

Rāpi'ūma — Rephaim¹

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I. Saviour-king and Saviour-god in Canaan

The German word "Heiland", usually translated "saviour", originally meant "healer". It is a very old designation of Christ² and already in 1911 W. W. Baudissin argued that the concept of the Healer-Saviour had originated in the ancient Near East. More specifically he traced the idea back to the West-Semitic root *rp'* "to heal"³. In my opinion W. W. Baudissin was basically right in this respect. Today new finds enable us to supplement his argumentation.

First of all I would propose to consider a passage from the Ugaritic Legend of Kuritu:

<i>m'id rm krt</i>	<i>Be greatly exalted⁴, Kuritu,</i>
<i>btḫ rp'i 'arṣ</i>	<i>among the rp'u 'arṣ,</i>
<i>bḫr qbṣ dtn</i>	<i>in the gathered assembly of dtn!⁵</i>

¹ This study completely supersedes an earlier paper in Dutch by the same author: J. C. de Moor, *Rāpi'u de heiland en de Refa'im*, Gereformeerd Theologisch Tijdschrift 73 (1973), 129—146.

² In the N. T. Christ does not bear the title "healer, physician" (see, however, Mark 2 17 par.), though the broader term σωτήρ ("saviour" and also "healer") does occur, cf. O. Cullmann, *Die Christologie des N. T.* 1963³, 245 ff. In the early church the epithets ἰατρός and *medicus* were quite common: A. von Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums*, I 1915³, 129 ff.; DAC XI, 1, 157 ff.; A. Oepke, *ThWNT* III, 215; G. W. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, 1961, 662.

³ W. W. Baudissin, *Adonis und Esmun*, 1911, especially 316 ff. 385 ff. Some further literature material to our question is the following: P. Karge, *Rephaim*, 1917, 609 ff.; J. Gray, *PEQ* 81 (1949), 127 ff.; K. Stendahl, *SEA* 15 (1950), 5 ff.; J. Gray, *PEQ* 84 (1952), 39 ff.; A. Caquot, *Syria* 37 (1960), 75 ff.; A. Jirku, *ZAW* 77 (1965), 82 f.; M. C. Astour, *Hellenosemitica*, 1965, 225 ff.; L. Wächter, *Der Tod im A. T.*, 1967, 190 ff.; N. J. Tromp, *Primitive Conceptions of Death and the Nether World in the O. T.*, 1969, 176 ff.; H. Gese, in: *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer*, 1970, 90 ff.; S. D. Sperling, *Enc. Judaica* XIV, 79 f.; S. B. Parker, *UF* 4 (1972), 97 ff.; M. C. Astour, *UF* 5 (1972), 35 ff.; C. L'Heureux, *HTR* 67 (1974), 265 ff. For abbreviations, especially those of Ugaritological works, consult *UF* (Ugarit-Forschungen).

⁴ Probably *rm* is an imperative, as in Ps 21 14 57 6. 12 108 6.

⁵ CTA 15: III. 2—4, 13—15. For the somewhat pleonastic expression *bḫr qbṣ* see CTA 2: I. 14 par., *bḫr m'd* as well as Hebrew *qhl 'dt* in Ex 12 6 and Num 14 5.

At this point of the story Kurītu is in perfect health. So *rp'u 'arš* is hardly a designation of the shades of the dead, as one might assume in the first instance, thinking of the Ugaritic *rp'um* and the Hebrew *re'fa'im*. Would Kurītu be promised only posthumous honour here⁶? Would not the living father of such numerous offspring be honoured in the Semitic world? And why would Ilu, the god who pronounces this blessing, spoil the happy atmosphere by a reference to Kurītu's after-life? With some justice C. L'Heureux observes that these *rp'u 'arš* are "surely not the shades, since the context is a blessing of *Krt* at the height of his success and before the possibility of his death has been raised"⁷.

Although the parallel expression *qbš dtn* is not completely clear either, it would seem justified to suppose that *dtn* is a personal name, as it is in other Ugaritic texts⁸. On the analogy of Hebrew expressions like *qhl't y'qb* (Dtn 33 4), *qhl ysr'l*, *'dt ysr'l* and *'dt bny ysr'l* we may further assume that *Dtn* was the ancestral founder of Kurītu's tribe. Perhaps he may be identified with Ditānu, one of the deified ancestors of the Amorite dynasty of Ḥammurapi⁹. At least this hypothesis would explain the variant spelling *Ddn* in the new Ugaritic tablet RS 34.126: 3,10¹⁰ (a text to which we will recur presently), because the same variant Didānu occurs in the Assyrian King List¹¹. If Ditānu/Didānu is the ancestor, the *phr qbš dtn* is apparently a solemn meeting of the chiefs of the tribe of Ditānu. Among them Kurītu will hold an honoured position because of his large family.

If the substance of this argument is acceptable, it is logical to assume that the parallel expression *rp'u 'arš* is likewise a designation of the ruling aristocracy. The expression bears great resemblance to II Chr 7 14 where YHWH promises *w'rp' 't 'rsm* "and I will heal their country"¹². Therefore it would seem possible to render the Ugaritic expression *rp'u 'arš* by "the healers (or: saviours) of the country"¹³.

⁶ So M. C. Astour, UF 5 (1972), 35. 38.

⁷ C. L'Heureux art. cit. 271.

⁸ CTA 113: II. 9; FRU 5, no. 23: Rev. II. 4; U 5 V, no. 6: Obv. 2, 11, 13. Cf. J. C. de Moor, UF 2 (1970), 304 n. 3. In any case it is much less attractive to take *dtn* as an appellative meaning "brave" or the like (S. D. Sperling art. cit. 79 and H. Sauren—G. Kestemont, UF 3, 1971, 206 n. 61, referring to Akkad. *datnu*). One would expect a plural *dtnm*, as observed by A. Herdner, in: A. Caquot (e. a.), Textes ougaritiques, I 1974, 540.

⁹ With M. C. Astour, UF 5 (1972), 36f., cf. J. J. Finkelstein, JCS 20 (1966), 95ff.

¹⁰ Professor A. Caquot did me the great favour of sending me an offprint of his provisional edition of this very important text which appeared in *Annuaire du Collège de France* 75 (1975—75), 427—429.

¹¹ I. J. Gelb, JNES 13 (1954), 210f.

¹² For a similar Babylonian phrase see CT 23, no. 2: 15, cited in CAD (A) 1, 346b.

¹³ This does not necessarily imply a special care for the fertility. The latter aspect was stressed too heavily by J. Gray in the articles cited (note 3) as well as in Krt², 59f.

It was the task of gods and kings to keep their country "healthy"¹⁴. Thus the term fits exactly into the ancient conception of rulers as saviours.

R. Borger has found another example of the expression *rp'u 'arš* in one of the texts of *Ugaritica V*¹⁵. As I have tried to demonstrate elsewhere, the text in question is a song for the New Year Festival in which it is said to the king of Ugarit:

[]k . lštk . l'iršt (6) [k .]	your [] will place you, upon your request,
[b] rp'i . mlk . 'lm .	under the [] of the Saviour, the Eternal
	King,
b'z (7) [rp'i . m]lk . 'lm .	under the protection of the Saviour, the Eternal
	King,
bāmrrh bl (8) ['anh .]	under his guard, under his power,
bhthkh . bnmrth	under his patronage, under his blessing
lr (9) [p'i .] 'arš	for the Saviours of the country! ¹⁶

Again *rp'u 'arš* appears to be a designation of living rulers, in this case the kings of Ugarit. The most striking feature, however, is the parallelism between the description of the earthly king (*rp'u 'arš*) and the name of his divine patron (*rp'u mlk 'lm*). Who is this "Saviour, king of eternity"? Unfortunately, a rather long digression is necessary to answer this question.

1. It cannot be doubted that the national god of Ugarit under whose protection the king of Ugarit had to place himself was Ba'lu of Šapānu¹⁷.

2. The deity *Rp'u* bears the epithet *mlk 'lm*. It appears that in Ugarit this title could also be applied to the king of Egypt¹⁸. Among the gods of Ugarit Ba'lu is thus far the only one who is accorded an eternal kingship: *tqh mlk 'lm* "take your eternal kingship"¹⁹.

3. At the beginning of the same song for the New Year Festival the *Rp'u mlk 'lm* is invited to drink wine as the first of a number of deities, among them 'Anatu²⁰. This not only points to an elevated rank of this god within the pantheon of Ugarit, it also suggests that

¹⁴ Compare Akkad. *bullutu* "to make healthy", as said of gods and kings, CAD (B), 58—61. See also Ez 34 4.

¹⁵ U 5 V, no. 2: Rev. 8—9, cf. R. Borger, UF 1 (1969), 4.

¹⁶ See for all details J. C. de Moor, New Year with Canaanites and Israelites, II 1972, 24ff.

¹⁷ O. Eißfeldt, FuF 36 (1962), 338ff. (= Kl. Schr. IV, 53ff.); J. C. de Moor, UF 2 (1970), 218f.

¹⁸ PRU 5, no. 8: 9, probably a translation of Babylonian *šarru dārū*.

