

THE "PANtheon" OF UGARIT: FURTHER NOTES

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The honouring of Oswald Loretz is a particular pleasure not only because of his historic role in the development of Ugaritic studies - he has played the major role in establishing Ugaritic studies as a discipline independent of Biblical studies - but also because of his unfailing kindness and generosity to younger scholars in a field of study of which he is himself the master. I wish him "Many Happy Returns".

I have argued elsewhere that the Ugaritic "pantheon" list is a schematic resumé of Ugaritic theology¹ and discussed the various texts which represent this listing. I return here to the same group of texts in order to add some epigraphic notes, some specific comments on new material related to particular entries in the lists and finally some general comments on the Ugaritic pantheon.

EPIGRAPHIC NOTES. A visit to Syria in 1985, facilitated by the kind help of Dr. Afif Bahnassi of the Syrian Directorate General of Antiquities, enabled me to check certain aspects of the "pantheon" texts in the museums in Damascus and Aleppo, as well as a number of other texts which bear upon the Ugaritic pantheon².

The "pantheon" lists checked are KTU 1.47; 1.118 and Akkadian text RS 20.24. Since KTU 1.148 played an important role in the discussion of the lists, although it is a ritual, not a god-list as such, it too was checked. The following notes add to what was said in the earlier article.

KTU 1.47 (Aleppo, Museum no. M 3334):

- (i) Line 12 (*face*, 24 in Herdner's CTA edition) is clearly to be read as:]*wšm*[. The last visible letter is /m/, not /q/, as in Herdner's copy, and the line is to be completed as in KTU as 'ars *wšmm*'.
- (ii) Line 13, not represented at all in Herdner's copy, contains directly below the /w/ of line 12 a combination of wedges,  , which could be /t/ followed by (the beginning of) /w/. That the  is not part of the /r/ of *ktrt* is suggested by the fact that it is so far to the right (compare KTU 1.118). While *ktrt* is correctly read at the beginning of the line, it looks as though this is followed by a /w/ and we have to consider the possibility that we are dealing with a binomial.
- (iii) Finally it is confirmed that there are no check-marks on the tablet.

KTU 1.118 (Damascus, Museum no. D 6604):

This is a large, crudely written tablet.

- (i) To the readings of Herdner³ there is very little to add, though the tablet is not as clear as Herdner implies. For example, line 20 should read ²]*ns*[though there is, of course, no doubt about the correctness of the restoration.
- (ii) Line 32: *m̄lm̄* is quite clear, with only slight damage to the /k/.
- (iii) The single wedge ) on the edge of the tablet alongside each line does not vary and cannot, therefore, have quantitative significations. The line drawn after the list of Baals is to be noted.

RS 20.24 (Damascus, Museum no. DO 5287):

This is a neat little tablet. The quality of Nougayrol's copy⁴ is confirmed, but note:

- (i) Line 11, ^d*IDIM* & *IDIM* (thus Nougayrol) is correctly interpreted as orthographically artificial. However, Nougayrol's doubts about the interpretation of it as *ersetum* & *šamū* are to be set aside in view of the Ugaritic version (KTU 1.118:11).
- (ii) Line 18b is in fact very unclear: *u a-mu-[?]*. The reading of the final sign as /tum/ seems doubtful. And one would expect an equivalent for the Uga-

ritic version's ^cmqt.

(iii) Close examination shows that the check-marks do *not* vary. There are always two wedges, even in places like line 26, where Nougayrol has clearly copied only one. The marks, therefore, do not have quantitative significance, though the list may have been checked twice.

KTU 1.148 (Damascus, Museum no. D0 6660):

This ritual text was used in my former article to supply some gaps in the lists themselves.

(i) Line 6. There are a number of points here. First, ^cztr is missing from his expected place between pdry and grm⁵. In the same line the reading is probably grm [w] ^c[mq]t.š. There is, however, very little room for the /m/ and /q/ as restored and a possible alternative reading might be grm[.š.] ^c[tt]r.š.

