

11 Food and Libation Offerings for the Royal Dead in Ugarit¹

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The Syrian city of Ugarit is in many respects an interesting place for studies on the care for the dead in Syria in the second millennium BC. The written sources in particular are a very valuable aid for the reconstruction of funerary and mortuary rituals concerning food offerings. While the food offerings will be primarily mentioned and discussed in this paper, libation offerings will be examined as well.

Before an evaluation of the written sources for the food and libation offerings can take place, the terminology used in this paper has to be discussed. Originally I used the term ‘funerary banquet’ in my talk at the conference, trying to translate the German term ‘Totenmahl’. However, during the discussions at the conference and while working on this paper, it became obvious that the term ‘funerary banquet’ is much more restricted in its meaning than the concept of the ‘Totenmahl’. At minimum one would have to extend the discussion on the topic and use the terms ‘funerary’ and ‘commemorative banquet’² to make sure that not only the recently deceased but also the ancestors of a family or dynasty would have been addressed within the accompanying ritual. But even then the term ‘banquet’ only includes those occasions on which a number of people dine together with regard to the dead. The examined material however requires a much broader understanding and it is the goal of this paper to include all sources that are connected to food and libation offerings for the royal dead in Ugarit. The underlying concept includes food and libation offerings for the dead at and after the funeral, next to the grave; food and libation offerings in front of statues; and common meals of the descendants at certain occasions or periodically.

By using this understanding of the concept of food and libation offerings to the dead the premature exclusion of certain sources can be prevented. At the same time ‘funerary’ and ‘commemorative banquets’ are included in this understanding as well, without limit-

ing the frame of this work by constantly referring to these terms.

Because the royal tombs in Ugarit have been looted, no direct evidence for the care for the dead could be found in connection with the royal tombs. The only exception is some depressions on the threshold between two rooms in the palace that might have served to receive libations.³

Many texts and objects that could be interpreted within the context of the cult of the dead have been the subject of controversial discussions, because most of the objects which could be possible sources for the rituals connected to the offering of food and libations lack mortuary context. Additionally there is also the difficulty that many expressions in the relevant texts⁴ can be interpreted in various ways. Because of these uncertainties, the different interpretations of these sources resulted in at least two different positions. While neither of them completely denies a ‘funerary cult’ in Ugarit, Dennis Pardee finds “virtually only hints and allusions to that cult, with practically no textual material attesting directly to it.”⁵ He thus calls his own approach a “minimalist view.”⁶ In contrast, Gregorio del Olmo Lete represents the second position, which more frequently permits an interpretation of the texts against a ‘funerary’ background.⁷ Del Olmo Lete states, by criticizing Pardee, “There is no reference to the royal dead ancestors in these texts if *a priori* one is not open to see it.”⁸

Considering the controversial discussions that have taken place, the philological sources and the conclusions that can be drawn from them will be presented at first. The ritual text KTU 1.161 is the most prominent example among the texts concerning royal death and funerary rites. Multiple conclusions can be drawn from this text and therefore it will be presented here in its full length.

1 This paper emerges from a talk that was held at the international symposium “(Re-) Constructing funerary rituals in the Ancient Near East” at the Tübingen University. I would like to thank all participants for their input on this paper as well as Prof. Herbert Niehr and Prof. Peter Pfälzner for their constant support and the constructive discussions we had. I would also like to thank Stefan Baumann, Sarah Boxhorn and Steve Busch for reading and reviewing this paper beforehand.

2 I would like to express my gratitude to Julie Patrier for the suggestion to differentiate the veneration of the recently deceased and the ancestors by using the terms ‘funerary banquet’ and ‘commemorative banquet’.

3 Niehr 2004b: 80-81; and see the paragraph on “The locations for the food and libation offerings to the royal dead” below.

4 KTU 1.161, the Ba’al Cycle (KTU 1.6 VI), the epic of Kirta (KTU 1.15 III), the epic of Aqhatu (KTU 1.17 I), KTU 1.20-1.22, KTU 6.13 and 6.14 (for translations of these texts, see for instance Greenstein 1997; Lewis 1997; Pardee 2002; Parker 1997 and Smith 1997).

5 Pardee 1996: 273.

6 Ibid.; cf. also 2002: 4-5.

7 Del Olmo Lete 2004: esp. 543-547.

8 Ibid.: 545 n. 19.

KTU 1.161

The text KTU 1.161 was found by chance in 1973 on the surface in the southern part of Ugarit. By now, it is known that it was part of the archive of the house of Urtenu, a high official in the household of queen Tarriyelli. It was probably written for the funerary ceremony of the second to last known king of Ugarit, Niqmaddu IV (approx. 1225/20–1215 BC),⁹ who died at the end of the 13th century BCE. During the reign of Niqmaddu IV, the high priest Ilimilku held office in Ugarit as well. Ilimilku penned the famous myths and epics of Ba'al, Aqhatu and Kirta.¹⁰ This contemporaneity and the assumption that the named epic poems were generally known in this time, support the contention that several parallels of the text KTU 1.161 and the epics were intentional.¹¹

The text KTU 1.161 describes some aspects of the funerary cult that are, according to Pardee's definition, "the events associated with the burial of a recently deceased person".¹² Furthermore, this text incorporates a mortuary element: the *rāpi'ūma*¹³ and two kings who had died in past history were invited to participate in the ceremony. During this ceremony, the spirit of Niqmaddu IV was united with his ancestors' spirits in the netherworld. In the final part the living dependents are asked to be blessed with wellbeing (cf. p. 163).

This text broaches several topics which are of interest in the context of food offerings within the Ugaritic funerary and mortuary cult. It concerns the question of the recipients of the offerings; the question of the type of offerings that were presented at a burial; the purpose of said offerings; the time at which the offerings took place; and the gods who were involved in the funerary cult and the cult of the dead. All of these topics are addressed by different ritual texts and passages of the epics from Ugarit as well. These topics will now be discussed under consideration of the relevant texts.

The recipients

In the ritual text KTU 1.161, several recipients for the offerings are summoned and partially subsumed under certain categories.

In lines 2-12 and 23-26, those are named to whom an offering is sacrificed and whose ranks the recently deceased king Niqmaddu IV will join. Among the invited guests are the "*rāpi'ūma* of the netherworld" (ll. 2, 9), the "assemblage of Didānu" (ll. 3, 10), the "ancient *rāpi'ūma*" (ll. 8, 24) and a group of *rāpi'ūma* that are called by name (ll. 4-7, 23-24). Though in the line that follows, it seems that those who are called by name are summarized in the group of the "ancient *rāpi'ūma*". This interpretation is supported by the fact that the "*rāpi'ūma* of the netherworld" and the "assemblage of Didānu" in this text, as in the epic of Kirta (KTU 1.15 III, 3-4, 14-15), consistently appear as a parallelism. The term of the "ancient *rāpi'ūma*," on the contrary, follows only the listing of personal names in KTU 1.161. Furthermore, the text lists the two kings Amittamru and Niqmaddu (ll. 11-12, 25-26), who bear the title *malku* "king" instead of *rāpi'ūma*. The listed groupings of *rāpi'ūma* and *malākuma* and the recently deceased king Niqmaddu IV (l. 13) are the addressees of the text and those to whom the sacrifices are made.

Those addressees are subsumed in the first line of the text with the term *zlm*. It has often been discussed whether this term is to be understood as "statue"¹⁴ or "shades"¹⁵. Tropper, in his dictionary of the Ugaritic language, translates *z/l* with 1. "Schatten", 2. "Schatten" = "Reflexion, Schimmer, Glanz"; 3. "Schatten" = "Totengeist"¹⁶; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín, in their dictionary, offer 1. "shade"; 2. "reflection, sheen"; 3. "spirit (of ancestors)". These translations are derived from Hebrew *šl*, Aramaic *ʔll*, Syriac *ʔelolō* and Amoritic *šillum*.¹⁷ Loretz notes in connection with the

9 This king is conventionally known as Niqmaddu III but, according to the latest cognitions, the king in question was Niqmaddu IV (Niehr 2006: 264-265 n. 55; 2008: 249; and 2009: 333).

10 Kutter 2008: 28; with comprehensive comment (ibid.: 28 n. 11) and reference among others to Niehr 1999: 121.

11 Even though the discussion exists if it is legitimate to deduce historical occurrences from literary texts, Niehr and Schloen argue convincingly that the epic texts from Ugarit were written by the Ugaritic high priest Ilimilku for a contemporary audience and thus the social world has to be seen as congruent to the literary world of Aqhatu, Kirta and Ba'al (Niehr 2007: 228; Schloen 2001: 352).

12 Pardee 2002: 5.

13 The term *rāpi'ūma* is written in the alphabetic cuneiform texts as *rpi/ū* (KTU 1.161), *rpi/um* (KTU 1.6 VI, 46; KTU .20-1.22). For a vocalization, the following question arises: which meaning shall one take as a basis for this term? Generally, the word is deduced from the root *rp'* "to heal". The two most common versions of the vocalization are *rāpi'ūma* and *rapī'ūma* (cf. e.g. Tropper 2008: 107 s.v. *rpu*, *rp'*; similar Pitard 1999: 259 n. 2). The former vocalization gives an understanding of the term as an active participle (present) (Tropper 2000: 471-472; 2008: 107 s.v. *rpu*) with the meaning "healer", whereas the latter portrays an understanding as a verbal noun "the heal one" (Tropper 2000: 480-481; 2008: 107 s.v. *rpu*). In this work, the interpretation of the term as a participle will be followed and the *rāpi'ūma* will be understood as "healer". This understanding seems plausible, especially against the background of the text KTU 1.161 (esp. ll. 31-34), since the positive connotation of the spirits of the dead is clearly emphasized in this text. Here the spirits are evoked to protect the royal family.

14 For instance Xella 1981: 282-284.

15 Pardee 2002: 87; Pardee comments, "It appears to be a general term for *Rapa'ūma*, which is the technical term for the dead in the underworld." (ibid.: 113 n. 123).

