



Beginnings: 1928 to 1945

✠ TEXTS AND TOOLS

- Archaeology: C. F. A. Schaeffer, *CTA* xix–xxx, provides a convenient listing. See also the bibliography of J. C. Courtois, “Ras Shamra: I. Archéologie,” *DBSup* 9 (1979): 1287–89, 1291–95.
- Decipherment: On the work of H. Bauer, E. Dhorme, and C. Virolleaud, see below pp. 14–16.
- Editio Princeps: C. Virolleaud’s articles in *Syria*. See also the bibliography of Courtois, “Ras Shamra: I. Archéologie,” *DBSup* 9 (1979): 1291–95.
- Grammar: C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Grammar* (AnOr 20; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1940).
- Handbook: J. A. Montgomery and Z. S. Harris, *The Ras Shamra Mythological Texts* (Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society IV; Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1935).
- Translations: H. L. Ginsberg, *Kitbê ʿUgarit* (Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik, 1936). C. H. Gordon, *The Loves and Wars of Baal and Anat* (Princeton Oriental Texts 9; Princeton: Princeton University, 1943).
- Synthetic Studies: W. F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity: Monotheism and the Historical Process* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1940; 2d ed., 1957). R. Dussaud, *Les découvertes de Ras Shamra (Ugarit et l’Ancien Testament)* (2d ed.; Paris: Geuthner, 1941). J. W. Jack, *The Ras Shamra Tablets and Their Bearing upon the Old Testament* (Old Testament Studies 1; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1935). R. de Langhe, *Les textes de Ras Shamra–Ugarit et leur rapports avec le milieu biblique de l’Ancient Testament* (Gembloux: Duculot, 1945).

✠ FIRST DISCOVERIES

The story of the discovery of the Ugaritic texts has been told many times. Here let me quote P. C. Craigie’s account.

In the spring of 1928, a farmer was ploughing some land on the Mediterranean coast of Syria; his name was Mahmoud Mella az-Zir, and he lived close to a bay called Minet el-Beida. The tip of his plough ran into stone just beneath the surface of the soil; when he examined the obstruction, he found a large man-made flagstone. He cleared away the earth, raised the stone, and beneath it he saw a short subterranean passageway leading into an ancient tomb. Entering the tomb, he discovered a number of ancient objects of potential value; these he sold to a dealer in antiquities. Though he could not have known it at the time, the agricultural worker had opened up more than a tomb on that spring day. He had opened a door which was to lead to extraordinary discoveries concerning ancient history and civilization, and even to a new appraisal of the Old Testament.¹

At this time Minet el-Bheida (the ancient Leukos Limen, “the white harbor”) belonged to the Alouites (later Syria), then under the French mandate, specifically in the jurisdiction of the governor, M. Schoeffler. News of the discovery soon reached the director of the Antiquities Service of Syria and Lebanon, Charles Virolleaud (1879–1968), who sent out a reconnaissance team under L. Albanèse. After this initial investigation, a team was assembled under the leadership of C. F. A. Schaeffer (1889–1982), an Alsatian then employed in the archaeological museum in Strasbourg.

On April 2, 1929, Schaeffer’s team commenced excavations. The crew discovered at Minet el-Bheida what he thought to be a cemetery adjoining a number of buildings, and then a series of rich deposits of objects (foreign and local pottery, two hawk figurines in Egyptian style, stone tablets uninscribed, pierced stelae, stone weights, bronze implements, and weapons). Later René Dussaud (then Keeper of the Department of Oriental Antiquities at the Louvre) visited the site, and on his advice the team moved on May 9 to the nearby tell of Ras Shamra (“Fennel Mound,” named for the flowers that grew there). Five days later, late in the afternoon of May 14, the first clay tablet with writing came to light.² After this initial textual discovery, many more texts and objects were discovered. The first season was a great success, having yielded both artifacts and texts in a hitherto unknown cuneiform script.³

⌘ DECIPHERMENT

At this point the story of Ugarit turned to initial publication and decipherment,⁴ with Virolleaud, himself a trained Assyriologist, taking the lead. Virolleaud quickly recognized that the texts were written in alphabetic cuneiform. Once this point was established, decipherment followed quickly. Virolleaud was joined shortly in the labor by two brilliant biblical scholars who had been cryptographers in the First World War. The first was Hans Bauer (1878–1937), professor of Semitic Languages at Halle from 1922 onward, already well-known

for his studies of medieval Arabic philosophy (especially Al-Ghazali), his studies of the Semitic tenses, *Die Tempora im Semitischen* (1919), and his magisterial work, *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache des Alten Testaments* (1922), coauthored with Pontus Leander.⁵ The second scholar was Père Edouard Dhorme (1881–1966), professor at the Ecole Biblique in Jerusalem (until 1931, when he returned to Paris).⁶ At this time Dhorme was already famous for *Le livre de Job*, his 1926 commentary on the biblical book, as well as his work on the El-Amarna tablets. Less than a year's effort on the part of Virolleaud, Bauer, and Dhorme yielded the basic decipherment of Ugaritic, as the language was called after the ancient name of the site.⁷

Here we may cite an account of the events leading up to the decipherment, reported by a witness, William Foxwell Albright (1891–1971). Emerging as a dominant figure in biblical studies in the United States, Albright became the W. W. Spence Professor of Semitic Languages at The Johns Hopkins University in 1929:⁸

Virolleaud recognized almost immediately that the script was alphabetic, not syllabic like Accadian, because of the number of separate letters (29 or 30). But he hesitated to proceed further with the available material, publishing it without extended comment in April, 1930. Before the end of the month Hans Bauer, professor of Semitic Languages at Halle, had succeeded in identifying over half of the letters correctly by clever use of decoding methods, with which he was familiar. In June he published a popular sketch of his results in the *Vossische Zeitung*, which reached my hands through the intermediation of Kurt Galling, then in Jerusalem. I took the article to Dhorme, who was working on the texts at that time, and he immediately recognized that Bauer was correct in a number of points which he had missed, but that he himself was right in other points. In September Dhorme published his improved results in the *Revue Biblique*, which was promptly sent to Bauer, causing him to revise his identifications and to make further improvements. Meanwhile the tablets found in the spring of 1930, which included long consecutive poems in the Canaanite alphabet, had reached Virolleaud, who was able to distance both Bauer and Dhorme, fixing nearly all remaining values.⁹

Albright's account omits his own small contribution to decipherment. Although he was fully engaged with excavations at Tell Beit Mirsim, Albright contributed to the correct identification of one letter, the dotted z.¹⁰ Thus, by the second season of excavation at Ras Shamra, decipherment was essentially achieved.

Excavations were conducted in the second season again at Minet el-Bheida and then at Ras Shamra. With a library having been discovered in the second season, Ugaritic held out the promise of ever greater discovery. Albright identified the site with ancient Ugarit in 1931–1932,¹¹ and the proposal was independently confirmed in Schaeffer's publication of a tablet mentioning "Niqmaddu king of Ugarit."¹² Progress continued apace. By 1939, with the Second World War descending on Europe, the work had yielded more than 150 Ugaritic texts, along with numerous texts in several other languages. The Ugaritic texts discovered

included the Baal Cycle (*KTU* 1.1–1.6), other pieces concerning Baal (1.8, 1.10, 1.12) and Anat (1.13), part of Keret (1.14), all of Aqhat (1.17–1.19), the Birth of the Beautiful Gods (1.23), and Nikkal wa-Ib (1.24). At Ras Shamra the archaeological team had uncovered two temples (which the excavators called the temples of Baal and Dagan), parts of a palace, and many private houses and streets. In addition, the work at Minet el-Bheida yielded remains of a seaport.

𐎶 GRAMMAR AND POETRY

Immediately following the initial seasons of excavation, two tasks dominated the field. The first involved Ugaritic itself, the second its relationship to the Bible. This period saw the production of basic information and tools, in particular text editions and translations. Here we can look back with admiration on the labors of the pioneers, especially Schaeffer for his archaeological work¹³ and Virolleaud,¹⁴ as well as Bauer and Dhorme, for their epigraphical and philological discoveries. Schaeffer published a long series of archaeological reports in the journal *Syria*, which kept the field apprised of new discoveries. Similarly, the publications of Ugaritic texts by Virolleaud were admirable for the speed with which they appeared. Many of the best scholars tried their hand at the various texts, in particular the myths that Virolleaud published piecemeal. The main scholars who undertook textual studies in this early period were J. Aistleitner, W. F. Albright, G. A. Barton, U. Cassuto, R. de Langhe, R. Dussaud, J. Friedrich, T. H. Gaster, H. L. Ginsberg, F. F. Hvidberg, J. A. Montgomery, and J. Obermann.¹⁵ Albright commented in 1943: “Again we see that the cooperation of successive students is necessary, and that no one man can hope to solve most of the difficulties with which Ugaritic mythological poems swarm.”¹⁶ Thanks to these scholars, it soon became obvious that the Ugaritic texts held a special key to understanding the linguistic and cultural conditions in Canaan in the very words of the indigenous population. Since the mythological texts appeared first, it was hardly surprising that Ugaritic attracted interest first and foremost from the biblical field.¹⁷ Many scholars followed through the war with various grammatical and cultural studies (A. Alt, W. Baumgartner, A. Bea, H. Bauer, H. Birkeland, C. G. von Brandenstein, C. Brockelmann, J. Cantineau, O. Eissfeldt, J.-G. Février, J. Friedrich, C. H. Gordon, E. Hammershaimb, Z. Harris, A. Herdner, A. M. Honeyman, B. Hrozny, E. Jacobs, J. W. Jack, A. Jirku, P. Joüon, J. J. Kroeze, J. P. Lettinga, A. Lods, B. Maisler/Mazar, J. Pedersen, F. Rosenthal, A. D. Singer, and R. de Vaux). Cumulatively, the Ugaritic texts allowed scholars to penetrate “behind the Bible” and to understand its linguistic and cultural background.

The labor of these scholars produced detailed philological work yielding a rudimentary knowledge of the grammar. In this area Ugaritic provided an espe-

cially rich resource for comparison with biblical Hebrew. Ugaritic provided thirty symbols representing twenty-seven basic consonants with three variants for the letter ^ʔ*aleph*. (The abecedaries published for the most part in the early 1950s list the ^ʔ*a-ʔaleph* in first position, with the ^ʔ*i-* and ^ʔ*u-ʔalephs* appearing at the very end, except for the enigmatic ^ʔ, absent from literary texts and perhaps used only for loanwords.) This repertoire confirmed what Akkadian and Arabic together had already indicated about the merger of consonants lying behind Hebrew's smaller assemblage of twenty-three consonants. Ugaritic provided evidence that the older stages of West Semitic had employed this fuller repertoire, and it further clarified other details about the early alphabet. Initially, the usage of the three ^ʔ*alephs* was a matter of controversy. Assuming that the ^ʔ*alephs* varied largely according to the vowel that followed (except for the use of ^ʔ*i* in syllable-closing contexts)¹⁸ allowed for the successful reconstruction of the vowels inside Ugaritic words, at least to some extent. It was evident from a lack of *w-* and *y-* in some words where Hebrew showed *waw* and *yodh* that Ugaritic had fully contracted diphthongs, not only in construct forms, but also in absolute forms (as the discovery of the Samaria Ostraca would show for northern Hebrew, or more precisely, "Samaritan" Hebrew).¹⁹

The understanding of Hebrew morphology benefited from Ugaritic in many ways as well. The case system of Ugaritic was evident to investigators early on.²⁰ The three ^ʔ*alephs* at the ends of nouns showed that Ugaritic had a full system of case endings that later Hebrew lost around 1200 B.C.E. with the loss of other final short vowels.²¹ The result in Hebrew was a modification and coalescence of endings, and for nouns, an end to case distinctions. Recognizing the loss of final short vowels in early Hebrew, scholars determined that the masculine plural dyptotic case system in Ugaritic (nominative *-ūma* and genitive/accusative *-īma*) had been reduced to the single plural ending *-īm* in Hebrew and that the masculine construct plural ending in Hebrew, namely *-ê*, derived from the dual construct ending *-ay* (reduced to *-ê* as in Ugaritic). Many of the nominal patterns shared by Ugaritic and Hebrew were identified early on, with their ^ʔ-, *m-*, and *t-* preformative elements, as well as sufformatives (morpheme added to the end of a word) such as *-n*. The basic nominal patterns in Ugaritic, where the internal structures could be discerned on the basis of the three ^ʔ*alephs*, largely conformed to patterns known in Hebrew. The identification of anomalous long forms of third person pronouns in biblical Hebrew and apparently in some Qumran Hebrew found confirmation in similar forms in Ugaritic.

In the area of the verb, H. L. Ginsberg discovered the applicability of Barth's rule regarding theme vowels in the Ugaritic *G*-stem (Qal in Hebrew) "imperfect" or prefix indicative verbal forms; soon the rule became known as "the Barth-Ginsberg law" (dissimilation of prefix vowel from theme vowel in prefix forms).²²

J. Friedrich contributed a description of the different modal endings of the verb.²³ The loss of final short vowels affected distinctions between certain verbal forms. Ugaritic apparently distinguished the old **yaqtul*-preterite form from the present-future prefix form, **yaqtulu* (the use of both forms in Ugaritic poetic narrative apparently goes back to their original distinction, but this distinction was later lost).²⁴ However, when **yaqtulu* lost its final short *-u*, this form was indistinguishable in Hebrew from the old **yaqtul* preterite, subsequently preserved in Hebrew in **wayyiqtol* forms (the so-called “*waw*-consecutive” or “converted imperfect”) and as a variant form to narrate past events in Hebrew poetry.²⁵ In Ugaritic and biblical poetry, the two prefix indicative forms are interchangeable, apparently a relic of an older distinction in the verbal system.

