KTU 1.96 Once Again

De nuevo sobre KTU 1.96

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[A new appraisal of the text through the discussion of the semantic options put forward by the defenders of the already established reading ʿnn. As a consequence the previous author's interpretation is substantiated with new arguments and slightly modified in some cases.]
Keywords: sight black sorcery, evil eye.

[Reevalución del texto a través de una discusión de las opciones semánticas presentadas por los defensores de la lectura ʿnn, hoy en día asegurada. Como consecuencia, se corrobora con nuevos argumentos la interpretación ofrecida con anterioridad por el autor, levemente modificada en algunos casos.]
Palabras clave: brujería por la vista, mal (de) ojo

Since the first publication of the Ugaritic text KTU 1.96 (RS 22.225) in 1960 by Virolleaud[1], the reading of the first word as ʿnt (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 Anat within the Baal cycle. In 1992, I proposed to maintain the epigraphically unobjectionable reading ʿnn and to take the text as an incantation or exorcism against the 'evil eye'[2]. Disregarding the medical text RS 20.006, a "Conjuration contre les maux d'yeux"[3], this kind of magic literature was nevertheless well known at Ugarit, as the syllabic texts gathered by Arnaud certify. In this connexion, see the as yet

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1. Cf. C. Virolleaud, "Un nouvel épisode du mythe ougaritique de Baal", *CRAIBL* 1960, pp. 180-186. See *infra* n. 24 on the parsing of this reading.
2. Cf. G. del Olmo Lete, "Un conjuro ugarítico contre el 'mal ojo' (KTU 1.96)", *Anuari de Filologia* E/2 15, 1992, 7-16 (here abbreviated to D.). The references to the scholars who accept Virolleaud's correction and interpret the text as mythological are given there in n. 1. An abridged form of this article (only its first part) was given in G. del Olmo Lete, *La Religión cananea según la liturgia de Ugarit. Estudio Textual* (Aula Orientalis Supplementa, 3), Sabadell (Barcelona) 1992, pp. 255-259 (= *Canaanite Religion according to the Liturgical Texts of Ugarit*, Bethesda MD 1999, pp. 379-384; reprint Winona Lake IN 2004) (here abbreviated to CR). For the reading ʿnn see T.J. Lewis, "The Disappearance of the Goddess Anat: The 1995 West Semitic Research Project on Ugaritic Epigraphy", *Biblical Archaeologist* 59, 1996, 115-121.
3. *Editio princeps* by J. Nougayrol, *Ugaritica V*, Paris 1968, nº. 19 (pp. 64f.); see D. Arnaud, *Corpus des textes de bibliothèque de Ras Shamra-Ougarit (1936-2000)* (Aula Orientalis Supplementa, 23), Sabadell (Barcelona) 2007, nº 22 (p. 88).

unpublished text RS 25.418[4], a "rituel magique", according to the editor, or rather a miscellaneous tablet with a collection of different incantations or spells, where the opening of the fragmentary section lines 5'-9' runs as follows:

[én igi.h]uš igi.huš.huš. igi bar.ra.huš …
[Incantation]: mauvais [œil], très mauvais œil, mauvais regard …[5]

See also the newly discovered miscellaneous incantation text RS 94.2964 from "The House of Urtenu", published by Arnaud as well, line 14 of which has the following Akkadian phrase, according to the editor:

<ina> bar-*li lem-ni lem.né-tu* uzu *i-na-šu ik-<ki>-il-ma-*[ni]
<dans> un méchant regard, ses yeux méchants [(m')] ont méchamment cont[emplé][6].

The suggestion has found 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 M.S. Tarazi[7]. It maintains the original reading ʿnn, but interprets the text as a mythological episode that describes the function of Anat within the fertility activity of Baal, in this way breaking the homorganic relationship that formerly united reading and interpretation.

In this paper, we are going to re-examine the semantic options put forward by the defenders of the reading ʿnn (mainly Ford[8] [F.], Pardee[9] [P1; P2], Wyatt[10] [W.], Smith[11] (S.) and Tarazi[12] [T.]), leaving aside those options sustained by the followers of Virolleaud's interpretative reading (*pace* Pardee) and

4. See P. Bordreuil, D. Pardee, *La trouvaille epigraphique de l'Ougarit. 1. Concordance* (RSO 5), Paris 1989, p. 316.

5. See Arnaud, *Corpus* …, n. 27 (pp. 98f.).

6. See Arnaud, *Corpus* …, n. 15 (p. 59). These references must therefore be added to those listed by M.-L. Thomsen, "The Evil Eye in Mesopotamia", *JNES* 51, 1992, 19-32 (p. 21) (here abbreviated to Th.), and J.N. Ford, ""Ninety-Nine by the Evil Eye and One from Natural Causes". KTU 1.96 in its Near Eastern Context", *UF* 30, 1998, 201-278 (201 n. 1); M.J. Geller, "Paranoia, the Evil Eye, and the Face of Evil", in W. Sallaberger *et al.*, *Literatur, Politik und Recht in Mesopota- mien. Festschrift für Claus Wilcke* (Orientalia Biblica et Christiana, 14), Wiesbaden 2003, pp. 115-134 (116). See also n. 33 below for the new text (BM 47451) edited by D. Schwemer.

7. Cf. M.S. Tarazi, "A Cloud Roams and Beautifies by Spitting Out her Brother. KTU 1.96 and its Relation to the Baal Cycle", *UF* 36, 2004, 445-510.

