

## Recent Developments in Ugaritic Studies and their Implications for Biblical Literature

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*Ugaritic Texts: Some Basic Translations, etc.*

Niehr, Herbert. "Mythen und Epen aus Ugarit." *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments: Band 8. Weisheitstexte, Mythen und Epen*. Neue Folge. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlaghaus, 2015. 177-301.

Parker, Simon B. ed. *Ugaritic Narrative Poetry*. Society of Biblical Literature Writings from the Ancient World 9. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997.

Wyatt, N. *Religious Texts from Ugarit*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. The Biblical Seminar 53. London/New York: Sheffield. Academic Press, 2002.

Pardee, Dennis. *Ritual and Cult at Ugarit*. Ed. Theodore J. Lewis. Society of Biblical Literature Writings from the Ancient World 10. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2002.

Müller, Reinhard, Hans Neumann, and Reettakaisa Sofia Salo, ed. *Rituale und Magie in Ugarit: Praxis, Kontexte und Bedeutung*. Orientalische Religionen in der Antike 47. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2022.

### **I. Intercultural Context (from the perspective of ancient Ugarit): regional orbits of inland Syria and the Levantine coast, with Hatti, Egypt, the Aegean and Heartland Mesopotamia beyond**

Manfred Dietrich and Oswald Loretz, eds., *Ugarit: Ein ostmediterranes Kulturzentrum im Alten Orient. Ergebnisse und Perspektiven der Forschung: Band I. Ugarit und seine altorientalische Umwelt*, ALASP 7. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1995.

W. G. E. Watson and N. Wyatt, ed. *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*. HdO I/39. Leiden/Boston/Köln: Brill, 1999.

Jana Mynářová, "Across Cultures, Across Languages. Interconnectivity in the Late Bronze Age Ugarit," *diacritica* 37/2 (2023): 71-81. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.21814/diacritica.4770>.

*Intercultural Transmission – Intercultural transmission routes from Ugarit to far points:*

1. Egypt: New Kingdom Egypt importing West Semitic warrior deities, Baal, Anat, Astarte and Resheph, specifically Baal Sapan in "A Letter concerning the Wonders of Memphis," in pSallier IV verso 1.1-4.8, dated to the reign of Rameses II, 1279-1213, in Tazawa, *Syro-Palestinian Deities*; cf. Baal Saphon in the Egyptian setting in Exodus 14:2 and Num 33:7. See also "Astarte and the Sea," in Noga Ayali-Darshan, *The Storm-God and the Sea*, 16-30.

2. Greece (?): Tiryns, so KTU 6.104 reading *mš' l[t]*, "oracular (tool)" "on hippopotamus ivory".

3. Hatti: I. Rutherford, "The Song of the Sea (ŠA A.A.AB.BA ŠIR): Thoughts on KUB 45.63," *Akten des IV. International Kongresses für Hethitologie, Würzburg, 4.-8. October 1999*. Ed. G.

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<sup>1</sup> For a key to the abbreviations see: <https://rla.badw.de/reallexikon/abkuerzungslisten/literatur-und-koerperschaften.html>

Wilhelm. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001), 598-609; and Ayali-Darshan, *The Storm-God and the Sea*, 42-47. See West Semitic “Ashertu and the Storm-God.”

4. Mari: West Semitic tradition of warrior-storm god’s weapon, Ugarit (etc.) to Mari to Enuma Elish? Ayali-Darshan, *The Storm-God and the Sea*, 204-11.

Ayali-Darshan, Noga, *The Storm-God and the Sea: The Origin, Versions, and Diffusion of a Myth throughout the Ancient Near East*. Trans. Liat Keren. ORA 37. Tübingen, 2020.

Bachvarova, Mary R. *From Hittite to Homer: The Anatolian Background of Ancient Greek Epic*. Cambridge University, 2016.

López-Ruiz, C., *Gods, Heroes, and Monsters: A Sourcebook of Greek, Roman, and Near Eastern Myths in Translation*. New York/Oxford: Oxford University, 2014.

de Olivieri, A. D., “Zeus Kasios or the Interpretatio Graeca of Baal Saphon in Ptolemaic Egypt.” Pp. 222-29 in *Alexandria and Aegyptum: The Legacy of Multiculturalism in Antiquity*. Ed. Rogério Sousa, Maria Do Céu Fialho, Mona Haggag and Nuno Simões Rodrigues. Porto: Afrontamento, 2013.

Tazawa, Keiko. *Syro-Palestinian Deities in New Kingdom Egypt: The Hermeneutics of Their Existence*, BAR International series 1965. Oxford: BAR Publishing, 2009.

Töyräänvuori, J. *Sea and the Combat Myth: Northwest Semitic Political Mythology in the Hebrew Bible*. AOAT 457. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2018.

*Regional (Levantine coast) intercultural transmission routes involving Ugarit and Israel:*

1. Ugaritic into biblical sources *via Phoenicia*: Ugaritic name Baal Špn (špn located just north of Ugarit and well attested in Ugaritic sources) is known in Phoenician inscriptions (Saqqara in KAI 50:3 and Marseilles in KAI 69:1), suggesting Phoenicia as the mediating point for this tradition to the Hebrew Bible (Isa 14:13, Lebanon referenced in 14:8; Ps 48:3) and also included in the Assyrian treaty of Esarhaddon with Baal, king of Tyre.

2. From Phoenicia material may move *separately and independently* into Ugaritic and the Bible. the names of the Lebanon and Siryon (mountain ranges located south of Ugarit), in Ps 29:5-6 and Ugaritic literary texts (KTU 1.4 VI 18-21). Cf. *b’l lbnn* in an 8<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> century Phoenician inscription from Limassol, Cyprus, reflecting Phoenician mainland connection: “[PN] governor of Carthage,<sup>2</sup> servant of Hiram, king of the Sidonians, gave this to Baal of Lebanon, his lord, of the first yield of copper...” (*škn qrṯḏšt ‘bd ḥrm šdnm ‘z ytn lb’l lbnn ‘dny br’št nḥšt...*, KAI 31:1; see also *b’l lbnn* in KAI 31:2. Cf. Rephaim associated with Phoenician Lebanon in KTU 1.22 I 24-25.

