# THE SEASONAL PATTERN IN THE LEGEND OF AQHATU

### Johannes C. de Moor

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Among the many topics Oswald Loretz has studied in the course of his fruitful career are the striking parallels between the Ugaritic Legend of Aqhatu and the Seasonal Myth of Ba<sup>C</sup>lu<sup>1</sup>. Doubtlessly these parallels can be explained in part by the circumstance that the author of the two literary works was the same: Ilimilku the Shubanite, high priest of Ugarit<sup>2</sup>.

However, also the Legend of Kirtu was written by Ilimilku<sup>3</sup> and yet in this case the number of correspondencies with the Myth of Ba<sup>C</sup>lu is significantly lower<sup>4</sup>. Therefore it is possible that Ilimilku included these references to the Seasonal Myth into the Legend of Aqhatu with some special purpose.

In the following pages the present writer hopes to demonstrate that this is exactly what Ilimilku did. He deliberately wove a seasonal pattern into the Legend of Aqhatu out of his conviction that life on earth revolves according to a circular pattern that had been laid down by events in the pristine age of myth<sup>5</sup>.

It is a pleasure to dedicate this contribution to my friend Oswald Loretz who, with Manfried Dietrich, has furthered Ugaritic studies more than any other colleague by his highly original publications and many stimulating initiatives. It is a small tribute to the man who accepted my <code>Seasonal Pattern6</code> for publication nearly two decades ago and whom I admire for his ability to keep faith in the recurrence of spring when winter seemed endless.

### 2. THE CONCEPTION OF ACHATU

The Legend of Aqhatu starts with an episode describing how king 7 Dani'ilu serves

the gods oblations<sup>8</sup> for seven consecutive days. Awaiting a divine response he lies down in sack-cloth<sup>9</sup> to indicate his sorry state. It appears he desperately wants a son. Through the intervention of his personal patron Ba<sup>C</sup>lu the head of the Ugaritic pantheon Ilu eventually promises him the boy (KTU1.17:I.34ff.).

As a sure sign of the impending conception the Kathiratu, goddesses overseeing matrimonial happiness, arrive in the house of Dani'ilu:

KTU 1.17:II.26-27

<sup>c</sup>rb.bbth.k<u>t</u>rt. The Kathiratu entered his house,

bnt hll.snnt. the daughters of Hilalu, the swallows.

So the Kathiratu took the form of swallows (snnt). Dani'ilu feeds the birds during the seven days when conception was assumed to take place (KTU 1.17:II.27ff.). On the seventh day the Kathiratu depart from his house (KTU 1.17:II.39f.).

Is it possible to fix the date of the conception of Aqhatu? The Swallow, or rather, the Swift (Apus Apus)<sup>10</sup>, is a migratory bird arriving in Syria and Palestine in April and departing in October or November. Swallows and swifts often seek the proximity of man and were feeded in Antiquity<sup>11</sup>.

The Canaanite New Year Festival started about the time of the autumnal equinox (September 23 according to the solar year) and lasted for seven days<sup>12</sup>. It seems likely now that Dani'ilu was sacrificing to the gods during the seven days of this particular festival. In describing the conception of Aqhatu Ilu uses almost the same words that were used in connection with the sacred marriage rites on the New Year Festival<sup>13</sup>. Significantly, it was the task of the king to play the role of Ilu in the sacred marriage rite. Therefore it is hardly accidental that Dani'ilu was pondering his success as a progenitor during the seven days of the New Year Festival.

We know that in Israel the autumnal festival was still connected with fertility. According to 1 Sam. 1-2 Hannah, and also Elkanah (1 Sam. 2:20), prayed for a son year after year on this particular occasion. And just like Dani'ilu's wife Danatiya, Hannah became pregnant shortly after the festival, around the time of the equinox (1 Sam. 1:20). According to Jewish tradition the seemingly barren women Sarah, Rachel and Hannah conceived on New Year<sup>14</sup>.

So it would seem that the seven days following the seven-day New Year were the time when Dani'ilu begot his son, i.e. roughly about the beginning of October, the time when the Swift begins to disappear. If Ilimilku wanted to found his narrative on a seasonal basis, it was natural for him to start with a New Year.

## 3. BIRTH AND YOUTH OF AQHATU

Unfortunately the columns III and IV of the first tablet of the Legend of Aqhatu have been destroyed entirely. In all 150-160 lines are missing. Probably they contained an elaborate account of the birth, naming, blessing and early youth of the boy. We only know that he was born in the tenth month<sup>15</sup> after his conception, i.e. in the summer of year I. Because in columns V and VI Aqhatu is a young man already, able to handle a powerful composite bow, it may be assumed that at least two decades were covered in a relatively low number of lines. Similar jumps are attested in other works of Ilimilku and invariably the period he skips in such cases is a round number of seven years <sup>16</sup>. Perhaps he counted three such periods between the birth and adolescence of Aqhatu.

