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Gregorio del Olmo Lete

INCANTATIONS AND ANTI-WITCHCRAFT TEXTS FROM UGARIT

STUDIES IN ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN RECORDS

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With a contribution by Ignacio Márquez Rowe

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Prologue

The main texts gathered in this miscellany have been published, in a slightly different form, in various occasional publications, mainly *Festschriften* presented to colleagues, which are not easily accessible.¹ However, they form a thematic unit and as such they were approached one by one from a unified point of view, which amounted to a new overall interpretation. Therefore it has seemed suitable to present them together in order to enhance the significance of this type of magic literature at Ugarit, a literature so overwhelmingly present in the Mesopotamian world. The dependence of the Ugaritic texts on this literature is clear in many a respect, but even so clearly differentiating features are evident.²

A series of contrasted digital photographs have been provided in order to facilitate the epigraphic control of those sometimes badly damaged and fragmentary texts. The photographs of Ugaritic texts were taken in the Damascus National Museum on the first days of March 2011 by professional photographers (Mr Fansa Saad and Mr Dibbo ed-Dibbo) under the author's personal supervision, who took advantage of this opportunity to collate the controversial readings. The quality of these photographs means that hand-copies of the texts are unnecessary. Nevertheless, they have been included, and were made by my friend and colleague at the I.P.O.A., Prof. Lluís Feliu, an Assyriologist who has experience in copying Sumero-Akkadian texts. His copies are far better than mine. To him I express my sincere thanks. In contrast, no hand-copies of the Akkadian texts are provided, since the present circumstances do not allow a personal collation of the tablets and the photographs are not satisfactory enough for this purpose.³ The reader can use the hand-copies provided by Nougayrol and Arnaud in their text editions.

The aim of this presentation is to provide a kind of monograph or handbook of the Ugaritic ritual magic incantations against impending dangers

1 See "Bibliography" for details. All these studies, except that of KTU 1.178 [RS 92.2014], were already dealt with in *Canaanite Religion* (1999/2004); this treatment has now been superseded by this new analysis that will be summarized in the forthcoming third edition of this work.

2 The term "conjunction" has been avoided in this context, since in English it seems to have a connotation of "summoning up a ghost"; see in this regard Scurlock, J. 1999:77, n. 49. Instead, Spanish "conjuro" corresponds to English "incantation", as does German "Beschwörung".

3 The photographs of all the Akkadian texts were provided by the "Maison de l'Orient" (Lyon) and also by the Damascus Museum. However, those of tablets RS 94.2178 and 94.2964 are not published, respecting in this way the priority right of the forthcoming official edition of the complete set of Akkadian tablets from the RS seasons 1994–2002.

(mainly snakebite) and anti-witchcraft texts, placing all of them in the general context of ancient Near Eastern magic literature. As an illustrative supplement, some additional articles and philological notes have also been provided, that deal with aspects approaching those touched in the texts analysed. On the contrary, the presentation of the divinatory and prophylactic texts, like KTU 1.114, has not been included, since they have all already been dealt with in *Canaanite Religion according to the liturgical texts of Ugarit*⁴ and nothing significantly new is available.

As for the Akkadian incantation texts from Ugarit, I completely agree with Clemens' critical assessment of the "irrelevance" and "neglect" these have experienced among the scholars who have dealt with this kind of literature.⁵ I have always been in favour of looking at Akkadian prototypes to obtain a reliable understanding of the genre and my interpretation of KTU 1.96, put forward in 1992, is a good example of this.⁶ It is true that I have never dealt with those texts nor have included them in the corresponding section of *Canaanite Religion*, as this work was limited to the consonantal texts. Nevertheless, I took into account, somewhat intensively, the most important of them in the latest revision of KTU 1.96.⁷

Consequently, I decided to complement the studies on the incantation texts in alphabetic Ugaritic with those in Akkadian as well, in an attempt to give a provisional response to Clemens' complaint:

no comprehensive study of the incantations discovered at Ras Shamra exists, although they represent with the letters and legal documents one of the most readily comparable genres for which publications exist in both languages. Thus, the issue of the relationship between the Ug. and Ug.-Akk. documents of this genre has scarcely arisen. Due to the content of incantations, typically including both mythological and ritual material in varying proportions, the exact extent and composition of the Ug. incantation corpus has never been defined rigorously, which represents one precondition for such a comparison; as a result, studies of such texts tend to be selective and to distribute them in different publications.⁸

For the reading and interpretation of these texts, which is not directly within my competence,⁹ I initially made use of the new edition (transcription, transla-

⁴ See Del Olmo Lete, G. 2014:290–304 ("Religion and Magic").

⁵ See Clemens, D.M. 2001:577–605.

⁶ On the presence of the Mesopotamian tradition in the Ugaritic incantation texts see Clemens, D.M. 2001:731, 746–747.

⁷ See Del Olmo Lete, G. 2010a.

⁸ See Clemens, D.M. 2001:597–598, 1114ff.

⁹ After following an Akkadian introductory course given by Prof. Karlheinz Deller (Rome, 1964), my personal study of the Akkadian grammar and syllabary allows me to read transliterated texts and to check the various values of the cuneiform signs.

tion, commentary and hand copy) of the main Ug.-Akk. incantation texts (fifteen in number) published by D. Arnaud.¹⁰ In many respects, it is an improvement on the first pioneer collations and hand copies provided by J. Nougayrol in *PRU III* and *Ugaritica V* and *VI*. But besides that, I could not do without taking a fresh look at these texts on the basis of the new set of photographs kindly put at our disposal by Dr Valérie Matoïan, Director of the *Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée (Mission de Ras Shamra-Ugarit)* (texts from the “La Maison d’Ourtenu”) and by Mme Muyassar Fattal Yabrudi, chief curator of the epigraphic archives of the Damascus Museum (the rest of the texts), since direct collation of the tablets is out of the question at the moment. The task (first-hand transcription and translation with philological commentary) was carried out by my friend and colleague Ignacio Márquez Rowe, researcher in the Ancient Near East division of the CCHS/CSIC (Madrid), an internationally recognised expert in the Akkadian of Ugarit. Starting from his translation and transliteration, the content of the texts was set in the general perspective of the Ugaritic incantation texts and practice.

In this connection, one thing becomes apparent: in spite of the manifold correlations and lexical loans, the two sets of texts maintain a clear-cut independent structure and set of mythological motifs, as well as their own pantheons. We have not come across any Ugaritic consonantal text that could be taken as a translation from a known Akkadian prototype. In this connection, the role that these Akkadian texts could have played in Ugaritic religious praxis (as was the case of the ritual texts in Hurrian) remains a debatable issue.¹¹

In any case, it is hoped that the combined presentation of all these texts in this monograph will be useful for those interested in the subject.

I do not want to close these introductory remarks without expressing once again my deepest gratitude to my above-mentioned friends, Mme Yabroudi, Dr Matoïan, Dr Márquez Rowe and Prof. Lluís Feliu, for their invaluable help in the completion of this work. I am also indebted to the anonymous readers for their valuable feedback. In this connection I must thank particularly the SANER editor, Prof. Gonzalo Rubio, who kindly accepted the book in the series and helped me to cope with the editorial requirements. In his turn Dr. Watson has carried out the reading and correction of the language of the original, offering at the same time some very interesting insights for which all I feel particularly indebted. Of course, any possible weakness in this regard is my own responsibility.

¹⁰ See Arnaud, D. 2007.

¹¹ See in this connection Clemens, D.M. 2001:115.

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Introduction: Magic and Witchcraft

1 The Mesopotamian starting-point

From the immense quantity of Akkadian texts, a large series emerges that deals with the kind of intervention carried out by agents able to *induce harmful effects* on man, while others show the power to interfere with such harmful effects and *annul them*.¹ Usually this sort of intervention is considered the “world of witchcraft/magic”, with two opposing types of agent: the *sorcerer/witch* (*kaššāpu/kaššāptu*)² and the *magician/exorcist/physician* (*mašmašu, āšipu + asû*). According to the nature of the effect produced, an initial global distinction should be made between: witchcraft or so-called “black magic”, sorcery (*kispû*; Sp. “brujería”), and “white magic” (*āšipûtu*; Sp. “magia”), consequently between the sorcerer/witch and the magician, according to the modern anthropological pattern. With the first sort of agent collaborate the “evil spirits”, who cannot be either prayed to or appeased; with the second, “some gods”, specialised in this kind of situation. This antagonistic rivalry sets open the primordial ambiguity of the “supernatural” world with two opposed “divine” systems of forces at work.³ The “evil spirits” and *genii* are divine by origin, what means that have been “created” by the supreme creator god and are under his control, but nevertheless are “evil” and harmful by nature and activity, which they carry out in an autonomous way. This antinomy reflects the basic experience of human world and the unavoidable aim to overcome it.

On the other hand, one must bear in mind that the domain of “magic” in Mesopotamia, as we will see, has an enormous number of texts that is missing from Ugarit, in both absolute and relative terms. Moreover, Mesopotamian magic has a mythico-cosmological conceptual foundation apparently absent

¹ See Abusch, Tz., Schwemer, D. 2011:1ff.

² For a detailed analysis of the terminology in this connection (*ēpišu/ēpištu, bēl/bēlet dabābi; ipšû/upšāššû, ruḥû/rusû*, etc), as well as with the various kinds of witchcraft (*zikurudû, kadabbedû, dībalû, zīru, rāmu, ušburrada*, ... and the corresponding anti-witchcraft *namburbi* rituals and amulets, anti-ghost rituals and rituals for soothing the anger of the gods, etc.) see Abusch, Tz., Schwemer, D. 2011:2–5, also 11, 14–16, 17–20; for multiple agents of witchcraft see Schwemer, D. 2007:76, 82f., 204, 249–250, 277–278. On the *namburbi* texts, see also Maul, St.M. 1994; 1998–2001; 1999. Most of these terms are mentioned in the so-called *Exorcist's Manual*. For the stereotype of the witch in Mesopotamia see Abusch, Tz., Schwemer, D. 2011:4–6.

³ For precise definitions of “magic” and “witchcraft” in Mesopotamia see the works by Cunningham Gr. 1997; Abusch, Tz., Van der Toorn, K. 1999 (various studies); Abusch, Tz. 2002; Schwemer, D. 2007; Thomsen, M.-J. n.d. For a general appraisal see Bottéro, J., Haas, V. 1987–1990 (“Magie”/“Magie und Zauberei”. A. In Mesopotamien. B. Bei den Hethitern).

from Ugarit. It does not have the primordial dualism of *NAMTAR/šimtu*, “fate”, and *ME/paršu*, “cosmic order”⁴. Consequently the theistic and holistic spheres are not so clearly distinguished and the intervention of the concomitant agents (*genii* and demons) is very much restricted, although not altogether absent (*ltn* and company, *ytpn*, *āklm/ġzzm*, *ḥby(?)*, ...).⁵

Demons or evil spirits (e.g. *lamaštu*; the “seven Demons”)⁶ act on their own or collaborate with warlocks/wizards and witches in carrying out the evil “machinations” (*upšāššū*) that affect their, in principle, innocent victims, as has been pointed out. Also to counteract such effects there are specific deities. Leaving aside the supreme god (*Anu*), from whom this twofold system of forces comes and who is thought to control them, the fight against witchcraft (actually taken very seriously as an objective cosmic system of forces) is considered a question of “knowledge”⁷ and consequently placed under the patronage of the god of wisdom, *Ea-Enki*. This god, in turn, delegates this function to his epicene son/daughter *Asalluḫi*, a deity who has his epiphany in the *edin*, the steppe (see RS 17.155:rev.14’)⁸, the proverbial habitat of demons and evil spirits. These deities are in possession of the effective incantation formulae that they transfer to the *āšipu*, the recitation of which is an essential part of the ritual performed to break free from witchcraft attacks. The father-son relationship in this connection gives way to a topical dialogue in which *Asalluḫi* resorts to *Enki*, asking him to bestow the requisite *knowledge* to solve a difficult effect of witchcraft. The answer is invariably that he has already communicated to his son everything that he knows, so that *Asalluḫi* is able to carry out the required ritual and pronounce the suitable incantation formula.⁹ This is sometimes expressly defined as “divine”, the property of such and such god, to warrant its efficacy. Another very significant deity in this context is *Šamaš*, also a wisdom deity, the supreme judge from whose sight nothing escapes. He

⁴ See in this respect the illuminating paper by Binsbergen, W. van, F. Wiggermann. 1999, in particular pp. 21–23 and 28 for a very well set out summary articulating all these elements. Witchcraft may interfere by changing the *šimtu* of a person by way of a bad “omen”; see Abusch, Tz., Schwemer, D., 2011:7. In this connection, the treatment by Schmitt, R. 2004:80–83, must be taken with caution.

⁵ See below pp. 205ff. on the coordination of the two systems at work in Ugarit according to KTU 1.100 and 1.107.

⁶ See Abusch, Tz., Schwemer, D. 2011:6; Geller, M. J. 2007. In general, Van der Toorn, K. 2003:61–83.

⁷ See Lenzi, A. 2008; however he does not deal with this topic in the context of magic.

⁸ See *infra* p. 51/54; Lambert, W.G. 1999:293, 295. In the later period *Marduk* assumed *Asalluḫi*’s role.

⁹ See *infra* p. 185; for the gods invoked in these texts see Abusch, Tz., Schwemer, D. 2011:21–22.

is prayed to and invoked, since the victim's bad situation is viewed as a trial in which he is unjustly accused and condemned, and therefore “punished”. His liberation is considered an act of justice for him and of the conviction of his evildoer enemy, the warlock or witch on whom the evil induced must return. *Girra*, the god of fire, can also act as an assistant of *Šamaš* in amending the situation, as can other gods.¹⁰

2 “Incantation”: a definition

Leaving aside any generic discussion on the nature of *magic*,¹¹ we are going to focus on the kind of text that documents the aforementioned contrast of forces. Such texts are most often called “incantation texts”, bearing in mind that “incantation” (ÉN, *šiptu*) properly refers to the “magical formula” they include, the recitation of which brings about the magician's victory over the sorcerer/witch.¹² The classification of a text as an *incantation* is determined by a series of parameters present in these texts clearly singled out as such and that consequently may be taken as prototypes of the “genre”.¹³ The most conspicuous examples in this regard can be found in large collections such as *Maqlû* (“burning”, to destroy) and *Šurpu* (“burning”, to purify)¹⁴ along with the modern *corpora* of such texts.¹⁵ The following parameters seem to be decisive. First of all, the mention of the *divine agent*, who is asked to intervene

10 See in this regard Maul, St.M. 1999:124, 129; Finkel, I.L. 1999:220–222: “Gula, ‘you are a physician, an omen expert, a healer o Gula!’”; also the ancestors (*ilī bītim*) can be involved; see Van der Toorn, K. 1999:145f. In the anti-witchcraft performance “the personal god” was to have a special role; see later. For a reconstructed staging of such a performance see Abusch, Tz., Schwemer, D. 2011:1–2.

11 See in this connection the splendid explanation by Van Binsbergen, W., Wiggermann, F. 1999:1–34.

12 We speak then of “incantation” in the case of magic texts containing a formula, more or less well defined, against an aggression caused by a unjust agent; otherwise it is “therapeutic magic” for an illness that has not been maliciously induced. Then there will normally be a prescription without a formula, although trust in its “magic” efficacy will be also present. See in this regard Abusch, Tz., Schwemer, D. 2011:22.

13 For a detailed structural analysis of the incantation texts see Cunningham, G. 1999:7; for “The formation of the Some Witchcraft Incantations” see Abusch, Ts. 2002:197ff.

14 See Reiner, E. 1970:2–3; Abusch, Tz., Schwemer, D. 2011:6.

15 For *Maqlû* see the standard edition by Meier, G. 1967 and the critical study by Abusch, Tz. 2002:99–292 (Part II/III: The Nature and History of *Maqlû* / Meaning: The Religious and Intellectual Setting of *Maqlû*). For *Šurpu*, see the brief and classical edition by Reiner, E. 1970 (“A Collection of Sumerian and Akkadian Incantations”). In this context the *namburbi* series must also be taken into account; see Maul, St.M. 1994.

against the evil mentioned in the text. This god must also be appeased, since he may be hostile and the main agent of the evil suffered, inflicted either as a punishment for sin or merely by a random decision.¹⁶ Consequently, witchcraft, originally autonomous, becomes incorporated into the world of religion. Mention of this god gives way to *mythological developments* or the commemoration of the exploits and power of the deity. This is an almost unavoidable motif, present in the incantation texts, making them into polemical texts, opening up the primordial or cosmic antagonism that opposes the forces of good and evil, in a confrontation that involves the gods. The *human protagonists*, the exorcist and the victim, instead, may be anonymous, but even so always taken for granted. They are the ones who will recite the incantation.¹⁷ In turn, the patient will count on the assistance of the *patron gods* of magic, mentioned above, sometimes implicitly. Therefore, the presence of *prayer*¹⁸ and invocation of that deity (in opening or closing hymnic sections) will be typical in such texts. But above all, the mention of the counterpart or *antagonist* of the divine agent mentioned, the evildoer, the *sorcerer* or more frequently the *witch*, the actual agent of *black magic*,¹⁹ will be as significant as that of the divine agents in defining the text as “incantation”. The witch can inflict any kind of suffering on her victim by means of any kind of *ipšū/upišū/upšāššū* sorceries and machinations. Also, by stirring up the anger of his personal god against him, above all by means of unjust accusations and slanders that deprives him of divine favour.²⁰ The *description of the evil* to be overcome, the actual *effects* caused by the intervention of the evildoer, as well as a description of its immediate cause (snakebite, illness, but also “curse” and

16 See Cunningham 1997:3 and *passim*. The individual in particular may be under the effects of a “curse” incurred by the transgression of a taboo. The series *Šurpu* deals mainly with this kind of evil and its “absolution”. See Reiner, E. 1997:13ff. (Tablet II).

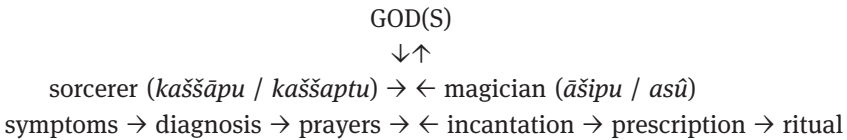
17 See Reiner, E. 1970:4; Geller, M.J. 2000:242–254, for the edition of the *Exorcist’s Manual*; on prospective victims, above all the king (in this regard the ritual *Bit rimki* is prototypical), see Abusch, Tz., Schwemer, D. 2011:4, 11, 15, 22.

18 See in this regard Kunstmann, W. 1968; Abusch, Tz. 2002:90; Abusch, Tz., Schwemer, D. 2011:18ff. (incantations and *Šu’ila* prayers; incantations and hymnic sections), 21 (prayer as an element of an anti-witchcraft text). Therefore, magic was finally under the control of the great gods in Babylonia; see Van Binsbergen, W., Wiggermann, F. 1999:24.

19 On “black magic” in Syria-Palestine see Loretz, O. 2000:261–287; for witchcraft in general see Abusch, Tz. 2002:66; for the witch in particular, Abusch, Tz., Schwemer, D. 2011:4–6. Sometimes the evil may be caused by the evil spirits and the ghosts of a deceased person, which is another sort of witchcraft. Schwemer, D. 1999:6–7, considers the designation “black/white magic” as inappropriate for Ancient Mesopotamia. In general, such designation has become obsolete among the scholars.

20 See Abusch, Tz., Schwemer, D. 2011:7, 21. and *infra* pp. 183f.

bad “omen”),²¹ may accompany the textual *formula*, the actual “incantation”, the recitation of which will ensure the solution of the problem. The formula will be accompanied by the *ritual* or prophylactic action, the moment for the *asû* to act.²² Consequently, combined anti-witchcraft activity by the *āšipu* and *asû* became a ritually recognised and legitimate form of dealing with a widespread belief fully incorporated in the accepted religious and mythical ideology, thus avoiding adjudication on an illegal activity that would be very difficult to prove in a court of law. These parameters are very clear in Mesopotamian literature, where this kind of text is prominent. There the sequence of these parameters is quite fixed and includes also, as a very important element, the *diagnosis* by the *āšipu* of the impending evil and its causes. In fact, it is the diagnosis²³ that gives way to the incantation formula, also the task of the *āšipu* or magician, who has received it from the patron gods of magic. On the contrary, in the meagre set of Ugaritic texts at our disposal, these parameters are all jumbled together.²⁴ We can arrange them as follows:



The description of the symptoms affecting a patient usually comes first (?) in Mesopotamian anti-witchcraft texts (“If a man ...”). It is followed by the diagnosis, which repeatedly explains that they are the result of a sorcerer’s intervention (“this man is bewitched ...”),²⁵ sometimes specifying the kind of black magic method used (“he has eaten, drunk ...”).²⁶ Occasionally, divination will be needed to ascertain the causes.²⁷ After having clarified the situation, the magician (*āšipu*) proceeds to remedy it by invoking the help of the gods, those

²¹ See Abusch, Tz., Schwemer, D. 2011:6–7, for the various kinds and ways of evil-doing.

²² See Abusch, Tz. – Schwemer, D. 2011:14. On the polarity *āšipu/asû*, see Scurlock, J. 1999:69–79; Abusch, Tz. 2002:5–6; and Abusch, Tz., Schwemer, D. 2011:8ff., on the interweaving of the various elements of the incantation text, particularly on the distribution of ritual and prescription in the therapeutic closing part.

²³ See Schwemer, D. 2007:65ff. (the relationship between diagnosis and therapy: 180–193; therapy and rituals: 194ff.); Abusch, Tz., Schwemer, D. 2011:8–10, 12.

²⁴ For the division and development of the three stages (demon, personal god, witch) in an urban and tribal society see Abusch, Tz. 2002:53–54.

²⁵ See Schwemer, D. 2007:69ff.; Abusch, Tz., Schwemer, D. 2011:10, 12.

²⁶ See Thomsen, M.L. n.d.: 51ff.

²⁷ See Thompson, M.L. n.d.:57 (techniques of the *barû*).

particularly involved in situations of this kind. Several times this invocation or prayer forms part of the actual incantation formula, known only to the magician. The repetition or recitation of this formula will resolve the problem.²⁸ Afterwards, the incantation will normally be accompanied by the application of a remedy, when the role of the *asû* comes into play (ingestion of plants, rubbing with their juice, etc.), and by purification rituals. Frequently the performance of certain destructive ritual actions (washing, burning, burying, handling and smashing figurines and amulets, mostly of the witch, etc.: “Bildzauberritual”) takes place a number of times before Šamaš, followed by the appropriate offering to the gods.²⁹ As a consequence, the ritual becomes a means of combating sorcery. A motif that frequently accompanies these symbolic rituals is the prayer for turning the sorcery back onto the sorcerer/witch as a punishment.³⁰ Still under the “magic” intervention of the gods the “sorcery” may suffer itself the intended harm. As for the systematic differentiation of those moments in the structure of the incantation texts, it is worthwhile mentioning the separation of the two moments – word and gesture, formula and ritual – that is applied in the *Maqlû* collection: the first eight tablets include the incantations with all the textual elements that surround them, while the rituals are collected together in the ninth tablet, using *incipits* to refer to the corresponding incantation formula.³¹

Therefore, the identification of an incantation text in Akkadian presents no problems, especially as we have well-known collections of such texts. They are also to be found in the periphery: in Ebla³², in Emar³³, and even in Ugarit³⁴. We can even advance a definition centered on the *recitative* part as its more decisive element, which sets the whole process in motion, the aim of the divine story on which the efficacy of the remedy depends. An “incantation is a formula of 1) divine origin, known only to the gods and revealed by them, effective against 2) an evil inflicted on or incurred by an individual, resulting in 3) the destruction of that evil and of the evildoer (or the absolution of the sin

28 See Abusch, Tz. 2002: 5ff. The incantation is essential for the *āšipu*, but marginal for the *asû*.

29 See Thomsen, M.L. n.d.:58ff; Abusch, Tz., Schwemer, D. 2011:21, 23f.

30 See among other testimonies Thomsen, M.L. n. d.: 61f.; Abusch, Tz., Schwemer, D. 2011:20f.

31 See Abusch, Tz. 2002:15ff., 97ff. In *Šurpu* the situation seems to be the opposite, the first tablet being the “Ritual-tablet”; see Reiner, E. 1970:1.

32 See Krebernick, M. 1984.

33 See Cohen 2009:130f.

34 See Arnaud, D. 2007:55–99.

that aroused divine anger) by means of 4) a remedy and ritual, also revealed by a patron god”.³⁵

In the Ugaritic incantations and anti-witchcraft texts, leaving aside the Akkadian texts which conform fairly well to the general Babylonian pattern (see *infra*: *The Akkadian Incantation Texts*), the sequence is less clear and consistent. Normally in the half-dozen Ugaritic consonantal texts that we take to be incantations proper, the elements quoted appear mixed up and sometimes are merely hinted at. KTU 1.178, for instance, begins by singling out the ritualised action, while in KTU 1.100 the application to the gods occupies the main position along with the search for the actual formula and remedy. Both elements are largely dramatised at the end of this prototypical text. On the other hand, in KTU 1.96 the agent and effect are identified and their description is embedded within the formula in such a way that the whole text has become an incantation formula. In the compilation texts KTU 1.107 and 1.169, this mixture is even more conspicuous.

3 The structure and division(s) of the genre

Temporality is the parameter that makes human existence so fragile and so exposed to any kind of danger. The present is the victim of the revealed present-past and is threatened at the same time by the opaque future, the one too obvious and the other too obscure. Faced with this situation, gods and men alike have recourse to a force that shows itself able to undo the past and illuminate the future: magic. It always presupposes the *active* intervention of man and is in principle effective by itself and consequently “atheistic”, independent of the will and power of the gods, who can also nevertheless access and control it, at least some of them: the gods of magic.

To *illuminate the future* and to foresee its threatening calamities, man has learned to read certain signs or omens (Sp. “agüero, presagio”) that in the course of time have proved themselves trustworthy in this respect. This reading is the outcome of a long apprenticeship and training, transferred and developed from generation to generation. This is the field of *prospective magic*

³⁵ For the standard sequence of these motifs see Cunningham, G. 1997:1–4, repeated afterwards with each diachronical series. However, his definition of incantation is somewhat generic and circular: “By incantation is meant any text with an opening formula, closing formula or subscript containing terms which we translate as incantation and any text of similar content” (p. 4). For the problem of the definition of “incantation” and its setting within Ugaritic literature generally, syllabic as well as consonantal, see Clemens, D.M. 2001:1114f.

or *divination*.³⁶ Naturally, the gods, who are not subjected to temporality, know the future and can reveal it to men who will receive this revelation in a *passive* way by various means. This the domain of *prophecy* (*bārūtu*), well known in the whole ancient Near East.³⁷ The diviner will read different kinds of signs (*ittu*) and accordingly develop a variety of different techniques. In Mesopotamia these were performed by the *bārû* (also *maḥḥû*) and were highly systematised as the *Manual of the Diviner*³⁸. A simple outline of the main divination genres from the point of view of the magician and of the support he uses in his praxis is as follows:³⁹

Asleep: dreams as signs:		<i>oneiromancy</i> ⁴⁰
Awake: signs from the sky:		<i>astrology/astromancy</i> ⁴¹
signs from the earth: inanimate:	water and oil:	<i>hydromancy, lecanomancy</i> ⁴²
	sticks, arrows,	
	stones, lots, dice:	<i>rhabdomancy</i> , ⁴³ etc.
	incense:	<i>libanomancy</i> ⁴⁴
animate:	foetus:	<i>teratomancy</i> ⁴⁵
	liver and lung:	<i>hepatoscopy</i> ⁴⁶

³⁶ From the extensive bibliography on the topic see: Caquot, A., Leibovici, M. 1968; Vernant, J.P. *et al.* 1974; Jeffers, A. 1996. More specific to our subject, Clemens, D.M. 2001:12ff, 1261–80 (“incantation/divination”); Van Binsbergen, W., Wiggermann, F. 1999:28 (“the secret knowledge: adivination and incantation”), 34 (“magicians, diviners and healers”); Maul, St.M. 1999:123 (“to overcome the future”), 124 (“the threat of evil and the overcoming of the fate: the ‘omen’”).

³⁷ See Stökl, J. 2012.

³⁸ See Oppenheim A.L. 1974; Williams, C., 2002 (“Signs from the sky, signs from the earth: the Diviner’s Manual revisited”); Starr, I. 1983 (extispicy mainly). For comments on it see also Van Binsbergen, W., Wiggermann, F. 1999:24–26 (“the abnormal as meaningful”). For divination in Ugarit in general see Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 1990.

³⁹ For a full description of divination genres see Maul, St.M. 2003–2005:45–88; for their classification see Koch-Westenholz, U. 1995:9–13.

⁴⁰ See Oppenheim, A.L. 1956 (*šā’īlu* / *šā’īltu*); Maul, St.M. 2003–2005:68–69; Abusch, Tz. 2002:21f., 198.

⁴¹ See Rochberg, Fr. 2010; Maul, St.M. 2003–2005:51; Van Binsbergen, W., Wiggermann, F. 1999:33; Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 1999:39–62, 165–195; Seitter, W.C. Duerbeck, H.W. 1999:281–286. For a general introduction see Koch-Westenholz, U. 1995; Brown, D. 2000; Cooley, J.L. 2013:44ff. See *infra* on KTU 1.78 and 1.96; Cooley, J.L. 2012.

⁴² See Pettinato, G. 1966; Maul, St.M. 2003–2005:83–84.

⁴³ See Maul, St.M. 2003–2005:86–88; Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2010b: 141–159.

⁴⁴ See Maul, St.M. 2003–2005:84–85.

⁴⁵ See Leichty, E. 1970; Maul, St.M. 2003–2005:62–64; Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2010:141–159.

⁴⁶ See Ebeling, E. 1972; Meyer J.-W. 1987; 1999:241–280; Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 1999:1–38; Maul, St.M. 2003–2005:69–83.

	viscera:	<i>extispicy</i> ⁴⁷
	bird flight:	<i>ornithomancy</i> ⁴⁸
signs from the netherworld		
	by conjuration of the dead:	<i>necromancy</i> ⁴⁹

The classification and interpretation of these phenomena are completely dependent on the ability of the magician/diviner, who determines the meaning and result of these “signs”. Frequently, no god is mentioned in these divination and omen texts.⁵⁰ The result of this activity is the unveiling of the future. The possibility of escaping it, the removal of the “omen”, when possible, would be the function of the “incantation”, the role of the *āšipu*.

To overcome present-past calamities, ancient man had also developed certain techniques that helped him to uncover the cause of the evil and to reverse the situation by putting things back into order. The cause may have a threefold origin: 1) divine evil spirits, demons, ghosts and even gods⁵¹ who inhabit the otherworld and rule the netherworld; 2) the evildoing fellow man;⁵² and 3) the individual himself, who through his wicked conduct has stirred up the gods’ anger against him.⁵³ While penitence, repentance and appeasement by offer-

⁴⁷ See Starr, I. 1983; Koch, U.S. 2005; Maul, St.M. 2003–2005:69–83.

⁴⁸ See Maul, St.M. 2003–2005:85–86.

⁴⁹ See Tropper, J. 1989; Loretz, O. 1993; Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 1999:205–240; Maul, St.M. 2003–2005:86–87. See *infra* on KTU 1.124.

⁵⁰ On the gods invoked in extispicy texts see Smart, I. 1983:44–60; on the “theistic” and “non-theistic” conceptions of the forces here in conflict see Van Binsbergen, W., Wiggermann, F. 1999:27ff. On Ugarit in this regard see Del Olmo Lete, G. 2014:47–49.

⁵¹ See Abusch, Tz. 2002:6ff., 290 (gods and demons), 290 (sorcerers and demons; forces of the human-divine system); Abusch, Tz., Van der Toorn, K. 1999:27; 57–68; 108–109, 296.

⁵² The “hand of man”; see Stol, M. 1999:58ff.

⁵³ A precise theology of sin is at work here, highly developed in the penitential Psalms, as is well known. Aside from direct bewitching through physical means, many incantation texts speak of “my god’s anger”, sometimes supposedly brought about by actual personal sins, but mostly assigned to a malicious and mendacious slander broadcast by a witch, whoever she may be, slander that has estranged the personal god’s favour and even the neighbours’ support; see in this regard Thomsen, M.L. 1992:11; Abusch, Tz. 1999:83ff. (“Witchcraft and the Anger of the Personal God”), 92ff. (“Sin versus Witchcraft”); Abusch, Tz. 2002: 48ff. (“Social and Religious Context and Developments”); Schwemer, D. 2007:108ff. (“das gesprochene Wort des Hexers und der Hexe”, “die Lügnerische”). Consequently, the fight against sorcery becomes a sort of judicial process before the gods, with Šamaš as the main agent, in which the cause is revised, the victim’s innocence proclaimed and the witch’s malefic sorcerous intervention, through which she has subjugated gods and demons to her evil purpose, dissolved. Once deprived of the personal god’s protection, the individual is an easy victim of witchcraft. In any case, the anger of Yahweh and of the Greek gods is a well known topic. See Jeremias, J. 2009:89–104.

ings and prayers may suffice to settle the situation in the last case, in the other two cases another cosmic force is apparent,⁵⁴ even beyond the divine power (see later), that may be used both ways: to produce harmful effects and to undo them. In fact, its agents will make use of the same procedures. These may consist, in the case of the warlock/witch, in “actions” of many kinds, but also in evil “words” (eme-ḫul // ka-ḫul, *lišānu lemuttu* / *pî lemuttu*) and “sight” (igi-ḫul, *īnu lemuttu*)⁵⁵. This situation therefore will oppose two kinds of agent in possession of such a force: the sorcerer/witch (*kaššāpu* / *kaššaptu* ...), the agent of “black magic” and the magician (*āšipu*, *asû*), the agent of “white magic”, as was pointed out above.

The sorcerer and above all his feminine counterpart, the witch, will bring about calamities on their fellow men out of unjustified bad will and hate by means of mimetic acts of contact (touching, feeding, giving to drink ...) and distant actions (sending out effects, modelling figurines⁵⁶ of the victim ...), basically transfer actions; also by words, both direct (incantation and spell) and indirect (slander, libel), or by the power of sight (the evil eye)⁵⁷. These malicious interventions will let loose the pernicious agents that will hurt the victim. In the first place, sicknesses of many types, clearly classified, and whose origin is often expressly declared to be witchcraft/sorcery (“If the man has those symptoms ... this man is bewitched”). Natural phenomena can also be induced by witchcraft. But there is a special evil that, due to the ecological conditions of ancient Near Eastern society and the peculiar symbolic weight involved, occurs frequently in the magic literature and even generates a peculiar kind of magic with its own agent (*mušlahḫu*), namely, serpents attacking and biting.

The magician will fight against those evils and evildoers, always backed by the power of the gods, recorded and invoked, first by the diagnosis of the situation and of its cause. Afterwards, by seeking to neutralise it by the destruction of the cause. In the first place, by pronouncing the incantation formula that will be a vehicle for the divine magical power; a formula only known to the gods, who will reveal it to the magician. The primary effect of

54 See Abusch, Tz. 1999:14ff.; 23ff.; and, in general, Van Binsbergen, W., Wiggermann, F. 1999, an excellent description of the conflict of cosmic forces implied in witchcraft, as stated above.

55 On these last sorcerous devices see Cunningham, Gr. 1997:104–105, 129, 140, 146, 172, 177f; Schwemer, D. 2011:6, 67f.; Abusch, Tz. 1999:56ff.; Thomsen M.L. 1992:12 and *passim*; Schmitt, R. 2004:137ff., 145ff.

56 See e.g. Schwemer 2007:113. On the general use of figurines in Mesopotamia see Braun-Holzinger, E.A. 1999:149ff.; Abusch, Tz., Schwemer, D. 2001:23.

57 See Cunningham, Gr. 1997:59; Schwemer, D. 2007:277ff.

this formula will be to bring back on the evildoer the evil he/she has induced.⁵⁸ But the incantation can also be accompanied by actions intended for the physical destruction of the witch, by means of direct actions, when possible, or otherwise by indirect symbolic actions. In this regard, the modelling of figurines of the witch, as already pointed out, and their rough handling are quite normal, as it was also a normal means of inducing sorcery by the hands of its agent.

Centuries of empirical experience have also taught the magician, in the case of sickness, to complement the word with a gesture and to combine the incantation formula with the application of a remedy. These remedies mainly comprise a blend of medicinal plants, minerals and sometimes animal ingredients, whose efficacy comes also from divine knowledge and revelation and forms part of the magical technique, this time commended to a specialist magician, the *asû*. This combination of magic and experience in dealing with human bodily processes was to last many centuries before they were emancipated from each other and it demonstrates the invasive character of religion at this stage of human history.⁵⁹ As a consequence, magical intervention was to end with a sacred ritual of some kind mainly, offerings.

This last point brings us to ascertain the opposite movement: just as ritual makes itself present in magic, magic also enters the cultic sphere. We have then to take into account *cultic magic* and the presence in the cult of ritual actions with a clear magical structure and content. In fact, it is almost impossible to separate magic from cult as common and normal expressions of religion. The same supreme act of cultic religion, sacrifice, contains and has as its objective a magical bias. Nevertheless, from the social and literary point of view, a fairly clear separating line can be drawn.

4 Towards a differentiation between magic and cult

Magic and sorcery are by definition *particular* in their addressees, they concern the individual and his or her own problems. On many occasions, the “personal

⁵⁸ The motif of “returning” evil back onto the evil-doer is a constant in the anti-witchcraft texts. See Abusch, Tz. 2002:67ff.; Schwemer, D. 2007:208ff.; *supra* n. 30.

⁵⁹ Regarding the question of the relationship between magic and religion in general, see the summary of the various opinions by Cunningham, Gr. 1997:180ff. (Malinowski, Weber, Bottéro, Douglas, Durkheim, Frazer, Lawson, McCauley), also pp. 160ff., 165ff.; and in a more systematic way in Cunningham 1999; Abusch, Tz. 2002:3–4; Schwemer, D.M. 2007:7–8; Schmitt, R. 2004:1–66. Recently Sigrist, M. 2010.

god” is even the deity involved.⁶⁰ Cult, on the other hand, is communal, even impersonal, and its object/subject is the “people, clan, community, nation”, led by its sacred officiants, their representatives, the “priests”. Of course, the individual can apply also in it to the gods, but then are prayer and private offering the normal access way. Naturally the king will be the first individual to take benefit from this magic praxis and to be protected by and against it. In fact there is a progressive political appropriation of this kind of literature to benefit of the palace.

Magic and sorcery are *concrete* in the kind of evil they face or cause, above all sickness of any sort, but also attacks by animals (scorpions and snakes), slander by a fellow evildoer, etc. In the cult, rituals aim normally at the overcoming of public and *general calamities*, above those affecting fertility and health, such as drought, pestilence and so on.

In these rituals the mythical scenery is normally the primordial fight between the gods of life against the god of death. These can also be called “demons”, but of a higher rank than the malefic *genii* of sorcery. In magic texts also the invocation and recalling of the gods’ power and primordial exploits are present as their starting point, but usually in a *concise* and allusive way. On the contrary in cultic rituals the whole mythology of primordial conflicts is developed as to take the larger part of the text. Normally there is not incantation formulas in these stories, recitation of the myths taking its place, being the incantation included in the closing description of the cultic ritual.⁶¹

Magic and sorcery are by definition *secular*. They take place outside the sacred place, the temple, normally in the victim’s house or in the “steppe”,⁶² while the cult cannot be developed outside the sanctuary, a place divinely chosen and defined. Nevertheless, as we will see later on, magic cannot operate only in a strict profane or secular sphere according to our own modern categories. In this regard, Cunningham is right when he say that incantations “complement temples as the primary place of mediation between the human and the divine”.⁶³ In this connection, Saul consulting the dead through the soothsayer or necromancer of Endor (1Sam 28:7ff.) and David consulting his god through the *’ēfōd* handled by the priest (1Sam 23:9ff.) illustrate the difference of the two mediation practices, magic and cult, as far as place and means go. In this regard, Ugaritic magic seems to be completely profane or secular, unconnected with the cult, except for the possible mention of prospective sacrifices.

⁶⁰ On the “nature” of this “god” see Abusch, Tz. 2002:48–49.

⁶¹ See Graf, F. 2001.

⁶² See Abusch, Tz., Schwemer, D. 2011:21f.

⁶³ See Cunningham, Gr. 1997: 4.

Magic and sorcery are by definition *atemporal*, depending basically on the personal vicissitudes of the individual,⁶⁴ while the cult is intrinsically regulated by a calendar that must be followed inflexibly. Outside *feasts* the gods do not receive the folk in their presence. Place and time are untouchable coordinates of the sacred. Even the rituals pertaining to life-cycle events (birth, wedding, death ...) have their own intrinsic conditioning as far as time and space are concerned.

Magic and sorcery are free and *spontaneous*. In principle anybody can become a sorcerer and a magician and the practices to be applied are plentiful and freely available. Instead, the cult is strictly regulated, the rituals are fixed and well defined, the priestly officiants are established in their office by strict rules of genealogy, gender and ethnic affiliation. Whereas priestesses are the exception in the cult, in sorcery witches are the norm.

Finally, in the cult the supreme *power of the deity* is celebrated and invoked, so that *magic power*, a force that appears *independent* and often beyond the reach of the gods, cannot be brought into competition with it. Also, cultic rituals exhibit an automatism bordering on magic. We can say that magic has crept into the cult or that it has been ritualised, so as to remain under the control of the deity. Remember the god's consulting and the divination practices carried out in the sanctuary and under the control of the priests. Divine blessing or curse, divine pardon⁶⁵ or punishment all depend normally on ethical behaviour or from the completion of cultic duties. But cultic rituals have assumed an infallible efficacy, provided that the actions are carried out according to the norms, bringing them very close to magic. But this efficacy depends intrinsically from the spiritual stance of the faithful, on his good disposition to follow and obey the claims of the divinity.⁶⁶ That is what distinguishes magic from sacrament. But also what dangerously make them close to each other.⁶⁷ Magic, on the contrary, and black magic obviously, is functionally *non-theistic* in some sense and amoral, if not immoral. It operates outside

⁶⁴ See Abusch, Tz., Schwemer, D. 2011:21.

⁶⁵ See Thomsen, M. L. 1992:6. The world is surrounded by evil from which the gods provide protection, provided sin is not present. The sorcerer/witch activates this evil, alienating divine help. Abusch, Tz. 1999:89–91. “Curse” appears to be the most elementary, formulaic, automatic and so magical, form of unleashing evil on someone, pronounced by the gods, the sorcerer and persons with power. Its opposite is “blessing”. As fixed formulae, they may be considered germinal “incantations”; see Clemens, D.M. 2001:677ff. (KTU 1.16 VI 54–58; RS 16.238: 18–22); Schmitt, R. 2004:123ff.

⁶⁶ See Cunningham, Gr. 1997: 44ff. and *passim*.

⁶⁷ In this connection, Cunningham, Gr. 1997:181, recalls that the Catholic Church includes “exorcism” among her rites and the “exorcist” among her “ministers”, although they are

the field of ethics. Only in case of a harmful effect produced by “the own god’s anger” is the personal responsibility called in cause and we will have the opportunity to meet such situation. But this moralised magic probably represents a late and syncretistic evolution stage that unites two different levels of religious behaviour.⁶⁸

We assume, then, the existence of *cultic magic* with many different rituals, but it must be clearly differentiated from the actual practice of magic.

5 Magic and Medicine

The intrusion of magic is also evident in the province of medicine. We can say that, from its very beginning, the practice of ancient medicine incorporated magical elements, and perhaps originally was purely magical, both sorcerer and magician having the same sphere of action.⁶⁹ Sickness was a question of spirits/demons,⁷⁰ powerful entities that could be overcome only by means of magical procedures. In Ugarit, this is evident in the report concerning the healing of king Kirta by the supreme god *ʾilu* (see later). But even from very the earliest times, man learned to deal with illness by means of empirical remedies taken from the plant realm. In this regard, we see how the ritual that closes most magical texts combines both elements: incantation and empirical remedy, very often said to be the fruit of secret, divine knowledge. Therefore, we find human agents of magic working together in this connection: the *āšipu* and the *asû*.⁷¹ We can even establish at Ugarit, as was the case also in Mesopotamia, a clear evolution of the genre through a sequence of four texts: KTU 1.16 V 25ff. (divine healing of *Kirta*, *infra* p. 18ff.), KTU 1.178 (magical incantation against snakebite, *infra* p. 175ff.), KTU 1.114 (empirical prescription for a cure of the effects of drunkenness, divinely guaranteed, *infra* p. 95ff.) and

“minor” ones, thus assuming the autonomous existence of an evil “demonic” force able to operate as an agent of sorcery. That is however under her divine ministry.

68 See Cunningham, Gr. 1997:179. In Finkel’s words, quoted by Van Binsbergen, W., Wiggermann, F. 1999:25, “the great mass of Mesopotamian omen material was basically non-theistic”. The whole of magic in general may be taken as an originally popular non-theistic and amoral activity, as a challenge to theistic, moral ideology. Later on, it was incorporated into the religious, even cultic system through the intrusion of the gods of magic. For the possible motif of sorcery in the Ugaritic cult see KTU 1.40:11ff., *infra* p. 103ff.

69 See Abusch, Tz. 2002:84f.

70 See Cunningham, Gr. 1997:178f. and *passim*.

71 See above.

KTU 4.767 (a simple medical prescription).⁷² From absolute magical predominance to the complete absence of magical elements, through the combination of both in different degrees of supremacy.

One feature of this kind of documentation, in which religion – magic – witchcraft with their respective agents (gods – demons – wizards – magicians) are confused, is its progressive systematisation and standardisation over the centuries. A codification that first took shape in the various types of compendia or miscellaneous tablets,⁷³ samples of which have also been found in Ugaritic, and ended with the great ritual synthesis of *Maqlû*. In this composition, magic and anti-witchcraft literature as a whole is transformed into a single, composite ritual ceremony that sanctions and takes over at the same time its power, introducing it into the official and sacral domain once and for all.⁷⁴ The political and royal significance of the process cannot be ignored.

⁷² See McGeough, K.M., Smith. M.S. 2011:604 (from Tell Taanak). Also Arnaud, D. 2007:88, for another example of pure medical prescription (RS 25.511A). And of course, the hippiatric texts provide clear evidence of a non-magical pharmacopoeia.

⁷³ See in this regard Cunningham, Gr. 1997:7f., 22f, 113; Clemens, D.M. 2001:221, n.404, 730, 733, 936–937; Abusch, Tz. 2002:11 (on the progressive erudite transformation of the incantation into hymn, prayer ...).

⁷⁴ See in this regard the work by Abusch, Tz. 2002.

The Ugaritic Gods and Magic

1 Magic and Myth

The dynamics of the Ugaritic world order appear under the control of divine agents who care for the cosmic or natural order which they have organised. So the divine and natural system of forces are intimately embedded. The natural order, the cosmos, comes out of the divine primordial source: *ʾIlū* organised it by distributing its ambits among his three primordial sons: *Môtu*, *Yammu*, *Baʾlu*. Within these ambits the rest of the gods, also sons of the primordial couple, possess their own place, either on earth or above in the sky. Those are the so called astral deities (Sun, Moon, Dawn and Dusk, the *Kaṭirātu* and the “steady Stars” [KTU 1.24:54]). Some of them, above all the Sun (*Šapšu*), collaborate with the three main deities in maintaining the tripartite cosmos. Thus nature is firm and steady, like the divine order from which it depends. Within this frame, the gods can be prayed to and propitiated by sacrifices, and they answer with their “blessing”¹, above all in respect of fertility,² the ultimate goal of the organised Ugaritic Cosmos.³ Three kinds of forces present in and controlling the reality emerge from this frame: the forces of nature, the effectiveness of the magic and the power of the gods/devils. This threefold system of forces works with complete autonomy, but at the same time show some interferences. For example, the gods can bestow the blessing of fertility upon their faithfuls, but, as we will see later on, in front of an illness all the gods, even the supreme god *ʾIlū*, may be impotent. On the contrary, there is, like in Mesopotamia, a god of magic capable of overcoming any kind of evil effect. Who is he?

a) *Kôṭaru*, mistaken for a magician

However, into this established order, from “outside”, there creeps a new force brought by a foreign deity, who is never called a “son of *ʾIlū*”, although incor-

1 A blessing may be taken as the first form of a spell or incantation, just as a “curse” is the first type of word witchcraft (*supra* p. 13, n. 65). See in this regard the classical “curse” pronounced by King *Kirta* on his rebellious son (KTU 1.16 V 54ff.). Contrast this with the “blessing” of Jacob by his father Isaac (Gn 27:27ff.) and its automatic and irreversible effect and in general the theme of “blessing” in the biblical history of Israel as well as the significance of the dialectics of “blessing/curse” in deuteronomic theology. On “curses” and “oaths” as “powerful words” and their inner force see Clemens, D. 2001:1081ff; see also Kitz, A.M. 2014.

2 Both the epic legends of *Kirta* and *Daniʾilu/ʾAqhatu* revolve around the king’s fertility obtained by a divine blessing.

3 See in this connection De Moor, J.C. 1971; Margalit, B. 1980; Del Olmo Lete, G. 1981:143ff; Sigrist, M. 2010;

porated into the national pantheon of the “seventy sons of ²*Aṭiratu*” and always ready to collaborate with gods and men. He is the god *Kôṭaru*, native to Crete (*kptr*). He can fabricate infallible weapons (maces and bows), definitive in the enterprises of gods (*Baʿlu*; KTU 1.2 III 11ff.) and men (²*Aqhatu*; KTU 1.17 V 12ff.), weapons coveted even by the gods (¹*Anatu*; KTU 1.17 IV 6ff.), as well as gorgeous furniture (KTU 1.4 I 23ff) and palaces for the deities (KTU 1.4 VI 16ff.). But they are always technical achievements to be used by others. It is their peculiar design, the know-how to set them up, not the nature of their components (material for the palace, for the bow) that is unique. This god, then, shows a degree of ability in dealing with empirical “appliances” that is higher than any other, god or man, for the purpose of facilitating his pupils in their own enterprises and neutral in regard to their evaluation from any point of view. *Kôṭaru* is therefore a god who is highly specialised in the control of instrumental activities, the “wisest” god in this regard, but fully integrated into the divine force world, like the Greek god Hephaistos. Sometimes, his activity is possibly crucial, yet secondary in the tripartite world order. In any case he cannot be assigned to the category of “magic” as its god. He works with his hands (he is the *hyn d ḥrṣ ydm*, “*Hyn* the ambidextrous craftsman” (?)), he does not make use either of incantation formulas or of magic tools, plants and so on. He is able to shape infallible weapons (like those forged by Hephaistos for Achilles) and to transform raw materials into beams and bricks. His dealings with *Baʿlu* about the building of a window in the design and construction of his palace reveal empirical and rational planning rather than a “magic” intervention. On the other hand, it is clear from KTU 1.100:45ff. that, like the other gods, he is unable to carry out a magical intervention and to dictate the appropriate spell if asked to do so. The assimilation of *Kôṭaru* to the great god *Ea/Enki* in the Akkadian version of the Ugaritic pantheon (RS 20.24:15; *Baʿlu* is assimilated to an inferior god, *Adad*) forms part of a formal and artificial literary parallelism to project their own system of religion into the great and prestigious Mesopotamian system, but not according to the same hierarchy. A simple look at the positions and roles assigned to each deity in their own respective pantheons is enough to show the equivalence to be erroneous. Nevertheless this assimilation possibly echoes the role played by *Ea/Enki* in Mesopotamian magic and incantation texts where he acts as the uncontested god of magic.⁴

⁴ See *infra* p. 210, n. 24. Consequently, the version of *kṭrm ḥbrk / dṣtk*, “*Koṭar* sei dein Beschwörer/Zauberer” (KTU 1.6 VI 49–50) by Loretz, O. 2000:279, is to be ruled out; see for example Schmitt, R. 2004:81; and DUL 353 for the various proposals. The presence of *ḥbr* in KTU 1.169:8 within the semantic field of magic is not a cogent reason, since we are dealing with different literary genres, each with its own vocabulary. For a new interpretation of the qualification *Kôṭaru* as *hyn d ḥrṣ ydm*, “*Ea* of the Artisans” see Agali-Darshan, N. 2011:4.

b) *ʾilu*, the great magician and diviner

In Ugarit, aside from *Kôṭaru*'s activity, mentioned above, we find actually in the divine world the presence of a force which, as in Mesopotamia, evades direct control of the gods. To overcome certain disfunctions of life, the majority of the gods, even the great ones, are incapable of resolving the situation, as we have said and as will be seen in KTU 1.100, discussed below. More specifically, in KTU 1.16 V 10–22, the supreme god *ʾilu* ask repeatedly whether there is any god able of curing the illness of his faithful servant King *Kirta* (*my bilm ydy mrš gršm zbln*), an illness apparently caused by another deity (*ʾAṭiratu*) in what seems to be a case of “divine anger”⁵, motivated by *Kirta*'s failure to fulfil his vow.⁶

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| | [..... wyʕn] | [.....and said] |
| 10. | <i>ltpn.ī[l.d pīd.my]</i> | Kind <i>ʾilu</i> , [the Compassionate:] |
| | <i>b ilm.[ydy. mrš]</i> | – [Who] among the gods [will remove the illness,] |
| | <i>gršm.z[bln.īn.b ilm]</i> | dispelling the [disease?] |
| | <i>ʕnyh.y[tny.ytīt]</i> | [There is no god] who answers him. He [repeated a |
| | | second and third time:] |
| | <i>rgm.my.b[ilm.ydy]</i> | – Who among [the gods will remove] the illness, |
| 15. | <i>mrš.grš[m.zbln]</i> | dispelling [the disease?] |
| | <i>īn.b ilm.[ʕnyh.yrbʕ]</i> | There is no god who an[svers him. He repeated a |
| | | fourth] and fifth time: |
| | <i>yḥmš.rgm.m[y.b ilm]</i> | – [Who among the gods] will remove the illness, |
| | <i>ydy.mrš.g[ršm.zbln]</i> | dis[pelling the disease?] |
| | <i>īn.b ilm. ʕn[yh.ytīt]</i> | There is no god who answers [him]. He repeated a |
| | | sixth and seventh time: |
| 20. | <i>yšbʕ.rgm.[my.]b ilm</i> | – [Who] among the gods will remove the illness, |
| | <i>ydy.mrš.gršm.zbln</i> | dispelling [the disease?] |
| | <i>īn.b ilm.ʕnyh</i> | There is no god who answers him. |
| | <i>wyʕn.ltpn.īl.d' pīd</i> | Then said Kind <i>ʾilu</i> , the Compassionate: |
| | <i>tb.bny.l mtbtkm</i> | – Sit/Return, my sons, on/to your seats |
| 25. | <i>lkḥt.zblk[m.]ānk</i> | on/to your princely thrones. |
| | <i>īḥtrš.wāškn</i> | I myself will act as a magician and will create, |
| | <i>āškn.ydt.[m]rš.gršt</i> | will create a she-remover of illness, a she-dispeller |
| | | of disease. |

⁵ See Abusch, Tz. 1999: 83–121, and *supra* p. 9.

⁶ See Del Olmo Lete, G. 1981:261ff; Greenstein, E.L. 1997:10; Wyatt, N. 1998a:178.

<i>zbln.rḥt[h].ymlū</i>	His palm filled with the best mud,
<i>nṣm.rṭ,t[īt].yqrṣ</i>	he pinches the clay of a potter
<i>dt.b pḥr</i>	

Possibly we have here a conflict of competence between ²*Ilu* and ²*Aṭiratu*, both supreme deities: the gods are able not only to bless men, but also to curse and afflict them.⁷ All the gods invoked, including *Kōtaru* also, we may presume, remain silent in front of a punishment inflicted by the Mother of the gods. Seven times the question is posed, but none of the gods answers it. Faced with this situation, the supreme god ²*Ilu* decides to intervene, but not through a personal decision, a “blessing”, that will counteract his wife’s “curse”. That would be ineffectual, as the two divine interventions are on the same level. Therefore, he decides to resort to a new force of a different kind with its own efficacy, to act as a god of magic. But not by delivering an incantation whose repetition by the magician would dismiss the incumbent evil. Instead, he decides take on the latter’s role and perform the ritual normally carried out by the magician (*āsū*) in Mesopotamian magic and anti-witchcraft practice. This way of acting is unusual in this ambit. In it the god of magic assures the right procedure to the human magician, but it is this one who carries it out.

Unfortunately, in this case (KTU 1.16 V 30ff.) the text is hopelessly broken and we cannot completely make out the steps ²*Ilu* follows in his intervention. But enough of it is preserved to understand ²*Ilu*’s procedure. One thing is clear: ²*Ilu* cannot solve the situation by a personal and independent decision as he does when for instance, at the request of ²*Aṭiratu* and the other gods, he establishes *Ba’lu* as the king of the gods (KTU 1.4 IV 40ff.) or cures *Kirta*’s or *Danī’īlu*’s lack of descendants, by “blessing” them (KTU 1.14 II 6ff, III 46f.; 1.17 I 34ff.: *ybrk*), in the last case through *Ba’lu*’s intercession. Now, it seems, he has to resort to the well-known magical technique of moulding a figurine. But contrary to Mesopotamian usage, the figurine is not a substitute representation either of the victim or of the witch,⁸ but an animate being,⁹ a sort of Golem,¹⁰ who will carry out the magical procedure consisting in striking the sick man’s head. In this way, the situation seems quite complicated. It exceeds divine

⁷ See above n. 1 and Lewis, Th.L. 2011:207ff. A divine curse is effective in itself and is “magical”, both powers coinciding in this case. See *infra* *Danī’īlu*’s curses.

⁸ See *supra* p. 6, 10, n. 56.

⁹ Note the similarities with the biblical account of Adam’s creation (Gen 2:7). In this narrative there are many other “magical” motifs (the tree, the snake, the word, knowledge, love ...), but they are too generic for any conclusion to be drawn.

¹⁰ See Sholem. G. 1974.351–355.

power, but the Supreme god can set in motion the force of magic, although he himself cannot perform it. Nevertheless, the text allows us a glimpse of the pronunciation of a spell or incantation by *ʾIlu*, which includes the injunction to expel the evildoer causing the illness. This is none other than the god *Môtu* who, like a “spirit/demon”, has taken possession of the king, thus providing the mythological motif that is always present in incantation texts, as we have seen.¹¹ The force of magic, then, is under *ʾIlu*’s control, but at the same time beyond his personal reach: he performs the act of healing through another agent. It is clear that at this moment the relationship between divine and magical powers, between religion and magic,¹² has become rather entangled and complex, as it was to remain for centuries.

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| 1. [m]t.dm.ḥt. šṣṭqt dt ¹ | – <i>Môtu</i> , be shattered! ¹³ <i>Šaʿtiqatu</i> , be victorious! |
| l̥.w ttbṣ.šṣṭqt | <i>Šaʿtiqatu</i> went away, |
| bt.krt.bû.tbû | in the house of <i>Kirta</i> she entered, |
| bkt.tgly.wtbû | weeping she went and entered, |
| 5. nṣrt.tbû.pnm | sobbing she penetrated inside. |
| ṣrm.tdû.mt ¹ | From the town she drove away <i>Môtu</i> |
| pdr̥m.tdû.šrr | from the city she put to flight the enemy. |
| ḥṭm.tṣmt.ptr.km | With a bar she struck, opening thus |
| zbln. ṣl. rišh | the illness out of his head. |
| 10. w ttb.trḥṣ.nn.b dṣṭ | And again and again she washed him clean of sweat, |
| npšh.l lḥm.tptḥ | his appetite for eating she opened, |
| brlth.l ṭrm | his longing for feeding. |
| mt.dm.ḥt.šṣṭqt | <i>Môtu</i> , then, was shattered, |
| dm.lân. | <i>Šaʿtiqatu</i> , then, was victorious. |

The text presents a kind of blend of incantation formulae, the application of a remedy and a description of recovery, while the procedure recalls the *malleus maleficarum* of the Middle Ages.

Even to heal his own troubles, in this case intoxication from wine, *ʾIlu* has to undergo an effective medical remedy for which apparently (the text is broken) two goddesses go searching in the fields (KTU 1.114:26–28). That remedy is valid by itself and independent from the divine power. Therefore, this is a pure pharmacological-medical text to which an episodic mythical narrative

¹¹ See above p. 1. and the probable mention of *Tunnānu* in this text line 31; see *infra* on KTU 1.82:1.

¹² See above p. 11ff., n. 59.

¹³ For the reconstruction of lines 39–52, see Del Olmo Lete, G. 1998:203; Greenstein, E.L. 1997:39; other versions are also possible. On *Šaʿtiqatu*’s function Lewis, Th.J. 2013.

has been prefixed as a *hieròs lógos* to certify the efficacy of the remedy once tested by the same god *ʾIlu*. The text can then be labelled a pharmacological *aetiology*, without any trace of incantation and magical activity, except for the knowledge the goddesses exhibit in finding the actual medicine.¹⁴

But the former is not the only “magic” intervention by *ʾIlu* that shows his inability to cope directly and personally even with some primordial (mythical) situations. Once *Baʿlu* is dead, as a consequence of his descent into *Môtu*’s *napšu* and is bewailed by *ʾIlu* himself and buried by *ʿAnatu* on the heights of *Ṣapānu* (KTU 1.6 I 17), “rumours” spread about his, namely *Baʿlu*’s, coming back to life. To be sure of the news, *ʾIlu* resorts to the well-known divination technique of *oneiromancy* (KTU 1.6 III 1ff.), formulated according to the classical syntax of omens. On this occasion, *ʾIlu* himself is the magician/diviner (*bārû*), who in this way “will know” what as a god he ignores. Magic is clearly a question of “knowledge” (*yḏṣ*).¹⁵

- | | |
|--|---|
| 2. <i>w hm.ḥy.ḏ[līyn.bṣl]</i>
<i>w iṭ.zbl.bṣl[l.ārṣ]</i>
<i>b ḥlm.ltpn.īl.d pīd</i> | – But if <i>Baʿlu</i> , “the Most Powerful”, is alive,
if the Prince, Lord of the Earth is there,
in a dream of the Kind <i>ʾIlu</i> , the Compassionate, |
| 5. <i>b ḏrt.bny.bnwt</i>
<i>šmm.šmn.tmṭrn</i>
<i>nḥlm.tlk.nbtm</i>
<i>w iḏṣ.k ḥy.ḏlīyn.bṣl</i>
<i>k iṭ.zbl.bṣl.ārṣ</i> | in a vision of the Creator of creatures
the heavens will rain oil,
the torrents will run with honey
and I will know that <i>Baʿlu</i> , the Almighty, is alive,
that the Prince, the Lord of the Earth, is there. |
| 10. <i>b ḥlm.ltpn.īl.d pīd</i>
<i>b ḏrt.bny.bnwt</i>
<i>šmm.šmn.tmṭrn</i>
<i>nḥlm.tlk.nbtm</i> | In a dream of the Kind <i>ʾIlu</i> , the Compassionate,
in a vision of the Creator of creatures
the heavens rained oil,
the torrents will run with honey |

As a god, then, *ʾIlu* is ignorant of *Baʿlu*’s fate, the definitive avatar on which life depends. He discovers it through a diviner’s technique, which in turn shows that *ʾIlu* is both god and magician at the same time or what amounts to the same, that in Ugarit the two attributes are considered as separate and independent forms of supernatural power.

The divination procedure is also applied by *ʾIlu* to ascertain whether the women he has seduced will be his daughters or his wives (KTU 1.23:35ff.),¹⁶ even if we cannot say what kind of divinatory technique is applied in this case. However, here too the formulation of the omen/prognosis is classical:

¹⁴ See later p. 95ff.

¹⁵ See *infra* p. 184ff.

¹⁶ See Del Olmo Lete, G. 1998:153; Smith, M.S. 2006:80ff.

35.*yqh.İL.mštİlm* He (²*Ilu*) took two “consecrated (ones)”,
 36. *mštİlm.l rīš.āgn.* two “consecrated (ones)” at the head of the
 cauldron,
 yqh.yš(t).b bth he took and placed (them) in his house.
 37. *İL.hṭh.nḥt.* ²*Ilu* caught hold of his sceptre,
 İL.ymn.mṭ.ydh. ²*Ilu* seized with his right hand his staff.
 yšū²⁸yr.šmmh. He raised (it), shot skyward,
 yr.b šmm, ƿsr. shot in the sky a bird,
 yḥrṭ.yšt²⁹l pḥm. he plucked it and set it on the live coals.
 İL.āṭtm.k ypt. ²*Ilu* the two women tried to seduce (saying):
 hm.āṭtm.tšḥn⁴⁰y mt. – If the two women cry: ‘Oh man, man!,
 mt.
 nḥtm.hṭk. you caught hold of your sceptre,
 mmnnm.mṭ.ydk seized with your hand your staff,
 41. *h[l]. ƿsr.thrr.l išt.* look, a bird you roasted on the fire,
 šḥrrt.l pḥmm have baked on the live coals’,
 42. *āṭ[t]tm.āṭt.İL.* the two women will be ²*Ilu*’s wives,
 āṭt.İL.w. ƿlmh. ²*Ilu*’s wives for ever.
 w hm⁴²āṭtm.tšḥn.y. But if the two women cry: ‘Oh, father, father
 ād.ād.
 nḥtm.hṭk you caught hold of your sceptre,
 44. *mmnnm.mṭ ydk.* seized with your hand your staff,
 hl. ƿsr.thrr.l išt look, a bird you roasted on the fire,
 45. *w šḥrrt.l pḥmm.* have baked on the live coals’,
 btm.bt.İL. daughters will the two be, ²*Ilu*’s daughters,
 bt.İL⁴⁶w ƿlmh. ²*Ilu*’s daughters for ever.
 w hn.āṭtm.tšḥn. And behold! The two women cried: ‘Oh, father,
 y.mt.mt father!,
 47. *nḥtm hṭk.* you caught hold of your sceptre,
 mmnnm.mṭ ydk. seized with your hand your staff,
 hl. ƿsr⁴⁸thrr. look, a bird you roasted on the fire,
 w šḥr(r)t.l pḥmm. have baked on the live coals!’
 āṭtm.āṭ[t].İL (So) the two women were ²*Ilu*’s wives,
 49. *āṭt.İL.w ƿlmh.* ²*Ilu*’s wives for ever.

These examples show that the two systems of forces appear to be differentiated, but nevertheless unified. Magic has been sublimated and becomes operative in the divine realm. Here, its anthropomorphic vision has reached its climax.

On the other hand, ⁵*Anatu*'s stratagem for killing ²*Aqhatu* (KTU 1.18 IV 17ff.)¹⁷ does not involve magic. It belongs to her competence as a winged goddess of hunting and war.

c) The King of Ugarit as a magician

In epic we also have examples, this time of strict human magic activity. *Dani'ilu* appears (KTU 1.19 I 38ff.)¹⁸ flashing a spell/incantation to the clouds in order to end drought and send rain onto the earth again:

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| 38. <i>āpnk.dnīl.mt</i> | Then <i>Dani'ilu</i> , the Raphaite, |
| 39. <i>rpl.yšly.šrpt.b</i> | adjures the clouds, |
| 40. <i>hm.ūn.yr.šrpt</i> | in the terrible heat the early rain: |
| 41. <i>tmt.r.bqz.tl.ytl</i> | – Let the clouds rain on the summer fruit, |
| 42. <i>lgnbm.</i> | let the dew drop on the grapes! |

The spell is ineffectual and consequently *Dani'ilu* goes in search of a living sign that could re-establish the hope of fertility on earth. A new incantation (KTU 1.19 II 12–25)¹⁹ is pronounced, this time accompanied by a gesture of sympathetic magic. The king mounts the donkey with the help of his daughter, who has also harnessed the animal:

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| 12. <i>y(dn) dnīl.ysb.pālth</i> | <i>Dani'ilu</i> , spurring on (the donkey), went round
the fallow lands, |
| <i>bšql.yph.bpāl.bšql[l]</i> | a stalk he saw in the fallow land, |
| <i>yph.byğlm.bšql.yhbq</i> | a stalk he saw in the untilled land. |
| 15. <i>w ynšq.āhl.ān.bšql]</i> | The stalk he embraced and kissed (saying): |
| <i>y[n]pɣ.bpāl.</i> | – If only a stalk would sprout anywhere in the
fallow land, |
| <i>bšql.ypɣ.byğlm</i> | a stalk sprout in the untilled blazing land! |
| <i>ūr.tispk.yd.āqht</i> | May the Hero ² <i>Aqhatu</i> 's hand gather you, |
| <i>ğzr.tštk.bqrbm.āsm</i> | place you inside the storehouse! |

17 See Del Olmo Lete, G. 1981:344ff., 384.

18 See Parker, S.B. 1997b: 68f.; Del Olmo Lete, G. 1998:232. The “royal” character of the “hero” *Dani'ilu* besides being literally asserted (KTU 1.19 III 46: *mlk*), is implied by his functions (KTU 1.17 V 5–8) and the “royal ideology” underlying the whole epic. A better model for this type of kingship is the domestic nature of Mycenaean monarchy; see Del Olmo Lete, G. 1981:332, 338, 359.

19 See Parker, S.B. 1997b:68f.; Del Olmo Lete, G. 1998:236–40.

- ydn(ḏn)ī(l).ysb.āklt.h.yph* *Daniʿilu*, spurring on (the donkey), went round the stubble,
20. *šblt.bāk(l)t. šblt.yḫ* an ear he saw in the stubble,
bḥmdrt. šblt.yḫ[bq] an ear he watched in the stubble,
w ynšq.āhl.ān.š[blt] the ear he embraced and kissed (saying):
tpḫ.b āklt.šblt.tpḫ – If only an ear would sprout anywhere in the
[.ḫ]mdrt stubble,
ūr.tšpḫ.yd.āqht.ḡz[r] an ear sprout in the blazing stubble!
25. *tštk.bm.qrbm.āsm* May the Hero *ʿAqhatu*’s hand gather you,
 place you inside the storehouse!

This time also the spell remains ineffectual because a superior factor obstructs its force and must first be removed: the blood of *ʿAqhatu* has been imbibed by the earth and the subsequent curse must be removed by the satisfactory burial of the victim. Instead, the spell/incantation cast against the alleged immediate agents of his son’s death is fully effective at the third attempt (KTU 1.19 II 56–III 41)²⁰.

- ṣḫb nšī[.ḫnh.w yphn.yḫd]* Raising his eyes, he saw,
b ḫrpt[.nšrm.yšū] watched eagles in the clouds.
ʿ[gh.]w yṣḫ[.kn[p.nšrm] He raised his voice and cried:
bḫl.yṭb(r).bḫl.yṭbr[.dīy.hmt] – Let *Baʿlu* break the wings of the eagles,
 let *Baʿlu* break them, the pinions!
- tqln.th(t) pḫny.ībqḫ* Let them fall under my feet,
[.kḫdḫm.w] I will rend their entrails and see
āḫd.hm.īt.šmt.hm.īt[t] if there is fat, if there is bone;
5. *ḫzm.āb[[p]]ky.w.āqbrnh* I will weep and bury him,
āšt.b ḫrt.ilm.ārṣʿ placing (him) in the cave of the earth’s gods.
b ph.rgm.l y[[x]]ṣā.b The words had not yet come out from his mouth
špth.hwt[h] from his lips the phrase,
knp.nšrm.bḫl.yṭbr that *Baʿlu* broke the wings of eagles,
bḫl.ṭbr.dīy hmt.tqʿln *Baʿlu* broke them, the pinions.
10. *tḫt.pḫnh.ybqḫ.kḫdthm.w* They fell under his feet.
[yḫd] He rent their entrails and saw
īn.šmt.īn. ḫzm.yšū.gh that there was no fat, there was no bone.
w yṣḫ.knp.nšrm.(bḫl) ybn He raised his voice and cried:
bḫl.ybn.dīy.hmt.nšrm – Let *Baʿlu* restore the wings of the eagles,

²⁰ See Parker, S.B. 1997b:72ff.; Del Olmo Lete, G. 1998:235–237.

- tpr.w dũ. b nšĩ. ʕnh.w*
yp(h)n let *Baʕlu* restore them, the pinions.
Let eagles leave and fly!
Raising his eyes, he saw him,
he watched *Hargabu*, the eagles' father.
15. *yħd.hrgb.âb.nšrm*
yšũ.gh. w yšh.knp.hr[g]b He raised his voice and cried:
bʕl.yṭb(r).bʕl.yṭbr.ḍiy[.]hwt – Let *Baʕlu* break *Hargabu*'s wings,
let *Baʕlu* break him, the pinions!
w yql.ṭht. And let them fall under my feet,
pʕny.ibqʕ.kbd[h] I will rend their entrails and see
w âħd.hm.ĩṭ.šmt.hm.ĩṭ if there is fat, if there is bone;
[ʕzm]
20. *âbky.w.âqbrnh.âšt.b ħrt* I will weep and bury him,
ilm[.ârš. b ph.rgm.l yšâ.b placing (him) in the cave of the earth's gods.
šp] The words had not yet come out from his mouth
from his lips the phrase,
th.hwth.knp.hrgb.bʕl.yṭbr that *Baʕlu* broke *Hargabu*'s wings,
bʕl.ṭbr.ḍiy hwt.w yql *Baʕlu* broke him, the pinions.
ṭht.pʕnh.ybqʕ.kbdh.w yħd He fell under his feet.
He rent his entrails and saw
that there was no fat, there was no bone.
25. *in.šmt.in. ʕzm.yšũ.gh*
w yšh.knp.hrgb.bʕl.ybn He raised his voice and cried:
– Let *Baʕlu* restore *Hargabu*'s wings,
let *Baʕlu* restore him, the pinions.
bʕl.ybn.ḍiy.hwt.hrgb Let *Hargabu* leave and fly!
tpr.w dũ. b nšĩ. ʕnh Raising his eyes, he saw her,
w yphn.yħd.šml.ũm.nšrm he watched *Šamalu*, the eagles' mother.
30. *yšũ.gh.w yšh.knp.šml*
bʕl.yṭbr.bʕl.yṭbr.ḍiy He raised his voice and cried:
– Let *Baʕlu* break *Šamalu*'s wings,
let *Baʕlu* break her, the pinions!
hyt.tql.ṭht.pʕny.ibqʕ Let her fall under my feet,
kbdh.w âħd.hm.ĩṭ.šmt. I will rend their entrails and see
(hm).ĩṭ ʕzm. if there is fat, if there is bone;
âbky.w.âqbrnh.âštn I will weep and bury him,
placing (him) in the cave of the earth's gods.
35. *b ħrt.ilm.ârš. b ph.rgm.l*
y[š]â The words did not yet come out from his mouth
from his lips the phrase,
b špth.hwth.knp.šml.bʕ[l] that *Baʕlu* broke *Šamalu*'s wings,
(ṭbr) *Baʕlu* broke her, the pinions.
bʕl.ṭbr.ḍiy hyt.tql.ṭht He fell under his feet.
pʕnh.ybqʕ.kbdh.w yħd. He rent her entrails and saw

<i>it.šmt.it.šzm.w yqḥ.bhm</i>	that there was fat, there was bone. He took from them ² <i>Aqhatu</i> ,
40. <i>āqht.yb(ky).l</i>	He wept on picking him up,
<i>lqz.ybky.wyqbr</i>	he wept an buried,
<i>yqbr.nn.b mdgt.b knrt</i>	buried him in a tomb within a sealed coffin

But once again, in this clear Ugaritic example of magical intervention by a spell/curse, the force or efficacy of the magic formula is linked to *Ba'lu*'s divine intervention: it is this god who brings down the birds. *Danī'ilu*'s curse appears to be more an entreaty or a prayer for divine help than the intervention of an autonomous and automatic system of forces relying on the capabilities of the magician.²¹ This is very like the warriors in the *Iliad*, who in moments of distress, cry out to the Olympian gods, asking for their intervention. This kind of magic was accepted (and even developed) by Jewish tradition and is taken for granted in the whole system of magical procedures absorbed by the Hebrew bible²² as prescriptions of a God from whom it is supposed derive its efficacy. Once more the two force systems seem to be combined to some extent: if the gods need to resort to magic to intervene in human affairs/misfortunes, the magician needs divine assistance in order to display his power.

In Mesopotamia, also, a spell/incantation²³ derives its efficacy from the gods of magic who actually “know” and “shape” them: the incantations are “theirs”, not the magician's. But once the correct formula is handed over, it automatically takes effect when pronounced by him. It is interesting to mention, in this connection, the epithet of *Dan'ilu*'s daughter, *Puḡatu* the magician, namely *ydṣt hlk kbbm*, “she who knows the course of the stars” (KTU 1.19 II 7)²⁴. It anticipates by many centuries the close connection between magic and astrology that was to reach its climax in the Seleucid era. In turn, this has long been an explicit feature of Mesopotamian magic and anti-witchcraft incantation texts. The astral deities, especially Šamaš, preside over the magical rituals and receive the prayers of the *āšipu*.

