# THE SACRIFICIAL VOCABULARY AT UGARIT

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The cultic sphere generates a semantic field<sup>\*</sup> of its own, which can be divided into several segments, depending on the specificity of the cultic action. 'Sacrifice' stands out as the basic cultic activity in the Eastern cult, as well as in the religious world in general<sup>1</sup>.

Since the development of the sacrificial act is never described explicitly, we have only a number of generic predicates (to sacrifice, offer, burn, pour down, etc.)<sup>2</sup> and other more specific designations whose meaning and bearing we shall try to clarify. We leave aside the consideration of other elements such as sacred times, installations, materials and priestly officiants, which do not concern the act in itself<sup>3</sup>, even if they can sometimes contribute to clarifying its structure.

We consider 'sacrifice' as the basic cultic rite of the great rituals of the Ugaritic Liturgy (New Year, National Atonement, Sacrifice to All the Gods, etc.) and it is recorded in them as the essential element.

## A) General sacrificial lexicon

In this connection we can distinguish two different kinds of designation applied to the sacrificial rite in the strict sense of 'slaughter of the victim': 'general', and 'specific<sup>4</sup>. The first category includes the following terms:

1) **db**h (m.n./v.G.)

The most frequent denomination in Ug. for offering, either sacrificial or not, is *dbh*<sup>5</sup>. Its original semantic value is «sacrifice»/«to sacrifice» (an animal victim), in both cul-

- <sup>1</sup> The statement is valid for ancient and primitive religions; it would need some reformulation in relation to the more recent «Religions of the Book» and «Meditation».
- <sup>2</sup> Cf. infra § C for the literary vocabulary in this connexion.
- <sup>3</sup> For a general description of those elements, cf. de Tarragon, CU, 17 ss., 31 ss., 55 ss., 131 ss., del Olmo Lete, RC, 22-23.
- <sup>4</sup> The words will be arranged according to a certain logical linkage instead of purely alphabetical order. Furthermore, we will limit ourselves to a basic bibliographical information, avoiding concrete controversies on etymological and semantic questions, and referring the reader to general treatments such as TRU, CU, RC, and to the respective textual studies as well for a more detailed discussion.
- <sup>5</sup> As a n. cf. Heb., Phoen., Pun. zbh, HAL, 251 s.; DISO, 71; Ebl. /dubhu/ in PPNN du-bù(-hu)(DN), dubí-h(-DN), du-bù-hi(-DN), Krebernik, PET, 167; H.-P. Müller, in L. Cagni (ed.), Il bilinguismo a

 <sup>\*</sup> Note the follow. general abbreviations: Ac. = Accadian; Ar. = Arabic; Aram. = Aramaean; Asa. = Ancient South-Arabic; Can. = Canaanite; Ebl. = Eblaitic; Ethp. = Ethiopian; Heb. = Hebrew; Hitt. = Hittite; Hurr. = Hurrian; Nab. = Nabataean; Palm. = Palmirene; Phoen. = Phoenician; Pun. = Punic; PN/PPNN = Personal name(s); Protosin. = Proto-Sinaitic; Sem. = Semitic; Ug. = Ugaritic; Ug. syl. = Ugaritic syllabic; Yaud. = Yaudic.

tic and extra-cultic contexts, inasmuch as this distinction is valid in those cultures. But the term loses its original value and becomes a general synonym for «ritual ceremony», «festival», «feast», including different kinds of rite, even non-sacrificial ones. People's participation in these 'ritual banquets' is of the highest significance.

a) In this connection, both the mythological and the epic literature present dbhm held by gods (KTU 1.1 IV 28-32; 1.4 VI 40-59; 1.20 I 10; 1.22 I 12-20; 1.114:1-16; cf. also 1.4 III 40-44; 1.5 IV 12-18; 1.17 VI 2-6) and kings (1.15 IV 14-28; VI 5 and par.; 1.16 I 40; 1.19 IV 23 and par.; 2.40:16<sup>?</sup>; 4.744:4<sup>?</sup>)<sup>6</sup>. The word loses its cultic sacrificial value in these cases and takes on the entirely 'secular' one of slaughtering the animal in order to consume it («banquet»)<sup>7</sup>; this was in fact the original meaning of «offering sacrifices to the gods»: to feed them, as is evident from the Babylonian story of the Flood.

These mythological texts also present such 'sacrifices' offered by humans to the gods and teach us that this, like any other cultic act, had its precise rules (cf. dbh k *sprt*, KTU 1.127:9) and was subjected, perhaps more than any other, to the distortion that transforms the dbhm, «feasts», into «orgy», an «abomination» to Baal (KTU 1.4 III 17ss.).

For their part, the epic texts attest to the practice of the dbh as a royal «banquet», to which the vassals are invited to eat and drink (possibly in a cultic setting as well; see the texts just quoted) and offer us what could be the rite of the cultic dbh, at least one of its sorts (impetration sacrifice; in KTU 1.23:27 a dbh  $n^{c}mt$ , «thanksgiving sacrifice», is also mentioned in a royal context). King Kirta (KTU 1.14 II 23ss. and par.) receives the divine order to accomplish this rite with exact indications of destinees, materials and the place of the ceremony. We will see below that offering dbhm was a peculiar cultic function of the King (KTU 1.91:2, dbh mlk).

b) But it is above all the cultic texts that give frequent examples of *dbh*, as both noun and verb, with the semantic value mentioned above.

It is repeatedly stated that the king and his house *ydbh* to the gods (KTU 1.115:1 and par.; 1.119:8, 13; RIH 77/2B:1); we find also mentions of the *dbh mlk/mlkt* (KTU 1.91:2ss.; 4.149:14s.; 4.213:24<sup>?</sup>; RIH 78//11:1). But the *dbh* is a generic reference word in cultic terminology (KTU 1.127:3, 12) as well as a religious practice (*dbhn ndbh* //  $t^cy$ , *nkt*) for which the people are answerable to the gods (//  $t^c$ , KTU 1.40:32 and par.; cf. *infra*).

