution. The poet begins by saying: So-and-so enjoined so-and-so: Do such-and-such a deed or such-and-such a work, thus and so; and thereafter he continues: And so-and-so did such-and-such a deed or such-and-such



a work, thus and so. All the particulars of the deed or work are then repeated in the very same words used by the poet the first time. Similar themes abound. Sometimes a passage occurs not merely twice, but three and four times and more. For example, in the epic of Danel a long list of precepts relative to honouring one's father is reiterated a number of times: in the speech of Baal, who entreats El, his father, to give Danel a man-child who will do for his father thus and thus; in the reply of El, who promises that Danel would have a son who would do for him thus and thus; in the words of the angel who tells Danel: Know that the gods have decided that you will have a son who will do for you thus and thus (this time the list occurs with suffixes in the second person); and in the words of Danel, who expresses his joy at the tidings: At last I shall have a son who shall do for me thus and so (here the list appears with suffixes in the first person). Now only fragments of the epic have come down to us, and it is quite possible that in the missing parts this list recurs a number of times more. So, too, we find in Tablet V AB, which is studied in this volume, a statement that is repeated again and again: Baal delivers to his envoys the message that he wishes to communicate to Anath his sister; they convey to Anath Baal's message word for word, and she, replying that she agrees to fulfil Baal's request, also repeats his message in identical terms. Likewise in Tablet VI AB, which is also examined in this work, there occurred the words of El's message to *Ktr-w-Hss* in a form resembling those of Baal's message.

The continued use of the device of repetition is clearly discernible in the narrative literature of the Bible; we shall give here a few of the most interesting examples.

First of all, mention should be made of the account of the construction of the Tabernacle, in Exodus xxv–xxxi, xxxv–xl. To begin with, it is related how the Lord commanded Moses to make the Tabernacle and its entire furniture, and explained to him all the details of the work. Thereafter it is stated that Moses carried out the construction, and the same details are given again in full. Whole sections are repeated unaltered, the only difference being that instead of the verbs of command, like *תעשה* –‘you shall make’, there occur verbs that express the execution of the command, like *ועש* –‘and he made’, and so forth.

Another example: the sacrifices of the chieftains (Numbers vii 12–83). The paragraph occurs twelve times in identical form. As a rule, when the subject is not so technical as the construction of the Tabernacle or the sacrifices of the chieftains, and consequently does not



require meticulous exactness of detail, the prose repetitions are no verbally identical with the original passages. Prose is intended to be read rather than heard, and reader and listener are not alike, for the listener is eager for passages that he already knows by heart to be reiterated, whereas the reader may sometimes find verbatim repetitions wearying. Hence in prose, whenever a theme is repeated, it is usual, for aesthetic reasons, to vary or shorten the expressions, or to reproduce them in a different order. But the principle of reiteration itself remains unaffected. An interesting example of a topic that occurs four times, with changes at each repetition, is found in Genesis xxiv, in the story of the meeting between Abraham's servant, the oldest of his house, and Rebekah. First it is narrated that the servant prayed unto the Lord and asked that a sign be vouchsafed him (vv. 12–14); then we are informed how the sign was given (vv. 17–21); thereafter it is related that the servant told Rebekah's family concerning his prayer (vv. 42–44) and the granting of the sign (vv. 45–46). Similar to this is the section describing Pharaoh's dreams (Genesis xli 1–7, 17–24).

In the Ugaritic epic—and not there alone—there is found a unique form of repetition, to wit, an account of episodes that continued seven days. A given situation endures, or a certain action proceeds, day after day throughout a week, until on the seventh day something new happens. The pattern is more or less as follows: On the first day and on the second day such-and-such an incident occurred; on the third day and on the fourth the event was yet in progress; on the fifth and sixth days it still continued, and then on the seventh day there happened thus and so.<sup>29</sup> In exactly this form repetitions also occur in the Babylonian epics,<sup>30</sup> and in a slightly different and simpler manner (there is also a divergence in the number of days) in Greek epic poetry.<sup>31</sup> But this is not a matter of literary tradition only; the numerical symbolism that attributed a special significance to the number seven also plays a part here. However, the subject belongs to the sphere of the history of religion and social customs rather

<sup>29</sup> See, for example, II AB, vi, 24–33; so, too, II D, i, 6–14; *ibid.*, iv, 32–40; I K, 105–109; 194–211; III K, ii, 21–27.

<sup>30</sup> Already in my article in *Tarbiz*, XIII (1942), I compared the Epic of Gilgamesh, xi, 143–157; so, too, Gordon now compares these verses, *UH*, 17.6.

<sup>31</sup> As a rule, nineteen days (for example, in the Iliad, i, 54–55; the Odyssey, vii, 253; ix, 82–83; x, 28–29; xii, 447); but also six-seven (e.g., Odyssey, x, 80–

81; xii, 397–399), or two-three (e.g., *Odyssey*, ix, 74–75; x, 142–144). On the use of the numbers nine and seven in the Greek world and in the Orient, see the works of Roscher and Hehn, which I have cited in *Tarbiz* XIII, p. 207, notes 31–32.

than to the history of literature; hence we shall not deal with the question at length but we shall mention only two Biblical examples: the story of the Israelites' marching round the city of Jericho (Joshua vi 3–20), and that of the three friends of Job, who 'sat with him on the ground seven days and seven nights, and no one spoke a word to him' (Job ii 13), until Job opened his mouth to curse his day.<sup>32</sup>

## G. SPECIAL NOMINAL AND VERBAL FORMS

The use of special nominal and verbal forms in rhetorical literature, both in Ugaritic and Biblical writings, is to be explained as, in some respects, a continuation of the ancient Canaanite tradition. On this subject, too, I shall cite a few examples that I discussed in my aforementioned articles in *Tarbiz*<sup>33</sup> and in *Lešonénu*.<sup>34</sup>

(1) In the Ugaritic Tablet II AB, it is stated in connection with the banquet that Baal prepared for his brothers and sisters on the occasion of the dedication of his house (vi, 47–54): *špq 'ilm krm yšpq 'ilht hprt špq 'ilm 'alpm yšpq 'ilht 'arht špq ;'ilm khtm yšpq 'ilht ksat špq 'ilm rhbt yn špq 'ilht dkrt [yn]*—'He provided the gods with he lambs, the goddesses he provided with ewe-lambs; he provided the gods with bulls, the goddesses he provided with cows; he provided the gods with benches, the goddesses he provided with chairs; he provided the gods with jars of wine, the goddesses he provided with pitchers of wine'.<sup>35</sup> Thus we learn that the ancient Canaanites were accustomed to employ synonyms according to sex; when they spoke of a male they used a masculine term, and when they referred to a female they used a feminine synonym. In this way, too, are to be explained the differences in gender in the formula relating to the preparation of an ass for riding (see above, D 4, E 5). The beauty of the donkey's back is called *ysmsm* if the rider is a male like Danel, and *ysmsmt*, if a female rider, like Asherah, is spoken of. This usage goes so far that in III K (iii, 23–24) the children of King Krt by his

<sup>32</sup> Even a simple form like this is to be found in the Eastern epic literature: it will suffice to recall the account in the Epic of Gilgamesh of the days of the Flood (Tablet XI, 127–129). On the numbers two-three days instead of six-seven both in the Bible and in Ugaritic poetry, see my note 32a in *Tarbiz, ibid.*, p. 207.

<sup>33</sup> Vol. XIV, pp. 9–10.

<sup>34</sup> Vol. XV, pp. 101–102.

<sup>35</sup> I gave the correct reading and meaning of this paragraph in *Orientalia*, vii (1938), pp. 288–289, and dealt with it again in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica* [Hebrew], I, Plate IV.

wife Hry are divided into two categories: the sons are called ‘the sons of Krt’, whilst the daughters are called ‘the daughters of Hry’. In conformity with this literary convention the word *sml* [a masculine form] occurs in Phoenician inscriptions to indicate the (graven) image of a man, and *smlt* [a feminine form] in reference to the image of a woman;<sup>36</sup> in Aramaic inscriptions *salma* and *salm<sup>e</sup>tha* are used in a similar way.<sup>37</sup>

On the basis of this idiomatic usage it is possible to understand the passage in Jeremiah xlvi 4: בְּנֵיךָ בְּשָׁבוּ וּבְנֵיךָ בְּשָׁבוּ אוֹיְלָךְ מוֹאָב, אָבֵד עִם־כְּמוֹשׁ, כִּי לָקְרוּ: ‘Woe to you, O Moab! The people of Chemosh is undone; for your sons have been taken captive, and your daughters into captivity’.

The same applies to the parallel passage in Numbers xxi 29: וּבְנֵיךָ בְּשָׁבוּ ‘and his daughters captives’ (the Samaritan Pentateuch reads, בְּשָׁבוּ [‘in captivity’], but this is just one of the many instances in which the Samaritan recension, according to its wont, substitutes for difficult or rare expressions simpler or more usual locutions). In the same way it is possible to understand also the change from שָׁבוּ to שָׁבוּה [both words mean: ‘captivity’, ‘captives’] in Deuteronomy xxi 10–11: – וְרֵאִיתָ בְּשָׁבוּהָ אִשָּׁת וַפֶּתִיחָהּ ... כִּי־תֵצֵא לְמִלְחָמָה עַל־אֹיְבֶיךָ וַנִּתְּנָה לְיְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ בְּגֵרָה וְשָׁבוּתָ שָׁבוּהָ. – ‘When you go forth to war against your enemies, and the Lord your God gives them unto your hands, and you take them captive, and see among the captives a beautiful woman’, etc.: in conjunction with אֵיב [‘enemy’], שָׁבוּ [a masc. Noun] is used; relative to אִשָּׁת וַפֶּתִיחָהּ the form שָׁבוּהָ [a fem. noun] is chosen (in v. 13 we have שָׁמְלַת שָׁבוּהָ [‘her captive’s garb’] because the feminine form is already found in the word שָׁמְלָה [‘garb’]). In the same manner is also to be explained Isaiah iii 1: מַסְכֵּי מִירוּשָׁלַם וּמִיְהוּדָה מַשְׁעַן וּמַשְׁעֲנָה. כִּי הִנֵּה הָאָדוֹן הוּא, נִבְאֹת – ‘For, behold, the Lord, the Lord of hosts, is taking away from Jerusalem and from Judah stay and staff’. The accepted explanation that the expression מַשְׁעַן וּמַשְׁעֲנָה [‘stay and staff’] is intended to signify every possible kind of ‘stay’ is entirely unfounded. Apparently, the feminine word מַשְׁעֲנָה refers to Jerusalem and the masculine word מַשְׁעַן to Judah (compare in the continuation of the passage, v. 8: כִּי בָשְׁלָה [fem.] יְרוּשָׁלַם וַיְהוּדָה [masc.] נָפַל – ‘For Jerusalem has stumbled, and Judah has fallen’),

<sup>36</sup> Lidzbarski, *Handbook*, p. 151; see also the Hebrew article on ‘the image of jealousy, which provokes to jealousy’ (*L’sonénu*, XIV [1946], p. 76) by N. H. Torczyner [Tur-Sinai], who, however, offers a different explanation of the usage.

<sup>37</sup> Lidzbarski, *ibid.*, pp. 160–161, 358; Levi della Vida, *Clara Rhodos*, 1938, pp. 139–148.



the order being chiasitic. Similarly, we find in Nahum ii 13 [E.V., v. 12]: וַיִּמְלֵא סִרְיָהוּ הַרְיוֹ וַיִּמְעַנְתְּוּ סִרְיָהוּ – ‘he filled his caves with prey and his dens with torn flesh’.<sup>38</sup>

(2) Sometimes we find in two members of a Biblical verse two forms of the same verb, one in the *perfect* and the other in the *imperfect*. For instance, Hosea v 5: וְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְאֶפְרַיִם יִכְשָׁלוּ בְעֲוֹנָם כִּשׁ נֹם יְהוּדָה עִמָּם – ‘And Israel and Ephraim shall stumble in their guilt, Judah also shall stumble with them’; Psalms xxxviii 12 [E.V., v. 11]: נִגְעֵי יַעֲמָדוּ וְקִרְבֵי סָרְחַק עָמְדוּ אֲחֵבֵי וְרַעֵי סִנְגַּד יִשְׂאוּ נְהָרוֹת רַכִּים – ‘My friends and companions stand aloof from my plague, and my kinsmen stand afar off’; *ibid.*, xciii 3: נִשְׂאוּ נְהָרוֹת קוֹלָם, – ‘the floods lift up their roaring’. Similarly, with *Waw* conversive [i. e. consecutive], which in effect does not alter the sense at all, Isaiah lx 16: תִּינָקוּ וְנִנְקַת חֶלֶב גּוֹיִם וְשׂוֹד מְלָכִים – ‘You shall suck the milk of nations, you shall suck the breast of kings’; Amos vii 4: וַתֹּאכַל אֶת־הַחֹמֶם רַבָּה, וְאָכְלָה אֶת־הַחֶלֶק – ‘and it devoured the great deep and was eating up the land’;<sup>39</sup> Psalms xxix 10: ה' סֹלֵד לְעוֹלָם – ‘The Lord sits enthroned over the flood; the Lord sits enthroned as king for ever’; and many more such examples could be cited. In a number of passages of this type, particularly in those that have no *Waw* consecutive, modern commentators are accustomed to ‘emend’ the Masoretic text, because the use of one verb in two forms in adjacent positions appears questionable to them. Thus, for instance, they read נִגְשָׁו נִגְשָׁו – ‘drew near before me’—instead of סִנְגַּד נִגְעֵי יַעֲמָדוּ – ‘stand aloof from my plague’ in Psalms xxxviii 12; so, too, they alter יִשְׂאוּ – ‘lift up’—in Psalms xciii 3 to נִשְׂאוּ – ‘have lifted up’. But these verses need no emendation whatsoever. On the contrary, this was the normal poetic usage among the Canaanites, as the Ugaritic writings show us, for example: II AB, iii, 14–16: *štt [ ] btlhny qlt bks 'ištynh*—‘I have drunk [disgrace]

<sup>38</sup> In verses such as these: Psalm cxliv 12: כְּנֹחֵי קַוִּיּוֹת ... אֲשֶׁר בְּנֵינוּ כְּנֹטְעִים – ‘May our sons . . . be like plants . . . our daughters like corner pillars’; Proverbs i 8: שִׁמְעֵה בְּנִי מוֹסֵר אָבִיךָ וְאֵל תִּמְשֵׁךְ תוֹרַת אִמְךָ – ‘Hear, my son, your father’s instruction, and reject not your mother’s teaching’; and the like, the agreement in gender may be purely fortuitous (cf. Prov. vi 20: נִגַּד בְּנִי סִנְעוֹת אָבִיךָ וְאֵל תִּמְשֵׁךְ תוֹרַת אִמְךָ – ‘My son, keep your father’s commandment, and forsake not your mother’s teaching’).

<sup>39</sup> Particularly from this passage in Amos it can be seen that the *Waw* does not ‘convert’ anything. This enables us to ascertain the origin of this *Waw*, and to understand correctly the form of verses like Genesis i 5: וַיִּקְרָא אֱלֹהִים לְאוֹר יוֹם – ‘And God called the light Day, and the darkness He called Night’.

upon my table, insult in my cup do I drink'; *ibid.*, vi, 38–40: 'db' bht[h b' ]l y'db hd 'db [d]bt hklh 'The preparations of (his) house [Baa]l doth make, Hadd hath made [prepa]rations for his palace'; I D 114–115: knp nšrm b'l yṭbr b'l ṭbr d'iy hmt–'The wings of eagles Baal doth break, Baal hath broken their ribs'. We have already seen a number of examples of parallelism between špq and yšpq above G, 1. We shall see further examples of a similar kind in Tablet V AB (ii, 11, 19, 21).

(3) We sometimes find in the Bible, after an active form of a given verb, a passive form of the very same verb (or even an active form of the Qal, if the first verb was in a causative conjugation), as though to indicate the outcome of the action signified by the first verbal form. Thus we read, for example, in Jeremiah xvii 14: הושיעני ואושעה רפאני ה' וארפא – 'Heal me, O Lord, and I shall be healed; save me, and I shall be saved'; *ibid.*, xxxi 3 [E.V., v. 4]: בתולה וישראל עוד אבנה ונבנית – 'Again I will build you, and you shall be built, O virgin Israel!'; again *ibid.*, v. 17 [E.V., v. 18]: השבני ואשובה – 'bring me back that I may be restored' (similarly, Lamentations v 21: השיבנו ה' אליה ונבשובה – 'Restore us to Thyself, O Lord, that we may be restored!'), and so, too, Psalms xix 13–14 [E.V., vv. 12–13]: ונקתי מפשע רב ונקתי מן סתרות נקתי ... – 'clear Thou me from hidden faults . . . and I shall be innocent of great transgression'; *ibid.*, lxix 15 [E.V., v. 14]: ואל־אסבֶּעה אנצלה משנאי ומפֶּעֶמקֵי־מים – 'Rescue me from sinking in the mire; let me be delivered from my enemies and from the deep waters'. Also in passages containing constructions of this kind the correctness of the Masoretic text was regarded with suspicion on account of the repetition of the same verb (see, for instance, the commentary of Gunkel on Psalms lxix 15). But this literary device, too, was common already in Ugaritic poetry. In Tablet II AB, v, 113–116, we find: [h]š bhtm [bny] hš rmm hk[lm] hš bhtm tbn[n] hš trmmn hk[lm]–'[Has]ten, a house [do build], hasten, raise up palaces; hasten, let houses be buil[t]; hasten, let palaces be raised up'. In II D, vi, 28–29 (see above, A, (3), b): 'ašsprk 'm b'l šnt 'm bn 'il tspr yrhm–'I shall make thee count years with Baal, with the sons of El shalt thou count months'.

(4) Of the idiomatic use of numerals in numerical sayings, where they are arranged in progressive order, as in Proverbs vi 16–19: שִׁש־הֵנָּה שָׂנֵא ה' וְשִׁבְעֵה תוֹעֵבֹת נִפְשׁוּ... – 'There are six things which the Lord hates, seven which are an abomination to him' etc., and of similar

constructions in Ugaritic, we shall treat in the annotations to Tablet V AB (iv, HH).

From all this we are permitted to infer that not just in respect of a few details, but in the entire range of the literary language and in all the rhetorical usages commonly employed therein, there existed a tradition that was shared by both Ugaritic and Biblical writings, and it cannot be doubted that in form the two literatures are only two different branches of a single tree. This solves the problem that we raised above, namely, how it was possible to explain the fact that the earliest compositions of Biblical literature already had a perfected form, as though a long process of development lay behind them. In truth, this is the actual case; they had been preceded by a literary evolution many centuries old, even though it took place outside the ranks of the Israelites, or, more precisely, before the people of Israel came into being. The originality of the Scriptural writings is to be found in their content and spirit; in regard to their form, they continue the tradition of the ancient Canaanite literature.

#### H. THE EXPLANATION OF BIBLICAL OBSCURITIES

The linguistic and literary affinity between the writings of Ugarit and those of the Bible helps us to learn a great deal from each of these two literatures concerning the other. On the one hand, invaluable help for the understanding of the Ugaritic texts is afforded us by constant comparison of these works with Scriptural texts; and on the other hand, we can derive much benefit from the Ugaritic compositions for the elucidation of obscure Biblical passages and topics. Examples of the assistance that the scholar investigating Ugaritic literature can receive from the study of the Bible the reader will find on almost every page of my commentary on the texts presented in this volume. Instances of the light that can be shed on many difficult verses in Scripture by the examination of Ugaritic writings, will be found in the following notes, apart from not a few examples that will likewise be encountered in the course of my commentary.

(1) A puzzling word occurs in ii Kings iv 42: וַיֵּאָמֶר תֵּן לָעָם וַיֹּאכְלוּ וְאִישׁ בָּא מִבַּעַל שָׁלִישָׁה – ‘A man came from Baal-shalisha, bringing the man of God bread of the first fruits, twenty loaves of barley and fresh ears of grain בַּצִּקְלָנוּ . And he [Elisha] said, Give to the men, that they may eat’. Most commentators were of opinion that the word בַּצִּקְלָנוּ signified ‘in

his sack' or the like, although they had difficulty in determining from which stem the noun **בַּקְלָה** was derived. Several modern scholars considered it necessary to alter the text on the basis of a few Septuagint Mss, and to read **בַּקְלָה** ['in a wallet'] instead of **בַּבְּקָלָה**. But the difficulty is resolved, as I indicated several years ago,<sup>40</sup> by the Ugaritic Tablet I D, where, in lines 61–74, are to be found two similar paragraphs, in one of which occurs the word *šblt* ['ear of grain'], while in the other, in the corresponding place, the word *bsql* is used. The two parallel words are certainly synonymous, and the connotation of the unknown word *bsql* approximates *šblt*; from the context also, it is clear that it refers specifically to a fresh ear, an ear of fresh grain. Thus it follows that in the Biblical passage, too, the noun is **בַּבְּקָלָה** the *Bêth* being part of the stem, and that it denotes fresh grain in its ear, fresh grain that is still in ear, as though it were written, **בַּבְּקָלָה**, and one of the two letters *Bêth* had been omitted, due to haplography or even to haplology, just as the word **בֵּית** ['house of'] occurs several times in the Bible in place of **בְּבֵית** ['in the house of', or **בְּפֶתַח** ['entrance of'] instead of **בְּפֶתַח** ['in the entrance of'] (see H. Bauer and P. Leander, *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache*, p. 217<sup>41</sup>).

(2) The term **בֵּית הַחֲפָשִׁית** is used in ii Kings xv 5, and in ii Chronicles xxvi 21 (in the latter passage the reading, according to the *k<sup>e</sup> thibh*, is **בֵּית הַחֲפָשׁוֹת** to designate the house set apart for lepers. A number of forced explanations have been put forward with a view to elucidating the origin of this obscure substantive, and even textual emendations have been suggested in order to remove the difficulty. However, this riddle can also be solved in the light of Ugaritic writings, as I have already stated earlier (A, 7).

(3) In Isaiah xxvii 1 we read: **אֲתִּי־הַתַּנִּין אֲשֶׁר בַּיָּם בַּיּוֹם חָחֹוּא יִפְקֹדֶה' בְּחַרְבוֹ הַקָּשָׁת וְחַנְדֹּלָה נָהַשׁ עַקְלָתוֹן וְהַרְגַּ וְהַחֲזֹקָה עַל לִוְיָתָן נָהַשׁ בְּרֶחַ וְעַל לִוְיָתָן נָהַשׁ עַקְלָתוֹן וְהַרְגַּ** – 'In that day the Lord with His hard and great and strong sword will punish Leviathan the fleeing serpent, Leviathan the twisting [or: 'crooked'] serpent, and He will slay the dragon that is in the sea'.

<sup>40</sup> *Orientalia*, viii (1939), p. 242. Now see also Torczyner, in Ben Yehudah's *Thesaurus*, XI (Jerusalem 1945), p. 612, and in his book, *Ha-Lašôn w<sup>e</sup>-ha-Sepher*, volume *Ha-Lašôn*, p. 343.

<sup>41</sup> A similar usage is also found in Ugaritic (see Ginsberg's remarks in *BASOR*, 98 [April, 1945], p. 16, note 27, and p. 20, note 46). In Ugaritic, too, as in Hebrew, it is precisely the word *bt* ('house') that is used without the prepositional *Beth* in the sense of 'in the house of' (*UH*, I, 10.4).



It was difficult to fathom the prophet's intention in this verse so long as we did not know what was meant by 'Leviathan the fleeing serpent', by 'Leviathan the twisting serpent', and by 'the dragon that is in the sea'. Now a surprising parallel to these epithets, already noted by Ch. Virolleaud, who was the first to publish Ugaritic texts, has come to light in these writings. In Tablet I\* AB, i, 1–3, Mot, in his address to Baal, says: *k tmhs ltn bṭn brh tkly bṭn 'qltn šlyt d šb't r'ašm*—'When thou smitest Leviathan the *barîah* [fleeing?] serpent, and destroyest the twisting [or, crooked] serpent, the seven-headed monster', etc. In Tablet V AB, iv, H, Anath reminds her brother Baal: *l'ištbm tnn 'išbmnh, mhšt bṭn 'qltn, šlyt d šb't r'ašm*—'I muzzled the dragon, yea, I muzzled him, I smote the twisting [or crooked] serpent, the seven-headed monster'. This parallel makes it possible for us to understand the allusion in the Biblical passage. In the Ugaritic epic the reference is to the monstrous creatures who were reckoned among the foes of Baal, the god of the heavens. These beings also entered the cycle of legends of the people of Israel (I shall deal with this fully later on), and they remained in the folk memory as the embodiment of evil forces opposed to the Creator, as representative of the powers of wickedness in the world. When the prophet came to announce that in the end of days God would destroy the forces of evil from the world, he used these mythical figures as symbols of wicked powers, symbols that were well known in the circle of his hearers.

(4) The reason for the prohibition not to seethe a kid in its mother's milk is not stated in the Pentateuch, and is unknown to us. The explanations that scholars have attempted to find for this negative commandment are only conjectures. One of these is advanced by Maimonides, who surmises that the Torah intended to abolish, by means of this prohibition, a custom connected with the idolatrous cultus; but Maimonides was unable to offer any proof of the existence of such a practice. Now, as Ginsberg already noted when the Ugaritic writings were first published,<sup>42</sup> there has been found in the Ugaritic Tablet SS, line 14, a reference to the Canaanite custom of seething a kid in milk: *tb[h g]d bhlb 'annh bhm'at*—'Coo[k a ki]d in milk, a lamb in curd' (see also above, C, 8). The context apparently speaks of a ritual ceremony designed to draw the blessing of fertility to the earth; thus the connection, in the Biblical passages, between the bringing of the first fruits and the aforementioned prohibition becomes clear:

<sup>42</sup> *JRAS*, 1935, p. 72; *Kitbe Ugarit*, p. 77. Now see Gaster, *JAOS*, LXVI (1946), pp. 61–62.



‘The first of the first fruits of your ground you shall bring into the house of the Lord your God [to express your thanks to Him for the produce of the earth that He gives you, but take heed not to follow the practices of the land of Canaan; therefore] you shall not boil a kid in its mother’s milk’.

(5) Needless to say, the study of the Ugaritic texts is able to shed light on the Biblical passages that deal explicitly with aspects of the religion and worship of the Canaanites. But this is not all. There are also matters mentioned in the Bible allusively, which were readily understood by the Israelites at the time when they were written down, but are not quite clear today to one who is not acquainted with the subject alluded to. Thus, for example, it is related in i Kings xviii 27, that the prophet Elijah mocked the prophets of Baal when they called upon the name of their god and prayed to him to answer them with fire from heaven, but there was no voice and no one heeded; and *inter alia* his derisive remarks contain the words: ‘or he is on a journey’. The purport of this remark is not clear, but the Ugaritic Tablet IV AB enables us to understand its significance. It is narrated there, at the beginning of column ii, that one fine day the goddess Anath came to the house of her brother Baal and enquired of his servants if Baal was at home, and the servants answered (4–9): *’in b’l bbth(t) ’il hd bqrb hklh qšthn ’ahd bydh wqs’tb bm ymnh ’idk lytn pnm tk ’ah šmk*—‘Baal is not in his house, the god Hadd is not in the midst of his palace; his bow he took in his hand, his arrows in his right hand, and then he set his face towards the marshes of Simku’.

To the specific examples that we have cited so far, the following two observations of a general character should be added:

(6) We have already seen that a number of Biblical passages that were regarded by many scholars as corrupt and requiring emendation because they found them to contain strange, implausible forms (for instance, two different forms of the same verb in two parallel members of a verse, e.g. *קָדַדוּ-עָמְדוּ* [above, G, 2], and the like), have now been clarified by comparison with the Ugaritic writings, and it has become evident that these Scriptural passages are without defect and require no amendment whatsoever. It behoves us to learn from this that we must observe the greatest caution when some form or construction

appears to us to be impossible, for it may well be that at some future time its legitimacy will become apparent.

(7) When similar passages are found in two books of the Bible, most exegetes are accustomed to enquire which is dependent on which, and on the basis of the answer they give to the question they often come to conclusions regarding the date of the composition of the books. This method plays an important role in the study of the history of Biblical literature. But since it has become manifest that there existed among the Israelites, from the very earliest period, a literary tradition incorporating a number of stereotyped formulas and expressions, we must be careful, where two passages resemble each other, not to frame the question in the form, 'Which is dependent on which?' because there is a third possibility, which may actually prove the most likely, namely, that neither passage is indebted to the other, but that both have their origin in an earlier, common literary tradition.

It would be possible to deal at much greater length with the relationship between Ugaritic and Biblical literature. But what we have so far demonstrated suffices to clarify the nature of this relationship, and the great benefit we may derive from studying it generally and in detail.

## CHAPTER

### 3

#### THE EPIC OF BAAL

Among the Ugaritic epics we have mentioned in the first chapter that of Baal occupies the first place. It was of quite considerable size, comprising many tablets, some of which have already been discovered and published, while others have not yet been found.

Modern scholars designate this epic by various names (Aliyn Baal, Baal and Anath, Baal and Mot, and so forth). It would be more correct to call it today, too, by the name Baal only, since it was thus entitled by the Ugaritic writers, who inscribed at the head of each of its tablets the word *lb'l*, that is, '[tablet pertaining] to [the epic of] Baal'.

This name befits the epic, since Baal is its chief hero, and occupies an important place in all its parts. The other gods participate in it as helpers and supporters of Baal or his enemies, but he is the central figure, around whom the whole action develops, and proceeds to determine his fate.

Before we begin to summarize the contents of the epic, it will be desirable to devote a few words to each of the chief deities who take part in it, in order to portray their essential character. As regards the secondary divinities that are mentioned in the texts under discussion here, it will suffice to deal with them in the continuation of the commentary, when the names occur for the first time.

#### *El* ['*Il*]

We shall begin with the father of the gods, who used to be designated '*El*' (in Ugaritic spelling, '*il*'),<sup>1</sup> a generic term, at first, that subsequently became his proper name, as though to say that he was the supreme deity (*the* god, so to speak, with the definite article, which Ugaritic lacks).

Until recently the Canaanite belief in this divinity was known to us only from late sources—Greek and Roman writings, particularly the works of Philo of Byblus, who speaks at length of Ἠλως ('*El*)

<sup>1</sup> Concerning *El* the father of the gods, see my essay '*El* in the Canaanite Pantheon', in the [Hebrew] *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, I, where I have furnished a

detailed bibliography.

and identifies him with Κρόνος of the Greeks, apart from several inscriptions, which are likewise of a late date. In our day there was also discovered additional evidence, of an earlier date, in the Aramaic inscriptions of Zinjirli and Sujin, which mention the name of El, who apparently passed over to the Aramaeans from the Phoenicians. But the oldest and most detailed information on the subject has now been found in the writings of Ugarit. In these El is referred to as the father of the great gods. Baal, Anath, Mot, and a number of other deities are his sons, borne to him by his spouse Asherah. The divinities, taken as a whole, are called ‘the sons of El’ or ‘the sons of Asherah’, and mention is even made of their number—the seventy sons of Asherah. From one of the epithets ascribed to El in the Ugaritic texts—*bny bnwt*, that is, ‘creator of creatures’—it is apparent that he was regarded as the creator of the world. This accords also with another designation of his, *’ab ’adm*, that is, ‘father of mankind’. In the Phoenician inscription of Kara-Tepe and in the neo-Punic inscription that was discovered at Leptis Magna the title *qn ’rs* (‘creator of the earth’) is assigned to El, and it seems that the word *’rs* in this designation does not denote the earth below, in contradistinction to heaven, but signifies the universe as a whole. This, too, is consonant with the concept of the creation of the world, for *qn*, corresponding to the Hebrew קנה, means ‘former’, ‘creator’, as I have shown elsewhere.<sup>2</sup> In Genesis xiv 18 ff., it is narrated concerning Melchizedek king of Salem (apparently, the Canaanite king of Jerusalem) and priest of אֵל עֵלְיֹון [‘God Most High’], that he brought out bread and wine to honour Abram on his return from his victory over the Eastern kings, and blessed him in the name of אֵל עֵלְיֹון וְאֵרֶץ אֵל עֵלְיֹון קִנָּה (‘God Most High Maker of heaven and earth’). Although in the account of Philo of Byblus, *El* and *Elyon* are treated as separate deities, and in the inscription of Sujin the two names occur in juxta-position, linked by *Waw* conjunctive (‘*El* and *Elyon*’), nevertheless it seems that *El Elyon* mentioned in connection with Melchizedek was *El* the father of the gods in the Canaanite pantheon, the most high of all the deities. It is not impossible that the combination of *El* and *Elyon* in the Sujin text is a compound name of a single divinity, like the compound names commonly found in the Ugaritic writings (such as, *ktr-w-hss*, *qdš-w-’amrr*), and that the separation of the two names is due only to a late conjecture of Philo of Byblus or of the sources that he consulted. From the oath of Abram (*ibid.*, v. 22),

<sup>2</sup> See my book, *From Adam to Noah* (English translation), pp. 198–202.

who swore to the king of Sodom by the name of **וַאֲרֵן ה' אֵל עֲלִיּוֹן קֹנֵה שָׁמַיִם** – ‘the Lord, God Most High, Maker of heaven and earth’, it would seem that the children of Israel used to identify ‘the most high god’ of the Canaanites with their own One God. Since he was the highest of the deities and the maker of heaven and earth—that is, to say, a universal divinity—the identification could be regarded as justifiable at least relatively. The narrative in Genesis xiv about Melchizedek king of Salem and priest of the God Most High is intended to emphasize the sanctity of Jerusalem by implying that even the pagan peoples who dwelt there before the people of Israel came into existence could serve there only the highest of their gods, who was to be identified with the God of Israel.<sup>3</sup> Thus the name *El Elyon* became a designation for the God of Israel, particularly in connection with the Temple of Jerusalem. However, the Canaanites’ conception of their deity was, needless to say, far different from that of the Israelites. In the view of the Canaanites both El and the other divinities resembled mortals, being, it is true, very much bigger and stronger and more magnificent than human beings, but yet like them in all respects.

In the Ugaritic texts El is given the title ‘king’, although, in point of fact, he did not reign, but dwelt far from the inhabited world, at ‘the mouth of the rivers’, ‘midst the channels of the two deeps’, and the dominion of the world was divided between his three sons: one of them, Baal, ruling the heavens; another son, Mot, reigning over Sheol; and yet another who held sway over the sea and was designated ‘Prince of the Sea’. Only when it was necessary to decide on an important matter relative to the government of the world, would the gods journey to El’s dwelling-place to receive his counsel or permission. All this is very similar to the stories found in the Greek legends concerning Kronos. We may conjecture, it seems (although there is no express evidence of this so far in the texts in our possession), that the Canaanites used to relate that at first El ruled over the entire world, but his sons dethroned him and divided the dominion between them. The story thus recalls the Greek myths regarding Kronos and his sons, who deposed their father and partitioned the world between them, each one ruling over a given portion thereof, Zeus over the heavens, Hades over the netherworld, and Poseidon over the sea. Kronos, too, dwelt, at least according to one form of the myth, far

<sup>3</sup> On *El Elyon*, see my article ‘*El ‘Elyôn*’ in the [Hebrew] *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, and the detailed bibliography given there.

away from the inhabited regions, in the Islands of the Blest (according to another version his abode was in the netherworld) and he also was designated 'king' ( βασιλεύς ), although his kingship had been terminated. Also in respect of the consultation of the gods with their aged father there is a parallel in the Greek myths, which relate how Zeus, after imprisoning and binding Kronos his father, asked his advice on important matters relating to the organization of the world, and which depict Kronos sleeping in his dwelling-place and dreaming dreams and conjuring up ideas in his dreams, which the demons bring and make known to Zeus, so that Zeus may be able to use them in the administration of the universe. Another parallel between the Canaanite deity and the Greek Kronos we find in the fact that both are counted as gods of time: the Canaanites gave their divinity the epithet 'ab šnm, that is, 'father of the years', whilst the Greeks connected the name Κρόνος with the χρόνος, which means 'time'. Another designation of El, common in the Ugaritic texts, is *tr*, denoting 'Bull', as a symbol of strength and fertility.

In Ugarit they used to identify, it seems, the Canaanite El with the Hurrian Kumarbi. The latter, too, resembles the Greek Kronos. In two of the tablets inscribed in the Hurrian tongue that were discovered in Ugarit (No. 4 and No. 7), the name *kmrb* occurs a number of times, sometimes preceded by EL. The Hurrian myth concerning Kumarbi is known from the epic texts uncovered at Boğazköy.<sup>4</sup> Although these texts are written in the Hittite language, they were without doubt translated or adapted from a Hurrian source. In one of those texts, a kind of history of the gods, it is narrated that Kumarbi rebelled against the rule of An, the lord of heaven (*An* in Sumerian, *Anu*, with a suffix, in Akkadian, is the name of the heavens and of the god of heaven) and forced him to flee, in order to take possession of his dominion. Furthermore, Kumarbi bit the 'knees' of Anu and swallowed his male member, and in consequence he conceived and gave birth, through his mouth, to the storm-god (that is, the Hurrian *Tešup*, who corresponds to the Canaanite Baal and to the Greek Zeus) and other divinities. In another text we are told of a battle that was waged between Kumarbi, 'the father of all the gods', and the storm-god, who deposed him and took the kingship for himself. In all these details there is a clear parallel with the Greek myth of

<sup>4</sup> See all these texts, with a German translation and commentary, in H. G. Güterbock, *Kumarbi: Mythen vom churritischen Kronos*, Zürich-New York 1946, and also the essay by the same author in *American Journal of Archaeology*, LII (1948), pp. 123–134.



Kronos, who, as we know, castrated his father Ouranos (heaven) and reigned in his stead; subsequently, he too, was dethroned by his sons, the lead being taken by Zeus, who fought against him and his brothers, the Titans.

From all this we may infer that the identification of the Canaanite El with the Greek Kronos is not the invention of Philo of Byblus or of his epoch. On the contrary, the Greek myths about Kronos, and even such of their details as are deemed by students of Greek mythology to be a product of later Greek development, have their origin in Eastern countries.

According to Philo, El took his three sisters unto himself as consorts, namely, Ashtoreth, Rhea (apparently, Asherah) and Dione or Baaltis (*B'lt*). In one of the Ugaritic poems (SS line 52) reference is made to two sons—*Šhr* and *Šlm*—who were borne unto him by two human wives.

In the Ugaritic tablets pertaining to the forms of worship reference is sometimes made to the offering of a lamb in honour of El. In a stone relief found at Ugarit El is depicted in the guise of an old man sitting on his throne with his feet resting on his footstool, looking with favour at a priest or king who stands before him to minister to him.

In several Biblical passages the word **אל** is apparently used not as a common noun [= God], nor as a designation of the God of Israel, but as the proper name of the Canaanite El. Thus, for example, in Isaiah xiv 13 the gentile king says: **מִסְעַל לְכוֹכְבֵי אֵל אֲרִים כִּסְאִי** – ‘above the stars of El I will set my throne on high’. So, too, in the obscure verse in Hosea xii 1 [E.V., xi 12]: **וַיְהוּדָה עַד דָּר עִם־אֵל וְעַם קְדוֹשִׁים נֶאֱמָן** – ‘but Judah still roams with El and is faithful to the holy ones’. The most probable interpretation is that the sons of Judah go astray after the Canaanite gods El and the holy ones associated with him. In Ezekiel xxviii 2, the words of the Canaanite prince of Tyre, **טוֹשֵׁב אֱלֹהִים וְשֹׁכֵנִי בְּלֶב יַמִּים אֵל אֲנִי** – ‘I am El [or: ‘a god’], I sit in the seat of the gods, in the heart of the seas’, possibly refer to the Canaanite El, or at least allude to El, who dwells ‘midst the channels of the two deeps’. However, in the continuation of the verse, when the prophet declares, **וְאַתָּה אָדָם, וְלֹא־אֵל** – ‘yet you are but a man, and no god’, the word is certainly used as a common noun.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> According to the conjecture of my colleague N. H. Tur-Sinai (see his article ‘*Abbîr, ’Āvîr*’ in the [Hebrew] *Encyclopaedia Biblica*) an allusion to the Canaanite El is to be seen also in Hosea viii 6, where the Masoretic text has, **חָרַשׁ נָשָׂאוֹ וְלֹא אֱלֹהִים הוּא כִּי טִישָׁרְאֵל וְהוּא** – ‘For from Israel is even this; the workman made it,

and it is no god', and Tur-Sinai proposes to read, כִּי טִי טוֹר אֵל –that is, who is this Bull-El whom you worship?—וְהוּא הַרְשָׁה עֲקָדוֹ וְלֹא אֱלֹהִים הוּא .

### Asherah ('Atrt)

In its full form the name of this goddess in the Ugaritic writings is 'atrt ym, which apparently signifies 'she that marches upon the sea'.<sup>6</sup> She is the spouse of the father of the gods, and one of her designations is qnyt 'ilm, that is, the creator or mother of the gods (on the meaning of the verb qny–qn(h) see my observations above, in the section on El), and the deities are called her children. As a rule her name is preceded by the word rbt, that is, 'lady'. Sometimes she is named 'ilt, which means, 'the goddess', that is, the chief goddess, just as her husband is called El ['the god']. In the Epic of Keret she is designated 'atrt srm and 'ilt sdynm, signifying the 'Asherah of the Tyrians' and 'the goddess of the Sidonians'—an indication that she was particularly worshipped in Tyre and Sidon. She was regarded as the goddess of fertility, like Ashtoreth and Anath, and at times the distinction between the three deities was blurred. Consonant with this her character, she supported Baal, the god of the heavens and life, in his war against Mot, the god of the netherworld and death. In the Mesopotamian texts mention is made of Aširtu or Ašratu as the spouse of Anu, or of the West-Semitic deity Amurru. Also in a South-Arabian inscription there occurs the name of the goddess 'Atrt. In the Letters of El-Amarna we find the name of a man 'Abdi-aširti or 'Abdi-ašrati, which means 'Servant of Asherah'. In one of the letters of Taanach many scholars read the words uban aširat ('finger of Asherah'), and regarded this expression as a parallel to the Biblical phrase 'finger of God' (Exodus viii 15 [E.V., v. 19]), but it is now clear that the words have to be read differently and that the reference is to a prophet of Asherah, or the like. In the Ugaritic tablets dealing with the cultus reference is made to sacrifices of large and small cattle in honour of Asherah.