8. Cf. n. 6 [F.].

9. Cf. D. Pardee, *Ritual and Cult at Ugarit* (SBL Writings from the Ancient World, 10), Leiden/Boston/Köln 2002, pp. 161-166; id., "RS 22.225: Étude épigraphique suivie de quelques remarques philologiques", in C. Roche, ed., *D'Ougarit à Jérusalem. Recueil d'études épigraphiques et archéologiques offert à Pierre Bordreuil* (Orient & Méditerranée, 2), Paris 2008, pp. 3-20 [he does not cite Tarazi, possibly because of the delay in publication; the latest bibliographical entry is 1998].

10. Cf. N. Wyatt, *Religious Texts from Ugarit: The Words of Ilimilku and his Colleagues* (The Biblical Seminar, 53), Sheffield 1998, pp. 375-37.

11. Cf. M.S. Smith, "CAT 1.96", in S.B. Parker, ed., *Ugaritic Narrative Poetry* (SBL Writings from the Ancient World, 9), Atlanta GA 1997, pp. 224-228.

12. Cf. n. 7. For the general history of the interpretation of this text see the explicit treatment of M. Dietrich, O Loretz, "KTU 1.96 (RS 22.225). Sparagmos und Omophagie", in *idd., Studien zu den ugaritischen Texten I. Mythos und Ritual in KTU 1.12, 1.24, 1.96, 1.100, 1.114* (AOAT 269/1), Münster 2000, pp. 225-261 (here abbreviated to D.-L.) (previously *idd.*, "Der Charakter der Göttin ʿAnat: ʿnn und weitere Schreibfehler in KTU 1.96", *UF* 29, 1977, 151-160).

their mythological understanding of the text[13]. Special attention will be paid to Tarazi's extensive and densely written paper, because while definitely maintaining the reading ᶜnn, 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 Anat's activity in the sphere of fertility, described as a *fellatio* of Baal's member whose fluid spouts out as rain that will fertilize the earth. Following this main interpretative process with inflexible logic, the author reads other sections of the Ugaritic mythological texts (mainly KTU 1.3 II-III-IV) and epics, at the same time making the 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 Baal 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 Anat 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 Anat goes out to the city's sectors. In the midst of each sector would be the spring that vivifies it, descending down into the earth. She then faces each spring to deposit the deity's waters, putting her face (√pnn) 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 fertilizing the earth. As a *subsequent* step, from the surface Anat descends down into the springs and collects subterranean waters, and then 'returns' back up to the surface – where the city's market assembly and gate-quarter are located – carrying these waters with her." (T. 467f., n. 63)[14] (See also another summary on p. 478: "After the title ... occurs repeatedly"). 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)[15] sexual intercourse ending in *fellatio*. In this context, *alp* and *mria* signify Baal's phallus ... (T. 484f. n. 92, 489)[16]. Following this line of thought, T. interprets the *Baal au foudre* stele, with Baal's sword and "lightning" representing his phallus (T. 493 n. 98, 499f. n. 102, 503f. n. 108)[17]. Among other new proposals T. reads *mlḥmt* (KTU 1.3 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[18]. I will apply once more the well-known

13. See D.-L. pp. 225-261. See also A. Gianto, *Biblica* 80, 1999, 296f.; H. Gzella, *BiOr* 64, 2007, 535f.

14. Not only does the 'eye' (ᶜayn) 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. 29). 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 Anat with the 'springs' would be apparent, as reflected in her own name. Were this the case, the normalization should then be ᶜênātu, < Enat (see Heb. ᶜênôt: Ex. 15:27, Num. 33:9; Bauer-Leander, *Historische Grammatik*, Hildesheim 1992, p. 583). But I find this etymon rather suspect, to say the least.

15. This is a 'moralistic' categorization that is difficult to apply to the world of the gods, especially if a marital relationship between Baal and Anat is presumed. T. himself finds it difficult to substantiate (p. 488 end of n. 92).

16. Also in the scene of the reception banquet offered to Kothar (KTU 1.4 V 45), does Baal 'put on the table' his male organs?

17. Baal's lightning is as much a presage of fertility as a weapon in his struggle with Yam, according to the whole of Amorite tradition and in general it is a weapon of power and respect (see KTU 1.4 V 9).

18. 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

Augustinian dictum: *curris bene sed extra viam*.[19] 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 Baal 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 ago[20]. In the fertility myth of Ugarit, sexuality, whether Baal or El 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 El's sexual affair with the *mšt'ltm* 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, Anat, who in the classic Baal myth has no special role in this regard, is called "Baal's heifer" (*arh b'l*; see KTU 1.5. V 17-18: *b'l yuhb 'glt*; DUL 102) in the minor fertility cycle (see KTU 1.13:28-29). Baal is always the direct protagonist of such activity, the *b'l arṣ*, and does not need to allow or tolerate any such strange '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 (*btt*) with slaves" (KTU 1.4 III 20-22), indulging in such practices and having his penis euphemistically called the *'yn btt*, "spring of shame" (T. 465). On the other hand, the same god collects the waters in his palace (KTU 1.4 V 6-9)[21] and from there sends them to the earth, without an intermediary cloud/messenger (*'nn*) 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 Baal mythology[22] 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 Yam/Mot, play any role in this mythology either[23]. Consequently, in my opinion the ingeniously developed "history of the traditions" of the Baal 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.

'nn.- The interpretation of this lexical unit as *'n-n*, "the eye" (P1; P2; F.; W.) has given way to the new understanding of this text as an incantation against the 'evil eye'. The linguistic analysis fits well the

seem to me to be missing in Tarazi's interpretation. On the need of a hermeneutical model see my digression in *AuOr* 24, 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 (*Word with Power*, San Diego/New York/London 1990, p. 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" (*Corpus of South Arabian Inscriptions I-III. Qatabanic, Marginal Qatabanic Awsanite Inscriptions* [Arabia Antica, 2], Pisa 2004, p. 34).

19. 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 (see above n. 9). In any case, Chicago has become the source of two opposed approaches (the most literal as against the most imaginative and free) to Ugaritic hermeneutics.

