THESPIS

RITUAL, MYTH AND DRAMA IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

Theodor H. Gaster

FOREWORD BY

Gilbert Murray, O.M.

"Surely every man walketh in a vain shew"
PSALM 39 6



HENRY SCHUMAN · NEW YORK

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THE COVER DESIGN

is reproduced from an archaic Greek *patera* in the British Museum. It depicts the type of rude and rustic celebration out of which drama evolved. Some of the participants are conveyed to the festivities in a primitive mulecart which recalls that traditionally associated with Thespis "Jests from the car" were an essential element of these early dramatic performances

A drawing of the *patera* will be found in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* I (1880), Pl 7.

TO

LOTTA

הָנני זכרתי לך . . .

Jeremiah 2.2

FOREWORD

IT IS hardly an exaggeration to say that when we look back to the beginnings of European literature we find everywhere drama, and always drama derived from a religious ritual designed to ensure the rebirth of the dead world. Under ancient conditions, it was anxious work for every human group, when the harvest was over, to face the winter, when all life seemed gone, followed by the spring when, as Alcman puts it, "it blooms but there is not enough to eat." Men could live only in the hope that a living and fruitful world would eventually be reborn. If there was no rebirth, there was famine. We scarcely realize today how close primitive communities stood to that recurring danger.

Greek tradition explicitly testifies to a close connection of drama with Dionysus, and the meaning of this becomes clear as soon as we recognize in Dionysus the spirit of the Renouveau. In an Excursus to the late Jane Harrison's *Themis* (Cambridge 1912), I pointed out the recurrence in several Greek tragedies of a regular Dionysiac Ritual, closely similar, as Herodotus says (ii 42), to that of the Egyptian Osiris. It comprises a CONFLICT between the god and his enemy, a DEATH OR DISASTER, which often takes the form of a *Sparagmos* or Tearing-in-Pieces; a NARRATIVE by a MESSENGER, a LAMENTATION, and finally an ANAGNORISIS OR DISCOVERY, and a THEOPHANY bringing comfort. This closely resembles the ritual of Osiris as a wheat god; his fight with his enemy Set; the *sparagmos* of the wheat-sheaf; the lamentation; the discovery of the new shoots of wheat growing, and the birth of a new god. Moreover, similar rites obtained elsewhere in connection with Linos (the flax), Attis (the pine), Dionysus (the vine or fruit tree), Tammuz and other vegetation gods.

But this was by no means the only form of the rebirth ritual. Most often, perhaps, it was not the same god who was reborn, but a Son of the god who took his throne and his place. There is, for example, the sequence, in Hesiod, of Ouranos, Kronos and Zeus, to be followed in turn by the unknown Son of Zeus, greater than his father. There is likewise Dionysus, the "New Zeus," whom, according to the Orphic formula, "his father seats upon the royal throne, arms with the sceptre and makes king of the cosmic gods" (Lobeck, C. A., *Aglaophamus* [Konigsberg 1829], 552). Indeed, the very name Dionysus is believed to mean "Zeus-young" or "Zeus-son" (cf. Cook, A. B., *Zeus* ii [Cambridge 1925], 271 ff.).

Yet another form of the pattern may be recognized in the plot of several ancient Greek tragedies. a god loves a mortal woman; their offspring, a son or a pair of twins, is discovered and cast out to die, while the mother is imprisoned and otherwise punished – a true *Mater Dolorosa* – until eventually the son is rediscovered, found to be of divine birth, and established as king. The symbolism is clear: the Sun or Sky-god descends to

fructify the frozen earth in rain and lightning; there is a long period of waiting; then the Young God is discovered in the first bloom of spring. This form was reproduced in almost sardonic fashion in the *Ion* of Euripides, but it lived on, reduced from divine to human terms, in the New Comedy. Moreover, there can be little doubt that its central idea, that of the Son of God redeeming a dead or dying world and introducing a new kingdom free from the stains of the past, has survived even to the present day and has exercised a lasting influence on the formulae of Christian worship in modern Greece. One recalls the anxious old woman whom J. C. Lawson met during Holy Week in Euboaea. "Of course I am anxious," said she, "for if Christ does not rise tomorrow, we shall have no corn this year" (*Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* [Cambridge 1910], 573).

For Greek tragedy, then, the case is clear; and that something very similar holds also for the other great branch of Hellenic drama has been shown by the late Francis Cornford in his work, *The Origins of Attic Comedy* (Cambridge 1914). Moreover, Cornford has pointed out that the same method may be applied even to the poems of Hesiod and that, if these be regarded as relics of ritual drama, many of the incongruities which now appear in them at once become intelligible.

Nor is it only in ancient Greek literature that the influence of the Seasonal Pattern may be detected In her fine study, *The Elder Edda and Ancient Scandinavian Drama* (Cambridge 1920), Bertha S. Phillpotts has demonstrated how much of earliest and greatest Norse poetry, which has come down to us in the form of narrative or song, must in its original form have been ritual drama dealing with the seasonal death and rebirth of the fruitful world.

In the present volume Dr. Gaster has turned his vast learning to demonstrating, in fields far beyond my reach, the existence of a similar pattern, based on the same seasonal drama, in the extant remains of Canaanite, Hittite, Egyptian and Hebrew literature. He has shown that here too the same variety of forms obtains, and he has traced the essential structure backwards to purely functional procedures and forwards to residual survivals in hymns, psalms and other forms of liturgical composition. The result is to my mind very impressive.

The instinctive fundamental desire of the human group to ensure that it shall survive and not die is a great thing in itself, and passes in almost all this primeval literature into something more: a consciousness that man, though he desperately needs bread, does not live by bread alone, but longs for a new life, a new age, with young gods, not stained by the deaths and impurities of the past.

Gilbert Murray

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

THERE is a parable in Sanskrit literature which relates that, once upon a time, Mind and Speech came before God and asked Him to decide which of the two was the superior. God decided in favor of Mind, on the ground that Speech but imitated its actions and walked in its footsteps.

The parable contains a profound lesson for students of ancient literature. What it teaches is that the literary products of the past ought not to be approached on a purely *verbal* level – as a collection of "texts" to be expounded and translated by dictionary and grammar alone. Rather must they be viewed as being, in a very real sense, a branch of the *humanities* – an expression and projection of life; and never will they be fully understood until their mental and cultural framework is retrieved and the concepts and categories which inform them are recovered. Words are at best but shrunken garments. We must get behind the symbol to the thing which it seeks, so inadequately, to convey. If we cling to the tattered coat-tails of Speech, we should do so only in order that we too may follow in turn in the footsteps of Mind.

Unfortunately, this lesson has been but imperfectly learned. We still continue, by and large, to regard the interpretation of ancient writings as primarily the province of the philologist – the man concerned with speech and word, and the anthropologist and folklorist – the man concerned with life and culture – is but tolerated, like Ruth, to "gather after the reapers," when – so it is thought – the main harvest has already been gleaned and when he can do little harm to the crop.

The error of this conventional approach is that it misunderstands both the nature of ancient literature and the meaning of meaning.

In the first place, much of what has come down to us as ancient literature was not, in fact, mere artistic creation, but possessed a strictly functional character within the structure of communal life. Texts which we have been wont to regard as the products of this or that author's individual fancy and genius were, in fact, the traditional 'books of words' of religious ceremonies, inspired by a goddess more practical than the Muses and fully intelligible only if read against the background of the rituals which they accompanied. Accordingly, far more is needed for their elucidation than a mere translation of words. They have first and foremost to be placed in their appropriate cultural context – their *Sitz im Leben* – and they must be viewed as expressions and not as forms. Who, for example, could properly understand the English Mummers' Play from the bare text alone and without reference to the occasion for which it is designed and the time-honored traditional lore which it embodies?

In the second place, it has to be remembered that words *con*note as well as *de*note. They are but a device for reproducing, by purely approximate symbols, a whole congeries of impressions and associations, nuances and suggestions, mental and emotional overtones and undertones. To find the nearest corresponding symbol in another language is, therefore, merely to

surmount expediently the difficulty of communication, but it leaves unsolved the basic problem of bridging the gap between concept and expression. The ultimate meaning can not be determined by the dictionary, which is but an index of symbols; it has to be determined by an explanation of the thought, image and associations which a given word covers and comprehends.

A simple and familiar example will best clarify the matter: The opening verse of the Bible is usually rendered: *In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth,* and it is commonly supposed that this reproduces the thought of the original writer. The fact is, however, that every word of this rendering begs the question of meaning. *Beginning?* Beginning of all time — but did the Hebrews possess such a concept? — or simply of the ensuing process of creation? *Create?* The Hebrew word appears to denote properly "to cut," and thence possibly "to chisel, shape." Did the writer mean, therefore, that God brought the world into being *ex nihilo,* or merely that he *shaped* heaven and earth? And what precisely did he mean by *God?* Clearly, the term could not have conveyed to him the whole range of ideas and concepts with which it has been charged during the centuries since he wrote. Lastly, when he spoke of *the heaven and the earth,* did he mean, literally, sky and soil, or was this a comprehensive expression for the universe or cosmos? It is apparent that the answers to these questions, and hence the correct interpretation of the sacred text, can come only from a determined attempt to recover the framework of ancient thought by studying its manifestations in life and practice as well as its verbal expression in writing. And what is true for this particular case holds good equally all along the line.

It is to such an attempt that the present work is dedicated. It seeks to discover and demonstrate the cultural circumstances which informed and inspired a certain important *genre* of ancient literature; to determine for that *genre* its original *Sitz im Leben;* and to elucidate, by reference to ancient practices and institutions and by comparison with primitive parallels, the full meaning of the written word.

To be specific, this book has a fourfold purpose. First, it seeks to show how a certain more or less standard pattern of seasonal rites was projected into myth and developed into drama, and how it subsequently left its impress upon the forms of liturgical poetry in general. Second, it seeks to determine the basis of that pattern in primitive life and thought and, by reference to ancient and modern examples, to illustrate the concepts and ideas which informed it. Third, it seeks to demonstrate that a number of Ancient Near Eastern religious texts, usually regarded as mere literary myths, really go back to that basic ritual pattern and reflect, in mythic form, its several essential elements. (These texts are translated in full.) Fourth, this book attempts to lift the mythological literature of the Ancient Near East out of the narrower confines of Oriental studies and to place it in wider context by interpreting it against the background of comparative mythology and folklore. To this end, the texts are accompanied by detailed commentaries

which take up the various folkloristic elements and motifs and illustrate them by ancient and modern analogies.

An undertaking of this kind is necessarily fraught with peril – peril of method and peril of performance. The writer is aware, for example, of the obvious objection that it may involve a process – however unconscious – of reading *into* the texts instead of *out of* them. To this, however, it may be rejoined that such a danger is latent, after all, in *all* exegesis, and that, in the final analysis, even the most literal and verbal rendering of a document imposes upon it meanings which issue largely out of the translator's own thought and milieu Moreover, it must be remembered that the risk of subjective distortion is implicit, in any case, in the very process of cooperation between writer and reader which the appreciation of all true literature requires.

The writer is conscious also that those who have been reared in a hidebound philological tradition may feel that some justification ought to be given, on the purely linguistic level, for the renderings of ancient texts contained in this volume. This he has recognized as a perfectly fair contention, and in order to meet it a special appendix of Philological Notes has been added.

* * *

A few words about details:

The TRANSLATIONS (except for the Egyptian material) have been made, in all cases, directly from the original texts. Since, however, they are designed for the general reader, and not merely for the initiate, explanatory rubrics and captions have been introduced.

Insofar as the *style* of the renderings is concerned, the writer's object has been to convey to a modern reader the same sort of impression as would have been received by the ancient audience. To this end, proper names have sometimes been translated. Thus, the artisan god of the Canaanites is presented, not as Ktr-w-Hss, but as "Sir Adroit-and-Cunning," which is what the name means. Similarly, the god of the netherworld appears as "the Lord of Hell," rather than as the meaningless Hôron, and the lackey of Asherat as "Sir Holy-and-Blessed," rather than as Qdš-w-Amrr. These names would originally have conveyed the same sort of impression as the "Bold Slasher" or "Little Devil Doubt" of the English Mummers' Plays. Moreover, names which are familiar to English readers from the pages of the Old Testament are presented, with but slight modifications, in their conventional form, regardless of pedantic accuracy. Thus, there seems no point in writing 'Il for the deity whom everyone will recognize more readily as El, nor in disguising Baal as Ba'l or Ba'lu. For the same reason, the Canaanite *ṯ* has been reproduced as *sh* (e g. Asherat, *not* Aṯrt), except in notes of strictly philological character. It should be observed, however, that the pronunciation of Canaanite names is often doubtful, the texts employing a purely consonantal script.

The languages in which the texts are written are still in process of elucidation. It is but to be expected, therefore, that further research will improve

the rendering of this or that word or phrase. The main thesis of the book, however, depends on the overall sense, and this may be regarded as reasonably assured.

Asterisks (* * *) indicate a gap in the original text, dots (. .), that it is unintelligible.

Throughout the COMMENTARIES, the work of other scholars has been constantly laid under contribution, although the writer has usually pursued an independent line. Mere discussion of rival views, however, has been generally avoided on the grounds that, while it might have added piquancy to the volume, it would also have added bulk.

In the NOTES, books are cited throughout by *numbers* (e.g. CCXL, 15), rather than by titles, the main reference being placed first, regardless of numerical sequence. The key to the numbers will be found in the Bibliography, which is arranged in the alphabetical order of the authors' names. The writer is well aware that this is not the most convenient nor the least cumbersome of systems, but it had to be adopted in the interests of economy; and it scarcely needs to be pointed out that, in this day and age, works like the present can not be published at all unless the reader is willing to share at least some of the inconveniences with the author.

* * *

The difficulties of producing this volume have been considerable, and the writer is therefore all the more indebted to those good friends who have helped to smoothe a thorny path: to Professor Ralph Marcus, who has aided him throughout with counsel and suggestion and who, during the long years of preparation, acted as a constant stimulator of the mind and reviver of the drooping spirit; to Professors Robert H. Pfeiffer and Harry A. Wolfson, whose kindly interest and encouragement have served, even more than they know, to "stay up his hands, the one on the one side, and the other on the other side," and to the Littauer Foundation and its President, Mr. Harry Starr, whose generous subvention towards publication has made the seemingly impossible possible.

. . . . . .

This book is the work of twelve uneasy years. More has gone into it than writing and research, and that more is the measure of what I owe to the devotion and sacrifice of my wife who, in addition to taking upon herself all the technical and complicated work of reading the proofs, styling the production, and seeing it through press, has been with it from beginning to end, planning and testing, suggesting and worrying, sharing its joys and alleviating its disappointments. Everything in it except its faults is hers as well as mine.

T. H. G.

New York
January 1, 1950

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PART ONE

CHAPTER ONE

THE COMPONENTS OF DRAMA

Drama evolves from seasonal rituals. Seasonal rituals are functional in character. Their purpose is periodically to revive the *topocosm*, that is, the entire complex of any given locality conceived as a living organism. But this topocosm possesses both a punctual and a durative aspect, representing, not only the actual and present community, but also that ideal and continuous entity of which it is but the current manifestation. Accordingly, seasonal rituals are accompanied by myths which are designed to interpret their purely functional acts in terms of ideal and durative situations. The interpenetration of the myth and ritual creates drama.

Mimicry and the mimetic representation of life are among the most ingrained and persistent features of human behavior, and it is therefore generally held that they provide in themselves a sufficient explanation of the origin of Drama.[1] The fact is, however, that Drama is everywhere more than mere mimesis. In whatever form and at whatever level we encounter it, it consists essentially not in a single mimetic act but in a series of acts, arranged in a specific pattern and manifesting a specific "plot." Any inquiry into its origin must therefore start from the question: What conditions this pattern? What is it that leads men to exploit the instinct of mimicry in just this fashion? The answer will come from a study of Drama's most primitive forms.

All over the world, from time immemorial, it has been the custom to usher in years and seasons by means of public ceremonies. These, however, are neither arbitrary nor haphazard, nor are they mere diversions. On the contrary, they follow everywhere a more or less uniform and consistent pattern and serve a distinctly *functional* purpose. They represent the mechanism whereby, at a primitive level, Society seeks periodically to renew its vitality and thus ensure its continuance. These seasonal ceremonies form the basic

1. Cf. Aristotle, *Poetics*, ch. vi: "A tragedy, then, is the imitation of an action that is serious and also, as having magnitude, complete in itself, in language with pleasurable accessories, each kind brought in separately in the parts of the work; in a dramatic, not in a narrative form, with incidents arousing pity and fear, wherewith to accomplish its catharsis of such emotions" (tr. Ingram Bywater) In preceding chapters, Aristotle refers all *poiēsis* to imitation [*mimēsis*], and defines comedy as "an imitation of men worse than average . . . the ridiculous, which is a species of the ugly" (ch. v) The notion that Drama is fundamentally imitation has informed (and distorted) almost all subsequent study of the subject. OED thus defines it as "a composition in prose or verse, adapted to be acted upon a stage, in which a story is related by means of dialogue, and action is represented with accompanying gesture, costume and scenery, as in real life; a play." As we shall see, this confuses the applied form with the real essence; it is like defining Music in terms of operas or Medicine in terms of prescriptions

nucleus of Drama, their essential structure and content persisting – albeit in disguised and attenuated fashion – throughout all of its later manifestations. In order, therefore, to appreciate the true nature and development of Drama, it is necessary in the first place to understand what underlies and inspires this basic form.

From the standpoint of a primitive community, Life is not so much a progression from cradle to grave as a series of leases annually or periodically renewed and best exemplified in the revolution of the seasons. The renewal, however, is not effected by grace of superior Providence nor by any automatic Law of Nature, for of such the primitive has no conception. Rather has it to be fought for and won by the concerted effort of men. Accordingly, a regular program of activities is established which, performed periodically under communal sanction, will furnish the necessary replenishment of life and vitality. This program constitutes the pattern of the seasonal ceremonies and hence the nucleus of Drama.

The activities fall into two main divisions which we may call respectively Rites of Kenosis, or Emptying, and Rites of Plerosis, or Filling.[2] The former portray and symbolize the eclipse of life and vitality at the end of each lease, and are exemplified by lenten periods, fasts, austerities, and other expressions of mortification or suspended animation. The latter, on the other hand, portray and symbolize the revitalization which ensues at the beginning of the new lease, and are exemplified by rites of mass-mating, ceremonial purgations of evil and noxiousness (both physical and 'moral'),[3] and magical procedures designed to promote fertility, produce rain, relume the sun, and so forth.

Basic to the entire procedure is the conception that what is in turn eclipsed and revitalized is not merely the human community of a given area or locality but the total corporate unit of all elements, animate and inanimate alike, which together constitute its distinctive character and 'atmosphere.' To this wider entity we may assign the name *topocosm*, formed (on the analogy of *microcosm* and *macrocosm*) from Greek *topos*, "place," and *cosmos*, "world, order."[3a] The seasonal ceremonies are the economic regimen of this topocosm.

From the outset, however, they are more than mere ritual. The essence

2. Cf. Plato, *Philebus* 42C

3 In primitive thought, of course, the two categories are not rigidly distinguished Morality, or the social code, is identified and justified as the innate structural order of the world – the same order as governs its physical phenomena and which issues from the gods

3a. That the social unit embraces more than the mere human community was already recognized by Robertson Smith in his classic exposition of the subject in *Religion of the Semites*, pp 271 ff , but while he perceived its spacial extension beyond that community, he missed the essential point that it extends in time as well as in space, embracing past, present and future in one ideal, durative entity That is the essence of the topocosmic concept.

of the topocosm is that it possesses a twofold character, at once real and punctual, and ideal and durative, the former aspect being necessarily immerged in the latter, as a moment is immerged in time. If it is bodied forth as a real and concrete organism in the present, it exists also as an ideal, timeless entity, embracing but transcending the here and now in exactly the same way that the ideal America embraces but transcends the present generation of Americans.[4] The successive leases of its life therefore exist not only in the reality of the present but also in a kind of infinite continuum of which the present is but the current phase. Accordingly, the seasonal ceremonies which mark the beginnings and ends of those leases possess at once a punctual and a transcendent aspect. In the former, they serve as effective mechanisms for the expression of immediate circumstances and the satisfaction of immediate needs. In the latter, however, they are substantizations, in terms of the present, of situations which are intrinsically durative and sempiternal. Thus they are, from the start, not only direct experiences but also and at the same time representations – not only rituals but also dramas.

The connecting link between these two aspects, the factor which transmutes Ritual into Drama, is Myth. The function of Myth (so obstinately misunderstood) is to translate the real into terms of the ideal, the punctual into terms of the durative and transcendental. This it does by projecting the procedures of ritual to the plane of ideal situations which they are then taken to substantize and reproduce. Myth is therefore an essential ingredient in the pattern of the seasonal ceremonies; and the interpenetration of Ritual and Myth provides the key to the essential nature of Drama.

In this context, Myth is not, as Robertson Smith maintained, a mere outgrowth of Ritual, an artistic or literary interpretation imposed later upon sacral acts; nor is it merely, as Jane Harrison insisted, the spoken correlative of 'things done.' Rather is it the expression of a parallel aspect inherent in them from the beginning; and its function within the scheme of the seasonal pattern is to translate the punctual into terms of the durative, the real into those of the ideal.

Moreover, the impulse which inspires Myth is no mere flight of literary or artistic fancy, nor can Mythology itself be defined in terms of its articulation. To do so is to mistake the form for the essence; it is as if one were to define Prayer solely in terms of litany, or Music in those of score and scale. Mythology is a function of religio-social behavior, not a department of literature or art; the latter are merely its vehicles or instruments.

4 Symbols of the topocosmic concept in modern thought are such notions as those of Alma Mater, La France, etc

CHAPTER TWO

THE SEASONAL PATTERN IN RITUAL

Seasonal rituals follow a uniform pattern. This is based on the conception that life is vouchsafed in a series of leases which have annually to be renewed. The renewal is achieved, however, not through divine providence but through the concerted effort of men; and the rituals are designed to recruit and regiment that effort. They fall into the two clear divisions of *Kenósis,* or Emptying, and *Plērósis,* or Filling, the former representing the evacuation of life, the latter its replenishment. Rites of Kenosis include the observance of fasts, lents, and similar austerities, all designed to indicate that the community is in a state of suspended animation. Rites of Plerosis include mock-combats against the forces of drought or evil, mass-mating, the performance of rain charms, and the like, all designed to promote the reinvigoration of the community.

The rites originally performed by the community as a whole tend in time to be centered in a single representative individual, viz. the king. It is the king who then undergoes the temporary eclipse, who fights against the noxious powers and who becomes the bridegroom in a 'sacred marriage.'

What the king does on the punctual level, the god does on the durative. Accordingly, all of the ceremonies performed by the king are transmuted, through the medium of myth, into deeds done by the god. This later gives rise to the idea that the king and the other performers of the seasonal rites are merely impersonating acts originally done by the gods. The ritual then becomes drama, that is, mimetic representation.

§1. In the light of the foregoing, it is apparent that if we wish to understand the true nature and origin of Drama we must begin by reconstructing a picture of the underlying seasonal ceremonies. This can be done on the basis of material drawn from many parts of the ancient and modern worlds.[1] Such a picture will be, of necessity, both composite and schematic, but its typical and representative character is guaranteed by the fact that the constituent elements are everywhere virtually the same and fall, by and large, into the same basic pattern.

Compact of hopes and fears, of promise and apprehension, and symbolizing – as previously explained – both the "emptying" or evacuation (*kenosis*) and the "filling" or replenishment (*plerosis*) of corporate vitality, this pattern consists of four major elements:

(a) First come rites of Mortification, symbolizing the state of suspended animation which ensues at the end of the year, when one lease of life has drawn to a close and the next is not yet assured.

1. It must be understood that our examples are selective rather than exhaustive.

(b) Second come rites of Purgation, whereby the community seeks to rid itself of all noxiousness and contagion, both physical and moral, and of all evil influences which might impair the prosperity of the coming year and thereby threaten the desired renewal of vitality.

(c) Third come rites of Invigoration, whereby the community attempts, by its own concerted and regimented effort, to galvanize its moribund condition and to procure that new lease of life which is imperative for the continuance of the topocosm.

(d) Last come rites of Jubilation, which bespeak men's sense of relief when the new year has indeed begun and the continuance of their own lives and that of the topocosm is thereby assured.

§2. Rites of MORTIFICATION take the form of communal lents, fasts, and similar austerities, all of which symbolize, in greater or lesser degree, a state of suspended animation. The most familiar instances – both going back to 'pagan' antecedents – are, of course, the Christian Lent and the Mohammedan Ramadan.[2] But these are by no means unique; the usage is abundantly attested both in ancient civilizations and among primitive peoples of the present day.

§3. To begin with examples drawn from antiquity. The Babylonians recognized the first week, or even the first sixteen days, of the new-year month of Teshrit as a lenten period.[2a] Among the Hebrews, the autumnal Feast of Ingathering (*'Asîf*) was preceded by a solemn Day of Catharsis (*Yôm ha-Kippurîm*), when all work stopped, the entire community fasted, and evil was expelled in the form of a scapegoat.[3] Similarly, in Greece, the festival of Thesmophoria, in the latter part of October, was characterized by fasting. Indeed, the third day was called specifically "the Fast" (*nēsteía*);[4] and in Cyprus, abstention from food obtained throughout the preceding nine days.[5] So, too, the Feast of the "Yellow Grain-Mother" (Demeter Chloē) held in Athens in mid-May (6th of Thargēlion), when the corn was ripe, was marked by rites of mortification.[6] On the island of Lemnos, fires were extinguished annually for nine days during which sacrifices were offered to the dead and to the powers of the netherworld.[6a] In the Asianic Attis cult, the annual resurrection of that fertility-spirit in spring was preceded by a few days of fasting and ceremonial austerities (*hagisteiai*,

2. On the pagan antecedents of Lent, cf GB IX, 347 ff , on those of Ramadan, cf CDXC, 97.

2a KAVI, p. 120, II, 22–38, KARI 177, rev III Cf CCLXIII, 315

3 Lev. ch 16.

4 Aristophanes, *Birds* 1519, Plutarch, *De Is et Os*, 69 The fast was projected into myth· the Homeric Hymn to Demeter, which was probably designed for a 'mystery,' represents the Mother Goddess as abstaining from food and drink during the search for Persephone (lines 49–50), and the same detail is preserved also by Callimachus, *Dem* 17 See CDXXXV, 671 f , CCVII, §56 18, Roscher, Wm., "Die enneadischen Fristen," in ASGW 12 (1903), 14 ff.

5 Diodorus Sic v 4, Plato, *Epist* 349 D, cf IX, 135

6 CXXXV, iii, 34

6a Philostratus, *Heroica* XX 24, CXLVII, III, 23

castus).[7] Lastly, in Rome, the festival of Ceres, goddess of crops, held in April, was introduced by a fast, while in October, a nine-day fast in honor of that goddess was ceremonially observed [8] The latter custom seems also to have obtained at the annual festival of Bacchus.[9]

§4. Turning now to evidence derived from primitive peoples of the present day, the following examples may be cited. In Cambodia, the first three days of the year (which begins in mid-March) are a period of solemn abstinence, when sexual relations are forbidden; while during the first seven days no living thing may be killed, no business concluded, and all litigation and controversy suspended.[10] Among the Cherokees and Choctaws, the new-year festival, in August, is called *Busk*, or "Fast," and no food is tasted for two nights and one day preceding the eating of the new crops.[11] The same usage and the same name obtain also among the Creeks.[12] The Comanches fast for seven days in connection with the annual festival at which they rekindle their sacred fires.[13] In the Malay Peninsula, special tabus are imposed for three days before the reaping of rice; rice, salt, oil, money, etc may not leave the house, hair must be cut, and perfect quiet observed.[14] Similarly, the Mao of Manipur observe a *genna*, or period of tabu, for four days at the beginning of the harvest,[15] while the Mayans used to inaugurate their festival of *Pacum Chac*, held in the latter half of May (when the sun attains its zenith over Yucatan) by imposing a five-day fast upon their local chieftains.[16] The same thing was done also at their Feast of *Chickaban* celebrated in late October (or early November) in the town of Mani.[17] In South Massam, fasting takes place before the *Walaga*-festival,[18] among the Natchez, for three days before harvest;[19] in New Guinea, before the yam festival;[20] and in Peru, before the summer solstice festival of Raymi.[21]

7. Julian, *Or.* v 173 D, ff.; 177 A; Arnobius v 16; Tertullian, *De jejunio adv psychicos*, xvi; Sallustius, *De diis et mundo*, iv; CCVI, 182 ff.

8. Jejunium Cereris (in October), Livy xxxvi, 37, Ovid, *Met.* x 432, *Fasti* iv 535, Arnobius v 16; Petavius in Jul *Or.* v, p 88, CCLXXXVI, i, 189, XXXVI, 1, 132; DV, 246; CCXCVIII², iii, 372, n. 3; Wissowa in PW iii, 1780. – CIL i 811 (vi 87) mentions a (*C*)*ereres Cas*(*tus*) From CIL i 813 (vi 357) C Pascal (*Hermes* xxx, 548) argues for a similar lenten period in honor of Juno This, however, is doubted by Wissowa, PW iii 1780, yet Ovid, *Fasti* vi 209–14, enumerates the details of a *castus* in early June and says· *sic conjunx sacra Dialis ait*

9. Livy xxxix, 9

10. Cabaton, ERE iii, 161a Fasting is also observed during the 3–4 month period of 'retreat,' which begins in July. It is significant that the word *vosà*, which denotes this retreat, is identical with Pali *vassa*, 'rainy season'

11 Spence, ERE iii, 507a, 568b. *Busk* = *pusikta*, 'fasting.' 12 iv, 96 ff.

13 [Palmer], "The Tribes of the Thirty-fifth Parallel," in *Harper's Magazine*, 17 (1889), 451.

14 Skeat, ERE viii, 358b

15 CCXV, 167 ff ; Hodson, T. C , "The *Genna* among the Tribes of Assam," in JAI 36 (1906), 94 f

16 Seler, ERE iii 308b

17. *Ib.*, 309a. 18 CDXIV, 590. 19. LXVIII, 130 f.

20 XLVII, 413. 21 CCCLXVI, 50

In Morocco, the New-Year month of Muharram,[21a] and in the Jewish religion, the three weeks between 17th Tammuz and 9th Ab (in mid-summer) are observed as a lenten period.[22] The two dates are recognized as fasts, and during the entire three weeks no meat is eaten.[23] Traditionally, this is said to commemorate the siege and fall of Jerusalem both in 586 B.C. and again in 70 C.E.,[24] but there is reason to believe that the custom was really borrowed from Babylonia, where this was a crucial period in the seasonal cult of Tammuz, dying and reviving genius of fertility.[25] Similarly, the month of Iyar, which precedes the Palestinian barley-harvest, is observed — as was the corresponding month of May among the Romans — as a quasi-lenten period during which no marriages may be solemnized and various other restrictions are imposed.[26] Among the Ossetes of the Caucasus, a feast of the dead (*Komakhsan*) is observed around harvest-time and is followed by a one-month fast designed to induce Tutyr (St. Theodore of Tyre) to restrain his wolves and spare the sheep. The fast begins at the termination of Carnival.[26a]

§5. It has been suggested by Robertson Smith and others[27] that pre-harvest fasts originated in the necessity of preparing the body for the subsequent sacramental meal between the god and the community. Fasting for such purposes is indeed attested in many religions.[28] In the light of the foregoing evidence, however, it is plain that this explanation is altogether too narrow. Such fasts alternate in popular usage with wider forms of abstinence and restraint, and must therefore possess the same general significance. What this significance is comes out very clearly from the fact that fasts and abstinences are likewise characteristic of intercalary (or epagomenal) periods which, since they stand, as it were, "outside of time," are usually regarded as periods of suspended animation Thus — to cite but a few representative examples — the five supplementary days which were added at the end of the normal year in the Aztec calendar were known as *nemontemi*, "unfit for work," all religious ceremonies and civil business being then suspended.[29] Similarly, the Mayas of Yucatan, who use the same system, style these days *xma kaba kin*, "days without name," and refrain

21a CDXCV, 148–49 22 CL, 412; CCCXCVIII, 101–02.

23 Women used sometimes to extend the abstention from meat until the sabbath following the ninth day of Ab This practice was condemned by Solomon Luria (c. 1510–73) in his *Responsa* (Lublin 1574), No 54, cf CCXXVIII, 141

24. CCCXCVIII, 96 ff. But there is evidence that the fast really antedated the destruction of the second Temple, for in TB Ta'anith 12a, Rabbi Eleazar ben Zadok, who lived before that time, already alludes to it; cf XV, i, 46–47, CDLXXXVII, ii, 120.

25. CCLXVIII, 119–26.

26 CL, 392 Cf. Ovid, *Fasti* ii, 557–58, v 487 f and Frazer in loc , Porphyrion on Horace, *Ep.* ii, 2, 209 (p 343 Meyer). In general, cf. Levy, I., "Le mariage en mai," in *Mélusine* 8 (1896), 93–94, XLI, i, 224

26a. Minns, ERE ix, 573b. 27. CDXXIX, 434 f , LXXX, i, 186

28 GB viii, 73, 75 ff , 83, ix, 291 ff In the time of Philo, Jews used to fast before the Paschal meal, CLXXX, 376. The usage is mentioned also in TB Pesahim x, 1. Cf. also CDLXIV, 430.

29. Seler, ERE iii, 308a.

thereon from onerous work and even from personal ablutions.[30] So, too, among the Central Provinces of India, the intercalary months, which occur triennially and which are called "excreta" (*malmas*), are marked by abstinence;[31] while among the Tigrē tribes of Ethiopia, similar restrictions are imposed during the five or six epagomenal days preceding the festival of St. John.[32] The usage survives also in the European observance of the Twelve Days between December 25th and January 6th.[33] These, as most scholars now agree, were originally intercalary days,[34] and they are characterized in popular usage by various forms of abstinence and restraint and by the ceremonial expulsion of evil. It is evident, then, that the primary purpose of seasonal fasts and lents is to represent the state of suspended animation which ensues at the end of a life-lease or in the "vacant" days of an epagomenal period.

§6. This interpretation is supported by two significant arguments. The first is that in many other cases where fasting occurs as a religious rite, the same basic motive may be recognized. Thus, in many parts of the world it is customary to fast during a period of mourning. To cite but a few instances, this usage obtains in the Andaman Islands,[35] in Fiji,[36] Samoa,[37] China[38] and Korea,[39] as well as among various African tribes.[40]

Similarly, fasting is a frequent concomitant of marriage ceremonies, as, for example, among the Wa-teita of East Africa,[41] the Macusi of British Guiana[42] and the Tlingits of Alaska,[43] not to speak of orthodox Jews.[44] Again, fasting usually precedes rites of initiation.[44a] This is attested, for example, among the Algonquins,[45] the Bilqula tribe of British Columbia,[46] the Guaranis of Southern Brazil,[47] the Matacos of Gran Chaco,[48] the Ojibwa,[49] the Roro-speaking tribes of New Guinea,[50] and various primitive peoples

30 Id , ERE viii, 506a.
31 *Census of India* 1911, vol x, 144, quoted in CXLVII, ii, 40
32 CCLXXXV, ii, 245; cf CXLVII, ii, 39
33 GB vi (*The Scapegoat*), 313 ff ; CXLVII, ii, 45–46, 48
34 Cf Loth, "les douze jours supplémentaires (gourdeziou) des Bretons et les douze jours Germains et Indous," in RC 24 (1903), 311 ff ; MacCulloch, ERE iii, 79 ff ; CCCXXI, 47 ff , CXLVII, ii, 46 f It is contended by A Weber (SBAW 37 [1898], 2 ff) that the twelve days are mentioned already as a sacred season in Brahmana literature, but this is questioned by Schrader, ERE ii, 47b
35 JAI, 12 (1882), 142
36 DI, *i*, 169
37. CDLXXI, 145
38. Ki Li in SBE xxvii, 87.
39 CCCLXXXVI, 322
40 ERE v, 760b In S. Africa, the fasting is restricted to one day, JAI 19 (1890), 280.
41 CDLXIV, 57
42 CCXXIX, 222
43 XVI, *i*, 111
44. Cf Reifmann, J , "Meqôr minhag sôm hatan we-kallah beyôm hatunîm" (The source of the custom whereby bride and groom fast on their wedding-day), in *Kôḳ•bê Yishaq*, 32 (1865), 31
44a LXXX, ii, 12, 60–61
45 LXVII, vi, 67
46 CXLIX, 600–01.
47. *Ibidem.*
48 *Ibidem.*
49 *Ibidem,* Radin, P , "Some Aspects of Puberty Fasting among the Ojibwa," in *Can Ġeol Mus* 1914.
50 ERE v, 761b

in Australia,[51] New South Wales,[52] the Torres Straits[53] and Bank Island.[54] Initiants into the ancient mysteries of Isis, Attis and Mithra were likewise obliged to fast,[55] and the same practice obtained also among the neophytes in the Greek mysteries at Eleusis.[56] Now, the common factor in all of these instances is what may be described as the *occlusion of personality* – a kind of individual kenosis.[57] In the case of mourning, the fasting and abstinence express the fact that the demise of any single constituent member automatically impairs the corporate vitality of the entire group (or rather of the topocosm), so that all are in a state of temporary "death" or suspended animation. Similarly, in the case of marriage, what is thereby expressed is the abandonment by each partner of his or her single individuality and their fusion in a new, joint entity; they "become one flesh." So, too, in the case of initiation, by means of fasting and abstinence the candidate evacuates his former selfhood, preparatory to merging in the corporate personality of the group. In each instance, therefore, the fasting and abstinence symbolize a state of suspended animation; and this strengthens our view that they possess the same significance in the seasonal ceremonies when, as we have seen, such a state is indeed believed to exist.

§7. The second argument in favor of our interpretation is purely philological: the Hebrew terms for ritual fasting really denote a *constraint of personality* and have no primary reference to mere abstention from food. Thus, in the prescriptions for the annual Day of Catharsis (*Yôm ha-Kippurîm*) in Leviticus 16.29–31, the term employed is *'innah nefeš*, and this means literally "to abase the self" [EV. "afflict the soul"], implying a general mortification.[58] Similarly, the word *'ᵃsārāh* (or *'ᵃsereth*) which is used frequently in the Old Testament[59] in connection with the convening of sacred assemblies, especially in times of drought and distress (cf. Joel 1.14; 2.15), derives from the root *'-s-r*, "restrain," and thus denotes a *lent*, or period of tabu.[60] So too the word *sôm*, which is the most common Hebrew (and generally Semitic) term for "fast," would appear to be related to a

51 Howitt, A W., in JAI 13 (1884), 455, 14 (1885), 316

52 Palmer, F , in JAI 13 (1884), 295.

53 Haddon, A C , in JAI 19 (1890), 309 54 ERE v, 761b.

55 Herodotus II 40 (Isis), LXXXV, 141, 160 (Mithra), *supra*, n. 7 (Attis) The Syrian Christians used likewise to fast before the 'holy mysteries', LIII, ii, 666; cf. XI, 85 ff

56 Cf. the initiatory formula, *enēsteusa* ("I fasted"), Clem. Alex , *Protrep* , II, 18, C, 21.

57. Gaster, T. H , in FL 49 (1938), 367–68.

58 Cf also. Lev 23 27,32, Num 29 7, Ps 35 13, Is 58 3,5

59. II Kings 10 20, Joel 1.14; 2 15, Is 1.13. The word is often used as a parallel to "solemn assembly" (Lev. 23 36, Num 29 35, Deut 16 8) or to "feast" (Amos 5 21, Neh 8.18, II Chron. 7 9).

60 The word *'ᵃsereth* is also used in the technical sense of the fiftieth day after Passover and Tabernacles. MR Cant VII, 2, §2; PRK §30, Josephus, *Ant* iii 10 6, cf. Lewy, H and J., "The Week and the Oldest West Asiatic Calendar," in HUCA 17 (1942–43), 104 This survives in the Samaritan *sammôth* or "Conjunction" – a point not noticed by Lewy In modern Arabic, the cognate word is the usual term for Easter For *'ᵃsereth* in the sense of "restraint," cf. CDIX, 60.

verbal root (*s-m-m*) which means primarily "rein, hold in check," and thus again implies a curtailment of activity rather than a mere abstention from food.[61] Lastly, attention may be directed in this connection to Isaiah 1.13, where the word *ʿāsārāh*, "lent," stands in association with the term *ʾāwen*. Because the latter usually means "iniquity," it has become customary to render "I cannot brook iniquity along with an *ʿāsārāh*" [RV. "I cannot away with iniquity and the solemn meeting"]. The fact is, however, that *ʾāwen* derives from a root the basic meaning of which is "be exhausted, worn out,"[62] so that in this passage we may recognize in it a technical term for the lenten period of suspended animation, thus showing once again that — at least for the Hebrews — the essence of the institution lay in general mortification and not merely in restriction of diet.[63]

§8. Closely related to Mortification is the practice of howling and wailing at seasonal ceremonies.[64] This is well attested throughout ancient civilizations

The Egyptians, says Diodorus, used to shed tears and cry upon Isis at the first cutting of the corn;[65] and their summer festival was marked, according to Herodotus, by the chanting of a doleful lay called Maneros.[66] The latter, it is believed, is a distortion of the Egyptian words *maa n per.k*, "come to thy house,"[67] which constitute the initial phrase in seasonal lamentations for Osiris which have actually come down to us.[68] The custom is attested also, at a much later date, by Firmicus Maternus, who reproaches the pagan Egyptians for "lamenting over the crops and wailing over the growing seed."[69] The lamentation, say Herodotus and various other Classical writers, was accompanied on the flute;[70] and Moret has pointed out that

61. This implies that PS **s-w-m* is related to the root *ṣ-m-m*, for which cf Gilgamesh VII ii, 32 *su-um-mu-u nu-u-ra*, "deprived of light," Jensen, KB VI, 1 394 The root appears in the Heb nouns *sammîm* (Job 18 9) and *sammāh* (Cant. 4 1,3, 6 7) and in NH *samsem*, "contract" Cognate is *z-m-m*, which underlies *zimmôtai*, 'my halters' in Job 17.11 and which appears in Mishnah, Terumoth IX 3 Even if this combination be incorrect, the original meaning of the root may perhaps be detected in the Arabic *s-w-m* (borrowed from Syriac, CXLI, 20, CCCXLI, 36) which primarily denotes 'rest' (*Encyc of Islam*, s v *saum*)

62. CXLV, 51b, and cp *teʾunîm*, Ez. 24.12. In Ugaritic (I*AB 1 15), a word *ʾun* appears to mean 'mourning' This may be combined with Heb *lehem ʾônîm* in Hos 9 4 (unless that is simply the partic Qal, masc pl of *ʾ-n-h*) On *lehem ʾônîm*, see also Frazer, JAI 15 (1886), 92, Westermarck, FL 17 (1907), 403

63 Note that LXX renders *nēsteian*, 'fast'!

64 Cf Van Selms, A., "Weenen als aanvengsrite," in NTT 24 (1935), 119–27

65. Diodorus Sic i 14

66. Herodotus II 79, Julius Pollux IV 54, Pausanias IX 29 7, Athenaeus XIV 11, 620 A

67. XLVIII, 24; CDXCIX, 336

68. Cf. CCXXV; LV, II, 59–66, CCCXIX, 24–26 The text is preserved also, in later literary form, in a Berlin papyrus, CCCXX, 89. For further literature, see Lichtheim, JNES 4 (1945), 180

69 *De errore profanarum religionum*, II 7 (addressed to the Egyptians): *Cur plangitis fruges terrae et crescentia lugetis semina?* Cf also Diodorus I 14 2, CXLIX, 338, CCCXVII, 19 ff.

70 Herod. ii 48, etc Similarly, at the festival of Adonis, the lamentation was accompanied on the flute; Glotz, G , in RG 33 (1920), 206

one of the scenes sculptured on the walls of the Fifth Dynasty tomb of Ti actually portrays a man standing piping beside reapers![71]

In Mesopotamia, the harvest was accompanied by the utterance of a ritual cry known as *alalu*, or "ululation."[72] This cry is paralleled in other parts of the ancient world. Thus, in Judges 9.27 it is stated specifically that the inhabitants of Shechem, in Palestine, performed the analogous rite of *hillulîm* on the occasion of the vintage;[73] while Plutarch informs us that the traditional cry at the Attic vintage festival of Oschophoria, in midsummer, was *eleleu*.[74] Similarly, according to a writer quoted by Athenaeus, the ritual dirges uttered in the mysteries of Demeter and Kore went under the name of *iouloi* (or *houloi*), i.e. "howls";[75] and it is probably to such a cry that the prophet Micah consciously alludes when he exclaims (7.1): *"Al'lai lî* [EV. Woe is me!], for I am become like *the harvestings of summer fruits,* like *the gleanings of the vintage."* Lamentations were likewise a characteristic feature of the Eleusinian Mysteries.[76]

§9. In our extant sources, these traditional howlings and wailings are usually associated with specific deities or spirits of fertility, being regarded as dirges over their annual disappearance from the earth. The lamentations for Osiris in Egypt, Attis in Asia Minor and Adonis in Syria are well known.[77] Similarly, in the Babylonian Epic of Gilgamesh (vi, 46–47)[78] and again in the Poem of the Descent of Ishtar to the Netherworld (rev. 56–57),[79] mention is made explicitly of the annual weeping for Tammuz, lord of fertility, and the technical term *elēlu* is actually employed. Moreover, an early Babylonian text published by Reisner (CCCLXXIV, 145, iii 12–15) and

71. CCCXVII, 21 (and fig 2), CCCXV, 201–02, Pl xvi.

72 Oppenheim, L., in BASOR 103 (Oct 1946), 11–14 The technical expression for raising the lament was *šasû alala*, cf. Assurbanipal, Streck VAB VII 56, col VI, 102–03; Weidner, E. F., in AfO 8 (1933), 21, rev IV 19, Sargon II, Cylinder 36 (= CDLXVII, line 206), CCCV, I, 331. Weidner, AJSL 38 (1921), 85, explains *a-la-la* as *zi-im-ru*

73 Judges 9 27. *wa-ya'ᵃšu hillulîm*, LXX: *kai epoiēsan Elloulim*

74. Plutarch, *Thes.* 22 (reading *spendontes*, with Cornford, for the *speudontes* of the MSS.).

75. Semus, *apud* Athen XIV, 618 E, cf CDXXXV, 649

76 CCLXXIVa, I, 289

77 GB vii (*Spirits of the Corn and Wild*), ch. VII For the laments in the Osiris cult, cf. also Moret, A., "Rituels agraires de l'ancien Orient . . " in *Annuaire de l'Inst de Phil et d'hist orientales* 3 (1935), 311 ff., for the Attis cult, cf CCVI, 128, 196, Diod Sic III, 59 7, Plutarch, *Alcibiades* 18, Arrian, *Tactica* 33 4, for the Adonis cult, cf Sappho 63, 108 Wharton, Ammianus Marcellinus XXII 9, 15, XIX 1, 11, Aristoph *Lys* 365–66, Bion, *Epitaph Adon* 1, 40 Cf also Jeremiah 22 18 (omitting *w'hoi ahôth*, with LXX), 34 5 For the weeping in the Babylonian Akîtu ceremonies, cf. VAT 9555 29 *ši-i ta-da-ra ma-a aḫu-u-a ma-a aḫu-u-a.* (For the impossible *ta-da-ra*, read with Langdon *ta-ta-rad* This is supported by the parallel phraseology in other versions of the myth, e g Bion, *Epitaph* 18 *alálētai*, Homeric Hymn to Demeter 48 *strōphat'*; Judges 11 37 (story of Jephthah's daughter), where read *we-radti*, with Robertson Smith, for MT *we-ya-radtî*)

78. "For Tammuz, the husband of thy (youth) thou hast ordained weeping (*bitakku*) from year to year."

79 CT xv, pl 48 *ina u-mê ᵈDumuzi el-la-an-ni malil ᵃᵇⁿᵘukni šemiru ᵃᵇⁿᵘ santi it-ti-šu el-la-an-ni ᵐbakûti ù ᶠbakâti*

another of Arsacid date (ZA 6 [1891], 243:34) define the month of Tammuz, in midsummer, as a period of wailing (*tekil*[*tu*]), ritual lamentation (*rikis sipitti*) and weeping (*bikîtum*);[80] while an Old Assyrian almanac (KARI 178, vi 10) prescribes weeping for its second day.[81] This seasonal ululation, which obtained likewise in the Greek cult of Demeter and Kore,[81a] survived, indeed, into the Christian era, for a medieval Arabic antiquary records the performance of it at Harran.[82]

Among the Hittites, the practice was likewise associated with the disappearance of the god of fertility. The counterpart of the Babylonian Tammuz was the god Telipinu, who was believed annually to withdraw himself and whose return was effected by means of elaborate ceremonies.[83] The mysteries of this god were likewise characterized by ritual weeping. A text from Boghaz Koi, site of the ancient Hittite capital (KUB XXIV, 1–2 obv. i, 5–7), reads specifically: "Go, wail for our Lord Telipinu, the god of our being";[84] while in the colophon of the so-called Yuzgat Tablet, the female redactor includes among her claims to piety the fact that "whenso it goes ill . . . with Telipinu, I (duly) perform the wailing" and that text actually bears the title, "Wailings for Telipinu."[85]

§10. Yet, despite these later mythological interpretations, there is reason to suspect that the seasonal howlings and wailings were not originally signs of mourning at all. Two arguments may be adduced. The first is that in several cases the deities or spirits who are thus supposedly lamented bear names which are nothing but artificial personifications of the wailings themselves![86] The Greeks, for example, promptly invented a corn-goddess Ioulō whom the *iouloi*, or "howls," of the Demeter-cult were supposed to invoke.[87] Similarly, out of the *hylagmos*, or "ululation," of the seasonal ceremonies they concocted the familiar figure of Hylas,[88] for whom it was then said to be uttered; and out of the **litē ersēs*, or seasonal "prayer for rain," they invented the fertility-spirit Lityerses.[89] So, too, Iacchos as a name for Dionysus owes its origin to the ritual cry *iacchos*,[90] while the doleful Phoenician refrain *ai lanu*, "woe unto us," evidently chanted in the seasonal laments, was transformed into a Greek *ai Linou*, "woe for Linos," and gave birth to the Adonis-like figure of that name.[91] By the same process

80 CCLXVIII, 120 f. 81. Labat, RA 38 (1941), 28

81a Cf Proclus in Plat. *Rep* i 215, Kroll, Marinus, *Vita Procli*, c. 33 Boissonade.

82. LXIX, ii, 27 83. See below, pp 353 ff.

84 *i-it-wa* ^{d}*Te-li-pi-nu-un an-zi-el* EN *NI* DINGIR *LAM ŠA* SAG DU *NI mu-ga-a-i* Cf CLII, ii, 168 (ad. p 84, n. 1).

85 Rev 9–10 ^{d}*Telipinusa kwedanikki nakkeszi ugga* DINGIR MEŠ-*as ut*[*tar*] . . . *–mahhi tan mugami*, rev. 13: ^{d}*Telipinuwas mugawas.*

86 On the derivation of divine names from ritual cries, cf Hoffmann, G, in ZA 11 (1896), 229

87. See above, n 75. 88 Kretschmer, P., in *Glotta* 14 (1923), 13

89 Klausen, CCLVa, i, 121, endorsed by Gruppe, CLXXXVIII, 966, n. 6. On the lityerses-song, cf. Theocritus x 41; Athenaeus 619 A, and especially, Photius, *Bibl* 1 54 and Scholiast on Theocr *loc cit.*

90. Pausanias iv, 31.4.

91. Iliad xviii 570, Herod ii 79; Pausanias ix 29 6–9, Hesiod, fr 211 Rzach; Conon,

the Sumerians appear to have created a god Alala out of the *alala* or ritual wail;[92] and according to Welcker,[93] the Basque hero Lelo, who is lamented in traditional folksongs, is but a projection of the *lelo,* or dirge. Analogous also are the cases of Abobas[94] and Gingras,[95] by-names of Adonis, for both derive from Semitic words for the flute and lyre which accompanied seasonal threnodies.

§11. The second argument in favor of the view that the seasonal weepings and wailings need not have originated as rites of mourning derives from the acute observation of the late Maurice Canney that tears are not necessarily an expression of sorrow, but may be induced equally by any form of violent excitement.[96] Accordingly, although so interpreted in later times, the shedding of tears in ritual need not have originated as an act of mourning; it may have been but the natural concomitant of frenzy and hysteria. Similarly, the loud cries which subsequently developed into exclamations of grief may have been, in the first place, nothing but shrieks and yells of excitement.

There is much to be said in favor of this view. In the first place, it is worth noting that in several cultures, while the shedding of tears at seasonal ceremonies is indeed attested, it is not associated with mourning, being interpreted in quite a different manner. Thus, among the Torajas, Galelarese and Javanese of Indonesia,[97] tears are regarded — as are blood, sweat, semen and urine elsewhere[98] — as effusions of the 'soul-substance,' so that the shedding of them serves as a means of reinvigorating the earth and even of reviving the dead. Indeed, this power is even attributed to the tears of animals. Thus, at Great Bassam, in Guinea, oxen are slaughtered annually as part of a procedure designed to procure a good harvest, and it is an essential part of the ceremony that they be made to

Narrat 19, Aeschylus, *Agam.* 121, Sophocles, *Ajax* 627, Callimachus, *Apollo* 20; Moschus III, 1; Pindar, fr. 139.5; Eur. *Helen* 172 f, *Herakles* 348–51, *Phoen* 1519 f.; *Orestes* 1395, XLVIII, CCCXXII, 1, 246, CCXCVI, II 281, CDXLIII, Eissfeldt, O, "Linos und Alijan," in CXVI, 1, 161 ff.

92 Cf Oppenheim, L, in BASOR 103 The god is discussed in. CDLXVII, 207; CCCIII, VIII 51, IX 104, XCIV, Nos 65–66, ZA 23 (1909), 374, No 80 In a late text (Thureau-Dangin, RA 16 [1919], 145, rev, last line but 7, p 154) he is identified with chthonian Enki Thureau-Dangin (p 149) draws attention to his connection with Belili Cf. also KARI 321.26 (= Ebeling, *Era,* 8): *e-mu-qa* ^{d}*Nin-gir-su meš-ra-a* ^{d}*A-la-la*

93 CDLXXXIX, 1, 27 ff Cf also CDX, 227–29, citing Slavonic Liuli, Lel and Polel

94. Hesychius and EM, s v *Abobas* Cf CCCXXII, i, 202, CCLXIV, 238, CCLXXXII, 224, CLXXXVIII, 949, Engel, *Kypr*, II, 557 Untenable is Boissier's derivation of the name from Accad *abūbu,* 'storm-flood' (PSBA 18 [1896], 238)

95 *Demokleides, *apud* Athen iv 76, p. 174 F (cf. FHG ii, 21 2, Poll 4 76); CLXXXVIII, 349; CLXIV, 388b Ohnefalsch Richter, CCCLXXX, 223, would derive the name from *GRI-, a doleful cry.

96 Canney, M, "The Magic of Tears," in JMEOS 12 (1926), 47–54, id, LXIII, 54 f., 60 f

97 Kruijt, ERE VII, 234a Cf also Ten Kate, P, "Het endefeest" (on the funeral feast of the Torajas), in *C Med N Zendel,* 1913. (I have not seen this study)

98 ERE VII, 234; XII, 127a.

weep. To this end, indeed, women sit in front of them and throw manioc meal and palm wine into their eyes to make them weep, the while they chant, "Ox will weep."[99] Again, among the Khonds of Bengal,[100] and likewise in Mexico,[101] the shedding of tears is believed to be an homeopathic method of producing rain; while a similar belief in their magical efficacy may be recognized in the fact that at one stage of the Babylonian New Year (Akîtu) ceremonies, the king was ritually slapped and induced to weep, such weeping being deemed propitious.[102] Magical weeping of this kind may also have obtained among the ancient Hebrews; for, according to Canney,[103] a specific allusion to it may be recognized in the familiar words of Psalm 126, 5–6:

> They that sow in tears shall reap in joy.
> He that goeth forth weeping,
> bearing the trail of seed,
> shall doubtless return with rejoicing,
> bearing his sheaves.*

Analogous ideas obtain in mythology. The Egyptian hieratic papyrus of Nesi-Amsu attributes the creation of mankind to an effusion from the eye of Ra',[104] just as in other mythologies it is attributed to the shedding of divine blood.[105]

§12. To these two major arguments may be added a third. In most of the ancient languages, the words for "howl of pain" and "cry of joy" are undifferentiated, or at least akin, both going back to a single onomatopoeic root meaning simply "yell." Thus, in Greek, the verb *elelizo* is used indiscriminately in both senses,[106] as are also the analogous *ololuzo* and *ala-*

99 Hecquard, H., *Reise an die Kuste und in das Innere von West-Afrika* (Leipzig 1854), 41–43, quoted in GB VIII, 9

100. CCXCII, 113–31 (GB VII, 248, n 2).

101. CCCLXXXIX, II, 86 (GB VII, 248, n 2)

102. Cf CCLXIX, 26, Wensinck, A J, in AcOr. I (1923), 183 ff, Dombart, in JSOR 8 (1924), 115, Furlani, G, in SMSR 4 (1928), 1–16, 305–07, Gadd, in CCXII, 53 ff, DXII, 38, CXXXII, 35.

103 ET 1925, 44 f, Hvidberg, Fl., "Vom Weinen und Lachen im AT," in ZAW 57 (1939), 150–52

* In seeking evidence of magical weeping, caution must be exercised lest this interpretation be imposed wrongly on what are really but meaningless survivals of mourning proper. Thus, for example, when Cherokee priests weep at the four corners of the field after working the first corn (CXLIX, 372), or when the inhabitants of Oldenburg, in Germany, perform similar rites (CDXLV, I, 47), there is no reason to conclude that anything more is involved than a mere attenuation of some primitive mourning over the crops Nevertheless, it is extremely difficult, and often virtually impossible, to decide whether a given practice is a genuine case of magical weeping or a mere survival of ritual mourning

104 CCCXXVIII, 70, LXIII, 60

105. Cf *MI*, A 1211 1

106. For *elelizo* of uttering a cry of pain, cf Aristophanes, *Birds* 213, Eur, *Helen* 1111; of uttering a battle-cry, cf Xenophon, *Anab* I, 8 18, of uttering any loud cry, cf Eur *Phoen* 1514 For *eleleu* as a cry of joy, cf Plutarch, *Thes* 22, of pain, cf. Aesch *Prom. Vinc* 877, of a war-cry, Aristoph, *Birds* 364.

lazo [107] Similarly, the Hebrew *h-l-l,* "shout for joy," is related to *'a-l-l* and *y-l-l,* "cry woe,"[108] just as is the Accadian *elēlu* to the antithetical *alālu.*[109] Accordingly, when words of this type are used as the technical terms for the seasonal practices, it is possible to infer that their original meaning was simply "yell," and that they did not necessarily imply doleful lamentation.

§13. If these arguments are correct, the practices of howling and wailing at seasonal ceremonies need not be interpreted as acts of mourning but rather as mere expressions of excitement or as functional procedures designed to promote fertility through the magical properties of tears. In the latter case, they would fall into the category of Rites of Invigoration rather than of Mortification (v. *supra,* §1(c)). This, of course, is not to deny that a certain element of mourning must always have been present. The languor of the earth in the hot summer, the falling of the leaves and the departure of the songbirds in autumn, and the long sleep and desolation of winter, are bound, at all times, to inspire sentiments of sorrow and regret. The only point that is here made is that rites of howling and wailing are not necessarily to be construed as expressions of such sentiments.

§14. The initial stage of Mortification is followed in the program of the seasonal ceremonies by that of PURGATION, the purpose of which is to expel or exorcise all such evil influences (physical and moral alike) as might impair the replenishment of life and vitality. The topocosm gets a 'clean start' in the new year.[110] Such rites of purgation are almost universally attested in both the ancient and modern worlds. Thus, among the Romans, the last month of the year was dedicated especially to communal purification and was therefore termed February, from a verb (*februare*) meaning "to

107 For *ololuzo* of a cry of joy, cf. Eur. *Electra* 691, Theocr. xvii, 64, of grief, cf. Ap. Rhod., *Arg.* iii, 1218. For *ololugma* of joy, cf. Eur., *Herakl.* 782. For *ololugē* of wailing, cf. Eur. *Medea* 1176; cf. also *ololugmos* in this sense, Aeschylus, *Choeph.* 386. A creature called *ololugōn* is identified by many scholars as the *swallow,* so named from its doleful note. However, Norman Douglas (cvi, 135–38) claims that it is really the *tree-frog,* while Herder (*Glotta* 2 [1922], 137–44) says that it is the *wryneck* or some kind of *warbler,* but *not* the nightingale; see Pease on Cicero, *De Div.* i, 86a.

108 Cp. *'a-l-h,* 'wail' (Joel 1 8), Syr. *'a-l-l;* Arabic *'a-l-l.* Cp. also Heb. *y-l-l;* Arabic *walwal,* etc. (Noeldeke, Th., *Mandaeische Grammatik* [Halle 1875], 211.)

109 Cp. especially the ritual cry *ellea ellea* in the Babylonian New Year liturgy, Jensen, KB VI, ii, 34, obv. 12, so interpreted by Bohl in *Ex Oriente Lux* 7 (1940), 404. It should be observed, however, that Acc. *elēlu* really covers two distinct roots represented in Hebrew by (a) *h-l-l,* "shout, praise," and (b) *h-l-l,* "play the flute" (I Kings 1 40, Ps. 87 7). Cf. also Sumerian *elulam,* 'lament,' e.g. CCLVII, 10–11, lines 29–30: *nar-e e-lu-lam nu-mu-ni-bi zag-uru-ka i-lu nu-mu-(ni-bi),* "the singer utters no wail, by the side of the city he (utters) no lament."

110 Cf. CXLVII, ii, 278: "Among peoples of the lower culture the ceremonies of public purification, which take the form of a general expulsion of devils, seem generally to fall at the end of the year in order that the people may make a clean start in the new year, having rid themselves, as they imagine, of all the baneful influences that have troubled them in the past." Such purifications are described in GB vi (*The Scapegoat*), 224 ff.

purify."[111] Temples and sacred vessels were likewise thoroughly scoured at this season [112] Similarly, the annual Feast of Sowing (*Feriae Sementivae*) was characterized by a ceremonial lustration of crops, fields and peasantry[113] such as was performed also at the rustic Parish Festival (*Paganalia*).[114]

Among the Hebrews, the autumnal festival of Ingathering ['*Asîf*] was preceded by a solemn Day of Catharsis [*Yôm ha-Kippurîm*]. The occasion was marked by a fast, a suspension of normal activities, and the expulsion of a scapegoat which was supposed to carry into the wilderness the accumulated burden of communal sin and wrongdoing [115] So too among the Greeks, the Athenian festival of Thargēlia, held in March, featured a purgatory expulsion of human scapegoats;[116] nor is the custom unattested among primitive peoples. Thus – to quote from the examples assembled by Frazer – the Incas of Peru used ceremonially to expel disease at the festival of Situa, celebrated just before the onset of the rainy season in September.[117]

Similarly, in Siam,[118] and likewise too among the Wotyaks of Eastern Russia,[119] the forces of evil are solemnly banished on the last day of the year. Among the Hos of Togoland, West Africa[120] and at Kiriwina in S.E. New Guinea,[121] evil spirits are exorcised annually before the eating of new yams; and the occasion is preceded, in the former case, by a period of fasting. Among the tribes of Hindu Kush, evil is expelled after the harvest;[122] in Chitral the ceremony is called "devil-driving."[123] In Cambodia, the rite takes place in March,[124] and among the Esquimaux of Point Barrow, in Alaska, the evil spirit Tuña is expelled annually at the moment when the sun reappears.[125]

At Cape Coast Castle, the demon Abonsam is driven forth annually after a four weeks' period of mortification;[126] and in Tonquin there is a similar expulsion (called *theckydaw*) once a year.*[127]

111 CXLVII, ii, 19 Varro, *De lingua latina*, vi, 34, says that February is so named *quod tum februatur populus.*

112. Joh Lydus, *De mensibus*, iv 25, p 84 Wuensch

113 Tibullus II i, 1–20, cf CCCLXV, i, 419 ff

114. Ovid, *Fasti* i 669, see Frazer *in loc* 115 Lev 16 8–10.

116. Cf Harpocration, s v *pharmakos*, Helladius, *apud* Phot., *Bibl* c 279, p 534, cc, 95 ff ; CCCXXXII, Appendix A – A similar rite took place at the Chaeronea, Plutarch, *Quaest. Symp.* vi, 8, cc, 105–06.

117. CXLIX, 554 118. *Ibid*, 559.

119 *Ibidem.* 120. *Ibid*, 555.

121 *Ibid.*, 556. 122 *Ibid*, 557.

123 *Ibidem* 124 *Ibid*, 559.

125 *Ibid.*, 551. 126 *Ibid*, 555

* The periodic expulsion of evil or of evil spirits must be sharply distinguished from that of ghosts or ancestral spirits, which often takes place at about the same time The two things naturally tend to overlap, and they are all too frequently confused by modern investigators. But they are really quite distinct, the latter being but the natural corollary of the belief that the dead rejoin their erstwhile communities at times of topocosmic crisis We shall therefore reserve the discussion of it until later (see below, §35)

127. *Ibid*, 558.

A peculiarly striking instance of this communal purgation is afforded by the Japanese ceremony of Ohoharahi or "great purification," performed by the Mikado or a member of the Nakatomi priestly clan twice yearly, on the last days of the sixth and twelfth months. Ministers of state, officials and people are purified from ceremonial offenses committed during the preceding half-year, special emphasis being placed on mischievous interference with agricultural operations. Offerings are thrown into the river or sea and are supposed (like the scapegoat) to bear away the sins of the people.[128] Analogous also is the Ashanti Feast of Odwira, or Purgation, held annually in September. The entire nation is thereby purified from defilement, the king is reconsecrated, departed monarchs are propitiated, shrines are cleansed, and there is a feast of the dead.[128a]

§15. In most (though not in all) cases the purgation is effected with the aid of fire.[129] This is true, for example, of the instances quoted from the Incas and the Esquimaux of Point Barrow. It is likewise in this way that the rite is (or was) performed annually on Twelfth Day in the canton of Labruguière in the south of France, where the evil spirits are (or were) expelled by means of blazing torches [130] Similarly, it is customary at Fez and among the Berber-speaking tribes of Morocco to light fires on the rooftops on the festival of 'Ashura, which is the Mohammedan New Year, and for children and unmarried men to leap over them the while they cry: "We have shaken over thee, O bonfire [*ta'ashurt*], the fleas and lice and illnesses both spiritual and physical.[131] The same custom obtains also, on the same date, in Tunis.[132] Analogously, too, a Babylonian text which describes the ceremonies of the New Year (Akîtu) festival refers to the custom of tossing firebrands into the air,[133] and a late Jewish source asserts categorically that "he who attaches a firebrand to the wall of a house and cries Avaunt! performs a pagan practice."[134] Bonfires are also a standard feature of Hallowe'en ceremonies in Britain, and they were likewise lit at Midsummer. Of the latter, the antiquary Bourne states categorically that they were kindled in order that "the lustful Dragons might be driven away."[135]

§16. What is done for men has also to be done for gods Their residences, too, must be purged and cleansed at the beginning of the new lease of life. In Egypt, sacred buildings were ritually aspersed during the annual celebration of the mysteries of Osiris;[136] and the Bremner-Rhind Papyrus I, 2–3 states explicitly that "the entire temple is to be purified (consecrated)"

128 XIV, 71–72. 128a. CDXV, 72.

129 On fire in purificatory rites, cf. Blackman, W. S., in FL 27 (1916), 352–77; CXXXI, CLIV, CCXI, CCLII, XCVII, CCXXVII, 229, *GB* VII/1, 106 ff

130 CXLIX, 561. 131 CDXCV, 148, 169 ff.

132. Cf Monchicourt, *Revue Tunisienne* 17 (1910), 293 ff.

133. K 3476, obv 8· '"*zi-qa-a-tê ša ištu libbi kinnuni u-ša-an-ma-ru;* 28. [*ša*]-*qiš kilatê im-mah-ha-su* Cf CCCXLVIII, 215, 218

134. Tosefta, Sabbath, vi.10–11; CCCXCIX, 69 f.

135 XL, 304. Cf also CXLIX, 614, 617, 622, 632, 635, 636, 706, CCCXC, 42 f.

136 CDXVII, 139, n 2.

before the recital of the lamentations for that god.[137] Similarly, in Mesopotamia, the sacred emblems in the temple were cleansed and purified during the month of Teshrit – the month of the autumnal New Year –[138] and on the fifth day of the vernal New Year (Akîtu) festival, an elaborate rite of purgation took place in the sanctuary.[139] A similar practice obtained among the Hebrews in the observance of the Day of Purgation or Atonement [*Kippurîm*];[140] while among the Moslems of Morocco water is aspersed on human beings and animals and on the walls and floors of dwellings at the New Year Festival [*'ashura*] on the tenth day of Muharram.[141]

§17. Sometimes the rite of purgation takes the form of ceremonially destroying and then replacing the furniture and vessels of the local temple. Two representative examples may be cited, the one ancient and the other modern. In the Hittite text KUB XXV 31 it is stated that at the spring or summer festival of Puruli it was customary to burn the sacred fleeces and chairs(??) and to replace them with new ones (6–7: KUŠ*kussus Ù* GIŠ*hupp*[*ulius?*][142] *warnuanzi; nu appan newan iyan* [*danzi*]); while the Mayan ceremony of *oc-na,* performed in January, included the rite of breaking the clay idols and censers and of subsequently repairing and repainting the temples.[143]

§18. Analogous also is the custom of removing from the temple or similar sacred edifice boughs and twigs imported during the previous year's celebration and of replacing them with new ones. The best example of this is, of course, the common European usage of introducing new maypoles at seasonal ceremonies in spring;[144] but it is possible also to cite far earlier instances. In the Hittite text just mentioned there is a specific reference to the importation of a new *eyan,* or evergreen tree, into the temple at the feast of Puruli,[145] while the Romans marked the Old New Year of March 1 by changing the laurels in the houses of the *rex sacrorum* and in the (Old) Chapel of the Wards.[146]

§19. The rites of Purgation pave the way for those of INVIGORATION – that is, for the positive ceremonies whereby, by concerted and regimented ef-

137. Faulkner, R O , in JEA 22 (1936), 122.

138. KAVI, 120, II 22–38, CCLXVIII, 105.

139. On these rites, cf. CCLXV, 79; CCXXII, 52–53; Morgenstern, J., in AJSL 55 (1938), 22; CXIII, 138 The gods themselves underwent purification; CCLXV, 70, n. 4, Zimmern in CCCXLII, 959 ff., CXLIIa, 28 This took place at the beginning of the month; CT XXXII 12 iv 3; XXXII 17 iv 12.

140. Lev ch. 16. 141. CDXCV, 147.

142. The restoration is our own On the meaning of *huppuli,* see Walter in CDXXV, Appendix IV, 269 171.

143. Seler, ERE iii, 308b

144. CCXXI, i, 849, iii, 595; ERE viii, 501a; CXLIX, 122 ff. 145. KUB XXV 31.7.

146. Macrobius, *Sat.* i 12,6; Solinus i 35 The custom was later transferred to January 1: Geoponica ii, 2, Libanius, *Kal. Descr T I.,* 75; Ausonius, *Caesar tempus imperii,* xii; Sidonius Apollinaris, *Carm.* ii 8; cf. CXLVII, iii, 36 f.

fort, the community seeks to procure a replenishment of life and vitality. These take various forms, of which the most common and the most important is the Ritual Combat, or mimetic battle between Life and Death, Summer and Winter, Old Year and New.

§20. The combat is abundantly attested in both ancient and modern civilizations and survives prominently in popular custom.[147] "In many places [in Germany]," says Grimm, "two persons, disguised as Summer and Winter, make their appearance, the one clothed with ivy or *singrun*, the other with straw or moss, and they fight one another till Summer wins. The custom . . belongs chiefly to districts in the middle Rhine, beyond it in the Palatinate, this side of it in the Odenwald betwixt Main and Neckar."[148] Similarly, in Styria[149] and the neighboring mountains of Carinthia,[150] it used to be the custom, in March or at St. Mary's Candlemas, for two bands, one with winter clothes and snowballs and the other with green summer headgear, pitchforks and scythes, to engage in combat, while at Voitzenberg, in the Ukermark district, a fight between Summer and Winter was (or is) staged on Christmas Eve, the antagonists being impersonated, as a rule, by old women.[151] The usage is, indeed, ubiquitous. In Sweden, two companies of mounted troops, the one dressed in furs and the other in fresh leaves and flowers, used to stage a set-to on May Day; the latter, representing the forces of Summer, naturally won.[152] Similarly, fights between Summer and Winter were a regular feature of midsummer ceremonies in the villages of Russia.[153] In the Brahmi Confederacy of Baluchistan, a ritual combat is staged by the women whenever rain is needed;[154] while among the Malayans, a mock combat takes place every three or four years in order to expel demons.[155] Among the Iroquois, the New Year festival, held in late January or early February, included a mimetic combat between Life-god [*Teharonhiawagon*] and Winter [*Tawiskaron*];[156] and among the Yakut, such contests characterize the two great tribal festivals of Aiy-ysyakh (Good Spirits) in spring and of Abassy-ysyakh (Bad Spirits) in autumn.[157] On each occasion, Spring (called *aiy-uola*, "good spirit"), dressed in white and riding a white horse, engages Winter (called *abassy-uola*, "bad spirit"), clothed in red and riding a roan horse. An analogous procedure marks the Basque Carnival masquerade at La Soule in S. France, where *Les Rouges* fight *Les*

147. CCCXXXIX, 402–08; CCXCVI, I, 33 f, 48, GB VII (*The Scapegoat*) 98, IX 173; 180 ff, CXXIX, 290, Usener, in ARW 7 (1905), 297–313; Rose, H. J, in FL 36 (1926), 322; Blackman in CCXXII, 22–24, Lesky in ARW 28 (1926), 73–82; Ehelolf, SPAW 1925, 267–72; CXLV, 375, CXLVI, III, 267 f, XVII, I, 19 ff; CCCXCIV, III, 120 f.; 133 f; 165, 179; 195; 271; Calderon, *CR 26 (1913)*, 79 ff.

148. CLXXXV, II, 764 ff

149. CCCXCIII, II, 348 (quoted from CLXXV, II, 769)

150. CLXXV, II, 769

151. CCXCIV, III, 81, n 4.

152 GB IV (*The Dying God*), 254

153. CCCLXIX, 241.

154 Bray, D, in *Census of India 1911*, IV, pt I, 65 ff, CXLV, 75–77.

155 DIV, 92.

156. Gray, ERE VII, 422b.

157. Czaplicka, ERE XII, 829a.

Noires.[158] Among ancient examples, mention may be made especially of the Greek *ballētai*[159] and the Sicilian *agōn en skillais,*[160] while Herodotus records the Egyptian practice of staging an annual "fight with clubs" at which "they bash each other's heads and, so I think, many even die of wounds."[161] Such a fight, it may be added, is actually portrayed on a relief in the tomb of Ḥeryaf at Thebes.[162] So too, in Mexican ritual, the priest of the maize-goddess Centeotl engaged in combat with soldiers at the annual festival of that deity.[163]

§21. In course of time, the real significance of the Combat tends to be forgotten and it then comes to be explained as the commemoration of some historic encounter. This process, too, is well represented in both ancient and modern sources.[164] A few examples will suffice. In ancient Egypt, the combat staged annually at Memphis during the Festival of Sokar (26th day of Khoiakh) was presented as a contest between rival factions in the city of Buto, the predynastic capital.[165] Similarly, among the Hittites, the ritual combat was taken to re-enact some early border clash between themselves and their neighbors, the Māsa (Maeonians?),[166] while according to Ewald, the combat between the warriors of Abner and those of Joab, recounted in II Samuel 2.4–17, is of the same order.[166a] Plutarch, in his *Life of Alexander,* describes an analogous mock combat between two teams of the Emperor's followers, headed respectively by an 'Alexander' and a 'Darius.'[166b] Scarcely less illuminating is the description of the Macedonian festival of Xandika given by the Roman historian Livy. Held shortly before the vernal equinox, at the beginning of the season of military campaigns, this festival consisted in a ceremonial lustration or purgation (*lustratio*) and parade (*decursus*) of the troops, followed by a mock combat (*simulacrum ludicrum pugnae*), led by the two royal princes. The proceedings ended with a fast.[166c] As Usener has pointed out,[166d] this contest, staged at the equinox, is really but a disguised version of the ritual combat.

§22. Modern examples of this historicizing process may also be cited. A

158 Alford, Violet, in FL 39 (1929), 68, 41 (1931), 266

159. For ritual combats at the feasts of Daulis in Argos, of the Katagōgia in Ephesus, and for the Lithoboha at Troezen and the Ballachiadae at Argos, cf. CCCXXXIX, 402, Usener, ARW 8 (1910), 297, CCXCVI, 1, 548 f , CXXIX, 290, Rose, FL 36 (1936), 322

160 CCCXXXIX, 413, cf. supra, n 147.

161. II, 63 (at Paprēmis). For such a combat at Edfu, cf CXXXIII, 215 ff , XLIX, 12 ff.; CCXXII, 33 f

162 Brugsch, *Thesaurus* v, 1190 The relief is reproduced, from a drawing by Erman, in CCXXII, fig 4, opp p 22 Cf also Ram , Sc. 18

163 CDXXXIX, 40. 164 See below, pp 81 ff

165. CDXVIII, III, 134, CCXXII, 22.

166. KUB XVII 35, III 9–17 The text is translated below, p. 379.

166a. CXXXIV, III, 14

166b. *Vita Alexandri,* XXXI Curiously enough, folk-plays introducing 'Alexander of Macedon' are likewise performed, during Christmas week, in parts of Scotland, cf. XVII, II, 111.

166c Livy, XL, 6 ff. 166d ARW 7 (1904), 301.

football game held annually on Fastern's E'en at Jedburgh, in Scotland, is popularly regarded as commemorating a fierce battle between the Scots and the English at Ferniehurst Castle, near Jedwater;[166e] while a mimetic battle fought in various parts of England at Hoketide (i.e. on the Tuesday following the second Sunday after Easter) is similarly interpreted as commemorating a fight between the English and the invading Danes,[167] and on January 19th it is customary for students of Glasgow University to stage a set-to which is said to commemorate an ancient battle between the Celts and Lowlanders.[168] All of these instances are regarded by folklorists as historicizations of the ritual combat; and this conclusion is confirmed by the fact that, in most cases, they occur on dates characterized elsewhere by the survival of more primitive, unhistoricized examples of the same institution.

§23. Sometimes the historicization assumes a mythological character. Thus, according to the Mahābhāṣya, or "Great Commentary" on the grammar of Pānini (c. 145 B.C.), the traditional Indic story of the death of Kaṃsa at the hands of Krishna was actually enacted and reproduced in dialogue by minstrels or rhapsodists [*granthika*], the supporters of the former having black faces and those of the latter red. As A. B. Keith has suggested, and as the analogy of seasonal dramas elsewhere (e.g. the Basque combat between *Les Rouges* and *Les Noires*) would seem to confirm, these performances may be regarded as attenuated survivals of the ritual combat, which was thus mythologically historicized.[169] In the same way, the Irish legend that the Tuatha Dé Danann vanquished the Firbolgs on May Day, and the Welsh myth of Gwythur's fight with Gwyn for possession of Creidylad are recognized by MacCulloch as historizations of the ritual combat;[170] and we shall see later[171] that in several of the Old Testament psalms the traditional myth of the god's victory over the Dragon — itself projected from the ritual combat — is historicized as the triumph of Yahweh over the enemies of Israel.

§24. Sometimes, too, the traditional rite is given a *local* setting without being historicized. Thus, at Gambach, in Hessen (Germany), it takes the form of a combat between the inhabitants of that village and those of the neighboring hamlet of Griedel,[172] while at Slitrig, in Scotland, the opposing teams consist of men from the western and eastern banks of the river respectively.[173] Similarly, the annual fight at Edinburgh, on Shrove Tues-

166e XVII, i, 16.

167. CCXXI, 476 More precisely, it is asserted that the battle commemorates a great massacre of the Danes in England which took place on St Brice's Day in 1002, during the reign of Ethelred However, the custom cannot be traced back beyond the 13th century, CDXXXVIII, 52

168 I owe this information to my friend, Mr A D Lacaille, the well-known Scottish archaeologist

169 CQ 4 (1911), 283, LXXVII, 67.

170. ERE v, 841b

171 See below, Ch V, §§2 ff

172 CCCXCIV, III, 156, n 76

173. XVII, i, 19.

day, is between the 'uppies' and 'doonies' – that is, between men living above Mercat's Cross, towards Castlehill, and those living below it, towards Townfoot;[174] while at Ludlow, in England, it is the men of the Corn Street Ward and those of the Broad Street Ward who annually contend in a tug-o'-war on the same date.[175]

§25. Finally, there are cases where the combat simply survives as a traditional institution without any rational attempt to explain it, whether by historicization or by localization. At Scone (Scotland), for example, bachelors contend at football against married men on Shrove Tuesday, but nobody knows why or wherefore.[176] Similarly, in "merrie England" it used to be the custom on May Day for one village to contend with another in dancing-matches, each side raising the cry, *Hey for our town!*[177] And these two examples could be readily multiplied.

§26. Occasionally, the ritual combat degenerates into a mere race. This development is attested in ancient and modern usage alike.[178] At Babylon, for example, a foot-race [*lismu*] was a standard feature of the New Year (Akîtu) ceremonies,[179] while in Greece at the Eleusinian Mysteries[180] and in Rome at the annual festival of Robigalia (March 25)[181] such races were likewise run. Among modern peoples, we may cite the buffalo-races held during October and November in the villages of S. Canara (Southern India) as a means of expelling demons [*raksas*] before the second crop is sown;[182] and likewise the races that used to be run at Kilmarnock, in Scotland, on Fastern's E'en.[183]

§27. Invigoration is also effected by rites involving sexual intercourse. These, as is well known, are a characteristic concomitant of carnival celebrations. But they are more than a mere expression of animal spirits, the instinct being exploited at the same time for purely functional purposes. Rites of this kind obtained, for instance, at the Roman festival of Anna Perenna – an ancient New Year festival – on the Ides of March;[184] while evidence of it among primitive peoples of the present day has been collected by Frazer, Margold and others.[185] Thus, among the Pipiles of Central America, copulation takes place in the fields at the moment when the first seeds are deposited in the earth.[186] Similarly, in parts of the Ukraine,

174 *Ibid.*, 23
175. XLI, 1, 92.
176. *Statistical Account* 18 (1796), 88, CDLIX, 277.
177. A H. Bullen, LVII, 293 (commenting on Francis Beaumont's *Ralph the Maylord*, 55–56. "With scarfs and garters as you please / And 'Hey for our town' cried"). Cf. also LVIII, 68. "Then all at once 'For our town' cries! / Pipe on, for we will have the prize"
178 GB VII (*Spirits of the Corn and Wild*), I, ch. III
179. Zimmern, in BSGW 70 (1918), fasc. 5, p 8.
180 GB VII, 1, 92 ff.
181. Cf Fries, MVAG 15 (1910), 2/4.
182 CDLXVIII, 299; CXLV, 375.
183 *National Statistical Account* 5 (1839), I, 544.
184 Ovid, *Fasti* III 523 f. (with Frazer's note), CXXXIX, 50–54.
185 CXLIX, 136–37; CCXCVII.
186. CXLIX, 136

married couples copulate in the fields on Saint George's Day (April 23) in order to promote the fertility of the crops and to achieve what we may now define as the revival of the topocosm.[187] In Java, husbands and wives adopt the same practice as a means of stimulating the growth of rice;[188] while in Amboyna men imitatively copulate with trees whenever the harvest is threatened.[189] So, too, among the Hereros of German South West Africa[190] and among various Bantu peoples,[191] mass-mating and sexual promiscuity are obligatory at specific seasons of the year; while the Garos encourage men and women to sleep together after certain major seasonal festivals.[192]

§28. It is not impossible that the famous story of the rape of the Sabine women[193] is but a legendary reflection of a seasonal rite of sexual promiscuity. The incident, it will be recalled, is said to have taken place in August on the occasion of a festival; and Frazer has made it probable that the festival in question was that of the Consualia, an agricultural celebration held on August 21st.[194] A similar explanation may apply also to the Biblical story in Judges 21.19–23 relating how the men of Benjamin carried off the women of Shiloh on the occasion of a seasonal festival.

§29. The institution of sexual promiscuity at seasonal crises survives in European folklore in the attenuated form of compulsory kissing or "lifting" on certain days of the year. "Kissing fairs" and "hocking days" (cf. German *hoch*, "high") are well attested. Thus, in the Arader Komitat of Nagyhalmagy (Hungary), a *markt* is held annually on March 15th at which women may be kissed without risk of rebuff.[195] Similarly, in certain parts of England, girls may be "lifted" with impunity on May 15th; and at Hungerford, in Berkshire, the second Thursday after Easter is "hocking day" when the "tutti-men" go about the streets "lifting" or "hocking" the women and exacting a kiss from each.[196] Analogous, of course, is the religiously observed Yuletide custom of kissing under the mistletoe — a custom which derives, as every folklorist knows, from the cruder primitive usage of compulsory prostitution at seasonal festivals.[197]

§30. Another attenuation of sexual promiscuity at seasonal festivals and topocosmic crises may be seen in popular traditions to the effect that certain crucial days of the year are particularly auspicious for the choosing of husbands or wives.[198] The Talmud tells us, for example, that it was cus-

187. *Ib.*, 137 Analogous is the Portuguese custom of *rebolada*, observed in May, before the reaping of flax, at Arçal near Valença do Minho and at Santo Tirso: couples roll together in the fields, CLVII, 11.

188 *Ib.*, 136 189 *Ib.*, 137.

190 Brincker, P. H., "Charakter und Gebrauche speziell der Bantu Deutsch-Südwestafrikas," in *Mitt d. Seminar f. Orient Sprachen zu Berlin*, III (1900), 3/8, p 2

191. CXXXVI, 23 192. *Ib.*, 15, CCCLX, 68.

193 Ovid, *Fasti* iii 195 ff. (cf. ii 139), Livy, i 13, Plutarch, *Romulus* 14; Dio Halic., ii 45–46.

194. CXLVII, iii, 51. 195 Lorenz, ARW 17 (1915), 342.

196 DVIII, 43. 197 But see CDXXXVIII, 42–43 for a different explanation.

198. CDXCIV, 28.

tomary at Jerusalem to choose brides on the fifteenth day of Ab (August), the occasion of an ancient festival;[199] and it will be observed that it was just at this time of year that the rape of the Sabine women is said to have taken place Similarly, in some parts of England, St. Rock's Day, which falls on August 16th, was esteemed especially propitious for the choosing of mates [200] In the same way, too, it is the custom in Spanish Galicia for girls to repair at harvest time to a duly selected barn where their ardent swains attend upon them;[201] and among the Thompson River Indians of British Columbia, husbands and wives are chosen at a seasonal festival held in the spring-house [*nskaptsê'lx*].[202]

§31. Nor are sexual promiscuity and mass-mating the only means whereby Society seeks to achieve revival at the close of its periodic leases of life. Another method is the formal recruitment of new members into the body of the community. For this reason Initiation is a frequent element of seasonal ceremonies. Indeed, it is a constant and essential ingredient of the ancient 'mysteries' which were invariably associated with seasonal crises.[203] Furthermore, it is significant that the Hebrews preceded their spring festival of Pesah [Passover] with rites of circumcision, whereby new members were formally admitted to the fold.[204] Similarly, Moslem Arabs observe the custom of performing mass circumcisions in spring, shortly before the harvest festival.[205] Such usages are recorded, for instance, both among the Bedouins and in connection with the spring rites at Mecca and the Nebi Musa (Eastertide) celebrations at Jericho.[206] In the same way, the American Indian tribe of the Haida initiate and tattoo children at their annual *potlach* festival,[207] and the natives of Swaziland, in British South Africa, at their harvest ceremony of *incwala*.[208]

§32. The connection between Initiation and Invigoration is brought out especially by the fact that the former is frequently identified with rebirth.[209] The most obvious illustration of this lies, of course, in the very word *neophyte* (*lit.* "newly emplanted") by which initiants are commonly known,[210] as well as in the ideas of regeneration (and even immortality) which are invariably associated with admission to the mysteries in ancient cults. Thus,

199. Mishnah, Ta'anîth IV, 8.

200. CCIV, s v Similarly, Chapman asserts in his *Monsieur d'Olive*, f 4 verso that St. Luke's Day (October 18) is propitious "for to choose husbands"

201. Howes, FL 40 (1929), 56–57. 202 Spence, ERE III, 67a

203 Cf. James, E. O., "Initiation Rituals" in CCXXII, ERE, s v. *Initiation*. Cf. also Malinowski, CCXCIV, 21 "The ordeal (of initiation) is usually associated with the idea of the death and rebirth of the initiated one, which is sometimes enacted in a mimetic performance." The idea comes out also in the use of the word *teleutân*, "to die" in the sense of "to be initiated" (*teleisthai*), cf Foucart, G., *Les Mystères d'Eleusis* (Paris 1914), 56 A similar usage obtained in the Egyptian 'mysteries' of Isis; cf Apuleius, *Met* x.

204 Ex 12 48, Joshua 5 2–9 205. XIX, 99

206. CV, I, 340–42, Canaan, JPOS 6 (1925), 117 ff; CDXXXII, II, 141–43

207. Chamberlain, ERE vi 471b

208. CCLXII The ceremony was filmed in *Pathé Gazette*, March 5, 1931

209 See above, n 203. 210. I Timothy 3 6 (EV. "novice").

in the mysteries of Attis, the candidate was looked upon as "one about to die"; when he had performed the required rites he emerged to new life.[211] Similarly, among the natives of the Lower Congo, initiation is termed "resurrection" [*kimbasi*], and the ritual involves a mimetic resuscitation of the neophytes who fall as if dead at the feet of the sorcerer.[212] Analogous ideas are reported also among other primitive peoples.*[213]

§33. Rites of JUBILATION scarcely require documentation or comment. They are a natural and inevitable expression of relief when the harvest has been assured and the new lease of life thereby inaugurated.[214] The most obvious demonstration of this is the fact that the word *festival,* which originally denoted no more than the ritual meal eaten in common at topocosmic crises, came in time to acquire the meaning of an essentially *joyous* celebration and ultimately to serve as the most appropriate designation of the seasonal ceremonies as a whole. It is worth observing also that both in the Romanized Festival of Isis[215] and in that of Attis,[216] the final stage of the celebration, after the preliminary fasting and mourning, was known by the specific name of *Hilaria,* or Jollification; while among the Hebrews it was expressly enjoined by law (Deuteronomy 16.14) that the seasonal pilgrimages were to be occasions of rejoicing. Indeed, so largely did the element of merriment come to predominate in the popular consciousness and to such an extent were its earlier connotations subsumed to the modern sense of *festival,* that the prophet Amos (8.10) could use the word *hag,* which had originally denoted the seasonal pilgrimage, as the direct antithesis of "mourning" ("I will turn your *hagîm* [EV. feasts] into mourning, and all your songs into lamentations"). In the same way, the Romans saw nothing incongruous in forbidding expressions of mourning during the festival of Ceres, although that occasion had been characterized originally as much by mortification and lament as by subsequent joy and hilarity.[217]

§34. Apart from the rites of Mortification, Purgation, Invigoration and Jubilation, the topocosmic character of seasonal crises is expressed also by

211. Firmicus Maternus, *De errore prof. relig.*, XVIII, 1–2; cf. CCVI, 194 f.

212. D'Alviella, ERE VII, 318a

* However, in considering these seasonal rites of initiation, we should not overlook the fact that another idea also comes into play. As observed above (Ch. I, §6), seasonal crises involve not only the immediate generation of the here and now but the entire totality of past, present and anticipated future which together make up the durative and infinite continuity of the topocosm. Accordingly, at all such crises the unborn and "uninitiated" have also to be included in the community, and formal initiation provides a means of doing so. Conversely, as we shall see later (§35), the ancestral dead are also believed to attend the ceremonies.

213 Cf. Frazer, GB² IX, 225 ff.

214 See especially, CDXXXVIII, 28.

215 Calendar of Philocalus, CIL I², 334, DV, 295. The festival fell on November 3.

216 CCVI, 167 ff.; CCXCVIII², III, 372. The festival fell on March 25.

217. Plautus, *Menaech.*, I 1; Livy, XII 56. Cf. CDXXXV, 677.

two other constant elements, viz. THE RETURN OF THE DEAD and THE COMMUNAL MEAL.

§35. The belief that the dead return at seasonal festivals is attested throughout the ancient and modern worlds.[218] The underlying idea, as we can now recognize, is that these occasions are of concern not only to the actual and present but equally to the ideal and durative community. Thus, in Babylon, it was believed that the dead "ascended" and ate of the sacrifices offered in connection with the annual weeping for Tammuz, the god of fertility;[219] while a ritual calendar states explicitly that in the month of Ab [August] the "heroes ascend from the courts of the netherworld."[220] Similarly, in Egypt, it was the custom at Siut to light lamps for the dead on the last and first days of the year — a practice which survives in our modern Feast of All Souls.[221]

Among the Persians, the dead were held to return at the feast of Tirajan.[222] The Mandaeans used to celebrate a feast of the dead in the new-year month of Tishri;[223] while to this day Jews visit the graves of parents between Tishri I (New Year) and 10th (Day of Atonement).[224] According to the lexicographer Hesychius, the Greeks believed that the dead returned at the festival of Anthesteria, in March;[225] while the Romans prefaced their spring festivals with the Parentalia, or Feast of the Ancestral Dead, and the Lemuria, or Feast of Ghosts.[226] They also held a festival of the dead on January 1,[227] just as in other parts of Europe it is still held on the eve of the old New Year, viz. November 1 ("All Hallows' Night"). In the Trobriand Islands there is an annual feast called *Milmala* at which the dead are believed to return;[228] while the Tuareg visit ancestral graves on the first day of the lenten period of Ramadan.[229] The Zuñi in western New Mexico visit the sacred lake of the dead at the summer solstice, the return therefrom marking the inauguration of the summer dances.[230] The Mordvins hold feasts of the dead both in spring and in autumn.[231] In Tongking, a festival of the dead, called *Kin-tien*, is held annually in December;[232] while at Krasnagorka in Russia, a similar pagan festival (now largely Christianized) is (or was) held between Easter and Whitsun.[233] The Tepozteclans of Mexico keep an annual Vigil of All Souls when they offer meats to the dead and

218 GB IV (*Adonis, Attis, Osiris*), II, 51–83.
219. IV R 31, vi, rev 56–58
220. KAVI 218, p 219, ii, 1–16.
221 Erman, ZÄS 19 (1882), 164.
222. Mohammed abu Thaleb of Damascus, *apud* CDLXIII, 14
223. LXIX, ii, 31.
224. CCCXCVIII, 144.
225. Hesychius, s.v. *Anthesteria.*
226. Ovid, *Fasti* II, 33–34, 533, 548, v. 486, Joh. Lydus, *De mensibus* IV 29 The festival of Parentalia is called Feralia in the Caretan, Maffeian, Farnesian and Philocalan calendars: CIL I², 310, CXLVII, ii, 431–32
227. Schneider, ARW 20 (1918), 375–76.
228. CCXCV, 100–01.
229. CCCLXXXII, 274.
230. Kroeber, ERE xii, 871b.
231. Paasonen, ERE viii, 843a.
232 Cabaton, ERE xii, 380b.
233. CDLXXIII, 88.

await their return.[234] The Siamese hold that the dead return at their New Year Feast in April;[235] while the Celtic summer festival of Samhein included a feast of the dead.[236] Similarly, Jewish folklore entertains the fancy that the tribal patriarchs of Israel visit their descendants during the autumnal harvest festival of Booths (Sukkoth) in the capacity of honored guests [*ušpîzîn;* Latin *hospes*].[237] In ancient Mexico, the seventeenth of the twenty periods into which the year was divided was called Tititl, or Commemoration of the Dead, and was followed by a feast of increase.[238] Among the Huçul of the Ukraine, dead ancestors are thought to return at Easter and Christmas. Honey is provided for them, and the congregation kneels and prays: "O God, let all the dead and lost return and drink with us."[239]

Sometimes, indeed, the laying of ancestral ghosts figures as an essential part of the seasonal ceremonies. Among the Greeks, for example, the last day of the festival of Anthesteria, held in early spring, was marked by a rite designed to exorcise the *kēres* or spirits who were believed to be roaming the earth at this season;[240] while at the Roman festival of Lemuria, held in May, the father of each household solemnly banished the ancestral ghosts, exclaiming nine times: "Depart, ancestral spirits [*Manes exite paterni*]."*[241]

§36. The COMMUNAL MEAL is a standard element of seasonal celebrations. Indeed, the very fact that "feast" and "festival" have come to be virtual synonyms is eloquent testimony to its prevalence. So well known is it, in fact, that it would be superfluous to accumulate examples.[242] The signifi-

234. CCCLXXIII. 235. GB vi (*Scapegoat*), 150–51.

236 CCXXVII, 245 f.

237 CXXV, s.v. *'ušpîzîn;* CCCXCVIII, 92 According to Morgenstern, UJE ii, 530, *lêl šimmurîm* in Ex. 12.42 refers to a vigil for the returning dead at the vernal equinox. I think, however, that it was rather a *pannuchis.*

238. Seler, ERE VIII, 616 a–b.

239 Rapporteur at the late Ruth Benedict's seminar on Folklore, Columbia University, 1943.

240 CXCVIII, 147 f.

* The belief that the dead return for the annual or seasonal festivals must be sharply distinguished from another with which it is apt to be confused and with which it tends, indeed, to overlap – namely, the belief that ghosts, spectres and evil spirits then haunt mankind. In Syria, for example, the epagomenal days [*mustakridat*] at the end of February are regarded as a time when spirits are abroad, and in Jewish superstition the same belief is entertained concerning the month of Adar, immediately preceding the vernal New Year (v. Midrash Kônen in CCXXXVIII, II, 37; Wohlstein, ZA 8 [1893], 339, n 19). A similar notion also obtains in Morocco in respect of the first ten days of the New Year month of Muharram (CDXCV, 148), and among the Cinka of the Caucasus (v. Bleichsteiner, *Realencycl. d. Vorgeschichte,* VI, 258b) This idea ties in rather with the conception of the pre-harvest and pre-New Year period as especially critical, open to the machinations of noxious powers. But, of course, these powers are very easily confused with the ancestral spirits who are likewise abroad at this season, so that ceremonies originally designed to purge the former tend to develop into pious adieus to the latter.

241. Philostratus, *Heroica* XX 24, CXLVII, ii, 23.

242. Thomsen, ARW 7 (1909), 464 ff.; CDLIII, 59 ff.; CDXXIX, 268 ff., 596 f.; Driver (ICC) on Ex. 18.12.

cant point is, however, that these meals are almost invariably believed to involve the presence of gods as well as mortals. So basic, indeed, is this conception that it even leads to a diversity of view as to which is host and which is guest. Thus, among the Babylonians, the New Year (Akîtu) Festival was popularly known as the "feast" [*kirêtu*^{m}] of the gods,[243] and once a year – probably on that occasion – a collation [*tâkultu*^{m}] was offered to them.[244] Similarly, at Delphi, the Greeks used annually to fête the gods in the month of March–April which was therefore known as Theoxenios or "month of the regalement of the gods."[245] On the other hand, a scholiast on Pindar speaks specifically of feasts at which the gods periodically entertained departed heroes,[246] and the Hebrew prophets sometimes include such a feast among those other features of the New Year Festival which they project into the picture of the final "day of Yahweh" (cf. Isaiah 25.6; Zeph. 1.7).[246a] In the long run, the divergence of view is not really important except inasmuch as it points to the real nature and significance of the banquets. They are not to be dismissed as mere expressions of jubilation on the part of men; rather are they ceremonies of communion at which, by the medium of commensality, the topocosmic bond is periodically renewed. This renewal naturally takes place at the moment when the topocosm enters a new lease of life, and since all the vicissitudes of that entity possess at once a durative as well as a punctual element (see above, Ch. I, §6), gods as well as mortals are perforce involved. The point is well brought out in the classic formulation of Robertson Smith:

> Primarily the circle of common religion and of common social duties was identical with that of natural kinship, and the god himself was conceived as a being of the same stock with his worshipers. It was natural, therefore, that the kinsmen and their kindred god should seal and strengthen their fellowship by meeting together from time to time to nourish their common life by a common meal.[247]

§37. Finally, there is one other aspect of the seasonal festivals to which attention must be directed: *they are often made to coincide with the solstice or equinox.* The Asianic 'mysteries' of Attis, for example, culminated in the triumphant re-emergence of that god of fertility on the day of the vernal equinox (March 25).[248] Similarly, in Mesopotamia, the rites of Tammuz were held in the month of the spring solstice;[249] and the prophet Ezek-

243 CCLXV, 14, *ARAB*, ii, §436 (building inscription for *akîtu*-chapel at Assur), CCCXLVIII, 173.

244 CCLXIII, 286–87.

245 Pindar, *Paean* vi, *apud* XCIX, Supplementum, 60 ff; Philodamus, *ib*, ii, 252 f; Pfister, PW, V, ii, 2256–58; CCCXXXIX, 160 ff.

246 On Pindar, *Nem.* vii, 168, cf CCXXIX, *loc cit*

246a. On the other hand, note that Deut. 12 7 speaks of "eating in the presence of Yahweh", on this, see S. A Cook in CDXXIX, 596

247 CDXXIX, 275.

248 Cf. Arnobius, v 42, Macrobius, *Sat.* i, 21.7–11; CCVI, 44, 63 The date of the equinox has since moved, of course, to March 21.

249 CCLXVIII, 119 ff.

iel, though he seems to have muddled his dates, expressly associates the weeping for that god with a ceremony of adoring the rising sun (Ez. 8.14–16). Moreover, an old Assyrian calendar for the month of Tammuz prescribes significantly that the 'weeping' [*bikîtum*] for that god, which is to take place on the first day, is to be followed immediately, on the second, by 'the presentation of gifts to the Sun-god' [*širiqtum dŠamši*];[250] while a Babylonian hymn belonging to the Tammuz-cycle represents the Sun-god as assuring the sister of the dead genius of fertility that he himself would restore to her 'the verdure which hath been removed' and 'the crushed grain which hath been carried away.'[251] Significant also is the fact that among the Israelites, both the Spring Festival (Pentecost) and the Autumn Festival of Ingathering (*'Asîf*) fell in the months of the equinoxes, the latter being expressly associated with that event in the ritual calendar of Exodus 34. 22.[252] This is especially noteworthy because the same solar association of the great seasonal festivals appears already, at an earlier period, in the Canaanite texts from Ras Shamra-Ugarit. *The Poem of Dawn and Sunset,* which can be shown to have been the 'book of words' for the spring festival (see below, pp. 231 ff.), includes a liturgical invocation in which, in addition to those deities, the Sun-goddess (Shapash) also is adored, and it contains as well a ritual rubric (line 54) prescribing an offering to her. Similarly, in the *Poem of Baal,* which is really the cult-myth of the Autumn Festival, a particularly important rôle is assigned to this same Sun-goddess. It is she who retrieves Baal, genius of rainfall and fertility, from the netherworld (I AB i, 8–16), and it is she who urges his rival Môt, genius of drought and sterility, to give up the fight against him (I AB vi, 22–29). Indeed, so cardinal a part does she play in behalf of Baal that she is formally commended in words which look uncommonly as though they had been incorporated by the poet from some traditional hymn (1b, 40–52).[253] Again, it should be observed that in Syria and the eastern portions of the Roman Empire the festival of the 'New Age' was likewise combined with an important solar date, viz. the alleged birthday of the sun on November 18th.[254] An inscription first published by Domaszewski and containing the text of an order issued by Licinius to his troops in Salsovia (*Maesiae inferioris*) describes the celebration of that day.[255] Similarly, the *Acta Dasii* refer to the observance of an analogous festival of Kronos held at Durostorum (Silistria) on the same date,[256] and it is now established that in Roman times Kronos was identified with the Sun-god (*Hēlios*).[257] The same date, it should be added, was claimed by Clement of Alexandria as the birthday of the Christian Savior.[258] Indeed, so firmly established was the connection between the festivals of new life and the worship of the sun that the Church was obliged to fix Christmas on what had originally been the birthday of the solarized

250 Labat, RA 38 (1941), 28.
251. CCLXXII, 32.
252. Cf. also TJ, Sanhedrin 18d
253 See below, *Baal* §XLII.
254 CCCLXXII, 205 f.
255 *Ibid*, 201
256. Boll, ARW 19 (1916–19), 342; Weber, *ibid*, 315 f.
257 Boll, *op. cit*, 240, CCCLXXII, 206 f
258. Cf. Weber, *op. cit.*, 325 f

savior Mithra and to associate the date of Christ's resurrection (Easter) with the vernal equinox.[259] Similarly, the Irish celebration of Lammastide, in August, was associated with the worship of Lug, the sun-god.[259a]

The reason for this association is not hard to fathom: the re-emergence of the sun, especially in spring, was an obvious date from which to reckon the renewal of the world's vitality; *vere natus orbis est*.[260] Similarly, the decline of the sun was a natural occasion from which to date the eclipse of such vitality.

§38. Up to this point we have been considering the seasonal ceremonies as rites performed collectively by the community as a whole. In course of time, however, the tendency grows up to concentrate them in a single individual who is taken to personify and epitomize the entire group or topocosm as it appears in its contemporary aspect. This individual is the king – that is, the representative of the "kin" or social organism (Cp. O.E. *kyn-ig*, German *konig*). He is regarded as at once the vessel and the steward of communal and topocosmic vitality. Consequently, all the things which were previously done by the group as a whole in order to ensure and maintain its existence now tend to be done representatively by the king.[261] Thus, in place of the communal mortification when the lease of life comes to an end, it is the king who now suffers a ritual passion, fasting and abasing himself and being ultimately "killed"* or deposed.[262] Similarly, instead of the whole group's performing acts of sexual promiscuity in order to achieve regeneration, the same end is now served by the king's indulging in a ritual marriage with a specially chosen bride.[263] And instead of the whole group's subsequently greeting its rebirth in rites of jubilation, it is now the king who is ceremonially reinstated or, if he has been killed, replaced by a successor.[264]

§39. This prominence of the king in seasonal ceremonies is especially well attested in the ancient Near East. The Babylonian New Year (Akîtu) festivities, for example, included a ritual abasement and reinstatement of the king.[265] The Egyptian seasonal festival at Memphis (and probably also at Edfu and other centers) was accompanied by a coronation.[266] The Attis

259. CCCLXXII, 201 f.

259a CCXXVII, 230

260. *Pervigilium Veneris* 3.

261 Gaster, RR 9 (1945), 269–71.

* I put the word in quotes because, in actual practice, the killing is often purely mimetic

262. CXLIX, ch xxiv.

263 GB ii, 129–55, Herod. i 181; Johnston, JAOS 18 (1897), 153 ff; CCCXVI, 48–73, Plutarch, *Qu. Conv.* viii 1.6, Demosthenes, *Contra N.*, 73–78; Aristotle, *Const. Ath.*, iii 5; CCCLXIV, i, 681 ff For the sacred marriage at Crete, cf. Diod. Sic., v 73; at Samos, Lactantius, *Inst.*, i 17; at Athens, Photius, s.v. *hieros gamos*. See fully, CLXXXVIII, 1134, n. 9.

264. CXLIV, 168–69, 183–84, 320.

265. CCCXLVIII, 139 ff; 265 ff., CCLXIII, 87 ff.; CDLXVI, 144, lines 415 ff.

266. CXLIV, 129–32.

mysteries celebrated in March included a sacrifice *pro salute imperatoris.*[267] The Hittite Puruli festival, likewise held in spring, ended with the assignment of royal estates – a virtual reinstallation of the monarch;[268] and if the ritual text KUB XXIX 1 [Schwartz, *Orientalia* 16 (1947), 23–55] really has *reference to an annual ceremony – involving, significantly enough, the purgation* of evil and noxiousness and the construction of new palaces – we may detect therein definite evidence that such ceremony included a ritual reinvigoration of the king. Nor is the custom by any means confined to the Orient or to ancient times. As Frazer has pointed out,[269] it is this usage which really underlies the European custom of crowning a mock king or queen on the first of May.*

267 Tertullian, *Apologetica*, ch. xxv. The same usage obtains also at New Year in Madagascar, Shaw, JTVI 20 (1887), 167.

268 See below, Puruli, §VI 269 CXLIX, 130, 157, 320.

* In considering the rôle of the king in these ceremonies, it is important to realize the exact duplication of his functions with acts previously or even contemporaneously performed by the group as a whole For the essence of the matter is that the king is merely an individual representative of his people and, in fact, of the topocosm in which they live Failure to note this duplication has led to a gross misconstruction of his rôle and, indeed, of his entire position in primitive society. It has been assumed that he is simply the representative of the god and as such conveys the gifts of the god to the community of his worshipers, producing rain and (by his "sacred marriage") ensuring fecundity If he is hedged with divinity, this is explained as due to the fact that he is but the incarnation of a god who imparts it to him, and if he suffers a passion as well as a triumph, this is accounted for on the assumption that he is merely personifying the dying and reviving god of the year – Tammuz, Osiris, Adonis, or the like. The truth is, however, that in playing the rôle he does, the king is actually doing no more than his people; they too "die" and are "revived," and they too produce rain and ensure fecundity by means of sexual intercourse Moreover, it is quite incorrect to say that the king is an incarnation of the god in the sense that he is a human being arbitrarily invested with divinity by some external and superior godhead On the contrary, as the representative of the immediate topocosm, he *is* the god in his present, as distinct from his durative, aspect, and such divinity as he possesses is innate rather than conferred

See Gaster, Theodor H., "Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East," in RR 9 (1945), 267 ff.

CHAPTER THREE

THE SEASONAL PATTERN IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

§1. On the basis of the evidence adduced in the preceding pages, it is now possible to construct the following synthetic and composite picture of a typical seasonal ceremony:

The ceremony takes place on a crucial calendar date, often coincident with solstice or equinox, which marks the beginning of a new season or year.

I. It opens with a series of public rites designed to express the state of suspended animation which besets society and its total environment, i.e. the "topocosm," at the expiration of each annual or seasonal lease of life These rites take the form of fasts, lents, and similar austerities.

The king, as representative of the topocosmic spirit, is deposed or slain.

II. This initial stage is frequently accompanied or followed by a 'vacant period' marking the interval between the expiration of the old lease and the inauguration of the new. This period is regarded as 'epagomenal' or outside of the normal calendar. The customary order of society is reversed, the customary activities suspended.

A temporary king, or interrex is appointed.

III. Next, machinery is set in motion to remove all evil influences and noxious powers. This is done by such ceremonies as the expulsion of human or animal scapegoats, the exorcism of demons, the lustration of crops, fields and people by fire and water, and — in the more advanced cultures — by a ceremonial shriving of sin.

The king is ceremonially purified or undergoes a formal abasement, often involving atonement for sins.

IV. The negative side of the ceremony being thus completed, the positive side ensues.

Efforts are made to introduce new life and vitality. A combat is staged between the forces of the old and the new, Life and Death, Fertility and Blight, the positive, vital force being triumphant and his opponent discomfited and/or banished. [Often the combat comes to be historicized and is then interpreted as the commemoration of an historical event.]

The king engages an antagonist in mock combat.

In addition, magical rites are performed to

stimulate vegetation, relume the sun, promote human fecundity, and the like The last-named take the form of rites of sexual license. [The emphasis here is on the revitalization of the entire topocosm, not of human society alone.]

The king undergoes a "sacred marriage."

V. Finally, the ceremony issues in a joyous celebration of the new-won life. A feast is held as a method of cementing through commensality the social bond of the community. [This tends to degenerate into a common jamboree.]

The king is ceremonially reinstated, or a successor inducted.

A frequent concomitant of the seasonal ceremony is a Feast of the Dead, the spirits of departed ancestors being believed to rejoin the community at moments of topocosmic crisis.

The pattern thus reconstructed is more than a mere synthesis artificially patched together from diverse and varied data. On the contrary, it may be recognized as a unified and central principle in many of the calendar festivals of the ancient and modern worlds. We shall content ourselves with a few representative examples, drawn from that Ancient Near Eastern area in which we are here primarily interested.

§2. Take, first, the New Year (Akîtu) Festival of the Babylonians and Assyrians.[1] As observed at Babylon during the first eleven days of the year, this included the following elements:

(a) A preliminary period of *lenten mortification,* regarded as outside the regular calendar.[2]

(b) A *suspension of the normal order of society,* slaves enjoying a short-lived authority over their masters[3] and a *temporary king being appointed.*[4]

(c) A ceremonial *purgation of the temple.*

On the fifth day of the festival the temple was sprinkled with water and fumigated with incense. Then a sheep was beheaded, and the walls of the chapel of Nabu were rubbed with its body. This done, the head and body were together

1. On the Akîtu festival, cf.· XCVIII, 242–47 (with bibliography, 255–56); CXXXII, ch II, CCLXIII, 161 ff., CCLXV, 12–14; CCLXVIII, 98–109, CCCXLVIII, Dombart, JSOR 8 (1924), 103–22, Wensinck, AcOr 1 (1923), 159–99, Zimmern, BSGW, Phil.-hist. Kl. 58 (1906), 126–56, 70 (1918), 1–52. Good popular accounts are. XXXV, CCXXII, 47–58; DXIII

The Akîtu rituals are published in CDLXVI, 86 ff., 127–54 Analogous texts from Erech are edited by Thureau-Dangin in RA 19 (1922), 141–48, 20 (1923), 107–12.

On the meaning of *Akîtu,* cf. Streck, OLZ 1905, 375 ff.; CCLXV, 12 ff.

2 KAVI, p. 120, II 22–38, KARI 177, r. III, CCLXIII, 315, CCLXVIII, 101, n. 2, 105

3 Haupt, P., "Purim," in BA 6 (1906), 25, Langdon, JRAS 1924, 65–72, DXIII, 23

4. The matter is mentioned particularly in the letter of Arad-Ea, priest of Sin, to the king concerning the Akîtu festival at Harran, BM 81–7–27. Many scholars contend, however, that this refers to a special substitution on a single specific occasion, not to a general practice, cf. Guterbock, ZA 42 (1934), 60, CXXIII, 62–63, CCLXIII, 103 f.; CCCV, I, 48, 337; II, 99; CCCXLVIII, 141 f. A specific substitution of this kind is mentioned in CCLIV, 12–14: 8–17.

thrown into the river, while the officiating priest and slaughterer were sent into the desert or outside the city to observe a quarantine until the end of the festival. The ceremony was called *kuppuru*.[5] Its purpose was to transfer any latent impurity in the temple to the carcass of the sheep and thereby to remove it from the community. It may be compared with that performed by the Hebrews on their own Day of *Kippurîm* (cf. Lev. 16).

(d) The *despatch of a human scapegoat* as a means of removing blight and contagion.

On the sixth day of the festival a condemned criminal [*bêl ḫitti*] was paraded along the street and beaten about the head.[6]

(e) A *mimetic combat*, mythologized as the battle of the divine champion against the Dragon or similar monstrous adversary (e g. Marduk against Tiamat, Ninurta against Zû, etc.).[7]

The festival was also characterized by ceremonial races [*lismê*][7a] a familiar attenuation of the traditional combat (see above, Ch. II, §26).

(f) The formal *deposition and reinstatement of the king*, and his *induction into a special pavilion* [*bît akîti*].[8]

On the fifth day of the festival the king was led into an inner chapel of the temple where the high priest divested him of his regalia, slapped his face, pulled his ears and forced him to his knees before the image of the god. In this attitude of abasement he was then obliged to recite a kind of 'negative confession,' protesting his innocence of potential charges of tyranny and despotism. The recitation ended, he was reinvested and resumed his regal status. Once more, however, the high priest slapped his face, though on this occasion for the express purpose of drawing tears, which were considered a propitious omen (originally, a rain-charm?) for the coming year.

The central portion of the Akîtu ceremonies took place in a special pavilion called "the Akîtu house" [*bît akîti*] on the outskirts of the city. Such an edifice has been excavated at Assur, the ancient capital of Assyria.[9]

(g) A *sacred marriage*, in which the king played the part of the bridegroom.[10]

The marriage took place in the *bît akîti*, VAT 662; CCCLXXIV, No. VIII (p. 145), col. i, 7–8.

5. KAVI, p 120, ll 22–38, CCLXV, 79, CCLXVIII, 105, DXIII, 10–11. This took place on the fifth day. Cf also: Morgenstern, AJSL 55 (1938), 22, CXIII, 138

6. VAT 9555, r. 10–11 Analogous is the parade of a condemned felon at the Greek festival of Thargêlia Such a practice, I believe, really underlies Isaiah ch 53.

7. VAT 9555 23,69, Smith, JRAS 1928, 867, n. 1; ILN, June 2, 1928.

7a VAT 9555, r. 7–9, Zimmern, BSGW, Phil -hist Kl , 70 (1918), 8

8. Dombart, *op. cit.*, 115, Furlani, SMSR 4 (1928), 1–16, 305–07, Wensinck, *op. cit.*, 183 ff., CXXXII, 35, CCXXII, 53 ff ; CCLXIX, 26, DXII, 38.

9. CCCXLVIII, 110–16

10 VAT 633, obv 1–10, KB VI/2, 25 ff ; Gudea, Statue E = *ISA* 102–24; Statue G = *ib* , 128–30, CCCLXXIV, VIII, obv. 8 Cf. also· CCXXII, 56–57; CCLXIII, 162 f ; 226 ff.; CCCXLVIII, 197 ff , DXIII, 16, Harper, *Letters*, No 65 (= Pfeiffer, No. 217); VAT 662.

(h) A *feast of communion,* which appears to have taken the form of a *theoxenia,* or regalement of the gods.

On a building inscription in the *bît akîti* at Assur, the festival is described as a "banquet" [*kirêtu*].[11] Further, we know from Assyrian sources that once a year the king invited the gods to a banquet and invoked them to bless city, land, king and people. This ceremony was called *tâkultu,* or "collation," but it is not yet absolutely certain that it took place at the Akîtu festival. Parallels from other parts of the world would suggest, however, that New Year was the most appropriate occasion for its performance.[12]

(i) The *return of the dead.*

Funerary offerings were presented at the festival.[13] Moreover, the month of Teshrit, which was the first of the autumnal year and in which the festival was celebrated at Erech was believed to be characterized by the fact that the dead then ascended from the netherworld.[14]

(k) It should be observed also that the eclipse and renewal of topocosmic life at the New Year festival was represented at the same time by the performance of a sacred pantomime in which the god was portrayed as having sunk into the netherworld and was ritually bewailed. Subsequently, of course, he returned to earth.[15]

Thus, it is apparent that the program of the Akîtu Festival was marked by all of the characteristics of the Seasonal Pattern. Moreover, that festival originally took place at or about the time of the *equinox,* being observed alternatively (in the various cities of Babylonia and Assyria) at the vernal or autumnal occurrence of that event.[16]

§3. Take, again, the great Autumnal Festival ('Asîf) of the Hebrews. To be sure, the descriptions of it contained in the Old Testament[17] are of relatively late date and represent a stage in its development when it had been (a) accommodated to a lunar calendar, (b) interpreted, on historicizing lines, as the memorial of a particular event in the career of Israel, and (c)

11 MDOG 38 (1908), 19; CCCXLVIII, 173

12. Two recensions of the ritual are extant, viz. (*a*) II R 66 (duplicate, KAVI 57), of the reign of Sennacherib; and (*b*) KARI 214 (duplicates· KAVI 83, KARI 325). The ceremony is mentioned in inscriptions of Adad-nirari I and of Shalmaneser I, cf Ebeling-Meissner-Weidner, *Altor. Bibliothek* i, 108.33; 109, n. 10, 110.34, Muller, MVAG 41/3 (1937), 51, n 2, CCLXIII, 286–87. I believe that the Ugaritic text RS 4 is a Hurrian counterpart of the *tâkultu*-ritual

13. CCLXVIII, 36, 99, 105 It is still customary among Jews to visit graves in the month of Tishri.

14. KAVI, 218, p. 119, ii, 1–16

15. CCLXIX, 34 ff.

16. Note that in the Babylonian liturgy for the festival, the victorious god Marduk was explicitly hymned as *the sun.* KB VI/2, 26 ff., DXIII, 4–5, Zimmern, BSGW, Phil.-hist Kl., 70 (1918), 34 ff.

17. Cf Ex. 23.16, 34 22 , Lev 23 33–35, Deut. 16 13–15

broken down into a series of separate and independent festivals. Nevertheless, when due allowance is made for these developments, it is still possible to recover, at least in broad outline, the original form of the festival and to discern therein the contours of the Seasonal Pattern.

§4. The Festival of 'Asîf, or "Ingathering," fell originally at or about the time of the *autumnal equinox* and comprised the three stages which came later to be distinguished as (a) New Year's Day, (b) the Day of Purgation or Atonement [*Kippurîm*] and (c) the Feast of Booths [*Sukkôt*]. Considered as a single whole, it thus embraced the standard elements of Mortification, Purgation, Invigoration and Jubilation.

§5. The first two stages came eventually to be concentrated in the Day of Purgation or Atonement, but, in its original form, this was probably but the culmination of a ten-day *lenten period.*[18] It was marked by a *purgation of the temple,* its vessels and personnel, a ritual *purification and 'shriving' of the people;* and the *despatch of a scapegoat* as a means of removing impurity and contagion.[19] Moreover, it was accompanied by the usual *mortification;* the community observed a public *fast and suspension of activity,* the Hebrew expression for which (viz. *ʿ-n-h n-f-š*) properly denotes a *constriction* or *restraint of the personality.*[20]

§6. The two latter stages – those of Invigoration and Jubilation – were represented by a series of rites which came eventually to be distributed over New Year's Day and the Feast of Booths. Many of these are known to us only in their mythic transmutations, but on the principle that seasonal myths are but the durative counterparts of seasonal rituals (see above, pp. 4 ff.), we must be prepared to recognize in them the reflection of underlying punctual performances. They included: (a) a *mimetic combat* between the god and the Dragon (or some similar adversary); (b) the triumphant procession of the divine victor and his *installation as king in a special pavilion or palace,* (c) the performance of *magical rites to stimulate rainfall and fertility;* and (d) an emphasis upon the *solar* aspects of the occasion.

§7. That the reaffirmation of the god's sovereignty formed a central theme of the festival is indicated expressly in Zechariah 14.16 where the celebration of the Feast of Booths is associated with a pilgrimage to Jerusalem for the purpose of making obeisance before "the King YHWH Ṣᵉbaôt [EV. the LORD of Hosts]."[21] Moreover, it is now commonly agreed that many of the Old Testament psalms were, in fact, designed for this occasion or, at least, modelled upon hymns then recited, and, as we shall see clearly in Chapter Five, there is constant reference in those compositions to the battle

18. In Jewish observance, the ten days between New Year and the Day of Atonement are marked as a lenten and penitential period.

19 Lev 16 11–24, 33–34 20. Lev. 16 29.

21. This passage is read in the synagogue as the prophetical lesson for the first day of the Feast of Tabernacles.

between the god and the Dragon (or similar adversary) and to the subsequent installation of the former in a special palace or pavilion.[22]

§8. In a few passages (Ps. 76.3, Lam 2.6, possibly also Ps. 42.5),[23] the pavilion in which the god was thus enthroned is called *sôk*, the masculine counterpart of *sukkah*, or "booth." Now, in an Accadian syllabary, the cognate word *sukku* is listed as a synonym of *parakku* and *šubtu*,[24] the two terms employed in the Babylonian New Year myth (*Enuma Eliš* VI 38, 48b) to denote the pavilion in which the victorious Marduk was installed after vanquishing the dragon Tiamat. Moreover, we have evidence from Palmyrene inscriptions[25] that it was customary once a year to erect booths [sg. *m-t-l-t-â*, the usual Aramaic equivalent of *sukkah*] for various deities, while a Canaanite text from Ras Shamra-Ugarit mentions the construction of *m ṯ b t* – another recognized synonym – at a seven-day festival![26] It may therefore be suggested that the booths [*sukkôt*] which feature so prominently in the festival and of which the Israelites sought to give a quasi-historical explanation, originated in these pavilions.[27]

What was thus enacted on the mythological level evidently had its counterpart in the punctual rites of the festival. If we may argue from the analogy of the Babylonian and Egyptian seasonal ceremonies[28] and from survivals in the practices of the modern Mandaeans of Iraq at the consecration of their high priest [*ganzibrâ*],[29] it is probable that the pavilion erected for the divine king corresponded to a special edifice – like the Babylonian *bît akîti* or the Mandaean reed-hut [*mandâ, mašhānâ*][30] – set up for the reception of king and high priest respectively at their annual or periodic reconfirmation.

§9. The element of Invigoration was represented also by an elaborate rain-making ceremony which, though not mentioned in the Old Testament, is described in detail in the Mishnah.[31] On the first night of the festival, water was brought into the temple at Jerusalem from the neighboring pool of Siloam, and was solemnly poured out upon the ground. Jewish tradition fully understood the purpose of the ceremony, putting into the mouth of God the words: "Offer water before me on the Feast of Booths, so that the

22 See below, Ch V, §2.

23 Reading *ba-sôk* for MT *ba-sak*, and construing the otherwise obscure *eddadem* as from the root *n-d-d*, with enclitic *-m* (i e. *eddad-ma*)

24 II R 35 a–b 14–15, III R 66,9 38. On the precise meaning of the terms (possibly, "portable shrine"), cf Landsberger, ZA 41 (1933), 292–97, Schott, ZA 40 (1931), 19–33.

25 Cantineau, SYRIA 12 (1934), 130–31; 17 (1936), 274–76, Gaster, *ib.*, 350

26 III, 51

27 Note also that in Ex 40.2 the erection of the tabernacle in the wilderness is said to take place *on the first day of the first month!*

28. For convenient summaries, cf CCXXII, 19–37, 47 ff

29. CIXa, 173 Cf Albright, AJSL 35 (1919), 185 f , CXXXII, 17, 32

30 *Ibidem*

31. Mishnah, Sukkah IV, 9 Cf. CCXXII, 138, CCCL, 24–53, CCCXCIX, 93–95, Feuchtwang, MGWJ 54 (1910), 535 ff.

rains of the year may be blessed unto you";[32] and that this explanation is correct is indicated by the exactly parallel practice recorded by Lucian[33] as having been performed twice annually (i.e. at the spring and autumn festivals?) at the Syrian temple in Hierapolis (Membij). Moreover, it should be observed that, according to Zechariah 14.17, the penalty for failing to make the pilgrimage to Yahweh at the Feast of Booths was to be *lack of rainfall.*[34]

§10. Lastly, there is the *solar* element of the festival. Exodus 34.22 states clearly that it took place at the autumnal equinox [*t*ᵉ*qufath ha-śanah*],[35] and its connection with this sólar event is also emphasized in the Talmud (TJ. Sanhedrin, 18d). But what is especially significant in this respect is that, according to the Scriptural account in I Kings 8.12–13 (= II Chronicles 6.1–2), when Solomon dedicated the First Temple *at the autumn festival* (I Kings 8.2 = II Chron. 5.3), he recited a poem *which has manifest solar implications.* As preserved in the Masoretic recension, the text of that poem is, to be sure, both incomplete and slightly corrupt, but with the aid of the Greek (Septuagint) Version, it is possible to restore its original form.[36] The point is then seen to lie in a clever play on words. The poet declares that he has built a "princely mansion" [*bêth z*ᵉ*bul*][37] and "permanent home" [*māḵôn*] for his god; but the words rendered "princely mansion" may also mean "meridian mansion" (cp. *z*ᵉ*bul,* Hab. 3.11), i.e. a mansion in which the sun might be thought to reside when at its zenith, while that rendered "permanent home," lit. "fixed place," would at once suggest the same idea, seeing that when heavenly bodies reached their zenith they were said in Semitic speech to "stand fixed" (cp. Accadian *kânu* in this sense).[38] The following literal translation would thus represent the true meaning of the chant:*

Now is the sun *standing fixed [*yikkôn*]* in heaven.
(Henceforth,) he thought, he must dwell in darkness.
(But) see, I have built thee a { princely / meridian } mansion
A { permanent home / place wherein to stay fixed } [*māḵôn*] for ever!

It is apparent that this utterance would be peculiarly appropriate to a festival celebrated at the autumnal equinox, when the sun is about to descend into the netherworld. What Solomon did (or what the chronicler thought he must have done) was to recite a traditional chant used on that occasion

32 Tos Sukkah 3, 18, p. 197 f.; PRK 193b, Buber.
33. *De Deâ Syriâ,* chs. 3, 48 34. See above, n. 21.
35. *Lit.* "the revolution of the year" For the meaning, cf Morgenstern, HUCA I (1924), 16 f Properly speaking, of course, the expression can apply to any of the solstices or equinoxes, cf. CDXXXIA, 34–36.
36. LIXA, 110 f ; CDLVI, 76 ff
37. The word *zbl* means "prince" in Ugaritic It would seem to be connected with Acc. *zabālu,* "be high." Cp. Heb. *nāśî',* "prince," from *n-ś-'a,* "raise"
38 E g CDLXII, No. 206 (= CCXXXV, II, 614, n. 6); Meier, AfO 12 (1938), 240, n 24.
* Emendations are indicated by asterisks.

at the ceremony of dedicating the pavilion of the sun-god. That pavilion was regarded as a kind of "sun-trap" – an earthly abode by residing in which the god might be saved from the darkling regions below.

That this interpretation is correct is proved by the actual orientation of the temple. Archaeologists have discovered that it was built on an axis not quite due east-west but slightly N E.–S.W., in such a way that its entrance faced directly towards the summit of the Mount of Olives. Now, it is above that summit that the sun rises at or about the time of the autumnal equinox, so that its rays would then pour down directly upon the altar, as a kind of solar theophany![39]

This mode of orientation clearly conformed to an ancient and established pattern, for the Canaanite "high place" at Tell es-Ṣafi likewise possessed a skewed door so placed as to permit the rays of the sun to fall directly upon the altar at the time of the equinox.[40]

It should be observed also that in the analogous Babylonian New Year ceremonies the chapel which Marduk and his consort Sarpanitum occupied in the temple of Esagila was called É.UD.UL, "House of the Radiant Sun," and that in the hymns recited on that occasion the solar aspect of Marduk (whose name actually denotes "Son of the Sun") was especially stressed.[41]

§11. An excellent, if brief, description of the ceremonies at the Egyptian Festival of Osiris, exhibiting several of the standard traits of the Seasonal Pattern, is given by a certain Iḫernofrit who officiated as 'mystagogue' [*ḫry sšt;*] at Abydos during the reign of Sesostris (Senusret) III, a king of the Twelfth Dynasty, c. 1870 B.C. The description is contained in lines 17–24 of a limestone stele originally in the Drovetti Collection but acquired, in 1837/8, by the Konigliches Museum in Berlin.[42] It reads as follows:

17. I arranged the expedition of Wep-wawet* when he went to the aid of his father.

18. I beat back those who attacked the Barque of Neshmet,† and I overthrew the foes of Osiris.

I arranged the Great Procession and escorted the god‡ on his journey.

19. I launched the god's ship, and . . . Thoth . . . the voyage. I provided a crew for the ship of the Lord of Abydos who is called He-Who-Appears-in-Truth. I decked the ship with gorgeous trappings so that it might sail to the region of Peker.§

20. I conducted the god to his grave in Peker.

39 On the solar features of the temple at Jerusalem, cf CLXXVII, 237 f., CCXXII, 87 ff.

40. Cf. CXIIa, ii, 63

41. DT 114+109+MNB 1848, lines 29, 231, 252, 296, 375; cf. CCCXLVIII, 90. But note that Zimmern, DXIII, 4, n. 1, renders "Haus ferner Tage," a rendering which may be supported by the phraseology of Psalm 93 5, referring to a parallel situation.

42 The best edition is that of Schaefer, CCCXCVII.

* The jackal-god, brother of Anubis, evidently represented in the procession by a theriomorphic effigy mounted on a pole (Schaefer).

† The sacred barque of Osiris.

‡ i.e. Osiris.

§ i e. Umm-el-qa'ab, near Abydos.

21. I championed Wenen-nefru (Unnefer),* on the day of the Great Combat and overthrew all his adversaries beside the waters of Nedit.

I caused him to sail in his ship. It was laden with his beauty.

I caused the hearts of the Easterners to swell with joy, and I brought gladness to the Westerners at the sight of the Barque of Neshmet. It put in at the port of Abydos, and Osiris, the first of all Westerners, the Lord of Abydos, was conducted to his palace.

§12. Lastly, the Seasonal Pattern is discernible in the later Asianic mysteries of Attis. To be sure, the ancient *testimonia* (derived mainly from censorious churchfathers) are concerned more with their mythological than with their ritual aspects, but it is not difficult – particularly on the strength of abundant analogies – to extract from the descriptions of the latter the punctual program of the former. The available evidence has been admirably collected and digested in H. Hepding's well-known monograph *Attis* (Giessen 1903), so that we may here confine ourselves to a mere tabulation of the relevant elements. Suffice it only to observe, by way of general introduction, that the mysteries celebrated the annual death and resurrection of Attis, spirit of life and fertility, and that they were therefore of the same character as those of the Egyptian Osiris, the Mesopotamian Tammuz, the Hittite Telipinu, the Syrian Baal and Adonis, and the Greek Persephone.

1. The ceremonies took place at the time of the vernal equinox and lasted from March 21st until March 25th.[43]

2. They commenced with a period of Mortification, coupled with Purgation. This was exemplified by fasting, austerities and ululation.[44]

3. The notion of topsy-turvydom or suspension of normal activities at the end of the life-lease was symbolized by a general saturnalian license, characterized, as in other parts of the world, by masquerades and interchange of garments.[45]

4. A prominent feature of the ceremonies was the reception of new initiants. These were regarded as being "about to die" until formally admitted into the communion.[46]

5 The sacred marriage of Attis and Cybele-Rhea was celebrated in a subterranean cavern, priests and votaries serving as "bridesmen."[47]

6. There is no clear evidence of a Ritual Combat, but it is significant that the votaries and priests carried weapons and were known as "spearbearers" (*doruphoroi, hastiferi*).[48]

7. There was a feast of communion, involving the slaughter of a bull (*taurobolium*) [49]

* i e Osiris, as the re-risen god

43 CCVI, 44, 49, 54 44 See above, Ch. II, nn 7, 77, CCVI, 155 ff

45 Herodian, *Tēs meta Markon basileias historiai*, I, 10 §§5–7, Gaster, JBL 60 (1941), 302

46 Firmicus Maternus, *De errore prof relig*, XVIII, 1–2, CCVI, 49, 194 ff.

47. Nicander, *Alex* 7–8, and Schol in loc, Hesychius, s v *Kubela*

48 Julian, *Or* V, 168b Cf Lucretius II 598, CCVI, 169 ff ; Gaster, JBL 60 (1941), 301.

49. Cumont, PW III, 1484, cf. CCVI, 149, 165, 220

8. The high point was reached at the moment when, on the day of the equinox, the sun first dawned on the horizon. This was regarded as the triumphant epiphany of Attis, and was preceded by an all-night vigil.[50]

9. The reinvigoration of the king is indicated by the fact that, in Roman times, the slaughter of the bull was regarded at the same time as a sacrifice for the health and welfare of the emperor (*pro salute imperatoris*).[51]

10. The ceremonies concluded with a general Jubilation, called *Hilaria* by Roman writers.[52]

This tabulation speaks for itself and affords further proof of our contention that the pattern reconstructed in Chapter II is indeed attested in the principal seasonal ceremonies of the Ancient Near East.