¹⁹ CTA 2: IV. 10. Cf. W. Schmidt, BZAW 80, 1966², 53f.

²⁰ U 5 V, no. 2: Obv. 1.

Rp'u is identical with Ba'lu, because it was Ba'lu who received the first of the new wine during the festival²¹.

4. The god further receives the epithets [*'il*] *gtr wyqr* "the strong and noble god" in U 5 V, no. 2: Obv. 2²². In Akkadian *gašru* is an epithet with several deities, among them Adad²³.

5. There is a difference of opinion with regard to the following lines, U 5 V, no. 2: Obv. 2—3: *'il ytb b'ttrt' il tpt bhd r'y*. It is unclear whether this refers to *rp'u mlk 'lm* or not. The following observations may be made:

a) It is unlikely that *'il* is Ilu, because in that case one would expect *yšt* before his name, as with the other gods mentioned in lines 1, 6, 10, 13. Therefore *'il* is an appellative in apposition to *rp'u mlk 'lm*, just like [*'il*] *gtr wyqr*.

b) Probably *ytb* is a participle, as is suggested by the syntactical structure of texts like Gen 25 37 I Reg 13 11 II Reg 19 15 Ps 9 12.

c) B. Margulis has argued that *'ttrt* and *hdr'y* are place-names²⁴. Two arguments seem to plead strongly in his favour. Firstly, the most natural translation of *ytb b* is doubtlessly "to sit in" or "to dwell in", as in Hebrew. In the second place, B. Margulis has pointed out the remarkable resemblance between U 5 V, no. 2: Obv. 2—3 and a stereotyped biblical tradition about Og, king of Bashan: *hywšb b'strt wb'dr'y*²⁵. In fact, one might call the similarity nothing less than miraculous: *ytb* // *ywšb*, *b* // *b*, *'ttrt* // *'štrt*, *b* // *b*, *hdr'y* // *'dr'y*. Any suggestion that such an amount of similarity might be ascribed to pure chance is disproved by yet another analogy: the same Hebrew tradition says that Og was *mytr hrp'yim* "of the remnant of the Rephaim"²⁶ which immediately recalls our god *Rp'u*.

Strangely enough this great number of correspondencies argues against the interpretation of B. Margulis²⁷. It is clear that the Ugaritic and the Hebrew phrases are interdependent. But at the same time it appears that much more than an accidental pairing of place-names must have been involved. Further on we will recur to this problem. For the time being let it suffice to say that the Hebrew evidence does

²¹ J. C. de Moor, The Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Ba'lu, AOAT 16, 1971, 78ff.; New Year, I 1972, 6f.

²² Although there existed a god *gtr* in Ugarit (UF 2, 1970, 192), the use of *gtr* as an epithet with *'nt* in line 6 makes it almost certain that in line 2 it is used in the same way.

²³ K. L. Tallqvist, Akkadische Götterepitheta, 1938, 77f.

²⁴ B. Margulis, JBL 89 (1970), 292ff.

²⁵ Jos 12 4 and 9 10 according to the LXX; minor variants in Dtn 1 4 3 10 Jos 13 12.

²⁶ Dtn 3 11 Jos 12 4 13 12.

²⁷ Other objections have been raised by P. J. van Zijl, AOAT 10, 1972, 356f.; A. J. Ferrara—S. B. Parker, UF 4 (1972), 37f.; M. Görg, UF 6 (1974), 474f.

not compel us to take *'ttrt* and *hḏr'y* as place-names. Thus the translation accepted by the great majority of Ugaritologists, *i. e.* "with 'Aṭtartu . . . with Haddu, the Shepherd", is still fully acceptable²⁸.

If, then, U 5 V, no. 2: Obv. 2—3 actually refer to the god *Rp'u*, we learn some more about his character:

'il ytb b'ttrt "the god who thrones with 'Aṭtartu" — In Canaanite mythology the pair 'Anatu-'Aṭtartu²⁹ is depicted as the consorts of Ba'lu³⁰. The parallelism between *tpt* and *ytb* suggests that *ytb* indicates the throning of the king-judge, as in CTA 17: V. 6; 19: I. 22³¹. The god sits in judgment with 'Aṭtartu because the latter was thought to be involved in executing the divine revenge³² and because she was able to restrain Ba'lu from doing injustice³³.

'il tpt bhd r'y "the god who judges with Haddu, the Shepherd" — Both in Canaanite³⁴ and Akkadian³⁵ sources Haddu (Hadad, Adad) is often depicted as a judge. "Shepherd" is of course a favoured epithet of vegetation-deities like Dumuzi/Tammuz and Osiris. Therefore "Shepherd" underscores the aspect of fertility, which in Ugarit belongs to Ba'lu's sphere of control. The epithet "Shepherd" is also attested for Adad³⁶.

At first sight the phrase "the god who judges with Haddu" seems to contradict the hypothesis that *Rp'u* is a manifestation of Ba'lu, since Haddu is a name of Ba'lu in the mythological texts of Ugarit. However, this may be explained as an example of the well-documented Ugaritic procedure of splitting up composite deities into their constituents³⁷. Those who might doubt the validity of such a

²⁸ Compare U 5 V, no 1: Obv. 15 *'il ytb bmrzhh* "Ilu sat with his cultic association". Both Hebrew *bē* and Ugaritic *b* often mean "together with". See also Arabic *qa'ada bi* "to sit with" (Kazimirski).

²⁹ For the concept of duality in the pantheon of Ugarit see my remarks in UF 2 (1970), 227f. ³⁰ ThWAT I, 715.

³¹ For Akkadian and Hebrew parallels cf. J. C. de Moor, New Year II, 25 n. 105; M. Dahood, RSP I, ii. 275.

³² CTA 2: I. 8; 16: VI. 56f. Tinnit, the Punic goddess corresponding to 'Aṭtartu, executes judgment on the sinner in KAI, no. 79: 10f. (*špt*, on the masculine form cf. UF 1, 1969, 171; UF 7, 1975, 193).

³³ CTA 2: I. 40—43; IV 28—30. For the immunity of messengers see KAI, no. 224: 8f., for that of captives, II Reg 6 22.

³⁴ J. C. de Moor, New Year II, 25 n. 106.

³⁵ K. L. Tallqvist op. cit. 79ff.; ARMT 10, no. 4: 33; CAD (A) 2, 392b.

³⁶ K. L. Tallqvist op. cit. 164ff.; J. J. Stamm, Die akkadische Namengebung, 1939, 214; H. Hirsch, BeihAfO 13/14, 3. See also CTA 21: B. 5f., as restored below: *'apnnk . yrp[ukm . hḏ . yḥwy]km . r'y*, "Then [Haddu] will hea[l you], the Shepherd [will revive] you".

³⁷ To mention only one extreme example of this: *'il t'dr b'l* "the Helper-gods of Ba'lu" have been distributed over two separate entries in the Ugaritic offering-list U 5 V,

view might consider what the New Testament has to say about the throning and judging of the first two Persons of the Holy Trinity³⁸.

6. According to U 5 V, no. 2: Obv. 3—5 *Rp'u* was singing and playing with "the anointed dancers" (*bmrqdm dšn*). This recalls the name of Baal Marqod who later on was regarded as a healer-god³⁹.

7. In the Ugaritic Legend of Aqhātu king Dānī'ilu is often called *mt rp'i* "the man of Rāpi'u"⁴⁰. Through the analysis of personal names it has become clear that *mt* connected with the name of a deity characterizes the bearer as a protégé of that particular deity⁴¹. In the case of Dānī'ilu the patronizing deity was doubtlessly Ba'lu⁴². Therefore his epithet *mt rp'i* is virtually equivalent to the Ugaritic PN *mtb'l*.

8. The evidence collected thus far justifies the question whether an independent god *Rp'u* really existed. In defence of that independence some scholars have referred to Ugaritic personal names. But if *Rp'u* was an epithet of Ba'lu, the following names have actually the same meaning:

PN with <i>b'l</i>	PN with <i>rp'u</i>
Ugar. <i>b'ly</i>	Ugar. <i>rp'i'y</i>
Ugar. <i>b'lyn</i>	Ugar. <i>rp'i'yn</i>
Ugar. <i>bl'n</i>	Ugar. <i>rp'an</i>
Phoen. <i>'bb'l</i>	Ugar. <i>'abr'p'u</i>
Ugar. <i>'ilb'l</i>	Ugar. <i>'ilrp'u</i>
Phoen. <i>btb'l</i>	Ugar. <i>bitta-rā-ap-i</i>
Ugar. <i>mtb'l</i>	Mari <i>mu-ut-ra-pi</i>
Ugar. <i>'bdb'l</i>	Ugar. <i>'bdr'p'u</i>
Mari <i>ha-mi-i-ba-al</i>	Ugar. <i>'mrp'i</i>

no. 13:21—22: *'il t'dr* and *b'l*, cf. J. C. de Moor, UF 2 (1970), 198. 323. 'Attartu is also an aspect or counterpart of Ba'lu (ThWAT I, 715). See furthermore A. Jirku, MUSJ 45 (1969), 399ff.; J. C. de Moor, UF 2 (1970), 227f.; ThWAT I, 475f. The problem of the composite deities has to be studied in a broader context, see e. g. Akkad. *ilānu*, and for Egypt: H. te Velde, JEA 57 (1971), 80ff.; J. Spiegel, Die Götter von Abydos, 1973. Also K. Koch, VT 26 (1976), 299ff.

