

Who killed the dragon?*

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[A number of candidates appear to have killed the sea-dragon in the AB cycle: Ba^{al} and ^ʿAnat explicitly, El and Ašerah implicitly. It is proposed that a recognition that all four versions lie behind the tradition leads to increased understanding of the intricacies within Canaanite theology and cosmological theory. Yam's (and Mot's) role in this is seen to be essential, if apparently negative, as mirror-images of Ba^{al}'s destiny, while ^ʿAṭtar has significant connections with both them and Ba^{al}. A cosmogonic explanation is offered as motive for the killing, and Vedic analogies are drawn on to show how the myth deals with the differentiation of pre-cosmic reality and the establishment of a fragile world-order].

The Ugaritic AB cycle appears to be familiar with no less than three accounts of the killing of the Sea god, who is to be construed as a dragon. Such variety in mythological tradition should occasion no surprise, but clearly it does raise questions of consistency within the space of one literary work. In the present article I shall examine the various forms that occur, and attempt to reconcile them with one another, in the sense of seeking an appropriate explanation of the variety in terms of Ugaritic theology.

The three accounts attribute the victory over Yam to three different deities, and it is here that inconsistency arises, because the first two, by Ašerah and ^ʿAnat respectively, superficially at least detract from the literary force of the third, by Ba^{al}. We shall deal with these in turn.

1 Ašerah

Ugaritic mythology gives no account of this myth, but we may infer its existence from the goddess' chief title, *rbt aṭrt ym*, as proposed by Albright¹. He interprets the formula as "the Lady who treads on the Sea[dragon]", and understands this to be an allusion to a myth in which Ašerah overcomes Yam. While this may be regarded as no more than a conjecture, it is a very plausible one. No obvious significance in the more conventional form ("the Lady who walks on the sea") presents itself: we know of no good reason for a general maritime connection for Ašerah, and the existence of a fisherman assistant (*KTU* 1.4 II 31) or the Tyrian and Sidonian connections (*KTU* 1.14 IV 38f. etc.) require explanation themselves rather than provide it for the

* Paper read to the Traditional Cosmology Society, Edinburgh, November 1985.

1. W. F. Albright, *Yahweh and the gods of Canaan* (= *YGC*). London 1968, p. 105, id., *EJ* III, p. 704 (art. Ašerah). For the more usual rendering ("the Lady who walks on the sea") see *ibid.*, *Archaeology and the religion of Israel*. Garden City, NY 1965³, p. 76. In support of the view expressed in *YGC*, *EJ*, we may cite M. C. Astour's discussion in *Hellenosemitica*. Leiden 1967², p. 206, though without endorsing his etymology of Atargatis.

broader context. The alternative, that *ym* be construed as "day", so that the title alludes to the goddess crossing the heavens by day in her solar capacity², has not generally found favour among Ugaritic scholars.

The theme of conflict between goddess and Sea god is quite in keeping with the solar character of the goddess, for we have two parallels to the supposed Ugaritic myth; these are the conflict of Marduk and Ti'amat in the Babylonian *Enuma Eliš*³, and of Ra^c and ^cApepi in Egyptian tradition⁴. I do not propose to try and sort out the question of primacy here, in view of its endless ramifications in terms of ethnic movements in prehistory, the problem of the Semitic element in Egyptian, and so forth⁵. Suffice to say that there is undoubtedly contact between the Egyptian and Sumero-Akkadian traditions, and with the Canaanite world lying between the two cultural matrices, it should occasion no surprise to find traces of the same tradition. Its faintness, surviving in no more than a divine title, points both to its antiquity within the tradition and to the complexity of the subsequent development of Ugaritic mythology which saw the rise of the other versions to be treated below. It may be true to say that it is a myth appropriate to riverine cultures, dependent on irrigation and sunshine for the maintenance of the economic order, where the sea (or the sudden flash flood and wild storm) are seen as potentially disruptive and baneful influences) rather than a maritime city such as Ugarit, for which the sea was an important economic lifeline. In this case the Ugaritic version is certainly to be seen as derivative, whatever its actual origin^{5a}.

Now both the Mesopotamian and the Egyptian versions of the myth are cosmogonic in character. The daily character of the Egyptian myth in no way detracts from this, for each new dawn, marking the triumph of Ra^c, is in effect a renewal of the world and the reassertion of the cohesive power of sun-god and the monarchy symbolised in it. Albright suggests a similar cosmogonic dimension in the Ugaritic allusion⁶, and this will be seen to be the point of contact between the different versions.

While the myth in which Ašerah plays the primary role is in no passage actually narrated, we may have a more extensive allusion to it in *KTU* 1.6 VI 45-52. Although there are unfortunate gaps in the column, it appears that the conflict between Ba^cal and Mot is finally resolved by the intervention of Šapšu. She warns Mot to desist from fighting, for fear of enraging El, and he appears to concede victory to Ba^cal (lines 22-35). The gap in the text which then ensues makes it impossible to be certain who is being addressed when the narrative resumes. Either Šapšu herself is apostrophised, as an underworld deity who presides over the dead

2. D. Nielsen, *Ras-Šamra-Mythologie und biblische Theologie (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 214[1936] 1-69)*. See discussion of Nielsen in J. Gray, "The desert god Aštr in the literature and religion of Canaan", *JNES* 8(1949)73f. On the solar associations and character of Ašerah see also my article "The stela of the seated god from Ugarit", *UF* 15(1983)273. On the etymology of *qrt* in ESA, see F. Jamme, "Le panthéon sud-arabe préislamique d'après les sources épigraphiques", *Le Muséon* 60(1947)109, n. 467. M. Höfner in H. W. Haussig, ed., *Wörterbuch der Mythologie* I. Stuttgart 1965, p. 497. Also E. Lipiński, "The goddess Aširat in ancient Arabia, in Babylon, and in Ugarit", *OLP* 3(1972)101-119.

3. *ANET*, pp. 66f. (tablet IV).

4. *ANET* 6f. See also R. O. Faulkner, "The Bremner-Rhind papyrus, III, IV", *JEA* 23(1937)166-185; 24(1938)41-53. The late Edfu tradition appears to identify ^cApepi with Set (a roaring serpent called Be): cf. H. W. Fairman, "The myth of Horus at Edfu I", *JEA* 21(1935)32. If this is anything more than a purely casual thematic link (i. e. if there is some ancient substance to the identification) then we may further cite the Horus and Set conflict as an example of the same solar myth. Set is after all the storm-god, who in Egypt represents not beneficence and fertility—provided by Osiris, the Nile—but rather the wild destructiveness and chaos brought about by tropical storms. See J. Zandee, "Seth als Sturmgott", *ZAS* 90(1963)144-156; H. Te Velde, *Seth, god of confusion*. Leiden 1977², p. 25. The latter also notes the opposition of Set and ^cApepi, *op. cit.*, pp. 71, 99ff.