50. CCVI, 165 f. On such vigils in Greek cults, cf Hom. *Hymn to Demeter* 292–93 (IX, 120 ff.); Herod. iv 76, Euripides, *Helen* 1365, AP VII 223, CLXXVIII, 130 ff., CCCLXXXIVa, II/2, 9

51. See above, Ch. II, n. 267.

52. CCVI, 167 ff.

Excursus

An excellent picture of the typical seasonal pattern is painted by the biblical prophecies of Joel, dating, it would seem, from the fifth or fourth century B.C. The prophet likens the situation of his people to that which obtains during the annual period of mortification or suspended animation, and advises that relief may be obtained by recourse to the same sort of methods as are then customarily employed. In delivering his message he therefore introduces a sustained series of allusions to the seasonal practices, and his words thus afford a convenient summarization of our theme:

Mortification: Ululation

I, 8. Wail ['*li*] like a virgin[1] girt in sackcloth
for the lover[2] of her youth.
9. Cut off is meal-offering and libation
from Yahweh's House.[3]
A-mourning are the priests,
Yahweh's ministers.

10. Blighted is the field, dried up is the soil;
yea, blighted is the corn,
spoiled is the must,
the new oil fails.

11. Abashed are husbandmen,
vintners raise their wailing [*hêlilu*],
for the wheat and for the barley,
for perished is the harvest of the field.

12. Spoiled is the vine,
and the fig-tree wilts,
pomegranate, palm and quince,
all the trees of the field are withered;
spoiled is the joy of all mankind!

13. Gird yourselves in sackcloth
and beat your breasts;
raise a wailing ye that minister at the altar!

All-night vigil for the lost god of fertility

Come, keep an all-night vigil, O ye priests,
Yahweh's ministers!

even the gods are starving

For withheld from the House of your God
is meal-offering and libation.

14. Proclaim a sacred fast,
declare a term of restraint ['*sārāh*];

1. Heb. *b'tulah*, which at once suggests *Btlt 'nt*, "the Virgin 'Anat," who annually wails for Baal.
2. Heb. *ba'al*, which at once suggests the bewailed Baal.
3. On this as a stock element of the laments in the mysteries, see below, Ch. IV, §17.

Fasting and lenten period

gather together the elders,
all who dwell in the land,
unto the House of your God,
and to Yahweh cry ye aloud:

15. 'Woe worth the day!
[For nigh is Yahweh's day,
and like doom from the Doomster it comes!]

16. Before our very eyes
food is cut off,
from the House of our God
all gladness and joy.

17. Wizened are the grains
underneath their clods(?);
desolate are the barns,
the granaries are wrecked,[4]
for all the corn is spoiled.

annual blight rationalized as penalty for sin

18. Ah, how the beasts make moan!
Distraught are the herds of cattle
for pasture have they none.
Why, even the flocks of sheep
now pay the wages of guilt!

19. Yahweh, I call upon thee,
for fire has devoured the pastures of the lea,
flame has consumed all the trees of the field.

20. Likewise the beasts of the field
go a-yearning for thee,
for the watercourses are dry
[and fire has devoured the pastures of the lea].'

. . . . . .

Moral purgation as a means of securing the new lease of life

II, 12. Even now, so Yahweh saith,
turn full-hearted to me,
with fasting and weeping and mourning.

13. And rend your hearts and not your garments,
and return to Yahweh your God,
for gracious and merciful is He,
long-suffering and abounding in kindness,
and He will relent of the evil.

4. For *neher'su mam'gurôt* of the received text we read *neher'su-ma m'gurôt* (cf. Haggai 2.19), with the archaic enclitic *-ma;* cf Gaster, JBL 68 (1947), 58, n. 2.

14. Who knows but that once again
He will relent,
and leave behind him a blessing
— meal-offering and libation
for Yahweh your God?

Fasting, lent, and sacred convocation

15. Sound the trumpet in Zion,[5]
Proclaim a sacred fast;
declare a term of restraint [*ʿaṣārāh*]:
Gather the people together,

16. Place the folk under sacred tabu,
Assemble the old, gather the babes [and them that suck at the breast],
let the bridegroom come forth from his chamber,
and the bride from her bower.

17. Between the forecourt and altar
let the priests, Yahweh's ministers, weep,
and let them say:
"Yahweh, spare thy people,
and let not thine heritage become a reproach,
that nations may take them for a byword."[6]
Wherefore should they say among the nations:
Where is their god?

18. Then, maybe, Yahweh will be zealous for his land,
and have compassion on his people,
and Yahweh will answer and say to his people·[7]

Banishing of the Power of Death and Aridity [here historicized]

19. "Behold, I send unto you
corn and must and new oil
and you shall have your fill thereof;
and I will not suffer you more
to be a reproach among the peoples.

5 This recalls the fact that the trumpet was indeed blown in the analogous Attis mysteries Ezekiel (7.14) likewise plays on this. Cf Gaster, JBL 60 (1941), 301.

6. We take the Hebrew words *lim'šôl bām* to mean "to take them for a byword, make proverbs about them," rather than "to rule over them," because the point of the verse lies in the prophet's satirical play upon the ritual cry "Where is Mighty Baal?" (*Baal*, §LIV, I AB iv 26, 39)

7. In the mouth of the prophet, the reference is, of course, to Israel, but in the Mysteries — to which he is satirically alluding — the "people" of Baal were his immediate family who feared extinction as the result of his disappearance (Cf *Baal*, §LV; I AB i 6; "Baal is dead! And what now of the clan [*l'im*] of Baal's line?"). Read *wiy'qannê' . . . w'yahmôl . . . w'ya'aneh . . . w'y'ômar*, for the past tenses of MT.

20. And I will remove the Northerner from you
and thrust him out to a land desert and waste,
his front to the eastern sea
and his rear to the western sea;
and the stink of him shall rise,
and the stench of him go up,
because he thought to do proudly.

Reinvigoration

21. O land, be not afeared;
be glad and rejoice;
for 'tis Yahweh now
who will do proud things for you!

22. O beasts of the field, be not afeared,
for the pastures of the lea now are green,
for the tree yields its fruit,
fig-tree and vine give their substance.

23. And ye, O sons of Zion,
be glad and rejoice in Yahweh your God,
for he has now given to you
Restoration of rainfall the early rain in due season
and poured down the rain unto you,
even the early rain
and the late rain in the first month.[8]

24. And now the granaries are full of corn,
and the vats run over with must and new oil.

. . . . . .

IV, 2. I will collect all the peoples
Eschatological interpretation of annual determination of destinies and bring them down to the Valley of Jeho-shaphat
and there will I enter suit [*nišpattî*] with them
on account of my people and my heritage
even Israel whom they scattered 'mid the peoples,
and my land which they took for their portion . . .

. . . . . .

9. Proclaim this among the peoples;
declare a sacred war;
Projection of Ritual Combat rouse the soldiers to combat,
let all the warriors rally and come up.

8. So, with RV, we interpret the Heb. *bar'îšôn;* LXX· *kathōs emprosthen* ("as before"); Vulg *sicut in principio* ("as in the beginning"), AJV: "at the first"; Moffatt. "as of old."

10. Beat your ploughshares to swords
and your pruning-hooks to spears,
let even the weakling say:
I am a mighty man.
. . . . . .

12. Let the nations be roused to combat
and come up to the Valley of Jeho-shapaṭ
for there will I sit to judge [*lišpôṭ*] all the peoples round about.
. . . . . .

Ultimate Era of Reinvigoration

16. And Yahweh will roar out of Zion
and from Jerusalem give forth his voice;
and heaven and earth will quake.
But Yahweh will be a refuge for his people,
and an asylum for the children of Israel,
. . . . . .

17β. and Jerusalem shall be sacrosanct,
strangers shall pass through it no more.

A cliché in descriptions of the new life [recurs in Ras Shamra texts]

18. And it shall be on that day:
the mountains shall drip new wine,
and the hillsides flow with milk,
and all the watercourses of Judah
shall flow with water;
and a spring shall emerge from Yahweh's House
And water the Valley of the Acacias . . .

CHAPTER FOUR

THE SEASONAL PATTERN IN MYTH

In course of time, as urban life develops and new conceptions emerge, the urgency of the primitive seasonal rituals tends to recede. But the Pattern lingers on in increasingly meaningless folk-customs and in literature.

Recent studies have shown that the Pattern may be recognized behind the conventional structure of Greek comedy and tragedy and behind the European Mummers' Play. Using the same line of argument, it is here shown that several of the longer mythological texts recently recovered from the Ancient Near East are likewise but literary adaptations of the Seasonal Pattern, and therefore essentially dramatic, each incident of the plot being projected from an element of the original ritual. It is therefore possible to claim these texts as ancient dramas and as the prototypes of Greek comedy and tragedy and, indeed, of modern theatrical forms.

The material covered is as follows: The Canaanite Poem of Baal, from Ras Shamra; The Canaanite Poem of the Gracious Gods, The Canaanite Poem of Aqhat; The Babylonian Myth of Creation, The Babylonian Akîtu-drama [VAT 9555]; The Hittite Myth of the Combat of Weather-god and Dragon, The Hittite Legend of Telipinu; The Hittite Yuzgat Text; The Hittite Account of the Mock Combat; The Egyptian Ramesseum Drama; The Egyptian Memphite Drama; The Egyptian Edfu Drama.

§1. Ritual is but one of the parents of Drama. The other is Myth. The function of Myth, in this context, is to bring out in articulate fashion the inherent durative significance of the ritual program.[1] Its *method* is to construe the punctual order of ceremonies in terms of an ideal situation involving "gods" or similar transcendent and preterpunctual beings. Its *effect* is to turn presentation into *re*presentation, to introduce the element of mimesis and to confer upon the participants the added and parallel rôle of actors, so that they are at one and the same time both protagonists of a direct experience and impersonators of characters other than their own. Ritual and Myth are thus correlatives in a single whole, and it is their organic combination that, in fact, produces Drama.[2]

It follows that (with due allowance for artistic embellishment) the "plot" of the Seasonal Myth will be basically identical with the pattern of the Seasonal Ritual. Moreover, just as the latter fall, as a rule, into the two well-defined types of the Combat and the Death-and-Resurrection, so too do the former, and just as the latter is usually epitomized in the activities of a central representative figure, i.e. the king, so too is the former in that

1 See above, Ch I, §7.

2. It is not without significance that ancient speech recognizes no such concept as 'myth' in the usually accepted sense of the term. Greek *mythos* means simply 'the thing told' However, Aristotle, *Poetics* 1459a, 19 speaks of *dramatikoi mythoi.*

of a central "god" (commonly identified with the spirit of vitality and vegetation) who is, of course, nothing but a durative projection of the king.

§2. Examples will best clarify these points. Thus, when the Ritual Combat is staged in the towns and villages of England, the accompanying myth asserts,[3] that St. George, the patron saint of that country, is fighting the Dragon or (in a more historicized version) his inveterate enemy, the Turkish Knight.[4] Similarly, when the Combat was staged in ancient Babylon, the concomitant myth identified the victor with Marduk, god of that city and embodiment of its durative, topocosmic essence,[5] and among the Hittites, the punctual ritual, performed annually at the spring festival of Puruli, was taken to represent a battle-royal between a national weather-god and the dragon Illuyankas.[6] So too among the Canaanites, it was Baal, lord of the land [*zbl ars*] who was thought to be subduing the turbulent spirit of the waters (Yam)[7] or the fell genius of aridity (Môt),[8] among the Egyptians, it was Ra' who was engaging the monster 'Apep,[9] or Horus who was contending with his rival Set and thereby avenging his slain father Osiris[10] Among the Hebrews, it was Yahweh [Jehovah] doing battle with the 'crooked serpent' Leviathan, *alias* Tannin, 'the Dragon,' *alias* Rahab, 'the Rager.'[11]

In the same way, when the Egyptians formally reinstated their king at the New Year festival,[12] it was, said the accompanying myth, Horus who was being inducted as the reincarnation of his father Osiris;[13] and when the Babylonians did likewise at their analogous Akîtu festival,[14] it was the triumphant Marduk who was being enthroned in his special pavilion.[15] And when subsequently the reappointed king presided over the constitutional assembly [*puḫru*][16] to reaffirm the topocosmic regime, it was Marduk who was presiding over the parliament [*puḫru*] of the gods to determine the order of the world and the destinies of mankind.[17]

In like manner, too, when a weeping woman – representative of the sea-

3. See fully, CDLXIX

4 Evidently a reminiscence of the Crusades But note that the adversary is also called "Prussian King" (Cinderford, Gloucestershire), "Black Prince of Darkness" (N. Somerset), "Bold Slasher" (Sapperton, Gloucestershire, Overton, Hampshire), "Mincé Pie" (Cocking, Sussex), "Little John" (Waterstock, Oxfordshire, Great Wolford, Warwickshire), "Captain Thunderbolt" (Ilmington, Warwickshire), "Bold Striker" (Heptonstall, Yorkshire), "Beelzebub" (Clayworth, Nottinghamshire), and "Arthur Abland" (*vs* Robin Hood· Kempsford, Glos)

5 Enuma Eliš, *passim* 6 *KBo III*, 7, see below, pp 317 ff

7. Baal, §§XII–XVII 8 Baal, §LXIX–LXXI.

9 E g Papyrus of Nesi-Amsu, LVI, 11, 324–28, CCCLXXXIII, 98–115 *Cf also*, Renouf, TSBA 8 (1883), 215–17 (partially antiquated, but still useful)

10 E g in the Ramesseum Drama.

11 Is 27 1, 30.7, 51 9–10, Ez 29 2–5, 32 3, etc

12. CXLIV, 102 ff., CCCXIX, 73–84

13 This is a prominent theme, for instance, in the Ramesseum Drama.

14. CCCXLVIII, 264–65 15. *Ibidem;* EE VI, 37–48[b].

16 On this term, see Gaster, JQR, N S. 28 (1947), 289.

17 KAT, 515, CCCXLVIII, 183 ff.

sonal wailers – marched in the annual New Year's parade at Babylon, she was represented in the concomitant myth as the goddess bewailing the vanished lord of fertility;[18] while in Egypt, the two female 'keeners' – the two 'kites' [*dr.ty*], as they were called[19] – who performed this rite were identified as the goddesses Isis and Nephthys wailing, like some early Mary and Martha, over the corpse of the discomfited Osiris.[20] In Syria, it was Astarte lamenting Adonis, and in Asia Minor it was Cybele crying on Attis. Among the Greeks, the women who observed the statutory fast during the festival of Thesmophoria were projected by the accompanying myth into the figure of Demeter, the Grain Mother, wandering disconsolately without food or drink in search of the abducted Persephone.[21] Often, indeed, the purely functional ululation was (and still is) developed under the influence of the myth into a formal mimetic funeral of the topocosmic spirit of fertility: in Egypt, it was Osiris who was being buried and bewailed; in Syria, it was Adonis, and in Asia Minor it was Attis; while in modern Rumania, it is *kalojan*, "beautiful John,"[22] and among the Abruzzi, it is *Pietro Pico*, "little Peter"[23]

Finally, when the king performed the ritual act of connubium (the so-called "sacred marriage"), a purely 'economic' measure designed to galvanize the vitality of the topocosm, this was translated in the accompanying myth into the nuptials of a god and goddess, e.g. of Marduk and Ṣarpanitum at Babylon, Nabu and Tašmetum at Borsippa, Osiris and Isis in Egypt, Attis and Cybele in Asia Minor, and Zeus and Hera (or their local equivalents) in Greece.[24] Indeed, in Mesopotamia, a specific reference to such divine espousals was actually introduced into the accompanying "book of words."[24a]

§3. Seasonal myths of this kind may be either implicit or explicit. In the former case, the durative significance of the ritual is simply taken for granted, and it is tacitly assumed, without express dialogue or narrative, that the performers are at the same time acting out an ideal situation and endued with an ideal, preterpunctual character. This we may suppose to have been the primitive stage, and hence the earliest form of Drama. It is represented, to a certain extent, in the situation implied by the so-called mystagogical texts discovered at Assur, the ancient capital of Assyria.[25] These texts provide a running commentary on the ritual of the New Year (Akîtu) festival, in which each detail is related to an incident in the passion and resurrection of a topocosmic god or to his subsequent triumph, as the resurrected savior, over a monstrous dragon-like adversary. Thus, as previously mentioned, when the women of the city wander distraught during

18 VAT 9555 67, CCLXIX, 48–49
19 XCIII, 42, with n. 2; Faulkner, JEA 22 (1936), 132.
20 Ram §XI, Shabaka, Act III
21. IX, Introd to *Hymn to Demeter.*
22 XXVI, 30.
23. Canziani, FL 39 (1928), 218.
24. See below, DS, Introd , §§13–16
24a EE I, 78, cf Oppenheim, *Orientalia* 16 (1947), 214
25 These are most conveniently presented in CCLXIX, 29–59 See also CCCXLVIII, 208 ff.

the period of topocosmic eclipse, they are taken to portray the distraught goddess wandering in search of the departed god. Similarly, when footraces are run — a characteristic seasonal rite[26] — they are taken to represent the eager dispatch of the savior-god against the Monster;[27] and when an animal is ceremonially milked — a familiar type of dairy charm[28] — this is interpreted as symbolizing the suckling of that god by a divine mother or wet-nurse.[29] In all of these cases, what is involved is not really impersonation but correspondence; the sacral act and the associated myth are really parallel expressions, on the punctual and durative planes respectively, of one and the same thing.

§4. In our extant sources, however, the durative aspect is no longer merely implicit but receives, as a rule, definite and explicit articulation. The earliest form is the Mystery,[30] in which ritual and myth enjoy equal status, the former being not yet subsumed in the latter, as ultimately becomes the case. This form is best represented in the so-called Egyptian Coronation Drama inscribed on a papyrus discovered by Quibell, in 1896, in the precincts of the Ramesseum at Thebes. Unrolled and pieced together with phenomenal skill by the famous Berlin papyrologist Hugo Ibscher, it was first published, in 1928, by the late Kurt Sethe, to whom belongs the credit of demonstrating its dramatic character.[31] The papyrus itself was written in the reign of Sesostris [Senusret] I, a king of the Twelfth Dynasty (c. 1970 B.C.), but according to Sethe, the contents go back a further millennium and a half to the time of the First Dynasty (c. 3300 B.C.).[32] This would therefore be the earliest literary specimen of Drama yet known.

The text gives an account of the traditional ceremonies at the induction of the king, which was celebrated in conjunction with the New Year ceremonies during the month of Khoiakh.[33] Its basic theme is thus the kenosis and plerosis of topocosmic vitality, as symbolized in the passion and revival of the king. Divided into forty-six scenes, it embraces the following standard elements of the Ritual Pattern:

1. The staging of a Ritual Combat [scene 18].
2. The burial of the defeated old king and his subsequent resurrection in the person of his successor (symbolized by the lowering and raising of ceremonial pillars) [scenes 3, 13–15, 26–28, 39–42].
3. The investiture and installation of the new king [scenes 6, 8, 23–25, 27–28, 31, 33, 35].
4. The celebration of a Communal Feast, to which the governors of the several nomes of Egypt are invited [scenes 21–22, 30, 32, 43–44].

26. Cf. Ch III, §26.
27. VAT 9555 57–59 (in CCLXIX, 44–47).
28. See Comm. on DS, §III.
29. VAT 9555. 33.
30. It is not without significance that the Egyptian 'mystery' was called *sšt*; 'the secret thing,' implying that it was regarded — as were all later mysteries — as an esoteric thing reserved to initiants.
31. CDXVII, i.
32. Sethe's dating is based largely on the mention in this text of the priestly order of *shn.w*; *h*, characteristic of the First Dynasty.
33. For a general description of the ceremonies, see Blackman, CCXXII, 29–32; CXLIV, 103–04.

5. The equipment of a royal barque in which the new king tours the principal cities of Egypt in company with his household [scenes 1–2, 7, 10–11, 16].

6. The performance of magical rites designed to promote fertility, e.g. the threshing of grain, milking of animals [scenes 5, 9, 19].

7. The presentation of offerings and performance of certain obscure rites [scenes 3–4, 12, 17, 20, 29, 34(?), 43–44].

Each detail of the ritual program is, however, invested at the same time with a durative significance, and this is brought out explicitly in the form of a mythological 'key' attached to every scene.[34] The new king is here identified with the god Horus, and the old king with his slain father Osiris. The Ritual Combat is the battle between Horus and Set. The members of the royal household are the "children of Horus" who aid him in this conflict. The two priestesses who perform the seasonal ululation are the goddesses Isis and Nephthys bewailing the discomfited Osiris. The official who invests the new king is the god Thoth, who adjudicates the quarrel between Horus and Set. The various articles of the regalia are given a symbolic meaning in terms of the concomitant myth; the beads of carnelian represent the great Eye of Horus which was suffused with blood when it was wrested from him by his rival Set; the two clubs or maces represent the testicles of Set which Horus plucks from him in the combat and then engrafts upon himself in order to acquire added vigor; the threshing of the grain represents the thrashing or belaboring of Osiris by Set. In many cases, the mythological point is conveyed to the audience by means of grotesque and fantastic puns [35] Thus, the identification of the maces with the engrafted testicles is pointed up by the fact that the Egyptian word for "mace, club," viz. *ʿḥ;*, at once suggests that for "engraft," viz. *ʿḥ;* while the interpretation of the threshing of the grain as representing Set's thrashing of his father Osiris is brought home by the fact that the word for "grain," viz. *it*, is homophonous with that for "father."

Following the initial description of the ritual act and the subsequent explanation of it in mythological terms, each scene contains words of accompanying mythological dialogue, with clear indications of the speaker and the person addressed. Further, there are brief rubrics enumerating the stage properties required and (in most cases) stating the assumed locale of the action. A schematized rendering of Scenes 30 and 31 will make this clear:[36]

SCENE 30

RITUAL ACT: An invitation is extended to the governors of the several nomes of Upper and Lower Egypt.

34 The keys list the speakers, the locale and the stage settings and properties pertinent to each scene They are reproduced in our rendering

35. This is a kind of Egyptian forerunner of the later Jewish *midrash*, which makes considerable use of paronomasia in the homiletic exegesis of Scripture

36 For verse rendering and commentary, see below, pp 396 ff.

MYTHOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION. This represents the summons issued to the gods by Thoth, at the behest of Geb, to come and attend upon the presence of Horus.

- DIALOGUE: Says Geb to the Children of Horus and the Followers of Set:

"Come, wait upon the presence of Horus.
Thou, Horus, art their lord."

STAGE DIRECTIONS AND PERSONNEL:
(*in mythological terms*): Attendance of the gods. Horus.
(*in ritual terms*): Arrival of the governors of the nomes of Upper and Lower Egypt.

SCENE 31

RITUAL ACT: The chief officiant produces various pigments and cosmetics which are in turn conveyed to the king.

MYTHOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION: This represents Thoth restoring the stolen Eye of Horus and addressing him concerning it.

DIALOGUE: Says Thoth to Horus:

"I hereby convey thy bright eye [*W D ; t*] to thy face!"

STAGE PROPERTIES. A Horus Eye. Green pigment [*W ; D. w*] for the eyes.

DIALOGUE: Says Thoth to Horus:

"May the eye grace [*D M i*] thy face!"

STAGE PROPERTIES. A Horus Eye. Black pigment [*m ś D M t*] for the eyes.

DIALOGUE. Says Thoth to Horus:

"May thine eye nevermore be troubled nor lose its wine-like lustre!"

STAGE PROPERTIES. A Horus Eye. Wine-red pigment for the eyes.

DIALOGUE: Says Thoth to Horus:

"I hereby convey unto thee the perfume of divinity
and the pure Eye which was wrested from thee!"

STAGE PROPERTIES: A Horus Eye. Frankincense.

DIALOGUE: [missing]

STAGE PROPERTIES. Double-plumed crown, to be placed on the king's head by the Wardens of the Great Plumes.

DIALOGUE: Says Thoth to Horus:

"Perfume thy face herewith so that it be thoroughly perfumed!"

STAGE PROPERTIES AND DIRECTIONS: A Horus Eye. Thorough perfuming (sc. of the king).

Here, then, we have an excellent example of that pristine stage of Drama in which it still belongs within the realm of Religion rather than of Literature and in which Ritual and Myth still go hand in hand as inseparable correlatives in a single complex.

§5. With the growth of urban life, however, new conceptions emerge, and the processes of Nature are no longer considered so dependent upon the

operations of men. When that happens, the traditional ceremonies lose their urgency and tend to survive not on account of any functional efficacy but solely by reason of their wider mythological significance and of their purely artistic appeal. Ritual then becomes subsumed in Myth. The participants are no longer protagonists of a direct experience but mere actors or guisers (*personae*) reproducing an ideal or imaginary situation and impersonating characters other than themselves. Dramatic Ritual then becomes Drama proper, moving from the domain of rustic Thalia into that of buskinned Melpomene.

Yet never can Drama wholly forget the rock whence it was hewn. Beneath all of its subsequent superstructure there remains always the basic foundation of the Ritual Pattern. Reduced to its bare essentials and shorn of its diverse elaborations and embellishments, it revolves always around the central theme of Conflict, Discomfiture and Restoration. Moreover, the farther back we go, the more likely are we to find such other ingredients of the original design as, for instance, the Sacred Marriage, the Feast of Communion and the Expulsion of Evil – all of them disguised, of course, and duly woven into the fabric of a more or less sophisticated plot.

§6. Nowhere has this been more clearly demonstrated than in recent studies of classical Greek tragedy and comedy. Thanks to the researches of Gilbert Murray,[37] Jane Harrison,[38] Francis Cornford[39] and others, it has now become possible to recognize that, even after it had emerged from the embryonic stage and long outgrown its primitive functional purpose, Greek drama nevertheless retained the basic form and structure of its rude prototype.[40] The pattern of the ritual became the plot of the drama, its component rites and ceremonies being translated into successive acts and scenes. Thus, as Murray has shown, the average Euripidean tragedy (e.g. the *Bacchae, Hippolytus* or *Andromache*) contains as standard and stereotyped elements: (*a*) a Combat [*Agōn*]; (*b*) a Passion [*Pathos*]; (*c*) a Lamentation [*Thrēnos*]; and (*d*) a final Epiphany – all of them basic ingredients of the primitive 'mystery' or sacred pantomime which revolved around the Combat of the Seasons (or of Life and Death, God and Dragon, etc) and the Passion, Lamentation for an eventual Restoration of the lord of fertility.

Similarly, Cornford has made it clear[41] that the regular divisions of Aristophanic and earlier comedy were determined, in the first instance, by the statutory features of the primitive ritual program and that they em-

37 *Apud* CCI, 314 ff. 38. CXCVIII.

39 LXXVII

40 In the light of the ancient and primitive material presented in this volume, it is apparent that the objections raised by Classicists against the Murray-Harrison-Cornford theory rest on far too narrow a basis While it may be true that within the Greek field the evolution of drama was not quite as those scholars have supposed and that the traces of the primitive pattern are not quite as patent as they have assumed, its ultimate origin in that pattern can scarcely be doubted

41 LXXVII, *passim*.

brace, especially in the seemingly inconsequential scenes which follow the Parabasis, such further crucial elements of that program as the Feast of Communion [*Kōmos, Theoxenia*] and the Sacred Marriage [*Hieros Gamos*]. Indeed, even the antiphonal chorus, with its constant exchange of banter and raillery, is shown to be nothing but a survival of the two opposing teams in the primitive Ritual Combat.

§7. The same method of approach has been applied also, and with equally arresting results, to the European Mummers' Play. Associated, as was Greek drama, with seasonal festivals or similar important calendar dates, the general structure of the Mummers' Play is familiar to most people.[42] Two antagonists (usually historicized as "Saint George" and "the Turkish knight," or the like) meet on the field of battle. One taunts and challenges the latter. Then they fall to, and the hero (i.e. "Saint George") is slain. Thereupon he is duly lamented. Subsequently, however, he is restored to life through the good offices of a "learned doctor," and inflicts a crushing defeat on his opponent. Then, after a little irrelevant buffoonery, there are a few closing lines in which the actors call down blessing upon the assembled company of spectators and "pass round the hat."*

Thanks to the researches of Grimm, Mannhardt, Frazer, Sartori, Chambers, Tiddy[43] and others, it is now generally recognized that this crude performance (paralleled, in some respects, by the Arabic folk-dramas of Hasan and Hosein)[44] is but a survival of the primitive Ritual Pattern, combining the twin elements of (a) the Combat of the Seasons and (b) the Death and Resurrection of the god of fertility. Indeed, in some parts of the world (e.g. in Macedonia) such further elements as the Sacred Marriage and the Birth of the Savior-god are actually introduced.[45]

§8. Proceeding, then, from the basis of these two examples — that of Greek drama and of the European Mummers' Play — and pursuing the argument to its logical conclusion, we are entitled to infer that *wherever we find in ancient literature a mythological text which is either expressly or implicitly associated with a seasonal occasion, which contains appreciable portions of dialogue, and the plot of which conforms in content and sequence to the structure of the Ritual Pattern, what we have before us, in however attenuated or developed a form, is a specimen of Drama.*

This brings us to our main contention. It is the thesis of this book that the same method of approach as has been applied in the case of Greek drama and of the European Mummers' Play may be applied also to a group of Canaanite, Hittite, Babylonian and Egyptian texts recovered mainly during the past fifty years as the result of archaeological excavations in the Near East. These documents, usually regarded as mere literary composi-

42 CDLXIX, 73.

* For the text of a representative Mummers' Play, see below, pp 441 ff.

43. See fully, CDLXIX.

44 Cf Eerdmans, ZA 9 (1894), 280–307

45 Dawkins, JHS 26 (1906), 191, Wace, ABSA 16 (1909–10), 232, LXXVII, 62–65.

tions or mythological poems, may thus be shown to be based, in fact, upon the libretti of seasonal dramas, faithfully reflecting that pattern of ritual ceremonies which has been described in the preceding pages. They are thus forerunners both of classical Greek drama and of the European Mummers' Play.

Before proceeding to a detailed demonstration, it will be well to present a summary enumeration of the material involved, signalizing by the use of SMALL CAPITALS the presence of elements derived from the Ritual Pattern.

§9. The Canaanite texts were discovered, in the years 1930–33, at Ras esh Shamra ("Fennel Height"), site of the ancient city of Ugarit, on the north coast of Syria, not far from Latakia. They consist in a series of clay tablets inscribed, in the characters of an hitherto unknown cuneiform alphabet, with lengthy poetic compositions written in what may be termed for convenience a proto-Hebrew dialect. The tablets themselves date approximately from the fourteenth century B.C., but their contents were, no doubt, traditional and therefore older still. They were preserved as part of the archive of the local temple.[46]

In their present state, the tablets are neither complete nor consecutive, so that no single composition has come down to us in its entirety. Nevertheless, it is possible to group the extant fragments into certain well-defined cycles and to determine the general tenor of the stories which they relate. Those that here concern us are the following: —*

(a) *The Poem of Baal* [AB]. This consists of six tablets presenting — with intermediate gaps — the story of the exploits and adventures of a god named Baal or Aliyan Baal ("Baal Puissant"), genius of rainfall and fertility. The action is concerned mainly with the COMBAT of this god against the dragon Yam ("Sir Sea"), *alias* Nahar ("Sir Stream"), Tannin or Leviathan, lord of sea and streams [III AB, A]; his ultimate victory, ACCESSION TO SOVEREIGNTY and INSTALLATION IN A NEWLY-BUILT PALACE [II AB]; his subsequent ENCOUNTER WITH MÔT, GENIUS OF DROUGHT, and his DISAPPEARANCE INTO THE NETHERWORLD [I*AB]; the TEMPORARY RULE UPON EARTH OF A CERTAIN 'ATTAR ('ASHTAR) and the eventual RE-EMERGENCE AND TRIUMPH OF THE VANISHED GOD, accompanied by the RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF PEACE AND FERTILITY [I AB, IV–VI AB]. It thus combines the familiar motifs of the Combat between the Seasons and of the Dying and Reviving God.

Subsidiary to the six main tablets [I AB–V AB; I*AB] are two others, evidently belonging to variant versions of the story. The one, here designated

46 The standard edition (but without translation or commentary) is Gordon, C H, *Ugaritic Handbook* (Rome 1947) A corpus of photographs and hand-copies is now being prepared by Mlle A Herdner of Paris. For the extensive earlier literature, see CCLXXIV. The presentation here offered is mainly the result of the writer's independent researches.

* For detailed bibliography, see below, p 114

The Harrowing of Baal [BH], describes the DISCOMFITURE OF BAAL DURING THE SEASON OF DROUGHT. While out hunting, he is lured into the pursuit of certain demoniacal creatures who have the appearance and nature of wild beasts (called "Raveners" [*'qqm*] and "Devourers" [*aklm*]), and lands in a swamp, where he lies suffering a malarial infection until found and rescued by a caravan of his brethren. Meanwhile, THE EARTH LANGUISHES for want of his presence. The other tablet [VI AB] gives an alternative account of the measures taken to achieve his ultimate RESTORATION.

(b) *The Poem of the Gods Dawn and Sunset* [DS]. This is a single tablet of 76 lines, incomplete at the end. The obverse contains rubrics for a ritual ceremony, including catch-lines of hymns then recited. The reverse contains a story dealing with the seduction of two mortal women by the supreme god El and the subsequent birth of two comely gods called respectively Dawn (*Shahar*) and Sunset (*Shalam*). The two children evince their god-head from the very day of their birth by refusing any breast save that of the Mother Goddess herself. Thus, the document revolves around the familiar motifs of the SACRED MARRIAGE and the BIRTH OF THE SAVIOR-GOD

(c) *The Poem of Aqhat* [Aq.].[47] This consists of four tablets containing the remains of ten columns, or about 450 lines of writing. It tells the story of a youth named Aqhat, son of a chieftain called Daniel, who came into possession of a divine bow destined for the goddess 'Anat, deity of war and of the chase. By refusing to give it up, he offended the goddess, who was compelled to refer the matter to the supreme god El. The latter ordered the mortal to be punished. Thereupon, the goddess enlisted the services of a certain Yatpan, a hired thug, to assail the youth and knock him unconscious so that the bow might be taken from him. Yatpan, however, bungled the instructions and not only slew Aqhat but also dropped the bow into the waters on the return journey to 'Anat. The shedding of the youth's blood caused infertility upon earth, and this latter circumstance aroused the suspicions of his sister Paghat ("Maiden"). At first, the body of Aqhat could not be located, nor was it even known that it was he who had been killed. Subsequently, however, a flight of vultures appeared over Daniel's house, and when he ripped open their gizzards he discovered the remains of his son. Thereupon he accorded him honorable burial and summoned wailing women to sing dirges over him. Paghat meanwhile resolved upon vengeance Hiding a dagger beneath her skirts, she proceeded to the neighboring encampments, under cover of night, in order to hire assistance in this enterprise. By a turn of fate, her steps led her to the tent of Yatpan himself who, in a moment of drunken boasting, betrayed himself as the murderer of

47. Originally published as "The Legend of Dan(i)el," and so often referred to in the literature. But one of the tablets is entitled quite explicitly *lAqht*, i.e. "belonging to the *Poem of Aqhat*."

Aqhat. At this critical point the text unfortunately breaks off. There is reason to suppose, however, that the SLAIN AQHAT WAS ULTIMATELY REVIVED.[48]

Although this text does not reveal the same ostensibly sacral characteristics as the *Poem of Baal* or the *Poem of Dawn and Sunset*, and although it has obviously been developed along more purely literary lines, it will be shown in the sequel[49] that it too goes back to the primitive Ritual Pattern and is based upon the familiar seasonal myth of the DYING AND REVIVING GOD whose temporary disappearance brings about the SUMMER DROUGHT.

§10. The Hittite texts emanate from Boghaz-koi, site of Hattusas, the ancient Hittite capital, about 80 miles west of Ankara, Turkey. They consist of a series of clay tablets inscribed in syllabic cuneiform script with lengthy ritualistic and mythological compositions written in the so-called Kanesian Hittite language, which is essentially an Indo-European tongue blended with Asianic elements. The tablets themselves date from the 15th–13th centuries B C , but their contents are clearly of earlier date, representing a survival (and transmutation) of material derived from a remoter Asianic past, before the arrival of the Indo-European invaders. The documents which here concern us are the following: —[50]

(a) *The Slaying of the Dragon* (KBo. III 7; KUB XII 66; XVII 5–6 [P]). This text, pieced together from four complementary (and sometimes duplicate) documents, presents the cult-myth recited or rehearsed on the occasion of an annual festival called Puruli, celebrated in late spring or early summer. The theme of the myth, of which two alternative versions are given, is the COMBAT OF THE WEATHER-GOD AGAINST THE DRAGON ILLUYANKAS, AND HIS EVENTUAL VICTORY. Subjoined to the narrative is a ritualistic description of the manner in which the Puruli festival was celebrated at the great cultic center of Nerik. A PROCESSION of the gods and their consorts was arranged, and the TRIUMPHANT WEATHER-GOD WAS EVENTUALLY ENTHRONED IN THE TEMPLE AS SUPREME OVERLORD, special estates being assigned to him by the local king.

(b) *The Yuzgat Tablet* [Y]. This document, acquired by the late A. H. Sayce, in 1906, at Yuzgat (or Yozgad), near Boghaz-koi, and probably emanating originally from the latter site, consists of a mythological and a ritualistic portion. The former deals with the PARALYZATION OF THE EARTH BY THE DEMON HAHHIMAS, OR JACK FROST. All of the gods sent against him, including even Telipinu, the genius of fertility, are seized and carried off. FINALLY, however, — though this portion of the text is missing — THE DEMON IS WORSTED AND LIFE RETURNS. The ritual portion prescribes OFFERINGS TO

48 See below, *Aq.* Introd , n. 44.
49 See below, pp. 264 ff
50. For detailed bibliography, see below, p 316

THE RESTORED TELIPINU AND TO THE SUN-GOD. A colophon states that the text was composed by a woman named Annanas, and defines the mythological portion as "the Lamentations for the [Sun-god] and for Telipinu." The authoress professes to have duly performed certain rites which can be recognized as characteristic of the seasonal 'mysteries' in other parts of the world.

(c) *The Myth of Telipinu* [T]. This text, preserved in several recensions and pieced together from several mutually complementary copies, relates how TELIPINU, GOD OF FERTILITY, DEPARTED FROM THE EARTH IN ANGER AND HOW HE WAS EVENTUALLY BROUGHT BACK AND HIS ANGER APPEASED BY MAGICAL MEANS. It is thus, in the main, a version of the familiar seasonal myth of the DEPARTING AND RETURNING GOD, represented elsewhere by the stories of Tammuz, Osiris, Baal, Attis, Adonis and Persephone. That the myth was designed for a ritual ceremony is apparent from the fact that the magical ceremonies which it records include practices, such as THE ERECTION OF A 'MAYPOLE,' THE KINDLING OF CATHARTIC FIRES, THE FORMAL EXPULSION OF EVIL, THE REGALEMENT OF THE GODS [THEOXENIA] AND THE DIVINE REINVIGORATION OF THE KING, which are elsewhere characteristic of seasonal festivals Some of these ceremonies are, in fact, expressly associated, in another text, with the Puruli festival; and it is therefore possible that this was indeed the occasion for which our text was composed.

(d) *The Ritual Combat* (KUB XVII 35, iii 9–17). Besides the three main Hittite texts, there is another which may at least claim attention. This is part of a long ritualistic document, and it appears to describe a MOCK COMBAT which formed part of the proceedings. The Combat was historicized, in accordance with a familiar process (see above, Ch. II, §21) as the commemoration of a whilom encounter between the Hittites (Hatti) and their neighbors, the Māsa – probably the classical Maeonians. Such, at least, is the interpretation advanced by Ehelolf, Lesky, Schubart and others.[51]

§11. The Babylonian material consists of (1) the long poem known as *Enuma Eliš;* and (2) two mystagogical texts known to Assyriologists as VAT 9555 and K. 3476.

(a) *Enuma Eliš,* conventionally known as the Epic of Creation, is a composition in six tablets, or "cantos," dealing primarily with the story of how MARDUK, THE GOD OF BABYLON, ENGAGED AND DEFEATED TIAMAT, THE REBEL DRAGON OF THE DEEP, AND HER COTERIE, AND HOW, AFTER HIS VICTORY, HE ACQUIRED SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE GODS, WAS INSTALLED IN A NEWLY-BUILT

51 There is, however, no authority for assuming, as has been done, that there was also a ritual race. The text has been mistranslated; see Goetze, JCS 1 (1947), 85.

PALACE (ESAGILA) IN BABYLON, ESTABLISHED THE COSMIC ORDER, CREATED MANKIND, AND DETERMINED FATES AND DESTINIES. In its present form, the text was evidently redated in Babylonia, but there is reason to believe that the story itself goes back to hoary antiquity and probably incorporates a good deal of ancient *Sumerian* material. (Since this text is generally accessible in several excellent editions, it has not been deemed necessary to reproduce it here in full.)[52]

(b) *VAT 9555* and *K. 3476* are fragments of priestly manuals designed to explain the ritual of the Akîtu, or New Year, festival. Each of the traditional elements of the ritual is related to an incident in the seasonal myth of the 'incarceration' and subsequent restoration of Bêl-Marduk, the lord of fertility and god of Babylon, e.g. "the magicians who precede the image of Nabu, spelling out an incantation, represent the people of Bêl who are raising a dirge for him" (1.27). In this way, the entire gamut of rites and ceremonies is translated into terms of a mythological representation. The importance of the documents thus lies in the fact that they help us to recover the ritual basis of the cult-myth. (These texts, too, are readily accessible in translation, and we have therefore deemed it unnecessary to reproduce them.)[53]

§12. The Egyptian texts, the dramatic character of which has already been recognized by Kurt Sethe and Étienne Drioton, consist, apart from the aforementioned Ramesseum drama (a), of the following two documents:—[53a]

(b) *The Memphite Drama.* This text is inscribed on a slab of black granite now in the British Museum. It was written at the order of Shabaka, a king of the Twenty-fifth or Ethiopian Dynasty, who reigned about 711 B.C. In a preamble, however, that monarch states expressly that it was copied from an older, worn original. The latter is assigned by Sethe to the First Dynasty (c. 3300 B.C.), but arguments have been advanced by Rusch[54] to show that it should more probably be dated to the Fifth Dynasty, some eight hundred years later (c. 2500 B.C.). The document has been known to scholars since the middle of the nineteenth century and has been the subject of several translations and commentaries, but the only reliable and virtually definitive edition is that produced by the late Kurt Sethe in 1928, and it is that scholar's rendering and general interpretation that are here followed.

Like its counterpart from the Ramesseum, the Memphite text was evidently designed for an annual ceremony and most probably for that which took place, amid great pomp and splendor, during the last days of the month of Khoiakh. Its theme is the ECLIPSE AND REVIVAL OF THE KING AS THE SYMBOL AND EPITOME OF TOPOCOSMIC VITALITY. The action covers (a)

52. The most convenient edition is CCLXIX. The best English rendering is CCV. For some suggestive new interpretations, see Oppenheim, *Orientalia* 16 (1947), 207–38

53. See above, n. 25.

53a For detailed bibliography, see below, p. 382

54. OLZ 32 (1929), 145–56.

THE DEATH OR DISCOMFITURE OF THE OLD KING; (b) RITUAL LAMENTATION, construed as the recital of dirges over him, (c) A RITUAL COMBAT, and (d) THE INSTALLATION OF THE VICTOR IN THE CITY OF MEMPHIS. As in the Ramesseum drama, the durative aspect of the ceremonies is brought out in an accompanying myth. The king is identified with Horus, and his defunct predecessor with Osiris. The Combat is therefore translated into that of Horus and Set, and the subsequent triumphant enthronement of the victor becomes the resurrection and reincarnation of Osiris in the person of his son and his solemn restoration to the cultic center of Memphis. The priestesses who initially utter lamentations are identified with the goddesses Isis and Nephthys wailing for Osiris. Appended to the story is a celebration of the creative powers and glories of Ptah, god of Memphis.

(c) *The Edfu Drama.* This is engraven, along with illustrative reliefs, on one of the walls of the temple at Edfu. It presents the text of a sacred drama performed annually at a great festival celebrated on the 21st day of the spring month of Mechir. Since it has already been translated, with exhaustive commentary, by Blackman and Fairman, we content ourselves with a mere summary.

The theme of the drama is once again THE REINVIGORATION OF THE KING AS THE SYMBOL AND EPITOME OF TOPOCOSMIC VITALITY, and the action covers (a) A RITUAL COMBAT; (b) THE SUBSEQUENT INSTALLATION OF THE VICTOR AS KING; and (c) THE PERFORMANCE BY HIM OF THE CHARACTERISTIC SEASONAL RITE OF CONNUBIUM. Here too, however, the durative aspect of the ceremonies is brought home by means of an accompanying myth. The king is identified with the local god Horus of Behdet (who tends to be confused with Horus, son of Isis and Osiris and to be endowed also with the characteristics of the supreme solar deity Ra'). His adversary (called "the Caitiff"[55] and "the Monster")[56] is identified with the fell hippopotamus – a virtual equivalent of the Dragon in sister versions of this seasonal myth. His bride in the ritual connubium is the goddess Hathor of Dendereh.

The text consists of a Prologue, three acts (subdivided into scenes) and an Epilogue. In its present form, it is a Late-Egyptian recension of a more ancient archetype Editorial manipulation and the exigencies of space have resulted (with but two exceptions) in the complete elimination of such stage directions as occur in the analogous Ramesseum drama; all that now remains is a combination of brief narrative passages and somewhat extended speeches. In one passage there is a statement that "this book is recited by the Precentor (or Chief Lector)"; and if these words refer to the text as a whole rather than to some particular collection of spells which may have been uttered at a certain stage of the action,[57] they would appear to indicate that the play was performed in dumb show and the accompany-

55. 63 6, 63 4
56 62 3 (*Dns*) He is also called "The Perverse One" (*Nbd*), 68 2.
57 Blackman-Fairman, JEA 28 (1942), 35–36.

ing dialogue recited by an attendant official who would have answered, *mutatis mutandis,* to the Sanskrit *sūtradhāra,* the Greek *chorēgos,* the Moslem *mulla* of the Hosein pantomimes, and the medieval European "presenter."[58] This official, however, was evidently assisted by a chorus, for there are certain utterances (e.g. "Hold fast, Horus, hold fast!" – a virtual equivalent of the colloquial American "Attaboy!") which would appear to be exclamations on the part of onlookers. The latter were, in all probability, not the audience as a whole but the company of priests assembled on the stage and identified in the mythological interpretation with the followers of Horus of Behdet.[59]

§13. It is not difficult to recognize in these texts all the characteristic marks of the Seasonal Pattern.[60]

(a) All of them feature a COMBAT. – In the *Egyptian* texts, it is the combat of Horus and Set or of Horus and the demonic hippopotamus – In the *Hittite* texts, it is that of the gods in general against Hahhimas, i e. Jack Frost (Yuzgat Tablet) or of the weather-god against the dragon Illuyankas (Puruli text). – In the *Babylonian* Poem of Creation it is the fight of Ea against Apsu and of Marduk against Tiamat. – In the *Canaanite* Poem of Baal, it is the battle of that god against Yam and, later, against Môt; while in the Poem of Dawn and Sunset it is watered down into a description of how the spirit of fertility is lacerated and dismembered, *à la* Dionysus, like a trimmed vine.[61]

(b) In each case, the issue of the combat is that THE VICTOR ASSUMES SOVEREIGNTY – In the *Egyptian* texts, Horus becomes king of Upper and Lower Egypt. – In the *Hittite* texts, the weather-god is enthroned as king in the cultic center of Nerik, or Telipinu receives royal honors. – In the *Babylonian* Poem of Creation, the triumphant Marduk is installed as king in the newly-built temple of Esagila. – In the *Canaanite* Poem of Baal, that god acquires "dominion eternal" by vanquishing Yam.

(c) In each case, a prominent feature of the story is the INSTALLATION OF THE TRIUMPHANT GOD IN A SPECIAL PALACE. – In the *Egyptian* Ramesseum and Memphite texts, the action culminates in the installation of Horus (*quâ* Osiris redivivus) within his royal city and palace. – In the *Hittite* Puruli text, the victorious weather-god is installed in Nerik; while if the Myth of Telipinu be read alongside the prayer to that god preserved in KUB XXIV 1–2[62] and of the fragmentary description of the Puruli rites in KUB XXV 31,

58 Such 'reciters' also functioned at Babylonian festivals; CXXI, 1, CDXXVII, 111, n. 138

59 Blackman-Fairman, *op. cit.,* 35

60 The distribution of these elements over the texts presented in this volume is set forth in the Index of Motifs

61 Lines 8–11, See Comm. in loc.

62 Translated by Gurney, AAA 27 (1940), 1 ff.

it will be apparent that its final scenes likewise imply the installation of that god in a new or renovated abode. – In the *Babylonian* Poem of Creation, the triumphant Marduk is installed in a special pavilion [*parakku*] in Esagila.[63] – In the *Canaanite* Poem of Baal, that god, after subduing Yam, is honored by the construction of a special palace [*hkl*].

(d) In each case, the action closes with AN ASSEMBLY OF THE GODS, USUALLY ACCOMPANIED BY A BANQUET. – In the *Egyptian* Ramesseum text (§§21–22, 30, 32, 34, 43–44), Horus summons the gods to a collation; while in the Memphite text (§61), the gods and their "doubles" [*ku*] repair to that city to hail the new sovereign. – In the *Hittite* Puruli-text, the gods foregather in Nerik when the weather-god is installed as king; and in the Myth of Telipinu, they sit down "on long benches" and regale themselves when that god returns to earth. – In the *Babylonian* Poem of Creation, the acknowledgment of Marduk as king is accompanied by a gathering and banquet of the gods. – In the *Canaanite* Poem of Baal, that god invites all of the "seventy sons of Asherat" to a banquet when once his palace has been completed; while the Poem of Dawn and Sunset ends with a scene in which the supreme god El throws open the resources of heaven and earth to his two infant sons and they eat and drink to satiety – clearly, an attenuation of the Banquet motif.

(e) The element of MORTIFICATION AND ULULATION also appears prominently in these texts. – In the *Egyptian* Ramesseum, Memphite and Edfu texts, great importance is attached to the *procero* uttered by two priestesses (mythologically identified with the goddesses Isis and Nephthys) who bewail the lifeless Osiris. – The *Hittite* Myth of Telipinu opens with a stereotyped description (closely paralleled in the Babylonian Tammuz liturgies, in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter, and in the seasonal litany embedded in the first chapter of the biblical Book of Joel) of the blight caused upon earth by the disappearance of that spirit of fertility. An analogous account of the ravages caused by Hahhimas (Jack Frost) appears in the Yugzat Tablet; while the Puruli text is introduced by a liturgical formula containing a petition for rain and fertility, i.e. an articulate expression of the seasonal ululation. – In the *Canaanite* Poem of Baal, the ululation is embodied in a speech addressed by El to the sun-goddess Shapash: "Dried up are fields, O Shapash, dried up are the vast fields. Baal is neglecting the furrows of the ploughland. Oh, where is Baal Puissant? Where is His Highness, the Lord of the earth?" (I AB iv, 25 f.). Similarly, in a supplementary text (BH ii, 36–45), there is a vivid description of the drying up of the wadies consequent upon the discomfiture and absence from the earth of this same Baal; while in the Poem of Aqhat, the slaying of that youth causes infertility of the soil, and he is ceremonially bewailed for seven days.

(f) Lastly, it is possible occasionally to detect traces of the SACRED MARRIAGE, albeit in severely attenuated form. – The most patent instance of this, as all commentators have recognized, is in the *Canaanite* Poem of Dawn and Sunset, where it is to be found in the scene describing the seduction by El of two mortal women and the subsequent birth of the siblings,

63. EE VI, CCCXLVIII, 124 f.

Dawn and Sunset (Shahar and Shalam). – It may be recognized also, as Oppenheim has observed,[64] in a passage of the *Babylonian* Poem of Creation (I, 77–78) which describes how, after his conquest of Apsu, Ea "erected a holy grove for himself, and Ea and Damkina celebrated (therein) in majesty the Sacred Marriage."

§14. But it is not only by virtue of such general traits that the texts may be identified as seasonal dramas or, at least, as projections from seasonal rituals. There is also an impressive body of supporting evidence.

(a) Most of the texts are explicitly associated with seasonal festivals. Thus, the Hittite myth of the *Slaying of the Dragon* (KBo.III.7) is said expressly to have been recited or rehearsed at the vernal festival of Puruli; while the Ramesseum and Edfu texts were designed, as most Egyptologists have recognized, for specific festivals in the months of Khoiak and Mechir respectively when the new lease of life was thought to commence and when the king was therefore ceremonially reconfirmed. Similarly, the Babylonian *Poem of Creation* was recited before the image of the god on the fourth day of the Akîtu or New Year Festival.

(b) Moreover, even where such definite indications are lacking, it is sometimes possible to correlate the mythology of one or other text with a specific season of the year. Take, for example, the Canaanite *Poem of Dawn and Sunset*. The central theme of this composition is the birth of two siblings who may be identified, as we shall see later (pp. 228 f.), with the Dioscuri or Heavenly Twins; and, in their astral form of Gemini, these happen to be the regnant constellation of the first half of June. A myth concerning their nativity would therefore be peculiarly appropriate to a festival held at that time, and there are thus grounds for an initial presumption that our text may have been designed for just such an occasion.

Similarly, the *Poem of Aqhat* revolves around the tale of a handsome youth who challenges the supremacy in the chase of the goddess 'Anat, the Syro-Palestinian Artemis, and who is consequently put to death. To be sure, this tale has been blended with the familiar myth of the dying and reviving lord of fertility: the death of Aqhat causes drought and barrenness and, it would appear, he is eventually resurrected. Basically, however, as we shall see later (pp. 260 ff.), it is simply a variant of the Classical myth of Orion, and the significant thing about Orion is that in his astral manifestation he disappears from the evening sky from the end of April until the beginning of July, i.e. during the earlier part of that very season in which the earth is rendered infertile by reason of summer drought. There is therefore, once again, an initial presumption that our text is really a seasonal myth designed to explain the cause of that phenomenon and reflecting the ritual procedures associated with it.

Of the same order is the emphasis placed in several of these texts upon

64. See above, n 24a.

the rôle of the *sun*. Thus, in the Hittite *Yuzgat Tablet*, it is not only for Telipinu, the lord of fertility, but also for the sun-god that a search is instituted (obv. 21–25), and in the ritual portion of that text, sacrifices are prescribed not only for the former but also for the latter (rev. 28, 34–35). Similarly, in the Canaanite *Poem of Baal*, it is the sun-goddess (Shapash) who retrieves the body of that god from the netherworld (I AB, i 8–16), who persuades the rebellious Môt to give up the unequal struggle against him (ib. vi 22–29), and who is subsequently commended for her solicitude (ib vi 42–52); while in the *Poem of Dawn and Sunset*, a second exordium (23–27) is addressed not only to those deities but also to "the sun-goddess who makes the vines to burgeon with . . . and grapes", and at one point (54) a rubric prescribes the offering of a sacrifice to her.

All of these passages may be construed as further indications that our texts were designed for seasonal festivals; for — as we have seen (above, Ch. III, §40) — such festivals usually coincide with *solstice* or *equinox*, when emphasis on the sun would be peculiarly appropriate. Indeed, the Hittite *Yuzgat Tablet* appears to contain an explicit allusion to the imminent re-emergence of the sun on the latter occasion, for when, after due search, the Sun-god cannot be located, the supreme deity is made to exclaim:

> But my limbs already feel a glow;
> he must somehow have lost his way
> (obv. 24–25)

i.e. he is lurking close by, though momentarily unseen.

(c) Taken by themselves, these mythological combinations might seem, to be sure, to provide but a slender and precarious basis for determining the seasonal occasion of such texts as are not explicitly related to this or that calendar festival. Fortunately, however, the conclusions reached by this line of argument are corroborated — or, at least, very strongly supported — by other indications in the documents themselves. Thus, a rubric in the *Poem of Dawn and Sunset* (line 15) prescribes the seething of a kid in milk (*tb[ḫ g]d bhlb*), and in Exodus 29.19 (E) and 34.26 (J) the "seething of a kid in its mother's milk" is a practice forbidden to the Israelites in connection with the offering of firstfruits at the Festival of Pentecost (*Šabu'ôt*) in June! Moreover, as Ginsberg has acutely observed, the very fact that a kid is specified presupposes that the rite took place in spring or summer, since "goats normally yean in the winter in Palestine."[65] Again, one of the constituent elements of that same text is a little song (lines 8–11) properly designed as a chanty to accompany the trimming of vines, and this operation takes place in Palestine during the month of June![66]

Similarly, a prominent feature of the myth of Aqhat is that the remains of the slain youth are recovered in the form of fragments or morsels extracted from the gizzards of vultures which have devoured him (I D, 105–51). Now, strictly speaking, this detail is not essential to the development of the plot; Aqhat could just as well have been recovered in the form of a

65 JRAS 1935, 72. 66. See Comm. in loc

mangled corpse. When we recall, however, that the *dismemberment* of the god and the subsequent interment of the fragments (or the consumption of them in a rite of omophagy) formed a vital element of the summer 'mysteries' associated with such fertility spirits or topocosmic genii as Osiris, Attis, Adonis, Zagreus and the like, that it reappears in the myth of Baal (I AB, ii 30–37) and that it was likewise incorporated (albeit in disguised and attenuated form) in later Greek tragedy and comedy,[67] it becomes obvious why the poet introduced this seemingly irrelevant detail into his narrative: *it reproduced a traditional rite of the summer festival for which his poem was designed,* and therefore formed part and parcel of a canonical pattern which he was obliged to follow. Had he omitted it, there would have been nothing in his story to explain one of the essential elements of the accompanying ritual procedures, he was accordingly constrained to work it in somehow, albeit in strained and bizarre fashion.

In the same way, the lamentation over Aqhat, which figures so prominently in the poem (I D, 171–88), may be taken to reproduce the characteristic summer rite of *Ululation* (see above, Ch. III, §§8–13) and thus to afford further evidence that the text was indeed designed for a festival celebrated at that season.

§15. Moreover, even where the particular occasions are none so sharply precised, similar subordinate episodes frequently betray the dependence of the texts upon the canonical pattern of seasonal ceremonies. These indications are discussed in detail in our several commentaries. By way of anticipation, however, a few of them may be adduced in this place in order to illustrate the general argument.

(*a*) In the Canaanite *Poem of Baal,* after that god has disappeared from the earth, sovereignty is assumed by a deity named 'Ashtar (I AB, i 43–65). Later, when Baal is restored, the usurper is ousted (I AB, v 1–6, cf. Gaster, BASOR 101 [Feb. 1946], 23, n. 12). With the wider interpretation of this incident we shall deal later (below, pp. 126 f.). Here it is sufficient to note that it reproduces the institution of the *interrex* which is, in fact, one of the most widespread and familiar elements of the Seasonal Pattern.[68]

(*b*) In the same text (II AB, vii 7–12), after the completion of his palace and just before his official occupancy of it, it is said of Baal that

> he travelled from [city] to city,
> turned from town to town,
> assumed possession of sixty-six cities,
> of seventy-seven towns,
> yea, of eighty . . . . . ,
> even of ninety . . . . . .

67. Gilbert Murray, *apud* CCI, 341 ff , LXXVII, 59 ff

68. CXLIX, 389 f , CXLVII, ii, 48 ff On the mock king at the Sacaea, cf Langdon, JRAS 1924 65–72, and for older views, LXXXI, 449–51 For a temporary 'rice-king' in Siam, cf Cabaton, ERE XI, 485a Winckler, DII, ii, 351–58, tries to find reference to the interrex in the Sabaean inscription, CIS IV 83 3 f . *ḏhnb' mšhrm byn ḥrpnhn* ("who was named governor between the years"), but this interpretation is questionable.

On the face of it, this episode would seem to have little relevance to the main tenor of the narrative. When it is recalled, however, that among several ancient and primitive peoples the assumption of kingship is usually marked by a tour of the royal territories, and that this procedure was indeed observed at the seasonal festivals of Egypt (where the king toured his provinces by sailing down the Nile in a ceremonial barque) and at the Nuntariyashas-festival of the Hittites, and that it survived in the Roman festival of Lupercalia and in the "beating of the bounds" which features so prominently in European (especially British) calendar customs,[69] it is not difficult to perceive that the poet was here working into his narrative one of the canonical elements of the seasonal festival for which his composition was designed.

(*c*) In the Hittite *Myth of Telipinu* (KUB XVII 10 iv 27–28), after the restoration to earth of that lord of fertility and after his formal occupancy of his palace, it is said that he "took thought for the king" and that a sacred pole was erected in his house and fleeces of sheep suspended from it. Now, the Hittite text KUB XXV 31, which is a fragmentary account of the rites performed at the annual festival of Puruli, states expressly that it was the custom on that occasion to present a sacred pole and other appurtenances to Telipinu and to replace last year's soiled fleeces with new ones (lines 5–7). Furthermore, in KUB XXIV 1–2, which is a prayer addressed to Telipinu by the king on each day of a certain festive occasion, there is a particular petition for the life, health, strength and happiness of the royal family (iii, 1–14; iv, 5–7), while a formal reinvigoration of the king by Telipinu (coupled with the characteristic seasonal rites of building new palaces and expelling evil!) figures as a dominant element of the ritual described in KUB XXIX 1.[70] It is therefore apparent that our mythological text reproduces standard ritual and reflects specific seasonal ceremonies.

§16. Nor is it only by virtue of their *contents* that our texts may be identified as seasonal dramas. Equally cogent is the evidence derived from their *form:*

(*a*) Of the Hittite texts, both the *Yuzgat Tablet* and the *Puruli Text* [KBo III 7] are expressly divided into a mythological and a ritualistic portion; while, conversely, in the Canaanite *Poem of Dawn and Sunset* the first part (on the obverse of the tablet) consists of liturgical and ritualistic matter, and the second (on the reverse) of the mythological narrative proper. It is therefore apparent that these texts are more than mere literary compositions, but, in each case, the 'book of words' for a religious ceremony.

Moreover, in the *Poem of Dawn and Sunset* the mythological narrative is twice interrupted by ritual rubrics (lines 54 and 65[a]), showing clearly that it was designed to accompany a cultic performance. What is more, these rubrics happen to be inserted at a point in the story where the passage

69. II AB vii 5–12, see Commentary on *Baal*, §XL.

70 Edited by B Schwartz in *Orientalia* 6 (1947), 23–55, but without appreciation of the ritual background and significance

of time is implied;[71] and this makes it plain that the narrative was of the character of a primitive drama the several scenes of which were distinguished by means of ritual 'intermissions.'

(*b*) In two instances, the Canaanite poems appear to incorporate the texts of hymns which must originally have enjoyed independent existence as standard and traditional elements of the seasonal 'order of service.' The first such instance occurs in II AB vii 27 ff. Baal is about to enter the newly-built palace. Thereupon, Kôshar, the divine architect, bursts forth into the following song of praise:

> When Baal opens a rift in the clouds,
> When Baal gives forth his holy voice,
> When Baal keeps discharging from his lips,
> his holy voice convulses the earth,
> . . . . . .
> a-quake are the mountains,
> a-tremble are the . . . .,
> east and west the high places of the earth heave.
> The enemies of Baal take to the woods,
> the foemen of Haddu to the sides of the mountain!

And Baal replies:

> The enemies of Baal — oh, see how they quake!
> yes, see how they quake!
> They who challenge us are thrown into a panic(?)!
> Baal first marks down with his eyes,
> *then strikes with his hand;*
> why, even the cedar quakes at the touch of his right hand!

That these lines are taken from a standard hymn to Baal (*alias* Haddu) as lord of storm and thunder is apparent from the fact that phrases from them are quoted almost verbatim in the Tell Amarna letters (147:14–15) and in sundry poetic passages of the Old Testament (e.g. Psalm 29.5; Nahum 1. 5–6).

The second instance occurs in I AB vi 42 ff. The sun-goddess Shapash has just induced the contumacious Môt to give up the unequal struggle against Baal, and the latter has now occupied the throne of sovereignty. Thereupon he commends the goddess in the following words, assuring her of honor and distinction and promising her that she will be protected on her daily journey by that valiant champion, Kôshar-wa-Ḫasis ("Sir Adroit-and-Cunning") who has erewhile distinguished himself by assisting in the conquest of the great Monster of the sea:

> Bread of aggrandizement shalt thou eat,
> wine of favor shalt thou drink.
> O Shapash, over rulers shalt thou have dominion,
> O Shapash, thou shalt have dominion over princes;
> Lo, gods shall be thy witnesses

71. DS §V; see Comm. in loc.

and mortals too.
Verily, Kôshar shall be thine escort,
Ḫasis thy companion,
even that Kôshar-wa-Ḫasis who threw into the sea
Monster(?) and Dragon,
even that Kôshar-wa-Ḫasis who hurled them therein!

When we recall that the *Poem of Dawn and Sunset* likewise includes an invocation to this goddess (lines 25–26), that a hymn to the sun was similarly recited by Solomon when he dedicated his temple to Yahweh at the autumnal festival of Ingathering (I Kings, 8.12–13),[72] and that – as pointed out above (Ch. III, §37) – seasonal festivals usually coincided with solstice or equinox, and when we observe, further, that the several phrases of this speech are paralleled elsewhere in hymns addressed to the solar deity, it becomes evident that the poet has here worked into his narrative one of the standard liturgical compositions of the festival for which his piece was designed.

This device finds a perfect and arresting parallel in the *Bacchae* of Euripides, the choral odes of which are – as most scholars have recognized[73] – nothing but embellished versions of the traditional chants recited in the Bacchic mysteries. Indeed, if the long and beautiful chorus, *Bacchae* 64–169 be compared carefully with the ritual Paean to Dionysus discovered at Delphi, it will be found that it reproduces not only the general tenor and sentiment of the latter, but also almost all of its standard clichés and technical terms.[74] Similarly, a choral ode quoted by Porphyry from the lost *Cretans* of Euripides turns out, once again, to be but a poetic elaboration of the canonical Dionysiac chant.[75] Our position is, then, that just as Euripides worked into his literary dramas the standard hymns of the seasonal festivals out of which they evolved, so too did the Canaanite writers.

(*c*) Both the Hittite Puruli-text and the Canaanite *Poem of Dawn and Sunset* are introduced by prologues, and each of these prologues may be traced back to a ritual formula customarily recited at seasonal festivals.

In the Hittite text (obv. 5–7), it takes the form of a rhymed petition for rainfall and fertility, the style and language of which are paralleled in similar rogations recited at calendar festivals in many parts of the world (see below, pp. 319 ff.). Moreover, it is characterized, in so many words, as a "formula" [*uttar*] which the people "repeat" [*taranzi*], and it is stated expressly that as soon as the rain actually begins to fall, the recitation is discarded [*nepisas* ^{d}IŠKUR*as* (*heyawaneskizzi*), *Puruliyas uttar numan kissan taranzi*].[76]

In the Canaanite text (1–7; 23–27), the ritual basis is even more apparent; for the formula is cast in a standard hymnodic pattern, consisting in a

72. See above, Ch. III, §10 73 See especially, CII, CCCXXXI Cf. also DIII.
74. For translations of both texts, see below, pp 431 ff.
75. Porphyry, *De abstin*., IV, 19, p. 172, translation by Murray in CC, 479.
76. See Comm. in loc.

solemn invocation of the gods, a recitation of their epithets, and a formula of greeting [*šlm*] extended to the assembled worshipers. It is placed in the mouth of a single speaker, being introduced by the word "*I* will invoke" [*iqra, iqran*].

This, too, possesses an admirable parallel in classical Greek drama; for Greek plays invariably begin with a prologue, and it is now well recognized that this prologue developed out of a more primitive ritual formula (*prorrhēsis*) which served originally, like the Sanskrit *nandi*, not to introduce the characters but to inaugurate the religious ceremonies at which the play was performed. Moreover, the single speaker into whose mouth the prologue is placed in the Canaanite text answers exactly to the Sanskrit *sūtradhāra* and the Greek *chorēgos*, i.e. the priestly "presenter" of the sacred pantomime.[77]

(*d*) Significant also is the fact that some of the texts presuppose the presence of a chorus. Thus, the Ramesseum Drama (§68) speaks explicitly of a "group of conductors [*dḫn w*]," – a term which occurs in other Egyptian texts as designating a branch of the clergy.[78] Similarly, the Edfu text implies a choir of temple-singers and musicians who enact the part of the friends and supporters of Horus and who shout encouragements to him in the manner of latter-day "rooters" at a ball-game.[79] Furthermore, in the Canaanite *Poem of Dawn and Sunset* (line 12), certain *'rbm* are said, at one point, to intone a refrain. The term in question is probably to be identified with the Accadian *êrib bîti* (*lit.* "one who enters the house") – a generic name for the lesser sacristans or members of a temple staff.[80] Indeed, they are associated in the opening words of greeting (line 7) with persons called *ṯnnm*, a term which recurs in another Ugaritic text in a list of *sacerdotal officials*.[81]

It is thus once again apparent that our texts were designed for recitation or enactment in connection with temple ceremonies. In other words, they were part of an established order of service rather than mere specimens of literary creativity.

§17. A final point in favor of the view that these texts are really seasonal dramas or, at least, projections from seasonal rituals, is the fact that they tend to depict the stock situations of the Seasonal Pattern in virtually identical terms This suggests that they drew upon a stock of phrases and expressions ("clichés") which had become familiar, stereotyped and – so to speak – canonical by dint of repetition, year in year out, in traditional, time-honored ceremonies. The point is best illustrated by a comparison of those passages in the several known myths which describe the failure of rainfall and vegetation consequent upon the withdrawal of the lord of fertility. It will be seen that the same language and the same ideas run through

77 See Comm in loc.
78 See Comm on Ram. §XXI.
79 See above, n. 59
80 See Comm. in loc
81 *Ibidem*

all of the versions; and by further comparison with the seasonal litany embedded in the first chapter of the biblical Book of Joel it becomes apparent that this is due to dependence upon a common ritualistic source.

§18. Thus, by a convergence of arguments drawn from the evidence of content, form and underlying mythology, we reach the inescapable conclusion that *our Ancient Near Eastern Texts are indeed the libretti (or, at least, the residual forms) of seasonal pantomimes and thus the prototypes of classical Greek and modern European Drama.*

CHAPTER FIVE

THE SEASONAL PATTERN IN LITERATURE

The Seasonal Pattern survived not only in formal drama but also in the hymns and chants associated with calendar festivals. Many of the Psalms of the Old Testament can be recognized as such literary attenuations of the ancient dramatic myth. The same development may be seen also in the Homeric hymns and in some of the choral odes of the *Bacchae* of Euripides. It is apparent also in the hymns of the medieval Church.

§1. It was not only in the form of full-fledged Drama that the Ritual Pattern was perpetuated. It survived also in the structure of hymns and similar liturgical compositions. Two factors especially conduced to this development. The first was that the Pattern was in any case inextricably associated with special liturgical ceremonies, and would therefore enter naturally into the established order of service. The second was that even when it assumed the form of Drama, the accompanying speeches were not originally delivered by the players themselves but rather by a 'presenter' or 'commentator' who recited the appropriate narrative and dialogue as each scene was enacted.[1] The distinction between this recitation and a liturgical poem of narrative content was thus, at all times, extremely narrow, and it is therefore by no means surprising that it should eventually have disappeared altogether.

§2. Nowhere is this development better exemplified than in certain of the Psalms of the Old Testament, a fact hitherto unobserved. The Psalms, it is now admitted, were, in general, more than mere lyric outpourings of individual piety. In many cases they possessed at the same time a distinctly *liturgical* function, being recited or chanted as the accompaniments of ritual ceremonies and procedures.[2] Those, for example, which begin with the words "The Lord is become king" (i.e. Pss. 93, 97 and 99) are now generally recognized to have been patterned after a traditional style of hymn composed for the annual enthronement of the deity at the New Year Festival,[3] while the long and difficult Psalm 68, with its reference to Yahweh's "goings" to the Temple (v. 25), is now commonly explained as a 'processional' designed for the same occasion.[3a] What has not been observed, however, is that there exists in the Psalter a whole group of compositions which exhibit a content and form in perfect accord with the theme and sequence of the Ritual Pattern. All of them present the same situation: the god is repre-

1 On such reciters at Babylonian festivals, see CXXI, 1; CDXXVII, 111, n. 138 For the existence of a 'Chief Lector' at the Edfu play in Egypt, cf Blackman-Fairman, JEA 28 (1942), 35 f.

2. Cf the classic presentation in CXC. Illuminating also is CCCLV

3 CCCXXIII; Johnson, in CCXXIII, 73–111, Calès, RSR 13 (1935), 462–89, 583–92. But see CCCXLIXa, 48–69; CDXXXIa, 195–203.

3a. CDV, Weil, RHR 17 (1938), 75–89

sented as acquiring kingship and as being installed in a special palace or city by virtue of having overthrown his enemies, and the latter – significantly enough – are usually identified with the rebellious *Sea* or *Dragon*. Moreover, once ensconced upon the seat of his dominion, the god is said to establish the cosmic order and to bring fertility either to the whole world or, more precisely, to his own peculiar city and people. Furthermore, there are occasional references to such subsidiary elements of the Ritual Pattern as the ceremonial Purgation of evil and sin, the presentation of offerings, and the promulgation of divine judgment upon men [see Table I]. In addition, there are frequent allusions to ritual practices characteristic of the seasonal festivals, and there are also constant echoes of the traditional vocabulary of the seasonal myths. We may therefore see in these Psalms a literary survival of the dramatic texts which were originally recited at the great calendar festivals.

§3. The Psalms which come into consideration are, primarily: 29, 65, 66, 74.12–17, 76, 89.2–19 and 93, and to a lesser degree: 47, 48, 96, 97 and 98. That they form a distinctive group is shown not only by the similarity of their contents and structure but also by the fact that phrases from one psalm are very often repeated (either verbatim or in variant terms) in one or more of the others, indicating clearly that they all incorporate the standard clichés of a single common occasion [see Table II].

We shall now proceed to examine the several compositions *seriatim*. The complete translations will be found below, pp. 415 ff.

§4. PSALM 29[4] begins (vv. 1–2) with an invocation to the *b'nê elîm*, or lesser members of the pantheon, to pay homage to Yahweh and to render to Him "the glory of His name [*k'bôd š'mô*]." The situation is thus identical with that of the Babylonian New Year myth (*Enuma Eliš* VI, 47, 51, 117, 143–44) in which the minor gods [*marê ʾAnim*] are summoned to pay homage to Marduk, after his victory over Tiamat, and to recite his *names* and honorific titles. Similarly, it will be recalled that in the Hittite Puruli myth, designed for the calendar festival in late spring or early summer, the action culminates (Col. IV) in the gods' repairing to the cult-center of Nerik, where the victorious Weather-god is installed as king and receives homage. So too in the Canaanite myth of Baal, that god, after conquering the dragon Yam (Sea), is said to go up to the sacred mountain of the North and there is be fêted and regaled by the gods (IV AB).

* * Moreover, it is to be observed that, according to the reading of the Septuagint and Peshitta (Syriac) Versions (supported by the parallel in 96.8), the gods are instructed to perform their act of obeisance "in the courtyard of the sanctuary", for this accords with the fact that in the Babylonian version (Enuma Eliš VI, 51, 144), they likewise foregather in the "great court [*paramaḫḫu*]" and in the fane [*mêsu*].

The initial invocation is followed (vv. 3–9^b) by a vivid description of Yahweh's prowess in storm and tempest, constituting the actual honorifi-

4. Gaster, JQR, N.S. 37 (1946), 55–65

cation [*k*ᵉ*bôd šᵉmô*] which the gods are invited to recite. It takes the place usually occupied, as we shall see, by a more precise reference to the god's defeat of the rebellious Sea or Dragon (cf. 65.8; 66.6, 74.13; 89.10–11; 93.3–4), but even in this more general form, it harks back to a standard element of the primitive Ritual Pattern. For in exactly the same way, the Canaanite myth of Baal introduces a laudation of that god as master of storm and tempest into the passage dealing with his installation (II AB vii 27ᵇ–41); and the language is very similar to that of our psalm:

When Baal opens a rift in the clouds,
When Baal gives forth his holy voice,
When Baal keeps discharging the utterances of his lips,
His hol[y] voice [convuls]es the earth,
. . . . . the mountains quake;
A-tremble are the . . . . . .;
East and west the high places of the e[arth] reel.

* * * * * * * * *

The eyes of Baal mark down, then his hand strikes,
Yea, very cedars quiver at the touch of his right hand!

Moreover, that this paean is based upon standard hymns to the storm-god, such as would naturally have formed a part of the service at the seasonal festivals, is shown by the fact that parallel phrases are indeed quoted by Abimilki of Tyre in the Tell Amarna letter, 147 Kn., 14–15:

Who giveth forth his voice in heaven like Hadad,
And all the mountains quake at his voice.

Similarly, a hymn to Hadad printed in King's *Magic and Sorcery*, 21:83 contains the directly comparable expression:

Hadad giveth forth thunders,
The mountains are shaken.

At the end of the laudation (v. 9ᶜ) occur the obscure words, "and in His palace all of it saith, Glory." The abruptness of this clause has been duly observed by most modern commentators, and the usual way of surmounting the difficulty is to assume an antecedent lacuna which would have contained the immediate subject to which the expression "all *of it*" referred.[5] What has not been observed, however, is that the clause is explicable only when read in the light of the Ritual Pattern. What is stated in these obscure words is precisely the same thing as is mentioned explicitly in Enuma Eliš VI 144: the entire company of the gods, duly assembled in the new-built palace of Esagila, sat in the fane and "all of them recited the 'name' of Marduk." The words are a virtually exact equivalent of our Hebrew phrase, "all of them" answering precisely to "all of it" and thus showing that the missing subject is the divine assembly. Indeed, the immediately preceding verse in Enuma Eliš (VI 143) says explicitly: "in their convocation they celebrated his essence." Hence, it is apparent that we must

5. Cf. xliiia in loc.

restore something like:

> [The assembly of the deities[6] acclaims Him,]
> And in His palace all of it recites the Glory.

The Glory, of course, is the foregoing laudation.

"Yahweh," continues the Psalmist (v. 10), "sat enthroned at the stormflood, and Yahweh will sit enthroned for ever." The abruptness of this statement is likewise perplexing, while scholars have also been exercised to determine whether the reference to the stormflood is to the specific Noachic Deluge or to *any* inundation caused by the display of Yahweh's powers.[7] Reference to comparative mythology will show, however, that this enigmatic expression is likewise drawn from the standard material of the Ritual Pattern. As we shall see, an essential element of the seasonal myth is that the god of the storm reins the turbulent Dragon or Spirit of the subterranean waters who threatens to flood the earth. The element appears in a variety of forms in the several derived myths: the monster is vanquished in direct conflict, he is bound beneath a volcanic mountain (the Typhon-type), or the waters are hemmed in by a range of earth-encircling mountains. But always the storm-god comes out triumphant, to be ensconced in safety *in his sacred* abode. In the Babylonian version (Enuma Eliš VI, 47, 51) that abode is said, in fact, to be upreared upon the nether sea.[8] It is to this that our verse alludes. The interpretation is clinched by the words "and Yahweh will sit enthroned as king for ever"; for here we have a reproduction of the cry "Marduk is king" uttered in exactly similar circumstances in Enuma Eliš IV 28, and likewise of the cry "Let Baal be king" which bursts from the lips of the defeated Lord of the Sea in the Canaanite version of the story (III AB, A 32).

The psalm concludes (v. 11) with the words: "Yahweh giveth strength to His people, Yahweh blesseth His people with well-being [*šālôm*]." This is usually regarded as an addition made when the poem was incorporated into or adapted for the public liturgy, and analogies to it may indeed be found in 28.8; 68.36, etc. It should be observed, however, that an exactly comparable expression occurs in Enuma Eliš VI 113, where the minor gods hail their new king Marduk in the words, "Verily, Marduk is the help of his land and his people," acclaiming him also (ib., 114) as "the salvation[9] of the people." This suggests that it was part of the original mythological hymn; in other words, vv. 10–11 are "in quotes," being a continuation of the "Glory" which the divine hosts are said (v. 9c) to recite in the palace. In itself, of

6 For the expression, cf Ps. 89 6 Similar is *mphrt qdšm*, "assembly of the holy ones," in the 10th cent B C. inscription of Yehimilk of Byblos (Albright, JAOS, 67 [1947], 156 f.). Cp. also *[h]br ilm* in an 8th cent. B C. inscription from Cyprus, Honeyman, *'Iraq*, 6 (1939), 107

7. LXIVa, 62, CDIV, 55

8. Cf. also CT VIII 35 i 17, where Marduk is said to have established his foundation (*amam*) "on the face of the waters."

9. This meaning of Accad *išu* is suggested by Langdon on the strength of Heb *yeša'*, etc. But we may also think of Hebrew *'w|y-š-h*, root of *tušiyah*

course, the phrase was no doubt a liturgical formula, probably used at ceremonies of inthronization and therefore readily adopted into the order of service whenever a god was hymned in the rôle of new-crowned king. This would account for its substantial recurrence in 28.8; 68.36, etc. The point is, however, that its presence in our psalm is not due to such adoption at a later date; on the contrary, it was adopted already in the original poem where the insertion of it was dictated by the requirements of the Ritual Pattern.

§5. Even more explicit as a survival of the Ritual Drama is **PSALM 65.** This poem divides into three parts. The first (1–5) is a kind of exordium. The *t'hillah,* or ritual shout of acclaim, is uttered before God in Zion, the while a pilgrim throng waits upon him in order to pay their dues for His beneficence and for the fact that He has heard their prayers and bestowed upon them the gift of fertility. There is then a pointed reference to the seasonal Rites of Purgation before harvest: the worshipers explain that they were previously dominated by their transgressions, but that God has successfully purged them away, the same expression — *kapper* — being used as is employed to denote the great Day of Purgation [*Yôm ha-kippurîm*] before the autumnal harvest (*'Asîf*) and as recurs in the Babylonian ritual describing the cathartic ceremonies [*kuppuru*] associated with the New Year (Akîtu) Festival.[10]

The second part of the psalm (6–9) then rehearses the specific exploits of the god, these constituting the direct reply which he gives to the petitions of his suppliants. But the significant thing is that these exploits once more take the form of a victory over the raging waters and an establishment of the world-order, in due conformity with what we have seen to be characteristic of the Ritual Pattern:†

With dread deeds dost Thou answer us right duly,
  Thou God of our salvation,
Trust of all the ends of the earth
  and the far-flung sea,

Who stablisheth the mountains by His strength,
  Girded in might;
Who stilleth the raging of the seas
  and the *tumult of their waves.*

They that dwell at the ends of the earth
  are afeared at Thy signs,
East and West *ring loud
  with the praise [of Thy name]!*

The language of these verses is full of clichés several of which actually recur in Ps. 89.10–13. There too, for example, the god is said to "rule the

10. See above, Ch. III, §2(c) and n 5.

† Emended passages are enclosed between asterisks The emendations are discussed in the Philological Notes, below, pp 447 ff

pride of the sea" and to "still its waves when they rage," precisely the same verbs (viz. *š-b-h* and *š-w-'*) being employed.[11] Similarly, just as in this passage East and West are said to "ring loud with the praise [of Thy name]," so there it is North and South, the mountains of Tabor and Hermon, which acclaim the Glory, the very same terms being used. It is apparent, therefore, that the poet is drawing on the traditional phraseology of the seasonal myth, and the more explicit terms of 89.10–13 show clearly that his immediate reference is to the Ritual Combat.

Finally (10–14) the psalm culminates in the praise of God as moistener of the soil and bestower of fertility:

> Thou hast cared for the earth and rain-soak'd it,
> richly moistened it,
> With mighty rills full of water
> *duly tended it.*
>
> Drenching the ridges thereof,
> Smoothing the roughnesses,
> Softening it with showers,
> its sprouting Thou blessest.
>
> Thou hast crowned the *furrows* with Thy bounty,
> and Thy plow-tracks ooze with richness.
> The pasture is *wrapt* in beauty,
> and the hillsides girded with joy.
> The leas are robed in sheep,
> and the dales wear a mantle of corn!

Here too we have a hymnodic reproduction of the Ritual Pattern, parallel to that which obtains in formal drama. The god who is celebrated by his pilgrims at the seasonal festival, after all noxiousness and evil have been purged, achieves his supremacy by subduing the turbulent waters and establishing the world on a firm basis. When he has done so, he restores rainfall and fertility to the languishing earth. Once again, we have Marduk vanquishing Tiamat, determining destinies and becoming the "furnisher of luxuriance" [EE VII, 21], the "bestower of husbandry," "the one who causes the grass to grow up" [EE VII, 1–2], or Baal vanquishing Yam and bringing back the rains so that "the skies rain oil and the wadies flow with honey" (I AB iii 6), or the weather-god vanquishing the dragon Illuyankas and settling the mountains in their places as a barrier to keep out inundation.

§6. Of the same order again is **PSALM 66**, though here the original composition (1–7) has been supplemented by a later addition (8–20) written in different meter and dealing with the peculiar misfortunes of Israel and of

11 Gunkel, CXCI, 33, recognizes the same word behind the present Hebrew text of Job 41.17

the individual poet himself.[12] The psalm opens with an invocation to "sound the trumpet" [*harî'u*] before God and hymn "the glory of His name" (1–2). Since the latter phrase is made parallel to "the glory of his *t'hillah*," i e. the ritual shout, it is plain that what is implied is a triumphal recitation of the divine name, titles and epithets, such as accompanies the accession of Marduk in the Babylonian New Year myth (Enuma Eliš). With this accords the invitation to "sound the trumpet," for therein we may recognize at once the familiar usage characteristic of the installation of kings (cf. 89 16, 98.4). Thus, these opening verses reproduce that element of the Ritual Pattern wherein the god assumes sovereignty after vanquishing his foes. They are the direct counterpart of the declaration "Yahweh is become king" [EV. "The Lord reigneth"] at the beginning of Pss. 93 and 97.

The psalm then proceeds, in natural order, to the rehearsal of the god's triumph, which is represented as a spectacle which all men might readily behold, i.e. as something performed or reproduced before their very eyes (v. 5).

> Come ye and see the deeds of God,
> Whose exploits so fill mankind with awe!

Moreover, this triumph consists essentially in the *domination of the sea* and in the subjection of adversaries who are described specifically as *rebels* (6–7):[13]

> *Who turneth* the sea into dry land,
> that men pass through the flood on foot,
> (*Let us roundly* rejoice in Him!)
>
> Who ruleth in his might for ever,
> Whose eyes survey the nations,
> so that rebels exalt not themselves!

Although raised to a universal plane, it is clear that these verses refer in the first instance to the victory of the god over the rebellious forces of the sea and therefore reproduce the Ritual Combat which is the necessary antecedent of his eventual sovereignty. The fact that the same pattern is observed in other psalms of this *genre* and that the place of these somewhat universalistic verses is there occupied by more specific allusions to the mythic conflict is sufficient to clinch this interpretation.

12 Note that the addition is made at the end of a section clearly marked by the word *Selah*

13 Cf Ps 68.7, where the same term (*sôr'rîm*) is used, likewise in reference to the rebels who, according to the ancient myth, were discomfited by Yahweh and thrust into the wilderness, cp Accad *sarāru*, 'to rebel,' CCXXXIX, 324, DII, 1, 20, 11, 32, and *surratu*, 'disloyalty,' K. 4874, r 19 (Langdon, JRAS 1932,37) Similarly, Nahum 1.8, in describing how the victorious god "annihilates them that rise against him (LXX text) and pursues his enemies into darkness," concludes "*sārah* rises not twice," where *sārah* is to be derived from *s-r-r* II, "oppose, vie with, rebel"

§7. PSALM 74.12–17 reads as follows:

But God is my King from of old,
who achieveth victory in battle!

'TWAS THOU didst split Sir Sea by Thy strength,
didst shatter the heads of the Dragons,
'TWAS THOU didst crush Leviathan's heads,
to give him as food to *the sharks of the sea*.

'TWAS THOU didst cleave out fountain and wady;
'TWAS THOU didst dry up the perpetual streams.

Thine is the day, Thine too is the night,
'TWAS THOU didst establish the light and the sun.

'TWAS THOU didst fix all the bounds of the earth,
Summer and Winter, 'TWAS THOU didst create them!

These verses are commonly cited by scholars as one of the parade passages witnessing to the currency among the Biblical Hebrews of the well-known myth of the Slaying of the Dragon. What has not been observed, however, is that, besides the Combat, the passage also alludes to other equally significant elements of the Ritual Pattern and that these are arranged in the traditional order and sequence. Thus, the victory over the Dragon is cited only in illustration of the statement that "God is my King," implying – in accordance with the Pattern – that it confers sovereignty upon the divine hero. Similarly, the issue of the victory is here represented as the establishment of the cosmic order – a feature which recurs in 89.12–13; 93.2, 5 and, above all, in the Babylonian version preserved in Enuma Eliš. Indeed, there is a marked parallelism between the phrasing of our passage and that of the Babylonian poem. For if the Psalmist declares that the triumphant god appointed the luminaries of heaven, Enuma Eliš likewise describes him (V, 1 ff.) as proceeding at once to determine the positions of the moon and stars. And if the Psalmist portrays him, somewhat allusively, as fixing "all the bounds of the earth," Enuma Eliš clarifies the allusion by stating explicitly (VI, 56–57) that immediately after his triumph, "plans and designs were fixed, the stations of heaven and earth were disposed among all of the gods" – an interpretation which is in turn confirmed by a further reference to the same thing, and in the same terms, in Deuteronomy 32.8 (LXX): "He fixed the bounds of nations in accordance with the number of the gods."[14] Again, if our text asserts that the victorious lord then "created" Summer and Winter, his words find a perfect parallel in Enuma Eliš V, 3 where the triumphant Marduk is said to have "fixed the year and prescribed limitations (sc. of seasons)."

It is to be observed also that the language of the Psalmist is drawn largely from the traditional vocabulary of the seasonal myth. When, for example, he describes the god as shattering the *heads* of the Dragon, he is but echo-

14. The LXX reading is supported by Vetus Latina and Symmachus; cf. Stade, ZAW 5 (1885), 300 MT reads "according to the number of the children of *Israel*."

ing the words of the Canaanite *Poem of Baal* where that monster is portrayed as a kind of hydra possessing "sevenfold heads" (I*AB i 3; cf. V AB iii 39–40). Moreover, in speaking of that discomfiture he employs a comparatively rare Hebrew word, viz. *p-r-r*, "split," which happens, significantly enough, to be the counterpart of that employed in Enuma Eliš IV, 131, when the poet relates how Marduk "split, i.e. cut (*uparri'-ma*) the arteries" of the vanquished Tiamat.

§8. In **PSALM 76** the Pattern survives, admittedly, in a more attenuated form. In accordance with a process which we have recognized also in its *ritual* evolution, the element of the Combat is here historicized, probably because the psalm was written to celebrate the rout of Sennacherib's army in 701 B.C.[15] Shorn of all mythology, it is represented, not as a conflict against Sea or Dragon, but as a battle waged successfully by Israel's God against *human* enemies. Nevertheless, the important thing is that *a* combat – however conceived – is here introduced; for when we observe that the rest of the psalm follows the Ritual Pattern and that this element occupies exactly the same position as does the mythic Conflict in the companionate poems, it is evident that it is but an attenuated, historicized version of the latter.

The psalm begins (2–3) with a picture of the god ensconced in his special habitation on Zion:

> Renown'd in Judah is God,
> far-famed in Israel.
> In Jerusalem in His fane [*sukkô*],
> and His abode in Zion

Here we have the familiar scene of the installation. But there is more to the matter than this. The word rendered "fane" [EV. "tabernacle"] is *sôk*, and therein we may detect a striking echo of traditional terminology; for, as we have seen (Ch. III, §8), this was the *mot propre* for the pavilion in which the triumphant god was installed at the end of the seasonal pantomime.

The poem then proceeds (4–7) to specify the particular reason why Israel's God is thus installed as king:

> There brake He the demon shafts,*
> the shield and the sword and the battle.
>
> Bathed in light art Thou,
> majestic o'er the hills carnage-strewn!
>
> Felled were the stalwarts,
> they slumbered on,

15 XLIIIa, 165, CDLVI, 68.

* *Lit* "demons (*reshephs*) of the bow." Some scholars emend. "There brake He quiver and bow [*ašpah wa-qāšet*]."

the warriors swooned unconscious.*
At Thy roar, O Jacob's God,
horse and chariot fell stunned.

Although almost every trait of the original mythological Combat has here been effaced, it is significant that the psalmist refers specifically to the "roaring" [*g"ārah*] wherewith the god dismayed his opponents, for therein he preserves the reminiscence of a feature which recurs with impressive regularity in accounts of the primordial conflict against the Sea and Dragon. Thus, in Ps. 104.7 the primeval waters are said to have fled at God's "roaring" [*g"ārah*] and to have retreated in panic at the peal of His thunder. Similarly, in Nahum 1.4 (really part of an old cosmological poem) the god of the storm is said to have "roared" [*g-'-r*] at the sea and dried it up, while in Isaiah 50.2 reference is made to the same primordial event and precisely the same term [*g"ārah*] is employed ("Is My hand then too short to redeem? or have I no strength to deliver? Lo, at my *roaring* I dry up the Sea," etc.).[16] Once again, therefore, it is apparent that our psalmist is drawing upon the content and traditional language of the Ritual Pattern.

Significant also is the expression "bathed in light" [*nā'ôr*] in verse 5. It is true that some of the Ancient Versions here exhibit the variant reading "Dread art Thou" [*nôrā'*], in accordance with v. 8, but if, on the principle of *praestat arduor lectio*, we retain the text of the Masoretic recension and of the Septuagint, it becomes possible, with H. St. John Thackeray,[17] to detect in these words an allusion to an equinoctial theophany. As we have seen (above, Ch. II, §37), the great seasonal festivals usually coincided with equinox or solstice, and the victorious god was characteristically identified with the re-emergent sun.[18]

Following its rehearsal of the Combat, the Psalm next introduces a reference to the divine judgment upon mankind (9–10):

From heaven didst Thou pronounce judgment;
earth was afeared and quiet,
When God rose up to judgment,
to save all the meek of the earth.

On the face of it, these lines would appear to be a natural complement to the description of the Combat, the latter being regarded as tantamount to an execution of sentence upon the wicked. It may at least be suggested, however, that what really inspired the poet to introduce this sentiment was the fact that, in the original Ritual Pattern, the triumph of the god in the Combat, was followed in short order by the determination of fates It will

* *Lit.* "found not their hands," i e lost the use of their limbs

16. Cf. also Ps 106 9, CXCI, 97

17 CDLVI, 70

18 A similar allusion may be recognized in Ps 97 11, if we there read *zārah*, with the Versions, for MT's *zārū"a*, i e. "Light *hath dawned* for the righteous" instead of "Light *is sown* for the righteous" However, MT is not necessarily wrong, for Pindar, *Nem* 1, 13 likewise speaks of *sowing* light, and so does an unknown poet quoted by Aristotle, cf Hardie, CR 5 (1891), 194

be recalled, for example, that in Enuma Eliš Marduk makes his engagement of Tiamat conditional upon his being subsequently recognized as president of the heavenly court which annually decrees the destinies of men,[19] and we know that a feature of the Babylonian New Year festival was a ceremony in which the gods were thought to be convening in a special chamber for just this purpose.

Finally (11–12) there is express reference to the celebration of a festival. The worshipers are summoned to pay their vows (cf. 65.2) to God (called "the Terror")[20] and, if the Septuagint's reading be accepted,[21] specific allusion is made to the observance of a pilgrim feast.

§9. PSALM 89 begins (2–3) with the statement that what is about to be recounted is to be construed as evidence of the grace [*hesed*] and trustworthiness of Yahweh who faithfully maintains His pledges. The particular pledge which the psalmist has in mind is that whereby Yahweh anciently assured the perpetual survival of the royal Davidic line:

> Yahweh's grace will I sing for ever,
> *to all ages proclaim His pledge with my mouth·*
> *(Such grace, I trow, is a structure eternal,
> like the skies unchanging Thou keepest Thy pledge).*
> 'I have made a pact with My chosen,
> have sworn unto David My servant.
> Thy seed will I stablish for ever,
> and build up thy throne for all time!'

Here is reproduced, clearly and unmistakably, the familiar Coronation element of the Ritual Pattern. In this case, however, it is not the accession of the god that is represented but that of the king — a regular feature, as we have seen, of the seasonal festivals. Even the stereotyped terminology is preserved, for with the phrase "I will build up thy throne for all time" we may aptly compare the Babylonian coronation-formula in Clay, *Miscellaneous Texts from the Morgan Collection*, No. 38, ii 35–36: "Verily, the foundation of his throne will stand firm for ever" [*isid ṣkussišu ana ûmê sâti lišarid-ma*], and we may recall also that similar expressions are to be found in the Canaanite *Poem of Baal* (III AB A 10, II AB iii 6) in connection with the accession of that god to kingship.

The psalm next proceeds to a recitation of the triumphant exploits of Yahweh (vv. 6–11), and here again that triumph lies primarily in the subjection of the turbulent sea and the conquest of the Dragon (Rahab). Moreover, this action is taken to evince the supremacy of Yahweh over the *b'nê elîm* and the *q'dôšîm* — two expressions which occur repeatedly in the

19 EE II, 123–29

20 There is no need to emend the word It is the natural complement to the adjective *nôrā'* 'dread, terrible,' in verse 8 Besides, it is again applied to God in Isaiah 8 13

21 Viz *t'haggekā*, 'holds festival unto thee,' for MT's barely intelligible *tahgôr*, 'Thou girdest (??).'

Canaanite texts (and in similar juxtaposition) as indicating the members of the heavenly court.[22] We are reminded, therefore, of the scenes in the Canaanite *Poem of Baal* (V AB), the Babylonian New Year myth (EE VI, 72 ff.) and the Hittite Puruli-text in which the gods foregather to acknowledge and pay homage to their new king:

> Who in heaven to Yahweh compares,
> resembles him 'mid the Beings Divine [*b'nê elîm*],
> A god who is held in dread
> in the moot of the Holy Ones [*q'dôšîm*],
> A chief is He, held in awe
> by all who surround Him!
>
> * * * * *
>
> Thou it is rulest the pride of the sea,
> stillest its waves when they roar;
> Thou it is crushedst the Dragon Proud [*Rahab*],
> rendering him like a riddled corpse.
> Yea, with Thy mighty arm Thou didst scatter Thy foes!

Then, just as in the Babylonian New Year myth (EE V) the triumph of Marduk over Tiamat issues in the establishment of the cosmic order, so here the psalm passes naturally to the celebration of Yahweh as lord and creator of the world (vv. 12–13):

> Thine are the heavens, Thine too is the earth;
> the world and its fullness hast Thou confirmed!
> North and south — Thou hast created them;
> Tabor and Hermon ring to Thy name!

Finally (vv. 14–19), the psalm culminates in a laudation of the triumphant god as king of the world, ensconced upon his throne in righteousness and justice and affording protection to his people who joyfully acknowledge him their lord:

> Thine is an arm endued with might;
> strong is Thy hand, Thy right hand upraised!
> Justice and Right are Thy throne's foundation,
> Grace and Truth do wait upon Thee!
> Happy the people who mark the trumpet-blast,
> these walk, O Yahweh, in the light of Thy face!
> They rejoice all the day in what Thou art [*lit.* in Thy name],
> and through Thy righteousness are they uplifted!
> For Thou art their glorious strength,
> and through Thy favor we flourish!*
>
> Verily, Yahweh is our shield,
> and the Holy One of Israel our king!

The phrasing of these last lines, it should be noted, echoes the profession

22. Gaster, JQR, N S 37 (1946), 62, n 27.
* *Lit.* "our horn is raised high."

of allegiance wherewith the gods acknowledge the sovereignty of Marduk in the Babylonian New Year myth (Enuma Eliš VI, 113–14): "Truly, Marduk is the help of his land [and of] his [people] . . ."; "him do they verily extol, the salvation(?) of the people"; and it is reproduced also, in variant form, at the end of Psalm 29: "Yahweh gives strength to His people; Yahweh blesses His people with well-being."

§10. In **PSALM 93** we have a peculiarly striking example of the Ritual Drama preserved in hymnodic form The poem begins (1–2) with the statement that Yahweh has become king, that he is attired in the robes of majesty, and that he has established the cosmic order. After this exordium, however, it passes to the recitation of the particular triumph by virtue of which that sovereignty was secured: Yahweh subdued the rebellious streams (3–4). Finally (5) there is a reference to the fact that His decrees — that is, His dispensation of the world — is fixed and immutable, and that He has installed himself in an abode of befitting sanctity.

Now, it is obvious that in this hymnodic composition there are preserved all of the standard elements of the Ritual Pattern. Yahweh becomes king by exactly the same process as does Marduk in the Babylonian New Year myth, Baal in its Canaanite counterpart, and the weather-god in the cult-text of the Hittite Puruli festival: he subdues the rebellious power of the waters, the equivalent of the Babylonian Tiamat, the Canaanite Yam (*alias* Nahar) and the Hittite Illuyankas. Further, his assumption of power is marked by the establishment of the cosmic order and the promulgation of divine decrees and — above all — by occupancy of a newly-constructed abode.[23]

§11. The texts which we have thus far discussed preserve the original Ritual Pattern in more or less explicit form. There are others, however, where the survival is more attenuated. Take, for example, **PSALM 47.** Here, all reference to the Sea and Dragon has been eliminated, and all that remains is the bare picture of the god's assuming kingship as the result of a resounding defeat of His foes. Nevertheless, even in this severely restricted form the poet cannot help but incorporate reminiscences of the traditional vocabulary. He states, for example, that God "is gone up" [*'ālah*] amid a fanfare of trumpets (v. 6). The term is usually explained as referring to his *ascent to the throne,* but it is significant that the expression "going up" [*tebû*] is used in the Babylonian New Year (Akîtu) ritual as a *terminus technicus* to describe the festal procession of the god into his temple or palace,[24] and we may therefore safely assume that such is its meaning in our passage (cf. Ps. 68.25: "They have seen Thy processions, O God, the processions of My God, My *King,* into the sanctuary").

23. Cf. Gaster, *Iraq* 4 (1937), 24–25, id , JQR, N S 37 (1946), 57
24. CCXXXIX, 306.

Similarly, in v. 10 we are told that

> the princes of the people are gathered,
> the people of Abraham's God.

wherein we may detect a very clear allusion to the parading of captive princes (evidently at the head of the troops) in the ritual procession.[25] The language is derived from military usage, the word rendered "are gathered" meaning strictly "bring up the rear" (cf. Numbers 10.25, Joshua 6.9, 13; Isaiah 52.12, 62.9) and that rendered "people" meaning strictly "host, crowd, retinue, entourage,"[26] i.e.:

> the lordlings of the peoples bring up the rear,
> as the retinue of Abraham's God!

Finally, it should be observed that in concluding his poem (v. 10) with the motto, "Verily, Yahweh is our shield," the psalmist introduces a cliché which actually recurs in 89.19. It is thus apparent that he is drawing, albeit unconsciously, upon the traditional vocabulary of the Ritual Pattern.

§12. Of the same order is **PSALM 48.** Here, too, most of the mythological elements have been ironed out, yet at the same time echoes of the traditional phrasing have been perforce retained. The psalm was evidently composed to celebrate some historic deliverance of Jerusalem, but the event is recounted in terms of the traditional mythic Combat and the subsequent installation of the victorious god in the palace of his sovereignty.

The poem opens (2–4) with the picture of Zion's god ensconced in his royal citadel[27] on the peak of the sacred mountain. The latter, however, is apostrophized as "the recesses [RV. sides] of the north" — a description utterly inappropriate to the geographical position of Zion, but readily intelligible as a reference to that mythological "recess of the North" [*srrt Ṣpn*] whereon the gods are located in the Canaanite texts from Ras Shamra-Ugarit and to which both Baal and his would-be successor 'Ashtar are said to ascend in order to acquire kingship (I AB i 57, vi 12; vii 5; IV AB iii 31; V AB i 21, etc.). The Hebrew expression [*yarkᵉtê Safôn*] is, in fact, employed again in exactly the same way in Isaiah 14.13–14:

> I will ascend to heaven,
> set my throne above the lofty stars,
> and dwell in the Mountain of Assembly
> in the recesses of the North [*yarkᵉtê Safôn*],
>
> I will climb on the back of a cloud,
> be like a celestial being![28]

25. Cf Nabonidus Stele, ix, 31–42, CCCXLVIII, 133

26 Cp Arabic *'amm* and the sense of Heb *'am* in e g Num 20 20, 21.33, Jos 8 3, 11, 11 7, Judges 5 13 So substantially Mulenberg, JBL 63 (1944), 242–43

27 Heb *qiryat melek rab*, where *melek rab* (which recurs in the Ras Shamra text, 118 13, 26 Gordon) is the equivalent of Accad *šarru rabu*, 'emperor'

28. Heb *'elyôn* in this passage need not mean 'the Most High,' but merely 'one of the upper gods,' like *'ly*[*nm*] in DS 2

§13. We come next to **PSALMS 96–98.** It has long been recognized that these poems belong to the category of 'Coronation-songs' designed for the ceremony of divine enthronization at the New Year festival. What has not been sufficiently observed, however, is that they preserve several significant echoes of the traditional language of the seasonal mysteries. In 96.4, for example, the expression "Great is Yahweh and highly to be praised" reproduces a cliché which actually recurs in 48.2, while the phrase (v. 10), "Say among the nations: Yahweh is become king" incorporates the traditional acclamation which is found also at the beginning of Psalms 93, 97 and 99. Again, both 96.13 and 98.9 allude, *in identical terms,* to the characteristic element of divine judgment, showing that both are drawing upon the same traditional model. Similarly, too, 97.2[b] is a duplicate of 89 15[a], 97.8 recurs in 48 12, 98 4[a] in 66.1; and 96.7–9 is virtually identical with 29.1–2. These parallels show that all of the psalms enumerated belong to the same *genre* and hence that Psalms 96–98 are indeed attenuated forms of the Ritual Drama. The situation which they present is that of the god's being installed as king, but it is worthy of note that both in 96.13 and in 98.9 specific allusion is also made to the element of the divine judgment. Moreover, it should not escape notice that in 97.7 it is the *gods* who are bidden prostrate themselves before Yahweh, for this is in direct accord with the situation presented in the Babylonian New Year myth, the Canaanite myth of Baal and the Hittite Puruli-myth. This is the situation, it will be recalled, which is likewise echoed in Ps. 29.1–2 (see above §4).[29]

§14. A literary survival of the Ritual Pattern may be seen also in **PSALM 68.** It has been generally recognized that this contains specific allusions to the induction of the god as king at the New Year festival (vv. 18, 25–30).[30] What has not been observed, however, is that it alludes also, in due sequence, to several other equally significant features of the Seasonal Pattern. A detailed discussion is therefore in order.

In essence, the psalm is a paean celebrating the God of Israel as the Champion of His people and petitioning a continuance of his favors. In form, however, it amounts to a sustained 'commentary' on the seasonal myth and ritual. For it is by constant allusion to the deeds narrated in the former that the poet illustrates those powers of the god which he would now see repeated, and it is by constant symbolic interpretation of the latter that he exemplifies the divine providence and benevolence. If, for example, the god displayed his strength by vanquishing the Dragon or other monsters, he is to display the same strength again in subduing the enemies of Israel, and as he himself was released from the dungeon of the netherworld and installed

29 It may be suggested that Ps 47 7 expresses the same idea in the words *zamm*ᵉ*rû* ᵉ*lôhîm zammērû, zamm*ᵉ*rû l*ᵉ*-malkēnu zammērû,* for the word ᵉ*lôhîm* (pointedly without prefix, in contrast to *l*ᵉ*-malkēnu!*) may perhaps be construed as a *vocative,* when the sense will be: "Sing praises, *O ye gods,* sing praises, sing praises unto our King, sing praises"

30 See above, n 3a.

in a house of his own, so he is ever mindful to release the bounden and to house the solitary (vv. 23–24, 31, 7). Moreover, just as the sacred image is *loaded* upon the shoulders of the priests as the procession *issues* forth, so the god *loads* upon his people the welcome burden of his benevolence and grants them *issuance* from mortal peril (vv. 20–21). It should be emphasized, however, that such allusions to the time-honored myth and ritual are introduced solely by way of background. Characteristically, they are couched in the past tense, implying clearly that they are regarded as bygone events. It is therefore unnecessary to regard the psalm as having been designed for a living ceremony and to characterize it as a 'processional hymn.' While, of course, this is not impossible (in which case the past tense will denote merely that the ceremony is over, not that it is ancient and bygone), it by no means follows imperatively from the evidence. Considering that, as we have already seen and shall yet see further, the Seasonal Pattern found expression not only in formal drama but also — at a later date — in the hymns and anthems of the liturgy, it may well be that our poem belongs rather to the latter category, and is an attenuated survival rather than the actual libretto of the seasonal pantomime.

The Psalm consists of fifteen 'stanzas,' each of which is distinguished by the presence of the word "God" [*Elôhîm*] either as an introductory or emphatic vocative (vv. 10, 25, 29) or in some equally prominent position in the opening clause (vv. 2, 5, 7, 8, 12,[31] 16, 18, 22, 27, 33, 35, 36). These 'stanzas' fall, however, into five sections (*a–e*), each concerned with a different topic but together forming a consistent and consequential whole.

(a) §§1–2: *Exordium and Opening Invocation. The god takes the field, routs his foes, and occupies his sacred habitation* (1–6).

The psalm opens with an adaptation of the formula stated in Num. 10. 35 to have been recited whenever the ark of Yahweh was set on the move, viz:

> When God rises, His foemen are scattered
> and His enemies flee before Him!

Since we know from such passages as Joshua 6.6–9; I Samuel 4.4–6, etc. that it was customary to bring the ark on to the field of battle, as a kind of palladium, and since the initial verb "rise" [*q-w-m*] is used in other passages of the Old Testament,[32] as well as in Arabic and Ethiopic, with the specific military connotation of "take the field," it is clear that these opening lines play upon the battle-cry of the Ritual Combat, giving it a general and universal application, and subsequently identifying the antagonists as the wicked and the righteous (vv. 3–4) rather than as mythological creatures. As we have seen (above, §8), the same development obtains also in

31. Meter and uniformity with the other stanzas require that *'lôhîm* at the end of verse 11 be transferred to the beginning of verse 12, to replace *Adônai* of the received text

32. E g Judges 9 43, I Sam. 24 8; Is 14 22, Mic 2.8

Ps. 76 and elsewhere, and it is represented especially in the eschatological elaboration of the traditional myth in Malachi 3.18–21.

The congregation is invited to extol him who is *Rôḵeb ʿᵃrābôt*, i.e. "Rider through the Prairies," and this title, as Ginsberg first observed,[33] is nothing but a later distortion of the archaic *R-k-b ʿ-r-p-t*, "Rider on the Clouds," a regular title of the victorious Baal in the Canaanite poems from Ras Shamra-Ugarit.[34] Hence, we have here a direct echo of the ancient myth.

According to that myth, once the god had vanquished his foes, he was installed in a special palace or fane. The psalmist now takes up this element of the traditional pattern by declaring (v. 6) that the god is indeed in his "sacred habitation."

(b) §3. *Ensconced in his sacred habitation, the god is acclaimed as one who "houses the solitary and releases the bounden"* (v. 7).

The statement that the god has himself now acquired an abode paves the way for the declaration that he "houses the solitary and releases the bounden adroitly."[35] In these words we have a further allusion to the traditional myth; for the fact is that the god himself was believed to be released annually from a subterranean prison and subsequently installed in a mansion of his own.[36] Accordingly, what the poet implies is that He does as He is done by, showing to mortals the same regard as is shown to Him. Moreover, the point is enforced by the deliberate addition of the word "adroitly," for the Hebrew term *kôšārôt* so rendered at once recalls the name of the god Kôshar who figures in the Canaanite version of the myth as the architect and builder of the divine abode.[37] The implication is that just as Kôshar (*lit.* "Sir Adroit, Skillful") helped to install the god in his new home and — it may be added — to defeat his foes and thus achieve his recovery from the netherworld, so the god himself will house the solitary and release the bounden — *ba-kôšārôt*.[38]

There follows the highly significant clause:

Only the rebellious dwell in parched soil.

This is again explicable as an echo of the traditional myth. The "rebellious" are the opponents of the god in the Combat — the aides of Yam, Tiamat, Môt or Set. They are referred to again by the same term [*sôrᵉrîm*] in Ps.

33 *UT*, 24.

34. E g. I* AB, II 7, II AB, III 11; III AB,A, 8,29, V AB D, 35, 48, 50.

35 For the sentiment, cf. CCCXXXIIIa, I, 13 9: "Thou grantest the solitary a companion (*êdu tappa tušaršu*)"

36 Cf especially, CCLXIX, 35–49 37 II AB I, 24–44, IV–V, 106 ff

38 In I AB, vi 50–52, Kôshar is described as the router of the Dragon, in III AB,A, it is he who furnishes the weapons wherewith Baal subdues Yam, in II AB ii 30 f., it is he who imprisons Yam in a net in preparation for the latter's final discomfiture (described in II AB, VII 2–4?) It should not be overlooked that in the Mesopotamian version, Marduk does indeed eventually go down and release the captive gods (EE VII 27). However, the poet can scarcely have this in mind, for it would be in flat contradiction to the whole point of his utterance.

66.7.[39] Now, if our interpretation of the Ugaritic text II AB vii 52 f. be correct,[40] it is noteworthy that the rebellious Môt was similarly expelled, in the Canaanite version, to "the place of tall, shaggy ostriches," the "sunscorched places" being assigned to him as his "portion."[41] Our text, with its significant use of the preterite tense ("dwelt"), would thus allude to this incident, interpreting it symbolically in general terms.

(c) §4. *The victorious god convulses nature when he goes forth to combat: the earth trembles, and there is torrential rain In like manner, says the poet, may He now shower down his favor upon His people and refresh their land* (vv. 8–11).

In contrast to what He does when in His "sacred habitation," the poet next describes how the god displays His power when on the march:

> God, when Thou wentest forth before Thine army,[42]
> marchedst through the desert waste,
> earth was a-quaking,
> skies were a-pouring
> before the God *of* Sinai,
> before the God of Israel!

The words are evidently quoted from some traditional poem, for they recur (with a significant 'local' adaptation) in the Song of Deborah (Judges 5.4–5). When we compare the analogous description, in Enuma Eliš IV 45 ff., of how Marduk sallied forth against the dragon Tiamat, we can scarcely doubt that they referred originally to the mythological Combat. The poet quotes them, however, not only to illustrate the martial prowess of his god but also to pave the way for the characteristic seasonal rogation for rain. In his usual fashion, he petitions the god to repeat in the present time that which he did of old:

> A shower of favors do Thou now *rain down,* O God,
> Thine inheritance and *all land which is weary*
> do Thou make firm!
> Thy livestock of old was settled therein,
> (so now) furnish of Thy bounty to the needy!

The words are especially significant when it is borne in mind that already in the ancient time-honored myth, the victory of the god over the Dragon issues in the dispensation of rain and fertility to the languishing earth. In the Canaanite myth (II AB vii 17 f.), Baal, after vanquishing Yam and when about to construct his new palace, is asked by Kôshar to install a spe-

39 See above, n 13

40 See Commentary on *Baal*, §XLIII

41. For MT's *s'hîhah*, 'parched soil,' LXX and Peshitta appear to have read *s'rîhîm*, 'vaults' (cf I Sam 13 6) At first blush, this reading seems attractive, for in the Mesopotamian version of the myth, the rebel gods were indeed imprisoned in a vault (EE IV, 113–14) Seeing, however, that our verse paves the way for the subsequent petition for rain for the languishing earth, the nexus of thought clearly favors MT

42. So we should understand the Heb *'am*, see above, n. 28.

cial system of windows whereby rainfall might be guaranteed in due season by 'remote control'; while Marduk, after his analogous defeat of Tiamat, is enthroned in Esagila and hailed as lord of luxuriance [43] The poet is there conforming to the traditional pattern, while at the same time giving to this element of it a symbolic twist.

(d) §§5–6. *The Triumph, Victory Parade and Enthronement of the Divine Champion.* (vv. 12–32).

After this rogationary parenthesis the poet returns to the description of the Combat and of the consequent triumphal procession to the sacred mountain and the installation of the divine victor in his specially constructed palace or fane.

(i) *Successful issue of the Combat* (vv. 12–15).

The initial verses of this section are somewhat obscure, but the general sense is reasonably clear. The victorious god gives the word of command [*'ômer*],[44] and in no time women are coming out from their houses and greeting him as victor, in the traditional Oriental manner.[45] "Kings of hosts" [*malkê s'bāôt,* the exact equivalent of the Accadian *šar kiššati,* virtually "emperor"!] flee, while the wives of the victors, who have stayed at home, joyously divide the loot. Those who formerly preened themselves are now treated with contumely:

> See, *they* now lie amid *the ash-heaps,*
> those wings of the dove silver-spangled,
> and her pinions of shimmering gold!

The monarchs who rose against the god are driven in headlong flight, and as they rush across it, it seems as though a flurry of snowflakes were swirling over the Dark Mountain [*Ṣalmôn*].[46]

(ii) *The god is conducted in triumph to his palace, receiving tribute from his vassals and leading home the captives* (vv. 17–19).

Now, like Baal in the Canaanite myth, like the weather-god in the Hittite myth, like Marduk in the Babylonian myth and like Horus in the

43. EE VII, 8 "(Marduk) from whose storehouse luxuriance issues forth." Cf. also the titles of Marduk in CCIVa, 350.27–28. "Lord of abundance, of luxuriance . . . lord of canals, of mountains and of deeps"; and in CXXII, 1–34: "bringer(?) of luxuriance."

44. For the military sense of Heb. *'ômer,* 'word,' cp the corresponding verb in Deut. 33 27 and the Arabic sense of the root, Gordis, JBL 67 (1948), 72, anticipated by Ewald, CXXXIVa, III, 46 (on Hab 3.9).

45. Cf CXXXVII, 29

46 So we interpret the obscure phrase *tašleg b'-salmôn* (RV. "It was as when it snoweth on Zalmon"), seeing a contrast between *š-l-g,* 'to be snow-white,' and *s-l-m,* 'to be dark.' The word *tašleg,* if rightly vocalized, should be construed as a *noun* (after the pattern of *tašbes,* etc), meaning 'snowfall, whiteness of snow ' But we suspect that it is really the archaic *t*-type of 3rd pl impf of the denominative verb *š-l-g.* For the image, cf DT 57 12 (= Langdon, JRAS 1927,537): *te-bi-e kima nalši.*

Egyptian myth, the victorious god is conducted in triumph to his habitation (cf. vv. 25–30) and receives tribute [*mattānôt;* cp. Accad. *mandattu*] from his vassals.

The terms employed are significant. The god takes up permanent residence *on a mountain* (vv. 16–17); he ascends "the height" [*'ālîtā la-mārôm*], escorted by a "mighty chariot-force" [*reḵeb 'lôhîm*]; he "leads home the spoils of war" (cf. Judges 5.12); and he receives tribute from the hand of his vassals. The "ascent to the height" echoes or parallels that of Baal to the "height [*m-r-y-m*] of the North,"[47] as well as the ceremonial "ascent" [*tebû*] of Marduk to Esagila in the ritual of the Babylonian New Year (Akîtu) festival.[48] The "mighty chariot-force" and the "leading home of the spoil" likewise recall the latter ceremony,[49] and reveal the character of the procession as that of a 'victory parade.'

(iii) *The procession is marshalled. While the sacred images are being placed upon the shoulders of the bearers, the poet exclaims that God, for His part, daily loads upon His people the benefits of salvation. Then, when the procession issues forth* [y-ṣ-'; *cp. Accad. ṣîtu*], *the poet exclaims that "through God is there issuance* [*tôṣā'ôt*] *from Death."*

Next come two verses which may be rendered literally as follows:

> Blessed be the LORD day by day;
> the god loads [*ya'ᵃmôs*] on us the load of our salvation.
>
> The god is unto us a god of salvation,
> and through the LORD is there issuance [*tôsā'ôt*] from
> [death!

These verses have caused some difficulty to commentators who have been troubled especially by the curious phrase "the god loads on us the load."[50] If, however, the passage be read in the light of its cultic background, all becomes clear. *These words hark back to that stage of the proceedings when, in preparation for the parade, the sacred images were being loaded upon the shoulders of the priestly bearers,*[51] as in the familiar scene from the monuments of Nineveh.[52] The loading completed, the procession started to move forward; and the technical term for the procession in Accadian texts is *ṣîtu*, lit. "issuance."[53] What the poet is doing, therefore, is to read into these operations a symbolic, universal meaning: the god, he says, likewise *loads* his people with the benefits of salvation and provides *issuance*

47. E.g II AB, iv 18–19, V AB, D 81–82.

48. E g Neb., EJ vii 23–25. Cf. also xxivb; CCCXLVIII, 204 ff.

49. CCCXLVIII, 127, 154 f.; cf. CDLXVI, 86 f.

50. A common interpretation is to divide the stichoi differently and render: "Blessed be/is the LORD; each day he loads us (with benefits); the God is our salvation." It should be noted, however, that throughout the psalm, "LORD" and "the God" stand parallel in verbal clauses (e g. verses 17, 18, 22–3, 27, 33).

51. For this operation, Is. 46 1 employs the same Hebrew word, *'-m-s*.

52. CCLXXVII, i, 65.

53. TC ii 37. For the verb *asû* in this technical sense, cf. Sargon, *Ann.* 309, Nabon., *Ann.* II 6 ii 20, Lewy, HUCA 17 (1942–45), 63. Analogous is the Egyptian *pry.t* from the verb *pry*, 'go out.'

from mortal peril. Indeed, it is only in the light of the cultic background that the otherwise grotesque choice of expressions becomes intelligible.

(iv) *The effigy of the discomfited Dragon is paraded in the procession* (vv. 22–24).

There follow three verses which contain a most significant allusion to the seasonal myth, viz:

> Verily, God smites the head of his foemen,
> the hairy scalp of him who walks abroad in his transgressions!
>
> The LORD has declared:
> I will bring (thee) away from the Dragon,
> away from the depths of the sea,
>
> that thy foot may *be crimsoned* with (his) blood,
> the tongue of thine hounds *reddened* therewith!

When we recall that alike in the Canaanite and the Babylonian version of the seasonal myth, the Dragon is finally discomfited by the splitting of his skull,[54] when we observe that the word here used for "Dragon," viz. *Bašan,* is the same as that which is employed in the Canaanite texts, viz. *B-ṯ-n,*[55] and when we bear in mind also that the effigy of the Dragon is a standard element of seasonal processions all over the world, it becomes obvious that these verses hark back to the moment when that dread shape passed by in the parade. Doubtless he was shown with his skull split open, and the recollection of this inspired the poet to the generalization: "Verily, God smites the head of his foemen," etc. The utterance is, indeed, directly comparable with the exclamations of the sacred choir when Horus' defeat of the rebellious Hippopotamus was enacted in the Egyptian ritual pantomime at Edfu.[56]

(v) *The procession moves on to the palace, where the god assumes sovereignty and receives adoration and tribute. The assembled multitude entreat him to vouchsafe to them the same protective power as he displayed in the sacred drama, and to crush their foes even as he crushed his own monstrous adversaries* (*vv.* 25–35).

The psalm now passes to a graphic description of the procession as it sweeps on to its final destination – the divine palace or fane. The initial verses (25–27) are clear enough:

> Men see thy processions, O God,
> the processions of my God, my King, into the sanctuary:

54. III AB,A 22–23· (the bludgeon of Baal) "smites the head of Lord Sea, the brow of Prince Stream" Cf also EE IV, 130–31: "(Marduk) with his unsparing scimitar split her (Tiamat's) skull"

55 I*AB, i 1. Cp. also Accad *bašmu*, EE I, 140 The word recurs in Ugaritic in I AB vi 19, and is the Arabic *b-ṯ-n* and (through Aramaic?) the Hebrew *peten* The interpretation is due to Feigin, CXXXVIa, 407 Traditionally, the word has been associated in our passage with the territory of Bashan, but this yields poor sense

56. Cf Blackman and Fairman, JEA 29 (1943), 2–36.

First come singers,
behind come minstrels,
*in the *middle** come maidens beating the tabret.

In (their) throngs they proclaim God's grace,
the grace of the LORD in the *assemblies* of Israel!

What follows (vv. 28–29), however, demands more detailed consideration. Allowing for one slight emendation by Ehrlich, the Masoretic Text (supported, more or less, by the Ancient Versions) reads as follows:

There is little Benjamin their ruler (?),
the princes of Judah, their throng (?),
the princes of Zebulun, the princes of Naphtali.

Vouchsafe Thy strength, O God,
that *selfsame strength divine*
which erst Thou wroughtest for us!

It is plain that this lacks sequence and makes poor sense, while the two question-marks which we have introduced in our rendering indicate that it is, at best, a desperate *pis-aller*. Nevertheless, we believe that it is possible to recover, at least approximately, the original text and meaning of the passage. Our suggestion is that the archaic language of that original text came in time to be misunderstood and that what we now have before us is merely the result of several ingenious but erroneous attempts to make sense. Originally, we surmise, there was no mention of "Benjamin their ruler" nor of the "princes" of Judah, Zebulun and Naphtali. All of these arresting figures are here but the children of desperate exegesis! What the text said originally was simply this:

There goes the lad in the procession;
men do intone their anthem:
"Vouchsafe Thy strength, O God,
that *selfsame strength divine* which erst thou wroughtest for us!"

The trouble began with the reference to the "lad" – literally, "the little one" [*sā'îr*] – marching in the parade. This was really a technical term for the boys, with voices still unbroken, who were employed as sacred choristers, just as they are today employed in the Sistine Chapel and elsewhere.[57] They were the counterpart of "the maidens beating the tabret"; and it is not without significance that in a passage of the Ugaritic texts (IV AB iii 26–7) a noun formed from the same verbal root (viz. *ṣ-ğ-r-t*) is used to describe the delicate soprano voice of the goddess 'Anat. In course of time, however, the technical sense of the word came to be forgotten. The immediately preceding reference (v. 27) to the "assemblies of Israel" then inspired the notion that "little one" (or "junior") referred to Benjamin as the youngest of the sons of Israel; and this explanatory gloss eventually found

57. Note also the specific reference to "young men" (*neaniskoi*) as sacred choristers in the ritual of the Laconian festival of Hyakinthia, cccvIIIa, 15 Similarly, in the Ugaritic ritual of DS, "youths" (*ğzrm*) sing the refrains.

its way into the text. Furthermore, the original **y-r-d-m*, "(he) marches," with the archaic coordinative suffix *-m(a)*, became corrupted (perhaps through haplography) into *r-d-m*, and the most plausible vocalization of this word in Classical Hebrew was *rôdem*, "their ruler(?)."

But what of the "princes" of Judah, Zebulun and Naphtali? Here too we are concerned, in reality, with a misunderstanding of the archaic original. This declared simply that "they (*i.e.* the participants in the parade) utter their cry in song, *i.e.* intone their anthem," a statement which was expressed in the words ŠR RGMTM (cp. Accadian *rigmu, rigmatu*).[58] The word ŠR, however, which properly meant "they sing/sang" (ie. *šārû*) was erroneously read as *ŠāRê*, "princes of"; and the question then naturally arose. princes of what state? The preceding reference to Israel at once suggested the answer, of Judah; and this explanatory gloss subsequently found its way into the text, the more readily so since ŠĀRÊ could not stand by itself but demanded a complement.

Then arose the final complication. More sagacious scholars observed that the language of the Psalm showed a curious and striking similarity to that of the Song of Deborah in the fifth chapter of the Book of Judges. Thus, while the Song said (vv. 4–5).

> Yahweh, when Thou wentest forth from Se'ir,
> *marchedst from the field of Edom,*
> the earth quaked, the heavens dropped,
> yea, the clouds dropped water.
> The hills were convulsed before Yahweh, *Lord of Sinai*,
> before Yahweh, the God of Israel,

the Psalm said (vv. 8–9):

> God, when Thou wentest forth before Thy people,
> marchedst through the desert,
> the earth quaked and the heavens dropped
> *before the God *of* Sinai,*
> *before God, the God of Israel.*

And while, in the Song (v. 12), the prophetess urged her comrade Barak to "lead home the spoil of war," the Psalm spoke analogously (v. 19) of the god's "leading home the spoil of war" [*šābîtā šebî*]. Lastly, while the Song described (v. 39) how the ladies of Sisera's court kept reassuring his anxious mother that her son and his cohorts were indeed "dividing the spoil, one virgin, two virgins, for every man," the Psalmist echoed these words with his description (v. 13) of how "kings of armies flee, and the wife of the victor, who stayed at home, now divides the spoil." These scholars therefore concluded that the events related in the Psalm were the same as those related in the Song, viz. the defeat of Sisera. Now, in the latter, a specially prominent rôle was played, according to the prose and verse accounts of the Book of Judges (4.10; 5 14–15, 18), by the tribes of Zebulun and Naph-

58 In Ugaritic, *rgm* means simply 'word'

tali. It was these tribes that Barak enlisted to rout the foe beside the slopes of Mount Tabor and it was they who "jeopardied their lives to the death on the high places of the field." This being so, said our scholars, it must have been the princes of Zebulun and Naphtali, rather than of Judah (which did not figure at all in the episode) who gave thanks to God and proclaimed his grace "in their assemblies." Accordingly, they corrected the earlier gloss "princes of Judah" to "princes of Zebulun, princes of Naphtali"; and both glosses subsequently found their way into the text.

We return, then, to the young chorister and his companions marching along in the festal parade and reciting the glories of their god. What was it that they said in their song? Verses 29–35 give us the answer. They are the text of the *rigmah* or "loud cry" specifically mentioned in v. 28. First (v. 29), they entreated the god to

> vouchsafe Thy strength, O God,
> that *selfsame strength divine*
> which erst Thou wroughtest for us!

The reference here is, of course, to the valor displayed in the battle with the Dragon. The worshipers who had seen that event enacted in the ritual pantomime, or who at least had it in mind, are here portrayed as invoking the god to vouchsafe a similar display of strength in their behalf. Then, after informing the god (v. 30) that "kings are bringing tribute to thee *in* Thy palace overlooking Jerusalem," they bid him

> rebuke the wild beast of the canebrake
> the troop of wild steers
> among/against the calves of the nations,
> trampling on pieces(??) of silver,
> he scattered(?) the nations that engage/delight in war.

Here again, what with the abrupt change of person, the overloaded meter, and the utter unintelligibility of several clauses, it is apparent that we are dealing with a text both corrupted and expanded. While much else is obscure, however, one thing is illuminating: the hostile nations are likened to a "wild beast of the canebrake" [*hayyat qāneh*] and to "wild steers" [*'abbîrîm*]. Now, in the former we may readily see the hippopotamus, and it is significant that in the Egyptian version of the seasonal combat, as represented, for instance, in the sacred pantomime at Edfu, the adversary of Horus is a hippopotamus.[59] Moreover, even in Hebrew myth, the dragon Leviathan is frequently associated with the monster Behemoth, generally identified as the hippopotamus.[60] In the same way, the "wild steers" at once recall those who, in the Canaanite myth (BH), were especially appointed by El to accomplish the discomfiture of Baal during the dry summer months.[61] Accordingly, in the choice of these two animals to represent the enemies of Israel, the poet is again harking back to the seasonal myth, the god who triumphed over those animals is invoked, by a similar display of

59 See above, n 56.

60 Job 40 15. Cf. also Hab. 2 17, where for *Lebanon* read *Leviathan*.

61. Note, too, that in I AB, vi 18, Baal and Môt are said to "gore like wild oxen."

strength, to vanquish the enemies of his people who fill a comparable rôle. And the point is enforced by the use of the word "rebuke" [*g-'-r*], for, as we have seen (above, §8), this is the *terminus technicus* employed both in the Old Testament and in the Canaanite *Poem of Baal* to describe the discomfiture of the Dragon.[62]

(e) §7. *Epilogue* (*vv.* 32–36).

Finally, all the kingdoms of the earth are summoned to acknowledge the supremacy of Israel's God. Even from Egypt and Ethiopia emissaries are to speed hotfoot to Jerusalem to proclaim their adoration. Then, in a final paean, the god is hailed, like Baal in the Canaanite texts, as lord of storm and tempest who "rides the ancient heavens" and displays his grandeur in the skies (cf. Deut. 33.26); and he is acclaimed, in a final salute, which echoes the adoration of Marduk in the Babylonian poem (EE VI 113) and of Yahweh in the closing lines of Psalms 28 and 29 (see above, §4), as the source of his people's strength and power.

Thus, it is apparent that Psalm 68 is, as it were, the libretto of a ritual pantomime originally performed at one of the great seasonal festivals (evidently New Year)[63] duly transmuted into a literary hymn designed for use in the worship of Yahweh.

§15. In the light of the foregoing detailed analysis we are surely entitled to conclude that *Psalms 29, 65, 66, 68, 74.12–17, 76, 89.2–19 and 93 and – to a lesser degree – Psalms 47, 48 and 96–98 are hymnodic reproductions of the Seasonal Drama.*

§16. Precisely the same development took place also on Greek soil. Scholars have long since observed that several of the so-called Homeric Hymns, which look to all the world like mere mythological poems, were really liturgical chants designed for one or other of the great seasonal festivals and embodying the cult myth peculiar to the occasion.[64]

Take, for example, the *Hymn to Demeter*. The central theme of this composition is the Rape of Persephone and the consequent search for her on the part of her disconsolate mother. In its treatment of this theme, however, the hymn incorporates a number of singular and seemingly unimportant details which turn out, on examination, to reflect the ritual of the autumn festival of Thesmophoria at which, as we know from other sources, it was customary to enact the story of the Rape in the form of a sacred drama.[65]

It is said, for instance, that when she went in search of the abducted Maiden, Demeter roamed the earth *carrying torches* (lines 47–48; 60–61).

62 See above, n. 16.

63 The Psalm is certainly very old, for the text is full of archaisms, many of which have been misunderstood and misvocalized in MT

64. Cf ix. 65. *Ibid*, 120.

Now, we happen to know that a feature of the Thesmophoria and of the Eleusinian mysteries was the *staging of a torchlight procession* by the female worshipers.[66] Such parades are, as we have seen, a common characteristic of seasonal festivals, where they serve as one of the methods by which blight and contagion are removed in preparation for the new lease of life. It is apparent, therefore, that when the poet introduces the picture of the goddess wandering hither and yon with her torches, he is but working into the durative myth an established element of the concomitant punctual ritual.