Ugaritic was recognized as having a full range of verbal stems, including the old “Qal passive” (*G*-stem passive), which, apart from the participle, Hebrew preserved only vestigially.²⁶ Thanks to forms recognized in Ugaritic, Qal-passive forms vocalized in the MT as either Pual perfects or Hophal imperfects (with corresponding active forms in the Qal) were more easily recognized as Qal passive. Disputing the traditional view of the *D*-stem (BH Piel) as the “intensive” stem,²⁷ Albrecht Goetze produced a 1942 study that had wide application to the derived stems in Ugaritic and Hebrew. Although Goetze’s view that *D*-stem forms of *G*-stem active verbs are resultative did not win acceptance (many regard such forms as pluralitive),²⁸ he made three crucial points (as summarized by S. A. Kaufman):

Goetze did establish three fundamental and correct approaches to the study of Semitic lexical morphology: (1) that the semantic lexical modification imparted by stem variation differs for active and stative verbs; (2) that the *D*-stem is never “intensive”; and (3) that the *D*-stem is “factive” (not causative) for stative verbs.²⁹

Goetze’s article on the *D*-stem was so insightful and influential that it has remained the basis of discussion up to the present.³⁰

Ugaritic offered a valuable new resource for etymologies of Hebrew words and articles. Vocabulary specifically enlightened by recourse to Ugaritic include: **štʿ* (= Ugaritic *ttʿ*), “fear” (Isa 41:10, 23);³¹ **šulḥan* (= Ugaritic *tlḥn*), “table”; and *derek*, “way,” but also “dominion” (= Ugaritic *drkt*). Many Hebrew particles were elucidated by means of Ugaritic. For example, Albright and others recognized that “the *-h* locale” (or “directive” or “terminative” *-h*), long known in biblical Hebrew, was a particle in its own right in Ugaritic, since that language does not mark case endings on singular nouns consonantly.³² Accordingly, it was evident that “the *-h* locale” was not an accusative case ending as some had supposed. Similarly, the Ugaritic asseverative *kaph* and emphatic (or asseverative) *lamed*,³³ as well as the enclitic *mem* first identified by H. L. Ginsberg,³⁴ have been generally accepted for Hebrew as well. Other particles seen in Ugaritic, such as vocative *lamed*,³⁵ have been more controversial when identified in Hebrew. Many of the

diachronic developments and particles illustrate many changes during the long evolution of grammar. Therefore, many of the features in Ugaritic should remain relatively rare for Hebrew. Despite the chronological gap between the texts written in Ugaritic and Hebrew, the grammars of these two languages had so much in common that many in the field began to characterize Ugaritic as Canaanite, and a debate over this linguistic classification ensued, with pieces authored on the subject in this period by, for example, Albright and Goetze.³⁶

The new Ugaritic texts also enriched other areas of biblical studies. For example, Ugaritic poetry showed the sorts of syntax and parallelism of lines well-known in Hebrew poetry. Psalms 92:10 and 145:13 were cited early on as examples of biblical poetry demonstrating great congruence with Ugaritic poetry (in particular *KTU* 1.2 IV 8–10).³⁷ Both Ugaritic and Hebrew poetry exhibited distinct examples of closely matching parallel terms (a-b-c // a'-b'-c' or a-b-c // a'-b'), but also what E. L. Greenstein in the 1970s aptly termed “staircase” parallelism (a-b-c // a-b-d // a'-b'-d').³⁸ Many of the same standard pairs of words in parallelism (“word pairs”) appeared in both languages. The feature of the “double-duty” pronominal suffix (used in the first line and implied in the second line) generally found acceptance among commentators.

✂ COMPARISONS OF LITERATURE AND RELIGION

Literary analysis of Ugaritic and Hebrew showed a common repertoire of themes and type-scenes. Ugaritic also provided a whole new corpus of texts pertinent to the literature and religion of the Canaanites, thus elucidating the Bible.³⁹ For example, Ps 29 seemed now to swarm with so many features known from Ugaritic that, following Ginsberg,⁴⁰ scholars began to debate whether this psalm was originally Israelite or not. The figure of the biblical Daniel in Ezek 14:14, 20 seemed to be attested now as Dan'ilu in the story of Aqhat.⁴¹ The very names of Baal's mountain and his cosmic enemies now appeared in the Bible as well: like Baal, Yahweh had an abode called *ṣapôn* (Ps 48:3), and like Baal, Yahweh battled cosmic adversaries with the same names, such as Leviathan.⁴² Now the polemics of Israel's prophets against its Canaanite neighbors seemed to have a clearer context, with the very names of Baal and Asherah familiar from the Bible now appearing in Ugaritic texts.⁴³

However, there were occasional missteps. Early treatments of some mythological texts sometimes posited personal names as a last resort in interpreting difficult Ugaritic words. For example, Dussaud and Virolleaud proposed to see the biblical names of Terah and Negeb behind similar Ugaritic words. Context suggested otherwise, but it would take some time to root these ideas out of the

scholarly literature.⁴⁴ A longer-lasting mistake involved Ginsberg's ingenious suggestion that the biblical prohibition against boiling (or seething) a kid in its mother's milk (Exod 23:19, 34:26; Deut 14:21) represented a polemic against a Canaanite ritual practice evidenced in *KTU* 1.23.14.⁴⁵ This proposal long remained a standard example of Ugaritic-biblical connections,⁴⁶ until M. Haran⁴⁷ and then J. Milgrom⁴⁸ demonstrated otherwise. Later photographic studies of the original Ugaritic letters⁴⁹ in question confirmed the substantial impediments to understanding *KTU* 1. 23.14 as evidence of such a Canaanite ritual. As these examples illustrate, Ugaritic texts early on offered many fine insights for the Bible, but occasionally there would be some misfires. Similarly, it was clear already at this early stage that the myths and legends engaged scholars' interest far more than did ritual and administrative texts. The new interest that Ugaritic generated for studying the Bible reaped immediate results in the academic community. Still, those involved in the interpretation of the texts, as Albright was in 1936, could "foresee ten years of concerted effort on the part of scholars before there is a real communis opinio with regard to details of grammar and vocabulary, to say nothing of interpretation."⁵⁰

✠ ACADEMIC DEVELOPMENTS IN EUROPE AND PALESTINE

The successes of the discoveries helped to bring Ugaritic into the curriculum of academic programs. A handful of examples may convey some of the university activity in Ugaritic through the Second World War.

Paris: C. Virolleaud

At the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes (fifth section), Charles Virolleaud was the only teacher offering Ugaritic in France in this period. His students included the leading French scholars of the next generation, including Andr  e Herdner, Andr   Caquot, Henri Cazelles, and R. Largetment.⁵¹

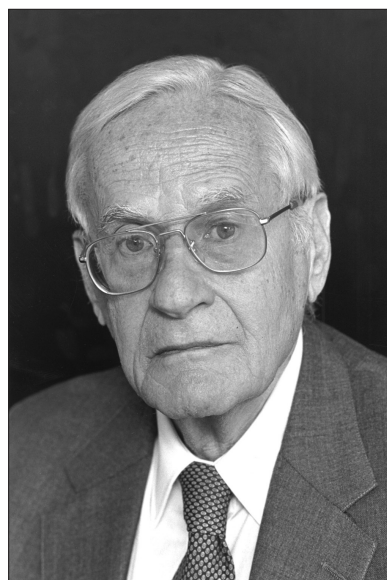
Copenhagen: J. Pedersen, F. L  kkegaard, D. Nielsen, and F. F. Hvidberg

Faculty at Copenhagen took up Ugaritic before the war. Johannes Pedersen (1883–1977) and Frede L  kkegaard themselves wrote on Ugaritic.⁵² Other figures at Copenhagen also produced both cultural and grammatical studies: Ditlef Nielsen's comparative study of astral deities in West Semitic and Epigraphic South Arabian texts, *Ras Šamra Mythologie und Biblische Theologie* (1936);⁵³ Flemming Friis Hvidberg's work, *Graad og Latter i det Gamle Testamente*, published originally as an annual University-Programme (1938) and translated into English after his

death by Løkkegaard under the title *Weeping and Laughter in the Old Testament*;⁵⁴ and Erling Hammershaimb's doctoral dissertation on "Das Verbum im Dialekt von Ras Schamra" (1941).⁵⁵ Nielsen, for many years librarian at the Royal Library at Copenhagen, continued to publish studies in the history of Semitic religions.⁵⁶

Halle and Berlin: H. Bauer and F. Rosenthal

Germany produced major figures by the eve of the war. At Halle, Hans Bauer provided instruction in Ugaritic. Born in Bavaria, Bauer (1878–1937) had been appointed as professor at Halle in 1922.⁵⁷ One of his students was the distinguished Otto Eissfeldt,⁵⁸ already professor there beginning the year before.⁵⁹ Franz Rosenthal (1914–) was the first faculty member to teach Ugaritic in Berlin, his hometown, in 1937 following his doctoral studies there in 1932–1935 under Hans Heinrich Schaeder as his "principal teacher and adviser," "wonderful and helpful in both capacities."⁶⁰ After a year in Florence following the completion of his dissertation, *Die Sprache der palmyrenischen Inschriften*, he returned to Berlin in 1937 to take up a post as Dozent für orientalische Sprachen an der Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judentums, and as such he first taught Ugaritic. However, Rosenthal lost his academic position in 1938,⁶¹ and he fled Germany in December of that year. Thanks to Schaeder's contact with H. S. Nyberg, Rosenthal acquired a visa for Sweden. In 1938 he won the Lidzbarski Prize of the International Congress of Orientalists for his book, *Die aramaistische Forschung seit Theodor Noldekes Veroeffentlichungen*. In the same year Rosenthal also authored one of the first studies of parallels within the Ugaritic literary corpus.⁶²



Franz Rosenthal. Courtesy of Michael Marsland, Yale University Office of Public Affairs.

The Hebrew University: U. Cassuto

Another refugee from the war established a program in Jerusalem. Umberto Moshe David Cassuto (1883–1951), Chief Rabbi of Florence and head of the Rabbinical School, left his post at the University of Florence for a professorship at the University of Rome. Dismissed from his position in October 1938 on

account of Jewish racial laws (along with about one hundred other Jewish professors), Cassuto departed for a new position at the Hebrew University in 1939.⁶³ For decades prior to emigrating, Cassuto had produced significant work on Italian classics, the Judeo-Italian dialect, Hebrew inscriptions of southern Italy, and related topics. (The most important artifact of this research was his 1918 study in Italian Jewish history, *Gli ebrei a Firenze nell' età del rinascimento*.) At the Hebrew University, Cassuto wrote and taught in the area of Ugaritic and biblical comparisons. His most famous students included Edward Ullendorff⁶⁴ and later Samuel Loewenstamm, Abraham Malamat, and A. D. Singer.⁶⁵ Cassuto was well known for many studies of Ugaritic passages, especially in the myths and legends.⁶⁶ Besides his text studies and literary observations, one major contribution was Cassuto's attempt in 1943 to demonstrate an early literary epic tradition in Israel that was distinctly indebted to the "Canaanite" culture, as represented by the Ugaritic texts.⁶⁷ This prompted a major discussion regarding the shared literary traditions between the two cultures (as Canaan and Israel were viewed in this period and afterward—and in some quarters, to this day). Perhaps it was Cassuto's first raising the issues that later led scholars to develop the topic of "Hebrew epic."⁶⁸ At Tel Aviv in this period we may note the figure of Samuel Yeivin. Known mostly for his work in archaeology and the Bar Kochba revolt, he occasionally wrote on Ugaritic.⁶⁹

✠ ACADEMIC DEVELOPMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

The University of Pennsylvania and Dropsie College: J. A. Montgomery, G. Barton, and E. A. Speiser

Schools in the United States also incorporated Ugaritic into their curricula. Apparently, the first dissertation involving Ugaritic was the 1934 Chicago work of Walter George Williams, "The Ras Shamra Inscriptions and Israel's Cultural Heritage."⁷⁰ However, Chicago did not develop a program in this field in the prewar period. The program that first integrated Ugaritic into its curriculum was the University of Pennsylvania.⁷¹ A longtime member of the Penn faculty, James A. Montgomery (1866–1949), was joined in 1923 by George Barton (1859–1942), a Canadian Quaker, who had been teaching at Bryn Mawr College. (Montgomery and Barton taught also at the Philadelphia Divinity School.) Both scholars published early studies on Ugaritic. In 1935, Montgomery and his student, Zellig Harris, cowrote a handbook, *The Ras Shamra Mythological Texts*. In the fall of 1935, Montgomery offered a course entitled "The Hebraic Ras Shamra Texts." By 1937–1938, Harris teamed up with Montgomery to teach Ugaritic.

Ugaritic also found a home across town at the Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning. Beginning in the 1930s, the outstanding faculty at Dropsie embraced the riches of the Ugaritic texts. Ephraim Avigdor Speiser (1902–1965)⁷² first taught Ugaritic there.⁷³ Born in Skalat, Galicia (then part of Austrian Poland, now in Ukraine), Speiser graduated from the Gymnasium of Lemberg, Austria, in 1918. He took a master's degree from the University of Pennsylvania in 1923, with a thesis on "The Hebrew Origin of the First Part of the Book of Wisdom," and a doctorate from Dropsie College in 1925, with a dissertation on "The Pronunciation of Hebrew according to the Transliterations in the Hexapla," supervised by Max Margolis. In this period he also worked with Edward Chiera (1885–1933), an Assyriologist at the University of Pennsylvania.⁷⁴ Underwritten by Dropsie College, the two-time Guggenheim winner surveyed northern Iraq in 1926–1927, excavated at Tell Billa from 1930 to 1932 (with the work greatly improving his knowledge of Arabic),⁷⁵ and once again at Tell Billa and at Tepe Gawra from 1936 to 1937. In 1928, Speiser succeeded Chiera on the faculty of the University of Pennsylvania and served there into the war and then again from 1947 until his death in 1965.

The standard necrologies of Speiser⁷⁶ overlook his early career at Dropsie. In the early 1930s Speiser became a lecturer and in 1934 a professor at Dropsie. The *Dropsie College Register* for 1935–1936 lists the "Ras Shamra Texts" under its courses of study, and it requires the Montgomery and Harris textbook for the course, which was restricted to "specially qualified students."⁷⁷ Speiser worked from 1936 to 1937 as director of excavations at Tepe Gawra (a site he had discovered in 1926–1927); afterward he would not offer the subject again at Dropsie. By 1939 Speiser abandoned the revision and expansion of his doctoral dissertation on the Hexapla, realizing that in the area of West Semitic studies, Ugaritic now had assumed a place of major importance. In a letter dated 13 February 1939, he informed his patron at Dropsie College, its president Cyrus Adler, of his decision not to proceed with the revision of his dissertation, which Adler had long encouraged. In part, Speiser's argument involved the appearance of the new materials from Ugarit:

Ras Shamra has furnished and keeps on furnishing extensive material that is basic for the earliest history of Hebrew phonology. This material cannot be ignored. At the same time, our knowledge of the Ras Shamra documents is as yet inchoate and the annual campaigns add regularly fresh and important evidence. It will probably require many years before the new source has been exhausted, and additional years before the total yield can be evaluated.⁷⁸

Speiser apparently planned to continue with Ugaritic in his teaching at Dropsie, but he did not. Other matters intervened.

