

The List of *qdšm* in KTU 4.412+ ii 8ff.

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1. Reconstruction of KTU 4.412+

KTU 4.412 (RS 18.251) is a large tablet (170mm x 162mm x 25mm) inscribed on one side.¹ It was reassembled from some large fragments, but parts of the top corners and the centre of the obverse have flaked off and are seemingly lost. The tablet formed part of the assemblage of so-called “Four” texts (Cour V [four], Pt. 1331)² and contains a list of persons grouped by trade or office, some of them with their heirs. It is the type of census list often found in the respective offices of the Royal Palace (e.g. KTU 4.33; 4.35; 4.126; 4.183; 4.322; 4.412; 4.545; 4.752; 4.761), though in this instance with no entries about taxes paid or commodities supplied, in contrast to KTU 4.36; 4.38; 4.47; 4.64; 4.66; 4.68:60ff.; 4.69; 4.71; 4.87; 4.99; 4.416; 4.432-35; 4.609; 4.610.rev.; 4.681; 4.714. Another fragment of such a list of persons is KTU 4.545 = RS 18.471 = S 190, divided into columns and grouped in corporations, e.g. KTU 4.545 ii 6 *hrš bht[m]*, and perhaps KTU 4.545 i 5: [*nsk k*]sp. It occurred to me that this fragment together with other chips such as KTU 4.518 = S 201 = RS 18.435 and KTU 4.512 = S 233 = RS 18.426 might belong to tablet KTU 4.412.³ It is less certain whether KTU 4.413 = S 102 = RS 18.251[A] formed part of it. If so, it

1. In July 1994, I checked and collated the tablet in the Damascus Museum. See my article M. Dijkstra, “The Myth of Astarte the Huntress (KTU 1.92): New Fragments”, *UF* 26 (1994) 113, n. 1.

2. There was probably not such a thing as a tablet oven, Y. Calvet, *Syria* 67 (1990) 40, n. 2; M. Yon, “The End of the Kingdom of Ugarit”, W.A. Ward - M.S. Joukowsky (eds.), *The Crisis Years: the Twelfth Century BC*, Dubuque, Iowa 1992, pp. 111-122, esp. 119; A.R. Millard, “The Last Tablets of Ugarit”, M. Yon - M. Sznycer - P. Bordreuil (eds.), *Le Pays d'Ougarit autour de 1200 av. J.C.*, Ras Shamra-Ougarit XI, Paris 1995, p. 119. Whatever the reason for this assemblage may be (a basket full of tablets to be stored or thrown away, but left upside down in the conflagration of Ugarit?), it remains an interesting collection that may relate to the office in Room 81.

3. As already noted in M. Dijkstra, “Ugaritic Prose”, W.G.E. Watson - N. Wyatt (eds.), *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*, HdO 39, Leiden – Boston – Köln 1999, pp. 140-164, esp. 142. Unfortunately, the boxes with S-texts could not be found or, for some reason, they were not made available to me, but though a physical join could not be tested, comparison of the photographs of the S-texts mentioned (M. Dietrich - O. Loretz, *Die Elfenbeinschriften und S-Texte aus Ugarit*, AOAT 13, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1976, Pl. XVII* [S 190, 201]; Pl. XVIII* [S 233]) suggested that they were joinable. In turn, their appearance as a group of chips compared with the condition, lay out and script of the main tablet KTU 4.412 itself convinced me that they could fill and complete the central gap. As I will show the content confirmed my initial guess.

may fit into Column 3 as part of the list of *šrm*, but another section of the tablet can be plausibly reconstructed too.⁴ I propose to restore KTU 4.412+ (RS 18.251+471+426+435 [+] 413) as in figure 1.

<p>.....</p> <p>bn[.]m'n[bn.qdšt bn.m'nt bn.gr*b*n bn.[]x b[n.] [] [] []xl</p> <p>[nsk k]sp []n b*[n.]r b*[n.]x bn*[] bn.r*[] bn.ar*x[] w.nhllh bn.alz w.nhllh bn.sny bn.ablh</p>	<p>.....</p> <p>x[w.[nhllh] bn.l[] bn.yr[t] bn.kirt bn.šml bn.arnbt</p>	<p>bn[.] bn.ulpm bn.šty bn.kdgd bn.zmyy bn.lbn bn.šlmn bn.mly/s</p>
	<p>qdšm bn[.]š[t]n* [bn.]b'1[] b*n*[.]pr[kl] b*n*[.]k*sln bn.mzt bn.trn w.nhllh b*[n.]i*s [bn.a]n*nyn [bn.] bn. '[] bn.ab*[d'n] bn.zr[m/n] bn.pll*[n?] bn.yšmh</p>	<p>pšlm bn.annd bn.gl'd w.nhllh bn.mlky [b]n*bmmt</p>
	<p>hrš.bhtm bn.ibln bn.iry bn.łšn bn.ilt wnhllh b*[n.]xn* bn. 'dy w.nhllh bn. 'bd bn.srt</p>	<p>['šrm [bn.xx]r*n* w*[.nh[llh]] bn[. amd[] bn[.šbt[] bn[.hlan[] [[bn]].grg[[n]] [[bn]].b/šm[] [] [] b[n.] bn.p*[ndr] bn. 'bdmlk</p>

Figure 1. KTU 4.412+

4. Though this group is mentioned in a large number of lists, evidence provided is hardly conclusive that the fragment contains names of known *šrm* / *rb šrt*, see M. Heltzer, *The Internal Organization of the Kingdom of Ugarit*, Wiesbaden 1982, pp. 152-154, see KTU 4.609:2ff. (*ršpab* / *šm'n* / *'bd'nt* / *bni*); 4.714 and PRU 3, p. 201: RS 16.257+ iii 1ff.