20. But see also E. Lipiński, "Les conceptions et les couches merveilleuses de 'Anath", *Syria* 42, 1965, 45-73.

21. See M.S. Smith, W.T. Pitard, *The Ugaritic Baal Cycle. Volume II. Introduction with Text, Translation and Commentary of KTU/CAT 1.3-1.4* (Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, 114), Leiden/Boston 2009, pp. 537, 542, 556-561.

22. The presumed etymological relationship of 'Anat with *'n*, "spring", is an unproved hypothesis (see above n. 14).

23. The interpretation of the "clay pipe" as a funerary installation (T. 500 n. 103) was discredited long ago by W.T. Pitard, "The 'Libation' Installations of the Tombs at Ugarit", *BiAr* 57, 1994, 20-37.

distinctive use of the /-n/ of specification/generalization in this kind of text in a main clause (apodosis)[24]. The fact that in Ugaritic its use is limited basically to the omen texts, through the concurrence of grammar and lexicon, is an indication of the literary form of the text. It is this form that must guide the syntactic analysis of the lexical elements, 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 lemutu muttalliktu*[25]. 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 a 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, although some scholars (P1; P2; T.) have paid no attention to it[26].

Also, the interpretation of ⁽nn as "cloud" (T. 51f.) is to be excluded completely. First, from the grammatical point of view, since ⁽nn 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* (> Anat, the cloud-messenger of Baal) (T. nn. 29, 72) without any previous referent, is *a priori* highly improbable[27]. 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 Baal Cycle; in this connexion to compare the 'mission' of *gpn-ugr* with the one assigned here to Anat seems to me

24. 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 G. del Olmo Lete,"The postpositions in Semitic: the case of enclitic *–m* (with special attention to NWS)", *AuOr* 26, 2008, 25-59), with a good parallel in Akk. /-m/ (see Von Soden GAG § 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 Haupton liegt", with a clear-cut topicalising function, mainly in the apodosis (see Tropper UG § 89.11-12), as is the case in the *šumma izbu* prognosis with the Akk. mimation form (*-um*). Also the Arabic postpostion 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 postpostion, never as a nominal formation in /-ān/ of masculine gender (!), so that the criticism made by A. Gianto, *Biblica* 80, 1999, 296f. and H. Gzella (*BiOr* 64, 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 CR 353f., nn. 69, 71, and P2 13 n. 55.

25. See Th. 24; D. 9; W.G.E. Watson, *Lexical Studies in Ugaritic* (Aula Orientalis Supplementa, 19), Sabadell (Barcelona) 2007, p. 73; F. 203-207, 211, 216 n. 45. 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 texts, is methodologically unjustified (T. 454; P1 166; P2 19f.). In this connexion, 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 *aḫḫ* as a proof of reference to Baal is unsatisfactory. The relationship is too generic. In any case, the syntagm is related to *n⁽m* and its parallels. Nowhere in the myths of Baal is he praised for his beauty, but he is praised for his strength in his fight against Yam and Mot (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 Th. 24: *ina bi-rit* ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*e*, "between good brothers") and the broader concept of the "neighbour" (D. 10: *enāt še'i*, "eyes of a neighbor"; cf. Akk. *še'u*, AHw 1222 *še-'e bābī-ya*; for the parallel *še'u // aḫu*, '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. 49.

26. For instance, F. 201 n. 1 relies only on the summary given in CR, although he quotes the Sumero-Akkadian texts directly from Thomsen's article; P1/P2 does not take this perspective into account; nor does T. seem to use the long version of my article or the Sumero-Akkadian texts.

27. The cases adduced from B.K. Waltke, M. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, Winona Lake IN 1990, are not valid: epicene nouns for animals with the 'plural' ending /ôt/, a morpheme not unequivocally fem. (p. 107); and the formation quoted on p. 109 imply precisely the opposite and have no connexion to this case ('collective' or 'abstract').

completely out of order[28]. In this cycle, the 'baalic' word for "cloud" is *ʿrpt*, whereas *ʿnn* is never used with this meaning (as noticed also by T.), and it is by means of these *ʿrpt* that Baal sends rain accompanied by thunder. In my opinion and in the opinion of many others, there is only one Baal paradigm (T. 453 n. 29). According to T.'s interpretation, KTU 1.96 would be a kind of text of the 'Minor Baal Cycle', like KTU 1.10-11 1.12 or 1.13. But in none of these texts does Anat 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[29]. Also to imagine that the "water" is inside Baal sounds rather fanciful (T. 463f.).[30]

wšnwt.tp aḫḫ.- The form *šnwt* is not a lexical but a morphological *hapax*. In this regard, T.'s discussion of the form *šnwt* 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 Anat'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 *ʿnn* and as recognized 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.[31]

I take *šnwt* as a present participle (so P1 164f., n. 15), which together with *hlkt* forms a pair of qualifyings (see *înu 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 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 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

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28. Instead, cf. the relationship *ʿn/hlk* in the parallel Akkadian syntagm (*supra*). On the other hand, in the presumed parallel text KTU 1.4 III 32 (if *ʿnn* originally meant 'cloud') /hlk/ would not imply 'to roam', but to go to a fixed place (T. 453 n. 29).

29. The speculation on the etymology of /ʿnn/ (T. 29) can be omitted since it does not apply to Anat; Baal's cloud is called *ʿrpt*, as stated above. The relationship linking 'cloud' and 'messenger' *non liquet*. Cf. the same view expressed in S.Y. Cho, *Lesser Deities in the Ugaritic Texts and the Hebrew Bible. A Companion Study of Their Nature and Roles* (Deities and Angels of the Ancient World, 2), Piscataway NJ 2007, pp. 147-152 ("smoky figures" (?)); and W. 422. And of course we reject the analysis of /ʿn/ as 'spring' (T. 463 and *passim*; for the various opinions see D.-L. 239; also *supra* n. 14).