The Canaanite goddess Asherah is also mentioned in the Bible several times. It is related of Maacah the mother of Asa, king of Judah, that she made an 'abominable image' for Asherah, and on account of this Asa removed her from the position of queen mother (i Kings xv 13; ii Chronicles xv 16). There were four hundred prophets of Asherah and four hundred and fifty prophets of Baal who ate at the table of Jezebel, the wife of Ahab king of Israel, and took part in the contest that Elijah arranged on Mount Carmel (i Kings xviii 19).

<sup>6</sup> On this goddess see my article 'Ašera' in the [Hebrew] *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, where a comprehensive bibliography is given.

Jezebel was the daughter of the king of Tyre, a fact that enables us to understand her attachment to the worship of Asherah, which, as we have seen, was particularly rife in the city of her birth. Manasseh king of Judah set a graven image of Asherah in the Temple (ii Kings xxi 7), and Josiah brought it out and burned it at the brook Kidron (*ibid.*, xxiii 6). He likewise brought out from the Temple all the vessels appointed for the cult of Asherah and burned them in the fields of the Kidron (*ibid.*, v. 4). It is further narrated that Josiah broke down the houses of the cult prostitutes that were in the house of the Lord, where the women wove hangings for the Asherah (*ibid.*, v. 7). In the plural—Asherim or Asheroth—the name denotes the goddesses in general (Judges iii 7; ii Chronicles xxxiii 3; xxxiv 7), and sometimes, perhaps, the gods and goddesses altogether (ii Chronicles xix 3; xxiv 18).

### *Baal [B'l]*

This name is essentially an appellative, and means, as is well known, 'lord'. In this connotation the word could serve as an epithet for a number of different gods; but before ever the Ugaritic poems had been written, it had become the fixed designation of a particular deity, namely, *Hadad* or *Had* (in Ugaritic *Hd*), the storm-god, the leading deity of the Canaanite pantheon.<sup>2</sup> The epithet is more commonly found in the Ugaritic texts than the proper name *Had*; sometimes the title and the name occur in parallelism with each other. According to the theory that I put forward above, the Canaanites used to relate that Baal, conjointly with his brothers, deposed his father *El* from his position as ruler of the world, and seized for himself the dominion of the heavens, just as Zeus did in the Greek myth. As the storm-god he was deemed to cause the wind to blow and the rain to fall and to give fertility to the earth; hence the earth also belongs to the sphere of his rule, and one of the epithets applied to him in the Ugaritic writings is *zbl b'l 'ars*, that is, 'prince, lord of the earth'. Other designations and titles were also given to him in the Ugaritic texts, like, *rkb 'rpt*—'rider of the clouds' [compare לְרֹכֵב קַעֲרֹבוֹת in Psalm lxviii 5]; *'al'iy*n—'the mighty' (from the stem *l'y*, which signifies 'to be strong, mighty'); *'al'iy qrdm*—'the mightiest warrior'; *dmrn* (Philo

<sup>2</sup> On Baal see my Hebrew essay 'Baal and Mot in the Ugaritic Writings', in *Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society*, IX (1942), pp. 45–51, and the detailed bibliography there [English translation, *Israel Exploration Journal*, XII (1962), pp. 77–86].



of Byblus transcribes it: *Δημαροῦς* in the genitive, *Δημαροῦντος* );<sup>8</sup> *bn dgn* (possibly *dgn* was initially a designation of El, Baal's father, and at a later period, in the writings of Philo of Byblus, *dgn* was regarded as the brother of El and the stepfather of *dmrn*).

The Canaanites considered Baal to be the source of the life, sustenance and fertility of everyone and everything alive in the world— of the vegetation, of animal life, of human beings and of the gods. When Baal was slain by his brother Mot and descended to the nether-world, the earth ceased to give forth its produce, and only when he was resuscitated did abundance of oil and honey return to the earth (Tablet I AB, iii, 6–13); the young of the herd and the flock were deemed to be dependent on Baal's influence (NK, 27–29; I\* AB, iii, 16–19); when Danel, the righteous king, prayed to the gods that they should vouchsafe him a son, Baal presented his prayer before the father of the gods and pleaded for its acceptance (II D, i, 17 ff.); and in his solemn proclamation against Mot, Baal proudly declared (II AB, vii, 49–50): 'It is I who feed gods and men'. In fine, Baal is considered the god of life and the embodiment of the forces that give, preserve and renew life.

In a relief uncovered at Ugarit Baal is portrayed as a warrior: he holds a club in one hand, in the other lightning; beneath his feet is the sign for water, signifying that he treads upon the high places of the sea; while on his head are horns, the symbol of fertility. The Canaanites dedicated a number of sanctuaries in their land to Baal, and frequently they attributed to Baal, when revered in a given locality, a particular character, and designated him by a special appellation that incorporated the name of the place. In conjunction with the word *בית* ['house of'] the name denoted the local temple, but in the course of time the name of the sanctuary, even without the addition of the word *בית*, became that of the locality itself, for example, *בית בעל קעון, בעל הצור* (בית) and the like. Sometimes the name Baal is combined with another element, for instance, *בית ברית* ('Baal of the Covenant'), *בית זבוב (זבול)* ['Baal of the Lofty Abode'], and so forth. However, these proper names are not to be regarded as contradicting the view that the Canaanites ascribed to Baal cosmic dominion.

Due to the influence exerted by the Canaanite environment, the cult of Baal spread among the people of Israel in different periods.

<sup>8</sup> In my Hebrew essay in the *Professor Dinaburg Jubilee Volume*, pp. 65–67, I suggested an explanation of the word *Dmrn* and its identification with *Δημαροῦς*

and with Baal–Hadd.

This fact is known to all from the Scriptures (the story of the contest arranged by the prophet Elijah on Mount Carmel is famous). There is no need to go into details here and to mention that there were many people in Israel, just as there were in Ugarit, who bore personal names composed of the word Baal, like Eshbaal, Meribbaal, Beeliada [ *בְּעִלְיָדָע* ], Bealiah [ *בְּעִלְיָה* ] found in the Bible, and a number of similar names recorded on the ostraca of Samaria. We shall only add that the plural *בְּעָלִים* [‘Baals’] sometimes signifies in Biblical Hebrew the gods as a whole (Judges ii 11; iii 7; and many other examples).

### *Mot [Mt]*

The character of this god<sup>9</sup> is clearly indicated by his name *Mot*, that is, ‘Death’. Undoubtedly this reading of his name (*Mot* from *Mawt*) is to be preferred to *Mot*, as suggested by other scholars, (the latter means ‘man’ in Akkadian, and occurs in the plural *מְתִים* [‘men’] in Hebrew; it is the first element of names like *מְתוּשָׁלַח* [Methushael] and *מְתוּשֶׁלַח* [Methuselah], and the like). *Mot* is the god of death, and his task is to cut off life and to bring death. Other scholars had already recognized this attribute but they regarded it as only one of his characteristics and they still thought that his primary assignment was the production of fertility. But if we study the sources carefully we find that he has only the aforementioned negative function, and that fertility is not his concern at all. On the contrary, he symbolizes particularly the forces opposed to fruitfulness.

He himself explicitly indicates his nature and activity when he boasts that he is destined to slay Baal, his brother and foe, and to bring him down to the netherworld (I\* AB, i, 14–22): *pnš š npš lb’it thw hm brlt ’anhr bym hm brky tkšd r’umm ‘n kšd ’aylt hm ’imt ’imt npš b<r>’lt hmr[m] ’imt bkl’at ydy ’ilhm hm šb’ ydt ybs’ hm ks ymsknh kkd)–[As] the desire of the lioness is turned towards the wilderness, and the yearning of the sea-horse is for the seas, the wild oxen long for the pools, and the hart longs for the spring, [even so] my desire is to slay, to slay, my yearning is to slay heaps; lo! with two hands do I eat, behold seven portions they cut for me, yea they mix me a cup like a pitcher’.*<sup>10</sup> The similes are clear and require no explanation:

<sup>9</sup> On this divinity see my aforementioned Hebrew essay ‘Baal and Mot in the Ugaritic writings’, and the detailed bibliography given there. In the Ugaritic texts the name is written defective, *mt*, in accordance with the basic system of defective spelling.

<sup>10</sup> Compare above, Chapter II, A, 6.



just as every animal yearns for what it naturally needs, so it is Mot's nature to have a constant urge to kill, to gather corpses in great number one upon the other, pile on pile, in vast multitudes. He swallows up the dead without knowing satiety. With both his hands he shovels them into his mouth, and he drinks their blood in a cup big as a pitcher. Even clearer is Mot's statement about himself, when he relates to Anath how he found Baal and slew him (I AB, ii, 15–19): *'an 'itlk w'asd kl gr lkbd 'ars kl gb' lkbd šdm npš hsrt bn nšm npš hmlt 'ars*—'I walked up and down and went to and fro in every valley unto the heart of the land, on every height unto the heart of the fields, I removed the life of people, the life of multitudes of the earth'. All this is in accord with the statement in Tablet SS, to wit, that in Mot's hand are the rod of the bereavement of children and the rod of widowhood.

As befits one whose occupation is such, Mot dwells in the depths of the netherworld. There is his city *hmry* (which is related to the Hebrew word קְהַמְרוּת, Psa. cxi 11 [E.V., v. 10], 'watery pit'), and there is his throne of glory (II AB, viii, 7–14; I\* AB, ii, 14–16); he is thus the king of the underworld. Sometimes the poetic language of our sources identifies Mot with the netherworld, making them synonymous concepts. In the utterance of Mot that I have cited above from Tablet I\* AB, Mot's 'eating' actually describes the descent of the dead into the underworld. Elsewhere, when he boasts that he succeeded in bringing Baal down to the netherworld, he states explicitly (I AB, ii, 21–23): *ngš 'ank 'al'iyn b'l 'dbnn 'ank <k> 'imr bpy kll'i btbrnqy . . .*—'I hunted down Aliyn Baal, I made him like a lamb in my mouth, like a kid in my throat . . . 'So, too, earlier, when Baal sends his servants to Mot, to his abode in the underworld, he says to them (II AB, viii, 15–20; compare also I\* AB, ii, 2–6): *'al tqrb lbn 'ilm mt 'al y'dbk m k'imr bph kll'i btbrn . . .*—'Behold, ye shall draw near to Mot, son of the gods, he will make you like a lamb in his mouth, as a kid in his throat . . . '.

This is in keeping with the statement of Philo of Byblus, who says of the god Μούθ, that is, Mot: Θάνατον δὲ τοῦτον καὶ Πλούτωνα Φοίνικες ὀνομάζουσιν. He also describes Mot as the god of death (θάνατος) and as the king of the underworld (Pluto, as we know, was the king of the netherworld in Greek mythology).

All that we have noted thus far is also confirmed by the testimony of Scriptural literature. When we examine the passages in which the word קָוָה ['death'] occurs, we find that in a number of instances it does not connote the abstract idea of death, but serves as a proper



noun, as the name of a certain entity, an embodiment, as it were, of death, not unlike the Canaanite Mot. Needless to say, in conformity with the Israelitic monotheistic ideology, this *מָוֶת* was demoted from the rank of a divinity to that of a demon, to that of ‘the angel of death’, to use a later expression. However, his essential character remained unchanged, and we may learn by inference from him concerning the Canaanite Mot. Like the latter he is portrayed as an insatiable, voracious being, whose mouth is ever open to devour. I have already cited above<sup>11</sup> Biblical passages that closely resemble the words of Mot when he proclaims his desire to slay Baal. In Habakkuk ii 5, *כְּשֹׂאֵל נִפְשׁוֹ וְרוּחַ כְּמָוֶת וְלֹא יִשְׂבַּע, אֲשֶׁר תִּרְחִיב* – ‘His greed is as wide as Sheol; like death he has never enough’, we not only observe a surprising resemblance in the general thought, but we also find the word *נִפְשׁוֹ* [‘soul’, ‘appetite’; rendered above: ‘greed’], which occurs likewise in the Ugaritic text. The parallelism in the Hebrew text between the two words *שֹׂאֵל* [‘the netherworld’, ‘Sheol’] and *מָוֶת* indicates that the two concepts were regarded as identical by the Israelites no less than by the Canaanites. In Isaiah v 14 it is stated apropos of the multitude that descends to Sheol: *לִבּוֹ תִרְחִיבַת שֹׂאֵל: נִפְשָׁהּ וּפְעֻמָּהּ פִּיָּהּ לִבְלִיַחֲהָ* – ‘Therefore Sheol has enlarged its appetite and opened its mouth beyond measure’; again the same concepts and again the same expressions (compare Proverbs i 12; xxvii 20; xxx 15–16). Elsewhere (Job xviii 13) it is written: *יֹאכַל בְּרִיּוֹ בְּכוֹר מָוֶת* – ‘the first-born of death consumes his limbs’. Thus *מָוֶת* is a distinct personality that has a first-born son, and this son is, as it were, the embodiment of the diseases, just as the Babylonians believed that the diseases were personified in *Namtar*, the eldest son of *Ereškigal*, the queen of Sheol. From all this it is clear that the ancient Israelites pictured *מָוֶת* to themselves as a kind of demon who reigned over Sheol. In truth, it is precisely the epithet *מֶלֶךְ בְּלָחוֹת* – ‘king of terrors’ that Bildad (Job xviii 14) applies to him, *בְּלָחוֹת* being but another term for Sheol, as we may infer from the statement in Ezekiel (xxvii 36; xxviii 19): *בְּלָחוֹת תְּחִיָּת וְאֵינְךָ עַד־עוֹלָם* – ‘you have become terrors and shall be no more forever’.<sup>12</sup> We have already seen earlier<sup>13</sup> from the verse in Jeremiah ix 20: *כִּי־עָלְתָה מָוֶת בְּחַלּוֹנֵינוּ כִּי בָּא בְּאַרְצֵנוּתֵינוּ* – ‘For death has come up into our windows, it has entered our palaces’, and from a Ugaritic parallel to this passage, that there existed a

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> For another interpretation of the word *בְּלָחוֹת*, see the commentary of Torczyner [Tur-Sinai] on Job, p. 229.

<sup>13</sup> Chapter II, A 5.



traditional belief that מֹת –Mot was accustomed to enter houses by way of the windows. In a number of other passages, too, מֹת is referred to as a person, but this is not the place to detail them.<sup>14</sup>

Common epithets for Mot occurring in Ugaritic writings are *ydd* and *mdd*, both being expressions of affection and love (Hebrew: יְדִירוּת ), as though he were—heaven forbid!—the most beloved of all the gods. This conforms to the customary practice of not calling evil things by their proper names but by a designation connoting the reverse, in order to turn the bane into blessing.

### *Anath* [‘nt]

This goddess is distinguished for her heroic spirit and courage. She is a mighty fighter, who devastates her foes and loves to bathe her feet in the blood of those she has slain. She is a loyal sister to Baal, supports him in his struggle against Mot, inflicts terrible blows upon the confederates of Mot, and when Mot succeeds in slaying Baal, she avenges him with unrestrained fury. In order to support Baal’s demands, she behaves insolently even towards her aged father, whom all the other gods treat with honour. A few scholars were of the opinion that Anath was thought of as the spouse of Baal, but this view does not appear to be correct.

Like all the other female deities, Anath was associated with the idea of fertility; this explains why, despite her dreadful cruelty towards her foes, she was regarded as the goddess of life and as the ally of Baal, the god of life. A Graeco-Phoenician dedicatory inscription (N. Slouschz, *Thesaurus of Phoenician Inscriptions*, No. 95), found in the island of Cyprus, commences with the words: *l’nt ‘z hym* (‘To Anath strength of life’).

A customary epithet applied to her in Ugaritic writings is *btlt* (‘the virgin’), and it is impossible to tell whether the Canaanites understood this title literally, or whether they attributed to it a symbolic connotation only. The signification of another designation given to her—*ybmt l’imm* (once, *ygmt l’imm*)—is not sufficiently clear.

<sup>14</sup> I have cited them in *Orientalia*, VII (1938), p. 267; and in *BJPES*, in my aforementioned article on Baal and Mot, p. 49, note 22 [= *IEJ*, XII p. 83, n. 23], Note should also be taken of the Biblical names מֹת [i Chron. vii 7] מֹת [i Chron. vii 8] מֹת [i Chron. viii 14], מֹת [Neh. xii 3], מֹת [ii Sam. xxiii 31; etc.], and מֹת [i Chron. vi 10] (cf. the name of *Ahimiti*, king of Ashdod, in the time of

Sargon II, and the name *'hwmwt* in the second series of the Egyptian Execration Texts).

Apparently, one must agree with those who consider its meaning to be ‘mother of nations’. If this interpretation is correct, the appellation may be regarded as an allusion to the idea of fertility. Her beauty and grace were deemed the acme of perfection; thus it was said in praise of the Lady *Hry* (I K, 145): *n‘m ‘nt n‘mh*–‘her grace was like the grace of Anath’. In the Tablet IV AB she is called (ii, 16): *n‘mt bn ‘ahb b‘l*–‘the fairest among the sisters of Baal’, and afterwards (iii, 11): *n‘mt ‘ahth*–‘the fairest of his sisters’.

From the land of Canaan the cult of Anath passed over to Egypt, possibly through the medium of the Hyksos. During the 18th Dynasty, and even more so during the 19th Dynasty, Anath was regarded in Egypt as one of the greatest goddesses, and particularly as a puissant goddess, the goddess of war. In one of the Egyptian temples at Bethshean, which was built in the time of Ramses II (in the 13th century B.C.E.) there was discovered, *inter alia*, a consecration pillar dedicated to Anath queen of heaven and mistress of all the gods. At a later period we find in the Elephantine papyri of Egypt the name of the goddess ענתביתאל (on the name ענתיהו see note 15). From the Greek portion of the aforementioned inscription that was found in Cyprus we learn that in the Hellenistic period Anath was identified with the Greek goddess Athena, the warrior virgin deity. Apparently they relied on the resemblance of the names, and even more on the similarity in the character of the two divinities.

Outside Beth-shean, too, temples were dedicated in the land of Canaan to Anath; hence we find place-names like בית ענת in the territory of Naphtali (Joshua xix 38; Judges i 33) and בית ענות in the territory of Judah (Joshua xv 59). The name of the judge שפגור גד ענת (Judges iii 31; v 6) means, according to the current view, Shamgar a man of בית ענת. It is customary to derive from the name ענת also the name of the city ענתות, the birthplace of the prophet Jeremiah, but this explanation does not seem correct.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup> It is difficult to understand the plural of a place-name after the manner of plurals like אשרות and בגלים that we have cited above, and it is even more difficult to interpret it in the sense of the priestesses devoted to the service of Anath. It is also difficult to associate with Anath the names of the men ענתות (Neh. x 20; i Chron. vii 8) and ענתותיה (i Chron. viii 24). Hence, I am inclined to explain ענתות differently, in the sense of קענות [‘dwellings’] (cf. the name קענתי i Chron. iv 14), and although the *Taw* after the *Nûn* is not part of the stem, it may be conjectured that it remained in the plural in the same way as the *Taw* has remained in words like קשרות and בקרות, on the analogy of most trilateral nouns. So, too, the obscure

word ענתיהו in the Elephantine papyri (Cowley, No. 44, line 3) may be satisfactorily explained, in my opinion, in the sense of מעון-יהו

Still further details concerning the personality of Anath are revealed in the Ugaritic texts that are cited and interpreted in the continuation of this volume; there is no need, therefore, to treat the subject at greater length here.

### THE CONTENTS OF THE EPIC

Not all the tablets of the Baal Epic have been discovered so far, and even those that have been found are not complete; only fragments of the tablets are in our possession. It is not surprising, therefore, that many doubts still remain, not only in regard to the detailed exposition of the texts, but also in respect of the interpretation of their general contents, and even with reference to the order of the tablets within the epic. I shall endeavour to establish here, as far as possible, the order of the tablets and the contents of the epic according to its parts.

A considerable proportion of the interpretations and conjectures suggested in connection with this and the other Ugaritic epics, is ill-founded and largely speculative. Anyone taking note of the criticism contained in the big work of R. de Langhe, which is moderate in form but drastic in substance, will readily appreciate the point. The theories put forward in regard to the geographical background of the epics, the historical memories that have, supposedly, been preserved in them, the allusions to cultic ceremonies, to religious symbolism, to mystic concepts, and the like, are mostly mere surmise, and there is no need to discuss them again in detail.

I shall only point out that as a rule obscure and alogical interpretations are not to be accepted. At the time when the Ugaritic epics were written, the prelogical period was already past, and although the rules of reasoned thought had not yet been theoretically established, nevertheless, empirically, cultivated people (and the poets of Ugarit were certainly among the cultivated) had acquired ways of thinking that were fundamentally logical. Hence, it is difficult to agree to such explanations as are unduly remote from the processes of reasoned thought. The interpretation that is nearest to our modes of thinking, that is simplest and clearest, is the most probable; and it is such an explanation of the contents of the Epic of Baal that I shall endeavour to give in the following pages.

[‘dwelling of Yahu’], as a synonym of **מסנדה** which precedes it (compare my Hebrew essay ‘*Elohêhem shel Yôhûdhê Yêbh*’ [The God of the Jews of Elephantine], *Kedem*, I [1942], pp. 47–52).

I shall summarize the essential story of the parts of the epic in our possession today as I understand them, and in square brackets I shall try to complete, in general outline, the subject-matter of the missing parts.

#### TABLET VI AB

This tablet is apparently the first in order of the tablets belonging to the Baal Epic that have been preserved to us at least in part (what remains of it is reproduced, with a translation [Hebrew and English] and commentary, in the continuation of this book). Whether it was preceded by a tablet not yet uncovered, it is impossible to determine.

[The epic apparently commenced, at the beginning of Tablet VI AB or in the preceding tablet, with an account of, or an allusion to, the deposition of El, the father of the gods, from the rulership of the world and the accession of his sons to his position (as I suggested earlier on the basis of the relationship between El and his sons described in the texts that we have). These sons divided the dominion between them: Baal became the god of heaven; Mot was enthroned as the god of the netherworld; and one of their brothers was installed as Prince of the Sea. But forthwith quarreling broke out between the new rulers, because each one wanted to appropriate to himself more than his due share and to have dominion over the world. Both Baal and Mot aspired to sovereignty over the gods and over men; while the Prince of the Sea, who always craved to flood the dry land with his waters, became the ally of Mot against Baal. At the beginning of the dispute Mot turned to his father El and asked him to determine his name and his fate.] El decided that Mot's name was to be *mdd 'ilm* ('beloved of the gods'), and he told him that he would temporarily succeed in dethroning Baal and removing him from his dominion, but that subsequently Baal would prevail against him and defeat him decisively, gaining the ultimate victory. [Baal waged his war particularly with the help of his chief confederates, his sister Anath and the craftsman-god *Ktr-w-Hss*. They fought doughtily, although Mot was able to destroy the abode of Baal in the remote North.] El sent his messenger to *Ktr-w-Hss* to ask him to put an end to the fighting and to visit him in order to hear what he had to tell him. *Ktr-w-Hss* went to El's dwelling [and it seems that he complied]. Thereafter El sent his messengers to Anath with a similar request [but she rejected his appeal, and continued to do battle with all her might].

## ONE OR MORE TABLETS MISSING

[This part of the epic, which is not found in the tablets in our possession, contained, *inter alia*, an account of warlike acts by Anath against Baal's foes. This fact emerges from the words of Anath cited in V AB (iv, G–K): she alludes there to her previous achievements, and mentions the names of the enemies whom she had already succeeded in vanquishing. The first of the enemies whom Anath conquered was the Prince of the Sea, and she likewise smote the Judge of the River, who joined forces with the Sea Prince (but possibly the two are identical). After them arose the Dragon [*tnn*], and Anath muzzled his mouth. After the Dragon, there arose, again, terrible, frightening monsters (battles waged by the gods against monsters are a common theme in the mythology of the ancient East): the Crooked [or, Writhing] Serpent, the seven-headed Ogre, and also others, all of whom Anath smote and subdued by her overwhelming power.]

## TABLET V AB

The extant portion of this Tablet, representing the greater part of it, will be cited, together with an English translation and a detailed commentary, in the latter half of this book. Here we shall give briefly its essential contents.

Baal paid a visit to one of the gods [possibly to ask him to support him against Mot]. The host accorded him a friendly welcome, and entertained him with food and drink and music. Thereafter Baal returned to his remaining 'habitations' in the far North. Anath again fought fiercely. This time the enemies were human beings [supporters of Mot and opponents of Baal], who attacked her palace. She inflicted upon them a shattering defeat and destroyed them. But Baal was weary of the protracted war, and he thought that at this juncture it would serve his interests best to build a magnificent palace befitting a king [he reasoned that if he had a royal palace he would easily be able to proclaim himself king over both gods and men; and so, in fact, it is narrated later in the epic, that as soon as he had succeeded in building the palace for himself he rose up and made such a proclamation]. Hence he requested Anath to cease fighting and to apply to their father El for permission to erect the palace. Anath turned to El with fearful threats, in order to compel him to accede to her wish, and El was forced to grant his consent. [Anath also addressed herself to her mother Asherah to ask for her help in connection with the

palace. Asherah gave her wholehearted assent, and] sent her servant to the craftsman-god *Ktr-w-Hss* to request him, on Baal's behalf, to build him the palace.

#### TABLET II AB

The greater part of this tablet has been preserved, and its essential theme is as follows:<sup>16</sup>

In compliance with Asherah's request, *Ktr-w-Hss* commenced the requisite preparations for the construction of the palace, and began to fashion beautiful furniture for this purpose. But Baal's foes disturbed the work [and obtained from El the cancellation of his permission]. With the help and intercession of Asherah, Baal and Anath received from El a renewal of his permission, and *Ktr-w-Hss* built a beautiful edifice for Baal in the recesses of the North. From the windows of his palace Baal proclaimed his kingship, and challenged Mot to a decisive battle.

#### TABLET III AB

Only fragments have survived from this tablet, but the essence of its story appears to have been as follows:

The Prince of the Sea and the Judge of the River likewise request and receive permission from El to build a palace; they also endeavour to persuade El to recognize their princship. But Baal fights against them mightily, defeats them and compels them to surrender to him and acknowledge him as king.

#### TABLET I\* AB

The greater part of this tablet has been preserved, and this is its theme:<sup>17</sup>

Although his allies failed, Mot himself was not subdued. He threatened Baal, declaring that even if Baal should succeed in destroying Leviathan, the Fleeing Serpent, and the other monsters who supported Mot, he Mot himself, would smite him and slay him and bring him down to the netherworld. Baal attempted to escape this danger by means of magic acts (intercourse with a cow), but without success. Mot killed him and brought him down to the underworld, even as he had threatened to do.

<sup>16</sup> See my essay on this tablet in *Orientalia* VII (1938), pp. 265–290, and the summary of it in *JBL*, LXI (1942), pp. 51–56.

<sup>17</sup> I have translated and explained this tablet in *Tarbiz*, XII (1941), pp. 169–180.

## TABLET I AB

This tablet is almost entirely intact, and this is what it narrates:

Anath buried the body of Baal with great honour, and thereafter she avenged him by inflicting terrible blows upon Mot, and ravaging his body. Then Baal came back to life, engaged in a decisive combat with Mot, subdued him, and forced him to accept his overlordship and to acknowledge that Baal reigned over all.

### THE MEANING OF THE EPIC

From our characterization, above, of the two chief opponents, Baal and Mot, and from the manner of the epic's unfoldment, which we have just described, the significance of the war between these two gods becomes clear. This conflict between Baal, the god of life, and Mot, the god of death, who strove against each other for the purpose of securing the kingship over the deities and mankind and the world as a whole, symbolizes the constant clash in nature between the forces of life and existence and those of death and destruction. The recurring annual cycle in plant life, in summer and in winter, which was considered by some scholars as the primary phenomenon to which the epic makes veiled allusion, is only one detail, and not the most important either, in the majestic and titanic drama. Throughout the world, at all times and seasons, a fearful war is being waged between the powers of life and those that lie in wait to overwhelm it. Both forces seek to gain dominion over the world, and their struggle continues without surcease, with fortunes changing periodically, but in the end it is the forces of life that are triumphant. There is an optimistic *Weltanschauung* here: it is life that has dominion and sovereignty over the world, and although it encounters all kinds of opposition and hindrances, and at times is compelled to suffer temporary defeat, it is victorious in the end, and its supremacy endures for ever.

### VARIOUS RECENSIONS

The epic that we have just discussed was not the only form in which the myths relating to Baal found expression in Ugaritic literature. There survive among the Ugaritic tablets texts that show that the poets composed more than one version of these legends. Two fragments,

both of which belong apparently to one tablet,<sup>18</sup> contain remnants of a recension that differs from that preserved in Tablet V AB. Sometimes the poets recounted in great detail, in special poems or in an enlarged version, matters dealt with summarily in the recension described above. Thus we find in Tablet IV AB a detailed account of the story of the cow referred to briefly in Tablet I\* AB; and in BH we are given a lengthy description of the slaying of Baal, which is likewise related in Tablet I\* AB in a shorter form. Concerning the contents of other small fragments<sup>19</sup> and their relationship to the epic it is impossible to come to any conclusion on account of their impaired condition.

Even in plastic art traces of the Canaanite tradition regarding Baal and his wars are discernible. We have already mentioned earlier the Ugaritic stele of Baal, which symbolizes, by the sign for water beneath his feet, his victory over the Prince of the Sea. Whether episodes of the Baal epic are actually to be seen in the figured reliefs on Phoenician silver bowls, as has been conjectured,<sup>20</sup> is a moot point.

#### THE PARALLEL TRADITIONS AMONG THE ISRAELITES

In Israel's literature it was, of course, impossible for such stories, concerning quarrels and wars between the deities, to be related, since, according to the Israelitic faith, there is but one God, who transcends nature and is external to it, doing all things according to his will, performing actions without being subject to the action of others. However, the tradition assumed, in part, a new form, and in this form it continued to survive even among the children of Israel. The Israelite ethos set its distinctive imprint upon the traditional material, and transformed its character in conformity with its own. Generally, folk traditions are inclined to change their forms, to discard one aspect and to acquire another, and to assure despite this—nay, precisely because of this—the preservation of a significant part of its content. This is also what happened in the case under discussion.

<sup>18</sup> Designated RŠ 5180 by Virolleaud; Nos. 130–131 in *UH*. These are the fragments printed in this volume after Tablets V AB and VI AB.

<sup>19</sup> These are: the fragment designated No. 6 among the tablets discovered in 1929 ('Baal IV' in Ginsberg's Hebrew work); the fragments numbered 132–134 in *UH* (No. 132 belongs, according to Virolleaud, to Tablet IV AB); and the fragment published in *Syria*, XIII (1932), p. 158 (*UH*, p. 144 at the end of No. 51).

<sup>20</sup> See the article by R. D. Barnett, entitled “The Nimrud Ivories and the Art of the Phoenicians” in *Iraq*, II (1935), pp. 201–208. See also the article by the same author in *PEQ*, LXXI (1939), pp. 4–19.

It is true that the Israelites no longer recounted stories of two gods engaged in conflict, but they nevertheless spoke of death as a demon or evil spirit, a bad angel, the angel of death, who acted in a manner reminiscent of the way in which the Canaanites used to picture to themselves the actions of their Mot, as we have already observed above. Similarly, there was a myth current among the Israelites concerning one of the created beings, the Great Sea—and its guardian angel, ‘the Prince’ of the Sea—which rebelled against its Creator, and attempted to oppose the will of the God of the universe, but failed. In the history of religions it is, as a rule, the fate of the gods whose day is past, and who are no longer regarded as deities, that they are demoted to the grade of demons or evil angels.

Many allusions are to be found in the prophetic and poetic books of the Bible to the revolt of the sea and the rivers in the primeval epoch of the world’s history, and to their ultimate subjection to the Creator. These allusions, and their literary form, which is enshrined in its terminology and phraseology, testify, as I have shown in my Hebrew essay on ‘The Epic Poetry of Israel’,<sup>21</sup> to the existence of a very ancient Israelitic epic poem, which dealt with this subject. Although the poem itself was lost in the course of time (apparently it disappeared in the obscure period subsequent to Ezra and Nehemiah), its essential theme was preserved in the memory of the people, as the references to the subject in the Apocrypha, the New Testament and Rabbinic literature indicate. Nay more, in the Rabbinic legends we find not merely allusions but actual narrations, although in an extremely brief and undetailed form. They relate, for instance, that ‘When the Holy One, blessed be He, created the sea, it went on expanding, until the Holy One, blessed be He, rebuked it and caused it to dry up’ (Hagiga 12 a), or that ‘When the Holy One, blessed be He, wished to create the world, He said to the Prince of the Sea: “Open thy mouth and swallow all the waters of the world” [Rashi: so that the dry land might appear]; said he to Him: “Master of the universe, it is enough that I abide with my own”; forthwith He trampled him down and slew him, as it is said [Job xxvi 12]: “By His power He stilled the sea and by His understanding He smote Rahab” ’ (B. Baba Bathra 74 b). Elsewhere the Rabbis tell us that when ‘the Holy One blessed be He, said: “Let the dry land appear”, the waters replied: “Lo, we fill the world, yet has it been too strait for us; whither shall we go?” (Thereupon, the Almighty)—blessed be His name!—

<sup>21</sup> Cited above, p. 35, note 23.

trampled down the Okeanos and slew him, as it is said: “By His power He stilled the sea, and by His understanding He smote Rahab . . .” Hence the Okeanos is called “the Sea of Death” ’ (Exodus Rabba xv 22). Needless to say, not all the material contained in Israel’s post-Biblical literature is the direct continuation of ancient tradition; in part it is the product of later development, or the result of foreign influence, or it represents the haggadic interpretation placed by the Rabbis on Scriptural verses; but in part it also preserves, without doubt, ancient elements, which remained in the people’s memory even after the original poems had sunk into oblivion.

In my aforementioned essay I endeavoured to determine, on the basis of the allusions found in Scripture and the memories kept alive even in post-Biblical literature, the contents, and as far as possible also the form, of the ancient Israelite epic relating to the revolt of the sea; and this attempt at reconstruction clearly showed that this epic was an Israelitic development of the early Canaanite tradition about the Prince of the Sea (possibly it also contained some slight traces of the Babylonian cosmogonic tradition).

This is not the place to repeat the details of the reconstruction, or the proofs that I advanced in respect of it from Hebrew sources. Whoever is interested will easily be able to find all the material in my above-mentioned article. Here it will suffice to give very briefly, using traditional phraseology, the general outline, according to this reconstruction, of the Israelite epic on the revolt of the sea.

Of old, when the world first came into being—so the epic recounted — the Prince of the Sea, called Rahab, rose in rebellion against the Creator of the universe. The waters of the great deep—the multitudinous, majestic and mighty waters—swelled and surged high in their pride in order to cover the earth. The tremendous billows of the sea lifted up their voice and roared tumultuously. Together with the sea also the rivers—the perennial streams—rose up and rebelled, and they, too, lifted up their voice and uproar. Many helpers, known as the helpers of Rahab, joined the rebels, among them being Leviathan the *barîah* [fleeing?] serpent, Leviathan the crooked [or, writhing] serpent, or the sea-dragons. But the anger of the Lord was kindled against all the creatures that revolted against him, and His anger was not turned away from them. He appeared against them with His chariots (that is, the clouds of heaven); He rode on a cherub and flew, and rode on ‘*ărabhoth* [i. e. clouds]; He came swiftly upon the wings of the wind. He gave forth His voice from heaven and thundered upon many waters; yea, with the thunder of His voice He rebuked



the rebels terribly. They did, indeed, lift themselves up, but He exalted Himself exceedingly over them. They were mighty, but He was mightier than they on high, and they writhed, and trembled and fled at the sound of His rebuke. He fought against them with His hand, and big and strong sword, with His bow and His arrows, with His staves and His spear; He put a muzzle on Leviathan's mouth and made sport of him and smashed his heads; He shattered the sea with His might, broke the heads of the dragons on the water, and sank all the monsters in the depths of the deep. His powerful arm dried up Rahab, crushed it like one slain, and scattered its helpers. He wounded, hewed, pierced, cut off the rebels; He burst open the streams and deeps; He stirred up and calmed the roaring of the waves of the sea; He destroyed and dried up the waters of the sea and the rivers, and placed a bound for the sea, which it cannot pass, a boundary closed by doors and a bar and well guarded. Thus were the rebels subdued, and the Lord trod upon the high places of the sea like a king the yoke of whose kingdom everyone accepts. He is King and He will reign for ever and ever.

When the tradition concerning the resistance of the sea and its allies to the will of the Creator of the world was accepted among the Israelites, not only were all the pagan elements inherent in its original form among the Gentiles blurred, but new ideas were attached to it in keeping with the conscience and ethos of the people of Israel. The children of Israel saw in the ancient story not merely an allusion to natural phenomena but also a symbolization of ethical and national concepts.

In the moral consciousness of the people of Israel the sea and the rivers, which rebelled against the Lord, represented both the forces of wickedness, which opposed the intention of the Lord, the ultimate source of absolute good, and also the evildoers—the wicked individuals and peoples—who, contrary to God's will, perpetrate iniquity in the world. The Lord's triumph over them became symbolic of the action of Divine justice, which brought upon the wicked the retribution due to them, and of the final hoped-for victory in the end of days, when the Lord would eradicate the element of evil from His world. This new factor introduced by the Israelites is clearly revealed when we consider the verses of the Ugaritic poem on the war waged by Baal against the Prince of the Sea: 'Lo, thy enemies, O Baal, lo, thou shalt smite through, lo thou shalt exterminate thy foes', and compare them with the phrasing of the passage in Psalms xcii 10 [E.V., v. 9]: 'For, lo, thy enemies, O Lord, for, lo, thy enemies

shall perish; all evildoers shall be scattered'. The enemies of the Lord are identified here with the evildoers.

Together with the ethical concepts of the punishment of wickedness and the triumph of good over evil, national ideas were also linked to the ancient tradition. The enemies of Israel were equated with the enemies of the Lord, and came to represent the forces of wickedness and the power of evil. Consequently, whenever any people or ruler rose up to oppress Israel, it appeared as though the primeval revolt of the sea and the rivers at the time of Creation was re-enacted; and the defeat of the foes and the deliverance of Israel from their hands were regarded as a renewal of the primordial victory of God over the rebels.

Hence the numerous allusions to the ancient epic in the prophetic and poetic literature of the Bible. When the prophets and poets of Israel prayed for the salvation of their people from the hands of their enemies they entreated that the Lord should renew His work as in the days of old (for example, Isaiah lix 9; Habakkuk iii 2); when their intention was to encourage their brethren and to assure them that it was in the Lord's power to subjugate even the most powerful enemies, they buttressed their argument by reference to what He had done to the mighty waters of the rebellious deep (e.g., Psalms lxxxix 10–11 [E.V., vv. 9–10]); when they wished to describe a Divine act wrought for the benefit of Israel and their deliverance from their foes, like the division of the Red Sea or the cutting off of the waters of the Jordan, they employed phraseology and coloration derived from the storehouse of the literary tradition relating to the work of the Lord against the waters of the sea and the rivers in the period of Creation (e.g. Isaiah li 10, and numerous examples in the Song of the Sea). So, too, when they brought tidings of consolation regarding the ultimate extirpation of evil in the future, they formulated the message in figurative language alluding to that ancient tradition (e.g., Isaiah xxvii 1).<sup>22</sup>

<sup>22</sup> See also in my aforementioned essay a number of additional details with regard to the fate of the ancient epic in the history and literature of Israel. Here there is no need to deal with the subject further.

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# THE TEXTS

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## PRELIMINARY NOTES

All the tablets of the Epic of Baal that were known up to the beginning of 1936, were translated and annotated by H. L. Ginsberg in his Hebrew work *Kitbe Ugarit [The Ugarit Texts]*. They comprise the second part of the extant portions of the epic, from Tablet II AB onward (see the summary given above in Ch. III of the Introduction).<sup>1</sup>

The tablets that preceded them in the sequence of the epic, namely, Tablets VI AB and V AB, were only published subsequently, and hence were not included in that volume. The same applies to the fragments that correspond in content to V AB, which were first printed a few years ago. All this material, which constitutes the first part of the remnants of the Baal Epic, and whose position in the epic precedes the portions to be found in Ginsberg's book, are available to the reader in this volume.

Since there have survived from Tablet VI AB only small fragments, which are incomprehensible except in the light of the narrative in Tablet V AB, I have placed V AB before VI AB, although in the story of the epic VI AB comes earlier than V AB. After Tablet VI AB, which formed an integral part of the principal epic, I reproduce the two fragments that parallel V AB, and belong apparently to another recension.

Each text is cited in the original Ugaritic, in transliteration, and next to it, on the right-hand side, the Hebrew and English renderings are given. The text and translations are followed by a detailed commentary.

In conformity with the procedure that I adopted in the Introduction, Ch. III, in regard to the exposition of the general contents of the epic, I limit myself as a rule, also in the commentary, to the expression of my own opinion, and I quote other views only where I see some particular reason for this. When I accept someone else's explanation, I mention, needless to say, the scholar's name. The verses and expressions in respect of which there is general agreement among the authorities I simply translate, without any comment thereon in my annotations, unless there is need, for some reason, of a special note,

<sup>1</sup> Apart from these tablets, Ginsberg also reproduces fragment 6, whose position in the epic is not known. On the other hand, his book does not contain the fragments of Tablet III AB, which were published later.



and in such cases I indicate expressly that the interpretation represents the general consensus of opinion and is not an individual conjecture. The remainder, which constitutes the bulk both of the exposition of the contents of the texts and of the annotation of their details, represents original views that I present for the first time in this volume, or that I have already put forward in one of my previous works on the writings of Ugarit.