6 Cf. RC, 37 ('the banquet scenes'). Text KTU 1.16 I 40 is especially significant since it offers the word pair dbh/ '\$rt, «sacrifice» / «banquet»; this second term will also appear in cultic texts.

*Ebla*, Napoli 1984, 195; P. Fronzaroli, in ARES I, 17; J. Sanmartín, in *Fs. Civil* (= AuOr 9, 1991), 186; Aram. *dbh*, DISO, 71; Ac. *zību*, AHw, 1525; CAD Z, 105 s.; Ar. *da/ibh*, Lane, 953 s.; Ethp.  $z^{e}bh$ , CDG, 631; Ug. syl. : EZEN = *i-si-nu* = *e-li*? = *da-ab-hu*, U 5, 137 III 6; D. Sivan, AOAT 214, 1984, 213; J. Huehnergard, HSS 32, 1987, 117.- As a v. cf. Heb., Pun. *zbh*, HAL, 251; DISO, 71; Ac. cf. *zebû*, CAD Z, 84; Ar. *dabaha*, Lane, 953 ss.; Ethp. *zabha*, CDG, 631; vd. J. van Zijl, AOAT 10, 89 s.; Xella, TRU, 344 s. Its equivalent in Ac. is *nīqum*, *niqûm*, from *naqûm*, «to pour out, shed (the blood)».

We have *dbh* in parallel with *šql* and *tbh*, literary terms that are not in the ritual texts; cf. CU, 56 s. Nevertheless, a passive inner form of *ql* is employed in two cases: *bym mlat tlqn alpm yrh* «in the full moon day two male bovines of a month are slaughtered» (KTU 1.109: 4; cf. 1.46: 11); cf. *infra* on *'\$rt(t)*.

c) The various divine destinees can give place to apparently different kinds of dbhm (dbh spn, KTU 1.148:1; 1.91:3; [rs]p `nt hbly dbhm, 1.39:17; dbh `ttrt // qrat b grn, 1.116:1; cf. infra athlm). These determinations mean no more than the simple attribution of victims to the different gods, and do not imply a special type of rite.

More significant in this regard are other determinations that may imply special cultic practices, such as:

[dbh] t'rb, «sacrifice on occasion of the 'entrance'» (KTU 1.91:10)<sup>8</sup>.

m<sup>c</sup>rb dbh, «sacrifice-tribute»<sup>9</sup> (KTU 1.41:19/1.87:21)<sup>10</sup>.

(b ym) dbh tph, «sacrifice of the lineage» (KTU 1.48:14)<sup>11</sup>.

dbh kl yrh, «monthly sacrifice» <sup>12</sup> (KTU 1.127:1).

dbh ndr (bt [bn] bnš), «voted sacrifice» (KTU 1.127:2, 14).

*dbh klkl ykly dbh k sprt*, «sacrifice of which everybody eats, sacrifice according to prescription» (KTU 1.127:7-9; cf. 1.115:10)<sup>13</sup>.

d) A highly peculiar dbh would be the «funerary sacrifice» of which we have different denominations and indications, in addition to the well-established rituals that developed it<sup>14</sup>.

*dbh dt nat wytnt trmn*, «sacrifice of lamentation and offering to the *trmn*»<sup>15</sup> (KTU 1.127:4-6) (cf. *infra iyn*);

*dt nat wqrwn l k dbh*, «the (sacrifice) of lamentation and offering<sup>16</sup> performed as a *dbh*» (KTU 1.127:10-11).

### 2) **dbht** (f.n.)

But in this connection the hapax dbht is the clearest designation of a «funerary sacrifice»; the liver clay figurine (KTU 1.142:1), on which the term appears inscribed, commemorates it. Due to the nature and context of the document (d b q br, «who is in the tomb»), we should understand it as a specific sort of dbh, funerary in character,

<sup>14</sup> Cf. the description of the royal and general funerary liturgy at Ugarit in RC, 109-113, 145-70.

15 Cf. Ar. na<sup>3</sup>ata «to groan», Lane, 2751. For the meaning of <u>trmn</u> cf. del Olmo Lete, AuOr 5, 1987, 65 s. The use of the base y/ntn in the sacrificial vocabulary is attested also in Heb. and Phoen.; cf. E. Lipiński, in StPhoen-VI, 152 ss. (to be taken with caution).

16 Maybe an allophone of *qrbn*, a more general and perhaps literary expression for «offering» that does not appear in the ritual texts (cf. *infra qrb*); cf. Dietrich-Loretz, ALASP 3, 1980, 30. Note also the parallel wordings: *nat w ytn / nat w qrwn*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Cf. RC, 17 s.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Cf. Heb. ma<sup>ca</sup>rāb, HAL, 582; Ac. ēribtum, AHw, 240; CAD E, 292 s.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Cf. RC, 80, 87.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Cf. D. Pardee, *Syria* 65, 1988, 186.

<sup>12</sup> Maybe of the 'New Moon'. The text 1.127, the clay figurine of a lung, in our view, represents a catalogue of different sacrifices whose victims must undergo extispicine, the text indicating the place from where the omen is to be taken; cf. RC, 69 ss. On the other hand, the existence of a 'daily' sacrifice may only be guessed from the mention of the *tltm*, «thirty [days]» (KTU 1.109: 30; 1.41: 36; 1.87: 39; 1.39: 20; 1.104: 4; 1.27: 7; RIH 77/2B: 16; 77/4: 15), while that of a 'everlasting sacrifice' may perhaps be implied in the wording *š qym* (KTU 1.115: 11) and *knt il* (KTU 1.65: 17).