30. 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).

31. 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 as III-w:y, but the glide expansion of the /nw/ into hollow /nūw/ (and I am following the development and alternation of those bases systematically; see *AuOr* 22, 2004, 33-88; *AuOr* 24, 2006, 17-56; *AuOr* 25, 2007, 201-235) although possible ["anything is 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 speaks rather against T.'s thesis). Although the incompatibility laws for Semitic verbal 'roots' are nor so well established as Greenberg's laws of nominal bases, such an expansion seem phonetically unlikely. For the rest we cannot speak of III-y roots in the case of hollow verbs as T. does in his long digression on pp. 47ff. n. 40 (cf. also n. 62; 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 this note are irrelevant for the subject under discussion.

of "to change", like Heb. *šānāh*, applicable to either form or place (W. 375 n. 2).[32] In this case, the semantic option is determined by the connexion of this verbal predicate with the following syntagms, taken as its subject complement: *šnwt tp aḫḫ w nˁm aḫḫ*, which I see as a semantic borrowing of Akk. *ša bu-un-na-né-e* LÚ *ú-ṣab-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 in D. 10 and not rejected by anybody). Much more explicit in this connexion is the new text BM 47451, edited and studied by D. Schwemer: "(The sorceries) *change* (emphasis mine) the countenance, destroy the features" (*zi-i-mi ú*⌈*nak-ka-ru bu*⌉*nun-na-né*⌈*e ub-ba*⌉*-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-ḫu-ú* ... *eṭ-la* ⌈*dam*⌉*-qa ár-*⌈*da*⌉*-tam da-mi-iq-tam a-mi-la šu-a-tum iṣ-ba-tu-ma bu-un-na-an-*⌈*né*⌉*-šu ub-bi-tu₄* [lines 10-12]) [33]. 'Beauty' and 'features' appear here in parallel, so validating 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 article and to which no attention has been paid. These two syntagms cannot be separated from each other.[34]

Following this way of thinking, in a first moment I preferred to trust the reading *w-* (Virolleaud, KTU, Lewis) instead of *k-* (P1 163 n. 11; P2 10; F. 202; but T. 481 n. 78; S. 225 [35]), two characters that are easily confused epigraphically[36]. But my own collation of the tablet in the summer of 2005 and a thorough analysis of the photos (see below) taken in this occasion lead me to dismiss the presence of any traces of two superposed horizontal *cunei*, 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 that would echo Gen. 1:4, 49:15 (*rā'āh kî ṭôb*), thus making it

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32. See Sp. 'cambiar de aspecto' / 'cambiar de lugar' (> 'marchar'), as in KTU 1.3 IV 33, *pace* T.; see DUL 834.

33. See D. Schwemer, "Washing, Defiling, and Burning: Two Bilingual Anti-witchcraft Incantations", *Orientalia* 78, 2009, 44-68 (46-58). See also AHw 718f.: *nakāru(m)* D, '(ver)ändern 1) Gestalt, Gesichtszüge', *bunnanne'a ú-nak-ki-ru* // *šanû* IV, 'sich ändern', D '(ver)ändern' (AHw 1166). This is the main meaning of the basis /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 basically. The semantic derivation from 'to trot' to 'to roam' is not obvious. Akkadian lexicography defined the term with the general equivalence *alāku(m)*; see W. von Soden, "Lexikalisches Archiv", *ZA* 43, 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 *The Concise Oxford Dictionary*: "trŏt. v.i. .... 1. (Of horses etc.) proceed at a steady pace faster than a walk lifting each diagonal pair of legs *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 C. Cohen, "The 'Held Method' for Comparative Semitic Philology", *JANES* 19, 1989, 13. For Palache's theory see G. del Olmo Lete, *Questions of Semitic Linguistics* ..., Bethesda MD 2008, pp. 87f. - For the Akkadian evidence see Th. 22 and 25, along with the 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 *Maqlu* III 8 (partly parallel to BM 47451): "as for the handsome young man, she robbed ..." (*šá 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 interpretation ("roams // robbed"). The text goes on to assert that the activity of the sorceress is carried out by "looking at" (*ina nikilmiša, ippališma*).

34. Furthermore for the parallel root pair *wpy//*nˁm in Hebrew see F. 221 n. 68. See in this regard the mention of *tmnt* in KTU 1.169:6 and in the new conjuration text RS 92.2014 (KTU 9.435):15, a good equivalent maybe of Akk. *bunna(n)nû*. But see in this regard G. del Olmo Lete, "A Miscellaneous Conjuration of Word Slack Sorcery (KTU 1.169/RIH 78/20)", forthcoming.

35. It is surprising to see that T., working at the OIChicago, does not asume the reading /k/.

36. Cf. C.H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook* (AnOr, 38), Rome 1965, pp. 22 (§ 4.13); S. Segert, "Die Schreibfehler in den ugaritischen literarischen Keilschrifttexten", in J. Hempel, L. Rost, eds, *Von Ugarit nach Qumran* (Fs. O. Eissfeldt) (BZAW 77), Berlin 1958, p. 202, 206; M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, "Razuren und Schreibfehler in den keilalphabetischen Texten aus Ugarit (KTU²)", *UF* 26, 1994, 23-61 (p. 48).