To put an end to this intervention of the magician, Sheikh/King *Danī'ilu*, he utters two more curses/imprecations. These are directed at the eagles who may intend to disturb ²*Aqhatu*'s sleep (KTU 1.19 III 42–45a) and at the two towns (KTU 1.19 III 45b–56), apparently the scenes of the crime, and so responsible for it (!), although it is plain that the plot came from ⁵*Anatu*. Also King

21 On the relation between incantation and prayer, see *supra* p. 4, n. 18.

22 See Del Olmo Lete, G. 2008c: 231–232.

23 The word “conjunction” is avoided in this connection; see above p. v, n. 2.

24 See *infra* on “knowledge” in the context of magic.

Kirta, after being cured by magic, will curse his rebellious son with an imprecation (KTU 1.16 VI 54–58) in which the same breaking (*yṭbr*) force of the god *Ḫôrānu* and *ʿAttartu* is invoked.²⁵

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>w yṣny.krt ṭṣ.yṭbr
55. ḫm.y bn.yṭbr.ḫm
rīšk. ṣṭrt.šm.bṣl
qdqdk' tqln.b gbl
šntk.b ḫpnk.w ṭṣn</p> | <p>And answer did Noble <i>Kirta</i>:
– May <i>Ḫôrānu</i>, oh my son, break,
<i>Ḫôrānu</i> may break your head,
<i>ʿAttartu</i>, <i>Baʿlu</i>'s name, your skull!
May you run swiftly to the limit of your years,
in the prime of your force and be humbled!²⁶</p> |
|---|---|

The curious thing is that this imprecation formula is also literally put in *Baʿlu*'s mouth (KTU 1.2 I 7–9) in his first approach in the primordial fight against his enemy, the god *Yammu*. It is evidently a projection of behaviour in human sphere. Of course, this imprecation is ineffectual: the two invoked deities have no power in the divine realm. To overcome his godly enemy *Baʿlu* needs the help of the technician god, *Kôṭaru*, who provides him with the arms suitable for breaking the equilibrium of forces between the two great gods, once again recalling Vulcan's intervention in the *Illiad*.

However, this imprecation formula is not by itself a magic procedure; simply, as in *Danīʿilu*'s invocation of *Baʿlu*'s intervention against the eagles, it represents a resource to divine punishing intervention against the evildoers. It participates rather of the nature of a passionate *prayer*, its efficacy hanging from the divine justice and benevolence towards his faithful servant. It mentions, nevertheless, a God, *Ḫôrānu*, who will later appear much in contact with the magic world. And at his side the goddess *ʿAttartu* is also invoked, as if magic was the affair of a divine couple.²⁷

On the contrary, also in the epic Legend of *Kirta* we have a good example, although fragmentary, of a magic incantation and ritual against dryness induced by the king's illness (KTU 1.16 III 1–4a.), as was the case with the *ʿAqhatu*'s murder. In a context of lamentation, persistently repeated by the king's sons, the moment comes to resort to the magic sympathetic intervention. It is to be assumed that the person who carries it out is the chief exorcist or magician of the kingdom as the circumstances demand it. Such intervention is formed by a ritual enactment:

²⁵ See in this regard Lewis, Th.J. 2011.

²⁶ See Del Olmo Lete, G. 1998:205, nn. 111–114 for this and other possible versions.

²⁷ See below on this question, pp 32f.

- | | | |
|----|---|---|
| 1. | <p><i>yšq.šmn.b šṣ.w y</i>
 <i>ṣn.tr.ārṣ.w šmm</i>
 <i>sb.l qšm.ārṣ</i>
 <i>l ksm.mhyt.</i></p> | <p>He poured oil in/from a plate,
 looked around earth and sky,
 turning round to the edges of the earth,
 to the extremes of the prairies.</p> |
|----|---|---|

This libation and *circumspectio* are followed by the solemn delivery of the incantation formula (KTU 1.16 III 4b–11), in the shape of a doxology in honour of the rain god, *Baʿlu*:

- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| 5. | <p>.....ṣn
 <i>l ārṣ.mṭr.bṣl</i>
 <i>w l šd.mṭr. ṣly</i>
 <i>nṣm.l ārṣ.mṭr.bṣl</i>
 <i>w l šd.mṭr. ṣly</i>
 <i>nṣm.l ḥṭṭ.b ṣn</i></p> | <p>A source for the earth is <i>Baʿlu</i>'s rain,
 And for the field the Most High's shower!
 Simply a delight for the earth is <i>Baʿlu</i>'s rain,
 And for the fields the Most High's shower!
 A delight it is for the grain in the furrows,</p> |
| 10. | <p><i>bm nrt.k smm</i>
 <i>ṣl.tlm k. ṣṭrṭr</i></p> | <p>in the ploughed field it is like a perfume,
 on the hills it is like a diadem!²⁸</p> |

The outcome was not successful and resorting to the assembly of the gods seems inescapable (KTU 1.6 IV 1ff.), provoking *Ilu*'s intervention that has been already commented on.

On the other hand, in the ritual texts a formula is used repeatedly that, as I suggested some time ago, referred to the *royal function* of the cultic oracle. It is *ṭṭb rgm*, “the transmission of an answer”.²⁹ The hypothesis has not found great acceptance and remains in any case simply a working hypothesis. A text such as KTU 1.124³⁰ could to a certain extent support it, in the wake of *ʾIlu*'s behaviour in KTU 1.6 III 1ff. But in any case it would belong to the divinatory genre that lies outside our interest for the moment.

2 Magic at Ugarit

a) Classification of Texts

Aside from these allusions from myth and epic, Ugaritic ritual “literature” presents us with a group of records, small in comparison with the Mesopota-

²⁸ See Del Olmo Lete, G. 1988:199f.; Greenstein, E.L. 1997:35–36.

²⁹ See Del Olmo Lete, G. 2014:421, index: oracle.

³⁰ See *infra* pp. 97ff.

mian amount of texts of this sort, which confirm the actual magical practices in this society. They belong mostly to the category of “divination”, of which we spoke in the previous chapter and will not occupy us her; others are of no interest to us. In these texts, the absence of gods is paradigmatic, as was pointed out above.³¹ In fact, divination turns out to be the sort of magical practice that has the most complete autonomy of this system with respect to the deities. Now, leaving apart those divination texts and the quoted glimpses found in the mythological and epic literature we have some, very few indeed, texts that represent magical intervention against past-present calamities that have not affected already, but that may also affect someone in the future. In them the question does not concern knowledge of this future, but the prevention and above all the release of an impending evil. These texts have been collected and commented upon in the following pages, intended as a kind of *Ugaritic Guide to Prophylactic Magic/Incantations*: some fifteen to seventeen in syllabic Akkadian and six in consonantal Ugaritic (among them, texts against snakebite are prominent).

The Akkadian texts may be classified as follows:

- a) Miscellaneous incantation texts: RS 17.155 (evil spirits, head disease, fever, embrocation, dog bite, see also RS 15.152, RS 34.021); RS 25.129+ (vomiting, diarrhea, paralysis, red disease); RS 25.422 (all diseases); RS 94.2178 (fever, sick eye); RS 94.2067 (gall bladder disease);
- b) Texts with one or more incantation against a specific harm or danger: RS 20.006 (sick eye); RS 25.418 (sick eye); RS 25.420+ und RS 25.513 (against Lamashtu; cf. also RS 25.457); RS 25.436 (for a woman in labour, see also RS 17.081).
- c) Fragmentary unclassifiable texts (RS 16.416bis; RS 20.161+; RS 25.418; RS 25.422; RS 25.436; RS 25.511A; RS 25.513; RS 34.021; RS 94.2067; RS 94.2964)
- d) Assimilated texts: RS 25.457 (an amulet).

These texts follow Babylonian models, some of them are even copies of texts that are classical in this tradition. Their structure and formulary are typically Babylonian. The gods present and invoked in them are those mentioned in the previous chapter in this connection.

The Ugaritic texts fall into two categories:

- a) Incantations against snakebite: 1) the canonical incantation text (KTU 1.100); 2) effectual incantation texts (KTU 1.82; 1.107; 1.178).
- b) Anti-witchcraft incantations: 1) a miscellaneous incantation text (KTU 1.169); 2) an incantation text against the “evil eye (sorcerer/witch)” (KTU 1.96).

31 See in this connection Del Olmo Lete, G. 2014:47ff.

To some extent, these texts imitate the Babylonian genre and above all borrow motifs and lexical formulae from that tradition. They are under its influence, but do not translate any known Babylonian text. They show an autonomous tradition of their own. And in particular these texts appeal to their own gods and their avatars.

The Ugaritic word for an incantation formula seems to be *mnt* (var. *mntn* [?]) corresponding to Akkadian *šiptu*, Sumerian EN₂. The word occurs several times in KTU 1.100.³²

b) The Ugaritic God of Magic

The Akkadian Ugaritic texts feature a pantheon similar to the one that appears in the Mesopotamian incantation texts. We refer in this connection to the explanations given in the previous chapter.

As for the Ugaritic consonantal texts, we have seen that the only Ugaritic god who acts as a magician in the *mythological* texts is the supreme god *ʾilu*. It is he who controls this system of forces, although indirectly, by “magical”, autonomous means. The other gods display their divine powers to benefit or harm humans; but they declare themselves unable to remove the evil effects that have happened to men and nature, when motivated by other divine interventions and the fatal consequence connected with them. Is *ʾilu*, then, the Ugaritic god of magic? As we shall see later on,³³ *ʾilu* is also declared unable, like the other principal gods, to defend men against snakebite: he too is ignorant of the required formula. Therefore, in our quest for an answer to this problem, we have to turn our attention to the magic ritual texts quoted above, and see which gods are mentioned and entreated in those texts.

In this regard, it is surprising to find that two short texts (KTU 1.96 and 1.178), both very well preserved, neither invoke nor even mention any deity. The first is a mere incantation formula against the “evil eye” (see *infra*), to be recited by the one affected by this attack through witchcraft, whereas the second seems to be a composite text in descriptive form (see *infra*). We may distinguish in it the prescription and the incantation: the anonymous magician points out the appropriate ritual to be carried out in this case (in keeping with the indication of the canonical text against snakebite, KTU 1.100:64–69) and suggests the accompanying formula, which is simply the verbalisation of its

³² See DUL s.v. for the various meanings of *mnt*; also Clemens, D.M. 2001:222.

³³ See *infra* on KTU 1.100.

effects along with the mention of the evildoing witchcraft agents who will be affected.

Both texts lack the opening and closing sections that normally mention and invoke the gods and usually frame the operative part (the incantation).

KTU 1.169, a compendium text of various anti-witchcraft incantations, is very similar. In the first section, the gods *Baʿlu* (line 2) and *Ḫôrānu* (line 9)³⁴ are invoked to act against the “foul-mouthed (sorcerers) of youth” on hearing “the voice of the exorcist/magician”, who recites the incantation.³⁵ It is this recitation that sets in motion the divine/magical intervention. In this way, the divine and the magical power appear to be interwoven, prayer and incantation go together, as was frequently the case in ancient Mesopotamian texts of this genre, as pointed out above and as established in the later stages of the genre. Here, for the first time, we encounter the god *Ḫôrānu* who will also be present in the other three texts (all incantation texts against snakebite), although in a different position. In KTU 1.82, he is one of the gods invoked, along with *Šapšu*, *Baʿlu*, the *Rapaʿūma* (?), *ʿAnatu* and *z̄z wkm̄t*.³⁶ In this text, *Baʿlu* seems to be the main divine protagonist in ensuring the efficacy of the incantation, as it was the case in KTU 1.169. The other gods invoked apparently play a secondary or complementary role. The appearance of *z̄z wkm̄t* at the end leaves us without precise knowledge as to the role this composite deity, who is unknown in Ugaritic ritual praxis, plays in this kind of anti-witchcraft magic against snakebite.³⁷ As in KTU 1.169, here too the incantation takes on the form of a prayer.

We are now left with two contrasting texts. In KTU 1.100, which we define as “the canonical” formulation of the efficacy of this kind of magical activity (and as such, it is the *hieròs lógos* or *aetiology* of the genre rather than an effectual incantation text) only the god *Ḫôrānu* is the actual effective power able to solve the situation. He is the only one who knows how to deal with this kind of danger and keeps its formula that he shares with his female partner of obscure personality. The other god active in some way in this situation is *Šapšu*, who has the role of mediator between the suppliant and the god *Ḫôrānu*, and so becomes an essential part of the solution.³⁸ Nevertheless, her role

34 The mention of *ʿAḡiratu* in line 16 is merely literary, as part of an oath formula.

35 This divine “couple” also occurs in the cultic consultation KTU 1.124; see *infra* pp. 97f.

36 Here too, the possible mention of *Môtu* in line 5 is indirect and in any case he is one of the evildoers.

37 Frequently, the DN *km̄t* has been linked with the Moabite god *kʿmôš*. In this regard is worth while mentioning the Balaam episode (Nm 22–24), the *āšipu* acting on behalf of the king of Moab, as a typical scene of an incantation spell frustrated by a “curse”.

38 It is surprising in this regard to read in De Moor, J.C. 1987:30, n. 128: “(*Ḫôrānu*) god of black magic, master of evil demons”. I do not believe this to be his present opinion.

is a subordinate one, as a mere intermediary, participating in the same general divine powerlessness.³⁹ In fact all the other gods (²*Ilu*, *Ba¹lu*, *Dagānu*, ¹*Anatu*, *Yarḫu*, *Rašpu*, ¹*Attartu*, *zz-kmt*, *Milku*, *Kôṭaru-Ḥasisu*, *Šaḫru-Šalimu*) great as they may be, are emphatically discarded as incompetent, one by one, in contrast with the collective exclusion by the god ²*Ilu* in the case of *Kirta*'s illness (see above). As we will see later on,⁴⁰ this text becomes definitive to understand the ideology and praxis of magic at Ugarit as a sort of programmatic formulation of its origin and functionality.

On the contrary, in apparently dialectical opposition to the former, the main agent in KTU 1.107 is *Šapšu*; the rest of the gods, the very ones disqualified in KTU 1.100 (including *Ḥôrānu* who appears as one more divine being, although he is mentioned in first position together with ²*Ilu*) and listed in the same order, are also summoned, this time in couples, to collaborate in the removal of the threatened evil. Is it possible to suggest here a sort of differentiation or distinct magical praxis among the specialist personnel in Ugarit?⁴¹ On the other hand, incantation and prayer come together once again.

The evidence is too scarce and fragmentary to allow conclusions to be drawn regarding the actual patron god of magic at Ugarit. Provisionally and taking as a starting-point the Mesopotamian pattern, we may suggest a diagram that systematises in a synchronic level the roles of the three gods *Šapšu*, *Ba¹lu* and *Ḥôrānu* in the field of magic and anti-witchcraft practice; in a diachronic perspective, in view of KTU 1.100, *Ḥôrānu* was possibly the most outstanding and original character. The other texts (KTU 1.107 and 1.169) may represent a compromise and adaptation to the normative mythological scheme. This process is also apparent in the curse formula (KTU 1.2 I 7–9; 1.16 VI 54–58) quoted above, where *Ḥôrānu* is coupled with ¹*Attartu*. But this goddess is qualified as *šm bšl*, thus unifying once more the two force systems as the source of magical power: the chthonian and the divine. This coupling, however, becomes significant in the light of KTU 1.100, where *Ḥôrānu* is also coupled with a certain *ūm pḫl pḫlt*. This unknown deity, however, cannot be identified with ¹*Attartu*, since she is excluded by the same text because of her impotence in this field, perhaps in an emphatic and polemical way (in KTU 1.100:20 along with ¹*Anatu* and separate in l.e.).⁴² But in fact the pattern of a divine couple is also present in the world of magic in Mesopotamia and only through theogamy could the dei-

³⁹ In my opinion, it cannot be asserted that “werde hier (in KTU 1.100:1–2) die Göttin Šapaš an die erste Stelle der Götter gesetzt”, as head of a different theogony; see Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2000a:312–313. She is not even taken into consideration as a possible example of a helper.

⁴⁰ See below on KTU 1.100.

⁴¹ For this issue and the dialectical relationship between the two texts see later on p. 209.

⁴² See later pp. 191ff.

ties acquire the control and patronage of magic. The anonymous character of the female partner is possibly an indirect way of showing the inability of any known deity in the official pantheon to assume the role of patron of magical activity.

This is a possible parallel projection of the Mesopotamian and Ugaritic systems of patrons of magic:

Mesop.	Ugarit
<i>Anu</i>	<i>ʾIlū</i>
Enki // Šamaš	Šapšu // (Baʿlu)
<i>Asalluḫi</i> //Marduk + Ningirim // Išhara	<i>Ḫōrānu</i> + <i>ūm pḫl pḫlt</i> // <i>ūšḫry</i> (?)

However, in spite of all these approaches, the Ugaritic religious system proves to be independent and unique. The relationship of Enki // *Asalluḫi* is completely different from that of *Šapšu-Baʿlu* // *Ḫōrānu*. Possibly the texts KTU 1.100, 1.107 and 1.82+1.169 (perhaps even KTU 1.124) show a different pattern of divine patronage over magic that cannot be either unified or generalised. Magic was certainly a variable matter in the religious ideas and praxis of Ugarit.

c) Human agents

In keeping with the scarcity of texts, the terminology related to this sort of activity is very meagre and imprecise. Naturally, a general distinction has to be made between the term denoting a magician or exorcist and terms for a warlock/witch. As for the first, according to KTU 1.169:2 it is the *tšy* (*tāʿiyu*) who pronounces the incantation (*lpn ql tšy*). The wide semantic range of this term is well known, both in administrative (= SUKKAL?) and in cultic affairs (“sacrificer”; see KTU 1.161:27–30)⁴³. In the KTU 1.169 (quoted above), the additional terms *ḫbr(m)* and *glm dšt* seem to refer to the magicians, active against evildoers. The word *ḫbr(m)* may be present in other texts as a generic term for “magician”.⁴⁴ In turn, *glm dšt*, “the expert(s)” in conjunction with *ḫbr(m)*

⁴³ See DUL s.v. for the various meanings of this lexeme; also Van Soldt, W.H. 1988:313ff. (Akk. SUKKAL); on *prln*, “diviner” see Van Soldt, W.H. 1989:365–368. On the cultic functions of the *khn*, see most recently Merlo, P. 2006.

⁴⁴ See Loretz, O. 2003:323–324 (“Beschwörer, Zauberer”).

refers inevitably to KTU 1.178:1: *dy l ydʕ*, “the inexpert”, and more in general to the topic of “knowledge”, which is so important in this activity.⁴⁵ The specific magic against the snakebite has its own specialised conjuror, the *mlḥš* (KTU 1.100:5 and par.; Akk. *mušlahḫhu*, DN *mulaḫḫišu*).

As for the terms for sorcerers and witches, a common noun could be supplied by KTU 1.96:6, 9–11, namely, *bṭy/bṭt*, unless it is the specific term for a sorcerer/sorceress as a caster of the “evil eye” (ʕn *hlkt*; Akk. *īnu muttalliktu lemuttu*).⁴⁶ In fact, the generic term for warlock/witch has been taken from Babylonian witchcraft: *kšp(m)* (Akk. *kaššāpu / kaššaptu*), occurring once alone (KTU 1.169:1) and twice with the more specific agent of word/mouth witchcraft *dbb(m)* (*kšpm dbbm*; KTU 1.169:9; 1.178:9, 12; Akk. *dābibu*, *bēl dabābi*).⁴⁷

In any case, in Ugaritic both kinds of witchcraft are well defined and clearly differentiated: witchcraft by means of sight and witchcraft by means of words.

In this connection also the use of the base *ḥrš in the Ugaritic texts must be taken into account. As we have seen⁴⁸ it defines the intervention of ʔ*lū* as a magician and it is used as a nominal form in KTU 1.19 IV 60, where *Danīʔlū*’s “knowing” daughter, *Puḡatu*, tries to influence the abode of her brother’s assassin by casting “spells” (*ḥršm*) on it. As a nominal form *ḥrš* is well attested in the Semitic languages (NWS and Eth.) with the meaning mentioned,⁴⁹ while the verb seems to be a denominative derivation used in the reflexive verbal pattern (Gt: /ḥtrš/).⁵⁰ Originally the base had the meaning of “to work” solid materials (metal, stone, wood). The semantic proximity between “craftsmanship” and “magic” must be very old indeed and may be present in the description of the god *Kōtaru* as *hyn dḥrš ydm*, understood either as “DN the ambidextrous craftsman” or as “Ea of the artisans”, as was pointed out above.⁵¹ However the nominal form is not used in Ugaritic to denote either a magician or a wizard.

It is rather surprising that a clear specific Ugaritic term for “magician” as the expert in the field of magic divination in its different aspects (see *supra*

⁴⁵ See later on p. 184ff.

⁴⁶ See later on p. 130, 143ff.

⁴⁷ See later on p. 183f.

⁴⁸ See p. 18.

⁴⁹ See DUL 370f. This base has been distinguished from /ḥrt/, “to plough”, whereas the nominal forms: “(metal)worker” and “ploughman”, are apparently confused in HALOT 357: *ḥōrēš*, “artisan” and HALOT 358: *ḥā(r)rāš*, “craftsman”.

⁵⁰ Even for this form, Tropper, J. 2012:520, prefers the basic meaning “sich handwerklich betätigen”, considering that its etymology is not sufficiently established. Nevertheless it is clear that ʔ*lū*’s “craftsmanship” is “magic” in this case.

⁵¹ See p. 17 n. 4

p. 7ff.)⁵² does not seem to be extant, despite the relatively large number of records on divinatory practices that have come down to us, above all in the area of extispicy. The evidence implies the activity of a body of professionals, known as *bārû* in Akkadian, Heb. *qosem*, *rô²ēh* (*bakkābēd*) or even Ar. *kāhin*-. The archaeologists of Ras Shamra, on the other hand, have named the “House of the Magician-Priest” where lung and liver models were found.⁵³ The only isolate and indirect designation is that of Hurrian origin *prln*, “diviner”, one of the titles of the great Official ²*Attānu* [(KTU 1.6 VI 55; 1.17 VI le.e; 1.179:40; see also the fragmentary ivory inscription 6.47:1) in the colophon of the texts written by ²*Ilmilku*, a term not attested elsewhere apart from the plurilingual vocabularies.⁵⁴ It seems then that the word designates an honorific title rather than a common noun for the profession. In the colophon the word is immediately complemented or glossed by *rb khnm* (KTU 1.6 VI 55–56). This title is also inscribed on votive weapons belonging to the hoard discovered in the 1929 campaign (cf. KTU 6.6–10). Here we have a body of professionals, namely “priests” (*khnm*) who do not appear acting in the ritual texts and whose chief is symbolically linked to military or war activity as a first rank official, being in the first place a *prln*, “a diviner”. In origin *bārûtu* was certainly concerned with war, and the diviner, no doubt the “chief of the diviners”, accompanied the “general” in the battle field in a similar rank position.⁵⁵ The combination of the archaeological and literary data immediately suggests that *khn* is in fact the missing designation.⁵⁶ Once more Ugaritic would reflect Arabic semantics, reinforcing in this way the mutual pertinence of both languages. But in accordance with the Amorite tradition⁵⁷ it is also possible that the common term in use for “diviner” was borrowed from the Akkadian tradition (*bārû*) on which the Ugaritic practice seems to have largely depended.⁵⁸

52 The connection of the royal title *gtr* with an hypothetical oracular royal function is a mere guess. See Del Olmo Lete, G. 2014a:138, 290. In any case this term cannot designate the “common diviner”.

53 See Yon, M. 1977:121; Dietrich, M. – Loretz, O. 1990:2.

54 See W.E. Van Sold, W.E. 1989:365–368 (*pu-ru-li-ni* / *puruli(n)nu*); André-Salvini, B. – Salvini, M. 1998:6 (ḪAL / *ba-a-ru* / *wu-ru-ul-li-ni*).

55 See in this regard the detailed exposition of the situation in Mari provided by Durand, J.-M. 2008:412–419 (“le couple ‘général-divin’”).

56 A similar suggestion was already put forward by A. Jeffers, A. 1996:111ff. (“Hepatoscopist?”) with regard to (*rb*) *nqdm* (KTU 1.16 VI 56).

57 See Durand, J.-M. 2008:416 for similar doubts concerning the usual term for “diviner” in Mari. On the situation at Emar see Fleming, D.E. 2000:26ff.; Cohen, Y. 2009:38–40.

58 See Arnaud, D. 2007:47ff. For a particular case of *bārûtu* see Malbran-Labat, F. – Roche, C. 2007:92. If our interpretation of KTU 1.82:5–6 is correct, the term was also used in Ugaritic; see Del Olmo Lete G. 2014:forthcoming.

The Babylonian Incantation Texts from Ugarit

Ignacio Márquez Rowe

Among the sixty-eight Babylonian religious and literary texts unearthed so far from the Late Bronze Age levels of Ugarit¹ there are twelve containing incantations. Most of them have Mesopotamian parallels and their Sumero-Akkadian phrasing and structure are clearly patterned after Mesopotamian originals. The hostile demonic powers whose actions they describe (such as Lamashtu) as well as the deities whose helpful intervention is sought (such as Enki and his son Asalluḫi) belong to the world of Mesopotamian, not Ugaritic, religion. And the same holds true for the accompanying magical and medical treatments. As a matter of course, this would not exclude the possibility that exorcists at Ugarit could try to ease the sufferer's harm by using such Babylonian spells, however imperfectly understood (Asalluḫi, for example, is called the daughter of Enki in one text²). But the parallels found in other contemporary peripheral sites such as Emar or Hattusha and the fact that the Ras Shamra texts were discovered in private houses as part of assemblages of tablets predominantly including lexical lists show that copying Babylonian incantations was a part of the curriculum of scribal learning in the western periphery around the 13th century BC.³ This observation is confirmed by the mistakes and misunderstandings that exhibit some of the tablets, the cases of substrate language influence in writing Akkadian, namely Middle Babylonian, and the inexperience of the scribes in dealing with Sumerian.⁴

The recent volume published by D. Arnaud on the Sumerian and Akkadian library texts from Ugarit provides copies, transliterations and translations of most of the incantation texts.⁵ About half of them had been previously edited by J. Nougayrol,⁶ and one of them had been published by S. Lackenbacher.⁷ The present new edition of the Babylonian incantations of Ugarit is based on their remarkable work and has profited in addition from the collation of the tablets from a new set of photographs kindly provided by the National Museum

1 See now Arnaud, D. 2007.

2 RS 17.155.

3 On the use and function of the Babylonian incantations in Ugarit or the western periphery, see Nougayrol, J. 1969:406–408, van Soldt, W.H. 1995:177–178, Malbran-Labat, F. 1996:57, Clemens, D.M. 2001:598–601, Cohen, Y. 2009:215–216, and Rutz, M. 2013:313, 319–328.

4 No colophon with the copyist's name is attested or preserved on these tablets.

5 See Arnaud, D. 2007:55–99, pls. V–XIII.

6 Nougayrol, J. 1968:29–40, 64–65, 375, 377–379: nos. 16–17, 19; and Nougayrol, J. 1969:394–403.

7 Lackenbacher, S. 1991:89:no. 45.

of Damascus. The comments to the texts are restricted to the main points of clarification, in an attempt to complement the epigraphic and interpretive remarks already made by Nougayrol and Arnaud. New readings based on the photographs or parallels are not discussed in detail given the scope of the present book. These and a more thorough treatment of some of the texts will be dealt with in a series of forthcoming partial studies.

The Babylonian incantation texts from Ugarit fall into different groups according to the criteria of structure and of type of source. One tablet can be inscribed with one individual incantation (RS 20.006, RS 25.513, RS 25.436) or with various incantations. Among the latter compendia, there is one large tablet with Lamashtu incantations (RS 25.420+); another one brings together spells against different but possibly related demons (RS 17.155); still another one preserves two incantations with the same motif (RS 25.418); and others combine independent spells against different and distinct afflictions (RS 25.129+, RS 25.422, RS 94.2178). In some cases the accompanying ritual follows the incantation (RS 25.129+, RS 25.418).

Because of the format and content of the fragment, it is possible that RS 17.081,⁸ omitted in Arnaud's volume, preserves part of the incipit of an incantation that was to be recited during the ritual that is partially intelligible. This is the reason why the text has been included in the present edition. On the other hand, a number of tablets and fragments included in Arnaud's chapter on incantations have been excluded here for several reasons. The tablet RS 94.2964 presents a badly effaced surface; following the collation of two sets of photographs, it has not been possible to decipher the words that would help identify this damaged text as an incantation. The same is true of the fragment RS 20.161+20.171, face A;⁹ only few signs are preserved, partly effaced (face B is inscribed with a version of the Babylonian Flood story). RS 25.511A, another small fragment,¹⁰ contains a ritual in which no reference, however implicit, is made of a magic spell. As regards RS 16.416bis, Nougayrol's reading of the first signs as *e-ni-nu-r[u]* led him to identify the text as a "conjunction sumérienne, type: *én.é.nu.ru*";¹¹ apart from the awkward syllabic writing of the word, not attested elsewhere in the Ugarit corpus, the few other signs preserved on this small, damaged fragment do hardly contribute to the understanding of the text. Finally, the small clay cylinder RS 25.457, although

⁸ See Nougayrol, J. 1968:29, 375: no. 16. Cf. Clemens, D.M. 2001:695–704.

⁹ See Arnaud, D. 2007:89: no. 23.

¹⁰ See Arnaud, D. 2007:89–90: no. 24. Cf. Clemens, D.M. 2001:988.

¹¹ See Nougayrol, J. 1955:214, pl. XCVII; Arnaud, D. 2007:55: no. 13. Cf. Clemens, D.M. 2001:685–686.

inscribed with a Lamashtu incantation,¹² has not been included in this edition because it was uncovered in a late archaeological context of Ras Shamra, namely inside a Greco-Persian sarcophagus, being thus irrelevant in the present study of Late Bronze Age Ugarit incantations.¹³

The archaeological distribution of the texts shows a clear pattern. With the exception of one fragment,¹⁴ they have all been discovered in different houses within the Late Bronze Age city of Ugarit. As already stated, these houses served as scribal schools as shown by the large number of lexical tablets they contained. The largest number of incantation tablets, about half of the corpus, was excavated in the House of the Lamashtu texts obviously named after some of the texts themselves. Three texts come from the House of Urtenu; and the Houses of Rashap'abu, Rap'anu, and the Scholar have yielded one text each.

The order in which the texts edited in this chapter are presented is arbitrary, following the Assyriological convention of placing first those incantations belonging to what will become in the first millennium canonical magical or ritual series.

A series of incantations against Lamashtu (RS 25.420+)

Copy: Arnaud, D. 2007:pls. VIII–XI.

Edition: Nougayrol, J. 1969:394–403; Arnaud, D. 2007:63–73:no. 18.

Literature: Clemens, D.M. 2001:959–964 (with previous literature).

Find-place: The House of the Lamashtu tablets.

This text is of special interest because of its size and content. Six joining fragments (RS 25.420 + 25.440 + 25.445 + 25.447 + 25.456A + 25.459C) restore less than half of a large tablet with three columns on each side inscribed with a collection of Lamashtu incantations.¹⁵ The spells and the closing ritual, all of

¹² See Nougayrol, J. 1969:404; Arnaud, D. 2007:207: no. 69. Cf. Clemens, D.M. 2001: 973–975.

¹³ There are a number of unpublished fragments catalogued or identified as possible incantation texts (e.g. RS 25.519A, RS 26.152, RS 34.180, ¹⁴ or RS 79.026; see respectively Clemens, D.M. 2001:988–989, 993, 1013–1015, 1030–1031). The fact, however, that Arnaud has not included them in his volume suggests that such identifications must remain at least doubtful. The same holds true for the Akkadian texts written in alphabetic cuneiform allegedly containing incantation texts (see van Soldt, W. 1991:297–298; Prechel, D. 2003:228); for these texts see below Appendix I.

¹⁴ RS 15.152 was found in the royal palace.

¹⁵ As suspected by Nougayrol, J. (1969:401 n. 66), the fragment RS 25.459C (quoted there as RS 25.459, his source B) belongs to the same tablet (his source A). The physical join was made later by van Soldt, W.H. 1991:205, 651.

them partially preserved, have their counterpart in the later canonical series against this dreadful female demon who specialised in interfering with child-birth and in snatching small children. Restorations are based on extant later parallel versions. New readings and interpretations are also based on the available photographs.

Transliteration:

(obverse)

col. i

(break)

- 1' [ūmišamma erāti i-man-n]u
- 2' [arki alidāti it-]ta-na-lak
- 3' [bilani DUMU.MEŠ-k]i-na lu-še-ni-iq
- 4' [u₃ DUMU.MI₂.MEŠ-k]i-na lu-ut-tar-ru
- 5' ʿšīʿ-[iz]-ba ša mu-ti ru-mu₄-ka / ir-ta-ša
- 6' a-na pe-ti-i ir-ru-ub
- 7' e[d]-la i-ḫal-l[u-up ṣ]e-ra-niš
- 8' [] ʿx x xʿ []-am
- 9' [] ʿxʿ

(break)

col. ii

(break)

- 1' [] .M]EŠ
- 2' [] ʿx xʿ
- 3' [] ib-b]a²-la-kat
- 4' [imḫur UR].MAḪ me₂-lam-ma-ša / ul-te-di-ša
- 5' [imḫur] UR.BAR.RA la-ḫa-ba i-bat
- 6' [e-bi]r₅ I₇ i-dal-la-aḫ me₂-ša
- 7' [e-bi]r₅ ^{giš}INIG it-ta-bak / u₂-ra-ša
- 8' [e-bi]r₅ ^{giš}ASAL₂ ḫa-as-ḫa-la-sa / it-tap-ša
- 9' [e-bir₅ ^{giš}A(L).]LA.AN ^{giš}LAM.GAL ḫa-ma-di-ru-ta / ul-ta-lak
- 10' tal-ta-[na-at-ti MUD₂] ʿa-miʿ-lu-ti / [niš-b]u-ti
- 11' [U]ZU ša la ʿaʿ-[ka-li]
- 12' UZU.GIR₃.PAD.DU [ša la še-be]-ʿriʿ
- 13' us-ḫi <<ki>> si-[ik-ka-at-t]i²-ki / []-ki
- 14' ki-ma ANŠE.EDIN / ša-da-ki ru-up-di
- 15' li-(im-)ḫur-ki E₂-[]-ʿxʿ-šu
- 16' ZI₃.DA NI₃.AR₃.RA M[UNU₃] BAPPIR
- 17' pa-ti-ḫa-ta lu-[u]d-din-ku¹
- 18' u₂-tam-me-ki DUMU.MI₂ AN-nim
- 19' AN-num u₃ an-tum

- 20' ^dEN.LIL₂ u₃ ^dNIN.LIL₂
 21' ^de₂-a u₃ ^dDAM.GAL.NUN.NA
 22' ^dAMAR.UTU u₃ ^dšar-pa-ni-tum
 23' ^dSUKKAL u₃ ^dAMA.ZA.KA.NU.TA
 24' [b]e-let-DINGIR.MEŠ be-let šu-ur-bu-ti
 25' [ba²-n]a²-at DINGIR.MEŠ qa-rit-ta
 26' []x-ti ṭa-ar-da-ti
 27' []-ti d[u²-up²-p]u-ra-ti
 28' [ZI.AN.NA 𐎶E₂.PA₃ ZI.KI.A 𐎶]E₂.PA₃

(break)

col. iii

(break)

- 1' [ta]-^ṛaš-ba^ṛ-ti-šu-ma [] / MU 1 []
 2' [x (x)]-^ṛx^ṛ-di-ki a-ra-kas₃
 3' [x (x)]-^ṛx^ṛ-šal^ṛ-li ^{giš}ŠINIG ^ṛx^ṛ []
 4' [tu]-sa-ḥar pa-ni-ki a-na IM.[SI.SA₂]
 5' [tu]-sa-ḥar pa-ni-ki a-na IM.[U₁₆.LU] / IM.KUR.RA IM.[MAR.TU]
 6' u₂-tam-mi-ki IS SI IB ^ṛx^ṛ [] / ^dUTU da-a-a-[ni]
 7' u₂-tam-mi-ki ku₃-bi NIN.D[INGIR.RA]
 8' u₂-tam-mi-ki ku₃-bi na-ra-[am-^d30] / u₃ LUGAL-G[I.NA]
 9' u₂-tam-mi-ki ni-iš e-ni u₃ [e]n-t[i] / AN-num an-ni-tu
 10' šum-ma a-na E₂ tu-ši-i
 11' ta-sa-ḥa-ri ta-tu-rim-ma
 12' TU₆ EN₂.E₂.NU.RU

13' BE []

- 14' EN₂.E₂.NU.RU
 15' a-nam-d[i] ši-ip-[t]a [] SI LI KA
 16' ul iš-ši š[u^(II)-ki]
 17' ul-maš qa-a[š₂-du šubat il(ān)i]
 18' ^ṛad-di-ki^ṛ E[N₂]
 19' q_{i2}-E₂ ša [šulmi]
 20' pu-uṭ-ri at-[la-ki] / l[a²]
 21' gal-lu-ki a-ši-[pu ^dASAL.LU₂.𐎶I]
 22' u₂-na-kar a-mat-[ki inassaḥ qātēki]
 23' i-na zu-mur še-e[r-ri mār ilišu annē]
 24' u₂-ḥal-la-aq GI[G]
 25' la-(am) u₂-tam-mu-ki š[i-pir lemutti]
 26' ši-bur bu-re-^ṛe^ṛ []
 27' u₂-la-a-pu-uz-t[am-mi lupputu]

28' *ša-man* ŠAH *ik-[ki-ib-ki šabtī]*

29' *ta-ab-li-š[u-nu-ti]*

30' *šu-ši-i-[šu-nu-ti]*

31' DINGIR.MEŠ H[UL.MEŠ]

32' MAŠKIM H[UL]

33' *šu-ut qa-ti-[ki] / []*

34' *ki-ma na-aš₂-š[i ša kakkabī]*

35' [x x] 'x' [x] 'x' []

(break)

(reverse)

col. iv

(break)

1' BAD₃ 'x x x' []

2' *i-na tu-ub-qi₂* 'x x (x) x x'

3' <<i>i-na>>² i-lik <a-na>² pa-an AN-nim i-ba-a[k-ki]

4' *a-na pa-an an-ti il-la-ka di-m[a-a-ša]*

5' *uḥ-tal-li-iq e-peš qa-ti-ni*

6' *ša nu-šab-šu-u₂ ub-ba-al ša-ru*

7' *e-le-en URU li-pu-šu E₂-sa*

8' *šu-pa-la URU lid-du-u₂ ku-us-sa-ša*

9' *l[i]-še-ni-iq ša kal-ba-ti mu-ra-ni-ša*

10' []x tu-'a-a-mi-ša

11' 'x x' [x x š]UB-ši-ma ra-x-[x]-ša / [I₇ I]DIGNA I₇^(?)]

12' *ša i-na U₄ x (x)](-)uš(-)[]*'x'(-)u₂(-)'x'

13' *u₃ i-na GE₆ [] / 'x' []*

14' [š]i-ip-tum ul [iâtum]

15' [ši-pat] ^de₂-a u₃ [^dASAL.LU₂.HI]

16' [ši-pat ^d]da-mu u₃ [^dNIN.KAR.RA.AK]

17' [ši-pat ^dx] 'x x' []

(break)

col. v

(break)

1' [] 'x x' []

2' [x i]n šu 'x x'

3' *šum-ma a-na E₂ an-ni-[i]*

4' *ta-tu-ur-ri ta-'x'-[]*

5' 'x (x) x x' an-na ta 'x' []

6' 'x x x x x x x' []

7' BAD₃.MEŠ *te-li sa-mi-x x []*

8' 'x (x)' ANŠE.MI₂-ka ta-ša-bat []

- 9' *a-na* EN TI *qa*-[]
 10' *a-na* DUMU AN *su*-[]
 11' *a.sa.ab.zu.ta* ¹lu₂¹? []
 12' *am.mu.na.gi* []
 13' TU₆ EN₂.¹E₂.NU.RU]
-
- 14' EN₂.E₂.¹NU.RU]
 15' *ez-ze-et šam-rat* [*ilat namurrat*] / ^h[*a-ab-ba-ta-at*]
 16' *u₃ ši-i bir-bir-ri* [*mārat Anim*]
 17' *i-na kib-si* GU₄ ¹x¹ [*illak²*]
 18' *i-na kib-si* UD[U *iredi²*]
 19' GU₄ *a-la-ka* [*ikalla*]
 20' [*imēra lāsima u₂-pa-a*]*k-kar*
 21' [*eṭlūti ḥubbulu u₂-ḥa-a*]*b-bal*
 22' [*ardāti šuggušu*] *u₂-ša-ga-aš₂*
 23' [*mārē i-ša-qa-a*] *me-e* / [*pu-u*]*š-qi₂*
 24' []-*ma*
 25' [] *i-na* KA KUR
 26' []-AZ
 27' [TU₆ EN₂.E₂].NU.RU
-
- 28' []
-

29' [EN₂.E₂.N]U.RU

30' [] AN []

(break)

col. vi

(break)

- 1' []-*ši*
 2' []-*a*¹*m²-ma*
 3' []*x-ka*
 4' []¹x x x x¹
 5' *i-na ri-ik-s*[i] *tu-še-ši-ib-ši-ma*
 6' ^{giš}GA.RIG₂ ^{giš}BA[L *ši²-ka²-a*]*t²* I₃² / [*ta-n*]*am-din-ši*
 7' ^{kuš}E.SIR₂ ¹x¹[] *ta-qa-as-si*
 8' *di-en-ša²* *e* ¹x¹ []¹x¹-*ma-ši*
 9' []-*aḥ-ra-ši*
 10' [] *ta*]-*šap-pa-ak-ši*
 11' [] DUMU].MI₂ AN-*nim*
 12' []^dAS]AL.LU₂.ḪI
 13' [] *ta-tu-ur-ra*
 14' [] *ta(b)-ba*l-lak-ki-ti

- 15' [] ^dNA₃
 16' [a]-na I₇
 17' [a]-šar ši-ma-ti
 18' [] ša ta-ba
 19' []x⁷-ni

(break)

Translation:

(obverse)

col. i

(break)

- 1' [She coun]ts [(the days of) pregnant women every day,
 2' she is always on the [tracks of women who are about to give birth.]
 3' ["Bring me] your [sons,] that I may suckle (them),
 4' [and] your [daughters,] that I may nurse (them)!"
 5' Her breasts are bathed with the milk of death.
 6' She enters the open (house),
 7' the locked (house) she slips into past the cap of the door-pivot.

8'-9' ...

(break)

col. ii

(break)

1'-2' ...

- 3' [She clam]bers over? []
 4' [(When) she meets a li]on, her terror renews itself,
 5' [(When) she meets] a wolf, she spends the night howling?
 6' [(When) she cros]ses a river, she troubles its waters;
 7' [(When) she comes acr]oss a tamarisk, she strips off its branches;
 8' [(When) she comes acro]ss a Euphrates poplar, she tears down its foliage;
 9' [(When) she comes acr]oss an oak tree and a pistachio tree, she makes them dry out.
 10' "You keep dri[nking] human [blood] (that is) ...;
 11' Flesh that should not be eaten, bones [that should not be crack]ed.
 12' Pull up your (tent) p[egs], your []!
 13' Go off to your mountain like a wild ass of the steppe!
 14' May the house of [] take you!
 15'-17' Let me give you flour, groats, ma[lt] and beer-bread (and) a pouch!
 18' I conjure you, o daughter of Anu,
 19' by Anu and Antu,
 20' Enlil and Ninlil,

- 21' Ea and Damkina,
 22' Marduk and Šarpanitu,
 23' Papsukkal and Amasagnudi,
 24' Belet-ili, mistress of the most exalted,
 25' [who crea]ted? the gods, the valiant.
 26' Be [], be driven away!
 27' Be [], be expelled!
 28' [Be conjured by heaven,] be conjured [by the netherworld!]"

(break)

col. iii

(break)

- 1' "You have seized him ...
 2' I shall tie your ... []
 3' [] ... tamarisk []
 4' You may turn your face to the north,
 5' You may turn your face to the [south], east or [west.]
 6' I conjure you ... by Shamash, the judge,
 7' I conjure you by the *kūbu* of the *en[tu]*-priestess,
 8' I conjure you by the *kūbu* of Nar[am-Sin] and Sarg[on],
 9' I conjure you by the life of the high-priest and the high-priestess,
 Anu and Antu?
 10'–11' lest you turn round and return again to the house you have left!"
 12' *Enuru*-incantation-spell.

13' (separation mark)

- 14' *Enuru*-incantation.
 15' I am casting a spell [] ...
 16' [] does not lift [your ha]nds []
 17' The ho[ly] Ulmash, [seat of the gods,]
 18' I have cast a s[pell] on you []
 19' By the command of [well-being,]
 20' Be off, be gone, do n[ot]!
 21' Your fiend, the conju[rer Asalluḫi,]
 22' will remove [your] spittle, [tear off your hands;]
 23' from the body of [this] chil[d, son of his personal god,]
 24' he will remove the ill[ness]
 25' Bef[ore] he conjures you, [wicked d]eed
 26' ...
 27' [Grab] a dirty rag from the tavern,
 28' lard, an abom[ination of yours,]

- 29' (and) take them away,
 30' carry them off!
 31' Evil gods,
 32' evil lurker,
 33' who are at [your] service, []
 34' like dew [from the stars]
 35' ...

(break)

(reverse)

col. iv

(break)

- 1' The wall ... []
 2' in the corner []
 3' She went weeping before Anu,
 4' [her] tears flowed down before Antu:
 5' "What our hands have done has been destroyed,
 6' what we have created the wind has swept away!"
 7' Let them build her house above the city,
 8' let them establish her seat below the city!
 9' May she suckle the bitch's puppies,
 10' [] her twin,
 11' [thr]ow her, and her [] the Tigris []
 12' That during the day []
 13' and during the night []
 14' The incantation is not [mine,]
 15' [it is the incantation of] Ea and [Asalluḫi,]
 16' [it is the incantation of] Damu and [Ninkarrak,]
 17' [it is the incantation of] ... []

(break)

col. v

(break)

- 1' ...
 2' ...
 3' If to this house
 4' you come back (and) ... []
 5' ...
 6' ...
 7' You will climb up the walls ... []
 8' ... you will take your she-ass []
 9' To the lord of life ... []

10' to the son of Anu ... []

11' ...

12' ...

13' [Enuru]-incantation-spell.

14' E[nuru]-incantation.

15' She is furious, she is fierce, [she is uncanny, she has an awful glamour,] [she is] a rob[ber,]

16' and she is a she-wolf, [the daughter of Anu!]

17' [She stalks] the cattle's tracks,

18' [she dogs] the sheep's tracks;

19' [she checks] the plodding ox,

20' [she hob]bles [the swift donkey.]

21' [She indeed mur]ders [young men,]

22' [she indeed] ruins [young women.]

23' [She makes children drink] water of [dist]ress.

24' [] and

25' ...

26' ...

27' [E]nuru-[incantation-spell].

28' [(separation mark)?]

29' [En]uru-[incantation].

30' ...

(break)

col. vi

(break)

1' [] her,

2' [] and

3' ...

4' ...

5' At the ... [] you seat her (i.e. the figurine of Lamashtu) and

6' you give her a comb, a sp[indle, an alabastr]on² of oil²;

7' you present to her leather shoes []

8' [you] to her ... her case² ...

9' [you] to her []

10' You pile up for her []

11' [the daug]hter of Anu

12' [As]alluḥi

13' [] you return

14' [you cr]oss over

15' [] Nabû
 16' [t]o the river
 17' [the pl]ace of destiny
 18' [] good
 19' ...
 (break)

Notes to text:

Col. i 5'. Cf. CAD R 114b.

Col. ii 23'. For this divine couple see Márquez Rowe, I. (forthcoming a).

Col. iii 1'ff. New readings and restorations are based on the duplicate lines of CTN 4 104:6–15.

Col. iii 21'. See Farber:2007 643.

Col. iii 25'. Both the restoration and the emendation are based on parallel versions.

Col. iii 27'. Note the crasis for *ulāpu aštammi*; cf. already Nougayrol, J. 1969:399 n. 50.

Col. vi 5'ff. The newly proposed alignment of lines resulting from the two joined tablet fragments is based on both the photograph and the context.

Another incantation against Lamashtu (RS 25.513)

Copy: Arnaud, D. 2007:pl. V.

Edition: Nougayrol, J. 1969:403; Arnaud, D. 2007:62–63:no. 17.

Literature: Clemens, D.M. 2001:988.

Find-place: The House of the Lamashtu tablets.

This tiny fragment preserves part of the first lines of what seems to be the obverse of the tablet. Although the malevolent demon's epithets are known from other sources, to the best of my knowledge the exact wording and sequence in this text are not attested elsewhere.

Transliteration:

(obverse)

1 [] *a-mur-ra-at i-la-ṛa^ṛ-[at]*
 2 [-a] *t-ma gaš-ra-at AN²(-)^ṛe^ṛ(-)^x[]*
 3 [ša] *k²-ša-at bar-bar-tum DUMU.M[I₂ Anim]*
 4 [ki-ma] *ka-le-e li-it-s[a arqat]*
 5 [] *ṛx^ṛ E₂ ir-ru-[ub]*
 6 [t] *a²-ri-ma ṛx^ṛ []*

7 [] *i-na ed-l[i E₂]*
 8 [] 'x' NI 'x' []

(break)

Translation:

(obverse)

1 [She is], she is an Amorite, she is uncan[ny,]
 2 she is [], and she is powerful, ... []
 3 [], she is sco[wling?], she is a she-wolf, the daughter [of Anu!]
 4 [h]er cheek [is as yellow as] *kalû*-clay []
 5 [] she ente[rs] a house []
 6 [re]turn? and []
 7 [she enters] the locked [house]
 8 ...

(break)

Notes to text:

1. The orthography suggests a reading *amurrât* rather than [n]*amurrat*, as proposed by Nougayrol, J. (1969:403) and Arnaud, A. (2007:62); note the same variant in YOS 11 20:2. For the variant *namurrat* > *amurrât*, cf. Lam-ashtu's epithet "Sutaeen" or also "robber" (*ḥabbātāt*).
3. Because *ezzat* (as read by Nougayrol and Arnaud) is not the Babylonian normative form, a restoration *gaššat*, *raḥḥiṣat*, *na(m)giššat* or *šakšat*, four other known epithets of Lamashtu, seems preferable; the trace of a vertical wedge before ZA, however, would discard the former two, and the fact that *na(m)giššu* is only attested in 1cs (*na[m]giššāku*) would rather favour the latter.

A collection of incantations against various demons and diseases (RS 17.155)

Copy: Nougayrol, J. 1968:377–378: no. 17.

Edition: Nougayrol, J. 1968:29–40: no. 17; Lambert, W.G. 1970:44 (lines rev. 20'–27'); Dietrich, M. 1988:82–87 (lines 1–45); id. 1993:49–51 (lines 1–11); Arnaud, D. 1995:137–139 (lines rev. 20'–27'); Tsukimoto, A. 1999:189 (lines rev. 20'–27'); Collins, T. 1999: (lines rev. 20'–27'); Böck, B. 2007:191–196, 209–210, 215–218 (lines 19–45); Arnaud 2007:77–88:no. 21.

Literature: Krecher, J. 1969:154–155; von Soden, W. 1969:190; Clemens, D.M. 2001:730–747 (with previous literature).

Find-place: The House of Rashap'abu.

One of the best preserved of the larger tablets, this text is a remarkable compendium of several spells against demons and diseases. Nine incantations are preserved, each carefully written in a different section defined by a horizontal ruling line. Of the eight intelligible spells, five are “forerunners” to spells in Mesopotamian first-millennium canonical magical series: Udu_g-ḫul, Muššu’u, Sag-gig, and Fire-incantations.¹⁶ Because these incantations are directed against possibly related agents of illness,¹⁷ it is reasonable to suggest that the combination of spells in this tablet was not meant arbitrarily.

Transliteration:

(obverse)

- 1 [DU₈ Ḫ]UL ina IGI ^{ab}ABGAL DINGIR-li₃ ^dAMAR.UTU du₂-up-pir₆ ḪU[L]
- 2 ina IGI <TU₆> ša₂ ^dASAL.LU₂.ḪI ina IGI ^{ab}ABGAL DINGIR-li₃ ^dAMAR.UTU me-ri(-)X[-(X)]
- 3 mim-ma ḪUL tu-u₂-ka TI.LA ^dAMAR.UTU TU₆-ka SILIM.M[A ^dASAL.LU₂.ḪI[?]]
- 4 EN tu-u₂-ka TI.LA ^dAMAR.UTU ^ru₂[?]-šu-gal AN-e u KI-t[i₃]
- 5 DINGIR-li₃ EŠ.ŠA-ti u KI.TA ^rTU₆[?]-[k]a[?] ša₂-ina ^rNU TUKU^r ḫul.g[al₂]
- 6 si.il.la₂.i.kat.ta gim.me.en gim.me.en ^rx[?] ur₃.sag ^das[al.lu₂.ḫi]
- 7 ta.mu zi.ig i.ri.du.ka.ak.ke nig₂.nu ḫul nig₂.nu.šag.g[al]
- 8 ^rnig₂ nu^r.ti.il.la.ag.ga šu nu.tu.ga.ga an.kur.in₆[?].ki.ik.k[e]
- 9 [a.r]a ka.rab.du ap-tu li-iš-pur bar-du-u₂ li-še-ši
- 10 [mim-m]a ḪUL mim-ma NU.DU₁₀ ša₂ ina UZU-ka u SA.A-ka GAL₂-u₂
- 11 [sa]k-ki-[gu[?]]-u₂ MAŠ.MAŠ DINGIR-li₃ ^{ab}ABGAL ^dASAL.LU₂.ḪI ina SU-ka li-^ris[?]-BU E[N₂]

-
- 12 [d]u₂-up-pir₆ ḪUL ina IGI ^{ab}ABGAL DINGIR-li₃ ^dAMAR.UTU DU₈ ḪUL
 - 13 [ina I]GI <TU₆> ša₂ ^dASAL.LU₂.ḪI ina IGI ^{ab}ABGAL DINGIR-li₃ ^dAMAR.UTU ^dAMAR.UTU
 - 14 [ina] qi₂-E₂-ka ^{lu₂}MAŠ.MAŠ ^rTU₆[?] ŠUB-di NAM.TIL.LA.U₂.GA
 - 15 [mim[?]]-ma sak-ki-ga-a ku-uš-^ršid^r ^rlu₂GURUŠ^r [SI]G₅ ša₂ DINGIR-li₃ u₂-x-x (X)-X-X
 - 16 ^rma^r-a^r-du si-im-mu MU.MEŠ-šu₂-nu ul i-de₄ it-ta(-)na-[al[?]-ši[?]]

¹⁶ Interestingly, the same four magical or ritual series also have “forerunners” in contemporary Emar; see now Cohen, Y. 2009:215–217, Rutz, M. 2013:263–267.

¹⁷ Cf. Böck, B. 2007:23–37, 83–86.

- 17 [it-t]al-ku-ni KI MURU₉ MANⁿⁱ-nu-u₂-ni GIM ᵑx xᵑ []x-[n]i
 18 [x x (x)] A.ŠA₃.A.GAR₃ GIM MURU₉ DIRI EDIN ina q_{i2}-bi-it^{dr} e₂-[a]
 19 [x (x) i]t^r-ᵑta-az^r-za-zi-ni ina q_{i2}-bi ša₂ K₁A GU₇ ᵑU₂,[?][MEŠ]
 20 [ᵑe]₂-a ib-nu-šu₂-nu-ti KI u₂-rab-ᵑbi-šu₂-nu-tiᵑ []
 21 [nam-r]i-ri mi-ir-me-ri-šu₂-n[u-t]i TA AN-[e]
 22 [a-šu₍₂₎]-u₂ sa₃-ma-nu a-mur-ri-ᵑqa₃-nu aḥ-ḥa-ᵑzuᵑ []
 23 [um-m]u li-i-bu al-mu al-la-ᵑmuᵑ di-i-[u₍₂₎] SAK.KI.DIB[?] []
 24 [DUMU.ME]Š KIN-ri ša₂ re-eš ᵑa-nim u₂-qa₃-mu-ᵑu₂ᵑ []
 25 [i[?]]-me-et ᵑa-nim a-lu-u₂ sa-ḥi-pu su-[]
 26 [a]-lu-u₂ ḤUL ᵑkuᵑ-ra-aš-ti-im-mu um-mu []
 27 [nap]-la-aš-ta u₂-tuk-ku ši-i-qu₂ ša-aš-ša-a-ṭu₃ [ᵑDIM₃.M]E
 28 [ᵑ]DIM₃.ME.MA^{sic}.LAGAB aḥ-ḥa-zu ḥa-ia-at-ta LIL₂.L[A₂ mi₂LIL₂].LA₂
 29 [l]u-u₂ mi₂K₁.SIKIL.LIL₂.LA₂ ni-ra-ᵑxᵑ-bi ḥa-ma-ᵑaš-šeᵑ-ti
 30 gal₉-lu-u₂ GAL ša₂ ina URU.KI ša-qu-u₂ E₂.ḤI.A e-ta-na-ru-ba
 31 u₂-ra-ti it-ta-na-bal-ki-ta lu₂GURUŠ SIG₅ mi₂K₁.SIKIL SIG₅
 32 ina (E).SIR₂ il-ta-na-ᵑu-u₂ il-ta-nam-mu-u₂ it-ta-na-as-ḥa-ru
 33 IGI-mar-šu₂-nu-ti-ma ᵑASAL.LU₂.ḤI ina a-bi-ši i-za-kir a-bi 1-en ba-ni
 LU₂.MEŠ
 34 ša-al-um-ma-ta ka-lu-u₂ SU-šu₂ al-ki DUMU ᵑASAL.LU₂.ḤI
 35 ina TU₆ giš^{is}SINIG u ᵑIN.NU.UŠ pu-šur SU-šu₂ tu-u₂-ka ša₂ TI.LA
 36 q_{i2}-ša₂-ma sak-ki-ga-a za-ki-ga-a mur-ki-ga-a li-biš-ki-ga-a
 37 NIG₂.NAM.MA.AK.KE NIG₂.ḤUL.DIM₂.MA NAM.LU₂.U₁₉.LU.KE₄ a-ga-ḥu-
 la-a
 38 a-a iṭ-ḥa-šum-ma na-aš-kap-ti tum₄-me-šu₂-nu-ti GIN₇ zu-u-ti
 39 (erasure) na-kap-ti na-at-bi-ka-ni GIN₇(-)MU.PA₃.DA
 40 nap-pa-ši na-aš-li-la-ni GIN₇ gi₅-i-su-u-ti nap-ša₂-ti qa₃-a-ni
 41 GIM-ma IM ina šu-bur-ri GIN₇ MURU₉ DIRI EDIN ina kiš-pi₂ MAŠ.MAŠ
 DINGIR.MEŠ
 42 ᵑaᵑAMAR.UTU <<u>> NIM.NIM.MA na-an-s[i₂-i]ḥ GIM MURU₉ DIRI EDIN
 43 [x] ᵑx (x) x (x) x x xᵑ-AḤ BA.BAD dup-pa-ar ḥi-il-qa₃ at-lak
 44 [-t]ᵑu-nuᵑ dup-pu-ra-tu-nu ku-uš-šu-da-tu-nu
 45 [ZI AN.NA ḤE₂.RU Z]I K₁.IA ḤE₂.RU^{sic} EN₂

-
- 46 [] zi nam nu na ku ru na []
 47 []ᵑxᵑ am it te ta ni eš []
 48 []ᵑxᵑ gaba li a lu uḥ []
 49 []ᵑxᵑ aš ku uḥ []
 50 []ᵑxᵑ ba []

(break)

(reverse)

(break)

- 1' [] 'x x'
 2' [] 'x'
 3' [] 'x' x 'x' 'e'.ri'.du'.ga dumu.mi₂ ^da-nim
 4' [si.la.a.'].e lu.ul.lu.ra.da.ke keš₂.da
 5' [] rab.ba MUŠ NIG u₂-še-il-la
 6' [UR].^{GI}₇ qu-ti-i u₃ pa'-ra-ši-i UR.^{GI}₇ LU₂-li₃ li-is-su-uh
 7' ina MUD₂.MEŠ na-aš-ki-ša DU₃-uš NU-šu₂ lip-ḥu-tu-ma 7 ra-ma-ni-i
 8' UR.^{GI}₇ ar-ra-bu BA.BAD-ma ZA BA.BAD EN₂
-
- 9' KUR e-tu-tu₃ DUNGU e-tu-tu₃ ul-te-la-a DUNGU MIN
 10' U₂.MEŠ MIN ul-te-la-a U₂.MEŠ MIN U₂.MEŠ MIN UDU e-ṭa₂-a GU₇
 11' UDU MIN ZA e-ṭa₂-a GU₇ ZA e-ṭa₂-a ^d30 ^dASAL.LU₂.ḪI lip-šur EN₂
-
- 12' ina AN-e ib-ba-ni RI.RI.GA TA AN-e ina qa-qa-ri in-ta₂-ta
 13' ina u₂-ši-šu lu^{sic}-ša-ziz-za ^{lu}₂GURUŠ it-ta-ši i-ba-ak-ki i-ša-⟨na-⟩an-ni
 14' bi-la-⟨na-⟩an-ni ana muḥ-ḫi ^de₂-a u ^dASAL.LU₂.ḪI ^dASAL.LU₂.ḪI ina
 EDIN
 15' lu-u₂ ba-na-ti TU₆[!] (GU₇) EN₂
-
- 16' ḫa.^{ra}an.da'.bu.re ḫa.an.da.bu.re an.ta min ki.ta min
 tu.re da.re an.te
 17' [x x x].^{lu}u'.e.ne gil.gil.bur.bur.ni.ik.ki ^dasal.lu₂.ḫi pi.
 in.du
 18' [^den.ki?].^{ra}ik.ke' lu.gal.ab.su.ke dag ni.ig.gi.ri.ma(.)
 re.eš.mu.um.mu.ke
 19' [.i]k'.ku a.še.en.zu ḫa.an.da.bu.re zi an.na ḫe₂.
 RU^{sic} zi ki.ia ḫe₂.RU^{sic} en₂
-
- 20' [IZI] me-ḥu-u₂ IZI MURUB₄ iṣ-bat ṭur-ra TA AN-e ur-da
 21' [i-k]ul₂-la ⟨^{gis}TIR⟩ DAGAL_x GU₇-la a-ma-ba-a-ra is-su-uh GU₄ 'ina AB'.
 GU₄.ḪI.A
 22' 'is'-su-uh UDU ina TUR₃ is-su-uh ^{lu}₂GURUŠ ina šeš-šu₂ is-s[u-uh] ^{mi}₂KI.
 SIKIL]
 23' ina tu-li-e-i-šu ta-ša-bat A₂^{II}-šu₂ tuk₃-ta₂-aš-ši A₂^{II}-š[u₂]
 24' am-mi-ni GU₇ UZU.MEŠ-šu₂ am-mi-ni tuk₃-te-si-si₂ ^{uzu}GIR₃.P[AD.DU-šu₂]
 25' e-lu-ma ḪUR.SAG.MEŠ bi-šu-ti ⟨GU₇⟩? UK.KU SA₅-ma u ^{gis}LAM.[x]
 26' ri-di₃-ma ina ^{gis}GI GU₇ ^{gis}TIR u GI.MEŠ IZI GIM s[i²-]
 27' a-a ⟨i-⟩?tur ina qi₂-in-ni-šu₂ EN₂
-
- 28' sak.ki dib ḫur.sag.ga₂ u₂.ru.ud.da ne.zu aš.gar aš.
 [ru]

- 29' lu.ug.gin₇ mu.un.du.du lu.u₂.ti.kir₈ lu.u₂.tu.ku.
ra[]
- 30' lu.u₂.ba.ni mu.ut.ta.ša.a a.ši si.la si.se an.nu x[]
- 31' mu.šak.ki mu.šag.ga₂ mu.šak.ki li.ra.a.an ku.ku nu.
ku.ku ^d[asal.lu₂.ḫi]
- 32' gi.muš.šu a.ia.an.ni.gi.re.a.ab.ba.sig₅.ga ku mu.n[a.
de]
- 33' a.ia.ku sak.ki dib ḫur.sag.ga₂.ga₂ a.ra.me.ik.mu.aš.
šu[.ub[?].du[?].a[?]]
- 34' in.ki dumu.mi₂.a.ni ^dasal.lu₂.ḫi mu.un.na.na.ib.ge.
g[e]
- 35' tu.mu.ga a.na.an na.i.zu an.ga.ra.bi.ta.aḫ.ḫe []
- 36' ^dasal.lu₂.ḫi ki.min ni.ga.e.za.i.ga.an.zu u₂ za.ʿin[?].
ʿe[?][]
- 37' ka.in.zu in.ki dumu.mi₂.a.ni ^dasal.lu₂.ḫi ^utar-muš[]
- 38' ^uim-ḫur-li-im.bi.ta ^uim-ḫur-aš-na ^ulal₃.b[i.ta ^ulu₂[?].u₁₈[?].
lu[?]]
- 39' ^uḫar.ḫar ^ukur.kur numun šakir.ra li.lik.ma ka.an.
n[a]
- 40' i[d₂.lu[?].u]r.ku bi.ši.kala.ga lal₃.meš u₂.me.na.sig₇.
sig₇[]
- 41' []x u₂.me.na.ḫe₂.ḫe₂ ^{giš}za.na sag.ga.si[.da]
- 42' [sa]g[?].ga₂.gu₂.bi ti.iš.bur sag.ki.bi u₂.me.[]
- 43' []x.it.ta šu.un.ni a.ša.l[i[?]]
- 44' [ab.s]u[?].ke za.si.qa za.al.za.li.b[i]
- 45' [zi an.na ḫe₂.RU] zi [k]i.[i]a ḫe₂.RU^{sic} en₂

Translation:

(obverse)

- 1 [Be off], evil, before the sage of the gods, Marduk! Depart, evi[l],
- 2 before (the incantation) of Asalluḫi! Before the sage of the gods,
Marduk, turn [back][?],
- 3 whatever evil! Your spell is healing, Marduk, your incantation is
well-being. [Asalluḫi],
- 4 lord, your spell is healing. Marduk, lion-dragon of heaven and
earth,
- 5 of the upper and lower gods, your incantation has no rival. Evil,
- 6 depart before me! I belong to the hero As[alluḫi],
- 7 foremost son of Eridu. Whatever evil, whatever is unfavourable,
- 8 whatever is deadly for me, what is not good for my flesh, by com-
mand of Enki

- 9 I shall expel you. May he send (you) out the window, may he drive (you) out the crosspiece!
- 10 [What]ever evil, whatever is not good in your flesh and muscles,
 11 [hea]d disease, may the exorcist of the gods, the sage Asalluḫi, expel (them) from your body! Inc[antation.]
-
- 12 [Dep]art, evil, before the sage of the gods, Marduk! Be off evil,
 13 [bef]ore (the incantation) of Asalluḫi, before the sage of the gods, Marduk! O Marduk,
 14 [by] your command, the exorcist casts the spell “Bringing life to the dead”.
- 15 [] the [attr]active young man whom the gods ...!
 16 Many are the skin sores, I do not know their names. With the d[ew]²
 17 [the]y came; they rained² with drizzle, like []
 18 [] the field, like a fog gliding along the plain. By command of E[a]
 19 [the]y stand there, by command of Earth they eat the grass² []
 20 Ea created them, Earth reared them []
 21 [The sp]lendour of their luminosity from heav[en]
 22 *ašû* disease, *samānu* disease, *amurriqānu* jaundice, catcher demon, []
 23 fever, *li'bu* disease, *almu* demon, *allamu* demon, head[ache, migra-
 ine²,]
 24 [messe]ngers who serve Anu []
 25 [pois]onous foam of Anu, *alû* demon who covers ... []
 26 evil *alû* demon, *kuraštimmu* disease, fever, []
 27 [s]py demon, *utukku* demon, *šiqu* disease, *šaššaṭu* disease, [Lam-
 ashtu,]
 28 *labāšu* demon, catcher demon, terror demon, *lilû* demon, *lili[tu*
 demon]
 29 or *ardat-lilî* demon, *n...* disease, *šētu* fever,
 30 (and) mighty *gallû* demon, who hover high in the city,
 31 who repeatedly enter the houses and clamber over the roofs,
 32 who constantly lie in wait for, throng and turn around the attractive
 young man (and) the attractive young woman in the street.
 33 Asalluḫi has seen them and said to his father: “My father, there is
 a beautiful man,
 34 his entire body is full of awe-inspiring radiance.” “Go, my son Asal-
 luḫi,
 35 free him by using spell, tamarisk, and *maštakal*-plant! Grant (him)
 36 your life-giving incantation! Let head disease, tooth disease, lung
 disease, belly disease,

- 37 whatever causes evil to mankind, and evil machinations
 38 not approach him! Conjure them with a devastating flood!" "Drip
 away like sweat
 39 from the temples! Slither out like mucus
 40 through the nasal passage! Flow out like phlegm from the throat!
 41 Like wind from the anus, like a fog gliding along the plain, by the
 magic of the exorcist of the gods,
 42 Marduk, slither away! Be expelled like a fog gliding along the plain!
 43 [] ..., begone, go away, flee, be off!
 44 [] be [], be expelled (and) driven away!
 45 [Be conjured by heaven,] be conjured by the netherworld!" Incanta-
 tion.
-

46–50 ...

(break)

(reverse)

(break)

- 1' [] ...
 2' [] ...
 3' [] of Eridu², daughter of Anu,
 4' [] in the [street] (she²) bound the man²
 5' [] ... the snake, she² brought the bitch.
 6' Let the Qutean and Parashian dog drive out the man's dog!
 7' May he fashion its figurine with the blood of its bite and may
 seven ... !
 8' Go away, intrusive² dog, and get away from the man! Incantation.
-
- 9' The sombre mountain brought up the sombre fog, the *ditto* (i.e. sombre) fog
 10' brought up the *ditto* (i.e. sombre) grass, the *ditto* (i.e. sombre) grass,
 the sombre sheep eats the *ditto* (i.e. sombre) grass,
 11' the sombre man eats the *ditto* (i.e. sombre) sheep. O Sîn, may Asaluhi free the sombre man! Incantation.
-
- 12' The *miqtu* disease was created in heaven; it fell from heaven to the earth.
 13' It had the young man stand² in its way². He rose to cry: "Take me!
 14' Bring me before Ea and Asalluhi! O Asalluhi, in the plain
 15' you are splendid!" Incantation-spell.
-
- 16' Let it be undone, let it be undone! Above *ditto* (i.e. let it be undone, let it be undone!); below *ditto* (i.e. let it be undone, let it be undone!). ...

17' [] ... Asalluḫi said²:

18' ["Enk]i², lord of the Abzu, ... Ningirim, lady of the incantations,

19' [] ... Let it be undone! Be conjured by heaven, be conjured by the netherworld!" Incantation.

20' [Fire] of storm, fire of battle grabbed a string and came down from heaven.

21' It consumed large (woods), it consumed the reed thicket². It tore the ox away from the herd,

22' it tore the sheep away from the fold, it tore the young man away from his fellows, it to[re the young woman]

23' from his (i.e. the young man's) breast^{sic}. "You have seized his arms, you have bound his arms.

24' Why did you eat his flesh? Why did you gnaw his bones?

25' Go up to the faraway mountains and (eat²) ... and alm[onds²]!

26' Go down to the reed thicket and consume the forest and reeds! Let fire, like the s[wallow²],

27' not return to its nest!" Incantation.

28' Migraine who cannot remain in the mountains, headache (and) chi[lls]

29' who envelop like a tempest, [have] the unlucky man

30' ... along the street ... []

31' Like a snake, the snake, like a snake ... does not remain still. [Asal-luḫi]

32' saw this, entered the house of his father Enki (and) said to him:

33' "My father, migraine (who cannot remain) in the mountains (*etc.*)". Twice he sa[id it to him].

34' Enki answered his son Asalluḫi:

35' "My daughter^{sic}, what do you not know? What can I add to you?

36' Asalluḫi, *ditto* (i.e. what do you not know? What can I add to you?). Whatever I k[now] you

37' know". Enki (then said) to his daughter^{sic} Asalluḫi: (Take) *tarmuš*-plant,

38' together with *imḥurlim*-plant, *imḥurašna*-plant together with honey-plant, [mankind-plant²],

39' lung-plant, *ata'išu*-plant, seed of *šakirû*-plant, *l*-plant, *k*-plant, []

40' sulphur, strong You stir with honey.

41' You mix them [together] ... the [rig]ht temple,

42' [the] left temp[le] ... You bi[nd] his temples.

43' [] ... Asal[alimnunna²],

- 44' [foremost son of the Abz]u, [it is in your power] to treat kindly, to be gracious.
- 45' [Be conjured by heaven,] be conjured by the netherworld!" Incantation.

Notes to text:

- 1–11. The first incantation is a “forerunner” to the later canonical series Udug-ḥul Tablet 2 (cf. Geller, M.J. 2007:xi n. 3), namely its first incantation. Because this was not known to any of the scholars who have previously dealt with the text, many new restorations and readings are here presented for the first time. Some notes follow on more or less punctual aspects. A more thorough treatment of this important text will be offered elsewhere.
5. Note the shift of intervocalic *n* to ' in *šā'ina* (< *šānina*).
- 5–9. It is now possible to safely suggest the original source of the Sumerian syllabically written text as follows: ḥul.gal₂ sil₇.la₂ igi.mu.ta ga₂.e me.en ga₂.e me.en ur.sag ^dasal.lu₂.ḫi dumu sag eridu^{ki}.ga.ke₄ nig₂.nam ḥul nig₂ nu.sig₅.ga nig₂ nu.til.la.gu₁₀ su nu.du.ga.gu₁₀ ag₂.u₆.li[?] ^den.ki.ke₄ a.ra ga.ra.ab.zi.
11. The canonical text has *lissuḥ* as final verb.
- 12–45. The second incantation is a “forerunner” to the first-millennium series *Muššu'u* Tablet 5, namely its fourth incantation (see Böck, B. 2007: 25, 42–43, 191–196, 209–210, sub *Muššu'u* V/d). The parallels have provided new readings and potential restorations.
16. The tentative restoration at the end of the line is based on the first-millennium parallel text; note that the text has other examples of crasis writing.
17. Both the writing of MANⁿⁱ-nu-u₂-ni and the verbal form are aberrant, as already pointed out by Nougayrol, J. (1969:36), who proposed to read it *išannanūni*. Could one read it *iznunūni*? Note that the text exhibits a high degree of confusion in the representation of sibilants. For demons raining like a drizzle, cf. e.g. Šurpu VII 15f.
- 22–30. A similar list of demons is partly preserved in RS 34.021:1–10 (see below).
38. Von Soden, W. (1969:190) already suggested the mistake *naškapti* for *našpanti*.
40. KA-a-ni is clearly written at the end of the line. The imperative of *kā'u* / *qā'u* “to vomit; flow out” suits well the context.
- Rev. 7'. Von Soden, W. (1969:190) proposed to understand *lip-ḥu-du₂* as the Akkadian precative of an alleged Ugaritic verb meaning “to dread, fear”; so also Huehnergard, J. 1987:166.

- 8'. For *arrabu* < *errebu*, see Von Soden, W.:1969 190.
- 13'. Perhaps *i-na u₂-ši-šu* for *ina ūšišu*? Note again the possible confusion in the representation of sibilants. For *lu-ša-ziz-za* < *u₂-ša-ziz-za*, see already Nougayrol, J. 1968:38 (who read however KU instead of LU).
- 16'–19'. The incantation is a “forerunner” to first-millennium *Muššu'u* VIII/r (see Böck, B. 2007: 63, 296). The form *ḥa.an.da.bu.re* stands for Sumerian *ḥe₂.en.da.bur₂.re*, as already pointed out by Nougayrol (1969:38); see also Krecher, J. 1969:155.
- 17'. Perhaps *pi.in.du* for *bi₂.in.du₁₁*.
- 18'. The interpretation of *ni.ig.gi.ri.ma.re.eš.mu.um.mu.ke* as ^d*nin.girim ereš.mu₇.mu₇.ke₄* was put forward by Krecher (1969:155).
- 20'–27'. The fire or, rather, fever incantation was first re-evaluated in the light of first-millennium versions by Lambert, W.G. (1970:44). A duplicate and roughly contemporary text from Emar was later published by Tsukimoto, A. (1999:188–200), providing important new readings and restorations, and a new parallel came to light in the 1994 campaign of excavations in Ras Shamra (see RS 94.2178 below).
- 21'. The sign DAGAL_x is written PISANxLA. Is *a-ma-ba-a-ra* an aberrant syllabic writing of AMBAR? Cf. the also aberrant variant forms in the Emar and Ugarit parallel texts (Tsukimoto 1999:188–200 line 28, RS 94.2178:2; see below).
- 23'. The complement *ina tulēšu* is probably a corruption for *ina sūnišu*; note the masculine genitive suffix. Lambert, W.G. (1970:44) and CAD T 468 preferred to restore at the end of the previous line the word *šerra* and accordingly correct the suffix; the restoration here viz. ^{mi}*KL.SIKIL* is based on the (also corrupted) versions of the Meskene and Ras Shamra tablets. See RS 94.2178 obv. 3 below.
- 26'. On the basis of the Emar duplicate, *sinuntu* is very probably to be restored at the end of the line.
- 28'–45'. The last incantation is a “forerunner” to one of the incantations of the first-millennium series Sag-gig, as already pointed out by Nougayrol (1968:39). To the manuscripts quoted by Nougayrol one should add now KBo 14 26 and SpTU II no. 2 148ff.
- 29'. The beginning of the line *lu.ug.gin₇ mu.un.du.du* should probably be understood as *u₁₈.lu.gin₇ mu.un.du₆.du₆*.
- 34'. Here and in line 37' Asalluḫi is said to be the daughter of Enki; note also the feminine form of the genitive suffix in line 33 and the verb in line 34. This interpretation of the Mesopotamian god in Ugarit was already pointed out by Nougayrol, J. (1968:37).