5. For the most recent discussion see B. G. Trigger *et al*, *Ancient Egypt: a social history*. Cambridge 1983, pp. 11ff., 36ff. On the particular problem see J. Day, *God's conflict with the dragon and the sea*. Cambridge 1985.

5a. On the other hand it may be argued that it is precisely a myth of the sea, with the riverine cultures of Mesopotamia (and Egypt?) actually borrowing it from Canaan. The same goes for the Indian analogue of the conflict between Indra and Vṛtra, since here too we have a myth concerning primaeva waters arising in a land-locked milieu. A psychological rather than an environmental origin would of course make such discussion superfluous.

6. *YGC*, *loc. cit.*

and the gods of the region, or Mot is told that Šapšu will subject him to the chthonian powers. On purely grammatical grounds either is possible. The following may be compared:

i) *Šapšu is addressed*⁷

Šapšu, the spirits⁹ are beneath you,
below you, Šapšu, are the ghosts!
The gods are around you, lo!
the dead are round about you!
Kořar is your companion
and Ȝasis your familiar.
On the sea of the monster and
the dragon
Kořar-and-Ȝasis navigates you,
Kořar-and-Ȝasis propels you.

ii) *Mot is addressed*⁸

Šapšu will subject you to the spirits,⁹
Šapšu will subject you to the ghosts!
The gods will be around you, lo!
the dead will be round about you!
Kořar will be your companion
and Ȝasis your familiar.
On the sea of the monster and
the dragon
Kořar-and-Ȝasis navigates you,
Kořar-and-Ȝasis propels you.

(The final three lines in particular are susceptible of different translations, but the gist seems to be either a journey as above or perhaps a banishing of monster and dragon –and Sea too?¹⁰– to be construed as a metaphor for a journey.) The sea-journey appears to be of a subterranean nature, and suggests the use of the same motif found in Egyptian thought, where Ra^c travels through the night and the underworld on a solar bark in an image complementary to his daytime journey across the heavens.

The problem concerning the two versions given above is, which is the more plausible not in grammatical but in mythological terms? Just as the various chthonian forms of Ra^c (Horus, Khepri, Ra^c himself) serve both a macrocosmic and microcosmic purpose in mortuary theory, so that on the first level we have the theme of cosmic renewal, and on the second that of individual regeneration, so the two versions here would seem to belong to the first and second level respectively. So in the second case we should understand Mot's subterranean journey –signifying presumably his own death, but also his possible regeneration. This seems an unlikely purpose here, since the whole point of the text is presumably his final defeat and the triumph of Ba^{al}. Accordingly, the first translation –or something on the same lines– seems preferable: that is, Šapšu is addressed, and her own chthonian role is described in terms of her having power over the inhabitants of the underworld. That Kořar should be her companion is not surprising: Eusebius tells us on the authority of Philo that Kořar was the inventor of navigation¹¹ and his connection with Ptah may be regarded as fairly certain, the latter in his mouth-opening function and mummiform iconography having obvious underworld associations¹². Now if we are to see here an analogue of Ra^c's nightly subterranean journey, as Kořar's

7. Cf. J. C. L. Gibson, *Canaanite myths and legends* (= *CML*). Edinburgh 1978², p. 81; Astour, *op. cit.*, pp. 287f.

8. Cf. G. del Olmo Lete, *Mitos y leyendas de Canaán* (= *MLC*). Madrid 1981, pp. 234f., who appears to regard Ba^{al} as the addressee.

9. The *rpum* are dead kings: cf. *KTU* 1.161 *passim*.

10. Del Olmo Lete, *MLC*, p. 235.

11. *Praep. Ev.* 1. 10. 11.

12. On the equivalence of Kořar and Ptah cf. *KTU* 1.3 VI 4f., where we are told that "Caphtor (Crete?) is the seat of his dwelling / enthroning, Memphis the land of his inheritance". *hkpt* is commonly construed as Eg. *ḥt K' pt(h)*: see for example T. H. Gaster, *Thespis*. New York 1950, p. 155; Albright, *YGC*, pp. 119, 120 n. 69; del Olmo Lete, *MLC*, p. 547; Gibson, *CML*, p. 146. Cf. also *KTU* 1.3 VI 8f.: *ḥt np šmm*– which Gibson translates as "the islands of Noph (Memphis) of the heavens". Cf. U. Oldenburg, *The conflict between El and Baal in Canaanite religion*. Leiden 1969, p. 80; J. Sanmartin, "Glossen zum ugaritischen Lexikon", *UF* 10(1978)352f., n. 26; J. C. de Moor, *The seasonal pattern* (AOAT 16). Neukirchen 1971, p. 51, n. 52. On Kořar in Egypt, see J. Leibovitch, "Un nouveau dieu égypto-canaanéen", *ASAE* 48(1948)435-444.

derivation and indeed implicit identification with Ptah seem to suggest, then it is not unreasonable to see in the allusions to "monster and dragon" (and even to sea itself—see n. 10) a reference to a serpent-vanquishing myth. This would provide the explanation of Ašerah's title on the supposition of the equivalence of the two goddesses (see. n. 2).

2 °Anat

In *KTU* 1.3 III 32ff. °Anat sees the messengers of Ba'al who have come to bid her celebrate his victory over Yam with a *hieros gamos*, and breaking into a cold sweat, bursts out:

What enemy has risen against Ba'al,
 what foe against the Charioteer of the clouds?
 Did I not smite the Beloved of El, Sea?
 Did I not kill River, the great god?
 40 Did I not muzzle the dragon? I closed his [mouth]!¹³
 I smote the writhing serpent,
 Tyrant¹⁴ with seven heads!
 I smote the Beloved of El, the monster!¹⁵
 I destroyed the bull-calf of El, °Atik!
 45 I smote the Bitch of El, Fire,¹⁶
 I killed Flame, the daughter of El!

The primary question of interpretation here is the form of the verbs. Kapelrud takes them to be second person singular, so that °Anat expresses surprise that there should be enemies risen against Ba'al, since he has killed Yam and his confederates¹⁷. But this fails to account for the prefixed conjugation forms in line 40¹⁸. The majority of other translators have taken all the verbs to be first person forms, so that °Anat claims the victory herself, as above¹⁹. This then raises the problem that we have already had an account of Ba'al's victory over Yam (*KTU* 1.2 IV 27f.) and that Mot's words to Ba'al in *KTU* 1.5 I 1ff. —which are formally similar to the passage just cited— clearly understand him (Ba'al) to be Yam's destroyer:

13. Cf. del Olmo Lete, *MLC*, pp. 185. 634, and restoring *p* in the lacuna.

14. Gibson, *CML*, p. 50; W. G. E. Watson, "Ugaritic and Mesopotamian literary texts", *UF* 9(1977)274f.; del Olmo Lete, *MLC*, p. 629.