more persuasive (P1 165 n. 16). But even accepting the reading *k*, another parsing is possible: that of *k* as an emphatic particle (UG 89f.), with a double duty function for *tp*: "the beauty of its brother so comely, of its brother so handsome". In this case the double duty (*tp aḥḥ*) is stichometrically balanced by the greater length of *ysmsm* (9/9; see in this regard D.-L. 229). The parallelism *n^cmy* /*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 14f., D.-L. 241). Surely a verb of perception would fit the action of the 'evil eye' very well (see e.g. CT 17, 33:5-6: *īni ... muttaliktum ana ... ippalisma ...*[37], conveniently cited by F. 220 and 228 n. 92). Nevertheless, the beginning of this text (CT 17:1-4) uses quite different verbs relating the 'evil eye' to its victim: "to distress", "to bind", "to ensnare", "to cause illness" [Th. 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 recognized 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 'irréfutable', 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 favor 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 164[38]; P2 15) is not proven. My verification of this root pattern (/'h/, /^ch/, /bh/, /dh/...) never certifies the radical /h/ as assimilated[39]. The assimilation quoted occurs only in a non-vocalic suffixed sequence (/-ehnu/), never at the root end and after the III-y has been dropped[40].

The only acceptable solution would be to suppose here another scribal orthographic error /tp<h>/ (or better said a substandard spelling of the normative /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<nn>). 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 the derivation from /wpy/, which has the support of a similar pattern in KTU 1.40:28 and par. (*šn yp*), well attested in

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37. But see also F. 230f., 235, where the base /akl/, 'to devour', appears in the same context of the evil eye's action.

38. The base /ṯwy/ is completely irrelevant here, unless 'anything is possible'.

39. See for instance the phonetically close base /bh/ > *bahaw:ya, Ar. *bahā*, "to be beautiful", Ar. *bahiya*, "to be empty"/; G. del Olmo Lete, "The Biconsonantal Semitic Lexicon. The Series /B-X-/", *Aula Orientalis* 25, 2007, 211-212. For the same reasons, the derivation of *tp* in KTU 1.103+:19 from *phy (see M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, *Mantik in Ugarit. Keilalphabetische Texte der Opferschau-Omensammlungen-Nekromantie* (ALASP, 3), Münster 1990, pp. 122f.) is to also be rejected. In any case, a derivation from *ypy/*npy is to be preferred; it may be taken as the same word as *tp*, 'beauty' > 'countenance'. For an analysis of the base *phy, see the fundamental study of R.B. Coote, "Ugaritic PH(Y), 'See'", *UF* 6, 1974, 1-5.

40. In this regard, see the quoted reference to D. Sivan, *A Grammar of the Ugaritic Language*, Leiden/New York/Köln 1997, pp. 33-35; as for *ḏrt/ḏhrt < *ḏuhru, see Hb. *zoh(a)r*, Ar. *zuhrat*.

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 /wpṭ/, 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), but semantically it sounds rather strange within the common and obvious understanding of Baal mythology, as already mentioned.

As for the definite poetic parallelism *nᶜm //*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). Both roots are present (*yph and *nᶜm // *ysm) cumulatively, in my opinion, as lexemes of the same semantic field.

tspi/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) [41], 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. 235), the actual bearing of the effect caused by the 'evil eye' remains uncertain (in many languages fever is said to 'devour') [42].

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 that emendation. So I would maintain my option (/pnn/, 'to change, distort' (D. 11), although now a derivation from *pny 'to face' (W. 376, D.-L. 249) does not seem to me 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') [43]. This new verb *continues* the destructive activity introduced by the previous verbs (/sp'/, /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 more significance [44]. F. understands that we have five kinds of 'evil eyes', all of them the subject of the aforementioned verb *tp<h>nn* (F. 237f., 242, 248f. 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 recognized 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

41. See also P2. 10 n. 37, where this author tries to "correct" my general and cursory assessment on the reading ᶜnt in line 1 of the text by various scholars as if it specifically applied to Virolleaud, what is not.

42. For a psychological interpretation of such effects in Sumerian 'evil eye' texts see M.J. Geller, *art. cit.*, pp. 124ff. (and above n. 6).

43. See also in Ebla: "Auf diese GA.SAR-Pflanze *richtete* Enki den bösen Blick", *supra* n. 6. 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', said of the 'eye' is an equivalent of 'to look', inevitably with a bad and harmful intention/effect, as it fits an 'evil eye'.

44. For an idiosyncratic discussion in this regard see T. 480f. n. 78, who considers the text to be a "Psalm".

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.[45] So I prefer the distribution proposed, recognizing 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 evildoing eye and 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 connexion, it is worth remembering that the Romans called this evil-doing eye *oculus fascinus*, and its effect, *fascinum* or *fascinatio*[46], which naturally applies to the victim's visual perception.

On the other hand, why should those three categories be mentioned as prototypical evildoers? 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. 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 *pursītu*-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.)[47].

Furthermore, one could ask whether the mention of the 'eye' here is connected with the *tp* and *n^cm* of the *aḫ* 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. 230) / "the neighbor" (D. 10)[48]. 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[49]. I will not insist on this particular hypothesis, mentioning it only as a nuance that would make approaching the victim in such an apparently bewildering way more understandable.

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45. 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, M.J. Geller, *art.cit.* (*supra* n. 6), p. 118.

46. See in this regard the classical treatise attributed to a certain Engelbert (14th cent.), *Tractatus de fascinacione*, and the one by Marqués de Villena (1425), *Tratado de aojamiento o fascinología*, edited by Fr. Almagro, J. Fernández Carpintero, Madrid 1977. Also see the interesting suggestions by A.M. Hocart, "The Mechanism of the Evil Eye", *Folklore* 49, 1938, 156-157; D.L. Gifford, *The Evil Eye. Studies in the Folklore of Vision*, New York 1954; as well as the many rich contributions edited by Cl. Maloney, ed., *The Evil Eye*, New York 1976. A comprehensive bibliography can be found in A. Erkoreka, *Begizkoa. El Mal de Ojo entre los Vascos*, Bilbao 1995.