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Ac. *šipirtum*, AHw, 1244 s.; CAD Š/3, s.v. The alternative version could be: «sacrifice that is eaten completely».

rather than as a plural form of it<sup>17</sup>. We will find later on some other designations of funerary sacrificial rites (*pgr, iyn, mrzh*).

The semantic generalization of dbh may be observed in a designation like dbh smn mr, «sacrifice of bitter oil» (KTU 1.87:22 and par.)<sup>18</sup>, where the term loses any connotation of slaughtering, to become synonymous with the mere «offering» of other substances.

Finally, the great significance of this cultic action reveals itself in the existence of a *yrh dbh*, «month of the sacrifice»<sup>19</sup> (KTU 4.316:5), despite our ignorance about its precise bearing.

### 3) **nkt** (f.n./v.G.)

The term *nkt* as verb and noun appears repeatedly in KTU 1.40 in strict parallelism with *dbh* and  $\underline{t}^{c}/\underline{t}^{c}y$ . Its meaning is clear<sup>20</sup>. There may also be an extra-cultic occurrence of this base in KTU 1.86:6: *wprt tkt*, «and a cow you/she will immolate».

hw nkt nkt, «this is the victim that we immolate», (KTU 1.40:33 and par.).

### 4) **mkt** (m.n.)

This term could be a derivative of the same radical  $nkt^{21}$ , but the fragmentary context of its only occurrence does not allow confident conclusions:

aht lmkt ..., «one (bird) for the immolation to ... », (KTU 1.48:15).

# 5) (sr(t) (f.n./v.D?))

Strongly connected with *dbh*, the term  $\langle \tilde{s}r/\langle \tilde{s}rt \,^{22} \rangle$  brings out its banquet aspect as one of its constituents. It is well known as a v. and as f.n. in the mythological and epic literature where it develops as a literary form ('the banquet scene')<sup>23</sup>, taking on the precise value of «banquet», «to invite to a banquet» (KTU 1.3 I 9; 1.16 I 40 [// *dbh*; cf. *supra*]; KTU 1.17 VI 30; 1.43:2; 1.119:32s.<sup>24</sup>).

It appears in the ritual texts only once (?) with the value of «banquet offering», clearly as a derived application of its literary meaning to the cultic sphere.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Ar. *dibhat*, Lane, 954; Ethp. *z<sup>e</sup>bhat*, CDG, 631.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Phoen. zbh šmn, DISO, 71.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Phoen. yrh zbh, Z.S. Harris, A Grammar of the Phoenician Language, New Haven 1936, 98; KAI III 7. From this base derives the name for «altar», mdbh, mdbht, where the sacrifice takes place.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Cf. Ar. nakata, Lane, 2846 s.; cf. CU, 57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Cf. TRU, 116; Pardee, *Syria* 65, 1988, 189.

Cf. Ebl. ašārum, ARET 8, 12; cf. elem. \*(<sup>></sup>)š(S-L) in PPNN, Krebernik, PET, 63; a-šur (/šu-ur-úr) (-ND); Müller, in *Il bilinguismo, cit.*, 179; Ar. 'aššara / 'āšara, Lane, 2050 s. ; Ethp. 'aššara / 'ašur, CDG, 73; Heb. 'šr hiph. HAL, 850.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Cf. MLC, 36 s.

In this case the context is literary (a psalm: // nšqdš, nmlu; dkr; htp); cf. infra, the literary vocabulary.

tqln alpm yrh 'šrt lb'[1 spn], «two male bovines of a month are slaughtered as a banquet offering to Baal of Saphon» (KTU 1.109:5 and par.)<sup>25</sup>.

6)  $t^{c}/t^{c}y$  (m.n./v.G.)

On the other hand the sacrificial aspect itself is evident in the designation  $t'/t'y^{26}$ , «offering», «to offer», «offering person, priest». Apparently it has a general sense, but very probably its contextual value refers to a specific function/title of the Ugaritic cult related to the King as the supreme officiant<sup>27</sup>.

'sty ... wt 'y tqd[s/m] 'sr, «once ... and the officiant offers a bird» (KTU 1.61: 28ss.)<sup>28</sup>;

*wmlk ynl lt<sup>c</sup>y*, «and the King will cease as an officiant/will hand over (his function) to the officiant» (KTU 1.90:22)<sup>29</sup>;

*lpn ql t<sup><</sup>y*, «before the voice of the officiant» (RIH 78/20:2);

*ilmlk t<sup>c</sup>y/t<sup>c</sup>y nqmd* «Ilimilku, the Officiant/Officiant of Niqmaddu» (KTU 1.4 B 1; 1.16 B 1; 1.6 VI 57).

We have in the latter cases the official designation of the cultic office performed by the main officiant, the High Priest, on behalf of the King, as the colophon KTU 1.6 VI 54-58 makes plain, on giving the titulary of Ilimilku: ... *rb khnm*  $t^{c}y$  ngmd<sup>30</sup>.

The use of this lexeme as a name and as a verb is also well attested in the Ug. cultic texts in parallel with *dbh*:

*uthtin ldbhm w lt*<sup> $\zeta$ </sup>, «if you (f.) have sinned in relation to the 'sacrifices' and to the 'offering'» (KTU 1.40:23 and par.);

 $dbhn ndbh hw t^{c} nt^{c}y hw nkt nkt$ , «here is the sacrifice we sacrifice, this is the offering we offer, this the victim we immolate» (KTU 1.40:23s. and par.).