### 4. THE BOW

When the tablet KTU 1.17 becomes readable again in column V, it is related how one day Kotharu, the technician among the gods, comes along and is regaled by Dani-'ilu and his wife. As a token of gratitude the god makes him a present of a wonderful composite bow. Dani'ilu names and blesses the bow in favour of his son Aqhatu (KTU 1.17:V.34ff.)<sup>17</sup>.

According to KTU 1.17:V.3f. Kotharu arrives "on the seventh day" of some unknown occasion. This suggests a situation not unlike the one we found at the beginning of the story. Between column V and column VI of KTU 1.17 only 20 lines are missing 18. In column VI the gods are dining with Aqhatu and (presumably) Dani'ilu. It would seem, therefore, that Kotharu's visit to Dani'ilu was not accidental, but was expected as normal in the course of some sacrificial feast at which other gods had also been invited. Is it possible to pinpoint the date of this seven-day festival?

The terms used to describe the entertaining of Kotharu strongly evoke passages

of KTU 1.3:I. The three verbs  $S'D^{19}$ ,  $LHM^{20}$ , and  $SQY^{21}$  occur in this combination only in these two passages. Furthermore, the description of the banquet of the gods in KTU 1.17:VI.3-8 closely resembles KTU 1.5:IV.12ff., but it is also close to KTU 1.3:I<sup>22</sup>. Finally it has long been noted that <sup>C</sup>Anatu is referring to KTU 1.3:I in KTU 1.17:VI.30-32.

Since KTU 1.3 must be regarded as the mythological prototype of the autumnal New Year Festival when Ba<sup>C</sup>lu's return from the Nether World was celebrated<sup>23</sup>, it is not unwarranted to suppose that the seven-day festival we are looking for is the New Year again. In that connection <sup>C</sup>Anatu's hints at revivification<sup>24</sup> and the counting of years<sup>25</sup> become fully understandable.

Moreover, when Dani'ilu is inviting the gods to the banquet, he is probably using the very same words that were used in an Ugaritic liturgy for the New Year Festival  $^{26}$ : KTU 1.23:6

lhm.blhm.'ay "Eat of any bread,
w\u00e4ty.bhmr yn 'ay and drink of any foaming wine!"

after which KTU 1.17:VI.2f. may be reconstructed:

KTU 1.17:VI.2f.

[lhm.bl]hm.['ay] [wšty.bhmr.yn].'ay.

The "foaming wine" (hmr) is the new wine prepared in the course of the New Year Festival<sup>27</sup>.

The intentional nature of the parallels between KTU1.17:VI and KTU1.3 is corroborated by what follows. Compare KTU 1.17:VI.42f. to KTU 1.3:IV.54f., KTU1. 17:VI.46-51 to KTU 1.3:V.5-8, KTU1.18:I.7-12 to KTU 1.3:V.19-25, and finally KTU 1.3:V.27f. to KTU 1.18:I.16f. We are forced to conclude that Ilimilku wanted to link this episode of the Legend of Aqhatu to the part of the Myth of Ba<sup>C</sup>lu corresponding to autumn (KTU1.3), starting with the New Year Festival. So after an unknown number of years the story of Aqhatu and Dani'ilu has returned to its point of departure.

# 5. CANATU'S PROPOSAL

Unfortunately the passage describing <sup>C</sup>Anatu's ultimate offer which Aqhatu was unable to resist is broken. Probably her words should be understood as a formal proposal of marriage<sup>28</sup>. The "seven organizers" ( $\S b^{\circ} \not t$ ) irk) Aqhatu has to bring with him are the groom's trusted friends who according to the age-old Oriental custom help him to arrange the wedding party at the bride's home. For obvious reasons <sup>C</sup>Anatu cannot allow this to happen at the house of her father Ilu. Therefore she pretends to have eloped:

```
KTU 1.18:I.25-27

l[tqrbn lbt.]'aby "[They should] not [come near the house of] my father!

ndt.'ank[.l'aby] I have fled [from my father],

[ytbt.b'ab]lm [I am living in Abi]luma."
```

With regard to the seasonal pattern <sup>C</sup>Anatu's proposal is interesting because in KTU 1.3 <sup>C</sup>Anatu makes herself up repeatedly and sings love-songs (KTU 1.3:I.1-3; III.1-6; IV.45f.). Among present-day Arab peasants autumn is regarded as the ideal time for weddings and love-songs are heard almost daily then<sup>29</sup>.

Between the preserved parts of KTU1.18:I and KTU 1.18:IV a very large portion of text is lost. The total number of missing lines may be estimated at 173. As we shall see presently, Ilimilku wanted to correlate Aqhatu's death with late spring, the time of the year reflecting the death of the young rain-god Ba<sup>C</sup>lu. Therefore it may be assumed that he used the intervening part of his story to describe the activities of the pair during the winter. Did they build a home together, as Ba<sup>C</sup>lu and CAnatu did according to KTU 1.3 and 1.1? We can only guess. What we do know, however, is that Anatu urges Aqhatu to go out hunting together: lk.tlk.bsd "Come! You should come to hunt!"(KTU 1.18:I.27), and lloon almdk.s[d] "I shall teach you how to hunt!" (KTU1.18:I.29). Being a great huntress herself<sup>30</sup>, CAnatu is understandably eager to test the properties of Aqhatu's magical bow.