KTU 4.311	KTU 4.155	KTU 4.35:15ff.
[hrš bhtm]	spr.hršm	hrš.bhtm
bn šrtñ	-----	-----
bn 'bd	liy.bn.qqln	bn.izl
snb.w.nh̄lh	[xxxx bn xxx a]lty	bn.ibln
[x]xby.wn̄lh	[xxxx bn xx]il	bn.ilt
[bn.]ilt.wn̄lh	[xxxx bn xxx]tl	špšyn nh̄lh
[bn.h]sn	[xxxxx bn.]'bl	n'mn bn iryn
[xx]xly	[xxxx bn.i]bln	nrn.nh̄lh
low.e.	[xxxx bn.]dy	bn.hsn
[bn.m/i]ryn	[xxxx n]h̄lh	bn.'bd
rev.	low.e	[]
[w.n]h̄lh	[xxx]n.bn.mryn	[xxx.]nh̄l[h]
[bn.]ibln	t*!*"n*.bn.tyl
[b]n.nq̄bn	rev.	
bn.'bl	annmt.nh̄lh	
bn.šln	abmn.bn.'bd	
bn.sln	liy.bn.rqdy	
wn̄lh	bn.ršp	

Figure 2: The *hrš bhtm*

The list of *hrš bhtm* combined from the fragments of KTU 4.412 ii 30-34, 4.512 and 4.545 provide us with conclusive evidence for the proposed text restoration. All seven readable names (from the original eight) are attested in other lists of *hrš bhtm* (KTU 4.35:15ff.) or *hršm* (KTU 4.155). KTU 4.311 has no heading, but also lists all seven names from KTU 4.412 together with a few others attested in KTU 4.35 and 4.155 (Figure 2). KTU 4.311 represents a list of artisans or architects too. The proposed reconstruction does not add much to the other lists on KTU 4.412+ apart from the list of *qdšm* which will be discussed below.⁵ The first list (Col. 1, 10-18) could have contained members of the *mru skn*.⁶ The second series of names lists members of the silversmiths (*nsk ksp*; Col.1, 19-30) but, though they are mentioned in many official lists (KTU 4.68:74; 4.47:6; 4.99:14 and label KTU 6.20), little is known of them and only a few names have been preserved.⁷ The third list (Col.2, 1-7) contains too few names to allow certain

5. The restoration of the list of 'šrm (= *rb 'šrt* = *aširima*; Heltzer, *Organization*, pp. 152-154) in the third column is too uncertain to allow conclusions about its members. They may have been people from different profession (priests, *maryannu* etc) sharing this seemingly royal title or office, from which they could be promoted to *mudū šarri*, "the friends of the king" (Heltzer, *Organization*, p. 153).

6. *bn.qdšt* KTU 4.69 v 11 *mru skn*; *Abdi-Pidar mār* <Bin->*qa-diš-ti* Ug 5, No 7:14 a witness; *bn.m'nt* KTU 4.69 v 9 *bn.tgtn* = *mtn* or *m'n[t]*?; KTU 4.75 iv 4 *atyn* [*bn.*]m'nt (KTU however: *šm'nt*); KTU 4.611 ii 10 *mihdy*?; KTU 4.632:22 *m'nt bn.lbn yph*; *bn.grbn* KTU 4.69 v 13 *bn.gr[bn?]* *mru skn*; KTU 4.101:4; *bn.grbn* / *bn.sgryn* / *bn.ully* / *bn.andy* / *bn.pd[?]*; KTU 4.263 *maḥdy*: *grbn* / *srn* / *ykn* / *hgbn*; KTU 4.245 *md.mlk[?]* *bn.andy* / *bn.ddy* / *bn.grbn* / [*bn.*] *ully* / [*bn.*] *tiy* as in KTU 4.101, see further *bin-ū-lu-li-ya* RS 15.42 i 17; KTU 4.371:8 *rišym qnum*.

