





The private archives of Ugarit

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# **The private archives of Ugarit**

A functional analysis

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Drawing of the scene depicted in the Magician's house mug

(C. Florimont) and topographic map of the tell of Ras Shamra.

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## General overview of the epigraphic finds from Ugarit

The first impression one gains from a summary overview of the epigraphic finds from the tell of Ras Shamra is of an ancient city packed with written documentation: from the Royal Palace (in the NW), with its huge archives, to everywhere in the centre as well as in the northern and southern edges of the town, collections of texts were kept in private archives. It is not only the dozen particularly identified and recorded here, but anywhere that an archaeological sounding was made, a more or less significant set of written documents emerged.<sup>1</sup> Ugarit, like the great capital cities of Mesopotamia and Anatolia, appears in this sense to be a paradigm of the triumph of writing as a decisive instrument in the cultural and economic development of the ancient Near East. A rather small urban centre in this context, Ugarit knew how to combine its pressing economic activity as a trading seaport with a wide and intense interest in preserving its own religious and epic heritage as well as the cultural legacies of the surrounding great civilizations. By adopting the age-old cuneiform writing system, it became the reference centre of Levantine-Canaanite culture and the clearest shop window of the impact of Mesopotamian civilization on Western Syria.

As a summary of the individual analysis described below, we are going to schematize here the role and function of each archive in the political setting of Ugaritian society. We do not intend to carry out a genre-critical or typological discussion of the texts themselves, but to analyse the reasons why they have found their place in a particular archival context, unveiling consequently the role or *func-*

1. Contrast in this connection the documentary situation of Alalah; see Von Dassow 2015:182f. For a general overview on this topic see D.G. Kamrada, “Kings and Ancestors. Ugaritic Libraries and Biblical Literature”, *HENOCH* 40/1, 2018, 14–20.

tion that such an *archive* accomplished in Ugaritian society. As our starting-point we accept the overall genre distribution presented in KTU.

Although the great Palace Archives remain outside our interest for the time being, we cannot avoid mentioning them as a basic reference point in this topic. Its find and the start of the excavation of the Royal Palace Archive took place in 1939 during the 11th campaign (the first text to be catalogued was RS 11.261: “cartouche de Ramsès II”)<sup>2</sup> and ended in 1955 (19th campaign). A total of some 1100 texts were unearthed according to *TEOC*:<sup>3</sup> the alphabetic texts were first published in a different journal and finally collected together in CTA and KTU, while a good number of the syllabic texts were collected definitively in the series PRU.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless according to the *TEOC* a large number of syllabic texts remain unpublished.

On the other hand, we will take into consideration the two other Palace archives: from the “Palais Sud” and “Ras Ibn Hani”. The first is actually a private archive. The second, certainly an official archive (but in an outpost) is similar in function and size to the private archives, although it has not received the attention it merits.<sup>5</sup>

Leaving aside the two more or less public or official archives mentioned, we may propose the following distribution of the private<sup>6</sup> or rather functional archives, always bearing in mind that in Ugarit, as in the whole of the ancient Near East, reading and writing was a specialized and minority occupation, restricted to scribes, although the invention of the alphabet, in both its cuneiform and linear forms, opened the door to its wider use.

2. For this and other data see *TEOC*:56ff.

3. A good description of the Royal Palace archive, with the archaeological setting and cataloguing of the syllabic published texts is provided by Van Soldt, SAU:49-142; see also Van Soldt 1986 .

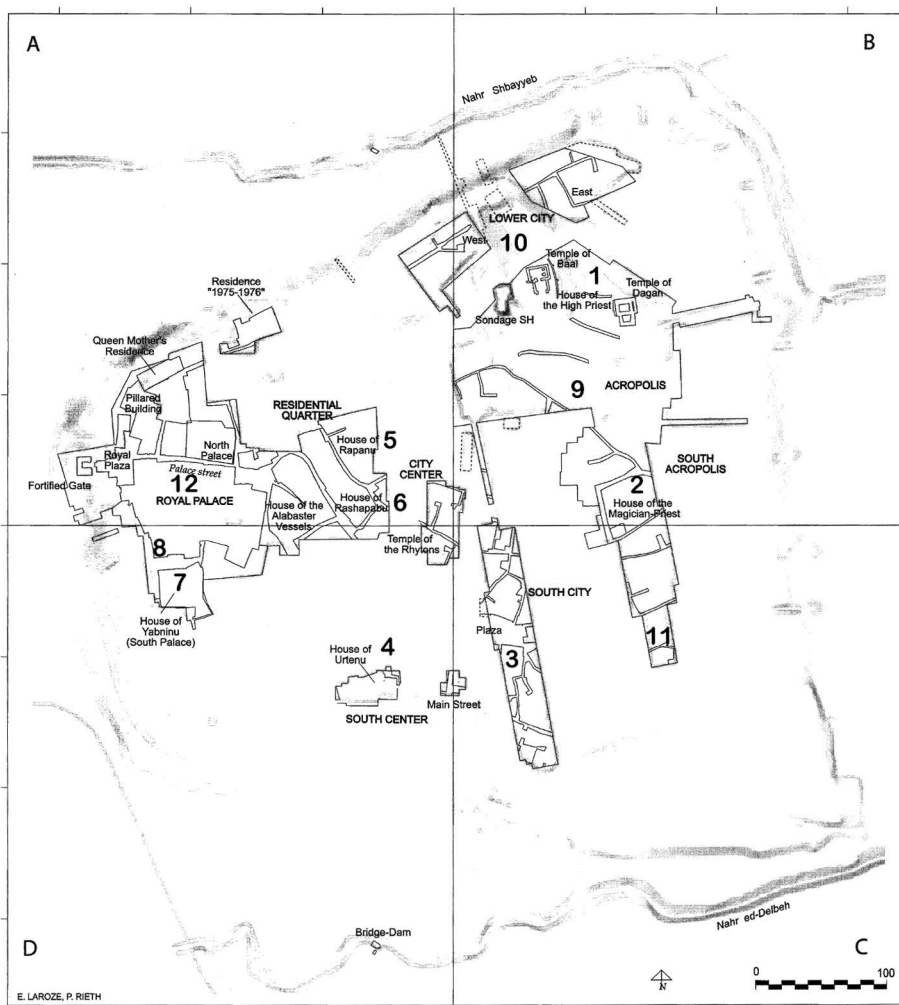
4. See Nougayrol, PRU 2–6. Also for the alphabetic texts Herdner, CTA; Dietrich, Loretz, Sanmartín, KTU3.

5. We shall deal only cursorily with *Urtēnu*'s Archive since it has been the object of a thorough analysis, as has the character of its owner, limiting ourselves to a summary description. See Malbran-Labat, Roche 2007 and 2008. For the texts: Arnaud 2001; Bordreuil, Pardee, Hawley 2012.

6. The distinction between “private” and “public” does not adequately define the archive of the “Great Priest”, for example.



THE PRIVATE ARCHIVES OF UGARIT



Topographic map of the tell of Ras Shamra (E. Laroze and P. Rieth 2003), M. Yon, *The City of Ugarit at Tell Ras Shamra* 2006 (Eisenbrauns). Authorized reproduction.

1. Archive of the Great Priest; 2. Archive of the Magician Priest and *Lamashtu* Library; 3. Literary tablets Archive; 4. *Ūrtēnu*'s Archive; 5. *Rapānu*'s Archive; 6. *Rašapabu*'s Archive; 7. The 'Palais Sud' Archive; 8. Text collection "Between 'Palais Central' and 'Palais Sud'"; 9. Scattered text collections in the Acropolis; 10. Scattered text collections in the "Ville Basse"; 11. The 'Maison aux Jarres' Archive; 12. The Royal Palace Archive (G. del Olmo Lete).



## The Archive of the Great Priest (*rb khnm, Áttēnu / Hurāsānu*) A Functional Analysis

In his summary description of the so-called “Archive of the Great Priest” (*rb khnm*), Van Soldt<sup>1</sup> records the documents found there and provides a brief commentary on the contents and the characters mentioned in them. Curiously enough, the only group of texts on which he says nothing is precisely the largest: i.e. the religious texts.<sup>2</sup> However, it is in principle to be assumed that these texts should be the most representative of a *khn*’s function. In this regard, when dealing later with the “Archive of the Magician or Hurrian Priest” (HP),<sup>3</sup> we will be surprised to find a set of *ritual* texts located in what seemed to be the workshop or office of the owner or titular of the archive. In this case, the type of texts in question explains why those texts were placed there. Now the question arises as to why we have a distribution of texts that for us seem to be rather similar in their basic function of *offering texts*,<sup>4</sup> apparently their primary function according to our understanding of

1. See Van Soldt. SAU:213ff.; id., 2000:239-240. These texts were found in campaigns 1–4 (1929–1932) in the archaeological *locus* called “Acropole, région de la Maison du Grand Prêtre” (see the plan in Ug. 3:252, fig. 216); the *editio princeps* was published mostly in *Syria* 10 (1929), 12–14 (1931–1933), in CTA and sporadically in other publications. See *TEOC*:15–34.

2. The *Ras Ibn Hani* texts in their great majority were written in alphabetic Ugaritic except for three letters in syllabic Akkadian; this certainly explains why Van Soldt did not consider them, as he was interested mainly in Akkadian materials; cf. Van Soldt. 2000:239; *id.* SAU:217. On the genre text distribution see Von Dassow 2015.

3. See del Olmo Lete, 2017b.

4. See del Olmo Lete, 1999.



Furthermore a second proof has to be added to the first: in *no other Ugaritian archive* have copies of these mythological texts turned up.<sup>5</sup> They were not literature, library texts, as were the texts of the Babylonian mythological tradition that anyone could keep in his private archive or library for personal or didactic use.<sup>6</sup> This negative fact corroborates their sacred character.

In any case, if we retain the frequent label as “myths” of many fragments that appeared in other archives, we must conclude that *other* Ugaritic myths existed that did not belong to this category of sacral or ritual myths and therefore could be kept in them. It could also be that, as in the former case, they were simple *scribal exercises*, as they are frequently labelled, or even that they do not rely on canonical texts, but were the product either of oral tradition or of dictation.<sup>7</sup> The same classification criterion could be applied to the fragmentary texts, apparently mythological, from other archives (KTU 1.7, 1.9, 1.55<sup>?</sup>, 1.61<sup>?</sup>, 1.62<sup>?</sup>, 1.63).

In turn, KTU 1.7 makes clear that the copy of the canonical text KTU 1.3 I–II was also made in this situation, in this case reliably.<sup>8</sup> We are now in a scribal context, as in the case of the “Archive of the Hurrian Priest” (see *Lexicographical Texts* below), which implies the training of young scribes in copying texts, in this case using originals and not only from dictation.

Also, KTU 1.10–12 is a myth (‘Baal’s Hunting’) that we have considered elsewhere.<sup>9</sup> It is closely linked to the *Baal Cycle*, although we are not completely sure of its sacred-ritual character, as it is also the case with the minor myths KTU 1.13 and 1.23.

5. The only exception is text KTU 1.133, from the “Archive of the Hurrian Priest”. In this case it is probably a school exercise that was dictated: it does not reproduce exactly the original (KTU 1.5 I 11–21 // 1.133:1–11) and after a separating line, adds another fragment of a unidentifiable text in which there is a transcriptional mistake (*šmḥ* for *šmḥ*, line 16). Something similar applies to the text KTU 1.101. The inclusion in this category (?) of fragment KTU 1.75 (RS 6.174) may be taken *a priori* as exceptional and with no documentary proof. KTU 1.101, 1.117 and 1.129, from the “Archive of the Hurrian Priest”, are fragments of other myths as yet unidentified.

6. See *Agaptarru*’s or *Urtēnu*’s archives. This is the base for the category of *sacred book*, that owns divine, inspired character, and that only a chosen scribe (*Ilimilku*) can write down as dictated by his master priest. See in this connection del Olmo Lete, “Glosas Ugaríticas XI: Los orígenes del ‘Texto Sagrado’ en Canaán”, forthcoming.

7. See the fragments from the “Central Palace”: KTU 1.83; 1.88<sup>?</sup>; 1.89<sup>?</sup>; 1.92; 1.93; 1.94<sup>?</sup>; 1.95<sup>?</sup>.

8. See KTU 1.101 and 1.133 from the “Archive of the Hurrian Priest”, which derive from the same tablet KTU 1.3 II–III of the Baal myth and from other unknown texts; del Olmo Lete 2017.

9. See del Olmo Lete, “Royal Hunt among the Semites, West and East Fertility and Kingship Myth and Ritual”, forthcoming.

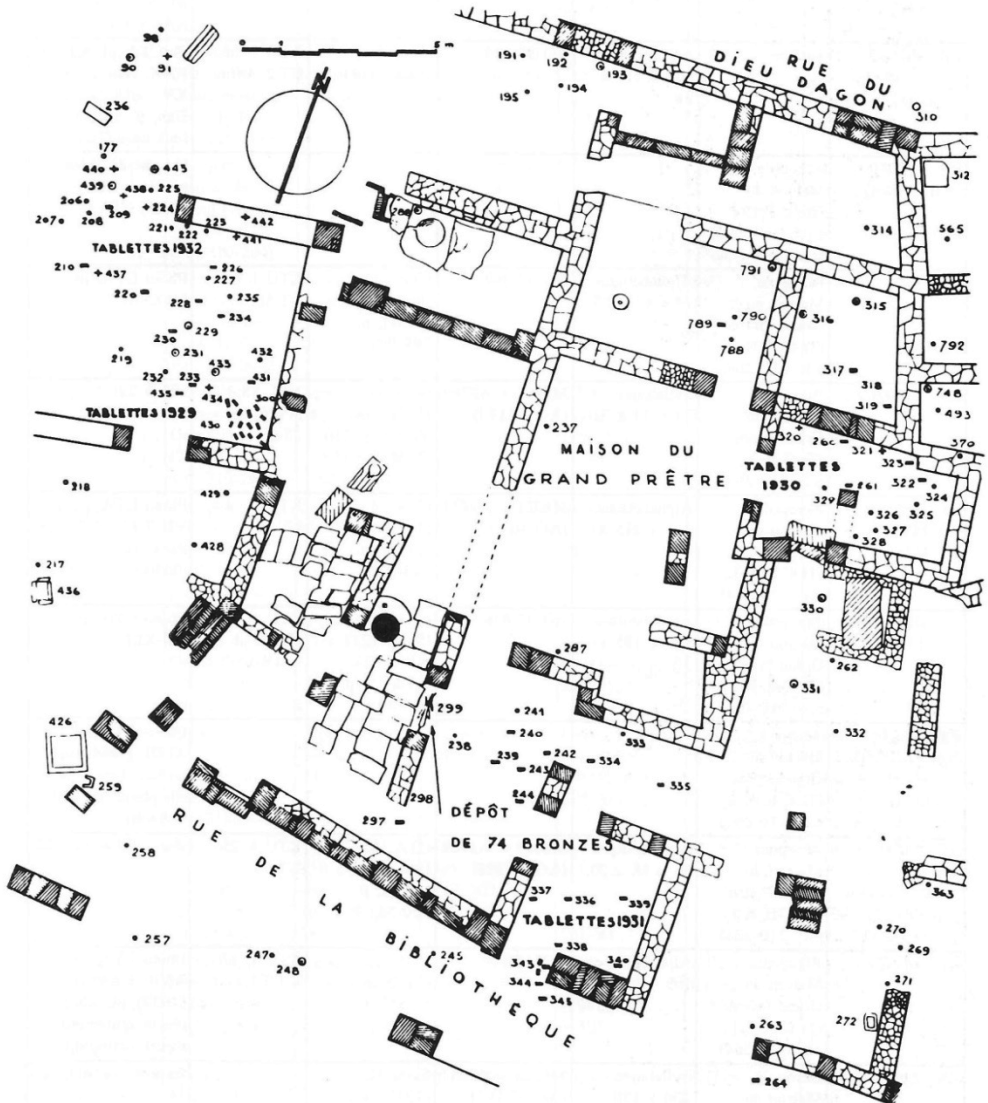


PLATE 1

Excavation plan of the “Maison du Grand-Prêtre”. Campaigns 1–4 (1929-1932).

*Ugaritica* III, p. 252 (with authorization).

KTU 1.45 could be assigned to the category KTU 1. (*Literary and religious texts*), described in that edition as a “scribal exercise” (?) or “myth” (?), and to

which a series of fragments (KTU 1.61, 1.62, 1.63) should be added, apparently religious or even mythological, from which very little can be gained. The same applies to the texts / fragments in category KTU 7. (“Unclassified Texts and Fragments”), namely 7.1, 7.6, 7.9, 7.10, 7.24, 7.25 and 7.33–7.49. None of this material, or the inscriptions in other languages (Egyptian, Hittite, Cypro-Minoan) present in our archive, which require special attention, are included in our analysis. We will begin with the available material that can be checked, but without discounting the possibility that other discarded and abundant material, as well as other texts that may now be lost, could alter our conclusions. Therefore, we present a series of provisional hypotheses based on the verifiable data available now and then that allow ourselves to extrapolate them to an overall interpretation of historical reality as a whole.

*Epic Texts:*

- The *Kirta* Epic: KTU 1.14 (RS 2.[2003] + 3.324+3.344+3.414; t.p. 536, 343, 338, 343, 341);  
 KTU 1.15 (RS 3.343 + 3.345; t.p. 338, 343, 341);  
 KTU 1.16 (RS 3.325 + 3.342+3.408; t.p. 338, 343, 341, 368);
- The *Danil-Aqhat* Epic: KTU 1.17 (RS 2.[004]; surf.);  
 KTU 1.18 (RS 3.340; t.p. 338, 343, 341);  
 KTU 1.19 (RS 3.322 + 3.349+3.366; t.p. 343, 338, 341);
- The *Rpūm* Myth: KTU 1.20 (RS 3.348; t.p. 338, 341, 343);  
 KTU 1.21 (RS 2.[019]; t.p. ?);  
 KTU 1.22 (RS 2.[024]; t.p. ?).

Surprisingly, this second category of texts enjoys the same characteristics: they were kept in the archive of the *rb khnm*, copied by the same official scribe, *Ilimilku* (see KTU 1.16:59), and no second copies appear in other archives. In fact, no other texts of that same legendary character are extant in other archives, while similar Akkadian compositions were kept as library texts.<sup>10</sup> It is possible to see these royal legends as the guarantee, the *hieròs lógos* of the second great principle that rules and guarantees the organization of the kingdom of Ugarit, namely, royal ideology. The king is *Ilu*'s son, this god is his patron god, who protects him, guar-

10. See the archives of *Agaptarru* and *Urtenu*; also Arnaud 2007.

antees offspring, cures his illnesses, frees him from possible usurpation, avenges him against his enemies, makes use of his daughters in the Ugaritian dynasty and above all guarantees his divinization *post mortem*, celebrating his inclusion in the class of the *rpūm*. Consequently these texts are similarly sacred, which the king's subjects would hear recited in some kind of cultic ceremony.<sup>11</sup> Everyone had to know them and act accordingly. It is clear that for these cultures the written text possessed a sacred and ritual efficacy.

It is surprising, however, that this kind of mythological text, in particular the royal-epic texts, were not kept in the Archive of the Central Palace, the foremost and largest temple in Ugarit, dedicated to the dynastic gods. In it, in the king's house (*bt mlk*), we know that there were cultic structures in which the royal family carried out various rituals.<sup>12</sup> There, also, was the tomb-pantheon of the divinized god-kings of old, present in a much more immediate way than the city gods were in their houses (*bt il[m]*), the temples of the Acropolis. A similar comment could be made regarding the ritual offering texts in which it is clearly stated that the king is the main officiant. What is most surprising, though, is that a text such as KTU 1.161, kept in *Urtēnu*'s archive, which celebrates the interment and divine enthronement in the afterlife of *Niqmaddu* III and the ascent to the throne of *'Ammurāpi*, was not kept either here or in the palace archive. At this moment, the *rb khnm* / *ṯ<sup>2</sup>y* (compare KTU 1.6 VI 57 and 1.161:27ff., but probably in this case they are different persons) seems to play a very significant role as *ṯ<sup>6</sup>y*. However, for the time being we omit any speculations on this topic.<sup>13</sup>

It is already quite clear from this data that there are two kinds of cult at Ugarit: one in the palace and other in the town. Nevertheless the texts that record them were entrusted to cult professionals (priests), who took care of their suitable development, each in accordance with his specialization in the cult. They also acted as assistants and guides to the high officiant, the king, who remains outside and above such functionary categories. Our analysis of the "Archive of the Magician or Hurrian Priest", below, will provide interesting insights that will explain why certain ritual texts were kept there. Here we will try to explore the motives that may ex-

11. See in this connection the recitation of the Easter Legend during the top moment of the religious familiar Easter celebration in postexilic Israel.

12. See del Olmo Lete, 2014a:23–25.

13. We must not forget that *Urtēnu* was also *ṯ<sup>6</sup>y* without being a *rb khnm* and that seemingly the intervention in this kind of royal interment / enthronement / supra-cultic ceremony was reserved to the *ṯ<sup>6</sup>y*, as *sukkalu* of the kingdom; see in this connection the basic article by Van Soldt 1988.

plain the presence of these ritual texts in the “Archive of the Great Priest”. Almost all the texts in this category come from these two archives (KTU 1.39f.).<sup>14</sup>

<i>Ritual Texts:</i>	God lists:	KTU 1.47 (RS 1.017; t.p. 300).
	Offering lists:	
	Simple lists:	KTU 1.39 (RS 1.001; t.p. 300); KTU 1.48 (RS 1.019; t.p. 300));
	Complex lists:	KTU 1.41 (RS 1.003; t.p. 300); <sup>15</sup> KTU 1.43 (RS 1.005; t.p. 300) <sup>16</sup> KTU 1.46 (RS 1.009; t.p. 300) <sup>17</sup>
<i>Fragments:</i>		KTU 1.45 (myth?), 1.49 (off.), 1.50 (off.), 1.53 (off.), 1.55 (off.), 1.56 (off.); 1.57 (off.), 1.58 (off.), 1.61 (myth?), 1.62 (conf.?, myth?), 1.63 (myth.).

Some ritual texts, then, were kept in the archive of the *rb khnm*, either because they defined his functions in the cult of the Ugaritian temples or at least because they were evidence for its control. In any case, the exclusivity criterion of safe-keeping in the previous type of archive does not apply. We see this first in the text KTU 1.47, unique in its class, that records the gods in the *Pantheon of Ugarit*. A

14. Ritual offering texts appear also in several other archives, but normally in a very fragmentary state, so that their classification is very doubtful: Central Palace (KTU 1.81?, 1.87 (copy of 1.41), 1.88?, 1.90?), Centre of the Town (KTU 1.177), of unknown origin (KTU 1.162). Particular mention must be made of the offering texts found in the “Archive of Ras Ibn Hani” (KTU 1.164, 1.168, 1.170, 1.171, 1.173, 1.174). The distribution of these later texts will depend on the function that may be assigned to this archaeological place. See below.

15. See del Olmo Lete 2017b, n. 38.

16. A complex text that implies liturgical actions in the *gb bt mlk* and in the *gb bt ilm kbkbm*, banquet and processions included; the astral deities and the *gtrm* take preeminent place in them and animal viscera are repeatedly offered. All that seems to require the *rb khnm*’s presence, as both offerer and diviner. See del Olmo Lete 1999:236–243, 362–364.

17. See in this regard del Olmo Lete in the two previous nn. This fragmentary text, a partial copy of KTU 1.119, searches to combine the two big liturgies, these of the new and full moon, two moments of divinatory astral practices along with offerings of viscera. See del Olmo Lete 1999:230–233.

copy of it was also preserved in the “Archive of the Magician-Priest” (KTU 1.118) and we even have an Akkadian version of it (RS 20.024),<sup>18</sup> found in the “Maison de *Rapānu*”. The reason for its presence in this and other archives of personnel assigned to the cult is that it is a *memorandum* for liturgical use (see in this regard KTU 1.148), at the disposal of any officiant. It guarantees the correct performance of the offering rituals of any kind, so that no deity remains without an offering. Therefore, it is not a profession of faith, or a creed concerning the divine universe. However, a profession of faith of this kind does appear explicitly in the mythological texts,<sup>19</sup> the literary form of this religion being narrative, not a system. Its creed is a story, not a list of articles of belief.

It is very regrettable that the most of the archive texts in this category have reached us in a very fragmentary state and often too little of the inscription survives to enable us to classify them. Often KTU clearly has doubts on whether these texts are ritual or mythological. As in the case of the literary and religious texts, we have to leave them out of consideration.

The “Offering lists” form the main body of texts in this archive (see n. 2, above). which that, as we pointed out above, are not owned exclusively. As in the case of KTU 1.118, they are also found in *Agaptarru*’s archive and elsewhere. The distinction between “simple” and “complex” offerings refers to the kind of ritual developed in these lists: either a simple offering of victims or a combination with other liturgies.<sup>20</sup>

The text KTU 1.39 represents the paradigm of the offering texts (KTU 1.48 is fragmentary and seems to correspond to a sub-category)<sup>21</sup> and according to it the *rb khnm* would intervene as the *ṯy*<sup>22</sup> in the sacrificial offering in his capacity as royal assistant or officiant (see KTU 1.161:27ff.).

Having reached this point, we may ask: Do any of these texts exhibit a characteristic that would explain its presence in this archive and not in another (e.g. in *Agaptarru*’s)? By default, namely, if there is no ritual specification corresponding to a specialized officiant (as was the case with the *mhll* in the offering texts in

18. See *TEOC*:230; del Olmo Lete 1999:53ff.

19. See del Olmo Lete 1999:398ff., for a comparison of the independent lists with these of the rituals.

20. See in this regard del Olmo Lete 2014a:9ff.

21. See del Olmo Lete 2014a:68f., 369f.

22. I prefer in the context of KTU 1.6 VI 54–58 a cultic rather than a civil administrative interpretation of this function; for the latter there is the well-known term *s:škn*; however, see Van Soldt 1988.



*Agaptarru*'s archive), these texts belong without exception to a more general cultic archive. Even the presence of a duplicate text (KTU 1.41) in this archive could be because the *rb khnm* also took part in it (together with the king as his *t'y*). Also, his supreme position in the hierarchy would justify the presence in the High Priest's archive of any ritual text, as was pointed out above. On the other hand, the frequent mention of cult places (*bt il(m) / mlk*, KTU 1.43:2; 1.39:12; *bt b'lt btm rmm*, KTU 1.41:37; *gb bt mlk*, KTU 1.43:1-2; *bt ilm kbkbm*, KTU 1.43:2-3; *m'lt mdbht bt ilt*, KTU 1.41:23-24; *yrdt mdbht ... lb'lt bhtm*, KTU 1.39:20), as well as processional entry rituals (*kt'rb...*, KTU 1.43:1) and the transport of images (*yqh ilm*, KTU 1.23:1) are evident in the texts cited above. In these, offerings to the dead (*inš ilm*) and of viscera (*kbd(m)*, *npš wāp*, *lb ršmt*) are made, which hints at sacrifices that would imply some sort of divinatory practice, peculiar to the *prln rb khnm*. The same applies to the mention of the *ttb rgm* ritual, assigned to the king, but in which undoubtedly the *prln rb khnm* would have a decisive role, as it was a ritual of sacred query and response.<sup>23</sup> Something similar could be said about the mention of the *gtrm*. In any case, KTU 1.41, the festival of autumn first fruits, of prime importance in the sacred calendar of Ugarit (as was pointed out in connection with KTU 1.46, also an offering of the new / full moon festival) required the presence and participation of the *rb khnm*.

All these pieces of evidence invite us to determine the *khn*'s functions in the Ugaritian cult. The function of the *kōhēn* in the sacrificial liturgy of the Hebrew Temple of Jerusalem (see Lev. 1ff.) is well known, as is his characterization as “diviner” (*kāhinu*) in the Islamic lexicon and religion (a religion that has no sacred sacrificial liturgy, *pace* the *ʿīd al-aḏḩā* festival). This function took on overwhelming significance, which the Mishnaic tradition (Order V: *sefer k' dāšīm*) preserves extremely well. Nevertheless, the function that Biblical tradition assigns to a priest is above all to be the guardian and proclaimer of the Law (Jer. 18, 18: *tōrāh mik-kōhēn*), that is, the most sacred object that the Jerusalem Temple held in its *d' b'ir*, its holy of holies (“The Tablets of the Law” in the “Ark of the Covenant”: a Sinai in anticipation). On the other hand, the Hebrew High Priest wears on his breast the Pectoral inside which is the *ʿūrīm-tummīm*, the tool of the sacred query or priestly oracle “by lots” (along with the *ʿēphōd*, testimony of assumed and legitimate magic). The pre-eminence in his function of the verbal component (the word), which portrays him, on one hand, as the guardian of the tradition / religious faith, that in Israel was the *Tōrāh* (confession and compromise), and on the other, as an inter-

23. See del Olmo Lete, 2014a:257ff.

mediary between the faithful and their god, coincides with the image that results from the data / texts of our archive regarding the function of the (*rb*) *khn(-m)*. On the one hand, he appears as the guardian of the tradition / religious profession of Ugarit: the myth of his gods and of the royal ideology, the two basic pillars of Ugaritian faith. On the other, he is qualified as *prln*, “diviner”, the meaning that this word has preserved in the Arabic lexicon, as we have seen. In both cases, his sacrificial function is not specified, and without declaring it as secondary, it is evident that it is not what defines him in the first place.<sup>24</sup> Even text KTU 1.169 (RIH 78/20:2) assigns a verbal role to his function as the royal *ṯy* (KTU 1.6 VI 57), namely, the exorcist’s voice before which the evil powers flee (*wṯšū lpn ql ṯy*).

Expiation Ritual:           KTU 1.40 (RS 1.002; pt. 300);<sup>25</sup>  
Prayer:                         KTU 1.65 (RS 4.474; pt. 430).

The presence of these texts in our archive confirms the consideration of the *khn* as officiant / priest / exorcist. Kept in his archive, they prove him to be the officiating priest for the great ritual of expiation / justification (*mšr*, KTU 1.40) of the whole nation, including its guests, which ends with the several animal sacrifices (*hn š / r*). KTU 1.65, instead, possibly represents one of many other prayer / conjuration patterns to which some of the recorded fragments and other lost texts might also have belonged. It is reminiscent of the significant prayer liturgy that the Hebrew Psalter implies on. For the same function of the Baal Temple see KTU 1.119:26–36 (*qdš bʿl nʿl nbt bt bʿl ntlk*, “up to Baal’s sanctuary we will go, on the path of Baal’s Temple we will go”).

*Hurrian Texts:*            KTU 1.26-37(-38), 1.42,<sup>26</sup> 1.44, 1.51, 1.52, 1.54, 1.59,  
  1.60, 1.64, 1.66, 1.68, 1.110.

The Hurrian texts are often defined in KTU as “incantations”. If that is the case, we can establish that the *rb khnm* carried out personally (as KTU 1.169:3

24. We have listed elsewhere a score of the rituals used in the offering texts for which the *rb khnm* could be considered directly responsible or a supervisor. See del Olmo Lete, 2014a:9ff. On the function of the *ṯy* see n. 22 above.

25. Other fragmentary copies of this ritual have been preserved: KTU 1.85, 1.121, 1.122, 1.154: namely, the king, the high priest and the magician-priest had this text at their personal disposal, obviously given its political bearing and ritual complexity.

26. See Lam 2011.

implies) a significant magic function, possibly as a “diviner” or *prln*, a Hurrian term used for him by his pupil, the scribe *Ilimilku* (KTU 1.6 VI 55).<sup>27</sup> The title as well as the texts would corroborate the Hurrian origin of the two holders of this function known to us from the inscription found in his archive-house (see below), as was the case in *Agaptarru*’s archive. The Ugaritian cult seems then to have been in the hands of Hurrian personnel, which would be the equivalent of the Levite priestly class in the Hebrew Bible.

*Letters:* KTU 2.1–2.10 (t.p. 331, 296, 300 [x 6], 210–264, 431).

It is not unexpected that as a socially important person, the *rb khnm* would receive correspondence, as shown by KTU 2.4 (RS 1.018), the only one out of the ten letters found in this archive with the full formulaic heading: *lrb khnm rgm* .... This letter comes from the palace (*thm mlk*)<sup>28</sup> and it refers to a (cultic) inquiry (*šilt*), while the *šd gtr* is mentioned. It ends with a recommendation (*ht yšm<sup>s</sup> úhy lgy*) of uncertain interpretation<sup>29</sup> in a tone of threat or incantation and with the surprise of seeing the king addressing the *rb khnm* as *úhy*, “my brother”. The fragmentary state of the other letters does not allow any definite conclusions either about the addressee (were all of them also addressed *lrb khnm*?) or their contents. Only KTU 2.10, also a completely preserved tablet, from a certain *iwrdr* (a Hurrian name) to a certain *plsy*, is the exception. The subject matter concerns military information. We do not know the role that either the addressee or the writer of this letter had in the context of this archive. In any case, it is legitimate to presume that the office of the *rb khnm*, with such high political standing, would have had a staff of civil servants in charge of various departments.

*Administrative Texts:* KTU 4.4, 4.5, 4.10, 4.12, 4.13, 4.14, 4.15, 4.16, 4.17, 4.18, 4.19, 4.20, 4.21, 4.22, 4.23, 4.25, 4.26<sup>30</sup>, 4.27, 4.28, 4.29, 4.30.

Taking up anew the remark made regarding the letters, it seems normal to assume that the office of a high civil servant of the theocratic state, which at the same

27. For a more detailed genre distribution of all the Hurrian texts found both in the archive of the “Grand-Prêtre” and in the ‘cella’ of that of the “Prêtre Hourrite” see Vita 2009; del Olmo Lete 2017b:494f. and Dietrich 2004.

28. *Niqmaddu* III? See KTU 1.6 VI 57: *t<sup>š</sup>y nqmd* ...

29. See Cunchillos 1989:271–274.

30. Now registered as KTU3 2.7: “fragmentary text of uncertain contexts (letter, ritual?)”.

time was the official archive for the mythico-ritual texts as well as the workshop where copies were made and young scribes were trained so effectively, would imply a certain amount of labour and domestic management. This would explain the presence of these very fragmentary texts: personnel lists, transactions, payments, debts etc.

*Lexical Texts:*

MSL SS I 2.[007], MSL V 2.[015], V 2.[017], V 2.[018],  
V 2.[023], VI [3.318], XII [3.339], V [3.360].

*Akkadian Consonantal Texts:*

KTU 1.67, 1.69, 1.70, 1.73.

*Syllabic Texts:*

RS 1.[057], 1.[058], 1.[059]1.[060], 1.[161], 1.[062],  
1.[063], 1.[065]ABC, 2.[013], 2.[015], 2.[016], 2.[017]-  
AB, 2.[018], 2.[020], 2.[023], 3.302, 3.309, 3.318, 3.339,  
3.360.

These groups of texts indicate the other characteristic that defines the function of the *rb khnm*, which *Ilimilku* had already hinted at by declaring himself his *lmd*, “disciple, apprentice” (KTU 1.6 VI 55). His house was an É-DUBBA and an É-DUBBA of high standing. There, not only were Akkadian language, culture and writing taught, as in other academies in Ugarit (including the school of the Hurrian Magician-Priest), but an experiment in writing down Akkadian texts with the simpler and more functional Ugaritic alphabetic system was performed. The intention was to bypass the complex cuneiform Akkadian system in order to make the classic Akkadian culture more accessible to the Ugaritians, as a living token of the bilingualism of their society. Instead, the scribe *Rapānu* apparently attempted the opposite: to write down the Ugaritic texts using the cuneiform Akkadian sign-list (KTU 10.1) possibly as a supreme effort to spread his own culture (!). This was indeed quite superfluous, seeing just how easy it was to use the linear alphabet. In fact, none of these attempts succeeded.

*Hippiatric Texts:* KTU 1.71 (RS 5.300; t.p. 583), 1.72 (RS 5.285 + 5.301; t.p. ?).

*Inscriptions:* KTU 6.6 (RS 1.[051]; pt. 269), 6.7 (RS 1.[053]; t.p. 299), 6.8 (RS 1.[054]; t.p. 299), 6.9 (RS 1.[055]; t.p. 299).

The presence of inscriptions (*rb khnm*) on ceremonial objects (axes, a lance, an adze) proves the pre-eminent functions of their owner and the importance of his house-cum-academy. As for the presence of hippiatric texts in this archive,<sup>31</sup> it would be interesting to determine whether it has anything to do with its owner's function as *rb nqdm* (KTU 1.6 VI 56) or more in generally with his activity as *prln*. In any case, the concept of ancient Near Eastern medicine and veterinary practice as forms of magic may indicate that he held this position on behalf of an expert in magic.

Analysing the texts from this perspective, according to their literary genre, it is possible to obtain a coherent enough idea of the functions of the *rb khnm* within Ugaritian society. He was the guardian of the religious tradition of the kingdom, for which he was responsible, as well as performing the more significant rituals of the annual temple liturgy, frequent taking part in the practices of divinatory magic they included. On the other hand, his function as a trainer of scribes is due to his own position as the Hurrian Priest of the Ugaritian cult. He was in charge of accomplishing, through the written word and ritual praxis, the harmonious concord of all three cultures, which placed him in a socially unrivalled position within the royal administration.

31. They also appear in *Rašapabu*'s archive (KTU 1.85 [RS 17.120]) and in the archive of the "Maison aux Textes Littéraires" (KTU 1.97 [RS 23.484]). On this see Malbran-Labat, Roche 2012.



*(bn) ʾgptr / (Binu) Agaptarri*'s House:  
The Functional Analysis of an Ugaritian 'Archive'  
(PH Room 10)

Tell Ras Shamra-Ugarit is unique because of the presence of several so-called *archives*, in contrast to other archaeological sites in the Near East which have preserved sets of tablets, but in general only one archive for each site.<sup>1</sup> Some of these archives are situated in topographical points of official importance (palaces and temples), while others belong to private houses.<sup>2</sup> It is quite normal to presume that each type of archive, one official and the other private, had a different function and also answered to different criteria of compilation, determined by their owners' interests. Such criteria become clear enough in the case of official or state archives, taking into account the requirements of public administration: commercial, financial, censal, diplomatic, and so on in one case, and cultic and religious in the other. As for private or personal archives, the motivation for their compilation becomes more uncertain, taking into account also in this case the variety of materials preserved in them, without forgetting that apparently the cult in Ugarit was more or

1. An outstanding exception is Assur; see Pedersén 1986; on "les bibliothèques d'exorciste" in particular see Jean 2006, pp. 144ff. On ancient Near Eastern and Ugaritian archives in general see Veenhof, ed. 1986; Pedersén 1998; Brosius 2003.

2. On one hand, the Royal Palace archives and those of the Great Priest, and on the other the archives of *Yabninu*, "Le Lettré", *Rashapabu*, *Rapānu*, *Urtēnu* and the archive of "Le prêtre Hurrite / Magicien" (*Agaptarru*); see Schaeffer 1968; Van Soldt SAU:47ff. ("The Royal Palace [Archives]"; Van Soldt 2000:229–245: "Private Archives at Ugarit").

less ‘private’<sup>3</sup>, which could be reflected in the categories of texts preserved by individuals.

Up to now, an epigraphist or commentator, or even a mere text editor, once in possession of a text, in general did not pay much attention to its archaeological context and focussed on the textual context only. Things are now beginning to change in this regard.<sup>4</sup> Within the complex panorama of the Ugaritian archive system, here we attempt to draw out a functional analysis of the archive found in the house complex in the so-called “Tranchée Sud-acropole”, formed by the three excavation units labelled by the excavators: “Maison d’Agipshari”, “Maison du prêtre-magicien // du prêtre aux modèles de foies et du poumon” and “Lamashtu”.<sup>5</sup> Mme Yon calls this architectural complex: “Ensemble de bâtiments liés au culte et à la divination”,<sup>6</sup> adding: “Il se compose, semble-t-il, de deux bâtiments mitoyens, qui communiquent apparemment par une seule porte”. Courtois remarks more precisely relating to the archaeological space labelled “Maison du prêtre-magicien”: “Au total, et tout bien pensé, il apparaît que notre maison abritait à la fois la bibliothèque et le mobilier cultuel et liturgique d’un prêtre-devin pratiquant l’hépatomancie pour des particuliers de haut rang, notamment de gens du palais; ce prêtre abritait également une école où il instruisait un nombre restreint d’élèves-scribes mais, selon nous, cette activité était secondaire par rapport à l’activité principale, relative aux divers aspects de la célébration du culte officiel d’Ougarit ...”.<sup>7</sup> This is

3. E.g. the “Temple aux rhytons”. In this connection Yon 1997:92 comments: “L’intégration d’un lieu de culte dans un îlot, au milieu de quartiers d’habitation, lui donne son caractère particulier”. In general Van Soldt’s remark is taken here as a guideline: “... the mere attribution of a certain tablet to a particular archive helps to clarify the question as to the distribution of texts over the archives ...”; “I have not gone into the question of the distribution of the different genres or the matter of the private archives. I hope this one example (the study of the Palace archives) suffices to show what one can do with the archives at Ugarit through a detailed study of the archaeological and textual material” (Van Soldt 1996:197, 204).

4. See e.g. Bordreuil 2013:133–141. I thank Dr W.G.E. Watson for calling my attention to this paper. See also Bordreuil 2013a; Hawley, Pardee, Sauvage 2013; Roche 2013.

5. For a summary description of this archive see Van Soldt 2000:235f.: “In view of the large number of texts pertaining to the cult the house probably served as a cella and its owner probably was a priest”.

6. Cf. Yon 1997:109. The name comes from provisional reports of the excavation and was accepted by Courtois. Mme Yon’s book provides a brief and simplified sketch of the archaeological remains, while for a more detailed description of the spaces and materials found there, above all in the “cella aux tablettes”, Courtois 1969 and 1988 must be consulted.

7. Cf. Courtois 1988:12.



also our way of thinking, but with some reservations in respect of Courtois qualifying the scribal training given by the teacher as 'secondary'.

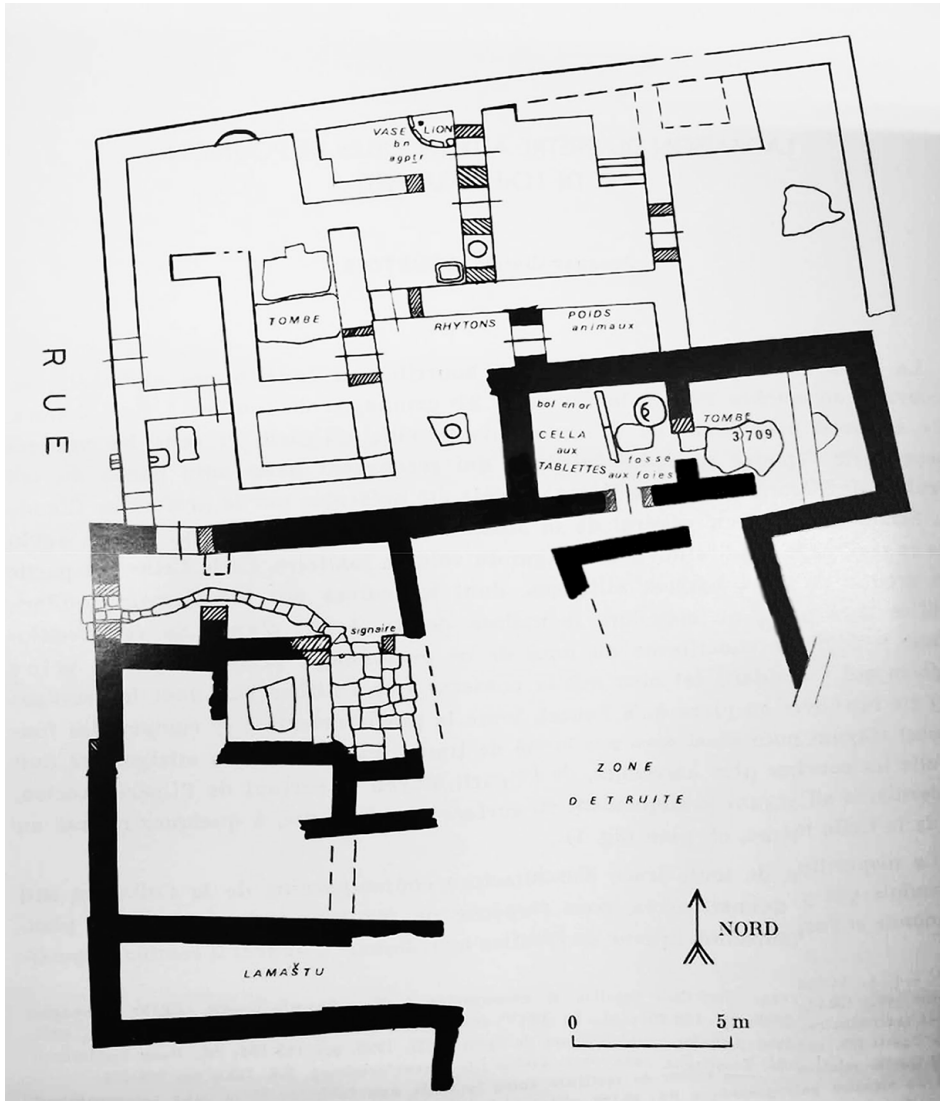


PLATE 2

“Plan schématique de la maison du prêtre aux modèles de foies inscrits” (J.-C. Courtois).  
(*Ugaritica VI*, p. 92, with authorization).