Similarly, when the poet makes a point of stating that the grief-stricken goddess wandered in this fashion *for nine days* and that for the entire length of that period "she tasted not of ambrosia neither of the sweet draught of nectar" (lines 46–50), it is again apparent that his words reflect a ritual usage. For the fact is, as we have seen, that the Thesmophoria was characterized by the observance of a fast and, in certain quarters (e.g. Cyprus) by a preliminary *nine-day lent* Moreover, in order to underscore the allusion, the poet takes pains to observe that the goddess' abstention from food and drink was due to the fact that she was "*aching* with grief," in which expression his readers (or audience) would at once have recognized an oblique reference to Achaia, a traditional name of the festival popularly interpreted to mean *Festival of Aching Grief.*[67]

Again, the poet asserts (lines 200–05) that when the goddess finally reached Eleusis and was welcomed hospitably by the female domestics of King Celeus, she at first proved inconsolable, sitting among them "without smiling and without tasting food or drink," and that her glum mood was resolved only when an old crone named Iambē started to crack jokes.[68] Here, too, we have a reflection of ritual practices at the Thesmophoria. The abstention from food and drink corresponds, as already observed, to the lenten fast. The avoidance of mirth and laughter finds its explanation in the statements of Plutarch and other writers[69] that the festival was observed in grim, lugubrious mood and that all expressions of merriment were forbidden. Lastly, the action of the old crone Iambē is explained by the fact that the chanting of ribald and obscene songs, *couched in iambic meter,* was a recognized procedure at the Thesmophoria and similar seasonal celebrations, such chanting was regarded as a means of stimulating fertility.[70] Here, too, the poet underscores the allusions by a dexterous choice of language. The terms which he employs to describe the actions of

66 Cf. Ovid, *Fasti* IV, 493, *Met.*, V, 441–43, Cicero, *In Verrem*, II, lib 4, c 48, Diodorus Siculus V, 4, 3, Pausanias VIII, 25, 7, CXXXV, III, pl XIII, XVa, XXIa, XXV, XXVIIb, and compare with these literary and artistic treatments the ritual allusions in Statius, *Silv* IV, 8 50 f ; Clem Alex , *Protrep* , II, 12, p 12; Lactantius, *Div Inst* , I 21, Pausanias, II, 22 3.

67. Cf. Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride* 69, Suidas, Hesychius, Lexx , s v *Achaia;* CCCLXIV, I, 752, n 3, CLXXXVIII, 1186, n 4

68. See also Apollodorus, *Bib* I, v, 1 and Frazer *in loc*

69 *De Iside et Osiride* 69, cf. CC, 128.

70. Cf LXXVII, 36 f , 42, 50 f , GB VII/1, 62 ff

the old crone are not selected at random. They are technical terms specifically associated with the ritual of the festival. Aristophanes uses them to describe the lewd "mocking and clowning" in the Mysteries of Demeter. So, too, does Pausanias in speaking of similar practices at the seven-day festival of Demeter Mysia in Pellene; while Athenaeus calls the ritual jesters at Syracuse by the name *iambists*.[71] In this employment of a traditional ritual vocabulary we may recognize, as in the parallel case of the Hebrew Psalms, clear evidence that our hymn was indebted to, or ultimately derived from, the standard libretto of the seasonal drama.

The indebtedness is apparent also, as again in the case of the Hebrew Psalms, in the incorporation of clichés. A single example must suffice. When the poet wishes to describe the havoc wrought upon earth in consequence of the abduction of Persephone and the grief of her mother Demeter, he does so in the following terms (lines 302–13):

> So there she sate, the flaxen Demeter, apart from all the Blessed Ones, and there she remained wracked with longing for her deep-girdled daughter. And she rendered the year most grievous and dire for men upon the teeming earth. No shoots did the earth put forth, for the fair-crowned Demeter kept the seed hidden in the ground. And many a crooked plough did the oxen drag in vain across the fields, and many a stalk of barley fell fruitless and unripened to the ground. She would, indeed, have destroyed the entire race of mortal men with sorry famine and have deprived of their offerings them that dwell in the Olympian mansions had not Zeus taken thought and reflected.

Now, this description follows a virtually stereotyped formula which recurs in all sister versions of the myth and which may be regarded as part and parcel of the primitive ritual *Urstoff*. Thus, in the Hittite *Myth of Telipinu* (KUB XVII 10) the effect of that god's disappearance is thus portrayed (i, 16–18):

> The hillsides were bare. The trees were bare. No branch came forth.
> The pasturelands were bare. The springs ran dry.
> Upon earth there was famine; men and gods were perishing from hunger

Similarly, in the Canaanite *Poem of Baal* (I AB iii–iv, 25–27, 36–38) the departure of that lord of fertility results in the fact that

> The furrows of the fields are parched. . . . Parched are the furrows of the broad fields. Baal is neglecting the furrows of his ploughland,

while in the harvest litany embodied in the first chapter of the Biblical Book of Joel, the devastation which follows the temporary withdrawal of Yahweh's favor is represented as involving desiccation of the earth, failure of crops and vines and a threat of starvation to the gods (see above, Excursus to Ch. III).

Thus it is apparent that the Homeric Hymn to Demeter is, like the Hebrew Psalms, an attenuated form of the primitive ritual drama, preserving in more stylized and literary form the essential traits and even the essential

71. Aristoph., *Frogs* 372 ff.; Paus vii, 279, Ath V, 10, 181c, cf CLXXXVIII, 1175, n. 4.

language of the original material and, like that material itself, projecting into durative myth all of the cardinal features of the punctual Seasonal Pattern.

This conclusion is borne out by the actual *structure* of the hymn; and, it should be observed, what holds good for this particular example applies with equal force to the entire *genre* of similar compositions. The structure is one which we find also in Greek tragedy and comedy as well as in their more primitive Hittite and Canaanite forerunners. It consists in: (1) an Opening Invocation, naming the deities with which the poem or drama is concerned, (2) a Mythological Core, which forms the central 'movement' of the composition; and (3) an Epilogue, in which the god or goddess is saluted and bidden good-bye [*chairĕ*] before the poem ends or the curtain is rung down. Now, this structure reflects and is conditioned by the pattern of the earlier ritual performance. The Invocation represents the initial act of all public ceremonies — the *prorhēsis* which in Sanskrit drama is significantly kept distinct from the dramatic prologue proper.[72] The Mythological Core, as it appears in hymns, is an attenuation of the dramatic performance itself, the degeneration from performance to mere recital being paralleled, as Hofer-Heilsberg has pointed out, in the treatment of the comedies of Terence and of Hroswitha of Gandersheim during the Middle Ages.[73] The Epilogue is, of course, nothing but the final Benediction — the element which survives in European mummers' plays in the form of the so-called *quête*.

§17. Another — and in some ways more striking — example of the development from Drama to Hymn is afforded by the first choral ode in the *Bacchae* of Euripides. As is well known, of all the ancient Greek tragedies that have come down to us, this is the one which preserves most closely the ancient ritual pattern. In the words of that prince of interpreters, Gilbert Murray:[74]

> A reader of the *Bacchae* . . . will be startled to find how close this drama, apparently so wild and imaginative, has kept to the ancient rite. The regular year-sequence is just clothed in sufficient myth to make it a story. The daemon must have his enemy who is like himself; then we must have the Contest, the Tearing Asunder, the Messenger, the Lamentation mixed with Joy-cries, the Discovery of the scattered members — and by a sort of doubling the Discovery of the true God — and the Epiphany of the Daemon in glory. All are there in the *Bacchae*. . . .
>
> But we can go further. We have enough fragments and quotations from the Aeschylean plays on this subject — especially the Lycurgus trilogy — to see that all kinds of small details which seemed like invention, and rather fantastic invention, on the part of Euripides, are taken straight from Aeschylus or the ritual

72. Cf Comm on DS, Ritual §I.

73 "Ein Keilschrifttext, altester Mimus der Weltliteratur," reprint from *Theater der Welt*, 1937, Nos 3–4, p. 10, n. 24

74. CCCXXXI, 181–83.

or both. The timbrels, the fawnskin, the ivy, the sacred pine, the god taking the forms of Bull and Lion and Snake, the dances on the mountain at dawn, the Old Men who are by the power of the god made young again; the god represented as beardless and like a woman; the god imprisoned and escaping, the earthquake that wrecks Pentheus' palace, the victim Pentheus disguised as a woman, all these and more can be shown to be in the ritual, and nearly all are in the extant fragments of Aeschylus. . . . There never was a great play so steeped in tradition as the *Bacchae.*

This being so, it should not surprise us to discover that the initial choral ode (lines 64–169) is nothing but a stylized literary version of the traditional ritual chant; and such it in fact reveals itself to be in structure, content and vocabulary alike.

The ode begins (lines 64–69; first strophe and antistrophe) with a declaration, couched in the first person singular, stating that the singer has come to adore "the Bacchic god" and is about to "recite the customary hymns to Dionysus." He enjoins silence upon the congregation and bids all the uninitiated depart. In these words we have nothing but the old ritual prologue recited by the high priest or precentor. The same type of prologue recurs in the Canaanite *Poem of Dawn and Sunset,* where it likewise paves the way for the performance of the statutory ceremonies and the recital of the concomitant myth. It survives also in the opening speech of the European mummers' play, where the assembled multitude is similarly bidden "make way" for the sacred performers.[75]

The opening invocation is followed directly (lines 70–86; second strophe) by a summons to the Bacchic worshipers to perform the time-honored ritual and to escort the god "down from the Phrygian hills to the broad streets of Hellas." The inner blessedness of such worshipers is described and commended. This, too, is part of the traditional pattern. The Canaanite *Poem of Dawn and Sunset* likewise couples the opening invocation with a summons to the assembled congregation to "let honor be rendered" to the gods, and it likewise calls down blessings of peace [*šlm*] on the assembled votaries. Moreover, it is significant that in Psalm 89, which, as we have seen (above, §9), is based on the Seasonal Pattern, the opening invocation (vv. 2–9) and the recitation of the traditional myth (vv. 10–15) are followed immediately by a similar description and commendation of Yahweh's devotees:

> Happy the people that know the trumpet-blast,
> [YHWH,] they walk in the light of Thy face, etc.,

which read almost like a Hebrew equivalent of the phrases in our text. As in the case of the Psalms and of the Homeric Hymn to Demeter, so here the poet underscores the ritual derivation of his verses by introducing and playing upon terms derived from the technical vocabulary. The pious votary is described as one who "purifies his life," but the word rendered

75. E g in the Hope Benham version of the mummers' play (Piggott, FL 39 [1928], 274), where the Prologue ends. "Clear the way!"

"purifies" [*hagisteuei*] has specific reference to *the observance of lenten austerity* [*hagisteia*], a characteristic element of the Seasonal Pattern. Similarly, he is described as one who "fills his soul with rapture," but the word rendered "fills with rapture" [*thiaseuetai*] is coined *ad hoc* from the technical term for *the ritual Bacchanalian revel* [*thiasos*]. Lastly, he is said to perform his devotions "with holy purifications" in which words we may recognize a clear allusion to the ritual ablutions and *rites of purgation.*[76] Indeed, the sense and nuance of the passage may be best conveyed in a paraphrastic rendering.

Oh, happy he, by fortune blest,
Who knows the rites by God ordained,
Whose life is one long sabbath rest,
Who shriven, purgèd and unstained,
His soul with holy rapture fills,
A bacchanal upon the hills!

The second antistrophe (lines 87–105) contains the Mythological Core, describing the birth of the god Dionysus-Dithyrambos. Here, too, we may detect an underlying ritual basis; for the fact is that the seasonal rites of ancient Greece, as of many European communities in modern times, were frequently characterized by the introduction upon the scene of a young child thought to represent the personified New Year or, as the "Corn Baby," the nascent spirit of vegetation and fertility.[77] There is considerable evidence that this element appeared also in the traditional rites of Dionysus,[78] and the present passage of the choral ode would therefore be but a literary form of the accompanying chant.

The remainder of the ode (lines 106–169; third strophe and antistrophe and epode) is simply the revellers' song, punctuated with ritual cries of jubilation [*evoe*]. It is noteworthy, however, that here too the traditional pattern is markedly in evidence. There is a reference, for example, to the fact that when Dionysus appears on earth,

the plain flows with milk,
flows with wine,
flows with the nectar of bees.

In these words we have an almost literal counterpart of lines which occur in the Canaanite *Poem of Baal* [I AB iii 6–9] when the imminent return of Baal is being described:

The heavens rain down fatness,
the wadies flow with honey,
and so I know that Baal Puissant is alive,
that His Highness, the lord of the earth, still exists!

Moreover, it is to be observed that alike in prophetic and apocalyptic literature (Amos 9.13; Joel 4.18; Oracula Sibyllina III 774–77; Slavonic Enoch VIII §5) this picture forms a standard element in descriptions of the Mes-

76. See above, Ch. II, §4.
77. GB VII (*Spirits of the Corn and Wild*, I), 150 ff.
78. *Ibid.*, 5, 27.

sianic era; and since all such eschatological descriptions are ultimately based on ideas originally associated with the annual or periodic renewal of life, it is evident that the poet was here drawing once more upon the stock of the traditional Seasonal Pattern.[79]

§18. Our conclusions regarding this choral ode are confirmed by a discovery made in 1895 at the site of ancient Delphi. That discovery consists in a long ritualistic paean written by one Philodamus of Scarphē for the celebration of the Bacchic festival.[80] The paean reveals precisely the same structure as the Euripidean chorus, beginning with an invocation, proceeding to a description of the god's birth, commending the blessed state of his adorants, summoning them to his worship and bidding them "welcome the Bacchic Dionysus in the streets." Moreover, it exhibits the same language, indicating that both poets were incorporating common traditional material. Thus, if Euripides sings that

> at once will the whole earth start a-dancing
> when Bromios leads his bands unto the hills,
> where the womanish rout stand waiting,
> driven from loom and shuttle by the frenzy of Dionysus,
> (lines 114–119),

Philodamus, retrojecting the scene into the past, declares that

> the whole land of [Delphi], holy and blest,
> alive with the singing of hymns,
> started to dance,
> when thou didst reveal thy holy shape,
> standing, 'mid the maidens of Delphi,
> on the slopes of [Parn]assos!
> (lines 19–22)

Similarly, when Euripides bursts forth in praise of the votary with the words "Oh, happy he, etc." (lines 72 ff.), Philodamus uses exactly the same turn of expression (and likewise at the beginning of a stanza) to commend the Delphians for the worship of the god (lines 75 ff). And when Euripides (line 108) employs the expression "yielding fair fruit" [*kallikarpos*] to describe the land of the god's birth, so too does Philodamus (line 17).

But Philodamus preserves one important element of the traditional pattern which Euripides omits. He commends the Delphians for having built a shrine for their god, and he describes how the god had himself ordained

79 Cf. especially Roscher, CCCLXXXIV, 110 It is also worth noting that just as Psalm 68 introduces almost every stanza with the emphatic *'elōhîm*, "God," so here (with but one exception) strophes and antistrophes end with a resounding mention of Dionysus or Bromios or "the bacchic god" (lines 68, 73, 86, 119, 134)

80 Inscr Delph , ed *H* Weil, *BCH 19 (1895)*, 393 ff ; 20 (1896), 237, 21 (1897), 510 ff , Diels, SBAW 1896, 457 ff ; cf Fairbanks, CSCP 12 (1900), 139 f.; PW 9, 167; Powell, CQ 9 (1915), 288, Deubner, *N Jahrb* 22 (1919), 385 ff , de Falco, *Mouseion* (Naples), I (1923), 3–13 Our text is that of Diehl, *Anthologia Lyrica*, ii, 252 ff , with minor variations.

that it be constructed "with all despatch" (lines 67 ff.). Here we have the familiar feature of shrine-building with which we have already become familiar [see above, Ch. III, §8]. The poet is, of course, celebrating the founding of the famous temple at Delphi, but the terms in which he does so are an echo of the traditional pattern which should not be overlooked.

§19. A final and more modern example of the way in which the Seasonal Drama degenerates into the liturgical chant may be found in the famous hymn composed by Adam of St. Victor (c. 1130–1180) for the Feast of Michael and All the Angels (Sept. 12).[81] Taking as a basis the description in the Book of Revelation (ch. 12) of the archangel's triumph over Satan, the hymnographer nevertheless succeeds, albeit unconsciously, in preserving the structure, content and even language of the more primitive material. He opens with the regular Invocation calling upon the devout to render praise and to partake of the bliss of that day whereon the ancient triumph of the angels is annually rehearsed:

Laus erumpat ex affectu
Psallat chorus in conspectu
Supernorum civium!
Laus jucunda, laus decora
Quando laudi concanora
Puritas est cordium!

Michaelem cuncti laudent
Nec ab hujus se defraudent
Diei laetitiā!
Felix dies, quā sanctorum
Recensetur angelorum
Solemnis victoria!

Let the heartfelt praises ring,
Loudly let the chorus sing
In the sight of them that dwell
High in heaven's citadel!
Comely is the strain and sweet
When in harmony there meet
Music of pure hearts and song,
Praises ringing loud and long!

So let all men sound the praise
Of Michael, nor forego the day's
Most blest felicity!
Oh, happy day whereon is told,
From year to year, that tale of old
— The angels' victory!

Then, immediately after the Invocation, he proceeds to the Mythological Core; and the language which he uses harks right back to the Babylonian,

81 The text is taken from CCCLVIa, No 48.

Hittite, Canaanite and Egyptian prototypes. It is the "ancient Dragon" — Yam, Illuyankas, Tiamat, Set — who is "routed" along with his cohorts, and the reason for his discomfiture is that, like those rebels, he sought to promote confusion:

Draco vetus exturbatur
Et Draconis effugatur
Inimica legio.
Exturbatus est turbator
Et projectus Accusator[82]
A caeli fastigio!

Routed is the Dragon old
And his legion bad and bold
Rudely put to flight!
That Confounder is confounded
And from heaven's fastness hounded
— Satan from the height!

Moreover, through the defeat and banishment of that wily and venomous creature, an era of peace is ushered in both on earth and in heaven:

Sub tutelā Michaelis
Pax in terrā, pax in caelis,
Laus et jubilatio,
Cum fit potens hic virtute
Pro communi stans salute
Triumphat in proelio.

Suggestor sceleris
Pulsus a superis
Per hujus aëris
Oberrat spatia.

Dolis invigilat,
Virus insibilat,
Sed hunc adnihilat
Praesens custodia.

Michael our sentinel,
Peace now on earth shall dwell,
Peace now in heav'n as well,
Loud jubilation!
Into the fray he goes,
Boldly he worsts his foes,
All men's salvation!

Prompt ever to incite
Though driv'n from heav'n's height,
Satan still roams the night,
Bent on seduction.
Guileful, he lies in wait,

82. The Latin *Accusator* is simply a literal rendering of the Hebrew *Satan.*

Breathing his baleful hate,
Yet he who guards our state
Wreaks his destruction!

It is the old pattern once more, the old refrain ringing down the ages; it is Baal defeating Yam and bringing in the new lease of life and the promise of peace on earth; it is Marduk vanquishing Tiamat and establishing the order of the world; it is Horus triumphing over Set, the Hittite Weather-god over the dragon Illuyankas, and Yahweh over Leviathan, the evasive serpent. And when the music of this age-old anthem has swelled to its crescendo, it is the soul of man doing battle with evil.

Finally, after a homiletic interlude, the hymn concludes with the typical Epilogue – the final burst of prayer and salutation – all in accordance with the ancient, time-honored pattern:

De secretis reticentes
Interim caelestibus,
Erigamus puras mentes
In caelum cum manibus,
Ut superna nos dignetur
Cohaeredes curia
Et divina collaudetur
Ab utrisque gratia.

Capiti sit gloria
Membrisque concordia!

Though heaven's hidden ways
Veil'd be from mortal gaze,
Heav'nward let each upraise
Pure hand and mind;
That, like the angels there,
Each man be deemed an heir,
Worthy and fit to share
God's high estate!
So may the chorus swell,
Angels and men as well,
Thanks from all hearts upwell,
Early and late!

And may the Church's frame
Thrill with its Head's acclaim,
Thrill with his praise!
And be the limbs thereof
Tied each to each in love
All of their days!

Thus we see that the Seasonal Pattern survived not only in formal drama but also in the more attenuated form of hymns, psalms and liturgical chants. We must therefore recognize it as a primary source not only of Drama proper but also of an entire literary *genre.*

TABLE I

The Ritual Pattern in the Psalter

		ψ 29	ψ 47	ψ 48	ψ 65	ψ 66	ψ 74[12-17]	ψ 76	ψ 89[2-19]	ψ 93	ψ 98
	Major Elements										
A	1. The god assumes kingship	10	3, 6–10	2		7	12		8, 16	1	
	2. Summons to acknowledge the god as king	1–2	7	12–14		1–5					1, 4–8
B	God acquires kingship by victory in combat:										
	1. against Sea or Dragon				8	6	13–15		10–11	3–4	
	2. against human foes		4	5–8							1–3
C	God is installed in special habitation	9		2–4	2–3			3	8, 15–16(?)	5	
D	God ordains cosmic order				6–7		16–17		12–13		
	ATTENUATED FORM: God stabilizes his own city or people	11	5	9		9(?)			18		
	Subsidiary Elements										
A	God pronounces judgment							9–10			9
B	Reference to offerings or other concomitants of seasonal festival		10	13–14	2[b]–4[a]	13–15		12			
C	God brings fertility				10–14						
D	Allusion to subjugated "rebels"					7[c]					
E	Allusion to festival							11(LXX)			
F	Allusion to purgation				4	9–10(?)					
G	Allusion to equinoctial theophany							5(M)			

TABLE II

Phraseological Correspondences in the Psalms

29.	1–2	96.7–9
47.	10	89.19, 97.9
48.	2	96.4 [cf. I Chr. 16.25]
	12	97.8
65.	8	89.10
	9b	89.13
66.	1	98.4
89.	10	65.8
	13	65.9b
	15	97.2
93.	1	96.10
96.	4	48.2
	10	93.1
	13	98.9
97.	2	89.15
	8	48.12
	9	47.10
98.	4	66.1
	9	96.13

PART TWO

TRANSLATIONS OF ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN DRAMATIC TEXTS

All folktales everywhere depend for their point not only on what is stated but also on what is implied. By a hint here and a parenthesis there the narrator will evoke in the minds of his audience a host of familiar ideas and associations necessary to give sense and coherence to the bare sequence of incidents. He will say, for example, that at a given point the witch took her broomstick, and everyone will know at once that she flew through the air. Or he will say that the hero donned his magic boots, and it will be clear to all who hear him that at this juncture miraculous distances were traversed. Similarly, if he introduces a fairy, nobody questions, should the tale require it, but that she possesses the usual magic wand, and if a stepmother enters the cast of characters, it is assumed, on the authority of age-old tradition, that she is a cruel and heartless harridan. These things are part and parcel of a living tradition which all popular narratives take for granted and without which no story can ever be told completely.

In the case, however, of the myths and tales which have come down to us from remote antiquity, we are in the awkward predicament that the accompanying tradition has long since died out. All that remains is the bare skeleton of words, and even the most faithful translation of these will often be insufficient to reconstruct the true point and motivation of the narrative as a whole or of this or that particular incident in it. When, for instance, we are told in the Canaanite *Poem of Baal* that in order to reach the abode of Môt, god of the underworld, the divine couriers have to travel to the mountains of Tarḫuzzi and Sharrumagi, the point is lost to us entirely unless we realize that these names indicate a region to the north of Syria and therefore bespeak an ancient and widespread belief that the underworld lay in the north, close beside the great mountains which were thought to hem in the earth Similarly, when we read in the Hittite *Myth of Telipinu* that, after the failure of the gods to do so, a bee was sent out to locate that lost divinity, the point is again lost to us unless we bear in mind that in popular superstition beeswax and honey are regarded as instruments of rejuvenation and the sting of the bee as a simple for curing paralysis and similar affections.

Such necessary links in the chain of the narratives can be supplied only by comparative mythology and folklore. If, that is to say, we can succeed in showing that a seeming lack of coherence in a story can be resolved by assuming that the narrator there drew upon a widespread and commonly accepted piece of folklore, we may often clarify what the mere verbal text leaves obscure. That is the method which we have adopted in the following commentaries. We have tried to recognize and point out the presence of motifs familiar in the lore of other peoples – especially other ancient peoples – and to indicate how the assumption of such an element rounds out the narrative and gives it added meaning. We do not claim that the method is without its pitfalls. Above all, the temptation must be avoided of

"calling snap" with remote and unique "parallels." Indeed, it may be said with truth that what an Arabic lexicon is in the hands of an undisciplined philologist, that is *The Golden Bough* when used by an undisciplined mythologist. The parallels must be widespread and diverse, and they must in all cases hark back to basic religious or popular notions which indeed find expression in other departments of Ancient Near Eastern life. To revert to our examples, nothing would be clarified if it were to be shown only that the belief in an underworld situated in the north obtained exclusively, let us say, among the Papuans. But when we can document this idea for a variety of diverse cultures and also find echoes of it in Ancient Near Eastern religious literature and practice, the case is far different. In our detection of motifs we have accordingly kept this essential principle clearly in mind.

This approach to Ancient Near Eastern literature is virtually new. Thus far – perhaps by necessity – the material has been studied primarily (and sometimes exclusively) by philologists. Wider interpretations have therefore perforce been neglected; and a tradition has even arisen that the meaning of a text can be regarded as determined when it has been correctly translated. But this ignores the fact that words are, at best, the mere shorthand of thoughts, and that folktales originate in the mind rather than in the mouth or from the pen. Our task must be to get behind the words to what semanticists call their "referents"; and this is the domain of Cultural Anthropology and Folklore rather than of Philology.

Such is the method pursued in the following presentation. The Ancient Near Eastern texts are here studied for their cultural rather than their linguistic interest and are treated solely as illustrations of our main theme. For this reason, all matter of purely philological character has been excluded from the commentaries, being relegated to an Appendix designed for specialists. To avoid misunderstanding, however, it should be observed that each text has been studied afresh from the purely philological angle and that the translations are based on the writer's independent researches in this field. The only exception is the Egyptian texts, the interpretation of which is largely original but the rendering of which is taken from the work of Kurt Sethe.

The writer would express the hope that, despite imperfections of performance in the present instance, the method here adopted may enlist the support of Orientalists in the future and contribute to the better understanding of Ancient Near Eastern myths and tales.

CANAANITE TEXTS

CANAANITE TEXTS

Only the *editiones principes* by Charles Virolleaud are here listed. The texts have been collected and freshly transliterated by C. H. Gordon in his *Ugaritic Handbook* (Rome 1947). References to this edition are given in the margin of our renderings. For a bibliography of Ugaritic studies (up to 1945), see de Langhe, R., *Les textes de Ras Shamra-Ugarit et leurs rapports avec le milieu biblique de l'Ancien Testament* (Gembloux 1945).

1. The Poem of Baal:

III AB,C	Syria 24 (1944–45), 1–12
III AB,B	[Gordon 137]
III AB,A	Syria 16 (1935), 29–45
II AB	ib. 13 (1932), 113–63
I*AB	ib. 15 (1934), 305–36
I AB	ib. 12 (1931), 193–224; 350–57; 15 (1934), 226–43
Subsidiary Texts:	
V AB	*La déesse 'Anat* (Paris 1938), 1–90
BH (*Harrowing*)	Syria 16 (1935), 247–66
Unplaced Fragments:	
IV AB	syria 17 (1936), 150–73
VI AB	*La déesse 'Anat* . . . ., 91–102

2. The Poem of Dawn and Sunset
Syria 14 (1933), 128–51

3. Aqhat, or The Story of the Divine Bow
La légende phénicienne de Danel (Paris 1936)

I. The Poem of Baal

INTRODUCTION

A. SYNOPSIS

IN THE grey beginning of years, when their various domains were assigned to the gods, Earth had no lord or master. Two gods especially contended for the position. The one was BAAL, lord of the air and genius of the rain; the other was YAM, master of the sea and of the subterranean waters. Each based his claim on the time-honored Oriental principle that the rightful owner of a piece of land is he who "quickens" it and brings it under cultivation.

III AB

The poem opens at the point where the supreme god El accords the sovereignty to Yam, genius of the waters, and orders that a palace be built for him by the divine artisan, Kôshar ("Sir Adroit"). Thereupon, however, 'Ashtar, spirit of artificial irrigation, interposes a plea for the dignity and privilege accorded to Yam. But his plea is rejected on the grounds that he has no wife, *i.e.* is still a minor; and the Sun-goddess (Shapash) warns him to accept the decision and relinquish his claims.

The authority of Yam is now challenged by Baal, genius of rainfall and vegetation and of the upper air. Baal threatens to dethrone him by main force – more specifically, by smiting him with the two divine bludgeons Aymr and Ygrš. After an exchange of taunts and threats, Yam sends messengers to El and to the court of the gods demanding Baal's surrender. El tries to assuage Yam by assuring him that Baal is really friendly and that his ostensible hostility is not to be taken seriously.

Baal, however, assisted by some unidentified goddess, decides to give combat. At first, he assumes a braggart air, but subsequently he is warned by his female accomplice that direct encounter with Yam will probably prove fatal.

At this critical juncture, when all seems lost, Kôshar comes to the rescue by supplying Baal with the two divine bludgeons Aymr and Ygrš which possess the magical quality of being able to spring from his hand automatically and which therefore furnish a means whereby the dragon may be felled without danger of direct encounter. In handing over these weapons, Kôshar speeds them on their mission by playing on their names. Since that which is called YGRŠ at once suggests the Semitic root *g-r-š*, "expel," it is urged to "*expel* Yam from his throne, Stream from the seat of his dominion." Similarly, that called AYMR suggests a Semitic word *m-r-y* meaning "drive." It is therefore urged to "*drive* Yam from his throne, Stream from the seat of his dominion."

The bludgeons dart from the hand of Baal. The first, however, proves ineffective and misses its mark, but the second strikes Yam who "sinks to the ground." However, just as Baal is on the point of despatching him, the goddess 'Ashtart intervenes and urges him to hold the monster captive rather than slay him outright.

The conclusion of this episode is imperfectly preserved, but it would appear that Yam admits defeat and acknowledges the sovereignty of Baal.

'II AB

Baal has now defeated the Dragon and thus acquired title to eternal kingship. But he has no palace, nor even a permanent residence of any kind. This puts him at a disadvantage, for it makes him inferior to all of the other gods and thus prevents him from gaining their respect. Accordingly, he turns to his companion 'Anat and urges her to take up the matter with Asherat, Queen of the Gods, in the hope that the latter will intervene with her husband, El. In support of his plea, he points out that while all of the other gods and goddesses, including his own three daughters, have at least a niche or a cell, he himself has no abode whatsoever. In order to obtain one, he adds, it will be necessary first to get into the good graces of Asherat, for those who enjoy her favor are always treated royally: at her behest, the artisan god immediately fits out gorgeous quarters for them, complete with a mighty dais "weighing twice ten thousand shekels," cast in silver and coated with gold, footstools and couches likewise encrusted with gold, tables filled with all manner of game and venison, tableware made out of precious metals dug out of the very "foundations of the earth," and statues of animals resembling the small cattle of Amurru and the domestic beasts of Yaman "wherein are wild oxen by the myriads" (Col. I).

While Baal is addressing the goddess, the vanquished Dragon lies prone, but not dead, at their feet. Before attending to her companion's request, 'Anat therefore tries in some way to dispose of the monster. She grasps her spindle – her traditional weapon – and with it keeps thwacking him and driving him further and further back into the sea. To facilitate the operation, she rips off her robe so that she can wade more easily into the waters (II, 1–7).

Next, the goddess takes two sacrificial vessels and boils them over a fire, to offer their contents in propitiation to El. Then she sets forth on the mission of securing the good offices of Asherat. The Queen Mother, seeing her approach, is at first alarmed, since she fears that her intentions are hostile. She therefore warns her that she is in the habit of giving battle to all who attempt to assail her, and adds (apparently) that she has a goodly host of sons and kinsmen ready to spring to her defense. However, as the young goddess comes near and Asherat beholds the choice presents which she has brought, her apprehensions are allayed and she "rejoices." Then she instructs her servitor, the artisan and fisher god Kôshar, to take a large net and imprison the Dragon within it (II, 8–34).

There is now a break in the tablet. Where the text resumes, someone (evi-

dently Asherat) is issuing instructions to prevent the escape of the Dragon, at the same time assuring Baal that his "foundation" will endure "for all generations." Baal, however, replies to this salutation by complaining of the ignominious treatment which he has been receiving in the assembly of the gods because, through lack of a palace or permanent abode, he is generally regarded as of inferior status. "Why," he insists, "they constantly insult me and spit on me. Rank food is placed on my table, and I am made to drink the cup of shame (or, filth)" (III, 2–22).

At length, Baal and 'Anat come into the direct presence of Asherat in order to voice their grievance. The goddess asks why they have come to her rather than to El, and 'Anat replies that they have preferred to approach "the Mother" before carrying their complaint to "the Father." Thereupon Asherat orders entertainment to be provided for them (III, 23–44).

Next (after a slight gap) the goddess commands her lackey, Sir Holy-and-Blessed (Qdš-w-Amrr) to caparison a colt so that she may journey to El. The lackey does so, and the goddess sets forth, accompanied by Baal and 'Anat. Presently she reaches the abode of El, which is situated "on the height of the North," at the confluence of the upper and lower oceans. The god welcomes her cordially, remarking that her wandering and her "tramping around" must have made her hungry and thirsty. With typical Oriental hospitality, he proffers food and drink and assures her of his benevolent protection. Asherat then lays the petition before him. El, she says, has wisely decreed (for wisdom, like eternal life, is his by nature) that, [on defeating the Dragon,] Baal is to be king and ruler of the gods. However, he has no palace, and, to remove this reproach, El is now asked to give permission for one to be built for him. The kind-hearted, gentle god readily accedes to this request, remarking humorously that *he* can scarcely be expected to do the menial work of construction himself, but that Baal may readily have his house if only the labor be provided for the initial task of collecting and transporting the bricks! (IV)

Asherat thanks him. Once installed, she adds, Baal will be able to fulfill his functions without hindrance. "Baal will furnish his rain in due season . . his gleam will dart earthwards as lightning" – an allusion to the electric storms which are thought in the East to presage rain. Then she gives orders that the good news be conveyed to Baal. The caravans are to rally to his "house": the mountains will yield their silver, the hills their choice gold, and a mansion of shining gems and lapis will be upreared. 'Anat (who has been waiting at a distance) speeds hotfoot to Baal with the joyous tidings. The caravans rally to his house, the mountains yield their silver, the hills their choice gold. When the necessary materials have been assembled, the divine artisan, Sir Adroit-and-Cunning (Kôshar-wa-Ḥasis) – the Canaanite Hephaistos – arrives on the scene to supervise the building. He is regaled at a general feast which Baal gives to the gods, and is given the place of honor at the right hand of his host (V, 1–54).

The talk turns to the construction of the house, which Baal urges his guest to accomplish with speed and despatch. Sir Adroit (Kôshar) begins to

sketch his plans: the 'blueprint' calls for a window and a casement. "No, no," says Baal, "no window and no casement"; and when Sir Adroit protests, he explains that, were window and casement to be installed, his daughters might escape (or, be abducted? – the text is defective) and his enemy, the defeated Dragon, would then be able to 'have the laugh on him' (V, 55–61). Sir Adroit, however, presses his plans, and elaborates on the sumptuous luxury of the house. Lebanon and Siryon are furnishing the choicest timbers; fires are being kept burning for six days to melt down the gold and silver. Baal's imagination is fired, and he orders the gods to be further regaled on a lavish scale (VI).

There follows a fragmentary and enigmatic passage referring to the treatment of the defeated Dragon, but only the words "on his pate" [*lzr qdqdh*] are intelligible. Evidently, Baal administers a *coup de grâce* (VII, 1–4).

Baal then leaves his guests and proceeds to annex an 'empire' by seizing possession of "sixty-six cities, seventy-seven towns, yea, eighty . . ., even ninety. . . ." Then he returns to his house, and informs Sir Adroit that he has changed his mind about the window and casement; they may be installed. Sir Adroit smiles, and points out the advantages of his design: whenever the window and casement are opened, this will be a sign to Baal to open a rift in the clouds and send down his rain (VII, 5–41). He goes on to describe the power of Baal as a storm god. When he utters his voice (thunder), he rocks the earth. The hills quake, the high places of the earth tremble. The foes of Baal hasten helter-skelter to the shade of the forests or the sides of the mountains. "Yes," replies Baal, "how they quake – those foes of Baal. Those who challenge us are stricken with terror."* Baal marks them out and strikes them down (*lit.* "Baal's eyes anticipate his hands"; VII, 42–52). He then proceeds to announce that he will brook no rival to his sovereignty, and serves notice on Môt, the god of death and aridity, that he will tolerate no interference from him. Môt, excluded from the banquet, is ordered to confine himself, while on earth, to the sunscorched, rainless deserts, where "the tall, shaggy ostriches roam," while Baal wields undisputed sway over gods and men, giving them sustenance and "satisfying the families of the earth." The divine messengers, Gpn and Ugr, the genii of vineyard (*gpn*) and field (*ugr*), are commissioned to convey this message to Môt. They are told to go to the farthermost northern climes, to the two mounds which form the outer bourne of the earth, the mountains of Tarǵuzzi and Sharum(a)gi – evidently located in Asia Minor where the deities Tarḫu and Sharuma were worshiped – to uproot mountain and forest, and go down to the depths and corruption of the netherworld, to the realm where Môt dwells. They are to take care, however, not to go too near him, lest he place them "like a lamb in his mouth" and they be crushed between his jaws His power, they are reminded, is formidable: it is at his will that the sun scorches during the torrid summer days, and the skies flash with

* VII, 39, reading *nṯt'* for the *nṯq* of most editors.

electric storms. Keeping their distance, they are to tell him, in Baal's name, that the god has now had a house built for himself [and has installed himself as king. He will henceforth brook no usurpation of his dominion] (VIII).

[Gpn and Ugr deliver the message.]

I* AB

Baal's message received, Môt replies by complaining that Baal, having conquered the Dragon, now enjoys a life of luxury, whereas *he* is expected to be satisfied with a menial and inferior status. Baal and the other gods may go feasting and carousing, but do they really expect Môt to be content with banquets of mud and filth? He, too, is ready to spread a banquet for the gods. Let Baal come and dine with *him* (I).

[Gap of about 50 lines.]

The invitation is conveyed to Baal, who at first shrinks from accepting it. He beholds the earth gaping to receive him and ready to swallow him up "like a canape or a piece of fruit." He therefore sends a message of abject surrender to Môt: "Thy slave am I, and one of thy perpetual servants!" (II, 1–12).

On receipt of the message, Môt rejoices and (apparently) taunts his adversary. "Why," says he, "look what a wonderful fight he is putting up! Look, the Thunderer (Hadad) is frightened out of his wits! [*ik ylhn . . . ytrun Hd*]" (II, 13–26).

[Gap of about 36 lines.]

There follow two fragmentary columns, only the left-hand sides of which are preserved. The first opens with an appeal to the earth to "pay heed," and continues with what appears to be a dialogue with Môt, involving mention of large quantities of sheep. The most probable interpretation is that Baal invokes the earth to spare him the perils of descent to the netherworld, and at the same time tries to buy off Môt with lavish gifts (III–IV).

[Gap of about 55 lines.]

The second column refers to a banquet, and apparently repeats Môt's invitation to Baal.

[Gap of about 40 lines.]

There is now no way out, and Baal has perforce to descend to the netherworld. He is bidden by some unnamed speaker ('Anat?) to take with him his winds, his "buckets" [*mdl*] and his rains, and go down accompanied by

his henchmen and servitors (called "boars") and also by his daughters. Directions are given to him as to how to reach his destination. He is to steer his course towards the great cosmic hill, is to lift that hill upon his hands and go down "into the corruption of the earth, be counted with them that go down into the earth, and experience nothingness like one who has died" (V, 1–17[a]).

Before doing so, however, he is instructed to perform a curious act He is to copulate with a calf in the pastureland, the idea being – in accordance with a well-known primitive notion – that he may thereby acquire bull-like strength to fortify him for the impending ordeal. Baal complies with these instructions (V, 17[b]–25).

There is now a further gap of about 40 lines. Where the text resumes, we find two unnamed persons – probably Gpn and Ugr – reporting to El their discovery that Baal has "fallen into the earth" and died. El at once institutes rites of mourning. He descends from his throne, and sits upon the ground; pours dust and ashes on his head; dons funereal raiment; takes a stone and gashes his flesh, "cutting furrows in his chest as 'twere a garden, scoring his back as 'twere a valley." Then he utters a formal lament, and announces his intention of descending to the earth in order to investigate the matter. Moreover, he instructs 'Anat likewise to descend and to speed to the place where Baal disappeared (VI).

I AB

'Anat in turn performs rites of mourning, and then summons the Sun-goddess (Shapash) to come down and load the body of Baal upon her ('Anat's) shoulders so that she may carry it up to the "height of the North" – the divine abode – for burial. The Sun-goddess complies, and a hecatomb is offered in honor of the dead god (I, 1–31).

'Anat then directs her steps towards El, at the confluence of the heavenly and subterranean oceans. Prostrating herself before him, she announces that Baal is dead, and that "his highness, the lord of the earth has perished," adding sardonically that this might perhaps be welcome news to the rest of the gods (I, 32–42).

El's reaction is that another god must now be appointed as king in place of Baal. Accordingly, he invites Asherat to name a candidate. Asherat replies that whoever is appointed must, in any case, be able to match up to Baal. El agrees, and Asherat thereupon proposes 'Ashtar, genius of artificial irrigation. 'Ashtar is then placed upon the throne of Baal, but fails to measure up to its size. He therefore descends to the earth to exercise his dominion there. The gods are invited to celebrate the event at a banquet (I, 43–67).

'Anat, however, is full of sorrow and disquiet: "like the heart of a cow towards its calf, of a ewe towards its lamb, so is the heart of 'Anat towards Baal." She therefore wanders high and low in search of Môt (Death and Aridity), the god responsible for his discomfiture. At length she finds him. Grasping the edge of his robe in supplication, she implores him to restore

her brother. But Môt disdainfully rejects her plea. "What do you want?" he asks. "Whenever I walk abroad, the breath of life automatically departs from mankind If I come to earth's pleasant places, they are turned immediately to a wilderness, and if I come to earth's beautiful places, they are turned at once to parched fields. If I happen to encounter Baal, I instantly swallow him up; he becomes like a lamb in my mouth." "It is at my will," he adds, "that the sun scorches during the torrid summer season, and the skies flash with electric storms" (II, 1–25).

'Anat bides her time. Eventually, she encounters Môt and lays violent hands on him: "with a sword she rips him up, with a winnowing-fan she scatters his members; in fire she burns him; in a mill she grinds him; over the fields she strews his remains" (II, 26–37).

[There is now a gap of some 40 lines.]

Môt having thus been routed, the supreme god El has a dream in which he beholds a return of fertility: "the heavens rain down fatness, the wadies flow with honey." He recognizes this as a sign that Baal is not really dead and, in great joy, bids 'Anat instruct the Sun-goddess to keep an eye open for him on her daily travels. The springs, he says, have run dry, and the soil is in need of cultivation; but for this the presence and good offices of Baal are required. 'Anat conveys the message to the Sun-goddess, who agrees to undertake the search* (III–IV).

[There is now a further gap, again of about 40 lines.]

Meanwhile, Baal, now completely restored, engages in a fierce combat with all the other gods, "the sons of Asherat," in order once more to assert himself as king. "Mighty as they are, he trounces them roundly; distinguished as they are, he belabors them with a bludgeon; illustrious as they are, he fells them to the ground." The god 'Ashtar, who was appointed as his successor, is driven ignominiously from his throne (V, 1–6).†

A period of time elapses. At length, Môt, likewise revived, flings down a challenge. "Would," he says to Baal, "that I might see *you* treated as I have been treated – ripped up by the sword, burned in fire, scattered by a winnowing-fan, ground in a mill, and strewn over the field!" Baal's immediate reaction is lost to us, owing to another tantalizing break in the text. Apparently, however, he accepts the challenge, for in the next episode we find him driving Môt from his seat and launching a mass assault upon him‡ (V, 7–VI, 35).

* Apparently, she bids 'Anat rally Baal's kinsmen to celebrate his impending return, but the meaning of the text (IV, 42–43) is not quite clear

† This passage has been completely misunderstood by previous commentators As the sequel shows, it is 'Ashtar, not Môt, who is routed. See Commentary.

‡ In VI, 1–2, we restore *[yṯ]rdh . . [yg]rš̊h*, "he thrusts him forth, . . expels him," comparing V AB, iv 1–2, where the words likewise occur in parallelism.

Môt complains that his adversary has turned all the gods against him, but nevertheless engages Baal in single combat. The fight rages fiercely: "they gore like wild bulls, bite like serpents, attack like rushing beasts." Now the one triumphs, now the other. At last, the Sun-goddess, looking from heaven upon the scene, intervenes and advises Môt that further resistance is futile. El will not brook his conduct, being clearly on the side of Baal: "He will pluck up the mainstays of your dwelling, overturn the throne of your sovereignty, break the sceptre of your dominion." Thereupon, in abject terror,* Môt surrenders, and acknowledges the kingship of Baal.

[There follow four fragmentary lines.]

Baal now turns to the Sun-goddess and reveals to her the reward which she will receive for her solicitude and aid. She will "eat the bread of aggrandizement, drink the wine of favor." When she sinks daily into the earth, she will be acknowledged also in the realm of the dead and be known as the "Sun-goddess of the Shades" [*Špš rpim*]. Both the gods and the spirits of the netherworld will be her "witnesses." She will have as her companion and escort Kôshar-wa-Ḫasis (Sir Adroit-and-Cunning), who was so instrumental in helping to defeat the Dragon. (The idea is that she will be protected against the celestial dragon who, according to a common notion of ancient and primitive folklore, daily tries to swallow up the sun and temporarily succeeds at eclipses.) (VI, 40–52.)

Here the text breaks off.

B. INTERPRETATION

§1. On the face of it, the *Poem of Baal* is a simple, exciting story of the quarrels and contentions of various gods and goddesses, and it is as such that it has been generally regarded. To dismiss it as this and no more is, however, to lose sight of its essential significance; in reality, *it is a nature myth and its theme is the alternation of the seasons.*

The key to the correct interpretation lies in the very names and characters of the protagonists.

§2. Baal is the god of the rain. It is said of him explicitly that he "appoints the due seasons of his rains"[1] and that "his gleam (darts) earthward in the form of lightning."[2] He "opens a rift in the clouds" to send forth his voice and discharge his rains.[3] He is "the Rider on the Clouds,"[4] synonymous

* For *yrd* in VI, 30 we read *yru*, as in I* AB ii 7.

1. II AB, iv 68.
2. *Ibid* 71
3. II AB, vii 27–29
4. II AB, iii 11, 18, I*AB, ii 7, III AB,A 8, 29, 33, IV AB, i 7; iii 22, 37. For Teutonic parallels (Gothic *Thorsâkan;* Old Norse *reistarslag,* etc), see CLXXXV, 166–67 Thor is called *Reidhartyr,* "god of the chariot."

with Haddu (Hadad),[5] "the Crasher,"[6] lord of the thunder. When he utters his voice, the earth is convulsed, the mountains quake, the high places reel.[7] At the touch of his right hand, even cedars wilt.[8] During the period when he is absent from the earth, rivers run dry and fields languish;[9] conversely, the replenishment of the wadies is a sure sign of his imminent return.[10] One of his daughters is Tallıya,[11] nymph of the dew or morning mist (Hebrew *ṭal*), while another is Arsiya, nymph of the soil (Hebrew *eres*).[12] Furthermore, he has – at least, initially – no dwelling upon earth; he is therefore a god of the upper air.

In Arabic (and vestigially in Accadian and Hebrew) the expression "land of Baal" means *soil watered by rain.*[13]

§3. YAM, on the other hand, is the god of the sea; but of the sea in an extended sense which includes all lakes, rivers and other inland expanses of water,[14] such as were considered in ancient thought to be fed by the upsurging of the subterranean ocean.[15] He is described explicitly as "Lord of the Sea" and "Prince of the Stream."[16]

5. II AB, vi 55, I*AB, i 23–24, iv 7–8, IV AB, ii 1–2, *Harrowing* i 40 Similarly, in CT XXV, 16 32, *Ba-'- lu* is listed as an equivalent of Adad; cf CDIII, 13

6 Cp Arabic *h-d-d,* 'crash.' Analogous are the Old Teutonic names for thunder, viz OHG *capreh*<*prehhen,* 'to break,' and MHG *klec, krach*<*krachen,* cf CLXXXV, 178.

7. II AB, vii 29–35 8 *Ibid* 41

9 I AB, iii–iv 25–28, *Harrowing* ii 44–45 10 I AB, iii 6–9.

11. II AB, i 18, I*AB, v 11, V AB,A 24, C 4, E 4, 50.

12 *Ibid.*

13. For the Arabic term *ba'l* or *ard ba'l,* cf LXXXIX, i, 126, CCCXXXIII, ii, 2, LXXXVII, 108, CCLXXXVII, 140–41, CCXIII, 20, Bokhari, 95 Bulac, defines it as "anything watered by fountains or clouds," and from this Robertson Smith, CDXXIX, 199 (followed by Barton, XIX, 103 f., and agreeing with Welhausen, CDXC, 146 and Vogelstein, CDLXXVIA, 96 f) concluded that it denoted soil watered by natural means But, as Dalman points out (LXXXIX, *loc. cit*), land irrigated by subterranean waters is called quite distinctly *saqî*

In Mishnaic Hebrew, *bêt ha-ba'al,* 'place/house of Baal,' and *śᵉdeh ha-ba'al,* 'field of ba'al,' are similarly contrasted with artificially irrigated soil, called *bêt ha-šᵉlāhîn,* 'place of runnels': Sheb II 19, Sukkah III 3, Ter X 11, cf Epstein, ZAW 33 (1913), 82–83 Cf. also Isaiah 62 4, where there is a play on the two meanings of both *ᵉzūbah* and *bᵉ'ūlah,* whereby the abandoned and subsequently irrigated soil is compared to a divorced and subsequently remarried woman, cf Gaster, AOr 5 (1933), 119

The usage may be recognized also in Accadian, for note that in Gilgamesh XI, 41, *qaqqar ᵈBêl,* 'soil of Bel (Baal),' has this meaning in contrast to *apsu!* (The entire passage 39–45 is instructive)

14. The word "sea" is used in this extended sense in all the Semitic languages, cp , for example, Dead *Sea, Sea* of Galilee, etc German uses *See* in the same way

15 Cf CDXCII, 17, CCCL, 59 ff For the same reason, the Greek Poseidon was the god not only of the ocean but also of springs; cf. CLXXXVIII, 1147

16 It would appear that Yam was recognized by the Canaanites as a full-fledged member of the pantheon In the sacrificial tariff, RŠ 1.13, he is mentioned beside Uthry, who is the Hurrian goddess Išḫara, counterpart of the Semitic Ishtar. Similarly, in RŠ 9 6, he occurs beside 'Ashtareth Bauer (*AKRS,* 1, fn k) and Nielsen (CCCXXXVIII, 29) equate Y-m in both passages with Hebrew *yôm,* 'day,' regarding him as god of the day. But seeing that Išḫara, with whom he is associated in 1 13, is specifically described in CT XXVI, 42 i 10, V R 46, 31 b as "Išḫara of the ocean" (*ᵈIš-ḫa-ra ti-am-at; ᵈIš-ḫa-*

§4. Môt – whose name means "Death" – is the god of all that lacks life and vitality.[17] He is described as wandering forth over hill and dale and automatically turning them to desolation.[17a] When he is abroad, the breath of life forsakes mankind.[18] His natural habitation is the sunscorched desert[19] or, alternatively, the darkling region of the netherworld.[20] He is the genius of the torrid summer heat; it is at his whim that "the sun scorches and the heavens flash," sc. with electric storms.[21]

ra tam-dim), and that Asherat, with whom he is associated in 9 6, is regularly styled "Asherat of the sea" in the Ugaritic mythological texts, his marine character would seem to be assured, cf Gaster, AfO 12 (1938), 148 – A personal name *'bd-Ym*, 'servant of Yam', occurs in RŠ 80 ii 18; 300.18, rev 15 Gordon Similar are *Ym-y* in 322·v.12 and *Ym-il*, 'Yam is God,' in 322.v.4. With this last Virolleaud, cps Yemuel in Gen. 46 10. J. Kutsher (*Kedem* 1 [1942], 44) would also recognize Yam in the legend *L'-HYM* on a seal of the 8th cent. B C. from Tell Far'ah (Tirzah?) This he interprets as *La-'a-hi-Yam*, on the analogy of *Hiram* = *Ahiram*. (We may also compare *HYRQ* = *Ahiyarak* on a docket from Assur, CCLXXXIV, 205)

17 It has been assumed by some scholars (e g Ginsberg, JBL 57 [1938], 211, and Dussaud, CXIV, 104) that Môt has nothing to do with Death, but equates rather with Accad. *mutu*, Heb. **mat*, etc., 'man, hero,' which certainly occurs in Ugaritic (e g DS 40) This, however, ignores the patent antithesis between Baal and Môt corresponding to that between Arabic *ard ba'l* and *mawāt*. It also fails to account for the fact that the two places specified as the habitat of Môt, viz the netherworld (II AB, viii 10–14, I[e]AB, ii 16) and the desert (II AB, vii 56 f) happen to be those known in Semitic parlance as dwellings of *Death* (see below, n 20)

Cassuto (*Orientalia* 7 [1938], 286) finds a further argument in the fact that in II AB, vi 8–13 the divine architect refuses to install windows in the palace of Baal for fear that Môt might climb through them and abduct his daughters. This, says Cassuto (followed by Albright, VI, 198, n 45 and, more cautiously, by Ginsberg, JBL 62 [1943], 113) recalls Jer 9 20, where Death (Heb *Mawet*) is said to climb through windows Unfortunately, however, this argument must be abandoned, for the fact is that Môt is nowhere mentioned in that passage, the adversary whom Baal fears is Yam (see Commentary on §XXXVI).

Another scholar (Vivian Jacobs, HTR 38 [1945], 80 ff) has advanced the view that Môt, even if literally meaning 'Death,' denotes rather the spirit of the grain or of vegetation, who is often fused in seasonal folklore with the figure of 'the Death ' This view rests mainly on the fact that Môt is said to be winnowed, ground and burned (I AB, ii 31 ff) – a fate appropriate only to the personification of the corn (cf John Barleycorn). The argument is seductive, but rigid logic must not be expected in the domain of myth Môt is also described as a power who roams abroad turning all fertile places to desolation (I AB, ii 15–20) – a characterization which is just as certainly *in*appropriate to the spirit of the corn This shows that the conception of the fell spirit was fluid and elastic and that, in the popular mind, he was so much identified with the "Adversary" that even the reaping of the grain was regarded as symbolic of his passion

17a I AB, ii 15–20

18. *Ibid*

19 II AB, vii 55–57 Note that in Arabic and Accadian folklore, the desert is the natural habitat of noxious demons and jinns, cf *Utukki Limnûti* A iv 5 = CDLXI, i, 122.

20 II AB, viii 10–14, I[e]AB, ii 16. In Accadian, the netherworld is indeed called *bît muti*, cf CT XVIII, 30 rev. 28–30, where É KUR BAD is equated with (a) *irsitu*, 'earth, netherworld', (b) *bît mâti*, 'house of death'; and (c) *naqbaru*, 'grave', cf. CXXIII, No. 5, rev 17, CDLV, 7, n 1, Haupt, AJSL 20 (1904), 161 Similarly, in Hebrew it is called by metonymy *mawet*, 'Death'; Is. 28.15, 38 18, Hos 13 14, Ps 6 6, 9.14, 18 8(?), 22 16, Job 28 22, 30 23, etc.

21 II AB, ii 24–25.

In Arabic, the cognate word *mawāt* means *dead soil which remains arid and infertile.*[22]

§5. Each of these gods was recognized as sovereign in his own domain. Both Baal and Yam are expressly characterized as "princes" or "highnesses" (*zbl*);[23] while the latter in turn shares with Môt the common designation "beloved of El/God" (*mdd* or *ydd Il*),[24] a royal title corresponding to that frequently affected by Babylonian and Assyrian kings.[25] Moreover, the fragmentary text III AB,C explicitly relates the appointment of Yam by El;[26] while the netherworld is just as explicitly defined as the "inherited estate" of Môt.[27]

§6. Baal, Yam and Môt are thus the direct equivalents of the classical Zeus, Poseidon and Hades (Pluto) among whom the world was likewise divided and who reigned respectively over the sky, the waters and the netherworld. Their three-cornered contest for dominion over the earth represents, however, more than a mere conflict of natural forces, what it symbolizes and allegorizes is, specifically, the alternation of the seasons in the Syro-Palestinian year.[28] Baal, as genius of the rainfall, holds sway during the wet season, from late September until early May. But he does so only after curbing and subduing Yam, the rival power of the waters which, at the begin-

22 Arabic *ard mawāt* denotes "ownerless, discarded and waterless land." Cp. also *mawātun*, 'uncultivated land', 'land with no herbage or pasture,' etc., Lane, *Lex* 2741–42 Cf. also Qu'ran 29 63; 25 49 The usage may be recognized also in Gen 47 19–20 and in the LXX reading (incorrect though it may be) of II Samuel 1.21 "Mountains in Gilboa, let there be no dew nor rain upon you, ye mountains of *death* (*śᵉdê mawet*)" The name Hadramaut (Heb Hasarmawet) for the arid stretches of South Arabia reflects, of course, the same usage In Latin, sterile soil is likewise said to 'die'; cf Martial, *Ep* xiii, 12: *suburbanus ne moriatur ager*, Statius, *Theb.* v, 528. *moriturque ad sibila campus;* cf CLXV, s.v.

23 Baal is "prince of the earth" (*zbl ars*) in I AB, iii–iv 28, 40, III AB,A 8 Yam is regularly styled "prince of the sea" (*zbl ym*) in III AB,A and C.

24 Yam is called "beloved of El" (*mdd Il*) in II AB, ii 34; vi 12; vii 3–4; V AB, D 35–36 Môt is called "beloved of El" (*ydd Il*) in II AB, vii 46–47, I*AB, i 8, 13, I AB, vi 31 In II AB, vii 47–48, *ydd* stands alone, parallel to Môt

25 i e *naram ili* or *migir ili* For a list of instances, cf CCLXIII, 113 f The style seems also to have been known among the Hebrews, for this would explain why the prophet Nathan gives the name Y*dîd-Yah, "beloved of Yahweh," to the infant Solomon, destined to be king of Israel (II Sam. 12 25).

26. III AB,C 21–22.

27. II AB, viii 13–14, I*AB, ii 16

28 The Syro-Palestinian year consists of two seasons, the dry and the wet, LXXXIX, i, 34 f., CDXXIV, 75 They are known in Arabic as *sêf* and *šita*, and in Hebrew as *qais* and *hôreph* (Gen. 8 22, Jer. 36 22; Ps 74 17). The Mishnah distinguishes between "days of rain" and "days of the sun" (LXXXIX, *loc. cit.;* cf. Ta'an III), while in Modern Palestine, November inaugurates the wet season and May the dry; LXXXIX, ii 36 — A similar twofold division of the year obtains among several primitive peoples Thus, among the Maipuri, there is a wet season called *ca-repo*, "rain," and a dry called *ca-miti*, "glowing splendor of the sun"; while the Wagogo recognize a dry season (*ki-bahu*) and a wet (*ki-fugu*), cf LXX, 38, CCCXL, 54–56. For early Teutonic parallels, cf CLXXXV, 754. So too, in Celtic lore, the year is divided into the two seasons of "summer-half" (*samradh*) and "winter-half" (*geimredh*), ERE, v, 838a

ning of that season, threaten to overwhelm the earth with floods and equinoctial gales and thereby to "possess" it.[29] And he is in turn succeeded by Môt, genius of drought and aridity, who enjoys a free hand upon earth during the dry season from early May until late September.

The contest is predicated upon the ancient Oriental principle that title to land is established by "quickening" it.[30] Baal's claim is, by implication, that he does so by sending the rains, Yam's that he does so by feeding the rivers and wadies. Môt, on the other hand, takes a different line. His argument is (again by implication) that a large part of the earth is, in any case, constantly under his domination and the whole of it in fact subject to him for several months of the year.

§7. That our poem is indeed an allegory of the seasons is shown also by the nature and rôle of its subsidiary characters, viz. 'ASHTAR, SHAPASH, G-P-N and U-G-R, and Baal's daughters TALLIYA and ARSIYA.

'ASHTAR[31] is described as being nominated by Asherat, queen of the gods, to succeed Baal after the latter's removal from the earth.[32] However, he does not quite "make the grade"; for while he certainly goes down to earth and exercises some sort of sway upon it, it is said distinctly that he is found to be too small to occupy the throne of Baal in heaven![33] 'Ashtar is likewise a rival of Yam; for in the fragmentary text III AB,C we find him petulantly laying claim to the dignities which El decides to confer upon the latter.[34] But here again he does not "make the grade," his claim being rejected on the grounds that he has no wife, i.e. is still a minor. It is apparent, therefore, that 'Ashtar is a god of inferior status who aspires to dominion over both the earth and the waters but who is regarded in each case as not fully qualified to wield it.

Now, in Arabic, just as "land of Baal" means rain-watered soil, and just as *mawāt* means arid and infertile soil, so there is a term *'aṯṯarī* – cognate with the name 'Ashtar – which means *soil artificially irrigated*, and there is even a word *'aṯūr* denoting a canal or trench dug for purposes of irrigation.[35] 'Ashtar, therefore, is the genius of artificial irrigation – a rôle which the cognate deities *'Aṯtar* and Ishtar seem likewise to fill in South Arabian and Mesopotamian religion,[36] and the reason why he is said to exercise his

29. LXXXIX, I/ii, 307 f

30. Cf Nawawi, *Minhaj*, iii 171 Van den Berg; CDXC, 108, CDXXIX, 95–97, referring especially to III, 37.

31. For the spelling 'Ashtar, cf. CT XXV, Pl 18, rev 16, Clay, *Morgan* IV 25 39, CT XXV 17 ii 7, K 3500, where this is given as the W Semitic form of the more familiar Ishtar.

32. I AB, i 53–54 33 *Ib*, 59–63

34 *Syria* 24 (1944–45), 1–12

35 CDXXIX, 98–99, Bokhari II 122 Bulac, Welhausen, *Vak*, 420, XIX, 105, 127; CCCLXI, 11 f This sense of the root *'-š-r* should also be recognized in the Hebrew text of Ps 65 10, where the virtually antithetical *š-q-h* denotes the alternative method of supplying moisture from subterranean sources; cp. Arabic *šāqî* of land so watered

36 Cf CIS IV 41, 43, 47. *'ṯtr ḏ mnẓh* (cp Ar *n-z-h*, 'sprinkle'), Glaser, 882 2, Muller, ZDMG 37 (1883), 371–75 Cp. also *'ṯtr nwbn w-nb'n*, *Sudar. Exp*, 92 5, Hofner, WZKM 40 (1933), 24, Rhodokanakis, *Stud* II 83, CCCXXXVIII, 54, n. 4, Ryckmans, i 17 (On the

powers on earth during the period when Baal is ousted is that during the dry season the soil of Syria and Palestine is, in fact, dependent for moisture upon artificial irrigation.[37] At the same time, our allegorical poem is careful to bring out the point that this is no full substitute for rain: 'Ashtar's ministrations are significantly confined to the earth; it is said expressly that he cannot fill the place of Baal in heaven!

§8. SHAPASH is the sun-goddess.[38] It is Shapash whose aid 'Anat enlists in her search for the ousted Baal.[39] It is she too who succeeds in retrieving that god from the netherworld;[40] and it is she who subsequently urges Môt to give up the struggle against him[41] and whose services are therefore commended by the restored lord of the rains.[42]

All of this is part and parcel of the standard Seasonal Myth. In the Hittite version, it is the Sun-god who is similarly despatched to look for Telipinu, the vanished genius of fertility,[43] and in the Greek version, it is to Hēlios, the sun-god, that the disconsolate Demeter addresses herself when in search of the abducted Persephone, and it is Hēlios who first reports the latter's whereabouts.[44] The parallel rôle of Shapash thus affords further evidence that our poem is indeed a seasonal allegory.

The basis of this rôle is not far to seek. As we have seen [above, Ch. II, §37], the beginnings of the seasons were usually correlated in antiquity with solstice and equinox. Accordingly, the sun had perforce to play a prominent part in any myth connected with those occasions.

§9. In the same way, Baal's two couriers[45] G-P-N and U-G-R bear names which show that they are but personifications of agricultural and, more specifically, of seasonal phenomena. G-P-N is a familiar Semitic word for vine.[46] He may therefore be regarded as the genius of the vintage which in

other hand, Fell's comparison, ZDMG 54 [1900], 256, of *ʻṯtr ḏ yhrq* in Halévy 424.3, 425 3, 426 1, etc. with Arabic *h-r-q IV*, 'pour out,' is untenable, for Yhrq is more probably a toponym, cf. Rhodokanakis, *Stud* ii, 56) — A similar rôle is played by the Mesopotamian Ishtar, cf. LXXVIII, I, Pl 15–17 (= CCXXXV, 1 525). "Without thee, (O Ishtar,) is no canal opened up, no river dammed"; Barton, *Hebraica* 10 (1894), 73. Langdon, CCLXX, 348, asserts categorically that Tammuz and Ishtar were "at least in Sumer essentially deities of irrigation"

(The observations of Du Mesnil du Buisson, "'Ashtart et 'Astar à Ras Shamra," in JEOB 3/10, 406 and of Gray, "The Desert God 'ATTR in the literature and religion of Canaan," in JNES 8 [1949], 72–83 seem completely wide of the mark)

37 LXXIX.

38 The name is usually regarded as related to Babylonian Shamash, Heb *šemeš*, etc, 'sun' (cp. Heb *r-p-ś* = *r-m-s*, XVIII, 33), an intermediary form being Heb. *šābîs*, "sundisk" in Is. 3 18 This, however, is by no means certain The sun is likewise feminine in Teutonic myth (CLXXXV, 703).

39. I AB, III 22–48 40. I AB, i 8 ff.

41 I AB, vi 22–29. 42 *Ib*, 42–52.

43. Yuzgat Tablet, obv. 31 ff.

44 Homeric *Hymn to Demeter*, 69–87, Ovid, *Fasti*, IV 515–18

45 That G-p-n and U-g-r are two distinct persons, and that the name is not a compound, as was at first supposed, has been shown conclusively by Ginsberg, BASOR 95 (1944), 25–30.

46. Accadian *gapnu* (and *gupnu*), Ugaritic g-*p*-*n* (DS 9–11); Hebrew *gephen*, Arabic *ǰafn*, etc.

fact takes place in Syria and Palestine at the beginning of the rainy season.[47] As for U-G-R, this name is probably connected with the Accadian *ugaru* (from Sumerian *agar*) meaning field.[48] The divine pair thus personify the viticultural and agricultural features of the wet season.

§10. To Baal's two daughters TALLIYA, "Nymph of the Dew," and ARSIYA, "Nymph of the Soil," we have already alluded [above, §2]. It should be observed, however, that each possesses a specifically *seasonal* connotation. In the former we may recognize more particularly a personification of the special drop-forming dew (Arabic *sebîb*) which is a characteristic precursor of the wet season in Syria and Palestine and which is actually called *ṭal* in the Old Testament.[49] As for the latter, while the connection of the soil with rain is self-apparent, the applicability of the name Arsiya to a daughter of the rain-god is illustrated especially by the fact that in Arabic the denominative verb *'a-r-d*, derived from the cognate word for 'earth, soil,' means specifically *to collect moisture and become luxuriant*.[50]

§11. In further support of our view that the subsidiary characters of the story, viz. 'Ashtar, Shapash, G-p-n and U-g-r, and Talliya and Arsiya, are but personifications of natural phenomena, designed to point up its seasonal character, it may be observed that none of them, with the single exception of Shapash, is in fact mentioned in the purely ritualistic texts from Ras Shamra.[51] This shows that they were figures of myth rather than of formal cult.

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§12. But the poem is more than a mere literary allegory of the seasons. Both its structure and its sequence correspond exactly to those of the Ritual Pattern.

THE FIRST TABLET (III AB,B) relates the triumph of Baal over the Dragon of the Sea (Yam). This answers to the ritual battle with the Dragon, personification of evil or — in a more strictly meteorological sense — of the

47 LXXXIX, i, 160 ff.

48 Albright, BASOR 84 (1941), 14, n 2 There is little probability in Cassuto's view (*Tarbiz* 12 [1941], 173) that G-p-n means 'winged' (from *gp*, 'wing') and U-g-r 'hireling' (from *'a-g-r*, 'hire'), although it is interesting to note that in Slavonic mythology the messenger of the gods is called Algis, which Schwenk, CDX, 107, derived from Lithuanian and Latvian *alga*, 'salary,' i e 'hireling'!

49 LXXXIX, i, 94, CDXXIV, 65.

50. Cf Lane, *Lex*, 47c Cp also the German expression *Landregen*

51. In V AB, D 40 Virolleaud restores the name Ar[s]. However, that passage deals with the monsters vanquished by 'Anat and even mentions Leviathan and Yam. What we require, therefore, is the name of such a being, and comparison with I AB, vi 50 shows that it can be nothing other than Ar[š], which there stands parallel to Tannin, 'Dragon' — Similarly, in RS 17 1, at the head of a list of deities, Bauer restores [A]rs, but this too is uncertain, and it would seem just as possible to read [*y*]*rs*, 'may they show favor,' with Ginsberg.

This is not to deny, of course, that a deity of the earth was known to the Semitic religions Indeed, ^{d}E-ir-si-tu is specifically mentioned in the Assur text, VAT 10173

floods and equinoctial gales. As we have seen (above, Ch. II, §20), the battle is a cardinal element of seasonal ceremonies in many parts of the world.

THE SECOND TABLET (II AB) *deals with the construction of a palace for* Baal and with his installation as king of the earth. This is the durative counterpart of the annual installation of the king. As we have seen (above, Ch IV, §13), the construction of pavilions for kings and gods is a prominent feature of seasonal celebrations.

Concomitant with this installation is the banishment of Môt, the dread power of death and drought, to the netherworld and the barren wastes. This, of course, is the durative counterpart of the expulsion of Death (or *the analogous figure of Old Year, Blight, etc.) in seasonal ceremonies (see* above, pp. 17 ff.).

THE THIRD TABLET (I*AB) introduces the related seasonal motif of the Dying and Reviving God. Baal is lured into the netherworld and imprisoned therein. This motif — so familiar from the Tammuz-Osiris-Attis-Adonis cycle — symbolizes the punctual eclipse of the topocosm at the end of each life-lease and the discomfiture of its personification — the king.

THE FOURTH TABLET (I AB) describes the wailing for Baal — a projection *of the seasonal ululations; the usurpation of his dominion* by the upstart 'Ashtar — a projection of the interrex; the restoration of Baal through the aid of the Sun-goddess — a projection of the solar aspects of the seasonal festival, and his final defeat of Môt — a projection of the Ritual Combat.

As we have already indicated (Ch IV, §13), precisely the same structure and sequence appear in other ancient Near Eastern myths specifically associated with major seasonal festivals, e.g. the Ramesseum and Edfu dramas in Egypt, the Hittite myths of the battle of the Weather-god and the Dragon and of the dying and reviving Telipinu — the former designed expressly as the cult-text of the Puruli Festival, and the Babylonian story narrated in the poem *Enuma Eliš*, the cult-text of the New Year (Akîtu) Festival. *On both internal and external grounds, therefore, there is every reason for seeing in the Canaanite* Poem of Baal *a seasonal myth based on the traditional ritual drama of the autumn festival.*

ii 24 (= Schroder, ZA 33 [1921], 130), while Julius Lewy (HUCA 19 [1945–46], 429, n. 134) sees a relic of such an earth-deity in the name Arqiel (i e. Earth-god) given to one of the fallen angels in Enoch vi (= LXVI, 16) On the concept of Mother Earth among the Semites, cf Dittmar, ZNTW 9 (1908), 341–44, Noldeke, ARW 8 (1910), 161 ff, xx, 20, n. 1, 443 ff; 505 ff; Briem, ARW 24 (1926), 179–95, Stein, *Tarbiz* 9 (1938), 257–77

Widengren, CDXCVIII, 9 ff, thinks that the word *tal* (EV 'dew') in Psalm 110 3 is a personification, indicating the existence of a dew-god, to whom the king is there likened; but (a) the text is uncertain — LXX omits the word — and (b) see Gaster, JMEOS 21 (1937), 40, for a different interpretation of the verse Cf also LXXXIX, 1, 94. Engnell, CXXXII, 82, n 5, cites the proper-names Abî-tal (II Sam 3 4) and Y'hî-tal (APO 22 57) as evidence for a deity Tal, but the interpretation of these names is far from certain.

Virolleaud (*RA 37 [1940], 36,* n 1) finds the deity Gpn in the personal name Gupana of the Ugaritic document, RŠ 11839 18 (= RA 38 [1941], 9) This, however, is doubtful, because *-ana* is a common ending of *Hurrian* names at Ras Shamra, e g Ḫudiyana, Zukriyana, Ḫinaqana, Maḫizana (cf. CCLXXIV, ii, 257 ff)

KEY TO THE ORIGINAL TEXTS

III AB, C
Gordon: 129

I.	Sir Sea (Yam) being appointed king, a palace is built for him	3–10
II.	*Fragmentary and obscure*	11–14
III.	The genius of artificial irrigation ('Ashtar) claims the sovereignty, but is warned by the sun-goddess (Shapash)	15–18[b]
IV.	The genius of artificial irrigation replies	18[c]–21[a]
V.	El, supreme god, formally rejects 'Ashtar's claim and confirms the appointment of Yam as king	21[b]–24[a]

III AB, B
Gordon: 137

VI.	Baal, genius of rains, challenges the sovereignty of Yam	3–10
VII.	Yam complains to El	11–19[a]
VIII.	Yam's messengers alarm the gods	19[b]–29
IX.	Yam's messengers formally report his complaint	30–35
X.	El gives a reassuring reply, saying that Baal means no harm	36–43
XI.	Nevertheless, the messengers rebuke Baal	44–47

III AB, A
Gordon: 68

XII.	Baal offers fight but is warned (by 'Anat?) that Yam has thus far proved invincible	1–5
XIII.	Baal lies in wait for Yam	6–7
XIV.	Kôshar, the divine smith, supplies Baal with two bludgeons. One of them proves ineffective	8–18[a]
XV.	The second bludgeon fells Yam	18[b]–26
XVI.	'Ashtart intervenes, urging Baal not to slay Yam	27–31[a]
XVII.	Yam capitulates	31[b]–35[a]
XVIII.	*Fragmentary and obscure*	35[b]–40

II AB
Gordon: 51

XIX.	Baal, a king without a castle, bids 'Anat approach Asherat so that the latter may secure permission from El for a palace to be built	i, 4–44
XX.	'Anat chases Yam back into the sea	ii, 3–7
XXI.	'Anat repairs to El	8–11
XXII.	Asherat, at first alarmed at the advent of 'Anat, eventually becomes friendly	12–48
XXIII.	Asherat reassures 'Anat and Baal	iii, 1–9
XXIV.	Baal complains that the gods treat him with contempt	10–22
XXV.	Asherat asks why 'Anat and Baal do not go straight to El	23–32[a]
XXVI.	'Anat replies	32[b]–37
XXVII.	Asherat regales 'Anat and Baal	38–44

XXVIII.	Asherat repairs to El	iv–v, 1–26
XXIX.	El receives her	27–39
XXX.	Asherat presents the case of Baal	40–57
XXXI.	El grants permission for the palace to be built	58–63
XXXII.	Asherat thanks him and reports to 'Anat	64–81
XXXIII.	'Anat joyfully reports to Baal	82–97[a]
XXXIV.	Baal orders the palace to be built	97[b]–102
XXXV.	Kôshar, the divine artisan, is summoned	103–119
XXXVI.	A discussion ensues concerning the installation of windows. Baal objects that Yam might enter and abduct his daughters	120–vi, 15
XXXVII.	The palace is erected	vi, 16–35[a]
XXXVIII.	Baal regales the gods at a feast	35[b]–59
XXXIX.	Baal administers the *coup de grâce* to Yam	vii, 1–4
XL.	Baal consolidates his kingdom	5–12
XLI.	Yam having been eliminated, Baal consents to the installation of windows	13–20
XLII.	The glories of Baal are rehearsed	21–37[a]
XLIII.	Baal orders Môt, genius of death and aridity, to confine himself to netherworld and wilderness	37[b]–viii, 45
XLIV.	Baal's messengers convey the order to Môt	viii, 46 ff.

I* AB
Gordon: 67

XLV.	Môt replies by inviting Baal to a feast in the netherworld	i, 1–8
XLVI.	The messengers convey the invitation	9–31
XLVII.	Baal grows alarmed and offers surrender	ii, 2–13[a]
XLVIII.	Môt laughs Baal to scorn	13[b]–24
XLIX–L.	*Broken*	iii–iv
LI.	Baal is instructed to descend to the netherworld but first to copulate with an heifer	v, 1–17[a]
LII.	Baal obeys the instructions	17[b]–25
LIII.	Baal's two messengers report his disappearance from earth	vi, 1–10
LIV.	El mourns Baal	11–25

I AB
Gordon: 67 obv. + 49 + 62 rev.

LV.	'Anat mourns Baal	I*AB vii, 26–I AB i, 8[a] (Gordon 67, vi, 26–31 + 62, 1–8[a])
LVI.	At 'Anat's request, the Sun-goddess (Shapash) retrieves Baal on one of her nightly journeys to the netherworld	i, 8[b]–16[a]
LVII.	Baal is interred on the holy mountain; hecatombs are offered	16[b]–29
LVIII.	'Anat reports that Baal has died	32–43[a] (Gordon 49: i, 4–14[a])

LIX.	El proposes appointment of a successor. Asherat nominates 'Ashtar, genius of artificial irrigation	43b–55 (Gordon 49: i, 14b–27)
LX.	*'Ashtar fails to qualify, but assumes limited sovereignty over the earth*	56–65 (Gordon 49: i, 28–33)
		[Gordon: 49]
LXI.	'Anat encounters Môt and demands the return (i.e. the reanimation) of Baal. Môt refuses	ii, 1–25
LXII.	'Anat bides her time, then slays and dismembers Môt	26–37
LXIII.	'Anat reports to El a dream portending the return of Baal	iii, 1–9
LXIV.	El tells 'Anat to have the Sun-goddess locate Baal	14–iv, 4
LXV.	*Anat does so.* The Sun-goddess goes in search of Baal	iv, 5–25
LXVI.	Baal, eventually revived, fights his opponents and drives 'Ashtar from dominion	v, 1–6
LXVII.	Môt, likewise revived, challenges Baal	7–25
LXVIII.	Môt continues to challenge Baal	vi, 1–16a
LXIX.	Baal and Môt engage in combat	16b–22a
LXX.	The Sun-goddess urges Môt to capitulate	22b–29
LXXI.	Môt capitulates	30–35a
LXXII.	The Sun-goddess is commended (by Baal or El?)	35b–52 (Gordon 62: rev.)

Subsidiary Texts:

		V AB Gordon: 'nt
I.	A feast is spread to celebrate the return of Baal	I, 1–28
II.	'Anat seizes the opportunity to massacre those of the divine guests who previously opposed the sovereignty of Baal	II, 1–32a
III.	'Anat washes off the blood and adorns herself	32b–44
IV.	Baal sends messengers to 'Anat intimating that he now *wishes to inaugurate an era of peace* and that he proposes to reveal himself in the phenomena of nature. He enlists her cooperation	III, 1–28
V.	'Anat receives the messengers	29–48
VI.	The messengers transmit the words of Baal	49–64
VII.	'Anat signifies compliance	65–89

		BH Gordon: 75
I.	El receives a complaint concerning the conduct of Baal	i, 1–11
II.	He contrives the creation of demonic beings who, in the shape of wild oxen, will lure Baal to his doom while he is out hunting	12–41
III.	Baal encounters the monsters, pursues them, and is lured into a swamp	ii, 1–41
IV.	The discomfiture of Baal	42–48
V.	Baal is found by his brethren	49–62

TRANSLATION

III AB, C **Gordon: 129**

YAM IS APPOINTED LORD OF THE EARTH

The text is too fragmentary for connected translation, but it may be summarized as follows:

I

(a) *3–10.* Someone whose name is missing repairs to the court of El, "at the source of the Two Rivers, hard by the fountains of the Two Deeps." He makes obeisance, and a conversation ensues concerning the building of a palace for Yam, "prince of the sea" and "ruler of the stream(s)." Mention is made in this connection of the divine architect Kôshar-wa-Ḫasis ("Sir Adroit-and-Cunning"), and the language employed is the same as that which is used later (§XXXV; II AB iv–v, 113–16) to describe the erection of a palace for Baal.

According to Virolleaud, the first editor of our fragment, the person who is here described as coming before El is none other than Kôshar-wa-Ḫasis himself, and the passage describes how he received orders to build a mansion or palace for Yam. (The relevant verbs "build" and "uprear" are translated as imperatives.)

We would propose an alternative explanation. The person who comes before El is not Kôshar-wa-Ḫasis, but 'Ashtar, who draws the attention of the supreme god to the fact that the divine architect is currently building a palace for Yam and who seeks to secure this privilege for himself. The verbal forms (*tbn* and *trm*) which have been construed as imperatives are to be understood as 3rd pl. impf. (active or passive), *i.e.* "they are building / uprearing palaces" or "palaces are being built / upreared." This construction, as we shall see, gives sequence and coherence to the entire text.

II

(b) *11–14:* These lines are too fragmentary to yield a connected sense, but they are evidently a continuation of the speech which forms the main substance of the preceding passage, since no alternative speaker is introduced and some of the verbs (e.g. *bu,* "come," and *rgm-m,* "say," in line 11) appear to be in the imperative. We recognize mention of "fever" [*hrhrt-m*] and "fire" [*išt*], and possibly also of "streams of water" [*ybl-mm*]. There appears also to be an appeal to the person addressed (i.e. El?) to "call a servitor from the fields" [*ǧlm lšdm rgm-m*] and to have him "draw Yam out of the sea" [*bym Ym ymšy*]. It may be suggested, therefore — though the suggestion is necessarily tentative — that in these lines 'Ashtar entreats El to have Yam removed from the sea and visited with discomfiture, thus paving the way for his own accession to dominion.

III

(c) *15–18[b]:* The Sun-goddess (Shapash) is now introduced. In words reminiscent of the warning which she issues to Môt in I AB vi 26–29, she advises 'Ashtar to "retire from the presence of Prince Sea, [the presence of the Regent of the Strea]m(s)" lest El hear his contumacious words and "uproot the mainstays of thy dwelling, overturn the throne of thy kingship, break the scepter of thine authority."

IV

(d) *18[c]–21[a]:* These lines contain 'Ashtar's reply, but they are largely unintelligible, and it is not clear whether that reply is addressed directly to the Sun-goddess or to El himself. From the fact that the supreme deity is referred to as "the Bull, El, my father" and that the subsequent passage (21[b]–24[a]) begins "then the Bull his father pronounces(?)," and that this style is regularly employed in petitions, it would seem that the latter may well be the case. In any event, 'Ashtar here complains that he alone has "no house like the gods nor precinct like the sacred beings." In other words, despite the advice of the Sun-goddess, he presses his claim for the privileges which El has accorded to Yam.

V

(e) *21[b]–24[a]:* The supreme god himself now issues his fiat, advising the importunate 'Ashtar that he has appointed "Prince Sea" and the Regent of the Stream(s) to be king, and will grant dominion to none else. Moreover, he adds, there is a further reason why the privilege should not be conferred upon 'Ashtar: he has no wife, as have all the other gods, i.e. he is still a minor. This last observation, it should be noted, tallies in general sense with the description of 'Ashtar in I AB i 56–65:

> So 'Ashtar the formidable went up
> to the heights of the North,
> took his seat on the throne of Baal Puissant;
> (But) his feet did not reach the footstool,
> his head did not reach the top.
> So 'Ashtar the formidable said:
> 'I will not reign as king in the heights of the North!'
> And down went 'Ashtar the formidable,
> down from the throne of Baal Puissant,
> and proceeded to reign o'er the whole wide earth.

That passage implies that when that god aspired to usurp the throne of Baal in heaven, he was likewise found too small for the job.

III AB, B **Gordon: 137**

BAAL CHALLENGES THE AUTHORITY OF YAM, PRINCE OF THE SEA AND RULER OF THE STREAMS

VI

Yam, god of sea and stream, has been granted dominion over the earth. Baal, genius of rainfall and fertility, challenges his authority. The two indulge in mutual threats.

(The text begins at the end of Yam's speech.)

* *
*

Thou hast risen up overweening, O Ba[al] * * !"

[Then answered] Baal Puissant:
"[I will drive thee from the throne] of thy [do]minion,
* * the Hammer of Heaven [will smite] thee on the head,
[the Mallet of Heaven on the skull!]"

But the Ruler of the Streams [replies]:

VI. This passage reflects a standard element of the Ritual Combat. What it mythologizes is that exchange of curses or taunts which was the regular preliminary of *all* combats in the ancient Near East. Thus, in the Mesopotamian Epic of Gilgamesh (V, 1), when Enkidu declares his intention of challenging that hero, he says that he will "speak boldly" to him (see Oppenheim, *Orientalia* 17 [1948], 28, n. 1). Similarly, in I Samuel 17.25, David says of Goliath. "Surely to taunt Israel is he come up," and asks (v 26), "Who is this uncircumcised Philistine that he should have taunted the ranks of the living God?" The actual taunts exchanged between the Philistine and Israelite champions are fully described (vv.43–46), and it is significant that each boasts the prowess of his god (v.43; "And the Philistine cursed David by his god[s];" vv. 45 f.: "Then said David. . . . 'YHWH will deliver thee this day into my hand' "), just as do the two antagonists in our present Canaanite text.

For a modern survival of these taunts in Oriental warfare, cf. the description of a conflict between the Shafat and Lifta tribes of Palestine given by Mrs. Finn in CXXXVII, 26.

The taunts are a regular feature of modern folk-plays which revolve around the Ritual Combat. Indeed, E. K. Chambers (*The English Folk-Play* [London 1933], 13) lists them as one of the essential ingredients. Thus, in the Minchinhampton play (Tod, FL 46 [1935], 361 ff), Black Knight informs his adversary Gallantyne that "I'll cut thee up in slices / in less than half an hour." In the Cornwall play, St. George says of the Dragon. "I'll clip his wings, he shall not fly, / I'll cut him down, or else I die." And in the Frodsham "Soul-Caking" play (Myers, FL 43 [1932], 97 ff.), King George boasts. "Is there a man before me will stand, / I'll cut him down with my iron hand." To which Turkish Knight retorts "I'll cut thee, I will slash thee, and after that, I'll send thee over to Turkey-land to be made mincepies of."

"May [the Lord of Hell] split op[en, O Baal,]
[may the Lord of Hell split open] thy head,
'Ashtart, [the 'Name of Baal' thy skull]!

The taunts (*aischrologiai*) which characterized primitive seasonal performances (e.g. in the cult of Apollo at Anaphe, Apoll. Rhod., *Argonautica* IV, 1726) seem also to have been incorporated into later Greek drama; for Cornford (LXXVII, 119 ff.) and others would thence derive the epirrhematic structure of the Parabasis in Aristophanic comedy, holding that it originated in the exchange of taunts and curses between the participants in fertility rites.

The *hijâ'*-poetry of the Arabs is likewise but a literary expression of the taunts and curses exchanged before combat; and many scholars would recognize even earlier specimens of this *genre* in such Old Testament compositions as the Song of Lamech (Gen. 4 23–24), the Oracles of Balaam (Num. 23–24) and the Song of Deborah (Judges 5), see Goldziher, I., *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, I (Leyden 1896), 1–121, Gray, G. B., *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary to Numbers* (London 1906), 327–28, Montgomery, J. A., *Arabia and the Bible* (Philadelphia 1934), 6, 15. Cf. also Jacob, G., *Das Leben der vorislamischen Beduinen* (Berlin 1895), 144 ff.; Margoliouth, D. S., *The Poetics of Aristotle* (London 1911), 142.

Lastly, it should be observed that the ritualistic exchange of taunts also gave rise to the medieval literary *genre* of the *débat, e.g. dialogues in verse* between Summer and Winter, Life and Death, etc., wherein each heaped abuse upon the other (see Dieterich, quoted in LXXVII, 119).

The 'Hammer of Heaven' and the 'Mallet of Heaven' are the two divine weapons (called in the original Aymr and Ygrš) with which Baal is indeed subsequently equipped and with which he subdues Yam. On their significance and mythological parallels, see Comm. on §XV.

The curse pronounced by Yam recurs in Krt C vi 55–56, and the text is restored from that passage. The 'Lord of Hell' is, in the original, the god Ḥôrôn (cp. Arabic *haur*, 'pit'). He is mentioned occasionally in Egyptian texts of the New Empire, notably in the Harris papyrus (i 7), where he is associated with the goddess 'Anat, just as is his equivalent Rashap in the RŠ texts (i 7; iii 16; Krt B ii 6) and in an Egyptian altar-list (TSBA 3 [1874] 427, no. 11, 429, No. 69). The Syrians around Gizeh *seem to have given this name to the great sphinx.* Ḥôrôn *survives* also in the Biblical place-name Beth-Ḥôrôn (Jos. 16.5), while on a third century Greek inscription from Delos (Picard, *Syria* 17 [1936], 315 f.) 'Ḥôrôn of Jabneh' figures beside Hercules. The 'wife of Hôrôn' is invoked, like her equivalent Ereshkigal in Mesopotamia and even in late Greek charms, in a Canaanite magical inscription from Arslan Tash, dating from the eighth cent. B C. (Gaster, *Orientalia* 11 [1942], 61 f.). See in general: Albright, AJSL 53 (1936), 1 ff., id., BASOR 84: 7–12; Posener, JNES 4 (1945), 240–42.

'Ashtart is here introduced as the goddess of warfare and bellicosity – equivalent of the Mesopotamian Ishtar (CDLIV, 161 f.; XCVIII, 90). On a fragmentary stele from Memphis, for example, dating from the time of Merneptah (1232–1224 B.C.), she is represented holding shield and spear. The epithet 'Name-of-Baal' recurs on the fifth century B.C. inscription of Eshmun'azar of Sidon, but its meaning is disputed (LXXVI 37). Most probably, it denotes a hypostatized manifestation of Baal, the phrase 'Name-of-Yahweh' being similarly employed in

[Even no]w may [thou and thy henchman] fall down,
[fall headlong] off a mou[ntain],
(and find, when you reach the bottom,
that) your teeth [have been knocked out into your fist!]
May (your) twain wives also * * * * !"

VII

Yam sends messengers to the divine assembly demanding that Baal and his henchman be handed over.

Then Sir Sea sends [m]essengers,
[and raises his voice and cries;]
"At the very height of their triumph,
let us shatter [their] * * * *,
* * * * * * break their * * * * !
Ye servitors, speed away,
[straightway turn ye your faces]
toward the assembly of the Parliament (divine);
in the midst of [the Mountain Divine];
at the feet of El do ye fall,
make obeisance to the assembly of the Parliament,
and impart your intelligence,
and say unto El, the Bull-god, [his] father,
[declare to the assembly of] the Parliament:
"This is the command of Sir Sea, your lord,
of your master, the Ruler of the Stream(s):
Hand over, O gods, him to whom they would be paying respect,
him to whom the multitudes would be paying respect,
hand over Baal and his henchman,
even the scion of Dagan! Let me possess me of his gold!"

Isaiah 30.27 ("Behold, the Name-of-Yahweh cometh from afar, burning with His wrath," etc.). On the theological implications of the phrase, see the excellent remarks of Ernst Mueller, CCCXXIV, 17.

That the latter part of the curse is invoked against Baal *and his henchman* is clear from the fact that the crucial verb ("may you fall" – *tpln*) is in the *dual* number, and that there is reference later to "*two* wives" (*aṯtm*). It is to be observed also that Yam subsequently demands the surrender of Baal *and his henchman* (lines 18, 35), and that in the succeeding episode (§XII) reference is made to "the force of *us twain*" and "the might of *us twain*" as having been subjugated initially by Yam. The henchman in question is probably the god Kôshar, who supplies Baal with weapons, see below, Comm. on §XIV.

The concluding phrase of the curse may be elucidated from the comminatory formula, "And thy/their wife/wives shall become a widow/widows" in Ex. 22.23; Jer. 18.21; Ps. 109.9.

VII: The broken sentence beginning "Let us shatter . . ." may be explained in two ways. (*a*) as a general sentiment, viz., "When people are at the very height

VIII

At the approach of the messengers, the gods grow frightened, but Baal boastfully reassures them.

So away speed the messengers; they do not stay;
[straightway] they turn [their faces]
toward the Mountain Divine,
the assembly of the Parliament (divine).

Now, the gods are . . ing,
the Holy Ones are sitting at their meal,
and there is Baal standing beside El.

As soon as the gods catch sight,
catch sight of the messengers of Sir Sea,
the delegation of the Ruler of the Stream(s),
the gods on their princely thrones
bow their heads upon their knees.

But Baal upbraids them, saying:
"Wherefore, O gods on your princely thrones,
have ye bowed your heads upon your knees?
At least, O gods, ye should give a reply
to the message* of the messengers of Sir Sea,
of the delegation of the Ruler of the Stream(s)!
O gods on your princely thrones,
raise your heads from your knees,
and I, even I, will give the reply
to the messengers of Sir Sea,
the delegation of the Ruler of the Stream(s)!"

So the gods on their princely thrones
raised their heads from their knees.

* *Lit* "tablets," sc. on which the message was written.

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of their triumph, we confound their plans, so that their mien is changed and they become dejected(?)," or (*b*) as a specific threat, viz., "When these two rebels are in the midst of their assault, we will break their weapons in pieces and snap off the tips of them." The difference depends on matters of reading. In either case, it is significant that the word rendered "triumph" (*'ls*) is that employed in OT of the exultant shouts of warriors (Ps. 25.2, Hab. 3.14, and the cognate *'lz*, Ps 60.8, II Sam. 1.20).

VIII: The Mountain of Assembly is mentioned in Isaiah 14.13. "But thou hast said in thine heart, I will go up unto heaven, above the loftiest stars will I set my throne, I will dwell in the Mountain of Assembly, in the farthermost recesses of the North." Cf. also Ezekiel 28 14, 16. On its location and on parallels in other mythologies, see below on §XXVIII.

IX

The messengers relay the demands of Yam.

Then, when they had reached their destination,
the messengers of Sir Sea,
the delegation of the Ruler of the Stream(s),
fell at the feet of El,
made obeisance to the assembly of the Parliament (divine).
Then, standing upright, they ***ed,
imparted their intelligence.
Like a flame, like two flames, they looked(?);
a burnished sword was [in their right ha]nds.

Then spake they to El, the Bull-god, his father:
"This is the command of Sir Sea, your lord,
of your master, the Ruler of the Stream(s):
'Hand over, O gods, him to whom they would be paying respect,
him to whom the mul[titudes] would be paying respect,
hand over Baal and his henchman,
even the scion of Dagan. Let me possess me of his gold!' "

X

El replies complacently that Baal is not really hostile and that Yam has no real reason to be afraid of him.

But El the Bull-god, his father, [replied]:
"Baal is your servant, Sir Sea,

IX: For the messengers (i.e. "angels") with swords in their hands, cp. Joshua 5.13. For the idea that messengers come in pairs, cf. *UH*, 63, n. 1. This probably corresponded to actual practice. Note that in the Egyptian "Poem of Pentaur" (= Breasted, *AR* iii, 144–5, §§319, 321, 322) *two* Shasu come from the Shabtuna-district to speak with Ramses II, and *two* scouts are despatched by the vanquished Hittite king. Cf. also Iliad i, 320–21. One alone might meet with an accident.

X: A 'perpetual slave' is one who enjoys no manumission, the term recurs in Krt A 127 and in Ex. 21.6, Lev. 25.46, I Sam. 27 12.

The term rendered "tribute" properly means "purple," since the purple dye yielded by the murex was the principal product of the Syro-Phoenician coastal cities. In Hittite, this term came, indeed, to mean "tribute" in a general sense (CLXXIII, 130, CCCVIII, 491 and fn. 2).

'Anat and 'Ashtart are here introduced as goddesses of combat. In illustration of this, cf. the inscription of Ramses III (1198–1166 B.C.) at Medinet Habu: " 'Anat and 'Ashtart are as a shield unto him" (XLIII, 80, CCCLXVII, 79).

For the two assistants holding either hand of a combatant in battle, in order to confer extra strength on him, cp. Ex. 17.12, where Aaron and Hur hold up the hands of Moses during the battle against Amalek.

Baal is your [perpetu]al slave,
the son of Dagan is your bondman!
He will surely pay tribute to you;
for, see (all) the gods pay you tribute,
and (all) the Holy Beings form your escort!
Indeed, Baal is friendly!
[What if] he were to grasp a knife in his hand,
or a weapon in his right hand?
* * * * servitors * * * * * !
And [what if 'An]at herself were to hold his right hand,
and 'Ashtart his left?
How could he ever [assail] the messengers of Sir Sea,
the delegation of the Ruler of the Streams?
Why, the one messenger would * * * *,
while the other [would smite him] between the shoulders!
Indeed, Baal is friendly!
. . . . . "

XI

Nevertheless the messengers rebuke Baal for his insulting attitude towards Yam.

Howbeit, the messengers of Sir Sea,
the delegation of the Ruler of the Streams,
. . . .; [they lifted their voices and cried:]
"Naughtiness have you uttered against your lord, Sir Sea,
ag[ainst your] mas[ter, the Ruler of the Streams!]

* *
*

III AB, A **Gordon: 68**

THE COMBAT OF BAAL AND YAM

This text, inscribed on the reverse of the tablet which contains III AB,B, forms one of the most interesting sections of the entire poem. For a proper appreciation of its contents, the formal translation must be preceded by a discussion of its theme as a whole.

The fight of god and dragon — a counterpart of that enacted in ritual in order to bring in the new lease of life — is a constant theme of seasonal myths throughout the world. Moreover, as the concept of Time develops from the cyclic to the progressive, this fight comes to be projected both *backwards* into cosmogony and *forwards* into eschatology; for that which was regarded in more primitive thought as the necessary preliminary to each successive lease of life comes now to be regarded as the necessary preliminary to the entire series and likewise to the establishment of the new

dispensation at the end of the present order. In the familiar language of Judeo-Christian cosmogony and apocalypse, the God who engaged and vanquished Leviathan at the beginning of days will perforce do so again at the end of them in order to usher in the New Age.

The principal parallels to our Canaanite myth in the literature of the Ancient Near East are the following:

1. the Sumerian myth of the battle of Ninurta against the monster Asag;
2. the Accadian myths of the combat of Marduk against Tiamat and of the discomfiture of the dragon Labbu;
3. the Indian myth of the combat of Indra against Vritra;
4. the Greek myth of the fight between Zeus and the monster Typhon or Typhoeus;
5. the Hittite myth of the struggle between the weather-god and the dragon Illuyankas;
6. the Iranian myth of the discomfiture of the serpent Azi Dahak;
7. the Egyptian myth of the battle between Horus and Set;
8. the Phoenician myth of the combat of Kronos (El) against the dragon Ophion or Ophinoeus (= virtually, Leviathan);
9. the Old Testament myth of Yahweh's fight against a dragon variously named Rahab ("Rager"), Leviathan ("Coiled One"), Tannîn ("Dragon"), "the Evasive Serpent" and "the Tortuous Serpent."

To these parallels may be added that of the Teutonic myth of the conflict between Thor and the cosmic serpent Midhgardhsormr; while certain late Jewish and Arabic legends may also be adduced as supplying one or other trait or detail.

These parallels would be interesting rather than illuminating were it not for the fact that by comparing them carefully it is possible to recover a series of characteristic traits which recur in our Canaanite text and the detection of which helps to clarify many details otherwise obscure. These are pointed out in due order in the Commentary which accompanies our translation. Here we shall confine ourselves, for purposes of general reference, to a brief summary of the several versions enumerated.

THE SUMERIAN VERSION is preserved in the poem *Lugal-e u_4-me-lám-bi-nir-gál*. The hero is the god Ninurta, and the adversary is the monster Asag, who has allowed the subterranean waters to rise and threaten the land. When he is vanquished, the land is hemmed in by a protective wall of mountains, and the unruly waters are channelled between the banks of the River Tigris. The weapons with which the god achieves victory, after initially fleeing in terror, are two bludgeons called respectively ŠAR.ÙR, "World-Crasher," and ŠAR.GAZ, "World-Smasher."[1]

1 CCXXVI, III, Pinches. PSBA 28 (1906), 203–18, 270–83, DVI, Deimel, *Orientalia* 5 (1922), 26–42, CCLXX, 119 ff., CCCLXXXVIII See especially Jacobsen, JNES 5 (1946), 146–47, which corrects Kramer's account in CCLVIII, 80 ff.

An alternative version credits the victory to the goddess Inanna, counterpart of the Babylonian Ishtar and the Canaanite Ashtareth.[2]

THE ACCADIAN VERSION exists in several forms. The most familiar is that embodied in the Epic of Creation (*Enuma êliš*).[3] This described how, when all the other gods failed, Marduk defeated the marine monster Tiamat and all her allies, using as his weapons a lance, a net, a thunderbolt (*abūbu*), the stormwind and the hurricane. The vanquished monster was split in two, to make earth and the firmament. Another version identified the adversary as a dragon-like creature called Labbu ("The Raging One"). The weapons are there a raincloud (*urpu*) and the stormwind (*mēḫû*).[4] Yet a third version, known only from a passing allusion, features a six-headed dragon,[5] while a fourth refers to a similar monster with *seven* heads.[6]

The myth is also represented on cylinder seals of the first millennium B.C., and it is significant that in several such seals the victorious god is *accompanied by a goddess,* as in our Canaanite Text.[7]

THE INDIAN VERSION occurs in a classic passage of the Rig Veda,[8] dating about 1000 B.C.:

> Indra slew the Serpent, he released the waters, he slit open the bellies of the mountains. Tvashtri (the divine smith) fashioned his whizzing thunderbolt . . . His missile the Bountiful One (Indra) grasped, and smote that first-born of serpents . . . Indra slew Vritra . . with his thunderbolt, that great weapon of death . . . Indra, the lightning-armed, is the king of him that goes and him that rests and of the tame cattle, yea, he rules over busy men.

This account is amplified in several later sources, notably in the Satapatha Brahmana, a ritualistic compendium compiled (probably) in the fifth century B.C.[9] There we are told that Indra was at first frightened of his opponent and fled "to farthermost distances." Subsequently, however, he regained his courage and came to grips with the monster. Eventually he subdued him and thereby forced back the overflowing waters of the western and eastern oceans. Vritra thereupon besought the victorious god to cut him in twain, but not to annihilate him, and this request was granted. The Satapatha Brahmana adds that Vritra took the form of a serpent, his name being derived fancifully from a root *vrit-*, "to roll."

2 CCLVIII, 82 ff.
3 EE, tab IV
4 CT XIII, 3 ii, translated by Zimmern in CXCI, 417–19
5 Hommel, *Babyloniaca* 2 (1908), 60–61
6. CDXXII, 87. The seven-headed dragon appears on a seal from Tell Asmar. Pinches, *JRAS Centenary Supplement* (1924), 65, sees an allusion to the dragon-combat in a hymn to Ninurta
7. CXLIII, Pl. XXII, a, d, CCXLIII, 431, Ward, AJSL (1898), 94 ff.
8 I, 32, cf CCXC, 56–60, 158 f
9. I Kanda, 6 Adhyaya, Brahmana 3–17 = Eggeling, SBE, XLI, 164 ff.

THE GREEK VERSION, narrated principally by Hesiod[10] and Aeschylus,[11] describes how Zeus slew a fire-breathing, hundred-headed dragon called Typhon, or Typhoeus.[12] This monster lived in the sea, which he continually embroiled, causing sudden squalls and threatening the lives of mariners. He had the temerity to challenge the sovereignty of Zeus, and would have succeeded in making himself king of gods and men, had not the supreme deity smitten him with a thunderbolt and lashed him with a flail of lightning. Finally, he was imprisoned beneath Mount Etna, the volcanic fires of which are caused by his snortings.

Another version[13] says that the other gods fled in terror to Egypt at the sight of the monster. Zeus, however, gave chase and pursued him to Mount Casius, in Syria. But Typhon managed to wrest the god's adamantine sickle out of his hand and therewith to cut off the sinews of his hands and feet. He then carried him off to the Corycian cave in Cilicia Hermes and Aegipan, however, recovered the sinews and fitted them to Zeus, who thereafter accomplished the final defeat of his adversary, imprisoning him under Mount Etna. This extended version, a form of which occurs already in earlier Hittite sources,[13a] is of particular interest to us because it connects the legend with Mount Casius, in the immediate neighborhood of Ras Shamra.[13b]

THE HITTITE VERSION need not long detain us, more especially since it is discussed in detail in a subsequent chapter.[14] Overladen with other motifs (some of which have familiar folkloristic parallels), it is concerned basically with a fight between the storm and weather god Inaras and a serpent called Illuyankas. Of especial interest, however, for reasons which will appear later, is the fact that the story was the cult-myth of the annual Purulli festival – probably, the New Year, and that it was recited in order to bring "prosperity, calm and security" to the country.

A representation of the myth, showing a god about to attack a coiling dragon, is to be found among the rock sculptures at Malatiyeh.[15]

10. *Theog* 820 ff.
11. *Prometheus Vinctus* 351 ff.
12 So too Pindar, *Ol* IV, 8, *Pyth* VIII, 16, *fr* XCIII, 4 Donaldson
13 Apollodorus, *Bibl*, I, VI 3, cf Ovid, *Met* V 319 ff, Hyginus, *fab* 152
13a Cf. Porzig, KlF 1 (1930), 379–86, CXCII, 100 ff
13b Similarly, Strabo (XVI, 2 7, p 751) and Malalas (II, p 38 Dindorf) locate the battle in the region of the River Orontes (cf XXI, II, 163), while the latter also records a tradition that it took place at Apamea (XII, 8 19, p 579, XIII, 4 11, p 628). In the legend of St George, the dragon was first pinned down at Ascalon, then bound with the girdle of the maiden Sabra (*alias* Cleodolinda), and finally slain at Beirut One wonders, therefore, whether Iliad II 783 does not refer, after all, to Syria (Aram) when it locates the discomfiture of Typhon *ein Arimois* (On *Arimoi* = Arameans, see Strabo XVI, 4 27, p 785) – On the Typhon-myth, see especially, CXXVIII, CXCIIa, CDXIIa, Anastase, AlM, No 13, 590–603
14 See below, pp 317 ff.
15. CLIX, fig 17, and pp 206–07, CLXXI, fig 13

THE IRANIAN VERSION[16] tells of a rebellious serpent named Azhi (Serpent) Dahāka, a monster with three heads, who was slain by the hero Thraētaona. A later version, comparable with the Sumerian and Greek accounts, maintains, however, that he was not slain but imprisoned beneath the volcanic mountain of Demawend, and that he will be finally annihilated only at the millennium by the hero Sāma Keresaspa. This version, it may be added, is also preserved in Armenian sources.[17]

THE EGYPTIAN VERSION[18] relates how the sun-god Ra' defeated a dragon called 'Apep, transpiercing him with a flinty sword[19] and with the aid of fire. According to the version preserved in inscriptions at Dendereh, however, the god did not immediately annihilate him, but drove him back into his cavern,[20] and placed over him a stone forty cubits long.[21] This, of course, parallels the Sumerian, Indian and Greek accounts. Moreover, as in those versions, it is said distinctly that Ra', as well as all the other gods, were at first "in a flutter" about the monster.[22]

The Egyptian version has taken on the complexion of a solar myth, 'Apep having come to be identified with the familiar folkloristic dragon who is believed to attempt daily to swallow up the sun and to succeed in so doing at eclipses. This development likewise took place in Hebrew mythology, for in Job 3.8 Leviathan appears as a fell dragon who can darken the day.[23] We shall see presently that it also took place in Canaanite mythology.[24] Nevertheless, the characteristics of the original myth are still clearly discernible.

Another Egyptian version may be recognized in the dramatic myth of Horus at Edfu. This, as Blackman and Fairman have shown,[25] was enacted at the annual festival in that city. Its central theme was the triumph of Horus of Behdet over his enemies, his consequent enthronement as king of Upper and Lower Egypt, and his sacred marriage with the goddess Hathor of Dendereh. The principal enemy, called "the Caitiff,"[26] is represented as a hippopotamus, *i.e.* a marine creature directly comparable with Yam, Tannîn and Leviathan of the Canaanite-Hebrew version. The weapon

16 Yast 19, 38–44, Bundahishn XXIX, 9, Dātistānī Dēnīg 37, i 9, Dinkart VII, i 26, IX, 21

17. Moses of Chorene: Aždahak is imprisoned by Hruden in the mountain of Dembavend

18. The principal sources are *BD*, ch xxxix and the quasi-magical papyrus of Nesi-Amsu (311–10 B C), edited by Budge in *Archaeologia* 52 (1890), 502 ff , and translated in Gressmann, CLXXXII, 181 ff. Cf also LVI, ii, 324–28, CCCLXXXIII, 98–115.

19 Eg *dś* 20 Eg *ḥb t*

21. Cf Le Page Renouf, TSBA 8 (1883), 217 Although mainly antiquated, this article contains several useful observations.

22. *BD*, ch. xxxix. 23. See Dhorme in loc

24. Below, Comm. on Baal §LXXII.

25 Blackman-Fairman, JEA 21 (1937), 26 ff ; 28 (1942), 32 ff ; 29 (1943), 3 ff.

26. 63, 6.

used is a harpoon,[27] and Horus is assisted by Isis, just as is Baal by 'Anat. Significantly, too, the harpoon is said to have been made in copper by Ptah,[28] just as Baal's bludgeons were made by Ptah's Canaanite counterpart Kôshar, the thunderbolt of Indra by Tvashtri and the weapons of Zeus by Hephaistos. Indeed, the fact that they are said specifically to have been made of copper adds to the force of the parallel, for Kôshar, like Hephaistos, was primarily a worker in metals.

Noteworthy also is the fact that Horus is armed not only with a harpoon but also with a rope, and that he not only smites his adversary on the head but also, apparently, binds him.[29] Here again we have a striking parallel with our Canaanite myth; for while in this text Baal is said to smite Yam on the brow and back, in II AB, col. iii, Kôshar is instructed to furnish a large net wherein to imprison the monster.

THE PHOENICIAN VERSION is known to us as such only from stray references by Maximus Tyrius[30] and Celsus;[31] but it is mentioned also, without reference to its source, by such late Greek poets as Apollonius Rhodius,[32] Lycophron[33] and Nonnus.[34] According to this version, necessarily Hellenized, before Zeus could bring the world into being, Kronos had first to fight the dragon Ophion (or Ophioneus) for lordship over nature. Once vanquished, the dragon was cast into the sea. Despite the obvious confusion between El (i.e. Kronos) and Baal, it is clear that this is substantially the same story as is related in our Canaanite poem, Ophion-Ophinosus (from *ophis*, 'serpent') being a manifest translation of some such Phoenician name as Btn, Leviathan or Tannîn – appellations of the dragon in the Ugaritic and Old Testament texts.[35]

Last, but by no means least, we come to THE HEBREW VERSION of our myth. This has to be pieced together from scattered allusions in the later books of the Old Testament, and the fact that there is a noticeable variation in details makes it uncertain that they all reflect the same tradition. Without exception, the passages in question are of exilic or post-exilic date – the product of a general archaeological revival which swept the whole of the Near East in the sixth–fifth centuries B.C. and, more specifically, of an attempt to recapture the allegiance of the returning and assimilated Jewish

27. 62, 4, 61, 8; 64, 11, 76, 4, etc.
28. 67, 1–5.
29 73, 5
30 *Dissert.* XXIX, p. 304 Davis.
31. *Apud* Origen, *c Cels*, VI 42 et al.
32 *Argonautica* I, 503 ff (where the tale is put into the mouth of Orpheus!).
33. *Alex* 1191
34 *Dionys* 1244.
35 Milton, *Paradise Lost* X 570 f, drawing from Apollonius Rhodius, also alludes to the myth: "However some tradition they dispers'd / Among the heathen of this purchase got, / And fabl'd how the Serpent, whom they call'd / Ophion, with Eurynome the wide / (Encroaching Eve perhaps), had first the rule / of high Olympus, thence by Saturn driv'n / And Ops, ere yet Dictaean Jove was born."

exiles by representing their ancestral religion in terms of the 'heathen' mythologies with which they had become acquainted. Accordingly, they lean heavily on the Babylonian version, though the survival of native, Syro-Palestinian elements is revealed by the fact that the Dragon is called by the same names and epithets as in the Canaanite texts of Ras Shamra, viz. Tannîn, Leviathan, "the slant serpent" (*Barî'h*) and "the tortuous serpent" ("*qallatôn*). The conquering hero is, of course, YHWH, in accordance with the propagandistic tendency of attributing the exploits of pagan deities to Israel's own god.

The principal passages which allude to the myth are as follows:*

(1) Isaiah 27.1:

In that day YHWH will punish with his sore and great and strong sword Leviathan the slant serpent (Barî'h) and Leviathan the tortuous serpent ('qallatôn), and he will slay the Dragon (Tannîn) which is in the sea.

(2) Isaiah 30.7 ("Oracle against the Beasts of the South"):

> And Egypt gives vain and useless help
> So I have called her *the stilled RAHAB.*

The point here is that RAHAB, a common name for the Dragon, means properly "Rager, Stormer." The prophet says, therefore, that the weak and ineffective Egypt will be like the turbulent Dragon after it had been subdued!

There is also a mythological allusion to the ineffective "helpers" of the Dragon in the old myth. They are mentioned again in Job 9.13 where they are said to "sink" before YHWH (see below). Similarly, the Babylonian version states expressly that at the approach of Marduk, the "helpers" of Tiamat, "quivered, feared, turned tail" (EE iv, 107–108: *rêsûša âliku idiša ittarû, iplaḫû, usaḫḫirû arkâtsun*).

(3) Isaiah 51.9–10:

> Awake, awake, put on strength
> O arm of YHWH!
> Awake as in ancient days,
> as in olden times!
> Was it not thou that hewed RAHAB,
> transfixed the DRAGON (Tannîn)?
> Was it not thou that dried up the Sea,
> the waters of the great deep?

(4) Ezekiel 29.3–5:

> Lo, I am against thee, O Pharaoh,
> king of Egypt,
> That art as the great Dragon (Tannîn)
> crouching in the midst of his river,
> Who said, 'The river is mine,
> and I it was who made it.'

* Emended passages are enclosed between asterisks For details, see below, pp 456 ff

I will put hooks in thy jaws,
. . . . . .
and haul thee up from the midst of thy river;
And all the fish of thy river
shall stick to thy scales.
And I will cast thee into the desert,
thee and all the fish of thy river.
Out on the fields shalt thou be flung,
ungathered and unburied shalt thou lie;
To the beasts of the earth and the fowl of the air
I have given thee as food.

To appreciate the full force of this oracle it is necessary to bear in mind that, according to Egyptian ideas, the Pharaoh caused the annual inundation of the Nile. It is this that gives the prophet the opportunity of likening him to the mythological Lord of the River who was in the end subdued!

(5) Ezekiel 32.2–6:

But thou art as the Dragon (Tannîn) in the seas,
and thou belchest with thy snortings,
And muddiest the waters with thy feet,
and foulest their streams.

Thus saith YHWH:

I will spread my net over thee,
. . . . . .
and haul thee up in my mesh,
And I will cast thee upon the land;
out on the fields will I fling thee.
And I will make all the fowl of the air to settle on thee,
and sate all the beasts of the earth on thee.
And I will place thy flesh upon the hills,
and fill the dales with *thy rot;*
And I will water the earth with what exudes (?) from thee,
. . . . . .
and the wadies shall be replenished with *thy blood.*

(6) Nahum 1.3^{b}–4, 8^{b}–9, 12:

In the gale and the flail is His way,
and a cloud is the dust at his feet.
He rebuketh the Sea and drieth it up,
and all the streams he rendereth dry.
. . . . . .
He maketh an end *of them that rise up against him,*
and his foemen he chaseth into darkness.
How would ye plot against him?
He maketh a full end;
Hostility shall rise not twice!
. . . . . .

Thus saith YHWH:

*What though great waters gushed,
yet have they ebbed and passed o'er;*
Though I afflicted thee,
I will afflict thee no more.

These verses occur in an alphabetic hymn which forms a kind of prologue to the oracle of Nahum against Nineveh. From the fact that wherever the name YHWH occurs (e.g. vv. 2, 3, 7, 9, 11) it is hypermetrical, or else (as in v. 3) the result of manifest interpolation, it is probable that the hymn was originally addressed to some other, Canaanite god, such as Baal, lord of the storm. In it, allusion was made not only to his prowess and might in general, but also to his conquest of the Dragon in particular, since this provided an excellent "object lesson" against Nineveh.

The reference to "plotting" against the god is admirably illustrated from the Babylonian version, which states expressly that the rebel côterie of Tiamat "plotted" (*kapdû*) against the supreme deity (EE. i, 110).

The reference to the gushing of the great waters (i.e. the streams of the ocean) has added point when it is remembered that, according to Diodorus (II, 27, 1) and Xenophon (*Anab.* iii 4, 7–12), Nineveh was destroyed through an exceptional rising of the Tigris!

(7) Habakkuk 3.8:

Is YHWH wroth against the streams?
Is Thine anger against the streams,
Is Thy rage against the Sea,
That Thou ridest upon thy horses,
Upon Thy chariots in triumph?

The verse occurs in a poem describing the warlike exploits of YHWH. The picture of Israel's god riding forth to combat conjures up that of his primeval conflict with the Dragon.

(8) Psalm 74.13–14:

Thou didst break up the Sea by thy strength,
shattered the heads of the Dragon (Tannîn).

Thou didst crush the heads of Leviathan,
didst give him as food to *the sharks of the sea.*

(9) Psalm 89.9–10:

Thou rulest the pride of the sea,
When the waves thereof storm Thou stillest them.

Thou didst crush RAHAB like one transfixed,
With thy mighty arm didst scatter Thy foes.

(10) Psalm 93:

YHWH is become king;
In majesty is He robed;

YHWH is girded with might.

. . . . . .

The streams lifted up, O YHWH,
The streams lifted up their voice,
The sea lifted up ....

Mightier than the voices of great waters,
More majestic than the breakers of the sea
Is YHWH majestic in the height!

Thine ordinances are very sure,
Verily, an abode of holiness is Thy house,

. . . . . .

The Psalm clearly alludes to the combat of YHWH (i.e. Baal) against the Sea and River in order to ensure his sovereignty. The reference to His "ordinances" becomes readily intelligible when it is remembered that Marduk, in token of his victory over Tiamat, received the tablets of fate by which the destinies of mankind were ordained. Similarly, the reference to YHWH's "house" links up at once with the fact that Marduk has a special fane (*parakku*) built for himself when he had vanquished the Monster.

(11) Job 7.12:

Am I Sea or Dragon (Tannîn),
That Thou shouldst set watch over me?

The passage is explained from the Babylonian version of our myth which says distinctly that after vanquishing Tiamat, Marduk set a watch (*massartu*) over him (EE. IV, 139). The reference is particularly significant since it shows that, at least in one version, the Dragon was not slain, but imprisoned. This recurs, as we have seen, in the Sumerian, Indian, Iranian and Greek accounts.

(12) Job 9.13:

God turns not back His anger;
(Even) the helpers of RAHAB sank under Him.

For this reference to the "helpers" of the Dragon, see above (2).

(13) Job 26.12–13:

With his strength He quelled the Sea,
and with His skill He smote RAHAB.

. . . . . .

His hand pierced the slant Serpent (Barî'h).

(14) Job 38.8–11:

He hemmed in Sea with doors,
when it gushed, went forth from the womb;
When I made the cloud its wrapping,
and the mist its swaddling-band.
When I prescribed for it its limit,
and set a bolt and doors,

And said, thus far and no further,
and here shall thy proud waves stop.

Here again, the allusion is explicable from the Babylonian version, which narrates that Marduk appointed a bolt (*parku*) over the vanquished Tiamat (EE. iv, 139). However, the picture of the gushing waters has here been confused with that of "gushing" from the womb.

(15) Job 41.17–26 [EV. 25–34]. Description of Leviathan:

At his *raging* gods are affrighted,
At his destruction, stalwarts take to hiding.

If a sword *come near him,* it avails not,
Nor a spear, a dart or a shaft.

He regards iron as chaff,
Brass as rotting timber.

No arrow can put him to flight,
Slingstones are turned with him to stubble.

The club is regarded by him like stubble,
And he laughs at the whizz of the lance.

. . . . . .

He makes the deep to seethe like a pot;
He renders the sea like flakes (?).

He makes a path to gleam behind him;
One would think the deep to be hoary.

On earth there is not his like,
Who is made the lord of beasts.

Him do all high things fear;
He is king over all proud things.[36]

THE TEUTONIC VERSION[37] relates how Thor, the thunder god, vanquished the cosmic serpent Midhgardhsormr with the aid of a hammer called Mjölnir, or "Crusher," generally identified by modern scholars with the thunderbolt. Some accounts say that the weapon was fashioned by the subterranean dwarfs, the Teutonic counterpart of the Classical Cyclopes. This detail is of importance because, as is well known, the Cyclopean forge was managed by Hephaistos, and Hephaistos is the equivalent of the Vedic Tvashtri and the Canaanite Kôshar, both of whom feature in the respective sister versions as the fabricators of the conqueror's club.

Another version is the slaying of the Lintrache by Siegfried.

36. The myth also survives in later Jewish legends, where the dragons are identified as Rahab and Leviathan, cf CLXVII, v, 26, where sources are quoted.

37. Cf. CXII; CCCXXX, L, 196, 207; Deutschbein, *Germ.-Rom Monatsschrift*, 1 (1909), 109; XXIV, ii, 64 f, No. 190 (For these references the writer is indebted to his friend, the late A. Haggerty Krappe.)

It will be seen at once that there are certain motifs which are common to all of these versions and which likewise occur in our Canaanite text.

1. In all of them the combat involves a question of sovereignty, the antagonist flinging a challenge at the victor. So too in our Canaanite version, Baal is assured that if he conquers Prince Sea he will acquire undisputed kingship for ever; and when he does so, the vanquished adversary indeed exclaims, "Let Baal be king!"

2. In most of the sister versions a special point is made of the fact that the warrior-god, or some other gods before him, turned tail at the sight of the Dragon. So in our Canaanite version, the initial speaker – probably, the goddess 'Ashtareth – exclaims that "(even) warriors there grow faint!"

3. In the Indian and Greek versions, the victor's weapons are supplied by the artisan gods – Tvashtri and Hephaistos; while in the Teutonic version they are made by the subterranean dwarfs who fill the same rôle. So too in our Canaanite version, they are handed to Baal by Kôshar, elsewhere described as the divine smith.

4. In many of the sister versions, the weapons are identified with thunderbolt and lightning. In the Indian and Greek versions, this is explicit; also, apparently, in the Teutonic version, where Mjolnir, the maul wielded by Thor, is regarded by most modern scholars as the thunderbolt. In the Accadian versions there seems likewise to have been a tendency to identify the weapons of Marduk with the cyclone or stormwind. This suggests the true significance of the twin bludgeons in our Canaanite version.

5. In some of the versions, the Dragon is not slain, but imprisoned. So too in our Canaanite version, 'Ashtareth restrains Baal from killing him, preferring to have him held captive.

An overall conspectus of these parallels, with references to the original sources, is presented in the accompanying table.

TABLE III

THE CONQUEST OF THE DRAGON

CONSPECTUS OF MOTIFS

	CANAANITE	SUMERIAN	ACCADIAN	INDIAN	EGYPTIAN	GREEK	O T	TEUTONIC	OTHERS
I	Goddess participates in combat, "brings out weapons," etc.	Inanna brings out weapons CCLVIII, 83	Ishtar shown on seals standing on dragon, Ward, 135, 415, 420, Legrain 392		Isis aids Horus				
II	Gods/warriors quail at presence of Dragon	Nimurta at first flees CCLVIII, 80	Anu flees EE II 81–2	Indra flees SB, I Kanda, 6 Adh 4 Br		Gods flee Apollodorus I VI. 3	Gods flee Job 41.17		
III	Dispute concerns Dragon's attempt to secure dominion				Set challenges Horus on issue of dominion				
IV	Weapons furnished by divine smith(s)			Furnished by Tvashtri	Ptah furnishes weapon of Horus	Furnished by Cyclopes, whose forge is managed by Hephaistos		Furnished by dwarfs, who are the divine smiths	
V	Victor equipped with thunderbolt and flail of lightning	Nimurta equipped with ŠAR ÚR and ŠAR GAZ, 'Crasher' and 'Smasher'	(a) Marduk equipped with lance (*mul-mullu*^{m}) and *abūbu* Latter also means 'cyclone' (b) Equipped with storm (*mēḫû*) and raincloud (*urpu*)	Indra equipped with "whizzing club" = thunderbolt Rig Veda 1, 32		Zeus equipped with thunderbolt and flail of lightning. Hesiod, *Th* 853 ff. Nonnus, *Dionys* II 478, Apollodorus IVI 3		Thor equipped with thunder-hammer called Mjolnir, 'Crusher, maul'	
VI	Dragon vanquished but not slain	Asag held under heap of stones	Seals show dragon yoked to divine chariot, EBI s v. Dragon	Vritra cut in twain, but not annihilated, *SB loc cit*	Set eventually reconciled to Horus	Typhon held under Mt Etna	Dragon imprisoned, but not slain Job 7 17, 40 26 (v. CXCI, 86)		In Iranian version, Azhi Dahaka held under Mt Demawend, but not slain In Jewish version, Leviathan unmanned, but not slain

XII

Baal is in no mood to surrender to Yam, but decides to offer combat. He bids some female helper (probably 'Anat) engage the monster, but this helper reports that she cannot secure victory.

* * * * * * * * * * *

My hand has proved weak; I am as good as dead!
[Though I fling] my [spe]ars [and javelins],
yet can I not make him to depart,
and though I furb[ish my weapons],
yet has Sir Sea not lost his composure!
From Sir Sea [do all turn] tail(?),
* * * * [the Rul]er of the Streams!
Why, warriors there grow scared!
I am forced to beat a retreat,
. . . . . !
The force of us twain falls to the ground,
and the might of us twain to the dust!"

XIII

Thereupon Baal takes up position beside the throne of Sir Sea.

The word goes forth from [her] mouth,
her utterance from her lips,
and she gives forth her voice.

Then (Baal) proceeds to lie in wait
beside the throne of Sir Sea.

XII: The beginning of this passage being lost, the identity of the speaker is uncertain. However, from the fact that later (V AB, D 36) the goddess 'Anat boasts expressly of having "crushed Sir Sea . . . made an end of Lord Stream," it would appear that it is she — the goddess of war and constant partner of Baal in his battles — who here addresses him. Her rôle would then correspond to that of Inanna in the Sumerian version of the myth, for that goddess similarly endeavors to defeat the monster Asag before his final subjugation by Ninurta (CCLVIII, 82–83).

The statement that "warriors there grow faint" finds excellent parallels in the sister versions of the myth. In the Sumerian version, Ninurta, on first encountering Asag, "flees like a bird" (CCLVIII, 80). In the Babylonian version, Anu first "turns back" upon approaching Tiamat (EE ii 81–82). In the Vedic version, Indra "retreats to farthermost distances" at the onset of Vritra (Satapatha Brahmana, I Kanda 6 Adhyaya 4 Brahmana = SBE XII 164 f.). In the Greek version, the gods flee to Egypt before the assaults of Typhon (Apollodorus I vi 3). In the Old Testament, "the gods are affrighted" at the presence of Leviathan (Job 41.17 [EV. 25]).

XIV

Direct combat proving hazardous, the divine smith Sir Adroit-and-Cunning (Kôshar-wa-Ḥasis) supplies Baal with two magic bludgeons which can dart from his hand automatically and fell the monster without danger of hand-to-hand encounter. The first bludgeon, however, proves ineffective.

Meanwhile Sir Adroit-and-Cunning keeps saying:
"See, I have been telling thee, Lord Baal,
apprising thee, thou Rider on the Clouds,
if this foeman of thine, O Baal,
if this foeman of thine thou slay,

XIV: The god Kôshar who is here introduced as the forger of Baal's weapons, is elsewhere called more fully Kôshar-wa-Ḥasis, a name which means properly "Adroit-and-Cunning" and refers to his manual and mental skills. He is the Phoenician Chusôr mentioned by Sanchuniathon (Eusebius, *PE* I, 10.11 f.) and by Mochos of Sidon (quoted by Damascius, *De prim principiis* §125 *ter* = i, 323 Ruelle) and expressly identified by the former with the Greek Hephaistos. According to Albright (VI, 82), he is also the Kautar said by Melito to have been the father of Tammuz. His name survives in the Ugaritic personal name Kṯr-mlk (314, r. 5) and in such late Punic names as ʿbd-Kšr, "servant of Kôsh/ṯar" (JA 1916 ii 494, 1917 ii 49) and Auchusor (CIL viii 5306). He figures in the Ugaritic myths as the divine artisan and smith, who equips sanctuaries for the gods (II AB i 24 ff.), supervises the building of Baal's palace (II AB v 43 ff.) and makes bows for the gods (II Aq. v). All of this is consistent with Sanchuniathon's statement that Chusôr first discovered the use of iron. Moreover, his rôle accords with that of Hephaistos in Greek myth. Hephaistos builds the divine abodes (Iliad i 607), fashions the mansions of Zeus (Il. xiv 338), Hera (ib. 166), Hēlios (Ovid, *Met.* ii 5) and Aphrodite (Ap. Rhod. *Argonautica* iii 37 ff.). He is also the designer and forger of the divine insignia, e.g. the sceptre and aegis of Zeus (Il. ii 101, xv 309), the sickle of Demeter (Schol. Ap. Rhod. iv 984), the weapons of Apollo and Artemis (Hyginus, *fab.* 140), the arms of Achilles (Hesiod, *Shield* 123, 319, etc.) and the magic spear of Peleus (Hes. *frag.* 38). In addition, he supervises the Cyclopean forge (Callimachus iii 48; Orphica, *fr.* 92, 135, cf. CLXXXVIII, 1307, n. 3).

Kôshar also performs another function: under the name of "Sir Fisherman" (Dg-y), he is responsible for imprisoning the defeated Yam in a net (§XXII; II AB ii 30), and it is he too who is said to toss him into the sea when he would rise to encroach upon the earth (§LXXII, I AB vi 50 f.). Here again, his rôle corresponds closely to that of the Phoenician Chusôr; for Sanchuniathon states explicitly (*loc cit.*) that the latter was the discoverer of fishing tackle

Lastly, the god appears to have had some interest in music and song. Sanch. says of Chusôr that he invented the art of "tricking out words" and of composing incantations and spells. Nowhere in the Ugaritic texts does he explicitly fill this rôle; but the association comes out clearly in the fact that professional songstresses are called *kôṯarât*. The connection is readily explicable when we bear in mind the similar relation of our own words "artisan" and "artist" or of the Arabic *q-y-n*, "to forge, be a smith" and the Hebrew, Syriac and Ethiopic words for "to

if thou but destroy this thy rival,
then shalt thou get thee kingship for all time,
dominion for all generations!"

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sing, chant a dirge" (cf. Ginsberg, BASOR 72: 13–15). Similar, too, is the derivation of "poet" from the Greek *poiētēs*, "maker," while the Old Norse *loða-smiðr*, "song-smith" and the modern Rhenish *reimschmied*, "poetaster," provide an even more illuminating parallel (CLXXXV, 900). In Sanskrit, *taksh-*, "to fabricate," is used of composing the songs of the Rig Veda (RV I 62.13; V 2.11). Moreover, in further illustration of Sanchuniathon's statement, it should be observed that throughout the Near East, magical healing and similar occult practices involving incantations are especially associated with smiths and itinerant tinkers (CXXVIA, 327).

Two of the standard epithets of Kôshar are: (*a*) "deft" or "expert" (*hyn*) and (*b*) "handyman" (*d-hrṭ ydm*). Both claim a word of comment. The former is related to a noun *haunâ* used in the Aramaic Targum (e.g Prov. 28.16) to render the Hebrew *t'būnah*, and the latter is specifically mentioned in Exodus 31.3 as one of the requisite qualities of Bezalel, designer of furniture for the Israelite sanctuary! The latter connects with the fact that from the time of the Middle Kingdom onward, Ptah, the Egyptian counterpart of Kôshar, was indeed regarded as a master craftsman (CCCXCII, 47 ff.). It should be observed also that both the name Kôshar ("Skilled, Adroit") and the epithets Ḫasis ("Cunning"), Hayin ("Deft") and *d-hrṭ ydm* ("Handyman") find excellent parallels in the adjectives *klytomētis*, "renowned for mind," and *klytotechnēs*, "renowned for skill," applied to Hephaistos in *Homeric Hymns* xx 1, 5.

In 'Anat F, 13–16, the seat of Kôshar is located at KPTR. This is the cuneiform Kaptara (first mentioned in a text dated c. 2200 B.C., cf. JAOS 45 [1925], 236), the Hebrew Kaphtor (Gen. 10.14; Deut. 2 23, Jer. 47.4; Am. 9.7) and – in all probability – the Egyptian Keftiu. A vase, a weapon, and a certain type of garment are described in the Mari texts (c. 1775 B C) as "Kaptarian" (Dossin, *Syria* 20 [1939], 111). The location is disputed. The Ancient Versions identify Heb. Kaphtor with Cappadocia – an identification based on similarity of sound. In modern times, the favored localization has been Crete (LXI, II, 441; CCLXXXIX, 13 ff.; Dussaud, RHR 118 [1938], 156, Dossin, *loc. cit.*). It has also been suggested however, that Kaphtor may be the island of Carpathos (mod. Scarpanto), between Crete and Rhodes (cf. Albright, BASOR 77 31, n. 46), while E. F. Weidner has even ventured to propose an identification with *Kyphtheira, i.e. the isle of Cythaera. The location of Kôshar's seat on an Aegean island would be readily explicable from the fact that, during the second millennium B C., a great deal of the ceramic and metal ware in use on the Syrian mainland was indeed imported from the Aegean or fashioned locally after Aegean models (CCCLVII, 98 ff.; Wooley, JHS 56 [1936], 125–32, id., *Antiquaries Journal* 28 [1948], 1–19). On the other hand, it should be observed that, according to Marian Welker (TAPS, N.S. 38 [1948], 221–22), the affinities of "Keftian" ceramics and costume point to a location in N. Syria (though Wainwright's well-known identification of Kaphtor with Cilicia is seemingly excluded).

