

PROBLEMATICAL PASSAGES IN THE LEGEND OF KIRTU (I)

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Within the framework of a project aiming at the publication of an English translation of the religious literature of Ugarit for the series NISABA we have studied a number of problems in the text of the Ugaritic legend of king Kirtu. Because the format of the series NISABA does not allow us to add extensive philological comments we are submitting the results of our efforts in the form of articles.

1.14:I.1

[l k]rt – In KTU Dietrich and Loretz assume a lacuna at the end of this line (KTU, 37). However, on the analogy of KTU 1.6:I.1; 1.16:I.1 and 1.19:I.1 we may rest assured that nothing is missing¹.

The vocalization of the name of *Krt* is still problematical². Weippert has argued in favour of *Kurītu*³, but Kirtu (or one of the forms derived from it, like Kiritu, Kiretu) would seem more likely⁴.

1.14:I.4-5

Ginsberg's restoration [krt (. t')] [n'mn . ġl]m . 'il is improbable because one rather expects a description of the disasters justifying the conclusion drawn in the lines 6ff. Since *Nhr* = *Ym* was one of the more sinister deities of the Ugaritic pantheon⁵, we assume that he was thought to be one of the agents behind the unhappy fate of Kirtu.

¹ As seen by Dietrich – Loretz, AOAT 18 (1973) 32 and almost all others.

² See Herdner, TO I, 484, n. 1; Del Olmo Lete, MLC, 240f., n. 6.

³ M. Weippert, ZDPV 85 (1969) 44f., n. 66; Suppl. ZDMG 1 (1969) 214.

⁴ C.H. Gordon, SVT 9 (1963) 27 assumed the existence of the Minoan PNN *ki-re-tā* and *ki-re-ta-na* as counterparts of Ugaritic *krt* and *krtn*. His interpretation of the Minoan script, however, is still a matter of dispute. A more reliable basis offers M.C. Astour, *Hellenosemitica*, Leiden 1965, 342, who compares Mycenaean *ke-re-te-u* = Κρηθεύς (cf. J. Chadwick – L. Baumbach, *Glotta* 41 (1963) 213; A. Morpurgo, *Mycenaeae Graecitatis Lexicon*, Romae 1963, 143).

W.F. Albright, *Interpretation* 18 (1964) 196, and: *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan*, London 1968, 103 pointed to the name of the Mitannian king *Kirta* which is also attested as a PN in Alalakh (Al.T., no. 148:41). It is certainly warranted to connect the Ugaritic PN *krty* with Hebr. *k'ērētī* (*krty*) "Cretan". This in turn may go back on a ground form **kirt(u)* (cf. GK, par. 84e; BL, 20p) from which all forms cited above could easily have been derived.

⁵ UF 1 (1969) 187; see also lines 19-20.

1.14:I.6-7

'umt [krt . 'rwt – With Herdner, CTA, 61, n.3, as supplemented by Dietrich – Loretz⁶. The verb 'RY is attested in the form of the passive feminine participle G 'ryt (KTU 1.16:II.29, see below, and KTU 2.38:25). A noun derived from the same root is 'rm "nakedness", attested in Ras Ibn Hani 78/20:13⁷. Although forms like *špym* and *špyt* seem to indicate that the verbs *tertia* W/Y have a y in the passive participle⁸, the form *bnwt* seems to suggest that the w could sometimes be retained⁹.

1.14:I.8-9

dšb' [a]hm . lh . (the house) that counted seven brothers,
tmnt . bn . 'um eight sons by the same mother.

For the sequence "seven – eight" see Mic. 5:4; for seven sons, Ruth 4:15; Jer. 15:9; for eight, 1 Sam. 17:12. Furthermore KTU 1.15:II.23. The "brothers" are identical to the "sons of a mother", as is demonstrated by KTU 1.6:VI.10f. *'ahym* || *bnm 'umy*, several texts in the O.T. (Gen. 43:29; Deut. 13:7; Judg. 8:19; 9:3; Ps. 69:9), as well as the Assyrian expression ŠEŠ.MEŠŠÚ DUMU AMA-ŠU (Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon, 171, 270). The meaning of these verses is that Kirtu was the sole survivor of his clan, so that the continued existence of the dynasty depended on his ability to raise a family.

1.14:I.10

krt . htkn . rš Kirtu – his authority was shattered,

Syntactically the name of *krt* is a so-called *casus pendens*¹⁰. The name is resumed by a pronominal suffix, as in *yhw bswph drkw* (Nah. 1:3) or *hḥkm 'ynyw bršw* (Qoh. 2:14). That this is the case is also suggested by the parallel *htkh* in lines 21f. So the appended -n is not the suffix first person plural, but the suffix 3 sing. masc. -n¹¹.

The word *htk* means "paternal authority"¹². Because his whole clan had been wiped out and Kirtu himself had been unsuccessful in siring offspring (lines 12ff. and especially II.4f.), Kirtu was held in low esteem. In a patriarchal society the authority a man held over a large family determined his patriarchal prestige.

Because the parallel lines 22f. have *rš m'id*, the word *rš* can only be either a verb or an adjective. It is likely that *rš* || *grdš* balances *'rwt* || *'itbd* in meaning. Therefore we adopt the proposal to connect *rš* with Hebr. *RŠŠ*, Syr. *RŠŠ* "to crush, to destroy"¹³. Although *rš* might perhaps be a passive participle of that verb, we regard it as much more attractive to take it as a *stative* of the G-stem, with the passive meaning acquired by most statives (cf. Von Soden, GAG, par. 77e). In a separate study De Moor hopes to demonstrate the existence of statives in Ugaritic. See also our remarks on *grdš* below.

1.14:I.11

krt . grdš . mknt Kirtu – (his) dwelling-place was a ruin.

⁶ AOAT 18 (1973) 33.

⁷ UF 12 (1980) 430, 432.

⁸ Gordon, UT, par. 9.52.

⁹ Even if *bnwt* is a broken plural of *bnt*, cf. De Moor, in: The Bible World. Essays . . . C.H. Gordon, New York 1980, 182f.

¹⁰ Cf. König, Syntax, par. 341 l.

¹¹ Cf. Gordon, UT, par. 6.8; De Moor, JNES 24 (1965) 358f.; J. Hoftijzer, BiOr 24 (1967) 66; L. Badre e.a., Syria 53 (1976) 97, 105.

¹² F.C. Fensham, JNSL 1 (1971) 16; Dietrich – Loretz, AOAT 18 (1973) 33.

¹³ Virolleaud, Keret, 53; Driver, CML, 155; Rin, Aliloth, 296, 308; Gray, Krt², 30f.; M. Maróth, Acta Orientalia Hungaricae 27 (1973) 303, and many others.

The word *mknt* cannot have any other meaning than "dwelling place" (see the parallel *tbt* in line 23; also the Hebrew cognates *mākōn*, *m^ekōnāh*). It is unlikely that *mknt* which balances *bt* (line 7) and *tbt* (line 23) would be a 3 fem.plur. of the stative¹⁴. But *grđš* cannot be a stative either, because the 3 fem.sing. of the stative ended in *-at*, as in Akkadian¹⁵. Therefore we are dealing with a noun phrase and *grđš* should be connected with Hebr. *gādiš* "tumulus, ruin" and its cognates¹⁶. Probably the intrusive *r* is due to consonantal dissimilation: **gadišu* > **gaddišu* > **gardišu*¹⁷.

1.14.I.12-13

'att . šdqh . l ypq

A wife (befitting) his righteousness he did not obtain,

mtrht . yšrh

(not) a spouse (befitting) his fairness.

Gray, LC², 31 is doubtlessly right in taking *šdqh* and *yšrh* as qualifying genitives of the type Hebr. *hr qdšw*. Compare especially *bymyn šdqy* in Isa. 41:10 and *mšpty šdqk* in Ps. 119:7,69,106,123,160,164. Although many scholars have pointed out that *šdq* and *yšr* form a standard parallel pair¹⁸, the exact meaning of the pair in this particular context is still a matter of dispute¹⁹. Because *šdq* (= Akkad. *kittu*) and *yšr/mšr* (= Akkad. *išaru/mišaru*) are common qualifications of righteous kings, and because the suffixes doubtlessly refer to king Kirtu, the genitive constructions would seem to indicate that Kirtu did not succeed in obtaining a companion befitting his royal righteousness. According to our interpretation this is explained in the following verses.

The negation in *l ypq* should not be explained away. Because all the preceding and following verses are bicol²⁰, we have to assume that this verse too has a negative meaning. With regard to *ypq*, the only admissible translation is "to obtain, to find"²¹.

1.14.I.14

'att . trḥ . wtb't

He did marry a woman, but she rebelled.

The normal meaning of the verb *TB'* is "to stand up, to depart". Because neither the figurative meaning "to leave (a husband)"²², nor the figurative meaning "to pass away"²³ is attested in Akkadian (*tebû*), it is much

¹⁴ Dietrich – Loretz, art. cit., 33.

¹⁵ The forms *nbt* and *šmrgt* in KTU 1.4:I.31f. are the best proof of this. These forms can only be explained as statives of the Akkadian type because the passive meaning required for *šmrgt* cannot be furnished by a "passive" participle *š* (if such a form existed next to *št*, it should at least have been **mšmrgt*). The form *nbt* is the 3rd person fem.sing. stative G of *NWB* "to (over)grow", *šmrgt* is the 3rd person fem. sing. stative *š* of *MRC* "to rub, to polish" (ESA, cf. Akkad., Hebr., Aram. *MRQ*).

¹⁶ C. Rabin, Or 32 (1963) 126; Rin, Aliloth, 309.

¹⁷ Compare C. Brockelmann, GVG, Bd. 1, 243-246, R. Ružička, Konsonantische Dissimilation in den semitischen Sprachen, Leipzig 1909. Also Ugar. *PRŠH* from *PSH* D, *brlt* from *BLT* (cf. JNES 24 (1965) 364, n. 77).

¹⁸ Y. Avishur, Phoenician Inscriptions and the Bible (Hebr.), vol. 1, Jerusalem 1979, 51-53; S.E. Loewenstamm, Comparative Studies in Biblical and Ancient Oriental Literatures, Neukirchen 1980, 210-214; Dietrich – Loretz, UF 12 (1980) 201, n. 20.

¹⁹ See Gray, LC², 132, n. 6; Badre *e.a.*, art. cit., 97f.; Loewenstamm, op. cit., 212f.; Dietrich – Loretz, UF 12 (1980) 200.

²⁰ The structural analysis of Dietrich – Loretz, art. cit., 200f. is false because they ignore the principle of external parallelism between verses of the same strophe as well as the circumstance that the scribe chose to make the line-division coincide with the stichometry at this point, as he often does in this tablet (I.9-17, 23-32, II.10-15, 29-44, III.37-42, 45-54, IV.17-21, 44-52, V.3-6, 31-35, VI.1-5, 29-32). Moreover, Dietrich and Loretz are forced to accept an isolated unicolon in line 15.

²¹ See AOAT 16, 146; A. Herdner, Ugaritica VII, 51. There is insufficient evidence to warrant the assumption of a root *YPQ* (against O. Loretz – W. Mayer, UF 6 (1974) 493f.).

²² Against, among others, J.C. de Moor, in: Fs S.E. Loewenstamm; vol. 2, Jerusalem 1978, 136, n. 39.

²³ Against, among others, M. Weippert, GGA 216 (1964) 188, n. 26; Dietrich – Loretz, art. cit., 200f.

more likely that we have to take it as “to rise against, to rebel”²⁴, the implication being that rebellion or unfaithfulness on the part of a queen made her automatically unsuitable as a wife²⁵.

1.14:I.15

t'ar 'um . <D> tkn lh *he procured a mother, she was <un>faithful to him.*

The recent proposal of Dietrich and Loretz with regard to *t'ar* would seem rather far-fetched, since it involves the assumption of two brand-new homonyms in Ugaritic and Hebrew²⁶. The parallel colon has a verb (*trh*) with Kirtu as its subject. Therefore it is imperative to interpret *t'ar* as a perfect of the amply attested Ugaritic verb *T'R* “to take care of, to arrange, make arrangements”, also used in connection with marriage-arrangements²⁷.

Although it is possible to derive *tkn* from the attested verb *KNY*²⁸ (“she called him names” || the rebellion of the first wife), we prefer to assume the omission of a negative particle²⁹. For *KWN* in the meaning of “to be loyal” see Akkad. *kānu*, *kīnu*, Hebr. *KWN*, *kēn*, etc.