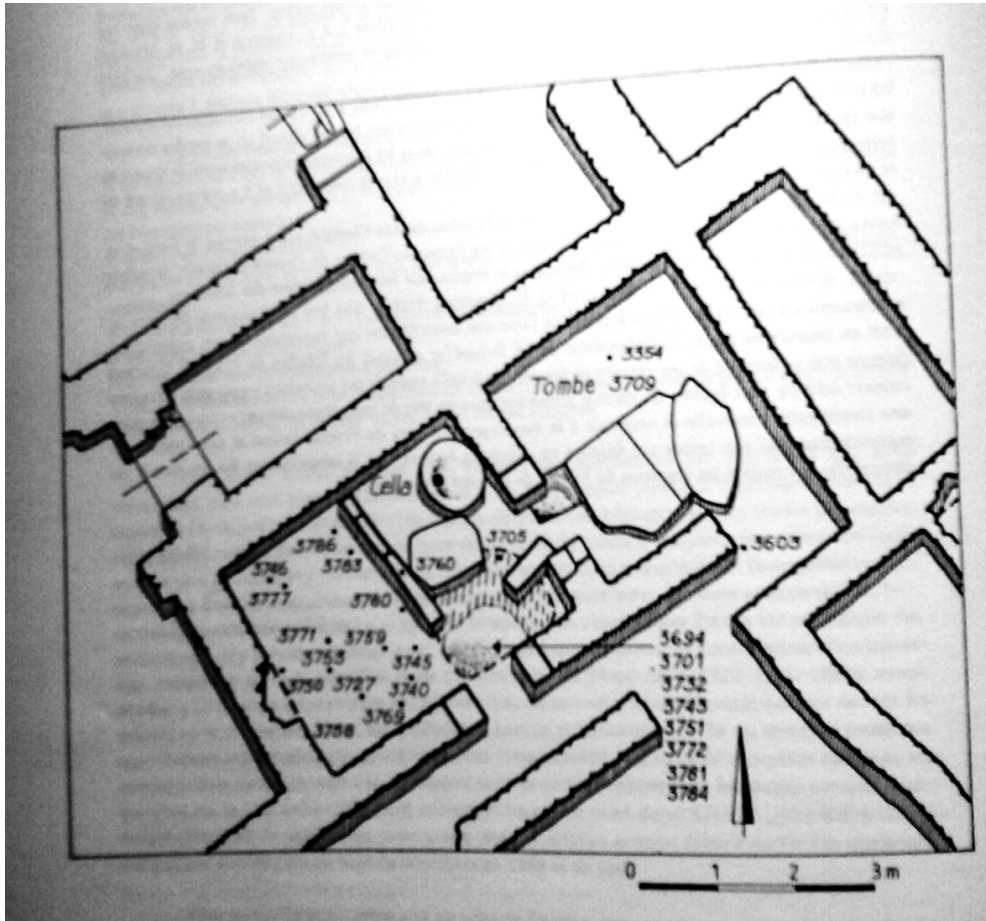


PLATE 3

“Maison aux tablettes mythologiques: ‘cella ouest’ et emplacement des tablettes”  
(Dessin C. Florimont et O. Callot, d’après le relevé de R. Kuss; points topographiques).  
(*RSO IV*, p. 4, with authorization).



PLATE 4

C.F.A. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica VII*, p. 154 (dépliant; with authorization)

(t.p. des textes: Cella: 3717, 3726, 3727, 3732, 3740, 3743, 3745, 3746, 3750, 3753, 3759, 3760, 3771, 3780, 3783, 3785, 3786, 3802, 3809, 3820; Fosse: 3680, 3694, 3701, 3708, 3772, 3781, 3784, 3787; Funerary chamber: 3603, 3667, 3675, 3709<sup>3</sup>).

We will consider the complex activity of the diviner-priest below on, glossing over the opposition or rather complementarity between official / sacrificial cult and divinatory-magic practice, as well as on their mutual association. In any case, we already have a sketchy answer to the question put forward above on the compilation and practical criteria of a private archive. Now the question is to determine to what extent and in which sense the materials collected there match these criteria.

The three archaeological spaces in question form an interconnected area seen from inside, which means that it was owned and used as a housing unit. The northern part could be taken as the private residential quarters, while the southern part would constitute a functional space, devoted to the practice of the professional activities of the owners of the building. These were cultic and magical as well as pedagogical, in all probability closely interrelated: the magician apprentices acted as “deacons” or “acolytes” in the performances of the magician-priest, their master. From the northern part of the building, access to the southern part was through a door, opening into the hall in its south-west corner. Direct access to the southern part was also from outside the building. In this way, the hall in question was really a vestibule through which access to the cultic and training area was possible for people from outside (individuals in search of an omen or apprentice magicians and scribes) as well as for the professional owners who in this way preserved their domestic privacy. In any case, their external door was in the other hall, close to the vestibule.

The second archaeological space suffered complete destruction in its south-eastern section and became utterly unidentifiable (court, aula, workshop ...). Nevertheless, it has preserved two zones. One is in its north-eastern extremity (“Cella des tablettes” + “Fosse aux foies”), with its own access door, and the other is in the south-western part of the building complex (“Bibliothèque de Lamashtu”), although its connection with the rest of the building has not been preserved. With due reservations, one of these basic spaces has preserved the tools for performing magic (texts and functional models of *exta*) while the other retained mainly the literary texts of the Babylonian tradition, guaranteeing the prestige and efficacy of practising magic and serving as pedagogical material. “Une relation étroite existait manifestement entre ces deux nouvelles bibliothèques d’Ugarit, distantes seulement d’une quinzaine de mètres”.<sup>8</sup>

However one fact must always be taken into account, which Mme Yon mentions constantly in her description of the Ugaritian archives: it is very probable that the tablets were kept on the upper floor and fell to their present spot during the destruction of the town and its buildings. This is more probably true of the second southern library. Nevertheless, as far as I know, no archaeological description of the complex as a whole mentions the remains of staircases, which are so common elsewhere in the city of Ugarit. It is then very probable that this very large building only had a ground floor (?).<sup>9</sup>

Summing up: the purpose of this chapter starts from the two suggestions put forward by the scholars mentioned: a) we are dealing with an archive-workshop devoted to the practice of magic, mainly divination, carried out by an officially recognized cultic functionary; and b) the building complex forms an architectural unit, the home of this functionary, called (*bn*) *Agaptarri*, who collected in this archive the texts and tools for performing magic and that corroborate his office and make clear his activity as a priest-magician.<sup>10</sup> This archive required scribes and apprentices, whose training was provided there. The actual distribution of spaces of the architectural complex, in accordance with the exercise of the complex magic-divinatory and pedagogical function just mentioned is, of course, mere hypothesis.

8. See Courtois 1969:94.

9. See in this connection Van Soldt SAU:200: “The existence of an upper story in antiquity does not seem very probable”.

10. See Courtois 1969:91; Yon 1997:110: “dans une petite pièce au nord a été trouvé un vase en forme de tête de lion qui porte une dédicace en ougaritique alphabétique citant le fils d’Agipshari (qui pourrait être le propriétaire de la maison)”.

To begin with, we will focus our attention on classifying the epigraphic material found in the space labelled “PH Room 10” or “Cella aux tablettes”, to explain their presence in this context. The “Cella” is divided into two sections by a “cloison” wall with a “fosse” in its eastern part opening directly into the funerary space where tomb 3709 was found.<sup>11</sup> It may be considered the working space for magical incantations and necromantic practices. This division of space makes the “fosse” of special ritual importance, i.e. a “favissa” where models of *exta*, texts or vessels that were used in personalized magic practices became “contaminated” or had exhausted their magic efficacy and had to be buried. They could not be re-used.<sup>12</sup> The sense of contamination / purification, sacralization / desacralization was very strong in ancient society, as can be deduced from the royal purification / desacralization rituals.

As a starting-point we take the documents, in alphabetic Ugaritic and in Akkadian, found in this spot, as classified in KTU:

- a) KTU 1: Literary and Religious Texts: KTU 1.100–1.105 (1.106), 1.107–1.111, 1.113–1.145 (1.146), 1.147–1.158;
- b) KTU 4: Economic Texts: KTU 4.689, 4.727–737, 4.815;
- c) KTU 5: Scribal Exercises: KTU 5.20–5.21;
- d) KTU 6: Inscriptions: KTU 6.62;
- e) KTU 7: Unclassified Texts and Fragments: KTU 7.134–7.196, 7.201–7.213;
- f) KTU 8: Illegible Tablets and Uninscribed Fragments: KTU 8.15–8.22.

It is clear then that we have no texts from categories KTU 2 (“Letters”) and KTU 3 (“Legal and Juridical Texts”). Instead, in the space mentioned there were two Akkadian texts and a limited number of Hurrian texts that we are going to consider (probably Hurrian was the magician’s mother tongue and also the language of his original texts!).<sup>13</sup> The main corpus of Akkadian texts, preserved in the

11. As Van Soldt SAU:194 correctly remarks: “The most interesting feature of PH is undoubtedly the pit (“fosse”)”. For a comprehensive list of texts from the “Fosse”, see Courtois 1988:11; but see below n. 26 and n. 30. The list can also be obtained from the Catalogues *TEOC* and *SAU*, which adequately distinguish between provenience from the “Cella” and the “Fosse”.

12. Which in turn had financial and commercial consequences; see below.

13. See in this regard Vita 2009.

*Lamaštu* archive<sup>14</sup> as already mentioned, deserves special attention and we will consider it below.

a) If we take “literary” in the sense of “mythological” or “epic”, there is no text of this category in the archive in question either. It is true that archaeologists speak of “textes mythologiques”.<sup>15</sup> But already the critical editor of the texts noticed the incongruity of such a label and assigned them to another category, that of “para-mythologiques”, namely, “mythologiques” in a secondary or derived sense, although they contain “elements mythologiques”.<sup>16</sup> On the other hand, “religious” is too generic a designation and requires further specification. Therefore we will distinguish the following sub-categories:

0. *Ugaritian gods and god lists*, as indispensable information to ensure the correct performance of ritual offering; ritual working tools:

- KTU 1.118/RS 24.264+24.280 (from “Cella”, t.p. 3751+3772). For other texts of the same kind see *infra* 10): the Akk. god list *ANU*, this time possibly as a library document from outside the “Cella”. (KTU 1.118 has a duplicate in the archive of the High Priest [KTU 1.47]).<sup>17</sup>

- KTU 1.113/RS 24.257; see below 6).

- KTU 1.102/RS 24.246; see below 6).

- KTU 1.123/RS 24.271 (a prayer?).

1. *Texts for justifying magical praxis*,<sup>18</sup> possibly recitative in nature and used as a mythological foundation for the practice of magic (with a magico-medical application):

- KTU 1.100/RS 24.244 (from the “Cella”, t.p. 3687),<sup>19</sup> the lengthy and generic *hieròs lógos* that introduces and justifies magical praxis within the Ugaritian

14. See Yon 1997:110–111; also discussed below.

15. So Courtois *passim* in the studies mentioned.

16. See Pardee 1988:1: “ces textes comportaient des aspects assez différents des grandes textes mythologiques”.

17. See above p. 9.

18. They may be also labelled: *protocols // mythological foundation and prototypical applications // hieròs lógos* texts.

19. So Bordreuil-Pardee 1989:299; but Courtois 1988:4 does not record it in Figure 1 of his article.

religious mythological system, under the general symbolic topic of a magical incantation against snakebite in horses.<sup>20</sup> According to this text, the god of magic is introduced into the Ugaritian pantheon (whose gods do not have magical powers), consequently legitimizing magic as a divinely sanctioned cultic praxis: the magician becomes a “priest”. It could be recited as an *introitus* to any performance of magic or to a specific magic incantation e.g. against snakebite.

- KTU 1.114/RS 24.258 (from the “Cella”, t.p. 3780) is the *hieròs lógos* of the *marzeah* as the cultic and magical praxis of necromancy, founding the efficacy of a medico-magical remedy against the aftermath produced by the drunkenness through which contact with the ghosts was achieved.<sup>21</sup> This text justifies it as a legitimate magic praxis, in restricted circles, the so-called *marzeah* cultic associations. But one can imagine that, in this setting, individual necromantic experiences were also accepted, carried out and controlled by the magician-priest. Even his house could have been the seat, or one of the seats of the *marzeah*, a cultic gathering for magic. Perhaps the text was recited on such occasions as well as at an individual performance.

- KTU 1.119/RS 24.266 (on this text as the *hieròs lógos* of the magic cultic ritual for royal purification see below on § 5).

The combination of mythological elements and healing prescriptions is highly reminiscent of Babylonian incantations as well as their distribution between the *āšipu* and the *asū*.<sup>22</sup> In this sense, KTU 1.119 also seems to be prototypical, with its clear distinction and alternation between offering and purification rituals on the seventh and seventeenth days (lines 1–3 / 4a; 4b–5 / 6ff.). On the reverse it summa-

20. See Pardee 1988:193–226; del Olmo Lete 2014b:188–211. The exorcism against this animal’s poisonous bite was already recorded by Philo of Byblos / Sanchunyatón as one of the primordial inventions: βοτάνάς εὔρον καὶ τὴν τῶν δακετῶν ἴασιν καὶ ἐποδάς; see Attridge-Oden 1991:46–47, 62–65, on the divine and immortal nature of serpents and snakes. It is also a very common topic in Egyptian magic; see Steiner 2011, with bibliography on the topic; López 1993:73, on the primordial snake-god Kematef. Also well-known is the primordial significance of the “snake” in the Hebrew Bible (Gen. 3:1ff.; Num 21; 2 Kgs 18:4). When the protagonist of the wisdom poem *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi* is cured by divine intervention, “a snake slithered by” (*Ludlul* III 49): see Annus-Lenzi 2010:39.

21. See Pardee 1988:13–74; del Olmo Lete 2015. On necromancy at Ugarit see Tropper 1989:13ff.

22. See del Olmo Lete 2014b:5f; also Sallaberger-Huber Vulliet 2003–2005:632: *āšipu*, “Beschwörer, Exorcist”. “Wird die rituelle Kompetenz des *āšipu* im Tempel benötigt, so übernimmt er offensichtlich die Aufgaben der Reinigungs-Priester”.

rises (another monthly ritual?) a new offering series (lines 18–22a) to end with the solemn development (ritual formula and prayer) of the king’s purification by the official purifier (*mḥll*), once again on the seventh day (lines 22bff.; see below). However, this text belongs to another sort of protocol, namely, the functional protocol, almost as a form to be filled in with the name and circumstances of the beneficiary and of the magic performance, discussed below (see § 4, 5). In these protocols there is no mythological story that both opens and authorizes the magic formula and practice.

In this context we must also comment briefly on KTU 1.179/RS 92.2016. In this connection I wrote elsewhere: “... lines 30–35 ... provide a surprising parallelism with the motifs of KTU 1.100:70–76, which suggests that this text, or at least its obverse, is rather a mythological *midrāš* or development of the mytheme of *Hôrānu* and his wife (note that the colophon is by *Ilimilku*, [the official scribe of the canonical mythological texts]) as the deities who protect against snake bite”.<sup>23</sup> The text appeared in *Urtenu*’s house-archive and it cannot be a coincidence that the text KTU 1.178/RS 92.2014, an incantation against snakebite, recited and written down for the benefit of the same *Urtenu*, was also found there.<sup>24</sup> It seems as if this very important person was specially harassed by this threat or was interested in magic in general, and collected all the magical defences against this or any evil in general under the prototypic snake symbol: a personal incantation provided by the magician-priest and the mythological recitative, in a copy written down by the official Ugaritian scribe, a disciple of the chief “diviner” (*prln*) *ʿAttanu*. Other texts from this archive also prove *Urtenu*’s interest in divinatory practices (*bārātu*) in order to safeguard his maritime commercial interests.<sup>25</sup>

## 2. Incantations against snakebite:

- KTU 1.107/RS 24.251/262/265/267/275 (from the “Fosse”, t.p. 3751 + 3784 + 3751 + 3687 [not recorded in Courtois, Fig. 1] + 3781). The text was found broken into five fragments and “is in many respects similar to KTU 1.100 (see above) and represents an incantation against snakebite, with the notable interven-

23. See del Olmo Lete 2014b:99f.; the *editio princeps* by Caquot-Dalix 2001:393ff. Bordreuil 2013:136 considers this text to be “mythologique”. In any case “l’élément le plus surprenant était pourtant la présence de ce document, seul de son espèce, dans la maison d’Ourtenu, éloignée de plusieurs centaines de mètres de la bibliothèque du Grand prêtre”.

24. See Bordreuil-Pardee 2001:387–391; del Olmo Lete 2014b:173–183.

25. See Malbran-Labat-Roche 2007:92.



tion of the gods *Šapšu* and *Hôrānu* ... It includes the well-known repetition of the entreaty formula calling on a series of gods, in pairs, as in the other text quoted. The fact that both texts contain an identical sequence shows a stable functional use".<sup>26</sup> But in this case the function of the text is a private and personal incantation composed and recited in favour of a certain *šrgzz*, who, apparently bitten by a snake, *ypky km n<sup>sr</sup>*, "weeps like a boy" (line 11).

This characteristic, as well as the purpose of the text (an incantation against snakebite), connect this text with KTU 1.82/RS 15.134 (from the "Central Palace Archive", t.p. 181), also a miscellaneous incantation/anti-witchcraft text against snakebite, one section of which has preserved the personal names of the beneficiaries: *ppšr* (*Papašarru*) and his sister *ppšrt* (*Papašarratu*; see del Olmo Lete 2014b:165ff.). KTU 1.178/RS 92.2014 (see above) is of a similar type: an incantation against snakebite for *úrtn / Urtenu*'s personal use. Also to the category of incantations belong texts like KTU 1.169/RIH 78/20 (from the "Northern Palace RIH"), a miscellaneous incantation against word sorcery (see del Olmo Lete 2014b:109ff); and KTU 1.96/RS 22.225 (from the "Ville Sud, Maison aux Textes Littéraires"), an incantation against the "evil eye" (see del Olmo Lete 2014b:128ff.). The distribution of these incantation tablets shows the probable existence of authorized magicians at the service of individuals or public royal institutions who could work with these texts. Their description as simple archival material does not seem very probable. The relative abundance of incantations against snakebite probably depends on the prototypical significance of the topic as is evident from KTU 1.100 (see above). It symbolizes the generic threat of evil against which the magic text offers an apotropaic protection, especially if we suppose that it was ritually recited by the magician-priest.

### 3. *Texts clearly used for divination:*

- Extispicy (hepatoscopy): KTU 1.141–1.144/RS 24.312, 24.323, 24.326, 24.327 (liver models from the "Fosse", t.p. 3781, 3781, 3743, 3751); KTU 1.127/RS 24.277 (lung model from the "Cella" t.p. 3681);<sup>27</sup>

26. See del Olmo Lete 2014b:157ff.; also Pardee 1988:227–256.

27. On KTU 1.127 see Dietrich, Loretz 1990:17–38; Pardee 2001:712–727; del Olmo Lete 2014b:291–295 (this text is not recorded by Courtois 1988, nor is its t.p. indicated in Figure 1, perhaps because it does not belong to the genre of texts dealt with in RSO IV, but in Courtois 1969:102); however, the catalogue by Bordreuil, Pardee 1989 (*TEOC*) specifies the t.p. "Fosse" of these texts.

- Teratomancy (*šumma izbu*): KTU 1.103/RS 24.247+24.265+ 24.268+ 24.287 (from the “Fosse”, t.p. 3732, 3751, 3687, 3772, 3687); KTU 1.140/RS 24.302 (from the “Cella”; t.p. 3745).<sup>28</sup>

As texts inscribed on liver and lung models, the texts KTU 1.141–1.144 and KTU 1.127 leave little room for disagreement on their magical function. Also the unscribed liver models (RS 24.310, 24.311, 24.312, 24.313, 24.314, 24.315, 24.316, 24.317, 24.318, 24.319, 24.320, 24.321, 24.320, 24.321, 24.322, 24.323, 24.325, 24.326, 24.327, all found in the “Fosse”; in total 5 + 19 extispicy models) belong in this category, as functional magical apparatus. Other models of this type have been found elsewhere in Ras Shamra,<sup>29</sup> as was the case with the incantation texts. The very significant aspect here is that the four inscribed liver models bear the name of the beneficiary of the magic divination praxis as well as the occasion or subject of the consultation. Therefore they are personal texts, like those mentioned above. In fact, all the liver models may be considered “personal”, the difference between inscribed and unscribed models probably depending on the price to be paid to a scribe. The lung model, RS 24.277/KTU 1.127, on the other hand, seems to have a “national” bearing; possibly an echo of the approaching last days of Ugarit can be heard in it: *hm qrt tūhd hm mt yʿl bnš*, “if a city is about to be captured, if Death attacks someone” (line 30).<sup>30</sup>

To this public or general category also belong the teratomantic texts KTU 1.103/RS 24.247+ (in four fragments) and KTU 1.140/RS 24.302. The first comes from the “Fosse”, as a copy used in a consultation that had already been carried out, while the second, found in the western part of the “Cella”, may have been deposited there as a working copy to be used on demand. The Mesopotamian dominance of this kind of divinatory text is well known and has been repeatedly analysed. The Akkadian originals could be consulted in the “Lamashtu Bibliothèque”, some metres away (see below).

For the other tools of extispicy and its texts see the basic study by Dietrich, Loretz 1990: *ad loc.*, as well as the studies by Pardee and del Olmo Lete, *ad loc.*

28. See Dietrich, Loretz 1990:87–204; Pardee 2001:532–564; del Olmo Lete 2014a:299ff. The original Akkadian text was abundantly represented elsewhere at Ugarit; see Arnaud 2007:47–51.

29. See Gachet, Pardee 2001:191–230; Gachet, Bizollon 2007:324 (Catalogue: RS 20.396–401), 407–410 (planches): “modèles de foies divinatoires inscrits (en ivoire)”, from the Royal Palace; see also Gachet 1995, for a discussion on the interpretation of these magical inscribed objets.

30. See del Olmo Lete 2014a:73; also the ivory liver model KTU 6.49 from the Central Palace (*qrt*).

However, no astrological texts have been found in this archaeological spot. Possibly this magician-priest was not competent in this kind of magical divination, known from elsewhere in Ras Shamra (see KTU 1.78/RS 12.061; KTU 1.163/RIH 78/14).

#### 4. *Texts of cultic consultation:*

- KTU 1.104/RS 24.248 (from the “Cella”, t.p. 3680) (Pardee 2001:565–573; del Olmo Lete 2014a:257–262);<sup>31</sup>

- KTU 1.124/RS 24.272 (from the “Cella”, t.p. 3745) (Pardee 1988:179–192; Dietrich, Loretz 1990:205–240; del Olmo Lete 2014a:261–265).

Nothing certain can be said about KTU 1.104, given its fragmentary state of conservation. As we shall see later on, several ritual texts from this archaeological area include the “transmission of (the) word” (*ttb rgm*) in the context of the king’s cultic praxis (see below 5.). “It can be supposed that the background to this ‘response’ was a ‘question’ or cultic consultation (*īršt*)”.<sup>32</sup> Possibly it is the official protocol of this function, namely, the magician’s function as a diviner (Akk. *bārû*; see above on *Urtenu*’s use of this divinatory praxis), a classical magician’s function in the ancient Near East, similar to Israelite prophecy (see the consultations by means of the *ʿēfōd*, a priestly implement mentioned in the Bible), as well as to Assyrian ‘prophecy’.<sup>33</sup> However, all this is rather hypothetical.

With the second text (KTU 1.124) we have an actual cultic consultation (*yšāl*) about a baby’s health with a magico-medical prescription and a magical performance that includes a purification (\**mḥy*; see below). The magic setting is clearly cultic, to be performed in the temples of *Ḥôrānu* and *Baʿlu*. The introduction of *Ditānu* as the deity to whom the consultation is addressed indicates that it is a necromantic act in favour of a royal-dynastic child (*yld*). The text “could be a ‘summons’ in the style of 1 Sam 28:3ff (the necromancer of Endor, *baʿalāt ʿōb*), per-

31. This text is not recorded by Courtois 1988, nor its t.p. is indicated in Figure 1; see above n. 25.

32. See del Olmo Lete 2014b:257. Nevertheless it must be taken into account that the right verbal base used with this function is */šl/*; see in this regard del Olmo Lete, Sanmartin 1999.

33. See in this regard, Sallaberger-Huber Vulliet 2003–2005:618: “Der ‘Wahrsager steht im Dienst der Gesellschaft, er wird erlohnt, und auch Ausbildung und Erwählung kennzeichnen ihn als Priester; ebenso ist der ‘Beschwörer’ zu beurteilen. Selbst ‘Propheten’ wie der *muḥḥum* (‘Rasende’) in Mari gehören dem Tempel an und sind damit als Priester anzusehen, obwohl sie aufgrund religiöser Inspiration wirken...”. On the Hebrew *ʿēfōd* see De Vaux 1960:200–206.

formed by the necromancer priest in his own house or in a private sanctuary, where the tablet was found, and therefore the protocol of an actual cultic ‘consultation’”.<sup>34</sup> The conclusion of Dietrich and Loretz was quite similar.<sup>35</sup> (On “necromancy” see §1 above).

5. *Texts related to royal cultic purification and divination:*

- KTU 1.119/RS 24.266 (from the “Cella”, t.p. 3759; see above) (Pardee 2000:661–688; del Olmo Lete 2014a:245–257, 392–395);

- KTU 1.105/RS 24.249:19–20: *yrthš mlk brr* (from the “Cella”, t.p. 3783) (Pardee 2000:574–587; del Olmo Lete 2014a:205–210);

- KTU 1.106/RS 24.250+:23–27, 31–33: *hl mlk ... yrthš mlk brr ... ttb rg[m]* (from the “Cella”, t.p. 3783) (Pardee 2000:588–600; del Olmo Lete 2014a:186–192, 383–385);

- KTU 1.109/RS 24.253:2: *yrthš mlk b[rr]* (from the “Fosse”, t.p. 3772) (See Pardee 2000:601–614; del Olmo Lete 2014a:225–230);<sup>36</sup>

- KTU 1.112/RS 24.256:9–11, 16–17, 20: *hl mlk ... yrthš mlk brr (2) ... wrgm gtrm yttb* (from the “Cella”, t.p. 3771) (Pardee 2000:630–642; del Olmo Lete 2014a:192–205);

- KTU 1.115/RS 24.260:6: *hll ydm* (from the “Cella”, t.p. 3745) (Pardee 2000:643–651; del Olmo Lete 2014a:219–225);

This set of texts recording cultic offerings or *neomeniae* seems to be out of place in this archive. One would expect to find these *cultic* or offering texts in an archive attached to a temple or in the archive of the High Priest, itself in the neighbourhood of the Baal temple (notice that *(bn) āgptr*’s house is also located in the “Tranchée Sud-Acropole”, close to the cultic quarter). Instead, the *mythological* texts, above all those of the *Baal Cycle*, were stored in this archive of the High Priest. Nevertheless there are some non-sacrificial aspects that relate these texts to each other: they all refer to rituals that are neither offering nor sacrificial rites, although closely connected with them. Therefore, *they all* mention the “king’s purifi-

34. See del Olmo Lete 2014b:262.

35. See Dietrich, Loretz 1990:226.

36. There is a partial duplicate of this text from “The Library of the High Priest”, namely, KTU 1.46/RS 1.009:9–10 *hl mlk ... yrthš mlk brr*; see Pardee 2000:264–287; del Olmo Lete 2014b:230–232. Also KTU 1.130/RS 24.284 is a fragmentary duplicate. It is not clear nevertheless why this was the only text of the category to be buried (?) in the “Fosse”.

cation / desacralization” (*hl mlk, ytrḥš mlk brr ...*). In this connection text KTU 1.119 must be singled out, for it mentions, besides the purification formula *hl mlk* (line 24), the officiant of such a rite (line 23: *mḥll*, [Akk. *mullilu* < \**elēlu* / \**ḥll*, “der Reiniger”])<sup>37</sup> and its basic element, the magic anointing formula (*hn šmn šlm bʿl mtk mlkm risyt*, lines 24–25). The purification anointing ceremony ends with a solemn prayer. To some extent, this text functions as the ‘protocol’ or *hieròs lógos* of a ritual action with a strong magical input, clearly different from the *lʿy*’s sacrificial function. In this regard, KTU 1.119 belongs with the texts of category 1. (see above), but without an opening mythological story. Similarly, the formula as well as the closing prayer refer to *Baʿlu*’s royal power, developed in the classic *Baal Cycle*, but implicit here. It is obvious that the performance of magic took place in the temple, fully within the sacrificial liturgy. Purity and the concomitant act of purification were categories of the highest importance in all ancient Near Eastern religions and cults.<sup>38</sup>

On the other hand, it is highly unusual that no offering texts have been found elsewhere (the most outstanding exception is the duplicate KTU 1.41 // KTU 1.87, found in the Library of the High Priest and in the Central Palace).<sup>39</sup> On the contrary, other non-sacrificial ritual texts, aside from those considered here, bear strong magic and divinatory implications.

Another magic ritual that can be found in this set of texts is the oracular / divinatory cultic praxis carried out by the king. An “answer” (*ttb rgm*) evidently implies a previous “consultation” (*yšál*) (see 4.).<sup>40</sup> This could be good evidence for

37. See on this del Olmo Lete 2017:173–175.

38. See in this connection Sallaberger, Huber Vulliet 2003–2005:619: “In göttlichen Auftrag handelt der Reinigung-spender und Beschwörer (*isib, maš-maš, āsipu* usw.); er sorg dafür dass die (kultische) Reinheit, also die perfekte Ordnung, erhalten bleibt oder wieder erlangt wird”; and *passim* on the priest’s “Reinheit”, the *gudu-pašišu*’s function [p. 630], the “Reinigungspriester” *isib / išippu* and *saga – (maḥ) / šangammāhu* [pp. 631f.]; for the Hebrew evidence see Cazelles 1976:37–47, 443–449.

39. This exception is due, perhaps, to the outstanding role that the king plays in this liturgy and to the different colophons with which both texts end. Actually KTU 1.41 is the text where the king’s purification (lines 3, 6–7, 44, 47–48, 53) and cultic “response” (lines 45–46, 52–53) are more insistently recorded. KTU 1.46, from the High Priest’s archive as well, is also a partial copy of KTU 1.109 and seems to be a compose text encompassing the two great ritual moments, newmoon and fullmoon, That justifies its presence in the *rb khnm*’s archive. It is clear that any offering text could be found there. The significant point is that the main body of such texts come from the Hurrian Priest’s archive. See del Olmo Lete 2014a:230–233.

40. This may be the moment and place to situate the “cultic consultation” (4.). On the role of the *gtrm* in this connection see del Olmo Lete 2014a:200.

the fusion of cult and magic as advocated by KTU 1.100 (see 1.). In turn, the frequent offerings of *kbd(m)* and *npš*, mainly to the *inš ilm*, may conceal the practice of extispicy.

6. *Records of dynastic and royal ideology.*

- KTU 1.102/RS 24.246 (from the “Fosse”, t.p. 3701 (dynastic pantheon + royal divine names) (Pardee 2000:520–531; del Olmo Lete 2014a:117–129, 351–355);

- KTU 1.108/RS 24.252 (from the “Cella”, t.p. 3769 (royal deification) (Pardee 1988:75–118; del Olmo Lete 2014a:149–156);

- KTU 1.113/RS 24.257 (from the “Cella”, t.p. 3771 (celebration of divine kingship) (Pardee 1988: del Olmo Lete 2014a:137ff., 145ff.);

- KTU 1.132/RS 24.291 (from the “Cella”(?), t.p. 3681 (hierogamy/enthronement: *rš pdry... hl mlk*) (Pardee 2000:738–744; del Olmo Lete 2014a:168–173);<sup>41</sup>

- RS 24.309A (from outside the “Cella”, t.p. 3521) (fragment of the classical Akk. god list *ANU*).<sup>42</sup>

In this archive also, and closely related to these texts of royal purification and offering rituals, there is a set of tablets recording the list of royal names in connection with the divine character of the Ugaritian kings. This is a forerunner or “rituel de passage” where the magician-priest’s intervention may be presumed as crucial. In this context, KTU 1.108 stands out as possibly the *hieròs lógos* of the ideology of kingship, of royal deification. Of course the moment is inevitably related to the death of the king and his funerary / mortuary celebration and burial, of which KTU 1.161/RS 34.126 (from the “Tas de déblais”) is the most impressive performance.<sup>43</sup> Naming the king, besides being a mythological topic (see KTU 1.1 IV 14), is clear on the reverse of KTU 1.102:15–28 (royal divine names) and the offerings present-

41. This text is not recorded by Courtois 1988, nor is its t.p. indicated in Figure 1.

42. See Nougayrol Ug. 5:213–216, other fragments of the same list come from other archives (RS 17/20 /22/23).

43. See in this connection Bordreuil 2013:135: “l’on doit alors se poser la question de la présence de ce document à l’extérieur du palais, bien loin des tombes royales”. It is clear that the ritual documents were kept at the disposal of individuals who had a decisive role in the ceremonies that these documents record and not in the place where such ceremonies were performed. Apparently Urtenu had an important role (possibly as master of ceremonies?) in the ritual of transmitting royal power from the deceased king to his successor. See above n. 21.

ed to some of the these “god-kings” (*ydbil*, *yāršil*, *‘mtr*) in KTU 1.106/RS 24.250+: 3–5 (see 5. *supra*). The function of these texts in a funerary context and dynastic or necromantic practices, at the magician-priest’s house/workshop or at the royal palace, is easy to presume.<sup>44</sup> In this regard, the magician-priest must certainly have known of the king list and of the pantheon to which the kings now belong.

#### 7. *Scribal exercises and pedagogical texts:*

- KTU 5.20/RS 24.492 (from the “Cella”, t.p. 3745; abecedary);
- KTU 5.21/RS 24.288 (from the “Cella”, t.p. 3740; abecedary);<sup>45</sup>
- KTU 1.101/RS 24.245 (from the “Fosse”, t.p. 3772: free copy of a mythological text: see KTU 1.3 II 31ff.) (Pardee 1988:119–152);
- KTU 1.133/RS 24.293 (from the “Cella”, t.p. 3745: copy of KTU 1.5 I 11ff.);
- RS 25.128 (from outside the “Cella”, t.p. 3971; Akkadian sign list).<sup>46</sup>

These texts provide evidence of the house as being an *edubba* for apprentices to a magician scribe: abecedaries, copies of classical (mythological) texts and an Akkadian sign list, coming from outside the area in question. It is clear that all these texts were intended for training young scribes or are the results of their practice.

KTU 1.101/RS 24.245 seems to be a copy of a mythological text, at least on the reverse (see KTU 1.3 II 31–33 + III 4–6); it is probable that the obverse was also a copy of an unknown mythological motif from the main *Baal Cycle*, now lost, or of another tablet of a minor cycle. Alternatively it could be the mythological founding *introitus* of an incantation or of the *hieròs lógos* of a purification function (note the vocabulary: *šmn šlm ... trthš ...*; as well as the mention of singing and playing music) of which the medico-magical application is lacking. Its location in the “Fosse” and its compositional structure, very similar to that of KTU 1.107 (above § 2), favour the first hypothesis.

44. See del Olmo Lete 2014a:175–210: “The Funerary Cult of the Palace”.

45. For this kind of scribal equipment at Ugarit see KTU 5.12 and following texts, with bibliography.

46. For its archeological context see Courtois 1969:91, n. 2; 96. This is a join of RS 14.128 (from surface 1950, t.p. 277) and RS 26.154 (outside the “Bibliothèque Lamashtu” 1962, t.p. 4262); see Bordreuil-Pardee 1989:80; Nougayrol 1968:209f. (“Syllabaire Sa paléographique”).

8. *Administrative records:*

- KTU 4.727/RS 24.289 (from the “Fosse”, t.p. 3743 (record of “houses / households”);<sup>47</sup>
- KTU 4.728/RS 24.292 (from the “Fosse” (?), t.p. 3708) (record of persons);<sup>48</sup>
- KTU 4.729/RS 24.301 (from outside the “Cella” t.p. 3646 (record of “shepherds”)).<sup>49</sup>

Like the offering texts (§ 5), the presence of these sorts of text in this archaeological context is also surprising, above all in respect of KTU 4.727 and 4.728, which are personal records from the “Fosse”. A good explanation is that they list the beneficiaries of extispicy as magical performances, whose names do not appear in these (uninscribed) liver models. We can say, then, that the set of these magical implements and the two personal lists correspond to the liver models inscribed with names of beneficiaries (see 3.). Possibly these persons or families could not afford a personally inscribed liver model (!). As for KTU 4.729, found outside the “Cella”, it is simply a record of house workers who would take care of the flocks (possibly of specially selected animals) that provided the “exta” for extispicy. It could even be an economic text, a sort of “salary record”. But taking into account the t.p. and despite the excavation year (RS 24), we can confidently conclude that this tablet has no connection with *Agaptarri*’s house, let alone with PH Room 10.

9. *Inscription:*

- KTU 6.62/RS 25.318 (from outside the “Cella”, t.p. 4058) (*bn agptr*).<sup>50</sup>

47. See McGeough 2011:466f.: “do they represent households to which cultic services were given...?”. According to Bordreuil-Pardee *TEOC*:303, this text comes from the “Cella”.

48. See McGeough 2011:467f.: “this document should be understood as a record of individuals who did not bring required amount of oil, perhaps to a religious function or as a cultic requirement”; see there for other interpretations. The text is not recorded nor is the t.p. provided by Courtois 1988; but see Courtois 1969:109.

49. See McGeough 2011:453. For its location see *TEOC*:304; Schaeffer 1978:154 (dépliant).

50. Syll. *a-gap-LUGAL*; see del Olmo Lete, Sanmartín 2015:25 for the various administrative texts where this name occurs, along with bibliography; to these should be added KTU 3.25, where the *bt agptr* is mentioned; *bn agptr* is also mentioned in KTU 4.714/RS 22.231:2, a list of individuals; see McGeough 2011:582f. Undoubtedly he was a very important person in Ugaritian society.



Although located at a distance from PH Room 10, the text inscribed on this lion protome is very important, because it probably provides the patronymic name of the house owner (father or son). The name is clearly Hurrian, which combined with the find of a set of Hurrian tablets in this archaeological spot has prompted it to be labelled the “Maison du Prêtre Hourrite” in the sense of magician-priest.

10. *Akkadian texts*:

- RS 24.309A (from outside “Cella”, t.p. 3521) (fragment of the classical Akk. god list *ANU*).<sup>51</sup>
- RS 25.128 (from outside the “Cella”, t.p. 3971; Akk. sign-list) (see above 7.).

According to Yon 1997:110, only two Akkadian texts appeared in this archaeological context; Bordreuil-Pardee 1989 (*TEOC*) record seven fragmentary texts from the “24 campagne”. All of them (RS 24.076, 24.273, 24.299, 24.307A, 24.309A, 24.309B, 24.657) come either from the “Cella” or outside it, except for one from the “Fosse” (RS 24.273, t.p. 3781). But since all but one (RS 24.309A) are still unpublished, nothing can be said about their content or function.<sup>52</sup>

11. *Hurrian Texts* (published by Laroche:1968):

- KTU 1.116/RS 24.261 (from the “Cella”, t.p. 3701) (offering text, *qrāt bgrn*) (Ug. 5:499–504;
- KTU 1.125/RS 24.274 (from the “Cella”, t.p. 3781) (offering text) (Ug. 5:504–507);
- KTU 1.110/RS 24.254 (from the “Cella”, t.p. 3680) (offering text) (Ug. 5:507–508);
- KTU 1.135/RS 24.295 (from the “Cella”, t.p. 3745) (fragmentary god list); (Ug. 5:508; see 6.);
- KTU 1.111/RS 24.255 (from the “Cella”, t.p. 3771) (offering text, for the king’s divinization [?]) (Ug. 5:509; del Olmo Lete 2014a:161–168);

51. See Nougayrol Ug. 5:213–216, other fragments of the same list come from other archives (RS 17./20./22./23.).

52. For a detailed catalogue of all the texts from PT Room 10, “cella” and “fosse”, see Van Soldt SAU:194–201.

- KTU 1.132/RS 24.291 (from the “Cella”, t.p. 3681) (offering text, for the king’s enthronement / hierogamy) (Ug. 5:509–510; del Olmo Lete 2014a:168–173);<sup>53</sup>
- KTU 1.128/RS 24.278 (from the “Cella”, t.p. 3772) (hymn // incantation [?]) (see KTU 1.143; Ug. 5:510 (Dietrich 2004:28–29; Dijkstra 2016:124–126);
- KTU 1.131/RS 24.285 (from the “Cella”, t.p. 3687) (hymn // incantation [?]) (see KTU 1.145; Ug. 5:511; Dietrich 2004:30–31);
- KTU 1.149/RS 24.644 (from the “Cella”, t.p. 3777) (fragmentary text [?]) (Ug. 5:516–517);
- KTU 1.120/RS 24.269+297 (from the “Cella”, t.p. 3726) (fragmentary [?]) (Ug. 5:517);
- KTU 1.148/RS 24.643:13–17 (from the “Cella”, t.p. 3759) (offering text) (Ug. 5: 517–518)<sup>54</sup>;

The first thing to say about these texts is that they all come from the “Cella”; none is from the “Fosse”. This means that they are working copies to guide the performance of magic, much like the texts of 5. A feature common and exclusive to most of them is the use of the specific Hurrian term for sacrifice / offering *áthlm* (KTU 1.110, 1.111 [+*mlk*], 1.116, 1.125, 1.132) (Laroche 1968:501)<sup>55</sup>. Possibly these offering rituals presuppose the king’s purification or some other kind of magic ritual performance, although the equivalent purification Ugaritic terminology (\**rḥṣ*, *br̄r*) and cultic consultation (*ttb r̄gm*) formulas do not seem to occur in them. The rather hypothetical degree of understanding of these texts makes any further specification very speculative. In any case, to find Hurrian cultic texts in the workshop and archive of a Hurrian magician-priest needs no further justification.

## 12. Fragmentary and unclassified texts:

- KTU 1.117/RS 24.263 (from the “Fosse”, t.p. 3784; copy of a mythological text ?) (Herdner 1978:64–74; Pardee 2000:257–260);

53. This text is clear evidence (whereas KTU 1.111 is not so clear) that Hurrian cultic-magic tradition was involved in the Ugaritian royal ideology and its liturgy.