16 Tropper 2008: 144-145 s.v. *z/l*.

17 Del Olmo Lete – Sanmartín 2004: 1003-1004 s.v. *z/l* (1).

KTU 1.161¹⁸

(1)	<i>spr . dbḥ . ṣlm</i>	Tablet for the sacrifice (for) the shades
(2)	<i>qrīm . r¹pi . a[rṣ ...]</i>	You are summoned <i>rāpi'ūma</i> of the nether[world]
(3)	<i>qbitm . qbṣ . d[dn ...]</i>	You are called assemblage of Di[dānu]
(4)	<i>qra . ulkn . r¹p¹[u ...]</i>	Invited is <i>ulkn</i> , the <i>rāpi'ū</i>
(5)	<i>qra . trmn . rp[u ...]</i>	Invited is <i>trmn</i> , the <i>rāpi'ū</i>
(6)	<i>qra . sdn . w¹ rd[n ...]</i>	Invited is <i>sdn-w-rd[n]</i>
(7)	<i>qra . tr . 'llmn [...]</i>	Invited is <i>tr--'llmn</i>
(8)	<i>qru . rpim . qdmym [...]</i>	Invited are the ancient <i>rāpi'ūma</i>
(9)	<i>qrīm . rpi . arṣ</i>	You are summoned <i>rāpi'ūma</i> of the netherworld
(10)	<i>qbitm . qbṣ . dd¹n¹</i>	You are called assemblage of Didā ¹ nu ¹
(11)	<i>qra . 'mttm¹r . 'm¹l¹k</i>	Invited is Amittam ¹ ru ¹ , the k ¹ in ¹ g
(12)	<i>qra . u . nqm¹d¹ [...] 'mlk¹</i>	Invited is as well Niqmaddu, the 'king ¹
(13)	<i>ksi . nqmd [...] 'ibky¹</i>	Throne of Niqmaddu 'be bewept ¹
(14)	<i>w . ydm¹ . 'h¹dm . 'p¹nh</i>	and one shall shed tears (over) the 'sto ¹ ol of his 'fe ¹ et.
(15)	<i>lpnh . ybky . tllhn . ml¹k¹</i>	Before him be bewept the table of the kin ¹ g ¹
(16)	<i>w . 'y¹bl¹ . udm¹th</i>	and 'one ¹ swallow down ones tears.
(17)	<i>'dmt . w . 'dmt . 'dmt</i>	Desolation! Oh, desolation of desolation!
(18)	<i>išḥn . špš .</i>	Be hot Šapšu,
(18–19)	<i>w . iṣḥn⁽¹⁹⁾ nyr . rbt .</i>	oh, be hot ⁽¹⁹⁾ great light!
(19)	<i>'ln . špš . tṣ¹h¹</i>	From above cri ¹ es ¹ Šapšu:
(20)	<i>atr¹ . 'l¹ [b¹]lk . l . ks¹i¹</i>	“After your 'lo ¹ rds, from the thro ¹ ne ¹ ,
(20–21)	<i>atr⁽²¹⁾ b¹lk . arṣ . rd .</i>	after ⁽²¹⁾ your lords descend into the netherworld,
(21–22)	<i>arṣ⁽²²⁾ rd . w . špl . 'pr .</i>	into the netherworld ⁽²²⁾ descend and lower yourself into the dust,
(22–23)	<i>tḥt⁽²³⁾ sdn . w . rdn .</i>	under ⁽²³⁾ <i>sdn-w-rdn</i>
(23–24)	<i>tḥt . tr⁽²⁴⁾ llmn .</i>	under <i>tr⁽²⁴⁾ llmn</i>
(24)	<i>tḥt . rpim . qdm¹y¹m</i>	under the ancient <i>rāpi'ūma</i>
(25)	<i>tḥt . 'mttmr . mlk</i>	under Amittamru, the king,
(26)	<i>tḥm¹⁹ . u . nq[md] . mlk</i>	under Niq[maddu], the king, as well.
(27)	<i>'šty . w . t¹ē¹[y .</i>	(Day) one and a t ¹ ē ¹ –[sacrifice],
(27)	<i>t¹n .] 'w . 't¹ē¹[y]</i>	(day) two] 'and ¹ a t ¹ ē ¹ –[sacrifice],
(28)	<i>t¹t . w . t¹y .]</i>	(day) three and a t ¹ ē ¹ –sacrifice,
(28)	<i>'a¹[r¹b]¹ē¹ . w . t¹[y]</i>	(day) 'f ¹ [our] and a t ¹ ē ¹ –[sacrifice],
(29)	<i>ḥmš . w . t¹y .</i>	(day) five and a t ¹ ē ¹ –sacrifice,
(29)	<i>t¹t¹ .] 'w .] 't¹y</i>	(day) s ¹ ix ¹ [and] a 't ¹ ē ¹ –sacrifice,
(30)	<i>šb¹ . w . t¹y .</i>	(day) seven and a t ¹ ē ¹ –sacrifice.
(30–31)	<i>tq¹d¹m¹šr⁽³¹⁾ ṣlm .</i>	You shall sacr ¹ if ¹ ice a bird ⁽³¹⁾ (for the) well-being.
(31–32)	<i>ṣlm . 'mr[pi]⁽³²⁾ w . ṣlm . bah²⁰ .</i>	Well-being for Ammura[pi] ⁽³²⁾ and well-being for his
(32–33)	<i>ṣlm . [t¹ry¹ē¹]⁽³³⁾ ṣlm . bth .</i>	well-being for [T]arriy ¹ elli ¹ , ⁽³³⁾ well-being for her house;
(33–34)	<i>ṣlm . u¹g¹rt⁽³⁴⁾ ṣlm . tgrh</i>	well-being for U ¹ g ¹ arit, ⁽³⁴⁾ well-being for her gates.

18 The transliteration follows Pardee 2002: 87–88.

19 To be read as *tḥt* (Pardee 2002: 115 n. 129).20 To be read as *bth* or *bnh* (ibid.: 115 n. 131).

translation of *zlm* as “shade”, that with this formulation we gain “zum ersten Mal Aufschluß über die ugaritischen Vorstellungen zur Existenzform der Ahnen, die auch aus Mesopotamien bekannt sind.”²¹

On the contrary, del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín refer to Watson, who translates *zlm* with “statue” and who derives this word from the Akkadian *šalmu*.²² Supporting this interpretation, Niehr argues that the now commonplace translation with “shades” does not fit with the other uses of the term in the Ugaritic texts. Moreover, statues adopted a prominent role in the royal cult of the dead.²³ Bonatz follows this interpretation and, in connection with his research about syro-hittite grave monuments,²⁴ refers to the prevailing assumption that the spirits of the deceased have been evoked from the netherworld in the form of shades. However, it was “nichtsdestoweniger wahrscheinlich, daß der Totengeist danach einem Substitut innewohnen mußte, um dergestalt am Totenmahl teilnehmen zu können [...]”²⁵

Thus, depending on which translation for the term *zlm* one follows, this term is to be interpreted as the appearance (“shade”) of the *rāpi’ūma* or the object (“statue”) in which the *rāpi’ūma* were evoked. Admittedly, a reference to the statues in the cult of the dead cannot be dismissed, but the question comes to mind whether or not such a reference would determine the moment at which the ritual took place to an extent that cannot be confirmed at this stage.

As seen above, the addressees are the *rāpi’ūma* (the “*rāpi’ūma* of the netherworld” respectively the “assemblage of Didānu” with the subgroup of the “ancient *rāpi’ūma*”); the *malākuma* (two previously deceased kings); and the recently deceased king Niqmaddu IV. The translation of the term *zlm* with “statue” would imply that for all of these recipients, a statue, for the individual or the collective, was present during the funerary ceremony. Dietrich and Loretz assume that the recently deceased king Niqmaddu IV was represented by a statue during the performance of the ritual. They argue that the scene in which the empty throne is bewept (KTU 1.161, 13-16) could only become effective if a statue of the deceased king would have existed together with the empty throne.²⁶ However, in my opinion, it is also possible that the ritual could have been performed in front of the corpse of the deceased king, or even the empty throne. Though, the latter con-

tention is difficult to justify considering the background of the phrase *lpnh . ybky . llhn . mlk*¹ (KTU 1.161, 15). Even though the empty throne plays an important role, for instance in the Ba’al Cycle when Ba’al dies and his successor is to be found,²⁷ it is questionable if the expression *lpnh* “before him” in KTU 1.161 could be explained by the assumption that ‘him’ refers to the throne itself. It seems more likely, though, that the term *lpnh* refers either to the king’s dead body or to a statue that became the subject into which his spirit was evoked.

In this context, it would be important to know how much time passed after the king’s death until the ritual KTU 1.161 was performed. Was it given before the king’s corpse was placed in the royal tomb so that it is probable that his dead body was still present within the throne room or was the mourning ritual perhaps performed in front of a statue after the king had been buried?

As mentioned above, the question has to be asked whether or not a translation of the term *zlm* with “shades” would be more appropriate, as this translation does not require the recently deceased king to have been represented by a statue. With this word choice, the *rāpi’ūma* and the *malākuma* (presumably evoked into statues) and the corpse of the recently deceased king Niqmaddu IV could have been addressed in the first line of the text.

On the contrary, if the word *zlm* is translated with “statue”, it has to be assumed that an individual statue for the king himself existed and had been erected by the time of his funeral.

Since the text does not give any information about the time that has elapsed since the king’s death, this matter will remain the subject of speculation until more evidence concerning the Ugaritic royal funerary cult has been brought to light.

Thus, for now, the term in question is translated with “shades”. Hence, the “ancient *rāpi’ūma*”, of whom a statue in all probability existed, would be included in the ritual as well as the recently deceased king, who was either present in the form of his corpse or of an individual statue.

To summarize the listed recipients in the text KTU 1.161, three different stages of the dead can be differentiated: the *rāpi’ūma*, the *malākuma* and the recently deceased king, who does not bear a title at the time of his funerary ritual.

Another source that might name the deceased king as recipient for a food offering is the epic of Aqhatu. Here in the so-called catalogue of obligations of the son, it is mentioned that the son shall eat his father’s portion within the temple of Ba’al and El.²⁸ Though, it is not certain if the son is sup-

21 Loretz 1993: 297. Loretz also refers to Tropper (1989: 147-148), who relates the term to the Mesopotamian idea of the dead and the title of the necromancer, who is called amongst others “lú gissu-‘è¹-[dè] = [mu-še-li ši-il-l]i” (MSL XII: 168 n. 359), “derjenige, der den ‘Schatten’ heraufholt” (Tropper 1989: 148).

22 Del Olmo Lete – Sanmartín 2004: 1004 s.v. *z*/ (I); Watson 1986: 18.

23 Niehr 2007: 251 n. 43. This interpretation follows for instance Xella (1981: 282-284), contrary to the common view.

24 Bonatz 2000.

25 Ibid.: 199 n. 229.

26 Dietrich – Loretz 1980: 381.

27 KTU 1.5 VI, KTU 1.6 I-II (for a translation, see for instance Smith 1997: 148-156).

28 See the transliteration and translation below in the pas-

posed to eat this portion for his deceased father as an offering dedicated to the father, or if the son is merely supposed to represent his father in the temple, because of symptoms of old age.

In addition two stele inscriptions, KTU 6.13 and 6.14, refer to the so-called *pgr*-sacrifice that is offered to the god Dagan.²⁹ The *pgr*-sacrifice is, according to Dietrich and Loretz and Pardee, a sacrifice for the dead.³⁰ In Mari, Dagan is closely linked to the *pagrā'um*-rite and even receives the name lord of the *pagrā'ū*.³¹ Thus, Dagan represents in this function the recipients of the offerings for the dead in these inscriptions, and therefore he represents the deceased themselves.³²

In conclusion, the recipients of the offerings can either be the spirits of the deceased themselves (in various manifestations) or a god who represents the deceased.