³⁸ Mt 26 64 par. Lk 2 32 Acts 2 32-36 Col 3 1 Hebr 8 1 10 12 12 2. Especially illuminating is Rev 3 21: "I sat down with my Father on his throne" (see also Rev 7 15-17 22 3), because here the separation between the two Persons has been neutralized. For the image of the Son seated as a judging Shepherd (!) see Mt 25 31f.

³⁹ T. Klauser, RAC I, 1077f.

⁴⁰ On this translation consult S. B. Parker, UF 4 (1972), 99f.; C. L'Heureux art. cit. 271.

⁴¹ See for example A. van Selms, in: Studia Biblica et Semitica Th. C. Vriezen dedicata, 1966, 318f.; H. B. Huffmon, Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts, 1965, 234f.; F. Gröndahl, Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit, 1967, 161f.

⁴² CTA 17: I. 17ff., 32 (preceding *bt 'il*!); 19: I. 42ff., III. 1ff.

9. It appears that the subject of West-Semitic personal names containing the root *rp'* is quite often the weather-god Ba'lu (Haddu, Adad). In Mari we encounter *ya-ar-pa-^aIM*, *^aIM-ra-pi* and *ri-ip-i-^aIM*; in Alalakh we have *ir-pa-^aIM*, and in later Akkadian texts *^aU-ra-pa'-a* and *ir-pa-a-da*, and even in Palmyra *bwrp'* (βωρεφα) and *rpbwel* (ρε-φωβωλος).

10. Hitherto only the hypocoristic PN *rp'* has been found in Phoenician. Fortunately, however, there exists a Phoenician god *b'l mrp'*, "Ba'lu the Healer"⁴³. Doubtlessly he may be compared with the Ugaritic deity *rp'u b'l* occurring in CTA 22 : B. 8. Because in Ugaritic an epithet very often precedes the proper name, it is certainly admissible to render this name too by "Ba'lu the Healer/the Saviour"⁴⁴. Actually this is nothing but a faithful rendering of the name of the Sumerian god *^anin-a-zu*⁴⁵, who also combined the qualities of a healer and a weather-god⁴⁶.

As a result of this long digression we may conclude that the god Ba'lu, like the earthly king, could be called *rp'u* "healer", or, if one wants to give expression to the broader meaning of the term *rp'u*, "saviour". On the basis of West-Semitic personal names written in syllabic Babylonian it has been established that this honorific title was vocalized as an active participle: *rāpi'u*⁴⁷. The most important task of Ba'lu/Haddu as a healer and shepherd was to bring the spirits of the dead back to life when he returned to the earth on the New Year Festival (see below, section H). In CTA 21: B. 5f. it is said to the shades: *'apnnk . yrp['ukm . hd . yhwy]km . r'y* "Then [Haddu] will heal [you], the Shepherd [will revive] you". The restoration of this passage rests on the fact that *rp'* and *hyh* D-stem form a parallel pair in Hebrew: Dtn 32:39 Hos 6:1f. Ps 30:3f. Especially the latter verses are worth quoting: "YHWH my God, I cried to thee and thou hast

⁴³ CIS I, 61: "Baal Sanator". The root *rp'* doubtlessly means "to heal" in Phoenician and Punic. The active participle is attested in the meaning "healer, physician" (J. Hoftijzer, DISO, 282; M. Szymer, Les passages puniques en transcription latine dans le "Poenulus" de Plaute, 1967, 142). Physical recovery was attributed to Eshmun, the Punic Asklepios (KAI, no. 66:2), who might be regarded as a relatively late offshoot of the Baal-cult.

F. Vattioni, Bibl 40 (1959), 1012ff., proposed the translation "Baal of healing" for *b'l mrp'*, but his arguments do not convince me.

⁴⁴ Possibly we may also suspect a connection with *šdrp'*, a healer-god worshipped in Palmyra. This deity shares a number of characteristics with the ancient Ba'lu/Baal. Cf. J. Starcky, Syria 26 (1949), 43ff.; A. Caquot, Syria 29 (1952), 74ff.; R. du Mesnil du Buisson, MUSJ 38 (1962), 143ff.; H. Gese, op. cit. 200f.

⁴⁵ M. C. Astour, Hellenosemitica, 89, 198.

⁴⁶ Cf. J. J. A. van Dijk, Sumerische Götterlieder, II 1960, 71ff.; A. Falkenstein, AnOr 30 (1966), 88.

⁴⁷ H. B. Huffmon op. cit. 264; F. Gröndahl op. cit. 180.

healed me (*wtrp'ny*), YHWH, thou hast brought up my soul from the nether world, thou hast revived me (*hyytny*) from being among those gone down to the Pit".

Finally one more aspect should be mentioned. In the imagination of the peoples of the ancient Near East great gods were taller than lesser deities, gods were taller than men, great men like famous kings were taller than other mortals⁴⁸. According to the Babylonians the demigod Gilgameš, the heroic king of Uruk, was eighteen feet high⁴⁹. Thus far we have no information on the size of the Canaanite saviour-kings, but it may be assumed that they too were depicted as larger than life. In any case their divine counterpart, Ba'lu the Saviour, was extremely tall. An Ugaritic myth tells us that when another god tried to sit on the throne of Ba'lu "his feet did not reach the foot-stool, his head did not reach the top of the back"⁵⁰.

II. Saviour-shades in Canaan

It is unquestionable that the Canaanites used to call the spirits of the dead *rp'um*. Like other peoples of the ancient Near East the inhabitants of Ugarit thought that during the night the sun travelled from west to east through a subterranean tunnel⁵¹. On that journey the sun-goddess took with her the spirits of the deceased as well as the offerings for those already dwelling in the nether world. Therefore people ascribed to her great power over those dreary realms⁵². A hymn at the end of the Seasonal Myth of Ba'lu from Ugarit expresses this idea in the following words:

<i>špš</i> (45) <i>rp'im . thk</i>	<i>Šapšu, you rule the rp'um,</i>
(46) <i>špš . thk . 'ilnym</i>	<i>Šapšu, you rule the ghosts.</i>
(47) <i>'dk . 'ilm .</i>	<i>Let the deities be your company,</i>
<i>hn . mtm</i> (48) <i>'dk .</i>	<i>behold, the dead your company</i> ⁵³ .

⁴⁸ The iconography of the ancient Near East furnishes thousands of examples of this phenomenon, see e. g. the pictures in O. Keel, VT 25 (1975), 413ff. Furthermore T. H. Gaster, *Myth, Legend and Custom in the O. T.*, 1969, 454; E. Iversen, Y. Shibata, *Canon and Proportions in Egyptian Art*, 1975².

⁴⁹ Epic of Gilgameš, I. ii. 1ff. (Hittite version, 8, cf. H. Otten, RLA III, 372). See also KAR, no. 319:5.

⁵⁰ CTA 6: I. 58—61.

⁵¹ J. C. de Moor, AOAT 16, 170f. 184, 222.

⁵² K. L. Tallqvist op. cit. 458f.: S. Smith, *The Statue of Idri-mi*, 1949, 91ff.; texts: BMS 6:99, cf. LKA 127:11; LKA 111:8; KAR 66:22; CH Rs. XXVII. 37—40; Šurpu II. 131; ZA 17 (1955), 170:28. 172:30; BWL 126:31; TuL 135:19. 148:20f.; Or 34 (1965), 117:8; JCS 19 (1965), 5:11; 21 (1967), 2:1—4. 9:86—88, and many others. See also RS 34. 126:18f., discussed below, and for Palmyra the texts cited by J. T. Milik, *Recherches d'épigraphie proche-orientale*, I 1972, 193.

⁵³ CTA 6: VI. 41—48. For philological comments see AOAT 16, 240ff.; New Year II, 7f.

As appears from the parallelism with *'ilm* and *'ilnym*, the people of Ugarit regarded the *rp'um* of the dead as divine beings. When someone was buried, he was interred with the *'ilm 'arš* "the gods of the earth"⁵⁴. A list has been excavated on which the names of dead kings of Ugarit have been provided with the Babylonian determinative DINGIR "deity"⁵⁵. The ancestors were called *'il'ib* "ancestor-god" in Ugarit (CTA 17: I. 27 par.). Their elevated position is illustrated by the circumstance that the first place in the official pantheon of the great gods of Ugarit was reserved for an *'il'ib*, apparently the god who was regarded as the ancestral father of the gods⁵⁶.

The Phoenician and Punic people also called the spirits of the dead *rp'm*⁵⁷. From the few data available we gather that the living were anxious for a quiet place among the *rp'm*⁵⁸. Here too the *rp'm* were worshipped as deities⁵⁹.