In II Aq v 20 f. Kôshar is associated with a place named HKPT. This is the Egyptian Ht.k;.Pth, "sanctuary of Ptah," the regular name of Memphis, seat of the Egyptian potter-god Ptah (and, incidentally, the origin of the word Egypt).

Therewith Sir Adroit brings down a bludgeon,
and pronounces its name, saying:
"Thou, thy name is EXPELLER (*Ygrš*);

It is thus apparent that in the days of Egyptian domination and influence the Canaanite god was understood to be the equivalent of the corresponding figure in the pantheon of Canaan's overlords; and this squares with the statement of Mochos of Sidon that Chusôr was "the first *opener*," since that curious designation is nothing but a bizarre attempt to explain the Egyptian name Ptah from the Semitic root *p-t-h*, "to open" (cf. Hoffman, ZA 11 [1896], 254). The identification is the more interesting when it is observed that the resultant figure of a divine "Egyptian" smith distinguished not only for his craftsmanship but also for his proficiency in magical arts (incantations) corresponds, to the last detail, to the later conception of the *gypsy*, the itinerant "Egyptian" likewise renowned not only for his ability as a tinker but no less for his proficiency in music, healing and mantic arts!

On the figure of the divine smith in mythology, cf. CXL, 206 (Greek and Roman); CCVIII, 115 ff. (Nordic), CLXXXI, 330 (Baltic); CCL, 50 (Indic), CCCII, 28 (Celtic); and, in general, *MI*, A 142, A 451.

The rôle here played by Kôshar is paralleled in other versions of our myth. The weapons, as we shall see presently, are symbolizations of thunderbolt and lightning. It is therefore pertinent to note that in the Indian version, the thunderbolts with which Indra vanquishes Vritra are forged for him by the divine smith Tvashtri (RV I, 32, Satapatha Brahmana, I Kanda 6 Adhyaya 3 Brahmana = SBE XII, 164 ff.). Similarly, in Greek myth, lightning – the weapon used to subdue Typhon – is said to have been made in the Cyclopean forge, which was controlled by Hephaistos, the equivalent of Kôshar (CLXXXVIII, 413, n. 7). In the Egyptian version, as preserved in the Edfu Drama, the weapons wherewith Horus defeats Set are furnished by Ptah (cf. Blackman-Fairman, JEA 29 [1943], 10). In the Teutonic version, Thor subdues the serpent Midhgardhsormr by means of the hammer Mjolnir, and the latter is identical with the thunderbolt or lightning, fabled to have been made by the dwarfs, who are the counterparts of the classical Cyclopes (CLXXXV, 40).

The weapons constitute a pair. Here, too, we have a trait which recurs in other versions of the myth. In the Sumerian version, preserved in the poem *Lugal-e u_4-me-lám-bi-nir-gál* (CCLVIII, 80, Deimel, *Orientalia* 5 [1922], 26–42; DVI, Hrozný, MVAG 1903.3, CCLXX, 119 ff.), the victorious Ninurta is armed with two bludgeons called respectively ŠÀR.ÙR, "world-crusher, razer," and ŠÀR.GAZ, "world-pounder" (cf. Jacobsen, *Orientalia* 16 [1947], 392, CCXLI, 504). In the later versions, these weapons are identified with such meteorological phenomena as the thunderbolt, lightning or stormwind. Thus, in the Babylonian myth of the defeat of the dragon Labbu, the weapons used are the raincloud (*urpu*) and the tempest (*mēḫû*) (CT XIII 33 ii 2–5). Similarly, in the so-called Epic of Creation, Marduk attacks Tiamat with two weapons called *mulmullu*^{m}, "lance" and *abūbu*, and the latter word means "avalanche, cyclone" (iv 36, 49; Albright, AJSL 34 [1918], 222, connects *abūbu* with Arabic *'abāb*, "avalanche"). Moreover, the meteorological interpretation is there emphasized by the express statement (iv 39–40) that the god also armed himself with "the evil wind, the tempest, the hurricane." In the Vedic version, Indra vanquishes Vritra (identified

Expeller, expel (*grš*) Sir Sea,
expel Sir Sea from his throne,
the Ruler of the Streams from the seat of his dominion!
Spring from the hand of Baal,
like a vulture with its talons smite Sir Sea on the shoulder,
the ruler of the Streams on the back!"*

* *Lit* "between the hands"

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with the serpent Ahi) with the thunderbolt, called "the whizzing club" (RV i, 32). In the Greek version, as related by Hesiod (*Theogony* 853 ff.; cf. Aeschylus, *PV* 351 ff.; Apollodorus *I* vi 3, Nonnus, *Dionys.* ii 478), Zeus attacks Typhoeus with thunder, levin-bolt and lightning, expressly described as his "weapons." Moreover, when the Greek poet speaks, like Homer before him (Il. ii 780 f), of Zeus' *lashing* the monster, the use of lightning is again indicated, for it is a commonplace of folklore that lightning is regarded as a whip or lash (CXCVI, 57 ff.; LXXIV, 824; Grimm, CLXXXV, 178, quotes a Prussian tale in which lightning is likened to a *blue whip*). Lastly, in the Teutonic version, as observed above, Thor uses a hammer (*mjolnir*) which, according to Grimm, is "obviously the crashing thunderbolt," since its blows are preceded by thunder and lightning (CLXXXV, 180). Grimm (*op. cit.*, 1221) also compares the name Mjolnir with Slavic *molnija*, "lightning."

In the light of these parallels, it would appear that the bludgeons wielded by Baal similarly represent *thunderbolts*. This explanation is the more plausible when it is remembered that the maritime squalls which are attributed in most of the sister versions to the action of the Dragon are usually accompanied by thunder and lightning. The idea would therefore easily arise that the Thunder-god was using those weapons to tame the monster. (Note that in later Jewish lore, the Dragon is said to fear thunder and lightning; CDLXX, 40.)

The precise significance of the weapons seems, however, later to have been forgotten, for Isaiah 27.1 speaks of Yahweh's using "his sore and great and strong *sword*" to punish Leviathan. Similarly, while the Canaanite text V AB, D 36 speaks of the Dragon's being *crushed* (*m-ḫ-š*; cp. Accadian *ḫamāšu*), Psalm 74.13 employs the non-committal term "broken in pieces" (*p-r-r*). More decisively, both Isaiah 51.9 and Job 26.13 speak of the Dragon's being "pierced" or "riddled" (*h-l-l*) – a term clearly inapplicable to the use of a club or bludgeon. This development is paralleled by the gradual elimination of the thunderbolt in the iconography of the Greek Zeus (CLXXXVIII, 119 f., LXXIV, 722 ff.).

It is impossible to determine whether the names here given to the bludgeons were invented by our Canaanite poet or inherited by him from tradition and merely given an *ad hoc* interpretation. In support of the latter view is the fact that the connection of the name AYMR ("Driver") with the root *m-r-y*, "drive," here assumed by the poet, looks uncommonly like folk-etymology, for Aymr would more properly derive from a root *y-m-r* (whatever its meaning may have been). If this hypothesis be accepted, it is in turn possible that YGRŠ ("Expeller") had originally nothing to do with the root *g-r-š*, "expel," as again assumed by the poet, but that it was connected rather with *g-r-ś*, "crush, pound," on the analogy of the Sumerian ŠÀR.ÙR and ŠÀR.GAZ and of the Teutonic Mjolnir (from **mal-*, "crush, maul").*

* To the IE cognates of *mjolnir*, we may now add Hittite *malla-*, "crush," on which cf. Sommer, ZA 33 (1921), 98, n. 2; Friedrich, ZDMG 76 (1922), 159.

So the bludgeon springs from the hand of Baal;
like a vulture with its t[a]lons it smites Sir Sea on the shoulder,
the Ruler of the Streams on the back.*

* Lit "between the hands"

The bludgeons are said to *spring (rqs)* from the hand of Baal. In this statement lies the whole point of the episode, though that point has been strangely overlooked. None of the gods has been able to approach Yam in hand-to-hand encounter, and Baal has been warned that he himself will scarcely fare better. Accordingly, Kôshar supplies him with magical weapons *which can be flung from a distance* Note that in the analogous Greek myth of Zeus' fight with Typhon, as related by Apollodorus (I, vi, 3), it is stated expressly that, after all the gods had fled the monster in terror, "Zeus pelted him *from a distance (porrō)* with thunderbolts" and then engaged him at close quarters. It may be suggested that in the primitive form of the story, the weapon employed was an *automatic club* – that is, a club which automatically beat an enemy until called off by its owner. On this idea in folk-tales, cf. *MI*, D 1094, 1401.1. Noteworthy in this respect is the fact that in Teutonic mythology, Thor's hammer possesses the magical quality that "when thrown, it returns to his hand of its own accord" (Bullfinch, Thos., *Age of Fable*, ch. xxxviii). It is therefore a miraculous weapon.

The bludgeons are said to smite Yam "like a vulture with its talons." The simile, implying sudden and vicious assault, is, of course, perfectly natural, especially when it is borne in mind that the Semitic word for "vulture" derives from a root meaning primarily "rend, raven." The notions of swiftness and savagery are thus combined. As a matter of fact, the simile is quite common in both Semitic and Classical literature, cf. Habbakuk 1.8; Job 9.26; Assurnaṣirpal, *Annals* ii 107, Iliad xxi 251–53; Sophocles, *Antigone* 112–13.

From the point of view of comparative mythology, however, there is far more to the employment of this simile than meets the eye. The eagle, by reason of its swift descent, is commonly regarded as the storm-bird, the bearer of lightning and thunderbolt. Thus, in Sumerian mythology, the storm-wind is symbolized by an eagle called Im-Dugud, "Flashing Wind" (the Semitic Zû), while another eagle (or perhaps only an earlier form) bears the name Im-Gig, "Dark Wind" (CCLXX, 115 f.). Classical sources likewise attest this association of the bird with wind or tempest (LXXIV, ii, 751 f.) or with Zeus as god of the sky (Mylonas, CJ 41 [1945], 203–07). According to Aeschylus, for example, when Zeus threatened to strike the house of Amphion with lightning, he declared that he would burn it up "by means of eagles bearing fire" (*Niobe*, quoted in Aristophanes, *Birds* 1247 f.; cf. Usener, *Rhein. Mus.* 60 [1905], 26) Similarly, Horace (*Odes* IV 4, 1) describes the eagle as "wing'd agent of the levin-bolt" (*ministrum fulminis alitem*). What underlies the association is eloquently expressed in a passage of Apuleius (*Flor.* 2) wherein the swoop of an eagle is likened to the fall of a thunderbolt – a comparison which recurs, as A. B. Cook points out, in Tennyson's fragment, *The Eagle*. "The wrinkled sea beneath him crawls. He watches from his mountain walls, And *like a thunderbolt he falls.*"

In several mythologies, winds and thunder are said to be caused by the flapping of the wings of a giant eagle; cf. *MI*, A 284.2. In India, it is the eagle Garuda (Somaveda 2·102), and in the Eddas it is Hraesvelgr (CLXXXV, 633), while the belief is also attested among the Chinese (CDXXII, 123), the Burmese (CDXA, 323), the Finns and Shetland Islanders (CLXXXV, 633, 635), the Tlingits, the Aztecs, and the Vancouver Islanders (CDXXXVII, 123). Here we have in formulated myth an alternative expression of the basic mythopoeic concept which is also articulated in metaphor.

Howbeit Sir Sea prevails; he does not collapse;
his crest does not sag,
his countenance does not droop.

XV

Thereupon the divine smith hands Baal another bludgeon. This proves effective, and Yam is subdued.

Then (once more) Sir Adroit brings down a bludgeon,
and pronounces its name, saying:
"Thou, thy name is DRIVER (*Aymr*);
Driver, drive (*mr*) Sir Sea,
drive Sir Sea from his throne,
the Ruler of the Streams from the seat of his dominion!
Spring from the hand of Baal,
like a vulture with its talons smite Sir Sea on the skull,
the Ruler of the Streams between the eyes,
so that Sir Stream may fall and sink to the ground!"

So the bludgeon springs from the hand of Baal;
[like] a vulture with its talons it smites Sir [Sea] on the skull,
the Ruler of the Streams between the eyes.
Sir Sea falls and sinks to the ground;
his crest sags;
and his countenance droops.

XVI

Baal seeks to slay his defeated foe, but 'Ashtart restrains him.

Then Baal drags Sir Sea and deposits him.

In describing the collapse of Sir Sea, the poet uses terms which are applicable at the same time to the abatement of embroiled waters. There is thus a kind of *double-entendre*, whereby the real character of Yam is brought home more forcibly to the audience. Thus, the term rendered "collapse" (*ymk*) means properly "sink," and suggests the subsidence of the towering billows. Similarly, the phrase here translated "his crest sags" (*tnǧsn pnth*), while used elsewhere (II AB ii 19; V AB, D 31) to describe bodily agitation, means properly "its points oscillate" and at once suggests the undulation of the waves. Lastly, the words here reproduced as "his countenance droops" (*ydlp tmnh*) suggest at the same time an homophonous word (Arabic *d-l-f*, etc.) meaning "move gently, trickle," and therefore conjure up the picture of the angry sea's sinking to a mere ripple. We shall see later that the poet again employs this device in describing how Baal mistreats his fallen enemy.

XVI: The "dragging" or hauling up of the Dragon from the sea is admirably illustrated by Job 40.25 (EV. 41.1): "Canst thou *draw out* Leviathan with a fish-hook?" The audience, however, would at once have associated this act with the common practice of *dragging* captives before their victors or their victors' gods; cf. Mesha Inscription, lines 12, 18: "I fought against the city and took it . . .

He is about to make an end of the Ruler of the Streams,
when 'Ashtart [calls him] by name,
yea, shouts aloud:
"Thrust him back, O [Baal] Puissant,
thrust him back, thou Rider on the Clouds!
See, Si[r Sea] is our captive,
[see,] the Ruler of the Streams is our captive;
now let him depart from * * * * * !"

So Baal proceeds to thrust him back
and * * * * * * * * *

XVII

Yam acknowledges the sovereignty of Baal.

[Then up speaks] Sir Sea:
"Lo, I am as good as dead!
Surely, Baal now is kin[g]!
* * * * * * * * * * * * *"

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and I captured . . . and dragged him/them before Chemosh." (In reading these texts we must be sensitive to such *double-entendre,* for it is of the essence of popular drama.)

The reason for 'Ashtart's intervention cannot be determined. Not impossibly, it harks back to some earlier form of the myth in which that goddess still retained her original character of Goddess of Irrigation — a rôle which subsequently passed, in Canaanite mythology, to her masculine counterpart, the god ('Ashtar). In that case, she would naturally have been interested in seeing that Sir Sea, genius of subterranean waters, was not altogether destroyed but merely curbed.

In sister versions of the myth, the Dragon is often represented as *bound* or *imprisoned,* rather than slain. Thus, in the Sumerian version, he is held down by a heap of stones (CCLVIII, 80) In the Egyptian version, as related in inscriptions at Dendereh, the dragon 'Apep is forced back by Ra' into his cavern (*ḫb t*), and a stone "of forty cubits" is placed over him (cf. Le Page Renouf, TSBA 8 [1883], 217 — antiquated but still useful). In the Indic version, Vritra asks expressly to be divided in half, but not slain and the request is granted (see above, p. 142). In the Iranian version, Azhi Dahāka is imprisoned beneath Mount Demawend, but not killed (Bundahishn xxix 9, Dātistāni Dēnīg 37 1 9, Dinkarṭ ii 1, 26; ix 21), while in the Greek version, Typhon is incarcerated beneath Mount Etna, but not slain. Furthermore, as Gunkel has pointed out (CXCI, 86), there are several references to the Dragon in OT (e g Job 7.12, 40 26) which imply that he was not killed but imprisoned (cf. also *EBi*, s.v. Dragon, at end).

The Goddess is said to "shout aloud" or "roar" (*tg'r-m*). This is a 'motif-word' in Hebrew accounts of the combat against the dragon; cf. Is. 50.2, Nahum 1.4, Pss. 104.7, 106.9. See also CXCI, 97.

XVII: This incident complements the assurance given to Baal by Kôshar (lines 9–10). "If now thy foeman, O Baal, if now thy foeman thou slay, if now thou

And [Baal keeps thrusting him back]
and * * * * * *
while Sir Sea keeps saying:
"Lo, I am as good as dead!
[Surely, Baal is king!]"
. . . . . .

XVIII

A female speaker – this time, evidently, 'Anat – now intervenes and suggests to Baal that he ought to make a real end to his foe.

(The text is fragmentary, so that the complete sense cannot be made out.)

Thereupon * * * takes up word:
* * * * *
O Baal, these(?) * * * *
* . . . . . .
on his head * * * * *
his hand(s) * * * * *
[be]tween his eyes * * * *
* *
*

---

destroy thy rival, then shalt thou secure thy kingdom for all time, thy dominion for all generations!" In the Indic version, the victory of Indra over Vritra is associated with an acknowledgment of the former's sovereignty. So, too, in the Greek version, what Zeus defends against Typhon is expressly his title as king of gods and men. Moreover, in Psalm 93, which recounts the combat of Yahweh against the rivers (cf. Gaster, *Iraq* 4 [1937], 24–25), the poem opens with the declaration that, in consequence of his victory, "Yahweh is become king."

XVIII: These lines are altogether obscure. Significant, however, is the occurrence side by side of the words. *on his head, his hand(s)*, and *between his eyes;* for this suggests, on the strength of analogies in the sister versions (EE IV 130, Ps. 74 14; Hesiod, *Theog.* 856), that 'Anat here advises Baal, contrary to the suggestion of 'Ashtart, to *bludgeon his vanquished rival to death* – advice which he appears eventually to adopt (§XXXIX; II AB vii 1–4).

If this interpretation be correct, an interesting possibility arises. The expressions *head, hand* and *eye* are applied in Semitic speech to the *parts of a river.* As in English, the source of a river is known in Hebrew, Arabic and Accadian as its *head* (cf. Gen. 2.10, Acc. *rêš êni,* Ar. *ras al 'ain;* so too in Greek, *Tearou potamou kephalai* [Herodotus iv 91], and in Latin, *caput unde altus primum se erumpit Enipeus* [Vergil, *Georgica* iv 368]). Again, alike in Hebrew (Ex. 2.5, Deut. 2.37), Accadian, Arabic, Syriac and Ethiopic, the *bank* of a river is called its *hand,* just as in English we speak of the right and left *hands* of a stream. Lastly, the *spring* from which a stream flows is called *eye* in all of the Semitic languages (cp. also Hittite *sakwis,* "spring," which may be related to *sakwa,* "eyes"; Forrer, *Klio* 26 [1938], 182 f.). Hence, it is reasonable to suppose that here again the

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BAAL ACQUIRES A PALACE

XIX

Baal points out to 'Anat that, although he has achieved sovereignty by vanquishing Yam, he has no palace upon earth and is therefore exposed to the ridicule and contempt of the gods Indeed, he is in this respect inferior to his own daughters who have at least niches or fanes of their own. He begs 'Anat to present his case to Asherat, so that the latter may in turn relay it to El.

* *
*

[Convey this word to El:]
"H[earken], O Bull-god, [his father],
O King [who appointed him],

---

poet chose his words carefully in order to convey at one and the same time both a concrete and a figurative sense. By saying that Sir Sea was smitten on head, hand and eyes, what he conveyed was that the turbulent waters were held in check – the real meaning of the myth.

XIX: It is to be observed that whenever the supreme god El is petitioned for favors, he is addressed as "Bull-god," "King" and "Father" (*e g.* V AB, E 7, 43, II Aq 1 24; Krt A 59, 76–77, 169). The title "Bull(-god)" may be compared with T̲-w-r-a, "bull" and T̲-r -B'l, "Bull-Baal," in South Arabian inscriptions. According to many scholars, the expression "Mighty One (*ābîr*) of Jacob" applied to God in Gen. 49.24 is a dogmatic alteration of an original "Steer (*abbîr*) of Jacob."

On the identity and titles of Baal's three daughters, P-d-r-iya, Ṭ-l-iya and A-r-s-iya, see above Introd. §7.

Lines 20–44 describe the advisability of approaching Asherat rather than going direct to El. To bring home his point, the speaker (Baal) bids 'Anat consider what invariably happens when this technique is used and when efforts are first made to get into the good graces of the Queen Consort: in no time, the divine architect and smith is commissioned to fashion gorgeous furniture for the desired abodes. The point is well illustrated when it is remembered that the divine artisan was regarded as the equivalent of the Greek Hephaistos, one of whose functions was indeed to construct abodes for the gods (see above on §XIV).

The various objects mentioned constitute the typical furnishings of an ancient Near Eastern temple or palace. Herodotus tells us (i 181) that on the topmost storey of the great tower at Babylon "there was a large shrine, and in the shrine was placed a *couch* sumptuously spread, and beside it a *golden table.*" Similarly, Assurbanipal, in describing the furnishings of the temple of Marduk, specifies the *couch* of that god (K 1794. x 35, 72; = CDXXVI, I, 18 ff.), while the tribute of the Hittite king Sangara to Assurnasirpal included *beds, thrones and tables*

[hearken what they are say]ing,
what Ashe[rat and her sons are saying,]
the Goddess [and the company] of her [kinsmen]:
'See, Baal has no house like the gods,
nor precinct like the sons of Asherat;
not even a niche like El's,
not even a cell like his sons';
not even a niche has he
as has Queen Asherat-of-the-Sea,
no, not even a niche
like the (three) Bewitching Nymphs;
not even a niche, that is,
as has P-d-r-iya, the Lady of A-r,
no, not even a cell
as has the Dew-nymph (Ṭ-l-iya), the Lady of R-b,
not so much as a niche
as has the Earth-nymph (A-r-s-iya), the Lady of Y-'-b-d-rl' "

'Anat is advised, in presenting this case, first to entreat the good offices of Asherat, consort of El. She is reminded that whenever a god enjoys the favor of that goddess, he is straightway provided with a sumptuous and gorgeous dwelling.

And here's something more I would tell thee:
Just consider them
who ingratiate Queen Asherat of the Sea,

(*Ann* iii 67). The *golden table* was likewise a feature of the Israelitic sanctuary and temple (Ex. 25.23 f.; I Kings 7.48), and is mentioned also in Assyro-Babylonian literature (DT 15 + 109 + 114 + MNB 1848:386–410,412), while the *golden throne* recurs in Babylonian New Year rituals (CDLXVI, 90).

The last lines of our passage (39–44) are somewhat enigmatic. The "gorgeous table" is said to be filled with "all manner of game," and this is followed by a phrase meaning literally "of the foundations of the earth." Now, it is, of course, always possible, as Albright has supposed, that the latter words define the game as consisting of *reptiles* which come from underground – an interpretation supported by the fact that the word rendered "game" comes from a root which may strictly denote "to creep." But it is also possible that the words are to be construed closely (as an anticipatory genitive) with the immediately following "gorgeous dishes," the meaning then being "gorgeous dishes made out of precious metals dug from the mountains, the foundations of the earth." This would be by no means out of place, for in precisely the same way Assurbanipal relates that the colossi and other theriomorphic images which he erected at the entrances of the temple of Marduk in Babylon were fashioned out of "the abundance of the mountains" (*hisib šadāni*), and when our own poet eventually describes the building of Baal's palace, he specifies that "the mountains yielded abundance of silver, the hills choice gold" (§XXXVII; II AB vi 18–19).

The poet then alludes to the theriomorphic dishes (rhytons, etc.) and to the colossi which were so common a feature of the equipment of Near Eastern temples. Specimens of the former have indeed been found at Ras Shamra

who curry favor with the Mistress of the Gods:
(for them) Sir Expert goes up to the forge,
in the hand of Sir Cunning are the tongs,
to smelt silver, hammer out gold;
why, he smelts silver by the thousandfold,
why, he hammers out gold by the myriadfold;
he smelts, he . . s, and there are produced (??):
a dais fit for a god,
weighing twice ten thousand shekels;
a dais cast in silver, coated with a film of gold;
a throne fit for a god, resting on top;
a footstool fit for a god,
spread with a spotless mat;
a couch fit for a god, with gold poured over its . . .;
a table fit for a god, filled with all manner of game;
dishes fit for a god,
(made of metals dug) from the foundations of the earth,
(shaped like) the small cattle of Amurru;
stelae (shaped) like the wild beasts of Yaman,
wherein are wild oxen by the myriads!"

XX

'Anat first disposes of the monster Yam by chasing him back into the sea.

* * *

Then, grasping her spindle (in her hand),
brandishing the spindle in (her) right ha(nd),

(CCCXCVI, 47, 88, n. 117 and Pl. XXVIII, figs. 2–3). Assurbanipal speaks similarly (RM 3 x 68–71; Streck II 150) of setting up "wild oxen of silver to gore my foes . . . also two monsters to assure the safety of my royal path" and likewise (III R 28–29, 22; Streck II 172) of erecting statues of "two lusty oxen equally shaped"; while Sargon in his so-called *Prunkinschrift* (Saal XIV 37 = Weissbach, ZDMG 72 [1918], 182) states that "in front of their gates, eight twin lions . . . mountain-sheep . . . towering colossi" were set up; and Tiglath Pileser I erected "three dolphines, four . . .(?), four lions made of basalt, two bull-colossi of marble, two white . . .(?) of gypsum" in the portals of the temple Finally, we may recall the statement in I Kings 7.29, 31 that part of the furniture of Solomon's temple in Jerusalem consisted of "lions, cattle and colossi (cherubim)" and that the steps to the divine throne were flanked by images of "colossi (cherubim) and lions."

Amurru corresponds approximately to North Syria. "Amurrian sheep" are mentioned specifically in the thirteenth tablet of the famous *ḪAR ra: ḫubullu* vocabulary, line 69 (Oppenheim-Hartman, JNES 4 [1945], 161). The identity of Yman (mentioned also in RŠ 2.19) is uncertain.

XX: Not until later (§XXXIX; II AB VII 2–4) is Sir Sea finally discomfited. 'Anat first thrusts him back into the ocean to prevent his encroachment upon the

she proceeds to drive him forth.
She tears off her robe, the covering of her flesh,
and goes chasing him ever farther into the sea, into the streams.

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earth. This is in accordance with the advice which 'Ashtart has given to Baal (§XVI, III AB,A 31–35). To facilitate her movements, she rips off her clothing.

In many of the seasonal mummeries representing the rout of the Dragon, or the expulsion of Death, Blight, or Winter, he is *flung into the water.* Thus, at Nuremberg, the traditional song specified that "we bear Death into the water" (CLXXXV, 767). At Tabor, Bohemia, it was said that "Death floats down the stream" (ib. 771); and at Bielsk, Podlachia, the effigy was drowned in a marsh or pond (ibid.). The same procedure is recorded also among the Sorbs in Upper Lausitz (ibid.), and in some parts of Poland, Marzana, the goddess of Death (cp. Polish *marznać)* was flung into a marsh (ibid.). Again, on March 13th, the Roman vestals used to throw puppets into the Tiber (Ovid, *Fasti* v 621); and in early March, the Indian Kali similarly flung them into the Ganges (Frazer *ad* Ovid, *loc. cit*). In Chrudim, Bohemia, Death was flung into the water on "Black Sunday," to be subsequently retrieved and burned (CDLXXVI, 294 ff.) In Silesia, children used to throw the effigy of Death into the river (CVIA, i, 70), while at Leipzig this was done by the local prostitutes and bastards (CCCCXCIV, III, 131, n. 2). At Dobschwitz, near Gera, Death was drowned annually on March 1st (CXLIX, 308), and in Thuringen, in the early part of the eighteenth century, he was cast into the streams (ibid). A similar custom obtained at Gross-Strehlitz, where the image was called Goik (ib., 309). In villages near Erlangen, peasants used to throw puppets representing Death into the river Regnitz on the fourth Sunday in Lent (ib., 308).

There are indications that this custom was observed also in ancient Mesopotamia; for it is a curious fact that in some of the Babylonian chants of the Tammuz cult, that god is said to have been *submerged beneath the ocean* (e.g. CT XVI 10b; IV R 30.2), and, according to most scholars, the month of Ṭebeth (January) took its name from such immersion (Hebrew *ṭ-b-ʿ*).

Lastly, it is perhaps possible to detect a dim reminiscence of the mythological submersion of the Dragon in the metaphorical language of Micah 7.17: "He will again have mercy on us, tread our iniquities under foot, and all our sins will be cast (reading **tušlʾkū*, archaic 3rd pl. impf. for MT *tašlik*) into the depths of the sea." This possibility is enhanced by the fact that the word rendered "tread under foot" (viz. *k-b-š*) is the same as that employed in the Babylonian version (EE iv 129) to describe the subjugation of Tiamat by Marduk (cf. Gaster, JRAS 1944, 33).

In the light of these parallels and of the general consideration that our poem harks back to a ritual pantomime, it would seem likely that *this incident of the myth corresponds to a feature of the original ritual in which the image of the Dragon was thrown into the water.*

The spindle here brandished by 'Anat was woman's standard weapon – like the rolling-pin in modern times! Similarly, in the Miracle Play performed at the Council of Constance, in 1417, the 'good women of Bethlehem' attacked the villain *with their distaffs,* CCXXI, 170.

XXI

'Anat then prepares gifts for El and flies to him.

Then, having placed a *ḫupatar*-pot over the fire,
a *ḫubruš*-vessel over the coals,
she wings her way to the Bull-god,
to El of the gentle heart,
to entreat the Creator of all creatures.

XXII

Asherat is at first alarmed at the approach of 'Anat and Baal, fearing that their intentions are hostile. Eventually, however, she is placated by the sight of the presents which they have brought, and she orders her henchman, the Fisher-god Kôshar, to imprison Yam in a net.

When Asherat lifts her eyes and espies,
when she sees the approach of Baal,
the approach of the Virgin 'Anat,
the advent of Y-b-m-t L-i-m-m,
her feet [start to tap],
she twists her hips,
as if her backbone were breaking;
over her face runs sweat,
her [hips] start to shake,
[her] spine quivers.
Then lifts she her voice and cries:
"What brings hither Baal Puissant?
What brings hither the Vi[rg]in 'Anat?
Them that would smite me I surely sm[i]te!
Why, my sons [will alway defend me],
[the ba]nd of my kinsmen [protect me]!"

XXI: The words *ḫupatar* and *ḫubruš* are borrowed from Hurrian (Horite). The former is mentioned as a temple vessel in the great Temple Inventory from Qatna (Mishrife) in Syria, line 4. The latter is mentioned frequently in Hittite texts. C. G. von Brandenstein (ZA, N.F. 12 [1940], 89) derives it from Hurrian *ḫubr-*, "earth," when the meaning will be "earthenware." The placing of the pots over the fire may here refer to *firing* them.

XXII: That Kôshar should here figure as a divine fisherman accords with Sanchuniathon's statement that Chusôr was the inventor of fishing tackle! Note that in the Babylonian version, Tiamat is first imprisoned in a net and only later decapitated. Similarly, in later Jewish echoes of the myth, the angel Gabriel is ordered to haul Leviathan out of the sea (T.B., Babâ Bathrâ 75a).

But as soon as Asherat catches sight of the silver,
the silver handiwork and the golden * * *,
Queen A[sherat]-of-the-Sea rejoices,
loudly to her servitor [she calls]:
"Attend now, Sir Adroit (Kôshar), I . . .,
thou fisherman of the Queen Asherat-of-the-Sea,
take a net in thy hand,
a large [mesh] in thy hands [do thou raise],
* * * * * * * * * against Yam, the beloved of El,
* * * * * * * * against Yam will El * * *
[against the Ruler of the Str]eams will El * * *
* * * Baal Puissant * * Virgin 'Anat * * *
* * * * * * * * *

XXIII

Asherat then assures Baal that the Dragon will give him no further trouble and that his sovereignty is therefore assured.

* * *
Let him not escape!
* * * * thy foundation * * * * * * for all generations!
* * * * * thee/thy and * * * *
Thou godhead, be at peace(??)!

XXIV

Baal points out, however, that, being without a palace, he is subject to constant insult at the hands of the gods.

But up speaks Baal Puissant,
up starts the Rider on the Clouds:
"Here they go insulting me,
there they go reviling me,
amid the assembly of the gods.
Muck is placed on my table,
filth am I made to drink from my cup.

XXIII: The words "Let him not escape" obviously refer to the captured Sir Sea, while the words "Thy foundation . . . for all generations" just as clearly refer to the triumphant Baal. The latter phrase should be restored to read: "Be thy foundation established for all generations!" They may then be taken as reproducing a standard formula recited at the installation of kings, cf. Clay, *Morgan*, 38 II 35–36. "May the foundation of his throne stand firm for ever!" Similar phrases occur frequently in the reports of Assyrian and Babylonian astrologers (e.g. CDLXII, No. 176 = CCXXXV, II 662). Cf. also Ps. 45.7: "Thy throne be as God is – everlasting", Ps. 72.5 (LXX text): "Mayest thou be long-lived like the sun, and like the moon for all generations!" (addressed to a king).

Behold, there be two kinds of feast which Baal abhors,
three He Who Rides upon the Clouds —
one marked by shamefulness,
one marked by lechery,
one marked by low-bred bawdry.*
Yet here is glaring shamefulness,
and here is low-bred bawdry!"

XXV

Asherat replies by inquiring why Baal and 'Anat have chosen to approach her rather than go direct to El.

After Baal Puissant has reached his destination,
after the Virgin 'Anat has reached her destination,
they start to entreat Queen Asherat-of-the-Sea,
to sue for the grace of the Mistress of the Gods.

Thereupon Queen Asherat-of-the-Sea replies:
"How come ye entreat Queen Asherat-of-the-Sea,
sue for the grace of the Mistress of the Gods?
Have ye entreated the Bull-god, El of the gentle heart?
Have ye sued for the grace of the Creator of all Creatures?"

XXVI

To this 'Anat replies that they prefer first to seek the intercession of the Mother of the Gods, and only then to approach the Father.

But the Virgin 'Anat replies:
"We would first entreat the [Mot]her,
even Queen Asherat-of-the-Sea,
[sue for the gr]ace of the Mistress of the Gods.
[Thereafter] will we entreat *him*,
[sue for the grace of the Father of] Baal Puissant!"

XXVII

Thereupon Asherat accords a warm welcome to the suppliants, bidding them regale themselves with food and drink.

[Then answers] Queen Asherat-of-the-Sea:
"Hearken, O Virgin 'Anat,
* * * * * eat [and] drink
[along with all of the gods] who suck [at my breast]!

* *Lit.* "lewdness of handmaids"

XXVII: The "blood of trees" evidently denotes a manna-like gum or resin. Analogous is the Accadian expression "blood of the cedar" (KARI 13 IV 22, 51 III 18; KARI 56.10, CT XXIII 35.41; Johns, *Deeds* 43b, r. 7–8; cf. CDLXVI, 50,

[With a sh]arp blade cut up a [fatling];
[drink] wine by the [gob]let-full,
[the 'blood] of trees' [from a golden cup!]"

* * * * * * * * * * * *

XXVIII

The meal over, Asherat accompanies her guests to El.

Then [Queen] Asherat-of-the-Sea [commands]:
"Harness an ass, hitch a foal;
[place on it silver halters], golden [reins],
put halters on (my) she-ass!"

Sir Holy-and-Blessed obeys;
he harnesses an ass, hitches a foal,
He places on it silver halters, golden reins,
he puts halters on her she-ass.
Then Sir Holy-and-Blessed clasps her round the waist,
he places Asherat on the back of the ass,
on the gaily-trapped back of the foal.

Sir Holy blazes the trail;
Sir Blessed goes ahead like a (lode-)star.
The Virgin 'Anat and Baal go on foot,

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n. 19). Parallel expressions in primitive speech are cited by Frazer, GB II 20, 248. Note also that in Accadian "blood" is sometimes used for wine (e.g. PSBA 23 [1901], 204) and that Dioscorides (i 172) similarly employs the Greek term *ichōr* to denote "the juice of trees." In Gen. 39.11; Deut. 32.14, wine is called more specifically "the blood of the grapes"; an expression comparable with *haima botruōn* in Achilles Tatius II 2. Cf. also, in Latin, Statius, *Theb.*, i, 329: *Baccheo sanguine,* and Nemesianus, *Ecl* II 50 *Pallas amat turgentes sanguine baccas.* For Arabic parallels, cf. Jacob, *Studien,* iv 6 ff.

XXVIII: "Sir Holy-and-Blessed" is an approximate rendering of the original *Qdš-w-Amrr.* The first word is the common Semitic term for "holy, sacred", the second is evidently derived from the verb *m-r-r* which occurs in the Ugaritic texts (I Aq 195, II Aq i 25, etc.) in parallelism with *b-r-k,* "bless." The god is a purely mythological figure, and does not appear in the ritualistic documents.

We are here introduced for the first time to the Canaanite conception of the heavenly abode. It lies in the North, on the top of a mountain, at the place where the upper and lower oceans meet. All of this can be illustrated from other mythologies.

First, as to the belief that the gods dwell in the *north.* The existence of this idea among the Hebrews is attested by such Scriptural passages as Is. 14.13. "I will ascend unto heaven . . . dwell in the Mount of Assembly, *in the recesses*

proceed to the Height of the North.

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of the north", Job 37.22. "Out of *the north* cometh a splendor (MT: gold), round about God is a wondrous sheen", while in Ps. 48.3 Mount Zion is apostrophized as "Towering superb, joy of all the earth . . . *the Recesses of the North,*" i.e. the equivalent of the divine hill. (Cf. Alfrink, *Biblica* 14 [1933], 60–61, Virolleaud, CRAIBL 1937. 67–8, Morgenstern, HUCA 16 [1941], 65.)

In later Jewish thought, Paradise was likewise located in *the north* (Enoch 24.3 ff., 25.1 ff.; Midrash Shir ha-Shirim Zutta §4.16 Buber, cf. CD, 161).

The Mesopotamians likewise believed that the high god Anu dwelt in the extreme north, on the summit of a mountain (CCXLI, 23, CCXLIV, 1, 20, XCV, 117, Karppe, JA, 1897, 86 ff.). In Egyptian belief, the gods dwelt on a northern mountain (Maspero, RHR 15 [1887], 275–79). In Indic belief, they dwelt on the mythical mountain of Uttakuru in the extreme north (Lassen, ZKM 2 [1839], 62 ff.), and in Avestan mythology, the mountain of Hara-berezaiti was located in the north (Meinhold, XXII, 382). In the north, too, were located the mythical Himavata of the Tibetans, the Sumêru of the Buddhists, the Meru of the Aryans, the Kailâsa of the Hindus, the Kwan-lun of the Chinese, the Asaheim of the Norsemen and the mountain Myemnoh Toung of the Burmese, on the summit of which lived the seven *devas* (CDXXXI, 17 ff.). A similar idea obtained also in ancient Finnish mythology (CDX, 386). The Masai believe in a northern heaven (CCCX, 197, 199); while the Dakotas of North America say that Heyoka, the god of the seasons, dwells on a mountain near the North Star (XLIV, 95). The Khevsurs of the Caucasus locate their storm-god on a high mountain in the north (ERE xii 485b, n. 3). The Parsis say that the gods live on the Elburz mountains, and a similar idea is found in Hungarian folklore (CDXXI, 50, 209). In the Syriac Alexander legend, that hero sees Paradise from a place in the north (Ps.–Call. ii 32); and in the Teutonic Flatey-book (fourteenth century), the hero Helge Thoreson goes to the north in order to join the blessed.

The numinous quality of the north also inspires the belief that it is the seat of demons. This idea obtained among the Iranians (CD, 59), the Mandaeans (XLII, 67 ff.), the Manicheans (CXXXVIII, 101), in Vedic belief (Satapatha Brahmana i 2, 4, 10, xii 5, 1, 11, etc.), among the Jews (Ẓiyyūnî, 48d, Jerahmeel i 17 [= p. 6, ed. M. Gaster], Lauterbach, HUCA 2 [1925], 369, n 31), the Greeks (CLXXXVIII, 815 ff.), and the Mexicans (CDXXXIX, 24). In late Greek magical literature, demons are conjured from the north (Pap. Bibl. Nat. 269, Pap. Leyden W, col. 18.27); and Plutarch (*De Is. et Os.* 21) there locates Typhon (cf. CXXX, 34) Milton, in his *Paradise Lost,* makes the rebel angels assemble *in the north;* and in Shakespeare's *I Henry VI,* v 3 La Pucelle invokes the aid of spirits "under the lordly monarch of the north."

Next, as to the *mountain.* The examples already adduced show that in most cases the belief that the gods live in the north is combined with the notion that they dwell on the summit of a mountain (e.g. Olympus). The latter was commonly regarded as a pillar stretching from the center or "navel" of the earth to the center of the heavens, identified as the Pole Star. The Lapps therefore know that star as *tjuold,* "the Stake," the Turks as *déymir qaziq,* "the Iron Peg," and the Chinese as "the Pivot" (CDXXXI, 38 ff.). Most cult-centers were regarded as being at the foot of this cosmic mountain and therefore as marking the "navel" of the earth. In Greece, this idea was entertained about Delos (Pausanias x 13.7), Paphos (Hesychius, s.v. *omphalos*), Pythoi (Plutarch, *Moralia* 409 E) and other

Straightway she turns her face toward El,
at the place where the Two Streams converge,
hard by the watershed of the Two Oceans;
she leaves the vast fields,
and comes to the pleasance of the King . . . . ;
at the feet of El she bows and falls,
prostrates herself and pays homage to him.

XXIX

El receives her kindly.

When El catches sight of her,
he banishes sadness and laughs;
he places his feet on the footstool,
and twiddl[es] his fingers.
Then lifts he his voice and cries:
"What brings hither Queen Ashe[rat-of-the-Sea]?

---

shrines (CCCLXXXV, 20 ff.; LXXIV, ii, 166–68). Similar ideas obtained among the Semites (CDXCI, Burrows, CCXXIII, 45–70). Palestine itself was regarded in Jewish midrash as the "navel" of the earth (Grunbaum, ZDMG 31 [1887], 199), more precise localizations being Zion (CCXXXVIII, v 63) and, among the Samaritans, Gerizim (M. Gaster, ZAW 17 [1911], 448). It is probable that the inhabitants of Ugarit (Ras Shamra) so regarded the neighboring Mons Casius (mod. Jebel el-Akra) which is, in fact, the highest mountain in Syria, and it is, perhaps, not without significance that Casius is described in the Stadiasmos (ch. 143) as "the Throne," sc. of the divine king(?).

On the sacred mountain in general, see also: Dunbar, *Antiquity* 3 (1929), 408–13; Canney, JMEOS 20 (1936), 25–40.

Lastly, as to the idea that the heavenly abode marks the spot where the upper and lower oceans meet. For this it will suffice to refer to the treatment of the theme by Albright in AJSL 35 (1919–20), 161–95 and to recall that in the Babylonian Epic of Gilgamesh, the hero of the flood is transported, as a reward for his piety, to the "mouth of the streams." Not impossibly, as Albright has suggested (JPOS 12 [1932], 12, n. 35), this is the meaning of the curious Arabic expression *majma' al-bahrain*, "junction of the two oceans" in Koran, Sura 18. 59 ff. (cf. Lidzbarski, ZA 7 [1892], 104 ff, 8 [1893], 263 ff.; Krappe, PQ 20 [1941], 125 f., 21 [1942], 345 f) Note also that in Teutonic mythology, the typical abode of a god was a field surrounded by rivers (CLXXXV, 225).

An echo of this idea may be heard in the biblical account of Paradise (Gen. 2. 10–14), where the river which waters the garden of God is said to be "divided" and to "become four heads," viz. Pishon, Gihon, Hiddekel and Perath. Here we may see a conflation of two versions. In the one, the traditional two "streams" of Paradise bear purely fictitious names, viz. Pishon, "The Spreader" (cp. Hebrew *p-w-š*) and Gihon, "The Gusher" (cp. Hebrew *g-y-h*). In the other, however, they are identified with the Tigris and Euphrates (Seeing that the names Pishon and Gihon bear the characteristic West Semitic ending *-ôn/-ānu*, it is probable that the one version was Syro-Palestinian and the other Mesopotamian.)

What moves the Mistress of the Gods to come?
Thou art surely very hungry, and hast been wandering;
Why, thou art surely very thirsty, and hast been roaming.
Come, then, eat and drink!
Ea[t] food from the tables, drink w[ine] from the goblets,
the 'blood of trees' from a golden cup!
Why, the love of El will take care of thee,
the affection of the Bull-god protect thee!"

XXX

Thus encouraged, Asherat presents the case of Baal.

Then up speaks Queen Asherat-of-the-Sea:
"He sends thee word, O El,
thou who art ever so wise
(mayest thou thrive and prosper for ever!),
Baal Puissant sends thee word,
even he who is now our king,
our ruler with none above him,
our . . . . to whom we bring . . . in tribute,
our . . . . to whom we bring . . . in tribute:
Hearken, thou Bull-god, his father,
O sovran El who didst call him into being,
hearken what they are saying,
what Asherat and her sons are saying,
the Goddess and the company of her [kins]men:
'See, Baal has no house like the gods,
nor precinct like the sons of Asherat;
not even a niche like El's,
not even a cell like his sons';
not even a niche has he
as has Queen Asherat-of-the-Sea,
no, not even a niche
like the (three) Bewitching Nymphs,
not even a niche, that is,
as has P-d-r-iya, the Lady of A-r,
no, not even a cell
as has the Dew-nymph, the Lady of R-b,
not so much as a niche
as has the Earth-nymph, the Lady of Y-'-b-d-r!' "

XXXI

El replies that he has no objection to the building of a palace for Baal, but asks whether that god really expects him and Asherat to do the manual labor.

Then answers the gentle-hearted El:
"Yes, but am I a slave, some henchman of Asherat?
Am I, then, a slave that I should . . . . . ?
Or is Asherat a handmaid
that she should go laying the bricks?
(By all means) let a house be built for Baal
as have all the other gods,
and a precinct as have all the sons of Asherat!"

XXXII

Asherat thanks El and conveys the glad tidings to Baal and 'Anat who have waited at a distance.

And Queen Asherat-of-the-Sea replies:
"Very wise hast thou shown thyself, O El;
truly, thy hoary old age lends sound judgment to thee,*
. . . . . in thy breast!
Why, see, Baal will (thus) be able to furnish his rains in due season,
in the seasons of . . . . .,
and he will give forth his voice from the clouds,
his gleam darting earthwards as lightning!
As a house of cedars let them perfect it,
as a house of bricks — let them carry them hither!
Let the word be conveyed unto Baal Puissant:
'Summon a crew to thy mansion,
a gang into the midst of thy palace!
Let the mountains yield thee abundance of silver,
the hills choice gold;
let the tall trees(??) yield thee logs(??),
and build thou a house of silver and gold,
a mansion of gems and lapis'."

XXXIII

'Anat, hearing the news, repeats it exultantly to Baal, who has waited at a distance.

The Virgin 'Anat rejoices;
her feet tap vehemently on the ground.
Straightway she turns her face toward Baal
on the Height of the North,
across a thousand acres, ten thousand tracts.
The Virgin 'Anat laughs,
she lifts her voice and cries:
"Baal, be of good cheer;

* *Lit.* "instructs thee."

tidings of cheer have I brought thee!
There shall be built for thee
a house like thy brethren's
and a precinct like thy kinsmen's!
Summon a crew to thy mansion,
a gang to the midst of thy palace!
The mountains will yield thee abundance of silver,
the hills choice gold,
and build thou a mansion of silver and gold,
a mansion of gems and lapis!"

XXXIV

Thereupon Baal issues instructions for the building of the palace.

Baal Puissant rejoices.
He summons a crew to his mansion,
a gang to the midst of his palace.
The mountains yield him abundance of silver,
the hills choice gold;
the tall trees(??) yield logs(??).

XXXV

Sir Adroit-and-Cunning (Kôshar-wa-Ḫasîs), the divine architect and smith, is summoned to a banquet, where plans for the new building are discussed.

Sir Adroit-and-Cunning eats*

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* *Before these words the scribe has accidentally omitted a passage describing how the divine architect was summoned to the banquet. Realizing the omission, he inserts a note reading:*

Go back to the passage: "When the two servitors bring the message . . ."

Unfortunately, however, he does not furnish the text of that passage.

After Sir Adroit-and-Cunning has arrived,
an ox is set before him
and a fatling in front of him.

XXXV: Sitting at a person's right hand was a sign of favor; cf. Ps. 110.1 (addressed to a king). "Saith YHWH unto my lord, Sit thou at my right hand"; Josephus, *Ant.* VI, 11.9. "On the following day, which was the new moon, the king came . . . to the banquet . . . and his son Jonathan sat beside him at his right hand;" I Esdras 4.29: "The concubine Apamē was sitting at the right hand of the king," Ps. 45.10 (EV. 9)· "At thy right hand standeth a concubine (EV, wrongly, the queen)." In Semitic folklore, the right side was the lucky side, cf. Gen. 35 18 and CDXC, 202.

A seat is placed in position,
and he sits at the right hand of Baal Puissant.

Then, while [the gods] are eating and drink[ing],
[Baal Puis]sant exclaims:

* * *
* * *

"[Has]ten, [build] the mansion . . .
hasten, uprear the pala[ce]!
Hasten, let a mansion be builded,
hasten, let a palace be upreared,
in the midst of the Height of the North!
Let the mansion occupy a thousand acres,
the palace ten thousand tracts!"

XXXVI

A controversy arises concerning the advisability of installing windows. The divine architect is in favor of them, but Baal objects that his maiden daughters may abscond or be abducted through them and thus provide cause for Yam to hold him up to ridicule.

Then says Sir Adroit-and-Cunning:
"Hearken, Baal Puissant,
mark thou, O Rider on the Clouds:
Let us put a casement in the mansion,
a window in the middle of the palace!"

But "No," answers Baal,

"Put thou no casement in the [mans]ion,
[no window] in the middle of the pala[ce]!"

Note also that in the medieval legend of Astolpho's visit to King Senapus of Abyssinia, it is stated expressly that at the feast of welcome he occupied the place of dignity at the king's right hand (*Bullfinch's Mythology*, Modern Library ed., 695).

On left and right in Classical lore, cf. A. S. Pease on Cicero, *De Divinatione* ii 82 (UISLL, viii 3, 482–83), Pottier, CCCVII, 405–13; CXXIX, 29 ff.; Weinreich, *Gott. Gel Anz*, 1912, Nos. 7–9, 135 ff., XXXVII, 563 ff.; CIII, 9 ff.; 37 ff., CXXX, 96–97. For Egyptian notions on the subject, cf. CCCLXXXIII, 107, 109, 112.

XXXVI: According to Cassuto (followed by Albright and Ginsberg), the reason why Baal objects to the installation of windows is that he fears lest Môt, genius of death and sickness, might climb in through them. This interpretation is based on the words of Jeremiah 9.20. "Death (Môt) is come up through our windows."

If the text is read more attentively, however, it will be seen that Môt does not come into the picture. There is explicit mention of "the lady of Ar" and the

"Baal," rejoins Sir Adroit-and-Cunning,
"Thou wilt yet be converted to my word!"
Yea, again and again Sir Adroit-and-Cunning keeps saying:
"Baal, I implore thee, hearken,
let me put a case[ment] in the mansion,
a window in the mid[dle of the pala]ce!"

But "No," Baal keeps replying,
"Put thou no case[ment] in the mansion,
no window in the middle of the palace,
lest [P-d-r-iya, the Lady of] A-r depart,
lest the [Dew-nymph, the Lady of] R-b [be abducted?],
when Sir Sea, the beloved of El, [will make sport of me],
will * * *, will revile me with contumely!"

But Sir Adroit-and-Cunning (merely) replies:
"Baal, thou wilt yet be converted to my word!"

XXXVII

The construction is put in hand. Fire is kindled to melt the silver and gold into ingots.

So the building of the mansion proceeds,
the uprearing of the palace.
They go to Lebanon for its timber,

"lady of R-b" – standard epithets of Baal's two daughters P-d-r-iya and T-l-iya (cf. II AB i 17–18), and the former at least seems to be preceded by a verb with feminine prefix (*al td*). Moreover, the reference to these two ladies is followed by one to "Sir Sea, the beloved of El" and to someone's eventually treating Baal with contumely. Surely, then, it is pretty obvious that what Baal fears is that his enemy Sir Sea, bludgeoned but not yet slain, may revive, creep through the windows and abduct his debutante daughters! It is, indeed, for this very reason that he first insists on despatching that monster (§XXXIX; II AB vii 2–4, 14 ff.) before he consents to have the windows installed.

What we have here, therefore, is the very familiar idea that the *sea-god or dragon claims boys and girls in tribute* (*MI*, B 11.10). The best example is, of course, the Cretan myth of the Minotaur, but there are also numerous tales revolving around the theme that water-spirits kidnap mortals and confine them beneath the waves (*MI*, F 420 5.2.2). In all probability, such stories hark back to a primitive practice of periodic human sacrifice to the genius of the waters – a method of forefending inundation; cf. CXLIX, 146; CXLVI, v 145; Freytag, *Am Urquell* 1 (1890), 179 ff., 197. Such a rite would have formed part of the primitive seasonal pattern and thus have found place in myths which reflect it.

XXXVII: Siryon is the ancient name of the Anti-Lebanon range; cp. Ps. 29.6. The name occurs also, in association with Lablani-Lebanon, in Hittite texts, *e.g.* KBo IV iv 28–29 (cf. Luckenbill, AJSL 39 [1923], 64) and likewise in the Hur-

to Siryon for its choicest cedars;
* * Lebanon for its timber,
Siryon for its choicest cedars.

Fire is placed in the mansion,
flame in the palace.
Behold, for one day and a second,
fire devours in the mansion,
flame in the palace;
for a third day and a fourth,
fire devours in the mansion,
flame in the palace;
for a fifth day and a sixth,
fire devours in the mansion,
flame in the palace.
At last, on the seventh day,
the fire departs from the mansion,
the flame from the palace.
The silver is turned to ingots,
the gold is turned to bricks.

THE BANQUET OF THE GODS

XXXVIII

Baal regales the gods.

Baal Puissant rejoices:
"My mansion have I builded of silver, my palace of gold!"

Baal installs the installations of his mansion,
Haddu installs the [installa]tions of his palace.
He has oxen and sheep slaughtered,
has bulls [and a fat]ling felled,
rams also and yearling calves,
goats and kids.

---

rian text, KUB XXXVII 14 III 7 (cf. von Brandenstein, ZA, N.F. 12 [1940], 92). For the importation of cedars of Lebanon in the building of the temple, cf. I Kings 5.20, 23–24, 28; 7.2.

XXXVIII: This episode mythologizes the *theoxenia*, or regalement of the gods, which is a standard element of the Ritual Pattern; see fully, above, Ch. II, §36. The theoxenia is similarly incorporated into most of the sister versions of our myth. Thus, the Egyptian Ramesseum Drama ends with the installation of the revived god and the celebration of a banquet attended, on the durative level, by the gods and, on the punctual level by, the princes of the several nomes of Upper and Lower Egypt (Ramesseum Drama, §XXX, 89–90; §XXXIII, 97–100). In

He invites his brethren into his mansion,
his kinsmen into his palace,
he invites the seventy sons of Asherat.

He regales the lamb-gods with wine;
regales the ewe-goddesses [with wine].
He regales the ox-gods with wi[ne],
regales the cow-goddesses [with wine].
He regales the tribune-gods with wine;
regales the throne-goddesses [with wine].
He regales the ewer-gods with wine,
regales the beaker-goddesses [with wine].

While the gods are eating and drinking,
while the nurslings (of Asherat) are regaling themselves,
he has a fatling flayed with a sharp blade.
They drink wine by the goblet-full,
[the 'blood of trees' out of a golden cup.]

---

the Hittite Puruli myth, the weather-god is installed at Nerik, with the gods around him (§VI), while in the Telipinu myth, that god's return is celebrated at a banquet, the gods sitting "at long benches" (§IX). In the Babylonian New Year (Akîtu) myth, Marduk, duly installed, presides at a banquet of the gods (EE iii 133–38; iv 54). Finally, as Cornford points out (LXXVII, 94 ff), Old Attic comedy preserved this element of the primitive ritual pattern by usually inserting a banqueting scene between the Parabasis and the Exodos (cf. also Plutarch, *Lucullus* 39).

Within the framework of our poem, this ancient element also serves a further purpose: it conveys the idea that Baal, now ensconced in his palace, holds a constitutional assembly (as does Marduk in the Babylonian version) at which he determines the cosmic order and – specifically – relegates Môt to his proper domain. For the fact is that in ancient times such convocations usually included a *banquet*. This was certainly the case among the Mesopotamians (Jacobsen, JNES 2 [1943], 167, n. 49), the Homeric Greeks (CLXIX, 37), the Persians (Herodotus i 133), and the Teutons (Tacitus, *Germania* 22, Schrader, RIA^2, II 30).

The gods who are entertained at the banquet are described generically as "the seventy sons of Asherat" or as the "nurslings" of that goddess, and specifically as "gods of rams, goddesses of ewes; gods of oxen, goddesses of cows, gods of tribunes, goddesses of thrones; gods of ewers, goddesses of beakers(?)." Seventy is, of course, merely a round number, cf. Gen. 4.24; 50.3; Is. 23.15, Jer. 25.12, KAT 634. It is interesting to observe that in the Hittite Myth of Ullikummi (IIIb, ii, 13 = CXCIIa, 24, *24) mention is likewise made of "seventy gods." For the rest, the styles are extremely significant, for they define the guests as *the deities who preside over the livestock, the civil authority, and the vintage* – the three aspects of topocosmic life and activity upon which attention is especially concentrated at the autumn festival, when the god of the rains (Baal) resumes dominion over the earth.

Two interesting parallels may be adduced. In the Hittite Telipinu myth (§IX), among the gods who attend the banquet, particular mention is made of Halkis, god of grain or crops, and Miyatis, god of growth and vegetation, while

THE FINAL DISCOMFITURE OF SIR SEA

XXXIX

Baal now administers the coup de grâce *to the vanquished Yam, in order to remove a potential threat to his daughters and to ensure his own sovereignty.*

* *
*

* * * Baal Puissant
* * * [smı]tes(?) Sir Sea, the beloved of El,
* * *s [him] on his skull.

BAAL CONSOLIDATES HIS KINGDOM

XL

Leaving his guests at their revels, Baal embarks upon a one-man expedition in order to annex an "empire."

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in the Assyrian *tâkultu*-ritual, whereby the gods were annually entertained at a collation, the deities of the various temples of Assyria, Babylonia and even foreign countries were each invoked, along with the genii of the various departments of nature, to bless the city, the land and the king (CCLXIII, 286–87).

Most – if not all – of the gods were, in theory, suckled by the mother-goddess Asherat; so too, according to the ancient conception, were kings. For Mesopotamia, cf. the conversation of Assurbanipal and the god Nabu, KB VI/2, 140–41.8 (= Streck, II 348–49), Boissier, OLZ 1908: 234 f.; Zimmern, ZA 36 (1924–25), 85, n. 1; CCLXIII, 64–66; XCI. For Egypt, cf. the portrait, at Abydos, of Seti I being suckled by a goddess; CLXXXII, No. 88, I, Pl. XXII, fig. 125; IV, Pl. 104–05, Maspero, PSBA 14 (1892), 308 ff., Jacoby, ARW 13 (1906), 547 ff.; CDXVI, §§910–13; CXXVI, 360 ff. For Greece, cp. Eratosthenes, *Katasterismos* 44: "The sons of Zeus were not permitted to partake of heavenly honor unless they had sucked the breast of Hera."

It is probable that in the ritual counterpart of the myth, the divine guests were represented by local princelings, as again in the case of the Ramesseum Drama in Egypt.

XXXIX: The text is here extremely fragmentary, but the correctness of our interpretation is surely established by (*a*) the analogy of the sister versions, (*b*) the fact that in V AB,D 36 the definite annihilation of the Dragon is mentioned; and (*c*) the consideration that something must here take place to justify Baal's otherwise inexplicable change of mind concerning the installation of the windows.

XL: This episode mythologizes the very common practice of acquiring territory by ceremonially walking round it. An excellent illustration of this in modern

[While the] god[s are rev]elling on the Mountain,
while the gods are [regaling themselves] in the North,
[Baal] travels from city to city,
turns from town to town,
assumes possession of sixty-six cities,
of seventy-seven towns,
yea, of eighty does Baal * *,
of ninety does Baal * * *.

---

times comes from the enthronment ceremonies current in Malaya. R. O. Winstedt reports (JRAS 1945,139–40) that at Perak, when the new sultan was installed, he had to circumambulate his royal demesne seven times, and that "to circumambulate his Meru, whether hill or palace, was for the new sovereign . . . to take possession of his kingdom in little." Similarly, in the annual Egyptian ceremonies, the king had to sail down the Nile and tour his realm; and this tour forms the background of the Ramesseum and Edfu dramas. So, too, in Hittite practice, the king had to make a tour of his dominion in connection with the winter festival of Nuntariyashas (KUB II 9; IX 16; X 48, XX 70, 80; XXV 12–14, CLXXI, 154). This prescription of the bounds of the realm forms a constant element of seasonal festivals. Warde Fowler has suggested (CXXXIX, 319) that it provides the true explanation of the circumambulatory procession at the Lupercalia in Rome (cf. Frazer, CXLVII, ii 336), and it is well attested in British and German calendar customs (XLI, i, 197 f.; CDLVIII, 204 ff.; CCLXXVIII, 149–51; CCXXVII, 77–80; DVIII, 44–45; CCCXCIV, iii, 168, 216, 268).

This practice is especially common in African coronation ceremonies and is listed by Tor Irstam (CCXXXI, 26) among the standard elements of such rituals. Patai (HUCA 20 [1947], 176 ff.) would detect a reminiscence of it in the account given in I Samuel 10.2–5 of Saul's progressive journey to the grave of Rachel, the terebinth of Tabor and the Gibeah (hill) of God.

Within the strict framework of our story, however, the episode may also possess another significance: it may be intended to suggest that Baal, like any earthly monarch, undertook the regular razzia or marauding expedition at the beginning of the autumn. The custom is well attested in Ancient Near Eastern sources. In II Samuel 11, 1 we are told distinctly that the "turn of the year" was the season for such royal campaigns – the time of "the going forth of the kings" (so read, with Versions, for MT's "messengers"); while the records of the kings of Assyria show that the same was true in that area (CCCV, i, 106–07) Similarly, the Hittite king Mursilis II relates that his military expeditions took place in the season of *hameshas*, which is identified by most scholars with late summer or early fall (cf. Ehelolf, SPAW 21 [1925], 267, n 2, Goetze, KlF 1 [1929], 179). That the same usage was known to the Canaanites is seemingly indicated by the fact – hitherto unnoticed – that in the so-called *Poem of Nikkal* (77.2–3, Gordon), the word "razzia-makings" (*tgzyt*) stands parallel to "late summer" (*qz*) as a designation of that season.

Baal, having now obtained sovereignty, has to behave like a typical mortal monarch. He is therefore represented as conducting the typical seasonal razzia; and by thus providing it with a divine precedent, our myth at the same time endows the traditional institution with the appropriate degree of sanctity and authority.

INSTALLATION OF THE WINDOWS

XLI

Having now disposed of Yam and consolidated his kingdom, Baal returns to his palace and announces that he has changed his mind and will permit the installation of windows. Whenever these are opened, the 'windows of heaven' will correspondingly be opened by remote control, and thus the earth will be assured of rainfall in due season.

Th[en] Baal [retu]rns within the house,
and [thus] speaks Baal Puissant:
"Very well, Sir Adroit, I will have them installed.
On the very day, Sir Adroit,
yea, at the very moment
when the window is opened in the mansion,
the casement within the palace,
a rift shall (likewise) be opened in the clouds,
according to [thy] counsel, Sir Adroit-and-Cunning!"

THE PRAISE OF BAAL

XLII

Sir Adroit-and-Cunning commends the decision of Baal and recites his praises as lord of the storm.

Sir Adroit-and-Cunning rejoices.
He lifts his voice and cries:
"See, I told thee, Baal Puissant,

XLI: This episode mythologizes a rain-making ceremony which formed part of the ritual of the autumn festival. The ceremony was obviously based on what has come to be known (perhaps inaccurately) as "sympathetic magic," windows being opened in the temple or chapel to simulate the opening of the "windows of heaven" through which the rain was released. The latter are mentioned expressly in OT, cf. Gen. 7.11. "All the fountains of the great deep were broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened", Gen. 8.2; II Kings 7.2, 19, Is. 24.18; Mal. 3.10. Gesenius, CLXV, 145b, cites an analogous Persian expression. On the conception of the sky-window in the folklore of other peoples, see *MI*, F 56. Note also that in a Wallachian folk-song chanted by children in time of drought, the spirit Papaluga is invoked to "ascend to heaven, open its *doors* and pour rain from on high" (CDX, 43).

XLII: Kôshar's commendation of Baal incorporates several clichés familiar from Mesopotamian and Hebrew hymns addressed to the storm-god. Compare, for example, the description of Hadad in W.A.I, iv 28.2 f. (= Strong, PSBA 20 [1898], 161). "When Baal (*bêlum*) rages, heaven is commoved; when Hadad

thou wouldst yet be converted to my word!
Now, when the window is opened in the mansion,
the casement within the palace,
do thou, O Baal, open a rift in the clouds!

When Ba[al g]ives forth his holy voice,
when Baal keeps dis[charging the utterance of] his [li]ps,
his ho[ly] voice [sha]kes the earth,
* * * the mountains quake,
a-quiver are the * * * east and west,
the high places of the ea[rth] rock.
The enemies of Baal take to the woods,
the foes of Haddu to the sides of the mountain(s)!"

THE BANISHMENT OF MÔT

XLIII

Echoing the words of Sir Adroit-and-Cunning, Baal announces that he will brook no opposition to his kingship, particularly from Môt, the genius of drought and aridity, whom he has excluded from the banquet.

"Yes, indeed," replies Baal Puissant,
"how the enemies of Baal quake,

---

waxes furious, earth shakes; the great mountains are cleft before him", EA 147. 14–15: "Who gives forth his voice in heaven like Haddu (Hadad), and all the mountains quake at his voice"; King, *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery*, 21.83: "Hadad gives forth thunders . . . the mountains are [sha]ken." Transferred to Yahweh, cf. Ps. 29.5–6. "The voice of Yahweh breaks the cedars, Yahweh shivers the cedars of Lebanon. Why, he makes Lebanon to skip like a calf, and Siryon like a young wild-ox"; Nahum 1.3 ff.. "In the gale and the flail is His way, and the clouds are the dust of his feet. He rebukes the sea (Yam!) and dries it up, and all the streams he renders dry. Bashan and Carmel droop, and the flowers of Lebanon wilt. The mountains quake before him, and the hills are commoved. The earth is made desolate (MT. lifts itself?) before him, . . . His fury who can abide? Who endure the heat of his rage? He makes a full end of His foemen (LXX text), and chases His enemies into darkness . . . What! Ye would plot against Him? Why, he makes a full end; rebellion (*sārah*<*s-r-r* II) rises not twice!" It is therefore probable that *this speech by Kôshar merely works into the fabric of the poem the text of a standard hymn to the rain-god (Baal) recited as part of the liturgy of the autumn festival;* see above, Ch. IV, §16.

XLIII (b): This passage is sufficiently explained by the fact that in Arabic desert and sterile soil is indeed called "dead land," i.e. land of Death (Môt); see fully above, Introd., §4.

oh, how they quake!
Stricken with terror are all who would ever challenge me!
Baal first marks down, then his hand strikes.*
Why, even cedars wilt(??) at the touch of his right hand!
Now that Baal has returned to his palace,
nor king nor commoner shall make the earth [his] dominion!
No! I will send a messenger to that godling Môt,
a despatch to that stalwart, the beloved of El.
Môt, maybe, is proclaiming in his soul,
saying seditiously in his mind:
"'Tis I alone that shall reign o'er the gods,
give fatness to gods and men,
sate the multitudes of the earth!"

Baal sends his two couriers, Sir Vine (G-p-n) and Sir Field (U-g-r), to Môt to tell him that henceforth his permanent abode is to be the netherworld and that when he visits the earth he is to confine himself to the deserts and barren places.

Then loudly calls Baal to his two servants:
"Attend, Sir Vine and Sir Field!
'Mid the darkness, where daylight is obscured,
'mid the tall shaggy ostriches
[shall his po]rtion be;
the sunscorched places [shall be his] province,
* * where rainclouds are wi[thheld?] * *

* * *

So now turn ye your faces
toward Mount Tarġu/izzi,
toward mount Sharrumagi,
toward those twin mounds which hem in the earth.
Raise the mountain on your hands,
the holt upon your palms,
and go down into the corruption of the netherworld,
be counted among them that go down into the earth.
Then turn ye your faces
toward his . . . city,
to the depth where is the seat of his abiding,
to the filth of the earth, which is his estate.
But be on your guard; look you, ye gods,
approach not nigh to the godling Môt,
lest he put you like a lamb in his mouth,
lest like a goat ye be crushed to pieces in the . . . of his . . .!
(Why, 'tis at the whim of Môt, the beloved of El,

* *Lit.* "Baal's eyes anticipate his hands."

that the sun, that torch of the gods, scorches,
that the heavens flash!)
From a distance of a thousand acres, of ten thousand tracts,
bow and fall at the feet of Môt,
prostrate yourselves and pay homage to him.
Then say to the godling Môt,
repeat unto that stalwart, the beloved of El:
'This is the message of Baal Puissant,
[the wo]rd of Him Who is Puissant among War[riors]:
My mansion have I builded [of silver], my [palace of gold].
* * * * * * * * my brethren,
* * * * * * * * my brethren,
* * * * * * * * my * * *
* * * * * * * * * * * * *
* * * * * * [with a sh]arp [blade] * *
* * * * * * * * gods
* * * * * * * * * * * * * *
* * * * * * * * * * * * * *

(c) The names Tarǧu/izzi and Sharrumagi (not elsewhere attested) contain those of two well-known Asianic deities, viz. Tarḫu and Sharruma.

For the former, cp. the theophorous names, Tarḫundaraus, king of Arzawa (EA 31), Tarḫulara, king of Markash (Sargon, II, Prism 20=Weissbach, ZDMG 72 [1918] 178) and the Hyksos names Trǵtṯ and Trǵnns (Wreszinski, *Atlas*, II, 101, No 3, 14, Reubeni, QS 64 [1932] 104–06) Cf also, at Ugarit itself, Trǧds (55.5, 108 27 Gordon) and note also Luvian Tarḫunza (Bo 3124 obv. 22) and Cilician Das-tarkon For the name in Lycia, cf CDLII, 23. Tiglath Pileser I (*Ann.* IV 49) mentions places called Tarḫuna and Tarḫanabe in the mountains of Nairi, near Lake Van (cf. Streck, ZA 13 [1898], 63). Adontz (*Rev Arm.* 7 [1927], 185–94) compares the Armenian *Tork'*, and Hrozný (ZA 38 [1929], 175) the Etruscan Tarchon and Tarquinius.

The ending *-zi* in Tarǧu/izzi is a well-established suffix of Asianic toponyms (cf. CDXXXVI, 141, Oppenheim, WZKM 44 (1937), 206, Gaster, JRAS 1935, 38, n 177)

The name Sharruma is of frequent occurrence in Hittite and Hurrian texts (Friedrich, BO 5 [1948], 51–52) and is mentioned also in the Ugaritic documents 1.15, 34 3. It is also to be recognized in the theophoron Puti-Sharruma ("servant of Sh") in the Ta'anek letters, 4 r 6, 8 obv. 3 Hrozný (cf Gaster, *Orientalia* 11 [1942], 53, n 2).

For the toponymic suffix *-gi* in Sharrumagi, cf Timaš-gi (Damascus) and see CDXXXVI, 154, n. 113

Being thus named after Asianic deities, the mountains Tarǧu/izzi and Sharrumagi were evidently thought to lie in a region *to the north* of the Canaanites. This links up at once with the widespread notion that the *underworld lies in the north, beyond the mountains which enclose the earth.*

Thus, in the Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic (Tab. IX), that hero journeys thither over the "twin mount" Mašu, usually identified with Masis, a hill in the province of Ararat (Aghri-Dag) and the tallest peak in that range (cf. Pseudo-Jacob of Serug in CCLVI, 72, LIV, x; Krappe, PQ 20 [1941], 126–27; 21 [1942], 341). A similar belief obtained among the Greeks, the region of the underworld being popularly located among the Cimmerians of Asia Minor (Nonnus, *Dionys.* XV 268 f.; Cicero, *Acad. Prior* II 61 c. 19, PW XI 425–34, Ausman, *Babyloniaca* 6 [1912],; XXV, 15) or among the Hyperboreans (Korte, ARW 10 [1907], 153;

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BAAL IS LURED INTO THE NETHERWORLD

XLIV

The two messengers convey the words of Baal to Môt.

[Then away speed Sir Vine] and Sir Field;

* *
*

XLV

Môt replies to Baal by contrasting his own sorry lot in the netherworld with the comfortable and luxurious existence of his rival.

* *
*

---

cf. Pindar, *Pyth* x 30 f.; Bacchylides III 58 f.), or in other *northern* regions (CLXXVIII, 390, n. 4). In later Christian belief, the Lycian Olympus was regarded as the entrance to Hades (Brinkmann, *Rhein Mus* 69 [1914], 224). In the Alexander legend, that hero goes to the north to the land of the departed (Pseudo-Callisthenes II 32). The Talmud (Ḥagîgâ 32b) records a statement by Rabbi Eliyahu that Gehenna lies "behind the mountains of darkness"; while Ephraim Syrus (*Op.* I, 121) quotes Jacob of Edessa as speaking of two mountains, called "Breasts of the North," the stones whereof were crystal and beyond which there was nothing but the cosmic ocean (cf. CDXCII, 34). This statement may be elucidated in the light of the fact the Caucasian word *m-h-r* means both "breast" and "mound" (Tagliviani, *Caucasica*, fasc. III, 1 ff.), so that what would be implied would be two mountains in Asia Minor, as in our present text. According to Wilamowitz-Moellendorf (D, 494), Odyssey xi supposes that the entrance to the netherworld lay in the north, viz. in the steppes of Southern Russia.

The idea that the world is hemmed in by mountains is especially familiar from the Arabic conception of the *Qâf*, or "encircling range" (CDXCI, 6). But the notion is found also in Zoroastrian thought (ibid.), and recurs in Teutonic belief (CCCXIII, 468). See fully, CLXXXIII, 160 ff., *MI*, F 145.

The reference to Môt's subterranean domain as his "city" (*qrt*) accords with the fact that "City" (*ganzir, irkallu*) was a recognized name for the netherworld in Sumero-Accadian mythology (CDLV, 15 f., 36, CCLXX, 161; Albright, AJSL 53 [1936], 11; id., VI, 81) In the Sumerian story of Inanna's descent to the netherworld, the gate of Ganzir is described as the "face" of the underworld (CCLVIII, 91). Not impossibly, this is the real meaning of *polis* in Aeschylus, *Septem contra Thebas* 613: *tēn makran polin molein*, as the Scholiast of the Medicéan Codex indeed explains it. (Modern editors read *palin*, which seems banal) The same usage may be recognized also in Dante's *Per me si va nella città dolente, Per me si va nell' eterno dolore* (Inferno iii, 1–2).

XLV: This passage is one of the most difficult in the entire poem. Our interpretation proceeds from the assumption that the emphatic "*I* am forespent (*lit.* con-

"Now that thou hast smitten Leviathan, that Dragon Evasive,
now that thou hast made an end of that Serpent Tortuous,
that benighted villain(?) with the seven heads,
now thou proceedest to live at ease,
the heavens themselves enwrapping thee like a mantle;
whereas I – I am utterly forespent;
. . . . . I am as good as dead.
(Remember, *thou* hast always been spared by *me;*)
thou hast never had to go down
into the throat of the godling Môt,
into the gorge of the stalwart, the beloved of El!"

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sumed)" implies a pointed contrast between the sorry state of Môt, subsequently described, and that of the triumphant Baal now ensconced in his gorgeous mansion. The immediately preceding lines will then describe the luxurious life now enjoyed by the latter. The first part of this sentence indeed contains a verb (*ttrp*) which may be rendered "thou livest in luxury, at ease," and this would seemingly confirm our view. The latter part (reading *rks* or *kr⟨k⟩s* for *krs*) may be translated literally: "the heavens are (as) the girdle of thy mantle (ephod)."* Thus rendered, the phrase reveals an interesting tidbit of Canaanite folklore, for it provides a parallel to the ancient notion that *the sky is the garment of the sky-god.* For this idea, cp. Ps. 104 2. "Who coverest Thyself with light as with a garment, Who stretchest out the heavens like a curtain." Similarly, in Yasht XIII 3 (quoted by Gunkel, CLXXXIX, 325), "Mazda takes heaven to himself as a garment, star-embroidered, god-woven " In Teutonic mythology, Odin wears a blue or azure mantle representing the sky (CCVIII, 259, CCCXIA, 370). In the Phoenician cosmogony of Pherekydes Syrus, quoted by Clement of Alexandria, *Strōmata* VI 621 A, after the conquest of the Dragon, Zas "makes a great garment and embroiders thereon the earth and the ocean." In a Sumerian hymn (*SRT,* iii, 17.37), Inanna is addressed as "she who puts on the garment of heaven," and the words "garment of heaven" (AN.GÚ and AN.MA, Sem. *nalbaš šamê*) indeed occur as a title of Ishtar (Langdon, JRAS 1925, 717–18).

Leviathan is, of course, simply another name for the draconic Sir Sea (Yam). It means properly "the Coiled One" (rt. *l-w-y*). The epithets here applied to the monster accord with those in Isaiah 27.1: "In that day Yahweh with his sore and great and strong sword will punish Leviathan, the Serpent Evasive, and Leviathan, the Serpent Tortuous, and He will slay the Dragon that is in the sea." It should be observed, however, that the rendering "evasive" is not altogether certain; for alternative views, cf. Albright, BASOR 83:39, n. 5; Gaster, JRAS 1944.47, n. 49; Rabin, JTS 47 [1946], 38–41.

In the last lines of the speech, Môt reminds Baal that, despite his inveterate hostility, he (Môt) has never tried to inflict upon him (Baal) the kind of treatment which he is himself now being made to suffer. (We have inserted a few words to clarify the sense.)

* The cognate Accadian word *riksu* is listed in V R 28 5–11, g-h as a synonym of *mugru* and *aparu* meaning "girdle, wrap," while in Hebrew the corresponding verb is employed in Exodus 28.28, 39 21 in connection with the tying on of the ephod.

XLVI

The two couriers return to Baal and repeat the words of Môt. The latter, chagrined at being excluded from Baal's feast, suggests that his rival should come and banquet with him in the netherworld.

Away speed the gods and do not stay.
Straightway they turn their face toward Baal
in the Height of the North.

Then say Sir Vine and Sir Field:
"This is the message of the godling Môt,
the word of the stalwart, the beloved of El:
'(Surely,) it is but her nature
that the appetite of a lioness should lust after a sheep,
or that the very being of a whale
should be bound up with the sea,
or that wild oxen should hie to the pool
or hinds hie to the fountain.
But *I* – forsooth, forsooth,
I am forced to extinguish the very breath of my life!
I, forsooth, have to feed on lavish portions of mud,*
I am made to drink it by the cup and by the barrel!
Come, Baal, and revel;†
along with my brethren (here);
come, Haddu, and tarry awhile
along with my kinsmen (here)!
Let us hold wassail *here*,
I urge thee earnestly, O Baal,
[I] . . . . . thee!
Now that thou hast smitten Leviathan, that Dragon Evasive,
now that thou hast made an end of that Serpent Tortuous,
that benighted villain(?) with the seven heads,

* *Lit.* "Why, mud, forsooth, do I eat with both hands."
† Reading *shq* for the *shn* or *sh'a* of most editors The word echoes the reference, in §XL [II AB vii 5] to the gods' "revelling ([*s*]*hq*) on the mountain."

XLVI: This description of life in the netherworld, where the food is mud and dirt and where there is constant thirst and languor, has several interesting parallels. In the Mesopotamian myth of Ishtar's Descent to Hades, special mention is made (obv. 8) of the fact that those who dwell there have "dust as their sustenance, mud as their food." So, too, in Egyptian thought, the denizens of the netherworld ate dirt and drank urine, and analogous ideas may be found in the Greek and Roman world (cxxx, 62, PW, s.v *Katabasis*, coll. 2405 ff.) as well as in Avestan literature (Yasna xxxi, 20). Hades is a place of mud and slime; Aristophanes describes it (*Frogs* 145) as a place of "deep, deep mire and everlasting filth" and as a region of "darkness and mud" (*ib.* 273); while Plato (*Rep.* ii 363 D) says that the wicked and impious are plunged into "a kind of mud" in Hades (cf.

now thou proceedest to live at ease,
the heavens themselves enwrapping thee like a mantle,
[whereas I – I am utterly forespent,
. . . . . I am as good as dead!
(Remember, *thou* hast always been spared by *me;*)
thou hast never had to go down
into the throat of the godling Môt,
into the gorge of the stalwart, the beloved of El.' "

* *
*

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also *Phaedo* 69c). Seneca (*Hercules Furens* 686) mentions "the filthy marsh of stagnant Cocytus"; and Jewish folklore preserves much the same picture in Talmud, 'Erūbîn 19a. In medieval German, *pech*, "dirt," is a common name for Hell, and in modern Greek, the cognate *pissa* has the same meaning. Lettish *pekle*, "hell, cavern," Czech *peklo*, and Slavonic *Pikollos*, "god of Hell," have been derived by some from this same root (CDX, 79 n.).

The *thirst* of the dead is mentioned specifically in Isaiah 5.13, which speaks of man's glory being eventually "parched with thirst." The netherworld was known among the Babylonians as "the field of thirst" [*e-qi-il su-ma-mi-ti*] (CXXIII, 37, n. 1), and the Arabs believe that the dead experience excessive thirst (CDXC, 182; Goldziher, ARW 13 [1915], 45 f), while in Egyptian funerary texts, the soul of the dead is often represented as praying for water (CDXXIX, 580). In modern Palestinian belief, the soul of the departed revisits his tomb on Friday night in quest of water (JPOS 4 [1924], 27). In the Orphic tablets, the soul parched with thirst requests cool water (Kaibel, CCXXX, 638 8, Cretan tablets, ed. Murray, in CC, 660–61). Late Greek belief held that libations to the dead were really designed to slake their thirst (CDXLIV, 129 f ; 183 ff), while already in Odyssey XI the dead greedily devour the blood poured out for them. Seneca (*Hercules Furens* 691) speaks of the grievous hunger (*fames maesta*) which attends the dead, and in the light of the parallels adduced above, it seems not impossible that when he refers (*ib.* 702) to the filthy soil lying "for ever parched" (*foeda tellus torpet aeterno situ*), we should introduce a slight emendation (viz. *aeternā siti*) and obtain an allusion to *everlasting thirst* See also Jevons, CR 9 (1895), 247 f.; Déonna, RHR 119 (1939), 53–81.

The *languor* of the dead is likewise mentioned in other sources. Job 3.17 describes the inhabitants of Sheol (the netherworld) as being "weary of strength"; and in Ps. 88 5 the poet complains that he is "reckoned with them that go down to the Pit, become as *a man without vigor.*" The Egyptians called their dead "the weary of heart" (*wrḏ ib;* Erman-Grapow, *HWb* 38), and the Greeks *hoi kamóntes* of the same general sense, cf. Odyssey XI 474 f.: "There dwell the dead without sense or feeling, phantoms of mortals whose weary days are done" (trs. W. H. D. Rouse). According to some, the Hebrew word *rephaim* employed in OT and in certain Phoenician inscriptions for the denizens of the netherworld, really derives from the root *r-ph-y*, "be flaccid," and therefore expresses the same idea. This, however, is doubtful.

XLVII

There ensues a gap of some fifty lines. Where the text resumes, Baal is revealed in a state of terror at the prospect of having to accept Môt's challenge. He sends him a message of appeasement or of abject surrender.

(The passage begins in the middle of a speech addressed by Baal to his couriers for transmission to Môt.)

* *
* -

"Its one lip (is stretched upward) to the sky
its other (downward) to the netherworld;
Baal will descend into its maw,
go down into its mouth,
like a canape of olive,
like a herb or a piece of fruit!
Verily, Baal Puissant is frightened,
terror-stricken is the Rider on the Clouds.
Depart, then, bring word to the godling Môt,
relay (it) to that stalwart, the beloved of El:
'This is the message of Baal Puissant,
the word of Him Who is Puissant among Warriors:
Deign to show grace, O godling Môt;
thy slave am I and one of thy perpetual bondmen!' "

XLVII: The subject of the opening lines is the netherworld, personified as a greedy monster with gaping jaws. The picture recurs in Isaiah 5.14: "Therefore Hell (Sheol) hath extended its gullet, and its mouth is agape without limit, and their glory and their multitude and their pomp descend into it"; Hab. 2.5: "Who extendeth his gullet as Hell (Sheol) and is insatiable as Death"; Proverbs 1 12. "Let us swallow them up alive as Sheol, and whole, as those that go down into the Pit." Cf. also Psalm 141.7: "Our bones are scattered at the mouth of Sheol." Similar is Tennyson's "Into the jaws of death, into the mouth of hell, Rode the six hundred." In Peruvian mythology, Supay, the god of the underworld, is "usually portrayed as an open-mouthed monster of voracious appetite, into whose maw are thrown the souls of the departed" (CDXXXIX, 57). Pictures in the manuscript of Caedmon represent Hel simply by a wide open mouth (CLXXXV, 314). Cf. also Lampr. Alex. 6672–75. *der was der Hellen gelich Du daz abgrunde Begenit mit ir munde Abe dem himel zuo der erden* ("He was like the Hell who the chasm be-yawneth with her mouth from heaven down to earth").

An engraving of "Christ's Descent to Hell" made (from an old drawing) by Michael Burghers for the antiquary Hearne and reproduced in William Hone's *Ancient Mysteries* (London 1832), opp p. 138, shows Hell as a huge monster with jaws agape, and the gaping Mouth of Hell is portrayed in an old English woodcut illustrating the Christmas carol, *Dives and Lazarus*. In the east window

XLVIII

The couriers relay the message, but Môt merely taunts Baal for his lack of courage.

Away speed the gods and do not stay.
Straightway they turn their face toward the godling Môt
in his . . . city,
in the depth, where is the seat of his abiding,
the filth of the earth, which is his estate.

Then lift they their voices and cry:
"This is the message of Baal Puissant,
the word of him Who is Puissant among Warriors:
'Deign to show grace, O godling Môt;
thy slave am I and one of thy perpetual bondmen!' "

Thereupon the godling Môt rejoices.
[He lifts] his [voice] and cries:*
"Look, what a fight he puts up, [yon Baal Puissant]!
Why, the Thunderer (Haddu) is scared out of his wits!
Those that fight with me are [always la]id low (in the end);
[as with] a butcher's [kni]fe
[I smite them that] would smite me(?)!"

* *
*

* Emending the text from *wash* to *wysh*.

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of York Cathedral, hell is likewise depicted as a gaping mouth, and so also on an ancient bas relief in the west front of Lincoln Cathedral (Hone, *op. cit.*, 173 n.). A manuscript note in the Bibliothèque Nationale's copy of *Le mystère de la passion de Jesus Christ* (Paris 1490) relates that in a passion play performed, on July 3, 1437, in the plain of Veximiel, the Mouth of Hell was shown opening and shutting whenever the devils required to go in or come out. Lastly, Sackville's Introduction to the *Mirror of Magistrates* thus quotes an old writer on Hell: "An hideous hole all vast, withouten shape,/ Of endless depth, o'erwhelm'd with raggèd (ruggèd?) stone,/ With ugly mouth and grisly jaws doth gape,/ And to our sight confounds itself in one," see Hone, *op. cit.*, 217 f. — The Greeks also employed this image; cf. Pindar, *Pyth.* iv 44: "the subterranean *mouth* of Hades."

But this is also the conventional description of an ogre. "The 'Arab' or black negro ogre of Greek stories has an upper lip which stretches to the heavens while his lower lip touches the earth. This is a Persian literary commonplace for negro ugliness" (cxcva, 37).

XLIX

Nothing remains of the next column except the beginnings of the lines. Translation is therefore impossible, and interpretation hazardous. However, in view of the fact that there is a thrice-repeated phrase (lines 9, 18, 25), Be still, O Môt, I speak *(or* invite [thee]*), as well as a reference (lines 22, 23) to* great quantities of sheep, *and that certain* gods *(presumably Sir Vine and Sir Field) are bidden* go *(lines 14, 20) and* relay the word *(line 21), it would seem probable that Baal tries to appease Môt by offering him lavish and decent food in the netherworld.*

L

Here, too, the text is fragmentary. There is reference (line 5) to someone's lifting his voice *and making some allusion to* Baal's exalted *(or* overweening*)* state *(line 8), and this is followed by a verbatim repetition of the banqueting scene described in §XXXVIII. It is therefore probable that this passage relates how the couriers convey Môt's reply to Baal and repeat it to him while he is still in the midst of his revels.*

The nature of this reply can be inferred from the sequel: as we shall see, Baal is compelled to make the descent into the netherworld. Hence, it is apparent that Môt refuses to be bought off, but presses his challenge.

XLIX–L: If we are right in the assumption that Môt spreads a feast for Baal in the netherworld, then the entire incident receives its true interpretation from the ancient and primitive belief that *he who eats the food of the dead or of fairyland cannot return to earth.*

The idea is well attested in antiquity. It appears already in the Mesopotamian Myth of Adapa (ii obv. 29 f.); while the Egyptians believed that on its way to the land of spirits the soul was met by a goddess who offered it food and drink to prevent its escape (CCCI, 184). Greek and Roman mythology preserves the same notion in the story of how Persephone was induced, while in Hades, to eat the seeds of a pomegranate, and was therefore unable to return to earth (Homeric *Hymn to Demeter* 371–74; Ovid, *Met* v 530–32). In the Finnish *Kalevala* (XVI, fr. 293), the hero Wainamoinen refuses for this reason to partake of drink in Manala. In Shinto myth, the primeval goddess Izanami eats of the food of the "Land of Yomi" after her death, and this prevents her husband, Izanagi, from bringing her back (XIV, 23). Among the Zulus and Anatongas of South Africa, it is held that if the spirit of the dead touch food in the netherworld, it will never return to earth (CCLXXXI, 121), while the natives of New Caledonia, as well as the Melanesians and Kiwai Papuans of British New Guinea, tell how the departed are tempted to eat the food of the netherworld in order to ensure their permanent incarceration in those regions (CLVI, 439 ff., LXXIII, 277, 286, CCLXVI, 289, CXLVII, iii, 302 f.; XII, i, 39, n. 4). The idea is transferred in folktales to the world of fairyland; return thence is impossible, once its food has been tasted (CCII, ch. iii, I, No. 400 III, CLXXIX, vi).

These parallels suggest that Môt's second thought is to adopt the ruse tried by Hades (Pluto) on Persephone. he plans to get Baal into his clutches by inducing him to visit the netherworld and then persuading him to partake of its food and drink.

LI

Baal being thus compelled to go down into the netherworld, he is advised by some unnamed speaker ('Anat?) to take with him all his equipment and appurtenances of office, as well as his daughters and his staff. In addition, he is advised to copulate with a calf in order to provide himself with bull-like strength and at the same time to leave issue upon earth, should he fail to return.

* * * * [Baal] Puissant
* * * * [Take in thy hand] thy torches(?),
* * * * [in] thy [ri]ght hand red ochre(?);
* * * * * the life-essence of a heifer.
* * * * I will place in the holes of the numinous dead,
even in the earth.

And come, take thou thy clouds, thy winds, thy buckets, thy rains:
[take] with thee thy sevenfold servitors,
thine eightfold . . . . s;
[take] with thee P-d-r-iya, the Lady of A-r,
[take] with thee the Dew-nymph, the Lady of R-b.
Straightway turn thy face toward the cavernous mountain,
Raise the mountain on thy hands,
the holt upon thy palms,
and go down into the corruption of the netherworld,
be counted among them that go down into the earth,
and thou wilt experience nothingness,
for thou wilt have become as one who has died!"

LII

Baal copulates with a heifer. The latter bears male offspring, which Baal acknowledges as his own.

Baal Puissant obeys;
he makes love to a heifer in the pasture,
to a young cow in the . . field.
He lies with it seven and seventy times;
it is mounted eight and eighty times,
and [it con]ceives and bears male offspring.
[Baal Puissant] . . . . clothe[s that offspring];

LI: The idea that rain is poured from buckets, skins or pitchers recurs in other cultures. Thus, in the Rig Veda v 83.7–8, the rain-god Parjanya is invoked. "Thine opened water-skin draw with thee downward . . Lift up the mighty vessel, pour down water" (tr. R. T. H. Griffith). Cp. also Job 38.37 "Who can number (but perhaps read *y'sappe'h*, "pour out," for *y'sapper*, "number") the clouds by wisdom, or *pour out the bottles of heaven*?" The Peruvians believed in a rain-goddess who sat in the clouds and sent rain by emptying a pitcher (CLVIII, ii 27). A similar conception obtained in Teutonic mythology. rain was supposed to be discharged by the gods out of heavenly bowls (CLXXXV, 593).

* * * * favored(?);
he * * *s [it, clasps it] to his breast.

* *
*

(Lacuna of about thirty lines)

LIII

Baal goes down to the netherworld. His couriers report his disppearance to El.

* *
*

"We reached the pleasant places of the pastureland,
the lovely places of the . . . field,
we reached [the place where] Baal [should have been];
he has sunk into the earth.
Dead is Baal Puissant,
perished is His Highness, the Lord (*baal*) of the earth!"

THE OBSEQUIES OF BAAL

LIV

El mourns for Baal.

Thereupon the gentle-hearted El
comes down from his throne and sits upon the footstool,
and down from the footstool and sits upon the ground.
Ashes (?) of mourning he strews upon his head,
dust wherein mourners wallow on his pate;
for raiment he dons a loincloth.

Then he wanders in mourning o'er the upland,
in the manner of a . through the woods.
Cheek and chin he gashes;
he scores the forepart of his arm;
he furrows his chest as 'twere a garden,
scores his back as 'twere a valley.
He lifts his voice and cries:
"Baal is dead!
What will now become of the clan of Dagan's son?
What will now become of the multitudes of Baal's posterity?*
I will go down into the earth!"

* I e. Baal's line is wiped out.

LIV: The loincloth (*mizrt*) which El dons as a garment of mourning is the equivalent of the Hebrew "sackcloth" (*saq*), which was likewise *girt about the loins* (Gen. 37.34, I Kings 20.31, etc.) and in connection with which precisely the same verb (*k-s-y/h*) is employed (II Kings 19.1; Is. 37.1; Jonah 3.6, 8, cf. Is. 50.3).

I AB

LV

'Anat too discovers the disappearance of Baal and mourns for him, resolving to go down into the netherworld in order to retrieve him.

'Anat, too, is strolling and walking abroad
o'er every mountain to the very heart of the earth,
o'er every hill to the innermost part of the fields.
She reaches the pleasant places of the pastureland,
the lovely places of the . . . field,
she reaches (the place where) Baal (ought to be),
he has sun[k into the] ear[th].
So for raiment she dons a loin[cloth];
she wanders in mourning o'er the upland, **Gordon 62, obv.**
in the manner of a . . . through the woods;
cheek and chin she gashes;
she scores the forepart of her arm;
she furrows her chest as 'twere a garden,
scores her back as 'twere a valley.
She lifts her voice and cries:
"Baal is dead!
What will now become of the clan of Dagan's son?
What will now become of the multitudes of Baal's posterity?
I will go down into the earth!"

Note also that the Egyptian loan-word *sag* (Coptic *sok*) denotes *a garment girt about the loins.* On mourning garb among the Semites, cf. CDXCIII, 56–72.

The word rendered "scores" (*ytlṭ*) means literally "plows three times over." Threefold plowing was a general practice in antiquity, cp. II R 14, 20 a· *šalāšu ||ḫarāšu* (as here), Hammurapi 71.20 = RA 17 (1920), 13a. *eqla i-ša-la-aš* Cf. also PW II 1215 ff ; CLXXXVIII, 49, CDLXXIV, 141. Hence, the term was a natural synonym for "plow, furrow."

LV: 'Anat's mourning for Baal (parallel to that of El) corresponds almost verbally to that of Aphrodite and Demeter in the cognate myths of Adonis and Persephone. Cf. Bion, *Lament for Adonis* 19 ff.. "And Aphrodite unbinds her locks and goes wandering through the woodlands, distraught, unkempt and barefoot. The thorns tear her as she goes, and gather her holy blood, but she sweeps through the long glades, shrieking aloud and calling on the lad, her Assyrian lord", *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 40–42: "Sharp was the pain which beset her heart, and with her dear hands she kept rending the veil about her ambrosial locks, and over her shoulders she hung a dark blue cloth." Euripides, *Helen* 1301 ff.: "Whilom, with feet racing amain, the Mother of the Gods rushed o'er the hills, sweeping thro' the woodland glens . . . moved by longing for her

LVI

The sun-goddess (who in any case descends nightly into the netherworld) goes down with her, retrieves the body of Baal and loads it upon her shoulders. The two of them then ascend to the Heights of the North.

With her goes down the sun,* that torch of the gods.
The while she is sated with weeping,
drinking in tears like wine,
loudly calls she to the sun,* that torch of the gods:
"Load upon me Baal Puissant!"

The sun,* that torch of the gods, obeys.
She lifts up Baal Puissant.
When she has placed him upon the shoulders of 'Anat,
the two of them bring him up to the Recesses of the North.

LVII

Baal is buried and a hecatomb is offered in his honor.

They bewail him and bury him,
place him in the holes of the numinous dead, even in the earth.
Then ('Anat) slaughters seventy wild oxen
as a funereal offering to Baal Puissant.
She slaughters seventy bulls
as a funereal offering to Baal Puissant.
She slaughters seventy sheep

* Shapash.

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vanished child." (The "dark blue" raiment to which allusion is made in the Homeric hymn is the equivalent of the blue veil worn by Arab mourning women; cf. CDXCIII, 60 ff., Lane, *Lex* 1 86). Similar, too, is the description in a Rumanian Christmas carol of the Virgin Mary's mourning for Jesus: "And she went Wailing and crying, Wringing her hands, Scratching her white face, Weeping out of her dark eyes, Sighing from her heart, Going along the road, Searching for her Son" (M. Gaster, FL 34 [1923], 73).

LVI: It is likewise to the Sun-god (Hēlios) that Demeter addresses herself in her search for Persephone, while in the cognate Hittite myth of Telipinu, it is that deity who is first summoned to discover the whereabouts of the missing god; see fully above, Ch. II, §37.

The point is, of course, that the sun not only traverses the whole earth but also descends nightly into the netherworld. The Sun-goddess would therefore be in a special position to retrieve Baal. Moreover, the re-emergence of the Sun at the equinox is usually the sign for the restoration of fertility.

as a funereal offering to Baal Puissant.
She slaughters seventy harts
as a funereal offering to Baal Puissant.
She slaughters seventy wild goats
as a funereal offering to Baal Puissant.
[She slaughters seventy roe]bucks
[as a funereal offering] to Ba[al] Puissant.

* *
*

Gordon 49

A SUCCESSOR TO BAAL IS NAMED

LVIII

'Anat then proceeds to El and announces ruefully that Baal is dead, adding that this will doubtless prove a source of satisfaction to Asherat, as well as to all the gods who have resisted his sovereignty.

Then turns she her face toward El,
at the place where the Two Streams converge,
hard by the watershed of the Two Oceans;
she leaves the vast fields,
and comes to the pleasance of the King . . .;
at the feet of El she bows and falls,
prostrates herself, and pays homage to him.

Then lifts she her voice and cries:
"Let Asherat and her sons rejoice at this,
the Goddess and the band of her kinsmen,
that Baal Puissant is dead,
that His Highness, the lord of the earth is perished!"

LIX

El proposes that a successor to Baal be now appointed. Asherat nominates 'Ashtar.

Then loudly calls El to Queen Asherat-of-the-Sea:
"Hearken, Queen A[sherat-of-the-]Sea,
Let me appoint as king one of thy sons!"

LVIII: On this description of the divine abode, see above on §XXVIII.

LIX: On the mythological significance of this episode – 'Ashtar being the genius of artificial irrigation who seeks to dominate the earth during the time of year when the rains (Baal) are absent – see above, Introd. §7.

But the episode has also another point. it mythologizes the institution of the interrex – the temporary king who is appointed to reign during the epagomenal days or during that brief period which elapses between the end of one life-lease

"Yes," replies Queen Asherat-of-the-Sea,
But let us appoint as king one who knows to fend for himself!"

"But," answers gentle-hearted El,
"One of meagre strength will not be able to do battle like Baal,
one of scant fitness will not be able to poise a spear like that son of Dagan."

"Very well then," Queen Asherat-of-the-Sea keeps retorting,
"Let us appoint as king none other than 'Ashtar the formidable!
Let 'Ashtar the formidable be king!"

(year) and the beginning of the next, when the real king – the personification of *topocosmic* life – is thought to be "in eclipse," dead or ousted.

This institution is recorded in many parts of the ancient and modern worlds. Thus, Berossus informs us, on the authority of Ctesias (quoted by Athenaeus xix 44, cf. LXXXI, 449 f.) that it was customary at the Persian festival of Sacaea, held on the 16th day of Lōos (July), to install one of the royal domestics as temporary king, under the name of *zōganes* (cf. Langdon, JRAS 1924, 65–72). Furthermore, Frazer has suggested (CXLVII, II, 60) that the annual "flight of the kings" (*regifugium*) at Rome on Feb. 24th was a dim reminiscence of the earlier expulsion of the temporary king at the end of his reign, just before the new year on March 1st. The same scholar has also adduced modern examples of the interrex from Lhasa (Tibet), the Kwottos of Northern Nigeria, the Bakitara of the Uganda Protectorate and the Bastar of the Central Provinces of India (*ibid.*, 49–58). Moreover, in a classic chapter of *The Golden Bough* (CXLIX, 383–89), he has collected several extremely illuminating instances of the custom. Thus, in Cambodia, the king used annually to abdicate for three days in February, during which time his place was filled by a substitute. Similarly, in Siam, a temporary king is appointed at the end of April, or the beginning of May, while the real king remains confined to his palace (on this cf. also Cabaton, ERE xi 485a). So, too, in the kingdom of Jambi in Sumatra, each reign is inaugurated by the preliminary installation of a temporary king; while in Samarcand such a monarch reigns for three days in September during the time when the Nile reaches its highest point (GB^3, iii, 148 f.). A more familiar modern example of the custom may be seen in the European usage of appointing a temporary "King of Fools" or "Abbot of Misrule" in connection with harvest celebrations. Lastly, it should be observed that Winckler attempted (DII, ii, 351–58) to find mention of the interrex in a Sabaean inscription (CIS iv 83). On the other hand, the Babylonian *šar puḫi*, or "substitute king," who has sometimes been compared, is of quite a different order (cf. CCLXIII, 103 f.).

Of especial interest are the conditions here imposed for the selection of a king: he must not be a weakling nor "one of scant beauty." This accords with the standard requirements of kingship among primitive peoples – requirements dictated by the fact that the king epitomizes the corporate health and welfare of the community. Thus, before his installation, the king of Konde is kept under surveillance "lest, being a weakling, he should be a menace to the land" (CCXCI, 72 f.), while among the Varozwe (a Shona tribe), "absence of bodily blemishes was considered absolutely necessary in the occupant of the throne" (Doran, SAJC 15 [1918], 397). As Patai has pointed out (HUCA 20 [1947], 155 f.), the same idea obtained among the Hebrews: Saul was chosen king by reason of his "coun-

LX

Thereupon 'Ashtar goes up to the Mountain of the North in order to occupy the vacant throne of Baal. But he proves physically too small and therefore descends to the earth to exercise there a more limited degree of sovereignty.

So 'Ashtar the formidable goes up to the Recesses of the North.
He takes his seat on the throne of Baal Puissant.
But his feet do not reach to the footstool;
his head does not reach to the top.*

Then says 'Ashtar the formidable:
"I cannot reign as king in the Recesses of the North!"

So down goes 'Ashtar the formidable,
down from the throne of Baal Puissant,

* *Lit.* edge.

---

tenance and tallness of stature" (I Sam. 16.7) and is described as "ruddy withal and of comely appearance" (ib. 12); while Absalom the pretender was the most beautiful man in Israel and "without blemish from head to toe" (II Sam. 14.25). When the king grew sick he was deposed or killed, as in the case of 'Uzziah-'Azariah smitten with leprosy (II Kings 15.5). This, in fact, is one of the central motifs of the Ugaritic *Epic of Keret*, where that monarch's son Yassib seeks to replace him when he grows ill. Deposition or death was likewise the fate of an ailing monarch among primitive peoples, e.g. the Fazoql tribes of Africa, the Shilluk of the White Nile, the inhabitants of Bunyoro in Central Africa, the Kibanga of the Upper Congo, the Hausa of Northern Nigeria, the Zulus, etc. (CXLIX, 265 ff.).

LX: The reason why 'Ashtar's claim is rejected is that he is physically too small to occupy the vacant throne of Baal. There is a special point in this: *primitive usage required that the king be not only physically flawless but also above average height.* Thus, of Saul it is said explicitly that "he was taller than any of the people from his shoulders and upwards," and Samuel is represented as therefore saying to the people: "See ye him whom Yahweh has chosen, how that there is none like him among all the people" (I Sam. 10.23–24). Similarly, the prophet at first considered Eliab to be the divinely chosen king on account of his "countenance and tallness of stature"; see Patai, *loc. cit.** It is likewise recorded of Xerxes that he was the tallest of all his people (Herodotus vii 187).

Note that when, at a preceding stage of the story (§V), 'Ashtar aspires to the sovereignty granted to Sir Sea, he is rejected because *he has no wife.* This means simply that he is still a minor. The objection is thus the same as in the present instance. This is, of course, merely a mythological way of saying that the genius of artificial irrigation is no equal of the natural force of the rain (Baal)!

* Not impossibly, this is the real meaning of Ps 89 20, where we should render: "I have laid strength (cf. Ginsberg, JBL 57 [1938], 210, n 5) on a warrior, *have made a chosen man to be taller than (all) the people*" (RV: "have exalted one chosen out of the people").

and proceeds to exercise sway o'er the whole wide earth.

(*Lacuna of about 30 lines*)

'ANAT'S VENGEANCE UPON MÔT

LXI

'Anat goes roaming the earth in search of Baal who, though his corpse has been duly buried, has not yet returned to life. She encounters Môt and demands the restoration of the ousted god. Môt rejects her request.

* * * * *
* * * * *
* * * * *
* * * * *

[Days] pass [into months].

'Anat goes searching for him.
Like the heart of a cow for her calf,
like the heart of a ewe for her lamb,
so is the heart of 'Anat on account of Baal.

She grasps Mô[t] by the hem of his robe,
holds [him] tight by the edge of his cloak;
then lifts she her voice and [cr]ies:
"Thou Môt, surrender my brother!"

But the godling Môt keeps retorting:
"What is it that thou art asking of me, O Virgin 'Anat?
See, an I stroll or walk abroad
o'er any hill to the very heart of the earth,
o'er any hillock to the innermost part of the fields,
life-breath quits mankind,
life-breath quits the multitudes of the earth!
An I come to earth's pleasant places,
to the lovely places of the . . . field,
an I encounter Baal Puissant,
I place him like a lamb in my mouth,
like a kid in the . . . . of my . . . is he crushed!
Why, 'tis at the whim of the godling Môt
that the sun, that torch of the gods, scorches,
that the heavens flash!"

LXI: It is of interest to observe that Ovid (*Fasti* iv 495 f.) uses the same imagery in describing Demeter's search for Persephone: *Ut vitulo mugit sua mater ab ubere rapto Et quaerit fetus per nemus omne suos, Sic dea nec retinet gemitus et concita cursu Fertur.* For the simile, cf. also the Babylonian magical text, *Maqlû* vii 25 "Like a ewe loves its lamb, a gazelle its young, a she-ass its foal . . so do I love thee, mine own body." So, too, in the Hittite text, KUB XXX 70 iii(?), 14 ff.: "As the ewe loves the lamb, the cow its calf, parents their child, so, O Sun-God, do thou also . . ., etc." (CCCXLVII, 40, n. 1).

LXII

'Anat bides her time. Then, encountering Môt again, she attacks him savagely and slays him.

Day follows day;
from days they pass into months.
Still the Virgin 'Anat goes searching for him;
Like the heart of a cow for her calf,
like the heart of a ewe for her lamb,
so is the heart of 'Anat on account of Baal.

(At length) she seizes the godling Môt;
with a sword she rips him up;
in a sieve she scatters him;
in fire she burns him;
in a mill she grinds him;
over the fields she strews him,
so that the birds may devour his remains,
the sparrows consume the morsels of him.
Remnant cries out unto remnant.

(Lacuna of about 40 lines)

THE RESTORATION OF BAAL

LXIII

'Anat reports to El a dream which she has had portending the revival and imminent return of Baal.

* *
*

"Surely he perished!
Is Baal Puissant, then, indeed alive?
And does His Highness, the lord of the earth still exist?
In my dream, O gentle-hearted El,
in my vision, O Creator of all Creatures,

For the grasping of the hem in supplication, cf. the Mesopotamian texts: JRAS 1929, 2.73 (*ulinnaki asbat*); OECT vi 25 r. 18, KARI 223, r. 4.

The "flashing" of the heavens refers to electric storms – a common feature of the dry season in Palestine (LXXXIX, i, 114).

LXII: On this passage, see above, p. 124, n. 17.

LXIII: The idea that rivers and wadies will flow with honey features prominently in ancient conceptions of the Golden Age; and it is, in effect, such a

the skies were raining fatness,
the wadies were running with honey.
So I know that Baal Puissant is alive,
that His Highness, the lord of the earth still exists!"

LXIV

El, jubilant at the glad tidings, bids 'Anat inquire of the sun-goddess as to the exact whereabouts of Baal, of whose ministrations the earth stands in direst need.*

El, the gentle-hearted, rejoices.
He places his feet on the footstool,
banishes all sorrow and laughs.
Then lifts he his voice and cries:
"Once more I shall know repose,
and my spirit lie calm in my breast,
for that Baal Puissant is indeed alive,
for that His Highness, the lord of the earth still exists!"

Then loudly calls El to the Virgin 'Anat:
"Hearken, O Virgin 'Anat,
carry this word to the sun, that torch of the gods:
'The furrows of the fields have gone dry, O sun,
the furrows of (all) the vast fields have gone dry!
Baal is neglecting the furrows of the ploughlands!
Where now is Baal Puissant?
Where is His Highness, the lord (*baal*) of the earth?' "

LXV

'Anat carries out these instructions, and the sun-goddess promises to search for Baal.

* Shapash

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golden age that is inaugurated year by year when Baal returns to the earth. For this picture, cf. Am. 9.13; Joel 4.18, Oracula Sibyllina III 774–77; Slavonic Enoch VIII, §5, see especially, CCXLII, 45, n. 1; CXXIX, 101, 457. It is this conception that underlies the Biblical description of the Promised Land as "a land flowing with milk and honey" (Usener, *Rhein, Mus* 57 [1902], 177–92, Guidi, RB 12 [1903], 241 f.). Similarly, in Celtic legend, the chief Irish god, Manannan, praises the Isle of Man, the island paradise, as a place where "rivers pour forth a stream of honey" (XXIVa, 169); while Euripides says (*Bacchae,* 143) that the rivers ran with honey when Dionysus first revealed himself. Honey features also in rites of regeneration (CCL, 158, *MI,* D 1338 9), especially in the Mithraic mystery-cult (CCIX, 271). It was employed in Mesopotamian cultus at the dedication of new images and in the New Year (Akîtu) ritual (KB VI/2, 48 21), and is still eaten by Jews at New Year. In popular lore, honey expels evil spirits (Fallaize, ERE VI 770).

So away speeds the Virgin 'Anat.
Straightway she turns her face toward the sun, that torch of the gods.
She lifts her voice and cries:
"This is the message of El, the Bull-god, thy sire,
the world of the Gentle-hearted One, thy progenitor:
'The furrows of the fields have gone dry, O sun,
the furrows of (all) the vast fields have gone dry!
Baal is [neglecting] the furrows of his ploughland!
Where now is Baal Puissant?
Where is His Highness, the lord (*baal*) of the earth?' "

And the sun, that torch of the gods, replies:
". . . . . * * *
. . . . . thy kinsman/kinsmen * * *
and I will go seek Baal Puissant!"

Then answers the Virgin 'Anat:
"Wheresoever* thou goest, O sun,
wheresoever* thou goest, may El attend [thee],
may [protective spirits?] guard thee!
* * * * * *
[thy] pa[th??] * * * * * *"

(*Lacuna of about 40 lines*)

THE COMBAT OF BAAL AND MOT

LXVI

Baal, now fully revived, does battle with those of his brethren who have countenanced the usurpation of his sovereignty.

Baal seizes the sons of Asherat.
Great though they be, he smites them on the shoulder;
resplendent though they be, he smites them with a bludgeon;
effulgent(?) though they be, he fells them to the ground.

[Then Ba]al [ascends] the throne of his kingship,
[tak]es [his seat] on the tribune of his domi[ni]on.

LXVII

After a time, Môt also revives and proceeds once more to challenge the sovereignty of Baal.

[Days pas]s into months,
months into years.

* *Lit* "hence (and) thither"

LXVII: Môt's words refer, of course, to the treatment previously meted out to him by 'Anat (§LXII). It should be noted, however, that this form of com-

[At length,] in the seventh year,
the godling Môt lifts his voice,
and (thus) addresses Baal:
" 'Twas through thee, O Baal,
I experienced* disgrace;
'twas through thee I experienced
being scattered ⟨in a sieve;
'twas through thee I experienced
being ripped up⟩ with a sword;
'twas through thee I experienced
being burned in fire;
'twas through thee [I experienced]
[being gr]ound in a mill;
'twas through (thee) I experi[enced]
* * * * *;
'twas through thee I experienced
that [my remains were stre]wn o'er the fields;
'twas through thee I experienced
that my morsels were cast upon the sea!
Hereafter I will feed and * * * * *
* * * * * * *
'tis I alone [who shall rule] o'er the ea[rth];
behold, I shall enjoy good fortune; * * * *;
* * * * I will make an end of * * *
* [them that] would make an end of me, the multit[udes?] of * * *
* * * * * * * * * *
* * * * * * * * * *
* * * * * * * * * *

(Lacuna of about 35 lines)

LXVIII

Môt is driven forth by Baal, who uses the defeated gods as his allies. Môt complains to him.

* * * [dri]ves him forth;
* * * * * [exp]els him;
* * * * * * * * * *
* * * * * * * * * *
* * * * * * * * Môt
* * * * * * * * * *
* * * * * * the god[ling] Môt
* * * * * * his sevenfold servitors.

* *Lit.* "beheld."

---

bination is also purely general, for cf. the Accadian text in Abel-Winckler, *Keilschrifttexte* 50 (end): "May he kill thee like Death, and grind thee in a mill!"

Then the godling Môt [cries out]:
"Look you, mine own brethren hath Baal turned into my destroyers!
Why, the very sons of my mother are become my annihilators!"

Yea, again and again he lifts up his voice,
and cries to Baal in the Recesses of the North:
"Why, mine own brethren, O Baal, hast thou turned into my destroyers!
Why, the very sons of my mother are become my annihilators!"

LXIX

Baal engages Môt in a furious fight.

They go prancing like antelopes;*
now triumphs Môt, now Baal.
They go goring like wild oxen;
now triumphs Môt, now Baal.
They go stinging like asps;
now triumphs Môt, now Baal.
They go butting like charging beasts,
now falls Môt, now Baal.

LXX

The gun-goddess, viewing the combat from on high, urges Môt to surrender.

On high the sun-goddess cries unto Môt:
"Hearken, I beseech thee, O godling Môt!
How wouldst thou contend with Baal Puissant?
Beware lest thy father El, the Bull-god, hear thee;
he will surely pluck up the mainstays of thy dwelling,
overturn the throne of thy kingship,
break the sceptre of thy dominion!"

LXXI

Frightened by this warning, Môt surrenders.

Then the godling Môt grows frightened;
terror-stricken is that stalwart, the belo[ved] of El.

Môt rises from his prostration [and cries]:
" * * * * * * * * *
"Let Baal then install himself [on the throne of] his kingship!

* Reading *kzmrm* for the *kgmrm* of most editors

LXX: The words "He will surely pluck up," etc. constitute a cliché. They are likewise employed in §III (III AB,B 15–18[b]) when 'Ashtar is urged to give up his claims against Sir Sea. Moreover, the greater part of the sentence occurs in the commination which Ahiram, king of Byblus (early tenth cent. B C.), invokes against the violators of his tomb in the well-known sarcophagus inscription (Albright, JAOS 67[1947], 155).

[Let him take his seat on the tribune of] his dominion!"

* *
*

Gordon 62, rev.

COMMENDATION OF THE SUN-GODDESS

LXXII

The sun-goddess is commended and rewarded for her solicitude towards Baal.

* *
*

"[Inasmuch as] thou hast been kind,
[whenas thou com]est forth, my [r]ains will depart (before thee)!*
Moreover, thou shalt eat the bread of aggrandizement,
drink the wine of favor!
O sun-goddess, o'er the shades(?) shalt thou bear sway,
O sun-goddess, thou shalt bear sway o'er the upper gods(?)!
The gods shall be thy witnesses,
and mortals too!
Sir Adroit shall be thy companion,
yea, Sir Cunning thy comrade-in-arms†
— even that same Sir Adroit-and-Cunning
who can hurl both Monster and Dragon into the sea,

* This rendering depends upon a conjectural restoration of the damaged text.
† *Lit.* "thine acquaintance."

LXXII: These lines describe the reward which Baal grants to the Sun-goddess for her sympathy and aid.

The beginning of the passage is imperfectly preserved; but if our restoration is correct, the Sun is promised the privilege of feeding upon Baal's rains by drinking them up. She is then told that she will have sway not only over the upper region but also, when she descends nightly, over the netherworld. The latter idea recurs in both Hittite and Mesopotamian texts. Thus, in the Hittite document KUB XVII 14 iv 21, the Sun-god of the earth (*taknas* ^{d}*Istanus*) is associated with the nether gods (*katterus* DINGIR.MEŠ), and in KBo V 3 i 53 with Allatum, queen of the netherworld. Similarly, a Babylonian hymn to Shamash (LXXVIII, 9 ff.) thus addresses him: "Thou art the shepherd of all both above and below, The realms above Thou disposest as a dwelling for all; Thou overseest also the realms below, even those which belong to Ea, to the water-spirits and to the Anunnakil"; while in IV R^{2} 19, No. 2 it is said of him: "The great gods wait upon thy light; all of the Anunnaki (the underworld-gods) look on thy face!"*

* It must be admitted, however, that our rendering "shades" and "upper gods" is not entirely certain The first word represents the *Rpim* of the original, which we have combined with the *Rephaim*, or Shades, of OT and of certain Phoenician inscriptions However, it is to be noted that in the Ugaritic text 124 Gordon, the word *rpum* occurs as denoting the côterie of Baal, while, on the other hand, the term *ilnym*, here rendered "upper gods(?)," is employed in 'nt IV 79 of beings (divine?) who live "two layers beneath the springs of the earth, three spans . . ." It is therefore equally possible that the translations should be reversed, and that the *Rpum* are the upper and the *ilnym* the lower gods Together, they will correspond to the Igigi and Anunnaki of Babylonian, and to the "upper" and "lower" gods of Hittite mythology (CLXXI, 136).

even that same Sir Adroit-and-Cunning
who can toss them (therein)!"

Finally, the Sun-goddess is promised the friendship and protection of the god Kôshar-wa-Ḥasis, "Sir Adroit-and-Cunning," whose participation in the defeat of Sir Sea has been described in preceding portions of the poem (§XIV: III AB,A 8–18ª; §XXII. II AB ii 12–48). What is of especial interest here is that, in assuring her of the friendly companionship of that god, Baal feels it necessary to point out particularly that her protector will be he who formerly distinguished himself by casting the dragon into the sea. This is more than an assurance that she will be in good hands. As is well known, the belief obtains in many parts of the world that *solar eclipses are caused by a dragon or monster who assails and swallows up the sun* Thus, in Indic belief, it is the dragon Rāhu (who in this capacity bears the name of Svarbhānu) who periodically swallows up the sun and moon (Rig Veda v 40), and this piece of mythology was adopted also by the Buddhists (Buddhaghosa i 9; Samyutta i 50, trs C. A. F. Rhys Davids, xcii, i 71). In Chinese belief, eclipses were likewise attributed to the devouring of the sun or moon by a monstrous beast, and in the Confucian classic *Tsun Tsiu* ("Springs and Autumns"), the word "eat" is employed to describe the eclipse of April 20, 610 B.C. (Fu, ERE xii 77) Similarly, in Scandinavian lore, the sun is believed to be pursued constantly by a wolf called Skoll (Welsford, ERE xii 102a). The Tatar tribe of Chuwashes use the phrase "a demon has eaten it" (*vubur siat*) to denote an eclipse (cdvi, 5). The Estonians have a similar expression, while the Lithuanians assert that the demon Tiknis (or Tiklis) attacks the chariot of the sun. A Mongolian myth says that semi-serpentine creatures called *Trachen* lie in wait for sun and moon; and south of Lake Baikal, it is the king of hell that tries to swallow the moon (clxxxv, 707). In Jewish folklore, the sun was said to be swallowed by a great fish (Saadya, Introd. to *Emūnôṯ we-De'ôt*, dxv, ix, 245, n. 2, clxvii, v, 108, 116), and the same notion was entertained by spectators of a lunar eclipse at Hastaya, west of Hermon, in 1891 (cdxxiii, ii, 524). Lastly, the Negritos of Borneo say that eclipses are caused by a python who tries to swallow up the sun or moon (xxxi, ii, 203–04), and the idea is also attested in Greek mythology (Lasch, ARW 3 [1900], 136). On the subject in general, cf. cdlxxii, i, 325 f., clxxxv, 707, cxci, 41–69. It is from such a fate that Baal promises to deliver the Sun-goddess, and it is for this reason that he mentions especially the dragon-slaying prowess of the god of whose protection he assures her. (This does not mean, of course, that the sun will never be eclipsed, but that whenever the dragon seizes her, she will eventually be rescued!)

Thus, the passage emerges as a kind of solar myth, relating all the main features of the sun's course through the heavens to the good services which she performed (or, in fact, performs each year) in helping to restore to the earth the ousted lord of fertility. It is as a reward for those services that she drinks up the rain and dew, that when she sets she does so only to exercise further dominion in the netherworld, and that though at times momentarily eclipsed, she is never wholly swallowed up, but always emerges in the end in her full radiance and strength.

It is not improbable that this speech – like that of Kôshar in §XLII (II AB vii 21–37ª) – really incorporates into the fabric of the myth the text of a hymn to the sun recited as part of the seasonal ceremonies. Those ceremonies, as we have seen (above, Ch. II, §37), usually coincided with solstice or equinox, so that the adoration of the solar deity came to figure as a cardinal element of the proceedings.

THE REINSTATEMENT OF BAAL

V AB **Gordon, 'nt: i–iii**

§1. A tablet discovered in 1931 and known conventionally as V AB rounds out the story of Baal. This describes his ultimate restoration to power, the feast which celebrated that event, the annihilation of his enemies and opponents, and the eventual inauguration of an era of peace and goodwill.

§2. The action commences with a lavish banquet in celebration of Baal's reinstatement. Colossal flagons "such as no housewife has ever seen" and goblets "such as (even) Asherat has ne'er beheld" are set before the guest of honor, while a "sweet-voiced stripling" sings and plays before him and his daughters wait attendance.

The guests, however, are not all of them friends or partisans of Baal; they include also many of the gods who had originally opposed his dominion and held him in contumely. This inspires his loyal sister 'Anat to use the opportunity in order to exact vengeance upon them. While the festivities are in full swing, therefore, she suddenly shuts the gates of the palace, thereby preventing anyone from getting out. Then she falls to a savage slaughter, overturning chairs and tables and wallowing in blood. This done, she calmly washes herself in dew and rain-water, adorns herself with cosmetics and prepares to resume the celebration.

But Baal himself is far more gently disposed. Thrilled at the reunion with his daughters and feeling, no doubt, that all opposition has now been quelled, he sends his two couriers (i.e. Gpn and Ugr) to bid the goddess relinquish her ugly mood, let bygones be bygones and help usher in an era of peace and goodwill. Instead of bending her energies to the weaving of traps and the contriving of plots, she is now to weave upon earth a mesh of love and to banish warfare for evermore. Moreover, says Baal, as a token of his power and authority, he will create lightning to flame from his holy hill and he will also reveal himself in all the sounds of nature, in the whisper of stones, the rustling of trees, the roar of the deep and the music of the spheres. The heavens shall declare the glory of God and the firmament shew forth his handiwork.

When the messengers arrive, 'Anat is at first apprehensive that some further enemy may have risen up against Baal. She therefore assures them that, if such be the case, she will again take up the cudgels for her brother, and to illustrate the extent of her power, she recites the list of her former triumphs, even claiming a share in the defeat of Yam! The couriers reassure her, however, that her fears are unfounded and repeat to her the message of Baal. 'Anat then expresses her compliance and proceeds to Baal on the 'Height of the North.' Baal greets her and regales her.

§3. From the standpoint of the Seasonal Pattern, this text mythologizes the RITUAL COMBAT (Ch. II, §§20–25), the REINSTATEMENT OF THE KING

(Ch. II, §§38–39), the FEAST OF COMMUNION (Ch. II, §36) and the subsequent inauguration of an era of bliss and fertility. But what lends it added interest is that it recovers to us the mythological prototype of a picture painted by several of the Old Testament prophets in describing the Last Day. Projecting into eschatology the circumstances which were thought to attend the *annual* renewal of life, these prophets speak of Yahweh's holding a banquet on his holy mountain and of his then annihilating his enemies and opponents, revealing himself as the savior for whom the faithful have been waiting, and ushering in an era of bliss and prosperity.[1] Naturally, they adapt the traditional picture to the circumstances and events of their own day, identifying the routed foemen with the specific enemies of Israel; but beneath this later political veneer the old contours are still discernible. Hear, for example, the words of Isaiah 25.6–10:

> Then on this hill of Zion for all nations
> Yahweh Ṣᵉbāôt will spread
> a banquet of rich food and of rare wines,
> of marrowy dainties and of choice old wines;
> and on this mountain shall he strip away
> the mourning shroud from all mankind,
> the veil of sorrow from all nations.
> Death (Môt!) shall he destroy for evermore
> and wipe away the tears from every face,
> and free his own folk from taunts everywhere
> ('tis Yahweh's own decree).*
>
> And on that day it shall be said:
> " 'Here is our God for whom we were a-waiting
> that he might bring salvation unto us;
> This is Yahweh whom we were a-waiting;
> let us be glad and joy in his salvation!' "

The last words, it may be added, find an echo in the ritual cry which greeted the reappearance of Attis in the Asianic mysteries. The votaries rejoiced and bade one another "be strong" because their own salvation had been assured in that of the god himself.[2]

Similar is the description of the Last Day as given by the prophet Zephaniah, I.8–9:

> Hush at the presence of Yahweh God!
> for nigh is Yahweh's day,

1. The banquet at the end of days is a motif which recurs in apocalyptic and rabbinic literature, e g Syr Apoc Baruch xxix 3–8, IV Ezra vi 52, Babâ Batrâ 74a–75a; Targ. Ps-Jon., Num 9 26 ff; cf CCCXLV, 60–61, 122 ff, 142 ff; 187 ff. The meat is to consist of the flesh of the defeated monsters Leviathan and Behemoth. Alternatively, it is to be supplied by a gigantic ox For this last Bousset, XXXIX, 271, cites an Iranian parallel which relates that the marrow of the slain ox Hadhayos is to provide the food of immortality for the righteous.

* Moffatt's translation (with slight changes).

2 Firmicus Maternus, *De Errore Profanarum Religionum*, XXII, 1.

Yahweh hath prepared a meal,[3]
hath invited his guests.

And it shall be on the day of Yahweh's meal
that I will punish the princes and the sons of the king
and all who don exotic garb,
and I will punish all who leap o'er the threshold,
who fill the house of their lord with violence and deceit.

Although adapted to a commination upon idolators, it is not difficult to recognize in this utterance a trace of the old myth relating how the god saw the upstart rebels annihilated at a feast held in his honor.[4]

Joel too makes use of the traditional picture, for he states explicitly (4. 18–21) that the era in which "the mountains shall drop sweet wine and the hills flow with milk" — an expression analogous to that which describes the imminent return of Baal in the Canaanite poem (I AB iii 6) — will be marked by the fact that Yahweh will again take up residence on his holy mountain and that all foreign intruders will be ousted from it:

Ye shall know that I, Yahweh, am your God,
dwelling on Zion, my sacred hill,
Jerusalem shall be inviolate then,
never shall aliens invade her again.

Then thus shall it be:
the mountains shall drip wine,
the hills be aflow with milk,
and all the brooks of Judah run with water.
From Yahweh's house shall pour a stream
to water the Wady of Acacias.
Egypt shall be turned to desolation,
and Edom be a desert waste,
for their outrage on the men of Judah,
for innocent blood shed within their land.
But Judah shall be inhabited for ever

3 Hebrew *zebah* means properly "the slaughtering of an animal," and does not necessarily denote a *sacrifice*. Moffatt's "The Eternal has ready a victim for sacrifice" therefore obscures the point

4 In support of the view that Zephaniah is here harking back to the old mythological tradition, it may be observed that, like Joel, he too casts his prophecy in the form of a sustained satire upon typical seasonal rites Thus, he begins (1 2 ff) with a reference to the impending desolation of man and beast — a picture drawn from that of the preliminary Mortification in the seasonal myths He then refers pointedly (1 4–5) to idolatrous worship, such as the adoration of heavenly bodies, and specifies the "remnant of Baal" and the eunuch-priests (*k*ᵉ*mārîm*) Then, when he speaks of the Banquet, he introduces an allusion to "them that don exotic raiment" (1 8), which may be interpreted to refer to the common seasonal practice of the *masquerade* or to the custom whereby, in the mysteries, the *galli* donned female attire (cf Lucian, *De Dea Syria* §6, Herodian, I 10, §§5–7, GB vi 253 ff , Gaster, JBL 60 [1941], 302) Lastly, the reference to the "wailing" (*y*ᵉ*lālah*) in Jerusalem and Maktesh (I, 10–11) may have been suggested by the seasonal Ululation, while the statement that Yahweh will search out Jerusalem with lights (1 12) may in the same way have been suggested by the seasonal torchlight processions

and Jerusalem for all generations.
And I will avenge that bloodshed
which aforetime I did not avenge,
and Yahweh shall dwell in Zion.*

Moreover, just as the return of Baal will be heralded, according to our myth, by the visible display of his presence and power in the lightning, so too, says the Hebrew prophet, will Yahweh, prior to his return, "set signs in the heavens, fire and blood and columns of smoke, the sun being turned to darkness and the moon to blood" (3.2–3; cf. 15). True, the nature and motivation of the display is different, but – given the close parallelism which otherwise obtains between the prophet's eschatological picture and the description of Baal's return, and given also the fact that, in preceding passages, Joel consciously plays on the Seasonal Pattern (see above, Ch. III, Excursus) – it can surely not be doubted that in the introduction of this motif Joel was drawing, with appropriate adaptation and elaboration, on traditional mythological lore.

I

The restoration of Baal is celebrated.

* *
*

They do service to Baal Puissant,
extol His Highness, the lord (*baal*) of the earth.
They proceed to fête him and dine him;
with a sharp sword they cut up a fatling,†
they go about feasting him and wining him.
A cup is placed in his hand,
a goblet in his two hands,
a large beaker, great to see(?),
a jar such as sky-folk use,
a holy cup such as never woman beheld,
a goblet such as never goddess espied,
he receives a thousand barrels,
yea, mixes wine in ten thousand portions.
While he is mixing it,
a sweet-voiced youngster proceeds to chant and sing
a pleasant chant to the accompaniment of cymbals,
over Baal in the Recesses of the North.

When Baal catches sight of his daughters,
sees P-d-r-iya, the Lady of A-r;

* Moffatt's translation (slightly modified).
† *Lit.* there is cutting up of a fatling

thereupon Ṯ-l-iya, [the Lady] of R-b
* * * * * * * *
* * * * * * * *
* * * * * * * *
* * * * * * * *

(*Lacuna of about 20 lines*)

II

'Anat massacres those who have opposed Baal.

* * * * * * * *

henna as of seven maidens,
a scent of coriander and perfumes(?).

When 'Anat has closed the gates of the mansion,
and when the servitors have retired(?) . . . . .,
then, behold, 'Anat falls to the slaughter,
with might she hews down those who dwell in the coastland city,
smites the people of the seashore,
annihilates the population of the west.
At her feet* (roll) heads like balls,
above her (fly) hands like locusts,
the hands of the officers are cut off(?) like . . .

She ties the heads to her chest,
dangles the hands from her kyrtle;
up to the knees she wades in the blood of the officers,
up to her hips in the gore of the troops.
With her staff she drives them forth . . . .
with the string of her bow . . . . . .

Then 'Anat goes to his house,
the goddess repairs to his palace,

* *Lit* beneath her.

II: The words "henna as of seven maidens" allude to the wonderful aroma which attended the presence of the goddess 'Anat. The belief that divine beings are accompanied by a special scent recurs in the Egyptian Ramesseum Drama, line 39 (§XI). There are also frequent references to it in Classical literature, e.g. *Homeric Hymns* III 231; V 277; Aeschylus, *PV* 115, Euripides, *Hippolytus* 1391 (see Monk *in loc.*); Aristophanes, *Birds* 1715–16, Vergil, *Aen* I 403. Cf. Schwenk, *Philologus* 17 (1861), 451, Lohnmeyer, "Der gottliche Wohlgeruch," in *Sitzb. d. Heidelberg. Akad*, 1919.

Henna, or camphor, was used in antiquity not only as a cosmetic but also as a perfume, cf Song of Songs 1.13–14, 4.13–14, Theophrastus, *Odor.* 26 f.; Pliny, *HN* xiii, 9, 18.

and slaughters her fill.
With might she hews down the dwellers in the city,
she overturns the chairs (placed) for the troops,
overturns the tables (placed) for the troops,
the footstools (placed) for the warriors.
Greatly does she fall to the slaughter,
and she sees the hewing down,
and 'Anat is merry;
her liver is stayed with laughter,
her heart is full of joy,
the liver of 'Anat is . . . .,
while she wades to the knees in the blood of the officers,
to the hips in the gore of the troops.
While she is slaughtering her fill in the house,
hewing down between the tables,
the house is soaked in the blood of the officers.

III

'Anat cleanses herself.

