



The Metropolitan Museum of Art Symposia

Cultures in Contact

From Mesopotamia to the Mediterranean
in the Second Millennium B.C.

Edited by
Joan Aruz, Sarah B. Graff, and Yelena Rakic



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Of Banquets, Horses, and Women in Late Bronze Age Ugarit

The formalized consumption of food and drink—“table manners” we were taught at our mother’s knee—is one of the most significant indicators of cultural identities and differences. Polite behavior here may raise eyebrows there; the proper setting of the table (in the cultures where there is a table to set!) may vary within a single country according to social rank or family tradition; one need not travel far from home to be puzzled by strange arrangements of plates and cutlery. These differences are not only geographic, but they also change quickly over time. In Europe, for instance, modes of eating and drinking, as well as menus, have undergone great changes since the medieval period, and these changes have accelerated in the recent past. A French child of 2010 would have a difficult time with a family meal of the 1900s or even the 1950s.

Thus, the study of how people partake of food and drink in a given culture at a given period may provide an intimate insight into that culture. In the case of Late Bronze Age Ugarit, much information can be drawn from the written sources, the archaeological remains, and a few images, all of which allow a tentative reconstruction of ritualized eating and drinking. As might be expected, there is more evidence for events, religious or otherwise, among the elites, than there is for the everyday life of ordinary people.

BANQUETS IN LITERATURE

Banquets and libations have left many traces in the written sources from Ugarit, notably in literature and ritual texts. Ugarit is famous for the epics written in the local language around 1200 B.C. One of the poems in the cycle dedicated to the god Baal describes the inaugural banquet of his “house” (temple):

He slaughters bovinds [and] caprovids,
he fells bulls [and] fattened goats,
yearling calves,
lambs (and) great numbers of kids.
He invites his brothers into his house,
his kin into his palace,
He invites the seventy sons of ʿAṭiratu:
He provides the gods with rams (and) wine,
he provides the goddesses with ewes (and) [wine];
He provides the gods with bulls (and) wine,
he provides the goddesses with cows (and) [wine];
He provides the gods with chairs (and) wine,
he provides the goddesses with seats (and) [wine];
He provides the gods with jars of wine,
he provides the goddesses with barrels of [wine].
So the gods eat and drink,
they take sucklings,
with a salted knife cutlets from [a fatling].
They drink wine from goblets,
red [wine from] golden cups. . . .¹

Ritual texts record the formulaic minutiae of the many ritual acts that filled the calendar for almost every day in Ugarit. Most consist of the sacrifice of big and small cattle and birds, as well as the offering of fruit, cereals, and wine.

It is unclear whether the priests or the participants in the banquet actually consumed the listed offerings.² It is not our concern here (nor is it in my area of expertise) to ponder whether those banquets were funerary, commemorative, social, or political, nor to reflect on the obvious, but probably misleading, parallels with the Bible: was the *marzihu* mentioned in the Ugaritic texts a communal symposium practice comparable to the Hebrew *marzeah*? Is the intoxication of El, father of the gods,³ a parallel to the

biblical story of the inebriated Noah? The contribution of this essay to those much-debated questions is, rather, a tentative survey of the material evidence for ritualized food and drink consumption at Ugarit ca. 1300–1150 B.C.

IMAGES OF BANQUETS

Banquets and libation scenes are depicted at Ugarit on several objects with enough details to provide information about the kinds of vessels and instruments that were used during these events. One notable instance is the fragmentary alabaster amphora inscribed with the name of Niqmaddu, king of Ugarit,⁴ that bears the image of a princess pouring wine for the king, sheltered by an Egyptian dais (fig. 1). Of the king himself, only the head survives: he has a non-Egyptian hairstyle of closely cropped curls—the attribute of Asiatic foreigners according to New Kingdom iconography. He probably held a cup to receive the drink poured by the princess, but unfortunately that part of the scene has been destroyed. The princess wears an elaborate headdress and a transparent dress in pure Egyptian style. She pours the liquid out of a thin, elongated alabastron with a pointed base.⁵ A table, now missing, probably stood between the two figures, and supported an amphora of a New Kingdom type well attested in Ugarit.⁶ Indeed, the fragment under discussion is part of such a vessel, a wine container. The head of a bull protrudes from the amphora’s neck. This head may be compared to the animal heads above large vases depicted in other banquet scenes from the Levant.⁷ They also appear frequently in Egyptian New Kingdom frescoes depicting Aegean vases.⁸ Whether they represent sacrificed animals or Minoan style zoomorphic rhyta is a matter of debate. If indeed they are rhyta, depicted here not in the action of libation but waiting to be used, their proximity to the larger vessels provides an additional clue to their usage among the banquet implements.