15. Reading *arš*, taking it as the same term that appears in 1.6 VI 51 above, and construing accordingly, with *m* of the preceding *ilm* taken to be an old mimation of the genitive or as an enclitic - in either case for euphony in declamation. However, the final letter of *arš* is in doubt, and some scholars have taken it to be *š*. On this reading, I like Cassuto's rendering of the line: "I smote the Beloved of the denizens of the underworld" — *The Goddess Anath*. Jerusalem 1971, p. 135. Cf. Astour, *op. cit.*, p. 292. Albright's translation, *BASOR* 84(1941)16, is a hybrid. On the first translation the question of why the monster should be "beloved of El" is resolved if we recognise it as Yam and see in this his ideological title, for the significance of which see my article "Jedidiah and cognate forms as a title of royal legitimation", *Biblica* 66(1985)120ff.

16. Or: the divine bitch. It would seem that here we have the West Semitic prototype of the Greek Cerberos (κερβερος) in spite of the need for a sex-change. Cf. West Semitic *balbal* > βαρβαρος (*l* > *r* with case-ending). On its ultimate Mesopotamian origin cf. Cassuto, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

17. A. S. Kapelrud, *The violent goddess*. Oslo 1969, pp. 54 ff.

18. H. L. Ginsberg, who clearly liked this view, recognised the problem: *BASOR* 84(1941)13. Cf. *ANET*, p. 137.

19. C. Viroilleaud, *La déesse °Anat (MRS 4)*. Paris 1938, p. 51; C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic literature* Rome 1949, pp. 19 f.; G. R. Driver, *CML*, p. 87; Gibson, *CML*, p. 50; Gaster, *Thespis*, p. 214; Ginsberg, *ANET*, p. 137; A. Jirku, *Kanaanäische Mythen und Epen aus Ras Shamra-Ugarit*. Gütersloh 1962, pp. 30f.; A. Caquot *et al.*, *Textes ougaritiques* I. Paris 1974, pp. 167f.; J. Gray, *The legacy of Canaan*. Leiden 1965², p. 39; Astour, *op. cit.*, p. 292; del Olmo Lete, *MLC*, p. 185.

When you smote Lotan the twisting serpent,
 destroyed the writhing serpent,
 Tyrant with seven heads...

(the passage appears to be repeated in the damaged section in lines 27ff). In a curious way, which we shall consider below, this further seeming confusion points to a possible solution to the whole issue of multiple authorship of the dragon-slaying. We need not therefore resort to any emendation of the text by way of attempt to solve the present apparent contradiction. Our discussion will also explain what appears to be a case of a myth transferred from one goddess to another.

3 Ba'al

There is no immediate problem concerning Ba'al's killing of Yam in *KTU* 1.2 IV 27f.: it is the climax of the narrative in the first two tablets of the AB cycle, and the resolution of the conflict inherent in the competing claims of Yam and Ba'al for kingship among the gods. It also anticipates the second victory by Ba'al, over Mot, and confirms his rule over the world of men.

But a problem clearly does arise when we consider the presence of these three variants of the same myth, firstly within one fairly coherent and geographically concentrated community, and secondly—and all the more acutely—within the one corpus, on the assumption that the AB cycle belongs together as one relatively homogeneous composition. Now the divine name Lotan appearing in *KTU* 1.5 I 1 just cited provides us with a clue. For this is surely the equivalent of the form Leviathan appearing in biblical tradition²⁰. Now the biblical passages alluding to the motif are of particular interest insofar as they introduce a fourth candidate as dragon-slayer, that is, Yahweh. A number of scholars have supposed that a certain amount of the imagery associated with Ba'al in the Ugaritic tradition has been attributed to Yahweh in the Old Testament²¹, but it is altogether more plausible to suppose—though the supposition can only be presented as a conjecture for the sake of argument—that as Yahweh is derived from El²², so the attribution of the dragon-slaying to the former actually points to an original myth in which it was El who performed the deed.

It may be countered at this point that our discussion has left reality behind by departing from the evidence. But the alleged presence of Ba'al (sc. the Canaanite storm-god, Hadad) in the Old Testament is hardly established by the use of the epithet *b'el*, which points to a god, but never once clearly identifies him. Indeed, such evidence as there is suggests that "the Ba'al" is rather El himself, who is the object of Hosea's vituperation, for example²³. The reasons for El being at once the bitter rival of Yahweh and the deity from whom Yahweh himself was derived are complex, and would require a survey of a large amount of biblical evidence which must await later treatment, but it lies in brief in the religious divisions which as much as ethnic, political and historical divisions, separated Israel and Judah. In Israel El was reinstated as the object of

20. The closely parallel vocabulary of *KTU* 1.5 i 1ff., and Is. 27, 1 make the identification inescapable. Cf. del Olmo Lete, *MLC*, p. 573; Cassuto, *op. cit.*, p. 50; Caquot, *op. cit.*, p. 239, n. b; Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 30; M. J. Dahood, *Psalms* II. Garden City, NY, 1973², pp. 205f.; O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13-39* (ET). London 1974, p. 221, n. d; J. A. Emerton, "A difficult part of Mot's message to Baal in the Ugaritic texts", *AJBA* 1(1972)50-71; id., "Leviathan and *ltn*: the vocalization of the Ugaritic word for the dragon", *VT* 32(1982)327-331. Other biblical allusions to the motif occur in Pss. 74, 13-17 (cosmogonic); 89, 11-13 (EUV 10-12, cosmogonic); 104, 26; Job 3, 8 (read *yam* rather than *yom* in parallel to *lwytn*); 7, 12; 40, 25ff.; Is. 27, 1 is eschatological (= a new cosmogony); cf. 51, 9-10 (cosmogonic: cf. C. Stuhlmüller, *Creative redemption in Deutero-Isaiah*. Rome 1970, pp. 86-91).

21. For the most recent discussion see J. Day, *God's conflict with the dragon and the sea*. Cambridge 1985. For a review article, see N. Wyatt, "Killing and Cosmogony in Canaanite and Biblical Thought", *UF* 17(1985)375-381.

22. Cf. F. M. Cross, *Canaanite myth and Hebrew epic*. Cambridge, Mass., 1973, pp. 71-73.

23. Cf. Hos. 8, 5 f., and H. Tur-Sinai's proposal, *Encyclopaedia Biblica*. Jerusalem 1950, vol. I, col. 31. See also Pope, *op. cit.*, p. 35; Cassuto, *op. cit.*, p. 57 n.

the state cultus by Jeroboam, in direct rejection of the Yahweh-cult imposed by David, while in Judah Yahweh's pedigree is attested in frequent references²⁴.

