

THE GODDESSES OF UGARIT: A SURVEY

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1. INTRODUCTION

It would seem that no separate study of all the goddesses attested in the texts from Ugarit and Ras Ibn Hani has yet been attempted¹ although there have been several surveys within lengthier works². The present contribution is no more than a brief reassessment, showing the evidence so far available and the conclusions reached, with appropriate bibliography³. Certain restrictions determine the presentation here. Only the evidence from the Ugaritic texts themselves will be discussed, with little or no reference to possible kindred goddesses in other religious traditions (e.g. of Mesopotamia or Phoenicia)⁴ though this is not to deny the significance of comparative studies. Second, no attempt will be made to simplify by equating one goddess with another (e.g. *qdš* and *atrt*⁵ or *atrt* and the sun-goddess⁶) although undoubtedly a degree of assimilation was already attested in the Ugaritic texts.

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- 1 P. Amiet, *Déeses d'Ugarit au XIVe siècle*: AAAS, 29-30 (1979-80), pp. 163-66; M. Hörig, *Dea Syria: Studien zur religiösen Tradition der Fruchtbarkeitsgöttin in Vorderasien* (AOAT 108), 1979; C. Schaeffer, *El, Elat et Asherah*, in A. Caquot - M. Philonenko (eds), *Hommages à A. Dupont-Sommer*, Paris 1971, pp. 137-49; J.G. Taylor, *The Song of Deborah and Two Canaanite Goddesses*: JSOT, 23 (1982), pp. 99-108; W.A. Ward, *La déesse nourricière d'Ugarit: Syria*, 46 (1969), pp. 225-39; U. Winter, *Frau und Göttin*, Göttingen/Freiburg im B. 1983. Also G. del Olmo Lete, *Figuras femeninas en la mitología y la épica del Antiguo Oriente*, in G. del Olmo Lete et al. (eds), *La dona en l'antiguitat*, Sabadell 1987, pp. 7-25.
 - 2 F.O. Hvidberg-Hansen, *La déesse TNT. Une étude sur la religion cananéenne-punique*, Copenhagen 1979, I, pp. 67-112; Notes: II, pp. 67-155. M.J. Dahood, *Ancient Semitic Deities in Syria and Palestine*, in S. Moscati (ed.), *Le antiche divinità semitiche*, Roma 1958, pp. 65-94 (Asherah [p. 80], Anath [pp. 80-81], Shapash [pp. 90-91]).
 - 3 Note that unless preceded by RIH all texts cited are from KTU. Only passing reference is made to the syllabic texts.
 - 4 This will be reflected in the bibliography which would otherwise become too unwieldy.
 - 5 J.C. de Moor - K. Spronk: UF, 14 (1982), p. 182 and n. 8. See B. Margalit, *The Meaning and Significance of Asherah*: VT, 40 (1990), pp. 291-92. Hvidberg-Hansen, *TNT*, pp. 73f.
 - 6 E. Lipiński, *The Goddess Atirat in Ancient Arabia, in Babylon, and in Ugarit. Her relation to the moon-god and the sun-goddess*: OLP, 3 (1972), pp. 101-19.

Further, there will be only brief reference to goddesses in lists and offering lists and the aspect of iconography is not considered here⁷.

The information collected here is, of course, dependent on analysis and interpretation of the texts themselves, but unfortunately several texts, notably 1.13 (discussed briefly below), still remain obscure. On the other hand, correct understanding of certain texts and passages eliminates some items previously considered as relevant. The most striking example is 1.96 which, though repeatedly used in discussions of Anat has been demonstrated as having nothing to do with that goddess⁸. In addition, several entries, previously identified as goddesses, can no longer be included.

In the case of foreign deities, Sumerian, Hittite, Hurrian, etc., it is difficult to determine whether they and/or their cult were simply borrowed into Ugaritic religion or whether there was some degree of adaptation. For the sake of completeness they have been included⁹.

2. THE PRINCIPAL GODDESSES

There are four main goddesses and they all feature in the narrative mythology of Ugarit and in its ritual texts.

Anat

Several suggestions regarding etymology have been made¹⁰ but Lambert comments: «The name Anat (contrary to some Ugaritologists who from time to time think up an etymology based on her character) is the same as the Mari Ḫanât, the goddess of Ḫana, Ḫana being the name of an Amorite nomadic group»¹¹.

⁷ See M.-T. Barrelet, *Les déesses armées et ailées. Syria*, 32 (1955), pp. 222ff. A. Caquot - M. Szymer, *Ugaritic Religion*, Leiden 1980, pp. 13-14; O. Keel - C. Uhlinger, *Göttinnen, Götter und Gottessymbole: Neue Erkenntnisse zur Religionsgeschichte Kanaans und Israels aufgrund unerschlossener ikonographischer Quellen* (Quaestiones Disputatae, 134), Freiburg, Basel and Wien 1992 [reference courtesy S.A. Wiggins, unseen by me]; O. Negbi, *Canaanite Gods in Metal: an Archaeological Study of Ancient Syro-Palestinian Figurines*, Tel Aviv 1976; D. Parayke, *Les cachets ouest-sémitiques à travers l'image du disque solaire ailé* (Perspective iconographique): *Syria*, 67 (1990), pp. 269-315; N. Wyatt, *The Stela of the Seated God from Ugarit*: UF, 15 (1983), pp. 271-77.

⁸ See now G. del Olmo Lete, *Un conjuro ugarítico contra el "mal ojo" (KTU 1.96): Anuario de filología*, 15 (1992), pp. 7-16.

⁹ J.C. de Moor, *The Semitic Pantheon of Ugarit*: UF, 2 (1970), pp. 187-228, does not include non-Semitic deities. As yet no temple to a goddess has been discovered at Ras Shamra although the texts mention the temple of Ilat (1.41:24).

¹⁰ For surveys see Hvidberg-Hansen, *TNT*, pp. 103-105; TOu I, p. 87, n. 1.

¹¹ W.G. Lambert, *Old Testament Mythology in its Ancient Near Eastern Context* (VTS, 40), Leiden 1988, pp. 124-43 (p. 132). He adds «Thus she may well have been introduced into Syria and Mesopotamia by the Amorites» (pp. 132 f.). See also J.-M. Durand: SEL, 8 (1991), pp. 92 f. on *mu-ut-ḫa-na*.