1.14:I.16-20

mtltt . . . mšb'thn – Hardly paying any attention to the serious objections raised by other scholars, Dietrich and Loretz have returned to the interpretation of these terms as fractions designating the children of Kirtu³⁰. We do not want to repeat the argument of De Moor here³¹, but are content to observe that their translation of line 14 is a *petitio principii* which was necessary because otherwise it would be hard to explain why Kirtu would have to seek a wife at all. See also our comments on I.8-9 and I.25.

For the equivalence of the suffixes *-hn* and *-h* see lines 24-25 *btmhn* || *bphyrh* as well as KTU 1.10:II.6-7 *qšthn* || *qš'th*.

1.14:I.16

ktm – Literally “in success”, i.e. when she was about to bear a child to Kirtu³². Compare the name of the birth-goddesses *ktrt*.

1.14:I.21

The parallelism argues in favour of the proposal to take *šlh* as the name of a deity, possibly the deified river of the Nether World³³.

1.14.I.24

wbtmhn – With Herdner. The *t* is clearly visible on the photograph CTA, Pl. XX; its upper part is definitely positioned too low to represent the beginning of a *k*, as surmised by the editors of KTU who read *wbklhn*. Whereas *bklh/w* does not occur in the O.T., *btmw* is attested (Prov. 19:1; 20:7; 28:6).

²⁴ Von Soden, AHW, 1342 *tebû(m)*, 3i.

²⁵ See the tragic file compiled by J. Nougayrol, PRU IV, 125ff.; L.R. Fisher, AnOr 48 (1971) 11ff.; W.L. Moran, JNES 18 (1959) 280f.; F.B. Knutson, RSP II, x.4.

²⁶ UF 12 (1980) 202. It may be expedient to repeat a warning against this kind of approach: “The assumption of homonymy or homography should be postponed as long as possible”, QS 2 (1973) 85.

²⁷ AOAT 16, 69f.; UF 7 (1975) 194; Fs S.E. Loewenstamm, vol. 2, Jerusalem 1978, 136, n. 39.

²⁸ AOAT 16, 83.

²⁹ For another example of accidental omission of the negative particle see ZAW 88 (1976) 343.

³⁰ UF 12 (1980) 203. Contrary to their bold statement, *mr̄b't* and *m̄hm̄st* do not occur in the texts. It is completely clear that we have to read *dm[']hm̄ rb't* in 1.19:II.34f., cf. UF 7 (1975) 206 as well as our comment on 1.14:I.30. So they still owe us convincing proof that the feminine form *m̄q̄ltt* has been used to form fractions.

³¹ UF 11 (1979) 643f.

³² UF 11 (1979) 644, n. 29.

³³ With Dietrich – Loretz, UF 12 (1980) 204, n. 67.

1.14:I.25

phyr – Apparently denotes the totality of a family, as in PRU 2,144:3 *phyr . bth* “his entire family” (KTU 4.258:3 *jh/i . hyr*).

yrt – A collective concept || *šph*, designating all those who qualified as “heirs”, including Kirtu’s brothers (line 9 and compare Numb. 27:9-11).

1.14:I.27

’lgmm – On the reading and interpretation see Dietrich – Loretz, AOAT 18 (1973) 34.

1.14:I.30

km hmšt – Because of the immediate parallelism with *km . tqlm* this reading is preferable over *k mhmšt*. Moreover, the parallel phrase in KTU 1.19:II.34 uses *rb’t* (not *mr b’t*!) which is doubtlessly the same word as Akkad. *rebūtu* “1/4 shekel”. Compare also Hebrew *šēlīšit haššeql* “1/3 shekel” (Neh. 10:33). We may safely conclude that fractions of the shekel were not designated by forms of the type *mqtl*, but by forms of the type *qtl*.

mṭth – The proposal of Dahood to translate “downwards”³⁴ is unacceptable, if only because of 2 Sam. 4:7.

1.14:I.32

nhmmt – Doubtlessly “slumber”³⁵, not “groaning” or the like.

1.14:I.33

tl’un ! – Instead of accepting the ungrammatical form *tl’u’an* we join the five horizontal wedges to form one long *n*³⁶. Only two lines earlier the scribe filled out the remaining space with a similar elongated *n*-sign (four horizontal wedges). The verb is *L’Y* “to overpower”³⁷.

1.14:I.35

yqmš – The verb *QMS/QNS*³⁸ means “to crouch, to curl up”³⁹.

1.14:I.35-36

*wbhlmh ’il . yrd**And in his dream Ilu descended*

The theophany in a dream is quite common in Ancient Near Eastern literature⁴⁰. Although in the O.T. *YRD* is used fairly often to describe the coming of the Lord⁴¹, this never happens in a dream. See, however, Gen. 28:12.

dhrt – Neither to be connected with Hebr. *ZHR*⁴² nor with Akkad. *šaru*⁴³, but with Arab. *zawr* “a phantom seen in sleep”⁴⁴.

³⁴ JNES 5 (1973) 88.

³⁵ Badre *e.a.*, Syria 53 (1976) 104; M. Dahood, RSP I, ii.260; Del Olmo Lete, MLC, 588, and many others.

³⁶ JNES 24 (1965) 357.

³⁷ UF 7 (1975) 213; 9 (1977) 366.

³⁸ Partial assimilation, as in *ybn*t = *ybm*t.

³⁹ AOAT 16, 122; NYCI, 2, 23, n. 96.

⁴⁰ A.L. Oppenheim, The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East, Philadelphia 1956; Les songes et leur interprétation, Paris 1959. For the Old Testament especially F.C. Fensham, JNSL 2 (1972) 47.

⁴¹ *E.g.* Gen. 11:5,7; Ex. 3:8; 19:11,18,20; 34:5; Num. 11:25; 12:5; Isa. 31:4; Mic. 1:3; Ps. 18:10, cf. J. Jeremias, Theophanie. Die Geschichte einer alttestamentlichen Gattung, 2. Aufl., Neukirchen 1977, 12,15,36, 106,176,184. Compare Akkad. (*w*)*arādu*, CAD (A) 2, 212, 216.

⁴² Against M. Görg, ThWAT, Bd. 2, 544f.; Del Olmo Lete, MLC, 540.

⁴³ Against J. Sanmartín, UF 12 (1980) 337.

⁴⁴ AOAT 16, 217; L. Badre *e.a.*, Syria 53 (1976) 105; D. Pardee, BiOr 37 (1980) 285.

ab 'adm – An epithet describing Ilu as the creator of mankind⁴⁵.

1.14:I.37-38

wyqrb bš'al . krt and he approached the questioning of Kirtu:

Ginsberg rightly pointed to the similar phrasing of KTU 1.17:II.16⁴⁶; see also below on II.6-8. The form *š'al* is a construct infinitive of the G-stem⁴⁷ of the type **qat(a)lu* (cf. *šš'al*, *yš'al*, *š'ilt*, all pointing to *qatila* – *yiqталu*).

1.14:I.38-39

m 'at krt . kybky "What is the matter with you, Kirtu, that he weeps,

It is impossible to read *mn* instead of *m 'at*⁴⁸, as observed by Herdner, CTA, 62, n. 10. Ginsberg, Gray and others regard *m 'at* as a petrified kasis of *my 'at* (cf. Ruth 3:16)⁴⁹. It would seem more correct to say that *m 'at* consists of *m* "what?", attested in *lm* "for what? why?", *mh* = **mahū* "what?", *mhk* = **mahūkī* "whatsoever", *mhy* = **mahī(y)* > *my* = **māy* "what?" (KTU 1.5:VI.23f. and possibly originally in Ruth 3:16) and followed by the independent personal pronoun *'at*, as in *lm 'ank* I.52, III.34, etc. The abrupt transition from the second to the third person may seem strange to us, but it was far from uncommon in oriental poetry⁵⁰.

1.14:I.40-41

n'mn "the graceful one" is an epithet of heroes⁵¹ who in the popular imagination of all ages have to be extremely handsome (also, e.g., 1 Sam. 9:2; 16:12; 1 Ki. 1:6). See also KTU 1.17: VI.45 *n'mn 'mq nšm* "gracious one, wisest of men" and 1.18:IV.14 *n'mn g'zr* "the gracious youth".

Kirtu's epithet *glm 'il* should be compared with *glm ym* "the lads of Yammu" (line 19) and *glm b'l* "the lad of Ba'lu" (KTU 1.10:II.3; cf. *glmh*, 1.4:VII.52f.; 1.8:II.5). Therefore *glm* is a synonym of *'bd* – compare Kirtu's epithet *'bd 'il* as well as Hebrew *n'r*.

1.14:I.41-42

mlk [.] tr 'abh y'arš Does he request the kingship of the Bull, his Father?

The poet touches here upon a theme which will recur later on: the question of the divineness of the earthly king (KTU 1.16:I). Apparently it was considered normal when a king aspired the kingship of the head of the pantheon and was weeping in frustration because he realized how impossible it was to achieve such a status.

1.14:I.43-52

With Ginsberg and others we assume that it is the standard text found in KTU 1.14:II.1-3; III.22-25; VI.4-8 that is missing here. However, a glance at CTA, Pl.XX suffices to make it clear that about 9 lines are missing whereas the standard text fills about 7 lines at the most. For this reason we assume that two lines are missing between

⁴⁵ The Bible World. Essays . . . C.H. Gordon, New York 1980, 173.

⁴⁶ Keret, 35.

⁴⁷ UF 7 (1975) 174.

⁴⁸ Against Gordon, UT, 250; H. Sauren – G. Kestemont, UF 3 (1971) 195.

⁴⁹ Ginsberg, Keret, 35; Gray, Krt¹, 8; Krt², 12; Driver, CML, 28. The assumption of an otherwise unattested verb *'TT* (so Badre e.a., Syria 53 (1976) 105f.) is unattractive. It is equally unconvincing to assume a mater lectionis *'a* which actually should have been *h* (so Dietrich – Loretz, in: Studies in Bible and the Ancient Near East. Fs S.E. Loewenstamm, Jerusalem 1978, 19f.).

⁵⁰ See for example 1.14:II.26 or 1 Sam. 20:12f. Furthermore B. Couroyer, RB 84 (1977) 365-374 and J.C. de Moor, UF 12 (1980) 309.

⁵¹ Gray, LC², 35.

line 43 and 46. Probably these lines contained a highly interesting remark explaining why a human being could not be given the eternal kingship of Ilu.

So we propose to read:

- 43 k'ab . 'adm []
 44 []
 45 [qh]
 46 [ksp . wyrq . hrš]
 47 [yd . mqmh . w'bd]
 48 ['lm . tlt . sswm]
 49 [mrkbt . btrbš]
 50 [bn . 'amt . wy'n]
 51 [krt . t' . lm]
 52 ['ank . ksp . wyrq]
 II. 1 [hrš .] yd . mqmh.

With regard to the stichometry it is important to note that *yrrq hrš* is not a genitive construction, as some would have it⁵². The two are independent, parallel designations of "gold"⁵³.

Furthermore it should not go unnoticed that the lines 45-48 form a beautiful chiasmic bicolon:

$$\begin{array}{ccc} w'bd \text{ 'lm} & \leftarrow & tlt \text{ sswm} \\ mrkbt \text{ btrbš} & & bn \text{ 'amt,} \end{array}$$

so we have to translate:

*Take silver and the yellow metal,
 gold, together with its finding place,
 and eternal slaves, teams of three horses,
 chariots from the corral, bondmen!*

1.14:I.45

mqmh – Doubtlessly the finding place of the precious metal, as in Job 28:1⁵⁴. Gold was mined in the 'udr "slopes"⁵⁵ of mountains (*grm*) or hills (*gb'm*) in the form of 'ilqšm "nuggets"⁵⁶ (KTU 1.4:V.15ff., par.).

⁵² Recently F.C. Fensham, JNSL 3 (1974) 28; Dietrich – Loretz, UF 10 (1978) 427f.; D. Pardee, BiOr 37 (1980) 285; Del Olmo Lete, MLC, 292.

⁵³ Conclusive evidence with P. van der Lugt – J.C. de Moor, BiOr 31 (1974) 16; S.B. Parker, UF 6 (1974) 292, n. 48.

⁵⁴ J. Hoftijzer, BiOr 24 (1967) 67.