**NOTE**: On the other hand, I think that the other occurrences of  $t^{\epsilon}$  in the cultic texts (KTU 1.39:1; 1.46:1; 1.105:8; 1.119:10-11; 1.130:18-20; frg.cxt. 1.27:10; RIH 78/4:12), commonly interpreted as «offering», should be separated from the former and be taken as a royal divine name, the one we have in fact attributed to King Kirta in his epic<sup>31</sup>. Nonetheless, the royal person retains both designations.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Its position in the text makes it clearly parallel to *slmm*, that traditionally implies also the 'banquet aspect' as «peace offering» or «sacrifice of communion».

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Asa. mt<sup>c</sup>t, Biella, DOSA, 548; Pun. š<sup>c</sup>, š<sup>c</sup>t, DISO, 314 s.; Protosin. t<sup>c</sup> (?), J. Naveh, Early History of Alphabet, Jerusalem/Leiden 1982, 33 s.; Ug. syl. PN ša-i-Pl(*iu/ia* 8), RS 16.133: 4; 16.242: 5; 16.249: 4. For a fuller discussion cf. del Olmo Lete, UF 20, 1988, 30-32 nn. 14, 20.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. G. del Olmo Lete, Ug. 1<sup>c</sup>, 1<sup>c</sup>y, 1<sup>c</sup>t: nombre divino y acción cultual, UF 20, 1988, 27-33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> A finite verbal value («he sacrifices») would require a form  $y_1^c y$ . The pl. form  $tqd\delta m$  relates to the series of seven officiants.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> The meaning of nsl is doubtful. In any case, note the presence of the King in the quoted texts where  $t^{cy}$  appears.

This or another derivative form seems to be used as a personal name in Ug. (KTU 4.76: 7; 4.69: VI 23; 4.122: 10; 4.354: 4.633: 7<sup>?</sup>). In KTU 1.69 VI 23 bn *i* 'y opens the series of khnm, which is highly significant. For its syllabic transcription *ša-i*-PI(*iu*) cf. Dietrich-Loretz, UF 19, 1987, 35 n. 9.

For a justification of this opinion and its contextual validation cf. del Olmo Lete, UF 20, 1988, 27-30. In this case the etymology should be sought in connexion with Ac. *suwā'um*, *su'u/û*, AHw, 1295; Heb. *so<sup>a c</sup>*, HAL, 1340.

This is also the case of  $t^{t}$  (pl.  $t^{t}$ dt; *smn*  $t^{t}$ t; KTU 4.140:5; 4.751:6 RIH 78/2:5-8; 83/12:5-6), which probably corresponds to a different root, the third one  $(*t^{t}y, *tw^{t}, *t^{t}d)^{32}$ .

7) **šqrb** (v.š.)

Although very limited in its use, qrb in its  $\delta$ . form can be considered a general term for «to offer» in the Ug. cultic vocabulary as in other Semitic languages<sup>33</sup>:

*wšqrb <sup>c</sup>r mšr*, «and offer, ye, an ass of justification» (KTU 1.40:26); <sup>c</sup>*lm š š*[*qr*]*b*, «subsequently a ram should be offered» (KTU 1.87:56).

It may appear in the literary text KTU 1.16 I 44: šqrb k[sp], «offer silver».

8) **qrwn** (m.n.)

This may be an allophone of the well-known Semitic term qrbn<sup>34</sup>;

dt nat wqrwn l k dbh, «the (sacrifice) of lamentation and offering performed as a dbh» (KTU 1.127:10-11).

## 9) <sup>c</sup>ly (v.š.)

The same can be said of the base  $(1y)^{35}$  which appears in two stele inscriptions: *skn d š*(1yt tryl ldgn, «stele that PN offered to Dagan» (KTU 6.13:1);

pgr d š 'ly 'zn ldgn, «[stele of a] funerary sacrifice that offered PN to Dagan» (KTU6.14:1).

The verb appears also with this value in the epic texts:  $\delta' ly d\underline{g}\underline{t}t \ b \ \underline{s}mym$ , «offered his offering to Heavens» (1.19 IV 30 and par.).

### 10) **'db** (v.G.)

The base  ${}^{\prime}db^{36}$  appears only once<sup>37</sup> with a sacrificial meaning in the cultic texts, although it is well attested to in the Ug. literature with the general meaning of «to prepare, offer», either 'meals' or other things (cf. KTU 1.4 VI 39; 1.14 II 27 and par.; 1.16 III 13; 1.17 V 16 and par.; 1.50:11; 1.23:54, 63, 65; 1.100:7, 12, 73; 1.114:10 and par.). The sacrificial meaning is doubtful although it seems appropriate in some of those texts (especially in KTU 1.4 VI 39; 1.23:54, 65).

wynt qrt y'db l'nt, «and a domestic dove is prepared for/offered to Anat» (KTU 1.41:10/87:11-12; cf. 1.114:10 and par.).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Cf. Ar.  $ta^{c}d$  Lane, 337; J. Sanmartín, AuOr 8, 1990, 92, n. 18. For a different unitary treatment  $t^{c}(y)$  cf. CU, 58 s.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. qrb hiph. HAL, 1057 ss.; Ar. qaruba D, Lane, 2504 ss.; Ac. qarābu / qerēbu D, AHw, 915 ss.; CAD Q, 228 ss.: cf. dbh nat w qrwn and n. 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Cf. Dietrich-Loretz, ALASP 3, 1990, 30; supra \* qrb and Heb. qrbn, HAL, 1060 ss.; Asa. qrbn, DOSA, 466; Ar. qurbān, Lane, 2507; Ethp. q<sup>we</sup>rbān, CDG, 440.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Cf. CU, 63 s.; Heb. 1y hiph., HAL, 784 s.; Ac. *ēlu* Š, AHw, 208 ss.; CAD E, 114 ss.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Cf. Asa. 'db DOSA, 353 s.; Heb. 'zb, HAL, 763 s.; Ac. ezēbu , AHw, 267 ss.; CAD E, 416; Can. syl. ia-aḫ-zi-ba-, onomastic element in EA 275: 4, cf. Sivan, AOAT 214, 1984, 206; cf. van Zijl, AOAT 10, 134 s.; but cf. Dietrich-Loretz, UF 17, 1985, 105 s.