Speiser taught at Dropsie until 1941, shortly after the death of the school's first president, Cyrus Adler. Although Speiser emerged as one of the finalists

in the running as his successor, the position went instead to Abraham A. Neuman. Disappointed with the school's choice, Speiser abandoned his teaching mid-semester at Dropsie, which he announced in a letter to Newman dated 16 February 1941.⁷⁹ (In 1940–1941 and 1942–1943, Joseph Reider taught the Ugaritic course.) Like many other scholars, Speiser then joined the war effort, leaving Penn to work for the Office of Strategic Services (precursor to the Central Intelligence Agency). He did return to Philadelphia to serve as professor of Assyriology at the University of Pennsylvania from 1947 to 1965, and he wrote occasional pieces on Ugaritic subjects (described in the following chapter in the section on the University of Pennsylvania), but not as an affiliate of Dropsie.⁸⁰ Still, the college awarded an honorary doctorate to him in 1965, the year he died of cancer.

The Johns Hopkins University: W. F. Albright and F. R. Blake

Thanks to William Foxwell Albright (1891–1971), Johns Hopkins became a well-known program for Ugaritic and the Bible up through the war. In 1929 he returned there from the American School in Jerusalem, and in 1930 he succeeded his great teacher, Paul Haupt (1858–1926), as W. W. Spence Professor of Semitic Languages.⁸¹ Haupt regarded Albright as “the most brilliant man he has seen for forty years.”⁸² In 1934 Albright was offered the Laffan Chair of Assyriology and Babylonian literature at Yale University, only to decline and recommend instead Albrecht Goetze for the position.⁸³ Albright remained at Hopkins until he retired in 1958.

Also deeply influential on the Hopkins students was Frank Ringold Blake, himself a teacher of Albright and later his colleague.⁸⁴ Following his 1902 dissertation at Hopkins,⁸⁵ Blake had become a part-time instructor there. When Albright returned to Hopkins in 1929, the staff of the department also included Rabbis William Rosenau (retired in 1935, died in 1943) and Samuel Rosenblatt, a student of Albright's in Jerusalem.⁸⁶ Son of the famous cantor Yossele Rosenblatt and a scholar of Arabic and Hebrew, Rosenblatt wrote many books, perhaps the best-known being his translation of



William F. Albright. Courtesy of the American Schools of Oriental Research.

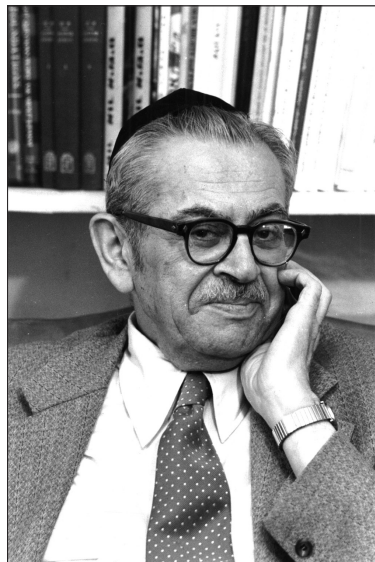
Saadia Gaon's *The Book of Beliefs and Opinions*.⁸⁷ While Rosenblatt held a full-time position in the rabbinate, Blake maintained a full-time job as the principal of City College High School in Baltimore. Today Blake is largely forgotten, but his place in the Hopkins program was an important one, providing doctoral training especially in Hebrew grammar.⁸⁸ One of his famous students, Frank Moore Cross, remembers Blake as "the best language teacher I ever had."⁸⁹ Moreover, his studies of vowels and the verb in biblical Hebrew were models of grammatical methodology, and his work has been the basis of studies by his student Thomas Lambdin and Lambdin's own Harvard students. Together, Albright, Blake, and their colleagues during this period produced a number of very strong doctoral students who would eventually assume major university posts of their own, including Abraham Biran, John Bright, George Mendenhall, Abe Sachs,⁹⁰ and G. Ernest Wright.

As for the Ugaritic texts, work at Hopkins before the close of the war is represented primarily by Albright's many studies.⁹¹ Along with Ginsberg and others, he offered editions of the texts as soon as Virolleaud made them available. Albright gave an informal seminar on Ugaritic in 1936–1937, and followed with a formal one in 1941.⁹² With so many fine doctoral students to follow after the war, it is easy to forget that Albright had already reached the apex of his career as the dominant American figure in the biblical field. In 1943 Albright wrote that he was feeling his age and suffering from diminished vision and a crippled left hand.⁹³ In 1944 he also suffered attacks of sacroiliac pain and later sciatica as well as kidney trouble, fever, and infection of the tonsils, and in 1945 his back trouble required an operation.⁹⁴ In the meantime, Albright's own work on Ugaritic would continue, namely, as one of a dozen subfields to which he contributed. By the end of the war, he had charted a course of integrating knowledge of the Ugaritic texts into the wider context of ancient Near Eastern and biblical studies. Exemplifying this project were his two best-known works on history and religion, *From the Stone Age to Christianity* (1940) and *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* (1942). The next chapter discusses the program at Hopkins in the postwar period.

The Jewish Theological Seminary: H. L. Ginsberg

At the Jewish Theological Seminary of America (JTS),⁹⁵ meanwhile, the dominant figure was Harold Louis Ginsberg (1903–1990).⁹⁶ Born in Montreal, Ginsberg studied Semitics at the University of London. Afterward he lived in Jerusalem in the 1930s and served as a visiting instructor at the Hebrew University.⁹⁷ Among his students of Ugaritic there was the undergraduate Edward Ullendorff.⁹⁸ Although he lacked a university post (he apparently supported

himself at least in part by teaching in the Mizrahi Boys High School),⁹⁹ it was during this period in Jerusalem that Ginsberg made some of the most fundamental observations on Ugaritic grammar and posited the linguistic proximity between Ugaritic and Phoenician.¹⁰⁰ He also produced the most important translation of the Ugaritic mythological texts of this period, *Kitbê ʿUgarit* (1936),¹⁰¹ publishing it when he was only thirty-three!¹⁰² This translation noted numerous parallels between Ugaritic and Hebrew words and poetic lines. Many of the important observations went beyond matters of grammar, lexicography, and poetic style. As noted above, Ginsberg recognized the cumulative weight of so many connections between the Ugaritic texts and Ps 29 that he deduced that the psalm was an ancient Phoenician hymn devoted to the storm-god, Baal, secondarily revised as a hymn to Yahweh.



Louis Ginsberg. Courtesy of The Joseph and Miriam Ratner Center for the Study of Conservative Judaism, The Jewish Theological Seminary of America.

He also came into contact with important Semiticists in Jerusalem, including Albright, then director of the American School. In a 1936 letter to Cyrus Adler, Albright described Ginsberg as “the best Jewish comparative Semitic grammarian living, in spite of his youth (in his early thirties),” and Albright goes on to offer high praise for his work on the Ras Shamra texts.¹⁰³ Ginsberg set the highest grammatical and philological standards for the field. By the end of the war—though only in his early forties—Ginsberg was the internationally acknowledged master of Ugaritic. In 1945 Albright singled out Ginsberg as *primus inter pares*.¹⁰⁴ In 1936, Ginsberg had begun a teaching career at JTS that lasted until his death in 1990. At JTS, his students included many figures who came to hold positions in biblical studies at major universities, notably Moshe Held (Dropsie and Columbia), Jacob Milgrom (Berkeley), Baruch A. Levine (New York University), Seymour (Shalom) M. Paul (Tel Aviv University and then the Hebrew University), Jeffrey Tigay (University of Pennsylvania), Yohanan Muffs (JTS), and Tikva Frymer-Kensky (Reconstructionist Rabbinical College and the University of Chicago).¹⁰⁵

In this period, down the street from JTS, Columbia University employed the talents of another contributor to Ugaritic and biblical studies, namely, Isaac Mendelsohn, professor from 1932 to 1965. Primarily an Assyriologist, Mendel-

sohn contributed some of the first treatments of Ugarit's legal and social institutions through the 1940s,¹⁰⁶ culminating in his 1949 book, *Slavery in the Ancient Near East: A Comparative Study of Slavery in Babylonia, Assyria, Syria, and Palestine from the Middle of the Third Millennium to the End of the First Millennium*. He also taught Ugaritic, and his students included Jeffrey Tigay and Stephen Geller before they pursued doctoral studies at Yale and Harvard, respectively.¹⁰⁷

Yale University: A. Goetze and J. Obermann

Franz Rosenthal was not alone in departing from Germany because of the war. A non-Jew who opposed the Nazis, Albrecht Goetze left his homeland for the United States, taking up the Laffan Chair of Assyriology and Babylonian Literature at Yale University. He soon became one of the major figures in the ancient Near Eastern field in the United States. Goetze was a giant in Assyriology and Hittitology, and he attracted students from both America and abroad. Besides teaching Ugaritic, he is perhaps best known for his article on the linguistic classification of Ugaritic as a Canaanite language,¹⁰⁸ but he also offered other studies, including one on Nikkal wa-Ib (*KTU* 1.24) and another on a passage from the Baal Cycle with the catchy title "Peace on Earth."¹⁰⁹ Clearly Goetze's great strengths lay in Akkadian and Hittite, and some of his contemporaries recognized that his knowledge of Akkadian overly influenced his analysis of Ugaritic grammar. Indeed, his 1938 debut at the American Oriental Society meeting treating the Ugaritic verb tenses sullied his reputation in the area of West Semitics.¹¹⁰

Goetze's colleague at Yale, the Arabist Julian Obermann, devoted more of his energies to Ugaritic.¹¹¹ He authored many works on subjects ranging from grammar to mythology.¹¹² However, the work was not without its problems. For example, in January 1937 Albright described his and Ginsberg's reactions to a paper given by Obermann, probably the one given at the meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature held in the fall of 1936:

It will take me a long time to get over the superlatively dreadful paper by Obermann. While my opinion of his work in his pre-Arabic field was previously very low, it has descended into the depths of Arallu. When he finished both Ginsberg and I were completely paralyzed; we had not dreamed that such a paper was possible.¹¹³

However, Obermann's work on Ugaritic improved over the next decade. His 1946 article on sentence negations in Ugaritic and his 1947 article on Baal's conflict with Yamm in *KTU* 1.2 IV won him some respect from the field.¹¹⁴ *Ugaritic Mythology* (1948), an early effort at a literary study of motifs in the texts,¹¹⁵ earned a polite review by Ginsberg. While he offered some praise for the book's higher

criticism, Ginsberg noted the intractability of some problems and judged that “complete success was not to be expected.” Obermann’s treatment of grammar and poetry fared about the same. In defending two of his own views against Obermann, Ginsberg declared with his typical wit, “I cannot find it in my heart to deny salvation to anyone who questions [them].”¹¹⁶ Obermann’s most useful contribution, Ginsberg recognized, was his efforts to study the larger motifs and type-scenes in the texts. Obermann was clearly ahead of Albright and Ginsberg in studying the literary character of the Ugaritic mythological texts. In the 1940s, apart from Obermann and Cassuto, hardly anyone was working on literary issues. Obermann’s case represents an interesting example of how reputation in the field was assessed. Scholars working on literary problems who showed philological weaknesses found their work being considered inferior to that of researchers who confined their efforts to successful philological study.

Goetze and Obermann offered the first instruction in Ugaritic at Yale in 1939 to a single student, Marvin H. Pope. Later wartime students included Bernhard Anderson and John Trever.¹¹⁷ The two teachers disagreed greatly over Ugaritic grammar, Goetze being influenced by Akkadian grammar and Obermann by Arabic grammar. Goetze and Obermann each claimed Ugaritic as his own domain at this time. Pope recalled that Goetze and Obermann clashed so much in the beginning of the course that he met separately with them.¹¹⁸

✂ GORDON’S ENTRY INTO UGARITIC: *From Speiser to Albright*

Two of the most famous scholars of biblical studies coming from Penn and Dropsie were E. A. Speiser and his student, Cyrus Herzl Gordon (born on June 29, 1908).¹¹⁹ Gordon pursued a B.A., M.A., and Ph.D. at Penn, while he took courses under Max Leopold Margolis at Dropsie College.¹²⁰ Gordon received his doctorate in 1930, a few weeks before he turned twenty-two. Speiser was Gordon’s Akkadian teacher at Penn, a relationship fraught with complications. On the face of it, the story of this relationship might seem peripheral to the history of Ugaritic and biblical studies. However, had it not been for Speiser’s early antipathy toward Gordon, the latter might have concentrated on Assyriology—he might never have moved to Ugaritic studies and written his 1940 *Ugaritic Grammar*.¹²¹ Accordingly, I relate the story of their relationship here. Moreover, the Dropsie records and the Albright papers have yielded new information, adding to the picture of the situation presented in Gordon’s own published accounts.

After Gordon studied under Speiser at Penn,¹²² he joined his former teacher in the field in Iraq. At Tell Billa in 1931, Speiser and Gordon read cuneiform copies of Nuzi texts at night by the light of kerosene lamps.¹²³ In his 1986 book, *The Pennsylvania Tradition of Semitics*, Gordon recounts those days:

Though I respected Speiser's gifts as a savant and teacher, he took a dislike to me and, while denying any prejudice or animosity, proved to be the most damaging professional enemy of my entire career. I left an instructorship at Penn to go into the field where I began to work with Speiser in 1931–1932 at Billa and Gawra. In the evenings we read Chiera's published corpus of Nuzi tablets. Those sessions got me started in Nuzi studies. As far as I can tell, it was my following in his footsteps in Nuzi scholarship—including the biblical parallels—that kindled his ire against me. I always felt pleased when a student emulates me and walks in my footsteps, but Speiser was resentful and jealous. He wanted me to work on Aramaic incantations *instead*. I indeed kept working on those incantations, but not *instead* of Assyriology.