If we may take it, for the sake of argument, that the Canaanites were familiar with a myth in which El had originally destroyed the primordial dragon, then a different complexion is put upon the problem facing us. For a fourth candidate does not further complicate the issue, but rather resolves it. A diagram may clarify the question of the relationships of the various deities:

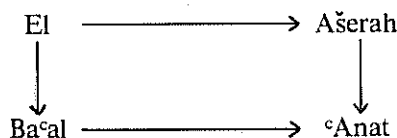


Diagram 1

In the case of the horizontal relationships, we have in each case a god and his consort. Now for purposes of the narrative of mythology husband and wife are commonly presented as quite independent persons, each with a well-developed personality. But this should not blind us to the theological reality lying behind them, for they are two facets of the same transcendent power, expressed in the imagination in terms of the poles which are reconciled at the "ontological level" of the *coincidentia oppositorum*. There is thus much wisdom in Albright's view of Anat as the "Wrath of Ba'al"²⁵, whatever one thinks of his particular argument. The transfer of a mythical motif from one to another is eminently logical in such a theological milieu, and is even more to be expected if there is any worth in my suggestion that the goddess is in effect the *śakti*, or active power, of her consort²⁶.

So far as the vertical relationships are concerned, we have in the lower figures, Ba'al and Anat, *alter egos* of the primary divine couple. There may of course be a matter of historical differentiation here, in which the former belong to an immigrant society in Ugarit, but simply to state that would be to miss the point, for they have been formally incorporated into the theological system as microcosmic counterparts to the macrocosmic deities whose stature is if anything enhanced by the advent of younger deities^{26a}. The actual absence of any reference to El killing the dragon, and the shadowiness of Ašerah's role in the matter, are only to be expected in the developed system in which Ba'al and his consort are charged with the actual task. There is no question of El becoming a *deus otiosus* (or of his consort undergoing the same fate), but rather his transcendence is increased by raising him above the concerns of the world. Ba'al on the other hand might be in danger of no more glorious a role than a demiurge, and his formal raising to kingly status among the gods serves to grant him a relative transcendence too.

One purpose in the seeming overloading of the tradition—a kind of mythical overkill!—is undoubtedly to reinforce the message contained in the myth: to express in as comprehensive a manner as possible the triumph of the divine realm. But a triumph over what? In analysing the biblical evidence, N. K. Kiessling characterises the various dragons as "horrible but vague incarnations of evil, darkly outlined opponents of both God and man"²⁷. Is this a fair picture of the biblical scene, and is it of any value in assessing the Ugaritic evidence? I think it contains a half-truth with regard to the latter, because Yam and his associates (including

24. Cf. the frequent paralleling of El and Yahweh in the Psalms and Job (the epithetal elements *ēlyon* or *šadday* in no way invalidate the point).

25. *YGC*, p. 117.

26. In "The Anat stela from Ugarit and its ramifications", *UF* 16(1984)329.

26a. See discussion in D. L. Petersen and M. Woodward, "Northwest Semitic religion, a study of relational structures", *UF* 9(1977)233-248. For discussion see below.

27. N. K. Kiessling, "Antecedents of the mediaeval dragon in sacred history", *JBL* 89(1970)167; C. H. Gordon, "Leviathan: symbol of evil", in A. Altmann, ed., *Biblical motifs*. Cambridge, Mass, 1966, pp. 1-9.

Mot) represent the forces of chaos over against those of cosmos, and such an opposition naturally finds expression in the polarity good and evil. But the situation is rather more complex than this. In some of the biblical passages the world is actually constructed from the corpse of the dragon, a motif also occurring in the Mesopotamian tradition²⁸. We may infer that the same thinking lies behind the Canaanite tradition²⁹, and this transformation of chaos into cosmos shows the ultimate inadequacy of the absolute opposition of good and evil. In the real world, good and evil are relative principles. In the transcendent world they are subsumed within a higher reality: a *transcendentia oppositorum*. The fact that the world can be actually constructed out of the dragon, which is ultimately of "divine" origin³⁰, not only expresses the resolution of the tension between the opposed forces in the universe, but effectively both divinises the world in a pantheistic sense and transforms the potential for evil into good.

We can discern this process at work in another fashion by recognising that the expression of familial relationships between the various protagonists on either side in the struggle, El and Ašerah as husband and wife, Baʿal and ʿAnat as their children and as brother and sister as well as husband and wife on the one hand, and Yam (and also his *alter ego* Mot) as "Beloved of El" —a title which confers legitimacy and implies sonship³¹— on the other, is a traditional narrative vehicle for speculation regarding the processes of transformation and evolution which an ultimately unitary cosmic principle undergoes. It may seem overbold to propose such a motivation behind the telling of Canaanite mythology of which we know relatively little, but on the analogy of those cultures where such processes *can* clearly be discerned it is a reasonable proposition³².

Two analyses of the AB cycle which have proved useful for our understanding of the cosmic and cosmogonic processes to which the AB cycle refers are those by M. C. Wakeman³³ and by D. L. Petersen and M. Woodward³⁴. These different approaches are complementary rather than antagonistic, and I hope that in what follows I may further complement what they have to say. No one interpretation of a myth is likely to exhaust its potential, and the last word is certainly not being offered here.

If for the sake of argument at least we accept that there are indeed four candidates for the killing of Yam, then we may develop the diagrammatic relationship of the various participants in accordance with the structural patterns established by Petersen and Woodward, assisted by Miss Wakeman's view that the killings of Yam and Mot are not ultimately to be differentiated, being "wet" and "dry" versions of the same theme. Let us consider the following set of relationships:

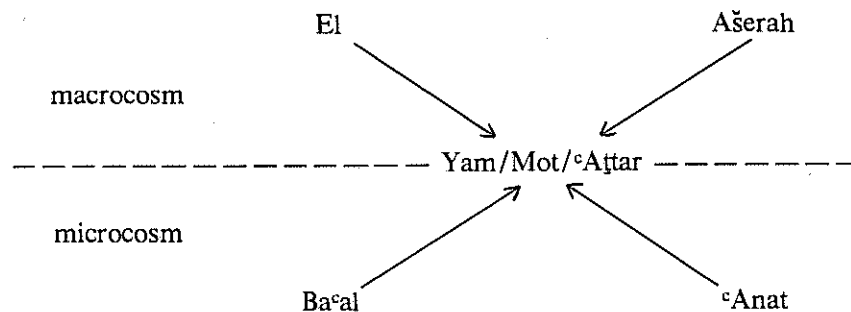


Diagram 2

28. *ANET*, pp. 66f.