The best time to go out hunting was the winter, when ploughing and sowing had been finished. This is attested both by comparatively recent sources<sup>31</sup> and by the ancient texts themselves<sup>32</sup>. In the part of the Myth of Ba<sup>C</sup>lu corresponding to the

winter,  $Ba^{C}$ lu seems to catch and/or prepare a young deer (hmk) on his mountain Sapanu. He carves a haunch (nšb) or a leg ('išqb) of a doe  $('aylt)^{3}$ . Later on he defeats the monstrous Yammu with a magical weapon furnished by the same Kotharu who had provided Aqhatu with the magical bow (KTU 1.2:IV). So it would seem not unreasonable to suppose that the missing columns II and III of KTU 1.18 continued to follow the pattern of the Myth of  $Ba^{C}$ lu.

### 6. THE MURDER OF AQHATU

Already the very first broken words at the beginning of column IV seem to contain an ominous reference to the episode of the Myth of Ba<sup>C</sup>lu relating the latter's death: KTU 1.18:IV.3

[]'utm.dr[qm] []red lumps of two spans

which may be compared to

KTU 1.5:I.5-8

'ank.' isp'i.' utm drqm "I, however, will eat (you) in red lumps of two spans,

 $\emph{'amtm.l yrt}$  you will go down in two cubit chunks

bnpš.bn.'iim.mt. into the throat of Motu, son of Ilu,

bmhmrt.ydd.'il.gzr into the gullet of the Beloved of Ilu, the hero!"

Next we learn how Aqhatu was murdered by a flock of birds of prey (nšrm) during the wedding dinner. Among the birds are d'iym, a species identified as the Black Kite, Milvus migrans 34. This bird was formerly seen in Palestine from March to late in autumn, so this fixes the time of the murder of Aqhatu in a relative way - Winter appears to be definitively excluded.

Some passages from the first two columns of the next tablet help us to establish a more exact date. In KTU 1.19:I.16-19  $^{\rm C}$ Anatu complains:

wbmt[h.]hms.srr "And through [his]death the young ear of corn is parched,
pr°.qz.yh the first of the summer-fruit droops³5,

8blt bálph the ear in its sheath."

The agricultural terminology employed in this part of the text is of a rather technical nature. The verb HMS is not related to Arabic HMD "to be acid", but to

Arabic HMS "to be roasted, dry up"<sup>36</sup>. The noun srr, if read correctly, should be connected with Arabic sarar "ears of corn while the farina has not come forth into them", or "corn when the leaves become twisted, and the extremity of the ears becomes dry or tough, though the farina have not come forth into them"<sup>37</sup>. Of course this is an excellent parallel to the underdeveloped šblt bģlph. Apparently the death of prince Aqhatu is causing an untimely drought, just as the mortal illness of Kirtu causes nature to suffer (KTU1.16:III). The ears of grain are in danger of shriveling up before they are ripe and the summer-fruit that only just has started to develop already droops.

The only time of the year when this is possible in Syria is late spring, when the sirocco, an extremely dry and hot desert wind, threatens to destroy the future crops<sup>38</sup>. The sirocco was a sure sign of death in Ugarit. In the Seasonal Myth of Ba<sup>C</sup>lu the rain-god's abject surrender to the god of death is rationalized as an act of concern for the crops:

KTU 1.5:II.5-7

k hrr.zt Because he (Motu) was scorching<sup>39</sup> the olives ybl.'ars the produce of the earth wpr sm and the fruit of the trees, yra''un.'al'iyn.b'l Ba'lu the Almighty feared him,  $tt^2.nn.rkb.^crpt$  the Rider on the Clouds dreaded him.

On several grounds it is certain that this episode of the Myth of Ba<sup>C</sup>lu has to be dated in spring<sup>\* 0</sup>. And just as two messengers come to Ilu, who is sitting on the threshing-floor or a corn-field<sup>\* 1</sup>, so two messengers come to Dani'ilu, who is sitting on the threshing-floor or a corn-field, to announce Adhatu's death (KTU 1.19:I.11f., II.26-44). And just as hovering flocks of birds are a sign of the impending death of Ba<sup>C</sup>lu (KTU 1.4:VII.56f., as restored after KTU 1.8), so hovering birds of prey are a sign of Adhatu's death (KTU 1.19:I.32f., II.56-III.39).