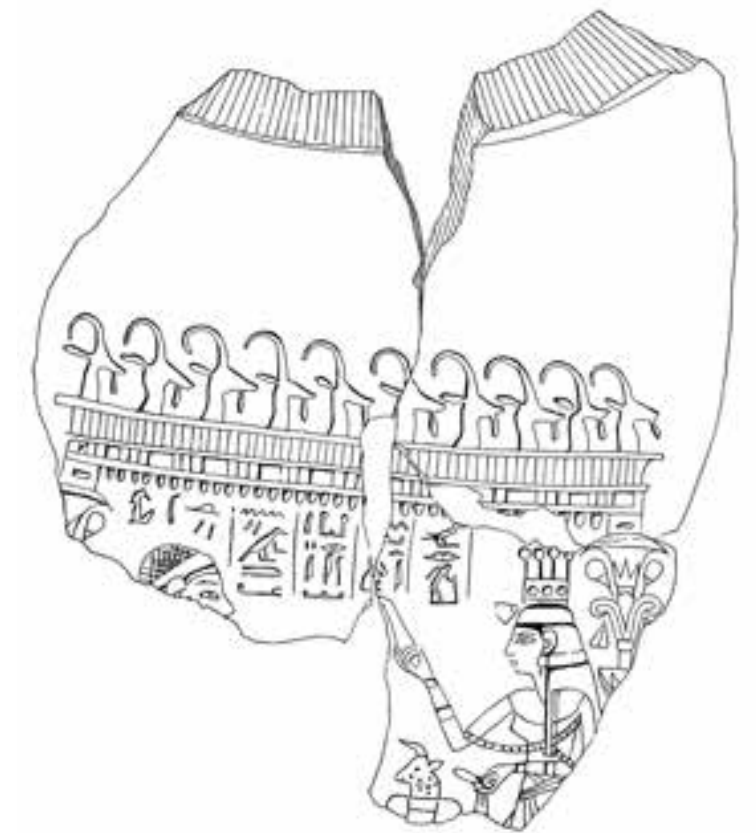


Fig. 1. Drawing of fragmentary calcite alabaster amphora. Ugarit. Late Bronze Age. National Museum, Damascus 4160

It is generally assumed that the Niqmaddu amphora is an Egyptian work commissioned for Ugarit for a specific occasion, probably a marriage. Its iconography includes many traits specifically alluding to the Asiatic character of the owner and recipient, the king of Ugarit, such as the king’s hairstyle and the frieze of goats over the dais instead of the usual uraei. These Asiatic traits and allusions are expressed in Egyptian pictorial language. One may speculate, then, that the vessels used for the libation ritual on the image—the alabastron, amphora, and rhyton (?)—are Egyptian translations of local, Asiatic vessels.

While the Ugaritic poem and the ritual texts record collective banquets involving

many participants, the images that are preserved show banquets offered to one guest only. In the case of the alabaster vase, the honored guest is specifically designated as the king. The identity of the participants in the ritual painted on a local pottery tankard is unclear (fig. 2):⁹ possibly another royal personage, or the god El, attended by Baal.

The locally made tankard is itself a drinking vessel. The painted scene occupies the entire surface and represents a seated figure, holding in his raised hand a hemispherical bowl of a type known in gold, silver, and faience. In front of him is a low table laden with loaves and supporting a krater. He is attended by a standing figure carrying a

juglet with a pointed base. The scene is strangely completed by a horse, a bird, and a fish, perhaps symbols of the three elements, which would situate the scene in the superhuman world. Whatever the identity of the figures and the significance of the whole scene, what matters for the present purpose is the combination of the vessels and implements necessary to perform the banquet: a krater supported by a low table, a juglet to dip into the krater, and a cup to drink from. The chair of the main figure is a necessary piece of furniture, but it may also be associated with events not implying the partaking of food or drink.