⁵⁵ The difficult 'udr can be determined at last. It means "slope" and should be derived from *NDR* "to come forth, to project" (in Arabic applied to mountains, Lane, 2780; see also Syr. *nēdar* "to pour down", Brockelmann, 416). The form could be *'uddaru < *'undaru (compare Ugar. 'udm't, 'uṣb', 'utkl, etc.). With regard to the meaning it is a close match of Arab. *nādir* "promontory, projecting part of a mountain" (Lane, 1781) and Jewish Aramaic *middērā*, *middērōn* / *muddērā*, *muddērōn* "slope of a mountain". Because gold is found in the 'udr, it is also interesting to note Arab. *nadrah* "piece of gold found in the mine" (Lane, 2781). Ultimately all these forms might owe their existence to dissimilated derivatives of *WRD*; compare Akkad. *mūradu*, Hebr. *mōrād*, etc.

⁵⁶ The word 'ilqšm should be derived from the root *LQT* "to glean, to pick up" which is attested in the pseudo-correct form of *lqz* "gleanings, remains" (UF 7 (1975) 208) so that the š in 'ilqšm is likewise a pseudo-correct spelling. That this is the correct interpretation of the word becomes apparent when we compare Arab. *laqaṭ* "pieces of gold or silver found in mines" (Lane, 2670).

1.14:I.48

tl̥t sswm – Not “three horses” or even “the third man for the horses”, but “triplets of horses, teams of three horses”, a rarity in the Ancient Near East⁵⁷.

1.14:I.50

bn 'amt – It is generally accepted now that this means “handmaid-sons, bondmen”⁵⁸.

1.14:II.4-5

[p . b]nm . 'aqny No, sons I want to sire,
[w . n]'rm . 'am'id many boys I want to beget!

For this restoration as well as for a discussion of the verbs QNY and M'D see: The Bible World. Essays . . . C.H. Gordon, New York 1980, 175.

1.14:II.6-8

w[yqr]b . tr . 'abh . And the Bull, his Father, approached,
'il d[h̥n]t . bbk . krt Ilu, the Merciful, (approached) the weeping of Kirtu,
bdm' . n'mn . ġlm'il . the tear-shedding of the gracious lad of Ilu:

The photograph CTA, Pl. XX shows that more space is available than is suggested by Virolleaud's copy. Therefore the reading w[yt]b cannot be accepted. Moreover, the same early photograph proves that Virolleaud was right in reading d[]t⁵⁹ and that d[]k (so KTU) is improbable.

The restored formula should be compared with [w]yqrb bš'al krt “he approached the questioning of Kirtu” (I.37-38, dealt with above). Here, however, we have a longer formula which may be restored entirely in comparing KTU 1.17:I.16 wyqrb b'l b̥h̥nth “and Ba'lu approached in his mercy”. The slightly different wording 'il d̥h̥nt “Ilu-of-mercy” may be compared with 'il dp'id “Ilu-the-Good-hearted”, the Ugaritic divine name h̥nn 'il⁶⁰, Ps. 77:10 h̥nwt 'l and Jonah 4:2, Neh. 9:31 'l h̥nwn; see also Ex. 22:26; 34:6; Ps. 86:15; 103:8, etc.

1.14:II.9

wt'adm – A jussive of the N-stem of 'DM “to make oneself red”. Although reddling by means of the purple-snail is attested in the Ugaritic literature⁶¹, it is unlikely that this is what is meant here. In our opinion the poet wants to say that Kirtu should scrub himself vigorously until he glows (|| r̥h̥š). Whereas washing is often mentioned in the Ugaritic rituals⁶², the application of red dye is not attested.

1.14:II.12

hmt – To be connected with Ugar. h̥ym “tent, canopy”⁶³, h̥m “tent”⁶⁴ and h̥mn “baldachin”⁶⁵, Late Babylo-

⁵⁷ Cf. Y. Yadin, The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands, London 1963, 386f.; A.F. Rainey, RSP II, iii. 28.

⁵⁸ Discussion and relevant literature in: Schrift en Uitleg. Fs W.H. Gispén, Kampen 1970, 117, n. 36.

⁵⁹ Keret, 66.

⁶⁰ UF 2 (1970) 193, no. 105, 201.

⁶¹ Or 37 (1968) 212-215.

⁶² J.-M. de Tarragon, Le culte à Ugarit, Paris 1980, 79ff.; P. Xella, I testi rituali di Ugarit, I, Roma 1981, 381.

⁶³ Dietrich – Loretz, UF 10 (1978) 59f.

⁶⁴ In KTU 1.15:IV.21-23 we have *mtb bk* “dwelling of weeping” || *h̥m mr* “tent of bitterness” (see our comment ad loc.). Because the standard parallelism is between *mtb* and *mzll*, it is possible that our (*bzl*) *hmt* is nothing more than a feminine form of the same *h̥m*.

⁶⁵ The evidence for this is the following: KTU 1.86:16 *'imr . h̥mn[h]* “sheep in the *h̥mn*”; 1.106:12-15 [*š*]b' *š'in h̥mnh š qdšh 'lyh b!h̥!mnh nkl š kbmh* “seven head of small cattle in the *h̥mn*; a ram in the sanctuary, on

J.P. van der Woude
WF 4 (1985), 367-370
salle om:
d[]m[k]k
d[]p[k]
h̥p-yan manny/
grooming - in
"yan weay-eyed-
man"

nian *hammu* (used || *zaratu* "tent"), Arab. *haymah* "tent", but also "booth (of branches)" and "baldachin" (cf. Lane, 837).

1.14:II.16

l[hmk .]dnzl – The lacuna is too wide to render KTU's *l[hm]* feasible; with Herdner and others we read *l[hmk]*, compare III.58 *lhmh*.

On the strength of the Arabic parallels⁶⁶ *nzl* should be compared with Arab. *nuzul* "improvised meal (for a guest)", but also "present". So *lhm dnzl* is "offering-bread, shew-bread".

1.14:II.17

msrr – Simply a participle D of *SRR* "to fly", attested in Ethiopic⁶⁷.

1.14:II.18

ht – The connection with Hittite **hattuš* "silver", though by no means certain⁶⁸, is not unlikely because the number of Hittite and Hurrian loan words in Ugaritic is considerable⁶⁹ and because next to spellings with *h* (e.g., *hndrt*, *hbrt*) we have the loan word *kh* with *h*.

1.14:II.20-21

There is insufficient reason to regard line 21 as a dittography⁷⁰, because tautological parallelism was perfectly normal in the poetry of the Ancients. It is totally irrelevant whether we appreciate this kind of repetition or not. Furthermore it is not a valid argument to point to the bicolon in the parallel passage IV.2-3, because this is simply an illustration of the general principle of expansion and contraction⁷¹.

1.14:II.21-22

rkb tkmm hmt – In KTU 1.16:IV.13 it is said to the raven: *'l ltkm bnwn* "go up to the 'shoulder' of the building" (see our comment ad loc.). For this reason it is likely that *tkmm hmt* is also a genitive construction: "the

the roof-terrace, in its *hmn*; Nikkalu a ram as if on the sacrificial height" (*'ly* = Hebr. *'ly*, *'lyh*; *kbmh* = *k* + *bm*, masc. of *bmt* + loc. *-h*); 1.112:3 *tn šm hmnh* "two rams in the *hmn*"; 1.112:8 *btlt t'ln 'ilm bhmn* "on the third the gods shall go up in the *hmn*"; Ras Ibn Hani 77/2B:1 *'id ydbh mlk bhmn* "the king shall sacrifice in the *hmn*"; inconclusive because of damaged context: KTU 1.48:13.

Apparently the *hmn* is a place where sacrifices were brought. It was located on the roof-terrace of the temple. It is highly probable that we are dealing with some kind of temporary structure which was somehow connected with the *mtbt 'azmr* "dwellings of cut-off foliage" (NYCI, 2, 17) or *m<t>bt 'ilm tm[n] tmn tmn gml[m] tmn 'ur[m]* "eight by eight dwellings for the gods, eight made of branches with ripe fruit (cf. Hebr. *GML*, Num. 17:23; Isa. 18:5; also Lev. 23:40), eight made of greenery (attested Ugar. *'ur*)" (KTU 1.104:21-23). These booths of branches and fruit were erected on the flat roof of the temple in connection with the autumnal festival. We know that the king sacrificed there (KTU 1.41:50; Ras Ibn Hani 77/2B:1); compare NYCI, 1, 6f., 13, as well as Jer. 19:13; 32:29. It is likely, then, that Ugar. *hmn*, like Arab. *haymah*, is a "booth (of branches)" or a "baldachin".

⁶⁶ A.F. Mustafa, *Acta OrHung* 29 (1975) 101; L. Badre *e.a.*, *Syria* 53 (1976) 106; Del Olmo Lete, MLC, 589.

⁶⁷ M.L. Fisher, *The Lexical Relationship between Ugaritic and Ethiopic*, Ann Arbor 1969, 147; Herdner, TO I, 514. Certainly not "entrails" (against Del Olmo Lete, MLC, 581).

⁶⁸ Vroilleaud, Keret, 69; T.H. Gaster, *OLZ* 42 (1939) 273; Gordon, *UG*, 98; J. Friedrich, *ZDMG* 96 (1942) 490-494; H.A. Hoffner, *JCS* 22 (1968) 41f.; F.C. Fensham, *JNSL* 4 (1975) 18f.

⁶⁹ QS 2 (1973) 98, n. 2; withdraw *trml* from the list (see below on III.44), but add *'anš* "small of the back" and *hswn* "lettuce".

⁷⁰ Ginsberg, Keret, 37; Herdner, CTA, 63; TO I, 514; Gibson, *CML*, 84; Del Olmo Lete, MLC, 293, and many others.

⁷¹ UF 10 (1978) 187-217; 12 (1980) 311-315.

cf. [A 83] 38r
 - [K 47] 157v
 and other places
 dele

'shoulder' of the wall". Because birds tend to seek the highest points of buildings the *tkm* is a metaphorical designation of an architectural feature common to the upper part of large buildings and walls with towers. Because a man could "straddle" (*rkb*) such a *tkm* its width must have been limited. Therefore we surmise that it is a "parapet". On Egyptian reliefs we often see the Canaanites standing between the parapets of their battlements, raising their arms in a gesture of supplication (compare the next colon: *š'a ydk šmm*)⁷².

1.14:II.26

mšdk – Many scholars hold the view that *mšd* means "provisions, food" or "banquet"⁷³. Others have argued in favour of "game" or "sacrifice of game"⁷⁴. In our opinion the latter opinion has the best papers:

1. In KTU 1.114:1 *mšd* is the object of the verb *dbḥ*. What is it the gods are eating according to this text? In the lines 4ff. the god Yariḥu is clearly carving meat:

<i>y'db yrḥ gbḥ</i>	Yariḥu prepared its back flesh ⁷⁵ ,
<i>km [] yqṭqṭ</i>	like [] he tore it out.
<i>tḥt tḥnt 'il dyd'nn</i>	Under the table for the god whom he knew
<i>y'db lḥm lh</i> (gloss: <i>dmšd</i>)	he put down food (or: "bread", the meaning depends on the gloss <i>dmšd</i>)
<i>wd l yd'nn ylmn</i> (gloss: <i>bqr'</i>)	but whom he did not know he beat (gloss: "with a rod"),
<i>ḥtm tḥt tḥn</i>	with a stick under the table ⁷⁶ .
<i>'ttrt w'nt ymgy</i>	He ⁷⁷ approached 'Aṭtartu and 'Anatu.
<i>'ttrt t'db nšb lh</i>	'Aṭtartu put down a haunch for him
<i>w'nt ktp</i>	and 'Anatu a shoulder.
<i>bhm yg'r ḡr bt 'il</i>	The gate-keeper of the house of Ilu roared to them:
<i>pn lm k!lb t'dbn nšb</i>	"One does not put down a haunch for a dog,
<i>l'nr t'dbn ktp</i>	one does not put down a shoulder for a puppy! ⁷⁸ .

As a result of this intervention 'Anatu and 'Aṭtartu go away hunting (lines 22f.; compare KTU 1.92:2 *'ttrt šwdt* "Aṭtartu the Huntress"). It would seem clear that *'db lḥm* (*dmšd*) balances *'db gbḥ* and *'db nšb/ktp*. All this makes it virtually certain that *mšd* is not a rather general term for food, but a designation of game.

2. In KTU 1.114.1 *mšd* forms a parallel pair with *šd*. It is hardly convincing to take this as an otherwise un-attested verb. The noun *šd*, however, is attested and it means "game"⁷⁹. It would seem natural, then, to compare *dbḥ mšd/šd* with Punic *zḅḥ šd* and with the Palmyrenian sacrifice *šdt*⁸⁰.

3. According to the lines 13ff. Kirtu takes with him a lamb, bread and an offering bird. It is perfectly legitimate to assume that this was a wild bird⁸¹.