The date we found for the murder of Aqhatu is confirmed by several other passages. Pughatu observes:

```
KTU 1.19:I.29-31

[\mathfrak{F}^{\mathcal{C}}_{rm}] bgrm.yhrb. [the barley] on the threshing-floor was drying up,

[---] ygly. [---] wilted,

yhsp.'ib [.] k[rmm] the blossom of vi[neyards] drooped
```

Even if the restoration of "barley" and "vineyards" is hypothetical, the word "blossom" is not. Again it points to spring, as does the circumstance that the grain is still ripening on the fields according to KTU 1.19:II.13-25.

So Aqhatu died in spring, just like his father's patron Ba<sup>C</sup>lu. Ilimilkuwanted this correspondence to be noted for he makes Dani'ilu cry out:

```
KTU 1.19:I.40-46
rpt tmtr.bqz.
                         "Let the clouds pour rain on the summer fruit,
tl.ytll lánbm.
                          let dew fall on the grapes!
šb°. šnt ysrk. b°l
                         Would Ba lu fail for seven years?
tmn.rkb crpt.
                          For eight the Rider on the Clouds?
bl.tl.
                         Without dew,
bl rbb
                         without drizzle,
bl &r . thoutm.
                         without surging of the two Floods,
bl tbn.ql.b°l.
                         without the delight of Ba Lu's voice?"
```

This is an explicit allusion to the Seasonal Myth according to which Ba<sup>C</sup>lu was confined to the Nether World for seven consecutive years (KTU 1.6:V.8f.). During that period the soil became hard and cracked as a result of the severe drought (KTU 1.6:IV.1-5; IV.12-15, cf. 1.19:II.12ff.). Apparently Dani'ilu fears that the catastrophe described in the myth will repeat itself in the present.

Finally the sorry remains of Aqhatu are found, bewailed and buried in a "grave of the earth gods" (KTU 1.19:III.5f., 20f., 34f., 40f.), exactly like Ba<sup>C</sup>lu's corpse (KTU 1.6:I.16f.).

### 7. THE PERIOD OF MOURNING

The passage KTU 1.19: IV.8-11 is composed in apparent contrast to KTU 1.17: II.24-27. Instead of the joyful goddesses overseeing the conception of Aqhatu, professional mourners enter the palace of Dani'ilu to bewail him. However, where-

as the former stayed for only seven days, the latter will remain for seven years. Because normally a period of mourning lasted only seven days<sup>42</sup>, Ilimilku's deeply pessimistic message is clear enough: it is the tragic fate of man that his days of sorrow easily outnumber his days of happiness (cf. Ps.90:15). At the same time the prolonged period of mourning serves to emphasize the parallelism with the Myth of Ba<sup>C</sup>lu. The latter stayed away for seven years (KTU 1.6:V.8f.).

# 8. AQHATU'S RESURRECTION

According to the ancestor cult of Ugarit members of a royal family became star-gods after their death "3. As "saviour-spirits" (rp'um) they were supposed to rise with Ba<sup>C</sup>lu from the Nether World on the New Year Festival "4".

So when after seven years Dani'ilu sacrifices to "the celestial beings" (called \$mym) 45 and "those-of-the-stars" (dkbkbm), this may be interpreted as a first sacrifice to the spirit of his deified son (KTU 1.19:IV.22-25, cf. IV.29-31). This hypothesis finds some support in the broken lines immediately following the description of the sacrifice:

KTU 1.19:IV.25f.

c l[h] yd [.] He praised [his] child, [dn'il] clh.yd [Dani'ilu] praised his child.

The occasion is probably the New Year Festival again, an appropriate date for a fresh start. The type of incense Dani'ilu is burning happens to be of a type used for the rites of the New Year (cf.KTU 1.23:15). It reminds us of Dani'ilu's hope, expressed on the first New Year described in this legend, that after his own death he would have a son who would make his smoke rise from the earth (KTU 1.17:I.27f.par.)<sup>46</sup>. Now it is the father who has to perform the ancestral rites for his son - an absurd and tragical situation.

Next to this passage Ilimilku wrote a marginal note: "The recitation of this (passage) should be repeated". Probably he meant to instruct the reciting priest to extend the sacrifices of Dani'ilu over a period of seven days. In this way the intended connection with the beginning of the legend would be even more explicit.

Having praised his son Dani'ilu admits cymbal-players and anointed dancers into his palace (KTU 1.19:IV.26f.). In KTU 1.108, a hymn for the New Year Festival, it is the spirit of the founder of the dynasty of Ugarit who is playing the cymbals among the anointed dancers. It would seem that Dani'ilu is conjuring the spirits here in connection with the New Year Festival, as has been noted by Dijkstra<sup>47</sup>.

A further confirmation of the date comes from Pughatu's reaction. Seeing her father perform the rites she asks him to allow her to avenge her brother. In asking his blessing she uses almost the exact words with which Dani'ilu had been blessed long ago on the first New Year - how utterly painful!