3. Material *separately and independently* into both Ugarit and the Bible from still elsewhere, e.g., from Transjordan a second (apparently independent) Rephaim tradition in the GNs Ashtarot and Edrei associated with the Rephaim (so Rapa’u in KTU 1.108:4-5 and in Deut 1:4, Josh 12:4, 13:12, the two sites belonging to Og of Bashan, also called the last of the Rephaim in Deut 3:11, Josh 12:4; see also Edrei in reference to Rephaim in Deut 3:1, 10-11, and note Num 21:33; and Ashtarot in Josh 9:10).

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<sup>2</sup> On Cyprus; see *ANET* 291, 294, in inscriptions of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal.

4. Cf. the Amorite tradition of *ddn/dtn*, which the Ugaritic texts associate with the Rapa'uma ancestors of Kirta (1.15 III 2-4, 13-15 and the monarchy (1.161.2-3, 9-10), provide additional background to the biblical Rephaim. Note also Amorite deity background in <sup>d</sup>dinger-mar-tu group of deities listed in an early forerunner text of An = Anum (CBS 331, tablet VI, lines 223-266 that includes the goddesses Athirat and Anat, listed as <sup>d</sup>aš-ra-tum and <sup>d</sup>a-na-tum. In one listing (line 256), <sup>d</sup>aš-ra-tum corresponds to Martu's wife Gubaru (cf. *qdš w- 'amrr* as Athirat's servant in 1.4 IV 2-17). Note also the Amorite-Akkadian bilingual, published by Andrew R. George and Manfred Krebernik, listing the two goddesses Asheratum and Anat as a-še-ra-tum and ḥa-na-tum, as well as <sup>d</sup>da-gan, ka-mi-<sup>{x}</sup>-iš, ia-ra-ḥu-um, ra-sa-pum, pi-id-ra-a.

George, Andrew, and Manfred Krebernik, "Two Remarkable Vocabularies: Amorite-Akkadian Bilinguals!" *RA* 116 (2022):113-66.

Lambert, Wilfred G., and Ryan D. Winters, *An = Anum and Related Lists: God Lists of Ancient Mesopotamia. Volume I*, ed. Andrew George and Manfred Krebernik, ORA 54. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2023.

### *Specific PNs/GNs and epithets in Ugaritic and the Bible:*

1. PNs of divine enemies: Sea (/River), Leviathan, Ugaritic *tunnanu*/BH *tannin*, the seven-headed enemy (1.5 I 1-3, 27b-30; 1.3 III 38-42; 1.6 VI 53; 1.82.1; cf. Isa 27:1, Ps 74:13-14, etc., as "a derivation of all these mythologems from Baal traditions," according to W. G. Lambert, *Ancient Mesopotamian Religion and Mythology*, 227). Cf. Death swallowed up in Isa 25:8 relative to Mot's mouth in 1.4 VIII 16-20, 1.5 II 2-6, 1.6 II 21-23.

2. GN Mount Šaphon in *yarkētê šāpôn* with Mount Zion in Ps 48:3; and *yarkētê šāpôn* parallel to "mount of assembly" in Isa 14:13. Cf. *yarkētê šāpôn* for "remote parts of the north" or the like in Ezek 38:6,15, and 39:2.

3. PN Daniel in Ezek 14:14 and 20 (Ugaritic *dn 'il* in the story of Aqhat).

4. GNs Ashtarot and Edrei associated with the Rephaim (noted above).

5. PN Israel (Ugaritic *yšr 'il*, in KTU 4.623.3).

6. Baal's epithet title *rkb 'rpt*, "Clouderider" (1.2 IV 8, etc., 14x in Rahmouni, *Divine Epithets*, 288-91); *rōkēb ba 'ārābôt* in Ps 68:5? Cf. Deut 32:13, 33:26; 1 Kgs 18:8:10-12; Is 19:1; Hab 3:8, Ps 18:11//2 Sam 22:11; Ps 104:3; Job 22:13-14, additionally listed by Alan Cooper, in *Ras Shamra Parallels III*, 460. See also "I will ascend on the backs of cloud," in Isa 14:14.

Debra Scoggins Ballentine, *The Conflict Myth and the Biblical Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University, 2015).

Theodore J. Lewis, *The Origin and Character of God: Ancient Israelite Religion through the Lens of Divinity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020).

## **II. Textual Composition**

*Recitation* of Baal Cycle (Aqhat too; like rituals), as known from the Baal Cycle (1.4 V 41-44):

41      He <s>ent for Kothar wa-Hasis      *y<l>lāk.lktr.whss*

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42-43 And return to the recitation: *wṭb lmspr.*  
 When the lads were sent. *ktlākn / ḡlmm*

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44 Then Kothar wa-Hasis arrived. *āḥr.mḡy kṭr.wḥss*

Cf. colophon of KTU 1.179, with *mspr*:

40 [*spr.ilmlk. šb*]ny.lmd.āt<sub>n</sub>.prln [The scribe: Ilimalku, the Shubba]nite, student of  
 Attenu the diviner.  
 41 [ ]r.bbx.wmspr. hnd.hwm ... and this recitation  
 42 [ ]rbh.wind ylm<sub>dnn</sub>. ... and there is no one who is/has been teaching him  
 (it)/it (to him)<sup>3</sup>  
 43 [ ]b spr. ... document

Pardee, Dennis. *The Ugaritic Texts and the Origins of West Semitic Composition*. The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 2007. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

“Memory Variants” within Ugaritic: The case of Mot’s message: 1.5 I (top), 1.133 (bottom)

14-15 *ṛpnp<sup>1</sup>{.}š.npš.lbim / thw.* “So is my appetite the appetite of the lion of the wilderness,  
 2-4 *npš<sup>1</sup>m<sup>1</sup> / npš.lbim / thw.* “Is my appetite the appetite of the lion of the wilderness,  
 15-16 *hm.brlt.ānh<sub>r</sub> / bym.* Or the hunger of the dolphin in the sea?  
 4-5 *wnpš / ānh<sub>r</sub>.bym* And the appetite of the dolphin in the sea?  
 16-17 *hm.brky.tkšd / rūmm.* Or does it go to the pool (like) wild bulls?  
 6-7 *brkt.[[t]]šbšt / krūmm.* Is it attracted to the pool like wild bulls?  
 17 *‘n.kdd.āylt* To the spring, like a herd of deer?  
 7-9 *hm / ‘n.kdd.āylt / mt.* or to the spring, like a herd of deer, in truth?<sup>4</sup>  
 18-19 *hm.īmt.īmt.npš.bl<sub>t</sub> / ḥmr[.]* Or truly, truly does my throat consume donkey-load(s),  
 (no parallel)  
 19-20 *pīmt.bklāt / ydy[.]ilhm.* And truly, do I eat (it) with both my hands?