These are the rules governing the transliteration and the sigla employed in setting out the columns that follow:

In the transcription of the Ugaritic texts, the Ugaritic characters are transliterated in accordance with the table given above in Ch. I of the Introduction. The sign of the word divider is mostly omitted, in conformity with Bauer's system of transliteration in Latin letters, but where necessary it is marked in the form of the Biblical *p<sup>o</sup>sîq* (|). When this sign is wanting in the original and should be inserted, it is indicated by a mark in the middle of the line, thus: · . As regards particles like *k* (in Hebrew כִּי [‘when, if, because, for, that’], or כֵּן [‘thus’]), or *l* (the negative), I have separated them from the succeeding word for the sake of greater clarity. Contrariwise, I have attached formative letters, like *w-* [copula], *b-*, *k-*, *l-*, [prepositions], to the word that follows, even if they are written separately in the original. The restorations of letters or words missing on account of the impaired state of a tablet are enclosed in square brackets [ ], and the completion of a scribal omission is placed within angle brackets < >. Round brackets ( ) indicate plusses in the original. Lacunae that cannot be restored are represented by horizontal lines—.

Doubtful words are left unpointed in the Hebrew translation, and are consequently written *plene*.

In both the English and Hebrew renderings, horizontal lines— indicate lacunae in the original or obscurities that cannot be translated. Braces { } are used to enclose, in the translation, suggested restorations of an approximate character, when it proved impossible to propose an exact reconstruction.

My division of the sections in Tablet V AB diverges somewhat from that of Virolleaud, while my arrangement of the columns in Tablet VI AB is completely different from that suggested by Virolleaud. Nevertheless, I also give Virolleaud's sigla, in order to facilitate reference to the passages cited in other books that follow his system. For this reason I have used Arabic numerals to indicate the numbers



of the lines in the tablets in conformity with Virolleaud's enumeration.

However, I have not set out the texts according to the lines as they are found in the tablets, since the arrangement was arbitrary, or dependent on the space available to the scribe. Instead, I have arranged the lines in keeping with the poetic rhythm [cola], and I have divided them into verses in the manner of the Bible. To mark the verses I have used capital letters.

# I.

## TABLET V AB (TABLET OF THE GODDESS ANATH)

### DESCRIPTION OF THE TABLET

The size of the complete tablet is about 16 x 20 cm. The writing on it was divided into six columns, three on the obverse (columns i–iii), and three on the reverse (columns iv–vi). Of it remain:

1) A large fragment (Louvre, AO 16.638), comprising about two thirds of the tablet along its whole length from left to right. The obverse contains the middle lines of column i and the bottom two-thirds of columns ii–iii; on the reverse, which is, as usual, inscribed in the opposite direction,<sup>1</sup> there remain the top two-thirds of columns iv–v, and the middle lines of column vi. Even in the part preserved, there are some mutilations and blurred words here and there, particularly on the reverse of the tablet.

2) A small fragment (Louvre AO 16.639), containing on the one side a few letters from the beginning of column iii, and on the other part of the last lines of column iv.

An idea of the appearance of the fragments (or at least of the large fragment) may be obtained from the photographs given in Plates II–III. In order to enable the reader to understand the place occupied by the fragments in the complete tablet, and the position of each section, I have added a diagram ([Fig. 1](#)).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> When writing on the reverse side of a tablet, the scribes used to turn the tablet upside down and change the direction of the sequence of the columns; on the obverse the order of the columns was 1–2–3, and on the reverse 6–5–4.

<sup>2</sup> According to Virolleaud's sigla: A = first section; B = second section; C = third section; D=fourth section and the beginning of the fifth; E=the small fragment at the end of col. iv and the entire remnant of col. v; F = seventh section.

TABLET V AB

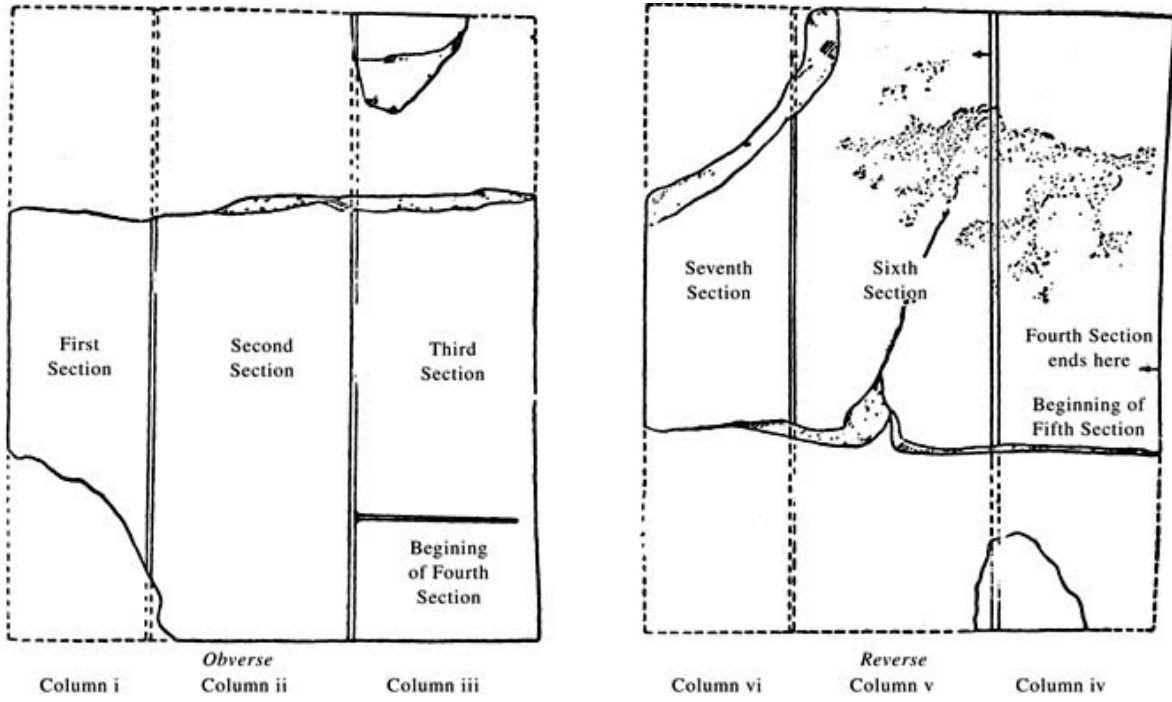


Fig. 1. Diagram of Tablet V AB

# UGARITIC ORIGINAL IN TRANSLITERATION AND HEBREW AND ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS

## FIRST SECTION

(Remnant of column i)

Column i is mutilated at the beginning; a number of lines, approximately twenty, are missing. Even the first line of the portion preserved suffers from lacunae, only the first letters thereof being left.

In the missing portion it was narrated, apparently, that Aliyn Baal called at the home of one of the gods in order to win his sympathy and help in the war he was waging against Mot. The host welcomed

|   | Virolleaud's sigla: V AB, A | Hebrew Translation      |
|---|-----------------------------|-------------------------|
| A | 1 `al tgl ---               | -----                   |
|   | 2 --- prdmm                 | -----                   |
| B | `bd `al'i[yn] (3) b'l       | עבד את אלאין בעל,       |
|   | s'id zbl b'l (4) `arš       | שרת את השר בעל ארין.    |
| C | qm yf'r (5) wyšlḥmnh        | קם וישא משאות ויאכילהו, |
|   | 6 ybrd ḏd lpnwh             | וניתח שד לפניו,         |
|   | 7 bḥrb mlḥt (8) qš mr'i     | בהרב סינקת זיו מריא.    |
| D | ndd (9) y'šr wyšqynh        | עמד ויש וישקהו,         |
|   | 10 ytn ks bdh               | נתן כוס בידו,           |
|   | 11 krpn bkl' at ydh         | נביע בשתי ידיו,         |
| E | 12 bkl rb 'zm r' il         | כלי רב ועצום למראת,     |
|   | dn (13) nt šmm              | ספל נבורי שקים,         |
| F | ks qdš (14) ltpnhh `at      | כוס קדש תראה הנבירה,    |
|   | krpn (15) lfn `atrt         | נביע תחווה אשרה.        |
| G | `alp (16) kd yqḥ bḥmr       | אלפי בדים בהמר יקח,     |
|   | 17 rbt ymsk bmskh           | לרבבות ימסך ממסכו.      |
| H | 18 qm ybd wyšr              | קם ויחל וישר,           |
|   | 19 mšltm bd n'm             | סאלתים בידו העים        |
|   | 20 yšr ḡzr ṭb ql            | ישיר הנבור טוב הקול.    |
| I | 21 'l b'l bšrrt (22) špn    | עלה בעל לירכתי צפון,    |
|   | ytmr b'l (23) bnth          | פנה בעל לנותיו.         |
| J | y'n pdry (24) bt `ar        | ישור פדרי בת אר,        |
|   | `apn ṭly (25) [bt r]b       | ואף טלי בת רב,          |
| K | pdr yd' (26) ---t           | -----                   |
|   | 'im --- lt (27) ---         | -----                   |

In the lower portion of column i a number of lines (approximately fifteen) are missing. In the last verse, which on account of its mutilated



## FIRST SECTION

(Remnant of column i)

him, and offered him food and drink, and entertained him with song and music.

My translation of, and annotations to, this column were published some years ago in the *Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society* [Hebrew], X (1943), pp. 47–52 (English summary, *ibid.*, p. II).

### *English translation*

A — — — — —  
— — — — —

B served Aliyn Baal  
ministered to the Prince, Lord of Earth.

C He arose, took portions and gave him to eat,  
he cut up a breast before him,  
with a suckling [= feeding] sword [knife] a nipple of a fatling.

D He stood up, brought [wine] and gave him to drink,  
he placed a cup in his hand,  
a pitcher in both his hands,

E a large vessel, great to look upon,  
a bowl of the mighty men of heaven,

F a holy cup doth the Lady see,  
a pitcher doth Asherah behold.

G Thousands of jars of wine he takes,  
unto myriads he mixes his mixture.

H He arose, and began to sing,  
cymbals in the hands of the musician,  
the sweet-voiced hero sings.

I Baal went up to the recesses of the North,  
Baal turned to his meadows.

J He looks at Pdry the daughter of 'Ar, also Tly the daughter of Rabb

K — — — — —  
— — — — —

condition cannot be translated, it was apparently related how Baal found comfort in the company of his wives.

## SECOND SECTION

(A remnant of column ii and a fragment of the beginning of column iii)

Column ii is also mutilated at the top, and there, too, a number of lines are wanting, about twenty in all. In this case, also, only a few letters have been preserved of the first line of the remnant. The end of column ii is complete in the large fragment of the tablet, designated AO 16.638, and the commencement of column iii is contained in the small fragment, designated AO 16.639.

It is impossible to tell what was narrated at the end of column i

|   | <i>Virolleaud's sigla: V AB, B</i> | <i>Hebrew translation</i>                          |
|---|------------------------------------|--|
| A | 1 --- št -                         | -----  |
|   | 2 <i>kpr šb' bnt</i>               | -----  |
| B | <i>rḥ gdm (3) w'anhbm</i>          | בְּעָרְבַּ בָּאוּ גֵרֻדִים וְשׁוֹרְדִים            |
|   | <i>kl'at tgrt (4) bht 'nt</i>      | אֶל שְׁנֵי שַׁעְרֵי בַּיִת עֲנַת,                  |
|   | <i>wtqry glmm (5) bšt gr</i>       | וַיֵּאָסְפוּ הַמְּשֻׁרְתִים בְּיַרְכְּתֵי מַעְרָה. |
| C | <i>whln 'nt tm(6)thš</i>           | וְאוֹלָם עֲנַת תִּמְחִין,                          |
|   | <i>b'mq thšb bn (7) qrytm</i>      | בְּחֶזֶק תַּחְצֹב בְּכַנֵּי קְרִיתִים.             |
| D | <i>tmḥš l'im ḥp y[m]</i>           | תִּמְחִין עִם חוֹף הַיָּם,                         |
|   | 8 <i>tšmt 'adm š'at špš</i>        | תַּצְמִית אֲנָשֵׁי מִזְרַח שְׁמֶשׁ,                |
| E | 9 <i>thth kkdrt r'i[š]</i>         | תַּחְתִּיהָ רְאשִׁים כְּבָדוּרִים,                 |
|   | 10 <i>'lh k'irbym kp</i>           | עָלֶיהָ כַּפּוֹת יָדַיִם כְּאַרְבַּת,              |
|   | <i>kqsm (11) grmn kp mhr</i>       | כִּילֹק לְאֵין מַסְפֵּר כַּפּוֹת מַהִירִים.        |
| F | <i>'tkt (12) r'ist lbmth</i>       | תִּלְתַּח רְאשִׁים עַל נֶבֶה,                      |
|   | <i>šnst (13) kpt bhšh</i>          | כַּפּוֹת שְׁנֶסֶה עַל חֲנוּרְתָהּ.                 |
| G | <i>brkm tḡ [ll] (14) bdm šmr</i>   | וַתַּטְבֵּל בְּרַכְיָה בְּרַם קָלִים,              |
|   | <i>ḥlqm bmm['] (15) mhrm</i>       | יִרְכִּיהָ בְּנֹצַח מַהִירִים.                     |
| H | <i>mḥm tgrš (16) šbm</i>           | וַתִּגְרַשׁ שְׂבִים בְּמִטְיָה,                    |
|   | <i>bksl qšth mdnt</i>              | בְּנָבוֹ קִשְׁתָּהּ יְרִיבִים.                     |
| I | 17 <i>whln 'nt lbth tmḡyn</i>      | וַהֲגֵה עֲנַת לְבַיְתָהּ הַגִּיעָה,                |
|   | 18 <i>tštql 'ilt lhklh</i>         | כָּאֵה הָאֵלָה אֶל הַיְכָלָהּ.                     |
| J | 19 <i>wišb't tmḥšh</i>             | וּלְשַׁבְּעָה תִמְחִין בְּתוֹכוֹ,                  |
|   | <i>b'mq (20) thšb bn qrtm</i>      | בְּחֶזֶק תַּחְצֹב בְּכַנֵּי קְרִיתִים.             |
| K | <i>t'r (21) ks'at lmhr</i>         | תִּטִּיל כַּסְאוֹת עַל מַהִירִים,                  |
|   | <i>ḥ'r ḥlnt (22) lšb'im</i>        | חֲטִילָה שְׁלֵהֲנוֹת עַל צְבָאִים,                 |
|   | <i>hdmm lḡzrm</i>                  | הַדְמִים עַל גְּבוּרִים.                           |
| L | 23 <i>m'id tmḥšn w'ñ</i>           | וַתִּמְחִין עַד סֹאד, וַתַּעַן:                    |

## SECOND SECTION

(A remnant of column ii and a fragment of the beginning of column iii)

and the beginning of column ii, but manifestly the war was continuing. The part of column ii that has been preserved commences with a story about a company of raiders who attacked the palace of Anath, Baal's sister. Apparently, these were human beings who belonged to Baal's opponents. The attendants of the palace were frightened and hid themselves in a refuge, but Anath put the marauders to rout.

### *English translation*

A -----  
-----

B in the evening came bands and marauders  
to the two gates of Anath's house,  
and the attendants gathered together in the recesses of the cave.

C But Anath gives battle  
mightily she cuts in pieces the sons of the two cities.

D She smites the people of the Seashore,  
she exterminates the men of the Sunrise.

E Beneath her are heads like balls,  
over her are palms of hands like locusts,  
like grasshoppers without number the hands of fast ones.

F She hangs heads on her back,  
she fastens hands on her girdle.

G She plunges her knees in the blood of swift ones,  
her thighs in the gore of fast ones.

H She drives out raiders with her staff,  
with the back of her bow—foes.

I And lo, Anath reaches her house,  
the goddess comes to her palace.

J And unto satiety she destroys therein,

mightily she cuts in pieces the sons of the two cities.

K She casts chairs on fast ones,  
she cast tables upon troops,  
footstools upon heroes.

L She smites exceedingly, and says:

|   |    |  |  |
|---|----|--|--|
| M | 24 | <i>tḥtšb wṯḥdy 'nt</i>   | תחצב ותחדה ענת,  |
|   | 25 | <i>tgdd kbdh bšḥq</i><br><i>yml'u (26) lbh bšmḥt</i>                                 | ירחב כבדה מצחק,<br>ימלא שמחה לבבה,                                 |
| N |    | <i>k bd 'nt (27) tšyt</i><br><i>k brkn tḡll dm (28) šmr</i><br><i>ḥlqm bmm' mhrm</i> | כי בוד ענת תושיה,<br>כי טבלה ברקיה בדם קלים,<br>ירקיה בנצח מהירים. |
| O | 29 | <i>'d tšb' tmḥš bbt</i>  | ותמחין בבית עד שבעה,   |
|   | 30 | <i>tḥtšb bn tḥnm</i>   | ובין שלחנות תחצב.  |
| P |    | <i>ymḥ (31) [b]bt dm šmr</i><br><i>yšq šmn (32) šlm bš'</i>                          | ויטח מן הבית דם קלים,<br>ויצק שמן שלום בוציע.                      |
| Q |    | <i>trḥš ydh bt (33) [l]t 'nt</i><br><i>'ušb'th ybmt l'imm</i>                        | ותרחין ידיה חבתולה ענת,<br>אצבעותיה יבמת לאתים.                    |
| R | 34 | <i>[t]rḥš ydh bdm šmr</i>  | רחצח ידיה בדם קלים,  |
|   | 35 | <i>['u]šb'th bmm' mhrm</i>   | אצבעותיה מנצח מהירים.  |
| S | 36 | <i>[t'i]r [ks'a]t lks'at</i><br><i>tḥnt (37) lḥnt[t]</i><br><i>hdmm t'ar lhdmm</i>   | ותטהר כסאות על כסאות,<br>שלחנות על שלחנות,<br>הדמים טהרח על הדמים. |
| T | 38 | <i>[t]ḥspn mh wtrḥš</i>  | ותחשף סים ותרחין,  |
|   | 39 | <i>[t]l šmm šmn 'arš</i><br><i>rbb (40) [r]kb 'rpt</i>                               | טל חשמים, משמן הארץ,<br>רביב רכב ערבות,                            |
| U |    | <i>tl šmm tskh</i><br>41 <i>[rbb] nskh kbkbm</i><br>42 <i>tpp 'anhb[m d 'alp šd]</i> | טל יסכהו שקים,<br>רביב נסכהו כוכבים,<br>יתפף על גרודי אלפי שדות.   |
|   |    | column iii   | צואתה בנם [חשליכה],  |
| V | 43 | <i>z'uh bym ---</i>  | -----  |
|   | 44 | <i>--- rn l</i>  | -----  |

The continuation is missing.

- M Anath hews in pieces and rejoices,  
her liver extends with laughter,  
her heart is filled with joy,
- N for in Anath's hand is success,  
for she plunges her knees in the blood of swift ones,  
her thighs in the gore of fast ones.
- O She battles in the house until she is sated,  
she hews in pieces between tables.
- P The blood of fast ones is wiped away from the house,  
oil of peace is poured out in the rooms.
- Q The Virgin Anath washes her hands,  
the Mother of Nations, her fingers.
- R She washes her hands of the blood of swift ones,  
her fingers of the gore of fast ones.
- S She purifies chairs upon chairs,  
tables upon tables,  
footstools she purifies upon footstools.
- T She draws water and bathes,  
dew of heaven, fatness of the earth,  
shower of the Rider of Clouds,
- U dew that the heavens shed,  
shower that the stars shed,  
that beats down upon furrows of thousands of fields.
- V Her filth in the sea [she casts],  
———

### THIRD SECTION

(The remainder of column iii)

After the small remaining fragment of the beginning of column iii, which was cited above as the continuation of the second section, a number of lines of that column—approximately fifteen—are wanting. Following this mutilation, the tablet preserves about two thirds of the column, up to the end; before the sixteenth line from below there is a double horizontal line, which indicates the conclusion of the section and separates it from the next one.

| Virolleaud's sigla: V AB, C | <i>Hebrew translation</i>   |
|-----------------------------|---|
|                             | ----- (1) -----   |
| A                           | <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 45%;"> <p>---št r' imt (2) l' irth<br/>mšr ldd 'al' iyn (3) b'l</p> </div> <div style="width: 50%; text-align: right;"> <p>--- חבקה לחיכו, מישרים לדודי אלאין בעל.</p> </div> </div>  |
| B                           | <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 45%;"> <p>yd pdry bt 'ar</p> </div> <div style="width: 50%; text-align: right;"> <p>חשק פדרי בת אר,</p> </div> </div>   |
| 4                           | <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 45%;"> <p>'ahbt fly bt rb<br/>dd 'aršy (5) bt y'bdr</p> </div> <div style="width: 50%; text-align: right;"> <p>אהבת טלי בת רב,<br/>דודי ארצי בת יעבדר.</p> </div> </div>  |
| C                           | <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 45%;"> <p>km ḡlmm (6) w'rbn<br/>lp'n 'nt [h]br (7) wql<br/>tšthwy kbd hyt</p> </div> <div style="width: 50%; text-align: right;"> <p>הכנסו, נערים, ובואו נא:<br/>לרנלי ענת כרעו והקדו,<br/>תשתחו ונכבדוה.</p> </div> </div> |
| D                           | <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 45%;"> <p>8 wrgm lbilt 'nt<br/>9 tny lymmt l' imm</p> </div> <div style="width: 50%; text-align: right;"> <p>כה תאטרו לכתולה ענת,<br/>ותגידו ליבמת לאמים:</p> </div> </div>   |
| E                           | <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 45%;"> <p>10 thm 'al' iyn b'l<br/>hwt (11) 'al' iy qrdm</p> </div> <div style="width: 50%; text-align: right;"> <p>נאם אלאין בעל,<br/>דבר אדיר גבורים:</p> </div> </div>  |
| F                           | <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 45%;"> <p>qryy b' arš (12) mlhmt<br/>št b'prt ddym</p> </div> <div style="width: 50%; text-align: right;"> <p>אספי מלחקה טן הארין,<br/>שיתי על עפר אהבה,</p> </div> </div>  |
| G                           | <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 45%;"> <p>13 sk šlm lkbd 'arš<br/>14 'arb-dd lkb šdm</p> </div> <div style="width: 50%; text-align: right;"> <p>נסכי שלום בקרב הארין,<br/>הרבי אהבה בקרב שדות,</p> </div> </div>  |
| 15                          | <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 45%;"> <p>hšk 'šk 'bšk (16) 'my</p> </div> <div style="width: 50%; text-align: right;"> <p>חשכי עצ, חרבך השיבי,</p> </div> </div>   |
| H                           | <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 45%;"> <p>p'nk tismn 'my<br/>17 twih 'išdk dm</p> </div> <div style="width: 50%; text-align: right;"> <p>תרצנח פעמיד אלי,<br/>המחרנח רגלך לעוני.</p> </div> </div>  |
| I                           | <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 45%;"> <p>rgm (18) 'it ly w' argmk<br/>19 hwt w' atnyk</p> </div> <div style="width: 50%; text-align: right;"> <p>דבר יש לי, ואדבר לך,<br/>נאם, ואגיד לך,</p> </div> </div>   |
| J                           | <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 45%;"> <p>rgm (20) 'š wlhšt 'abn<br/>21 l' ant šmm 'm 'arš</p> </div> <div style="width: 50%; text-align: right;"> <p>דבר עצים ולהישת אבנים,<br/>שיחת שמים עם ארין,</p> </div> </div>                                       |
| K                           | <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 45%;"> <p>22 thmt 'mn kbkbm<br/>23 'abn brq dl td' šmm</p> </div> <div style="width: 50%; text-align: right;"> <p>תדומות עם כוכבים,<br/>אבני ברק, שמים לא ידעו,</p> </div> </div>   |
| L                           | <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 45%;"> <p>24 rgm l td' nšm</p> </div> <div style="width: 50%; text-align: right;"> <p>דבר לא ידעו אנשים,</p> </div> </div>  |



I I have a word that I would speak to thee,  
a message that I would tell thee,  
J a word of trees and a whisper of stones,  
converse of heaven with earth,  
K of the deeps with the stars,  
of stones of lightning, incomprehensible to the heavens,  
L a matter not known to men,

|   |                               |                        |
|---|-------------------------------|------------------------|
|   | <i>wl tbn (25) hmlt 'arš</i>  | ולא יבינהו המון ארין.  |
| M | <i>'atm w'ank (26) 'ibgyh</i> | בואר נא, ואנכי אספרהו, |
|   | <i>btk g'ry 'il špn</i>       | בתוך מערתי אל-צפון,    |
| N | 27 <i>bqdš bgr nhlty</i>      | בקרש, בהר נחלתי,       |
|   | 28 <i>bn'm bgb' il'iyt</i>    | בנעם, בנבעת נבורה.     |

#### FOURTH SECTION

(The end of column iii and the beginning of column iv)

The section commencing after the double horizontal line in column iii, which is the last column on the obverse side of the tablet, is continued on the reverse, at the beginning of column iv. Several lines of column iv suffer from lacunae, but it is possible to restore them with the help of the parallel clauses.

*Gpn* and *'Ugr*, Baal's messengers, come before Anath. At first

|   | Virolleaud's sigla: V AB, D    | Hebrew translation     |
|---|--------------------------------|------------------------|
| A | 29 <i>hlm 'nt tph 'ilm</i>     | והנה ראתה ענת האלים,   |
|   | <i>bh p'nm (30) tt</i>         | ובה נסיו רגלית,        |
| B | <i>b'dn ksl tibr</i>           | מאחור השברו כסלית,     |
|   | 31 <i>'ln pnh td'</i>          | ופניה ספעל הזיעו,      |
| C | <i>tgs pnt (32) kslh</i>       | התחלחלו צדי כסלית,     |
|   | <i>'anš dt zrh</i>             | הנדעזעו שרירי נכת.     |
| D | <i>tš' u (33) gh wtšh</i>      | ותשא קולה ותקרא:       |
| E | <i>'ik mgy gpn w'ugr</i>       | איך הגיעו נפן ואנר?    |
| F | 34 <i>mn 'ib yp['] lb'l</i>    | איזה אויב הופיע לבעל,  |
|   | <i>šrt (35) lrkb 'rpt</i>      | איזו צדה לרכב ערבות?   |
| G | <i>lmhšt mdd (36) 'il ym</i>   | הן הכיתי סידר אל, ים,  |
|   | <i>klkt nhr 'il rbm</i>        | כליתי נהרי אל רבים,    |
| H | 37 <i>l'ištbm tnn 'išbmnh</i>  | הססתי תנין, הססתי,     |
|   | 38 <i>mhšt bñ 'qlm</i>         | הכיתי נחש עקלתון,      |
|   | 39 <i>šlyt d šb't r'ašm</i>    | ערין בעל שבעת ראשים,   |
| I | 40 <i>mhšt mdd 'ilm 'ar[š]</i> | הכיתי סידר עתודי ארין, |
|   | 41 <i>šmt 'gl 'il 'tk</i>      | הצסתי עגל אל, עתך,     |
| J | 42 <i>mhšt klbt 'ilm 'iš</i>   | הכיתי כלבת האלם, אש,   |
|   | 43 <i>klkt bt 'il šbb</i>      | כליתי כת אל, שלקבת,    |
| K | <i>'imhš w(44)'itr[ ] hrš</i>  | נלחמתי ואירש תרוין.    |

nor understood by the multitude of the earth.

- M Come, pray, and I shall relate it,  
in the midst of my cave El of the North,  
N in the sanctuary, in the mountain of mine inheritance,  
in the pleasance, in the hill of might.

#### FOURTH SECTION

(The end of column iii and the beginning of column iv)

she fears that they may have come to bring her sad tidings, but when they convey to her Baal's message, she consents to terminate the war and to proceed to her brother's dwelling.

My translation of, and commentary on, verses A–C were published in Hebrew several years ago in the *Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society*, X (1943), pp. 52–54 (English summary *ibid.*, p. II).

#### English translation

- A Lo, Anath saw the gods,  
her feet stumbled beneath her,  
B behind, her loins did break,  
above, her face sweated,  
C the flanks of her loins did tremble,  
the muscles of her back quivered.  
D She lifted her voice and cried;  
E 'Why did Gpn and 'Ugr arrive?  
F What enemy has appeared against Baal,  
What adversaries for the Rider of Clouds?  
G Behold, I smote 'El's Beloved, Sea,  
I destroyed the Great Rivers of El,  
H I muzzled Tannin [the Sea Dragon], yea, I muzzled him,  
I smote the Crooked Serpent,

the monster of seven heads,

I I smote the Beloved of the “mighty” of the netherworld,  
I cut off El’s calf, ‘tk

J I smote the godly bitch, Fire,  
I destroyed El’s daughter, Flame,

K I fought and took possession of the gold.

⌋ column iv

|    |  |   |
|----|--|---|
| L  | <i>ʃrd b'l</i> ⌋ (45) <i>bmrym ʃpn</i><br><i>mš ʃʃ[h]w'ʃr</i> (46) <i>'udnh</i>                  | הנדה בעל ⌋ סמרומי צפון,<br>אם נפל נזרו ואנניו נקטעמי<br>הנרשהו מכסא מלכותו, |
| M  | <i>gršh lks'i mlkh</i><br>47 <i>lnht lkht drkth</i>  | אם הורד ממושב ממשלתו<br>איזה אויב הופיע לקעל,                               |
| N  | 48 <i>mnm 'ib yp' lb'l</i><br><i>ʃrt lrkb 'rpt</i>   | איזו צרה לרכב ערכות?<br>ויגענו הנערים גם ענה:                               |
| O  | 49 <i>[w]n ǵlmm y'nyn</i>  | לא אויב הופיע לקעל,   |
| P  | <i>l'ib yp' (50) lb'l</i><br><i>ʃrt lrkb 'rpt</i>  | לא צרה לרכב ערכות.<br>נאם אלאין בעל,  |
| Q  | 51 <i>thm 'al' iyn b'l</i><br><i>hwt 'al' iy (52) grdm</i>                                       | דבר אדיר גבורים:<br>אספי מלחמה מן הארץ,                                     |
| R  | <i>qryy b'arš mlhmt</i><br>53 <i>št b'rm ddym</i>  | שיתי על עפר אהבה,<br>נסכי שלום בקרב הארץ,                                   |
| S  | <i>sk šlm (54) lkbd 'arš</i><br><i>'arb - dd lkbd šdm</i>  | הרבי אהבה בקרב שדות,<br>השכי עצד, הרבד השיבי.                               |
| T  | 55 <i>[h]šk [']šk 'bšk 'my</i><br><i>p'nk (56) [tl]mn [']my</i><br><i>twth 'išdk (57) [dm]</i>   | תרצנה פעמיך אלי,<br>תטהרנה רגליך למעוני.                                    |
| U  | <i>[rgm 'it ly] w'argmk</i><br><i>hwt (58) [w'atnyk]</i>   | דבר יש לי, ואדבר לך.<br>נאם, ואניד לך,                                      |
| V  | <i>[rgm] 'š wlhšt (59) ['abn]</i><br><i>[rgm l td] nš[m]</i><br><i>[wl] tbn (60) [hmlt 'a]rš</i> | דבר עצים ולחישת אבנים,<br>דבר לא ידעו אנשים,<br>ולא יבינהו המון ארץ,        |
| W  | <i>[l'ant šmm 'm] 'arš</i><br>61 <i>thmt ['mn kbkbm]</i><br><i>['abn brq] (62) dl td[š]m[m]</i>  | שיחת שמים עם ארץ,<br>ההומות עם כוכבים,<br>אבני ברק, שמים לא ידעו.           |
| X  | <i>['atm w'ank] (63) 'i[bgyh]</i><br><i>[btik ǵ]ry 'il ʃpn</i><br>64 <i>bq[dš bǵr nh]lty</i>     | בואי נא, ואנכי אספרהו,<br>בתוך מערתי אלי צפון,<br>בקדש, בהר נחלתי.          |
| Y  | 65 <i>wl[n] btl [n]t</i><br><i>tib (66) [ybmt] l'imm</i>   | ותען הבתולה ענת,<br>השיבה יבסת לאמים:                                       |
| Z  | <i>['ank] 'aqry (67) [b'arš] mlhmt</i><br><i>['ašt] b'prm (68) dd[ym]</i>                        | אנכי אאסף מלחמה מן הארץ,<br>אשית על עפר אהבה,                               |
| AA | <i>'ask [šlm] lkbd 'arš</i><br>69 <i>'ar[b dd l]kb[d š]dm</i>                                    | אסף שלכם בקרב הארץ,<br>ארבה אהבה בקרב שדות.                                 |
| BB | <i>yšt (70) [l'ist] b'l mdlh</i><br><i>yb'r (71) ['il hd]— rnh</i>                               | ישית בעל באש מרכבותיו,<br>יבער האל הד כלי מלחמתו.                           |
| CC | <i>'agry (72) ['an] b'a[r]š mlhmt</i><br>73 <i>'ašt [b']p[r]m ddym</i>                           | ואני אאסף מלחמה מן הארץ,<br>אשית על עפר אהבה,                               |
| DD | <i>'ask (74) šlm lkbd[d] 'arš</i>  | אסף שלום בקרב הארץ,   |

‡ column iv

- L Has Baal been driven ‡ from the heights of the North,  
has his crown fallen and his ears been cut off?
- M Did they drive him from the throne of his kingship,  
was he deposed from the seat of his dominion?
- N Which foe arose against Baal,  
what adversaries for the Rider of Clouds?
- O And the lads indeed replied:
- P No foe arose against Baal,  
nor adversaries for the Rider of Clouds.
- Q Message of Aliyn Baal,  
word of the Mightiest Hero:
- R Withdraw war from the earth,  
set upon the land love,
- S pour forth peace in the midst of the earth,  
increase love in the midst of the fields,  
spare thy rod, put back thy sword.
- T Let thy feet run to me,  
let thy legs hasten to my abode.
- U I have a word that I would speak to thee,  
a message that I would tell thee,
- V a word of trees and a whisper of stones,  
a matter not known to men,  
nor understood by the multitude of earth,
- W converse of heaven with earth,  
the deeps with the stars,  
of stones of lightning, incomprehensible to the heavens.
- X Come, pray, and I shall relate it,  
in the midst of my cave El of the North,  
in the sanctuary, the mountain of mine inheritance.

- Y And the Virgin Anath answered,  
the Mother of Nations replied:
- Z I shall withdraw war from the earth,  
I shall set upon the land love,
- AA I shall pour forth peace in the midst of the earth,  
I shall increase love in the midst of the fields.
- BB Let Baal set fire to his chariots,  
let the god Hadd burn his weapons.
- CC I shall withdraw war from the earth,  
I shall set upon the land love,
- DD I shall pour forth peace in the midst of the earth,

|       |                            |  |
|-------|----------------------------|--|
|       | 'arb · dd (75) lkbd š[dm]  | אַרְבָּה אֶהְיֶה בְּקֶרֶב שְׂדוֹת.       |
| EE    | 'ap mʔn rgmm (76) 'argmn   | אִף מְשֻׁנָּה דְּבָרִים אֲדַבֵּר:        |
| FF    | lk lk 'nn 'ilm             | לְכוּ, לְכוּ, נִצְיֵנִי הָאֵל,           |
| 77    | 'atm bštm w'an šnt         | אַתֶּם הַפְּעַתֶּם, וְאֲנִי שְׂנִיתִי.   |
| GG 78 | 'ugr lrḥq 'ilm             | אֲחֻדָּר לְמִדְרַחְקֵי הָאֵל,            |
|       | 'inbb (79) lrḥq 'ilnym     | אֲבַנֶּס לְמִדְרַחְקֵי בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים,  |
| HH    | ʔn mʔpdm (80) ʔtʔ 'nt 'arṣ | שְׁנֵי מַפְלְסִים תַּחַת עֵינַי הָאָרֶץ, |
|       | ʔtʔ mʔh gyrm               | שְׁלֹשָׁה רַחְבֵי מַחְלוֹת,              |

## FIFTH SECTION

(In columns iv–v)

Of this section we have the following remnants: a) the beginning in the concluding lines that remain of column iv in the large fragment AO 16.638 (Virolleaud joins these lines to his section D); b) after a lacuna of a number of lines, the small fragment AO 16.639, which contains part of the last lines of the column; c) the continuation, till the end, at the beginning of column v in the large fragment mentioned above. A number of lines suffer from lacunae, but they can be completed on the basis of the parallels.

|      | Virolleaud's sigla: V AB, D<br>(continuation)       | Hebrew translation   |
|------|---|--|
| A 81 | 'idk ltn pnm<br>'m b'l (82) mrym ṣpn                | אִז תִּתֵּן אֶת פְּנִיָּה<br>אֵל בְּעַל בְּקִרוּמֵי צָפוֹן.            |
| B    | b' alp šd rbt kmn                                   | בְּאֵלֵפֵי שְׂדוֹת, בְּרַבְבוֹת הַלְקוֹת,                              |
| 83   | hlk 'aḥth b'l y'n<br>tdrq (84) (y)bnt 'abh          | רָאָה בְּעַל הַלִּיכוֹת אַחֲוֹתוֹ,<br>צְעֵרַת בַּת אָבִיהוּ.           |
| C    | šrhq 'aṭt lpnn[h]                                   | הַרְחִיק הַנָּשִׁים מִפְּנֵיָה,  |
| 85   | št 'alp qdmh mr' i' a<br>wtk (86) pnh < t' db ks' u | שֵׁת אֵלֶּף, קְדָמָה בְּמִדְרֵי, וְלִפְנֵיָה > הוֹכֵן כְּסֵא.          |
| D    | wttb lymn 'al' iyn b'l<br>'d lḥm šty 'ilm           | וְתוֹשֵׁב לִימִין אֱלֹהִים בְּעַל,<br>עַד אֲבָלוּ וְשָׂתוּ הָאֱלֹהִים. |
| E    | wy'n 'al' iyn b'l >                                 | וַיַּעַן אֱלֹהִים בְּעַל <   |
| F    | ṭṣpn mh wtrḥṣ                                       | תִּחְסְפֵי מִים וְתִרְחֹצֵי,   |
| 87   | ʔl šmm šmn 'arṣ                                     | טַל הַשָּׁמַיִם, מִשְׁטַן הָאָרֶץ,                                     |
| G    | ʔl šm[m ts]kh                                       | טַל יִסְכְּהוּ שָׁמַיִם,   |
| 88   | rbb nskh kbkbm                                      | רְבִיב יִסְכְּהוּ בּוֹכְבִים,  |

I shall increase love in the midst of the fields.

EE Yet other words will I say:

FF Go, go, representatives of the god,  
Yet have urged, and I have changed my mind.

GG I shall penetrate to the distant regions of the god,  
I shall enter the distant regions of the divinities,

HH two layers [= storeys] beneath the surface of the earth,  
three widths [= rooms] of caverns.

#### FIFTH SECTION

(In columns iv–v)

Anath reaches Baal's dwelling, and he reveals his plan to her. He thinks that the building of a magnificent palace befitting a king would be of greater help to him in his conflict with Mot than belligerent acts. He accordingly requests Anath that she should make representations to their father El for permission to build the palace. Anath accedes to his request, and assures him that, should El refuse to grant permission willingly, she would compel him to do so by force.

#### *English translation*

A Then she sets her face  
towards Baal in the heights of the North.

B In thousands of fields, in myriads of acres,  
Baal saw his sister's coming,  
the marching of his father's daughter.

C He sent away the women from her presence,  
He set an ox, he came before her with a fatling,  
and before her < a chair was placed.

D And she was seated at the right hand of Aliyn Baal,  
until the gods had eaten and drunk.

E Then Aliyn Baal said: >

F Draw water and bathe,

dew of heaven, fatness of earth,

G dew that the heavens shed,  
shower that the stars shed,

89 tpp 'anhbm d 'alp šd  
 H 90 l̄l -----  
 -----

יתפף על ג'דורי אלפי שדות,  
 טל -----  
 -----

I ['any lyšh tr 'il 'abh]  
 ['il mlk d yknhh]  
 J [yšh 'atrt wbnh]  
 ['ilt wšbrt 'aryh]  
 K [wn 'in bt lb'l km 'ilm]  
 Virolleaud's sigla: V AB, E  
 [h̄zr] (1) kbn ['atrt]  
 L [m̄tb 'il m̄zll] (2) bnh  
 m[̄tb rbt 'atrt ym]  
 3 m̄tb pdr[̄y bt 'ar]  
 [m̄zll](4) t̄ly bt r[b]  
 [m̄tb 'ar̄y] (5) bt y'bdr  
 [m̄tb kl̄t] (6) knyt  
 M w'n [b̄ilt 'nt]  
 N 7 ȳtb ly tr 'il ['aby]  
 --- (8) ȳtb ly  
 wlh -----  
 column v  
 O 9 [-'i]m̄šhnn k'imr l'ar̄š  
 10 ['ašhlk] šbth dmm  
 šbt d̄qnh (11) [mm'm]  
 P kd lytn bt lb'l k'ilm  
 12 h̄zr kbn 'atrt

אָנה ! יקרא אל שור אל אָביה,  
 אל מלך יבוננהו,  
 יקרא אל אַשרה ובניה,  
 אל אלה וקהל צאצנאיה.  
 ועתה, אין בית לבעל באלים,  
 ולא הצר בבני אַשרה.  
 מושב אל סכה לבנו,  
 ומושב הנברת אַשרת־ים  
 מושב לפורי בת אר,  
 סכה לטלי בת רב,  
 מושב לארצי בת יעבדר,  
 מושב לבלות הבנות.  
 ותען הבתולה ענת:  
 ישוב לי שוראל אָבי,  
 (בבקשתי) ישוב לי,  
 ולו (אָכרע ואַשת־הוה).  
 (ואם לא), אָרמסנו בַּשָּׁה לָאָרֶץ,  
 אוריד שיבתו בָּדָם שְׂאוֹלָה,  
 שיבת זקניו בנצחו.  
 בן ינתן בית לבעל באלים,  
 הצר בבני אַשרה.