KTU 1.19: IV.32f.

ybrk [dn'i] l.mt.rp'i He (Ilu) blessed Dani'ilu, the Saviour's man, ymr.gzr [mt.h]rnmy he fortified the hero, the Harnamite man

The allusion was certainly not lost to Dani'ilu, as appears from the wording of his blessing:

```
KTU 1.19:IV.36-39
```

```
npš.th[.] pg[t] tkmt.mym.

"(By) my soul! May Pughatu, who carries water on her shoulder, live!

hspt.ls r tl.

She who scoops up dew from the wool,

yd t.hlk.kbkbm

who knows the course of the stars,

arh.hy.mh.

may she travel smoothly!" **
```

This doubtlessly echoes Ilu's blessing in

```
KTU 1.17:I.36-38

np*.yh.dn'il [mt.rp]'i "(By) my soul! May Dani'ilu, the Saviour's man, live!

brlt.gzr.mt hrmmy (By) my life! May the hero, the Harnamite man, (live)!

['ar]h.hw.mh. [May he tr]avel smoothly!"
```

It may be recalled here that this is the third time Ilimilku draws a parallel between Ilu and Dani'ilu (see sections 2 and 6). Just as the vicissitudes of Aqhatu dimly mirror those of Ba<sup>C</sup>lu, so Dani'ilu is a faint image of Ilu.

Further proof of the connection of this episode of the Legend of Aqhatu with the New Year Festival comes from KTU 1.19:IV.41-51. Here Pughatu disguises herself exactly like Anatu in KTU 1.3:II, making herself red with the purple-snail 9. Indeed she is mistaken for Anatu 50, so we may assume that she succeeded in killing the soldier (mhr) Yattupanu, the murderer of her brother. In KTU 1.3:II it is Anatu who makes a massacre of soldiers (mhrm). We know with absolute certainty that in reality this was a sham combat enacted every New Year 1. At the end of the battle the girl impersonating Anatu performed the rite of the Rain Bride, sprinkling herself with 'dew from the stars' (KTU 1.3:II.38-41), an act which would seem to lend special significance to Pughatu's standard epithets (KTU 1.19:IV.37-39 par.).

In the three fragments belonging to the fourth tablet of the Legend of Aqhatu, we are led back to Dani'ilu<sup>52</sup> who is still cajoling the saviour-spirits (rp'um) to celebrate the New Year Festival with him. The spirits take the form of flocks of birds<sup>53</sup>. Just as Ba<sup>C</sup>lu's descent into the Nether World was marked by the vernal migration of birds, so his return coincided with the appearance of flocks of departing birds. During the festival the spirits are regaled with the first of the summer-fruit, new wine, oxen, calves and lambkins<sup>54</sup>.

Dani'ilu is coldly comforted with the promise that he will be allowed to kiss his boy once again, be it as a spirit (KTU 1.22:I[IV].4). On the seventh and very last day of the festival Ba<sup>C</sup>lu concerns himself in the fate of Dani'ilu: KTU 1.22:I[IV].25-29

mk bšb° [ymm.] Then, on the seventh [day],

[wyl]k.'al'iyn.b°l Ba°lu the Almighty [cam]e,

[yqrb.bhn]t.r°h[.] [he approached] his friend [with merc]y:

'abyn. [dn'il.mt.rp'i.] "[Is Dani'ilu, the Saviour's man,] miserable?

s° [q.ázr mt.hrnmy] [Is the hero, the Harnamite man, c]rying?"

With umbelievable cruelty the story-teller returns to his point of departure: KTU 1.17:I.15-18

mk.bšb <sup>c</sup> .ymm	Then, on the seventh day,
$[w]$ $yqrb.b^cl.bhnth.$	Ba <sup>C</sup> lu drew near in his mercy:
'abynm [d]n'il.mt.rp'i	"Is Dani'ilu, the Saviour's man, miserable?
'anh.gzr mt.hrnmy	Is the hero, the Harnamite man, sighing?"

It is as if nothing at all has happened. "What has been is what will be, and what has been done is what will be done" (Eccl.1:9) - to this kind of pessimistic wisdom Ilimilku must have felt great affinity.

### 9. CONCLUSIONS

The results of this investigation can be summarized as follows:

- 1. The number of close parallels between the Myth of Ba<sup>C</sup>lu and the Legend of Aqhatu is too high to be ignored as a key to the understanding of the two poems.
- 2. Ilimilku must have composed the Legend of Aqhatu after he had completed the tablets of the Myth of Ba $^{C}$ lu.
- 3. Ilimilku appears to have followed the seasonal pattern underlying the Myth of Ba<sup>C</sup>lu fairly consistently in the Legend of Aqhatu. Our findings may be summarized as follows:

TABLETS	YEARS	SEASONS
1.17:I.1-II.25	I	Autumnal New Year (Sept.)
1.17:II.26-46	I	Beginning of October
1.17:II-III	I	Birth of Aqhatu in Summer
(1.17:II-IV	I-XX ?	Early youth of Aqhatu)
1.17:V-VI	XXI ?	Autumnal New Year (Sept.)
1.18:I	XXI ?	Autumn
1.18:II-III	XXI ?	Winter
1.18: IV-1.19: IV.9	XXI ?	Late Spring
(1.19:IV.10-17	XXI-XXVII ?	Seven years of mourning)
1.19: IV.18-1.22	XXVIII ?	Autumnal New Year (Sept.)