The *rāpi'ūma*

As could be seen from the text KTU 1.161 and the section above, the *rāpi'ūma* play an important role in the funerary cult and the cult of the dead. In the text KTU 1.161, they appear as recipients of the funerary offerings and were thus, with the emergence of this text, directly connected to the cult of the dead. To facilitate a better understanding of the nature of the *rāpi'ūma*, it is necessary to consult the so-called *rāpi'ūma*-texts (KTU 1.20–1.22),³³ a passage of the Ba'al Cycle (KTU 1.6) and another ritual text (KTU 1.108).³⁴ Due to the fact that the *rāpi'ūma* are mentioned in the listed texts and in connection with KTU 1.161, all of these texts can most likely be classified within the context of the cult of the dead.

However, the various appearances of the *rāpi'ūma* led to controversial discussions about this group of beings. Pitard summarized the state of discussion as follows, "Although some relationship between the term *rpum* and the Hebrew *rēphā'im*, 'ghosts, shades of the dead', generally has been recognized, there has been little consensus about what that relationship is.

The Ugaritic *rāpi'ūma* have been identified as minor deities, cultic functionaries, a tribal group, an elite warrior group, or the shades of dead nobility."³⁵ Del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín, in their dictionary of the Ugaritic language, provide the following definitions for the term *rpum* "1) 'divine ancestral hero', ancestor of the Ugaritic dynasty, singly and as a group; 2) *Rpu*, eponymous deity of this group; [...]"³⁶ That the *rāpi'ūma* were of divine status is verified by different text passages. In the so-called *rāpi'ūma*-texts (KTU 1.20–1.22), in which the *rāpi'ūma* are invited to a *marziḥu*,³⁷ the parallelism of *rpum* and *ilnym* or *ilm* ("the divine ones" or "gods") appears throughout the texts.³⁸ In addition, a passage of the Ba'al Cycle lends credibility to the idea of the *rāpi'ūma* as "divine ancestral heroes":

The passage KTU 1.6 VI (cf. p. 166) follows a battle scene of Ba'al and the god of the netherworld Mot. Finally, the sun god Šapšu declares that Mot's father El would condemn his battle with Ba'al and that El would take Mot's throne from him if El hears of his behavior.³⁹ Seven preceding lines to this passage are missing. It seems probable that they contained details about who is eating the sacrificial food and drinking the wine. Moreover, they might have introduced the following speech to Šapšu. Smith states: "The passage has been generally understood as a hymn praising Šapsh on her nightly circuit through the underworld, where the Rephaim dwell."⁴⁰

This passage does not just emphasize the connection of Šapšu to the netherworld once again; it also presents an extension of the already known parallelism of *rpum* and *ilnym* or *ilm*. Here, the terms *ilnym* and *ilm* appear in the text as parallels to *rpum*. Furthermore, the term *mtm* "the dead" is used in this line of parallelisms as well.⁴¹ Thus, we receive confirmation of the connection of the dead with the *rāpi'ūma* and at the same time with the divine status

sage on "The 'hosts' of the funerary banquet".

29 KTU 6.13, 2, KTU 6.14, 2. For a more extensive discussion of these inscriptions and the different types of offerings, see the paragraphs on "The 'hosts' of the funerary banquet" and "The *pgr*-sacrifice" below.

30 Dietrich – Loretz 2005: 227–228; Pardee 2002: 123–124.

31 Feliu 2003: 70.

32 Differently Niehr in the present volume.

33 The so-called *rāpi'ūma*-texts were published for the first time by Virolleaud (1936 and 1941); a new edition can be found, for instance, by Pitard (1992). The tablets with the text KTU 1.20, KTU 1.21 and KTU 1.22 were found in the house of the high priest in 1930 and 1931. However, the texts KTU 1.21 and KTU 1.22 do not originate apparently from the same find spot as the text KTU 1.20 (ibid.: 41, 51).

34 For a transliteration and translation of KTU 1.6, see for instance Smith 1997: 151–164; a transliteration and translation of KTU 1.108 can be found for instance in Pardee 2002: 192–195.

35 Pitard 1992: 33.

36 Del Olmo Lete – Sanmartín 2004: 742 s.v. *rpum*.

37 For a discussion of the term *marziḥu* see the paragraph on "The locations for the funerary banquet".

38 *rpum* / *ilm*: KTU 1.20 II, 1–2, 8–9; *rpum* / *ilnym*: KTU 1.20 I, 1–2; KTU 1.21 II, 3–4, 11–12; KTU 1.22 II side 1, 13–14, 25–26 (in some lines the terms are completed in parallelism with other passages), the numbering of columns and sides follows Lewis 1997.

39 For a translation of the whole text, see for instance Smith 1997: 162–163.

40 Ibid.: 175 n. 202.

41 Admittedly the plural form *mtm* can also be translated with "men" (Tropper 2008: 81 s.v. *mt*; del Olmo Lete – Sanmartín 2004: 598 s.v. *mt* [III]), but in the context with the deity Šapšu and in consideration of the text KTU 1.161 in which Šapšu appears together with the *rāpi'ūma* in the context of the cult of the dead, this term is translated here with "dead person" (Tropper 2008: 18 s.v. *mt*; del Olmo Lete – Sanmartín 2004: 596–597 s.v. *mt* [I]).

42 Transliteration by Smith 1997: 163–164.

KTU 1.6 VI⁴²

- (42–43) (...) *ltšql* ⁽⁴³⁾ [] . *try* .
 (43–44) *ap* . *ltlhm* ⁽⁴⁴⁾ [] *hm* . *trmmt* .
 (44–45) *ltšt* ⁽⁴⁵⁾ *yn* . *tğzyt* .
 (45–46) *špš* ⁽⁴⁶⁾ *rpim* . *thtk*
 (47) *špš* . *thtk* . *ilnym*
 (48) *‘dk* . *ilm* .
 (48–49) *hn* . *mtm* ⁽⁴⁹⁾ *dk* (...) .

- Get yourself to [] fresh food.
 Yes, you shall eat the sacrificed food,
 you shall drink the offered wine.
 Šapšu, you rule over the *rāpi’ūma*,
 Šapšu, you rule over the divine ones.
 You are surrounded by gods.
 See! The dead surround you. (...)

of both. However, the circle of humans, who were deified after their death, is in all probability limited to the royal family or even to the kings.

In KTU 1.161 the *rāpi’ūma* appear as the “*rāpi’ūma* of the netherworld” in a parallelism with the “assemblage of Didānu” (KTU 1.161, 2-3. 9-10). Additionally, some individual *rāpi’ūma* are named who are summarized in the collective of the “ancient *rāpi’ūma*” in the subsequent line (KTU 1.161, 4-8. 23-24). In the same listing, the two kings Amittamru II and Niqmaddu III appear as *malku* (KTU 1.161, 11-12. 25-26). Levine and de Tarragon assert that explicit prove that the deified kings could become *rāpi’ūma* is missing. They argue that those *rāpi’ūma* who are listed by name in KTU 1.161 do not appear in the Ugaritic kings list (KTU 1.113)⁴³ and, on the contrary, those who do appear in this list, Amittamru II and Niqmaddu III, only bear the title *malku* in KTU 1.161. Thus, the question remains if, and if so when, a transformation from the existence as king into the existence as *rāpi’u* took place.⁴⁴ Despite these uncertainties, Niehr assumes that the kings became *rāpi’ūma* after their death: “Erst mittels des in KTU 1.161 beschriebenen Ritus des Herbeirufens der Ahnen und der Mitwirkung der Sonnengöttin sowie aufgrund des Verlassens seines Thrones und des Herabsteigens in die Erde kann der verstorbene König zu einem Mitglied der *rāpi’ūma* werden.”⁴⁵ It would be the goal of this ritual to unite the recently deceased king Niqmaddu IV with his ancestors.⁴⁶ A hint for the unification of the deceased kings with the *rāpi’ūma* could be found in lines 22-26 of the text KTU 1.161. Here, the king is asked to lower himself into the dust ‘under’ the as *malku* titled kings Amittamru II and Niqmaddu III, as well as ‘under’ the “ancient *rāpi’ūma*” (namely *ulkn*, *trmn*, *sdn-w-rdn* and *tr-‘llmn*). The difficulty in this text is the preposition *tht*, which can be understood as ‘under’ in the sense of ‘below’ and thus as a hierarchical subordination, or as ‘under’ in the sense of ‘among’.⁴⁷ If one understands this passage as a hier-

archical subordination, this passage would not be an indication for the possibility that a king could become one of the *rāpi’ūma*, since the king would only subordinate himself to the divine beings. If one understands the term as ‘among’, a unification with the group of the *rāpi’ūma* would be – at least at a later point of time – possible. Since it cannot be determined which meaning for the term *tht* the Ugaritic scribes intended, and maybe they even meant to play with the ambiguity of the word, the question of the unification of the deceased kings with the *rāpi’ūma* cannot be answered with this passage of the text KTU 1.161.

Here, a passage of the epic of Kirta (KTU 1.15 III), in which a close relation of the existence of an offspring to the cult of the dead is emphasized, can provide further information. The context for these lines actually begins in the preceding column, in which El announces a large number of children for Kirta by his chosen wife. At the beginning of column III, about 15 lines are missing. After the fragmentary part, the following three lines are written (cf. p. 167). They are succeeded by another passage that concerns the offspring of the king. The daughters who Kirta’s wife will bear are named individually (though five of six names are damaged) and afterwards, the three lines are repeated.

These lines not only show that it was possible for a king to be assimilated into the group of the *rāpi’ūma*, but also present us with evidence to support the notion that the existence of successors was needed for a guarantee of a place amongst the ancestors, a concept already known, for instance, from Mesopotamia.⁴⁸

Another occurrence of parallelisms that underlines this statement can be found in the usage of *rpum* in parallel with *ilnym/ilm*⁴⁹ as well as the titling of the deceased kings as *ilu* in the Ugaritic kings list.⁵⁰ In the kings list KTU 1.113, *il* is used as a determinative in front of the names of the listed kings.⁵¹ Thus, it is explic-

43 For a transliteration and translation, see for instance Pardee 2002.

44 Levine - de Tarragon 1984: 656.

45 Niehr 2009: 334.

46 Ibid.: 335.

47 Cf. del Olmo Lete – Sanmartín 2004: 865-866 s.v. *tht* (I) 1) and 4).

48 E.g. in the epic of Gilgamesh.

49 In KTU 1.20-1.22 and KTU 1.6 VI (see for instance Lewis 1997 and Smith 1997: 161-164).

50 KTU 1.113 (see for instance Pardee 2002: 195-210).

51 In the Akkadian kings lists (RS 88.2012, 94.2501, 94.2518 and 94.2528), the kings are provided with the determinative for god, DINGIR, as well (as pointed out for instance by Niehr 2009: 338).