- 36'–37'.** Unlike Nougayrol's and Arnaud's interpretation, the Marduk-Ea formula here syllabically and aberrantly written must stand for $nig_2.g a_2.e i_3.z u.a.g u_{10} u_3 z a.e i n.g a.e.z u.$
- 43'–44'.** Probably to be restored and read the Marduk-Ea formula $^d a s a l. a l i m.n u n.n a d u m u s a g a b z u.k e_4 \check{s} a_6.g a z i l_2.z i l_2.l i. b i z a.a.k a m.$

A partial duplicate of the previous text (RS 15.152)

Copy: Nougayrol, J. 1968:375:no. 17^b.

Edition: Nougayrol, J. 1968:32; Arnaud, D. 2007:78, 81.

Find-place: The royal palace.

This small fragment preserves part of two incantations that duplicate the wording and sequence of RS 17.155 rev. 4'–9'. Because the reverse is not inscribed, the original tablet may not have been a duplicate and might have only had an excerpt of RS 17.155. It is the only incantation text discovered in the royal palace of Ugarit.

Transliteration:

(obverse)

(break)

- 1' [] $\check{r} x^{\check{r}}$ ni i[m]
 2' [] $\check{r} x^{\check{r}}$ li tar $\check{r} x^{\check{r}}$ []
 3' [] $\check{r} x^{\check{r}}$ i na $\check{h} u.m u. \check{r} x^{\check{r}}$ []
 4' [] $\check{r} x^{\check{r}}$ $^d a s a l.l u_2. \check{h} i d u \check{r} x^{\check{r}}$ []
 5' [] $\check{r} x^{\check{r}}$ a n. d a si. l a. a. e l[u.]
 6' [si. l a]. a. e m[U] \check{s} NIG rab. b a₂ []
 7' [UR. G I₇? q] u- ti- i u ba- ra- $\check{s} i- \check{r} i^{\check{r}}$ []
 8' [i na M U D₂. M] E \check{s} na- a \check{s} - ki- $\check{s} a$ D U₃- u \check{s} N U- [$\check{s} u_{(2)}$]
 9' [UR. G I₇ a] r- ra- bu BA. BAD- ma \check{r} ZA BA \check{r} [. BAD E N₂]

-
- 10' [KUR e- $\check{t} u$]- tu₃ D U N G U e- \check{t} [u- tu₃]
 11' [] u l- \check{t} [e- la- a U₂. M E \check{s} $\check{r} x^{\check{r}}$ []
 12' [] $\check{r} x^{\check{r}}$ $\check{r} x^{\check{r}}$ []

(break)

For a translation, see RS 17.155 rev. 4'–9' above.

A collection of incantations against various diseases (RS 94.2178)

Copy: Arnaud, D. 2007:pls. VI–VII.

Edition: Arnaud, D. 2007:55–58:no. 14.

Find-place: The House of Urtenu.

This tablet is inscribed in landscape orientation with a series of incantations. Only the first and last of these are legible, due to the poor state of preservation of the surface of the tablet, especially its reverse and lower edge. The opening spell is a fire incantation that has parallels in two other compendia, one also from Ras Shamra and one from Emar (see RS 17.155 above). The text closes with an incantation against eye disease.

Transliteration:

(obverse)

- 1 EN₂.E₂.NU.RU IZI.MEŠ *me-ḥu-u₂* IZI.MEŠ *qab₂-ʿelʿ* (x) xʿ *ṭur-ra iš-tu ʿxʿ*
[ʿ?]
- 2 GU₇ *qiš-ša₂-ta rap-aš-ta* GU₇-*a-la(-)ma-ab-ba-ra ik-su* GU(RUŠ)[?] *ina* E.
ŠE.MEŠ-šu
- 3 *ik-su ar-da-ta ina tu₃-li-ša ik-su* GU₄.MEŠ *u₃* AB₂.ḪI.A *ik-su* UDU.ḪI.A
- 4 *u₃ tar-ba-ši₂ ta₂-a-ta₂-ka-al* UZU.MEŠ.GU₁₀ *am-mi-ni₇ ti-ka-as-su-us-ma*
- 5 GIŠ.BI-*ma e ta-kal-la eš-še-em-ta la-a ta-kal* UZU.MEŠ *na-aš-ba u₃ gi-*
de
- 6 *na-aš-bu-ti e-li-ma* UK-UR(-)KUR *el-lu-ti₄ a-kul_x* A.LA.AN *u₃ bu-ṭu₃-um-*
ʿtaʿ
- 7 *i-na in-be in-ba* DU₁₀.GA *a-na e-pe₃-iš me-e-ka-li ir-di-im-ma a-kul_x*
- 8 *el-li-ta ka-ma-na ki-i-ma* A.MEŠ *pi₃-ša₂-an-ni ina* EGIR-šu *la* GUR.MEŠ
- 9 IZI.MEŠ *a-ia i-tur₂ a-na aš-ri-šu ki* GIŠ-ZI(-)ʿxʿ-K/DI *i-na ʿx(-x)-šuʿ*
- 10 *la* GUR IZI.MEŠ *a-ia i-tur₂ a-na aš-ri-šu* TU₆ EN₂.E₂.NU.RU

11–13 (badly effaced, only traces of signs visible)

(lower edge)

14–17 (badly effaced, only traces of signs visible)

(reverse)

1–9 (badly effaced, only traces of signs visible)

- 10 TU₆ EN₂.ʿE₂ʿ^{ʿ?}[NUʿRUʿ[?]] *igi.ḥuš igi.ḥuš.ḥuš igi.bar.ra*
ḥuš.ḥuš
- 11 *ša-lam igi* [] *ša-lam igi.bar.ra bar.bar ša-lam igi.bar.*
ra bar.bar
- 12 *igi zag igi* [] *ša-lam igi.bar.ra zag zag 4 uzu igi-*
šu

- 13 NIN.MEŠ-šu ʿx x x xʿ *pi*₂-*ti*₄-*ik-tu*₄ *ba-at-ʿka-tu* xʿ-*ia*
 14 ʿxʿ *i-na be-ri-šu-nu* *pi*₂-*ti*₄-*ik-tu*₄ *pa-at-ka-at* TU₆ EN₂.E₂.NU.ʿRUʿ

Translation:

(obverse)

- 1 *Enuru*-incantation. Fire of storm, fire of battle [grabbed?] a string and [came down?] from [heaven?].
- 2 It consumed large woods, it consumed the reed thicket?. It captured the young (man) from his fellows?,
- 3 It captured the young woman from her breast^{sic}, it captured the ox and the herd, it captured the sheep
- 4 and the fold. “You have eaten my flesh. Why do you gnaw
- 5 his bones? Do not eat the bones! Do not eat the ... flesh and the ... tendons!
- 6 Go up to the faraway mountains? and consume the oak and the pistachio tree,
- 7 (and) the sweet fruit from the fruit tree as (your) meal?! Go down and eat
- 8 cumin to boot?! Like drainpipe water that does not turn backwards,
- 9 let fire not return to its place! Like ... that does not turn to its ...
- 10 let fire not return to its place!” *Enuru*-incantation-spell.

11–13 (badly effaced, only traces of signs visible)

(lower edge)

14–17 (badly effaced, only traces of signs visible)

(reverse)

1–9 (badly effaced, only traces of signs visible)

10–12 *E[nuru?]*-incantation-spell [] (pseudo-Sumerian and Akkadian gibberish describing the sick eyes, largely untranslatable)

13 his sister ... a wall has been made ...

14 ... between them a wall has been made. *Enuru*-incantation-spell.**Notes to text:**

- Obv. 1–10.** The restorations and interpretations are based on the duplicate or parallel fire incantation texts from Emar (Tsukimoto, A. 1999:188–200) and Ras Shamra (RS 17.155:20ʿ–27ʿ). See the comments on RS 17.155:20ʿ–27ʿ above.
- 2.** On the basis of the parallel texts, E.ŠE seems to be an aberrant writing for ŠEŠ, as pointed out by Arnaud (2007:57). For a possible corruption (*a*)-*ma-ab-ba-ra* < AMBAR, see the commentary to RS 17.155:21ʿ above.

3. For the corruption *ina tulêša* < *ina sūnišu*, see the commentary to RS 17.155:23' above.
 4. Ugaritic influence probably accounts for the aberrant verb form *tikassus*, as suggested by Arnaud, D. (2007:57).
 5. Is GIŠ.BI to be read GIŠ.BI? Cf. *giš* = *ešemtu* in lexical texts.
 6. Is UK-UR a corruption for 𐎶UR.SAG or an aberrant syllabic reading for the next written sign KUR? Here and in the next line, the scribe used the sign KAL for /kul/.
 8. On the basis of the Emar duplicate, *ka-ma-na* is to be understood as *kamūna* (note in the previous line the probably also aberrant vocalisation of *mākāli*).
- Rev. 10–14.** Incantation against eye disease.
- 11–12.** For *šalam ini*, cf. *šulum ini* “pupil/iris” (CAD I/J 241, Fincke, J. 2000:229–230; is GE₆ in the expression GE₆ IGI to be read *šalmu* rather than *šulmu*?).
- 13–14.** For this formula see e.g. BAM 514 ii 41', iii 23'. The eyes are called “sisters” in this kind of incantation. Note, however, in this text the masculine plural suffix (in line 14).

Incantation against demons (RS 34.021)

Copy: none.

Photograph: Schaeffer, Cl.F.A. 1978:pl. 1 (after p. 405).

Edition: Lackenbacher, S. 1991:89:no. 45; Arnaud, D. 2007:73–75:no. 19.

Literature: Clemens, D.M. 2001:995–996.

Find-place: The House of Urtenu.

This is the upper left-hand corner of a tablet inscribed with an incantation that begins with a list of demons. The names and sequence of the demons parallel those attested in one of the spells of RS 17.155 (see above), namely a “forerunner” to a spell belonging to the first-millennium series *Muššu'u*.

Transliteration:

(obverse)

- 1 *a-la-al-lu₂ al-lu-h[ap-pu]*
- 2 *bi-ib-bu mu-ur-tap-pi-[du]*
- 3 DUMU.MEŠ *šip-ri ša re-ši^de₂-[a]*
- 4 *mut-tap-ri-ri ša IGI² []*
- 5 *ša-ra-ab-tu-u x[]*
- 6 *u₂-tuk-ku []*

7 *šu-ku-uk* []

8 *ra-bi-iš ša*-[]

9 MI.IL.LA *ḫ*[U²]

10 *gal-lu-u ra-b*[*u-u*]

(break)

(reverse)

(break)

1' *ŠI* []

2' *TE* []

3' *tu-r*[*a*]

4' *pa-a lem-n*[*a*²]

5' ^dUTU *da-a-a*²-*x*[] / *x*[]

6' *ŠEŠ GAL NIN GAL iṣ-bat* []

7' *lu-mu-un ŠA₃-bi ma-'a-a*[*d*] / DUMU.MI₂ DINGIR.M[*EŠ*]

8' *a-a iṭ-ḫi-ku a-a iṣ-bat-k*[*a*]

9' *i-na* DU₁₁ *tu-kul-ta-ka* []

10' *ma-mi-ta ru-uṣ BI RU* []

11' B[E²]

Translation:

1 *Alalu* demon, *alluḫapu* demon,

2 roving *bibbu* demon,

3 messengers who serve E[a,]

4 roaming ... []

5 *šarrabtû* demon ... []

6 *utukku* demon []

7 ... []

8 the lurker of ... []

9 *lilitu*² demon []

10 migh[ty] *gallû* demon

(break)

(reverse)

(break)

1'–3' ...

4' *evi*[l] mouth []

5' Shamash, the judg[e²] ...

6' has seized the elder brother (and) the elder sister []

7' much grief [] daughter of the god[s]

8' Let her not approach you, let her not seize y[ou!]

9' By the command² your help []

10' *mamītu*[?] ... come to help ... [!]

11' (separation mark[?])

Notes to text:

1–10. Cf. the parallel lines in RS 17.155:22–30 and the first-millennium incantation *Muššu'u* V/d, especially lines 36–44 (Böck, B. 2007:193ff.).

Various incantations against illnesses accompanied by rituals (RS 25.129 + 25.456B)

Copy: Arnaud, D. 2007:pl. XII.

Edition: Arnaud, D. 2007:91–96:no. 25; Finkel, I.L. 1998:94–96 (lines rev. 31'–41').

Literature: Clemens, D.M. 2001:936–937; Stol, M. 2012:60.

Find-place: The House of the Lamashtu tablets.

This is a remarkable relatively well-preserved and well-structured compendium of incantations. Four spells with their accompanying rituals are almost fully preserved. Because the top of this large tablet is lost only the last lines of what could be the first incantation of the compendium and traces of the beginning of the alleged last spell at the end of the reverse are preserved. The ritual accompanying the first spell is, however, complete. Spells, their subscripts, and rituals, are all properly divided by horizontal ruling lines. The first two incantations are intended to stop vomiting (the ritual to the second one presents two additional, alternative treatments). The third spell is against diarrhea. The fourth is directed against *šimmatu* disease according to its subscript,¹⁸ although interestingly the spell speaks of *maškadu* disease. And the fifth spell is against *samānu* disease. New readings and interpretations different from the *editio princeps* are based on the available photographs.

Transliteration:

(obverse)

(break)

1' ʾša sag.ra.ra x x x (x) x x' sag ša sag.ra.r[a]
 2' ša sag.ra.ra dug₃ dugud ki.nu₂ dug₃ dugud ki.nu₂.
 nu₂ gu₂ ʾx' []

¹⁸ An incantation text against *šimmatu* (that would be incorporated in the first-millennium series *Muššu'u*) has also been found in Emar (Emar 735 (+) 736); see Cohen, Y. 2009:216, Rutz, M. 2013:265–266.

3' KA.INIM.MA *pa-ra-a ana* KU₅-[si]

4' KID₃.KID₃.BI ^{dug}LA.ĤA.AN SAĤAR₂ *ša i-nam šal-mat TI-qe₂*

5' A *ina* I₇ *a-na ma-ḥir-ti ta-ḥab-bu*

6' GI SAL.LA SUMUN TI-qe₂ *ina ni-ri šal-mu-ti*

7' *ša qe₂-e ra-bu-ti pal-lu-ur-ta te-ši₂-ir*

8' *i-na* ^{dug}LA.ĤA.AN GAR-an

9' *ina ni-ri šal-mu-ti ta-kar-ri-ik*

10' EN₂ 7-šu₂ ŠID-nu NAG-šu¹-ma TI-uṭ

11' EN₂ si-ba-tum si-ba-tum si-ba-tum iš-tu ki

12' u₂.sun₂.na.pi dar.da.rak.ku dar.da.rak.ku

13' šen.šen si.li.ib si.ga.ab

14' lagab ḥe₂.kul.la.ab nu.ma.aš₂ TU₆.EN₂

15' KA.INIM.MA *pa-ra-a a-na* KU₅-si

16' KID₃.KID₃.BI IM.SAĤAR.BABBAR.KUR.RA NAGA.SI DIŠ-niš SUD₂

17' *ina* KAŠ.SAG ŠUB-di EN₂ 7-šu₂ ŠID-nu NAG-šu₂

18' DIŠ KI.MIN NUMUN ^{giš}ŠINIG *ina* LAL₃ u₃ I₃.NUN SUD₂

19' EN₂ ŠID-nu *ina* ŠU.SI-šu₂ u₂-na-aš-ša-ab

20' DIŠ KI.MIN ŠIKA E.SIR₂.LIMMU₂.BA *ina* I₃.GIŠ SUD₂

21' EN₂ *tu-la-ap*^{sic} ZI-šu₂ TAG.TAG-at-ma TI-uṭ

22' EN₂ kal.kal ḥa.ar.za.ra.aš₂ ḥa.za.ar.na.aš₂

23' nig₂ kal.kal ḥa.ar.za.ra.aš₂ ḥa.za.ar.na.aš₂

24' sum zi kal.kal ḥa.ar.za.ra.aš₂ ḥa.za.ar.na.aš₂

25' IM.DA IM liṭ-ḥi IM *ana* IM li-is-niq

26' *li-šap-ši-iḥ* u₃ *lil-tap-ši-iḥ*

27' *ina qi₂-bit* ^dbi₂-zil-la₂ *be-let tap-ši-iḥ-ti*

28' u₃ ^dgu-la *be-let ba-la-ṭi*

(reverse)

1 ^dgu-la bu-ul-li-ṭi-im-ma NIG₂.BA mu-uḥ-ri TU₆.EN₂

2 KA.INIM.MA ŠA₃.SUR KU₅.RU.DA.KAM₂

3 KID₃.KID₃⟨.BI⟩ ^{sig₂}AKA₃ *ki-bi-is* ^{giš}GIGIR *ša* GUB₃

4 SIG₂.ZA.GIN₃.NA DUR SIR₅.SIR₅ *a-na* 2-šu₂ *te-eš-šip*

5 7 KEŠ₂ KEŠDA EN₂ 7-šu₂ ŠID-nu *ina* MURUB₄-šu₂ KEŠDA-ma TI-uṭ

6 EN₂ sa.keš₂ lu₂.bi lu₂.bi dab

7 sa.keš₂ ka.bi ka.bi dab

8 a.a ni₂.te.ge₂₆ šeš ni₂.te.ta

9 en.e kal.la nin.na kal.la

- 10 sa.keš₂ lu₂.bi dab igi mu.un.ši.in.bar
 11 a.a.gu₁₀ ni₂.te igi mu.un.ši.in.bar
 12 guruš.didli.bi u₃ nin.didli.bi
 13 a.na.am₃ ib₂.ba.ak.a.en.na.bi nu.zu a.na.am₃ ba.ni.
 ib₂.gi₄.gi₄
 14 ^den.ki dumu.ni ^dasal.lu₂.ḫi mu.un.na.ni.ib₂.gi₄.gi₄
 15 dumu.gu₁₀ a.na.am₃ nu.i₃.zu a.na.am₃ a.ra.ab.daḫ.e
 16 ^dasal.lu₂.ḫi a.na.am₃ nu.i₃.zu a.na.am₃ a.ra.ab.daḫ.e
 17 ni₃.ga₂.e i₃.zu.a.gu₁₀ u₃ za.e in.ga.e.zu
 18 gen.na dumu.gu₁₀ ^dasal.lu₂.ḫi
 19 ^dnin.tin.ug₅.ga ša₃.tam dingir.re.e.ne.ke₄
 20 ^dnin.tin.ug₅.ga ama dingir.re.e.ne.ke₄
 21 ^dnin.tin.ug₅.ga sag.kal dingir.re.e.ne.ke₄
 22 a.a ^den.ki.ke₄ ^dasal.lu₂.ḫi za₃.mi₂
 23 ^dasal.lu₂.ḫi dab.be₂.da ^dutu.ra ki.za.za ḫe₂.me.en
 24 ^dasal.lu₂.ḫi dab.be₂.da nam.mu.un.da.an.bur₂.re
 tu₆.en₂

25 KA.INIM.MA *šim-ma-tu₄*

- 26 KID₃.KID₃.BI SIG₂.GA.RIG₂.AK.A SIG₂ HE₂.ME.DA MI₂ ša U₃.TU *par₂-sat*
 27 SIR₅.SIR₅ 7 ^{na}šū-u NITA₂.MEŠ E₃-ak
 28 ^u₂LAL ^u₂SIKIL PIŠ₁₀.^dI₇ Uḫ₂.^dI₇
 29 [K]A[?] ^rta²-am²-ti²? *ina* [b]e-ri-šu-nu 7 *lap-pi ta-lap-pap*
 30 [[?] KEŠ[?] KEŠDA[?] EN[?] 7-šu₂?] ^ršID²-nu[?] *ina* A₂-šu KEŠDA-ma TI-uṭ

-
- 31 [EN₂] ^rx[?] ḫa-li-^rip[?] *sa-am-ta*
 32 [labiṣ l]u-bu-ši ša ZA.GIN₃.NA
 33 [ki-ma M]UL.MEŠ ^ri²-šar²-ru²-ur²?
 34 [ki-ma mē m]i-ik-ra im-ta-la []
 35 [i²-mu]r² GURUŠ iṣ-ša-bat []
 36 [i²-m]ur² KI.SIKIL iṣ-ša-bat []
 37 [ki-m]a mi-tu₄ im-šu-u₂ [balāṭa]
 38 [iz-b]a la i-mu-ru [nišišu]
 39 [kūbu la] ^ri[?]-ni-qu ši-iz-bi [ummišu]
 40 [samānu a-]^ra[?] is-sa-aḫ-ra ki-ma MUŠ ^rx[?][]

41 [KA.INIM.M]A SA.MA.NA₂ []

- 42 [KID₃.KID₃.BI S]IG₂.GA.RIG₂.AK.A SIG₂ HE₂.ME.DA []
 43 []1²-niš a-na 3 DUR.MEŠ []
 44 [] KE[Š₂ KEŠDA 7.TA.AM₃ EN₂ Š[ID-nu]
-

45 [] 'x x' [] 'x' []
 (break)

Translation:

(obverse)

(break)

1'–2' (unintelligible, abracadabra[?] words)

3' Incantation-formula to stop vomiting.

4' Its ritual: You take a suitable porous bottle (and)

5' you draw water from the river (facing) upstream.

6' You take a thin, old reed (and) on black braids

7' made of thick threads you draw a cross.

8' You put (the braids) in the bottle.

9' You wrap (the bottle) with the black braids.

10' You recite the incantation seven times. You have him drink (it) and he will recover.

11'–14' Incantation (unintelligible, abracadabra words). Incantation-spell.

15' Incantation-formula to stop vomiting.

16' Its ritual: you grind *alluḥaru*-mineral together with salicornia.

17' You pour it in fine beer. You recite the incantation seven times and have him drink it.

18' Or also: you pound tamarisk seeds in honey and fine oil.

19' You recite the incantation. He sucks (it) with his finger.

20' Or also: you crush a potsherd from the crossroads in oil.

21' <You recite>[?] the incantation. You smear his throat (with it) and he will recover.

22'–24' Incantation (unintelligible, abracadabra opening words)

25' Let the wind approach the wind, let the wind draw close to the wind!

26' May he rest and may he be alleviated

27' by command of Bizilla, lady of relief,

28' and Gula, lady of healing!

(reverse)

1 "O Gula, make me well and accept (this) gift!" Incantation.

2 Incantation-formula to stop diarrhea.

3 <Its> ritual: you spin fleece from the left track of a chariot

- 4 (and) blue wool into yarn, twining two (threads together).
 5 You tie seven knots. You recite the incantation seven times. You tie (it) to his hips and he will recover.
-
- 6 Incantation: *maškadu* seized a man, a man;
 7 *maškadu* seized his mouth, his mouth.
 8 He who reverses his father, the reverent brother,
 9 the precious lord, the precious lady.
 10 “I have seen *maškadu* seizing a man,
 11 my father, I have indeed seen him,
 12 young men as well as young women!
 13 I do not know what I should do about it; by what will he recover from it?”
 14 Enki answered his son Asalluḫi:
 15 “My son, what do you not know? What can I add to it?
 16 Asalluḫi, what do you not know? What can I add to it?
 17 Whatever I know you know.
 18 Go, my son Asalluḫi!”
 19 Praise be to Nintinuga, overseer of the gods,
 20 Nintinuga, mother of the gods,
 21 Nintinuga, foremost of the gods,
 22 father Enki, Asalluḫi!
 23 “O Asalluḫi, I am the one seized prostrating myself before Shamash!”
 24 May Asalluḫi not undo (the incantation) from the one who has been seized!
-
- 25 Incantation-formula against *šimmatu*.
-
- 26 Its ritual: you spin combed wool and red wool of a woman who has ceased (being able) to give birth.
 27 You string seven male *šû* stones;
 28 between them you wind seven burls
 29 of *ašqulālu*-plant, *sikillu*-plant, sulphur, *ruttitu*-mineral (and) *imbû tâmti*[?] mineral.
 30 [You tie seven knots.[?]] You recite[?] [the incantation seven times[?]]. You tie (it) to his arm and he will recover.
-
- 31 [Incantation: *samānu*] wrapped in scarlet,
 32 [clad in] garments of lapis lazuli,
 33 it flashes [like the] stars,
 34 it has filled the irrigated fields like floodwater [].

- 35 [It sa]w the young man, seizing [],
 36 [it sa]w the young woman, seizing [].
 37 [Just a]s a dead person forgot [life],
 38 [(as) an an]omaly never saw [his fellow man],
 39 [(as) a premature child never] sucked [its mother's] milk,
 40 let [*samānu*] never return, like a snake []

41 [Incantat]ion-formula against *samānu*.

- 42 [Its ritual:] you [spin] combed wool, red wool []
 43 [] together into three yarns []
 44 You tie [] knots. Seven times you rec[ite] the incantation []
-

45 ...

(break)

Notes to text:

- 6'–7'.** According to the new readings, the ritual does not prescribe drawing a cross “in burnt bitumen”, as interpreted by Arnaud and followed in turn by Stol (see Stol, M. 2012:60).
- 11'.** Cf. the medical incantation in K. 2426 iv 20–22.
- 21'.** It seems that the scribe began to write syllabically the verb *tulappat* belonging to the second clause, instead of *tamannu* as expected which was eventually omitted.
- Rev. 2.** The incantation rubric against ŠA₃.SUR KU₅.RU.DA is included in the KAR 44 catalogue (line 18) and duplicates (see now Geller, M.J. 2000:246, 253, with reference also to the medical commentary BAM 401:13).
- 6–30.** This incantation together with its ritual is a “forerunner” to BAM 473 iii 6'–24' and the fragmentary duplicate BAM 474 1'–10'. The Ras Shamra text provides insightful restorations and a better understanding of the Kuyunjik texts (studied by Scurlock, J.A. 2005:431–433). Note that the Kuyunjik incantation (which will be treated elsewhere) is directed against the Hand-of-the-ghost.
- 24.** This formula is to be added to the list of attestations collected and discussed by Schramm, W. 2001:13–18. Note that the presence of the comitative noun in the Ras Shamra text supports his interpretation of the formula.
- 29.** The tentative restoration of the ingredient is based both on the traces of the cuneiform signs and the fact that it appears in other recipes combined with sulphur and *ruttitu*-mineral.

Incantation against eye disease (RS 20.006)

Copy: Nougayrol, J. 1968:379:no. 19.

Edition: Nougayrol, J. 1968:64–65:no. 19; Collins, T. 1999:200–203; Fincke, J. 2000:93 n. 717, 167, 203, 302.

Literature: Foster, B. 2005:967 (translation of the text); Clemens, D.M. 2001:844–847 (with previous literature); Arnaud, D. 2007:88:no. 22.

Find-place: The House of Rap'anu.

This fifteen-line incantation text is inscribed on a single tablet in landscape orientation. The spell directed against eye disease¹⁹ is specified as being of divine origin, namely as belonging to the Babylonian healing deities Damu and Ninkarrak.

Transliteration:

(obverse)

- 1 [E]N₂.MEŠ(.E₂).NU.RU₃ IGI.MEŠ^{e-nu} [*a-pa₂-tu²*]
- 2 IGI.MEŠ *a-za-tu* IGI.MEŠ *dal-ḥa-t[u]*
- 3 IGI.MEŠ DUMU.MI₂ *ša-ri*
- 4 IGI.MEŠ *pur-si₂-it* MUD₂.MEŠ
- 5 *šu-ḥar-ri-tum*
- 6 *tu-ul-ta-lu-na zi-en* [MUD₂.]MEŠ

(lower edge)

- 7 *u₃ IZI liq-qal-pa₂*
- 8 *ki šu-mi lik-ta-li*

(reverse)

- 9 *ki-ma a-la-pi₂*
- 10 *ši-pat₂ u₂-li-a-ti*
- 11 *ši-pat₂ da-mi u₃ ni-ka-rak_x*
- 12 *ni-ka-rak_x bu-li-ṭi₃-ma*
- 13 'DUMU' UM.MI.A.MEŠ NIG₂.BA *li-im-ḥur*
- 14 *e-li-iš a-ia e-li-ma*
- 15 [*š*]*ap-li-iš lu-ši*

Translation:

(obverse)

- 1 <E>*nuru*-incantation. [Clouded] eyes,
- 2 blurred eyes, troubled eyes!
- 3 Eyes, daughters to the wind,

¹⁹ Not against the evil eye; cf. Clemens, D.M. 2001:844–847.

4–5 Eyes, porous bowl of blood!

6 You have produced a rain of [blood]

(lower edge)

7 and fire. Let it be peeled off

8 like garlic! Let it be blocked off

(reverse)

9 as if (with) algae!

10 The incantation is not mine;

11 it is the incantation of Damu and Ninkarrak!

12 O Ninkarrak, heal!

13 May the expert receive a gift!

14 It should not go up above!

15 Let it go out below!

Notes to text:

1. The emendation is plausible in view of the different spellings of the formula $EN_2.E_2.NU.RU$ in the Ras Shamra texts. Following Collins, T. (1999:201) and Arnaud, D. (2007:88), *e-nu* is here understood as a gloss of IGI.MEŠ.
6. The ending *-ūna* is not Akkadian. Von Soden, W. (1969:191) identified the verbal form as Ugaritic, as did later van Soldt, W.H. (1991:442) who proposed to translate the sentence “The eyes, a bowl of blood, motionless, have caused a rain of blood to go up(?)”. Huehnergard, J. (1989:161 n. 190), however, correctly remarked that it is only the ending that may reflect an interference from the Ugaritic modal system of verbs; nevertheless, unconvinced by the rare hybrid form, he preferred to suggest a scribal mistake for *tultaznina/ā* “you have rained down”. Arnaud (2007:88) also favoured the idea of a scribal mistake so as to avoid both the hybrid form of *elû* and its meaning, but could not find any satisfactory solution. Foster’s translation, like the one adopted here, follows Nougayrol’s (1968:65).
- 7–9. Like Nougayrol (1968:65) and Foster (2005:967), I would like to understand these lines as referring to the remedy (Collins’s suggested parallels [1999:202] and Fincke’s different reading [2000 167 n. 1256] would instead point to the disease being still described). For the reading of the first verb and sentence (lines 7–8), see van Soldt *apud* CAD Q 59 (the interpretations of Nougayrol, Foster and Arnaud are based on unnecessary corrections); it is unnecessary to correct *kī* to *kīma*. The reading of *liktalli* as the verb form in the second sentence follows Nougayrol’s interpretation.
10. Nougayrol (1968:65) read $u_2-li-[i]a^?-ti$, and van Soldt (1991:405) suggested reading $u_2-li-u^?-ti$. The photograph, however, shows no space for the

beginning of Nougayrol's IA, and what van Soldt read as an U-sign seems rather to be a scratch on the tablet. Note the crasis for *ul yattī* (cf. Huehnergard 1989:108).

Incantations against eye disease with rituals (RS 25.418)

Copy: Arnaud, D. 2007:pl. XIII.

Edition: Arnaud, D. 2007:98–99:no. 27.

Find-place: The House of the Lamashtu tablets.

Only a fragment of the bottom of the tablet remains of this text. The end of the obverse and the last lines of the reverse are inscribed with two different incantations directed against eye disease. Two rituals are partially preserved: the one inscribed on the reverse is the one prescribed to accompany the first eye incantation, and the one on the obverse accompanied a spell that has been lost. The ritual that probably accompanied the second eye incantation is also lost. Spells, their subscripts, and rituals, are all properly divided by horizontal ruling lines.²⁰

Transliteration:

(obverse)

(break)

- 1' []x (x) x x[]
 2' []x u₃ <I₃>².GIŠ SAG NU/T[I]
 3' [] i-na <SIG₂> HE₂.ME.DA t[a²-]
 4' [7 KEŠ₂] ʾKEŠDA EN₂ʾ 7-šū₂ ŠID-nu ina SAG.DU-š[u₂ KEŠDA-ma TI-uṭ]

- 5' [en₂ igi].ḥuš igi.ḥuš.ḥuš igi.bar.ra ḥu[š.ḥuš]
 6' [igi].ḥuš.ḥuš igi.bar.ra ḥuš.ḥuš zi iz²[]
 7' [.t]a² gub an.ta gub ʾxʾ[]

(reverse)

- 1 [d]a².a []
 2 [e]n₂.e₂.nu.[ru]

 3 [ka.inim.]ma [igi.g]i[g.g]a.k[am₂]

 4 [KID₃.KID₃].BI SIG₂.GA.RIG₂.[AK.A SIG₂ HE₂.ME].DA DUR SIR₅.[SIR₅]

²⁰ Arnaud (2007:60) has suggested that this fragment might have belonged to the same tablet as the fragment RS 25.422 (see below).

5 []⁷ KEŠ₂ KEŠDA EN₂ ⁷šū₂ u 7-šū₂ ŠID-n[u]

6 [i-n]a pu-ti-šu KEŠDA-ma [TI-uṭ]

7 [en₂ igi ti]i.la a.ga ti.[la]

8 []x ⁷x⁷ []

9 [sag].⁷gi⁷.na.ta []

(break)

Translation:

(obverse)

(break)

1' [] ... []

2' [] []

3' [] you [] with red (wool).

4' You tie [seven knots]. You recite the incantation seven times. [You tie (it)] to his head [and he will recover.]

5'–7' [Incantation] (pseudo-Sumerian gibberish describing the sick eyes, largely untranslatable)

(reverse)

1 [] ... []

2 []. *Enu*[ru-incan]tation.

3 [Incantat]ion-formula against [eye dis]ease.

4 Its [ritual]: you spin com[bed] wool and re[d wool] into a yarn.

5 [] You tie seven knots. You recite the incantation seven and seven times.

6 You tie (it) to his forehead and [he will recover.]

7–9 [Incantation] (unintelligible, abracadabra words)

(break)

Notes to text:

5' ff. See e.g. BAM 510 ii 26'–33', ii 35'–iii 6, iii 17–22. For this kind of gibberish or abracadabra incantation see also Fincke, J. 2000:302.

Rev. 7–9. The restorations are based on BAM 514 ii 21' and BAM 513 ii 25'. For this kind of gibberish or abracadabra incantation see also Fincke, J. 2000:302.

Various incantations, including one against gall bladder disease (RS 94.2067)

Copy: Arnaud, D. 2007:pl. XIII.

Edition: Arnaud, D. 2007:96–98.

Find-place: The House of Urtenu.

This fragment is similar in shape and structure to the previous one (RS 25.418). It is a fragment of the lower part of a tablet. The obverse preserves part of an incantation directed against gall bladder disease, as defined by the subscript written after the horizontal ruling line that divides the spell from the accompanying ritual. The few words and signs preserved from the reverse after a ruling do not allow a proper understanding of this second incantation mentioning the “gods of the night”.

Transliteration:

(obverse)

(break)

- 1' [] ^rx ^r []
 2' [] ^rx^r IT ^rx^r RAT[]
 3' [] ^rx^r *ša-qa-ta nap-ši-ir(-)ša₂(-)*[]
 4' [] *ša₂-qa-ta* *ina*? ^di-gi-gi *ša₂(-)*^rx^r[]
 5' [] AN *ša₂-qa-ta bi-in-na-tu* ^rx^r[]
 6' [] ^rx^r-ki *ša₂-qa-ta* ZI AN.NA ^rHE₂^r.P[AD₂]
 7' [ZI] KI.IA ^rHE₂.PAD₂ EN₂.E₂.N[E^{sic}.RU²]
 8' [E]N₂ 3-šu₂ ŠID-nu []

-
- 9' [K]A.INIM.MA BE ZA ZE₂ GIG KID₃.KID₃.B[I]
 10' [^u]HAR.HAR GAZ-al *ina* ŠA₃ *ta₂-ba-t*[i *tanaddi*?]
 11' [*ina* I]ZI *tu-ša₂-ha-an ba-lu₄ pa-t*[a-an]
 12' [NAG²-š]u² *tu-šap-ra-šu-ma* ^rx^r[]

(lower edge)

- 13' [] *ša₂ ŠA₃-šu₂ u₂-še-il-la* u² []
 14' [UZU² (GU₄[?]) k]ab²-ra GU₇-ma TI.LA []

(reverse)

- 1 [-n]u DINGIR.MEŠ *mu-ši-ti* *ša₂* []
 2 [] ^rx^r-nu-ku-nu-ši ^rx^r[]
 3 [] *id^r-din-ku-n*[u-ši]
 4 [] (-)TA(-)^rx^r[]
 5 [] ^rx^r []

(break)

Translation:

(obverse)

(break)

1'–2' ...

3' [] ... you are exalted. Be reconciled ... []

4' [] you are exalted (among)? the Igigi ...[]

5' [] ... you are exalted. ... []

6' [] your? [] you are exalted. Be c[on]jured by heaven,

7' be conjured [by] the netherworld!" *Enuru*-incantation.

8' You recite [the in]cantation three times []

9' Incantation-formula when a man has gall bladder disease. Its ritual:

10' You crush [(and)?] lung-plant. [You put? (it)] in vinegar []

11' You heat (it) [on a] fire. Without eat[ing]

12' [you give (it) to h]im? [to drink?]. You make him vomit and []

(lower edge)

13' [] it makes him feel nauseated? and? []

14' He should eat fatty? [(ox) meat?] and he will recover []

(reverse)

1 [] the gods of the night ... []

2 [] ... to you []

3 [] (s)he has given to y[ou]

4–5 ...

(break)

Notes to text:

13'. Cf. the expression *libbašu ana (p)arê etellû* in BAM 578 i 47 with its commentary STT 403:19 (see CAD E 121 and CAD A/2 477 s.v. *âšu*).

Various incantations, including one against all diseases (RS 25.422)

Copy: Arnaud, D. 2007:pl. V.

Edition: Arnaud, D. 2007:60–62:no. 16.

Find-place: The House of the Lamashtu tablets.

This is a fragment of the obverse of a large tablet on which are written spells and their accompanying rituals in at least two columns on each side (the

reverse is lost).²¹ Parts of three different incantations are preserved, one against all diseases, one against a disease possibly affecting bones, and another one that cannot be defined due to its fragmentary condition although it may have been intended to assist pregnancy or delivery in view of the appearance of the goddess Mami / Belet-ili and the phrase “everything that the gods created”.

Transliteration:

(obverse)

col. i

(break)

- 1' []^rx x x-si²^r
 2' []^rx^r KUR² *im-qu-tu i-na* MURUB₄-*tī* EDIN
 3' [*ana*² AD²]-*šu-nu* u₃ AMA-*šu-nu la i-tu-ru-ni*
 4' [*ana*² (*zumur*)²] NENNI A NENNI *e te-(mī-)*²*id^r-šu*
 5' [] *e ta^rtu^r-ur-šu*

- 6' [*ina qibit*² ^de₂]-*a* ^dUTU u₃ ^dASAL.LU₂.^ḫḪI
 7' [^dg]u-*la be-let ba-la-ti*
 8' [^dgu-*la*² bu]-*ul-li-ti-ma* NIG₂.BA mu-*uḫ-ri*
 9' [TU₆²] EN₂.E₂.NU.RU

- 10' [KA.INIM.MA] GIG.DU₃.A.BI.KAM₂

- 11' []^rx^r GIG.TA KAR EN₂ 3 ŠID-*nu*

- 12' []^rx^r GIG *iq-qur-ru*₃

- 13' [] TI-*uṭ*

- 14' []^rx x x^r

(break)

col. ii

(break)

- 1' [x] ^rx x^r []
 2' ^rša²? u₂-^rx^r-[]
 3' EN₂ *me-e* ^dID₂ ḫa-[]
 4' a.ab.ba.ta ri.a []
 5' maš.ka.an gu ni.ib₂.x[]
 6' KA.INIM.MA GIR₃.PAD.D[U]
 7' KID₃.KID₃.BI *ana* GAR EN₂ ŠID-*nu* []

²¹ Arnaud, D. 2007:60, believes the tablet had at least three columns on each side. He also suggests that RS 25.418 (see above) might have belonged to the same tablet.

- 8' EN₂.E₂.N[U.RU]
 9' *mim-mu* DINGIR.MEŠ *ib-nu-u₂* []
 10' *u₃* ^d*be-let-i₃-li₂* AL[AM[?]]
 11' *i-mur-ši-na-ti-ma be-let* []
 12' *ša il-ti* ^d*ma-mi* 'x'[]
 13' *šu-up-ra gaš-š[u[?](-)]*]
 14' ^d*iš-tar* ^d*be-le[t-i₃-li₂]*]
 15' 'x' [] 'x' []

(break)

Translation:

(obverse)

col. i

(break)

- 1' ...
 2' [] they fell in the midst of the steppe.
 3' [] they did nor return [to] their [father[?]] and their mother.
 4' [to (the body)[?] of] So-and-so son of So-and-so, may you not
 cling[?] to him.
 5' [] may you not turn toward him
 6' [by command of[?]] Ea, Shamash and Asalluhi,
 7' [and Gu]la, lady of healing.
 8' ["O Gula,[?] ma]ke me well and accept (this) gift!"
 9' *Enuru*-incantation-[spell].

10' [Incantation-formula] against all diseases.

11' [] disease ... You recite the incantation three times.

12' [] disease ... they scraped out[?]

13' [] he will recover.

14' ...

(break)

col. ii

(break)

- 1'-2' ...
 3' Incantation: waters of the divine river ... []
 4' from the sea ... cast off[?] []
 5' ...
 6' Incantation-formula against[?] bone []
 7' Its ritual: you recite the incantation on ... []
-

8' *En[uru]-incantation* []
 9' Everything the gods created []
 10' and Belet-ili ... []
 11' saw them and the lady []
 12' of the goddess Mami []
 13' Send fier[ce²]
 14' Ishtar, Bele[t-ili]
 15' ...
 (break)

Incantation for a woman in labour: Sin and the Cow (RS 25.436)

Copy: Arnaud, D. 2007:pl. XI.

Edition: Arnaud, D. 2007:75–77.

Literature: Márquez Rowe (forthcoming b).

Find-place: The House of the Lamashtu tablets.

This is an important text despite its small size and fragmentary condition (only the obverse of the fragment is preserved). As first recognised by J. Nougayrol,²² the text is part of the well-known Babylonian mythological narrative used as a birth incantation in which Sin, the moon-god, impregnates a cow and over-see the resulting delivery.

Transliteration:

(obverse)

(break)

1' ^dNANNA-ru [*Sîn ina šamê išteme² rigimša*]
 2' *iš-ši šU-su a-n[a šamāmē²]*
 3' 2 *la-mas-sa-at [šamê ūridani-(ma)²]*
 4' 1-et I₃ BUR na-[*ša-at šanītu² ušappala² mē ḫalli*]
 5' *il-pu-ut I₃ [pūri pūssa]*
 6' *me ḫal-li u[š-ta(p)-pi-ḫa kala zumriša²]*
 7' *iš-ni-m[a ilput šaman pūri pūssa]*
 8' *me ḫal-li [uš-ta(p)-pi-ḫa kala zumriša²]*
 9' *i-na šal-ši [ina lapāti būru im(ta)qut²]*

²² See Caquot, A. *et al.* 1974:386 n.1.

10' *a-na qa-[aq-qar₂-šu]*
(break)

(left edge)

x' []EGIR GAR

Translation:

(obverse)

(break)

- 1' The Luminary, [Sin, in heaven heard her (i.e. the cow's) cries.]
 - 2' He raised his hand to [heaven,]
 - 3' (and) two protective spirits [came down from heaven.]
 - 4' One carried oil-from-the-jar, [the other brought water-from-the-bowl.]
 - 5' She (i.e. the former) rubbed oil-[from-the-jar on her brow,]
 - 6' she (i.e. the latter) [sprinkled her whole body] with water-from-the-bowl.
 - 7' A second time [she rubbed oil-from-the-jar on her brow,]
 - 8' [she sprinkled her whole body] with water-from-the-bowl.
 - 9' As [she rubbed (oil-from-the-jar)] for a third time, [the calf fell]
 - 10' to the gro[und]
- (break)

(left edge)

x' (Colophon?)

Notes to text:

The minor differences from the *editio princeps* in the restoration of lines 1', 4' and 5' are based on the duplicate texts available (and are discussed in a forthcoming contribution).

4', 6' and 8'. The translation of *mê ḥalli/ ḥâli* proposed here is discussed in detail in Márquez Rowe (forthcoming b).

Ritual for a woman in labour(?) (RS 17.081)

Copy: Nougayrol J. 1968:375: no. 16.

Edition: Nougayrol J. 1968:29: no. 16.

Literature: Clemens, D.M. 2001:695–704.

Find-place: The House of the Scholar.

As shown by the Lamashtu tablets and the fragment of the historiola Sin and the Cow, Ugarit has yielded a relatively important number of Babylonian incantations intended for assistance in pregnancy and birth. This tiny fragment preserves what seems to be part of a ritual for a woman in labour. The reverse is not inscribed. The ritual prescribes the recitation of a spell apparently mentioned in its *incipit* and of which only one sign is fully preserved.

Transliteration:

(obverse)

(break)

- 1' [] ṛx x xṛ[]
 2' [] D]UR 7-šu₂ ṛxṛ[]
 3' [] -L]I-ID ŠID-nu []
 4' [] UGU-ša^{na₄} ḫalṛ[-tu²]
 5' [] ina² Š]U² ZAG-ša^{na₄} ŠU[BA²]
 6' [] ^{n]}a₄NIR₂ ina GIR₃ GUB₃-š[a²]
-
- 7' [] ṛx xṛ ana^{dug} A.GUB.B[A]
 8' [] x-ra-at^{giš} IG U₂ []
 9' [] -ṛUZṛ-ZA DUMU-ša
 10' [] ṛxṛ li-iq-bi
- 11' [] x za-bur-ta AK²-ni
 12' [] x-ta an-nu-ti
 13' [] -lu-u₂
-
- 14' [] NAG-ma TI-uṭ

(break)

Translation:

(obverse)

(break)

- 1' ...
 2' [] y]arn seven times ...[]
 3' you recite ["(incantation incip)it]"
 4' [] on] her head ḫal[tu²]-stone []
 5' [] on] her right ha[nd] šu[bû²]-stone []
 6' [] ḫulālu-sto[ne] on h[er] left foot []
-
- 7' [] to the holy water bas[in]
 8' [] ... the door² ... []
 9' [] ... her son

10' [] she² should say:

11' [] trouble ...

12' [] these []

13' ...

14' [] she will drink and will recover.

(break)

Notes to text:

11'. The reading had already been suggested by von Soden, W. (1969:190).

Dubious and Incorrectly Identified Ugaritic Incantation Texts

In the present monograph we deal specifically with Ugaritic *incantation* texts, in accordance with the point of view sketched out above. The number of these texts (spells, exorcisms, etc.) is particularly small in Ugaritic literature, if we compare it with Sumero-Akkadian tradition, as was pointed out above. But among the texts of religious practice, there are some that apparently exhibit magical functions and that sometimes have been defined as “incantations”, without sufficient reason in my opinion. To assess this classification we have to compare them with the pattern provided by Mesopotamian literature, the best developed and that was so well-known at Ugarit (see the previous chapter on Ugaritic syllabic incantation texts). So, leaving aside the texts treated here as clearly *incantation* (or *anti-witchcraft*) texts (KTU 1.82, 1.96, 1.100, 1.107, 1.169, 1.178)¹, from their form and contents, which will be commented on *in extenso* later on, the following texts from the category KTU 1 have been suggested as also belonging to the same class, namely: KTU 1.12, 1.13, 1.23, 1.24, 1.75, 1.82, 1.96, 1.108, 1.113, 1.114, 1.161, 2.31 and more dubiously KTU 1.20–22, 1.65, 1.83, 1.86. Let us consider them briefly here² and assess the arguments put forward in this connection.³

KTU 1.12

According to Dietrich/Loretz, this text would comprise a Baal *myth* and a ritual of *hydrophory*, forming a single compositional unit⁴. The sense of the text is defined as follows: “Tod und Rückkehr Baals sichern die Ernte” (p. 1). The various attempts at interpretation can be classified into three groups: 1) scholars who connect the text with the (agrarian) cycle of seven/eight years; 2) those who see it as a reshaping of the *Seasonal Pattern* and finally, 3) those who see it as a ritual Baal myth, independent from the Seasonal Pattern and

¹ See most recently Lewis, Th.J. 2011:227.

² For a more detailed list of scholars and opinions in this regard see the remarks of Clemens: for De Moor are incantations: KTU 1.13, 1.23, 1.24, 1.82, 1.100, 1.107, 1.108, 1.113, 2.31 (Clemens, D. 2007:93, n. 440); for Dietrich–Loretz–Sanmartín (KTU²): incantations: KTU 1.13, 1.23, 1.82, 1.100, 1.107, 1.114 // ? 1.20–22, 1.65, 1.86 (Clemens 98, n. 466, see also p. 100 n. 477, 134 n. 638). I will leave aside their assessments and criticisms that will not produce worthwhile results in questions of classification so highly debatable.

³ For a general introduction to the subject see Spronk, K. 1999.

⁴ See Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2000a:1–141; but see KTU²:33, “myth”.

with a theme that is related more or less to fertility and expiation. A summary of some twenty interpretations by various scholars in this last group is provided. In my own reading of this text in 1983 I took it as a variant version of the Baalic *theomachy*: a “fight between the fertility god and the destructive forces of it coming from the desert”.⁵ An interpretation that still seems valid to me and could belong to the third group.

While the colometric arrangement of the text does not leave much room for disagreement with the analysis by Dietrich-Loretz, the lexical interpretation and consequently the final meaning of the text turn out to be more hypothetical and objectionable. Here this discussion will be omitted⁶ to focus attention on the overall interpretation and classification of the text.

According to Dietrich-Loretz, the first part of the text (I 1–II line 55a) is a mythical report that speaks of Baal’s death and his return to life as a guarantee of fertility (water and grain) that “als Einleitung zur folgenden Hydrophorie in II 55b–61 dient. Der Mythos begründet die magisch-kultische Handlung, so dass KTU 1.12 bezüglich seines gesamten Aufbaus insoweit mit 1.114 parallelisierbar ist” (p. 124). The conclusion is clear: “KTU 1.12 bezüglich seiner Gattung zur priestlichen Beschwörungsliteratur gehört und in Beziehung zum Neujahrsfest zu sehen ist” (p. 125).

But even taking II 53–61 as an incantation formula⁷ according to this interpretation (in fact it seems rather to be a *hieròs lógos* in an aetiological narrative) the expected ban against Baal’s enemies who have caused his downfall, namely the “evil spirits” or demons (the “brethren” or the *áklm* // *‘qqm* of the beginning)⁸, is missing. So there is a clear disparity between the mythical record and the presumed incantation. In any case, the text would rather belong to the category of sympathetic magic, not to the kind of magic (anti-thetic, polemical, anti-witchcraft) we are dealing with here.⁹ For me, the descriptions of Baal’s defeat and of the victory of the *áklm* as well as the meaning of their birth, forms a mythological account of its own in which the

5 See Del Olmo Lete, G. 1981:478.

6 For a detailed lexical assessment of Dietrich-Loretz’s options see cf. Del Olmo Lete, G. 2007a:155–168.

7 The scholars stand by their version in TUAT 6/IV (Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 1997:1200) which is more nuanced and they speak only of an “Anrufung des siegreichen Wettergottes... Diese Anrufung habe man wohl mit der Durchführung von Riten, wie z. B. Wassers schöpfen in Tempel zu verbinden”. The text certainly complements the Baal Cycle.

8 Certain “demons” do feature in the Ugaritic texts: KTU 1.10, 1.12, 1.24, 1.114 (*hby*)... but not in the context of magical literature. In myth and epic literature, apart from anti-Baal monsters, characters such as *Ša’tiqatu* and *Yatipānu* are present.

9 See above pp. 7ff.

fight between them is the actual subject of the narrative. Those demonic characters along with Baal are the actual protagonists of the mythical account.

For a discussion of the semantic and morpho-literary options put forward by scholars, we refer to the analysis mentioned above. Let us only summarise some overall objections concerning the supposition of a *hydraphory* ritual here.¹⁰

In this connection, no Mesopotamian parallels are available for such a ritual nor does it appear to be a New Year Festival, which is supposed to be its setting. The evidence adduced (the Adonis myth and some Ugaritic and biblical references) comprises mere literary, descriptive, typological elements, but not specific ritual texts of *hydraphory*.

In fact, no manual or encyclopaedia of Mesopotamian religion, as far as I know (Oppenheim, Haussig-Edzard, Sanmartín, Durand, *RIA*) mentions such a ritual; nor does it appear in Phoenician religion (Lipiński, Moscati, Ribichini). Among the Hittites, there is definitely a ritual “Wasserbecken”, on which Hass comments: “Die Anlage erinnert an eine mittelhethitischen Instruktion, der zufolge jemand (zur Strafe) dreimal Wasser aus dem ‘Wasserbecken des Labarna’ schöpft und in den Tempel (des Labarna) bringt”.¹¹ It is not a question then of “libation” but of “transfer” (“bringt”), as supposed by the Greek term *hydraphória*. And it is precisely in this context that we find the ritualisation of such a practice, the festival of *hydraphory* at Athens. Its sense is linked to the Greek myth of the “Flood” and its hero Deukalion, as well as with the sacred crevice through which it was absorbed.¹² The same mythical motif underlies the story recorded by Lucian of Samosata on the *hydraphory* performed in the temple of Aphrodite in Hierapolis.¹³ Although the literary motif clearly comes from the east, the ritual is not quoted as a loan in Greece either by Burkert¹⁴, West¹⁵ or by Astour¹⁶. The Danaides are the closest in this sense, but they are *thesmophórai*, *loutrophórai*, not *hydraphórai*; their function as such is to be punished in Hades. Of course, we know that in Greece there were water libations for the benefit of the dead and incantations intended to make rain fall that are closer to the genre proposed by Dietrich-Loretz for KTU

¹⁰ In any case, there is a ruled line separating the two sections of the text as in KTU 1.114, which is in the same category as KTU 1.12.

¹¹ See. Haas, V. 1994:627. On water in the Hittite cult in general, see Erbil, Y., Mouton, A. 2012.

¹² See Burkert, W. 1997:125; Parker, H.W. 1987:179.

¹³ See Camps i Gasset, M. 1966:174.

¹⁴ See Burkert, W. 1992.

¹⁵ See West, M.L. 1999:489ff.

¹⁶ See Astour, M.C. 1967.

1.12, but they are no longer *hydrophóriai*. At most they are, according to Burkert, “freilich ‘Zauber’ nicht in Gestalt sympathetischer Magie, sondern wiederum aus dem Grundsinn der Libation genommen: Erhebung zum Hoffen durch gelassene Verschwendung”.¹⁷

The usual temple spring and the connected rites of hydrophory are normally linked to purification rituals by water¹⁸ and fire. This is the same context to which the disputed Jewish ritual of the Second Temple belongs, *šimḥat bêt haš-šôʿēbāh*, celebrated during the Sukkot festival,¹⁹ in which water was libated after the morning sacrifice.²⁰ The bible makes no mention of such a ritual, in spite of Is. 12:3 (a literary topos that speaks of “taking out”, not of “bringing” or “pouring”). All in all, the meaning of an entreaty for rain (a fertility rite) does not seem primary, either in this or in any of the quoted contexts, although it cannot be ruled out that they were to some extent linked to the New Year Festival, as Jewish usage implies.

I retain, then, my interpretation²¹ of this last section of KTU 1.12 as the colophon that describes the situation of dryness and barrenness affecting the country as one of the forerunners of the Baal Cycle whose protagonists are the “greedy/devouring” *genii* // demons on the one hand, and *Baʿlu* on the other, as a kind of mythical lament song or hymn. No doubt other myths that were also forerunners ended in tragedy. Instead, this one rather than rounding up the canonical myth (KTU 1.1–6), in another sense betrays one of its key episodes: *Baʿlu*’s death. There, the opponent was *Môtu*, here the “devourers”. Nevertheless, accepting Dietrich-Loretz understanding of the KTU 1.12 as a hypothesis, a place could be made for it in the magic literature of Ugarit.²² In such a fluctuating field as the interpretation of Ugaritic literary texts, one cannot claim absolute certainty for one’s own point of view.

In their turn Caquot-Szyncer, after a lengthy evaluation of various previous interpretations, conclude: “BH serait un texte de circonstance, expliquant la naissance des sauterelles et les ravages qu’elles peuvent provoquer, et exposant les moyens de s’en défendre, à l’instar et sous l’égide de Baʿal, tout en ayant allure d’un texte liturgique, accompagnant certains rites au moment de l’invasion des sauterelles et, peut-être, susceptible également d’être utilisé pré-

¹⁷ See Burkert, W. 1997:125.

¹⁸ See Burkert, W. 1997:132ff.

¹⁹ See Sukk. 5:1. The ritual may belong either to the *yôm kippûr* or to *rôʿš haš-šānāh*.

²⁰ See Wigoder, G. 1993: 327; Jacobs, L. 1972.

²¹ See Del Olmo Lete, G. 1981:481–486; Del Olmo Lete, G. 1998:136–146. For a modern comparison of this text with the Baal Cycle from the aspect of writing see Yogev, J., Yona, Sh. 2013.

²² See above pp. 11ff. (on the ritual magic).

ventivement pour éviter aus homes de telles catastrophes”.²³ Also Wyatt, who in the last lines of the text comes close to Dietrich-Loretz’s version, classifies KTU 1.12 as follows: “The first part of this text is a theogony, evidently from a common source as KTU 1.23, though now sharply divergent... The second, fragmentary part describes Baal’s death and the ‘cosmic mourning’ which follows. An atonement element appears to be present (see especially l. 46 of col. ii), and the text ends with a ritual instruction”.²⁴ This is not an incantation.

KTU 1.13

De Moor does not include this text in his *Anthology* in the section labelled “Incantations”, but under the more general category of “Myth and Ritual”²⁵. However, in a previous study, entitled “An Incantation against Infertility (KTU 1.13)”, together with KTU 1.12, 1.23, 1.24, 1.100, 1.114, he sees in this text a sort of combination of myth and incantation²⁶ in the form of a hymn, together with an embedded “prayer” and a promise. Since there is no allusion to an incantation in the version of this text provided in the *Anthology*, it can be concluded that De Moor has abandoned his previous classification in favour of the more general one of ritual text, with elements of both genres.

This text is also labelled as an “incantation” by the editors of KTU.²⁷ Instead, Wyatt takes this text to be “A Hymn to Anat”.²⁸

In my opinion, this text must not be classified either as a “hymn”, since the distinctive elements of the genre do not appear in it, or as a prayer-incantation against infertility. Instead, it is a partial mytheme that develops an aspect of the basic mythological sub-cycle of *ʿAnatu-Baʿlu*: the mytheme of *ʿAnatu*’s classification as “*Baʿlu*’s heifer” and her later delivery, while in KTU 1.5 V 18–21, and even in KTU 1.10–11, this identification is not openly stated and

²³ See Caquot, A., Sznycer, M. 1974: 330.

²⁴ See Wyatt, N. 1998a:162.

²⁵ See. De Moor, J.C. 1987:137–141.

²⁶ See De Moor, J.C. 1980:305, n. 5: “The best known examples (of incantation) being KTU 1.23 and 1.24. But see also incantations closing the tablets KTU 1.6 and 1.12”. In a previous study De Moor criticised this too large notion of “incantation” outside the magic genre; see De Moor, J.C. 1977:366. For the texts once De Moor considered to be “incantations” (KTU 1.13, 1.23, 1.24, 1.82, 1.100, 1.107, 1.108, 1.113, 2.31), see above n.2.

²⁷ See Dietrich, M., Loretz, O., Sanmartín, J. 1995:35 (“incantation, myth, scribal exercise”).

²⁸ See Wyatt, N. 1998a:169–173. In this connection in a “Wissenschaftliche Tagung” held in Münster on 13–15 February 2013 Prof. M. Dietrich delivered a paper under the title “Beschreibungen ‘himmlischer’ Wohnstätten von Gottheiten: Der kosmische Schrein der Anat (KTU 1.13:12–18)”. For a poetic interpretation of this text see recently Heffelfinger, K.M. 2011.

⁵*Anatu*'s delivery is never mentioned. In this regard, it turns out to be a rather "heterodox" and more developed text that aims at presenting a kind of mythico-dogmatic synthesis of ⁵*Anatu* as a goddess of war and fertility, simply bringing together her virginity and motherhood. Here her motherhood seems to be the result of her ability as a violent fighter for life embodied in her brother *Ba⁷lu*'s destiny whose defence carries her to a violent confrontation with Death (*Môtu*) itself. After such an effort she receives as a reward (from whom?) a heavenly abode to rest. The text thus forms part of this group of minor myths that expressly develop the myth of (animal and human) fertility concealed in the classic cycle under the direct symbolism of the power struggle among the gods, although in the end it is symbolic of the power of life. Like those, this brief summary or mytheme has all the possibilities of having been largely used in the manifestations of popular religion and frequently recited. Perhaps the present tablet is a crudely made copy and little cared for among the many copies that may have existed.²⁹

KTU 1.20–22

Among the commentators on these texts, only KTU²,³⁰ and in this case hesitantly, labels them as an "incantation" (?). But later on, two of the scholars who edited KTU² – Dietrich-Loretz (1997)³¹ – adopted an eclectic position in respect of the classification and incorporation of these texts into the ²*Ahqatu* legend, considering them as an epic with elements of royal ideology and the ancestor cult. In his excellent edition of the text,³² Pitard does not go into the question of classifying its genre, his main interest being the correct epigraphic reading of the tablets. Pardee, although somewhat more attentive to the literary questions, is no more explicit either on the classification issue; but since he considers that these texts comprise a fourth tablet that continues the ²*Ahqatu* epic, it is obvious to presume that he takes them to belong into this literary genre; there is no allusion to and incantation.³³ The same position was taken by schol-

²⁹ See Del Olmo Lete, G. 1980:49–62; 1981:487–494; 1998:143–144.

³⁰ See Dietrich, M., Loretz, O., Sanmartín, J. 1995:62 ("legend (*Rāpi²ūma*), ritual, incantation?").

³¹ See Dietrich, M. – Loretz, O, 1997a:1306–1316.

³² See Pitard, W.T. 1992.

³³ See Pardee, D. 2011. Del Olmo Lete, although not presuming any *structural* link of this text with any other of the known mythical or epic cycle (see Pardee, D. 2011:2), acknowledges nevertheless (in the clauses following that quoted by Pardee) the peculiar thematic relationship it shows with the ²*Ahqatu* epic (see Del Olmo Lete, G. 1981a:411: "La mención de *Daniilu*, con sus títulos estereotípicos, puede tener otra explicación; por ejemplo, la de ofrecernos otro mitema distinto en torno a tal personaje, que también poseería su 'ciclo' épico"). In the follow-

ars who dealt with these texts earlier: Virolleaud³⁴: epic/(Danel)/myth (Rephaim); Caquot-Szzyrmer³⁵: “suite du poème de Danel”; Spronk³⁶: “epic composition”; De Moor³⁷: “heroic poetry” (Aqht); Wyatt³⁸: “perhaps ... the mythological background to ... KTU 1.161”.

My opinion, already put forward in 1981, can be summarised as follows: “Halfway between myth and epic legend we find the “Saga of the *Rāpi?ūma*”, which can also be defined as a mythical ritual, fragmentarily preserved”.³⁹

KTU 1.23

This text also is labelled by KTU as “myth, incantation”. This opinion was also expressed by De Moor (1980) in an unequivocal way: “The best known examples (of incantation) being KTU 1.23 and 1.24”⁴⁰. Nevertheless, as was the case with KTU 1.12 and 1.13, he includes this text in his *Anthology* (1987) under the heading “Myth and Ritual”, not under “Incantations”⁴¹, asserting: “Among the tablets of Ugarit there are several that combine a mythological narrative with a ritual or an incantation” (p. 117). Here the accompanying element would be a hierogamic ceremony developed during the New Year Festival, without an incantation. Other scholars followed him. Let us quote only two of them, since it is not worth dwelling on this question, the motive for this classification being rather meagre and inconclusive, unless “incantation” is taken in a very wide and vague sense.

Included among the myths and legends, for Caquot-Szzyrmer⁴² this text is “un mythe culturel, grâce auquel nous entrevoyons comment des penseurs

ing pages (411–414) different possibilities of linking together such compositions are laid out. However, the colophon of this cycle (KTU 1.19 IV 63) alludes to a repetition of a text close in itself than to its continuation in a following fourth tablet. This issue is recognised as impossible to demonstrate. Such a continuation then is a mere guess. This is not the place of course to assess the other textual, linguistic and literary details of Pardee’s ingenious paper.

³⁴ See Virolleaud, Ch. 1936; Virolleaud, Ch. 1941. We can safely ignore the pioneer studies and anthologies of translated Ugaritic texts: Gordon, Jirku, Aistleitner, Gray, Driver, Rin, Caquot-Szzyrmer, Gibson, etc. and the same applies to the following comments on other texts.

³⁵ See Caquot, A., Szzyrmer, M. 1974:471–480 (463).

³⁶ See Spronk, K. 1986:161–196. Without entering into the question of the classification, this scholar takes those texts to be an epic-mythological episode belonging to the *Dan’ilu* Cycle.

³⁷ See De Moor, J.C. 1987:266ff. (224 n. 1).

³⁸ See Wyatt, N. 1998a:314–323.

³⁹ See Del Olmo Lete, G. 1998:169–173 (169). See also Wyatt, N. 2012:268–272.

⁴⁰ See De Moor, J.C. 1980:305–310 (305, n. 5).

⁴¹ See De Moor, J.C. 1987:117–128.

⁴² See Caquot, A., Szzyrmer, M., (Herdner, A.). 1974:353–365 (364).

religieux d'Ougarit ont imaginé le passage de la nature à la culture ... le poème n'est probablement pas étranger à l'obsession constant, clairement perceptible dans le cycle de Ba'al: celle de la fécondité".

In their turn, Cutler-Macdonald⁴³ define this text as "A Famine Myth and Ritual", which includes two invocations to the Gracious Gods, but without any reference to any kind of incantation, recognising at the same time that this text "is probably the most difficult of all the *mythological* (emphasis mine) texts from Ugarit to classify".

In 1988⁴⁴ Dietrich and Loretz supported their opinion as follows: "Eine besondere Bedeutung ist der Beschwörung der 'Lieblichen Götter' zuzuschreiben, weil in ihr schädliche kosmische Kräfte Ziel des Exorzisten sind" (p. 329). Even they translate the introductory *īqrā*: "Ich beschwöre". It is clear, therefore, that here "beschwören" assumes a meaning very close to "to invoke", as is also the case in KTU 1.24. On the other hand, the cosmic meaning found here as well as the fertility defense are the general bearing of the Baal myth and in this sense its recitation has also apotropaic intention without being because of that to be taken as a text of magic literature or an "incantation" text. When in this kind of texts the cosmic hostile forces are quoted in the Akkadian incantations, it is normally in an enumeration of evil doings caused by a known or unknown enemy of the individual in whose benefit the formula is proclaimed. Nothing of that is here patent. We will comment more extensively on this issue later on.

In a brief introduction to his version of the text,⁴⁵ Pardee (1997) keeps it in the category of myth, although calling the attention to the ritual aspects and suggesting that a harvest festival would be the most appropriate moment for such a liturgy and the evocation of the connected myth. He is however reluctant to accept De Moor's proposal that it is a hierogamy.

Wyatt⁴⁶, somewhat more receptive of De Moor's theory and well aware of the "royal" bearing of the text, defines this "narrative poetry" adequately as "a mythic paradigm ... which is used here to convey basic notions about the concern of the chief deity for the created order".

But the most recent and stimulating analysis of this text is by Smith,⁴⁷ which I have scrutinised in a rather prolix review article. In this text, Smith

⁴³ See Cutler, J., Macdonald, J. 1982:33–50 (33).

⁴⁴ See Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 1988:328–357 (329) ("4. Beschwörungen gegen die schädlichen Naturkräfte (KTU 1.23)"). For the notion of "Beschwörung" as Eng. "conjunction" (cf. above p. 5, n. 2) see Loretz, O. 1993:285–315 (texts of "Nekromantie und Totenevokation").

⁴⁵ See Pardee, D. 1997:275–283. Resonance of Pardee's perspective can be read in Scurlock, J. 2011.

⁴⁶ See Wyatt, N. 1998a:324–335.

⁴⁷ See Smith, M.S. 2006; see Del Olmo Lete, G. 2007c:311–318.

uncovers a new version of the life-death conflict that permeates the whole of Ugaritic mythology, although with a different symbolism. M. Smith carries out as follows a close reading of this text, “of the rather complex representation of what the myths and rituals ‘are’ and ‘do’” (p. 8). It is in this ambit of “Myth and Ritual” where the scholar sets the text, namely, in that of the enacted mythology in a solemn and official liturgical setting, with the King at its head. The cosmic conflict it enacts cannot be “conjured/exorcised” by any kind of incantation formula, it is something structural. One must get into it and accept its ambivalent rhythm, trying to favor the equilibrium of the polar forces at the stake. An incantation formula on the contrary aims at the destruction of the evil-doing force that has overridden the normal and innocent life course of the individual. The text presents two sections, clearly differentiated (a ritual and a mythological narrative). The myth provides the sense of the rite, but does not get involved in it, except for the recitation level, but not for that of its staging. The King’s presence is explicit in the text, not as an officiant, like in the sacrificial texts, but as a president and earthly guarantor of the role the myth develops. The King presides over and in this sense actualizes the reconciliation of the opposite forces that shape the fertility cycle, in a similar way like the supreme god presides over and sanction their reconciliation and harmonization at the end of the baalic myth (KTU 1.6 VI), introduced by the Sun’s own “conversion”: from *Môtu*’s obliged collaborator to *Baʿlu*’s defendant, according to her ambivalent nature of force that burns and ripens at the same time. “What is celebrated in both the rituals and the mythic narratives is agricultural fertility” (p. 140). This is the central idea that M. Smith develops with complete lucidity, I would even say, with great elegance.

The “decodification” of this text is carried out in an ultimate manner in the last paragraph from the starting-point of a large and illuminating intertextuality in which the agents as well as the scenery and alimentary code of the confrontation are put into relief. A confrontation that, unlike the *Baʿlu* myth and the substitute ritual of the “scapegoat”, M. Smith sees rather as an integration than as a conflict.

But the conflict exists, embedded in the same reality, as was pointed out. M. Smith himself realises the ambiguity/ambivalence even of the desert. The same god *Môtu* is *ʾIlu*’s son, belong into his family, like *Baʿlu*, their own sons are *Šaḥru*/*Šalimu* as well as the devoring *ilm nšmm*, which M. Smith consider different couples, what I believe unnecessary. Precisely it is starting from this polarity of nature and its vital cycle, as the Canaanite mythical thinking conceives it (life+death, *Baʿlu*+*Môtu*), that it must be considered “one” but at the same time intrinsically “dual”. And it is in the cult where the staging and reconciliation of this binary/polar opposition takes place, as M. Smith develops quite well.

Ugaritic mythology (as well as other several mythologies and theologies) figures out the configuration of the cosmos by means of a play of oppositions of what we are used to interpret as positive and negative forces of good and bad, life and death, of the two oceans ... The most appealing dramatic performance of such a contrast is provided by the baalic myth (KTU 1.1–6) with its double fight between *Baʿlu* and *Yammu*, and between *Baʿlu* and *Môtu*. A minor version, perhaps more popular and close is provided by KTU 1.12 (see above).

In their turn, each of those gods shows his own polarisation and ambivalence of forces. But it is above all the god *Šapšu*, the Sun, the deity that best exemplifies this ambiguity of the divine, as already mentioned. She (the Sun is feminine in Ugarit) is decidedly a collaborator of *Baʿlu*, of life (KTU 1.6 I 8–15, IV 17–20, VI 22–29), and life-giver to the dead (KTU 1.6 VI 45–48; 1.161:18–19), but at the same time a manifest and necessary collaborator of death, of *Môtu*, carrying out his function of destroyer of life (KTU 1.4 VIII 21–24; 1.6 II 24–25). The Sun ripens the seeds and the fruits, but at the same time scorches the plants and the fields; she causes both harvest and drought. Both functions are intrinsically correlative to such a point that one cannot exist without the other. In this sense, the ripe grain may be considered a gift of *Baʿlu* as well as of *Môtu*/*Šapšu*. *Môtu* himself, the prototype of death and the irreconcilable antagonist of *Baʿlu*, was fittingly shattered and put to death (death's death!) by *ʿAnatu*, and so becomes the principle of life (KTU 1.6 II 30–35).

If we take into account this structure of the divine personality in the Canaanite religion of life and death, I think that the couple *Šaḥru*/*Šalimu* and the “devouring” *ilm nšmm*, sired by *ʿIlu*, the same personalities, in their double facet of beneficent deities, of *ʿIlu*'s family, and of harmful scorching Sun's collaborators, lord of the scorched land (*mḍbr*), to which ambit they are attached “beside the Sun and the Stars” (KTU 1.23:59), are just a single couple. They share consequently the Sun's ambiguous nature, as avatars of her ambit⁴⁸ (Dawn and Dusk); like *Nikkalu* may be taken as *Yarḥu*'s avatar (his brightness; see KTU 1.24:38). That not means that a celestial body has to be found that represents them. We could say that they are not “astral” but “celestial” deities.

If M. Smith's suggestion is accepted, KTU 1.23 would put in scene the reconciliation of both facets of those deities, as a cultural experience of the clear consciousness of the mutual implication of life and death, that the mythological conception of the fertility cycle shows up in Ugarit. It would be one more variation on the same and fundamental theme of which KTU 1.12 would be another version. The parched steppe gods are admitted to enjoy of the fruits that ripen under their heat. They, like the Sun, are deities, unavoidable forces

⁴⁸ See *supra* previous p.

that must be propitiated to guarantee their benefit and escape their excess. They are ambiguous but indispensable deities. And it is precisely this ambiguity, inherent in their function, that allows and counsels taking them as *nšmm*, “goodly gods”.

This hymnic and commemorative liturgy celebrate them with several rituals that enhance their beneficent function. To such manifold ritual celebration the *hieròs lógos* is attached that explains their origin and justifies as follows their commemoration: they are *ʾĪlu*’s sons, *Šapsu*’s assistants. However, the text does not allow us to decide whether this mytheme was recited as a part of the ritual or was simply taken for granted. Taking into account the redundant nature of ancient Near Eastern cults, the first suggestion turns out to be the most likely.

The suggestion that this text may either be or contain an incantation is no longer even mentioned by scholars.

KTU 1.24

We have already seen De Moor’s first opinion (1980), but as in the case of KTU 1.23, he places also this text in his *Anthology* (1987) under the section “Myth and Ritual”, and takes it, evidently, as a text comprising a mythological section and a final hymn, the whole to be recited “while the bride-price was being weighed out”. Its classification as an “incantation” is completely set aside. – For Caquot-Szzyner (1974)⁴⁹ also the text was made out of a beginning and a closing of hymnic nature that enclose a narrative recitation of *Yarḫu-Nikkalu*’s wedding. – Similarly Wyatt (1998).⁵⁰ – In their turn, Dietrich-Loretz are categorical: “KTU1.24 gehört ... zum Genre der mythologischen Texte”.⁵¹ In their final assessment they cling to this way of thinking speaking of a text used in weddings, although allowing that in the hymnic last part the *Kaṭirātu* were also “beschwört” and that even the mythical recitative “diente dem Zweck, die Fruchtbarkeit der Ehe zu beschwören”.⁵² This position seems to derive from, or at least coincide with the approach to the question maintained by the last commentator on this text whom they sum up, G. Theuer. According to Dietrich-Loretz this scholar sees it as “die Kombination von mythisch-erzählendem Teil

⁴⁹ See Caquot, A., Szzyner, M. 1974: 383ff.

⁵⁰ See Wyatt, N. 1998a:336.

⁵¹ See Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2000a:145 (with a complete survey of previous opinions); see also Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2001:203–207; Del Olmo Lete, G. 2007a:155–160 (162–164).

⁵² See Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2000a: 212. In their version in Dietrich, M. – Loretz, O. 2001:203, they do not mention this topic at all (“‘Rituale’...: der Mythos mit dem Ritual verbunden...”).

und Anrufung oder Bershwörung der Geburtsgöttinnen”.⁵³ In Theuer’s opinion the “Beschwörung” becomes the central part of the text. Consequently the classification of this text as myth must be revised. Its structure presents it as a “Beschwöungsritual” to guarantee a happy childbirth. Actually Theuer neither in the “Erläuterungen zum Text” nor in the “Literarische Analyse” of lines 40–50, “Fazit” and Interpretation of “Beschwörung der *ktrt*”, substantiates his opinion, rather he gives for granted that we have here a “Beschwörung”, introduced by the hymnic invitation *āšr*.⁵⁴ The only serious textual argument she affords is the parallelism *spr/mnt* in lines 45–47: “Diese Kennzeichnung der folgenden Zeilen als ‘Rezitation’ und ‘Beschwörung(sformel)’ leitet die nun folgende Anrufung der Eigennamen der sieben *ktrt*-Göttinnen im Sinne ihrer Beschwörung ein”.⁵⁵ But this cursory (nine lines) semantic simplification does not take into consideration the polysemy of *mnt*, pointed out by the lexicographers,⁵⁶ dictated in this case by the two-direction parallelism (*//spr*) and above all by the contents of the formula: simple invocation/enumeration of divine names, without any injunction against any evil or evil-doer. The repeated bringing near of “Anrufung” and “Beschwörung” clearly points out that we are facing here a question of linguistic correspondence, German “Beschwörung” being the equivalent of English “conjunction” (invocation of presence)⁵⁷ not of “incantation” in the precise sense we assume here in respect of magic and witchcraft. So the text will be fit better into the category of ritualised myths than in that of magic literature, like previous texts.