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<sup>3</sup> Perhaps not “taught” *pace* Pardee, given the verb form.

<sup>4</sup> Translations commonly assume *mt* here as *‘imt* with aphaeresis; see *DUL* 591.

(no parallel)

- 20-21 *hm.šb' / ydty.bš'* Or are there seven portions for me on a platter,  
 10-11 *hm / šb<sup>c</sup>.ydty.bš<sup>1</sup>'* Or are there seven portions for me on the platter,  
 (the last two cola are in reverse order in 1.133)  
 21-22 *hm.ks.ymsk / nhr[.]* or does my cup mix a river?"  
 9-10 *hm.ks.ym / sk.nhr:* or does my cup mix a river?"

### III. Textual Performance

Shirly Natan-Yulzary, "Twice-used Songs and Other Oral Traditions in Ugaritic Epics," pp. xiii-lxxii in *I, Daniel, understood from the scrolls (Daniel 9:2). Studies in Honor of Professor Daniel Sivan*. Ed. Yonah, Sh., H. Dihi, A. Demri and Chr. Stadel. Megillat Sefer, 2025.

KTU 1.23, "The Goodly Gods," with possible implications for the Baal Cycle's (or its episodes') performance: (1) song; (2) musical instrumentation; (3) body language; (4) props and bodily action; (5) staged by actors; and (6) palace and/or temple setting(s).

#### PART ONE, Lines 1-29: RITUAL ACTIONS

[The front of the tablet]

##### Section 1, lines 1-7: Invitation to the Feast

- |   |                          |  |
|---|--------------------------|--|
| 1 | <i>iqra ilm n '[mm ]</i> | Let me invite the Goo[dly] Gods,       |
| 2 | <i>wysmm bn šp[ ]</i>    | Indeed, the beautiful ones, sons of... |
| 3 | <i>ytnm qrt l'ly[ ]</i>  | Those given offerings on high...       |
| 4 | <i>bmdbr špm yd [ ]r</i> | In the outback, on the heights...      |
| 5 | <i>lrišhm wyš[ ]xm</i>   | to their heads and ...                 |
| 6 | <i>lhm blhm ay</i>       | Eat of every food,                     |
|   | <i>wšty bħmr yn ay</i>   | And drink of every vintage wine.       |
| 7 | <i>šlm mlk šlm mlkt</i>  | Peace, O King! Peace, O queen!         |
|   | <i>'rbm wtñnm</i>        | O "enterers" and guards!               |

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Section 2, lines 8-11: Ritual Recitation about Mot (Tsumura, etc.; cf. "intertext" with Mot noted below at lines 63-64, Mot as contrast to El in lines 30-76; cf. El, for Wyatt, *Religious Texts*, 326)

- |   |                   |  |
|---|-------------------|--|
| 8 | <i>mt wšr ytb</i> | "Death-and-Ruler (Death the Ruler) sits, |
|   | <i>bdh hṭ tkl</i> | In his (one) hand a staff of bereavement |

8-9	<i>bdh / ḥṭ ūlmn</i>	In his (other) hand a staff of widowhood.
9	<i>yzbrnn zbrm gpn</i>	The pruner prunes him (like) a vine,
10	<i>yšmdnn šmdm gpn</i>	The binder binds him (like) a vine,
10-11	<i>yšql šdmth / km gpn</i>	He is felled to the terrace like a vine.”

#### Section 3, line 12: Recitation and Response Indicators

12	<i>šb ‘id yrqm ‘l ‘d</i>	Seven times it is recited over the dais (?),
	<i>w‘rbm t‘nyn</i>	And the “enterers” respond:

#### Section 4, lines 13-15: Words of Song with Ritual

13	<i>wšd šd ilm</i>	“And the field is the field of El/the gods,
	<i>šd āṭrt wrḥm&lt;y&gt;</i>	Field of Athirat and Rahm<ay>.”
14	<i>‘l išt šb ‘d</i>	On the fire seven times
	<i>ğzrm g ṭb</i>	The boys with a good voice:
	<i>gd bḥlb</i>	Coriander in milk,
	<i>ānnḥ bḥmāt</i>	Mint in curd.
15	<i>w‘l āgn šb ‘dm</i>	And on the basin seven times:
	<i>dḡtt</i>	Incense.

#### Section 5, Lines 16-18: Song

16	<i>tlkm rḥmy wtšd [ ]</i>	“Rahmay goes hunting...”
17	<i>tḥgrn ḡzr n ‘m [ ]</i>	The handsome guys are girded.../ She is/They (the goddesses) are girded with goodly might (?)...
18	<i>wšm ‘rbm yr[ ]</i>	And the names (?) of the “enterers”...

#### Section 6, lines 19-20: Divine Dwellings

19	<i>mṭbt ilm ṭmn</i>	The divine dwellings are eight,
19-20	<i>ṭ[ ] / pāmṭ šb ‘</i>	.[..] seven times.

## Section 7, lines 21-22: Dressing of Singers

21	<i>iqnu šmt</i>	Blue, red,
22	<i>tn šrm</i>	crimson of/are the singers (or: of/are the two singers).

## Section 8, lines 23-27: Invocation Reiterated

23	<i>igrān ilm n 'mm</i>	Let me invite the goodly gods,
	<i>[āgẓr ym bn] ym</i>	[Ravenous pair a day old] day-old [boys],
24	<i>ynqm bāp zd ātrt</i>	Who suck the nipple(s) of Athirat's breast(s)...
25	<i>špš mšprt dlthm</i>	Shapshu braids their branches (?),
25-26	<i>[ ] / wgnbm</i>	[...] and grapes.
26	<i>šlm 'rbm wttnm</i>	Peace, O "enterers" and guards,
27	<i>hlkm bdbḥ n 'mt</i>	Who process with goodly sacrifice.