7. KTU 4.183 *iwrtn* / *ydln* / 'bdilm / *dqn* (the elder?); KTU 4.609 *tmrtm* / *ktrmlk* / *lyhmlk* / 'bdipu / *adn* / *txxx* / *bdn* / *qln* / *mtn* / *ydln*; no names correspond with those in KTU 4.412+ i; *bn.alz* see Hurrian: *al(l)anzu allazi* PNF (Gröndahl, *PTU*, 22, 205, 216); KTU 4.93 *spr ymm*; KTU 4.77 [*spr...*]m; KTU 4.422 *bnšm d it alpm lhm* // 4.77? *bn.alz* // *bn.birtm*; KTU 4.348 *rpš dlydyr*; KTU 4.498 [*bn.*]alz; KTU 4.755 *bn.alz*; *bn. sny* and *bn.ablḥ* are not attested elsewhere.

identification of the group they belonged to.⁸ More yielding is the first list in Column 3 (Col. 3, 1-8). This is clearly part of a list of *nqdm* "royal shepherds" (Figure 3).⁹ The *pslm* "sculptors" of the next entry (Col. 3, 11-16) are often mentioned in census- and corporation-lists (KTU 4.68; 4.99; 4.126; 4.207; 4.370 etc.), but there is no other list of *pslm* with names to compare with KTU 4.412+.¹⁰

KTU 4.681	KTU 4.412	KTU 4.624(+)670
nqdm	nqdm dt kn npšhm
bn.aln 4[]	bn.[]	[b]n.lbn ...
bn.bly 1[]	bn.ulpm*	[bn]. smyy...
bn.btry 1[]	bn.šty	[b]n.šlmn...
bn.ḥdmn 2[]	bn.kdgd	[bn].mlš...
bn.šty []	bn.zmyy	[b]n.ḥdmn...
[b]n.kdgd[]	bn.lbn	[b]n.kdg[dl...]
[bn.x]by []	bn.šlmn
.....	bn.mlyš	[bn.]'gw

Figure 3: the *nqdm*

2. Prosopography of the list of *qdšm* in KTU 4.412+

Initially, it was thought that KTU 4.412+ ii 8ff. contained 26 *qdšm* "consecrated (persons), devotees", but our reconstruction leaves only 13 or 14 names (Col.2,17 is uncertain) to consider. In Ugarit the *qdšm* were apparently a lower class of temple personnel. They are often mentioned after the *khn̄m* "the priests" in lists of corporations of royal personnel and census accounts (KTU 4.29:3; 4.36:2; 4.38:2; 4.47:1; 4.68:73; 4.126:7; 4.416:7; 4.752:5; Akkadian PRU 6, No 93:26). KTU 4.12, which was found in the Grand Priests House between the temples (RS 1.010 GP Room 1, Pt. 300), was probably a record of the *qdšm* too, for probably eight names and in any case six from KTU 4.412+ ii 9ff. appear also in that list which contained about 18 names. There is another fragment, KTU 4.327 (RS 18.007 F; Court V, Pt.1310), in which three or four names shared with KTU 4.12 and 412+ ii 9ff. appear close together (*bn.agmn* / *bn.gln* / *[bn]ṛn!* / *[bn a]b*d'n*). This suggests that this list too was of members of the same group.

The names *bn.srd*, *bn.agmn*, *bn.gln*, *bn.tbil*, *bn.tbdn*, *bn.uryy*, *bn.alz*, *bn.k[d]n* and *bn.nzrl* do not appear in KTU 4.412+, whereas the names *bn.b'q[]*, *bn.mzt*, *bn.zr[]* and *bn.pll[]* are absent in KTU 4.12. It may be noted that a number of these names appear as tenants of a *ubdy=pilku* in the village of Uškn (KTU 4.309:5 *bn.dwn*; 8 *bn.uryy*; 11 *bn.gln*; 14 *bn.srwd=srd?*). KTU 4.354 (Court V [four]; Pt.1331) is a small list of names too, including a group of three or four names (*bn.tbdn*; *bn.štn*; *bn.kdn*; *bn.dwn*) that

8. *bn.yr[t]* KTU 4.138:4; 4.154:6; 4.188:15 related to the *mḏrglm?*; compare in PRU 6, No 82:17; *bn.kṛt* PRU 6, No 82:20; *bn.šml?*; PRU 6, No 82:23 *bn.arnbt*. This list shares a number of names with PRU 6, No 82 but unfortunately the list does not specify the group. None of the names are of personalities known to be *khn̄m* "priests" as one would expect, preceding the *qdšm* (Heltzer, *Organization*, p. 133, n.16).

9. KTU 4.68:71; 4.98:12 *'bdyrlḥ nqd*; KTU 4.103:44ff.; 4.126:5; 4.369:8; 4.416:5. On the *nqdm*, see Heltzer, *Organization*, pp. 71ff.; M. Dietrich - O. Loretz, "Die Ugaritische Berufsgruppe der *nqdm* und das Amt des *rb nqdm*", *UF* 9 (1977) 336-337; S. Segert, "Zur Bedeutung des Wortes *noqd*", *SVT* 16 (1967) 279-283.

10. The names *bn. gl'd* and *bn.mlkyy* occur together in the *spr ytnm* KTU 4.93 with many other persons from the lists of KTU 4.412, which suggests that they are contemporaneous.

might belong to the same group. They appear together with *bn.t'y*, who is well known as a priest (KTU 4.69 vi 23; 4.633:7; perhaps also KTU 4.76:7; 4.714:4), so that this small list may represent a list of temple clergy.