KTU 1.15 III⁵²

- (2. 13) *mid . rm . krt*
 (3. 14) *btk . rpi . arš*
 (4. 15) *bḫr . qbš . dtn*

May you be much exalted, oh Kirta
 in the midst of the *rāpi'ūma* of the netherworld,
 in the meeting of the assemblage of Didānu

itly documented that the Ugaritic kings were deified after their dead. Since the *rāpi'ūma* and the deceased kings are both classified as *ilm* “gods” (or, in case of the *rāpi'ūma* also *ilnym* “divine ones”)⁵³ and since both belong in the sphere of the netherworld, it seems obvious to see them as synonymous. Still, it cannot be ignored that the text KTU 1.161 differentiates between *rāpi'ūma* and *malākuma*. Considering the expansive collection of information on the terminology and the constellations in which the *rāpi'ūma* and the deceased kings (the *malākuma*) appear, the conclusion has to be drawn that the deceased kings gained the status of *malākuma* after their spirits reached the netherworld. After an undefined but apparently relatively long time, their status merged into that of the *rāpi'ūma*, which seems to be the highest status deceased kings could reach.

The *rāpi'ūma* could also be represented by Rāpi'u, who appears in the text KTU 1.108⁵⁴ and is classified by Niehr as “höchster der *rp'm*” and “*mlk 'lm*, ‘König der Unterwelt’”.⁵⁵ Loretz translates the term *'lm* in KTU 1.161 with “eternal” and writes, “An erster und letzter Stelle in KTU 1.108 richtet sich der Beschwörer an den großen *rp'u* ‘Heiler’ von Ugarit, der treffend das Epitheton *mlk 'lm* ‘ewiger König’ erhält und in dem so alle königlichen Ahnen der Dynastie zusammengefasst sind.”⁵⁶ Even though Niehr and Loretz present different translations for the term *'lm*⁵⁷ they come to a similar conclusion: Rāpi'u is the chief of the *rāpi'ūma* and all the royal ancestors are united within his figure. Rāpi'u appears as a recipient of food and libation offerings that are presented at the New Year's festival when

Ba'al returns from the netherworld (KTU 1.108).⁵⁸ Therewith, Rāpi'u, in his function as representative for the *rāpi'ūma*, receives the offerings in their name and thus for the deceased ancestors in the netherworld. The mention of *b'l* in KTU 1.108, 18 led Pardee to the conclusion that if this term is indeed to be translated with ‘Ba'al’ and not with ‘lord’, then Ba'al bears here the role of mediator between the king and Rāpi'u: “his intervention allows the qualities evoked in lines 21'-23' to pass to the king (lines 23'-25') ensuring his success.”⁵⁹ Tropper states the real head and the ‘first’ of the *rāpi'ūma* is Ba'al, who also bears the epithets *zbl b'l arš* “lord of the netherworld”⁶⁰ and *rp'u* “healer, savior”. Ba'al is viewed as the god who descends to the netherworld during his battle with Mot and returns victorious. With his descent and return, he opened the way for the deceased to become *rāpi'ūma* who can be of use for the living.⁶¹

This interpretation can also be solidified with a reference to the *rāpi'ūma*-texts. Following the translations of Tropper⁶² and Lewis,⁶³ who understand the term *bym qz* (KTU 1.20 I, 5) as an expression for the ‘festive summer day’, this term is taken as a reference to the point of time when the *rāpi'ūma* were evoked. Since Ba'al returned from the netherworld on this New Year's festival, he and the *rāpi'ūma* seem to be revived together to receive the offerings during the *marziḫu*, which is described in the *rāpi'ūma*-texts (KTU 1.20-1.22).⁶⁴

52 Transliteration by Greenstein 1997: 25-26.

53 It should be noted that there seems to be a hierarchical differentiation between the kings that are determined as *il* “god” and the gods themselves. For instance, the so called Ugaritic kings list KTU 1.113 lists on its back several kings to whose names the word *il* is prefixed. Consistently, the kings appear also in the gods list (KTU 1.47, 33; KTU 1.118, 32), where they are listed as *mlkm* “kings” (cf. also Niehr 2004b: 83-84). This shows that, even if the Ugaritic kings are determined in certain texts and lists as *il*, they are not equated with the gods if they appear in the same context (an exception to this is the text RS 20.024, 32; it lists the kings as *ma-lik*-MEŠ; cf. Pardee 2002: 11-16).

54 For a transliteration and translation, see for instance *ibid.*: 192-195.

55 Niehr 1997: 296.

56 Loretz 1993: 295.

57 I follow Niehr's interpretation because of his convincing argumentation on the basis of text KTU 1.5 II, 12 (Niehr 1997: 295-301).

58 This interpretation of KTU 1.108 has been generally accepted, though the definition and the function of Rāpi'u/the *rāpi'ūma* have been the subject of controversial discussions. For details, see Loretz 1993: 293; Spronk 1986: 180; de Moor 1987: 187; Tropper 1989: 142.

59 Pardee 2002: 206 n. 14.

60 KTU 1.5 VI, 10; KTU 1.6 III, 1. 3. 9. 21; KTU 1.6 IV, 5. 16; always as epithet to *aliyn b'l* (Tropper 1989: 126 n. 24).

61 *Ibid.*: 126.

62 *Ibid.*: 139.

63 Lewis 1997: 197.

64 Similar Tropper: “An diesem Fest, an dem Ba'als Auferstehung zum Leben und der Rückkehr der Fruchtbarkeit gefeiert wurde, scheinen die (königlichen) Ahnen zusammen mit dem Gott Ba'al belebt worden zu sein.” (Tropper 1989: 139; with reference to de Moor 1972: 12-13 and Spronk 1986: 195). See also Loretz 1999: 203-206.

Who presented the food and libation offerings to the dead?

Several texts provide information about those who present the sacrificial food and/or libations to the dead. In KTU 1.161 the lines 31-34 ask for wellbeing for the successor of Niqmaddu IV, Ammurapi, for the queen Tarriyelli and for the city of Ugarit. Since the offspring of the deceased were closely connected to the cult of the dead⁶⁵ and the one who presented the offerings was seen as the legitimate successor to the throne,⁶⁶ it can be assumed that those who would have been protected by the *rāpi'ūma* and the deceased kings in KTU 1.161 also presented the offerings to the dead. It is at least probable that the succeeding king and the queen were the hosts of this ceremony, although the person who actually presented the offerings could very well have been a priest who exercised his office.

A passage of the epic of Aqhatu (KTU 1.17 I) demonstrates, in agreement with the previously presented passage from the epic of Kirta, that the son was responsible for presenting the food offerings to his deceased father.

The so-called catalogue of obligations of the son in this epic lists the erection of a stele for the deceased in the sanctuary and the sacrifice of offerings (see below). These obligations have to be fulfilled by the son Aqhatu, with whom Dan'ilu, the father, is blessed

This evidence for the erection of a stele for the ancestors in a sanctuary, in combination with the consumption of food by the descendant in the temple, presents two different aspects of the rituals accompanying the food offerings: a stele to evoke the ancestors and to sacrifice an offering to them on the one hand, and the consumption of a food offering by the living on the other hand.

But even though the son seems to be responsible for the offerings to his deceased father, and as is evidenced in KTU 1.161, at certain occasions to his ancestors in general as well, there were also other members of the society who could offer sacrificial offerings to the deceased members of the royal family.

The two stele inscriptions KTU 6.13 and KTU 6.14 present a picture similar to that described in the passage from the epic of Aqhatu. They are short inscriptions on stone steles that testify the performance of the Amorite *pgrū*-offering known from the 18th century texts from Mari.⁶⁸ The inscriptions mention that in addition to the *pgr*-offering, which was offered to Dagan, an ox was meant to be consumed.⁶⁹ Those who present the offerings to Dagan are named on the steles: Tarriyelli and 'Uzzīnu. The queen Tarriyelli is also mentioned in the royal funerary ritual KTU 1.161 and is known as a queen of Ugarit, the wife of the king Ibiranu and mother of king Niqmaddu IV. 'Uzzīnu was a high official (around 1200 BC) and was to some extent connected to the royal court.⁷⁰ If one assumes, as has been stated above, that Dagan represented the dead and received food offerings substitutionally for them, one might assume that the donators intended the offerings for their deceased family members, which could have been specified during the ceremony. In this case, Dagan would have been the mediator between the living descendants and their deceased ones. Since a relation of queen Tarriyelli to the royal family can not be denied, the recipients for whom the offerings were intended might have been just as well members of the royal family. Considering that 'Uzzīnu was to some extent connected to the royal court, but was not a member of the family, it could be considered that a specification concerning the addressees of his offerings, if such occurred, were either the royal household to achieve well being for the city of Ugarit or his own family.⁷¹

KTU 1.17 I⁶⁷

- (25) *wykn . bnh . bbt .*
 (25-26) *šrš . bqrh* ⁽²⁶⁾*hklh .*
 (26) *nšb . skn . ilibh .*
 (26-27) *bqdš* ⁽²⁷⁾*ztr . 'mh .*
 (27) *larš . mššu . qtrh*
 (28) *l'pr . dmr . atrh . (...)*
 (31) *(...) spu . ksmh . bt . b'l*
 (32) *[w]mnth . bt . il (...)*

And there shall be a son (for) him in his house
 an offspring in the midst of ⁽²⁶⁾his palace;
 who sets up a stele for his divine father,
 in the sanctuary ⁽²⁷⁾the cult stele of his ancestors;
 who lets descend his spirit from the netherworld;
 out of the dust the protector of his offspring; (...)
 (...) who eats his portion in the house of Ba'al
 [and] his portion in the house of El (...)

65 See the passage of the epic of Kirta KTU 1.15 III above.

66 See the passage of the epic of Aqhatu KTU 1.17 I on this page.

67 The transliteration follows Parker 1997: 53. Similar passages can be found in KTU 1.17 II, 0-5. 14-21 (ibid.: 55-56).

68 See the paragraphs on "The recipients" above and on "The *pgr*-sacrifice" below; Dietrich – Loretz 2005: 227-228.

69 See the paragraph on "The *pgr*-sacrifice" below.

70 Niehr 2009: 342 and in the present volume; Pardee 2002: 124-125 n. 1, 3.

71 Cf. del Olmo Lete 1999: 164; for a new and different interpretation of these two steles see Niehr in the present volume.