Among the many cultic stelae from Ugarit, two depict a banquet or libation scene. The so-called Homage to the god El stele (fig. 3)¹⁰ is organized along the same lines as the painted pottery tankard: an attendant brings a beverage to a seated figure who drinks from a cup. The cup is a shallow bowl from which rises a triangular mass, a possible attempt at perspective. The seated figure, the god El (?), is attended by a standing figure, Baal or the king (?), carrying a juglet for the libation. He is holding a vertical cylindrical instrument ending in a ram's (?) head. This implement might be identified as a ladle for burning incense, a well-known type in Egypt, although it is held horizontally when depicted in Egyptian art. The closest parallel is one held by priests or attendants on a number of ivory reliefs from Arslan Tash.¹¹ As on the Ugarit stele, the performers on the ivories carry such a "scepter" vertically in the right hand and a juglet in the left, an indication that they are engaged in a ceremony involving drink. Our particular instrument must therefore be a part of the paraphernalia necessary to the performance of rituals accompanying banquets and libation in the Late Bronze Age and the early first millennium B.C. Perhaps it is a zoomorphic rhyton or situla, operating in conjunction with the juglet in the course of the same ceremony.

Another food-offering scene appears on a stele found on the acropolis at Ugarit (fig. 4).¹² It is inscribed with a hieroglyphic dedication by Maimy, an Egyptian residing at Ugarit, to the god "Baal of the Zaphon mountain." Maimy bows before the deity, who is depicted standing and holding a *was* scepter. Between them is a table laden with spherical loaves. In keeping with Egyptian etiquette, the deity stands aloof and does not take part in the action. What we see is the statue of the god, not his epiphany, while in the previous images the seated god was the

Fig. 2. Drawing of scene on painted tankard. Ugarit. Late Bronze Age. National Museum, Damascus 6881