Her epithets are *btl̄t*, usually rendered «virgin» (but see below), *št*, «lady»¹² and *ybmt limm*, «widow of the peoples» or «widow of the god Lim»¹³. Possibly, in view of 1.13 where *limm* occurs alone, *ybmt limm* are two juxtaposed titles¹⁴. In 1.108:6 she is described as «Dame of royalty, dame of sovereignty, dame of the skies above, Anat of *kpt*¹⁵ and Anat who hovers in the skies above»¹⁶. Other titles for this goddess are *hbly*, «Destroyer»¹⁷, *hlš* «Ruinous»¹⁸ and *ʿnt špn* «Anath of Šapon»¹⁹. Like Atbartu's, her beauty is fabled (1.4 iii 41). She is winged and has horns (1.10 ii 10.21-22)²⁰. Her home appears to be the mountains Inbb and Uġr.

She is portrayed in the mythological texts as a doughty warrior, enacting a strange combat (1.3 ii 3-30). Her proficiency in battle is legendary and she boasts of defeating *ym*, *nhr*, *tnn*, *bṭn* *ʿqltn*, *šlyt d šbʿt rašm*, *arš*, *ʿtk*, *išt*, and *ḏbb* (1.3 iii 38-47)²¹. In the Aqht Tale, she sees the famous composite bow, sets her heart on getting it and after obtaining Ilu's acquiescence by threats, she plots an attack on Aqhatu, using Yatpanu, though in the process loses the bow, apparently.

Although much has been written about this goddess²², recent study has provided new ways of assessing her role. In two papers Day has argued that Anat is not a

12 Hardly «Sutean» as proposed by B. Margalit, *The Ugaritic Poem of AQHT* (BZAW 182), Berlin 1989, pp. 337-40.

13 Surveys: TOu I, pp. 90-92; de Moor: UF, 1 (1969), p. 183.

14 Herdner in TOu I, pp. 91 f. Cf. AHW, 1565a for Akk. *yabamu*. On the epithet *ṫm* see below.

15 Perhaps «helmet»; cf. Urart. *kubuše*, «helmet», a loanword from Akk. *kubšu* as proposed by M. Salvini, *Una nuova iscrizione urartea*: Or, 60 (1991), p. 345.

16 For bibliography on 1.108 see D. Pardee, *Les textes paramythologiques de la 24e campagne (1961)* (RSO, 4), Paris 1988, pp. 75 f.; TOu II, pp. 111-18. Hvidberg-Hansen, *TNT*, pp. 95-97 exaggerates in describing Anat as a celestial goddess.

17 1.39:17; 1.102:11. Xella, TRU I, p. 80. De Tarragon, *Culte*, p. 171, prefers a toponymic here.

18 1.109:25; cf. Xella, TRU I, p. 54: «della devastazione».

19 1.46:17; 1.109:17.36; 1.130:13. P. Bordreuil, *La déesse ʿAnat et les sources du Šapon*, in *Techniques et pratiques hydro-agricoles traditionnelles en domaine irrigué. Approche pluridisciplinaire des modes de culture avant la motorisation en Syrie. Actes du Colloque de Damas (27 juin - 1er juillet 1987)*, Paris 1990, II, pp. 257-69 explains *ʿnt špn* (1.46:17; 1.109:13-14.17) as «the spring(s) of Šapon» and *ʿnt slh* (RIH 77/10B+22:9) as «the spring(s) of S.». However, on *slh* see below.

20 She is described as *anšt* (1.3 v 27): either «you are inexorable» or «you are like men».

21 See N. Wyatt, *Who killed the dragon?*: AuOr, 5 (1987), pp. 185-98, esp. pp. 188f.

22 R.D. Barnett, *ʿAnath, Baʿal and Pasargadac*: MUSJ, 45 (1969), pp. 405-22; Id., *The Earliest Representation of ʿAnath*: EI, 14 (1978), pp. 28*-31*; C.H. Bowman, *The Goddess ʿAnatu in the Ancient Near East* (PhD Berkeley 1978); P.C. Craigie, *Deborah and Anat: a Study of Poetic Imagery (Judges 5)*: ZAW, 90 (1978), pp. 374-81; E.W. Eaton, *The Goddess Anat: The History of her Cult, her Mythology and her Iconography* (PhD Yale 1964; cf. DissAbAi 30 [1969/70] 1540-A); A. Kapelrud, *The Violent Goddess: Anat in the Ras Shamra Texts*, Oslo 1969; S.E. Loewenstamm, *Anat's Victory over the Tunnanu*: JSS, 20 (1975), pp. 22-27; M. Pope, *The Goddess Anat and Kali: Proceedings of the Twenty-Sixth International Congress of Orientalists (New Delhi, 4-10th January)*, II. ACIO 26/2, 1968, p. 51 [unavailable to me]. Also TOu I, pp. 85-92; del Olmo Lete, MLC, pp. 70-72. Note that in spite of its title U. Cassuto, *The Goddess Anath*, Jerusalem 1971, is really an edition of the Baal Epic.

fertility goddess but besides being a warrior and a hunter she is also «mistress of animals»²³. She is portrayed as a warrior and she also hunts²⁴ which she can do because she is a *btlt*, permanently on the threshold of adolescence and so never fully a woman²⁵. This would explain her apparent androgynous character²⁶. She is, besides, the mistress of animals for which evidence is provided by 1.10 and 1.11 where she arranges for the increase of the herd²⁷. The same applies perhaps in 1.13 where, if *agzrt*²⁸ is to be understood as «herds» on the basis of Syriac²⁹, Anat blesses the herd which then gives birth³⁰.

She acts as an intermediary between the gods, going to Ilu on Baal's behalf to ask for a palace (1.3 iv 46ff.). She searches for Baal, finds his corpse (1.5 vi 25-31) and with Shapshu's help, mourns and buries him (1.6 i 2-18). Then she looks for Motu and destroys that god (1.6 ii 26-37). In fact, by defeating Motu she made Baal's resurrection possible³¹. In 1.114:26'-28', acting with Athtartu, she appears to be a healing goddess³².

She is also mentioned in the ritual texts³³ and in the paramythological texts³⁴.

23 For the corresponding «Master of animals» cf. S. Langdon, *The Return of the Horse-Leader*: AJA, 93 (1989), pp. 185-201. 199.

24 However, see K. Reiter, *Falknerci in Ugarit*: UF, 22 (1990), pp. 271-78, for arguments against Anat having used Yatpan as a trained falcon.