I continued to look up to Speiser throughout most of 1931–1932, until I made the mistake of asking his advice on a project that I wanted to undertake: a beginner's manual of Akkadian based exclusively on Hammurapi's laws. He forbade me to undertake it because "only a senior scholar should write an elementary textbook in any field." I still think his advice was wrong, but since I had sought his advice, I was loath to flout it. That was the last time I sought a superior's advice on any project I wished to undertake.¹²⁴

Gordon proceeds to label Speiser "a bully" with "more than a touch of a Napoleonic complex,"¹²⁵ adding that "he was skilled at kissing up and kicking down." Gordon does balance his picture, noting Speiser's capabilities as "a savant and teacher," "a remarkable linguist at all levels," "an accomplished scholar," and "an outstanding teacher." As accounts by others indicate, Speiser's demeanor was authoritarian and critical, and he sometimes showed an intolerance for "losing" (as the incident over the appointment of Neuman as Adler's successor, recounted above, illustrates).

Complementing Gordon's view of Speiser, published more than two decades after the latter's death, is Speiser's view of Gordon, which was confined to personal communications. In a letter to Cyrus Adler dated 4 November 1931, Speiser wrote from Tell Billa:

I am very fortunate to have this year a splendidly balanced and capable staff. Gordon is very willing and takes occasional rebuffs in a nice spirit. He is really growing up, though he will probably never lose the unfortunate knack of saying trite and commonplace things at the worst time imaginable.¹²⁶

The season at Tell Billa clearly had a deleterious effect on their relationship. Speiser's view of a senior scholar taking on a project such as a grammar stood in the norms of scholarly tradition. A younger scholar was expected to begin with more focused studies and move progressively toward larger projects. Gordon would have nothing of this; he already had his eye on bigger projects (a constant feature of his career). After this dispute over the proposed grammar, Gordon pursued publication of a catalogue of cylinder and stamp seals, as well as studies of Nuzi texts and Aramaic incantations.¹²⁷

Speiser's criticism of Gordon did not end with the excavations, but dogged him through the 1930s. In a letter to Albright in March of 1936, Speiser faults the "kind of rut in which Gordon seems to revel in wallowing,"¹²⁸ referring to Gordon's series of studies on women in Nuzi texts, with "meaningless transliterations . . . full of ridiculous errors." The norm for working on texts was a high level of careful and precise craftsmanship, a touch that Speiser saw lacking in Gordon. Then Speiser continues with a general assessment:

I feel that he is off on the wrong foot, following the line of least resistance instead of doing solid and honest work, modestly and with humility. He is much too young to attempt to cash in on a reputation that does not exist. I feel it is a pity, because he can do good work when not overimpressed with himself.

Here Speiser reiterates the old scholarly model of beginning with smaller and more careful projects that yield surer results. At the same time we should bear in mind his critical cast—the same letter contains sharp criticism of Ginsberg's work. Despite such criticism, Gordon would not submit to the brilliant but difficult Speiser. The relationship between the two men was decidedly negative, yet this does not tell the whole story. Even if Speiser criticized his student privately, this did not prevent him from commending Gordon to others. In a letter of recommendation written on Gordon's behalf to Sir Leonard Woolley (at the time seeking an epigrapher for his excavations at Ur), the director of the University Museum at Penn remarked that "Dr. Speiser tells me that Dr. Gordon is perfectly competent."¹²⁹

The conflict between Speiser and Gordon was well-known in the field. Albright provides a third view. Asked by Theophile Meek (1881–1966) in the summer of 1936 to recommend candidates for a post in Akkadian, Arabic, and Hebrew at the University of Toronto, Albright provided the following summation:

Cyrus Gordon you know; you also know that he has been in Speiser's bad graces recently. Being a friend of both, I am rather neutral. Gordon used to be a bit cocky. . . . He has improved greatly since I first knew him in 1930, and is much more adaptable and much better liked by his contemporaries. . . . Speiser's strictures on his scholarly work are only fair to a certain very limited extent; he did publish a few papers which were a mistake from the standpoint of his career—but who of us has not done that—and even Speiser is not guiltless in this respect. However, Gordon is a very competent Semitist, and knows all the important Semitic languages. His Hebrew is excellent, including the spoken language of the day; he was trained grammatically by Margolis and Speiser. His Arabic is good, and he speaks both Syrian and Iraqi dialects very well, besides having a respectable knowledge of the classical tongue. He is entirely at home in Aramaic and Syriac, and is an excellent teacher.¹³⁰

In a subsequent letter to Meek, Albright lauded Gordon's research on the Nuzi material and its parallels with the patriarchal stories in Genesis.¹³¹ In a card writ-

ten shortly thereafter to Albright,¹³² Ginsberg, too, praised Gordon's work, specifically on Ugaritic:

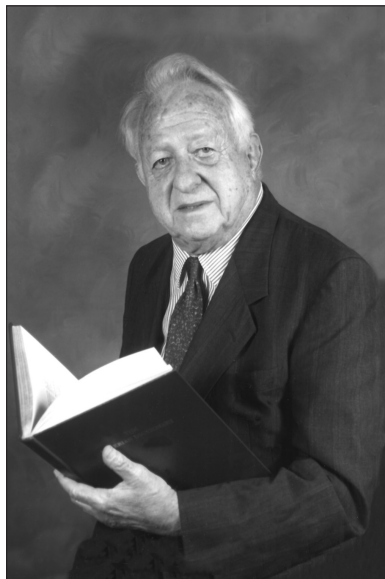
Gordon has done valiantly in the interpretation of the Marriage of Gods [1.24]. I have no time for RS work since coming to this country [in 1936], but on reading the text in question over a few times shortly after the arrival of the relevant number of *Syria* I reached the same conclusions regarding the verb *trh* and the nouns *mtrht* and *mlg* as Gordon. I was able to do so thanks to the talks I used to have with him and the manuscripts of his that I used to read concerning Nuzi.

Albright would be more direct in a letter later that year to Nathaniel Schmidt of Cornell University: "Speiser's opposition to him, which is quite without foundation, as I can assure you with absolute confidence, has done him a great deal of harm."¹³³ Clearly Albright and Ginsberg, the two leading American scholars of Ugaritic in the 1930s, showed a more balanced view of Gordon than did Speiser. Yet clearly Speiser's view of Gordon was not entirely negative. In fact, two letters written by Gordon's teacher, J. A. Montgomery, in 1932 tell how "Dr. Speiser reports in very warm terms" concerning Gordon's work, which "confirms our notion that you would make good."¹³⁴ Similarly, in the summer of 1939 Speiser wrote to Albright: "I am sincerely happy that Gordon will be in Princeton next year and I hope from the bottom of my heart that this appointment will lead to something permanent."¹³⁵ Albright would report to Gordon in 1941 that "Speiser said that you gave a good paper at Chicago."¹³⁶ Two personal letters in Gordon's possession written by Montgomery likewise confirm Speiser's modified view of his former student.

In retrospect, a number of factors influenced Gordon's early rejection by Speiser (and later by Albright as we will see in the following section). Grand projects executed quickly by a scholarly neophyte sullied Gordon's reputation in the eyes of his mentors. Where most scholars might spend a decade or longer on a single subject, he moved by comparison with great dispatch, sometimes with results that dismayed his teachers. Clearly the standard hierarchical model of mentor-student relations suited Gordon only up to a certain point. As a result, Speiser did not aid him in his academic advancement, and even Albright's letters (cited above) perhaps compounded the difficulty of Gordon's situation. In a conversation with me, Gordon observed that a letter of recommendation hardly need recount the past troubles of a student, yet Albright regularly did just that. Perhaps, however, Albright's letters of recommendation mention Gordon's troubles with Speiser in order to counteract Speiser's negative comments, since it would be expected that Speiser's advice would be sought in any Gordon job candidacy. Or perhaps Albright's allusions to Gordon's difficulties with Speiser allowed him to reveal his own mixed feelings about Gordon. Finally, Gordon's background as a nonobservant Jew made him suspect in Jewish circles but perhaps "too" Jewish in non-Jewish circles. (In a letter of recommendation to Sir Leonard Woolley, the

director of the University Museum at Penn remarked that “while he [Gordon] is of Hebraic origin, it is not too obvious.”¹³⁷ Owing to his problems with Speiser and his Jewish background, Gordon thought that Albright would not push hard for his candidacy in most universities.

There would be no reason to rehearse this story of animosity except that it profoundly affected Ugaritic studies. Speiser’s rejection of Gordon’s plans for an Akkadian grammar led the younger man to other projects. When Albright mentioned the importance of Ugaritic to Gordon (as the following section will recount), the comment fell on receptive ears. Gordon pursued Ugaritic with great passion and speed, and he soon produced the *Ugaritic Grammar*, an early classic in the field. Because of the immense importance of this book and the distance it created between Albright and Gordon, the next section takes up the story of its publication.



Cyrus H. Gordon.
Courtesy of Cyrus H. Gordon.

✠ ALBRIGHT, GINSBERG, AND GORDON

The end of this initial period coincided with the Second World War. Although the war took a toll on trans-Atlantic communication, research continued. As Albright put it, “Though we have been cut off in America from French publications in the field of Ugaritic studies since 1940, it is still possible to make many contributions in detail to the understanding of the previously published texts.”¹³⁸ Perhaps the most important publication in the field during the war was Gordon’s 1940 work, *Ugaritic Grammar*.¹³⁹ In 1931, while excavating at Beit Zur, Albright had pointed out to Gordon the importance of Ugaritic for biblical studies.¹⁴⁰ Gordon recalls what he told him: “Every student of the Old Testament would do well to work on Ugaritic.”¹⁴¹ Gordon followed Albright’s cue. He began working on Ugaritic grammar in 1933 (unbeknownst to Albright),¹⁴² under the influence of H. L. Ginsberg’s many fine grammatical observations in his published work. Gordon remembers meeting Ginsberg in the early 1930s in Jerusalem at the American School of Oriental Research (later the Albright Institute).¹⁴³ As Gordon recalled,¹⁴⁴ “Albright brought us together.”

Gordon also had additional sources of inspiration for his work on Ugaritic grammar, including his Dropsie training. He wrote that “I formulated my *UG [Ugaritic Grammar]* on the principles of Semitic linguistics exclusively on what Max Margolis drummed into me.”¹⁴⁵ Furthermore, Gordon mentions in the foreword to the *Ugaritic Grammar* that he often consulted the best translations, in particular those of Ginsberg, and he would have been familiar with the sketch of Ugaritic language and literature in the 1935 book, *The Ras Shamra Mythological Texts*, by his old Penn teacher James Montgomery along with Z. S. Harris. Gordon particularly acknowledged his debt to Ginsberg’s translations.

After his split with Speiser, Gordon was a postdoctoral fellow at Johns Hopkins, thanks to Albright’s support. The year before the war broke out, Gordon proposed to Father Alfred Pohl that the Pontifical Biblical Institute Press publish his grammar of Ugaritic. When Albright learned of the *Ugaritic Grammar*, he opposed its publication. In Gordon’s words,

He was furious and informed me in no uncertain way that my plan was not only presumptuous but impossible: no one could do it in the foreseeable future. I realized then and there that Baltimore was no longer big enough for the two of us and I moved to Smith College in the fall of 1938.¹⁴⁶

According to his account, Gordon wrote the grammar in the summer of 1939 in Uppsala and completed it during the 1939–1940 academic year at Smith College.¹⁴⁷ Although the war started on September 3, 1939, this event did not interfere with the project. Gordon used the Vatican’s diplomatic pouch service, which Fr. Pohl placed at his disposal, and the book was published in 1940.

When the *Ugaritic Grammar* appeared, it was generally very well received.¹⁴⁸ In a review, Albright publicly retracted his opposition, welcoming the publication of the work. Still, his published remarks are qualified: such “a detailed grammatical treatment of the new Canaanite dialect seemed premature to many, including the reviewer. The author refused to be daunted by dissuasion.”¹⁴⁹ The accepted path for young scholars was to work up from small problems to major ones, but Gordon had set his sights on major projects beyond the capabilities of most persons, younger or more established. Albright further characterized the work as “collaborative” with Ginsberg, and ends oddly: “we congratulate him [Gordon] and ourselves on the appearance of the book!”¹⁵⁰ Later, in 1945, Albright referred to the work as “the excellent *Ugaritic Grammar* of a young scholar who began Ugaritic with me and continued working under Ginsberg’s influence.”¹⁵¹ And in 1950 Albright would describe the work as “invaluable.”¹⁵² Despite such public acclamation, privately Albright withheld full approval, attributing the best of the grammar to Ginsberg’s influence.¹⁵³ Despite Albright’s misgivings, the appearance of this book marked a new level of synthesis in the

area of grammar, a trend that extended to other areas as well. One of these involved the discussion of monotheism in ancient Israel.

✂ ALBRIGHT, MEEK, AND MONOTHEISM

The prewar period witnessed major efforts to understand the Bible and ancient Israel in the light of the Ugaritic texts. Some of the discussion involved a myriad of linguistic and religious details, but it also concerned the larger question of the nature of ancient Israelite religion, notably of Israelite monotheism. Here I single out two figures for their contrasting views on the subject, Theophile J. Meek and W. F. Albright. In his 1936 book, *Hebrew Origins*,¹⁵⁴ Meek criticized Albright's view of Mosaic monotheism, pointing to the lack of early evidence for monotheism predating the later attestation of monotheistic declarations in the sixth-century prophets. In 1938 Meek put his reservations about the definition of monotheism to Albright in a personal letter:

Since returning home I looked up the dictionary definitions of henotheism, monolatry, and monotheism, and I feel more convinced than ever that you are using monotheism in a sense not supported by the dictionaries. By monotheism in my book [*Hebrew Origins*] I mean exclusive belief in and worship of one god and the denial of even the existence of other gods, which when believed in are merely figments of the imagination, with no reality at all. Our difference seems to be largely one of definition, but it is unfortunate when people define words in different ways.¹⁵⁵

Indeed, Meek had a good point. In 1940 Albright presented the word's meaning along lines that suited his view of matters:

If . . . the term "monotheist" means one who teaches the existence of only one God, the creator of everything, the source of justice, who is equally powerful in Egypt, in the desert, and in Palestine, who has no sexuality and no mythology, who is human in form but cannot be seen by human eye and cannot be represented in any form—then the founder of Yahwism was certainly a monotheist.¹⁵⁶

Apart from the initial point, Albright's definition of monotheism had little to do with the normal meaning of the word. Most problematic for Albright's position, the early parts of the Bible simply do not teach the existence of only one God, as mentioned above. As this quote would suggest, Albright's representation of monotheism drew upon different parts of the Bible and combined into a single original picture.