47. In this connexion see J.M Roberts, "Belief in the Evil Eye in World Perspective", in Maloney, ed., *The Evil Eye*, pp. 223-278 ("Technology; TABLE 12 Technological Activities an the Evil Eye Belief", p. 240f.).

48. However, the neighbour's eye cannot be the 'brother' itself, because of its feminine gender, as noted by the sagacious Pardee (P2 15: "aurait eu une 'sœur'"); see *supra* n. 25.

49. In this connexion, Erkoreka (*op. cit*,. pp. 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*"; C.L. Maloney, "'Don't Say 'Pretty Baby' Lest you Zap it with Your Eye. The Evil Eye in South Asia", in id., ed., *The Evil Eye*, pp. 102-148. See F. 252 (Amharic text).

Yet again, here no serious harm is announced against what I consider to be victims of the *bty/btt* and their 'eyes', so that I feel authorized to understand 'eating the flesh' and 'drinking the blood' in a mild way, as was pointed out above [see D.-L. 245: "Darstellung (eines Sparagmos und) einer Omophagie"].

bty / btt.- (See D.-L. 249-250) - F. summarises well, as usual[50], my vacillation regarding the meaning and etymology of *bty/btt*. 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. (*ᶜyn'/bnynš'*) *byšt'/byš'*, would suggest that there is some lexical relationship between Ug. /bty:t/ and Akk. *bīšu*/Aram. *byš'*, possibly by contamination (F. 243 n. 138; P2 16f. n. 88). My own latest opinion on the possible Semitic, even Afro-Asiatic, etymology of this lexeme has been set out elsewhere[51], 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 those terms a technical meaning, i.e. 'sorcerer'/'sorceress' (Lat. *maleficus/ca*; cf. the famous *Malleus maleficarum* of O.P.J. Sprenger [Nuremberg 1487]), in keeping with the following *nomina professionis*, with contracted /-iy(y)at/ > /-at/, where the /-y/ is either radical or affixed[52].

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 *bty/btt* a parallel to *dbb*[53], "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. founds the lexico-semantic support in one of the meanings proposed by Cohen's comparative dictionary (DRS) for the root **btw*, "dénoncer" (P2 17)[54]. As is well known and as proved by persistent perusal of this dictionary, the DRS simply collects and puts together the different materials it finds in its lexical sources by 'root' (phonologically), without organizing them semantico-etymologically. So it must be used carefully. In this particular case, the meaning "denouncer" seems to correspond semantically to the general meaning of "divulguer, répandre une nouvelle" for the primary base **bt(t)*[55], mainly in its II and III forms, to be distinguished from the hollow base **bt*. 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[56]. It appears, however, in the

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50. 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 *ᶜyn' byšt'/byš'* in 'evil eye' spells, see J. Naveh, S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls. Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity*, Jerusalem /Leiden 1985, p. 275 (Glossary); J. Naveh, S. Shaked, *Magic Spells and Formulae. Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity*, Jerusalem 1993, p. 265, 271 (Glossary).

51. See G. del Olmo Lete, "Glosas ugaríticas I. Brujos y Reyes en Ugarit", *Aula Orientalis* 19, 2001, 295-299 (pp. 295-297).

52. See E. Kautzsch, A.E. Cowley, *Gesenius's Hebrew Grammar*, Oxford 1910[2] (repr. 1966), § 86 h: Heb. *ᶜibrîm, mō'ābîm, mō'ābît*. (*pace* P1 165 n. 18).

53. 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 D. Schwemer, *Abwehrzauber und Behexung. Studien zum Schadenzauberglauben im alten Mesopotamien*, Wiesbaden 2007, pp. 72, 127-132; later on in this fascicle G. del Olmo Lete, "Glosas ugarítica IV: isoglosas acádicas", p. 134.

54. See D. Cohen, *Dictionnaire des racines sémitiques* (t. 1), Paris-La Haye 1976, p. 91.

55. See A.F.L. Beeston *et al.*, *Sabaic Dictionary*, Louvain-la-Neuve/Beirut 1982, p. 33 (*BTT*, 'announce, declare'). The base BTT is also recorded by Cohen, *loc. cit.* with the meanings "disperser, disséminer, divulguer". See also E.W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, Cambridge 1984, p. 151; H. Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, Wiesbaden 1979[4], p. 52; N. Freitag, *Lexicum arabico-latinum*, Beirut 1975, vol. I., p. 83. The base is also recorded in Mauritan Arabic; see C. Taine-Cheikh, *Dictionaire Ḥassāniyy Français*, 1, Paris 1988, p. 52.

56. A. de Biberstein Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire Arabe-Français*, Beirut (reprint of the 1860 Paris edition; the reference dictionary, along with Wehr's, used by unqualified Arabists, i.e. Hebraists, Ugaritologists and Assyriologists), p. 85 records only *batā*, 'suer'; also J.G. Hava, *Al-Far'id. Arabic-English Dictionary*, Beirut 1964, p. 21, *batā*, 'to sweat'; G.W. Freitag, *op. cit.*, p. 84, *batā*, 'sudavit'; Lane, *op. cit*, ignores it altogether; etc., etc.

venerable lexical compilations *Lisānu-l-ᶜArab* and *Taǧu-l-ᶜArūs*. In this connection, the *Lisān*, under the heading بثا, with the basic meaning عرق, "to sweat", adduces the modism وبثّا به عند السلطان بيثو سيعه [57]. It is also quoted by the *Taǧ*. It is here that the meaning "denouncer" 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 ..." (Lane, AEL 1485; see 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 of an old west Semitic technical term deriving from the original meaning of the base. But it is rather difficult, not to say impossible, to relate "denouncer" semantically to "suer". This is to say, the possible Arabic verb *btw, "denouncer" (DRS), as noted above, would belong to the same basic seme of base *bt(t), "to spread" > "to reveal, publish", and in the last instance "to complain to" (see Lane, AEL 151, "to complain", and the rest of the lexical sources); as a secondary derivative expanded form (/-w/) it assumes a first physical meaning "to sweat" (< "to make flow") and a second shifted derivation "to spread a secret/complain" > "to denounce".