25 P.L. Day, *Why is Anat a Warrior and Hunter?*, in D. Jobling et al. (ed.), *The Bible and the Politics of Exegesis*, Cleveland 1991, pp. 141-46 and 329-32 (= notes). Id., *Anat: Ugarit's «Mistress of Animals»*: JNES, 51 (1992), pp. 181-90.

26 M. Dijkstra - J.C. de Moor, *Problematical Passages in the Legend of Aqhatu*: UF, 7 (1975), p. 193; S.E. Löwenstamm, *Did the Goddess Anat Wear Side-Whiskers and a Beard?*: UF, 14 (1982), pp. 119-23.

27 There is no explicit reference to Anat mating with Baal in this text, as Day, «Mistress of Animals», p. 186, n. 47, has reminded us in detail.

28 Line 29, and line 30 if *azrt* is a mistake for *agzrt*.

29 A. Caquot, *Remarques sur la tablette ougaritique RS 1929 N° 6 (CTA 13)*: EI, 14 (1978), p. 18*; TOu II, p. 26 and n. 35.

30 See Day, «Mistress of Animals», p. 186; TOu II, p. 20.

31 Pardee, *Les Textes*, p. 101.

32 Pardee, *Les Textes*, p. 67; he cites parallels in Egyptian and Greek. In his review of Pardee's book (JAOS, 111 [1991], pp. 833-36) A. Cooper proposes a different interpretation of text 1.114. Yarihu either admits familiar spirits to the banquet or hits the rejects with a stick. One of these tries to gain entry by bribing Anat and Athtart with meat but Yarihu rebukes all parties concerned.

33 1.27:2; 1.39:7; 1.41:10.16; 1.46:5; 1.47:21; 1.87:12.17; 1.110:7; 1.116:17; 1.118:20; 1.148:7; RIH 77/10B:11.13.

34 1.100:20; 1.101:16'; 1.107:39'; 1.108:6.8; 1.114:9.11.22.26'.

Attartu

Since this goddess has been studied elsewhere³⁵ there is no need for detailed discussion here³⁶.

Aṭiratu³⁷

The etymology of *aṭrt* is disputed³⁸. In the syntagma *aṭrt ym* it is accepted as meaning «she who treads upon sea/Yammu»³⁹. Margalit has proposed the meaning «wife, consort» for *aṭrt*, literally «following-in-the footsteps of»⁴⁰, which is attractive but finds little support in cognate languages. It is safer, for the moment, to accept either the meaning «she who treads» or, perhaps, «goddess», on a par with Akk. *ištaru*⁴¹ especially in view of the word pair *aṭrt // ilt*⁴². Her epithet of *rbt* may mean «queen-mother(-to-be)» as argued by Gordon⁴³.

She is the consort of Ilu, has seventy sons (1.4 vi 46) and the title *qnyt ilm*, «creatress of the gods» (1.4 iii 35 etc.). Like Anat she is famed for her beauty (*tsm* 1.14 iii 42 // vi 27-28). Though not mentioned in *Aqht* and in *Krt* she appears as suckling Yšb (1.15 ii 26) - a function she also exercises in respect of the «Gracious gods» in 1.23-24 - and in connection with Kirta's vow (see below). In the Baal Cycle she is more active, journeying by ass to where Ilu lives to intercede on Baal's behalf after being suitably bribed (1.4 iii-v). She in turn is involved in appointing a successor to Baal (A.6 i).

The relationship of Asherah with the sea is quite strong although she is only portrayed at its margins. Her title is *rbt aṭrt ym*; she is pictured laundering clothes on

35 C. Bonnet, *Astarté*, Collezione di Studi Fenici, Roma 1994 (in press).

36 Note also S.A. Wiggins, *Athirat, Asherah, Ashratu. A Reassessment According to the Textual Sources* (unpublished thesis, Edinburgh 1992).

37 Additional recent bibliography: M. Dietrich - O. Loretz, «Jahwe und seine Aschera». *Anthropomorphes Kulbild in Mesopotamien, Ugarit und Israel. Das biblische Bildverbot* (UBL 9), Münster 1992, esp. pp. 125-33. Also M.B. Brink, *A Philological Study of Texts in Connection with Aṭtart and Aṭiratu in the Ugaritic Language* (DLitt Stellenbosch 1977); S.A. Wiggins, *The Myth of Asherah: Lion Lady and Serpent Goddess* : UF, 23 (1991), pp. 383-94; T. Yamashita, *The Goddess Asherah*, Yale 1963.

38 Surveys: E. Lipiński, *The Goddess Aṭirat*, cit., p. 111; TOU I, pp. 69f. See also next footnote.

39 W.F. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, Baltimore 1946², pp. 77-78. De Moor, AOAT 16, p. 145 comments: «There are several indications that Aṭiratu was the goddess of the calm sea and thus the patroness of the fishermen and sailors».

40 Margalit, *Asherah*, pp. 272-74. 284.

41 AHW, 399b-400a; CAD, I/J, 271b-74.

42 1.3 v 36-37 // 1.4 iv 48-50; to be restored in 1.4 i 6-8; and 1.15 iii 25-26. Its counterpart in Akkadian has gone unnoticed. It occurs (in reverse sequence) in the Middle Assyrian version of the «Descent of Ishtar», 1-2 as *iltum // ištar* (LKA 62 rev. 10-11). The lines with this unusual pairing are: *ana iltum bēlti [qaq]qiri rabītu / ana ištar āšibat qirbi irkalla*, «To the GODDESS, Mistress of the Great Earth, to the ISHTAR who resides in the midst of Irkalla». Both in the Ugaritic and the Akkadian texts the components of the word pair have titles attached.

43 C.H. Gordon, *Ugaritic RBT / RABĪTU*, in L. Eslinger - G. Taylor (eds), *Ascribe to the Lord. Biblical & Other Studies in Memory of Peter C. Craigie*, Sheffield 1988, pp. 127-32.

the seashore (1.4 ii 1-9); she commands a fisherman (*dgy*) to use a net (*rtt*) in the sea (1.4 ii 30ff.). She is also termed *atrt šrm*, «A. of the Tyrians» // *ilt šdynm*, «goddess of the Sidonians» (1.14 iv 34-36 // 39-40 in the context of Kirta's vow)⁴⁴ and the maritime connection is obvious⁴⁵. Additional association with the sea is supplied by 1.23, esp. lines 23-24. She, too, is mentioned in the ritual texts⁴⁶.