KTU 1.65

The question mark in KTU (“incantation?”) has no textual and formal support whatever; this classification comes from the first editor’s interpretation.⁵⁸ Actually, Dietrich-Loretz classify it as an “Opfer”.⁵⁹ Other scholars suggest a range of classifications: Obermann: “Psalm of thanksgiving”;⁶⁰ Xella: “pregni-

⁵³ See Theuer, G. 2000:135–249.

⁵⁴ See Theuer, G. 2000:158, 185–194, 199–200, 216–217, 234.

⁵⁵ See Theuer, G. 2000:192 and n. 345.

⁵⁶ See DUL 564f.

⁵⁷ See above p. v, n. 2.

⁵⁸ See Dhorme, É. 1933: 231–35.

⁵⁹ See Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 1988:318f.

⁶⁰ See Obermann, J. 1936: 1 (“An Antiphonal Psalm from Ras-Shamra”).

era” (?);⁶¹ Wyatt: “Prayer for the security of Ugarit”;⁶² Pardee: “Deity list”.⁶³ See Del Olmo Lete for his classification of this text as a litany prayer.⁶⁴

KTU 1.75

The text is entirely fragmentary and nothing reliable can be asserted regarding its genre; the mention of *[mnty]* and *dbḥm* it is not enough to warrant any hypothesis beyond a mere guess.⁶⁵ Nevertheless, it hints strongly at the existence of many more texts of this kind than the very few recognised as such.

KTU 1.83

As in the previous text, the presence of several lexical items (*ym*, *lhk*, *lšn*, *ḥt* ...) in this fragmentary text is not enough of a criterion to classify it as an “incantation”.⁶⁶ It is almost unanimously considered to be a mythical fragment (see KTU 101)⁶⁷, except by De Moor,⁶⁸ with his idiosyncratic translation of the text. G. Massini also follows this opinion, pointing out the ESA substratum of the mythological motif.⁶⁹

“In fact, I commented in my analysis of the text, there are also some other texts very close to it in meaning, for instance, KTU 1.4 VII 52–57; 1.5 I 1–7; 1.8 II 5–7. The different interpretative essays have pointed them out and contributed many insights for its understanding. Taking into account these suggestions I accept that it is a part of a mythological account on the overcoming of the primordial Dragon as a collaborator/incarnation of the god Yam ... Interpreted as follows the text could be easily integrated in the Baal Cycle as a description of the aforementioned fight of Anat with the Dragon (Yam’s hypostasis rising from his *thm(t)*) that threatens heaven and earth. Once overcome and muzzled, happiness and joy are guaranteed”.⁷⁰

⁶¹ See Xella, P. 1981:209–215.

⁶² See Wyatt, N. 1998:363–365.

⁶³ See Pardee, D. 2002b:21–24.

⁶⁴ See Del Olmo Lete, G. 2014:286.

⁶⁵ See in this regard Clemens, D.M. 2001:78 n. 351.

⁶⁶ See Clemens, D.M. 2001: 474.

⁶⁷ See Del Olmo Lete, G. 1996:130–133 (with bibliography). For other treatments of this text see Vroilleaud, Ch. 1957:12, n. 3; Pardee, D. 1984:251–255; Caquot, A. 1989:28–30; Parker, S.B. 1997:192–193; Pitard, W. 1998:261–280; Wyatt, N. 1998a:368–369.

⁶⁸ See De Moor, J.C. 1987:181–182.

⁶⁹ See Mazzini, G. 2003.

⁷⁰ See Del Olmo Lete, G. 1996:130–132.

KTU 1.86

Once again, KTU's label "incantation?" has no textual support. Even its interpretation as an oneiromantic text⁷¹ does not imply its classification as an "incantation", but simply as a divinatory text, a different sort of magic (see above p. 7ff.). But, according to my own interpretation⁷² and limiting ourselves to the obverse, we have here a record of animals of various species that must be cared for in the first stage of their growth so that they develop adequately.

KTU 1.93

De Moor includes this small mythological fragment among the "incantations" with no further comment,⁷³ although, to my knowledge, no other scholar does so.⁷⁴

KTU 1.108

Finally, De Moor⁷⁵ mentions this as the last of his incantation texts, usually taken to be a hymnic composition. In his brief introductory lines, De Moor speaks of the "invocation" of the good genies, of an invitation to the long dead ancestors and of imploring *Ba⁷lu* to bless the city, categories, as we saw above, which belong to a genre different from that of "incantation" as we understand it. I have dwelt at length upon this text and refer to my discussion of it and to the bibliography quoted there.⁷⁶ For me, it is a text of the royal liturgy to be recited and sung during the ceremony of the "deification of the king" in the funerary ritual of the Palace of Ugarit.

KTU 1.113

Leaving aside the reverse, a list of deified Ugaritic kings, "the obverse presents itself in a way that seems to be strophic or antiphonal in structure: six sections

71 See Pardee, D. 2000:457–468; Pardee, D. 2002:148.

72 See G. del Olmo Lete, G., Márquez Rowe, I. 1995:255–258.

73 See De Moor, J.C. 1987:186–187.

74 See Caquot, A. 1989:37–39.

75 See De Moor, J.C. 1987:187–190. For Wyatt, N. 2012:272f.; "this is perhaps best interpreted as a hymn."

76 See Del Olmo Lete, G. 2014:149–156; also Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 1988: 822–823

separated by horizontal lines (the last one missing) that end with a repeated text. As far as can be seen, this text is a hymn in commemoration of (royal) ancestors who have reached the other world and are thus “praised,” under the theme of “heavenly music” which, according to mythology, accompanies the dead who are favoured by the gods. Its repetitive character (seven repetitions, perhaps) suggest that it is a type of liturgical hymn that was a perfect entry-song or invitatory for the second part or reverse of the tablet.”⁷⁷ To my knowledge, only De Moor had suggested the classification of this text as an “incantation” in an early paper (1970),⁷⁸ but it is not included in his *Anthology* (1987) under this label.

KTU 1.114

This text, found in the 1961 campaign, was published by Virolleaud under the title “Le festin du Père des dieux”.⁷⁹ Many scholars have treated the text, not a few taking it as a piece of burlesque literature (Loewenstamm, Margulis, Pope, Xella, Margalit, De Moor, Caquot).⁸⁰ However, Caquot ends his introduction to the text with these words: “... le texte, en racontant comment le dieu El s’était enivré et remis, avait en lui-même une vertu medicinale: la recette était bonne, sans doute parce que le grand dieu l’avait éprouvée”. Its classification as an “incantation” was natural and easy. In fact it was included under the heading “Tablettes mythico-magiques”. This opinion is repeated in KTU⁸¹ (“incantation for medical treatment”) and more clearly still, in Dietrich-Loretz’s version it has been called “Beschwörung gegen Folgen der Trunkenheit”.⁸² Consequently, “Angesichts entsprechender Parallelen aus Mesopotamien haben wir es bei KTU 1.114 mit einem Text jenes Genre zu tun, das Krankheitsbeschwörungen bietet: Eine mythologische Einleitung mit nachfolgender medizinische Instruktion.” But these scholars are fully aware of the inadequacy of the parallelism quoted and add in a note: “In Mesopotamien ist, anders als hier, eine Verbindung beider Abschnitte durch Hinweise auf eine Beschwörung und ein Ritual belegt”. That is to say, what is missing here is precisely the “Beschwörung”, the “incantation”, the specific intervention of the *āšipu*, this time also without the compulsory diagnosis, only implicit in the mythical narrative, which usually does not have such a prominent place

77 See Del Olmo Lete, G. 2014:143–146. See also recently Wyatt, N. 2012:26ff.

78 See De Moor, J.C.:1970:188–189 (“incantations and prayers”).

79 See Virolleaud, Ch. 1968:545–551.

80 See the bibliography in Caquot, A. 1988:72f.

81 See Dietrich, M., Loretz, O., Sanmartín, J. 1995:130

82 See Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 1988:342ff., 343.

in Mesopotamian incantation texts as is the case here. This is either the degeneration a literary form or rather another type of text that can be labelled mythico-magical(-medical) (see *supra*).

Looking attentively at the two Mesopotamian texts quoted by Dietrich-Loretz, the difference with KTU 1.114 is obvious, regarding the incantation genre. The mythico-cosmic evocation has a completely different bearing, the invocation or recourse to the deities by a human is completely missing. The classification of the situation as provoked by an “evil-doer” has disappeared and the remedy becomes generic, irrespective of any enemy attack or personal sin that may have provoked it. On the other hand, the mythical motif has lost its epic-tragic tune recalling the power and fight of the great gods against the force of evil, spirits and wizards, and their seclusion in the netherworld. What we have now is a burlesque narrative in which the supreme god loses his dignity and power, an anthropomorphic representation of the divine that is very reminiscent of Greek mythology. More significantly yet, the evolution of the genre and its practice appears above all in the lack of injunction clauses invoking the destruction and reversion of evil on the evil-doer, an aspect so strongly manifest in the actual incantation formulas. These usually react not only against the evil, but first of all against its agent. I do not think that here the “Therapeut” is supposed to assume the function of a “Beschwörer” (at the most that of the *āsû*) and that the recitation of the story has “die übernatürliche Kräfte für das von ihm eingesetzten Heilmittel”.⁸³ The force, I think, lies in the remedy itself whose divine origin and efficacy the story guarantees. The goddesses go in search of the remedy and find it. They neither create it nor teach people to pronounce an incantation formula in this connection. The story has the role of a *hierôs lógos*, which explains and establishes the efficacy of such a medical and gestural/ritual procedure. So the text turns out to be a sort of mythico-medical aetiology. We are quite remote from strict incantations or magic literature.

Leaving that aside, the coincidence with the analysis of the text provided by Dietrich-Loretz is almost complete, principally its function in terms of myth and magic. In fact, medical texts as a whole are essentially magic, sometimes including “incantation” formulas, but already the evil situation has become neutral and impersonal and its solution is a generic remedy for anybody to use. The transition from one moment to the other is very fluid, and the *evil spirits* continue to be the actual agents of illness. Dietrich-Loretz’ understanding of this text as a “Mythos mit medizinisch-therapeutischer Anweisung”,⁸⁴

⁸³ See Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2000a:504.

⁸⁴ See Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2000a:403–523; Del Olmo Lete, G. 2007a:167. I send back to this assessment for the disputed literary and lexical issues.

taking into account the caution against too close a rapprochement to Mesopotamian incantation, is fully acceptable.⁸⁵

For other scholars, such as De Moor,⁸⁶ the text falls into the category of “Myth and Ritual”, not “Incantation”, although it includes “a magical prescription” with an apotropaic effect. In this perspective, Caquot thinks, as already mentioned, that “la recette était bonne, sans doute parce que le grand dieu l’avait éprouvée”.⁸⁷ The story then is just “exemplar” in genre. Pardee in his turn, after his protracted textual and lexical analysis, briefly sums up the meaning of this “para-mythological” text as an “occasional” myth “dont le but était de garantir l’efficacité de la recette”⁸⁸. In this regard, Wyatt’s definition of this text as “a medical text” is quite correct.⁸⁹ In his turn, Lewis does not take a clear position on this issue.⁹⁰

KTU 1.124

This is a unique example among the Ugaritic ritual texts and as such its classification is not easy to determine. I follow the opinion that considers it to be a “cultic consultation” carried out by the king in the context of the dynastic cult of the dead royal ancestors.⁹¹ It belongs then within a specific cultic context that is closer to divination than to magic incantation praxis. In fact, no incan-

85 Very interesting are the suggestions on the *marziḫu* as a “königlicher Ahnenkult”, which included the consumption of wine: “Von diesem kultischen Hintergrund her wird deutlich, dass das *marziḫu* des Königs von Ugarit als ein Abbild der himmlischen *marziḫu* Els verstanden wurde” (p. 488). This text is connected with KTU 1.17 I 30–32 (*āqht*) and 1.20–22 (*rpūm*).

86 See De Moor, J.C. 1987:134–137.

87 See Caquot, A. 1989:71–78.

88 See Pardee, D. 1988:13–74. I think that to classify a text like this, we have to start from its *aim* which refers to a well-known functional and literary magical genre of the ancient Near East (see e.g. the fine anthology of “Texte zur Heilkunde” provided in *TUAT* Neue Folge 5, 2010) and not from the “historiola”, which has a mere functional and subordinate, although very colourful role (Pardee 2002b:167–170). I find more adequate, although somehow exaggerated, this scholar’s opinion who sees here “a serious attempt, even a scientific one... at dealing with the after effects of an evening spent on the benches of the *mrzḫ*” (see Pardee, D.1997d:303; see also Pardee, D. 1988:74). On the other hand, its position in the index under the heading “Divination” does not seem very suitable in this case.

89 See Wyatt, N. 1998a: 404–413.

90 See Lewis, Th.J. 1997:193–196. On their turn Yogev, J. Shamir, Y. 2011, deal with a concrete textual problem.

91 See Del Olmo Lete, G. 2014:261–265; Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 1990: 205ff.; Loretz, O. 1993:289ff; Pardee, D. 1988:1185, 191; but see 2002b:170f. For previous treatments of this text see the bibliography in Pardee, D. 1988:179f.; also Del Olmo Lete, G. 2014:261, n. 57.

tation formula is apparent. Nevertheless, we can find here what amounts to the ritual actions prescribed at the end of the incantation texts,⁹² along with the command to perform a prophylactic activity that will ensure the solution of the problem involved in the consultation: the (royal) infant's health; both *mtpzm* of divine origin. The action prescribed in the first place (the bringing of different plants as an offering for two temples) may correspond to the entreaty or prayer formula and the final offering that we also find in the incantation texts. But the most surprising aspect in this regard is to have here the gods *Ḥorānu* and *Baʿlu* (in that order) as the deities to be entreated jointly and whose role we know is decisive in the incantation texts.⁹³ KTU 1.124 combines, then, elements of cult divination/consultation, incantation text and prophylactic praxis as an outstanding example of the overlap of cult, magic and medicine and their literary and functional elements as mentioned earlier.⁹⁴ By transposing these elements, we can conclude that the “patron deities” are *ḥrn+bʿl*. The ancestor *dtu* has the role of the *āšipu*, who knows and transfers the formula-remedy, whereas the *ādn ilm rbm*, personally and through his messenger, would be looking for that remedy. This remedy is supposed to be carried out by the one in charge of the “house”, in the role of an *asû*. The expulsion of “dogs” also has an echo in many an Akkadian incantation text. Consequently and as far as its classification goes, KTU 1.124 can be defined as an eclectic ritual text built up in the interest of the king and his household in order to ensure the sound development of the dynasty.

KTU 2.31

Clemens provides a long commentary on this text,⁹⁵ collecting all the suggestions made about it. Its division into sections by the usual ruled lines represents a difficulty for its classification.⁹⁶ For Clemens, as far as classification goes, “the text approximates most closely to a ritual” and more precisely “the incantations correspond most closely to the content of 2.31”.⁹⁷ Besides the

⁹² See *supra* p. 5.

⁹³ See *supra* p. 32f.

⁹⁴ See *supra* p. 14f.

⁹⁵ See Clemens, D. 2001:212–223.

⁹⁶ See Clemens, D. 2001:214, n. 365, 216–218, n. 387. The use of personal pronominal and verbal forms is not decisive for its classification as a “letter” (Pardee). Such forms also appear in the texts dealt with here (see *infra*; also Clemens 220, n. 396) and the ruled lines are also characteristic of them.

⁹⁷ See Clemens, D. 2001:219; see also p. 218, n. 378; Del Olmo Lete, G. 1981a:86f.

distribution into separate paragraphs by ruled lines, the lexical equivalence between KTU 2.31 and 1.82 and 1.107, pointed out by Clemens,⁹⁸ is very impressive. But given the fragmentary state of the tablet, we cannot go further than this generic but very probable classification, without any serious guess regarding its contents. The classification as a “letter” always remains a possibility, since the decontextualized lexicon is not a compelling argument. No context can be made out.

KTU 5.2.

The classification of this text as an “incantation” is a mere guess,⁹⁹ the lexical correlations not being sufficient argument, since they do not provide a continuous context. Moreover, the readings are highly debatable.

KTU 7.5

A similar assessment can be made of this and other fragments that form a group.¹⁰⁰ Even if there was an incantation among them, we cannot make out anything from the preserved readings.

KTU 1.179 [RS 92.2016]

The editors of the text, as well as Clemens,¹⁰¹ consider its classification as an “incantation” as likely. In that case, the scribal colophon would be an exception in this kind of text¹⁰² and would favour taking it as a literary/mythological text. But the frequent use of first and second person suffixed pronouns and of a vocabulary related to a “house” (*bt*) and “body parts” (*špt*, *ḡpḡp*, *pḡn*, *yd* ...), along with such a characteristic term as *ḥbr* and the mention of DNN such as *bṣl* and others, especially *ḥm*, make the above-mentioned classification very likely. But above all, lines 30–35, as we will see later on, provide a surprising

⁹⁸ See Clemens, D. 2001:221–222, nn. 404–406.

⁹⁹ See Clemens, D. 2001: 472–476.

¹⁰⁰ See Clemens, D. 2001: 537–541, also 472.

¹⁰¹ See Caquot, A., Dalix, A.-S. 2001:393–405; Clemens, D. 2001:566–567. For a reconstruction and a rather bold interpretation of the text see De Moor, J.C. 2008:179–189.

¹⁰² See Cunningham, Gr. 1997: 5: “(incantations) are the only group of texts which have no colophons” (quoting Biggs); also Clemens, D. 2001:589, n. 55. But the compendium texts may have a colophon.

parallelism of motifs with KTU 1.100:70–76, which suggests that this text, at least its obverse, is rather a mythological *midraš* or development of the mytheme of *Ḥôrānu* and his wife (notice that the colophon is by *ʾIlmilku*) as the protecting deities against snake bite. In this sense it belongs to the incantation literature. Even the persistent mention of the “stars” could be taken as a confirmation of a very well-attested feature of this kind of texts in Mesopotamian literature: the frequent required recitation of the incantation before the astral deities/stars in an obviously nocturnal ritual.¹⁰³ The most serious shortcoming in this case is the absence of a clear mention of the object or evil incurred against which such an incantation is always recited. In this regard, the aforementioned reference to the various body parts could be taken as a hint of an incantation against illness in general and for the preservation of health, a kind of universal or canonical formula invoking the protection of the deities against any possible physical suffering. From this point of view, I have prepared my reading and restoration of the fragmentary text which could be distributed into those sections, although the broken state of the tablet forbids any attempt at a reasonable commentary:

Text structure:

Line 1':	title
Lines 2'–7':	description of the situation affecting the patient (body)
Lines 8'–12':	presentation of the entreaty before the astral gods
Lines 13'–15':	ritual: house purification and sacred meal
Lines 16'–21':	<i>Baʿlu</i> 's intervention
Lines 22'–28':	?
Lines 29'–32':	Ritual in the house
Lines 33'–39':	Ritual/incantation-formula with divine intervention
Lines 40'–43':	Colophon with ritual indication

Text transcription:¹⁰⁴

1'	[ṣr]b bt.ytn[gh.w ṣḥ]	(title)

2'	[]x.tḥt.īl.tṃ ^l k[.....]	(description of the situation
3'	[]. w ṣpty.w ḥbr.b[.....]	affecting the patient [body])
4'	[]xṯrt.hm.ṣkb.[ṣ]l[.]t ^l hm[...]	
5'	[]ṣk.qṣḥm ^l .]ṣpṣpk	

¹⁰³ See *supra* p. 6, 27, 32.

¹⁰⁴ The transcription is taken from the edition by Caquot-Dalix, in view of the impossibility of obtaining a new photo in the present circumstances affecting the normal functioning of the Damascus museum; see also KTU³ 1.179, with a slightly different transcription.

- 6' []b ád^[1] pŋnk.ydk.l thm
 7' []xm.ħmm.b bšrk
 8' []kbbk.kbbkm.ál.kbbk (presentation of the entreaty
 9' []dm.kbbk.šmm w thm before the astral gods)
 10' [kb]kb.bŋl.w pdry.kbbk
 11' [kt]r.w.ħ¹ss.kbbk.ydd.w.šd
 12' []x.kbbk.qdš.ythš
 13' []y.ylħm.b lħmy.yhš (ritual: house purification and
 14' []rtŷ.dŷt.my.k qdš sacred meal)
 15' []xm.ŋbd.łl.ārbŷtm
 16' []y.w lqh prt.t.bŋl (Ba^ŷlu's intervention)
 17' []x.bŋl.qdšm.b nhr
 18' []nħl.ŷttrt.b rħbn
 19' []xārr.b ym.tl.bŋl
 20' []prt.t.bŋl
 21' []tt.bŋl
 =====
 22' []xt.yldt.qty (?)

 23' []xxxkdŕħl.kbām
 24' []xxxđm
 [] ...
 (rev.)
 [] ...
 25' []xxx
 26' []nm
 27' []š
 28' [w yŷ]db.d b tkh
 29' []x bth (ritual in the house)
 30' []xh.w.ysb.bt.mħrh
 31' []rħq.ābn.l ābn.w pslt.l pslt
 32' []w.hwt.b špth.rħqt.ābn.l ābn
 33' []^ŷrb.ħm.bth.ytn.gh.w.yšħ.m^[1] b bt (ritual/incant.-formula with
 34' [xxx]x ħdr.tŷny¹.¹ānk.mlkt.mntn.mrbdh the gods' intervention)
 ytn
 35' [xxx]nh ¹.w¹ ħlm átt.itt[.][k] ytnyn.bn.ŷnm
 36' [xxx]xr. ħpkm.āhp^[k]¹.l¹bš.w āhpkn.ħlpn
 37' [xxx]m.w yŷdb.d b tkh.w.tqdmnnn,ilht
 38' [xxx]n.nrt.ıl.špš.l ymt.špš
 39' [xxx] ħnt.ıl.hn.ksmħt.l mlkt mntn

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=====
40' [spr.ilmk.š]bny.lmd.âtn.prln      (colophon with ritual indica-
41' [      ]r.bb[.].w.mspr.hnd.hwt      tion)
42' [      ]xxrbh. ind ylm dnn
43' [      ]b spr
=====

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Possibly, this text provides good evidence for the existence of other tablets of the incantation genre among the consonantal texts at Ugarit, as is the case among the syllabic fragments.

KTU 10.1

The classification of this Ugaritic text in the syllabic script as an incantation is pure speculation without enough convincing lexical arguments.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵ See Clemens, D. 2001: 573–575.

Appendix I

Akkadian texts in the alphabetic script: KTU 1.67, 1.69, 1.70, 1.73

Clemens¹⁰⁶ has collected together a series of opinions, data and hints that seem to connect these texts with the genre of incantation. As they are fragmentary and largely incomprehensible,¹⁰⁷ however, this attribution does not allow them to be used for a literary evaluation. Nevertheless, they could represent a remarkable example of the interest that Ugaritian scribal circles, and the Ugaritian people in general, had in texts of this kind, which are so abundant in Mesopotamia, and transliterate them specially, probably as a school exercise (KTU). Even in this form, however, such texts continued to be beyond the reach of ordinary people, ignorant of Akkadian, and were useless for the trained scribe and magician. In any case, they would be Akkadian texts and one would hope to find their prototypes in the large collections of incantations copied and kept in the Neo-Assyrian archives. That would be the best way to make them intelligible and confirm their supposed Akkadian origin.

Appendix II

KTU 1.40:26–34 and par.

Leaving aside the well-established evaluation of this as a pure ritual text,¹⁰⁸ it contains a fixed formula that has provoked some controversy basically concerning the interpretation of the apparent syntagm *ûlp* (/û-l-p/). This grammatical morpheme introduces a list of foreign gentils and two generic adjectives in the following text:

<i>û tḫīn/ ūšn.ypkm.</i>	whether you have sinned/whether your dignity has been sullied
<i>ûlp.qṭy</i>	according to the custom of the Qatian,

¹⁰⁶ See Clemens, D. 2001: 605–624.

¹⁰⁷ See Dhorme, É. 1933:229–252.; Segert, St. 1988; Hawley, R., Pardee, D., Roche-Hawley, L. 2013.

¹⁰⁸ See in this regard Clemens, D. 2001:1164–1165.

<i>ûlp.dḏmy.</i>	according to the custom of the Didmian (?),
<i>ûlp.hry.</i>	according to the custom of the Hurrian,
<i>ûlp.hṭy.</i>	according to the custom of the Hittite,
<i>ûlp.ḏlty.</i>	according to the custom of the Cypriot,
<i>ûlp.ḡbr</i>	according to the custom of <i>ḡbr</i> ,
<i>ûlp.ḥbtkn.</i>	according to the custom of those who rob you,
<i>ûl^l.mdllkn.</i>	according to the custom of those who oppress you
<i>ûlp.qrzbl</i>	according to the custom of <i>qrzbl</i> .

There are two main opinions, both of which assume the same linguistic analysis, namely: *ûlp* < /û-l-p/, parallel to Heb. (w)û l^epî. D. Pardee¹⁰⁹ (“selon la déclaration de”) sees here a reference to complaints or accusations put forward by foreign people against the Ugaritians, because of sins committed against them, within a basically “social justice” horizon.¹¹⁰ I myself, on the contrary (“according to the custom of”), prefer a cultic and social defection of the Ugaritians to an endeavour contrary to their own laws and customs and in keeping with those of the foreign nations. It could be interpreted as a kind of “formal and national” claim. But even this interpretation does not convince me fully, taking into account the open acceptance of “foreign cults” witnessed in Ugarit, a very open urban and well organized society in this connection, particularly manifest is the presence of the Hurrians and their cult, quoted here as one of

109 See Pardee, D. 2000a/1:112–115; Pardee, D. 2002b:77–83; for a critique of this view see Del Olmo Lete, G. 2006b:564–565.

110 This horizon is completely absent not only from Ugarit but in general from ANE documents, apart from Israel. The king of Ugarit is asked “to judge the case of the widow and the orphan” (KTU 1.17 V 7–9; see also 1.16 VI 33–34), but no mention is made of the “resident stranger” (*gr*) in this connection. The mention of the *gr* in KTU 1.40:35 (18) occurs in combination with the “sons and daughters of Ugarit” as equal subjects of *mšr*, “redemption/expiation” without any opposition between them. They appear as full citizens of Ugarit and some administrative texts suggest they were even officially recorded in the census. The opposition appears between these foreign residents (*gr ḥmyt ūgrt*) and the foreign peoples mentioned subsequently. The different relationship with these two groups may be reflected in the biblical attitude towards the *gērîm* and the foreign nations addressed by the prophetic oracles. The Hittites, at least, must have had the means to defend and enforce their own rights, already politically guaranteed by a treaty. For the opposite situation in the ANE and in Israel in this regard, see Zehnder, M. 2005; Aschenbach, R., Albertz, R., Wöhrle, J., eds. 2011. In ancient Israel, the attitude towards foreigners oscillates between the programmed annihilation and banishment of the enemy as a policy during the conquest together with prophetic curses on oppression by the empires and surrounding peoples during the period of the kingdom (along with the rejection of any contact in the postexilic community) and a humanitarian attitude after Israel had settled in the land. A late example of this (the Khirbet Qeyafa inscription) can be seen in Galil, G. 2009:196; Naʿaman, N. 2010; Puech, É. 2010; Aschenbach, R. 2012.

those foreign nations. Surprising also in this regard is the reference to the Hittite as a possible foreign enemy, being as it was the dominant power. Probable we are here face to the common *tópos* of the “seven enemies”, so well-known among the peoples of the ancient Near East,¹¹¹ with no relationship whatever to the actual political situation.

Another possible interpretation is provided by witchcraft literature. As we have seen above, the evil-doer, either a witch or a warlock, can slander a person and spread calumnies that may induce the gods’ anger against the victim of the slander as if he really had committed such sins. That was the function of the *dābibu* / *bēl dabābi* in Mesopotamia,¹¹² also present in Ugaritic incantation texts (KTU 1.169:1, 9; 1.178:9, 11: *kšpm dbbm*). The second text explicitly mentions their oral attack, the product of the “mouth” and “lips” of the wicked promoted and made effective by the *dbbm*, the sorcerers.

<i>km.l.tūdn ʿdbbm.kšpm.</i>	In the same way, do not let the foul-mouthed sorcerers proclaim
<i>hwt 10ršḫ.hwt.bnnšm</i>	the word(s) of the wicked, the word(s) of people,
<i>11.ghrt.phm.w.špthm</i>	the hullabaloo of their mouths and their lips.
<i>12.yšpk.kmm.arṣ</i>	May (they) be poured out like water on the earth
<i>13.kšpm.dbbm</i>	the foul-mouthed/insidious sorcerers! ¹¹³

Consequently, assuming for *lp* the well-attested meaning in Hebrew of “in accordance with”/“according to”¹¹⁴ or even the literal meaning “by (the) mouth of” (Sp. “por boca de”, as suggested by Pardee; see for example *l p špš*, KTU 5.11:4), we can translate: “If you have sinned according to what is disclosed/betrayed by ...”. First come the ritual attempts to get rid of these kinds of imputed sin having the force of witchcraft and so more insidious than pure moral responsibility, which comes second; finally, cultic faults are listed. However, culpability, from less serious to most grave, can be evaluated in either direction. But beside this lexical equivalence, we have support from Mesopotamian literary practice. For sometime, Assyriologists who specialise in this kind of literature have realised the presence of foreign peoples among the evil-doing agents of witchcraft, even pointing out the “political” character of these texts. In this connection, Schwemer comments: “Ein bekannter Topos der Abwehrzauber-Beschwörungen ist die Identifikation der Hexe – nur einmal

111 See Avishur, Y. 1999:257ff.

112 See *supra* p. 34; *infra* p. 183f.

113 See *infra* p. 182.

114 See HALOT 915; Akk. *ina pī, ša pī*.

bislang des Hexers – mit Fremden, insbesondere den nachgerade klassischen Erbfeinden Babyloniens”.¹¹⁵ He quotes a few countries mentioned in *Maqlû*, for instance:

Beschwörung: “Sie zaubern gegen mich, zaubern immerzu gegen mich!
Die Gutäerinnen, die Elamiterinnen, die Ḫanigalbatäerinnen,

.....

Die Töchter des Landes knüpfen Knoten gegen mich!
Sechs sind ihre Knoten, (doch) sieben meine Lösungen!” (*Maqlû* IV 105–109).¹¹⁶

In the next incantation of this series, two further foreigners are added, “Sutäerin” and “Lullubäerin” who together with the “Subaräerin” make up the classic series of six “enemies”. Perhaps the people of those nations were considered particularly “zauberkündig” as Thomsen suggests,¹¹⁷ but more probably it was assumed that their military power was backed by witchcraft activity, which provoked the enemy’s own national god to abandon them. Political activity is always viewed as the outcome of opposing divine forces. It is one’s own god who gives victory. In this connection, Tz. Abusch and D. Schwemer comment: “The person of the king always deserved special protection: the texts of the *Bit rimki* ritual in particular show that because of his many adversaries and enemies the king was regarded as a prime potential victim of witchcraft. One war ritual accuses the foreign enemies of having tried to bewitch the king’s weapons and soldiers by wooing the favor of the Mesopotamian gods”.¹¹⁸

Tz. Abusch, who insists on the political character of the text-ritual known as *Maqlû*,¹¹⁹ goes so far as to suggest that “the major Mesopotamian anti-witchcraft composition (the *Maqlû* text) did not apply only to private critical

¹¹⁵ See Schwemer D. 2007:79f.

¹¹⁶ See Meier, G. 1967:32, a slightly different version.

¹¹⁷ See Thomsen, M.-L. n.d. 25. On the topos of the “seven enemies” of Israel and other ancient Near Eastern peoples see n. 107 (Avishur).

¹¹⁸ See Abusch, Tz. – Schwemer, D. 2011:4

¹¹⁹ See Abusch, Tz. 2002:XVI: “Here, I would simply mention one of these (questions), my suspicion that the description of the witch, specially in *Maqlû*, has been influenced by descriptions of political enemies and that in the first millennium the witch was made to serve as representation of state enemies in religious ceremonies that served political aims”. See also Abusch, Tz. – Van der Toorn, K. 1999:110f., who mention feelings of hostility towards foreigners present in cosmopolitan cities.

occasions, but actually preserved the ceremony of *an annual prophylactic rite* (emphasis mine) performed for the king by an official exorcist”.¹²⁰

In this regard, KTU 1.40 has a clear-cut political sense¹²¹ as plainly shown by the presence of the royal couple at the very head of the text as the main subject and beneficiary of the expiation ceremony, along with all the people of the city. With the people and the royal family free of any sin, the kingdom is safe. And of these sins, the first to be removed are those disclosed by the permanent enemies and imputed by *kšpm dbbm*, the foul-mouthed sorcerers. We dare to advance this hypothesis here, awaiting confirmation in the future. The following section (lines 26–34) is provided as a sample:

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>26. <i>wšqrb.ṛ.mšr</i>
 <i>mšr[.b]n.ūgrt.</i>
 <i>l^w[npy...? wnpy.]ūgr<t></i></p> <p>27. <i>wnpy.ymān.wnpy.ṛmt.</i>

 <i>l^wnpy.[----]</i>
 <i>28wnpy.nqmd.</i>
 <i>ušn.ypkm.</i>
 <i>ūlp.q[ty.]</i>
 <i>[ūlp.ddm]y</i></p> <p>29. <i>ūlp.ḥry.</i>
 <i>ūlp.ḥ[t]y</i>
 <i>ūlp.ālty.</i>
 <i>ūlp.ḡbr.]</i>
 <i>[ū]lp 30ḥbtkm.</i>
 <i>ūlp.m^d[l]lkm.</i>
 <i>ūlp.qrzbl.</i>
 <i>ū [šn][.]ypkm</i></p> <p>31. <i>ū bāpkm.</i>
 <i>ū bq[š]^lṛt.npškm.</i>
 <i>ū bqṭt.tqṭṭ</i></p> <p>32. <i>ū šn ypkm.</i>
 <i>ld[b]ḥm.</i>
 <i>wl. t^ṛ.</i>
 <i>dbḥn.ndbḥ.</i></p> | <p>– “Offer, yes, a donkey of justification,
 of justification, sons of Ugarit,
 and [may it be atonement of ... and atone-
 ment] of Ugarit
 and atonement of <i>ymān</i> and atonement of
 <i>ṛmt</i>
 and atonement of [---] and atonement of
 Niqmaddu;
 whether your dignity has been sullied
 according to (what betrays) the Qa[tian],
 [according to (what betrays) the Didm]ian (?),
 according to (what betrays) the Harrian,
 according to (what betrays) the Hittite,
 according to (what betrays) the Cypriot,
 accord[ing to (what betrays) the <i>ḡbr</i>],
 according to (what betrays) your robbers,
 according to (what betrays) your oppressors,
 according to (what betrays) the <i>qrzbl</i>;
 or whether your dignity has been sullied
 by your anger,
 by your faintheartedness/impatience,
 or for the transgressions you have committed;
 or whether your dignity has been sullied
 in connection with the sacrifices
 and in connection with the offerings.”
 – “Behold the sacrifice we sacrifice,</p> |
|--|--|

¹²⁰ See Abusch, Tz. 2002:3, see also pp. 15f. , 53.

¹²¹ See in this regard the interesting treatment by Sanders, S.L. 2009.

- hw.t̄ nt̄y.*
 33. *hw.nkt.nkt.*
lȳ[t]š̄.láb.bn.íl.
ytš̄.ldr 34bn.íl.
⟨lmp̄rt.bn.íl.⟩
l̄tkmn[.w]š̄nm.
hn.̄r
- this is the offering we offer,
 this is the victim we immolate!
 May it rise to the father of the gods,
 may it rise to the family of the gods,
 ⟨to the assembly of the gods⟩,
 to *tknm wš̄nm!*
 Behold the donkey!"

KTU 1.82: A Miscellaneous Incantation/ Anti-Witchcraft Text against Snakebite

1 Introduction

Composite or miscellaneous incantation texts are well known in both Mesopotamian¹ and Ugaritic² magical literature. In the case of KTU 1.82, the distribution of the text into different units, separated by empty spaces and ruled lines, leaves no doubt in this regard. Drawing on De Moor-Spronk's pioneering study,³ Caquot stressed this point some time ago, qualifying the text as "un recueil de formules magiques".⁴ He even makes what seems to us to be a very significant assertion, namely that in this text, in contrast to KTU 1.100, "il ne semble pas y avoir continuité d'un paragraphe à l'autre, et il n'est pas même certain que dans un paragraphe il y a un enchaînement cohérent de phrases".⁵

On the other hand, Virolleaud thought that "il s'agit, autant qu'on en puisse juger, d'une dialogue entre Baal et Anat, au lendemain de la victoire remportée par Baal sur le dragon Tannin". This mythological perspective was followed by other scholars.⁶

Following my first provisional interpretation,⁷ I assume that this tablet contains a miscellaneous text comprising perhaps eight⁸ magical incantation

¹ Leaving aside the large text collections such as *Maqlû* and *Šurpu*, for miscellaneous incantation texts see for instance Ambusch, Tz., Schwemer, D. 2011:v–viii ("Contents").

² For the syllabic texts cf. Nougayrol, J. 1978:29f.; Arnaud, D. 2007:77–88 (n° 21: "Collection d'incantations [RS 15.152 // 17.155]"); Arnaud, D. 2007:90–96 (n° 25–26: "Recueil de rituels et d'incantations" (RS 25.456 B) planche XII); "Incantations et rituels médico-magiques" (RS 94.2067, planche XIII); and perhaps also Arnaud 2007: 98s. (n° 27: "Fragment de rituel magique" (RS 25.418) planche XIII). For the consonantal texts cf. *infra* KTU 1.107 and 1.169.

³ See De Moor, J.C. 1984:237–249 ("set of incantations"; see also De Moor, J.C. 1987:175–181: "incantation")

⁴ See Caquot, A.1988:31; 1989:61–62.

⁵ See Caquot, A. 1988:32; see also Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 1988:336–339 ("Sammeltafel", "(VI) in sich geschlossene Beschwörungen"). Only the translation of lines 1–14, 38–43 is provided by these scholars, basically following De Moor-Spronk's suggestions.

⁶ See Van Zijl, P.J. 1972:74–85; 1974:85–93; 1975:72–85; Day, J. 1985:16, 106; particularly Clemens, D.M. 2001:1187f. for a general survey of opinions. The first collation of this text was provided by Virolleaud (1957:3–7). Van Zijl's set of articles was never finished and dealt only with lines 1–7. In general in this paper I will not point out the differences in reading and interpretation put forward by the different scholars in each case. This is not very helpful in a text as damaged as this one and encourages guesswork and undemonstrable hypotheses; I am also well aware of the hypothetic character of my own suggestions.

⁷ See Del Olmo Lete, G. 2014:320–326.

⁸ The damaged state of the heading on the reverse precludes any definite conclusion.

formulae against snakebite, a genre of magic literature that is well represented at Ugarit.⁹ But unlike texts such as KTU 1.169, also a miscellaneous text, KTU 1.82 does not belong to the category of anti-witchcraft literature, that is, texts to ward off the effects of maliciously induced snakebite,¹⁰ but rather to the genre of magic prophylactic incantation formulae, much in line with KTU 1.107.¹¹ As is well known, texts of this kind include many elements of prayer and entreaty to the deities invoked, but also elements of ritual and prescription to cure the harm and oracles or words of those deities. These elements are usually separated by ruled lines.¹² The actual magical texts have a much more developed structure and possibly their prototype is to be found in the rituals against *zikrudū*-witchcraft¹³ and in its parallels the “Serpent-*namburbis*” from the first millennium.¹⁴

Additional and very significant support for this suggestion is provided by the use of the same vocabulary and the same motifs as those present in the canonical Ugaritic texts of the genre. We will emphasise them in the translation, enhancing the lexical elements that are most important in this regard. For the readings we rely on a new autopsy of the text carried out in early March 2011. The new photos, taken on this occasion by the deposition of ammonium chloride method, are particularly useful in view of the poor state of the tablet, especially in its burnt black part, which has made its study particularly difficult in the past.¹⁵

In the following pages we present the new collation of the text along with its lay-out and a brief epigraphic and philological commentary, without spending much time on the various interpretations which, as we said above, are mainly the result of the different readings. These I will attempt to emphasise and make clear.

⁹ See Clemens, D.M. 2001:699f.

¹⁰ See Abusch, Tz., Schwemer, D. 2011:399–424.

¹¹ See Clemens, D.M. 2001:598, 614ff., 699f., 741ff., 1114 n. 124.

¹² See Clemens, D.M. 2001:219.

¹³ See Abusch, Tz., Schwemer, D. 2011:15f.

¹⁴ See Pientka-Hinz, R. 2009:212.

¹⁵ Neither Xella, P. (1981) nor De Tarragon (1980) takes this text into consideration. Nor does Pardee in any of his comprehensive studies (1988, 2000, 2002a). It is therefore not very clear to which textual genre these scholars assign the tablet. See in this regard Bordreuil, P., Pardee, D. 1992:708 (“mixed” type). For exhaustive information on this and other questions concerning this text see Clemens, D.M. 2001:1361 (index), in particular p. 131 n. 623, p. 163 (“pararitual”, “incantation”), p. 140 (“mythico-magical/ritual”).

2 Text and version¹⁶

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>1. [y]^[m]^[l]^[2]hš.bš^[l][.bb]^[t]^[2]y.
t²a²n²t²
wygl.wynsk š[-]</p> <p>2. [km.m]y.lārs[-]
[id]y.āl^[2].lāhš.
idy^[2].āl^[2].in ly</p> <p>3. [hm.-].t.bš^[l].h^[2]z^[2].ršp b^[n]km.
yr.klyth.wlbh</p> <p>4. [---]^[t]^[2].pk.bq²r.
tn.pk.bh^[2]lb.
ktgwln.šntk</p> <p>5. [pk²]wšptk.ltššy.

hm.tgrm.lmt.brtk</p> <p>6. [---]^[h]y¹p.ān.ār^[m]^[2]
ql.špš.hw.
bt^[n]m.d¹gd.bš^[l]m¹</p> <p>7. [---ā]tm.prt^[l].
lrišh.hmt^[t].tmt^[t].</p> | <p>[Let] Ba²lu crush [in/from my house²] the²,

let it go away and the....² be poured out
[like water (?) to the ground.
Then I shall not feel the curse,
then I shall not have any curse on me!
[If] the Lord of the arrow, Rašpu, [hits²] your son,
fires at his kidneys and heart,
[make] your mouth [resound] in the mountains,
your mouth echo in the hills!
let indeed your teeth move/chatter without pause,
let not [your mouth] and your lips be oblivious!
/ your forecast / omen,
If you are bound (to pay) to death / Mōtu (according to)
[th]en [let] me myself shout out
the cry to/of Šapšu: “Save life”!
The serpents with the coriander Ba²lu,
[let him take them away] with the prt^[l]-plant,
from his head, belly (and) blood/menses!</p> |
| <p>8. [---]y²1dbr.trmt.ālm.
qhny.šy.qh^[n]y¹</p> <p>9. [---]^[š]ir.bkr^[m].
nttt.ūm.šlt.bāby^[-]^[2]</p> <p>10. [---]^[š]ir.bk.
lk.lpny.yrk.bš^[l][-]</p> <p>11. [---]^[š]ir.bk.
ts²tšh.km.h^[2]b^[2]/š^[2][-]</p> <p>12. [---] [-----].
špr.btk.yg^[t]r^[l][š-----]</p> <p>13. [---] [-----]y².
h^[t]r^[l].hr.bnt.h^[m]²-----]</p> <p>14. [---][ā]^[h]d^[2]. [---]^[m] [---].
ydk.āmš.y^[t]d^[l][k-----]</p> | <p>[Behold, I] proclaim as an offering two rams,
take, please(/ from me), my two rams, take, please!
[Behold²], the flesh of two firstlings
of a shocked mother ascend unto my father,
[-----], ascend unto thee!
Walk in front of me, fire it, indeed, Ba²lu [-],
[-----](?)
may she/they be cleared away like [gravel!],
[---]^[2][-----]
May the dust of your house (be?) evict(ed) [- -],
[---]^[2][---]!
The entrails, the entrails of the creatures [, oh Hōrānu²,]
[---]grasp (?), [-] erase (?) [---]
(of) your hand, may the strength of (your) hand
[-----]!</p> |
| <p>15. [-----]bt²š^[-][-]^[n]^[2][---]^[k]^[2][-].
wyhnp[-----]</p> <p>16. [---]^[m].y^[t]l^[m]²š.b^[l]---]t/ā/nk.
šmdm.špk[-----]</p> | <p>[---] [-----]
and he will act perversely [-----].
[---] [-----] on your
with an axe spill [-----]</p> |

¹⁶ No vocalisation of the text will be provided. It is implied in the translation, alongside an adequate knowledge of Ugaritic morpho-syntax, and should therefore be taken for granted in research publications. In the case of KTU 1.82, there is an added difficulty: the largely fragmentary state of the text makes fairly reliable vocalisation almost impossible.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>17. [---]¹nt [-]t.bk kpt.
k[-]t².bg[t²----]</p> <p>18. [---]¹h¹ [-¹b¹]nt.šš.
bnt.h[-----]</p> <p>19. [---][---][l]āhw.
ātm.pr[t¹l][</p> | <p>[---] ⁵Anatu / the fountains [---] on you the palms
.....</p> <p>[-----] the creatures of terror,
the creatures of [-----]</p> <p>[---] [---] I will indeed give back life,
take/stop away with the prtl-plant [---][-----].</p> |
| <p>20. [---]gnt.[-]pšn [-]
bdh.āqšr[-----]</p> <p>21. [---][k].pt¹h¹y.ā[---]nt¹š/b.²
¹d²m.ml[-----]</p> <p>22. [---]¹t¹k.ytmt.dlt.
¹l¹lk.[---].bm[-----]</p> <p>23. [---][-]qp bn.h¹tt.
bn h¹tt[---][-----]</p> <p>24. [---]p.km.dlt.
tlk.km.p¹l[-----]</p> <p>25. [---]²[r/kbt.thbt.
km.šq.šb¹r¹[t-][-----]</p> <p>26. [---] kl.bkl.lpgm.
pgm.l.b[t²---][-----]</p> <p>27. [---].¹m¹dbm.
lhm.h¹r[-----]</p> <p>28. [---][-----]¹h¹m.
ql.hm[-----]</p> <p>29. [---][-----]¹m¹
ātt¹n.ā[---]</p> <p>30. [---][-----]
[-]a[-----]</p> | <p>[---²] [---]
through it the sloughing [(serpent)-]</p> <p>[---?] my gate [---]
[-----] [-----]</p> <p>[-----] poor (she-)orphan
she shall go [---][-----]</p> <p>[-----] the son of terror (?)
son of terror (?) [-----].</p> <p>[-----] like² a poor woman²,
she shall walk like [-----]</p> <p>[-----] [---] she will perish
like someone distressed of the clan (?) [-----]</p> <p>[---] to/from everybody, to/from everybody, yes, the harm,
the harm from the house (?) [-----]</p> <p>[---] a great flood (?),
oh Ḥōrānu. Ḥōr[ānu²----]</p> <p>[---][-----]
the cry [-----]</p> <p>[---][-----]
our wives [----]</p> <p>[---][-----]²
[---][-----]</p> |
| <p>rev.</p> | |
| <p>31. [-----][¹]p¹lnt.g²[i²]</p> <p>32. [-----]¹h¹mt.
lql.rp¹[m-----]</p> <p>33. [-----]llm.
ābl.mšr pk.[-----]</p> <p>34. [-----]¹y².m¹nt.
wth.tb¹t.[-][-----]</p> <p>35. [---]b[tnm wt¹tb.
šl b¹nt.tr¹t¹h¹[š-----]</p> <p>36. [---]t¹bh.āht.ppš.
wppš¹r¹t¹[-----]</p> <p>37. [---]¹l¹k.drhm.
wāt¹b.lntbtk.ššm lt[-----]</p> | <p>[-----] [---][---] [-----]</p> <p>[---²] venom (?)
at the cry of the Rapa²ūma [-----]</p> <p>[-----] the night (ghosts).
I shall remove the sobbing from your mouth [-----]</p> <p>[-----] a kettle(?)
and may you live (in) good (health)[-----].</p> <p>[--- against] the male serpents and you shall repeat/sit,
against the female serpents, you shall [wash yourself] (?)</p> <p>[--- in] her dwelling (?) the sister of Papašarru
namely Papašarratu [-----].</p> <p>[---²] of two wild goats (?)
and I'll return to your path with a branch of [---].</p> |
| <p>38. [hm.²]tdrk.brh.ār¹š¹.
lk pn¹h¹.yrk.bš[l]</p> <p>39. [w.l²]¹t¹bt¹k.āp.lphrk</p> | <p>[If] you tread on a creeping (creature) on the ground,
run away in front of it (and) let Ba²lu fire at it,
indeed!</p> <p>[And for] your abode and also for your family</p> |

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p> Ṣnt tqm.Ṣnt.tqm
 40. $[\text{b}^2\text{p}]^{\text{h}^1}\text{rk.ygršk.}$
 qr.btk.ygršk </p> <p> 41. $[\text{---}]^{\text{bnt.ṣṣṣ.}}$
 bnt.mṣmṣ.
 $\text{Ṣbd.hṣm.}[\text{---}]$ </p> <p> 42. $[\text{---}^?]^{\text{āḡwyn.Ṣnk.}}$
 zz.wkmt.ilm. </p> <p> 43. $[\text{---}^?]^{\text{k}^1}\text{Ṣm.}$
 kṢm.l ttn.
 kābnm.l tiggṇ </p> | <p> may ṢAnatu stand up, ṢAnatu yes stand up.
 [From] your family he/they (intent to) expel you,
 (from) the walls of your house he/they (intent to)
 expel you. </p> <p> $[\text{---}^?]$ the creatures of terror,
 the creatures of convulsion,
 the servants of Ḥōrānu [may they expel]. </p> <p> $[\text{---}^?]$ I am going to cry powerfully to your intercessors:
 zz wkmt, the gods, </p> <p> [who are?] like trees,
 like trees (/that) do not/emit (sound),
 like stones (/that) do not/moan. </p> |
|--|--|

3 Epigraphic commentary (Fig. I–II; Pl. II, III a–g)

Lines 1–2: The initial /m/ is a mere guess: the tablet is erased at this point and the traces do not guarantee this reading¹⁷ (Pl. III a–b); in this case, lacking epigraphic evidence, we rely on contextual congruence (see later on: “2. – *Lexical and philological analysis*”). The following sign is correctly read /ḥ/ (see ll. 36–37: āḥt, drḥm). But what seems at first sight to be a misreading is the word /bṣl/: its first sign appears to be a /t/. The normal form of this sign appears in line 7 (prtḥ, ṭmt), while a clumsy /b/ like this is also seen in the fourth sign of line 4 (bqr), the *normal* sign form /b/ appearing in lines 3 (bn, lbh) and 4 (b ḥlb), making allowances for a certain divergence in the scribal handwriting. The final /l/ is in turn a reconstruction, since we have only two vertical wedges (/ṣ/), the presumed third one actually corresponding to the border of the following erasure. Nevertheless, the reconstruction seems reasonable. So the reading /bṣl/, in spite of the anomalies, can be taken as acceptable.

The final horizontal wedge of a /k/ or /r/ can still be seen (there is space for two signs at least in the erasure), which may simply be read as /t/, followed by -y and three other signs. These are read in Virolleaud’s collation as tnn, Tunnānu . Once again the presumed contextual preconception dictates the epigraphic transcription. In fact, the signs could also be read as /tān/, /ttn/ or even /āān/ (Pl. III c–d), taking into account the traces of wedges that the three signs show (see the sequence ltnn in line 43 (Pl. III e) and the writing tnn in

¹⁷ The sign /m/ is clearly formed everywhere else in the text. Here, instead, the traces point to the reading /ṣ/, with the separator a little lower than usual.

KTU 1.3 III 40¹⁸). But to read the second one as an /n/ seems unjustified, since no trace of a triple wedge is to be seen. On the other hand, a fourth closing sign /t/ should not be ruled out. Let us leave the reading open for the moment.

The last complete word is unanimously read as *wynsk*, but the last sign appears to be a /w/, the two series of horizontal wedges being quite visible. But the contextual meaning (see later “4. Lexical and philological analysis”) argues in favour of the accepted reading. The trace of a separator after *wynsk* is very slight, while the attached line may correspond to a /t/ (?) followed by a wedge read as /ʕ/; of a /d/ there is no acceptable trace. However, once we accept the mythological reference, a parallel restoration 𐎶*tk* (see KTU 1.3 III 41/44), the name of another primordial monster, could be suggested.¹⁹

The rest of the text does not present particular difficulties. The reconstruction [ʔ]^l*d*^l*y* (KTU) is based on the parallel presence of the lexeme later in the line.

Lines 3–5a: The readings in these lines are quite clear. Nevertheless, the reading *h_z* is dubious, as it is based more on the presumed lexico-mythological context (*Rašpu* and the arrows²⁰) than on epigraphic evidence; the sign /*z*/ is partly erased. On the other hand, there seems to be no clear separator between *bn* and *km* and the first word could also be read as /*bt*/. The beginning of line 4 is also unclear and a reading *bqr* seems epigraphically preferable (see also line 40) to *bgr* (Virolleaud, KTU), a reading that the parallelism (// *h_lb*) nevertheless favours.

Lines 5b–7: epigraphically, the reading *brtk* (KTU) is clear, consequently the suggested reading *brqk* must be excluded. The reading *d/bgd* is also quite clear (the accepted reading *u_hd* is impossible)²¹, but the interpretation is very difficult. Taking into consideration the possible parallel pair (*prtl*)²², we favour the reading *bgd*, hinted at already by the double lower horizontal stroke,

¹⁸ For different writings of *tnn* see KTU 1.3 III 40 (Smith, M.S., Pitard, W.T. 2009:CD) (see Pl. III G) and KTU 1.6 VI 51 (cf. CTA, pl. xii–xiii) (Pl. III F). As a simple guess, either of the suggested readings could be accepted, both within the semantic field of “sight” (/ʕ-n-y/) and of mourning (/y-t-n (q)/): For this meaning of /y-t-n/ see DUL 991 (*ytn g*), 652 (*ntn*); see also *tānt*, “groaning” (DUL 855). On the meanings of “voice” for *tnn*, see DUL 873.

¹⁹ De Moor’s reconstruction 𐎶*dt*, “menstruation” (Heb. ʕiddāh; see below line 7), is also very pertinent. See in this regard the version by Schmitt, R. 2004:81. His reading of line 1 (*m_hs.b* ?) reflects the difficulties discussed above.

²⁰ See Fulco, W.J. 1976:69; Van Zijl, P.J. 1974:86–89.

²¹ See Miglio, A.E. 2013:41f., who retains this reading, arguing from a “subsequent effacement of the tablet” (/h/ > /g/). He also prefers the reading *brqk* (p. 39). See Del Olmo Lete, G. 2014b:forthcoming.

²² For a possible Akkadian parallel (*piriduluš*) see De Moor, J.C. 1984:240.

(“with the coriander-plant”), in contrast to the clearer /d/, third sign of the word. Notice in this connection that there are only two horizontal low wedges in the first sign, not three as was pointed out. For contextual reasons also, I assume the aforementioned reading *bgd*. For the reading *ʾṭm prṭl* see line 19.²³

Lines 8–14: The preserved text exhibits no problems, apart from the numerous erasures, and the grammatical sense of the clauses is reasonably clear. As in line 1, the traces and the congruence of the subject speaking (1 p. sg.²⁴) would suggest the reading [i]dbr: “[behold,] I proclaim: my offering is two rams”. In line 11, the reading [t]ṣ.qsrm, when enlarged (200%), is clear for epigraphic reasons (the traces in the tablet after /t/ cannot be taken as a separator, which appears after the /ṣ/). Notice, however, the crack in the tablet that prevents a clear image of the sign /q/, while the first traces, usually read /ṣn/, are less than certain. There is an erasure that deforms a possible sign /n/. On the other hand, the reading *šzrm* seems quite improbable, epigraphically and semantically, at least as far as the sign /š/ is concerned.

Lines 15–19: The autopsy and the new contrasted photos, suitably enlarged, allow a different reading of the beginning of line 15. In contrast, the reading *hrp/hkp* in line 18 and the reading of the rest of the line are mere guesses. Provisionally, we assume the previous reading and interpretation (see further). For the reading and interpretation of *ʾṭm prṭl* compare line 7.

Lines 20–30: This section is of special interest because the burned surface does not allow either an easy autopsy or the possibility of clear photography. The photo obtained by the contrast method is especially helpful and allows us to put forward several divergent and more convincing readings. But the general meaning remains beyond our reach.

The reading [l]mnt supposes that the state of the tablet was different from the present one: the first character seen today is a clear /g/, the presumed /m/ is a reconstruction, and there is no trace of the /l/.

There is no point in insisting on the new readings, since the fragmentary state of the text does not allow any semantic validation. A close look at the photos provided may help us to decide between them.

Lines 31–37: The first point to mention regarding this section of the text is that the traces of a ruled line between lines 34/35 are very slight; those between lines 35/36 are clear indeed, but much feebler than those of the lines

²³ A mere guess; cf. Heb./Aram./Syr, *ṭm, “to stop up” (HALOT 38).

²⁴ For the vocalisation of the 1 p. sg. of the D conjugation see Tropper, J. 2012:545.

that separate sections on the obverse and here on the reverse line 38. The purpose of these ruled lines and the corresponding enhancement of line 35 is not apparent.²⁵ In my opinion, lines 31–37 form a textual unit. This means that the reverse of the tablet most probably had four sections like the obverse, taking into account the upper part of the text that is lost.

Lines 38–43: the variant readings put forward in this section are not very significant. In line 38 *ārš* seems to be a scribal correction of a previous *ārṣ* (the two heads of the last sign are still visible). And the /h/ of *pnh* is far from clear: the third/middle horizontal wedge is missing. Possibly a /k/ was intended at first but it remained incomplete (see line 10 *lpny*). And of the end of line 41 there is no trace visible after *hṛn* and before the /k/ in the edge; at this point there is a crack in the tablet. As for the last sign of *kmṭ*, it should be taken as a variant of /t/ rather than as a sign for /ḡ/.

4 Lexical and philological analysis

A highly significant aspect of the text, which may help to establish its literary nature, is the multiple lexical relationship it exhibits with other incantation (magical and anti-witchcraft) texts of the Ugaritic corpus “against snakebite” (KTU 1.100, 1.107, 1.169, 1.178) as well as its many contextual and literary connections with Akkadian texts of the same genre.

Lines 1–2: To begin with, the opening syntagm, which connects a DN with the predicate /mḥṣ/, is found not only here and in KTU 1.5 I 1 (see KTU 1.2 IV 9)²⁶, as pointed out already by Virolleaud,²⁷ but is also common in the Akkadian incantation texts (*maḥāṣu(m)*): AHW 580 1/j; CAD M/1 75–76).²⁸ As a conse-

²⁵ The presence of the predicate *tṭb* could suggest that line 35 represents an *inter lineas* inserted scribal notation (“...and you shall repeat”) in the style of KTU 1.4 V 42–43.

²⁶ In turn, *Anatu* asserts *ištbm tnn* (/ / mḥšt bṭn). (KTU 1.3 III 40–42), *bṭn* is equated with *ltn* (the monster slain by *Baʿlu*) through the common epithet *šlyṭ d šbʿt rāšm*. In any case, the mythological motif and situation are the same, as is the semantics of /mḥṣ/ and /mḥṣ/.

²⁷ See Virolleaud, Ch. 1957:3.

²⁸ See Finkel, I.L. 1999:226f; Abusch, Tz. 2002:189. As in the case of the reading *ḥnt* instead of *ḥnn* in the heading of KTU 1.96 (see *infra* pp. 129ff.), Virolleaud’s reading of the first signs as [x]mḥṣ.bṭn has determined the mythological bias that has guided the interpretation of the text as a whole. But this reading is far from certain as the autopsy and the photo of the tablet certify.

[Had the reading /t/ for /b/ been accepted, as suggested above, *Baʿlu* would disappear from the scene in this line. Also /ḥ/ could be read as an /i/. Conveniently magnified, the first and third horizontal wedges are quite clear, the middle one is also to be seen, although then the wedge would appear somehow compressed, what seems to correspond to the way that the

quence of this divine intervention, the enemy is dissolved and carried away like water. The motif is not infrequent there either (see KTU 1.100:68–69).²⁹ In this regard, the new anti-witchcraft text against snakebite KTU 1.178:12 provides the most significant parallel to our text: *yšp[k].k mm.arš*, “May (the foul-mouthed sorcerers) be poured out like water on the earth”.³⁰ On the other hand, the subject/object here are a mere guess.

This section introduces a concept, *ālt*, basic in this genre, which has its parallel in Akk. *mamītu* in its double meaning of “oath” and “curse” (AHw 599f.; CAD M/1 189ff).³¹ An exclamatory spell very close to our text can be found in the *Ušburrada Heilmittel Rituals* A₂ obv. 1:49’: *mamītu mamītu ullalki*

scribe incises these multi-headed vertical wedges. The resulting text $]m^{?}.i\check{s}.f\check{s}[$ is indeed incomprehensible, so that the alternative reading $i\check{s}\{. \}f\check{s}[$ could be suggested (starting from the dictum “when a Semitic text is not understood it is because it is badly read”), assuming an erroneously placed separator, an scribal error found elsewhere in Ugaritic, an error that possibly is also present in the reading *mḥš*, since traces of a possible separator before the assumed /h/ are visible. This reading may seem strange at first sight, but plainly it is lexically, morphologically and thematically guaranteed. A nominal base /š-š-š/ occurs in Ugaritic and specifically in our text (lines 18/41) in the context of snake attack (see later). It could be understood as a 1 p.(?) Dt pconj. (or verbal noun) with the corresponding regressive assimilation of /t/ to /t/ in contact with /š/. We have here the reduced form /š-š-š/ of a reduplicated /š-š-š-š/, derived from the simple base /š-V-š/. This is occurs frequently in Arabic (*š-w-š/š-y-š) with the basic meaning “to disperse” (AEL 1745, the meaning “to measure, collect”, is denominative) as a result of a sudden attack “from the sides” and the concomitant “frightening” (according to the *Qāmus* and the *ʿObāb*, as recorded by Lane: “to frighten”); in passive-reflexive forms *tašawwaša*, *ʾinšaša*, “to be scattered, to go away quickly” (“suddenly”, Sp. “estampida”), *tašayyaša*, “to become in a state of commotion” > *ʾašyaš*, “to be in an state of commotion, of exceeding commotion”. The reduplicated form usually reflects the basic meaning better (see Del Olmo Lete, G. 2010d:79): *šašaša*, “disperser” and “remuer”, *tašašaša*, “être remué, agité” (see DAF 1339; De Moor, J.C., Spronk, K. 1984:244); Syr. ʾšššš, “to attack” (SL 1296; W.E.Watson’s private communication). Consequently, we can assume the meaning “fright, dread, terror” (< “attack”) for ššš and that of “to be distressed by fright, terror” for ištšš. This reflects a basic category in Akkadian anti-witchcraft literature where incantations often begin with a man’s dread. See in this regard AHw 1238; Van Dijk, F.Ch. 1969:540; Von Soden, W. 1974:341f., lines 4, 13–15; Abusch, Tz. 1999:87f., 96, 101, 119; Stol, M. 2000:112 n. 17; Schwemer, D. 2007:171–176 (“Angst”); Pientka-Hintz, R. 2009:213: “Die Panik ... wird in Beschwörungen thematisiert”; Abusch, Tz. 2002:32, 39, 42, 44, 61: *diš na gi-na-a šu-dur*, “if a man is constantly frightened ...”; Abusch, Tz.-Schwemer, D. 2011:405: *lumnu ḥayyattu ... ušḫi ina zumrīya*, “remove from my body evil, terror”.

29 For “water” as a means of purification in these cases in Mesopotamia see Pientka-Hintz, R. 2009:213; Clemens, D.M. 2001:734 n. 630.

30 See *infra* pp. 174, 182.

31 See Abusch, Tz., Schwemer, D. 2011:56f., 391 and *passim*; also Van Zijl, P.J. 1972:79–82 for a pertinent discussion of the semantics of this word in the Hebrew bible.

mamitu, “curse, curse, I have purified you, curse!”.³² In turn, for *ḥš, “to feel” see DUL 374f.³³

Lines 3–5a: It seems easier to see in *bšl ḥz* a title of *Rašpu*, according to an old proposal by Virolleaud and Gordon.³⁴ The god *Baʿlu* has already supposedly made his appearance in line 1. The syntax becomes more fluid. Another interpretation, though less obvious, would be to find here the locative expression “from above”. See in this regard *bšrpt*, “from the clouds” (KTU 1.4 V 8: DUL 201) and also *bšmm*, “from the sky” (KTU 1.107:9). The astral setting (e.g. “before Šamaš, Ursa Major and the Zodiac constellations”)³⁵ of these texts is evident. Moreover, the imperfective form *yr* of *yry also occurs in KTU 1.23:38,³⁶ here perhaps in a subordinate (conditional) clause.³⁷ For its part, the predicate *tn* comes from the well-known base *tn(y), “to repeat” > “echo” (DUL 924f.). For its mythological use see KTU 1.4 VII 30: *yṯny bšl š[at] špth*, “*Baʿlu* repeated the emission of his lips”.³⁸ In this case, the semantics of *p* provides a metonymic change from cause (“mouth”) to effect (“words”).³⁹

The forms *tgwn/tššy* are certain epigraphically, though not lexicographically. The parallel pair *šnt/špt* places the meaning in the semantic field of word delivery. In this connection, *tgwl* can be parsed as 3 p. pl. (rather than as 2 p. sg.) D of *gl, Ar. /ğ(w)l/ (AEL 488f.), whose basic seme seems to indicate “to move round, about”, hence > “to dance” > “to rejoice” > “to shout in exultation” (see Heb. /gyl/, HALOT 189; DUL 297). Also *tššy* can be analysed as 3 p. pl. Š of *nšy (CS., Heb. hi. “to make forget”).⁴⁰ The general sense is an invitation not to cease praying and to ask for divine protection against the attack that the (mother’s?) house has suffered.

³² See Abusch, Tz., Schwemer, D. 2011:171/188 and *passim*. Other texts that mention a “curse” in the context of witchcraft, its origin and effects, can be seen in Abusch, Tz., Van der Toorn, K. 1999:120, 136; Abusch, Tz. 2002:18. In general “on removing sorcery” (*ina pišerti kišpi*) see Schwemer, D. 2007:32–33. On “curse” as a practice in magic and witchcraft see *supra* 4 n. 16, 16 n. 1, 26f.

³³ Also Caquot, A. 1988:33.

³⁴ See DUL 382 and above on lines 3–5a p. 114 for a discussion of this reading.

³⁵ See, e.g. Abusch, Tz., Schwemer, D. 2011:383ff, 390ff, 405etc.

³⁶ See Tropper, J. 2012: 653ff.; De Moor, J.C., Spronk, K. 1984:239; Caquot, A. 1988:34, 43.

³⁷ The interpretation of *yr* as “rain” (see Van Zijl, P.J. 1974:89) also indicates the possibility of a new approach to the text, but it is not easy to justify syntactically.

³⁸ See De Moor, J.C. – Spronk, K. 1984:239.

³⁹ See Virolleaud, Ch. 1957:3: Akk. *pā epēšu*, “parler”.

⁴⁰ See De Moor, J.C., Spronk, K. 1984:239; Caquot, A. 1988:35. For a thorough discussion of the various possibilities in analysing *tššy* within the NWS linguistic horizon, see Van Zijl, P.J. 1975:74–81. According to Miglio, A.E. 2013:37–38, it is *Baʿlu* who raises his voice here, which does not fit the general context in my opinion (“teeth chattering”, “unable to stop” ...).

Lines 5b–7: the text of KTU 1.82:2b: *hm.tḡrm.lmt.brtk*, is epigraphically sure in regard to *tḡrm* and to *brt-* as well.⁴¹ It is precisely this last lexeme *brt-* which can guide us in the interpretation of the quoted text. It can be understood confidently as “divination, omen”, Akk. *bārûtu*,⁴² which supposes the consultation of a diviner (*bārû*) in daily life, of common use in the world of magic activities and so it appears also in the Akkadian of Ugarit: “le roi d’Ougarit écrit au roi de Sidon à propos d’une *bārûtu* pour son bateau qui n’est pas bonne”.⁴³

In this context *tḡrm* could be interpreted according to the Arabic semantics of *ḡarama*: “to pay, to become obligatory upon him”, or otherwise, assuming a form D (?) “to make one pay, commit him to”: “if your forecast makes pay/commits/ascribes (you) to *Môtu*/death...”; namely, in either formula: “if you are condemned to death”.⁴⁴

The mention of *mt* corresponds to the cry addressed to *Šapšu*: *ḥw*, “save life!”,⁴⁵ which has a splendid reconstructed parallel in the anti-witchcraft text from Boğazköi *ana pišerti kišpi*, 115: *šu limût-ma anāku lubluṭ*, “let him (the sorcerer) die, but let me live!”.⁴⁶

⁴¹ See G. Del Olmo Lete, G. 2014b:forthcoming.

⁴² Cf. CAD B 131: *bārûtu* s., 1. act of divination, 2. lore and craft of the diviner, 3. (designation of the series of extispicy texts).

⁴³ Cf. Malbran-Labat, F. – Roche, C. 2007:92.

⁴⁴ Cf. AEL 2252, quoting *Lisānu-l-‘Arab*. On the other hand the Semitic base may correspond to Akkadian *ḥarāmu* / *arāmu* / *erēmu* that has a general sense “to cover” (CAD A II 228f.) and in this case an expression like Ludlul II 81: [ri?]-*du-ut mūtu i-te-rim panija*, “Death’s persecution has covered my face,” (See W.G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*, Oxford 1975, p. 42) become highly close in meaning to our text: “if your forecast to death covers (you)”. A secondary meaning of this base is also in Akk. “to place a tablet in a clay case”, namely, “to seal it, declare the case settled” (CAD A II 229): *ina ṭuppi išṭur e-ri-im ib-r[i-im]*, “he wrote (the oracle query) on a tablet, put it in a clay case, sealed it”; “the act seems to have had definite legal connotations”. Then a possible version would be: “if it is sealed to death your forecast/omen”, namely, “if a death sentence has been passed on you”. For linguistic reason I have adopted the first proposal as the most simple and straightforward, not without some reserves. Nevertheless in regard to this question of linguistics correspondences it must be taken into account the full and perfect semantic parallel between Akk. (*h*)*a:erā:ēmu*, “to stretch, place (a membrane, skin) over an object, body”, and Akk. *qarāmu*, “to overlay” (CAD Q 127), “überziehen mit” (AHw 902), with good Sem. parallels: Aram. *qrm*, “to form a film, crust”, *q^erāmā*, “membrane, thin skin” (DJBA 1043); Heb. *qrm*, “to cover” (HALOT 1144). That led me stray in a first moment (reading *yqrm*) and prompted me to propose the translation: “if your constitution is covered with the skin of death”. Are we in front of two allophones? Let us leave the question open.

⁴⁵ See De Moor, J.C., Spronk, K. 1984:240.

⁴⁶ See Abusch, Tz., Schwemer, D. 2001:35. The reading *ḥr bṭnm*, epigraphically unlikely, has been held to reproduce Heb. *ḥur peten* (Is 11:8) ever since Virolleaud’s collation. But Heb.

Lines 8–14: For the offering of lambs see Cavigneaux.⁴⁷ In keeping with the analysis of *yr* in line 3 and 38, it seems preferable to parse it as a verbal form (imp.) of the base **yry* and the *k* as an emphatic particle in postposition, although this postpositive use of *k* is not well attested outside the pronominal series.⁴⁸ According to the myth, *Baʿlu* is the infallible “firer” (KTU 1.4 VII 40f.), although a reference also to *Baʿlu*’s rain (*yr-k*; see n. 37) would not be out of place here, given the apparent sense of the following line and the motif of water in the texts mentioned above (see below “Text lay out” on line 38). In *lpny* the startled “mother” may be speaking, in the presence of the serpents, appealing to the protective deity to guide her steps (see line 38 below).

The intervention of the deity has the form of a direct magical intervention blandishing a “plant” (cf. line 19), as in KTU 1.178:1–2.⁴⁹ The syntactic and semantic structure is also much the same as in KTU 1.114:29–31,⁵⁰ also a magical prescription after a mythical narrative, here simply an allusion; the enumeration of the body parts affected is also common to both texts.⁵¹ Note the intentional assonance⁵² with unusual vocabulary. This list of physiological parts, it is easy to see, is a linguistic component found systematically in Akkadian magic and anti-witchcraft texts.⁵³

hur corresponds to Ug. *ḥr*, *ḥrt*, “hole, cave”, while the meaning of Ug. *ḥr*, “intestines” is lexicographically clear; cf. DUL 367, 402.

47 See Cavigneaux, A. 1999:259. In *qhny* we see the double emphatic morpheme *-ny* as an adverbial complement (see Gordon, C.H. 1965:37, 102; Aartun, K. 1974/1:44ff., 61ff.), rather than considering it a case of *scriptio plena* for */-nī:nā/*. Tropper, J. 2012:220, 227, sees here a pronominal (“mich, uns beide”), but p. 628: “Bestimmung unsicher” (also De Moor, J.C., Spronk, K. 1984:241). The use of a *dativum commodi*, so close to the Spanish morpho-syntax: “tómame esto” > “taken that from/for me, please”, could be another possibility (see Caquot, A. 1988:37: “prends pour nous deux”).

48 See Tropper 2012, 747, 809, 835f. Caquot’s version (“Que Baʿal tire sur toi”) is highly feasible, but then a general arrangement of the personal referents would be needed (“on parle à l’ennemi”).

49 See *infra* p. 173f.; Schwemer, D. 2007:196ff.; Abusch, Tz., Schwemer, D. 2011:33, 113, 119, 234ff., 412f., etc. *passim*.

50 See De Moor, J.C., Spronk, K. 1984:240.

51 See Watson, W.G.E. 1990:265–267; Del Olmo Lete, G. 2014:337. For *ḥmt* see CS /ḥmš/ (Heb. *ḥomeš*, “belly”; HALOT 331, with the many Semitic equivalents); for *ṭmt* see Arab. *ṭamt*, “blood”, “flux” (said chiefly of menstruation, “menses”, AEL 1878); Aram. *ṭmš*, “to dip, submerge, soak” (DJBA 507f.), Syr. *ṭmš*, “to dip, immerse”, *ṭmāšāʾ*, “dipping, immersion” (SL 537–538). See De Moor, J.C., Spronk, K. 1984:241.

52 On this phenomenon in magic literature see Ford, J.N. 1998:244.

53 See e.g. Cavigneaux, A. 1999:259: “heart/bowels”; Finkel, I.L. 1999:232: “Take ‘snake stone’, crush (it), (and) heap (it) on the head of the bitten man ... its venom will come out for the man”; Schwemer, D. 2007:177; Abusch, Tz., Schwemer, D. 2011:405; for the Akkadian of Ugarit see Clemens, D.M. 2001:1030 n. 1905.

For the meaning of *tštšh* see Ar. *saḥā*, “to scrape off, clear away” said of “clay, soil, or mud” (AEL 1322); see also Syr. *šhy* “to bathe, wash, cleanse” (SL 992f.; DJPA 372; DJBA, 797; W.G.E. Watson’s private communication).

Lines 15–19: Among the unconnected syntagms in this section, the pair *bnt šš/bnt ḥ[r/k]p* should be pointed out as a description of the creatures acting here. Above all, the reading *šš* is definitive. However, *ḥrp* (KTU, De Moor-Spronk) or *ḥkp* (Virolleaud) are mere guesses. Provisionally we assume the first reading and interpretation. For the reading and interpretation of *ātm prl* compare line 7.

Lines 20–30: The clear *āqšr* takes us back to KTU 1.100:12 and par. The word is taken to be an allophone of *šqšr*, said only of snakes: *nhš šqšr* (DUL 94, 177), and the exact equivalent of the Ar. form *ʾaqšar-*. This *hapax*, like the one in the next section, applied only to snakes, serves to confirm the classification of the text as an incantation against snakebite. The remaining lexemes refer to a domestic setting (*ytmt*, [?] *dlt*, *ātt*) with the added reference to the liquid element (*mdbm*) as a possible remedy and the presence of the god *Ḥorānu* as the divine patron (see also KTU 1.100:61–69). As for the syntagm *bn ḥtt*, we can accept Caquot-De Tarragon’s suggestion “terreur”, which is therefore synonymous with *bnt šš* (lines 18, 41).⁵⁴ Also, for *pgm* see Aram. /pgm/, “to damage” (DJBA 886).⁵⁵

Lines 31–37: Very little sense can be obtained from these lines, although epigraphically the reading is quite clear. Nevertheless they provide interesting hints about the genre of the text with the probable mention of the “venom” (*ḥmt*) and above all with the explicit mention of the snakes (*bṭnm*, *bṭnt*). In this regard, motifs such as “life” (*wth*), “dread, pain” (*mšr*), “cry to the gods” (*lql.rpī[m]*), possibly also the motifs of offering (*drḥm*) and the path (to the god’s temple) (*ntbtk*; see KTU 1.119:33) are very significant.⁵⁶ In this regard, the possible connection between the wording *bṭnm wttb* and *nhš ... wytb* (KTU 1.100:6–7 and par.) and the resulting determination of the semantics of /tb/ in this text remain uncertain. But above all, the presence of PNN in this almost final section of the text makes it similar to KTU 1.178. We will come back to this issue later on.