Here follows a prosopographical survey of the names in both lists of KTU 4.412+ ii 9ff. and 4.12 in order to establish, as far as possible, the role of the *qdšm* in the royal organisation and the society of Ugarit.

<i>bn.štn</i>	KTU 4.386:20(?); 4.354:5; KTU 4.727:14 <i>bt štn</i> ; see <i>bn.tbdn</i> etc; an <i>Abdi-Yarah māṛ ša-ta?-na</i> PRU 3, p. 202 RS 16.257+ iii 58 is mentioned among the ^{liu.meš} <i>ša na-qi</i> after the list of priests; cf. MSL 12, 163, 420 <i>lú-siskur-re = ša ni-qi-im</i>
<i>bn.b'ln[n?]</i>	KTU 4.98:11; 4.360:1 <i>bn b'ln biry</i> ; <i>yšn bn b'ln</i> KTU 4.753:10
<i>bn.prkl</i>	cf. <i>prgl</i> GN?; perhaps cognate to <i>parkullu</i> , <i>purkullu</i> (BUR.GUL) "seal-cutter"; KTU 4.647:7 knows of a <i>prkl b'ln</i> any "PRKL, the ship-owner".
<i>bn.ksln</i>	KTU 4.122:5 [xx] <i>tm b.gt.irbš</i> . He received the title or nickname <i>ltlh</i> , cognate with <i>šiltahu</i> "arrow"; <i>šiltahanu</i> "archer(?)"
<i>bn.mzt</i>	not attested elsewhere; a <i>bn mzt</i> is found in KTU 4.724:9, a <i>mzt bn 'ity</i> in KTU 4.778:6 // 4.782:9f.
<i>bn.tṛn</i>	KTU 4.15:7 (<i>b'ln bt</i>); KTU 4.320:6 <i>'bdm bgt yny</i>
<i>bn.is</i>	not attested outside the two lists of <i>qdšm</i>
<i>bn.annyn</i>	KTU 4.727:15 <i>bt annyn</i> ; a <i>mār ananyana</i> in a broken context PRU 3, p. 36 = RS 11.718:2'; PRU 6, No 50:28 <i>sibu (Bubuwa) mār Ananiyanu</i> ; PRU 6, No 83 iv 1; further PRU 6, Nos 74:4; 118:3'; see also <i>bn.anny = Abdi-Nikkal mār a-na-ni-ya</i> PRU 3, 16.140:5 (transfer of land); UN-tu = <i>mārgl</i> PRU 3, p. 203 = RS 16.257 iv 16 <i>bīt mār a-na-ni-ya</i> .
<i>bn.zr[m/n]</i>	as <i>zrm</i> KTU 4.283:7
<i>bn.pll[n?]</i>	<i>bn.pll</i> KTU 4.103:24f <i>mrim</i> ; 4.425:4 <i>bn pl<l> ?</i> compare the <i>māru Pululuna</i> RS 17.102 = Ug 5, No 160 and the ship of Pululana in RS 34.147:5
<i>bn.yšmḥ</i>	not attested outside the two lists of <i>qdšm</i>
<i>bn.srd</i>	not attested outside the two lists of <i>qdšm</i> , but perhaps identical with <i>bn.srwd</i> KTU 4.309:14 (with <i>bn.dwn</i> , <i>bn.uryy</i> , <i>bn.gln</i> etc <i>ubdym b uškn</i>); <i>mār sú-ra-(a)-te</i> Ug 5, No 41:13, 17 from Usnate-Siyannu; <i>mār sà-ra-ti</i> Ug 5, No 12:58?
<i>bn.agmn</i>	e.p. and Gröndahl, <i>PTU bn n'mn</i> , see however KTU 4.93:4 (<i>spr ytnm</i>); KTU 4.313:8 <i>ndbn bn agmn</i> ; KTU 4.327:2 (with <i>bn.gln</i> and [<i>bn a</i>] <i>b*d'n</i>) <i>Aḫimanu mār Agmini</i> Ug 5, No 12:43; <i>Ḫutmunu mār Agmini</i> PRU 3, p. 204 tr ii 8 a bronze smith.
<i>bn.tbil</i>	<i>tḫil</i> KTU 4.313:2; KTU 1.92:1; a toponym in KTU 4.380:25; <i>bn tḫil</i> 4.229:5 <i>bdl?</i> ; 4.322:11 (<i>mryn</i>); <i>mār ša-bi-ilu</i> (AN) "overseer of ten" PRU 3, p. 194 = RS 11.787:7, see Rainey, <i>UF</i> 3 (1971) 161, also a king of Siyannu; perhaps also <i>Ilkuya mār šabi-ilu</i> (GUR.DINGIR), Nougayrol read however: <i>yašub-ilu</i> (PRU 3, p. 54 = RS 15.92:6 in contract of adoption).
<i>bn.gln</i>	KTU 4.309 <i>ubdym buškn</i> (with <i>bn.uryy</i> ; <i>bn.srwd</i> (?)); KTU 4.327 (with <i>bn.agmn</i> and [<i>bn a</i>] <i>b*d'n</i>); KTU 4.379:3 <i>mārglm bn.gln ary</i> ; <i>šidqanu mār gilanu</i> PRU 6, No 57:1-2 a witness; <i>mār gallana</i> PRU 6, No 83 iv 10.
<i>bn.tbdn</i>	<i>bn.tbdn</i> KTU 4.354:4 // <i>bn.štn/bn.kdn/bn.dwn</i> , KTU 4.704:3; see KTU 4.309 <i>ubdym buškn</i> ; (<i>Abdi-rašap</i>) <i>mār tub-bi-te-ni</i> Ug 5, No 9:19 (witness in contract written by Ilumilku under Niqmadu III); Ug 5, No 12:49 only Tubbitenu.
<i>bn.uryy</i>	KTU 4.309:8 <i>ubdym buškn</i> .