Kaṭiratu⁴⁷

The epithets of this «group» (*hbl*, 1.10 ii 30; 1.11:6) of goddesses are *bnt hll snnt*, «daughters of Brightness, swallows»⁴⁸ and *bnt hll b' l gml*, «daughters of Brightness, Lord of the Crescent Moon» (1.24:41-42) and they feature largely in 1.24 as handmaidens to Nikkal. They are seven in number and appear to have the names *Tlḥhw*, *Mlghy*, *Bq' t*, *Tq' t*, *Prbhṭ* and *Dmqt* though some scholars understand these as common nouns⁴⁹. In both *Aqht* (1.17 ii 26 ff.) and 1.24 they are connected with child-birth⁵⁰ and they also appear in the ritual texts⁵¹.

Shapshu⁵²

The spelling *špš*, also used in south Arabic, derives from *šmš*⁵³ and the gender in Ugaritic is feminine. She is called *um phlt*, «the mother of the Mare»⁵⁴ (who is herself

⁴⁴ See J.W. Betlyon, *The Cult of 'Ašerah/'Elat at Sidon*: JNES, 44 (1985), pp. 53-56.

⁴⁵ Though Wyatt, *Who killed the Dragon?*, pp. 185 f., and Margalit, *Ašerah*, pp. 271f., deny any such connection.

⁴⁶ 1.39:7; 1.41:15; 1.49:3; 1.112:24; 1.148:7.31; *b' l w atrt*: 1.46:8.

⁴⁷ B. Margalit, *Lexicographical Notes on the Aqht Epic (Part I: KTU 1.17-18)*: UF, 15 (1983), pp. 74-76, with additional bibliography. Also, Pardee, *Ugaritic Bibliography*: AfO, 34 (1987), p. 407.

⁴⁸ 1.23: 15.40-41; also 1.17 ii 31 etc. «Shining-ones», according to Margalit, *Notes*, pp. 75-76. In *Pocm*, p. 286 he comments: «This association of the KTRT with the moon-crescent - also cleverly evoked by the predicate SNNT with its unmistakable echo of the Su.-Bab. moon-god SIN - is but a figurative way of linking them with the female menstrual cycle, roughly equivalent to the lunar month». With due reserve, a connection between Ug. *snnt* and Akk. *sūnu*, «sexual parts» is also a possibility.

⁴⁹ For *tlḥhw* cf. Akk. *šalāḥu*, «to retrieve, salvage» (CAD Š/1, 194); and Hurr. *šilalluḥi*, female profession (GLH, 231); for *mlghw* cf. Akk. *mulugu*, Mishnaic Heb. *m'log*, «dowry». Cf. TOu I, pp. 396f. and nn. g, h, i, j, k and l; Margalit, *Pocm*, p. 285, n. 2.

⁵⁰ In U 5, p. 45 (RS 20.24): 12^d *sa-sú-ra-tum*, «birth-goddesses» corresponds to *kt[r]t* in KTU 1.118:12; cf. Astour, *Hellenosemitica*, Leiden 1964, p. 389 and J. Healey, *The Akkadian «Pantheon» List from Ugarit*: SEL, 2 (1985), pp. 115-25, esp. p. 120.

⁵¹ 1.47:13; 1.118:12; 1.130:20-21; 1.148:5.25.

⁵² A. Caquot, *La divinité solaire ougaritique: Syrie*, 36 (1959), pp. 90-101; M.J. Mulder, *Hat man in Ugarit die Sonnenwende begangen?*: UF, 4 (1972), pp. 79-96.

⁵³ C. Bonnet, *Le dieu solaire Shamash dans le monde phénico-punique*: SEL, 6 (1989), pp. 97-115 explains: «La forme *špš* résulte d'une évolution de *šmš* > **šmpš* > *špš* de sorte que le lien génétique entre les deux formes est incontestable» (p. 108, n. 1). See now E. Lipiński, *Le culte du Soleil chez les Sémites Occidentaux du I^{er} millénaire av. J.C.*: OLP, 22 (1991), pp. 57-72, esp. pp. 57-58. For Sapysetalôn see M.C. Astour, *Hellenosemitica*, p. 103.

⁵⁴ See Pardee, *Les textes*, pp. 204-206. B. Levine - J.-M. de Tarragon, «*Shapshu Cries out in Heaven*»: *Dealing with Snake-Bites at Ugarit (KTU 1.100, 1.107)*: RB, 95 (1988), p. 507

designated as *um p̄hl*), in 1.100, but her commonest epithet is *nrt ilm*, «lantern of the gods» (1.2 iii 15, etc.) with the variant *nyr ʔbt*, «good lamp», in 1.161:19⁵⁵. More enigmatic are *mšprt dlhtm* in 1.23⁵⁶ and *rmt prʔt*, perhaps «Exalted Princess»⁵⁷.

She is a daughter of Ilu and acts as intermediary between gods and men. She conducts souls to the underworld⁵⁸ and her main function in the myths is to look for Baal in the realm of the dead and lead him to Anat who replaces him on the throne. She acts on Ilu's orders, transmitted to her by Anat. She is a messenger, and in the texts dealing with snakebite, rounds up deities from distant locations and is involved in the healing process, which is not unusual for a solar deity⁵⁹. Lists of goddesses also feature *špš*⁶⁰.

3. LESSER GODDESSES

The Daughters of Baal

The three goddesses *aršy bt yʔbdr*, *ʔly bt rb* and *pdry bt ar* occur as a group⁶¹ and are designated *klt knyt*, «respectable brides»⁶². A fourth daughter is *ybrdmy* (1.24 29). Two other daughters, bringing the total to six, are *uzrʔt* and *bt ʔlh*. Since they are daughters of Baal, explanations of their names are based on an assumed connection with forms of precipitation (and fertility), but some of them may (also) be connected with the underworld.

comment: «It is unlikely that this indicates a mythological-familial relationship between the two. More likely, it represented a customary form of address».