⁵⁴ See Caquot, A. 1989:89, n. 199; Akk. *ḥattu*, Heb. *ḥat*.

⁵⁵ See Caquot, A. 1988:40; 1989:68, n. 203. For the meaning of *thbt* (line 25) see Huehnergard, J.: 2008:391. I thank Prof. Tropper for calling my attention to this reference.

⁵⁶ For the semantics of *llm* see De Moor, J.C., Spronk, K. 1984:247.

Lines 38–43: Like the mention of *āqšr* in line 20, the use of *brḥ*, the epithet of the mythical serpent *ltn bṭn brḥ* in Ugaritic (see KTU 1.5 I 1),⁵⁷ helps to put the text into context. In addition, the mention of the *ʕbd ḥrn* reminds us of KTU 1.169:9–10 (*ygrš ḥrn ḥbrm wḡlm dʕtm*).⁵⁸ For this assumed meaning of /qm l/ “to be at the side of someone” > “to support” cf. Ar. *qāma la*, “to rise in honor of s.o.” (DMWA⁴ 934) and also the equivalent Ugaritic syntagm *qm ʕl*, “to stand at the side of” (KTU 1.2 I 21), in a more locative sense. On the other hand, the presence of snakes and scorpions in houses and walls is a frequent motif in Akkadian texts of this genre: *qr.btk.ygršk* (line 12: *ʕpr.btk.ygršk*).⁵⁹

For the meaning of *bnt šṣ* / *mṣmṣ* cf. *supra* n. 28. The interpretation of *mṣmṣ* as “convulsion” partially rests on parallelism and partially on etymology (Ar. *mṣmṣt*, “confusion, jumble, uproar”; see DMWA⁴ 1073f.; see also Syr. *m^emaṣm^eṣūṭa²*, “a serious and chronic illness” (SL 777; ThS, 279; W.G.E. Watson’s private communication)).

In the oracular structure of this section is formulated the commitment of the speaking deity to intervene with, “to turn himself to(wards)” (*āḡwy-n*) the supplicant’s patron gods (**ḡwy*, Aram. *ʕwy*, “to bend”); or better still, taking into account the following lines, the commitment of “crying to (them) strongly (emph. *-n*)” (see Aram. *ʕwy*, Pa. “to cry, shout”).⁶⁰ In this kind of text, divine intercession “cry” (*ql*; see above) appears constantly in Akkadian and Ugaritic. Actually, this is the main theme of the canonical text KTU 1.100: *Šapšu* is asked to convey the “cry” (*ql*) to ten different deities, who prove unable to answer in a satisfactory way. See also KTU 1.16 V 10ff., where no god is able to answer (*in b ʕlm ʕnyh*) *Ilu*’s request to heal *Kirta*. Here, the supplicant’s “replier” deities (*ʕnk*: “your repliers or intercessors”) are in the first place *zz wkmṭ*, a deity who is also invoked in other texts of this genre (KTU 1.100:36; 1.127:41).⁶¹ These deities are described rather ambiguously (negatively/positively) in an affected pose that echoes the famous mythical motif of KTU 1.3 III 22–24: *rgm ʕṣ w lḥšt*

57 See De Moor, J.C., Spronk, K. 1984:248; Caquot, A. 1988:69, 213.

58 See *infra* p. 170.

59 See Mayer, W.R. 1976:510–515: “Rituals against *zikurudû* sorceries that have appeared in a man’s house”.

60 See DJBA 847: *ʕwy ʕwy wlyk² d2šgh byh*, “he cried on and on, and there was no one who paid attention to him”, Yom 77^a.

61 This double deity, active only in this context, can be invoked as the representative of the “pantheon of prayer and magic” (see Del Olmo Lete, G. 2014:47–49). In this connection, this binomial god appears also in the litany/prayer KTU 1.123:5, immediately after the supreme triad *ʕlu /Dagānu /Baʕlu*, which enhances his significance in the pantheon and the importance of his function in it.

âbn.⁶² For this elliptical use of (*l*)*ttn* (*g/ql*) cf. KTU 1.16 I 4; DUL 652, 991–992. On this motif see later.

5 Text lay-out

In terms of form, this multiple incantation has an almost stichometric structure, as is the case in other Ugaritic ritual compositions,⁶³ with an even distribution of *bicola* and *tricola*. Found in the royal palace, it is clear proof of urban society's concern with snakebites. Similarly it is likely that, as it will be seen later on, KTU 1.107 is also an incantation/prescription against snakebite, but its condition is so poor that no further definition is possible. The present text could be considered a Ugaritic composition in the wake of the Mesopotamian incantation/ritual texts against *zikurudû* witchcraft, which uses small rodents as a vehicle for its evil-doing: *zikurudâ ša šēri šikki arrabi pirurûti*, “(Lebens)abschneidung mit Hilfe einer Schlange, mit Hilfe eines Mungos, mit Hilfe eines *arrabu*-Maus, mit Hilfe eines *pirurûtu*-Maus ...” (Maqlû IV 61).⁶⁴

As in the case of the Akkadian texts, the main sections of this series of miscellaneous texts are indicated by a ruled line separating them.⁶⁵ In turn, each section is formed by several sub-sections that are homogeneous in length and stichometric structure (protasis/apodosis, *tricola*, *bicola*), sometimes introduced by the conditional/temporal functor *hm* (Akk. *šumma*), as far as it is possible to verify its presence in the preserved text.⁶⁶

1. The first section (lines 1–7) is formed by three subsections (the conjunction *hm* is only extant in the second), which show a thematic progression.

According to the general opinion that we accept here (with the provisos mentioned above), the first part (lines 1–2) appears to open with a generic reference to a mythological motif (the victory of *Baʿlu* over the serpentine monster *Tunnānu/Lôtānu* (?) (KTU 1.5 I 1–3) (see *ʿAnatu*'s victory over the same primordial animal; also KTU 1.114)).⁶⁷ This intervention is the best way to avert the impending danger and its effects: the (divine) curse as a punishment for the culpability induced by an act of witchcraft, presumably in this case the

⁶² See already Virolleaud, Ch. 1957:7.

⁶³ See Veldhuis, N. 1999:35–48.

⁶⁴ See Schwemer, D. 2007: 63, 155; Abusch, Tz., Schwemer, D. 2011:15–16.

⁶⁵ See Clemens, D.M. 2001:219 and 742ff. for the thematic sequence.

⁶⁶ See Caquot, A. 1989:64 for line 5b; see also in this regard KTU 1.127:26ff.

⁶⁷ The recent study of Miglio, A.E. 2013, develops this issue, possibly too systematically.

presence of a reptile in the house.⁶⁸ Mythological introductions of this kind to anti-witchcraft series are frequent in this genre in Mesopotamian literature.

The second sub-section (lines 3–5a) seems to allude to a divinely caused illness affecting a member of the household (a bicolon, the protasis). Prayer to the gods is proposed as the way to avert this calamity (two bicola, the apodosis); another possibility would be to look for remedies (cf. KTU 1.114:22ff.; see later for the use of plants to this effect). The use of prayer and of plant remedies is also common in Akkadian literature of this kind.

The third sub-section (lines 5b–7) supposes that the situation has become desperate (colon, protasis). Divine intervention by the deities charged with this task, the gods *Šapšu* and *Baʿlu*, is called for (apodosis; bicolon+tricolon). The text strongly recalls the language of KTU 1.100:2ff., the canonical texts against snakebite (*ql l špš ...; l bʿl ...*),⁶⁹ while the reference to the “serpents” (*bṭm/nḥš*) makes plain the situation and context of the incantation, which in the first two sub-sections remained concealed.

For the mention of *ḥw* in line 6 see line 19 (*āḥw*). For *ql špš* see KTU 1.100:1 as already pointed out. From this text and from KTU 1.107, the special intervention of the deity *Šapšu* in incantations against snakebite is evident.⁷⁰ Assuming the haplography of [*l*]*špš*, the expression is remarkably similar to: *qrīt lšpš ... ql bl ...* (see KTU 1.100:2). In fact, we do not need to assume this omission or a coalescence if we parse *ārn* as a factitive form with a double accusative or else we analyse *ql špš* as a syntagm in the construct state: “the cry for help of/to *Šapšu*”, as a prototype of resorting to magic which KTU 1.100 develops (cf. the Hebrew construction *wēšidqātēkā yērannēnū*, Ps. 145:7). Also relevant is the rendering of Gilg. XII 199(27) proposed by Tournay-Shaffer: “le cri vers le dieu Soleil s’emparerait de toi”⁷¹. It is a “cry” for assistance addressed to the divine judge *Šapšu* in times of difficulty.

2. The next section (lines 8–14), which can be taken as a concomitant ritual (offering) and prayer addressed to the patron deities, asks for their favour against the impending danger.⁷² We have already pointed out this alternation

⁶⁸ See Abusch, Tz., Schwemer, D. 2011:15: “another feature particularly associated with *zikur-udū* is the interpretation of rodents as evil-portending messages of witchcraft sent by the witch”. Also Abusch, Tz. 1999:83–121.

⁶⁹ See also Abusch, Tz., Schwemer, D. 2011:412: *muruš libbika ana Šamaš taqabbi*: “tell Šamaš your distress”.

⁷⁰ See Clemens, D.M. 2001:918, n. 1392, for the general intervention of this deity in human affairs.

⁷¹ See Tournay, R.J., Shaffer, A. 1994:258. Sum. *iūtū* (i-^dUtu) is the equivalent to Akk. *tazzimtu*; cf. AHw 408. The Assyrian version reads *tazzimtu eršetim* here.

⁷² To be understood as an offering made to the divinity. The whole incantation has the construction of an invocation directed to her.

of incantation formulas and ritual actions. The subject seems to be, as in the first section, the “mother” who takes care of her “house”, as formerly she prayed for her “son”. She is described as a “shocked mother”. “My father” is the god summoned by the faithful person who utters the incantation, as is immediately made clear: “unto thee”.⁷³ Possibly we have here (“in front of me”) a reference to the startled “mother”, in the presence of the serpents, appealing to the protective deity to guide her steps (cf. line 38, below, for a similar clause). There is already an example of a mother resorting to her (divine) father in KTU 1.100:1–2. And to resort to *Baʿlu* it was necessary “to go up” (*ʕly*) to his temple (cf. KTU 1.119:33), as supported by archaeology. She asks for *Baʿlu*’s help to open up the way so that he may deliver her from a danger connected with “dust”, since dust is supposed to be able to convey witchcraft. In this connection, the relationship of snakes with dust in the spells and anti-witchcraft incantations of this genre is well known.⁷⁴ As mentioned above, the possibility of translating *yr-k*, “(with) your rain” should be taken into account also: *Baʿlu* with his rain may clear up the scene (for water as a means of resolution see KTU 1.100:66–69).

The restoration *h[rn]* is too facile and fits too well, and so seems suspect. Nevertheless, it may be a direct reference to KTU 1.100:61: *bḫrn ... bnwṭh*, and to line 41 below, where these *bnt* are supposed to be eliminated by the *ʕbd ḫrn*⁷⁵. But other reconstructions are possible (e.g. *h[r ḫr bṭn ...]*). If we assume this, *Baʿlu* (or *Ḫorānu*) would be asked to take hold of the “creatures” and lines 12–14 would be a continuation of the previous prayer; or more probably a continuation of the divine oracle/answer (or simply an instruction), asking the faithful mother to clean the dust in her house in order to chase out the “creatures” (line 12; see for similar clause later on line 40: *qr btk ygršk*). The last lines 12–14 seem to be a prayer of the faithful or an injunction of *Baʿlu*, asking for the definitive intervention of the god of serpents, *Ḫorānu*, to take hold⁷⁶ of them and carry them away (?). But the text is too fragmentary to be

⁷³ Also *btk*, later in the text, could refer to the mother’s house as the house of his god also, in order to make the prayer more cogent.

⁷⁴ See Schwemer, D. 2007:136.

⁷⁵ According to the text quoted, this is the god who takes hold of the serpents and is able to “donate” them as a nuptial dowry. In our text, however, the functions as the “god of the serpents”, not as their exorcist, is a role which seems instead to belong to *Baʿlu*. For the presence and function of these deities in this genre of texts see Clemens, D.M. 2001:738, 1103, n. 68, 1105, n. 79. See above p. 30 in this regard our distribution of the divine patronage over magic among *Šapšu*, *Baʿlu* and *Ḫorānu*.

⁷⁶ For a similar use of *yd* see KTU 2.10:11–13: *yd ʕlm ... ʕz mīd*; this recalls the *yad ḥazzāqāh* of the God of the Exodus and of his messenger who also played with snakes and took hold of them (Ex 4:2ff.). In this connection, see Pardee, D. 1987:67–68: “the hand of a god”, namely, “disease”.

able to decide whether these lines continue the previous section or form a separate subunit.

3. From such a fragmentary text (lines 15–19), very few confident deductions can be drawn. At the beginning there is a description of an evil-doer with effects on the forehead (*b[n ʕ]nk* (?)) and palms of the hand (*kpt*) of the addressee or praying person. This evil-doer is described as *bnt ʕʕ/bnt hrp* (see line 41), which refers us back to line 13 and to the definite context of snake attack. In response to that a life assurance, so central in this kind of texts and here alluded to already in line 6, is coupled with the commitment to carry out the apotropaic magical action already presupposed in line 7.

4. In this last section of the obverse of the tablet (lines 20–30), the terminology (*āqšr*) again places the text in the context of a snakebite incantation. Its first part seems to deal, as always in these incantations, with the pernicious effects of a dangerous enemy on the household and the supplicant. The intervention of *Ḥorānu*, the great god of serpents, is called on, possibly through the devastating and purifying power of water (*mdbm*) in his hands (see KTU 1.100:66–69; above lines 1–2, 10).

5 (7). The reverse of the tablet is badly damaged and the two possible first sections have disappeared. So the first extant section of the reverse, namely the fifth (lines 31–37) in the series, would actually be the seventh section of the original tablet. It is also very fragmentary but provides some new interesting data that fit quite well into the assumed composition frame. The speaker seems to be the deity invoked (*Šapšu*?); so the text becomes an oracle/response, quite normal in this sort of texts. But now “the cry of the *Rapaʿūma* (*ql rpīm*)” is added, which recalls “the cry of/to *Šapšu*” (line 6) and introduces the call to the ancestors and the corresponding cult of the dead into the list of divine protecting entities against this danger. They can take away the “anguish” (*mšr*) and fear (see above) it causes and procure “life”.⁷⁷ But above all, it is now clear who the attacking enemies are: the serpents (*bṭnm/bṭnt*). Against them a water ritual (*mṭnt*) may also be applied in this case.

But another surprising novelty of this text is the mention of a person, the sister *Papašarratu* and *Papašarru*,⁷⁸ who may be the addressee of this anti-witchcraft incantation/spell.⁷⁹ That is no longer surprising after the appearance of the text KTU 1.178, an incantation of this kind recorded for the benefit

77 See Caquot, A. 1988:41: “et elle vivra heureuse”.

78 See Caquot, A. 1988:41.

79 The possibility that this is a West Semitic form of Bab. *papsukkal*, the vizier of the Underworld, is less likely in my opinion; cf. De Moor, J.C., Spronk, K 1984:248.

of the Visir *Urtēnu* (see *infra*). The section closes with what seems to be the promise of an animal offering (*drḥm*) and a pilgrimage to the temple of the addressed god, going its own path (*ntbt*, see KTU 1.119:33) and holding in one's hand the proper apotropaic plant (see KTU 1.100:64–66; 1.178).

6 (8). The last section (lines 38–43) is perhaps the best preserved and deals with the extreme situation of having trodden upon a serpent (*brḥ*) described again as one of the *bnt* ṣṣ (cf. line 41). In this case, only direct divine intervention (by *ʿAnatu* or *Ḫorānu*'s servants) can be of help and can expel the animal, while the suppliant is invited/ordered to leave the house and its walls (?) to escape/remove the danger/attack. However the meaning of *qr btk ygršk* is not clear; perhaps the person concerned is to be excluded from his vicinity for fear that the curse might affect others (see line 2).⁸⁰

In turn, the invoked deity is ready to intervene beside other deities who may also assist in this case, making a rather cryptic reference to a well-known motif in the Baal myth (cf. KTU 1.3 III 22–23: *rgm ṣṣ w lhšt ābn*), although here it is not clear whether it refers to the deities who are not usually engaged in interventions of this kind and may even be unable to carry them out, the silent deities, or on the contrary, to the deities that hold the voice of nature, namely, the power of magic⁸¹; there may also be a reference to the apotropaic instrument used to remove the danger.

The text ends with the general intervention of the gods: *Baʿlu*, *ʿAnatu*, *Ḫorānu* and their servants, implying furthermore the entourage of the supreme god *ʾilu* in a fight against a dangerous enemy who acquires cosmic relevance in this way. In this regard, the reading of the Baal myth in line 1 has a contextual justification, and even a structural one.

6 Conclusion

We have made frequent use of Akkadian anti-witchcraft literature, mainly texts dealing with serpents and similar animals, in order to elucidate KTU 1.82. They represent an extremely abundant corpus that was copied and imitated all over the ancient Near East, as shown by the presence of such texts in Boğazköy, Emar and Ugarit itself. It is impossible (and irresponsible) to ignore this evidence, which ascertains at the same time the strong presence of the Akkadian script and culture at Ugarit. We can be fairly sure that the scribes and magicians from Ugarit followed the steps of their Akkadian elder brothers, and may

⁸⁰ See Virolleaud, Ch 1957:6.

⁸¹ See on the deities *zz wkmṭ* above p. 31 n. 37.

even have translated, or in some cases accommodated, the texts of those scribes into their own religious framework. On the other hand, the small number of Ugaritic texts and their extremely poor state of preservation makes this use unavoidable. Linguistically, Ugaritic may have been an Arab-type language,⁸² but culturally Ugarit, via its master Hatti, was under Mesopotamian influence.⁸³

However neither the external prototypes nor the internal parallels are sufficient to warrant a trustworthy translation of a text as fragmentary as this. Consequently, the present attempt has been to try to provide the general contextual setting into which the text may become comprehensible rather than to present a literal translation based on its lexicon and grammar.

⁸² See Del Olmo Lete 2012b.

⁸³ For the contrary view see Pardee, D. 2008:19–20; but see Del Olmo Lete, G. 2010a:51.

KTU 1.96: An Incantation against the “Evil Eye”

An easily justified but still quite bold textual correction nevertheless (*šnt* for *šnn*) has fired the imagination of scholars interpreting KTU 1.96¹ in search of mythological motifs² to explain the strange relationship between the goddess *ʿAnatu* and her “brother”, mentioned next, presumed to be the god *Baʿlu*, although he is not named in the text. This initial textual detour engenders in turn remarkably different interpretations of the extant text, without any improvement in its understanding, as is shown by the inevitable “epiexegeisis” imposed on it. The text, however, is reasonably clear if we take the lexemes at their face value. This multiple textual, contextual and semantic deviation is a warning of something going wrong from the start.

Leaving aside these attempts at explanation and accepting the text as it actually stands, we think that it can be read as a magical incantation,³ more

1 Cf. Virolleaud, Ch. 1960:180–186; Virolleaud, Ch. 1961:28–129; Loewenstamm, S.E. 1963:131; Astour, M.C. 1963:1–15; Astour, M.C. 1967:180–181; Astour, M.C. 1988: Pope, M.H. 1964:15–16; Lipiński, E. 1965:114–115; Albright, W.F. 1968: Greenfield, J.C. 1965–1966:16–18; Dahood, M. 1968:438; Dahood, M. 1978:260–261; Cazelles, H. 1969:28, n. 20; Caquot, A. 1969: 75; Caquot, A. 1973–1974:431; Caquot, A. 1974: 205, 207; Caquot, A. 1979: col. 1383; Caquot, A. 1989: 40–44; De Moor, J.C. 1971:7; De Moor, J.C. 1972:137; De Moor, J.C. 1979:647–648; De Moor, J.C. 1987:109–110; De Moor, J.C. 1990:242; Gibson, J.C.L. 1977:32, 137; Lichtenstein, A.M.H. 1979:235–239; Margalit, B. 1989: 67–80; Xella, P. 1981b:113–115; Løkkegaard, F. 1982:134; Watson, W.G.E. 1983:265; Watson W.G.E. 1984:278; Smith, M.S. 1997:224–228; Wyatt, N. 1998a:375–377; Pardee, D. 2002a:161f. – Recently also Dietrich, M. – Loretz, O. 1997b:151–160; Dietrich, M. – Loretz, O. 2000a:225–261; Ford, J.N. 1998:201–278; Ford, J.N. 2000:711–715; Clemens, D.M. 2001:845–847; cf. also Geller, M.J. 2003:119–134; Tarazi, M.S. 2004:445–510; Pardee, D. 2008:3–20.

2 Cf. Caquot, A. 1989:40–44, for the various interpretations: Astour (dionysiacal cannibalism), Pope (*ʿAnatu*’s ferocity), Lipiński (sexual relations), Caquot (restoration of the “springs”; cf. Bordreuil, P. 1990:261), Løkkegaard (destruction of *Baʿlu*), Margalit (Theophagy), Dietrich-Loretz (Sparagmos und Omophagie; see the rev. art. of Del Olmo Lete, G. 2007a: 280f). Strangely, Caquot does not quote the short note by De Moor, J.C. 1979:647–648 (see also De Moor, J.C. 1987:109–110), which in my view is the best interpretation at the semantic level, although we not share his description of the text as a “love song”. Like all other scholars, also De Moor begins with the correction mentioned.

3 The tablet (RS 22.225) was found in 1959, in what is called the ‘Ville sud’, together with a considerable number of syllabic texts, basically lists and lexica; the few alphabetic texts which appeared are administrative, with no literary or mythological texts. On the reverse of our text there is an extract from an Akkadian syllabary, which possibly brought it to this archive. Cf. Bordreuil, P. – Pardee, D. 1989:284 and 291 (photograph). Already Xella, P. 1981b:115, maintained: “la tavoletta in sé sembra costituire un esempio del modulo mitico-rituale d’origine mesopotamica”; although he follows the accepted mythological interpretation. Irrespective of its literary form, it is usually considered to be a school exercise tablet (cf. Van Soldt, W. 1991:29, 190, 749f.).

specifically, an incantation against the “evil eye”, a type of magic well documented in Mesopotamia⁴ and in the wider tradition of other cultures and folklore traditions.

1 Text (Fig. III, Pl. IV)

The resulting translation of the text is proposed, followed by appropriate comments:

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| 1. <i>ʕnn.hlkt.wšnwt</i> | The restless eye which also transforms |
| 2. <i>tp.āḥh.knʕm.</i> | the beauty of its brother, so comely, |
| <i>āḥh.²kysmsm.</i> | of its brother, so handsome, |
| <i>tspī.šīrh ʿl.bl ḥrb.</i> | consumes its flesh without a knife, |
| <i>tšt.dmh ʕl.bl.ks.</i> | drinks its blood without a cup. |
| <i>tpnn ʕn ʕbty.</i> | Distort/Face does the eye of the evil-doing man/sorcerer, |
| <i>ʕn btt.tpnn</i> | the eye of the evil-doing woman/sorceress does distort/face |
| <i>ʕn mḥr.</i> | the eye of the tax-collector, |
| <i>ʕn.pḥr</i> | the eye of the potter, |
| 8. <i>ʕn.tḡr.</i> | the eye of the gate-keeper. |
| <i>ʕn tḡr ʕltḡr.ttb</i> | May the eye of the gatekeeper revert to the gatekeeper; |
| <i>ʕn.pḥr ʕlpḥr.ttb.</i> | may the eye of the potter revert to the potter; |
| <i>ʕn.mḥr ʕlmḥr.ttb.</i> | may the eye of the tax-collector revert to the tax-collector; |
| <i>ʕn.bty ʕlbty.ttb.</i> | may the eye of the evil-doing man revert to the evil-doing man; |
| <i>ʕn[.btt] ʕlbtt.ʕl[tt]</i>] | may the eye of the evil-doing woman revert to the evil-doing woman. |
| 14. <i>[mnt ʕn.hlkt/bty]</i> | [Incantation against the evil eye/the evil-doer (?)] |

2 Philological Commentary

ʕnn: determinative meaning of the suffix *-n* like in magical omen texts.⁵ In this case, the Ug. lexeme *ʕn* has the meaning “evil eye”, as is common in Sum.-Akk. incantations. (*igi/īnu* for Sum. *igi ḥu1*, Akk. *īnu lemuttu*).⁶

(ʕn) hlkt: active participle corresponding to Akk. *īnu muttalliktu* in texts of this kind (cf. CT 17, 33:5).⁷ This portrayal of the “evil eye” as a “vagabond” is ex-

⁴ Fortunately, we have a convenient edition of the corpus of these texts as given by Thomsen, M.-L. 1992:19–32; see there also for all later references. It is supplemented by Veldhuis, N. 1992:43. For a new reassessment of my translation see *infra* pp. 140ff.

⁵ See Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 1990:104

⁶ See Thomsen, M.-L. 1992:29–32.

⁷ See Thomsen, M.-L. 1992:24; see below n. 25 for the possible Ar. etymology.

pressed in the same text by ensuring that “it goes out” (*e]-nu a-ša-ta*, line 2.⁸ On the “roaming” of the *igi-ḫul* (“evil eye”) witch see *Maqlû* III 1–6, as prototypical in this regard.⁹

šnw: again, an active participle which in this case describes the evil action of the “eye”. In Sum.-Akk. incantations this action or “approach” is described by verbs such as “to harm”, “to bind”, “to ensnare”, “to cause illness”, etc.¹⁰ This Ug. word has been given the most varied meanings: “to admire”, “to be inflamed”, “to water”, “to go up”, “to exalt”,¹¹ “to go”,¹² a meaning which is tautological (+ *hlk*) and leaves the following complement hanging, which has to become a noun phrase. I think that the Ug. syntagm *šnw tp* can hardly be separated from the parallel *šn yp* in KTU 1.40:28 and par., in this case said of the “loss of beauty” (*// ḫtā*).¹³ It can then be translated: “that which alters elegance” (root *šnw, “to change”, different from *tny, “to repeat”, although in Heb. they are homographic (but cf. Aram. *šny/tny*) and sometimes they are confused; cf. Del Olmo Lete, G. 1998:630), i.e. it introduces a change in the normal healthy behaviour of its victim, hardly ever with fatal or serious consequences, as noted by Thomsen.¹⁴ The following explanatory formula alludes to this situation: “it consumes its flesh without a knife, drinks its blood without a cup”.¹⁵ The evil is neither mortal nor bloody nor does it suppose a personal “approach”, but it is effective and harmful enough. To this transformation of “physique” a magical text alludes which considers the “evil eye” and similar agents as *ša bu-un-na-né-e LÚ ú-šab-bi-tú*, “the one who has seized a man’s features”.¹⁶ On the other hand, *TCL* 16,89:1–2 makes a strong comparison between the “eye of the evil man” and the “dragon”, whose voraciousness, which needs no cutlery, could very well be seen described in the bicolon cited.¹⁷ This type of verbal root sometimes preserves the original *w* (cf. *āwtw*, *bnwt*).

⁸ See Thomsen, M.-L. 1992:25.

⁹ See Abusch, Tz., Schwemer, D. 2011:6.

¹⁰ See Thomsen, M.-L. 1992:25.

¹¹ See Caquot, A. 1989:42–43, n. 91.

¹² See De Moor, J.C. 1979:647, n. 54; so already Sanmartín, J. 1978:354; for criticism see Astour, M.C. 1988:15.

¹³ In Del Olmo Lete, G. 1989:52, I connected it with OSA *šin*, Arab. *šāna*, Aram. *š^cyān*, but now I do not think it is correct; they could, of course, be allophones, which are common with this type of root.

¹⁴ See Thomsen, M.-L. 1992:22.

¹⁵ Also De Moor, J.C. 1979:648, excludes it as referring to the ferocity of *ʿAnatu*; on this see the remarks by Astour, M.C. 1988:18–20.

¹⁶ Cited by Thomsen, M.-L. 1992:22.

¹⁷ See Thomsen, M.-L. 1992:31–32.

āḥ-h: “brother,” in the general Semitic meaning of “neighbour”, which also occurs in Sum.-Akk. incantations (Akk. *e-na-at še-ī*).¹⁸ The “evil eye” in those times was, as in more recent times, a cheap form of witchcraft, the result of living among difficult neighbours. In VAT 10018, 15 states specifically: *ina bi-rit ŠEŠ-e DUG-MEŠ ta-at-ta-di šal-tum*, “you have thrown a quarrel between good brothers”.¹⁹

tpnn: the connection with Heb. *pānā*, *pny, does not seem satisfactory in terms of semantics and syntax;²⁰ it has been considered a form with energetic -n, isolated in this context,²¹ or else with a 3rd. sing. m. suff.²² To state that the goddess ¹*Anatu* directs at her “brother” or looks at him with “the eye of the potter/gatekeeper”, is not a very attractive metaphor in a “love song”, no matter how “sharp” the eye of such professionals might be. I prefer to connect it with Arab. *fanna*, “to deceive”, “to upset”; *fannana*, “to diversify, confuse” (cf. AEL 2446ff.), although Heb. *pānā*, “to direct (the sight)” is not to be ruled out. The subject is *šn bty/t* and the complement/object, *šn mḥr/pḥr/tgr*; they are distinguished into two opposing groups. The “inclusive” distribution proposed by Lichtenstein (*tpnn šn bty //šn btt tpnn*),²³ with the following group as a separate list, dependent on the verb *tpnn* which is accepted as better in terms of syntax. To this issue, which has stirred up much controversy, we will come back later (see *infra* p. 147ff.).

bty/t: the interpretation of this lexeme is so uncertain that Caquot²⁴ is forced to resort to Virolleaud’s old proposal and see a PN here. For a consistent context, it is simplest to see here, as proposed by De Moor, a nominal form related to Arab. *baṭiyy-*, “sycophant, impostor, flatterer” (AED 21; DAFA/1 376), a good term for the instigator of the “evil eye”, male and female. However, in this context and wide range parallelism we cannot leave out the possible and probable connection of *šn bty/t* with Aram *šyn² byšt²/byš²*, which occurs in magical texts as denoting the “evil eye”. Usually, Aram. *byš²* is derived from the root *bš (Arab. *baṭisa*; its occurrence in Ug. is uncertain; cf. DUL *bišt* (?)). However, already in Akk. the word occurs as *bīšu* (cf. AHw 131; CAD B 270f., e.g. *awāt bišim*), of which Ug. *bty/t* could be a phonetic variant (*t* for *š*; cf. *tr-*

¹⁸ See Thomsen, M.L. 1992:25–26.

¹⁹ See Thomsen, M.-L. 1992:24.

²⁰ For a critique see Lichtenstein, A.M.H. 1979:235, n. 392, who prefers to relate it to *npny, “to cast out”.

²¹ See Caquot, A. 1989:43. n. 95.

²² See De Moor, J.C. 1979:648, n. 58.

²³ See Lichtenstein, A.M.H. 1979:237.

²⁴ See Caquot, A. 1989: 43–44, n. 96.

for *šar*/**šarr*, in PNN, perhaps due to Hurrian influence), to be analysed as a derived denominative form in -y, of the type *dg/dgy*, *dd/ddy*, hence “evil” > “evil-doer” or “malicious”, said of the one causing the “evil eye” (see Lat. *maleficus*, “wizard”). But now I have put forward a new etymological derivation of *bty/btt* from proto-Semitic /bd:dy/ extensively used in Aramaic and Ethiopic magical contexts.²⁵ The syntagm *ʕn bty* would be a translation of Sum. *igi ʕul* or rather of *igi lú níg.ʕul dím.ma*, “eye of the evil man” (Akk. *inu lemuttu*; cf. AHW 383, CAD I–J 155–156), hence “evil man” > ‘evil-doer’ or “malicious”, said of the one causing the “evil eye”, the sorcerer/sorceress (see Lat. *maleficus*, “wizard”). It would be a further indication of the apparent dependence of this text on Sumero-Akkadian tradition. In any case, the relationship with Ar. *baṭiyy-* is semantically satisfactory and phonologically more orthodox.

***mḥr*, *pḥr*, *tḡr*:** there is also great variety in the interpretation of these lexemes among scholars.²⁶ However, prior to its semantic meaning, its assonantal and alliterative nature has to be emphasised as peculiar to this type of text.²⁷ In our opinion, they denote victims whose “eye” is affected by the “evil eye” or the eye of the “malefic”. For *tḡr*, “gatekeeper”, we have evidence from Ug. (cf. KTU 1.78:3, *tḡrh ršp*). Both this and the meaning “potter” for *pḥr* (“a Babylonian word”, Akk. *paḥāru*) had already been proposed by De Moor,²⁸ and curiously, the Sum.-Akk. incantation VAT 10018:8 mentions it among the victims of the “evil eye”: *ša lúBAḤAR táḥ-te-pí UDUN-šú*, “you have broken the oven of the potter”,²⁹ together with other workers (“fisher”, “sailor”, “weaver”) and draught animals. As for *mḥr*, Akk. *maḥāru*, “to meet”/ “to receive”, provides many possibilities, e.g. *maḥīru*, “collector (of money, tribute)” (cf. AHW 578, 584; CAD M/I 50ff. [56]), in connection with Ug. *mḥr*, “price”, Akk. *maḥīru*, Heb. *mēḥīr* (see KTU 2.32:8; 4.338:18; 4.625:2; AHW 583ff; CAD M/I 94ff.). We have chosen “tax collector” (Spanish, *alcaballero*, which has a clear Semitic root and imitates the semantic calque very well); possibly here there is an echo of the Akk. syntagm *īnam maḥāru*, “correspond, to be pleasant to” (cf.

²⁵ See Del Olmo Lete, G. 2001: 295–297, given in an *appendix* to this section; cf. also the following treatment (“Once again”), with special attention to the exclusion of the suggested meaning “calomniateur” (Pardee, D. 2008a:16ff.). In this connection, it is worth mentioning that the possible Phoenician term for “one who casts an evil eye” is *ʕyn* (/ʕayyan/, /ʕāyin/ (?)); see DNWSI 840–841; also Ar. *ʕāna*, “to smite with the evil eye”, *ʕayn*, “a stroke of an evil eye, an evil eye”; see AEL 2213, 2116.

²⁶ See Caquot, A. 1989:44, n. 96.

²⁷ See Lichtenstein, A.M.H. 1979:237 and n. 293.

²⁸ See De Moor, J.C. 1979:648; already Lichtenstein, A.M.H. 1979:237, n. 193.

²⁹ See Thomsen, M.-L. 1982:24

AHW 578; CAD M/I 58ff.). The importance of the “eye” is obvious in these three professions. In any case, “the image of a market place near a city gate, full of merchandise and congregated people”,³⁰ disappears as the scenario through which “*Anatu*’s eye” wanders.

Lines 8–13: the incantation demands the return (*t_b) of each “eye” to its owner, against the “change” (*šnw) induced by the “evil eye”, considered to be a sort of “wandering demon”. In this connection, Lichtenstein³¹ sees a process of “reversion” here, organised using the literary device of *hýsteron próteron*, similar to the one in the myth of the “Descent of Ishtar” “whereby each of seven items removed from the person of the goddess at her descent through the seven gates of the netherworld is restored to her in reverse order as she exits through the same gates at her ascent”. The last phrase turns out to be phonologically a “jeu de mots”, a palindrome.³² In De Moor’s interpretation, which is the same syntactically and semantically, these lines are left hanging and it is not clear to where these “eyes” have to “return” (*Anatu* (?)).

Line 14: the restoration is pure conjecture, modelled on YOS 11, 70 I 14’.³³

3 Form

It has always been supposed that belief in the “evil eye” or “bad eye” was widespread in the ancient Near East. Thomsen’s collection shows instead how scant the documentation is.³⁴ The same applies to Aramaic magical literature, as is evident from the *corpus* compiled by Naveh-Shaked,³⁵ which contains only four references to the “evil eye”, but no specific incantation against it. As was noted above, it was undoubtedly a cheap and popular form of magic of petty evil and easy to control and in any case, not needing elaborate formulae.³⁶

Even so, Thomsen’s compilation provides a series of stylistic traits that clearly show the persisting formula and its features.

³⁰ See Astour, M.C. 1988:21.

³¹ See Lichtenstein, A.M.H. 1979:238–239.

³² See Ford, J.N. 1998 252 n. 171.

³³ See Thomsen, M.-L. 1982:29.

³⁴ See Thomsen, M.-L. 1982:20, 21–22; but see Veldhuis, N. 1992:2, 43.

³⁵ See Naveh, J., Shaked, S. 1985:275 (glossary); 1993:271 (glossary); Isbell, Ch.D. 1975:176 (glossary).

³⁶ See Naveh, J. – Shaked, S. 1985:28.

a) First of all, the Sumero-Akkadian incantations against “evil eye” are always *enumerative* and *repetitive*; they consist of a series of similar syntactic structures that describe the effects of the “evil eye”:

(The evil eye) approached heaven – it did not rain,
 It approached earth – herbs did not grow,
 It approached the ox – it yoke opened,
 It approached the cattle pen – its cheese was destroyed,
 etc. (TCL 16, 89:3ff.)

You (evil eye) have broken the oven of the potter,
 You let the sailor’s boat sink,
 You have broken the yoke of the strong ox,
 etc. (VAT 10018, 8ff.)

The eye of an evil, restless eye,
 When it looks into the corner, it makes the corner empty,
 When it looks at the side (of the house), it makes it empty,
 When it looks at the living quarters of the land,
 It makes the living quarters of the land empty,
 When it looks at the restless man, he bends its neck like a cut broken tree.
 (CT 17, 33:5–9)

The eye (is) a dragon, the eye of the man (is) a dragon,
 The eye of the evil man (is) a dragon.
 (TCL 16,89:1–2)

The eye (is) an ox, a donkey, a fierce lion,
 The eye of man (is) an ox, a donkey, a fierce lion.
 (YOS 11, 70 I 24–25).³⁷

b) As becomes clear from these quotations, the “evil eye” presents itself as acting *independently* from its owner and is sometimes *hypostasised*, as a “monster” or animal.

c) Its behaviour is *hostile* and produces “accidents” in the development of its victim’s activities and sporadically causes sicknesses, as is to be presumed from the remedies anticipated for their removal.³⁸

³⁷ See Thomsen, M.-L. 1982:23–25.

³⁸ See Thomsen, M.-L. 1982:23, 28.

d) In general, such harmful behaviour *upsets* the activity and normal way of life of the person affected, as the texts quoted make clear. See also:

It approached the young man – (his) belt was torn / ([his] strength was bound [?]),

It approached the young woman – she dropped her garment,

It approached the nurse with the child – her hold became loose / (her arms were torn apart),

(TCL 16,89:8–10)³⁹

These expressions come near to what our Ugaritic text defines as the activity that *šnwt tp/knʕm*, “transforms the beauty of its brother/so comely”, along with the quoted phrase *ša bunannê amēli ušabbitu*, “the one who has seized a man’s features”.

e) These texts sometimes imply the application of food or *healing* products (plants)⁴⁰, but a verbal incantation can be effective enough to counteract the “evil eye”:

May the evil eye (like?) the sick eye be cut off,

May it split open ...

May it go to pieces ...

.....,

Let the eye turn into a wind!”

(TCL 16,89:15–17, 21)⁴¹

May the evil eye, the evil mouth, the evil tongue, the evil lips stand aside!

(SBTU 2, 5:57)⁴²

f) The victim may be any living being whatsoever, either animal or human, grouped into parallel series (“heaven // earth”, “ox // pen animal // sheep”, “young man // young woman // child nurse”, “vegetables // garden”, “potter // sailor”, “ox // donkey”, “horse // bull”). Since we are dealing with phonetic denotations written by means of Sumerograms, it is not easy to notice the existing assonance // alliteration between them, beyond their semantic correlation. This alliteration is obvious in the case of the Ugaritic text and even helps us to distinguish two series or groups (*bty* // *btt*, *mḥr* // *pḥr* // *tḡr*) that here are interpreted as opposite in character.

³⁹ See Thomsen, M.-L. 1982:31–32.

⁴⁰ See Thomsen, M.-L. 1982:26–27, 30.

⁴¹ See Thomsen, M.-L. 1982:31–32.

⁴² See Thomsen, M.-L. 1982:22.

It is a stylistic device that already occurs in another enumerative Ugaritic text, also magical, in the descriptive section of an incantation (KTU 1.100:65–67; see *infra* p. 196 n. 32).

ṣṣrm ynṣrnh	With the tamarisk he shook it,
ssnm ysynh	with a palm he destroyed it (?),
ṣdtm yṣdynh	with a flowing current he made it disappear,
ybltm yblnh	with a stream he made it vanish.

Such a literary element enhances the character of the formula as a word effective by itself. This characteristic was to persist in later magical formulae deprived of any meaning whatsoever and reduced to mere alliterative assonances (*abracadabra*).

4 Structure

The text has two parts, as is evident also in the Sumero-Akkadian incantations mentioned: TCL 16, 89; 17, 33; and YOS 11, 71. Others, like VAT 10018, are too broken for any definite conclusion to be drawn in this regard, but this structure seems predictable.

The first part, lines 1–8a, *describes* the being // essence and behaviour of the “evil eye”, in accordance with the characteristics noted above: “it wanders, alters, consumes, drinks, distorts”; and the victims “it sets upon” are noted.

The second part, lines 8b–13, formulates the *incantation* which neutralises and prevents these effects, bringing things back to their real // true being and way of acting. The syntactic structure is basic (ṣn-X + l-X + *ttb*) and repetitive in connection with lines 5b–8a, its elements-victims being repeated in chiasmic sequence.⁴³ This repetition emphasises the relationship between both parts and highlights the assonantal/alliterative value of the formula, noted above, as a sort of “verbal” magic.

Read in this way, we believe that the text KTU 1.96 becomes suitably intelligible, maintains the normal semantic value of its elements, and can be set in the framework of literary reference of verified tradition.

⁴³ See Lichtenstein, A.M.H. 1979:235, n. 392, 238; De Moor, J.C. 1979:648; Watson, W.G.E. 1983:265; 1984:278.

Lexical Appendix

bty, “the evil eye bewitcher”

In a 1992 study, I interpreted the text KTU 1.96 as a “conjuro ugarítico contra el ‘mal ojo’” (“an Ugaritic incantation against the ‘evil eye’”), reproduced above. This interpretation has had a mixed reception.⁴⁴

A significant point of it is the etymology and meaning of the Ugaritic term *bty*, “evil-doer, sorcerer, wizard”, related there either to Ar. *baṭīyyu*, “syco-phrant, impostor”,⁴⁵ or with Aram. *bysʔ*, Akk. *bīšu*, “bad” (in Aram. said specifically of the “evil eye”)⁴⁶.

More risky from the phonological viewpoint, but semantically more convincing, would be to relate it to Ethp. *budā*, “one who causes harm by means of the evil eye” (CDG 86).⁴⁷ The base seems to be Afroasiatic.⁴⁸ The Ethp. realisation (lengthening of the final vowel) points instead to a proto-Semitic base /b-d-y/ or better still, /b-d-y/, bearing in mind the, frequently more original, Tigre equivalent *boz(z)ā(ay)*, “magician” (WTS 295: *budā/bozā*, “sorcerer”, *ʾabzaza*, “to stare (with one’s eyes wide open)”; CDG 115: *boza*, “be dull, become bleary (eyed)”).⁴⁹ The same base is seemingly present in the Aram. *hapax bwdynh (budyān)*, which Naved-Shaked tentatively translate “sorcery” (?).⁵⁰

Now, such a base in Semitic provides a “cluster” of related bases that are semantically and phonologically akin (b + [inter]dental voiced/unvoiced) which could explain the fluctuation of the different realisations. Among them

⁴⁴ See Watson, W.G.E. 1994:321; Lewis, T.J. 1996:115–121 (119, n. 16); Wyatt, N. 1998:375ff. M.S. Smith (1997:224f.; 1998:651ff.) accepts the “plausibility of this interpretation of the text “as an incantation against the evil eye”. The latest study in line with the previous which bestow upon the text a mythological character is that by Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 1997b:151–160. – For a criticism of this proposal see the exhaustive and definitive study by J.N. Ford (1998:201–278 [253–256]). I have to thank Prof. Ford his objective treatment of my contribution and his final assessment on “the basic validity of del Olmo Lete’s identification” of the text as an incantation against the “evil eye”. I am not wholly convinced however by his interpretation of *šnw*t and *tp/tpnn* (see the following section).

⁴⁵ See De Moor, J.C. 1979:647–648; 1987:109–110; 1990:242. See *infra* n. 53.

⁴⁶ See. *supra* p. 132f.

⁴⁷ The term is not recorded by the ThLae (Dillmann).

⁴⁸ See HSED 62: **bawVd*, “sorcerer” (curiously the Semitic equivalents mentioned by Leslau are not quoted; the reconstruction seems rather suspect). See Diakonoff, M.I. 1994:8: **bVž* > **b(w)ž*, **bžy*, “evil (treatment)”.

⁴⁹ For the “alternance z/d” see Strelcyn, S. 1960:147–166.

⁵⁰ See Naveh, J., Shaked, Sh. 1993:77ff.

and leaving aside the intensive biliteral⁵¹ and maintaining the expanded bases [/-ʔ:y:w/], we have: Ar. /b-ḡ-ʔ/, “he was/became foul, unseemly, obscene in tongue”, “evil in speech”, “he was evil in disposition”, “he hated him”: *badaʔathu ʕayni*, “my eye disliked, hated him”; *baḡiʔu*, “foul in tongue, evil in speech”; Ar. /b-ḡ-w/, *bāḡiyu*, *baḡiyyu*, with similar values (AEL 172: “to revile, abuse”); Aram. /b-d-y/, /b-z-y/, “to despise” (DTT 1950:140, 152f.)⁵²; Heb. /b-z-h/ (HALOT 117); Akk. *buzzuʔu*, “missachten, schlecht behandeln” (AHw 145). However, it is also true that these languages do not use such bases to denote a “sorcerer”, outside the quoted usages in Ethp. and Aram.

Such phonological correlations could help to explain the particular Ugaritic realisation (interdental voiceless consonant for a voiced consonant), an allophone that would occur also in Arabic. Actually, Ar. *baṭiyyu*, which has no semantic relationship to /b-t-w/,⁵³ would turn out to be an allophone of *baḡiyyu*, with a very similar meaning, in a semantic field (viz. magic) deeply culturalised and accordingly open to irregular realisation as “loanwords”, bearing in mind its ancient Afroasiatic pedigree. The difficulty of the Ugaritic realisation of proto-Semitic /ḡ/ is well known (> /ḡ/ y /d/: sliding of the articulation point to maintain the voicing). In this case, the articulation point (interdental) would be kept with the loss of voicing. We therefore have a multiple realisation of proto-Semitic /ḡ/ as /t/, /ḡ/, /z/ as in Ugaritic *tḡ/ḡḡ/zḡ*, “breast” (/d/ is the standard form).⁵⁴ No less ambiguous is the Ethp. realisation of proto-Semitic fricatives.⁵⁵ The whole variability of the transformation system of the phoneme /ḡ/ makes the relationship of Ugaritic *bty* with Ethp. *budā* and Aram. *bwdynh* likely. This example could then be added to the salient Ugaritic-Ethiopic isogloss *tʕy* // *šwʕ*.⁵⁶ which is also in the semantic field of ritual.

51 See. Ar. /b-ḡ(-ḡ)/, “he was, became threadbare and shabby” (AEL 172).

52 It is not certain that Arm. /b-s-y/, “to despise” could be cited in this connection (see DTT 178), as in AHw 145 or Aram. /bdh-y/, “to invent”, as do Naveh, J., Shaked, S. 1999:79 (see Ar. /bdʕ/).

53 The base itself is dubious and is not quoted by the great lexicographers. In fact, *baṭiyyu* does not even retain an acceptable semantic connection with Ar. /b-t(-t)/, “to spread, scatter” (AEL 151).

54 On the ambiguity of realisation of the interdentalals see Moscati, S. 1954:29.

55 See *t* > *s* (?), *ḡ* > *z*, in Ethiopic. cf. Gragg, G. 1997:166.

56 See Renfro, F. 1992:146, 153. If this phonetic slide is accepted, it would parallel the supposed /ḡ/ > /š/ shift, along with the classical shift /t/ > /š/. See Smith, M.S. 1994:187-189. It would be operative also in Akkadian (in this regard see possibly KTU 1.69, 70, 73 [?]) and would explain the semantic equivalence /ḡ/ = /š/ in the attributive adjective/marker /š/ # /ḡ/.

KTU 1.96 Once Again

Since the first publication of the Ugaritic text KTU 1.96 in 1960 by Virolleaud,¹ the reading of the first word as *ʕnt* (either original or emendable) was widely accepted and gave rise to a series of commentaries that took this tablet as the description of a mythological avatar of the goddess *ʕAnatu* within the *Baʕlu* Cycle, as has been pointed out in the previous section, even after I proposed in 1992 to maintain the epigraphically unobjectionable reading *ʕnn* and to take the text as an incantation or exorcism against the “evil eye”².

The suggestion has found however wide acceptance in principle, although the interpretation of the different lexemes has been the object of conflicting proposals. This clear-cut division of opinions, founded on an epigraphic and hermeneutic base, has been altered by a new interpretation put forward by Tarazi, M.S. 2004. It maintains the original reading *ʕnn*, but interprets the text as a mythological episode that describes the function of *ʕAnatu* within the fertility activity of *Baʕlu*, in this way breaking the homorganic relationship that formerly united reading and interpretation.

We are now going to re-examine the semantic options put forward by the defenders of the reading *ʕnn* (mainly Ford, Pardee, Wyatt, Smith and Tarazi),³ leaving aside the options sustained by the followers of Virolleaud’s interpretative reading or emendation and their mythological understanding of the text.⁴ Special attention will be paid to Tarazi’s extensive and densely written paper, because while definitely maintaining the reading *ʕnn*, it gives the word a new meaning, at the same time presenting a mythological interpretation of the text. According to this scholar, it deals with *ʕAnatu*’s activity in the sphere of fertility, described as a fellatio of *Baʕlu*’s member, whose fluid spouts out as rain that will fertilise the earth. Following this main interpretative process with inflexible logic, the author reads other sections of the Ugaritic mythological

¹ See Virolleaud, Ch. 1960:180–186. See *infra* n. 24 on the parsing of this reading.

² See Del Olmo Lete, G. 1992a:7–16, *supra* pp. 29f. The references to the scholars who accept Virolleaud’s correction and interpret the text as mythological are given there in p. 29, n. 1. An abridged form of this article (only its first part) was given in Del Olmo Lete, G. 2014:326–331, the text normally quoted by the authors. For the reading *ʕnn* see Lewis, Th.J. 1996:119, n. 16.

³ For the general history of the interpretation of this text see the explicit treatment of Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2000b:225–261 (already Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2001:208–214. “Sparagmos und Omophagie”). – For brevity, the following abbreviations will be used: D. = Del Olmo Lete, G. 1992; D.-L. = Dietrich, M., O. Loretz. 2000b; F. = Ford, J.N.1998; P1 = Pardee, D. 2002b; P2 = Pardee, D. 2008; S. = Smith, M.S. 1997; T. = Tarazi, M.S. 2004; Th. = Thomsen, M.-L. 1992; W. = Wyatt, N. 1998a.

⁴ See M. Dietrich – O. Loretz, previous n. Also Gianto, A. 1999:296f.; Gzella, H. 2007:535f.

texts (mainly KTU 1.3 II–III–IV) and epics, making at the same time new appropriate semantic options to be discussed later on.

He summarises his own opinion as follows: “I believe KTU 1.96 depicts the maiden fertilizing (“beautifying”; line 1b) the earth by first ingesting *Baʿlu* and his life-engendering rainwaters (lines 2b–5a), and then spitting him out into springs to fill them with these waters (lines 5b–13). The text thus depicts ʿ*Anatu* in a fertility goddess capacity, where this role is fundamentally linked to Baal” (T. 461f.). Also: “After having performed fellatio on Baal at Saphon, thereby procuring his essential rainwaters in her mouth (line 3b–6a), the Cloud ʿ*Anatu* goes out to the city’s sectors. In the midst of each sector would be the spring that vivifies it, descending into the earth. She then faces each spring to deposit the deity’s waters, putting her face (*vpnn*) right up the spring’s opening at the earth’s surface and spitting out the waters into it (line 6b–8a); these waters then traverse down each spring canal into the water-houses located beneath them, thereby filling the water-houses and fertilising the earth. As a *subsequent* step, from the surface ʿ*Anatu* descends into the springs and collects subterranean waters, and then ‘returns’ to the surface – where the city’s market assembly and gate-quarter are located – carrying these waters with her.” (T(arazi). 467f., n. 63)⁵. Within this hermeneutical perspective, T. interprets such passages as KTU 1.3 II–III–IV (T. 481ff., n. 79, 488ff. n. 96) changing what has usually been read as a banquet scene into an invitation to “illegal” (“during the day”; T. 488, n. 92)⁶ sexual intercourse ending in fellatio. In this context, *alp* and *mrā* signify *Baʿlu*’s phallus ... (T. 484f., n. 92, 489)⁷. Following this line of thought, T. interprets the *Baal au foudre* stele with *Baʿlu*’s sword and “lightning” representing his phallus (T. 493 n. 98, 499f., n. 102, 503f., n. 108)⁸. Among other new proposals T. reads *mlḥmt* (KTU 1.3

⁵ Not only does the “eye” disappear from the first line, but also in lines 5–12 the term is interpreted as “spring” (D.-L. 23, T. 447ff., 453 n. 29, 463 nn. 57–58; S. 226–228; see *infra* n. 24). This kind of exegesis generates a complicated relationship of the goddess with the underworld waters. These become simultaneously “semen” and “amniotic liquid”. In any case, from this context the relationship of ʿ*Anatu* with the “springs” would be apparent, as reflected in her own name. Were this the case, the normalization should then be ʿ*ēnātu* < Enat (see Heb. ʿ*ēnôt*: Ex. 15:27, Num. 33:9; Bauer, H., Leander, P. 1992:583). But I find this etymon rather suspect, to say the least. – See also another summary on p. 478: “After the title ... occurs repeatedly”.

⁶ This is a “moralistic” categorization, to say the least, difficult to apply to the world of the gods, especially if a marital relationship between *Baʿlu* and ʿ*Anatu* is presumed. T. himself finds difficult to substantiate it (p. 488 end of n. 92).

⁷ Also in the scene of the reception banquet offered to *Kôṭaru* (KTU 1.4 V 45), does *Baʿlu* “put on the table” his male organs?

⁸ *Baʿlu*’s lightning is as much a presage of fertility as a weapon in his struggle with *Yammu*, according to the whole of Amorite tradition and in general it is a weapon of power and respect (see KTU 1.4 V 9).

III 15) as *mlḥ mt* “the salt of male man”, namely, “male semen” (T. 495 n. 100), etc ...

As a general assessment of this paper, I can say that it is well constructed and well argued and also extremely ingenious, but that its hermeneutical model is wrong.⁹ I will apply once more the well-known Augustinian dictum: *curris bene sed extra viam*.¹⁰ Nobody can *demonstrate* it to be wrong (nor has T. *demonstrated* that he is right, in spite of his repeated assertions). In this field there can be no demonstrations, but only a persuasion flowing from the overall perception of *Baʿlu*’s mythology as a whole. One would have imagined that after Aartun’s failed sexual interpretation of the Ugaritic lexicon, this kind of approach would have been abandoned long ago¹¹. In the fertility myth of Ugarit, sexuality, whether *Baʿlu* or *ʾIlu* is its protagonist, is staged according to the natural animal/human model of “mounting/copulation” (see the mounting that took place seventy times in KTU 1.5 V 18–21 and *ʾIlu*’s sexual affair with the *mšṯʾltm* in KTU 1.22:30ff.; even the sexual games possibly insinuated in KTU 1.11 work in the context of “conception” and “birth”: *hry, yld*) and in this sense, *ʾAnatu*, who in the classic *Baʿlu*’s myth has no special role in this regard, is called “*Baʿlu*’s heifer” (*arḥ bṣl*; see KTU 1.5. V 17–18: *bṣl yūhb ṣglt*; DUL 102) in the minor fertility cycle (see KTU 1.13:28–29). *Baʿlu* is always the direct protagonist of such activity, the *bṣl ʾrṣ*, and does not need to allow or tolerate any such “manipulation”. In general, in Ugaritic literature, sexuality retains a controlled and sometimes even a romantic tone (see KTU 1.14 VI 25–35, 1.24:49–52). It is difficult to imagine a god, who hates “shame (*bṯt*) with

9 To find and follow an hermeneutical model in order to interpret isolated data of a corpus of texts is a sound and unavoidable procedure, if one wishes to determine their meaning; only the unshakeable and unyielding faith T. shows in his own opinion is highly objectionable in such a fluctuating field as Ugaritic semantics, clearly manifested in this case by the divergent opinions put forward by so many respected experts (T. 454), each of them certain of his own position. But such a model must be linguistically sound and not farfetched, and must fit the general clear scheme of Ugaritic mythological ideology. Both elements seem to me to be missing in Tarazi’s interpretation. On the need of a hermeneutical model see my digression in Del Olmo Lete, G. 2006:272–273. In this connection N. Frye’s opinion is worth quoting: “Unthinking people often accuse scholars in every field of finding only what they previously wanted to find, as though all genuine discoveries resulted from ignorance or pure chance” (Frye, N. 1990:7). Also A. Avanzini states: “I am firmly convinced that in order to get the meaning of an epigraphic text, it is important to understand what the text is trying to ‘communicate’ overall to the reader” (Avanzini, A. 2004:34).

10 This line of interpretation is derogatively labelled by Pardee as “un feu d’artifice” (P2 12). However, he neither quotes Tarazi’s paper nor does he adopt any position in respect of his student’s (?; “the amazing professor”, T. 445 n. 1) opinion. Possibly, in spite of the respective dates of publication of the papers (2004/2008), they were unaware of each other.

11 But see already also Lipiński, E. 1965:45–73.

slaves” (KTU 1.4 III 20–22), indulging in such practices and having his penis euphemistically called *ʕn btt*, “spring of shame” (T(arazi). 465). On the other hand, the same god collects the waters in his palace (KTU 1.4 V 6–9)¹² and from there sends them to the earth, without an intermediary cloud/messenger (*ʕnn*) of any kind. And of course, in no case is fertility carried out through “springs” (T. 499 n. 102, 503 n. 108), which play no role in this regard in *Baʕlu*’s mythology¹³ and turn out to be completely irrelevant in the actual agricultural economy of the zone (T. 502). Nor do the “waters of the netherworld” (T. 499, n. 102), which is rather the domain of the gods *Yammu/Môtu*, play any role in this mythology either.¹⁴ Consequently, in my opinion the ingeniously developed “history of the traditions” of the *Baʕlu*’s fertility myth (T. 502 n. 108) turns out to be fictitious.

But let us now assess the semantic options put forward by the scholars quoted.

ʕnn: The interpretation of this lexical unit as *ʕn-n*, “the eye” (P(ardee)1; P(ardee)2; F(ord).; W(yatt).) has given way to the new understanding of this text as an incantation against the “evil eye”, as we saw in the previous section. The linguistic analysis fits well the distinctive use of the /-n/ of specification/generalization in this kind of text in a main clause (apodosis).¹⁵ The fact that in Ugaritic its use is limited basically to the omen texts is an indication of the literary form of the text through the concurrence of grammar and lexicon. It is this form that must guide the syntactic analysis of the lexical elements,

¹² See Smith, M.S. – Pitard, W.T. 2009:537, 542, 556–561.

¹³ The presumed etymological relationship of *ʕAnatu* with *ʕn*, “spring”, is an unproved hypothesis (see above n. 5).

¹⁴ The interpretation of the “clay pipe” as a funerary installation (T. 500, n. 103) was discredited long ago by Pitard, W.T. 1994:20–37.

¹⁵ The function of the postposition /-n/ as a deictic/determinative functor goes parallel to the same function carried out by the postposition /-m/ (in this regard see Del Olmo Lete, G. 2008:25–59), with a good parallel in Akk. /-m/ (see Von Soden, W. 1995: § 123/12:5: “-*man*, aA -*min* ... “wohl” ist eine Irrealispartikel vor allem in konditionales Satzgefügen --- Im Nachsatz und in Hauptsätzen ohne konditionalen Vordersatz wird -*man*/-*min* an das Wort gehängt, auf dem der Hauptton liegt”, with a clear-cut topicalising function, mainly in the apodosis (see Tropper, J. 2012:823f (§ 89.11–12)), as is the case in the *šumma izbu* prognosis with the Akk. mimation form (-*um*). Also the Arabic postposition of (in)determination /-an/ is possibly very akin to Ugaritic usage: generalization and species determination (/a king/, /the king/ = /any king/) are semantically very close to each other. In any case /-n/ has been considered by me as enclisis or a postposition, never as a nominal formation in /-ān/ of masculine gender (!), so that the criticism made by Gianto, A. 1999:296f. and Gzella, H. 2007:555f. is totally irrelevant and completely misses the point. For the syntax of this sentence of the omen text see the bibliography quoted in Del Olmo Lete, G. 2014:298, n. 73, 75, and P2 13, n. 55.

which in themselves are often vague and ambiguous. Moreover, in this case we have a similar Sumero-Akkadian formula that confirms both the grammar and the genre of the Ugaritic text: *înu lemuttu muttalliktu*.¹⁶ In this case, it is not only the formula but also the composition of the Ugaritic tablet with an Akkadian lexical text on the reverse that indicate an Akkadian context in the training of an Ugaritian scribe. This text could well be a translation from that language. And it is precisely the correlation with the Sumero-Akkadian models that was emphasised in the second part of my article (1992a), although some scholars (P1; P2; T.) have paid no attention to it.¹⁷

Also, the interpretation of *ʕnn* as “cloud” (T(arazi). 51f.) is to be excluded completely. First, from the grammatical point of view, since *ʕnn* is masculine in gender in Ugaritic and second, in view of the following verbs. T. is well aware of these problems. To suppose here a *concordantia ad sensum* (> *ʕAnatu*, the cloud-messenger of *Baʕlu*) (T. nn. 29, 72) without any previous referent, is *a priori* highly improbable.¹⁸ It sounds more like a *petitio principii* or circular reasoning. Furthermore the lexeme is rather rare in the Ugaritic mythological lexicon, limited to a specific meaning in the *Baʕlu* Cycle; in this connection to compare the “mission” of *gpn-ʔgr* with the one assigned here to *ʕAnatu* seems

16 See Thomsen M.L. 1992:24; D. 9; F. 203–207, 211, 216, n. 45; Watson, W.G.E. 2007:73; Formulas and literary structures indicate the genre of the text. Once this is identified, the understanding of the sense of the text has to be sought within its historical setting. To restrict oneself to one’s own narrow circle in this type of literature, for which we have so few Ugaritic texts, is methodologically unjustified (T. 454; P1 166; P2 19f.). In this connection, F.’s study becomes prototypical and widens the hermeneutical approach. Mere lexical analysis does not constitute a valid criterion for anyone acquainted with modern discussions on lexical semantics. In this sense, to start from the term *aḥh* as a proof of reference to *Baʕlu* is unsatisfactory. The relationship is too generic. In any case, the syntagm is related to *nšm* and its parallels. Nowhere in the myths of *Baʕlu* is he praised for his beauty, but he is praised for his strength in his fight against *Yammu* and *Môtu* (cf. KTU 1.3 IV 27; 1.6 VI 20–22). On the other hand, the term “brother” does occur in the lexicon of incantation texts (see Thomsen, M.-L. 1992:24: *ina bi-rit* ŠEŠ.MEŠ-e, “between good brothers”), also in the broader concept of a “neighbour” (D. 10: *enāt še’i*, “eyes of a neighbor”; cf. Akk. *še’u*, AHw 1222 *še-’e bābi-ya*; for the parallel *še’u* // *aḥu*, ‘neighbour // brother’, see CAD Š/2 363). On the other hand, in no case do I maintain that “this is the other eye of the pair” (W. 375, n. 3); it would be “her sister” (P1 15). See *infra* n. 41.

17 For instance, F. 20,1 n. 1 relies only on the summary given in Del Olmo Lete, G. 2014 (1999–2004), 1999/2004, although he quotes the Sumero-Akkadian texts directly from Thomsen’s article; P(ardee)1/P(ardee)2 does not take this perspective into account; nor does T. seem to use the long version of my article or the Sumero-Akkadian texts.

18 The cases adduced from Waltke, B.K. – O’Connor, M. 1990 are not valid: epicene nouns for animals with the “plural” ending /ô/t/, a morpheme not unequivocally fem. (p. 107); and the formation quoted on p. 109 imply precisely the opposite and have no connection to this case (“collective” or “abstract”).

to me completely out of order.¹⁹ In this cycle, the “Baalic” word for “cloud” is *ʕrpt*, whereas *ʕnn* is never used with this meaning (as noticed also by T.), and it is by means of these *ʕrpt* that *Baʕlu* sends rain accompanied by thunder. In my opinion and in the opinion of many others, there is only one *Baʕlu*’s paradigm (T. 453, n. 29). According to T.’s interpretation, KTU 1.96 would be a kind of text of the “Minor *Baʕlu* Cycle”, like KTU 1.10–11, 1.12 or 1.13. But in none of these texts does *ʕAnatu* have this epithet nor does she carry out the function assigned to her by T. This semantic option determines the lexical analysis that follows, but it has no serious basis, in my opinion.²⁰ Also to imagine that the “water” is “inside *Baʕlu*” sounds rather fanciful (T. 463f.).²¹

wšnwtp.āḥh: The form *šnwtp* is not a lexical but a morphological *hapax*; for meaning nuances see Wyatt, N. 1998a:375 n.2; Watson, W.G.E. 2007:143. In this regard, T(arazi).’s discussion of the form *šnwtp* as deriving from /nw/ is developed with grammatically correct logic, nevertheless it seems purely speculative to me. The whole argument is guided by the need to meet a text fitting *ʕAnatu*’s supposed function (not to speak of his interpretation of the form *šnt* in KTU 1.3 IV 33). Since we have already rejected T.’s interpretation of *ʕnn* and, as recognised by T. (456, n. 35), in Ugaritic there is already a base *šn(w)* whose meaning fits well the contents of the literary form envisaged in the text, we will not enter into further discussion of T.’s hypothesis. Instead, we will develop our own options from the point of view of that base.²²

19 Instead, cf. the relationship *ʕn + hlk* in the parallel Akkadian syntagm (*supra*). On the other hand, in the presumed parallel text KTU 1.4 III 32 (if *ʕnn* originally meant “cloud”) /hlk/ would not imply “to roam”, but to go to a fixed place (T. 453 n. 29).

20 The speculation on the etymology of *ʕnn* (T. 29) can be omitted since it does not apply to *ʕAnatu*; *Baʕlu*’s cloud is called *ʕrpt*, as stated above. The relationship linking “cloud” and “messenger” *non liquet*. Cf. the same view expressed in Cho, S.Y. 2007:147–152 (“smoky figures” (?)); and W(yatt). 422. And of course we reject the analysis of *ʕn* as “spring” in this text (T. 463 and *passim*; for the various opinions see D.-L. 239; also *supra* n. 13).

21 As a general appraisal, one could say that T. forces the semantic shift beyond reason, as when he asserts: “Here (KTU 1.3 IV 38!) a bull is likened to a virile male man, and the bull’s horns to the male phallus”, and “the animal’s natural fighting ... very similar to what a man does with his phallus during sexual intercourse” (T. 465 n. 61).

22 I think the hollow “root” /nw/ does not exist either in Ugaritic or in Semitic in general. We could speak of a biliteral primary base /nw/, expanded to III-w:y, but the glide expansion of the /nw/ into hollow /nūw/ (and I am tracing the development and alternation of these bases systematically; see Del Olmo Lete, G. 2004a, 2006a, 2007b.), although possible, is phonetically highly improbable, while in the only extant lexical evidence it is always in the form of an expanded III-y (see Hebrew nominal and verbal forms; the parallelism with /rmm/ in Ex 15:2 seems to be against T.’s thesis). Although the incompatibility laws for Semitic verbal “roots” are not so well established as Greenberg’s laws of nominal bases, such an expansion seems phonetically unlikely. For the rest we cannot speak of III-y roots in the case of hollow

I take *šnwt* as a present participle (so P(ardee)1 164f., n. 15), which together with *hlkt* forms a pair of adjectives (see *īnu lemuttu muttalliktu*) and at the same time introduces the evil effect it produces, as is normal in “evil eye” incantations. To take them as two *qatal* forms is also quite possible (F. 216f.), so as to make a pair of verbal synonyms (such redundancy in coordinate epithets however simply does not occur in Sumero-Akkadian “evil eye” texts) as a kind of independent title, while the rest of the verbs in the text are of the form *yqtl* (that is an option, but F. does not “demonstrate” anything in this respect as P2 14 asserts). This alternation is not impossible, but in view of the homogeneous verbal forms in the Akkadian texts, it seems to me an inferior option, irrespective if it entails the specific meaning given to this form: “to roam”/“dart”. The Ugaritic verb, regardless of its etymological relationship with Akk. *šanû*, has the contextual basic meaning of “to change”, like Heb. *šānāh*, applicable to either form or place (W. 375 n. 2).²³ In this case, the semantic option is determined by the connection of this verbal predicate with the following syntagms, taken as its subject complement: *šnwt tp āḥh*, which I see as a semantic borrowing of Akk. *ša bu-un-na-né-e LÚ ú-šab-bi-tú // ú-nak-ki-ru*, “the one who seized/changed a man’s features”, worded as two synonymous syntagms, as happens frequently in lists of attacks by the “evil eye” (as argued already *supra* p. 131) and not refuted by anybody. Much more explicit in this connection is the new text BM 47451, edited and studied by Schwemer: “(The sorceries) *change* (emphasis mine) the countenance, destroy the features” (*zi-i-mi ú^lnak-ka-ru bu^lnun-na-né^e ub-ba^l-tu₄ ...* [line 7]); “witchcraft (and) magic ... they seized the beautiful young man, the beautiful girl, (they seized) this man and destroyed his features” (*kišpu ru-ḥu-ú ... eṭ-la^l dam^l-qa ár^l-da^l-tam da-mi-iq-tam a-mi-la šu-a-tum iṣ-ba-tu-ma bu-un-na-an^l-né^l-šu ub-bi-tu₄* [lines 10–12]).²⁴ “Beauty” and “features” appear here in parallel, so vali-

verbs as T. does in his long digression on pp. 47ff. n. 40 (cf. also n. 62; on the other hand, his discussion of the exchange between the different expansions of biliteral “roots” is excellent). In normative grammar, such denominations correspond to different root classes. The references quoted at the end of the quoted note are irrelevant for the subject under discussion.

23 See Sp. “cambiar de aspecto”/“cambiar de lugar” (> “marchar”), as in KTU 1.3 IV 33, *pace* T.; see DUL 834.

24 See Schwemer, D. 2009:46–58. See also AHw 718f.: *nakāru(m)* D, “(ver)ändern 1) Gestalt, Gesichtszüge”, *bunanne²a ú-nak-ki-ru // šanû* IV, “sich ändern”, D “(ver)ändern” (AHw 1166). This is the main meaning of the base *šnw in Akk., Heb. and Aram., while Akk. *šanû* VI, etwa “traben”/“to trot”, has no Semitic counterpart and seems semantically derivative, specifically applied to equids. The semantic derivation from “to trot” to “to roam” in general is not obvious. Akkadian lexicography defined the term with the general equivalence *alāku(m)*; see Von Soden, W. 1936:237 (line 92). Possibly here we have a case of Palache’s “semantic chain”: “to march by alternately changing steps” > “to trot”, according to COD 1372: “tröt. v.i. 1. (Of horses etc.) proceed at a steady pace faster than a walk lifting each diagonal pair of legs

dating the suggestion put forward above. This semantic option is confirmed by its use in KTU 1.40:28 and par.: *šn yp*, already quoted also in my first study and to which no attention has been paid. These two syntagms cannot be separated from each other.²⁵

Following this way of thinking, initially I preferred to trust the reading *w*- (Virolleaud, KTU, Lewis) instead of *k*- (P1 163 n. 11; P2 10; F(ord). 202; but T(arazi). 481 n. 78; S(mith). 225²⁶), two characters that are easily confused epigraphically.²⁷ But my own collation of the tablet in the summer of 2005 and a thorough analysis of the photos (see below) taken on this occasion and later led me to dismiss the presence of any traces of two superposed horizontal wedges, which would guarantee such a reading. In the long run, a possible scribal error could be presumed, but it is not necessary. The reading /*k*-/ is certainly too linked to the parsing of *tp* as a verbal form, that I do not accept, and would echo Gen. 1:4; 49:15 (*rāʾāh kī ṭōb*), thus making it more persuasive (P(ardee)1 165 n. 16). But even accepting the reading *k*, another parsing is possible: that of *k* as an emphatic particle,²⁸ with a double duty function of *tp*: “the beauty of its brother so comely, the beauty of its brother so handsome”. In this case the double duty (*tp āḥh*) is stichometrically balanced by the greater length of *ysmsm* (9/9; see in this regard D(ietrich).-L(oretz). 229). The parallelism *nšm(y)* / *ysm(sm)t*, certainly well known in Ugaritic (DUL 984), is also preserved.

tp: My option is specifically linked with the rejection of parsing *tp* as a verbal form from *phy* (F. 218ff., P2 14–15, D.-L. 241). Surely a verb of perception would

alternately ...”. In other words: to trot is another semantic shift of “to change”, like Ug. “to change a place for another” > “to go”. According to one of the principles of the “Held Method”: “One must be aware of corresponding idiomatic phrases even when correspondence involves only semantic and non-etymological equivalence”; see Cohen, C. 1989:13. For Palache’s theory, see Del Olmo Lete, G. 2008:87–88. – For the Akkadian evidence see Thomsen, M.-L. 1992:22 and 25, along with the semantic coupling of cause-effect. For the appraisal of the victim’s beauty see also F. 223 n. 70, 226–228, especially n. 92 with the quotation from *Maqlū* III 8 (partly parallel to BM 47451): “as for the handsome young man, she robbed ...” (*šā eṭli damqi du-us-su i-kim*). The text continues with a parallel colon said of the “young girl”, that can be envisaged as corresponding to the internal parallelism supposed in our own interpretation (“roams // robbed”). The text goes on to assert that the activity of the sorceress is carried out by “looking at” (*ina nikilmiša, ippališma*).

25 Furthermore, for the parallel root pair **wpy*//**nšm* in Hebrew see F. 221 n. 68. In this regard see also the mention of *tmnt* in KTU 1.169:6 and in the new conjuration text KTU 1.178:15, possibly a good equivalent of Akk. *bunna(n)nū*. See *infra*.

26 It is surprising to see that T., working at the OIChicago, does not assume the reading /*k*/.

27 See Gordon, C.H. 1965:22 (§ 4.13); Segert, St. 1958:202, 206; Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 1994:48.

28 See Gordon, C.H. 1965:89f.; Dahood, M. 1968:366; De Moor, J.C. 1990:242.

fit the action of the “evil eye” very well (see e.g. CT 17, 33:5–6: *īni ... muttalik-tum ana ... ippalisma ...*,²⁹ conveniently cited by F. 220 and 228, n. 92). Nevertheless, the beginning of this text (CT 17, 33:1–4) uses quite different verbs relating the “evil eye” to its victim: “to distress”, “to bind”, “to ensnare”, “to cause illness” (Th(omsen). 25). In any case, on the one hand, we have to respect the internal Ugaritic correlation of the syntagms *šn yp* // *šnwt tp* and on the other we must accept that the derivation of *tp* from *phy* is phonologically unacceptable, a kind of *deus ex machina*: one is in search of a verb *videndi* and *tp/tpnn* is made to fit this meaning, overriding morphological probability. In this case, the comparative semantic argument (F. 219f.) is not valid: it is not a question of semantics but of phonology. The situation is well recognised by Ford (229 n. 93: “Morphologically, *WPY/*YPY ..., are, of course, the most evident candidates”; and pp. 255f.), who uses eight pages to comment on the comparative and historic-religious pertinence of the activities of the “evil eye”, but only thirteen lines to justify the morphological derivation of *tp* < *phy* (F. 229; in no case “irrefutable”, P2 15 n. 73; see F. 256).

That is well justified and methodologically very sound, given the scarcity of internal Ugaritic evidence; the material gathered in favour of a predicate “to see” in this context is really impressive, but I do not think it sufficient to disqualify my own point of view. The text quoted, KTU 1.19 III 14 (P2 15), is a clear case of scribal error certified by his parallel text and already noted in the text edition as such (F. 229 n. 97). The regressive assimilation supposed (F. 229; P1 164³⁰; P2 15) is not proven. My verification of this root pattern (/ʔh/, /ʕh/, /bh/, /dh/...)³¹ never certifies the radical /h/ as assimilated.³² The assimilation quoted occurs only in a non-vocalic pronominal suffixed sequence (/ehnu/), never at the root end and after the III-y has been dropped.³³

The only acceptable solution would be to suppose here another scribal orthographic error /tp(h)/ (or better said a substandard spelling of the norma-

²⁹ But see also F. 230f., 235, where the base *ʔkl, “to devour”, appears in the same context of the “evil eye”’s action.

³⁰ The base *twy is completely irrelevant here, unless “anything is possible”.

³¹ See Del Olmo Lete, G. 2004a, 2006a, 2007b.