29. On the AB cycle as cosmogonic see below. On the idea of the scattering of Yam and Mot as transformational see *Biblica* 66(1985)125, n. 28.

30. Our thinking in terms of the opposition of gods and demons (or God and Devil) is inappropriate to the era in which our texts were written. All supernatural principles were "divine", whether benevolent, malevolent, or neutral. That this "holistic" view still held true of Jewish thought in the sixth century BCE is clear from Is. 41, 23; 45, 7.

The "shadowy" killing of Yam by El and by Ašerah –"shadowy" in the sense that the events have left only vague traces and are clearly no longer dominant themes in the mythology of the AB cycle (though that is far from saying that their roles have been forgotten)– belong to a primordial situation, both in the historical sense that it is an older mythology than that in which Ba'al and 'Anat participate, and also in the thematic sense that it is logically prior to the main events of the AB cycle. This is actually suggested in diagrams $R_{0,1,2}$ in Petersen and Woodward's study³⁵ though perhaps it was only half guessed at by the authors. These diagrams indicate the macrocosmic status of the situation, and implicitly have El (and I suggest, by extension, Ašerah as well) as the chief protagonist in the overcoming of Yam. The structure almost forces us to recognise the full awareness by Ilumilku the scribe, or at least the tradition he preserves, of El's original active role in the drama, even though it does not find an explicit reference in the AB cycle.

Diagrams $S_{0,1,2}$ in Petersen and Woodward's study by their structural similarity with $R_{0,1,2}$, reinforced by the isomorphic patterns later established³⁶, are seen indeed to deal with an analogous situation, but in this instance it is Ba'al and 'Anat who appear as the opponents of Yam's "dry" counterpart Mot. Significantly, while the resolution of the Yam conflict is the establishment of the macrocosm, the outcome of the Mot conflict is that of the microcosm. If then we imagine Yam, Mot and 'Aštār, to whose role we shall refer in a moment, as middle, or focal figures, as their position in diagram 2 suggests, it is striking how the divine pairs El and Ašerah, Ba'al and 'Anat, appear mirror-fashion on either side, the microcosm and the resolution of its conflicts reflecting the macrocosm and the resolution of *its* conflicts.

My linking of the three middle figures of Yam, Mot and 'Aštār may be felt to require some justification, being far from self-evident. I have alluded to the matter elsewhere, but may briefly recapitulate. The titles used of the first two are more than statements of El's affection for them³⁷, but represent their ideological role as potential cosmic kings³⁸. The same is true of 'Aštār, chosen to be king after Ba'al's death (it is a matter for remark not only that he is called *aḥd bbnk* –to be construed as an ordinal rather than as a cardinal³⁹– but that he also becomes king instead of Mot, whom we might expect to benefit from Ba'al's death, and moreover rules from the Netherworld, the very domain of Mot⁴⁰). It is difficult to avoid seeing some kind of equivalence between 'Aštār and Mot; since one has already been implied in the structurally identical roles of Yam and Mot, it seems that we have here in the three deities three hypostases of the same fundamental principle. We have just suggested that Yam and Mot are "potential cosmic kings". It is precisely their potentiality that is important, and we may alternatively describe them, with 'Aštār, as precosmic royal figures. The three are in opposition to Ba'al's actual(ised) cosmic kingship, and the tensions between the three and the one constitute a perfect example of Jung's quaternity theory⁴¹ –the fourth element, Ba'al, representing the fulfilment of all the promise, or potentiality, contained in the three. All four are equally important in the overall economy, which is the working out of the macrocosmic purpose of El. This is why it is certainly wrong in the Ugaritic context

31. Cf. *Biblica* 66(1985)120ff.

32. Cf. the cosmogonic traditions of Egypt –particularly the rationalising "theology of Memphis" in the Shabaka stone inscription (*ANET*, pp. 4-6), of India – particularly late Rgvedic hymns such as 10. 81-2, 90, 121, 129 and their derivative material in the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads, and of Greece – particularly in Hesiod's *Theogony*. This last of course invites comparison with the Sanchuniathon-Philo Byblius traditions preserved in Eusebius as quasi-speculative theology in a Phoenician milieu.

33. M. C. Wakeman, *God's battle with the monster*. Leiden 1973.

34. See n. 26a.

35. *Op. cit.*, 238f.

36. *Op. cit.*, 240f., 242.

37. So Gibson, "The theology of the Ugaritic Baal cycle", *Orientalia* 53 (1984)208, 219.

38. *Biblica* 66(1985)120.

39. N. Wyatt, "'Aštār and the devil", *TGUOS* 25(1972-1974)87.

40. *KTU* 1. 6 I 65.

41. C. G. Jung, *Psychology and religion: west and east* (Collected works). Princeton 1969², pp. 164-187.

to characterise Ba'al's opponent(s) as the embodiment of evil, whatever a later age may have made of these mythical themes⁴².

Comparative evidence suggests that 'Aṭtar, far from being the apparently minor god—even something of a comic figure—that his somewhat undignified rebuff in *KTU* 1.2 III 12-25, and his rather gawkish "enthronement" in 6 i 56-65 suggest, was in origin the apotheosis of kingship (and thus a central figure in cosmology) and was a member of the original Semitic triad whose existence may be inferred from its ubiquity in Semitic culture⁴³. Originally (in a mythology which we can no longer reconstruct) he was undoubtedly the key figure in the initiation of the microcosm. It would have been as a result, we may conjecture, of Semitic settlement in Ugarit that he became associated with the prototypes of Yam and Mot. A later settlement of Amorites bringing with them the deities Ba'al and 'Anat, a complete reappraisal of cosmogonic and cosmological ideas must have taken place, which is reflected in the AB cycle (though this may well be a version centuries younger than its earliest form). Gods once belonging to the cosmic order took on a new "pre-cosmic" or even "anti-cosmic" role: a phenomenon in religious history paralleled elsewhere. We shall consider an interesting Indian analogy to the present context below.

A further diagram may clarify the way in which Yam, Mot and 'Aṭtar do not simply operate as a pivot in the relationships outlined above, but play a dynamic role in the process of cosmicisation. The events or states appear in the order in which they appear in a sequential reading of *KTU* 1.1-6.

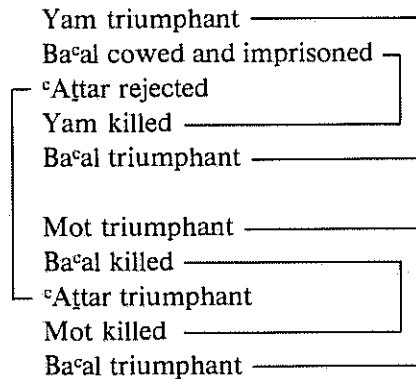


Diagram 3

In that alone of all these gods Ba'al actually acquires a temple (and the plaintive cry of 'Aṭtar that he has none operates in the long term as a disqualifier of both Yam and Mot as well⁴⁴) the "triumphs" of his rivals are ephemeral. Indeed, it is the hollowness of their victories, unreinforced by the "territorial power" of a temple, which highlights the construction of Ba'al's temple as a main theme of the AB cycle—a concrete image of his victory in battle and of the microcosm he establishes.

