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## Table of Contents

General overview of the epigraphic finds from Ugarit.....	9
The Archive of the Great Priest ( <i>rb khnm, Attēnu / Hurāṣānu</i> ).	
A Functional Analysis .....	13
( <i>bn</i> ) <i>āgp̄tr</i> / ( <i>Binu</i> ) <i>Agaptarri</i> 's House: The Functional Analysis of an	
Ugaritian 'Archive' (PH Room 10).....	27
Archive "Maison aux Tablettes Littéraires" – "Ville Sud". A Functional	
Analysis .....	55
The <i>Urtēnu</i> 's Archive: An Overview .....	61
The Archive of <i>Rapānu</i> / "La Maison de Rapanou". A Functional	
Analysis .....	65
The Ugaritic Archives of the "Maison du Lettré" and "Maison de	
<i>Rašap'abu</i> " .....	77
The Archive of the So-Called "Palais Sud". A Functional Analysis.....	87
The Archive Between the Central Palace and the South Palace (PC/PS).	
A Functional Analysis .....	93
Scattered Archives and Text Collections. A Functional Analysis.....	99
The Texts Set of the "Maison aux Jarres" .....	111
The Archives of the "Palais Royal". An Overview .....	113
The Ras Ibn Hani Archive. A Functional Analysis .....	117
Appendix I: Archaeological Register of the Ras Shamra Mission .....	123
Appendix II: The unpublished syllabic texts from the house of <i>Rapānu</i> ...	129
Appendix III: The <i>marzeah</i> and the Ugaritic magic ritual system: a close	
reading of KTU 1.114 .....	137
References .....	165
Abbreviations .....	175

## General overview of the epigraphic finds from Ugarit

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

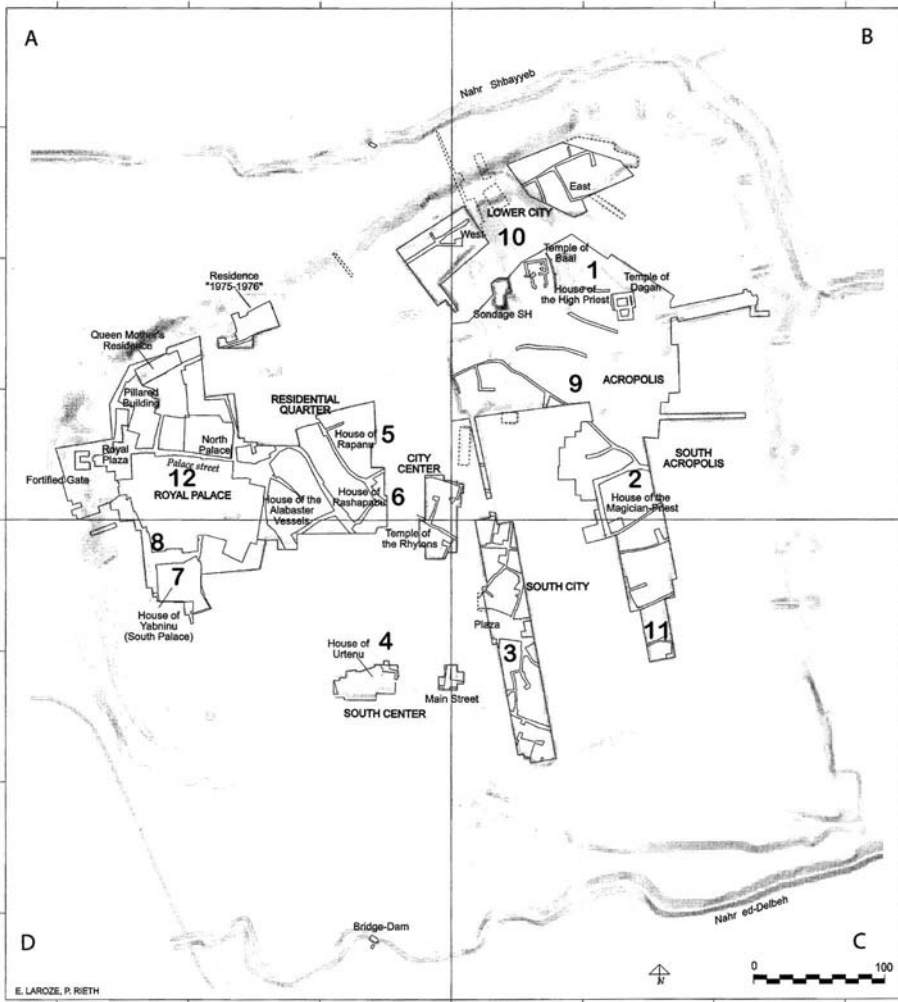
6. The distinction between “private” and “public” does not adequately define the archive of the “Great Priest”, for example.