For Albright, the Ugaritic texts and other Late Bronze Age corpora provided both antecedents of and contrasts with Mosaic monotheism. As Albright understood it, Late Bronze Age evidence demonstrated preconditions for monotheism. These included multiple divine abodes, power in a multitude of locales,

and the god's role as a creator god. All had parallels in fully polytheistic religions. However, the Ugaritic texts also showed manifest differences between the polytheism of the other nations and Israel's monotheism. Albright's definition (quoted above) focuses on what seemed to be patently different, for example, the mythology of the Ugaritic deities and their sexual relations. The model implicit here, namely the contrast between "Canaanite polytheism" and "Israelite monotheism," dominated the discussion of Israelite religion through this period and well into the next (1945–1970). Indeed, this model became the conceptual cornerstone of Albright's later treatment of this subject, his 1968 book, fittingly entitled *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan: A Historical Analysis of Two Contrasting Faiths*.¹⁵⁷ This oppositional paradigm would come under fire during the 1960s and later.¹⁵⁸

For the roots of Albright's viewpoint, we have to look deeper. He undoubtedly believed in the historical reality of Sinai monotheism. In 1943 he wrote to his former student, G. Ernest Wright, that his book, *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, conceded too much to his critics.¹⁵⁹ For example, he felt that he could base Mosaic monotheism on the first of the Ten Commandments, that the Israelites "shall have no other gods besides me (*ʿal pānay*)" (Exod 20:3; Deut 5:7). Albright thought that he could defend this translation based on the Punic use of *ʿlt pn-*, "besides," in the Marseilles tariff (*KAI* 69:3),¹⁶⁰ and that such a meaning served to establish monotheism. On the first claim, Albright had a good point; the use is attested in Punic. But whether this interpretation of the First Commandment demonstrated monotheism was in fact problematic. Most scholars take the commandment not as a denial of other deities, but as a prohibition against devotion to them. Indeed, such a commandment suggests to many a problem of the other gods competing with Yahweh. The question is why Albright allowed himself these historical leaps. Indeed, it was only in the religious area that he did so.¹⁶¹ Perhaps his tremendous personal faith in the biblical texts is the source of his position. He believed that the biblical narrative was essentially historical, even when the biblical sources involved were later.¹⁶² Moreover, it was later biblical texts that provided him with his historical paradigm of opposition between Canaanites and Israelites, between the polytheism of the former and the monotheism of the latter. Albright the believer convinced Albright the historian despite the lack of historical evidence.

For a number of reasons, the debate between Albright and Meek solved nothing. The failure to resolve the issue would hinder the ability of scholars to discuss the historical issues. However, there was a deeper problem. Scholars on both sides of the divide failed to address the more constructive points made by their opponents. Albright, for example, did not address the fundamental question concerning later monotheistic formulations. If Israel were basically

monotheistic from an early time, as he claimed, then why did its rhetoric of monotheism appear in clearer, less ambiguous forms only in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.E.? And Meek, for all his correctly placed concerns over definition, did not solve the problem raised by the distinctive form of Israelite polytheism, which was certainly a far more reduced form of polytheism compared to the pantheons found in the Ugaritic record.¹⁶³ Finally, neither camp attempted to situate the issues in terms of Judah's larger social structure and historical context in the seventh and sixth centuries. Meek's basic point remains valid, yet the relatively late emergence of the monotheistic rhetoric defies understanding until it is set against the background of discourse about divinity during the late Judean monarchy. Unfortunately, questions of monotheism's sociopolitical context would not take center stage for decades,¹⁶⁴ that is, until the final phase of Ugaritic studies discussed in Chapter Four.

✂ WORLD WAR II AND ITS EFFECTS ON SCHOLARSHIP

As the *Ugaritic Grammar* shows, the end of this period witnessed greater efforts toward synthesis. In 1937, the final year of his life, Hans Bauer produced *Der Ursprung des Alphabets*, the first book on the alphabet that integrated the Ugaritic texts into the wider discussion described by its title.¹⁶⁵ Syntheses were not limited to the grammatical field. A case in point is Cassuto's brief for an early literary epic tradition in Israel, which argued for a distinct debt to the "Canaanite" culture independently represented by the Ugaritic texts. In addition to works cited above, the first syntheses in the area of Ugaritic and biblical studies came from European scholars: J. W. Jack's 1935 book, *The Ras Shamra Tablets and Their Bearing upon the Old Testament*,¹⁶⁶ R. Dussaud's 1941 volume, *Les découvertes de Ras Shamra (Ugarit et l'Ancien Testament)*,¹⁶⁷ and the massive two-volume 1945 study by the Belgian scholar R. de Langhe,¹⁶⁸ entitled *Les textes de Ras Shamra-Ugarit et leur rapports avec le milieu biblique de l'Ancien Testament*.¹⁶⁹ Finally, Albright and others also realized that Christianity, Judaism, and Islam show deep continuity with earlier West Semitic religions (including those that the Bible depicts).¹⁷⁰ These studies, as well as many others, gathered evidence and presented larger issues derived from the numerous points of comparison between Ugaritic and the Bible. The work of synthesis, especially by the biblicists, would herald the basic future course of Ugaritic studies. Hugely learned and talented biblical scholars with training in extrabiblical languages and history turned to the challenge of Ugaritic with great energy and began to produce results that would alter the modern understanding of the Bible.

The war arrested this trend, however, which, again, caused a migration of many scholars and restricted academic correspondence and exchange. For ex-

ample, the texts published during the war remained unknown to many scholars until its end. The number of students dwindled as military service and other more pressing needs took their toll on the field. In America alone, for example, Albright taught Arabic and geography for the army at Hopkins (he also unsuccessfully applied for a commission for the Military Government School in Charlottesville, Virginia); Gordon served in army intelligence, first in Washington and then in the Persian Gulf; and Speiser and Rosenthal worked for the Office of Strategic Services in Washington (Rosenthal was first an army private). In England J. W. Jack was killed by a truck during a blackout in 1944.¹⁷¹ Many figures of the next scholarly generation also joined the war effort. For example, Marvin Pope's doctoral studies were interrupted by his military service at a weather station in northern Australia. The war also interrupted George Mendenhall's academic program under Albright, as he undertook service in the army in the Pacific theater. John Patton was an army chaplain, and John Bright, Alexander D. Goode, Paul Reich, and John Zimmerman served as navy chaplains. Rabbi Goode drowned in the North Atlantic in January 1943 when his transport ship was torpedoed.¹⁷² In Germany¹⁷³ many figures suffered through the war, standing staunchly against the Nazis; these included A. Alt, O. Eissfeldt, J. Friedrich, and K. Galling.¹⁷⁴ Others such as A. Jirku, J. Hempel,¹⁷⁵ G. Kittel, and E. Sellin served or sympathized with the terrible regime.¹⁷⁶ In Israel, A. D. Singer died in the war that led to the founding of the state. Fortunately, the majority of scholars survived the war, and the age of great syntheses in Ugaritic and biblical studies would unfold in its wake.

NOTES

1. Craigie, *Ugarit and the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1983), 7. The following account represents a drastic synopsis of pp. 7–25, supplemented by C. F. A. Schaeffer's own shorter 1930 account translated into English in his article, "The Discovery of Ugarit," in *Hands on the Past* (ed. C. W. Ceram; New York: Knopf, 1966), 301–6 (I thank my father, Donald Eugene Smith, for bringing this article to my attention). See also Schaeffer's later account in his *The Cuneiform Texts of Ras Shamra-Ugarit* (London: The British Academy, 1939). For more details of the story, readers should consult these accounts. See also A. H. W. Curtis, *Ugarit (Ras Shamra)* (Cities of the Biblical World; Cambridge: Lutterworth, 1985), 18–33; and idem, "Ras Shamra, Minet el-Beida, and Ras Ibn Hani: The Material Sources," in *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies* (ed. W. G. E. Watson and N. Wyatt; HdO 1/39; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 5–9; O. Loretz, *Ugarit und der Bibel: Kanaanäische Götter und Religion im Alten Testament* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1990), 1–2.

2. For the story, see Schaeffer, "La première tablette," *Syria* 33 (1956): 161–68.

3. See Schaeffer, "Les fouilles de Minet-el-Bheida et de Ras Shamra," *Syria* 10 (1929): 285–97. Schaeffer continued to publish results from the ongoing excavations in issues of *Syria*.

4. The best account, with very good details, is that of K. J. Cathcart, "The Ugaritic Language," in *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*, 76–80. A more detailed account by P. L. Day is in progress.

5. *EncJud* 4:330.

6. Information courtesy of Professor J. M. de Tarragon, e-mail 8 March 1999. In a letter dated 23 September 1932, Dhorme wrote to Albright from his new home in Paris (APS archives Albright Corresp.-Misc. 1925–1933). Albright mentioned the appointment in a letter to John Garstang dated 26 January 1946 (APS Albright correspondence 1946).

7. See Virolleaud, “Les inscriptions cunéiformes de Ras Shamra,” *Syria* 10 (1929): 304–10; H. Bauer, “Ein kanaanäisches Alphabet in Keilschrift,” *ZDMG* 84 (1930): 251–54; idem, “Zum Alphabet von Ras Schamra,” *OLZ* 33 (1930): 1062–63; idem, “Die Entzifferung des Keilschriftalphabets von Ras Schamra,” *FuF* 6 (1930): 306–7; idem, *Die Entzifferung des Keilschriftalphabets von Ras Schamra* (Halle/Saale: Max Niemeyer, 1930); Dhorme, “Trouvailles sensationnelles en Syrie,” *RB* 39 (1930): 152–53; idem, “Un nouvel alphabet sémitique,” *RB* 39 (1930): 571–77. See also R. Dussaud, “Déchiffrement par M. Hans Bauer des textes de Ras Shamra,” *Syria* 11 (1930): 200–202.

8. See the section on Albright at Hopkins below in this chapter as well as the discussion of the Hopkins program in the next chapter.

9. Albright, “The Old Testament and Canaanite Language and Literature,” *CBQ* 7 (1945): 9. The reference is to *Vossische Zeitung Unterhaltungsblatt* 128 (June 4, 1930): 17. For the *Revue Biblique* reference, see the preceding note. See the detailed reconstruction of J. M. de Tarragon, “Philologie sémitique,” in *L’Ancien Testament: Cent ans d’exégèse de l’Ecole Biblique* (ed. Jean-Luc Vesco; Cahiers de la Revue Biblique 28; Paris: Gabalda, 1990), 41–42. See also C. H. Gordon, *Forgotten Scripts: Their Ongoing Discovery and Decipherment* (rev. and enlarged edition; New York: Basic Books, 1982), 103–10. In his personal copy of Bauer’s *Das Alphabet von Ras Schamra* (now in the library of Southern Baptist Theological Seminary), on page 4, Albright penciled in a more precise breakdown: he credited the decipherment of nineteen signs to Bauer, five to Dhorme, and six to Virolleaud (with clarifications by himself, Friedrich, and Ginsberg).

10. Albright, “The North-Canaanite Epic of ’Al’èyan Ba’al and Môt,” *JPOS* 12 (1932): 186–87. See Hillers, “William F. Albright as a Philologist,” 52, and Cross, “The Contributions of W. F. Albright to Semitic Epigraphy and Palaeography,” 25, in *The Scholarship of William Foxwell Albright: An Appraisal* (ed. G. W. Van Beek; HSS 33; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989).

11. Albright, “The Syro-Mesopotamian God Šulman-Ešmun and Related Figures,” *AfO* 7 (1931–1932): 165 n. 9.

12. See Curtis, “Ras Shamra,” 9.

13. See P. Amiet, “Claude Schaeffer (1889–1982),” *RA* 77 (1983): 1–2; J. M. Robinson, “An Appreciation of Claude Frederic-Armand Schaeffer-Forrer (1898–1982),” *BAR* 9/5 (1983): 56–61.

14. In a letter dated 31 October 1933, Albright recommends to T. H. Robinson: “For the North-Canaanites follow Virolleaud; Dussaud is stimulating, but unsafe” (APS archives Albright Corresp.-Misc. 1925–1933).

15. For the authors involved in interpreting the mythological texts, see the bibliographies preceding the beginning of each text treated in *CTA*.

16. Albright, “The Furniture of El in Canaanite Mythology,” *BASOR* 91 (1943): 39.

17. Assyriologists have made many significant contributions to the study of Ugaritic. Examples of Assyriologists who followed Virolleaud in the field would include G. Dossin, A. Goetze, F. Thureau-Dangin, and E. Weidner; later I. Mendelsohn, E. A. Speiser, and W. von Soden (to an incidental degree); and more recently W. Dietrich, D. O. Edzard, W. W. Hallo, A. R. Millard, W. L. Moran, D. Owen, D. J. Wiseman, as well as J. Huehnergard, S. Izre’el, and W. van Soldt. Many of these figures and their work play a role in subsequent chapters. For a partial listing of the early figures’ contributions to Ugaritic, see *CTA*, 293–339.

18. As solved by Friedrich, "Zu den drei Aleph-Zeichen des Ras-Schamra-Alphabets," *ZA* 41 (1933): 305–13. See the description of the consensus emerging by 1935 in Montgomery and Harris, *Ras Shamra Mythological Texts*, 16.

19. Albright, "The Old Testament and Canaanite Language and Literature," 28 n. 80.

20. Albright receives credit for this discovery from Cross, "The Contributions of W. F. Albright to Semitic Epigraphy and Palaeography," 25.

21. Albright, "The Old Testament and Canaanite Language and Literature," 18. Later the issue of case endings on construct forms in Ugaritic would arise. Two later studies demonstrated their existence: G. A. Tuttle, "Case Vowels on Masculine Singular Nouns in Construct in Ugaritic," in *Biblical and Near Eastern Studies: Essays in Honor of William Sanford LaSor* (ed. G. A. Tuttle; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1978), 253–68; and J. Huehnergard, "Akkadian Evidence for Case Endings for Case-Vowels on Ugaritic Bound Forms," *JCS* 33 (1981): 199–205; cf. Z. Zevit, "The Question of Case Endings on Ugaritic Nouns in Status Constructus," *JSS* 28 (1983): 225–32.

22. See J. Barth, "Zur vergleichenden semitischen Grammatik. II. Zu den Vocalen der Imperfect-Präfixe," *ZDMG* 48 (1894): 4–6; H. L. Ginsberg, "Two Religious Borrowings in Ugaritic Literature," *Or* 8 (1939): 319–22. See *UT* 9.9.