Although Levine-de Tarragon, RB 100, 1993, 82, 84, 95 n. 17 («often occurs in cultic contexts»; cf. CU 57) prefer the meaning «to present». In any case, KTU 1.100:7,12 and par. 71 have nothing to do with a sacrificial context.

## 11) athlm (m.n.)

We have also a series of ritual designations of Hurrian etymology and origin, the meaning of which is unfortunately imprecise, due to our limited knowledge of this language. As we might expect, they also appear in Hurrian cultic texts and are testimony to the significance of this ritual tradition in the religion of Ugarit, even if some of their customs were refused as foreign (cf. KTU 1.40:29 and par.). The first, *athlm*<sup>38</sup>.

athlm ... šrpm/š<l>mm athlm, «a.-sacrifice ... as holocaust/ a.-sacrifice in peaceful offering» (KTU 1.111:3-8);

athlm..., «a.-sacrifice ...» (KTU 1.132:4);

athlm in tlnd ..., «a.-sacrifice to DN ...» (KTU 1.110:1);

*athlm/ašhlmtutk(d)* ..., «*a.*-sacrifice to DN ...» (KTU 1.116:3, 9);

w b bt athlm, «and in the temple an a.-sacrifice» (KTU 1.116:10).

In this Hurrian text KTU 1.116, the expression athlm tutk is in correspondence/ translation of dbh 'ttrt (lin. 1), according to which we can deduce the equivalence between athlm and dbh, tutk (Šawuška) being the Hurrian equivalent of Ug. 'ttrt ('Attartu). This conclusion is confirmed by text 1.111:3-8, where athlm includes the two specific offerings *šrp wšlmm*, as is the case with the generic designation  $dbh^{39}$ .

#### 12) **tzģ** (m.n.)

Another Hurrian designation is  $tz\dot{g}^{40}$ , of imprecise ritual nature; in any case, it is one of the *dbh mlk*, as it is recorded by KTU 1.91:4:  $tz\dot{g}m$ , «the [sacrifices of type]  $-t.*^{41}$ . It appears immediately after *dbh spn*, namely, KTU 1.148, and also in the Hurrian section of this text (lin. 17:  $tz\dot{g}$  arm ttb ...), possibly as the Hurrian correspondence of the preceding *dbh spn* (*šrp wšlmm*) to all the gods of the Ugaritic pantheon (but at the end of the section!). This generic or composite nature also appears in KTU 1.105, in connection again with *spn*, albeit in a funerary context this time (*bgb spn*): it implies, among other things, *šrp* and *šlmm* offerings (lin. 9), as well. We are not sure that this is always the case; its cultic meaning may be that of «offering» in general to the gods, as the Hurrian text would suggest, already quoted in relationship to <u>athlm</u>:

tzġ in hmnd, «a t.-offering to the god h.» (KTU 1.116:6);

'*lm tzġ b ģb şpn*, «subsequently a *t.*-offering. in the *ġ*. of Ṣapānu» (KTU 1.105:7); '*lm tzġm tn šm*, «subsequently as a *t.*-offering, two rams» (KTU 1.105:26).

13) **kbd** (m.n.)

This designation appears in the New Year Liturgy (KTU 1.41/87) in which the main sacrificial types and indeed other highly specific types (*ris argmn*,  $m^{c}rb$ ) are

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Cf. Hurr. \**ašņul* -, GLH, 60; TRU, 308.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Cf. RC, 142 n. 143.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Hurr. (?) > Ac. DIŠ-ħu /tizħu (?) «sacrificial meat»; cf. AHw, 1362; CAD T, s.v.; de Moor, UF 2, 1970, 320. Other alternatives suppose Hirr. tešħui, «chief»; cf. GLH, 263; cf. Dietrich-Loretz-Sanmartín UF 7, 1975, 168; Sem. \* wzģ «libation»; Herdner, U 7, 14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Cf. TRU, 39 s.; RC, 92 n. 138, 174.

represented<sup>42</sup>. Its Semitic meaning is clear and its partial coincidence with the preceding term in the material offered is quite striking. Nevertheless, a possible relationship with the sacrifice  $kab\bar{a}du$  from Emar<sup>43</sup> should be considered, despite the fact that it is mentioned only once.

bhmš bt il tq[l ksp] kbd wdbh, «on the fifth (day) in Ilu's Temple a silver shekel as respect offering» (KTU 1.41:39 and par.).

# B) Specific sacrificial vocabulary

14) **šrp** (n.m.)

But all these general denominations normally include the performance of more specific sacrificial rites. Among them the kinds *šrp* and *šlmm* stand out, sometimes separately (cf. KTU 1.105:15; ...) and on other occasions in immediate sequence, *šrp* wšlmm. In this case they refer to two different sacrificial series, the first of *šrp* kind and the second *šlmm*; this compound designation is consequently placed between the two series (for instance, KTU 1.39:4; 1.41:13; 1.46:7; 1.109:15; 1.127:15s.); sometimes the second is abbreviated as *kmm*, «so much». These Ugaritic sacrificial types have been associated with the Hebrew «holocaust» ( ${}^{\circ}ol\bar{a}h$ ) and «peaceful offering» or «sacrifice of communion» ( $\underline{s}^{el}\bar{a}m\hat{m}$ )<sup>44</sup>. These seem to be the two basic types of the Ugaritic sacrificial system that involved the participation of officiants and the people in the eating of the victim, namely, in the sacred 'banquet' in which the divinity also took part: first the gods, and then the people, as it were. Needless to say, generous 'libations' and wine offerings accompany the 'banquet' (cf. *infra*).