⁷² Cf. O. Keel, VT 25 (1975) 413-469.

⁷³ Notably Herdner, TO I, 514; Loewenstamm, AOAT 204 (1980) 372, 419-422; Del Olmo Lete, MLC, 582.

⁷⁴ Notably J. Hoftijzer, BiOr 24 (1967) 66; J.C. de Moor, UF 1 (1969) 169; M.H. Pope, in: J.M. Efrid (ed.), The Use of the Old Testament in the New and Other Essays. Fs W.F. Stinespring, Durham 1972, 174f.; A.H. Mustafa, Acta OrHung 29 (1975) 102; F.C. Fensham, JNSL 6 (1978) 23f.; K.J. Cathcart – W.G.E. Watson, Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association 4 (1980) 37, 41.

⁷⁵ For *gb* "back, flesh of the back", see UF 12 (1980) 431.

⁷⁶ The low-ranking gods had to be content with a humble place under the table where the privileged received some scraps, like dogs. Compare Judg. 1:7 and Mark 7:28.

⁷⁷ The subject is the god who was chased away by Yariḥu. He now tries his luck with the ladies. The verb *MGY* is often constructed with the accusative!

⁷⁸ The meaning and etymology of *'nr* "young dog, puppy" are completely certain now; see our comment on KTU 1.16:I.2. The rebuke of the gate-keeper has some beautiful parallels in Matth. 7:6 and Mark 7:27.

⁷⁹ As pointed out in UF 1 (1969) 169.

⁸⁰ Cf. J.T. Milik, Dédicaces faites par des dieux, Paris 1972, 191.

⁸¹ UF 2 (1970) 347, n. 9.

1.14:II.26-27

wyrd krt — Probably *yrd* is a 3 sing. masc. jussive G of *YRD*, because it is followed by *y'ip*, jussive G of *PY*. Again the transition from the second to the third person appears to be rather abrupt if we would apply our stylistic standards. However, this would be a grave error. The Ancients appreciated the liveliness of such sudden transitions. See also our comment on I.38-39.

As a result of these considerations the forms '*db* in line 27, *ngb* in lines 32f. (see below), *hlk* in lines 39 and 41, and *sgr* in line 43 have to be interpreted as precative perfects (cf. Gibson, CML, 84, n.4).

1.14:II.28-29

qryt || *bt hbr* — Both have been interpreted as designations of the granaries⁸². However, because *hbr* is the name of Kirtu's residence (KTU 1.15:IV.8, etc.) and because *qryt* is attested as a variant of *qrt* "city" in KTU 1.3:II.7, this interpretation has to be rejected.

It is unlikely that *bt* means "house, palace" in this connection because in place names of this type *bt* is an integral part of the name and could not be omitted as in 1.15:IV.8 par. Even less likely is the idea of Dietrich and Loretz⁸³ to take *bt* as "palace" because evidently the wheat was stored not only for the palace, but for all the citizens of Huburu. Much more attractive is the solution proposed by Badre *et al.*, to connect *bt hbr* with expressions like Ugar. *bt 'ugrt* and Hebrew *bat šiyyōn*⁸⁴.

1.14:II.31

mgd — "food, provisions", Arab. *mağdah*⁸⁵.

1.14:II.32-34

<i>'dn</i> [.] <i>ngb</i> . <i>wyṣ'i</i>	<i>Let an army be provisioned and let it go out,</i>
<i>ṣb'u</i> . <i>ṣb'i</i> . <i>ngb</i>	<i>let a mighty host be provisioned,</i>
<i>wyṣ'i</i> . <i>'dn</i> . <i>m'</i>	<i>yea, let a strong army go out!</i>

The correct rendering of this much discussed passage⁸⁶ becomes apparent as soon as it is recognized that *Ilu* continues to speak in the third person (see our comment on II.26-27), so that *ngb* is a precative perfect balanced by the jussive *wyṣ'i*, just like '*db* || *y'ip* in the preceding verse. However, it would seem certain that *ṣb'u* (nominative) is the subject of the second colon, making *ngb* a precative perfect of the N-stem of *NGB*. It should be noted in this connection that *ṣb'u* continues to be the subject in the next verse (line 35).

With many others we connect '*dn* (which is clearly || *ṣb'u*) with Arab. '*adanah* "crowd". In any case it is impossible to interpret '*dn ngb* as "Zeit des Ausrüstens" (Dietrich — Loretz) because Kirtu's campaign started in autumn, whereas the normal time to go to war was in spring⁸⁷. The particle *m'* emphasizes '*dn*, balancing the paronomastic genitive construction *ṣb'u ṣb'i*. The latter is interesting from a syntactical point of view because it differs from the normal type of paronomasia in having both times the singular number (contrast *šir hašširīm*). However, one might point to Hos. 10:15 *mpny r't r'tkm* "because of your great wickedness"⁸⁸, Mic. 2:4 *nhy nhyh* "the saddest lamentation", Mic. 7:12 *hr hhr* "the remotest mountain", 2 Ki. 19:23 *brkb rkby* (Ket.) "with

⁸² The words were connected with Akkad. *qarītu* and *bit ḫubūri*, cf. BiOr 31 (1974) 21.

⁸³ UF 12 (1980) 194.

⁸⁴ Syria 53 (1976) 107.

⁸⁵ Ginsberg, Keret, 37; Gray, Krt², 38; J. Hoftijzer, BiOr 24 (1967) 66; Dietrich — Loretz, WO 4 (1968) 306; Herdner, TO I, 516; Del Olmo Lete, MLC, 581. The presumed Hebrew parallels are unconvincing (against P.J. Calderone, CBQ 23 (1961) 452f.; S. Rin, BZ 11 (1967) 188).

⁸⁶ For some recent surveys see L. Badre *e.a.*, Syria 53 (1976) 107f.; F.C. Fensham, JNSL 7 (1979) 21f.; W.G.E. Watson, Or 48 (1979) 113; Dietrich — Loretz, UF 12 (1980) 194; Del Olmo Lete, MLC, 293.

⁸⁷ See AOAT 16, 61f., 158.

⁸⁸ Cf. G. Schäfer, "König der Könige" — "Lied der Lieder", Heidelberg 1974, 92, 97, and for some non-Semitic parallels: 107ff., 119, 135ff.

my mighty chariotry”; also Jewish Aram. ‘rs d’rs’ “a super-bed” in Midr. Echa I.4, as well as some M. Hebr. examples⁸⁹.

1.14:II.35

’ul – Attested in the meaning “force, strength” in KTU 1.2:IV.5⁹⁰ and related to other Ugaritic derivatives of the root ’W/YL. In Ras Ibn Hani 78/3:Rev.2 ’ul ly probably means “a force for me” because in line 11 of the same letter the king asks for *dr’ly* “help for me”.

1.14:II.36

tl̄t . m’at . rbt *three hundred myriads,*

Del Olmo Lete, MLC, 294, takes *tl̄t* as “the third man (on the chariot)”. However, his stichometric division of the text is clearly erroneous, if only because both here and in IV.17 the stichometric division coincides with the line-division chosen by the scribe⁹¹.

1.14:II.39-40

ḥḏḏ || *yr* – The best interpretation of these terms⁹² is confirmed by *ḥḏ* “thunderstorm” in KTU 1.13:34 (|| *rh*, *’rpt*).

1.14:II.44-47

<i>yḥd . bth . sgr</i>	<i>Let the single man close his house,</i>
<i>’almnt . ṣkr tṣkr</i>	<i>let the widow give a generous contribution,</i>
<i>zbl . ’rsm yṣ’u</i>	<i>let the sick man take up his bed,</i>
<i>’wr . mzl ymzl .</i>	<i>let the blind one donate very generously.</i>

The correct interpretation of these lines is due to L. Badre and her colleagues⁹³. So *ṣkr tṣkr* balances *mzl ymzl* and both are clearly constructed with paronomastic infinitives. The verb *ṢKR* should never have been connected with Hebr. *ṢKR* because the Ugaritic verb for “to hire a person” was *’GR* (KTU 1.19:IV.51). Badre *et al.* rightly connected *ṢKR* with Arab. *ṣakira* “to become generous”, and *MZL* with Arab. *maḏila* “to be generous, to donate generously”. The unbelievable enthusiasm for the campaign is illustrated by the generosity of the poorest when it came to contributing to the war-chest.

If *’almnt ṣkr tṣkr* is such a close parallel to *’wr mzl ymzl*, it stands to reason that *yḥd bth sgr* balances *zbl ’rsm yṣ’u*. This allows us to draw the interesting conclusion that a single man, living alone but normally keeping his house open for every visitor, was more or less equated with a sick man.

1.14:II.45-46

zbl ’rsm yṣ’u *let the sick man take up his bed,*

Compare Akkad. *maiala naṣû*⁹⁴ and Luke 5:25.

⁸⁹ Cf. M.H. Segal, *A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew*, Oxford 1927, par. 393.

⁹⁰ AOAT 16, 134.

⁹¹ See also Dietrich – Loretz, UF 12 (1980) 195.

⁹² See especially Virolleaud, GLECS 3 (1937-40) 72; Herdner, TO I, 517; W.G.E. Watson, Or 45 (1976) 440; Dietrich – Loretz, UF 12 (1980) 195, n. 13; Del Olmo Lete, MLC, 551.

⁹³ Syria 53 (1976) 109.

⁹⁴ Cf. R. Labat, *Traité akkadien de diagnostics et pronostics médicaux*, t.1, Paris/Leiden 1951, 32f.

1.14:II.47-48

trḥ ḥdt is doubtlessly the newly wed groom who was exempted from military service (Deut. 24:5 *l' yṣ' bṣb'*; see also Deut. 20:7)⁹⁵. His behaviour was just as irrational and patriotic as that of the widow and the blind.

1.14:III.3

špšm — The meaning of this expression is disputed. Some translate "at sunrise", others "at sunset". Loewenstamm found "some support" for the former rendering in the Epic of Gilgamesh⁹⁶, but the passages he refers to (I.iv.21; XI.199) are inconclusive.

According to KTU 1.14:III.14 par. king Pubâla is unable to sleep because of the noise his cattle is making. It would hardly have been worth noticing that king Pubâla awoke at sunrise in a time of war. Therefore this passage points to the *evening*. At that time the cattle was normally watered⁹⁷, but as a result of the siege this was impossible and so the animals were restless. Moreover, we seem to forget too easily that people went to bed at sunset in times when illumination was scarce. "As the sun was setting, Abram fell into a deep sleep" (Gen. 15:12; see also 28:11).

It is fully in accordance with this line of reasoning that at the time when king Pubâla should have been sleeping his opponent Kirtu was in his *night-quarters* (see our comment on III.21).

According to 1.14:IV.32f. Kirtu arrives at the sanctuary of a goddess *'aḥr špšm*. Because at that point of his campaign there was no need whatsoever to march during the night, *'aḥr špšm* means rather "after sunset" than "after sunrise".

According to our passage Kirtu arrives at his destination *špšm*. Although an attack by night was certainly not impracticable in the ancient world⁹⁸, it was an unusual procedure which was always meant as a surprise. Normally, one would advance against a city at sunrise (e.g. Josh. 6:15; Judg. 9:33), having arrived at sunset of the preceding day (compare Judg. 19:14; 2 Sam. 2:24). Therefore, we are entitled to compare arrivals *špšm* with arrivals [*lṣb'i špš* "at the setting of the sun"⁹⁹. Now it is important to note that Kirtu does not attack the city immediately, as would have been the case if in order to surprise Pubâla he had arrived at dawn, but that Kirtu has to tarry (III.10-14). This renders the assumption of a surprise attack at night very improbable.

Finally, according to KTU 1.20:II.5 and 1.22:II.24f. the shades of the dead arrive *'aḥr špšm* at the house of the man who has raised them by his incantations. It would seem to us that the most natural time for spirits to appear is after sunset. Compare 1 Sam. 28.

All taken together, we feel that the rendering "at sunset" is the correct interpretation of *špšm*.

1.14:III.4

'udm — Probably Udumu in the Bashan region¹⁰⁰ which during the Bronze Age had intimate relations with the North of Canaan¹⁰¹.

⁹⁵ A.F. Rainey, RSP II, iii.11.

⁹⁶ IEJ 15 (1965) 128, n. 23, followed by Del Olmo Lete, MLC, 632.

⁹⁷ Correctly observed by Badre *e.a.*, Syria 53 (1976) 115.

⁹⁸ See e.g. CAD (M)2, 293a; Jud. 9:19; 2 Sam. 2:29; 17:1; Jer. 6:4f.