54. See Lam 2006:399.413.

55. Not including the fragmentary and the non-offering texts. In turn, the Hurrian text KTU 1.116 may imply some magic activity to judge from the Ugaritic incipits: *dbh ʾtr ḥr qrāt b gr̄n* (lines 1–2), *w b bt áthlm* (line 10).

- KTU 1.121/RS 24.270 (from the “Cella”, t.p. 3727; duplicate of KTU 1.40:35–36, 39–41 (Herdner 1978:73; Pardee 2000:686–688));<sup>56</sup>
- KTU 1.122/RS 24.270B (from the “Cella”, t.p. 3727; duplicate of KTU 1.40:41–43) (Herdner 1978:73; Pardee 2000:689–690);
- KTU 1.126/RS 24.276 (from the “Cella”, t.p. 3759; offering text: *mlk ... yttb*) (Milik 1978:138–140; Pardee 2000:707–711);
- KTU 1.129/RS 24.282 (from the “Cella”, t.p. 3681; copy of a mythological text [?]) (Herdner 1978:67–68);
- KTU 1.130/RS 24.284 (from the “Cella”, t.p. 37.45; offering text) (Milik 1978:135–138; Pardee 2000: 728–737; Vita 2007:651–653, 661);
- KTU 1.134/RS 24.294 (from the “Fosse”, t.p. 3743; offering text) (Pardee 2000:751–753);
- KTU 1.136/RS 24.290A (from the “Cella”, t.p. 3759; offering text) (Herdner 1978:69–71; Pardee 2000:754–755);
- KTU 1.137/RS 24.296B (from the “Cella”, t.p. 3759; [?]) (Herdner 1978: 69–71; Pardee 2000:756–757);
- KTU 1.138/RS 24.298 (from the “Cella”, t.p. 3759; offering text) (Pardee 2000:758–759);
- KTU 1.139/RS 24.300 (from the “Cella”, t.p. 3687; offering text: *p]dry bt mlk...*, see KTU 1.132 above) (Milik 1978:144–145; Pardee 2000:760–762);
- KTU 1.146/RS 24.523 (from the “Tombe”, t.p. 3709; offering text) (Pardee 2000:777–778);
- KTU 1.147/RS 24.642A (from the “Cella”, t.p. 3753; offering text [?]) (Clemens 2001:1213);
- KTU 1.151/RS 24.647 (from the “Cella”, t.p. 3783; copy of mythological text [?]);
- KTU 1.152/RS 24.649A+B (from the “Cella”, t.p. 3777; [?]) (Dietrich, Loretz 1991: 99–101); KTU 1.153/RS 2.650B (from the “Cella”, t.p. 3777 [?]) (Pardee 2000:807–808);
- KTU 1.154/RS 24.652G+K (from the “Cella”, t.p. 3771; duplicate of KTU 1.40:28ff.) (Pardee 2000:809–810);
- KTU 1.156/RS 24.656 (from the “Cella”, t.p. 3760; [?]) (See Clemens 2001:1215);

56. These texts (KTU 1.122, 1.123, 1.154), duplicates of KTU 1.40, enhance the significance of that text in Ugaritian religious and magic practice.

- KTU 1.157/RS 28.054A//RS 24.[662] (from the “Cella”, t.p. 3759; copy of mythological text: *ymlk ... mlk* [?]).
- KTU 4.730/RS 24.303 (from “Cella”, t.p. 3745; PN list) (*UET*:469; Milik 1978:146);
- KTU 4.731/RS 24.304 (from the “Cella”, t.p. 3694; [?] (*UET*:469f.);
- KTU 4.732/RS 254.642E+F (from the “Cella”, t.p. 3757; [?] (*UET*:469);
- KTU 4.733/RS 24.642G (from the “Cella”, t.p. 3757; [?] (*UET*:469–470);
- KTU 4.734+/RS 24.651A+ (from the “Cella”, t.p. 3771; [?] (*UET*:470–471);
- KTU 4.735/RS 24.651B (from the “Cella”, t.p. 3771; [?] (*UET*:471);
- KTU 4.736/RS 24.651C (from the “Cella”, t.p. 3771; [?] (*UET*:471);
- KTU 4.737/RS 24.655C (from the “Cella”, t.p. 3760; [?] (*UET*:471–472);<sup>57</sup>
- KTU 4.815/RS 24.648A (from the “Cella”, t.p. 3783 ([?] (see Clemens 2001:557–559);
- KTU 7.134–213/RS 24.308B, 24.642B-I, 24.648B-D, 24.649D, 24.650A-L, 24.651D-, 24.652A-R, 24.653B-H, 24.655A-O, 28.054CJ, 28.058A-H (from the “Cella”, t.p. 3753, 3759, 3760, 3771, 3777, 3782, 3783 ([?] these texts show only broken words and isolated signs; they are not even recorded by McGeough-Smith).
- KTU 8.15–22/RS 24.653G-I, 24.28.054K-M, 24.058I-K, t.p. 3773, 3759 (only trace of signs).

The purpose of bringing together all these fragmentary texts is to convey a visual impression of the importance of this archive or library. “La Cella aux tablettes” appears to be an actual working library. Actually the number of tablets is only one half or even one third of the total number of fragments recovered (in fact no single tablet is complete). But even so the magician-priest had complete information on the public cultic requirements and individual requests which could require his cultic-magic services.

In this regard the first set of texts (KTU 1.117–157), the only one from which definite information can be extracted, exhibits the basic categories that could be expected, according the previous analysis of the well preserved texts: *copies of mythological texts*, mainly as scribal exercises or possibly as a narrative accompanying elements of the performance of magic; *offering texts* or lists in which magical acts (royal purification, cultic consultation...) were included.

57. Texts RS 24.738–741 come from court V.

In fact the magician-priest, in possession of all these cultic texts, appears as the main cultic officiant of Ugarit, aside from the king who is the only celebrant who can make offerings and sacrifices. But even with this undisputed prerogative, the king has to resort to the good offices of the magician-priest to perform the purification rites (*hl+br̄r*) that will allow him to enter and leave the sacred sphere.

In this connection we have to look outside the sacrificial function to find a noun to apply to the cultic function of the magician-priest. The most solid candidate is *khn* (Hurr. *prln* / Akk. *bārû*, *āšipu* ...), which retains its well-known sense of “diviner”, as the Arabic lexicon certifies.<sup>58</sup> The only other cultic personnel, besides the *khn* recorded in the administrative texts (KTU 4.) are *qdšm*, *šrm* and *šib mqdšt*.<sup>59</sup> In this regard it is worth considering *Ilimilku*'s famous colophon-signature: *prln rb khnm*. It indicates that at the time, under *Niqmaddu* III, the office of *prln*-High *khn* was carried out by *ātn* (*Attanu*, also a Hurrian) (see *DUL*:119). Or else, this *rb khnm* (*Attanu*) lived in the same (south)-acropolis quarter, just on the other side of the road<sup>60</sup> separating his residence from the house of the *khn Agaptarri*, his (principal) subordinate, we may suggest. The ceremonial weapons (axes), inscribed with his official title, *rb khnm* (KTU 6.6:1, 6.7:1, 6:81, 6.10:1) were found in this very house (the designation of this archaeological spot as “Maison du Grand-Prêtre” comes from these finds).

Misled by the biblical Hebrew use of *kōhēn*, we usually tend to understand “priest” as a “sacrificer”, as was also the case in Graeco-Roman religion and has been symbolically inherited by Christianity, assuming “sacrifice” to be the main cultic performance.<sup>61</sup> In turn, in Ugarit *mḥll* seems to be a functional descriptive label rather than a categorical name. In fact, it does not appear in the administrative lists.<sup>62</sup>

58. In this respect, Ug. *khn* seems to correspond to the various Akk. terms for “Wahrsager, Seher, Haruspex”: *šā'īlu*, *bārû*, *āpilum*, *raggimu* (New-Assyrian!), the last two (“Answerer”, “Rufer”) relate to the *ttb rgm* rite mentioned above (5.).

59. The *nqd(m)* represents a separate case of a lay non-cultic profession; see *DUL*:630f.; Bordreuil-Pardee 2001:350).

60. See the dépliant in *Ug.* 7:154.

61. This supposes the separation of (cultic) religion from secular power. But even in this case the supreme civil power went on acting as the *pontifex maximus*, an imperial title.

62. See del Olmo Lete, Sanmartín 1998:176–184; del Olmo Lete, forthcoming. This double function is reminiscent on the one hand of the “diviner” / “haruspex” (a priest using magic, Akk. *bārû*, LÚ.ḪAL) and on the other of the “exorcist, “purifier” / “anointed one” (a cultic priest, Akk. *ramku*, LÚ.MAŠ.MAŠ / *pašīšu*) who act together in the case of the Akkadian Job (see *Ludlul* II:108–109); Sallaberger, Huber Vulliet 2003–2005:617–640.

But the *prln/rb khnm Attanu* was also the *l̄y* of the king *Niqmaddu*. As is well known, this term has two meanings, one secular, “prime minister, vizier”,<sup>63</sup> the other cultic, “offerer, sacrificer”.<sup>64</sup> In both cases he acts as the king’s deputy, on his behalf, as the actual and only offering priest. In this manner, *Attanu* represents the fusion of the cultic and magic religious systems.<sup>65</sup> His function stands out in the social organization of Ugarit and in no administrative record do the *l̄y(m)* appear either with the cultic functionaries just mentioned (*khnm, qdšm, šrm*) or even with non-cultic officials (?) (*n̄rm, nqdm ...*).<sup>66</sup>

### 13. *The Lamaštu Archive. In guise of a colophon*

As mentioned, the archaeological area considered here includes, at the south-western side, a closed area labelled “Bibliothèque annexe des textes medico-magiques et littéraires”, “Maison aux textes medico-magiques” or “Bibliothèque (de) Lamashtou”, providing the most interesting contents of some of the texts found there in seasons 25 (1962) and 26 (1963).<sup>67</sup> According to Mme Yon, this place “a fourni environ soixante-dix tablettes en accadien” (Yon 1997:110). Actually the catalogue *TEOC* records some 184 texts for both seasons, but joins reduce the number mentioned by Yon. “À côté de *lettres* privées ou royales et de *textes* économiques ou *juridiques*,<sup>68</sup> environ cinquante textes relèvent de la tradition proprement babylonienne: *textes littéraires*; *textes lexicographiques*; nombreux *textes magiques ou médico-magiques*, dont une version de la *Lamashtou ...*; des textes concernant les *rituels d’accouchement*, le *traitement des yeux ...*” (ibid.). That is to say, aside from a small quantity of administrative records (letters, economic and legal acts, in the Ugaritian alphabet) which any public institution inevitably generates, the most of the texts correspond to copies of Akkadian/Babylonian originals

63. See Dietrich, Loretz 1987:19f.; Van Soldt 1988:313ff. (RS Akk. SUKKAL).

64. See DUL:881, in particular KTU 1.161:27–30. In this connection, the end of KTU 1.90:22 (a ritual of cultic consultation [*id yph*]), *w mlk ynsl l l̄y*, could be translated: “and the king gives up his turn to the *l̄y*”, as his substitute, to go on with the ritual (possibly an offering rite).

65. See del Olmo Lete 2015:205ff. In KTU 1.169:2 an “exorcist”, as a magician is mentioned, although it should be borne in mind that this text comes from the royal resort / palace of Ras Ibn Hani.

66. See e.g. KTU 4.745, a list of professions, where cultic and civil officials are recorded together.

67. See Nougayrol 1968 and 1969; also AAS 14, 1964, 39–45 // CRAI 1963:132–142.

68. These are precisely the categories of texts that are lacking in the “Cella”; see above.

intended for guiding the practice of magic and the training of the young scribes and apprentice magicians.

It is a pity that up to now (2016) only a small number of these texts has been published: according to *TEOC*, only 26 of the total amount of 184 textual units recorded. On the other hand, *TEOC* does not add any description of the contents or genres of the texts, which in the case of unpublished texts inhibits any comment about them. It must be presumed that as they are in general apparently of less importance, they belong to the same categories as those already published. In recent years, another twenty or so have been added by Arnaud (2007) to the score of published texts.<sup>69</sup> According to him, the texts from this archive-library belong to the following categories:

1. *Textes divinatoires:*

RS 25.452 (“fragment hépatoscopique”, p. 47);

RS 25.141 (“almanach”, p. 54);

2. *Incantations:*

RS 25:422 (“fragment d'*enuru* avec rituel”, pp. 60–62);

RS 25.513 (“incantation contre la *Lamaštu*”, pp. 62–63);<sup>70</sup>

RS 25.420+25.440/445/447/456A/459C (“incantations contre la *Lamaštu*”, pp. 63–73);<sup>71</sup>

RS 25.436 (“Sin et la taure”, pp. 75–77);

RS 25.511A (“fragment de texte médico-magique”, pp. 89–90);

RS 25.456B (“recueil de rituels et d'incantations”, pp. 90–96);

RS 25.418 (“fragment de rituel magique”, pp. 98–99).

3. *Hymnes et prières:*

RS 26.141 (“hymne bilingue à Enki-Ea”, pp. 101–103);

RS 25.443 (“fragment d'hymne à Šamaš”, pp. 108–109);

RS 25.432 (“fragment d'hymne à Šamaš”, p.110);

RS 25.460 (“hymne à Marduk” / “(juste) souffrant”, pp. 110–114);<sup>72</sup>

69. Arnaud's edition includes transcriptions and copies, but not photos, as we are waiting for an official *editio princeps* to provide them. However, Márquez Rowe 2007 has re-examined the following texts: RS 25.420+, 25.513, 25.129+25.456B, 25.418, 25.422, 25.436 (new transcription).

70. See also Márquez Rowe 2015:47–48. Also Farber 2014.

71. See Nougayrol 1969:393–408; Márquez Rowe 2015:38–47.

72. See Nougayrol 1968:265–273.

RS 26.152 (“rituel sous les étoiles”, pp. 119);  
 RS 25.435 (“l’Épopée de Tukulti-Ninurta”, pp. 120–123);  
 RS 25.431A (“bénédictio sur le roi à son entrée dans le nouveau palais”, pp. 123–124);  
 RS 25.427 (“prière privée à Enlil-Assur”, pp. 124–125).

4. *Textes sapientiaux:*

RS 25.130 (“la ballade des héros du temps jadis”, pp. 142–145);  
 RS 25.424 (“la ballade des héros du temps jadis”, pp. 145–148);  
 RS 25.421+25?.135A+ (“le ‘signalement lyrique’”, from Boghazkoi, pp. 179–185);  
 RS 25.526A (“la fable du renard et du chien”, pp. 186–189);

5. *Fragments littéraires non identifiés:*

RS 26.153 (pp. 195–196);  
 RS 25.444 (pp. 196–197);  
 RS 25.517 (p. 197);  
 RS 26.143 (pp. 197–198);  
 RS 26.152/159 (p. 198).

6. *Gestion de Bibliothèque:*

RS 25.462 (“catalogue de bibliothèque”, pp. 203–205);

7. *Une amulette*

RS 25.457 (“amulette”, contre la *Lamaštu*, p. 207).<sup>73</sup>  
 KTU 6.95/RS 25.188 (from outside, stamp seal amulet);<sup>74</sup>

7a. *To be added* (published by Nougayrol):

RS 25.438C (“liste *An*”, fragment) (Ug. 5:324);  
 RS 25.511B (“fragment d’un tableau des poids”) (Ug. 5: 324);  
 RS 26.142 (“liste de divinités”) (Ug. 5:321–322);  
 RS 26.158 (“fragment de Lettre”) (Ug. 5:323–324);  
 RS 25.133 (“Silbenalphabet”), AS 16:31–33;<sup>75</sup>  
 RS 25.446+ (“Syllabaire en *u-a-i*”), AS 16:29–33.

73. See Nougayrol 1969:404.

74. For bibliographical references see KTU p. 641.

75. The fragmentary tablets of “Silbenalphabet A” RS 24.077 (neither a t.p. nor any other remark is provided in *TEOC*; from the “Ville Sud”), RS 25.438B (t.p. 5240), RS 25.455H (t.p. 5169; both from the “Maison aux tablettes magiques”). were published by Van Soldt 2008:267f.



8. *Lexicographical texts* (published by Civil-Cavigneaux-Kennedy):

- RS 25.433, *MSL SS 1*, 1986, 75–89;  
RS 25.442, *MSL SS 1*, 1986, 75–89;  
RS 25.459A-B, *MSL SS 1*, 1986, 75–89;  
RS 25.526C, *MSL SS 1*, 1986, 75–89;  
RS 25.526D, *MSL SS 1*, 1986, 75–89;  
RS 26.160, *MSL SS 1*, 1986, 75–89;  
RS 25.415, *MSL 10*, 1970, 37–50;  
RS 26.137+26.144, *MSL 10*, 1970, 37–50;  
RS 25.419, *MSL 11*, 1974, 169;  
RS 25.455, *MSL 14*, 1979, 143–144;  
RS 26.139A, *MSL 17*, 1985, 10;  
RS 25.425, *MSL 17*, 1985, 44;  
KTU 5.22/RS 26.135 (from outside, list of words, scribal exercise).<sup>76</sup>

8a. *Letters* (published by Lackenbacher)<sup>77</sup>

- RS 25.131, Fs. Sjöberg 318; *LAPO* 20, 200;  
RS 25.461, Fs. Sjöberg 317f.; *LAPO* 20, 97.

9. *Alphabetic texts*:

- KTU 4.742/RS 25.139 (fragmentary text, record of persons and fees),  
*UET*:450;  
KTU 4.743/RS 25.140 (fragmentary text, record of persons and fees),  
(*UET*:472);  
KTU 4.744/RS 25.143 ([?]) (*UET*:541);  
KTU 4.745/RS 25.417 (list of professions) (*UET*:453–454);  
KTU 4.746/RS 26.156 (record of deliveries of food, measured in *dd*, to  
individuals) (*UET*: 451–452);  
KTU 4.747/RS 26.161 (fragmentary text, record of deliveries) (*UET*:452).

This distribution of the set of texts found in the so-called “Bibliothèque annexée de textes médico-magiques et littéraires” clarifies its function. First it is a *reference library of classical Akkadian texts of magic performances* (1.–2.), which may have functioned as prototypes and guides for forming their own Ugaritic mod-

76. See Dietrich, Loretz 1988:188–194.

77. The other two texts from the 25th excavation season (RS 25.134 and RS 25.138), also published by S. Lackenbacher, came from outside *Agaptarri*'s house.

els. The second and main set aims at *the instruction of young people* entering this profession in a true religious attitude towards the patron gods (3.) that they must sincerely profess in the exercise of their activity – magic is a serious religious matter – as well as in their personal ethical behaviour (4.). Of course, in third place, *the technical training* (6., 7a., 8.) of the young magician as a literate scribe was of the greatest interest for the institution: a profession based on the right use of formulae demands a good mastery of the languages concerned, both classical and prototypical (Akkadian) and functional (Ugaritic) and perhaps also Hurrian. The presence in this context of some *inscribed objects related to magic* (7. together with several Egyptian scarabs and seals) suggests that they had a specific practical use and were intended as models for further elaboration rather than simply being souvenirs or as embellishing the collection of texts. What is rather surprising is to find in this scholarly context a set of texts that are clearly *economic, administrative and even private*.<sup>78</sup> This reveals the complexity of the household and the everyday development of the activities in the “Maison du prêtre-magicien hourrite” and the attention paid to the just recompense of the working personnel. Possibly the workers and professionals mentioned in the alphabetic texts of § 9. are actually the *šāripū* (< Akk. *šarāpu* A, “to refine [metals]”, “to fire [bricks]” or *šarāpu* B, “to dye red”; Ug. *šrp*, “reddish dye”[?]) of RS 25.461, if Houwink Ten Cate’s identification is correct: “workers of a relative low social standing”.<sup>79</sup> They could have been in the service of the magician’s house.<sup>80</sup>

In addition to this abundant written material, a large number of objects, some utilitarian and others beautiful, more or less connected with the magic activities of the owner, has been found in this multi-roomed residence: a mug in the form of lion’s head, an ivory figurine, a decorated mug, a Cypriot rhyton, a libation chimney, etc. From all these texts and artefacts, used for his profession, theology and ministry, there emerges a realistic portrait of (*Binu*) *Agaptarri*.

78. The letters mentioned, i.e. RS 25.131, RS 25.461 (fragment 8a.) and RS 26.158 (fragment 7a.) should be included in this category.

79. See Houwink Ten Cate 1983–1984:44f., 50.

80. It is surprising that the same types of document are kept in this Ugarit archive and in the “exorcist” Kišir-Aššur’s library from Assur; see Jean 2006:149.

## Archive “Maison aux Tablettes Littéraires” – “Ville Sud” A Functional Analysis

In 1959(–1960) a new residential quartier was dug in the so called “Ville Sud” and among the many houses, that apparently lodged artisans and smiths of bronze and gold products, a room was discovered in the “îlot X” in which were hundreds of tablets, the so called “Maison aux tablettes littéraires” (RS 22.)<sup>1</sup>. In the surroundings of this room, tablets were also found that very probably belonged to the same collection, scattered at the moment of the building’s destruction (RS 23.). It was evidently a private archive in a pure urban “civil” context, far from the palace and the temples. Let us set out a table of its *published* texts as we do with the other archives, to illustrate its function.

RS 22.001	alph.	NE	t.p. 2358	0·65	KTU 5.18	scribal
RS 22.003	alph.	VS	t.p. 2626	1·50	KTU 4.710	
					/CRAI 1960:85–90	econ.
RS 22.004	alph.	NE-J	t.p. 2420	1·20	KTU 4.711	econ.
RS 22.998	alph.	NE	t.p. 2434	1·50	KTU 4.712	econ.
RS 22.046	alph.	VS	t.p. surface		KTU 4.713	econ.
RS 22.215	syll.	VS-MT	t.p. 2615	1·20AS	16/1966:33–38	scribal (Vocab.)
RS 22.217C	syll.	VS-MT	t.p. 2560	1·60	MSL 1 1974:43–49	scribal-
	lexical					
RS 22.218	syll.	VS	t.p. 2560	1·60	Ug. 5:115	scribal (Syll <sup>a</sup> )

1. For a thorough study of this house in terms of archaeology and texts see Roche-Hawley 2013.

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RS 22.219	syll.	VS-MT	t.p. 2577 1·50	Ug. 5:168	lit.
+RS 22.398			t.p. 2610 0·90		
RS 22.220	syll.	VS-MT	t.p. 2615 1·20	Ug. 5:112/AS 6/1966:31ss.	
+RS 24.077		VS	t.p. déblais		scribal (Syll <sup>a</sup> )
RS 22.222	syll.	VS-MT	t.p. 2608 2·10	AS 16/1966:33–38	scribal (Vocab.)
RS 22.225	alph.-syll.	VS	t.p. 2610 0·90	KTU 1.96/CRAI 1960:182– 184 (alph.)	AS16/1629–31(syll.) lit.-conj.
RS 22.226	syll.	VS-MT	t.p. 25.38 110	AuOrS 23:51f.	lit.
RS 22.227A	syll.	VS-MT	t.p. 2623... 2·20	MSL SS 1 / 1986:75–99	scribal (Gr.T.)
RS 22.230	syll.	VS-MT	t.p. 2548 1·10	AuOrS 23:5252	lit.
RS 22.231	alph.	VS	t.p. 2584 1·50	KTU 4.714	econ.
RS 22.337	syll.	VS-MT	t.p. 2639 0·80	MSL 10/1970:37–50, 107s.	scribal (Ḫḫ)
RS 22.337A	syll.	VS-MT	t.p. 2639 0·80	MSL 10/1970:37–50, 107– 116 <sup>2</sup>	scribal (Ḫḫ)
+RS 22.338					
+RS 22.339					
RS 22.341	syl	VS-MT	t.p. 2574 1·40	AuOrS 23:140ff.	lit.
[+ 28.053A]					
RS 22.344	syll.	VS-MT	t.p. 2633 0·70	Ug. 5:124	scribal (list <i>Anu</i> )
+RS 22.024					
RS 22.346	syll.	VS-MT	t.p. 2632 0,60	MSL 10/1070:37–50,107–116	scribal (Ḫḫ)
+RS 22.349					
RS 22.348	alph.	VS-MT	t.p. 2643 2·30	KTU 4.715	econ.
RS 22.393	syll.	VS-MT	t.p. 2623/4 2·30	PRU 6:16	letter
RS 22.396	syll.	VS-MT	t.p. 2647... 0·90	MSL SS 1/1966:75–89	scribal
RS 22.405	syll.	VS-MT	t.p. 2597 1·80	AuOr 14, 1996, 127–130	lit.
RS 22.407	alph.	VS-MT	t.p. 2615 1·20	KTU 4.716	econ.
RS 22.409	alph.	VS-MT	t.p. 2573 1·40	KTU 4.717	econ.

2. According to *TEOC*:285, this text is “inédit”, but according to the “Index des Éditions, *ibid.* 396, it was published in the quoted reference along with the previous text.

RS 22.411	syll.	VS-MT	t.p. 2624 2·20	AS 16/1966:33–38	scribal (Vocab.)
RS 22.413	alph.	VS-MT	t.p. 2376 1·90	KTU 4.718	econ.
RS 22.417	Balph.	VS-MT	t.p. 2629 0·50	KTU 4.719	econ.
RS 22.421	syll.	VS-MT	t.p. 2597 1·80	Ug. 5:167	lit.
RS 22.435	syll.	VS	t.p. piq.17f. 0·60–80	AS 16/1966:33–38	scribal (Vocab.)
RS 22.439	syll.	VS-MT	t.p. 2694–2687	Ug. 5:163	lit.
RS 23.020	syll.	VS	t.p. 2741 1·40	AuOrS 23:127f.	lit.
RS 23.027	alph.	VS	t.p. 2909 0·90	KTU 4.720	econ.
RS 23.028	alph.	VS	t.p. 2896 0·10	KTU 4.721	econ.
RS 23.032	alph.	VS	t.p. 2798 0·60	KTU 4.722	econ.
RS 23.034	syll.	VS-MT	t.p. 2797 2·20	Ug. 5:165	lit.
+RS 23.363					
+RS 23.494					
+RS 23.721					
+RS 23.721B					
RS 23.037	alph.	VS	t.p. 2717 ----	KTU 4.723	econ.
RS 23.038	syll.	VS-MT	t.p. 2774 2·90	Semítica 45/1996:7–18	lit.
RS 23.484	alph.	VS-MT	t.p. 2992 0·70	KTU 1.97/RSO II/1985:35–37	lit.(hyp.)
RS 23.488	alph.	VS	t.p. 2968 0·35	KTU 4.724	econ.
RS 23.492	alph.	VS-MT	t.p. 2896 2·0	KTU 5.19/Semítica 19/1982:9	scribal
RS 23.493A	syll.	VS	t.p. 2968 ----	Ug. 5:133	scribal Vocab.)
RS 23.495	syll.	VS	t.p. 2990 1·0	Ug. 5: 121	scribal (list <i>Anu</i> )
RS 23.496	alph.	VS	t.p. 3022 2·10	KTU 4.725	econ.
RS 23.497	alph.	VS	t.p. 2568 1·30	KTU 7.132	unclass.

The registered published texts from 1959–1960 campaigns amount to some 56(57) texts, of which 21<sup>3</sup> are alphabetic and 35 syllabic<sup>4</sup>. By genre distribution we have texts from both campaigns: 2 + 15 literary (KTU1.), 0 + 1 letters (KTU

3. KTU 1.96 (RS 22.225) is numbered twice, for the obv. is alphabetic and the rev. syllabic, in two different genres (literary [incantation] / scribal [syll. alphabet]).

4. Van Soldt confuses both categories, which would imply that he has consulted the unpublished (according to *TEOC*) texts too ... On the other hand the seven syll. texts published by Arnaud 2007 must now be taken into consideration.

2.), 16 + 1 economic (KTU 4.), 2 + 20<sup>5</sup> scribal-lexical (KTU 5.) and 1+ 1 unclassified texts (KTU 6.).

To this list a score of some 126 unpublished syllabic texts must be added,<sup>6</sup> making a total of some 182/(183) texts for this archive.<sup>7</sup> The overwhelming presence of scribal syllabic lexical texts (*Harra ḥubullu*, almost the complete text, Syllabaries, Vocabularies, *Anu* lists, Syll. Alphabet [RS 22.225 rev.], even Grammatical texts [RS 22.227A, 22.396]) clearly shows that in this urban complex a scribal workshop for copying and scribal training was active, namely an *edubba*. The presence of pure classical literary texts<sup>8</sup> (RS 22.219+22.398: Gilgamesh; RS 22.421: the Flood Story; RS 22.439, RS 23.034+: wisdom texts)<sup>9</sup> reinforces this point of view. Both categories, scribal and literary, take up the majority of the texts in this archive. Its master scribe is possibly concealed behind the Sumerian title <sup>l</sup>UGU-LA.KALAM.MA (*Nu<sup>6</sup>me-rašap?*).<sup>10</sup>

However, the low proportion of alphabetic texts (21 # 161, all published!), is surprising, mostly economic texts of no particular relevance. But curiously enough we find among them the customary magical text present in almost all the Ugaritian archives. This time a text unique in its genre (KTU 1.96/RS 22.225), a “conjunction against the evil eye”<sup>11</sup>, parallel to the text found in the *Rapānu* Archive (see below), in this case a “Medical prescription against ‘eye illnesses’”.<sup>12</sup> This indicates the significance of such texts in a scribal context.

On the other hand the absence of legal texts and the low proportion of letters<sup>13</sup> suggests that it is a scribal workshop intended mainly for the “middle class” requirements of Ugaritian society: the training of scribes (for other private ar-

5. It is worth noting that the “*Anu* List” is considered a scribal-lexical text within the syllabic texts, while the “god list” is taken as a literary-religious text in KTU. On the other hand, additional *Harra ḥubullu* copies have been identified among the unpublished texts, e.g. RS 22.437A and RS 23.082+23.364 (“tablette entière Hh 21”, see *TEOC*:294), and several others quoted by Van Soldt.

6. The list of unpublished texts from these and other campaigns can easily be consulted in *TEOC*.

7. In his very careful study, Van Soldt (*SAU*) takes into account only 83 texts (included several alph. texts, p. 190); but in fact he tabulates some 139 units + 52 joins.

8. See the *Lamashtu* library in *Agaptharri*’s archive.

9. See Arnaud, 2007:140ff.

10. See Van Soldt *SAU*:190; also for the scribes who appear in these texts.

11. See del Olmo Lete 2014a:129ff.: the text was first identified by the author in 1992.

12. See Márquez Rowe 2014:pp. 69ff.

13. According to *TEOC*, only RS 22.393 is a letter, published in PRU 6:16. Van Soldt (*SAU*:190) instead registers 8 more letters and 3 legal texts, all of them certified as unpublished by the source quoted. I had no access to them and so cannot decide on their contents.

chives?), writing and reading classical works, keeping records of the current economic affairs of the citizens and only sporadically storing copies of some significant correspondence and legal transactions written there. In other words, it was a school and a notary’s office.

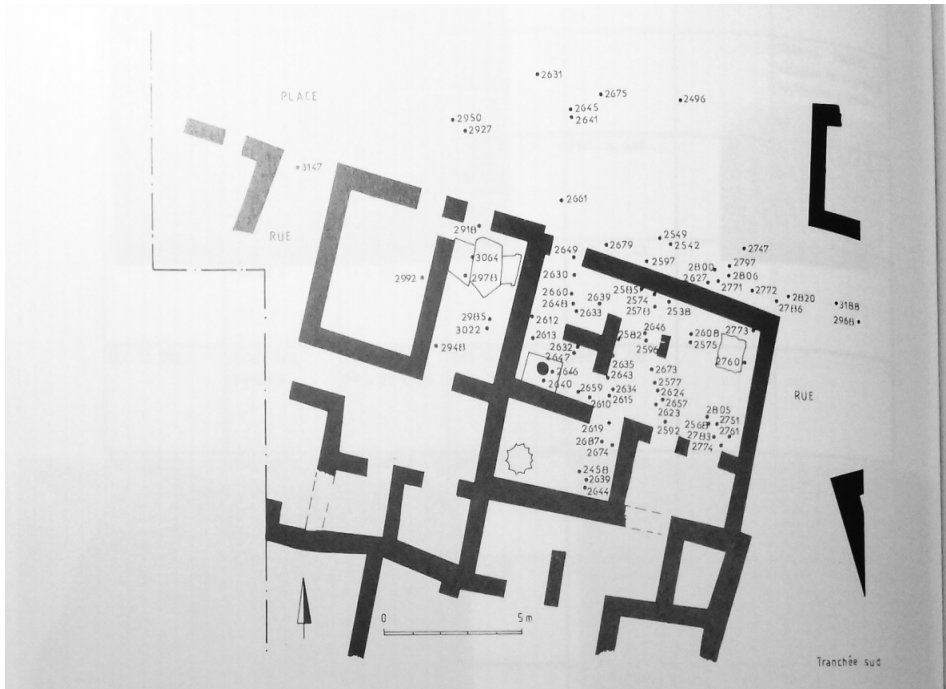


PLATE 5

Plan of the “Maison aux Textes Littéraires”, 22nd and 23rd campaigns, 1959–1960. P. Bordreuil, D. Pardee, *La trouvaille épigraphique de l’Ougarit. 1. Concordance (RSO V)*, Paris 1989, p. 282 (with authorization).





## The *Urtēnu*'s Archive: An Overview

As has happened so often in the history of the archaeological research, the discovery of the *Urtēnu*'s archive was completely accidental. In around 1970–1971, the earth and the debris removed during the course of construction work on a modern military installation on the South-West corner of Tell Ras Shamra brought to the surface the first cuneiform tablet (RS 32.204), indicating the possible existence at this spot of a deposit of inscribed documents. Tablets are rarely found alone. In fact, since 1973 regular excavation campaigns have brought to light a formidable private archive, only second to the Palace archive, and known by its owner's name as the *Urtēnu*'s Archive.<sup>1</sup>

The significance of this archive has been recognized due to the rapid and thorough publication of its texts<sup>2</sup>. We will limit ourselves to presenting a generic distribution of its texts, in order to highlight its significance and function within the complex of the Ugaritian private archives, referring to the two excellent catalogues for a more thorough examination of the texts. These are by P. Bordreuil and D. Pardee (1999–2000)<sup>3</sup> for the alphabetic texts and that by F. Malbran-Labat (2008)<sup>4</sup> for the syllabic texts.

1. For the story of the discovery see Bordreuil 1991.

2. See Schaeffer 1978b; Bordreuil *et al.*, 1991. Bordreuil, Malbran-Labat 1995; Arnaud 2001; 2007; Bordreuil, Pardee, Hawley 2012.

3. See Bordreuil, Pardee 1999–2000. This catalogue (p. 24) only includes the texts found in the 1973–1996 campaigns. For later campaigns see the works quoted in the previous note.

4. See Malbran-Labat 2008.

According to the catalogues mentioned, the total number of texts in the *Urtēnu* Archive amounts to 454: 321 + 15 lexical<sup>5</sup> syllabic and 118 alphabetic texts. The syllabic can be distributed into these genres: 35 literary and religious; 212 letters; 12 legal and juridical; 43 economic; 3 inscriptions; 16 unclassified texts. The alphabetic texts are: 3 literary and religious; 26 letters; 2 legal and juridical; 72 economic; 4 scribal; 1 inscription; 5 unclassified texts. The large amount of letters (238), exchanged with all the great and small political powers of the moment, makes of this a state archive and of its holder a Plenipotentiary *šākinu* (Ug. *s:škn*) of the Kingdom of Ugarit. But this political commitment does not override his function as a master scribe as the lexical along with literary-religious texts certify. In fact all the text categories are present in this archive and we find also here the famous magic conjuration (KTU 1.178/RS 92.2014) against the snake biting for the particular use and benefit of *Urtēnu*;<sup>6</sup> it could be taken as a magic text provided by the magician priest, as it was the case in other archives (see above), but the presence of some nine more syllabic texts of magical-medical conjuration and omen praxis (among them the *šumma izbu* portent omen) suggests the possibility that *Urtēnu* acted also as a magician in those specialized techniques. Meanwhile the very significant text of the funeral of *Niqmaddu* (III) and ‘*Ammurāpi*’s enthronement (KTU 1.161/RS 34.126) is fully in accordance with his competences as royal / state *l’y* (see above on the “*rb khnm*’s Archive”). But he was not *rb khnm*, so neither mythological (Ugaritic) texts nor actual offering texts were found in his archive. The so called “Listes divines / listes sacrificielles”<sup>7</sup> must be considered “god lists” (which obviously could be used in offering rituals, as was pointed out above) and that here are included in the category of “literary and religious texts”.

*Urtēnu*’s personality emerges from his archive as the great *factotum* of the state<sup>8</sup> and shows to what extent the management of the Kingdom of Ugarit was in the hands of scribes.

5. See André-Salvini 2001.

6. See Del Olmo Lete 2014b:173–187.

7. See Malbran-Labat 2008:36.

8. See Malbran-Labat, Roche 2007.

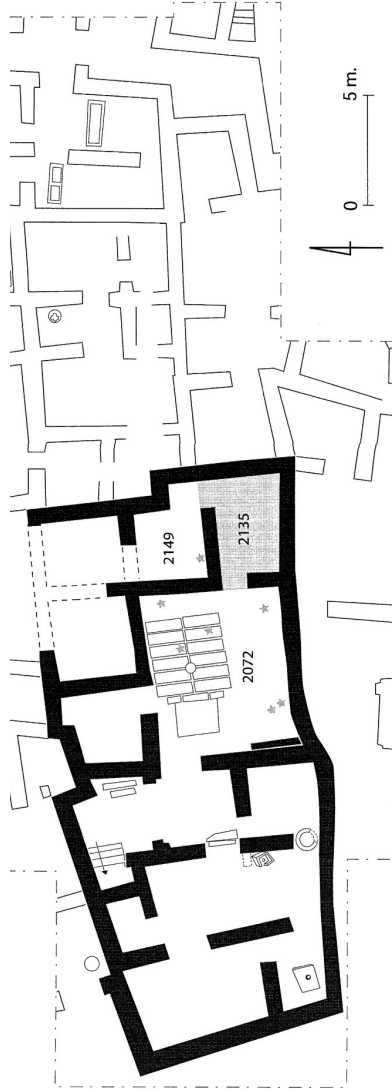


PLATE 6

Chantier Sud Centre – Maison d'Urtēnu – S. Lackenbacher, F. Malbran-Labat, *Lettres en Akkadien de la "Maison d'Urtēnu. Fouilles de 1999 (RSO XXIII), Leuven/Paris/Bristol 2016, p. 244.*



## The Archive of *Rapānu* / “La Maison de Rapanou” A Functional Analysis

The so-called “Archive (de la) Maison de *Rapānu* [*rpān*]”<sup>1</sup> is much larger than the archive of the “Létré and *Rashapābu* [*ršpāb*]”<sup>2</sup>, only smaller than the one belonging to *Urtēnu* (*ūrtn*) and of course smaller than the archival complex of the Royal Palace. Since most of its texts are unpublished (“unpub.” according to *TEOC*), a distribution by genre is futile if not impossible.<sup>3</sup> All the same, given that the publication of these texts is unlikely in the near future, we can look at the published material, assuming that the results will be representative of the whole archive.

In this respect let us begin with the *alphabetic texts*.<sup>4</sup>

<i>RS numb.</i>	<i>top. point</i>	<i>edition</i>	<i>genre</i>
RS 20.002	surface	KTU 4.687	econ.
RS 20.005	t.p. 1761	KTU 4.688 (porche 2 col.)	econ.
RS 20.008	t.p. 1853	KTU 4.689	econ.
RS 20.009	t.p. 1753-tomb	KTU 4.690 (SE <i>Rashapabu</i> )	econ.

1. See Saade 2011, pp. 324ff.; Van Soldt SAU:165–181; Yon 1997:83–87.

2. See below pp. 77ff.

3. Also the tablets whose script is in *TEOC* characterized as unknown (whether syll. or alph.) and the “publication condition” ignored (usually with double registration number) are here considered also as unpublished. On the contrary the texts defined as “cuneiform” are taken provisionally as syllabic.

4. These texts were found in the “Quartier Résidentiel, Maison de Rapanu” in 20th and 21st campaigns, unless otherwise stated. On the other hand, while the topographic point is very significant to fix the relationship between fragments, so is the depth.

RS 20.010	t.p. 1828	KTU 4.691	econ.
RS 20.145	t.p. 1837	KTU 4.692	econ.
RS 20. 147	t.p. 1837	KTU 5.15	scribal exerc.
RS 20. 157	t.p. 1782	KTU 4.693	econ.
RS 20.164	t.p. 1893	KTU 5.17	scribal exerc.
RS 20.183A	t.p. 1848/63	KTU 4.694	econ.
RS 20.198Abis	t.p. 1821	KTU 4.695	econ.
RS 20.199	t.p. 1821	KTU 2.68	letter <sup>5</sup>
RS 20.205A	t.p. déb.	KTU 4.696 (Q.R. sous déblais)	econ.
RS 20.209	t.p. 1769	KTU 4.697	econ.
RS 20.223	t.p. 1844	KTU 4.698	econ.
RS 20.240	t.p. 1744	KTU 4.699 (Q.R. <i>M. du Lettré</i> )	econ.
RS 20.247	t.p. 1753	KTU 4.700	econ.
RS 20.252B	t.p. déb.	KTU 7.131 (Q.R. déblais)	unclass.
RS 20.255B	t.p. 1838	KTU 4.701	econ.
RS 20.400Aa	t.p. 1537	KTU 3.27	legal
RS 20.426–21	t.p. 1844	KTU 4.703	econ.
RS 21.002	t.p. 1900	KTU 4.704	econ.
RS 21.056	t.p. 2244	KTU 4.705	econ.
RS 21.063B	t.p. déb.	KTU 4.706	econ.

In all there are 24 *published alphabetic texts*: 1 of category KTU 2. (letters), plus 1 of KTU 3. (legal and juridical texts), 19 of KTU 4. (economic texts), 2 of KTU 5. (scribal exercises) and 1 of KTU 7. (unclassified texts and fragments) categories. Only 6 texts still remain unpublished according to *TEOC* and KTU 9., namely:

RS 20.427D	t.p. 1837	KTU 9. 403
RS 20.435C	t.p. 1844	KTU 9. 404
RS 20.435T	t.p. 1844	KTU 9. 405
RS 20.435U	t.p. 1844	KTU 9. 406
RS 20.435V	t.p. 1844	KTU 9. 407
RS 20.435X	t.p. 1844	KTU 9. 408

5. Addressed to the queen, this letter could very well be considered as a scribal exercise in topical correspondence formulae: of sender, respect and divine blessing. See Nougayrol, Ug. 5:66ff.

As may be seen, most of these texts are economic-administrative in character. However, the reason that these texts were written in the alphabetic script instead of the syllabic script possibly depended either on the client’s personal motives or on other social reasons. We return to this topic below.