- that beats down upon the furrows of thousands of fields,
- H dew — — — — — — — —  
 — — — — — — — —
- I Pray! let him cry to Bull El his father,  
 to the king who begot him,
- J let him cry to Asherah and her children,  
 to the goddess and the assembly of her offspring.
- K And now, no house has Baal like the gods,  
 nor court like the children of Asherah.
- L The dwelling of El is the shelter of his son,  
 the dwelling of Lady Asherah of the Sea  
 is the dwelling of Pdry, the daughter of 'Ar,  
 the shelter of Tly, the daughter of Rabb,  
 the dwelling of 'Arsy, the daughter of Y'bdr,  
 the dwelling of the worthy brides.
- M Then the Virgin Anath said:
- N Let Bull El my father answer me,  
 {according to my request} let him answer me,  
 and {I shall bow down and prostrate myself} to him.
- O {If not,} I shall trample him down like a lamb to the ground,  
 I shall bring down his hoary head with blood to the grave,  
 the grey hair of his old age with his gore.
- P Thus shall a house be given to Baal like the gods',  
 a court like Asherah's children's.

## SIXTH SECTION

(In column v)

The beginning of this section is to be found in column v immediately after the conclusion of the preceding section (according to Virolleaud we have here the continuation of his section E, but since the scene of action and the dramatis personae are different, it appears to me preferable to regard this as a new episode. At the end of the column a number of lines are wanting—approximately twenty.

Several lines suffer from lacunae, but they, too, can be restored with the help of the parallels.

Anath reaches the dwelling-place of her father. She bursts violently

|    | Virolleaud's sigla: V AB, E<br>(continuation) | Hebrew translation                       |
|----|---|--|
| A  | [tdʃ 'nt] p'n                                 | וּתְרַקַע עֲנַת בְּרַנְלָה,              |
| 13 | [wtr 'a]rʃ                                    | וּתְרוֹם מִן הָאָרֶץ.                    |
| B  | 'id[k ltn p]nm                                | אִו תִּתֵּן אֶת פְּנִיָּהּ               |
| 14 | ['m 'il] mbk nhr[m]                           | אֶל אֵל בְּמוֹצָא הַנְּהָרוֹת,           |
|    | [qr]b ['ap]q (15) [thm]tm                     | בְּקִרְבֵי אִפְיֵי תְהוֹמוֹתַיִם,        |
| C  | tgl š[d] 'i[l w]tb' u                         | וּתְנַל מַחְצֵת אֵל, וְתִבֵּא            |
| 16 | [qr]š m[l]k 'a[b šnm]                         | לְקִרְשֵׁי מַלְךְ אָבִי הַשָּׁנִים.      |
| D  | [t]mʃr (17) [wtb]'u šdm                       | וּתְפָרֵץ, וְתִבֵּא הַמַּחְצֵתָהּ,       |
|    | - n - - - 'adn - - - lt                       | וּרְעִשׂוּ אֲדָנִי הַסִּבּוֹת.           |
| E  | 18 qlh yš[ 'u] tr ['il] 'abh                  | וַיִּשָּׂא שׁוֹר אֵל אָבִיהָ אֶת קוֹלוֹ, |
|    | - - - - (19) bšb't ḥ[d]rm                     | וַיִּהְיֶה בְשִׁבְעָה חֳדָרִים,          |
|    | [b]mn[t 'ap] (20) sgrt                        | לְפָנָיִם מִשְׁמַנָּה הַסְּגָרִים.       |
| F  | - - - - -                                     | - - - - -                                |
|    | [wy](21)'n tr ['il 'abh]                      | וַיַּעַן שׁוֹר אֵל אָבִיהָ :             |
| G  | 22 'ln t - - - - -                            | - - - - -                                |
| 23 | lp'n ḡ[m]m - - - - -                          | לְרַנְלֵי הַסְּשָׁרְתַיִם - - - - -      |
| 24 | m'id 'an - - - - -                            | טָאֵד אָנִי - - - - -                    |
| H  | [t]t'a]n (25) nrt 'i[l]m špš                  | תַּעֲצֹר שְׁטֵשׁ, מְנוֹרַת הָאֱלִים,     |
|    | [šhrr]t (26) l'a šm[m],                       | הָאוֹר הַמְּאִיר בְּשָׁמַיִם,            |
|    | b[yd bn 'ulm m]t                              | טָאֵהֲבַת סֵת בֶּן הָאֱלִים.             |
| I  | 27 w'n btl't [']n[t]                          | וּתַעַן הַבְּתוּלָה עֲנַת:               |
| J  | [l]br(28)k y'ilm bkt                          | לְשִׁבְרָהּ, הָאֵל, בְּכִיתָ,            |
|    | bht 'a[l i]š]mḥ                               | בְּהִתְנַפְּלֵי אֵל תִּשְׁמָתָהּ,        |
| 29 | 'al tšmḥ b - - -                              | אֵל תִּשְׁמַח בְּ                        |

## SIXTH SECTION

(In column v)

into his house, frightens him, and utters her terrible threats to him. The aged god humbles himself before her and asks her to tell him her request that he may fulfil it. She thereupon begins to outline the proposal, to build a palace for Baal. The rest of the section is missing; apparently it narrated that El granted permission for the erection of the palace.

My translation of, and annotations to, verses D–O were previously published in Hebrew in the *Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society*, XIII (1947), pp. 75–80 (English summary *ibid.* pp. I–II).

### *English translation*

- A Anath stamped with her foot,  
and she rose from the ground.
- B Then she set her face  
towards El at the source of the rivers,  
in the midst of the channels of the two deeps,
- C she arrived at the domain of El, and came  
to the abode of the king, Father of the Years.
- D She broke in, and entered the domain,  
the bases of the pavilions quake.
- E Bull El, her father, lifted up his voice,  
and hid himself in seven chambers,  
inside eight enclosures.
- F —————  
Then Bull El, her father, answered:
- G —————  
at the feet of the attendants — — — —  
much do I — — — —
- H The sun shall be withheld, even the lamp of the gods,  
the light that shines in the heavens,

because of the love of Mot, the son of the gods.

I And the Virgin Anath answered:

J Thou hast wept, O god, at thy calamity,  
rejoice not when I attack,  
rejoice not at — — — —

|    |   |   |
|----|---|---|
| K  | [dl]tl[k] (30) 'al 'ahdlm by[mmy]<br>[qw]š[tk](31) bgdlt 'arkty<br>'am[r] š'r] (32) qdqdk | תלתליך אהום בימיני,<br>קצותיך בגדולת כח ידי,<br>אמרט שער קדקדך. |
| L  | 'ašhik šbt[k dmm]   | אוריד שיבתך בדם שאלת,   |
| 33 | šbt dqnk mm'm   | שיבת זקניך בנצחך.   |
| M  | y'ny (34) 'il bšb't h̄dr[m]<br>b̄mnt (35) 'ap sgrt  | ויען אל משבעה חדרים,<br>טבפנים לשמנה הסגרים:                    |
| N  | yd'[tk] bt k 'an[šr]  | ידעתיד, בתי, כי אנושה את,                                       |
| 36 | k 'in b' ilht ql[š]t  | כי אין לפני האלות תקוה.   |
| O  | mh t' arš[n] (37) lbilt 'nt   | מה תבקשי, הבתולה ענת?   |
| P  | wr[']n bilt 'n[r]   | ותען הבתולה ענת:  |
| 38 | t̄hmk 'il h̄km h̄kmk  | נאמך, אל, חכמת חכמתך,   |
| 39 | 'm 'lm h̄yt h̄zt  | עד עולם תחיה ותצליח.  |
| R  | t̄hmk (40) mlkn 'al' iyn b'l<br>tptn (41) 'in d'lnh                                       | שליח לך, טלכנו, אלאין בעל,<br>שפטנו אשר כל עליו.                |
| S  | klnyy qšh (42) nbln<br>klnyy nbl ksn  | אדני, קשתו נובילנה,<br>אדני, נוביל את כוסו.                     |
| T  | 43 'any lyšh t' 'il 'abh<br>'il (44) mlk d yknh   | אנה! יקרא אל שור אל אביהו,<br>אל מלך יכוננהו,                   |
| U  | yšh 'atrt (45) wbnh<br>'ilt wšbrt 'aryh   | יקרא אל אשרה ובניה,<br>אל אלה וקהל צאצאיה.                      |
| V  | 46 wn 'in bt lb'l km 'ilm<br>47 h̄zr kb[n 'a]trt  | ועתה, אין בית לבעל כאלים,<br>ולא הצר בבני אשרה.                 |
| W  | m̄tb 'il (48) m̄zll b[nh]<br>[m]tb rbt 'atrt (49) ym<br>m̄tb [pdr]y bt 'ar                | מושב אל סכה לבנו,<br>ומושב הנברת אשרת-ים<br>מושב לפדרי בת אר,   |
| 50 | [m̄zll] t[ly] bt rb<br>m̄tb (51) ['aršy bt y'bdr]<br>[m̄tb klt knyt]                      | סכה לטלי בת רב,<br>מושב לארצי בת יעבדר,<br>מושב לבלות הקנות.    |

- K I shall seize thy curls with my right hand,  
thy locks with the great power of my hand,  
I shall pluck out the hair of thy pate.
- L I shall bring down thy hoary head with blood to the grave,  
the grey hair of thine old age with thy gore.
- M El answered from seven chambers,  
from inside eight enclosures:
- N I know thee, my daughter, that thou art invincible  
that it is impossible to withstand the goddesses.
- O What is thy request, O Virgin Anath?
- P And the Virgin Anath answered:
- Q Thy utterance, O El, is thy supreme wisdom;  
live and prosper for aye!
- R Aliyn Baal, O our king, sends thee a message,  
O our ruler, above whom there is none.
- S My lord, we bring his chalice,  
my lord, we bring his cup.
- T Pray! he cries to Bull El, his father,  
to the king who begot him,
- U he cries to Asherah and her sons,  
to the goddess and the assembly of her offspring.
- V And now no house has Baal like the gods,  
nor court like the sons of Asherah.
- W The dwelling of El is the shelter of his son,  
the dwelling of Lady Asherah of the Sea  
is the dwelling of Pdry, the daughter of 'Ar,  
the shelter of Tly, the daughter of Rabb,  
the dwelling of 'Arsy, the daughter of Y'bdr,  
the dwelling of the worthy brides.

— — — — —



## SEVENTH SECTION

(Column vi)

At the beginning of column vi about ten lines are completely missing, while those that follow are mutilated, and, since there are no parallels, it is impossible to restore them. Still more lines are lacking at the end of the column—approximately twenty. Thus the passage suffers from lacunae both at the beginning and at the end.

In the part missing at the commencement of the section it was

|   | <i>Virolleaud's sigla: V AB, F</i>  | <i>Hebrew translation</i>  |
|---|---|--|
| A | (1) -----<br>-- b (2) -----   | -----<br>-----   |
| B | [r]'išk (3) -----<br>bn 'ank (4) -----                                    | ----- ראשך --<br>----- בין עיניך -----                           |
| C | 'alp (5) ----- blym<br>rbt (6) ---- bnhrm                                 | אלף ----- בים,<br>רבבות ----- בנהרים,                            |
| D | 7 ['b]r gbl 'br (8) q'l<br>'br 'iht (9) np · šmm                          | עבר הר, עבר נבעה,<br>עבר, הרקע לנוף השמים.                       |
| E | šmšr (10) ldgy 'atrt<br>11 mǧ lqdš 'amrr                                  | חתר-נא, ריג אשרה,<br>בא-נא, קדש-אמרה.                            |
| F | 12 'idk 'al ttu (13) pnm<br>tk ḥqkpt (14) 'il klh                         | או תתן את פניך<br>לתוך מצרים של אל-בלה,                          |
| G | kptr (15) ks'u tḥth<br>ḥkpt (16) 'arš nḥlth                               | כפתור כסא שבתו,<br>מצרים ארץ נחלתו.                              |
| H | 17 b' alp šd rbt (18) kmn<br>lp'n kt<r>(19) hbrwql<br>tšth(20)wy wkbd hwt | באלף שדות, ברבבות חלקות,<br>לרגלי כתר כרע והקד,<br>תשתחוה וקבדו. |
| I | 21 wrgm lktr (22) wḥss<br>ḥny lh(23)yn d ḥrš ydm                          | כה תאמר לכתר-יוחסם,<br>ותגיד להין חכם הרשים:                     |
| J | 24 ḥm 'al i[yn b'l]<br>25 [hwt 'al'iy] qrdm                               | נאם אל-אין בעל,<br>דבר אדיר גבורים:                              |
| K | -----   | -----  |

Here ends the portion that has been preserved of column vi and of the entire Tablet V AB. This tablet was followed, in the sequence of the tablets of the epic, by Tablet II AB, which is likewise impaired at the beginning. The number of lines wanting at the commencement of column i of Tablet II AB was apparently a little over twenty, and therefore, if we take into account the text that is missing at the end of column vi of Tablet V AB, it follows that the gap left between the remnants of V AB and those of II AB amounts to somewhat more than forty lines.

## SEVENTH SECTION

(Column vi)

narrated, in so far as one can judge, that Anath put Baal's request also before their mother Asherah, and that she too agreed to it. The lines that have been preserved are, apparently, to be interpreted thus: Asherah orders her attendant *Qdš-w-'Amrr* to go to the craftsman-god, *Ktr-w-Hss*, and ask him, in Baal's name, to build the palace.

### *English translation*

- A — — — — —  
— — — — —
- B — thy head — — — —  
between thine eyes — — — —
- C a thousand — — — — in the sea,  
myriads — — — — in the rivers,
- D traverse a mountain, traverse a hill,  
traverse, soar to the heights of the heavens.
- E Proceed, O fisherman of Asherah,  
Go, O *Qdš-'Amrr*
- F Then shalt thou set thy face  
to the midst Egypt of El-Kulla,
- G Kaphtor, the throne whereon he sits,  
Egypt the land of his inheritance.
- H O'er a thousand fields, o'er myriads of acres,  
at the feet of *Ktr* bow and fall,  
prostrate thyself and honour him.
- I Thus shalt thou say to *Ktr-w Hss*,  
declare to *Hyn* the skilled craftsman:
- J message of Aliyn Baal,  
word of the Mightiest Hero:

K — — — — — — — — — —

In the lines missing at the bottom of the column and the tablet, and in those wanting at the top of Tablet II AB, which comes next in the order of the tablets of the epic, it was undoubtedly related, after the conclusion of Asherah's instructions to her emissary, that the latter flew to *Ktr-w-Hss*, and spoke to him as he was enjoined. At the beginning of what remains of Tablet II AB we find the messenger's concluding words to *Ktr-w-Hss*. In the same tablet, which is printed at the beginning of Ginsberg's *Kitbe Ugarit*, a detailed account is given of the building of Baal's palace by *Ktr-w-Hss*.

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## COMMENTARY ON TABLET V AB

### FIRST SECTION

A. The impaired state of this verse precludes our determining its meaning with certainty.

(1) *TGL* From the stem *gll*, i. e., ‘enter’. The preceding word, ‘*al*’, may possibly signify here, as elsewhere, ‘Lo!’ Accordingly, the meaning of the verse will be: ‘Lo, enter!’ [thou, Baal], or the like; but the context is obscure.

B. The host god (without doubt his name was mentioned earlier, in the part that is missing) served and ministered to Baal, i. e., offered him food and drink. The two verbs ‘*bd* and *s’id* are to be regarded as forms of the narrative perfect, and not as imperatives, as the scholars before me supposed (‘serve!’ ‘minister!’). My view is based on two reasons: (a) if we had the imperative here, it would necessarily have to be narrated later, in conformity with normal epic style, that the injunction was carried out (and he served Aliyn Baal, and he ministered to the Prince, the Lord of the earth); (b) the imperative and imperfect occur in Tablet II D, V, 20 and 30, with the vowel *a* (*s’ad*, *ts’ad*); whereas here the vowel is *i*—perfect *qatila*, which corresponds to the imperfect *yaqtalu*.

(2) ‘*AL’IYN*. A customary title of Baal; see the Introduction, Chapter III, p. 59.

(3–4) *ZBL B’L ’ARS*. An epithet of Baal; see the Introd., *ibid*.

C. After the general statement in verse B, particulars are now given, to wit, the manner in which the host showed Baal hospitality. The literary device of a general statement followed by a detailed account is commonly used in both Ugaritic and Biblical writings.

(4) *YT’R*. The meaning of this verb can be determined on the basis of the word *yt’r* in Tablet NK, line 35. There the meaning is ‘to bring up’ [ *העלה* ] or ‘lay’ [ *נשא* ] in the scales (Psalm lxii 10 [E.V. v. 9]: ‘in the balances they go up’ [ *לעלות* ] ; Job vi 2: ‘laid [ *נשא* ] in the balances altogether’). Here a meal is spoken of, hence the verb *t’r*—i. E., ‘to lift up’—is to be explained in accordance with Gen. xliii 34: ‘Portions were taken [ *וַיִּשָׂא מִשָּׂאתָם* ] to them from Joseph’s table, but Benjamin’s portion was five times as much as any of theirs’.

(6) *YBRD*. Line 7 shows that the reference is to an action performed



with a knife; accordingly, this verb is akin to *prd* and signifies to ‘divide’ or ‘dissect’. On this basis we may possibly explain the obscure word **קָרְדִים** in Gen. xxxi 10, and in Zech. vi 3, 6, namely, ‘patchy’, having variegated colours in different parts of their hair.

(6–8) This is one of the stereotyped formulas that commonly recur in Ugaritic poetry whenever a given subject is repeated. It is reiterated, as a rule, at every mention of a meal. In Tablet II AB this wording is used to describe the meal prepared by Asherah for Baal and Anath (iii, 40–44), and the house-warming banquet to which Baal invited the gods and goddesses, when the building of his palace was completed (vi, 55–59); so, too, there is depicted in Tablet I\* AB another meal, the participants in which, however, we cannot determine, since the text there is damaged (iv, 12–16); likewise in the Danel Epic this formula is employed to portray the meal of which, apparently, Anath and Aqhat the son of Danel partook (Tablet II D, vi, 4–5). It is impossible to ascertain whether a similar form of words occurs in the Keret Epic, in the description of the banquets in Tablet III K, on account of the impaired state of the tablet. I dealt with the character and meaning of the formula in question a number of years ago in my essay on the erection of Baal’s palace,<sup>1</sup> where I explained my interpretation of it, an interpretation with which Ginsberg now agrees, at least in essence.<sup>2</sup> The word *td*—i. e. **דָּד** [‘breast’], in Hebrew-is, in my opinion, a metaphor for food that is good and fat, and is paralleled by *qs*, which I have explained in the sense of **זֵיז**, the word in parallelism with **דָּד** in Isa. lxvi 11, i. e., ‘a point’, or ‘nipple of a breast’ [ **עֹקֶצוֹ שֶׁל דָּד** ] in Talmudic language (B. Nid 47a); compare, also **קִצְצוֹ שֶׁל יוֹד** [‘tittle of the letter *Yôdh*’] (others interpret *qs* as a verb, to ‘fell, cut’). The sword—i. e., the knife (cf. Jos. v 2)—is designated here *mlht*, and I have explained this word on the basis of the Arabic stem **لح**, ‘to suckle’—the knife cuts up the portions, the breast, for the guests, and thus, as it were, suckles them, i. e., breast-feeds them. This provides a fitting parallel to the word *mrgtm* [see II AB, iii, 41–42; vi, 56–57] whose stem corresponds, as Virolleaud already noted, to the Arabic **رغث**, ‘to suck’. The figure of sucking is found also in the Bible in the sense of eating to satiety. See, for example, Deut. xxxii 13: ‘and he made him suck **וַיִּקְדֹּדֵי** honey out of the rock, and oil out of the flinty rock’; *ibid.* xxxiii 19: ‘for they suck **וַיִּקְדֹּדֵי** the affluence of the seas’; Isa. lx 16: ‘You shall suck

<sup>1</sup> *Orientalia*, VII (1938), pp. 281–282.

<sup>2</sup> *BASOR*, 98 (April 1945), p. 15, note 20.



[ וַיִּזְקַף ] the milk of nations, and you shall suck [ הַיְזִיקוּ ] the breast of kings'; *ibid.* lxvi 11: 'that you may suck [ הַיְזִיקוּ ] and be satisfied with her consoling breasts; that you may drink deeply with delight from the nipple of her glory'; *ibid.* v. 12: 'and the wealth of the nations like an overflowing stream; and you shall suck [ וַיִּזְקַף ]'; and in the opposite sense, Job xx 16: 'He will suck [ יִזְקַק ] the poison of asps'.

D. The detailed description continues: the eating is followed by drinking.

(8) *NDD*. Just as the expression 'He rose up' is used above in connection with the eating, so now a similar phrase occurs with regard to the drinking. The basic signification of the stem *ndd* is: 'to lift one's self up, arise, stand up', as we may observe from the use of the word נָדַד [ 'heap' ] in Hebrew (Exod. xv 8: 'the floods stood up in a heap [ נָדַד ]'; Jos. iii 13: 'shall stand in one heap [ נָדַד ]'; *ibid.*, v. 16: 'rose up in a heap [ נָדַד ]'; Psalm lxxviii 13: 'and made the waters stand like a heap [ נָדַד ]'), and from the Arabic word نَدَا , 'a hill'. Compare II AB, iii, 12–13: *ydd–yqm*; and IV AB, ii, 17: *ydd wyqm*.

(9) *YŠR*. Compare the Ethiopic stem 'šr, 'to invite to a banquet' (Albright, *BASOR*, 94, p. 33, note 10). Here the meaning appears to be: 'he brought wine to drink'. In Hebrew, too, the verb הָבִישׁ [ 'brought' ] can be used in this sense absolutely, without an object; see Jud. vi 19: 'and brought them to him under the terebinth and presented them [ וַיְבִישׁ ]'.

(10) *YTN KS BDH*. Exactly like the expression normally used in the Bible; see, for example, Gen. xl 13: וְנָתַתָּה בְּיָדוֹ כּוֹס־פָּרְעֹה קִידּוֹ — 'and you shall place Pharaoh's cup in his hand'; Jer. xxxv 5: וְנָתַתָּה בְּיָדוֹ כּוֹסֵי וְכַסּוֹת וְאָמַרְתָּ אֲלֵיהֶם שְׁתוּ יַיִן וְאֵתֵן לָפְנָי — 'Then I set before the Rechabites pitchers full of wine, and cups; and I said to them: "Drink wine" (earlier, in v. 2, it is written: וְהִשְׁקִיתָ אוֹתָם יַיִן — 'then offer them wine to drink', just as we find here, *wyšqynh*).

(11) *KRPN*. The reference here is to a large vessel from which they poured the wine into the cups. I translated it pitcher in accordance with the verse quoted above, Jer. xxxv 5.

E. Widely different interpretations have been proposed for this verse, but they are unacceptable. Seeing that v. F contains a parallel to *ks* and *krpn* mentioned in v. D, it seems that v. E is also an apposition of this kind.

(12) *BK RB*. Virolleaud and succeeding scholars thought that these letters form a

single word, but the traces of a word divider after the *Kaph* are discernible in the photograph. *bk* appears from the context

to be a synonym for ‘cup’ (compare 𐤒 [‘vial’, ‘flask’] in Aramaic and late Hebrew).

‘*ZM R’I*. Also the letters *r’i* belong, according to Virolleaud and the other expositors, to the two letters following them, as though they were one word—*r’idn*. But in this case, too, it is possible to detect in the photograph the word divider after the *’Aleph* [‘*i*’]. The word *r’i* can be satisfactorily explained on the basis of the Hebrew ראי [‘appearance’] (similarly, *bk* in Ugaritic = 𐤁𐤎 [‘weeping’]). The phrase ‘*zm r’i* resembles the Biblical expression 𐤏𐤍 𐤏𐤍 [‘of great appearance’, i. e. ‘of great size’] (Jos. xxii 10), which the exegetes have so far found difficulty in explaining. From this passage we learn that this expression pertains to the ancient tradition of Canaanite dialects. *DN*. The word may be explained by reference to the stem *dananu* in Akkadian: ‘to be big or strong’, forming a parallelism with *rb* and ‘*zm* above. Note should be taken in this connection of the noun *dn* in Aramaic, Arabic and Akkadian, and also in Mishnaic Hebrew, which signifies a particular kind of jar. I have translated it in Hebrew by the word כפל [‘bowl’], which connotes a large vessel, as was shown by E. L. Sukenik (*PEQ*, 1940, pp. 59–60); compare the use of this word in Mishnaic Hebrew.

(13) *MT ŠMM*. I have explained the phrase on the basis of the word *mutu* in Akkadian, מתיים [‘men’] in Hebrew. The reference is to the gods who inhabit the heavens, like Baal and his family, and like the host himself.

F. The meaning is: These are the very cup and pitcher that the great goddess, Asherah, loves to use.

(14) *LTPHNH*. ‘Seeing’ (the stem is apparently *ph*) is used here in the sense of ‘choosing’, as in the Bible: ‘Now therefore let Pharaoh choose 𐤒𐤏, literally: ‘see’] a man discreet and wise, and set him over the land of Egypt’ (Gen. xli 33); ‘Moreover choose [ 𐤏𐤍, literally: ‘see’] able men from all the people’ (Exod. xviii 21), and the like. ‘*ATT*. The word woman—i. e., Lady—is used here as an epithet of Asherah.

(15) *LT’N*. Here, too, an expression of ‘eyeing’ or ‘beholding’ is employed in the connotation of ‘choosing’, as in the preceding parallel line.

G. (15–17) *ALP–RBT*. This pair of parallel words is common both in Ugaritic and in Biblical literature; see the examples that I have cited in *Tarbiz*, XIV, pp. 4–5, and compare above, the Introduction, Ch. II, C. From the Biblical examples

it appears that these

words are to be understood as plural (thousands, myriads) and not as singular forms (a thousand, a myriad). The great quantity is to be explained not only by the general tendency to exaggerate, but also by the customary practice to set a large number of portions before guests, so as to show them much honour. It will suffice to mention the quantities prepared by Abraham according to Genesis xviii.

(16) *BHMR*. The prepositional *Bêth* may be explained in two different ways: (a) in the sense of ‘with’, like *קֶשֶׁר בְּנַפְשׁוֹ* – ‘flesh with its life’ (Gen. ix 4); *נִשְׁחִיתָה עִץ בְּלֶחְמוֹ* – ‘Let us destroy the tree with its fruit’ (Jer. xi 19), i. e. jars with wine, jars full of wine; (b) as *Bêth* introducing the object, e.g., in Tablet SS, line 6: *lhm blhm ’ay wšty bhm yn ’ay* – ‘Eat of the bread, ho ! and drink of the liquor of wine, ho!’; and in Proverbs ix 5: *וְשָׂתוּ בִינֵנוּ סִסְקִיתִי* – ‘Come, eat of my bread and drink of the wine I have mixed’; or, actually in conjunction with the verb *lqh*, as here, in Neh. v 15: *וַיִּזְנוּ וַיִּקְחוּ מֵהֶם כֶּלֶם וַיִּשְׂתוּ* – ‘and took from them food and wine’.

(17) Compare Isa. lxv 11: *הַעֲרָבִים לַגֵּר שִׁלְחוּ וְהַסִּטְלָאִים לְמִנֵּי סִסְקִיד* – ‘who set a table for Fortune and fill cups of mixed wine for Destiny’.

H. After the host had brought food and drink before the guest, he began to sing and play before him. The musician is not Mot (Virolleaud), nor a deity called *Gzr* (Gaster), nor Danel (Dussaud), nor Baal himself (de Vaux), but the host god.

(18) *YBD*. It is usually taken to be a synonym of *yšr* in the sense of ‘making melody’. But it is more probably related to the Arabic root *بدأ*. (it could be *bdd* or *bwd-byd*), meaning ‘he began’. In the Bible, too, the term ‘begin’ is used in connection with song and music, for instance, ii Chron. xx 22: *וַבְּעֵת הַחֲלוּ בָרְנָה וַתְּהַלְּהוּ* – ‘And when they began to sing and praise’; *ibid.* xxix 27: *הַחֵל שִׁירֵיהֶּ* – ‘the song to the Lord began’; Neh. xi 17: *רֵאשׁ הַתְּהַלְּלָה יְהוּדָה לְתַפְלָה* – ‘who was the leader to begin the thanksgiving in prayer’.

(19) *N’M*. Not an epithet applied to the singing (Virolleaud), nor a proper noun (Gaster), but an epithet of the singer; compare Tablet II D, vi, 31–32: *ybd wyšr* . . . *n’m* – ‘The *n’m* [musician]... began and sang’. The connection between the stem *n’m* and the idea of song and music is also found in the Bible.<sup>3</sup> Compare ii Sam. xxiii 1:

<sup>3</sup> Since in Ugaritic the word *n’m* in this signification is written with ‘*Ayin* and not with a *Gayin*, we learn that the stem *נעם* in the aforementioned Scriptural verses corresponds to *نعم* in Arabic and not to *نعم*. On Tur-Sinai’s (Torczyner’s)

interpretation of words derived from the stem זמר in Hebrew, see his work, Ha-Lašôn w<sup>e</sup>-ha-Sepher, *vol. Ha-Lašôn*, pp. 46, 358.

נעים וְסִירֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל – ‘he that made sweet the songs of Israel’ [cf. Cassuto, *Commentary on Genesis*, I, p. 238]; Psalms lxxxix 3 [E.V., v. 2]: כְּנֹר נְעִים עִם־נָבֶל – ‘Raise a song, sound the timbrel, the sweet lyre with the harp’; *ibid.* cxxxv 3: וְסִירוּ לְשִׁמּוֹ כִּי נְעִים – ‘sing to His name, for He is One who makes the songs sweet’ [cf. Cassuto, *loc. cit.*]; *ibid.*, cxlvii 1: כִּי־טוֹב וּפְרָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ, כִּי נְעִים נַאֲוָה תְהִלָּה: – ‘For it is good to sing praises to our God; for He is One who makes sweet the songs; a song of praise is seemly’.

(20) *GZR* Used in the sense of עֲנֵי הַמְלָחָה – ‘the mighty men of war’ (i Chron. xii 1), which is not from the stem עור commonly found in Hebrew (عور in Arabic; עדר in Aramaic), but from another stem غر that signifies ‘to be many’, and here, ‘great of strength’, ‘mighty’ (Ginsberg; see also Albright, *BASOR*, 94, p. 32, and Ginsberg, *ibid.*, 98, p. 18).

*TB QL*. Compare Ezek. xxxiii 32: וְיָפָה קוֹל וּמִטְבַּב נָנוּ – ‘with a beautiful voice and plays well on an instrument’.

I. Baal goes forth from the house of his friend, the host, and returns to his dwelling-place.

(21) ‘*L*. Explained to mean: עָלָה – ‘go up!’ (Virolleaud, Gaster); על – ‘concerning’, i. e. the singer sang concerning Baal (Dussaud); and other conjectures. To me it seems that we have here the perfect of the verb ‘ly. This is how I interpreted the word on the basis of the parallel in Tablet II D, v, 31–33, in my aforementioned essay in the *BJPES*, before Gordon’s grammar reached Israel; now I am happy to note that Gordon (*UG* 8.48; *UH* 9.48) envisages also this possibility. (21–22) *SRRT SPN*. Others explain: ‘the heights of the North’ (in Akkadian, *serreti*). Possibly the phrase ‘the recesses of the North’ is to be understood, in the same way as the Biblical expression, as the divine habitation (from the stem *srr* I, connoting ‘restriction’). According to Tur-Sinai’s (Torczyner’s) interpretation of the term כַּעֲלֵ צִפּוֹן as signifying ‘Baal of the earth’, on the basis of the passage in Job xxvi 7, where the word צִפּוֹן is in parallelism with the word אֲרֶץ [‘earth’], the meaning here would be, ‘the end of the earth’. In Ugaritic we also find the phrase, *mrym spn* [‘the heights of the North’]; similarly in ii Kings xix 23, and in Isa. xxxvii 24, קְרוֹם הַרִים – ‘the heights of the mountain’ actually occurs in parallelism with וְרִבְתֵי לְבָנוֹן – ‘the far recesses of the Lebanon’.

(22) *YTMR*. Various attempts have been made to explain this word—as a form of ‘*mr*, or *ymr*, or *tmr*—but without success. I have explained it from the stem מַר to ‘turn’, ‘go to’.



(23) *BNTH*. Not his daughters, for the names in verse J are not, as we shall see later, those of Baal's daughters. Gaster's suggestion to understand the word in the sense of *בְּנֵי* [‘to his habitations’] appears feasible. A similar interpretation was offered by Tur-Sinai (*Šîr ha-Šîrîm* [‘Canticles’], Tel-Aviv 1943, p. 26) of the words *בְּנוֹת יְרוּשָׁלַם* [‘O daughters of Jerusalem’] in Canticles [i 5, etc.], namely, that we vocalize *בְּנוֹת יְרוּשָׁלַם* [‘in the habitations of Jerusalem’].

J. In his dwelling Baal finds pleasure in the company of his wives. (23) *Y‘N*. Related to the word *עָיַן* [‘to look’], in this case in the sense of ‘to look lovingly’. Compare, in this signification, *וַאֲשִׁירֵנוּ* – ‘and look on him’, in Hos. xiv 9 [E.V., v. 8].

*PDY BT ‘AR . . . TLY BT RB*. These two women, and also ‘Arsy the daughter of *Y‘bdr*, who is mentioned with them elsewhere, are not Baal's daughters as many have supposed, nor his maidservants as others have thought, but his wives. Later on we shall see that they are designated *klt knytr*, that is, ‘worthy brides’ (Ginsberg: Baal's daughter-in-law). It should also be noted that in respect of each of them the name of the father is mentioned (daughter of ‘Ar, daughter of *Rabb*, daughter of *Y‘bdr*), and that all three fathers are to be distinguished from Baal. Also in the Tablet NK, where a number of scholars imagined that *Pdry* is mentioned as Baal's daughter, this is not the case. Similarly, to my mind, are to be interpreted *ibid.* lines 26f: *<k> m. b‘l trh pdry b[t ‘ar] ‘aqrbk ‘abh b‘l yg‘tr ‘trt rhlk* – ‘Just as Baal took *Pdry* daughter of ‘Ar] to wife, so I the father (of *Nkl*) join thee unto (myself). May Baal multiply the young of thy ewe lambs’. Also in an Aramaic text written in demotic script mention is made of *P‘tr[y]*, which corresponds to *Pdr[y]* in normal script, as the spouse of Baal-Zaphon (Baumann, *JNES*, iii [1944], pp. 227–228). The names *Tly*, related to *טל* [‘dew’], and ‘Arsy, related to *ארצו* [‘earth’], are suited to the attributes of Baal. For the name ‘Ar, one should perhaps compare Isa. xxvi 19: *כִּי טְלֹאוֹרֵת טֶלֶק* – ‘For Thy dew is the dew of light’.

K. The greater part of this verse is impaired, and cannot be completed.

## SECOND SECTION

A. On account of the damaged state of this verse and of the parallel in Appendix I [= III. *The Parallel Fragments*, First Fragment], it is impossible to suggest any interpretation. Each of the three words in line 2 can be explained in various ways (*kpr* as related to *קְפִירָה*



['denial']; to כפור [‘atonement’]; to קפר = ‘ransom’ or a certain plant or ‘pitch’ or ‘village’; to כפור, a kind of goblet; or it may even be a composite word, *k-pr* (for example, כ-פר [‘like a bull’], כ-פרה [‘for he was fruitful or begot’], and so forth). šb’ may be connected with שבועה [‘an oath’]; with שבעה [‘satiety’]; or with שבע [‘seven’]. Similarly, the third word *bnt* can be interpreted in a variety of ways: in the sense of בין [‘between’], or בנה [‘build’], or בת [‘daughter’], or בנות [‘in the meadows’], and so on). The number of possibilities increases when we combine the different meanings of each word. But although several interpretations have been proposed (for example, by Virolleaud: ‘the “*kpr*” of the seven daughters’), and it is still possible to add other suggestions, yet none of them, as we have said, provides a satisfactory solution.

B. (2–3) *RH GDM W’ANHBM*. In respect of these words, too, various interpretations have been put forward (for instance, Virolleaud: [‘the “*kpr*” of the seven daughters’] is the life-spirit of the goats and the hares!’; and Gaster: ‘The odour of the goats and the hares!’, i. e., how pleasant is the smell of the roasted flesh of these animals!), but these expositions do not fit in with the narrative of the succeeding lines. Possibly *’anhbm* is to be derived from the stem *’nhb*, which means ‘to take spoil’; accordingly, *gdm* will signify troops (גדוד in Hebrew; *’gddm* in the Phoenician inscription of Azitawadda) and *rh* will be related to the stem *rah*, which connotes ‘to arrive (in the evening) at a place’, ‘to attack (in the evening) someone, or something’.

(4) *BHT*. A poetic plural with a singular signification; hence I translated: ‘house of’.

(4–5) *WTQRY GLMM BŠT GR*. Only the word *glmm* (‘boys’, ‘attendants’) is clear. The remaining words are obscure, and consequently this sentence has also been subjected to numerous interpretations, which it would be superfluous to cite. I propose the following explanation: *wtqry*,<sup>4</sup> on the basis of the Arabic word *تقرى* signifies ‘gather’, ‘collect’; *št*, on the basis of the Hebrew word *שט*, which means ‘foundation’, connotes ‘nethermost place’; while *gr* denotes ‘a cave’ (غور) ‘a sunken place’; مغارة ‘a cave’). Anath’s attendants, terrified by the raiders, fled and hid themselves in a cave. Caves are

<sup>4</sup> On the forms commencing with in the imperfect, 3rd pers. plural, see A. Herdner, *RES*, 1938, pp. 76–83; now Albright, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, II (1948), pp. 243–244, and Gaster, *JAOS*, LXX (1950), pp. 10–11.

mentioned a number of times in the Bible as a place of refuge from an enemy. So, too, I interpret the text in Tablet II AB, vii, 37.

C. But Anath, unlike her attendants, is not afraid. She immediately attacks the marauders who had gathered around her palace.

(5) *HLN*. It is difficult to determine the exact meaning of this word. Possibly it means 'behold' (see Gordon, *UH*, iii, p. 594). I have translated it according to the context.

(5–6) *TMTHS*—the 'Ipt'l [Gt] conjugation from the stem *mhs*, which occurs later in the *Qal* [G]. This stem, which is found also in Akkadian, occurs a number of times in Ugaritic texts to describe the action of the gods when smiting their foes. It is one of the terms inherited by Hebrew poesy from Canaanite poetry, as I pointed out in the second chapter of the Introduction, D, (5). In the Bible this verb occurs 15 times, twelve of these being in connection with the destruction of Rahab, the Prince of the Sea, or generally with reference to the destruction of the enemies of the Lord and of Israel, who are compared to the sea and to the others who rebelled against their Creator. Thus we read in Job xxvi 12: וּבְהִבְוֶתָּהּ קַחֲזֵן רַהַב – 'and by His understanding He smote Rahab'; Psalms lxviii 22 [E.V., v. 21]: אַךְ-אֱלֹהִים יִסְחֵן רֹאשׁ אֹיְבָיו – 'But God will shatter the heads of his enemies'; Habakkuk iii 13: קַחֲזַתָּ רֹאשׁ סִבִּית רָשָׁע – 'Thou didst crush the head from the house of the wicked' (in the Septuagint there occurs here the word θάνατος, 'death' [קוֹת], which corresponds to Mot of the Canaanites.<sup>5</sup>

(6) *B'MQ-emûqu* in Akkadian means 'power', 'strength'. Compare perhaps Job xxxix 21: יִחַפְרוּ בְעֶמֶק וְיִשִּׁישׁ בְּכַח – 'They dig with force and he exults in (his) strength'; Jer. xlvi 5: שְׂאֵרִית עֲמָקָם – 'O remnant of their strength' (Gordon, Ginsberg; on the verse in Job see the commentary of Torczyner [Tur-Sinai], p. 456).

*THTSB*. This verb also occurs in the Bible (but in the *Hiph'il* conjugation) in connection with the destruction of Rahab, the Prince of the Sea. In Isa. H 9 it is written: קָחֻלְלַת תַּגִּין הַלֹּוא אַתָּה הִיָּא [נְרוּעַ הַ] הַמְחַצֵּבַת רַהַב – 'Was it not thou [arm of the Lord] that didst cut Rahab in pieces, that didst pierce the dragon?' The existence of this verb in Ugaritic with a similar signification proves that there is no need to emend the text in Isa. (*ibid.*) and to read הַמְחַצֵּבַת as many scholars have suggested.<sup>6</sup> This verb is found again (this time in the *Qal* conjugation),

<sup>5</sup> The remaining Biblical passages in which the verb קַחֲזֵן occurs are listed in my essay in *Tarbiz*, XIII, p. 212.

<sup>9</sup> In the Isaiah scroll (Q ISa), which was discovered a few years ago in the

in parallelism with the verb *הָרַג* in Hosea vi 5, in connection with the punishment of the false prophets: *הָרַגְתִּים בְּאִמְרֵי פִי עַל־כֵּן הִצַּבְתִּי בְּנֹבְאִים* – ‘Therefore I have hewn the prophets [*aliter*: by the prophets], I have slain them by the words of My mouth’. It is clear now that in this verse, too, there is no need for the emendations that have been proposed.

(7) *QRYTM*. It is impossible to determine whether this is the proper name of a given city or a common noun (two cities). At all events the reference is to the men of the troop that went forth from *qrytm*, and not to the inhabitants living there.

D. (7) *HP YM*. Possibly in the sense of ‘west’, like *יָם* [literally, ‘sea’] in Hebrew. Here, too, the meaning is not that Anath wrought destruction in the countries of the west and east, but that she slew the marauders, who came from both the east and the west.

(8) The parallelism between *'adm* and *l'im* is also reflected in Isa. xliii 4: *וְאֶתֵּן אֲדָם תְּחִמִּיד וְלְאִשִּׁים תַּחַת נַפְשְׁךָ* – ‘I give men in return for you, peoples in exchange for your life’.