(ii) Line 9 is to be read with certainty as [k]nr.š.m̄km. ^csrm gdt, so that m̄km, which is virtually clear, is *not* missing⁶. This brings KTU 1.148 more into line with the "pantheon" list than I allowed earlier.

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON DEITIES. To the discussion of the general character of lists of this type can now be added W.G. Lambert's recent article on 'The Pantheon of Mari'⁷. We may note in a text there discussed (pp. 528ff.) the use of check-marks introducing each entry in a list of gods. The fact that there is the number ten beside the tenth deity clearly points to the fact that the marks have a checking function, though it could be offerings which are being totalled up.

(i) *Dagan*. The two Dagan steles (KTU 6.13 and 6.14) were originally published in 1935⁸. Since they are of stone and are therefore not included in CTA, they have been somewhat neglected and have not been re-edited definitively like most of the other Ugaritic texts discovered in the early days.

No revision of the reading of KTU 6.13 (Paris, Louvre Museum no. AO 19. 931) is needed⁹, except to say that the reading of the first letter of the person named, usually taken to be tryl, is really speculation. Dussaud had read it as tryl. Nor is the question insignificant, since the name has usually been

identified with that of the Ugaritic queen *tryl* (cf. KTU 2.34:2). The text is to be translated:

"Stele¹⁰ which *T(ת?)ryl* set up to Dagan:

a *pgr*-offering, a sheep and an ox, to be eaten".

The other stele, KTU 6.14 (Aleppo, Museum no. M 8388) does require revision. In the last line we should read [š w']^{ip.} *bm̄h̄m*. The last sign has two wedges and cannot be /t/ as supposed by KTU. It might be /n/ but *m̄h̄m* is the most satisfactory reading. This tends to confirm the reading I preferred in an article published in 1976¹¹. *m̄h̄m* can be guessed at on the basis of the root *h̄m* with meanings related to "forbidden, dedicated" in a wide variety of Semitic languages (Ethiopic, Arabic, Aramaic, Hebrew, Akkadian) but not, up to the present, in Ugaritic. Both Arabic and Nabataean Aramaic have *m-*prefix forms suggesting "sacred place, reserved area, etc." We might, therefore, have an allusion to the total dedication of the offerings or to the sanctuary or part of the temple in which the offerings were to be made¹². The translation would be:

"*pgr*-offerings which ^o*zn* offered to Dagan his lord:

a sheep and an ox for total dedication (*or* in the sacred precinct)".

pgr is a particular type of offering, paralleled, as I argued in 1976¹³, at Mari (*pagrā'um*, etc.). K. Spronk¹⁴ comes to the same conclusion, though he is surely mistaken in supposing that *pgr* sacrifices are only offered to underworld deities or deities with underworld connections. He cites in evidence the phrase *špš pgr* (KTU 1.39: 12, 17; 1.102:12) but this is almost certainly a composite title of Šapšu the sun-goddess and *pgr* is not an offering to her¹⁵. Indeed in KTU 1.39:17-18 *špš pgr* receives a *galt*-offering, not a *pgr*-offering. The best explanation of *špš pgr* is based on Arabic *fajr*, "dawn". The title might then mean "Sun-goddess of Dawn"¹⁶. In any case there is no real evidence that Dagan and Šapšu are underworld deities, even if they have some underworld connections, and there is no specific connection between Ugaritic *pgr* and rites for the dead.

There remains, however, the question of the nature and purpose of these

steles which are unique in the Ugaritic tradition, though there are, of course, steles with figures of divinities on them. Do the two steles simply commemorate particular sacrifices ? Is the fact that *tryl* (if that is the reading) and *czn* were people of importance (cf. KTU 2.34:2 and 4.93 II 8) significant ? Are the sacrifices kept present before the god through the presence of the steles in or near the sanctuary ? Was it only Dagan who received such steles ?