The second set of published texts comprises the *syllabic texts* published in *Ug. 5* under the editorship of J. Nougayrol (1968):

<i>RS numb.</i>	<i>top. point</i>	<i>edition</i>	<i>genre</i>
RS 20.001	t.p. 1838	Ug. 5:95	econ.
RS 20.003	t.p. 1837	Ug. 5:26	letter
RS 20.004	t.p. 1859	Ug. 5:100	econ.
RS 20.006	t.p. 1807	Ug. 5:19	lit.-rel. (incant.)
RS 20.007	t.p. 1761 (porche 2 col.)	Ug. 5:98	econ.
RS 20.012	t.p. 1804	Ug. 5:96	econ.
RS 20.013	t.p. 1831	Ug. 5:49	letter
RS 20.014	t.p. 1844	Ug. 5:149	econ. (Pd.-Mes.+ Coloph.)
RS 20.015	t.p. 1811	Ug. 5:53	letter
RS 20.016	t.p. 1720	Ug. 5:38	letter
RS 20.017	t.p. 1808	Ug. 5:62	letter
RS 20.018	t.p. 1808	Ug. 5:22	letter
RS 20.019	t.p. 1863	Ug. 5:48	letter
RS 20.020	t.p. 1866	Ug. 5:97	econ.
RS 20.021	t.p. 1866	Ug. 5:42	letter
RS 20.022	t.p. 1811	Ug. 5:27	letter
RS 20.023	t.p. 1827	Ug. 5:54	letter
RS 20.024	t.p. 1883	Ug. 5:18	lit.-rel. (Pantheon List)
RS 20.033	t.p. 1864	Ug. 5:20	letter
RS 20.095	t.p. 1924	Ug. 5:65	letter
RS 20.121	t.p. 1871/75	Ug. 5:119	lit.-rel. (List <i>Anu</i> )
RS 20.123	t.p. 1858	Ug. 5:137	scribal (Voc.Pol.)
+ RS 20.143A	t.p. 1845		
+ RS 20.180A	t.p. 1855		
+ RS 20.180α	t.p. 1855		
+ RS 20.185A	t.p. 1855		
+ RS 20.185B	t.p. 1855		
+ RS 20.190A	t.p. 1837		
+ RS 20.190B	t.p. 1837		

+ RS 20.197E	t.p. 1811		
+ RS 20.426C	t.p. 1844		
+ RS 20.426E	t.p. 1844		
+ RS 21.007B	t.p. 1900		
RS 20.130	t.p. 1894	Ug. 5:46	letter
RS 20.131	t.p. 1894	Ug. 5:101	econ.
RS 20.135	t.p. 1811/1827	Ug. 5:113+117	scribal(Syll. S <sup>a</sup> )
+RS 21.063C	t.p. déblais		
RS 20.136A	t.p. 1811/27	Ug. 5:127 (p. 211, 220) <sup>6</sup>	lit.-rel. (List <i>Anu</i> )
RS 20.139	t.p. 1771	Ug. 5:114	scribal (Syll. S <sup>a4</sup> )
RS 20.141A+	t.p. 1831	Ug. 5:76	letter
+RS 20.152	t.p. 1871	Ug. 5:154	
RS 20.141B	t.p. 1831	Ug. 5:34	letter
RS 20.141C	t.p. 1831	Ug. 5:91	legal
RS 20.143B	t.p. 1845	Ug. 5:103	econ.
RS 20.144A-G, I-J	t.p. 1845	Ug. 5:104 (part. copy)	econ.
+RS 20.185E	t.p. 1845		
+RS 20.197C	t.p. 1811		
+RS 20.211A	t.p. 1855		
+RS 20.211B	t.p. 1855		
RS 20.144O	t.p. 1845	Ug. 5:104	econ.
RS 20.146	t.p. 1837	Ug. 5:83	legal
RS 20.149	t.p. 1871	Ug. 5:130	scribal (Voc.Pol.)
RS 20.150	t.p. 1871	Ug. 5:56	letter
RS 20.151	t.p. 1871	Ug. 5:50	letter
RS 20.158	t.p. 1814	Ug. 5:51	letter
RS 20.159	t.p. 1814	Ug. 5:74	letter
RS 20.160N	t.p. 1845	Ug. 5:143	econ. (Pd.-Mes.)
RS 20.181-9	t.p. 1848/1863		
RS 20.161	t.p. 1883	Ug. 5:155	? (fragm.)
+RS 20.171C	t.p. 1883		
+RS 20.171E	t.p. 1883		
+RS 20.171-7	t.p. 1883		

6. *TEOC*:232 records only RS 20.136. On the other hand, Ug. 5:121 also mentions RS 20.136B: “liste (?) de signes alphabetiques (?) très frustes”, among the “fragments, ou passages, qui n’ont pas été remplacés, ou transcrits”.



RS 20.161D	t.p. 1893	Ug. 5:146	econ. (Pd.-Mes.)
+RS 20.161–16	t.p. 1893		
+RS 20.181D	t.p. 1884/1863		
+RS 20.181–10	t.p. 1884/1863		
RS 20.162	t.p. 1893	Ug. 5:37	letter
RS 20.163	t.p. 1893	Ug. 5:153	? (text Ug.-Akk.)
RS 20.168	t.p. 1831	Ug. 5:21	letter
+RS 20.195P	t.p. 1831		
RS 20.171A	t.p. 1883	Ug. 5:155	? (fragm.)
+RS 20.171–1t.p.	1883		
RS 20.172	t.p. 1883	Ug. 5:39	letter
RS 20.174A	t.p. 1844	Ug. 5:25	letter
RS 20.175	t.p. 1923	Ug. 5:126	lit.-rel. (list <i>Anu</i> )
RS 20.176	t.p. 1834	Ug. 5:86	legal
RS 20.177	t.p. 1834	Ug. 5:111	scribal (Syll. S <sup>a</sup> )
+RS 21.210	t.p. tomb	Ug. 5.110	scribal (Syll. S <sup>a</sup> )
RS 20.178	t.p. 1811	Ug. 5:55	letter
RS 20.180F	t.p. 1855	Ug. 5:107	econ. <sup>7</sup>
RS 20.181A	t.p. 1848/1863	Ug. 5:36A	letter
+RS 20.181–7	t.p. 1848/1863		
+RS 20.182A	t.p. 1848/1863		
RS 20.181–15	t.p. 1848/63	Ug. 5:36B	letter
RS 20.182C	t.p. 1848/63	Ug. 5:63	letter
RS 20.182D	t.p. 1848/63	Ug. 5:67	letter
RS 20.184	t.p. 1781	Ug. 5:28	letter
RS 20.185C	t.p. 1855	Ug. 5:141	scribal (Voc.Pol.)
RS 20.189A	t.p. 1837	UF 11:477–480	scribal (Voc.Pol.)
RS 20.189B	t.p. 1837	Ug. 5:132	scribal (Voc.Pol.)
RS 20.189D	t.p. 1837	Ug. 5:73	letter
RS 20.191	t.p. 1837	Ug. 5:75	letter
RS 20.194	t.p. 1848	Ug. 5:62	letter
RS 20.195A	t.p. 1831	Ug. 5:120	lit.-rel. (list <i>Anu</i> )
RS 20.196A	t.p. 1838	Ug. 5:145	econ. (Pd.-Mes.+ Coloph.)
RS 20.196C	t.p. 1838	Ug. 5:116	scribal (Syll. S <sup>a</sup> )

7. Nougayrol, Ug. 5:107, records the text as RS 20.180B.

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THE PRIVATE ARCHIVES OF UGARIT

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RS 20.196D	t.p. 1838	Ug. 5:77	letter
RS 20.197C	t.p. 1811	Ug. 5:105	econ.
RS 20.197F	t.p. 1811	Ug. 5:142	scribal (Voc.Pol.)
RS 20.200A	t.p. 1872	Ug. 5:78	letter
RS 20.200B	t.p. 1872	Ug. 5:40	letter
RS 20.200C	t.p. 1872	Ug. 5:29	letter
RS 20.201G	t.p. 1847	Ug. 5:131	scribal (Voc.Pol.)
+ RS 20.426Gt.p. 1844			
RS 20.203B	t.p. 1903	Ug. 5:87	legal
RS 20.205B	t.p. sous déblais	Ug. 5:156	(fragm.)
RS 20.207A	t.p. 1872	Ug. 5:102	econ.
RS 20.208B	t.p. 1769	Ug. 5:157	(fragm.)
RS 20.212	t.p. 1811	Ug. 5:33	letter
RS 20.214B	t.p. 1779	Ug. 5:89	legal
RS 20.214D	t.p. 1779	Ug. 5:79	letter
RS 20.216	t.p. 1855	Ug. 5:35	letter
RS 20.219	t.p. 1811	Ug. 5:44	letter
RS 20.220	t.p. 1908	Ug. 5:106	econ.
RS 20.222	t.p. 1844	Ug. 5:148	econ. (Pd.-Mes.)
RS 20.225	t.p. 1844	Ug. 5:45	letter
RS 20.226	t.p. 1810	Ug. 5:82	legal
RS 20.227	t.p. 1764	Ug. 5:57	letter
RS 20.231	t.p. 1772	Ug. 5:158	(fragm.)
RS 20.232	t.p. 1844	Ug. 5:58	letter
RS 20.235	t.p. 1780	Ug. 5:84	legal
RS 20.236	t.p. 1848	Ug. 5:85	legal
RS 20.237	t.p. 1893	Ug. 5:31	letter
RS 20.238	t.p. 1821	Ug. 5:24	letter
RS 20.239	t.p. 1866	Ug. 5:52	letter
RS 20.241C	t.p. 1870	Ug. 5:93	legal
RS 20.242	t.p. 1766	Ug. 5:72	letter
RS 20.243	t.p. 1773	Ug. 5:32 (E. <i>Rashapabu</i> )	letter
RS 20.244	t.p. 1851	Ug. 5:61	letter
RS 20.246	t.p. 1899	Ug. 5:68	letter
RS 20.248	t.p. 1753	Ug. 5:59	letter
RS 20.249	t.p. 1818	Ug. 5:L: p. 476, 496 (fragm. Hurr.)	
RS 20.251B	t.p. 1724	Ug. 5:94 (W. <i>Rashap</i> )	legal
RS 20.251C	t.p. 1724	Ug. 5:108 (W. <i>Rashap</i> )	econ.

RS 20.252A	t.p. déblais	Ug. 5:90	legal
RS 20.255A	t.p. 1838	Ug. 5:30	letter
RS 20.425	t.p. 1844	Ug. 5:99	econ.
RS 20.426A	t.p. 1844	Ug. 5:139	scribal (Voc.Pol.)
RS 20.426B	t.p. 1844	Ug. 5:138	scribal (Voc.Pol.)
RS 20.426D	t.p. 1844	Ug. 5:134	scribal (Voc.Pol.)
RS 20.426F	t.p. 1844	Ug. 5:140	scribal (Voc.Pol.)
RS 20.426–14	t.p. 1844	Ug. 5:70	letter
+RS 21.072	t.p. 1930	Ug. 5:69	
RS 21.003E	t.p. 1900	Ug. 5:109	scribal (Syll. S <sup>a</sup> )
RS 21.005D	t.p. 1900	Ug. 5:147	econ. (Pd.-Mes.)
RS 21.006C	t.p. 1900	Ug. 5:80	letter
RS 21.006D	t.p. 1900	Ug. 5:92	legal
RS 21.007A	t.p. 1900	Ug. 5:88	legal
RS 21.007C	t.p. 1900	Ug. 5:71	letter
RS 21.007H	t.p. 1900	Ug. 5:151	econ. (Pd.-Mes.)
+RS 21.063A	t.p. déblais	Ug. 5:150	
RS 21.010	t.p. 1863	Ug. 5:144	econ. (Pd.-Mes.)
RS 21.054B	tomb	Ug. 5:66	letter
RS 21.062	t.p. 1949	Ug. 5:135	scribal (Voc.Pol.)
RS 21.063D	déblais	Ug. 5:136	scribal (Voc.Pol.)
RS 21.063F	déblais	Ug. 5:60	letter
RS 21.064	t.p. 2223	Ug. 5:64	letter
RS 21.072	t.p. 1930	Ug. 5:69	letter
RS 21.183	tomb	Ug. 5:41	letter
RS 21.230	t.p. 1794	Ug. 5:81	legal <sup>8</sup>

8. For the sake of completeness and for joins, Nougayrol also includes in Ug, 5 fragments from other campaigns that are not taken into account here:

RS 14.128	277-surface	Ug. 5:118 (E. du tell)	scribal (Syll.Sa)
[+ RS 25.128	t.p. 3971	(S. Acr. M. text. mag.)]	
[+ RS 26.154	p. 4252	(S. Acr. M. text. mag.)]	
RS 17.085	t.p. 828	Ug. 5:122 (Q.R. M. du Lettré)	lit.-rel.(list Anu)
RS 22.218	t.p. 2560	Ug. 5:115 (S. Ville)	scribal (Syllab.)
RS 22.220	t.p. 2615	Ug. 5:112 (V.S. M. text. lit.)	scribal (Syllab.)
RS 22.344	t.p. 2633/2645	Ug. 5:124 (V.S. M. text. lit.)	scribal (Syllab.)
+RS 23.024			
RS 23.034	t.p. 2797	Ug. 5:165 (V.S. M. text. lit.)	lit.-rel. (Wisdom)
[+23.363	t.p. 2820		

There are 160 syllabic Akkadian texts published in Ug. 5 (but see n. 9 for a different calculation). In addition, another 17/11 texts/tablets were published elsewhere:

RS 20.125	t.p. 1848	AS 16:29–31	scribal-lex.
RS 20.129A	t.p. 1858	MSL 10:37–50	scribal-lex.
RS 20.148	t.p. 1885	MSL SS 1:75–89	scribal-lex.
+RS 21.069	t.p. 1930		
RS 20.156	t.p. 1844	MSL 11:169	scribal-lex.
RS 20.165C	t.p. 1893	MSL SS 1:75–89	scribal-lex.
+RS 20.171–3t.p.	1883		
+RS 20.179C	t.p. 1859		
+RS 20.222C	t.p. 1859		
+RS 20.228B	t.p. 1844		
RS 20.166	t.p. 1811	MSL SS 1:75–89	scribal-lex.
+RS 20.228A	t.p. 1807		
RS 20.167	t.p. 1894	MSL 10:149	scribal-lex.
RS 20.189A	t.p.	UF 11:477–479	scribal (Voc.Pol.)
RS 20.192	t.p. 1837	MSL 11	scribal-lex.
RS 20.230	t.p. 1811	MSL SS 1	scribal-lex.
RS 20.241A	t.p. 1870	MSL SS 1	scribal-lex.

The set of some 196 (24 alphabetic and about 172 syllabic) *published text units*, can be distributed into the following genres<sup>9</sup>: a set of 0 + 7 literary and religious texts (KTU 1.); 1 + 62 letters (KTU 2.); 1 + 14 legal texts (KTU 3.); 19 + 30 economic texts (KTU 4.); 2 + 32+17 scribal texts and exercises (KTU 5.); 1 + 10

+23.494	t.p. 2747		
+23.721	t.p. 2771		
+23.721B	t.p. 2771]		
RS 23.493A	t.p. 2968	Ug. 5:133 (Vil. Sud)	scribal (Voc.Pol.)
RS 23.495	t.p. 2990	Ug. 5:121 (Vil. Sud)	lit.-rel. (list Anu)
RS 24.309A	t.p. 3531	Ug. 5:123 (S. Acr. Cella tab.)	lit.-rel. (list Anu)
RS 22.346	t.p. 2632/2633	MSL 10 (V.S. M. text. lit.)	scribal-lex.
+RS 22.349	t.p. 2646---]		

9. According to Nougayrol, Ug. 5, p. 41: "... les documents ici publiés ... 128 textes ... nous pouvons évaluer à une cinquantaine les tablettes complètes, ou presque complètes, ou les grands fragments de ce lot, et à plusieurs centaines, ses petits fragments ou ses éclats". By genre: lexicographic texts (19[?]), letters (81), legal and economic texts (28).

unclassified texts and fragments (KTU 6.). But taking into account the proposed joins, the number of *tablets* must be reduced to about 40 textual units.

Moreover a set of some 459 *unpublished texts* should be added to the set of *published texts*. The total number of *tablets* once kept in *Rapānu*'s archive is however very difficult to establish, for two reasons. On the one hand, the fragmentary state of the whole set (before making the pertinent joins, such a calculation is very uncertain) and on the other, the sometimes confused way of double cataloguing, with descriptive remarks that are not always easy to interpret.

Coming now to the genre distributions proposed, the first thing we notice is the lack of alphabetic literary and religious texts (KTU 1.), even at the level of scribal exercises, with the only exception of the syllabic text RS 20.006 (Ug. 5:19).<sup>10</sup> From its contents we determine the main reason of its presence in this archive to be the general and inevitable recourse to magic among the scribes at Ugarit, so that magical texts (mostly incantations against snakebite<sup>11</sup>) are present in all the private Ugaritian archives. On the other hand, in line with the text mentioned, the subject matter of such an incantation (“eye illness”) is perfectly suited to the occupation of a scribe, whose “eyes”<sup>12</sup> (*în[û]<sup>M</sup> a-sà-tu înu<sup>M</sup> dal-ḥa-[t]u*, “yeux troublés, yeux troublés”) form his main working tool.

Secondly, there is a surprising number of Akkadian letters with the most varied addressees, more than the number of pure economic texts. Obviously the letters to the Ugaritian king kept in this archive are the original documents while those addressed to foreign kings and others are to be considered as “copies” of the original texts sent, which are then kept in their own archive.<sup>13</sup>

Possibly the most outstanding feature of this archive, in terms of published texts, is the large and almost complete series of scribal texts (*Harra ḥubullu*, *syllabaries*, *vocabularies*, *Anu lists*, *lists of weights and measures* etc.). These texts must be taken as working lexicographical tools for scribes in carrying out their profession and at the same time as indispensable instruments in the training of young new scribes. However, it is quite surprising to find almost no “scribal exer-

10. See Nougayrol, Ug. 5:19; Arnaud 2007:88.

11. See del Olmo Lete 2014a:109ff., 157ff., 173ff.

12. See in this regard the attention paid to eyes in the famous incantation against “the evil eye” (KTU 1.96), which mentions “the eye of the tax-collector / potter / gate-keeper”; see del Olmo Lete 2014a:129ff.

13. See e.g. Schaeffer 1968:639: “Une troisième lettre (RS 20.243?) constitue la minute ou le double d’un message envoyé au roi hittite par le même roi d’Ugarit”. Against this logical presupposition is the fact that no presumed original text of those letters has ever appeared in any other archive where it would be expected to be found.

cises” in this archive (only *a couple* in alphabetic script). Possibly they are now mislaid among the numerous unpublished texts. On the other hand, a text such as RS 20.163 in Ugaritic, written down with the Akkadian syllabary, clearly an experiment with no other purpose but to train apprentices in the use of the Akkadian script, proves this archive to be an *edubba*, a school / workshop for scribal training.<sup>14</sup>

Impressive evidence for this activity and of the normal co-existence of both languages, from this archive, is RS 20.147/KTU 5.15, a copy of the alphabet incorporating syllabic signs. Texts such as RS 20.148+21.069 / KTU 1.16 and RS 20.164 / KTU 5.17, also from this archive, as well as other texts of this kind from different archives, provide proof for the function of the *Rapānu*'s house as an *edubba* for training scribes, copying and recopying the Ugaritic alphabet. Probably the same kind of exercises for the Akkadian syllabary are provided by some of syllabaries recorded in the above list of published texts.

Finally the use in this like in the other archives of Ugarit of both languages, Akkadian and Ugaritic, with predominance of the first, witnesses once again the perfect bilingualism<sup>15</sup> of the Ugaritian society. The great majority of the economic affairs were recorded in Akkadian, the *lingua franca* in this field, a fact, nevertheless, that did not prevent some citizens to prefer having recorded some of their affairs in Ugaritic for personal (cultural, political ...) and practical (local, familiar...) reasons.

These provisional suggestions and many others on the significance of this archive have to remain unsettled until a direct inspection of all the tablets is possible or a printed edition of the unpublished texts is available. Not the last that of the definition of the role played by his titular, *Rapānu*. In this regard Nougayrol considers him to be: “... un scribe de très haut rang, chargé de fonctions importantes et surtout ayant accès aux affaires les plus délicates et les plus secrètes de l'État”. His obvious parallel is *Urtēnu*, whose personality and function are certainly obvious,<sup>16</sup> due largely to the complete and outstanding edition of the texts of his archive<sup>17</sup>. In

14. The same can be said of texts KTU 1.67, 1.69, 1.70, 1.73, in Akkadian, written in the Ugaritic alphabetic script; see del Olmo Lete 2014a:103. The most significant evidence for this double training is provided by KTU 5.14: Ugaritic alphabet // Akkadian phonetic syllabary. See in general the reasonable 'conclusions' put forward by Van Soldt 1991:228ff.

15. See in this regard Vita 2015; del Olmo Lete, forthcoming.

16. See Malbran-Labat, Roche 2007.

17. See above pp. 57f.; Schaeffer 1978; Bordreuil 1991; Bordreuil, Pardee, Hawley 2012; Lackenbacher, Malbran-Labat 2016. See also *TEOC* (catalogue of the alphabetic texts); F. Malbran-Labat 2008 (catalogue of the syllabic texts).

this respect we must consider *Rapānu* to be not just a learned and highly confidential scribe, but a high civil servant, possibly the highest public official at the time. As such, and as both scribe and civil servant, he led and recorded the affairs of state, keeping the written records of this activity in his home, the only place where such documents were of use, in an illiterate society, even its aristocrats. *Rapānu* was possibly *šākinu* of Ugarit, like *Urtēnu* and in the same way that *Rašapabu* was *ākil kar*. High-ranking officials were scribes who managed and kept records, and in this way provided evidence for all public (i.e. royal) and private dealings. At the same time they functioned as both “chancellor” (*šākinu*) and “notary” (*sukkallu*)<sup>18</sup>, keeping at home the written proof, as certificates or original documents, of all those transactions.

18. “... tout nous laisse entendre que A (Rapanu) jouait, dans son pays, un rôle de premier plan” (Nougayrol, Ug. 5:172; also Schaeffer 1968:639: “le personnage en question occupait le rang du conseiller du roi”; I. Márquez Rowe 2006:133: “Royal secretaries must have owned large houses in the city where some of them probably had their office and school”).

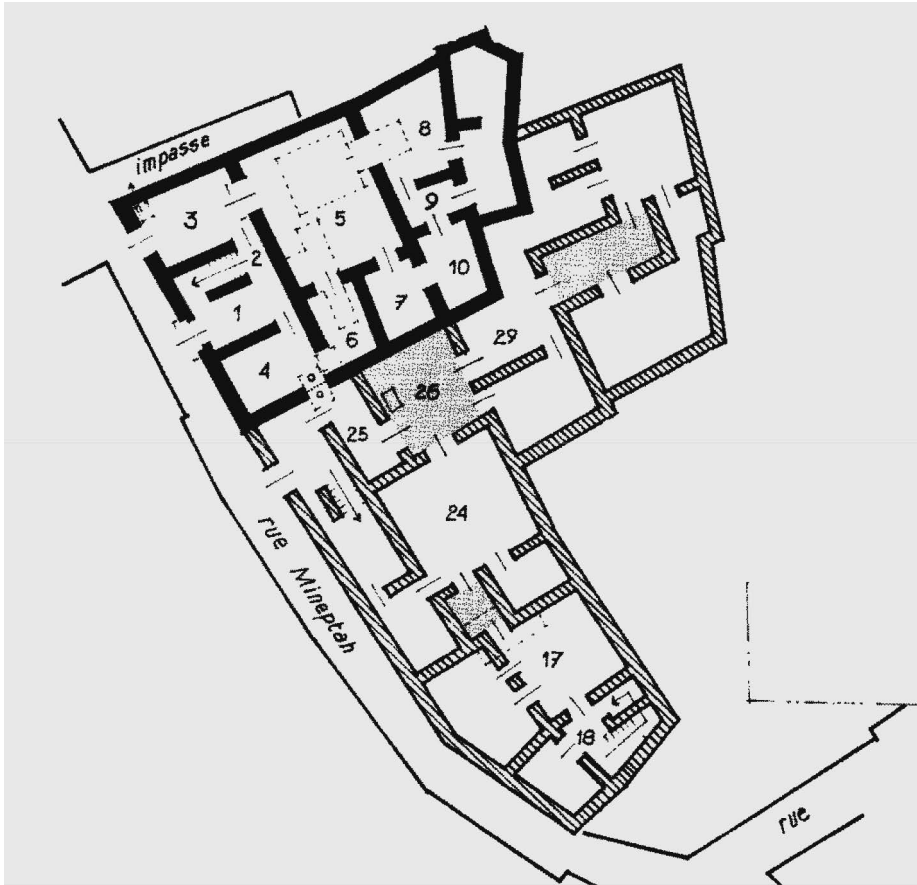


PLATE 7

Plan of *Rapānu*'s House – M. Yon, *La cité d'Ougarit sur le tell de Ras Shamra* (Guides Archéologiques de l'IFAPO, 2), Paris 1997, p. 84 (with authorization).



## The Ugaritic Archives of the “Maison du Lettré” and “Maison de *Rašap’abu*”

In the so called “Quartier résidentiel”, close to the Royal Palace of Ugarit, the archeologists brought to light (mainly in the 17th–1953, 20th–1956 and 21st–1958 campaigns) a series of private archives: “Maison du Lettré”,<sup>1</sup> “Maison de Rašhapa-bou”,<sup>2</sup> “Maison de Rapanou” (Fig. 1). Their concentration in the same urban quarter (between the so-called “Rue Mineptah” and “Rue du Palais”) makes of it a sort of *civil service quarter*, parallel in a certain aspect to the complex formed by the archives kept in the “Maison du Grand-Prêtre”<sup>3</sup> and the “Maison d’Agipshari”,<sup>4</sup> close to each other and located in the “Tranchée Sud-akropole”, near to the sacral temple area, that formed a sort of *cultic-magic residential space*. Only the functional analysis of the texts found in the three archives of the former quarter can afford meaningful features to draw sound conclusions on a possible common significance of the all three. We are going to deal in this paper with the first two of the quoted archives, while *Rap’ānu*’s we have already treated, given the size, particular significance and the great amount of unpublished material of this archive.

1).- The “Maison du Lettré” was so called because “la fouille a livré des tablettes de natures varies qui ont fait considérer leur propriétaire comme un savant, un érudit”.<sup>5</sup> But since some of these tablets, mainly of these found in the southern part of the house, according to M. Yon’s opinion, may belong to the archive of the

1. See Yon 1997:81

2. See Yon 1997:81–82

3. See del Olmo Lete 2018, forthcoming.

4. See del Olmo Lete 2017.

5. See Yon 1997:81; Courtois 1979:11, fig. 16.

collapsed adjacent building, the “Maison de Rashapabou”, particular attention shall be paid to the topographic point) where they were found.<sup>6</sup> Their literary genre could also be decisive when trying to determine into which archive they actually belong. We record only the Semitic (syllabic and alphabetic) tablets. Those written in other languages (Chyprite, Egyptian...) as well as other objects (seals...), even if they bear inscriptions in these languages, are not taken into account in this study.

A distribution by content and genre gives the following reference frame:<sup>7</sup>

<i>RS N.</i>	<i>script</i>	<i>p.t.</i>	<i>publication</i>	<i>genre</i>
RS 17.010	syll.	p.t. 582/991	Ug, 5 N:15A	lit. (let. aux dieux)
RS 17.040	syll.	p.t. 679/693	MSL 8/1:100	<i>Harra ḥubullu</i> 13
RS 17.080	syll.	p.t. 991	Ug. 5 N:15B	lit. (let. aux dieux)
RS 17.081	syll.	p.t. 989	Ug. 5 N:16	magical text
RS 17.085	syll.	p.t. 828	Ug. 5 N:122 ...	gods list
RS 17.098	syll.	p.t. 1063	MSL 6, p. 3	<i>Harra ḥubullu</i> 5
RS 17.107	syll.	p.t. 914	inééd.	<i>Harra ḥubullu</i> 14
RS 17.114	syll.	p.t. 910	inééd.	<i>Harra ḥubullu</i> 14
RS 17.155	syll.	p.t. 688	Ug. 5:17	magical text
RS 17.250	syl.	p.t. 1072	MSL 5:49	<i>Harra ḥubullu</i> 2
RS 17.320	syll.	p.t. 977	inééd.	lexical
RS 17.321	syll.	p.t. 960	I inééd.	lexical
RS 17.324	syll.	p.t. 968	inééd.	lexical
RS 17.327	alph.	p.t. 1056	KTU 2.35	Letter
RS 17.409[A]	alph.	p.t. 934	inééd./KTU 9.164	??
RS 17.409[B]	alph.	p.t. 934	inééd./KTU 9.165	??
RS 17.409[C]	alph.	p.t. 934	inééd./KTU 9.166	??
RS 17.409[D]	alph.	p.t. 934	inééd./KTU 9.167	??
RS 17.409[E]	alph.	p.t. 934	inééd./KTU 9.168	??
RS 17.409[F]	alph.	p.t. 934	I inééd./KTU 9.169	??
RS 17.409[G]	alph.	p.t. 934	inééd./KTU 9.170	??
RS 17.409[H]	alph.	p.t. 934	inééd./KTU 9.171	??

6. See Van Soldt 1991:160; according to this author the topographic points were not available for our archive: “thus all one can do is list the objects found within a particular archive according to depth”. Nevertheless the t.p. (topographic point = p.t.: point topographique) of each tablet is attached to the list (!).

7. The data are taken from Bordeuil, Pardee 1989:123ff. The abbreviations are these of Van Soldt; see *infra* “Abbreviations”, pp. 175–176.

RS 17.409[I]	alph.	p.t. 934	inééd./KTU 9.172	??
RS 17.409[J]	alph.	p.t. 934	inééd./KTU 9.173	??
RS 17.451	syll.	p.t. 848	PRU 6:12	Letter
RS 17.455	syll.	p.t.1181	PRU 6:3	Letter
RS 20.124	syll.	p.t.1754	inééd.	<i>Harra ḥubullu</i> 8

A first analysis of the texts assigned to the “Maison du Lettré” makes clear that *there was not such a particular archive*. Neither the number of texts (a maximum of 19 epigraphical units-fragments) nor their genre distribution authorizes to single out this group of texts as an independent documentary unit. The overwhelming majority of scribal working texts, lexical and school texts (10 at least of the published texts) does not match the scarcity of other genres that normally accompany them. On the other hand RS 17.087 and 17.022, two fragments of the same text, were found apart in the “Maison du Lettré” and in the “Maison de Rapashabu”, in p.t. 845 and 577 respectively, at a rather long distance from each other (see Fig. 3).<sup>8</sup> That means that not only tablets found in the southern part of the “Maison du Lettré”, “qui juxte la ‘Maison de Rashapabu’”, according to M. Yon’s quoted opinion, but that all the tablets “proviennent en réalité du même ensemble d’archives”,<sup>9</sup> namely “Rashapabu’s Archive”, as it was presumed in the first moment.<sup>10</sup> As Van Soldt rightly remarks: “note that joins connect tablets from all different levels”.<sup>11</sup>

We can even hypothesize that when the separating wall collapsed, at the moment of the city destruction, the tablets (a rather slippery object) kept in the Rashapabu’s archive, run into the floor of the attached room which was part of the same residence, but not an archive room. The residence perhaps included also the small “maison” cut off in the north-eastern corner, shaping in this way a habitat similar in size and geometric design to the others in this archaeological space (see Fig. 2).

Actually the tablets of the so called “Maison du Lettré” are around a dozen and a half, all of them fragmentary, distributed in this way:

8. Otherwise these enough distant topographical points would allow to take these two texts as originally different units.

9. See Yon 1997:81; 82: “Il est vraisemblable que les tablettes ramassées dans la maison voisine, alors désigné comme ‘Maison du Lettré’, proviennent elles aussi de l’étage de la Maison de Rashapabu”.

10. See Van Soldt 1991: p. 163; Schaeffer, 1953:140–141.

11. See Van Soldt 1991:179.

11 *published* texts:

RS 17.010+RS 17.080: Sum.-Akk. school text-copy of a “letter to the gods” praying for the pupil of the *edubba*;

RS 17.040: *Harra hubullu* 13;<sup>12</sup>

RS 17.081: school text-copy<sup>13</sup> of magical praxis text for a safe childbirth;

RS 17.085: school text-copy of gods *Anu D* list;

RS 17.098: *Harra hubullu* 5;

RS 17.155: school text-copy of a magical collectanea;<sup>14</sup>

RS 17.250: *Harra hubullu* 2;

RS 17.327: alph. letter;

RS 17.451: school text-copy of a letter to different addressees;

RS 17.455; copy of a letter of the *šakinu* (Rashapabu?) to the king

7/8<sup>15</sup> *unpublished* texts:

RS 17.107 (Hh 14); RS 17.114 (Hh 14); RS 17.320 (lex.); RS 17.321(lex.); RS 17.324 (lex.); RS 17.409A-J (alph.: frags.-écats; two tablets?); RS 20.124 (Hh 8).

By genre they are:

juridical-economic	2
school text	2+2+1
lexical, <i>Harra hubullu</i>	3+6
letter	2+1(alph.)

2).- In order to verify the exactness of advanced hypothesis of a single archive let us record and organize by genres the much more numerous set of tablets assigned to the “Maison de Rashapabu”.

<i>RS N.</i>	<i>script</i>	<i>p.t.</i>	<i>publication</i>	<i>genre</i>
RS 17.019	syll.	p.t. 581	Ug. 5:11	economic

12. For the contents of the different tablets of the *Harra hubullu* series see Cavigneaux 1980–1983; see also Veldhuis 2014 for a general overview of the Mesopotamian lexical tradition.

13. See in this connection *Ugaritica* 5:29, n. 1 (Nougayrol).

14. Although a marvelous exemplar of cuneiform tablet, it must be considered a copy, duplicate of RS 15.152 from the “Palais Royal, Archives Centrales” (the master copy?) (*Ugaritica* 5:17, pp. 29ff.). According to Nougayrol this beautiful tablet is an “étrange complexe d’accadien barbare et de sumérien macaronique”; that is to say a school text... But see Ig. Márquez 2014.

15. This hypothesis must be verified by trying possible joints (see RS 17.010+RS 17.080 = Ug. 5 N:15), to verify whether we have only one or several tablets. In many cases *TEOC* points out the likely situation of the “éclat” in the tablet: “central, de tranche inf.”, etc.; a remark very significant. In any case it is unlikely to have in these cases more than a couple of tablets or three.

RS 17.020	syll.	p.t. 591	Ug. 5:4	juridical
RS 17.021	syll.	p.t. 575	Ug. 5:2	juridical
RS 17.022+087	syll.	p.t. 577	Ug. 5:5	juridical
RS 17.029	alph.	p.t. 721	KTU 4.262	economic
RS 17.030	syll.	p.t. 747	inéd.	lexical
RS 17.033	syll.	p.t. 840	Ug. 5:3	juridical
RS 17.034	syll.	p.t. 751	Ug. 5:12	economic
RS 17.036	syll.	p.t. 712	Ug. 5:7	juridical
RS 17.038	syll.	p.t. 696	Ug. 5:8	juridical
RS 17.041	syll.	p.t. 672	AS 16/1966: 33–38 (+29.103)	lexical (/Syll.A)
RS 17.061	syll.	p.t. 813	Ug. 5:9	juridical
RS 17.063	alph.	p.t. 773	KTU 5:10	school text
RS 17.065	syll.	p.t. 836	Ug. 5:1	juridical
RS 17.067	syll.	p.t. 761	Ug. 5:10	juridical
RS 17.082	syll.	p.t. 799	PRU 4:147	juridical (Inter.)
RS 17.117	alph.	p.t. 844	KTU 5.11	school text
RS 17.120	alph.	p.t. 1086	KTU 1.85	veterinary text
RS 17.149	syll.	p.t. 904	Ug. 5:6	juridical
RS 17.150	syll.	p.t. 1095	Ug. 5:12 (+ RS 17.034)	economic
RS 17.326	alph.	p.t. 980	KTU 4.297	economic
RS 17.328	syll.	p.t. 981	Ug. 5:14bis	economic/fragm.
RS 17.332	syll.	p.t. 979	Ug. 5:14	economic/fragm.
RS 17.336	syll.	p.t. 1095	MSL 7/1959:122	<i>Ḥarra hubullu</i> 11
RS 17.465	syll.	p.t. 1081	Ug. 5:13	economic
RS 17.[472]	alph.	p.t. 944	KTU 4.255	economic
RS 20.005	alph.	p.t. 1761	KTU 4.688 (porch 2 col.)	economic
RS 20.007	syll.	p.t. 1761	Ug. 5:98 (porch. 2 col.)	school text
RS 20.009	alph.	p.t. 1753	tombe KTU 4.690	school text

The text distribution by genres, in which *letters* and *literary texts* are absent<sup>16</sup>, is the following:

16. But not “textes scolaires, de dictionnaires ou lexiques, ainsi que de lettres de caractère royal...” (Schaeffer Ug 5: 629: vd. *supra*). The few literary and lexical material in this archive we suppose it was meant for the training of its body of scribes.

juridical-economic	15+5 (alph.)
school text, master copy	1+1+3 (alph.)
lexical, <i>Harra ḥubullu</i>	2+1

We have 28 epigraphic documents: some ten epigraphic units more than in the former “archive”, all but one (RS 17.030) published. The distribution by genres is nevertheless very different with predominance in this case of juridical-economic texts what fits well the professional interests of the owner of the house-archive, *Rašap<sup>2</sup>abu*. We know by RS 17.465:3f.<sup>17</sup> that *Rašap<sup>2</sup>abu* was *akil kāri*, “supervisor of the harbor” // “syndic du marché”<sup>18</sup>

In this context to find school and lexical texts in a commercial agent’s private archive, seems rather out of place ... But we cannot forget in this respect that any ancient archive was in fact a *scriptorium* with its own scribe or scribes’ body and its apprentices which could not be shared.<sup>19</sup> The scribe was the owner’s *alter ego*, in possession of the whole information of his master’s affairs. In this case we know the name of *Rašap<sup>2</sup>abu*’s chief scribe: *Munaḥimu*<sup>20</sup>. Therefore we will *a priori* find in private archives scribal material for the use of the scribes as well as of their pupils training (scholarship beneficiaries) who will take up the office in the next generation: v.g. the normative dictionary of cuneiform script (*Harra ḥubullu*) and more handy vocabularies (lexical texts). As a consequence scholar exercises, namely copies of classic literary or otherwise well-known texts (but not of actual documents of the house) will appear also, as testimony of the *edubba* function of the house-archive. In this connection we can even figure out that that room “Maison du

17. See Ug. 5:13, photo p. 608, fig. 1. See Schaeffer 1968:609

18. Maybe also *šākinu*, according to letter RS 17.455 / PRU 6:3; it is unbelievable (?) to suppose that acts of “another” *šākinu* were kept in *Rašap<sup>2</sup>abu*’s archive.

19. But the existence at Ugarit of a general *edubba* or academy for training scribes to be offered to particulars as “Scribe in chef” and master of their private archive is no to be ruled out. In this regard the previous functional study of *Rap<sup>2</sup>ānu*’s archive could cast some light on this hypothesis...

20. See RS 17.149:0/32: *mu-na-ḥi-mu amiltupšarru l mār šā-pi-da-na*; also RS 17.022+17.087:29. There are other scribes acting in this archive: *lili-ilšapaš*: RS 17.036:17; *ilu-milku*, RS 17.061:22; RS 17.065:15. But *Munaḥimu* seems to be the chief trained scribe in this workshop under the command of his master, he himself also a scribe; see Nougayrol, Ug. 5, p. 13, n. 2. The scribe *ilu-milku* of this archive is different from the *ilu-milku* of the mythological texts (see v.g. KTU 1.6 VI 54), who worked in the archive of the Great Priest (*rb khnm*), where these texts were written down and kept; *supra* p. 13ff. A comparison of tablet KTU 1.6 obv. (photo in great format Paris ’94, by W. Pitard and An. Vaughn) and RS 17.061 (photo offered by Cl.F.A. Schaeffer, Ug. 5: p. 619) makes clear the difference in *ductus* of the two texts, in my opinion being more firm and elegant the type setting of *Rašap<sup>2</sup>abu*’s scribe.

Lettré” was the “classroom” and *scriptorium* where the documents were copied and the apprentices training took place, while the so-called “Maison de Rashapabu” was the space where the already written down documents were stored. In this regard Schaeffer (Ug. 5:615) rightly asserts: “Il n’est pas interdit, en effet, de supposer que Rašapabu, en dehors de sa fonction d’*akil kâri*, c’est-à-dire de percepteur du quartier du port, remplissait les fonctions de notaire ou d’homme de loi, et conservait ainsi par-devers lui des actes de certains de ses clients”. Actually the scribe is by definition the “notary” of these cultures, who writes and keeps their texts and one of the few trained to read them. So scribe and archive go together.

Let us put together both archives to appreciate better the resulting image:

1)		
juridical		12 <sup>21</sup>
economic		7 +5 (alph.)
letter		2+1(alph.)
2)		
<i>Ḥarra hubullu</i>		7
lexical		5
3)		
school text		4+
literary		2
veterinary		1 (lit.)
magical		1 (lit.)
gods list		1 (lit.)

The first block represents the actual archival material, while the second corresponds to scribal lexical working instruments and the third offers random materials (copies) of scribal training and praxis.

The historical-cultural contextualization of contents may somehow corroborate this distribution as far as the first and third blocks go, while the second one is self-explanatory. Actually, “*Rašap’abu’s* Archive” was also, like any other Ugaritic private archive, a training school. Its chief scribe was responsible for the copying

21. In this regard RS 17.082 stands out because of the international bearing.

and keeping of the archival records of his master's affairs of any kind, functioning in this regard as the actual secretary of the *Rašap'abu's* house and interests, on whom he absolutely relied. But he was in need of some help to carry out his task for which he could not rely on external personnel: the records must maintain its privacy character. Consequently was also his duty to train his own helpers and future successor. It is for this double duty that he needed the lexicographical material, above all the normative lexicon *Ḥarra ḥubullu*, abundantly represented in the archive, the school texts and random copies of literary and magical originals being on their turn testimonies of his training activity and copying praxis of texts of general interest. We may so conclude that any Ugaritic archive was in fact an *edub-ba*.<sup>22</sup>

But all this textual material of the second and third blocks was instrumental, the actual significance of the archive lying on the texts of the first block and in this connection a look to these juridical / economic texts becomes the most promising: ten of them are records of economic transactions<sup>23</sup> (royal grant, patrimonial distribution and adoption, land acquisition, last will, slave emancipation, general record of debts or taxes: Ug. 5: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13), three, in very fragmentary conditions (see in the above list the texts Ug.5:11, 14<sup>24</sup>, 14bis), are also record lists of goods and persons that cannot be classified adequately. To them the text RS 17.082, also juridical in nature (official act putting an end to the affair of the "Grande-dame") and published in PRU 4:147, is to be added. We have to take also into account 5 alph. economic texts, some very fragmentary (KTU 4.255; KTU 4.262; KTU 4.297; KTU 4.688; KTU 4.690). Their content matches largely that of the commented syll. texts, namely: all of them are records of individuals / employees who receive or are in debt of certain goods or amount of money. Why these texts, a minority, were written down in alphabetic Ugaritic and not in syllabic Akkadian may depend on sociological motivations of the clients who look for these

22. In this connection the so-called "Maison-aux-Tablettes", located in the "Ville Sud" (see *later*), with its 54 lexical and school texts of a total of 83 tablets, and above all *Rap'ānu's* archive with some 51 lexical and school texts from a total of 196 published tablets (see earlier), are the most conspicuous candidates to this function; see Van Soldt 1991: pp. 178, 190. The holders of such archives were chief scribes and notaries at the same time; that is to say, writers and guardians of private and public documentation, a situation particularly clear in the case of *Rap'ānu*.