'Aṭtar is not of course a combatant, and his distinct role is indicated by his appearance as a foil to Ba'al's fortunes in each main block of the cycle (an echo of his ancient role?), so that his two conditions and those of Ba'al are a reverse image of those of Yam and Mot. While triumph and death are the fates of the latter two, it

42. Cf. Kiessling and Gordon (refs. n. 27).

43. Cf. Nielsen, *Handbuch der altarabischer Altertumskunde* I. Paris/Copenhagen/Leipzig 1927, pp. 213ff. His general theory is summarised and criticised by A. Jamme, "D. Nielsen et le panthéon sud-arabe préislamique", *RB* 55(1948)227-244, but he hardly demolishes it. Cf. *ibid.*, *Le Muséon* 60(1947)11ff. (n. 2 above); G. Ryckmans, "Les religions arabes préislamiques", in M. Gorce and R. Mortier, eds., *Histoire générale des religions*. Paris 1947, vol. IV, p. 327; M. Brillant and R. Aigrain, *Histoire des religions*. Paris 1953-7, vol. IV, pp. 256ff.

44. *KTU* 1. 2 III 19f.

is rejection or imprisonment (rather less drastic than death) and triumph which are the fates of the former. At the same time, °Attar somehow has to be eclipsed in favour of Ba°al in the second part of the cycle, and this is done by no more sophisticated a technique than simply ignoring him after his enthronement.

Diagram 3 also makes clear another structural feature of the AB cycle. Each block of material is in the form of a chiasmus. As Watson has noted, chiasmus has a distinctive character in Ugaritic poetry, "to show two or more individuals acting as one"⁴⁵; Within each block there is perhaps no such unifying process here, but the repetition of the entire structure may be regarded as reinforcing the view expressed above that Yam and Mot are two aspects of one reality.

In our discussion so far we have sought to show that the seeming overloading of the mythology of the AB cycle is an integral part of its construction, in which the various individual deities act as representatives of different orders of reality. This is in part a serendipitous outcome of the slow process of mythological modification which is bound to occur in a culture as it passes through its history, and in part the unconscious working of both the collective and the individual mind of the people handling the tradition. Having tried to answer the question "Who killed the dragon?" we must now address ourselves to the obvious corollary: "Why was the dragon killed?"

I have already alluded to cosmogonic motifs in the AB cycle, but it is by no means obvious, at least to judge from the academic literature, that this *is* the theme, or a theme, of the cycle. There is no need to review the considerable variety of interpretations that have been proposed, and while I believe that some are manifestly improbable, notably the so-called "seasonal interpretation"⁴⁶, it is entirely possible that a myth, particularly one as complex as our present concern, has a variety of meanings, so that each exegetical enterprise throws increasing light on the subject. I am a fervent advocate of eclecticism!⁴⁷ What I want to attempt here is a further consideration of the AB cycle in the light of some discussion which has taken place on the theme of Vedic cosmogony⁴⁸. There is always danger in undertakings of this sort, because we are talking of two quite different cultures and even language families, with their inevitable diversity of experience and cosmological tradition. Yet there is a striking similarity, noted by a number of commentators, between the Vedic myth of Indra and his conflict with Vṛtra, and the conflict between Ba°al and Yam⁴⁹. However, I am not here concerned with narrative similarities, but with underlying cosmological problems.

We may consider these in two aspects: firstly in terms of the cosmogonic process, and the relationship of different stages within this process, and secondly in terms of different orders of divine reality and power.

There is of course no one single model of cosmogony in the R̥gveda. Nor is there any serious attempt to reconcile and coordinate the diverse images that are used. The nearest approach to such a rationalisation occurs in the proto-philosophical hymns of the late period, which already anticipate (and even participate in?) the cosmological revolution of the Upaniṣads: RV 10. 81-82, 90, 121, 129. These overlay the different motifs, of cosmogony by combat, sexual generation and sacrifice, asceticism and divine *fiat* in a manner we tend to consider simply confusing (or confused!), but which nicely exemplifies the Indian, or we may generalise and say the mythological, propensity for what Miss O'Flaherty felicitously calls "the toolbox approach"⁵⁰. There may be a caution here for our tendency to try and overrationalise Ugaritic mythology. Reading between the lines of the different R̥gvedic allusions to cosmogony, we may reconstruct the following broad scenario. In primordial times, the one reality was water. It was swathed in twilight, but contained within it the germ of

45. W.G.E. Watson, "The nature of Ugaritic poetry", *JNSL* 11(1983)164.

46. See de Moor, *op. cit.* (n. 12 above). He discusses earlier seasonal assessments at length.

47. See the very apposite discussion in W. D. O'Flaherty, *Sexual metaphors and animal symbols in Indian mythology*. Delhi 1980, pp. 3-12.

48. See W. N. Brown, "Creation in the Rig Veda", *JAOS* 62(1942)85-98; F. B. J. Kuiper, "The basic concept of Vedic religion", *HR* 15(1975)107-120.

49. E. G. Gaster, *op. cit.*, p. 142; Wakeman, *op. cit.*, 9 ff.; J. Fontenrose, *Python*. Berkeley 1959 (1980 reprint), pp. 194 ff.

50. *Op. cit.*, pp. 5-7.

life, imagined variously as the sun, the earth, or an unspecified "One". Its chief characteristic was lack of differentiation⁵¹. However, it was in a condition of potentiality, and from the waters emerged Tvaṣṭr, primordial deity and creator of all, perhaps to be identified with the "One" of RV 10. 129. 3 (?). he produced Dyaus and Pṛthivī (Heaven and Earth) and they bore the gods. Now in the Ṛgveda there are two distinct orders of gods, the Asuras and the Devas (spiritual, divine ones and bright ones respectively). Brown suggests that in the two orders we may have evidence of non-Indo-European and Indo-European gods⁵²; were that proven to be the case, we might compare it with the pre-Amorite and Amorite levels at Ugarit mentioned above, and see in the later cosmogony of the Ṛgveda an even more interesting and closer analogue of the AB cycle than I am seriously proposing.