## Section 9, lines 28-29: Song Reiterated

28	<i>šd {šd} ilm</i>	"The field is {the field} of El/the gods,
	<i>šd ātrt wrḥmy</i>	The field of Athirat and Rahmay."
29	<i>xxxxx.xxb</i>	

## PART TWO, Lines 30-76: DIVINE NARRATIVE

[The bottom edge]

30	<i>[ ]l[ ]y[ ]i gp ym</i>	...to the sea-shore
	<i>wyṣgd gp thm</i>	And he marched to the shore of the Deep.
31	<i>[ ]x[ ] il mšt 'ltm</i>	El [...] the two servers (?),
	<i>mšt 'ltm lrīš āgn</i>	Servers (?) from the top of the pot.
32	<i>hlh tšpl hlh trm</i>	See her, she was low; see her, she was high.
	<i>hlh tṣḥ ād ād</i>	See her, she cried: "Daddy, Daddy!"
33	<i>whlh tṣḥ ūm ūm</i>	And see her, she cried: "Mommy, Mommy!"
	<i>tirkm yd il kym</i>	El's penis lengthened like the sea,
34	<i>wyd il kmdb</i>	Indeed, El's penis, like the flood.

	<i>ark yd il kym</i>	El's penis lengthened like the sea,
35	<i>wyd il kmdb</i>	Indeed, El's penis, like the flood.
[The back of the tablet]		
35	<i>yqh il mšt'ltm</i>	El took the two servers (?),
36	<i>mšt'ltm lriš āgn</i>	Servers (?) from the top of the pot.
	<i>yqh yš&lt;t&gt; bbth</i>	He took, se<t> (them) in his house.
37	<i>il hṯh nḥt</i>	As for El, his staff descended (?),
		(Lewis: "lowers," as act of benevolence, citing Esther 8:3-5)
	<i>il ymn mṯ ydh</i>	As for El, his love-shaft drooped (?).
		(Lewis: "generous" Arabic <i>manna</i> )
	<i>yšū / yr šmmh</i>	He lifted (his hand), he shot skyward,
	<i>yr bšmm 'šr</i>	He shot in the sky a bird,
38-39	<i>yḥrṯ yšt / lphm</i>	He plucked, set (it) on the coals;
	<i>il āttm kypṯ</i>	El indeed enticed the two females.
39	<i>hm āttm tṣḥn</i>	If the two females cry:
40	<i>ymt mt</i>	"O man, man!
	<i>nḥtm ḥṯk</i>	Your staff droops,
	<i>mmnmm mṯ ydk</i>	Your love-staff sinks!
41	<i>h[t] 'šr</i>	Lo[ok] a bird
	<i>tḥrr lišt</i>	You're roasting on the fire,
	<i>ṣḥrrt lphmm</i>	Browning on the coals."
42	<i>ā[t]tm ātt il</i>	(Then) the two fe[mal]es will be wives of El,
	<i>ātt il w'lmh</i>	Wives of El, and his forever. (w-!)
42-43	<i>whm / āttm tṣḥn</i>	But if the two females cry:
43	<i>y ād ād</i>	"O daddy, daddy!
	<i>nḥtm ḥṯk</i>	Your staff droops,
44	<i>mmnmm mṯ ydk</i>	Your love-staff sinks.
	<i>hl 'šr</i>	Look a bird



	<i>thrr lišt</i>	You're roasting on the fire,
45	<i>wšhrrt lphmm</i>	Browning on the coals."
	<i>btm bt il</i>	(Then) the two females will be daughters of El,
45-46	<i>bt il / w'lmh</i>	Daughters of El, and his forever. (w-!)
46	<i>whn āttm tšhn</i>	And see, the two females cried:
	<i>ymt mt</i>	"O man, man!
47	<i>nh̄tm h̄tk</i>	Your staff droops,
	<i>mmnnm m̄t ydk</i>	Your love-staff sinks!
	<i>hl 'sr</i>	Look a bird
48	<i>thrr lišt</i>	You're roasting on the fire,
	<i>wšhr&lt;r&gt;t lphmm</i>	Brow<n>ing on the coals."
	<i>āttm āt[t il]</i>	(So) the two females were wiv[es of El],
49	<i>ātt il w'lmh</i>	Wives of El, and his forever. (w-!)
49	<i>yhbr špthm yšq</i>	He bent down, kissed their lips,
50	<i>hn špthm mtqtm</i>	See, how sweet their lips were,
	<i>mtqtm klrmn[m]</i>	Sweet as pomegranate[s].
51	<i>bm nšq whr</i>	In kissing, conception, (w-! cf. 1.14 I 31)
	<i>bhbq hm̄hmt</i>	In embracing, passion. (cf. <i>nhmmt</i> in 1.14 I 32, 40)
	<i>tqt[nšn w] / tldn</i>	The two cr[ouched and] gave birth
	<i>šhr wšlm</i>	to Dawn and Dusk.
52	<i>rgm lil ybl</i>	Word to El was brought:
52-53	<i>āt[ty] / il ylt</i>	"El's [two wi]ves have given birth."
53	<i>mh ylt</i>	"What have they born?"
	<i>yldy šhr wšl[m]</i>	"Pair boys, Dawn and Dus[k]."
54	<i>šū 'db lšpš rbt</i>	"Make an offering to Great (Lady) Sun,
	<i>wlkbkbm knm</i>	And to the stationary stars." (cf. <i>*kwn</i> for stars, Ps 8:4)
55	<i>yhbr špthm yšq</i>	He bent down, kissed their lips,