23. These related to *Rašap'abu's* personal interests (Ug. 5:4–6) stand out, of course.

24. According to *TEOC* 138 this tablet was found in "Maison du Lettré", but actually is published by Nogayrol (*Ugaritica* 5:14, p. 21) as belonging to *Rašap'abu's* archive. The problem is maybe with the p.t. 979, but I have not found any plan with p.t. indications. Is this an indirect proof of the unity of both archives ...?



certifications. In any case they witness the full normal bilingualism of the Ugaritic Society.<sup>25</sup>

Besides these we have in the second bloc 3 lexical (RS 17.030; RS 17.041; RS. 17.336 [*Harra hubullu* 11]) and 5 school texts, four of them alphabetic: RS 17.063/KTU 5:10; RS 17.117/KTU 5.11; RS 20.007; RS 20.009/ KTU 4.690; RS 17.120/KTU 1.85). The first two are imitative letters.<sup>26</sup> In this category the marvelous tablet RS 17.120/KTU 1.85 on veterinary horse care is also included, as a master copy of an standard text<sup>27</sup>, made ready at the request of his clients, done by one of the trained scribes, better than figure out the *akil kārī Rašap<sup>2</sup>abu* as either a horse breeder or a veterinarian ...<sup>28</sup>

From this textual contents record the image of a “notary” register emerges, which not only keeps records of economic private transactions, susceptible of circumstantial verification, but also has the necessary scribal infrastructure to carry out such written records. His owner / titular was *ākil kārī*, as we know according to textual testimony, but he must be credited also to be he himself a scribe, because only a scribe, namely, someone who knew how to read and write, could keep control of the documentation preserved in his house and under his responsibility. This qualification could be made extensive to the rest of owners / holders of the Ugaritic private archives.

25. See in this regard, Vita 2015.

26. KTU, p. 604, that classify these texts among the “Scribal Exercises”, suggests that KTU 5:10 and 11 could be also a “letter / perfectly good letter”, respectively. See their early interpretation by Caquot 1978. In this case they should be put together with the 2 letters of the “Maison du Lettré” that we saw earlier. But it is precisely the confront with these authentic epistolary texts what discredits them: they appear written by a seemingly fictional individual (*ʔzn / ʔzn*), with a very defective orthography and full of topical and defective formulae; v.g., addressed to his “sister” (*āhth*), the formula *rgm l úmy šlm b'lk*m makes little sense, *pace* Caquot, unless his sister was his wife and he (*b'lk-m*) was abroad and she was living with her mother-in-law (*úmy*)...

27. See other copies of this text in KTU 1.71/RS 5.300 (from the “Acropole”). KTU 1.72 /RS 5.285+5.301 (ibd.), KTU 1.97 / RS 23.484 (from “Maison aux textes littéraires”)

28. “Les marchands ambulants dans le quartier du port le connaissaient sans doute autant comme vétérinaire que comme precepteur”. See Schaeffer, *Ug. 5*: p. 621, 626–267 (photo). Cf. Pardee 1985.

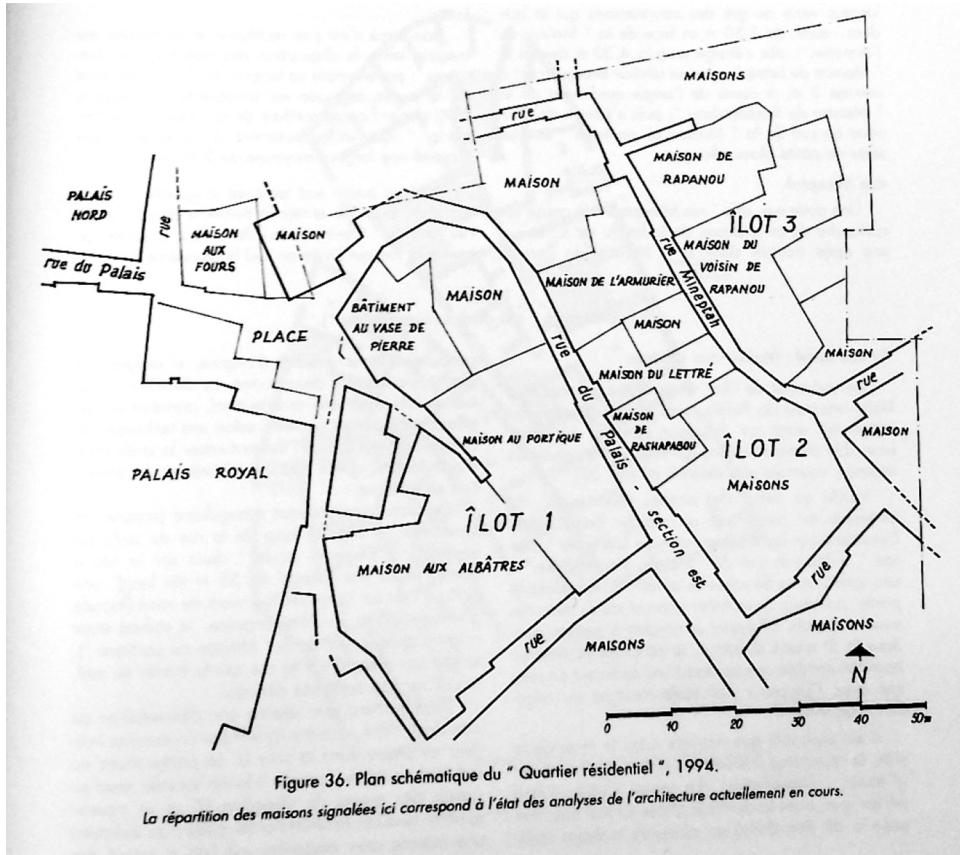


Plate 8

Plan schématique du 'Quartier résidentiel' (M. Yon, *La cité d'Ougarit sur le tell de Ras Shamra* (Guides Archéologiques de l'IFAPO, 2), Paris 1997, p. 75) (with authorization).

## The Archive of the So-Called “Palais Sud” A Functional Analysis

The “Palais Sud” (PS) or “Résidence de Yabninou” was found within a very well structured residence, the so called “Palais Sud” (although it is not actually a palace) with its own tombs, that indicate an independent family unit.<sup>1</sup> Its situation in the tell, close to the Royal Palace, combined with its size of the house seem to indicate an influential family. The discovery of tablets in two different places (the ‘secretariat(?)’ and the ‘storage room’, according to Van Soldt)<sup>2</sup> is reminiscent of the similar dual distribution of the scribal area in the archives of the “Maison d’Agipsharri” / “Prêtre-magicien”<sup>3</sup> and of the “Maison du Lettré – “Maison de *Rašap<sup>2</sup>abu*”.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand the number of documents is higher than that of PC/PS (“Between Central Palace / South Palace”). As usual we take into account only the documents written in (syllabic and/or alphabetic) cuneiform found there during this campaign (1955):

<i>RS numb.</i>	<i>script</i>	<i>top. point</i>	<i>edition</i>	<i>genre</i>
RS 19.004	syll.	t.p. 1647	PRU 6:124	econ.
RS 19.005	syll.	t.p. 1635	PRU 6:154	econ.
RS 19.007	syll.	t.p. 1647	PRU 6:155	econ.
RS 19.008	syll.	t.p. 1635	PRU 6:145	econ.

1. KTU assigns RS 1.158[C-N], from PS, room 204, to PC, Central/Royal Palace, which seems to be a mistake.

2. See Van Soldt SAU:149.

3. See del Olmo Lete 2017b.

4. See del Olmo Lete, forthcoming.

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RS 19.010	syll.	t.p. 1647	PRU 6:125	econ.
RS 19.011	alph.	t.p. 1647	PRU 5:114/KTU 2.61	letter
RS 19.012	syll.	t.p. 1635	PRU 6:102	econ.
RS 19.019A	syll.	t.p. 1647	PRU 6:134	econ.
RS 19.019B	alph.	t.p. 1647	KTU 4.614	econ.
RS 19.020	syll.	t.p. 1647	PRU 6:156	econ.
RS 19.031	alph.	t.p. 1647	KTU 5.12	scribal
RS 19.036	syll.	t.p. 1635	PRU 6:162	econ.
RS 19.038	syll.	t.p. 1578	PRU 6:144	econ.
RS 19.041	syll.	t.p. 1647	PRU 6:78	econ.
RS 19.042	syll.	t.p. 1647	PRU 6:79	econ.
RS 19.043	syll.	t.p. 1647	PRU 6:104	econ.
RS 19.044	alph.	t.p. 1647	PRU 5:117/KTU 4.617	econ.
RS 19.046	syll.	t.p. 1693	PRU 6:138	econ.
RS 19.047	alph.	t.p. 1693	KTU 4.619	econ.
RS 19.053	syll.	t.p. 1643	PRU 6:18	letter
RS 19.057	syll.	t.p. 1635	PRU 6:127	econ.
RS 19.063	syll.	t.p. 1661-déb	PRU 4:292	legal
[=RS 27.051	syll.	t.p. 4469	PRU 6:35(NE <i>M. Agapsharri</i> )	legal]
RS 19.071	syll.	t.p. 1623	PRU 6:114	econ.
RS 19.074	syll.	t.p. 1619	PRU 6:95	econ.
RS 19.075	syll.	t.p. 1631	PRU 4: p. 292	inscr.
RS 19.077	syll.	t.p. 1647	PRU 6:146	econ.
RS 19.079	syll.	t.p. 1636/1623	PRU 6:85	econ.
RS 19.082	syll.	t.p. 1672	PRU 6:86	econ.
RS 19.083	syll.	t.p. 1656	PRU 6:108	econ.
RS 19.086A	alph.	t.p. 1635	PRU 5:20/KTU4.633	econ.
RS 19.086B	alph.	t.p. 1635	KTU 4.634	econ.
RS 19.088	syll.	t.p. 1635	PRU 6:110	econ.
RS 19.089	syll.	t.p. 1635	PRU 6:87	econ.
RS 19.090	syll.	t.p. 1635	PRU 6:164	econ.
RS 19.091	syll.	t.p. 1675	PRU 6:96	econ.
RS 19.092	syll.	t.p. 1635	PRU 6:140	econ.
RS 19.093	syll.	t.p. 1647	PRU 6:165	econ.
RS 19.094	syll.	t.p. 1585	PRU 6:88	econ.
RS 19.099	syll.	t.p. 1635	PRU 6:166	econ.
RS 19.102	alph.	t.p. 1678	PRU 5:115/KTU 2.64	letter

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RS 19.104	syll.	t.p. 1678	PRU 6128	econ.
RS 19.105	alph.	t.p. 1635	PRU 5:118/KTU 4.643	econ.
RS 19.107	syll.	t.p. 1595	PRU 6:73	econ.
RS 19.110	syll.	t.p. 1572	PRU 6:89	econ.
RS 19.111	syll.	t.p. 1674	PRU 6:80	econ.
RS 19.112	syll.	t.p. 1678	PRU 6:141	econ.
RS 19.113	syll.	t.p. 1678	PRU 6:171	inscr.
RS 19.114	syl	t.p. 1631	PRU 6:90	econ.
RS 19.116	syll.	t.p. 1643	PRU 6:120	econ.
RS 19.117	syll.	t.p. 1638	PRU 6:105	econ.
RS 19.118	syll.	t.p. déblais	PRU 6:97	econ.
RS 19.119	syll.	t.p. 1644	PRU 6:106	econ.
RS 19.120	syll.	t.p. 1672	PRU 6:74	econ.
RS 19.121	syll.	t.p. 1595	PRU 6:75	econ.
RS 19.122	syll.	t.p. 1647	PRU 4:289	letter?
RS 19.124	syll.	t.p. 1653	PRU 6:167	econ.
RS 19.125	syll.	t.p. 1647	PRU 6:190	econ.
RS 19.126	alph.	t.p. 1647	PRU 5:123/KTU4.647	econ.
RS 19.127	syll.	t.p. 1647	PRU 6:147	econ.
RS 19.129	syll.	t.p. 1635	PRU 6:111	econ.
RS 19.130	syll.	t.p. 1635	PRU 6:101	econ.
RS 19.131	syll.	t.p. 1635	PRU 6:109	econ.
RS 19.132	syll.	t.p. 1635	PRU 6:91	econ.
RS 19.133A	syll.	t.p. 1635	PRU 6:129	econ.
RS 19.133B	syll.	t.p. 1635	PRU 6:191	econ.
RS 19.135	syll.	t.p. 1635	PRU 6:142	econ.
RS 19.136	alph.-syll.	t.p. 1635	PRU 5:119/ KTU 4.648	econ.
RS 19.138	syll.	t.p. 1635	PRU 6:192	econ.?
RS 19.139	syll.	t.p. 1635	PRU 6:139	econ.
RS 19.140A	syll.	t.p. 1635	PRU 6:172	econ.
RS 19.140B	syll.	t.p. 1635	PRU 6:173	econ.?
RS 19.140C	syll.	t.p. 1635	PRU 6:174	econ.?
RS 19.140D	alph.	t.p. 1635	KTU 4.649	econ.
RS 19.140E	alph.	t.p. 1635	KTU 4.650	econ.
RS 19.140F	alph.	t.p. 1635	KTU 4.651	econ.
RS 19.140G	alph.	t.p. 1635	KTU 4.652	econ.
RS 19.140H	alph.	t.p. 1635	KTU 4.653	econ.
RS 19.140I	alph.	t.p. 1635	KTU 4.654	econ.

RS 19.158A	alph.	t.p. 1647	PRU 5:122/KTU 4.655	econ.
RS 19.158B	alph.	t.p. 1647	PRU 5:171/KTU 2.65	letter
RS 19.173A	syll.	t.p. 1678	PRU 6:92	econ.
RS 19.173b	syll.	t.p. 1678	PRU 6:103	econ.

We have a set of 82 textual published units found in this archive, of which 19 are alphabetic and 63 syllabic. Classified by genre, the distribution is as follows:

- 2/3 + 2 letters (KTU 2.)
- 0/1 legal documents (KTU 3.)
- 15/16<sup>5</sup> + 59<sup>6</sup> economic texts (KTU 4.)
- 1 scribal exercise (KTU 5.)
- 2 inscriptions (KTU 6.).

Along with the lack of literary-religious texts, commented upon earlier, we ascertain also the absence in this archive of legal documents on one hand and of scribal exercises and lexical school texts on the other, except for one, namely RS 19.31 (KTU 5.12), as well as the small number of letters, the afforded being of no particularly significance. Neither the customary magical document has appeared either. These facts along with the presence of an overwhelming majority of economic texts prompts the consideration of this archive as a sort of mere storehouse or reserve of archival material, probably of the Central Palace archive, not specially requested and operative. Nor the isolated occurrence of the alphabet copy RS 19.31 authorizes to consider it as a scribal copying and training workshop under the lead of a master scribe. The absence of any *Harra hubullu* copy and of any other basic lexical instruments points in the same direction.

For the sake of completeness, here we list the score of the 28 unpublished texts found in this archive: 15 alphabetic and 13 syll.

*alphabetic:*

RS 19.084[A]	t.p. 1635	2:30	KTU 9.305
RS 19.084[B]	t.p. 1635	2:30	KTU 9.306
RS 19.158[C].	t.p. 1647	2:30	KTU 9.308
RS 19.158[D]	t.p. 1647	2:30	KTU 9.309

5. Taking into account the fact that RS 19.136/KTU 4.648 may be counted as both syllabic and alphabetic.

6. The classification of some fragmentary documents (?) is uncertain.

RS 19.158[E]	t.p. 1647	2·30	KTU 9.310
RS 19.158[F]	t.p. 1647	2·30	KTU 9.311
RS 19.158[G]	t.p. 1647	2·30	KTU 9.312
RS 19.158[H]	t.p. 1647	2·30	KTU 9.313
RS 19.158[I]	t.p. 1647	2·30	KTU 9.314
RS 19.158[J]	t.p. 1647	2·30	KTU 9.315
RS 19.158[K]	t.p. 1647	2·30	KTU 9.316
RS 19.158[L]	t.p. 1647	2·30	KTU 9.317
RS 19.158[M]	t.p. 1647	2·30	KTU 9.318
RS 19.158[N]	t.p. 1647	2·30	KTU 9.319
RS 19.173[F]	t.p. 1678	2·30	KTU 9.338

*syllabic:*

RS 19.084[C]	t.p. 1635	2·30	
RS 19.084[D]	t.p. 163	2·30	
RS 19.087	cun. t.p. 1635	2·30	
RS 19.095	t.p. 1618	0·20	
RS 19.134	t.p. 1635	2·30	
RS 19.140J	t.p. 1615	2·30	
RS 19.140K	cun. t.p. 1635	2·30	
RS 19.140L	t.p. 1635	2·30	
RS 19.173C	t.p. 1678	2·30	
RS 19.173D	t.p. 1678	2·30	
RS 19.173[E]	t.p. 1678	2·30	
RS 19.173[G]	cun. t.p. 1678	2·30	

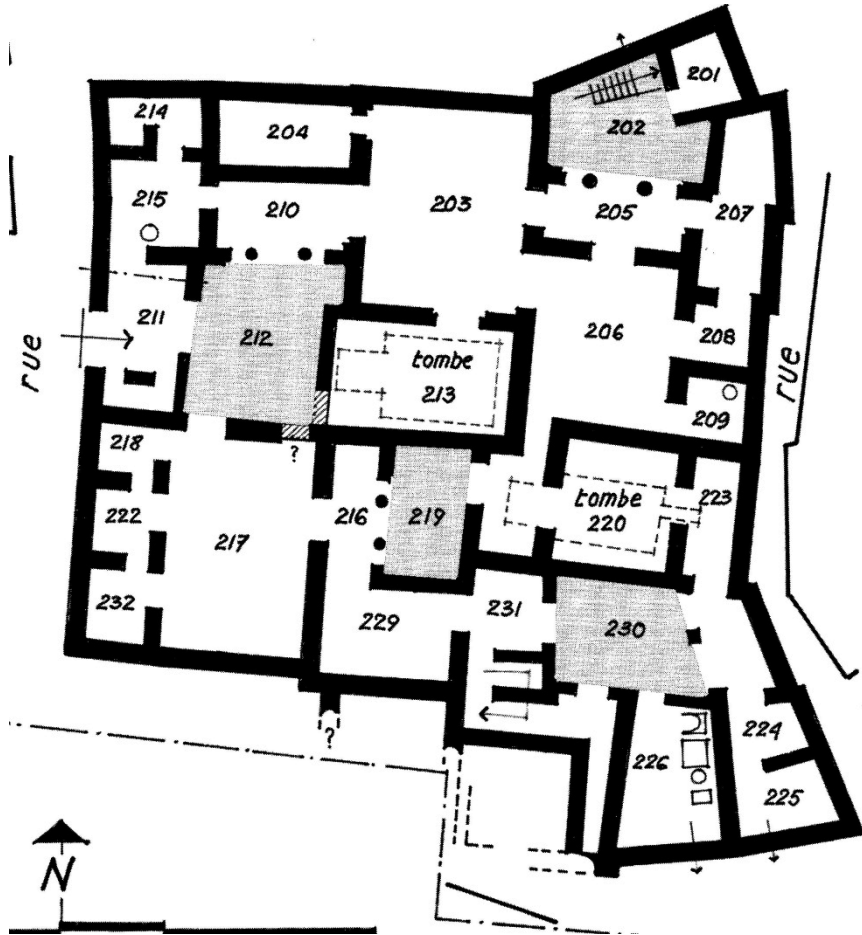


PLATE 9

“Palais Sud” / Résidence de Yabninou, M. Yon, *La cite d’Ougarit sur le tell de Ras Shamra* (Guides Archéologiques de l’IFAPO, 2), Paris 1997, p. 84 (with authorization).



## The Archive Between the Central Palace and the South Palace (PC/PS) A Functional Analysis

Beside the more or less well defined archives as far as their archaeological context and function go, there are also some apparently residual texts deposits whose characterization as “archive” is less evident. Just in the surroundings of the Royal Palace, in its south wing, came out in the fifties of last century a couple of dug urban spaces that delivered small lots of written documents. The close proximity to the Royal Palace district would suggest a kind of relationship of their owners with the central administration, possibly as secretaries in sectorial affairs, but a close examination of the contents will suggest a more simpler answer. The genre distribution of the documents may cast some light in this respect.

<i>RS number</i>	<i>script</i>	<i>top. point</i>	<i>edition</i>	<i>genre</i>
RS 18.006	syll.	t.p. 1253	PRU 4: p. 137	legal
+RS 17.365 (PR)				
RS 18.054	syll.	t.p. 1335	PRU 4: p. 228	letter
RS 18.054A	syll.	t.p. 1335	unpub.	
RS 18.054B	syll.	t.p. 1335	PRU 6:184	frag.-uncl.
RS 18.057	syll.	t.p. 1341	PRU 6:13	letter
RS 18.089	syll.	t.p. 1470	PRU 6:15	scribal (lex.)
RS 18.090	syll.	t.p. 1467	unpub. (see PRU 6:14)	inscr. (seal imp.)
RS 18.101A	syll.	t.p. 1339	PRU 6:150	econ.
RS 18.101B	syll.	t.p. 1339	PRU 6:98	econ.
RS 18.106	alph.	t.p. 1437	PRU 5:15/KTU 4.382	econ.

+RS 18.276				
+RS 18.277 <sup>1</sup>				
RS 18.276A	syll.	t.p. 1338	PRU 6:188	???
RS 18.277A	syll.	t.p. 1338	PRU 6:189	???
RS 18.266	syll.	t.p. 1316	PRU 6:151	econ.
RS 18.267	syll.	t.p. 1316	PRU 6:4	legal
RS 18.268	syll.	t.p. 1316	PRU 4: p. 229	letter
RS 18.269	syll.	t.p. 1316	PRU 6:185	frag.
RS 18.270	syll.	t.p. 1319	PRU 6:152	econ.
RS 18.271	syll.	t.p. 1320	PRU 6:153	econ.
RS 18.272	syll.	t.p. 1320	PRU 6:186	econ.
RS 18.[533]	alph.	t.p. 1241	KTU 4.591	econ.
RS 18.[564A]	alph.	t.p. 1336	KTU 9.563/unpub.	
RS 18.[564B]	alph.	t.p. 1336	KTU 9.564/unpub.	
RS 19.023	syll.	t.p. 1673	PRU 6:157	econ.
RS 19.035A	syll.	t.p. 1659	PRU 6:131	econ.
RS 19.035B	syll.	t.p. 1659	PRU 6:159	econ.
+RS 19.035E				
RS 19.035C	syll.	t.p. 1659	PRU 6:160	econ.
RS 19.035D	syll.	t.p. 1659	PRU 6:161	econ.
RS 19.035F	syll.	t.p. 1659	unpub.	
RS 19.035G	syll.	t.p. 1659	unpub.	
RS 19.035H	syll.	t.p. 1659	unpub.	
RS 19.035I	syll.	t.p. 1659	unpub.	
RS 19.035J	syll.	t.p. 1659	unpub.	
RS.19.050	syll.	t.p. 1648	PRU 6:14	letter
RS 19.051	syll.	t.p. 1603	PRU 6:100	econ.
RS 19.055	syll.	t.p. 1648	PRU 4: p. 293	legal
RS 19.064	syll.	t.p. 1596	PRU 6:163	econ.
RS 19.066	alph.	t.p. 1596	PRU 5:116/KTU 3:8	legal
RS 19.068	syll.	t.p. 1549	PRU 4.284 ( <i>TEOC</i> 202)	legal (treaty)
RS 19.085	syll.	t.p. 1637	PRU 6:132	econ.
RS 19.106	alph.	t.p. 1598	KTU 3.25	legal

1. These two texts RS 18.276–277 (which must be alph.) are of unknown provenience, while these numbers in PRU 6 (syll.) correspond to the texts numbered RS 18.276A and RS 18.277A in *TEOC*:168.

RS 19.123	alph.	t.p. 1637	PRU 5:172/KTU 4.646	econ.
RS 19.182	syll.	t.p. 1680	PRU 6:81	econ.

We have a total amount of 46 textual units, of which only 37 have been published, namely 30 syllabic texts (+ 7 unpublished.) and 7 alphabetic (+ 2 unpublished). Setting apart the two sets of published texts we have:

*Alphabetic texts:*

<i>RS numb.</i>	<i>top. point</i>	<i>edition</i>	<i>genre</i>
RS 18.106	t.p. 1437	PRU 5:15/KTU 4.382	econ.
RS 18.[533]	t.p. 1241	KTU 4.591	econ.
RS 19.066	t.p. 1596	PRU 5:116/KTU 3:8	legal
RS 19.106	t.p. 1598	KTU 3.25	legal
RS 19.123	t.p. 1637	PRU 5:172/KTU 4.646	econ.

As may be seen, only two genres are represented in this set of alphabetic texts: 2 in KTU 3 (“legal and juridical texts”) and 3 in KTU 4 (“economic texts”) categories. The two published legal alphabetic texts are: a memorandum of a guarantee contract and a fragment of a contract (?).

*Syllabic texts:*

RS 18.006	t.p. 1253	PRU 4: p. 137	legal
+RS 17.365 (PR)			
RS 18.054	t.p. 1335	PRU 4:228	letter
RS 18.054B	t.p. 1335	PRU 6:184	frag.
RS 18.057	t.p. 1341	PRU 6:13	letter
RS 18.089	t.p. 1470	PRU 6:15	letter
RS 18.101A	t.p. 1339	PRU 6:150	econ.
RS 18.101B	t.p. 1339	PRU 6:98	econ.
RS 18.276A	t.p. 1338	PRU 6:188	frag.
RS 18.277A	t.p. 1338	PRU 6:189	frag.
RS 18.266	t.p. 1316	PRU 6:151	econ.
RS 18.267	t.p. 1316	PRU 6:4	legal
RS 18.268	t.p. 1316	PRU 4:229	letter
RS 18.269	t.p. 1316	PRU 6:185	frag.
RS 18.270	t.p. 1319	PRU 6:152	econ.
RS 18.271	t.p. 1320	PRU 6:153	econ.
RS 18.272	t.p. 1320	PRU 6:186	econ.

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RS 18.275	t.p. 1334	PRU 6:187	frag.
RS 19.023	t.p. 1673	PRU 6:157	econ.
RS 19.035 <sup>a</sup>	t.p. 1659	PRU 6:131	econ.
RS 19.035B	t.p. 1659	PRU 6:159	econ.
+RS 19.035E			
RS 19.035C	t.p. 1659	PRU 6:160	econ.
RS 19.035D	t.p. 1659	PRU 6:161	econ.
RS.19.050	t.p. 1648	PRU 6:14	letter
RS 19.051	t.p. 1603	PRU 6:100	econ.
RS 19.055	t.p. 1648	PRU 4:293	legal
RS 19.064	t.p. 1596	PRU 6:163	econ.
RS 19.068	t.p. 1549	PRU 4.284	legal <sup>2</sup>
RS 19.085	t.p. 1637	PRU 6:132	econ.
RS 19.182	t.p. 1680	PRU 6:81	econ.

We have the following distribution by genres of these 32 syllabic published texts from the PC/PS archive: 5 in KTU 2 (“letters”), 5 in KTU 3 (“legal and juridical texts”), 16 in KTU 4 (“economic texts”), 6 in KTU 7 (“unclassified texts and fragments”).

For all the records of alphabetic and syllabic published texts, the overall distribution by genre is:

letters	5
legal texts	7
econ. texts	21
unclassified texts	4

These 37 documents correspond to some 28/30 tablets, taking into account probable joins. The first remark to make is the absence from this archive of literary and religious texts (KTU 1.), which is completely in keeping with what was ascertained in the analysis of the archive of the “Grand Prêtre”: in *no other Ugaritian archive* have copies of these mythological texts appeared. Nor do we have scribal texts here or lexical school texts (e.g. *Hh*, lexical lists...) or scribal exercises. This

2. This very important text is the “peace treaty” between *Niqmaddu* II of Ugarit and *Aziru* of *Amurru* by which old differences were settled and a sworn oath of future collaboration (mainly of *Amurru* in favour of Ugarit) was assumed.

means that it was certainly not a scribal workshop, with a master scribe and his trained pupils. It may perhaps be a kind of secondary store of a larger archive (possibly one section of the Central Palace archive), but given the small quantity of documents, it seems better to subscribe to Van Soldt's judicious conclusion: "The tablets ...only form a mixed lot of fortuitous composition...; ...that could have come from different parts of the surrounding buildings".<sup>3</sup> As was pointed out earlier, this set of texts could have belonged to one of the two palace archives mentioned and in fact it has been published within that series.

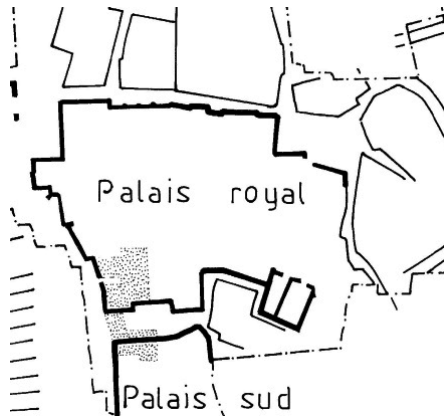


PLATE 10

"Partie occidentale du tell: palais Royal et Palais sud", detail – P. Bordreuil, D. Pardee, *La trouvaille épigraphique de l'Ougarit. 1. Concordance* (RSO V), Paris 1989, p. 195 (with authorization).

As for the rest, the number of unpublished texts of this archive is relatively low, only nine:

*Alphabetic texts:*

<i>RS numb.</i>	<i>top. point</i>	
RS 18.[564A]	t.p.1336	KTU 9.293
RS 18.[564B]	t.p.1336	KTU 9.294

3. See Van Soldt SAU:146.

*Syllabic texts:*

<i>RS numb.</i>	<i>top. point</i>
RS 18.090	t.p. 1467
RS 19.035F	t.p. 1659
RS 19.035G	t.p. 1659
RS 19.035H	t.p. 1659
RS 19.035I	t.p. 1659
RS 19.035J	t.p. 1659

## Scattered Archives and Text Collections A Functional Analysis

A number of small text collections have been found in Tell Ras Shamra beside the important archives, studied above, that have a more or less precise context. We will consider them as a group for the sake of completeness and because sometimes certain scattered texts may cast light on specific contextual or social and institutional questions.

In the four first campaigns (1929–1932, also partially in 1933–34) the excavation of the so called “Maison du Grand Prêtre” took place in the ‘Acropole’ of Ras Shamra-Ugarit (see above), which the archaeological Mission considered as the most suitable spot to begin. Indeed, starting with the year 1932 (4th campaign) until 1938 (10th campaign)<sup>1</sup> the excavations brought to light several hundred tablets scattered all over the “Acropole” and “Ville Basse” areas, mainly from different trenches and tombs. We are going to treat them in separate groups according to the specific archaeological *locus* in which they were found, in order to determine whether they really were archives. As usual, only (alphabetic/syllabic) cuneiform texts are taken into account.

1. Starting with this 11th campaign, there were three excavations of the Royal Palace with its archives, up to the 20th (1956) campaign (with some complements in later campaigns; see the *Archaeological Register* below). These texts were published in the series PRU 2–6 (although many texts still remain unpublished).

a) Trenches and Workshops (1933–1936)

The most important set of texts was found in several trenches (mainly Tr. T IV and V), dug during the fifth campaign (1933: RS 5.) in the “région des grandes tombes au sud de la zone des Temples et de Maison du Grand Prêtre”.<sup>2</sup> In all, the set comprised 35 texts, more or less (28/30 tablets?). Here we have the record of these texts, all published, except for RS 5.179 (inscription on a spindle):

<i>RS numb.</i>	<i>script</i>	<i>top. point</i>	<i>edition</i>	<i>genre</i>
RS 4.449	syll.	t.p. 28 1·0 CTBaal	Danel 21–26	letter
RS 4.458	syll.	t.p. 7 1·20 CTBaal	Syria 14.120	inscr.
RS 4.474	alph.	t.p. 430 GP	KTU 1.65	lit.
RS 4.475	alph.	t.p. 431 GP	KTU 2.10	letter
RS 5.155	alph.	t.p. 66 0·70 TrTIV	KTU 1.6	lit.
+RS 5.156	alph.	t.p. 67 0·95 TrTIV	KTU 1.70	lit. syll.-alph.
+RS 5.211	alph.	t.p. 81–82 1–1·20 TrTIV		
+RS 5.214	alph.	t.p. 81–81 1–1·20 TrTIV		
RS 5.157	alph.	t.p. 67 0,95 TrTIV	KTU 7.50	uncl.
RS 5.179	alph.	t.p. 162 TrTIV	unpub.	fusaïole
RS 5.180	alph.	t.p. 79 0·80 TrTIV	KTU 1.7	lit.
RS 5.181	alph.	t.p. 79 0·80 TrTIV	KTU 1.10	lit
RS 5.182	alph.	t.p. 80 1·40 TrTIV	KTU 1.66	lit.
RS 5.194	alph.	t.p. 81–82 1–1·20 TrTIV	KTU 1.24	lit
RS 5.195	alph.	t.p. 81–82 1–1·20 TrTIV	KTU 7.51	uncl.
RS 5.196	alph.	t.p. 81–82 1–1·20 TrTIV	KTU 7.52	uncl.
RS 5.197	alph.	t.p. 81–82 1–1·20 TrTIV	KTU 4.31	econ.
+RS 5.212		t.p. 81–82 1–1·20 TrTIV		
RS 5.198	alph.	t.p. 81–82 1–1·20 TrTIV	KTU 1.7	lit.
RS 5.199	alph.	t.p. 81–82 1–1·20 TrTIV	KTU 1.67	lit. syll.-alph.
RS 5.200	alph.	t.p. 81–82 1–1·20 TrTIV	KTU 1.68	lit.
RS 5.213	alph.	t.p. 81–82 1–1·20 TrTIV	KTU 1.69	lit. syll.-alph.
RS 5.215	alph.	t.p. 81–82 1–1·20 TrTIV	KTU 9.3	unpub.
RS 5.216	alph.	t.p. 81–82 1–1·20 TrTIV	KTU 5.2	scribal.
RS 5.217	alph.	t.p. 81–82 1–1·20 TrTIV	KTU 4.32	econ.
RS 5.218	alph.	t.p. 81–82 1–1·20 TrTIV	KTU 7.55	uncl.

2. See *TEOC*:35ff.



SCATTERED ARCHIVES AND TEXT COLLECTIONS

RS 5.219	alph.	t.p. 81–82	1–1·20	TrTIV	KTU 7.19	uncl.
RS 5.220	alph.	t.p. 81–82	1–1·20	TrTIV	KTU 7.20	uncl.
RS 5.221	alph.	t.p. 81–82	1–1·20	TrTIV	KTU 8.37	illeg.
RS 5.222	alph.	t.p. 81–82	1–1·20	TrTIV	KTU 7.228	uncl.
RS 5.222bis	syll.	t.p. 19 0·40		TDag-For.	AS16/1966:31–33	scribal (Silbenalph.)
RS 5.223	alph.	t.p. 81–82		TrTIV	KTU 7.229	uncl.
RS 5.229	alph.	t.p. 84	1·10	TrTIV	KTU 1.9	unpub.
RS 5.230	alph.	t.p. 84	1·101	TrTIV	KTU 7.53	uncl.
RS 5.248	alph.	t.p. surf.E.		TDag-For	KTU 4.33	econ.
RS 5.259	alph.	t.p. 88	0·70	TrTIV	KTU 1.25	lit.
RS 5.262	alph.	t.p. 16	0,60	TrTabl.	KTU 6.11	inscr.
RS 5.269	alph.	t.p. 583	0,50	TrTabl.	KTU 6.12	inscr.
RS 5.274	alph.	t.p. 4	1,60	Tr 8V	KTU 5.31	scribal-lex.
RS 5.284	cun.	t.p. 583		TombV seuil		unpub.
RS 5.285	alph.	t.p. ?	0·50	TombV seuil	KTU 1.72	lit.
+RS 5.301	alph.	t.p.	1–1,10	TombV remp.		
RS 5.300	alph.	t.p. ?	1–1·10	TombV remp.	KTU 1.71	lit.
RS 5.302	syll.	t.p. 583	1–1·10	TombV remp.	Ug. 5:125	lit. (list <i>Anu</i> )
+RS 5.303	syll.	t.p. 583	1–1·10	TombV remp.		
RS 5.303bis	syll.-alph.	t.p. ?		KTU 1.73		lit. syll.alph.

The alphabetic texts in this set may be distributed by genre, according to the classification in KTU, as follows:

1.	literary	11	KTU (myth.) 1.6; 1.7; 1.9; 1.10; 1.24; 1.25; (rel.) 1.66; 1.67; 1.68; 1.69; 1.70
4	economic	3	KTU 4.31; 4.32; 4.33 (list)
5	scribal	2	KTU 5.2; 5.31
6	inscriptions	2	KTU 6.11; 6.12
7/9	unclass./unpub.	11	KTU 7.19; 7.20; 7.50; 7.51; 7.52; 7.53; 7.55; 7.228; 7.229; 9.2; 9.3

There are neither letters (2.) nor legal texts (3.) within this set of documents, while only a couple of economic texts are present, of which only<sup>3</sup> KTU 4.31 is relevant: a document written in the “‘short’ alphabet in left bound writing”. Noticeable among the literary-religious texts (1.) is the almost total absence (apart from one small text) of copies of the main canonical *Baal Cycle* (KTU 1.–6.), which we already know was kept in the archive of the “Grand Prêtre”,<sup>4</sup> under the safekeeping and exclusive use of the *rb khnm* in the royal sanctuary, possibly in the ritual enacting the Ugaritian royal ideology. In this regard, the exception mentioned, text RS 5.155, found in this trench, undeniably connects this set of texts with the archive of the “Grand Prêtre”, as it is a join with KTU 1.6 (RS 2.[009]) and consequently also part of the canonical cycle. Also copies of secondary (KTU 1.7; 1.9; 1.10) and minor (KTU 1.24; 1.25) myths connect both sets of texts as do the two Hurrian texts (KTU 1.66; 1.68). On the other hand, the surprising presence of four “Akkadian incantations in cuneiform alphabetic script” (KTU 1.67; 1.69; 1.70; 1.73<sup>5</sup>), obviously scribal exercises together with the abecedaries KTU 5.2 and 5.31, certainly fit the character of the archive of the “Grand Prêtre” as a training workshop for scribes, as its abundant lexical material presupposes.<sup>6</sup> The peculiar use of the short alphabet and above all the use of the Ugaritic alphabet to write down Akkadian texts – in a scribal milieu where the Akkadian script was the norm – can only be a scribal exercise.

b) The Acropole and Ville Basse.

The 1932–1938 (4th–10th) campaigns saw also excavation of different locations of the Acropole:<sup>7</sup>

- ‘Cour du Temple de Baal’ (4th camp. (1932));
- ‘Région Temple de Dagan’/ ‘Tranche Forteresse’ (5th camp. (1933));
- ‘Surface E Tranchée Forteresse (5th camp. (1933));
- ‘Tranchée 8 V’ (5th camp. (1933));
- ‘Tranchée tablette’ (5th camp. (1933));

3. See KTU 4.32, fragment with “content uncertain”; KTU 4.33, taken from the surface in the TDaganTerr, not from the TrTIV.

4. See *supra* pp. 13ff.

5. Without archaeological context, but assigned to the 1933/5th campaign

6. See del Olmo Lete 2017b.

7. We do not include the two texts from Minet el-Beida (RS 6.407 syll., unpub.; RS 6.411 alph., KTU 1.77).

- ‘Tranchée Tombe V (5th camp. (1933));
- ‘Tranchées 72, 73 and 76 (6th camp. (1934));
- ‘Région Temple de Baal (6th camp. (1934));
- ‘W. Sous Weli’<sup>8</sup> (6th camp. (1934);
- ‘Cour du Temple de Dagan’ (6th camp. (1934));
- ‘Banquette entre Temple et Bibliothèque’ (6th camp. (1934));
- ‘Tranchée banquette près Temple’ (6th camp. (1934));
- ‘E. surface Weli’ (7th camp. (1935));
- ‘Tranchée coudée II’ (7th camp. (1935) and 9th camp. (1937));
- ‘Tranchée grand sondage’ (7th camp. (1935));
- ‘Chantier W I’ (8th camp. (1936)).

Ville Basse:

- Chantier W III (8th camp. (1936));
- Chantier E IV (8th camp. (1936));
- Butte NW Tell (9th camp. (1937) and 10th camp. (1938)).

8. See *TEOC*:40: “petit monument islamique”.

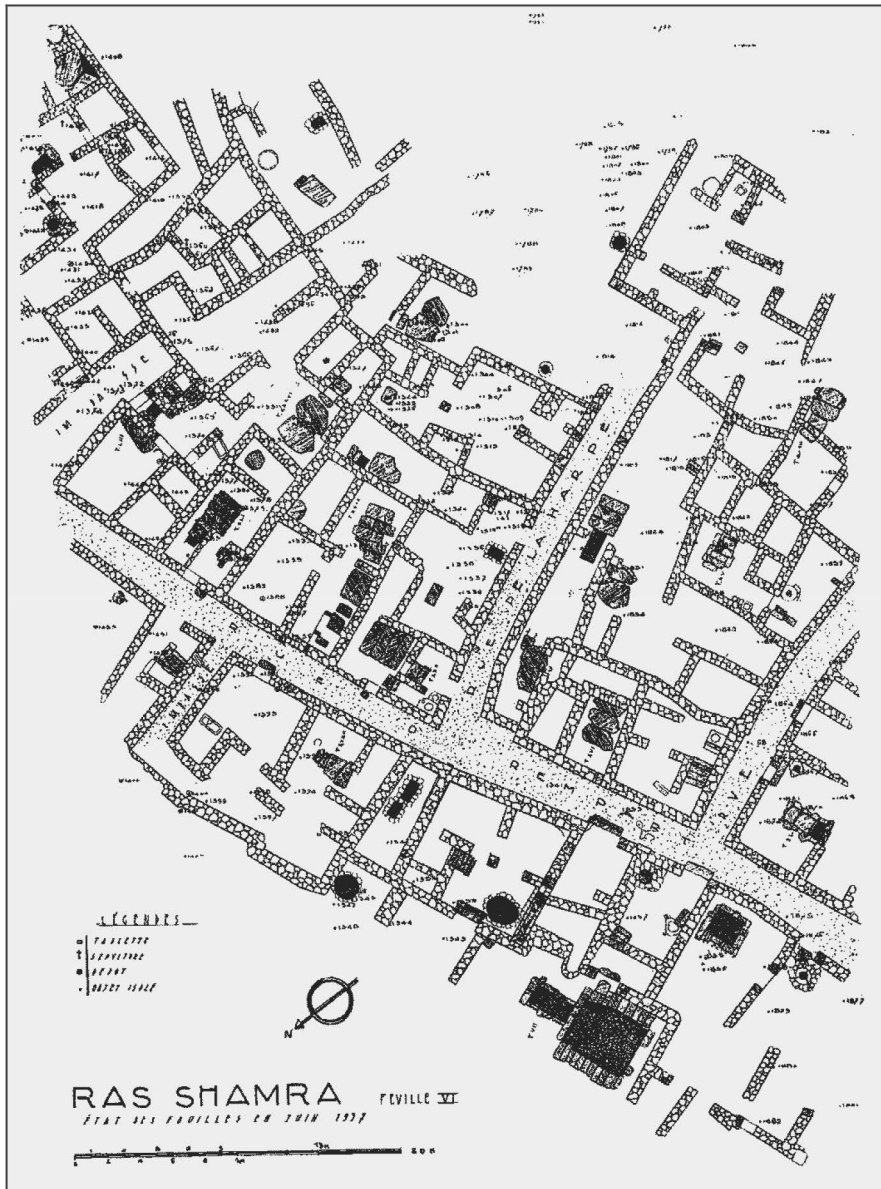


PLATE 11

Plan of the “Ville basse Est” – M. Yon, *La cite d’Ougarit sur le tell de Ras Shamra* (Guides Archéologiques de l’IFAPO, 2), Paris 1997, p. 130 (with authorization).

There are also several texts scattered all over the tell with no precise archaeological location (Nord-Est du Tell, Ville Sud [surface, déblais, piquets, tombe], Région des palais, Acr. Tr. au N. du temple de Dagan, Sud Acropole, Quartier Résidentiel, Restauration de murs, Installation Grecque).