E. (9) *KKDRT*. Many scholars, as we know, found the Biblical word *כְּדוּר* (Isa. xxii 18; xxix 3) difficult, and supposed that the word *כְּדוּר* [ball] in the Mishnaic language did not belong to the ancient vocabulary of the Hebrew tongue, and was formed as a result of a misunderstanding of the Biblical expression.<sup>2</sup> On the basis of this Ugaritic verse we may possibly decide in favour of the view that the word actually belongs to the ancient Canaanite language. However, another explanation of the word *kkdrt* has also been suggested, namely, ‘like sheaves’, on the basis of Arabic (Virolleaud, Gaster), but it is improbable, because the point of such a simile is obscure. Likewise Brockelmann’s interpretation, ‘like a pile’, is difficult, for if many heads were heaped together, they would form a real pile and would not merely resemble one. On account of the parallelism with ‘locusts’ we may conjecture that *kdrt* is the name of some insect

Wilderness of Judaea, the reading is definitely *הַמִּוֹחַצֵת*, but preference should still be given to the *lectio difficilior*, *הַמִּחְצֵבֵת*.

<sup>2</sup> Many scholars considered *כְּדוּר* in the two verses mentioned above to be a composite word, *דוּר* with the comparative particle *כִּי*. Recently N. H. Tur-Sinai proposed that *כְּנֹפֶה כְּדוּר* in Isa. xxii 18 should be understood as ‘the turban of captives’ on the basis of Akkadian, and to read in Isa. xxix 3 *כְּדוּר* instead of *כְּדוּר* in

accordance with the Septuagint (*Sepher 'Iyyôbh Mephorash*, pp. 195, 338; *Lešônénu*, XIV [1946L pp. 5, 8; *Ha-Lašôn w<sup>e</sup>-ha-Sepher*, vol. *Ha-Lašôn*, p. 342).

(Tur-Sinai). But I am more inclined to the view that actual balls are intended, and that the similes refer primarily to the likeness of form (Dussaud): the heads resemble balls in shape, just as the hands extended in the air appear, with their spread-out fingers, like locusts on the wing. Throughout this description of the slaughter wrought by Anath there is a good deal of jesting and farce, to which the comparison with balls is well suited: the heads cut off by Anath lie on the ground at her feet like playing balls.

(10) *QSM*. *قسم* is used in Arabic of a person or creature that breaks and destroys everything within reach; here it is applied to locusts and the like.

(11) *GRMN*. Possibly from a stem related to *غمر* (metathesis), which means ‘to be very numerous’.

*MHR*. The Akkadian word *mu'irru*, which is usually related to the Ugaritic *mhr*, does not fit the context. Perhaps we should compare i Chron. xii 9 [E.V., v. 8] (of the men who joined David's bands): *וּבְנֵי אִיִּם עַל־הַהָרִים לְמַהֵר* – ‘and who were swift as gazelles upon the mountains’; so, too, Habak. i 6, concerning the Chaldeans: *וְהַנְּסָהֵר הַחַזֵּד לְמַהֵר בִּי אֶרֶץ לְרִשָּׁתָּהּ מִשְׁכָּנֹתָ לֹא־לוֹ הִנּוּי הַמָּדָר* – ‘that bitter and hasty nation, who march through the breadth of the earth, to seize habitations not their own’; cf. also Isa. viii 1, 3: *(לְ)מַהֵר שָׁלַל חַשׁ בּוֹ* – ‘(to) the spoil speeds, the prey hastes’. Accordingly, the reference is to marauders who run swiftly to the attack. In Tablet No. 6, lines 6–7, the word *mhrk* corresponds, according to my interpretation, to the word *šsk* (= *שׁוֹסֵד* [‘thy spoilers’]).

F. (11) *TKT*. The root meaning of the stem *עַכַּ* is ‘to cleave’; hence I have given it the meaning here of ‘attached’, ‘hung’.

(12) *BMTH*. Both in Hebrew and Ugaritic the word *בְּמַת* *bmt* often has the signification of ‘body’, ‘back’, as Tur-Sinai and others have pointed out.

(13) *HBŠH*. The verb *šns* in line 12 (cf. i Kings xviii 46) makes it clear that *hbš* means ‘girdle’.

G. For the subject matter compare Psa. lviii 11 [E.V., v. 10]: *כְּגַשְׁי יִרְהוּ בָדָם הַרְשָׁע* – ‘he will bathe his feet in the blood of the wicked’; *ibid.*, lxviii 24 [E.V., v. 23]: *לְמַעַן תִּסְחִיז* (apparently we should read *תִּרְחִיז* *בָּדָם* *רְגְלֶךָ* – ‘that you may bathe your feet in blood’). See my observations on this in *Tarbiz*, XII, pp. 18–19; XIII, p. 207.

(13) *TG[LL]*. A conjugation corresponding to *Pi'el* or *Po'el* in Hebrew, having a causative sense, namely, ‘to cause to enter’ (*UH*, iii, 1569). Compare Job xvi 15: *וְעַל־לְתִי בָעָפָר קָרַנִּי* – ‘and I have laid



my strength in the dust'. I have translated the word in Hebrew by **והטביל** [literally, 'dipped'; rendered, 'plunged'], employing the expression commonly found in the Bible (Gen. xxxvii 31; Exod. xii 22; and elsewhere).

(14) *ŚMR*. From the stem **שמר** from which is derived the Hebrew word **שָׁמִיר** ['thorn', 'adamant'] (this stem, which is to be distinguished from the common verb **שָׁמַר** ['to keep'], is related to the stem **שָׁמַר**, which underlies **מַסְמָר, מִשְׁמָר** ['nail']), and means 'to be sharp, pricking or piercing'. The sense 'sharp' develops into that of 'swift', 'fleet', as in Habakkuk i 8: **וְגָלוּ סַנְטָרִים סוֹכִיו וְחֲדוּ...פָּרָשָׁיו** – 'Their horses are swifter than leopards, more fierce [literally, 'sharp']... their horsemen'.

*HLQM*. The parallelism with *brkm* shows that we have here a noun, in the dual form, denoting a member of the body (Virolleaud).

*MM* ['. In Arabic **ع**, 'flow', 'discharge' (Singer); also **ع**, 'to melt'. My translation follows Isa. lxiii 3, 6.

H. (15) *MTM*. The final *Mem* is adverbial (Singer); *mt* = **מַטֵּה** ['staff', 'rod'].

(16) *ŠBM*. Mostly rendered 'old men' [Hebrew, **שָׂבִיבִים** ], but this interpretation is not suited to the context. In my view it signifies 'those who come to take captives' [Hebrew, **שׁוֹבִיבִים** ; i. e., 'raiders'].

*MDNT*. Related to **מַדְנִים** ['strife', 'contention'], Prov. vi 19; x 12 (stem **דָּן** ); an abstract instead of a concrete noun, compare in Hebrew **מַדְנֵה** ['oversight'–'overseer'], **עֲבָדָה** ['service'–'servants'], **גְּבוּרָה** ['might'–'mighty deeds'].

I. After smiting the marauders who were around her palace, Anath enters the palace in order to smite those who had penetrated within. The word-pair 'house–palace' (Hebrew **בַּיִת-הַיְקָל** ) is commonly found in the Bible just as in the Ugaritic writings. Compare Psalms v 8 [E.V., v. 7]: **בֵּיתְךָ אֲשַׁתְּחֶוּהָ אֱלֹהִי הַיְקָל קִדְשֶׁךָ בִּירְאֵתְךָ** – 'But I through the abundance of Thy steadfast love will enter Thy house, I will worship toward Thy holy temple in the fear of Thee'; *ibid.*, xxvii 4: **שָׁבְתִי בְּבֵית־יְהוָה... וְלִבְנֶךָ בְּהַיְקָלוֹ** – 'that I may dwell in the house of the Lord . . . and to inquire in His temple'; *ibid.*, lxv 5 [E.V., v. 4]: **נִשְׂבָּעָה בְּטוֹב בֵּיתְךָ קִדְשׁ הַיְקָלְךָ** – 'We shall be satisfied with the goodness of Thy house, Thy holy temple!'; Zech. viii 9: **בַּיּוֹם נִסַּד בַּיִת ה' צְבָאוֹת הַיְקָל לְהִקְנוֹת** – 'since the day that the foundation of the house of the Lord of hosts was laid, that the temple might be built'. So, too, in Aramaic, Dan. iv 1 [E.V., v. 4]: **שָׁלַח הַנִּיחַ בְּבֵיתִי וְרָעְנָו**

הם וְצָאוּ אֶת־הָעִיר – [I, Nebuchadnezzar,] was at ease in my house and prospering in my palace.<sup>8</sup>

J. (19) *TMTHSH*. Since the verb is reflexive, the suffix cannot be the direct object. It is an indirect object, as in the following examples: הָם וְצָאוּ אֶת־הָעִיר – ‘When they had gone from the city’ (Gen. xliv 4); קָנִי וְצָאוּ – ‘my children have gone from me’ (Jer. x 20); וְעָרֹנִי בַעֲוֵתֵי אֱלֹהִים – ‘the terrors of God are arrayed against me’ (Job vi 4); and so forth. The parallelism with verse O indicates that the meaning of this word with its suffix is: she fights therein.

(20) *QRTM*. Above (verse C) it is written *qrytm*. The word has two forms in Ugaritic, *qryt* and *qrt*, just as in Hebrew, קָרָה and קָרַת (Gordon).

K. (20–21) *TT'R–R*. On the stem *t'r* see above, Section i, C. Here the stem is used in the sense of to ‘cast’ or ‘hurl’ on the heads of the opponents. In the two parts of this verse two forms of the same verb, one in the perfect and the other in the imperfect, occur in parallelism; on this kind of parallelism, examples of which are to be found in the Bible, see my remarks above, in the Introduction, Chapter II, G, (2).

(21–22) *MHR–SB'IM–GZRM*. The three terms used here to describe the raiders occur also in i Chron. xii 1–8, with reference to the men of David's bands: עֲנֵי הַמִּלְחָמָה – ‘mighty men of the war’ (v. 1); אֲנָשֵׁי צָבָא לַמִּלְחָמָה — ‘experienced warriors’ (v. 8); לְפָהֳרַי – ‘who were swift’ (*ibid.*). Cf. also Exod. xxxviii 8: אֲשֶׁר צָבָאוּ הַצִּבְאוֹת הַנְּקָאוֹת הַנְּקָאוֹת הַנְּקָאוֹת – ‘from the mirrors of the ministering women who ministered at the door of the tent of meeting’; i Sam. ii 22: הַנְּקָאוֹת הַנְּקָאוֹת הַנְּקָאוֹת – ‘the women who served at the entrance to the tent of meeting’. M. (24) *WTHDY*. Virolleaud already explained that this was an expression of rejoicing. Although the corresponding Akkadian form of the Hebrew verb תָּדָה is *hadû*, with *Hêth* (ע), whereas here the first radical of the Ugaritic verb is the first *Hêth* (ע) and not the second (ע), it is still possible to agree with Virolleaud's interpretation; compare my observations in *Orientalia*, VII (1938), p. 285, note 1, on the Ugaritic verb *hš*: notwithstanding that the verb *hašu*, with *Hêth*, is found in Akkadian, yet the Ethiopie form is *hōsa*, with first *Hêth*.

(25) *TGDD* – 𐎠𐎣, ‘to be blown up’.

<sup>8</sup> See further my observations on this word-pair in *Tarbiz*, XIV, p. 6, and in the Introduction to this volume, Chapter II, C, (15).

(25–26) Compare Psalms xvi 9: לָבוֹן שִׂמְחָה לִבִּי וְנִגַּל כְּבוֹדִי – ‘Therefore my heart is glad, and my soul rejoices’ (possibly we should read: כְּבִדִּי – ‘my liver’); *ibid.*, cxxvi 2: אֵין יִקְלָא צַחַק פִּינוּ – ‘Then our mouth was filled with laughter’; and similar expressions.

N. (26) *K BD*. Not one word, *kbd* (Virolleaud), but two words (Gaster).

(27) *TŠYT*. Virolleaud and Gaster already have suggested that the word corresponds to the Hebrew תּוֹשִׁיָה; but I find their rendering unacceptable (Virolleaud: ‘salut’, ‘force’; Gaster: ‘powers’). It were better to translate: ‘success’, ‘victory’. Compare Job v 12 (in this instance, too, in conjunction with ‘hand’): וְלֹא-תִגְשִׁינָה יְדֵיהֶם תְּשִׁיחָה: – ‘so that their hands achieve no success’.

P. After slaying the marauders, Anath cleanses her palace of the blood shed therein. The passive verbs apparently imply that the work was not performed by Anath in person but by her servants, who emerged from their hiding place when they saw that the violence had subsided.

(30) *YMH–Niph‘al*, from the stem *mhy*.

(31) *[B]BT*. It seems to me that the text has to be completed thus, with a prepositional *Bêth* meaning ‘from’; the marks appearing in the facsimile show that this restoration is feasible.

(31–32) *ŠMN ŠLM*. Not the fatness of peace offerings, as others have explained, but oil of peace, which is poured forth in the palace in order to symbolize its purification and its restoration to a state of peace after the battle that had been waged there.

(32) *S‘*. Others have explained this word to denote a ‘dish’ or ‘bowl’ on the basis of the Aramaic שַׁעַת, and apparently this is the signification of the word in the Epic of Keret (Tablet III K, iv, 24), but the combination of the two letters *s‘* can represent various words, possibly with a change of vowels. In the description of the vessels of Baal’s palace at the beginning of Tablet II AB, I have suggested that *s‘* means a ‘couch’, ‘bed’, and I still consider this to be the correct interpretation there, although many scholars render it differently.<sup>9</sup> In the verse before us, in which *s‘* occurs in parallelism with the word *bt* (‘house’), it is used, apparently, as a collective noun to denote the chambers of the palace, and resembles the Hebrew יָצִיץ or יָצִיעַ [extension or wing of building] (i Kings vi 5).

<sup>9</sup> See, for example, Gaster, *BASOR*, 93 (February 1944), p. 34; Ginsberg, *The Legend of King Keret*, p. 42.



Q–R. Anath washes her hands, which are stained with blood. The use of the correlatives hands [אֲנָתָהּ] –fingers [אֶצְבָּעוֹתָהּ] is common in Hebrew as in Ugaritic.

(33) *YBMT L'IMM* a customary epithet of Anath; see thereon the Introduction, Chapter III, pp. 64–65.

S. After washing her hands, Anath cleans the palace furniture.

(36) [ 'I]R. I have completed the sentence thus, with the perfect in parallelism with the imperfect *tt'ar* in line 37, in accordance with the principle indicated in the Introduction, Chapter II, G, (2), and above in the note on verse K. The Arabic verb *ك* signifies 'to avenge the blood'; possibly its primary meaning is 'to cleanse the blood stains'.

[KS'A]T. The letters before the *Taw* are not clear. Virolleaud suggests, hesitantly, *mnt*. But the context requires [ks'a]t, and the traces of the letters appearing in the photograph do not conflict with this restoration.

(37) *LTLHN*[T]. Virolleaud: *ltlhn*. But the *Nun* is not distinct; possibly the text read–*nt*.

(36–37) [KS'A]TLKS' AT,*TLHN*TL*TLHN*[T],. . .*HDMMLHDM*. A distributive formula, i. e., each one of the chairs, each one of the tables, each one of the footstools.

T. Above it was related that Anath washed her hands in order to prepare herself for the cleansing of the furniture; and here it is stated that after completing this purification she bathed her whole body in water.

(38) [T]HSPN. This verb, which occurs also in the Epic of Danel (e.g., ID, 51), is akin to the Hebrew verb *השף* with *Śîn* (in this very sense in Isa. xxx 14: *וְלִהְשֹׁף מִיַּם כְּנָבָא* – 'or to dip up water out of the cistern'; and in Hag. ii 16: *הַמְשִׁיב פִּוְרָה* *בָּא אֶל־הַנֶּקֶב לְהִשָּׁף* – 'when he came to the winevat to draw fifty measures'). In Hebrew we find the stem *הסף* with *Samekh*, in the obscure word *סַחֲסָם* (Exod. xvi 14); and if we accept the view that the word is to be understood in the sense of 'uncovered', in accordance with the usual sense of the stem *השף* in the Bible, it follows that in Hebrew itself the two related verbs *הסף* and *השף* were both in use together.

(39–42) Expression in apposition to the water mentioned in line 38, i. e., the water she draws from the well consists of dew and rain.

(39) [T]L ŠMM ŠMM 'ARS. Dew of heaven, which is the fatness of the earth, that is, which fructifies the earth. Similarly we read in Gen. xxvii 28: וּמִשְׁטֵי הָאָרֶץ: מטל השמים – ‘of the dew of heaven and

of the fatness of the earth'; *ibid.* v. 39: **מִשְׁמַנֵּי הָאָרֶץ... וּמִטַּל הַשָּׁמַיִם** 'of the fatness of the earth . . . and of the dew of heaven'.

(39) *RBB*. The parallelism 'dew–shower(s)' occurs also in the Bible (Deut xxxii 2: **תֵּל כְּטַל אֶמְרֵתִי... וְכַרְבִּיבִים עָלַי־עֹשֵׁב** –'May my teaching drop as the rain . . . and as the showers upon the herb'; Micah v 6 [E.V., v. 7]: **כְּטַל מֵאֵתֶּהּ כַּרְבִּיבִים עָלַי־עֹשֵׁב** –'like dew from the Lord, like showers upon the grass'. In Deut. xxxii 2, the word **שְׁעִירִים** –'rain(-drops)' also occurs in parallelism with **רְבִיבִים** –'showers'; similarly in Tablet I D, 44–45, the three synonyms are found: *bl tl bl rbb bl šr' thmtm* –'Bring down dew, bring down a shower, bring down small rains of the two deeps (in Ugaritic *šr'* = **שְׁעִיר** by metathesis).<sup>10</sup>

(40) *[R]KB 'RPT*. An epithet of Baal, who is deemed to be the one who sends down the dew and the rain; see the Introduction on this. On the Biblical parallels (**רָכַב בְּעַרְבוֹת** –'Who rides upon the clouds' in Psalms lxviii 5 [E.V., v. 4], and the like) see my observations on Psa. lxviii (*Tarbiz*, XII, pp. 2–9), and also in the Introduction to this book, Chapter III, p. 59.

U. *ŠMM NSKH* a relative clause; so, too, *nskh kbkbm* in line 41 (de Vaux).

(41) *NSKH*. Virolleaud reads *tskh*, but he notes that it is also possible to read *nskh* (similarly below, v, G). It is actually this reading, in the perfect, that I consider correct, in accordance with the rule that I have formulated above (see verses K and S).

In the light of these verses, which attribute the dew and the rain to Baal and to the heavens, it is possible to understand the polemic in Jeremiah xiv 22: **הֲיֵשׁ בְּהַבְלֵי הַגּוֹיִם מְנַשְׁמִים, וְאִם־הַשָּׁמַיִם יִתְּנוּ רְבִיבִים,** –'Are there any among the false gods of the nations that can bring rain? Or can the heavens give showers? Art Thou not He, O Lord our God? We set our hope on Thee, for Thou doest all these things'.

(42) *TTPP*. Another relative clause: dew and showers, which, when they come down, beat upon the ground like a man beating on a drum. The verb, since it pertains to a compound subject like dew and shower, takes the feminine form, as is usual in Arabic.<sup>11</sup>

'*ANHB[M]*. A word-play on '*anhbm* in verse B. In **הֲלֹא אַתָּה הוּא ה'** is used in both senses: 'bands' of men, and 'furrows' of the earth; compare Psa. lxv 11 [E.V., v. 10], where the word actually occurs in

<sup>10</sup> I suggested this explanation in *Orientalia*, VIII (1939), p. 239. See *ibid.*, p. 369.

<sup>11</sup> See the views of the scholars I have cited above, in the annotation to lines 4–5.

proximity to רְבִיבִים – ‘showers’: תִּלְטֶיָה רְוָה נֶחֱת גְדוּדָהּ, בְּרִבִּיבִים תִּמְנְנָה – ‘Thou waterest its furrows abundantly, settling its ridges, softening it with showers’.

V. (43) *Z’UH BYM*–. I have interpreted the expression on the basis of Isa. iv 4: סָקַרְבָּה אִם רָסִין אֶדְנִי אֵת צֹאת בְּנוֹת־צִיּוֹן וְאֶת־דָּמֵי יְרוּשָׁלַם יָדִישׁ – ‘when the Lord shall have washed away the filth of the daughters of Zion and cleansed the bloodstains of Jerusalem from its midst’. This parallel enables us to understand the passage in Isaiah, which would otherwise be very strange. On the grammatical form *z’u*, which corresponds to the Akkadian *zû* or *sû*, see my remarks in my articles on the three forms of the *’Aleph*.<sup>12</sup>

### THIRD SECTION

A–B. Since we do not know what was written in the preceding lines, we cannot determine if these verses also contained the words of Baal, as in verses C onward, or not. It is true that verse C is not preceded by one of the formulas that normally introduce speeches, for example, ‘He lifted up his voice and cried’, but sometimes a speech begins without such an introductory formula. It is also possible that in the missing lines there was some expression that explained to the reader that Baal’s utterance commenced with verse C. In verse A Baal is mentioned in the third person, but this does not imply that he is not the speaker; also above (ii, M–N), Anath refers to herself in the third person. In any case, the purport of verses A–B, appears to be that, in keeping with what we read at the end of the First Section, Baal desires to enjoy the love of his wives in tranquillity and security, untroubled by war.

(1) –*ŠT*. The first letter would appear to be a *Mem*, but it is not clear. For this reason, and also because we cannot determine the connection between this word and what preceded, it is best to refrain from any attempt to explain this word.

*R’IMT*. Many scholars hold that this word is not related to the Biblical רְאִמּוֹת [‘corals’], but to רָחַם, ‘to love’, ‘to cherish’, as is shown by the synonyms in the following lines.

<sup>12</sup> Cited above, in the Introduction, p. 7. On the word *z’u*, see now Gaster, *JAOS*, LXX (1950), p. 14. I am pleased to note that *ibid.*, p. 15, and earlier, in *JNES*, VII (1948), p. 188, Gaster agrees with my explanation of the word *r’imt*, which I had already proposed in this volume, which had been prepared for publication several years ago.

(2) 'IRTH-irtu in Akkadian, 'breast', 'bosom' (UH, iii, 271). MŠR. Since this word occurs in a context of love and affection, we must explain it on the basis of the Biblical passage, פִּינִין מִיִּשְׂרָיִם אֲהַבֹּךְ נֹכַרָה דְדִיד – 'we will extol your love more than wine; rightly do they love you' (Canticles i 4). According to the usual interpretation of this verse—they love you with a love worthy of you—the meaning here will be: with love in exchange for the love of Baal, and if we accept Torczyner's [Tur-Sinai's] explanation<sup>13</sup> of פִּיִּשְׂרָיִם אֲהַבֹּךְ as an allusion to a man's sexual strength, we can understand here the expression *mšr lda 'al'iy b'l* as a reference to this attribute of Baal.

B. From what was stated in the preceding verse it is evident that these are the names of Baal's wives, and not of his daughters, as many scholars have supposed (see my observations earlier, at the end of the First Section).

C. (5–6) KM GLMM W'RBN. An invitation by Baal to his servants to come to him and hear what he wishes to tell them. Alternatively, it may mean: Enter and come to Anath's house, in conformity with what is stated later, vii, E; see my commentary *ibid*.

(5) KM. From *كَم*, which means *inter alia*, 'to gather together', 'to come together'·G

LMM. It appears that Ginsberg—BASOR, 95, October 1944, pp. 25–30—is right in inclining to the view that we have here two messengers, *Gpn* and 'Ugr, and not one emissary called *Gpn-w'Ugr*. On the explanation of these two names see below, Section iv, E.

(9) YMMT L'IMM. The same as *ybmt l'imm* (ii, Q), the *Bêth* being assimilated to the following *Mem* (Gordon).

E. (11) 'AL'IY QRDM. An epithet of Baal; see thereon the Introduction, Chapter III, p. 59.

F. (11–12) QRY Y B'ARS MLHMT. An interpretation similar to mine, which I had already put before my students at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem in February 1943, was subsequently proposed by Goetze in February 1944,<sup>14</sup> but he did not determine the precise meaning of the word *qryy* ('very probable that its connotation is "remove" or similar'). In my opinion this word is to be explained on the basis of the Arabic stem *قري*, meaning 'to gather' (see above on ii, lines 4–5). The sense here is: Gather unto thee, turn back, put

<sup>13</sup> In his work *Šîr ha-Šîrîm*, Tel-Aviv 1943, p. 20.

<sup>14</sup> *BASOR*, 93, 1944, pp, 17–20.

–‘and the stars withdrew their shining’; cf. also the similar thought in Jer. xlvii 6: **הוּי תָרַב לֹהַ עַד־אֵנָה לֹא תִשְׁקֵט׃ הָאֶסְפִי אֶל־יַתְעַרְךָ הַרְגֵעִי וְדַמִּי** an end to, as in Joel ii 10: **–‘Ah, sword of the Lord! How long till you are quiet? Put yourself into your scabbard, rest and be still!’** This Biblical verse contains parallels to sentiments expressed further on in the present Ugaritic section and also in the next section; note also Psa. xlvi 10 [E.V., v. 9]: **מִלְחָמוֹת עַד־קִצָּה הָאָרֶץ׃ קִשְׁת׃ וְשִׁבְר׃ וְקַצֵּץ׃ הַגִּית׃ עֲגָלוֹת׃ יִשְׂרָף׃ בָּאֵשׁ׃ שִׁבִית׃׃** –‘He makes wars cease to the end of the earth; he breaks the bow and shatters the spear, he burns the chariots with fire!’

*QRY Y*. This grammatical form may possibly be explained, with Brockelmann, as imperative feminine with the termination -y; or, according to Goetze, as the infinitive absolute of the *Pi‘el* [D], with the signification, of course, of the imperative.

(12) *ŠT*. If the word *qryy* is, in truth, the infinitive absolute, the word *št*, which parallels it, must also be the infinitive absolute (Goetze understands it as the imperative), and so, too, the word *št* that occurs a number of times, in the fragments of the Ugaritic text on the healing of horses, in parallelism with *ysq*, which is definitely the infinitive absolute (see *UH*, 9. 24).

*B‘PRT*. According to Goetze the meaning of the expression *št b‘prt* is ‘cast to the dust’, ‘cast away’ (‘do away with . . .’). But we have already noted in the Introduction<sup>15</sup> that the words אֶרֶץ [‘earth’] and עָפָר [‘dust’] constitute a permanent pair of synonyms, both in the Ugaritic literary tradition and in the Biblical, and usually occur in parallelism, one in one line and the other in the parallel line. It follows that the word *prt* here is in parallelism with *ars*, bearing the very same connotation as the parallel word. Mostly, both in Hebrew and in Ugaritic, it is the singular *pr*– עָפָר that occurs as the parallel to *ars*– אֶרֶץ, but once we find also in the Bible, as in this Ugaritic verse, the poetic plural **וְחֻצוֹת, וְרֵאשִׁי עֲפָרוֹת תִּבְלֵ׃ עֲפָרוֹת אֶרֶץ׃** –‘before He had made the earth with its fields, or the first of the dust of the world’ (Prov. viii 26).

*DDM*. The singular must be *ddy* (compare the Ugaritic nouns *brky* [‘pool’], *n‘my* [‘loveliness’]). The meaning is, ‘love’, ‘fellowship’, in contrast to ‘war’; compare Ecclesiastes iii 8: **עַתָּה׃ מִלְחָמָה׃ וְעַתָּה׃ שְׁלוֹם׃ עַתָּה׃ לְאַהֲבָה׃ וְעַתָּה׃ לְשִׂנְאָה׃׃** –‘a time to love, and a time to hate; a time for war, and a time for peace’. Goetze considers the word to have a pejorative nuance, and translates the line: ‘do away with passion!’ To my mind

<sup>15</sup> Chapter II, C, (1).



there is a clear parallel here to the preceding line: rending war and enthroning love.

G. (13) *SK*. Imperative from the stem *nsk*. In the Bible, too, imperative forms occur in parallelism with the infinitive absolute; compare, for example, Isa. xxxvii 30; Amos iv 4–5; Nahum ii 2. The verb is not semantically related to the expression הפך נסכים – ‘pour out libations’, as Goetze interpreted it, but to the verb in Psa. ii 6: ואני נסכתי מלכי על ציון הר־קדשי – ‘I have set My king on Zion, My holy hill’ i. e., ‘set’, ‘establish’.

*LKBD 'ARS*. In keeping with his line of interpretation, Goetze translates: ‘over the earth’. In my view *kbd* has the usual meaning here; ‘in the midst of the earth’. The same applies to the parallel words in line 14.

(14) *'ARB DD*. Although no word-divider is discernible after the *Bêth*, there are undoubtedly two words here. Goetze explains *'arb* as a substantive meaning ‘thought’, ‘desire’, on the basis of the Arabic root *أرب* (*'arb dd* = ‘loving consideration’). In my opinion *'arb* is the imperative of the verb *rby* in the causative conjugation *'Aph'el* [*'-stem*], signifying ‘increase’ (= Hebrew: הרבי).

(15) *HŠK*. It has been explained as a noun, *hš*, with the pronominal suffix *-k* found in the words that follow. To me it appears to be an imperative of the stem *hšk*–השך; compare Prov. xiii 24: שונא בנו הושך שכתו – ‘He who spares the rod hates his son’.

‘*SK* ‘Thy rod’ (mentioned above, ii 8), which is made of wood.

‘*BSK*. In Arabic *عقب* = sword (cf. in Hebrew *קֶשֶׁב-כֶּבֶשׂ*).

(16) The first *MY*. Not ‘with me’ (Hebrew, *עמי*), but an imperative from the stem *'my*, like *šty* from the stem *šty* (II AB, iv, 35). The basic meaning of the Arabic verb *ع* is apparently ‘cover’; here the reference is to the covering of the sword, that is, to returning it to its scabbard. Compare the aforementioned passage in Jeremiah xlvi 6: הוי תרב לה עדי אנה לא תשקטי האקפי אל־תערך – ‘Ah, sword of the Lord! How long till you are quiet? Put yourself into your scabbard’; also i Chron. xxi 27: וישב תרבו אל נדנה – ‘and he put his sword back into its sheath’.

H. (16) The second *MY* means ‘with me’ (Hebrew, *עמי*), in the sense of ‘to me’, as is usual in Ugaritic even after verbs expressing motion. Possibly there is a word-play here with *'my* in the preceding line.

(17) *TWTH*. The Arabic stem **وَجَّهَ** has, among other connotations, also that of ‘hasten’, ‘walk quickly’; it is in this signification

that our word has to be understood (stem *why*, in the אפתעל [Gt] conjugation) in parallelism with *tlsmn*.<sup>16</sup>

'IŠDK–išdu in Akkadian, 'foot' (Virolleaud).

DM. Not 'blood' (Hebrew דם ), as the word is usually interpreted, but like the Arabic ربا with first pers. pronominal suffix, which even in the accusative may possibly be omitted in writing.

J–L. In regard to these verses widely divergent and unsatisfactory interpretations have been proposed; for example: the whole of nature is incensed about the humble abode of Baal (Virolleaud); nature laments the death of Baal (Gaster); an allocution to human beings, expressing reverence for the heavens' love for the earth, and calling upon people to worship the heavens (Dussaud); Baal, the storm-god, proclaims his intention to create lightning, and nature is shaken by the proclamation (Albright); and so forth. But seeing that we find like verses uttered also by El (Tablet VI AB, iii, 13–15), the subject matter cannot appertain solely to Baal. What we have here is a stereotyped formula (in the form of a series of phrases standing in apposition to *rgm* and *hwt* (in verse I), inviting someone to a secret talk, one of the formulas that recur frequently in the Ugaritic writings. Despite the poetic elaboration of its wording its meaning is very simple: I have a secret matter to tell thee.

(19–20) *RGM 'S WLHŠT 'ABN*—that is, speech that human beings, save for a few illuminati, cannot comprehend. It was said of Rabban Johanan b. Zakkai that he knew even the language of palm-trees (B. Sukka 28a; B. Baba Batra 134a), and of Hillel the Elder that he learned even the speech of mountains, hills and valleys, of trees and herbs (Tractate Soferim 16:7, ed. Higger, p. 290).

(21) *T'ANT*. The word is not related to the phrase תאניה ואניה [Isa. xxix 2; Lam. ii 5], as it is usually explained. From the primary signification of the stem 'ny, 'to complain', there developed a secondary connotation, 'to converse', exactly like the evolution of the senses of the stem שיח : first it meant, 'to complain', as, for instance, in Psa. lv 18 [E.V., v. 17]: אשיחה ואהמה – 'I utter my complaint and moan'; and subsequently it came to signify, 'to speak, converse', as, for example, Psa. cxlv 5: ודברי נפלאותיך אשיחה – 'and of Thy wondrous works I will tell', the meaning it also bears in the Rabbinic idiom.

<sup>16</sup> My colleague, Professor Tur-Sinai suggests: 'Thy legs that run restrain; and diminish (stem *yth*, יתח ; cf. his annotation on the word תוהח in Job xli 21) thy

shedding of blood’.

ŠMM. The converse of the heavens is also incomprehensible to human beings. In Psa. xix, after stating, <sup>הַשָּׁמַיִם מְסַפְּרִים כְּבוֹד־אֱלֹהִים</sup> (v. 2 [E.V., v. 1])—‘The heavens are telling the glory of God’, the poet adds: <sup>כִּלְיֵי נִשְׁמָעֵם קוֹלָם</sup> —‘their voice is not heard’ (v. 4 [E.V., v. 3]).(23) ’ABN BRQ. *Abn* is not here a form of the verb *bny* [‘build’] but is related to the Hebrew <sup>אֲבָן</sup> [‘stone’]. ‘Stones of lightning’ are also mentioned in an Akkadian prayer to the storm-god.<sup>17</sup> Apparently this expression has a similar connotation to the phrase <sup>אֲבָנֵי אֵשׁ</sup> [‘stones of fire’] in the description of the Garden of Eden in Ezek. xxviii 14, 16; they are the stones of heaven in which is stored the fire that becomes visible to us in the form of lightnings (Ezek. i 13: <sup>וַיֵּצֵא מִן־הָאֵשׁ יוֹצֵא בָרָק</sup> —‘and out of the fire went forth lightning’). For further details on this subject see my book *From Adam to Noah*, pp. 79–80.

DL TD’ ŠMM—‘which even the heavens do not know’, that is, even the heavens cannot comprehend what the ‘stones of lightning’, whose home is actually in the heavens, say to one another (also before ’*abn brq* the word *t’ant* is to be understood, just as before *šmm*). In the parallel section of this Tablet (iv, 57–64), the entire clause, [’*abn brq*] *dl t[d’ š]m[m]*, precedes the words [’*atm w’ank*] ’*i [bgyh]* (here lines 25–26); hence it cannot be connected with what comes after it here, as many have supposed. In the parallel passage in Tablet VI AB, iii, 12–16, these words are not to be found at all; consequently they cannot be the main portion of the speech as has been suggested (the creation of lightning). It is no more than a detail, an additional parallel, which may be included or omitted.

(24) L TD’–L TBN. The *Lamedh* here, like that in line 23, is the negative *la*, in Hebrew <sup>לֹא</sup> I explained it thus some years ago in *Tarbiz*, XIV (1943), p. 3; and so have others subsequently.

(25) HMLT. It is clear from the context here and elsewhere that the word means ‘multitude’ (Virolleaud).

M. (25) ’ATM. Imperative of the verb ’*ty* plus *ma* for emphasis. In the parallel passage in Tablet VI AB, iii, 16: ’*at*.

(26) ’IBGYH. From the stem <sup>יָבַע</sup>, cognate with <sup>נָבַע</sup> or <sup>נָבַע</sup> [‘flow’]; hence: ‘I shall express to him’, ‘I shall relate to him’. GRY. As above (ii, B, 4–5). Baal wishes to speak to Anath secretly; hence he invites her into the cave in his dwelling, that is, to a hidden place, where no stranger can hear what is spoken.

<sup>17</sup> See King, *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery*, London 1896, p. 78, line 2 (No. 21, line 17).



'*IL SPN*. In 1938 already I suggested in *Orientalia* vii, p. 273, that the section at the beginning of II AB, i, lines 13–19 should be interpreted in this sense, for since Baal has not yet a palace of his own, he dwells in his father's house, while his wives reside in the chambers of his mother Asherah. What is stated here fits in well with this explanation. When Baal acquired the hegemony in place of his father, El, he forced his father to leave his sanctuary in the recesses of the North and go into exile in a distant land, by the springs of the Rivers, while he [Baal] took up his abode in El's temple in the Mountain of the North, a sanctuary that was named after the latter, 'El of the North'.

N. (27) *GR*. Here the word *gr* has a different signification (and possibly a different vocalization, too) from that of *gr* in the preceding verse; it may be that a word-play is intended here. Since the parallel word in line 28 is *gb'* ['height'], it seems that the interpretation proposed by Virolleaud is correct, namely, 'mountain' or 'hill'. This is proven by the fact that here, in line 28, we find *gb' tl'iyt*, and in IV AB, iv, 32, we have: *gr tl'iyt*.

(28) *N'M*. For the parallelism, *qdš–n'm* compare, **הֵיכַל-נַעֲמַם** ['temple–pleasance'] in Psalms xxvii 4: **לְחַזוֹת בְּנַעֲמֵי-יְהוָה וּלְבַקֵּר בְּהֵיכָלוֹ** – 'to behold the pleasance of the Lord, and to inquire in His temple'. In the light of this analogy the meaning of the Biblical verse becomes quite clear.

*GB'*. Parallelism between the words **הַר** and **גְּבֵעָה** is common in the Bible. Compare, for example, Isa. x 32: **וַיִּנְפֹף יְדוֹ הַר בְּתֵצִיּוֹן גְּבַעַת יְרוּשָׁלַם** – 'he will shake his fist at the mount of the daughter of Zion, the hill of Jerusalem'; *ibid.*, xxxi 4:– **וְגִבְעָתָהּ צָבָאוֹת לְצָבָא צָבָאוֹת לְצָבָא עַל-הַר-צִיּוֹן וְעַל** – 'so the Lord of hosts will come down to fight upon Mount Zion and upon its hill'; and so forth.

*TL'IYT*. From the stem *l'y*, 'to be mighty', from which are derived Baal's epithets, 'al'iy<sup>n</sup> and 'al'iy qrdm (see on these titles the Introduction, Chapter III, p. 59).

#### FOURTH SECTION

A–C. These verses recur in almost identical form elsewhere (II AB, ii, 12–20), in the scene where Asherah's two children, Baal and Anath, come before her. Many unacceptable interpretations have been put forward. The sense cannot possibly be, as several scholars have thought, that Anath trampled down some deity with her feet and broke his ribs or tore him to pieces; nor have we here, as others have

explained, a description of the symptoms of longing of the goddess who yearns for the arrival of the visitors. In order to understand the verses correctly, it is necessary to pay attention to the sequel, here and also in the parallel passage, and to the similar expressions in Scripture. Both here and in the parallel text it is evident from the continuation of the narrative that the goddess who receives the visit is afraid that the visitors came only to bring evil and perturbing tidings.

(29) *HLM 'NT TPH 'ILM*. These words enable us to resolve part of the difficulty of an obscure Biblical verse: \* הַנֶּם הַלֵּם רְאִיתִי אַחֲרַי רְאִי (Gen. xvi 13). The theme is similar, and the literary tradition common to the Canaanites and to the Israelites was responsible for the same expression appearing in both passages. The word הַלֵּם in the Biblical verse has not the usual meaning, הֵנָּה [‘hither’, ‘here’], but הֵלָּה [‘lo’, ‘behold’], like *hlm* in Ugaritic, אַרְוִם in Aramaic.

(29–30) *BH P'NM TTT*. Compare Psa. lxxiii 2: כָּאִן שָׁפַכָּה אֲשֶׁרֵי וְאֲנִי כִסְעִים נִטְוִי רַגְלִי – ‘But as for me, my feet had almost stumbled, my steps had well nigh slipped’. The stem *ntt* ( נָטַי cognate with נָטַי ) cannot be satisfactorily explained except on the basis of this Biblical parallel.

(30) *B'DN*. The adverb is formed by means of the suffix *-n*, like ‘*ln* from ‘*l* (below, line 31). The primary meaning of *b'd* is, as is well known, ‘after’, ‘behind’.

*KSL TTBR* a true Biblical expression: אֶל־שִׁמוּעָה כִּי־בָאָה... וְאִתָּה בְּרַגְלֶיךָ הֵאָנַח בְּשִׁבְרוֹן – ‘Sigh therefore, you son of man with the breaking of your loins . . . Because of the tidings, for it comes . . .’ (Ezek. xxi 11–12 [E.V., v. 6–7]).

(31) ‘*LN*. On the termination *-n*, see my note above, on *b'dn*. *TD*’. The sweat is a symptom of the feeling of anxiety and fear on account of the evil tidings.

*TGS* From the stem نَفَس ‘to totter, be shaken’ (*UH*, iii, 1330).

*PNT KSLH*. On the trembling of the loins in such a situation, compare, for example, Isa. xxi 3: עַל־כֵּן טָלְאוּ סִתְנֵי הַלְהֻלָּה – ‘Therefore are my loins filled with convulsion’; Nahum ii 11: סִתְנֵימ וְהַלְהֻלָּה בְּכָל – ‘and convulsion is in all loins’; and the like.

(32) ‘*ANS*’. Earlier exegetes interpreted this word with difficulty as a substantive, attributing to it various senses. But it seems preferable to regard it as a verb, corresponding in meaning to *tgs*. In Akkadian

\* As the meaning of the verse as a whole is in doubt, no translation is offered here (*Translator*).

*enêšu* sometimes has the signification, ‘to tremble’. It is also possible to understand *nš* in the usual connotation of this stem in Hebrew, to ‘be weak’ or ‘feeble’. Hands are described as becoming feeble a number of times in the Bible (and also in the Lachish Ostraca) in episodes similar to our own. In the Bible, too, the stem *נש* occurs in association with *שבר* as here; see, for instance, Jer. xxx 12, and *ibid.*, v. 15.

*DT ZRH*. This compound expression is used as a substantive, like *d’lmk* in Tablet I\* AB, ii, 20, ‘your everlasting [slave]’. Here the meaning is: ‘[the muscles] of her back’ or ‘[the ribs] of her back’ (‘muscles’ is more probable, on account of the parallelism with ‘loins’; compare Job xl 16: הנהיגא כחו בקתניו ואונו בקרירי בטנו – ‘Behold, his strength in his loins, and his power in the muscles of his belly’).