The surprising feature that emerges when we examine the use of the term *asura* in the Ṛgveda is that, far from a neat differentiation being recognised by the tradition between deities so designated and the Devas, virtually all the major gods (many of whom are clearly *deva* in post-Vedic cosmology) are actually referred to as *asura*. This curious feature⁵³ led Kuiper to refer to the Asuras as "the central problem of Vedic religion"⁵⁴ and to reconstruct a process which looks promising as an analogue of the Ugaritic problem. He proposed that collectively the Asuras were the gods of the primordial order we have described above. Their relative *status quo* was interrupted by the arrival of Indra. As Kuiper notes, he is of indeterminate origin⁵⁵. This seems to place him in some indeterminate way outside the older pantheon, although he too is called an Asura⁵⁶. He is a demiurge rather than a creator, and Kuiper understands his arrival to initiate a transformation of the primordial, undifferentiated pre-cosmos into the differentiated cosmos. Indra is also the first of the Devas, and in view of his light-bringing, establishment of the world-axis, and other cosmicising acts, other Asuras become his allies, so that a dual order of gods develops, reflecting the dual cosmos.

The process of distinction is expressed mythologically in the conflict between Indra and Vṛtra. The latter, whose name is susceptible of different explanations⁵⁷, is identified by Kuiper as a force resisting Indra's attempt to break open the primordial mountain, which is the raw earth contained within the waters, though the two remain undifferentiated, in order to organise the cosmos⁵⁸. Later Hindu tradition preserves the elements of this rather more clearly than the Ṛgvedic allusions, because it has the battle take place on the seashore, where it is neither land nor sea, at twilight, when it is neither night nor day, with the weapon

51. Kuiper, *op. cit.*, p. 108: 'None of the contrasts which constitute our phenomenal world yet existed. There was no heaven or earth, no day or night, no light, or, properly speaking, darkness'. This explains my use of 'twilight' here, which will become clear (!) below.

52. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 88. We may compare similar dual orders (whatever their origins, they become differentiated powers in a developing cosmos): the Mesopotamian Igigi and Anunaki, the Norse Aesir and Vanir, the Greek Titans and Olympians. The Asuras later become the demons of Hindu mythology. RV 10. 82. 5 appears to regard the two divine orders as originating at the same time, but this may be a later rationalisation. The equivalence of the Sanskrit and Avestan terms *asura: ahura* and *deva: daeva* shows that the distinction predates the Āryan descent into India, and thus disproves any original connection between the Asuras and the gods of the Indus culture, though some of the latter undoubtedly later became Asuras.

53. Some examples: Dyaus 1. 54. 3, 8. 20. 17, 10. 31. 6; Varuṇa - 1. 24. 14, 8. 42. 1, 10. 10. 2; Agni - 5. 10. 2, 7. 2. 3, 10. 11. 6; Soma - 9. 73. 1, 9. 99. 1, etc. Those from maṇḍala 0 are the more interesting because of their relative lateness. Cf. N. Wyatt, "Devas and Asuras in early Indian religious thought", *SJRS* 7(1986)61-77.

54. *Op. cit.*, p. 112.

55. *Op. cit.*, p. 109, citing RV 2. 12. 5, 10. 73. 10; Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 92, refers to allusions to his origins such as 4. 17. 4, 10. 120. 1, but these are not very precise, and in any case must postdate a tradition of his unknown origin.

56. RV 1. 174. 1, 3. 38. 4, 6. 20. 2, 6. 36. 1, etc.

57. 'Obstruction', 'resistance', Kuiper, *op. cit.*, p. 110; 'encloser, investor, prisoner', A. A. Macdonell, *A practical Sanskrit dictionary* London, Oxford 1974, p. 296 c; cf. M. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English dictionary*. Oxford 1899, p. 1007b. Cf. I-E- $\sqrt{\text{ver}}$ in n. 62; ŚB 1. 6. 3. 9 offers a paronomasia on the term *vṛt* 'to roll' - no doubt suggested as much by Vṛtra's serpentine form as by alliteration (*SBE*, 12, 166).

58. *Op. cit.*, p. 109 f.; cf. Wakeman, *op. cit.*

hidden in or made of the sea-foam, which is neither wet nor dry⁵⁹. These figures of non-differentiation are pointers to the prevailing conditions: it is only as a result of Indra's victory that differentiation, i.e. cosmicisation, can take place.

But there is more to the Vedic tradition than this, which is of interest to us. While Indra later becomes king of the gods, he is in origin merely an agent of a higher power. As the warrior-god (which is his role before he also develops into a storm-god) he represents the second function in the Indo-European tripartite cosmic and social structure. Sovereignty belongs to others⁶⁰. In a differentiated world, the divine dyad Mitra-Varuṇa are the gods of sovereignty, the first function. Varuṇa is himself also the god of the waters and chief among the ancient Asuras. Following the cosmogony, he is the guardian of *ṛta*, cosmic law. But while he becomes foremost of the Devas, he continues to have a relationship with the Asuras, and has an ambivalent status. Brown noted the distinction of the Asuras into two groups, the Dānavas ("binders" – a metonymic from *dānu-* $\sqrt{dā}$ to bind: Vṛtra is their chief) and the Ādityas ("unbound, free" – a metonymic from *aditi-* $\sqrt{dā}$ + *a* privative – Varuṇa is their chief). The latter became the first-function group among the Devas. While Brown insisted on the contrast between the two types⁶¹, he failed to note Varuṇa's ambivalent position, because he is associated with the *pāśa*, the noose with which he binds enemies and strangles first-function sacrificial victims. In other words, unbound, he is nevertheless a binder⁶². This curious role is brought out rather nicely in Kuiper's diagrammatic representation of the cosmogony⁶³. Varuṇa remains a bridge between the two realms of Asuras and Devas, and within the cosmos (a microcosm) he is associated with the Netherworld, a dangerous place which itself partakes of the two orders, cosmos and chaos⁶⁴.

It would be erroneous to insist on one-for-one relationships between the Vedic and the Ugaritic cosmogonies. But I imagine that a certain number of similarities will already be apparent. Yam, for instance, the sea and river god, conceptualised like Vṛtra in the form of a dragon⁶⁵, is best construed not in seasonal or strictly environmental (sc. the environment of Ugarit, on the coast) terms, but rather in terms of a precosmic reality, akin to Ti'amat in the Babylonian tradition. Indra appears to share both warrior and weather roles with Ba'al, and Varuṇa's ambivalence is perhaps echoed in El's, since the latter, the ultimate figure of sovereignty, is not simply a supporter of Ba'al's cause, but initially offers Yam a palace, and both Yam and Mot are referred to as "beloved of El", the language of royal ideology.

More important than these elements, however, is the structural similarity between the Vedic and Ugaritic traditions, even allowing for the element of differentiation in the Ugaritic case, where Yam and Mot together correspond to Vṛtra. They represent the danger chaos presents to cosmos from either end, so to speak, preventing its arrangement at the beginning (Yam) and threatening its destruction at the end (Mot). Like

59. MB 5. 9. 3-22: *myth* §25 in W. D. O'Flaherty, *Hindu myths*. Harmondsworth 1975, pp. 77-85, esp. 84. Cf. RV 10. 129. 2.