Both steles were found in the debris of the El-temple,⁷² one of them still well enough preserved to show that it was previously attached to a socket.⁷³

KTU 6.13⁷⁴

- | | | |
|-----|----------------------------|--|
| (1) | <i>skn . dš'lyt</i> | Stele, which presented |
| (2) | <i>ʿt'ryl . ldgn . pgr</i> | ʿTa'rriyelli to Dagan: a <i>pgr</i> |
| (3) | <i>ʿw'alplakl</i> | ʿand ¹ an ox for consumption. |

KTU 6.14

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------------|---|
| (1) | <i>pgr . dš'ly</i> | <i>pgr</i> , which presented |
| (2) | <i>ʿʿzn . ldgn . b'lh</i> | ʿʿUzzīnu to Dagan, his lord, |
| (3) | <i>[wa]ʿlʿp . bmhrtt</i> | [and an o]ʿx ¹ from the plough-land. |

In the last line of text KTU 6.13, an “ox for consumption” is named. Dietrich and Loretz argue that by comparing the two inscriptions and seeing them as parallels, the expression “for consumption” should be complemented in the last line of KTU 6.14 as well.⁷⁵ Niehr and Pardee understand the ox that was meant “for consumption” as a sacrifice destined for the feast which accompanied the *pgr*-rite.⁷⁶ Since the *pgr*-offering was intended for the deceased and the “ox for consumption” was probably meant to be consumed by the descendants at the feast within the ceremony, these two texts provide two different aspects of the rituals belonging to the food offerings for the dead. The first is the offering to Dagan, being the representative for the deceased relatives, which, presumably was ideologically consumed in the netherworld. The second offering, the ox, was eaten by the living members of the family, but, most likely – considering the purpose of the steles – in commemoration of the dead. This leads to the conclusion that those who presented the sacrificial offerings could also partake in the ceremony and did ideologically consume the offerings together with the deceased.

The aforementioned *rāpi'ūma*-texts (KTU 1.20–1.22)⁷⁷ might be another informative source concern-

ing those who presented the offerings to the dead. Here it seems that besides the royal family and the court personnel, priests could perform some kind of offerings to the dead as well.

Even though it is hardly possible to fathom out the bigger picture of the connection of the individual texts KTU 1.20–1.22, a few individual scenes can be identified: The *rāpi'ūma* are invited to a *marziḥu* and, in at least one text, the god El pronounces the invitation (KTU 1.21 II side 2, 8–11).⁷⁸ In the other passages in which the invitation is pronounced, the part of the line in which the speaker would probably have been named is damaged. In text KTU 1.20, however, the king Dan'īlu is named, who welcomes the *rāpi'ūma* after they arrive at the threshing-floors (KTU 20 II side 2, 7–11). Finally, it is described in two cases how the *rāpi'ūma* travel with chariots and horses to the

stance Lewis 1997 and Pitard 1992: 33–77. The text KTU 1.20 was apparently not written by the same scribe as KTU 1.21 and KTU 1.22. It is assumed that the latter texts were written by the scribe Ilimilku, who also composed the narrative texts from Ugarit, e.g. the epic of Aqhatu (Pitard 1992: 41). This fact also serves as an argument to understand the text KTU 1.20 as a fragment of a different tablet than KTU 1.21 and KTU 1.22, while the texts KTU 1.21 and KTU 1.22 could very well be parts of the same tablet (Pitard 1999: 160). Another possibility is that the two texts KTU 1.21 and KTU 1.22 form fragments of two duplicates of the same narrative (ibid.: 163).

Because Dan'īlu, the father of Aqhatu, is mentioned in the text KTU 1.20, it has often been discussed that this tablet might be the fourth tablet of the epic of Aqhatu (Loretz 1993: 300–301; Margalit 1989: 464–465; Spronk 1986: 160–161; de Moor 1976: 332). On the contrary, Pitard states, “Others have pointed out that Danel may have been the subject of more than one narrative at Ugarit, and that his presence here does not require that the fragments be related to the other known narrative in which he plays a role.” (Pitard 1999: 263; with this opinion he follows Dijkstra 1988: 36 and Lewis 1996: 119). The interpretation by Pitard is considered here as the more plausible one, since the evidence for a direct link between the epic of Aqhatu and the *rāpi'ūma*-texts does not seem sufficient (see also Parker 1997: 78 n. 1). Quite the contrary, if the epic of Aqhatu was connected to KTU 1.20, one would expect that they were both written by the same scribe, namely Ilimilku. But this text, the only one of the *rāpi'ūma*-texts in which Dan'īlu is mentioned, is also the only text of this category that was not written by Ilimilku.

78 The passage in which El is mentioned has again been the subject of some discussions in the field of the Ugaritic science. Some scholars contend that the writing of El as the one who pronounces the invitation has to be a mistake and that *il* (KTU 1.21 II, 8) has to be completed to *dnīl* and thus the king Dan'īlu would have been the host of this *marziḥu* (Dietrich – Loretz 1995: 1311, also n. 21; Spronk 1986: 169–172; de Moor 1987: 266–267). This interpretation is refused in this paper since the broken part of the tablet would not provide the space required to complete all of the epithets that would be expected with the mention of Dan'īlu (cf. KTU 1.20 II side 2, 7–8) (see also McLaughlin 1991: 275–276). Thus it is assumed that the spelling in this line is correct and El is the one who pronounces the invitation to the *marziḥu*.

72 On the basis of the find of these two steles, this temple has often been associated with the god Dagan, even though these steles were found in the debris of the temple and not within the temple itself. Since this was the only reason for an association with Dagan and on the basis of the fact that Dagan does not play an important role in the mythical texts from Ugarit, I follow Niehr, who assumes that the temple was dedicated to El (Niehr 2004a: 64).

73 Healey 1986: 30; Yon 1991: 301–303.

74 The transliterations for KTU 6.13 and 6.14 follow Pardee 2002: 124.

75 Dietrich – Loretz 2005: 228–233.

76 Niehr 2007: 240; Pardee 2002: 125.

77 For a transliteration and translation of the texts, see for in-

house of the *marziḥu* and arrive at the threshing-floors of the town. For the feast itself, they seem to slaughter animals and wine is served. The feast apparently lasts seven days and in KTU 1.22 II side 2, 26, Ba'al appears on the seventh day. Unfortunately, though, the text is damaged after this passage and thus his function in this narrative is not known.

In the texts KTU 1.20 and KTU 1.22, the scene of the arrival of the *rāpi'ūma* is described. It has to be asked whether these texts present two different versions of the same scene or if two different feasts are described. Pitard argues that the latter option is by all means possible, "since KTU 1.20 = RS 3.348 depicts the banquet as being hosted by a human, Danel, a character also known from the Aqhat epic, while the banquet of KTU 1.22 = RS 2.[024] may be hosted by Ilu."⁷⁹ He states further, "Since the former text almost certainly comes from a different tablet, it may actually be part of a completely different narrative that just happened to have a similar convocation of the *rpum* as a story element."⁸⁰ However, it is not just the element of the *rāpi'ūma* that is represented in both texts, but the scene of their arrival is the same to a large extent. Thus, it seems improbable that these texts deal with completely different narratives. Rather, I prefer to interpret both texts as variations of the same scene, in this case the same feast, though hosted by different characters: Dan'ilu and El. In both texts, the *rāpi'ūma* are invited to the house of the host. If one assumes that the texts KTU 1.20–1.22 deal with a narrative that describes a real existing ritual, it can be concluded that this ritual was performed within the scope of the cult of the temple and of the palace.

Thus, in general it can be stated that food offerings for the dead were presented, according to the mentioned texts, from high-ranking members of the royal household or assumingly from the priests of the temple. This statement has to be restricted in the sense that the texts only inform about the person in whose name the ritual was performed. It is not clear if, in case of the named king, this person really participated in the funerary banquet or if the person could also have been represented by a priest, for example.

The type of offerings

In the different texts and inscriptions, several offerings are named, that are intended for the spirits of the deceased. In addition to the different animals (cattle, small domestic animals, ox, fatlings, rams, calves, lambs and kids)⁸¹ that were slaughtered for the

marziḥu,⁸² there were dates and olives served⁸³ and wine was poured⁸⁴ for the *rāpi'ūma*.

In the funerary ritual KTU 1.161, are the *ṯ*-sacrifice (KTU 1.161, 27-30) and a bird-offering mentioned. Finally, there is the *pgr*-sacrifice mentioned in the stele inscriptions KTU 6.13 and KTU 6.14, and in addition, an ox for consumption (presumably consumed by the living dependents).

The *ṯ*-sacrifice

With regards to the *ṯ*-sacrifice that is mentioned in the funerary ritual (KTU 1.161, 27-30), the question occurs if the bird offering (KTU 1.161, 30) in this text refers to all *ṯ*-sacrifices and thus defines them or if the *ṯ*-sacrifice was generally known and did not need a more precise definition. In two additional texts from Ugarit, the *ṯ*-sacrifice is mentioned and more closely defined (KTU 1.39 and KTU 1.40).⁸⁵ In KTU 1.39, 1 two ewes and one pigeon are offered as *ṯ*-sacrifice.⁸⁶ The text KTU 1.40, 32-33. 41 reports that some slaughtering took place in relation to the *ṯ*-sacrifice.⁸⁷ Looking at the text KTU 1.161 against this background, it can be assumed that the *ṯ*-sacrifice here was also a food offering. Since the *ṯ*-sacrifice could consist of different offerings, as can be seen from text KTU 1.39, it seems necessary that the offering had to be specified, and in the case of KTU 1.161, it was probably defined by the mentioning of the bird offering in line 30.

The *pgr*-sacrifice

The inscriptions KTU 6.13 and KTU 6.14 describe the performance of the Amorite *pagrū*-offering, which is known from the 18th century-texts from Mari. According to Pardee, this ritual, attested as the *pagrā'um* in Mari, seems to have been a ritual for the deceased members of the royal family in which all the living members of the family had to participate. There is no

⁷⁹ Pitard 1999: 262.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ KTU 1.22 I side 2, 12-14: ⁽¹²⁾[...] *alpm . apšin . [...]* *trm* ⁽¹³⁾*wnri ilm . 'glm . dt . šnt* ⁽¹⁴⁾*imr . qmš . llim* (transliteration by Lewis 1997: 203-204).

⁸² In regards to the question to what extent the *marziḥu* can be seen as a funerary or commemorative banquet, McLaughlin writes, "[...] out of a total of eight texts from Ugarit which mention the *marzeah* only two can be appealed to for evidence of a connection with the cult of the dead. Of these, KTU 1.114 provides no clear textual support for taking the *marzeah* as a ritual mourning meal and KTU 1.21 does so only by inference from the funerary connections of the Rephaim" (McLaughlin 1991: 281). Following this argument, it can be stated that the *marziḥu* was not just a mere feast held in relation to the dead, but generally a ceremony with cultic character. However, the *marziḥu* could have become a commemorative banquet had the spirits of the deceased, the *rāpi'ūma*, been invited to the feast.

⁸³ KTU 1.22 II side 2, 14-15 (Lewis 1997: 204).

⁸⁴ KTU 1.22 II side 2, 18-20 (ibid.).

⁸⁵ For a transliteration and translation, see for instance Pardee 2002.

⁸⁶ Cf. ibid.: 67-69.