Then oil is poured out . . . . into a bowl;
The Virgin 'Anat washes her hands,
Y-b-m-t L-i-m-m* her fingers;
she washes her hands of the blood of the officers,
her fingers of the gore of the troops.
[She pil]es(?) chairs upon chairs,
tables upon tables,
she piles(?) footstools upon footstools.
Then she draws water and washes
[in the d]ew of heaven, the oil of earth,
the shower which the clouds [ra]in down(?),
the dew which the heavens pour forth,
[the shower] which the stars pour forth.
She adorns herself with cosmetics,
[with the perfume of] the 'wild bull' whose emission is upon the sea;
* * * * * [she] * * s * * * *

* An alternative name of 'Anat, of uncertain meaning

III: The words "the shower which the *stars* pour forth" allude to a common ancient belief that rain is an effluvium from the stars. The belief is well attested in Classical literature, e.g. Aeschylus, *fr.* 312; Ovid, *Fasti* v 166; Pervigilium Veneris 20: *umor ille quem serenis astra rorant noctibus.* Cf. CLXXXVIII, 823–24. It obtained also among the early Arabs; CDXC, 210.

On the perfume known as "the product of the 'wild bull' whose emission is upon the sea," i.e. ambergris, see Comm. on Aqhat, §XXXIV.

IV

Baal sends messengers to 'Anat intimating that he wishes to inaugurate an era of peace and bliss. This passage relates his charge to them.

(*Lacuna of about 15 lines*)

"A feeling of tenderness is implanted in his breast,
there hath been conveyed unto the bosom of Baal Puissant
a feeling of affection for P-d-r-iya, the Lady of A-r,
of love for Ṭ-l-iya, the Lady of R-b,
of endearment for A-r-ṣ-iya, the Lady of Y-'-b-d-r.

Forthwith, O servitors, enter,
at the feet of 'Anat bow and fall,
prostrate yourselves, do homage unto her,
and bring the word unto the Virgin 'Anat,
repeat unto Y-b-m-t L-i-m-m:
'This is the message of Baal Puissant,
the word of Him Who is Puissant among Warriors:
Now do thou banish warfare from the earth,
and love do thou implant within the land!
Now do thou weave no longer on the earth
Tissues of lies, but rather threads of peace;
I bid thee, twine no longer in the land
a mesh of guile, but rather skeins of love!

Now haste, now hurry, now bestir thyself,
and let thy feet come speeding unto me,
yea, let thy steps now haste to where I am.
For there's a rede that I would rede to thee,
a word that I would fain relate to thee,
that word it is which windswept trees repeat,
which pebbles in the whisp'ring brooks receive,
which, like the murmur of a threnody,
heaven repeats to earth, and deeps to stars.

Yea, I, install'd as godhead of the North,
will fashion now upon that hill of mine,

IV: On this passage, see Gaster, JNES 7 (1948), 186–90.

Baal's promise of a majestic display of lightning probably mythologizes the fact that, in Syria and Palestine, the return of the rainy season is actually preceded by electric storms. Indeed, the Arabs of Palestine have a proverb: "The lightning is a sign of rain" (LXXXIX, III/1, 114). Cf. Jer. 10.13; 51.16; Ps. 135.7, "He maketh lightnings for the rain."

The mountain of the North, from which the display is to come, is probably to be identified with Mons Casius (Jebel el-Akra). It here ranks as a typical "thunder-mountain" like the Greek Etna and like those common in Teutonic folklore (cf. CLXXXV, 185 ff.).

a lightning such as heaven doth not know,
a voice the like of which men do not know,
greater than all mankind yet understand.

Come thou, and I, even I, will seek it out
Upon that holy place which evermore
shall be the hill of mine inheritance,
upon that lovely place which evermore
shall be the mount where my puissance rests!' "

V

'Anat receives the messengers.

When 'Anat espies the two gods,
her feet start to tap,
it seems as if her backbone were about to break;
sweat runs down her face,
her back shakes,
her spine shivers.

Then lifts she her voice and cries:
"What brings hither Sir Vine and Sir Field?
Has some foe ris[en up] against Baal,
some enemy against the Rider o'er the Clouds?
Why, did I not crush Sir Sea, favorite of El though he was?
make an end of Sir Stream, mighty god though he was?
Did I not bridle the Dragon – bridle him, I say?
Did I not crush the Serpent Tortuous,
that benighted villain(?) with the seven heads?
Did I not annihilate *'-t-k,* that devilish Calf?
Did I not crush Fire, that devilish Bitch?
Did I not make an end of *Ž-b-b,* that female devil?
Well, then, I will again do battle and possess me of the gold
of him that would thrust Baal from the Height of the North,
that raises uproar and withholds obedience,*
that would drive him from his royal throne,
from the seat, the tribune of his dominion!
Has, then, some foe risen up against Baal,
some enemy against the Rider o'er the Clouds?"

* *Lit* and stops his ears

V: We cannot yet identify several of the mythological monsters whom 'Anat here enumerates. Conceivably, the "mighty bitch" was some Semitic counterpart of Cerberus Note that in Mesopotamian mythology, the infernal goddess Nınkarrak is attended by a hound (or hounds), and with this Gelb (AJSL 55 [1938], 200–03) identifies the Hittite "dogs of Nikarawas." The hell-hound also appears in Teutonic folklore; CLXXXV, 996–97. See also Casartelli, JMEOS 12 (1926), 55–59, LXVa, ii, 433–36.

VI

The messengers convey the words of Baal.

(Thereupon) the servitors reply:
"Nay, no foe has risen up against Baal,
no enemy against the Rider o'er the Clouds.
(But here) is the message of Baal Puissant,
the word of Him Who is Puissant among Warriors:
'Now do thou banish warfare from the earth,
and love do thou implant within the land!
Now do thou weave no longer on the earth
Tissues of hate, but rather threads of peace;
I bid thee, twine no longer in the land,
A mesh of guile, but rather skeins of love!

Now haste, now hurry, now bestir thyself,
and let thy feet come speeding unto me,
yea, let thy steps now haste to where I am.
For there's a rede which I would rede to thee,
a word which I would fain relate to thee;
that word it is which windswept trees repeat,
which pebbles in the whisp'ring brooks receive,
which, like the murmur of a threnody,
heaven repeats to earth, and deeps to stars.

Yea, I, install'd as godhead of the North,
will fashion now upon that hill of mine,
a lightning such as heaven doth not know,
a voice the like of which men do not know,
greater than all mankind yet understand.

Come thou, and I, even I, will seek it out
upon that holy place which evermore
shall be the hill of mine inheritance,
upon that lovely place which evermore
shall be the mount where my puissance rests!' "

VII

'Anat signifies compliance.

Then ans[wers] the Virgin ['Anat];
[Y-b-m-t]-L-i-m-m replies:
"Warfare will I banish [from the earth],
and lo[ve will I impla]nt within the land!
Let Baal . . . . his buckets,

VII: On Baal's buckets (from which he pours the rain), see fully, Comm., §LI.

let him cause his . . . to shine forth!
Warfare will I banish from the earth,
and love will I implant within the land!
No longer will I weave upon the earth
tissues of hate, but rather threads of peace,
no longer will I twine within the land
a mesh of guile but rather skeins of love!

Yet there's a further word that I would say:
Be off, be off, ye twain gods;
look you, ye are slow and I am swift;
and burrow through the tunnel to the farthermost gods
even to the farthermost of the underworld gods,
two layers beneath the wellsprings of the earth,
three spans underground(??)."

Thereupon she sets her face toward Baal
on the Height of the North,
across a thousand acres, ten thousand tracts.

Baal espies the coming of his sister,
the advent of his father's . . . .;
he sends out a woman afar to meet her.
He sets an ox before her,
and a fatling in front of her.
Water is poured for her and she washes
(in) the dew of heaven, the oil of earth,
in the dew which the heavens pour forth,
the showers which the stars pour forth.
She adorns herself with cosmetics,
with the (produce of) the ['wild] ox' [whose emission is upon the sea],
* * * * * * * * *

(The rest is lost)

'nt: Pl. vi–viii

The remainder of V AB (on the reverse of the tablet) need but be presented in summary. *Columns iv–v* are largely a variant of §§XIX and XXX of the main story. They describe how Asherat cajoles El into permitting a palace to be built for Baal. The present account, however, adds a few interesting details. El at first bellows something – evidently, a preliminary refusal – through the courts of heaven, while the gods, on the whole, hostile to Baal (cf. §XXIV of the main version) are warned not to rejoice prematurely. Subsequently, Asherat presses her case, and El accedes to her.

Column vi, again fragmentary, describes how Sir Holy-and-Blessed (Qdš-w-Amrr), the lackey of Asherat, is commissioned to go to Memphis (Ḥk[q] pt) or to the island of Carpathos (or Crete? Kptr) and fetch Kôshar, the divine architect and smith. (Cf. §XXXV of the main version.)

THE HARROWING OF BAAL

BH **Gordon 75**

§1. Another version of the discomfiture of Baal is preserved on a tablet discovered at Ras Shamra (Ugarit) in 1930 and conventionally known as BH (= No. 75 in Gordon's numeration). Unfortunately, this tablet is both incomplete and fragmentary. Moreover, the language is in several places highly obscure. No scholar has yet succeeded in making acceptable (or even tolerable) sense of the text as a whole. The following summary and translation are therefore offered with every reserve and are subject to the better insight of the morrow.

§2. The text opens with a few mutilated lines in which some unspecified speakers (evidently, females) entreat the supreme god El – described as "our Father" – against certain hostile powers who are threatening them with destruction and causing them constant anxiety and tribulation (I, 1–11). Seeing that, by way of reply, El plans the discomfiture of Baal, and seeing that there is later a reference to the annihilation of that god's henchmen (II 35), it is apparent that the cause of the mischief is that deity.

Upon these representations, El laughs inwardly and chuckles to himself. Then he orders the handmaid of the moon-god Yarih and of the mother goddess Asherat – evidently identical with the two ladies who have addressed him – to abandon their household chores of kneading bread and to take a stool, a quantity of provisions and a supply of swaddling-bands and fare forth into the desert. Arrived there, they are to disguise themselves by rolling about and steeping themselves in dust, thus deceiving the wild beasts (*lit.* "the Devourers") as to their true identity and luring them into copulating with them. The result of this unnatural union will be the birth of certain demonic monsters to whom El will assign the name of "Raveners" [*ʿqqm;* cp. Arabic *ʿ-q-q,* "rend, raven"]. They will outwardly resemble bulls and buffaloes, possessing both horns and humps. Baal, strolling at the edge of the desert, will catch sight of them and become fired with a mad desire to capture them. This will ultimately prove his undoing, for, chasing after them, he will penetrate deeper and deeper into the desert until he finally falls into a swamp [*mšmš*] (I, 11–41).

So it turns out. The monsters are duly conceived and born. Baal encounters them and gives chase, boasting his power and might. Eventually, he falls into a swamp, and the demons set upon him, binding him fast so that he cannot escape and leaving him to suffer the ravages of a malarial infection (II, 1–41).

The sequel is obscure. Apparently, Baal's discomfiture entails considerable distress for a period described poetically as "seven years, eight anniversaries." Eventually, however, one of his brethren or kinsmen comes upon him lying helpless in the swamp. He observes that Baal's absence has

caused a suspension of all normal activities on earth, and he promises aid so that he may be restored (II, 42–62).

Here the text breaks off.

§3. Our story is a variation upon a familiar theme, for in many cognate myths the genius of fertility is said to meet his fate through the assault of wild animals, usually boars. The standard example is, of course, the myth of Adonis,[1] but Attis also is said in one version to have perished in this fashion,[2] and the story is likewise told of Hyas,[3] Linos,[4] Bormos,[5] Idmōn[6] and Aktaiōn,[7] in all of whom, as Gruppe has pointed out,[8] we are to recognize forms of the fertility-spirit.

The Canaanite poet, however, adds a new twist to the old tale: the assailants of Baal are not real animals but demons so disguised. In explanation of this it should be observed that in ancient Semitic folklore the desert, where the encounter takes place, was considered to be one of the special abodes of evil spirits.[9] It was therefore but natural that the animals who, in the traditional account, had lured the great god to his doom, should come to be identified with those fell beings. (In the pantomimic representation of the myth they were probably portrayed by actors dressed up in animal skins or wearing animal masks – a practice elsewhere attested in the case of folk-plays.)[10]

§4. There are certain points of affinity between our story and the Hittite Myth of Telipinu (below, pp. 353 ff.). Telipinu was likewise a god of fertility whose absence caused drought upon earth, and he too was located

1. Apollodorus III 14 4 (see Frazer in loc.), Bion, *Id.* I; Athenaeus II 80, p 69B; Plutarch, *Quaest conviv* IV, 5 3, §8, Cornutus, *Theol. graec. comp.* 28, Ovid, *Met.* X 710 ff., Propertius III 4 (5), 53, Hyginus, *Fab.* 248, Macrobius, *Sat* I 21.4, Firm Mat., *De errore prof. rel* 9 Cf. CLXXXVIII, 1277

2 Hermes, *apud* Pausanias VII 17, 9, Schol Nicander, *Alex.* 8 Cf GB II 50.

3 Hyginus, *fab* 192, Sch Germ. 75 14, Br Cf CLXXXVIII, 950, n 1

4 Scholiast, *Il* XVIII, 570 A-D, Propertius III 4 [= II 13, 4]. Cf CLXXXVIII, 968, n 3 The story was told as the aetiological myth of the Festival of Kynophontis

5 Poll 4 55, Eustathius, *D* 791

6 Apollonius Rhodius, *Arg* II 815–50 Cf Knaack, GGA 1896, 873

7. Cf Ziehen, J, "Zur Aktaionsage," in *Bonner St. f Kerkulé* (Berlin 1890), 179–87; Muller, H D, *Mythologie der griechischen Stamme*, II (Gottingen 1861) 108, CLXXXVIII, 968, n 6 Note that according to Dicearchus, FHG II, 262, §8, Aktaiōn was dismembered *kata kunos anatolēn*, while Hyginus, *fab* 181, says that this took place *aestivo tempore.*

8 CLXXXVIII, 968: "Dass der beweinte Heros auf der Jagd getotet wird [cf Aktaiōn], ist uberhaupt ein beliebtes und naheliegendes Motiv der Legende zur Erklarung von Festen, bei denen das verschwundene Wesen in Wald und Feld gesucht wurde"

9. Cf, for example, the Accadian *Utukkê Limnuti Tablets* III 29, 36, and Thompson, Tab R 5, Tab I, 5 etc in CDLXI Cf. also CCXLIV, II 117, n 3, where rabbinic and New Testament material is quoted The Biblical *śᵉʿîrîm* [EV. 'satyrs'] of Lev 17 7, Isaiah 13 21; 34.14, also come into the picture, cf XXI, I, 136 f; CX, 46 ff

10 E g. in modern Macedonian mummers' plays, the 'masks' of which include goats, bears, *etc.*; cf. XXVI, 50 Similarly, in the mystery-plays of the Arabian Aissaouwa, the characters are dressed up as camel, jackal, cat, boar, dog, panther and lion, cf Eisler, R, in ARW 21 (1929), 172 ff

in a forest or marshland suffering from some disease of the flesh.[11] Similar, too, is the Indic story of Indra whose withdrawal after he had slain the son of Tvashtri likewise caused infertility but who was likewise located lying in the lotus beds.[12] And analogous also is the story of Horus who was stung by a scorpion and lay dying in the fenland until revived by the ministrations of Isis.[13] In other words, our Canaanite tale embraces all the standard motifs of the traditional myth, while at the same time subjecting them to an individual and original treatment.

I

Certain goddesses (or women) appear before El complaining of the ravages of Baal and his henchmen(?).

* *
*

. . . . . of the earth,
. . . . . us/our. . .
. . . . . their . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . us,
. . . . . us . . . like a . . .
. . . us . . . like the east wind!
[They are dest]roying us, O El, our Father;
they are consuming our inwards like a mole,
gnawing our vitals* like a worm(?)!"

II

El plans the destruction of Baal.

Thereupon El laughs in (his) heart,
and inwardly chuckles (and says):
"Get thee hence! Come, do not . . . .,
O handmaid of the Moon-god,
fair lady, maid of Asherat;
take thee thy stool, thy baggage,
thy swaddling-bands also, and get thee hence
into the plain (?), into the very midst (thereof),
into the midst of the vast desert!
Besprinkle thyself(?), roll about(?), O handmaid;

11. The name of the forest is not fully preserved Alternatively, Telipinu is located at the city of Lihzina – the R'–ḫ'– sy-n' of Ramses II's Treaty with the Hittites (Breasted, *AR* III, §386).

12. Mahābhārata v. 9, 10.

13. The myth is narrated on the Metternich Stele; see CIX, 82 ff.

* *Lit.* "breasts."

cover with dust thy person, thy limbs, thy body (?).
Then writhe in labor and give birth!
Let devouring beasts bring thee to labor,
and give birth to ravening beasts
(for such is the name which El will give them).
On them shall be horns as on bulls,
and humps as on steers.
And Baal shall turn his face toward them;
Baal shall go walking and strolling;
he shall reach the edges of the desert,
and so come upon the devouring beasts
and encounter the ravening beasts,
Baal will be fired with desire,
Dagan's son will grow excited,
Baal will (?) chase after them on foot
and the god Haddu on . . . . ."

III

Baal encounters the beasts and tries to capture them, but they overpower him, and he is driven into a swamp.

. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .[f]eet . . . .
[Baal turns his] face [toward them];
Baal starts to ch[ase them],
the god Haddu [to . . . them], (saying):
"Come, O come! . . . ."
. . . . . fired with desire,
. . . . . grows exci[ted].
. . . . . .
. . . day . . . . . .
He keeps crying: ". . . . . .
so that he might devour . . . . . .
Like a . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . but they keep . . ing . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
Baal . . . . . .
and [Dagan's] s[on] . . . .
Baal [chases them on foot],
the god Had[du] . . . . (saying):
"Come, O come! . . ."
Baal tries to round them up,
Dagan's son [to . . . . them].

He . . . . . (saying):
"All others [have] I surely [overcome],
drained their cups, every one of them . . .
I lay all tyrants low . . . . ;
all despots lay I low! . . . ."

Howbeit, they l[aid hold] on Baal's eyes,
they laid hold on his back (*or* neck?),
they laid hold on Baal's feet,
. . . . . fetters.
Yea, the devouring beasts seized hold on him
and. . . . . .
He fell into a miry swamp.

His face grew hot;
there was fever in his loins;
his brow* was like . . . . ;
he himself was (altogether) like one who is burned.

IV

The absence of Baal causes distress. His brethren and associates mourn his disappearance (?) and make repeated searches for him. Eventually he is found in the swamp, and aid is promised.

. . . . . .
. . . . . were sore bested;
sore bested were w[ives?];
. . . . . were daughters;
fields were turned into deserts.
For seven years El was filled with . . .,
and for eight anniversaries,
the while Baal's brethren, for their part,
wore . . . . . like a garment,
and his kinsmen, for their part,
(wore) . . . . . like a mantle.

Some seven and seventy times
his brethren . . . . ed,

* *Lit* "his horn."

IV: The rendering of this passage is tentative. What is probably related is that Baal's brethren and associates donned mourning garb and went out looking for him.

The concluding lines evidently mythologize the suspension of normal activities which, in many civilizations, characterizes the period immediately preceding the renewal of life at new year or at the major harvest festival, see above, Ch. II, §5.

and some eight and eighty times.
Then the chieftain of his brethren came upon him,
and the chieftain of his associates came upon him,
at the most critical moment,
at the most crucial time, (saying):
"Verily, Baal . . . has fallen like a bull,
and thou crouchest, O Haddu, like a steer in a swamp . . . !
. . . . . .; I will surely bring aid!
Cease! Why should they go on being smitten?
The king on his judgment-seat has been stilled;
the drawers at the well have been stilled;
stilled is the din of the temple
and the bustle of the bourse!"

(*The rest is lost*)

APPENDIX

Unplaced Fragments

The excavations at Ras Shamra have also brought to light a number of other poetic texts which appear to belong to the myth of Baal but which, being fragmentary and incomplete, cannot yet be fitted into the main narrative nor even interpreted with certainty. Some may eventually turn out to represent variant versions of the story.

The texts in question are those known as IV AB and as VI AB, the latter having also been published as 'nt, Plates ix, ix and x. For the sake of completeness, we here present a brief summary of them.

IV AB — Gordon 76

Column i. Only the ends of lines remain. However, there is mention of "Baal [Pu]issant" (1.6), "the Rider on the Clouds" (1.7) and of 'Anat (1.14). There is also a reference to some male character's "returning to the earth" (1.9), indicating that the passage deals with the departure of Baal. It is probably part of a speech by 'Anat, since it is followed by a "reply" addressed to that goddess.

Column ii: The servitors of Baal "reply" to some previous speaker, saying:

> Baal is not[1] in his mansion,
> the god Had(ad) in his palace.
> Why, he took a bow in his hand,
> yea, his arc in his right hand,
> and behold, he headed for the region of Samach
> which abounds in wild oxen.

(It should be noted that, according to BH, it was while hunting in this very region that Baal was lured to his doom. The two texts may therefore belong to the same version of the myth.)

On hearing this report, 'Anat flies to Samach. Baal welcomes her and boasts his prowess.

Column iii: The first part is fragmentary. Apparently, Baal expresses his reluctance to return. The second part (lines 26 ff.) indicates that 'Anat pleads with him "in dulcet tones" to reoccupy his throne on the sacred mountain. There is an obscure reference to breeding oxen and cows.

VI AB — 'nt: Pls. ix–x

Obverse. This consists of two columns. The first column is a variant of V AB, §IV. Sir Holy-and-Blessed is instructed to repeat to Kôshar the message of Baal concerning his intention to inaugurate an era of bliss

1. Reading with Ginsberg *in* for the *hn* of the *editio princeps.*

and peace. The second column describes how the lackey indeed conveys that message, and how Kôshar thereupon speeds hotfoot to the court of El.

Reverse. The first column describes a banquet spread (apparently) by El. At this banquet the authority and divine appointment of Yam are proclaimed.

Then spake the gentle-hearted El:
'. . . . . the name of my son,
the offspring[2] of El[ath] . . . .
and to pronounce the name Ỷam . . . .
. . . . . .
Thou art lord; they shall pronounce . . .
I, the [gentle]-hearted El
have . . . . (thee) on (my) hands[3]
Thy name is Beloved-of-El . . . .
. . . . . .
from the hand of Baal Puissant;
he spurns us . . . . .
(so) drive him from the thr[one of his kingship]
[from the seat, the tribune] of his dominion . . .
and if . . . . . .
he assail thee . . . . . .

It would appear that this passage comes from quite a different part of the poem and logically precedes III AB,C, where the appointment of Yam is assumed and the subsequent rebellion of Baal described.[4]

The second column is completely obscure, only the ends of the lines remaining.

2 Reading with Albright *yr* for the *yw* of the *editio princeps* The word is akin to the Accadian *âru,* "spawn" (This reading eliminates all talk of a deity Yaw-Yahweh in the Ras Shamra texts)

3 Probably, "dandled him on my hands", cp Hos. 11 3

4. Note that in that text (line 34), Yam is styled "your lord, master" (*adn*), and that here El says to him "Thou art lord, master (*adn*)."

2. The Poem of Dawn and Sunset

INTRODUCTION

A. SYNOPSIS

§1. In the case of the *Poem of Baal,* the contours of the Seasonal Pattern are discernible only beneath the overlay of an essentially literary composition. The more primitive form is preserved, however, in another Canaanite text from Ras Shamra known as the *Poem of Dawn and Sunset.* Inscribed on either side of a clay tablet unearthed in 1930, this text (unfortunately incomplete) may best be described as the libretto of a religious performance.

It divides clearly into two parts. The first (lines 1–22) enumerates the ritual acts and quotes the accompanying chants of a cultic ceremony. The second (lines 23–76) presents the 'book of words' of a traditional mummery or miracle play.

§2. The *ritual portion* of the text is divided into episodes by means of horizontal lines drawn across the tablet. It is introduced by an *invocatory prologue* addressed to certain "gods comely and fair," who are described as "princes" and "celestial beings." They are invited to partake of food and drink, while a blessing of peace is called down upon their worshipers (1–7).

After this prologue, the real business of the ceremony begins. A typical vinedressers' chanty is sung in which the lopping and trimming of the vine is likened symbolically to the emasculation and discomfiture of some dionysiac spirit (8–11). This song obviously accompanied the viticultural operation. Its style is paralleled in occupational chanties from many parts of the world (see Comm., Ritual §II), and it is so constructed as to mark the rhythm of the concerted labor, the word "vine" being repeated with emphasis at the end of each line.

There follows a rite each element of which is repeated seven times to the accompaniment of a chant. First, a kid is cooked in milk, and finally some ceremony is performed involving the use of a basin. The accompanying chant refers to the divine breasts of the goddesses Asherat and the Virgin 'Anat (12–15).

The ceremonies now reach their climax. Statues of the two great female deities, Asherat and 'Anat, duly arrayed in sumptuous and gorgeous attire, are paraded before the congregation and are subsequently enthroned along with those of other gods — that is, they are placed on prepared pedestals or in prepared niches (16–20).

The ritual part of the proceedings closes with the recitation of a hymn beginning "I am jealous for the names of the Princes" (21–22).

§3. The *dramatic portion* of the text is likewise introduced by an invocatory prologue, addressed to the same "comely gods" but also to the Sun "who causes the branches of the vines to burgeon with . . . and grapes." A blessing of peace is again called down upon their worshipers, who are described as "coming with sacrifices in return for (or: in the hope of) favors" (23–27).

Then, after the standard refrain about the breasts of the goddesses has been duly repeated (28–29), the drama proper commences.

The action opens on the seashore. The supreme god El – described elsewhere in the Ras Shamra texts as an old man – comes to fetch water for cooking, and – considering his advanced age – shows remarkable agility in doing so. This excites the admiration of two female onlookers. In almost girlish glee, they enthuse over the old man's vigor and sprightliness. El carries the water into his house. Then, putting down his stick and dispensing with his staff – symbols of his old age – he shoots an arrow into the air. His marksmanship is unfailing, surely enough, he brings down a bird. Plucking it and boiling it in the water which he has fetched, he prepares a meal. Next, the irrepressible old man turns his attention to the ladies, bent on seduction. A further expression of admiration bursts from their lips. They are impressed by the way he has dispensed with stick and staff and prepared his own victuals. It is not merely the bird, they exclaim, that is being heated over the fire, they too are becoming inflamed! Curtseying, as it were, before him, they offer him devoted and eternal service, but coyly hesitate whether to do so in the capacity of adopted daughters waiting upon an aged father or as brides ministering to a perpetually potent husband, and therefore address him alternately as "daddy" and "hubby" (30–49a).

There follows a sensuously erotic scene. El stoops(?) and kisses the two women, finding their lips "sweet as ripe grapes." He embraces them and satisfies his passion. They conceive and, in due course, bear two divine children named Dawn and Sunset (49b–52a).

Presently, the women's husband comes upon the scene and announces to El, with distinctly amusing naiveté, that "my two wives, O El, have given birth, my two children are Dawn and Sunset" (52b–53).

(The action is here interrupted by the performance of sacrifices to the sun and stars. This ritualistic diversion serves as a kind of intermission, marking the end of Act I [54].)

Act II begins with a "flashback" taking up the sequence of events between the women's encounter with El and the announcement of the birth of the children. They return home and resume normal marital relations with their husband, the erotic scene being described – with patently humorous effect – in the very same words as were previously used to relate their adventure with El! Their cuckolded husband then waits through the months of pregnancy and eventually comes bustling to El telling him that "my two

wives have given birth" but – *mirabile dictu* – the children appear to be of divine character, since from the very day of their arrival in the world, they insist on being suckled at the breasts of the goddesses themselves! Moreover, they manifest an insatiable appetite – the hallmark, in many mythologies, of divine offspring (55–65a).

Again there is a ritual interlude (65b), marking the end of the act and the passage of time

Act III reveals the children as already growing up. Retaining their gargantuan appetites, they are shown wandering through the pasturelands and constantly wheedling provisions out of the custodians of the state granaries (65c–76).

Here the text breaks off.

B INTERPRETATION

§4. The twofold division of the text into a ritual and a dramatic section shows clearly that it was designed for an occasion, like the Babylonian New Year, the Egyptian Festival of Sokar, or the European May-day celebrations, in which the practice of seasonal rites was combined with the performance of a sacred mythological pantomime. The ritual and dramatic elements went hand in hand, constituting one complex ceremony. However, while it has been generally recognized that it contains liturgical elements, no serious attempt has yet been made to determine the occasion for which it was composed.[1] We shall here endeavor to show that it is, in fact, nothing but the order of service for the Canaanite festival of firstfruits, in spring, prototype of the Israelitic Feast of Weeks (Pentecost), and that it includes the libretto of a sacred pantomime then performed. It thus possesses two features of major interest: first, it gives us our first authentic picture of a Canaanite cultic ceremony; second, it contributes a singularly important chapter to the history of Drama.

§5. The Identity of the Gods Dawn and Sunset. The very structure of the text shows at once that it is the 'book of words' for a ceremony in the cult of two comely gods. Between the two parts there is a marked harmony. If in the former the two comely gods are solemnly invoked (ll. 1–6; 21–24), in the latter the story of their birth is recounted (ll. 49–60); and if in the former the goddesses Asherat and 'Anat are celebrated (ll. 13; 28) and their

1. Barton has indeed suggested that the text was connected with a *vernal* ceremony, but he did not detect the true nature of the myth or its relation to the festival in question. Moreover, he vitiated a great part of his argument by supposing that the poem celebrated a god Shalem, patron deity of Jerusalem! In reality, the word so translated means simply "Peace" or "Greetings"! Ginsberg also has suspected a possible connection of the underlying ceremony with the Feast of Weeks, but has not fully worked out this suggestion nor correlated the myth with this season.

images paraded (ll. 16–17), in the latter they are represented as wet-nurses of the divine pair (ll. 52–53; 58–61). In order to understand the full purport of the text it is therefore necessary to determine the identity of these gods.

§6. Šḥr and Šlm in the Semitic Pantheon. The names, Šhr and Šlm, are readily explained. The former is the common Semitic word for 'dawn,' while the latter may be identified with the Accadian *šulmu* and *šalam šamši* and the dialectical Arabic *s-l-m*, denoting 'sunset' (so first the writer, AfO 12 [1938], 149; see now W. F. Albright, VI, 73, 195).

Each is known independently from other sources.

Šhr is mentioned as a mythological figure in Isaiah 14.12. (*Hêlāl ben Šahar;* EV, 'Lucifer, son of the morning'); while the South Arabian Šhr (CIH, II, c. xvi, art. xv) is so interpreted by Rhodokanakis (*Lexicon*, II, i.8). More significantly, the god Šêru is listed in the Assur text VAT 10173, col. v, 1–6 (= Schroeder, ZA 33 [1921], 133) beside such heavenly deities as ^{d}TIR.AN.NA, 'the rainbow,' ^{d}MAḪ.DI.AN.NA and ^{d}ME.TE.AN.NA, 'ornament of heaven', while in the Hammurapi period, his name appears in such theophora as ^{d}Šêrum-ili, 'Šêru is my god,' and ^{d}Šêrum-nawir, 'Šêru is bright' (CCLXXI, 150–51). In Phoenician and Neo-Punic sources his name occurs in e.g. 'bd-Šhr, 'servant of Šhr' (RÉS 326, 1545), with which Harris (CXCVII, 130) compares Abdisiḥar in CCXLV, No. 254, r.4[2]

Šlm is listed as an Ugaritic deity in RŠ. 17 12, and appears also in the Phoenician theophorus names Bt-Šlm, 'daughter of Šlm' (CIS I, 93:3; 1495) and Ykn-Šlm, 'Šlm *exists*' (*ib.*, 10:3–4; 3547).[3] Some scholars (e.g. Dhorme, RB 40 [1931], 36) would also recognize him in the toponym Jerusalem, but this is uncertain.

§7. Šḥr and Šlm as the Dioscuri. As sons of the supreme god El and as representing Dawn and Sunset, the divine pair Šhr and Šlm thus constitute, at least in certain aspects, a Canaanite counterpart of the Classical Dioscuri, sons of Zeus, who are likewise frequently identified with the morning and evening star (cf. Martianus *Cap* 83, *alius lucis sidere, opacae noctis alius refulgebat;* see fully CXLVII, iv, 116; CDLXXXVIII, i, 606 ff.; CLXva, 201; Mannhardt, *Zeitschr. f. Ethnologie* 7 [1875], 309–14, and for the analogous Vedic Aśvins, cf. CCCXLVIa, 210) [3a]

The astral character of these deities is well attested. Thus, Pindar, *Nem.* x, 49 associates them with Pamphaēs = the Sun, Callimachus, *Lav Pall* 24, speaks

2. On the other hand, Neo-Punic Šhr-B'l (CIS I, 287) is not necessarily comparable, since *šhr* may there be verbal, as in Šehar-yah (I Chron 8 26) For the same reason, Jirku's comparisons of Ahišahar in I Chron 7 10 is precarious

3 But Punic Šlm-B'l of RÉS 909 is not necessarily analogous for cp Šelemyah (Jer. 37.13) and Šelem-yahu (Jer. 36.14). Cp. also Šlmlt (= Šlm – Elath) in LXXVI, No. 116

3a. Note, however, that in our Canaanite version, they are siblings rather than twins. The difference is not really important, the essential thing is that they are *a pair*

of them as 'Lacedaemonian stars,' and Horace, *Odes* I, ii.3 as *fratres Helenae, lucida sidera* They are portrayed wearing conical hats adorned with stars (see LXXIV, 313, 574 f.), and on a Roman sarcophagus discussed by Jahn, *Arch Beitr.*, pp. 79 ff., they are shown beside Sol and Luna.

The Heavenly Twins, identified astronomically with the constellation Gemini,[4] were certainly well known in the Ancient Near East. They are frequently mentioned, under the name of Maš-tab-ba (Semitic, *tuamê*) in Babylonian texts, where they are sometimes associated with a divine heptad called 'the Seven' (*Sibitti*, see DXI, ii, No 54, 12 ff , LXXVIII, ii, Pl. 9–10). They also appear, under the Indic name of Nasatya, in the Hittite treaty of Suppiluliuma with Mattiwaza of Mitanni, while the symbol of Gemini is included among the signs engraved on a curious 'calendarical' tablet unearthed in 'the Amarna level' of Gezer (Macalister, *Gezer*, ii, 347 ff.). — As is well known, the cult of the Dioscuri was especially prominent in Syria during Hellenistic and Roman times. Conceived as representing the two hemispheres, the deities continued to be associated with the supreme god, and were often portrayed beside him on coins (see fully LXXV, 170, 222, LXXIV, 343 ff.; LXXXII, 117, 274, n. 100). On coins from Aelia Capitolina (Jerusalem) *dating from the reign of Antoninus Pius (138–161 A D) they are shown with* stars above their heads (*B M. Cat.*, p. 86, Nos. 21–38), and they are similarly represented on coins from Ascalon dating from the same period and from the reign of Faustina Junior (*B.M Cat.*, p. 132, No. 206,7; p. 135, No. 236,7). On the cult of the Castores Conservatores in Roman Syria see LXXXIII, 353, and on the Dioscuri cult at Sebustiya in the third century A.D. see M. Narkiss, PEFQS 1932, 210–212 At Edessa, the Twins appear in the form of Azizos and Monimos, 'the strong' and 'the beneficent' (cf. *Rev. d'archéol. orientale* 4, 165–67), and the former is actually identified in Latin inscriptions as *bonus puer phosphorus* (see fully LXXXIII, 269, n. 2, CXVIII, 9 ff., LXXIV, i, 706, n. 2), while a Palmyrene inscription speaks of them under the analogous names of 'Azîzu and Arsu, 'the strong' and 'the gracious' (LXXVI, 295n; CCLXXXIV, i, p. 20, see Seyrig, *Syria* 14 [1933], 251·279 ff.). As S. A. Cook hints (LXXV, 222), the Hellenic cult may have been grafted upon an ancient Oriental prototype.[5]

In the light of their astral character, it is now easy to understand why the birth of Šḥr and Šlm is followed immediately in our sacred drama, by the presentation of offerings to the sun and stars (l. 54).

§8. Ritual Epithets. The Dioscuric pair are also comprehended under a variety of honorific epithets.

(*a*) The most important of these is 'two gods comely and fair'[6] or simply

4. On this identification, held to be original, see Gruppe, CLXXXVIII, 164, CCXLI, 64, 82

5 Cf. the significant statement of Gruppe, CLXXXVIII, 162, concerning the Dioscuri: "Ob hier ein vereinzelter Rest einer sonst ganz untergegangenen urindogermanischen Mythologie erhalten ist, oder ob auch in diesem Fall — *was wir für wahrscheinlicher halten* — eine verschollene semitische Vorstellung das Auftreten des gleichen Mythos in Indien und Griechenland vermittelte, konnen wir hier nicht erortern, mussen aber betonen, dass die spater von Lakonien aus beruhmt gewordene Form der Dioskurensage erst das Ergebnis einer langen Entwickelung auf griechischem Boden ist"

6. For the parallelism of *n'm* and *ysm* (Acc *asâmu*), cf I AB ii, 30, II AB ii, 19–20, I Keret 145–6 etc.

'two comely gods' (1, 23). In the ritual portion of the text, it is by this style and not by their individual names that they are addressed. The title is not without interest, since it accords with epithets attributed to the Dioscuri in the Classical world. Aelian, *V.H*, 30, preserved a tragic verse in which they are addressed as 'goodly saviors and champions fair'; while a lyric cited in Dion. Hal. *De Compos. Verb.*, c. 17, hails them as "Offspring of Zeus and Leda, saviors most fair." Moreover, the adjective *n'm*, 'comely' agrees exactly with Mōnimos (= Arabic *n'm*), 'the beneficent,' the name of Polydeukes in the Dioscuric cult of Edessa; while Polydeukes itself may have a similar meaning (cf. Schol. in Ap. Rhod., *Argonautica* i 1037; CLXXXVIII, 163), and the Palmyrene Arsu possesses, apparently, the same general connotation.

(*b*) A second ritual epithet is 'princes, lordlings' (lines 1, 22). So stereotyped was this in the cult of Šhr and Šlm that one of the hymns, quoted in line 21, began simply 'I am jealous for the names of the Princes' without further specifications of their identity. This, too, is of especial interest, for it corresponds exactly to the title *anakte*, 'the pair of princes,' by which the Dioscuri were commonly known on Hellenic soil.[7] A similar title, it may be noted, is also ascribed to the analogous Vedic Aśvins.[8]

(*c*) Other epithets attributed to these gods are somewhat more obscure. In lines 59 and 61 they are described as 'they that suck at the nipple of Št,' but the meaning of the last word is doubtful. Seeing that the phrase is paralleled in line 24 by the expression 'they that suck at the nipple of Asherat,' Št must be a title of that goddess. We have therefore provisionally followed Virolleaud (*Syria* 14 [1933], 149) and Ginsberg (*UT*, 77) in equating it with the Arabic *sitt*, 'Mistress, Lady, Queen.'[9] The broad meaning of the title is simply 'divine beings,' for in other Ugaritic texts (II AB iii 41; vi 55) the expression 'they that suck at the breast of Asherat' is a synonym of 'gods' (cf. also I AB i 46, where the gods are described as sons of Asherat).

Nor is it only on their correspondence to the Dioscuri that the ritual epithets of Šhr and Šlm throw light. In the prologue of the ritual (lines 1–3), where, in the manner of ancient liturgies,[10] their titles are ceremonially

7. Cf Pausanias ii 36.7, Sophocles, *fr* 871, 2 Nauck, CIA iii 1015, *Archaol. Zeitung*, 1882, 383 f.

8. Rig Veda VI 59, 3, cf. Coomaraswamy, *Spiritual Authority and Temporal Authority in the Indian Theory of Government*, (New Haven 1942), 33, n 24

Gordon has suggested (*Ugaritic Literature* [Rome 1949], 58) that the words *bn šrm*, here rendered "princes," really mean "sons of Sharruma," a Hurrian deity (on whom see Friedrich, BO 5 [1948], 51 f.) Apart from the fact that "princes" is, on the analogy of Greek *anakte*, a proper epithet for the Dioscuri, this view fails to observe that Hurrian Šarruma may be recognized in Ugaritic in the toponym Trmg (*Šarrumagi) of II AB, viii 3 (see Comm. on *Baal*, §XLIII), while the diminitive(?) Šarrumani may perhaps be seen in the Trmnm of RŠ 1 12. In other words, the Hurrian name is written in Ugaritic with ṯ, not with š!

9. Note, in illustration of this, that in the Lebanon district, the 'mother of the gods,' is indeed called *Sitt-el-Kebir;* CLIII, 14.

10 Cf Plato, *Cratylus*, 400 D; Mair, ERE x, 185, where the significance of the correct *epiklēsis* is discussed.

recited, these gods are addressed as (*a*) 'gods,' (*b*) 'princes,'[11] and (*c*) 'those on high'[12] Now, in Psalm 82.6–7, in a passage which Morgenstern has shown[13] to be based on ancient Canaanite mythology, precisely these epithets are applied to certain rebel gods expelled from heaven:

> I said, *Gods* are ye,
> and all of you *beings celestial;*
> howbeit, like men shall ye die,
> and like one of the *Princes* fall!

while in Isaiah 14.12 – another mythological passage – the rebel *par excellence* is called *Hêlāl ben Šahar,* 'Daystar, son of the Dawn,' who may surely be identified with our Šḥr. It would thus appear that our Ugaritic Dioscuri featured in some other Canaanite myth as rebel gods hurled from heaven, and this possesses especial significance when it is recalled that in later apocalyptic literature – based (as is now increasingly recognized) on ancient mythological tradition – those rebel deities are frequently regarded as *stars.*[14] We thus arrive, by an independent route, at confirmation of the thesis that Šḥr and Šlm were astral deities.

§9. The Occasion of the Ritual. There are several clues to the occasion for which our text was composed.

1. Lines 8–11 are a typical work-song, to accompany the pruning of vines. Now, according to the Gezer agricultural calendar, of the tenth century B C. (Albright), this operation began in June.[15]

2. The rite of cooking a kid in milk, prescribed in l. 14, is mentioned in Exodus 23.19 (E) and 34.26 (J) in connection with the presentation of firstfruits *at the same time of year.* Moreover, as shown below (Comm. Ritual §III (c), the rite in question may be explained as a pastoral ceremony of a type performed in many parts of the world *at just this season.*

3. The specification of a *kid* in the aforementioned rubric points to a *vernal* rite, since – as Ginsberg points out (JRAS 1935, 72) – "goats normally yean in the winter in Palestine."

Added to these clues is the significant fact that the principal deities cele-

11 Restored from line 22

12 Restored by Ginsberg (JRAS 1935, 46).

13 HUCA 14 (1939), 98. The fact that Hêlal is here called 'son of Šahar' need create no difficulty This may mean simply 'matutinal'

14 I Enoch 86 1, 88, 90 20–21, Revelation 12.7–9, 20 1–7. Cf. also II Corinthians 11 14, and see Morgenstern, p 100 In Rabbinic literature, the two fallen angels were 'Azza and 'Azael – names which connect with Palmyrene 'Azîzû as an epithet of Castor, cf CLXXXVII, 1, 36–37, Kohut, *Aruch Completum,* VI, 182

15 The calendar begins in mid-September. Two months each (*yrḫw;* see Ginsberg, BJPES 2 [1934], 49) are allowed for 'ingathering' (*asıf*), 'sowing' (*zr'*) and 'late sowing' (*lqš*), followed by one month each for 'binding of flax' (*'sd pšt*), 'barley-harvest' (*qsr śʿrm*) and 'harvesting of all else' (*qsrw kl*). This brings the year to mid-June. Then come the 'two months of pruning' (*yrḫw zmr*) See Cassuto, "Il Calendario di Gezer e il suo valore storico-religioso," in SMSR 12 [1936], 107–125; Albright, BASOR 92 (1943), 16–26

brated in our text are the Dioscuric pair, Dawn and Sunset. As observed above, these may be identified with the Heavenly Twins, and according to the Babylonian[16] and Jewish calendars *the Twins are the regents of the month of June* (Siwan).

§10. All of this adds up to a presumption that the occasion for which our text was designed was the Canaanite Festival of Firstfruits, prototype of the Israelitic Feast of Weeks (*hag ha-šabu'ôt*, Pentecost). One of its dominant features was the adoration of the regnant Twins, and the story of their birth was part of the celebration.

With this accords the fact that the ritual described in our text is full of astral and celestial traits.

At one stage of the proceedings (l. 54) offerings are presented to the sun and stars. Further, in the prologue to the sacred drama (ll. 25–6) the sun is expressly invoked as 'the fructifier of boughs,'[17] while the immediately preceding ceremony of enthroning the gods appears to be identical with a rooftop rite associated in RŠ 3.50–1[18] and in such Old Testament passages as Jer. 19.13; 32.29, Zeph. 1.5 with the adoration of heavenly bodies.

§11. The Ritual Background of the Sacred Drama. The seasonal pantomime is, as we have seen, a dramatic mythologization (or mythological dramatization) of ritual practices. This comes out very clearly in the case of our present text.

The central theme of the drama is, as we have seen, a divine marriage and the subsequent birth of divine offspring. What is here mythologized is the familiar 'sacred marriage' (*hieros gamos*) and sacred nativity which are so ubiquitous a feature of ancient seasonal rituals[19] and the traces of which survive, albeit in attenuated and distorted form, in the modern carnival plays of Macedonia and Thrace.[20]

§12. The 'sacred marriage' is well attested in early Near Eastern religion. It was a recognized element of the New Year festivities at Babylon, Lagash and other Mesopotamian centers. Toward the end of the third millennium B.C., a statue of Gudea, governor of Lagash, refers to "bringing wedding-gifts on New Year's Day, the festival of the goddess Bau,"[21] while a cylinder of the same ruler speaks of the ritual marriage of that divine bride and the god Ningirsu.[22] Similarly, a long Sumerian hymn, of which as many as ten 'cantos' (ki-šub) are preserved, describes the spreading of the bridal

16 Thureau-Dangin, *Tablettes d'Uruk* 14,15 gives ^{mul}*maš-maš* (Gemini) as the only regent of Siwan, *ib*, 12 r. sect. 10, gives both ^{mul}*maš-maš* (Gemini) and ^{mul}*šib-zi-an-na* (Orion) See fully, CCLXVIII, 4

17. Note that according to Mishnah, *Rosh Hashanah*, 1, 2, the world is judged *on Pentecost* 'in respect of the fruit of trees'

18 See Comm , Ritual §IV 19 See below, §17

20 In the same tradition, of course, are the medieval Christian nativity-plays presented and discussed so entertainingly in William Hone's *Ancient Mysteries Described* (London 1823)

21. Statue E, 51–3. 22 Cylinder, B iv, 23–v.19

couch for the 'sacred marriage' of Idin-Dagan, third king of the Isin dynasty (c. 1918–1897 B C) and the goddess Innini, the Semitic Ishtar.[23] Further, a late mystagogical commentary on the New Year festivities in Babylon relates how, on the 11th day of Nisan, the god Marduk "speeds to the marriage,"[24] while the same and other documents also describe the nuptials, at Borsippa and Calah, of the god Nabu and the goddess Tashmetu in the following month of Ayar.[25] Lastly, it should be observed that brick couches used in this ceremony have been discovered by Parrot in the ancient temple at Mari,[26] while the ceremony itself is reproduced on seals from Tell Asmar.[27]

§13. Egyptian texts give evidence of a similar 'sacred marriage' between the god Horus and the goddess Hathor celebrated annually at Edfu on the first of Epiphi (May–June), and followed three days later by the conception of the younger Horus.[28] So, too, a feature of the Theban Festival of Opet, held annually at Luxor in the autumn month of Paophi (December–January), was the sacred marriage of the god Amon and the goddess Mut;[29] while an inscription in the temple of Deir-el-Bahri, accompanying reliefs depicting the event, describes the intercourse of god and goddess, impersonated by the Pharaoh and his consort.[30]

§14. Apart from the unmistakable indications in our present Ugaritic text, there is no certain evidence of the 'sacred marriage' at an early date on Syro-Palestinian soil.[31] To be sure, Cook has argued[32] that the Phoenician and Punic female name, *'Aršt-B'l*,[33] which he renders 'espoused of Ba'al,' points to such a practice, but it is not certain that this interpretation of the name is correct.[34] Similarly, the presence of sacred couches at Palmyra[35]

23. Langdon, PBS X, 1 (= JRAS 1926, 36 ff).
24 VAT 663, obv. 1–10.
25 *Ib.*, obv 14–21; CCCLXXIV, ii, 12–32, CCCLVI, No. 217 (reign of Esarhaddon, 681–668 B C)
26 *Syria* 19 (1938), 23
27 Frankfort, OIC 17, p 48, fig. 42
28. CCXLVI, 116 ff
29. DVII, 72 ff.; XXIX, 70.
30 CDXVIIIa, IV, pp 219 f.
31 Mention should be made, however, of the theory of Meek (JBL 43 [1924], 245–52), Wittekindt (*Das Hohe Lied und seine Beziehungen zum Istarkult* [Hannover 1926]) and others that the Biblical *Song of Songs* is really a collection of hymeneals designed originally for a 'sacred marriage.' But this theory is far from proved, and those who advocate it believe the repertory, which appears to date from the fourth century B C. (see VI, 182, n. 25), to have been composed under Babylonian influence, *i e*, to reflect Mesopotamian rather than Palestinian usages
32 In CDXXIX, 515
33 CIS I, 304, 1006 (Phoen), RÉS 502 (Pun)
34. It may mean 'desire of Baal' A masc *Arš* also occurs, while in Ugaritic (I AB II 14) the verb means simply 'wish'
35 H Seyrig, in *Syria* 14 (1933) 262 f The author cites the inscription, CIS II, 3293 wherein the citizens of Palmyra are said to dedicate various articles, e g four golden goblets and a cushion εἰς τὴν κλείνην (κλίνην) and another, CIS II, 3912, wherein a certain Agathangelos dedicates a niche (κάμαρα) and a couch (κλίνη) to Baalshamin He also draws attention to Palmyrene tesserae on which the sacred *pulvinar* is reproduced

and in the Hauran[36] does not argue for the celebration of a 'sacred marriage' since these may have been designed solely for a *lectisternium* at which the gods were fêted and regaled.[37]

§15. The dearth of evidence from Syria and Palestine is compensated, however, by Greek sources, albeit of late date. The anonymous author of the *Philosophoumena*[38] tells us that at one stage of the Eleusinian Mysteries the hierophant "shouted and called with a loud voice: Holy Brimo hath born a holy child, Brimos"; while Lucian[39] describes a three-day festival, blasphemously travestied by the false prophet Alexander, in which the nuptials of Leto and the birth of Apollo and those of Koronis and the birth of Asklepios were celebrated. Further, no less an authority than Aristotle[40] assures us that the Boukolikon in Athens was primitively the scene of Dionysus' 'sacred marriage' with the king's consort. That the 'sacred marriage' was part of the more exotic Asianic mystery cults is shown by the fact that *pastophoroi* and *thalamēpoloi*, 'bridesmen,' were common titles of the priests of Attis and Cybele,[41] while the subterranean 'marriage bower' of the latter is mentioned expressly by Nicander[42] and Hesychius.[43] Moreover, one of the ritual 'tokens' of the cult was the formula 'I have gone under the canopy.'[44]

§16. These examples show clearly what we set out to prove, namely, that the 'sacred marriage' was a religious institution widespread over the entire Near East. It remains only to add that the institution survives, in attenuated form, in Thracian and Macedonian carnival plays and elsewhere. Dawkins has pointed out that the essential characters of those plays are often a bride and groom and that the upshot of the dramatic action is the birth of a child who, incidentally, reveals the same ravenous appetite as characterizes the newborn gods in our text.[45]

§17. But our examples have also shown something else. They have shown that not only the 'sacred marriage' but also the birth of the offspring formed a common element of the seasonal pantomime; we have the instances of the Egyptian Horus in the performance at Edfu, of Brimos in the Eleusinian Mysteries and of Apollo and Asklepios in the rites described by Lucian. Moreover, we are told expressly by Strabo[46] that the birth of Zeus was ritually enacted in Crete.

36 CXVII, 313, No 19, CCLXXXIV, II, 356. "this is the couch which 'Animu and Manullahi made . "

37 Rohde has shown that the Greek expression στρωνύειν θρόνους, so common in the Attis-cult, has this meaning See CCVI, 136 f

38. Ed Cruice (Paris 1860), p 170

39 *Alexander*, c 38

40 *De Rep Ath* III 5

41 CCVI, 193 f

42 *Alexipharmakon*, 7–8, and Scholiast *in loc.*

43 s v ΚΥΒΕΛΑ

44. Clement Alex. *Protr* ii, 15. See CC, 534–37, 548–51

45 "The modern carnival in Thrace and the cult of Dionysus," in JHS 26 (1906), 191.

46. 10,3.11

Thus, it is apparent that the central portion of our drama reproduces a common ritual pattern.

§18. This leads on to a further suggestion. May not some of the minor incidents of the play, now intelligibly integrated into its main action, have really originated in what were once disparate ritual actions performed at the season when it was enacted?

An excellent example of this process is furnished by the sacred drama performed at the Babylonian New Year (Akîtu) festival held in the spring month of Nisan (April–May). Many of the incidents in that play were really characteristic seasonal ceremonies, paralleled in several parts of the world; yet each was mystagogically related to some event or circumstance in the myth of Bêl-Marduk, god of the city.[47] It was customary, for example, to stage a mock combat, such as is a common feature of harvest ceremonies, where it dramatizes the struggle between summer and winter, rain and drought, fertility and blight, old year and new. This, however, was at once correlated, in the official priestly commentaries, with the disorder, consequent on the disappearance of Bêl-Marduk.[48] Similarly, the pastoral rite of ceremonially milking a cow or goat — a dairy charm for which there are abundant analogies (see Comm., Rit. §III) — was immediately taken to symbolize the suckling of Marduk, by the goddess Ishtar.[49]

On this analogy, the situation of the scene by the seashore and the entire incident of El's bringing water into his house may perhaps have been projected from the seasonal rite witnessed, centuries later, by Lucian in the temple at Hierapolis (Bambyke). "Twice yearly," says this writer,[50] "water is brought from the sea into the temple. Nor is it only the priests who bring it, but the entire population of Syria and Arabia(!) and many from beyond the Euphrates go down to the sea; one and all bring its water which they first pour out in the temple." In another passage,[51] Lucian describes this as "the greatest of all the sacred assemblies." What is indicated is clearly a rain-charm, such as was performed in Jerusalem at the autumnal harvest-festival of Booths.[52] This time-honored ceremony may thus have been woven into the story by locating the opening scene at the seashore and by representing El himself as carrying water (though for utilitarian purposes) into his house.

§19. Similarly, the incident of shooting the bird may have had a ritual

47 The text VAT 9555 (= CCLXIX, 34–49) is an illuminating mystagogical commentary on the Akîtu-ceremonies So, too, is K 3476, on which see CCCXLVIII, 213 ff

48 VAT 9555, obv 23: 'When Bêl went to the mountain, the city was in uproar on his account, there was combat in the midst of it' (*^{d}Bêl ina ḫuršan illikuni, alu ina muḫḫišu ittabalkat, qarabu ina libbišu.*

49 VAT 9555, obv. 33: *šizbu ša ina pan ^{d}Ištar ša Ninua iḫalibuni nimil ši turabušuni.*

50 *De Dea Syria*, ch 13 51 *Ibid*, ch. 48.

52. Cf. Mishnah, *Sukkah*, iv 9. On this ceremony see: D. Feuchtwang, *Das Wasseropfer* (reviewed by W Schultz in OLZ 1913, col 127), I Levy, in RÉJ 43 (1901), 193, F. C. Burkitt, in JTS 17 (1916), 141 f; W O E. Oesterley in CCXXII, 138.

origin, for the shooting of arrows into the air is a very common charm either to promote rain or to forefend demons, and is associated in many cultures with seasonal ceremonies. The rite formed part of the service at the Babylonian Akîtu festival (where it was mystagogically interpreted),[53] and is (or was until recently) prevalent in Germany at New Year and Easter.[54]

§20. Of especial interest are the points of similarity between the Canaanite ritual which we have ventured to reconstruct and that of the ancient Laconian festival of Hyakinthia, celebrated annually at Amyklae during the summer season.[55] Hyakinthos, it is now recognized, was a primitive Minoan vegetation-god (*Wakuntas?) whose rites and worship were largely supplanted, after the Doric invasion, by those of the Greek Apollo.[56] Like Attis, Adonis, Osiris and their congeners, he was the subject of seasonal ceremonies of mourning — ceremonies marked by characteristic abstinences and followed by a period of hilarity and jubilation.

The rites of the festival are recorded for us by Athenaeus,[57] who draws the bulk of his information from the earlier writers Polemon and Polycrates. It lasted, there is reason to believe, for three days, and it was characterized, *inter alia*, by the following features:

1. Choirs of young men played the lyre, sang and performed a round dance.[58]
2. Booths were erected for the gods.[59]
3. Special meals (*kopides*) were provided, the principal fare being goats' meat and cheese.[60]
4. A procession of girls was staged, evidently carrying to the god a special robe which they wove for him during the preceding year.[61]
5. Two goddesses, Hellenized as Athene and the virgin Artemis, were singled out for adoration,[62] the latter being attested elsewhere[63] as the nurse of Hyakinthos.

53 K 3476, obv. 4· *šaqiš kilatê imaḫasu, ilāni abêšu aḫêšu šunu*

54 CCCXCIV, III, 68, n 62; 153, 171 Frazer CXLIX, 99, cites the case of the king of Loango who shoots arrows in December to make rain.

55 See fully CCCVIIIa. 56 *Ib.*, 105–07.

57. 138^{b}–140^{b}.

58. Ath, 139^{e}. Cf Ziehen, L, in PW III A, 1518 A vase from Amyklae shows male choirs The dancers carry lyres and perform a round dance (Tsountas, *Eph arch.* 1892, 14 and Pl IV, 2, *Ath Mitt* 52 [1927], 14) The dance is regarded as Oriental by Poulsen, F, *Der Orient und die fruhgriech. Kunst* (Leipzig 1912), 36 and by Dikaios, ABSA 37 (1936–37), 56 Cf CCCVIIIa, 13 f

59 Ath 138

60 CCCVIIIa, 41 For goats at agricultural festivals, cf. GB VII 281 f.

61 Ath 139^{b}. Cf CCCVIIIa, 17

62. They are conjoined in votive inscriptions from Amyklae (*Ath Mitt* 52 [1927], 39) and in a relief on the Hyakinthos-altar at that site (Paus. III 19,4), while Bathyklês erected a statue of Artemis Leukophryene in the Amyklaion (Paus III 18.9). Cf. CCCVIIIa, 49

63 *viz*, at Knidos, where a festival of Hiakynthotrophia in honor of Artamis Hiakynthotrophos (so written!) was instituted about 200 B.C.; cf. CCCVIIIa, 48.

All of these elements may be recognized in our Canaanite text:

1. Line 12 (Ritual, §III) enjoins that a refrain be chanted to music, and that the chanters were a choir of young men is indicated by the fact that the latter (*ǵzrm*) are mentioned specifically (line 14) as the performers of the accompanying ritual act.

2. Line 19 (Ritual, §IV) prescribes that *mṯbt* be set up for the gods. This word is usually rendered "seats," but it is significant that in II AB i 13 ff. (Baal, §XIX) it stands parallel to *mzll*, "covert, fane," and that the cognate Accadian *mušabu* is used as a technical term for a portable shrine. It thus amounts virtually to a sacral booth.

3. Line 14 (Ritual, §III) prescribes the cooking of a kid in milk and of some analogous animal in curd. In this we may see a counterpart of the *kopides* at the Hyakinthia.

4. It is at least possible that the ceremonial parading of the goddesses gorgeously attired (lines 16–17; Ritual, §IV) was carried out by a procession of girls, corresponding to that at the Hyakinthia. The young men (*ǵzrm*), it should be noted, were busy cooking the sacrificial kid and singing the refrain.

5. The central female characters of both ritual and myth are the goddesses Asherat and the Virgin (i.e. 'Anat), and they are celebrated as the mothers and nurses of the deities Dawn and Sunset, in whose honor the ceremony is held.

As Mellink[64] has shown, the Hyakinthia festival was not unique, but typical. Behind its later Hellenic veneer we may detect the contours of the characteristic Seasonal Pattern. The correspondence of its ritual with that of our Canaanite text therefore supports the conclusion that the latter was indeed the 'book of words' for an analogous occasion.

64. CCCVIIIa, 70 ff.

KEY TO THE ORIGINAL TEXT

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TRANSLATION

DS **Gordon 52**

A. THE RITUAL

I

INTRODUCTORY INVOCATION

The precentor opens the proceedings with a formal invitation to the gods and a greeting to the assembled worshipers.

I would call on the two gods, comely and fair,
even the Prin[ces]:
let honor be rendered to those celes[tial beings],
. . . . . .,
let a [crown be set] upon their heads
and plac[ed upon th]eir brows!

I. The Introductory Invocation. The introductory invocation, uttered by a presiding officiant or precentor, and often coupled with a summons to partake of sacrificial food and drink, is a standard element of ancient and Classical worship. As Dussaud remarks (CXV, 94, n. 2), it is the basic form of prayer

In the *Semitic* field, cp the Hebrew expression 'to call on YHWH by name' (Gen 4 26, II Kings 5 11; Ps 79 6) and, more specifically, the use of the verb *huzkir*, 'mention (sc the divine name),' in a liturgical sense (Ex 20 24, 23 13; Jos 23 7, Is 48 1, Am 6.10), and of the noun *azkarah* to denote an offering over which the *zeker*, or invocation, has been pronounced (Lev 2 9, 16, 5 12, 6 8, Num. 5 26) Analogous is the Accadian use of *zakāru*, 'call' (e g *ilīšu la izkur*, 'his god did he not invoke,' *Babyloniaca* 8 (1913), 167 19), while in Arabic, *dhikr* denotes a special form of worship consisting primarily in ejaculatory invocations of deity, and 'a *dhikr* is on it' is an expression used for food over which this invocation has been uttered by way of benediction On the liturgical significance of the term *z-k-r*, see Schwally, ZAW 11 (1891), 176 ff., CDXCIII, 27–29.

The invocation, coupled with a summons to eat the sacrificial fare, recurs in Egyptian ritual, where it is called *dwȝ*, 'praise,' or *dwȝ nṯr*, 'praise of the god', cf Naville, *Deir el Bahri*, II, Pl xxviii, Gayet, *Temple de Luxour*, Pl xxxv, fig 138, Mariette, *Abydos*, I, Pl xxxvii b, Blackman, ERE, xii 779 b

For its presence in *Greek and Roman* liturgy, see Kretschmer, *Glotta* 1 (1908), 28, CXCII, 63 ff ; Schwenn, *Gebet und Opfer*, p i, Pfister, *Gnomon* 10 (1934), 590 ff , Nilsson, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1928, coll. 1747 ff.; Ghedini, *Aegyptus* 2 (1936), 191 ff

Hymnodic Elements in the Invocation

The invocation exhibits many of the characteristic forms of Semitic hymnody. These are as follows: —

(a) *Introductory verb in 1st sg jussive.*

Cf. CXC, 26, CDL, 18 ff
A similar form occurs in the Ugaritic Poem of Nikkal (*Syria* 17 [1936], 209–28). *ašr*

Ho! eat of the viands,
and ho! drink of the foaming wine!
May peace reign, oh, may peace reign,
ye sacristans and votaries!

Nkl; with which Goetze (JBL 60 [1941], 357, n 29) compares *luna'id* ('I would extol') in the Accadian Poem of Ishtar and Saltu.

(b) *The formula 'Glory be given.'*

For the consecution 'I would call . . . Glory be given,' cf Deut 32 3
For the verb in the passive voice, cf Pss 113 2; 144 1, I Kings, 1.48, CXC, 40, §14.
For the wording, cp Heb *yahab/natan kābôd* (Pss. 29 1, 96 7, I Sam. 6 5, Jer. 13 16, etc), Morgenstern, JQR, N S 32 (1942), 384

(c) *The clause describing a characteristic of the gods invoked*

The formula 'Glory be given' is followed by an obscure phrase *bmdbr špm yd* . . . which seems to describe some characteristic or function of the gods invoked If so, the structure will conform to standard hymnodic pattern, cf CXC, 49, CDL, 14 ff. OT examples are. Pss 33.1–7, 47 1–5, 95 1–5, 113 1–4, Deut 32 3–4 A similar construction appears in the Greek Orphic Hymns, e g 25 1–2, 39 1–7, 53.1–5, etc.

(d) *The invitation to eat and drink.*

A good parallel to this occurs in the Hittite text, HTBM I 29, 34 = KUB IX 31 36–41 (ed Schwartz, JAOS 58 [1939], 337–38). *ehu dSantas, kattitamata dInnarawantas úwandu* . . . *nu ezzatin,* 'Ho, O Santas, and with thee let the Innarawantes come . do ye eat!' where *ehu* represents the same sort of cry as our *ay* (cp Arabic *aya*).

(e) *The greeting of the Congregation*

The greeting recurs in variant form in line 27. It is thus a stereotyped liturgical formula Cf. also II Aq vi 2–3.
For the general spirit of this 'Pax Vobiscum,' cf. Ps. 118 26–28, where the pilgrims are similarly greeted: 'Blessed be he that cometh in YHWH's name,' and where the precentor likewise combines the greeting with an invocation of the god (using the 1st sg formula): 'My God art Thou, and I will praise Thee'

The words rendered 'sacristans and votaries' are *'rbm* and *ṯnnm* The former may be equated with the Accadian *êrib bîti,* while the latter are mentioned in Ras Shamra lists of temple officials (80. ii, 11, 113.70 Gordon). That this interpretation is correct is shown by the perfect correspondence between the functions of the *'rbm* in our text and those of the *êrib bîti* in Mesopotamian rituals:

1. The *'rbm* are first welcomed by the precentor (line 7) and then proceed to discharge their various duties (lines 12, 18). So in the Babylonian New Year ritual, the *êrib bitāti* enter the sanctuary after the chief officiant (*urigallu*) has duly pronounced a formula (*naqbit iqbû*) and thrown open the doors, cf. CCCXLVIII, 146.

2. It is the *'rbm* who sing the antiphonal refrain in our liturgy (line 12: *w'rbm t'nym*). So, too, in Babylonian ritual, the *êrib bitāti* act as a choir responding to the priest (*kalû*); cf. RA 8 (1891), 41 ff.

3. It is apparently also the *'rbm* who pour water out seven times into goblets as part of the ritual (line 15). So, in Babylonian rituals, it is the *êrib bitāti* who pour out the libations (CCCXLVIII, *loc. cit.*).

II

THE SONG OF THE VINEDRESSERS

A group of vinedressers prune, lop and trim the vines. In an accompanying chanty they represent their operations as the emasculation and discomfiture of a dionysiac spirit.

As lord and master sate he enthroned,
in his one hand was the sceptre of childlessness,

II. The Song of the Vinedressers. The introductory invocation is followed by a piece of dramatic 'business.' Lines 8–11 are a vinedressers' chanty in which, as in so many parts of the world, the pruned vine is personified as a kind of dionysiac spirit.

The poem preserves the typical rhythm by which the concerted operations of the workers are timed. Each line ends with the emphatic 'vine,' accompanied, we may suppose, by a snip of the shears (cp. "Here we go round the mulberry bush, mulberry bush, mulberry bush," etc.). On such rhythmic songs, see fully LI, 24. For parallels, cf. *Anacreontica* 59, French vintage-song, sung at the *pruning* of vines *Vignon, vignette,/ Vignon, vignette,/ Qui te planta il fut preudon,/ Tu fus taillée a la serpette!/ Vignon, vignon,/ Vignon, vignette!* (LI, 124), LXXXIXa, 28. *hada 'oneb, hada tin,/ hada akl il 'asafir,/ hadandelli, hadandol!* ('Grape and fig, alack-a-day,/ Birdies eat them all away!'). The accompanying dance is thus described by Schneller, *Kennst du das Land,*[10] 124. "The treading of the grape takes the form of a round dance to the rhythm of the trampling feet", while Longus, *Pact.* II 36, speaks similarly of the *epilēnios orchēsis* in Greece.

The underlying symbolism of the song is brought out by the fact that viticultural terms lend themselves readily to sexual imagery. There is thus a kind of latent *double-entendre.*

(a) *Pruning suggests emasculating.*

Cp the Latin use of *castrare* in reference to the trimming of plants (Cato, *De Re Rustica,* 32 2, Vitruvius, 2 9, Pliny, *HN* XVII, 20,33) and the somewhat analogous Greek expression *oinas peritamnemen* (Hesiod, *Op* 570) Similarly, in the Egyptian mystery-drama, *threshing* is called 'hacking the god' (*ḫb; nṯr;* Ramesseum Papyrus, 31b, CDXVII, II, 136–37) *

(b) *The vinestalk suggests the membrum virile*

Cp. the Arabic use of *zubr,* 'vinestalk,' in the sense of 'penis' (Dozy, *Suppl*, I, 579a) and the Neo-Hebrew use of *z*ᵉ*morah* with the same connotation (Lewy, *HW,* I, 544) Kohut, *Aruch Completum,* III, 300, points out that in Ezekiel 8 17, *z*ᵉ*mōrah* is rendered *bah*ᵉ*thâ,* 'pudendum,' in Targ. Jon , and compares German *Ruthe* and Bactrian *fravâkhsh* so employed Noteworthy also is the fact that Greek *oschos, oschē,* 'vinestalk,' comes also to mean 'scrotum' (Hipp, 483.15).

(c) *Pruned Vine = Slain God.*

The personification of the pruned vine recurs in the Dionysus cult. Cf Orphica, No

* Michaelis so explained Is 1.22 *sab'ek māhūl ba-mayim,* but it may be suggested that the right reading there is *māhūl,* cp Accadian *mahālu,* 'adulterate'

in his other that of widowhood;
yet see, they now prune him who prune the vine,
smite him who smite the vine,
make his rotten grapes to fall as from a vine.

III

RUBRIC

Seven times shall it be recited to the accompaniment of the lute, and the sacristans shall respond:

THE LITURGICAL REFRAIN

"Behold,* the breast, the breast divine,
the breast of Asherat and the Virgin!"†

* Reading *hn šd* for the *wšd* of previous editors.
† i e 'Anat.

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214 Kern, Cornutus, c 30, p 185, Diodorus III, 62, 3–8, Timaios in Orphica, No. 210b, Kern.
The idea was taken over into Christianity. Clement Alex., *Paidag.* II, 1, 11,2, speaks of Christ as 'the great grapecluster, the Logos that was crushed for us,' while a Middle High German Paternoster by Johann von Krolewitz (ed Lisch, in Kurschner's *Bibl d. deutsch. Nationalliteratur* 19 [1839], p. 126) speaks of him somewhat analogously, as 'gemeit' and 'gebunden als man ein Garben tut' See fully, CXXVI, 226 ff.
Cf also Robert Burns' *John Barleycorn* "They roasted o'er a scorching flame / The marrow of his bones, / But a miller served him worst of all, / For he ground him between two stones."

The 'passion' of Dionysus was a common theme of the vintage ritual out of which Greek tragedy later evolved. Diodorus III 67 (from Dionysus Skythobracchion) mentions a 'Linos-song' in 'Pelasgian script' which recorded it, while Schol. Clem. Alex. *Protrep.* p. 297, 4 Stahlin (*ad Protr.* II. §34, p. 10, 25, Syllburg = p. 30, Pott), speaks of a "rustic song concerning the dismemberment of Dionysus, sung at the vintage." Plutarch, *Theseus* 22, speaks analogously of uttering a threnody (*eleleu*) at the Attic vintage-festival or Oschophoria in June–July, and Kretschmer, *Glotta* 14 (1925), 13, suggests that the mythological figure of Hylas is projected therefrom.

On the dismemberment-motif as a basic element of Greek tragedy cf. Gilbert Murray in CCI, 341 ff., Cornford, LXXVII, 59 ff

III. (a) Rubric. Seeing that each element of the immediately succeeding ritual is ordered to be performed *seven times* and that the utterance here prescribed is likewise said to be recited *seven times,* it is obvious that the latter accompanied the former.

The sacristans who are here said to chant the response are the prototype of the Greek chorus, whose songs were likewise *antiphonal* Such priestly choruses occur already in the Egyptian mystery dramas; cf. Ramesseum Drama 68, Sethe, *Urkunden,* IV, 978.12, CCCXXXVII, II, 16, CDII, *i,* 150 f.; and especially, CDXVII, II, 176.

(b) The Liturgical Refrain. The meaning of the refrain has been much debated. There is, however, one good clue: it is associated with a rite involving the use

Over fire seven times . . . . . young men

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of milk and curds, and it precedes the introduction of the goddesses Asherat and 'Anat, at whose breasts the divine children are subsequently said to suck. Accordingly, it seems probable that its purport is to give a mythological meaning to the ritual of boiling a kid in milk and at the same time to link this element of it to the presence of the female divinities.

If this be so, the most natural translation would be "O breast, O breast divine (*lit.* of the gods), breast of Asherat and the Virgin," and the anomalous spelling of the word for "breast" (viz. *šd* instead of *ṯd* or *śd* or *žd*) would have been motivated, as Ginsberg suggests, by some play on words which now escapes us.*

(c) The Sevenfold Rite. The rite which is here described involves the use of milk and curds. Its precise character, however, remains obscure owing to the damaged state of the text and to the uncertainty which attaches to the meaning of several crucial words. Most probably, it is some sort of dairy charm such as is in fact characteristic of vernal festivals in many parts of the world, dairy dishes are consumed, and rites are performed to promote the continued fecundity of the milch-beasts and to avert damage to the milk-produce A few examples must suffice.

At the Babylonian *Akîtu*-festival, held in the vernal month of Nisan, it was customary to milk an animal in the presence of the goddess Ishtar of Nineveh:

VAT 9555 obv 33 *šizbu ša ina pan dIštar ša Ninua ṭhalibuni*

At the Roman *Parilia*, on April 21st, milk and must were drunk, while both the shepherds and the image of the pastoral deity Pales were sprinkled with the former.

Ovid, *Fasti* iv, 779–80.

Tum licet apposita veluti cratere camella
Lac niveum potes purpureamque sapam

Tibullus, I. i, 35–36:

Hic ego pastoremque meum lustrare quotannis
et placidam soleo spargere lacte Palem.

At the Scottish *Beltane* festival (May 1) dairy dishes are customarily consumed; cf. xvii, 234.

"(The festival) is chiefly celebrated by the cowherds, who assemble by scores in the fields to dress a dinner for themselves of boiled milk and eggs." – The minister of Lagierait, Perthshire, quoted in Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland* (1794), V, 84. (For a fuller account, see cccliii, 90)

Churning and cheese-making feature in May Day ceremonies in Scotland.

Household Words 19 (1859), 515

* Virolleaud (*Syria* 14 [1933] 139 f) cps Heb *š-d-d*, 'harrow' and *šd Il*, 'field of El' (I AB, i, 34–5, etc.) and renders· "Et laboure le champ des dieux, le champ d'Asherat et du Misericordieux (cf *Rahum*)." Montgomery-Harris likewise identify *šd* with Heb. *śadeh*, but eschew further interpretation Williams (AJSL 51 [1935], 237) suggests that what is indicated is a "ritualistic cultivation of vineyard and field," referring to W C Graham, AJSL 45 (1929), 167–78 Ginsberg (JRAS 1935.51,65) thinks there is a pun on Heb. *šôd*, "spoil"

coo[k a ki]d in milk, a . . . *in curd,*

In the Hebrides, a cheese made on May 1st is kept until next Beltane as a charm against the bewitching of the milk-produce.

A Goodrich-Freer, FL 13 (1902), 41.

At St. Briavel's, Gloucestershire, England, cheese is distributed among churchgoers at Easter.

In Northumberland, England, "a syllabub is prepared for the May Feast, which is made of warm milk from the cow, sweet cakes and wine."

ccxxviiia, ii, 14.

In Westmeath, Ireland (Eire), "milk becomes plenty (in maytime), and butter, new cheese and curds and sham-rocks are the food of the meaner sort all this season."

Piers (Sir), Henry, *Descriptions of Westmeath* (1682), quoted in xli, i, 227.

Cheese and dairy dishes are commonly consumed at Whitsun in Germany.

See literature cited in cccxciv, iii, 215, n 102.

Jews eat cheese dishes (*kreplach*) at Pentecost, cxxv, s.v. *Kreplach,* cccxcviii, 94.

In Macedonia, Sunday before Lent is known as "Cheese Sunday", ii, 27 f.

For other milk-charms in spring, see W. H D. Rouse, FL 10 (1889), 179.

It is possible to go further. What remains of the text permits the restoration: *Coo[k a ki]d in milk, a . . . in curd.* Now it is significant that in Exodus 23.19 (E) and 34.26 (J) 'seething a kid in its mother's milk' is forbidden in connection with the offering of firstfruits in spring. This suggested to Maimonides (*Guide of the Perplexed,* iii, 48) that the rite in question was a Canaanite harvest ceremony, and the view that a fertility-charm is indicated has been adopted by many recent commentators, notably by Nathaniel Schmidt in JBL 45 (1926), 278n.

Maimonides' view is amplified by a Karaite writer cited in cdxl, i, 271 who refers to a current custom whereby "when they had gathered all the crops, they used to boil a kid in its mother's milk and then, as a magical rite, sprinkle the milk on trees, fields, gardens and orchards in order to render them more fruitful next year." (For the custom of fructifying fields by pouring milk over them cf cccxciv, iii, 34, n 46; 70, n 74 An analogous usage, performed seven times, but to produce rain, is mentioned in Jewish sources, cf cdlxx, 131. Similarly, at St Florian, in Steiermark, a bowl of milk is placed in the fields at Whitsun as a fertility-charm, *Zeitschrift d. Vereins f Volkskunde* 8 [1898], 455)

Frazer, cxlviii, iii, 111–164, explains the Biblical injunction from the widespread primitive belief that the boiling of milk affects adversely the animal which produces it It is plain from our text, however, that the Canaanites made a ritual practice of so doing. Hence, they must have seen some benefit in it, and the Biblical prohibition must therefore have been motivated by other considerations than those suggested by Frazer Not impossibly, the intention of the Israelite lawgiver was not to ban the custom altogether, but to prohibit the use of milk drawn from the animal's own mother.

Morgenstern (HUCA 15 [1940], 116), contends that our Ugaritic passage "has not the slightest bearing upon the true origin and import of the Biblical prohibition" He

and over a basin seven times . . . . .

---

denies that it has any ritual significance, and explains it from "the well-known fact that meat broiled in milk is regarded as an especially delectable dish among the present-day Semites" (See Ibn Ezra, *Comm* ad Ex. 23 19, LIX, 63, PEFQS 1888, 188, CXXXVII, 71–72.) This, however, ignores the fact that the sentence occurs in the middle of a rubric, being introduced specifically by the word *šb'd*, 'seven times,' which likewise precedes the two other elements of the ritual Nor did Morgenstern realize that our text was designed for that very spring festival in connection with the celebration of which the Biblical prohibition occurs!

Seeing that the performance of our rite was accompanied by a chant referring (apparently) to the breasts of Asherat and 'Anat, it is probable that the milk which featured in it was interpreted mythologically as that of those two divine wet-nurses of Dawn and Sunset (see below, Drama §VII). An exact parallel is afforded by the manner in which the milk ceremonially drawn at the Babylonian Akîtu festival was taken to symbolize that of Ishtar on which Marduk was suckled (VAT 9555:33).

The rite also involved the use of a basin. Conceivably, this served only as a receptacle for the milk On the other hand, however, it is noteworthy that the rite is divided expressly into three elements, the respective rubrics of which are distinguished in the original by the repetition in each case of the coordinative particle *-m*. This third element would therefore have been something more than a mere routine concomitant of the other two.

Combining this observation with the proposal of Ginsberg that the rubric as a whole should be restored to read "And over a basin (let) sweet wa[ter be poured]," * the following suggestion may be offered·

Seeing that it immediately precedes the induction and installation of divine images (lines 16–20), the cultic action here indicated may perhaps have been a Canaanite counterpart of the Babylonian and Assyrian ceremony of 'washing the mouth' (*mes pî*), known to have been performed on such an occasion (cf. DXI, ii, 31–38, Smith, JRAS 1925, 37–60). As part of that ceremony, *seven* bowls of holy water were placed in the sanctuary (Smith, obv. 15. *mê*^{pl} *VII karpati a-gub-ba tašab-ma ina [bît]* ^{d}*KU.BU tukán*), answering to the sevenfold pouring (?) of fresh water into basins, mentioned in our text. Although the Assyrian and Babylonian texts, published respectively by Zimmern and Smith, date only from the V–IV cent B C., the tablet KUB XXIX, 8 offers a Hurrian recension (clearly labelled in Hittite· *annur ais suppiyahhuwas*, 'Ritual of cleaning the mouth')† which is at least six hundred years older. This fact is of added significance, since it suggests that even if the rite were not indigenously Canaanite, nor borrowed directly from Mesopotamia, it may yet have come to cosmopolitan Ugarit through Hurrian channels.‡

* Ginsberg reads· *w'l agn dg̃[st]*, connecting the last word with an Arabic cognate. He differs from us, however, in taking *agn* to mean "blaze" (cp Arabic *'-ǧ-ǧ*), rather than "basin" The word recurs in RŠ 46 5

† The Hurrian name was probably some form of the verb *sehal-*, see Goetze, RHA 35 (1939), 106, n 15

‡ It is perhaps worth noting that Zimmern (CCCXLII, 959 ff.) and Blackman (JEA, 10 [1924], 47–59) have suggested further possible affinities with the Egyptian rite of 'Opening the Mouth'

IV

INDUCTION AND ENTHRONEMENT OF THE GODS

Statues of the goddesses 'Anat ('the Virgin') and Asherat are paraded, gorgeously attired. The sacristans prepare seats for them, as well as for other gods who accompany them in the procession.

See, the Virgin walks abroad
and [Asherat] strolls forth.
Girded with might are they,
in beauty [are they robed].

Then shall the sacristans set . . . . .
. . . eight seats for the gods,
. . . . . seven times(?).

IV. The Induction and Enthronement of the Gods. These preliminaries over, the gods arrive in procession, as in the analogous ceremonies of the Babylonian Akîtu festival. Especially prominent among them are the two goddesses, the Virgin 'Anat and the Mother Goddess, Asherat – a kind of Demeter and Korē. They are 'girded with might, and clothed with beauty,' i.e. their statues are gorgeously arrayed.

The description of the goddesses is followed by the words *wtšm 'rbm yr* . . . Comparison with the similar construction, *w'rbm t'nyn* in line 12 suggests that these words are likewise a rubric meaning "Then shall the sacristans set . . ." We then have two complementary rubrics, one at the beginning of the threefold rite and the other at the end of it.

The gods having reached their destination, another ceremony takes place, involving the setting up of eight seats for them.

Ginsberg has pointed out (*UT*, 80) the similarity of this rubric to RŠ 3. 50–51 "set up on the roof top two sets of cathedrae . . . seven *pamt*", but he has not followed up this clue The rite in question is prescribed for "the day of new moon" (48) following a 7-day ritual (cf. 3, 4; 38, 45, 47) and it involves the worship of such heavenly bodies as the Sun (13), the Moon (53), 'the host of the Sun and the army of the day' (53) and – if Bauer's restoration be correct – the planet Venus (49). Moreover, that it is directly connected with astral worship is indicated by the fact that it takes place on a rooftop (*bgg*, 50), for in such OT passages as II Kings 23 5, Jer. 19.13; Jer. 32 29 and Zeph. 1.5, this feature of 'heathen' cult is expressly mentioned. (For Babylonian parallels cf. N. 3554 + K 3464 Boissier, PSBA 23 [1901], 117, IV R. 54, No. 2, 32, Strabo, c 784, says of the Nabateans: "they worship the sun, erecting an altar on the rooftop.") We now understand the presence of this rite in our ritual: it was part of the adoration of those heavenly bodies to which the gods Dawn and Sunset belonged.

The religious ceremony of setting up *mṯbt* (cathedrae) is mentioned again in RŠ 33 6, 'cathedrae of the gods . the gods shall be enthroned' . . Cf also, *ib*, 47 + 23, rev 2· 'a throne for Elath . . a tribune for 'Ashtareth' Such a *môšab* is also mentioned in Ezekiel 8 3 in connection with heathen rites seen in vision by the prophet at Jerusalem, while the Teima inscription CIS II, 114 likewise refers to a *mêṯbâ* Cf also Sumerian *gu za dEnlil* in CT xxxii 41 ff (v Gaster, JBL 50 [1941], 290, n 9) – The erection of such *mṯbt* for the various deities also plays an important part in II AB, i 13 ff

V

CONCLUDING HYMN

I am jealous for the names of the Pri[n]ces.

B. THE SACRED DRAMA

I

PROEM

The precentor invokes the gods and greets the congregation.

Behold, I call on the two comely gods,
. . . . . .
who suck at the nipples of Asherat,
. . . . . the Sun who makes their branches to burgeon
with . . . . . and grapes.
Peace! ye sacristans, ye vot[aries],
who come with sacrifices in return for favors!

V. The Concluding Hymn. The rubric is followed by the catch-line of a hymn: "I am jealous (for) the names of the Princes," *i.e* the 'gods gracious and fair,' called 'Princes' in the opening invocation (l. 1).

This hymn evidently concluded the first part of the ceremonies, or the first act of the drama, since it is followed immediately by a second 'opening invocation.' We thus have a very neat structural arrangement, the proceedings beginning and ending with a hymn to the gods, chanted by the precentor. This structure can be illustrated from the Homeric Hymns or by those of Callimachus, Theocritus, *Id* xvi etc., which open with an invocatory Prelude, proceed to the narration of a myth, and conclude with a final salute to the deity (χαῖρε). This form "originated in utterances pronounced in connection with the performance of ritual actions. The officiant would first call upon the deity, then he would perform the prescribed act or sacrifice, and finally he would conclude the ceremony with words of prayer. While he was performing the ritual act, another priest would explain it to the assembled multitude in mystagogical terms, and out of such explanations there later arose the conventional element of Mythos as the central 'movement' of all hymns" (Gaster, JBL 57 [1938], 81–2). Thus, we may see in this hymn the Epilogue to the first scene of the ritual drama. It corresponds to the original choric *Exodos* of Greek comedy and tragedy (cf. Tractatus Coislinianus, ed. Kaibel, C.G F., I, 53, Pollux, IV, 108), although the term was later applied to the entire scene which followed the last choral ode (cf. cxcv, 352). The *Supplices* and *Eumenides* of Aeschylus indeed end with such liturgical epilogues.

I. The Proem. Once again the proceedings open with an address to the gods and a greeting to their votaries. In this case, however, the invocation is more than an introduction to the ritual, it serves at the same time as a prelude to the drama. In this it accords with the convention of Greek drama and of its Sanskrit proto-

II

ANTIPHON

The sacristans respond to the greeting by repeating the standard refrain.

"O breast, O breast divine,
breast of Asherat and of the Virgin!"
. . . . . they . . . . . .

---

type, wherein the prologue was not, properly speaking, a preface to the drama, but a prelude to the religious ceremonies at which it was performed.

Thus, in Sanskrit drama, the play proper was preceded by the *nandi*, or ritual invocation, recited by the 'presenter' (*sūtradhāra*). It formed part of a preliminary rite called the *pūravaranga*, and was distinct from the dramatic prologue which introduced the characters (cf. Rapson, ERE, IV, 884a).

Similarly, Greek plays originally opened with choric litanies (cf. the *Supplices* of Aeschylus); and even when, after the age of Thespis (cf. Themistius, *Or*, 26, 316 D) the strictly dramatic preface (*prologos*) had been introduced, the latter often retained the primitive invocatory style, albeit working it into the plot.

On this development of the ritual *prorrhēsis* into a dramatic prologue, see Dieterich, ARW 11 (1908), 163–96 Gilbert Murray, in CCI, 359 ff, finds examples of it in Euripides, *Iphigeneia in Tauris*, 1226 ff. and Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 354 ff

There are several examples of this in extant Greek tragedy. Thus, the choric introduction of Aeschylus' *Supplices* begins. 'May Zeus Petitionary look with grace upon our company'; while further instances may be found in the opening of the same poet's *Agamemnon*, *Choēphoroi* and *Eumenides*, and in that of Euripides' *Supplices*.

So standard an element of the drama was this liturgical introduction that it was even exploited in the interests of comedy. Thus, the *Cyclops* of Euripides burlesques the ritual invocation of Dionysos Bromios, the lewd Silenus exclaiming. "O Bromios, through thee do I bear a myriad pains, both now and when, in youth, my body had full vigor." Similarly, the *Thesmophoriazousai* of Aristophanes commences with the solemn, liturgical "O Zeus," to be followed at once by a comic anticlimax, as who should say, "*Lord God of Hosts*, will summer never come?" In the same vein, the *Clouds* parodies the invocation with a similar trite anticlimax. "Alack-a-day, *O sovran Zeus*, how long the nights are getting!", while the *Ploutos* exhibits the same kind of bathos, with its "*Zeus and ye gods*, what a troublesome business it is to become the slave of a crazy boss!"

Here, then, we have in a Canaanite text of the second millennium B C. the prototype of a dramatic form which has survived, through Greek tragedy and its more formal descendants, down to the opening speech of the 'presenter' in the contemporary European mummers' play! It is not without significance that even in this earliest example, the words of address are placed in the mouth of a single speaker ('I would call'), for this suggests that already in Ugarit, sacred plays were 'put on' by a 'presenter' answering to the rôle of the Sanskrit *sūtradhāra* and the Greek *chorēgos*.

II. The Antiphon. The invocation is followed by a variant of the ritual formula which has previously occurred in line 17. This shows that it was in the nature of

III

Scene: the seashore, fronting the house of El, the door of which is ajar, permitting a view of the interior.
The aged El is seen fetching water for cooking, while two young women look on, fascinated by his patience and sprightliness.

. . . . . edge of the sea
and . . . . . edge of the ocean.
[He fetches water in his cupped hands],
two cupped handfuls, and again two cupped handfuls,
until the vessel is full to the brim;
down and up, down and up.
Lo, the one woman cries.
"(Look), daddy, daddy,"
and the other cries:
"(Look), mummy, mummy;
why, El's one hand is as far-reaching as the sea
and his other as the main!"
El takes (the water in his cupped hands),
two cupped handfuls, and again two cupped handfuls,
until the vessel is full to the brim.
He takes (it), he pla[ces it] in his house.

El next shoots a bird, plucks it and cooks it. Then he turns his attention to the ladies Fascinated by his youthful vigor and his bachelor independence, they offer themselves to him, either as daughters serving a father or as wives wedded to a perenially potent husband.

El lays aside his stick;
El flings away his staff.
He proceeds to shoot skywards;
he shoots a bird in the sky.
He plucks (it), he places (it) over the coals.

Then El cozens the two women.
Behold, the two women exclaim:
"O husband, husband,
Why, see, your stick is laid aside,

---

a choric refrain, or that it indicates an action performed more than once during the course of the ceremonies.

III. The ritual preliminaries over, we come to the drama proper.

First, as to the initial scene (lines 30–36). Any explanation of this obscure passage must be governed, so it seems to us, by two considerations (a) it must account for the action's taking place on the seashore, and (b) it must comport naturally with what immediately follows. Now what does follow is that El, having made some initial preparations, proceeds to shoot a bird and cook it for his

Why, see, your staff is flung away!"
Look you, 'tis a fowl you are roasting o'er the fire,
but what are (really) being inflamed o'er the coals
are two women
ready to serve as your wives
throughout your ageless life!

Lo, again the two wo[m]en exclaim:
"O daddy, daddy,
Why, see, your stick is laid aside,
why, see, your staff is flung away!
Look you, 'tis a fowl you are roasting o'er the fire,
but what are (really) being inflamed o'er the coals,

---

dinner. It is therefore highly probable that our scene refers to his fetching water for the boiling or stewing, and this is rendered even more likely by the significant presence of the word 'basin' (*agn*) and of the statement that when El had 'taken' *something* 'to the top (*i e.* brim) of the basin,' he brought the latter into his house (lines 33–36).

This explanation also provides a natural and unstrained meaning for the phrase *mšt'ltm mšt'ltm lriš agn* (lines 31; 33–36), which has so perplexed previous editors. What is being described in this phrase is the labor and fatigue to which El untiringly subjects himself, despite his years, in the process of fetching water for his needs. The phrase is designed to bring this out, the repetition of the doubly accented word *mšt'ltm* heightening the suggestion of wearisome toil. The most natural translation of the phrase is "two cuppings (*sc.* of his hands), two cuppings, to the top of the basin," *i e.* El cups his hands and takes water in them (cf. Isaiah 40.12) until, by this laborious process, the basin is filled to the brim.

To understand the full purport of the passage we must bear in mind that El was represented in Ugaritic mythology as an old man; cf. II AB, v 66, V AB, E 32; III Aqhat vi 11, where reference is made to his 'hoary eld.' It is, indeed, the very fact that so old a man can reveal such youthful agility that excites the admiration of the two female onlookers.

On this interpretation several other details both of this and of the following scene, at last become clear. When the young women cry out 'O daddy, daddy' or 'O mummy, mummy! Long is the hand of El like the sea' (ll. 32–35), we can see at once that this is intended to represent their girlish excitement as they observe the agility of the old man. The expression "long is the hand" falls into place as a familiar Semitic idiom denoting virility, and there is no longer any need for such far-fetched and unnatural explanations of the words as *e g.* that they refer to the embrace of El's arms (Albright).

Similarly, a hitherto obscure incident in the next scene is now clarified. Before shooting the bird which he subsequently cooks for his dinner, El is said to 'put down his stick . . . the staff of his hand.' Various explanations of these words have been proposed,* but may they not now be taken in their plain, straightforward sense, as symbolizing the youthful sprightliness of the old greybeard? He dispenses with stick and staff, and with all the agility of a youth picks up a bow and arrow and shoots a bird with unfailing marksmanship! Small wonder that the two ladies are sufficiently impressed to burst out with words of admiration!

are two women
ready to serve as your daughters,
throughout your ageless life!

Once more the two women exclaim:
"O husband, husband,
Why, see, your stick is laid aside,
why, see, your staff is flung away!
Look you, 'tis a fowl you are roasting o'er the fire,
but what are (really) being inflamed o'er the coals
are two women
ready to [serve as your wi]ves
throughout your ageless life!"

IV

THE SACRED MARRIAGE

El accepts the women as wives. They conceive and bear the gods Dawn (Šhr) and Sunset (Šlm).

He stoops, he kisses their lips.

The point of this passage depends on a sustained and coarse *double entendre,* such as always delights popular audiences. Each action performed by El is interpreted in a sexual sense. He raises and lowers his cupped hands and his rod: *membrum ejus primum attollitur, denique subsidit.* His hand is long: *membrum erigitur* (cp. Heb. *yad,* Is. 57.8). He shoots into the air. *semen ejaculat* He roasts a bird. *duae mulieres libidine inflammantur*

The consequence of the young women's admiration for El's virility is that they yield readily to his amorous overtures. But the poet is too good an artist to paint this incident in crude colors. Besides, he has his audience to consider, and as every student of the folk-play knows, spectators of this type of drama invariably demand a goodly dose of 'human interest' and like to be entertained by a display, if only in terms of buffoonery, of familiar human traits and emotions (cf. Punch and Judy). Accordingly, he injects into the scene a subtle piece of feminine psychology. Instead of 'throwing themselves' wantonly at their somewhat superannuated hero, the two ladies, with becoming coyness, offer him the alternative of their services as loving daughters tending an aged father! The general spirit of the passage is admirably paralleled in the words which Helena addresses to Bertram in Shakespeare's *All's Well that Ends Well,* Act II, Scene III, 104–07: "I dare not say I take you, but I give / Me and my service, ever whilst I live, / Into your guiding power."

IV. The Sacred Marriage and the Birth of the 'Two Comely Gods.' That 'the two comely gods' are indeed identical with Dawn and Sunset and not – as supposed by Virolleaud (*Syria* 14 [1933], 148), Dussaud (RHR, 108 [1933], 12) and Hooke, (CCXXIV,41) – a distinct group, is clear from the fact that while there is a patent correspondence between the deities who feature in the drama and those who are celebrated in the ritual (see Introd., §5), there is no mention in the latter of Dawn and Sunset, whereas there *is* mention of 'the two comely gods.' Unless the two are identical, the omission is inexplicable. Moreover, it is not without

Behold, their lips are sweet,
sweet as ripe grape[s].

[B]y kissing and conceiving,
by embrace of hot passion,
they twain are [brou]ght to labor,
[and] they bear Dawn and Sunset.

The human husband of the two women reports to El the birth of manifestly divine children.

Now is the word brought unto El:
"My two wives, O El, have given birth,
(and) oh, what they have born!
My two children are Dawn and Sunset!"

V

FIRST INTERMISSION

Bring (and) deposit offerings to the Lady Sun and to the fix(ed) stars.

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significance that in the liturgical prologue of the drama itself (l. 23) it is 'the two comely gods,' and not Dawn and Sunset that are invoked.

To this may be added the fact, discussed fully above (§8), that 'the Gods Gracious' are addressed (lines 2, 22) by the epithet 'princes' which answers exactly to the Greek *anakte*, characteristic of the Dioscuri, with whom Dawn and Sunset may be plausibly identified (*ibid*). Here again an identity is indicated.

The view that 'the two comely gods' are a separate group has been based principally on Virolleaud's unfortunate misreading *wld šb'ny* in l. 64. Rendered 'seventh child,' this has led to the belief that our text celebrates the birth of *seven* gods, variously identified with the Phoenician Cabeiri (Hooke, *loc cit*) or with the divine heptad whose name is thought to lurk in the toponyme Beer*sheba*, 'well of the Seven' (CXIV, 57) We now know, however, that the phrase in question is really to be read *wlu šb'n*, 'and are incapable of satiety.'

The birth of the children is now reported to El. It is noteworthy, however, that the reporter refers to the two women as "*my* two wives" and to the two children as "*my* two children." The implication is plain, though previous editors have failed to observe it it is not just *any* messenger who here brings the news to El, but specifically the mortal husband of the two ladies whom that god has seduced. The scene is distinctly humorous: the naive cuckold, astonished that he has seemingly begotten divine offspring, reports the matter to the very god who has cuckolded him! This is just the type of comic irony in which popular audiences delight.

Here we have also the very common motif that children instinctively prefer their real mothers to foster-mothers, cf *MI*, T 675, LXVIIIa, iii, 56, No. 15. This motif appears prominently in Jewish and Samaritan *midrashim* concerning the infancy of Moses.

V, VII. The Intermissions. The narrative of the children's birth is followed by the presentation of offerings.

VI

The scene shifts. The husband of the two young women now has intercourse with them. They seemingly conceive and in due course bear offspring. But the children, when born, turn out to be comely godlings and refuse any breast but that of the Mother Goddess.
(This scene merely amplifies the preceding.)

He* stoops, he kisses their lips.
Behold, their lips are sweet.

By kissing and conceiving,
by embrace and passion, etc.†

Then he proceeds to count up to five (months).
. When [t]en have reached their total,
the twain women are brought to labor and give birth.

But what are born are two comely gods,
two little gluttonous boys,
who, while but one day old,
go sucking at the nipples of (none other than) Our Lady!

The husband reports the matter to El, and comments on the gargantuan appetite of the two babes.

Then word is brought unto El:
"My two wives, O El, have just given birth,
(but) oh, what they have born
— two comely gods,
(who seem so like) *thy* [sons],
two little gluttonous boys,
who, while but one day old,

* In this case, the subject is the mortal husband, not El The change of characters would have been plain, of course, in the dramatic presentation

† The sentence is left unfinished. What the scribe means is that the phrase previously employed (§IV) is to be repeated.

This ritual intermission serves to connect the pantomime with the religious ceremony at which it was performed, the birth of the two Dioscuric gods being linked at once to a sacrifice to *the stars.*

It also serves another purpose· it divides the play into its several acts, and marks the transition of time and the change of scene. It thus fulfills the same function as the choral odes in Greek drama.

Note that this device is again employed later on (65[b]), when it is desired to indicate that the children have now grown up and are old enough to "walk through the fields, stroll through the steppe" (67–68).

VI. This scene reads like a mere repetition of the preceding, though the report of the children's birth is here elaborated by reference to their divine characteristics. they have the appearance of "two comely gods," and from the very day of their arrival in the world they refuse any breast but that of the goddess!

go sucking at the nipples of (none other than) Our Lady!
Why, their one lip is stretched (downward) to the earth,
and their other (upward) to the sky,
and into their mouths there enter
fowl of the air and fish of the sea (galore)!
They are off from one gorging to the next;
right and left things are stuffed* into their mouths,
but they cannot be glutted!
Oh, what wives are these I have married!
What sons are these I have begotten!"

VII

SECOND INTERMISSION

Bring (and) deposit offerings, etc.

* *Lit.* "are put."

In point of fact, however, this scene is far from being a mere repetition. Preceded as it is by a ritual intermission the whole point of which is to indicate a difference of time and locale (cf. §V), its real purpose is to clarify the sequence of the narrative by making it plain to the audience that, after their encounter with El, the two women return home and resume normal marital relations with their common mortal husband. Accordingly, when the children are born, that naive cuckold is led to suppose that, despite their manifest divinity, they are none the less his own!

To make the point clear, the poet – so to speak – turns the clock back and repeats the scene of erotic passion but with the difference that in this case the male actor is not El but the normal mortal husband! Our text being a mere libretto, however, the point is necessarily obscured, though to the ancient spectators it would, of course, have been obvious.

All gods were regarded, at least formally, as nurslings of the great goddesses, and they are described expressly in the *Poem of Baal* (II AB, iii 41, vi 56) as "they that suck at the breast of Asherat" The theory is well illustrated by the statement of Eratosthenes (*Katast.* 44) that "no son of Zeus was permitted to partake of heavenly honors unless he had sucked the breast of Hera" The present statement that "straightway (*bn ym*) they start sucking the nipple of the Lady" means, therefore, that they immediately reveal their divine character. But the words also carry a further implication. the children must likewise be kings, since it is not only gods proper but also kings who are thus suckled (see Commentary on *Baal*, §XXXVIII) Hence, in the ritual invocation (lines 1–2, 23, 24) they are addressed not only as "the two comely gods" but also as "princes."

Noteworthy also is the allusion – subsequently developed in detail – to the gargantuan appetite of the new-born babes As we have pointed out (Introduction, §16), this is likewise a characteristic of the new-born babe in the modern Thracian and Macedonian folk play.

VIII

The children roam through the earth, feeding voraciously.

In the midst of the steppeland of Kadesh,
there they go seeking hospitality from stock and stone.
For seven entire years,
for eight anniversaries
the two comely gods walk continually through the field(s),
stroll through the confines of the steppe.
An they meet a custodian of the grain,
then (this) is their speech to that custodian of the grain:
"Custodian, custodian, open up the store!"
And (when) he has opened up, . . . around them,
and . . . . enter . . . . . :
"If [there be vi]ands, give that we may eat,
if there be [wine, gi]ve that we may drink!"
And the custodian of the grain answers them:
"[Viands there be . . . . .],

VIII. We can but conjecture why the divine siblings had to roam the steppeland. A possible explanation is that this element of the story harks back to an earlier version in which they were regarded as *twins*, for it would then reflect the very widespread belief that twins are unlucky and must be killed, expelled or exposed. Thus – to cite but a few examples – among the Assyrians, the birth of twins was taken to forbode calamity (cf. CCXXXIVa, 29, CCXXXV, 914 ff), while among the Nandi, a Nilotic negro tribe, they are tabu and are expelled (CCXXa, 68.) So, too, among the Kayan of Borneo, one of them is hounded into the jungle (CCXXVa, II, 156). Indeed, the motif of expulsion occurs constantly in folk-tales (*MI*, S 314, CXCVIa, 10 ff, CCLIX, 17), and is especially familiar from the legend of Romulus and Remus.

Another possible explanation – likewise harking back to some older version of the myth – may be found in the common primitive notion that twins cannot be begotten by one father, but must be due to infidelity on the part of the mother or to divine intervention (see Hartland, ERE, XII, 496 f.). In that case, it may well have been the earthly husband of the two women who drove the suspect children into the steppeland.

It should be emphasized, of course, that these are merely conjectures.

This passage elaborates on the gargantuan appetites of the children – a sure sign of their divine origin. They are portrayed wandering over the earth, devouring everything they can find and even persuading the keepers of the state granaries to open up their reserves in order to feed them.

The expression "open up" (*pth*) means more than merely "provide admittance", it is the technical term for opening grain on the threshingfloor (cf. Gen. 41. 5–6; Amos 8 5, CCCLXVa, I, 170 f.).

wine for quaffing there is in . . . . . .
. . . . . »
He provides [for them] a *lôg** of his wine . . . .
and his jar(?) is filled with wine . . . . .

(The rest is missing)

* A liquid measure of approximately a pint

3. The Poem of Aqhat

or

The Myth of the Divine Bow

INTRODUCTION

§1. With the third of our long Canaanite texts – the *Poem of Aqhat* – we move from the phase of primitive sacred drama to that of developed literary myth. No one who reads this text will doubt that in the form in which it has come down to us it was never formally acted and probably not even formally recited as a liturgical chant. It is a piece of literature pure and simple. Nevertheless, its roots lie in the ancient Ritual Pattern, and the very reason why it became part of the sacred repertoire of Ugarit (in the temple library of which city it was found) is that it was, *au fond*, nothing but an artistic transformation of the time-honored seasonal drama.

A. SYNOPSIS

§2. The essential portion of the story is preserved on three clay tablets and runs to approximately four hundred and fifty lines. Although it seems reasonably certain that the tablets which we possess follow one another consecutively, they preserve but a fraction of the original text, and even what has survived is frequently preserved in poor condition, full of breaks and of passages which are now illegible, now unintelligible. Nevertheless, sufficient remains to make out the general drift of the tale, and this may be summarized as follows:

§3. Once upon a time there was a chieftain named Daniel, who had no son and badly desired one. He therefore repaired to the temple of the god Baal and performed the rite of *incubation*, serving as an acolyte for seven days and sleeping at night in the sacred precincts. His devotion was rewarded Upon the intercession of Baal, the supreme deity El promised him issue. Thereupon he returned home and summoned professional songstresses (called *kôṯarât*, or "artistes") to celebrate the impending birth of his heir. In due course the child was born and was named Aqhat.

One day, while Daniel was sitting at the city-gate exercising his judicial functions ("judging the cause of the widow, dispensing justice to the orphan"), he chanced to espy Kôshar-wa-Ḥasis ("Sir Adroit and Cunning"), the divine smith and artisan, passing by on the way from his forge in Egypt, carrying a consignment of bows and arrows destined for the gods and goddesses With true Oriental hospitality, Daniel invited him into his house

and regaled him with food and drink, at the same time "toasting" or sacrificing to the gods of his guest's native country. In acknowledgment of this hospitality, Kôshar presented to him one of the bows. Upon the god's departure, Daniel in turn presented this to his son, instructing him how to use it and reminding him only that whenever he went out hunting he was to be mindful to offer the first "bag" as a gift to the gods.

Aqhat grew up into a handsome and sturdy youth. One day, while he was out hunting, the virgin goddess 'Anat, queen of the chase, suddenly confronted him and, after partaking of food and drink with him, demanded the surrender of the bow. In order to persuade him, she revealed her charms to him and at the same time promised him wealth and immortality if he would comply with her demand Aqhat, however, brusquely rejected these offers, remarking that the materials out of which a bow might be made lay readily to hand and that if the goddess were so anxious to possess one, all she had to do was to collect them and present them to Kôshar-wa-Ḫasis who would surely be willing to make one for her. Moreover, he added, promises of wealth and immortality were fairy-tales which adults could scarcely be expected to believe. And anyway, he fired as a parting shot, what business had women with bows and arrows?

'Anat, though amused at this retort, was not prepared to take the rebuff lying down nor to tolerate a mortal's retention of the bow which had really been designed for her. Warning him that persistence in his arrogant attitude would bring dire consequences, she therefore sped hot-foot to her father El and indulged in a wild tirade against Aqhat. That aged and gentle deity was at first disposed to treat the matter lightly, but under force of his daughter's threats and cajolings, finally pronounced the decision that insults against goddesses could not be tolerated and that anyone who defrauded 'Anat of her rightful property "must assuredly be crushed."

Armed with this expression of divine approval, 'Anat immediately set about preparing the downfall of Aqhat. First, she lured him to the city of A-b-l-m A-b-l-m, pretending that she wished to make her peace with him, asserting that she had absconded from her father's house and desired to elope with him, and offering to teach him the art of hunting. Aqhat fell for the bait. Thereupon, 'Anat proceeded to enlist the services of her henchman Yatpan. Yaṭpan suggested that she should invite Aqhat to a banquet, whereat he (Yatpan) would spring upon him unawares 'Anat, however, proposed a more elaborate plan of attack. Aqhat would indeed be invited to a banquet, but the sight and savor of the food would at the same time attract the attention of eagles and similar birds of prey. Concealing Yaṭpan in a sack, 'Anat herself would fly in the midst of those eagles and, when they were directly above the head of Aqhat, she would release her henchman — History's first paratrooper! — who would then proceed to attack him. At the same time, she made it plain that she had no desire to kill the youth but only to render him unconscious, so that the bow might be more easily removed from him. Yatpan, however, proved faithful more to the letter than to the spirit of these instructions, with the result that Aqhat was actually

put to death. Chagrined at this unexpected turn of events, the goddess hastened to declare that, having now recovered the bow, she was certainly prepared straightway to restore him to life.

But a contretemps ensued. Flying away from the scene of the murder, Yatpan clumsily dropped the bow into the sea, and it broke. 'Anat, now desperate, turned fiercely upon him, pointing out in no uncertain terms that not only had his bungling ineptitude now deprived her altogether of the bow but it had also resulted in the unnecessary slaying of Aqhat – a circumstance which would have the most serious consequences inasmuch as the "uncovered" blood of the youth would pollute the earth and render it infertile.

Meanwhile, Daniel was sitting, as usual, at the city-gate. Suddenly, his daughter Paghat came running towards him, observing that a flight of eagles was wheeling ominously overhead and that, at the same time, a mysterious drought had set in. Putting two and two together, she deduced that a murder must have been committed nearby, for this would account not only for the presence of those birds of prey but also – according to primitive Semitic ideas – for the infertility of the soil. Thereupon, his garment rent in token of grief, Daniel pronounced a curse upon the polluted soil, and immediately thereafter set out on a personal tour of inspection around the fields. Surely enough, no trace of vegetation remained save a stray blade here and a stray ear of corn there. Eventually, messengers came running from the fields, their breath coming in gasps, their hair flowing in the wind, and copious tears streaming down their cheeks. They reported to Daniel that it was his son Aqhat who had been slain.

Daniel, wishing to accord his son honorable burial and thus to "cover" the blood and restore fertility to the soil, at once made efforts to retrieve the remains of Aqhat from the gizzards of the eagles. After two unsuccessful attempts, he finally detected traces of fat and bone, which he duly interred. Then, in accordance with established practice in the case of homicide by an unknown hand, he journeyed to three cities nearest the scene of the crime and pronounced a collective curse upon each of them. As it turned out, the third of these cities happened indeed to be none other than A-b-l-m A-b-l-m where the murder had been committed, though this fact was, of course, unknown to Daniel.

These preliminaries concluded, Daniel next instituted rites of mourning for his slain son. For seven years, professional male and female mourners performed a ritual "keening" in his house, while he himself offered sacrifices. Funeral dances [*mrqdm*] were also performed.

Finally, Paghat approached her father with the proposition that she should embark on an expedition of vengeance for her brother. Daniel approved the enterprise. Thereupon Paghat proceeded to the deed. First, she beautified herself. Next, she donned the garb of a soldier, complete with sword and scimitar, but over it she wore the raiment of a woman. Then, at sundown, she set out to raise the posse. And to whom should her steps lead her if not to Yatpan himself – that same 'thug' whom 'Anat had ap-

proached in similar circumstances? Yaṭpan received her cordially, plying her with wine and pledging support. Moreover, in accordance with established custom – the same custom as Daniel had observed in entertaining Kôshar – he suggested that "toasts" be drunk to the gods of his own and his guest's countries. Then, under the influence of the liquor, his tongue was loosed and he started to brag of his prowess. "Why," said he, by way of assuring Paghat of the weight of his assistance, "the hand that slew doughty Aqhat can slay foes by the thousands!" And thereby, of course, he betrayed himself as the murderer of that youth. Paghat was quick to seize her opportunity. Plying him with more and more drink, she resorted to the tactics of Jael with Sisera, and sought to bemuse him so that she might slay him. But at this dramatic point our text unfortunately breaks off.

B. INTERPRETATION

§3. If our basic approach is correct, this story will go back to a primitive seasonal myth relating how a mortal huntsman challenged the supremacy of the goddess of the chase and how his subsequent execution for this impiety caused infertility upon earth. The primary purpose of the myth would have been to account for the summer drought, and its essential elements, viz. the huntsman and the bow, would therefore reflect natural phenomena associated with that season. Moreover, since the drought eventually breaks and fertility eventually returns, the myth would have had to end with the resurrection of the discomfited hero, or at least with a promise of that event. In other words, his character would have had to be assimilated, more or less, to that of such "dying and reviving" gods as Tammuz, Osiris, Adonis and the like.

§4. Now, as it happens, these conditions are fulfilled by one of the most famous myths of antiquity – namely, that of Orion [1] Consequently, by applying to *The Poem of Aqhat* the same interpretation as scholars have long since established for the myth of Orion, we shall be able to discover its basic character and the reason for its inclusion in the sacred repertoire.

The myth of Orion is preserved in a bewildering variety of versions. Moreover, as Otto Gruppe has pointed out,[2] its basic elements are often to be detected in less familiar and more severely localized tales, like that of Leimōn of Tegea or of the giants Otos and Ephialtes, in which even the central character takes a different name. All of these multifarious versions, however, ascend to the single basic story of how a mighty huntsman, distinguished alike for his strength as for his beauty, somehow offends the goddess of the chase and is therefore put to death at her hands or at her instiga-

1. On the Orion myth in general, see. CCCXXVI, II, 113 ff , CDLI, VIII, 303 ff , CVII, 53 ff ; Basset, R , in *Revue des traditions populaires* 4 (1899), 616 f , Kuentzle, O , in Roscher's *Lexicon*, s v

2 CLXXXVIII, 69–70

tion. The nature of the offense is variously given: according to some, he challenged her supremacy in the chase;[3] according to others, he attempted to rape her[4] or otherwise affronted her feminine pride.[5] Everywhere, however, it is represented as an act of *presumption*.

From the earliest times this story was invested with astral traits, and it is in this form that it has come down to us. The insolent huntsman was recognized in a group of stars which disappear from the evening sky towards the end of April,[6] and on the basis of this identification his discomfiture came naturally to be associated with attendant celestial phenomena. Thus, because the constellation in fact approaches nearer and nearer the sun until ultimately rendered invisible by its glare, one version asserted that he was blinded by Hēlios, the sun-god.[7] Similarly, because it sets beneath the western horizon at the time when Scorpius is ascendant on the eastern, another version attributed the rout of Orion to the pursuit of a scorpion,[8] while a third, with obvious allusion to the neighboring figure of Canis Major, had him torn to pieces by hounds.[9] In other words, by the time it entered formal classical mythology, the story of Orion had developed into a myth designed expressly to account for the celestial phenomena of the summer months.

§5. Now turn to *The Poem of Aqhat*, and the following arresting similarities at once present themselves:

(*a*) Aqhat, like Orion, is portrayed as a huntsman. Indeed, when 'Anat finally lures him to his doom, one of the main inducements is that she is inviting him to a hunting expedition (§XIX).

(*b*) Like Orion, Aqhat offends the goddess by an act of presumption. It is of this that she specifically accuses him when he refuses to surrender the bow (§XV), and it is as one "of insolent (or, irreverent) heart"[10] that he is characterized by El (§XVIII). Moreover, if we follow the version of Ovid[11] and of a scholiast on the *Theriaca* of Nicander,[12] the offense is in both

3 Ovid, *Fasti* v 539–40, Schol in Nicander, *Ther.* 15.

4 Horace, *Carm* iii 4 72, Aratus, *Phaen* 636–46, Eratosthenes, *Katast* 32, Nicander, *Ther* 13–16, Euphorion, *fr* 108 Mein , Nigid Figul , *fr.* 86, Swob.

5 For the various traditions, see XII, i, 33, n 2, CLXXXVIII, 953, nn 5–7

6. Eudoxus, *apud* Gem 11, p 230 Mar , puts the date on April 23, but Pliny, *HN* xviii 248 assigns it to April 26 The *Geoponica* (i 9) says that the late setting occurs on April 29 According to Dalman, LXXXIX, i, pt ii, 493–94, Orion β sets on April 20 and Orion α on May 6

7 CLXXXVIII, 952

8 Lucan, *Phars* ix 836, Ovid, *Fasti* v 541, Eratosthenes, *Katasterismos* 32, Nicander, *Ther* 15 ff , Aratus, *Phaenomena* 634 ff , Schol in Il xviii 486; Schol in Od v 121; Lactantius Placidus on Statius, *Theb* iii 27.

9 This version survives only in the cognate myth of Otos and Ephialtes Apollodorus i 55, Eustathius on Od xi 316 On the ultimate identity of these giants with 'Orion,' see CLXXXVIII, 67–70

10 The Canaanite expression is *ḥnp lb*, which recurs in Job 36 13 and is rendered "hypocrites in heart" by AV and "godless in heart" by RV In the Amarna letter 288·8 (from Puti-Ḫeba of Jerusalem) the cognate verb *ḥanāpu* means "to insult "

11 *Fasti* iv 539–40. 12 In *Ther* 15

cases of the same order, for it is obvious that Aqhat's retention of the divine bow implies the same sort of insolent challenge to the goddess' supremacy as those writers attribute to Orion in the arrogant boast that there was no wild beast which he could not tame.

(*c*) Both heroes are endowed with the same physical characteristics, viz. strength and beauty. The strength of Orion is mentioned expressly by both Homer and Hesiod,[13] while the former describes him also as the very tallest of men,[14] and Pindar alludes to his surpassing beauty.[15] Similarly, Aqhat is constantly characterized by the epithet *gzr*, a word which occurs elsewhere in the Ras Shamra texts as a synonym for "warrior, mighty man",[16] and in one passage (§XV) he is addressed explicitly as "strongest (and) fairest of men."[17]

(*d*) Both meet their death through the machinations of the goddess.

§6. With all of these points of similarity, however, there is also one significant difference: in the myth of Orion, no particular importance is attached to the bow, whereas in *The Poem of Aqhat* it is the principal element of the plot. Yet this divergence can be very simply explained and, far from militating against a comparison of the two myths, actually supports it. The fact is that in ancient Near Eastern astronomy — as represented by that of the Babylonians — the figure of Canis Major was not recognized; instead, the stars ε, σ, δ and τ of that constellation together with κ and λ of the neighboring constellation of Puppis were grouped together *as a Bow*.[18] Moreover, this bow was regarded as the regent constellation of the first decan of the month of Tammuz (or, in a later period, of Ab),[19] and it was mythologically identified as the standard perquisite of the war-goddess and goddess of the chase,[20] corresponding to that of Artemis in classical lore. Accordingly, the Bow had perforce to occupy a prominent rôle in any myth relating to Orion and the neighboring astral bodies; it had to take the place of the Huntsman's Dog in corresponding classical and other versions![21]

13 Iliad xviii 486, *Works and Days* 598, 615, 619

14 Od. xi 309. 15. *Isthm* ii 83.

16 E g III, 206, V AB ii 22 On the meaning, see Ginsberg, JBL 57 (1938), 210, n. 5, Gaster, JAOS 66 (1946), 56, n 23

17. Even if the epithets be used sarcastically, they nevertheless possess a literal meaning, for in the same conversation Aqhat himself similarly makes sarcastic use of the goddess' standard epithet of *Btlt*, "Virgin", see Ginsberg, BASOR 98 (1945), 20, n 49

18 Sumerian ^{mul}BAN, Semitic ^{kakkab}*Qaštu*, cf CCLXI, 201

19 Astrolabe Pinches = JRAS 1900, 573–55, CCLXI, *loc cit*, CDLXXXVI, 65–66 For the shift to Ab in the Aries period (after c 1100 B C), see KAVI, p 123 5, CT xxxiii 2.7; CDXLVI, 72 ix 9, CCLXVIII, 21, n 1. According to CT xxxiii 7 22–23, it rises on Ab 15, but CT xxxiii 4 14 puts the date on Ab 5

20 Cf. V Rawl. 46 A 23, CT xxxiii 2 ii 7; Virolleaud, *Ishtar*, Suppl 2, No 67 15, KAVI, p 121 15 The association appears already on the sculptures of Mari, cf xcviii, 71. Note that in Callimachus, *Hymn to Artemis* 9–10, the goddess says expressly that the Cyclopes (i e the workmen of Hephaistos = Kôshar!) will make arrows for her

21 It may be tentatively suggested that another ancient Semitic myth concerning the constellation of the Bow really underlies Gen 9 13–14 We have been wont to assume that the bow which God set in the clouds after the Flood was the rainbow, and very probably, the author of the Biblical version of the tale himself thought so (note

§7. On general grounds, then, there is ample reason for identifying the basic myth of Aqhat with that of Orion. To clinch the argument, however, it would be as well to show that the latter was indeed known in the Ancient Near East. This can be done on the basis of the following evidence:

(*a*) In Mesopotamian texts the constellation Orion sometimes bears the added epithet "he that was smitten by the weapon,"[22] showing knowledge of a myth analogous to that related in classical sources to the effect that Orion was slain by the arrows of Artemis.

(*b*) In Sumerian mythology, the constellation of Orion was identified with the stalwart warrior-god Ninurta,[23] who is described as carrying the typical equipment of a *huntsman*, viz. bows and nets.[24]

(*c*) In Job 38.31 there is a specific allusion to the "binding" of Orion ("Canst thou bind the Pleiades *with chains,*[25] or loosen the bonds of Orion [*K*ᵉ*sîl*]?"), consistent with the classical myth that, after his resuscitation, Orion was chained to the heavens in the form of a constellation.

(*d*) It is generally agreed by ancient and modern authorities that Nimrod, "the mighty huntsman" of Genesis 10.8–10, is but another form of Orion.[26] His epithet "mighty man [*gibbôr*]," it may be added, is directly comparable with that of *quradu*, "warrior," and *gzr*, of approximately the same meaning, borne respectively by his Sumerian and Canaanite counterparts, Ninurta and Aqhat.[27] Alternatively, the word may be rendered "giant," and connected with the classical tradition that Orion was a giant.[28]

his reference to "the cloud" rather than "the sky") But the fact remains that, in ancient times, people do not seem to have recognized the figure of a bow in that celestial phenomenon In Lithuanian mythology, for example, it is Laima's girdle, and in Estonian superstition, it is the thunder-god's sickle (CLXXXV, 733) So, too, in the Armenian version of Philo's *Quaestiones et solutiones in Genesin et Exodum*, II 54 (148, Aucher), it is the girdle of Aramazd (cf Marcus, JNES 7 [1948], 113), while in ancient Mesopotamian literature, it is "the ornament of heaven" or "the ring" (*marratu*, cf CCXLIII, 139 f) Accordingly, it may be suggested that what God did (in the original version of the tale) was to set in the sky the victorious weapon wherewith he had subdued the dragon or demon who (in that more primitive version) was the causer of the flood He did, in fact, precisely what Qozahi is said in Arab legend to have done with his bow (Wellhausen, *Prol*[6], 311) and what, in the Mesopotamian poem *Enuma Eliš*, Marduk does with his after vanquishing Tiamat This element of the story then survived vestigially even when the Flood itself was given a different motivation – a process familiar to every student of folklore

22 Cf K 250 IV 2–3, II R 49 III 20 [mu]SIB ZI AN NA | *ša ina kakki mahsu* See Ungnad, ZDMG 73 (1919), 159 ff , but note also the objections of Bezold, ZA 32 (1916–17), 210, to some of Ungnad's deductions

23. Cf Dhorme, CCXII, 365 f

24 Cf Hrozný, Fr , in MVAG, 1903 No 3, col III, obv 34, rev 4, 6, 8, 10 (mentioning *alluḫapu, suskallu, ariktu, qaštu* and *tilpanu*) The arrows of Ninurta are mentioned in Assurb *Annals* IX 84 f Cf CXLII, 27–8

25 This is the correct rendering The word *ma*ʿ*ᵃdanôt* of MT must be emended to *ma*ʿ*ᵃnadôt*, as most modern scholars have seen

26. Cf. Philo, *Quaest* II 82, *Chronicon Paschale* = *Patrol Gr* , Migne XCII 145, Anon, ib XCVII 18, Georgios Kedrenos, *Hist comp* I 28 ff , Bekker, CLXXXVI, 65, LII, 395 ff , CLX, 16 f

27 Note that according to I Samuel 2 4 bows are the perquisites of *gibbôrîm*

28 Odyssey XI 572 describes him as "prodigious" [*pelōrios*], and he is so portrayed

(*e*) If the Hebrew name of Orion, viz. *K*ᵉ*sîl*, really means "lumbering fool" (the normal sense of the word),[29] it will constitute further evidence that the myth of the Gigantic Huntsman was indeed known; for that name will be most readily explicable from the fact that giants are usually represented in mythology as *gawkish dunderheads.*[30]

§8. It should be observed also in this connection that the figure of the Heavenly Huntsman is not, in fact, confined to classical and Ancient Near Eastern astronomy. In recognizing it, the Canaanites would have been in line with a tendency well represented among primitive peoples. Thus – to cite but a few examples – the Tuaregs identify the constellation as a huntsman followed by a dog;[31] while the Buriats of Eastern Mongolia see in it the picture of three marals being chased by a huntsman and three hounds.[32] The Zuñi call it "The Celestial Hunter";[33] and it is likewise, in all probability, Orion who is intended by the Mexican mythological figure of *Citli*, "The Bowman."[34]

Among the Chukchee of North America, it is delineated as an archer with a crooked back who shoots a copper arrow (Aldebaran) at a group of maidens (the Pleiades);[35] and in Peru the constellation is symbolized by crossed arrows, indicating huntsmen or hunting.[36] A Peruvian myth represents him as a Promethean criminal raised aloft by two condors.[37] Among the Hottentots, the Belt of Orion is identified as the line whereby a huntsman leads his dog;[38] and this picture is seen also by the Loango.[39] Lastly, both the Bakongo[40] and Wagogo[41] of Africa give the name of "Chief Hunter" to one of the stars of the Belt.

§9. If, then, we may regard the story of Aqhat – in its original and basic form – as a version of the myth of Orion, the reason for its inclusion in the

in Greek art· cf. CDLVII, 119 f , fig 49, Babelon, E , in *Revue belge de numismatique,* 1893, 20 ff ; LXXIV, 430 Latin authors call him *Gigas;* VIII, 306 His Arabic name is *al-jabar;* "the giant," and his Hebrew name *K*ᵉ*sîl* is rendered analogously in the Syriac (Peshitta) and Aramaic versions of Job 9 18 and 38 31 Buttmann, ABAW 1826, p 56, would derive his name (originally *Oarīōn*) from a root **VAR* supposedly meaning "be mighty, stalwart " Such a root, however, does not exist

29 The general view of Biblical scholars is that the word must have the connotation of "impious rogue", but, as Cheyne rightly pointed out, it nowhere else carries this sense, which is reserved to the term *nabal* (Note that in Psalm 14 1 [53 2] it is the *nabal,* not the *k*ᵉ*sîl,* who says in his heart, "There is no God ") *K*ᵉ*sîl,* connected with *kesel,* "loin," means rather a lumbering fellow, a *gawk* [There is little plausibility in the view of Stucken, CDXLIX, 31, that the name is to be connected directly with *kesel* and interpreted as the equivalent of the Egyptian *hpš,* "foreleg," allegedly a name of Arcturus!]

30. See below, Puruli, Comm on §II
31 CXX, 424
32 Klemenz, D , in ERE III 11a
33 Hagar, S , in ERE XII 71a
34. *Ibidem.*
35 XXXIV, ii, 307 f
36 Hagar, S , in ERE xii 71a.
37. *Ibidem*
38. CDVII, 367 ff
39 *Loango Expedition,* II 2, pp 135 ff
40. CDLXXXIII, 293 ff.
41 LXX, 39.

sacred repertoire at once becomes clear. The constellation of Orion sets late at the end of April[42] and rises early at the beginning of July.[43] Its absence from the evening sky thus coincides with the onset and first part of the dry season. The point of the story is now obvious: *it mythologizes in astral terms the climatic and agricultural conditions prevalent during this time of year. The drought and desiccation on earth are correlated with and explained by the discomfiture and disappearance of the Great Huntsman; but his eventual "resurrection" or re-emergence is already foreshadowed.*[44]

§10. The inclusion of our poem in the sacred repertoire was thus due to the same process as obtained in the case of *The Poem of Dawn and Sunset.* Just as the latter, relating the birth of the Heavenly Twins, was, as we have seen [above, pp. 231 ff.], the astral myth of June, in which month they are a regent constellation, so *The Poem of Aqhat,* relating the death of the impious Huntsman, was the astral myth of the early summer during which period he in fact disappears from the evening sky.

§11. The season covered by the celestial disappearance of the Great Huntsman corresponds, on earth, to those dry and torrid months wherein the lord of fertility (Tammuz, Osiris, Adonis, Dionysus, etc.) was believed to be suffering a similar "eclipse" or discomfiture. June–July, as is well known, was the month of Tammuz, when he was said variously to have been "bound" or "thrust beneath the waters," and when ritual lamentations were performed for him. What more natural, then, than to assimilate to each other the two parallel astronomical and agricultural myths of one and the same season, to see in 'Orion' a heavenly 'Tammuz' and in 'Tammuz' an earthly 'Orion'? Were not both associated with comparable goddesses, and was not the death of each followed inevitably by his resurrection? And this is, in fact, what took place, the 'Orion' and 'Tammuz' myths were blended and fused. Mesopotamian texts, for example, specifically equate the two heroes;[45] while the "binding" of Tammuz, of which so much is made in Babylonian myth, is transferred in the Book of Job (38.31) to the figure

42 See above, n 6

43 Hesiod, *Works and Days,* 597 The date usually given is July 9, cf CCCXL, 112 *Geoponica* i 9 puts the early rising between June 23 and July 10 In the Taurus period (c. 3000–1100 B C), Orion was regarded as the regent constellation of the first decan of Sivan, KAVI, p 123 8, CT xxxiii 2 ii 2, 9 r 10, Virolleaud, *Ishtar* xxvi 7 In V R 43 a 11 and CCLXXI, 9, Sivan is characterized as the month of the god NE GUN who is in turn identified with Ninurta-Orion in CT xxv 12 23 A festival of "Shemāl and the Bowman" was celebrated by the Mandaeans on 27th of Ḫaziran (Sivan), cf LXIX, ii 26; CCLXVIII, 119

44 That Aqhat was eventually resurrected is obvious from the fact that 'Anat repeatedly states that she will revive him This has been recognized by almost all scholars who have dealt with the text, cf Aistleitner, CCXCIII, 37, Gaster, SMSR 12 (1937), 127, Spiegel, JBL 59 (1940), p viii, id , CLXVIII, 316, nn 13–14, Gordon, CLXXVI, 155, Engnell, CXXXII, 135, Albright, BASOR 94 (1944), 34, Ginsberg, BASOR 97 (1945), 7.

45 SIB ZI AN NA (Orion) is given as a name of Tammuz in CT xxiv 9 xxv 7, etc , cf DXIV, 7, n 1, CDLXXXVI, 50, XCVIII, 81, 119, CCXLIII, 129

of Orion![46] So, too, the Egyptians commonly assimilated both Osiris[47] and Horus[48] to Orion, while among the Greeks, typical features of the Orion-myth are to be found associated with such "dying and reviving" gods of fertility as, for instance, Zagreus-Dionysus[49] and Hyas-Adonis.[50]

The Canaanite mythographers followed suit. What we have, therefore, in *The Poem of Aqhat* is no longer the unvarnished tale of Orion but a conflate myth in which that basic nucleus has been blended with the traits and motifs of the Tammuz cycle. Not only is Aqhat invested with several of the characteristic marks of the "dying and reviving god," but the story is told in such a way as to incorporate salient features of the Tammuz and cognate mysteries.

§12. Special importance is attached, for instance, to the fact that Aqhat was not only slain but also *dismembered* and that, prior to his resuscitation, the several portions of his body – "the fat and bone," as they are called – had to be recovered and interred (§XXXI). Now, from the point of view of the story, this is an utterly unnecessary and extraneous detail; it does not appear in the classical versions of the myth of Orion. Once it is recognized, however, that Aqhat is not only 'Orion' but also 'Tammuz,' the reason for its introduction becomes clear: the dismemberment and reassemblage of the slain lord of fertility is an essential part of his myth. Osiris is dismembered and reassembled; so is Zagreus, so is Adonis; so too, apparently, is Môt Indeed, as Gilbert Murray has pointed out,[51] the dismemberment [*sparagmos*] is one of the essential elements of the pattern underlying Greek tragedy; and Cornford would even see a survival of it in the characteristic distribution of sweetmeats (i.e. originally, the parts of the dismembered body) at the conclusion of a Greek comedy.[52] Similarly, the punctilious reassemblage of Aqhat's remains and their interment in a jar (§XXXI) is but the mythic counterpart of ceremonies performed in many parts of the world as part of the mysteries of "dying and reviving gods." The Egyptian Osiris and the Syrian Attis, for example, were similarly "collected" and buried; while mock funerals of a comparable character were a common feature of seasonal rituals.[53] Daniel, the father of Aqhat, does in fact precisely what the goddesses Isis and Nephthys are represented as doing in the Egyptian rites of Osiris.[54]

§13. In the same way, it is not difficult to recognize in the weeping for Aqhat (§XXXIII) a mythological counterpart of the seasonal ululation,[55]

46 For the "binding" (*kamûtum*) of Tammuz, cf VR 48 iv 23, CCCLXXIV, iii, 145, vs 12–15 Weidner's view (CDLXXXVI, 50) that the word rendered "bind," viz *kamū*, is rather to be associated with the root *kamū* = Hebrew *k-w-h*, etc , "burn," scarcely commends itself

47 XXXVII, 164–68, Brugsch, K , in ZDMG 10 (1865), 665, CCLXXIX, ii, 213

48 Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 21

49 Cf CLXXXVIII, 948, 962 f

50 *Ibid* , 950, n 1.

51 In CCI, 341 ff

52 LXXVII, 101

53 See below, Yuzgat Tablet, Introd , §11.

54 CCCXIX, 29–31; CCXLVIa, 38–39, 183.

55 See above, Ch II, §§8–9.

corresponding to the ritual wailing for Tammuz, Osiris, Telipinu, Attis, Adonis, Persephone and the like which, as we know, usually took place at the very season of year covered by the absence of the celestial Huntsman.