23. Cross credits Friedrich for this discovery ("The Contributions of W. F. Albright to Semitic Epigraphy and Palaeography," 25).

24. See *UT* 9.10.

25. Especially in earlier Hebrew poetry. Whether or not this development relates to the reduction of diphthongs and triphthongs in third weak nouns and verbs cannot be determined at this point, although this is a logical supposition.

26. Albright, "The Old Testament and Canaanite Language and Literature," 22.

27. Goetze, "The So-Called Intensive of the Semitic Languages," *JAOS* 62 (1942): 1–8.

28. Represented by the doubling of the middle radical; so see J. Joosten, "The Functions of the Semitic D stem: Biblical Hebrew Materials for a Comparative Hebrew Approach," *Or* 67 (1998): 202–30. A. Malamat ("Mari and the Bible: Some Patterns of Tribal Organization and Institutions," *JAOS* 82 [1962]: 148 esp. n. 27) notes **nhl* in G-stem refers to singular (Num 34:17, 18, possibly Josh 19:49), but **nhl* in D-stem is plural (Num 34:29, Josh 13:32, 51); he cites P. Joüon, *Grammaire de l'hébreu biblique* (Rome: Institut Biblique Pontifical, 1923; reprinted with corrections, 1965), 117; *GKC*, 148.

29. Kaufman, review of P. A. Siebesma, *The Function of the Niph'al in Biblical Hebrew in Relationship to Other Passive-Reflexive Verbal Stems and to the Pu'al and Hoph'al in Particular*, *CBQ* 56 (1994): 571–73.

30. Goetze was followed in the main by E. Jenni, *Das hebräische Pi'el* (Zurich: EVZ-Verlag, 1968); and S. A. Ryder, *The D-Stem in Western Semitic* (Janua Linguarum, Series Practica 131; The Hague/Paris: Mouton, 1974). For a recent discussion, see J. Joosten, "Functions of the Semitic D stem," 202–30. Joosten modifies and applies to Hebrew the work of N. J. C. Kouwenberg, *Gemination in the Akkadian Verb* (SSN 32; Assen/Maastricht: Van Gorcum, 1997). The D-stem verbs, described by D. Hillers ("On De-locutive Verbs in Biblical Hebrew," *JBL* 86 [1967]: 320–24), may be viewed as "verbally" factitive of G-stem statives. On the issue of D-stem morphology, see J. Huehnergard, "Historical Phonology and the Hebrew Piel," in *Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew* (ed. W. R. Bodine; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1992), 209–29.

31. Ginsberg, "The Rebellion and Death of Ba'lu," *Or* 5 (1936): 170 n. 1; idem, "Ugaritic Studies and the Bible," 58.

32. Albright, "The Old Testament and Canaanite Language and Literature," 22.

33. *Ibid.*, 24.

34. Ginsberg, "A Phoenician Hymn in the Psalter," in *Atti del XIX Congresso Internazionale degli Orientalisti. Roma, 23–29 Settembre 1935–XIII* (Rome: Tipografia del Senato, 1938), 476. As acknowledged by Albright, "The Old Testament and Canaanite

Language and Literature,” 23. Ibn Janah already recognized the “superfluous” character of some cases of final *mem*; for discussion and references, see E. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis: Fortress; Assen/Maastricht: Van Gorcum, 1992), 364 n. 20. See the defense of the enclitic *mem* in Ps 29:6 by S. E. Loewenstamm, “‘Wyrkydm kmw ‘gl,’” *Leš* 47 (1983): 70–73 [Heb.].

35. See P. D. Miller, “Vocative Lamed in the Psalter: A Reconsideration,” *UF* 11 (1979): 617–37; and a response by M. H. Pope, “Vestiges of Vocative Lamedh in the Bible,” *UF* 20 (1988): 201–7 = *Probative Pontificating in Ugaritic and Biblical Literature: Collected Essays* (ed. M. S. Smith; UBL 10; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1994), 317–24.

36. W. F. Albright, “The Northwest-Semitic Tongues before 1000 B.C.,” in *Atti del XIX Congresso Internazionale degli Orientalisti. Roma, 23–29 Settembre 1935–XIII* (Rome: Tipografia del Senato, 1938), 445–50; A. Goetze, “Is Ugaritic a Canaanite Dialect?” *Language* 17 (1941): 127–38. See shortly after the war, J. Friedrich, “Kanaanäische und Westsemitische,” *Scientia* 84 (1949): 220–23.

37. See Albright, “New Light on Early Canaanite Language and Literature,” *BASOR* 46 (1932): 15–20; Ginsberg, “The Victory of the Land-God over the Sea-God,” *JPOS* 15 (1935): 327; and “Ugaritic Studies and the Bible,” 54–55.

38. Albright, “The Egypto-Canaanite Deity Haurôn,” *BASOR* 84 (1941): 10; Ginsberg, “Ugaritic Studies and the Bible,” 54. See Greenstein, “One More Step on the Staircase,” *UF* 9 (1977): 77–86. See also his article, “Two Variations of Grammatical Parallelism in Canaanite Poetry and Their Psycholinguistic Background,” *JANES* 6 (1974): 87–105.

39. Albright, “The North-Canaanite Epic of ‘Al’ëyan Ba‘al and Môt,” *JPOS* 12 (1932): 188–95, 208.

40. Ginsberg, *Kitbê ‘Ugarit*, 129–30; also “Phoenician Hymn in the Psalter,” 472–76. Ginsberg’s view found a following by, for example, Albright, “The Old Testament and Canaanite Language and Literature,” 29; T. H. Gaster, “Psalm 29,” *JQR* 37 (1946–1947): 55–56; F. M. Cross, “Notes on a Canaanite Psalm in the Old Testament,” *BASOR* 117 (1950): 19–21; A. Fitzgerald, “A Note on Psalm 29,” *BASOR* 215 (1974): 61–63. See further J. Day, “Echoes of Baal’s Seven Thunders and Lightnings in Psalm XXIX and Habakkuk III 9 and the Identity of the Seraphim in Isaiah VI,” *VT* 29 (1979): 143–51. On Ps 29, see the survey of views in Y. Avishur, *Studies in Hebrew and Ugaritic Psalms* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1994), 67–71; see also Chapter Three below.

41. G. Barton, “Danel, A Pre-Israelite Hero of Galilee,” *JBL* 60 (1941): 213–25; Ginsberg, “Ugaritic Studies and the Bible,” *BA* 8 (1945): 50. For a recent challenge to this identification, see H. H. P. Dressler, “The Identification of the Ugaritic Dnīl with the Daniel of Ezekiel,” *VT* 19 (1979): 152–61; cf. J. Day, “The Daniel of Ugarit and Ezekiel and the Hero of the Book of Daniel,” *VT* 30 (1980): 174–84, and B. Margalit (Margulis), “Interpreting the Story of Aqht: A Reply to H. H. P. Dressler,” *VT* 30 (1980): 361–65; and Dressler’s response in his “Reading and Interpreting the Aqhat Text,” *VT* 34 (1984): 78–82. See further L. L. Grabbe, “‘Canaanite’: Some Methodological Observations in Relation to Biblical Study,” in *Ugarit and the Bible: Proceedings of the International Symposium on Ugarit and the Bible. Manchester, September 1992* (ed. G. J. Brooke, A. H. W. Curtis, and J. F. Healey; UBL 11; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1994), 119–20. As Grabbe’s discussion indicates, the Ugaritic figure may correspond to the Daniel of Ezek 14, but certainly not the Daniel of the book of Daniel, whom the book locates in “historical time” in the sixth century, although this book may use the name to evoke the older tradition.

42. Albright, “The Old Testament and Canaanite Language and Literature,” 29–30; Ginsberg, “Phoenician Hymn in the Psalter,” 472; and “Ugaritic Studies and the Bible,” 52.

43. See, for example, in this early period O. Eissfeldt, “Neue Götter im alten Testament,” in *Atti del XIX Congresso Internazionale degli Orientalisti. Roma, 23–29 Settembre 1935–XIII* (Rome: Tipografia del Senato, 1938), 478–79. Curiously, Eissfeldt makes no mention of the Ugaritic texts in this communication.

44. For references and discussion, see Kapelrud, *The Ras Shamra Discoveries and the Old Testament*, 18–19. Note also the identification of Ashdod in *KTU* 1.23 by Montgomery and Harris, *The Ras Shamra Mythological Texts*, 39.

45. Ginsberg, *Kitbê ʿUgarit*, 77; “Notes on the Birth of the Gracious and Beautiful Gods,” *JRAS* (1935): 45–72, esp. 65.

46. For example, Cassuto, *The Goddess Anath*, 40; Ullendorff, “Ugaritic Studies,” 240; B. S. Childs, *The Book of Exodus* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1974), 485–86; J. C. de Moor, *New Year with Canaanites and Israelites* (2 vols.; Kampen: Kok, 1972), 2:18 n. 76. To Childs’s credit, he notes the difficulties with the Ugaritic passage in question.

47. Haran, “Seething a Kid in Its Mother’s Milk,” *JJS* 30 (1979): 23–35; “Das Böchlein in der Milch seiner Mutter und das säugende Muttertier,” *Theologische Zeitschrift* 41 (1985): 135–59.

48. Milgrom, “‘You Shall Not Boil a Kid in Its Mother’s Milk’: An Archaeological Myth Destroyed,” *Bible Review* 1/3 (1985): 48–55.

49. R. Ratner and B. Zuckerman, “‘A Kid in Milk’?: New Photographs of *KTU* 1.23, Line 14,” *HUCA* 57 (1986): 15–60. For further references, see Loretz, *Ugarit und der Bibel*, 124–25.

50. Letter to R. Dussaud, dated 7 August 1936 (APS archives Albright Personal Corresp. 1936–1938).

51. So according to H. Cazelles, in an undated letter to me (received 12 January 1999). So, too, Cazelles mentions Herdner and Largement as students with him in 1941–1944.

52. Information courtesy of N. P. Lemche (e-mails on 3, 5, and 7 October 1998), as well as a letter from F. O. Hvidberg-Hansen dated 14 January 1999. Pedersen wrote on “Die Krt Legende,” in *Berytus* 6 (1941): 63–105. For a discussion of Pedersen’s thought, see E. S. Frerichs, “The Social Setting of the Peoples of the Ancient Near East: An Assessment of Johannes Pedersen (1883–1977),” in *Ancient Egyptian and Mediterranean Studies in Memory of William Ward* (ed. L. H. Lesko; Providence, R.I.: Department of Egyptology, Brown University, 1998), 111–15. Løkkegaard’s best-known work on Ugaritic was published up through the 1950s. For discussion, see E. Keck, S. Søndergaard, and E. Wulff, eds., *Living Waters: Scandinavian Oriental Studies Presented to Dr. Frede Løkkegaard on His Seventy-Fifth Birthday, January 27th 1990* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1990); reference courtesy of Professor Hvidberg-Hansen. Eduard Nielsen came to the faculty at Copenhagen after the war, serving from 1953 to 1991.

53. Nielsen, *Ras Šamra Mythologie und Biblische Theologie* (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes XXI/4; Leipzig: 1936; repr. Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kaus Reprint, 1966).

54. Hvidberg, *Weeping and Laughter in the Old Testament* (trans. F. Løkkegaard; Leiden: Brill; Copenhagen: Nyt Nordisk Forlag/Arnold Busck, 1962).

55. Published as Hammershaimb, *Das Verbum im Dialekt von Ras Šamra* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1941).

56. Information courtesy of Professor Hvidberg-Hansen. For example, Nielsen, “Die altsemitische Muttergöttin,” *ZDMG* 92 (1938): 504–51.

57. *EncJud* 4:330.

58. Information courtesy of a letter from Klaus Koch dated 31 October 1998.

59. *EncJud* 6:557. Eissfeldt had been a *Privatdocent* in Berlin.

60. Following the International Meeting of Orientalists in Brussels in 1938, Rosenthal wrote to American scholars seeking their help and provided the names of his teachers in his curriculum vitae (preserved in Albright’s Corresp. 1938–1940 in APS archives). For Semitics Rosenthal studied under Professors Mittwoch, Schaeder, Meissner, Ebeling, and Kraus; for Iranian philology Schaeder; and for classical philology Professors Jaeger, Norden, Deubner, and Deichgräber. Rosenthal believed that Ugaritic had not been formally taught in other German universities prior to that year (oral communication to

me on 17 September 1998), but I am unable to verify this point. The further information about Rosenthal's life comes from a letter to me dated 23 January 1999.

61. So James Montgomery informed Albright in a letter dated 9 September 1938 (APS archives [Albright] Corresp. 1938–1940).

62. Rosenthal, "Die Parallelstellen in den Texten von Ugarit," *Or* 8 (1939): 213–17; and "Some Minor Problems in the Qur'ān," in *The Joshua Starr Memorial Volume: Studies in History and Philology* (Jewish Social Studies, Publications No. 5; New York: Conference on Jewish Relations, 1953), 67–84. For a number of Rosenthal's reviews in Ugaritic studies in 1939–1952, see the listing in Herdner, *Corpus des tablettes*, 323. A brief profile of Rosenthal appears in *EncJud* 14:292–93.

63. See *EncJud* 5:234–35; and C. Adler, *I Have Considered the Days* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1941), 343. The Hebrew University was founded in 1925.

64. Information courtesy of Edward Ullendorff in a letter to me dated 31 December 1998.

65. Information courtesy of Avraham Malamat in a letter to me dated 3 April 1999.

66. For Cassuto's work in this area, see his *The Goddess Anat: Canaanite Epics of the Patriarchal Age* (trans. I. Abraham; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1971); and his two volumes of *Biblical and Oriental Studies* (trans. I. Abraham; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1975).

67. Cassuto, "The Israel Epic," *Kneset* 8 (1943): 121–42; published in English in *Biblical and Oriental Studies*, 2:69–109.

68. C. H. Gordon, "Indo-European and Hebrew Epic," *EI* 5 (1958 = B. Mazar volume): *10–*15. See F. M. Cross's best-known work, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*; and his more recent work, *From Epic to Canon* (Baltimore/London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 28. To be sure, Cross understands the works traditionally known in biblical scholarship as the J and E sources to be repositories of Israelite epic tradition. So, too, the work of Cross's student, S. Niditch, *Oral World and Written Word: Ancient Israelite Literature* (Library of Ancient Israel; Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 1996), 120–25.