⁸⁷ Cf. ibid.: 77-83.

reason to doubt a continuity of this ritual and therefore these two steles from Ugarit provide us with explicit information about the mortuary cult in Ugarit.⁸⁸ Following Pardee, the etymological meaning of *pgr* has “to do with a corpse, a cadaver (*pagru*)”.⁸⁹ Del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín translate “‘body, corpse’ as a ‘funerary offering’”.⁹⁰ According to Dietrich and Loretz, the *pgr*-sacrifice can be generally understood as a sacrifice for the dead and, in Ugarit, even more precisely as a slaughter offering. This interpretation is derived from a comparison to the *nīq pa-ag-ra-i* “*pgr*-sacrifice”, which also occurs in the Mari texts.⁹¹ A connection of the deity Šapšu to the *pgr* in other texts from Ugarit underlines the connection to the cult of the dead as well. Šapšu appears in various texts (KTU 1.39, 12⁹² and KTU 1.102, 12⁹³) as *špš pgr*.

Dietrich and Loretz produce very interesting results by comparing the two inscriptions KTU 6.13 and KTU 6.14: both texts confirm the performance of the *pgr*-offering and the additional consumption of an ox.⁹⁴ The *pgr*-offering in these texts is not more precisely defined, probably because the species of the offered animal was set by tradition. It appears that the dedication of the steles and the offering of the ox for consumption were not necessary for the *pgr*-offering, but were additional contributions from those who performed the offering. The question arises whether or not the different expressions for the ox describe a factual difference. Dietrich and Loretz reason convincingly that the additional *bmhrṭt* in the last line of KTU 6.14 is not to be translated as “with the plough” but as “from the plough-land”.⁹⁵ Contrary to the common translation, this would describe the ox not as a working animal but as a well-fed ox. It is assumed that this addition in KTU 6.14 simply implies the high quality of the sacrificed animal, which can be assumed for both texts. Accordingly, it can be supposed that the addition from the last line of text KTU 6.13 “for consumption” applies to both texts as well.⁹⁶ One can safely assume that the ox was consumed by those accompanying the ritual, probably including Tarriyelli and ‘Uzzinu respectively.

The purpose of the offerings

In the last lines of KTU 1.161, the purpose of the offerings named in the preceding lines (27-30) is outlined. The text asks for wellbeing for the king Ammurapi and his house, for the queen Tarriyelli and her house, as

well as for the city of Ugarit and the city gates (KTU 1.161, 31-34). Thus, in addition to evoking the spirits to accept the recently deceased king Niqmaddu IV into the netherworld, the funerary ceremony described in KTU 1.161 also had the purpose of invoking the spirits to serve the well-being of the living dependents. The bird that is offered in line 30 has, according to the present interpretation, the function to specify the *ṯ*-sacrifice and is connected in line 31 to the desired wellbeing for the king’s household. Thus, the seven *ṯ*-sacrifices (KTU 1.161, 27-30) have to be seen in connection with the wish for wellbeing as well.

The cited passage from the epic of Kirta (KTU 1.15 III)⁹⁷ could confirm that the purpose of the offerings was that the deceased person should find his place in the netherworld. Here, the living dependents are mentioned in connection with the exaltation of the king Kirta in the netherworld in the midst of the *rāpi’ūma*. Although an accompanying ritual is not mentioned, it can be assumed that a ritual similar to the one described in text KTU 1.161 had to be practiced in order to achieve this goal.

The food offerings at the funerary ceremony can be summarized as having served two purposes: First, it was supposed to help the deceased kings assume their place in the netherworld and secondly, the ancestors’ spirits were called upon to care for the wellbeing of the king’s household.

The occasions and the regularity of the offerings

The only reference in the funerary ritual KTU 1.161 concerning the time frame in which the ritual took place is the passage in lines 27-30 (assuming that the translation offered here is correct).⁹⁸ According to this translation, the offerings within the ritual were performed on seven sequential days. However, as has been

88 Ibid.: 123-124.

89 Ibid.: 123.

90 Del Olmo Lete – Sanmartín 2004: 665 s.v. *pgr*.

91 ARM 2 n. 90, 22; Dietrich – Loretz 2005: 236.

92 Cf. Pardee 2002: 67-68.

93 Cf. ibid.: 21.

94 Dietrich – Loretz 2005.

95 Ibid.: 228-230.

96 Ibid.: 228-233.

97 See the paragraph on “The *rāpi’ūma*” above.

98 Pardee translates this passage with “Once and perform the *ṯ*-sacrifice; Twice and perform the *ṯ*-sacrifice” etc. (Pardee 2002: 88) and understands this as a sevenfold descent of the king into the netherworld (ibid.: 86). Another possible interpretation could be that the mentioning of the seven *ṯ*-sacrifices refers to the previously named deceased ones: Didānu, *ulkn*, *trmn*, *sdn-w-rdn*, *tr-llmn*, Amittamru and Niqmaddu. With this understanding, however, the passages in which the *rāpi’ūma* are named as a collective are understood as a title for the individually named *rāpi’ūma*; Didānu would be separated from those. As became clear in the discussion of the *rāpi’ūma*, the parallelism “*rāpi’ūma* of the netherworld” / “assemblage of Didānu” is understood here as the title for the collective of all *rāpi’ūma*. On the contrary, the term “ancient *rāpi’ūma*” is taken as the summarizing title of the individually named *rāpi’ūma*. Thus, an interpretation of the mention of the *ṯ*-sacrifice for the named deceased ones neglects the summoned group of the *rāpi’ūma*. It is for this reason that I follow the interpretation that the *ṯ*-sacrifices were offered on seven consecutive days (Caquot 1985: 354-355; Caquot – de Tarragon – Cunchillos 1989: 109-110; Dietrich – Loretz 1983: 22; Loretz 1993: 300 and Niehr 2008: 252).

mentioned before, the text does not give any information about the exact point in time after the king's death when the ritual food offerings began. Nonetheless, this text provides information about two important aspects: Food offerings for the dead were performed after the death of a king and the offerings were probably repeated for seven days.

Another occasion when food offerings for the dead seem to have been performed is the New Year's festival. The text KTU 1.20, 5 mentions the term *bym qz* for a time specification when the *marziḫu* should take place to which the *rāpi'ūma* are invited. In his dictionary, Tropper offers the following translation for the term *qz*: "Sommer; Sommerernte, -frucht".⁹⁹ He translates the passage from KTU 1.20 as "am Tag der Sommerernte".¹⁰⁰ Lewis also translates this passage in the context of a particular day: "on the festive summer day",¹⁰¹ whereas del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín offer the translations 1) "summer"; 2) "summer fruit" for *qz* and translate the passage of question as "in the days of summer".¹⁰² In the current work this expression is understood as a term for a certain day; the assumption is made that this term should provide a concrete date for the evocation of the *rāpi'ūma*. This assumption is supported by the information that the *rāpi'ūma* arrive at the "threshing-floors" and in the "midst of the plantation" (KTU 1.20 I side 1, 6-9, KTU 1.22 II side 1, 25-26), two places that are of relevance in connection with the New Years festival. Tropper states: "An diesem Fest, an dem Ba'al's Auferstehung zum Leben und die Rückkehr der Fruchtbarkeit gefeiert wurde, scheinen die (königlichen) Ahnen zusammen mit dem Gott Ba'al belebt worden zu sein."¹⁰³ Text KTU 1.108 describes the same occasion for the food offerings to the dead.¹⁰⁴ This has been concluded from the concurrent mentioning of Ba'al and the *rāpi'ūma*.¹⁰⁵ The stele inscriptions KTU 6.13 and KTU 6.14 may indicate another period of time for the offering, even though no specific reference to the time for the *pgr*-sacrifice is made. Niehr argues in this volume that the two steles served "as a legacy of a rite to be accomplished after the death",¹⁰⁶ that is after the death of the donors Tarriyelli and 'Uzzīnu who are the only ones named in the inscriptions besides the god Dagan. Thus, in his interpretation, the *pgr* and the ox which was meant for consumption that were presented by Tarriyelli and 'Uzzīnu were not actually offered in the moment of the

erection of the steles but the offering was arranged and paid for in advance to be realized after their deaths.¹⁰⁷ Contradicting this interpretation, I would like to point out that at least the text KTU 6.14 explicitly says that the *pgr* was presented by 'Uzzīnu to Dagan. There is no indication that it was presented to 'Uzzīnu himself as well. In my opinion, in light of this evidence, it would be preferable to align with del Olmo Lete's interpretation which states that "ultimate recipients were the dead of the respective donor."¹⁰⁸ Even though Niehr argues that KTU 6.13 and KTU 6.14, like in the text KTU 1.161, would have to name the recipients by name in order for them to receive the offerings, and thus he denies a connection to the donors' families,¹⁰⁹ there is also one of his arguments that could point in the other direction. In reference to KTU 1.161 he points out that the spirits of the deceased kings are "explicitly listed, at least in a *pars pro toto* form",¹¹⁰ i.e. as the *rāpi'ūma*. Thus, what would contradict the interpretation that in text KTU 6.13 and KTU 6.14 Dagan is taking the same position as the *rāpi'ūma* and represents the dead in the netherworld, or at least a part of them? Even though the *rāpi'ūma* are the group to which the dead kings belong and thus the kings themselves are summoned, Dagan, as a god closely connected to the netherworld, could also be seen as a representative of the spirits in the netherworld.

Additionally neither of the two inscriptions includes any expression that would give reason to suppose that the offering of the *pgr* and the ox were timewise separated from the erection of the steles. In my opinion it seems more likely that the erection of the steles, the offering of the *pgr* and the consumption of the ox took place within the same ritual. Though, I do agree with some points Niehr makes in his contribution to this volume. First of all, as Bonatz, Niehr and others already showed, with the erection of a stele the donors at the same time set up a memorial for themselves in the attempt to not be forgotten.¹¹¹ The fact that the steles stood in vicinity to the El-Tempel could, according for instance to de Moor and Niehr, have served the purpose that they were also thought of when a dedication to the gods was made.¹¹² Thus, I agree to certain details Niehr points out in his article, but I do not concur with his general interpretation that the *pgr* and the ox for con-

99 Tropper 2008: 103 s.v. *qz*.

100 Tropper 1989: 139.

101 Lewis 1997: 197.

102 Del Olmo Lete – Sanmartín 2004: 722 s.v. *qz*.

103 Tropper 1989: 139; with reference to de Moor 1972: 12-13 and Spronk 1986: 195.

104 For a transliteration and a translation, see Pardee 2002: 193-194.

105 For this interpretation, see for instance Spronk 1986: 180; de Moor 1987: 187 and Tropper 1989: 142.

106 Niehr in the present volume.

107 For his comprehensive argumentation see Niehr's article in the present volume.

108 Del Olmo Lete 1999: 164.

109 Niehr in the present volume.

110 Ibid.

111 Bonatz 2000: 134; Niehr in the present volume.

112 De Moor 1995: 3; Niehr in the present volume. Though, as Niehr has shown in his article, it has to be kept in mind that the temple area was, at the time of the erection of the steles, already affected by an earthquake. Nevertheless, the cult seems to have continued in the area of the temple.

sumption were meant for a ceremony after the dedicator's death.