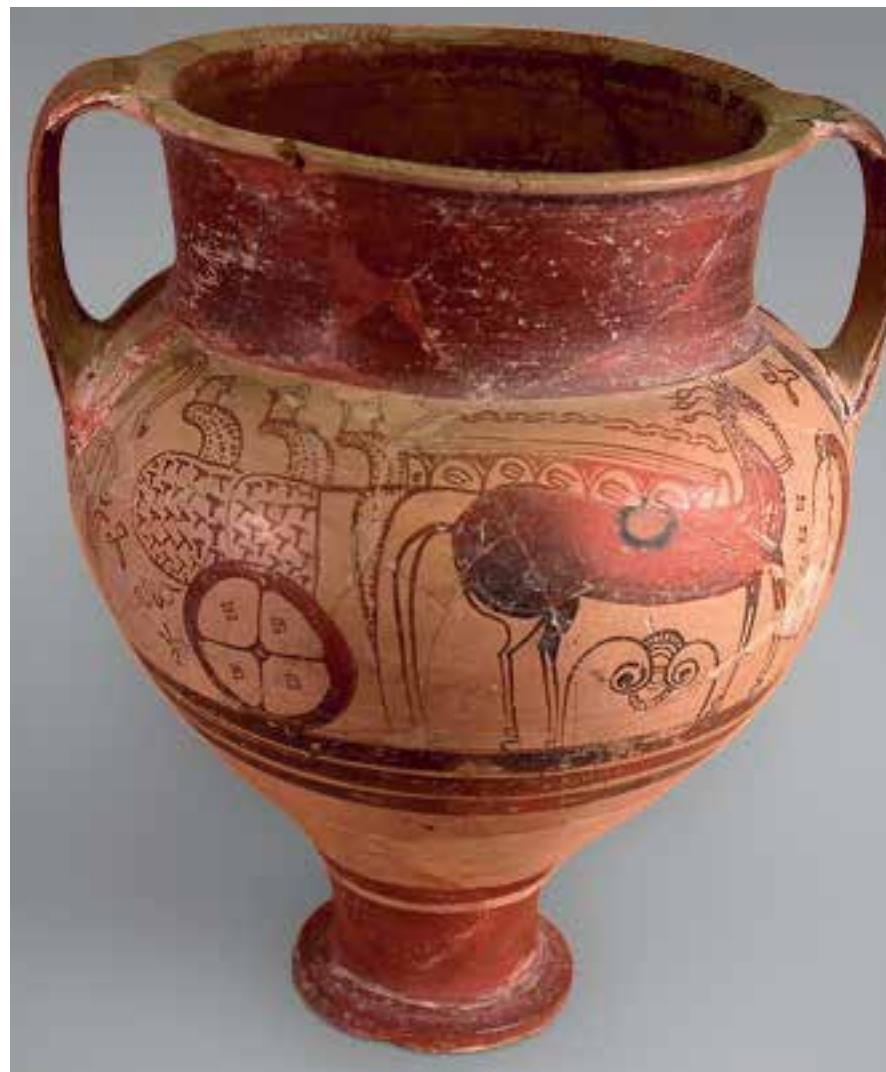


Fig. 3. Steatite stele and drawing. Ugarit. Late Bronze Age. National Museum, Aleppo 4622



Fig. 4. Sandstone stele. Ugarit, acropolis. Late Bronze Age. Musée du Louvre, Paris AO 13176

Fig. 5. Mycenaean ceramic krater. Ugarit. Late Bronze Age. Musée du Louvre, Paris AO 20376



living presence of the deity, partaking of the drink being offered and raising his cup. Here, all that remains of the event of the banquet is the table and the food presented on it.

Banquet scenes on cylinder seals at Ugarit are generally extremely schematic and simplified; because the vessels are too small to be rendered at such a reduced scale, what remains of the components of the performance is the low table in front of the seated figure.¹³ In one instance, the seated figure is drinking from a long pipe dipped into a narrow-necked jar;¹⁴ this is a traditional depiction

of beer drinking in Mesopotamian iconography, and a testimony to the cultural diversity of drinking practices and beverages in Ugarit.

ARTIFACTS

According to the images, a small table is a necessary piece of furniture for the performance of the banquet in honor of one guest. The royal palace at Ugarit possessed such a table, with a circular ivory top, a floral capital in ivory for the attachment of the legs, and legs ending in ivory lions' paws.¹⁵

The choice of such a precious material as elephant ivory is in itself an indication of the attention paid to the formality and prestige of the ritual. Ceramic vessels, on the other hand, document the existence of banquets involving multiple guests, like those described in the Ugaritic poems and the Homeric epics. Either for trade or for entertaining on a grand scale, vessels were stored in quantities that exceeded the needs of one household. For example, eighty jars were stored in a cellar of the harbor town of Minet el-Beidha and in a wealthy residence near the palace more than one hundred bowls were piled into a stone basin, as if waiting for somebody to wash the dishes.¹⁶ Tableware includes individual drinking cups and large vessels for serving wine. Their shapes are evidence of different cultural practices, borrowed mainly from the Aegean and Egypt. The krater, an open shape designed for the mixing of wine and water according to Greek customs of formal wine drinking, became popular in Late Bronze Age Ugarit, as well as in Cyprus and the entire Levant. Wine kraters at Ugarit were turned out in many imported and prestigious wares: Minoan, Mycenaean, Minyan, and others (fig. 5).¹⁷ They were associated with complete services of bowls and plates in matching wares.