We do not know whether the *srp il* mentioned in KTU 1.65:16 is a special kind within this category, or only the *srp*-sacrifice to a particular god, as was the case with dbh (cf. supra).

## 15) šlmm (m.n.)45

Besides its coupling with *šrp*, the sacrifice *šlmm*<sup>46</sup> appears alone in a text that defines it explicitly as a «sacrifice of communion»:

*š l il bt šlmm kll ylhm bh*, «a ram to the god of the palace as peaceful sacrifice of which everyone shall eat» (KTU 1.115:9).

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Hebr kbwd, HAL, 436; Pun. kbd DISO, 114; Ac. of Emar kubādu, D. Arnaud, Emar VI/1-4, Paris 1985-87, 369: 8 s.; TRU, 68 s.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. D. Fleming, HSS 42, 1992, 62-169; Levine-de Tarragon, RB 100, 1993, 98-102. Cf. *infra* 'literary vocabulary'.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Sem. \*šrp; Ac. šarpu, šurpu, AHw, 1187, 1284; CAD Š/1, 66; CU, 62 s. The meaning of the base in Ug. is clear from a text such as b išt tšrpnn «they burnt it in the fire» (1. 6 II 33 y par.; cf. Ac. ina išati šarāpu, AHw, 1185).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> The term shows a form *plurale tantum* as is implied by its parallelism with *šarpu*, the Heb. correspondence (*'ôlāh /S'lamîm*) and texts such as the quoted KTU 1.115: 9.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Heb. \**šlm*(*m*), HAL, 1421 ss.; Pun. *šlm*, DISO, 305; cf. de Moor, in *Fs. Gispen*, Kampen 1970, 115; B. Janowski, UF 12, 1980, 231 ss.; CU, 60 s.

For its part, the epic of Kirta attests to the use of this term as a part of military booty. In this case it stands for a livestock in general, an extension of the cultic designation:

*qh krt šlmm šlmm*, «take Kirta peaceful 'offerings' in abundance» (KTU 1.14 III 26 and par.).

## 16) **hdrgl**(m.n.)(?)

The third Hurrian designation of a kind of offering is the hapax  $hdrgl^{47}$ . Since it heads a series of cultic actions followed by *šnpt* and *iyn*, it is advisable to take it as a general rite of unknown meaning, perhaps «respect, obeisance» (Sp. «pleitesía») equivalent to Ug. kbd (see later):

b yr $\hbar$   $\hbar$ y[r b ym]  $\hbar$ dt  $\hbar$ drglm... wtql ksp w s<sup>c</sup> rgbt, «in the month of  $\hbar$ iyyaru, on the day of the new moon, a  $\hbar$ -offering ... and a silver shekel and a 'ceremonial' plate», (KTU1.112:2).

# 17) iyn (n.m.)

In connection with <u>hdrġl</u> rite we have a new hapax designation,  $iyn^{48}$ , for which a semitic etymology has been suggested, very much in keeping with the occasion of its performance: <u>hiyyaru</u>, the month of the dead at Ugarit. The materials offered (grain, wine and a shekel of silver) point to a generic cultic designation.

b tmnt iynm akl, «on the eighth (day), as an offering of mourning» (KTU 1.112: 12).

### 18) **šnpt** (f.n.)

The term  $\delta npt^{49}$  also belongs to the category of 'specific' ritual denominations, but is of imprecise semantic value which only its etymology – in itself doubtful – may enable us to guess. One text certifies the use of the base  $\delta np$  as a verb, but due to its fragmentary context we cannot be sure of its value (KTU 1.50:6:  $t\delta npn$  'lm k[mm])<sup>50</sup>:

*b urm u šnpt l ydb mlk* «as a burning and 'community'(?) offering the King will sacrifice» (KTU 1.119:13)<sup>51</sup>;

b hmš ([s]rh šnpt il š, «on the fifteenth as a 'community'(?) offering: to II a ram» (KTU 1.112:22 and par.);

*šnpt hšth*, «as a 'community'(?) sacrifice (in) its half» (?) (1.39:10).

<sup>47</sup> Cf. RC, 158 n. 56. It is taken usually as a designation of a kind of cultic personnel according to Hurr./Ac. of Alalah lú.meš ha-šē-ru-hu-li, AT, 269: 22; AHw, 333; CAD H, 139 («maker of hašēru objects ... for the sons of the king»); GLH, 96. (The hybrid suggested by Dietrich-Loretz, WO 3, 1966, 189 ss.: Hurr.-Ug. \*hdr -[< \*/<sup>c</sup>-d/z-r/, Ac. hāzirum, AHw, 339] + Hurr. suf. /-(u)hli/ > \*-gl is improbable).

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Sem. \*/<sup>3</sup>-n/; Heb. <sup>3</sup>wn, HAL, 21 s.; Nab. <sup>3</sup>wn, DISO, 6; Ar. <sup>3</sup>ayn, Lane, 139; RC, 158 n. 56; slightly diff. H. Cazelles, *Semitica* 29, 1979, 58 «apaisement».