	<i>hn špthm mtqt[m]</i>	See, how sweet[t] their lips were.	
56	<i>bm nšq whr</i>	In kissing, conception,	(w-! cf. 1.14 I 31)
	<i>bḥbq ḥ[m]ḥmt</i>	In embracing, pa[s]sion.	(cf. <i>nhmmt</i> in 1.14 I 32, 40)
	<i>yṭbn / yspr ḥmš</i>	He sat, counted to five,	
57	<i>lš[...]<i>š</i>r pḥr</i>	For ...[...] <i>the assembly sings (?)</i> .	
		(cf. “[to t]en (months) for total completion”, Tsumura)	
57-58	<i>klāt / tqtnšn wtldn</i>	The two crouched and gave birth,	
58	<i>tld [i]lm n ‘mm</i>	Give birth to the Goodly [G]ods,	
58-59	<i>āgẓr ym / bn ym</i>	Devourers a day old, day-old boys,	
		(or, “Likenesses of the Sea, sons of the sea” in Tsumura)	
59	<i>ynqm bāp ḏd</i>	Who suck the nipple of the breast.	
59	<i>rgm līl ybl</i>	Word to El was brought:	
60	<i>āṭty il ylt</i>	“El’s two wives have given birth.”	
	<i>mḥ ylt</i>	“What have they borne?”	
	<i>īlmy n ‘mm</i>	“Two Goodly Gods,	
61	<i>āgẓr ym bn ym</i>	Devourers a day old, day-old boys,	
	<i>ynqm bāp ḏd</i>	Who suck the nipple of the breast.”	
	<i>št špt / lārš</i>	They set a lip to earth,	
62	<i>špt lšmm</i>	A lip to heaven.	(cf. KTU 1.5 II 2-3)
	<i>wy ‘rb bphm</i>	Then entered their mouths	
	<i>‘šr šmm</i>	Fowl of the sky,	
63	<i>wdg bym</i>	And fish in the sea.	(cf. KTU 1.5 II 3-6)
	<i>wndd gẓr l&lt;g&gt;zr</i>	As they moved, bite upon <bi>te	
63-64	<i>y ‘db ūymn / ūšmāl</i>	They stuffed -- on right and left --	(cf. Isa 9:19)
	<i>bphm wl tšb ‘n</i>	Into their mouths, but they were unsated.	
		(“The Seven have been born,” spoken to wives, Tsumura)	
64	<i>y āṭt iṭrḥ</i>	“O wives (whom) I have espoused,	

65	<i>y bn ʾšld</i>	O sons (whom) I have begotten:
	<i>šū ‘db tk mdbr qdš</i>	Make an offering amid holy outback,
66	<i>tm tgrgr lābnm wl ‘šm.</i>	There sojourn mid rocks and brush.” (cf. Exod 7:19)
66-67	<i>šb ‘šnt / tmt</i>	For seven years complete,
67	<i>tmn nqpt ‘d</i>	Eight cycles duration,
67-68	<i>ilm n ‘mm tllkn / šd</i>	The Goodly Gods roamed the steppe,
68	<i>tšdn pāt mdbr</i>	They hunted to the edge of the outback.
68-69	<i>wngš hm ngr / mdr ‘</i>	The two approached the Guard of the sown,
	<i>wšḥ hm ‘m ngr mdr ‘</i>	And the two cried to the Guard of the sown:
69-70	<i>y ngr / ngr pth</i>	“O Guard, Guard, open!”
70	<i>wpth hw prš b ‘dhm</i>	And he opened a breach for them.
71	<i>w ‘rb hm</i>	And the two entered:
	<i>hm [it tmt (?) l]hm</i>	“If [there is there (?) f]ood,
71-72	<i>wtn / wnlhm</i>	Give that we may eat!
72	<i>hm it [tmt (?) yn]</i>	If there is [there (?) wine...],
	<i>[w]tn wnšt</i>	Give that we may drink!”
73	<i>w ‘n hm ngr mdr ‘</i>	And the Guard of the sown answered them:
	<i>[it lhm... ]xt</i>	“[There is food for the one who... (?)],...
74	<i>it yn d ‘rb btk [...]</i>	There is wine for whoever entered...[...]
75	<i>mğ hw</i>	...he himself approached,
	<i>lhn lg ynh[...]</i>	He served a measure of his wine...
76	<i>wḥbrh mlā yn[...]</i>	And his companion filled (it [?]) with wine...

#### Contributions by date:

Tsumura, David Toshio, 1973 dissertation “The Ugaritic Drama of the Good Gods”; *UF* articles from 1974, 1978, 2008; and “The Myth and Ritual of the Good Gods,” pp. 85-148 in *The Canaanite Religion, Language and Philology: Was There a Cult of El in Ancient Ugarit?* ORA 55. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004.

Smith, Mark S. *The Sacrificial Rituals and Myths of the Goodly Gods, KTU/CAT 1.23: Royal Constructions of Opposition, Intersection, Integration and Domination*. SBLRBS 51. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2006.

Ayali-Darshan, Noga, in *Ritual und Magie in Ugarit* (2022), pp. 211-27.

Cech, Pavel, in *Ritual und Magie in Ugarit* (2022), pp. 197-210.

Lewis, Theodore J. "God [’Ilu] and King in KTU 1.23," pp. 85-148 in *"Like 'Ilu Are You Wise": Studies in Northwest Semitic Languages and Literatures in Honor of Dennis G. Pardee*. Ed. H. H. Hardy II, J. Lam, and E. D. Reymond. SAOC 73. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2022.

#### IV. Implications for Biblical Literature

*Genres Comparison:*

Prominent genres in KTU, roughly *in the order of scribes learning of curriculum*:

Scribal texts/exercises (KTU 5.1-5.34): abecedaries (both in "traditional" order and the "hlh order"), lists of individual consonants, lists of words and names, letter formulary, some bilinguals, one practice text of volitive verbal forms (!). Notably these scribal texts show scribal preparation for administrative texts and letters. Despite the lack of legal material in the scribal exercises, Ignacio Márquez Rowe surmises that multiple copies of a contract may be "plausibly taken as repeated exercises of a model transaction." Márquez Rowe, *The Royal Deeds at Ugarit: A Study of Ancient Near Eastern Diplomats*, AOAT 335 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2006), 115. There is no clear evidence for scribal practice of literary texts.

Administrative/economic texts (KTU 4.-4.872) + texts 1-81 in Pierre Bordreuil, Dennis Pardee and Carole Roche-Hawley, *Ras ibn Hani II* [2019]: often lists of names under various categories, not uncommonly for internal kingdom administration. Prose dominated by non-verbal ("list") syntax.