The conical rhyton, also originating in the Aegean, has been shown to be an essential part of ritual wine drinking.¹⁸ It is characterized by the presence of a small hole at the base, which makes it into a funnel. The contents, most probably wine, were stirred in order to enhance their flavor, while the conical shape helped to mix and strain the ground spices that were added to the beverage. Conical rhyta were produced in even more wares than the krater: Mycenaean, Minoan, and local wares.¹⁹ Some were made of silver and faience.²⁰ Whether the carved elephant tusk from the royal palace was a rhyton, a bottle, or a musical instrument is a much-debated question.²¹ Whatever its exact function, this masterpiece must have been used on the occasion of rituals that were



Fig. 6. Mycenaean ceramic zoomorphic rhyton. Ugarit. Late Bronze Age. Musée du Louvre, Paris AO 18521

certainly accompanied by music and included the consumption of food and drink.²²

Rhyta also adopted zoomorphic shapes, usually a lion's, a bull's or a ram's head—as well as a unique instance of a boar's head—all of them connoting male potency. Zoomorphic rhyta were produced in Mycenaean and local ceramics and in faience (fig. 6). When these vessels are fragmentary and the base with a small hole is missing, it is not always possible to distinguish a zoomorphic rhyton/funnel from a situla, which has only one opening.

Ceremonial wine drinking in Egypt was performed using jars and amphorae. Vessels of Egyptian alabaster were highly precious items, sometimes the gifts of pharaohs, who had them inscribed with their cartouche.²³ Ugarit is the Levantine kingdom where the largest number of such inscribed jars have been found. Ranging from Dynasty 18 to the time of Ramesses II, they are the best evidence for the adoption of Egyptian banquet practices in Ugarit.



Fig. 7. Calcite alabaster drinking cup with ridged sides (tazza). Ugarit. Late Bronze Age. Musée du Louvre, Paris AO 14788



Fig. 8. Fragmentary faience drinking cup (tazza). Emar. Late Bronze Age. Musée du Louvre, Paris AO 27746

Individual drinking cups recovered at Ugarit may also shed light on the cultural differences in drinking practices. They occur in many different shapes and materials. Hemispherical bowls, such as the one depicted on the pottery tankard, were also produced in gold and silver.²⁴ The gold hemispherical cup from the vicinity of the Baal Temple is decorated with repoussé reliefs depicting heroes fighting mythological beasts among sacred trees. I suggest that the many faience bowls found at Ugarit were also part of the banquet equipment. Among these, the “blue bowl” type—which was very popular in Egypt, where its iconography was associated with the Nile and the goddess Hathor—was adopted and imitated in the Levant. Examples from Ugarit display original motifs: one depicts the Egyptian protective *wedjat* (the eye placed above a heart and trachea), the hieroglyphic sign for Good. This is the only known instance in which the magic eye is symmetrically duplicated to give the impression of a human mask *en face*.²⁵ As we may assume from its chemical composition, this bowl appears to be of local production, suggesting that the Syrian artist adapted a popular Egyptian design, turning it into a new variant of the mask motif as well as a theophany, or visible manifestation of the deity. Another type of hemispherical faience bowl is the ubiquitous floral vessel characterized by lotus petals raised in relief and covered with different colored glazes.²⁶

The *tazza*, a carinated bowl with a ridge decoration, is also an Egyptian type,²⁷ and another possible shape for the individual drinking cup. The alabaster *tazza* was very popular at Ugarit and in the southern Levant (fig. 7).²⁸ Versions of it in faience (fig. 8) and gold were also produced: the most prestigious is a gold bowl depicting a hunting scene,²⁹ found with the hemispherical bowl mentioned above.

Lotus-shaped chalices, another Egyptian form, existed in alabaster and faience.³⁰ As with the blue bowls, their precise meaning and usage are debated, but Egyptian rituals

of wine offering may have been adopted by the elite at Ugarit, along with the artifacts used to perform these rituals.

In addition to the forms borrowed from either the Aegean or Egypt, a number of small local vessels display an iconography that suggests these artifacts were part of local ceremonies. One type is the deep tankard or goblet, with or without a handle. A flat base allows it to stand by itself even when full. The painted tankard (fig. 2) is in this category—among many others in plain local ware—and its association with the banquet ritual is evidenced by its iconography. By analogy, I suggest that a series of goblets in the shape of female heads belongs to the same functional group. Ugarit has yielded more examples than any other Levantine site of these “international style” faience female-head goblets (fig. 9).³¹ Their ringlets, lovelocks, and eye shadow give these vessels a fetching appearance, possibly the alluring look of a goddess of sexuality.