In conclusion a stele together with a *pgr* was dedicated to the god Dagan. Though, the god was not only worshipped with regard to himself, but also, as is shown by the mentioning of the *pgr*, as a representative of the dead in the netherworld. The place where the steles were probably set up, that is in the temple area, and the inclusion of a gods name in the inscription served the purpose to motivate further offerings by visitors to the temple. With every offering that was presented in front of the steles the names of Tarriyelli and 'Uzzīnu were repeatedly thought of as well. Thus their generous dedication to Dagan was constantly remembered, during their lifetime and after their deaths. Given that Dagan was a god closely related to the netherworld, one might safely assume that such a stele was thought to also positively affect the dedicator's life in the netherworld.

In light of the preceding analysis, it is highly probable that food offerings were performed in terms of a funerary ritual immediately following the death of a member of the (royal) family and as a ritual as special part of the New Year's festival. Additionally the texts KTU 6.13 and KTU 6.14 might show that one could also dedicate a stele and an offering during one's lifetime and achieve a positive effect in the afterlife.

The locations for the food and libation offerings to the royal dead

After looking into the occasions and the regularity of the offerings, the question comes to mind as to where the offerings actually took place. The texts which contain the most explicit statements concerning this question are the already mentioned so-called *rāpi'ūma*-texts. In these texts the *rāpi'ūma* are summoned to take part in a *marziḥu*.¹¹³

In the *rāpi'ūma*-text KTU 1.21, *mrz'y*, "the one of the *marziḥu*", invites the *rāpi'ūma* to his house. "The one of the *marziḥu*" is, in this text, El. For the term *mrzh*, Tropper offers the definition "eine Kultfeier bzw. ein Club".¹¹⁴ Lewis translates this term without any comment as "banquet"¹¹⁵ and Dietrich and Loretz comment that the "*mrz'* 'Marzichu' bezeichnet sowohl die Örtlichkeit des Marzichu-Gelages, als auch dieses selbst."¹¹⁶

Upon comparing the text KTU 1.20 with KTU 1.21 and KTU 1.22 and noting the appearance of different speakers (El and Dan'ilu),¹¹⁷ one could conclude that the *marziḥu* was performed in different places. The

same ritual is described that could conjecturally have been taken place in the royal palace (KTU 1.20), initiated by Dan'ilu, or in the temple (KTU 1.21 and KTU 1.22), initiated by El. However, the *rāpi'ūma* arrive at first at the threshing-floors (KTU 1.20 and KTU 1.22), which according to the epic of Aqhatu were located close to the city gates of Ugarit and could thus have served the purpose of a general place for the arriving guests to be greeted. Where the banquet itself took place is not specified in the texts.

That the banquet took place at both proposed locations (the palace and the temple) can be supported with other texts from Ugarit and the archaeological finds. The ritual text KTU 1.161 does not mention the place where the evocation of the deceased ancestors and the food offerings took place. However, since this text concerns a royal funerary ritual, it can be assumed that at least part of the ceremony took place within the royal palace, probably close to the royal tombs (figure 1). For example Levine and de Tarragon assume that the direct reference to the deceased king's throne, foot stool and table (KTU 1.161, 13-15) are an indication that the liturgy was recited within the royal palace.

They do not, however, answer the question of whether the part of the ceremony during which the sacrifices were offered was also performed within the palace, or if it took place in the temple instead.¹¹⁸

Since the royal tombs in the palace have been looted, no direct evidence for the sacrifice of food offerings could be found. The only evidence for any kind of offering are depressions on the doorstep (figure 2) that connects rooms 27 and 28, which belong to the funerary zone in the palace (figure 1). These depressions could likely have served as libation holes into which a liquid was poured, as was already suggested by Niehr.¹¹⁹ It is also conceivable that small vessels were placed in the depressions to receive the libations.

118 Levine – de Tarragon 1984: 650.

119 Niehr 2004b: 80-81. A similar stone with depressions was also found by the French excavator Robert du Mesnil du Buisson in room F in the royal palace of Qatna. He interpreted the function of this stone with depressions as a place where offerings, like bread and grain, were placed down (du Mesnil du Buisson 1935: 103-104). After further excavations Pfälzner objected to this interpretation and showed that the stone with depressions was connected to the function of the room as a bath room. Other installations within the room and the close vicinity of room F to the well of the palace which provided easy access to water supply support Pfälzner's latest interpretation (Novák – Pfälzner 2001: 174-176; 2002: 85-86; Pfälzner 2007: 45-46). Though, despite the similarity of the two stone slabs from Qatna and Ugarit, their different contexts allow a different interpretation. The threshold in the royal palace of Ugarit forms the entrance to the room underneath which the royal tombs are located, whereas the stoneslab in the royal palace in Qatna lay in a room that is closely connected to the palace water supply.

113 Cf. n. 82.

114 Tropper 2008: 78 s.v. *mrzh*.

115 Lewis 1997: 199-200.

116 Dietrich – Loretz 1995: 1310 n. 20.

117 See the paragraph on "Who presented the food and libation offerings to the dead?" above.



Figure 1: The palace of Ugarit; the royal tombs are located underneath room 28 (Yon 2006: 37. fig. 20).



Figure 2: Libation holes on the doorstep between rooms 27 and 28, looking eastwards into room 28 and at the royal tombs (Foto by S. Lange 2009).

Similar depressions were found inside grave no. 112 at the acropolis of Ugarit.¹²⁰ The drawing of this installation (figure 3) shows that three holes were curved into the surface of a floor slab, two of them connected to a

drain that was connected to a pipe which led into a pit in the centre of the tomb.¹²¹

Based on this comparable example from a similar context, which can be most certainly interpreted as a libation installation, it can be soundly assumed that the depressions in the threshold to the room above the royal tombs of Ugarit served as libation holes. The libation holes are an indication for the sacred place behind the doorstep. According to Niehr, the room 28 and the royal tombs which lie beneath it can be interpreted as *ḥšt* “sanctuary for the dead”.¹²² In his interpretation, this area could also have been the location in which the statues of deceased kings and of deities of the netherworld were erected. Such statues would have been worshiped in this room as well.¹²³ Nevertheless, this interpretation is based only on the assumed function of the so-called libation holes on the doorstep. In this context one text should be mentioned that suggests the existence of libation offerings for the kings. The text KTU I.119¹²⁴ is written on a tablet whose front is inscribed with a series of rituals that concern first of all

¹²⁰ A detailed description of the grave can be found in Marchegay 1999: 257-262 (grave no. 112). The numbering of the graves follows Marchegay 1999; for a concordance of the old and the new tomb's numbers see also *ibid.*: 178-195.

¹²¹ Schaeffer 1933: 115-116; Margueron 1983: 18; Marchegay 1999: 126.

¹²² Niehr 2004b: 81.

¹²³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ For a transliteration and a translation, see Pardee 2002: 50-53.

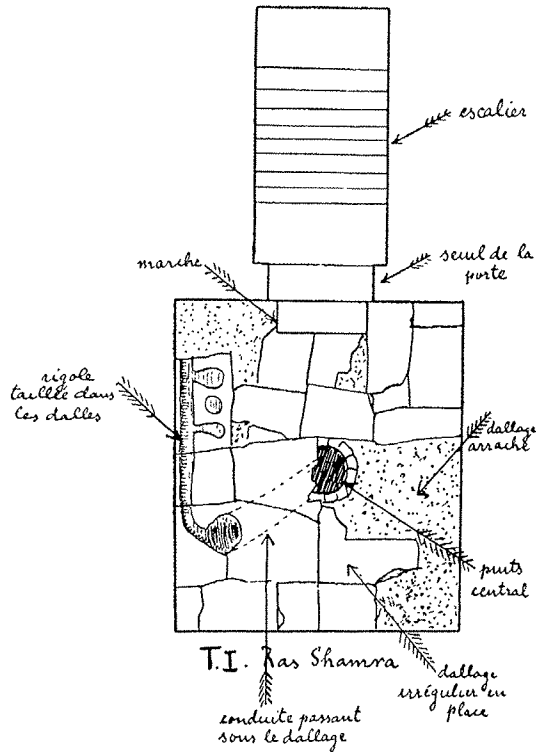


Figure 3: Libation installation inside grave no. 112 in Ugarit (Schaeffer 1932: 115, fig. 12).

offerings to the gods, in particular to Ba'al. It is twice mentioned that these offerings took place in the month of 'Iba'latu (December to January) and within the text it is specified several times on which days the offerings were to be presented. In line 25 of the text, an offering for the *malākuma* is named:

KTU 1.119¹²⁵

(25) (...) *mtk . mlk'm . J* (...) A libation for the kings

Pardee comments on this line: "*mtk mlkm*, 'libation of the *Malakūma* (kings),' is offered either by living kings (and the plural would be generic, since Ugarit apparently had one living king at a time) or for the benefit of dead kings, i.e. the kings named in (...) (RS 24.257¹²⁶/RS 94.2518) and/or those named in (...) (RS 34.126)¹²⁷ – if the reference is to dead kings, *mlkm* here corresponds to the entry *mlkm* in the deity lists (...) (RS 1.017¹²⁸: 33), (...) (RS 92.2004: 42)."¹²⁹

Assembling the libation holes described above and the mentioned text, Pardee's latter interpretation seems

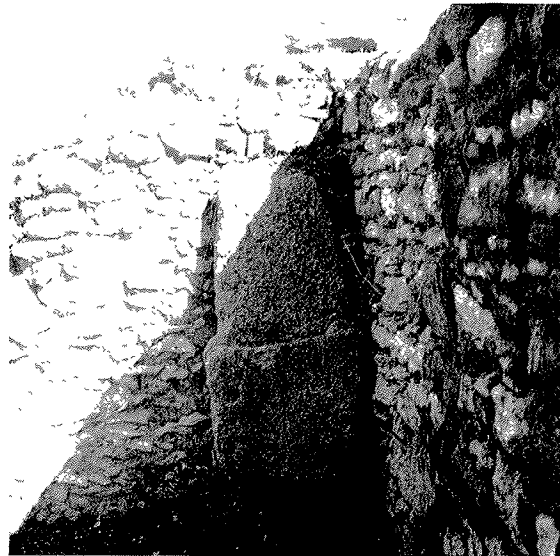


Figure 4: Basalt throne with backrest (RS 90.1) (Schaeffer 1972: 33, fig. 7).

more probable, as does the assumption that these libation offerings were poured into the libation holes (or bowls that were placed on top) within the palace.

The only object that originates from the area around the palace and that could be viewed as being connected to the worship of the royal ancestors is a monumental throne with backrest made of basalt (RS 90.1, figure 4). This throne was found in a building north of the palace street. Bonatz states that it is at least hypothetically justifiable to see this throne as the throne that was worshiped during the ceremony for the dead. He refers to KTU 1.161, 13 "Throne of Niqmaddu be bewept"¹³⁰ and states, "Die Nähe zum Nord-Palast und seinen Residenten aus der Dynastie Niqmadus [...] lassen es immerhin als möglich erscheinen, daß hier die Totenfeier des Königshauses mit den dazugehörigen Statuen der Ahnen und deren Sitzmobiliar stattgefunden haben."¹³¹ It can be agreed that this assumption is hypothetically justifiable, but further evidence to support it does not exist.