- 4. Three times Ilimilku starts a new episode with a New Year. This festival must have been the most important festival of the Canaanites of Ugarit.
- 5. Because the Legend of Aqhatu contains allusions to both KTU 1.3 and KTU 1.
- 4-6, whereas allusions to KTU 1.1 and 1.2 may have been contained in the lost columns of KTU 1.18 (see section 5), this is an argument in favour of considering KTU 1.1-6 as belonging to one and the same series. The order in which the allusions occur suggests that these tablets were read in the order KTU 1.3 1.1  $1.2 1.4 1.5 1.6^{55}$ .
- 6. The cyclic principle of the ever recurring seasons was made a cornerstone of Ugaritic religion in the Myth of Ba<sup>C</sup>lu. The Legend of Aqhatu shows how this worked out for man. It is his tragic fate that he always seems to end where he began<sup>56</sup>.

#### REFERENCES

- [A. Barthélemy 1969] A. Barthélemy, Dictionnaire Arabe-Français. Dialectes de Syrie: Alep, Damas, Liban, Paris 1969.
- [R. Blachère et al., 1967-] R.Blachère-C.Pellat-M.Chouémi-C.Denizeau, Diction-naire Arabe-Français-Anglais, vol.I-, Paris 1967-.
- [F.S.Bodenheimer 1960] F.S.Bodenheimer, Animal and Man in Bible Lands, Leiden 1960.
- [J.F.Borghouts 1986] J.F.Borghouts, Nieuwjaar in het Oude Egypte, Leiden 1986.
- [C.Denizeau 1960] C.Denizeau, Dictionnaire des parlers arabes de Syrie, Liban et Palestine, Paris 1960.
- [M.Dijkstra 1979] M.Dijkstra, Some Reflections on the Legend of Aqhat: UF, 11 (1979), 199-210.
- [M.Dijkstra et al., 1975] M.Dijkstra-J.C. de Moor, Problematical Passages in the Legend of Aqhâtu: UF, 7 (1975), 171-215.
- [R.Dozy 1927] R.Dozy, Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes, vol.2, Paris 1927<sup>2</sup>.
- [G.R.Driver 1955a] G.R.Driver, Birds in the Old Testament I: PEQ, 87 (1955), 5-20.
- [G.R.Driver 1955b] G.R.Driver, Birds in the Old Testament II: PEQ, 87 (1955), 129-40.
- [L.L.Grabbe 1976] L.L.Grabbe, The Seasonal Pattern and the 'Baal Cycle': UF, 8 (1976), 57-63.

- [L.L.Grabbe 1982] L.L.Grabbe, Ugaritic TLT and Plowing: On the Proper Cultivation of Semitic Etymologies: UF, 14 (1982), 89-92.
- [H.Granqvist 1935] H.Granqvist, Marriage Conditions in a Palestinian Village, vol.2, Helsingfors 1935.
- [O.R.Gurney 1977] O.R.Gurney, Some Aspects of Hittite Religion, Oxford 1977.
- [V.Haas 1976] V.Haas, Die Unterwelts- und Jenseitsvorstellungen im hethitischen Kleinasien: OrNS, 45 (1976), 197-212.
- [G.Jacob 1897] G.Jacob, Altarabisches Beduinenleben, Berlin 1897.
- [A.Jaussen 1907] A.Jaussen, Coutumes des Arabes au Pays de Moab, Paris 1907.
- [D.Kinet 1981] D.Kinet, Ugarit Geschichte und Kultur einer Stadt in der Umwelt des Alten Testamentes (SBS, 104), Stuttgart 1981.
- [L.Koehler 1945] L.Koehler, Kleine Lichter, Zürich 1945.
- [L.Koehler 1956] L.Koehler, Problems in the Study of the Language of the Old Testament: JSS, 1 (1956), 3-24.
- [E.W.Lane 1872] E.W.Lane, An Arabic-English Lexicon, London 1872.
- [S.E.Loewenstamm 1980] S.E.Loewenstamm, Comparative Studies in Biblical and Ancient Oriental Literatures (AOAT, 204), Neukirchen-Vluyn 1980.
- [O.Loretz et al., 1977] M.Dietrich-O.Loretz, ans(t) und (m)ins(t) im Ugariti-schen: UF, 9 (1977), 47-50.
- [O.Loretz et al., 1986] M.Dietrich-O.Loretz, 'Wasser- und Tauschöpfen' als Bezeichnung für Regenmagie: UF, 17 (1986), 95-98.
- [P.van der Lugt et al., 1974] P. van der Lugt-J.C. de Moor, The Spectre of Pan-Ugaritism: BO, 31 (1974), 3-26.
- [B.Margalit 1986] B.Margalit, The Ugaritic Poem of AQHT: Analysis and Interpretation (SBL 1986 Seminar Papers), Missoula 1986, 246-61.
- [J.C. de Moor 1968] J.C. de Moor, Murices in Ugaritic Mythology: OrNS, 37 (1968), 212-15.
- [J.C. de Moor 1971] J.C. de Moor, The Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Ba lu According to the Version of Ilimilku (AOAT, 16), Neukirchen-Vluyn 1971.
- [J.C. de Moor 1972] J.C. de Moor, New Year with Canaanites and Israelites (Kamper Cahiers, 21-22), 2 vols., Kampen 1972.
- [J.C. de Moor 1986a] J.C. de Moor, The Crisis of Polytheism in Late Bronze Ugarit: Oudtestamentische Studiën, 24 (1986), 1-20.
- [J.C. de Moor 1986b] J.C. de Moor, Athtartu the Huntress (KTU 1.92): UF, 17 (1986), 225-30.