Letters (KTU 2:1-2.113) + reediting of RIH letters in texts 82-87 in Bordreuil, Pardee and Roche-Hawley, *Ras ibn Hani II*: Prose dominated by letter formulary (mostly with relatively simple verbal syntax, with the messages in the bodies in the letters perhaps approximating spoken speech, though perhaps sometimes in a higher register). Many letters for various sorts of "administration" communicated over distance

Legal texts (prose, KTU 3.1-3.35): prose, with legal formulary plus some expressions that like letters might approximate spoken speech. Heavy to land allocation or other forms of allocation, often by royal command (a legal form of royal administrative within the kingdom). Ignacio Márquez Rowe, *The Royal Deeds at Ugarit: A Study of Ancient Near Eastern Diplomats*, AOAT 335 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2006). KTU 3.1 is a document regarding tribute to be paid based on Ugari's treaty arrangement with Hatti known from Akadian documents at Ugarit and Hatti. Like some other legal texts in Akkadian and somewhat like several letters, this text manages administration on an international scale.

Inscriptions on various types of objects (KTU 6.1-6.107): including labels (many denote ownership); stele inscriptions (6.13 and 6.14, both dedicated to Dagan, one by the queen; seals, including royal seals of 'Ammittamru (6.23; 6.75 = text 108 in Bordreuil, Pardee and Roche-Hawley, *Ras ibn Hani II*); weights (6.98-6.101). Minimal syntax, often non-verbal; administration of ownership.

Unclassified (KTU 7.1-7.229); illegible tablets and uninscribed fragments (KTU 8.1-8.37); “unpublished texts” (9.1-9.529; many now published in articles, also KTU 9.437-9.529 = RIH 1977-2002, in Pierre Bordreuil, Dennis Pardee and Carole Roche-Hawley, *Ras ibn Hani II* [2019]); an Ugaritic text in syllabic script (?), KTU 10.1

Rituals, incantations, divination, prayer, etc. (mostly KTU 1.26-1.182, mostly Ugaritic, some Hurrian; Akkadian incantations in Ugaritic alphabetic script, in 1.67, 1.69, 1.70, 1.73), by major categories largely in KTU order:

(1) prose lists (non-verbal syntax) of deities (simple lists of DNs) and lists of offerings (“x-animal as y-type of offering for z-DN”), in other words a sort of “ritual administration” (see 1.91 for administrative allocation of wine for various ritual occasions).

(2) prose *instructions* (“prescriptive rituals”) for conducting rituals, with simple verbal syntax (with king figuring prominently and syntax evidently assuming and rarely mentioning priests as conductors of ritual; gender inclusion, in 1.40 and 1.115).

(3) hymns and prayers: hymns in 1.24; 1.180 = RIH 98/02, text 96 in Bordreuil, Pardee and Roche-Hawley, *Ras ibn Hani II*), cf. 1.65 (?) and 1.101 (?); and *instruction* for prayer in poetic form (KTU 1.119:26-36), attached to prose ritual (cf. poetic prayers in literary major cycles. See also deities celebrating + request for blessing (1.108)? cf. song (obv.) + king-list (rev.) (1.113).

(4) incantations (1.82, 1.96, 1.100, 1.107, 1.168, 1.178; see also 1.179).

(5) medical texts, for horses (1.71, 1.72, 1.85, 1.97), and for humans (prescription for hangover, separated by scribal line from short mythic narrative in 1.114), and 1.175 = text 88 in Bordreuil, Pardee and Roche-Hawley, *Ras ibn Hani II*). Cf. *instruction* for necromantic consultation for illness (1.124).

(6) astronomical observation (1.78).

(7) *s[p]r ḥlmm*, dream interpretation text (1.86).

(8) omens (1.103 + 1.145; 1.127; 1.140).

The rituals range from quite complex (e.g., 1.40, with six parallel sections of nine lines each demarcated by scribal lines; cf. the incantation with a similar structure in 1.100) to quite simple (e.g., “rural offerings,” in 1.80, five lines and 1.79, 8 lines; 1.115, 14 lines; cf. Hurrian ritual in KTU 1.110, 11 lines).

Literary texts (mostly KTU 1.1-1.25): poetic narrative poetry in wide variety of verbal forms, especially energetic indicatives and energetic volitives as well as narrative infinitives, along with prose addenda some separated by scribal lines and others on tablet edge denoting their placement outside the line of the poetic narrative (e.g., superscriptions, colophons, instructions to reciters).

Major cycles (multi-tablet): the Baal Cycle (KTU 1.1-1.6, six tablets), plus so-called “extracts” or “memory variants” with material in the Baal Cycle: 1.133//1.5 I 14-22; 1.3 III 4-6//1.101.15-19; 1.101.15//1.3 III 30-31; 1.101.16-17//1.3 III 31-33; Kirta (1.14-1.16, three tablets) and Aqhat (1.17-1.19, three tablets).

The literary texts tend to focus on males overcoming challenges: Baal over Yamm and Mot; Kirta over getting a wife and children (by besieging a city), overcoming illness and

facing a rebellious son; Aqhat facing unsuccessfully the demands of the goddess Anat and the family facing the challenge that comes with Aqhat's death. Some shorter texts focus on El (1.23.30-76, 1.114, 1.174). None focus on Athirat (HB Asherah). For Anat, see 1.113 and 1.83 (?), with some episodes within texts also focus on Anat, yet mostly on how her actions help Baal; Astarte in 1.92. See Horan in 1.176 = text 102 in Bordreuil, Pardee and Roche-Hawley, *Ras ibn Hani II*, 247-51 (see below).

Two-column, multi-tablet (narrative poetry) in the Rapa'uma texts (1.20-1.22); cf. *rp'u* in text 106 in Bordreuil, Pardee and Roche-Hawley, *Ras ibn Hani II*, 254-55 (?).

Minor single tablet (narrative poetry): Baal and the cow (1.10, three columns); Anat & Baal and the birth (1.11, fragmentary nine lines); Baal in the wilderness (1.12, two columns). See also 1.55 (?), 1.61-1.63 (?), 1.82, 1.83, 1.92, 1.93.