PRIVATE ARCHIVES

Religious archives:	cult = archive of the Great Priest ( <i>rb khnm</i> , <i>Attēnu/Hurāṣānu</i> )
	magic = archive of the Magician Priest ( <i>mḥll</i> , <i>Agaptarru</i> )
Literary archives:	<i>Lamaštu</i> library (in the Magician Priest's archive) Literary tablets archive/PS Maison aux tablettes
Chancellory archives:	<i>Urtēnu</i> 's archive <i>Rapānu</i> 's archive
Management archive:	<i>Rašapabu</i> 's archive The 'Palais Sud' Archive
Residual archives:	Text collection "Between 'Palais Central' and 'Palais Sud'"
	Scattered text collections in the Acropolis Scattered text collections in the "Ville Basse" The 'Maison aux Jarres' archive

STATE ARCHIVES

The Royal Palace Archive (overview)  
Secondary Palace Archive: Ras Ibn Hani archive



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

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

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

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

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

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

3. See del Olmo Lete, 2017b.

4. See del Olmo Lete, 1999.

cultic praxis. Moreover, both archives were located very close to each other. We will have to analyse the textual types found there and explain why they were separated into two different groups and placed in two different archives.

However, first it is appropriate to present a distribution of the texts as a whole, which may already provide a first glimpse into the nature and function of the archive.

*Mythological texts:*

The Baal Cycle:

KTU 1.1 (RS 3.361, t.p. 345);  
 KTU 1.2 (RS 3.367+3.346, t.p. 203);  
 KTU 1.3 + 1.8 (RS 2[014] + 3.363+364; t.p. 210-264, 339);  
 KTU 1.4 (RS 2[008] + 3.341+ 3.347; t.p. 210-264, 338, 341, 343);  
 KTU 1.5 (RS 2[022] + 3[565]; t.p. 210-264);  
 KTU 1.6 (RS 2[009] + 5.155; t.p. 210-264, 470).

Mytheme of 'Baal's Hunting':

KTU 1.10 (RS 3.362 + 5.181; t.p. 337, 485);  
 KTU 1.11 (RS 3.319; t.p. 338);  
 KTU 1.12 (RS 2.[012]; t.p. 210-214);

Mytheme of Anat:

KTU 1.13 (RS 1.006; t.p. 300);

Mytheme of the *ilm n'mm*:

KTU 1.23 (RS 2.002; t.p.209).

The first surprising aspect of texts of this type is that they were found in the archaeological context of the cultic installations (Acropolis) and that they were kept by the personnel linked to the cult in one way or another (Archive of the *rb khnm*). This means that we are dealing with texts considered to be 'ritual' texts. And the only way of ritualizing a text is its recitation in the cult, a ritual function for which we have a well-known model in the recitation of the creation myth *Enūma eliš* during the *akītu* festival in Babylonia. To recite in the cult means to actualize the bearing of the recited text-myth. This, in turn, implies that they were accorded sacred character. These texts and their actualization shaped the foundation of the religion and confession of the Ugaritian faith, the *Magna Carta* of the Ugaritian concept of gods and the cosmos. Reciting them guaranteed their meaning.