Already put forward by myself[58], the lexeme was assumed under the same heading as De Moor's: Ar. *baṭiyyu*, 'flatterer' > 'sycophant, impostor', by extended semantic shift[59]. But the resort to this kind of lexeme (either from /bty/ ot /btw/) 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' (non verbal sorcery) is different from 'mouth/word sorcery', it should normally have a noun for its wizard that reflects that distinction; to talk of a "calumniateur" in the context of KTU 1.96 makes no sense[60]. 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[61].

mḫr/pḫr/tgr.- (See D.-L. 250). Both Th. 24 and F. 244f. emphasise the presence of 'specific' members of professions as subjects or performers of the spells. In this connexion, the interpretation of *mḫr* as "merchant" (F. 244f.), according to the textual evidence, as well as its equivalent in the Akkadian

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57. See Ibn Manẓûr, *Lisānu-l-ᶜarab*, ed. Bayrût 2005[4], I, p. 17 (with entries listed according to their initial letter).

58. See G. del Olmo Lete, "The Biconsonantal Semitic Lexicon. The Series /B-X-/", *Aula Orientalis* 25, 2007, 229. I trusted Cohen's proposal uncritically (semantically it is clear that it does not fit the basic seme), unable then 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. *btt from *biṭᵃⁿ, 'ash, dust' (instead it is the other way round), according to the new analysis put forward in the article quoted in n. 52.

59. See J.C. de Moor, "Contributions to the Ugaritic lexicon", *UF* 11, 1979, 639-653 (pp. 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' form *baṭᵃⁿ*, "qui multum laudatur", "qui est l'objet d'éloges universels".

60. See in this regard the akkadian text VAT 35, 1: [aṣ]-bat pà-ki ú-tab-bil lišān-k[i]; Schwemer, *op. cit.*, p. 130. On the 'evil (black/hot) mouth' # 'evil eye' in the different traditions see Maloney, ed., *The Evil Eye*, p. 332 (index). P2 18 confuses both kinds of sorcery. From an anthropological viewpoint, it makes no sense to assert: "Les termes *bty/btt* 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 BT, 'to be ashamed, shameful'". This is also T.'s option when he inteprets *ᶜyn btt* as the "spring of shame", namely Baal's penis (see above); so also S. 226 n. 15 ('sex'). For the various proposals, see D.-L. 249f., who prefer to see a toponym here.

61. Add to the afforded linguistic evidence the description of the *buda* in the Ethiopic tradition by R.A. Reminick, "The Evil Eye Belief among the Amhara", in Maloney, *The Evil Eye*, ed., pp. 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.

lexicon (F. 245), sounds very persuasive; and like my suggestion ("tax-collector")[62], 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). Textually also, Cohen's proposal ("cook") sounds very suitable (F. 246 n. 154). In any case the classification of all three as possessors of the 'evil eye' is acknowledged as a generalization conditioned by alliteration (F. 247). The list of possessors must be recognized as unique (F. 247 n. 156), on the contrary the return of the eye to its master is well documented in the 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 objects de l'attaque". However, it is possible 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, although it seems that this author has forbidden himself such an excursion (P2 19). Instead he suggests an etymologizing 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 liberation du Mauvais œil" (P1 165f.; P2 19f.)

According to P.'s restrictive linguistic method (if we can speak of a 'method' at all), at least *tgr* should have been retained in its straight Ugaritic meaning. But no Semitic text dealing with this sort of sorcery speaks of such "étapes".[63] 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 courrir à l'attaque" (P2 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 come into action. The mere attentive reading of the many examples, from Sumerian to Mandaic praxis, quoted by Ford could convince anyone of that, but apparently not P. Although not documented anywhere in this type of literature, if this presumed process did exist, it would remain outside the spell formula itself[64].

As for the chiastic structure of the lines, it was put forward by myself in all its elements, as F. recognizes (F. 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 recognized by Ford (F. 146f.). There is no apparent reason why those categories of professionals should be charged with being prototypical perpetrators of the 'evil eye'. On the

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62. When I proposed Sp. 'alcabalero' as the translation of Ug. *mhr* (AnFil 15/E, 1992, 12), I was unaware of the NWS equivalence of Ak. *maḫāru*, *maḫīru* with Aram *qbl. On this see J.J. Rabinowitz, "The Susa Tablets, The Bible and the Aramaic Papyri", *VT* 11, 1961, 55-76 (2. The Susa Tablets and The Aramaic Papyri. a. *maḫāru* (sic) = QBL", pp. 63-69).

63. 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 I. Starr, *The Rituals of the Diviner* (Bibliotheca Mesopotamica, 12), Malibu CA 1983; W. Stamm, *Ein Compendium sumerisch-akkadischer Beschwörungen* (GBAO, 2), Göttingen 2008.