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Ar. sinf, «a company of men», sinf, sinfat, «pericarp, shale», Lane, 1445 s. Other alternatives are: Hitt. Sipand- «opfern», HW, 193; cf. G.H. Beckman, Hittite Birth Rituals, New Haven 1977, 296; Heb. tnph, «wave-offering»; cf. D. Hillers, BASOR 192-200, 1979, 42/18; J. Milgrom, IEJ 22, 1972, 33 ss.; CU, 64 s.; Heb. nwp, «pouring offering»; cf. Herdner, U 7, 20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Cf. Herdner, U 7, 20; J.T. Milik, *ibidem*, 138.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Notice its coupling with *ur*(*m*)(cf. *infra*). Might *urm usnpt* be a synonym of *srp wslmm*?

# 19) **urm** (m.n.)<sup>52</sup>

In the first of the examples quoted above we find the coupling of  $\delta npt$  with  $urm^{53}$ , a new type of burning sacrifice, probably only a partial one, mainly of the viscera of the animal. It may be this peculiarity that distinguishes it from  $\delta rp$ , a more general and to-tal designation.

b urm u šnpt, «as a burning and 'community' offering» (KTU 1.119:13).

w b urm lb rmst, «and as a burning offering, a roasted heart» (KTU 1.39:8 and par.).

The character of 'burning' offering is plain in the second instance, there also in sequence with a rite *šnpt* (lin. 10), while the first represents a rite (lin. 11-14) strongly parallel to the previous one in the text (lin. 9-11) as far as place (*bt b*'l ugrt/mgdl lb'l ugrt), officiant (*bt*  $\underline{f'}[y] / mlk ydbh$ ) and type of offering are concerned. In this case a new verb is used (*nrr*, «to burn»), a non-technical *hapax* in the cultic texts belonging probably to the general lexicon.

20) ntk (v.)

The vocabulary of libation is rather vague in the Ug. cultic texts, although this kind of offering had a great significance in its funerary liturgy. The main predicate is  $ntk^{54}$ . The libation as such accompanied always the sacrifice.

w b u[rbth?] ytk, «and in the ni[che of his] a libation will be poured» (1.41:12; 1.87:13);

ytk blt[, «a libation will be poured in ...» (1.107:46).

21) mtk (m.n.)

We have also the nominal derivation of the former: *mtk mlkt rišyt*, «the libation of the original royalty» (1.119:25)<sup>55</sup>.

22) sqy(n.m)(?)

Another possible designation for «libation» could be  $\xi qy^{56}$ , but this seems very doubtful from the formal and contextual point of view.

w lbbt šqym, «and to Bibbita two libations» (1.115:11)<sup>57</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> The existence of a sing. *ur* (KTU 1.19 II 17 and par.; 1.10 I 11 [?]) makes necessary to take the *-m* either as a pl. (limited to the cult?; cf. Heb. *`ûrîm*) or as an enclitic morpheme.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Cf. Heb. <sup>3</sup>wr, HAL, 24; Ar. <sup>3</sup>uwär / <sup>3</sup>ur, J.G. Hava, Al-Faraid. Arabic-English Dictionary, Beirut 1964, 16; Ac. of Alalah elem. <sup>3</sup>urū in PPNN, Sivan, AOAT 214, 1984, 202; cf. Herdner, U 7, 34; CU, 65 s.; RC, 30 n. 82.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Heb. ntk, HAL, 691 s.; Yaud. ntk, DISO, 188; Ac. natāku, AHw, 765 s.; CAD N/2, 115 ss.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Cf. CU, 73; RC, 203 n. 30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Cf. Heb. šqh, HAL, 1512 s.; Ar. saqā, Lane 1348 ss.; Asa. sqy, DOSA, 343 ss.; Ethp. saqaya, CDG, 511; Ac. šaqū, AHw, 1181 s.; CAD Š/2, 24 ss.; Ug. syl. šaqi -, onomastic element in Ug.; cf. Sivan, AOAT 214, 1984, 274: Ebl. ŠE.TIN.KUR = sa-gú-um, sa-gúm, VE 647: /8-q-y/, MEE 2, 33; Butz, in *Ebla 1975-1985*, 333 (but cf. G. Conti, in MisEb 3, 174: /da<sup>3</sup>gum/, Ar. da<sup>3</sup>ga); A.AD<sub>X</sub>.NA = si-gú-um, VE 698; K. Butz, in op. cit., 345; cf. NP ši-qà (-ND), Müller, in *Il bilinguismo, cit.*, 180; cf. S. Loewenstamm, IEJ 15, 1965, 124 n. 13; MLC, 119 n. 262.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> For other interpretations cf. RC, 30 n. 83.

### 23) riš argmn (n.m.)

As a part of the liturgy of the New Year, this kind of «tribute»<sup>58</sup> is probably associated with the first summer fruits, above all vine fruits (*byrh riš yn*). It was accompanied by the sacrifice of animals.

barb't 'srt ris arg[mn], «on the fourteenth, offering or the first fruits» (1.41:4; 1.87:4-5; cf. Pun. *slm hršt*<sup>59</sup>).

## 24) **pgr**(m.n.)

Many of the terms quoted above are used in the funerary liturgy of Ugarit, which included sacrifice and banquet (cf. KTU 1.106:24ss.), parallel to the *kispum* of Mari<sup>60</sup> and no doubt played a special role in the *mrzh* gatherings; even some of the denominations analyzed may refer explicitly to it (*dbh nat wqrwn, ytnt trmn, iyn*). In this connection the mythology preserves the description of the 'funerary sacrifice' that the goddess Anat offers in honor of her dead brother Baal (KTU 1.6 I 18ss.), while the epic records the cultic duties of the 'ideal son' in honor of his dead father (KTU 1.17 I 26-33 and par.). One of these duties is the erection of a stele<sup>61</sup>. Now, some Ug. stelae mention a special kind of ritual called *pgr*, which may be the specific name for «funerary sacrifice» at Ugarit; it was also the name of the month (*yrh pgrm*; cf. KTU 4.172:2; 4.266:2; 4.336:2 ...), maybe another designation of the month *hiyyaru*. In turn, text KTU 1.39:12-19 may preserve the record of a special sacrifice of this kind, held in the Palace «on the night of *šp8 pgr wtrmnm* ...» (cf. also KTU 1.102.12)<sup>62</sup>. In this connection a reference to the Mari sacrifice *pagrā 'um* is unavoidable<sup>63</sup>.