The *situla* or tankard belongs to another functional category. Like the *rhyton*, once emptied it could only rest on its side, because of its rounded, pointed base. Of special significance was the zoomorphic *situla* in the shape of animal symbols of male potency, like the lion, the bull, or the ram. The tradition of the zoomorphic *situla* goes back to the Middle Bronze Age³² and endures into the first millennium B.C., with the metal *situla* of Babylonia and Assyria. In shape it closely resembles the zoomorphic *rhyton*, except that it has one opening only. The *situlae* from Ugarit were produced in local pottery and faience.³³ I suggest that their function was the same as that of the *juglets* carried by the attendants depicted in banquet scenes: dipping the beverage from a *krater*; stirring the contents to mix the wine, water, and possibly spices; and pouring them into a drinking cup. The operation must have been performed in one go: the *Cul Sec* or “Bottoms Up” modern invitation comes to mind. As suggested by the finds from the Uluburun shipwreck, the



Fig. 9. Faience cup with a female face. Ugarit. Late Bronze Age. Musée du Louvre, Paris AO 15725

zoomorphic *situla* was associated with the female-head goblet.³⁴

Plain *juglets*, like those shown in banquet scenes, were a very common type of local pottery. They were probably used in everyday life for ordinary meals, but surviving



Fig. 10. Hippopotamus ivory pyxis. Ugarit. Late Bronze Age. Musée du Louvre, Paris AO 14780

visual evidence (fig. 2) points to their use in formal ceremonies as well. One such juglet, bearing a rare painted decoration of birds, has been found in the “Rhyton Temple.”³⁵

Closed vessels in faience, alabaster, and ivory have until now been classified as cosmetic vessels, essentially associated with toiletry and beauty: it has been assumed that the “swimming girl” spoon, the duck box, and the lentoid or floral pyxis³⁶ belonged to the owner’s private beauty kit (fig. 10). I suggest they are instead among the accoutrements necessary to the banquet and may have contained expensive spices and condiments, or even salt, in the form of powder or paste, to be added to drink or food. Their swivel lids, which would have preserved

their fragrance, were easily opened and closed. The ubiquitous stirrup jar, a Mycenaean type imitated in local pottery and faience, was a narrow-necked miniature jar, the contents of which could only be poured by shaking the vessel. Stirrup jars may have contained precious oils to be presented to guests to refresh themselves and soften their hands, a custom inspired by the Egyptian practice of offering guests invited to a feast perfumed grease cones to place on their heads. Alternatively, the stirrup jars may have contained condiments for the banquet: the importance of *garum* later, in Classical antiquity, should draw our attention to the possibility that Bronze Age food was enhanced by such tasty flavorings.

BANQUET PLACES

According to textual evidence, the ritualized consumption of drink and food took place in many different locations: the royal palace, temples, family tombs and households, and specific buildings, such as the *marzihu*, designed for communal symposia. There is scant archaeological evidence from the field. The “Rhyton Temple” may have been such a *marzihu*.³⁷ In addition to numerous rhyta in various materials discovered in the building, there were many fragments of Egyptian alabaster vessels, amphorae, tazzas, and chalices, the complete assemblage for Egyptian-style wine drinking.³⁸

Another assemblage of the same type of alabaster vessels was found by Claude Schaeffer in “dépôt 213,” at Minet el-Beidha, the harbor town of Ugarit.³⁹ It may have been the contents of a tomb, except that alabaster vessels were rarely found in private contexts at Ugarit. Most of the imported vessels from private tombs were Mycenaean and Cypriot wares. In the absence of a reliable stratigraphic record, I suggest that “dépôt 213” may have belonged to another building dedicated to ritual events.

ICONOGRAPHY ON DRINKING VESSELS

Drinking vessels and table sets conveyed a message as to the status and beliefs of the owner. Precious materials and artifacts imported from afar advertised his wealth and importance. Images displayed for the guests to look at when engaged in celebrations are particularly significant. Far more numerous than banquet scenes, horses and chariots were among the preferred motifs for drinking vessels, the most remarkable being the gold hunting bowl and Mycenaean chariot kraters. More such kraters have been found at Ugarit than at any other Levantine site, and they may have been commissioned from Greece especially for the local clientele.