55 Corresponding to *nyr šmm*, the epithet of Yariḫu.

56 Meanings: (1) «que se cuida de su debilidad»: del Olmo Lete, MLC, pp. 442.537.615, followed by T.L. Hetteema, «That it be repeated». A Narrative Analysis of KTU 1.23: JEOL, 31 (1989-90), p. 83: «who nurses their weakness». (2) «may pale Šapaš lead them»: Gibson, CML², pp. 124. 151. (3) «[the puppies of Shapshu/ the watch-dog at their door»: de Moor, ARTU, p. 122. (4) «Le soleil fait rougir leur treille []»: TOu I, p. 373 and n. w: *dli*: Arab. *daliyaʔ* «treille» - «Les vignes paraissent appartenir de droit aux "dieux gracieux" en vertu du rôle qu'ils jouent, pensons-nous, dans l'institution de l'agriculture». This last possibility suggests «trimming their "hair"», i.e. their tendrils. *mšprt* can be explained by Akk. *šcpēru*, «to strand/dress (hair), to trim away, etc.» (CAD Š, 132b-133; discussion section 133b: Arab. *ḏafara* to braid a woman's hair or rope; cf. *šapāru*, AHW, 1082a and *mušappirtu*, AHW, 678b: «die beschneidet, Friscuse?»).

57 See M.C. Korpel, *A Rift in the Clouds*, Münster 1990, pp. 274-75, with the references there; also del Olmo Lete, MLC, p. 612.

58 For the netherworld connection cf. Caquot, *La divinité*, p. 95; J. F. Healey, *The Sun Deity and the Underworld. Mesopotamia and Ugarit*, in B. Alster (ed.), *Death in Mesopotamia*, Copenhagen 1980, pp. 239-42; T.J. Lewis, *Cults of the Dead in Ancient Israel and Ugarit*, Atlanta 1989, pp. 35-46.

59 Levine - de Tarragon, *Snake-bites*, p. 507.

60 1.118 // 1.147; 1.146:8 and 1.148:7. It also occurs in the place-name URU ša-p[i-iš]-ia, PRU IV, p. 256.

61 M. Astour, *La triade de déesses de fertilité à Ugarit et en Grèce*: U 6, 9-23. See also C.H. Gordon, *Three Graces: Newsletter for Ugaritic Studies*, 31 (1984), p. 11.

62 De Moor, AOAT 16, p. 83.

(1) *aršy*, «Earthy» or «Gaia» (1.3 iii 7-8, etc.). Her epithet is *bt y' bdr* and *y' bdr*, explained as «copiously flowing»⁶³. However, Astour argues that she is a chthonic goddess in view of her equation with Allatum⁶⁴ and in fact in 1.106, a ritual connected with death⁶⁵, *aršy* is mentioned (line 32)⁶⁶.

(2) *fly*, «Dewy»⁶⁷ // *bt rb* «daughter of showers»⁶⁸ (1.3 ii 7, etc. and A.101:5).

(3) *pdry*, possibly «drops of dew»⁶⁹ (1.3 iii 6; 1.24:26, etc.). Her epithet *bt ar* means «daughter of dew»⁷⁰ though a chthonic aspect cannot be excluded⁷¹. Astour provides evidence that the cult of *pdry* extended beyond the city of Ugarit and remained alive even after its fall⁷². It is uncertain whether *pdry* is connected with the god *pdr*⁷³ but it seems very likely.

(4) *ybrdmy*, (1.24:29)⁷⁴, mentioned only once in the Ugaritic texts⁷⁵.

(5) *uzr' t*, «Rapid (drops of rain)» (1.101:6)⁷⁶.

(6) *bt 'lh*, «Daughter of the channel»⁷⁷ or perhaps even «Daughter of the sprout» (1.101:7)⁷⁸.

Other goddesses

There are listed alphabetically.

63 De Moor, *Pantheon*, p. 84, n. 6; accepted by Gibson, *CML*², p. 48, n. 8. Confirmation is provided by Akk. *darāru*, used in respect of abundantly flowing water (CAD D, 109a; AHw, 163 a).

64 Astour, *Triade*, p. 12.

65 G. del Olmo Lete, *Liturgia funeraria de los reyes de Ugarit (KTU 1.106)*: SEL, 3 (1986), pp. 55-71.

66 See del Olmo Lete's comments, *Liturgia*, p. 58. Other occurrences: 1.47:23; 1.81:13; 1.106:32; 1.118:22; 1.134:11 (?); 1.148:7.

67 De Moor, AOAT 16, p. 83.

68 De Moor, AOAT 16, p. 83. On 1.108:5 cf. Pardee, *Les textes*, pp. 141ff. On *rb* (in *fly bt rb*) see now Sh. Izre'el, *A God Rib(b)ān in Ugarit?*: UF, 23 (1991), pp. 217-18; he suggests it occurs in RS 17.116:3'. Note also D.R. West, *Some Minoan and Hellenic Goddesses of Semitic Origin*: UF, 23 (1991), pp. 369-81, esp. pp. 375f.

69 For surveys of previous suggestions cf. Astour, *Triade*, pp. 10-11 and de Moor, AOAT, 16, p. 82. See also H.W. Haussig, *Götter und Mythen im Vorderen Orient*, I, Stuttgart 1983, pp. 303f. The name is spelled *pi-id-di-ri-ya* in PRU IV (RS 17.116), 3.

70 De Moor, AOAT 16, pp. 82f. Astour, *Triade*, p. 11, prefers «fille de lumière».

71 For the possible chthonic aspect of *pdry* see del Olmo Lete, *Liturgia*, p. 58.

72 Astour, *Triade*, p. 10. Other texts: 1.39:15; 1.49:4; 1.91:7; 1.109:18; 1.132:2; 1.148:6; RIH 78.4:6.

73 On which cf. S. Ribichini - P. Xella, *Il dio Pdr*: UF, 16 (1984), pp. 267-72.

74 Cf. P. Xella, «Le grand froid». *Le dieu*^d Baradu madu à Ebla: UF, 18 (1986), pp. 437-44.

75 See de Moor, ARTU, p. 144, n. 28 (name of a city?); B. Margalit, *A Matter of >Life< and >Death<* (AOAT 206), 1980, p. 149, n. 2 (*brd*, «to serve» + *my* «water»).