With the Canaanites it was the holy duty of every new generation to feed and refresh the souls of the ancestors⁶⁰. In Ugarit this was done by way of hatches⁶¹ or libation-pipes⁶² discharging into the graves. In Punic times people still poured libations through pipes of lead or clay to quench the thirst of the shades⁶³. Especially during the New Year Festival, when the *rp'um* were thought to rise from the grave with *Rp'u B'l*, the Canaanites treated their dead to copious meals⁶⁴.

⁵⁴ This expression was discussed in AOAT 16, 184.

⁵⁵ C. F. A. Schaeffer, AfO 20 (1963), 214f. It is a pity that this extremely important text is still unpublished.

⁵⁶ J. C. de Moor, UF 2 (1970), 199, 204. 218f. Compare also the Hurrian equivalent *'in 'atn*, cf. Ugaritica V, 523. Furthermore M. C. Astour, JAOS 86 (1966), 277ff.; J. Nougayrol, in: Ugaritica V, 45f.; W. F. Albright, Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan, 1968, 122ff.; A. Caquot, Syria 46 (1969), 259f.; H. Gese op. cit. 104ff.; W. H. Ph. Römer, AOAT 12, 1971, 17; J. J. M. Roberts, The Earliest Semitic Pantheon, 1972, 34f. 146. 148; M. Dietrich—O. Loretz—J. Sanmartín, UF 6 (1974), 450f.; H. Vorländer, AOAT 23, 1975, 157f.; H. P. Müller, WO 8 (1975), 69f.

⁵⁷ KAI, no. 13:8; 14:8; 117:1.

⁵⁸ KAI, no. 13:8; 14:8.

⁵⁹ KAI, no. 117:1 l'l[*nm*] *'r'p'm* (reading after J. Friedrich, AfO 10, 1935, 83) which is *Dis Manibus sac(rum)* in the Latin version (M. Lidzbarski, Kanaanäische Inschriften, 1907, 63, no. 101:1). The word *'lnm* must be regarded as the Punic form of Phoenician *'lnm* "gods" which in turn strongly resembles Ugaritic *'ilnym*.

⁶⁰ See for examples Idrimi, 89; CTA 17: I. 27f. par.; KAI, no. 214:20—22.

⁶¹ Ugaritic *'urbt*, cf. UF 2 (1970), 325.

⁶² Ugaritic *gnnt* or *knkn*, cf. AOAT 16, 170. The same practice is widely attested in Mesopotamia (Akkad. *arātu*).

⁶³ M. Lidzbarski, Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik, I 1900, 29; P. Cintas, Manuel d'archéologie punique, I 1970, 302 and Pl. III, 10.

⁶⁴ See my New Year I, 8. 10. 20. A similar identification of the vicissitudes of the souls of dead kings with those of the vegetation-deity Dumuzi (Damu)/Tammuz is attested

Two texts, one of a legendary and the other of a cultic nature, give us an impression of how the spirits of the dead were conjured up for such an occasion. In the Ugaritic tablets CTA 20—22 king Dānī'ilu invokes (*qr*') the *rp'um* because he wants to speak to his dead son⁶⁵. When the spirits have finally arrived we read:

ṭm (5) ṭkm . bm ṭkm . 'aḥm .

qym . 'il (6) blsmṭ .

ṭm . yṭbš . šm . 'il . mtm

(7) yṭ! bš . brkn . šm . 'il . ḡzrm

(8) ṭm . ṭmq . rp'u . b'l .

mhr b'l (9) wṃhr . 'nt .

ṭm . yḥpn . ḥyl (10) ḥḥ! .

zbl . mlk . 'llmy .

km . tdd (11) 'nt . šd .

tštr . 'pt . šmm

(12) ṭbh . 'alpm .

'ap š'in .

šql . ṭrm

(13) wṃri' 'ilm .

'glm . dt . šnt

(14) 'imr . qmš . ll'im .

kḥsp (15) l'brm . zt .

ḥrš . l'brm . kš

(16) dpr . ḥḥn . bq'l .

bq'l (17) mlkm .

hn . ym yšq . yn . ṭmk

(18) mrṭ . yn . srm .

yn . bld (19) ḡll .

yn . 'išryt .

'nq . sm d (20) lbnn .

*There, shoulder to shoulder, were the brothers,
who Ilu caused to rise up in a hurry.*

*There the name of Ilu substantiated the dead,
the blessing of the name of Ilu substantiated the
heroes.*

*There were Tumuqu, Ba'lu the Saviour,
the warriors of Ba'lu and the warriors of 'Anatu
There rustled⁶⁶ the host of the filth,
the Highness, the king, the usurper,
as when 'Anatu chases the game,
causes to fly up the birds of heaven.*

He slaughtered oxen,

also small stock.

He slew bulls

and the fattest of rams,

yearling calves,

sheep, a multitude of lambkins.

To those entering the olives were like silver,

to those entering the gourds⁶⁷ were like gold

among the fruit on the table in the hall,

in the hall of the kings.

*Lo, on the first day he poured wine from Ta-
muka,*

must of wine fit for rulers⁶⁸,

wine without after-effects,

wine of happiness,

the purple necklace of the Lebanon,

in Mesopotamia, see T. Jacobsen, *Toward the Image of Tammuz*, 1970, 324f.; R. Labat, *La caractère religieux de la royauté assyro-babylonienne*, 1939, 121ff. Comparable Christian traditions may be found in Mt 27:52 I Cor 6:14 15:12ff. II Cor 4:14 Eph 2:6 Col 2:12 etc.

⁶⁵ The main outline of the narrative contained in the broken tablets CTA 20—22 was sketched in UF 7 (1975), 171. There it was also demonstrated that CTA 22:B bears many striking similarities to *Odyssey* XI.

⁶⁶ What is said about the dead in *Epic of Gilgamesh*, VII. iv. 38 and *Descent of Ištar*, 10, tallies with my interpretation of *yḥpn* (AOAT 16, 117).

⁶⁷ Cf. J. C. de Moor, in: F. Fronzaroli (ed.), *Studies on Semitic Lexicography*, 1973, 95 n. 3.

⁶⁸ Because some doubt has been thrown on the connection of Ugaritic *srm* with Hebrew *sārān* "prince" (presumably a Philistine word!), two significant parallels may be adduced here: Est 1:7 *yyn mlkwṭ rb kyd hmlk* and H. Steible, *Rimsin, mein König*, 1975, 33:12, cf. 36, 45: "ein Getränk für dich als Herrn".

ṭl mrṭ . yhrṭ . 'il

(21) hn . ym . wṭn . ṭlhm̄n .

rp'um (22) ṭṣṭyn .

ṭlṭ . rb' . ym .

hm̄š (23) ṭdṭ . ym . ṭlhm̄n .

rp'um (24) ṭṣṭyn . bī . 'ikl .

bpr' (25) yṣq . b'irt . lbnn .

mk . bšb' (26) [ymm]

[broken]

dew of must grown by a god.

Lo, one day and a second they ate,

the rp'um drank,

a third, a fourth day,

a fifth, a sixth day they ate,

the rp'um drank in the dining room.

From the first (day) on he poured (wine) into
the flanks of the Lebanon⁶⁹,

behold, on the seventh day⁷⁰

In Israel it was also known that within the framework of the Baalistic cult sacrificial meals with the spirits of the dead took place. In the passages concerned the ghosts are called *metim* "dead" or *šedim* "genii"⁷¹. One of the more interesting features of the text cited above is that the *rp'um* seem to be a special class of spirits: kings, heroes, warriors, rulers.

Though far less poetic than the legendary account of CTA 22 : B, a new ritual from Ugarit confirms that the conjuration of spirits actually took place in the cult of the Canaanites⁷². The technical term for the invocation is again *qr'* and it is striking that Saul uses the very same verb when he raises the spirit of Samuel at Endor⁷³. But let us first have a look at the text itself:

RS 34. 126

Obverse

(1) spr . dbh . qlm

Report on the Sacrificial Banquet of the "Swift Ones".

(A)

(2) qri'tm . rp'i . 'a[rš]

You invoked the Saviours of the country,

(3) qbi'tm . qbš . d[dn]

you summoned the Assembly of Didānu.

(B)

(4) qr'a . b { . } lhn . rp['a]

He invoked Bēlkēnu, the Saviour,

(5) qr'a . trmn . rp['a]

he invoked Tarmennu, the Saviour,

(6) qr'a . bdn . k . rd[n]

he invoked Badānu as well as Radānu,

⁶⁹ For the pouring of wine into the flanks of hills and mountains, see AOAT 16, 79.

Although I was definitely wrong in taking *hīb gngnt* in an appellative sense (also on p. 170), the meaning of this place-name remains "hill of the libation-pipes".

⁷⁰ For philological notes see AOAT 16, 117. 122; New Year II, 12f.

⁷¹ Ps 106 28 (*metim*) 106 37 (*šedim*) Dtn 32 17 (*šedim*). Cf. Dtn 26 14. Also I Sam 28 24 *wṭzbhḥw* after the spirit of Samuel had been raised.

⁷² The new tablet is RS 34. 126 which was published with commendable speed by A. Caquot, see note 10. For a full philological treatment of the text see the Appendix at the end of this paper. The genre of the text is comparable to the so-called "Genealogy of the Hammurapi Dynasty" published by J. J. Finkelstein, JCS 20 (1966), 95—118 (see also W. G. Lambert, JCS 22, 1968, 1f.; A. Malamat, JAOS 88, 1968, 163—173).