<i>bn abd'n</i>	KTU 4.33:30 <i>mḏrglm ilštm</i> 'y; KTU 4.233:5; 4.327?; <i>bt abd</i> ['n?] KTU 4.726:24.
<i>bn.alg</i>	read perhaps: <i>bn alz/s?</i> ; see Note 7 and a <i>bn alz</i> among the <i>nsk ksp</i> KTU 4.412+ i 27
<i>bn kdn</i>	KTU 4.85 <i>kdn zlyy</i> ; KTU 4.75 iii 3 'bdb'l <i>bn kdn</i> ; KTU 4.354:6; KTU 4.617:23; <i>mār kuddana</i> Syria 28, 175:21.
<i>bn.nḡril</i>	not attested outside KTU 4.12.

3. Position and role of the *qdšm* in Ugarit

Traditionally, the terms *qādēš* and *q'dēšāh* in Hebrew were understood to be references to male and female prostitutes (Deut 23:18, LXX, πορνῆ and πορνευων; Vulgate, *meretrix* and *scortator*; AV, whore, harlot [Hos. 4:14; Gen 38:21f.] and sodomite [1 Kings 14:24; 15:12 etc.]). After the age of Frazer and at the beginning of the 20th Century, when theories developed about the role of sacred marriage in Sumerian and Babylonian religions and its alleged diffusion to the Canaanite cultures of the Levant, prostitution became sacred or cultic prostitution. The Akkadian cultic designation *qadištu(m)* (NU.GIG) and its less often attested male counterpart ¹⁰*qadšu* / *qaššu(m)* were widely construed as terms for cultic prostitutes. This religious phenomenon became part of the description of ancient Near Eastern religions in many a handbook and Bible commentary and it is accepted as such in modern Bible translations.¹¹ Though it cannot be denied that these people were a kind of temple oblates dedicated to gods and goddesses as Adad, Ištar, Annunītum, An etc., their involvement in sacred prostitution is unfounded. Renger and Gruber proved convincingly that as temple personnel, they were consecrated to participate in a number of rituals, but not as far as the sources inform us, in cultic prostitution. Recent research is increasingly dismissive of this theory of widespread cultic prostitution, associated with a common pattern of sacred marriage rites. It should perhaps be laid to rest in the Museum of Old Testament curiosities.¹²

11. See the lexica: *GB*, 703; *BDB*, 873; *KBL*², 826; *HALAT*, 1005. Translations: *RSV* Gen. 38:21 harlot or cult prostitute, Deut. 23:18, Hos. 4:14 cult prostitute (male and female); *NIV*, *NEB*, *JB*: temple prostitute, sacred prostitute, shrine prostitute etc.