³² See for instance the phonetically close biconsonantal cluster *bh > *bahaw:ya, Ar. *bahā*, “to be beautiful”, Ar. *bahiya*, “to be empty”/; Del Olmo Lete, G. 2007d:211–212. For the same reasons, the derivation of *tp* in KTU 1.103:19 from *phy (see Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 1990:122–123) is also to be rejected. In any case, a derivation from *ypy/*npy is to be preferred; it may be taken as the same c. n. as *tp*, “beauty” > “countenance” (see Del Olmo G. 2014:301, n. 79). For an analysis of the base *phy, see the fundamental study of Coote, R.B. 1974:1–5 also DUL a.v.: “face”).

³³ In this regard, see the quoted reference to Sivan, D. 1997:33–35; as for *drt/dhrt* < /*duhrt*-, see Hb. *zoh(a)r*, Ar. *zuhrat*.

tive /tph/ according to F. 255 n. 176; P2 15); in P1 there is no comment in this regard; for D.-L. 241, who suppose the base /pny/ here, the correction would be *tp(nm)*. But this solution, to suppose an scribal error, which is clear in the case of KTU 1.19 III 14, taking into account the sound parallel text, turns out to be very suspect in the other presumed cases (elsewhere in Ugaritic the /h/ is maintained; see DUL 667), while there is no objection to a derivation from /wpy/, which has the support of a similar pattern in KTU 1.40:28 and par. (*šn yp*), well attested in Semitic. Although “anything is possible”, to base an interpretation on such a hypothetical and unfounded datum is too hazardous: the regressive assimilation (of actual pronunciation we know nothing) of glotto-laryngal /h/ to bilabial /p/, is a phonetic phenomenon that is not recorded in any Semitic language or in comparative Semitic grammar.

We will not discuss either the idiosyncratic derivation of *tp* from /tpp/, “to spit” (for me a non-existent base; in Ugaritic the confirmed base for “to spit” is **wpt*, although a synonym cannot to be ruled out) or its parsing as an adverbial infinitive (accusative of means) proposed by Tarazi (T. 459ff.), since it follows a choice of argument we have already dismissed. Formally, the grammatical analysis is correct (in this regard “anything is possible”, even the version of /halakat/ as a present tense), but semantically it sounds rather strange within the common and obvious understanding of *Baʿlu*’s mythology, as already mentioned.

As for the definite poetic parallelism **nʿm // *wsm*, we have to take into account that here we are not dealing with a poetic composition in the strict sense (rather it is formulaic) and so the arguments from parallelism and stichometry are secondary (see the extant difficulties and divergences made clear in this regard by D.-L. 229f., 234ff., 248; see also differently T. 447, 472 n. 71). The three roots are present (**yph* and **nʿm // *ysm*) cumulatively, in my opinion, as lexemes of the same semantic field.

tspī/tšt: The question of the voracity or harmlessness of the “evil eye” is ambiguous. Mesopotamian tradition, according to Thomsen (whom I follow, as rightly noted by F. 233ff., but not by P1 165 n. 17),³⁴ favours this second way of thinking, while the first has good parallels in later (Arabic) sources. But since we are dealing with a metaphor (F(ord). 235), the actual bearing of the effect caused by the “evil eye” remains uncertain (in many languages “fever” is said also to “devour”).³⁵

³⁴ See also P2. 10 n. 37, where he tries to “correct” my general and cursory assessment on the reading *ʿnt* in line 1 of the text by various scholars as if it was specifically applied to Virolleaud, what is not.

³⁵ For a psychological interpretation of such effects in Sumerian “evil eye” texts see Geller, M.J. 2003:124ff. (and above n. 6).

tpnn: In parsing the same line, implausibility reaches its peak with the assumed substandard spelling *tp(h)nn*. It is clear than an error, even repeated in a few lines, is always possible. But when the text can be read in a straightforward way without presuming any error, it is better to dispense with any such presumption, unless there are stringent arguments in favour of emendation. So I would maintain my option (/pnn/, “to change, distort”; D(el Olmo Lete). 11), although now a derivation from *pny, “to face” (W. 376, D.-L. 249) does not seem to be so objectionable and I would favour it for lexical pertinence (W. 376 n. 8, who quotes Sum. [ba-te], “approached”; for the discussion see F. 219 n. 69, 255–256, against D.-L.’s /pny/ “to face”).³⁶ This new verb *continues* the destructive activity introduced by the previous verbs (*spʔ, *šty). To assert that the “evil eye”, after having already “seen” and “eaten” its brother, “sees” him again, is rather redundant, although not impossible, I must admit.

The question of the structural arrangement of the following elements is of greater significance.³⁷ F. understands that we have five kinds of “evil eyes”, all of them the subject of the aforementioned verb *tp(h)nn* (F(ord). 237–238, 242, 248–249 n. 163), while I (in this sense following a suggestion of Lichtenstein’s) consider the first two “eyes” to be the subjects (“eyes” of all the possible sorcerers, both masculine and feminine) and the other three, as the objects of the “evil eye”’s intervention. Besides mentioning the victims in this way, as is so frequent in the Sumero-Akkadian texts, and as recognised by F. himself (F. 238), the text itself provides a clue by dividing the group into two parts by the repetition of the verb *tpnn*. This kind of distribution is certainly missing, for instance, from the list in the text cited, VAT 10018, 3–4. But whereas such a list of “evil eyes” is quite rare, the mention of victims is normal.³⁸ So I prefer the distribution proposed, recognising at the same time that no cogent argument can be advanced in this kind of literary/linguistic analysis, we are speaking only of hypotheses. Of course, in the long run the spell functions in the same way, taking away (F. 248 n. 163) power from the evil-doing eye and

³⁶ See also in Ebla: “Auf diese GA.SAR-Pflanze *richtete* Enki den bösen Blick” (Krebern timer, M. 1984:61). I have to accept that the Sumero-Akkadian example quoted by F. 220 is also impressive. But in the long run, “to face” or “to direct (the sight)”, said of the “eye” is an equivalent of “to look”, inevitably with a bad and harmful intention/effect, as it fits an “evil eye”.

³⁷ For an idiosyncratic discussion in this regard see T. 480f. n. 78, who considers the text to be a “Psalm”.

³⁸ The majority of the texts adduced come from too late a tradition to consider them as providing proof. It is better to look at the Sumero-Akkadian source tradition of the genre. See in this regard, the list of the “one(s) casting the Evil Eye” and the “list of harmful events caused” at the same time, in Geller, M.J. 2003:118.

restoring natural force to the victims, in this case to the victims' eye. Certainly, we have no other texts that speak of a specific attack by an eye on another eye, but this is only a negative argument that cannot rule out this specific mention. In this connection, it is worth remembering that the Romans called this evil-doing eye *oculus fascinus*, and its effect, *fascinum* or *fascinatio*,³⁹ which naturally applies to the victim's visual perception.

On the other hand, why should these three categories be mentioned as prototypical evil-doers? On the contrary, one of them is specifically presented as a victim of the "evil eye" in his daily activity: "You (evil eye) have broken the oven of the potter" (Th(omsen). 24), while another text refers to this craftsman in the context of the evil eye's destruction: "may it go to pieces (like) the potter's *pursitu*-pot" (Th. 32). We may confidently presume that this class of workers was prototypically involved in the semantic field envisaged by this kind of spell. Possibly this is because they need an especially "good eye" to carry out their tasks (D. 12).⁴⁰

Furthermore, one could ask whether the mention of the "eye" here is connected with the *tp* of the *āḥ* in line 2. In other words, whether the "brother" is so beautiful because of his eye, not merely as a "fellow member of the social group" (F(ord). 230) / "the neighbor" (D. 10).⁴¹ On the other hand, the expression is one of esteem, able nevertheless to have a pernicious effect (see F. 258–260). In fact, this kind of harm can be induced either through "envy" / Lat. *invidia* // Gr. *baskánia* / (conscious bad regard or attitude towards the victim) or through "admiration" / Lat. *ad-miratio* (benevolent regard without evil intent). So in folklore, we frequently see mothers using special amulets to avert the "evil eye" cast upon their child by friends approaching him with "What a pretty baby!" or the like.⁴² I will not insist on this particular hypoth-

³⁹ See in this regard the classical treatise attributed to a certain Engelbert (14th cent.), *Tractatus de fascinatione*, and the one by the Marqués de Villena (1425), *Tratado de aojamiento o fascinología*, edited by Fr. Almagro, J. Fernández Carpintero, Madrid 1977. Also see the interesting suggestions by Hocart, A.M. 1938:156–157; D.L. Gifford, D.L. 1954; as well as the many rich contributions edited by Maloney, C.L., ed. 1976a. A comprehensive bibliography can be found in Erkoreka, A. 1995:153–167.

⁴⁰ In this connection see Roberts, J.M. 1976:223–278 ("Technology; TABLE 12 Technological Activities and the Evil Eye Belief", pp. 240–241).

⁴¹ However, the neighbour's eye cannot really be the "brother", because of its feminine gender, as noted by the sagacious Pardee (P2 15: "aurait eu une 'sœur'"), but cf. already RS 94.2178: rev. 13, and Márquez's comment *supra* p. 61.

⁴² In this connection, Erkoreka, A. 1995:29, 97, 99f., asserts: "El simple hecho de alabar las cualidades o virtudes de un niño o animal, si se no añaden las frases rituales encomendándole a Dios o a determinados santos ... puede producirle el *begizko*"; also Maloney, C.L. 1976b:102–148. See F. 252 (Amharic text).

esis, mentioning it only as a nuance that would make approaching the victim in such an apparently bewildering way more understandable.

Yet again, here no serious harm is announced against those I consider to be victims of the *bt̄y* / *bt̄t* and their “eyes”, so that I feel authorised to understand “eating the flesh” and “drinking the blood” in a mild way, as was pointed out above (see D.-L. 245).

***bt̄y* / *bt̄t*:** (See D(ietrich).-L(oretz). 249–250) – F., as usual,⁴³ provides a good summary of my vacillation regarding the meaning and etymology of *bt̄y* / *bt̄t*. On the other hand, his insistence on the Akkadian syntagms *lemna epēšu* and the like (among them *bīšta epēšu*) as well their correspondence to Aram. (ʕyn²/bnyš²) *byšt²/byš²*, would suggest that there is some lexical relationship between Ug. *bt̄y*/t and Akk. *bīšu* / Aram. *byš²*, possibly by contamination (F(ord). 243 n. 138; P(ardee)2 16f. n. 88; and *supra* p. 132f). My own latest opinion on the possible Semitic, even Afro-Asiatic, etymology of this lexeme has been set out above (pp. 138–139), indicating the presence of a common base of this kind in many Semitic languages within the semantic field of “witchcraft”. I am now more inclined to give these terms a technical meaning, i.e. “sorcerer”/“sorceress” (see above p. 35),⁴⁴ in keeping with the following *nomina professionis*, with contracted /-iy(y)at/ > /-at/, where the /-y/ is either a radical phoneme or marks an extension.⁴⁵

In his turn, P2 16–18 tries to find a Semitic etymon here as well, with the semantic support of the lexicon provided by the Ugaritic texts of this genre, in this case seeing in *bt̄y* / *bt̄t* a parallel to *dbb*,⁴⁶ “celui qui parle, accuse, attaque par la parole”. But duplication of technical terms for the same function is rather suspicious; one would expect to see *dbb* used here, were this the meaning of the text. P. finds the lexico-semantic support in one of the meanings proposed by Cohen’s comparative dictionary (DRS) for the root *bṭw, “dénoncer” (P2 17; see DRS 91). As is well known and as proved by persistent

⁴³ I must acknowledge the exquisite correctness, even benevolence, with which Prof. Ford deals with my opinions regarding the interpretation of this text, even when he disagrees with them. As for the syntagm ʕyn² *byšt²/byš²* in “evil eye” spells, see J. Naveh, J., Shaked, S. 1985:275 (Glossary); Naveh, J., Shaked, S. 1993:265, 271 (Glossary).

⁴⁴ Lat. *maleficus/ca*; see in this connection the famous *Malleus maleficarum* of O.P.J. Sprenger [Nuremberg 1487].

⁴⁵ See Kautzsch, E. – Cowley, A.E. 1910:§ 86 h (*pace* P1 165 n. 18).

⁴⁶ However, this meaning of *dbb* has a clear East Semitic pedigree (*dabābu(m)*), which would clearly contradict the thesis of almost no influence of the Akkadian language on Ugaritic in this sort of magical and divinatory texts (P2 17 n. 88 and elsewhere), particularly in the case of a basic item of witchcraft terminology. See the function of the *bēl dabābi* in Schwemer, D. 2007:72, 127–132; *infra* pp. 183f. (appendix).

perusal of this dictionary, the DRS simply collects and puts together the different materials it finds in its lexical sources by “root” order (phonologically), without organising them semantico-etymologically. So it must be used carefully. In this particular case, the meaning “dénoncer” seems to correspond semantically to the general meaning of “divulguer, répandre une nouvelle” for the primary base *bṭ(t),⁴⁷ mainly in its II and III forms, to be distinguished from the hollow base *bṭ. But there is no hint of the meaning “dénoncer” > “calomnier” under that base. Such a meaning is not listed in any of the classical dictionaries.⁴⁸ It appears, however, in the venerable lexical compilations *Lisānu-l-ʿArab* and *Taḡu-l-ʿArūs*. In this connection, the *Lisān*, under the heading بٹا, adduces the idiom وبٹا به عند السلطان يبتو سيعه⁴⁹ with the basic meaning عرق, “to sweat”. It is also quoted by the *Taḡ*. It is here that the meaning “to denounce” appears. There could be (?) a metaphorical semantic shift: “sweat” > “to make flow” > “to denounce (?) something to the authorities”, as is suggested by سيع, “water running ...” (AEL 1485; see the Sp. idiom “hacer correr una noticia”). In any case, it is an idiosyncratic, secondary, derivative semantic Arabic shift that cannot be taken as a starting-point for an ancient West Semitic technical term deriving from the original meaning of the base. But it is rather difficult, not to say impossible, to relate “dénoncer” semantically to “suer”. This is to say, the possible Arabic verb *bṭw, “dénoncer” (DRS), as noted above, would belong to the same basic seme of base *bṭ(t), “to spread” > “to reveal, publish”, and in the last instance “to complain to” (see AEL 151, “to complain”, and the rest of the lexical sources); as a secondary derivative expanded form (/w/) its first physical meaning is “to sweat” (< “to make flow”) with the secondary derivation “to spread a secret/complain” > “to denounce”.

Already put forward by myself,⁵⁰ the lexeme was assumed under the same heading as De Moor’s: Ar. *baṭiyyu*, “flatterer” > “sycophant, impostor”, by

⁴⁷ See SD 33: *Bṭṭ*, “announce, declare”. The base *bṭṭ is also recorded by DRS with the meanings “disperser, disséminer, divulguer”. See also AEL 151; DMWA 52; LAL I 83. The base is also recorded in Mauritan Arabic; see DHF 52.

⁴⁸ DAF, the reference dictionary, along with DMWA, used by unqualified Arabists (i.e. Hebraists, Ugaritologists and Assyriologists), on p. 85 records only *baṭā*, “suer”; also AED 21, *baṭā*, “to sweat”; LAL 84, *baṭā*, “sudavit”; it is completely ignored in AEL 151; etc., etc.

⁴⁹ See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisānu-l-ʿArab*, ed. Beirut 2005⁴, I, p. 17 (with entries listed by their initial letter).

⁵⁰ See Del Olmo Lete, G. 2007b:229. I trusted Cohen’s proposal uncritically (semantically it is clear that it does not fit the basic seme), unable at the time to find his source (I thank my good friend A. Lonnet for his help in this regard). The proposal has to be reformulated, as well as the derivation of Ar. *bṭṭ from *bṭʿan*, “ash, dust” (instead it is the other way round), according to the new analysis put forward *supra* pp. 138–139 (appendix).

extended semantic shift.⁵¹ But the resort to this kind of lexeme (either from *bṭy or *bṭw) as well as to the etymologizing parallel with *bdd*, has to be abandoned as the source of a technical term for a “wizard” in the context of “evil eye” sorcery. We have to take into account that since “eye sorcery” (sight sorcery) is different from “mouth/word sorcery” (see *supra* p. 10 on these kinds of sorcery), the normal corresponding term for its practitioner, its wizard should reflect that distinction. To speak of a “calumniateur” in the context of KTU 1.96 makes no sense.⁵² I maintain then my proposal of finding here a very old and universal Semitic technical name for this profession connected with the basic meaning of “doing evil or harm”, mainly in the field of “evil eye” sorcery.⁵³

mḥr/pḥr/tgr: (See D.-L. 250). Both Thomsen, M.-L. 1992:24 and F(ord). 244f. emphasise the presence of “specific” members of professions as subjects or performers of the spells. In this connection, the interpretation of *mḥr* as “merchant” (F. 244f.), according to the textual evidence, as well as its equivalent in the Akkadian lexicon (F. 245), sounds very persuasive; and like my suggestion (“tax-collector”)⁵⁴, it also comes from the semantic field of economy, private rather than public. However, F. is not sure of the proposal, taking it only as provisional (F. 246). Contextually also, Cohen’s proposal (“cook”) sounds very suitable (F. 246, n. 154). In any case, the classification of all three as possessors or “casters” of the “evil eye” is acknowledged as a generalisation

51 See De Moor, J.C. 1979:639–653 (647f.). The Ar. lexeme, recorded by Hava and modern lexicographers, is ignored by Lane and Wehr and even by Dozy’s *Supplément*; Freitag and Kazimirski list the “passive” sense: *baṭʿan*, “qui multum laudatur”, “qui est l’objet d’éloges universels”.

52 See in this regard the Akkadian text VAT 35, 1: ^laṣl-bat pà-ki ú-tab-bil lišān-k[i]; Schwemer, D. 2007:130. On the “evil (black/hot) mouth” # “evil eye” in the various traditions see Maloney, C.L. 1976a:332 (index). P2 18 confuses both kinds of sorcery. From an anthropological viewpoint, it makes no sense to assert: “Les termes *bṭy/bṭt* expriment donc un fait général, celui ou celle qui, par ses *calomnies* (emphasis mine), lance le Mauvais œil contre son ‘frère’”. P1 162 leaves the term untranslated, although P1 165 n. 18 suggests “a by-form of the hollow root Bṭ, ‘to be ashamed, shameful’”. This is also T.’s option when he interprets ⁿb *bṭt* as the “spring of shame”, namely *Baʿlu*’s penis (see above); so also S. 226 n. 15 (“sex”). For the various proposals, see D.-L. 249–250, who prefer to see a toponym here.

53 To the linguistic evidence supplied can be added the description of the *buda* in the Ethiopic tradition by Reminick, R.A. 1976:85–101. One can even ask whether Tagalog *bati* is also linguistically related, as a sort of “wandering word”. See in this regard En. Flores-Meiser, “Hot Mouth and Evil Eye”, *ibdm.* pp. 149–162.

54 When I proposed Sp. ‘alcablero’ as the translation of Ug.*mḥr* (Del Olmo Lete, G. 1992:12), I was unaware of the NWS equivalence of Akk. *maḥāru*, *maḥīru* with Aram *qbl. On this see Rabinowitz, J.J. 1961:55–76 (“2. The Susa Tablets and The Aramaic Papyri. a. *maḥāru* (sic) = QBL”, pp. 63–69).

conditioned by alliteration (F. 247). The list of possessors of this sorcery must be recognised as unique (F. 247 n. 156), whereas the return of the eye to its master is well documented in this genre. In these circumstances, F.'s treatment of the question can be held up as a model: he does not "swear" by his own proposal. In his turn, Pardee (P2 19f.) "ne trouve aucun indice de ce passage des *bty* / *btt* maléfiques aux *mhr*, *phr* et *tgr* qui seraient les objets de l'attaque". However, it is possible that he was able to find some indications outside this passage, e.g. in the presence of persons and things as the "object" of the "evil eye" in Sumero-Akkadian texts. Instead he suggests an etymologising concoction of three new Ugaritic *hapaxes*: "celui qui fixe le prix", "maître de l'assemblage", "celui qui garde la porte" as the "mots descriptives des étapes de la libération du Mauvais œil" (P1 165f.; P2 19f.)

According to P.'s restrictive linguistic method, at least *tgr* should have been retained its straightforward Ugaritic meaning. But no Semitic text dealing with this sort of sorcery speaks of such "étapes".⁵⁵ The presumption is radically false that the person casting the "evil eye" needs to be employed by a contract and paid for, that he needs to "rassembler les instruments de la sorcellerie" and finally that he must be freed to "sortir de sa cage pour courir à l'attaque" (P(ardee)2 19–20). Even in our text, the "evil eye" is presented as roaming and wandering, attempting to direct a pernicious glance upon its lovely brother. Anthropologists who deal with this popular phenomenon and its descriptions will certainly remain astonished at this analysis. The "evil eye" always appears as the spontaneous and sometimes even unconscious power of a person who does not need to be forced or assisted to go into action. The mere attentive reading of the many examples, from Sumerian to Mandaic praxis, quoted by Ford would convince anyone of that. Although not documented anywhere in this type of literature, if this presumed process did exist, it would remain outside the spell formula itself.⁵⁶

As for the chiasmic structure of the lines, it was put forward by myself in all its elements, as F. recognises (F(ord). 248 n. 163; not by P2 19) and it does not preclude the assumption of grouping *bty/btt* together as the subjects of the attack and of *tgr*, *phr* and *mhr* as its object, taken from Lichtenstein (see F. 248f., nn. 162–163). The other solution that sees here five subjects of the "evil eye", "can hardly be said to be conclusive", as honestly recognised by

⁵⁵ Certainly not in the collections and texts of "evil eye" spells (see F. 202 n. 1). For more general information on the literary structure of these texts see Starr, I. 1983; Stamm, W. 2008.; and *supra* pp. 134–137.

⁵⁶ See for instance Nougayrol, J. 1968: 65; possibly KTU 2.70 also deals with the topic of the remuneration of "diviners", not infrequent in the Babylonian magical literature, if our understanding of the text is correct; Del Olmo Lete, G. – Sanmartín, J. 1999: 53–58.

Ford (F. 146f.). There is no apparent reason why these categories of professionals should be charged with being prototypical perpetrators of the “evil eye”, as pointed out above. On the other hand, the “restoration” of the victims may be seen as implicit in the effectiveness of the spell itself.⁵⁷ The refusal to resort to Sumero-Akkadian magical literature in a genre that is well documented in this sphere (unlike the case in consonantal Ugaritic), and from which it can be analysed fittingly (on a tablet which has a copy of an Akkadian syllabary on its reverse!) forces the interpreter to an absolutely improvised proposal. Restricting himself to Northwest Semitic, he fails to interpret the text in a reasonably acceptable way. On this point also I prefer then to maintain my first proposal since the alternative (by which I mean F.’s), while not improbable (particularly as can be deduced from the list of casters of the “evil eye” in later texts; see F. 238–241), turns out not to be cogent.

I maintain then my proposed version of KTU 1.96 (see above pp. 130).

⁵⁷ The texts cited by F. for the return of the “evil eye” to its masters are impressive and very persuasive (F. 249–251). But in the practice of general sorcery, the “return” of the damned to his primitive or normal state followed by the liberation from his attacker is a well-known topic of the genre (see *supra* pp. 6, n. 30; 11, n. 58).

KTU 1.107: A Compendium of Incantations against Snakebite

1 Introduction

The text KTU 1.107, found in 1961 in the “Maison du prêtre aux modèles de poumon et de foies”, is in many respects similar to KTU 1.100 and represents an incantation against snakebite, with the notable intervention of the gods *Šapšu* and *Ḫôrānu*, as in the latter.¹ It includes the well-known repetition of entreaty formulas calling on a series of gods, in pairs, as in the other quoted text. The fact that both texts contain an identical sequence shows a stable functional use. The entreaty to the gods is very similar to a litany, as in other prayer texts like KTU 1.65 and 1.123. However, as the text is in fragments, it is difficult to interpret. Although not as clearly as in KTU 1.100, the god *Ḫôrānu* has a very prominent place in this text as he is paired with the supreme god *ʾIlu* (line 13) and is mentioned in other places that are unfortunately broken (lines 3, 6).

Epigraphically, the script on the preserved parts of the text is clean and clear, as seen in the autopsy and the new photos (see pl. VII–VIII). Digital enlargement ensures that the reading of the script is accurate and, to a large extent, makes a copy dispensable. In the long-run, copies provide no more than a testimony of the epigraphist's individual reading of the text. As well-defined photos are now available, the idea that such copies could be dispensed with has begun to emerge among Assyriologists who have copied the cuneiform texts as an almost sacred duty up to now.² Obviously it is more useful to look at a digital reproduction of the original than at a drawing or copy. In fact,

¹ The classification of this text as “(para-)mythological” or even as “historiola” (see D. Pardee, D. 1988:80, n.41) is, I maintain, completely out of place. The divine intervention is operative, non-narrative and very different in this regard from that found in texts such as KTU 1.114. On the issue of classifying these texts in general, see Clemens, D.M. 2001:92ff. (different classificatory attempts; pp. 145–575: possible “incantation” texts among the categories KTU 1–2). The lexical and contextual connection with texts like KTU 1.100, 1.107, 1.169 and 1.178 and with the Akkadian *zikurudû* ritual and other anti-witchcraft texts in which the presence and intervention of *Šamaš* is so preeminent, place it clearly in the field of incantation literature. See also Xella, P. 1981a:245, whose differentiation between KTU 1.100 and KTU 1.107 is very much to the point. One has to bear in mind that the presence of mythological elements that are developed to a greater or lesser extent is customary in this kind of texts (see De Moor, J.C. 1977:366; *supra* p. 4).

² See, in this regard, the last volumes of the series “Mémoires de N.A.B.U. Florilegium Marai-num” and of the “Revue d'Assyriologie”. In any case, the simple contribution of a copy seems a rather feeble reason for dealing with a text again, if nothing else is afforded.

observation of a well-defined photo and its possible digital enlargement enables us to dispense with the copy and with any verbalized description of traces. However, I will maintain the established norm of copying the table (Fig. VI–VII).

Here, we will avoid dwelling on the elucidation of fragmentary signs at the edges (dispensable again and replaceable by a suitable manipulation of the digital material) of the broken lines. These are sufficiently justified, I think, by the copy and transcription of what I believe to be the good reading. Nor will I indulge in any polemics or refutation of readings proposed in this regard by other authors who have dealt with this text.³ The technical means at our disposal today allow anyone to verify the readings that are proposed here, if they consider it worthwhile to insist on the possible form of isolated and broken wedges that are semantically meaningless. In this regard, our Assyriologist colleagues offer us a good example of sobriety and rationality. If this epigraphy of the edges was also unavoidable for them, numerous text editions of Akkadian texts would have to be thrown out and remade.⁴

The whole text is transcribed next, although only the beginning of the obverse (lines 5–14) and the final section of the reverse (lines 32–43) will be translated and briefly discussed. For a general lexical analysis, we can refer back to DUL. The rest of the text is too fragmentary for a meaningful likely interpretation to be made. It is enough to read Pardee’s “Commentary” to reach this opinion. He honestly and almost exhaustively gathers all the extant readings and interpretations, but plainly and constantly confesses that it is impossible to support any of them.⁵

3 I agree almost completely with Pardee’s collation, except for some separation wedges whose presence I feel is not clear at all (f.i. lin. 16 before *âmn*: erasure). The only significant reading disagreement is found in lin. 46. Here Pardee recognizes before *tzd* “un clou vertical et le bord droit d’un autre: lire donc {s, l}”, while I see only a vertical wedge corresponding to a /g/ (see lin. 39: *dgn*) and preceded by the separator (see Pl. VIII); normally the vertical wedges of /l, š/ are thinner. The outcome, I must confess, is completely unintelligible. In any case the disagreement is absolutely irrelevant.

4 See Del Olmo Lete, G. 2004:542, n. 10. Although sometimes fruitful, this epigraphy “at the edges” is usually useless and even misleading. In general, it does not compensate for the efforts made; see Del Olmo Lete, G.2006:271. In these cases, the suitability of the context would offer enough and better guidance. For a different opinion see Pardee, D. 2012. For the standard assyriological method in epigraphy see Dietrich, M., O. Loretz. 2010a:128; 2012:159f. In Ugarit both cuneiform script systems coexisted and were possibly developed by the same scribes, as can be verified easily by tablet like KTU 1.82 with its copy on the reverse of the cuneiform syllabary as a scribe exercise; the consonantic and syllabic texts have the same *ductus*.

5 Without doubt, Pardee, D. 1988:227–256, summarized in D. Pardee, D. 2002b:179–191, is the most thorough treatment of the text. After the first text collation and copy by Virolleaud, Ch.

2 Text and translation⁶ (Fig. VI–VII, Pl. VII–VIII)

1. [- - - - -]ā (?).b[- -].h^ll(?)[- -]
2. [- - - - -]m.r^lbm^l.nṣ^ll/ṣ^l[-]m^lr
3. [- - - - -]ṣ.bdh yd^lrm^l[-]pī^ll^ldm
4. [- - - - -]i(?)ṣ(?)[-].yṣql.yt^lk [-]p(?) npbl.hn
5. [- - - - -]t[b(?)]t.pzr. [- - - - -]the threatening (?),
p^zr^lr^l.p nḥš the attacking⁷ mouth of the serpent
6. [- - - - -]q(?)].n[t(?)k. [- - - - -]biter (?),
lydṣ.lbn.lpq ḥmt the inexpert did not understand how to take
(away) the poison,
7. [- - - -]nh.ḥmt. [so weakened] him the poison,
wt[ṣ]bt^{nh}.ābdy and exhausted him the destruction.⁸
8. [npl bš^z]r[.]šrḡzz. [Fallen in disgra]ce šrḡzz,⁹
ybk^y.km nṣr he weeps like a boy
9. [wydmṣ.].km.šḡr. [and sheds tears] like a youngster.
špš.bšmm.tqrū Šapšu calls from heaven:
10. [- - mdṣ.^z]nplt.y[t/h^z]. – [...Why] have you fallen, oh...!,
mdṣ.nplt.bšr¹¹[šr]ḡzz. why have you fallen into disgrace,¹⁰ šrḡzz,

1968:573–580, some other studies followed, written by Astour, M. 1968:13–36; Dietrich, M., Loretz, O., Sanmartín, J. 1975b:127–131; De Moor, J. C. 1977:366–367; Johnstone, W. 1978:109–119; Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 1980:153–170; Xella, P. 1981a:241–250; Caquot, A. 1989:95–100; Wyatt, N. 1998a:391–394; and Del Olmo Lete, G. 2014:315–318.

⁶ The transcription offered here, in a more or less stichometrical distribution, is based on a new collation of the tablet, of which the copy and digital photographs are also provided.

⁷ See Heb. *pšr*, “to urge someone, coerce” (HALOT 954f.); which is better an etymon than *pṭr*, semantically and phonologically. D. Pardee’s interpretation (1988:243f.): “la gueule de silex, la gueule du coupeur” (< *zrr) seems too imaginative and supposes a threefold omission of the separator. The form *pzrr* must be an intensive form or just a dittography, as KTU takes it to be.

⁸ See lin. 10 and above; also *lnh mlḥš ābd lnh ydy ḥmt*: KTU 1.100:5 and par. We understand *ābdy* to be the fem. form of *ābd* (lin. 35, 45; see *infra* p. 190: KTU 1.100:11 and par. *ābd/ḥmt*); see Del Olmo Lete, G. 2010c:211–214, and already M. Astour, M. 1968:34; Caquot, A. 1989:97, n. 299, 99, n. 311. The version as verbal forms, besides disturbing the normal sequence of the stichos, leaves these without a complement (see Pardee, D. 2002b:183, n. 53). The preceding verb, which is factitive in this kind of prose (and may therefore support a double complement object), is best derived from *tṣb and not from *ṣbt; see. Caquot, A.1989:97, n. 300; Pardee, D. 1988:245.

⁹ This PN recalls the mythical TN *trḡzz*. N. Wyatt’s vocalization (1998a:392) *Širugazuz* is a pure guess; De Moor’s *Sharrughazizu* (*šarru ḡāzizu*) (1988:109) seems to be preferable; see also Astour, M. 1968:34, for different lexical options.

¹⁰ See. Arab. *šarr-*, “physical or moral evil”, an element which may occur in the compound DN *mt wšr* in KTU 1.23:8; (AEL 1524). Pardee, D. 1988: 245, suggests Akk. *šurru*, “to fall,

- $wtp^1ky.k[m.n\Omega]r[.]$ and you weep like a boy,
 $^l t^l dm\Omega.km^{12}[s][\dot{g}]r.$ you shed tears like a youngster?
 $bkm.y\Omega ny.[\dot{s}rgzz]$ Weeping [$\dot{s}rgzz$...] answers:
 $[- - - -]wth$
13. $[- -][nn.bnt]y\dot{s}[$
 $[- - - - -]lk$
14. $[y\dot{t}]b.kmm.$ [This is] repeated once again
 $lk[l.^l m^1 sp[r - - - - -]]$ in each [recitation].¹¹
15. $[\dot{s}p]\dot{s}.b\dot{s}[m]m.t^l q^l[r]\dot{u} g^2[- - - -][l.^?].rt$
16. $[-]tm \dot{a}mn[- -][b^?][- - - - -][n^l.\dot{a}mr$
17. $[-]l ytk bl[- - - - - - -][m^l r^l.hwt$
18. $[-].tllt.kh[.^?][- - - - - - -].k\Omega n$
19. $[- -][y^l.yd.n\dot{s}y.[-][- - - - - - -].\dot{s}.l[.]mdb^{12}$
20. $[- - -][p^l.m\dot{h}lp\dot{t}[- - - - - - - - -]r$
21. $[- - -]n\Omega lm.[n^2][$
22. $[- - -][h.n.\dot{a}l[-][-$
23. $[- - -][t.bn[.^?][-[-$
24. $[- - -][h[-[-$
25. $[- - -][$
- rev.**
26. $[- - -][\dot{a}^l[$
27. $[- - -][q^?bt[.^?][n^l p[$
28. $[- - -][l \dot{s}d.q\dot{l}.[-][- - - - - - - - -][t.\dot{a}tr$
29. $[- - - -][\dot{g}^?rm.y[- - - - - - - - -]rn$
30. $[- - - -]rk.h[-][- - - - - - - - -][l.^?][$
31. $[- - - -][s^l r.n[- - - - - - - - -][l.^?].hrn$
32. $[- - - -][s^l p.hph.h[-][- - - - - - - - -]$
 $[t\dot{i}sp.\dot{s}p]\dot{s}.lh\dot{r}m^{22}[\dot{g}rpl.].$ [You who removes, $\dot{S}ap]$ $\dot{s}u$, from the mountains
the storm clouds,¹³

prostrate oneself". As an alternative De Moor 1988:109 proposes the reading *npl* *bšr* and the version "and the flesh (penis) of PN fell". But in this way the personal style of the section becomes interrupted.

11 While it is certain that "il s'agit, sans aucun doute d'une directive pour une répétition au cours de la récitation", the restoration of the form from **t*b, proposed by Pardee, D. 1988:246, makes this rubric a perfect parallel to KTU 1.100:7 (*y_tb*) in the alternative meaning suggested (but set aside) there; see *infra* p. 191, 200, n. 57. In this way, the repetitive structure which that text makes explicit would be revealed.

12 See KTU 1.82:27; also KTU 1.100:66f. for a possible similar wording.

13 The speculations on *grpl* as a synonym of "venom" as "fog" (> "miasma") are irrelevant (see Pardee, D. 1988:249 and n. 85; Pardee, D. 2002b:183, n. 51, who quotes and criticizes different opinions). The Ugaritic predicate corresponds to the well-known Akkadian epithet of Šamaš *mušpardu eṭuti*, *mušnammir ukli*, "the one who irradiates the darkness", "the one who

- ̔[̔].ār[̔.][lân.îsp.][.h]mt from everywhere¹⁴ from the earth remove the
 poison.
 34. [tîsp.š][p]š.lhr[m.][ġ]rpl. [You who removes, Ša]pšu, from the mountains
 the storm clouds,
 ̔l.ārš ²⁵[lân.îsp.][h]mt. from everywhere from the earth remove¹⁵ the
 poison,
 l[p][.n][̔]k.âbd. from the mouth of the biter, the ruin,
 lp âk[l] ²⁶[tmdl.] from the mouth of the devourer, [the destruc-
 tion].¹⁶
 [y][â]sp.[h]m[t][.îl.] That remove the poison [ʔIlu],
 [îl]hm.yâs[p].hmt [the divi]nes¹⁷ remove the poison.
 37. [tîsp.š][p]š[.lhrm.ġrpl]. [You who removes, Ša]pšu, [from the mountains
 the storm/clouds],
 ̔l.ārš.lân ²⁸[îsp.h]mt. from everywhere from the earth [remove the
 poi]son.
 î[l.][.w]hryn.yîsp.hmt That ʔIlu and Hôrānu remove the poison;
 39. [b̔l.][.w]dgn.[y][î]s[p].hmt. that Baʿlu and Dagānu remove the poison;
 ̔nt.w̔ttrt ⁴⁰[tî]sp.hmt. that ʿAnatu and ʿAttartu remove the poison;
 [yr]h.wršp.hʿîsp.hmt that Yarhu and Rašpu remove the poison;
 41. [̔t̔]r.w̔ttr[p]r.yîsp.hmt. that ʿAttaru and ʿtpr remove the poison;
 zz.wktʿt ⁴²[y]s[p].hmt. that zz and km̔ remove the poison;
 mlk b̔ttrt.yîsp.hmt that Milku of ʿAttartu remove the poison;

makes the dusk bright” (see Tallqvist, K.L. 1974:456; CAD E 413; already Caquot, A. 1989:99. n. 310). This is the highest expression of his power in heaven and so a paradigm of other interventions. For *ʔsp, “to collect” > “to remove, pick”, see Astour, M. 1968: 30; Caquot, A. 1989:98, n. 308. The syntax is appositional (indicative/precative), but with consecutive value: “you actually removes ..., remove then ...”. For a parallel, although antithetic, in an incantation of the series “somber mountain ..., fog ..., grass ...”, see RS 17.155:rev. lin. 9’, *supra* p. 54.
14 See KTU 1.6 IV 22–23: *ân lân yšpš ân lân îl yġ[rk]*; Del Olmo Lete, G. 1981^a: 230, 514; DUL 76. This version is better than “la terre du Fort” (see Pardee, D. 1988:241, 249f. for a critical assessment of the opinions which start from the base *l̔y) and the same “strong/strength”; see also Xella, P. 1981a:246.

15 For a new “no less hypothetical” restoration see Pardee, D. 1988:183, n. 190.

16 See Arab. *ṭamada*, “to dig out, exhaust”; Heb. *šmd*, N “to be destroyed”, H “to exterminate”, + -l of expansion, as in *ġrpl* (see Joüon, P., Muraoka, T. 1991:§ 88. M.m: “the existence of /l/ as affirmative is doubtful”). For a discussion of other semantic options see Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 1980:170; Xella, P. 1981a:246f.; Pardee, D. 1988:251, n. 95. Most of these options split up the lexeme (*tm dl*) in search of rather strange etymological support.

17 In view of *îlm rbm* in lin. 2 and 51, mention of the *îlm* would not be surprising here. Thus, the text refers to the “healing” divine royal *manes*; see above, p. 126. As it is a specific epithet, rather than the generic *îlm*, it is not easy to see it as a reference to the list of gods cited below; see Pardee, D. 1988: 242.

43. [k^t]r wḥss.yīsp.ḥmt. that *Kôṭaru* and *Ḥasīsu* remove the poison;
 šḥr.wšlm ⁴⁴[yīs]p.ḥmt. that *Šaḥru* and *Šalimu* remove the poison.
 īsp.[šp]š lhrm.gṛpl. Remove, *Šapšu*, from the mountains the storm
 clouds!
 ʕl ārṣ ⁴⁵[ās]^lp^t.ḥmt. From the earth (already) you have removed the
 poison,
 lp[.n^ltk.ābd. from the mouth of the biter, the ruin,
 lp.āk^l.tḏml from the mouth of the devourer, the destruction.
46. [-]l.bl.tbḥ[-][. ?].g^ltzd.ʕ^lr^lq.dm
 47. [- - -]ṣr^lq^l[- š]^lp^lš
 48. [- - - - -]n.mšḥt.kṭpm.āk^ln²
 49. [- - - - -]ā²^l[- - -]t b ym.tld
 upper edge
 50. [- - - - -]b[r]y
 51. [- - - - -][īl]m.rb[m]^l[- - - -]š [
 52. [- - - - -]t.nš.b[-]^l[- - - -]t[
 53. [- - - - -]g².tmt[- - - - -]t[ḥ[
 54. [- - - - -]š²^lāk^ll^l[

3 Brief commentary

The first quoted part, lin. 5–14, provides a glimpse of a magical incantation that is focused on an unknown person, šrgzz, who finds himself in a lamentable situation, apparently as a result of a snakebite (cf. lin. 5) for which an inexperienced individual (*lyd^c*; see KYU 1.178:1)¹⁸ was unable to provide an effective solution. Therefore, the god *Šapšu* raises his “voice” (*ql*; see KTU 1.100:2 and *passim*; 1.82:6) this time, in answer to the weeping/cry of the faithful. This answer oracle begins with an interrogative/exclamatory clause, according to the literary scheme that is also at work in the cases of the distressed *Kirta* (KTU 14 I 38ff.) and ²*Aqhatu* (1.17 I 15ff.). In this context, the presence of the gods *Šapšu* and *Ḥorānu* from the very beginning and in an enhanced position in the text is notable (see lin. 9, 15, 31), as is their inclusion in the “litany” that follows on the reverse of the tablet. Nevertheless, this intervention *ex officio* does not seem to have been effective.¹⁹

¹⁸ See *infra* p. 176, 184ff.; already Astour, M. 1968:34.

¹⁹ This fact is duly recorded by the authors who search to justify it, specifying the function of each deity in this field; see Astour, M. 1968:32; Caquot, A. 1989:96; Pardee, D. 1988:251f., 256; Pardee, D. 2002b:179, 191.

The mention of an individual (not of an inexperienced serpent charmer) in the text has surprised commentators. However, we now know that the personalisation of the incantation for the benefit of a person whose name is given at the end is a normal feature in this kind of texts: *ʔUrtēnu* (KTU 1.178:14), *Papašar-ratu* (KTU 1.82:36).²⁰ Consequently, we can assume that the divine remedy against these creatures (lin. 13, *bnt*; see KTU 1.82:18, 41) was delivered in the broken lin. 12–13. Moreover, the clause of repetition in line 14 and the ruled line²¹ also mark the end of the preceding textual unit. Lin. 15 would open up a new unit (lin. 15–27), with *Šapšu* sending his “cry/voice” (*špš bšmm tqrū gh*)²² against what can also be supposed to be a serpent bite/attack, as supported thematically by the following text (lin. 28–54). Thus, the preserved text is an incantation miscellany or *compendium tablet*,²³ with three units; although there may have been six textual units originally.²⁴ In this regard, the obverse/reverse arrangement becomes irrelevant, as it is based on inclusive arguments.

The other readable obverse part (lines 32–43) is an entreaty addressed first of all to the god *Šapšu* (lines 32–36), whose invocation will also close the section in a form of inclusion that enhances the significance of the deity faced with this kind of danger. Such preeminence is common in the anti-witchcraft literature from Mesopotamia (*Šamaš*)²⁵ and was also encountered in KTU 1.82 (see *supra* p. 124). There follows a sort of litany in which the rest of the deities are invoked in pairs and in the order already laid out in KTU 1.100.²⁶ The formula takes the form of a cliché prayer asking for the removal of the poison, thus implying that the person has already been affected by the snakebite, as the situation of *šrgzz* allows us to presume. The formula is in this case simpler than that of KTU 1.100, but its iterative character and function is the same. However, it is impossible to decide whether there was a composition sequence between the textual units or whether these are independent incantation texts,

²⁰ See the Akk. generic formula in *namburbi* texts: “ich, dein Diener N.N. der Sohn des N.N. ... dessen Gott ... stehe jetzt vor dich wegen des Unheils von der Schlange ...”; Maul, St.M. 1994:297, for instance.

²¹ The line is omitted by Pardee in his version, creating the impression of an ongoing text. It is present nevertheless in the copy and transcription; see Pardee, D. 1988:230f., 241.

²² See Pardee, D. 1988:242–248; Caquot, A 1989:97–98. To some extent, this lament corresponds to *um p̄hl p̄hlt*’s “cries for help” in KTU 1.100:1 and par.; see Pardee, D. 1988:256. There, her “cry” (*qrīt*) is a summons to a superior god.

²³ See Cunningham, G. 1999:7 and *passim*.

²⁴ See Pardee and others on the likely original dimension of the tablets.

²⁵ See Abusch, Tz., Schwemer, D. 2011: 270ff.; and *supra* p. 34.

²⁶ For a comparison of the two lists, see Xella. P. 1981aq:247f.; Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 1980:169; Pardee, D. 1988:252; 2002b:191.

put together in this miscellany or *compendium* text by reason of their thematic coincidence.

4 Conclusion

In any case the lexicon, phraseology and DNN invoked make it clear that this text belongs with KTU 1.107 and KTU 1.82, 1.100 and 1.178. The importance of these texts may only be second within the magic literature at Ugarit to that showed by the extispicy texts. This shows the significance of such a danger to the Ugaritic society, which was already well known in the much more abundant Babylonian literature of the genre (see in the bibliography the M.-L. Thomsen's, W. D. Schwemer's and Tz. Abusch-D. Schwemer's works). This danger also found its way into the Hebrew desert tradition (Nm. 21:6–9), where the solution involved a magic serpent image which continued to be worshiped or at least recurred to in the same Jerusalem Temple (2Kg 18:4) during the pre-exilic times of the Jewish people.

KTU 1.169: A Compendium of Incantations against Word Sorcery

The interpretations of the Ugaritic text KTU 1.169 (RIH 78/20)¹ have experienced a great deal of fluctuation,² due basically to the unsuitable understanding of some lexemes (among them *dbbm* and *tghṭk*). In this regard, the new text KTU 1.178 and Ford's interpretation, maintaining that KTU 1.169 "speaks of the exorcism of some type of sorcery",³ have substantially aided its elucidation as an incantation or exorcism against agents of "black" word sorcery (*dbbm*), who may harm young people. As such, the sexual connotations must be taken for granted, without defining the incantation as specifically against "impotence".⁴ The text was found in one of the royal archives of the kings of Ugarit, as evidence of their concern for the protection of their subjects, in this case a youth, faced with socially harmful practices.⁵

I assume this interpretative point of view, abandoning my first translation and understanding of the text.⁶ While relying largely on Ford's semantic suggestions, here I put forward some views of my own regarding the overall arrangement of the text and some semantic and morpho-syntactic options. The text seems to be incomplete, although it is not possible to ascertain how many lines are missing.⁷

1 Arrangement of the text

In respect of the arrangement of the text (to speak of "structure" would be out of proportion in this type of text) and taking into consideration only what has been preserved, the "incantation" seems to be complex. It addresses various

¹ See Caquot, A. 1979:488–490; Caquot, A. 1984:163–176; Caquot, A. 1989:53–60; Bordreuil, P., Caquot, A. 1980:346–350; De Moor, J.C. 1980b:429–432; 1987:183–186; Avishur, Y. 1981:1981:13–25; Saracino, F. 1982:338–343; 1984:69–83; Loretz, O., Xella, P. 1982:37–46; Polentz, B. 1982: 47–50; Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 1988:333–336; Fleming, D. 1991: Pardee, D. 1997b:301f.; 2000a:875–893; 2002b:159–161; Bordreuil, P., Pardee, D. 2009:(CD-photograph); Del Olmo Lete, G. 2004b:637–641; Wyatt, N. 1998a:442–449. Also, Watson, W.G.E. 1992: 367–368; Ford, J.N. 2002b:153–211; Pardee, D. 2012:211–213.

² See Ford, J.N. 2002b:153.

³ See Ford, J.N. 2002b:153.

⁴ See in this respect Pardee, D. 2000a:880.

⁵ See Del Olmo Lete, G. 2014:331–334; Abusch, Tz., Schwemer, D. 2011:12f.

⁶ See Del Olmo Lete, G. 1999/2004:384ff.

⁷ See Pardee, D. 2002a:875

agents of word sorcery (*dbbm*), divided into five groups: three times referring to the acting sorcerer (“you”), separated by the inclusion of the rest of *dbbm* and any possible individual of the kind (*ādm/bn ādm*), as in KTU 1.178:8ff.

If this arrangement of the text is correct, it will support our understanding of *dbbm* as referring to persons, i.e. “sorcerers”, instead of “sorcerous accusations”, as maintained by Ford.

In turn, the miscellany or *compendium* text is a well-known type of text within the incantation genre in general and it also occurs in texts from Ugarit. In this regard, RS 25.456B turns out to be the most relevant among the series of syllabic Ugaritic incantations recently collected by Arnaud.⁸

According to this pattern, I propose the following arrangement of the text:

- 1a: title or heading;
- 1b–8a: first exorcism against the actual sorcerer (“you”);
- 8b–10a: against any other professional word sorcerer who may intervene;
- 10b–13: second exorcism against the actual sorcerer (“you”);
- 14–15: against any other individual, skilled or unskilled in magic;
- 16–19: third (final?) exorcism against the actual sorcerer (“you”).

The actual or acting sorcerer (“you”) would be the real and immediate person responsible for the sorcerous attack against whom the incantation is directed. The others – numerous anonymous professionals (*dbbm kšpm*) and commoners (*ādm, bn ādm*) – are his immediate collaborators, whose bad words and murmurs he actually and formally pronounces against his victim as a professional sorcerer. This distinction of agents is already clear in KTU 1.178 (see *infra* pp. 181ff.). Both exorcisms against the “foul-mouthed sorcerers”, or the slanderous accusers, have a similar pattern in as much as both, in an apparently miscellaneous or composite formula, join in them with the actual sorcerer as his implicit collaborators in “black” word sorcery (“todas las malas lenguas”, as the Sp. colloquialism describes it in such a lively fashion). In fact, the present incantation turns out to be a unit of composition aimed at totally preventing a sorcerous attack against the possible victim, a youth in this case, whatever its possible source may be.

⁸ See Arnaud, D. 2007:55–99 [90–96]; *supra* pp. 63–69.

2 Text and translation (Fig. VIII, Pl. IX)

1. *ydy.dbbm.dğzr.* (Formulae of) banishment of foul-mouthed (sorcerers) of youth.
tğḥtk.r[-?] ʔbʕl. – May Baʕlu's [hand] cast you out,
tğḥtk.wtʕu. may (it) cast you out so that you run away
lpn.ql.tʕy at the voice of the exorcist/officiant
3. *kqṭr.urb{.}tm* like smoke through a skylight,
kbṭn.ʕmdm like a snake through the foot of a wall;
4. *kyʕlm.zrh.* like a mountain-goat towards the summit,
klbm.skh like a lion towards the den!
5. *ḥṭ.nqh.* The rod has he prepared,
uqrb.ḥṭ. the rod, yes, has he approached,
tḥṭā.lgbk so that it hurts your body
6. *wtršʕ.ltmntk.* and harms your complexion!
tlḥm.lḥm ʔzm. You shall eat bread of fasting,
tšt.bḥlʕ.bl.sml. drink from squeezing blended beer of dried out draff,
bmrmt ʔbmiyt. in heights, in swamps,
bʕlm.bqdš. in (places of) darkness, in (places of) taboo!

- āpḥm ʔkšpm.dbbm.* Then also, the (other) foul-mouthed sorcerers
ygrš.ḥrn may Ḥorānu cast out,
10ḥbrm.wğlm.dʕtm. the conjurers and the expert lads!

- lk 11lʕtm.āl.tmk.* As for you, with severity/scorn may you be cast down,
āl.tʕlg 12lʕnk. that your tongue may stammer,
āl.tāpq.āpq. that it seriously may go astray!
lbš 12il.yʕtk. The god who clothed you (had you clothed),
ʕrm.il.yʕtk let that god undress you!

14. *lādm.wd.ḥṭm.* As for any (other) man, yes, let the blandisher of the rod
lārʕ.zrm to the ground pierce (him) / to Hell drive (him) away!;
15. *lbn.ādm.* as for any (other) son of man:
bānšt.npʕl by an incurable illness (let him be) overcome!

16. *1ḥ1n.bnṕš.āṭrt.rbt.* See, by the life of ʔAṭiratu, the great Lady,
bl17[p]rk.lṭtm. without splitting (?) you into two (parts) (?)
itbnnk 18[.....] I will recognise you ...!
1ḃt. ubū.āl.tbī The house I enter, do you not enter,
19. *[-----]x. āl tṭbb.* [-----] do not/indeed turn back the head (?),
rš[---]

20. [-----]r^štm.k^[.][-]
 21. [-----]m^l.kn^[.][-]
 22. [-----]^[.]r[-]

3 Semantic and morpho-syntactic analysis

In this regard, as already mentioned, my version relies heavily on Ford's detailed analysis of the text. Therefore, I consider it superfluous to repeat other scholars' opinions and to enter into polemics with them. In the same way, unless otherwise stated, we refer to Ford for the justification of the semantic and morpho-syntactic options adopted here.⁹ The tablet is damaged but the text is very well preserved, as can be ascertained from the new photograph of it, taken under my personal supervision on the 3rd of March 2011 in the Damascus Museum, when I had the opportunity to collate the tablet (see below pl. IX).¹⁰

dyd dbbm dğzr: “(Formulae of) banishment of foul-mouthed (sorcerers) of youth”. As a whole, this title has a parallel in the Akk. syntagm *ṭarad bēl dabābi*, “Driving away the court adversary”,¹¹ along with Emar *zu ma-aš-ḫa-ta-ta*, “the one (who deals with the matters) of youth”.¹² In this regard and for the version of *dbbm* see below p. 183f. An exact Akkadian parallel is quoted by Ford: *annašīmi kašsaptum ša udababu eḫlam*, “this is the witch who accuses the young man”.¹³

ghṭ: we leave out the supposed New Testament parallels, connected with the version of *dbbm* as “demons”.¹⁴ As in other incantations (see e.g. KTU 1.82 above p. 123), the grand exorcist is the god *Baʿlu*.

úrbt-m // šmd-m: + adverbial -m;¹⁵ we thus have the figure of “polar” parallelism.

⁹ See Ford, J.N. 2002b:153–211.

¹⁰ But see already Del Olmo Lete, G. 1992b:pl. XLIV.

¹¹ See: Schwemer, D. 2007:128.

¹² See Pentiuć, E.J. 2001:116. I no longer maintain the opinion put forward in Del Olmo Lete, G. 2004b:639.

¹³ See Ford, J.N. 2002b:2002:157.

¹⁴ See Del Olmo Lete 2010b:123. For the meaning of *ghṭ* see already De Moor, J.C. 1986:255–257; also Del Olmo Lete, G. 2004b:638; Ford, J.N. 2002b:158–159.

¹⁵ For the meaning of *úrbt* see already Caquot, A.1989:55, n. 129; also Del Olmo Lete, G. 2004b:638; Ford, J.N. 2002:162–165.

nqh: I maintain the semantics suggested by Arab. *naqaha*, “to recover” (AEL 3037; DMWA 1168) > in D “to make sound, healthy, apt, strong” > “to make ready, prepare”, as the effect to be achieved by the “rod”. I understand the expression as a threat to the sorcerer (the one addressed in this section) on behalf of the exorcist. This evokes the function of the rod, *ḥṭ* (which is reminiscent of the mediaeval *malleus maleficarum*), brandished by the “expeller” to banish the illness from king *Kirta*’s head (KTU 1.16 VI 1ff.).¹⁶ For a slightly different interpretation, see Ford,¹⁷ who also takes both verbs *nqh* and *qrb* (D) as active forms (“grasped”/“brought near”) with the client/victim as subject. It is obvious that the “rod” must be brandished by someone.

tmnt: cf. KTU 1.2 IV 26 (*tmn*).¹⁸ I do not find the Akkadian parallelism (*minātu/mešrētu*, both collective expressions: “sum of parts of the body”, “limbs”) so compelling as to impose the meaning “members”¹⁹ against the very well established north-west Semitic semantic meaning “form, constitution”. Nevertheless, there is the possibility of parsing *tmnt* as the pl. of Ug. *tmn*, “frame, form” (/ / *pnt*; see DUL 871), making it in this case similar in form and meaning to the Akk. lexeme *mešrētu*, “members” (pl. tt.).

ḥlš: for this meaning see Del Olmo Lete, G. 2013c:213ff, nn. 31–32. The reference is probably to the process of beer and oil production by “squeezing” (Akk. *ḥalāšu*) the pulp of ground or crushed fruits and seeds (Akk. *ḥalšu*, “pressed out”, CAD H 50), mainly barley for the production of beer; see Stol, M. 1971:169ff. Recently Watson (Watson, W.G.E. 2011:76–77) has suggested the meaning “water-skin” for *ḥlš* < Syr. *ḥlyš*, “skin bottle”, Akk. *ḥališu*, “flayed (animal) skin” (“you will drink (squeezing) from a water-skin”), which is a clear nominal derivation from the Akk. base quoted; it turns out to be an alternative translation.²⁰

bl: here “beer” could correspond to Akk. *billu*, “a kind of beer” (CAD B 228f. < **bl*, “to mix, blend”), as was already suggested by Loretz, O., Xella, P. 1992,

¹⁶ Taking *ḥṭ* as masculine in gender, an alternative version could be: “so that you are hurt in your body, and harmed in your complexion”. In this way, the rather unusual syntactic function of the preposition /l/ as governing the acc. is avoided on the one hand and on the other the personal subject (“you”) will be perfectly in keeping with the following distich and the general structure of the text in this regard.

¹⁷ See Ford, J.N. 2002b:169–172.

¹⁸ On Pardee’s objections to this proposed meaning of *tmnt* (Pardee, D. 2002a:884, n. 64) see Del Olmo Lete, G. 2004b:639.

¹⁹ See Ford, J.N. 2002a:146–147; Ford, J.N. 2002b:174.

²⁰ See Ford, J.N. 2002b:178: “in distress”, by metathetic variation between the bases **hlš* and **lḥš*, according to the Heb., Ar. and Akk. lexica; Pardee, D. 2002a:877, 886 (“une boisson faite de figues macérées”). For the meaning of *šml* see DUL a.v.

and Caquot, A. 1989:57; see DUL s. v. The alternative translation of *bl* would be “without”.

šml: the word is already known from KTU 4.158:10 and 4.341:12, for which different meanings have been proposed (see DUL s.v.). In this context of food scarcity (hunger and thirst) as punishment of the sorcerer, a reference to the lack of the main Mesopotamian drinking product, beer (“bread” // “beer”; water is not in question here), would be in place; the scarcity would be the consequence of a poor *materia prima*, the (barley) draff, which is too “dry” and so unfitting to let the squeezed liquid flow from which the beer will be prepared. As Stol asserts: “Ihrer Natur nach sind die (Darmmalz) Treber (Eng. ‘draff’, Sp. ‘orujo’) also *nass*” (Stol, M. 1971:170). In this connection, cf. Ar. *šamala*, “to be hard, become hardened”, *šāmil*, *šamil*, “dry, dried up” (Hava 406; even *šawmal*, “avoir la peau desséchée et collée sur le dos”, according to DAF 1373). In this regard, it is important to pay attention to the “dried out *billatum*”, a by-product in the production of beer (Stol, M. 1971:169). On the other hand, if the apparently derived Arabic meaning “to abstain from food” can be confirmed, *bl šml* would be a perfect parallel to *lḥm ḡm*.²¹

ḡlm dštm: “the lads of knowledge” (// *dy l yd^c*, KTU 1.178:1) + enclitic *-m*, rather than a plural (see below p. 184ff.); possibly the young apprentices or assistants of the exorcists (*ḥbrm*) are meant here.²²

lṣtm: cf. Arab. *laṣṣ*, “(man) hard or difficult in disposition/treated with severity or rigour” (AEL 2661) + adverbial *-m*. An alternative etymology would be “arrogance, scorn”, cf. Heb. *lyš* (pol.), *lš*, *lšwn*, (HALOT 529, 533f.), EA Akk. *lāšu*, “höhnern” (?) (AHw 539), also Akk. *lezēnu/lazānu*, “to ridicule, slander”, (CAD L 162f.), “(ver)-spotten, höhnen” (AHw 548)²³. Differently Ford: “until the end of time” (< Akk. *ana+šāt ūmī*) (?), which sounds rather far-fetched.²⁴

²¹ As for the version of *bl šml* “without a cup” (Watson, W.G.E. 1992:367f., followed by Ford, J.N. 2002b:177–179), the mere existence of the clear Ugaritic expression *bl ks* makes such a phonetically objectionable Akkadianizing isogloss unlikely. Furthermore, beside breaking the quoted semantic parallelism of our text (// *ḡm*), the meaning of “drinking without a cup” as a serious punishment is not apparent and the semantic relationship with KTU 1.96:4b–5a is absent; in this text the expression has no meaning of affliction at all.

²² See Pardee, D. 2002a:887f., nn. 81–82 (“les garçons ayant l’intelligence [de sorcelleries]”) for fluctuations in the interpretation of the syntagm *ḡlm dštm*. On the other hand, I no longer maintain the explanation of *kšpm dbbm* given in Del Olmo Lete, G. 2004b:639.

²³ See Loretz, O., Xella, P. 1982:43–44.

²⁴ See Ford, J.N. 2002b:189.

āpq: Ar. *ʔafaqa*, “to go his own way, at random, heedlessly” (AEL 68). The interpretation based on Ug. *āpq*, “channel”, seems very unsuitable.²⁵ Ford prefers a correlation with Heb. *ʔpq in htp. (!), “to restrain oneself”; we are not sure of its semantics in Q. Heb. *ʔpq/ seems to go back to the quoted Ar. base, according to HALOT 80.

d ḥṭ-m: according to KTU 1.178:10, *ādm* and *bn nšm* refer to the sorcerer’s collaborators,²⁶ while *d ḥṭ* (+ enclitic -*m*) must refer to the holder of the *ḥṭ*, the exorcist magician (see above); the *dbbm* blandish the (noxious) word, not the *ḥṭ*. Nevertheless, maintaining the normal conjunctive meaning of /w/, the syntagm could be seen as a general term for someone expert in magical practices. In this way, *ādm w d ḥṭm* would comprise all possible evil-doers, ordinary persons and any others skilled in magic, in this case used for sorcery. But that would suppose a contextual change in the use of *ḥṭ* that is not easy to accept, as must be recognised. On the other hand, by parsing the expression as introduced by “w nach topikalisierte kurzer Präpositionalphrase”²⁷ and assuming a deictic/exclamatory sense, it could refer to the exorcist as the subject of the following verb. For the sake of semantic consistency, I prefer this option, although the alternative is syntactically easier. In both cases, nevertheless, we get the same syntactic structure as in previous groups: the evil-doer is mentioned first, followed by his punishment (lines 1–8, 8–10, 10–13, 14–15, 16ff.).

zrm: Heb. *zûr*, “to turn aside” (intr.), if the sorcerer is taken as the subject;²⁸ if the exorcist assumes this function, a connection with Ar. *zarra*, “to drive away”, “to bite, pierce”, would be more fitting, in both cases as a volitive inf. form + enclitic -*m*. Contrary to the function and meaning attributed to /l/ in line 10b (*lk*, “as for you”), here (*lādm/lbn ādm*) Ford takes it as the preposition “away from”. I prefer to maintain the first option, in keeping with the arrangement of the text set out above.

itbnn: as an oath formula, the apodosis could be translated as a positive threat: “By the life ... (= let God make me so and so ... if I do not), I will split [(*āp*)*rk*] (and) recognise”.²⁹ But this seems to exceed the functions of a magician exorcist (*tšy / āšipu*), unless we assume that the sorcerer is threatened to be turned

²⁵ See Pardee, D. 2002b:877, 889. n. 91; Del Olmo Lete, G. 2004b:640; and Ford, J.N. 2002a:188f. n. 183.

²⁶ Ford 2004b:191f. sees the “clients” here.

²⁷ See Tropper, J. 2012:784.

²⁸ See Ford, J.N. 2002b:194–195.

²⁹ See Joüon, P., Muraoka, T. 1991:618ff. But cf. the new reading of KTU: *in* ... *bšrk*.

into a passive animal victim, split in two in order to make a prognosis or to examine and expose (*itbnn*) his false words and noxious intentions.³⁰

The specific reference to *lšn*, “tongue” in lin. 11–12, like the reference to *hwt*, “word” in KTU 1.178:9, confirms the sense of the text as an incantation against *word* sorcery carried out by the *dbbm*, “foul-mouthed accusers” or sorcerers (see *infra* p. 181).

Postdatum

After sending my own study to the press, a very thorough analysis as usual by M. Dietrich and O. Loretz on the same text (“Mustertext einer Beschwörung gegen Zauberer” (KTU 1.169 = RIH 78/230)) appeared in the *Fs. Xella* 2013 (pp. 205–227). It represents a noteworthy improvement on previous studies. Although if its overall interpretation as an anti-witchcraft text and many lexical meanings coincide with my own points of view, we do not agree on the text structure as a whole and on the interpretation of some lexical items. Nevertheless, I do not feel necessary to go into a detailed discussion of these specific lexical and literary interpretations for which there are no evident arguments and which always allow a wide range of divergence. In any case, Dietrich and Loretz’ study will always remain a valuable reference for the study and interpretation of this important Ugaritic text.

³⁰ See in this respect Ford, J.N. 2002:198f.; Tropper, J. 2012:584.

KTU 1.178: An Incantation against Snakebite for Personal Use

The recently discovered Ugaritic text KTU³ 1.178, published shortly afterward,¹ has already been the subject of translation and study by D. Pardee,² J.N. Ford,³ R. Hawley,⁴ H. Niehr,⁵ M. Dietrich – O. Loretz⁶ and, in a discontinuous but thorough and almost complete way, also by J. Tropper.⁷ On the one hand, the divergences in the overall arrangement of the text and in some fundamental semantic options clearly indicate the resistance presented by the text to being understood as a whole. On the other hand, they invite a new approach that, profiting from the suggestions put forward by the commentators mentioned, attempts to resolve and clarify the hermeneutical situation.

1 Text and version (Fig. IX, Pl. X)

I propose the following translation which will be discussed in more detail below:

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. <i>dy.l.ydš.yšhk[.ʔ] ūzb</i> | He who does not know will say to you: hyssop
(is the suitable instrument). |
| 2. <i>w.ānk.āšhk.āmrmrn ²šš.
qdš.
w.šlk.l. ⁴tšl.btn.</i> | But I will say to you (and) corroborate it: holy
tree.
And (so) upon you will you not allow the snake
to jump,
(and [so] upon you the snake will not jump)
nor beneath you will you allow the scorpion to
coil!
(nor beneath you will the scorpion coil!) |
| <i>w.tḥtk ⁵l.tqnn.šqrb</i> | |
| 6. <i>šly.l.tšl.btn.šlk</i> | Indeed you will not allow the snake to jump
upon you, |

1 See Bordreuil, P., Pardee, D. 2001:387–392.

2 See the substantially identical version: Pardee, D. 1997c:327–328; 2002b:158f. and Bordreuil, P., Pardee, D. 2001:387–392.

3 See Ford, J.N. 2002b:119–152.

4 See Hawley, R. 2004:29–70.

5 See Niehr, H. 2008:256–257.

6 See Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2009a:65–73.

7 See Tropper, J. 2012:1057 (RS-Belegstellen). See also Avishur, Y. 2009:47–71.

7. *qn.l.tqnn.ʕqrb ʔtḥtk.* (Indeed the snake will not jump upon you)
 in no way will you allow the scorpion beneath
 you to coil!
 (in no way will the scorpion beneath you coil!)
- km.l.tũdn ʔdbbm.kšpm.* In the same way, do not let the foul-mouthed
 sorcerers proclaim
- hwt ʔrʕ.hwt.bn nšm* the word(s) of the wicked, the word(s) of people,
11. *ghrt.phm.w.špthm* the hullabaloo of their mouths and their lips.
12. *yšp[k].kmm.ārš* May (they) be poured out like water on the earth
13. *kšpm.dbbm* the foul-mouthed/insidious sorcerers!
14. *l.ūrtn.l.gbh.ʔl.tmnth* (Incantation) for ʔUrtēnu, for his body (and) for
 his complexion/members.

2 Composition of the text⁸

Lines 1–3a: an introductory remark on the technique to be applied, in this case to keep snakes away and to avoid their bites. The formulation, as will be the case throughout the whole text, is binary, the second clause fixing the correctness of the technique to be used. In a previous note on these two first lines of the text,⁹ I suggested the possibility of an alternative synonymous version (“The expert will say ... also I say ...”), setting up the parallels *dy l ydʕ // ʔnk* and *ūzb // ʕš qdš*¹⁰ as confirmation of the appropriate incantation device. In any case, the subjects are the “magician” (“I”, the speaker), and the “victim” (“you”, the addressee), whom we know by line 14 to be ʔUrtēnu. Thus the *inclusio* is not between *ydʕ* and ʔUrtēnu, but between “you” and ʔUrtēnu. No special justification for this alternation of the subject in direct speech is needed.¹¹

Lines 3b–8a: the performance formula follows. Still addressing the possible victim, “you”, the injunction is made to carry out the incantation technique (“you will not allow ...”), although the precise manner of doing so is not specified: burning, carrying or just depositing the plant in question somewhere. The repetition of the formula (in itself binary), aside from its emphatic literary

⁸ See Ford, J.N. 2002a:119.

⁹ See Del Olmo Lete, G. 2010b:134–135; *infra* pp. 184ff.

¹⁰ See Hawley, R. 2004:52. In any case, these word parallelisms provide a different poetic structure for lines 1–3a from that of the following section.

¹¹ See Hawley, R. 2004:53–56.

value, belongs to the nature of magical procedures.¹² In turn, the second formulation reflects a certain emphasis by means of the Semitic rhetorical figure that uses the infinitive, so that the repetition is not strictly identical. Instead, Ford sees here an opposition between the two formulations, pronounced by the sorcerer and the exorcist respectively, and also gives the opposite meaning to the particle /l/.¹³ To me this seems rather improbable, in view of the clear usage of a repetitive formulary in magic, in spite of the well-documented opposition between the two speakers in Akkadian sources. For a complementary opposition is to be seen between this formula and the next. The short verbal D form (see *âmmrn*, *tqnn*, *tûdn*) presumed here, could be either indicative or jussive (*taʿallî*), and in any case is understood as a consecutive or result formula (“[so] you will not allow ...”), which is more in line with the function of the negation particle /l/ + /yqtlø/, while the prohibitive (imperative) function would be better formulated using the negation particle /al/.¹⁴ This milder jussive (affirmative and negative) meaning is also expressed in many languages by the future form (see especially the periphrastic English construction).¹⁵ If the common version “(so) that the serpent does not spring up on you” were grammatically possible (*taʿlû*), it could be either a consecutive formula (“so the snake will not jump ...”)¹⁶ or an incantation formula to be pronounced by the magician himself (cf. “upon you”). That would be quite possible, if we accept a feminine gender for *btñ/ṣqrb* (on this see below) or an agreement *ad sensum* and a collective/plural¹⁷ function for “snake” and “scorpion”. However, since this text seems to be a health certificate or preventive prescription to be retained and used by the addressee whenever necessary, I favour the first suggestion, clearly bearing in mind that there is no apodictic interpretation of these texts. Ford’s version of /l/ as an affirmative particle is the logical result of his taking the sorcerer as the speaker.¹⁸

Lines 8b–11: the incantation formula comes next. Once the reptiles have been neutralised, further attacks have to be prevented. The actual incantation formula will operate on them so that the insidious words of the sorcerers (*dbbm*) and wicked men will no longer be made public. Otherwise the reptiles will attack again. The conception behind this ideology assumes that any calamity

12 See KTU 1.2 IV 11–18//18–26; KTU 1.19 II 56–III 14 // III 14–28 // III 28–39.

13 See Ford, J.N. 2002a:136.

14 See Tropper, J. 2012:729, 815–816.

15 See Tropper, J. 2012:721f. (“Kurzform”).

16 See Ford, J.N. 2001:210 (“so that...”).

17 See Von Siebenthal, H. 2009:67–81.

18 See Ford, J.N. 2002a:131f.

affecting man is the consequence of a sin. Sorcerers making manifest the sin by false words unleash natural hostile forces and induce divine punishment on their victims, this time carried out by the biting serpent/scorpion.¹⁹ These reptiles bite sinners only, innocent persons are free and immune.²⁰ The formula is very comprehensive: accusing sorcerers (see *dbbm* below) and wicked persons, plus anyone else whose obscure mumbling (see *infra* on *ghrt*) can be interpreted as an accusation (or the casting of the “malaventura”).

Lines 12–13: the closing incantation, a general formula against foul-mouthed/insidious (“maledicentes”) sorcerers in general. For a similar water metaphor in the text of another incantation against snake-bite see KTU 1.100:64–66.

Line 14: the colophon.²¹ It is unusual; it gives the name of the addressee, who keeps the prescription in his own archive as a sort of security document.

3 Philological analysis

dy l ydš: “the one who does not know, unskilled (person)” (Akk. *lā mūdū*). Here the anonymous unskilled exorcist or magician (*āšipu*), not the sorcerer, is the speaker (*yšhk*).²² For the justification of this semantic option see the Akkadian setting presented below pp. 184ff. (“Lexical Appendix”). I accept the analysis (/d+y/) of /dy/ put forward by Pardee²³ and also assumed by Tropper²⁴ and Ford²⁵ as correct. However, I do not share the well-argued parsing of *dy* as an imperative form of *ydy, suggested by Hawley,²⁶ which does not fit my overall interpretation of the text. For other examples of /d/ as an absolute subject see DUL 258 (notably KTU 1.114: 7–8: *w d l ydšnn*). Possibly a special copulative function can be assigned to the postposition /-y/: “the one who is unskilled”. A positive version (“the one who really knows”) is also possible, but has been rejected here in keeping with the general analysis of the first lines (see below).

¹⁹ See Ford, J.N. 2002a:131 and above p. 9, n. 53.

²⁰ A good description of this ideology can be found in Durand, J.-M. 2008:619ff. See also Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2009a:72.

²¹ See above p. 99, n. 102 on colophons in Mesopotamian incantation literature.

²² See L.-M. Thomsen *apud* Ford, J.N. 2002a:121, 128.

²³ See Pardee, D. 2002a:830f.

²⁴ See Tropper, J. 2012:234, 835.

²⁵ See Ford, J.N. 2002a:121–122.

²⁶ See Hawley, R. 2004:41–52.

The new reading /ydy/, proposed by Dietrich-Loretz²⁷ based on a presumed auto-correction of the scribe “visible” in the photograph, provided by the first editors of the text, seems to me an option suggested rather by the heading of KTU 1.169:1 (see above p. 168) than by epigraphic traces.²⁸ On the contrary, I share the interpretation of the following syntagm suggested by these scholars.

***šḥ:** Here as elsewhere, this base, in my opinion, has its usual meaning in Ugaritic: “to exclaim, proclaim” (DUL 781),²⁹ as an emphatic way of *saying* something, in this case apparently as an answer to the consultation addressed to the chief or expert conjurer, the one speaking (*ʾnk ʾšḥk*) subsequently. Other semantic options (“appeler” [Pardee], “to call out” in a dream [Ford], “to invoke” [Hawley]³⁰) do not seem to be suitable. Ford has suggested, as a hypothesis, seeing here a root *šḥḥ with the meaning “to purify” (see Syr. *bzupak lešany ḥallel*).³¹ But such a root is unknown in Ugaritic and the suggested meaning is not well attested in Semitic.

ʾzb: “hyssop”: this solution, put forward by Hawley,³² is unquestionably correct in my view. Instead, the reading *ʾ zb*, and the meaning “se mettre à

²⁷ See Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2009a:68.

²⁸ Unfortunately, I could not collate the tablet during my stay in Damascus during the first days of March 2011. The tablet was nowhere to be found in the National Museum. After appropriate inquiries, the tablet appeared in Damascus and a few months later I obtained a new photograph, this time taken by direct light exposure, not enhanced by chemical dispersion preparation. Now the digital enlargement of both kinds of photographs allows a better check of all the traces on the tablet and I must confess that I am unable to appreciate “ein eng geschriebenen y vor das d gesetzt” (Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2009a:68). In any case, the new possibilities provided by the digital technique and the new photographs obtained by chemically contrasted exposure, both falling upon the object itself, present a serious alternative to direct viewing with or without magnifying glass, that affects the subject’s visual organ, not to speak of the newly developed methods of three dimensional and cupola-global exposure. So the dilemma autopsy/photograph as an epigraphic approach should be questioned seriously (see Pardee, D. 2008b:215–219). Autopsy remains a fundamental *desideratum*, but we must not forget that even the most neutral observation of an object is always an “interpretation”, depending on and starting from the mental model of the sign system we are trying to read (see Del Olmo Lete, G. 2006b:272–273; 2007c:318, n. 18); to ignore that is to be obstinate. In this perception, the new digital and chemical techniques may prove to be highly profitable and seriously compete with the classical methods of epigraphic control used so far, providing better and clearer results. I take this opportunity to thank Mme. Yabroudy for her incredible kindness and unfailing willingness to assist our research in the least favourable of circumstances.

²⁹ See Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2009a:67 (“rufen”).

³⁰ See Hawley, R. 2004:56–60.

³¹ Private communication.

³² See Hawley, R. 2004:30, 34–41, 64–65.