§14. So, too, it is by no means improbable that the passage in our poem (III, 28[b]–37) which describes how Daniel and his daughter Paghat made the rounds of the fields and how the former clasped and kissed an ear of corn and a blade of grass(?) reflects a magical ceremony connected with the reaping of the corn. Such ceremonies, as we shall see (below, §XXIX), do indeed obtain in several parts of the world.

§15. Assuming, then, that *The Poem of Aqhat* goes back to a seasonal myth, the analogy of similar texts discussed in this volume would suggest that, in its original form, it was acted or recited at a specific festival. The question then arises: When did that festival take place?

The theme of the myth is, as we have seen, not only the death and (apparent) resurrection of the Huntsman but also the loss and (apparent) recovery of the bow. Hence, the underlying festival must have taken place between the late setting and early rising not only of Orion but also and more specifically of the Bowstar i.e. (virtually) Sirius. Moreover, since the story evidently concluded with the recovery of the bow, it could not very well have been acted or recited before the corresponding astral event had actually occurred. Accordingly, we are led to the conclusion that *the most probable date of the festival here mythologized was that of the early rising of Sirius toward the end of July or the beginning of August*[56] — a conclusion strongly supported by the fact that in many calendars (e.g. the Ancient Egyptian) the rising of Sirius is indeed regarded as the beginning of the year and is therefore celebrated as a festival.[57]

§16. It is true, of course, that in the form in which it has come down to us the original motivation of *The Poem of Aqhat* has been entirely forgotten, its primitive ritual elements being thoroughly integrated into a purely literary composition. The reader may consequently be inclined to suspect that perhaps, after all, we are going beyond the evidence. It is therefore pertinent to point out, in concluding our inquiry, that the method here adopted is, in fact, that pursued by folklorists everywhere in the analysis of tales and legends The process which we imply in the evolution of *The Poem of Aqhat* is, in other words, no whit different from that which has been revealed by Bolte and Polívka in their classic analysis of Grimm's Marchen,[58] or by Lady Gomme[59] and Lewis Spence[60] in their examination of children's games and nursery rhymes, or by the late Jesse L. Weston in her famous demonstration of the ritual basis of the Arthurian Legend.[61]

56. See above, n. 19.
57 Cf. Censorinus, *De die natali*, XXI 13, CCCXL, 279
58. XXXVIII. 59 CLXXV
60 CDXXXVIII 61 CDXCVII.

Rearrangement

New Order	*Virolleaud*
I Aq, i	II D, i
I Aq, ii	II D, ii
I Aq, v	II D, v
I Aq, vi	II D, vi
II Aq, i	III D, vi
II Aq, iv	III D, i
III Aq	I D

	II D **Gordon: 2 Aqht**
I. Daniel prays for a son	i, 3–16[a]
II. Baal intercedes with El in behalf of Daniel	16[b]–34
III. El accedes to the prayer of Daniel	35–48
IV. Baal transmits El's decision to Daniel	ii, 1–8[a]
V. Daniel rejoices	8[b]–23
VI. Daniel returns home and celebrates	24–46
VII. Kôshar, the divine artisan, visits Daniel	v, 2–13[a]
VIII. Daniel and his wife regale Kôshar	13[b]–31[a]
IX. Aqhat, son of Daniel, comes into possession of a divine bow	31[b]–39
X. The goddess 'Anat encounters Aqhat	vi, 2–15
XI. 'Anat offers wealth in exchange for the bow	16–19
XII. Aqhat spurns the offer	20–25[a]
XIII. 'Anat offers immortality	25[b]–33[a]
XIV. Aqhat spurns the offer	33[b]–40
XV. 'Anat threatens reprisals	41–45
XVI. 'Anat repairs to El and complains of Aqhat's conduct	46–55

	III D **Gordon: 3 Aqht**
XVII. 'Anat importunes El to punish Aqhat	rev. 6[b]–14
XVIII. El accedes to 'Anat's demands	15–19[a]
XIX. 'Anat lures Aqhat to Qrt A-b-l-m	19[b]–32
XX. 'Anat engages her henchman Yatpan to attack Aqhat at Qrt A-b-l-m and recover the bow	obv. 5–11[a]
XXI. Yatpan suggests ambush	11[b]–15
XXII. 'Anat proposes a more strategic plan: griffons are to swoop on Aqhat while he is dining; Yatpan is to	

	be concealed among them, is to strike Aqhat unconscious, and in the general melée retrieve the bow	16–27[a]
XXIII.	The plan is executed, but Yatpan bungles his instructions and slays Aqhat	27[b]–37[a]
XXIV.	'Anat is torn with remorse and promises to revive Aqhat	37[b]–42

I D
Gordon: 1 Aqht

XXV.	Yatpan, returning to 'Anat, again fumbles and accidentally drops the bow into the waters	2–5[a]
XXVI.	'Anat is dismayed at the complete miscarriage of her plans	5[b]–19[a]
XXVII.	The murder of Aqhat causes infertility. His sister Paghat perceives this and also notices that griffons are wheeling overhead. She therefore concludes that the land has been polluted by bloodshed, and reports the matter to Daniel	19[b]–37
XXVIII.	Daniel, realizing that a murder has been committed, pronounces a solemn curse on the land	38–74
XXIX.	Daniel personally inspects the land	49–74
XXX.	Daniel learns that it is his own son Aqhat who has been murdered	75–104
XXXI.	Daniel retrieves the remains of Aqhat from the gizzards of the griffons and duly buries them	105–151[a]
XXXII.	The unknown murderer is formally cursed, in common with the city which may be giving him shelter	151[b]–169
XXXIII.	Funeral exercises are performed for Aqhat	170–188
XXXIV.	Paghat resolves to avenge Aqhat and sets out in disguise to execute her purpose	189–202
XXXV.	Paghat encounters Yatpan who, under the influence of drink, betrays his guilt	203–224

TRANSLATION

DANIEL ACQUIRES A SON

I

I i, 3–16ᵃ: Daniel, seeking the divine gift of a son, serves in the sanctuary of Baal for seven days, passing the nights in the sacred precincts.

Clothed in the (ritual) loincloth, he gives food to the gods,
Clothed in the (ritual) loincloth, he gives drink to the holy beings,
Proceeds (duly) [to his cell] and lies down,
Proceeds duly [to his cell] and passes the night.

Behold, one day and a second,
[Clothed in the (ritual) loincloth],
[Clothed in the (ritual) loincloth], Daniel gives food to the gods,
Clothed in the (ritual) loincloth, he gives drink to the holy beings.

For a third day and a fourth,
[Clothed in the (ritual) loincloth],
Clothed in the (ritual) loincloth, Daniel gives food to the gods,
Clothed in the (ritual) loincloth, he gives drink to the holy beings.

For a [fi]fth day, a sixth and a seventh,
Clothed in the (ritual) loincloth, Daniel gives food to the gods,
Clothed in the (ritual) loincloth, he gives drink to the holy beings.

(Nightly) [Dani]el proceeds to his cell,
Ascends (his couch) and lies down,
[Doffs] the (ritual) loincloth and passes the night.

I. (I i, 3–16ᵃ). What is here described is the well-known rite of *incubation*. The suppliant lodges for a few days in the precincts of the sanctuary in order to entreat the god and obtain the divine oracle in a dream or by some other manner.

Daniel is described as giving food and drink to the gods [*ilm*] and holy beings [*bn qdš*] for seven days. He performs this pious task in the capacity of "one clothed in a loincloth [*uzr*]."

The significance of the term becomes clear when we study the religious customs of the Semites: *the ritual garb of a suppliant or pilgrim was the loincloth*

Thus, in Arab usage, the standard costume of a muhrim, or pilgrim, was the *izār* (CDXCIII, 63 f.) Similarly, worshipers at the Ka'aba in Mecca wore a *raht* or *hauf* – that is, 'a girdle or short kilt slashed with thongs' (CDXXIX, 437, n. 2).

In ancient Israel, the typical raiment of an ascetic or anchorite was the *ezôr*, or loincloth, as we learn from the description of Elijah in II Kings 1 8. Analogous, as most scholars have recognized, was the linen *ephôd* (Old Assyr. *epâdâtu*ᵐ, "wrap"), which was not only the official uniform of the priests (Exodus 25.7, I Sam. 14.3; 22 18, etc.) but which is said expressly in I Sam. 2.18 to have been worn by the young Samuel *when he served as an acolyte in the sanctuary at Shiloh* Note, too, that David is said in II Sam. 6.14 to have worn the linen *ephôd* while performing religious exercises.

II

I i, 16b–34. Baal intercedes with the supreme god El to grant Daniel a son and heir.

Then, on the seventh day,
Baal accedes to his supplication, (saying):

So great, indeed, was the importance attached to the special raiment of votaries that, according to II Kings 10.22, the clothes of the worshipers of Baal of Tyre in Samaria were provided out of a special wardrobe. Similarly, both Silus Italicus (III, 23 f) and Herodian (V, 5.10) state explicitly that worshipers at Phoenician shrines were required to wear special dress (cf. CCLXXXVII, 312), while a similar rule applied to persons consulting the oracles of Trophonios at Delphi, in Greece (Pausanias IX, 39, Livy XXIII, 11). Moreover, Yakut II, 108.7 ff. (= Goldziher, WZKM 16 [1902], 138, n. 8) relates the following.

A man of the tribe of Kinda lost some camels which had strayed So he went to the god Jalsad and asked for two pieces of clothing from the garments of the keepers of the sanctuary These he rented and put on This was the regular usage of the pagan Arabs

The term "clothed in a loincloth" is thus seen to have special point. It indicates the precise capacity in which Daniel served in the sacred precincts for seven days.

The custom of *incubation* was widespread in the religious life of the ancient Near East. An excellent example of it among the Hebrews is afforded by I Sam. 3 – the story of the infant Samuel at the sanctuary of Shiloh Equally striking is the familiar story of Jacob's dream at Bethel (Gen 28.10–22), while attention may also be drawn to Numbers 22 8, where Balaam, the Syrian seer, tells the envoys of King Balak to *"lodge here this night,* and I shall report to you as YHWH shall speak unto me." This might suggest that he practised the rite of incubation. (Jirku, ZAW 33 [1913], 151–53, finds many other instances in the Old Testament, but most of them scarcely carry conviction.)

For Babylonian examples, see CLIVa, ii, 254.

For Hittite evidence, cf. KUB VII 5 IV, 1 ff. Note also that Mursilis II refers to the rite of "incubation in a state of purity [*suppaya seskiskanzi*]" as a means of seeking divine aid in removing a plague (II XI 5 = Goetze, KlF 1 [1929], 161–251, CLV, 152–53, CLXXI, 139–40).

It has also been suggested that the verb *t-l-l,* lit. "to shelter, bivouac," so frequent in the Safaitic inscriptions, really refers to incubation (CXIX, 165, 179, 210, etc.), while Grimme has sought (ZDMG, N.F. 12 [1934], 194) to read this sense into the word *n-m,* "he slumbered," which he would recognize in the enigmatic proto-Hebrew inscriptions from Serabit al Ḥadim in Sinai. This last, however, is very doubtful.

The custom was also common in the Graeco-Roman world ; see Melibomius, *De incubatione in fanis deorum medicinae causa olim facta* (Helmst. 1659); von Rittersheim, G., *Der medizinische Wunderglaube und die Inkubation im Altertum* (Berlin 1878), Deubner, L., *De incubatione* (Leipzig 1909) On incubation at Delphi, cf. CCCLXXVI[3], II, 58, n. 1. On the same custom in the temple of Asklepios at Lebena, Crete, see Kaibel, EG, No. 839. See also CLXXXVIII, 928 ff. On modern survivals in Greece, cf. CDIIIa, 77 f

II (I i, 16b–34). The location of H-r-n-m, the city whence Daniel hails, is uncertain. Not impossibly, it is to be identified with the Syrian '-r-n-m mentioned

"[Dani]el the Rapheite is filled with grief,
The H-r-n-m-ite hero with sighs,
For that he hath no son like his brethren,
Neither scion like his kinsmen.
No son hath he like his brethren,
Neither scion like his kin.

Clothed in the (ritual) loincloth, he keeps giving food to the gods,
Clothed in the (ritual) loincloth, keeps giving drink to the holy beings.

So bless him, O El, thou Bull-god, my sire,
Be gracious unto him, O Creator of all creatures,
That there be a son of his in (his) house,
A scion within his palace;
One who may set up the statues of his departed ancestors,
Who may . . . his (departed) kinsfolk in the sanctuary,
Who may make his smoke to go forth from the ground,
Who may guard his place upon earth,
Who may quash(?) all slander levelled against him,
Who may drive away any that would assail his guests,
Who may hold his hand when he is drunken,
Support him when he is full with wine,
Who may eat (for him) his slice in the house of Baal,
[Consume] (for him) his portion in the house of El,
Who may plaster his roof when it rains,
Who may wash his clothes when they are soiled."

III

I, i, 35–48. El accedes to the request.

Thereupon El grasps his servant [by the hand],
Blesses [Danie]l the Rapheite,
Shows grace to the [H-r-]n-m-ite [hero], (saying):
"Let Daniel the Rapheite be revived in spirit,
The H-r-n-m-ite hero in soul,
. . . . . he . . . . . .

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in the Egyptian *Poem on the Battle of Kadesh* (*AR*, iii, 139, §310). Dhorme (*Syria* 18 [1937], 106, n. 2) compares Beth Haran, in Gad, mentioned in Num. 32.36. This, however, is precarious, because the parallel passage in Jos. 13.27 has Beth Hara*M*, and Josephus (*Ant.* xviii, 11.1) calls it Bêtharamphthâ. Nor is it necessary to assume, with Dhorme, that the ending *-m* points to a dual form, for the name may follow the pattern of Heb. 'Etam (Ju. 15.8, etc.), on which see Bauer, ZAW, N.F. 7 (1930), 77.

Daniel is also called "the Rapheite" (*mt Rpi*, vocalization tentative). The name R-p-' may be compared – onomastically, but not geographically – with the biblical Beth Rapha, in Judah, and perhaps also with that of the Rephaîm, pre-Israelitic inhabitants of Palestine who seem to have been concentrated especially in Bashan and Se'ir (cf. Gen. 14.5, Deut. 2.11, Jos. 12.4, etc.).

Let [Daniel] ascend his couch;
By reason of his kiss, let his wife [be brought to labor];
By reason of his ardent embrace, let her [con]ceive and bear.
. . . . . .
So shall there be a son of his [in (his) house],
[A scion] within his palace,
[Who may set up the statues of his de]parted ancestors,
[Who may . . . . his (departed) kinsfolk] in the sanctuary,
Who may make [his smoke] to go forth [from the grou]nd,
[Who may gua]rd his place [upon earth],
[Who may quash (?) all slander levelled against him],
[Who may drive] away any that would assail [his guests],"

* * *

IV

I, ii 1–8ª. Baal transmits El's decision to Daniel.

* * *

"[There shall be a son of thine in (thy) house],
[A scion of thine within thy palace],
[One who may set up the statues of thy departed ancestors],
Who may . . [. . thy (departed) kinsfolk in the sanctuary],
[Who may make thy smoke to go forth from the ground],
Who may [gu]ard [thy place] upon earth,
Who may quash (?) all slander levelled against thee,
Who may drive away [any that would assail thy guests],
Who may eat (for thee) thy slice in the house of [Baal],
[Who may consume (for thee) thy portion] in the house of El,
Who may hold thy hand when [thou art drunken],
Support thee when thou art full with wine,
Who may [plaster] thy roof when it rains,
Who may wash thy clothes when they are soiled."

V

I, ii 8ᵇ–23. Daniel rejoices at the news.

Daniel's mien is cheered,
His countenance is all a-glow.

II–V (I i, 16ᵇ–ii, 23). The sanctuary in which Daniel performed his service was evidently that of Baal; and it is, indeed, in the archives of that god's temple at Ras Shamra-Ugarit that our poem was discovered. It is for this reason that Baal is represented as conveying his suppliant's request to El. Indeed, it is to be observed that throughout the Ugaritic texts El occupies the position of what anthropologists have called "the remote high god," whereas Baal is the demiurge, who actually rules over gods and men and who ranks as the more prominent figure in cult and myth.

He puts away all grief and laughs,
Places his feet on the footstool,
Lifts his voice and cries:

"I shall now have rest again,
And repose shall lie in my breast,
For that a son is to be born unto me as unto my brethren,
A scion as unto my kinsmen;
One who may set up the statues of my departed ancestors,
Who may . . . my (departed) kinsfolk in the sanctuary,
⟨Who may make my smoke to go forth from the ground,*⟩

* This line is accidentally omitted on the tablet

In order to interpret this passage correctly, it is necessary first to understand its literary structure. The duties of a son are enumerated in six couplets each of which deals with a different aspect of them. The couplets are arranged in logical sequence. The poet starts with the primary duty of commemorating family ancestors ("setting up statues of one's departed ancestors"), thereby perpetuating the tradition of the household. This leads naturally to the duty of protecting one's immediate homestead ("guarding one's father's place . . .") and of maintaining security or – as we should say – "keeping the home fires burning" ("causing his smoke to ascend from the ground"). Concomitant therewith is the duty of defending the family name from slander and of protecting its guests. Next comes the homely – and universal! – duty of "steering daddy from the tavern" ("holding his hand in drunkenness, supporting him when he is full with wine"). Then, mention is made of a son's obligation to act as proxy for his father in the discharge of those religious duties neglect of which would 'cut him off from his people' ("seeing that his tithes are presented in the house of Baal," etc.). Finally, the poet refers to the menial chores which a son must perform for his father's personal comfort ("plastering the roof when it rains, laundering his clothes when they are soiled").

In each couplet, the second hemistich parallels or complements the first, both in sense and in grammatical structure. Observation of this fact provides a valuable and reliable guide to the meaning (which is often elusive) and, incidentally, it eliminates several of the interpretations previously advanced.

Many of the filial duties here enumerated can be illustrated from other sources.

1. The duty of erecting stelae or statues to departed ancestors – which would include the father himself – is well illustrated by II Samuel 18.18 where Absalom is said to have erected a monument to himself during his lifetime "because, (said he), I have no son to commemorate my name." Similarly, in the inscription of Bar-Rekub of Sama'l (745–727 B C , LXXVI, 62 16–20) we are told expressly: "I set up this pillar to my father . . . in front of my father Panamuwa's tomb, and it is a memorial of him." Illuminating also in this connection is the statement of the Phoenician mythographer Sanchuniathon (ed. Orelli, p. 18) that when the demi-gods Ousoos and Hypsouranios died, "their survivors . . adored the stelae and celebrated annual festivals in their honor."

Typical examples of such commemorative stelae may be found in CIS I 58 and 60 (from Kition, Cyprus), while on the subject in general, see LXXV, 19–20.

Of particular interest is the word used in the original to denote "ancestral

Who may guard [my] place upon earth,
Who may quash (?) all slander levelled against me,
Who may drive away any that would assail my guests,
Who may hold my hand when I am drunken,
Support me when I am full with wi[ne],

---

spirit, departed ancestor," viz. *ilib*. The first part of this word is the familiar *il*, "god, numen", the second has been brilliantly connected by Albright (VI, 203, n. 31) with the obscure Hebrew *'ôb*, which means properly "ghost, *revenant*" (cp. Arabic *'āba*, "return," and cp. the Old Norse term *aptrgânga* and the Danish *gienfard, gienganger*, "returner" in the sense of "spectre, ghost", CLXXXV, 915). If this identification is correct, it is interesting to note that in the story of the Witch of Endor (I Sam. 28) that sorceress is described as a *ba'alath 'ôb*, i.e. "one in control of a revenant (*'ôb*)" and the spirits which she evokes as *'elohîm*, i.e. "gods, numina" (vv. 7, 13).

The precise significance of the parallel expression in this first couplet is obscure, because the meaning of the crucial verb (*ztr*) is unknown Obviously, it refers to something done *in the sanctuary* and necessarily in connection with the cult of ancestors. A clue may perhaps be found by reference to commemorative usages in other parts of the Semitic world. The Babylonian text CT XVI, pl. 10, v. 10–14 prescribes three duties towards the dead, viz. (i) "pronouncing the name" (*zakar šume*); (ii) "offering food" (*kasap kispi*); and (iii) "pouring water" (*naq mê*). Similarly, in the Hadad inscription from Zenjirli (LXXVI, 61 14–18) the erection of a statue, the proffering of food and drink, and the pronouncing of the name are mentioned as three collateral duties which a son owes to his deceased father. Now, from II Samuel 18.18 (the incident of Absalom's pillar) we know that the erection of the statue and the pronouncing (*z-k-r*) of the name were considered as virtually one ceremony. The latter, therefore, would be covered in our text by the single phrase "one who may set up the statues of his deceased ancestors." Accordingly, the supplementary clause, "who may . . . his (departed) kinsfolk in the sanctuary" may reasonably refer to *the proffering of food and drink.*

2. The second item in the catalog of filial duties is that of guarding the home and maintaining its security.

The first clause defines the dutiful son as "one who makes his (father's) smoke to issue from the earth." This has been generally explained as referring to the burning of incense in funerary rites. The structure of the passage, however, demands that the words be parallel in sense to the immediately succeeding clause, "one who guards his place upon earth." We therefore suggest that they are nothing but the equivalent of our own "keep the home fires burning." In support of this is the fact that the *extinguishing* of household fires (or lamps) is a common metaphor in Hebrew for domestic or personal misfortune; compare, for example, Job 18 5–6: "The light of the wicked is put out, and the spark of his fire doth not shine, the light in his tent is darkened, and his lamp above him is put out", ib. 21 17· "Dimmed is the light of the wicked"; Proverbs 13.9, 24 20: "The lamp of the wicked is put out"; ib. 31.18. the virtuous woman's "lamp is not extinguished at night", ib. 20.20: "Whoso curseth his father or his mother, his lamp shall be put out"; II Samuel 21.17. "Then David's men sware unto him,

Who may eat (for me) my slice in the house of Baal,
Who may [consume] (for me) my [portion] in the house of El,
Who may plaster my roof when it rains,
Who may wash my clothes when they are soiled."

---

saying, Thou shalt go no more out with us to battle, that thou quench not the lamp of Israel." Similarly, in Arabic idiom, the *extinction of a light* is a synonym for disaster (CDVIIa, 440 f.) Conversely, then, the maintenance of the household fires implies the preservation of the home.

3. The third couplet refers to the duty of defending one's father's reputation and honor. The first hemistich is philologically difficult, and a variety of interpretations have been proposed. It is evident, however, that it must provide a parallel to the second, wherein is prescribed the duty of "expelling him who steals up under cover of darkness against him who lodges with him (i.e. the father) overnight." As is well known, such violation of hospitality is regarded in the East as the supreme dishonor. Hence, what is here indicated is not so much the protection of the guest as the defense of the host from such shame and obloquy. (After all, it is the duty of the son to his father, not to his father's guests, that is the theme of this passage.) Accordingly, the obscure first hemistich must likewise refer to the obligation of championing one's father's reputation.

4. The fourth couplet is plain sailing. another of the son's duties is to bring his father home when he is in his cups – the familiar task of all dutiful offspring everywhere!

Cassuto and Ginsberg have found an excellent illustration of this in the words addressed to Jerusalem in Isaiah 51.17–18:

Thou hast drunken from YHWH's hand
the cup of his wrath,
The goblet of reeling
hast thou drunken, yea, drained.
There is none to lead her (home)
of all the sons she hath born,
And none to grasp her hand
of all the sons she hath reared!

5. The fifth of the filial duties enumerated is that of serving as proxy for one's father in religious ceremonies. A son may substitute for him at sacrificial feasts. The relevant words mean literally "Eat his slice in the house of Baal, consume his portion in the house of El" and refer, of course, to participation in communal sacrifices or sacraments. The words are to be explained in the light of the ancient and primitive belief that partaking of the sacrificial meal symbolized and ensured relationship with the god and at the same time cemented the ties of the kindred. He who failed to do so was automatically 'cut off from his people' (as in the case of the Israelitic paschal meal). Accordingly, it was of advantage to a man to have a son who could deputize for him in his old age or in the event of unavoidable absence and thus "represent the family." See the classic discussion of Semitic commensality by Robertson Smith, in CDXXIX, 217, 236 ff.

These lines are well illustrated by I Samuel 1.3–4, which describes how Elkanah, the father of Samuel, "used to go up annually from his city to worship

VI

I, ii 24–38. Daniel goes home and celebrates.

Daniel repairs to his house,
Daniel betakes himself to his palace.

Artistes now enter his house,
Daughters of melody, swallows.

Then Daniel the Rapheite,
Thereupon the H-r-n-m-ite hero,
Slaughters an ox for the artistes;
Gives the artistes to eat,
And the daughters of melody, the swallows, to drink.

Behold, for one day and a second
He [gives] the artistes to eat,
And the daughters of melody, the swallows, to dr[i]nk.

Behold, for a third day and a fo[urth]
He gives the artistes to eat,
And the daughters of melody, the swallows, to drink.

For a fifth day and a sixth
He gives the artistes to eat,
And the daughters of melody, the swallows, to drink.

Then, on the seventh day,
The artistes depart from his house,
The daughters of melody, the swallows.

---

and celebrate a sacrificial meal unto YHWH S°baôt in Shiloh," and how, on such occasions, he used to distribute "portions," sc. of the sacrifice, among the members of his family. (The same term — *mnt* — is used in the original as in our text.)

6. Lastly, it is the duty of a son to attend to such menial chores as may promote his father's personal comfort. He must "plaster the roof when it rains" and "launder his clothes when they are soiled." This requires no comment.

VI (I ii, 24–46). This scene is illustrated completely by modern Arab usage, where the birth of a child is marked by a 7-day celebration at which the guests are entertained by female singers and musicians (*'awálim* or *ghawázī*), cf. CCLXVII, ch. XXVII.

The songstresses are called *kôṯārât*, a name which properly combines the twin notions of "artisan" and "artist." It is from the same root that Kôsh/ṯar, the divine smith and handyman, derives his name, and it is significant that, according to Sanchuniathon, that god was the discoverer not only of iron and smelting but also of literary composition and song.*

* See Comm., *Baal*, §XIV.

I, ii 39–46. Daniel's son Aqhat is begotten and born.

[Spread is] the lovely [royal] couch,
The beautiful, princely marriage-bed.

Then Daniel goes counting his months:
One month [goes by and a second],
A third and a fourth . . .
. . . . . months

. . . . departs . . . . .

* * *

AQHAT ACQUIRES THE DIVINE BOW

VII

I v, 2–13a. Kôshar ("Sir Adroit"), the divine artisan, comes from his forge in Egypt bearing a consignment of bows destined for the use of the gods and goddesses.

(*Loquitur Kôshar.*)

* * *

"Bows I carry by the dozen,

It is noteworthy also that the ancient Hebrew tradition embodied in Gen. 4 21 represents "the father of all such as handle the harp and pipe" to have been a certain JUBAL, whose name connects with the root *w-b-l/b-l-l* (cp Accad. *bullulu*), "to found, smelt," and who was the half-brother of TUBAL-QAIN, "the forger of every cutting instrument of brass and iron" (cp. *w-b-l/b-l-l* and Ar. *qayin*, "smith"!)

The *kôṯārât* are described as "swallows" (*snnt*) and as "daughters of the loud cry" (*bnt hll*). The former expression is directly comparable with the English use of "nightingale" or "thrush" to denote a prima donna. The latter, it may be suggested, was not just an epithet for a sweet singer, but likewise properly denoted "songbirds," on the analogy of the Hebrew *b'nôt ha-šîr*, "daughters of song" = "birds," in Ecclesiastes 12.4. This is supported by the fact that in Arabic, the word *muhelhel* from the same root is the popular name for the Roller (Coracias garrulus, Linn.), with which in turn Campbell Thompson (JRAS 1924, 258 f.) would identify the *allallu* of the Gilgamesh Epic, who keeps crying *kappi*.

The suggestion is further supported by the fact that in the Canaanite Poem of Keret (C i 5) women who sing joyful songs are termed *srrt*, a name which may be connected, in similar fashion, with the Accadian *sursurru*, "cricket, katydid," and with Heb. and Arabic *s-r-s-r*, "to chirrup." So, too, the two priestesses who impersonate Isis and Nephthys and mourn for Osiris in the annual mysteries in Egypt are termed *ḏrt y*, "the two kites" (Faulkner, JEA 22 [1936], 132; XCIII, 42).

VII (I v, 2–13a). From the concluding words of the preceding passage ("Daniel goes counting his months . . .") it is clear that a period of time has elapsed. Aqhat is now a grown youth, old enough to handle a bow. This scene describes how he received one. Since it is, in a sense, the crucial scene of the poem, and since the entire plot hinges upon it, it is especially important that it be understood correctly.

Arcs by the score!"*

Then, behold, on the sev[enth] day,
There is Danıel the Rapheite,
There is the H-r-n-m-ite hero,
Sitting high enthroned at the gate,
Next to the granaries which are beside the threshing-floor,
Judging the cause of widows,

* *Lıt* "I carry eightfold bows, I quadruple arcs."

The bow whıch Aqhat acquires ıs no ordınary bow, as the majorıty of commentators have assumed.* The whole poınt ıs that *ıt is a divine bow* wıthdrawn from a stock whıch the artısan god Kôshar was carryıng to the gods.

Only on this ınterpretatıon does the whole sequence of events make sense, and only thus does the present episode fall ınto place as an integral element of the story. For, ın the first place, ıf the bow had been such as any youth or huntsman might have possessed, there would have been no poınt ın ıntroducıng Kôshar as the presenter of ıt, Aqhat could just as well have acquıred such a bow through less exalted channels. As ıt is, however, the very presence of Kôshar shows that the bow was dıvıne, for Kôshar was the Canaanıte Hephaistos (see Comm , *Baal,* §XIV) and, like his Greek counterpart, one of his functıons was to forge weapons for the gods (cf. I vi, 24–25) Secondly, ıt is only on thıs basis that 'Anat's subsequent eagerness to recover the bow becomes at all ıntelligıble. If it had been an ordinary one, and her motive had been merely to forestall a potentıal rıval in the chase, thıs would have been quıte absurd, sınce – a poınt strangely overlooked by previous commentators – even if Aqhat had been forced to surrender ıt, he could readıly have acquıred another. The same would hold true also ıf her motive had been mere covetousness, why should she covet a plebeıan bow when she presumably possessed a divine one? Besıdes, there would have been thousands of other mortals who also owned such bows. Once we realıze, however, that *the bow was of dıvıne character and that by retaınıng it Aqhat was in fact depriving 'Anat of it,* all becomes clear: the goddess ıs naturally ındıgnant at the manner ın whıch a mere mortal dares to rob her of what ıs, ın fact, the characteristic perquısıte of her office, she being the Canaanite Artemıs.

The scene opens with what are evidently the last words of a speech delıvered by Kôshar. He declares that he is "carrying bows by the dozen." It may be supposed that ın the large gap whıch separates thıs passage from the precedıng the scene shıfted from earthly affaırs of Daniel to events in the abode of the gods. It was, we may assume, ın response to some dıvıne order that Kôshar now came speedıng from hıs forge ın Egypt laden wıth bows destıned for the gods.

It was a long journey, descrıbed – by a formula regularly employed ın such cases – as coverıng "a thousand tracts, ten thousand acres." Kôshar travelled for a whole week, for our text says expressly that ıt was on the seventh day that he fell in with Daniel.

Meanwhile Daniel was sitting "at the gate, beside the threshıng-floors which are next to the granary," exercising the functions of a judge or kaḍı. In terms

* Engnell, CXXXII, 137–38, supposes that the bow was delivered to Aqhat "for the purpose of gettıng oracles" – presumably by the method known to the Arabs as *qasm* [cf CDXC, 132 f.] – but there ıs not a word of thıs in the text

Dispensing justice to orphans,
When, lifting his eyes, he espies
Sir Adroit coming along
From a journey of a thousand acres,
Ten thousand tracts.
He catches sight, yea, he catches sight
Of Sir Cunning speeding nigh.
There he is carrying bows,
Bearing arcs by the dozen.

VIII

I v, 13^b–31^a: Daniel and his wife entertain Kôshar and, as a customary mark of respect to their guest, present offerings to the gods of his country.

Then Daniel the Rapheite,
Thereupon the H-r-n-m-ite hero
Calls loudly to his wife:

"Hearken, Mistress Danatiya,

---

reminiscent of the Old Testament (cf. Deut. 10.18, Is. 1.17, Ps. 68.6), he is said to have been "judging the cause of the widow, administering justice to the orphan."

All this follows common Semitic usage. From numerous references in the Old Testament (e g. Deut. 21.19, 22.24, I Kings 23 8; Isaiah 29.21; Amos 5.12; Zech. 8.16; Prov. 22 22, Job 31.21) we know that the gate of the city, a natural place of concourse, was the spot where magistrates dispensed justice (cf. Smith, PEQ 78 [1946], 5–14). So too in ancient Babylon, judicial decisions were rendered at the gates of Shamash, Nin-Gal and other deities (CCCVI, Nos. 43, 78, 100, etc.). In rural communities, the same rôle was played by the threshing-floor. Situated "in a low-lying, treeless place, just outside the village," it served – and still serves – as a kind of plaza, the scene not only of weddings and funerals but also of many other communal ceremonies (cf. Wetzstein, ZE 5 [1873], 273 ff.; CDXCIII, 1–11). Hence, it too became a natural place for the settling of legal disputes (cf. Hirschfeld, JRAS 1919, 254). Pertinent and illuminating in this connection is the statement in I Kings 22.10: "Then the king of Israel and Jehosaphat, the king of Judah, sate each on his throne, robed in (regal) vestments, at the threshing-floor, at the entrance of the gate of Samaria."

VIII (I v, 13^b–31^a). As soon as Daniel catches sight of Kôshar, he calls to his wife and bids her dress "a sheep from the flock" for the regalement of the passing guest.

This, too, is in conformity with established Semitic practice, and is best illustrated by a passage in Robertson Smith's informative "Journey to the Hedjaz" in which that scholar observes that "among the Bedouins the slaughter of a sheep

Set a lamb from the flock
Before Sir Adroit-and-Cunning for refreshment,
Before Sir Expert, the artisan, for regalement.
(Moreover,) give food and drink to the gods,
Pay honor and make your respects unto them,
The lords of the whole of great Memphis!"*

Mistress Danatiya obeys,
She sets a lamb from the flock
For the refreshment of Sir Adroit-and-Cunning,
For the regalement of Sir Expert, the artisan.

Then, after Sir Adroit-and-Cunning has (duly) arrived,
He places one of the bows in the hand of Daniel,
Places one of the arcs on the latter's lap.
Then Mistress Danatiya
Proceeds to give food and drink to the gods,
To pay honor and make her respects unto them,
The lords of the whole of great Memphis.

* In the original *Hqpt*, which is a distortion of the Egyptian *h t k*; *Pth*, "sanctuary [soul-house] of Ptah," the regular name for Memphis, from which derives the word "Egypt."

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takes place only on festive occasions or *on the arrival of a guest"* (CDXXXVIII, 527.)

Daniel's wife is also instructed to prepare food and drink for the gods and thereby to pay respects to "the lords (*ba'alim*) of great Memphis." Memphis in Egypt was the seat of the artisan-god Ptah, with whom Kôshar is here equated. Hence, the meaning is that not only the guest himself but also his native deities are to be regaled. This is to be explained from the fact that, in ancient Semitic usage, all meals involved sacrifice, the gods being thought to join the human company as members of the clan (CDXXIX, 241, CDXC, 117). Hence, when persons of different clans or groups sat down to a repast together, it was necessary that the host provide fare not only for his own deities but also for those of his guest. We shall see later (§XXXV) that when Yatpan, the hatchet-man employed by 'Anat, entertains Paghat, the sister of Aqhat, he punctiliously observes the same custom; for in proffering drink he remarks expressly: "Let our gods also drink of the wine, even the god of . . . (and) the god who owns the territory."

Daniel's wife is called Mṯt Dnty. The best translation of this name is simply "Mrs. Daniel." Two passages in the Poem of Keret (A.143, 289), where Ḥ-r-y (Ḥôriya), the daughter of King P-b-l, is called *Mṯt Ḥry*, prove that the former word is nothing but a title meaning approximately "lady, mistress"; while the occurrence of a masculine counterpart *mṯ* in V AB, D 45 with the apparent sense of "lad, male child," all but confirms the interpretation, even though the etymology be still obscure. As for the name Dnty (Danatiya, or the like), this is simply a concocted feminine counterpart of Daniel, with the characteristic feminine suffix *-y* (*-iya*).

IX

I v, 31b–39: Aqhat comes into possession of the bow

(Eventually) Sir Adroit departs for his tent
Sir Expert departs for his dwelling.
Then Daniel the Rapheite,
Thereupon the H-r-n-m-ite hero,
Flexes the bow [and ben]ds (it).
As he bends it, aiming it at Aqhat, [he cries:]
"The firstfruits of thy hunting, my son,
. . . . the firstfruits of thy hunting,
Behold, ... the game
[Do thou remember always to set] in his temple!"*

'ANAT TRIES TO RECOVER THE BOW

X

I vi, 2–15· Aqhat is now a grown youth. One day the goddess 'Anat encounters him They eat and drink together, and 'Anat seeks to recover the bow.

The opening lines of this passage are too fragmentary to be translated with confidence. They contain a description of eating and drinking and a statement that 'Anat eyed the burnished bow which "gleamed like light-

* Or, "their temples" (reading *bhklh*[*m*] instead of *bhklh* .)

IX (I v, 31b–39). After the departure of his visitor, Daniel flexes the bow and points it in the direction of Aqhat, at the same time showing him how to use it.* In doing so, he reminds him always to bring the first "bag" to the god (or, gods), placing it as an offering in his (or, their) temple.

Of special interest here are the technical terms employed. The word used for "first bag" (*pr'*) is the common expression in South Arabian inscriptions for *firstlings which are brought in tribute to the gods* (e.g. CIH 352:21). Obviously, it has the same meaning here. Similarly, the word used for "game" (*sd*) recurs in the sacrificial tariffs from Marseilles and Carthage as the name of a *special type of offering* connected, curiously enough, with the *presentation of firstfruits* (*qdmt*) and it also appears, in the form *msd*, in the same sense in Keret A 79, 171. The subsequent clear reference to "his (or, their?) temple (or, temples?)" confirms the interpretation here advanced and shows that Daniel is alluding to established sacrificial usage.

X (I vi, 2–15). There is a gap of about 20 lines between the last preserved words of the preceding passage and the beginning of this one. Aqhat is now in full possession of the bow, and the present scene describes how the goddess 'Anat seeks to retrieve it.

* Following the reading and interpretation of Montgomery, JAOS 56 (1936), 441

ning" and became desperately anxious to recover it. With "serpent heart hid with a flowering face,"* she endeavored to tempt Aqhat into giving it up.

* Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, Act III, Scene II, 72

We have already discussed the general reason for the attitude and action of the goddess: the bow was of divine character and had evidently been designed for her specifically. She was therefore anxious to recover the property of which she had been so cavalierly deprived. It is not improbable, however, that the motive of jealously also came into play. 'Anat was, after all, the goddess of the chase, and it will be recalled that one of the gifts which her Classical counterpart Artemis requested of Zeus was, specifically, a silver bow (Callimachus, *Hymn* III), subsequently fashioned – according to tradition – by the artisan Hephaistos (Hyginus, *fab.* 140), counterpart of Kôshar in our poem. Accordingly, Aqhat's possession of the divine weapon would have made him virtually her equal and thus have threatened her status and supremacy. Moreover, it is noteworthy that when, later in the story (§XVIII), El characterizes the offense of Aqhat, he describes him expressly as the would-be "defrauder" (*m'qb*) of 'Anat, while it should also be borne in mind that the offense for which the huntsman Orion was punished by Artemis in the analogous classical myth was – according to Ovid and other writers – that of boasting that he was her equal in the chase (see above, Introduction, §4).

In order to accomplish her purpose, 'Anat resorts to typical feminine wiles; she endeavors to bribe the youth.

The scene opens with some badly mutilated lines (2–10) which may be restored from parallel passages elsewhere (notably I*AB, iv 11 ff.) as a description of feasting and carousal. There is mention of "cutting up (or, flaying) a fatling" and of drinking wine and "the blood of trees" out of gold and silver cups.

The vestige of the first two lines seem to accord with a formula of invitation ("Ho, eat of the viands, and ho, drink of the foaming wine Greetings!") at the beginning of the *Poem of Dawn and Sunset*

It is therefore apparent that 'Anat's overtures are made after she and Aqhat have been wining and dining, i.e. at a time when he might be supposed to be peculiarly susceptible to such approaches.

The next lines (11–15) are likewise poorly preserved. Hence, any detailed interpretation is necessarily tentative. The general drift, however, is reasonably clear: the goddess eyes the bodily beauty of the youth and conceives the design of accomplishing her purpose by means of seduction.

This interpretation is based on the fact that 'Anat is said to "lift her eyes and behold" something called *ksl* – the normal meaning of which is "loin" – gleaming like lightning, and thereupon to "lift her skirt from the ground." It would appear, however, that covetousness as well as passion entered into the picture, for, if Ginsberg's interpretation is correct, one of the more obscure clauses in this passage seems to mean "She grew passionately desirous of the bow"

Ginsberg denies altogether that there is here any allusion to sexual attraction or attempted seduction He thinks that the word *kesel* should here be combined with the Arabic *kisl* "bowstring," and that the words which we have rendered "she lifts her skirt from the ground" [*lars kst tšrm*] really mean "she casts the goblets to the ground," sc. in fury or excitement The fact is, however, that seduction of the virile hero and the rebuff by him of the goddess who would entice him is a common theme of ancient Near

14 Her [mi]nd is twisted like a serpent;

. . . . . .

15 She lifts her skirt from the ground.

XI

I vi, 16–19. The goddess offers wealth in exchange for the bow.

[Then lifts she her voice and] cries:
Hearken, pray, [O valiant Aqhat],
[Ch]oose silver, and I will give (it) thee,
[Gold, and I will best]ow (it) on thee,
But let ['Anat possess thy] bow,
Y-b-m-t L-i-m-m* thine [ar]c!"

XII

I vi, 20–25α. But Aqhat spurns the offer.

But the valiant Aqhat replies:

"Strong are the birches(?) from Lebanon,

* Another name of 'Anat, of uncertain meaning

Eastern mythology (cf. the stories of Bitis in Egypt, Gilgamesh in Babylonia, Kombabos in Syria, etc., see Albright, JBL 37 (1918), 116 ff.) Moreover, a scene in which a goddess is shown lifting her skirts before a male onlooker is common on Syrian seals c 1700–1200 B.C. (CDLXXXI, ch 50; CXLIII, 270 ff, CCCLXVII, 36–37)

XI (I, vi, 16–19). Accompanying a gesture of temptation, 'Anat promises the youth wealth and immortality if he will yield the bow.

The incident strongly recalls the scene in the Babylonian Epic of Gilgamesh (VI i 6 ff) wherein the goddess Ishtar attempts similarly to seduce the hero:

> When thou enterest our house,
> threshold and stoop shall kiss thy feet
> Beneath thee shall kings, lords and princes fall
> Thy she-goats shall bring forth abundantly,
> thy ewes bear twins,
> thine asses shall be each as big as a mule;
> thy chariot-horses shall be renowned for speed;
> thy yoked mules shall have no equal.

It may be suggested that the incident related in our text is represented on a Syrian cylinder seal an impression of which is now in the Walters Art Gallery at Baltimore (No. 52, cf. Cyrus Gordon's catalogue in *'Iraq* 6 (1939), 17, No. 39), which shows a warrior holding a bow, confronted by a goddess. (In the field are the nude females and various emblems typical of "Syro-Cappadocian" glyptic art.)

XII (I, vi 20–25α). Aqhat, however, resists these overtures and blandly retorts that if what the goddess wants is a bow, there are plenty of sturdy trees in the

Strong are the tendons from wild bulls,
Strong are the horns from mountain-goats,
The sinews from the hocks of bulls,
Strong, too, are the reeds in the vast marshes;
Give (of them, then,) to Sir Adroit-and-Cunning,
That he may make a bow for thee,
Yea, an arc for Y-b-m-t L-i-m-m!"

XIII

I vi, 25b–33a. 'Anat presses her demand and offers immortality.

Howbeit, the Virgin 'Anat replies:

"Choose life, O valiant Aqhat,
Choose life, and I will give (it) thee,
Immortality, and I will bestow (it) on thee;
I will make thee to count years like Baal;
Thou shalt number months like the gods.
Behold how Baal lives:
He is fêted and plied with drink;
They make music and sing sweet strains over him,
And they indite him!
Even such a life will I straightway grant (thee), O valiant Aqhat!"

Lebanon and plenty of wild oxen (*rumm*) and mountain goats (*y'lm*) to provide the necessary wood, horn and gut for making one. All she has to do is to procure these materials and hand them over (*tn*) to Kôshar who will readily be able to make one for her.*

The interpretation of these lines – completely misunderstood in the *editio princeps* – is due to Albright and Mendenhall (JNES 2 [1942], 227 ff.), though we had already achieved much the same explanation independently. What is described is the construction of a composite bow. This weapon was widely used throughout the ancient Near East, and is still used today. Examples have been found aplenty in Egyptian tombs, and according to Herodotus (I 73), it was the favorite weapon of the Egyptians. It is "made of layers of wood, horn and sinew glued together" (XLV, 47).

XIII (I vi, 25b–33a). In order further to persuade Aqhat to yield, 'Anat paints a glowing picture of the blissful life he would then lead. He would enjoy immortality, to "count years like Baal and months like the gods," and, like those divine beings, he would pass the time in unending carousal and merriment, fêted and regaled with music and song.

These lines are best illustrated by the parallel passage in the *Poem of Baal* (V

* However, the words *tn lKṯr yb'l* [= *yp'l*] may mean no more than "let Kôshar make"; see Goetze, JBL 60 (1941), 366, n. 71.

XIV

I vi, 33b–40: But again Aqhat spurns the offer.

But Aqhat the valiant replies:

"Young lady, spin me no fancy tales,
Seeing that unto an adult
Thy fancy tales are but rubbish!
What is it that a mortal acquires as (his) future?

AB, A 4 ff.) which describes the festal scene at the installation of that god and the language of which corresponds closely to that of our text:

> Here they go . . ing and offering him viands,
> there they [illegible]ing him and plying him with drink,
> gobl[illegible]ands,
> jars by [illegible]housand he receives
> wine i[illegible] thousand portions he mixes.
> Wh[illegible]e is mixing it,
> a sweet-voiced stripling stands chanting and singing
> a pleasant strain to the tune of the cymbals,
> singing over Baal in the Height of the North!

This picture of paradisal bliss is echoed in Psalm 36.8–9:

> YHWH, how precious is Thy grace!
> Gods and men alike
> take refuge in the shadow of Thy wings!
> They are sated with the richness of Thy house,
> and of the stream of Thy luxuries Thou givest them to drink;
> For with Thee is the wellspring of life . . *

XIV (I vi, 33b–40). Aqhat, however, rejects the goddess' offer. The passage has been fully and brilliantly elucidated by Ginsberg (BASOR 98 [1945], 20–22). The brash young man, playing on the traditional title of the goddess, dismisses her as "virgin" – almost the equivalent of our colloquial "see here, young lady." He insists that she should not delude him with fairy-tales, for to grown men these are but "rubbish" (*ḫḫ-m;* or "an insult," reading *ḥz-m* and comparing Arabic *ḥ-z-y,* "to insult"?). Mortal men cannot expect an indefinitely prolonged future or posterity. The "glaze" of old age will inevitably be poured upon his (Aqhat's) head, and he is quite prepared to die the death appointed for all human beings. Moreover, he reminds the goddess that women have, in any case, no need to be interested in bows, hunting is "a man's job."

* Unfortunately, the Masoretic text, followed by most commentators, obscures the mythological background of the passage by faulty interpunction The initial "YHWH" has been thrown to the end of the preceding verse ("Man and beast Thou savest, *O YHWH*"), while "gods" has been separated from the following "and men" and treated as a vocative ("How precious is Thy grace, *O God, and men* take refuge," etc) Metrical considerations alone show that this is wrong, while it should be noted that our rearrangement gives point to the expression "and men," now in contrast to "gods " The reference to God's possessing the "wellspring of life" is explained by the juxtaposition of "life" and paradisal bliss in our Canaanite text

What is it that a mortal acquires as (his) hereafter?
The glaze (of old age) will be poured o'er my head,
The fine powder over my pate;
I shall die the death of all men;
Surely, I too shall die!

Moreover, this I would add:
A bow is a thing for warriors.
Are women, then, taking up hunting?"

XV

I vi, 41–45: 'Anat, though amused at the lad's retort, nevertheless warns him of the dire consequences which will attend his insolence and disobedience.

[There]upon 'Anat laughs,
But already within her heart
She is busily framing [a plan].

"Be reconciled unto me," (she says,)
"Be reconciled, O valiant Aqhat,
And thou shalt have [pea]ce!

XV (I vi, 41–45). But 'Anat is not to be put off. Amused as she is at the youth's boldness and impudence, she nevertheless rebukes him for his disobedience and arrogance, and threatens reprisals.

There are some points in this short speech which have hitherto been overlooked. First, it should be observed that while 'Anat certainly warns Aqhat that she will eventually subdue him, the whole of her remarks are not cast in the future tense, as Albright (BASOR 94 [1944], 32–34) and Engnell (CXXXII, 138–39) have supposed. Her initial remark does not mean that she *will* send him forth from (or, with Albright, oppose him on) the path of disobedience and arrogance, but states – and that emphatically – that after listening to him she sees that he has actually embarked on that course.

Second, it should be noted that the verb which expresses the goddess' intentions means more than just "I will abase/humble you," as usually rendered It denotes literally "I will make thee fall," and goes closely with the word rendered "arrogance," the literal meaning of which is "loftiness, haughtiness."* The idea is, therefore, that "pride goes before a fall." – Lastly, it should be observed that the concluding words, which we have rendered "My doughty Prince Charming" and of which the literal translation is "thou fairest, strongest of men," are sarcastic, as who should say "My fine-feathered friend " True, the word Na'aman, rendered "Prince Charming," is a title of Adonis in Phoenician mythology, but even if it be construed here as a proper name, it means no more than "My fine Adonis." To take it as a genuine title of Aqhat, as do Virolleaud, Albright and Engnell, is to spoil the point. The goddess is rejoining in kind to Aqhat's brash address, 'young lady.'

* The same noun is construed with the verb "bring down" in Ezekiel 30 6, Zechariah 10 11.

I am not prepared to encounter thee
On the path of disobedience,
[I am not prepared to meet thee]
On the path of arrogance;
I shall make thee to fall at [my feet],
I shall . . . . thee,
My doughty Prince Charming![*]

THE PUNISHMENT AND DISCOMFITURE OF AQHAT

XVI

I vi, 46–55. 'Anat complains to El of Aqhat's disobedience and presumption.

She taps wildly with [her fee]t upon the ground.
Then [turns she her fa]ce toward El,
At the source of the Two Streams,
[Hard by the fountains of] the Two Oceans.
She leaves the wide fields
[And comes to the pleas]ance of the King, the Father . . .;
[At the feet of El she] bows and falls,
Prostrat[es herself and pays homage to him].

Then she gives tongue against valiant Aqhat,
[Rails against the son of] Daniel, the Rapheite;
And she takes up word, [lifts her voice] and cries:
"Him [do thou . . . . .],
Even Aqhat [do thou . . . . .]!"

* * *

XVII

II i, 6ᵇ–14: El replies, but the words of his reply are almost entirely lost. Evidently he does not take 'Anat's complaint any too seriously, for she now proceeds to cajole him with threats.

* *
*

Then answers [the Virgin 'Anat]:

"[Behold, I counsel] thee, O El,
[I warn thee, thou Bull-god, my sire],
Do not make [fun of this!]

[Take care lest I] grasp them [with my hands],
[Lest with my mi]ghty strength(?)
[I pluck out the hairs of thy he]ad,
Lest I make [thy grey locks] to run [with blood],

[*] *Literally,* "Thou fairest, strongest of men!"

[Thy grey beard] with gore!
Then [go cry to] Aqhat, and let *him* rescue thee,
To the son of [Daniel], and let *him* deliver thee
Out of the hand of the Virgin ['Anat]!"

XVIII

II i, 15–19ᵃ: El, bullied into compliance, now assures 'Anat that Aqhat must certainly be punished for his arrogance and for defrauding her of the bow.

Then answers El, the kind, the warm-hear[ted]:

"My daughter, I know that thou art gentle,
And [against goddesses] must there be no insult.
Now one has risen up, my daughter, of insolent heart.
Grasp inwardly things as they are,
Set (them) in thy breast;
He that has defrauded thee must surely be crushed!"

XVIII (II i, 15–19ᵃ). There is now a large gap in the text. The story continues on another tablet, but how much came in between we have as yet no means of knowing.

Where the narrative resumes, we find El insisting that such impiety as Aqhat has committed must be utterly stamped out. The youth, he says, has attempted to "defraud" 'Anat.

El begins by commending the goddess in stereotyped words which recur in a similar context in V AB, E 35 ff.: "I know, my daughter, that thou are humane/gentle." Just as 'Anat opens her petition with the standard formula "Do not rejoice at this," so El responds with an equally standard formula of reception. The description of 'Anat as "humane/gentle" (*anšt*) is a purely general compliment, and does not have immediate reference to her present plea; for in V AB, E 35 ff. El addresses her in precisely the same words *before he has even heard what she has to say.*

In characterizing Aqhat as "one of insolent heart" (*ḫnp lb*) and as "thy defrauder" (*m'qbk*), El lays his finger upon the *two* collateral offenses for which the youth must be punished. on the one hand, he has insulted 'Anat by his brash impudence and on the other, he has defrauded her. We have what is almost a judicial summation. 'Anat, we are told (I vi 51), merely "gave tongue" about Aqhat – that is, she indulged in a wild, feminine tirade. She was not laying formal charges but, like any young lady in similar circumstances, was complaining to her father about "that rude young man" who had dared to snub her and refuse her demands. El, however, takes a more judicial view of the matter. After sifting the facts, he comes to the conclusion that more is involved than the mere question of a young lady's outraged vanity. By his brash conduct, Aqhat has become guilty of two punishable offenses: first, he has committed blasphemy; second, by retaining the bow, he has ventured to challenge the status and prestige of a goddess. Accordingly, when his daughter now tries desperately to put the affair on a purely personal plane, El resists this approach and invites her to consider its deeper implications ("Grasp inwardly things as they are").

XIX

II i, 19b–32. 'Anat thereupon prepares the downfall of Aqhat. She first lures him to the city of A-b-l-m.

[Then away speeds the Vir]gin 'Anat.
Straightway she turns her [face] toward valiant Aqhat,
Across a thousand ac[res, ten thousand tra]cts.

Then, laughing (inwardly),
The Virgin 'Anat [lifts] her [voice] and cries:

"Hearken, pray, [O valiant Aqhat],
[I have a word to tell] thee:
Thou art my brother, and I am [thy sister];*
. . The fullness of thy flesh will I [enjoy];
. . . . . [from the house?] of my father have I absconded;
[Come, live with me in ease and pe]ace(?);
Thou shalt go on the hunt
. . . . . .
. . . . mortal . . . happiness (?);
I will teach thee . . . . . .

So [go thou to] the city of A-b-l-m . . . .,
[The city of his highness the Mo]on-god,
Whose tower[s] . . . . . .
. . . . . the cloud[s]

* * * *

XX

II ii, 5–11a. In order to accomplish her purpose, 'Anat enlists the services of Yatpan, henchman of the queen goddess Asherath.

* *
*

[Away spe]eds the Virgin 'Anat,

* "Brother" and "sister" were common expressions for lovers in the Ancient Near East

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The point is brought out in the original by a neat chiasmus each member of which specifies one of the two offenses:

One has risen up of insolent heart
— grasp inwardly things as they are —



Set this in thy breast.
He that has defrauded thee must surely be crushed!

XX (II ii, 5–11a). 'Anat now proceeds to punish Aqhat and to retrieve the bow. She enlists the services of a certain Yatpan, the henchman or hatchet-man of the queen goddess Asherat (here called *št*, i.e. "The Lady").

And [sets her face] toward Yatpan, henchman of Our Lady.
[She lifts her voice] and cries:
"He is now dwelling, O Yatpan, thou [henchman of Our Lady],
In the city of A-b-l-m A-b-l-m.

Take care lest the new moon rise
[And give him favorable omen?] with its right horn,
And [shine] benignly(?) upon his head!"

XXI

II ii, 11b–15: Yatpan suggests a surprise attack.

Then answers Yatpan, [the henchman of Our Lady]:
"Hearken, O Virgin 'Anat;
Come . . . . . .

In approaching Yatpan the goddess first informs him that Aqhat is now resident in the city of A-b-l-m A-b-l-m, i.e. the spot whither she has lured him.

The verses (7–8) in which this is stated have been generally misunderstood, because Ytpn has been taken to be the subject of the verb, i e. "Let Yatpan reside in (or, return to) the city of A-b-l-m A-b-l-m " In reality, however, it is a *vocative*, and the subject of the verb is Aqhat, i e. "He is now residing, O Yatpan, in the city of A-b-l-m A-b-l-m "

'Anat next advises Yatpan to take care "lest the new moon rise." There is a twofold point in these words, but it has strangely eluded the commentators.

First, it should be observed that the city of A-b-l-m is expressly described, elsewhere in the poem, as "the city of His Highness the Moon-god [*qrt zbl Yrḫ*]." Hence, a reference to that deity would be calculated to make a special impression on one destined or requested to undertake a task there.

Second, there is here an obvious allusion to the widespread belief that the best time to work mischief is in "the dark of the moon," the period of its waxing, and especially the new moon, being considered one of good rather than bad omen. What 'Anat implies, therefore, is that Yatpan had better not wait till new moon before undertaking the enterprise, because the new moon will be favorable for Aqhat.

For this belief in India, cf. Kath. xi, 3; Maitr. II 2, 7; Taith. II 3, 5, and for its prevalence in Jewish superstition, cf CCCXCIX, 137 ff ; CDLXX, 255–56

For Teutonic beliefs of the same nature, cf Tacitus, *Germania* 11, Caesar, *Bell Gall* i 50 (a belief allegedly revived by Hitler when he contemplated invasion of Britain!), and cf CLXXXV, 713 ff

In Morocco, the waxing moon is propitious, the waning moon baleful, cf. CDXCV, 114.

Above all, note the explicit statement appended to a curse in the London Magical Papyrus, xlvi 344· "But you do better if the moon is waning." Cf also Pap Leyd V ii 28, and CXXX, 128.

XXI (II ii, 11b–15). Yatpan suggests a crude plan of action: the goddess should invite Aqhat to a repast Yatpan will lurk nearby and, at the critical moment, spring upon him unawares.

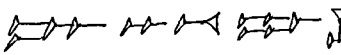
Thou shalt [wrest?] from him his arc,
And him thou shalt . . . . .
Now, when that doughty Prince Charming has prepared (his) meal,
[By the glare of his fire?] will I be lighted through the fields,
And I will *draw near(?)* . . . . . ."

XXII

II ii, 16–27ª: But 'Anat suggests a more strategic plan.

But the Virgin-'Anat replies:

"Sit down, Yaṭp⟨an⟩ and [I will instruct] thee:
I will place thee like a griffon in my sack,
Like a hawk in my sheath.
Then, when Aqhat [sits down] to the meal,
And the son of Daniel to the repast,
Griffons will come hovering [above him],
[A flight of h]awks will swoop down.
Among those griffons I [myself] will hover;
I will *poise thee* (directly) [ab]ove Aqhat.
Then strike him a couple of times on the head,
Three times about the ear(s),
Spill blood like . . . .,
As when a man has a gash† on his knee.
His breath will start going forth like a wind,
His spirit like a gust(?),
Like smoke out of his nostrils.
(Howbeit) I will (thereafter) quickly (??) revive him!"

* For  (*wn'rs* ?) of the editio princeps we should perhaps read  (*waqrb'*)

† *Lit* "is injured"

XXII (II ii, 16–27ª). But the goddess improves on this idea. If, says she, she prepares such a repast, the sight and smell of the food will inevitably attract the griffons or similar birds of prey. She will herself fly in the midst of those birds carrying a sack in which she will hide Yatpan. When the birds are poised immediately above the youth's head, Yatpan will be released from the sack – History's first paratrooper! – and can proceed, with the aid of the birds, to attack Aqhat and retrieve the bow.

The manner of the attack is prescribed in detail: Yatpan is to strike the lad "two or three times" about the head and ears and to shed a little of his blood, "as when a man has a gash on his knee." The lad's breath will then "go forth from his nostrils like smoke," but 'Anat will eventually revive him. All that is required is that he be rendered unconscious, so that the bow may be taken from him. There is no reason to kill him.

XXIII

II ii, 27[b]–37[a]. The plan is executed.

Then takes she Yaṭpan, the henchman of our Lady,
Places him like a griffon in her sack,
Like a hawk in her sheath.

The entire passage has hitherto been gravely misunderstood, most scholars assuming that the goddess really plans the death of Aqhat. This, however, is scarcely reconcilable with the fact that when the youth is actually slain, she is said to weep (line 39). Nor is it consistent with her explicit statement (line 27) that she desires to revive him, being interested only in retrieving the bow (cf. III, 14–17). The real point is that in giving her instructions she unfortunately uses ambiguous terms, and these mislead her henchman in precisely the same way that they have misled modern commentators. Thus, when she orders him to strike Aqhat "twice on the head, three times about the ears," this does not mean, as Yatpan and the commentators take it, that he is to smite the youth *many* times but, on the contrary, *just a couple of times*, for this is the way in which the gradation "two . three" is used constantly in the Bible (Isaiah 17 6, Amos 4.8; cf. II Kings 9 32). Similarly, the words which Yatpan and the modern commentators understand as an order to "shed Aqhat's blood to his knees, like one who is slain" really mean "Spill (a little) blood, as when a man has a gash on the knee"; for while the word rendered "slain," viz. *š-h-ṭ*, indeed has that meaning in Hebrew, in Arabic and Ethiopic it also means merely "injure." The sense is, therefore, that Aqhat is not to be mauled and lacerated but merely beaten unconscious, only sufficient blood being shed as will be necessary to lend an air of reality to the attack. Lastly, when the goddess states that Aqhat's breath "will go forth like smoke," she does not mean that he will expire, but merely that his breath will come heavily.

The ambiguity of the instructions, however, has fatal results, for Yatpan interprets them to mean that Aqhat is to be belabored to death. He therefore proceeds to "annihilate" the youth. 'Anat, seeing this, bursts into tears, assuring her victim that she will indeed restore him (*lit.* "build" him up). At the same time she again formally demands the surrender of the bow which, however, Yatpan has in any case already retrieved.

Then 'Anat and Yatpan "depart on the wing."

If, as we have suggested, the present story evolves out of an astral myth of Orion, it is possible that the bizarre manner of his death in this literary version is but a dim reminiscence of an original astronomical motif. Just as Orion was said to have been attacked by a scorpion or by hounds because the constellations of Scorpius and Canis Major happen to be near him at the time of his late setting, so the discomfiture of Aqhat by eagles – more specifically, by the mother-eagle Sml (see §XXXI) – may reflect the fact that the constellation of Aquila, the Eagle, appears in the month of June–July (Tammuz) on the opposite side of the heavens, see the Mesopotamian texts, K.2894 obv. 20, III R 1, rev. 21, K.2310. 8, cf Bezold, PSBA 11 (1887), pt. 5, pl III, R. Brown Jr., *ib.*, 14 (1892), 283). The original myth would have attributed the rout of the Huntsman to an attack by the Eagle, and this detail would have persisted, albeit in distorted and forgotten form, in the literary development of the story.

When Aqhat sits down to the re[past],
[And] the son of Daniel to the meal.
Griffons come hovering above him,
A flight of hawk[s] swoops down.
[Among] those griffons hovers 'Anat.
She poises him (directly) above [Aqhat].
He strikes him a couple of times on the [head],
Three times about the ear(s),
Sp[ills] his blood like . .,
As when a man has a g[ash on his knee].
His breath starts coming forth like a wind,
His spirit [like a gust],
Like smoke [out of his nostrils].

XXIV

*II ii, 37°–42: On seeing that Aqhat has been slain (which was more than she really intended), 'Anat weeps and breaks out into expressions of grief, assuring him that she will yet revive him and that her only interest is in the recovery of the bow.**

When 'Anat [perceives] that her henchman has destroyed,
Yea, [destroyed] Aqhat,
She starts to weep, (crying):

"[O Aqhat], I will yet restore . . . .
But [thy bow] must thou [surrender unto me],
Thine arc must thou [give over unto me]!"

Then they twain† depart on the wing.

* * * *

XXV

III, 2–5°: On the flight homewards, Yatpan accidentally drops the bow, which falls into the sea and breaks.

* *
*

Into the midst of the waters it falls.
* * * ; the bow is broken.

* *
*

* The passage is imperfectly preserved. Restoration and rendering are therefore tentative.
† i e 'Anat and Yatpan.

XXV (III, 2–5ª). This passage is very imperfectly preserved, and for that reason most commentators have skipped over it. In so doing, however, they have

XXVI

III, 5ᵇ–19ᵃ: This infuriates 'Anat who now realizes that all her plans have gone amiss: not only has she not *recovered the bow but also Aqhat has been slain unnecessarily and in consequence of this murder the earth has been polluted and rendered infertile. She therefore turns roundly upon the bungling Yatpan.**

(Thereupon) the Virgin 'Anat
Raises [her spindle] and beats (him) again and again.
* * her hands like a flash,
Her fingers like a flame,
Her molars like a threshing-sledge;
Her teeth seize and devour * *;
She whets her tongue like a hound * *
* * * * * * *, (crying):

"Here am I bleating like a ram in the sheepfolds,
Like a whipped cur,†
Because Aqhat has been so roundly felled,
Verily, 'twas (only) on account of his bow
That I was thus attacking him,
'Twas (only) on account of his arc that I was attacking him!
Yet him art thou not sparing alive
Neither is his bow handed over to me,
Whereas, on account of [his] death,
* * *, the firstfruits of the summer now will [fail],
The ear of corn in its sheath!"

* The passage is poorly preserved, and it is among the most obscure in the entire poem. The interpretation is therefore tentative

† *Literally,* "(Like) a hound before (or, from) its stick"

---

missed one of the essential elements of the story. Even though much else must remain irrecoverable or obscure, there are two phrases which are crucial. The first reads "into the waters it falls [*lqrb mym tql*]," and the second "broken is the bow [*tṯ(b)r qšt*]." And these phrases are followed by the words "The Virgin 'Anat raises . . . and beats (him) [*Btlt (')nt tṯb . . . (t)ša tlm*]." Moreover, in a subsequent speech (§XXVI) the goddess, evidently addressing Yatpan, declares explicitly. "'Twas only on account of his bow that I was thus attacking him (sc. Aqhat), 'twas only on account of his arc that I was attacking him. Yet him dost thou not spare to life, nor even hand over his bow unto me [*imḫsh kd 'l qšth, imḫsh 'l qš'th, hwt lt(')hw, ap qšth lttn ly*]." It is apparent, therefore, that what fell into the waters and was broken was, indeed, the precious bow itself. Yatpan, blundering as usual, not only killed Aqhat when he was really supposed only to knock him unconscious, but also fumbled in conveying the bow to 'Anat, and let it drop into the waters!

Not impossibly, this incident has an ultimately astral significance, referring to the disappearance of the Bow-constellation beneath the horizon.

THE BLIGHTING OF THE EARTH

XXVII

III, 19^{b}–28^{a}. The scene now reverts to Daniel.

Meanwhile, there is Daniel the Rapheite,
There is the [H-r-n-m]-ite he[r]o,
Sitting at the gat[e],
[Be]side the [threshing-floors which are near the granary],
[Jud]ging the [cause of widows],
[Dis]pensing justice to [orphan(s)],
[When, lifting] his [eyes, he espies]
* * * * * * [Paghat] com[ing along].

III, 28^{b}–37. Paghat, the daughter of Daniel, perceives that a drought has set in and notices griffons and hawks hovering overhead. She therefore deduces that a murder has been committed nearby, since, according to ancient Semitic ideas, "uncovered" blood renders the earth polluted and barren.

[Lif]ting her eyes, she espies
* * * * *
The . in the granary is dried up;
Blighted, blasted are the green shoots . . .;
While over her father's house griffons are hovering,
A flight of hawks is swooping down.

Paghat weeps in her heart,
Inwardly sheds tears;
She rends the garment of Daniel the Rapheite,
The mantle of the H-r-n-m-ite hero.

XXVIII

III, 38–48: Daniel, realizing that the land has been polluted by bloodshed, pronounces a solemn curse upon it.

XXVII (III, 28^{b}–37). The point of this passage lies very largely in the ancient Semitic idea that the shedding of innocent blood pollutes the land and renders it infertile. Thus, when Cain slays Abel, YHWH curses him with the words. "Cursed art thou off the soil which opened its mouth to receive thy brother's blood at thy hand. When thou tillest that soil, it will no longer yield its strength unto thee" (Genesis 4.11–12). Cf. also Numbers 35.33. "And ye shall not pollute the land wherein ye are, for blood pollutes the land, and bloodshed cannot be wiped away except by the blood of him who sheds it"; II Samuel, 1.21: "Be there no dew upon you, O hills in Gilboa, neither rain, O ye death-stained fields (LXX)!" Ezekiel 36.17–18, 30. Agadath Shir Hashirim, ed. Schechter, JQR 7 (1895), 160, says that the spot where Cain killed Abel was barren for ever. On the whole subject, cf. Patai, JQR, N.S. 30 (1939), 59–69, CXLVIII, 1, 82 ff.; CCCL, 151–52.

Thereupon Daniel the Rapheite
Utters a prayer:

"May the raincloud[s] . . . . in heat!
The early rain which the clouds pour down in the fall,
The dew which distils upon the grapes,
For seven years may Baal withhold,
Yea, for eight He Who Rides upon the Clouds!
No light rain, no shower may there be,
No upwelling from the Two Oceans,*
Neither welcome thunder,†
For, see, the garment of Daniel the Rapheite is rent,
The mantle of the H-r-n-m-[ite] hero!"

XXIX

III, 49–74: Daniel, exercising his judicial functions, makes the rounds of the neighboring territory, but finds that the crops are indeed blighted.

[*Col. ii*] Then loudly [calls Daniel] to [his] daughter:

"Hearken, O Paghat,
Thou that carriest the water on thy shoulders,
That brushest the dew from the barley,
That knowest the courses of the stars;‡
Saddle an ass, hitch a foal;
Set upon it my silver reins,
My golden bridles!"

Paghat obeys,
Even she who carries the water on her shoulders,
Who brushes the dew from the barley,
Who knows the courses of the stars.
Straightway she saddles an ass,
Straightway she hitches a foal,
Straightway she lifts up her father,
Seats him on the back of the ass,
On the gaily-trapped back of the foal.

Then ⟨Dani⟩el proceeds to perform his duties as judge,
But finds himself making the rounds of fields become arid.

* i e the celestial and subterranean oceans
† *Literally*, "Neither the goodly voice of Baal."
‡ These words mean simply that Paghat works assiduously from dawn till dusk There is no reference to her proficiency in astronomy, as some scholars have supposed!

XXIX (III, 49–74). Daniel, who has been sitting administering justice "in the gate" of his own city, now proceeds to make the rounds of the neighboring villages in performance of the same function, in British legal parlance, he "goes on circuit."

He espies a blade of grass(?) in the arid fields,
Espies a blade of grass(?) in the blighted meads.
He clasps and kisses the blade;
"Ah, would," (says he,) "that this blade of grass(?)
May yet grow tall 'mid the arid fields,
That this blade(?) may yet grow tall 'mid the blighted meads!
* * May the hand of valiant Aqhat yet gather thee,
To place thee in the midst of the storehouses!"

He proceeds to perform therein his duties as judge,
But finds himself making the rounds of fields consumed by drought.
He espies an ear of corn amid the fields consumed by drought,
Espies an ear of corn amid the swathe.
He cl[asps] and kisses the ear of corn;
"Ah, would," (says he,) "that this ear [of corn]
May yet grow tall amid the fields consumed by drought,
That this ear of corn may yet grow tall [amid the swathe]!
* * May the hand of vali[ant] Aqhat yet gather thee,
To place thee in the midst of the storehouse!"

The sense, which has been missed by previous commentators, is admirably illustrated by I Samuel 7 15–17:

And Samuel judged Israel all the days of his life And he went from year to year in circuit to Beth-el and Gilgal and Mizpah, and he judged Israel in all those places And his return was to Ramah, for there was his house; and there he judged Israel.

(It is worthy of note that in the original Hebrew the same technical term, viz. *s-b-b*, "go in circuit," is used as in our Canaanite text.)

While on his rounds, Daniel has occasion to verify his daughter's report, he now sees with his own eyes that everything has indeed dried up. Thereupon he performs a curious act. Catching sight of a solitary ear of corn left over in the harvested field, he clasps it and kisses it, expressing over it the hope that it may betoken an eventual abundance of crops which Aqhat (whose death is still unknown to him) may yet reap.

It may be suggested that this somewhat bizarre episode really mythologizes rites connected with the reaping of the last sheaf. As Mannhardt (CCXCVI, 80 f.) and Frazer (CXLIX, 408) have shown, such rites are an exceedingly common feature of harvest ceremonies all over the world and frequently involve the participation of the king or ruling authority. Now, the last sheaf is very commonly represented as a *young bride* (XVII, 73–79, CCCXCIV, II, 92, 117, n. 64), and sometimes it is actually personified by a maiden swathed in straw who is ceremonially "wedded" to a bridegroom similarly attired (CXLIX, *loc. cit.*). Moret has made it clear (CCCXVII, 29) that this usage was known already to the ancient Egyptians, for in texts of the New Empire there is mention of a female image, directly comparable to the "corn-maiden," which is used in harvest rituals and which bears the name of "the beloved (*mer t*)," i.e. the bride. If, then, we assume that this strange episode of our poem is really but a literary and half-forgotten reminiscence of such a custom, Daniel's bizarre clasping and kissing of the ear of corn will be at once explained. In other words, this episode will be seen to preserve,

ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE DEATH OF AQHAT

XXX

III, 75–93: Daniel is informed that Aqhat is dead.

[*Much of this passage is illegible and the whole of it poorly preserved. The identity of the persons involved is therefore uncertain, and the following rendering must be regarded only as giving the general sense.*]

Scarce has the word gone forth from his mouth,
[The utterance] from his lips,
When, lifting her eyes,
(Paghat) espies two slaves approaching.
[Their breath] comes from their breasts in intermittent gasps;*
They are beating themselves twice upon the head,
Thrice about the ears;
Their locks are all [un]bound,
Their tresses [flowing wild],
Heavy fall their tears
Like quarter-shekel weights.
And their tears are streaming down.

* *
*

"We bring thee tidings, O Daniel," (they cry);

* *
*

They approach, lift up [their] voice[s and cry:]

"Hearken, O Daniel,
Dead is [thy son],
Dead is the valiant Aqhat!
The Virgin 'Anat [has made his breath to go forth] like [a wind],
His spirit like a gust!"

III, 94–104: A few fragmentary lines express Daniel's agitation at this news.

* *Literally,* "Now it comes forth, now it does not come forth."

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in attenuated and somewhat grotesque fashion, one of the cardinal elements of the underlying Ritual Pattern.

The harvesting of grain takes place in Syria and Palestine during the month of April. It is at the close of that month, therefore, that the events here narrated must be presumed to have taken place, for the text says distinctly that the stray ear of corn was found "amid the *harvested* field [*bhmdrt*]." This is important in connection with our thesis that the entire poem mythologizes the climatic and agricultural situation during the period between the late setting of Orion (at the end of April) and the early rising of Sirius (or of the "Bow") in the second half of July.

THE BURIAL OF AQHAT

XXXI

III, 105–151[a]: Daniel, wishing to accord his son proper burial, endeavors to retrieve his remains from the gizzards of the griffons. After two unsuccessful attempts, he eventually detects traces of fat and bone.

Lift[ing his eyes he espies]
[Griffons veering straight toward him from] the west.

[*Col. iii*] [Then lifts he his voice] and cries:

"May Baal break [the griffons' wings],
May Ba[a]l br[eak the pinions of yon birds],
So that they may fall at my feet!
Then will I rip ope[n their gizzards and] inspect;
If there [be] fat, if there [be] bone,
I will duly bewail and inter it,
Place it in the holes of the numinous dead, in the earth!"

Scarce has the word gone forth from his mouth,
The utterance from his lips,
When Baal breaks the griffons' wings,
Baal breaks the pinions of those birds,
So that they fall at his feet.
He rips open their gizzards and [inspects];
There is no fat, there is no bone.
So he lifts his voice and cries:
"May Baal repair these griffons' wings,
May he repair the pinions of these birds!
Griffons, fly off and soar aloft!"

Then, lifting his eyes he [espies]
"Softie," the father of the griffons,
Veering straight toward him.
So he lifts his voice and cries:
"May Baal break yon 'Softie's' wings,
May Baal break the pinions of [yon bird],
So that he falls at my feet!

XXXI (III 105–151[a]). The recovery and interment of Aqhat's remains is a necessary preliminary to his ultimate resurrection. Analogous scenes were a cardinal element of the Osiris and Adonis mysteries. This episode therefore goes back to the usages of that seasonal festival for which the underlying myth was originally designed, see Introduction, §11.

The father and mother griffon (or eagle) are called respectively HRGB and SML. These are concocted names, of mutually antithetical meaning. The former derives from the root *r-g-b*, "be gentle," which in most of the Semitic languages yields the word for "dove." The latter connects with the Arabic *s-m-l*, "be fierce."

Then will I rip open [his] giz[zard] and inspect;
If there be fat, if there be [bone],
I will duly bewail and inter (it),
Place it in the holes of the numinous dead, in the earth!"

[Scarce has the word gone forth from his mouth,]
His utterance [from] his [li]ps,
When Baal breaks "Softie's" wings,
Baal breaks the pinions of that bird,
So that it falls at his feet.
He rips open its gizzard and inspects;
There is [no] fat, there is no bone.
So he lifts [his] voice and cries:
"May Baal repair 'Softie's' wings,
May [Ba]al repair the pinions of that bird!
'Softie,' fly off [and] soar aloft!"

Then, lifting his eyes, he espies
"Toughie,"* the mother of the griffons,
Veering straight towards him.
So he lifts his voice and cries:
"May Baal break yon 'Toughie's' wings,
May Baal break the pinions of yon bird,
So that she may fall at my feet!
Then will I rip open her gizzard and inspect;
If there be fat, if there be bone,
I will duly bewail and inter it,
Place it in the holes of the numinous dead, in the earth!"

* This is the real meaning of the name Ṣ-m-l in the original (cp. Arabic *ṣ-m-l*, "be fierce") It contrasts with the name H-r-g-b, "Softie," given to the father of the griffons; see Commentary.

Hence our translations "Softie" and "Toughie," which are intended to reproduce the impression conveyed to the Canaanite reader. Note that it is the mother-bird which is described as the fierce one and the father-bird as the gentle one. Odd as this may seem, it is true to ornithological observation; the female eagle is fiercer than the male.

It is noteworthy that the eagles are said to come *from the west*. There is special point in these words, for they reflect the widespread ancient and modern superstition that the eagle always flies *toward the sun* and can gaze thereat without being blinded or dazzled; cf. Shakespeare, *Henry the Sixth,* Third Part, Act II, Scene i, 91–92:

> Nay, if thou be that princely eagle's bird,
> Show thy descent by gazing 'gainst the sun.

Similarly, Edmund Spenser, *Hymn to Heavenly Beauty.*

> And like the native brood of eagle's kind
> On that bright sun of glory fix thine eyes.

Scarce has the word [gone forth] from his mouth,
His utterance from his lips,
Than [Ba]al [breaks] "Toughie's" wings,
Baal breaks the pinions of that bird,
So that it fa[lls at] his feet.
He rips open its gizzard and inspects;
Fat there is, bone there is!
So he takes them and pieces Aqhat together.*
He performs wailing, performs burial;
He buries him in a dark place(?), in a jar.

Then lifts he his voice and cries:
"May Baal break the griffons' wings,
May Baal break the pinions of yon birds,
If they fly o'er the grave of my son,
Swoop down on him while he sleeps!"

THE CURSING OF THE UNKNOWN ASSASSIN

XXXII

III, 151b–169: In accordance with established practice in cases of homicide by an unknown hand, the local king (perhaps Daniel himself) pronounces collective curses on three cities nearest to the scene of the murder. As it happens – though the fact is, of course, unknown to him – the third of these A-b-l-m A-b-l-m, is indeed the place where the crime was committed.

Then the king curses Q-r M-y-m.†

"Woe unto thee, Q-r M-y-m,
Upon whom lies the murder of valiant Aqhat!
Alway as a refugee, seeking sanctuary at shrines,

* *Literally* "And he takes from them (i e. the fat and bone) Aqhat" – followed by two unintelligible words of which the above rendering gives the approximate sense.
† The name means "Well of Water"

XXXII (III, 151b–169). Daniel, as king of the region in which Aqhat has been murdered, now pronounces a solemn curse upon the unknown assassin and upon each of three neighboring cities or villages which may be giving him shelter. The purpose of the ceremony is to remove the taint of infertility from the soil.

What is here described is best illustrated from the analogous procedure set forth in the Israelitic legislation of Deuteronomy 21 1–9. In cases of homicide by an unknown hand, the city nearest to the scene of the crime is to be held collectively responsible and is to expiate the pollution of the land by breaking the neck of a heifer (a substitute for the undiscovered culprit) on a plot of uncultivated soil at the side of a perpetual stream (which will bear away the contaminating blood). Although the full details of the procedure are not here recorded, nor even necessarily implied, the basic idea is the same, and it is significant that while in the Israelitic practice the rite is performed by the "elders and judges," here it

Even now and forever do thou flee,
Even now and for all ge[ne]rations,
Thou stabber-in-the-back!"

Next he repairs to M-r-r-t T-ḡ-l-l B-n-r.*
He lifts his voice and cries:

"Woe unto thee, M-r-r-t T-ḡ-l-l B-n-r,
Upon whom lies the murder of valiant Aqhat!
May thy root not rise from the ground,
Thy top droop into the hand of one who plucks thee!
Now and forever do thou flee,
Now and for all generations,
Thou stabber-in-the-back!"

* The meaning of this name is uncertain. It is tempting to connect T-ḡ-l-l with the Semitic verb *ḡ-l-l*, "bind beneath the yoke," and B-n-r with the noun *n-r* (Accad. *nîru*, Heb. *nîr*), "yoke," but what the whole phrase denotes as a place-name eludes us.

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is said expressly to be performed by "the king" (line 152), who is, of course, none other than Daniel himself. Moreover, just as in the Israelitic system the procedure has to be carried out beside running water (on the significance of which see Patai, R., "The 'Egla 'Arufa or the Expiation of the Polluted Land," in JQR, N S. 30 [1939], 59–69), so here the first place to which Daniel repairs is called Qr-Mym, or Water-spring.

The practice thus indicated was also current in early Arabian society. Kitāb al-Aghani IX 178· 25 ff. says expressly that in cases of homicide by an unknown hand, responsibility developed upon the nearest *dar* or settlement, and similar testimony is borne also by Khalil, art. 1835–37 (see: Dareste, *Journal des Savants* 1902, 521, n. 4, CDXXVIIa, 64, n. 2, CDXC, 188 f.; Driver, S. R., *Deuteronomy*, 241). The basis of the custom is, of course, the familiar idea that "no expiation can be made for a land in respect of blood shed within it except by the blood of him who has shed it" (Num. 35.33). Accordingly, when that individual cannot be traced, the desired end has perforce to be accomplished by the performance of a symbolic ceremony.

Of interest also is the form of commination employed in the rite. In each case, Daniel first curses the city, then identifies it with the unknown murderer, invoking upon it as a collective unit the penalty which would normally be visited upon that individual malefactor. The cities are to "flee like a perpetual refugee," to have neither root below nor blossom above, and to be rendered blind by Baal "henceforth and forever."

The first curse (152–55), invoked against the city or village of Qr-mym, is that, in the capacity of a collective murderer, it is to "flee continually like a client of the sanctuary." The words are to be explained from the common ancient usage whereby, after a hue and cry had been raised for him, a criminal might find at least temporary shelter within the precincts of a sanctuary, abiding there as a "guest of the god." The meaning is, therefore, that the city, personified as an individual, is to be, like Cain, a perpetual exile, an eternal refugee, ever seeking sanctuary from the violence of those who would visit retribution upon him. A specific allusion to such refugees is made in the Ras Shamra text 2. 27–28, where they are called "guests of the sacred enclosures" (*gr ḫmyt*, cp. Arabic *ḥima*), just

[*Col. iv*] Next he repairs to the city of A-b-l-m A-b-l-m*
The city of his highness the Moon-god.
He lifts his voice and cries:

"Woe unto thee, city of A-b-l-m,
Upon whom lies the murder of valiant Aqhat!

* The name A-b-l-m probably connects with such Hebrew toponyms as Abel-beth-Maacah, Abel ha-Šittim, Abel Mizraim, etc According to Albright (*The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography* [New Haven 1934], 39), the basic meaning is "brook, running stream" Not improbably, our author here plays on the name and connects it with the word *'-b-l*, "mourner.'

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as in Arabic usage one who seeks shelter beside the Ka'aba at Mecca is styled a "guest of God" (*jār Allāh*). The institution is mentioned also in the Old Testament, in Exodus 21.14 the privilege of protection at the altar of Yahweh is withdrawn in the case of intentional homicide; in I Kings 1.50, Adonijah, fleeing the wrath of Solomon, "rises and goes and grasps the horns of the altar," and ib., 2.28 his ally Joab does likewise. On the institution in general, see CDXXIX, 148, n. 2.

Seeing that Daniel is, in fact, the king (*mlk*, 152) of the land, the execration has the force of an edict of expulsion. The words *"continually flee . . . now and forever, now and for all generations,"* with their significant threefold iteration, may therefore be regarded as a legal formula. Comparable is the phrase καὶ αὐτὸς φευγέτω Ἀμφίπολιν ἀειφυγίην in the decree issued by Philip of Macedon ordering the banishment of Philon and Stratocles of Amphipolis (Dittenberger, *Syll.* 113.21).

The second curse (157–62), invoked against the city or village of Mrrt-tḡll-bnr, is that its "root may not rise from the earth, (its) top being droop into the hand of an uprooter." This is a standard commmatory formula. In the Hittite text, KUB XXIX 1, which includes the 'book of words' for a rite of public purgation, the king pronounces against his enemies the curse that they may have "neither root below nor fruit above", while in the Phoenician inscription of Eshmun'azar of Sidon (CIS I 3.11) a similar execration is invoked against the violators of that monarch's tomb. Similarly, too, in Amos 2.9 Yahweh declares that he "has destroyed the Amorite . . . destroying his fruit above and his roots below." In Malachi 3.19, he declares that "every man that doeth wickedness shall be as stubble, and the Day that cometh shall burn him up, that there be not left unto them (sic!) root or branch", and in Job 18 16 the statement is made concerning the wicked that "below his roots wither, and above his bough is cut off."

Here too the curse may be regarded as amounting almost to a legal formula. It may be compared with the Greek expression ἐκριζωσθήσεται πανγένει in CIG 916:8.

The third curse (165–69), invoked against the city of A-b-l-*m* is that "Baal may render it blind, henceforth and forever, now and for all generations." Here again we have a common formula of execration. The Babylonian text III R 41 ii 19–20 invokes Shamash, the sun-god, to strike a man blind, while North Arabian inscriptions sometimes contain the formula. "May he who alters this become blind" (*'wr ḏ-'wr*, CCLXXXIV, ii 44, 347). Similarly, one of the curses invoked on the disobedient in the Great Commination of Deuteronomy 28 is that Yahweh may visit them with blindness (verse 28), and this is indeed the penalty inflicted by that god on the lustful men of Sodom in Genesis 19.11 and on the people of Aram in II Kings 6.18. Illuminating also is a passage in the Hittite ritual KBo

May Baal render thee blind henceforth and forever,
Now and for all generations,
Thou stabber-in-the-back!"

THE MOURNING FOR AQHAT

XXXIII

III, 170–188. Daniel institutes rites of mourning for his slain son, engaging the services of professional wailers and performing sacrifices.

Daniel repairs to his house,

VI 34 dealing with the punishment of disloyal citizens; not only are they to be symbolically "unmanned" by being dressed in female clothing and handed a spindle, but they are also to be *blinded*·

nu-us-ma-as-kán SAL LÚ IGI NU.GÁL LÚ Ú ḪUB
pi-ra-an ar-ha pi-e-hu-da-an-zi
nu-uṣ-ma-as kis-an te-si: ka-a-sa SAL.LÚ IGI NU GÁL
LÚ Ú ḪUB nu-wa-kán ku-is *A-NA* LUGAL SAL.LUGAL
ḪUL-lu tak-ki-is-zi na-an *NI-IŠ* DINGIR MEŠ ap-pa-an-du
na-an LÚ-an *IGI NU GÁL* i-ya-an-du na-an *LÚ IGI NU GÁL*
i-wa-ar da- -at ŠA LÚ Ú ḪUB-ma-an
i-wa-ar . . [i-y]a-an-du na-an-kan LÚ GÀL LU
QA-DU DAM(?) -te *PA-AN KUR SI-IT*
is-tar-na . -in-ka-an-du!

Next they are to lead forth the wife of a blind man and a deaf-mute Thereupon thou shalt say to him (sc. the culprit). "See, here is the wife of a blind man and a deaf-mute Whoever contrives evil against the king and queen, may he, by the gods, be exterminated and made blind (*ht* may they, by the gods, exterminate him and make him blind)! May they . . him like a blind man, may they render him like a deaf-mute Along with his wife(?) may the citizens . . (him) in the midst of the land(?)!"

In Classical antiquity, blinding was regarded as the usual retribution for blasphemy and infamy; see Frazer on Pausanias iii 19, 13 and Mayor on Juvenal viii 93. Apuleius, *Met* viii 25 preserves a form of commination not unlike that in our text: *at te omnipotens et omniparens Dea Syria et sanctus Sabadius (Sabazius) et Bellona et Mater Idaea et cum suo Adonide Venus domina caecum reddant*, "May the Syrian Goddess, mistress and mother of all things, and holy Sabazius and Bellona and the Idaean Mother and Queen Venus with her Adonis render thee blind!"

It is to be observed that this episode works up artistically to a dramatic climax. Only after two "false starts" does Daniel hit upon the true culprit, the city of A-b-l-m, from which, as we have seen, the murderer Yatpan really hailed. The fact is, of course, still unknown to him, though it is apparent to the hearers or readers of the tale. This device, by which storytellers everywhere strive to increase the dramatic tension, is the same as the poet has already employed so effectively in the preceding scene, where only after two abortive attempts does Daniel come upon the particular griffon in whose gizzard the remains of Aqhat are concealed.

XXXIII (III, 170–188). The ceremony of execration being concluded, Daniel proceeds to institute rites of mourning for the slain Aqhat. By poetic license, they

Daniel betakes him to his palace.

Into his palace come weeping women,
Into his courts they that beat the breast,
They also that gash(?) the skin(?),

---

are said to last for seven years. In these rites we may recognize three elements, viz.

(1) introduction of professional female wailers,
(2) sacrifice;
(3) performance of ritual dances.

These elements may be considered *seriatim*.

1. *Professional Wailers*

The professional mourners are described as "women who weep" (*bkyt*), "women who mourn" (*mšspdt*) and "men who tear their skin" (*psḡm ḡr*) Female mourners are, of course, familiar enough from modern Arab usage (CCLXVII, 478), but it is noteworthy that they occur already not only in ancient Egyptian funeral representations, but also in Hittite ritual (KUB XXX, 15 27 SAL *ukturiyas*), while Homer mentions them specifically in his account of the obsequies of Hector (Iliad xxiv 746). They are the later Roman *praeficae* (Festus, p. 223M, Ovid, *Met* ii, 340–43, Mayor on Juvenal x 261), who lead the dirge.

It is of especial interest to observe that the name *mšspdt* by which such women are here called corresponds exactly to the Arabic terminus technicus *lattāmât*, both words meaning properly 'women who beat their breasts' (cp Syriac *s-p-d*, 'beat,' and Arabic *l-t-m* of the same meaning).

Daniel's summons to these women to enter his "house" and "court" is well illustrated by modern Anatolian usage, as reported by Ramsay, CCCLXX, 93 ff.: "Mourning takes place in the court of the house. Only the professional mourning women and the relatives of the deceased attend there. More public mourning takes place at the actual funeral."

2 *Sacrifice*

Besides presenting something called *d-ḡ-ṯ* to the deities of sky and stars, Daniel also offers a "sacrifice to the numina [*zbḥ ilm*]." The *ilm* or numina in question are probably the same as those in whose "hollows" Aqhat is interred (above, lines 112, 127, 141), i.e. the numinous dead or the deities of the netherworld. Significantly enough, in the Hittite funeral ritual, KUB XXX 27 offerings are presented to "the Sun-god [^{d}UTU-i], the gods of heaven, Allani, queen of the earth; the gods of the earth, and Aras."* The custom survives in the Arab sacrifice of a lamb or goat at the conclusion of mourning ceremonies (CCLXVII, 488).

3. *The Funeral Dance*

Another feature of the mourning ceremonies here described is the performance of dances [*mrqdm*], but once again the true meaning of the text has hitherto escaped recognition.

The term used in the original, viz. *mrqdm* is of especial interest. In Biblical Hebrew, the verb *r-q-d* means "to skip, leap" (e.g. Ps. 29.6), and this is also the

* For the deity Aras, I call attention to KUB XVII 20 ii 7 ff

To weep for valiant Aqhat,
To shed tears for the child of Daniel the Rapheite.

For days and months on end,
For months and years on end,
Continually for seven years,
They keep weeping for valiant Aqhat,
Shedding tears for the child of Daniel the Rapheite.

---

normal meaning of Accadian *raqādu* and of Arabic *r-q-s* and *r-q-z* But an Accadian syllabary (B M. 83-1-18, 1846, rev i, 6-7 = Pinches, PSBA 18 [1896], 253) lists *ru-qu-ud-du* as a term meaning "professional mourner" (equivalent of Sumerian LÚ.TU.IGI GUGU(?), "one who weeps with troubled eye"), while in Arabic and Syriac, the corresponding nouns *raqsath* and *marqôdʿtâ* denote *a special kind of hopping or limping dance performed at funerals* (cf CCXXXIV, 75, n 6, CCCLXXXI, 379 ff., CDXCIII, 43). An excellent description is given by Roger, CCCLXXXIV, 265, while Lane (CCLXVII, 488) informs us that

it is customary among the peasants of Upper Egypt for the female relations and friends of a person deceased to meet together by his house on the first three days after the funeral, and there to perform a lamentation and a strange kind of dance They daub their faces and bosoms and part of their dress with mud; and tie a rope girdle round the waist Each flourishes in her hand a palm-stick or a *nebroot* (a long staff), or a drawn sword [sc to forefend demons], and dances with a slow movement and in an irregular manner, generally pacing about and raising and depressing the body

Wetztein also has given an account of this curious ceremony, adding that among the Syrian peasantry it is known as *maʿid*, or "limping" (ZE 5 [1873], 296 ff.).

This last detail is of peculiar interest since it explains the famous passage in I Samuel 15.32 where Agag, king of the Amalekites, is said to have "walked delicately [Heb. *maʿʿadanôt*]" exclaiming, "Surely the bitterness of death is past," when summoned before Samuel to receive retribution for his barbarity. What really happened was that Agag, like an arch-hypocrite, approached the prophet *with the traditional limping gait of mourners* (Heb. *mʿʿôdanît!* cf LXX *tremōn*, Vulg. *tremens*), uttering a typical dirge: "Truly, death is bitter."* The passage thus provides early evidence of the limping dance as a *ceremony* of mourning; and our present Canaanite text pushes it back to an even higher antiquity!

The institution of the *mrqd* seems to have survived into comparatively recent times in other parts of the world, for according to Robert Eisler (*Medium Aevum*, Oct 1943), the French expression *Dance Marcade*, a variant of the more familiar *Dance Macabre*, derives from this term, having been borrowed from the Syrians in Gaul during the Merovingian period Similarly, the word *Macabre* derives from the Hebrew *mʿqabber*, "gravedigger," the institution being adopted from the Jews, whose burial-brotherhood acted a dramatic scene on the day of the death of Moses, the latter being in turn the source of the mediaeval *Quem Quaeritis*

* * It should be added that our interpretation of *mrqdm* as referring to funeral dances
* invalidates Virolleaud's suggestion that *l*(?)*tm* at the beginning of line 189 is the final element of [*ms*]*ltm*, "cymbals," carried over from the preceding line This would be possible only if *mrqdm* referred to *gay* dances accompanied by light music. Funeral dirges were accompanied on the flute (IV R 31 rev 57, Amos 5 16, Josephus, *Bell Jud* III, 9 §5, Mishnah, Ket IV, 4, Menander, *apud* Athen. IV 175a; Pollux IV 75, Anth Pal. VI 51) or on the tympanum (Herodotus iv 176, *Poetae Latinae Minores*, ed Baehrens, V 112 f : *per tympanum plangitur Attis*), but not by cymbals We therefore suggest that *l*(?)*tm* (or *btm* or even *ytm*) be derived from *t-m-m*, "come to an end," the words

Then, in the seventh year,
[Daniel the] Rapheite utters a word [in response],
Yea, the [H-r-n-m-ite] hero utters a word in reply;
He lifts his voice and cries:

"De[part], ye weeping women, from [my] palace,
Ye that beat the breast from my courts,
Ye also that gash(?) your skin(?)!"

Then presents(?) he a sacrifice unto the gods,
Offers up a *d-ḡ-ṯ*-offering* unto heaven,†
Even the (customary) H-r-n-m-ite *d-ḡ-ṯ*-offering to the stars.

THE AVENGING OF AQHAT

XXXIV

III, 189–202. Paghat resolves to avenge her murdered brother, and sets forth to execute her purpose.

At the end of the mourning rites which * *,
Up speaks Paghat,

* Meaning unknown (It is possible that the word is to be recognized also in *DS* 15)
† *Literally*, "Causes a *d-ḡ-ṯ*-offering to ascend into the sky"

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l/y/btm (or *ytm*) *mrqdm dšn* . . being rendered: "At the conclusion of (or, then are concluded) the ritual dances which they/he(?) ." and serving as an introduction to the next episode, cp Deuteronomy 34 8, "And the days of weeping in the mourning of Moses *came to an end*"; KUB XXX, 27:6 (Hittite funeral ritual): "the dirges *come to an end*" (*zinnir*).

Since, as we have seen (above, Introd. §II), the myth of Aqhat involves the familiar theme of the dying and reviving god of fertility, it is not difficult to recognize in this scene a projection of the ritual weeping for that god during the dry summer months. The *bkyt*, or "women who weep," correspond to the *bakâti* or "weeping women" of the Tammuz mysteries mentioned in the Babylonian text IV R 31 rev. 56, the "women weeping for Tammuz" in Ezekiel 8.14, and the celebrants of the Harranian festival of *Bukât* ("Weeping") mentioned by En-Nedim (cf. LXIX, ii, 27). The custom is mentioned also by Plutarch, *Alcibiades* 18, in speaking of the analogous rites of Adonis, the women, we are told, used to stage mimetic funerals, burying images of the god, and "beating their breasts and lamenting."

The limping dance, originally part of the mimetic funeral, may have come in time to be a formal ceremony of the season, for we know that it elsewhere became a general religious practice (cf. Heliodorus, *Aethiopica* iv, 16 – in the cult of Melqarth of Tyre, I Kings 18.26 – performed by the priests of Baal), cf. CCCXLVI, 117, CDXXIX, 671, CDXCIII, 47; Gaster, *Tarbiz* 8 (1937), 343.

XXXIV (III, 189–202). We now reach the denouement of the poem or, at least, of the part which has come down to us. The rites of mourning being ended, Paghat, the sister of Aqhat, resolves to avenge her brother.

Even she who carries water on her shoulders:

"(Since) my father has (duly) presented(?) a sacrifice to the gods,
(Duly) offered up a *d-ḡ-ṯ*-offering unto heaven,
Even the (customary) H-r-n-m-ite *d-ḡ-ṯ*-offering to the stars,
May they* bless me, that I may go in blessing.
Favor me, that I may go in favor
To smite him who smote my brother,
To make [an end of] him who [made] an end of my ki[n]sman!"

Thereupon [Dani]el the Ra[phe]ite replies:
"May Paghat be revived in spirit,
Even she who carries water on her shoulders,
Who brushes the dewfall from the barley,
Who knows the courses of the stars!
I . . . . . ;
Go smite him who smote [thy brother],
Make an end of him who made an end of [thy] kinsman!"

XXXV

III, 203–224ª: Rendering herself as attractive as possible, but concealing beneath her garments the accoutrements of a warrior, Paghat sets out at nightfall to recruit mercenaries to assist in hunting down the murderer of Aqhat.

So she [fet]ches up a fish from the sea,
Washes and rouges herself
With the red dye of that cosmetic of the sea

* i e. the divine recipients of the offerings What is probably meant more specifically is that Paghat may now safely trust to embarking under a "lucky star."

First (190–97), she apprises her father of her intention and seeks his blessing. She announces that she is about to "slay the slayer of my brother, annihilate the annihilator of my kinsman." *There is special point in the expression "my kinsman"; (ʾl umty,* lit. "the male member of my mother-group"; cf. I AB iv 43), for what Paghat envisages by employing it is the institution of an inter-tribal vendetta. On blood-revenge in Semitic life, cf. CCXXXIII, ch. VIII; CCLI, CCCLXVIII.

Daniel approves the enterprise, and Paghat proceeds to execute her plan.

XXXV (III, 203–224ª). Paghat takes care to adorn herself in order more easily to beguile the murderer, should she fall in with him, and the more easily to gain the cooperation of such neighbors as she might encounter. To this end she "washes and rouges herself," using as a cosmetic a certain substance – ambergris or sepia – drawn from a fish popularly known as the "wild ox" of the sea. Then she dons the garb of a soldier, complete with sword and sc[imitar]. But over it she wears the raiment of a woman.

Which comes from the 'wild ox' whose emission is on the sea.

Then she [takes] and puts on the garb of a warrior,
Places the kn[ife in] its sheath,
Places the sword in [its] scabbard,
And above she dons the garb of a woman,
But beneath, [that] of a soldier.

Then, when the sun, the torch of the gods, go[e]s do[w]n,
* * * the fields.
At the going [down] of the sun, the torch of the gods,
Paghat reaches the tents.

Word is then brought to Yat[pan]:
"She that hired us is come into thy territory,
[She that engaged us] cometh hither!"

III, 214^b–224 The person whom Paghat first approaches is, naturally enough, none other than Yatpan, chief of the professional mercenaries. Yatpan welcomes her and proffers wine. Eventually, however, under the influence of liquor, he is led to betray himself as the murderer of Aqhat.

Then up speaks Yatpan, the [henchman] of our Lady.

"Come, take and drink wine!
[Receive] the cup from my hand,

The precise nature of the cosmetic used is uncertain. It is described as "the *glp* of the sea, a property of the wild ox whose *zu* is in/on the sea."

The word *glp* has been cleverly explained by Aistleitner from the Arabic *g-l-f* V, "to perfume onself." It will thus mean "scent."

The "wild ox" [*alp šd*, lit "ox of the field", cp. Aramaic *tôrâ d'barâ*] of the sea may be taken to be a popular expression for the whale, on the analogy of Greek *bous*, "ox," as a name for the ray-fish (Aristotle, *Historia Animalium*, v, 5.3, cp. *boves*, Pliny, *HN* xxxii, 152). Similarly, too, the Accadians called a certain type of fish by the name "lamb of the deep" (*puḫad apsi*, Princeton Theological Seminary Vocabulary, line 30 = Goetze, JAOS 65 [1943], 227).

As for the word *zu*, this may be explained from the Accadian *su* and the Hebrew *sô'ah*, "excretion."*

The excretion of the whale used as a perfume will be *ambergris*.

On the other hand, if we assign to *glp* the wider meaning of "cosmetic" in general, it may be suggested that the "wild ox" of the sea is the cuttlefish, rather than the whale, and that the excretion is *sepia*, used for that rouging which is specifically mentioned. In support of this, note that a substance called "excrement of the (divine) ox" [*rubus 'alpi*] was indeed used as a *rubefacient* in ancient Mesopotamia (CDLX, 189).

* The objection that Ugaritic *zu* cannot be equated with Hebrew *sô'ah* because the latter derives from *w/y-s-'*, "go out," and would therefore require the form **su* rather than *zu*, is met by Landsberger's demonstration (ZA 41 [1933], 222–23) that both Accadian *su* (cp verb *tezu*, usually written with *z* rather than *s*) and Hebrew *sô'ah* really derive from quite a different root

The goblet from my right hand!"

[So] Paghat takes and drinks it,
[Receives] the cup from his hand,
The goblet from his right hand.

Then says Yatpan, [hench]man of our Lady:
"Let our god (also) be given to drink of the wine,
Even the god * *, * the god who owns the land!

Why, the hand that smote valiant Aqhat
Can smite foes by the thousands!

* The traces in the original would also permit the translation, "Let our god (*or* gods) also be given to drink of the wine, the god of hea[ven] and (*or* who is also) the god who owns the earth." Cf Genesis 14 18–20, and see the Commentary

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At sunset, when men have retired to their tents(?), Paghat sets forth on her mission. By a freak of chance, her steps lead her to the encampment of Yatpan, the as yet unidentified slayer of Aqhat. She proceeds at once to recruit assistance for her enterprise, announcing that she has come supplied with cash to hire mercenaries. Yatpan, enchanted by her beauty and courage – and this is where the cosmetics and female raiment come in – receives her cordially, and pledges his protection. Then comes the dramatic climax. His tongue loosened by wine, Yatpan starts to boast of his prowess, observing that "the hand which slew doughty Aqhat can (*lit.* will) slay foes by the thousands" (*yd mḫṣt aqht ǧzr tmḫṣ alpm ib*). Thereby he betrays himself as the murderer! And at this dramatic moment our text unfortunately breaks off.

What is here described is admirably illustrated from several ancient sources. Taking his visitor under his protection, Yatpan is said to proffer food and drink, pouring a libation also to a certain god described as "he who owns the fields" (*dyqny ždm*). What we have here is the common Semitic practice of concluding covenants by means of *commensality*, i.e eating and drinking together. The best example of this is afforded by Genesis 14.18–20 which records the conclusion of a pact between Abram and Melchizedek, the king-priest of Salem.

And Melchizedek, king of Salem, brought forth food and wine – he was a priest unto El 'Elyôn – and he said: "Be Abram hereby endowed with *b'rākah* [numinous mana, cf CCCLIX; Westermarck, *Morocco*, I, 35–261] from El 'Elyôn, owner [*qôneh*] of heaven and earth, and be El 'Elyôn recognized as possessing such *b'rākah* by delivering thy foemen into thy hands!"

Similar, too, is Genesis 26 30 which describes an analogous pact between Isaac and Abimelech.

And they said Be thou hereby [*'attah*] endowed with the *b'rākah* of YHWH
And he prepared a feast for them, and they ate and drank

Note especially that in both cases the ceremony is accompanied by a sacrificial rite and that an essential element of it is to embrace the guest within the sphere of influence covered by the numinous protection [*b'rākah*] of his host's local or tribal deity. The latter, in fact, is the real meaning of the formulae lamely rendered in EV as "Blessed be Abram" and "Thou art now blessed of the LORD."

Verily, thou workest a magic o'er (our) tents!"

But her [heart] . . . . like a . . .,
Her mind moves nimbly like a serpent;
[She contrives to render] him [wea]ry.
So again and again she proffers him the mixture to drink,

Again, in Joshua 9.14 the Israelites conclude a treaty with the Gibeonites by partaking of their victuals, while in Obadiah 7, *'anšê lahm'kā*, "men who ate thy food" and *'anšê š'lôm'kā*, "men in compact with thee," occur side by side as variant readings.*

The same usage likewise obtains among the Arabs, cf. LIX, 1, 329, CV, i, 228, CDXXIX, 271 ff.; CDXC, 124, CDXCV, 17, 85.

An especially effective illustration of our text, wherein Yatpan invites Paghat to drink wine "from the cup in my hand, the goblet in my right hand," is provided by Herodotus' description (IV, 172) of covenant ceremonies among the Nasamoneans. "They conclude covenants in this manner: one party gives the other to drink out of his hand, and vice versa."

As a concomitant of the ceremonies, Yatpan invites his god to partake of the wine. That deity is described as "our god, the god (of?) š . . ., the [g]od who owns the fields [*iln il š . . . [i]l dqny ždm*]." Here we have a remarkable, but hitherto unnoticed parallel to Genesis 14.18–20 where, as we have seen, Melchizedeq, in concluding a treaty with Abram, invokes El 'Elyôn (EV. "the Most High God"), *owner of heaven and earth.* The same Hebrew word (*q-n-h/y*) is used in both cases.

The formula "the god who owns the land [*d-yqny šdm*]" also finds a parallel in the words "Unto the Lord, unto the god, owner of the land" [*l'adn l'il qn 'ars*] in a Neo-Punic inscription from Leptis Magna in Tripolitania,† and again in the phrase "God, owner of the land [*Il qn (a)r'(a)*] in a bilingual Palmyrene inscription dated 39 A.D ‡

The custom of proffering drink to the supreme god is admirably paralleled – though from an admittedly late source – in Vergil, *Aeneid* i 728–40, where the following scene occurs at Dido's banquet to Aeneas in the Semitic city of Carthage.

Then filled she with unmixed wine the bowl which Belus and all his descendants had been wont to use, and when silence had been imposed throughout the halls, thus she prayed: "O Jupiter – for men say that thou presidest over covenants with guests – grant that this be a happy day both for the Tyrians and for them who set out from Troy ." So saying, she poured a libation upon the table

The words of Yatpan's effusive greeting are imperfectly preserved, but the sense is scarcely in doubt and restoration is not difficult.

The phrase "The hand that slew doughty Aqhat can slay foes by the thousands" finds its closest parallel in I Samuel 18.7. "Saul hath slain his thousands."

* That *š'lôm'kā* is but a gloss on *lahm'kā* is shown by the fact that it is hypermetrical. The expression *'anšê lahm'kā* is the exact semantic equivalent of our *companion*

† *Libya* 3 (1927), 105–07

‡ Cantineau, *Syria* 19 (1938), 78–79, reading ELQWND' The correct reading is due to G. Levi della Vida, JBL 63 (1944), 8.

Proffers him the mixture to drink.

* *
*

(The rest is lost)

Lines 221b–222 should evidently be restored to read: "Verily, thou workest magic upon (our) tents [*(št t)št hršm lahlm*]."

In line 223, we expect a parallel to the following "her mind moves nimbly like a serpent." The latter expression obviously describes Paghat's mental subtlety; in the former we may find a description of her physical courage. We therefore suggest that the word *.bl* in the original be restored [*s*]*bl*, which is then to be equated with the Arabic *sibl*, "young lion." For the image, cf. the inscription of Merneptah at Karnak, line 15 [Breasted, *AR* III, 243, §580]: "Lo, his majesty was enraged at their report, *like a lion*"; Euripides, *Orestes* 1401 where Agamemnon and Menelaus are described as "twin lions," etc.

HITTITE TEXTS

HITTITE TEXTS

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Lesky, A., in ARW 24 (1927), 73–82
Schubart, W., in *Gnomon* 2 (1926), 63.
Goetze, A., *Kleinasien,* 152.
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1. The Slaying of the Dragon:

The Myth of the Puruli Festival

INTRODUCTION

A. SYNOPSIS

§1. Every year, at the beginning of the dry season, when the winter rains had ceased and the earth stood in imminent danger of drought,[1] the ancient Hittites held a festival which they called Puruli.[2] The festival went back to remote antiquity; it had been inherited, along with many other religious usages, from those earlier inhabitants of Asia Minor whom modern scholars term the Hatti.[3] The name itself was of Hattic origin; its earlier form was Furul(i),[4] and in the Hattic language the word *fur* meant 'earth.'[5] The P/Furuli, therefore, was 'The Festival of the Earth' – a seasonal celebration designed to ensure due need of rainfall for the crops.

§2. The ritual of the festival and its attendant myth are preserved to us on four mutually complementary cuneiform tablets unearthed at Boghazkoi, site of ancient Hattusas, the capital of the Hittites during the heyday of their empire.[6] Written, about 1350 B.C., by a priest named Killas,[7] this text describes the 'order of service' as observed at the important cultic center of Nerik – possibly the Classical Maroga and modern Maragos, north-east of Goksun.[8] It divides into five parts.

(*a*) First, there is a brief Preamble,[9] specifically relating what follows to the festival of Puruli; describing the seasonal conditions under which alone

1. Mursilis II, KBo II 5, r iii, 14 ff (CLXX, 264 f), refers specifically to "the great Puruli festival" as being celebrated in the season of *hameshas*, i e spring-summer

2. In KUB XII 31, obv 2, 7, 12, 15, the question is raised whether the Puruli celebrated by the king *in Nerik* is of any benefit This is especially interesting because the text which we are about to discuss is the "book of words" for the performance of the ritual in just that city A further portion of the ritual is preserved in KUB XXV, 31 For other allusions to it, cf KUB VIII, 69 5, XVI, 35 3, XXII, 25 i 21,33, XXII 46 14

3. Cf. Friedrich, AfO 6 (1930), 115

4 Cf KUB XXII 25 i 21,33. EZEN *vu-ru-li-ya-as*, with the non-Hittite *vu*-sign

5 Cf KUB II, 2 40, where Hattic *es-vu-ur* is equated with KUR MEŠ, "lands." Cf. Forrer, ZDMG 76 (1922), 234, Sayce, JRAS 1924,255. For the adjectival suffix *u/ili*, see Forrer, *op cit*, 231.

6. KBo III, 7, KUB XII, 66, XVII, 5–6 For bibliography, see above, p 316

7 The name invites comparison with Killas, charioteer of Pelops (Pausanias V, 10 7); Killeus, father of Akrisios (Schol Il ii, 173, 631); and Killa, sister of Hecuba (Schol., Lycophron 224, 315) and daughter of Laomedon (Apollodorus iii 12 2) The name also appears in Asianic toponyms, e g Killa in the Troad (Il i 38, Herod. i 149) and "the Killanian plain" in Phrygia (Strabo xiii, 4 629).

8. So Hrozný, AOr 7 (1935), 173. 9. §1.

the celebration is appropriate and giving the text of a doggerel petition for fertility then recited.

(*b*) Next comes a myth dealing, in somewhat terse and unpoetic fashion, with the victory of the Weather-god (aided by a mortal hero, Hupasiyas) over a rebellious dragon called Illuyankas.[10] The fight, we are told, took place in the city of Kiskilussa, and the defeat was accomplished by the device of first luring the dragon and his allies to a banquet, where they stuffed themselves so full that they could not return to their holes and were therefore easily despatched. The mortal Hupasiyas, adds the text, acquired the necessary supernatural strength by first entering into sexual relations with the goddess Inaras and, to protect that power from human contamination, he was subsequently withdrawn to a specially built house on an inaccessible cliff. Transgressing, however, the express instructions of the goddess, he chanced one day, in the latter's absence, to gaze out of the window. There he espied his wife and child, the mere sight of whom was sufficient to impair his divine powers. Accordingly, when Inaras returned, she meted out condign punishment, apparently (the text is here incomplete) burning down the house with the hero inside it.

(*c*) The next passage[11] is really an appendage to the foregoing. It describes what transpired in the city of Nerik during the time when the Dragon was being regaled in Kiskilussa. The absence of the beneficent Inaras – the protectress of mankind – held up the return of rainfall and fertility; and the situation was still further complicated by the fact that the genius of the subterranean waters[12] had betaken himself to his "home" and could not be induced to come forth, i.e. no springs had yet burst forth to water the earth. In this emergency, the people of Nerik complained that there was no point whatever in their performing the Puruli ritual or in their king's ceremonially "taking the hands" of the gods, since it was quite obvious that the two deities who could really help them, viz. Inaras and the spirit of the subterranean waters, were not, in fact, paying any attention. However, in the absence of these deities, they besought the spirit of Mount Zalivanu, promising him that if he would only bestow moisture upon Nerik by sending down the melted snows, that city would render appropriate tribute by presenting to him offertory loaves. The petition, so the text indicates (it is again defective), was granted, and the promised offerings made.

(*d*) Then comes a second version of the cult-myth,[13] taking up more specifically an obscure allusion in the first to the effect that the dragon succeeded initially in maiming the Weather-god.[14] This maiming, we are now informed, consisted in the plucking out of his heart and eyes; and our story is concerned mainly with the way in which these were recovered. The

10 §II We render the name throughout by "Dragon."

11 §III

12. *Hwnhwanas*. On this word, see fully Comm on §III The phenomenon is here personified, just as is Hahhimas, "Torpor," in the Yuzgat Tablet

13 §IV. 14. §II.

Weather-god — so runs the tale — took to wife the daughter of a slave,[15] and begat a son. When the lad grew up, with whom should he fall in love but the daughter of his father's inveterate enemy, the Dragon? The Weather-god resolved, however, to exploit the situation to his own advantage. He therefore instructed his son to demand the stolen heart and eyes as part of the marriage-settlement. This the lad did; but no sooner had his father recovered the precious organs and thus regained his former powers than he went down to the sea, engaged the Dragon, and defeated him. As it happened, however, his own son was, at the time, in his father-in-law's house. Outraged at the thought that he had been led unwittingly to betray hospitality — the deadliest of sins in all Oriental countries — he begged his father to allow him to expiate the offense by sharing the fate of the Dragon. Thereupon the Dragon and the lad were slain together.

(*e*) The concluding portion of our text[16] is of purely ritual character. It describes a procession of the gods, by stages, to the cultic center of Nerik. Diplomatic protocol is to be carefully observed. At each station *en route*,[17] the local god (together with his wife and concubine) is to be accorded the supreme honors, even the great Weather-god of Nerik being subordinated to him.[18] Moreover, special estates, complete with house, barn, and servants' quarters, are to be allocated to him (or, perhaps, to *all* of the 'visiting' deities) by the local king. These ceremonies, so remarkably similar to those of the Babylonian New Year (Akîtu) Festival, were evidently a cardinal element of the Puruli ritual.

B. INTERPRETATION

§3. In the light of the foregoing summary, the main features of the Puruli festival may be listed as follows: —

i. A preliminary rogation or recital of doggerel verses containing a petition for fertility;

ii. The recital, or enactment, of a myth dealing with the discomfiture of a dragon at the hands of the Weather-god;

iii. A procession of sacred images to a central shrine.

§4. The basic structure thus revealed connects the festival at once with a type of ceremony still — or until recently — performed in Europe at pre-

15 Hittite. LÚ *asiwanza* Our rendering follows Forrer, *apud* Kretschmer, KlF 1 (1929), 312, n 1, who compares *asiwanteskimi*, "I am obedient/subject," in KBo IV 14, ii 53 We would also cite LÚ MEŠ *a-si-wa-an-te-es* in KUB VIII, 67 ii 64 = CXCIIa, *4 Goetze, CLXXI, 132, takes the word as a proper name, Asiwanza However, in JAOS 69 (1949), 182 he suggests the meaning "poor man," on the strength of the contrast between *a-si-wa-*[*an-te-es-zi*] and [*ha-a*]*p-pi-ni-es-zi*, "he becomes rich," in KUB XXVI 43 obv 57

16 §VI

17 e g at Kastama and Tanipiya

18 This is the real meaning of the lines that "Zashapunas shall take precedence over the Weather-god of Nerik" and that "Zashapunas is to be given preference over all the gods of Kastama" He appears to have been the patron deity of the latter city; see Comm , §VI.

cisely the same time of year. This is the ceremony of *Rogationtide,* at the end of April (during the week preceding Ascension), several essential features of which are duplicated in the celebration of such other 'crucial' summer dates as St. George's Day (April 23rd) and the solstitial festival of Midsummer (June 24th).

As currently observed, the rites of Rogationtide divide into (a) those performed under the auspices of the Church, and (b) those – deemed more 'pagan' – which retain their primitive popular character and survive only as folk usages. For comparative purposes, however, the two must be regarded as constituting a single complex.

§5. The 'ecclesiastical' part of the ceremony takes the form of a perambulation round the fields or town, led by the clergy or sacristans carrying crosses and sacred emblems. A number of stations are made, and at each of them rogations, or supplicatory prayers, are offered for the fertility of the earth and the aversion of noxious influences.[19] Typical is the following description by Naogeorgus:[20]

> Now comes the day wherein they gad abroad, with cross in hand,
> To bounds of every field, and round about their neighbor's land,
> And as they go, they sing and pray to every saint above,
> But to our Lady specially, whom most of all they love.
> Whenas they to the town are come, the church they enter in,
> And look what saint that church doth guide, they humbly pray to him,
> That he preserve both corn and fruit from storm and tempest great,
> And them defend from harm, and send them store of drink and meat.

The procedure thus described is but a Christianized version of ceremonies which, in fact, form standard and characteristic elements of spring and summer festivals in many parts of the world, and which are attested not only in modern but also in ancient civilizations. A few examples must suffice. In the Canaanite *Poem of Dawn and Sunset* which, as we have shown (*supra,* pp 231 ff.) is really the cult-text of a spring festival, the ritual drama is preceded by a rogation for prosperity and well-being [*šlm*] and by an appeal to the sun as fructifier of vines.[21] Similarly, at the Roman Ambarvalia, in April, the fields were circumambulated and Mars, as god of crops and of the yield of the earth, was entreated to "grant that crops and must and vine thrive and turn out well."[22] So too, in the daily liturgy of the Jews, during the period between Passover (in April) and early December – that is, between the cessation and resumption of the heavy "latter rains" – a special prayer is inserted in the statutory Eighteenth Blessings begging God to "bless our year with beneficial dews . . that it may issue in life, plenty and well-being, like those (previous) years which proved a blessing."[23] Lastly, it is still customary at this season for the peasants

19 An excellent account in XLI, i, 197 ff In England, the rogation days were popularly known as *gang-days,* from the custom of *ganging,* i e. going in procession

20 Barnaby Goodge's rendering, quoted in XLI, 1, 208

21. Ritual, §I, Line 7, Drama, §I, lines 23–27

22 The traditional formula is quoted by Cato, *De Re Rustica,* 141

23. CLXI, 32.

around Jerusalem to repair to the Well of the Virgin and chant this jingle:

O Lady, O Moon,
water our crops with moisture!
O Lady, O Spring of Siloam,
water our shrivelled seeds![24]

while at Bethlehem a similar doggerel is chanted:

Water our blighted crops!
Make green our parched seed![25]

§6. Equally arresting is the parallelism between the Puruli myth and the more popular part of the Rogationtide ceremonies. In many places, Rogationtide and the analogous 'crucial' summer dates are marked in folk custom by the enactment in pantomime of a battle against a dragon (sometimes transmogrified as Satan!)[26] whose grisly effigy is also paraded in the procession. Thus, for example, as late as 1903, it was customary at Ufford (Suffolk), in England, to parade such a dragon through the streets during Rogationtide;[27] while at Ragusa, in Sicily, an enormous effigy of a dragon, complete with movable tail and eyes, was likewise borne *in procession* on St. George's Day (April 23rd).[28] The latter custom obtained also, at an earlier period, in the city of Leicester, a local chronicle recording an annual disbursement, during the years 1536–41, "for dryssing the dragon."[29] Similarly, as comparatively late as 1823, a dragon called Snap used to be carried round Norwich, county town of Norfolk, on the same day;[30] while in several parts of England – notably in Kent and Derbyshire – the Feast of St. George is still characterized by the performance of a mummers' play dealing with the defeat of the monster.[31] Again, in the local folklore of Rouen it is asserted that St. Romanus anciently delivered the city from a dragon called Gargouille on Ascension Day;[32] while a writer of 1638 records that it was customary in his day for the inhabitants of Kennoul Hill, England, to foregather on May 1st for special exercises at a neighboring rock called Dragon's Hole.[33] Further, at Fuerth, in Bavaria, the slaying of the dragon was enacted annually on the Sunday following Midsummer (Corpus Christi);[34] and at Burford, in Oxfordshire, the dragon was paraded on Midsummer Eve.[35] Similar cere-

24. PEFQS 1893,218, 1925,37, LXXXIX, I 1 139
25 CCXLVIII, 56 f.
26 Cf. Naogeorgus (tr Goodge), quoted in XLI, i 209.

"Then out of hand the dreadful shape of Satan down they throw
Oftimes, with fire burning bright, and dash'd asunder tho';
The boys with greedy eyes do watch, and on him straight they fall,
And beat him sore with rods, and break him into pieces small."

27. CCIV, II 523. 28 CCCLVIII, 323 ff
29. North, Thos, *A Chronicle of St Martin in Leicester* (1866), 136. "1536–41: Itm paid for dryssing the dragon . . . 4s"
30. *Edinburgh Review* 77 (1843), 143 f
31. CDLXXX, 462. 32. LXVa, 1, 540
33. v.
34. CCCXLIX, ii 107 ff; GB ii, 163. 35 GB xi (*Balder*), 37 f.

monies take place also, on analogous dates, at Tarascon,[36] and in other French towns and villages.[37] So prominent, in fact, is the discomfiture of the dragon in these seasonal rites that Frazer has characterized it as one of the essential ingredients of the myth and ritual associated with such occasions.[38]

§7. In the light of these parallels, it is apparent that the rites of the Puruli festival on the one hand and of Rogationtide on the other are but two examples of worldwide usages characteristic of early summer. It is therefore no objection to the comparison that Rogationtide, as a Christian institution, is no older than the sixth century A.D.;[39] what matters is not the date of its Christianization but the antiquity of its underlying pattern. Now, as it happens, this essential pattern of Dragon-Combat plus Procession obtains already in Babylonian, Egyptian and Canaanite usage. — Thus, the Babylonian New Year (Akîtu) Festival, held in April, was characterized by the performance of a ritual drama dealing with the victory of Marduk over the dragon Tiamat and by a solemn procession of gods, including those of neighboring cities, to the central shrine of Esagila, where the triumphant victor was installed as king [40] — Similarly, the distinguishing features of the great Egyptian festival held annually at Edfu in the month of June (Paymi) were a mimetic enactment of Horus' victory over Set — represented as a hippopotamus, *i.e* a Nilotic "dragon" — and a parade of the gods to a central shrine.[41] So too the cult-text of the analogous Canaanite festival — preserved in the Ugaritic Poem of Baal — mythologized the ritual of that occasion in a story relating how Baal overcame the dragon Yam (Sea) and was subsequently installed as king in a specially built palace, whither all the gods foregathered.[42]

§8. Now the essential thing about all these examples of the Dragon-Combat, ancient and modern alike, is that in every case it was performed as part

36 CCCXLIV, 245–50 37 CDXII, 1 468–70

38 GB IV (*The Dying God*), 105 ff

39 The usual view is that Rogationtide is a Christianization of the Roman festival of Robigalia, held on April 25th But this could apply at best to the Major Rogationtide, ordained for that day by Gregory the Great (d 604) It could certainly not apply to the Minor Rogationtide, introduced between 471 and 475 by Mamertus, bishop of Vienne (in the Dauphiné), for this was celebrated during the three days preceding Ascension, and the date of that festival is variable, being determined by that of Easter Moreover, there is really very little to recommend a derivation of Rogationtide from the Robigalia, since not only the dates but also the rituals are totally distinct The Robigalia was designed expressly to avert mildew (*robigo*) and — since this is a kind of rust — it was characterized by the sacrifice of two rust-brown puppies to the deity Robiga There is nothing of this in the ceremonies of Rogationtide Conversely, the processions and the dragon-slaying which mark the Christian festival have no counterpart in the ritual of the Robigalia — On the institution of the Minor Rogationtide by Mammertus, cf Sidonius Apoll., *Epist* V, XIV, XVII, Avatus, in Migne, *PL*, LIX, 289–94 For its formal adoption at the Council of Clovesho, cf CDLXV, *i* 64

40 Cf especially the text printed by Pinches, PSBA 30 (1908), 84 f , col D On the subject in general (with further references), cf CCCXLVIII, 131 ff

41 See above, Ch. IV, §12.

42. III AB, A and II AB. On the sequence, cf Gaster, BASOR 101 (1946), 21–30.

of a complex seasonal ceremony. We are therefore surely justified in concluding that when a myth of this content appears as the central element of an ancient Hittite text designed specifically for a festival falling in the same season and one whose ritual conforms in all other respects to a standard and fairly universal pattern, that myth represents the libretto of just such a performance. In other words, our thesis is sustained that *in the Puruli text we have,* inter-alia, *a specimen of ancient Hittite ritual drama.*

§9. It remains to inquire: What was the real purport and function of this drama? The answer comes, once again, from comparative folklore. It has already been observed that in the Canaanite version of the myth, the monster is actually called Yam or Nahar, words which mean literally "(inland) sea" and "river",[43] while in Arabic[44] and likewise in Chinese belief,[45] waterspouts were regarded as dragons, and in the Swat region of Afghanistan, rivers are thought to be inhabited by draconic serpents.[46] In French folklore, as in the legend (cited above) relating how St. Romanus delivered the city of Rouen on Ascension Day (mark the date!), the dragon of the threatening flood is called Gargouille, *i.e.* "Waterspout."[47] Similarly, St. Martha is said to have slain Tarusque, dragon of the Rhône,[48] and St. Martial that of the Garonne.[49] Significant, too, is the fact that in Chinese folklore, when an overflowing river is confined, it is said that the *dragon has been caged*[49a] All of this makes it plain why the Slaying of the Dragon became the characteristic myth of the spring festival, alike among the ancient Hittites as in modern popular lore. As Dalman has pointed out,[50] one of the great dangers of late spring in the Near East is that of inundation caused by the melting of snow on the mountains and the consequent swelling of the rivers. That danger must be averted, and rain must be vouchsafed in proper measure, if the crops are not to be destroyed. Accordingly, an essential element of the spring festival, besides the petition for rain, is the staging of a battle against the malevolent dragon of the rivers and the lakes and the subterranean waters, and a subsequent celebration of the fact that he has been overcome and the menace averted.[51]

§10. In the course of its transmission, the rudimentary material of the ritual drama was constantly embellished and transformed by the introduction of extraneous elements and of subsidiary traits and motifs. These were due, on the one hand, to conscious literary creation, and, on the other, to the irrepressible and playful inventiveness of the common people who acted it or who participated in the attendant ceremonies. In both cases, they

43 See *Baal,* Introd., §3.
44 Mas'udi, I 263, 266, cf CDXXIX, 176
45. CIV, II 264
46 Waddell, ERE XII 127a Note also that in Switzerland, a mountain-torrent is called *drach* (serpent).
47. Cp Sanskrit *gargaras,* Latin *gurges,* "whirlpool"
48 CXCVb, I, 219, CDXXX, 89
49 CDXII, i, 468 ff
49a. XCVI, 108.
50 LXXXIX, I II 307 f
51 On dragons as symbolizations of rivers, cf CDXXX, 88–98

tended to draw generously upon contemporary folklore, grafting upon the traditional nucleus a vast conglomeration of unassorted ideas and impressions and overlaying the original material with elements transplanted boldly from other current tales and legends.

The two versions of the dramatic myth which are preserved in our Puruli text are not without these accretions and embellishments; and for the full understanding of the story as there narrated, it is necessary to consider them carefully against their folkloristic backgrounds.

In this connection, it must be remembered also that while, as we have seen (*supra*, §1), the Puruli festival was of Hattic origin, and while the Hattic background was indeed retained in the more conservative ritual,[52] the accompanying myth has come down to us through a *Hittite* medium. Accordingly, we must allow for the possibility that the popular accretions which now appear in it may have been due to distinctively *Hittite* influences and have been gathered during the course of transmission.[53]

COMPOSITION OF THE TEXT

KBo III 7	KUB XII 66	KUB XVII 5	KUB XVII 6
i 27	—	13	—
—	—	16	11
—	—	i 25	i 21
ii 6	—	—	i 25
iii 4	iii 6	—	—
iv 4	iv 8	—	iv 1
iv 28	—	—	iv 23

From *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazkoi*, XVII, Introduction.

52. Thus, the deities Zashapunas and Zalinuis mentioned in the Ritual Epilogue (§VI) are elsewhere attested as of distinctly Hattic character (see Comm *in loc.*); while the city of Nerik (Hattic Na-ra-ak, KUB XXVIII 73,5, Guterbock, OLZ 1938, 24), in which the ceremonies take place, is known to have been one of the great Hattic cult-centers (cf CLXXI, 50, 126), and it is frequently specified in Hittite ritual texts that its supreme god must be addressed "in the Hattic tongue" (cf. Forrer, ZDMG 76 [1922], 193, Nos. 9, 10, 12, 14).

53. On the other hand, there is no longer any authority for assuming with Kretschmer (KlF 1 [1929], 309 ff) that Inaras is a "Hittite" name connected with Sanskrit *naras*, Greek ἀνήρ, etc. or that the final element of the name Illuyankas has anything to do with Sanskrit *ahas*, Greek ἔχις, "serpent." We now know that Inaras was a Hattic goddess (cf. Laroche, JCS 1 [1947], 214 f.), while, according to Forrer (PEFQS 1937, 109), Illuyankas figures also in the Myth of Kissi (KUB XVII 1 ii 13) and in the "Legend of Ishtar" (Bo 2024, iii 65) – myths which do not appear to have been of natively Hittite origin (cf. Guterbock, CXCIIa, 118–19, 122).

TRANSLATION

I

INTRODUCTION

The words of Killas, [priest of] Teshub (of) Nerik:

(When once) the Weather-god of heaven [duly sends rain],
men no longer thus repeat the Puruli-formula:

"May the earth thrive, increase!
May the earth be blest with peace!"

But so long as it is not yet thriving and increasing,
they celebrate the Puruli festival.

I. Introduction: The text proper begins (§ II) with the narration of the cult-myth. All that precedes is by way of introduction. The latter, however, is somewhat obscure, since the crucial verb is broken away on the tablet. Most editors have refrained from a committal interpretation, contenting themselves with the bare but vague observation that these lines somehow relate the ensuing myth to the Puruli festival. Goetze alone has attempted a more precise elucidation (CLXXI, 131, n. 1). According to this scholar, the words which we have rendered "the Puruli-*formula*" (viz. *Puruliyas uttar*) mean properly "the Puruli-*myth*", and *two* versions of this are given in our text. The purpose of the Introduction was, therefore, to distinguish between them by pointing out that the first was archaic and obsolete; and this was done by prefixing to it the statement: "The word (i.e. myth) of the Puruli do they no longer thus repeat (i.e. recite)." We disagree. In our opinion, the reference is to the formula "May the earth thrive, increase," etc., which is actually introduced by the particle of quotation [*-wa*]. This is a typical doggerel 'rogation' paralleled, as we have seen (Introd., §5), in many parts of the world. The purpose of the introduction was, therefore, to indicate under what conditions the jingle would be premature and inappropriate and, conversely, under what conditions it would be in place. The two conditions are expressed by mutually antithetical sentences the initial clauses of which are to be construed in each case as concessive (with not uncommon omission of the concessive particle *man*, for which cf. CDXXXIV, 182, CLI, i, 95, §331a). The first of these two sentences defines the *negative* circumstances in which the formula is *not* to be repeated, viz. "If the weather-god of heaven . . ." Obviously, then, the missing verb must have the sense of "is duly sending rain" (Hitt. *heyawaneskizzi*). Conversely, the second sentence defines the *positive* circumstances in which the celebration of the Puruli festival and the performance of the 'rogation' ceremonies is indeed appropriate, i.e. "when it (*sc.* the earth) is no longer thriving (and) increasing." In other words: when the weather-god duly sends rain, the repetition of the rogation formula is no longer necessary, and is to be discontinued, but when the earth lies arid and languishes, no longer thriving and increasing, the performance of the ritual is in order.