⁹⁹ KTU 1.19:IV.46f., cf. 48f.; 1.16:I.36f.

¹⁰⁰ A.F. Rainey, JAOS 94 (1974) 187. For other possibilities see M.C. Astour, RSP II, viii.16.

¹⁰¹ Next to the impressive textual evidence one might point to the archaeological facts, e.g. J. Nasrallah, Syria 27 (1950) 314-331; AnArchSyr 13 (1963) 13-78; C. Epstein, RB 79 (1972) 404-407; 80 (1973) 560-563; C. Epstein — S. Gutman, in: M. Kochavi, Judaea, Samaria and the Golan — Archeological Survey 1967-68, Jerusalem 1972, 244-292; J. Briand — J.B. Humert; Tell Keisan (1971-76), Fribourg/Paris 1980.

p-37 "trrt is a faithful transcription of Akkadian šarratu 'queen, nobility: an epithet applied to royal women, goddesses and certain alhedon' (→ u.p. ATW, 1180)
 ↑ Johannes C. de Moor – Klaas Spronk
 y. J.C. Greenfield, "The Epitaphs KRT // IKRT - the KRT 6 par" in *EWCA (ed), Perspectives on Language and Text* FS Fl Andersen, *Umanu Lake 1982* pp 35-37

1.14:III.5

rbt || *trrt* – Because the meaning of the first cannot be disputed¹⁰² and twin cities were quite common¹⁰³, we adopt the translation "small" for *trrt* which is supported by pairs like Sidon-the Great || Sidon-the Small¹⁰⁴. Compare Akkad. *šerru* "small one, child". The meaning "small" also fits feminine *trry* in KTU 1.16:IV.15 (see our comment ad loc.).

1.14:III.6-10

According to the context our passage should contain an order in direct oration, whereas the same forms in IV.49-V.1 must be interpreted as descriptive narratives in the third person masculine. This means that the forms *grnn*, *šrnn*, *s't* and *dm* can only be interpreted as infinitives. Only the infinitive can fulfill both the function of an imperative and that of a narrative tense in Ugaritic, and in contrast to the perfect the infinitive could be provided with energetic endings¹⁰⁵.

Forms ending in *-nn* a l w a y s contain a pronominal suffix. Because *šrn* in line 6 corresponds to *šrnn* in line 50, we have to assume that both *grnn* and its parallel *šrn(n)* contain such a suffix. In our opinion this suffix can only refer to Udumu. However, the verbs are followed by *'rm* || *pdrn*. We explain these forms as *duals*, indicating the twin-cities Udumu the Great and Udumu the Small. The pronouns have been used in the singular to indicate that the twin-cities actually form a unit – a usage comparable to the singular for dual deities like *ktṛ whss*¹⁰⁶. This interpretation is fully confirmed by the reading *ḥṭbh* in the next line. There is no reason at all to change this into *ḥṭbt*, as proposed by many of our colleagues. The parallel line 51 also has the masculine *ḥṭb* (collective, cf. AOAT 16, 90) and it is definitely too much to change the text in both instances. Moreover, all those who seem to have thought of wood-gathering old ladies apparently overlooked the simple fact that in the Orient wood-gathering was a task of men¹⁰⁷. So there is only one translation possible: "its (i.e. the town's) wood-gatherers". The appositive use of a pronominal suffix and a noun is not unusual in the Semitic languages¹⁰⁸, so that *grnn 'rm* becomes "attack it, the twin-city".

The form *grnn*, then, should be analysed as a construct infinitive G of the verb *GRY* "to attack"¹⁰⁹, also attested in KTU 1.119:26, with the energetic suffix *-nn*. The form *šrn(n)* is a construct infinitive G of *ŠRY* "to advance against", cf. Amarna *ša-ru(-tum)* "attacker(s)", Hebr. *ŠRH* "to fight with" (Hos. 12:4), Arab. *šaraya* "to advance to". In our opinion this is the very same verb which is attested with the meaning "to let loose" in KTU 1.4:V.9¹¹⁰.

¹⁰² See PRU VI, 108, no. 138:1 *al-a-ru-ti-ya* GAL "Arutu the Great"; Ugar. *ḥbr rbt* and *'aršḥ rbt*; Hebr. *sydw nrbh* and *ḥmt rbh*.

¹⁰³ AOAT 16, 90, 94, n. 3; C. Fontinoy, UF 3 (1971) 33-40. See also our comment on 1.14:III.6-10 (the duals *'rm* and *pdrn*) and our comment on 1.14:IV.35-36 (the duals *šrm* and *šdynm*).

¹⁰⁴ OIP 2, 29:41; more evidence with T.H. Gaster, JNES 7 (1975) 45. See also Dietrich – Loretz, UF 12 (1980) 162. It is impossible to translate "potent, mighty" (Del Olmo Lete, MLC, 645) because Hebr./Aram. *ŠRR* corresponds to Ugar. *ŠRR*, not *TRR*, see UF 7 (1975) 207; 11 (1979) 647, n. 48.

¹⁰⁵ JNES 24 (1965) 358f.; AOAT 16, 134, 179.

¹⁰⁶ UF 2 (1970) 227f.

¹⁰⁷ G. Dalman, AuS, Bd. 1, 84ff., 567f.; Hebr. *ḥṭbym*.

¹⁰⁸ See e.g. GK par. 131m,o; W. Wright – M.J. de Goeje, A Grammar of the Arabic Language, vol. 2, 3rd ed., Cambridge 1898, 285; L. Costaz, Grammaire syriaque, Beyrouth 1955, 185f.

¹⁰⁹ J.C. Greenfield, Eretz-Israel 9 (1969) 62; Herdner, TO I, 520; add the evidence collected by J. Hoftijzer – G. van der Kooij, Aramaic Texts from Deir 'Alla, Leiden 1976, 210. With regard to the form, compare *hr* from *HRY*, *šr* from *ŠRY*, *pn* from *PNY*, *mn* from *MNY*, *'n* from *'NY*, *tn* from *TNY*, cf. UF 7 (1975) 191, n. 176, 199, 214.

¹¹⁰ AOAT 16, 150. Compare Akkad. *qabla/tāḥaza šurrû* "to start a battle". The circumstance that Hebrew has *ŠRH* next to *ŠRH* is not decisive, because the former occurs only in Hos. 12:4 where it is clearly an intentional anomaly chosen to suit the folk-etymology of the name of *yšr'!*

Finally we assume that *s't* is a verb with a more or less similar meaning and form. In our opinion it is again a construct infinitive G of a verb tertiae *W/Y*, i.e. *S'Y* "to assault", to be compared with Arab. *sa'aya* "to be headed for", also "to ruin", Akkad. *se'û* "to subjugate", Syr. *s'e'ā* "to assault", Hebr. *sā'āh* "to rush"¹¹¹. For the feminine form of the construct infinitive of verba tertiae *Y* in Ugaritic we point to *blt* from *BLY*¹¹², *'lt* from *'LY*, *g't* from *G'Y*, *z'gt* from *ZĠY*. It is completely clear now that in Ugaritic such feminine forms were used side by side with masculine forms like *hr* from *HRY*, *'n* from *'NY*, etc.

1.14:III.9

bbqr — Most scholars deem it necessary to correct this after the parallel *bmqr* in V.1-2. It is, however, a simple case of partial assimilation¹¹³.

1.14:III.10

dm — According to Aartun this would be an adverbial particle¹¹⁴. Although such a particle does indeed exist¹¹⁵, it is much more likely that *dm* is an imperative here, balancing the imperative *lk* in *lk ym wtn* (line 3). We derive *dm* from the attested Ugaritic verb *DMY* "to remain quiet, to repose"¹¹⁶. Like the preceding forms it is a construct infinitive G.

1.14:III.14

'abn ydk mšdpt — Usually *ydk* is regarded as a genitive with *'abn*: "the stone(s) of your hand", but if we left it at that, it would be an improbable solution, as seen by Loewenstamm¹¹⁷. We regard *mšdpt* as a feminine participle Š, complementing *yd*: "the stones of your . . . ing-hand". Then it is easy to see that **mušaddipati* has to be a participle Š of *NDP*: "the stones of your throwing-hand", i.e. your slingstones. It may be observed that *yd* is feminine, that bows and slings are often mentioned side by side, and that slingers could of course be left-handed, so that a neutral expression like "throwing-hand" made sense. With regard to the etymology see Ethiop. *nadafa* "to throw, to shoot", Arab. *'andafa* "to propel", E.S. Arab. *ndf* "to scatter", Hebr. *ndp* "to scatter, to drive away".

1.14:III.15

pbl — The vocalization of the name is uncertain, but it is rather strenuous to connect it with the name of the Sumerian god Pabil(sag)¹¹⁸. The locale of the Legend of Kirtu would seem to be West-Semitic. Since *bl* could be a shortened form of *b'l*¹¹⁹, we prefer to vocalize **pûbâla* < **pûba'la* "order of Ba'lu", an attested West-Semitic personal name¹²⁰.

¹¹¹ Said of the wind in Ps. 55.9, but see also vv. 4-6. Not *SW'*, as proposed by J.C. Greenfield, JAOS 87 (1967) 70 and Eretz-Israel 9 (1969) 63.

¹¹² UF 7 (1975) 174, n. 32.

¹¹³ As seen by F. Rosenthal, Or 8 (1939) 226; Gordon, UT, par. 5.33. Similar phenomena occur in Phoenician (Friedrich, Phoen. Gr., par. 54b) and Hebrew (König, Syntax, par. 330o). See also Von Soden, GAG, par. 27e.

¹¹⁴ K. Aartun, AOAT 21/1 (1974) 67f.

¹¹⁵ H.L. Ginsberg, JCS 2 (1948) 142; T.H. Gaster, JNES 7 (1948) 142; M.H. Pope, JCS 6 (1952) 135; J.C. de Moor, AOAT 16, 107 and in: Loven en Geloven. Fs N.H. Ridderbos, Amsterdam 1975, 217, n. 40.

¹¹⁶ See J. Hoftijzer, DISO, 58; G.A. Saliba, JAOS 92 (1972) 109; J.C. de Moor, ZAW 88 (1976) 343.

¹¹⁷ Biblica 56 (1975) 112f.; his own solution, however, is not much better (infinitive of *YDY* "to drive away, to throw") because he leaves us in the dark with regard to *mšdpt*.

¹¹⁸ Against M.C. Astour, Hellenosemitica, Leiden 1965, 300-302.

¹¹⁹ F. Gröndahl, PTU, 20.

¹²⁰ See H.B. Huffmon, APNMT, 254; M. Tsevat, HUCA 46 (1975) 80f.

1.14:III.19

klb spr – Probably “watch-dog”¹²¹.

1.14:III.21

mswn – Neither “camp” nor “delegation”¹²², but definitely “night-quarters”, cf. Arab. *MSW* IV “to spend the night”, *mumsîn* “night-quarters”. See also our comments on 1.14:III.3.

1.14:III.26-27

šlmm šlmm – Doubtlessly “as many peace-gifts as you want”, with distributive repetition of the noun¹²³.

1.14:III.30

tšr – The formula *’al tšr ’udm* (next to *wgrnn ’rm* in line 6) should be compared with Deut. 2:9 *’l tšr ’t-mw’b* (*w’l-ttgr bm*) and Deut. 2:19 *’l tšrm* (*w’l ttgr bm*). In neither of these texts *šWR* “to besiege” can have been meant. Texts like 1 Ki. 8:37 and Deut. 28:52 rather suggest that the verb is *šRR*. The latter is already attested in Ugaritic in the G-stem, meaning “to vex, to harass”¹²⁴.

1.14:III.39

hry – Usually connected with Hebr. *hōr* “free one”¹²⁵ and its cognates (HAL, 334). However, it is possible that the corresponding Ugaritic word was *hr*¹²⁶. Therefore other possibilities should be taken into serious consideration. Lankester Harding, for example, connects the Thamudic personal name *hry* with Arab. *harīy* “suitable, worthy” which would be a very appropriate name for the lady (compare our remarks on I.12-13). This vocalization would tally with that of the Amorite PN *Ha-ri-ya* as well as the PN *A-ri-ya* in Tell al Rimah and Alalakh.

1.14:III.43

’q – Dismissing all previous attempts to solve the problem of this word, we render “eye-paint”, connecting the term with Akkad. *eqû* “to paint the eyes”, *mēqītu* “eye-paint”, *mēqû* “cosmetics, beauty” (in a description of the beauty of Ištar = *ttrt!*), *tēqītu* “ointment”, *uqqû* “painted”. Doubtlessly related is Arab. *’awhaq* “lapis-blue”¹²⁷. All this is confirmed by the following *’ib ’iqn’i* (see below), so that we may translate: “whose eye-paint is the purest lapis-lazuli”.