écumer”,³³ said of the serpent, turns out to be epigraphically exceptional, if not unusual (no word divider),³⁴ morpho-syntactically strange (/û/ for /w/),³⁵ semantically very awkward (Ar. *zabba*)³⁶ and not in agreement with the gender of the subject concerned.³⁷ In the same way, to assume the exclamatory particle /û/, “oh!”³⁸ makes little sense here. The meaning adopted is not only lexically the plainest and most clear-cut, but also the most suitable both literarily (parallelism) and “formgeschichtlich” (“incantation”). In this regard, see the text KTU 1.100:64–66 already quoted. Resorting to magical plants is normal in practical incantations against any kind of attack using sorcery.³⁹ In this respect, hyssop was known in biblical Hebrew as a normal means of purification (e.g. Ps. 51:9, *t^eḥaṭṭeʔēnî b^eʔēzôb w^eʔeṭhar*),⁴⁰ but we are not likely to find this term mentioned in Babylonian witchcraft literature, since Akk. *zūpu* (LB) is a loanword from Aramaic (AHw 1538). Nevertheless, “Heilpflanzen” were also used in Babylonian sorcery spells, specifically against snakebite (CAD S 83).⁴¹

We have here the second major epigraphic peculiar reading put forward by Dietrich and Loretz who read *ûsb* instead of *ûzb*. This time the epigraphic evaluation of the second character I find has a stronger weight. But in this case the philological result is so erratic and apparently in need of an *ex machina* phonological and semantic shift, although not impossible (*ʔsb > *ʔsp), that invites to reject the proposed reading. On the other hand the parallelism *ûzb* // ʕš *qđš* turns out to be quite suitable and contextually feasible. I find unacceptable the harsh criticism the scholars express against Hawley’s “Überlegungen” in this respect, mostly coming from scholars so fond of parallel word pairs as a way of text structuring. In this case of epigraphic ambiguity, contextual coherence may be a good guide, the reading *ûzb* being by no means not impossible. In the long run, to read a Semitic text, you have to understand it: reading

33 See Pardee, D. 2000a:831.

34 See Hawley, R. 2004:30–32.

35 See Hawley, R. 2004:32–34.

36 See Ford, J.N. 2002a:125–126.

37 See Ford, J.N. 2002a:120.

38 See Tropper, J. 2012:805; Ford, J.N. 2002a:125–126.

39 See Hawley, R. 2004:36–41; Abusch, Tz., Schwemer, D. 2011:24; and in general the Akkadian incantation texts. The use of plants in this connection is one of the most appealing technique carried out by the *āsû* in the rituals closing incantation; see above p. 6.

40 See also the quoted Syriac expression *bzūpak lešony ḥallel* (ThS col. 1269). I thank Prof. Ford for this reference. See Schmitt, R. 2004:163–164. In Mesopotamian magic, the “tamarisk” (*bīnu*) was the plant used most; see below p. 196.

41 See e.g. Schwemer, D. 2007:197: *imḥur-lim* : ú zu.ku₅ muššà-ku ina ì.giš š[ēš], “*imḥur-lim* : a plant for snakebite, to pound, to smear on in oil”.

and sense cannot be separated.⁴² The handicap in this case is not to have any other example of the characters /z/ and /s/ in the text in order to compare them with the signs used in the lexeme in question.

mrmr: a reduplicated pattern of *mr(r), with semantic shifts from the primary meaning of the base “strong” (e.g. in taste or bodily energy); while a derivation from *mr(r), “to pass” > “faire passer” > “agiter” (= “faire passer ci et là”)⁴³ sounds too far-fetched and such a semantic shift does not occur in any Semitic language. Nevertheless, starting from this base “to go away” (DUL 577), a version such as “I will make it run away (with) the sacred plant, and upon you neither ...” cannot be ruled out.⁴⁴ However, the alternation between the extended patterns /qalal/ (> *qallal) and /qalqal/ (DUL 577: *mr(r) (II), “to strengthen”) is quite normal in binary bases.⁴⁵ In this case, the meaning “to confirm, corroborate” fits the context perfectly (see in this regard Emar. /mrr/ D, “to confirm”).⁴⁶ On the other hand, Ford’s suggestion of /mrr/ “to envenom”,⁴⁷ while perfectly feasible etymologically and contextually, depends on his identifying the sorcerer as the speaker, which I do not assume. In Ugaritic, the meaning “venom/poisoning” goes together with the prefixed form *šmrr* (DUL 830).

ʕš qdš: the syntagm is a hapax in Ugaritic. The parallel *ʕzb // ʕš qdš* has a further equivalent in the parallel pair *ʕrʕr // ʕš mt* (KTU 1.100:64–65), as a qualification of plants proved to be effective and used in incantation praxis in the Ancient Near East and all over the world at all times.⁴⁸ But since the expression *ʕš qdš* probably reflects Akk. *iṣu qudduši*, said of the tamarisk (*bīnu*, Ug. *bnt / ʕrʕr*),⁴⁹ I feel inclined to see here an antithetic parallelism which also echoes the opposition *dy l ydʕ // ʕnk*.

***ʕly**: G. “to go up, rise”, D “to raise, make higher” > “to make/allow to rise” (Sp. “poner en pie” = “to set up”). The D conjugation is in use in almost every Semitic language: Akk. *ullû*, “erhöhen”, *ullû rēša* (AHw 208; CAD E 125ff.), Ar. *ʕallā*, “to raise” (AEL 2143), MHeb. *ʕillāh*, “to elevate” (DTT 1081); Aram. *ʕl(l)y*, “to raise (the price)” (DJPA 408). The “factive” bias of this D verbal conjuga-

⁴² See Del Olmo Lete, G. 2004b:543f.

⁴³ See Pardee, D. 2002a:831; so too Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2009:69

⁴⁴ See Tropper, J. 2012:333; but cf. p. 677: /mrr/ N “gestärkt, geeignet sein”; Hawley, R. 2004:60–63: “to bless” > “to charm”.

⁴⁵ See Del Olmo Lete, G. 2007b:201.

⁴⁶ See Pentiuc, E.J. 2001:188–187.

⁴⁷ See Ford, J.N. 2002a:129–130.

⁴⁸ See e.g. Ford, J.N. 2002a:128f.

⁴⁹ See Ford, J.N. 2002a:128.

tion of intransitive bases is slightly different from its Š causative pattern,⁵⁰ which in this case we can label “permissive”.⁵¹ In no case can the victim be considered the cause or have the power to stir up the snake’s attack. That is the sorcerer’s prerogative. Nevertheless, the use of the G conjugation (“to rise” > “to attack”) cannot be ruled out in this case, as was stated above.

***qn(n):** I find the correct solution to be the one put forward by Ford:⁵² “to curl (the tail)” < Akk. *k(q)anānu*, which is contextually better than the denominative “to nest” < Heb. *qēn* > *qnn⁵³ and “se dresser” < Ar. *qanana*,⁵⁴ once again based on the Arabic Dictionary of Biberstein Kazimirski, which gives the meaning “se dresser sur le sommet” in the VIII conjugation (!).⁵⁵ Nor does Tropper’s suggestion < *qn “sich aufrichten” (?) seem acceptable.⁵⁶

bṭn / ṣqrb: these lexemes are semantically clear, but their gender is uncertain; the pair is well attested in Akkadian.⁵⁷ Taking into account the preformative predicate *tṣl* as a G form with these lexemes as their subject (3rd p. sg.), their feminine gender imposes itself.⁵⁸ But this kind of argumentation is rather circular: if the lexemes, aside from this syntagm, are masculine in gender, then the predicate has to be interpreted otherwise (2nd p. sg.). Now, in Ugaritic *bṭn* is clearly masculine according to the unambiguous adjectival agreement *bṭn brḥ / ṣqltn* (KTU 1.5 I 1–2; cf. Is. 27: 1, with Heb. *nāḥāš* [m.] as its equivalent, and in general *ptn*),⁵⁹ and there is even an explicit distinction between male snakes (*bṭnm*) and female snakes (*bṭnt*) in KTU 1.82: 35 (as in Ar. *ʿaqrab-/ʿaqrabat-*; AEL 2111). For *ṣqrb*, a *hapax* in Ugaritic as the name of an animal,⁶⁰ we have no similar textual confirmation, but the parallelism imposes the same solution, while comparison with usage in other Semitic languages is inconclusive (m.: JPA; m.-f.: Akk., MHeb., Ar., JBA; f.: Palm.-Nab., Syr., Mand., Tig.).⁶¹ However, it is very common to use the singular as the noun of an animal

⁵⁰ See Brockelmann, C. 1961:508ff.; Lipiński, E. 1997:383–384.

⁵¹ See Jenni, E. 1968:34–36: “3) Bewirken und Veranlassen: a) Machen und Lassen”; Jenni, E. 2000:75ff.

⁵² See Ford, J.N. 2001:204ff.; so too Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2009:70.

⁵³ See Hawley, R. 2004:63; Hurvitz *apud* Ford, J.N. 2001:202 n. 8.

⁵⁴ See Pardee, D. 2002a:831f.

⁵⁵ See the criticism of this proposal by Ford, J.N. 2001:202.

⁵⁶ See Tropper, J. 2012:649, 890; but see Tropper, J. 2008:103.

⁵⁷ See Ford; J.N. 2002a:134 and n. 79.

⁵⁸ See Tropper, J. 2012:284.

⁵⁹ See Ford, J. 2002a:134.

⁶⁰ See Bordreuil, P., Pardee, D. 2001:389.

⁶¹ See Ford, J.N. 2002a:133; Avishur, Y. 2009:62, who, as a native Hebrew speaker, assumes both nouns to be masculine: *yaṣʿleḥ /yʿqannēn*.

family or species and to indicate the individuals of both genders. Also in the case of an established m. gender, a single individual (e.g. the mythical *bṭn*) can retain this gender, while as a collective designation of the species “snake” it may function as a fem., but then usually as a collective/plural.⁶² Consequently both versions are admissible: G-f. subj., D-m. subj.

/û-d-n/: here the form is taken as a denominative of *ûdn*, “ear”,⁶³ but again as a D conjugation according to the well-known semantic meaning it has in Arabic: “to make hear” > “to proclaim”.

dbbm kšpm: “foul-mouthed/insidious sorcerers”.⁶⁴ In no case can *dbbm kšpm* act as “allies” of any victim of their sorcery: “les premiers (*dbbm*) appartenent à la même classe d’ennemis que les derniers (*kšpm*)”.⁶⁵ In accordance with the interpretation put forward above, I prefer to understand this syntagm in a personal sense instead of as “sorcerous accusations”.⁶⁶ It makes little sense to advise the victim of sorcery to disregard any sorcerous statements that are pernicious in themselves. On the contrary, he has to take them into account in order to neutralise them by the appropriate incantation formula.

hwt: “(magic) word”; the lexeme, semantically clear-cut (DUL 349), is fundamental for defining the functional genre of the text as “word” (black) sorcery.⁶⁷

ghrt: the lexeme is taken as a nominal form in parallel with *hwt*,⁶⁸ although the etymological justification is not clear. Ar. *ḡhr, connoting “loud voice” (AEL 475),⁶⁹ would seem a good option: “hullabaloo” (Sp. “vocerío, alboroto”), in a certain sense prolonging the nuance supposed by the D of /û-d-n/ as already suggested. Ford⁷⁰ sees here a synonym of “magic words”, rather incomprehensible, that the sorcerer verbalises clearly (possibly an allophone

⁶² See Von Siebenthal, X. 2009:67–81.

⁶³ See Pardee, D. 2002a:832; Ford, J.N. 2002a:136; differently Tropper, J. 2012:612, 643 (< *ʔwd), followed by Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2009a:70.

⁶⁴ For the interpretation of this syntagm see below p. 183f. (“Philological Appendix”); Pardee, D. 2002a:832; Tropper, J. 2008:29; for a different interpretation see J.N. Ford, *infra* n. 66.

⁶⁵ See Bordreuil, P., Pardee, D. 2001:390.

⁶⁶ See Ford, J.N. 2002a:136–139; so too Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2009a:70f. I do not find it necessary to postulate an enclitic *-m* here. On the other hand the “evil machinations” are mentioned in the Akk. text RS 17.155:obv. 37, p. 54 (*a-ga-ḫu-la-a* < Sum. á.ág.ḫu.l.a(k)) against which the intervention of the magic’s god is invoked.

⁶⁷ See Ford, J.N. 2002a:139.

⁶⁸ See Ford, J.N. 2002a:140.

⁶⁹ See Pardee, D. 2002a:832; Ford, J.N. 2002a:140–141.

⁷⁰ See Ford, J.N. 2002a:141ff.

of Ug. /g-h-l/, /g-ṣ-r/; DUL 145),⁷¹ with clear support in Mand. *ghṛrt*² (< *gṣr), “shout, rumbling”.⁷² This base occurs twice in the Hebrew bible always in the context of symbolic prophetic action (1 Kgs 19: 42; 2 Kgs 4: 34). In both cases, the reference to an incantation formula would be expected to accompany such an action, while the accepted meaning “to bend down” (HALOT 161–162) is merely a guess without any philological foundation. A recent and thorough analysis of this lexeme, following this line of argument, has been carried out by Y. Avishur.⁷³

/š-p-k/: the form may be parsed either as impersonal 3rd p. sg. (“let one pour out”) or as the 3rd p. pl. passive (“may they be poured out”),⁷⁴ taking into account the two possible preformative 3rd p. m. pl. morphemes (/t:y/).⁷⁵ In any case, it goes against the function of sorcerers (*dbbm kšpm*) to be the favourable subject of *tūdn* and *yšpk*. On the function of “water” as an eliminating element in cases of incantation against a bite from a serpent, see KTU 1.100:66–67⁷⁶ and the Akkadian text quoted by Ford.⁷⁷

4 Conclusion

To arrive at this version or interpretation, a first *prima facie* philological approach has opened the way towards a formal contextualisation of the text within a broader literary tradition, in this case the ancient Near Eastern tradition of magic and incantation, as was outlined in the first chapter of this monograph, in search of a preliminary understanding (*Vorverständnis*) of it. Starting from this contextualisation, a model has been obtained into which the philological elements have been set. They have demonstrated their semantic as

⁷¹ See Ford, J.N. 2002a:142; also Tropper, J. 2008:34. Instead, here Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2009:71 read *gṛrt* as an allophone of /g^ṣr/; both *ghrt* and *gṛrt* turn out to be hapax in Ugaritic. In this case, the comparison of /h/ with the same sign in the following terms (*phm/špthm*) proves its identification.

⁷² See Ford, J.N. 2002a:143.

⁷³ See Avishur, Y. 2009:57–71. In this connection, Dr W.G.E. Watson suggested in a private communication to analyse *ghrt* as *g* + *hrt*, “voice of harm, strife” (// *hwt ršf*), for which Syr. *hirta*², “quarrel”, “harm”, offers linguistic support (SL 355f.).

⁷⁴ See Ford 2002a, 144.

⁷⁵ See Tropper, J. 2012:433–438.

⁷⁶ See Del Olmo Lete, G. 1998:292; also Tropper, J. 2012:164, 321, 888; his interpretation (p. 760) of /l/ as “weg von” is not necessary.

⁷⁷ See Ford, J.N. 2002a:145. For sorcerers as being poured out like water see Ford, J.N. 2002a:146 n. 147

well as their ideological pertinence in this setting, in their turn revalidating the model chosen. This is also the procedure followed by Ford, which makes his interpretation so consistent, although in my opinion, it fails to account for the very first line of the text. We believe that this interaction between linguistics and hermeneutics is the proper way to understand a text correctly (as was the case with KTU 1.96). A purely lexical approach is doomed to generating phantom proposals. The dictionary alone is not an adequate tool for understanding ancient texts. This approach runs parallel to the new method of textual syntax developed to achieve a coherent understanding of the grammatical forms, instead of the other way round.⁷⁸

In this regard, a clear-cut distinction has to be established between (black) sorcery and (white) magic. The genre of *incantation* (preventive-curative magic) exhibits two main procedures: either magic action or ritual and incantation formulae. Instead, sorcery has three operative modes: through inductive action (“budu” and imitative actions), words (curse, calumny, “malaventura”) and sight (“evil eye”) (see above p. 10). In this text, we have word sorcery rather than a word-formula incantation.⁷⁹

Lexical Appendix

1 dbb(m) (II), n.m. “adversary, quarrelling, accusing, foul-mouthed sorcerer”

Among the contexts in which the lexeme *dbb(m)* appears in Ugaritic are the contexts of incantation and spells, in apposition to *kšp(m)*. It appears as a determinative rather than a complementary lexeme, given the permanent absence of parallelism and of copulative conjunction: *dbbm d ġzr* (KTU 1.169:1), *kšpm dbbm*, (KTU 1.169:9); *dbbm kšpm/kšpm dbbm* (1.178:9, 13). The lexical correlation with Akk. *dabābu*, “to talk, say” (verb and verbal noun) has been established for some time.⁸⁰ But it is not merely a lexical correlation: it is an element of the technical vocabulary of magic and incantation in the semantic field of the “word”, as Prof. Ford correctly understood.⁸¹ The meaning in Akk. may be negative; the correlate of the Ugaritic term is Akk. *dābibu*,

⁷⁸ See Piquer Otero, A. 2007:93.

⁷⁹ For the classification of this text as an “incantation” see Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2009:73; above p. 81.

⁸⁰ See Avishur, Y. 1981:17: “enemies”, “evil words”; Caquot, A. 1989:54 n. 122: “paroles”, 57 n. 141 “qui parlent”; Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 1988:335: “Die Reden”.

⁸¹ See Ford, J.N. 2002b:136ff., 157.

“Prozessvertreter” (AHw 148), or *bēl dabābi*, “Prozessgegner”, namely, “adversary, quarreler” (CAD D 3f.: EN *dabābi dābib-*, “who brings a suit against”), who harms with his words, who blames someone and in this way justifies his punishment, either in parallel or in conjunction with *kaššāpu*, “the sorcerer”.⁸² So the expression *ydy dbbm* (KTU 1.169:1) turns out to be a calque or semantic borrowing from Akk. *ṭarad bēl dabābi*, “Vertreibung des Prozessgegners”, as in the heading of the small ritual (KAR 171)⁸³ for the 29th of the month (*Abu*), whilst the hendiadys *kšpm dbbm/dbbm kšpm* (KTU 1.169:9; 1.178:9, 13) would correspond to “adversaries, quarreling sorcerers”,⁸⁴ understanding this kind of witchcraft caused by words as a kind of insidious, malevolent judicial process (see above p. 9, n. 53). The latter text defines this semantic field very well with its explicit reference to *hwt*, “word” (line 13). In turn, Ford understands the expression in an abstract sense as “sorcerous accusations”, as *pl. tantum*, which, though perfectly valid from the morphological point of view, is in my view less probable. In contrast the functional value of *dābibu/dbb* allows both the hendiadys *dbbm kšpm* and at the same time the independent elliptical use of *dbbm*. The “expulsion” that these incantations formulate is usually aimed either at the pernicious effects or the beings that cause them (evil spirits, demons, sorcerers). Actually, cause and effect may bear the same denomination (“incantation”/“enchantment”).

2 The (in)expert magician: *dy l ydš*

In the incantation literature there is an insistence on the fact that the magician or conjuror must be competent, an expert “who knows” (*edû*) the practices and formulae for each incantation. The god *Asalluḫi*, *Enki*’s son (Marduk in Babylonia) is the holder of such wisdom and from him is it to be obtained. The Mesopotamian incantation stresses *knowledge*⁸⁵ that guarantees that the formula is the correct one, that of *Asalluḫi*:

⁸² See Schwemer, D. 2007:71f., 127–132. In this connection is worthwhile recalling Ps. 120:2. “O Lord, save me from the treacherous lips (*šēfat-šeker*), from a deceitful tongue (*lāšôn rēmiy-yāh*)!”.

⁸³ The text can be consulted in Ebeling, E. 1931 n^o 5, 24ss.; Schwemer, D. 2007:128. The verb *dabābu(m)* may have also a neutral value “to recite” (on behalf of the “patient”) in those conjuration texts, as Cynthia Jean explains (Jean, C. 2010: 337–346).

⁸⁴ See Ford 2002a:137, n. 94. However, the translations “qui tourmentent”, “tourmentors” (Pardee, D. 2002a: 877, etc.), lack a semantic basis.

⁸⁵ See Lenzi, A. 2008.

“*Asalluḫi* ... cried (to his father): I do not know what to do...”. Enki answered...
: My son, what is it you do not know? What more can I give to you? ...”

This is a set formula,⁸⁶ so much so that it is sometimes quoted in a shortened form as a well-known motif. The formulation also appears in a incantation against the “evil eye” quoted by M. L. Thomsen:⁸⁷

“*Asarluḫi* ... spoke ... What I shall do I do not know ... My son ... What I know, you also know. Go my son ...” (YOS 11, 71 4ff.).

The tradition is also well known in Ugarit:⁸⁸

“My son, what do you not know? What can I add to you? ... Whatever I k[now] you Know”.

This mythological background finds its application in texts of magical practices like *Maqlû* IV 80–94, a conjuration against harmful witchcraft, where it is expressly said:⁸⁹

80. *at-ti-man* ^{munus}*kaššāptu* ...
.....
84. *lu-u mūdû lu-u lā mūdû*
85. [*lu-u*] ^{lû}*kaššāpu lu-u* ^{munus}*kaššāptu* ...
.....
94. ^{giš}*kakka-šû-nu liš-bir-ma...*

Whoever are you, sorceress, ... expert or inexperienced, sorcerer or sorceress ...
May their weapon be broken ...

This quotation is found within a incantation text that records all possible agents of sorcery or “black” magic.

In this connection we should recall the qualification of *Kôṭaru*, the skilful (*ktr*) god, as *ḥss* and *hyn*, that of *ʿAṭiratu*’s candidate to *Baʿlu*’s throne as *ydʿ* (KTU 1.6 I 48) and that of *Puḡatu*, *Danʿilu*’s daughter, as *ydʿt hlk kkbm* (KTU 1.19 II 7 and parallels). But above all we should remember the mention of *ḡlm*

⁸⁶ For the complete canonical form see Falkenstein, A. 1931:54–58.

⁸⁷ See Thomsen, M.-L. 1992:30. See also. another incantation of the same genre published by Geller, M. J. 1980:199.

⁸⁸ See *supra* p. 55, 6f.

⁸⁹ See Schwemer, D. 2007:74f.

dštm, “the expert (in divination) lads”, in KTU 1.169:10⁹⁰ (above p. 170), as well as the recurrence of this motif, *lydš*, in KTU 1.107:6, another incantation against a poisonous snake bite (above p. 162).

Starting from the Babylonian and Ugaritic context it is possible to read the new text KTU 1.178, that of incantation against a snake bite, the third that appears in Ugarit, as being to the benefit this time of the owner of the archive where the tablet was kept: *ʔUrtēnu*. The official collation was published by Bordreuil and Pardee⁹¹ and was the object of a large and detailed commentary first by Ford, then by Hawley and lastly by Dietrich and Loretz and Niehr as was pointed out above.⁹² Here we will develop the interpretation offered above of only lines 1–3, interpretations that differs considerably from that put forward by these scholars.

- 1) (Lorsque) l'inconnu t'appelle et se met à écumer,
 - 2) Moi, pour ma part, je t'appellerai, j'agiterai
 - 3) du bois sacré.
- (Bordreuil, P., Pardee, D. 2001:387)

“(When) an unknown one calls out to you (saying):
 ‘Woe ...!, for I am (the one who is) calling you,
 (and) indeed envenoming (a piece/figurine of) sacred wood”
 (Ford, J.N. 2002:120)

‘Cast out (the culprit) from ‘the recognized one’ (as follows):
 “Let one invoke you with hyssop!
 Even I myself will invoke you (with hyssop)
 I will charm (you) (with) the sacred wood!”.
 (Hawley 2004, 63)

Der Unbekannte beschwört dich mit Ysop.
 Auch ich will dich beschwören.
 Ich werde schütteln heliges Holz.
 (Niehr, H. 2008:257)

Bannlösung
 Ein Unbekannter ruft zu dir: “Vernichtung!”
 Ich aber rufe dir zu:

⁹⁰ See Ford, J.N. 2002b:182. For a discussion of the different interpretations see Pardee, D. 2002a:877s. n. 12.

⁹¹ See Bordreuil, P., Pardee, D. 2001, 387–389. See above n. 2 other presentations of the text.

⁹² See above p. 173, nn. 3–5.

Ich werde schwenken das heilige Holz.
(Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2009:67)

The five versions diverge substantially and their meanings are rather puzzling, starting mainly from the interpretation of the syntagm *l ydṣ*, which is nevertheless clear enough from the semantic point of view. The five understand it as a passive participle form of the base **ydṣ*: one with positive meaning, the other four with a negative meaning (the referent according to Pardee, the snake; according to Ford and Dietrich-Loretz, the sorcerer; according to Hawley, *ʔUrtēnu*; according to Niehr, the magician [?]). In any case the semantic field is “knowledge”.

Now then, starting from this verification it is possible to see the text in the perspective of the genre of incantation, so commonly witnessed in Akkadian, of which we have already offered some testimonies above and in which the motif of the “knowledge” or expertise of the patron god and of the anonymous magician, his pupil depending upon him, is a stable *topos*. In this regard, two versions of KYU 1.178:1–3, according to the meaning (affirmative or negative) that is applied to the particle /*l*/ can be proposed, but taking *ydṣ* in both cases as an active participle: “who (does not /) know(/s), (in)competent, (in)expert” in the use of the correct practices and formulae to exorcise snakes and scorpions, corresponding to Akk. *mūdû / lā mūdû* (AHw 666; CAD M/2 163–167).⁹³ I suggest the following alternative version:

The one who actually knows (the expert) will say to you: (with) hyssop.
And I also say to you (and) corroborate (it): (with) holy tree.

The one who does not know (inexpert) will say to you: (with) hyssop.
But I say to you (and) corroborate (it): (with) the holy tree.

The first version presupposes a synonymous parallelism *ûzb // Ṣṣ qdš* (Hawley), the second, an antithetical one; I personally incline towards the second option.

⁹³ See Ford, J.N. 2002b:184. An alternative translation in finite verbal form could be: “who does not know” (see Avishur, Y. 2009:62: *ʔāšer lōʾ yādaʾ*), but I prefer a nominal participle form, parallel to the Akkadian, as a denomination of status. Nevertheless a version as p.p. “unknown” is not to be absolutely ruled out, in keeping with anti-witchcraft conjurations which constantly complain: “I do not know the person who keeps hold of me” (see in this regard Abusch, Tz., Schwemer, D. 2011:383, 391 and *passim*). But such a parsing turns out to be less suitable in this context: the “unknown” evildoer sorcerer gives advice how to overcome his own sorcery.

KTU 1.100: The Prototype Canonical Incantation Text

The clear aim and meaning of the outstanding text KTU 1.100 are those of a text-ritual that does not attempt to “know” the future through signs, but tries to prevent it, as “a *sui generis* incantation against horses suffering snakebite”. The text is (proto)typical of the genre; eleven times – and it seems that the twelfth has been omitted, according to a marginal note – it repeats the request for a magical incantation addressed to the corresponding number of different deities (*il*, *bšl*, *dgn*, *šnt-štrt*, *yrh*, *ršp*, (*štrt*), *zṣ-kmt*, *mlk*, *ktr-ḥss*, *šhr-šlm*),¹ representative of the Ugaritic pantheon (cf. KTU 1.47; 1.118), plus the “foreign” god *ḥrn* who does not belong to it. The text has been intensively studied and there is a general agreement on its main sense. Therefore, we shall start from this detailed discussion of the text as provided by various scholars, without repeating their arguments, but in our turn arguing briefly for the specific details of our own version and interpretation, which in several points diverge from those given by other scholars.

1 Text lay-out

The text is arranged in three parts: 1) the request for the divine “charmer”, able to cast and perform the incantation ritual, actually effective against snakebite, repeated and addressed twelve times to as many deities, with a negative result the first eleven times (lines 1–60);² 2) the positive and effective reaction of the god *Ḥôrānu* to that request (lines 61–69); 3) a happy ending: the cooperation initiated among the deities ends in a wedding, a divine theogamy which legitimizes the efficacy of the power of the magical incantations emitted from the sanctuary of the supplicant deity, now wife of the god who demonstrated that he had such power.³ The opposition between the first two parts is clear: the

1 The goddess *Šapšu*, the actual twelfth, must be counted also among the impotent deities in this affair; in fact she is the divine messenger in search of an effective “charmer”, and so the best witness of the impotence of the whole pantheon.

2 The repetitive system of magic also occurs, with simple repetition, in the case of *Baʿlu*’s attempts to defeat *Yammu*, KTU 1.2 IV (although not strictly a “magical” intervention in this case), or with triple repetition, as in the case of *Danʾilu*’s attempt to find the remains of his son, KTU 1.19 III.

3 See for instance Pardee, D. 1988:227–256; 1997a:295–298; 2002c:179–191; De Moor, J.C. 1987:146; although our interpretation is not necessarily in agreement with their views. An excellent recent survey is provided by Dietrich, M. – Loretz, O. 2009:85–86, 88.

passivity and silence shown by the gods invoked contrasting with the sensitive, swift and effective action of the god *Ḫôrānu*, made evident by the rubric at the end of each of the first eleven repetitions of the “cry for help”, but missing from the last.⁴ The situation strongly reminds us of the request presented by *ʔilu* to the gods in order to find one able to cure king *Kirta*’s illness (cf. KTU 1.16 V 10ff.).

With regard to form, the first part is in the “message style” (although the formulary is different from the classical formulary of literary texts⁵) and worded at the instant of his “command” and supposed “transmission” by the messenger, the goddess *Šapšu*, as is clear from the second part (*Ḫôrānu*’s reaction), though in none of these transmissions do we have a “reply”. However, of course, the repetition of the command supposes that the messenger, or perhaps it is better to speak in this case of an “intermediary”, *Šapšu*, has returned. The other deities remain in their “seat-dwelling”, whereas the “charmer”/“exorcist” of snakes (*mlḫš*), unable to neutralise them, sits down waiting for the effective incantation, formula and ritual, to be brought to him, in other words, waiting for the assistance of the actual god of magic in their possession. This clause (actually a formulaic syntagm⁶) stages in a rather popular way the failure of *Šapšu*’s successive mediation and the long wait of the useless charmer for the appropriate formula (see Sp. “esperar sentado”), at the same time enhancing *Ḫôrānu*’s prompt answer.

⁴ This opposition, of course, is given different meanings, depending on the interpretation of the whole; see for instance two contemporary opinions: Pardee, D. 1988:207–209, 214, 223 and Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 1988:345.

⁵ Cf. Del Olmo Lete, G. 1981:54–55.

⁶ See KTU 1.4 V 46: *tšdb ksū Wyattb*, “a throne was prepared and they seated (him)”. See the same syntagm in the *namburbi* text found at Hama, which belongs to the Neo-Assyrian period: [GİŠ.GU.Z]A.MEŠ.KUG.MEŠ *ʾa-na a-šā-bi-ku-nu ad-di*, “pure [chai]rs I have set forth, on which you can sit”; see Laessøe, J. 1956:62f. In this case, the deity *Šamaš* is the beneficiary. See in this regard Del Olmo Lete, G. 2014:307, n. 99. However, the formulaic nature of the word pair forbids forcing the parallelism too far and proposing *Šapšu* as the subject here also.

2 Text and translation⁷ (Fig. IV–V, Pl. V–VI)

-
- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. <i>ûm.phl.phlt.</i>
<i>bt.în.bt.âbn.</i>
<i>bt.šmm wthm</i> | The mother of the stallion (,/and) the mare, ⁸
daughter of spring, daughter of stone,
daughter of Sky and Deep, |
| 2. <i>qrît.lšpš.ûmh.</i>
<i>špš.ûm.ql.bl.</i>
<i>îm ²îl.mbk nhrm.</i>
<i>bîdt.thmtm</i> | invokes Šapšu, her mother:
– Šapšu, my mother, take the (/my) cry
to ²Ilu, at the source of the two rivers,
at the confluence of the two oceans, ⁹ |
| 4. <i>mnt.nîk.nhš.</i>
<i>šmrr.nhš ⁵îqšr.</i>
<i>lnh.mlhš âbd.</i>
<i>lnh.ydy ⁶hmt.</i>
<i>hlm.yîq.nhš</i> | (for) an incantation against snakebite,
(against) the poisoning of the sloughing serpent! ¹⁰
– From/With it the charmer, the destruction, ¹¹
from/with it let him expel the venom!
Oh, yea/So forth, ¹² let him take up a serpent, |

7 See Virolleaud, Ch. 1968:564–574; Astour, M.C. 1968:13–28; Caquot, A. 1969:241–154; Caquot, A. 1989: 79–94; Lipiński, E. 1974:169–174; Dietrich, M., Loretz, O., Sanmartín, J. 1975a:121–125; Gaster, Th. H. 1975:33–51; Gaster, Th. H. 1980:43–44; Young, D.W. 1977:291–314; Young, D.W. 1979:839–848; De Moor, J.C. 1977:366–367; De Moor, J.C. 1988:105–111; De Moor, J.C. 1987:146–156; Pardee, D. 1978:73–108; 1988:193–226; Johnstone, W. 1979:44–63; Johnstone, W. 1978:113ff.; Tsevat, M. 1979:759–778; Bowman, Ch. H., Coote, R.B. 1980:135–139; Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 1980:153–170; Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 1988:345–350; Xella, P. 1981:224–240; Kottsieper, I. 1984:97–110; Levine, B.A. – De Tarragon, J.-M. 1988:481–518. The text is also given in *KTU*² 112–115. More recently, Greaves, I.W. 1994:165–167; Parker, S.B. 1997:219–223; Wyatt, N. 1998a:378–387; Pardee, D. 1997a:295–298; 2002a:172–179; 2002b:172–179; Bordreuil, P., Pardee, D. 2009:187–194 (+ photograph); Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2000b:263–402 (see rev. art. by Del Olmo Lete, G. 2007a:155–168); Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2009:75–108; Loretz, O. 2011:242ff. This kind of spell was already present in Ebla, see Krebernik, M. 1984:20–24.

8 In the symbolic language used here, “the mother of *phl phlt*” must be a *phlt* herself. The emphasis placed on the disparity between these translations (so Tsevat, M., followed by Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2000b:315, *passim*) is irrelevant. Of course, an asyndetic construction is likely (on which see Tropper, J. 2012:787–778). But one must bear in mind that quite often in tricola the first colon is semantically and syntactically independent, while the two following cola form the actual parallel pair, as can be seen in the next tricolon (line 2).

9 The residence of the supreme god according to myth, with the variant ⁵dt for âpq; cf. KTU 1.6 I 32–34.

10 Possibly a zoological specification of the serpent rather than the generic description “twisted”, which in myth is expressed by the adjectives *brh* and *îqltn*; cf. KTU 1.5 I 1–2. For the description and classification of serpents in *namburbi* incantations see Maul, St. 1994:224, 226, 233; Cavigneaux, A.-Al-Rawi, F.N.H. 1995:17:75–99; Pientka-Hinz, R. 2009:204ff. (205). The equivalent of Ug. *bîtn* is Akk. *bašmu*, in incantations and in mythical representations as well.

11 See KTU 1.107:7, with the same word pair, although in reverse order, *hmt/âbdy*.

12 See Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2009:87: “jetz und hier”; DUL s.v.: “as soon as ...”

- yšlhm.(nhš.)šqšr let him throw away a sloughing (serpent)!
 7. yšdb.ksā.wytb He places/takes a chair and sits down.

8. tqrū.lšpš.ūmh. She invokes Šapšu, her mother:
 špš.ūm.ql.bl – Šapšu, my mother, take the (/my) cry
 9. ʕm bʕl.mrym.spn. to Ba^clu in the heights of Šapānu,¹³
 mnty.nṯk ¹⁰nhš. (for) an incantation,¹⁴ yes, against snakebite,
 šmrr.nhš ʕqšr. (against) the poisoning of the sloughing serpent!
 lnh ¹¹mlhš.ābd. – From/with it the charmer the destruction,
 lnh.ydy.hmt from/with it let him expel the venom!
 hlm.ytq ¹²nhš Oh, yea/So forth, let him take up a serpent,
 yšlhm.nhš.šqšr. let him throw away a sloughing serpent!
 y(ʕ)db.ksā.¹²wytb He places/takes a chair and sits down.

14. tqrū.lšpš.ū(m)h. She invokes Šapšu, her mother:
 špš.ūm.ql.bl. – Šapšu, my mother!, take the (/my) cry
 ʕm ¹⁵dgn ttlh. to Dagānu at Tuttul,¹⁵
 mnt.nṯk.nhš. (for) an incantation against snakebite,
 šmrr ¹⁶nhš.ʕqšr. (against) the poisoning of the sloughing serpent!
 lnh.mlhš.ābd. – From/with it the charmer the destruction,
 lnh ¹⁷ydy.hmt. from/with it let him expel the venom!
 hlm.ytq.nhš. Oh, yea/So forth, let him take up a serpent,
 yšlhm ¹⁸nhš.ʕqšr. let him throw away a sloughing serpent!
 yšdb.ksā.wytb He places/takes a chair and sits down.

19. tqrū.lšpš.ūmh. She invokes Šapšu, her mother:
 špš.ūm.ql.bl. – Šapšu, my mother!, take the (/my) cry
 ʕm! ²⁰ʕnt wʕ{.}ttrt to ʕAnatu and ʕAttartu, at ʔInbūbu,¹⁶
 inbbh. to ʕAnatu and ʕAttartu, at ʔInbūbu,¹⁶
 mnt.nṯk ²¹nhš. (for) an incantation against snakebite,

13 The residence of this god according to myth; cf. KTU 1.3 III 29 and par. See Van Soldt, W.H. 2005:20.

14 Cf. above, line 4 and par. (*mnt*); it is possible to see here an emphatic –y rather than the pronominal suffix “my”; see below “commentary”.

15 The Mari texts provide evidence of a famous sanctuary of *Dagānu* in this city located at the mouth of the Balih river.

16 Residence of the goddess according to myth; cf. KTU 1.3 IV 34 and par. The merging of the two goddesses, ʕAnatu and ʕAttartu, which is supposed both there and here, did not actually occur, as shown by the shift to invoking the latter separately according to the colophon, lines 77–79; cf. Pardee, D. 1988:211, nn. 57 and 63.

- šmrr.nḥš.Ḳqšr.* (against) the poisoning of the sloughing serpent!
lnh.ml²²ḥš.ābd. – From/With it the charmer the destruction,
lnh ydy.ḥmt. from/with it let him expel the venom!
hlm.ytq²²nḥš Oh, yea/So forth, let him take up a serpent,
yšlḥm.nḥš.Ḳqšr. let him throw away a sloughing serpent!
yḏdb.ksā²⁴wytb He places/takes a chair and sits down.

25. *tqrū.lšpš.ūmh.* She invokes *Šapšu*, her mother:
špš.ū[m.q].bl. – *Šapšu*, my mother, take the (/my) cry
Ḳm²⁶yrḥ.lrgth. to *Yarḥu*, at *lrgt*,¹⁷
mnt.nṯk.[n][ḥ][š]. (the one of) an incantation against snakebite,
šmrr²⁷nḥš.Ḳqšr. (against) the poisoning of the sloughing serpent!
lnh.mlḥš.ābd. – From/with it the charmer the destruction,
lnh ydy²⁸ḥmt. from/with it let him expel the venom!
hlm.ytq.nḥš Oh, yea/So forth, let him take up a serpent,
yšlḥm.nḥš²⁹Ḳqšr. let him throw away a sloughing serpent!
yḏdb.ksā.wytb He places/takes a chair and sits down.

30. *tqrū.lšpš.ūmh.* She invokes *Šapšu*, her mother:
špš.ūm.q.l.b(l). – *Šapšu*, my mother, take the (/my) cry
Ḳm²¹ršp.bbth. to *Rašpu*, at *Bibita*,¹⁸
mnt.nṯk.nḥš. (for) an incantation against snakebite,
šmrr²²nḥš.Ḳqšr. (against) the poisoning of the sloughing serpent!
lnh.mlḥš.ābd. – From/with it the charmer the destruction,
lnh ydy²²ḥmt. from/with it let him expel the venom!
hlm.ytq.nḥš. Oh, yea/So forth, let him take up a serpent,
yšlḥm.nḥš.Ḳq²⁴š(r). let him throw away a sloughing serpent!
yḏdb.ksā.wytb He places/takes a chair and sits down.

77. *ātr ršp.Ṣtrt* After *Rašpu*, *Ṣattartu*.¹⁹

¹⁷ See KTU 1.24, the myth of the wedding of this deity with the goddess *Nikkalu*. This dwelling is otherwise unknown; according to legend, the city of *Yarḥu* is *ʔAbilūma*; cf. KTU 1.18 IV 8. The presence of the place-name *la-ru-ga₁₂-tu* in Ebla goes against seeing this lexeme as a mistake for *ūgrt*, as Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 1988:347, n. 27b, propose; but see now, Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2000b:295–301, 335; also Pardee, D. 1988:211; De Moor, J.C. 1987:149, n. 11.

¹⁸ Unknown divine residence which occurs frequently in the cultic texts in connection with this god; cf. KTU 1.105:11; 1.171:3; Pardee, D. 1988:112 (Hitt. GN *bi-bi-it*); Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2000b:335.

¹⁹ According to the colophon, line 77, the formula connected with this goddess, is to be inserted here.

- <qrû.lšpš.ûmh.
 špš.ûm.ql.bl.)
 ʕm ʕttrt.mrh
 79. mnt.ntk nhš
 <šmrr.nhš.ʕqšr.
 lnh.mlhš.âbd.
 lnh ydy.hmt.
 hlm.ytq.nhš
 yšlhm.nhš.ʕqšr.
 yʕdb.ksâ.wytb)
- (She invokes Šapšu, her mother:
 – Šapšu, my mother, take the (/my) cry
 to ʕAttartu, at Mari,²⁰
 (for) an incantation against snakebite,
 ((against) the poisoning of the sloughing serpent!
 – From/with it the charmer the destruction,
 from/with it let him expel the venom!
 Oh, yea/So forth, let him take up a serpent,
 let him throw away a sloughing serpent!
 He places/takes a chair and sits down.)
-
35. tqrû.lšpš.ûmh.
 špš.ûm.ql.bl.
 ʕm ²⁶zz.wkmt.hryt
 mnt.ntk nhš.
 šm²⁷rr.nhš.ʕqšr.
 lnh.mlhš âbd
 lnh ²⁸ydy.hmt.
 hlm.ytq.nhš
 yšlhm.nhš ²⁹ʕq{.}šr.
 yʕdb.ksâ.wytb
- She invokes Šapšu, her mother:
 – Šapšu, my mother, take the (/my) cry
 to zz-kmt, at hryt;²¹
 (for) an incantation against snakebite,
 (against) the poisoning of the sloughing serpent!
 – From/With it the charmer the destruction,
 from/with it let him expel the venom!
 Oh, yea/So forth, let him take up a serpent,
 let him throw away a sloughing serpent!
 He places/takes a chair and sits down.
-
40. tqrû.lšpš.ûmh.
 špš.ûm.ql.bl.
 ʕm ⁴¹mlk.ʕttrth.
 mnt.ntk.nhš.
 šmrr ⁴²nhš.ʕqšr.
 lnh.mlhš âbd.
 lnh.ydy ⁴²hmt.
 hlm.ytq.nhš
 yšlhm.nhš ⁴⁴ʕqšr.
 yʕdb.ksâ.wytb
- She invokes Šapšu, her mother:
 – Šapšu, my mother, take the (/my) cry
 to Milku, at ʕAttartu,²²
 (for) an incantation against snakebite,
 (against) the poisoning of the sloughing serpent!
 – From/with it the charmer the destruction,
 from/with it let him expel the venom!
 Oh, yea/So forth, let him take up a serpent,
 let him throw away a sloughing serpent!
 He places/takes a chair and sits down.
-
45. tqrû.lšpš.ûmh.
- She invokes Šapšu, her mother:

20 A traditional divine residence. Mari had already lost its importance at the time this text was composed.

21 Unknown divine residence.

22 See KTU 1.108:2; 1.107:17; 4.790:17, residence of the god *Milku*, the eponym of the *mlkm*. Of course, it cannot be an epithet of *Baʕlu*, already mentioned earlier, as Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 1988:348, n. 41a, prefer; but see Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2000b:338.

- špš.ũm.ql bl
 ʕm ⁴⁶kṭr.wḥss.
 kptrh.
 mnt.nṭk.nḥš.
 47. šmrr.nḥš.ʕqšr.
 lnh.mlḥš.ābd
 48. lnh.ydy.ũmt
 hlm.ytq.nḥš
 49. yšlhm.nḥš.ʕqšr
 yʕdb.ksā ⁵⁰wyṭb

 51. tqrũ lšpš.ũmh.
 špš ũm ql.bl.
 ʕm ⁵²šḥr.wšlm
 šmmh
 mnt.nṭk.nḥš
 53. šmrr.nḥš ʕqšr.
 lnh.mlḥš ⁵⁴ābd
 lnh.ydy ḥmt.
 hlm.ytq ⁵⁵nḥš.
 yšlhm.nḥš.ʕqšr
 yʕdb ⁵⁶ksā.wyṭb

 57. tqrũ.lšpš.ũmh.
 špš.ũm.ql.bl
 58. ʕm ḥrn.mšdh.
 mnt.nṭk nḥš
 59. šmrr.nḥš.ʕqšr.
 lnh.mlḥš ⁶⁰ābd
 lnh.ydy ḥmt.

 61. bḥm.pnm.trḡn {w}. Ḥôrānu's face was excited,²⁶
- Šapšu, my mother, take the (/my) cry
 to Kôṭaru-Ḥasisu, at Kaptāru,²³
 (for) an incantation against snakebite,
 (against) the poisoning of the sloughing serpent!
 – From/with it the charmer the destruction,
 from/with it let him expel the venom!
 Oh, yea/So forth, let him take up a serpent,
 let him throw away a sloughing serpent!
 He places/takes a chair and sits down.
 She invokes Šapšu, her mother:
 – Šapšu, my mother, take the (/my) cry
 to Šaḥru and Šalimu, in the Heavens,²⁴
 (for) an incantation against snakebite,
 (against) the poisoning of the sloughing serpent!
 – From/With it the charmer the destruction,
 from/with it let him expel the venom!
 Oh, yea/So forth, let him take up a serpent,
 let him throw away a sloughing serpent!
 He places/takes a chair and sits down.
 She invokes Šapšu, her mother:
 – Šapšu, my mother, take the (/my) cry
 to Ḥôrānu, in mšd,²⁵
 (for) an incantation against snakebite,
 (against) the poisoning of the sloughing serpent!
 – From/With it the charmer the destruction,
 from/with it let him expel the venom!

²³ This god's residence in myth, identified as Crete; cf. KTU 1.3 VI 14 and par.

²⁴ Cf. KTU 1.23, the myth of the birth of this pair of gods, "placed (ʕdb) next to the Great Lady, Šapšu, and the stars" (line 54). This god along with mlk(m) completes the pantheon (see KTU 1.118:32–33).

²⁵ Unknown divine residence. For the various opinions see Pardee, D. 1988:213, n. 69; De Moor, J.C. 1987:152, n. 20 ("fortress"); Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2000b:339f. ("Steppe"). See below.

²⁶ Ḥôrānu's reaction is one of rage. This seems the most simple option to indicate a passionate reaction according to the fundamental meaning of the base: "to boil" > "to rage" by

- wṭṭkl* ⁶²*bnwt* for she (*pḥlt*) will be deprived of offspring,²⁷
ykr.ṣr.dqdm he (the serpent) will undermine²⁸ “the city of
 Ancient Times”.²⁹
63. *ṯdk.pnm.lytn.* Then he sets face
tk ʾrṣḥ.rbt towards ²*Araššihu* the Great,
 64. *warṣḥ.trrt.* ²*Araššihu* the Mighty.³⁰
ydy.bṣm.ṣr{.}ṣr He rips out a tamarisk from among the trees,³¹

semantic shift, Ar. *raġā(w)*, both “mugir” (the typical Bedouin bias: AEL 114f., “to grumble, said of a camel ...”) and “être couvert d’écume”, II “mettre en colère” (DAF 891); “to foam, froth” > II/ IV, the same: ²*arġā wa-ʿazbada*, “to fume with rage” (DMWA 403), with energetic *-n*. For the various proposals, some of them very close to the one chosen here, see Astour, M. 1968:13ff.; Caquot, A. 1989:89, n. 276; Pardee, D. 1988:214; Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 1988:349; 2000c: 353; 2009b:93, n. 92; DUL 735.

27 The cry for help voiced by the suppliant intends to find a magic intervention “to prevent” the snakebite of the celestial horses, not a pharmacological remedy to cure horses that have already been bitten. The verbal predicates are parsed in this way, in spite of being shortened, as present-future form; see in this regard Tropper, J. 2012:653, 657. Actually, the venom is already present and ready to be inoculated. It will be eliminated by *Ḥōrānu*’s subsequent intervention. On the other hand, the meaning of *ṭkl* as “to be deprived of sons” is clear and unanimously accepted and matches the complement *bnwt* as a term for the horses/mares as her offspring. For other proposals see Caquot, A. 1989:90, n. 277.

28 The sense of this colon is deduced from its parallelism with the previous colon, recommended also by the significance given in this text to the divine abode of each deity. Therefore, for *ykr* I prefer a derivation from the well-known base **kry*, “to dig” > “to undermine” (see already Del Olmo Lete, G. 2007a:158) in a negative sense, as preferable to any other possible option, including my previous one; see Caquot, A. 1989:90, n. 278; Pardee, D. 1988:214f; Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2009b:93, n. 94; Del Olmo Lete, G. 1999/2004:367, n. 110. In this way, the supposed redundancy *ykr/pnm ytn* is eliminated (see Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2009:94). The anonymous subject can be none other than the *nḥš ṣqšr* mentioned in line 59, the same anonymous object also supposed in lines 65–67, actually the main and universal subject of the text. On the other hand, an inchoative nuance (“to be about to...”) should not be excluded.

29 See Caquot, A. 1989: 91, n. 279 (“la ville antique”). Dietrich-Loretz’s comment is very apposite: “Das Ziel der Reise Ḥorons ist die Stadt mit dem Palast der *um pḥl pḥlt*” (see Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2009b:93, n. 95). However, we prefer the temporal meaning of *ṣr d qdm*: “the city of Ancient Time”, possibly as an echo of Sumerian URU-UL-LA, the mythical and primordial abode of the god Enlil (P^{EN}-URU-UL-LA). See below.

30 For these and other interpretations of the word pair *rbt/trrt* cf. Del Olmo Lete, G. 1981:645; e.d. 1984:20; Pardee, D. 1988:215; Caquot, A. 1989:91; Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2000c:357; 2009b:94, n. 103 (“klein”).

31 See Heb. ¹*arôʿer* and ²*ših*; HALOT 883, 1010–1011; and for *ydy* see DUL 178f.: *ydy*, not *ndy*, as in line 5 and par. Perhaps there is an attempt at “wordplay”: “to throw/uproot”; in any case, there is strong lexical and semantic similarity between the two roots. The importance of the “tamarisk” in the practice of magic is well-known in Mesopotamia; for instance, in the compendium incantation text, RS 17.155:35 it says : *ina tu₆ giššINIG u u₂.IN.N.UŠ pu-šur su-šu₂ tu-u₂-ka ša₂ TI.LA*, “Free him by using spell, tamarisk, and *maštaka*-plant! Grant (him), your

65. *wbšḥt.ṣṣ.mt.* and a deadly plant from among the bushes;
ṣrṣrm.ynṣrm¹h with the tamarisk he shakes³² it (the poison),
66. *ssnm.ysynh.* with a palm he removes it (?),
ṣdtm.yṣdynh. with a flowing current he makes it disappear,
yb⁶⁷ltm.yblnh. with a stream he makes it vanish.
mḡy.hrm.lbth. Then *Ḥôrānu* went to her house,
w⁶⁸ṣṣṣql.lhṣrh. proceeded to her mansion.
tlū.h(m)t.km.nḥl The venom had been drained like a torrent,
 69. *tplg.km.plg* evaporated like a stream.³³
-
70. *bṣdh.bhtm.mnt.* Behind her the house of incantation,
bṣdh.bhtm.sgrt behind her the house she had closed,
 71. *bṣdh.ṣdbt.tlt.* behind her she had shot the bolt.
pṭh.bt.mnt – Open the house of incantation,
 72. *pṭh.bt.wūbā.* open the house so that I may enter,
hkl.wiṣṣṣql the palace so that I may come in!”
 73. *tn.{km.}nḥṣm.* – Give me the serpents, oh *Ḥôrānu*!,
yḥr(n)
tn.km⁷⁴mhry. give me (them) as dowry³⁴
wbn.btṇ.itnny and the offspring of the snake as wedding gift!”

life-giving incantation!” (I. Márquez’ version); although Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2000b:361 prefer “Wachholder”.

³² See *nṣr*, “to destroy, upset”; KTU 1.132:25. The expressions attempt to mirror the same assonance and emphatic Semitic construction used in the following parallel clauses: *ṣrṣr/nṣr*, *ssn/ysy*, *ṣdt/ṣdy*, *yblt/ybl-bly*. The play on words is repeated in line 69 (*plg/plg*), and the semantics proves the meaning given to the pair *ṣdt/yblt*: water, as a purifying and nullifying element; whereas the first pair, *ṣrṣr/ssn*, expresses the mistreatment of the animal and the extraction of its poison. Even so, the four terms could be understood to denote plants, but the semantics is uncertain; see e.g. Greaves, I.W. 1994:165ff; Pardee, D. 1997:298; Watson, W.G.E. 2004:134. Recently, Belmonte, J. 1993:114–116 (his interpretation of the passage as a “ritual manipulation” of healing “vegetable products” by the exorcist is unlikely; it is rather a divine prototype for such an empirical manipulation).

³³ The “powerful” and at the same time “ephemeral” nature of wadis can be experienced directly in the Near East and is a suitable symbol to express the drying up of the powerful venom under the magical action of the god.

³⁴ In this way the imbalance of these verses is resolved more easily: the scribe was induced by the following verse to write an extra *km*, which is better than supposing that he omitted the word *mhry*. Also, to assume the reading *yḥr[n]* avoids speculations about a lexeme *yḥr*, which occurs in no other text and does not occur in the following “fulfilment” bicolon either, resulting in a perfectly formed tricolon. See Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2009:101. For other solutions see. Pardee, D. 1988:222; Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2000b:368.

75. *ytt.nḥšm.mhrk.* – I give you the serpents as dowry,
bn bṭn ʔitnnk the offspring of the snake as wedding gift”.

3 Brief philological and literary commentary

Lines 1–7: Since her mother is the goddess *Šapsu*, the mother of horses and mares (*ʾum pḥl* (w) *pḥlt*)³⁵ a goddess must also be mentioned here, as her cosmic origin also hints: she is “daughter of Sky and Deep”. We do not know, however, to which goddess the text refers.³⁶ But if she is the mother of breeding horses, she must in some way be a hippomorphic deity, at least metaphorically or in her attributes, besides being an astral goddess as *Šapsu*’s daughter. In this respect, it is worth recalling “the cow of Sin”, the other great astral deity, a fertility deity in the Sumerian tradition.³⁷ Among the Ugaritic goddesses, *ʔUšḥarayu* seems to have a special connection, if not with horses, at least with serpents, evident in her look of *πότνια Θηρῶν*.³⁸ On the other hand, we know very little about a connection between *Šapšu* and horses.³⁹ In this magic text, the snakebite event assumes cosmic mythical significance (*bt šmm wthm*), involving the highest divine beings (the supreme god *ʔilu*) and becoming a general formulation, far beyond being an answer to any actual attack by a snake. Newly discovered texts, both consonantal and syllabic (KTU 1.86:6; 4.790:16–17; RS 94.2415:36), mention the horses of certain deities (*Rašpu* [maš.maš], *Milku*, *ʔAttartu*), but the meaning of their relationship escapes us.⁴⁰ As regards stichometry, lines 1–2a forms a tetracolon with an inserted bicolon which is followed by a tricolon (in the ongoing repetitions, the introductory tetracolon is reduced to a colon introducing direct speech, followed by a bicolon), three bicola and a final closing colon.⁴¹

³⁵ Here we follow the suggestion put forward by Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2009:90.

³⁶ See in this regard, Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2000b:390f–391 (“eine Schlangengöttin”; “die Mutter von männlichem Zucht tier [und] weiblichen Zucht tier”, not a “Mare” goddess).

³⁷ See Del Olmo Lete, G. 1992c; also Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2009:91: “Die Herrin von ‘Hengst (und) Stute’ haben wir uns folglich als ein göttliches Wesen zu denken, das in engster Verbindung mit Pferde und Schlangen sowie mit der Sonne tätig ist”.

³⁸ See Del Olmo Lete, G. 2014:222ff.; 1988:58, n. 33, figs 1–4; Edzard, D.O. 1965:90; Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2009:92.

³⁹ See Caquot, A. 1989:79, who cites “the horses of the sun” mentioned in 2 Kgs 23, 1. Gn 49, 17 should also be cited as Hebrew evidence of “snakebite” affecting horses. Nevertheless, for a caution in this regard see Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2000b:389f. For *Šapšu*’s role in this and similar texts, and in general in magic literature, see Wiggins, St. A. 1996:327–350.

⁴⁰ See in this connection Malbran-Labat, Fl., Roche, C. 2008:251, 259; Loretz, O. 2011:128–137.

⁴¹ For a different stichometry see Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2009b:101. For the split couplet see Watson, W.G.E. 1997:35.

In Ugaritic, *ql*, “voice”, usually has the intensive meaning of “yell”, “scream”, “whinny”, “thunder” (*ytn ql, ql bšrpt, ql nhqt*), and in this case is to be understood as a “cry for help”. This mytheme is echoed in the magical text KTU 1.82:6, *p ʾn ʾrnn ql špš ḥw*, “then let me myself shout (out) the cry to Šapšu: ‘save (my) life!’”. The determination “my” is implied semantically.

Used absolutely, *mnt* could be understood either as in apposition to *ql* as a gloss, referring to its content, or as a genitive complement of specification, as in the translation above.⁴² The implicit appropriation meaning “my” or “for me” is made explicit only in the first repetition of the message (line 9): *mnt-y* (1st pers. accus. suff.). But we do not insist on this point, given the irregular notation of the inflective distribution [Ø/-y] of this personal suffix.⁴³ A version of *mnt-y* as “an incantation, yes/please!” is also possible, assuming a postpositive vocative emphatic *-y*.⁴⁴

There is wide disagreement over the translation of *lnh* among scholars.⁴⁵ The version “from it” (namely, “from the serpent”, its immediate antecedent) appears the simplest, according to the semantic range of the particle /l-/, confirmed by the parallel text KTU 1.107:45 and par.: *isp (...) l p ntk ʾbd*, “remove (...) from the mouth of the biter the destruction”. But in this case, the morpho-syntax of verb–preposition is not very certain (*ʾbd l, ydy l*).⁴⁶ On the other hand, the new proposal by Dietrich-Loretz (“mit ihrer Hilfe”, namely, “mit der Hilfe der Beschwörung”, its remote antecedent) is very attractive.⁴⁷ But it supposes an instrumental value for that particle which is not sufficiently documented. In any case it is acknowledged that by pronouncing this incantation formula, the charmer/exorcist will be able to neutralise the snake bite.

However, the real interpretative difficulty is to be found in the last bicolon of this first section of the text. There is a syntactic problem concerning the type of clause beginning *hlm ...* (line 5) and a lexical problem in respect of the etyma and meaning of the forms *ytq* and *yšlhm*. As for the first, leaving aside other possibilities and proposals, I take the bicolon of line 6 (usually understood as an executive description) to continue the injunctive (imperative) of the previous bicolon pronounced by the supplicant, but now in the indirect form (jussive),⁴⁸ thus complementing the efficacy of the requested incantation

⁴² See Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2000c:320; 2009b:102.

⁴³ See Tropper, J. 2012:215f. A presumed *mater lectionis* *-y* seems out the question, if an apposition with *ql* (accus.) is accepted; see Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2000c:288; 2009b:80.

⁴⁴ For the various opinions on the meaning of *mnt* see DUL s.v.; Dietrich, M., Loretz, 2009b:85, n. 48: *mnt* is a technical term for “incantation” in Ugaritic; see *supra* p. 30.

⁴⁵ See Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2000c:324f.; 2009:87, n. 51.

⁴⁶ See Pardee, D. 1975:340, 359.

⁴⁷ See Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2009:87, n. 51.

⁴⁸ See my own former proposal in Del Olmo Lete, G. 1999/2004:362.

formula with a ritual or apotropaic action to be performed by the charmer. The coupling of words and gestures is normal in Mesopotamian incantation texts. But there is no sense in performing a magic gesture when no suitable incantation formula, of divine origin, is at hand from which this performance would derive its efficiency. But this second injunction lies outside the direct request to the respective deity asked from *Šapšu* by the *ûm p̄hl p̄hlt*, as its absence in the request addressed to *Ḫorānu* in lines 60–81 leaves clear. It is simply a common action that must accompany the incantation formula. This syntactic parsing is imposed by the newly proposed and assumed analysis of the verbal form *yṯq* (the second crux of this bicolon) as derived from /ṯqy/, Akk. *šaḳû*, “to be high”, D “to elevate”,⁴⁹ in parallel with /šlḫ/, as proposed by Dietrich-Loretz, that I now assume to be the most feasible. Or a descriptive/indicative formulation would require a form *yṯqy*, while *yṯq* normally represents an abbreviated/volitive verbal form. I am full aware that one cannot force this argument too much.⁵⁰ But in this case, the regular verbal morphology seems to make good sense and we can dispense with applying an irregular use. On the other hand, I cannot accept the semantic interpretation that views this magical action in accordance with the biblical episode of the Bronze Serpent (Nm 21:8–9). We can think of a bronze or rather a clay figurine used in this gesture, but in no Mesopotamian incantation text of this kind (*Namburbi/Ušburruda*, etc.; and we are surely within Mesopotamian tradition if we assume the East Semitic *hapax* /ṯqy/) is an living serpent or its figurine used as a positive apotropaic means to avert snakebite.⁵¹ On the contrary, it is always used as a magical object to be destroyed, with the intention of returning to it the curse it intends to produce.⁵² The biblical parallels can be found

⁴⁹ This is an old proposal already recorded in DUL s.v., but recently put forward by Bordreuil, P. 2007:35–36, and endorsed by Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2009b:75ff., in keeping with the Biblical narrative about the “bronze serpent” and the episode of the plague of serpents in the desert (Num 21:4–9). Nevertheless, it is a lexical *hapax* in Ugaritic with no parallel in any other West- or South-Semitic language, and so a clear East-Semitic loan.

⁵⁰ See Tropper, J. 2012:695ff.; Verreet, E. 1988:61ff.; also below on line 62.

⁵¹ See the texts quoted by Finkel, I.L. 1999:231f (“crush it”). Caplice R.I. 1974:11 sums up the rites to remove the incumbent evil, in this case a snake attack: “we can single out four dominant themes that underline many of them: destruction, obstruction, substitution, and simulation (destructive also)”. On the apotropaic use of figurines/amulets see Braun-Holzinger, E.A. 1999. But these scholars do not deal with serpents in incantation texts and even so, only two “mythological” serpents appear on apotropaic amulets found in excavations (pp. 166–167).

⁵² “[Die Schlange (or das Figürchen der Schlange) he]bt er hoch und ...spricht er: Trage fort das von dir (ausgehende) Unheil ...”; see Maul, St.M. 1994:299. The text has no apotropaic sense, on the contrary the snake is to be forced by word and ritual as an enemy element to yield in his evildoing. The snake always has “to be raised” (Sum. *ÎL*) from the ground where it creeps (see Ex 4:4: *šēlah yādkā weʿəḥoz*).

elsewhere.⁵³ Therefore, I take /tqy/ D (*ya:uṭaqqī*) to mean “to elevate” = “to lift up” (Sp. “levantar (algo del suelo)”) in coordination with *yšlḥ-m* (enclitic – *m* of emphasis) as parallel to the Akk. *ina qātiki tanašši-ma* ... (“you lift (them) up in your hands”) to be found for instance in VAT 8276,⁵⁴ used in respect of figurines, and Ug. /grš/ in an incantation against serpents such as KTU 1.82:40. A similar verbal pair can be seen in KTU 1.23:27–28: (*mṭ ydh*) *yšū yr šmmh*, “(the rod in his hand) he raised (and) threw skyward”. Otherwise “hochzuheben” in the biblical sense⁵⁵ and “fortzuschicken” are contradictory and impossible simultaneously as a “magische Begleitungsaktion”.⁵⁶

The section ends with a single colon that describes the frustrated wait of the charmer. He is the subject of these verbs,⁵⁷ in the volitive (*yṭq*, *yšlḥ*) and indicative moods (*y^fdb* and *yṭb*). On the other hand, the contrast between *Ḥōrānu* and the other deities entreated lies in their non-appearance or in their failure to react to the request in the face of *Ḥōrānu*’s rapid reaction. With it we reach the last section of the text, after lines 8–60, with eleven word-for-word repetitions of lines 1–7, studied above. Only the names and dwelling-places of the various gods vary.

Lines 61–69: The message entrusted to *Šapšu* and supposedly delivered by her to the addressee, in this last case *Ḥōrānu*, is interrupted obviously by him, in “reaction” to the bad news it implies: the prospective attack by serpents on the progeny of the *ūm pḥl pḥlt*. As usually happens in this literary form, the subject’s face “is undone, contorted”, always introduced by the preposition *b* + *-h*/PN.⁵⁸ It is illogical to assume here a reaction of fear on behalf of the being who asked the messenger to take the message to the god, whose supposed inimical behaviour toward her sons she had already experienced.⁵⁹ Why then apply to this deity? If in terms of form we have *Ḥōrānu*’s “reaction” to

⁵³ See Schipper, B.U. 2009a:419–436; Schipper, B.U. 2009b:369–387.

⁵⁴ See Abusch, Tz. – Schwemer, D. 2011:301; and the incantation called: *anašši dipāra šalmiš-unu aqallu*, “I raise the torch, I burn their figurines” (e.g. p. 354). For another example of snake manipulation see Maul, St.M. 1994:275: “legts du jene Schlange auf einen Kotfladen ...”.

⁵⁵ See Bordreuil, P. 2007.

⁵⁶ Instead, Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2009b:98 speak of “die mit *tqy D ‘erhöhen, hochheben’ verbundenen negative Konnotation”.

⁵⁷ Were it not for the quoted formulaic character of the phrase, one could speculate with an impersonal version: “one prepares a chair (for *Šapšu*) and it is repeated”, assuming that the goddess comes back from her mission and the new request is introduced in this way; in this regard see Del Olmo Lete, G. 2014:307, n. 99.

⁵⁸ See Del Olmo Lete, G. 1981a:55–57

⁵⁹ See in this sense Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2009b:93: “Wegen Ḥoron wurde sie im Gesicht traurig ...”.

bad news in the first bicolon, in terms of content it is the beginning of a mythological fragment in verse, the aetiological mytheme of the incantation gesture against serpent venom. It will be preferable, therefore, to translate it as a narrative, using mythological syntax and dividing the whole section into a sequence of three moments: 1) lines 61–62a: psychological reaction to the message; 2) lines 62b–67a: prompt reaction by *Ĥôrānu* to assist the supplicant, approaching the place/town where the danger threatens and developing the actual and prototypical way of facing such threat; 3) lines 67b–71a. 71b–74: *Ĥôrānu* approaches the dwelling-place of the supplicant to confirm his resolve to provide from now on the correct means of deliverance, making her palace “the house of the incantation” looked for, taking the supplicant, the *um p̄hl p̄hlt*, as his wife, accepted on condition of giving her his own power over serpents. This closing theogamy seals the myth of *Ĥôrānu* and wife (we do not know her name) as the patron gods of this kind of magic activity.

The subject of *ttkl* is obviously the supplicant *um*, “mother”, and her “creatures” cannot be other than the *p̄hl/p̄hlt*, who focus the attention of the moment. In turn, the city *d qdm* must be the dwelling-place of “*Šapšu*’s daughter”, who is, consequently, an astral deity. In this context may be placed “the horses of the Sun” mentioned above (see n. 39). Like the bulls and cows attributed to the moon-god *Sin* in Mesopotamian mythology,⁶⁰ horses seem to belong in the circle of the other great astral deity, *Šamaš/Šapšu*, through her unknown daughter, the *um p̄hl p̄hlt*.⁶¹

The “reaction” would thus be limited to the first colon of the tricolon and the other two cola would explain it, according to the pattern of cause/effect. On the other hand, the mention of the “City” (*ʿr*) is *proleptic* and gives way to *Ĥôrānu*’s intervention by coming to the rescue of the supplicant, opening with the well-known clause of travelling (in the “fulfilment” moment),⁶² specifying by name the city approached, *āršḥ* (*ʿAraššihu*) and here reproduced by a standard tricolon. The city was of course well-known to all the gods of the pantheon. I do not think it necessary to take this section as a quotation introduced as a “redaktionelle Einschub”.⁶³ In fact it represents the climax of the text inas-

⁶⁰ See Del Olmo Lete, G. 1992:70.

⁶¹ See Loretz, O. 2011:131ff., 242ff. On the topic see now Koch, I. 2012. In their turn, Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2000c:312 describe this “göttliche Gestalt” as follows: “Es handelt sich um eine weibliche Figur aus dem Kreis der Sonne, die in besonderer Weise mit den aufgezählten drei Bereichen der Natur (*p̄hl/p̄hlt*, *ʿn/ābn*, *šmm/thm*) verbunden ist, sozusagen als Personifikation der jeweiligen Bereiche gelten darf”.

⁶² See Del Olmo Lete, G. 1981:54–55.

⁶³ See Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2009b:89, 94, 103. The interpretation of the section by these scholars is nevertheless correct: “eine Beschwörung gegen Schlangengift ... die Darstellung eines Rituals”.

much as it provides the actual model for the “incantation/ritual” that the *ûm p̄hl p̄hlt* was asking for and that the charmer/exorcist was awaiting, while sitting down. It is therefore to be credited with a primordial significance in the aim, structure and development of the text, incompatible with the character of “eine Einschub”. The pattern developed here prototypically is the one found in this type of magic intervention: striking with a rod or the branch of a special plant and dissolving the venom in water or carrying it away by a flood (see KTU 1.16 VI 8; 1.169:5; 1.178:1–3). This statement forms an *inclusio* with the theme of venom at the beginning of the text. It is now a question of transmitting to the supplicant the power manifested and exercised by means of a magic formula that encapsulates it. This is dealt with in the following section.⁶⁴

Having cleared the City of serpents and their venom, *Ḫôrānu* approaches the palace of the supplicant from whose environs the danger had also disappeared following his crushing intervention and in which her titular has enclosed herself (possibly out of fear?). With this scene we reach the last episode of the text. A ruled line singles out this last motif of the third section which shows a thematic correspondence to the rubric in line 7 in the first section, in respect of the petitioner’s behaviour (note the *inclusios*: *ʿdb, mnt, nhš*). But now, instead of receiving the god who has responded and removed the poison, the door is closed. However, the gesture is not one of rejection, but the typical hiding/bargaining of courtship and nuptial agreement, expressed by means of an exchange of dialogue. The understanding between both deities ends in a wedding, a divine theogamy, the particular saving act, as a permanent condition achieved by the deities who cure snakebite. *Ḫôrānu* asks the palace to be opened to him, a building he defines as “the house of incantation”, showing in this way his desire to make it the seat of an effective fight against snake attacks and the place where to look for the effective incantation formula, depositing in it his power in this respect.⁶⁵ But the inhabitant of the palace, surely the *ûm p̄hl p̄hlt* of the opening lines, wants to have a formal guarantee and formalise the meeting as a permanent wedding agreement, offering herself as *Ḫôrānu*’s wife, which will without any doubt assure her a share in his power. The god accepts and the divine patronage against snakebite is canonically fixed in this field of magic and the structure of its procedure determined as a token of the universal magic power against any kind of evil, with its seat now in the “City of Ancient Times”, the new abode of the god *Ḫôrānu* who may be supposed to abandon his ancient residence in

⁶⁴ For the use of “water” as a destructive element in incantations see the Akkadian parallel cited by Farber, W. 1981:52; also Maul, St.M. 1994:286.

⁶⁵ See Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2009b:88, 90.

mšd (?). By means of this theogamy, this god ascends to Heaven, to the Sun's domain, "the Sky and the Deep" (*šmm w thm*) unite and the magical power is incorporated into the universal divine sphere of religion under the patronage of a daughter of the pantheon as well.

4 KTU 1.100 in a Comparative Perspective: Ugarit and Beyond

To our surprise, one can find these same motifs glossed and developed in KTU 1.179:30–35, as was already pointed out by the editors of that text.⁶⁶ There the house (*bt*) is mentioned, more explicitly "the house of her 'price'" (*mhrh*), which recalls the *mhr* given to her by *Ḫôrānu* (KTU 1.100:75). In this case, the god can also enter the house, otherwise closed, but not before asking loudly (*ytn gh w yšh*) "who is in the house?" (*m bbt*). From inside comes the answer of the lady: "Here I am, 'the Queen of the Incantation'" (*ānk mlkt mntn*).⁶⁷ This was already known from KTU 1.100:70–71, where the house addressed by the god was called *bt mnt*, "the incantation house". In both cases we have a certain bestowing of gifts in the context of a courtship encounter. From its close, it seems that this recitative text (*mspr*) was composed to celebrate this *mlkt mntn*. It is impossible to deny a relationship between both texts.

But before going into a more detailed comparative perspective, let us first touch on a small question related to classification. It has been suggested that our text belongs to the category of Mesopotamian *namburbi* incantations.⁶⁸ Certainly, some of these actually aim at preventing and "solving" snake attacks, but possibly the coincidence stops there. KTU 1.100 not being a particular text to be used in the practice of magic as such (see on the contrary KTU 1.82, 1.96, 1.178), but rather a "foundation" or aetiological myth, its structure is very different, although both models share some motifs. The *namburbi* genre is actually preventative and future-oriented, but it depends on a previous "omen" that it attempts to invalidate,⁶⁹ while our text and the concrete model it prefigures do not operate on actual episodes of snake attacks nor depend on a previous omen. A simple comparative look at the texts makes this clear.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ See Caquot, A., Dalix, A.-S. 2001:401.

⁶⁷ For this version see also Márquez, Ig. 2008:471.

⁶⁸ See the references in Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2000c:266ff. (to Astour, Young), 383.

⁶⁹ See Caplice, R.I. 1974:7ff.; Maul, St.M. 1998–2001; Maul, St.M. 1999.

⁷⁰ In this regard I would rather suggest a rapprochement to the *zikurudû* incantation genre. See Caplice, R. 1974:9; Abusch, Tz. – Schwemer, D. 2011:407ff

In fact, the question of the literary genre of KTU 1.100 must be viewed from a wider religio-historical perspective. It is in this context that the text may reveal its whole significance. In this connection, W. van Binsbergen and F. Wiggermann, in their significant study on magic in the Ancient Near East,⁷¹ have made explicit the duplication of powers that encompasses the “religious” life of the Mesopotamian people; a view that continues into our own times in many societies. In order to cope with the difficulties and oddities of any kind that they encounter in their lives, people have recourse to the gods and their powers and to magic and its mechanisms. It seems that “at the beginning” there were two independent transcendent power systems⁷² and that later, “magic” was in some way subsumed under the “divine”, in this way gaining access to the cult and temple.⁷³ But even so, magic remained the exclusive domain of certain patron deities while the rest of the pantheon had no access to it, either positively to activate it or negatively to fight against it. KTU 1.100 is an outstanding formulation of this ideology.

71 See Van Binsbergen, W., Wiggermann, F. 1999:1–34.

72 An echo of this duplication of powers can be also heard in the story of Gn 2–3 in the functionality of both, the “serpent”, God’s creature and his adversary (Gn 3:1–5), and in the “tree of life”, that even if planted by Yahweh (Gn 2:9), can produce its effects against his will and decision (Gn 3:22). See below.

73 See *supra* p. 11ff.

Conclusion: *īl* and *ḥrn*: Divine Power versus Magic

In Ugarit, the distinction between divine and magical powers becomes apparent both in the predominant “atheistic” character of the magical texts, which often do not include a reference or recourse to any deity¹ and in the explicit and almost provocative way that the gods of the Ugaritic pantheon are treated in KTU 1.100. As is well known, all the great gods of this pantheon (including its head, the supreme god *īl*, and the skilful *ktr whss*) are discredited as incompetent to heal or prevent snakebite. It is extremely surprising in this connection to see that the goddess *ʿAnatu*, who in the Baal myth boasts of having slain primordial monsters, including the *btñ ʿqltn*, *šlyt d šbšt rāšm* (KTU 1.3 III 41–44), is unable, like the other great gods, to accept *Šapšu*’s request to prevent snakebite. In the “Epic of *Kirta*” this “theological” provocation is solved to some extent (by healing an illness): here it is the god *ʿIlū* who acts as the god of magic, the rest of the silent gods again confessing themselves unable to intervene (KTU 1.16 V 10ff.). Also a correction of this attack on the canonical system and the preeminence of the supreme father god supposed in KTU 1.100 is provided in another text, this time of magical praxis against empirical snakes biting (KTU 1.107:38). The litanic invocation of deities asked “to remove the poison” begins with *īl whrn* as the first couple of the series. It may be seen here as an attempt to harmonise the two power systems, “divine” and “magic” (the main “thesis” of KTU 1.100), as such this coupling is completely alien to the canonical mythological system of Ugarit. In it, the supreme god couples only with his consort, *ʿAtrt* (cf. KTU 1.65:5), the mother of the gods (her “seventy sons”) or presides in first position in the sequence of Ugaritic deities, in the pantheon lists and in the ritual texts as well.² In this connection also, a text such as KTU 1.82, although very fragmentary, becomes particularly interesting. In line 6, the same afflicted person utters the “Sun’s cry” (*ql špš*): *ḥw*, “live safe”, directed towards the god *Baʿlu* so that “the serpents, with the coriander, *Baʿlu*, [let him take them away] with the *prtl*-plant”. In other words, here *Baʿlu* is given the same role and magic technique that are *ḥrn*’s in KTU 1.100:64ff., a role for which *Baʿlu* was unable to give a positive answer in lines 8–13. A similar situation obtains in KTU 1.124, where the answer to the cultic consultation in search for a prophylactic remedy on behalf of a royal infant (probably), refers to the “joint” patronage of both gods, *Ḥōrānu* and *Baʿlu*, but each one

¹ See Del Olmo Lete, G. 2014:47–49.