⁷³ I Sam 28 15 *w'qr'h lk*; compare also Prov 9 18 *rp'ym || qr'yh*.

- (7) *qr'a . ṭr . 'llmn*
 he invoked Tarru, the usurpator,
 he invoked the Saviours of old.
- (8) *qr'a . rp'im . qdmym*
- (9) *qri'tm . rp'i . 'arš*
 You invoked the Saviours of the country,
 you summoned the Assembly of Didānu.
- (10) *qbi'tm . qbš . dd[n]*
- (11) *qr'a . 'mṭṭmr . m[ṭ]k*
 He invoked 'Ammitamru, the king,
 he also invoked Niqmaddu, the king.
- (12) *qr'a . 'u . nqm[d . m]k*
- (13) *kṣi' . nqmd . 'd[b . 'a]ṭy⁷⁴*
 He p[placed] the throne of Niqmaddu (who) [ca]me
 and shed tears. His eyes did (not) cease,
 before him he wept. (But) the table was full
 and he swallowed. His tears
 disappeared and (his) grief disappeared.
- (14) *w . ydm' . <1> idm . 'nh*
- (15) *lpnh . ybky . ṭlhn . ml[a]*
- (16) *w . ybl' . 'uḏm'th*
- (17) *'dmt . w . 'dmt . ṭdmt*
- (18) *'iṣhn . ṣpš . w . 'iṣhn*
 "Be hot, Šapšu, yea, be hot, (you)
 good Illuminator! May Šapšu cry from above:
 After your owner, o throne, after
 your owner descend into the earth! Descend
 into the earth and lower yourself in the dust
 under
 Badānu as well as Radānu, under Tarru,
 the usurpator, under the Saviours of old,
 under 'Ammitamru, the king,
- (19) *nyr . ṭbt . 'ln . ṣpš . ṭšh*
- (20) *'aṭr . b'lk . l . kṣi'⁷⁵ . 'aṭr*
- (21) *b'lk . 'arš . rd . 'arš*
- (22) *rd . w . ṣpl . 'pr . ṭht*
- (23) *bḏn . k . rdn . ṭht . ṭr*
- (24) *'l{ . } mn . ṭht . rp'im qd <mym>⁷⁶*
 also under Niqmaddu, the king!"
- (25) *ṭht . 'mṭṭmr . mlk*
 Edge
- (26) *ṭht⁷⁷ . 'u . nq[md .] mlk*
 also under Niqmaddu, the king!"
- (27) *'šty . w . ṭ[y . ṭn . w .] ṭ[y]*
 The first and he sacrificed, the second and he
 sacrificed,
- Reverse
- (28) *ṭṭ[. w .] ṭ'y . [rb' . w .] ṭ[y]*
 the third and he sacrificed, the fourth and he
 sacrificed,
- (29) *ḥmš . w . ṭ'y . [ṭṭ[. w .] ṭ'y*
 the fifth and he sacrificed, the sixth and he
 sacrificed,
- (30) *šb' . w . ṭ'y . tq[ry] . 'šr*
 the seventh and he sacrificed. You off[ered] up
 a bird.
- (31) *šlm . šlm . 'mr[p'i]*
 "Hail, hail to 'Ammurapi!
 And hail to his son! Hail to his relatives!
 Hail to his house! Hail to Ugarit!
 Hail to its gates!"
- (32) *w . šlm . bnḥ . šlm . [a]ry[h]*
- (33) *šlm . bth . šlm . 'u[g]rt*
- (34) *šlm . ṭṭrh*

⁷⁴ In the absence of a copy or a photograph any restoration is extremely hazardous.

My proposal will be defended in the Appendix. A. Caquot reads: ‘/pl[]ty.

⁷⁵ A. Caquot reads: *l. ksh.*

⁷⁶ With A. Caquot; cf. lines 7—8.

⁷⁷ A. Caquot reads *thm* instead of my *tht* which is solely based on the parallelism.

The descriptive parts of this liturgy have been composed in the narrative style. In this respect the text constitutes a new genre among the rituals from Ugarit⁷⁸, but parallels may be easily found in the O. T. For the sake of clarity I have divided the text into sections which may perhaps be grouped as follows:

- A, C and the last words of G probably describe actions of the priests;
- B, D, the first words of E, and G probably describe actions of the officiating king, 'Ammurapi;
- E, minus the first words, describes actions of the spirit of king Niqmaddu;
- E and H can be identified as direct oration, probably an incantation and a blessing intoned by the priests.

Again the conjuration is connected with a lavish sacrificial meal which satisfies the spirit of king Niqmaddu. The meaning of the incantation F is far from clear. It would seem that the sun-goddess is asked to keep the souls warm when they go back to the darkness of the nether world. Moreover, her help is enlisted in order to achieve that the royal shades will have a throne at their disposal in the hereafter⁷⁹. Whereas most inhabitants of the nether world had to lay down in the dust⁸⁰, kings sometimes enjoyed the privilege of being seated on thrones (Jes 14 9), if the relatives on earth took the proper measures. Thus Gilgameš provided his deceased friend Enkidu with a comfortable chair that would assure him an honoured position among the princes of the nether world⁸¹.

Most important, however, is the first part of the ritual. It proves that the Ugaritic dynasty traced its origins back to the same ancestor Ditānu/Didānu as Kurītu. This finally explains why the Legend of Kurītu was handed down in Ugarit. Moreover, it appears that the ancestral kings became *rp'um*. The circumstance that the *rp'u 'arš*

⁷⁸ The Ugaritic rituals published thus far are composed in the prescriptive style, imperatives or jussives with imperatives. Examples of imperatives are CTA 32:18 *šqrb* "bring!"; 34:10 par. *wml'un* "and fill!"; 35:2 *šmr* "have (it) cut off!"; 35:41 *[f]b* "repeat!"; 35:51 *ššk[h]* "make (him?) pierce!"; 35:54 *mḥ* "wipe!".

⁷⁹ The Sun was an indispensable intermediary for anything offered to the dead: "without you (Šamaš) the gods of the nether world do not receive funerary offerings" (LKA 155:10; AMT 71/1:38); "may Šamaš . . . not allow his spirit to receive cool water down below" (BBS, no. 2:I. 19). According to K. 7856:11—16 (TuL 57f.) a king shows the funerary gifts for his father first to Šamaš.

⁸⁰ N. J. Tromp, *Primitive Conceptions of Death*, 183ff.; *Epic of Gilgameš*, VII. iv. 40ff.; X, passim; STT I, no. 28:II. 39f.

⁸¹ *Epic of Gilgameš*, VIII. iii. 2—3. See also the Sumerian text "Death of Ur-Nammu", 135 (S. N. Kramer, JCS 21, 1967, 115. 119).

"Saviours of the country" are doubtlessly spirits of dead kings here, seems to be a flat contradiction of what has been said earlier in this paper about the *rp'u 'ars*. However, it seems possible to reconcile these seemingly contradictory data if we assume that the title *rp'u* "Saviour" could be borne by living as well as by dead men of eminence. In that case both the dead and the ruling members of the dynasty were thought to participate in a solemn meeting of the *qbš dtn*. If so, the term *rp'u* originally did not indicate any kind of spirit, but only the spirits of high dignitaries, as seems to be the case both in CTA 22: B and in RS 34. 126.

Striking parallels to these concepts may be found in the Greek hero-cult⁸². A noble and brave man, especially a famous king, could earn the title of ἥρωες during his lifetime. But only after his death he received true divine status and was worshipped as a ἥρωες θεός. In my opinion it is very significant that these heroized ancestors, who are often depicted as men of unusual height, are also called ἱεῖρες, the exact equivalent of *rāpi'ūma*.

HI. YHWH the Saviour

In Hebrew the active participle *rōfæ'* corresponds with Ugaritic *rāpi'u*. This participle may be used to designate physicians⁸³, but the great Healer of the O. T. is doubtlessly YHWH himself⁸⁴. In many cases the "healing" done by YHWH is clearly meant literally as "to restore to health"⁸⁵. However, in a number of cases a medical meaning would seem to be out of the question. It rather indicates that YHWH comes to the rescue of harrassed nations and restores the *šalôm* on earth. In II Chr 7 14 YHWH promises that he will "heal" the country of the Israelites. Jer 8 15 and 14 19 use *mārpæ* "healing" and *šalôm* in parallelism. In Jer 33 6 YHWH says about Jerusalem: "Behold, I will bring to it recovery and healing (*mārpæ*), yes, I will heal them (*wrp'tym*) and reveal to them the crown of peace (*šalôm*) and security." Jes 57 19: "Hail, hail (*šalôm šalôm*), to the far and to the near, says YHWH, and I will heal him (*wrp'tyw*)."