64. See for instance J. Nougayrol, *Ugaritica V*, p. 65; possibly KTU 2.70 also deals with the topic of the remuneration of diviners, if our understanding of the text is correct - G. del Olmo Lete, J. Sanmartín, "Los problemas profesionales de una pareja de augures: la carta ugarítica KTU 2.70", in *De Oriente a Occidente. Homenaje al Dr. Emilio Olávarri* (Biblioteca Salmanticensis. Estudios, 265), Salamanca 1999, pp. 53-58.

other hand, the 'restoration' of the victims may be seen as implicit in the effectiveness of the spell itself [65]. The refusal to resort to Sumero-Akkadian magical literature in a genre that is well attested in this sphere (contrary to what happens 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. That, closed within the NWS circle, 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.
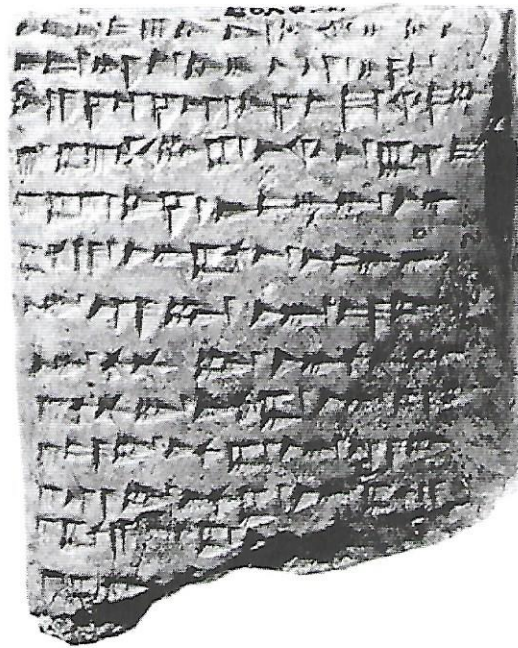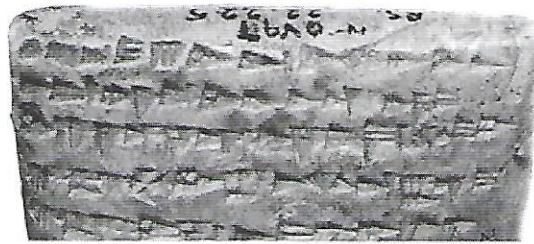
I maintain then my proposed version of KTU 1.96:

1. *ᶜnn.hlkt.wšnwt*	The restless eye which also transforms
2. *tp.aḫḫ.knᶜm.*	the beauty of its brother so comely,
aḫḫ.³kysmsm.	of its brother so handsome,
tspi.širh ⁴l.bl ḥrb.	consumes its flesh without a knife,
tšt.dmh ⁵lbl.ks.	drinks its blood without a cup.
tpnn.ᶜn ⁶bṯy.	Distort/face does the eye of the evil-doing man/sorcerer,
ᶜn bṯt.tpnn	the eye of the evil-doing woman/sorceress does distort/face
7. *ᶜn mḫr.*	the eye of the tax-collector,
ᶜn.pḫr	the eye of the potter,
8. *ᶜn.ṯǵr.*	the eye of the gate-keeper.
ᶜn ṯǵr ⁹lṯǵr.ttb	May the eye of the gatekeeper revert to the gatekeeper;
ᶜn.pḫr ¹⁰lpḫr.ttb.	may the eye of the potter revert to the potter;
ᶜn.mḫr ¹¹mḫr.ttb.	may the eye of the tax-collector revert to the tax-collector;
ᶜn.bṯy ¹²lbṯy.ttb.	may the eye of the evil-doing man/sorcerer revert to the evil-doing man;
ᶜn[.bṯt] ¹³lbṯt.[ᵗ][ṯb]	may the eye of the evil-doing woman/sorceress revert to the evil-doing woman.
14.[*mnt ᶜn.hlkt/bṯy*]	[Incantation against the evil eye/the evildoer (?)].

65. 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 not unusual, as can be seen in some of the spells from the "Compendium" edited by Schramm (see n. 60).

Abbreviations

D.   G. del Olmo Lete, "Un conjuro ugarítico contra el 'mal ojo' (KTU 1.96)", *Anuari de Filologia* E/2 15, 1992, 7-16.

D.-L.   M. Dietrich, O Loretz, "KTU 1.96 (RS 22.225). Sparagmos und Omophagie", in *idd.*, *Studien zu den ugaritischen Texten I. Mythos und Ritual in KTU 1.12, 1.24, 1.96, 1.100, 1.114* (AOAT 269/1), Münster 2000, pp. 225-261.

DUL   G. del Olmo Lete, J. Sanmartín, *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language* (HdO I/67), Leiden/Boston 2004².

F.   J.N. Ford, ""Ninety-Nine by the Evil Eye and One from Natural Causes": KTU² 1.96 in its Near Eastern Context", *UF* 30, 1998, 201-278.

P1   D. Pardee, *Ritual and Cult at Ugarit* (SBL Writings from the Ancient World, 10), Leiden/Boston/Köln 2002, pp. 161-166.

P2   D. Pardee, "RS 22.225: Étude épigraphique suivie de quelques remarques philologiques", in C. Roche, ed., *D'Ougarit à Jérusalem. Recueil d'études épigraphiques et archéologiques offert à Pierre Bordreuil* (Orient & Méditerranée, 2), Paris 2008, pp. 3-20.

S.   M.S. Smith, "CAT 1.96", in S.B. Parker, ed., *Ugaritic Narrative Poetry* (SBL Writings from the Ancient World, 9), Atlanta GA 1997, pp. 224-228.

T.   M.S. Tarazi, "A Cloud Roams and Beautifies by Spitting Out her Brother. KTU 1.96 and its Relation to the Baal Cycle", *UF* 36, 2004, 445-510.

Th.   M.-L. Thomsen, "The Evil Eye in Mesopotamia", *JNES* 51, 1992, 19-32.

UG   J. Tropper, *Ugaritische Grammatik* (AOAT 273), Münster 2000.

W.   N. Wyatt, *Religious Texts from Ugarit: The Words of Ilimilku and his Colleagues* (The Biblical Seminar, 53), Sheffield 1998.

KTU 1.96 (RS 22.225) + lin. 2, char. 8