12. Already critical was B.A. Brooks, "Fertility Cult Functionaries in the Old Testament", *JBL* 60 (1941) 231: «Twenty years ago it was noticeable that a number of terms in Akkadian texts were arbitrarily translated "eunuch", "harlot", "whore", "hierodule", or "prostitute", until it seemed that an improbable percent of the population must have been either secular or religious prostitutes of some sort». More recent voices dismissive of the cult prostitute theory are J. Renger, "Untersuchungen zum Priestertum in der altbabylonischen Zeit", *ZA* 58 (1967) 110-188; esp. 179-184; 59 (1969) 104-229; R. Harris, *Ancient Sippar*, Istanbul 1975, pp. 302-322, 328, eadem, "Women in the ancient Near East", *IDB Supplementary Volume*, p. 962, eadem, "Women (Mesopotamia)", in *ADB* 6, pp. 947-951, esp. 951; W. von Soden, "Zur Stellung des "Geweiheten"(qdš) in Ugarit", *UF* 2 (1970) 329-330 (Bezeichnung für nicht-priesterliches Tempelpersonal); Gese, *RAAM*, p. 178 (suggesting the *qdšm* to be cult prophets); E.M. Yamauchi, "Cultic Prostitution", *Fs. C.H. Gordon*, AOAT 22, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1973, pp. 213-222, esp. 219; J.-M. de Tarragon, *Le culte à Ugarit*, CRB 19, Paris 1980, pp. 138ff.; H. Barstad, *The Religious Polemics of Amos*, SVT XXXIV, Leiden 1984, pp. 22-33; M.I. Gruber, "Hebrew qedešah and her Canaanite and Hebrew Cognates", *UF* 18 (1986) 133-148; H. Ringgren, 'QDŠ', *TWAT* 6, Cols 1200-1201; Qadištu, *CAD (Q)*, 50; P.A. Bird, "The End of the Male Cult Prostitute: a Literary-historical and Sociological Analysis of Hebrew *qādeš* / *qēdēšim*", J.A. Emerton (ed.), *Congress Volume: Cambridge 1995*, VT Sup. 66, Leiden 1997, pp. 81-96; M. Dijkstra, "Vrouwen en godsdienst in het Oude Testament", M. Dijkstra - B. Becking (eds.), *Eén God alleen...? Over monotheïsme in Oud-Israël en de verering van de godin Asjera*, Kampen 1998, pp. 136-137; G. del Olmo Lete - J. Sanmartín, "Kultisches in den keilalphabetischen Verwaltungs- und Wirtschaftstexten aus Ugarit", M. Dietrich - I. Kottsieper, "Und Mose schrieb das Lied auf" *Studien zum Alten Testament und zum Alten Orient. Festschrift für Oswald Loretz zur Vollendung seines 70. Lebensjahres mit Beiträgen von Freunden, Schülern und Kollegen*, AOAT 250, Münster 1998, 175-198, esp. 179-181; P. Merlo - P. Kella, "The Rituals", *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*, pp. 300-301; J.-P. Vita, "The Society of Ugarit", *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*, pp. 474-475.

KTU 4.412+ ii 9ff.	KTU 4.12	KTU 4.327
<i>qdšm</i>	[ubd]y	
<i>bn[.]š[r]n*</i> KTU 4.12:11?	[xx]l w.nhlh	
[bn.]b* ¹ l[]	<i>bn.ksln*.[lth]</i>	
<i>b*n*.[.]pr[kl]</i> KTU 4.12:10?	<i>bn.yšmḫ*.bn.ṭrn*.wnhlh</i>	
<i>bn*.[.]ks*ln</i> KTU 4.12:3	<i>bn.srd bn.agmn</i>	[b]n[
<i>bn.mzt</i>	<i>bn gln. bn.ṭbil</i>	<i>bn.agmn[</i>
<i>bn.ṭrn wnhlh</i> KTU 4.12:4	<i>bn is*. bn.tb{.}dn</i>	<i>bn.gln</i>
<i>b[n.]is</i> KTU 4.12:7	<i>bn.uryy</i>	[bn.]ṭrn!
[bn.a]nnyn KTU 4.12:12	<i>bn.abd 'n*</i>	[bn.a]b*d 'n
[bn.]	<i>bn.prkl</i>	[bn.an]ny?
<i>bn. '[]</i>	<i>bn.štn</i>	
<i>bn.ab*[d 'n]</i> KTU 4.12:9	<i>bn annyn*</i>	
<i>bn.zr[n/n]</i>	<i>b[n.]alz!</i>	
<i>bn.pll[n]</i>	<i>ubd it</i>	
<i>bn.yšmḫ</i> KTU 4.12:4	<i>bn.k[d]n</i>	
	<i>bn nṣril</i>	

Figure 4: lists of *qdšm*

The Ugaritic attestations of the term *qdš(m)* / ¹³*qadšu*(NU.GIG)¹³ and *qdšt*¹⁴ were initially also associated with this non-existing institution,¹⁵ but because the group of *qdšm* is frequently mentioned after the *khnṃ*¹⁶ in the lists and accounts, it is now generally understood to be a kind of temple personnel. Whether they belonged to the lower ranks of temple clergy, as a group more or less comparable to the Old Testament Levites, remains to be seen. The number of *qdšm* listed (18 in KTU 4.12; 13/14 in KTU 4.412+ ii 9ff.) is about equal to the numbers of *khnṃ* (12 in KTU 4.69; 10 in 4.633; 10 in 4.761; 18 in PRU 3, p. 199ff. = RS 16.257); the commodities they receive and the taxes due are about equal (KTU 4.29; 4.36; 4.38; PRU 6, no. 93) and in KTU 4.67:72-73 they are charged together to provide one archer to the archer-guard.¹⁷ It is clear that the Ugaritic *qdšm* belonged to the *bnš mlk* “the royal dependants”,¹⁸ and formed a college like the priests (*dr khnṃ* KTU 4.357:24) and other corporations such as military personnel, agricultural workers and artisans. They belonged to the clergy and held in the hierarchy of the royal network a position between the military elite and the artisans and tradesmen. This was first correctly seen by von Soden. In the legal document PRU 3, p. 140f. (RS 16.132), the family of Adalšenni is promoted from the rank of *qadšūtu* to the knighthood of the Maryannu (KTU 4.69 i 12) and subsequently they