- [J.C. de Moor 1986c] J.C. de Moor, The Ancestral Cult in KTU 1.17 I 26-28: UF, 17 (1986), 407-409.
- [J.C. de Moor 1987] J.C. de Moor, An Anthology of Religious Texts from Ugarit, Leiden 1987.
- [H.Otten 1957-1971] H.Otten, Götterreisen, B: R1A, 3, 1957-71, 483.
- [A.Parmelee 1959] A.Parmelee, All the Birds of the Bible, New York 1959.
- [R.A.Rosenberg 1972] R.A.Rosenberg, The 'Star of the Messiah' Reconsidered: Bibl, 53 (1972), 105-109.
- [J.Siegelová 1971] J.Siegelová, Appu-Märchen und Hedammu-Mythus (StBoT, 14), Wiesbaden 1971.
- [K.Spronk 1986] K.Spronk, Beatific Afterlife in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East (AOAT, 219), Neukirchen-Vluyn 1986.
- [H.B.Tristram 1875] H.B.Tristram, The Natural History of the Bible, London 1875.
- [H.B.Tristram 1884] H.B.Tristram, The Fauna and Flora of Palestine, London 1884.
- 1) [O.Loretz et al., 1977]; [O.Loretz et al., 1986]. See also [B.Margalit 1986] 255: "AQHT has strong literary and thematic affinities with [KTU 1.3]. The connection is most evident in 1.3:III, where the near-verbatim correspondence with lines at the conclusion of Aqht (1.19:IV.40-3) underscores the fact that Pughat is disguising herself as Anat".
- 2) Edge of KTU 1.4; KTU 1.6:VI.54-58; edge of KTU 1.17. The handwriting of KTU 1.1-1.6 and 1.17-1.22 is practically identical.
- 3) Edge of KTU 1.16 and identical handwriting of KTU 1.14-1.16.
- 4) Next to a number of standard phrases one might mention KTU 1.16:VI.54-58 // 1.2:I.6-9.
- 5) For an attempt to evaluate Ilimilku's theology see [J.C. de Moor 1986a].
- 6) [J.C. de Moor 1971]. Although the seasonal interpretation of the Myth of Ba-lu met with vigorous opposition from various quarters (cf. [L.L.Grabbe 1976]; [L.L.Grabbe 1982]; [S.E.Loewenstamm 1980]; [D.Kinet 1981]), the objections were far from convincing and no feasible alternative was offered. See now [J.C. de Moor 1987].
- 7) His status as a king follows from KTU 1.17:I.25 par. (he owns a palace), 1.17: V.4-8 par. (is acting as a judge), 1.20:II.7 and 1.22:I[IV].16f. (owns a "hall of kings").