In addition to the palace being a place for worshipping the ancestors, the epic of Aqhatu, within its catalogue of obligations of the son, mentions that the son should set up a stele for his ancestors in the sanctuary.¹³² In the following lines, the text reads, "who eats his portion in the house of Ba'al, and his portion in the house of El."¹³³ Thus, it seems clear that the temple also served as a location for a commemorative meal.

125 The transliteration follows *ibid.*: 52.

126 KTU 1.113.

127 KTU 1.161.

128 KTU 1.47.

129 *Ibid.*: 104 n. 52.

130 See the paragraph on "KTU 1.161" above.

131 Bonatz 2000: 199 n. 232; with reference to Schaeffer 1972: 29.

132 KTU 1.17 I, 26-27. Cf. the paragraph on "Who presented the food and libation offerings to the dead?" above.

133 KTU 1.17 I, 31-32.

The erection of a stele and the sacrifice of offerings in the temple area are supported by means of some archaeological finds. The two steles (RS 6.021 and RS 6.028) with the inscription KTU 6.13 and 6.14 were found close to the El-Temple (see above) and other steles which might be connected to offering rituals were also found in the temple areas. However, it is not certain if the find spots of those steles were the original places of their erection.

A stele from the area of the Ba'al-temple that can be seen in the context of ancestor worship is the so-called stele of Ba'al with thunderbolt (RS 4.427, figure 5).¹³⁴ On the right of the dominating figure identified as the god Ba'al is a smaller figure. Bonatz associates this figure with the deceased king. His interpretation is based on two ideas: the figure stands on a platform in a way that the figure, like the god, gives the impression of being a statue; the figure is looking in the same direction as Ba'al to communicate with the observer and thus the king is also subject of the worship. Bonatz states "nach dem Bild des Gottes (könnte) das Bild seines Schutzbefohlenen, im Sinne eines königlichen Ahnenbildnisses verehrt worden sein."¹³⁵ A veneration of a deceased king could for example be exercised in terms of a commemorative meal. Though, no evidence for any offerings in the vicinity of the stele exists that could prove this kind of veneration. Thus, even though the stele of 'Ba'al with thunderbolt' would fit well to the cited passage of the epic of Aqhatu, any archaeological evidence to support an interpretation in connection with a commemorative meal is missing.

A torso of a royal statue (RS 4.546, figure 6)¹³⁶ was found as well as the stele of the 'Ba'al with thunderbolt' in the debris to the west of the temple of Ba'al. The statue is dressed with a rolled-edge, bordered cloak and can thus be identified as a king. However, because any clear archaeological context is missing, I agree with Bonatz that it would be mere speculation



Figure 5: *Ba'al* with thunderbolt (RS 4.427) (Yon 2006: 134, no. 18).



Figure 6: Torso of a royal statue (RS 4.546) (Yon 1991: 350, fig. 1 a).

134 Cornelius – Niehr 2004: 46; Niehr 2004b: 84. The stele of 'Ba'al with thunderbolt' was found in 1932 in the debris on the western slope of the Ba'al-temple. The limestone stele (height 142 cm, width 50 cm and depth 28 cm) is rounded on the top side and becomes slightly smaller towards the base (Yon 2006: 135). Here, the important elements of the image are two figures that are displayed. The scene is dominated by a god, identified with Ba'al, who is naked except for a loincloth. Two horns are attached to his high tiara and on the back of his head, two locks drop out under his head-dress. The legs of the god are in the step position. With his right hand he raises a club above his head and in his left hand he holds a spear that he rams into the ground. The spear ends in a plantlike shape and frames the scene on the right side. In addition, the figure wears a dagger in his belt.

135 Bonatz 2000: 135; this interpretation is also followed by Niehr 2004b: 84.

136 The torso originates from the southern area of the Ba'al temple and is 119 cm high (Bonatz 2000: 133, 199 n. 231).

to place this statue within the cult for the royal ancestors.¹³⁷

With the picture of a bewept throne and a stele that has to be set up by the son for his deceased father (KTU 1.161 and the epic of Aqhatu, KTU 1.17 I) in mind, one could imagine that the basalt throne as well as the royal statue and the stele of 'Ba'al with thunderbolt' from the vicinity of the temple of Ba'al did belong to the realm of the veneration of ancestors. But these associations would be merely based on the attempt to connect discovered effigies with the texts relevant for the funerary and mortuary cult. The archaeological context does not provide further evidence to confirm these interpretations.

Another statue should be mentioned in this context. A human statue much better preserved than the torso is the limestone statue (RS 88.70, figure 7) that lay near the 'Temple of the Rhytons'. It represents a bearded man who sits on a high-backed armless chair with his feet on a small footstool. He is, like the aforementioned statue, dressed with a rolled-edge, bordered cloak. His tiara-shaped headdress is devoid of any attributes that would identify him as a god. Therefore, Niehr identifies the statue as an Old-Syrian king and compares it with the statues known from Qatna. Unfortunately, both arms are missing. They were probably made of an organic material, like wood or ivory, or metal and it can no longer be determined in which gesture the arms were positioned. Hence, we do not know whether the statue was holding a device with which to receive offerings like the statues from Qatna,¹³⁸ or if the statue was raising his hand in a greeting gesture like the small El-statue from Ugarit.¹³⁹ The find spot of this little statue of the bearded man could be an indication for its function. The 'Temple of the Rhytons'¹⁴⁰ is located south of the 'City Centre' and was constructed and remodeled in the Late Bronze Age II.¹⁴¹ It received this name because of the 17 rhytons that were found in close vicinity to the building, mostly close to the entrance areas. The objects from this building were, like in many other areas of Ugarit, scattered by the looters who probably took everything of great material value.¹⁴² In the central sector, Yon locates the main cult area in an approximately 45 m² sized room. Against the northern and the western walls of the main room low 'benches' could be revealed, though, because of different structures the 'benches' might have served different purposes. Possible interpretations are, according to Yon, that they were used for sitting or for placing down



Figure 7: Small limestone statue (RS 88.70) (Cornelius – Niehr 2004: 45, Abb. 69).

offerings. Especially the 'bench' against the western wall could have served as a place to put down offerings. At least some objects, like a bronze tripod and an ivory pyxis, as well as vases were found on the floor of some compartments that were formed by the structure of the 'bench'. Against the eastern wall a construction of four stone steps was erected, which is interpreted by Yon as offering platform, or maybe even an altar.¹⁴³ The main room is only part of a larger complex, which led Yon to the conclusion that the complex, "which implies a large staff, may have been used for collective cult activities."¹⁴⁴

Hence, considering the discovery of the numerous rhytons next to the entrance of the building and the fact that in the main room installations existed that might have served as benches, Yon comes to the conclusion that this could have been a location for the *marziḥu*.¹⁴⁵ Thus, in consideration of the *rāpi'ūma*-texts KTU 1.20-1.22¹⁴⁶ and the statue that possibly represents a

137 Ibid.; with reference to Schaeffer 1933: pl. XV: 1, 3; Yon 1991: 347, 350 fig. 1: a.

138 Cf. for instance Novák – Pfälzner 2003: 156–159, figs. 17–20.

139 Niehr 2009: 341–342; Yon 2006: 131, 135; 1991: 350, fig. 1: a-b.

140 Cf. Yon 1996: 406.

141 Ibid.: 406–407.

142 Ibid.: 413–414.

143 Ibid.: 408–410.

144 Ibid.: 413.

145 Though, she identifies the lime stone statue, contrary to Niehr, as a representation of El (ibid.: 416).

146 See the paragraph on "The *rāpi'ūma*" and "Who presented

divinized king, the ‘Temple of the Rythons’ could have been a place for ancestor worship in Ugarit.

The only ritual texts that name a specific place for the offerings deal with offerings for the gods (KTU 1.106 and KTU 1.112).¹⁴⁷ These texts name the *ḥammānu* as the place where the animals were sacrificed. Where this *ḥammānu* is located is not specified, but in the text KTU 1.112, 6-8 the descendants of the king ascend seven times to the *ḥammānu* and thus it has to be a higher superstructure. The text KTU 1.106 also refers to an upper location to which the sacrificial animals were brought (KTU 1.106, 14). Niehr associates this location with room 38 in the palace and identifies the higher superstructure with the platform installed between room 38 and the court II of the palace.¹⁴⁸ Among other things he bases his assumption on an analogy to the palace of Qatna. Hall A of the royal palace of Qatna was determined to have been a sanctuary for the ancestors and from there, the corridor which leads to the royal tombs was accessible.¹⁴⁹ According to Niehr, the court II and its platform in room 38 would have provided enough space for a larger audience, whereas room 28, under which the royal tombs are located, would have been too small for such ceremonies.¹⁵⁰ Despite the entirely probable reasoning behind this interpretation, it also seems possible that the *ḥammānu* could have referred to some place on the second floor of the palace, which most likely existed, or on the roof top of the building. However, further limitations than the one that the *ḥammānu*, where the animals were sacrificed, was at some higher superstructure, can not be concluded from the given material.

Conclusion

Funerary and commemorative food offerings were performed in Ugarit on several occasions, in several places and in various versions.

They may have been performed at a funeral, as part of the New Year’s festival and possibly on other festive occasions or in connection with particular needs. However, in the view represented here, there is no evidence in the texts from Ugarit for monthly-performed funerary or commemorative offerings for the royal dead.

The purpose was the placement of the recently deceased ones into the sphere of the spirits of the netherworld, namely the *malākuma* and *rāpi’ūma*, and occasionally the granting of wellbeing for the living dependents. And, according to the epic of Aqhatu, the

offerings for the dead could also have been performed because they were simply the duty of the eldest son. Although the later could also have included the former two aspects.

According to the texts, the offerings for the royal dead were performed by the king or other high ranking members of the royal household and by the priests. In several instances, evidence exists that the offering was presented to a statue or a stele. If the offerings were not presented to the deceased themselves, they could be offered to several gods who represented the dead. Gods who had a close relation to the spirits of the dead in the netherworld are the sun god Šapšu, the god Dagan, the god Rāpi’u, as head of the *rāpi’ūma*, and Ba’al.

In the archaeological context, the libation holes within the palace as well as the libation installations in the graves in the city of Ugarit, give reason to assume the existence of libation offerings that were possibly performed on a more regular basis (text KTU 1.119 suggests this as well). Concerning food offerings to the royal dead, no further archaeological evidence exists.

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the food and libation offerings to the dead?” above.

147 For a transliteration and a translation, see for instance Pardee 2002: 53-56.

148 Niehr 2007: 236-240; 2009: 340.

149 Pfälzner 2007: 49-50.

150 Niehr 2009: 332.

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