D. (32–33) *TŠ’U GH WTSH* The Ugaritic poets were accustomed to use this formula as a solemn preface to the speeches of their heroes. See the Introduction above, Chapter II, E, (3).

E. (33) *’IK MGY*. Gordon (*UH* 9.4) regards this as an expression of politeness: How was your journey here? But from the continuation of the story, both here and in other passages, it is clear that the meaning is: Why did you come? (in accordance with Ginsberg’s explanation of II AB, iv, 31–32, and his remarks in *BASOR*, No. 95, October 1944, p. 26, note 7). It may be added that similar problems are encountered in the Greek epic, for example, in the *Iliad* XVIII, 385 and 424: τίπτε, Θέτι τανόπλεε, ικάνεις ήμέτερον δῶ ; (‘Why, O Thetis of the long tunic, do you come to our dwelling?’).

*GPN W’UGR*. In explanation of these names I have suggested (*Tarbiz*, XII, p. 173): *Gappānu*, corresponding to the Hebrew קנה = קנה [‘wing’], and *Agūru* (in Hebrew אגור ), in accordance with my theory regarding the reading of the three forms of the Ugaritic *’Aleph*. Hence the meaning of the former is ‘winged’ and of the latter ‘hireling’.

F. (34) *MN ’IB*. Not in a positive sense, as others have interpreted the words (*UH*, 6.42), but as a question. The general pronoun *mn* is employed here as an interrogative pronoun, like מי in Hebrew. Anath supposes that Baal’s emissaries have come to ask, on his behalf, her help against some foe who has risen up against him; and she, who has already smitten all the foes who have hitherto risen against Baal, asks who the new enemy is. In vv. G–J, she enumerates, one by one, all the enemies whom she has already defeated, and at the conclusion of her speech (verse N) she repeats her question: Who



then is the new foe who has appeared now? (*ibid.*, *mnm* = *mn* plus *ma*). *SRT*. Also in the Bible אֹיֵב [‘enemy’] and words derived from the stems צוּר or צָרַר [‘to shew hostility’] are frequently found in parallelism, for example, Exod. xxiii 22: וְאֵנִי אֶת־אֹיְבֵיכֶם וְצָרְתִי אֶת־צָרְרֵיכֶם – ‘And I will be an enemy to your enemies and an adversary to your adversaries’; Psa. xiii 5 [E.V., v. 4]: פֶּדִיאִמָּר אֹיְבֵי וְקִלְתִּי, צָרִי וְגִילוּ כִי – ‘lest my enemy say, I have prevailed over him; lest my foes rejoice because I am shaken’; *ibid.*, lxxiv 10: וְנֵאֵן אֹיֵב שָׂמַךְ לְנֶצַח עַד־מָתִי אֱלֹהִים אָמוּט – ‘How long, O God, is the foe to scoff? Is the enemy to revile Thy name for ever?’; and many more examples of this kind.<sup>18</sup> So, too, we find in the Bible the words נֵאֵן אֹיֵב [‘one that rises up (in hostility)’] or סָתְקוּם [‘one rising up’] in parallelism, and likewise in Ugaritic (*’ib-qm*).<sup>19</sup> Special importance attaches to the fact that also in Hebrew, in the verses that we shall cite immediately below, there occurs in parallelism with אֹיְבִים the very word צָרָה, exactly like *srt* in Ugaritic here, and in verses N, P, and in Tablet III AB, i, 8–9. If we examine the passages in which this parallelism is found, we shall discover that the Hebrew word צָרָה is sometimes not used in its normal signification—‘trouble’, ‘calamity’—but in another, collective connotation, namely, ‘a group of adversaries’. In Psa. cxxxviii 7: וְדָהּ וְתוֹשִׁיעֵנִי יִסְגֶּךְ – ‘Though I walk in the midst of צָרָה. Thou dost preserve my life; Thou dost stretch out Thy hand against the wrath of my enemies, and Thy right hand delivers me’, the expression בְּקֶרֶב צָרָה if understood to mean, ‘in the midst of trouble’, appears somewhat strange and does not fit the context, which speaks of the enemies’ oppression and not of a calamity; but if we interpret it as suggested above, ‘in the midst of the group of adversaries’, an entirely satisfactory sense is obtained. So, too, in Psa. liv 9 [E.V., v. 7]: וְצָרָה מִכָּל־צָרָה הִצִּילָנִי, – ‘For He has delivered me from every צָרָה, and my eye has looked in triumph on my enemies’. Essentially the psalm does not speak of calamities but of enemies and adversaries; hence there, too, צָרָה must be comprehended in the aforementioned sense of ‘a group of adversaries’. This is also true of Psalm cxliii, which likewise deals throughout with the oppression of the enemies, ending with the plea (vv. 11–12): לִמְעַן־שָׂמַךְ ה’ תְּחַנְּנֵנִי, בְּצַדִּיקְתֶּךָ תוֹצִיאַ טָעָרָה נַפְשִׁי, – ‘For Thy name’s sake O Lord, preserve my life! In Thy righteousness bring me out of צָרָה!

<sup>18</sup> See the other examples that I have cited in *Tarbiz*, XIV, p. 3.

<sup>19</sup> See the examples that I have quoted in *Tarbiz*, *ibid.*

And in Thy steadfast love cut off my enemies, and destroy all my adversaries’, etc. Verse 12 continues the thought of verse 11 and parallels it, and there also the word *צרה* is to be understood in the connotation stated. Possibly this word can be rendered thus in other Biblical passages also.<sup>20</sup> As regards the Ugaritic texts, without doubt in their case, likewise, the word *srt* has to be explained in this way. In view of this, there is no need to interpret the parallel word *’ib* in abstract sense, as other scholars have suggested on the basis of the normal abstract meaning of the Hebrew word *צרה*.

G. (35) *LMHŠT*. In Akkadian *hamaššu*, ‘destroy’ (Albright). (35–36) *MDD ’IL YM*. He is the Prince of the Sea, one of the chief enemies of Baal. Of the battle between him and Baal a detailed account is given in Tablet III AB; see the Introduction, Chapter III, p. 69. *MDD*. I have rendered the word in Hebrew *מוֹדֵד* which is the form of the name found in Num. xi 26–27 according to the recension of the Masorah (in the Samaritan Pentateuch it is *מוֹדֵד* and so, too, in the Septuagint; cf. *מוֹדֵד* in Gen. x 26). Its signification is ‘beloved’; apparently the Prince of the Sea was also deemed to be a son of El and beloved of his father.

(36) *NHR ’IL RBM*. In Tablet III AB there is mentioned, beside the Prince of the Sea, also the Judge [= Ruler] of the River as an antagonist of Baal. Possibly, however, they are only two different designations of one foe, who ruled over both the sea and the rivers, like the Greek Poseidon. Here I have translated *nhr* as a plural, for so we mostly find in the Bible that the rivers ( *נהרות* or *נהרים* ) are referred to in the plural when mentioned in conjunction with the sea in rebellion against God (see, for instance, Nahum i 4: *וַיִּבְשֹׁהוּ וְכָל־הַנְּהָרוֹת הַחַרִּיב נוֹעַר בָּיָם* – ‘He rebukes the sea and makes it dry, and he dries up all the rivers’; Habak. iii 8: *אִפְּךָ אִם בָּיָם עֲבָרְתֶךָ הַבְּנְהָרִים תִּרְהֵ ה’ אִם בְּנְהָרִים* – ‘Was Thy wrath against the rivers, O Lord? Was Thy anger against the rivers or Thy indignation against the sea?’; Psa. xciii 3–4: *מַיִם רַבִּים אֲדִירִים מִשְׁבְּרֵי יָם. אֲדִיר בְּמָרוֹם ה’ נִשְׂאוּ נְהָרוֹת ה’ נִשְׂאוּ נְהָרוֹת קוֹלָם, וְנִשְׂאוּ נְהָרוֹת דְּבָכִים, מִקְּלוֹת : 3–4* – ‘The floods have lifted up, O Lord, the floods have lifted up their voice, the floods lift up their roaring. Above the voices of many waters, the mighty breakers of the sea, the Lord on high is mighty’.

*RBM*. The final *Mem* has been explained in various ways. Possibly the simplest explanation—the *Mem* of the plural—is the best, for

<sup>20</sup> For example, i Sam. xxvi 24; i Kings i 29; Nahum i 9.

the word *nhr* here can be the construct plural. The word רבים [‘mighty’, ‘many’] is common in the Bible as an attributive describing the waters of the sea and the rivers in revolt against the Creator, for instance, Habak. iii 15: חָסַר מַיִם רַבִּים – ‘Thou didst trample the sea with Thy horses, the surging of mighty waters’; Psa. xxix 3: אֱלֹהֵי הַכְבוֹד הַרְעִים, הִי עַל-מַיִם רַבִּים — ‘the God of glory thunders, the Lord, upon mighty waters’; *ibid.*, lxxvii 20 [E.V., v. 19]: וְשִׁבְלֶךָ בְּמַיִם רַבִּים בְּגִם דְּרָכְךָ — ‘Thy way was through the sea, Thy path was through the mighty waters’; *ibid.*, xciii 4, cited above: מִקְּלוֹת מַיִם רַבִּים — ‘above the voices of many waters’. Other examples, in addition to these, I have cited in my essay on ‘*Šîrath ha-‘Alîla b-Yîsra’el*’ [‘The Epic Poetry of Israel’], in *K’neseth*, dedicated to the memory of H. N. Bialik, VIII, p. 129.

H. (37) *’IŠTBM*. From the stem שׁם ‘to muzzle the mouth of an animal’ (Virolleaud).

(37–38) *TNN* . . . *BTN* ‘*QLTN*. They are again mentioned, together with *ltn bṭn brh* [Leviathan the Fleeing (?) Serpent], in Tablet I\* AB, i. Compare Isa. xxvii 1: לִוְיָתָן נָחַשׁ בָּרִיחַ וְעַל לִוְיָתָן נָחַשׁ עֲקָלְתָן וְהָרַג אֶת-הַתַּנִּין אֲשֶׁר בַּיָּם בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא יִפְקֹד הוּא בְּתַרְבוֹת הַקֶּשֶׁף וְהַגְדֹּלָה וְהַחֲזָקָה עַל — ‘In that day the Lord with His hard and great and strong sword will punish Leviathan the *barîah* [fleeing?] serpent, Leviathan the crooked [or: ‘twisting’] serpent, and He will slay the dragon that is in the sea’. See my observations on the whole subject in the Introduction, Chapter II, H, (3).

39. *ŠLYT*. Possibly an example of the diminutive, of the form *qutayl* (Virolleaud).

*D ŠB‘T R’AŠM*. Seven-headed monsters are mentioned in Babylonian texts and depicted on seals (see Douglas van Buren in *AfO*, XI [1936–1937], p. 3, and *Orientalia*, XV [1946], pp. 19–20); cf. Psa. lxxiv 14: ראשי לויָתָן — ‘the heads of Leviathan’, in the plural. So, too, in the later Jewish haggadah; see B. Qiddushin 29b, and Revelation, xii 3. In Qiddushin the reading of our editions is תנינא דשבעה רישותיה ; Rashi reads: רישיה רישיה [both versions mean: ‘a monster whose heads are seven’]; the text of the Munich MS has: רישׁ תנינׁ דשבעׁ [‘a monster of seven heads’], precisely like the expression in the Ugaritic poem. This tradition concerning the seven-headed monsters was wide-spread both in the East and in the West, and occupies an important place also in the European folklore of our times.

I. (40) *MDD* ‘*ILM* ‘*ARS*. Apparently this is not the great Mot himself, but one of the inferior deities appertaining to the netherworld,



and he is designated here by the epithet ‘the beloved of the denizens of the underworld’.

*'ILM 'ARS*. This expression occurs also in Tablet I\* AB, v, 6, the reference there being undoubtedly, to the inhabitants of the nether-world. Ginsberg construed it as ‘the dumb of the underworld’ (on the use of the word *'ars* in the sense of ‘netherworld’, see above, the Introduction, p. 22, note 5). Possibly *'ilm* is to be understood in the sense of ‘mourners’, on the basis of *ʾl* in Arabic—‘sorrowful’, ‘hurt’. But perhaps another interpretation would be preferable: the souls in the netherworld are called *רַפְּאִים* in Hebrew, that is, ‘the weak’, because their life is only a shadow of the life on earth above, and it may be that, in accord with the euphemistic usage common in the Semitic languages, these ‘weak ones’ were also called antithetically, ‘the mighty ones’. In Aramaic and in the Rabbinic idiom, it will be observed, *אלים, אלים*, actually mean ‘strong’, ‘mighty’. On the form *'allîm*, which is possibly indicated here by the *'Aleph* linked to the vowel *i*, in accordance with my view regarding the phonetic values of the three forms of the Ugaritic *'Aleph*, see my articles, which I have cited in the Introduction, p. 7, note 3.

(41) *'GL 'IL 'TK*. ‘The Mighty Bull’ is mentioned in Akkadian hymnody as one of the monsters slain by Marduk, the god of heaven.

(42) *KLBT 'ILM*. The ‘Mag Dog’ (*uridimmu*) is one of the monsters destroyed by Marduk. In the Babylonian epic of creation, *Enuma eliš* (Tablet I, line 141, and parallel passages further on), it is mentioned as one of the monsters formed by Tiamat, the goddess of the sea, to help her in her war against Marduk.

J. (42–43) *'IŠT–ŠBB*. Also in Job xviii 5, the words *אש* [‘fire’] and *שָׁבִיב* [‘flame’] are found in juxtaposition: *וְלֹא-יָנֵה שָׁבִיב אֵשׁוֹ* – ‘and the flame of his fire does not shine’. *שָׁבִיבִים* [‘splinters’ or ‘flames’] in connection with a calf as here occurs in Hos. viii 6: *יִהְיֶה עֵגֶל שָׁמְרוֹן כִּי שָׁבִיבִים* – ‘Yes, the calf of Samaria shall be broken in splinters [or: ‘shall go up in flames’]; but this may be a coincidence only.

K. (44) *'ITRT HRS*. Possibly, as Virolleaud thought, the treasures of gold that these monsters used to guard.

L. *TRD*. Not the imperative, as it is usually construed, but the interrogative passive perfect. Anath enquires: Have the foes driven Baal from his throne?

(45) *MŠ SS[H]–mš* from the stem *mwš* as in Hebrew; *ss* = *sys*, the holy crown and symbol of kingship.



SS [H]. I have completed the word thus, after examining the photograph of the text. Virolleaud, followed by all other scholars, read: ss. ‘SR. Here, too, we have the passive perfect.

’UDNH. Virolleaud rightly compares the Akkadian expression *ussurû ša-uznâšu*, which denotes a slave whose ears have been cut off.

M. (46) GRŠH. Here, too, we have not the imperative, but the perfect, third person plural, with the pronominal suffix [sing.] of the third person.

(47) LNHT. It has been explained as a substantive related to 𐎠𐎢𐎩 [‘rest’], with prefixed *Lamedh* meaning ‘from’ (Virolleaud: ‘*du repos*’). It seems to me, however, that it is a verb from the stem *nht*, and its form is that of the passive perfect of the intensive conjugation, with *Lamedh* to emphasize the action.

KHT. A synonym of 𐎠𐎢𐎩; so, too, in the Letters of El-Amarna, *kahšu* (Virolleaud).

N. The closing passage of Anath’s speech reverts to the thoughts of her opening words (verse F): she iterates her first question and waits for the answer.

O. (49) [W]’N. This word can be construed either as the absolute infinitive (Ginsberg, Gordon), or as the perfect, third person plural (see Brockelmann, *Orientalia*, X [1941], p. 234, on the singular). But now, after the publication of the Phoenician inscription of king Azitawadda, it is possible to decide in favour of the first interpretation, for in this inscription the construction with the absolute infinitive occurs a number of times, for example, *wbn ’nk* (= 𐤨𐤨𐤍 𐤀𐤏𐤕𐤍 ‘and I have built’), *w’n ’nk* (= 𐤨𐤨𐤍 𐤀𐤏𐤕𐤍 ‘and I have subdued’; the *Pi’el* conjugation is intended here).

Q–X. A repetition of what was stated above, iii, E–N. Only the position of verse W here differs from that of the corresponding verse there, while line 28 of section iii does not occur here at all. Other divergences of form are: in line 53 the plural ‘*prm* instead of the plural ‘*prt* (similarly below, lines 67 and 73); and in line 76 ‘*argmn*, without the pronominal suffix, in place of *w’argmk*.

Y. On the parallelism 𐤍𐤏𐤍 ‘*ny* [‘answer’]–השיב / 𐤕𐤁 [‘reply’], compare Jud. v 29: 𐤇𐤕𐤌𐤓𐤐 𐤑𐤓𐤕𐤓𐤓 𐤕𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤕𐤍𐤏𐤍, 𐤀𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓 𐤕𐤍𐤏𐤍 𐤕𐤍𐤏𐤍 – ‘Her wisest ladies answer her, nay, she replied to herself’. There are also other verses of this kind in the Bible,<sup>21</sup> and likewise in the Ugaritic text IV D, ii, 7–8.

<sup>21</sup> I have cited them in *Tarbiz*, XIV, p. 7. 136



Z-AA. The beginning of the answer to the request stated above, iii 6–7, and here verses R–S.

BB. I am prepared — Anath replies — to end the war, provided Baal also ceases to fight. Hence the pronoun, first person, in verse Z, and also, it would seem, in verse CC, is emphasized: I on my part shall do so and so, if he, too, will do so and so.

(70) [L'IŠT]. I have restored the text thus in accordance with the interpretation of the verse that I advanced in the preceding lines. The expression *št l' išt* occurs in Tablet II AB, ii, line 8. The burning of chariots is mentioned also in the Bible as a sign of the termination of war; see, for example, Psalms xlvi 10 [E.V., v. 9]: עֲדֹת־קֶצֶה הָאָרֶץ, קִשֵּׁת יִשְׁבֵּר וְקֶצֶזׁ חֲנִית, עֲגָלוֹת יִשְׂרָף בְּאֵשׁ מִשְׁבִּית מִלְחָמוֹת – ‘He makes wars cease to the end of the earth; he breaks the bow, and shatters the spear, he burns the chariots with fire!’; Nahum ii 14 [E.V., v. 13] in regard to the cutting off of the military power of the kingdom of Assyria: וְהִקְעַרְתִּי בְעֵשׂוֹן רֶקֶבָה – ‘and I will burn her chariots in smoke’. Compare also Jos. xi 6, 9.

YB'R. Compare וְהִקְעַרְתִּי in the verse of Nahum cited above.(71) ['IL HD]. I have restored the text in accordance with the context. *Hadd* is the specific name of Baal, and the composite expression *'il hd* occurs a number of times in parallelism with Baal. — — RNH. It must be some weapon of war in parallelism with ‘chariots’. Since we cannot determine its nature precisely, I have translated it by a general term.

CC-DD. Anath repeats her assurance: if Baal will carry out his part of the bargain, I shall implement mine.

FF. (76) 'NN. I have explained this word on the basis of the Arabic *نم* stem to ‘bring’ or ‘present’ ‘something, to ‘stand’ before someone.

(77) 'ATM BŠTM W'AN ŠNT. I have interpreted *bštm*, not without hesitation, on the basis of expressions like וַיְחַלוּ עַד בּוֹשׁ – ‘And they waited till they were ashamed’ [i. e. to the limit; see Gesenius– Buhl s.v.] (Jud. iii 25; Rashi: ‘until delay, that is, a long time’); so, too ii Kings ii 17: וַיִּפְאֲרוּ בּוֹ עַד בּוֹשׁ – ‘But when they urged him till he was ashamed’; *ibid.*, viii 11: וַיַּעֲמֵד אֶת־פָּנָיו וַיִּשָּׂם עַד־בּוֹשׁ – ‘And he settled his countenance steadfastly upon him, until he was ashamed’. *šnt* I have explained in the sense of ‘I have changed [ שָׁנִיתִי ] my mind,’ i. e. before, my whole desire was for war, but now I am ready to be at peace.

GG. I shall go to visit Baal in his dwelling, as he requests. (78) 'UG'R. The word is to be read, in accordance with my evaluation of the vowels linked to the letter 'Aleph, 'agur. The Arabic verb *عور* means 'to enter a sunken place'; here it connotes 'to enter the cave (*gr*)', in which Baal's sanctuary is situated, as I have suggested above, iii M.

LRHQ. To the distant dwelling,<sup>22</sup> to a place far from human habitation, or from the dwelling-place of Anath.

'INBB. It parallels and is synonymous with 'ugr, being related to the expression *נבוב לכת* – 'hollow with boards' (Exod. xxvii 8; xxxviii 7). The cave is a hollow place in the rock. Similarly in Tablet No. 6 of 1929, line 9: *lgrkh 'inbb* (or: *hnbb*), which is to be rendered: 'I shall enter (or: 'enter') your cave'.

(79) 'ILNYM. In Phoenician 'lnm = gods [Hebrew: *אלים*]. Here the termination -ym, with a consonantal *Yôdh*, denotes a noun of relationship [gentilic], which, in the singular, ends in -îyyu, i. e., godly, pertaining to the gods. Hence I translated in Hebrew *בני אלים*, i. e., the divine entities [rendered in English: 'the divinities'].

HH. Expressions in apposition to *rhq* in verse GG, i. e., the distant dwelling of Baal; they allude to the depth and breadth of the subterranean dwelling.

(79) MTPDM. From the stem *نط* in Arabic, *שפת* in Hebrew, which signifies 'to arrange one thing on top of another' (UH, iii, 2201). Hence: 'strata', 'layers'.

(80) 'NT. Usually interpreted, 'springs'; but this does not appear to be correct. It seems to me to be related to the phrase *עין הארץ* (Exod. x 5, etc.), i. e., the face of the earth. The termination -atu gives the word a figurative sense; similarly in Hebrew we find *ירקה* or *ירקה* ['backpart', 'border'] along with *ירד* ['side (of the body)', 'thigh']; or *סנקה* ['greaves'] alongside *סנח* ['forehead'] (Gesenius—Kautzsch, § 122 u). The cave to which Baal invites Anath to come consists of two storeys, one beneath the other.

MTH. Just as the cave has two storeys in its depth, so it has three chambers in its width.

G'YRM. Possibly the plural of *gr*, conforming to the Hebrew forms *עורים*, the plural of *עור* ['foal'] (in Ugaritic 'r), or *שורים*, the plural of *שור* ['ox'] (in Ugaritic tr). The numbers two-three, which parallel each other, give to the verse the form of a progressive enumeration

<sup>22</sup> My colleague Prof. Tur-Sinai suggests the rendering ‘sanctuary’ on the basis of the Arabic words **در حيق**, **در حيق**, signifying ‘purity’.

i. e., a statement in the first part of which there appears a given number ( $x$ ), and in its second part, which is in parallelism with the first, one unit is added to that figure ( $x+1$ ). This is a rhetorical pattern commonly found both in Ugaritic and in Biblical literature. It will suffice to mention, in the case of the Bible, the prophecies of Amos, chapters i–ii, which repeat the formula: ‘for three transgressions of so-and-so, and for four, I will not revoke the punishment’, and the numerical dicta in Proverbs, chapter xxx.<sup>23</sup> So far as we know, this rhetorical form is found in antiquity<sup>24</sup> only in Ugaritic writings and in Israel’s literature. It is apparently one of the enduring elements of the Canaanite literary tradition that were bequeathed to the Israelites.

## FIFTH SECTION

A. (81) *LTTN*. The subject is Anath.

B. (82) *B’ALP SD RBT KMN*. The pair of correlatives, *’alp–rbt*, is one of the word-pairs found both in Ugaritic and in Hebrew (אלפים-רבבות); see above, i G. Likewise, the words *šd–kmn* undoubtedly parallel each other. Apparently *šd* means ‘field’ [שדה], and *kmn* = *kumânu*, the name of a measure of land in the Nuzu documents (see de Vaux, *RB*, xlvi [1939], pp. 596–597). Here the meaning is: in the wide landscape before his view.

(83) Compare Psalms lxviii 25 [E.V. v. 24]: הַלְיָבוֹת אֵלַי מְלָכִי בַקֶּדֶשׁ רָאוּ הַלְיָבוֹתֶיךָ, אֱלֹהִים, –‘Thy solemn processions are seen, O God, the processions of my God, my King, into the sanctuary’. *TDRQ*. From the stem *דרַ* ‘to walk quickly’ (*UH*, iii, 567).

(84) *(Y)BNT*. The *Yôdh* is redundant. Apparently the scribe began to write the usual epithet of Anath, *ybmt l’imm*, which actually occurs in this expression in the parallel passage II AB, ii, 14–16: *kt’n hlk btl’t ‘nt, tdrq ybmt [l’imm]*; but thereafter he continued the inscription according to the particular wording of this passage.

<sup>23</sup> I have collected all the Biblical and Ugaritic examples in *Tarbiz* XIII, pp. 203–205, where I have dealt with the subject at length. In note 16 I have provided a detailed bibliography. Now there is to be added: A. Bea, *Biblica*, XXI (1940), pp. 197–198; N. H. Torczyner, *Mišlê Š’lomo*, Tel Aviv 1947, p. 62; M. H. Segal, *Tarbiz*, XVIII (1947), pp. 142–145.

<sup>24</sup> At a later period it is found in the *Book of Ahiqar* (Cowley, line 92), and in various magical texts (see Gaster, *Iraq*, VI [1939], p. 143). Compare also the

incantation text of Arslan Tash: six-seven-eight (see Tur-Sinai, *Ha-Lašôn w°-ha-Sepher*, I, pp. 55 f.).

C. (84) ŠRHQ 'ATT LPNN[H]. In conformity with the oriental custom to send the women away when an important matter is to be discussed (Gaster).

(85–86) As a rule the verse is punctuated thus: *št 'alp qdmh, mr'i'a wtk pnh*, that is, 'he set an ox before her, a fatling (and) in front of her'; the same applies to the parallel passage II AB, v, 107–108. But this division is difficult in both passages on account of the change in the place of the *Waw* copulative. Hence I have suggested (*Orientalia*, 1938, p. 284, note 8) the punctuation given above, which is fully consonant with the rules of poetic diction. Compare, for the expression, Micah vi 6: *בְּמָה אֶקְדָּם ה' ... הֲאֶקְדָּמוּ בְעוֹלוֹת בְּעִגְלִים בְּנֵי שָׁנָה* – 'With what shall I come before the Lord, . . . Shall I come before Him with burnt offerings, with calves a year old?'; Isa. xxi 14 *בְּלַחְמוֹ קָדְמוּ נָדָר* – 'did meet the fugitive with his bread'.

MR'I'A. On the spelling see my articles on the three forms of the 'Aleph.

T'DB KS'U, etc. I have restored the two words at the end of verse C and the whole of verses D and E, on the basis of the parallel passage in Tablet II AB, v, 107–111, for it is impossible that it should not be stated explicitly that Anath ate of what was set before her. Apparently the scribe skipped from the *Taw* of *t'db* to the *Taw* of *thspn*.

F–H. See above, ii, T–U. Baal requests Anath to bathe again in order to purify herself from the defilement of battle, in order to prepare herself for her visit to El's house. The need for her to bathe again after she had already bathed once should cause no surprise; the Torah also prescribes that a person defiled through contact with a corpse must cleanse himself twice, on the third day and on the seventh (Numbers xix; *ibid.*, xxxi 19 actually with regard to those who return from battle).

The verses missing between H and I undoubtedly comprised Baal's request to Anath to come before their father El and to present to him the petition beginning at verse I.

I–L. I have completed the text in accordance with the parallel passages (below, vi, lines 43 ff.; II AB, i, 4 ff.; *ibid.*, iv, 47 ff.). Virolleaud commences the restoration from verse K.

'ANY. It has been interpreted in the sense of *הַאֲנִיָּה וְהַאֲנִיָּה* ['moaning and lamentation'], but this explanation is questionable. I have translated it ['Pray!'] in accord with the usual style of Biblical literature. *TR*. A common epithet of El;

see thereon the Introduction, p. 56. *MLK*. Although El's glory was in eclipse, and he was no longer

king in reality, he is still accorded his former title. On the parallelism with the designation βασιλεύς conferred upon the Greek deity Kronos, see the Introduction, p. 56.

*DYKNNH*. Compare Deut. xxxii 6: וְיִבְנֶנְךָ הָלוֹא־הוּא אָבִיךָ קִנְיָהּ, הוּא עָשָׂךְ – ‘Is not He your Father, who created you, who made you and established you’.

*'ARYH*. The word *'ary* occurs in Ugaritic in parallelism with *bn* [‘son’] or *'ah* [‘brother’]; hence its meaning may be either ‘seed’ or ‘kinsman’. The word *âru* in Akkadian (stem *'wr-’yr*) forms a parallelism with various words, including *zeru* (‘seed’) and *tusatu* (related to the verb יָצָא [‘go forth’]). Asherah’s children and the assembly of her offspring are the gods. So, too, in verse K the expression ‘children of Asherah’ parallels ‘the gods’.

K. *WN*. According to Gordon it corresponds to וְהוּא (וְהִנֵּה) [‘Behold!’], by aphaeresis of the *He*. I have rendered it in accordance with Hebrew diction, which normally commences the main theme, after the preamble, with the word וְעַתָּה [‘And now’].

The parallelism ‘house–court’, which occurs a number of times in Ugaritic writings, is frequently found in the Bible, too; compare Psa. lxxxiv 11 [E.V., v. 10]: בְּבֵית אֱלֹהֵינוּ... כִּי טוֹב־יוֹם בְּחֻצְרוֹתַי כְּבֵיתִי הַסְּתוּפָה – ‘For a day in Thy courts is better than a thousand elsewhere. I would rather be a doorkeeper in the house of my God . . .’; *ibid.*, cxxxv 2: שְׁעָרַיִם בְּבֵית ה', בְּחֻצְרוֹת בֵּית אֱלֹהֵינוּ – ‘You that stand in the house of the Lord, in the courts of the house of our God!’; Zech. iii 7: תִּשְׁמַר אֶת־חֻצְרוֹתַי וְגַם – ‘then you shall rule My house and have charge of My courts’. See also Psa. lxxv 5 [E.V., v. 4].<sup>25</sup>

L. Various interpretations of this verse have been advanced. In *Orientalia*, vii (1938), p. 273, I suggested the following explanation of the parallel passage at the beginning of II AB: El’s residence served as a dwelling for his son Baal, while the house of El’s spouse Asherah provided a home for Baal’s wives, since Baal did not yet have a palace of his own. See, also, above, my annotations on i, J.

(1) *MTB*. In Biblical Hebrew, too, מוֹשָׁב occurs in the sense of the sanctuary of the Deity. Thus we read in Psa. cxxxii 13: כִּי־בֵית ה'

<sup>25</sup> On the word הַיָּד in the Bible, see Orlinsky’s observations in *JAOS*, XXIX (1939), pp. 23–37. The word-pair is also found in the incantation of Arslan Tash, lines 7–8: *bt 'b' bl tb'n whsr 'drk bl tdrkn*—‘Into the house that I enter may ye

(fem.) not come, and the court that I tread may ye (fem.) not tread'. (Torczyner [Tur-Sinai], *Ha-Lašôn w'-ha-Sepher*, vol. *Ha-Lašôn*, pp. 49, 53).

בְּצִיּוֹן אֲנִי לֹשֵׁב לוֹ – ‘For the Lord has chosen Zion; He has desired it for His habitation’; and in Ezek. xxviii 2, which may actually refer to the Canaanite El, who is spoken of here: וְשָׁכַתִּי בְּלֵב יַמִּים וְתֹאמַר אֵל אֲנִי מוֹשֵׁב אֱלֹהִים – ‘and you have said, I am a god [El], I sit in the seat of the gods, in the heart of the seas’. Compare the word *môthab* in the Nabataean inscriptions (*CIS*, II, No. 198, line 4, and No. 350, lines 3–4).

*MZLL*. In the Bible, too, the word סֶכֶה [‘booth’, ‘covert’] (in Aramaic מְסַלְלָתָא), as well as the corresponding masculine form סֶד, occurs in the sense of ‘sanctuary’; see Psa. xxvii 5: אֲהַלֵּוּ בְּסֶכֶת אֱלֹהִים כִּי יִצְפְּנֵנִי בְּסֶכֶת... וְיִסְתַּרְנִי – ‘For He will hide me in His covert . . . He will conceal me under the cover of His tent’; *ibid.*, lxxvi 3 [E.V., v. 2]: וַיְהִי בְּשֵׁלֶם סֶכּוֹ וּמְעוֹנָתוֹ בְּצִיּוֹן – ‘His abode has been established in Salem, His dwelling place in Zion’; Job xxxvi 29: תִּשְׁאֹת סֶכֶתוֹ – ‘the thunderings of His pavilion [literally: ‘covert’]’; Lam. ii 6: וַיִּחַמֵּס בְּגֹן שֶׁכֶוֹ – ‘He has broken down His booth like that of a garden’.

(2) *RBT* ’*AIRT YM*. On the epithets of Asherah see the Introduction, Chapter III, p. 58.

(3–5) On the wives of Baal, see above, on i, lines 23–25. (5–6) [*KLT*] *KNYT*. Baal’s brides, i. e., his wives (Ginsberg), or Asherah’s daughters-in-law. *Knyt* from the stem *kny*; Ginsberg has compared the Akkadian attributive *kanûtu*, ‘perfect’, applied to a goddess. I have translated the word (in Hebrew) בְּנוֹת, from the stem בִּין, in order to use a similar Hebrew expression. See above, the end of Section i.

N. (7) *YTB*. Virolleaud: ‘will return’ [= וְשׁוּב, i. e. ‘reconsider’]. But from the context it seems more probable that the reference is to El’s reply to her request; hence the word should be understood as ‘will reply’ [= וְשׁוּב ]. After the word *’il*, Virolleaud inserts in the lacuna only [*’aby*]; but there is space for another word. It would seem that the text contained here the commencement of the parallel clause, such as ‘according to my request’ or the like, while the word *wlh* begins a new clause.

(8) *WLH*. The context appears to require a textual restoration on the lines suggested in my translation.

O. (9). Here, too, I have completed the text in my translation according to the context.

[*I*] *MSHNN*. The meaning given by Ginsberg to the stem *msh* in I AB, vi, 20,

namely, 'to trample', also fits the present context well.

*L'ARS*. Compare Psa. vii 6 [E.V., v. 5]: וְרַגְמָם לְאֶרֶץ תִּי – ‘and let him trample my life to the ground’. Also the continuation of this Biblical verse ( וַיִּכְבְּדֵי לְעָפָר יִשְׁכְּבוּ – ‘and lay my soul in the dust’) corresponds to the continuation of the Ugaritic poem before us. (10–11) [’*AŠHLK*], etc. This verse and those resembling it in the parallel passages (below, vi, 32–33; III D, vi, 11–12) were successfully restored and explained by my pupil, the late A. D. Singer: *šhlk* is the *Shaf’el* conjugation of *hlk*, and signifies ‘to cause to go’ [down, to the netherworld] (cf. *שָׁאָל*, ‘pass away’); hence the expression is almost word for word the same as the passage in i Kings ii 9: וְהוֹרַדְתָּ אֶת־שִׁיבְתוֹ בְּדָם שָׂאוֹל – ‘and you shall bring his grey head down with blood to Sheol’ (other expressions of a similar kind occur in Gen. xlii 38; *ibid.*, xliiv 29, 31; i Kings ii 6); the final *Mem* in *dmm* and in *mm‘m* is adverbial. According to Tur-Sinai (in a note that he appended to Singer’s article) it is possible to find a clear reference to the netherworld in the word *dmm*, if we understand it in the sense of *דָּם* or *דוֹקָה* = *שָׂאוֹל* (‘netherworld’); so, too, we find in Psa. xxx 10 [E.V., v. 9]: טִהֵי־בַצֵּעַ בְּדָמִי בְּדָמִי (= בְּדָמִי) בְּרַדְתִּי אֶל שְׁחַת – ‘What profit is there in my death [literally: ‘silence’], if I go down to the Pit?’

Singer proposed the restoration *šhlk* [‘bring down!'], imperative, thinking that Baal is speaking here to Anath and is enjoining her to slay their father if he should refuse to concede their request. But from the context it appears that Anath is speaking here, and that the word to be restored is *’ašhlk* [‘I shall bring down’], the first person imperfect. Although the lacuna in Virolleaud’s facsimile is narrow (there is no photograph of this passage), it could contain five letters, although with difficulty. It is also feasible that the empty space was not reproduced with absolute precision in the facsimile. *DQNH*. All the commentators, Singer included, have interpreted the word as meaning ‘his beard’ [Hebrew: *זָקְנִי*]; but it may be better to render it, ‘his old age’ [= *זָקְנִי*].

(11) Only the hinder part has been left of the first letter coming after the lacuna at the beginning of the line. Virolleaud thought it to be a *Rêš*, and restored the word as [*l’as*]r, connecting it with the preceding text. Singer rightly pointed out that the letter could be a *Kaph*, and since it is not followed by a dividing line, he concluded that it belonged to the text that followed, and he suggested that in the impaired part we should read *mm‘m*.

P. Virolleaud rendered *dlytn*, ‘in order that he should give’. Others: ‘since he did not give’, or ‘if he should not give’ (Obermann). Singer

has offered no interpretation. To me it seems that *kd* = ‘thus’ [cf. קִיָּה ]; *l-* serves to emphasize the action; *ytn* is imperfect passive, with a future signification. This provides a fitting conclusion to the section.

## SIXTH SECTION

A. The restoration is based on the parallel passage in Tablet II AB iv, 82–83.

(12) *TD’S*, etc. Virolleaud explains: she stamps with her foot and walks about on the ground, on the basis of the Arabic stem *دعس*. But it is possible to be more exact: this Arabic stem signifies precisely to strike the ground with the foot in order to lift oneself up and jump upward. This, apparently, is the connotation of the word here. The Canaanites imagined the gods as having wings. Anath here stamps her foot on the ground (Ezek. vi 11; xxv 6), lifts up her wings, and rises from the earth (compare Ezek. x 19: וַיִּשְׂאוּ הַכְּרוּבִים אֶת־כַּנְפֵיהֶם – ‘And the cherubim lifted up their wings and mounted up from the earth’; IV AB, ii, 10–11: *tš’u knp btl’t n[t], tš’u knp wtr b’p* [‘The Maiden Ana[th] lifts her wing, Lifts her wing and rises in flight’]; this verse recalls Dan. ix 21, referring to the appearance of the angel Gabriel to Daniel: כָּשָׁף בִּישָׁף – ‘being caused to fly swiftly’).

*P’N*. In the parallel passage II AB, iv, 83: *p’nm*; so, too, in Tablet II D, vi, 46, where also the text has to be restored in conformity with the text here: [*p’n*]*m*. It seems that the *Mem* there is not the sign of the plural but indicates that the noun is used adverbially.

(13) *WTR*. It appears from the context, both here and in similar passages, that the word refers to mounting up from the ground. The stem is difficult to determine; possibly it is *yry* יָרָה in Hebrew) in a passive conjugation, as though it said: ‘she threw herself’.

*’ARS*. An indirect object, like those I have cited above, Second Section, line 19 (compare, especially, the examples in connection with the verb אָרַס ).

B–C. This, as we know, is the customary formula for describing journeys to El’s dwelling place. The restored text follows the many parallel passages. According to the view that I advanced earlier in regard to the relationship of the gods to their father El, the place described in this formula is the one in which El’s children put him after they had driven him from his throne.

(14) *MBK NHR[M]*. The source of the rivers—a kind of cosmic paradise.

Compare Gen. ii 10:.. וַיִּקְרַח יַצְאֵהוּ מִן־הַבְּרִיאָה – ‘And a river flowed

out of Eden . . .'. On this concept, see Albright, *AJSL*, XXXV (1919), pp. 161–195; *ARI*, pp. 191–194. Many scholars have already referred to the similar expressions in Job xxviii 11; xxxviii 16.

(14–15) [’AP]Q [THM]TM. The sense is: in the place where the water of the rivers flows out of the channels of the deep. Compare אַפְקוֹ יָם – ‘channels of the sea’ in ii Sam. xxii 16 (the variant reading in Psa. xviii 16 [E.V., v. 15]: אַפְקוֹ סוּם – ‘the channels of the waters’, may have been influenced by Psa. xlii 2 [E.V., v. 1]: עַל-אַפְקוֹ סוּם כְּאֵלֵי-תְעוּבָה – ‘As a hart longs for water brooks’). Note should also be taken of the words of Ezek. xxviii 2, in the address to the Canaanite prince of Tyre: וַעֲנֵן נִבְחָה לְכַד וְהִתְאַמַּר אֵל אֲנִי מוֹשֵׁב אֱלֹהִים יֹשֵׁבִתִּי בְּלִב וְסוּם – ‘Because your heart is proud, and you have said, I am a god [El], I sit in the seat of the gods, in the heart of the seas’.

The notion of two deeps was, it appears, traditional. We find traces thereof also in Talmudic literature. Thus, for example, in the Mekhilta, *Šîra*, xxxviii, reference is made to the ‘upper deep’ and ‘the lower deep’; it is further stated there that whereas Jonah sank down to one deep, the Egyptians descended to two deeps. These statements, it is true, are based on the haggadic interpretation of the plural תְּהוֹמוֹת [‘deeps’] in Exod. xv 5, which is actually only a poetic plural; nevertheless, had there not been a tradition regarding the existence of two deeps, the Rabbis would not have thought of this exposition.

(15) TGL. The meaning is: she departed thither, she reached that distant place.

ŠD Other commentators render: ‘field’, ‘mountain’, or ‘people’; but I think it signifies: ‘a place of solitude’, ‘a solitary abode’ ( *بُ* in Arabic). Another possible meaning is ‘tent-curtains’, on the basis of Akkadian.

(16) QRŠ. Many scholars have already interpreted the word to mean ‘the boards’ of El’s dwelling. The word קָרָשׁ occurs, as we know, in the Book of Exodus in the description of the construction of the Tabernacle.