- 8) On the word 'uzr see [M.Dijkstra et al., 1975], 172f.
- 9) The Ugaritic word st designates a garb of coarse fabric, like the Hebrew śaq. In Arabic this particular cloth is called saydan so that we have to assume assimilation in Ugaritic: from sidtu to sittu.
- 10) The identification of the species is beyond all reasonable doubt, see [H.B. Tristram 1875], 204-208; [H.B.Tristram 1884], 82-84; [L.Koehler 1945], 36-38; [L.Koehler 1956], 13f.; [G.R.Driver 1955b], 131; [A.Parmelee 1959], 184f. The Swift is still called senanaw in Syrian Arabic as a synonym of Standard Arabic hattaf, cf. [A.Barthélemy 1969].
- 11) See CAD S, 295; [F.S.Bodenheimer 1960]. 57f.
- 12) For the time being see [J.C. de Moor 1972].
- 13) Compare KTU 1.17:I.39-42 with KTU 1.23:51. It is certain that these lines had a function in the ritual because according to KTU 1.23:55-57 they were repeated five times before the images of the gods. See further [J.C. de Moor 1972], vol. 2, 17ff.
- 14) Babylonian Talmud, Rosh Hashanah, 10b-11b.
- 15) See for this literary topos [J.Siegelová 1971], 32, n.21.
- 16) KTU 1.6:V.8ff.; 1.15:III.22ff.; 1.19:IV.13ff.
- 17) With regard to the translation see [M.Dijkstra et al., 1975], 182.
- 18) KTU p.55, n.2 and p.56, n.1.
- 19) Compare KTU 1.17:V.20,30 to KTU 1.3:I.3.
- 20) Compare KTU 1.17:V.19,29 to KTU 1.3:I.5.
- 21) Compare KTU 1.17:V.19,29 to KTU 1.3:I.9.
- 22) Compare KTU 1.17:VI.4f. to KTU 1.3:I.7f.
- 23) See [J.C. de Moor 1972].
- 24) Cf. [K.Spronk 1986], 151ff.
- 25) With the Hittites the autumnal festival of the Weather-god marked the beginning of the year, cf. [H.Otten 1957-1971]. According to KAR no.174:Rev.III. 26 it is "Adad who measures the year' (for the root in connection with time-reckoning see CAD M, 1,8 as well as Hebrew middah). According to a late Greek tradition of possible Canaanite origin Zeus (Baal) had received from Kronos (E1) "all the measures of the whole creation", because it was he who was "the originator of times", cf. [R.A.Rosenberg 1972], 108.
- 26) [J.C. de Moor 1972], vol.2, 17ff.
- 27) For the reasons spelled out in detail in [J.C. de Moor 1971], 75,78 as well as in [P.van der Lugt et al., 1974], 13 on ii.199, \*fmr\* cannot be regarded as an ordinary word for wine in Ugaritic, Phoenician and Hebrew (against [L.L.Grab-

- be 1976, 61).
- 28) [M.Dijkstra et al., 1975], 194f.
- 29) [H.Granqvist 1935], vol.2, 32-39.
- 30) She joins Ba<sup>C</sup>lu on a hunt in KTU 1.10:II and she is often the subject of the verb SWD. See also her double CAthtartu in KTU 1.92.
- 31) [G.Jacob 1897], 117f.; [A.Jaussen 1907], 282.
- 32) For Ugarit: KTU 1.92 with [J.C. de Moor 1986b]. Furthermore 2 Sam 23:20.
- 33) KTU 1.1:V.5f., 18f.
- 34) [H.B.Tristram 1875],181; [G.R.Driver 1955a],10. Like the Swift, this bird still bears a very similar name in Palestine and Syria: hedâye, cf. [C.Denizeau 1960],538.
- 35) The form yh should be derived from NHY G "turn sideways".
- 36) Cf. [R.Dozy 1927], vol.1, 322f.; [C.Denizeau 1960],123.
- 37) [E.W.Lane 1872], 1672.
- 38) [J.C. de Moor 1971], 175.
- 39) [R.Blachère et al., 1967-],vol.4, 2389 s.v.HRR: "any burning heat or torrid wind (sirocco) you feel is but the breath of Hell".
- 40) [J.C. de Moor 1971],173ff., 177,180,182, 187-89.
- 41) As soon as he hears the news Ilu scatters a sheaf of corn as a token of mourning over his head, KTU 1.5:VI.14f.
- 42) Cf. ANET, 562a; Gen.50:10; Num.19:11f.; Job.2:12f.; Judith 16:24.
- 43) [K.Spronk 1986], 397 under "stars".
- 44) Id., ibid., 145ff.
- 45) Smym should not be simply equated with common Smm. From a purely grammatical point of view it is correct to say that the y probably denotes the genus, as usual in Ugaritic. Compare the "celestials" of the Greeks (IG 5(1) 40; Theocritus 25.5; 1 Cor. 15:40 (next to stars), 48; Phil. 2:10).
- 46) For the translation see [J.C. de Moor 1986c].
- 47) [M.Dijkstra 1979],209f. See also Ps.22:30 kl-dšny-'rs "all the anointed ones of the earth" parallel to kl-ywrdy pr "all those who have descended into the dust".
- 48) Literally "may she travel marrow-like". Cf. [V. Haas 1976],210 and Job 29:6.
- 49) [J.C. de Moor 1968].
- 50) KTU 1.19:IV.51 'agrtn.b'at.bddk "She who hired us has come to your camp".

51) KTU 1.13:3-7 proves that this episode of the myth was actualized in the cult. Exactly such mock battles took place during the Egyptian New Year (cf. [J.F. Borghouts 1986],18f.) and during the autumnal festival for the Hittite Weathergod (cf. [O.R.Gurney 1977], 27,31,40).

- 52) Cf. KTU 1.20:II.7.
- 53) Cf. [K.Spronk 1986], 164ff.
- 54) KTU 1.20:I.5; II.11; 1.22:I[IV].12-20.
- 55) Further arguments for this sequence now in  $[J.C.\ de\ Moor\ 1987]$ .
- 56) See [J.C. de Moor 1986a].