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

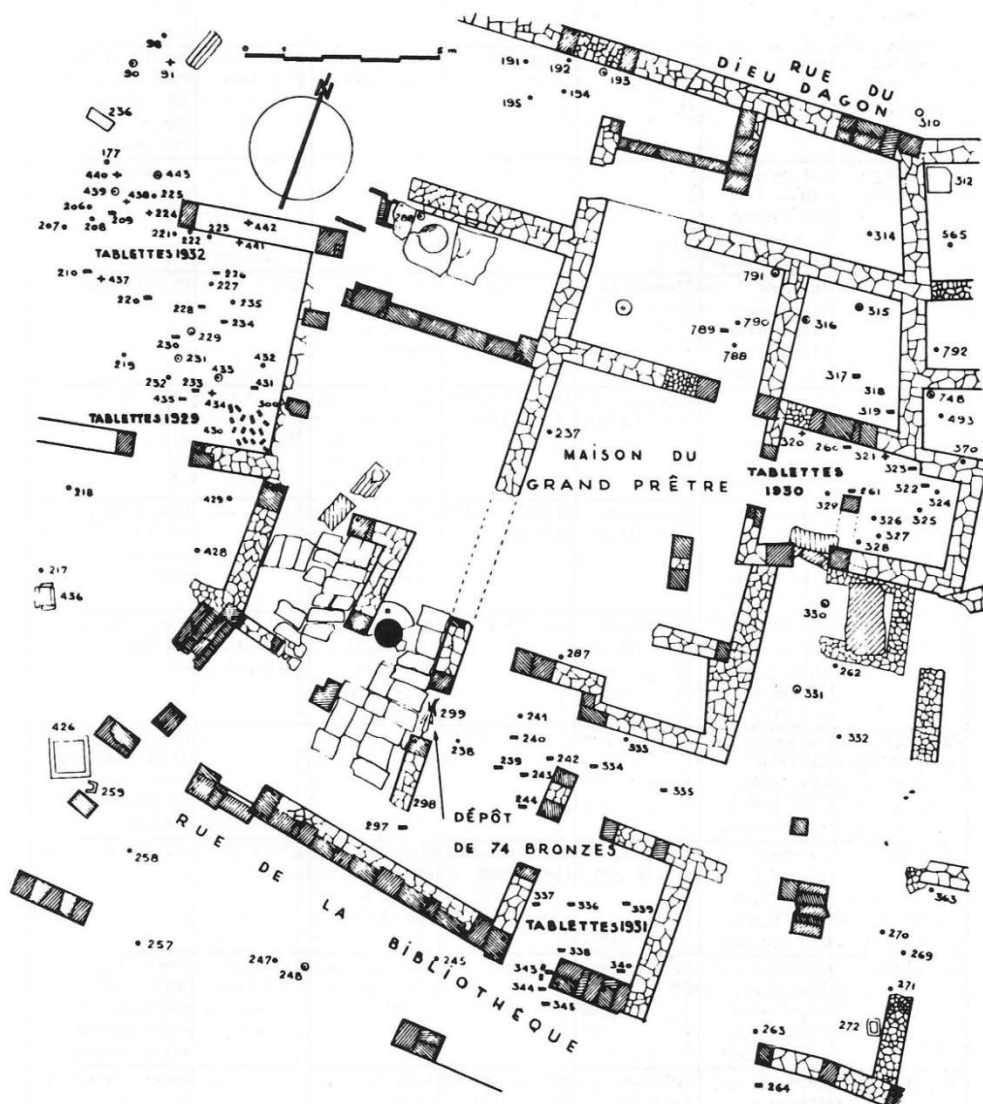


PLATE 1

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

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

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

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

*Epic Texts:*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

12. See del Olmo Lete, 2014a:23–25.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Agaptarru*'s archive), these texts belong without exception to a more general cultic archive. Even the presence of a duplicate text (KTU 1.41) in this archive could be because the *rb khnm* also took part in it (together with the king as his *l'y*). Also, his supreme position in the hierarchy would justify the presence in the High Priest's archive of any ritual text, as was pointed out above. On the other hand, the frequent mention of cult places (*bt il(m) / mlk*, KTU 1.43:2; 1.39:12; *bt b'lt btm rmm*, KTU 1.41:37; *gb bt mlk*, KTU 1.43:1–2; *bt ilm kbkbm*, KTU 1.43:2–3; *m'lt mdbht bt ilt*, KTU 1.41:23–24; *yrdt mdbht ... lb'lt bhtm*, KTU 1.39:20), as well as processional entry rituals (*kt'rb...*, KTU 1.43:1) and the transport of images (*yqh ilm*, KTU 1.23:1) are evident in the texts cited above. In these, offerings to the dead (*inš ilm*) and of viscera (*kbd(m)*, *npš wāp*, *lb ršmt*) are made, which hints at sacrifices that would imply some sort of divinatory practice, peculiar to the *prln rb khnm*. The same applies to the mention of the *ttb rgm* ritual, assigned to the king, but in which undoubtedly the *prln rb khnm* would have a decisive role, as it was a ritual of sacred query and response.<sup>23</sup> Something similar could be said about the mention of the *gtrm*. In any case, KTU 1.41, the festival of autumn first fruits, of prime importance in the sacred calendar of Ugarit (as was pointed out in connection with KTU 1.46, also an offering of the new / full moon festival) required the presence and participation of the *rb khnm*.

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

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