Horses and chariots were of great importance to the pride of Ugaritic society—demonstrating the wealth of the king and of the elite *maryannu*⁴⁰—as they were in all the

Near Eastern kingdoms. In the Amarna Letters, for instance, the polite formal address of the sender to the pharaoh always includes queries about the health of his horses and the state of his chariots. In the same breath, in the same sentence, the letters started with questions about princesses and marriageable maidens to be exchanged between royal courts:

[S]ay [to Nim]u’wareya, the king of Eg[yp]t, m[y] [brother]: [Thus Kad]ašman-Enlil, the king of Karaduniyaš, your brother. [For me, all indeed goes w]ell. For you, your household, your wives, [and for you]r [sons], your country, your chariots, your horses, your [mag]nates, may all go very well.

With regard to the girl, my daughter, about whom you wrote to me in view of marriage, she has become a woman; she is nubile. Just send a delegation to fetch her. . . . [25 men and] 25 women . . . I send [to you *in connection with the house-opening*]. [. . .] for 10 wooden chariots, [and 10 teams of hor]ses I send to you as your greeting-gift.⁴¹

An important part of diplomacy and of the alliance policies between dynasties, the quest for beautiful women was a favorite subject in ancient literature. The Homeric story of the Trojan War for the sake of fair Helen compares well with the Ugaritic epic of king Kirta. Seeking a bride to provide him with a son, Kirta besieges the city of king Pabil in order to obtain the hand of his daughter Hurraya. Pabil tries to bribe Kirta with gifts, which he refuses:

What need have I of silver
and of yellow [gold]
along with its place;
Of a perpetual servant,
of three horses,
of a chariot in a courtyard,
of the son of a handmaid?

Rather, you must give me what my house lacks,
give me maid Ḥurraya,
the best girl of your firstborn offspring;
Whose goodness is like that of ʿAnatu,
whose beauty is like that of ʾAṭiratu;
The pupils (of whose eyes) are of pure lapis-lazuli,
whose eyes are like alabaster bowls; . . .⁴²

In the Amarna Letters as in the Ugaritic poem, the association between horses, chariots, and women with liquid eyes has an equivalent in the archaeological assemblages at Ugarit, relating to banquets. These finds include Mycenaean chariot kraters, female-head faience goblets, rhyta, and zoomorphic situlae in the shape of lions’ or rams’ heads. The vessels were probably endowed with symbolic male/female significance, the precise nature of which escapes us. One is tempted to speculate that drinking vessels were assigned to the participants in the rituals by type, according to gender. Images and written sources alike confirm that women took part in the banquet and libation rituals, albeit only as attendants; at Baal’s inaugural banquet, gods and goddesses were invited as equals, but the terms designating their seats, drinks, and meats differ according to the gender of the guests.⁴³

Although spectacularly well documented, thanks to the combined evidence from written and archaeological sources, the case of Ugarit is nevertheless perfectly representative of the international practices of the Near East during the age of “Art, Trade, and Diplomacy.” The imagery displayed due reverence to the gods while attesting to the status and good taste of the owners. The artifacts themselves were both locally produced and imported from afar to answer the needs of the elite. They record their owners’ adaptation of elegant table manners borrowed from Egypt, Crete, the pre-Hellenic world, and Mesopotamia. These objects were used during their owners’ lifetimes, in various ceremonies, whether social or

religious, and most of which involved ritualized banquets. After death, the vessels were deposited in the tomb—probably after a final funerary meal—ensuring that refined feasts would continue to take place in proper style in the afterlife.