Poetic narratives combined with prose sections: the rituals and narrative of the Goodly Gods (KTU 1.23); El's drunken "bender" plus recipe for a hangover (KTU 1.114). Both poems center around the feasting and especially wine; these are the only narrative poems where El is the central character. Note that the world that El contributes to in 1.23 shows no conflict where Baal in the Baal Cycle is commonly about conflict: El is the father of the "Goodly Gods," whose own appearance approximates Mot's (Death) in the Baal Cycle ("a lip to heaven, a lip to earth"). El in the major cycles of Kirta and Aqhat is commonly a god hearing and blessing the domestic needs of children and/or a wife (El "hears" in 1.16 IV 1-2; 1.2 III 17//1.6 VI 26-27; 1.3 V 10; cf. PN GN *'ilštm* <sup>al</sup>*il-iš-tam-i*, "El hears" or "El is heard" and BH Eshtamoa', also the *Gt*-stem infinitive of *\*šm*, so *BDB* 84), "place where prayers/oracle are heard," so *HALOT* 100 = traditional clan religion, as in 1 Sam 1:19-20); Baal as dynastic god of the kingdom who "will hear" and turn back enemies (so in the instruction for prayer to Baal, KTU 1.119:26-36 = traditional royal religion).

Traditional genres known also in Ugaritic and in HB and/or in Hebrew inscriptions: scribal texts, administrative texts, letters, ritual instructions; prayer and hymns; wisdom material (but not collections in Ugaritic); narrative (prose, not poetry).

Further developments (Akkadian inflections?) -- not in Ugaritic: legal collections; creation and flood stories, etc.; wisdom collections (common ANE); earlier prophecy and prophecy collections (NA); royal chronicles and inscriptions, etc. (prose narrative). Royal oracles preserved sporadically in Psalms and Isaiah in Israel's "Post-Monarchic Bible," inverse of prophecies preserved in biblical collections and neo-Assyrian collections, but sporadically in earlier Mesopotamian letters and pre-eighth-sixth century Israel. Greco-Roman development of apocalyptic (myth projected to the future; see below)

Mark S. Smith, "Biblical Narrative between Ugaritic and Akkadian Literature: Part I: Ugarit and the Hebrew Bible: Consideration of Recent Comparative Research," *Revue Biblique* 114 (2007): 5-29; and "Biblical Narrative between Ugaritic and Akkadian Literature: Part II," *Revue Biblique* 114 (2007): 189-207.

*Data points with speculations, toward biblical composition*

- Oral poetry (narrative and non-narrative, such as prayers and hymns, blessings and curses) and scribal written prose (administration, etc.) co-existing from twelfth century

onward. See F. W. Dobbs-Allsopp, F.W., *On Hebrew Poetry*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University, 2015.

- Prose narrative in royal inscriptions in the ninth century onwards (under the possible influence of Neo-Assyrian inscriptions in the Levant?). So Nadav Na'aman, "Royal Inscriptions and the Histories of Joash and Ahaz, Kings of Judah," *VT* 48 (1998): 333-49, followed by Seth L. Sanders, *The Invention of Hebrew*, Traditions (Urbana: University of Illinois, 2009), 120-21 and 216 n. 39; and F. W. Dobbs-Allsopp and Daniel Pioske, "On the Appearance of Royal Inscriptions in Alphabetic Scripts in the Levant: An Exercise in 'Historically Anchored Philology'," *Maarav* 23/2 (2019): 389-442.
- Ongoing, parallel praxis of oral narrative and non-narrative poetry and scribal prose, showing mutual, crossover influence (by?) the eighth century (?):
  - topics of poetic narrative in narrative prose, e.g., patriarchal stories of Aqhat and Genesis 12-35 (cf. Claus Westermann); royal challenges in Kirta and David stories.
  - tropes of poetic narrative informing prose narrative, such as "s/he lifted his/her eyes and saw..." (25x, e.g., Gen 18:2 and 1.17 V 9-11, both in type element of deities arriving; see also Gen 18:2, 26:64; see 1.10 III 13-16, 26-27; and "he lifted his voice and proclaimed" (1.6 III 17-18, 1.17 II 11-13; Gen 21:16, 29:11; Judg 2:4); etc. So Frank Polak, "Linguistic and Stylistic Aspects of Epic Formulae in Ancient Semitic Poetry and Biblical Narrative," *Biblical Hebrew in Its Northwest Semitic Setting: Typological and Historical Perspectives*, ed. S. E. Fassberg and A. Hurvitz (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 285-304.
  - *w-* + *yaqtul* preterite (currently debated) in initial position of cola in traditional narrative poetry adapted to Mesha stele/BH prose *waw*-consecutive?
  - Prose adaptation of narrative poetic motifs, e.g., seven-day units compressed in prose, in E. L. Greenstein, "Biblical Narrative and Canaanite Narrative," *Some Wine and Honey for Simon: Biblical and Ugaritic Aperitifs in Memory of Simon B. Parker*. Ed. A. Joseph Ferrera and Herbert B. Huffmon. Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2020, 1-22.
  - Scribal writing of poetry uses so-called "prose particles," e.g., *'āšer*, *'et*, and the definite article. See F. W. Dobbs-Allsopp, "A Song of Love: Isaiah 5:1-7." and "Appendix: Isaiah 5:1-7," *Some Wine and Honey for Simon*, 218-51, esp. 228. Two of these particles are attested incipiently in Ugaritic prose: the definite article (deictic *\*hn* in *hbt* in 2.70.16); and *'atr* ("place" initially grammaticalized as a preposition, "after" (e.g., KTU 1.43.24-26, in *RCU* 71-72; *DUL* 124) and as a relative particle meaning "where(ever)" (KTU 2.39.34, in *DUL* 124), additionally grammaticalized as the general relative pronoun in BH. For primary and secondary grammaticalization of triconsonantal prepositions, see H. H. Hardy II, *The Development of Biblical Hebrew Prepositions*, ANEM 28 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2022). Direct object marker *'et* grammaticalized from *\*'itt-*, "with" and/or *\*'ōt*, "sign" (??). Dobbs-Allsopp includes the *waw*-consecutive among "prose particles" (see above).
- Ongoing traditional poetry in lyric (not narrative poetry), generally recognized (maximally, Greenstein, "Biblical Narrative and Canaanite Narrative," 6: "Israelite poets of all periods drew directly on the epics of Baal and Aqhat"; see Lambert cited above). Famous poetic "parallels" perhaps to be viewed as Ugaritic "memory variants" attested

within non-narrative biblical poetry with *adaptations* (cf. “continued adaptation” in Ballentine, *The Conflict Myth*, 127-72):