⁸² It would carry our investigation beyond all reasonable limits if we yielded to the temptation to list the great number of correspondencies we found. For the time being some references may suffice, but a separate study will certainly be necessary: cf. L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults*, 1921; M. Delcourt, *Légendes et cultes des héros en Grèce*, 1942; M. P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, 1950², 584ff.; K. Kerényi, *Die Heroen der Griechen*, 1958; M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, I 1955², 184ff. 378ff. 538f. 714ff.; II 1961², 563f.

⁸³ Gen 50 2 Hi 13 4 II Chr 16 12

⁸⁴ Ex 15 26 Ps 103 8 147 3. See also Dtn 32 39 Jes 19 22 57 18f. Jer 33 6 Hos 6 1 7 1 11 3 14 5 Ps 30 3 107 20 Hi 5 18.

⁸⁵ Gen 20 17 Ex 15 26 Num 12 13 II Reg 20 5. 8 Hos 6 1 etc.

As we have seen, the Canaanites used the verb *rp'* in a somewhat similar, transferred sense. It is certainly not inconceivable that the Israelites borrowed the epithet *rp'* "Healer, Saviour" from the cult of Ba'lu/Baal⁸⁶. Of course this involved a certain amount of polemic. Elsewhere I have tried to show that the Song of Moses (Dtn 32) contains a lot of polemic against the cult of Baal⁸⁷. Exactly in that context it is stated emphatically (Dtn 32 39):

<i>r'w 'th ky 'ny 'ny hw</i>	<i>See now that I, I alone am he,</i>
<i>w'yn 'lhy m'mdy</i>	<i>and there is no god beside me.</i>
<i>'ny 'myt w'h'yh</i>	<i>I kill and I make alive,</i>
<i>mḥšty w'ny 'rp'</i>	<i>did I strike, then I will heal.</i>

The conflict with the Baalistic doctrine concerning the *rp'* shows up even more clearly in Hos 11 2-3: "they kept sacrificing to the Baals... but they did not know that I have healed them (*rp'tym*)". Therefore it is hardly accidental that in the O. T. the healing of God is often closely connected with repentance and remission of sins⁸⁸.

IV. *The Rephaite Giants*

It is remarkable phenomenon that in the O. T. the honorific title of *rófæ* is never applied to the king. Probably this epithet had to be reserved for YHWH. However, the Israelites must have heard about the hero-cult of the Canaanites, as we have seen already. One aspect of that cult kept occupying their minds: the presumed supernatural tallness of the heroic rulers. Many legends were woven around the tall *rp'ym* who became a special, pre-Israelite race of giants⁸⁹.

One of these traditions concerned Og, king of Bashan. In an ever recurring formula it is said that he was *hywšb b'strt wb'dr'y* and was *mytr hrp'ym*⁹⁰. It cannot be doubted that the scribes of Israel meant to say that Og was one of the last Rephaitic giants and that he lived in Ashtaroth and Edrei.

Only Dtn 3 11 offers some additional information: "Behold, his bed is a bed of iron; is it not in Rabbah of the Ammonites? Nine cubits is its length, and four cubits its breadth, according to the common cubit." Since it must have been comparatively easy to check this remarkably precise account, it has to be assumed that in the days of the Deuteronomist the bed was still there. It must have attracted many curious visitors.

⁸⁶ Cf. A. Caquot, Syria 37 (1960), 82.

⁸⁷ New Year I, 15f.

⁸⁸ Jes 19 22 57 18 Jer 3 22 33 6 Hos 6 1 14 5 Ps 41 5.

⁸⁹ See e.g. Dtn 2 10f. 20f. II Sam 21 16. 18. 20 (cf. I Chr 20 4 *ylydy hrp'ym*).

⁹⁰ See notes 25 and 26 above.

However, these traditions about Og give rise to a number of questions. How could Og dwell at the same time in Ashtaroth and in Edrei? If the latter was a capital of his kingdom, why is such an important city still so difficult to locate⁹¹? And how did the Israelites know that the large bed in Rabbah, the capital of the *Ammonites*, had been the property of Og, a king of *Bashan*?

A simple hypothesis may help to solve these problems. The bed bore an inscription, as might be expected with such an extraordinary object⁹². In my opinion it was this inscription that gave rise to the rather uniform Israelite traditions about Og. It might have run approximately as follows:

z 'rś 'g mlk bśn hrp'
hyšb b'štrt wb'd r'y.

Now it is my contention that this was completely misunderstood by the Israelites, and perhaps also by others who read the inscription without having an adequate knowledge of the ancient Canaanite religion. They took it to mean: "This is the bed of Og, king of Bashan, the Rephaite who dwelt in Ashtaroth and in Edrei." But in the light of what we have found earlier the presumed inscription should have been interpreted as follows:

*"This is the bed of Og, king of Bashan, the Saviour, who thrones with Astarte and with Adda (Adad), his Shepherd"*⁹³.

Apparently the couch had been offered to Og by his relatives, just like the chair offered to the dead kings of Ugarit, and like the bed offered by Gilgameš to his dead friend Enkidu⁹⁴. The bed was intended for the spirit of the hero Og to recline on during the sacrificial banquets with Astarte and Adda/Baal. Actually, a very similar idea is expressed in an inscription of another Canaanite king, Panammuwa I of Sam'al:

⁹¹ Cf. R. Hill, VT 16 (1966), 412ff.; M. Görg, UF 6 (1974), 474f.

⁹² The fact that the bed was made of iron explains why it was dragged to Rabbah, probably as part of the spoils of a war between Bashan and Ammon. State-beds were often taken as booty by the Assyrian kings and iron was still a comparatively valuable metal in those days.

⁹³ Although it would be possible to take the y as a mater lectionis or even as a radical, it would seem better to assume a pronominal suffix 3. s. m. as in Phoenician. The presumed Ugaritic and Hebrew examples of such a suffix (cf. M. Dahood, ETL 44, 1968, 46; Bibl 53, 1972, 540; R. B. Coote, UF 6, 1974, 3 n. 23) are unconvincing. For the designation of a god as one's personal shepherd see H. Vorländer, AOAT 23, 1975, 20. 70. 91f. 109, and of course Ps 23 1.

⁹⁴ Epic of Gilgameš, VIII. iii. 1. It is also possible to take 'rś as a designation of a funerary couch (cf. H. Ingholt, Berytus 2, 1935, 103), but probably the ancients would not make a clear distinction between a funerary couch and a couch intended for the spirit of the deceased.

*"Whoever of my sons grasps the sceptre and sits upon my seat and confirms the rulership and sacrifices to this (image of) Hadad and [] my [] and sacrifices [] for the ancestor — (when) he sacrifices to Hadad and mentions the name of Hadad or that of the ancestor, let him say then: May the soul of Panammuwa eat with thee and may the soul of Panammuwa drink with thee!"*⁹⁵.

And further on:

*"Whoever of my sons grasps the sceptre and sits upon my seat as king over Ya'udiya and confirms the rulership and sacrifices to this (image of) Hadad and mentions the name of Panammuwa, let him say: May the soul of Panammuwa eat with Hadad, and may the soul of Panammuwa drink with Hadad!"*⁹⁶.

So it was a common belief in Canaan that dead kings, the *rp'u 'arš* "Saviours of the Country", enjoyed the privilege of sitting at table with Baal/Hadad, the eternal Saviour (*rp'u b'l mlk 'lm*). This took place within the framework of the ancestral cult and reached its culmination during the banquets of the New Year Festival⁹⁷.

Another biblical name for the Canaanite giants was *bny 'nq* or *'nqym* "sons of Enak, Enakites"⁹⁸. This Enak is depicted as a king of Kiryath Arba (Hebron) and there is no reason to doubt his historicity. His three sons bear normal Canaanite names⁹⁹. Like the *'(y)mym*¹⁰⁰, the Enakites are identified with the Rephaim in Dtn 2 10f. In Num 13 33 the Enakites are called *nēfilim*. The form looks like an Aramaic passive participle which would seem to suggest "the fallen" as a literal meaning. This could originally have been a designation of those killed in heroic battle¹⁰¹. The *nēfilim* are depicted as demigods, famous heroes of days long gone by (Gen 6 4), men of great stature dwelling in fortified cities (Num 13 25-33). All this tallies with what we have learned

⁹⁵ KAI, no. 214:15-17; cf. my New Year I, 10; II, 31; J. C. Greenfield, RB 80 (1973), 46ff.

⁹⁶ KAI, no. 214: 20-22.

⁹⁷ J. C. de Moor, New Year I, 8. 10. 20. 29.

⁹⁸ Num 13 22. 28. 33 Dtn 1 28 2 10. 11. 21 9 2 Jos 11 21. 22 14 12. 15 15 18f. 21 11 Jdc 1 20.

⁹⁹ PNN *'hymn* // Ugar. *'ahmn*; *ššy* // Ugar. *ššy*; *tlmy* // Ugar. *tlmyn*.

¹⁰⁰ Dtn 2 10f. Gen 14 5. If it was ever a genuine designation of the ghosts of the dead, the meaning might well have been "the terrifying ones", cf. Ps 55 5 88 15f. A large number of Babylonian incantations was intended to ward off malevolent spirits, cf. M. Bayliss, Iraq 35 (1973), 118f.