60. Cf. the extensive writings of G. Dumézil *et al.* For up-to-date bibliography and appraisal of Dumézil's theory see C. S. Littleton, *The new comparative mythology*. Berkeley 1982³. I have explored possible connections between this thought-world and that of Ugarit in Possible Indo-European influences in Ugaritic thought, *UF* 17(1985) in press.

61. *Op. cit.*, p. 88.

62. On *pāśa* see for instance the imagery of 1. 24. 15, 1. 25. 21, 7. 88. 7, 10. 70. 10. The etymology of Varuṇa has always caused problems. The forms Οὐρανός, Varuṇa and Varana have been equated (the latter meaning 'heaven' - *CAH* 3 vol. III, p. 419). M. Boyce, in *A history of Zoroastrianism* I (Leiden 1975), pp. 33 f., rejects this and endorses H. Peterson's explanation (*Studier tillignade E. Tegnér*. Lund 1918, pp. 231ff.) linking Varana and Varuṇa to I-E* *Vorueno* * \sqrt{ver} 'to bind' (this fits the noose, so to speak!). Cf. G. Dumézil, *Ouranós-Vārūna*. Paris 1934, p. 49. But this is rejected in turn by Littleton, *op. cit.*, p. 53. While I-E philology is hardly my *forte*, how about the Avestan term *Xvarənah* ('sovereignty') as a cognate? On the ritual strangulation motif, see *SB* 3. 7. 4. 1-3 (*SBE* 26, 181), 3. 8. 1. 15f. (*ibid.* 189f).

63. *Op. cit.*, pp. 113 (fig. 1), 119 (fig. 2). The latter represents the later Hindu cosmology in which Viṣṇu has become supreme deity.

64. See Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

65. Vṛtra is commonly called *ahi* - 'dragon'.

Vrtra as representative of the pre-cosmic gods, they belong to a unitary, undifferentiated reality which we may, adapting Kuiper's figure 1, stage I, picture thus:

Primordial World

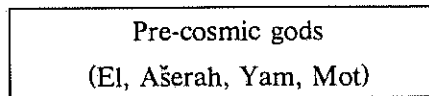


Diagram 4

Because of the distinctive presentation of events in the AB cycle, we cannot adequately adapt Kuiper's other figures, but may represent the altered situation at the conclusion thus:

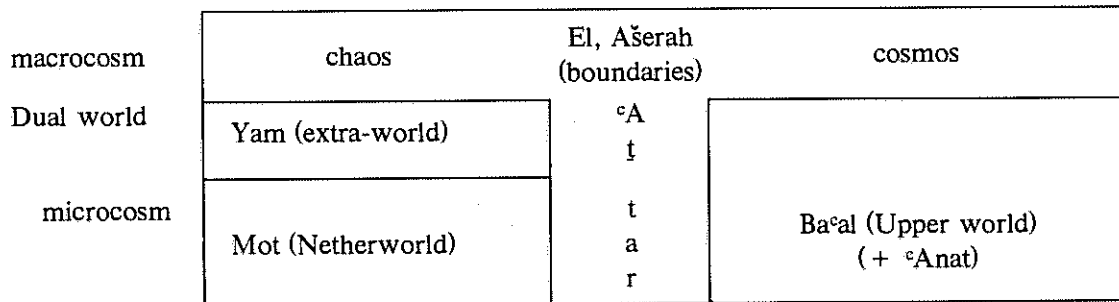


Diagram 5

^cAṭtar appears not to fit very easily into such a scheme. Indeed Petersen and Woodward simply exclude him from their discussion. If he is to be seen as of any significance at all, he must surely be seen as serving two mythological purposes. Firstly, as Ašerah's choice for the substitute king, he reflects his old role in the triad, as mentioned above; secondly, as a deity who is both *alter ego* of Yam and Mot *and* substitute for Ba^cal, he lies along the boundary between the worlds they represent, and come to rule (under the overall kingship of El), and represents the uneasy and delicate balance between the two. If we go further, and suggest that Ugaritic royal ideology looked, as we might expect, to ^cAṭtar as the apotheosis of terrestrial kingship⁶⁶, then perhaps for all the reticence of the AB cycle concerning his role, we should see him as a type of the king, who in his cultic office is charged precisely with the management and preservation of the cosmos. I offer this view with due diffidence, without wishing thereby to propose a strictly cultic interpretation of the cycle. But no satisfactory explanation for his presence in the cycle has so far been offered⁶⁷.

El's position may at first seem uncomfortably ambivalent within this model. That is precisely what it is. As overall cosmic lord, his concern is for a broader perspective than that of society's self-interest. The making of a stable microcosm is all very well, but cannot take account of all kinds of necessary tensions resulting in and from its production: it is in a sense too good to be true, and mythology is well aware of the laws of entropy. The macrocosm is as it were a safety net into which the microcosm can fall as it periodically bursts asunder under its internal stresses. While I think a cosmogonic explanation of the AB cycle makes better overall sense than alternative theories—except of course where different explanations may legitimately be held concurrently—it seems to me that it has a prospective quality: that is, it looks beyond the cosmogony *in illo tempore* towards the present world of mundane reality, and states in the language of symbols that it is fraught

66. Cf. for instance my analysis of the king in *UF* 15(1983)277 (n. 2 above).

67. Gaster's view, for instance, that he represents irrigation water during the summer drought (*op. cit.*, pp. 126, 196) requires the prior demonstration of the seasonal interpretation. I find it profoundly unsatisfactory.

with tension and danger, and man must acclimatise himself to this uncomfortable fact. But he may take some comfort in the ultimate, if inscrutable, benevolence of El⁶⁸.

I believe that further analysis of the AB cycle is possible from the premisses of the conclusions I have reached here. Unfortunately, due to our very scanty knowledge of certain aspects of Ugaritic thought in particular, progress is likely to be slow. But one aspect that could be explored might be the significance of the realism the gods represent in terms of elements (earth, air, fire and water) or the various symbolic overtones (especially sexual) of water in its different manifestations here. These are the themes of some very fruitful discussions in Indian and African mythology, and while we *know* virtually nothing of their significance in ancient Canaanite thought, we may be sure that they were replete with cosmological significance.

68. Cf. Gibson's remarks, *Orientalia* 53(1984)218f. That even El's position is not beyond question is implied in his reaction to Ba'al's death in *KTU* 1.5 VI 11ff., and also in the ultimately provisional nature of the resolution of the Ba'al-Mot conflict. Though he is at first killed, Mot reemerges after seven years, and is only pacified by Šapšu.