skn š'ly tryl ldgn pgr ..., «stele that offered NP to Dagan as a pagru-sacrifice ... », (KTU6.13:2);

pgr d š'ly 'zn ldgn b'lh ..., «(stele of a) pagru-sacrifice that offered PN to Dagan, his Lord, ... » (KTU 6.14:1s.).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Cf. RC, 78 n. 60; Hit. arkamma(n)-, HW, 302 ss.; cf. Tischler, HEG, 59 s.; Puhvel, HED 143-46; Hurr. \*arg-am-anne, M.I. Diakonoff, Hurrisch und Urartäisch, München 1971, 79 n. 82; Ac. argamannu, AHw, 67; CAD A/2, 253; Heb. 'rgmn, HAL, 81 s.; Palm. 'rgwn, DISO, 23; Aram. St.A. Kaufman, AS 19, 1974, 35 > Ar. 'urguwän, Lane, 1505; cf. Dietrich-Loretz, WO 3/2, 1964-66, 218; Pardee, UF 6, 1974, 277 s.; Sanmartín, UF 10, 1978, 455 s.; van Soldt, UF 22, 1990, 344 n. 164 (but cf. M. Dijkstra, UF 21, 1989, 144: «purple dyed cloth»).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Cf. IPT, 49.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Cf. CU, 67-70; RC, 112.

<sup>61</sup> The new proposal put forward by M.J. Boda (UF 25, 1993, 13) is simply untenable; to the Ugaritic cultic use add Ac. *sikkanum* and its cult at Mari, cf. Durand's study quoted in n. 62.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. RC, 112, 149.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. J.-M. Durand, La religión en Siria durante la época de los reinos amorreos según la documentación de Mari, in G. del Olmo Lete (ed.), Mitología y Religión del Oriente Antiguo. Il/I Los semitas occidentales (Ebla, Mari, Ugarit) (en prensa).

## C) Unexplained and literary designations

There are also a number of words that appear in the ritual texts and have not to date been satisfactorily explained; even their inclusion in the sacrificial lexicon is doubtful.

kdr wnpt(1.50:6/10); mzy (1.48:14)<sup>64</sup>; dnt (1.148:22)<sup>65</sup>; tqnt(1.148:22)<sup>66</sup>; <sup>c</sup>gml(1.41:9; 1.87:10)(?)<sup>67</sup>; dn / knt / gdyn il(1.65:15-18)<sup>68</sup>.

Others belong to the general vocabulary and do not appear in the ritual texts, for instance:

*mdr* and *htp* (KTU 1.119:30/32)<sup>69</sup>; *dgtt* (1.19 IV 23 y par.)<sup>70</sup>; *trmmt/tgzyt* (1.6 VI 44s.)<sup>71</sup>.

A number of predicates appears also in the ritual texts in relationship with sacrifice (action and material) but should not be considered part of the cultic vocabulary as such:

yşa: 1.106:28; 1.126:6, 22; RIH 77/2B:19; RIH 77/11:2; ytr: 1.104:12; RIH 78/4:16 (but cf. ytnt, KTU 1.127:5, supra n. 14); kbd: 1.119:19 (but cf. kbd, 1.41:39 and par.); nrr: 1.119:9 (but cf. urm); nša: 1.40:24s. and par.; 1.119:27; qdš/mla/ <sup>c</sup>šr: 1.119:31-33<sup>72</sup>; ql pas.: 1.109:5 (cf. <sup>c</sup>šrt and n. 6); šlm: 1.90:21 (cf. 1.111:23)<sup>73</sup>; št: 1.48:9; 1.104:20.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Pardee, Syria 65, 1988, 188 s.; RC, 69 n. 14 (but a bird is not a suitable 'libation' offering).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> This and the following term may belong to juridical vocabulary. Cf. Ac. zinnātu, AHw, 1529; CAD Z, 123. Less probable Ac. zannu, CAD Z, 47: «a dish made from fermented barley»; AHw, 1510: «ein gesäuertes (gegossenes) Gerstengericht»; cf. Ar. ganna, ganīn, Lane, 979. For other opinions cf. TRU, 99; Aartun, UF 16, 1984, 15: «Fehler», Ar. gāna, gayn.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Sem. </q-n-y/ (?), «(allocation of) property» (?); cf. KTU 5. 23 (*Semitica* 27, 1977, 17): 10.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. Hit. hukmai -, Tischler, HEG I, p. 257 RC, 74 n. 51; Levine-de Tarragon, RB 100, 1993, 95 (read *tgm1*, «present», cf. Heb. *tagmûl*).

<sup>68</sup> Cf. Dietrich-Loretz, in TUAT II, 319.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Cf. CU, 66; text KTU 1.119: 26-36 is a psalm.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Cf. CU, 70-72.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Cf. CU, 66.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. CU, 73 s.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. CU, 61 s.; RC, 117 n. 114, 216.

Many other designations should be taken into account to do justice to the whole semantic field 'offering-sacrifice', such as: 'sacrificial materials' (animals and their parts [above all entrails], vegetal and mineral products, clothing), 'cultic installations', where the sacrificial rite takes place, and the different kinds of cultic staff (priests, acolytes, singers...), not to mention the more general setting of sacred times (calendar) and places (temples). Here only the sacrificial action in itself has been considered.