² See Del Olmo Lete, G. 2014:53–60.

acting from his own temple.³ This is a clear evidence, on the one hand, for the unification of the two power systems mentioned earlier and on the other, of their differentiation. One gets the impression that, on the one hand, the issue of the assimilation of magic into religious praxis was not definitively settled at Ugarit and, on the other, *Ḥôrānu*'s exclusive patronage did not easily gain the upper hand.

In KTU 1.100, on the contrary, the only god able to respond to the request for intervention is *ḥrn*, a god who does not have a place in the Ugaritic pantheon, which means that he is not recognised as a referent in the canonical religion and cult of Ugarit. In fact, he is neither invoked nor included in *any cultic text*. Instead, he is invoked in various incantations (besides KTU 1.100:58ff. cf. KTU 1.82:27, 41; 1.107:31, 38; 1.169:9; also KTU 1.124:6 and 1.179:33) and as the subject of the curse formula (KTU 1.16 VI 55; cf. 1.2 I 7), a classic instrument of magic with immediate and autonomous effect. He is nevertheless a “god”. But even so, like *īl* in KTU 1.16 (*Kirta*'s illness), he also has to make recourse to some magical “instrument” (cf. KTU 1.100:64ff.) which really contains the power. The deity has the “know-how” to set the process in motion, although the power is not his but the instrument's (plant or figurine-genius).

Therefore, *ḥrn* represents a primordial situation, parallel to the one that *īl* governs and commands. Consequently, we are invited to interpret KTU 1.100 in a mythical setting⁴ and to take it not merely as an incantation against empirical snake bites but rather as a canonical mythical text, as becomes clear from its closing theogamy.⁵ In this myth, the chthonian god *ḥrn*⁶ acquires as his wife a daughter of the astral goddess *špš* (the “Sun”), uniting in this way sky and earth, Heaven and Underworld, the astral and the chthonian, and receiving the “serpents” as her wedding gift. These consequently acquire the significance also of a primordial threatening power, able to attack the Sun's offspring⁷ as a symbol/token of any other pernicious attack they are able to

³ See *supra* p. 97 (on KTU 1.124).

⁴ See Dietrich, M., O. Loretz. 2009:75–108 (“Der altorientalische Kontext von KTU 1.100 – mythisch-göttliches Urbild – menschliches Abbild – KTU 1.100 als Beschwörungs(text)”) (99–100).

⁵ Cf. Young, D.W. 1977: 291–314; but I do not share his version of the text.

⁶ On the chthonian character of the god *Horon* see Pope, M.H., Röllig, W. 1965:288f. (*Horon*); Gese, H. 1970: 145–146 (*Horon*); Xella, P. 1992:219f.; Rüterswörden, U. 1999:425–426; Garbini, G. 2011:53.

⁷ The text does not speak of the “Sun's horses”, although this is a “logical” conclusion if the supplicant, the “Sun's daughter”, is the “mother of the stallion (and) the mare”. On the “Sun's horses” in Mesopotamia and among West-Semites, see Loretz, O. 2011:131–137, 351.

carry out at an empirical level. In fact, most of the anti-magic Ugaritic texts appear in the form of incantations against snakebite (KTU 1.82; 1.107; 1.178 as well as 1.100). As in many a religion, in Ugarit also, this primordial evil power has a serpentine shape (KTU 1.5 I 1 and par.: *ltn b̄tn br̄h*: *Lôtānu/Leviathan*).

Another aspect that proves the mythical character of KTU 1.100 is the question of *h̄rn*'s abode. It is unmistakably called a *m̄sd*,⁸ while the dwelling of the supplicant daughter of the Sun has the name *ār̄šh*.⁹ Both these divine abodes, like all the others, must belong to mythical geography and do not occur in empirical sources. Moreover, *ūm p̄hl p̄hl't*'s abode (which will become *h̄rn*'s also), is qualified as *ʾr d qdm*, frequently translated as “the city of East”,¹⁰ a suitable residence for the offspring of the Sun. But *qdm* may have also a temporal meaning: “the City of Ancient Times”, bearing in mind that we are dealing with a primordial confrontation of powers in a time (and space) outside the empirical one.¹¹ In this aspect, space and time coincide and such a qualifier could well correspond to the *u r u - u l - l a* of the Sumerian pre-*Anu* god-list of TCL 15 10 (I:33), present in the DN ^DEN-UR-UL-LA,¹² “the lord of the city of old times” (see also *u₄ - r i - a*, “in illo die”). Such an epithet would correspond to the primordial character (“pre-*Anu*/²*Ilu*”,¹³ “before” the creation/generation

⁸ The TN *m̄sd* is a mythical or mythologized TN, like the rest of the divine abodes cited in KTU 1.100 (*mbk nhrm*, *špn*, *innb*, *lrgt*(?), *bbt*(?), *h̄ryt*(?), *št̄rt*, *šmm*), except for the real, ancient place-names (*t̄tl*, *kptr*, *mr*) and also the mythologized TNN denoting the abodes of foreign (*dgn*, *k̄tr*) or interpolated (*št̄rt*) deities. In keeping within the chthonian character of the deity, it must be considered as a designation of the Underworld. It has been interpreted either as “fortress” (cf. Heb. *m̄šûdāh*) or “steppe” (cf. *šyd (?)); see Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2000b:339ff.; Pardee, D. 1988:213 n. 69; Caquot, A. 1989:89 n. 275; a connection with Akk. *mašādu*, “melting pot”, is unlikely, taking into account the Semitic conception of the “Underworld”.

⁹ Apparently, this TN corresponds to Hurr.-Akk. *Araššihu*, the river Tigris. But seems unlikely that such a well-known real name of a river would be applied to a mythical city (see Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2000b:342, 356f.). This TN, of artificial formation, is possibly modelled on the phonetic pattern of the Sumerian wording: UR-SAG(-AN-NA), “pristine (heavenly) city” and UR-SAG(-MAH), “ancient capital”, or even of the name of the Sumerian god of magic *asar-lú-ḫi* / *Asalluḫi*. Cf. Hallo, W.W. 1996:15. In Mesopotamian tradition, the abode of Nin-gir-ima, the incantation goddess, is called *m u - r u^k*, also *ʾIšhara(yu)*'s palace. See Krebern timer, M. 1984:259f. For a discussion on the etymology of *ūr̄šh* see Watson, W.G.E. 2012a:29.

¹⁰ See Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2000c:342, 356.

¹¹ In Ugarit the royal ancestors are qualified as *rp̄um qdmym* (KTU 1.161:4, 24). This temporal/primordial value of *qdm* may be found also in the creation story of Gn 2:8. See in this regard Stordalen, T. 2000:261ff.: “Standing alone – as in Gen 2:8 – the phrase simply means “beginning” or “old days”” (p. 268). Also Mettinger, T.N.D. 2007:14.

¹² See Hallo, W.W. 1996:13ff.; Horowitz, W. 1998:277.

¹³ See in this regard the basic systematization carried out by J. van Dijk of the different Sumerian tradition of primordial origins according to the text TCL XV 10: “1. Préexistence d'un univers embryonnaire dans le sein duquel vivaient les numina, les dieux chthoniens. 2.

of the acting gods of the pantheon) of the god *ḥrn*, “the one of the Underworld/Chaos”,¹⁴ superior in power (at least in the specific field of magic/“Serpent”, element of the primordial universe, as already mentioned¹⁵) to all the gods of the canonical pantheon, *ʾil* and *bʾl* included. Here we have two independent transcendental power systems that our text is attempting to harmonise.

The primordial Serpent(s) was(were) well-known to the Ugaritians: it(they) appear(s) in the Baal myth under the image of the primordial “Dragon(s)” assisting *Yammu* in his fight with *bʾl* (KTU 1.5 I 1–3: *bṭn brḥ / ʾqltn*) and of whose destruction *ʿAnatu* boasts (KTU 1.3 III 40–46: *tnn* ...), as was pointed out above. Their creation or filiation is not accounted for and they appear to belong to the primordial Chaos prior to the divine procreation of the pantheon. The primordial serpent will also appear in the biblical story of the *gn ʾdn*: it is incomprehensibly a “creature” and at the same time a slandered “adversary” of *yhwh* (Gn 4:1ff.): the unification of the two systems (this time in an ethical disguise) remains clumsy. This primordial “conflict of Yahweh with the Dragon” (the classic “Chaos-Kampf” motif) will be solemnly commemorated in Hebrew lyric (Pss. 24:1–2; 74:12–17; 89:10–13; and the literal eschatological transposition in Is. 27:1).¹⁶ Also the enigmatic figure of the *nḥštn*, incorporated into the Yahwistic temple cult, is a reflex of a primordial power. This power was historicised, like any other element of Canaanite religion adopted by biblical religion, by the connecting reference to an episode of the wandering in the wilderness, connaturally focussed on an empirical snake biting, as was also the case in Ugaritic anti-magical praxis. Does it imply that this danger was so prominently significant at the time as to conceal other dangers? In an urban civilisation, that is not easily presumed. This textual evidence is only acceptable under a prototypical value of its elements, above all of its main actant, the “Serpent”.

But in any case it is clear that the primitive two-power system is incorporated, more or less, in the religious conception: in Ugarit, by accepting an independent magical power; in Israel, by rejecting it. Yet for centuries it remained active in religious praxis and was ingrained in Israel’s conception of origins and of the resulting ethical world: the origin and persistence of “evil” is affirmed through the assumption of a primordial agent/system that cannot be easily reduced to a unique divine protagonist. In its turn, Ugarit

cet univers était conçu comme une ville, le ‘uru-ul-la’, la ‘cité de jadis’”. Cf. Van Dijk, J. 1996:1–59 (13).

¹⁴ In this regard see p. 203 above; Horowitz, W. 1988:277: “be exorcised by Enurulla and Ninurulla of ‘The Earth of No Return’”.

¹⁵ See Van Dijk, J. 1996:39–41 (AO 4153/NFT 180:1).

¹⁶ See Day, J. 1985; Mettinger, T.N.D. 2007:29f., 80ff.

also re-established the “orthodoxy” of the mythological system, as has been pointed out above, on the one hand, by making *īlu* the main and only magician among the gods (KTU 1.16 V 10ff.) and on the other, by linking him with *ḥrn* (KTU 1.107:38–44) as the deity to be invoked, along with the rest of the deities, although in KTU 1.100 they are all declared powerless in this respect, i.e. against the biting “snake”. It is difficult not to see here a polemical confrontation of texts.

KTU 1.100, then, is much more than a simple incantation¹⁷ for “use” in magic: it is the actual “myth of magic”, the unveiling of the power of incantation: its *hieròs lógos*, its mythological aetiology, “das göttliche Urbild/Vorbild” from which the incantation’s efficacy depends.¹⁸ The power of these incantations is the power of a god, now conferred on a goddess, the patron of such acts, who rules over any “serpent” and can prevent their attacks and neutralise their venom when her sons (the prototypical horses), are bitten. The mytheme is important, for it shows that in Canaan, magic was not considered as a force completely independent of divinity, but in some way linked to it, although not just simply available to any god. It was what the activity of the craftsman god *Kôṭaru* led to suppose, whose weapons were decisive in resolving the *Ba’lu-Yammu* conflict in favour of the former (KTU 1.2 IV 11ff.), but was also impotent in the case of snakebite, i.e. magic in general, according to lines 45–46. In this way, “divine” and “magic”, each originally with its independent and opposite myth, come to an agreement in presenting magic as tied to divine power and in some way to the divine will, which can be reached by prayer, exactly as shown by *pḥl*’s repeated plea to the gods. The fact of the matter is that not every god is able to do everything.

This, then, is a magico-mythical record (like KTU 1.114, and to some extent like KTU 1.23 and KTU 1.24) in which the magical activity of the incantation is to the fore, so justifying its inclusion among texts of this kind. Now, in view of the lack of Ugarite data in this connection and leaving aside long distance perspectives that would take us too far away and would not solve the philolog-

17 See already in this regard Tsevat, M. 1979: 759–778 (767ff.).

18 See in this respect Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2000c:263–402, *passim*; 2008:119–140; 2009b:89, 99–100. On the difficulty of the classification as an “incantation” and its relationship to “ritual” see Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2009b:78, 104: “KTU 1.100 macht uns mit einem Text bekannt, der ausführlich die Notwendigkeit göttlicher Präfiguration für das magische Handeln eines (akk.) *āšipu* / (ug.) *mlḥš* in Ugarit bewusst macht”. But I do not find it appropriate to speak in this connection of a “historiola”; see Pardee, D. 2002b:167; Kutter, J. 2008:106, 121–122. The classification of this text as “myth” had already been insisted on by Young, D.W. 1979:839–848. In turn, Stordalen, T. 2000: 205 speaks of a “primeval tale” as an equivalent classification.

ical problems which beset our text,¹⁹ we cannot avoid referring to neighbouring Mesopotamia, where the magical power system is from old incorporated into the general religious system. There, magic activity is the specific field of the divine couple *Enki-Asallu₁hi*/(Marduk) in the II millennium,²⁰ while in the III millennium, the goddess *Nin-girima*, from *Enlil*'s circle, is the actual deity of magic.²¹ This conflict of competences will be resolved as usual by making her the daughter of Enki and so the sister of *Asallu₁hi*.²² Her magical activity is still recalled in the Ugaritic syllabic text RS 17.155:18',²³ along with *Enki* and *Asallu₁hi*, as the "lady of incantations" (*nin.girima. ereš.mu₇.mu₇.ke*), which recalls the function of *um phl phlt* in the *bt mnt*, "house of incantation", quoted above (KTU 1.100:71), and the title *mlkt mnt*, "queen of incantation" (KTU 1.179:34). Nevertheless, the pair *Asallu₁hi-Nin-girim* is not easily comparable with Ugaritic *h₁rn-um phl phlt*. On the one hand, according the canonical interpretation, *h₁rn* in parallel with *Asallu₁hi* cannot be the son of Enki, who in Ugarit was equated with *k₁tr* (RS 20.24:15), a deity discredited by KTU 1.100:45–49 for this role. The god *h₁rn* is definitely an outsider at Ugarit.²⁴ On the other hand, *um phl phlt* is defined as "daughter of špš", a deity prominent in the Mesopotamian incantation texts. But *h₁rn*, her prospective husband and

¹⁹ From various indications in the text, it has been suggested that its immediate origin is recognisably Hurrian, probably connected with the care and cult of "horses", which the Hurrians probably took from the Indo-Aryan stratum of its population and transmitted to the Hittite world; see Loretz, O. 2011:126ff. This means that the many parallels with Indian literature provided by the text are justified, apart from other possible Mesopotamian and Egyptian influences. See Pardee, D. 1988:224; Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. 2000c:377–387. I believe, nevertheless, that the form of the text is typically west-Semitic, built "in parallel" to the east-Semitic model, texts of which were well-known at Ugarit. Other parallels may be coincidental.

²⁰ See in this regard Dietrich, M. 2012:183–223 (216f.):

²¹ A thorough description of the personality of this goddess can be found in Krebernik, M. 1984:233ff.

²² See Krebernik, M. 2003:365.

²³ See Krebernik, M. 2003:239.

²⁴ The difficulty of inserting the Mesopotamian deity of magic, well-known at Ugarit, into the Ugaritic pantheon is well appreciated by Dietrich, M. 2012:217: "Die Tatsache, dass Marduk (/ *Asallu₁hi*) anders als sein Vater Enki/Ea in Ugarit keine Bedeutung erlangen konnte und ihm folglich auch kein eigener Kult eingerichtet wurde, hing wohl davon ab, dass er in der neuen Heimat kein geistig-theologisches Pendant, kein Numen gefunden hat, mit dem ihn die Ugariter verbunden konnten". On the contrary, the identification of *k₁tr* with é-a/Enki corresponds to the generic qualification of this deity as "wise", not to his specific "magic" capabilities that KTU 1.100 excludes; such identification is in contradiction with KTU 1.100:45–49. Furthermore *h₁rn* should be considered *k₁tr*'s son (!), according to the Mesopotamian pattern. RS 20.24 is built up from a different perspective, that of a systematic equation of the main gods of both pantheons.

Underworld deity, without a known genealogy as a primordial chthonian god, cannot claim this filiation either. Nevertheless, the points of contact between *Nin.girima* and *um p̄hl p̄hlt* as deities of magic are evident. Of the three “Wesenmerkmale” that distinguish the Mesopotamian deity (“Bezug zum Wasser, Bezug zur Beschwörung, Bezug zu Schlangen”), the last two are clear and the first can be included in the third.²⁵ In this connection, an analysis of the possible relationship of *um p̄hl p̄hlt* to *ušhry* (RS 20.24:24, ^d*iš-ḫa-ra*) is worth considering, taking into account both deities’ connection with serpents as well as with *Nin-girim*.²⁶ Only through theogamy could *hrn* enter the Ugaritic religious and theological system.

However, in spite of all these approaches, the Ugaritic religious system proves to be independent and unique.

²⁵ See Krebernik, M. 2003:365.

²⁶ See in this regard the remark of Krebernik, M. 1984:255: “Als Stern ist Ningirima, die ‘Herrin der Reinigung’ (*bēlet tēlilti*), ... mit Išḫara geglichen”. For representation in the plastic arts see Del Olmo Lete, G. 1988:58, n. 33, 62f.

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Handcopies (by Ll. Feliu)

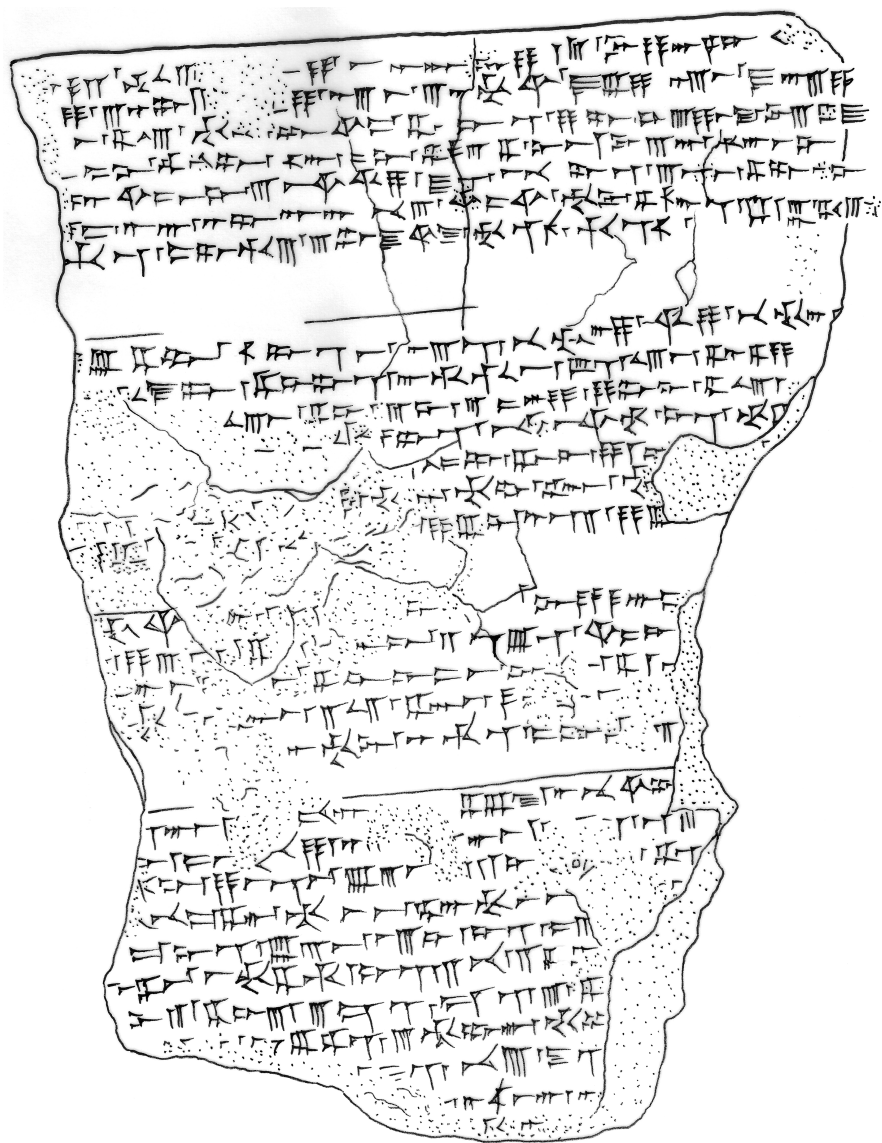


Fig. I: KTU 1.82/RS 15.134 obv.: 146 × 111 × 37 (handcopy by Lluís Feliu).

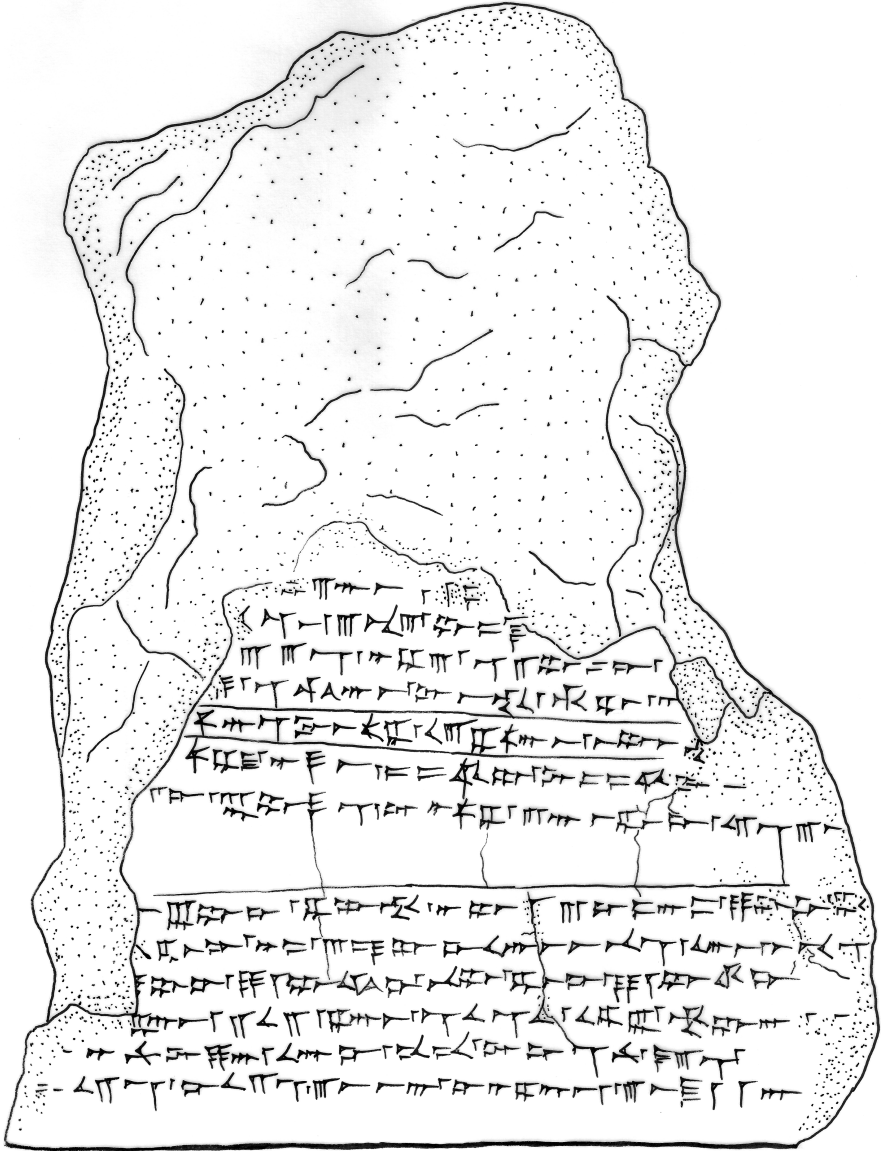


Fig. II: KTU 1.82/RS 15.134 rev.: 146 × 111 × 37 (handcopy by Lluís Feliu).

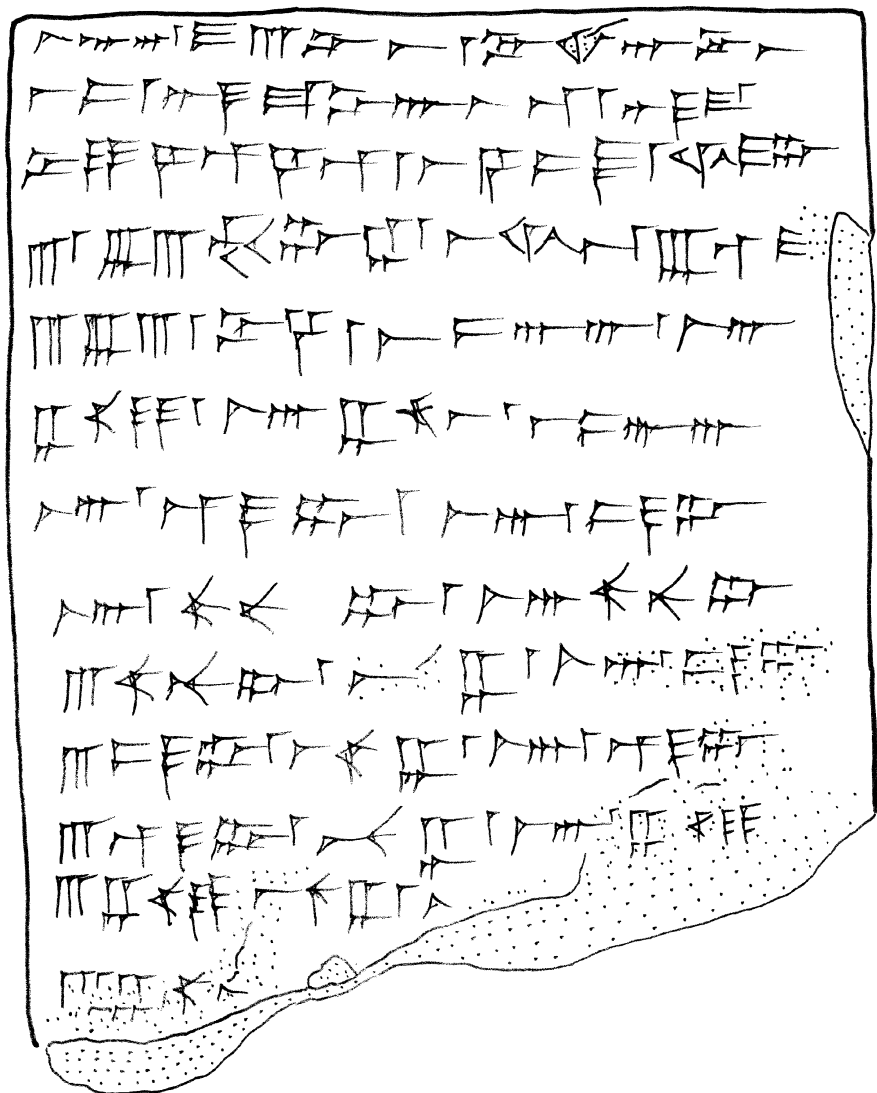


Fig. III: KTU 1.96/ RS 22.225 obv.: 78 × 65 × 23 (handcopy by Lluís Feliu).

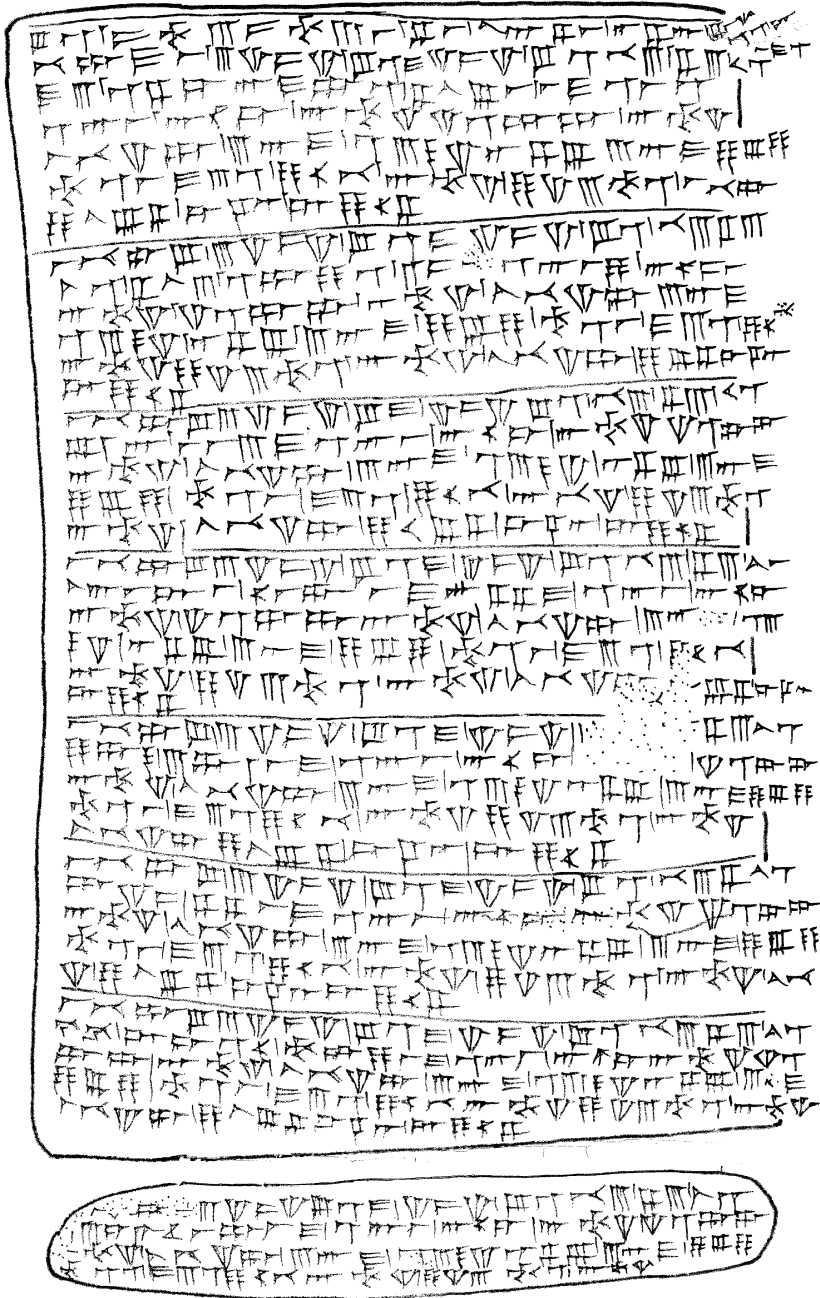


Fig. IV: KTU 1.100/RS 24.244 obv.; 240 × 160 × 39 (handcopy by Lluís Feliu).

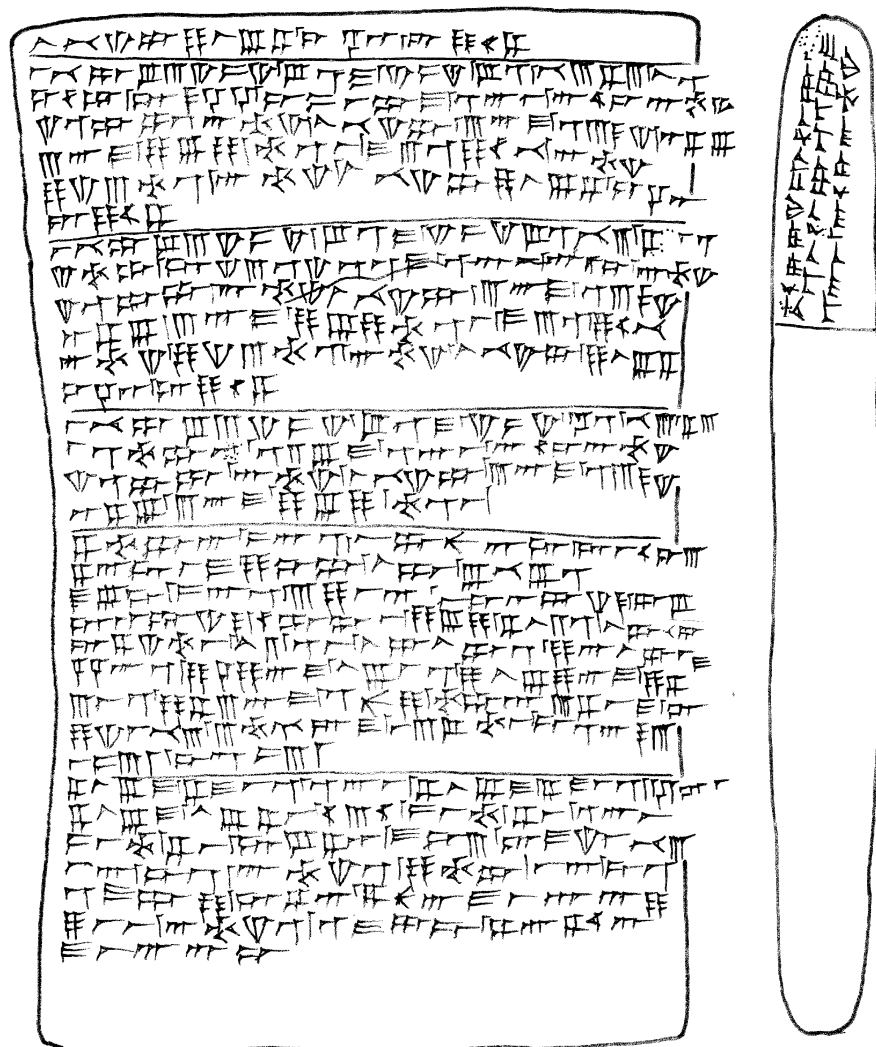


Fig. V: KTU 1.100/RS 24.244 rev.: 240 × 160 × 39 (handcopy by Lluís Feliu).

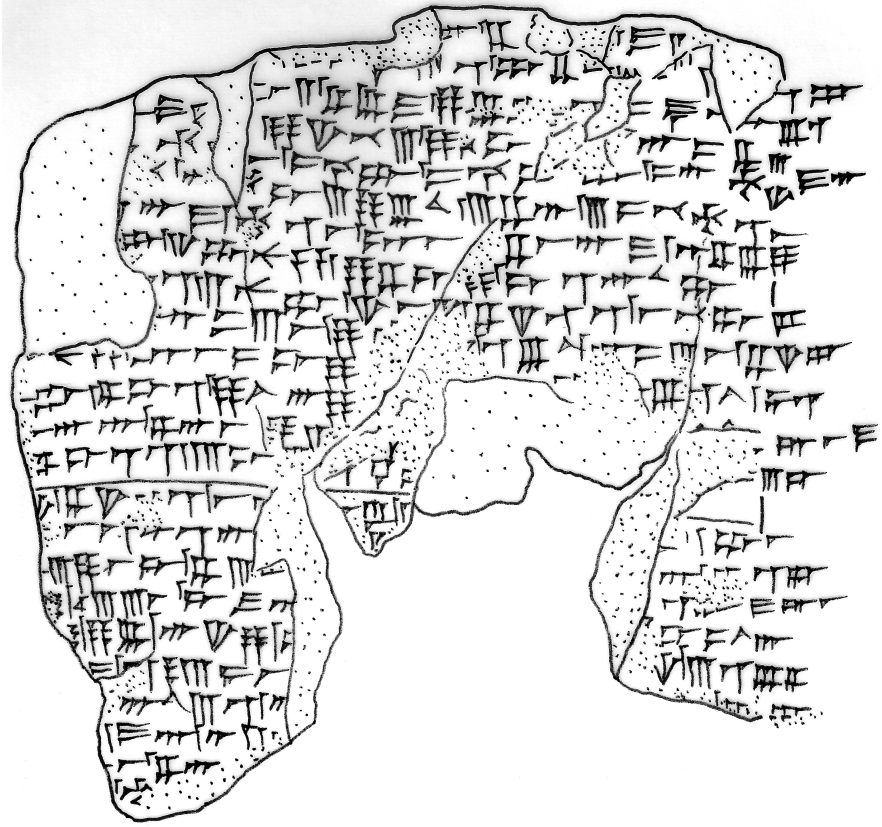


Fig. VI: KTU 1.107/24.251+ obv.: 188 × 201 × 52 (handcopy by Lluís Feliu).

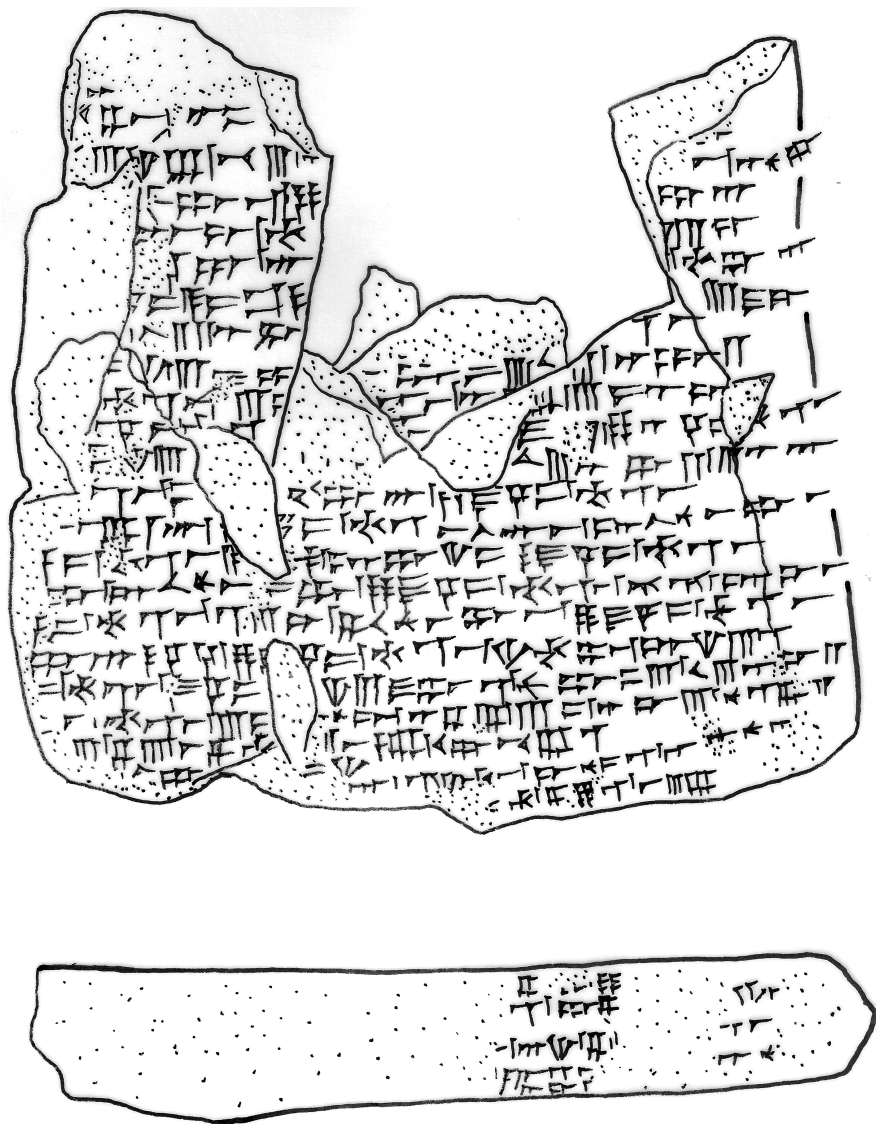


Fig. VII: KTU 1.107/RS 24.251+ rev.: 188 × 201 × 52 (handcopy by Lluís Feliu).

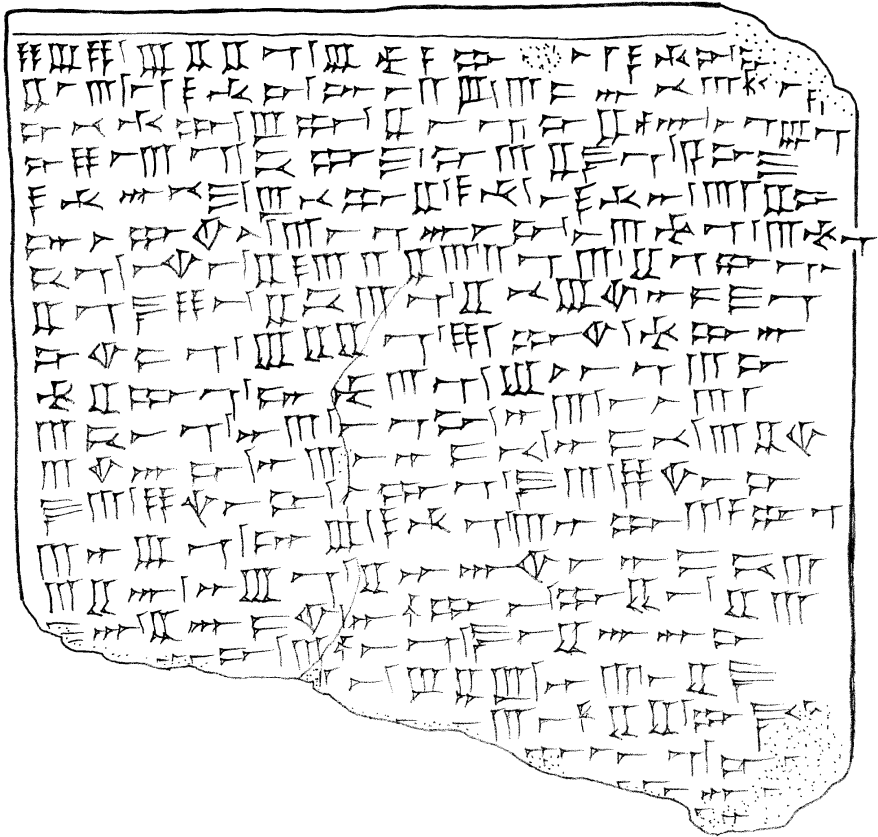


Fig. VIII: KTU 1.169/RIH 78/20 obv.: 142 × 150 × 33 (handcopy by Lluís Feliu).

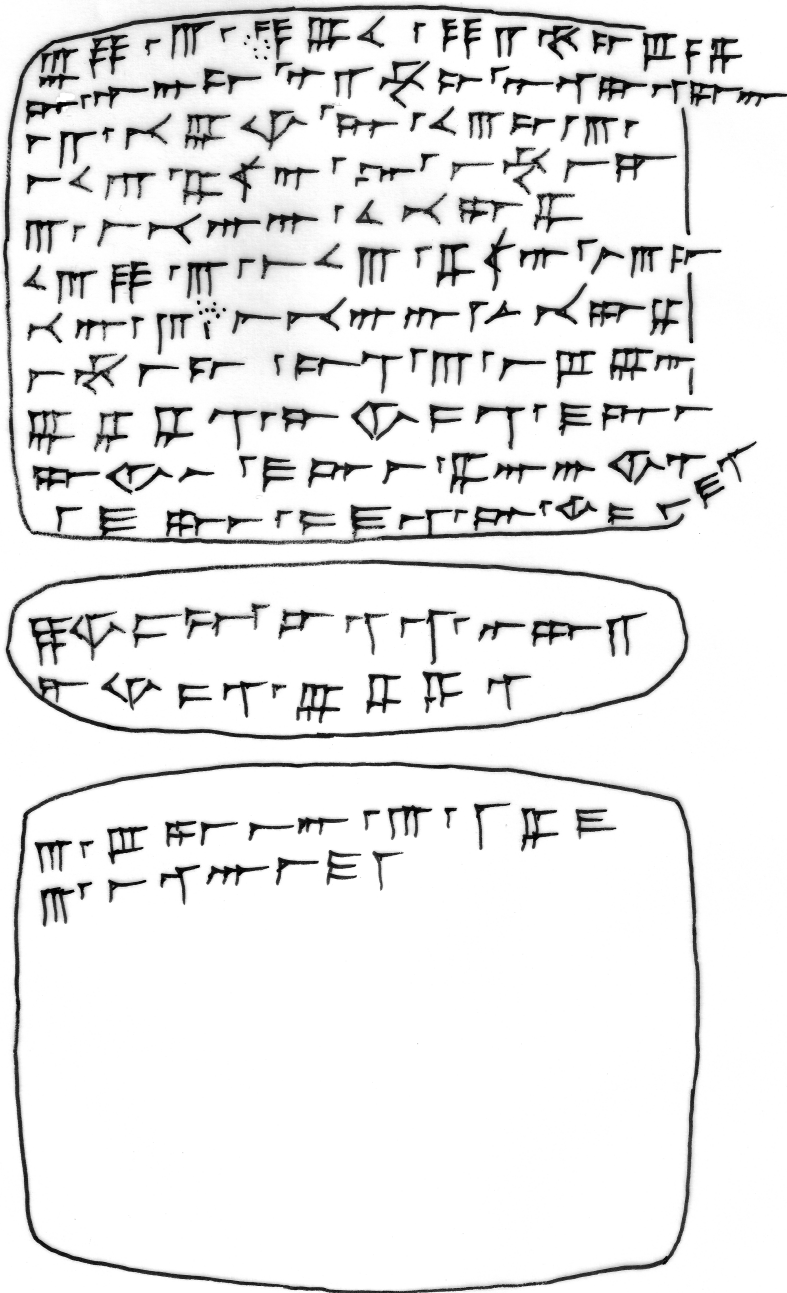
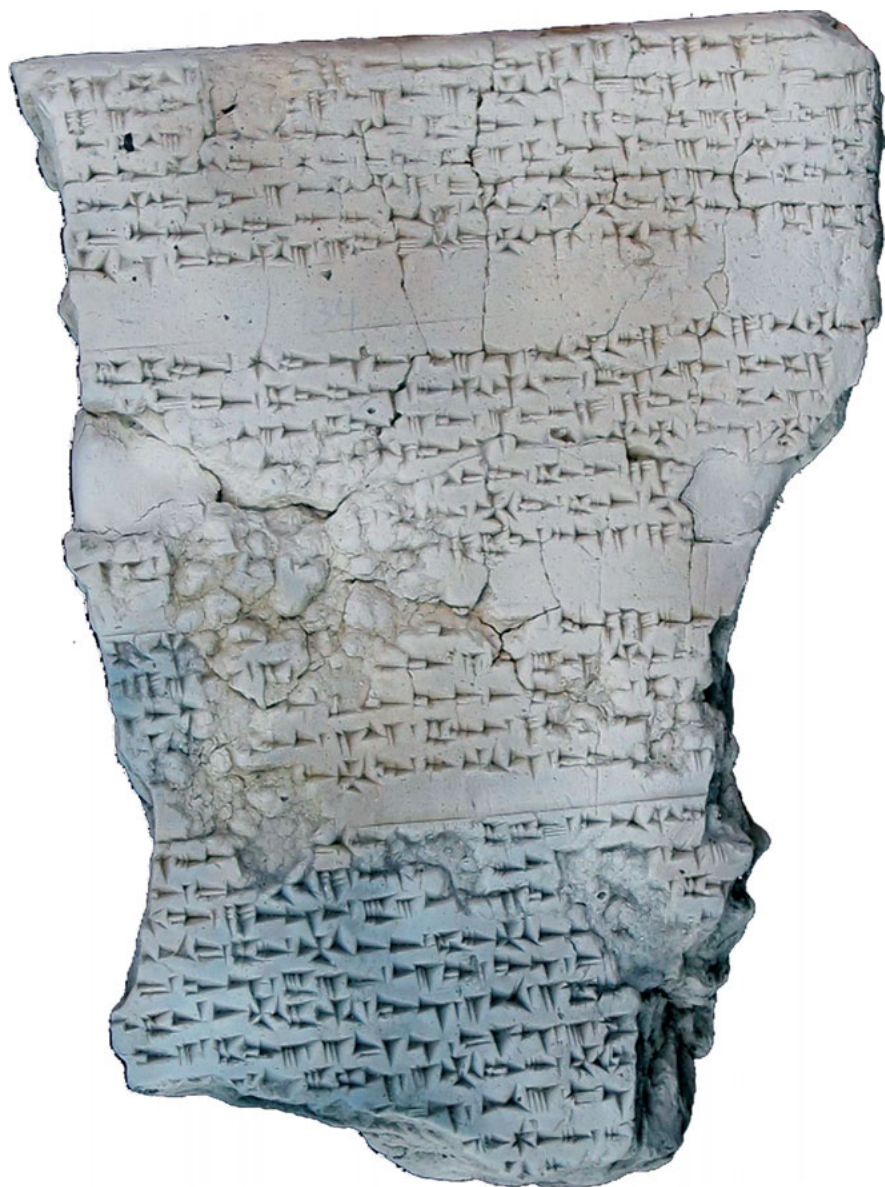
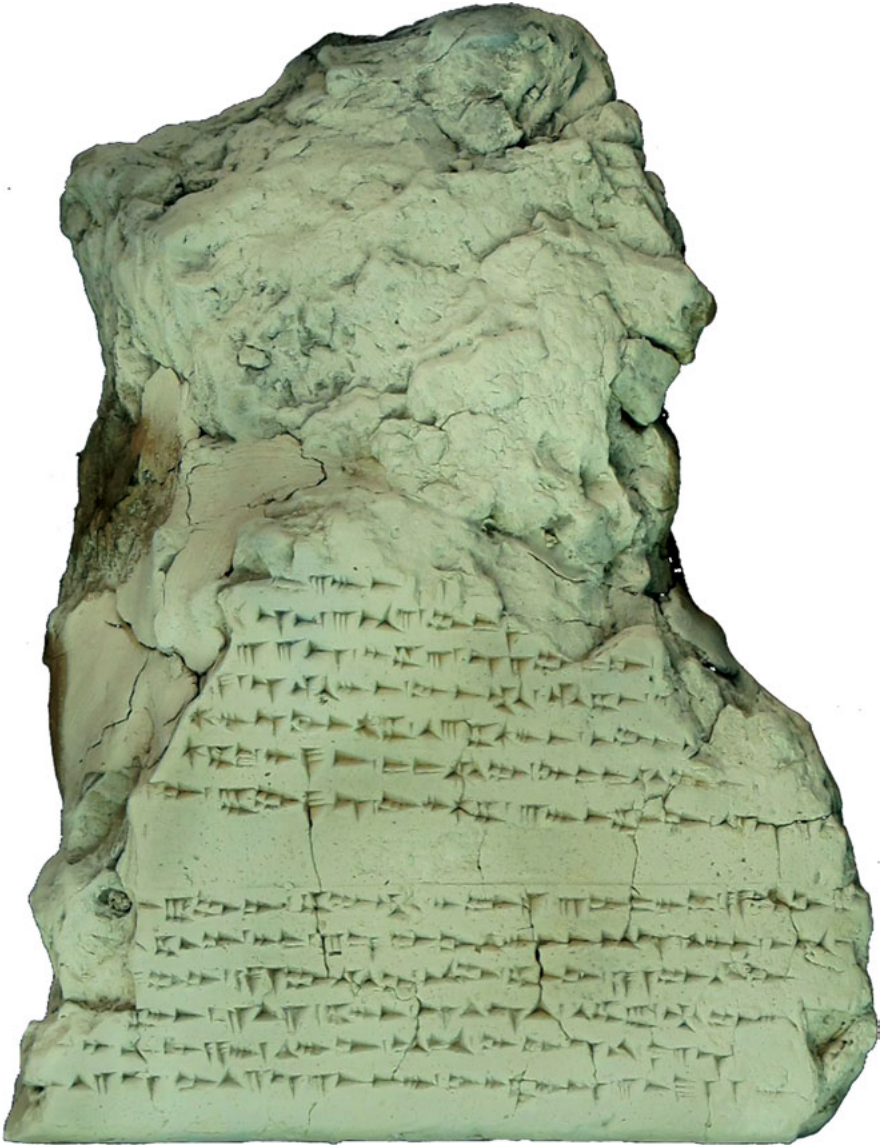


Fig. IX: KTU 1.178/RS 92.2014 obv./rev.: 51 × 65 × 18 (handcopy by Lluís Feliu).

Plates



KTU 1.82 obv. (RS 15.134) (Damascus DO 4001), 146 × 111 × 37 (Ph. D. ed-Dibbo).



KTU 1.82 rev. (RS 15.134) (Damascus DO 4001), 146 × 111 × 37 (Ph. D. ed-Dibbo).

Plate III — Ugaritic Tablets



a. KTU 1.82:1^a: *.mḥṣ.bṣl* (Ph. Ch.Virolleaud, PRU II, pl. IV).



b. KTU 1.82:1a: *.-ḥṣ.bṣl* (?) (Ph. D. ed-Dibbo).



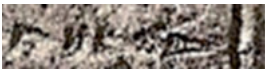
c. KTU 1.82:1b: *.tnn* (Ph. Ch. Virolleaud, PRU II, pl. IV).



d. KTU 1.82:1b: *.t/ān/t* (?) (Ph. D. ed-Dibbo).



e. KTU 1.82:43: *.ltnn* (Ph. D. ed-Dibbo).



f. KTU 1.6 VI 51: *.tnn* (Ph. CTA, pl. XIII).



g. KTU 1.3 III 40: *.tnn* (Ph. Smith-Pitard .*UBC* II).



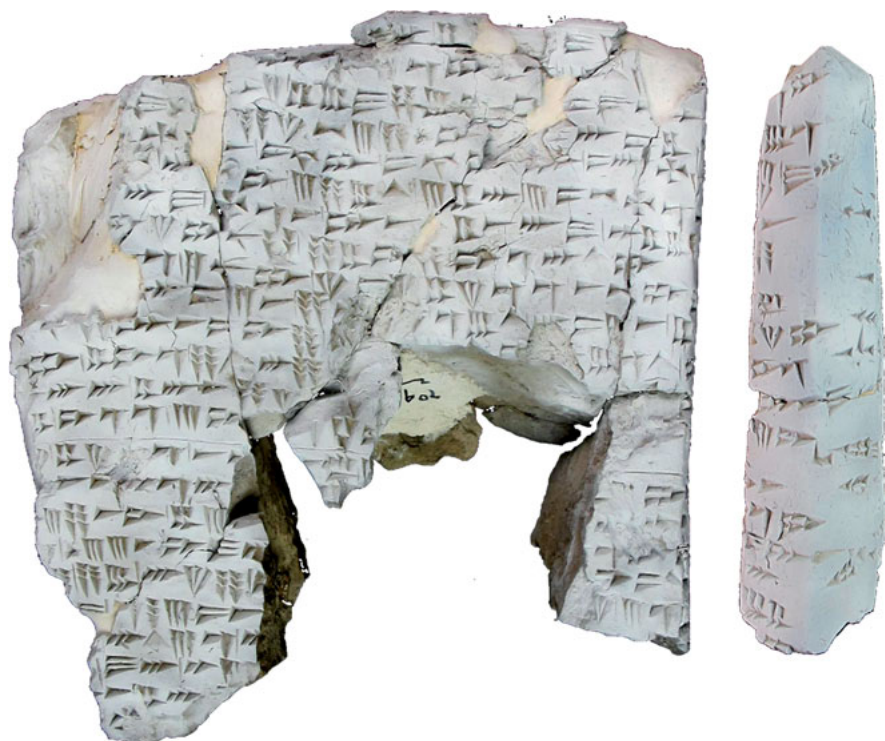
KTU 1.96 ob./rev. (RS 22.225) (Damascus DO 5796), 78 × 65 × 232 (Ph. D. ed-Dibbo).



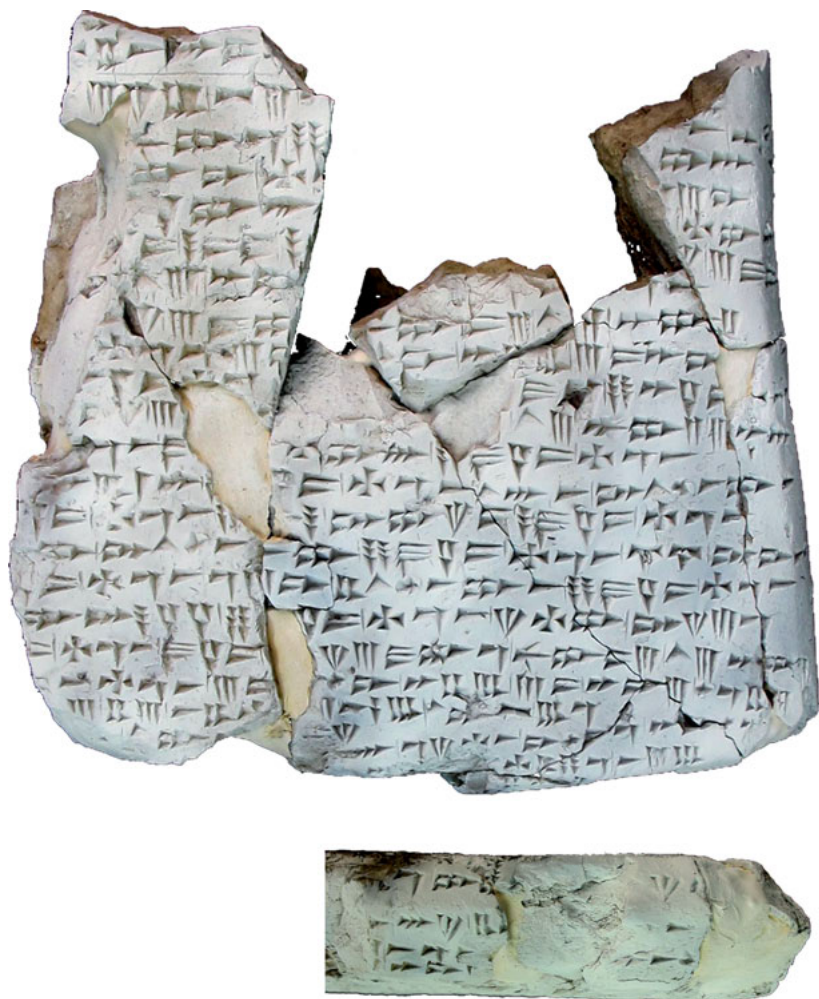
KTU 1.100 obv. (RS 24.244) (Damascus DO 6587), 249 × 160 × 39 (Ph. D. ed-Dibbo).



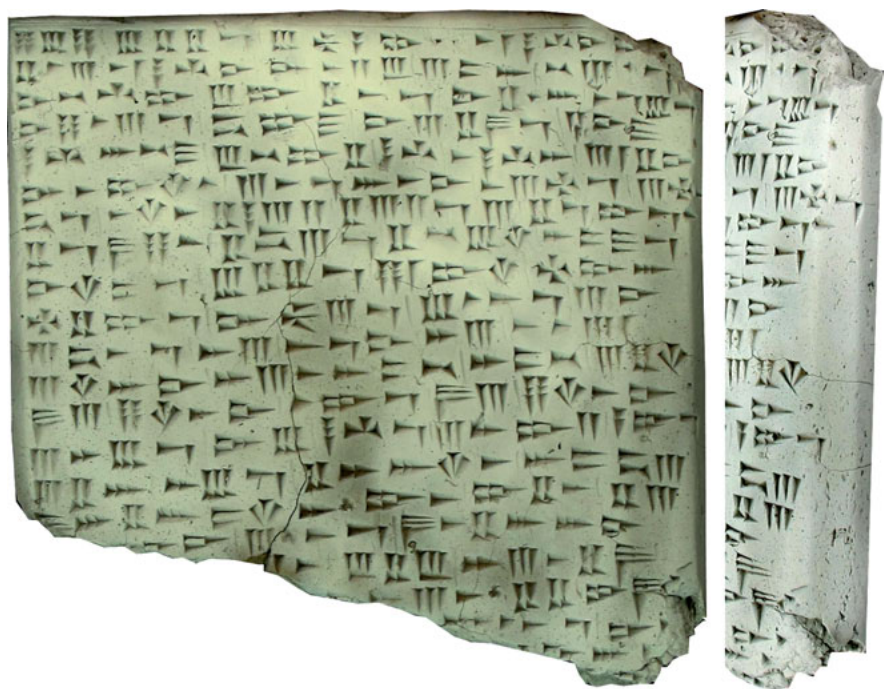
KTU 1.100 rev. (RS 24.244) (Damascus DO 6587), 249 × 160 × 39 (Ph. D. ed-Dibbo).



KTU 1.107 obv. (RS 24.251) (Damascus DO 6593), 188 × 201 × 52 (Ph. D. ed-Dibbo).



KTU 1.107 rev. (RS 24.251) (Damascus DO 6593), 188 × 201 × 52 (Ph. D. ed-Dibbo).



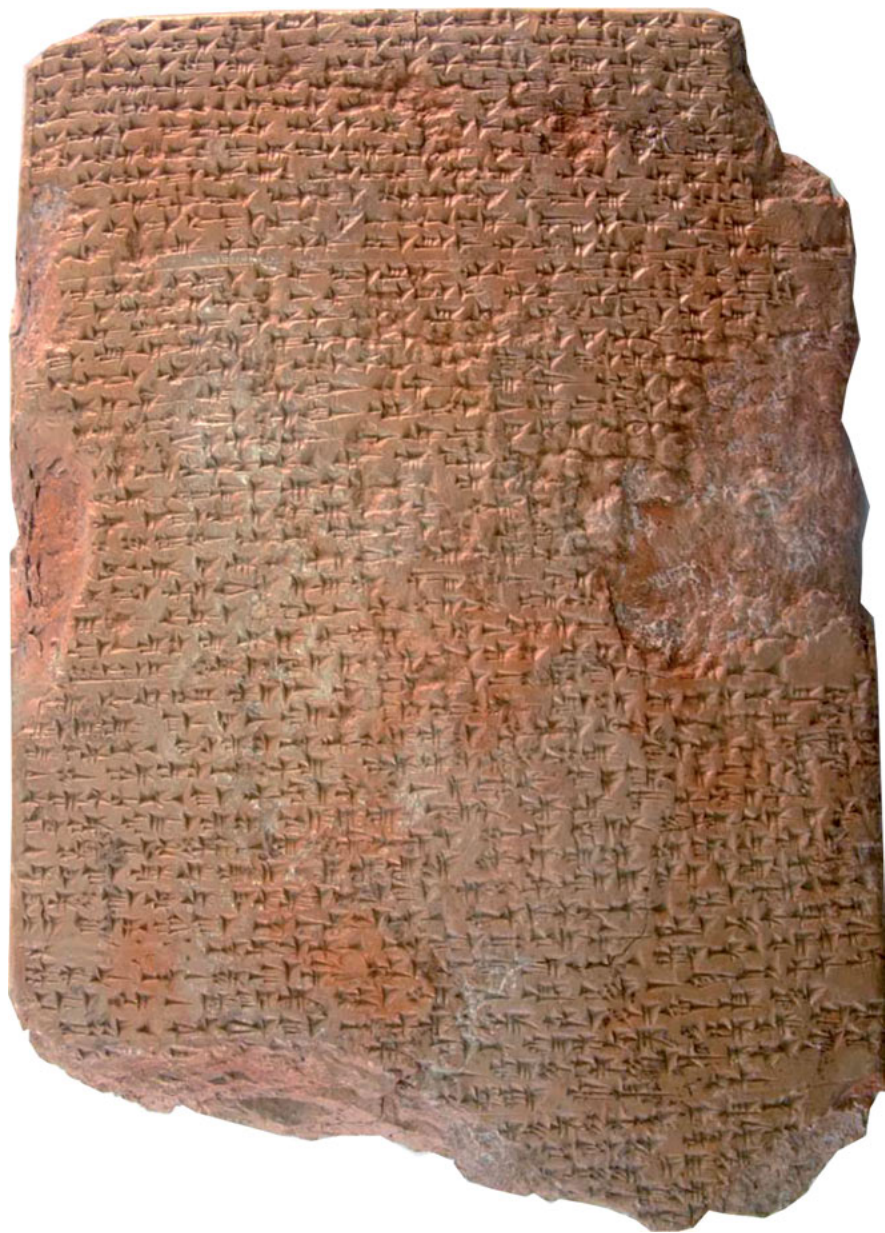
KTU 1.169 (Damascus, RIH 78/20), 142 × 150 × 33 (Ph. D. ed-Dibbo).



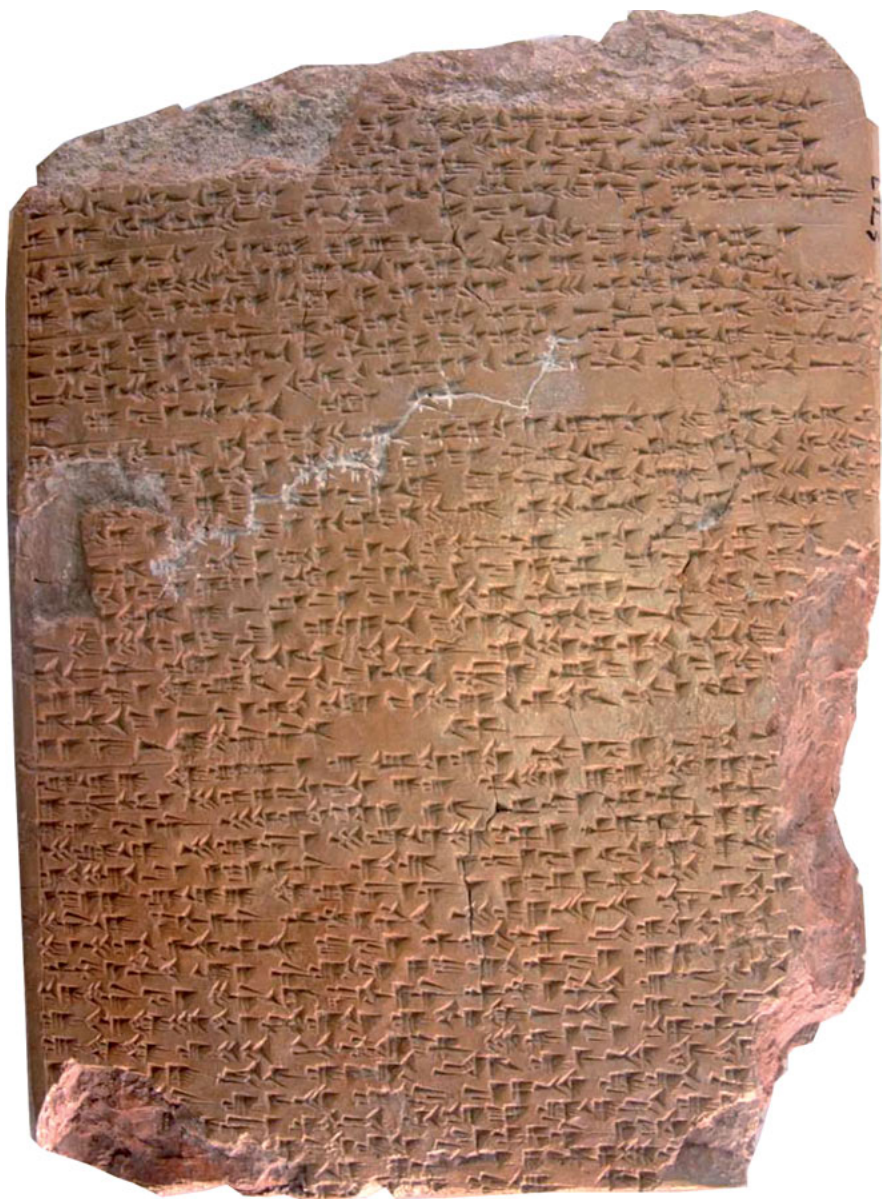
KTU 1.178 obv./rev. (RS 92.2014) (Damascus D07791) 51 × 65 × 18 (Ph. MDam).



RS 17.081 obv. (Damascus DO 4560) 105 × 115 × 32 (Ph. MDam).



RS 17.155 obv. (Damascus DO 4616) 232 × 166 × 32 (Ph. MDam).



RS 17.155 rev. (Damascus DO 4616) 232 × 166 × 32 (Ph. MDam).



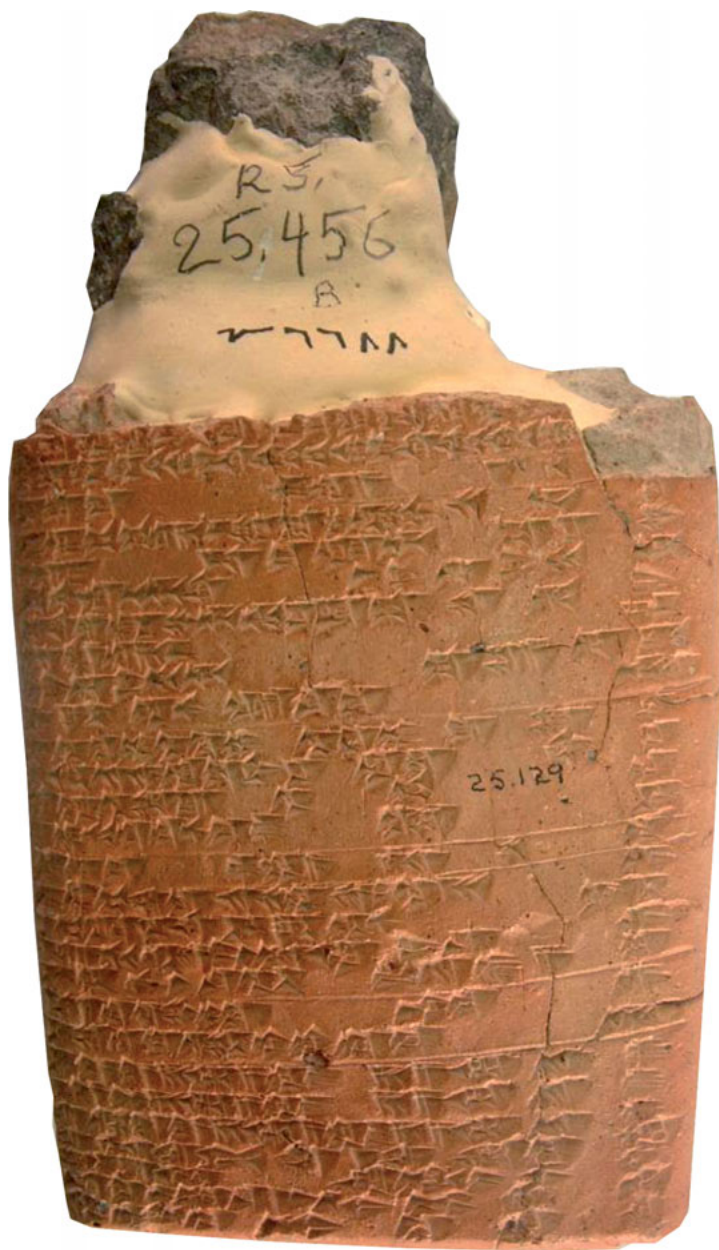
RS 15.152 obv. (Damascus DO 4014) 53 × 61 × 14 (Ph. MDam).



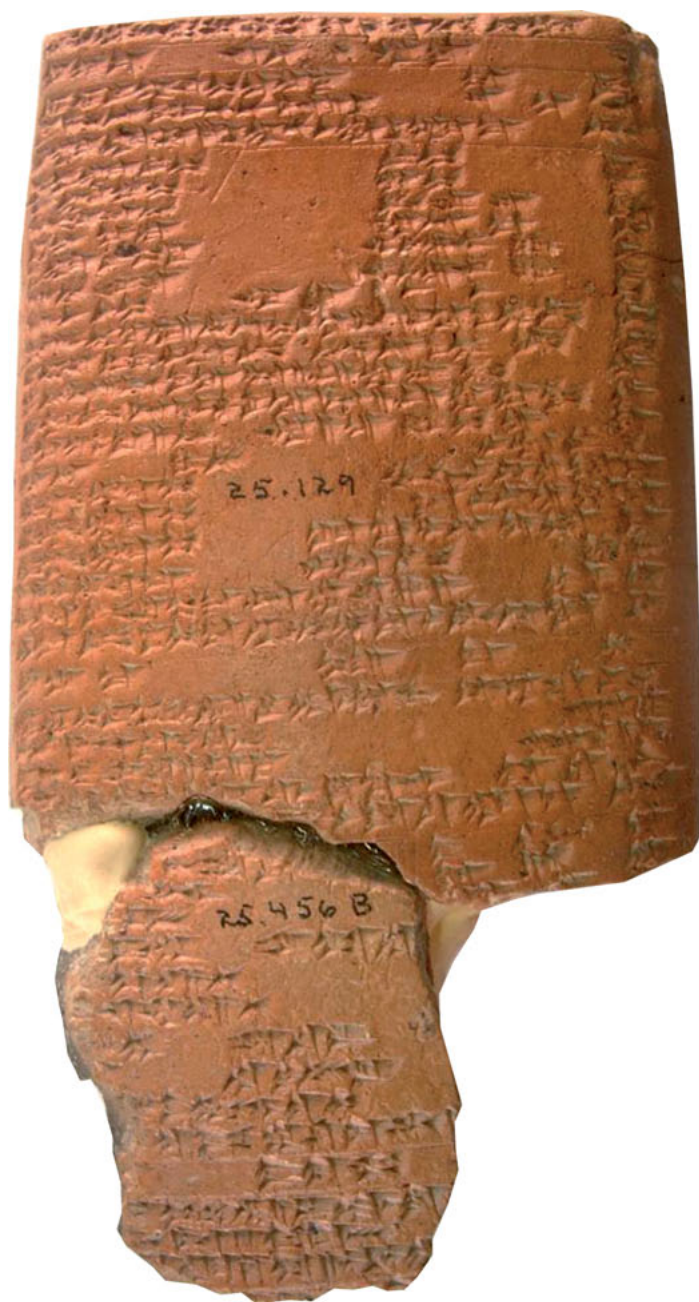
RS 15.152 rev. (Damascus DO 4014) 53 × 61 × 14 (Ph. MDam).



RS 20.006 obv./rev. (Damascus DO 5375) 75 × 75 × 29 (Ph. MDam).



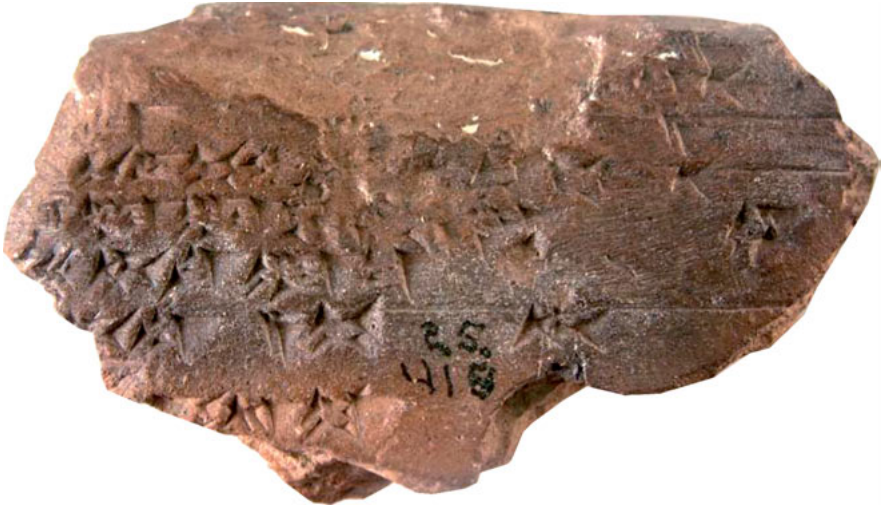
RS 25.129 obv. + 25.456B obv. (Damascus DO 6688) 170 × 95 × 40 (Ph. MDam).



RS 25.129 rev. + 25.456B rev. (Damascus DO 6688) 170 × 95 × 40 (Ph. MDam).



RS 25.418 obv. (Damascus DO 6708) 43 × 71 × 32 (Ph. MDam).



RS 25.418 rev. (Damascus DO 6708) 43 × 71 × 32 (Ph. MDam).



RS 25.420 obv. + 25.456A obv. (Damascus DO 6747) 155 × 145 × 43 (Ph. MDam).



RS 25.420 rev. + 25.456A rev. (Damascus DO 6747) 155 × 145 × 43 (Ph. MDam).



RS 25.422 obv. (Damascus DO 6711) 58 × 79 × 23 (Ph. MDam).



RS 25.422 rev. (Damascus DO 6711) 58 × 79 × 23 (Ph. MDam).



RS 25.436 rev. (Damascus DO 6726) 46 × 48 × 22 (Ph. MDam).



RS 25.436 rev. (Damascus DO 6726) 46 × 48 × 22 (Ph. MDam).



RS 25.513 obv./rev. (Damascus DO 6758) 33 × 47 × 20 (Ph. MDam).



RS 34.021obv./rev. (Aleppo M 854) 46 × 48 × 22 (Ph. MAlep).