69. For example, Yeivin, "An Ugaritic Inscription from Palestine," *Qedem* 2 (1945): 32–41 (Heb.). For a brief biography, see *EncJud* 16:733.

70. See his article, "The Ras Shamra Inscriptions and Their Significance for the History of Religion," *AJS* 51 (1934–1935): 128–39.

71. This information about the University of Pennsylvania derives from C. H. Gordon, *The Pennsylvania Tradition of Semitics* (SBL Centennial Publications; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 6, 41, 43, and 44. Gordon cites J. A. Montgomery's article on Semitics at Penn entitled "Oriental Studies in the University," *The General Magazine and Historical Chronicle* 36 (1933–1934): 205–16.

72. See the accounts of Speiser's career by two of his devoted students, J. J. Finkelstein, "E. A. Speiser: An Appreciation," in *Oriental and Biblical Studies: Collected Writings of E. A. Speiser* (ed. J. J. Finkelstein and M. Greenberg; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1967), 605–16; and M. Greenberg, "In Memory of E. A. Speiser," *JAOS* 88 (1968) = *Essays in Memory of E. A. Speiser* (ed. W. W. Hallo; AOS 65; New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1968), 1–2; *EncJud* 15:258–59. See also S. D. Sperling, *Students of the Covenant: A History of Jewish Biblical Scholarship in North America* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 71–73. Missing from these descriptions of Speiser are his involvement at Dropsie and the qualities of his personal demeanor; see below. Some of the following information pertaining to Dropsie College derives from its *Registers*.

73. This information, absent from Finkelstein or Greenberg's account (see the preceding note), derives from the record of the *Dropsie College Registers* for these years.

74. On this figure, see Gordon, *The Pennsylvania Tradition of Semitics*, 24; P. J. King, *American Archaeology in the Mideast: A History of the American Schools of Oriental Research* (Philadelphia: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1983), 68–69; and

B. Kuklick, *Puritans in Babylon: the Ancient Near East and American Intellectual Life, 1880–1930* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 169–70.

75. Letter of E. A. Speiser to Cyrus Adler, dated 25 April 1927, in the Dropsie College Adler papers, Box 100, FF 15.

76. Finkelstein, “E. A. Speiser: An Appreciation,” 605–16; Greenberg, “In Memory of E. A. Speiser,” 1–2.

77. Letter to Cyrus Adler, dated 6 October 1935, in the Dropsie College Adler papers, Box 100, FF 17.

78. In the Dropsie College Adler papers, Box 100, FF 17.

79. In the Dropsie College Adler papers, Box 100, FF 17, addressed as “Bram” and signed off as “Fred Speiser.” Neuman responded cordially in a letter of 19 February 1941 addressed to “Fred” and signed “Abraham A. Neuman.”

80. For example, Speiser honored the memory of his Dropsie professor with his essay entitled “The Contribution of Max Leopold Margolis to Semitic Linguistics,” in *Max Leopold Margolis*, 27–33.

81. A student of the great Friedrich Delitzsch at Leipzig, Haupt came to Hopkins shortly after its inception in 1876. For an appreciation of Delitzsch, see I. M. Price, “Friedrich Delitzsch,” *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* 10/2 (1927): i–xii. On Haupt, see Albright, “In Memoriam Paul Haupt,” *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* 10/2 (1927): xiii–xxii; *EncJud* 7:1475–76. For a fine evocation of Haupt as well as the period, see Kuklick, *Puritans in Babylon*, esp. 17–34 (esp. 18 and 24) and 125–26.

82. So according to a letter of Albright’s co-student, Paul Bloomhardt, to Albright, dated 3 February 1920, APS archives (Albright Corresp.-Misc. 1925–1933).

83. See L. G. Running and D. N. Freedman, *William Foxwell Albright: A Twentieth-Century Genius* (New York: Morgan Press, 1975), 185; W. W. Hallo, “Albright and the Gods of Mesopotamia,” *BA* 56/1 (1993): 20. Concerning the early history of the chair, see Kuklick, *Puritans in Babylon*, 107–8.

84. On Blake as one of Albright’s teachers, see Running and Freedman, *William Foxwell Albright*, 32. On Blake further, see pp. 72, 139, 172, 196, 211–12, 256–57, 269, and 296.

85. Blake, “The So-Called Intransitive Verbal Forms in the Semitic Languages.”

86. Mentioned by Albright to Sam Geiser, an old friend and professor of Biology at Southern Methodist University, in a letter dated 31 October 1929 (APS archives, Albright Corresp. Misc. 1929–1932).

87. *Saadia Gaon. The Book of Beliefs and Opinions* (trans. S. Rosenblatt; Yale Judaica Series 1; New Haven: Yale, 1948). He also published works on *The Interpretation of the Bible in the Mishnah* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1935); and *Interpretation of the Bible in the Tosefta* (JQR monograph series 4; Philadelphia: Dropsie University, 1974). Like Blake, Rosenblatt enjoyed longevity at Hopkins from 1930 through the 1970s. I myself recall fondly my lunchtime courses on Josephus with him; my co-student was his grandson, Jonathan Rosenblatt. See *EncJud* 14:278–79.

88. See Running and Freedman, *William Foxwell Albright*, 212.

89. Letter to me dated 7 December 1998. Cross recalls that Blake “constantly gave examples of grammatical phenomena from Tagalog. I think I was half through the first term before I discovered that Tagalog was not a Semitic language, and tradition has it that several finished their degrees still under the impression that Ugaritic and Tagalog were sister languages.” Blake had learned Tagalog after Paul Haupt told him that there would be a great need for the language after the United States took over the Philippines.

90. According to D. N. Freedman (personal communication, 8 August 1999), Albright regarded Sachs as his best student ever.

91. On Albright’s contributions to the field of Ugaritic, see F. M. Cross, “The Contributions of W. F. Albright to Semitic Epigraphy and Palaeography,” in *The Scholarship of*

William Foxwell Albright: An Appraisal (ed. G. W. Van Beek; HSS 33; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 24–26; and in the same volume D. R. Hillers, “William F. Albright as a Philologist,” 51–53. For Albright and further assessments of his work, see (by year) J. A. Miles, Jr., “Understanding Albright: A Revolutionary Etude,” *HTR* 69 (1976): 151–75; D. N. Freedman, “W. F. Albright as an Historian,” in *The Scholarship of William Foxwell Albright: An Appraisal*, 33–43; P. Machinist, “William Foxwell Albright: The Man and His work,” in *The Study of the Ancient Near East in the Twenty-First Century* (ed. J. S. Cooper and G. M. Schwartz; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1996), 385–403 (with further bibliography); Kuklick, *Puritans in Babylon*, 185–93; B. Long, *Planting and Reaping Albright: Politics, Ideology, and Interpreting the Bible* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University, 1997), 156–57. See also the essays in *BA* 56/1 (1993) devoted to Albright and his work. For a critique of Albright’s use of “logic,” see A. Gibson, *Biblical Semantic Logic: A Preliminary Analysis* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1981), 225–31. For Albright’s later story, see the next chapter.

92. So Albright in a letter to Cyrus Gordon dated 7 December 1941 in APS archives Albright Corresp. 1941, 42.

93. So Albright in a letter to A. Honeyman dated 13 June 1943 in APS archives Albright Corresp. 1943.

94. So Albright in letters in February 1945 and October 1945 in APS archives Albright Corresp. 1945.

95. For the early history of JTS, see *EncJud* 10:95–97. For personal accounts, see Adler, *I Have Considered the Days*, 66, 78, and 242–44; L. Finkelstein, “Preface,” in *Cyrus Adler: Selected Letters* (ed. I. Robinson; 2 vols.; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America; New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1985), 1:xvii–xxiv; and N. W. Cohen, “Introduction,” in *Cyrus Adler: Selected Letters*, 1:xxv–xliii. The founding and renovation of the seminary issued largely from the efforts and vision of two Philadelphians, Sabato Morais and Cyrus Adler. Morais and Adler his student were close associates at Mikveh Israel Synagogue in Philadelphia. As the next chapter notes, Adler was also a seminal figure in the founding of the Dropsie College in Philadelphia. Since Morais, his teacher, was the founder of JTS, Adler felt deep personal ties to it and undertook its renovation. In a letter to Jacob Schiff written to allay fears that Dropsie would compete with JTS, Adler writes: “I am more interested in the Seminary than I am in the Dropsie Foundation. My interest has been in it since the beginning from the days of its early foundation by Dr. Morais” (letter to Jacob H. Schiff on 15 November 1906 published in *Cyrus Adler: Selected Letters*, 1:129). Adler’s letters and autobiography (which quote the letters directly at many points) shine with his affection and concern for the seminary. They also reflect his many years of close contact with Solomon Schechter, from their first meeting in England through the negotiations bringing Schechter to the seminary to be a professor there and then its president until his death in 1915. Afterwards Adler served as Acting President and then President until his own death in 1940. It is also not well known that Leon Metoff was the ghostwriter for Adler’s *I Have Considered the Days*; C. H. Gordon informed me of this when I visited his home on 18 November 1999.

96. Much of the following information comes courtesy of Professor Cohen, in an e-mail of 6 December 1998, supplemented by Sperling (*Students of the Covenant*, 75–77) and other sources cited below.

97. For Ginsberg’s associations with the Hebrew University at this time, see A. Hurvitz, *ET LA’ASOT* 3 (Summer 1991): 16 [Heb.]; and “H. L. Ginsberg as a Linguist (Kehoqer Hallashon),” *Shnaton* 11:19 [Heb.].

98. Information courtesy of Edward Ullendorff in a letter to me dated 31 December 1998.

99. As Cyrus Adler mentioned in his letter to Albright dated 6 February 1936, APS archives Albright Personal Corresp. 1936–1938.

100. See the formulation in Ginsberg, "The Northwest Semitic Languages," in *Patriarchs* (vol. 2 of *The World History of the Jewish People*; ed. B. Mazar; Tel Aviv: Jewish History Publications, 1967; Rutgers, 1970), 102–24.

101. Ginsberg's translations appeared not only in *Kitbê 'Ugarit*, but also in several issues of the journal *Tarbiz*.

102. A point nicely appreciated by M. Haran, *ET LA'ASOT* 3 (Summer 1991): 18 [Heb.].

103. Letter dated 8 February 1936, APS archives Albright Personal Corresp. 1936–1938.

104. Albright, "The Old Testament and Canaanite Language and Literature," 13. Cross offers a similar estimate; see his comments in his article, "The Contributions of W. F. Albright to Semitic Epigraphy and Palaeography," 26. Pope likewise stressed to his students Ginsberg's greatness in Ugaritic studies. For scholarly appreciations of Ginsberg's work, see the essays devoted to him in *ET LA'ASOT* 3 (Summer 1991): 9–34, especially those of A. Hurvitz and S. Paul.

105. These figures are all profiled in Sperling's *Students of the Covenant*. Most pursued doctorates elsewhere.

106. Mendelsohn's name first appears in the *Ugarit-Bibliographie* in 1939–1940 for his review of P. D. M. Burrows, *The Basis of Israelite Marriage*, RR 4 (1939–1940): 108–9. In Ugaritic studies, Mendelsohn is perhaps best known for articles such as "The Canaanite Term for 'Free Proletarian,'" *BASOR* 83 (1941): 36–39; "State Slavery in Ancient Palestine," *BASOR* 85 (1942): 14–17; "The Family in the Ancient Near East," *BA* 11 (1948): 24–40; "Samuel's Denunciation of Kingship in the Light of the Akkadian Documents from Ugarit," *BASOR* 143 (1956): 17–22; "A Ugaritic Parallel to the Adoption of Ephraim and Manasseh," *IEJ* 9 (1959): 180–82. For further information on Mendelsohn, see Sperling, *Students of the Covenant*, 139–40 n. 58.

107. For Geller, see Sperling, *Students of the Covenant*, 128. My information about Tigay derives from his e-mail dated 25 October 1998.

108. Goetze, "Is Ugaritic a Canaanite Dialect?" *Language* 17 (1941): 127–38.

109. See Herdner, *Corpus des tablettes*, 309.

110. This was published as his piece on "The Tenses of Ugaritic," *JAOS* 58 (1938): 266–309. Z. Harris remarked in a letter to Albright dated 11 June 1937 after Goetze presented this paper to the American Oriental Society in Cleveland that year (APS archive Albright Personal Corresp. 1936–1938): "... many linguistic arguments can be adduced against his attempt to divorce Ras Shamra genetically from Canaanite (I think I had a mixed metaphor there)." Albright also voiced concerns to Goetze in a letter dated 7 July 1937 (APS archive Albright Personal Corresp. 1936–1938); he did accept Goetze's idea of a present tense verb **yaqattal* for Ugaritic (so in a letter to Goetze dated 4 October 1940, APS archives [Albright] Corresp. 1938–1940), but was put out that Goetze had not read up on the subject (including Albright's writings). In a letter to Albright dated 26 July 1938, Ginsberg wrote: "I'm sorry to say my verdict on Goetze's study on the Ugaritic tenses is: *zift*" (APS archive [Albright] Corresp. 1938–1940). On the proposal to see a Ugaritic verbal form morphologically analogous to Akkadian *iqattal*, see the discussion and refutation of T. L. Fenton, "The Absence of a Verbal Formation *yaqattal* from Ugaritic and Northwest Semitic," *JSS* 15 (1970): 31–41; see also Moran, "Early Canaanite *yaqtula*," *Or* 29 (1960): 1–19.

111. For examples of Obermann's work in this period besides the following discussion mentions, see his *Votive Inscriptions from Ras Shamra* (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1941). Obermann's work in Arabic includes his edition of Ibn Shahin's *Book of Comfort*.

112. See Herdner, *Corpus des tablettes*, 321.

113. Letter written to Theophile Meek on 5 January 1937 (APS archives Albright Personal Corresp. 1936–1938). Given the timing of this letter, I believe that the paper in question would have been Obermann’s “The Historic Significance of Ugaritic Script,” given at the Society of Biblical Literature in the Fall of 1936, mentioned in “The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis: Proceedings,” *JBL* 56 (1937): iv.

114. Obermann, “Sentence Negations in Ugaritic,” *JBL* 65 (1946): 233–48; “How Baal Destroyed a Rival,” *JAOS* 67 (1947): 195–208. See Ginsberg, review of Obermann, *Ugaritic Mythology*, *JCS* 2 (1948): 139–140.