The total number of texts found in these campaigns is 85 (28 syll, 53 alph.,<sup>9</sup> 4 unclass.), a rather small quantity when compared with the number of texts found during the first three campaigns in the Archive of the “Grand Prêtre”.<sup>10</sup>

‘Cour du Temple de Baal’:

	RS 4.449 syll.:	= Danel 21–26	
	RS 4.458 syll.:	= Syria 14–1933–120:	inscr.
	RS 4.474 alph.:	= KTU 1.65	lit.

Tr. 72:	RS 6.308 syll.	= Ug. 5 N:152:weights- measures	
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Tr. 73:	RS 6.223 alph.:	= KTU 6.15: inscr.-cylinder-seal	
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Tr. 76 E. du Temple de Baal:

	RS 6.174 alph.:	= KTU 1.75	lit.
	RS 6.175 alph.	= KTU 4.24	econ.

‘Région Temple de Dagan:

/ Tr. Forteresse’:	RS 5.222 syll.:	AS 16–1966	Silbenalphabet
Tr. 8 V	RS 5.269 alph.:	= KTU 7.54	unclass.

Surface E Tr. For.	RS 5.248 alph.:	= KTU 4.33	econ.
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Tr. tablette:	RS 5.262 alph.:	= KTU 6.11	inscr.
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Tr. Tombe V:	RS 5.269 alph.:	= KTU 6.12	inscr.
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	RS 5.284 cun.:	= unpub.	
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	RS 5.285 alph.:	= KTU 1.72 (+ RS 5.301)	lit.
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9. Only three alphabetic texts remain unpublished (RS 6.173, RS 7.119 and RS 8.227); there are 9 unpublished syllabic and unclassified texts, while another 8 are only mentioned and commented upon in various periodicals. The proportion published-unpublished is quite satisfactory for these 7 campaigns as a whole.

10. See above pp. 14ff.

	RS 5.300 alph.:	= KTU 1.71	lit.
	RS 5.302 syll.:	= Ug. 5 N 125 (+5.303)	lit. (list <i>Anu</i> )
Tell Surface	RS 6.000 syll.	= unpub.	
W. Weli	RS 6.345 syll.	= Syria 16/1935:194–195	econ.
E. Weli	RS 7.001 syll.	= unpub.	
Tr. coudée II	RS 7.088 alph.	= KTU 6.69	inscr.
	RS 9.496 alph.	= KTU 7.60	unclass.
Tr. grand sondage	RS 7.119 alph.	= KTU 9.5	unpub.
	RS 7.174 syll.=	inscr.cylinder-seal	
Cour du Temple de Dagan:			
	RS 6.021 alph.	= KTU 6.13	inscr.
	RS 6.028 alph.:	= KTU 6.14	inscr.
Banquette entre Temple et Bibliothèque:			
	RS 6.127 alph.:	= KTU 6.	inscr.cylinder-seal
	RS 6.173 alph.:	= KTU 9.4	unpub.
Tr.-Banquette près Temple	RS 6.138 alph.:	= KTU 1.74	lit.
Chantier W I	RS 8.043 syll.	= RA 38/1941:12	inscr.-label
	RS 8.098 syll.	= PRU 3:129: letter (form.intr.)	
	RS 8.145 syll.	= Syria 18/1937:246	legal (contrat)
	RS 8.146 syll.	= Syria 18/1937:247	legal (contrat)
	RS 8.183 alph.	= KTU 4.35	econ.
	+ RS 8.201		
	RS 8.202 [A] alph.	= KTU 9.7	unpub.
	RS 8.202 [B] alph.	= KTU 9.8	unpub.
	RS 8.208 alph.	= KTU 4.36	econ. (list pers.)
	RS 8.272 alph.	= KTU 4.38	econ.(list pers.)

Ville Basse:

Chantier W III	RS 8.005 alph.	= KTU 6.74 inscr.-cylinder-seal		
Chantier E IV <sup>11</sup>	RS 8.203 alph.	= KTU 5.3	scribal	
	RS 8.207 syll.	= PRU 3:34	legal	
	RS 8.213 alph.	= KTU 4.37	econ.	
	RS 8.277 alph.	= KTU 4.39	econ.	
	RS 8.279 alph.	= KTU 4.40	econ.	
	RS 8.280 alph.	= KTU 4.41	econ.	
	RS 8.301 alph.	= KTU 4.42	econ.	
	RS 8.303 syll.	= Syria 18/1937:248:	legal	(contrat)
	RS 8.315 alph.	= KTU 2.11	letter	
	RS 8.333 syll.	= Mél. Dussaud: 203–207		
	RS 8.346 syll.	= Syria 18/1937:155 inscr.-	cylinder-seal	
Butte NW	Tell	RS 9.011 alph.	= KTU 4.43	econ.
		RS 9.253 syll.	= PRU 3:331	
		RS 9.261 syll.	= unpub.	
		RS 9.405 syll.	= unpub.	
		RS 9.453 alph.	= KTU 4.44	econ.
		RS 9.469 alph.	= KTU 4.45	econ.
		RS 9.497A alph.	= KTU 2.12:	letter
		RS 9.480A ?	= unpub.	
		RS 9.483A syll.	= PRU 3:330	Hurrian text
		RS 9.484A ?	= unpub.	
		RS 9.491A cun.	= unpub.	
		RS 10.028 syll.	=	inscr.-cylinder-seal
		RS 10.029 cun.	=	inscr.-cylinder-seal
		RS 10.035 alph.	= KTU 4.46	econ.
RS 10.043 alph.	= KTU.4.47	econ.		
RS 10.044 syll.	= PRU 3:188	econ.		

11. See van Soldt 2013.

RS 10.045 alph.	= KTU 4.48	econ.
RS 10.046 syll.	= PRU 3:9	letter
RS 10.052 alph.	= KTU 4.63	econ.
RS 10.058 syll.	= unpub.	
RS 10.081 alph.	= KTU 5.4	scribal
RS 10.086 alph.	= KTU 4.49	econ.
RS 10.087 alph.	= KTU 4.50	econ.
RS 10.088 alph.	= KTU 4.51	econ.
RS 10.089 alph.	= KTU 4.52	econ.
RS 10.090 alph.	= KTU 4.53	econ.
RS 10.103 alph.	= KTU 4.54	econ.
RS 10.109 alph.	= KTU 4.55	econ.
RS 10.110 alph.	= KTU 4.56	econ.

Without context:

RS 8.[534] alph.	= KTU 7.56	unclass.
RS 8.[535] alph.	= KTU 7.57	unclass.
RS 8.[536] alph.	= KTU 7.58	unclass.
RS 8.[537] alph.	= KTU 7.59	unclass.

There are no copies of mythological or religious texts. In this connection, the contents of KTU 1.74 and 1.75, both found near the Baal Temple, cannot be determined because of their fragmentary state<sup>12</sup>. In any case they certainly do not belong to the canonical *Baal Cycle*. On the one hand, it is surprising to have recovered the alphabetic hippiatric texts KTU 1.71 and 1.72 (two copies of the same master text (KTU 1.85) found in *Rashapabu*'s archive<sup>13</sup>) from "Tombe V, à 0,50 dessous du seuil / remplissage, à 1,0–1,10", which means that these two texts do not actually belong to the tomb.<sup>14</sup> On the other hand, the larger amount of alphabetic texts (23) found in the archeological soundings mentioned, belong to the category of "economic texts" (KTU 4.24, 4.33, 4.36, 4.37, 4.38, 4.39, 4.40, 4.41, 4.42, 4.43, 4.44, 4.45, 4.46, 4.47, 4.48, 4.49, 4.50, 4.51, 5.52, 54.53, 4.54, 4.55, 4.56), 23, out of 54 texts, the rest being either inscriptions (cylinder-seals, labels, monumental inscriptions...[7]) or unclassified (8), as well as 2 letters (KTU 2.11; 2.12) addressed to

12. See KTU for the bibliographical references.

13. See del Olmo Lete, "The Ugaritic Archives of the 'Maison du Lettré' and 'Maison de *Rašap'abu*'", forthcoming.

14. See comments from the studies on the hippiatric texts.



the Queen Mother by *Talmiyānu*, who is well known in the epistolary and economic texts.<sup>15</sup> However they are not actual letters, but mere compilations of formulaic salutations,<sup>16</sup> that is to say, scribal exercises. In this context, texts RS 8.203 (KTU 5.3), simply a repetition of the same name, and RS 10.081 (KTU 5.4), an alphabet,<sup>17</sup> suggest that it is an archive at least very similar in content and functions to the Archive of Rashapabu: for book-keeping, a notary and a training workshop for scribes. Besides that, the fact that both archives contained the ‘original’ and copies of the hippiatric text would indicate them to be a single unit, were it not for the physical distance between them. In any case, both represent the same sort of private archive, from their contents and functions.

As for the 28 syllabic texts, 17 have been published in 7 different journals and studies and 7 are still unpublished (RS 5.284; 6.000;<sup>18</sup> 7.001; 8.202A/B; 9.261; 9.405), plus an additional 4 unclassified (9.480A; 9.484A; 9.491A; 10.058). The genre distribution of the published texts gives the following result: KTU 1. religious text, 2 (RS 5.302+5.303: the *Anu* list); KTU 2. letter, 3 (RS 4.449; 8.098; 10.046); KTU 3. legal texts, 4 (RS 8.145; 8.146; 8.207, 8.303: contracts); KTU 4. economic text, 1 (RS 6.308: weights/measures; RS 6.345); KTU 5. scribal exercise, 1 (RS 5.222: the *Silbenalphabet*); KTU 6. inscriptions, 6 (RS 4.458; 7.174; 8.043; 8.346; 10.028; 10.029: cylinder-seals and one label). As a whole this score of syllabic texts complements both functions: as a notary office (legal texts) and as a place for training scribes in lexical matters (the *Anu* list and the *Silbenalphabet*).

The resulting image fits well with what is known from other private archives, where the co-existence of both scripts is normal. The syllabic script was used mostly to write down letters, legal documents and lexical tools, while the alphabetic script was reserved for keeping private economic records (see above).

15. Could he be the owner/titular of the archive?

16. See Cunchillos ... Pardee ... Compare with KTU 2.13 (RS 11.872, from the Royal Palace

17. Hawley 2008 p. 219.

18. “Trouvé en surface avant le commencement des fouilles” (*TEOC*:41).



## The Texts Set of the “Maison aux Jarres”

Also in the 22nd campaign (1959) in the “Tranchée au nord-est du tell ou Terrasse est” some seven texts (5 syll. and 2 alph.) were located in the so-called “Maison aux Jarres”. Like the former, this set of texts is not important enough to warrant a functional interpretation, so we simply record it here.

[RS 22.001 alph.	t.p. 2358 0·65	KTU 5.18]	scribal
RS 22.002 syll.	t.p. 2376 1·90	unpub.	
RS 22.004 alph.	t.p. 2410 1·20	KTU 4.711	econ.
RS 22.007 syll.	t.p. 2377 1·90	unpub.	
RS 22.030 syll.	t.p. 2377 1·90	unpub.	
RS 22.031 syll.	t.p. 2377 1·90	unpub.	
RS 22.032 syll.	t.p. 2377 1·90	unpub.	

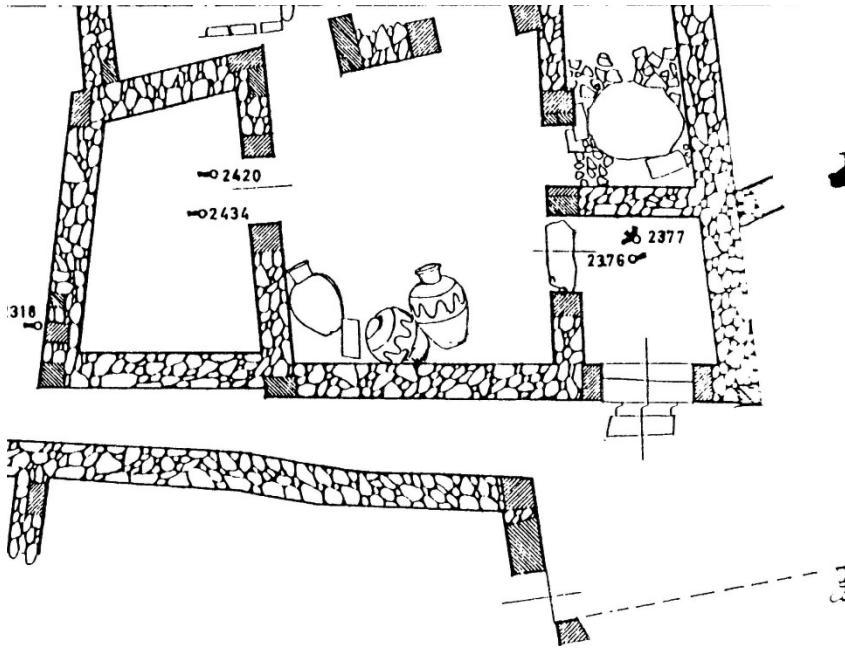


PLATE 12

“Maison aux Jarres” – P. Bordreuil, D. Pardee, *La trouvaille épigraphique de l’Ougarit. 1. Concordance* (RSO V), Paris 1989, p. 195 (with authorization).

## The Archives of the “Palais Royal” An Overview

The archives of the Royal Palace of Ugarit are the largest and more significant from every point of view of all the archives unearthed at Ugarit. And their outstanding importance were certainly recognised in the relative early (1957–1970 on) and very extensive publication of texts in the series “Le Palais Royal d’Ugarit”, volumes II to VI.<sup>1</sup> Consequently we will limit ourselves to brief summary remarks on the overall genre distribution of the texts found mainly in the campaigns 11th (1938) to 20th (1956, archive South-West) campaigns.

The total number of texts amounts to some 1.908 texts according to *TEOC*; of these the following have been published: 293 alphabetic (PRU II–V / KTU)<sup>2</sup> and some 733 syllabic<sup>3</sup> (PRU III–IV–VI: 267+ 268+198); this means that about 1175, both alphabetic and syllabic, are still unpublished. The genre distribution of the published texts is as follows: alphabetic: 15 literary and religious texts (KTU 1); 26 letters (KTU 2); 15 legal and juridical acts (KTU 3); 215 economic texts (KTU 4); 5 scribal exercises and lexical material (KTU 4); 11 inscriptions (KTU 6); 6 unclassified texts (KTU 7). The syllabic texts are: 1 literary text (the fragment RS 16.346); 80 letters; 336 legal and juridical; 150 economic; 6 scribal exercises; 68 inscriptions; 32 unclassified.

1. For a thorough analysis of the context and contents of the Palace Archives see Van Soldt 1986; SAU: 49–142.

2. See PRU II, PRU V.

3. See PRU III, PRU IV, PRU VI.

Faced with the almost complete absence of literary and religious texts as well as the modest number of scribal exercises<sup>4</sup> and lexical material (there was no copy of *Harra hubullu* in the Royal Palace Archive) it must be concluded that this archive was not a scribal workshop. Its main function was that of ‘notary office’ in which the royal acts were kept as well as the documentation dealing with the economic interests of the Palace. In fact almost a third of the texts are legal-judicial decisions taken by the royal justice administration with the King as supreme Judge. Also the large number of letters, of which many deal with international political affairs, is in accordance with the suggested character of the Palace Archive. In it the original missives from the foreign courts and copies of the letters sent by the King of Ugarit are kept. The relatively high number of the so called “inscriptions” comes from the royal and private cylinder-seals that authenticated the quoted correspondence.

In this regard a comparative study of this set of correspondence with that of the *sākinūma*’s (*Urtēnu* and *Rapānu*; see above) archives imposes itself. Was possibly the Royal Palace Archive the last destination of this sort of texts while their retention in the officers’ archives was only temporal, during the officer’s duty period?

Another question regards the literary alphabetic texts kept in this archive. The presence of KTU 1.91 is self-explanatory as a list of *dbḥ mlk* and register of the wine consumed in them: it is rather an economic-administrative text that regulates a Palace affair. As we know from the Ras Ibn Hani texts, KTU 1.90 refers to a particular kind of ritual in which the king and only he has a particular role: *id yph mlk...* We could say it is part of the “Royal Prayer Book”. KTU 1.87, as we have already seen, is a duplicate of KTU 1.41, found in the *Agapshārru* archive and in the High Priest’s archive (see above, p. 41, n. 39). It is also worth noting the special intervention of the *bt mlk* in this ritual (l. 21), expressing royal privilege or duty, justifying its presence in this archive. As for the other tablets: in our opinion KTU 1.86 is not a literary-religious text;<sup>5</sup> KTU 1.92 and 1.93 may represent ‘minor myths’, but are too fragmentary to be of use. This applies even more to the other fragments: KTU 1.89, 1.94, 1.95. KTU 1.89 is possibly a text concerning magic, which belongs to this archive as to any other, as we saw earlier.

4. This description simply shows the indefinite character of these texts. In fact, only one fragmentary copy of the alphabet (KTU 5.32/RS 19.174) comes from this archive, to be explained more as an aid to reading than as a scribal writing tool.

5. See del Olmo Lete 2004:593–594.

Here we have the total number of texts found in the various excavated rooms and neighbouring places of the Royal Palace of Ugarit arranged by literary genre, either published or unpublished:

*Alphabetic*

Literary and religious texts:  $8 + 7 = 15$

Letters:  $5 + 3 + 16 + 2 = 26$

Legal and juridical:  $14 + 1 = 15$

Economic:  $116 + 48 + 44 + 7 = 215$

Scribal:  $5 = 5$

Inscriptions:  $11 = 11$

Unclassified / illegible:  $6 = 6$

*Syllabic*

$1 + 30 = 31$

$23 + 1 + 1 + 1 + 1 + 4 + 14 + 14 + 1 + 20$   
 $= 80$

$= 192 + 11 + 30 + 33 + 3 + 2 + 1 + 1$   
 $+ 3 + 1 + 1 + 1 + 49 = 328$

$45 + 10 = 55$

$6 = 6$

$10 + 17 + 3 + 2 + 2 + 1 + 1 = 36$

$1 + 3 + 4 + 2 + 22 = 32$



PLATE 13

Plan of the "Palais Royal" – M. Yon, *La cité d'Ougarit sur le tell de Ras Shamra* (Guides Archéologiques de l'IFAPO, 2), Paris 1997, p. 47 (with authorization).



## The Ras Ibn Hani Archive A Functional Analysis

The “Archive of the Northern Palace of Ras Ibn Hani” suffers from a serious lack<sup>1</sup> of information that makes impossible any evaluation of its origin and function in an adequate manner. The majority of its texts and fragments (a total of 207<sup>2</sup>) are *unpublished* and of all of them, either unpublished or published (59 [+34] tablets-joins, basically in Syria 1979–1984, according to the *Concordance*) one would say that *their location is unknown* according to the “Index des Numéros de Musées” of the *Concordance*: texts from RIH do not appear in anyone of the quoted museums. Something that KTU confirms: its rubric Mu. turns out to be void

1. See the basic study by Bounni, Lagarce 1998: 91–96: “Chapitre 6. Les Archives du Palais Nord et leur apport à la connaissance du monde ugaritique” (ca. 180 tablets / 130 documents). A rather cursory treatment of the topic can be found in the booklet by Bounni, Saliby, Lagarce 1987. However, W.H. Van Soldt, does not take into consideration this archive, either in his basic work (*SAU*) or in his articles on the Ugaritian palace (1986) and private (2000) archives.

2. This is the number of textual units that have been found in the excavations (published and unpublished), mostly fragments, before the pertinent joins were made and they were catalogued according to their find number. If we take into account the suggested joins, which affect 34 fragments, the number of texts published would be about 93. See *TEOC*:362–377: “Ras Ibn Hani 1977–1987”. This the most certain datum. Other calculations based on the indexes of *TEOC* and of KTU are less accurate. For instance, the “Index des Écritures” of *TEOC* (414–422) catalogues 168 texts (138 alphabetic + 12 uninscribed + 2 cuneiform [without distinguishing between Ug. and Akk.] + 16 syllabic texts); but in the “Index des Points Topographiques par Quartier et Locus” (pp. 423–445 [444–445]) there are 179. KTU in its “Index of Excavation Numbers”, pp. 741–742, agrees with this figure and also records 179 texts. In any case, the disparity between the 207 texts of *TEOC* and the 179 of the other two indexes remains, due to joins (34 fewer tablets) and to the exclusion of uninscribed elements.

without exception. Actually the RIH texts are kept in the Damascus National Museum (“Département des Antiquités Orientales”). On the other hand the *Concordance* does not offer any hint on the type / contents of the unpublished texts, in their majority seemingly small fragments, that could help to figure out a global idea of the archive function; sometimes it is barely pointed out: “administratif”.

The published texts can be assigned to these KTU categories: 25 in KTU 1. “Literary and Religious Texts”; 8 in category KTU 2. “Letters”; 5 in category KTU 3. “Legal and Juridical Texts”; 30 in category KTU 4. “Economic Texts”; 1 in category KTU 6. “Inscriptions”; 3 in category KTU 7. “Unclassified Texts and Fragments”. A total of 70 texts. Furthermore the catalogued but uninscribed texts have to be added: 3 in category KTU 8. “Illegible Tablets and Uninscribed Fragments”; and the 106 in category KTU 9. “unpublished texts.”

Furthermore we have to take into account the 16 (+ 2 joins) syllabic texts, 10 of them unpublished or barely registered (of RIH 84/10 is remarked that is “administratif”, and RIH 78/13 is said to be a copy of *Ḥarra ḥubullu*); only 6 have been published and their *editio princeps* is indicated. In fact, the number of documents changes very little and the lower number of syllabic than alphabetic texts in this archive is significant if we compare it with the inverse proportion in other archives, palatial as well as private.<sup>3</sup>

Analysing in more detail the 25 texts (= 15 documents) in category KTU 1., very generically defined as “Literary and Religious Texts”, one can single out the following types or genres according the distribution in KTU:

a) *mythological-literary* (KTU 1.76; 1.180). The mention of the DN *ḥrn* (*Ḥôrānu*) and of the lexeme *plg* recalls the phrase *tlū ḥ<m>t km nḥl tplg km plg* (“(Horon then went to his house, made his way to his mansion, the poison drained like as a torrent, dried up like a stream”) (KTU 1.100:68–69) which highlights and sanctions his function as the god of magic in the literary-symbolic framework of his fight against snakebite and its poison.<sup>4</sup> In this regard, KTU 1.176 could easily be taken as a possible development of / commentary on the canonical text KTU 1.100 or even more probably as an incantation (for personal use?) against such a danger with a symbolic general force of apotropaic magic against any evil attack. There is a similar text in the archive of the “Maison d’Urtēnu” (KTU 1.178), which places both archives on the same level in terms of function. It seems as if a text of

3. See in this regard the synoptic presentations given by Van Soldt in *SAU*; and his studies: 1986 and 2000.

4. See del Olmo Lete 2014b:188–211.

this nature had to be included in any archive of Ugarit. As such, it should be ascribed to category c), namely *magical texts*.

Text KTU 1.180, on the other hand, is clearly a mythological-literary text, exceptional in the religious literature of Ugarit: a hymn to the goddess *ʿAttartu*, a genre that rarely appears.<sup>5</sup>

KTU 1.165 (*ršp gn yšan*), KTU 1.166 (*dgn, bʿl, rpi yqr*; cf. KTU 1.108:1–2), 1.174 (*il yšgd*) may belong to unknown and minor mythological stories. But their extremely fragmentary state prevents any reasonably acceptable conclusion in this regard.

On the other hand, it is clear that absolutely no copy of the Baal foundation myth was kept in this archive nor were other minor significant myths that had been entrusted to the Great Priest’s Archive.<sup>6</sup>

b) *cultic-ritual* (of offering) (KTU 1.164; 1.168; 1.170; 1.171). KTU 1.164 is a classical text of sacrificial offering, usual we will say, officiated by the ##King an of which we have no parallel in other archives. The fragmentary texts KTU 1.167(?), 1.170, 1.171 and 1.173 belong clearly to the same category, as can be seen from the mention of victims (*gsb, ālp w š, ʿšrm*), the type of offering (*dbḥ mlkt, šrp šlmm*), those to whom the offering is made (*l bʿl, l spn, l inš, š bʿl...*) and even the monarch’s cultic activity (*tdt yḡb mlk b...*). On the other hand, KTU 1.168 is also a ritual of the king’s offering in the particular context of his “visiting” (\*phy) a deity (*id yph mlk ...*) and of which we have a literal parallel in KTU 1.90, from the Central Palace Archive. This, then, is a ritual particularly favoured by royalty.<sup>7</sup> It is worth mentioning that in not one of these texts is the king’s “purification / desacralization” (*hl/brr*) mentioned.<sup>8</sup> They are texts, then, that correspond to the king as supreme celebrant/officiant of the Ugaritian cult, kept in his archive.

c) *magic-divinatory* (KTU 1.163; 1.169; 1.175). KTU 1.169 is a splendid exemplar of the genre of magic conjurations is certainly a good manual,<sup>9</sup> since it is a compendium of incantations against slander and bad words. Instead, KTU 1.163 is also a clear compendium of astral omens based on the observation of various phases of the moon (*hm yrḥ...*) with a clear binary structure of distichs, each with a

5. For the text, with a translation and an excellent commentary, see the *editio princeps* by Pardee 2007. For the literary genre in general see del Olmo Lete 2014a:340–345.

6. See above pp. 13ff.

7. See del Olmo Lete 2014a:316–323.

8. On this see del Olmo Lete 2017b: 491–492.

9. See del Olmo Lete 2014b:165–1172.

protasis (*hm* ...) and an apodosis.<sup>10</sup> Finally, the vocabulary of KTU 1.175 hints at a prescription of medical magic: body parts: *lšn*, *gb*...; animal (?) and vegetal products: *mrrt ālp*, *riš bṭn*, *tnt nʔ* (?), *yn*, *ḥms*, *mlḥt*, combined with their manipulation and application (?): *dk*, *št b*, *yḥdh*, *yšt* ...). But such fragments of information are not enough to determine genre.<sup>11</sup>

As for the other categories: the absence of texts in category KTU 5. (“Scribal Exercises”) is surprising. Possibly the texts of this category may be either concealed in the mass of unpublished texts or perhaps their absence may suggest that this archive was not concerned with scribal training. The copies of *Ḥarra ḥubullu* (RIH 77/03<sup>12</sup> and 78/13<sup>13</sup>) would be addressed exclusively to trained scribes engaged in copying and reading the documents kept there.

Four of the seven letters (KTU 2.77; 2.78; 2.79; 2.80; 2.81 [RIH 78/03+78/30]; 2.82; 2.83) are very fragmentary and nothing definite can be extracted from them. The most significant, because of their implied political context, are the copy of a letter addressed to the Pharaoh by the King of Ugarit (‘Ammitamru?) (KTU 2.81; see KTU 2.76) and another (KTU 2.78), a fragmentary letter (either original or copy?) by the Pharaoh to the King of Ugarit (‘Ammurapʔi). Instead, KTU 2.82, the only more or less complete letter, is an anonymous missive to the queen concerning a certain *ʔbdmlk*. The way in which the sender presents himself (using *ānk*, “I” instead of *ʔbdk*, “your servant”) suggests that he is a high-ranking person, seemingly the same King of Ugarit (*ūmy*). The reason why these three letters were kept in this archive is impossible to determine, since their sequence is not clear. In any case, they show that the Palace of Ras Ibn Hani was an active centre of the Ugaritian kingdom, in terms of politics and administration, possibly under the queen mother’s control, a character who preserved a very active presence in this regard in the courts of the Ancient Near East.<sup>14</sup> This centre, then, was well informed and opinions and decisions were expected from it.

10. See del Olmo Lete 2014a:352.

11. See del Olmo Lete 2014a:387 (cf. especially KTU 1.114:29–31). In spite of its classification as KTU 1.172, I would put it in category KTU 4. “Economic Texts”, given the absence of anything connected with the cult or divine names.

12. See Arnaud, Kennedy 1979:321.

13. See Bounni, Lagarce, Saliby, Badre, Leriche, Touma 1981:294 (missing from the *Concordance, Index des Éditions*, p. 405).

14. On this, see comments by Bounni, Lagarce 1998:91–93 (“Un centre administratif et un Palais de [la] Reine d’Ugarit”). In this connection there is an interesting description of the queen mother’s intervention in the politics of the pharaoh by Thomas Mann in the third volume of his tetralogy *Joseph and his brothers*.

The preserved material shows instead the limited range of the resources there, in comparison with the material kept in the Central Palace Archives.<sup>15</sup>

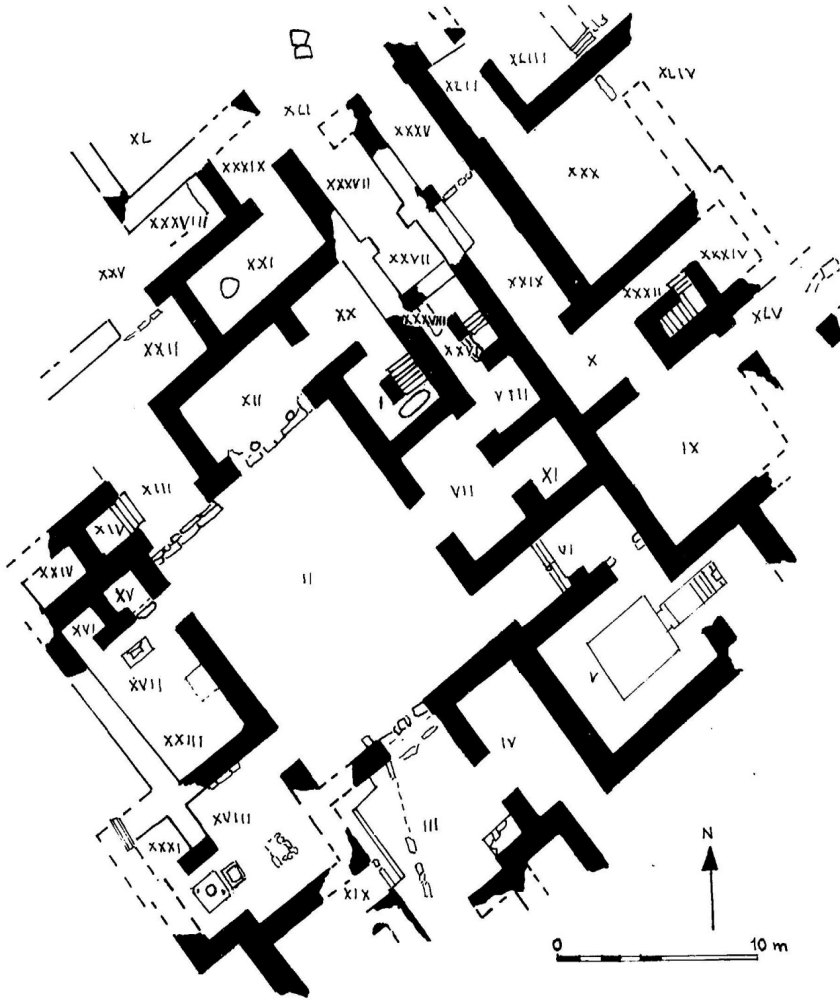


PLATE 14

Ras Ibn Hani, “Palais Nord” – J. Lagarce, A. Bounni, *RAS IBN HANI. Archéologie et Histoire*, Damascus 1987, p. 13.

15. On this, see on the one hand the basic study by Márquez Rowe 2006; and on the other, the compilation by McGeough, Smith 2011.

Finally the presence of legal-judicial (5: KTU 3.10; 3.28–31) and economic-administrative texts (30 frag. = 20 doc.: KTU 4.769–783; 4.813–814, 4.816; 4.869–870), that regulate and record the life and activities of a palatial centre, with its large range of personnel and management movements, may be taken as normal.

As a whole, then, the archive of the North Palace of Ras Ibn Hani reproduces a reduced model of an official and of a private archive as well, with a minimum of religious documentation for the illustration, devotion and protection of its users (category KTU 1.) and a larger volume of management documents, public and private (categories KTU 2.–4.) in keeping with the commitments and needs of its occupants and dependents.

## Appendix I: Archaeological Register of the Ras Shamra Mission<sup>1</sup>

<i>Campaign</i>	<i>zone</i>	<i>Locus, either generic or specific</i>
1–1929	Minet el Beida Acropole:	Maison du GP Temple de Baal (‘Palais’)
2–1930	Minet el-Beida Acropole:	Maison du GP (Bibliothèque) W./S./E. Temple B./Maison GP Tr. A-E Tr. II
3–1931	Minet el-Beida:  Acropole:	Tr. 7.IV, 8.IV, 10IV  E. Temple de Baal // Temple de Dagan = Forteresse: Tr. N, N <sub>1</sub> , N <sub>2</sub> , N <sub>3</sub>
4–1932	Minet el-Beida:  Acropole:	Tombes, Tr. 8.IV, 10.IV, 20.IV.32, 25.IV,32  SW Maison du GP: Tr. B <sub>1</sub> .32, N <sub>1</sub> .32 Temple de Baal: T1, T2, Tr. 20.IV Tr. Banquette: Tr 6.IV.32, 7–VI.32, 8.VI.32

1. See “Rapports de fouilles de la Mission Archéologique de Ras Shamra – Syria” (on line).

5–1933	Acropole:	Tr. 24.III.NS Région grandes tombes Zone de Temples Maison du GP: Tr. I, II, III, IV, V
6–1934	Minet el-Beida Acropole:	Maison du GP (Bibliothèque) Tr. 80, 70, 72, 73, 74, 75... Forteresse (Temple de Dagan) Weli (W. Palais Sud)
7–1935	Acropole:	Pente N. SW: Tr. coudée
	Ville Basse:	A, B
8–1936	Acropole:	Chantier I (Tr. coudée) Chantier II
	Ville Basse:	Chantier III: VBW Chantier IV: E
9–1937	Acropole:	[Suite de 1936]
	Ville Basse:	[Suite de 1936] tombes
	Butte:	NW (=Sondage//Palais//Ecuries Temple Hourrite)
10–1938	Butte:	NW (Arsenal)
11–1939	Butte:	NW Palais Royal Forteresse / Place dallée et Porche Archives Ouest



12–1948	Palais Royal:	Porche, Pièces 2–5
13–1949	Palais Royal:	Nord-Ouest
14–1950	Palais Royal:	Nord
	Ville Basse:	Ouest
15–1951	Palais Royal:	Archives Centrales (Cour, Pièces) Archives Est
16–1952	Palais Royal:	Archives Centrales (Cour, Pièces)
17–1953	Palais Royal:	Archives Centrales (Cour, Pièces) Archives Est Archives Sud (Hittites) Tr. vers..., Maisons Maison de Rashapabu Maison du Lettré Maison de l'Armurier
18–1954	Palais Royal:	Archives Sud-Ouest (Cour, Pièces) Four aux tablettes Vers le Palais Sud/Petit Palais Entre PR et PS
19–1955	Palais Royal:	Archives Sud-Ouest (Cour, Pièces)
	Palais Sud:	Nord Entre Palais Royal et Palais Sud
20–1956	Quartier Résidentiel/Égéén:	Maison du Lettré M. Porche à deux colonnes Maison du Rapanu (Pièces)
21–1958	Palais Sud:	Tombe I

	Quartier Résidentiel:	
22–1959	Tr. Ville Sud:	Maison de Rapanu (Pièces, Tombe) Maison aux textes littéraires Maison au Nord de la Tr.
	Tr. NE // Terrasse Est:	Maison aux Jarres
23–1960	Tr. Ville Sud:	Maison aux textes littéraires
24–1961	Tr. Sud Acropole:	Maison de Ben Agapsharri Maison aux foies / Maison du Prêtre Hourrite Cella aux tablettes myth.–liturg. Maison aux textes méd.-mag./Lamashtu Maison de Patilu-wa
25–1962	Tr. Sud Acropole:	Maison de Ben Agapsharri Maison aux textes méd.-mag.
26–1963	Tr. Sud Acropole:	Maison aux textes méd.-mag.
27–1964	Tr. Sud Acropole:	Maison de Patilu-wa Palais Sud
28–1965	Palais Sud/Sud Acropole:	
29–1966	Quartier Résidentiel:	Tr. 13, 100, 101, 108, 200, 403, 404, 503, 504, 601, 609, 808....
30–1968	Palais Nord:	Ailes Est, Sud
	Quartier Résidentiel:	Maison aux albâtres
31–1969	Palais Nord	
32–1971	Palais Nord:	Installation grecque

		SW (une tablette) Tas de déblais
33–1972	Palais Nord:	
		Maison Nord-Ouest Installation grecque
34–1973	Quartier Résidentiel:	
		Maison aux albâtres Maison au fours Tas de déblais (Maison d’Urtenu)
36–1975	Residence au Nord-Ouest:	
39–1979	Centre de la Ville:	
		Maison A
40–1980	Centre de la Ville:	
44–1984	Ecuries (NE):	
46–1986	Centre de la Ville:	
		Quartier Sud Centre (“Tas de déblais”) (Maison d’Urtenu)
48–1988	Centre de la Ville:	
		Zone nord-est Zone du temple aux rythons Quartier Sud Centre (Maison d’Urtenu)
49–1989	Centre de la Ville:	
50–61	(?)	
62–2002	Tranchée “Ville Sud”:	
		(Maison d’Urtenu) Palais Nord
63–2003	(?)	
64–2004	(?)	
65–2005	Chantier de la Grand-Rue:	

- 66–2006      Chantier du Rempart  
                  Sondage Temple de Dagan  
                  Chantier de la Grand-Rue  
                  Chantier du Rempart
- 67–2007      Chantier de la Grand-Rue  
                  Rempart Sud-Ouest  
                  Sondage de l'Acropole (Temple de Dagan)
- 68–2008      Chantier de la Grand-Rue  
                  Rempart Sud-Ouest  
                  Fouille du Pont-Barrage
- 69–2009      Chantier du Rempart  
                  Maison de Yabninou  
                  Chantier de la Grand-Rue
- 70–2010      Chantier du Rempart  
                  Maison de Yabninou  
                  Chantier de la Grand-Rue:  
                            Fouille du puits 3150  
                            Region à l'Est du Palais Royal

Appendix II: The unpublished syllabic texts from the house of  
*Rapānu*

RS 20.122	t.p. 1890	RS 20.142B	t.p. 1827	RS 20.144W	t.p. 1845
RS 20.124	t.p. 1754	RS 20.142C	t.p. 1827	RS 20.144X	t.p. 1845
RS 20.126A	t.p. 1844	RS 20.142C	t.p. 1827	RS 20.144Y	t.p. 1845
RS 20.126B	t.p. 1844	RS 20.142D	t.p. 1827	RS 20. 146	t.p. 1837
RS 20.126C	t.p. 1844	RS 20.142E	t.p. 1827	RS 20. 153	t.p. 1811
RS 20.126D	t.p. 1844	RS 20.142F	t.p. 1827	RS 20. 154A	t.p. 1844
RS 20.126E	t.p. 1844	RS 20.143A	t.p. 1845	RS 20.160A	t.p. 1845
RS 20.126F	t.p. 1844	RS 20.143C	???	RS 20.160B	t.p. 1845
RS 20.127A	t.p. 1844	RS 20.143D	t.p. 1845	RS 20.160C	t.p. 1845
RS 20.127B	t.p. 1844	RS 20.143E	t.p. 1845	RS 20.160D	t.p. 1845
RS 20.127C	t.p. 1844	RS 20.143F	t.p. 1845	RS 20.160E	t.p. 1845
RS 20.128	t.p. 1844	RS 20.143G	t.p. 1845	RS 20.160F+K	t.p. 1845
RS 20.129B	t.p. 1858	RS 20.143H	t.p. 1845	RS 20.160Fbis	t.p. 1845
RS 20.132A	t.p. 1847	RS 20.144A	t.p. 1845	RS 20.160G+	t.p. 1845
RS 20.132B	t.p. 1847	RS 20.144H	t.p. 1845	RS 20.160H	t.p. 1845
RS 20.133A	t.p. 1831	RS 20.144L	t.p. 1845	RS 20.160I	t.p. 1845
RS 20.133B	t.p. 1831	RS 20.144M	t.p. 1845	RS 20.160J	t.p. 1845
RS 20.134	t.p. 1781	RS 20.144N	t.p. 1845	RS 20.160K	t.p. 1845
RS 20.137	t.p. 1818	RS 20.144P	t.p. 1845	RS 20.160L	t.p. 1845
RS 20.138	t.p. 1818	RS 20.144Q	t.p. 1845	RS 20.160M+B	t.p. 1845
RS 20.139	t.p. 1771	RS 20.144R	t.p. 1845	RS 20.160O	t.p. 1845
RS 20.140	t.p. 1844	RS 20.144S	t.p. 1845	RS 20.160P	t.p. 1845
RS 20.141	t.p. 1831	RS 20.144T	t.p. 1845	RS 20.161A	t.p. 1893
RS 20.141D	t.p. 1831	RS 20.144U	t.p. 1845	RS 20.161B	t.p. 1893
RS 20.142A	t.p. 1827	RS 20.144V	t.p. 1845	RS 20.161C	t.p. 1893

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RS 20.161E t.p. 1893	RS 20.169 t.p. 1828	RS 20.179B t.p. 1859
RS 20.161-1 t.p. 1893	RS 20.170A t.p. 1829	RS 20.179C t.p. 1859
RS 20.161-2 t.p. 1893	RS 20.170B t.p. 1829	RS 20.179D t.p. 1859
RS 20.161-3 t.p. 1893	RS 20.170C t.p. 1829	RS 20.180A t.p. 1855
RS 20.161-4 t.p. 1893	RS 20.170D t.p. 1829	RS 20.180alph. t.p. 1855
RS 20.161-5 t.p. 1893	RS 20.170E t.p. 1829	RS 20.180B t.p. 1855
RS 20.161-6 t.p. 1893	RS 20.171 t.p. 1881	RS 20.180C t.p. 1855
RS 20.161-7 t.p. 1893	RS 20.171B t.p. 1883	RS 20.180D t.p. 1855
RS 20.161-8 t.p. 1893	RS 20.171C t.p. 1883	RS 20.180E t.p. 1855
RS 20.161-9 t.p. 1893	RS 20.171-1 t.p. 1883	RS 20.180G t.p. 1855
RS 20.161-10 t.p. 1893	RS 20.171-2 t.p. 1883	RS 20.181 t.p. 1848/63
RS 20.161-11 t.p. 1893	RS 20.171-4 t.p. 1883	RS 20.181B t.p. 1848/63
RS 20.161-12 t.p. 1893	RS 20.171-5 t.p. 1883	RS 20.181C t.p. 1848/63
RS 20.161-13 t.p. 1893	RS 20.171-6 t.p. 1883	RS 20.181D t.p. 1848/63
RS 20.161-14 t.p. 1893	RS 20.171-8 t.p. 1883	RS 20.181E t.p. 1848/63
RS 20.161-15 t.p. 1893	RS 20.171-9 t.p. 1883	RS 20.181F t.p. 1848/63
RS 20.161-16 t.p. 1893	RS 20.171-10 t.p. 1883	RS 20.181G t.p. 1848/63
RS 20.161-17 t.p. 1893	RS 20.171-11 t.p. 1883	RS 20.181H t.p. 1848/63
RS 20.161-18 t.p. 1893	RS 20.171-12 t.p. 1883	RS 20.181I t.p. 1848/63
RS 20.161-19 t.p. 1893	RS 20.171-13 t.p. 1883	RS 20.181J t.p. 1848/63
RS 20.161-20 t.p. 1893	RS 20.171-14 t.p. 1883	RS 20.181K t.p. 1848/63
RS 20.161-21 t.p. 1893	RS 20.171-15 t.p. 1883	RS 20.181-1 t.p. 1848/63
RS 20.161-22 t.p. 1893	RS 20.171-16 t.p. 1883	RS 20.181-2 t.p. 1848/63
RS 20.161-23 t.p. 1893	RS 20.171-17 t.p. 1883	RS 20.181-3 t.p. 1848/63
RS 20.161-24 t.p. 1893	RS 20.171-18 t.p. 1883	RS 20.181-4 t.p. 1848/63
RS 20.161-25 t.p. 1893	RS 20.171-19 t.p. 1883	RS 20.181-5 t.p. 1848/63
RS 20.161-2 6 t.p. 1893	RS 20.171-20 t.p. 1883	RS 20.181-6 t.p. 1848/63
RS 20.161-27 t.p. 1893	RS 20.171-21 t.p. 1883	RS 20.181-8 t.p. 1848/63
RS 20.161-28 t.p. 1893	RS 20.171-22 t.p. 1883	RS 20.181-11 t.p. 1848/63
RS 20.161-29 t.p. 1893	RS 20.171-23 t.p. 1883	RS 20.181-12 t.p. 1848/63
RS 20.161-30 t.p. 1893	RS 20.171-24 t.p. 1883	RS 20.181-13 t.p. 1848/63
RS 20.161-31 t.p. 1893	RS 20.171-25 t.p. 1883	RS 20.181-14 t.p. 1848/63
RS 20.161-23 t.p. 1893	RS 20.171-26 t.p. 1883	RS 20.181-16 t.p. 1848/63
RS 20.161-33 t.p. 1893	RS 20.171-27 t.p. 1883	RS 20.181-17 t.p. 1848/63
RS 20.161-34 t.p. 1893	RS 20.173A t.p. 1831	RS 20.181-18bis t.p. 1848/63
RS 20.165A t.p. 1893	RS 20.173A t.p. 1831	RS 20.181-19 t.p. 1848/63
RS 20.165B t.p. 1893	RS 20.174B t.p. 1844	RS 20.181-20 t.p. 1848/63
RS 20.165D t.p. 1893	RS 20.174C t.p. 1844	RS 20.181-21 t.p. 1848/63