- Early memory variant adapted: 1.19 I 44-46 and 2 Sam 1:21a, so H. L. Ginsberg, *JBL* 57 (1938), etc. in Smith, *Poetic Heroes*, 2014:120-22, 272-73.
- Eighth century (?) case: 1.23.63-64 and Isa 9:19, so W. F. Albright, *JPOS* 14 (1934) 101-40, etc., in Smith, *Goodly Gods*, 2006:65 and 114-15. See 1.23.63-64 above p. 9.
- Later memory variants in names and epithets in 1.5 I 1-3//27b-30 (“**When you smashed Litan, the Fleeing Serpent, Annihilated the Twisty Serpent, the Powerful One of the Seven Heads...**”) and Isa 27:1 (“**On that day Yahweh will punish/by his sword, cruel, great and strong/Leviathan the Fleeing Serpent/Leviathan the Twisty Serpent/And he will slay the Tannin that is in the sea**”); see also 1.2 IV 8-10 in Pss 92:10 and cf. 145:13.

W. G. Lambert cited as claiming that Isa 27:1 “is a direct quote taken from KTU 1.5 I,” by William Barker, *UF* 38 (2006): 41; cf. Margalit, “nearest-to-verbatim parallel” (*A Matter of >Life< and >Death<*, 87). Cf. above matching verbiage in italics, differences in bold in Isa 27:1, suggesting secondary adaptation and perhaps secondary combination of divine enemies, in either case, not so much a “direct quote.”

- Several cases also show parallel levels of divine and human protagonists against divine and human enemies:
  - Warrior deities in incantations, e.g. 1.82: Baal in 1.82.1, 6, 10, 38; Resheph in 1.82.3; Anat 1.82.17 and 39; Horon in 1.82.27. Language of Baal versus Yamm 1.2 IV 15-17, 23-25, *wyrtqš šmd b’l...ylm qdqd zbl [ym]/bn ‘nm tpt nhr*, evoked in incantation, *ylm bn ‘nk šmdm*, in 1.82.16. Cf. \*grš in 1.2 IV 11-13 and 1.82.40. See Gregorio del Olmo Lete, *Incantations and Anti-Witchcraft Texts from Ugarit* (2014); and Joachim Quack, in *Ritual und Magie in Ugarit* (2022), pp. 161-72. Note also the pairs of deities invoked to remove poison in 1.107.38-44 (cf. 1.100).
  - Horon against divine enemy (Yamm in 1.2 III 7-8), human enemy (against Kirta’s son in 1.16 VI 54-57) and human enemy in incantation 1.169.9 (“may Horan drive out [\*grš]...”), as well as Baal in 1.169.1-2 and Athirat invoked in 1.169.16.
  - Divine warrior and divine enemies in Ugaritic narrative poetry and Bible (1.2 IV 8-10; 1.5 I 1-3//27b-30 and Isa 27:1, cited above; see classically Psalm 74 below).
  - Divine enemies in divine context (1.23.63-64) paralleled by divine enemy in human context (Isa 9:19 framed by divine warrior in 9:18 and 20).
  - Divine warrior-king versus human enemies (Ps 92:10) compared to divine warrior-king against cosmic enemy Yamm (1.2 IV 8-10).
  - Psalm 74 constructed as deity against Israel’s human enemies (vv. 3-11, 18-23), both framing and parallel to divine warrior-king against divine enemies (vv. 12-17, notably *yām* in v. 13 and Leviathan in v. 14). Cf. Hab 3:8-12, with only limited traditional elements (“Rivers”//“Sea” etc.).
  - Divine conflict “myth” (Baal versus Yamm) for royal power against king’s enemies (“I [the deity] will set his [the king’s] hand on sea, on rivers his right hand” Ps 89:26), applied to cosmic enemies in apocalyptic in Daniel 7 (*per* Emerton, Cross, Mosca, and Ballentine, in *The Conflict Myth*, 132-33, 235-36 nn. 14-17).



- Major scribal, redactional interventions, including *Fortschreibungen*, transformations and recyclings (some noted above), amassed in collections in Israel emergent “Post-Monarchic Bible”:
  - legal collections (relatively devoid of royal ideology; cf. royal oracles in Psalms).
  - priestly narrative (devoid of king).
  - recycling of older poetry in later poetry, e.g., Exodus 15 in Psalm 118 (v. 14 and Exod 15:2; v. 28 and Exod 15:18; cf. v. 16 and Exod 15:6) and Isa 12:2 (Williamson, *HBAI* 6/1 [2017], 101-19); and Psalm 29:1-2 in Ps 96:7-9 and 1 Chron 16:28-29; see H. L. Ginsberg, “A Strand in the Cord of Hebraic Hymnody,” *Eretz Israel* 9 (1969 = W. F. Albright Volume): 45-50.
  - recycling of older poetry in later massive prose collections of Genesis – 2 Samuel (cf. earlier [?] incorporation in Habakkuk 3, with reference to the king, in v. 13; cf. temple in Jonah 2:5 and 8).
  - royal oracles preserved sporadically in Psalms and Isaiah the inverse of prophecies preserved in biblical collections and neo-Assyrian collections, but sporadically in earlier Mesopotamian letters.
  - Massive prose-poetry collections, for major prophetic works.
  - Psalm collection(s), with prose superscriptions (cf. “psalms collection(s)” in Amherst Papyrus 63) cross-referencing psalms with Samuel (creating a third “biography” of David after Samuel and Chronicles).
  - Apocalyptic out of older mythic-royal material (apocalyptic motifs as mythic material projected to the future, per Daniel 7 noted above)