76 As explained by Pardee, *Les textes*, pp. 142-44.

77 Pardee, *Les textes*, pp. 143-45 («fille de "rigole"»).

78 Cf. Akk. *elû*, «sprout», CAD E, 114, and Heb. *'ālā*.

alit (1.90:19)⁷⁹ is either the feminine equivalent of *aliyn*⁸⁰ or the Ugaritic equivalent of Hurr. *allai*, «lady, queen», used of goddesses⁸¹.

ilt asrm, «Goddess of the prisoners» (1.39:11)⁸².

iltm ḥnqtm, «The two strangling Goddesses» (1.39:18; 1.102:13). Caquot and de Tarragon comment: «Cette épithète reste étrange. On l'interprète comme désignant les divinités responsables de la mort des nouveaux-nés, connues en Mésopotamie. ... Ne faudrait-il pas comprendre un des sens dérivés que donne l'arabe, "gorge, défilé"? Il s'agirait des divinités gardiennes des défilés de l'arrière-pays montagneux»⁸³.

ilt mgdl, «Goddess of the tower» (1.39:11)⁸⁴.

ilt špn, «Goddess of Šaphon» (1.81:21)⁸⁵.

išt, «Fire», glossed *klbt ilm*, «Divine Bitch» (1.3 ii 45), was defeated by Anat.

b^clt bhtm, «Mistress of the Mansion»⁸⁶ has been described as «one of the "tutelary or patron gods" of the palace and the dynasty»; the others are *inš ilm*, *gtrm* and *btbt*⁸⁷. Her name corresponds to Sum. *nin.é.gal*, Akk. *bēlet ekallim*, «Lady of the palace»⁸⁸. Compare *ilt bt*, «House-goddess»⁸⁹.

dmgy - see under *tš*.

ḏbb, «Fly» (1.3 iii 46) a «daughter of Ilu» (*bt il*), also vanquished by Anat⁹⁰.

ḡlmt, «Damsel», occurring in rituals⁹¹, is an anonymous goddess⁹².

šml, with the epithet *um nšrm*, «mother of eagles» (1.19 iii 29) may mean «Sturdy»⁹³ or the like.

79 And perhaps in RIH 77/10B:15 - cf. Xella, TRU 1, p. 353.

80 De Moor, *Pantheon*, p. 69.

81 TOu II, 173, n. 102.

82 Xella, TRU 1, p. 79; de Tarragon, *Culte*, p. 170.

83 TOu II, p. 139, n. 26. See there for bibliography.

84 Xella, TRU 1, p. 76; de Tarragon, *Culte*, p. 70.

85 Xella, TRU 1, p. 120; see also *ilt qb(I?)* in 1.81:12, on which cf. de Moor, *Pantheon*, pp. 191 and 199; Xella, TRU 1, p. 123.

86 References in Xella, TRU 1, pp. 388: 1.39:21; 1.41:5.26.37; 1.48:4; 1.53:7; 1.57:6; 1.81:6; 1.87:5f.28f.40; 1.91:14; 1.105:2.21f.; 1.109:31; 1.112:4f. For bibliography see del Olmo Lete: *AuOr*, 2 (1984), p. 201.

87 G. del Olmo Lete, *The Cultic Literature of Ugarit. Hermeneutical Issues and Their Application to KTU 1.112*, in K. Hecker - W. Sommerfeld (eds), *Keilschriftliche Literaturen*, Berlin 1986, pp. 155-65, 161.

88 Astour, *Hellenosemitica*, p. 160 and n. 7 (with a reference to Gordon).

89 1.41:32; 1.81:8; 1.87:34. Loretz, *Ashera*, p. 56, totally rejects a possible occurrence in 1.43:16.

90 W. van Soldt, *The Ugaritic Word for «Fly»*: UF, 21 (1989), pp. 369-73.

91 1.39:19; 1.41:25; 1.87:27; 1.119:7.8; 1.123:19; 1.139:9; 1.148:34. G. del Olmo Lete, *Liturgia sacrificial y salmodía en Ugarit (KTU 1.119)*: *AuOr*, 7 (1989), p. 30 esp. n. 17: «Donceles/ Princesas».

92 De Tarragon, *Culte*, p. 166: «Jeune Femme».

93 Gordon, UT, 19.2173 (with Arabic etymology); cf. Astour, *Hellenosemitica*, pp. 169-73 for fuller discussion (and reference to a cognate in Mishnaic Heb., p. 171, n. 1) and Margalit, *Poem*, p. 181.

qdšt, «Holy», denotes a goddess in 1.81:17⁹⁴. On *qdš* see below.

rḥmy, «Damsel»⁹⁵ (1.15 ii 6; 1.23:13.16.28) is usually equated with Anat⁹⁶. However note «*rḥmy* ... est soit une épithète de la déesse Athirat ... soit une divinité distincte, mais qui doit être un doublet d'Athirat, puisque celle-ci est la "génitrice des dieux". Les lignes 16 sq. invitent plutôt à distinguer deux déesses, qui sont peut-être les deux épouses d'El dont parle l'épisode mythique des lignes 30 sq.»⁹⁷.

š^c*tqt*: the generally accepted meaning, first proposed by Gordon, is «She-who-causes-(sickness)-to-pass-away» (1.16 vi 1.2.13) but like Lipiński, Tropper argues that since š^c*tq* in RIH 78/12:5 (a letter) is to be explained by Akk. *šūtuqu*, «Excellency», the same must apply to š^c*tqt*⁹⁸.

tlš (1.12 i 14) is called *amt yrh*, «handmaid of (the moon-god) Yariḥu» and may or not be identified with *dmgy amt aṛt* (1.12 ii 16-17)⁹⁹.

trty, «Brew-goddess» (1.148:28), «apparentemente la controparte femminile di *tr* (attestato anche nella forma *trt*) cioè una dea connessa a bevande fermentate»¹⁰⁰.

4. HITTITE AND HURRIAN GODDESSES

The following Anatolian goddesses are mentioned in the Ugaritic texts¹⁰¹: Adamma, Allani or «the Lady», associated with Ishtar¹⁰², Dadmiš, Dak/qitu, Daru¹⁰³, Ḥsuntarḥi, Ḥebat (Tešub's consort)¹⁰⁴, Ḥudena Ḥudellura (corresponding to the Kathiratu), Išhara¹⁰⁵, Kubaba, Kulitta, Ninatta¹⁰⁶, Šimegi¹⁰⁷, *špš am*¹⁰⁸ and Šauška.

⁹⁴ See Xella, TRU 1, 123; Id., *QDŠ. Semantica del «sacro» ad Ugarit*: MLE, 1 (1982), pp. 13-15.