APPENDIX II: THE UNPUBLISHED SYLLABIC TEXTS FROM THE HOUSE OF *RAPĀNU*

RS 20.181–22 t.p. 1848/63	RS 20.195F t.p. 1831	RS 20.203A t.p. 1903
RS 20.181–23 t.p. 1848/63	RS 20.195G t.p. 1831	RS 20.203C t.p. 1903
RS 20.182A p.t. 1848/63	RS 20.195H t.p. 1831	RS.20.204 t.p. 1781
RS 20.182B t.p. 1848/63	RS 20.195I t.p. 1831	RS 20.206 t.p. 1837
RS 20.183B t.p. 1848/63	RS 20.195J t.p. 1831	RS 20.207–B t.p. 1872
RS 20.185A t.p. 1855	RS 20.195K t.p. 1813	RS 20.208–A t.p. 1769
RS 20.185B t.p. 1855	RS 20.195L t.p. 1831	RS 20.210–A t.p. 1855
RS 20.185D t.p. 1855	RS 20.195M t.p. 1831	RS 20.210–B t.p. 1855
RS 20.185E t.p. 1855	RS 20.195N t.p. 1831	RS 20.210–C t.p. 1855
RS 20.186A t.p. 1886	RS 20.195O t.p. 1831	RS 20.211–A t.p. 1855
RS 20.186B t.p. 1886	RS 20.195P t.p. 1831	RS 20.211–B t.p. 1872
RS 20.186C t.p. 1886	RS 20.195Q t.p. 1831	RS 20.213 t.p. 1781
RS 20.186D t.p. 1886	RS 20.195R t.p. 1831	RS 20.214–C t.p. 1779
RS 20.186–1 t.p. 1886	RS 20.195S t.p. 1831	RS 20.217 t.p. 1763
RS 20.186–2 t.p. 1886	RS 20.196B t.p. 1838	RS 20.221 t.p. 1742
RS 20.186–3 t.p. 1886	RS 20.197A t.p. 1811	RS 20.222B t.p. 1844
RS 20.186–4 t.p. 1886	RS 20.197B t.p. 1811	RS 20.222C t.p. 1844
RS 20.186–5 t.p. 1886	RS 20.197D t.p. 1811	RS 20.222D t.p. 1844
RS 20.186–6 t.p. 1886	RS 20.198A t.p. 1821	RS 20.222E t.p. 1844
RS 20.186–7 t.p. 1886	RS 20.198B t.p. 1821	RS 20.222fF t.p. 1844
RS 20.186–8 t.p. 1886	RS 20.198C t.p. 1821	RS 20.224 t.p. 1858
RS 20.186–9 t.p. 1886	RS 20.198D t.p. 1821	RS 20.228A t.p. 1807
RS 20.186–10 t.p. 1886	RS 20.198E t.p. 1821	RS 20.228B t.p. 1807
RS 20.186–11 t.p. 1886	RS. 20.200D t.p. 1872	RS 20.229 t.p. 1844
RS 20.186–12 t.p. 1886	RS. 20.201B t.p. 1847	RS 20.233 t.p. 1834/7
RS 20.187A t.p. 1855	RS. 20.201C t.p. 1847	RS 20.234A t.p. 1782
RS 20.187B t.p. 1855	RS. 20.201D t.p. 1847	RS 20.234B t.p. 1782
RS 20.188A t.p. 1859	RS. 20.201E t.p. 1847	RS 20.245 t.p. 1798
RS 20.188B t.p. 1859	RS. 20.201F t.p. 1847	RS 20.250 t.p. 1906
RS 20.188C t.p. 1859	RS. 20.201–1 t.p. 1847	RS 20.251A t.p. 1724
RS 20.188D t.p. 1859	RS. 20.201–2 t.p. 1847	(W. Rashap.)
RS 20.188E t.p. 1859	RS. 20.201–3 t.p. 1847	RS 20.251D t.p. 1724
RS 20.189C t.p. 1837	RS. 20.201–4 t.p. 1847	(W. Rashap.)
RS 20.193 t.p. 1848	RS. 20.201–5 t.p. 1847	RS 20.252C t.p. déb.
RS 20.195B t.p. 1831	RS. 20.201–6 t.p. 1847	(Déblais)
RS 20.195C t.p. 1831	RS. 20.201–7 t.p. 1847	RS 20.252D t.p. déb.
RS 20.195D t.p. 1831	RS. 20.201–8 t.p. 1847	(Déblais)
RS 20.195E t.p. 1831	RS. 20.201–9 t.p. 1847	RS 20.253 t.p. 1811

RS 20.254A	t.p. 1868	RS 20.430H	t.p. 1858	RS 20.[435S]	t.p. 1844
RS 20.254B	t.p. 1868	RS 20.430I	t.p. 1858	RS 20.[435T]	t.p. 1844
RS 20.426	t.p. 1844	RS 20.430J	t.p. 1858	RS 20.[435U]	t.p. 1844
RS 20.426H	t.p. 1844	RS 20.430K	t.p. 1858	RS 20.[435V]	t.p. 1844
RS 20.426I	t.p. 1844	RS 20.430L	t.p. 1858	RS 20.[435W]	t.p. 1844
RS 20.426J	t.p. 1844	RS 20.430M	t.p. 1858	RS 20.[435X]	t.p. 1844
RS 20.426-1	t.p. 1844	RS 20.430N	t.p. 1858	RS 20.[435-1]	t.p. 1844
RS 20.426-2	t.p. 1844	RS 20.430O	t.p. 1858	RS 20.[435-2]	t.p. 1844
RS 20.426-3	t.p. 1844	RS 20.430P	t.p. 1858	RS 20.[435-3]	t.p. 1844
RS 20.426-4	t.p. 1844	RS 20.430Q	t.p. 1858	RS 20.[435-4]	t.p. 1844
RS 20.426-5	t.p. 1844	RS 20.[431]	t.p. 1789	RS 20.[435-5]	t.p. 1844
RS 20.426-6	t.p. 1844	RS 20.[432]	t.p. 1856	RS 20.[435-6]	t.p. 1844
RS 20.426-7	t.p. 1844	RS 20.[433A]	t.p. 1824	RS 20.[435-7]	t.p. 1844
RS 20.426-8	t.p. 1844	RS 20.[433B]	t.p. 1824	RS 20.[435-8]	t.p. 1844
RS 20.426-9	t.p. 1844	RS 20.[433C]	t.p. 1824	RS 20.[435-9]	t.p. 1844
RS 20.426-10	t.p. 1844	RS 20.[433D]	t.p. 1824	RS 20.[435-10]	t.p. 1844
RS 20.426-11	t.p. 1844	RS 20.[434A]	t.p. 1844	RS 20.[436A]	t.p. 1858
RS 20.426-12	t.p. 1844	RS 20.[434B]	t.p. 1844	RS 20.[436B]	t.p. 1858
RS 20.426-13	t.p. 1844	RS 20.[434C]	t.p. 1844	RS 20.[436C]	t.p. 1858
RS 20.426-15	t.p. 1844	RS 20.[434D]	t.p. 1844	RS 20.[436D]	t.p. 1858
RS 20.426-16	t.p. 1844	RS 20.[435A]	t.p. 1844	RS 20.[436E]	t.p. 1858
RS 20.426-17	t.p. 1844	RS 20.[435B]	t.p. 1844	RS 20.[436F]	t.p. 1858
RS 20.426-18	t.p. 1844	RS 20.[435C]	t.p. 1844	RS 20.[436G]	t.p. 1858
RS 20.426-19	t.p. 1844	RS 20.[435D]	t.p. 1844	RS 20.[436H]	t.p. 1858
RS 20.426-20	t.p. 1844	RS 20.[435E]	t.p. 1844	RS 20.[436I]	t.p. 1858
RS 20.427	t.p. 1837	RS 20.[435F]	t.p. 1844	RS 20.[436J]	t.p. 1858
RS 20.427A	t.p. 1837	RS 20.[435G]	t.p. 1844	RS 20.[436K]	t.p. 1858
RS 20.427[B]	t.p. 1837	RS 20.[435H]	t.p. 1844	RS 20.[436L]	t.p. 1858
RS 20.427[C]	t.p. 1837	RS 20.[435I]	t.p. 1844	RS 20.[436M]	t.p. 1858
RS 20.428	t.p. 1844	RS 20.[435J]	t.p. 1844	RS 20.[436N]	t.p. 1858
RS 20.429	t.p. 1844	RS 20.[435K]	t.p. 1844	RS 20.[436O]	t.p. 1858
RS 20.430A	t.p. 1858	RS 20.[435L]	t.p. 1844	RS 20.[436P]	t.p. 1858
RS 20.430B	t.p. 1858	RS 20.[435M]	t.p. 1844	RS 20.[436Q]	t.p. 1858
RS 20.430C	t.p. 1858	RS 20.[435N]	t.p. 1844	RS 20.[436R]	t.p. 1858
RS 20.430D	t.p. 1858	RS 20.[435O]	t.p. 1844	RS 20.[436S]	t.p. 1858
RS 20.430E	t.p. 1858	RS 20.[435P]	t.p. 1844	RS 20.[436T]	t.p. 1858
RS 20.430F	t.p. 1858	RS 20.[435Q]	t.p. 1844	RS 20.[436-1]	t.p. 1858
RS 20.430G	t.p. 1858	RS 20.[435R]	t.p. 1844	RS 20.[436-2]	t.p. 1858



APPENDIX II: THE UNPUBLISHED SYLLABIC TEXTS FROM THE HOUSE OF *RAPĀNU*

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RS 20.[436–3]t.p. 1858	RS 21.004C t.p. 1900	RS 21.008C t.p. 1865
RS 20.[436–4]t.p. 1858	RS 21.004D t.p. 1900	RS 21.009 t.p. 1903
RS 20.[436–5]t.p. 1858	RS 21.004E t.p. 1900	RS 21.054A tombe
RS 20.[437–A] t.p. 1866	RS 21.005A t.p. 1900	RS 21.054D tombe
RS 20.[437–B] t.p. 1866	RS 21.005B t.p. 1900	RS 21.055 t.p. 2046
RS 20.[438] t.p. 1844	RS 21.005C t.p. 1900	RS 21.055 t.p. 2046
RS 21.001 t.p. 1900	RS 21.006A t.p. 1900	RS 21.059 t.p. 1949
RS 21.003A t.p. 1900	RS 21.006E t.p. 1900	RS 21.063A déb.
RS 21.003B t.p. 1900	RS 21.007D t.p. 1900	RS 21.063E déb.
RS 21.003C t.p. 1900	RS 21.007E t.p. 1900	RS 21.065 t.p. 2046
RS 21.003D t.p. 1900	RS 21.007F t.p. 1900	RS 21.220 tombe VIB
RS 21.003F t.p. 1900	RS 21.007G t.p. 1900	RS 21.221 tombe VIB
RS 21.004A t.p. 1900	RS 21.008A t.p. 1865	
RS 21.004B t.p. 1900	RS 21.008B t.p. 1865	



## Appendix III: The Marzeah and the Ugaritic Magic Ritual System

### A Close Reading of KTU 1.114\*

#### 1. *Cult and Magic*

In almost any religion, the canonical cult system is determined by an offering and sacrifice praxis exactly defined as regards its parameters of time (cultic calendar), place (temple) and materials (animal victims and vegetable products) are concerned. The ritual action (later written down as a text) develops within this ‘objective’ framework, enacted by the ‘subjective’ performers: the divine recipient (god) and the human officiant (priest).<sup>1</sup> The Eastern literatures (Sumero-Akkadian, Hittite, West Semitic) provide us with a rich, well-known *corpus* of ritual texts.

\* This paper, already published elsewhere (*Aula Orientalis* 33–2/2015/221–241), is taken up here in order to enhance the extraordinary importance that Ugaritians bestowed upon the keeping in their archives (see above p. 9f.) of this kind of records as a sort of guarantee of the social and religious institutions of the town, in accordance with the reading offered of the text. In this case the *marzeah* institution was an outstanding case of public life cohesion that justified its careful recording. Writing and filing became in this way a sort of complementary almost sacred duty intended to preserve and organize their very sophisticated social life. To judge from the archaeological finds the Ugaritians suffered of a sort of filing or recording mania as to make of their town an interrupted archive scattered all over its quarters: any deed and fact, either religious, juridical, economic or cultural, small as it could seem, should be registered. They seem to have been fascinated by the discovery of the social and cultural bearing of writing, made now easy to keep and consult by their genius invention of the cuneiform alphabetic system. It seems as if any professional or wealthy citizen should like to have at his personal disposal the whole recording of his own affairs.

But another corpus of texts richer yet is that of the magical rituals / texts in their large variety of performances,<sup>2</sup> perfectly assumed and legitimated within the general religious praxis (above all, divination praxis),<sup>3</sup> so that it must be considered as a separate ritual religious system, by no means inferior in use to the first cultic / sacrificial one just mentioned. In this case, the aforementioned parameters of time, place and divine referent do not come out so well-defined; however, its materials (plants and minerals) and rituals (magic performance) are in a certain sense more strictly and specifically fixed, as well as the human performer (magician).

In this regard, it seems as if the *marzeah* ritual, according to common opinion, would remain suspended as a sort of accepted and regulated social praxis, but without clearly-defined religious pertinence: it seems not to be either cultic or magical praxis; just a more or less private performance with a minimum of religious bearing.

In fact, the *marzeah* is currently defined<sup>4</sup> as a kind of orgiastic outlet / relief of private groups of men, organized in restricted ‘fraternities’, in order to indulge

1. See. del Olmo Lete, *Canaanite Religion According to the Liturgical Texts of Ugarit* (AOAT 408), Münster 2014, p. 8.

2. See. del Olmo Lete, *Incantations and Anti-Witchcraft Texts from Ugarit* (Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records, 4), Boston/Berlin 2014, p. 8, and the bibliography quoted there, in particular the works by Abusch, Schwemer and Maul.

3. On the relationship between both systems see del Olmo Lete, *Incantations*, pp. 11ff., 205ff. The ban of magic is peculiar of certain (monotheistic) religions, above all in keeping with the harmful use of its praxis (witchcraft). But the popular praxis overrides such ban.

4. According to the main studies on the *marzeah* by:

O. Eissfeld 1968:193: “Kultverein ... Projektion des von einer menschlichen Gemeinschaft ... Thíasos”;

J.C. de Moor 1969:167: “Ritual banquet, Thíasos”;

J.C. Greenfield 1974:451: “a social institution”;

K.J. Cathcart, Watson 1980:35: “ritual banquet”;

M.H. Pope 1981:176: “a feast for and with the departed ancestors, corresponding to the *kispu*”;

Kl. Spronk 1986:202: “cultic society in wich communion with the dead could be practiced”;

Ph.J. King 1989:83: “a socio-religious organisation with a lieder and members”;

Th.J. Lewis 1989:94: “drinking-club associated with funerary feasts”;

J.L. McLaughlin 1991:281: “association of wealthy individuals with a primary activity, the consumption of alcohol”;

D. Pardee 1996:279: “social grouping ... devoted to a divinity ... for the consumption of wine”;

J.B. Carter 1997:300: “association of prominent men ... with possessions and official recognition”;

V. Alavoine 2000:19: “association d’individus ... en banquet profane ... arrosé de vin”;

L. Miralles Maciá 2007: see next n.;

freely in the swallowing of the wine, drinking until drunk, *but without clear purpose* (just for drunkenness sake?).<sup>5</sup> These fraternities have the social acceptance (and in this way the control) and are under divine patronage<sup>6</sup> in a sort of recognition of the religious bearing (!) of alcoholic intoxication. But to take them as mere “gastronomic clubs, guilds or fraternities” seems a cultural anachronism.<sup>7</sup> On the other hand, the *marzeah* is clearly neither a sacrificial ritual (*dbh*) nor a funerary banquet (*kispu*).<sup>8</sup> In this connection, Eissfeldt was maybe on the right track when

C.R. Sosa Siliézar 2008:44: “ritual / institución religiosa y social ... con banquete ... en contexto funerario”; J.-A. Scurlock 2013:306: “men gathered in drinking societies ... to have some real fun ‘fraternizing’” (306).

For the bibliographical references see *infra*.

5. L. Miralles Maciá, *Marzeah y thíasos. Una institución convival en el Oriente Próximo Antiguo y el Mediterráneo* (ILU Anejo 20), Madrid 2007, p. 263 (see also p. 13), sums up the general characterization of the *marzeah* after her exhaustive discussion of all the textual testimonies on it, to be found in the Semitic and Hellenistic worlds, in this way: “un grupo, generalmente de varones, con importantes recursos económicos, presidido por uno de sus miembros, bajo el patronazgo de una divinidad, lo que indicaría una dimensión religiosa, y cuya manifestación principal es la celebración de un banquete donde el vino tiene un papel predominante”.

6. In this regard the following very well-known Ugarit texts, both syllabic and alphabetic, are decisive: KTU 3.9:1–4: *mrzḥ d qny PN bbtw* (setting up of the fitting spaces and concomitant financial implications); RS 14.16:3, 15.88:4, 15.70:4, 18.01:5–11: *awilē ma-ar-zi-ḥi, bît amilM mar-za:e-i, amilM mar-ze-i, eqil karāni il-ištar ḥur-ri be-ri amilM mar-zi-i ša al-a-ri ù be-ri awilM mar-zi-i ša al-si-ya-ni ...* (legal and royal recognition of membership, of inalienable ownership and succession rights, as well as of a specific space of their own, houses and vineyards, these under special divine patronage); and KTU 4.399:7–8 and 4.642:2–7 also corroborate these points: *šb<sup>c</sup> šd<sup>c</sup> my bn mrzḥ, mrzḥ nt.* – For an overall presentation of these texts see, among others, Miralles Maciá, *op. cit.* pp. 56–66.

7. In Mesopotamia, drunkenness (mainly by beer, of course) was treated only in a few texts of magic-medicine prescriptions. See Heessel, “Ein neubabylonisches Rezept zur Berausung und Ausnüchterung”, in Wunsch, ed., *Festschrift for Christopher Walker ...*, Dresden 2002, pp. 99–10; I thank Dr. Ll. Feliu for calling my attention to this paper. In fact, we do not have therein any association like the *marzeah*, to my knowledge; see below n. 19. In Mesopotamia, the opposition of cult *versus* magic was solved from long through the presence and role of gods Ea and Asalluḥi. A text like KTU 1.100 is nowhere to be found in any Mesopotamian archive.

8. See, among many others, Armstrong, *Alcohol and Altered States in Ancestor Veneration Rituals of Zhou Dynasty China and Iron Age Palestina*, Lewinston/Queenston/Lampeter 1998: “The *marzeah* as ancestor- veneration ritual”, pp. 107–113. In this connection, Pardee’s opinion is quite right: “Animal sacrifice is not, to my knowledge, mentioned in connection with the *marziḥu* and the absence of this most characteristic feature of West Semitic cultic activity leads one to believe that the primary characteristic of the *marziḥu* was not cultic” (see Pardee, “*Marziḥu, Kispu, and the Ugaritic Funerary Cult*”, p. 278). Also his rejection of the funerary / mortuary nature or the similarity of the *marzeah* / *marziḥu* with the Mesopotamian *kispu* is to be assumed.

defined it as a “Kultverein”; in fact, it appears under the patronage of deities.<sup>9</sup> But of what kind of cult? Why was it not celebrated in the Temple, *bt il*, in the sacrificial space, avoiding the need for special “houses” or a space in the house of a common citizen? Wine was also present in the sacrificial cult and the commensality (banquet) is considered inherent to the sacrifice, *šlmm* (*š<sup>e</sup>lāmîm*), “sacrifice of communion”.

## 2. Etymology

In order to shed some light on these questions, let us begin with the etymological analysis of the morpheme /*mrzḥ*/, a point to which, to my knowledge, little attention has been paid.<sup>10</sup> Eissfeldt opted for the biblical testimony “bei der alten Erklärung bleiben”, assuming, for the base, \**rzḥ* I, the basic meaning “Laut geben” and for *marzēaḥ*, that of “Freude / Trauerlaut”, supported by ancient and venerable lexicographic sources (Gesenius, Levy, Nöldeke, Rhodokanakis); on the other hand, a second base \**rzḥ* II, “vereint sein” > *marzēaḥ*, “Verein”, “wird .... anzusetzen sein”. That will fit the Ugaritic and the many texts from Palmyra. But this second base has no lexical support whatever and the suggested meaning of the first one seems to be a secondary seme.<sup>11</sup> Nowhere does the base \**rzḥ* bear such a meaning. The starting point for this etymological approach has been found in Ar. *mirzīḥ*-, “having a vehement voice, sound, voice”, but it is a disputed lexeme among the Arab lexicographers; according to the *Qāmūs*, it is a mistake;<sup>12</sup> in any case we are dealing here with a secondary derivative formation, peculiar of the Arabic lexicography and semantically originating perhaps in a cause-effect metonymy (“to fall” > “to cry for help” (?)); nowhere does a predicative base with such a meaning turn up. It is obvious that it cannot be used to explain the etymology of Ug. *mrzḥ*.

9. See supra n. 6: *mrzḥ* <sup>c</sup>*nt* and implicitly *mrzḥ* <sup>c</sup>*tr hr*; and above all *Ilu*'s *marzeah* (*mrzḥ*).

10. See Eissfeldt, “Etymologische und archäologische Erklärung”, p. 175; id., “Kultvereine in Ugarit”, p. 189, n. (8) (> \**rzḥ*, “Laut geben”); Pope, “A Divine Banquet in Ugarit”, pp. 193–194; id., *Song of Songs* (Anchor Bible 7c), Grand Rapids MI 1995, p. 221 (< \**rzḥ*, “to fall down”); quoted by Spronk, *Beatific afterlife*, pp. 200f.

11. See HALOT 1210: “The basic meaning of the root is uncertain”; and it is not used in biblical Hebrew (nor in Phoenician, or Aramaic) as a verbal predicate, only in this nominal derivative formation.

12. See Lane AEL I, p. 1076f.

Morphologically /mrzḥ/, according to its almost unanimously accepted vocalization *marzēaḥ*,<sup>13</sup> turns out to be a noun formation of the pattern /maqtil/ of the quoted base \*rzḥ. The lexeme is attested in NWS (Ug.<sup>14</sup>, Hb.,<sup>15</sup> Phoen.-Pun. OArām., Nab. Palm.:<sup>16</sup> *mrzḥ*), in Eblaite (*mar-za-u*)<sup>17</sup> and in the peripheral Akk. of Emar (*mar-za-ḥa-nu:i*, as a MN)<sup>18</sup> and of Ugarit (*mar-zi-ḥu-*, *mar-za-u*, *mar-ze-u*), but not in Assyro-Babylonian Akk.<sup>19</sup> The base \*rzḥ, meanwhile, seems to be attested only in Ar. (and in ESA<sup>20</sup> as a *hapax*, a building term), *razaḥa*, “to fall down, by reason of fatigue, ... with no power to rise”; “to collapse”, “to descend”;<sup>21</sup> cf. *qawm ruzzaḥ*, “party falling down, tottering by reason of weakness”.

According to the noun patterns /maqtil/, /maqtaḥ/, the meaning could indicate “something / a tool that makes fall”, or simply an abstract noun meaning “falling

13. See Pardee, *op. cit.*, p. 277, n. 5. In this paper the common transcription *marzeaḥ* will be used. According to the testimony of Emar (*marzaḥānu*), the original nominal pattern is /maqtaḥ/.

14. See Gordon, UT 483: “a kind of celebration or festivity”; DUL 574: “cultic association, banquet, banquet hall”. Taking into account the varying Akk. transcription, we can assume Ug. *mrzʿ(y)* as an allophone of *mrzḥ*; see DUL 573f. Maybe Danil is called *marzaʿi* as an eminent member of such a guild and ritual praxis...

15. See HALOT 634: “cultic celebration”.

16. Cf. DNWSI 651: “religious feast, religious guild, confraternity”.

17. See Pettinato, *Testi amministrativi della biblioteca L. 2769* (MEE II), Napoli 1980, 46 (TM 75.G.1372 r. 2); Archi, *Archivi reali di Ebla: Testi Amministrativi: Assegnazioni di Tessuti* (Archivio L. 2769) (ARET I), Roma 1985, 11 (TM 75.G. 1443 XI 1–3).

18. See Penttuc, *West Semitic Vocabulary in the Akkadian Texts from Emar* (HSS 49), Winona Lake IN 2011, p. 124.

19. See DUL 574 for the bibliographical references. Not only the lexeme and base are absent from the Akk., nor even a cultic organization of this kind is in fact known in Mesopotamia, as far as I know; see in this regard Westenholz, “Religious Organizations and Bodies – Mesopotamia”, in S.I. Johnston, ed., *Religions of the Ancient World*, Cambridge MA 2004, pp. 314–135.

20. See Beeston SD 120 (“settlement basin” [?]); Sabaic “building term”, in CSAI/DASI data base on line. For the linguistic coincidence of Emariote / Ugaritic / ESA see del Olmo Lete, “Ugaritic and Old-South-Arabian: Two WS dialects?”, in F. Corriente *et al.*, eds, *Dialectology of the Semitic Languages. Proceedings of the IV Meeting ...* (AuOr Suppl. 27), Sabadell (Barcelona) 2012, pp. 5–23; id., “The Linguistic Continuum of Syria-Palestine in the Late II Millennium BC. Retention and Innovation”, in Monferrer, Watson, eds, *Archaism and Innovation in the Semitic Languages. Selected Papers* (CNERU-DTR, 1), Córdoba 2013, pp. 113–127.

21. See Lane, AEL 1075f.; Wehr MDWA 336; Corriente DAA 428, “caer abrumado (de peso o fatiga)”; curiously AEL records another nominal derivative: *mirzaḥ a*, “a vine-prop”, “a piece of wood with which a grape-vine is raised from the ground”; Kazimirski DAF 545, “érançon”; a clear case of enantiosemy).

down”,<sup>22</sup> “katabasis” / “descensus” (and by extension maybe “catalepsis”, “to fall (in ecstasy)” [Sp. “caer en trance”]). We will see that this neutral etymological semantics of *marzēah* fits quite well in the interpretation of KTU 1.114 later proposed.

Nevertheless, bearing in mind the rather weak support offered by Semitic lexicon to the elucidation of the lexeme /mrzḥ/ and, additionally, the archaeological context (above all epigraphic) in which tablet RS 24.258 appeared (more on this below), another hypothesis (e.g. a Hurrian origin) should be explored.

### 3. Archaeological Context

Another detail that has escaped to a large extent the attention of the interpreters and that a “close reading” invites to consider is that of the archaeological context in which the tablet RS 24.258 was found. Such context can certainly help to clear up the meaning and function of our text. In fact, this text was found in the so-called “Maison du prêtre aux modèles de poumon et de foies d’Ugarit”<sup>23</sup> and actually very close to such inscribed models,<sup>24</sup> that is to say, in a context of *divinatory praxis* (also the tablet on *šumma izbu* and others of the same genre were found here). We are dealing, then, not with a priest’s house but with a diviner’s house, maybe a *khn*, a category of professionals,<sup>25</sup> the *khn*m, of which at a certain moment

22. See Joüon, Muraoka, *A grammar of Biblical Hebrew*. Part I (Subsidia Biblica, 14/1), Rome 1993, § 88L d): “nouns with preformative /m/ are mainly abstract nouns of place and nouns of instrument”; h) “/maqtel/ *marbēs*, resting place, *maš'en* support, *marzēah*, cries ... *mahpēqāh*, catastrophe”. The strange meaning “cries” depend evidently from the already mentioned secondary meaning of Ar. *mirzīh*. If we would assume an original \*rzḥ II, “to cry”, from this base a noun *mrzḥ* could be derived with the meaning “evocation, conjuration”: “what makes stand up with a cry”, taking into account the enantiosemy pointed out in the previous note. But it seems to me rather hazardous. As we saw (n. 15), HALOT 634 gives for *marzēah* just the eclectic meaning “cultic celebration”, in accordance with the cultural input of historical references of the lexeme.

23. See Courtois, “La maison du prêtre aux modèles de poumon et de foies d’Ugarit”, in *Ugaritica* VI, Paris 1969, pp. 91–119 (curiously enough, our tablet RS 24.258 is not mentioned in this report); id, “Le contexte archéologique”, in Pardee, *Les textes para-mythologiques*, pp. 5–12 (p. 10); Yon, *La cité d’Ougarit sur le tell de Ras Shamra* (Guides Archéologiques de l’IFAPO, 2), Paris 1997 (Ensemble de bâtiments liés au culte et à la divination: “Maison d’Agipshari”, “Maison du prêtre aux modèles de foies et de poumon inscrits”, reproduced below).

24. For planimetry, see Courtois, *op. cit.*, p. 92 (below fig. 4); Yon, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

25. See del Olmo Lete, Sanmartín, “Kultisches in den keilalphabetischen Verwaltungs- und Wirtschaftstexten aus Ugarit”, in “*Und Mose schrieb dieses Lied auf*”. *Studien zum Altem Testament und zum Alten Orient* (Fs. O. Loretz) (AOAT 250), Münster 1988, pp. 177–179. “Diviner”



the *prln* (“diviner”) *atn*, vizier of Niqmaddu, was the *rb* (KTU 1.6 VI 55–56). This diviner dominates evidently different divinatory magic techniques (teratomancy, extispicy, even oniromancy (?)) according to the working texts at his disposal.<sup>26</sup> Besides that, one of those models (RS 24.312//325 = KTU 1.141:1) carries the PN *āgp̄tr*, the same that appears on the lion’s head or goblet KTU 6.62:1 (RS 25.318). They were found in topographic points 3781 and 4058 of the same building complex (Room 10). Also, a little further, three rhytons were found,<sup>27</sup> a vase type that led Mm. Yon to think that the so-called “Temple / Maison aux rhytons”, excavated in 1978, “was reserved as a meeting place for an association, perhaps the *marziḥu*”<sup>28</sup>.

Considering together these data: divinatory artifacts, texts of magic divinatory praxis (Ugaritic and Hurrian), fitting ceramic ware, repeated mention of a PN in some of these appliances, along with several tombs beneath the floor, it is too hazardous to suggest: that 1) (*bn*) *āgp̄tr* was the owner of the house (like Urtenu was identified as the owner of that in which was found the incantation prepared for him); that 2) he was a practicing diviner with his own lever divination models and written rubrics; that 3) his house served as space (see. KTU 3.9) for the *marzeaḥ* celebration, as one of the divinatory praxes; that 4) wine and other commodities were there stored for this cultic use; that 5) he himself, apparently a professional of

is the meaning *khn* has in Arabic; on the other hand, the fact that the *khn* do not appear in the cultic texts must be taken into consideration.

26. Among them KTU 1.100 and 1.107. One gets the impression that the owner of this small library, specialized in magic texts and devises, is interested in keeping the record of tablets that “theologically” justify (the *hieròì lógoi*) his magical praxis as fully orthodox within the Ugaritic religion; see in this regard del Olmo Lete, *Incantations and Anti-Witchcraft Texts*, p. 200ff. (on KTU 1.100:61ff.) and 103ff. (on KTU 1.40:29: *ūlp ḥry*).

27. See Courtois, “La maison du prêtre...”, pp. 116–119.

28. See Yon, “The Temple of the Rhytons at Ugarit”, in Wyatt et al., eds, *Ugarit, religion and culture. Proceedings ...* (Fs. J.C.L. Gibson) (Ugaritisch-Biblische Literatur, 12), Münster 1996, pp. 405–416 (416); see in this regard Pardee, “*Marziḥu.Kispu ...*”, p. 280; recently Yon, “La fête au Proche-Orient, 1. Le cas d’Ougarit au Bronze Récent final”, in *Cult and Ritual on the Levantine Coast and its impact on the Eastern Mediterranean Realm. Proceedings of the International Symposium Beyrouth 2012* (BAAL. Hors-Série X), Beyrouth 2015, pp. 443–462 (450). The scene drawn on the mug found in the Magician / *Agaptarri*’s house (Figs. 2 and 3) can easily be interpreted as a figuration of the *marzeaḥ* ritual as described in KTU 1.114: *Ilu* drinking “wine” bowl after bowl and behind the wild hunt animals (bird, fish and eitehr a cervid (*zby*, *ayl* or *y<sup>l</sup>*, mind the little horns) or a wild bull (*rum*), namely the *mšd*. According to the epigraphic testimonies there were in Ugarit different *marzeaḥ*-s, under the patronage of different deities; for instance, the *mrzḥ<sup>c</sup>nt* (KTU 4.4642:2–7); see above, n. 6, for other references.

divination magic, was in a good social position according the witness of his big house and its furniture; and that 6) he maybe presided over such ritual as an official authorized *khn*?

#### 4. Problems with the Dog

Before entering into the general assessment of the text, that every reader is presumed to know already, let us first address two hermeneutic problems which have always challenged interpretation. Both have to do with the presence and function of the “dog” in the *marzeah*: first, why the god *Yarḥu* plays this role, and secondly, the nature and *modus curandi* of the “dog hair”. In this connection it is worthwhile quoting KTU 1.124, an example of another kind of divination, cultic consultation (*šal*), from which the dog is emphatically excluded (lin. 15: *l klb*)<sup>29</sup> as a condition to the effectiveness of the magical response, certifying in this way the difference between rituals and the specific role this animal could play in one of them at least. In fact, the dog had already entered into the Ugaritic mythological world (*klb ilnm, klbt il*), like other theromorphic denominations: *tr, °gl, árḥ* ..., so the dog is not a strange figure in the symbolic representation of the Ugaritic cult.

a) In our text, the dog appears to be in an especially good relationship with the “hunter” goddesses (*°nt / °ttrt*) who feed him, and it is from hunting (*mšd, šd*) that he serves himself. But aside from its connection with hunting,<sup>30</sup> it is in the remedy celebrated in this text as its main topic (“dog hair”, lin. 29) from which the presence of the dog at the beginning of the text gets its significance, as much from the point of view of the literary structure (inclusion) as from the development of the impetus of the text. This is a structural correspondence that explains the efficiency of the remedy based on the principle of *nomen / omen*, to why the retelling of the story points it out as its *hieròs lógos* in an etiological text like this.<sup>31</sup>

Furthermore, in this connection we must remember that the “dog” is the symbolic animal of the great fertility mother-goddess Gula, and consequently, of the

29. Looking more attentively at the photo (lower right-hand edge) I have to admit that this reading is almost sure; for the reading *klb* see del Olmo Lete, *Canaanite Religion*, p. 263, n. 70 (and photo, p. 264) (fig. 1).

30. The dog in the Mesopotamian tradition is *šā'idu* par excellence; see RLA IV 494, 496.

31. It is true that from the epigraphic point of view the reading */klb/* (KTU: *k[l]b*; Pardee: *ḳ[ ]b*) in lin. 5 is not easily justifiable; but contextually, this reading is supported and even required by the appearance of this denomination in lin.12 (*// inr*). In this regard, the space fits perfectly the three characters of the word. It is a clear case in which “context” makes good epigraphy.

other fertility deities<sup>32</sup> in the Sumerian tradition. Even Ishtar’s symbolic animal, the Lion, is also named “dog” (RIA IV 496). This is maybe the reason why ʿAṭtart / ʿAnat, the “huntress(es)” fertility goddesses, recognize him while other gods do not. And starting from this fact, we can even understand why *Yarḫu* assumes the dog’s role in this moment. In the Sumerian tradition, *Yarḫu* / Sin is the fertility god, and in this sense he becomes here the bridge between both traditions (like in the case of his marriage with Nikkalu)<sup>33</sup> and rounds up the function of Gula’s dog, instead of *Baʿlu*, too high and too “Canaanite” a god. In this regard, we have to remember that we are in Hurrian territory: *Agabtarri*’s house (Hurrian PN). It is worth recalling that the celebration date, according to the Emar month *marzahāni* ritual, is the 14(–16), the day of the full moon, *Yarḫu*’s day, we can say.<sup>34</sup> We so can easily deduce that the *Yarḫu*-dog is a kind of *totem* of the *marzeaḥ* institution whose presence reminds of the wild / hunt nature of the food consumed and the recollection date of the remedy, even if not all the participants are aware of its role.<sup>35</sup>

b) But the actual nature of the remedy *š̄r klb* (Akk. *šartu, šarat kalbi*)<sup>36</sup> seems ambiguous.<sup>37</sup> One may think of a plant by analogy with *lšn klb*<sup>38</sup> (also Akk. *kalbanu*, a plant) and in connection with the following *pqq*, according to some

32. See RIA IV 496ff. (W. Heimpel): “Der Hund Gulas konnte als Gottheit aufgefasst werden (mit Gottesdeterminativ Geschrieben)” (496); “... bewachen Hundenfiguren Tore und Türen gegen das Eindringen von Dämonen” (p. 497); “Neben dem in erster Linie dafür zuständigen Sonnengott ist auch der Mondgott für Rechtswesen und Divination von Bedeutung wie für allem Epitheta zeigen” (RIA VIII, p. 367; M. Krebernik). For the relationship of the dog with different deities of the Semitic and Greek sphere, see Pardee’s exposition in *Les textes paramythologiques* (1988), pp. 39–41; more in general Salonen, *Jagd und Jagdtieren im Alten Mesopotamien*, Helsinki 1976 (“Hunde der Götter”, pp. 97f.)

33. See del Olmo Lete, “*Yarḫu* y *Nikkalu*. La mitología lunar sumeria en Ugarit”, *AuOr* (Fs. Civil) 9 (1991) 67–75.

34. See Fleming, *Time at Emar. The Cultic Calender and the Ritual from the Diviner’s House* (Mesopotamian Civilisations, 11), Winona Lake IN 2000, pp. 181ff. For the *Marzahāni* month in general and the “hunting” activity of ʿAṭtrt at this moment see *ibdm.* pp. 165ff.

35. No serious connection of the dog with the reign of the dead can be drawn from its possible presence at the entrance of Kirta’s house and mausoleum, though perhaps simply a literary figure.

36. References in CAD K 68–72 (71).

37. The reading must be considered certain (against KTU *ḫr ʿš̄*), the vertical wedge represents the separator, rather large, to be sure, but also the space for a sign /h/ it would be rather anomalously big. It lacks, furthermore, the three head wedges; for a typical /h/ sign see lin. 21 (*bḫriḫ*) and lin. 31 (*ḫrpnt*).

38. See del Olmo Lete, *Mitos, leyendas y rituales de los semitas occidentales* (Pliegos de Oriente, 1), Madrid/Barcelona 1998, p. 161, n. 13.

translations. But on the one hand, there is not frequent attestation of such denomination in the Akkadian botany,<sup>39</sup> nor does the Dioscorides' *Materia medica* in its original, medieval and Renaissance editions, mention it. On the other hand, the physiological meaning, the real dog hair, is well-attested in Akkadian as well as its use in magical incantations. In this regard, the necromantic text quoted by Scurlock as Prescription 75 is especially appealing: after a series of vegetable products (lin. 4) it prescribes, along with many other animal elements: "lion tallow ... a frog, ... *dog hair*, cat hair, fox hair, ... the end of the intestines of a frog ... you dry, crush and sieve" (lin. 5–7). This enumeration, to the point it could be considered normative in necromancy, would favor the version: "that is what has to be placed on his forehead, dog hair, and also (its) head, mouth, throat, and its navel", with *rīš* and *šr* as well-attested anatomical terms.<sup>40</sup> The interpretation of these lines is, however, quite divergent. Just for sample's sake, compare these versions:

"Was man an seine Schläfe legt:  
Zubereiteten Thymian,  
(auch) auf Leib und Kopf, Brustbein(?) und seinen Unterleib" (M. Dietrich, O. Lorezt).<sup>41</sup>

"On his brow one should put:  
--hairs of dog  
--the top of a *pqq*-plant and its stem" (T.J. Lewis).<sup>42</sup>

39. See Thompson, *A Dictionary of Assyrian Botany*, London 1949, pp.23ff.; Wyatt, *Religious texts from Ugarit. The Words of Ilmilku and his Colleagues*, Sheffield 1998, p. 412, n. 48 (quoting Pope).

40. For the different versions of KTU 1.114:30 (*l<sup>w</sup>rīš pqq wšrh*) see DUL p. 696. In particular, the different meanings suggested for *šr(h)* ("stem / stalk, juice ...") are all of them *hapax* meanings, which surely is not an unsurmountable objection, but according the scholastic *dictum* "non sunt multiplicanda entia sine necessitate"): while the meaning "navel" is well attested in Ug. in this kind of divinatory texts (cf. DUL 629f.; see in this connection the quoted Akkadian necromantic prescription: "... the end of the intestines of a frog ..."). At the end of this paper, a new transcription and refined version of the text is offered that supersedes that in CR 335–337, as well as the assumed there current interpretation of the text as "a humorous story".

41. See Dietrich, Lorezt, "KTU 1.114 (RS 24.258). Mythos mit medizinisch-therapeutischer Anweisung", in *Studien zu den ugaritischen Texten I. Mythos und Ritual in KTU 1.12, 1.24, 1.96, 1.100 und 1.114* (AOAT 269/1), Münster 2000, pp. 403–523 (413).

42. See in Parker, ed., *Ugaritic Narrative Poetry* (SBL Writings for the Ancient World, 9), Atlanta VA 1997, p. 196. This version is very common, e.g., Pardee, *Les textes para-mythologiques* (1988), pp. 68–73.

“(This is) what needs to be put on his forehead:  
 dog hair (probably a plant)  
 and the knot of a vine, and its juice” (N. Wyatt).<sup>43</sup>

A close reading of this text invites us also to think over the meaning of \*št in this medico-magical context. What meaning does it have to “place over the eyebrow” either a real “dog hair” or a plant so called? On the other hand, both things are insoluble in oil – in case the second *yšt* would be given the meaning “to drink”. In fact, in the Mesopotamian medico-magical prescription, two main operations are prescribed: “to drink” a mixture of many different products, *previously crushed and sieved*, or “to rub” the body part with a maceration in liquid of solid products. Since here nothing is said on the preparation of the dog hair and the other products to be drunk and the simple setting of such products on the *lṣb* does not seem to be an adequate medical procedure, could not \*št assume in this context the meaning of “to apply”<sup>44</sup> and, along with “oil”, imply a sort of either “unction” or smooth “rubbing”? That will fit the reading and version proposed later. But it is quite clear that we are dealing in this case with a mere hypothesis, notwithstanding its apparent reasonability.