It will be observed that this interpretation gives a consistent and coherent meaning to the entire passage – which Goetze's fails to do. Moreover, it is supported by the fact that at the end of the Second Version of our myth we actually

II

FIRST VERSION OF THE PURULI MYTH

The Dragon is lured to a banquet and overpowered by the mortal hero, Hupasiyas.

When the Weather-god and the Dragon
came to blows in the city of Kiskilussa,
the Dragon succeeded in [maim]ing the Weather-god.

So the Weather-god implored a[ll] the gods,
saying, "Ga[th]er together!"

Thereupon the goddess Inaras prepared a banquet.
She arranged everything on a lavish scale:
a large barrel of wine, a large barrel of fruit-juice,
a large barrel of * * *;
in fact, large barrels of [every kind of drink] she prepared in abundance.

Then Inaras went to [the city of Zi]guratta.
She encountered the man Hupasiyas.

Said Inaras: "Look you, Hupasiyas,
I am in such and such case;
come you to my aid!"

---

find a colophon which appears to state that "both this and the preceding are [versions of] the myth of the Weather-god and the Dragon." Now, if – as Goetze supposes – the compiler of our text wished to point out a distinction between these two versions, that, surely, would have been the place to do so!

II. First Version of the Puruli Myth: The story here narrated incorporates two elements which demand special attention. The first is that when his aid is solicited by the goddess Inaras, the mortal hero Hupasiyas stipulates that he must first sleep with her – a condition readily granted. The second is that after he has assisted in vanquishing the Dragon, Hupasiyas is transported by the goddess to a special abode on an inaccessible cliff and ordered not to look out of the window lest he see his wife and children. When he disobeys, he is destroyed.

The first of these two elements is usually explained as signifying indulgence in unnatural passion, Inaras being regarded as a masculine deity (CDXXXIII, 382 ff., Friedrich, ZA 43 [1936], 295 f.) As for the second, all that scholars have thus far made of it is that Hupasiyas was removed to the inaccessible abode to prevent his becoming homesick. Nevertheless, adds Kretschmer (KlF 1 (1929), 212 f.), "es scheint die Episode im Sande zu verlaufen."

It should be observed in the first place that Inaras is now known to have been a *female* deity (see Laroche, JCS 1 [1947], 214–15). The suggestion of unnatural passion is therefore eliminated. For the rest, it appears to us that the two incidents really hang together. The intercourse with the goddess was designed not

Said Hupasiyas to Inaras:
"Hail! If I may lie with you, I will indeed come,
I will do what you wish."

[So she] lay [with] him.

Thereupon Inaras brought Hupasi[yas into the] house
and concealed him.

Then Inaras adorned herself
and [invit]ed the Dragon up from his hole,
(saying), "Look you, I am preparing a banquet.
Come now to eat and drink!"

So up came the Dragon [and his] cr[ew].
They ate and drank;
they drank up the entire barrel,
and were full glutted.

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to satisfy passion but for the magical purpose of acquiring necessary superhuman strength. Among primitive peoples, the belief is pretty universal that personal characteristics can be transmitted and acquired through sexual intercourse (cf. LXXX, *passim*). This is, of course, merely one specialized form of the notion that properties and qualities, both positive and negative, can be acquired by any form of contact or "absorption." It is this, for example, which inspires the Zulus, when going out to war, to eat the flesh of cattle in order to receive their strength (LX, 438). It also underlies the similar custom of the Amaxosa to drink the gall of an ox in order to become strong (CDXIX, 216), or that of the Bechuanas to do likewise (CCLXXXIII, II 290). Similar, too, is the Halmaherese usage (Riedel, *Zs. f Ethn.* 17 [1885], 86), while in Central Australia, human blood is drunk before embarking on an avenging expedition (CDXLI, 461). As Crawley points out (LXXX, i 142), the notion is frequently entertained that the seat of strength is the seminal fluid, and that the vigor and other properties which can be acquired by smelling, seeing, anointing and the like can be acquired *a fortiori* by the more intimate contact of sexual intercourse. It is, indeed, this that underlies the Hebrew story in Genesis 6.1 ff. which relates how Yahweh was obliged to curtail the natural life of man after the minor gods had consorted with the daughters of men, he could not tolerate that his "spirit should continue in man forever." It is this and this alone that likewise underlies our present incident. *The mortal Hupasiyas is being asked to face a dragon which has already maimed so powerful a being as the Weather-god himself. He therefore stipulates that he will do so only if he be first equipped with superhuman, divine strength, and the most immediate method of acquiring such strength is by sexual relations with the deity who makes the request*

Our second incident now provides the logical complément to this magical acquisition of superhuman strength. If contact with the strong confers strength, by the same token contact with the weak confers weakness. It is, indeed, for this reason that in so many civilizations men avoid women – the weaker vessel – whenever they are about to embark on an enterprise requiring the full measure of their vigor Odysseus, it will be remembered, feared to ascend the couch of Circe lest he lose his virility (*Od* x 301, 339–41) Analogously, the Galela and Tobelorese avoid contact with women in wartime (Riedel, *loc. cit.*). In the same

Then could they no more return to their hole.

So [out sp]rang Hupasiyas,
and bound the Dragon with a rope.

Then ca[me] the Weather-god and slew the Drag[on];
and (all) the gods rallied round him.

Then Inaras built a house
on a rock in the region of Tarug[ga],*
and settled Hupasiyas in that house.

And Inaras instructed him, saying:
"Hail! I am going into the country.

* Tarugga is mentioned in KUB XVII 1 II 20 and in Bo 2374 II 2 and Bo. 2715 III 15 (Forrer). The first element of the name is evidently Tāru, the Hattic designation of the Weather-god.

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way, too, the Zulus believe that if a newly-married man falls in battle, his wife's "lap is unlucky" (Macdonald, JAI 20 [1891], 140); while "in South Africa, a man, when in bed, may not touch his wife with his right hand," for "if he did so, he would have no strength in war, and would surely be slain" (LX, 441–43). The same notion certainly obtained among the Arabs, sexual intercourse being tabu to warriors (Aghānī XIV 67 [Tabarī, ed. Kosegarten, I 144]; XV 161; Al-Aḥtal, *Diwan* 120.2, Mas'ūdī VI 63–65, *Fr. Hist. Ar.* 247 ff., CDXXIX, 455); while from such Old Testament passages as Deuteronomy 33.10–11 and I Samuel 21.5–6 [EV. 4–5], as well as from the use of the verb *q-d-š*, "hallow, purify," in connection with warfare (Jer. 22 7, 51 27 f., Joel 4.9), Robertson Smith (CDXXIX, *loc. cit.*) and Schwally (CDIX, 46 f.) have deduced a similar usage in Israel. Nor is it only physical contact with a woman that can sap a man's strength, the very sight of her can produce the same effect, and this is, in fact, a common motif in folktales of all peoples (*MI*, C. 312). That the idea obtained already in the Hittite world has been shown, in another connection, by Friedrich (CLII, ii, 159, 171). *The point of Hupasiyas' incarceration on an inaccessible cliff and the prohibition against seeing his wife is therefore designed to prevent impairment or transmission to mortals of the divine "essence" which he received through intercourse with the goddess Inaras.*

A further element of the narrative also claims our attention. Instead of the traditional account, in which the monster is defeated in straightforward combat, our narrative attributes his downfall – with obvious comic effect – to the result of a ruse the Dragon and his aides are lured to a banquet, where they gorge themselves to such an extent that they cannot return to their holes and are thus easily despatched. Now, this motif happens to recur in folktales from many parts of the world dealing with the defeat of ogres and dragons (see *MI*, G. 521 and K. 871, XXXVIII, iii, 106, CDLXXIX, No. 32). It is therefore a reasonable inference that the introduction of it into our story was due not to the inventiveness of a particular author but to the characteristic injection into the traditional material of new elements derived from popular lore and transferred bodily from tales familiar in the homes of the common folk.

In support of this view, it should be noted that, as here related, the story implies characteristics of the Dragon which are foreign to the more formal religious

Do not look out of the window;
for if you *do* look out,
you will see your wife and child."

Well, the twentieth day arrived,
and [Hupasiyas] pushed open the window,
and there [he saw] his* wife and children.

Now, when Inaras returned from the country,
she started yelling, "Let me in!"
[But] * * * * * * * * * * *

* *
*

III

RITUAL INTERLUDE

Petition for rain.

Inaras is (away) in Kiskilussa;
the Spirit of the Wellsprings has retir[ed to] his house;

* The text has erroneously "your."

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myths but exceedingly common in popular folktales. The first of these is gullibility. In the religious myths, the Dragon is a formidable monster, like Tiamat, Leviathan or Typhon. But in folktales – as Grimm pointed out (CLXXXV, 528–29) – the analogous ogre or giant is frequently portrayed as a stupid and credulous creature. In Old Norse, for instance, the word *dumbr*, "dunderhead," actually occurs in the sense of "giant" (*ibid.*), and in later German folklore, giants are called *dumme Lutten* or *lubbe*, "lubbers" (66., 525 f.), while in Hebrew, the giant Orion bears the name *K*ᵉ*sîl*, "lumbering fool." Stories of the stupid ogre who is bested by trickery are common among many peoples, no less than two hundred variations on this theme being listed in Aarne and Thompson's standard index (I, Nos. 1000–1199).

The second characteristic of the Dragon in our tale is gluttony. This, too, does not appear in the formal religious myths, but is a common trait in folktales of analogous ogres and giants. A classic example is that of the Cyclops who, in the Homeric account (*Od.* VIII 288–89), spends much of his time in unrestrained eating and drinking. Similarly, according to Grimm (CLXXXV, 522), the Old Norse giant Suttungr derives his name from a word *supt-sopi*, "sup" or "draught," while the common Teutonic designation *durs* (<Low German *duris/turs*, *drost;* Swiss *durst*) properly denotes one who is fond of wine, thirsty or drunken, just as the Old Norse *jotunn*, Anglo-Saxon *eoten*, Scottish *ettyn*, Swedish *jatte*, "giant," properly denotes "voracious," being connected with the Latin *edax*, etc.

III. Ritual Interlude. Petition for rain. This portion of the text is badly preserved, and has therefore proved something of a riddle to commentators. Goetze and Furlani omit it from their summaries, while Kretschmer contents himself with the bare (though actually incorrect) observation that it seems to mention

so that even if the king were to perform the ceremony of 'taking hands,'
the while we celebrated a first-rate Puruli,
Inaras and the Spirit of the Wellsprings
[could not, perforce] accept the hand of the king.

"the first Puruli" and therefore possibly implies that the banquet spread by Inaras was regarded as the prototype of the festival. The fact is, however, that there are sufficient clues, hitherto overlooked, to make out the general sense, even though specific details must remain admittedly obscure.

First, attention may be called to the words "*we* celebrate" [Hitt. *iyaweni*], showing clearly that the passage involves a speech by or on behalf of a group of persons. Next, we observe that while, in the preceding section, the action takes place in Kiskilussa and (later) in Tarugga, attention is here concentrated on the city of Nerik, where the Puruli festival was celebrated. It is plain, therefore, that there is a shift of scene Once this is realized, all becomes clear. Our passage begins with a reference to the fact that Inaras is away in Kiskilussa and that the Spirit of the Wellsprings (*Hwnhwanas*) has retired to his home, and this is followed by the statement that even if the king were to "take hands" and even if the ritual were to be performed – something or other would happen. Manifestly, what is implied is that, since both crucial deities are absent, the observance would be abortive. In support of this interpretation, it should be noted that the phrase about the king's "taking hands" refers to a specific cultic action mentioned in other Hittite texts (e g. KBo IV 9 ii 51, KUB X 23 iii 10, iv 2) as performed by the king. This action or gesture was evidently identical with the Babylonian rite of the same name [*sabat qatê*] which formed a cardinal part of the analogous New Year (Akîtu) ritual (CCCXLVIII, 174). It should be observed also that Inaras was the divine protectress or "providence" of mankind *par excellence,* her name being written alternatively with the ideogram ^{d}LAMA (or ^{d}KAL) which possesses this meaning (cf. XCIV, s.v. ^{d}KAL).

But who was Hwnhwanas, with whom that deity is here associated? Fortunately, this can be determined, with reasonable certainty, in the light of the text KBo VI 34 ii 5 ff., cited by Ehelolf in KlF 1 (1929), 394 ff., where the cognate *hwnhesnas* occurs in the following context:

> *nuza ishamiskizzi* ^{d}*UZADAR-is,*
> *nuzakán arunas akun passilanna anda zikkizzi,*
> *nukán arunaz arha sallis hwnhesna*[*s*]
>
> "Thereupon the goddess works a spell,
> into the bed (?) of the ocean she casts gravel,
> then from the ocean (rises) a mighty *hwnhesnas.*"

Here, obviously, a meaning like "spurt" or "swell" is indicated, rather than "wave," as suggested by Ehelolf, and this meaning will also fit in KBo III 21 ii 8, where the term is associated with Ea, *god of the deep,* and in KBo III 8 iii 1, 20 where it is combined with *rivers.* It is especially appropriate in KUB XVII 10 i 24 (the Telipinu-myth), where the cognate *hwanhessar* is related to the "high mountains" and "deep valleys"; for there it can scarcely mean "wave," but might very well denote the springs which burst forth in Syria and other Near Eastern countries *at the foot of the hills* (cf. CDXXIV, 77), and which were believed in antiquity to issue from the subterranean ocean (CDXCII, 17). The *hwnhwanas* will thus be the equivalent of the Canaanite "upsurge of the ocean" [*šr' thmtm*] mentioned in the Ugaritic *Poem of Aqhat* (III, 45) as being a source

So all . . . . . Mount Zaliyanu.
If rain be vouchsafed in the city of Nerik,
then from the city of Nerik,
will a sacristan bring (due) offertory bread.

---

alternative to rain and shower and the operations of Baal, whence the soil derives moisture.

The meaning of the phrase "Inaras is in Kiskilussa, Hwnhwanas has retired to *his house*" *is now plain:* the Providence which sends rainfall and fertility is departed from us, the springs bubble forth no more, and the wadies are dried up. In point of general sense, it has the same implication as Daniel's curse on the soil in III Aqhat 44–45: "No dew nor rain may there be, neither upwelling of the deeps" [*bl tl bl rbb bl šrʿ thmtm*].

Thus far all is plain sailing. What now of the reference to the "first Puruli" which Kretschmer and others have recognized in these lines? Initially, it should be observed that this rendering overlooks the salient point that the first celebration of a festival could be so described only from the retrospective viewpoint of a later generation, not by the institutors of it themselves. We therefore propose that the word *hantezziyas* usually rendered "first" is here to be understood in the sense of "prime, first-class," which it not infrequently possesses (cf. CLII, ii 169, additional note to p. 139). Thus, the phrase will refer not to the celebration of *the first* Puruli, but to that of a *first-class* Puruli, punctiliously observed to the last detail.

The two normal sources of moisture having thus failed them, the citizens of Nerik turn to the genius of the neighboring Mount Zaliyanu, in the hope that he might be induced to send it by melting the snows. This alternative source is indeed mentioned in the Yuzgat Tablet (line 10. "waters of the mountains"), and it is this that is meant by the expression "torrent of the mountains" [*zerem hārîm*] in Job 24.8.

That this interpretation is correct is indicated very strongly by the fact that in the Ritual Epilogue of our text, an image of the deified Zaliyanu is said to be carried in the festal parade and accorded a special honor when the gods are ceremonially installed at Nerik. Mount Zaliyanu is mentioned again in KUB XXI 1, iv 24 (= CLII, ii, 80), and a deified Zaliyanu in KUB XX 80 iii 17.

In appealing to the genius of Mount Zaliyanu, the citizens of Nerik (or their spokesman) assure him that, if their petition is granted and rain is indeed vouchsafed to the city, a certain "man of the rod" [LÚ ^{GIŠ}PA] will duly present sacrificial bread. This official (whose title we have rendered "sacristan") is mentioned in other ritual texts, notably in that of the vernal festival of AN.TAḪ.ŠUM, where he functions as a kind of beadle or master of ceremonies, ushering the royal family to their seats and giving the signal to the choir to begin singing. The title corresponds exactly to our "verger" (cp. *verge* = *rod*), or to the British parliamentary Black Rod – the usher of the House of Commons. It would be tempting also to compare this Hittite sacral order of "rod-men" with the priestly *cannophoroi* or "rod-bearers" of the Attis cult (CIL XIV 116–119, cf. also Joh. Lydus, *De Mensibus* iv 49, where, however *cannophoroi* are confused with *canēphoroi*), or with the *archirabdousa*, "mistress of the rod-bearers," mentioned as a priestess in *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes*, I, 164; but for this definite evidence is lacking.

Whatever may have been his precise position in the hierarchy (see Alp, JCS 1

Therewith he besought (the Spirit of) Mount Zaliyanu for rain.
He brought him that offertory bread * * * * ;
and he brought * * * * * * ;
he brought him [th]at * * * * * ;
* * * * * * * * * * * * *

IV

SECOND VERSION OF THE PURULI MYTH

Describing how, by a ruse, the Weather-god recovered his heart and eyes, which had been wrested from him by the Dragon, and how he subsequently overpowered that monster.

He* took to wife the daughter of a slave.
She bore a son.
When he was grown up,
he took as his bride the daughter of the Dragon.

Thereupon the Weather-god instructed his son, saying:
"When you enter the house of your bride (to arrange the marriage),

* *i e* the Weather-god

[1947], 164, n. 5), it is clear that the "man of the rod" was a sacerdotal official. Accordingly, what our text means is that if the desired rainfall is granted, sacrificial fare will be presented. On the face of it, this might imply no more than a promise of thank-offerings. There is, however, another possible interpretation. The text may mean that, owing to the dearth of rain and the failure of the crops which will result if this continues, the regular provision of food for the gods is in jeopardy, but that it will be readily forthcoming, if relief is granted. In support of this interpretation is the fact that the possibility of the gods' starving is one of the motifs constantly introduced in ancient harvest rogations and in myths describing the dread effects of the dry season. Thus, in the Hittite *Myth of Telipinu* (KUB XVII 10, i 18), when the genius of fertility has disappeared from the earth, the gods complain that in consequence of the resultant drought they "face destruction." Similarly, in the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter* (311–12), the rape of Persephone is said to have entailed a threat of famine to men and also to have deprived the gods of their due offerings, while in the harvest litany embodied in the first chapter of the Biblical Book of Joel the desiccation of the earth is said expressly to involve "the cutting off of meal-offering and libation from Yahweh's house" (verses 9, 12).

IV. Second Version of the Puruli Myth. This story is a conflate of several elements, and the significant thing is that, while all of them are foreign to formal religious myth, each is well represented in popular lore and folktale.

First, there is once again the implication of the Dragon's gullibility – a trait which we have already seen to be characteristic of folk conceptions. The whole point of the story depends – though no commentator has yet observed it – on the Dragon's being duped by the mortal character of his daughter's suitor and thus not connecting him with his enemy, the Weather-god. Only on this basis is his ready delivery of the heart and eyes at all intelligible; for he would obviously

demand from them my heart and eyes!"

So (the lad) went and demanded from them the heart.
They gave it to him.
Next, he demanded from them the eyes.
These too they gave to him.

---

not have delivered them, had he realized for what purpose they were being demanded. In this respect, therefore, our story may be regarded as but another variation of the Tale of the Stupid Ogre.

Second, there is the theft of the vital organs and their ultimate restoration. That this was drawn from the common stock of popular legend is shown by the fact that a virtually perfect parallel occurs, as Porzig has pointed out (KlF 1 [1930], 379–86), in the second account given by Apollodorus (I 6 III 7 f.) of the battle between Zeus and the monster Typhon.

> Zeus pelted Typhon at a distance with thunderbolts, and at close quarters struck him with an adamantine sickle, and as he fled pursued him as far as Mount Casius, which overhangs Syria. There, seeing the monster sore wounded, he grappled with him. But Typhon twined about him and gripped him in his coils, and wresting the sickle from him, severed the sinews of his hands and feet, and lifting him on his shoulders carried him through the sea to Cilicia and deposited him, on arrival, in the Corycian cave. Likewise he put away the sinews there also, hidden in a bearskin . . But Hermes and Aigipan stole the sinews and fitted them unobserved to Zeus And having recovered his strength Zeus suddenly from heaven riding in a chariot of winged horses, pelted Typhon with thunderbolts and pursued him to the mountain called Nysa.
>
> (Trs Frazer)

That this is merely a local variation on a more widespread theme is evident from the fact that there actually exists an alternative version of the story, preserved by the poet Nonnus (*Dionysiaca* i 481 f.), in which the place of Hermes and Aigipan – who happen, significantly, to have been among the deities especially associated in cultus with the Corycian cave – is taken by the Phoenician hero Cadmus! We are therefore surely entitled to regard it as one of the many popular tales which must have been 'familiar in men's mouths as household words' and upon which our Hittite author – or the tradition which he reproduces – drew readily in embellishing and elaborating the ancient ritual myth.

Lastly, there is the specification of the severed organs. In the Greek version, these are the sinews of Zeus' hands and feet. In the Hittite version, however, they are the Weather-god's heart and eyes. Now, at first sight, it might appear perfectly natural to select the latter organs as indicative of the source of vitality. The fact is, however, that the selection of them is informed not so much by natural observation as by folk-belief. In many cultures, the heart is believed to be the seat of the "soul" or vital essence, and not merely the physical motor of the body. Thus, to cite but a few examples, the Ahts maintain that the soul of a man resides in his heart and head (CDXLII, 173 f.); while the Caribs and the natives of the Nisas, both of whom believe that the individual possesses several 'souls,' assert that the chief of these is in the heart (CCCXXV, 207 f., LXXIX, 120 f.). Similarly, the Ba-Huana of Africa and the Mexicans both have but one word for both "heart" and "soul" (Jorday and Joyce, JAI 36 [1906], 291, CCCLI, 1, 468), while in Norse folktales the identity of the two may be recognized at once in the many stories relating how giants or similar personages secreted their hearts in external

Then he brought them to his father, the Weather-god.
The latter took possession of the heart and eyes.

When his body had (thus) been restored to its former state,
he went straightway to the sea to do battle.
Having done battle,
he succeeded eventually in overcoming the Drag[on].

Howbeit, the son of the Weather-god
happened at the time to be [lodging as a guest] in the Dragon's house;
so he cried to his father aloft in the heavens:
"Include me too!
Show no compassion for me!"

Thereupon the Weather-god slew both the Drag[on] and his own son.

V

COLOPHON

BOTH THIS AND THE PRECEDING ARE (VERSIONS OF THE MYTH?) OF THE WEATHER-GOD [AND] THE DR[AGON].

VI

RITUAL EPILOGUE

The festal parade and the installation of the gods at the Puruli festival.

THE WORDS OF KILLAS [OF NERIK].

When [the marshal has assembled] the gods,
the sacred officials and the gods set forth (together).

---

objects in order to render themselves deathless (cf. xc, 47). It should be observed also that in ancient Egypt the heart possessed a spiritual as well as material aspect. In Hebrew, the expression "steal the heart" is used for getting a man into one's power (Gen 31.20, 26).

As for the eyes, it may be suggested that the specification of these organs — not similarly specified in the parallel Greek version! — was motivated not only by their obvious importance but also by the influence of popular tales dealing with the blinding of the ogre. The ubiquity of such tales is well known, we need but mention the instances of Polyphemus (cf. CLXXXIV, CCCXI, 546–50, CXCIII; CDLXXV, 155–64; XXXVIII, iii, 374–78, XII, ii, 404 f.), of the Basque giant Tartaro (CDLXXXII, 4), of the Cornish ogre of St. Michael's Mount (DX, 42), of the monster blinded by the Red Indian hero Glooskap (*ibid.*), of the one-eyed giant treated likewise by the Celtic hero Fionn (LXII, 207), and of parallel figures in the folklore of the Russians, Lapps, Indians, Africans and Melanesians (DX, *loc. cit*). The blinding of the Biblical Samson (Ju. 16.21) will spring readily to mind.

VI. Ritual Epilogue. The god ZASHAPUNAS (miswritten Za-ha-pu-na-as!) is again associated, as here, with the Weather-god of Nerik, as well as with the

In the procession . . . . the gods go . . . . ;
the gods go ahead of the paraders.

A large-scale cereal offering is presented to Zalinuis,
while Zalinuis' consort Zashapunas
takes precedence even over the Weather-god of Nerik.

Thus say the gods:
"We are going to Nerik to be installed."

And the sacred marshal says:
"When it comes to installing you* on your diorite throne(s),
the sacred officers will observe due protocol.†
The sacred officer who holds (the image of) the god (of) Zalıyanu

* *Lit* "When you are to be seated."
† *Lit* "Will not be remiss"

---

city of Kastama and Mount Zalıyanu, in the Sacrificial Decree of King Muwatallis, KUB VI 46, obv. i 67 (= Bohl, TT 50 [1916], 309). His *Hattic* character is further attested by the text, Bo. 468, 9′ (= Forrer, ZDMG 76 [1922], 193, No. 25: ^{d}Za-ah-pu-na-an!), where it is expressly prescribed that he is to be supplicated *in the Hattic tongue (hattili)*. According to Laroche (RA 41 [1947], 78), his name means properly "the God" *par excellence*, being compounded of the Hattic prefix *z/ta* + the word *asha*, "god" + the suffix *-puna*.

From the fact that the sign IŠKUR, the usual ideogram for the Weather-god, is found written in some passages with the phonetic complement *-unas*, Sommer has inferred (*BoSt* 10 [1924], 49) that Zashapunas is none other than that deity under his native name. This view, once widely accepted, is no longer tenable. For one thing, Zashapunas and the Weather-god are clearly and explicitly distinguished in KUB VI 46, obv. i 67. For another, we know that the Hattic equivalent of ^{d}IŠKUR was Tāru (Forrer, ZDMG 76 [1922], 236, n. 1, Laroche, JCS 1 [1947], 198). And in the third place, it is far more likely that the spelling ^{d}IŠKUR-unas conceals the *Hittite* rather than the Hattic name of the Weather-god, cf. Guterbock, CXCIIa, 96, n 22 Zashapunas is better regarded as the old Hattic god of Kastama and district.

The deity ZALINUIS is mentioned again in Bo. 3249 (= Forrer, ZDMG 76 [1922], 193, No 12. ^{d}Za-li-nu!) in association with the Weather-god of Nerik and the goddess NIN.É.GAL. It is prescribed that she must be addressed *in the Hattic tongue*. Not impossibly, her name contains the same prefix *z/ta* as appears in Zashapunas.

KASTAMA, which is associated with Nerik in KUB VI 45 i 62 ff and *ib*, 46 ii 27 ff, has been identified by Hrozný (AOr. 7 [1935], 159) with ancient Kastabala (Strabo xii, 1. 534), in Cappadocia, near modern Ekbez. This, however, is uncertain.

It may be suggested tentatively that the name TAZZUWASSI contains the Hattic word *zuwatu*, "lady, wife" (Laroche, JCS 1 [1947], 199), so that its meaning will be the same as Semitic Ba'alat, Hurrian Allani, etc., *i.e* Madonna.

TANIPIYA is tentatively identified by Laroche (JCS 1 [1947], 213) with the city of Ta-a-an-pi mentioned in KUB VIII 41 iii 10. Its location is unknown.

will duly install him on a diorite throne in that place,
and all the (other) gods will stand around.

(Similarly,) at Kastama,
Zashapunas will take precedence over all the gods.*
Moreover, inasmuch as Zalinuis is his consort,
and Tazuwassi his mistress,
the officers will install those three on * * *

The same procedure will obtain also in the city of Tanipiya.†

Moreover, territory will be allocated (in each case) by the (local) king,
even six acres of meadowland, one acre of the royal orchard,
a house and barn, three servant's quarters.‡
and (the deity) will take up residence there."

VII

COLOPHON

I profess reverence for the god Zashapunas

* *
*

APPENDIX

A fragment of the Puruli ritual is preserved in KUB XXV, 31. The ceremonies appear to involve the refurnishing of the temple of Telipinu. The priest presents to him a sacred pole and the ritual stands which go with it [lines 5–6: ^{GIŠ}*eyan* ^{GIŠ}*istannas kwit harpan*[*zi*] [LÚ ŠAN]GA ^{d}*Telipinu dāi*]. The sacred fleeces which hung in the temple and the sacred *hupp*[*ulius*?] (chairs?), both of which are now the worse for wear, are formally burned and replaced with new ones [lines 6–7: ^{KUŠ}*kursus ù* ^{GIŠ}*hupp*[*ulius*] *warnuanzi; nu appa newan iyan* [*danzi*]]. Two bronze axes and two bronze knives are produced, as well as mixed drink and hot loaves [lines 9–10: *kē pedai: I kuskalessar* . . . NINDA *ān* . . . *II PAŠU* ZABAR GAL . . . II GIR ZABAR . .]. Black and white goats are offered together with their fleeces to Telipinu and Zababa, and libations are poured. One hundred loaves are also presented [lines 14–18].

* *Lit.* "Zashapunas (will be) supreme over all the gods of Kastama."
† *Lit.* "Similarly in Tanipiya."
‡ *i.e.* for the servants of Zashapunas, Zalinuis and Tazuwassi respectively?

2. The Yuzgat Tablet

INTRODUCTION

A. SYNOPSIS

§1. Another specimen of the Hittite seasonal drama is preserved on the so-called Yuzgat Tablet, now in the Louvre.[1] Written in the latter half of the second millennium B C., this text falls into two parts: –

The first part[2] is *mythological* and deals with the disappearance of the Sun-god and of Telipinu, genius of fertility. A colophon describes it expressly as the "wailings" for these two deities[3] – a title which puts it at once into the same category as the "lamentations" for Attis, the "weeping" for Tammuz and the "howlings" for Persephone, and which thus stamps it as the libretto of a liturgical performance.

The second part[4] is of *ritual* character. It is concerned entirely with the presentation of offerings to both the Sun-god and Telipinu, listing the material to be used and describing the attendant procedures.

§2. The tablet is incomplete, some six columns being lost in the middle. It is therefore impossible to follow in detail either the plot or the sequence of the myth. Nevertheless, sufficient remains to make out its general pattern and drift.

The text opens in the middle of a speech by someone – evidently a goddess – who is imploring the supreme Weather-god to send his sons (*i.e.* the junior members of his circle) to bring relief from the havoc currently wrought on earth by a demon named Hahhimas, or Torpor,[5] who has succeeded in bringing all life to a standstill and in drying up the streams. The

1 The tablet was acquired, in 1905, by the late A H Sayce at Yuzgat, about 30 miles east of Ankara Most probably, it was part of the Boghaz-koi archive Its height is 15 4 cm and its maximum width 10 4 cm Deposited at first in the Liverpool Institute of Archaeology, it was subsequently transferred to the Louvre, where it is registered under the number AO 4703 The text was first published by A. H Sayce and T G. Pinches, in 1907, as vol xi of the *Asiatic Society Monographs* At that time, however, Hittite was still undeciphered, so that the interpretation there given is now completely antiquated and the edition itself of little use apart from the reasonably good copy of the tablet by Pinches. In later years, after Hrozný and others had successfully attacked the decipherment of Hittite, Sayce essayed various "revisions" of his original rendering. These appeared in JRAS 1920, 70–83, 1924, 645–53, 1930, 318–19 None, however, yielded a coherent sense, and all were dependent, to no small extent, on misreadings of the text and arbitrary or erroneous interpretations of the vocabulary Finally, in 1930, Albrecht Goetze included a definitive copy of the tablet as No 58 of his *Verstreute Boghazkoi-Texte,* published at Marburg. The translation and interpretation, however, have continued to remain obscure

2 Obv. 1–46

3. Rev. 13

4. Rev. 14–49.

5. Cf Comm §I.

Weather-god, however, somewhat brusquely dismisses her with the observation that since her own sons have thus far proved conspicuously inadequate to the task, her best course might be to try and appease the demon with soothing and flattering words.

The goddess attempts first to immunize her sons against the ravages of Hahhimas, but when these ravages continue unabated, she again appeals to the Weather-god. This time the Weather-god is a little more compliant. Although still declining to intervene directly, he suggests that recourse be had to the Sun-god. The latter, however, cannot be found. When this is reported to him, the Weather-god replies that the sun cannot really be far off, but must merely have met with an accident, because he still feels its heat. He suggests that ZABABA, the doughty god of war, be sent to fetch it. ZABABA, however, is captured by Hahhimas. The Weather-god then suggests that LAMA, the protective spirit of providence, be sent; but he too is seized by the demon. Finally, the Weather-god suggests that his suppliant engage the interest of Telipinu, that mighty god who can "harrow, plow, bring water and furnish grain." But once again Hahhimas claims a victim.

Confronted by the fact that these powerful male deities have perished, the Weather-god now proposes that the aid of *female* deities, viz. the Great Goddess (^{D}MAḪ) and the Gulses – Hittite counterparts of the Roman Parcae (Fates) and the Teutonic Norns[6] – be invoked. Hahhimas, however, flushed with triumph, demands his surrender, adding that there is now no one left to protect those goddesses save "the infant(?) sons of the god Hasamilis"[7] whom he can easily capture. To this the Weather-god rejoins that even they are not without power and might and that, moreover, if the demon dare to lay hands on the goddesses, it will be to *him* that he will have to answer.

The next passage is fragmentary. Someone – apparently the Great Goddess – addresses the Weather-god and seemingly informs him that he or she is indeed prepared to go to the rescue of the discomfited Sun-god and eventually return with him to heaven. This is followed by a reference to someone's having "rescued the goddesses" – the "someone" being evidently the Weather-god himself. We are therefore probably to understand that the Weather-god's warning proved effective and that the goddesses were spared attack and capture.

The rest of the story is lost.

§3. The ritual portion of the text[8] begins with a list of utensils required for the sacrificial ceremony. These include: pitchers, sacrificial boards, trays, and also ceremonial models of a hoe and a mattock.

There follows an enumeration of the *materia sacra*, which includes offertory bread, wine, cheese and stones of various colors. It is then prescribed that firewood be brought and that oil be poured over a certain twig or stalk, either for kindling or – as in Greek ritual – as a symbol of purification.

6 See Commentary, §IV
7 *Ibid*
8 §§IX–X

The ritual itself is next described. The utensils previously listed are to be deposited, along with bread and curd, on *two* tables, one for the Sun-god and the other for Telipinu. At nightfall, after the images of the gods have been duly installed in their niches, fire is to be brought before them on a brazier and a sacred sorceress is to recite an incantation twice. Then the door of the sanctuary is to be shut, and nothing more is to be done that day. On the morrow, at daybreak, a sacristan is to present himself before the images of the gods and, after reciting an incantation three times, to deposit meals of bread, wine and *marouwan*-drink on the tables of both the Sun-god and Telipinu, offering them jointly a sheep and a full-grown goat. Certain portions of the former, however, are to be otherwise disposed of; only the latter is to be offered unreservedly to the two gods.

B. INTERPRETATION

§4. It will be seen at once that there is a close correspondence between the myth and the ritual. In the former, it is to the sun and to Telipinu that attention is principally directed; in the latter, it is precisely to these two gods that sacrifices are offered. Similarly, while in the myth Telipinu is described as a god who can "harrow, plough, bring water and furnish grain,"[9] the ritual prescribes the presentation to him of a ceremonial hoe and mattock. It is thus apparent that our document is of the same structure and complexion as the Puruli Text and as the Canaanite *Poem of Dawn and Sunset.* In other words, what we have before us is, once again, the 'book of words' of a religious ceremony, combining the twin elements of punctual performance and durative myth. As such, it is the typical libretto of an ancient and primitive seasonal drama.

§5. It is difficult to determine with precision the occasion for which our text was composed. There are, however, several clues and, while they are not absolutely decisive, they point strongly to a festival culminating in the autumnal equinox.

§6. We note, first, that the deities with whom our text is primarily concerned are the god of fertility (Telipinu) and the Sun-god and that they are the joint objects of a single act of worship. From this we may reasonably infer that the text was designed for a solar date associated in some crucial way with the agricultural year. Such a date would have been, most naturally, one of the solstices or equinoxes.

§7. Second, we observe that the myth presupposes a season when the waters are dried up, when human, animal and vegetable life is at a virtual standstill, and when the sun has "disappeared," *i e.* sunk beneath the equator. This eliminates the vernal equinox and the summer solstice, for on the former (March 20) the sun is *coming up from* the netherworld rather than

9 Obv. 29–30.

going down into it, and the earth has been pretty well soaked by the heavy rains; while on the latter (June 21) the sun is at its highest point and therefore could not be said to have disappeared.

§8. We are left, then, with the autumnal equinox and the winter solstice as the only possible dates. The latter, however, would appear to be eliminated by a closer examination of the text. When, in the myth, the Weather-god is informed that the sun cannot be found, he replies: "Behold, my limbs still feel the heat; he must somehow have lost his way" (obv. 24–25). Now, such a statement would be clearly inapposite if uttered at the time of the winter solstice (December 21), for the sun is then deep in the nether-world and, according to ancient ideas, farthest removed from the earth. On the other hand, however, it would be peculiarly appropriate to the time of the autumnal equinox (September 23), when the sun has just slipped beneath the equator but when, so to speak, its glow can still be felt. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that at the time of the solstice the earth has already benefited somewhat from the early rains, whereas at that of the equinox it is indeed still dry and sterile.

Thus it would appear on balance that our text was probably designed for a festive season which reached its climax at the autumnal equinox, on or about September 23.

§9. What strengthens this conclusion is the fact that the mythological portion is described explicitly as "the *Wailings* for the Sun and Telipinu," for this would imply that its theme was the 'demise' rather than the resurrection of these two deities. Accordingly, the ceremony for which it was composed must have fallen in the 'dark' half of the year, and the most suitable date would obviously be that on which the sun in fact sinks beneath the equator.

§10. The equinox, however, probably marked the culmination rather than the total duration of the sacred season. The wailings for the lost lord of fertility and for the declining power of the sun may well have extended over a fairly considerable antecedent period, as is so frequently the case in analogous seasonal rites elsewhere. In other words, our text may have been a kind of missal for a prolonged period of ululation, like that which marked the mourning for Tammuz in Mesopotamia[10] or like the forty days of weeping mentioned in the Book of Judges (11.40) as having been observed annually by the daughters of Israel. When we remember that rites of this kind usually took the form of mock funerals, and that ancient funeral exercises almost invariably extended over several days, this assumption amounts to a virtual certainty.

§11. That ceremonies of the type which we have presumed were indeed observed in antiquity during the 'dark' half of the year is known to us from many sources. Plutarch informs us,[11] for example, that the Phrygian Attis-

10. Cf. Langdon, CCLXVIII, 119–23.
11 *De Iside et Osiride*, c. 69, p. 378F, ed. Parthey.

cult, centered in the figure of the dying and reviving lord of vegetation, recognized *two* sacred occasions during the year, "the one, in winter, when he fell asleep; the other, in spring, when he awoke"; and this testimony is confirmed by an inscription of the 2nd century B.C. in which mention is made expressly of "*both* the Attis festivals."[12] Furthermore, in the famous XVth Idyll of Theocritus, which describes the Adonis celebrations at Alexandria in the 3rd century B C., the effigy of that god is said to be bedecked with ripe fruits, and this, as Frazer observes,[13] suggests a date in late summer – more specifically, we would add, one around the time of the autumnal equinox when the ingathering of fruits was indeed celebrated by the Hebrews. So, too, a passage in Lucian's treatise *On the Syrian Goddess*[14] suggests that *two* festivals were held annually at Hierapolis in honor of the analogous Adonis – the one, no doubt, in fall or winter, when he disappeared, and the other in spring or summer, when he re-emerged. Nor is it less noteworthy that in the Babylonian calendar the month of September–October (Elul) was known as that of "Ishtar's errand," referring to her quest for the vanished Tammuz,[15] or that the Eleusinian Mysteries in Greece, at which the rape of Persephone was mimetically enacted and at which she was ceremonially bewailed, took place at precisely the same time of year.

A modern parallel may also be cited. In Rumania, on the Monday before Assumption (August 15), groups of girls go out from the villages carrying, under a pall, a miniature coffin in which is deposited a clay image called the Kalojan. Strewn with mint, basil and other aromatic herbs, the coffin is subsequently interred, and on that and the following day the girls sing dirges of which the following are representative specimens:

Jan, Kalojan,
as our tears drop, so may the rain drop,
night and day,
to fill the ditches and water the grass.

Jan, Kalojan,
your mother has been seeking you,
broken-hearted,

12. CIA II, 1 622 (*Tabula marmoris Hymettii Piraeo Athenas delata*) = CCVI, 79 f Other writers mention a single festival at the time of the vernal equinox at which the 'demise' and mimetic burial of Attis was followed, after three days, by his 'resurrection' The same thing (though with a different date) is reported also of the cult of Adonis The testimony of Plutarch et al , however, as well as our own common sense, should show us that the single festival was but an economic telescoping of two occasions properly falling in different periods of the year, the celebration of the god's re-emergence being preceded, for reasons of convenience and of dramatic effect, by a preliminary ululation.

13. CXLIX, 335

14 c 28 "In the entrance (of the temple) stand phallic pillars . . thirty fathoms high Into one of these a man ascends *twice every year*, remaining on the top of it for seven days"

15 In the Sumerian calendar of Nippur the name was *ezen kin* ^{D}*Innini*, "festival of the mission of the goddess Innini (Ishtar)", cf CCLXXI, 15 The Semitic translation was *sipir ištarāti* (CDXLVI, ii 26, 32, 118, 77) Note that in the list of months, IV R 33, Elul is assigned to Ishtar, perhaps because Spica, her constellation, was then regnant during the Old Babylonian period, cf KAT^{3} 427, CCLXVIII, 127.

through deep woods and glades.
Jan, Kalojan,
your mother is weeping for you
with burning tears.[16]

Kalojan, i e. *kalos Ioannēs* (beautiful John), it should be explained, is nothing but a later substitution for the traditional *kalos Adonis* (beautiful Adonis),[17] so that the ceremony is a direct survival of the ancient seasonal wailings.

§12. It is noteworthy that ceremonies of the type just described are usually performed *by women*. The Eleusinian Mysteries (like the comparable Thesmophoria) were, as is well known, specifically feminine festivals. The mock burial and subsequent disinterment of Attis were performed, says Plutarch,[18] by women; and in the fifteenth idyll of Theocritus it is a woman who sings the dirge and women who are said to rise at daybreak and commit the 'corpse' of Adonis to the waters,[19] just as do their modern sisters in the Rumanian rite of the Kalojan.[20] Similarly, it was women who wept for Osiris at the annual ceremonies in Egypt, and it was likewise women who bewailed Ta'uz (*i.e.* Tammuz) in the medieval ceremonies at Harran recorded by En-Nedim.[21]

Now, it so happens that our text contains a specific indication that at the ceremony for which it was designed a prominent part was indeed played by women. At the end of the mythological portion there occurs a curious but significant passage (rev. 1–12) containing a profession of piety made by a *female participant* in the proceedings. She declares that she has never wronged her fellow-woman, has always respected the "words of the gods," has besprinkled her mouth, has duly presented libations and meat-offerings, and now, "when it goes ill with the Su[n-god] and Telipinu . . . . I repeatedly utter the lament." Moreover, that she is referring to a particular ceremony, and not speaking in purely general terms, is shown by her allusion to "sprinkling the mouth"; for the fact is that in the Egyptian ceremonies for Osiris the two wailing women (*ḏrt.y*) had likewise to cleanse

16 xxvi, ch iii, pp 27 ff Cf also Fischer, Emil, "Paparuda und Scalojan (*sic!*)" in *Globus* 93 (1908), 13–16

17 Precisely the same substitution is made at the Maltese spring festival, cf DIX, 49–57

18. *Life of Alcibiades* 18 Cf also. Firmicus Maternus, *De errore profanarum religionum* XXII 1–3

19 Lines 132 f. The point of these lines lies in the fact that the effigy of the fertility-god is usually consigned to the waters, cf Commentary to *Baal*, §XX.

20. xxvi, *loc cit* 21. *Apud* LXIX, ii, 27.

The reason why women play so prominent a rôle in these ceremonies is simply that they are mock funerals, and at regular funerals the "keening" was led by women, see Commentary on Aqhat §XXXIII. Note that in modern Anatolia mourning takes place in the court of the deceased's house, and the ceremony is attended only by professional mourning women and relatives The public exercises, which take place at the actual interment, are quite distinct, cf CCCLXX, 93 ff

their mouths and chew natron,[22] while Firmicus Maternus informs us that in the rites of the Attis-cult the votaries had their throats anointed by the officiating priest prior to the great moment when the resurrection of that god was proclaimed.[23]

Consonant with the conclusion that our ceremony was of predominantly feminine character is the important rôle assigned in the concomitant myth to the Great Goddess (DMAḪ) and the female Gulses. It is they who are sent out to find the sun after the principal male deities have been captured by Hahhimas and therefore failed to do so. Their rôle in the myth, like that of Demeter and Hecate in the Greek parallel,[24] would be but a durative projection of that played on a punctual level by the female participants in the ritual.

§13. The myth which the Yuzgat Tablet relates finds parallels not only in the legends of Tammuz, Persephone, Attis and Adonis, but even more specifically in the Canaanite *Poem of Baal* presented elsewhere in this volume; for there too the return of the fertility-god from his imprisonment in the netherworld is made dependent upon the cooperation of the sun (Shapash), and there too it is a goddess (viz. ʿAnat) who is principally responsible for his resurrection. In both cases, what we have before us is the libretto of a sacred drama in which the succession of the seasons is associated with the annual course of the sun.[25] And just as the Canaanite myth reflects such standard elements of the Seasonal Pattern as the Ululation and the Search, so too does our Hittite myth, showing, once again, that it is but a projection of punctual practice and is thus stamped with the essential hall-mark of a primitive drama.

22 Cf Blackman-Fairman, JEA 29 (1945), 12, n (c); CCCLXII, Pl. LVII, 9 ff.
23. *De errore prof rel* XXII 1–3
24 Cf the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter* and our discussion thereof, Ch. V, §16
25 On the solar aspect of seasonal programs, cf. Ch II, §37.

TRANSLATION

I

2–11: The earth is in the grip of Hahhimas, spirit of summer torpor and infertility A goddess approaches the Weather-god asking him to send his sons (i e. *the subordinate members of his circle*) *to the rescue of man and beast. The Weather-god somewhat brusquely dismisses her with the remark that, while his own sons would certainly be able to revive the dead, since* her *sons* (i e. *the subordinate members of her circle*) *have proved incapable of dealing with the situation, her best course would be to try directly to placate the demon.*

(*Loquitur dea:*)

* *
*

"* * * * thy sons * * * * !"

But the Weather-god [sai]d to the Goddess * * *:
"* * * * and it * * * * me * * * * *.
My children – if a man be killed, [they can revive h]im,
[if an ox or a] sheep be killed [they can] revive it;
but *thy* children – what miracle* can they work?
Why, see, Ha[hhimas] has paralyzed the whole earth,
he has dried up the waters;
Hahhimas reigns supreme,†
to his brother, the wind, he keeps saying:
'[Bear down on] the waters of the mountains, the forests and the leas!'
So flatter him a little;‡
then, maybe, he will not paraly[ze] them any more!"

* *Lit* sign
† *Lit* is chief
‡ *Lit* let thy words of propitiation go forth

I. 2–11: In order fully to understand this passage, it must be borne in mind that the Hittite pantheon – itself a conglomeration or synthesis of several local theologies – was popularly subdivided into families or 'circles,' each ranged around one of the more important gods or goddesses (cf. CLXXI, 123). A number of them are enumerated, for instance, in KUB XXX 51 r. 30 f. The Hittite term for such a family or 'circle' was *kaluti*, and a denominative verb *kalutiya-* is used in ritual texts (e g KBo V, I i 37, iii 22, 39, KUB XXVII, 16 iv 17, 23) to denote the act of comprehending its several members together in a single ceremony (cf. Goetze, *Orientalia* 9 [1940], 266, n. 3, JCS I [1947], 88–89). This is distinct, however, from the frequent comprehensive invocation of "all the gods" (e g KUB IV, 1 obv i 7). The latter answer rather to the Vedic *viśve devas*

A similar arrangement appears also in other pantheons In Egypt, for example, we have the familiar breakdown into enneads, or groups of nine; while in the Canaanite *Epic of Keret* (B ii 3–7) mention is made of three 'companies of gods'

II

12–20. The goddess attempts to fortify her children to meet the challenge of Hahhimas, but his ravages continue unabated. Thereupon she makes a further appeal to the Weather-god, but again he refuses to intervene.

Well, [Hahhimas] had now paralyzed the vegetation of the earth,
as well as the oxen, the sheep, the dogs and the pigs.
The goddess, however, fortified* her children,
(thinking to herself:)
"Even if he *does* succeed in paralyzing the crops,
once he tries to invade *their* bodies, he will never paralyze *them!*"
But although [she did] all this,†
she went nevertheless to the Weather-god and said:
"Despite all that has been done,
yon Hahhimas keeps saying to his father and mother:
'Eat hereof,‡ drink hereof;
pay no regard whatsoever to shepherd or oxherd!'
Indeed, he has succeeded in paralyzing the earth!"
But (still) the Weather-god gave no sign.§

* *Or,* purified, *i e* immunized
† *Lit* although all severally [was done]
‡ *i e* the cattle
§ *i e* did not intervene.

[*'dt ilm,* cf. Ps. 82 1] who attend the wedding of that hero So too, in the Nabataean inscriptions CIS II 198 4 (El Hejra, c. 1 A.D) and CIS II 350.3 (Petra, 1st cent. A D), the expression Dushara *w-m-w-ṯ-b-h* is interpreted by Noeldeke to mean "Dushara and his council, circle" (cp. Arabic *w-ṯ-b*)

Our passage, therefore, implies a contrast between the powers possessed by the 'sons,' or 'circle' of the Weather-god and those possessed by the 'sons,' or 'circle' of the goddess who entreats him. The latter have been unable to cope with the ravages of Hahhimas, and it is for this reason that the goddess now solicits the Weather-god's intervention. The Weather-god, however, cannot forbear to boast, in reply, that his own 'sons' would certainly have proved equal to the emergency, since they are able to revive the dead. Since, however, his suppliant's sons have thus far failed her, the most sensible course, he advises her, would be to try direct appeasement of the demon.

The 'sons' of the Weather-god, eight in number, are mentioned specifically in KUB XXXIII 66 iii 77.

Hahhimas is a personification of Torpor. The name derives from a root *hahh-* meaning "to be stiff" (cf. CLXXIV, 84 f.). It is thus semantically parallel to *torpor,* which Walter (*Zeitschr. fur vergl Sprachforsch* 12, 411) connects with IE **star;* Sanskrit *sthirás,* Greek *ster-iph-os,* MHG *star,* Lithuanian *styr-u,* etc. of the same basic meaning. For the ending *-i/emas,* cf. CLI, 1, §48(f), and note that it is especially favored in nouns denoting meteorological phenomena, e g. *ekun-imas,* 'cold', *want-emas,* 'heat'; *lalukk-imas,* 'light'; *teth-imas,* 'thunder.' Hahhimas cannot be Jack Frost, since he *is* said expressly to *dry up* the waters.

III

21–31. Although still refraining from direct personal intervention, the Weather-god suggests that recourse be had to the sun. The latter, however, cannot be found. Thereupon, the Weather-god sends ZABABA, *god of war, to look for him. But Hahhimas seizes* ZABABA. *The Weather-god, fearing that* ZABABA *may have been paralyzed by the demon or that he may be playing truant from his mission, sends* LAMA, *a great protective spirit, after him. But* LAMA *too is seized by Hahhimas. The Weather-god then suggests that appeal be made to Telipinu, god of fertility, to succour the languishing earth But he too is seized.*

Howbeit, the Weather-god sent for the Sun-god.*
"Go," (said he,) "fetch the Sun-god!"

They went; they searched for the Sun-god,
but they could not find him.

Then said the Weather-god:
"Although, to be sure, you have not found him,
behold, my limbs still feel the heat,
so he can but somehow have lost his way."

Thereupon he sent out ZABABA.
"Go," (said he,) "fetch the Sun-god!"

But Hahhimas seized ZABABA.

(Then said the Weather-god):
"Summon LAMA!

* There appears to be a mistake in the text, for instead of the words "for the Sun-god" we should expect the names of the emissaries, as in the parallel passages, and as the plural form of the imperative "Go" would seem to require.

III. 21–31: On the rôle of the Sun-god, see Introd. §§7–10, and above, Ch. II, §37.

There is a logical sequence and a dramatic crescendo in the order in which the gods are despatched.

1. When the sun cannot be located and it is feared that he may have met with disaster, the first god to be sent out is ZABABA, god of war – a deity who might readily be expected to deal with any malevolent power responsible for that circumstance. The name ZABABA is Sumerian (cf. XCIV, No. 1310, CCXXXVII, 120 ff.), but it was used by the Hittites as an ideogram denoting the corresponding figure in their own pantheon (cf. CLXXI, 123, 126, CLV, 41–42, CCLXXVa, 107).

2. When ZABABA is captured by Hahhimas, LAMA is sent out. LAMA (alternatively read KAL) is an ideogram borrowed from the Sumerian (cf. XCIV, No. 1662, CCLXXVa, 100 f.) to denote a protective genius or familiar spirit – the Accadian *lamassu* – such as watched over houses, guided men's paths and sheltered them in moments of hazard or peril (cf. CLXXVa, 100 f., CLV, *loc. cit.*). In the present context, he corresponds more particularly to the "messenger (angel) of Yahweh" in the Bible, who escorts an invading army (Ex 23.20, 33 2), "thrusts down" and "pursues" adversaries (Ps. 35.5–6) and accompanies individuals on dangerous journeys (Ps 91.11) His rôle is the same, *mutatis mutandis,* as that assigned in Greek mythology to the Kabeiroi, who are regarded as 'saviors' and invoked in

Maybe (Hahhimas) is paralyzing him,*
or maybe he has taken himself off for a stroll."†

But him too Hahhimas seized.

(Then said the Weather-god):
"Summon Telipinu!
That son of mine is mighty;
he can harrow, plow, bring water, (and) furnish crops.
Moreover, by his own [effort]‡ (whole) rocks can be removed!"

But him too Hahhimas seized.

IV

32–41: The male emissaries having failed to return, the Weather-god now suggests that the Great Goddess, and the Gulses (or Fates) be sent. At the same time, he is not without misgivings lest Hahhimas likewise lay hands on them and then be emboldened to demand his own surrender and abdication. He therefore sends as her escort "the brothers of Hasamilis" — a company of gods who appear to have possessed the power of hiding their protegés in moments of peril. He also issues a strong warning to the demon.

(Then said the Weather-god:)
"[G]o, summon the Gulses (and) the Great Goddess!"

* *i.e* ZABABA
† *Lit* "Has gone into the field," but this is a Hittite idiom for "to take a stroll."
‡ *Or* [hand]?

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crises (cf. Aristophanes, *Peace* 277–80; *Athen. Mitt.* 18 [1893], 390). The function of LAMA in our story is not to seek the sun but to rescue ZABABA. The action is climactic.

3. When LAMA has been captured, Telipinu is sent out. Telipinu is the genius of vegetation and fertility (cf. CCLXXVa, 34 f.). His function here is not to rescue LAMA or ZABABA, but to ensure the productivity of the earth when all other measures appear to have failed, he is the mighty god who "harrows and plows, brings water and furnishes grain."

It is to be noted carefully that in each case the specific mission of the god is clearly stated. They are not merely successive searchers for the sun; each has his own peculiar task, and each of these depends on the preceding. When ZABABA is sent out, he is ordered explicitly to "go, seek the Sun-god" (line 26). When LAMA is sent, it is said specifically that "he will rescue that one, *i.e.* ZABABA" (line 27; see Phil. Note). And when Telipinu is sent, his powers in the way of plowing, sowing and irrigating are duly recited.

It is to be noted also that both ZABABA and LAMA are elsewhere associated with the Weather-god, the Sun-god, Telipinu and the Gulses-goddesses; cf., for the former, the Hattic text KUB XXVIII 15 obv. 4a (where he is called Wurunkatte, "King of the Earth"; cf. KUB XXVIII 6 rev. 1 and 3, XXXI 143 iii 6–8, Laroche, JCS 1 [1947], 196, 215) and for the latter, KUB VII 12 i 15; XVII 10 (the Telipinu myth) iii 30 ff.

IV. 32–41: "The Great Goddess" is a translation of ^{D}MAḪ, the regular ideogram for deities of the mother-goddess type and especially for goddesses of

(At the same time he bethought himself:)*
"If those (others) have died,
if, in fact, they have died out yonder,
then Hahhimas will (probably) rise up (likewise) against her,†
and Hahhimas will then start saying to the Weather-god (himself):
'Capitulate! surrender!
See, all her * * * are dead,
so you can [no] longer occupy the throne!' "

* In the original, the Weather-god's thoughts are expressed in simple *oratio recta* English idiom, however, demands the insertion of an explanatory clause.
† *Lit* "Of him/her standing Hahhimas . . ." The interpretation is a guess

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procreation and birth (cf CCLXXVa, 101). She is the virtual equivalent of the Asianic "Great Mother" (*Megalē Mēter*), and is frequently associated with the Gulses, or goddesses of fate (*e g* KBo V 2 i 15, KUB XVII 10 i 34 ff , XX 59 i 28 ff) Her name sometimes interchanges with that of NIN.TU(D), goddess of birth (XCIV, No. 2740, Forrer, RHA 1 [1932], 145, 155) Mythologically, she here answers to Demeter in the analogous Greek myth and to 'Anat in the Canaanite myth.

THE GULSES – properly, "the Inscribers, Recorders" (Hittite *guls-*, "write, engrave") – are a group of goddesses who determine and record a man's destiny before his birth (cf. Friedrich, JCS 1 [1947], 283–84). Their function may be illustrated from the following allusions to them in Hittite texts (1) KUB XXII 85 rev. 5 ff.: "You married my wife's daughter . . but the Gulses dealt harshly with you, and she died on your hands", (2) KUB XXXIII 118, 17–19 "From your birth on you have been unaware of your descent, for the Gulses did not inscribe it for you", (3) KUB XXXIV 53 ii 14 f.. the Gulses and the Great Goddesses are invoked to grant that a prospective child be born of a good mother, and they are asked to "prescribe blessing for him."

Friedrich has observed (*loc. cit*) that the Gulses are thus the Hittite equivalents of the Roman Parcae (Fates) and the Teutonic Norns. We may go further. The idea of "Weird Sisters" who determine the destinies of individuals is common to many cultures. In addition to the Teutonic Nornir and Udhr (on whom see CCCXCV, 312, CCXLIX, 274) and to the analogous Anglo-Saxon *Mettena* ("Meters-out") and the Middle High German *Geschaepfen* ("Shapers"), we may cite the seven Hathors of Egyptian belief (CCC, 51), the *dewes waldtoyes* of Lithuanian folklore (CDX, 121), and analogous figures in Lapp mythology. (CCXX, 256 ff.). See especially, CDLXXXIV, 81, *MI A.* 463.1.

It should be observed also that both the Parcae and the Norns are said expressly to *keep a written record* Concerning the former, cf. Klausen, *Zeits f. deutsch Alt* 1840, 226, and concerning the latter – who are sometimes called *Die Schreiberinnen* – cf. CLXXXV, 406 Similarly, Tertullian, *De anima* c. 39, says that at the conclusion of a child's first week of life, prayers are offered to Fata Scribunda.

The basic conception of the heavenly tablets or book of fate meets us also on Semitic soil. The Babylonians believed that Nabu, the divine scribe, possessed such tablets. Assurbanipal, for example, addresses to him the words. "My life

"Howbeit," (he bethought himself further,)
"(there still remain) the brothers of Hasamilis,
[young l]ads, to be sure,*
but them has Hahhimas not (yet) captured"

So he summoned them.

Then [sai]d the Weather-god to Hahhimas:
"Their hands are endowed with might,
their * * * also are endowed with ****;
if you set hands on goddesses like these,
* * * eyes * * * * do not seize!"

* The restoration (viz [*pa-ap-p*]*a-ni-ik-ni-es*, cf KUB XXIX 1 iii 49) is tentative

is recorded before thee" [*balatiya ina panika šatir*], K.1285, and similar expressions occur in other texts (cf CCXLII, 69–73, KAT³, 401). On New Year's day, the gods assembled in the "chamber of fates" and recorded destinies on tablets (CCXLII, *loc. cit*, CCCV, ii 125) – an idea which survives in the 'Book of Life' of Jewish belief. In the Old Testament, the idea occurs especially in Psalm 139.15 f.. "My frame was not hidden from Thee, and when I was fashioned in secret, knit together (as if) in the depths of the earth, Thine eyes beheld my unformed substance. In Thy book are all of them written – the days when they (i.e. the embryos) are to be created, and among them one (was assigned) unto it." Lidzbarski, CCLXXXIV, *i* 164 ff., finds a further allusion to it in a Punic funerary inscription of the 3rd–2nd cent. B C which he reads and renders as follows *wilnm šmy 'dl 'ty . . . 'm šmm ktb wt'rt w[tp'r]t šmy br' [š š]tr l'l m*, "And the gods have . . . my name, my mark . . along with their names have they inscribed (it), and the glory and splendor of my name they recorded from the beginning for ever." (We disagree with details of this reconstruction, but the basic idea of recording fates seems indeed to be attested in this inscription)*

HASAMILIS is mentioned elsewhere in Hittite literature as a god who has the power of hiding his votaries in moments of peril. In the Annals of King Mursilis (KBo IV 4 iii 34, KUB XIX 37 iii 16) he is said to have given such protection to that monarch during his marches against the cities of Yagressa and Piggainaressa and in his campaign against the Kaskaeans In the Accadian treaty of Suppiluliuma with King Mattiwaza of Mitanni, Hasamilis is included in the 'circle' of the war-god ZABABA. The "brethren of Hasamilis" are therefore to be understood as a group of deities, not unlike the Kabeiroi of Graeco-Asianic belief – who sheltered men when they were exposed to the hazards of war or the perils of the way. Such gods would be naturally entrusted with the task of protecting the goddesses on their mission. Hahhimas, however, here dismisses them with some contemptuous epithet, indicating that he has not yet bothered to capture them because it has not been worth the trouble. Unfortunately, the epithet is imperfectly preserved. It is evident that it must have had the general connotation of "weak" or "puny."

* Distinct from the Book of Fate, but often confused therewith, is the heavenly book or scroll in which the deeds and misdeeds of men are recorded, cf. Psalm 69.29, etc, KAT³, 402

V

42–46: These lines are so fragmentary that it is impossible to determine their meaning within the general pattern of the story. Apparently, the Great Goddess accepts the commission, promising to return thereafter to heaven. Hahhimas, heedful of the warning issued to him, does not attack her.

* * * kept saying to the Weather-god:
"You will see,* to your† children * * *;
* * * * * * then will I go to heaven."

* * * * * * kept the goddesses alive.

* *
*

B. RITUAL

VI

1–3ª: Prescriptions for an evening ritual.

* *
*

* * * has conducted;
and (when) the moon has appeared,
(and the) * * * has slid back the [bolt]s of the gate,
the male and female 'elders' [come for]th.

VII

3ᵇ–12 Protestation of piety by a female participant.

(This section contains several clauses the meaning of which still eludes us We have not attempted to translate them)

I am the woman Annannas.

. . . . . .

* *Or,* you see
† The word "your" is plural in the original It must therefore refer jointly to the Weather-god himself and to the suppliant who has requested his intervention, see §I

VI Rev. 1–3ª. The ceremonies commence in moonlight. This is a common feature of the seasonal 'mysteries,' recurring in those of Eleusis, of the Asianic Attis-cult (Firmicus Maternus, *De errore prof rel* XXII, 1–3) and of Dionysus (cf. Sophocles, *Antigone* 1146 f ; Euripides, *Bacchae* 485–86, 862 ff., Aristophanes, *Frogs* 340, Vergil, *Georgica* IV 521). The nocturnal ceremonies marked the vigil for the rising sun, which signalized the resurrection or re-emergence of the lost genius of fertility; see above, Ch. II, §37. The usage survives in Christianized form in the Catholic ritual of Holy Saturday, when a light is introduced amid darkness and the heavenly choir bidden exult at the advent of the Savior-god: *Exsultet jam angelica turba caelorum· exsultent divina mysteria . . . Gaudeat et tellus tantis irradiata fulgoribus et aeterni Regis splendore illustrata.*

VII Rev. 3ᵇ–12. The sprinkling of the mouth is part of the ritual of the mysteries, see Introd. §12 and nn. 22, 23.

. . . . . , the words of the gods – them [have I observed];
[have sprinkled my mouth, ... ;
. . . . . .

The words of the gods have I in no way infringed;
and when in any way it goes ill with the S[un-god] and Telipinu,
I repeatedly recite the lamentation.
(An) the Sun-god speak, (or) the word of the gods go forth,
. . . . . (my) eyes.*

Thus hath the Great Goddess declared:
"Never [is] the Sun-god [to lack?] any good thing!"†
(Daily) let every shepherd present nine measures of milk;
yea, let him present a sheep unto thee.

VIII

13: Colophon.

Here end [the wai]lings [for the Sun-god] and the wailings for Telipinu.

IX

14–33: List of materials required for the ritual ceremony.

* * * from the * * * these things: one bronze pitcher with a bronze lid, placing a bronze * * * on the lid, one bronze plank;‡ . . . bronze [*arim*]-*pas*,§ two bronze shutters,|| one bronze net; one bronze hoe; * * * bronze * * *; one mattock of small *kistas;*§ one mattock of * * * *kistas;*§ one . . .; wooden boards; a small quantity of beeswax; * * * three jugs with water from three springs severally they * *; and the *puris-es*¶ thereof are three in number.

[One large ordinary lo]af; one vessel of wine; one ornamented vessel; one vessel of beer; one vessel of wine * *; [one large vessel of f]ine oil, one large vessel of wine; one large vessel of mutton tallow; a white stone, a blue stone, a red stone (and) a green stone, * * * . . . of finest quality; . . . firewood * * *; a goodly reed, with fine oil he sprinkles it.

* * * * within the house he sets two sacrificial tables and a wooden shutter, the while he takes the one ordinary loaf, then, in addition thereto, he places the following utensils on one of the sacrificial tables: the one bronze pitcher with lid; the bronze plank; the bronze *arimpas,* the two bronze shutters, on the one table for the Sun-god he places (them). A bronze hammer, the bronze hoe (and) a bronze peg he places on one of the sacrificial tables for Te[lipinu]; but between the two sacrificial tables, ...,

* *e g* I raise my eyes thereto.
‡ *Lit* door, cp Greek *thuris*
|| *Lit* windows
† The restoration is tentative
§ Meaning unknown
¶ On this word, see Philological Notes

he places nine ordinary loaves, and in addition thereto* he places curd and cheese. Then he deposits upon it† the stones. The three vessels of wine, *marnu(w)an*‡ and beer, and the three vessels of water, together with the large vessel of fine oil, the large vessel of wine and the large vessel of fine mutton tallow he piles up on the floor.

X

34–49. Prescriptions for the ritual ceremony.

He sets one ornamented table for the Sun-god and one ornamented table for Telipinu. When (each) god has duly taken his seat,§ at nightfall, he brings fire before that god on a brazier, he performs a certain ritual act.|| Then a sacred sorceress (or) sacristan recites an incantation and twice pronounces a ritual formula. Then he (or she) shuts the temple and withdraws. He (or she) does nothing (more) that day.

At daybreak, the sacristan comes before the god, performs a certain ritual act, recites an incantation and thrice recites a ritual formula. Then he breaks one ordinary loaf for the Sun-god (and) places it on the table. Then he pours out *mar[nuwan,* beer] and wine for the Sun-god.
Next, [he breaks] one ordinary loaf for Telipinu and sets it on the table of Telipinu Then he po[urs out] *marnuwan,* beer and wine for Telipinu.
Then he [presents] one full-grown kid and one sheep jointly to the Sun-god and Telipinu.

* * * * raw (meat); the thigh, breast and head of the sheep * * * the goddesses(?) * * * he presents; but the thigh, breast and head of the full-grown kid to Telipinu and(?) the Sun-god he presents, meat * * * * * * * * *; * * ordinary loaf he bre[aks] * * * * * *

(*The rest is lost*)

* *Or,* and above.
† *Or,* below it?
‡ A kind of drink
§ *Lit* has finished being seated
|| The exact meaning of the Hittite expression is unknown

3. The Myth of Telipinu

INTRODUCTION

A. SYNOPSIS

§1. Closely related to the Yuzgat Tablet, and representing a variation on the same theme, is the Myth of Telipinu, which is preserved in at least three versions and in a number of mutually complementary texts.[1] This too deals with the seasonal desolation of the earth, but the calamity is here attributed not to any violent removal of the god of fertility but to his withdrawal in high dudgeon for some unspecified reason. The text is concerned primarily with the measures adopted to appease his anger and procure his return; and since these consist in the performance of an elaborate magical ceremony, it follows that it is primarily of ritualistic character.

§2. Four elements may be distinguished. First, there is a description of the disaster which attends the disappearance of Telipinu, of various abortive searches that are made for him, and an account of his actual recovery (§§I–Va). The effect of his disappearance is related in terms which leave no doubt that what is being described is the dreary winter season. Houses are said to be filled with soot and smoke, the embers (or logs) of continuous fires accumulating on the hearth. In the barns, the cattle huddle together. On hillside and pasture everything is bleak and bare. The trees are denuded of leaves, and the springs are frozen over (*lit.* dried up). Men and gods are faced with starvation.

It is in this situation that the Sun-god intervenes by inviting all the gods to a banquet at which the deity of the weather points out that the current disaster is due to the angry withdrawal of his son Telipinu. Thereupon the gods "great and small" conduct an extensive search for him; and when this proves abortive, the Sun-god sends out an eagle to explore the mountains and valleys to the same end. The eagle, however, sends back word that no trace of the missing god can be found.

At this stage, feminine influence comes into play. The great Mother Goddess,[2] alive to the emergency and seemingly impatient of the measures thus far adopted, resolves to employ her own devices.[2a] She therefore despatches a bee, instructing it to find Telipinu, sting him, cleanse him with its wax,

1. Our text is composite For details, see CCCXLVII
2. On this goddess (^{d}MAḪ), see Comm , Yuzgat §IV

2[a] In one version, she first instructs the Weather-god, father of Telipinu, to conduct a search, but this, too, proves abortive. In another version, the services of the thunder seem first to be enlisted.

and bring him to her. The Weather-god protests that the tiny bee can scarcely be expected to accomplish what the mighty gods themselves have failed to achieve. But the Mother Goddess rejoins that such will indeed be the case. The bee flies forth and eventually locates Telipinu asleep in a forest. The god is angry at being roused, and appears to fly into a further fit of rage, thereby threatening mankind with even greater calamity. Since he is thus unwilling to return of his own accord, the eagle is instructed to carry him on its wing.

§3. Meanwhile, the gods prepare to exorcise Telipinu's rage and to purge his body of the "evil" which has possessed it. To this end, an elaborate magical ceremony is performed.

This ceremony, which forms the second part of our text (§VI), consists in a series of homoeopathic rites designed to convert the anger of Telipinu to the mild and gentle qualities of various objects displayed before him. The phrasing is uniform. As the fig is sweet, so is the anger of Telipinu to be turned to sweetness. As the olive has its oil and the grape its wine within it, so is Telipinu to have grace within his soul. As honey is sweet, and as oil is soft, so is the fury of Telipinu to be sweetened and softened. As his path is ritually besprinkled with fine oil, so is Telipinu to take to smooth ways; and as saplings and new shoots are tender, so is the spirit of Telipinu to be.

It is not stated explicitly who performs this magical ceremony, but the probability is that it is the goddess Kamrusepas. There are two reasons for this assumption. First, in the very next episode, it is this goddess who suddenly appears — without appropriate introduction — as the performer of magical rites designed to appease the anger of Telipinu, and she there speaks expressly (in the past tense) of having already done certain other things calculated towards the same end. Second, Kamrusepas was preeminently the goddess of magic cures and spells,[3] so that any divine performance of magical rites would naturally have devolved upon her. If, therefore, we assume that it is Kamrusepas who performs the present ceremony, we clear up a number of obscurities at one stroke: we are able not only to establish a proper sequence but also to explain her subsequent reference to having already performed certain magical acts, and to account for her otherwise somewhat abrupt appearance in the immediately ensuing episode. (She was first introduced, no doubt, in a preceding passage now lost.)

At the conclusion of the magical ceremony, Kamrusepas lifts her eyes and beholds Telipinu returning on the wing of the eagle. However, he is still in an angry and ugly mood.

§4. The third portion of our text (§VIII) describes how the goddess thereupon sets about the task of exorcising Telipinu's anger.

First, she bids the gods slaughter twelve male sheep out of a number which Hapantali,[4] the divine steward, has brought from the flock of the Sun-god. As is shown fully in our commentary, twelvefold sacrifices and

3. See Comm. on §VI.

4. See Comm. on §VIII.

oblations are not uncommon in Hittite magical rituals. The presentation of the twelve sheep may therefore be construed as a necessary preliminary to the subsequent procedure. Moreover, as we shall see presently, the fleeces of sheep are later dedicated to Telipinu; and these may well have been obtained from the present sacrifice.

Next, Kamrusepas announces that she is about to perform a certain ceremony directed towards Telipinu. To this announcement she adds that she has already carried out various preliminary procedures whereby the actual return of the god has been achieved and the noxious contagion which possessed him removed, and that she has performed the mysterious rite of 'strewing around' a thousand eyes plucked from her own sheep.[5]

Further details of the magical practice are now described The goddess declares that she has lit fires on either side of Telipinu, that she has "removed from his body its evil" and that she has "torn that evil to shreds." Thereby, she adds, she has succeeded in removing his wrath, fury and rage. The magical formulae were evidently recited while sacrificial animals were being roasted, drawn and quartered, the removal of their "evil parts" — as the entrails were indeed called by the Hittites (ideogr. ^{UZU}NÍG.GIG)[6] — being taken to symbolize the removal of the "evil" from the body of Telipinu.

While the fires are being banked, and while subsequently they burst into blaze and then burn out, Kamrusepas recites a series of formulae in which she prays that the anger and fury of Telipinu may behave in similar fashion. The formulae follow a standard pattern: "Firewood is banked. As this firewood burns out, so too may the anger and fury of Telipinu . . . As tares are not carried away from the field to be made into bread or stored in the barns, so too, like worthless tares, may the anger and fury of Telipinu become . . As this fire burns itself (out), so too may the anger and fury of Telipinu." A distinguishing feature of these formulae is the recurrence of a phrase which means literally "in his temper Telipinu cut himself (or, cut off his life)." Since the verb "cut" is the same as that used previously to denote the immolation or flaying of the sheep, it is probable that the recitation of these words accompanied that operation.

The succession of similes is now interrupted by a direct invocation: "O Telipinu, abandon thine anger, abandon thy wrath, abandon thy fury, abandon thy rage!" This, we suggest, was recited when the fires had died down and no further simile could be drawn from them.

Finally, Kamrusepas pronounces a further "comparative" formula: "As water which issues from a pipe can never be reunited therewith, so may the anger, wrath, fury and rage of Telipinu, once vented, never return to him!" The significant point here is that while in all of the incantatory similes which precede this invocation, the comparison is with *fire*, in this one, which follows it, it is with *water*. The inference is obvious: these words were recited as the dying embers of the fires were being doused.

5 *Ibidem.*

6. The exact meaning is probably "liver," and the Hittite reading may have been *lesi* or *lissi*, cf CDXXXIV, 78 ff.

In the light of the foregoing exposition, we obtain the following perfect correspondence between ritual act and magical formula:

Ritual	*Incantation*
1. Sheep are brought and "cut up." Their entrails – called by the Hittites "the evil parts" – are removed.	Telipinu "cut himself" in his rage. The "evil" which possesses his body is now removed.
2. Firewood is banked and lit.	May the anger of Telipinu, so long banked, now burn itself out like firewood!
3. Tares are placed on top of the firewood as kindling.	May the anger of Telipinu be rendered like worthless tares!
4. The fire bursts into a blaze and then burns itself out.	May the blazing anger of Telipinu now burn itself out!
Interval:	*Invocation:*
The fire is reduced to smoldering ashes.	"Telipinu, abandon thine anger," etc.
5. Water is poured on the embers.	As waters once poured from a pipe can never be reunited therewith, so may the anger of Telipinu, once vented, be dissipated for ever!

The ceremony being concluded, the gods foregather to welcome Telipinu and further entreat his grace. They include: the Gulses and MAḪ goddesses (corresponding, more or less, to the Roman Parcae [Fates] and the Teutonic Norns);[7] Halkis, god of grain; Miyatanzipas, god of growth and vegetation; the 'providence' (^{d}LAMA) of the fields, Hapantali, the divine steward; and others whose names are no longer preserved. In their midst sits the newly arrived Telipinu himself.

§5. The fourth portion of our text (§§X–XII) relates the final appeasement of Telipinu and the return of his beneficence to the earth.

First, the god is formally welcomed and again entreated to abandon his anger. Then, the Weather-god, father of Telipinu, arrives on the scene in hot haste He is accompanied by his servitor who carries a pot containing objects called ^{GIŠ}*tepas* – an obscure word which evidently means something like "bits and pieces, scrap," i.e. garbage.[8] The prayer is then offered that the anger of Telipinu may be disposed of in similar fashion.

This is followed by a detailed incantation banishing the said anger and fury from the house and its interior, the windows, the forecourt, the gate and porch, and likewise from the stalls(?). (Note especially the sevenfold specification, which must be interpreted in connection with the widespread

7 Cf Yuzgat Tablet, §IV.

8 Written. ^{GIŠ}*ti-i-pa-as* The word, apparently a *hapax legomenon,* is evidently connected with *tepus,* "small", hence our rendering "bits and pieces"

prevalence of the number seven in magic!)[9] The anger and fury of the god are solemnly exorcized from "verdant meadow, garden and orchard" and consigned to "the path of the Sun-god of the netherworld" – *i.e.* to those gloomy subterranean regions whither the Sun was thought to betake himself at night and during the "dark" period of the year.[10]

The incantation is followed by a further piece of magical "business." The seven gates of the temple (again the magical seven!) are unbolted and flung open. Then pots are placed on the ground while an accompanying formula is recited. "As that which goes into these pots nevermore comes forth, but remains confined therein, so too, O Telipinu, may thine anger nevermore come forth, but go to perdition!"

The magical procedure proves effective. The wrath of Telipinu is assuaged, and he proceeds to bestow his grace. The concluding portion of the text describes the consequent restoration of prosperity. The calamities specified in the opening portion are now enumerated in reverse. Soot leaves the windows, and smoke the house. The pedestals of the gods, previously neglected, are now tended The embers (or logs) no longer accumulate on the hearth. Flocks and herds breed. Telipinu bestows his grace upon the king and queen, granting them life and strength and length of days.

In return for his favor, the god receives honors. An evergreen (^{GIŠ}*eyan*)[11] is set up in the temple, and from it are suspended the fleeces of lambs, while sheep's tallow, grain, an ox and a sheep are offered to him.

B. INTERPRETATION

§6. The very fact that our text consists of a ritual as well as a myth shows that it is more than a mere literary *tour de force,* but belongs rather to the category of liturgy; and there are sufficient indications to show that the liturgy in question was that of the spring festival. The text may therefore be regarded as a ritual drama, in the sense in which we have previously defined that term.

§7. The first argument is almost too obvious to need stating: the story embodied in the text is nothing but a variation of the familiar seasonal myth of the disappearance and subsequent recovery of the god of fertility. Now, since all the parallel versions of this myth (e.g. those of Tammuz, Osiris, Baal Puissant, Attis, Adonis, etc.) were, as we have seen, actually enacted at appropriate seasonal festivals, there is an initial presumption that, so too, was our present version.

§8. Noteworthy also, by way of general argument, is the fact that the action of the piece moves progressively through the standard stages of the Seasonal Pattern, viz. (a) Mortification; (b) Purgation; (c) Invigoration, and

9 Cf. ERE, s v. Numbers

10 A cliché; it recurs in KUB VII 41, r. 9 ff

11 On the meaning of ^{GIŠ}*eyan,* see Ehelolf, KUB XXIX, Vorwort, iii, von Brandenstein, *Orientalia* 8 (1939), 75 f.

(d) Jubilation The first is represented by the description of the blight on earth and the infecundity of man and beast; the second by the elaborate ritual designed to remove the "evil" which possesses the body of Telipinu; the third by the ceremonies which accomplish his revival; and the fourth by the concluding account of how he was indeed appeased and bestowed his beneficence on the earth.

§9. Even more significant, however, than these general considerations is the fact that almost everything which now appears as a purely circumstantial detail of the myth or as an integral element of the magical procedure can be shown to reflect or project a typical feature of seasonal festivals.

Take, for instance, the concluding rite involving the erection of an evergreen standard (GIŠ*eyan*) in the temple of Telipinu and the suspension therefrom of fleeces. In KUB XXV 31 these two objects are specified among the paraphernalia used in the cult of Telipinu *at the annual Puruli festival,* the former being expressly dedicated to him on that occasion. Accordingly, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the seasonal rite has been worked into the plot of our myth under the influence of a standard magical usage at the ceremony for which it was designed. Moreover, as shown fully in our commentary,[12] the use of such evergreens and fleeces was a characteristic of the seasonal 'mysteries' in many other ancient cults, the former even surviving in the modern 'maypole.'

§10. Scarcely less transparent a reflection of seasonal ritual is the central ceremony whereby the "evil" is exorcized from the body of Telipinu and its noxious contagion averted. This, as we have seen, takes the form of an elaborate *burning,* each stage of the operation being related symbolically to the removal of the "evil." Now, although this incident has been integrated perfectly within the dramatic framework of the myth, the fact is that the kindling of fire as a means of purgation is one of the most common and constant features of seasonal festivals.[13] Here again, therefore, we may recognize a mythic projection of standard seasonal ritual.

§11. Nor is it only in the more pronouncedly ritual passages of our text that indications of seasonal practices may be detected These are to be found also in the mythological passages.

A striking example is afforded by the passage which describes how, after the forced return of Telipinu, the gods foregather at a sort of collation, with him in their midst, and finally persuade him – not without the aid of further magical devices – to abandon his anger. In this incident we may recognize a reflection of the Theoxenia or regalement of the gods which, as we have seen (Ch. II, §36), formed a cardinal element of the ancient seasonal mysteries. Moreover, it should be observed that in one version of the myth reference is actually made to the "couch" of Telipinu; for in this we may see a counterpart of the festive couches customarily

12. On §XII

13. See above, Ch II, §15

spread for the gods in connection with that entertainment, *i.e.* the so-called *lectisternium.*

§12. A further indication of its ritual origin may be recognized in the statement, towards the end of the text, that Telipinu "took thought for the king and queen and blessed them with life and strength for the future." It is not difficult to see in this a reflection of the ceremonial reconfirmation of the king which formed so cardinal a feature of the analogous Babylonian Akîtu festival and which recurs so often in seasonal celebrations elsewhere. In KBo III 7 this rite is expressly associated with the Puruli festival[14] with the ritual of which our text seems, as we have seen, to share so much in common. Moreover, according to Tertullian,[15] a sacrifice for the health and welfare of the emperor (*pro salute imperatoris*) was one of the features of the Attis mysteries on March 24th.[16]

§13. The position occupied by the Sun-god in the mythological portions of our text may likewise be construed as an indication of its ritual basis, though the point should perhaps not be pressed unduly. It is the Sun-god who first convenes the gods when the absence of Telipinu begins to create alarm, and it is the sheep of the Sun-god that are used in the magical ritual designed to purge the "evil" from his body and assuage his anger. Now, it is perfectly true that the Sun-god was, in any case, the supreme deity of the Hittite pantheon; and this alone might suffice to account for his rôle. On the other hand, however, it is worth remembering that, as pointed out in our discussion of the Ritual Pattern (Ch. II, §37), seasonal festivals were usually celebrated at solstice and equinox and that their relevant myths therefore attach special importance to the part played by the sun. Moreover, we have learned explicitly from the Yuzgat Tablet that in Hittite cultus the 'mysteries' of Telipinu were indeed associated with adoration of the solar deity, the two gods jointly receiving offerings and that document being entitled specifically "Lamentations for Telipinu and Lamentations for the Sun-god." Accordingly, it is permissible at least to suggest that the fairly prominent rôle assigned to the Sun-god in our myth may be a token of the story's seasonal basis.

§14. Finally, it is worth observing that the text actually incorporates certain of the standard clichés of the seasonal myth. To be specific, the initial description of the infertility caused by the absence of Telipinu corresponds almost *verbatim* to that in the Yuzgat Tablet, the Canaanite *Poem of Baal,* the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter* and the 'harvest litany' embodied in the first chapter of the biblical Book of Joel; and there is here the same particular emphasis as in the last two of these sources on the possible starvation of the gods.

§15. In the light of this demonstration, there can surely be no doubt that

14 See Commentary on *Puruli,* §III.
15 *Apologet.* 25; cf CCVI, 33
16 See above, Ch III, §38

our document is indeed the 'book of words' for a summer festival, embodying the libretto of a ritual drama then performed.

§16. Like its counterpart, the Puruli Myth, our text evidently ascends to a Hattic original, though in its present form it doubtless represents a modified and freely adapted version of that primitive source. The Hattic provenience is shown by the fact that the very name Telipinu belongs to that language; for although its full significance still eludes us, we know that the element *pinu* was the Hattic word for "son." Similarly, the goddess Kamrusepas bears a name the second part of which (viz. *-sepas*) is characteristically Hattic, while the deity of growth and vegetation here appears as Miyatanz*ipas*, where an alternative form of the same element may be recognized.

RECENSIONS OF THE TELIPINU MYTH

A: KUB XVII 10
XXXIII 1, 2, 3

B: Chantre, *Mission en Cappadoce,* 58 f.
KUB XXXIII 5
KUB XXXIII 4, 8

C: KUB XXXIII, 9, 12, 13, 14, 33, 41, 42

D: KUB XXXIII 15, 16, 19, 20, 21

Subsidiary Texts: KUB XXXIII 67 IV; 32 obv.

See: Otten, Heinrich, *Die Ueberlieferungen des Telipinu-Mythus* (MVAG 46.1), Leipzig 1942.

TRANSLATION

KUB XVII, 10

I

The disappearance of Telipinu and the consequent blight on earth are deplored.

* *
*

Telipinu . . . . .
Let him not go on impairing . . . .

He sped away, putting his right boot on his left foot,
and his left boot on his right foot.*

Soot beset the windows; smoke beset the house;
ashes(?) were crammed on the hearth;
the (images of) the gods [lay overturned].
Crammed within the fold were the sheep;
in the stall the oxen were crammed.
The sheep rejected its lamb,
the cow rejected its calf.

Telipinu hied away.
Grain and fertility(?), . . . also and satiety he took away.
In field and meadow there was blight(?),
so that over them weeds(?) sprouted up.
Grain and spelt did not grow.
Cows and sheep and humans no longer conceived,
while those which had already conceived bore no young.

Hillsides were bare, trees were bare, put forth no blossoms;
pastures were bare; springs ran dry.
Upon earth was famine;
men and gods alike were perishing of hunger.

A:i, 19–23[a]
B:i, 4[b]–11

II

The gods conduct a search for him.

Then the great Sun-god arranged a banquet.
He summoned the gods great and small.†

* This restoration of the broken text is suggested by Otten (*op. cit.*, 50–51). The phrase would describe the insensate fury of Telipinu
† A. "the thousand gods"

II. A banquet was the customary preliminary in antiquity to a parliamentary session, see Commentary on Baal §XXXVIII.

They ate insatiably, drank without being glutted.

Then the Weather-god expressed concern for Telipinu, his son.
"My son Telipinu," (said he,) "is no longer in the land;*
he has flown into a temper and taken away all good things!"

Thereupon the gods great and small conducted a search for Telipinu, but they found him not.†

C

KUB XXXIII 41 and 42 (Recension C) give a different version of this episode:

. . . . they conducted a search;
the mighty gods searched the [high] mountains,
but they did not [find him]. Likewise they searched the flowing rivers,
but they did [not] find him. Likewise they searched the pure . . . . .,
but they did not [find him].
So they turned . . . . .;
. . . . . in a/the forest they found . . . . .
. . . . . they found [him] in . . . . . .

A:i, 23b–29a

III

An eagle is despatched.

Then the Sun-god despatched an eagle in hot haste,
(saying,) "Go thou, search the high mountains,
search the deep valleys,
search the darkling swirl of the waters!"

So the eagle went, but it could not find him.
And it sent a report to the Sun-god:
"I have not been able to find him, even Telipinu, the mighty god!"

B:i, 1–16

Version B reads:

Then the Sun-god despatched an eagle in hot haste,
(saying,) "Go thou, conduct a search!"

So the eagle went;
it searched the . . .; it searched the rivers;
. . . . but it could not find him.

* Om. B. † Om. A

And it sent a report to the Sun-god:
"I have not been able to find him!"

A:i, 29b–34a

IV

The Weather-god himself conducts a search.

Then said the Weather-god to the Queen-goddess:
"We must act at once! We shall perish of hunger!"

Said the Queen-goddess to the Weather-god:
"Do something!
Thyself, O Weather-god, go seek Telipinu!"

So the Weather-god conducted a search for Telipinu.
In his city he [knock]ed at the gate, but could not get it opened;
he but smashed his hammer on the door.

Thereupon the Weather-god returned. He sat down in silence.

C

Recensions B and C omit this episode. KUB XXXIII 13, however, seems to refer to the despatch not only of an eagle but also of the *thunder:*

* * *

. . . search;
search the darkling swirl of the waters;
search . . .;
search the . . . .;
search the forests!"

So the thunder(?) went.

. . . . . .
"I have not been able to find him.
I have searched . . . ., but have not found him.
I have searched the long ways, but have not found him!"

. . . . . an eagle;
. . . . . the flowing streams;
I have searched the . . . . , but have not found him.
I have searched the . . . . , but have not found him.
I have searched the . . . . , but have not found him.
I have searched the . . . , I have searched the springs,
but have not found him.
I have searched the beautiful forests, but have not found him!"

IV. Note the reference to the Weather-god's *hammer* – a common motif of folklore (cf. Thor's hammer, etc.); XXXII; XXXVIII, 1, 547.

A:i, 34b–35
B:i, 17–18a
C:ii, 3a

V

A bee is despatched.

Thereupon the Queen-goddess despatched a bee,
(saying), "Go thou, . . . seek Telipinu!

B:i, 18b–22
C:ii, 3b–6

When thou findest him,
Put a sting in his hands and feet,
and let it bring him to his feet.
Then apply wax and smear him (therewith),
and bring him to me!"

A:i, 36–39
B:i, 23–27

But the Weather-god said to the Queen-goddess:
"Why, the gods great and small have searched for him,
but have not been able to find him!
Will, then, this bee be able to go and find him?
Why, its wings are tiny, it, too, is tiny;
. . . . . ."

B:i, 28–32

Said the Queen-goddess to the Weather-god:
"Have done!
It will (surely) go and find him!"

So the bee went and searched for Telipinu.
It searched the . . .; it searched the [flowing] rivers;
[it searched] the . . . springs.

Our rendering follows Recension B. The passage is imperfectly preserved in A.

V. Two ideas are here combined. The first is that the sting of a bee or an ant can cure paralysis of the limbs. On this, see. XXIVa, 96, 101, CCXXVa, i, 67 ff.; CCXLVa, 88 f., CCCLXXXIVa, 45–51, Frazer, GB v 35. The second is that honey or wax is a purifying agent, capable of expelling evil spirits and of accomplishing rejuvenation. On this, see XXIVa, 209 ff.; CCL, 158 [= *MI*, D 1338.9]; CCCLXXXIVb, 51 ff.; Fallaize, E.N , in ERE vi 770. An excellent illustration of the latter belief is afforded in the pseudepigraphic Story of Joseph and Asenath, the archangel Michael miraculously provides the Egyptian princess with a honeycomb by the use of which she achieves both purification and immortality.

There is a remarkable parallel to this incident in the Finnish *Kalevala:*

Lemminkainen, the handsome young hero, woos the daughter of the king of Pohjola, the "North country." He is subjected to various tests. While performing one of them, he is bitten by a serpent. His enemies thereupon cut up his body

V a

The bee finds Telipinu.

There are three main versions of this episode, but all are fragmentary. KUB XXXIII 9 (Recension C) is the most complete, and reads as follows:

C:ii, 7–25

The bee [flew away];
it searched the high mountains,
the [deep] valleys and the [darkling] swirl of the waters.
Its honey was exhausted within it,
[its] . . . was exhausted.

Then it came upon him in a meadow,
in a forest by the city of Lihzina.
It stung his hands and feet

---

and throw the parts into deep water. His mother is informed that blood is oozing from his hairbrush, and thereby knows that things have gone ill with him. She goes in search of him, questioning trees, rivers, the moon, etc. They tell nothing. She then goes to the sun, who tells all. Eventually, she retrieves and reassembles the parts of her son, but cannot revive him. She therefore summons Mehilainen, "Little Bee" (cp. Finnish *meh*, 'bee'), ordering him to gather nectar. He returns with it, but it proves ineffective. She then bids him gather nectar from a special island beyond the seven seas. He finds the island, full of jars containing the precious substance, and brings back seven jars on his shoulders and seven in his lap. This, too, proves ineffective. Lemminkainen's mother then tells the bee to fly to the ninth heaven and gather special honey blessed by the Lord for the purpose of "resuscitating his children." The bee flies to the castle of Jumala, the supreme god. There he finds urns containing various kinds of magic honey. He brings some of it back, and when it is rubbed on Lemminkainen, the latter revives.

It is not difficult to recognize in this tale an elaboration of the typical seasonal myth, with its characteristic motifs of the dismembered god, the search conducted by his mother, the appeal to the sun (cf. Demeter and Hēlios), etc. The eventual revival through the despatch of a bee and the action of honey thus provides a perfect parallel to our Hittite version.

V a. The episode follows the standard mythological pattern. Osiris is found in the marshes and fenland. Indra is found in a forest. Baal is found beside "Lake Samach," *i e.* in the marshes of the Huleh district.

LIHZINA is known from other Hittite texts. It is mentioned beside the cities of Hurma, Halab (Aleppo), Sarissa, and Sabinuwa, but its precise location is uncertain.

How the name HA . . . should be completed is doubtful. Otten tentatively suggests HA[TUSSAS], *i e.* the Hittite capital, mod. Boghazkoi, and this suggestion is adopted by Guterbock (*Forgotten Religions* [New York 1950], 101). But may we not think alternatively of HA-[LA-AB], *i e.* Aleppo?

and he was brought to [his feet].

Then said Telipinu: "I am furious!
Why, when I am sleeping and nursing a temper,
do you force me to make conversation?"

. . . . . the springs . . . .
. . . the flowing rivers he . . . . .
. . . . he sought and . . . the wadies
he shattered the windows, he shattered the houses.

He destroyed mankind; he destroyed oxen and sheep,
. . . . . the gods . . . . . .
. . . . Telipinu . . . . . -ed;
[Wh]at shall we do? [What] shall we do?

Mankind . . . . . yon . . . .
. . . . . the spring of Hattara.
Let the eagle bring him,
let the eagle carry him on his wing!

. . . . . carried him,
carried him on its wing.
. . . . . .

Somewhat similar, but suggesting one or two supplementary details, is KUB XXXIII 8:

. . . . . .
. . . . it found [him],
. . set [him] on his f[eet];
. . . . . him . . . . .

. . . . . keeps saying:
". . . . you . . . . me?"
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . [say?]s: "What shall we do?
. . . . Let not(?) Telipinu . . . . .!
. . . . mankind!
. . . . the mountain of Amuna, the spring of Hat[tara].
Let yon eagle lift him up,
. . . let it carry him on its wing . . ,
let yon eagle carry [him] on its wing!"

So they lifted [him] up . . . ;
he seats himself(?) . . . . ;
previously he(?) . . . . . .

Then Telipi[nu . . . .
sends word saying, "Go . . . .
. . my being (*lit.* head) . . .
with sacrificial bread (and) libation . . . .
. . . . . puri[fies],
. . . . . .

Admittedly, the indications are meagre, but the sense may perhaps be restored as follows:

The bee finds Telipinu, stings him and brings him to his feet. The god resents being awakened from his sleep (cf. KUB XXXIII 9, above) and angrily demands: "Why, when I am sleeping and nursing a grievance, do you all come disturbing me?" In indignation, he vents his fury with disastrous results to mankind and beasts. The gods deliberate: "What shall we do?" The Queen-goddess(?) then points out that, in order to bring him back, Telipinu will have to be carried over high mountains ("the mountain of Amuna") and over great lakes. She suggests, therefore, that the eagle should bear him aloft on its wing. Telipinu, on being thus borne aloft, warns the gods (through the intermediary of the bee?) that, if they hope to placate him, they will have to offer him sacrificial bread and libations (which they eventually do).

KUB XXXIII 33 relates the incident in more concise form:

Then did (the Queen-goddess) send a bee in hot haste,
(saying): [Go thou,] O bee, seek the Weather-god!

So it searched the [high moun]tains,
completed its mission(?),
[came to the city of] Lihzina, to the forest of . . . .
. . . . the . . of gold . . . . .

In this version, the bee is apparently despatched to locate the Weather-god who had previously been sent out, but whose mission had proved abortive. What would be implied is that eagle, Weather-god and bee eventually meet together at the spot in the forest near Lihzina where Telipinu lies. This would in turn explain why the god, on being roused, complains of disturbance by "you" (*in the plural*), he addresses all of them together.

Finally, in KUB XXXIII 13, the bee is described as thus reporting back to the Queen-goddess(?):

I have searched [all] places, the beautiful forests included;
I have succeeded in finding him!
He has betaken himself to the city of Ha. . . .
(has gone) into a garden,
and there [lain down to sleep] and to nurse his temper.

He . . . . . beneath a *mammaras*-tree
. . . . on the dark [earth?] . . . . .
. . . . . fertile . . . . . .
. . . . . he is . . . . . .
. . . . . now he . . . . . .

VI

The return of Telipinu being imminent, the gods prepare to exorcise his anger by magical means. The ceremonies are conducted by Kamrusepas, goddess of spells and cures.

A:ii, 2–32

* * .
*

(*Loquitur Kamrusepas*?):

. . nevertheless the mischief [still remains?]!

[Whenever my servant] took roast beef for me out of the pan,
to thee, O Telipinu, was it offered,
so that thereby [thou mightest bestow thy] favor . . .
Likewise, O Telipinu, domestic [beasts were offered] to thee,
and sweet . . . . also by way of propitiation.
Nevertheless, (even) after that . . . . . .
[and oxen and sheep] continue to be crammed together [in the stalls]!

1. Behold, here is *walḫi*-drink, dough and water.
Now, O Telipinu, do thou . . . . . .
and bestow thy favor on the king!

2. Behold, here is an appeasement-offering;
So may the anger, wrath and fury of Telipinu be appeased!

3. Behold, ... is destroyed;
So may the anger, wrath and fury of Telipinu be destroyed from his heart!

4. Behold, here is a . . . . . ;
So may the anger, wrath and fury of Telipinu be turned into . . . !

5. Behold, here is a fig;
even as it is sweet,
So may the anger, wrath and fury of Telipinu be turned to sweetness!

VI. The goddess KAMRUSEPAS, who here performs the magical ceremony, is elsewhere described as a goddess of spells, cures and incantations (cf. KBo III 8 *ii* 6, iii 16, KUB IX 3 i 19, XII 26 ii 1). A myth relating how she was translated to heaven and there given authority over crops and over blight is preserved in KUB XVII 8. She is described also as a goddess of health and of medicinal cures (KUB XVII 15 iii 12, 34 i 5). See fully: CLV, 86 f., CLXXI, 136, CCLXXVa, 67. In KUB XXVIII 3 5 she is equated with the Hattic deity Kataḫzipuri, the first element of whose name means 'Queen.'

6. Even as (this) olive has its oil within it,
[and even as the grape] has wine within it,
so mayest thou, O Telipinu, have kindness within thy being!

7. Behold, here is a pine,
So may the anger, wrath and fury of Telipinu be mollified (as with pine-oil)!

8. Behold, even as (this) sugar malt and (these) malt-cakes are by nature [united,*
So, (O Telipinu,) may thy nature be united to the men who now utter this [spell!

9. Even as . . . . is unsullied;
So may Telipinu render his spirit unsullied!

10. Even as honey is sweet, and oil is soft,
So may the fury of Telipinu be sweetened and softened!

11. Behold, O Telipinu, thy paths with fine oil have I besprinkled;
So, O Telipinu, on oil-besprinkled paths do thou now proceed!†

12. Now do green shoots and saplings appear before thee(?).
Even as these are soft by nature, so may thy nature be, O Telipinu!"

This version of the Incantation is that of Recension A. Recension B presents it in somewhat different fashion:

B:iii–iv

. . . . . so be thou purified!

Behold, beeswax is placed before thee; [as it is clean,]
So may the anger, wrath [and fury of Telipinu] be cleaned!

* *Precise meaning obscure*
† *i e* "Take the gentle path."

It should be observed that, as preserved in Recension A, the magical ceremony falls into *twelve* parts This may be related to the fact that in the immediately succeeding episode the gods are instructed to flay twelve rams in connection with some further ritual procedure Moreover, it is to be observed that twelvefold offerings are a not uncommon feature of Hittite rituals Thus, for example, in the funerary ritual preserved in KUB XXX 15, it is expressly prescribed (i 11) that "twelve ordinary loaves" be placed beside the cremated corpse, and at a subsequent stage of the proceedings (i 23–24) the fleeces of twelve unblemished sheep are dedicated to the gods as part of an apotropaic and propitiatory offering. Similarly, in a ritual designed to expel pestilence (KUB IX 32 = Friedrich, *AHS* ii 12), provision is made for the presentation of twelve large vessels and twelve loaves of bread (i 34), while in another (KBo IV 2 = Friedrich, *op. cit*, 14) for the removal of evil spirits from a palace, twelve loaves of *hurri*-bread and twelve of some other kind are likewise presented. We may suppose, therefore, that the division of the incantation into twelve formulae corresponds to the accompanying performance of some twelvefold act of the presentation of some twelvefold offering, characteristic of purgatory rituals.

Behold, spelt is placed before thee,
even as spelt is clean,
so may the spirit and soul of Telipinu be cleansed!

Behold, sugar malt and malt-cakes are placed before thee;
Even as the sugar malt and the malt-cakes are by nature united,
so may his (*i.e.* Telipinu's) spirit and soul be one . . . . .

Even as they refresh an angry man with sleep,
and his anger thereby [leaves] him,
and even as they refresh an ill-humored man with . . . .,
and his ill-humor [leaves] him,
so . . . . . ;
thou, be thou refreshed . . . . .
. . (thine) anger . . . . . !

VII

A:ii, 35–iii, 2

Telipinu returns, borne on the wing of the eagle. But he has not yet relinquished his anger.

Then came Telipinu in hot haste.
Lightning flashed,
there was thunder.
He was, (as it were,) doing battle against the dark earth.

Nor was this twelvefold offering confined to the Hittites In the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes* 128, the sacrifice is divided into twelve parts. Twelvefold sacrifices are also mentioned specifically by Eustathius on Iliad vi 93 (p. 1386.48), cf. also Sophocles, *Trachiniae* 760 f. Twelve also played a prominent rôle in Israelitic ritual (cf. Num. 7.87, 29 17; I Kings 7 44, 11.30; Ezra 8 24, 35; II Chron 4.4).

An alternative possibility, however, should not escape us. In the subsequent episode, Kamrusepas asserts that by means of her magical practices she has succeeded in removing "the evil" from the body of Telepinu. The magical ceremony may therefore be regarded as having been designed towards this end. Now, it was a belief of the Hittites that the body consisted of twelve essential parts. This is stated explicitly in KUB IX 4 i 3 ff., 22 ff., iii 33 ff., IX 34 ii 23 ff., 38 ff., while in KUB IX 4 and 34 (duplicates), the twelve limbs of the suppliant are healed by treatment of the twelve limbs of a sacrificial beast; see CLXXIV 42 ff. (For analogous magical practices based on the assumed number of the bodily parts, see XXXVII, 471 ff ; CXXX, 41 ff.) Accordingly, it is at least possible that the twelvefold division of the incantation was motivated by the fact that it accompanied a series of rites in which the noxious anger of Telipinu was exorcized from the twelve essential parts of his body.

The scene as a whole finds a striking parallel in Indic myth. When Indra departs from mankind, after slaying the son of Tvashtri, the earth languishes In order to restore him and to cure him of the taint of bloodshed, the gods perform magical ceremonies under the leadership of the magician-god Brahmanaspati.

Kamrusepas looked;
the eagle was carrying him on the wing.
(However), anger still possessed him,
[wrath still possessed him],
[fury] still possessed him,
rage still possessed him.

VIII

A:iii, 3–27

Kamrusepas performs further rites to exorcise the anger of Telipinu and remove the "evil" within him.

Then, standing at some distance from the gods, Kamrusepas says:
"Come . . ., O gods!
Hapantali [has brou]ght some of the Sun-god's sheep!
So cut up twelve of them!
I am about to perform a rite [of exorcism] upon Telipinu!
I have brought with me a feather,
and have strewn around some thousand eyes plucked from the male sheep [of Kamrusepas!

VIII. HAPANTALI appears to have been the divine steward In the Alaksandus treaty IV 10–11, in the treaty of Suppiluliuma and Hukkanas of Hayasa (CLII, II, 110–12) and in that of the same monarch and Mattiwaza of Mitanni (CDLXXXV, 28–30), he is equated with ^{d}LAMA, the protective spirit, and it is to be noted that it is the latter who acts as master of ceremonies at the divine banquet described in the Puruli myth. See fully, CCLXXVa, 22–23.

As part of the magical paraphernalia, Kamrusepas takes a feather and a thousand "eyes." The former is readily explicable; for in the Tunnawi ritual, the wing of an eagle is expressly mentioned (I 46; II 4, III 12) as part of the equipment used to remove "evil uncleanness" (*idalu papratar*) and "divine anger" (DINGIR.MEŠ-*as karpis*) from a person (II 36–37, 58–59, III 4–5, 9, 40–41, 50–51). It is therefore probable that it was used for a similar purpose in the present case As for the eyes, it is noteworthy that in KUB XII 44 iii 8 failure of the vines is attributed to the evil eye, as is general sterility in KUB XVII 28, II 44 ff. The eye might therefore well have been used in homoeopathic rites for exorcizing infertility.

On the face of it, the kindling of the fire might seem to be no more than a piece of magical hocus-pocus. The fact is, however, that it reflects one of the most common features of seasonal festivals. So prominent was it, for example, at the Hierapolitan festival witnessed by Lucian that the occasion was actually known as "the Festival of Fires" (*De Dea Syria*, ch 49), while in modern European usage, the celebration of May Day, Easter and Midsummer is characterized, as is well known, by the lighting of fires (MacRitchie, D., "Ancient Summer Festivals," in *Scottish Review*, August 10, 1905; XVII, 16, CXLIX, ch. lxii), the Celtic name for the Mayday festival, viz. Beltane, being actually derived from this practice (cf. OE *bael*, "bright," Gaelic *teine*, "fire", XVII, 219 f.).

1. Here have I lit a fire for Telipinu.
and there have I lit a fire.
Thereby have I removed from the body of Telipinu its evil.
I have torn it in shreds.
I have removed his anger, his wrath have I removed.
I have removed his [fury], his rage have I removed.

Telipinu is hereby made to put a stop to the anger in his soul!

2. Now is the firewood banked:
Even as this fire[wood, now banked,] will be eventually burned out,
so may the anger, wrath, fury and rage of Telipinu be eventually burnt out!

There is no need to cite specific instances of so familiar a custom, the curious reader will find abundant material on the subject in Grimm's *Deutsche Mythologie,* 567–97 and in Frazer's *Golden Bough,* ch. lxii. Attention may be called, however, to the significant fact that these fires are often two in number, thus according perfectly with the indications in our text. Thus, for example, Cormac, archbishop of Cashel (d. 908) tells us expressly in his *Glossary* (p. 19, ed. Whitley Stokes) that this was the practice at Beltane, the cattle being driven between the two fires in order to be purged; while Pennant (CCCLIII, Pt. I, 435) likewise speaks of objects being passed between two Beltane fires. Similar, too, is the testimony of John Toland, CDLXIXa, 117. "Two fires were kindled by one another one May-eve in every village of the nation, as well thro'out all Gaule, as in Britain, Ireland and the adjoining lesser island." Analogous also is the Southern Nigerian custom of lighting two bonfires on a certain day in the wet season and driving the cattle between them in order to avert sickness during the year (CXLVII, III. 375).

In the light of these parallels it seems legitimate to infer that when our Hittite text speaks of fires being lit on either side of Telipinu and when it adds immediately, "and so have I removed from his body its evil," it reflects an analogous seasonal urge, duly mythified. Moreover, this conclusion is supported by the fact that the general expulsion of evil by means of bonfires or firebrands is a common feature of seasonal festivals A few representative examples, taken from *The Golden Bough,* will have to suffice At the moment of the sun's first reappearance, the Esquimaux of Point Barrow, Alaska, expel the evil spirit Tuna by building a fire in front of their council-house and mimetically driving him into it (CXLIX, 551 f.). — In parts of Albania, villagers foregather on Easter Eve and light torches of resinous wood which they ultimately throw into the river, crying, "Ha, Kore, we throw you into the river like these torches, so that you may never return (560)!" — Among the Incas of Peru, straw torches were lit at the September festival of Situa and passed among the congregation, amid cries of "Let all harm pass away!" (554). — At Labruguière, a canton of Southern France, the expulsion of evil on Twelfth Day (after Christmas) is marked by the lighting of torches (561). — To these examples it may be added that the Talmudic passage, Tosefta Sabbat 6.10–11 states expressly that "he who fastens a firebrand to the wall of a house and cries, Avaunt! performs a heathen practice" (cf. CCCXCIX, 69 f.). Furthermore, it may be worth suggesting that herein lies the true significance of the torches which figure so prominently in the "mysteries" of Attis (cf. CCVI, 129, n. 3, CCLX, 35 f.)

Unfortunately, the text is mutilated and the crucial verb, which would have

3. Even as (these) tares are not removed from the field,
[nor] used for grain, nor made into bread,
[nor] stored in the barn,
so – like (worthless) tares – be the anger, wrath, fury and rage of Telipinu!

Telipinu is hereby made to put a stop to the anger in his soul!

4. Even as this fire [burns out],
so may the anger, wrath, [fury] and rage [of Telipinu] bur[n itself out]!

O Telipinu, abandon thine anger!
Abandon thy wrath!
Abandon thy fury!
Abandon thy rage!

5. Even as [the water] of a pitcher (once poured)
can no more be gathered together,
so may the [anger, wrath, fury] and rage of Telipinu be gathered back unto [him no more!"

A:iii, 28–32

IX

The gods rally around Telipinu to welcome him back after the "evil" has been purged from him.

Then the gods foregather under the baldaquin(?);
under the baldaquin(?) long benches are ranged.

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revealed the *tertium quid* of the comparison between Telipinu's wrath and the water of a pitcher, is missing. We believe, however, that the sense can be restored with confidence in the light of a remarkably parallel expression in an Accadian incantation. In CXXII, 15 6 there occurs the phrase, "as waters once poured from a pitcher do not return, so . . etc. (*kīma mê pisani ana arkišu ⟨nu⟩ lā itâru*)," which accords perfectly with what remains of our Hittite text. The same simile recurs also in Maqlu I, 118. "As waters of a bottle, so may they be exhausted by being poured out! (*kīma mê nâdi ina tîqi liqtû*)," and again in Zimmern, *Hymnen* 22 (in a prayer to Ishtar): "As waters which gush forth in streams, so may thy passion be dispelled!" Cf. also Psalm 58.8, compared by Tallquist, *Hakedem* 1 (1907), 9. Moreover, the same locution is also found in II Samuel 14 14. "For we needs must die, and are as water spilt on the ground which cannot be gathered up again" (. . *we-kamayim ha-niggārîm arsah ʾšer lōʾ yēāsēfū*).

Recension B gives another version of the simile:

> As the water of a pitcher cannot flow backwards,
> so may the anger, wrath, fury and rage of Telipinu never return back (to him)!

IX. This episode mythologizes the ritual *lectisternium* or *theoxenia* On the deities here mentioned, see on Yuzgat Tablet, Comm., §IV.

The gods all sit down – even the god . . . .
the Gulses-goddesses and the MAḪ-goddesses,
the god of grain, the god of growth,
Telipinu, LAMA, Hapantali [and . . . . . .

A:iii, 33–iv, 3

X

Kamrusepas makes a further appeal to Telipinu to abandon his anger.

"Now, in honor of the gods and to obtain long life,
I have duly performed the rite and have purged him.

(O Telipinu,) thou wast [sick] and art recovered;
thou art restored to health.
The city [greets and welcomes] thee.

Now, therefore, O Telipinu, lay aside thine anger, thy wrath,
[thy fury and thy rage!"

A:iv, 4–19

XI

Further magical rites are performed and a solemn exorcism pronounced.

Now the Weather-god comes speeding in hot haste.

The servitor of the Weather-god takes a pot (and) comes.
It contains trash.*

* *Lit* "bits and pieces, chips"

As we have seen (above, Ch. II, §36), the theoxenia, or regalement of the gods, was an essential feature of the Hittite Puruli-festival, being expressly described in the cult-myth of that occasion (KBo III 7). Similarly, in the Canaanite *Poem of Dawn and Sunset,* which is really the 'book of words' for a spring festival (see above, pp. 231 ff.), the erection of 'cathedrae' (*mṯbt*) for the accommodation of the gods is expressly described (lines 19–20). Inscriptional evidence attests the same usage for the Attis cult, wherein it was the duty of the priestess to "spread the couch" for the gods at the annual panegyries (CIA II 1 624, 662, IV ii 624b, cf. Livy xxix 14 13, ccvi, 136–37).

So prominent, indeed, was the *lectisternium* as a feature of the seasonal festivals that it almost invariably found place as an episode of the relevant cult-myth or drama. Thus, in the Babylonian poem *Enuma Eliš,* which served as the cult myth of the New Year (Akîtu) festival, the return of the triumphant Marduk after defeating the monster Tiamat is made the occasion of a banquet (*kirētu*) in which all the gods participate (vi 53–54). So too, in the Canaanite *Poem of Baal* (II AB vi 44–57), the return of that god to earth, after defeating the monster Yam, and the dedication to him of a special palace, are likewise made the occasion of a banquet attended by all the gods. Lastly, as F. M. Cornford has pointed out (lxxvii, 99), Greek classical comedies, which evolved out of the primitive seasonal drama, usually end in a scene of banqueting, in which we may see, albeit through a glass darkly, a lingering trace of the original ritual *lectisternium.*

Then says the Weather-god·*
Even as the trash is disposed of in this pot,
So, by [virtue of this spell] of mine,
may these mortals who now address thee succeed in disposing of thine
[anger, thy wrath and thy rage!†

May the anger, wrath, fury and rage of Telipinu depart!
May it leave the house!
. . . . may it leave the interior!
May it leave the windows!
. . May it leave the interior of the forecourt!
May it leave the gate!
May it leave the porch!
May it leave the highway!
May it not enter field, garden or orchard!
May it depart along the path of the Sun of the nether-world!

The turnkey draws back the seven bolts of the seven gates.

B:iv, 11 ff.

Down on the black earth a bronzen‡ jar is placed
the cover whereof is of iron, and likewise the handles(?).

Even as that which is placed herein
remains there to rot,
so may the anger, wrath, fury and rage of Telipinu be confined and not
[issue forth!

A:iv, 20–34

XII

Telipinu finally re-enters his temple and restores fertility. Honors are paid to him.

Then Telipinu returned to his temple (*lit.* house).
He took thought for the land.
He let out the soot from the window;
he let out the smoke from the house;

* Something of this kind has obviously to be understood So again, when the pot is subsequently placed upon the ground, and an appropriate formula recited, the speaker is not specified This is because the text is at this point little more than an officiant's vade-mecum

† We have inserted a line to bring out the point of the simile, which is implicit in the original.

‡ Var a jar of A BAR-metal.

XII. This episode reflects standard rites of the Purulı festival. The erection of the evergreen and the suspension therefrom of fleeces are specifically mentioned in connection with that occasion in KUB XXV 31. Not improbably, the rite was part of the annual purgation ceremonies, a Babylonian magical text (CCCV, ii,

the pedestals of the gods were set upright,
he let out the ashes from the hearth;
he let out the sheep which were in the fold;
he let out the oxen which were in the stall.
Mother fondled child, sheep fondled lamb; cow fondled calf.

Telipinu (likewise took thought for) the king and queen;
he took thought for them,
to grant them life and vigor for the future.
Yea, Telipinu took thought for the king.

---

209) specifies the erection of such a standard, coupled with the display of a fleece, as part of a ritual for expelling disease.

The rite in question can be shown to have formed part of the seasonal 'mysteries' in many other ancient cults and even to have survived into modern times. According to both Joannes Lydus (*De Mensibus* iv 59) and the Emperor Julian (*Orat.* V, p. 186 C), a prominent feature of the Asianic mysteries of Attis celebrated at the spring equinox was the introduction of a pine-log into the sacred precincts. March 22nd, says the Calendar of Philocalus, was therefore known as Arbor Intrat, "Day when the Log comes in" (CCVI, 151). From other sources we learn that the priests charged with this office were called specifically "carriers of the tree" (*dendrophoroi, op. cit.*, 152 ff.). — Analogous rites were performed also, according to Firmicus Maternus (c. 27, 1–2, CCVI, 51), in the parallel 'mysteries' of Isis, Adonis and Persephone, while Lucian (*De Dea Syria*, ch 49), describing the festival of the Syrian Goddess at Hierapolis (Membij) at the beginning of spring, furnishes the interesting information that "they cut down tall trees and set them up in the courtyard, then they bring goats and sheep and cattle and hang them living to the trees" In modern times, the rite survives in the erection of the maypole at the beginning of summer, while a further survival, in what is significantly enough an "Asianic" part of the world, may be recognized in C. F. Lehmann's report (*Die Zeit* 2 [1902], 468), at the close of the 19th century, that it was customary at Banga, in Georgia, to bring a felled oak into church during the last days of April.

What we have in all of these ceremonies is, of course, a symbolic representation of the death and resurrection of the year-spirit or genius of fertility, the erection or adoration of the sacred tree going closely together with the antecedent felling of it. This comes out especially in the more explicit symbolism of earlier examples from Egypt and Mesopotamia A feature of the great Egyptian festival in the month of Khoiakh, immediately preceding the first day of spring, was the ceremonial raising of the ḏed-column, representing the resurrection of Osiris (Blackman in CCXXII), while Mesopotamian seals, dating to the latter half of the third millennium B.C. *sometimes* figure a god felling a tree which stands on a mountain in which another god is imprisoned (cf. Frankfort, H., in *Iraq* 1 [1934], Pl. iv f. v a, CCXXIV, 14). Since, in the literary version of the myth (VAT 9555 [= CCLXIX 34 ff.], i, 6, 23, 29, 38), the year-spirit is described as having been shut up in the mountain (*i e* the underworld), it is obvious that the felling of the tree is intended to symbolize his discomfiture.

The ritual text KUB XXV 31, to which we have already drawn attention, specifically associates the dedication of the evergreen to Telipinu with an antecedent burning and replacement of the old and evidently worn-out equipment of the temples (lines 5–7). This lends further support to our identification of it,

Then, in the temple of Telipinu an evergreen was set up;
from it were hung fleeces of sheep.

The fatness of the sheep was then established,*
the [produce] of crop and field was then established;
oxen and sheep were then established,
long life and progeny were then established.

. . . . . .

(*The rest is missing*)

* *i e* secured.

---

in the present context, with the poles of Attis and cognate cults, for Firmicus Maternus tells us explicitly (c 27.2) that these were burned from year to year, while Lucian relates (*loc. cit.*) that at the end of the festival of the Syrian Goddess the sacred trees were set ablaze. Similarly, at the Scottish Beltane festival, at the beginning of summer, it was customary in many parts to fell a tree and cast it upon the sacred fire (CCXXI, I 849, II 596, *R. Cel.*, 4 [1879], 193), while an analogous disposition of the maypole is recorded from Prague, Wurtemberg and other European centers (CXLIX, 125).

It is possible also – though the point cannot be pressed – that the mention of the fleeces is likewise an indication of seasonal ritual, for while it is true that these were a standard appurtenance of Hittite temples (CDXXXIII, 181–82), we should not overlook the evidence that more was involved in the present instance than a mere replenishment of stock. The fact is that the fleeces here in question were not merely brought into the temple and deposited there, but were suspended from the sacred evergreen. Now, when we compare this with the statement of Lucian that at the summer festival at Hierapolis live sheep and goats were similarly suspended from sacred poles, and when we recall that (according to KUB XXV 31) the evergreen was set up at the Puruli festival, which fell at virtually the same time of year, we can scarcely fail to conclude that our text implies a specific seasonal usage. Consonant with this is the well-known fact that fleeces of sacrificial animals were believed in antiquity to possess certain magical properties (cf Pley, F., "De lanae in antiquorum ritibus usu," in *Rel Vers and Vorarbeiten* X/II [Giessen 1911], 1 ff., Riess in PW, s.v. 'Aberglaube', 73, 79, 82; ARW 12 [1910], 491 f, CCLX, 27; Fehrle, *Alemannia*, 3rd ser. IV, 16, 19, Deubner, L., in ERE, s.v. 'Fleeces') and that for this reason they were indeed employed in Greek cults in the apotropaic and similar rites connected with seasonal festivals. Thus, at the festival of the Diasia, which was celebrated at Ilissos (cf. LXXIV, 1140) in honor of the chthonic deity Meilichios, and which appear to have fallen – like the Hittite Puruli – at the summer solstice (Eustathius on Od. xxii 481, p 1935; CC, 27 ff, Nilsson, M., in *Athen Mitt.* 33 [1908], 285), a "divine fleece was ceremonially paraded, being apparently carried around the tilled land so as to protect the seed within the charmed circle" (Deubner, in ERE VI 52a, Preller, *Polemonis frag.* [Leipzig 1831], 141). A similar custom obtained at the festival of Skirophoria, held in June–July (Suidas, s v. *dion·kōdion*), while, according to Dicaearchus (FHG ii 262), worshipers of Zeus Akraios used to make a pilgrimage up Mount Pelion, in the height of summer, clad in sheep-skins So great, indeed, were the apotropaic properties attributed to the fleece that anyone in need of purification could obtain it by merely placing his left foot on that object (Hesychius, s.v. *Dios kōdion*, Amelung, *Atti della Pontif Acad.* 1905; 128 ff.; Phryn., *Praep. soph.* p. 19, 14 f., ed. Borries).

4. A Ritual Combat

§1. A cardinal element of the ritual pattern is, as we have seen (above, Ch. II, §§20–25), the staging of a mimetic combat between principals or teams representing respectively Old Year and New, Rain and Drought, Summer and Winter, Life and Death, etc.

This element was also present in Hittite usage, a description of such a combat being found, incorporated in a ritual program, in KUB XVII 95, *iii* 9–17. The text reads as follows:

TRANSLATION

§2.

(9) Then the men divide into two companies. They give them names.
(10) The one company they call the men of the city of Hatti;
(11) the other company they call the men of the city of Māsa.
(12) The men of Hatti have bronzen weapons, but the men of Māsa
(13) have weapons made out of reeds. Then they fight.
(14) The men of Hatti win. They take booty,
(15) and dedicate it to the god. Then they lift up the (image of) the god
(16) and lead it forth into the temple. They set up an altar;
(17) they offer a handful of bread; they pour a libation of beer; they set up sun-disks.

§3. It will be observed that in accordance with the common process of historicization (cf. Ch. II, §§21–22), the ritual combat is here taken to commemorate a battle between the Hittites and their neighbors the Māsa, who are probably to be identified with the Classical Maeonians of eastern Lydia.[1] This represents a tendency which can be illustrated from both ancient and modern sources.

§4. It is significant that the defeated men of Māsa are said to carry weapons made of reeds (l. 13), as against the bronzen weapons of their opponents (l. 12). In the popular performance, of course, this would have suggested no more than the relative impotence of the former. Considering,

1 Goetze, CLXXII, 23. The identification is questioned by Bilabel, XXVIII, i, 267; and in CLXXI Goetze is less committal, saying only that the land of the Māsa must have been situated somewhere "in N W Asia Minor, in the unfilled gap between Arzawa and the Kaska-territories." For the location of the Maeonians, cf. Strabo, XII 572, 576; XIII 625. In the Iliad (II, 864) they are mentioned beside the Mysians, Phrygians and Carians; while Herodotus asserts (I, 7, VII, 74) that the Lydians were anciently called Maeonians. The Māsa are perhaps identical with the Mś mentioned in the Egyptian lists of the allies of the Hittites at the battle of Kadesh (Breasted, *AR*, iii, §§306, 309) and possibly also with the Asianic Maš, mentioned beside Lydia in Gen. 10.22–23 and usually identified with Mons Masius = Tur 'Abdin.

however, that in other parts of the world the antagonists are very often dressed specifically (*e.g.* in greenery and furs, ivy and straw, respectively) to indicate their seasonal characters,[2] it is at least possible that the equipment of the Māsa teams with reeds was originally motivated by the same symbolism, and that the bronzen weapons of their antagonists were a later substitution for similar symbolic accoutrement.

On the other hand, it is worth observing that in the English Mummers' Plays, the adversary (Beelzebub) is usually furnished with a rude club, in contrast to the iron weapon, or sword, of "Saint George." As Lady Gomme has pointed out (FL 40 [1929], 292 f.), in folktales of the "Jack the Giant Killer" type, the giant is usually armed with a wooden club, and is defeated by the "Man with the Sword." This is intended to portray his ruder and more savage character. Our Hittite text may thus provide the prototype of a convention which has survived to this day!

2. Cf CLXXXV, 764 ff. In Styria and in the neighboring mountains of Carinthia, two teams, one dressed in winter clothes and armed with snowballs, the other with green summer hats and armed with pitchforks and scythes, used to engage in combat on St. Mary's Candlemas; *ibid.*, 769 (quoting CCCXCIII, ii, 348). Similarly, in Sweden, 'Summer' and 'Winter,' dressed respectively in greenery and furs, stage a set-to on May Day; GB IV (*The Dying God*), 254

EGYPTIAN TEXTS

EGYPTIAN TEXTS

1. THE RAMESSEUM DRAMATIC PAPYRUS.
   Sethe, Kurt, *Dramatische Texte zu altagyptischen Mysterienspiele, II. Der Dramatische Ramesseumpapyrus. Ein Spiel zur Thronbesteigung des Konigs* (Leipzig 1928), 83–264.
   Blackman, A. H., in *Myth and Ritual*, ed. S. H. Hooke (London 1933), 29–32.
   Frankfort, H., *Kingship and the Gods* (Chicago 1948), 123–39, 376–77.

2. THE MEMPHITE DRAMA:
   Sethe, Kurt, *Dramatische Texte . . .*, 1–80.
   Breasted, J. H., "The Philosophy of a Memphite Priest," in ZÄS 99 (1901), 39–54.
   id., *The Dawn of Conscience* (New York 1933), 29–42.
   Junker, H., *Die Gotterlehre von Memphis (Schabaka-Inschrift)*, in *Abh Preuss. Akad. Wiss*, Phil.-hist. Kl., No. 23 (Berlin 1939).
   Frenkian, A. M., *L'orient et les origines d'idéalisme subjectif dans la pensée européenne.* Tome I: *La doctrine théologique de Memphis. L'inscription du roi Shabaka* (Paris 1946).
   Sandman Holmberg, M., *The God Ptah* (Lund-Copenhagen 1946).

   Earlier studies are now virtually useless, because not until the edition of Breasted was it realized that the text is written *boustrophedōn*.

1. The Ramesseum Dramatic Papyrus

or

The Egyptian Coronation Drama

INTRODUCTION

The following presentation of the Egyptian Coronation Drama is based on the German rendering and interpretation of Kurt Sethe. The material has been rearranged, however, in order to bring out more clearly the interrelation of punctual ritual and mythological drama. Using as a guide the rubrics actually contained in the text, these have been expanded for the sake of clarity and sometimes grouped together to indicate more precisely the correspondence between ritual action and mythological representation.

The rendering seeks to be faithful, but not pedantic. It must be remembered that the Egyptian text is of the nature of a scenario, its obscurities resulting largely from the fact that the modern reader is not, as was his Egyptian predecessor, a spectator at an actual performance. Accordingly, it is often necessary to be explicit where the Egyptian text is merely implicit; and we have therefore not hesitated at times to trick out the original wording with such explanatory matter as may make it more intelligible. It should be borne in mind also that the relationship of ritual to myth is often brought out by a play on words We have tried, whenever possible, to reproduce this effect. A full list of the puns will be found in the Philological Notes.

In reading the text, it must be remembered that the ritual and drama were performed at successive stations along a processional route. There is consequently a good deal of repetition and no regular sequence. Scenes previously enacted had to be performed over again for the benefit of a new audience. Moreover, some of the central rites were of such importance that they had to be performed not merely once, but at every distinct shrine and center to which the procession came.

TRANSLATION

CAST

Ritual	*Myth*
The new king	Horus
Mummy representing the old king	The corpse of Osiris
Chief officiant	Thoth
Two wailing women	Isis and Nephthys
A precentor	Geb
Chief steward	Sokar
Staff of embalmers, morticians &c.	Followers of Horus
Princes	Followers of Horus
Notables of Upper and Lower Egypt	Gods
Temple and sacral personnel	The henchmen of Set
	Set

1–4

The ceremonial barge is equipped.

The launching of it marks the opening up of the Nile and inaugurates the ceremony of installing or reconfirming the king.

Beer is proffered.

SCENE I

Horus requests his Followers to equip him with the Eye of power.

HORUS (*to his Followers*):
Convey to me the Eye, that by its power
This waterway may now be opened up!

Horus also instructs his Followers to bring upon the scene the god Thoth, who is to act as master of ceremonies, and the corpse of his father, Osiris.

SCENE I. This entire ritual is performed against the background of a royal cruise down the Nile, its several elements being performed at successive stations en route. The cruise is but the Egyptian form of the widespread practice, discussed above (Comm. *Baal*, §XL) whereby a newly appointed king has to take possession of his dominion by travelling around it.

The ritual takes place at the season of the year when the waters of the Nile subside and the river is again open to navigation. The launching of the royal barge marks that event. The ceremony is best illustrated by its modern counterpart, the festival of Cutting the Dam of the Nile, which takes place annually in August. There too the central element of the proceedings is the launching, under official auspices, of a gaily decorated ship, called *akabeh*. For a graphic description, see CCLXVII, ch. XXVI.

On the relationship of the Pharaoh to the regulation of the Nile, cf. CCCXVIII, 81–2. The power was attributed also to *defunct* kings (Drioton, in *Egyptian Religion* 1 [1933], 39–51).

5–7

The royal princes load eight mnš'*-jars into the bow of the barge.*

SCENE II

Thoth loads the corpse of Osiris upon the back of Set, so that it may be carried aloft to heaven.

THOTH (*to Set*):
Behold, thou canst endure and stand no [more
Against this god who mightier is than [thou!

(*to Osiris*):
Let not this villain chill thy heart again!

The Elders of the court are mustered.

8–10

A ram is sent rushing from the pen, to serve as a sacrifice in behalf of the king. Meanwhile — as at all such sacrifices — the Eye of Horus is displayed to the assembly.

SCENE III

Horus, in the guise of a falcon, rushes at Thoth and snatches the eye out of his hand.

ISIS appears on the scene and thus addresses Thoth:

Out of thy lips may now the word rush [forth
Permitting Horus to possess the Eye!

The animal is slaughtered. Its mouth falls open under the knife.

ISIS *again addresses Thoth:*
Open thy mouth, and let the word go [forth!

11–14

Priests slaughter the ram. The chief officiant hands a portion to the king, and formally proclaims his accession.

SCENE IV

Thoth conveys the Eye to Horus.

THOTH (*to Horus*):
* * * * * * * * * *
The son shall in his father's place arise!

SCENE III. With this presentation of a ram by way of offering to the king we may perhaps compare the ram of consecration at the investiture of the Israelitic high priest. Exodus 29 22–25.

The Prince shall now succeed unto the
[Lord!

The king is acclaimed by the assembly.

CHORUS:
Fish of the deep, fowl of the skies,
Go seek Osiris, where he lies!

15–17

SCENE V

Grain is strewn upon the threshing-floor.

Horus requests his Followers to convey to him the Eye which survived the combat with Set.

HORUS (*to his Followers*):
E'en as conservèd grain is to the barn
Convey'd, so now do ye convey to me
The Eye which was from Set's assault
[conserved!
* * * * * * * * * *

18–20

SCENE VI

The chief officiant hands two š't.t-*loaves to the king.*

The two loaves symbolize the two eyes of Horus, viz., that which Thoth awarded to Set and that which Horus was permitted to retain.

THOTH (*to Horus*):
Behold, I do convey to thee that Eye
Which permanently thou shalt never
[lose!

Dancers are introduced.

HORUS (*to Thoth*):
Before thee now mine Eye doth dance
[for joy!

SCENES V–VI. The scattering of grain, as well as of figs, raisins and the like, was a regular feature of ancient sacrifices. In the primitive stage, where the commensal aspect of sacrifice was predominant, it was strewn among the participants in the ritual. Thus, in the Hittite installation ceremonies described in KUB XXIX 1, II 14–16 (= Schwartz, *Orientalia* 16 [1947], 30), the king scatters (*suhhāi*) figs, grapes, portions of meat and *hasikka*-fruit among the palace staff before being anointed. Similarly, at the Delphic festival of Charilia, in Greece, the king scattered grain and pulse among the assembled congregation (Plutarch, *Quaest. Graec.* XII), and a survival of this usage is to be recognized also in the custom of throwing grain, nuts, raisins, etc. among the audience at the performance of Greek comedies (Aristophanes, *Vespae* 58, *Plut.* 789 ff.; *Pax* 962 ff., cf. LXXVII, 100–02). Analogous, too, is the scattering of grain or beans by the king at African installation rites (CCXXXI, 56, 72), while Patai (HUCA 20 [1947], 202) ingeniously suggests that David's distribution of bread,

21–24 *SCENE VII*

A fragrant bough is hoisted aboard the barge.

The corpse of Osiris is hoisted on to the back of Set, his vanquished assailant.