115. Obermann, *Ugaritic Mythology: A Study of Its Leading Motifs* (New Haven: Yale University, 1948).

116. Ginsberg, review of Obermann, *Ugaritic Mythology*, 141.

117. Anderson, personal communication on 27 May 1999.

118. Pope, personal communication. For further discussion of these figures, see the following chapter.

119. Sperling, *Students of the Covenant*, 73–74.

120. Gordon’s Penn dissertation is entitled “Rabbinic Exegesis in the Vulgate of Proverbs” (1930); an extract of the work appeared in *JBL* 49 (1930): 384–416. On Dropsie, see the relevant section in the following chapter. In “Interview with Cyrus H. Gordon, Center for Judaic Studies at the University of Pennsylvania, February 3, 1998” (a videotape taped and housed at Dropsie), Gordon tells of immigrant parents, and how his Lithuanian father became a doctor. Gordon first attended Gratz College, then Dropsie and Penn.

121. When I proposed this reading of his early history over the telephone in spring, 1999, Gordon pronounced it plausible. The following section discusses the production of the grammar.

122. “Interview with Cyrus H. Gordon, Center for Judaic Studies at the University of Pennsylvania, February 3, 1998.”

123. *Ibid.*

124. Gordon, *Pennsylvania Tradition of Semitics*, 70–71 (his italics). One should read Gordon’s sharper comments against the background of his later efforts to secure a university post. In this he struggled for some time. Following his years at Hopkins and Smith College, he cast about for a position and struggled to make ends meet. In September 1941 he expressed his willingness to consider other means of support, including popular writing if necessary (so in a letter to Albright dated 22 September 1941 [APS archives Albright Corresp. 1941]).

125. Gordon, *Pennsylvania Tradition of Semitics*, 72.

126. Dropsie College Adler files, Box 100, FF 16.

127. There was a dispute over the rights to publish the seals from Ur, which resulted in a flurry of correspondence among Speiser, Albright, Gordon, and Sidney Smith in the first half of 1935 (APS archives, Albright Corresp. 1920–1935).

128. Letter dated 15 March 1936, APS archives Albright Personal Corresp. 1936–1938.

129. Horace H. F. Jayne, letter dated 8 July 1931 (University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania archive, cited with permission). My thanks go to Professor Richard Zettler for bringing this letter to my attention.

130. Letter dated 23 June 1936, APS archives Albright Personal Corresp. 1936–1938. The same letter highly praises Ginsberg as well.

131. Letter of 5 January 1937 (APS archives Albright Personal Corresp. 1936–1938).

132. Written on 5 March 1937 (APS archives Albright Personal Corresp. 1936–1938).

133. Letter to Schmidt on 21 June 1937 (APS archives Albright Personal Corresp. 1936–1938).

134. Letter dated 14 March 1932 from Montgomery to Gordon’s mother; and letter of 9 June 1932 from Montgomery to Gordon. Both are in Gordon’s personal possession.

135. Letter dated 7 June 1939 (APS archives Albright Corresp. 1938–1940).
136. Letter dated 30 April 1941 (APS archives Albright Corresp. 1941).
137. Horace H. F. Jayne, letter dated 8 July 1931 (University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania archive, cited with permission). My thanks go to Professor Richard Zettler for bringing this letter to my attention.
138. Albright, “The Furniture of El in Canaanite Mythology,” *BASOR* 91 (1943): 39.
139. Gordon, *Ugaritic Grammar* (AnOr 20; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1940). For Gordon’s account of this story, see also his article, “Sixty Years in Ugaritology,” in *Le pays d’Ougarit au tour de 1200 av. J. C. Histoire et archéologie. Actes du Colloque International, Paris, 28 juin–1^{er} juillet 1993* (ed. M. Yon, M. Sznycer, and P. Bordreuil; RSO 11; Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1995), 41–42. Gordon also recalls his “close and cordial friendship” with Virolleaud.
140. Gordon gave the date of the quote in his oral history, “Interview with Cyrus H. Gordon, Center for Judaic Studies at the University of Pennsylvania, February 3, 1998.” In this interview Gordon mentions that he first met Albright in Max Margolis’s office at Dropsie.
141. Quoted in Gordon, *Pennsylvania Tradition of Semitics*, 54.
142. So by Gordon’s accounts. Among Albright’s 1938 papers is Gordon’s two-page “Plans for Work” which does not mention the *Ugaritic Grammar* (APS archives Albright Corresp. 1938–1940). So too in 1938 when Albright wrote a letter on Gordon’s behalf to the American-Scandinavian Foundation for Gordon’s year in Uppsala (APS archives Albright Personal Corresp. 1936–1938). Also earlier in a letter recommending Gordon to Dr. Goodchild dated 23 February 1933, Albright mentions the Aramaic incantation texts and “a grammatical analysis of the Kirkuk tablets” as the younger man’s main projects (APS archives Albright Corresp.-Misc. 1925–1933). He wrote further: “I do not know of a single Orientalist in America (under thirty) who shows anything approaching Dr. Gordon’s promise. He is also endowed by nature with a handsome physique and an attractive personality. He sometimes irritates younger men by an unconscious attitude of superiority, but I have never noted any tendency of the sort in his contacts with older men.” In another letter of recommendation dated 11 January 1935, written to Henry Allen Moe of the Guggenheim Foundation, Albright again shows no awareness of the grammar project. The letter is unfailingly positive in this case: “Dr. Gordon is a most able young man, well trained under Speiser and others at the University of Pennsylvania, and an indefatigable worker. . . . He is undoubtedly the most promising young scholar who has passed through the American Schools of Oriental Research in the last ten years. . . . His character is excellent” (APS archives Albright Corresp. 1920–1935).
143. So “Interview with Cyrus H. Gordon, Center for Judaic Studies at the University of Pennsylvania, February 3, 1998.” So also Cyrus Gordon personal communication, via Constance Gordon, e-mail communication to me, 18 October 1998.
144. So Gordon in our conversation together on 18 November 1999.
145. So Gordon’s letter to me of 9 October 1998. For further background to this story and for Gordon’s development up and through this period, see the discussion of Dropsie College in this and the following chapter.
146. Gordon, *Pennsylvania Tradition of Semitics*, 55. Gordon reiterated this story in a letter to me dated 9 October 1998. Albright thought that Gordon would be working on Akkadian material at Smith College (letter to Speiser dated 2 July 1938, and Gordon’s letter to Albright from Smith College dated 30 September 1938, APS archives Albright Corresp. 1938–1940).
147. So Cyrus Gordon personal communication via Constance Gordon, e-mail communication to me, 18 October 1998. See also *Ugaritic Grammar*, vii.
148. For example, see F. Rosenthal, review of Gordon, *Ugaritic Grammar*, *Or* 11 (1942): 171–79.

149. Albright, review of Gordon, *Ugaritic Grammar*, *JBL* 60 (1941): 434.
150. Ibid., 448. This episode also appears in M. Lubetski and C. Gottlieb, “‘Forever Gordon’: Portrait of a Master Scholar with a Global Perspective,” *BA* 59 (1996): 7.
151. Albright, “The Old Testament and Canaanite Language and Literature,” 13.
152. Albright, review of Gordon, *Ugaritic Handbook*, *JBL* 69 (1950): 385.
153. So Gordon’s letter of 9 October 1998 and Freedman’s letter of 24 October 1998. In Gordon’s words, “Albright maliciously spread the rumor that I stole everything from Ginsberg.” Cf. *Ugaritic Grammar*, 7. I have not discovered such a sentiment in Albright’s correspondence. It is reported that Ginsberg directly tutored (dictated to) Gordon in writing the *Ugaritic Grammar*. Moreover, Ginsberg and Gordon enjoyed friendly relations after the publication of *Ugaritic Grammar*. Several of Ginsberg’s later notes to Albright speak well of Gordon (APS archive [Albright] Corresp. 1938–1940), and Ginsberg read Gordon’s chapter on Ugaritic for the latter’s book *The Living Past* before publication (so Gordon’s postcard to Albright postmarked 19 April 1941 in APS archive Albright Corresp. 1941). The two also worked together in the summer of 1946 on Martha’s Vineyard (as Ginsberg reported to Albright in a letter dated 3 July 1946, APS archive Albright Corresp. July 1946). See also Ginsberg’s praise of Gordon’s work in “Interpreting Ugaritic Texts,” *JAOS* 70 (1950): 156–60.
154. Meek, *Hebrew Origins* (New York: Harper & Row, 1936), 204–28.
155. Letter dated 22 January 1938, American Philosophical Society Albright Personal Corresp. 1936–1938. For their exchange in print, see also their contributions to *Monotheism and Moses* (ed. R. J. Christen and H. E. Hazelton; Lexington, Mass.: Heath, 1969). Albright added a little-known rejoinder in this volume (pp. 78–79) mixing later claims against all deities with earlier claims against specific cults (1 Kgs 18:27, 2 Kgs 1:6).
156. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity: Monotheism and the Historical Process* (2d ed.; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1946), 207.
157. Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan: A Historical Analysis of Two Contrasting Faiths* (New York: Doubleday, 1968; repr. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1994).
158. See the end of Chapter Two below.
159. Letter dated 31 January 1943 (APS Albright Personal Corresp. 1943).
160. So J. Hoftijzer and K. Jongeling, eds., *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions. Part Two: M-T* (HdO 21/2; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 919–20.
161. See B. Long, “Mythic Trope in the Autobiography of William Foxwell Albright,” *BA* 56/1 (1993): 36–45; and idem, *Planting and Reaping Albright: Politics, Ideology, and Interpreting the Bible* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University, 1997), 156–57.
162. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, 197.
163. I have addressed some possibilities for this issue in *The Early History of God: Yahweh and the Other Deities in Ancient Israel* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1990), 154–56.
164. The task of working out Albright’s agenda contrasting Mosaic monotheism and Canaanite polytheism in political terms fell to his student G. Mendenhall in his book, *The Tenth Generation: The Origins of the Biblical Tradition* (Baltimore/London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973); and in his article, “The Worship of Baal and Asherah: A Study in the Social Bonding Functions of Religious Systems,” in *Biblical and Related Studies Presented to Samuel Iwry* (ed. A. Kort and S. Morschauser; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1985), 147–58. In an e-mail to me dated 30 April 1999, Mendenhall writes of Baal as the symbolization of political force and Asherah as the representation of “GNP” (Gross National Product). Or, as he writes in *The Tenth Generation* (p. 223), “The fertility cult is the deification of the process of production and, appropriately, is usually represented as a Great Mother and a god of the storm who brings the fertilizing rainfall.”
165. Bauer, *Der Ursprung des Alphabets* (Der Alte Orient 36.1/2; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1937).

166. Jack, *The Ras Shamra Tablets and Their Bearing upon the Old Testament* (Old Testament Studies 1; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1935).

167. Dussaud, *Les découvertes de Ras Shamra (Ugarit et l'Ancien Testament)* (2d ed.; Paris: Geuthner, 1941).

168. From the 1940s into the 1960s, de Langhe taught at Leuven/Louvain. His students there included Antoon Schoors. De Langhe also held a visiting appointment at Nijmegen in the 1950s (information courtesy of Schoors and de Geus).

169. De Langhe, *Les textes de Ras Shamra-Ugarit et leur rapports avec le milieu biblique de l'Ancien Testament* (Gembloux: Duculot, 1945).

170. Albright, "Islam and the Religions of the Ancient Orient," *JAOS* 60 (1940): 283–301. For a comparable range, see F. Rosenthal, "Some Minor Problems in the Qur'ān," in *The Joshua Starr Memorial Volume: Studies in History and Philology* (Jewish Social Studies, Publications No. 5; New York: Conference on Jewish Relations, 1953), 67–84. For a later comparison with Islam, see C. H. Gordon, "The Three Graces," *NUS* 31 (April 1984): 11. For later reflexes in Jewish and Christian literature, see A. Goetze, "Peace on Earth," *BASOR* 93 (1944): 17–20; M. S. Smith, *The Ugaritic Baal Cycle. Volume 1: Introduction with Text, Translation, and Commentary to the First Two Tablets (KTU 1.1–1.2)* (VTSup 55; Leiden: Brill, 1994), xxvii, *inter alia*.

171. Reported by J. H. Patton to Albright in a letter dated 22 March 1944 (APS archives Albright Personal Corresp. Jan.-Aug. 1944).

172. Letter written to "Father and Family," dated 30 March 1943 (APS archives Albright Personal Corresp. 1943). Goode had completed his doctorate in 1940.

173. The following assessments depend partially on information reported to Albright in the letters cited below; one of his sources was H. H. Rowley, for example in a letter dated 8 January 1946 (APS archives Albright Personal Corresp. April 1946), but in 1946 Albright also alludes to hearing about the situation from people in Germany, the Netherlands, and Switzerland. Albright also exchanged letters with Goetze and Mowinckel over the culpability of German scholars. For further information, see the book of M. Weinreich, *Hitler's Professors: The Part of Scholarship in Germany's Crimes against the Jewish People* (New York: Yiddish Scientific Institute—YIVO, 1946); Weinreich exchanged letters with Albright in the first half of 1946.

174. Letter of 10 March 1946 to his son Paul (APS archives Albright Personal Corresp. March 1946).

175. Albright reports that Hempel and Jirku were fired from their positions (letter of 2 March 1946 to Orlinsky, APS archives Albright Personal Corresp. March 1946; letter of 8 April 1946 to Samuel Terrien, APS archives Albright Personal Corresp. March 1946). Jirku was replaced "by his great enemy Noth" (letter to Nelson Glueck, dated 9 February 1946, APS archives Albright Personal Corresp. 1946).

176. Weinreich (*Hitler's Professors*, 41–43, 215–16) discusses the pro-Nazi activities of Kittel, son of the famous Rudolph Kittel (1853–1929); on the latter, see *EncJud* 10:1079–80). Albright learned that Kittel was jailed in France (letter to Nelson Glueck, dated 9 February 1946, APS archives Albright Personal Corresp. 1946), and that Sellin was shot by the Russians (letter of 2 March 1946 to Orlinsky, APS archives Albright Personal Corresp. 1946). Weinreich also cites the broader phenomenon of pro-Reich sympathies among biblical scholars (for an example, see *Hitler's Professors*, 68–69 n. 144).