Series of standing steles from Byblos, Gezer, Hazor and Aššur were discussed in the earlier article¹⁷. Spronk¹⁸ most recently has also concluded, as I did, that it is difficult to be certain of the purpose of all of these. The Gezer steles were set up at the same time, not successively. The importance of the Aššur steles lies in the fact that they were inscribed with the names and brief genealogies of kings and officials. They were probably regarded as the image (*salmu*) of the king or official¹⁹. But unlike the Aššur steles the Ugaritic ones mention offerings and are dedicated to a particular deity. We must certainly reject W.F. Albright's view of them as of funereal significance²⁰.

In fact the best parallels to the Ugaritic steles are much later Phoenician/Punic steles dedicated to Baal-Hammon where sacrifices are commemorated on steles²¹. These would suggest that the Ugaritic steles are to be taken at their face value as records of sacrifices, originally set up in a sanctuary.

The identification of the Dagan temple at Ugarit is, as I have argued elsewhere, far from certain²². The best information available on the find-spots of the steles is that they were found outside a supposed Middle Bronze Age temple, "parmi l'amoncellement des grand blocs provenant de ses murs"²³, i.e. the blocks from the temple wall. The absence of other such steles and the lack of the socketed stone bases into which the steles originally slotted lead one to suspect that they were not found in their original place (in the *m̄hrim* ?).

(ii) On the multiplicity of Baals see the article of W.G. Lambert already referred to (p. 533).

(iii) The *ktrt* may now be found in a Mari text²⁴, though the singular, equivalent to *ktr*, may also be read. To the bibliography of the *ktrt* may be added J. Day's article on Asherah²⁵. He rightly rejects the equation of *r̄hmy* in KTU 1.

23:13, 16, 28 with ^d*sa-sú-ra-tum* on the grounds that ^d*sa-sú-ra-tum* = *krt*. He suggests that *rhy* is an independent deity. However, her absence from offering lists makes this at least doubtful. Identity with Athirat remains a possibility.

(iv) Athirat is newly treated by Day²⁶ in the context of the Bible and ancient Israel. While accepting most of what he says, we may make one minor correction to his background data. New evidence removes all allusion to Athirat ('AšIrā) from the Aramaic of Taymā'²⁷. A new text published by H.I. Abu-Duruk²⁸, contemporary with the long-known Taymā' stele in the Louvre, refers clearly to 'ṣym, and this should certainly be read instead of 'ṣyr', which is in fact unclear in the Louvre text. The new evidence makes clear allusion to the deity mentioned in 2 Kings 17:30, 'aṣimā of Hamath, and eliminates all question of the Hebrew text containing a pious euphemism, as assumed, for example, by J. Gray²⁹.

(v) *mlkm*. To what has been written on *mlkm* must now be added the monograph of G. Heider³⁰.

In addition to the confirmation of the reading of *mlkm* in KTU 1.148 (above) it is also now important to add RIH 78/14, recently translated by M. Dietrich and O. Loretz³¹. The text contains a list of astrological/meteorological omens. No. III is translated:

"If on the 3rd of Kislim the moon is dim,
the *mlkm* will remain at a distance."

The apodosis, *mlkm tbsrm*, could be interpreted in a variety of ways³². The *mlkm* here could well be more than simply hostile foreign rulers, though admittedly other apodeses are in the natural rather than supernatural sphere. It is at least possible that we have here the demonic aspect of the *mlkm*³³.

GENERAL. The elimination of Athirat from Taymā' throws even further into relief the presence of Athirat as part of South Arabian religion³⁴ and reminds us of the rather unlikely links that exist between Ugarit and Arabia. Of course in many cases the sharing of deities between the two is of little significance, since the same divine names may be found throughout the ancient Near

East. Yet there are some features of religion, as there are eccentric linguistic isoglosses and connections of script, which are noteworthy.