THE GODS (*to Set*):
Henceforth, O Set, thou shalt not him [evade
Who is so far superior to thyself!

HORUS (*gazing on the corpse of Osiris*):
How noble! Oh, how fair and beautiful!

The workmen stagger under the weight of the bough.

Set staggers under the weight of the corpse.

HORUS (*to Set*):
Bow'd under him, thou shalt connive no [more!

---

raisin-cakes and *ešpar* (= ?), recorded in II Sam. 6.19 (= I Chron. 16 3), reflects a parallel New Year installation rite among the Hebrews. Later, when sacrifice lost its commensal character and degenerated into mere offering to the gods, the grain was simply strewn upon the altar (cf. Odyssey iv 761, Euripides, *Electra* 804, Aristophanes, *Aves* 622, Eustathius, 132.3 [on Iliad i 499], Fritze, H. von, in *Hermes* 32 [1897], 236).

SCENE VII. In illustration of what is here described, Sethe quotes Mariette, *Dendereh* iv 71; CCCXXXVI, 16,4/5. "The forepart of the solar barque is made of *im*;, the rear part of acacia-wood (*šnḏ.t*), and these two trees are therefore 'holy trees' unto this day."

The word here rendered "fragrant bough" is *im*;, which Gardiner (*Egyptian Grammar*, 468), tentatively identifies with the male date-palm. What is evidently indicated is the introduction into the proceedings of something analogous to the maypole or evergreen which is so common a feature of seasonal rituals throughout the world, cf. CCCXCIV, III 173: "The blessing attendant upon the incoming spring is expressed in a variety of more material forms . . . pre-eminent among which are the young 'spring trees' and the 'may-boughs' now decked with their first leaves. Branches of birch and fir – sometimes even whole trees – are carried home from the woods to be used as festal decorations. . . . Originally, these 'may-boughs' symbolized the entire wealth of that fertility which Nature had now brought to birth, and they were believed to be endowed with specially beneficent properties by virtue of the power dwelling in them." On the presence of such maypoles in Hittite rituals, see *Telipinu*, §XII, and on the conception that the tree symbolizes the spirit of fertility, cf. Mowinckel, S., AcOr 15 (1936), 141 ff., CXXXII, 25 f., CCXXIV, 14.

It is not improbable, however, that the "fragrant bough" is also the counterpart of the "life-tree" customarily planted by African kings at their installation – an institution believed to be of Near Eastern origin (CCXXXI, 22, 68, 193; CXXXII, 25 f., Patai, *op. cit.*, 177–78).

25–28

The royal insignia, viz. the "sceptres of Horus," the footstool, the cincture and the stave are brought forward by the princes.

The chief officiant presents the two sceptres to the king in the Northern Chamber, the usual locale of state-councils.

The chief officiant presents the Crown of Lower Egypt(?) in the Hall of the Gods.

The stave is presented.

SCENE VIII

Thoth presents the Eye to Horus.

THOTH (*addressing the corpse of Osiris*):
See, [I bestow on] him [the Eye of
[power]!

Thoth presents the Eye to Horus.

THOTH (*addressing the corpse for the second time*):
Horus is grown up to man's estate
And now receives from me the Eye of
[power!

Thoth presents the Eye of Horus.

THOTH (*addressing the corpse for the third time*):
See, I have invested him with power
To stave off every violence from thee!

29–33

Goats and asses trample the grain on the threshing-floor, and are subsequently driven off with blows.

SCENE IX

Osiris is discomfited by Set; but the latter is eventually driven off by Horus, who thus defends his father.

SCENE VIII. On the sceptre as a standard element of the royal insignia, cf. CCXXXI, 56, Point 14, Patai, *op. cit.*, 190 ff.

The traversal of the mountains clearly refers to a standard installation rite. Sethe compares *Urkunden* I, 110–11, where King Merjenre' is said to stand "on the back of the mountains" at Assuan. A similar expression is used of Amenemmes I in Pap. Millingen II, 10. The rite is best illustrated from the Hittite text, Bozkurt-Çig-Guterbock, *Istanbul Arkeoloji Muzelerinde Bulunan Boğazkoy Tableterinden Secme Metinler* (Istanbul 1944), I, colophon, where the king is said to go to Mount Piskurunuwa on the occasion of the AN.TAḪ ŠUM festival. For full discussion of this common motif, see Comm. on *Baal*, §XL.

SCENE IX. On the identification of the grain with the spirit of fertility (*i.e.* Osiris, Attis, Adonis, etc.) cf. Frazer, GB v 325 f.; CXXVI, 235 ff. Cf. especially,

HORUS (*to the henchmen of Set*):
Behold, [O ye confederates of Set],
[I strike you as ye erewhile struck my [sire]!

Lo, I command you: thrash my sire no [more!

(*to Osiris*):
See, I beat them who were beating [thee!

The threshed grain is laden on the backs of the animals. In the process, some of it is spilled on the ground.

Osiris is loaded upon the back of Set to be conveyed aloft to heaven.

HORUS (*to the corpse of Osiris*):
Set's poison shall no more be splash'd [o'er thee!

34–36

SCENE X

A fragrant bough is brought from the royal storehouse (the "White House") and placed aboard the barge.

THOTH (*to Horus*):
How sweet the fragrance issuing from [my sire!

(*to the corpse of Osiris*):
O thou my lord, come nigh to me again!

37–40

SCENE XI

The barge is dressed with red paint. (Red is the color of Set.)

Horus gives Set a 'dressing down.'

HORUS (*to Set*):
Set, thou red devil, thou shalt not evade
Him who is far superior to thee!

Hippolytus, *Refut*, V, 8.162, 9.170, Eusebius, *PE* III 11–12 (from Porphyry), III 13–14, Augustine, *De Civ. Dei* VII, 25.

SCENE XI. On the idea that deities exude a special aroma, cf. Hom. Hymns III 231; V 277, Aeschylus, *Prometheus Vinctus* 115, Euripides, *Hippolytus* 1391 (v Munk *in loc*); Vergil, *Aeneid* i 403. Cf. also. Schwenk, K., in *Philologus* 17 (1861), 451, Lohnmeyer, "Der gottliche Wohlgeruch," in *Sitzb d. Heidelb. Akad.* 1919; MacCulloch, ERE vii, 201b.

Three boughs and eight mnš'*-jars are placed aboard.*

Isis and Nephthys address the fragrant corpse of Osiris:

How art thou sweet, Osiris, to the scent,
More redolent than all things in the [world!

Female wailers utter a dirge.

Horus (*to Thoth*):

Behold, how grievous is their sorrowing!

41–45

SCENE XII

All along the route, tribute is paid to local deities. A special offering [hnk.t] *of a goat and goose is presented in each case. These are decapitated.*

Horus receives the Eye.

The goat is decapitated.

Set is beheaded.

Thoth (*to the henchmen of Set*):

Confederates of Set, now bow his head!

(*to Horus*):

[Behold, I bring his sever'd head] to [thee!

Horus (*to Thoth*):

Present it rather unto yonder god!*

Water is poured over goat and goose. A brazier is produced, and the cooking of the former begins.

Horus (*to the local god*):

Behold, my mouth is watering at the [smell!

The goose is despatched.

Set is finally routed.

Horus (*to Set*):

Ah, what a consummation here is [wrought!†

* *i e.* the local god
† *Lit* What is this!

SCENE XII. The *hnk.t*-offering is a libation made over the severed heads of a goose and an animal from the herd, especially at the foundation of temples It accompanied the ceremony of "stretching the line" (ZÄS 37 [1899], 13; Brugsch, *Thes.* VI, 1264 ff.). The ceremony is portrayed in the Fifth Dynasty sun-sanctuary at Abu Gorab (ZÄS. 38 [1900], 94, Pl. V). (Sethe)

On Set as the headless demon, cf. CCCLXIII; CXXX, 47 ff.

46–47

SCENE XIII

Horus now reaches the zenith of his power and authority.

The severed heads of the goat and goose are deposited beside the djed*-pillar in the House of Gold.*

[HORUS (*to Thoth*):]
Be now the royal headgear brought to [me!
GEB, *god of the earth, (to Thoth)*:
Not once alone, but twice, for emphasis,
Proffer to him the sever'd head of Set!

48–50

SCENE XIV

The procession reaches HELIOPOLIS. Princes and local priests elevate the djed*-pillar.*

At the command of Horus, his Followers hoist the corpse of Osiris upon the back of Set.

HORUS (*to his Followers*):
Let Set be bow'd beneath Osiris' weight!

Two wailing women recite a dirge over the deceased king.

ISIS and NEPHTHYS (*to the Followers of Horus*)·
Load the corpse upon the back of Set!

51–52

SCENE XV

A rope is thrown around the djed*-pillar and it is lowered.*

Horus commands his Followers to bind and subjugate Set.

HORUS (*to his Followers*):
Let him stand discomfited in bonds!

53–54[a]

SCENE XVI

The princes embark upon two barges.

Horus orders his faithful Followers to be led into his presence.

HORUS (*to ???*):
Let now my Followers, who raised my [sire,
Be led into my presence!

SCENE XIII. The "House of Gold" is the workshop of the guilders and goldsmiths. (Sethe)

54ᵇ–55 *SCENE XVII*

The procession reaches LETOPOLIS. A loaf and a jug of wine (or beer) are presented by the chief officiant.

Horus presents a pair of eyes to the Eyeless Goddess of Letopolis.

HORUS (*to the Eyeless Goddess*):
Receive, I pray thee, these two Horus-[eyes;
Set them in thy face that thou may'st [see!

Hands are lifted.

56–58 *SCENE XVIII*

A punching-match is staged between two champions.

Horus and Set engage in combat. Geb, god of the earth, eventually bids them desist.

GEB (*to Horus and Set*):
Expunge the thought of *punch*ing one [another!

HORUS (*to his Followers, who aid him*):
'Tis *you* he means! He tells you to desist!

59–63 *SCENE XIX*

A pair of milkmaids come bringing milk (which is evidently poured out).

Horus bids his followers let the sweet influence of his Eye be diffused abroad.

SCENE XVIII. The word rendered "punching-match" is *mnʿ*, which is not found elsewhere in Egyptian literature. However, the hieroglyph, which portrays two men in hand-to-hand combat, shows clearly what is meant, and Sethe cleverly compares the term *ʿmn.t*, "ceremonial bout at the jubilee of kings" (Brugsch, *Thes.* V, 1193.35 f.).

What is implied is, of course, the Ritual Combat, fully discussed above, Ch. II, §20.

By a grotesque pun, the word *mnʿ* suggests *ʿm w ib*, "expunge from the mind, forget." We have tried to reproduce this pun by rendering "punch" and "*ex*punge" respectively.

SCENE XIX. What we have here is a typical dairy-charm. Milk was likewise produced at the Babylonian Akîtu-festival, and was there taken to symbolize the nursing of the savior-god by Ishtar For other parallels and full discussion, see Comm. on DS, Ritual, §III(c). Comparable also is the Galaxia as an element of the corresponding Attis-rites (CCVI, 197 f.).

HORUS (*to his Followers*):
Be the sweet influence of this mine Eye
Throughout my earthly mansion here
[diffused!

A pair of slaughterers bring sacrificial meat.

Horus bids Thoth bring his Eye into the palace.

HORUS (*to Thoth*):
Thoth, bring thou mine Eye unto this
[place!
(*to his Followers*):
Herewith is my protection shed o'er you!
* * * * * * * * * *

64–65

SCENE XX

A pair of carpenters split wood for the furniture of the new king's palace.

During the combat, Set succeeds in splitting one of the eyes of Horus, and retains it in his possession. Horus warns his Followers of Set's baleful influence.

HORUS (*to his Followers, who act as his seconds*):
See, he has split mine eye and taken it!
I warn you, keep away from yonder Set!

66–68

SCENE XXI

The priestly morticians bring in a table of sacrificial meats.

Horus' Eye is restored to him by his Followers.

Horus (*to his Followers*):
Restore mine eye, I pray you, to my face!

The sacred choirmasters beat time, and the choristers take up song.

THE FOLLOWERS OF HORUS (*to Geb, imploringly*):
Yon Set is out of tune with us; alone
Disturbs the harmony of all our ways!

Milk is often regarded, in Egyptian literature, as typifying the beneficent influence of the Eye of Horus. (Sethe)

SCENE XXI. On choir-leaders in Egyptian ritual, cf. Sethe, *Urkunden* IV, 978.12, CCCXXXVII, ii, 6, Pl. I.6, CDII, i, 150, etc. According to Eerdmans, CXXIV, the term *m^enasse^ah* (EV. Chief Musician) in the titles of Biblical Psalms really denotes such a metronome or conductor.

69–71

The princes proffer jars of wine from Buto and Pelusium.

SCENE XXII

Horus' Eye is restored to him by his Followers.

THE FOLLOWERS OF HORUS (*to Horus*):
See, we restore unto thy face that eye
Which erewhile was wine-red with flowing blood!
HORUS (*to his Followers*):
Never again shall it be ta'en from me!

72–75

In the temple of Thoth, at LETOPOLIS, a string [ḥt] *of carnelian-beads is handed to the king.*

SCENE XXIII

Horus recovers the eye wrested from him by Set.

HORUS (*to Set*):
Hand back mine eye which was incarnadined
When thou didst bite it, and suffus'd with blood!

The eye is handed over.

See, I have now retriev'd from thee mine eye
Which like carnelian was incarnadin'd!
Turn thou thy back, for, lo, these eyes of mine
Now fix their fearsome gaze upon thy face!

76–79

The procession reaches HRY-ṮḤNW, a place in Libya.
A chain [š'tb.w] *of green*

SCENE XXIV

Horus bids his Followers* bring to him his other eye, viz., the one Set did not succeed in wresting from him.

* In this scene the Followers of Horus are played by Libyan women. (Note in the original text.)

On choirs in Egyptian temples, cf. Blackman, A. M., in JEA 7 (1921) 8 ff., 22, id., ERE xii, 780a.

SCENE XXII. Buto was the capital of a large nome in the N. W. delta of the Nile. It is the modern Tell el-Ferā'in.

faience beads is handed to the king.

(*The word* š,tb.w, "*chain,*" *suggests* ḥ,tb, "*spare.*")

HORUS (*to his Followers*):
Bring me mine eye, translucent like a [pearl,
The one Set spared.

(*to the henchmen of Set*):
Behold, this eye of mine,
The one Set spared, will beautify my [face!

80–81ª *SCENE XXV*

The royal offering [htp] *is proffered by the chamberlain to the king.*

Thoth conveys the eye to Horus.

THOTH (*to Horus*):
I bring to thee thine eye. Delight in it!

The Eye of Horus is elevated before the congregation.

THE FOLLOWERS OF HORUS (*to Horus*):
Now lift we up thine eye unto thy face!

81ᵇ–82 *SCENE XXVI*

The priestly embalmers (*called "spirit-seekers"*) *circulate round the two falcon-standards. The king then consigns the latter into the custody of the chief officiant.*

The two standards symbolize the two eyes which Thoth receives in order to convey them to Horus.

HORUS (*to Thoth*):
Receive these standards in thy custody,
(for lo, they are the symbols of mine [eyes)!

83–86 *SCENE XXVII*

Two maces are presented to the king. The ceremony takes place on the Way(?) of the Gods, i e. *on the processional highway(?).*

Horus engrafts upon himself the two testicles of Set which he had wrested from him in the combat. (The Egyptian word for "mace," viz. *ḫ'*, suggests that for "engraft," viz. *i'ḫ*)

THOTH (*to Horus*):
Engraft these testicles upon thyself!
Thereby do thou increase thy potency!

Two plumes are placed on the king's head. This takes place on the Great Beach.

Horus orders the Confederates of Set to place the eyes in his head.

HORUS (*to the henchmen of Set*):
I order you to place them in my head!

87–88 *SCENE XXVIII*

A golden(?) coronet is presented to the king.

The coronet symbolizes the Eye of Horus.

Horus officially informs Set that Geb has decided the issue between them in his (Horus') favor.

HORUS (*to Set*):
Geb hath found thee guilty in the case
Of thy contention against my sire!

89ª *SCENE XXIX*

A libation [wdn] *is presented on behalf of the king's prosperity by representatives of "the two demesnes" — evidently, the kingdoms of Upper and Lower Egypt.* (Sethe)

THE TEXT IS DAMAGED

89ᵇ–90 *SCENE XXX*

Notables of Upper and Lower Egypt are introduced.

Geb orders the gods to wait upon Horus. Thoth summons them.

GEB (*to the Followers of both Horus and Set*):
Wait upon him!

SCENE XXVIII. The word which we have rendered "circlet" is translated "ring" by Sethe, but, as Frankfort observes (CXLIV, 377, n. 10), what is implied is a diadem rather than a finger-ring. The diadem was likewise an element of the Hebrew regalia, cf. II Kings 11.12 (= II Chron. 23.11), and note especially that, according to Josephus (*B.J.* I 33,9), Herod had both a diadem and a crown. On the distinction, cf. Low, I., "Kranz und Krone," in CCLXXXVIII, iii, 407–39. See also Patai, *op cit*, 194–95.

However, it is not impossible that what is intended is rather a royal bracelet, corresponding to the Hebrew *es'ādāh* of II Samuel 1.10. Such bracelets likewise formed part of the insignia in Persia (ERE x 637a); cf. Patai, *loc. cit.*, Goodenough, E. R., in JBL 48 (1929), 190.

(*turning to Horus*):
Thou Horus, art their lord!

91–96 *SCENE XXXI*

The chief officiant produces cosmetics for the adornment of the king.

Bright green eye-salve is produced.

Thoth hands Horus his bright green eye.

THOTH (*to Horus*):
See, I set thy *bright* eye in thy face!

Black eye-salve is produced.

Thoth hands Horus his black (swart) eye.

THOTH (*to Horus*):
May this *swart* eye be *sweet* unto thy [face!

Dull, raisin-colored pigment is produced.

THOTH (*to Horus*):
Ne'er may the lustre of thine eye be [dull'd!

Frankincense is produced, along with the royal uraeus. The Wardens of the Great Plumes place the latter on the king's head.

Horus receives the eyes and is perfumed.

THOTH (*to Horus*):
I give to thee the fragrance of the gods!
Thine eye which was pluck'd out do I [restore!
Now with this perfume do thou scent [thy face
Till it be fragrant!

97–100 *SCENE XXXII*

The procession reaches the IBIS-NOME.

Crescent-loaves are distrib-

(The crescent-loaves symbolize the eyes of Horus.)

SCENE XXXI. On the aroma of the gods, see above, Scene XI.

The mythological interpretation of the ritual is reinforced by two verbal puns, viz. (*a*) *w;ḏ w* "green pigment," suggests *wḏ; t*, "bright"; (*b*) *mśdm.t*, "black pigment" (cp. Greek *stimmi*) suggests *dmi*, "be sweet."

SCENE XXXII. On the distribution of loaves, see above on Scene VI.

uted among the notables of Upper and Lower Egypt.

Horus recovers firm possession of his Eye and restores their severed heads to the henchmen of Set (see above, Scene XII).

HORUS (*to Thoth*):
I bid thee now restore to them their [heads!

Thoth restores the heads.

THOTH (*jointly to his Followers and to the henchmen of Set, but referring only to the latter*):

Geb, the umpire of this cause hath [shown
Clemency toward you and hath ruled
That these your sever'd heads be now [restored!

The king receives a tributary offering.

Horus receives the eye.

HORUS (*to his Followers and the henchmen of Set*):
Give me mine eye, that I may joy in it!

101–103 *SCENE XXXIII*

The procession reaches BUTO.

The chief officiant presents the royal corselet to the king.

(*Kni*, the word for "corselet," suggests an homonym meaning "embrace.")

Horus embraces the corpse of Osiris.

HORUS (*turning to Geb*):
See, I embrace my languid father here,
* * * * * * * * * * *

*The edges of the garment are adjusted.**

May he yet have the *edge* on all his [foes]*

104–106 *SCENE XXXIV*

A loaf of ʾḥ-bread is produced.

Since the word *ʾḥ* suggests the homonymous term meaning "spirit," the bread is taken to symbolize the defunct Osiris who has indeed been placed, like the grain whereof bread is made, in the earth.

* Translation and interpretation are alike tentative

HORUS (*to Geb*):
See, they have fell'd my father to the [ground!

A mug of beer [śrm.t] *is produced.*

The beer symbolizes the tears shed for the dead Osiris.

Two priestesses recite a dirge.

HORUS (*again to Geb*):
They make of him an object for lament!

107–111ª *SCENE XXXV*

Various types of mummy-cloth are brought from the royal storehouse (the "White House") to the embalmment chamber.

The corpse of Osiris is swathed.

Material called ifd *is brought.*
The word ifd *suggests* fdi, *"wrench, pluck out."*

HORUS (*to Osiris*):
Sooth, I *plucked* the thighbone from [yon Set!

Material called rš, *is brought.*
The word rš *suggests* rš, *"stir up, waken."*

HORUS (*continuing*):
That did I that his heart *be stirred* no [more
To make assault upon thy sovranty!

Material called śsf, *is brought.*
By a grotesque pun, the word [š]sf *suggests* *Sfr, *a title of Nephthys as the Panther-cat.*

HORUS (*continuing*):
E'en as this mummy-cloth is bound on [him
So may my father now be bound to me
In close attachment!
May the Panther-Cat,
Great Nephthys, reunite his limbs once

111ᵇ–113 *SCENE XXXVI*

The priestly embalmers receive the body of the defunct king.
(This takes place in the IBIS NOME.)

Thoth and the Followers of Horus are ordered to minister to the corpse of Osiris.

(Since the word for "embalmer" means properly "spirit-seeker," the punctual ele-

ment of the ritual is identified with the mythological "search" for the lost Osiris.)

HORUS (*to Thoth*):
Go, seek my father!

(*to his Followers*):
Seek my father, too!

114–116 *SCENE XXXVII*

The priestly embalmers, some masked as monkeys and others as wolves, raise the body of the defunct king.

The Followers of Horus raise the corpse of Osiris from the ground.

The 'monkeys' perform their tasks.

HORUS (*to his Followers*):
Now raise ye up my father who lies [here!

The 'wolves' do likewise.

HORUS (*ditto*):
Stoop ye and bow beneath the weight [of him!

117–119 *SCENE XXXVIII*

The priestly embalmers lift the corpse in their arms.

Nut, the sky-goddess and mother of Osiris, is bidden raise him on her back and convey him aloft to heaven.

(*The scene is still the IBIS NOME*)

HORUS (*to his Followers*):
Bestow your ministrations on* my sire!

(*Later, the same scene is re-enacted at LETOPOLIS.*)

THE FOLLOWERS OF HORUS (*to Nut*):
Now raise thy son to heaven, for thy [back
A ladder is, its vertebrae the rungs!

120–122 *SCENE XXXIX*

Two priestesses are selected to chant a dirge.

Isis and Nephthys chant a dirge.

* *Lit.* "Seek"; cf Scene XXXVI.

SCENE XXXVIII. On Egyptian conceptions concerning the ladder which leads to heaven, see Blok, H. P., in AcOr 6 (1928), 257–69. On the idea in general and with special reference to "Jacob's ladder" (Gen. 28.12), see Cook, LXXIV, 125 ff.; Frazer, CXLVIIIa, 230. The idea survives in Dante, *Paradiso*, XXI, 25 ff.

(This takes place at LETOPOLIS.)

ISIS and NEPHTHYS *(to Osiris)*:
Lo, we are come to sing thy majesty!

The dirge is sung:

Thou noble one, bestow on us thy grace!

123–125 *SCENE XL*

The mummy-cloths are handed to the Master of Ceremonies, or Chief Steward [ḥr-wḏb].

Mummy-cloth is produced.

THOTH *(to Horus)*:
Be now these cloths applied unto thy [sire!

The thighbone of the sacrificial animal is likewise handed to him.

Set is warned to accept the judgment passed on him.
(The thighbone is taken to represent that wrested from Set in the combat, and therefore symbolizes him.)

HORUS *(to Set)*:
Justice hath turned her face against [thee; thou
Accept what Justice hath decreed on [thee!

Note in the Original: The Chief Steward represents the god Sokar.

126–129 *SCENE XLI*

The materials are in turn handed over to the priestly embalmers.

The mummy-cloth is handed to Horus.

THOTH *(to Horus)*:
* * * * * * * * * **

The thighbone of the sacrificial animal is handed over.

[HORUS *(to Osiris)*]:
Behold, I plucked the thighbone from [yon Set!

* There seems to be an error in the text, which here repeats the following line concerning the thighbone What we require, however, is something relating to the mummy-cloths, and appropriate in the mouth of Thoth rather than of Horus

(*to Set*):
Begone! and let us meet with thee no [more!

130–131

Food is produced for the regalement of the priestly embalmers, who now proceed to the Dual Shrines. There is general prostration and kissing of the ground.

SCENE XLII

Horus(?) addresses his Followers and the henchmen of Set, possibly inviting them to a banquet of reconciliation and jubilation.

THE TEXT IS FRAGMENTARY

132–133ª

The notables of Upper and Lower Egypt are likewise regaled.

SCENE XLIII

Thoth and the Followers of Horus are invited to enjoy the benevolence of the latter's protective Eye, and to commend it in praises issuing from their mouths.

HORUS (*to Thoth*):
Oh, let them taste the goodness of mine [Eye,
And let it be commended of their [mouths!

133ᵇ–135

The notables are anointed.

SCENE XLIV

(The shining oil symbolizes the shining eye of Horus.)

Horus bestows upon his Followers the shining splendor of his Eye.

HORUS (*to his Followers*):
Behold, there now is set upon your [heads
That which once gleamed so brightly [against Set!
Howbeit, Set shall have no part thereof!

136–138

The scene now shifts to the Palace of the Gods.

SCENES XLV–XLVI

Natron and water are produced for the embalmment.

(The word for "natron," viz. *i:.t*, is homonymous with that for "dwelling-place.")

Horus observes that Osiris has now relinquished his earthly dwelling-place and is about to be translated to heaven.

HORUS (*to Set*):
My father bides no more in Geḥeš-land!

(*to Osiris*):
Greater than my divinity is thine!

(*The rest is lost*)

2. The Memphite Drama

INTRODUCTION

What is known conventionally as the Memphite Creation Drama is inscribed on the so-called "Shabako Stone," now in the British Museum[1] — a basalt slab set up by King Shabaka (reigned 716–701 B.C.), founder of the Twenty-fifth or Ethiopian Dynasty, in the temple of Ptaḥ, south of Memphis. The inscription was copied from an older, half-obliterated original,[2] dated by Sethe to the First Dynasty (c. 3300 B.C.) but by Rusch[3] — with more probability — to the Fifth (c. 2500 B.C.). It contains the "presenter's" narrative and the accompanying libretto of a sacred drama dealing with the contest of Horus and Set, the accession of the former to kingship over Upper and Lower Egypt, and the death and resurrection of Osiris. To the main drama is appended a hymn to Ptah, prime god of Memphis.

The text was evidently designed for the annual festival which took place on the last days of the month of Khoiakh and on the first day of spring (Prōyet). This festival, mentioned in the famous Calendar from Dendereh,[4] celebrated the periodic eclipse and revival of the topocosm. Special emphasis was placed on the death and resurrection of Osiris, *i.e.* the topocosmic spirit, and on the coronation of the king (mythologically identified with Horus) as the symbol of the regenerated community. At Edfu, it was actually known as the "New Year of Horus"; while at Memphis, where it was associated with the god Sokar, it featured also a mimetic combat between two teams.

The program of the festival followed the standard Ritual Pattern. THE FIGHT BETWEEN HORUS AND SET is but the typical Ritual Combat between Old Year and New, Summer and Winter, Life and Death, Rain and Drought, etc., which we find in seasonal festivals everywhere and which is reproduced in Ancient Near Eastern mythology in the battle of Baal and Yam (or Môt) in Canaan, of the storm-god and the dragon Illuyankas among the Hittites, of Marduk and Tiamat among the Babylonians, and of Yahweh and Leviathan (or Rahab) among the Hebrews. THE DEATH AND RESURRECTION OF OSIRIS is but the mythological counterpart of the eclipse and reinstatement of the king at the seasonal festival, and is paralleled in the myths

1. "It is stated to have been presented to the Museum by Earl Spencer in 1805; we have been unable to trace its previous history" F. W. Read and A. C. Bryant, PSBA 23 (1901), 160.

2. Blanks are left where the original was illegible

3 OLZ 32 (1939), 145–56, cf CIX, 19, n 1. The same date was assigned by Read and Bryant, *op. cit*, p. 164

4. Cf Loret, V., in *Rec. Trav.* 3 (1882), 43 ff; 4 (1883), 21 ff.; 5 (1884), 85 ff; Brugsch, H, in ZAS 19 (1881), 77 ff

of Tammuz, Baal, Telipinu, Attis, Adonis, etc. The INDUCTION OF HORUS is the familiar Coronation element, while the RESTORATION OF OSIRIS and his INSTALLATION IN A NEWLY-BUILT CITY (*i.e.* Memphis) is but a duplicate version of the same thing in more durative terms, Osiris representing the indesinent topocosmic spirit of which Horus is but the immediate avatar. Lastly, the BUILDING OF THE NEW CITY is likewise a standard element of the Ritual Pattern. The closest parallel is the erection of the special palace (Esagila) for Marduk in the Babylonian *Epic of Creation;* and we have already observed that this feature recurs in the Canaanite *Poem of Baal* and elsewhere.

Emanating as it does from Memphis, our text links these standard elements of the Ritual Pattern to the particular history of that city. Since it was there that King Menes (c. 3400 B.C.) established the first capital of United Egypt, the building of Memphis and the installation of Horus – prototype of the Pharaoh – as sovereign of the combined kingdom naturally appears as the crowning incident of the story. Exactly comparable is the importance attached to Babylon in *Enuma Eliš*, to Saphon (Mons Casius) in the Ugaritic version, to Nerik in the Hittite version and to Zion in the Hebrew version (*e.g.* Ps. 76).

The concluding hymn to Ptah finds its closest parallel in the Hymn of the Fifty Names of Marduk appended to the Babylonian recension of *Enuma Eliš.*

TRANSLATION

Long live Shabaka, beloved of Ptah, (the god) who has his dwelling to the south of his capital (and) who lives like Reʿ for ever!

His Majesty it was who had this text inscribed in the temple of his Father Ptah, (the god) who has his dwelling to the south of his capital. His Majesty found it as an old, worm-eaten document no longer completely legible from beginning to end So His Majesty had it copied so that it might exist in better state and so that his own name might be perpetuated, and so that there might be a memorial of him for all time in the temple of his Father Ptah (the god) who has his dwelling to the south of his capital, in the form of some object which he, the illustrious Shabaka, had caused to be made for his Father Ptah, and so that he might thus acquire perpetuity.

ACT ONE

The struggle of Horus and Set and the subsequent division of Egypt into an Upper and Lower Kingdom.
This scene mythologizes the Ritual Combat. It is first rehearsed by a Presenter, then acted out.

PRESENTER:

This Memphis is the center of the realm
Known by the honor'd name of Ṯenen-land*
– Upper and Lower Egypt all in one.

The king is introduced.

The unity thereof is symbolized
In Pharaoh, called the Sovereign of Two Lands.

. . . . . .

The image of Ptah is displayed.

Here see you Ptaḥ, the self-begotten he,
(So styl'd by Atum), who in turn begat
The Holy Family of the Nine Great Gods.

Now, so to speak, the curtain rises.

And here – the Nine themselves a-clustering
Round Geb, the god of earth, the while he parts
The struggling Horus and his rival Set,
Enjoining them to strive again no more.

The Upper Land to Set doth he assign,
Setting him king in Sô, his native place;

* On the meaning of this obscure term, see CCCXCII, 56–60.

O'er Lower Egypt Horus is made king,
There in the fenland, where his father drown'd.

And in 'Ayán, whereto their borders reach,
A covenant they make: his own to each.

THE STORY IS ENACTED

GEB (*addressing Set*):

Get thee to the place where thou wast born!

(*addressing Horus*):

Get thee thither where thy father drown'd!

(*addressing both together*):

Behold, I separate you each from each!

ACT TWO

Horus acquires dominion over both Upper and Lower Egypt, which become united. Geb, god of the earth, wishing to give preference to him, makes Horus his heir.
The scene mythologizes the Coronation or Periodic Reconfirmation of the king as ruler of the United Kingdom.

PRESENTER:

Howbeit Geb is saddened at the thought
That, though the son of his own favorite son,
Horus should receive no more than Set.
So he bestows on him his heritage.

THE STORY IS ENACTED

GEB (*addressing Horus*):

Thee alone do I appoint mine heir!

(*addressing the Nine Gods*):

He and he alone shall be mine heir
In Upper Egypt and in Lower too,
Mine own son's son, my sole inheritor!

PRESENTER:

So Horus shines as sovran of both realms,
United in this single Tenen-land.
For all that southward lies of these great walls,
These mighty walls of everlasting Ptah,

Soon with the Northern Land is reconciled.
The symbol: these twin plumes on Pharaoh's head!

In this wall'd city is their union seal'd,
Which marks the spot at which their borders meet.
There Horus shines effulgent as the sun,
Imperial Monarch of Two-Lands-in-One!

*Reeds and rushes are placed side by side at both entrances of the temple of Ptah.**

PRESENTER:

These reeds and rushes here placed side by side
Symbolize Horus and his rival Set
As brothers now at one and reconciled.
Their struggle now is ended; peace is made
In Memphis, called the Balance of the Lands,
Because it stands athwart their boundaries
And holds the balance there between them both.

ACT THREE

The revival of Osiris.
The scene now shifts to the fenland where Osiris lies on the point of death after the savage attack which Set made on him. His rescue and subsequent restoration at the hands of the goddesses Isis and Nephthys are rehearsed by the Presenter and then enacted.
This scene represents the Death and Resurrection of the Topocosmic Spirit, incarnate, in the corresponding ritual, in the person of the deposed and reinstated king.

PRESENTER:

This fenland in the realm which Sokar rules
Is where Osiris sank and nigh was drown'd.

See, Isis here and Nephthys hastening
Toward Osiris, who lies sinking fast.
Isis and Nephthys see it with dismay.

Now, Horus bids them grasp him with their hands
And rescue him from drowning in the fen.

THE STORY IS ENACTED

HORUS (*to Isis and Nephthys*):

Grasp him!

* This rubric is part of the original text.

ISIS AND NEPHTHYS (*to Osiris*):

We come, we grasp thee by the hand!

PRESENTER:

And now, behold, they bring him to the shore,
[And presently restore him to] the land
And lead him to that royal citadel
Which northward lies of those abhorréd fens.

ACT FOUR

The building of Memphis.
This act mythologizes the Installation of the king in a newly constructed palace – a standard element of the Ritual Pattern. The scene is first rehearsed by the Presenter, then enacted.

PRESENTER:

And now a royal city is uprear'd

* *
*

THE STORY IS ENACTED

This portion of the text is fragmentary. Apparently, the gods Geb and Thoth take counsel (with other gods?) concerning the construction of the great White Wall of Memphis.

ACT FIVE

Final pacification of the two lands and establishment of continued prosperity within them.
This scene mythologizes the final stage of the Ritual Pattern, whereby the topocosmic order is fixed for the next term.

PRESENTER:

(*The Presenter's speech is lost*)

THE STORY IS ENACTED

ISIS (*to Horus and Set*):

Hearken, [I pray you], make a covenant,
[Henceforth to banish enmity and strife],
For ne'er will life be pleasant unto you
Until that [ye make peace and ask the Lord]

To wipe away the tear [from every face]

* *
*

ACT SIX

Induction of the king in the royal city of Memphis(?).
This was evidently mythologized as the induction of Horus.

PRESENTER:

This royal city is the place where erst

* *
*

(The rest is lost)

EPILOGUE

Hymn to Ptaḥ

The performance ends with the chanting of a hymn to Ptah, prime god of Memphis, in which mention is made of his several hypostases. This hymn may be compared with the great Hymn to Marduk appended to the Babylonian Epic of Creation, which was likewise the libretto of a seasonal pantomime.

Great and mighty is the Lord who * * * *
[In whom the] * * * * * [are] combined
In one great whole * * * * * * * * * * *

These godheads cosubstantial are with Ptah:
Ptah himself, upon the lofty throne;
Ptah-Nun, the father he whom Atum sired;
Ptah-Naumet, the mighty mother she
Who Atum bore; and Ptah the Great who is
The heart and members of the Nine Great Gods;
And Ptah [the Potter], he who mouldeth gods
[And men?] * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

* *
*

(The hymn is followed by a theological disquisition on the nature of Ptah. This need not here concern us.)

HEBREW TEXTS

HEBREW TEXTS

PSALMS

29	89.2–19
65	93
66	47–48
74.12–17	96–98
76	68

THE Hebrew Texts which preserve or hark back to the primitive Ritual Pattern have been discussed at length in Chapter V, §§2–15, so that no commentary upon them need be given here.

In the following translations, all deviations from the standard Masoretic Text (whether based on the Ancient Versions or on conjecture) are printed in *italics*, while plus-marks (+) have been inserted at places where a word or phrase which now appears in that text has been ejected as a gloss. Textual details will be found in the Philological Notes, below, pp. 456 ff.

Psalm 29

The lesser gods are invited to acclaim the sovereignty of Yahweh, who reveals his power in a storm.

1 Ascribe unto Yahweh, ye lesser gods,
ascribe unto Yahweh glory and pomp!
2 Ascribe unto Yahweh the glory of his name;
do obeisance to Yahweh in holy reverence!
3 Hark! there is Yahweh o'er the waters;
the glorious God rolls the thunder;
Yahweh is now upon the ocean!
4 Hark! there is Yahweh in power!
Hark! there is Yahweh in awe!
5 Hark! there is Yahweh a-breaking the cedars;
Yahweh is shivering the cedars of Lebanon!

6 Lebanon *is skipping* like a calf,
and Siryon like a young wild ox.

7 Hark! there is Yahweh flashing flames of fire!

8 Hark! there is Yahweh making the desert reel;
Yahweh makes the desert of Kadesh to reel.

9 Hark! there is Yahweh setting oaks(?) awhirl,
and stripping whole woodlands bare!

⟨*The throng of the holy ones acclaim him,*⟩
and in his palace + declare his glory.

10 Yahweh sate enthroned o'er the stormflood,
and Yahweh will sit as king for ever.

11 Yahweh gives strength to his people;
Yahweh blesses his people with well-being!

Psalm 65

The pilgrims come to the sanctuary, present oblations, perform rites of Purgation, and partake of the communal meal.

2 To Thee befits acclaim,
O God, in Zion;
and to Thee let vows be paid,
Who hearest prayer!

3 To Thee let all flesh come

to bring offerings, (saying).
4 "Our crimes have held sway *over* us;
through Thee they are purged!
5 Oh happy whom Thou choosest to invite
to dwell in Thy courts!
We would sate us on the bounty of Thy House,
the holiness of Thy palace!

The victory of the god over the rebellious power of the sea, and his consequent establishment of the earth and of the cosmic order are ceremoniously rehearsed.

6 With dread deeds dost Thou answer us right duly,
O God of our salvation,
Trust of all the ends of the earth
and the far-flung sea;
7 Who establisheth the mountains by His strength,
girded with might;
8 Who stilleth the raging of the seas
and the tumult of their waves ++
9 They that dwell at earth's ends are afeared
at these tokens of Thee;
East and west *ring loud*
with the praise of Thy name!

Acknowledgment is made of the god's beneficence in providing rainfall and irrigation and promoting the fertility of the earth.

10 Thou hast cared for the earth and rain-soak'd it,
richly moistened it;
with mighty rills full of water
duly tended it.

11 Drenching the ridges thereof,
smoothing the roughnesses,
softening it with showers,
its sprouting Thou blessest.

12 Thou hast crowned the *furrows* with Thy bounty,
and Thy plough-tracks ooze with richness.
13 The pasture is *wrapt* in beauty,
and the hillsides girded with joy.
14 The leas are robed in sheep,
and the dales wear a mantle of corn.

A-shouting and a-singing are the * * *

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

(*The rest is missing*)

Psalm 66

The whole earth is bidden acclaim the glorious victory of the god over the rebellious forces of the sea.

1–2 Shout unto God, all the earth,
His titles in music acclaim! +

3 Say unto God:
How dread is Thy work!
+ Thy foemen fall faint unto Thee;
4 They prostrate themselves, make music unto Thee;
Thy titles in music they acclaim!

5 (saying:)
"Come ye and see the deeds of God,
Whose exploits so fill mankind with dread!
6 *Who turneth* the sea into dry land,
that men pass through the flood on foot;
(let us *roundly* rejoice in Him!)
7 Who ruleth in His might for ever,
Whose eyes survey the nations,
so that rebels exalt not themselves!"
[Selah

Psalm 74.12–17

The psalmist recites the glory of God who has attained to kingship by vanquishing the Dragon of the Sea and establishing the cosmic order.

12 But God is my King from of old,
Who achieveth victory *in battle!*

13 'Twas Thou didst split Sir Sea by Thy strength,
didst shatter the heads of the Dragon, +
14 'Twas Thou didst crush Leviathan's heads,
to give him as food to the *sharks;*

15 'Twas Thou didst cleave out fountain and wady;
'twas Thou didst dry up the perennial streams.

16 Thine is the day, Thine too is the night;
'twas Thou didst establish the light and the sun.
17 'Twas Thou didst fix all the bounds of the earth;
summer and winter — 'twas Thou didst create them!

Psalm 76

The god, having vanquished his enemies, is now ensconced in his royal habitation.

2 Renowned in Judah is God,
far-famed in Israel.
3 In Salem is His fane,
and His abode in Zion.
4 There brake He the shafts satanic,
the shield and the sword and the weapon!
[Selah

The psalm being designed for a solstitial or equinoctial festival, the god is likened to the sun rising in the morning over the scene of battle.

5 Bathed in light art Thou,
majestic o'er the hills carnage-strewn!
6 Felled are the stalwarts,
sound asleep;
the warriors have swooned unconscious.
7 At Thy roar, O Jacob's God,
horse and chariot are stunned.
8 + Filled with dread art Thou,
who can stand when Thine anger is roused?
9 From heaven hast Thou pronounced judgment;
earth is afeared and quiet,
10 now that God hath arisen for judgment,
to save all the meek of the earth!
[Selah

A festival is held to celebrate the god's triumph; vows are paid, and he is acknowledged as king of the earth.

11 Lo, the . . . of mankind(?) give praise(?) unto Thee;
the remnant of . . *hold festival* to Thee!*
12 (saying.)
"Make vows and pay them to your God!"
They bring tribute unto the Terror
13 Who 'takes the wind out of princes,'
Who inspires earth's monarchs with dread!

Psalm 89.2–19

The poet celebrates the divine authorization and confirmation of the king.

2 I will sing of a grace + everlasting,
will proclaim Thy pledge with my mouth;

* The verse is unintelligible, and possibly corrupt

3 (such grace, I trow, is a structure eternal;
firm like the skies for ever and aye!)

4 "I have made a pact with My chosen,
have sworn unto David My servant.
5 'Thy seed will I stablish for ever,
and build up thy throne for all time!' "

6 The heavens themselves attest Thy promise, +
and Thy pledge is (known) in the assembly of the gods!

He then rehearses the triumph of the god in vanquishing the rebellious power of the sea and establishing the cosmic order.

7 Who in heaven compares with Him,
resembles *Him* 'mid the beings divine,
8 A god who is held in dread
in the moot of the Holy Ones,
A chief is he, held in dread
by all of his entourage!

9 O + God of Hosts,
who is mighty like Thee? ++

10 Thou it is rulest the pride of the sea,
stillest its waves when they *surge;*
11 Thou it was crushed the Dragon Proud,
rendering him like a riddled corpse,
yea, with Thy mighty arm Thou didst scatter Thy foes!

12 Thine are the heavens, Thine too is the earth;
the world and its fulness didst Thou establish.
13 North and south — Thou didst create them;
Tabor and Hermon ring to Thy name!

14 Thine is an arm endued with might;
strong is Thy hand, Thy right hand upraised.

15 Justice and Right are Thy throne's foundation;
Grace and Truth do wait upon Thee!

The people are exhorted to acknowledge their god who, by virtue of his victory, now enters into dominion.

16 Happy the people who mark the trumpet blast;
these walk + in the light of Thy face!
17 They rejoice all the day in what Thou art,*
and through Thy righteousness are they uplifted!
18 For Thou art their glorious strength,
and we (too) through Thy favor do flourish!

19 *Verily,* Yahweh is our shield,
and the Deity of Israel our king!

* *Lit.* "In Thy name."

Psalm 93

Yahweh, robed and accoutred in might, is acclaimed king.

1 Yahweh is become king!
In grandeur is he robed, +
in power is he begirt!

His sovereignty is manifested in the determination of the cosmic order.

Moreover, the world *hath he established*
so that it never shall be moved!

2 Firm-fixed is thy throne,
from of old, from eternity art thou!

He is mightier than Sea and Stream which can but vainly contest his dominion.

3 The floods lifted up, O Yahweh,
the floods lifted up their voice.

Let the floods go lifting up their crashing,

4 (for) more than the voice of many waters,
more majestic than the breakers of the sea,
is Yahweh majestic in the height!

He decrees the world-order and is ensconced in his holy habitation.

5 Whatso thou dost determine
remains most firmly maintained,
(and) *thy house — it is Holiness' dwelling,*
O Yahweh, for length of days!

Psalm 47

Yahweh ascends in triumphal procession and is enthroned. Lordlings of vanquished nations walk before him in the parade. All are summoned to acclaim him.

1 All nations, clap ye hands;
blow the trumpet unto God with joyful sound,
2 for Yahweh is supreme, is full of awe,
is king over all the earth!

3 Nations beneath us he prostrates
and peoples under our feet.
4 He *enlarges* the land of our inheritance,
the pride of Jacob whom he loves!

5 God hath marched up with a fanfare,
Yahweh to the sound of the ram's horn.

6 Make music, ye gods, make music;
make music for our king, make music!

7 for he is become king of all the earth,
so make music, ye gods, with skillful song!

8 God is become king o'er the nations,
+ has now taken his seat upon his holy throne.

9 The nobles of the peoples bring up the rear
as the retinue of Abraham's god!

Verily, unto Yahweh belong the . . . of the earth;
he is greatly exalted!

Psalm 48

The sovereignty of Yahweh is acclaimed while he occupies His holy city after the defeat of his foes.

1 Great is Yahweh and highly to be acclaimed;
in the city of our God, in his sacred hill.

2 Towering superb, joy of all the earth,
Mount Zion, thou very 'Recesses of the North,'
city of an emperor!
3 God amid its strongholds
is known as the bastion (supreme)!
4 For behold, (when) kings convened,
when *they were banded together,*
5 once they saw it, they were surely astounded,
stricken with alarm and all a-quiver.
6 Trembling seized hold on them there,
pangs as of a woman giving birth;
7 *it was as if* an east wind were breaking great galleons in pieces.

8 As once we heard tell, so now have we seen
in this city of Yahweh S^{e}baôt, in this city of our God:
God surely maintains it for ever.

9 We have likened thy leal loyalty *to the sea,*
(here) in the midst of thy fane;
10 as was thy repute, so be thine acclaim,
even to the ends of the earth!

Thy right hand with triumph is filled;
11 (so) let Mount Zion rejoice,
let the maidens of Judah exult,
because Thou wieldest sway.

12 Go the rounds of Zion and encircle her,
count ye her towers (still standing);
13 turn your attention to her rampart,
survey(?) her strongholds,
so that yē may tell to a future generation
14 that this God, this God of ours,
'tis he will lead us for ever! +

Psalm 96

Yahweh, ensconced in his palace, ordains the cosmic order. All are summoned to acclaim his sovereignty.

1 Sing unto Yahweh a new song,
sing unto Yahweh, all the earth!
2 Sing unto Yahweh, bless ye his name;
herald his victory from *sea to sea!*
3 Tell of his glory 'mid the nations,
of his wonders amid all the peoples!
4 for great is Yahweh and worthy of acclaim,
filled mightily with awe above all (other) gods!
5 For all the gods of the peoples are but nothings,
while Yahweh it is that made the heavens.

6 Splendor and pomp are before him;
grandeur and beauty in his sanctuary.

7 Ascribe unto Yahweh, ye families of peoples,
ascribe unto Yahweh glory and pomp.
8 Ascribe unto Yahweh the glory of his name;
bring tribute and come unto his courts!
9 Make obeisance to Yahweh in holy awe;
quail before him, all the earth!
10 Say among the nations: 'Yahweh now is king;
moreover *he establishes* the world so that it does not totter,
judges the nations aright.

11 Let skies rejoice and earth exult,
let the sea and its fullness roar;
12 let the fields exult and all that is in them;
let all the trees of the forest likewise sing for joy:
13 "(Make way) for Yahweh, for he comes,
for he comes to judge the earth;
he will judge the world in righteousness,
and the peoples in his faithfulness!"

Psalm 97

All are bidden acclaim the sovereignty of Yahweh.

1 Yahweh is become king!
Let the earth exult,
the many shores rejoice!

2 Cloud and mist are about him,
Right and Justice the foundation of his throne.
3 Fire is his pursuivant,
and burns up his foes all around!

4 His lightnings illumine the world;
earth *is a-quail* and a-quiver.
5 Mountains are melted like wax +
at the presence of the lord of all the earth!
6 The heavens declare his triumph,
and all the nations see his glory.

7 Let all that serve idols be abashed,
who trifle with vain little godlings!
Make obeisance to him, all ye gods!

8 Let Zion, having heard (this), rejoice,
and the maidens of Judah exult
for that thou, O Yahweh, wieldest sway!
9 For thou art supreme o'er all the earth
and greatly exalted o'er all gods.

10 *Yahweh loves those who hate evil;*
he preserves the life of his sworn allies,
saves them from the grasp of the wicked!

Yahweh appears in the rising sun.

11 Light (now) is shed* for the righteous,
and joy for the upright of heart.
12 (So) rejoice, O ye righteous in Yahweh,
and give thanks when his holy name is mentioned!

Psalm 98

Yahweh has acquired sovereignty by virtue of a great triumph.

1 Sing unto Yahweh a new song,
for wonders has he performed;

* Or, by slight emendation (supported by the Ancient Versions): "Light dawns."

his right hand has wrought a triumph
and so too his holy arm!

2 Yahweh has made known his prowess,
in the sight of all the nations bared his triumph!
3 has been mindful of his pledge and his pact
unto the house of Israel.
All the ends of the earth (now) have witnessed
the prowess of our God!

All creation is bidden acclaim him as he enters upon his reign.

4 Sound a fanfare to Yahweh, all the earth;
shout, ring the praises and make music!
5 Make music to Yahweh on the harp,
on the harp and to the sound of instruments!
6 With trumpets and loud-sounding ram's horn
sound a fanfare unto the King! +

7 Let the sea and its fulness roar,
the world and all who dwell in it;
8 let the rivers clap hands,
let the mountains ring forth in chorus:

9 "(Make way) for Yahweh, for he comes,
⟨*for he comes*⟩ to rule the earth
to rule the world in righteousness
and the peoples in equity!"

Psalm 68

§§1–2· Exordium and Opening Invocation. The god takes the field, routs his foes and occupies his sacred habitation.

2 God rises; his foemen are scattered
and his enemies flee before him.
3 As smoke is driven away,
so *are they driven away,*
as the melting of wax before fire,
so perish the wicked before God.

4 But the righteous rejoice and exult,
and make merry before God.

5 Sing ye unto God;
acclaim his titles to music;
Extol him Who Rides across the Prairies;
rejoice and exult before him!

6 Father of orphans and judge of widows,
God is in his sacred habitation!

§3. Ensconced in his sacred habitation, the god is acclaimed as one who houses the solitary and releases the bounden.

7 God houses the solitary, +
and deftly releases the bounden,
only the rebellious have to dwell in parched soil.

§4: The victorious god once convulsed nature when he went forth to battle. The poet prays that he may similarly send his rains, but this time to refresh the languishing earth.

8 God, when thou wentest forth before thine army,
marchedst through the waste, [Selah
9 earth was a-quaking,
skies were a-pouring,
before the God *of Sinai*,
before + the God of Israel!

10 *(So) rain now a shower of favors, O God;*
thine inheritance and all languishing soil do thou confirm!
11 Thy flock erst were settled therein,
(So now) do thou furnish of thy bounty to the needy! +

§§5–6: The Triumph, Victory Parade and Enthronement of the Divine Champion.

12 *God* gives the word of command,
(in no time) the women (come out,)
a great host, to herald the triumph:
13 'Kings of armies are fleeing, +
and she who stayed at home now divides the spoil!'

14 *See, they now lie* amid the *ash-heaps* –
the wings of the dove silver-spangled,
and its pinions of shimmering gold!

15 With the kings rushing headlong across it,
it seems as though the Dark Hill
were caught in a flurry of snow!'

16 Ah, 'tis a mighty mountain,
a mountain like those of Bashan,
ah, 'tis a many-peaked mountain,
a mountain like those of Bashan!

17 *All* many-peaked mountains else
must needs look with envy upon it –
on this mountain which God has desired
to set his dwelling thereon! +

18 Ah, mighty chariot-force,
myriads twice over, thousands twice told(?),
as God *came from* Sinai into the sanctuary!

19 Thou didst ascend unto the height,
didst lead home the spoils of war,
didst receive tribute from men,
while the rebels . . . . . .

The sacred images are loaded, and the procession issues forth.

20 Blessed be the Lord day by day;
the God loads us with the load of our salvation!
21 The God is unto us a god of salvation, [Selah
and from + the Lord comes issuance from death!

The effigy of the Dragon is paraded.

22 Verily, God smites the head of his foemen,
the hairy scalp of him who walks abroad in his transgressions.

23 Said the Lord:
I will bring (thee) away from the Dragon,
away from the depths of the sea,

24 that thy foot may be *crimsoned with* (his) blood,
thine hounds' tongues *reddened* therewith!

25 They saw thy processions, O God,
the processions of my + King into the sanctuary:
26 First came singers,
Behind came minstrels,
In the middle came maidens beating the tabret.
27 (Crowding) in throngs they proclaimed God's grace,
the grace of the Lord *in the assemblies* of Israel.
28 There *marched the boys in the procession;*
loudly intoning their anthem.

29 *Vouchsafe* thy strength, *O God,*
Divine was that strength Thou erst wroughtest for us!

30 Let kings bring thee tribute (once again)
in this palace of thine by Jerusalem!

31 Rebuke the wild beast of the canebrake,
the troop of wild bulls,
which trample on the calf-like (little) nations!
. . . them that *delight* in lucre,
the nations that take pleasure in war!

32 Let them come *swiftly* out of Egypt,
let Ethiopia haste to extend *her* hands to God!*

* *Lit.* Let Ethiopia rush *her* hands Godward.

§7: Epilogue.

33 Kingdoms of the earth,
sing ye unto God,
Make music unto the Lord,

34 *Extol* him who rides the ancient heavens!
Lo, he utters his voice – a mighty thunder.

35 Ascribe ye grandeur unto God;
his glory is upon *the heavens*
and his grandeur in the skies!

36 Awe-inspiring is God from his sanctuary;
the God of Israel is he,
giving strength and might unto the people!

BLESSED BE GOD.

GREEK TEXTS

GREEK TEXTS

1. EURIPIDES, *Bacchae* 64–169.
2. PHILODAMUS SCARPHEUS, *Paean to Dionysus,* in Diehl, *Anthologia Lyrica,* fasc. vi (Leipzig 1923), 252 ff. (where literature is cited).

The two Greek texts which are here presented have been selected as representative examples of compositions preserving or reflecting the primitive Ritual Pattern. It is to be understood that they are by no means unique of their kind.

These texts have been discussed in Ch. V, §§17–18, so that no detailed commentary upon them need be given here. It may be remarked again, however, that the Paean by Philodamus of Scarphe is inscribed on a stone actually set up at Delphi and is therefore a cultic and not merely a literary composition. Accordingly, it preserves the ritual pattern with somewhat more conservatism than is shown in the poetic treatment of Euripides. For the convenience of the reader, we have added in the margin references to places in this book where the several cultic motifs have been discussed or where parallels may be found in the Ancient Near Eastern texts.

Expressions reflecting the underlying ritual are indicated, in the case of the Euripidean chorus, by the use of *italics.*

1. Chorus From *The Bacchae* of Euripides

Bacchae, 64–169

[*First Strophe*

From Asia's land departing
and from holy Tmolus now I speed, on that sweet labor bent,
that toil which is no toil, the singing of the Bacchic god.

[*First Antistrophe*

Who walks upon the road? Who walks upon the road?
Who bides within his house? Let every such make way; let every mouth be hushed in hallowèd devotion;
for I will chant the old time-honored hymn of Dionysus!

[*Second Strophe*

O happy he, by fortune blest,
who knows the *mystic rites* divine,
who makes his life one long *austerity,*
who steeps his soul in *sacred revelry,*
who, amid the *sacred ceremonies of purgation,*
serves as a bacchanal on the hills
and as a votary in the revels of Cybele, that Great Mother,
who tosses high the thyrsus, his head with ivy crowned,
who ministers unto *Dionysus!*

Come, ye bacchanals! Come, ye bacchanals, down from the Phrygian [hills
to Hellas' wideswept streets to lead
this Dionysus, god the son of god, – even this Bromios!

[*Second Antistrophe*

– this Bromios who filled his mother's womb
when, suddenly, Zeus' lightning struck,
and in forced labor she brought him to birth,
herself forsaking life thro' that fell stroke.

Then, in secret recesses of birth, Zeus the son of Kronos received him
and, fastening him with golden clasps, kept him concealed within his [thigh,
hidden from Hera.
And when the Fates determined, he bore that god, horned like a bull,
and garlanded him with wreaths of snakes
(wherefore the thyrsus-bearing revellers still twine their locks
with those most savage beasts.)

[*Third Strophe*

O Thebes, thou nurse of Semele,
with ivy be thou garlanded;

burgeon, burgeon now with green, *fair-fruited* bryony!
Thou too now play the bacchanal,
decked with boughs of oak or pine,
clad in the dappled skins of fawns,
wreathed in fillets of white wool!
Toss thy wands most proudly in the air,
keep holy festival!
At once the entire land will break out dancing,
as soon as Bromios leads his revel bands
up to the hill, up to the hill,
where, leaving loom and shuttle, waits the throng
of women stung to frenzy by the goad
of *Dionysus!*

[*Third Antistrophe*

O chamber of the Kourētes,
most sacred cavern-haunts of Crete
where Zeus whilom was born,
O caves wherein the triple-plumed Korybantes erst
devised for me this tabret of stretched hide,
blending the cry of revel with the tone,
the sweet-voiced breath of Phrygian lutes,
and unto Mother Rhea handed it,
that it should thenceforth serve to mark the beat
of songs the bacchanals intone!
Then frenzied satyrs came and wrested it
out of the Mother Goddess' hands
and made it part and parcel of *the rites,*
those rites which in alternate years are held,
which are the rich delight of *Dionysus!*

[*Epode*

Ah, sweet upon the hills
when, weary from the racing bands
one falls upon the ground,
clad in the sacred fawnskin garb,
hunting the blood of the slain goat,
the delight of raw flesh devoured,
he reaches the Phrygian, Lydian hills
where the leader of the revels is none other
than *Bromios!* *Evoe!*

There flows the ground with milk, yea, flows with wine,
flows with the honey of the bee,
and all the air is heavy with the scent
of Syrian incense.
And there the bacchanal races in his mad course,

tossing the flaming pinewood brands,
urging the chorus to rush to and fro,
shaking his torches while the cries resound,
his delicate locks streaming in the breeze.
And all the while the wild, wild songs ring out,
answered by thunderous antiphony:

"O come, ye bacchanals,
O come, ye bacchanals,
Delicate pride of Tmolus which flows with gold,
come, sing ye Dionysus
to the tune of deep-voiced drums!
Raise the cry Evoe to the god of all 'evoes'
with Phrygian cries and invocations,
what time the sacred flute melodious sounds
harmonious to the joyful shouts of those
who wander to the hill, yea, to the hill."

Joyful, like a foal beside the dam a-grazing,
so skips the bacchanal with tripping gait!

2. Paean to Dionysus

By Philodamus of Scarphe

§1. *Invocation*

DS, Ritual, §1.

Hither, O Dithyrambos, Bacchus, come,
lord of the thyrsus and the revellers' cry,
come, O Bromios, O ivy-tress'd,
in springtime show thyself!
Evoe, Iobacchus! Paean, hail!*

§2. *Nativity and Revelation of the God*

DS, Introd., §16.

Thou who of old in Thebes (where still ring out
the bacchic cries) Thyone bore to Zeus — cf *Bacchae* 87 ff
— a child of beauty.
Lo, when thou wast born,
the Sons of God 'gan dance for very joy,
and all mankind.

Hail, O Paean! Savior, come!
Bless our city, of thy grace;
give us wealth and give us bliss!

Earth, too, into a bacchic rapture brake,
yea, Cadmus' far-famed land and yonder bay —
yon Minyan bay; and yon Augeia bloom'd,
bless'd with rich fruits. cf. *Bacchae* 108.

Evoe, Iobacchus, etc.

And over Delphi's hallow'd, blessèd land
the air was fill'd with singing; and thyself, cf. *Bacchae* 114 f.
while Delphian maidens circl'd thee around,
didst stand, a splendor on Parnassus' slopes,
for all to see.

Hail, O Paean, etc.

Tossing thy firebrands against the night, cf. *Bacchae* 145 f.
with wild, ecstatic, frenzied steps didst come,
didst come unto Eleusis, there where bloom
the flower-fill'd groves.

Evoe, Iobacchus, etc.

* *i.e.* Healer

'Tis there the people of the Grecian land,
that people dear to thee, still meet as one
and cry on thee, as every eighth year ends,
to see the glory of thy mysteries.
And there didst thou provide for all mankind
haven from toil.

Hail, O Paean, etc.

And, while the dancers danced the long night through,

* *
*

Thence to the cities of fair The[ssaly]
didst come and to Olympus' sacred close
and fam'd Pieria.

Evoe, Iobacchus, etc.

The Muses there, their locks with ivy bound, cf. *Bacchae* 101 f.
'gan circle thee and chant their sweet-voic'd songs,
calling thee deathless Healer; and that choir
Apollo led. cf. *Bacchae* 140.

Hail, O Paean, etc.

§3. *Shrine-building and Theoxenia*

Ch. III, §§8–9.

Then did that god command th' Amphictyons
all things to speed, that, when the month came round,
th' appropriate month, he might have where to greet
his suppliants.

Evoe, Iobacchus, etc.

He bade them also in their yearly rites, Ch. III, §36.
when they regal'd the gods at festive board, *Baal*, Comm., §XXXVIII
this newborn kinsman with him to unite
in hymnal praises and in sacrifice,
and have the suppliants from Greece entire
call on them both:

Hail, O Paean, etc.

Oh, blest and happy was that race of men cf. *Bacchae* 72 f.
which unto Phoebus reared the sanctuary,
to be an ageless, undefilèd shrine
for evermore!

Evoe, Iobacchus, etc.

New-gilt, with golden statues [was it decked], DS, Introd., §20 (5)
* * * * twain goddesses, their locks * * *,
with ivory and metals of the earth *Baal*, §§XXXII, XXXVII.
all gleaming fair.

Hail, O Paean, etc.

He bade them also hail the newborn god,
e'en as they hailed himself, in song and dance
when, each fourth year, the sacred time came round
of Pythian festival.*

Evoe, Iobacchus, etc.

§4. *Pervigilium and Erection of Image*

And then he told them, when the morning light Ch III, §12 (8)
first stole across the mountains, to set up
an image of this god like to his own,
wrought cunningly, and place it in the cave DS, Ritual, §IV.
where stood the golden lions, and prepare
a sacred grotto for him, as befits cf. Psalm 93 5.
a most high god.

Hail, O Paean, etc.

§5. *Epilogue*

So come this Dionysus to receive,
this lord of revelry, and in the streets cf *Bacchae* 86
whirl with the dancers ivy-tress'd and cry:

Evoe, Iobacchus! Paean, hail!

[Grant thou] to all the blessed land of Greece
* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
* * * * * * * [swe]et health!

Hail, O Paean! Savior, come!
Bless our city, of thy grace;
[give us wealth and give us bliss!]

* The best comment on these lines is afforded by Cook, LXXIV, 233 ff.

THE ENGLISH MUMMERS' PLAY

THE ENGLISH MUMMERS' PLAY

The following specimen of the English Mummers' Play, acted in Stanford-in-the-Vale, Berkshire, is here reproduced in order to illustrate the persistence of the primitive Ritual Pattern in modern folk usages. The Invocation, it will be seen, has degenerated into a mere introduction of the players, though it is still put into the mouth of an extraneous "presenter" who does not otherwise figure in the action. The Combat has become a mere exhibition of fisticuffs between two principals, and these have been crudely historicized as "King George" (himself a distortion of Saint George) and "Turkish Knight," otherwise called "Bold Slasher." The Resurrection of the hero has likewise lost all of its pristine solemnity, and now merely provides an excuse for the comic buffoonery of the "noble doctor." The Epilogue, in the form of an invocation, has given way to the *quête* – a barefaced appeal for cash.

The Mummers' Play represents the last stage in the evolution of the Ritual Drama, before it loses its theatrical structure altogether and becomes mere literary and poetic composition.

Mummers' Play

from

STANFORD-IN-THE-VALE, BERKSHIRE, ENGLAND

Source. Stuart Piggott, *Folk-Lore* 40 (1929), 262–64.

§1. *Prologue*

Enter *Father Christmas.*

F.C.—"Here comes I, Father Christmas,
Welcome or welcome not,
I hope old Father Christmas
Will never be forgot.
A room, a room I do presume,
Pray give me room to rhyme,
For we have come to show activity
This merry Christmas time.
Acting youth or acting age
Was never seen before
Or acted on the stage.
If any man can do more than me,
Walk in King George and clear the way."

§2. *Ritual Combat*

Enter *King George.*

K.G.—"Here comes I, King George, the valiant man,
With naked sword and spear in hand.
I fought the fiery dragon and brought him to slaughter,
And by these means I won the King of Egypt's daughter.
And what mortal man dare to stand
Before me with my sword in hand?
I'll slay him and cut him as small as flies,
And send him to Jamaica to make mince pies."

F.C.—"Come in Bold Slasher."

Enter *Bold Slasher.*

B.S.—"In comes I, this Turkish Knight,

With thee, King George, I mean to fight.
I'll fight thee, thou man with courage bold,
If thy blood's hot, I'll make it cold."

K.G.—"Wo Ho, my little fellow, thou talk'st very bold!
Pull out thy sword and fight, or pull out thy purse and pay:
I'll have satisfaction with thee afore thou go'st away."

They fight, and King George falls.

§3. *Death and Resurrection (attenuated)*

F.C.—"Come in Doctor.
Doctor, doctor, where bist thee?
King George is wounded in the knee.
Five pound or ten pound I'll freely lay down
If there's a noble doctor to be found."

Enter *Doctor*.—"In walks the noble Doctor,—travels much in this country, more at home nor I do abroad. I ain't like these little quee-quack doctors, and goes about for the good of the country."

F.C.—"What diseases can'st thee cure, Doctor?"

Doctor.—"All diseases,
Just which my box of pills pleases.
Itch, Stitch, Palsy, and the Gout,
All pains within and pains without."

F.C.—"Do'st think thee can'st cure this man, Doctor?"

Doctor.—"What's the matter with your man?"

F.C.—"I think he's got toothache."

Doctor (to *Mary*).—"Bring me my spectacles and pliers and my box of pills and a little medicine."

Mary.—"Oh yes, sir."

Doctor draws tooth after much by-play.
"He's got him going rolling like a wheel-barrow, round and round like a grindstone."

Doctor.—"In my box I carry my pills
And in my bottle I carry my smills.
Hand by hand there's no restrain,
Rise up King George and fight again."

K.G. (rising).—"Here am I, King George with shining armour bright,
Famous champion, also a worthy knight.

Seven long years in close cave I was kept,
Out of that into prison I leapt.
From out of that into a rock of stones,
There I laid down my grevious bones.
Many a giant did I subdue
When I ran the fiery dragon through.
I fought the man at Tollatree,*
And still I gained the victory.
First I fought in France,
Second I fought in Spain,
Third I came to Tetbury† to fight the Turk again."

§4. *Epilogue* (*Quête*)

F.C.—"Come in, Molly."

Molly Tinker.—"My name is not Molly Tinker,
My name is Mary Tinker,
Small-beer drinker.
I told the landlord to his face
The chimbley corner was his place.
My head's so big, my wit's so small,
I've brought my fiddle to please 'ee all.
Ladies and gentlemen my story is ended,
The money-box is well recommended.
Five or *six* shillings will do us no harm;
Silver or copper or a drop of beer if we can."

* "You can say what you like, but we always said Tollatree." WILLIAM KITCHENER (rapporteur).
† In Gloucestershire. ? Original source of this version.

APPENDIX

PHILOLOGICAL NOTES

The following notes are addressed to specialists. They are not intended to provide a complete philological commentary on the texts but merely to state, in the briefest form, the grounds for any original renderings which have been introduced or for any readings which deviate from the standard editions. Interpretations which have achieved general acceptance are therefore not recorded.

III AB,B **Gordon 137**

12. *npr:* from *p-r-r*, for cf. || *ṯbr*, as in Ps. 74 13. **14.** For the *phr m'd* on the 'mountain of God (*zr Il*),' cf. Is. 14.13. **18.** *dtqh . . . dtqyn.* from *w-q-y* = Ar id ; Acc. *aqû*, 'pay heed to, obey.' **19.** *pžh:* cp. Heb *paz*, 'gold' – evidently a non-Semitic loanword. **22.** *t'dt* || *mlakm:* usually equated with Heb. *t*^{e}*'ūdāh* in the sense of '(bearers of) testimony,' but perhaps from *'-d-d*, for cf II AB vii 45–46: *al ilak . . 'dd.* **40.** restore. *[ymnh 'n]t tuḫd* || *šmalh tuḫd ʻṯtrt.*

III AB,A **Gordon 68**

1. *ḫtt* cp Ar. *ḥ-t-t*, 'be weak, feeble, collapse', × *l-'-y*, 'be strong,' in Krt C vi 1, 13. For the idiom, cf Heb. *rāp̄ū yadayim.* **2.** *. . hy·* perhaps restore *[mr]hy*, 'my spears,' and at the end of the line *amr*[*ġḥm*], 'I will furbish them', cf. Jer. 46 4. **4.** *tl'm·* from *l-'-y* = Aram id , Ar. *l-'-l-*, 'be pusillanimous', 3rd pl. impf. G. + enclitic – *m(a) its:* 1 sg. impf. Gt of *n-w-s*, 'flee'? **5.** *ul-ny* cf. Krt A 88. **6.** *yġr·* cp Heb *n-s-r*, etc , but in the sense of 'watch for, he in wait,' like *n-ṭ-r*. **27.** *y-q-ṭ* cp. Ar *q-ṭ-ṭ*, 'drag, pull ' Baal tries to drag Yam out of the sea and summarily despatch him. But *'Aštart* bids *him thrust* the monster back into it. **29.** *bṯ* cp. Ar. *b-w-ṯ*, 'drive back' (Obermann).

II AB **Gordon 51**

I, 13–18. *mṯb* and *mzll* are technical terms for the niches or 'cells' in which statues of gods were deposited. For the former, cp. South Arabic *m-w-ṯ-b* (Landberg, *Hadr.* 339), *ṯ-b-t* (Glaser, *Altjem Stud.* I, 55), Acc. *mušabu* || *bit ilim* (e.g. Clay-Jastrow, *Penn. Gilgamesh Text* II 55), *šubtu* (Unger, *Babylon*, Abschnitt D, Landsberger, ZA 41 [1933], 295); Palmyrene *m-y-ṯ-b-â* (CIS II 114); and Heb *môšab* in Ez. 8. 3 For the latter, cp. Palmyrene *m-ṭ-l-ṭ-â* (Cantineau, Syria 12. 130–31, 17: 274–76), *S* Ar. *[m-ṭ-]l-l-ṭ* (Mittwoch-Schlobies, *Orientalia* 1936: 350) See fully Ch III, § 8. **16.** *knyt:* cp Acc *kanûtu*, epithet of goddesses, which Ungnad (ZA 36 107f) interprets as 'sought after.' **32.** *kt:* = **knt*, 'stay, basis, pedestal' (Albright, BASOR 91 40, n. 14) **33.** We read *šmrglt;* cp. Eth. *m-r-g*, 'smear, overlay.' *dm:* cp Ar *d-m-m*, 'smear, varnish,' and derived nouns.

II, **4.** Read *plk qlt bym[nḥ]*, and cp. Heb. *q-l-l, q-l-q-l*, 'shake, brandish.' **6.** *tmt'* that this means 'she tears off' (cp Ar. *m-ṭ-'*), rather than 'she puts on' (as supposed by Gordon), is strongly indicated by a parallel in the Hittite myth of Ishtar's encounter with the dragon Ḫedammu There, it is said explicitly (KUB XXXIII 86 + VIII 66 [Dupl , Bo 4707, rev], 11 = Friedrich, AOr 17 [1949], 240) that, when the goddess went down to the sea, the monster beheld her 'naked limbs.' **17.** *b'dn* from *'dn I sensu* 'what time, while,' like late Heb *b*^{e}*'et* **27.** Read: *p'l*, 'handiwork(s),' not *zl*. At the end of the line, restore e g. *wn*[*zm ḥrṣ*], 'and the golden earrings,' or *wn*[*qdt ḥrs*], 'and the golden studs' or *wn*[*qb ḥrs*] = Heb. *nĕqĕb* (Ez 28 13)

III, 12–13. *ydd* || *yqm·* cf. V AB 1 5 ff. **15.** Perhaps restore: *p*[*glt*] = Heb *piggūl*, 'polluted meat' (Ez 4.14); cf. Mal 1.12. **17.** Read *ḥm* ('verily'), not *ḫm* **20.** *dnt* cp Ar *d-n-'* (= *d-n-y*), 'be disgraceful, dirty' || *bṯt tdmm.* from *d-m-m* = Ar. *ḍ-m-m* and root of Heb. *zimmah*, 'misconduct, lechery.' **21.** *ltbt:* cp. Acc. *nabātu*, 'shine,' i e 'is glaring, conspicuous.' **34–37.** The point is recovered by restoring: *nmgn | [u]m rbt Aṯrt ym | [n]ḫz qnyt ilm | [waḥr] nmgn hwt | [nḫz ab] aliyn B'l.*

IV–V, 33. *wtḫṯ·* cp. Heb *ṭ-'-ḥ*, 'wander ' **34.** Restore *w's*[*ṭ*], and cp. Syriac *'-s*, 'tramp around.' **65.** *rbt·* adverb, = Heb *rabbat* (Ps 65 10, 2 Chr. 30 17) **71.** *šrḥ.* cp Ar. *s-r-r*, 'to shine', Acc *šaruru*, 'brilliance, sheen.' **75.** *ḥrn* cp Acc *ḫarrānu* (lit. 'way') *sensu* 'delegation, caravan' (EA 26 24,28, 199:13; 264,7) **76.** *'šbt.* perhaps, 'band, company,'

cf ad BH II 27 **79.** We take *udr il* as a compound, meaning 'mighty *udrs,*' like *ǵl-il,* 'vast valleys,' in II Aq VI 23 and *mdbr-il,* 'vast desert,' in BH I 21–22—all written, as here, without a word-divider Then, the following *qsm* may mean 'logs,' from *q-s-ṣ,* 'cut,' like Heb *gĕzĕr* from rt. *g-z-r.*

VI, 3. *ṯn.* adverbial = 'repeatedly', cp. *ṯn npynh,* 'kept repeatedly thrusting him back,' in II 6–7. (The following *rgm* is a verb) **10.** *td.* from *n-d-y,* 'depart' **11.** Read *[tb]rh,* which is consistent with the traces as seen in the photograph

VII, 3. . . *k mdd Il* | *y[m]·* it may be suggested that . . *k* is the remnant of some form of *n-k-y,* 'smite.' A parallel verb, e g *y[mḥsh],* will then have to be restored in line **4. 7.** Read. *'b!r l['r] 'r-m,* 'he travelled from city to city' || *ṯb lpd[r] pdr-m;* cp the Heb idiom *'ōber wa-šāb* (Ez 35 7, Zech 7 14, 9 8) **13.** Restore *b[km* ('thereupon') *yṯ]b B'l bqrb bt* **15.** *ašt-m* 'indeed, I will have (them) installed' *bn ym* 'immediately, at the very instant,' cf DS 23, 61 and cp Syr. *bar yômâ.* The || *bn-m 'dt* is then to be explained, with Singer, as 'at the very moment' (rt. *'-d-d)* **19.** *wy[p]th* initial *w-* is the so-called *waw adaequationis,* on which cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch-Cowley, § 161 1, Delitzsch, *Das Salomonische Spruchbuch,* 9 ff **30.** We read, with Ginsberg, *yṯny B'l s[at šḫ]pth* **31.** Restore. *qlh q[dš y]tr ars,* taking *ytr* from rt. *n-t-r,* 'leap, spring', cf Hab 3 6 **32.** Read *tlḫšn* (3rd pl. energ), not *aḫšn* **33.** Read *rtt,* not *rtq* (The word-divider has run into the final *t* and made it look like *q!*) **34.** *qdmym* = Heb *qedem+yam,* 'east (and) west' **39.** Read *bmt ar[s]* For this sense of *bmt* (frequent in OT), cp. Acc *bamâtu,* and see fully, Landsberger, JNES 8 (1949), 276, n 91 39 Read *nṯt'* (N of *ṯt'*), not *nṯq dmrn:* perhaps cp Ar *ḍ-m-r,* Eth *z-m-r* (II), 'challenge, offer opposition,' but uncertain **49.** *bgngnh·* 'in his mind, inner thoughts,' cf *ggn* in 127·26, and note || *npš.* (Reference to Acc *gigunu,* 'bower, vault(?)' and to *npš* in the sense of 'tomb' is wide of the mark) **54.** *bzlmt.* cp. Acc *salāmu,* Ar *z-l-m,* Heb. **salmūt* (vocalized *salmaweṯ*), i e. 'in darkness, gloom' **55.** *bn zlmt* 'among ostriches,' cp Ar *zalīm* **56.** *pr't* cp Ar , Heb *p-r-',* 'let the hair grow long, unkempt,' Acc. *pirtu,* 'mane, shaggy hair' *ibr:* cp Ar. *wabar* and possibly also Heb. *ĕbĕr* (Ez. 17 8).

VIII, 4. *tlm·* du of *tl,* 'mound,' see Commentary *ǵzr.* cp Acc *uṣurātê* (Albright) **7.** Read: *bthpṯt* (in one word) and cp Ar *ḫ-b-ṯ,* 'be filthy' **22.** *la.* cp Ar *l-'-l-',* 'flash, radiate'

I* AB **Gordon, 67**

I, 1–2. *bṯn brh* . *bṯn 'qltn* cf Is 27 1 **4.** *ṯṯkh* cp Heb *k-h-š* II, 'wither' (Hos 10.13; Hab 3 17, Ps. 109 24, Job 16 8) and *š-k-h* in this sense in Ps. 137.5 Here the meaning is metaphorical, viz 'grow flabby' or the like *ttrp.* Gt of *r-p-y,* 'grow slack, flaccid,' but in the developed sense of Ar. (secondary) *t-r-f,* 'live in luxury.' Thus, *ṯṯkh ttrp* means approximately 'you have grown degenerate and sluggish, phlegmatic' *krs* a simple graphic error for *kr<k>s,* see Commentary **5.** *ipdk.* cp Heb *ēp̄ôd,* Acc *epadatu*^{m}, 'wrap,' *ispi:* cf || *amt-m,* hence, N rather than G conj. of *s-p-' utm* | **6.** *śrqm·* in II Aq II, 3 *utm śr[qm]* occurs next to *ytbr,* while in 137 13 we have *ut ṯbr.* We therefore regard *ut-m* (with adverbial *-am*) as an adverb to which *śrq-m* provides a complementary parallel Since the two words must then have similar meanings, we would combine *ut* with Heb. *l'-ât* and *śrq* with Ar *ś-r-q* 'do by stealth,' when the sense will be 'slowly (or, easily?)' and 'imperceptibly' or the like Thus, *utm śrqm amt-m* may mean, approximately, 'I am dying by slow degrees' **18.** *npš blt·* cp. Acc *napša bullu,* 'extinguish life' (Sachs) **21.** Read· *šb'* | *ydt ybs',* 'in sevenfold (i e. lavish) portions is it served', cp Acc *pesû,* late Heb. *b-s-',* 'break bread, serve a meal,' and note || *bklat ydy ilhm* Read *hm* ('verily') *ks ymsk* | *nh wlkdl*

II, 5. Interpretation after Ginsberg **15–16.** Text slightly corrupt, read. *tk qrth hmry*

(cf. *mhmrt*, i 7–8) *mk ksu tbth ḥḥ ars nhlth* (cf I AB viii 11–13). **21.** For *waṣh* emend *w⌜y⌝sh!* **24.** Restore· [*bmak*]*lt qẓb*, and cp Heb. *ma'ᵃkelet*, 'knife' and *qaṣṣab*, 'butcher.'

V, 7. *mdlk:* cp Heb *d'li*, 'bucket,' and possibly also Acc. *madlû* (ZA 43 13 ff, line 9, von Soden, *Orientalia* 16 [1947], 70 f), see Commentary. **18.** *'glt bdbr:* cf. Is. 27.10.

VI, 17. *babn.* cf Ar *'-b-n* (= Heb *'-b-l*), 'mourning'? **20.** *ytlṭ* cp Acc *šalāšu* of threefold plowing (e g II R 14 20a), and cf Iliad xviii 542, Geoponica V 127, CLXXXVIII, 49.

I AB **Gordon, *49***

I, 7. *qrš* cp Ar. *q-r-s*, 'cut off' = 'park, close, precinct' (Aistleitner) **20.** *ylḥn.* meaning deduced from context, cf. I° AB ii 21. **22.** *dq anm.* 'one of slender strength;' cp. Heb *d-q-q* and *'ônîm* **24.** *ktmsm*· read as two words, viz *kt msm*, 'one of meagre comeliness,' cp Heb *k-t-t* 'cut short, stunt' and Ugaritic *y-s-m.* **38.** *rhbt* 'flagons,' cp Acc *rêbu*, so used (e g II R 22, rev. 18a), analogous is Hittite *palḫi*

II, 6. *tngth.* cp Ar. *n-ğ-ṭ*, 'hunt, chase' **10.** *sin* cp Acc *sûnu*, 'hem' Restore· *tšṣq[ḥ]*, 'she grasps him tightly;' cp. Heb *ṣ-w-q* **11.** *bqs* 'by the extremity' || *bsin*, 'by the hem.' **35.** *šrh:* 'his remains,' cp Heb *š°ār.* (Not 'his flesh,' for this would require **ṯrh*) **37.** Restore: *npr*[*m*], cp Ar *naffār*, 'sparrow, bird on the wing'

III–IV, 26. *pl* cp Ar *-f-w-l*, 'dry up' *'nt* cp Heb *ma'ᵃnāh*, 'furrow' (Ginsberg) **43.** *'l:* cp. Ar. *'aṯl*, 'male kinsman' *umt.* 'family, mother-group,' cp. Heb *'ummāh.*

VI, 1–2. Restore. [*yt*]*rdḥ* and [*yg*]*rš*ḥ, likewise parallel in 'nt III 44 **15.** *lpuy.* cp Ar *l-f-', percussit virgâ, prostravit humi* (or, alternatively, 'oust') || *klyy*, lit 'my annihilations,' then, 'the agents of my annihilation' The forms are obscure Are they verbal nouns, in the sense "My very brothers are my downfall, the sons of my mother are the death of me"? **16.** Read *kz!mrm*, and cp Heb *zĕmĕr* 'antelope.' **27.** *alt.* cp. Ar *'ā-l-th;* Heb *'allah*, 'mainstay, supporting pole' **51.** *yd.* from *y/w-d-y* or *n-d-y*, 'throw, hurl' **52.** *ytr* from *n-t-r*, 'spring, jump.'

V AB **Gordon: 'nt**

1, 9. *y'šr:* cf. Eth *'-š-r*, 'invite to a banquet' **12.** *bk rb 'zm ri dn* | *mt šmm* interpretation after Cassuto, except that we associate *bk* with βίκος mentioned by Herodotus (I, 194) and in a Ptolemaic papyrus (cf St. John Thackeray, H, *Grammar of the OT in Greek*, I, 34) as a Phoenician vessel. LXX so renders Heb *baqbûq* in Jer 19.1, 10

II, 9. *kkdrt* cp Heb *kaddūr*, 'ball.' **12.** *šnst* S of **n-w-s* = Acc *nussu*, 'shake,' hence 'let hang, dangle,' G R Driver (JTS 38 [1937], 39) sees a cognate Heb *n-s-y* in various passages of OT **32.** Restore: [*š*]*lm* = Heb *šĕlĕm*? **36.** Read: [*tta*]*r ksat lksat*, as suggested (privately) by Albright. **41.** Read *tlskh*, not *nskh* (The form is 3rd pl impf. + obj suffix 3 sg)

III, 1. Read [*t*]*šṯ*, 3 sg fem impf G, *passive*, or [*m*]*šṯ*, from *m-w-š*, 'move,' as in Heb. *rmt:* 'affection;' cf Ar. *r-'-m*, and note || *yd, aḥbt* **2.** *mšr* passive, 'was conveyed, transmitted.' **13.** *sk.* from *n-s-k III*, or *s-k-k*, 'weave,' || *arb* = Ar. *'-r-b*, 'intertwine.' This strange expression is a deliberate antithesis to the common metaphor best exemplified by Greek πλέκειν δόλον, ὑφαίνειν μῆτιν. **17.** *twth*· 3rd pl impf. Gt of *w-h-y* = Ar id. 'hasten, hie;' note || *tlsmn* **40.** At end of line, restore *Ar*[*š*], in accordance with I AB vi, 50 – not *Ar*[*s*]*!* **44.** *trd* not imperat., as usually understood, but partic || *mšss w'ṣr udnh* and *gršh lksi mlkh*, all governed by *itrṯ ḥrs, i e* 'I will possess me of the gold *of him who* . . . ,' etc. **45.** *mšss* cf Ar *šāṣa*, 'be refractory, cause trouble' (Obermann).

BH **Gordon: 75**

I, 9. Restore. [*ti*]*bdn*, 'they are destroying us' The subject is evidently Baal and his supporters, while the object is the present suppliants of El, cf. *Il abn*, 'El *our* father.' **10.** *kiš* cf Heb *ēšūt*, 'mole' (Ginsberg) **11.** Read *km gʾrm*, and cp NH *mᵉgaremîm*, 'rodents' and Maltese *ǧ-r-m*, 'nibble.' The language is metaphorical, cp the Arabic poem by Nimr ibn 'Adwan, XLIII.11 (= Spoer, H and Haddad, E, JAOS 66 [1946], 165, 174). *'iddi girīs mšabih samm barga | ya 'gāb 'ā šōf al- raḍi 'ugub furgah*, 'it is as if I had been stung by a snake resembling the poison of a lizard . . .' etc., cf also Euripides, *Hec.* 235 μὴ λυπρὰ μηδὲ καρδίας δηκτήρια, Theognis 905–06 νῦν δ'οὐκ ἔστιν, ὅ δὴ καὶ ἐμοὶ μέγα πένθος ὄρωρε, | καὶ δάκνομαι ψυχὴν καὶ δίχα θυμὸν ἔχω **14.** *ltlš.* perhaps from rt. *l-w-š* = Heb. id, Acc *lâšu*, 'knead.' Kneading flour would be one of the most common chores of handmaids **16.** *ldmgy.* cp Acc *damqu*, 'fair, fine' **18.** *ksank·* diminutive of *ksu* 'seat,' i.e 'stool' *hdgk·* cp Ar *h-d-ǧ*, 'load baggage' **21–22.** *mdbr il* should be read together, like *šdm il* in I AB iii–iv 26, 37, or *kht il, ṯlhn il*, etc in II AB i 32 ff, or *udr il* in II AB iv–v 102, and like Heb *harᵉrê-el, arʿzê-el*, etc. The meaning is 'vast desert' (This disposes of all speculations about 'a desert of Ilš | Ilšiy'l) *šiy:* a root *š-ʾ-y* || *š-p-k* occurs in II Aq. ii 23–24, 35, and since *š-p-k* is used in Lev 14.41 of heaping or casting dust, it is possible that such is the meaning here Alternatively, *šiy* may connect with Heb *šôʾah*, 'desolation, wilderness' **23.** *kry:* 'elongated' imperat (2nd sg. f G) of *k-r-y*, which may be explained as either (a) = *k-w-r, k-r-r*, 'roll,' or (b) = Heb *k-r-h*, 'dig, burrow' **24.** *ʿpr* imperat. D of *ʿ-p-r*, 'heap dust upon,' cf. II Sam. 16 13 **26.** *tbrkk.* 3rd. pl. masc D of *b-r-k*, 'bend the knee' + obj. suffix of 2nd sg. fem = 'the devouring beasts shall make thee to bend the knees,' sc in labor, the sense being paralleled exactly by the use of the verb *q-n-s* (from *qns* = Acc *qunsu*, 'shin') in DS 51, 58. Cp. also Heb. *k-r-ʿ* in I Sam. 4 19, Job 39 3 **27.** *ʿqqm* cp. Ar *ʿ-q-q*, 'rend,' Acc. *uqququ* (= EME DIB; CT XIX 25. 15b-c, XXXVII 24 12a) = 'dumb' is evidently from the same root, meaning properly 'one whose tongue is torn out.' **28–29.** *ilm yp'r šmthm* cf. VI AB iv 15, 19 The meaning is that the creatures will be in the category of numina (*ilm*) In the same way, demons are called *ilāni limnûti* in Acc texts **33.** *ubhm pn B'l* not, as usually rendered, 'they shall have faces like Baal's' but 'Baal's face shall be (turned) towards them,' cf Ps 34 17. *pᵉnê YHWH bᵉ ʿōśê raʿ*, 'Yahweh's face shall be (turned) against evildoers' **35.** *yh* cp. Ar *n-h-y*, 'go towards' **39.** *yhrr-m.* 3rd sg. masc impf L of rt. *y/w-h-r-* = Heb *y-h-r* and Syr *h-r-h-r*, 'incite (Schultess, ZA 24 [1910], 49).

II, 5–6. Restore, perhaps: *B'l n*[*gthm bp'nh*] | *Il Hd* [*bḫrẓ'h*]. **15.** Possibly, a description of Baal's vigorous onslaught upon the monsters or, conversely, of their attack upon him. The fragmentary *km s* suggests a possible *ᵒsp* = Heb *sūpāh*, 'stormwind;' for the simile, cf. Is. 5.28, 66 15, Jer. 4 13 **22–23.** Restore as in 5–6 **25.** *yisphm.* inchoative = 'was about to round them up, tried to round them up,' cp *ykly* in III AB,A 27. **27.** *'šb-m.* in view of *yisp* in 25, this may = Ar. *'-š-b*, 'collect, gather.' **29.** *mst:* cp Heb. *m-ṣ-s, m-s-h*, 'drain.' The expression *mst ksh* means 'I have extinguished his life,' the metaphor being comparable with that of Heb *mᵉnat kôsî* (Ps 11.6) and its Ar counterpart **32.** Restore: *a*[*ḫś*], when *'n B'l a*[*ḫś*] will be || *zrh aḫś* || *p'n B'l aḫś* The letter *ś* here = *ḏ* = *d*, so that *aḫś* = *aḫd*, 'they lay hold on, grasped.'

33. *zrh.* usually, *zr* means 'back,' and it could easily have that meaning here However, in view of the subsequent reference to *ǵllm*, the Ar. cognate of which means specifically 'a fetter attached to the nape,' it is possible that the word should be identified in our passage with Heb *sawwār, sawwʾār*, 'neck,' cf. especially Lam 1 14. *niśqad 'ôl pᵉšaʿay bᵉyāday* (so LXX, M· *bᵉyādôʾ*) *yistarᵉgū 'alū 'al sawwʾārî.* **35.** *wlʾmt:* cp. Ar *l-m-m, w-l-m*, S Ar *h-l-m* (Hofner, WZKM 1936· 83, n 1), 'enclose, bind' Cognate are Heb. *ᵒ-l-m* (rt of *ᵓlūmmāh*) and *ᵒl-ʾ-m* (root of *lᵉʾūm*) *ǵllm.* cp Ar *ǵ-l-l;* Heb *'ôl*, etc. **37.** *mšmš.* cp Ar. *m-š-š*, 'ooze,' and derived nouns meaning 'swampy ground.' **39.** *yšḫn:* cp. Acc. *šaḫānu*, Ar. *s-ḫ-n*, 'burn,' and note that in Deut 28.22–27 *šᵉhîn* and *ḥarḥūr* are associated in exactly the same sense as *h-r-r* and *š-ḫ-n* in our passage **42.** See Commentary.

44. *bnt šdm.* cp Ar *banât al ard* = 'wadies' (Virolleaud) *ṣhr* . cp *shr* || *hrr*, DS 41, 45, 48 and cf I AB II 24 The word is the root of Acc *ṣêru*, 'desert' and of n pr Sahara, and means 'be scorched, dry.' **53.** Cp. Heb *s-k-n*, 'be in danger,' i e. 'crisis'? *'dn* lit 'time,' then 'crisis,' see Landsberger, JNES 8 (1949), 257, n 47 **54–55.** Read *kn npl B'l* [*ṯr*] *km ṯr* | *wtkms Hd ṿ*[*br*] *km ibr.* **57.** *ittpq·* Gt from *'-p-q* = Heb id , 'hold back'? *lawl:* cp. Ar *w-l-y.* **62.** *bt hrš·* this cannot mean 'workshop,' as usually understood, because the equivalent of Heb *h-r-š*, 'fabricate,' appears (correctly) in Ugaritic as *h-r-ṯ* Hence, may we not read *hrś* and identify with Hurrian *bît ḫurizati*, 'storehouse,' or the like?

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7. *'rbm.* cp. Acc *êrib bîti*, a class of priests or sacristans, cf Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien* II 62–63, Pallis, *Akîtu* 146, 150 *wṯnnm* cf 80 II, 11, 113.70, 303 1, where *ṯnnm* constitute a guild cf. also ^{amel} *šanani* in RŠ 11839. 5, 6, 10 (= RA 38 [1941], 8–9). **8–9.** *ṯkl . . . ulmn* cf. Is 47 9: *š'ḳôl w'almôn. zbr.* since this text was designed for a vernal festival, *zbr* can refer only to the preliminary trimming of vines in March—still called *zabbar* in the Lebanon, cf LXXXIX, IV 312 **10.** *yṣmdn* cp *smd*, 'bludgeon' and Ar *s-m-d, s-d-m*, 'strike.' *šdmth* cp Heb *š'dēmāh* || *gĕfĕn*, Deut 32 32, Is. 16.8. **17.** Read: *thgrn ḡzr n'm* [*tlbšn*], *cp ḡzr* || *n'm*, V AB a 19, III Aq 1, 4. Similar is Heb *qĕ'ûth labbeš . . 'ôz hiṯ'azzar*, Ps. 93.1, *'ôz w'hadar l'bûšah*, Prov 31 23 The *ġzr* and *n'm* answer to the *melammu* and *puluḫtu* of Accadian dieties, concerning which cf. Oppenheim, JAOS 63 (1943), 31–33 **18.** Read *wt!šm.* **25.** *dlthm·* cp Heb *dālît*, 'vinestalk' **27.** *bdbh n'mt.* we take this to mean 'with sacrifices in return for (divine) favors'; cp the S Ar. formula *lḏt n'mt wtn'm* (CIS IV 28 5, 163 17, 180 8, 181 6; 197.12, etc.) and Heb *nô'am* in this sense (Ps 90.17). **31.** *mšt'ltm.* cp Heb. *šo'al*, 'hollow of hand,' and cf Is 40.12. **37.** *ymnn:* meaning uncertain; perhaps cp. Eth *m-n-n*, 'cast aside, reject' (with pun on *m-n-n*, 'debilitate,' as in Heb , Ar) **38.** *yḥrṯ* cp Ar. *h-r-t*, 'flay.' **39.** *ypt:* cp Heb *p-t-h*, 'seduce' **50.** *klrmt* cp Acc. *lurindu* = **luremtu*), 'raisin' **51.** *tqt*[*nsn*]: 3rd du impf (f.) Gt. of root *q-n-s*, verb demon from *qns* = Acc *qinsu*, 'shin,' i e 'crouch in labor' (Albright) **54.** *šu:* for *n-š-'* in a ritual sense, cf 2.16–17: *hw ṯ' nṯ'y, hw nkt nkt, ytši lab bn-il;* cf. also Ez. 20 31 and Phoenician *mš't* in the Marseilles and Carthage tariffs Read: *wlkbkbm kn*[*m*]? For *k-n of* fixed stars, cp. Acc. *kênu* in e g Harper, *Letters* I, 37, Virolleaud, *Ishtar* II 6, Meier, *AfO* 12 (1938), 240, n 24. **57.** . *šr* since this is || *lḥmš*, we should surely restore [*l*^{e}]*šr*, see Commentary. **63.** Read. *wndd* [*lg*]*z*[*r*] *gz* [*r-m*], 'and they proceed from one gorging to the next,' cf. Is 9 19 **64.** Read· *wlu! šb'nl yl* 'and are incapable of satiety', cp Heb *l-'-h;* Acc *la'u.* Ginsberg (orally) cps Hos 8 5. *w'lô yûḳ'lû nikkāyôn*, 'and are incapable of cleanliness' **70.** *pth·* this has a technical meaning, cp. Acc *pitû*, 'open grain on the threshing-floor,' CCLXVA, i 170 f , Amos 8 5: *w'nift'hah bar* || *w'našbîrāh šeber*, Gen. 41 56: *wa-yiftah Yosef . . . wa-yašbber l'-Miṣraim* Cf also Goetze, CLXXIV, 25, who cites Hittite *pi-is-ga-tal-*[*la-as*] as equivalent to Sum *ŠE. BE. DA* and Acc *pi-du-ú* in this sense. **70.** *p-r-ṣ:* cp Micah 2 13. The subject is the brain *b'dhm:* 'around them,' cp Heb *ba'ad.* **74.** Read: *dšlrb*, cp Ar. *s-r-b*, 'quaff.' *bṯk. .*: conceivably, this is the Acc. *šikkatu*, apparently some kind of bottle or container In 319. 4, 5, 8, 9 a word *ṯkt* occurs in a text dealing with *anyt* If *anyt* means 'vessels' (Acc *unûtu*, Heb *'ônî*, etc), this may be the same word **75.** *lhn:* usually taken as = Heb. *lāhen* (Ruth 1 13), Ar *lahinna*, 'therefore,' but not impossibly it is a verb = Ar *l-h-n*, 'proffer food' *lg.* cp Heb *lōg* (Virolleaud). **76.** *whbrh.* cp. Acc. *huburu* 'jar' (but then *bt ḫbr* in I Krt 82, 173 cannot mean 'storehouse' = Acc. *bît ḫuburi*, for that would require **bt hbr*)

AQHAT

I Aq. **Gordon: 2 Aq.**

I, 3. *uzr:* from rt. *'-z-r* = 'clad in the *ēzôr* (sc of a pilgrim or suppliant),' cf. Commentary. **14.** Read: *yd g!g!th*, 'he proceeds | departs to his cell | cloister (Acc. *gagû*)' or 'to the rooftop-terraces.' **16.** Supply a verb like Heb *ypšt*, 'he doffs.' **30.** *šy·* cp. Heb. *'-š-y* II, 'press, oppress' *lnh·* 'his night-lodger,' from rt. *l-w-n* (cf. *p-yln*, 16) **32.** *ksmh:* cp. Acc. *kasāmu*, 'cut', hence 'portion' || [*m*]*nth.*

II, 26–27. *bnt hll* strictly, the name of a bird; cp. Ar *muhelhel,* 'the Roller' (*Coracias garullus,* Linn.), then used tropically, like || *snnt,* 'swallows,' and like Eng 'thrush' or 'nightingale' = prima donna

V, 7. *tht* means 'beside,' not 'under.' *adrm* cp. Acc *adru, bît adri,* which means 'barn, granary,' rather than 'threshing-floor', cf Landsberger, JNES 8 (1949), 292, n 138. Similar is *'-d-r-â* in the Tell Halaf Aramaic inscription, I, obv 5, Friedrich **35.** *yqb.* cp Heb *q-b-b,* 'bend, curve' (Montgomery) At the end of the line, restore [*yd*] | *rk* (Montgomery) **36.** Read· *'l Aq*[*h*]*t k-yqb* [*wysh*]. **37.** *pr'* cp. Ar, S Ar *f-r-',* 'firstfruits'

VI, 14. *yqr.* cp Ar *q-r-q-r,* 'writhe, twist' **20.** *adr* from root *'-d-r* (not from *n-d-r*). **23.** *bǵlil.* cp Ar. *ǵaiil* 'valley' (Y. Sukenik), *ǵl-il* is to be taken together, *sensu* 'vast valley(s)' *qnm·* cp Heb *qaneh,* etc (Y Sukenik) **30.** Delete *hwy y'šr* as dittography. *y'šr.* cp Eth. *'-š-r,* 'invite to dine' **31.** *ybd.* cp Ar. *b-d-y;* Heb *b-d-',* 'improvise' **35.** *hḫ-m.* 'mere trash' = Acc *haḫḫu* (Ginsberg) However, the reading *ḫzl-m* is also possible, and this would = Ar. *ḫ-z-y,* i.e 'mere insults.' **43.** Perhaps restore [*šl*]*m* in the sense of 'agreement' = Acc. *šulmu*

II Aq. **Gordon: 3 Aq., rev.**

I, 16. *win bilht qlls* this means 'and there must be no affronting goddesses' For the construction, cp. Numb 23 23. *kî lô' nahaš b'Ya'aqōb w'lô' qesem b'Yiśrāel,* 'for no magic prevails against Jacob neither black art against Israel', Hab 1 10· *qls b-* **17.** *wtb'.* 'and there hath risen up (*in hostility*)', cp Acc *tebû* in this sense **19.** *dṯ ydṯ* cp Ar *d-y-t,* 'crush underfoot' *m'qbk·* cp. Heb *'-q-b,* 'defraud' There is, of course, a pun on *'qb,* 'heel.' **26.** Perhaps [*lbt*] *aby ndt ank,* 'I have absconded from my father's house.' **29.** *almdk.* evidently in the specific sense of Heb *lammed qašet* 'to teach archery'

Gordon: 3 Aq.

II, 3. *utm śrqm:* cf. supra ad I*AB, i 6 **5.** Restore [*ttb*]' **9–10.** Cf Comm **13.** The text is disturbed, some words having dropped out through haplography; read. *at '*[*l qšth*] *tmḫsh* ‹*tmḫsh 'l*› *qs' th.* **16.** At the end of the line, supply e g *w*[*argm*] **24.** *šḫt lbrkh* goes together = '(like) one who has had a scratch (cp Ar *s-ḫ-t*) on the knee.'

III Aq. **Gordon: 1 Aqht**

2. Read: *šrd,* i e. [*y*]*šrd,* not *krb* **7.** Read *kšr,* and note probable assonance with *knr* in l. 8 **9.** Read: *b*[*m*]*'m-m;* cp Heb *mē'ayim,* 'bowels' **13.** *k-ap'·* cp Hebrew *p-'-h,* Ar *f-'-y,* 'bleat' *il* cp Heb *'ayil,* 'ram' (cf II AB vi 41) *bgdrt* cp Heb *gid'rôt ṣ'ôn,* 'sheepfolds.' At the end of the line, read *klb l* |. **14.** *kd* = *k*+*d,* 'like this, thus.' **17.** Read: *wbm*[*th*], 'for in his death, when he dies.' **18.** Read [*p*]*r'* *qṣ y*[*bl*] (Virolleaud); cp Ar, S Ar *fr',* 'firstfruits,' and Heb *n-b-l* **30.** *yḫrb* cp. Syriac *ḫ-r-b sensu* 'to deteriorate, decay (of fruit)' but *not* 'to dry out' (e g. Ephraim's *Prose Refutation of Mani,* etc, I 143, 35 and 41; cf. Mingana, JRAS 1922, 527). **31.** *yḫsp.* cp (by metathesis), Heb *s-p-h* and (n) *sapahat* (Lev 13 2, 14 56) A cognate form is *ś-p-h* (Is 3 17), and this permits comparison with Ar *h-š-f, scabie affectus ib* cp Heb *'ēb, 'ābîb,* 'green ears' **39.** *ysly·* cp Acc *salū,* etc, 'pray' **40.** *un.* 'privation;' see fully, Ch. II, § 7 **61.** Read *ydn* ‹*Dn*› *il,* cf *ydnh* in I 68 **69.** *yp'.* error for *yph.* **70.** *bhmdrt·* cp. Acc 'swathe, dried grass' (Goetze). **73.** *ur·* cp. Heb. *'ōrāh* II, 'herb, blossom' **77.** *bddy.* cp. Heb. *dad,* 'breast,' as in 'nt III 2 The suffix cannot be that of 1st sg. possessive; it may therefore be explained as dual without mimmation, cp., perhaps, *brky,* 'the two knees (legs)' in I*AB i 16 and *yāday* in Ez 13 18 At the end of the line, restore e g *ys*[*at rhh*] **78.** At the end of the line, supply [*ṯnm*] || *tltid* in l. 79. **80–81.** What is here described is, obviously, the fact that the messengers were dishevelled in consequence of their great distress Hence, the lacunae must be filled with verbs meaning 'were untied,' *i e.* '[Untied was] the band around their locks; [loosed was] the band upon (their) locks; [dishevelled were] (their) tresses' **84.** *spnhm:* 'their hers-in-wait', cp. Heb. *s-p-n* in Ps.

56.7, Prov. 1. 11, 18 The suffix refers to 'Anat and Yatpan. **85.** *nshy šrr:* this is || *bm yd ṣpnhm tliym;* hence, we explain *nshy* from Heb , Aram , Syr. *n-s-h* 'conquer' (here used in G rather than D, as in the cognate languages) and *šrr* from Ar. *s-r-r* 'be hidden' (|| *spn*) and possibly also Heb *šōrer, m'šōrer.* **121.** Hrgb and Sml are mutually antithetical names; cp. Ar. *r-ğ-b,* 'be gentle,' and *s-m-l,* 'be fierce,' and note that in Acc and Eth. the dove is called *rigbu, rĕgĕb.* **151.** *tšḫta(ᵓ)nn.* cp Eth. *ḥ-t-',* 'deprive ' One suspects, however, that this may be an error for *tšḫtnn,* 'awaken him,' cp. I Krt, 154. *Krt yḫt whlm,* 'Krt awoke and ('twas) a dream ' **152.** *ysm* cp Ar *w-s-m,* 'revile' (Herdner) **153.** Read *tlmd* Heb. *tāmîd* || *'nt . . . p-'lmh* || *'nt p-dr-dr* **155.** *uḫry:* 'one coming from behind'? cp. Heb *'aḥôr,* etc **173.** *psġm·* cp. Heb. *p-s-',* 'rend.' *ġr.* cp., provisionally, Heb *'ōr,* 'skin' [although this is usually derived from a root '-*w-r,* not *ᵊġ-w-r*] **189.** *ltm mrqldm:* 'at the end of the funeral exercises;' cp Syr. *marqôdᵉṭâ,* Acc. *ruquddu,* 'professional mourner' (Pinches, PSBA 1896· 253), cf Deut 34 8, and see Commentary. **203.** Read. *dgt t[š']l bym.* **205.** At the end of the line, restore, e g *t[hgr]* **206.** At the end of the line, restore *ḥ[lp],* 'a blade', cp Heb *ḥalîf,* Ar. *m-ḥ-l-f,* etc **208.** *w'l.* adverb = 'and above ' At the end of the line, supply *[wtht nps]* **209.** Restore. *nrt ilm špš [kt']r[b],* for cp. *lm'r[b] | nrt ilm špš* in ll. 210–11 **212.** Read, with Gordon: *rgm lʸṭ[pn y]|bl.* **217.** Gordon's *tp[ʾ ks]* is most uncertain **219.** Read *iln!,* 'our god.' **223.** Restore [*š*]*bl* = Ar. *šbl,* 'young lion '

The Slaying of the Dragon

KBo III 7. i, 17. init.: restore [*wa-a*]*l-hi-ya-as.* **28–29.** Read, with Friedrich. [*d I*] *-na-ra-as-sa-az ú-nu-ut-ta-at* **iv, 21.** For the adverbial *ka-ru-ú-i-li-at-ta,* Friedrich prefers to read: *ka-ru-u-i-li at-ta-*⟨*as*⟩, i.e. 'when the father was well again, in his old-time bodily state.'

The Yuzgat Tablet

Obverse:

5. init.: restore [*am-me-el*] × [*tu-e*]*l-la* in l. 7, fin . restore [*na-an a-ap-pa hu-is-nu-wa-an-zi*], as in l 6. **6.** init · restore [GUD]-*us* (cf. l. 12); fin . restore *hu-is-n*[*u-wa-an-zi*]. **7.** init.· restore [*tu-e*]*l-la,* fin.. restore *Ha-a*[*h-hi-ma-as*] **8.** *ti-nu-ut* must here be read phonetically and taken as equivalent to *ti-in-nu-ut,* 'he has paralyzed,' for to interpret it as Tl-*nu-ut* = *hu-is-nu-ut* gives just the wrong sense, cf. Goetze, KlF 1, 142; Friedrich, OLZ 1923.48. **11.** For ŠE MEŠ of the tablet, read with Goetze KA (= INIM). MEŠ.

12. For the consecution GUD ḪI A UDU ḪI A UR TÚG ḪI A, cf. KUB XXI 4 iv 11 f. **14.** Read *nu-ma*!*-as-ta an-dur-za* UZUÚR [*tu*]*-uz-zi-ya-an-za har-zi* **20.** *Ú.UL sa-a-ak-k*[*i-ya-ah-zi*], 'gives no sign,' cf Goetze, KlF 1, 412 This is virtually identical with DUMU MEŠ-KA *ku-in sa-ga-in i-ya-an-zi* in l 7.

21. For omission of *verbum dicendi* after a main verb implying it, cf Friedrich, CLI, I §294, Friedrich, *Vert.* 42, 180 **24.** Restore [*ka*]*-a-sa-wa.* **25.** Restore [*a-pa*]*-a-sa-wa.*

26. Restore [*i-i*]*t-wa,* cf l. 21 **27.** We take *ti-nu-zi* as = Tl-*nu-zi,* i e *hu-is-nu-zi* and construe it as a future. The clause will then describe the function of LAMA and balance the description of Telipinu's function in ll. 29ᵇ–31ᵃ However, it is also possible that the word is here to be read phonetically (as in l. 8), in which case the clause will mean: "He (i e Hahhimas) is paralyzing him (i e ZABABA) **30.** init : restore [*na-a*]*k-ki-is;* cf KUB XVII 10 i 29

32. init . restore [*i-it-tin*]*-wa,* cf ll 21, 29. **33.** Read. *nu-wa a-pi-e-el-la* GUB-*as Ha-ah-hi-ma-*[*as*] **36.** Restore [*li-e n*]*am-ma har-si* For the construction, cf KBo IV 4 iv 16. *nu-wa BÊLINI li-e nam-ma u-wa-si,* Friedrich, CLI, I §289 (a) **37.** Dr Benjamin Schwartz has suggested to me that the first word might be restored [*pa-ap*]*-pal-ni-ik-ni-es,* a word which appears to mean 'junior male members of a family' in KUB XXIX 1 iii 49 The approximate rendering here would be "(mere) infants " **39.** init: restore [*te-iz-*]*zi, an-da da-me-in-*[*kir*] means literally "are intrinsically attached," i.e "instinct with."

Reverse:

9. For the meaning of *ku-e-da-ni-ik-ki na-ak-ki-es-zi,* cf. Mursilis, *Pestgeb* II §10ᵃ, 5 = Goetze, KlF 1, 216

13. Restore [DUTU-*as mu-ga-a-u*]*-wa-as* **16.** init restore [*a-ri-im*]*-pa-as,* cf. l. 28 GIŠAB = *luttais* 'window,' but here evidently used in the sense of 'plank, shutter,' cp. Greek θύρις. **17.** fin . a word × *kap-pi-as* ('small') is indicated, e g. *salliyas* ('large')

18. GIŠ*la-ah-hu-ra-as* cf. Schwartz, JAOS 58 (1938), 341. **20.** Restore, e g [*la-ah-hu-w*]*a-an-zi.*

21. init · restore [I NINDA KUR] RA GAL **22.** init restore [I GAL YÀ DUG.] GA.

29. fin restore A *NA Te-[li-pi-nu]* **33.** fin restore *hu-u-pa-[an-zi]*

45. init.: restore *si-[pa-an-]ti,* (cf 1 43), fin , restore *[da-a-i]*

48. init : restore *[A NA* ^{D}*Te-l]i-pi-nu.*

The Myth of Telipinu

A iv 17. With Friedrich, we take *an-da-da-an* (for which the other recensions have *an-da-pát-kán* and *an-da-at-kán*) to be an error for *an-da-an-at.*

HEBREW TEXTS

A. Texts discussed on pp. 146–50

The following deviations from the Masoretic text should be noted.

(2) Isaiah 30.7. For *Rahab hem šābet* read *Rahab ha-mošbat*

(4) Ezekiel 29.4. Delete *w°-hidbaqtî d°gat y°'ôrêḳā b°-qaśqᵉśôtêḳā* as a variant of *w°-et kol d°gat y°'ôrêḳā b°-qaśqᵉśôtêḳā tidbaq.*

(5) Ezekiel 32.2. For *bᵉ-nahᵃrôtêḳā* read **bi-n°hîrôtêḳā* **3.** Delete *bı-q°hal 'ammîm rabbîm* as a gloss, and for *w°-heʿᵉlûḳā* read, with LXX and Vulgate, *w°-haʿᵃlîtîḳā* **5.** For *rāmutêḳā* read, with Symmachus, Peshittâ and Vulgate, *rimmatêḳā* **6.** We derive *safat°ḳā* from *s-w-f* The following *mi-damᵉḳā* is a misplaced correction of *mi-mēkā* at the end of the verse, while *'el he-hārîm* has come in erroneously from the *'al he-hārîm* of the line above.

(6) Nahum 1.8. For *m°qômāh* read, with LXX, *bᵉ-qāmāw* **12.** Read *'im *šālû mayim rabbim w°-ḳen gāzû w°-'abārû, 'innîtîḳ lô' aʿᵃnneḳ 'ôd,* see Gaster, JBL 63 (1944), 51 f.

(8) Psalm 74.13–14; (9) Psalm 89.9–10; (10) Psalm 93: see below

(14) Job 38.10. The otherwise obscure *wa-'ešbôr* is to be connected with Ar. *s-b-r,* 'prescribe boundaries.' For *hûqî* read *hûqô* **11.** Read· *u-fô' yišbôt gᵉ'ôn gallêḳā.*

(15) Job 41.17. For *mi-śetô* (many MSS *mi-śe'tô*) read *mi-še'tô* (cf. Lam. 3 47), and for *mišbārîm yıthattā'û* read *mi-šıbrô 'abbirîm yıthabbā'û,* though *mi-šıbrô* is itself to be regarded as an hypermetrical gloss on *mı-še'tô* **18.** For *massîgehû* read, with Versions, *tassıgehû.* **21.** For *nehš°bû* read *nehšab lô* **26.** For *et kôl gābôʿᵃh yir'eh* read *ôtô kôl gābôʿᵃh yirâ'.*

B. Psalms

Psalm 29. See Gaster, JQR, N.S 37 (1946), 55–65

Psalm 65: 3. *šôme'ᵃ t°fillāh* goes with the last clause of v 2, the meter being here 3 + 2. **4.** For *dıbrê 'ᵃwônôt* read *yaqrîbū 'ôlôt,* and join to 3ᵇ, cf 66 13 For *mennî* (LXX: *mennû*) read *bānû,* the original *BN* was misinterpreted **5.** For *q°dôš* read *qôdeš.* **8.** Read simply: *m s yammîm wa-hᵃmôn gallêhem;* the verse was hypermetrically expanded from Is 17 12 f Note Paseql **9.** *tarnîn* conceals the archaic *t*-form of 3rd pl impf. energ. Pı'el **10.** On rt *'-š-r,* see above, p 126, n 35. In the last clause, read simply *hāḳen t°ḳînēhā,* interpreting the verb in the light of Acc *šukunnu,* 'tend a garden' (cf. Nuzu, VS VII, 100 *ana šukunnê ù irrišutim,* Landsberger, ZDMG 69 523 f). The words *tāḳîn d°gānām* (with obscure possessive suffix!) are simply a gloss **12.** For the impossible *š°nat* read *maʿᵃnôt.* **13.** For *yır'ᵃfû* read **ya'ᵃfôr,* and cp. Acc *aparu* || *mugru* (above, p 186n) and NH *maʿᵃfôret,* 'cloak.'

Psalm 66. 2. M's *šîmū* is mere dittography of the preceding *š°mô,* while *k°bôd* (M: *kābôd*) *t°hıllāthô* is a variant of *k°bôd š°mô.* **4.** Delete *kôl-ha-ares* metri gratiâ. **6.** For M's *hāfaḳ* read *hōfeḳ* For *šam* read *šam*[*ō°h*].

Psalm 74. 12. For *b°-qereb* read *bi-q°rab,* and delete *ha-ares* as an hypermetrical gloss occasioned by the incorrect vocalization of BQRB. **13.** The plural *tannînîm* is mere poetic hyperbole, but *'al ha-mayîm* is an hypermetrical gloss **14.** For *l°-'am l°-siyyîm* read, with I Low, **l°-'aml°sê yam*

Psalm 76. 6. *eštôl°lū,* since this stands parallel to *nāmū š°nātam,* we would interpret it from Ar. *th-l-l,* 'stupefy.' **7.** Read with LXX and Pesh.. *nırd°mū reḳeb wa-sūs* **8.** M's

attāh nôrā' attāh represents a conflation of two variant readings, viz (a) *attāh nôrā,'* and (b) *nōrā' attāh* The latter is preferable, as balancing *nā'ôr attāh* in verse 5 and as giving added emphasis to *la-môrā'* in verse 12. **13.** I suspect that in *yibsôr rū'h* we have a nautical metaphor, equivalent to our colloquial "take the wind out of one's sails," cf Aram. *b-ṣ-r,* "lessen, shorten "

Psalm 89.2–19. Verses **1–2** are confused in M, as is clear from the disturbance of the meter The remedy, however, is simple. First, delete *YHWH* in verse **1,** as an hypermetrical and inapposite expansion What the poet is saying is that his theme is an everlasting pledge Hence, read simply *hesed 'ôlām.* Second, delete *l'dôr wa-dôr* which has crept in from the line below Thus, the first verse reads *hesed 'ôlām āšîrāh | 'ôdî' 'mūnāt'ḳā b'fî* In verse **2,** delete *kî āmartî* as an explanatory gloss to explain the nexus after the text had been corrupted The words *'ôlām hesed yibbāneh* then take up the preceding *hesed 'ôlām āšîrāh* Next, for M's *tāḳîn* read *tikkônū* — archaic 3rd pl impf. (LXX and Symmachus have *tikkôn*) Then delete *'mūnat'kā* which came in from the line above and replaced *l'dôr wā-dôr* which was erroneously transposed Finally, delete *bahēm,* which was added to make sense of the corrupt *šāmayîm tākîn 'mūnat'kā* Thus, verse 2 reads: *'ôlām hesed yibbaneh | šamayîm tikkônu l'dôr-dôr. 'mūnah* in these verses means 'pledge,' like *'mānah* in Neh 10 1 and *'-m-n* in Zenjirli, Hadad 11 **6:** *pil''ḳâ* means 'thy vow,' as in *hifli' neder* Ginsberg recognizes this word in Keret B, iii 26 **7.** For *l'YHWH,* read, both times, *lô,* metri gratiâ. **8.** For M's *rabah w'nôrā'* read *rab hū nôrā',* giving to *rab* the sense of 'chieftain,' cp *rb dr kl qdšm* in the magical plaque from Arslan Tash (Gaster, *Orientalia* 11 [1942], 59) **9.** The words *mî kāmôkā h'sîn* go together, like *mî kāmôhū môreh* in Job 36 22 The rest of the verse in M is botched from glosses on *af 'mūnat'kā* in v 6 and *s'bibdw* in v 9 respectively The words came in from the margin **10.** For *b'šô'* read, with Gunkel, *b'šô'* **16.** Delete *ha-'am,* metri gratia, likewise delete *YHWH* **19.** *ki l'-* at the beginning of the verse is the *kî lâ* of the Amarna letters = 'verily,' while the prefix in *w'lhq'dôš* is the Ugaritic *l-,* Acc. *lu,* Ar *la,* etc

Psalm 93. See Gaster, *Iraq* 4 (1937), 24–26

Psalm 47. 3. *melek gādôl* has the same force as *melek rab* in Ps 48 3 and as in the RŠ text 118 26, it is the Accadian *šarru rabu* **4.** *yadber* from *d-b-r,* 'back,' i e renders supine **5.** For *yibhar* read *yarhîb* **10.** *ki l'-* as in 89 19?

Psalm 48. 3. *y'feh* cf Ar *w-f-y* 'overtop,' this is a play on the name Zion, which is connected by the poet with the root appearing in Ar *s-w-y,* 'tower high ' **5.** For *'ab'rū* read *hab'rū* **10.** For *'elōhîm* read, with Perles, *el-ha-yām* **11.** Read *'ad* for *'al* **15.** Delete *'al mūt,* which is part of the title of the next psalm

Psalm 96.2. For *mi-yôm l'-yôm* read *mi-yām l'-yām* (cf Am 8 12, Zech 9 10, Ps 72 8). **10.** For *tikkôn* read, with Versions, *tikken*

Psalm 97.4. For *rā''ātāh* we read *rāt'tāh,* for note that the parallel in Ps 77.19 has *rāgzāh* **10.** Read *ôheb YHWH śôn'ê rā'.*

Psalm 98.6. Delete *YHWH* as an hypermetrical gloss. **9.** Repeat *kî bā',* as in 96 13

Psalm 68: 3. For M's anomalous *tin'dōf,* read *tinādēfū,* 3rd pl impf N **5.** Del *b'yah,* and for *š'mô* read *šim'[hū],* cf. v. 4. **7.** Del *bay'tāh* as an hypermetrical gloss, note Paseql **9.** *zeh Sinai* arises from an original *z* (= *ḏ*) *Sinai,* "he of Sinai " Delete *'lōhîm,* which crept in from the line below **10.** MT being retained, *w'-nil'āh* must stand for *w'-eres nil'āh,* like *aklt* in III Aq 68 **11.** *bāh* refers to *nah'lāt'ḳā* At the end of the verse, remove *'lōhîm* to v 12 to replace *'dônai* **13.** Delete the second *yiddōdūn,* metri gratia **14.** *tišk'būn* is a wrong vocalization of the archaic 3rd pl **15.** M's *b'fareš Šaddai* is corrupt, cf xliii a, ii, 108. Not impossibly, two verses have been run together, the verb *b'-fāreš* belonging to the first and referring to the spreading of a net for the silver-spangled dove, and the rest belonging to the second The better rendering might then be: "Will ye still lie amid the , O wings of the dove silver-spangled, whose pinions are shimmering gold? Now that He spreads [his net, ye shall surely be trapped therein, vel sim] . . . . kings thereon, etc " **17.** *Lāmmāh* arises from an original *LM* = *lu-ma* (Acc *lûm*), 'verily'; and *t'rass'dūn* is 3rd pl. archaic **18.** I have no suggestion to offer regarding *šin'ān.* At the end of the verse, read *'dônai bā'* mi-Sinai *ba-qôdeš.*

19: *ba-'adam* is a false interpretation of an original *BDM* = *miyyadam*, as in Ugaritic. The words *liš'kôn yah 'lōhîm* are doubtless corrupt. *Yah 'lōhîm* could have arisen from an original *y 'elōhîm*, 'O God,' as in Ugaritic (cf. Arabic *ya*), but I can make nothing of *liš'kôn*. **23.** *Bašan* = Ugar *btn*, Acc. *bašmu*, Arabic *fithn*, Heb. (through Aram.?) *peten*. **24.** For M's *timhas* read *tehmas* For *me-'ôy'bîm* (originally, *M"'BM*) read *m'-'ûdam* (*m"DM*) (*Lašôn* is occasionally masc in Hebrew.) **26.** For M's *b'tôk* read, with most modern scholars, *ba-taw'k* **27.** *mi-m'qôr* is a false interpretation of the original *BMQR* = *b'miqr('ā)ê* **28.** Delete *Binyamin*, which is an incorrect gloss on *ṣā'îr*. For *rōdem* read *y'rad-ma* (rt *r-d-h*) For *śārê* read *šārū* (Reider) Delete *Y'hūdāh* as an incorrect gloss on the corrupt *śārê* Likewise delete *śārê Z'būlūn śārê Naftalî*, which were alternative glosses, based on Judges, ch. 5 *Rigmatam* = 'their utterance, anthem'; cf. Acc *rigmu*, Ugar. *rgm*, 'word' **29.** Read with Vss and many Masoretic MSS: *sawweh 'lôhîm*. **30.** *mē-hêkālêkâ* is a false interpretation of the original *BHKLK* = *b'-hêkālêkâ* **31.** Read. *b'rôsê* (cf || *yĕhpāsū'*) For *bizzar* read *bazzer*? **32.** For *hašmanîm* read *hîš* (The rest is dittography) The emendation of *tārîs* to *'tāras*, on the strength of Acc *tarāsu qatê*, 'stretch out hands,' is inapposite, because what we require is a parallel to *yĕ'tāyú hîš*, and this is provided perfectly by the verb *r-w-ṣ*, 'run'! For *yādâw* read *yādêhā* (incorrect interpretation of the original *YDH*) **35.** For *Yisrăel* read *ha-šāmayîm* (cf. Deut 33 26) **36.** For *mi-miq'dašêkā*, read *b'miqdašô* (LXX), or perhaps even *b'mô q'dôšâw*?

The Ramesseum Dramatic Papyrus

The following is a complete list of the puns, both explicit and implicit, which are employed in the original text in order to reinforce the correspondence between Ritual and Myth; see above, p. 53.

V.	*sp t*	granary, bin	*spi*	remain over
VIII.	*hḏ*	club, mace	*nḏ*	protect
IX.	*it*	grain	*it*	father
X.	*im,*	a fruit tree	*im,*	be pleasant
	bsn	nitre	*ms*	be near
XVIII.	*mnʿ*	fisticuffs	*ʿmw ib*	expunge from the mind
XXII.	*hrś t*	carnelian	*hrś*	carnelian-red
XXIV.	*ś,tb.w*	chains, necklaces	*ḫ,tb*	spare
XXXI.	*w,ḏ w*	green pigments	*wḏ,t*	bright
	mśdm t	black pigment	*dmi*	be pleasing, soothing
XXXIII.	*kni*	corselet	*kni*	embrace
XXXV.	*ifd*	type of fabric	*fdi*	wrench, pluck out
	rś		*rś*	waken, rouse
	[*ś*]*sf*		**Spr*	'Panther,' title of Nephthys

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ABBREVIATIONS

AAA	Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology
AB	The Ugaritic Poem of Baal, according to Virolleaud's numeration of the tablets
ABAW	Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
ABSA	Annual of the British School of Archaeology at Athens
AcOr	Acta Orientalia
AfO	Archiv fur Orientforschung
AHS	Friedrich, J, Aus dem hethitischen Schrifttum. (Der Alte Orient 24/3, 25/2) 2 parts. Leipzig 1925
AlM	Al-Machriq
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AJSL	American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures
AJV	[American Jewish Version.] The Holy Scriptures according to the Masoretic Text. A New Translation. Philadelphia 1917
AKRS	Bauer, Hans. Die alphabetischen Keilschrifttexte von Ras Schamra (Kleine Texte fur Vorlesungen und Übungen, No 168) Berlin 1936
AOr	Archiv Orientální
AP	Anthologia Palatina
APO	Ungnad, A, Aramaische Papyrus aus Elephantine. Leipzig 1911
Aq	The Ugaritic Poem of Aqhat
AR	Breasted, J. H., Ancient Records of Egypt. 5 vols Chicago 1906
ARAB	Luckenbill, D D, Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia 2 vols. Chicago 1926–27
ARW	Archiv fur Religionswissenschaft
ASGW	Abhandlungen der Sachsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Phil-hist. Klasse
BA	Beitrage zur Assyriologie
Baal	The Ugaritic Poem of Baal
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BCH	Bulletin de correspondance hellénique
BD	The Egyptian Book of the Dead
BH	The Ugaritic Poem of the Harrowing of Baal [= Gordon, 75]
BJPES	Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society
BM	British Museum
BO	Bibliotheca Orientalis
BoSt	Boghazkoi-Studien. Leipzig 1917–24
BSGW	Berichte uber die Verhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Klasse der konigl Sachsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften
CGF	Fragmenta Comicorum Graecorum, ed A Meineke. 4 vols Berlin 1839–41
CIA	Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum
CIH	Corpus Inscriptionum Himjariticarum = CIS IV
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum
CIS	Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum
CJ	Classical Journal
CQ	Classical Quarterly
CR	Classical Review
CRAIBL	Comptes Rendus, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, Paris
CSCP	Cornell Studies in Classical Philology
CT	Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc. in the British Museum
DS	The Ugaritic Poem of Dawn and Sunset
DT	Tablets of the *Daily Telegraph* Collection in the British Museum
EA	Die El-Amarna Tafeln, ed J A Knudzton. Leipzig 1915

EBi	Encyclopaedia Biblica. 4 vols. London 1889–1903
EE	*Enuma Eliš*
EG	Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus collecta, ed. G Kaibel Berlin 1878
EJ	Nebuchadnezzar, East India House Inscription
EM	Etymologicon Magnum
ERE	Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics
ET	The Expository Times
EV	English Version (AV, RV) of the Bible
FHG	Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum, ed K Muller Paris 1868–83
FL	Folk-Lore
GB	Frazer, J G , The Golden Bough. Third edition. 12 vols. New York 1935
GGA	Gottingische gelehrte Anzeigen
HTBM	Hittite Texts in the Cuneiform Character from Tablets in the British Museum London 1920
HTR	Harvard Theological Review
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual Cincinnati
ICC	International Critical Commentary
ILN	The Illustrated London News
IQF	Indo-iranische Quellen und Forschungen
ISA	Thureau-Dangin, F , Die Sumerischen und Akkadischen Konigsinschriften. (Vorderasiatische Bibliothek, I, 1). Leipzig 1907
JA	Journal asiatique
JAI	Journal of the [Royal] Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature and Exegesis
JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology
JEOB	Journal of Egyptian and Oriental Bibliography
JEOL	Journal of Egyptian and Oriental Literature
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
JMEOS	Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JPOS	Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society
JQR	The Jewish Quarterly Review
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland
JSOR	Journal of the Society for Oriental Research
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies
JTVI	Journal of Transactions of the Victoria Institute [London]
KARI	Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiosen Inhalts, ed E. Ebeling Leipzig 1919–
KAT	Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament. Third ed Ed. H. Zimmern and H. Winckler. Berlin 1903
KAVI	Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts, ed. O Schroeder. Leipzig 1920
KB	Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek, ed. E. Schrader. 6 vols. Berlin 1889–1915
KBo	Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazkoi
KIF	Kleinasiatische Forschungen
KUB	Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazkoi
LXX	Septuagint (Greek) Version of the Old Testament
MDOG	Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orientalischen Gesellschaft
MGWJ	Monatsschrift fur Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums
MI	Thompson, Stith, Motif-Index to Folk Literature (FF Communications, 106–09, 116–17; Indiana University Studies, 106–12) 6 vols. Helsinki-Bloomington 1932–36.
MNB	Monuments de Ninive et de Babylone, Louvre

MR	Midrash Rabbâ
MT (or M)	Masoretic Text
MVAG	Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft
NH	Neo-Hebrew
NTT	Nieuw Theologisch Tijdschrift
OECT	Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts, ed S. Langdon
OIC	Oriental Institute Communications, Chicago
OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung
OT	Old Testament
PBS	Publications of the Babylonian Section of the University Museum, Philadelphia
PEFQS	Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund
PEQ	Palestine Exploration Quarterly
PQ	The Philological Quarterly
PRK	P°siqtâ d° Rab Kahana, ed S Buber Lyck 1868
PS	Proto-Semitic
PSBA	Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology
PW	Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, Realencyclopadie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft
I, II, III, IV, V R	Rawlinson H C , The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia London 1861–64
RA	Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale
Ram	The Ramesseum Dramatic Papyrus
RB	Revue biblique
RC	Revue celtique
RÉJ	Revue des études juives
RÉS	Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique Paris 1900–
RG	Revue des études grecques
RHA	Revue hittite et asianique
RHR	Revue de l'histoire des religions
RIA²	Reallexicon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde Second ed. Leipzig 1929
RR	Review of Religion
RŠ	Ras Shamra text
RSR	Recherches de science religieuse
RV	Revised Version of the Bible
SAJC	South African Journal of Science
SBAW	Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist Klasse
SBE	Sacred Books of the East
SMSR	Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni
SPAW	Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil -hist Klasse
SRT	Sumerian Religious Texts, ed E Chiera Crozer Theological Seminary, Upland, Pa., 1929
TAPS	Transactions of the American Philosophical Society
TB	Babylonian Talmud
TC	Textes cappadociennes Musée du Louvre 3 vols. Paris 1920–37
TJ	Jerusalemitan Talmud
TSBA	Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology
TT	Theologisch Tijdschrift
UH	Gordon, C. H , Ugaritic Handbook Rome 1947
UISLL	University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature
UJE	The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia
UT	Ginsberg, H. L., Ugarit Texts Jerusalem 1936 (Hebrew)
VAB	Vorderasiatische Bibliothek, ed H Winckler and A Jeremias

VAT	Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Vorderasiatische Abtheilung Tontafeln
WAI, IV	see IV, R
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete
ZÄS	Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZE	Zeitschrift für Ethnologie
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
ZKM	Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgenlandes
ZNTW	Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft

CORRIGENDA

P 29, line 2 *for* Samhein *read* Samhain
P 61, line 3 *for* redated *read* redacted
P 91, line 3 *for* there *read* therefore
P 125, n 28 *for* samradh *and* geimredh *read* samhradh *and* geimhredh
P 142, n 9
P 153, line 14 of Comm
P. 156, line 20 of Comm } *for* Kanda *read* Khanda
P 170, line 12 of Comm *for* Uttakuru *read* Uttarakuru
P 185, line 10 of Comm *for* m-h-r *read* *m-ḫ-r
line 13 of Comm *for* Wilamowitz-Moellendorf *read* Wilamowitz-Moellendorff
P 190, line 7 of Comm *for* Mirror of Magistrates *read* Mirror for Magistrates
P 191, line 15 of Comm *for* Anatongas *read* Amatongas
P 267, line 38 *for* Jesse *read* Jessie
P 268, 'Rearrangement' *for* II Aq iv *read* II Aq ii