⁹⁵ Or «Merciful, sensitive»; cf. 1.16 i 33. The root has cognates in Arabic and Hebrew.

⁹⁶ E.g., de Moor, ARTU, p. 121, n. 22; Hettema, *Analysis*, p. 81, n. 16. Significant is the use of the epithet *rhm* for Anat in 1.6 ii 27.

⁹⁷ TOu I, p. 371, n.m.

⁹⁸ J. Tropper, *Der ugaritische Kausativstamm und die Kausativbildungen des Semitischen*, Münster 1990, pp. 90-91, with full references. However, note Pardee's crucial comments, AfO, 31 (1984), pp. 222f. (cited incorrectly by Tropper [p. 90, n. 239]).

⁹⁹ See del Olmo Lete, MLC, p. 636; TOu I, p. 337, n.s.; de Moor, ARTU, p. 130, n. 10. The goddess is used as a personal name in 4.214 iii 22; 4.382:30. Is there a connection with Akk. *tal'ašu*, «Kornwurm» (AHw, 1310a)?

¹⁰⁰ Xella, TRU 1, p. 99; accepted in TOu II, p. 225, n. 240. Cf. *siraš* «beer», CAD S, 306.

¹⁰¹ For text references cf. Xella, TRU 1, pp. 398f. Most occur in the Hurro-Ugaritic rituals, 1.110, 1.111, 1.116 and 1.132. Further details in G. del Olmo Lete, *Dos rituales regioes hurritas de Ugarit (KTU 1.132/1.111)*: AuOr, 8 (1990), pp. 21-31.

¹⁰² GLH, p. 43; TOu II, p. 221, n. 228: underworld goddess?

¹⁰³ Cunchillos, TOu II, p. 289, n. 9.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Cunchillos, TOu II, p. 365, nn. 12, 14 and the references there.

¹⁰⁵ Also spelled *ušhry*. «*Ušhara(yu)* apparaît aussi comme déesse de la fécondité, peut-être une épiphanie d'*Anatu*, dans un rituel royal sous les invocations/emblèmes de "serpent" et "Tige": G. del Olmo Lete, *Typologie et syntaxe des rituels ugaritiques*, in A.-M. Blondeau & K. Schipper (eds), *Essais sur le rituel*, I, Louvain-Paris 1988, p. 58; also p. 58, n. 33 on iconography.

¹⁰⁶ «Servante musicienne de la déesse IŠTAR-Šauška», Laroche, GLH, p. 183.

5. SUMERIAN GODDESS

Nkl

Evidently the Sumerian goddess NIN.GAL (lit. «Great Lady»). Apart from personal names and mention in offering lists¹⁰⁹ Nikkal is only active in this one text, 1.24, where she becomes married to the moon-god Yariḫu, corresponding to Sumerian Sin. The text is probably a translation from Hurrian¹¹⁰. The goddess *b'lt bhtm*, who may also have Sumerian origins, has been discussed above.

6. THE GODDESSES AS A GROUP

Goddesses occasionally occur in clusters in the various pantheon lists, e.g. 1.118:19-24¹¹¹, 1.148:7-8. In addition, as we have seen, three of Baal's daughters are listed as a group, and the Kathiratu are given a set of seven names, though only the Kathiratu have the label *ḫbl*, «band».

In his doctoral thesis on the Ugaritic pantheon Kaiser studied all the deities of every kind and listed the following as female: *ib-nkl*, *dbb*, *ilt asrm*, *ilt mgdl*, *arš*, *aršy*, *ušḫry*, *išt*, *aḫrt*, *rḫmy*, *b'lt bhtm*, *b'lt 'n*, *btbt*, *ddmš*, *dmgy*, *tly*, *złmt*, *ybrdmy*, the *kḫrt*, *ll*, *'nt*, *'ḫrt*, *pdry*, *pḫlt*, *šml*, *š'tqt*, *špš* and *trt*¹¹². In addition to these de Moor listed the following Semitic goddesses¹¹³ *abn*, *ugrt*, *azzlt*, *ilht arḫt*, *ilt bt*, *ilt šdny*, *ilt špn*, *ilt qb[/qd[š]*, *ilmt ḫnqtm*, *um ilm*, *arḫt*, *aḫrt šrm bq't*, (*ilht*) *dkrt*, *dqt*, *ḫnqtm*, (*ilht*) *ḫprt*, *yb/mmt limm*, *ybrdmy*, *ym*, *ksa*, (*ilht*) *ksat*, *nšbt il*, *'nt di*, *'nt ḫlš*, *'nt ḫbly*, *'nt špn*, *'ntm*, *'ḫrt w'nt*, *'ḫrt abdr*, *'ḫrt ḫr*, *'ḫrt ndrg(b/d)*, *'ḫrt šwdt*, *'ḫrt šd*, *'ḫrt šm b'l*, *ḡlmt*, *šwdt*, *qdš*, *qdšt*, *rḫbt*, *špš wyrḫ*, *špš pgr*, *tlš*, *tq't*¹¹⁴. Not all of these names are now accepted as referring to goddesses and additional names have since been found, as noted here. The goddesses used in personal names are: *abn*, *adt/al/aḫt*, *št*, *ilt*, *um*, *bbt*, *b'lt*, *dnt*, *kbb*, *kḫrt*, *lbit*, *llwn*, *mly*, *nkl*, *nn*, *'nt* and *špš*¹¹⁵, though some are simply epithets.

107 Equated with *špš*, Laroche, GLH, pp. 232f.

108 On this deity cf. J.G. Macquenn, *Hittian Mythology and Hittite Monarchy*. AnSt, 9 (1959), pp. 177-80.

109 1.41:26; 1.106:14; and the Hurrian texts 1.110:8; 1.111:6; 1.116:22.

110 See G. del Olmo Lete, MLC, pp. 454-56 and *Yarḫu y Nikkalu: Mitología lunar sumcria en Ugarit*. AuOr, 9 (1991), in the press.

111 De Tarragon, *Culte*, p. 158.

112 W.C. Kaiser jr., *The Ugaritic Pantheon* (Brandeis 1973), pp. 236f. According to him Athtar is androgynous.

113 De Moor, *Pantheon*, pp. 189-97.

114 For goddesses in binomials and combinations of god + goddess see de Moor, *Pantheon*, p. 227 and for names in masc. and fem. forms, *ibid.*, p. 226.