’AB ŠNM. According to the interesting conjecture of Ginsberg, the word *šnm* is to be regarded as one of the names of El (see *BASOR*, 97 [February, 1945], p. 6, note). However, it seems preferable to understand the phrase as ‘father of the years’, since Philo of Byblus identifies Ἡλῶς of the Phoenicians, i. e. El, with Κρόνος, the god of time ( *χρόνος* ) according to the Greeks (see on this in the Introduction, p. 56).

D. After the formula describing the journey to El’s dwelling place,



like the one found here in verses B–C, the Ugaritic poems proceed, as a rule, to describe the prostration before El (‘and he kneeled and bowed down at the feet of El, yea he worshipped and honoured him’). But there is no such continuation here. Although the verse is impaired in the Tablet before us, and it is impossible to restore it even on the basis of the parallel sections in other tablets, nevertheless it is clear that the present episode is unusual.

(16) [T]MSR. We may compare the Akkadian stem *masaru*, which signifies to ‘cut’, ‘cut down’, ‘breach’, and the like. Anath breaches the fences of her father’s house and enters by force. The general statement in verses B–C is followed by a detailed statement here, in verse D. Above it was stated that Anath reached El’s dwelling, while here we are told how she arrived—not as a daughter visiting her father’s home, but as one who breaks in to an enemy’s house. Compare in the Gilgamesh Epic how Gilgamesh breaks into the domain of the goddess Siduri.

(17) [WTB]’U. Virolleaud puts a question mark against this restoration but the lower portion of the letter *Bêth* is clearly visible in the photograph; hence the restoration may be assumed to be almost certainly correct.

’SDM. I have already explained the word *śd* above, in line 15. Here the word occurs in the plural; but possibly in line 15, too, the form is to be construed as the construct plural.

’ADN. This word is also clearly to be seen in the photograph, although Virolleaud is in doubt about the letter *Daleth*. The reference is to the bases of El’s dwelling. Also here, as in line 16 above (*qrš*), the Ugaritic poem contains an expression corresponding to one found in the Pentateuch, in the section dealing with the construction of the Tabernacle (Exod. xxvi 19, and in many other passages). –LT. We have no clue to the completion of this word. As far as one can guess, there was a word here denoting a building or buildings, possibly *mzllt*, i. e. ‘booth’ or ‘booths’ [rendered here: ‘pavilions’, (cf. above, section v, verse L [where it is translated ‘shelter’]).

E. The aged god is afraid of his powerful and terrible daughter; he lifts up his voice and cries aloud and weeps (regarding his weeping, see below, verse J).

BŠB’TH[D]RM. The missing word at the end of line 18 did not commence with *Gîmel*, as Virolleaud supposed; the sign that he regarded as a *Gîmel* is only the word divider. The word was possibly *wybk* [‘and he wept’], and appertained to

the preceding text: 'Bull El,

her father, lifted up his voice and wept’, recalling the common Biblical expression ‘and he lifted up his voice and wept’ (see the Introduction, Chapter Two, E, [3], [b]). But there is also another possibility, which appears more probable for reasons connected with the rhythm of the poem and the sequence of the theme, namely, that the missing word was not *wybk* but some word signifying ‘and he hid himself ‘or the like, and that it was linked to the succeeding words: ‘and he hid himself in seven chambers’. Compare i Kings xx 30: **אֶל־הַעִיר תָּדַר בְּחֶדֶר וּבְחֶדֶר נָס וְנָבֵא** – ‘Ben-hadad also fled, and entered an inner chamber in the city’; *ibid.*, xxii 25 (ii Chron. xviii 24): **בְּחֶדֶר לְהִתְבַּחַח אֲשֶׁר תִּבְּוֹא תָּדַר** – ‘when you go into an inner chamber to hide yourself’; Isa. xxvi 20: **יַעֲבְרוּ־זַעַם לְךָ עַמִּי בֹא בַחֲדָרֶיךָ וּכְנַר דְּלִתְךָ כַּעֲרֹה, תִּכְבִּי כַמַּעֲטָרִנֶּנֶע עֲדֵי** – ‘Come, my people, enter your chambers, and shut your doors behind you; hide yourselves for a little while until the wrath is past’. Compare also Deut. xxxii 25: **פָּחוּזִן תִּשְׁכַּל־הַרְבַּ וּמַחְדָּרִים אֵימָה** – ‘In the open the sword shall bereave, and in the chambers shall be terror’. Accordingly the seven chambers are those of El’s abode, the inner chambers in which he hides himself for fear of his daughter. [BT]MN[T]. On numerical progressions of this kind (seven-eight) see my observations above, at the end of my commentary on the Fourth Section.

[’AP] SGRT. The semantic transition from פָּנִים [‘face’] to פְּנִים [‘within’], which is likewise found in Ugaritic (II K, vi, 5: *tb’u pnm*), also occurred, apparently, in the case of the synonym of פָּנִים, namely, *’ap* [Hebrew: אֵפֶר] (here we possibly have the plural or dual in the construct; cf. in Hebrew אֵפִים), and this word, too, acquired the meaning of ‘an inner place’. On this assumption it is possible to explain this word in Tablet II K, i, 3, 17: *’ap hštk* is in parallelism with the word *bbtk*, i. e., ‘in thy house’. On the parallelism here between *hdrm* and the stem *sgr*, compare the aforementioned verse, Isa. xxvi 20. The literal translation of this line is: ‘in eight inner parts of enclosures’. Another parallel to our passage is to be found in Tablet I K, lines 26–27. It is there related of Keret that he entered his chamber to weep: *y’rb bhdrh ybky, bin [-]gmm wydm*. The letter before – *gmm*, according to Virolleaud, is *Rêš*, whilst Ginsberg leaves the reading in doubt. After examining the photograph, it is clear to me that it is an ‘*Ayin*, and the word *gmm* can be explained on the basis of the Arabic stem **عَمِمَ**, which means ‘to close’. The meaning of the verse will thus be: ‘he entered his chamber and wept, into two enclosures and shed tears’.

G. It is impossible to restore these impaired lines. But from the context it appears that the text referred here to El's dread of Anath.

(23) *LP'N GL[M]M* Possibly El is appealing here to his servants to deliver him from the anger of Anath.

(24) *M'ID 'AN*. Much do I [fear, grieve, or the like].

H. In this verse (which has been completed on the basis of the parallel passages I AB, ii, 23–25, and II AB, viii, 20–24) El complains about the calamity threatening him at the hands of Anath; he is afraid lest his last day had come, and he should never be able to see the light of life again.

(24) [*THT'A*]N. In Arabic *كلم*, to 'prevent', 'restrain'; the meaning is: the light of the sun will be withheld from me, i. e., I shall die and go down to the nether world. Compare Psa. xlix 20 [E.V., v. 19]: (with reference to the dead): *עַד-נֶצַח לֹא יִרְאוּ אֹר* – 'who will never more see the light'; Ezek. xxxii 7–8: *עָלִיד כִּכְבִּיבֵיהֶם, שָׁמֶשׁ בְּעָנָן אֶכְסְנוּ וַיִּרְחַח לֹא יֵאִיר אֹרֹחַ: בְּלִי-קְאוּרֵי אֹר בְּשָׁמַיִם אֶקְדִּירֵם וְכִסִּיתִי בְּכַבּוּדִי שָׁמַיִם וְהִקְדַּרְתִּי אֶת-* – 'When I blot you out, I will cover the heavens, and make their stars dark; I will cover the sun with a cloud, and the moon shall not give its light. All the bright lights of heaven will I make dark over you'; and so forth.

(25) *S[HRR]T*. From the stem *shr*, in the sense of white, as in Hebrew and Arabic; the reference is to the whiteness of sunlight.

(26) *L'A*. In Arabic *شئ*, 'gleam', 'shine'.

*B[YD BN ;'ILM M]T*. The initial *Bêth* (= *ב*) means 'because of': on account of the love of Mot, the god of death. This 'love' is to be understood as an ironic expression or a euphemism. Compare the epithets of Mot—*ydd* or *mdd* ['beloved'].

J. Anath tells her father that he has, indeed, every reason for weeping, for her visit to his dwelling is fraught with grave danger to him. (27–28) [*LT*]BRK. The outlines of the *Bêth* and *Rêš* are discernible in the photograph. I have completed the word by conjecture, on the basis of the continuation of the passage in Ezekiel xxxii cited above (v. 9): *כִּהְבִּיאִי שִׁבְרֶךָ בְּגוֹיִם* – 'when I bring your destruction among the nations'.

(28) *Y'LM*. Ya-'ilumma.

*BKT*. Virolleaud puts a question mark against the two letters *kt*, but, if we read

these letters and understand the word to mean ‘thou hast wept’ [Hebrew: **בכייה** it fits the context excellently.

*BHT.* Compare Psa. lxii 4 [E.V., v. 3]: **תהוקתו על איש** – ‘will you set upon a man?’ (stem **הות**, meaning ‘to fall upon’). Here we have

the infinitive construct, with the possessive suffix, first person, which is not represented in the writing (-î). Compare Ginsberg's observation in *BASOR*, No. 98, pp. 21–22, note 57.

(29) *B*— —. In this case, too, it is impossible to conjecture what was written after the second 'al *tšmh*, but undoubtedly there was a parallel here to the word *bht* ('when I attack'), in the preceding line.

K. I have completed the verse, not without hesitation, in accordance with the continuation of the theme and on the basis of Canticles v 11: קְצוּתָיו תִּלְתְּלִים – 'his locks are wavy'; and of Ezra ix 3: וְאַכְרָסָה מִשְׁעַר רֵאשִׁי וְזָקְנִי – 'and I pulled hair from my head and beard'.

(30) *B Y[MNY]*. The restoration cannot be, as Virolleaud proposed, *by[dy]*, since after the prepositional *Bêth* the *Yôdh* of the word *yd* is absorbed [i. e. quiesces in the preceding vowel] and is not written. In line 26 there occurs another word *yd*, meaning 'love', and there the *Bêth* signifies 'from', its vowel, apparently, differing from that of the *Bêth* that corresponds to the prepositional *Bêth* in Hebrew.

(31) *BGDLT 'ARKTY*. From what is stated in Tablet SS (lines 33–34), we may infer that also in Ugaritic, as in other Semitic tongues, 'length of hand' connotes 'ability', 'strength', while 'shortness of hand' denotes 'inability', 'weakness' (see Gaster's remarks on this in *JAOS*, LXVI [1946], p. 57, note 37). On this basis it may be conjectured that the expression 'arkt' was used figuratively for 'a strong hand' or 'a mighty arm'. Hence I have translated: 'with the great power of my hand'.

(31–32) [*Š'R*] *QDQDK*. Compare Psa. lxxviii 22 [E.V., v. 21]: וְאַכְרָסָה מִשְׁעַר אֹרֶז רֵאשִׁי וְזָקְנֵי רֵאשִׁי – 'But God will shatter the heads of his enemies, the hairy crown of him who walks in his guilty ways'.

L. Anath uses the very threats which she promised her brother Baal to utter to her father (see above, Fifth Section, O–P).

M. El answers from his innermost chambers.

(34) *BŠB'T-BTMNT*. Here the *Bêth* is used in the sense of 'from'.

N. The restoration is based on the parallel passage in Tablet III D, vi, 15–17. El yields to his daughter's wishes, and says that he recognizes her strength and

courage, which are irresistible, just as in general the gods are unable to stand against the goddesses.

(35) 'AN[ŠT]. In Hebrew אָנוּשׁ is applied to anything that is irremediable (Isa. xvii 11; Jer. xv 18; xvii 9, 16; xxx 12, 15; Micah i 9;

Job xxxiv 6). Here the verb 'anš occurs in this sense: there is no remedy for Anath's anger.

(36) *QL[S]T*. In the parallel passage in Tablet III D, vi, 17: *qls*. In Tablet II AB, iii, 12–13, the stem *qls* occurs in parallelism with the stem *qwm* (compare, also, *تلمس* in Arabic, and see my observations on this in *Orientalia*, vii [1938], pp. 279–280).

O. In order to appease Anath at once, El asks her the nature of her request, as though to tell her that he is prepared to assent, be her request what it may. Compare Ahasuerus' questions to Esther, in the Book of Esther v 3, 6; vii 2; ix 12.

Q. Anath is mollified on seeing her father's complete readiness to accede to her request, and thereafter she begins to speak in the customary terms of respect (compare, for example, II AB, iv, 41–44). Her words have an ironic ring.

(38) *HKM HKMK*. 'The wisdom of thy wisdom', i. e., the peak of thy wisdom.

(39) Such a blessing is usual at the commencement of speeches made before kings (compare in the Bible, Neh. ii 3; Dan. ii 4, etc.).

R. Now Anath comes to the point. First she states in whose name she is speaking.

(39) *THMK*. Here it is a verb, and not a substantive as at the beginning of line 38.

(40) *MLKN*. This expression, and the parallel terms in the next line, may be epithets of Baal, as other scholars have explained, but it seems preferable to construe them as phrases addressed to El, for now Anath speaks to her father in respectful and deferential language, and it would have been discourteous to tell him that there is another god who is supreme. *A fortiori* that these expressions must be thus interpreted in Asherah's address to El, in Tablet II AB, iv, 43–44.

*TPTN*. In the Bible, too, *שופט* ['judge', 'ruler'] occurs in parallelism with *מלך* ['king']. See, for instance, Hos. vii 7: *וְאָבְלוּ אֶת־שַׁפְטֵיהֶם, וְנָפְלוּ כָּל־מְלָכֵיהֶם* – 'and they devour their rulers; all their kings have fallen'; Psa. ii 10; *הַיּוֹסְרוּ שַׁפְטֵי אֶרֶץ* – 'Now, therefore, O kings, be wise; be warned, O rulers of the earth'; cxlviii 11: *כָּל־כְּנָעַי אֶרֶץ־שַׁפְטֵי אֶרֶץ* – 'Kings of the earth–rulers of the earth'.

(41) *'IN D'LNH*. Compare Psa. xvi 2: *טוֹבָתִי בַל־עֲלִיד*, the meaning of which may be:

Thou art my good, and there is none above Thee.

S. This verse is to be explained on the basis of Biblical passages

like Psa. xi 6: יִסַּר עַל־רָשָׁעִים פַּחִים אֵשׁ וְנִפְרִית וְרוּחַ זִלְעָפוֹת כִּנְת כּוֹסָם – ‘On the wicked He will rain coals of fire and brimstone; a scorching wind shall be the portion of their cup’; *ibid.*, xvi 5: ה' כִּנְת חֲלָקִי וְכוּסִי – ‘The Lord is my chosen portion and my cup’; *ibid.*, lxxv 9 [E.V., v. 8]: כִּי כּוֹס בְּיַד ה' וַיִּזֶן חֶסֶד כְּלֵא מִסָּד וַיִּזַּר מִזָּה אֶדְ-שִׁמְרִיהָ יִמְצוּ וְשִׁתּוּ בֹל – ‘For in the hand of the Lord there is a cup, with foaming wine, well mixed; and he will pour a draught from it, and all the wicked of the earth shall drain it down to the dregs’; Ezek. xxiii 31–34: בְּדַרְדַּר אֲחֻזְתָּךְ הִלַּכְתָּ, וְנָתַתִּי כּוֹסָהּ בְּיָדְךָ... – ‘You have gone the way of your sister; therefore I will give her cup into your hand . . .’. These verses are based on the idea that human beings are like guests at a banquet, and each one of them receives from the host his portion in his cup, that means to say, that God determines the destiny of every person. Compare the metaphor, commonly found in the prophetic literature, of the cup of the Lord’s wrath, from which he gives people to drink on the day of their punishment. It would seem that the notion of the cup of fate was current also among the Canaanites, and finds an echo in this Ugaritic sentence. Anath comes to ask the father of the gods to determine Baal’s destiny, and hands him, as it were, Baal’s cup, so that he may pour therein Baal’s portion from the choicest wine.<sup>26</sup>

T–W. An iteration of what was already stated above, Fifth Section, I–L.

## SEVENTH SECTION

B–C. There is no way of completing these verses and of understanding their import. I have endeavoured to determine their division and the arrangement of their lines on the basis of the parallelism.

(3) *BN* ‘*NK*. This expression (‘between thine eyes’), which parallels *r’išk*, just as in Tablet III AB, i, lines 21–22, 24–25, *bn* ‘*nm* (‘between the eyes’) forms a parallelism with *qdqd* [‘head, pate’], is to be understood in accordance with the traditional interpretation of *בין עיניך* [‘between your eyes’] in the Bible, namely, opposite the part between your eyes, the upper portion of the head (B. Menahoth 37b).

(5–6) [*B*] *YM–BNHRM*. The Sea and the Rivers are among the chief foes of Baal (see the Introduction, and above in this Tablet, Fourth Section, G). Possibly this is their significance here, too, but it is impossible to determine the detailed import of this verse.

<sup>26</sup> I have thus explained the passage in *Orientalia*, VII (1938), p. 283.

D–E. Asherah enjoins her servant to traverse the entire way as far as the dwelling-place of *Ktr-w-hss*.

(7) *GBL*. I have interpreted it in the sense of جبل in Arabic.

(8) *Q'L*. I have rendered it on the basis of the Arabic قتل

'*IHT*. We could possibly interpret the word as the imperative of the 'Aph'el [-stem] conjugation of the stem *hwt* (see above, Sixth Section, J). The vowel, although attached orthographically to the letter 'Aleph, actually belongs to the second syllable, according to my theory regarding the forms of the 'Aleph. The meaning is that Asherah's servant should wing his way to the celestial heights, and, as it were, assault the heavens.

(9) *NP ŠMM*. It appears that this is how the letters have to be divided, although there is no word divider after the *Pe'*. The signification of the phrase [rendered in Hebrew: נוף השמים is, 'the heights of heaven'.

*ŠMŠR*. The *Šaph'el* [S] conjugation of the stem *mšr*, in Akkadian *mašaru*, signifying, to 'cut', 'sever', the sense being that the servant must cut through [i. e. traverse] the space of the heavens in his flight.

(10) *LDGY 'AIRT*. The *Lamedh* before *dgy*, and also that in line 11, is the vocative *Lamedh*, which is usually prefixed to a noun in the vocative. The 'fisherman of Asherah' is the epithet of Asherah's servant, whose full name, which appears in line 11, is *Qdš-(w)-'Amrr*. This name,<sup>27</sup> which comprises two epithets that can also occur separately (Tablet II AB, iv, lines 16–17), undoubtedly describes two distinct attributes of the servant. The designation *qdš* means, apparently, 'consecrated' to the service of Asherah, comparable to the use of the title קדוש ['holy'] in Hebrew, as, for example, in Lev. xxi 7: כי קדוש הוא לאלהיו – 'for he is holy to his God'. The appellation 'amrr is derived, it seems, from the stem 'mr, signifying 'to be high', with duplication of the last radical, the meaning being 'elevated', 'exalted'. The connotations of the two epithets are interlinked, for he that is holy is one chosen from, and uplifted above, his fellows. The attributive 'holy' occurs a number of times in Scripture in association with expressions of 'election' (e.g., Deut. vii 6; xiv 2), and also with those of elevation or loftiness (e.g. Deut. xxvi 19: אלהך באשר דבר... ולתקד – 'that He will set you high above all nations that He had made . . . and that you shall be a people holy to the Lord your God, as He

<sup>27</sup> See my observations on this name in *J. N. Epstein Jubilee Volume* (= *Tarbiz XX*), pp. 4–5.

has spoken . . .'; and in Isa. lvii 15: קָרוֹם וְקָרוֹשׁ אֲשָׁבוֹן – 'I dwell in the high and holy place'). The compound name is thus to be rendered: 'holy and exalted'.<sup>28</sup>

(11) *MGY* The word means 'come'!, not in the sense of 'come hither!', but in the connotation 'go!', 'enter!', as in the sentence בֵּא אֶל־פְּרָעָה in Exodus, vii 26 [E.V., viii 1], etc.

*LQDŠ 'AMRR*. See above, on line 10.

F. Asherah enjoins her servant to turn to *Ktr-w-Hss*. The expression 'Il *klh* is but another designation for *Ktr-w-Hss*, as I shall show later. (13) *HQKPT*. Below, in line 15, it is spelt *hkpt*; this is how the word is also written in the Epic of Danel (Tablet II D, v, 21, 31), where, too, it occurs in relation to *Ktr-w-Hss*. Apparently the letter *Qôph* was inserted here in error. We have here an Egyptian geographical name, and the Ugaritic scribe erred in the spelling of the foreign word. Albright<sup>29</sup> has already shown that it is none other than the official name of the city of Memphis (Hebrew: נֹוּף or מִוּוּף) – *He(-)ku* 𐎗 – *Ptah*, which means 'The house of the soul of the god Ptah'. This is the appellation from which was derived the Greek designation for the land of Egypt, Αἴγυπτος, and it seems that here, too, it is used in the general sense of 'Egypt'. In the El-Amarna Letters the word occurs in the form *Hikuptah*. Ginsberg<sup>30</sup> succeeded in explaining the matter on the basis of the hypothesis that the craftsman god *Ktr-w-Hss* was identified with Ptah, the craftsman deity of Egypt. He notes that the last letter, which is wanting in the Ugaritic form of the name, possibly disappeared through dissimilation or owing to some other reason.

(14) 'IL *KLH*. These two words have so far remained obscure. Ginsberg<sup>31</sup> conjectured, with some reservation, the meaning: 'E1 protect her'. Albright<sup>32</sup> was inclined to divide the word thus: 'Il *ki lahu*, interpreting the text as follows: 'Egypt of El, for to him (to *Ktr-w-Hss*) belongs Kaphtor', etc. I suggest that *Klh* should be regarded as a further identification of *Ktr-w-Hss*. In the Mesopotamian pantheon

<sup>28</sup> Note should also be taken of the possibility that the designation 'amrr is derived from the stem *mrr*, which commonly occurs in Ugaritic as a synonym of 'blessing', comparable to the use in Hebrew of הִנֵּן ['shew favour', 'be gracious'] רָצִיהָ ['be pleased with', 'accept favourably']. Accordingly, the meaning of the name will be, 'holy and favoured'.

<sup>29</sup> *BASOR*, 70 (April 1938), p. 22.

<sup>30</sup> *Orientalia*, IX (1940), pp. 39–44.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 40, note 6.

<sup>32</sup> *JBL*, LIX (1940), p. 108, note 35.

we find a god who is designated by the Sumerian name *kulla* signifying ‘the brick [-god]’, who was in charge of the repairs of the temples of the gods.<sup>33</sup> The Canaanite god *Ktr-w-Hss*, to whom the messenger was sent to request him to build a temple for Baal, resembles the Mesopotamian deity Kulla, who was entrusted with a similar task; hence the conjecture that the two divinities were identified is not improbable. The letter *He*’ at the end of the word presents no difficulty, for we learn from the Akkadian texts written in Ugaritic letters,<sup>34</sup> that the Ugaritic scribes, when transcribing from the Mesopotamian cuneiform writing to the alphabetic script, sometimes used *scriptio plena* to indicate final vowels. Also the passages from the Epic of Danel, cited above, become clear in the light of this hypothesis (*ibid.*, lines 20–21: *s’ad kbd hmt b’l hkpt ’il klh*, which means, ‘Serve [f.s.] and honour him, the lord of Egypt, the god Kulla’; so, too, *ibid.*, lines 30–31: *ts’ad tkbd hmt* <sup>35</sup> *b’l hkpt ’il klh*–‘She served and honoured him, the lord of Egypt, the god Kulla’).

G. Ginsberg rightly puts the translation of this verse in brackets; it is a parenthetical statement, which serves to explain why the fisherman of Asherah was sent to *Hkpt*. In the light of my explanation of the words *’il klh*, the possessive suffix of *tbth* and *nhlth* can be clearly understood; it refers to the name *’Il Klh*, which actually occurs at the end of the preceding verse.

Apparently this verse, which speaks of the dwelling-place and dominion of *Ktr-w-Hss*, commonly occurs in Ugaritic poetry (compare the commencement of column iii in Tablet VI AB). A kind of parody of this sentence is found in the description of the dwelling place and dominion of Mot, the god of the netherworld, in Tablet II AB, viii, 12–14: *mk ks’u tbth hh ’ars nhlth*, which means: ‘Low is the place of his throne, a cave is the land of his inheritance’; so, too, in Tablet I\*AB, ii, 15–16.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>33</sup> See, for example, Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels accadiens*, Paris 1921, p. 42, line 3, and p. 46, line 27.

<sup>34</sup> See the tablets that, although inscribed in Ugaritic alphabetic writing, are nevertheless in another language, which, according to Dhorme is Akkadian (*UH*, Nos. 102–105); they contain words like *mtty*, read by Dhorme *mušiti*, or *qby*, which Dhorme reads *qibi*. Possibly the letter *He*’ was chosen to indicate the final vowel on the basis of the spelling in Ugaritic of words like *’arsh*, *šmmh*.

<sup>35</sup> *This is pluralis excellentiae.*

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.* instead of *tbty* we must read: *tbt hh*. The form of the *Yôdh*, as is well known, is similar in Ugaritic script to *h* written twice; whilst the spelling *tbt* may occur in place of *tbth*, having regard to the rule established by Gordon in his Grammar, §4:26, p. 21. I have explained *hh* in accordance with the signification

(14) *KPTR*. Both here and in the Bible, the word apparently denotes the island of Crete.

(15–16) *HKPT 'ARS NHLTH*. It is somewhat difficult to understand why the place to which Asherah's fisherman is sent is termed 'the land of the inheritance' of *Ktr-w-Hss*, and not 'the throne on which he sits', namely Kaphtor; for it was actually to 'the throne on which he sits' that the emissary had to go. Hence, it seems that the name *Hkpt*, in its wider connotation, includes also the island of Crete, which, as we know, was linked to Egypt in a number of respects. Similarly, in Gen. x 13–14 the Kaphtorim are counted among the children of Egypt.

H–J. Instructions to the messenger concerning what he must do when he comes before *Ktr-w-Hss*.

(17–18) *B'ALP–KMN*. Compare above, v B, and my annotations *ad loc*.

(18–20) *LP 'N–HWT*. Compare above, iii C.

(21–22) *WRGM–TNY*. Compare above, iii D.

(22–23) *HYN*. An epithet of *Ktr-w-Hss*. It has been explained on the basis of the Arabic word **هين**, 'light', 'swift'.

(23) *D HRŠ YDM*. Literally: 'one who possesses craftsmanship of the hands'.

(24–25). Compare above, iii E, and my commentary *ad loc*.

K. Here the continuation of the verse is missing; it contained the request that the messenger had to make to *Ktr-w-Hss* on behalf of Baal, and the recommendation that he had to add in the name of Asherah.

of the word **הַחַיִּים** in i Sam. xiii 6: **בְּסִקְרוֹת וּבְהַחַיִּים וּבְסַלְעִים** – 'in caves and in holes and in rocks'.

## II.

### TABLET VI AB

#### DESCRIPTION OF THE TABLET

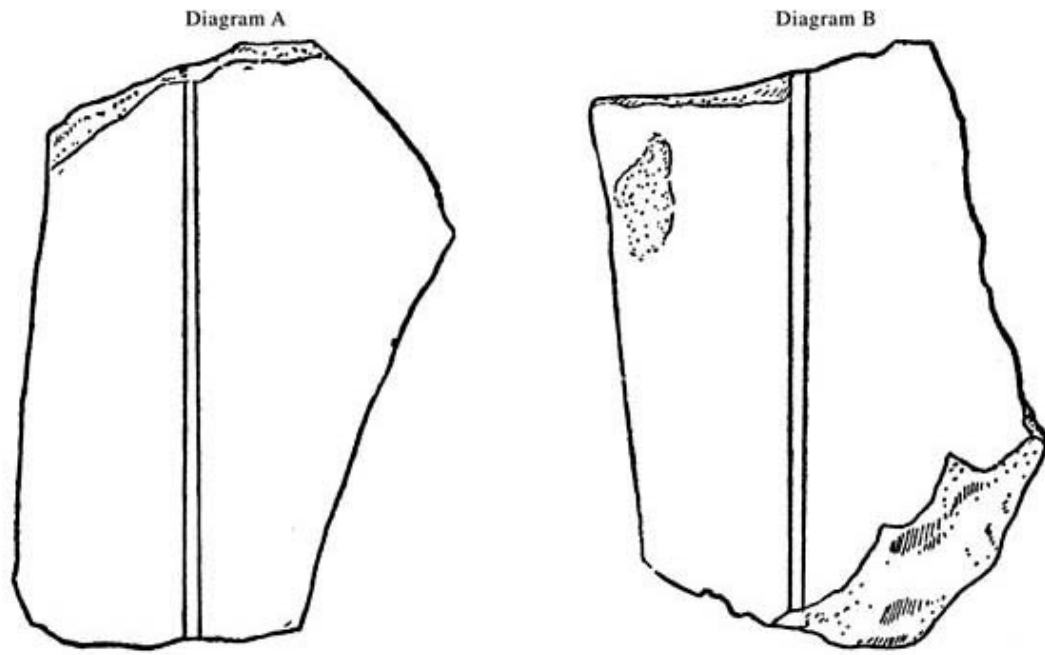
Of this tablet there remains only a fragment of no great size (designated in the Louvre Museum, AO 16.643), which formed the middle part of the tablet. The whole of the upper and lower portions, and likewise the right and left sections, are missing. Hence it is not possible to determine the measurements of the tablet when intact. It, too, was inscribed on both sides, and on each side there were apparently three columns (possibly, four).

On the central surviving fragment there appear remains of two columns of script on each side; each column contains only incomplete verses—the ends of the verses to the left of the line dividing off the columns, and the beginnings of the verses to the right of it (the Ugaritic writing runs from left to right). The two sides of the fragment may be represented diagrammatically as in fig. 2 (see the photograph of the fragment, [Plates IV–V](#)).

Virolleaud thought that the side represented in diagram B was the obverse side, while that of diagram A was the reverse. He also supposed that an entire column had been lost on the left side, to wit, the first column on the obverse and the sixth on the reverse (as I have already indicated in my description of V AB, it was usual to arrange the lines from left to right on the obverse side and from right to left on the reverse). However, on examining the contents of the text we see that the sequence has to be understood differently. What is related in columns IV–V certainly precedes the narrative in columns II–III; it follows that the side that Virolleaud considered as the obverse is apparently the reverse, and *mutatis mutandis*. Accordingly, the first of the extant columns is the one marked V by Virolleaud, followed by the one he numbers IV, then comes III, and finally II. Between IV and III there was undoubtedly a long narration treating of many subjects, and consequently it may be inferred that the column that is completely missing was on the right side of the tablet, and not on the left as Virolleaud estimated.

Fig. 3 represents the conjectured position of the fragment within the unimpaired tablet (assuming that there were three columns on each side).

The remains of the column that I have marked i introduce us already, as we shall observe, into the conflicts between the gods (see below); hence, unless we presume that the epic began *in medias res*, like the Greek Iliad, we must suppose either that this tablet is not the first



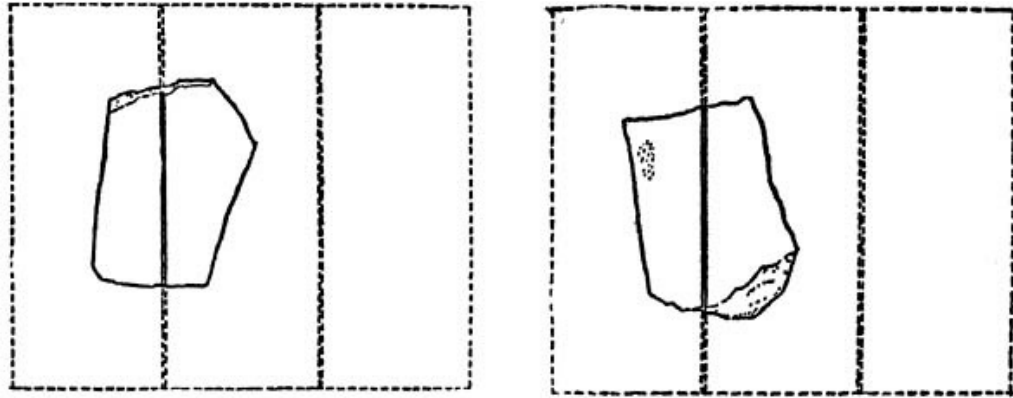
The numbers of the Cols,  
 according to Virolleaud: V  
 According to my scheme: i

IV  
 ii

II  
 vi

III  
 v

Fig. 2. Diagram of Tablet VI AB



Numbers of the cols.  
according to my theory:

i                      obverse  
ii

iii

vi                      reverse  
v

iv

Fig. 3. The conjectured position of the fragment (VI AB) within the complete tablet

of the epic, or that it was divided into eight columns, and that in the first column, which was situated to the left, before the column numbered i, the course of events preceding the conflicts was narrated, or at least alluded to. In the latter eventuality, there was also, of course, an eighth column on the reverse side, likewise to the left. However, in order to avoid undue complications, I shall continue to number the columns from i–vi, and disregard the possibility of eight columns.

**UGARITIC ORIGINAL IN TRANSLITERATION  
AND  
HEBREW AND ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS**

COLUMN i

Of this column only the ends of the lines remain. The number of missing letters can be estimated approximately from the lines that it is possible to complete in the other columns of the tablet. In this column it is impossible to restore even one line fully, because we have no parallel text. Although the verses that have been preserved in part comprise two sections that are similar and to some extent are actually identical (the first section extends up to line 14, and the second from line 15 onwards), yet on the basis of this parallelism only a very small portion of the text can be restored. Every needless attempt at restoration is bound to be hazardous; it will be best, therefore, to refrain from conjectures, which are unlikely to conform to the truth.

It is not possible to ascertain the number of lines missing in the column, either above or below.

*The Contents.* On account of the impaired state of the verses, their contents cannot be determined with certainty. Apparently, mention was made here of the conflicts that broke out between the gods before the beginning of the war between Baal and Mot. In the preceding part—at the beginning of this tablet or in another tablet—the poet had already referred, either fully or by brief allusion, to the dethronement of El, the father of the gods, and to the partition of the world among his sons, as I conjectured above, pp. 55–56.

In most of these verses, and possibly in all, the poet cites the actual words of the disputants, as we may infer from the verbs, which are in the first or second person. Continuous translation is, needless to say, not feasible. Only isolated words or phrases, here and there, are comprehensible; these will be discussed in the commentary later.

|                     |    |   |               |   |                        |
|---------------------|----|---|---------------|---|------------------------|
| Virolleaud's sigla: | 1  | [ |               | ] | <i>b</i>               |
| VI AB, 5            | 2  | [ | <i>wym ym</i> | ] | <i>m</i>               |
|                     | 3  | [ | <i>ymgy</i>   | ] | <i>npš</i>             |
|                     | 4  | [ |               | ] | <i>h]d tngtnh</i>      |
|                     | 5  | [ | <i>lhmk</i>   | ] | <i>bspn</i>            |
|                     | 6  | [ |               | ] | <i>nšb b'n</i>         |
|                     | 7  | [ |               | ] | <i>bkm y'n</i>         |
|                     | 8  | [ | <i>yd'</i>    | ] | <i>l]yd' t</i>         |
|                     | 9  | [ |               | ] | <i>t]'asrn</i>         |
|                     | 10 | [ |               | ] | <i>—trks</i>           |
|                     | 11 | [ |               | ] | <i>b]n 'abnm 'upqt</i> |
|                     | 12 | [ |               | ] | <i>l wgr mny</i>       |

|    |   |                         |
|----|---|-------------------------|
| 13 | [ | ] <i>rq gb</i>          |
| 14 | [ | ] <i>kl tqr mtnh</i>    |
| 15 | [ | ] <i>b wym ymm</i>      |
| 16 | [ | ] <i>ymgy nps̄</i>      |
| 17 | [ | ] <i>hd tngtnh</i>      |
| 18 | [ | ] <i>ḥmk b̄spn</i>      |
| 19 | [ | ] <i>'išqb 'aylt</i>    |
| 20 | [ | ] <i>m bkm y'n</i>      |
| 21 | ] | ] <i>yḏ' lyḏ't</i>      |
| 22 | [ | ] <i>t'asrn tr 'il</i>  |
| 23 | [ | t] <i>rks bn 'abum</i>  |
| 24 | [ | ] <i>'upqt 'rb</i>      |
| 25 | [ | wg] <i>r mtny 'atzd</i> |
| 26 | [ | ] <i>t'rb bš'i</i>      |
| 27 | [ | ] <i>tzd lptq</i>       |
| 28 | [ | ] <i>l'arš</i>          |

#### COLUMN ii

The state of this column is somewhat better than that of the preceding column. However, here, too, there remain only fragments of verses (in this instance, the beginnings), and in this case, also, it is impossible to complete the lacunae in the great majority of the lines. But in some of the verses this is made possible on the basis of the parallels in other tablets. The restored lines—9, 13, 24, 30, 31—permit us to estimate the approximate length of the lines. In respect of this column, too, it is not possible to ascertain what is missing above and below it; hence, not only the connection between this fragment and the texts preceding and following it, but also the space between them, is unknown to us.

The letters that have a dot over them are not clearly legible, and are to be regarded as doubtful.

*The contents.* From line 13 it is clear that we have here a conversation between El, the father of the gods, and another deity, namely, Mot, as is evident from the epithet commonly applied to him, *mdd 'i[lm]*, which occurs in line 20. I suggest the following exposition of the main theme: Mot requests his father to determine his name and his destiny over a cup of wine at a feast (compare the account, in the Babylonian Epic of Creation, of how the gods, during a banquet, determined the names and destiny of Marduk after they had made him king over them, and see my observations above, in my commentary on

vi S, regarding the cup of destiny). At first El sought to put Mot off with a flimsy answer, and suggested that Asherah, his spouse, should determine his designation and fate, but in the end he consented, and declared that Mot's title should be *mdd 'ilm*, and that at the outset he would succeed in dethroning Baal, but subsequently Baal would prevail over him and smite him. The interpretation of the details will be given later.

|                     |    |  |   |
|---------------------|----|--|---|
| Virolleaud's sigla: | 1  | [                                      | ] |
| VI AB, 4            | 2  | <i>gm šh lq[</i>                       | ] |
|                     | 3  | <i>lrḥqm lp[</i>                       | ] |
|                     | 4  | <i>šh 'il ytb b[</i>                   | ] |
|                     | 5  | — — <i>t 'ilmn[</i>                    | ] |
|                     | 6  | <i>'ilm bt b'lk[</i>                   | ] |
|                     | 7  | <i>dl ylkn ḥš b'a[rš</i>               | ] |
|                     | 8  | <i>b'pr ḥblṭm[</i>                     | ] |
|                     | 9  | <i>šqy rṭ'a tmy y[n ks byd-</i>        | ] |
|                     | 10 | <i>krpn bkl'at yd[</i>                 | ] |
|                     | 11 | <i>kml ḥḥš t'us[</i>                   | ] |
|                     | 12 | <i>tgr 'il bnh ṭr[</i>                 | ] |
|                     | 13 | <i>wy'n ḷt &lt;p&gt;n 'il d [p'id]</i> |   |
|                     | 14 | <i>šm bny yr 'ilt[</i>                 | ] |
|                     | 15 | <i>wp'r šm ym[</i>                     | ] |
|                     | 16 | <i>t'nyn lzntm[</i>                    | ] |
|                     | 17 | <i>'at 'adn ṭp'r[</i>                  | ] |
|                     | 18 | <i>'ank ḷṭpn 'il[d p'id</i>            | ] |
|                     | 19 | <i>'l ydm p'ī[</i>                     | ] |
|                     | 20 | <i>šmk mdd 'i[lm</i>                   | ] |
|                     | 21 | <i>bt kspy d[</i>                      | ] |
|                     | 22 | <i>bd 'al' iyn b[l</i>                 | ] |
|                     | 23 | <i>kd yn'ašn[</i>                      | ] |
|                     | 24 | <i>gršnn lk[s'i mlkh nḥtnn lkḥt]</i>   |   |
|                     | 25 | <i>drkth š[</i>                        | ] |
|                     | 26 | <i>whm 'ap l[</i>                      | ] |
|                     | 27 | <i>ymḥšk k[</i>                        | ] |
|                     | 28 | <i>'il dbḥ[</i>                        | ] |
|                     | 29 | <i>p'r b[</i>                          | ] |
|                     | 30 | <i>ṭbh 'alp[m 'ap š'in šql]</i>        |   |
|                     | 31 | <i>trm w[mr' i a 'ilm 'glmdt šnt]</i>  |   |
|                     | 32 | <i>'imr [qmš ll'im</i>                 | ] |

### COLUMNS iii-iv

Nothing remains of these columns. In so far as I can reasonably estimate, they contained an account of the beginning of the fulfilment of El's words. Mot and his confederates attacked Baal and his allies, and they succeed in dethroning Baal and removing him from power. But Baal and his helpers were not subdued; Baal was aided in his fight particularly by his chief lieutenants, the craftsman-god *Ktr-w-Hss* and his sister Anath.