’ib ’iqn’i – Comparison with *thrm ’iqn’im* / *zhr ’iqn’im* proves that *’ib* is an Akkadian loan word (*ebbu*)¹²⁸ which, being an adjective, should be translated in the superlative¹²⁹.

¹²¹ M. Weippert, Suppl. ZDMG, Teil 1 (1969) 215f.

¹²² For recent surveys of proposals see Herdner, TO I, 523; L. Badre *e.a.*, Syria 53 (1976) 113; Gibson, CML, 85, n. 8; Del Olmo Lete, MLC, 580.

¹²³ See De Moor, in: Schrift en Uitleg. Fs W.H. Gispen, Kampen 1970, 117; B. Janowski, UF 12 (1980) 241-245 (with wrong stichometry).

¹²⁴ UF 12 (1980) 307; see also BDB, 865.

¹²⁵ So already D. Siderski, in: Mélanges R. Dussaud, t.2, Paris 1939, 637. See also Gröndahl, PTU, 136. Furthermore J. Cantineau, Le Nabatéen, t.2, Paris 1932, 99; F.L. Benz, Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions, Rome 1972, 322; J.K. Stark, Personal Names in Palmyrene Inscriptions, Oxford 1971, 90.

¹²⁶ In spite of Arabic *hurr*, the *mt hr* of KTU 1.2:I.41 probably means “the staff of the free man”, as a sign of the immunity of messengers (cf. AOAT 16, 132f.; KAI, no. 224:8-9; for Arab. *h* = Ugar. *h*, QS 2, 95, n. 2).

¹²⁷ Cf. W. Fischer, Farb- und Formbezeichnungen in der Sprache der altarabischen Dichtung, Wiesbaden 1965, 321. Greek parallels are cited by T.H. Gaster, Religions 18 (1937) 22f.

¹²⁸ De Moor, in: The Bible World. Essays . . . C.H. Gordon, New York 1980, 181, n.44.

¹²⁹ UF 7 (1975) 186f.

'*p'pm* — "eyelashes", a derivative of the root '*WP* "to fly"¹³⁰. The eyelashes are compared with fluttering wings, just like Akkadian *kappu* which denotes a wing, but also "eyelash" and even a kind of vessel, which explains the comparison of '*p'pm* with *sp*.

1.14:III.44

sp trml — The word *sp* denotes a bowl or a low basin¹³¹. Next to '*iqn'u* the following *trml* would seem to be a semi-precious stone. The Semitic derivations proposed thus far are all unlikely¹³² and therefore it might be an unknown Hurrian word which is also attested as a female personal name Šarumeli (PRU VI, 143). However, we would like to propose a different approach. The word *trml* might be a dissimilated form from the root *TML*, like *grdš* from *GDŠ*, *PRSH* from *PSH*, etc. (see our comment on 1.14:I.11). Then we might compare Arab. '*aṭmala* "to froth (said of milk)", '*tumālah* "froth of milk", '*tamīl* "sour milk". Just like **gadišu* > **gaddišu* > **gardišu* the latter could have developed **tamīlu* > **tammīlu* > **tarmīlu*. Actually another derivative of the same Arabic root exhibits this kind of dissimilation: '*tumlah* next to '*turmulah*, both meaning "what remains in a vessel" (DAFA, 1166, 1230). This would not only suit the preceding *sp* ("a bowl of frothing milk") but would also produce a simile we know from the Song of Songs: the white of the eyes is compared with milk (Cant. 5:12). Thus the colours of '*iqn'u* and *trml* are parallel: "whose eyelashes form a bowl of frothing milk".

1.14:III.44-45

thgrn [.] *bm*

(she who) girds me by them,

'*ašlw* . *bšp* . '*nh*

(whom) I circle because of the clarity of her eyes,

This bicolon is missing from the parallel passage VI.30. Because the relative sentences of the lines 41-43 are continued in line 46, it is safe to assume that just like the asyndetic colon '*p'ph sp trml* the cola of our verse are asyndetic relative sentences.

KTU reads *thgrn* . [] *dm*, but CTA, Fig. 36 exhibits no word-divider and the lacuna would seem too small to accomodate both a word-divider and part of a *d*. Therefore we prefer to read [.] *bm*.

The verbs *thgrn* and '*ašlw* are used in parallelism and should be related in meaning. This is possible if we regard '*ašlw* as a first person impf. Š of the attested Ugaritic root *LWY*¹³³, meaning "to circle, to hover about", like the etymologically related Akkadian *šulmû*. The girl encircles him with her eyes as with a magic girdle and he encircles her precisely because of those beautiful eyes. In *bm* we have an example of the 3 du.m. suffix *-m* instead of *-hm*. The word *sp* means "clarity"¹³⁴.

1.14:III.48

wld — In our opinion this has to be analysed as an absolute infinitive of *W/YLD*¹³⁵. The simple infinitive may replace a construction of infinitive with *l*¹³⁶.

¹³⁰ UF 1 (1969) 202.

¹³¹ W.A. Ward, VT 24 (1974) 344f.

¹³² See H. Gese, VT 12 (1962) 423, n.4; S. Rin, BZ 7 (1963) 29; Del Olmo Lete, MLC, 644.

¹³³ For the verb, see AOAT 16, 133 (with regard to the parallel '*ihr* see also Dietrich — Loretz, BiOr 23 (1966) 128; Dahood, RSP I, ii.197). The root is also attested in the noun *lyt* "wreath" and the name of the monster *ltn* (see BiOr 31 (1974) 5).

¹³⁴ UF 2 (1970) 321; BiOr 31 (1974) 20.

¹³⁵ Compare Dietrich — Loretz — Sanmartín, UF 8 (1976) 435f. who should have included our *wld* as an infinitive.

¹³⁶ UF 11 (1979) 645, n. 31.

1.14:III.50

yḥt – The verb *HW/YT* means “to awake”¹³⁷.

1.14:III.51

hdrt – Again we express doubt that this is a scribal error for **dhrt* = *dhrt*¹³⁸. In spite of the superficial similarity of *d(h)rt* it should be pointed out that **dhrt* is not attested and that *drt* occurs only a few lines earlier (line 47). Perhaps we have an abstract feminine noun here (cf. GK par. 122q-r), meaning “something tremendous” (connecting *hdrt* with Hebrew *hdr* and its cognates¹³⁹).

1.14:III.56f. and IV.3f

Compare 1.14:II.13-15 and II.20-22. Two further examples illustrating the principle of expansion and contraction¹⁴⁰. The poet could even leave out entire verses: compare 1.14:IV.16f. with 1.14:II.36-39 and 1.14:IV.32f. with 1.14:III.2-4.

1.14:IV.35-36

šrm || *šdynm* – Even though Astour is perfectly right in pointing out the uncertainty of the equation of these words with the Tyrians and Sidonians¹⁴¹, no stronger pair of candidates has been suggested thus far. The connections between Ugarit and Southern Canaan would seem to have been underplayed as a result of the necessity people felt to refute the so-called “Southern Hypothesis” of the early days of Ugaritology. Meanwhile, however, the number of established relations has increased considerably. With regard to the locale of the Legend of Kirtu itself, see our comment on 1.14:III.4.

The circumstance that *šdnm* has turned up in Ras Ibn Hani 77/21:Rev.6 suggests that *šdyn* is an archaic spelling for *šdn*, pointing to a derivation from a root *šDY* (compare Hebr. *ḥazōn* next to *ḥizzāyōn*).

It is unlikely that *šrm* and *šdynm* are gentilics. We would expect the gentilic ending *-ym* in that case (UT par. 8.52). Rather *šrm* and *šdynm* are the names of the towns themselves in the dual, describing them as twin-cities (see our comments on 1.14:III.5 and 1.14:III.6-9).

1.14:IV.38

ī ḫt – There are two different exclamations *ī* in Ugaritic:

1) “woe!”, attested in KTU 1.5:IV.6-7 as well as KTU 1.16:I.2 (*’ap ’ab ī k*, because of line 17: *’ap ’ab k*; see our comment ad loc.), both times next to *’ap*, another exclamation of sorrow¹⁴². The former should be compared with Hebr. *ī(y)* IV (HAL, 37), Akkad. *ai* II, *ayyi*, J. Aram. *ē(y)*; it is nothing but a phonetic variant of Ugar. *’u*, Hebr. *’ōy*, *hōy*, Akkad. *ū’a*, Ethiop. *’o* “woe!”. The parallel particle *’ap* “alas!” may be compared with Arab. *’uff* “alas!”.

2) “truly!”, here introducing an oath. This should be connected with Arab. *ī(y)* and the cohortative particle *ī* in Akkadian.

¹³⁷ UF 12 (1980) 430.

¹³⁸ AOAT 16, 217, against Dietrich and Loretz, who repeated their view UF 6 (1974) 185f.

¹³⁹ It does not follow from this line of reasoning that Hebrew *hdh* has the meaning “vision, apparition”. See the judicious remarks by G. Warmuth, ThWAT, Bd. 2, 358f., 362f.

¹⁴⁰ See Studies in Bible and the Ancient Near East. Fs S.E. Loewenstamm, Jerusalem 1978, 119-139; UF 10 (1978) 187-217; 12 (1980) 311-315.

¹⁴¹ M.C. Astour, RSP II, viii.86.

¹⁴² The juxtaposition of *ī* and *’ap* would seem decisive. However, because of the damaged context no absolute certainty can be attained with regard to the interpretation of KTU 1.5:IV.6-7. For a different interpretation see K. Aartun, AOAT 21/1 (1974) 2.

The form *'itt* is an inflected form of *'it*¹⁴³.

1.14:IV.42-43

tnh || *tlth* — The disastrous consequences of a single printing error become painfully clear when we see that Herdner's error *tlth* (CTA, 65, but see Fig. 37 and Pl. XXI!) was perpetuated by Dietrich — Loretz (KTU), Badre *e.a.* (Syria 53 (1976) 114), Gibson (CML, 88), Del Olmo Lete (MLC, 298), to mention only a few of our distinguished colleagues.

The uncertainty with regard to the meaning of these terms¹⁴⁴ can be resolved in comparing Old Babylonian *šin kaspika* "two times your silver, the double of your silver"¹⁴⁵. Compare also Old Assyrian *šanā'um* "twofold" || *šuluša'u* "threefold", as said of quantities of copper¹⁴⁶. In Hebrew and Arabic too it is possible to replace multiplicatives by simple cardinal numbers¹⁴⁷.

1.14:IV.50

šrn ! — We assume that the scribe wanted to write an *n* with five indentations (see our comment on 1.14:I.33).

1.14:IV.52

grnm — It is unnecessary to read *grnt* after 1.14:III.8. It is just another case of a word having both a masculine and a feminine plural (*ymt* next to *ymm*, *šnm* next to *šnt*, etc.).

1.14:V.2

The erased signs are *h[]b* according to Virolleaud's copy. Probably the scribe erroneously repeated *hṭb* (IV.51).

1.14:V.15

[*n*]'*m*[*y* .] *'att* [. *p*] *bl* — The restoration of the name of *n'my* is a mere conjecture¹⁴⁸, but in any case we expect a personal name after the standard admonition *šm' m'*.

KTU reads *'atty*. Our reading is based on a careful analysis of the photograph which shows a vertical wedge overlapping the line separating the columns. Compare the formula used in Gen. 4:23.

1.14:V.16-18

[il'ak .] <i>thm</i> [lh .]	[I shall send] a message [to him,]
['m . k] <i>rt</i> . tk [mswnh] <i>n</i>	[to Kir]tu in his [night-quarters].

Our reading is an attempt to match the traces with a combination of III.19-21, V.31, VI.1,3. For the suffix *-hn* see our comment on 1.14:I.16-20.

¹⁴³ JNES 24 (1965) 357, accepted by many others.

¹⁴⁴ See Herdner, TO I, 530f.

¹⁴⁵ R. Frankena, AbB 2 (1966) no. 132:13.

¹⁴⁶ K.R. Veenhof, Aspects of Old Assyrian Trade and its Terminology, Leiden 1972, 452, n. 559.

¹⁴⁷ With regard to Hebrew, GK par. 134r and for *šnym* especially Ex. 16:22; 22:3,6,8; Prov. 31:21cj; for *šlwš*, Job 33:29. With regard to Arabic see Wright — De Goeje, op. cit., vol. 1, par. 331 and Blachère *e.a.*, DAFA, t.2, 1213a, 1242b.