115 S. Ribichini - P. Xella, *Problemi di onomastica ugaritica: il caso dei teofori*: SEL, 8 (1991), pp. 149-70.

7. UNCERTAIN OR INCORRECT ENTRIES

In earlier studies several names or simple nouns have been classified as goddesses, but later research has shown such identifications to be incorrect. The list includes *złmt* and *glmt*¹¹⁶, *ll*¹¹⁷ and *ql bl*¹¹⁸. Also *nt slh* does not exist; *slh* denotes internal organs or the like¹¹⁹. Doubt remains concerning *bbt*¹²⁰; is this a threshold goddess¹²¹, a god¹²² or perhaps neither, meaning instead «in the house»¹²³? Also problematic is identification of *qdš* as a female deity in such texts as 1.16 i 10-11¹²⁴.

In the banquet scene, 1.4 vi 47-54, gods and goddesses alternate in a list of deities¹²⁵; the goddesses mentioned are *ilht hprt*, «ewe-goddesses», *ilht arht*, «cow-goddesses», *ilht ksat*, «throne-goddesses» and *ilht dkrt*, «bowl-goddesses». However, not all scholars agree with Virolleaud that animal and furniture goddesses are denoted here¹²⁶. The main problem is presented by *rhbt* (in *ilm rhbt*) which should be masculine¹²⁷. Other goddesses recognised by some scholars include *ym*, «Day-

116 Listed and discussed, for example, by Kaiser, *Pantheon*; de Moor, *Pantheon*, p. 203 (on Nr. 182): «I do not regard *glmt* and *złmt* in CTA 4:VII.54-55 as goddesses». On *glmt* in the ritual texts see below.

117 Earlier suggestions that this may be a deified mountain - de Tarragon, *Culte*, p. 166; TOu I, p. 128 and n. 1, or the goddess Night, de Tarragon, *Culte*, pp. 24f., 118f.; Astour, *Hellenosemitica*, pp. 132f.; Kaiser, *Pantheon*, pp. 130-32, perhaps even the goddess Luli, de Moor, AOAT 16, pp. 128f. - have now to be rejected. See M. Dietrich - O. Loretz, *Kennen die ug. Texte den babylonischen Gottesnamen lillu(m)?*: UF, 12 (1980), p. 403; del Olmo Lete, MLC, p. 572; Xella, TRU 1, p. 119; TOu II, p. 138, n. 20; F. Saracino: UF, 14 (1982), p. 199; P. Xella, *Le «formule» rituali relative al sole* ('rb špš w hl mlk e šba/šbu špš w hl mlk/ym): UF, 16 (1984), p. 339, n. 1. It is difficult to say whether in 1.69 and 1.73 *ll* is present as these are transcriptions of sections from Maqlû in alphabetic script: W. van Soldt, *Studies in the Akkadian of Ugarit. Dating and Grammar* (AOAT 40), pp. 298ff.; following E. Dhorme: RA, 37 (1940), pp. 83ff.

118 M. Astour, *Some New Divine Names from Ugarit*: JAOS, 86 (1986), p. 277; Kaiser, *Pantheon*, p. 187.

119 G. del Olmo Lete, *Anatomia cultural en Ugarit. Ofrenda de vísceras en el culto ugarítico*: AuOr, 7 (1989), p. 124.

120 1.46:9; 1.116:8; 1.115:3; RIH 78/16:3.

121 TOu II, p. 201, n. 175 refers to Akk. *bābtu*, a threshold goddess.

122 De Moor, *Pantheon*, p. 316; del Olmo Lete, *Typologie*, pp. 54-60.

123 D. Freilich, *Is There a Ugaritic Deity Bbt?*: JSS, 31 (1986), pp. 119-30.

124 For evaluation of the evidence see Xella, *QDŠ*, pp. 13-15.

125 For deified sacrificial animals and temple furniture here cf. de Moor, *Pantheon*, pp. 199.224f.; ARTU, p. 60, n. 269.

126 See TOu I, p. 214 and n. 1; Gibson, *CML*², pp. 63f. (but see p. 63, n. 6).

127 It may well be m. with a f. pl. ending; in fact the Akk. cognate *rību*, «vessel» appears to be m. (AHw, 981a).

light»¹²⁸ and *mnt*, «Fate» (1.4 vii 56)¹²⁹. *Mdbḥt bt ilt* (1.41: 23-24): birds are offered on the steps¹³⁰ of «the altar(s) of the temple of Ilat/the goddess»¹³¹.

8. CONCLUSIONS

Besides the three principal goddesses at Ugarit, Anat, Athiratu and Shapshu, plus a fourth, Nikkal, several other female deities were worshipped but we do not know whether all the goddesses mentioned in the texts (e.g. *išt klbt il*, *šʿtqt*) were actually venerated or even their respective ranks although the listings provide some indications. The overlap among the literary texts, the ritual tablets, letters and personal names has yet to be explored¹³².

Several of the names listed above are anodyne - «Damsel» (in various forms), «Lady», «Excellency», «Holy One» - and could denote any goddess. Even so, in Ugaritic a clear distinction is made between the name of a goddess and the inanimate object denoted by the same name. Examples are *špš* which can mean «sun» (as in «sunrise» and «sunset»)¹³³ or the sun goddess, Shapshu; *ḡlmt* - either «Damsel» or «darkness» - and *trt*, «wine» (1.114:4 etc.) and the goddess of wine (1.39:16; 1.102:9)¹³⁴. To a limited extent clusters of goddesses are listed, an indication, perhaps, that they were considered as a group to be distinct from their male counterparts.

128 De Moor, *Pantheon*, Nr. 117, comments p. 201; see van Soldt, *Studies*, p. 304, entry 53; Xella, TRU 1, p. 65 on 1.41:8.

129 According to de Moor, ARTU, p. 65, n. 300, a winged goddess.

130 For Ug. *mʿlt* cf. Akk. *mêlu*, «step».

131 TRU 1, pp. 62 and 67; TOu II, p. 156. Consequently *mdḥt bt ilt* is not a goddess as listed by de Moor, *Pantheon*, p. 194.

132 Especially valuable are the tabulations by de Moor, *Pantheon*, *passim* and, for the personal names, Ribichini - Xella, *Problemi*.

133 Xella, *Le «formule»*, pp. 339-49. The term *špš* could also be used of a ruler (e.g. 2.44).

134 De Moor, *Pantheon*, p. 225.