13. See PRU 6, No 93:26; *CAD (Q)*, 50; the equation with ¹⁴*barû* (Heltzer, *Organization*, p. 136) is unfounded.

14. Actually the term *qdšt* is only found as an epithet of a goddess (KTU 1.81:17) and in a private name *bn qdšt*. If this person had the full name Abdi-Pidar mār Qadišti (Ug 5, No 7:14), the name cannot be of the type *bn 'nt/ilt* etc. In this instance *qdšt* / *Qadištu* was a male or female name, for son of a *qadištu* is less probable. Unless the name is restored into Abdi-Pidar mār <Bin>Qadišti (Ug 5, p. 11; *CAD (Q)*, 50; referring to a goddess), but then we would expect *bn.bnqdšt* in the alphabetic texts.

15. D. Urie, *PEQ* 80 (1948) 43; A.F. Rainey, *BA* 28 (1965) 124; idem, “The Military Personnel of Ugarit”, *JNES* 24 (1963) 22; but see now A.F. Rainey, *A Social Structure of Ugarit*, Jerusalem 1967, p. 143; Gruber, *UF* 18 (1986) 147; Kornfeld, *TWAT* 6, Col. 1183; Tadanori Yamashita, *RSP* 2, 67 no.34 (class of clergy, devotees);

16. The exceptions are PRU 6, No 93:26-27 and KTU 4.752:5-6

17. Heltzer, *Organization*, pp. 135-136.

18. Heltzer, *Organization*, pp. 12-14, 135-136.

received fields for their provision.¹⁹ It meant that the Ugaritic *qdš* / ^{lu}*qadšu* like the Akkadian *qadištu* (and perhaps also her male counterpart the Old Assyrian *qaššu(m)* / *qadšu(m)*)²⁰ could receive provisions, own property, marry and rear children. This may also have been the situation of the *qādēš* in the Old Testament. They possessed rooms in the Temple of Jerusalem where women (probably their wives) made a kind of garment for the Asherah (2 Kings 23:7). One may assume that the term *qādēš* is used here inclusively. Like her Babylonian counterpart, the biblical *qēdēšāh* could play a role in the sacrificial ritual (Hos. 4:14).

In some instances, the *nhl* "heir" of the *qdš* is mentioned (KTU 4.12:4 = 4.412+ ii 14f. *bn.ṭrn.wnḥlh*; also [] *w.nḥlh* KTU 4.12:2), which suggests that possessions, duties but also the office they held could be inherited in their father's lifetime. Some of these people obviously lived in the village of *Uškn* where they had fields, or anyhow *ubdy=pilku* grounds to provide for their income. KTU 4.12 may have been a list about the *ubdy* of the *qdšm*, as they also exist for the priests and other corporations.²¹ One of them was also a *b'l bt*, owner of a family house, if the *bt ṭrn* (KTU 4.15:7) be identified as the property of the *bn ṭrn* of our *qdš*-list. In KTU 4.727, the family house as of *bn štn* and *bn annyn* are mentioned together, so the *qdšm* possessed fields and family houses. Dedication to the temple was seemingly not always meant for life. Like marriage of a *qadištu* in Babylonia, promotion by the king to another rank was apparently a way of leaving temple service.

About the cultic duties of the Ugaritic *qdš* / ^{lu}*qadšu*, next to nothing is known, but once more a comparison with the female Babylonian counterpart suggests that they performed a role in the ritual serving the priests in officiating. Perhaps, some of them acted as specialised sacrificial priests. In PRU 3, RS 16.257, the ^{lu}*ša naqi* follow the ^{lu}*šangû* in the position where the *qdš* / ^{lu}*qadšu* usually is found.²² One of them Abdi-Yarah māṛ Šatana may be identical to the *bn štn* of our lists.²³ Cultic service of a *qdš* is also implied in the *yrh hyr*-ritual KTU 1.112:20-21 where we find the prescription *wrgm ḡrm yṯb wqdš yšr* "and let the word of the *Gaṭrma* be recited and the *qdš* shall sing (it)". Because in the cult and rituals of Ugarit professional singers *šrm* were employed, Del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín suggested that the *qdš* is requested to perform his song of the *rgm ḡrm* as a divinatory specialist.²⁴ It is also possible that the cultic singer was requested to be a *qdš* at special occasions, as he also could be a sacrificial priest. Perhaps, because of his special relationship with the astral and chthonic *ḡrm*-deities.²⁵ A divinatory or sacrificial

19. Von Soden, *UF* 2 (1970) 330; Barstad, *Religious Polemics*, pp. 28-29; de Tarragon, *Le culte à Ugarit*, pp. 140-141; Gruber, *UF* 18 (1986) 146f.; Ringgren, *TWAT* 6, Cols 1200-1201; Del Olmo Lete - Sanmartín, *Fs Loretz*, p. 180; Merlo - Xella, *Vita, Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*, 301, 474.