Eventually this suggestion, purely linguistic in nature, receives some support from the Akkadian *Muššu’u* ritual. In an illuminating paper, B. Boeck<sup>45</sup> points out that this ritual implies a “rubbing from head to toe” (*a capite ad calcem*; see lin. 6ff.) in order to open the way and expel the evil spirit that has entered the sick per-

43. See Wyatt, *Religious texts from Ugarit*, p. 412, in particular nn. 48 and 53 that summarize very well the antithesis “real dog-hair” // “a plant”; also Watson, “Comments on KTU 1.114:29–31”, *AuOr* 8, 1990, 265–266. I myself, although recognizing the bearing of the quoted Akkadian necromancy text, cling still to this second meaning for *š<sup>c</sup>r klb* (it is difficult to presume that <sup>š</sup>Anat nad <sup>š</sup>Aṭtart, lin. 22–23, went in search of a dog ...), but with a different interpretation of the lin. 30: an apotropaic magic gesture, passing the plant through the whole parcours of the body (from the head to the navel) to favour the expulsion of the bad “spirit” and that with the plant infused with oil in a sort of smooth rubbing. The usual version supposes a double duty of // and /-h/. But it can also be read here the preposition /b/, “from” (instead of the dubious [w]) and the locative postpositive particle /-h/ “up to, till”, with a better stichometry (*dyšt ... yšt*) and rhythmic organization for the prescription. A meaning “to drink” for the second /yšt/ is incompatible with a plant not previously macerated and supposes a change of meaning related to the first /yšt/, which seems less probable. However, it must be accepted with a high degree of uncertainty and, subsequently, that a highly hypothetical character lies behind any of the proposals put forward.

44. See Wyatt, *Religious Texts from Ugarit*, p. 413.

45. See Boeck, “When you perform the ritual of ‘rubbing’: on medicine and magic in Ancient Mesopotamia”, *JNES* 62, 2003, 1–16.

son's body. Along with the recitation of incantations "you rub his temples / forehead ... neck ... navel ...", and so on down to the feet. We even find there the prepositional formula *ištu ...-šu ... adi ...-šu tumašša'*, "you rub ... from his ... down to his ..." (see lin. 12ff.), that to a certain extent agrees with the suggested version of KTU 1.114:29f. (see *infra*): *briš .... šrh*, "form head ... to navel". According to Boeck's conclusion, the therapy of rubbing seems particularly suitable in cases of paralysis of which the *Ilu*'s (namely, the drunk person's) catalepsy ("fallen like a dead") may be a particular one.

### 5. Close Reading and Interpretation

Coming now to a "close reading" of KTU 1.114, first of all we realize that from it comes a distinction between *bt il* and the (*bt*) *mrzḥ*<sup>46</sup> – empirically: the "temple" and the more or less religious scenery that private individuals may set up (KTU 3.9) – comes out clearly. In fact, *Ilu* invites the gods "to his house" (*bth*, lin. 1), afterwards presides over the *marzeaḥ* (*il ytb b mrzḥ*, lin.15) and comes later back to his own house again (*il hlk l bth*, lin. 17). It seems clear from these references that the place where the *marzeaḥ* is celebrated or where its members gather is not *Ilu*'s own house / temple. It has been suggested that maybe only different spaces within the large *Ilu*'s palace are meant.<sup>47</sup> But it is highly unlikely that the verbal syntagm *hlk l* has this sense: usually it is used to introduce an external movement. And what is still more unlikely is that *Ilu* meets a monster like *ḥby* in his own house. And what is more determinative: we know by Ugaritic texts (see among others KTU 3:9) that the *mrzḥ* was set up in private houses, while the presence of *mrzḥ* halls in the temples (Palmyra) can be viewed as a later development, when the institution became fully integrated into the sacrificial cult and got the consideration of a funerary banquet.

In this disinhibited climate created by wine, Yarḥu enacts a pantomime that the other gods, obviously drunk too, join. In this situation only *Ilu*, the host, seems to be sober, leaving aside the doorkeeper who obviously was not invited to the banquet, bound by his duty, and who will have the sufficient moral authority to rebuke his guests.

46. This syntagm, implicit in the Ugaritic documentation, will appear frequently in the later corpora up to Madaba's mosaic; see Miralles Maciá, *Marzeaḥ y Thiasos*, pp. 43ff.

47. We should have, therefore, a new example of the integration of cultic systems, sacrificial and magical-divinatory, under the control of the Supreme deity, as far as the second one can be controlled; see in this regard del Olmo Lete, *Incantations*, pp. 205ff.

In *Ilu*'s house, the gods ate and drank up to drunkenness, but he himself gets drunk only in the *marzeaḥ* (lin. 16), which may suggest two different ways of getting an alcoholic intoxication.<sup>48</sup> In this state, he is brought back to his palace by *Takamuna-Šunama*, his *dióscouroi*,<sup>49</sup> but it is then when a tauromorphic “ghost-monster”, *ḥby*,<sup>50</sup> comes across him, with a semantic nuance of lack of foresight and fright, normal in this base (\*ngš).<sup>51</sup> Consequently *Ilu*, already out of his divine personality, loses control of his sphincters,<sup>52</sup> (a very human god!) “falling” (\*ql // \*rzḥ, see *supra*) into a cataleptic state, getting so into the kingdom of the dead, a part of the “other world” (Sp. “el Más allá”) that is not *Ilu*'s own sphere; a kingdom habited by “ghosts”. One could determine in this connection that the noun *marzeaḥ* is the institutional translation of the expression *ql km mt // kyrdm arš* (lin. 21–22), the *descensus ad inferos*.<sup>53</sup> In this sense ug. *mrzḥ* corresponds to Greek

48. May we say that *Yarḥu*'s attitude is a consequence of his becoming drunk at this moment?

49. On these divine characters see del Olmo Lete, *Canaanite Religion*, p. 127, nn. 249, 250. Some scholars refer to “the duties of the ideal son” (KTU 1.17 I 30–31 and par.) in connection with the behaviour of the godly assistants here.

50. The fellow is probably known in the Bible and in the Talmud; see Jastrow DTT 418; Kella “Haby”, in van der Toorn et al., eds, *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, Leiden/Boston/Köln 1992, p. 377; Cathcart, “*Ilu*, *Yariḥu* and the One with the Two Horns and a Tail”, in Wyatt et al., eds *Ugarit, religion and culture. Proceedings ...*, pp. 1–7. The tauromorphic monster is very common in the Ancient Near East, from the Sky's bull of the Gilgamesh epic to the numerous awe-inspiring winged bulls who guarded the entrance of temples and palaces and inhabit the Mesopotamian infernal sphere; and in particular the “goring wild bull” as an awe inspiring figure, is a very well-known topic in the Old Babylonian period; see Watanabe, *Animal Symbolism in Mesopotamia. A Contextual Approach* (Wiener Offene Orientalistik, 1), Wien 2002, p. 61. In this connection, the figure of the “Horned Lion Griffin”, *Ninurta*'s symbol, must also be taken into account (ibdm. pp. 138ff.). *Ḥby* / *Ḥabay* under this guise could play in this case the role of the Underworld doorkeeper or guardian where the drunken *Ilu* has fallen.

51. See HALOT 670f. In the other two cases (KTU 1.6 II 21; 1.23:68) in which this base comes out in Ugarit, the nuance of unexpected encounter is assumed.

52. “*Y se c... de miedo*” (and he messed with fear) as we will say in the Spanish vulgarism and likely in other languages; see Armstrong, *Alcohol and Altered States*, p. 101; Wyatt, *Religious Texts from Ugarit*, p. 411 nn. 41 and 42, along with his discussion of the etymology of *ylšn l* (< \*lšš; for other opinions see DUL 500f.). The text transfers to *Ilu* what is the human reaction in this situation; on the other hand, it is normal that if the gods eat, the gods also defecate; the anthropomorphism imposes this deduction.

53. See Wyatt, *Religious Texts from Ugarit*, p. 412: “But it may give us some insight into the theological significance attributed to intoxication. It appears to have been interpreted as a mystical descend into the underworld”. The equation with the *nékyia* was already suggested. On this Greek divinatory praxis see the well documented study by Cors i Meya, *El viatge al món dels morts en*

*nékyia* rather than to *thíasos*, and other associative denominations with which the later Hellenistic transposition equated it.<sup>54</sup> The best known example of *nékyia* is that provided by the *Odyssey*, but that of Enkidu in the tablet XII of the *Gilgamesh* epic is culturally closer. Upon escaping from the Netherworld, Enkidu is submitted to a strict questioning by Gilgamesh and his “answers” reveal the destiny of the dead as a direct consequence of their particular behavior when they were alive. The Netherworld and its ghosts present themselves as a source of interest and knowledge for the living.

We can interpret that it is nothing else than the mythical projection of the desired-feared encounter with the ghost, experienced by the *marzeah* members in their intoxication crisis (the modern neurologist would easily find in the brain a spot for such an experience). *Ilu* is supposed to get the remedy, provided by the “hunting” goddess <sup>c</sup>Anat-<sup>c</sup>Aṭtart, for the way out from this situation generated by his intoxication and this prototypical encounter through which all *marzeah* members will go in their search of particular divinatory answer the encountered ghosts may offer.<sup>55</sup> The divine experience becomes the warrant of the suitability of such remedy.

In fact the remedy is already well-known, “provided” by the great patron(s) of the *marzeah*, as was just pointed out, the goddess(es) <sup>c</sup>Anat-<sup>c</sup>Aṭtart ḥr<sup>56</sup> and it would be the common medicinal prescription in use among the members of the *marzeah* to get rid of the aftermath of their usual ritual intoxication. The goddesses are supposed to look for it in the wilderness (lin. 23, *šd*),<sup>57</sup> the realm where the original divine forces are active. It will help to overcome the effects caused by the sedentary / human / cultivated product, the wine from the vine.<sup>58</sup> This is the reason

*l’Odissea*, Bellaterra (Barcelona) 1984 (“Ritus nigromàntic”, pp. 198–241). The Descent of Christ *ad Inferos* according to: Eph. 4:7–11, has been the subject of many studies.

54. See on this topic the widespread and well-documented discussion of Miralles Maciá (*Marzeah y thíasos*, passim).

55. See in this connection the Endor pythoness (1Sam 28:3–24) and her “cry” (v. 12).

56. Maybe it is from this infernal context that the DN <sup>c</sup>ṭrt ḥr has to be explained (“<sup>c</sup>Aṭtart of the cave”), although the connection with the Hurrian professionals in this field may also resound in it, to be distinguished from another homonymic deity, like <sup>c</sup>ṭrt mr, <sup>c</sup>Aṭtart of Mari. It is likely that both perspectives complement each other; see Loretz, *UF* 34 2002 512 (“chtonisch orientierte Göttin”).

57. Were the KTU reading *šd* in lin. 23 feasible, it would be possible to suggest the restoration [*mabr*]<sup>24</sup>*qdš*; see KTU 1.23 65: *mabr qdš*; 67–68: *ilm n<sup>c</sup>mm tllkn šd ṭšdn pāt mabr w ngš* ... But such a reading *šd* seems epigraphically dubious.

58. See in this connection the lengthy discussion by Pardee, *Les textes para-mythologiques*, pp. 24–33 and my own notes on the religious opposition of domesticated / wild in this regard in *AuOr*



why the gods, who also became drunk (lin. 3–4), did not suffer the consequences of the intoxication: *Ilu* invited them to eat and provided with *šd / mšd* products (animal and vegetal)<sup>59</sup>, that prevented the inebriating wine (even that of the °Attart’s vineyards) to cause its fatal aftermath. This exaltation of the wild life and aliments has its prototype in Enkidu, the strong and unconquerable second hero of the Gilgamesh epic, well known at Ugarit,<sup>60</sup> created and raised in the forest and among the beasts (“the milk of the animals he used to suck”, Gig. OB II 85).<sup>61</sup> Even the hero Gilgamesh is constantly exalted as the son of Ninsun, “The lady of the wild cows”. From these surroundings, we can think that the “plant of life” originates, whose existence was revealed by Ut-Napishtim (Gig. XI 280ff.). In our text *Ilu* himself appears as the proof of the efficiency of the remedy brought from the “wilderness” to bring back from realm of dead to which the *marzeaḥ* wine drinking is intended to take.

Read in this perspective, KTU 1.114 is a kind of handbook and recipe to be taken into account by all the members of the *marzeaḥ* indulging in intoxication praxis in search of a contact with the ghost / dead realm for divination sake.<sup>62</sup> Even more, we can define KTU 1.114 as the official *hieròs lógos* of the *marzeaḥ* institution by which it becomes absorbed into the religious order sanctioned by *Ilu*’s own behavior. Far from being just a ‘joke’ or ‘laugh’ for leisure’s sake on account of the

33/2, 2015, 182; in particular Smith, “The Alimentary Code: Herbs in Dairy and the Meat of the Hunt”, in *The Rituals and Myths of the Feast of the Goodly Gods of KTU/CAT 1.23. Royal Constructions ...* (SBL. Resources for Biblical Study, 51), Atlanta GE 2006, pp. 153ff.; Watanabe: “The perception of the ‘wild’ and the ‘domesticated’” / “The relationship between the ‘wild’ and the ‘civilised’” / “The relationship between ‘nature’ and humans”, in *Animal Symbolism in Mesopotamia. A Contextual Approach* (Wiener Offene Orientalistik, 1), Wien 2002, pp. 147–156.

59. See del Olmo Lete, “Glosas Ugaríticas VI: *Ug. /š-d/, ʕ*“salir a la caza de” o “danzar”?”, *AuOr* 33, 2015, 186. – If KTU 1.112:18 (*yrđn gtrm mšdh*) could be translated: “the G. will go down to his hunt / wild food” (see DUL 578), the divinatory praxis of the cultic oracle, parallel to necromancy, would appear then making use of similar wild offering material. But actually “two rams” (*tn šm lgrm*) are the sacrificial victims, what makes such translation unlikely, thus underlining its syntactic difficulty. Of course, the G. are not “ghosts”, nor they *come up* from the Netherworld; they *go down* from their divine abode. The two systems are kept separate.

60. See Arnaud, *Corpus des textes de bibliothèque de Ras Shamra-Ougarit (1936–2000) en sumérien, babylonien et assyrien* (Aula Orientalis Suppl. 23), Sabadell (Barcelona) 2007, pp. 36, 130–138.

61. See George, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic. Introduction. Critical Edition and Cuneiform Texts*, Oxford/New York 2003, p. 177.

62. See Zamora, “L’ubbriachezza a Ugarit”, p. 13, n. 2 for an excellent exposition of the function of drunkenness in this context.

mocked supreme god,<sup>63</sup> a thing rather unlikely in the ancient religious world (possible only in the XVIII century Voltairean France or in the XXI century *Charlie HEBDO* humorous magazine), this text provides the description of the development of the ‘ritual’ of the *marzeah*, of its constituents: the appointed place and materials (*msd* and *yn / trt*) for a banquet, a hierarchical organization under a professional who presides over the assembly and its ritual, decisive wine intoxication on behalf of the participating members, the aim of such praxis, the catalectic state of “trance”, or *descensus ad inferos*, terrifying entry in the world of the ghosts (in order to obtain divinatory results, see in n. 59 the Akkadian testimonies), and finally normalization of the situation through a divinely sanctioned remedy of which the assembly is well provided.<sup>64</sup> By being the supreme god *Ilu*, the supreme diviner (cf. KTU 1.6 III 4ff.), the one who carries out the precise liturgy, this magical praxis becomes incorporated into the religious orthodoxy that make this magic decisive activity, divination by necromancy,<sup>65</sup> a legitimate religious praxis under the control

63. See Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East* (AOAT 219), Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn 1986, p. 200: “the second part of the story blasphemously ridicules the supreme god of the Ugaritic pantheon”. But see Zamora, “L’ubbriachezza a Ugarit”, p. 11: “Le interpretazioni che in questo testo non vedono che un tono umoristico e farsesco sono anch’esse troppo semplicistiche e condizionate eticamente”.

64. Beside these elements other texts certify the possession by the organisation of especial fields and vineyards (see above n. 6), the existence of a financial record and payment of “quotes” (KTU 3:9), the royal and legal control of the transactions (see the text above n. 6), and maybe even the existence of a particular body of professional of this ritual (*prln, khn-m, šil, bārû* ...), well established and hierarcized (*rb khnm*); see del Olmo Lete, Sanmartín, “Kultisches in den keilalphabetischen Verwaltungs- ...”, pp. 177–179.

65. It is interesting to point out the limited use of this divination method in Mesopotamia, otherwise permeated by the divinatory praxis with so many texts to give witness of it. In this connection Scurlock in her doctoral dissertartion (*Magical Means of Dealing with Ghosts in Ancient Mesopotamia*, Diss. Chicago University 1988), that deals specifically with this topic, could gather only a few texts (Presc. 72–82, pp. 318–34; Tropper, *Nekromantie*, p. 85. singles out three). They were omitted in the printed edition (*Magico-medical means of treating ghost-induced illness in Ancient Mesopotamia*, Leiden/Boston 2006), since “they are not healing rites designed to cure a person afflicted by a ghost” (p. ix). The mentioned texts make clear the existence of this magical praxis in Mesopotamia according to their wording: “you can call (to him, namely, the ghost) and he will answer you” (Presc. 72 i 13’, Scurlock, *Magical means*, p. 319); “Let it (the dusk) br[ing] up a ghost to me from the darkness ... skull of skulls I cal[ ] to you] ... may he who is within the skull answer (me) ... or a skull you rub (with it) and you can call to him and he will answ[er you]” (Presc. 74 ii 3’, 5’, 10’; ibdm. pp. 322–323); and more express yet: “incantation (to be used to enable) a man to see a ghost” (Presc. 75:3, p. 325): “You recite the incantation three times and rub (it) on your face and then you can look at he ghost and he will speek with you” (Presc. 75:8–9, ibdm. p. 326); “incantation (to be

then of the divine and social power (king and people),<sup>66</sup> although keeping its independence from the temple's religious liturgy, sacrificial by nature.<sup>67</sup> In the *marzeah* there are no sacrifices to the gods, nor even to their patron gods.<sup>68</sup>

Read in this way, the *marzeah* has also an intrinsic mortuary aspect -not so much in the sense of cult of the dead but of their contact / consultation from its very nature. Is. 8:19 summarizes well the situation: "¿why may not people ask their gods, the dead on behalf of the living?" And that by means of any kind of conjurers / soothsayers. Starting from the complete institutionalization of the function of the "diviner" (*bārû*) in Emar, where he became "scribe" and "cult supervisor",<sup>69</sup> it is easy to imagine how this mortuary aspect of the ritual led in later developments to take on the aspect of a more general funerary ritual intended for other praxes, bound so to be interpreted as a liturgy of the "cult of the dead".

used) to get a man's *namtaru* to talk ... Your face you rub (with it) and then you can question him (the *namtarum*) and he will speak with you" (Presc. 80:15, 19–20', ibdm, p. 334); "whe you perform the ritual for the land of no return ... youn recite the incantation three times and then let the ghost mak[e a] decision for you" (Presc. 81:21', 5, ibdm. p. 835f.); "incantation (to be used when you wish) to see a ghost in order to make decision ... you rub (it) on your face and the Annunaki will talk with you. Let them make a decision for you" (Presc. 82:59, 62, ibdm p. 341). This lack of significance of necromancy within the Mesopotamian divination praxis is paradigmatically reflected by the *RIA* where the entry "Nekromantie" sends back to "Totenbeschwörung" and this on its turn to "Tod". But in this entry nothing is said on "Nekromantie" / "Totenbeschwörung" (nor even these term are mentioned as far as I was able to find out), although the "ghosts" are taken into consideration. As pointed out above, the Mesopotamian texts edited in Scurlock's Dissertation haven been reproduced in J. Tropper, *Nekromantie. Totenbefragung im Alten Orient und in Alten Testament*. Neukirchen-Vluyn 1989, pp. 84ff., along with "Andere Beschwörungsrituale nekromantischen Inhalts". Tropper "zusammenfasst": "Ein wichtiges Ergebnis darf festgehalten werden dass nekromantische Praktiken aufs Engste mit dem Ahnenkult verbunden sind ... Obwohl die Zahl der angeführten Bezeugungen für Nekromantie in Vergleich zu Bezeugungen anderer Divinationsarten – etwa der Traumdeutung – relativ klein ist, möchte ich aufgrund der verschiedenen Herkunft und der unterschiedlichen Datierung der Texte shliessen, dass nekromantische Praktiken zu allen Epochen und in allen Gebieten des Alten Mesopotamiens (Assyriens wie Babyloniens) bekannt und verbreitet waren" (pp. 108f.; see also p. 57).

66. Remember in this regard the Necromancy ban in Saul's reign (1 Sam. 28:3).

67. As pointed out formerly, the Temple has also its own divination praxis: "cultic consultation / oracle" (*šāl*).

68. In Emar the *marzeah* / *marzahū* institution, which appeared already in Ebla, reaches the highest degree of instucionalization: time and ritual ("hunt") are precisely fixed. In connection with this last element, it is whileworth recalling the stronger relationship Emar maintains with the desert and hunting espace. See Fleming, *Time at Emar*, pp. 166f.

69. See Fleming, *Time at Emar* ..., pp. 26ff.

In this connection KTU 1.114 appears as a mythic and etiologic transposition of the empirical praxis of necromancy and defines the best the fundamental structure of the *marzeah*, its quoted components and aims. It is the acting guide and the theological justification of such magical praxis. Through it the access to the world of the dead, which the myth and the epic had developed already, becomes perfectly integrated into the official religious praxis, controlling at the same time this access to a world where cultic religion and magic join and that has a very important role according to my perception of the Ugaritic cult.<sup>70</sup>

I do not believe that other texts of “banquet scenes” have anything to do with the *marzeah* as a magical praxis. KTU 1.20–22, for instance, corresponds better to the scenes of “celestial banquet” as it is programmed in KTU 1.17 VI 30–32, although KTU 1.114 may make use of motives and wording taken from it. The protagonists in KTU 1.20–22 are the *rpum* who belong already to the kingdom of the dead, they are already “ghosts”, although benign ones. In this sense, any one of them can be named *mrz<sup>c</sup>y*, “he who can make himself present in the *marzeah* ritual”. But they do not need to go in search of an oracle and of course they in their sphere do not come across with any monster; they are in the reign of the answers being themselves “ghosts”, *rapa’ūma* / *r<sup>e</sup>fā’īm* / *ilnym*. That °Anat goes here hunting too (KTU 1.22 I 11) may be considered as a reflex of the human empirical perspective, since in this case (KTU 1.22 I 12ff.) like in the mythical banquet scenes (KTU 1.4 VI 47ff.), there is no drunkenness, notwithstanding the abundance of wine offered.<sup>71</sup> It is presumed that magic *šd* may be present at any banquet, although when like in this one only domestic animals (large and small cattle) are slaughtered (KTU 1.22 I 12–14). The same can be said of the other texts presumed to offer *marzeah* banquets.<sup>72</sup>

70. See del Olmo Lete, *Canaanite Religion ...*, in general (above all chapter 3 an 4: “Royalty in Myth and Cult”, “The Funerary Cult of the Palace”) and the critical assessment of that stand by Pardee. “Marziḫu, Kispu ...”, *passim*.

71. See in this regard the improbable version by Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife ...*, p. 172: “wine without after-effect” (1.22 I 18–19. We cannot get now into the interpretation of this text. See the two text editions and commentaries by Pitard (*BASOR* 285, 1992, 33–77) and Pardee (*Orientalia* 80, 2011, 1–65).

72. As a last afterthought it could be suggested that maybe the *marzeah* represents a sort of germinal Canaanite “cult of the mysteries” in parallel perhaps with the “prophetic” activity in Mari (see Durand, “La religion amorrite ...”, 431ff.) and the “nabism” in Ancient Israel, groups all of them in search of a “word” coming from the “other world” for which alcoholic intoxication was believed to help. In this connection, it is worthwhile recalling Lindblom’s psychological theory of Israel’s Prophecy. On our turn we omit here the discussion of the allusions to *marzeah* scenes in the Hebrew Bible

Summing up: according to the mythical transfer recorded in KTU 1.114, the *marzeaḥ* (“descent”) would be a magical necromantic ritual carried out by a group or association of members (<sup>amil</sup>*mar-za-i, mt mrzḥ*), under the patronage of a deity, presided over by a (*rb*) professional diviner (*khn*), and performed, in the frame of a banquet by wine swallowing up to drunkenness as an altered state of mind that presumably allows contact to be made with the ghosts of the “Other World” / Underworld (this of some acquaintance, may be supposed), and aiming to obtain answers on the future affecting private persons or public instances. The organization is in principle limited to the members ready to take the risks of such practice and which have the means for it (an official house, *bt marzḥ*, and consumed products, *mšd* and *yn*), what implies the possession of a certain financial status (maybe looking to protect it by the suitable *bārūtu*).<sup>73</sup> The practice is of course under the administrative control of the Palace, the first interested in knowing the results, to the extent that a whole class of recognized professionals (*khn*, “diviners”) existed, integrated in the palace administration and fully hierarchized under the rule of a chief (*rb khnm*), one of its highest functionary who directed and controlled them in all their divination praxes.<sup>74</sup> The banquet, consisting of hunt meat, was participated in by all the members of the association, although not all of the participants in the ritual reach or intent to reach the adequate alcoholic intoxication state (maybe only the president (*rb*) of the gathering (?)) in which the contact with the infernal ghosts was obtained. The mortuary context is then obvious, but we do not know whether the intended “conjunction / evocation” was directed towards a particular dead person or if it had any relationship with his or another’s tomb as an access route to the Underworld.

and other later sources. They are of little avail in understanding the Ugaritic institution. More fruitful would be the other way round.

73. See in this regard Malbran-Labat, Roche, “*Urtēnu Ur-Tešub*”. in Michaud, ed., *Le Royaume d’Ougarit de la Crète à l’Euphrate. Nouveaux axes de recherche* (Proche-Orient et Littérature Ougaritique), Montréal (Québec) 2007, pp. 63–104. (92).

74. See the corresponding priestly category in Mesopotamia, seemingly fully integrated into the official cult: *ša eṭemmu, mušelû eṭemmu / šilli, šā’ilu*; Tropper, *Nekromatie*, pp. 58ff.

6. Text and Version<sup>75</sup>

<p><sup>1</sup><i>il dbh.bbth.mšd.</i>  <sup>2</sup><i>šd.bqrb hklh.</i>  <sup>3</sup><i>šh.lqš.ilm.</i>  <sup>4</sup><i>tlhmn ilm.wištn.</i>  <sup>5</sup><i>tštn. y&lt;n&gt; d šb<sup>f</sup></i>  <sup>6</sup><i>trt. d škr<sup>l</sup>.</i>  <sup>7</sup><i>y<sup>f</sup>db.yrh gbh.</i>  <sup>8</sup><i>km.[klb].</i>  <sup>9</sup><i>yqtqt.tht ilhnt</i>  <sup>10</sup><i>il.d yd<sup>f</sup>nn</i>  <sup>11</sup><i>y<sup>f</sup>db.lhm.lh.</i>  <sup>12</sup><i>&lt;d mšd&gt;</i>  <sup>13</sup><i>wd lyd<sup>f</sup>nn. ylmn.</i>  <sup>14</sup><i>&lt;bq<sup>l</sup>r&gt;</i>  <sup>15</sup><i>h<sup>f</sup>tm.tht.ilhnt&lt;&gt;</i>  <sup>16</sup><i><sup>9</sup>ttrt w<sup>f</sup>nt.ymgy</i>  <sup>17</sup><i><sup>10</sup>ttrt.t<sup>f</sup>db.nšb lh</i>  <sup>18</sup><i><sup>11</sup>w<sup>f</sup>nt.ktp.</i>  <sup>19</sup><i>bhm.yg<sup>f</sup>r. tgr.<sup>12</sup>bt.il.</i></p> <p><i>pn lm.k<sup>l</sup>lb.t<sup>f</sup>dbnn.<sup>13</sup>nšb</i></p> <p><i>linr.t<sup>f</sup>dbn.ktp</i></p> <p><sup>14</sup><i>bil.[?][p]mh.g<sup>f</sup>r.</i></p> <p><i>y<sup>f</sup>tb.il.kr<sup>2</sup> <sup>15</sup>a<sup>l</sup>š<sup>2</sup>][?][--].</i>  <sup>16</sup><i>il.y<sup>f</sup>tb.bmrzhh</i>  <sup>17</sup><i><sup>16</sup>yš<sup>f</sup>l.[yn].d šb<sup>f</sup>.</i>  <sup>18</sup><i>trt.<sup>f</sup>d škr</i></p>	<p><i>Īlu</i> offered a banquet in his house, of game,  of hunt pieces within his palace;  he invited the gods to the carving.  The gods ate and drank,  they drank wine to satiety,  new wine to drunkenness.  <i>Yarhu</i> helped himself to his loin steak,  like [a dog]  he dragged (it/himself) under the table.  The god who acknowledged him  served him meat  &lt;(meat) of game&gt;.  The god who did not know him beat him  &lt;(beat him) with a [?]&gt;  with a stick under the table.  Close to <sup>f</sup><i>Attartu</i> and <sup>f</sup><i>Anatu</i> he came;  <sup>f</sup><i>Attartu</i> served him a meat steak,  <sup>f</sup><i>Anatu</i> a shoulder-blade.  The door-keeper of <i>Īlu</i>'s house explosively  blasted / him:<sup>76</sup>  that to a dog they should not serve a  meat steak,  to a cub they should not present a  shoulder-blade;  <i>Īlu</i> [al]so (for) something else (?) he explo-  sively blasted.  <i>Īlu</i> took (his) seat as [            ],  <i>Īlu</i> sat in his club.  He drank [wine] to satiety,  new wine to drunkenness.</p>
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75. For the different alternatives see Pardee's linguistic discussion in *Les Textes para-mythologiques* (1988), pp. 13–74, which contains to date the most complete and best informed analysis. See too Wyatt's (1998) and Dietrich, Loretz' (2000) textual analysis.

76 For this meaning of \*g<sup>f</sup>r see Kennedy, "The Root G<sup>f</sup>R in the Light of Semantic Analysis", *JBL* 106, 1987, 47–64, who supersedes former studies by A.A. Macintosh (1969) and S.C. Reif (1971).

*il.h<sup>l</sup>l<sup>k</sup>.lbth.*  
*yš<sup>t</sup>ql.<sup>18</sup>lh<sup>z</sup>rh.*  
*y<sup>f</sup>msn.nn.tk<sup>m</sup>n<sup>19</sup>wš<sup>n</sup>m.*  
*wngš<sup>n</sup>n.h<sup>b</sup>y.*  
<sup>20</sup>*b<sup>f</sup>l.q<sup>r</sup>nm.wd<sup>n</sup>b.ylš<sup>n</sup>*  
<sup>21</sup>*b<sup>h</sup>rih.wt<sup>n</sup>th.*

*ql.il.km mt*  
*il.kyrdm.ārs.*  
<sup>f</sup>*nt<sup>23</sup>w<sup>f</sup>ttrt.tšdn.*  
 [-----]<sup>24</sup>*q<sup>d</sup>š.*  
<sup>f</sup>*b<sup>f</sup>[-----]*  
<sup>25</sup>*[-----]<sup>l</sup>n<sup>l</sup>.d[---]*  
<sup>26</sup>*[<sup>f</sup>tt]<sup>l</sup>r<sup>l</sup>t.w<sup>f</sup>n[t][-----]*  
<sup>27</sup>*w<sup>l</sup>bhm.tttb.[l]<sup>l</sup>m<sup>l</sup>dh[-]*

<sup>28</sup>*km.trpā.hn n<sup>f</sup>r*

-----  
<sup>29</sup>*dyšt. llšb.š<sup>f</sup>r klb*

<sup>30</sup>*w<sup>b</sup>l<sup>r</sup>iš.pqq.wšrh* <sup>31</sup>*yšt*

*āhdh.dm zt. ḥr<sup>l</sup>p<sup>l</sup>n<sup>l</sup>t*

Alternatively:

*Īlu* (then) went to his house,  
 proceeded to his mansion;  
*Takamuna* and *Šunama* supported him  
 but *Habay* came across him,  
 the one with horns and a tail.  
 He fouled himself with his excrement and  
 his urine.  
*Īlu* fell down like a dead one,  
*Īlu*, like those going down to the Earth.  
<sup>f</sup>*Anatu* and <sup>f</sup>*Attartu* went tracking down  
 [in the countryside], holy [desert?]  
 in the [heights? some remedies?]  
 [-----]  
<sup>f</sup>*Attartu* and <sup>f</sup>*Anatu* [found them?]  
 and with them they made him come  
 back to his || acquaintances;<sup>77</sup>  
 on applying the remedy, look, he woke up.

-----  
 That is what one will apply on his forehead:  
 dog hair,  
 from head, mouth, throat and till navel he  
 will apply,  
 along with autumnal virgin oil.

That is what one will set in his forehead: dog  
 hair  
 and the top (foliage) of the *pqq*-plant and its  
 stalk;  
 he will set / drink (it) along with autumnal  
 virgin oil. (KTU 1.114:29–31)<sup>78</sup>

77. See DUL 518: “initiates of a cult”, e.g. *spr md<sup>c</sup>ttrt*, KTU 4.245 I 1, 11. See also Fleming, *Time at Emar*, p. 167, 274f. For a justification of this version see del Olmo Lete, “Glosas ugaríticas VII: *md*, la corporación del *marzeaḥ*”, below in this same issue of *Aula Orientalis*.

78. For this and other possible versions cf. Pardee, *TPM*, 13–74; id., *RCU*, 167–170; Watson, “Comments on KTU 1.114:29–31”, *AuOr* 8 (1990), 265–267 (see also id. *AuOr* 22 (2004), 135); Lewis, *UNP*, 193–196; Wyatt, *RTU*, 404–413. In this text there is an obvious echo of KTU 1.24:42–

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44, a text considered by Dietrich, Loretz, *SUT* I, 143–223, as a mythical record of *Yarhu* and *Nikkalu*’s wedding and procreation, used as a “*Beschwörung von ehelicher Fruchtbarkeit*” (p. 212). Another magical prescription, perhaps, may be KTU 1.175, a badly damaged text. For the bibliography on this text see Pardee, *TPM*, 13; Dietrich, Loretz, *SUT* I, 516–532. Bordreuil, Pardee, *MOu* (accompanying CD with photograph).



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Fig. 1. KTU 1.114 (RS 24.258)  
(Photo from Gregorio del Olmo Lete. *Academia.edu*. Teaching documents.  
Photographic Archive-Canaanite Religion)

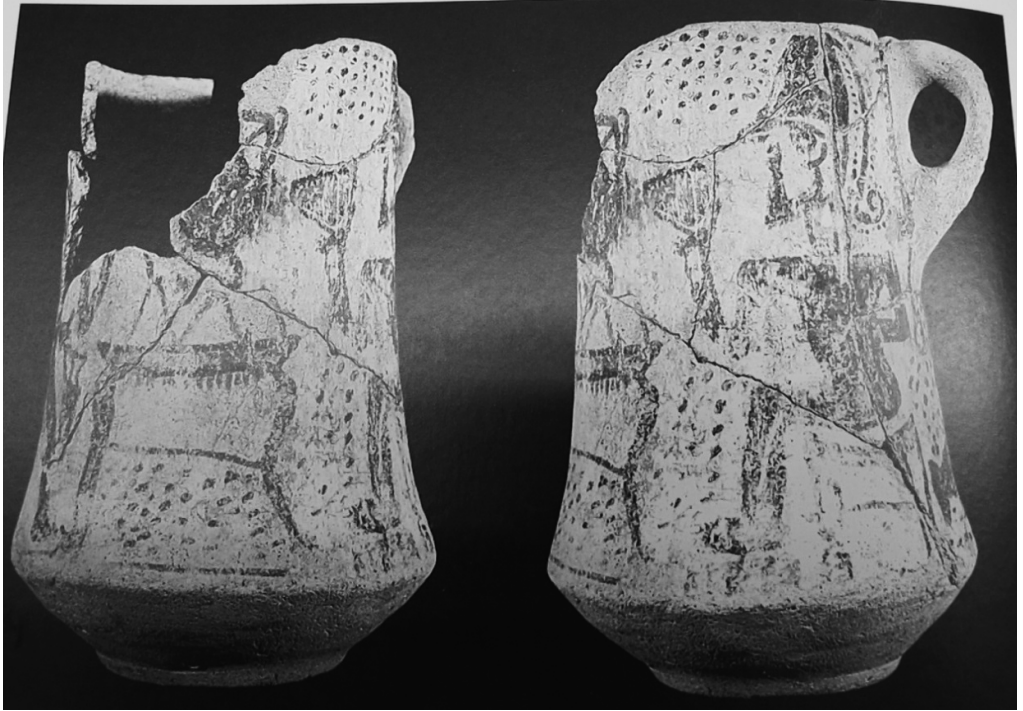


Fig. 2. Painted mug found in the Magician's (Agaptarri's) house (J.Cl. Courtois, *Ugaritica* VI, p. 111)



Fig. 3. Drawing of the scene depicted in the Magician's house mug (C. Florimont)

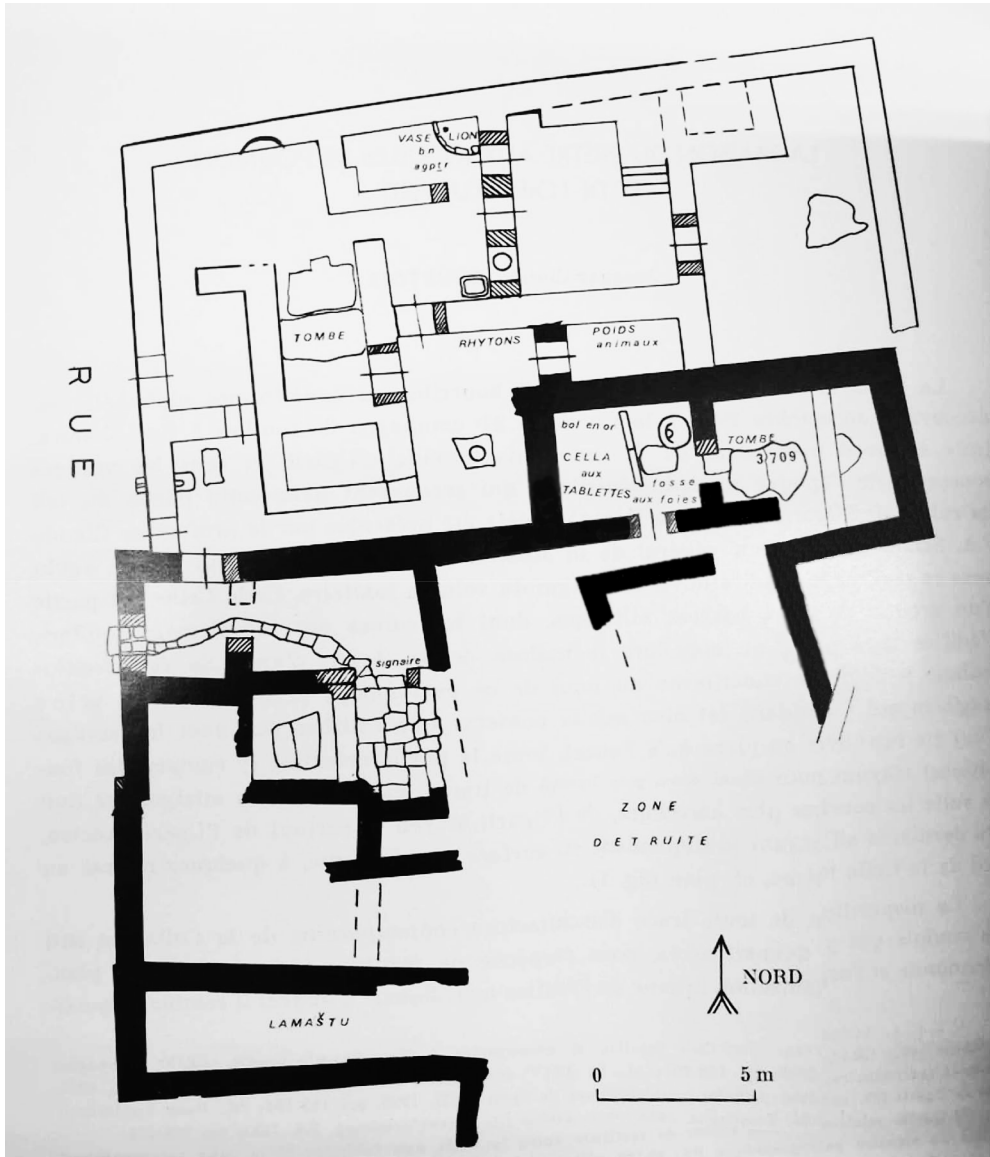


Fig. 4. Plan of the Magician's (Agaptarri's) House containing inscribed liver and lung models and tablets, Hurrian and Ugaritic, of magic contents (J.-Cl. Courtois, *Ugaritica* VI, pp. 92.



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## ABBREVIATIONS

*General*

Acr.	Acropole
admin.	administrative
Akk.	Akkadian
alph.	alphabetic
coloph.	colophon
déb.	déblais
E.	East
econ.	economic
exerc.	exercise
HP	The Hurrian Priest
lit.-rel.	literary-religious
M.	Maison
<i>M. text. lit.</i>	Maison aux textes littéraires

<i>M. text. mag.</i>	Maison aux textes magiques
numb.	number
of.	offering
part.	partial
Pd.-mes.	Poids et Mesures
porch.	porche
PS	Palais Sud
Q.R.	Quartier Résidentiel
RS	Ras Shamra
S.	Sud
sapient.	sapiential
SE	Sud Est
Syl./Syllab.	Syllabaire
tab.	tablet
t.p.	topographic point
unclas.	unclassified
unpub.	unpublished
Vil.	Ville

*Bibliographical*

AS. Assyriological Studies, Chicago.

BAH, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, Beyrouth.

CRAI, Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris.

ES 1976, M. Dietrich, Os. Loretz, *Die Elfenbeininschriften und S-Texte aus Ugarit* (AOAT 13), Münster.

KTU 2013<sup>3</sup>, M. Dietrich, Os. Loretz, J. Sanmartín, *Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani and anderen Orten* (AOAT 360/1), Münster.

MSL 6: B. Landsberger 1958, *Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon. The Series HAR - ra = ħubullu. Tablets V-VII* (MSL VI), Roma.

MSL 7: Benno Landsberger 1959, *Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon. The Series HAR - ra = ħubullu. Tablets VIII-XII* (MSL VII), Roma.

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PIHANS, Publications de l'Institut historique et archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul.

PRU 2: Ch. Virolleaud. 1957. *Le Palais Royal d'Ugarit II. Textes en cunéiformes alphabétiques des archives Est, Ouest et centrales* (MRS VII), Paris.

PRU 3: J. Nougayrol. 1955. *Le Palais Royal d'Ugarit III. Textes accadiens et hourrites des archives Est, Ouest et Centrales* (MRS VI), Paris.

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TEOC: Bordreuil, Pierre, Pardee, Dennis. 1989. *La Trouvaille épigraphique de l'Ougarit. 1. Concordance* (Ras Shamra-Ougarit V/1), Paris.

The first impression one gains from a summary overview of the epigraphic finds from the tell of Ras Shamra is one of an ancient city packed with written documentation: from the Royal Palace, with its huge archives, to everywhere in the center and around the northern and southern parts of the town, collections of texts were held in private archives. Any place that an archaeological sounding was made, a more or less significant set of written documents has been found. Ugarit, even more so than the great capital cities of Mesopotamia and Anatolia, appears in this regard to be a paradigm of the triumph of writing as a decisive instrument in the cultural and economic development of the ancient Near East. Indeed, with its twelve public and private archives, Ugarit could rightly be labeled “the endless archive”.



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