¹⁴⁸ The name is attested, however, both in Ugaritic and other West-Semitic texts, cf. Gröndahl, PTU, 163. Hebrew *n'my* proves that women could bear this name.

PROBLEMATICAL PASSAGES IN THE LEGEND OF KIRTU (II)

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In this instalment we shall discuss a number of passages from KTU 1.15 and 1.16¹. The first article is published above, pp. 153-171.

1.15:I.1

[m]rǧb – The photograph CTA Pl. XXII shows that there is sufficient room for this reading, advocated by Herdner and others. Apparently it is a participle of the D-stem || *mzm'a*, meaning “to become hungry”, as in Akkadian². Pubāla is extolling the virtues of Ḫariyu (cf. Isa. 58:7; Ez. 18:7; Prov. 25:21; Mat. 25:35).

yd mkt – “she draws (him) by the hand” because this expression cannot be separated from Hebrew *mšk yd* in Hos. 7:5. This is another example of the irregular correspondence between Ugaritic *t* and Arabic *s*³.

1.15:I.2

mzm'a – It is interesting to observe that in this emphasized position (the so-called *casus pendens*) the noun is in the accusative⁴. We have to assume that *yd* contains either a virtual pronominal suffix or should be interpreted as **yadô < *yadahû*.

1.15:I.3

tttkrn . [lk . 'j]bdn

Should our slaves bring her [to you] as a tribute?

The restoration and interpretation of this phrase should be based on the parallelism with *k tnḥn 'udmm* in line 7. We take the latter to mean: “How could the Udumites bring her (as a ransom)?”. The verb *NHY* is attested in *mnḥ*, *mnḥy*, *mnḥt* “tribute”⁵. Then the parallelism between *mnḥh* and *škr* in Ps. 72:10 offers us a clue with regard to *TKR* Š: “to bring as a tribute”. Finally we have supplied *lk* on the basis of the parallelism in KTU 1.14: III.19-21.

¹ We are indebted to Miss Marjo Korpel for assistance with the preparatory research.

² CAD (S) 95f.

³ Cf. HAL, 610; ZAW 88 (1976) 344; De Goede Herder, in: *Bewerken en bewaren*. Fs K. Runia, Kampen 1982, 44, n. 50.

⁴ Cf. Brockelmann, *HeSy*, par. 123 a-c.e.

⁵ With M. Dahood, *Bibl* 49 (1968) 357; Psalms III, 95, and others. See D. Pardee, *BiOr* 37 (1980) 272. The Arabic verb *MNH* on which the argument in AOAT 16, 132 rested may be regarded as a denominative of *minḥah* “gift”. The verb *NHY* should not be confused with *YHY* “to rush”, AOAT 16, 107.

1.15:I.6

bn hpt – “recently weaned lambs”, with O. Loretz, UF 9 (1977) 166.

1.15:I.7

k tnhn – See our comment on line 3.

1.15:II.1-8

[yqr'u . krt . 'il] . tr	<i>Kirtu invited Ilu, the Bull,</i>
[ysh . 'al'i]yn . b'l	<i>he called Ba'lu, the Almighty,</i>
[yqr'u . tr]mn . yrh . zbl	<i>he invited Tharrumannu, his Highness Yarihu,</i>
[ysh . kt]r whss	<i>he called Kotharu-and-Hasisu,</i>
[yqr]'an . rhmy . ršp zbl	<i>he invited Rihmayu, his Highness Rashpu,</i>
[w]'dt . 'ilm . tlth	<i>yea, the Assembly of the gods in its triplicity.</i>

Apparently Kirtu is inviting a number of deities for the wedding. For *QR'* “to invite (to a banquet)” see KTU 1.5:I.23 (par.); for *QR'* || *SWH* see KTU 1.5:I.22f. and especially 1.22:I.3f., 9, 19 with a similar sequel: 1.22:I.24f. *'ahr špšm btlṭ mgy* || *'ahr mgy 'dt 'ilm* in 1.15:II.11.

In the god-lists of Ugarit the sequence *'il – b'l* is attested several times at the head of the list⁶. The trio *trmn – yrh – ktr* is also found, be it in a slightly different order: *yrh – ktr – trmn*⁷. Because *rhmy* is a name of Anatu⁸ the third bicolon may be compared with *'nt – ršp – dr 'il wphr b'l* in KTU 1.39:7; 1.41:16; 1.87:17f. The latter parallel also suggests a solution for *tlth* in line 7. It means “in its triplicity, in its tripartition”, i.e. 1) the older gods like Ilu and Athiratu, 2) their offspring the *dr 'il* “Race of Ilu” (among them gods like Mōtu and Yammu), and finally 3) the newcomers around Ba'lu, the *phr b'l* “Congregation of Ba'lu”⁹. Grammatically *tlṭ* has to be regarded as a cardinal; see our comment on KTU 1.14:IV.43.

1.15:II.8-9

['š]r(9)[t.] bbth . yšt	<i>he set a dinner in his house</i>
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The lacuna between *'* and *r* is too wide to render any plausibility to the reading *š⁺r* (KTU). Moreover, as noted by Herdner, CTA, 68, n.5, there are still two characters to account for at the beginning of line 9. For these reasons we propose to read *['š]r(9)[t.]*. The noun *šrt* “banquet”¹⁰ is a synonym of *dbḥ* (KTU 1.16:I.39-41). It is constructed here with *šYT*, as in *n'mn ggr št trm* “the gracious youth has set the banquet” (KTU 1.18:IV.14). See also our comment on KTU 1.15:IV.10-11.

1.15:II.9-10

'rb [bt]h . ytn .	<i>The entering of his house he permitted,</i>
wyṣ'u . l ytn	<i>but leaving was not permitted.</i>

⁶ UF 2 (1970) 210.

⁷ UF 2 (1970) 212. On the god *trmn* see M. Dietrich – O. Loretz – J. Sanmartín, UF 7 (1975) 557f.

⁸ NYCI 2, 19, n. 62.

⁹ There is no reason to assume that “triads” are meant (against A. Jirku, MUSJ 45 (1969) 401f.).

¹⁰ Cf. AOAT 16, 71f.; A. Herdner, CRAIBL 1973; 694; N. Airoidi, Bibl 55 (1974) 181-187.

The restoration of *'rb [bt]h* is imposed by the context and the frequency of the combination *'rb bt*. The construction of *YTN* with infinitive has a parallel in Job 9:18 *l' ytnny hšb rwḥy* "he will not let me get my breath". The *'u* of *yš'u* proves that it is the subject of the next colon and therefore *ytn* (2) is an imperfect of the N-stem of *YTN*¹¹. Compare the use of the N-stem of Hebrew *NTN* in Esther 9:13.

The circumstance that Kirtu was able to force the gods to stay provides us with another important insight in the nature of Canaanite religion. Note the impudence of Ba'lu in line 13.

1.15:II.23-24

*tld šb' bnm lk**She will bear you seven children,**wṭmn tṭtmnm lk**fully eight times she will bear for you.*

The word *bnm* has to be translated "children" here, not "sons". Hariyu bears eight children (1.15:II.24; 1.16:I.29)¹² within a span of time of six years (according to 1.15:III.22-24 all children were there in the seventh year). The poet wants to say that Kirtu used the fertility of his wife to the absolute maximum: 6 times 12 months equals 8 times 9 months! As a consequence we have to assume that Yassubu and Iluha'u were the only two sons, the other children being the six girls mentioned in 1.15:III.6-12. The last one was called Thatmanatu, "Octavia".

The form *tṭtmnm* is an imperfect of the tD-stem of *TMN*, "to do something for the eighth time for oneself", in this particular case "to make oneself the bearer of fully eight children"¹³.

yšb — "Yassubu". For an attractive etymology see W.G.E. Watson, UF 11 (1979) 807-809.

1.15:II.26-28

Both Anatu and Athiratu were regarded as wet-nurses. In KTU 1.23 they suckle the offspring of a union between Ilu and two (mortal?) women¹⁴, but here a princeling drinks the divine milk to derive his "divine" stature from it. See our comment on KTU 1.14:I.41-42.

The idea is not particular to Ugarit. According to an inscription of the Sumerian king Eanatum (2454-2425) he had been placed on the lap of Ninhursanga (mother-goddess, corresponding to the Canaanite goddess Athiratu; see Ruth 4:16 for the act itself) by Inanna (goddess of love and war, corresponding to the Canaanite goddess Anatu/Athtartu) so that she could nurse him¹⁵. The goddess Ishtar (= Inanna) was regarded as the wet-nurse of several Assyrian kings¹⁶. In Egypt princes were supposed to be suckled by the goddess of fertility Renenwetet¹⁷.

As far as we may draw any conclusions from the pseudo-Egyptian style of the ivory panel from the royal bed that was found in the palace of Ugarit, the dynasty might have borrowed the idea from Egypt¹⁸. However, the Legend of Kirtu betrays little, if any, influence from Egypt and so the concept may have a different origin¹⁹.

cf. Ku 106 83
Ku 107 295

¹¹ For parallelism between G- and N-stem in Ugaritic and Hebrew poetry see M. Held, JBL 84 (1965) 272-282.

¹² As seen by G.R. Driver, in: S. Segert (ed.), *Studia Semitica Philologica necnon Philosophica I.* Bakoš Dicata, Bratislava 1965, 102.

¹³ Cf. UF 11 (1979) 643f.

¹⁴ Cf. NYCI 2, 19, n. 62.

¹⁵ E. Sollberger — J.R. Kupper, *Inscriptions royales sumériennes et akkadiennes*, t.1, Paris 1971, 48.

¹⁶ E.g. Esarhaddon, 4 R² 61:III.15ff.; Assurbanipal, Craig, ABRT 1, 6 r. 8 (Streck, VAB 7/2, 349).

¹⁷ J. Broekhuis, *De godin Renenwetet*, Assen 1971, 50ff., 68ff.

¹⁸ C.F.A. Schaeffer, Syria 31 (1954) 51ff. and Pl. VIII; W.A. Ward, Syria 46 (1969) 225ff. In our opinion A. Caquot — M. Sznycer, *Iconography of Religions XV,8: Ugaritic Religion*, Leiden 1980, 28 err in describing the two lads as "young deities".

¹⁹ See Watson, UF 11 (1979) 808. Perhaps we may also refer to the well-known Canaanite "Astarte-plaques", representing a goddess pressing her breasts for milk. See P.J. Riis, Berytus 9 (1949) 69ff.

1.15:III.5

wtqrb wld – “soon afterwards she will bear”. The form *wld* is an absolute infinitive G or D; see our comment on 1.14:III.48 as well as D.T. Tsumura, UF 11 (1979) 782.

In this context the verb *QRB* could have at least three different meanings:

- 1) “to be approached (by the husband)”, used as a euphemism for sexual intercourse²⁰;
- 2) “to approach (her time to bear)”, as in Arabic *‘aqaba* “to be near to bringing forth”, *muqribah* “woman near to bringing forth”²¹;
- 3) “to make the interval short (to bring forth again)”, as in Arabic *qāra* “to make things happen at very short intervals”, *mutaqārib* “following in close intervals”.

Since we have established that in the course of only six years Hariyu gave birth to eight children, she must have become pregnant very soon after each delivery. For this reason we favour the third possibility.

1.15:III.16

šgrthn ‘abkrn – “The youngest of them – her I will make the first-born”. The structural analysis of the blessing of Ilu reveals that the phrase is a monocolon. As such it comes totally unexpected and appears to be almost an afterthought. But because of its content it hits the audience with all the greater force. Again the poet proves himself a master who is able to make use of every artistic ploy at his disposal²². This terse statement is the turning-point of the whole legend. From now on Kirtu’s fate goes down-hill (see lines 22ff.). Because at the end of KTU 1.16:VI Kirtu has to curse Yassubu, his first-born, with a death-curse, there is reason to suspect that Kirtu eventually lost all but one of his children²³ so that in the end he was almost as destitute as at the beginning of the epic. And all this because of a broken vow.

If this hypothesis about the further development of the epic is correct, its theme may be termed tragic in the true sense of the word. It may be compared then with other tragic tales from the Ancient Near East about heroic, but futile deeds, such as the procuring of the herb of life by Gilgamesh²⁴.