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1. Pardee 1997a, pp. 261–62.
2. RS 19.015 (Pardee 2000).
3. Zamora 2005.
4. RS 15.239 (Desroches-Noblecourt 1956, figs. 118, 126; Caubet 1991, pl. VII, 1; Yon 2006, no. 49; Gabolde in Galliano and Calvet 2004, p. 154, no. 137; Feldman 2006b, fig. 75; Thyrza Sparks 2007, no. 763).
5. For the alabastron shape, see Thyrza Sparks 2007, fig. 8.
6. RS 11.849 (Caubet 1991, pl. IV, 2).
7. For example, an ivory plaque from Megiddo; see Loud 1939, pl. 4.
8. For example, in the tomb of Nebamun; see the tomb tracings by Norman de Garis Davies and Nina M. de Garis Davies in Davies MSS. 10.23.11 and Davies MSS. 10.23.19 (Griffith Institute Archive, University of Oxford). The tracings are reproduced online in facsimile at www.griffith.ox.ac.uk.
9. Yon 2006, no. 35.
10. RS 8.295 (Yon 1991, no. 10).
11. Thureau-Dangin et al. 1931, pl. XXXII, 39.
12. Yon 1991, no. 1.
13. Amiet 1992, nos. 230, 236, 247.
14. Ibid., no. 250.
15. Caubet and Yon 1996; Gachet-Bizollon 2007, nos. 372, 373, 287–97, 328–30.
16. Known as the “80-jar deposit,” this was probably the cellar of a private house in the harbor town of Minet el-Beidha; see Yon 2006, fig. p. 152. For the stone basin piled up with bowls, see Margueron 1977b, p. 167, fig. 8.
17. Yon, Karageorghis, and Hirschfeld 2000; Montchambert 2004.
18. Koehl 2006.
19. Yon 1987; Yon 1996.
20. For conical rhyta of silver, see Schaeffer 1966; Yon in Cluzan, Mouliérac, and Bounni 1993, no. 183. For examples of these vessels in faience from Minet el-Beidha Tomb VI, see Matoïan in Bouquillon et al. 2007, no. 226.

21. Fischer 2007a; Gachet-Bizollon 2007, no. 386.
22. Caubet 1999.
23. Caubet 1991; Thyrza Sparks 2007; Lagarce 2008.
24. For such a bowl in gold in the National Museum of Aleppo, see Yon 2006, no. 57. For a silver hemispherical bowl from the treasure found in 1962 in the “Sud Acropole” trench, see Schaeffer 1966.
25. Matoïan in Bouquillon et al. 2007, no. 211.
26. Caubet in ibid., nos. 15, 16. For examples from Mari and Enkomi, see Weinstein in *Beyond Babylon*, pp. 360–61, nos. 226, 227.
27. Thyrza Sparks 2007, fig. 6.
28. Caubet 1991, pl. IX, 1–5, particularly a group from “dépôt 213” (see below).
29. Yon 2006, no. 57; Cluzan in *Beyond Babylon*, p. 243, no. 147.
30. Caubet 1991, pl. IX, 6, 7; Matoïan in Bouquillon et al. 2007, nos. 219–21.
31. Yon 2006, no. 47; Matoïan in Bouquillon et al. 2007, nos. 204–6; Fitton in *Beyond Babylon*, pp. 341–44, no. 210; Caubet in *Beyond Babylon*, p. 344, no. 211; Caubet forthcoming.

32. Yener in *Beyond Babylon*, pp. 76–77, no. 40, for a lion situla from Kültepe.
33. For situlae of local pottery, see Yon 2008; Zuckerman 2008. For situlae in faience, see Matoïan 2000. Fragments of zoomorphic situlae or rhyta from Ugarit may be reconstructed from examples found at other sites, notably the Uluburun shipwreck; Pulak in *Beyond Babylon*, pp. 340–41, no. 208a.
34. Pulak in *Beyond Babylon*, pp. 340–41, no. 208a, b.
35. Yon 2006, no. 29.
36. See Wicke 2008 on the pyxis question.
37. Yon 1987; Yon 1996.
38. Caubet 1991, pl. IX.
39. Schaeffer 1932, pl. VIII, “dépôt à l’enceinte” or “dépôt 213.”
40. Caubet and Yon 1996.
41. EA 3 (Moran 1992, pp. 7–8).
42. Pardee 1997b, p. 337.
43. This repetition with variants may be a poetic device more than a gender-differentiated description of the ritual, but it is consistent and therefore must be significant.