## COLUMN V

Of this column only the beginnings of the middle lines are preserved. But on the basis of the parallels in V AB it is possible to restore many verses, and to gain an understanding of the subject matter, and also to translate most of the fragment.

|   | Virolleaud's sigla: VI AB, 3   | Hebrew translation   |
|---|--|--|
| A | [ <i>'idk 'al ttn pnm</i> ]<br>[ <i>tk hkpt 'il klh</i> ]  | אָז תִּתְּנוּ אֶת־פְּנֵיכֶם<br>לְתוֹךְ מַצְרִים שֶׁל אֵל־כְּלָה,   |
| B | 1 [ <i>kptr</i> ] [ <i>ks[u] t̄bth</i> ]<br>[ <i>hkpt 'arš nhlth</i> ]                                     | כַּפְתּוֹר כֶּסֶף שְׁבִתוֹ,<br>מַצְרִים אֶרֶץ נִחְלָתוֹ.   |
| C | 2 [ <i>b' alp šd r[bt kmn</i> ]<br>[ <i>lp'n ktr</i> ] (3) [ <i>hbr wql</i> ]<br>[ <i>šthwy wkbd hwt</i> ] | בְּאֵלֶף שְׂדוֹת, בְּרִכְבוֹת חֲלֻקוֹת,<br>לְרִנְלֵי כְתָר כָּרְעוּ וְהִקְרוּ,<br>תִּשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ וּכְבְּדוּהוּ. |
| D | 4 [ <i>wrgm lk[tr wḥss</i> ]<br>[ <i>ny lhyn</i> ](5) [ <i>d ḥrš y[dm</i> ]                                | כֹּה תֵאָמְרוּ לְכַתְר־יְהוֹשֵׁס,<br>וְתִגִּדּוּ לְהִין חֲכָם חֲרָשִׁים:   |
| E | [ <i>thm tr 'il 'abk</i> ]<br>6 [ <i>hwt l̄pn [ḥtkk</i> ]  | נְאֻם שׁוֹר אֵל אָבִיךָ,<br>דָּבַר לְטַפְּוֹיֶצְרָךְ:  |
| F | -----  | -----  |
| G | 7 [ <i>yh ktr b</i> ] -----  | אֵתָּה, כְּתָר -----   |
| G | 8 [ <i>št lskt n</i> ]-----  | שִׁים לְמַעֲוֵנִי -----  |
| H | 9 [ <i>db bḡrt ḷ</i> ]   | הֲכֵן לְמַעֲרָתִי -----  |
| I | 10 [ <i>hšk 'šk '[bšk 'my</i> ]<br>[ <i>p'nk t̄lsmn</i> ] (11) [ <i>'my</i><br>[ <i>twth 'i[šdk</i> — ]]   | חֲשֹׁךְ עֵצָה, תְּרִבֶּךָ הַשֶּׁבֶב,<br>תְּרַצְנָה פְּעֻמֶיךָ אֵלַי,<br>תִּמְהַרְנָה רִנְלֶיךָ לְ(דִירָתִי),     |
| J | 12 [ <i>gr ks dm</i> ]   | לְמַעֲרָה יִכְסֶה מַעֲוֵנִי.   |
| J | [ <i>r[gm 'it ly w' argmk</i> ]  | דָּבַר יֵשׁ לִי, וְאֶרְבֵּר לְךָ   |
| K | 13 [ <i>hwt w'atnyk</i> ]  | נְאֻם, וְאֶגִּיד לְךָ,   |
| K | [ <i>rgm 'š wḥšt 'abn</i> ]  | דָּבַר עֲצִים וּלְחִישַׁת אֲבָנִים,  |
| L | 14 [ <i>t'unt šmm 'm ['arš</i> ]<br>[ <i>thmt 'mn kbkbm</i> ]  | שִׁיחַת שָׁמַיִם עִם אֶרֶץ,<br>תְּהוֹמוֹת עִם כּוֹכָבִים,  |
| L | 15 [ <i>rgm l td' n[šm</i> ]<br>[ <i>wl thn hmlt 'arš</i> ]  | דָּבַר לֹא יִדְעוּ אַנְשִׁים,<br>וְלֹא יִבְיָנְהוּ הַמֶּזֶן אֶרֶץ.   |
| M | 16 [ <i>'at w'ank 'ib[gyh</i> ]  | בְּאֵינָא, וְאֶנְכִי אֶסְפְּרוּהוּ,  |
| N | 17 [ <i>wy'n ktr wḥss</i> ]  | וַיַּעַן כְּתָר־יְהוֹשֵׁס:   |

COLUMN V

*The contents.* El endeavours to pacify the world. He sends his servants to the god *Ktr-w-Hss* to ask him to put an end to the war and to come to hear what he wishes to tell him. *Ktr-w-Hss* accedes to this request and proceeds to El's dwelling-place. A detailed interpretation will be given later.

*English translation*

- A Then shall ye set your faces  
to the midst of Egypt of El-Kulla,
- B Kaphtor the throne whereon he sits,  
Egypt the land of his inheritance.
- C O'er a thousand fields, o'er myriads of acres,  
at the feet of Ktr bow and fall,  
prostrate yourselves and honour him.
- D Thus shall ye say to Ktr-w-Hss,  
declare to Hyn the skilled craftsman:
- E message of Bull El, thy father,  
word of Ltpn, thy begetter:
- F \_\_\_\_\_  
O Ktr — — — — —
- G Set to my dwelling-place — — — — —  
\_\_\_\_\_
- H Direct to my cave  
\_\_\_\_\_
- spare thy rod, put back thy sword,
- I let thy feet run to me,  
let thy legs hasten to {my dwelling},  
to the cave that my abode covers.
- J I have a word that I would speak to thee,  
a message that I would tell thee,
- K a word of trees and a whisper of stones,

converse of heaven with earth,  
of the deeps with the stars,

L a matter not known to men,  
nor understood by the multitude of the earth.

M Come, pray, and I shall relate it,  
— — — — —

N And K̄tr-w-Hss answered:

|   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>O [lk lk 'nn 'ilm]</p> <p>18 'atm bštm w'a[n šnt]</p> <p>P ['u'r] (19) lrḥq 'ilm<br/>ḥkp[t - - - - -]</p> <p>Q 20 ṭn mṭpdm ṭḥt ['nt 'arš]<br/>[ṭṭ mṭḥ] (21) ḡyrm</p> <p>R 'idk lyt{n pnm]<br/>['m ḥpn] (22) 'il d p'id<br/>tk ḥrš[n - - - - -]</p> <p>S 23 ygly šd 'i[l wyb'u]<br/>[qrš mlk] (24) 'ab šnm</p> <p>T ḥ[p'n 'il yḥbr wyql]</p> <p>25 yšṭḥw[y wykbdnh]</p> <p>U - - - - - (26) ṭr 'i[l abh]</p> <p>- - - - -</p> <p>27 ḥš - - - - -</p> <p>28 btk</p> <p>29 bn - - - - -</p> <p>30 'a - - - - -</p> <p>- - - - -</p> | <p>לכו, לכו, נצייני האל,<br/>אתם הפצרתם, ואני שניתני.<br/>אחדר למרחקו האל,<br/>טצרים (אעזב ואבא),<br/>שני ספלים תחת עין הארץ,<br/>שלישה רחבי מחלות.<br/>אז יתן את פניו<br/>אל אל רחום בעל לב,<br/>לתוך יער - - - - -,<br/>ויגל מחצת אל ויבא<br/>לקרשי סלף אבי השנים.<br/>לרגלי אל כרע ויקר,<br/>השתחוה ויכבדהו.<br/>שור אל אביהו - - - - -</p> <p>- - - - -</p> |
|---|---|

COLUMN vi

In this column it is possible to complete a number of verses on the basis of the parallels in V AB. With the help of these parallels, and in accordance with lines 19 ff., I have also restored several verses preceding the fragment, which had been completely lost.

In lines 3–13, which have no parallels, it is not possible to suggest any restorations.

| Virolleaud's sigla: VI AB, 2  | Hebrew translation   |
|---|--|
| <p>A [lp'n 'nt hbr wql]<br/>[tšḥwy kbd hyt]</p> <p>B [wrgm lbtlt 'nt]<br/>[ṭny lybmt ḥ'imm]</p> <p>C [ṭḥm tr 'il 'abk]<br/>[ḥwt ḥpn ḥtkk]</p> | <p>לרגלי ענת כרעו והקרו,<br/>תשתחוו וכבדוה.<br/>כה תאמרו לבתולה ענת.<br/>ותגידו ליבמת לאמים:<br/>נאם שור אל אביך,<br/>דבר למפן יצרך:</p> |

- O Go, go, representatives of the god,  
ye have urged, and I have changed my mind.
- P I shall penetrate the distant regions of the god,  
Egypt {I shall leave and I shall enter},
- Q two layers [= storeys] beneath the surface of the earth,  
three widths [= rooms] of caverns.
- R Then he set his face  
towards Beneficent El Benign,  
to the midst of a forest— — — —,
- S He arrived at the domain of El, and came  
to the abode of the king, Father of the Years.
- T At the feet of El he bowed and fell,  
he prostrated himself, and honoured him.
- U — — — — Bull El, his father  
— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —

In the missing portion at the end of column v and at the beginning of column vi it was related, in so far as we can surmise, that *Ktr-w-Hss* did all that the father of the gods asked of him, and terminated his warfare, but Anath continued to fight violently.

#### COLUMN vi

*The contents.* The story of El's endeavours to bring peace to the world is continued: just as he had already requested *Ktr-w-Hss*, so he now appeals to Anath, and sends her, too, a message similar to that which he had sent *Ktr-w-Hss*. For the notes on the details, see below.

#### English translation

- A At Anath's feet bow and fall,  
prostrate yourselves, honour her.
- B Thus shall ye say to the Virgin Anath,  
declare to the Mother of Nations:
- C message of Bull El, thy father,

word of Ltpn, thy begetter:

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|    |   |   |
|----|---|---|
| D  | [qryy b'arš mlḥmt]<br>[št b'prt ddym]                                 | אֶסְפִּי מִלְחָמָה מִן הָאָרֶץ,<br>שִׁיתִי עַל עַפְר אֶהְבֶּה,  |
| E  | [sk šlm lkbd 'arš]<br>['arb dd lkbd šdm]                              | נִסְכֵי שְׁלוֹם בְּקֶרֶב הָאָרֶץ,<br>הֲרָבִי אֶהְבֶּה בְּקֶרֶב שְׂדוֹת,                                     |
| F  | 1 [ḥšk 'šk 'bšk 'my]<br>p[ 'nk (2) tsmn 'my]<br>[twth] 'isdk (3) [dm] | חֲשָׁבִי עֲצָד, חֲרַבְדֵּי הַשִּׁבִּי<br>תִּרְצָנָה פְּעֻמֶיךָ אֵלַי,<br>תַּטְהַרְנָה רַגְלֶיךָ לְטַעוֹנִי. |
| G  | ----- r [l]ḥmk<br>wšt (4) -----<br>----- p' -- rdyk                   |   |
| 5  | ----- 'i]qn' im   |   |
| 6  | ----- š' u bqr b  |   |
| 7  | ----- 'asr  |   |
| 8  | ----- m ymtm  |   |
| 9  | ----- k' iṭl  |   |
| 10 | ----- m 'db l' arš  |   |
| 11 | ----- šp m 'db  |   |
| 12 | ----- l' tqn  |   |
| 13 | ----- šb 'ilk (14) -----  |   |
| U  | 'inbb b' alp ḥzr  | הַכְנֵסִי לְאַלְף הַצְרוֹת,   |
| 15 | -----   | -----   |
| V  | lp' n 'nt (16) [yhbr wyql]<br>[yšt]ḥwyn wy(17) [kbdnh]                | לְרַגְלֵי עֲנַת כְּרַעֲוֵי וַיְקָרוּ,<br>הַשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ וַיִּכְבְּדוּהָ.                                    |
| W  | [yš' u gh wys]ḥ<br>thm(18) [tr 'l 'abk]<br>[hwt l]pn ḥtkk:            | וַיִּשְׂאוּ קוֹלָם וַיִּקְרְאוּ:<br>נָאֵם שׁוֹר אֶל אֲבִיךָ,<br>דַּבֵּר לְטַפְּסֵן יִצְרָח.                 |
| X  | 19 [qryy b'arš mlḥmt]<br>št b'p(20) [rt ddym]                         | אֶסְפִּי מִלְחָמָה מִן הָאָרֶץ,<br>שִׁיתִי עַל עַפְר אֶהְבֶּה,  |
| Y  | [sk šlm] lkbd 'arš<br>21 ['arb dd lkbd š]dm                           | נִסְכֵי שְׁלוֹם בְּקֶרֶב הָאָרֶץ,<br>הֲרָבִי אֶהְבֶּה בְּקֶרֶב שְׂדוֹת.                                     |
| Z  | ḥšk (22) ['šk 'bšk 'my]<br>[p' n]k tsmn (23) 'my                      | חֲשָׁבִי עֲצָד, חֲרַבְדֵּי הַשִּׁבִּי,<br>תִּרְצָנָה פְּעֻמֶיךָ אֵלַי.                                      |
| AA | ['idk ltm pnm]<br>tk ḥršn (24) -----                                  | אִז תִּתֵּן אֶת פְּנִיָּה<br>לְתוֹךְ יַעַר -----  |
| BB | ----- by]dk spr   | בְּיַדְךָ סִפְר,  |
| 25 | ----- bym]nk --   | בִּימִינְךָ -----   |

Here ends the extant fragment, and we have no means of ascertaining Anath's reply to her father. However, from what was related in Tablet V AB of Anath's conduct towards her father, we may presume that she did not accede to his request, and continued to do battle.

- D    withdraw war from the earth,  
       set upon the land love,
- E    pour forth peace in the midst of the earth,  
       increase love in the midst of the fields,
- F    spare thy rod, put back thy sword,  
       let thy feet run to me,  
       let thy legs hasten to my abode.
- G
- U    Enter a thousand courts,  
       — — — — —
- V    At the feet of Anath they bowed and fell down,  
       they prostrated themselves, and honoured her.
- W    They lifted up their voice and cried:  
       Message of Bull El thy father,  
       word of Ltpn thy begetter:
- X    Withdraw war from the earth,  
       set upon the land love,
- Y    pour forth peace in the midst of the land,  
       increase love in the midst of the fields.
- Z    Spare thy rod, put back thy sword,  
       let thy feet run to me.
- AA    Then she set her face  
       to the midst of a forest — — — —
- BB    — — — — in thy hand a book,  
       — — — — in thy right hand — — —

In the part of the epic that once filled the gap between this tablet and V AB an account was given, *inter alia*, of the continuation of the struggle, and particularly of the terrible blows that Anath inflicted on Mot's helpers, as she hints in V AB, iv, G–K.

## COMMENTARY ON TABLET VI AB

### COLUMN i

The great majority of restorations in this column were already suggested by Virolleaud, on the basis of the correspondence between lines 2–14 and lines 15 ff.

Only a few of the words are clear by themselves: 2, 15: *ym ymm*—‘a day (or) two days’; 3, 16: *ymgy*—‘he will come’ or ‘he came’; *ibid.*: *npš* [‘soul’]; 4, 17: *hd*—the specific name of Baal; *ibid.*: *tngtnh*—the stem means to ‘meet’ or ‘encounter’ (2nd pers. sing. mas. or fem., or 3rd pers. fem.), with the pronominal suffix of the 3rd pers. masc. or fem.; 5, 18: *lhmk* [‘thy bread’] (if the restoration is correct); *ibid.*: *bspn* ‘in the North’, the place where Baal dwelt; 7, 20: *y’n*—to ‘answer’ or ‘see’ in a past or future sense; 8, 21: *yd’ lyd’t*—‘thou surely didst not know’, or ‘thou surely didst know’ (or, ‘I surely did, or did not, know’); 9–10, 22–23: *t’asrn-trks*—the stem signifies to ‘bind’ or ‘tie’; 11, 23: *bn ’abnm*—‘between stones’; 22: *tr ’il*—‘Bull El’; 26: *t’rb*—the stem denotes to ‘enter’; 28: *l’ars*—‘to the earth’, or ‘from the earth’.

The meeting or encounter alluded to in lines 4 and 17 refers, apparently, to friction between Baal-Hadd and another god. In lines 9–11 and 22–23, we are possibly told how one of the gods was bound between stones by another god or by other gods. Whether the reference is actually to the binding of El, the father of the gods, by his sons (line 22: *t’asrn tr ’il*), cannot be determined with certainty.

In the second section (lines 23–24) the obscure word *’upqt* does not come immediately after *bn ’abnm* as in the first section (line 10); there is thus a difference of formulation between the two sections. So, too, the words *’išqb ’aylt* (line 19) are not found in the fragmentary remains of the first section, and we cannot tell whether it is necessary to restore these words there or to suppose that in this respect, too, the sections differ. It is also difficult to decide if there is any connection between *’aylt* (‘hind’) and *’n* (‘spring’), as it is possible to assume on the basis of the simile of a hind yearning for the well, which occurs in I\* AB, i, 17; compare Psa. xlii 2.

(2) *GM SH*. He cried aloud (*UH*, Glossary, 445).


*LQ* [—]. Virolleaud has suggested: *lq[rbm]*, i. e., ‘to the near’ in contradistinction to the word *lrhqm* (‘to the far’) in line 3.

(4) *SH ’IL YTB*. ‘Called El’ (past) or ‘call El!’ (imperative). The word *ytb* may mean to ‘sit’; or to ‘return’ or ‘reply’.

(6) There are several possibilities here: ‘gods’ or ‘O god’ (*ilumma*, vocative), if the reading of the first letter as ‘i’ is correct; *bt* = ‘house’ [Hebrew, בית] or ‘daughter’ [Hebrew, בת]; *b’lk* means ‘thy (mas. or fem.) lord’, or, possibly, ‘from upon thee’ (mas. or fem.).

(7) Possibly: ‘that they shall not walk quickly in the la[nd]’. Mot expresses, according to his wont, his desire to destroy the human race, so that they may not continue to walk quickly upon the face of the earth.

(8) *B’PR*. It forms a parallelism with the word *b’a[rs]*, in accordance with the customary technique, which I have already discussed in the Introduction, pp. 25–26.

(9) *RT’A*. On account of the parallelism with the word *šqy*, which means to ‘drink’ or ‘water’, Virolleaud suggests: , a kind of butter or curd.

(9–10) So Virolleaud completed the text in accordance with the parallel passage (V AB, i, 10–11): ‘Let him place a cup in the hand, a pitcher in both hands’. I am of the opinion that the reference is to a blessing given over a cup of wine: Mot requests his father to bless him over a cup of wine and to determine his name and his destiny. The concept of determining the name and the destiny, which are interconnected, was quite common in the ancient East (I have cited earlier the interesting parallel in the Babylonian Epic of Creation and the idea of the cup of destiny). A blessing over a cup of wine for bride and groom is mentioned in Tablet III K, ii, 16 f.

(12) *’IL BNHR*. Apparently: ‘. . . El . . . his son, Bull [in parallelism with El]...’

(14) After the unambiguous words in line 13 (‘And Beneficent El Benign answered’), Virolleaud read: *šm bny yw*, and on the basis of this reading a number of conjectures concerning the existence in Ugaritic of a name similar to that of the God of Israel has been put forward. But the correct reading appears to be *yr* and not *yw*. The word *yr* occurs in parallelism with *p’r*, and the two words

are to be regarded as the imperative feminine. The verb *p'r* is found in Tablet III AB in the sense of assigning a name; *yr* is from the stem *yry*,

with the meaning to ‘cast’ (lots), or ‘bring’ (in Akkadian *arû*), or ‘declare’, as in Hebrew, in the *Hiph’il* ( הִפְיִיל ). The sense is approximately: Pronounce thou the name of my son, O Asherah.

(15) *WP ‘R ŠM*. ‘And assign (imperative fem. sing.) the name’.

(16) Possibly Asherah’s reply is cited here (*t’nyn* is the 3rd pers. fem. sing.; in Hebrew: וְתַנַּן ).

(17) Apparently: ‘Thou, my lord, shalt assign the name’.

(18–20) El’s solemn declaration: ‘I, the Benign and Beneficent . . . have assigned ...; thy name (shall be) *Mdd ’ilm*, that is, ‘Beloved of the gods’ (on this name see the Introduction, p. 64).

(21–22) *BT KSPY*. ‘My house of silver’. Compare Baal’s house of silver and gold in Tablet II AB. We must not forget that the value of silver at the time when the Ugaritic poems were first composed transcended that of gold.

*BD ’AL’IYN B’L*. The house of silver, which was mine, is now in the possession of thy brother ’Al’iyn Baal, who dwells therein like a king.

(23) *KD YN’ASN*. Possibly: ‘When he spurns’.

(24–25) I have restored, apart from Virolleaud’s reconstruction, the word *nhtnn*, on the basis of the parallel in II AB, viii, 20. The meaning is: ‘Banish him [i. e. Baal] from the throne of his kingship, depose him from the seat of his kingdom’.

(27) ‘[But in the end] he [Baal] will destroy thee’.

(28–32) In honour of Mot, and to celebrate the event of the determination of his name and destiny, El slaughters a sacrifice, that is, prepares a feast. The feast is described in the customary terms used in Ugaritic writings: ‘He slaughtered bulls and also sheep, he took oxen and fatlings, rams, calves a year old, skipping lambs and kids’.

#### COLUMN v

A–D. Compare above, V AB, vii, F–I and my commentary thereto. El gives his instructions to the servants whom he wishes to send to *Ktr-w-Hss* to ask him to put an end to the war.

F. *YH*. Like in Arabic, the vocative particle before the noun in the accusative;

mostly it is written in the Ugaritic texts simply as *y-*, attached to the following noun. But see my observations in my annotations on V AB, vii, line 14, regarding the practice of indicating a vowel at the end of a word.

G. It would seem that there is a request here similar to that of Baal

in V AB, iii, F-G, and *ibid.*, iv, R-S; see my notes *ad loc.* The formulation here, however, is somewhat different; the variant readings occur particularly among the words indicating the place where the speaker lives. The word *skt* may be interpreted in the sense of ‘my shelter’, ‘my abode’, if the letter *Samekh* of the Hebrew stem סכך is original, and the spelling with a *Śîn* is only a secondary form (see Ges.–Buhl). *grt* is apparently related to مغارة, סְעִירָה [‘cave’].

H–M. Compare above, the invitation of Baal to Anath in V AB, iii, H–M, and the repetition, with slight variations, *ibid.*, iv, T–AA, and my commentary thereon. Here, too, there are several differences, especially in the expressions describing the dwelling place of the speaker. The expression *gr ks dm* apparently refers to the cave (*gr*) hollowed beneath El’s abode, which the latter covers. El invites *Ktr-w-Hss* to a place that is hidden from sight and is suited to a secret conversation. It is impossible to conjecture what was written at the end of line 11 and of line 16. At all events, it is evident that line 11 concluded with an expression parallel to, and synonymous with, the nouns denoting the meeting-place.

N. *Ktr-w-Hss* replies to El’s emissaries. Between the preceding verses and this sentence we must understand that the messengers came before *Ktr-w-Hss* and repeated to him verbatim what they had been enjoined to say. Such abridgements occur at times in Ugaritic literature. Possibly these condensations were limited to the written texts, but when they were read in public the omissions were made good in accordance with the earlier narrative. In any case, it is impossible to suppose that it is the words of the emissaries that are given in this section and that El’s instructions came earlier in the part missing, because the words *hbr* and *ql* are apparently imperatives.

O–Q. The reply of *Ktr-w-Hss*. Compare the answer of Anath in V AB, iv, FF–HH, and my annotations *ad loc.* The sole difference between the two replies lies in the second member of verse P, in which occurs the word *hkp* [–. If the word here, as seems almost certain, is *hkp* [, the name of the land of Egypt, in which *Ktr-w-Hss* dwelt, we may conjecture that the sense of this line is somewhat like this: ‘Egypt I shall leave and come’.

R–T. *Ktr-w-Hss* journeys to the dwelling place of El and appears before him. All this is narrated in accordance with the usual formulation; compare above V AB, vi, B–C, and my commentary thereon. Here there is an innovation in verse R: *tk hrš[n]* (and so, too, *tk*



*hršn* in the following column, verse AA). Virolleaud explains *hršn* on the basis of Akkadian: ‘mountain’. But it appears more probable to give it, as in Hebrew, the signification: ‘wood’, ‘forest’ (so, also, *UH*, Glossary, 796).

(26) From here onwards only single letters are preserved, and no details can be established, except for the restoration *tr’ i[l ’abh]*, already proposed by Virolleaud. We may assume that *Ktr-w-Hss* acceded to El’s request.

#### COLUMN vi

A–E. I restored the text according to V AB, iii, C–G (see my commentary *ad loc.*) and in conformity with the continuation in this column, V–Z. El sends Anath a message similar to that which he sent *Ktr-w-Hss*.

F. Virolleaud completed the text according to V AB, iii, G–H.

G ff. to the end of line 13. In these fragmented lines the words that are intrinsically clear are but few: line 3: *wšt*–perhaps ‘and set [imperative fem. sing.]’; 5: [*i]qn’im*–‘sapphires’; 6: *š’u*, a form of the stem *nš’* [Hebrew: נָשָׂא] (‘lift up’); followed by *bqrb*–‘in the midst of; 9: *k’itl*–‘like a soul’, or ‘like a spirit’; 10: *l’ars*–‘to the earth’, or ‘from the earth’; 12: *t’tqn*–possibly, ‘they shall pass’.

U. *’INBB*. Signifies to ‘enter’; compare above, p. 138.

V–Z. Compare my commentary on V AB, iii, C–H.

AA. Anath does not reply to the messengers, but journeys to El’s abode (on the formulation, see my annotations to the preceding column, verses R–T).

BB. The book in El’s hand is apparently the Book of Destinies of the gods. Anath refers here to the determination of destinies in this book when she speaks to her father. The two eroded letters after the word *bym]nk* belonged, it seems, to a word synonymous with book.

### III.

#### THE PARALLEL FRAGMENTS

#### DESCRIPTION OF THE FRAGMENTS

In one of the issues of the periodical *Syria*,<sup>1</sup> Virolleaud published two poetic passages, which he found written on two fragmentary tablets, the remains, it appears, of a single tablet. Virolleaud noted that the contents of this tablet (which he designates RS 5180) may be regarded as another recension of an incident related in Tablet V AB or as another episode of that myth. As will be seen later, the first hypothesis is correct: we have here another version of the account of Anath's actions, which are described in the second section of Tablet V AB.

On one of the two fragments there remain only the ends of the lines on one side, while the text on the other side is completely destroyed. The position is reversed in the second fragment, where the beginnings of the verses are preserved, not only on both sides but also on the bottom edge.

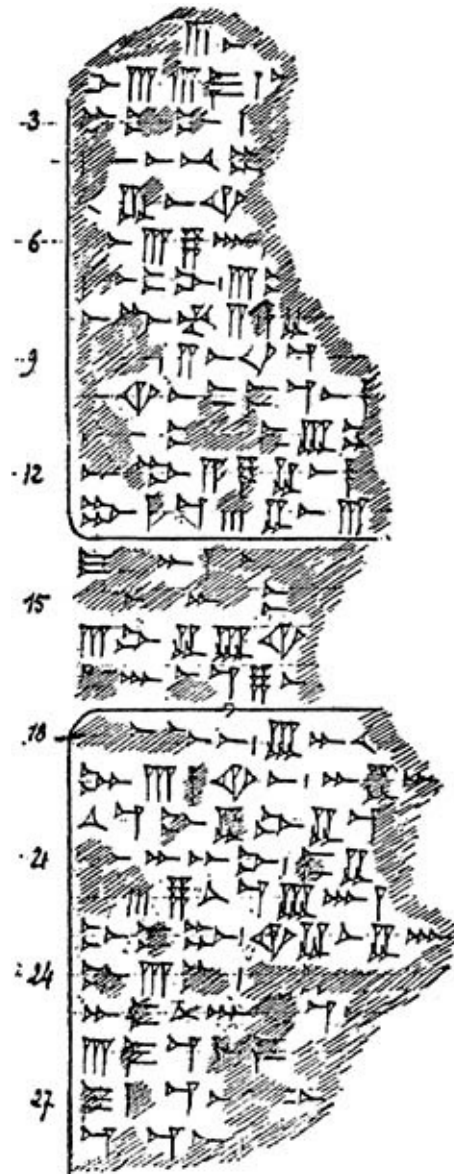
Facsimiles of the two fragments published by Virolleaud in the aforementioned issue of *Syria* appear on pp. 176–177.

The script of this tablet is somewhat different from that which is usually found in the tablets of the Ugaritic epic poems; the divergence is particularly noticeable in the form of the 'Ayin (see facsimile B, line 9).

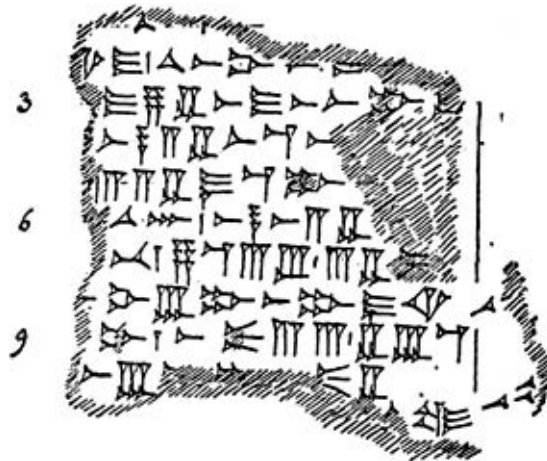
Comparison with the contents of Tablet V AB shows that the fragment designated by Virolleaud A (which contains the beginnings of the lines) came after that marked B (containing the ends of verses). Hence I shall call the text on the broken tablet designated by Virolleaud B, the first fragment; and the text on the piece that he calls A, the second fragment. Since we have established that the first fragment preceded the one that extends over both sides of the tablet, it follows that the first fragment belongs to the obverse side. It is further possible to conclude, as will immediately become apparent, that the tablet was not divided into columns, but, being of relatively small dimensions, its writing ran from the left edge up to the right. Accordingly, the initial lines of the second fragment, which is inscribed on each side, belong to the obverse like the first fragment.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. XXIV, Nos. 1–2 (1944–1945), pp. 12–14.





A



B

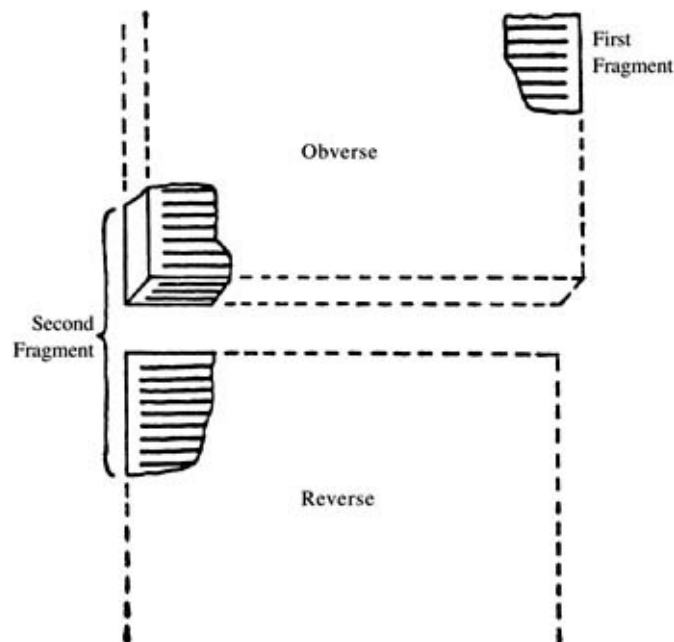
Figs. 4–5. To the left is a facsimile of the fragment designated by Virolleaud A, and here above is a reproduction of the fragment designated by him B. Fragment A contains the beginnings of the lines (the Ugaritic text is to be read from left to right), and fragment B preserves the ends of the lines.

The reasons for assuming that this tablet was written in a single column only on both sides are as follows:

(1) The length of the lines, as the restorations prove, was far greater than is normal for lines in tablets divided into many columns (lines of comparable length are to be found only in Tablet III AB, which at most consisted of two columns on each side, and possibly it, too, had one column only).

(2) The beginnings of the lines of the second fragment (which constituted the last on the obverse and the first on the reverse) extend, as we see from Virolleaud's facsimile, as far as the left edge of the tablet. Now if the tablet were divided into columns, the position of the last column on the obverse and of the first column on the reverse would be on the right of the tablet (see the diagram of Tablet VI AB given above, p. 158) and the commencement of their lines would not be on the extreme left of the tablet.

The position of the fragments in the tablet was apparently as shown in the following diagram:



## FIRST FRAGMENT

This fragment, as we have stated, contains only the last part of several verses, and this part, too, suffers from lacunae. In each line Virolleaud restored two or three letters; but on the basis of the parallel passages in Tablet V AB it is possible to restore much more, and to achieve a complete reconstruction of most of the lines. I suggest the following reconstruction:

Virolleaud's sigla: RŠ 5180, B

|    |                                      |
|----|--------------------------------------|
| 1  | -----                                |
| 2  | [- — — šnst kpt bḥb]šh 'tkr r' išt   |
| 3  | [lbmth whin 'nt lhklh tm]gy bth f'rb |
| 4  | [ybmt l'imm wlšb't tm]tḥṣ b'mq       |
| 5  | tḥṣb t' r tḥnt] lšb' im k[s'at       |
| 6  | [lmhr hdmm lgzrm wt]'n tḥṣb [wtḥdy   |
| 7  | ['nt tgdđ kbdh bṣḥ]q yml' u lbh      |
| 8  | [bšmḥt k tḥth k]kdr̄t r' išt         |
| 9  | ['lh k' irbym kp k br]k tgl̄l bdm    |
| 10 | [šmr -----] td— gb                   |
| 11 | [- -----] s                          |

This is the translation of the fragment, according to the reconstruction that I have suggested:

| <i>Hebrew translation</i>   |            | <i>English translation</i>   |
|---|------------|--|
| -----   |            | -----  |
| כפות שנסקה על חגורתה,<br>תלתה ראשים על גבה.<br>והנה ענת להיכלה הניעה,<br>באה לביתה יבמת לאמים<br>ולשבקה תמחז', בחזק תחצב. | A<br><br>B | She fastens hands on her girdle<br>she hangs heads on her back.<br>And lo, Anath reaches her<br>palace,<br>the Mother of Nations<br>comes to her house,<br>and unto satiety she de-<br>stroys, mightily she cuts<br>in pieces. |
| תטיל שלחנות על צבאים,<br>כסאות על מהירים,<br>הדמים על גבורים.<br>ותען: תחצב ותחדה ענת,                                    | C<br><br>D | She casts tables upon troops,<br>chairs upon fast ones,<br>footstools upon heroes.<br>And she says: 'Anath hews in<br>pieces and rejoices,   |

|   |   |   |
|---|---|---|
| יִמְלֵא שִׂמְחָה לְבָבָהּ,<br>כִּי תַחְתֶּיהָ רֵאשִׁים כְּכַדּוּרִים, | E | her heart is filled with joy,<br>for beneath her are heads like<br>balls, |
| עָלֶיהָ כַּפּוֹת יָדַיִם כְּאַרְבֵּהּ,                                |   | upon her are hands like<br>locusts,                                       |
| כִּי טָבְלָה בְּרַגְלֶיהָ בְּדָם הַמְּקַלִּים                         | F | for she plunges her knees in<br>the blood of fast ones,                   |

*Line 3.* The first letter in the line—that is, the letter before the *Yôdh*—is according to Virolleaud *He'*; but from the context it is evidently *Gayin*. The shape of this letter is very similar to that of *He'*. *Line 5.* The letter after the word *lsb'im* Virolleaud regards as an eroded *Rêš*; but the parallels in Tablet V AB make it possible to presume that it is *Kaph*, which resembles the letter *Rêš*.

All this corresponds to what we have already read in the Second Section of Tablet V AB, verses F–N (above, pp. 86–89); see my commentary *ad loc.* When we compare the two passages in detail, we see that their theme is essentially the same, only the formulation being slightly different. In general, the recension of this fragment is shorter; but in verse E there is an expansion, being a repetition not found in the parallel passage in Tablet V AB. There are also divergences in the sequence of the narrative. In verse A, for example, the cola are arranged in reverse order to that in Tablet V AB, ii, F. There are also variations in the use of synonyms; thus, for instance, in line 3 here the verb *t'rb* occurs in place of the synonymous verb *tšql* in Tablet V AB. And so forth. The inferences to be drawn from these and similar differences, I shall discuss further on, after we have studied the Second Fragment.

## SECOND FRAGMENT

In this fragment, unlike the first, we find the beginnings of lines, which can be completed only in part, on the basis of the parallels in V AB. The following represents what we can read and what we can restore in the light of the parallel passages.

|                                |         |   |
|--------------------------------|---------|---|
| Virolleaud's sigla: RŠ 5180, A |         |   |
| 1                              | - - l[  | ] |
| 2                              | kl' ih[ | ] |
| 3                              | kpr     | ] |

|    |                                       |   |
|----|---------------------------------------|---|
| 4  | [w]tqr[                               | ] |
| 5  | 'd tš[                                | ] |
| 6  | klyn[                                 | ] |
| 7  | - pk l [                              | ] |
| 8  | trhš yd[                              | ] |
| 9  | -- št šm[                             | ] |
| 10 | - št p̄m th[                          | ] |
| 11 | [yd] pdr [y bt 'ar 'ahbt tly bt rb dd | ] |
| 12 | 'aršy bt y['bdr km ḡlmm w'rbn         | ] |
| 13 | rgm lbt[ t 'nt tny lybmt l'imm        | ] |
| 14 | h[                                    | ] |
| 15 | ----- [sk šim lkbd 'arš 'arb dd]      | ] |
| 16 | lkbd š[dm ḥšk 'šk 'bšk 'my p'nk tls   | ] |
| 17 | [m]n [']my t[wth 'isdk dm-----        | ] |
| 18 | -- kt d'a' [------ rgm 'š             | ] |
| 19 | wlḥšt 'abn [r'ant šmm 'm 'arš thmt    | ] |
| 20 | 'm kkbm ['abn brq dl td' šmm 'atm     | ] |
| 21 | [w]'ank 'ib[ḡyh                       | ] |
| 22 | - ly 'm dn ḡ[                         | ] |
| 23 | kpr šb' bn[t                          | ] |
| 24 | kl[                                   | ] |
| 25 | 'a -- n - m [                         | ] |
| 26 | l'im[m] - 'i[                         | ] |
| 27 | 'ilm[                                 | ] |
| 28 | m - m [                               | ] |

Lines 1–10 may have contained an episode corresponding to the part wanting in Tablet V AB between the Second Section and the Third, but we must be careful to avoid conjectural restorations that cannot be well grounded. Although it may appear feasible, as Virolleaud thought, to compare line 3 with V AB, ii, line 2 (*kpr šb' bnt*), and line 4 with line 4 *ibid.* (*wtqry glmm*, etc.), and similarly line 5 with line 29 *ibid.* (*'d tšb' tmths*, etc.), and line 8 with 32 *ibid.* (*trhs ydh*, etc.), nevertheless in the circumstances the more cautious one is the better. Lines 11–21 parallel, it seems, V AB, iii, lines 3–26, and on this basis I have endeavoured to restore some of the verses. Nevertheless, I am somewhat hesitant in determining the details.

In lines 21–28 the position is again hopeless. Although in line 23 there recur the words found in V AB, ii, 2 (*kpr šb' bnt*), yet here, too it is necessary to avoid hasty conjectures.

Below I give a translation of the lines or fragmentary lines that I have attempted to restore.

On these verses, see above, my commentary on V AB, iii.

The passages marked by horizontal lines it is not possible to reconstruct. Apparently the great majority of them had a different text from that found in the parallel passages in Tablet V AB.

| <i>Hebrew translation</i>  | <i>English translation</i>  |
|--|---|
| <p>חֶשֶׁק פִּדְרֵי בַת אַר,<br/> אֶהְבֶּת טְלֵי בַת רַב,<br/> דוֹרֵי אַרְצֵי בַת יַעֲבֹדֵר.</p>  | <p>The desire of Pdry daughter of 'Ar<br/> love of Ṭly daughter of Rb<br/> affection of 'Arṣy daughter of<br/> Y'bdr.</p>   |
| <p>הִכְנָסוּ, נְעָרִים, וּבֹאוּ-נָא;<br/> כֹּה תֹאמְרוּ לְבַתּוּלָה עֲנַת<br/> וּתְגִידוּ לִיקְסַת לְאֲמִים:</p>   | <p>Come together, O lads, and enter,<br/> pray;<br/> Thus shall ye say to the Virgin<br/> Anath,<br/> declare to the Mother of<br/> Nations.</p>  |
| -----  |   |
| <p>נִסְכֵי שְׁלוֹם בְּקֶרֶב הָאָרֶץ,<br/> הֲרַבִּי אֶהְבֶּה בְּקֶרֶב שָׂדוֹת,<br/> חֲשָׁבִי עֲצָד, חֲרַבְךָ הַשִּׁיבִי,<br/> תִּרְצָנָה פְּעָמַיִךְ אֵלַי,<br/> תִּמְהַרְנָה רַגְלֶיךָ לְמַעוֹנִי.</p> | <p>Pour forth peace in the midst of<br/> the earth,<br/> increase love in the midst of<br/> the fields,<br/> spare thy rod, put back thy<br/> sword,<br/> let thy feet run to me,<br/> let thy legs hasten to my abode.</p>             |
| -----  |   |
| <p>דְּבַר עֵצִים וּלְחִישַׁת אֲבָנִים,<br/> שִׁיחַת שָׁמַיִם עִם אָרֶץ,<br/> תְּהוֹמוֹת עִם בּוֹקְבִים,<br/> אֲבָנֵי בָרָק, שָׁמַיִם לֹא יָדְעוּ.<br/> בּוֹאֵי-נָא, וְאֲנֹכִי אֶסְפְּרָהוּ.</p>        | <p>A word of trees and a whisper of<br/> stones,<br/> converse of heaven with earth,<br/> of the deeps with the stars,<br/> of stones of lightning, incom-<br/> prehensible to the heavens.<br/> Come, pray, and I shall relate it,</p> |
| -----  |   |

These two fragments are very important in that they enlighten us on the structure of the various recensions in Ugaritic literature. We learn from them not only the intrinsic fact that there existed in Ugarit

various versions of the epic poems, which corresponded to each other in content, but also the nature of the differences between one recension and another in the order of the subject-matter, in the use of synonyms, in the considerable expansion found in some passage and the condensation in others, and so forth. We find a similar pattern in other Eastern literatures, for example, in the Akkadian writings,<sup>2</sup> and it should be possible for one literature to instruct us concerning another in this respect. We could also benefit by a detailed investigation of this feature for the study of the Bible.

<sup>2</sup> In the sphere of Hittite literature, H. Otten has dealt with the existence of various recensions of the myth of Telepinus (*Die Überlieferung des Telepinu-Mythus*, Leipzig 1942).

NOTE: Many of the interpretations that I originated in my earlier articles on Tablet V AB have been accepted by Ginsberg in his translation of the text in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts* (ed. by Pritchard), Princeton 1950.

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\* Passages cited without any new interpretation are not included here. For symbols of Ugaritic tablets see pp. 16–17.

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\* Most of the non-English articles mentioned here will be published shortly, in English translation, in a collection of Cassuto's essays.

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