Šapšu is female at Ugarit and otherwise regularly female only in South Arabian religion³⁵. This is in contrast with the basically male character of Šamaš in Babylonia and elsewhere. ^ctz̄tr and ^ctz̄trt are a distinct male/female pair in Ugaritic religion, while Mesopotamian Ištar is (extremely) female. ^ctz̄tr is very prominent and male in South Arabian religion³⁶.

There are other divine titles from Ugarit worthy of further investigation in this context. In discussion of a recent conference paper on the Ugaritic *rp'm*³⁷, attention was drawn to the divine epithet *rf'*/*rf'n* applied in South Arabia, for example, to ^ctz̄tr³⁸. This leads plausibly to the view that Ugaritic *rp'u*³⁹ is "the healer" or "the one who shows favour"⁴⁰. Even the demonic *m̄lk̄m* find a suggestive parallel in the demonic Mālik of the Qur'ān (*sūra* 48:77).

Other suggested connections with Arabia are in language (with J. Aistleitner as principal advocate) and script⁴¹, while other scholars, notably B. Margalit⁴², have advocated a southern connection in Ugaritic legend. Are we after all on the track of a southern origin of at least part of the Ugaritic tradition and perhaps of its royal family?

This speculation is respectfully dedicated to Oswald Loretz.

1) *The Akkadian 'Pantheon' List from Ugarit*: SEL, 2 (1985), 115-25.

2) I am particularly grateful to M.B. Zouhdi and M.H. Hammadi in Damascus and Aleppo Museums for their assistance and to the University of Durham's Centre for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies for financing my visit to Syria

3) U 5, pp. 1-3.

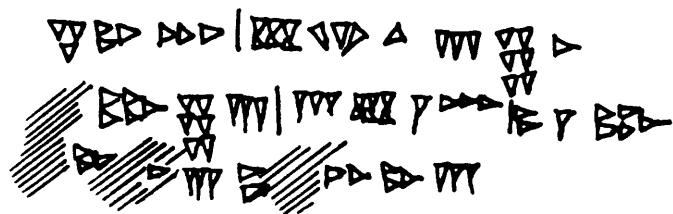
4) U 5, p. 379.

5) Cf. SEL, 2 (1985), 122.

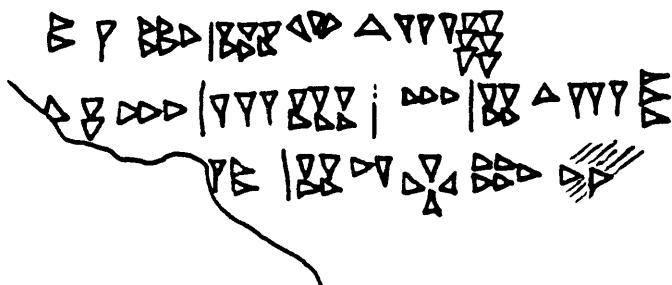
- 6) Against SEL, 2 (1985), 122 and KTU.
- 7) MARI, 4 (1985), 525-39.
- 8) R. Dussaud: *Syria*, 16 (1935), 177-80.
- 9) I wish to thank Mlle A. Caubet of the Louvre for the supply of photographs. New copies of both steles are provided as Figure 1.
- 10) That *skn* is "stele" is still far from certain, though such a meaning does fit here and in KTU 1.17 I 27, 45, etc. (on which cf. J.F. Healey: UF, 11 [1979], 353-56, where a different interpretation is offered). On *skn* "stele", cf. J.-M. de Tarragon, *Le culte à Ugarit*, 1980, 68; J.F. Healey: JNSL, 5 (1976), 43-46.
- 11) JNSL, 5 (1976), 43-51. The new reading bypasses the discussion of *mhrt* by M. Dietrich and O. Loretz: UF, 13 (1981), 297-98.
- 12) Cf. J. Cantineau, *Le nabatéen*, 1930-32, s.v.; CIS II 158: 1, 5, 6.
- 13) JNSL, 5 (1976), 49-50.
- 14) *Beatific Afterlife in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East*, 1986, 150.
- 15) For špš pgr as a composite name see J.-M. de Tarragon, *op.cit.*, 69; P. Kella, TRU 1, 76f., 328ff.
- 16) See UT, p.555; *Ugaritic Literature*, 1949, 111-12: "Daybreak-Sun". Some early commentators, like Dussaud, *op.cit.*, 178, took pgr in the steles to mean "offering", based on Arabic *fajar*, "generosity".
- 17) JNSL, 5 (1976), 47f.
- 18) *Op.cit.*, 140-41. Note on this C.F. Graesser: BA, 35 (1972), 34-63.
- 19) On these note most recently P.A. Miglus: ZA, 74 (1984), 133-40, in which he concludes that the Aššur steles were not posthumous memorials.
- 20) *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, 1953³, 105-106, 203.
- 21) KAI 61; 79; 102ff. from Malta, Carthage, Constantine. Spronk, *op.cit.*, 150, refers to these.
- 22) Paper delivered at the Ugaritic Symposium in Münster, 1986, in press.
- 23) C.F.-A. Schaeffer: *Syria*, 16 (1935), 155-56 and pl. xxxvi; J.-C. Courtois: DBS 9, cols. 1195-96.
- 24) Lambert, *op.cit.*, 528f.:12 - ^d*ku-ša-*[].
- 25) *Asherah in the Hebrew Bible and North West Semitic Literature*: JBL, 105 (1986), 390.
- 26) *Ibid.*, 385-408.