¹⁰¹ In Hebrew and Aramaic the verb *npl* often means "to fall in battle". The so-called genealogy of the Hammurapi-dynasty (J. J. Finkelstein, JCS 20, 1966, 95ff.), which is actually a list drawn up for the purposes of the ancestor-cult, mentions in line 35 "the soldier who fell in the service of his lord". In Ugarit *mhrm* "warriors" are among the *rp'um* raised from the Nether World (CTA 22: B. 8f., quoted above).

about the Canaanite hero-cult. Of course the Israelites did not see these "giants" in the flesh, but almost certainly they heard about them from the inhabitants of the land.

V. Powerless Shades in Israel

Only in the mouth of the medium of Endor a spirit is called "a god coming up out of the earth" (*l'hym . . . 'lym mn h'rs*, I Sam 28 13) which strongly recalls the Ugaritic expression *'ilm 'arš* discussed above. Otherwise there is no evidence that the Israelites ever conferred divine status upon the spirits of the dead. No patriarch or king ever became the subject of an ancestral cult like that of the kings of Ugarit. It was incompatible with Yahwism to ascribe supernatural powers to the shades. For that reason it was already early in the history of Israel prohibited to have one's fortune told by means of a ghost: "should not a people consult their God?"¹⁰² With other religions of the ancient Near East the O. T. shares the belief that no human being ever returns bodily from the nether world¹⁰³. But in contrast to Babylonians and Canaanites the Israelites went one step further. They asserted that even the spirits (*rp'ym*) do not rise from the grave (Ps 88 11 Prov 2 18f.). Neither the fear of malevolent ghosts, so characteristic of the Babylonian incantations, nor invocations of dead heroes like those from Ugarit quoted above, are found in the Bible. Sacrificial banquets with the spirits of the deceased were decidedly pagan¹⁰⁴.

As these radically divergent views gained converts in Israel it became increasingly embarrassing to call the spirits of the dead *rôf'îm*, "healers, saviours". We know for certain that even in the days of the translators of the Septuaginta the original vocalization of the word *rp'ym* was still not forgotten. In two instances where *rp'ym* is evidently a designation of the shades, the Septuaginta has *ἱατροί*¹⁰⁵. Because it uses the same word for Hebrew *rôf'îm*, "physicians"¹⁰⁶, there is no room for doubt: in an earlier stage *rp'ym* "spirits" was read as *rôf'îm*, in accordance with the ancient Canaanite tradition. But this name became unsuitable for the powerless spirits and apparently equating the root *rp* with the root *rp̄h* "to be feeble", people began to read

¹⁰² Jes 8 19, cf. Lev 19 8 1 20 6. 27 Dtn 18 11 I Sam 28 8. 9 II Reg 21 6 23 24.

¹⁰³ Hi 10 21 16 22; R. Martin-Achard, *De la mort à la résurrection d'après l'A.T.*, 1956; J. C. de Moor, AOAT 16, 186. The late eschatological text Jes 26 19 is a notable exception.

¹⁰⁴ Dtn 26 14 32 17 Ps 106 28. 37.

¹⁰⁵ Jes 26 14 Ps 88 (87) 11. It was also still known that the term *rp'* had been connected with heroes of pristine ages, as appears from the renderings *Τῆρᾶνες* (II Sam 18 22), *γίγαντες* (Jes 14 9 Prov 21 16) and *γῆγενεῖς* (Prov 2 18 9 18).

¹⁰⁶ Jer 8 22 Hi 13 4 II Chr 16 12.

re'c'im, "the feeble ones"¹⁰⁷. Perhaps this was partly inspired by Jes 14:10 where the dead leaders of the earth say to the king of Babylon: "You too have become as weak as we!"

Appendix: Philological Comments on RS 34. 126

The text is written in the narrative style, as appears from the alternation of perfects and imperfects, as in the epic texts¹⁰⁸. Therefore it should be regarded as a descriptive ritual in the past tense like Lev 8 and 9, to mention only two examples from the O. T.

It is difficult to determine the subjects of the verbs in the narrative parts. In my opinion the second person masculine plural addressed in lines 2—3, 9—10, and probably line 30, are those who had to pronounce the benedictions of lines 31—34, the priests. The third person masculine singular of lines 4—8, 11—13a, 27—30a might be the king who is blessed in line 31 and who was the principal officiant in the Ugaritic ritual. It is assumed that the third person masculine forms of lines 13b—16 refer to Niqmaddu, but it is certainly possible to defend that it was the king who wept and ate the sacrificial meal.

Line 1

spr dbh qlm — The combination *spr dbh* is unique. Because there does not follow a list or a letter, *spr* cannot have these meanings¹⁰⁹. The unpublished text RS 17. 120:1 is called *spr n'm ššwm* which in view of the contents of the tablet has to mean "Manual on the Health of Horses". In view of the ritual nature of our text *spr* might be translated "liturgy" or "report" here.

The word *ql* is already attested in the meaning "swift one, courier"¹¹⁰. Here it would seem to be an euphemism for the spirits of the dead. The idea behind this is that the dead are carried swiftly away over the sea (Job 24:18) to the west where they enter the nether world¹¹¹. The swiftness of the spirits is also alluded to in CTA 22:B. 6 *blsmt*, "in a hurry". The superficial similarity to Akkad. *gallû*, an evil demon from the nether world, is entirely accidental.

¹⁰⁷ With regard to the form *re'la'im* (Jes 40:11) from *la'āl* (I Sam 7:9 Jes 65:25) may have been the model. See also Jer 38:4 *mrp'* = *mrph*.

¹⁰⁸ Perfects: *qri'tm* (2, 9), *qbi'tm* (3, 10), *qr'a* (4—8, 11—12), *'db* (13 ?), *ml'a* (15), *'dmt* (17), *'y* (27—30). Imperfects: *ydm'* (14), *tdm* (14), *ybk'y* (15), *ybl'* (16), *tq[ry]* (30). Only in the incantation (18—26) we have imperatives (*'iškn*, 18; *rd*, 21, 22; *špl*, 22) and one jussive (*tšh*, 19).

¹⁰⁹ J. Astleitner, WUS, no. 1947.

¹¹⁰ C. Vrolleaud, GLECS 7 (1954—57), 21; O. Eißfeldt, JSS 5 (1960), 45; M. Dahood, Ugaritic-Hebrew Philology, 1965, 70; M. Dietrich—O. Loretz, BiOr 23 (1966), 132; UF 6 (1974), 35. Cf. F. Ellermeier, Prophetie in Mari und Israel, 1968, 29.

¹¹¹ J. C. de Moor, AOAT 16, 171. 186f.

Line 2

qri'tm — For the vocalization see AOAT 16, 168f. The new form rules out the proposal of C. H. Gordon and A. F. Rainey with regard to *qri't*¹¹². The verb *qr'* with the accusative often means "to invoke" in Ugaritic, for example in CTA 20—22 where the legendary king *Dn'il* raises the spirits of the dead by invocation (*'iqra'km*). In Hebrew the same technical term is used twice, see above the main text.

Lines 4—7

b{.}lkn, trmn, bdn, rdn, tr — On the analogy of lines 11—12 we have to assume that these are the names of long dead members of the dynasty. None of them, however, was previously known as such. The name *blkn* occurs in PRU 5, no. 136:4 as the name of an ordinary citizen. Possibly it is a Babylonian name of the type *Aššur-kēnu*, *Šamaš-kēnu*¹¹³, *El-kānum*¹¹⁴, or *Bēl-ukīn*¹¹⁵. The element *Bēl-* is probably also present in Ugar. PNN like *bl, bly, bldn, 'abbly*, cf. U 5 N, no. 14:4 *be-li-li* "Bēl-is-my-god"¹¹⁶. *Trmn* is probably a Hurrian name containing the element *tarmi*-¹¹⁷. *Bdn* is a well-attested Ugaritic PN to be read *Badānu* or *Badōnu*¹¹⁸. I have found no clear-cut parallel for the PN *rdn*¹¹⁹, but *Tr* (*Tarru*) is attested¹²⁰.

Line 6

bdn k rdn — The usage of *k* is strange, although "as well as" is not impossible (Ps 87 7). A. Caquot thinks that the *k* might be a carelessly written *w*, but line 23 has the same reading.

Line 7

lmmn — This word occurs also in CTA 1:IV. 5. It should be identified with *lmy* in CTA 22:B. 10. Both compounds mean "whose-child?" (compare Gen 24 23. 47 *bat mī* "whose daughter?") and denote an usurpator¹²¹, as it would seem.

¹¹² C. H. Gordon, UTSuppl., 555; A. F. Rainey, JAOS 94 (1974), 189.

¹¹³ C. Saporetti, Onomastica Medio-Assira, II 1970, 129.

¹¹⁴ ARM XV, 143.

¹¹⁵ J. J. Stamm, Die akkadische Namengebung, 1939, 144.

¹¹⁶ F. Gröndahl, PTU, 20, supposes that the ' dropped out. In PRU 5, no. 4:6 there occurs a deity *bldn* for which UF 2 (1970), 198, may be consulted.