20. The role of the Old Assyrian *qaššu(m)* is not clear. If derived from *qadšu* (see H. Hirsch, *Afo Beiheft* 13, pp. 57f., n. 298; von Soden, *AHW*, 906, different from *CAD* (K), 292 *kaššu* A "a high official in Anatolia"; K. Hecker, *Grammatik der Kültepe-Texte*, Roma 1968, p. 212, n. 2), somehow they were integrated into the Assyrian administrative structure as *hamuštu*-officials, but also a cultic position is implied when some are mentioned as *qaššum ša GN* (*CAD* (K) 292).

21. See, for instance, KTU 4.103. Unfortunately, the heading is here broken. Read, perhaps, [*ubd*]y? The sentence *ubd it* KTU 4.12:14 is unclear, but certainly not a personal name.

22. Bentiya and Šamu-Addu, priest of Adad, who act as witnesses in RS 17.231 and RS 18.02 respectively, are priests (^{lu}*šangû* = *kln*) by profession as well as *barû* "diviner / haruspex", but they are not *qadšu* (pace Heltzer, *Organization*, p. 136). See also *atn prln*, the *rb khum* in KTU 1.6 colophon. *Prln* is probably Hurrian for *barû*, see W.H. van Soldt, "'*Atn prln*' "Ata/enu the Diviner", *UF* 21 (1989) 365-368; del Olmo Lete - Sanmartín, *Fs Loretz*, p. 179, n. 14.

23. The lists of ^{lu}*meš ša naqi* and *qdš* / ^{lu}*qadšu* are far from identical, so that one may assume that another group of religious specialists is meant. Priests could specialise in *barûtu*. So why couldn't a *qdš* "devotee" become a sacrificial priest?

24. Del Olmo Lete - Sanmartín, *Fs. Loretz*, pp. 179-180; see also M. Dietrich - O. Loretz, "Jahwe und seine Aschera": *Anthropomorphes Kultbild in Mesopotamien, Ugarit und Israel. Das biblische Bilderverbot*, UBL 9, Münster 1992, pp. 68-69.

25. Del Olmo Lete - Sanmartín thought of the Sun and Moon as oracular deities, but ritual KTU 1.43 suggests chthonic deities related to Baal and Anat, see Dietrich - Loretz, *Jahwe und seine Aschera*, pp. 65-73. However, also the holy shrine could be meant or the ritual sanctifying the temples mentioned, cf. Emar *qidašu* D.E. Fleming, *The Installation of Baal's High Priestess*

function of the *qdš* may also be implied in KTU 1.104+:11-13: *wbtš'[...]ymm ytn š qdšh* bt dgn wbt b'[*[l] wb'šr* "and on the ninth of this year-period, a sheep be given to the *qdš* in the house of Dagan and the house of Baal and on the tenth (idem?)".²⁶ A certain *bn ksln* got the title *Šiltahū/tlth* (KTU 4.12:3). Perhaps, he was active as an "archer" in the king's army, but the title may also refer to a sort of ritual or mantic profession, for instance, his ability to work with the oracle of arrows (Ezek. 21:26). It is tempting to relate the *bn tbil* of KTU 4.12:6 to the author or owner of the religious text KTU 1.92:1, but there is also a *maryannu bn tbil*. If so, it could infer a special relationship of the *qdš* to the goddess Astarte as it is also inferred in the rituals KTU 1.43:1//9ff. and 1.112:13//19ff.

Some *qdšm* would also fulfil their civil duties by acting as a witness to contracts (so a Bubuwa mār Ananiyanu PRU 6, No 50:28; a Sidqanu mār Gilanu PRU 6, No 57:1-2 and Abdi-Rašap mār Tubbitenu Ug 5, No 9:19) and by paying their taxes in kind and part of the tribute (sending an archer KTU 4.68; featuring in a list of tax-payers *spr ynm* KTU 4.93; paying tribute to the Sun king of Hatti KTU 4.610). In short, the Ugaritic *qdšm* show all the features of the other middle-class dependants of the Royal Court of Ugarit. They were probably involved in cultic activities such as sacrifice, divination and singing. They were perhaps somewhat less prominent than the *khnm* but there is no reason to assume that they held an insignificant position, let alone that as family men they fulfilled a role as temple prostitute. This survey should be sufficient to prove the contrary. As such I hope it will satisfy the sound semantics²⁷ and the religio-historical standards²⁸ set for himself by the profound Spanish Ugaritic scholar to whom this *liber amicorum* is devoted and also be a welcome addition to and confirmation of his view on the Ugaritic *qdšm*.

at Emar, HSS 42, Atlanta, Georgia 1992, pp. 94-98 *pace* M. Dietrich, "Das Einsetzungsritual der Entu von Emar", *UF* 21(1989) 79, n. 70 (sic); 94.

26. See M. Dijkstra, "Astral myth of the birth of Shahr and Shalim (KTU 1.23)", *Fs. Loretz*, pp. 279-283.

27 G. del Olmo Lete, *Interpretación de la Mitología Cananea. Estudios de semántica Ugarítica*, Valencia 1984.

28 Del Olmo Lete - Sanmartín, *Fs. Loretz*, pp. 179-181.