- 27) *Ibid.*, 397.
- 28) *Introduction to the Archaeology of Tayma'*, 1986-1406 A.H., 61ff. See also A. Livingstone et al.: *Atlat*, 7 (1983-1403 A.H.), 108ff.
- 29) *I and II Kings*, 1970², 653-54. Note also Amos 8:14.
- 30) G. Heider, *The Cult of Molek*, 1985.
- 31) In (O. Kaiser ed.) *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments*, II, i, 1986, 94-95. The original publication is P. Bordreuil and A. Caquot: *Syria*, 57 (1980), 352-53 and pls. p. 369.
- 32) Collation of the tablet in Damascus confirmed the apodosis; the protasis is obscure. I have not had access to a new publication, M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, *Omina und medizinische Pferdetexte aus Ugarit und Ras Ibn Hani*, 1986.
- 33) See Healey: UF, 7 (1975), 235-38, referred to by Bordreuil and Caquot, *op. cit.*, 353. The interpretation of the verb follows Dietrich and Loretz, but *bsr* can be interpreted in a variety of ways: Bordreuil and Caquot have "ils observent". On *bsr* see MLC, 529; M. Dietrich and O. Loretz: UF, 12 (1980), 279-82; D. Cohen, *Dictionnaire des racines sémitiques*, fasc. 2, 1976, 77.
- 34) See A. Jamme: *Le Muséon*, 60 (1947), 109.
- 35) *Ibid.*, 101ff. On a possible occurrence of the sun-goddess as *šfs*, see A. F.L. Beeston: *Or*, 22 (1953), 416-17.
- 36) Jamme, *op.cit.*, 85f. On male/female ^c*ttr*/^c*tttrt* see further W.G. Lambert, *op.cit.*, 537.
- 37) Paper by Y. Onodera delivered in Hamburg, 1986.
- 38) See J.C. Biella, *Dictionary of Old South Arabian: Sabaean Dialect*, 1982, 492-93.
- 39) *rp'u b^cl* in KTU 1.22 I 8; *rp'u mlk^clm* in KTU 1.108:1.
- 40) For earlier discussion of *rp'u* etc., see Heider, *op.cit.*, 113ff.
- 41) See A.G. Lundin: *AuOr*, 5 (1987), 71-99, and recent work by Dietrich and Loretz (*Münster Symposium*, 1986).
- 42) For example in (G.D. Young, ed.) *Ugarit in Retrospect*, 1981, 131-58.

FIGURE 1



KTU 6.13 (Louvre 19.931)



KTU 6.14 (Aleppo M 8388)