¹¹⁷ I. J. Gelb—P. M. Purves—A. A. MacRae, Nuzi Personal Names, 1943, 148f. 262f. Compare the Hittite PN *tarmana*, E. Laroche, Les Noms des Hittites, 1966, 179.

¹¹⁸ M. Noth, ZDPV 65 (1942), 61; F. Gröndahl, PTU, 118; G. Buccellati, The Amorites of the Ur III Period, 1966, 137.

¹¹⁹ The Hebr. PN *rōdan*, the Punic PN *rdnb'l* and the Palmyrene PN *rdum* are all dubious.

¹²⁰ M. Dietrich—O. Loretz—J. Sanmartín, UF 6 (1974), 38.

¹²¹ J. C. de Moor, AOAT 16, 117.

Line 8

qdmym — This argues in favour of my reading *qdmym* instead of *qdm ym* in CTA 4:VII. 34¹²². In that context I have rendered “those from the east”, but A. Caquot may be right in translating here “les Rephaim antiques”. Compare Hebr. *qadmōnī* which also has both meanings. In Gen 6 4 the Nephilim, a species related to the Rephaim, are called “the heroes of old”. In Gen 15 19f. Qadmonites and Rephaim have been joined as dimly remembered peoples.

Lines 11–12

'mttmr, nqmd — Because of the sequence probably ‘Ammitamru I and his son Niqmaddu II¹²³.

Line 12

'u — Usually *'u* means “or” in Ugaritic, but here as well as in line 26 *'u* seems to emphasize the last item of an enumeration. In Prov 31 4 Hebrew *'ô* is used in a comparable way.

Line 13

ksi' — The vowel hardly follows the aleph, because the word cannot be a genitive with *mlk* (// *'mttmr mlk*, and compare line 26 *nqmd mlk*). Therefore it is assumed that the vowel precedes the aleph, in accordance with the rules laid down in AOAT 16, X: **kussi'u*.

'd[b. 'a]ty — A. Caquot reads *'/pl []ty*. My proposal is a mere guess resting on nothing more than the following considerations:

a) The Ugaritic expression *'db ks'a* is attested in a ritual against snake-bite¹²⁴: U 5 V, no. 7:7, 12, etc. See also CTA 4:V. 108.

b) The placing of a chair for the spirits of the dead ancestors is a cultic practice in Babylonia: *ana eṭemmi* (GIDIM.MEŠ) *kimtišu ina šumēli kussâ tanaddi* “you place a chair for the spirits of his family to the left”¹²⁵. It is interesting to observe that both in Babylonia and Ugarit apparently only one chair was needed for several spirits.

c) The verb *'aty* is used for the coming of the *rp'um* in CTA 20: B. 4, 10.

Line 14

<l>tdm 'nh — The almost identical wording of Jer 14 17 and Thr 3 49 suggests the verb *dmy* “to come to rest, to cease” (3. pl., cf.

¹²² AOAT 16, 164–166.

¹²³ M. Liverani, *Storia di Ugarit*, 1962, 23 ff. 27 ff.; H. Klengel, *Geschichte Syriens*, II 1969, 340 ff. 343 ff.

¹²⁴ The very same procedure occurs in a Babylonian ritual against snake-bite: R. I. Caplice, *SANE I*, 1 (1974), 18.

¹²⁵ BBR II, no. 52:12 ff. Compare also MSL V, 157:93 *kussâ eṭemme* “chair of a ghost” and R. Borger, *BAL II*, 92:113, 117.

UT 88 note 2). In both instances the Hebrew verb is negated and therefore it is assumed that the Ugaritic scribe has omitted the *l*.

Line 15

tlhn ml[ʿa] — See Jes 28 s *kl šlhnwt mlʿw*.

Line 17

ʿdmt — As seen by A. Caquot the Arab. *ʿadima* “to be lacking, wanting” offers a suitable cognate.

tdmt — In my opinion this is a female noun which may be connected with Arab. *sadima* “to grieve, to be affected with anxiety”, *sadam* “grief, anxiety”. The irregular correspondence between Ugar. *t* and Arab. *s* is far from rare¹²⁶.

Line 18

ʿišhn — The root is doubtlessly *šhn* because this root is used in connection with the sun in Akkadian, Aramaic and Arabic. I take the form to be a 2. sg. fem. imperative of the N-stem: **ʿinšahinī* > **ʿiššahinī* “grow hot!”. Probably the sun is prayed here to give light and warmth to the spirits.

Line 19

nyr tbt — The epithet *nyr* is used with the moon-god *yrh* (masculine, CTA 24:16, 31) as well as with the sun-goddess *špš* (feminine, CTA 16:I. 37). Therefore *tbt* is an adjective with *nyr* here. For the “good” light see Koh 11 7.

ʿln špš tšh — This phrase is taken over from CTA 6:VI. 22f., be it that *tšh* is probably a jussive here. Its second occurrence proves that I was wrong in taking *ʿln* in CTA 6:VI. 22 as “on top of him”¹²⁷. It should be regarded as an adverb “(from) above”. Akkad. *elēnu* is used in exactly the same way with Šamaš (CAD [E] 84). Šapšu is asked here to act as an intermediary, just as she is in U 5 V, no. 7. See furthermore note 79 above.

Line 20

ʿatr bʿlk — The particle *ʿatr* is a preposition “after”¹²⁸. “Your lord” refers to the owner of the throne, cf. Akkad. *bēl kussī*.

l. ksiʿ — A. Caquot reads *l. ksh*. Syntactically the *l* has to be a vocative particle, because the syntactic structure of the passage resembles that of CTA 2:IV. 8f.; Ps 92 10.

¹²⁶ Examples have been collected by G. R. Driver, CML, 128; H. Goeseke, WZHalle 7 (1957—58), 630; M. Dahood, Bibl 45 (1964), 409; 46 (1965), 331f.; J. Blau—J. C. Greenfield, BASOR 200 (1970), 12f. ¹²⁷ AOAT 16, 235.

¹²⁸ J. C. de Moor, AOAT 16, 194; UF 2 (1970), 305; BiOr 31 (1974), 8.

On the vocalization of *ksi* see above line 13. The throne has to "descend" into the nether world to alleviate the fate of the rulers of the Ugaritic dynasty (see the comparative material cited in the main text above).

Line 27

'šty — This is doubtlessly the ordinal number "first", corresponding to Akkad. *ištiyūm* (W. von Soden, GAG, 70a). The numbers "first" to "seventh" may either refer to the seven apparitions mentioned by name, or to the seven days of the New Year Festival¹²⁹.

ṭ'y — This verb means "to make an oblation, to sacrifice"¹³⁰.

Line 31

šlm šlm — The same formulae have been used at the beginning and the end of the god list U 5 V, no. 10:Obv. 1—3, Rev. 11—13. The new text proves that we have to translate the repeated *šlm šlm* by "hail! hail!"¹³¹. Compare Hebrew *šalôm šalôm* in Jes 57 19 Jer 6 14 8 11 I Chr 12 19. A similar greeting of the officiating king and queen has been preserved in CTA 23 : 7.

Anhand ugaritischer Texte wird gezeigt, daß *rāpi'ū* „Arzt, Heiler“, im weiteren Sinn auch „Heiland“, ein Ehrentitel lebender kanaanäischer Könige war. Als Epitheton Baals wurde der Ausdruck verwendet in Verbindung mit dem Neujahrsfest, wenn er die Toten heilte und wiederbelebte. Geister toter Helden wurden ebenfalls *rāpi'ūma* genannt; die Kanaanäer verehrten sie wie göttliche Wesen und beschworen sie im Kultus. Dagegen ist in Israel nur YHWH Heiland im vollen Sinn des Wortes. Die Geschichten von den refaitischen Riesen sind vom Heroenkult der Kanaanäer herzuleiten. Weil „Heiler“ als Bezeichnung der Totengeister in Israel nicht angebracht war, hat man sich — wenn auch ziemlich spät — zu einer anderen Vokalisierung entschlossen. — In einem Anhang wird der neue ugaritische Text RS 34. 126 besprochen.

L'auteur montre à partir de textes ugaritiques que *rāpi'ū* «médecin, guérisseur», signifie aussi, au sens large, «sauveur» et est ainsi un titre honorifique donné aux rois cananéens vivants. En tant qu'épithète de Baal, le mot est utilisé en relation avec la fête du Nouvel An, lorsque Baal guérissait les morts et les rappelait à la vie. Les esprits des héros morts sont aussi appelés *rāpi'ūma*. Les Cananéens les honoraient comme des êtres vivants et les invoquaient dans le culte. En Israël, par contre, seul YHWH est sauveur au sens plein du terme. Les narrations sur les géants rephtaïques dérivent du culte cananéen des héros. Parce que le mot «sauveur» n'était pas opportun en Israël pour désigner les esprits des morts, on s'est résolu — tardivement il est vrai — à une vocalisation différente. — En appendice l'auteur examine le nouveau texte ugaritique 34. 126.

¹²⁹ New Year I, 6. 10. 12. 14. 18. 24.

¹³⁰ Bibliography: UF 2 (1970), 320 n. 99.

¹³¹ My translation in UF 2 (1970), 312f., should be corrected accordingly.



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