What lends some probability to this hypothesis is the name of the youngest girl: Thatmanatu, “Octavia”. From KTU 1.16:I.28ff. we learn that she was her father’s favourite. Although stories about the youngest becoming the favourite or even the legal successor on the throne are by no means rare²⁵, it is interesting to see that sometimes the *eighth* became the first (David according to 1Sam.16:10; Solomon according to 2Sam. 3 and 12)²⁶.

cf. albrgn, RCL p. 129 n. 109: “We must, however, bear in mind that a eighth is a daughter not apparently believed to be exceptionally lucky or well-endowed.”
kmhm tdr – “were like what the (gods) had promised”. It is unlikely that *kmhm* is composed of *km* + *-hm* because in that case one expects *km* + *-hn* in the parallel colon dealing with the daughters. For this reason we take

²⁰ Cf. Herdner, TO I, 540.

²¹ Cf. Gibson, CML, 91.

²² This finesse was lost to B. Margulis, UF 8(1976) 189 who proposed to regard the line as misplaced.

²³ It is certain that at least one tablet must have followed KTU 1.16. The latter does not have a full colophon, like KTU 1.6, but only a marginal note identifying the scribe, as with the tablets KTU 1.4 and 1.17 which are likewise part of a series.

²⁴ A. van Selms, Marriage and Family Life in Ugaritic Literature, London 1954, 140f. and J. Gray, Krt², 60 think that the Legend of Kirtu was used to legitimize a somewhat tenuous link between the dynasty of Kirtu and that of a new dynasty. This hypothesis has gained in force now that the dynasty of Ugarit itself appears to have traced its origins back to the same ancestor Ditanu (cf. ZAW 88 (1976) 324, 335f.).

²⁵ See, e.g. M. Tsevat, ThWAT, Bd. 1, 646f.; M.J. Seux, RLA, Bd. 6, 156f.

²⁶ Cf. C.H. Gordon, JBL 70 (1951) 161; JAOS 72 (1952) 181. Compare also the pseudepigraphic “Prayer of Joseph” mentioning Uriel as the “eighth” after Jacob and yet as “the chief among the sons of God”, cf. J.H. Charlesworth, The Pseudepigrapha and Modern Research, Missoula 1976, 142.

cf. ANET 41:
 do achah, hahay,
 do balayyah?
 u. then in bilum,
 yf. her begin!
 Gen 28:1-5:
 Gen 28:1-5
 about her
 ram

kmhm as *k + mh + enclitic -m*²⁷. Compare Hebrew *kammā* in Zech. 2:6 *kmh rḥbh wkmh rkh* 'like what its width and like what its length (are)'.

Because an N-stem or a passive D-stem are not possible, *tdr* should be an otherwise unattested passive G-stem of *NDR* if we would defend a passive translation of the phrase. It would seem less strenuous to suppose that the deities who pronounced the blessing (lines 17-19) are the subject of *tdr* G²⁸.

1.15:III.26

w'ilt . p[] – In our opinion the generally accepted restoration of *p[l'ih]*²⁹ is too hazardous to warrant its adoption.

1.15:III.28-29

'ap || 'u – Although the broken context makes it difficult to be certain, it would seem justified to point to the attested parallelism between *'ap* 'alas!' and *'u* 'woe!' (see our comment on KTU 1.16:I.2ff. below).

1.15:III.29-30

<i>'u tn . ndr[m . prt]</i>	<i>Woe! Two vows you have broken,</i>
<i>'apr . ʾ[dy . 'ank]</i>	<i>I too will break my obligation!</i>

Kirtu did in fact make *two* promises in KTU 1.14:IV.37-43. Hence we have to supply the *-m* of the dual. The restoration of *prt* rests on the parallelism with *'apr* as well as the principle of the *jus talionis*. In Hebrew *PRR* is used specifically for the breaking of treaties and the annulment of vows (e.g. Num. 30:13f., 16).

The restoration of *'idty* is guesswork; see, however, *'DY* 'to fulfill an obligation'³⁰.

1.15:IV.2ff.

gm . l[ʾattk . k tṣḥ] – Ever since the first edition of Virolleaud scholars have restored *gm . l[ʾattḥ . k yṣḥ]*. However, in column V Hariyu is carrying out the order of Kirtu and therefore IV.14ff. cannot be translated in the past tense. For that reason we assume that Athiratu who is speaking at the end of column III orders Kirtu to arrange his own funeral banquet in column IV (only 12 lines are missing between col. III and col. IV).

1.15:IV.6-7

try 'my bulls' || *zbyy* 'my gazelles' – The pair has long been explained as metaphors for the leaders of Khuburu. In ancient oriental literature and iconography 'bull' is a common description of kings and princes³¹. 'Gazelles' are a metaphor for prominent people in Isa. 23:9³². Comparable are metaphors like 'rams'³³. Whereas 'bulls' points to the strength of the heroes, 'gazelles' would seem to describe their agility (cf. 2Sam 2:18).

²⁷ With regard to the form we refer to *mhk* which consists of *mh* (⁺*mahū*) with enclitic *-kī* (see our comment on 1.14:I.38f.).

²⁸ Cf. Gray, *Krt*², 60.

²⁹ See M. Dahood, RSP I, ii.377.

³⁰ UF 11 (1979) 650.

³¹ E.g. Deut. 33:17; ANET, 29b, line 7 and 121a, line 37; ANEP, no. 291, 292, 297; J.P. Brown, JSS 24 (1979) 163ff.

³² *kl ṣby* || *kl nkbdy ṛṣ*. See also Isa. 23:8 *śrym* || *nkbdy ṛṣ* where *śrym* might be emended to *š(w)rym* 'bulls'. See M. Dahood, Or 44 (1975) 439-441.

³³ Isa. 14:9 *'wdym*. Also Isa. 14:21 *'rym* = Ugaritic *'rm* = normal Hebrew *'rym* 'rams'. See P.D. Miller, UF 2 (1970) 179-186.

1.15:IV.10-11

w'bd . t[rm]m And serve a banquet,
[w's]rt [.] tštn yea, set a dinner.

The text is uncertain but the imperative of 'bd is an acceptable reading on the basis of the similar wording of KTU 1.3:I.2. The rest has been restored on the basis of KTU 1.16:I.39-41 *krtn dbh dbh || mlk 'šr 'šrt*, KTU 1.15:II.8-9 '[š]r[t] *bhth yšt* (see our comment ad loc.) and KTU 1.18:IV.14 *g'zr št trm*³⁴.

1.15:IV.12

qm 'idb[h . dbh] Arise, let a sacrifice be sacrificed.

Compare KTU 1.3:I.4 as well as the parallels cited above. In our opinion 'idbh is an imperative of the N-stem of DBH, like 'šhn from ŠHN³⁵.

1.15:IV.12-13

tlhn šq[ym .] md['y] Let the cup-bearers provide my friends with beverages.

The *t* at the end of line 12 is certain according to all those who have consulted the tablet itself. Between *lhn* and *šq*[or *št*'] Dietrich and Loretz discerned a word-divider.

We have connected the resulting *tlhn* with KTU 1.6:I.48 *ylhn* "he will provide moisture, sap"³⁶. Since it is clear from the sequel that a funeral dinner is meant here (see lines 22-23 and V.18f.; also Jer. 16:7f.) the following *šq*[can be restored after the attested noun *šqym* "cup-bearers"³⁷. If this reconstruction is correct *md*[has to supply the object with *ylhn*. We have restored *md*['y] "my friends" in the special sense of "friend of the king" which is also attested for the Akkadian *mudû* in the syllabic texts of Ugarit³⁸.

1.15:IV.21-23

bt . krt . tb'un They will enter the house of Kirtu,
lm . mṭb [.] bk 'r[b] will go to the dwelling of weeping,
wlhm mr tqdm yea, will proceed to the tent of bitterness.

After the traces of the copy. With regard to *hm* "tent, baldachin" see our comment on KTU 1.14:II.12. Note that *BW*' and *'RB* form a standard pair in Ugaritic (see also Jer. 16:8). The juxtaposition of *bk* and *mr* recalls Isa. 22:4; 33:7; Jer. 31:15³⁹.

1.15:IV.28

[wdbh . l]krt . b'lk m yea, there is a sacrifice for Kirtu, your lord.

D. Pardee, UF 8 (1976) 226 aptly points out the parallel in 2 Kings 10:19. See also KTU 1.91:2 *dbh mlk*.

1.15:V.1-2

The widely accepted restoration of these lines is unacceptable to us.

³⁴ UF 7 (1975) 195.

³⁵ ZAW 88 (1976) 344.

³⁶ AOAT 16, 202f.

³⁷ UF 7 (1975) 184.

³⁸ CAD (M) 2, 167; M. Dahood, Bibl 46 (1965) 210-212.

³⁹ For *mr* "bitter" as an exclamation of sorrow see UF 7 (1975) 198 and for *mr* "bitter pain" KTU 1.12:I.11; 1.124:16. See also W.A. Ward, UF 12 (1980) 357-360.

1.15:V.11

[w]l]brk . tt tb'ut yea, to bless the offering of the yield.

The parallel verses 1.15:IV.28 and 1.15:VI.5 are completely different (*dbḥ lkrt b'lk m/'adnkm*) but seem to suggest that some kind of sacrifice is referred to in V.11. Our reading would seem a reasonable match for the traces. In Hebrew *NTN* can be constructed with words like *trwmh* (Ex. 30:14) and *zḇḥ* (Eccl. 4:17). If we may compare *tb'ut* with Hebrew *tēbū'āh* "yield" this provides us with a suitable parallel.

1.15:V.13

[k]rgm . trm like the braying of bulls.

Restored after KTU 1.15:VI.6f. Here, however, there is insufficient room for [km].

1.15:V.14-15

[k]mtm . tbkn(15)n . You weep over him as if he were (already) dead
wblb . tqb[rn] and in your heart you are burying him!

The reading *tbkn(15)n* fits better into the lacuna than *tbkn (15) [kr]t* proposed by others. The verb *BKY* requires an accusative suffix. The restoration *tqb[rn]* is suggested by the standard parallelism between *BKY* and *QBR*⁴⁰.

1.15:V.16

[k]hm l . mtm . 'uṣb[t] Yes, he is only a finger-breadth removed from death.

Before the cluster *jhml* there is only room for a small sign like *k*. The meaning of the rest becomes immediately clear when we compare PRU 4, no. 17.383:32f. (p. 222): *ù e-nu-ma a-na-ku dan-niš am-ta-ra-aṣ ú-ba-an lu-ú la mi-ta-a-ku* "And when I fell gravely ill, I was only a finger-breadth removed from death". So the cluster *jhml* has to be dissolved into *hm* "if"⁴¹ and negative *l*: "Yes, if he is not dead, it is only a finger". *mtm* is a stative (see our comment on 1.14:I.10).

1.15:V.17

[k]rt . šrk . 'il Kirtu is going to join Ilu.

In our opinion *škr* is an active participle of *ŠRK* "to become a partner of, to join someone". Compare especially the Arab. *ŠRK* IV "to attribute a copartner to God". Further cognates are Heb. *ŠRK* "to twist" and Syr. *SRK* "to adhere". Our verse expresses the important theologoumenon that the earthly king became a god after his death⁴².

1.15:V.18-20

'rb 'špš . l ymḡ krt . Kirtu will reach the sun-set,

This is a reference to the entrance of the Nether World in the West where the souls of the deceased went with the setting sun⁴³. The dual suffix *-ny* reveals that Hariyu is addressing one of the guests in particular.

⁴⁰ Dahood, RSP I, ii.107.

⁴¹ UF 1 (1969) 201f.

⁴² ZAW 88 (1976) 323-345.

⁴³ AOAT 16, 170f. Compare also Herdner, TO I, 546f.; J. Bottéro, in: B. Alster (ed.), *Death in Mesopotamia*, Copenhagen 1980, 31f.; Milik, *Dédicaces*, 193.

1.15:V.23

'attk . ʔ [gg . y']tk

He will attach himself to your wives on the roof.

We assume that Kirtu reacts indignantly. Apparently he fears that the young rascal who will be his successor will do something to "your wives on the []" and that he will cause others (presumably daughters) to "leave" Khuburu. This behaviour recalls Absalom's folly (2Sam. 16:22)⁴⁴.

1.15:V.27-28

'il d[p'id y't]k .

May Ilu the Good-hearted deliver you,

b'anš[t] [pnh . ypl'tk]

may he save you by the friendliness of his face

One expects Ilu to be invoked as the god who has to deliver the inhabitants of Khuburu if this will ever happen. The restorations y't'k and ypl'tk rest on KTU 1.18:I.12-13 w[y't'k] 'aqht || wypl'tk bn [dn'il] which in turn could be restored after Ps. 37:40. The phrase b'anš[t] [pnh] may be compared with KTU 1.18:IV.10.

1.15:VI.1-2

šm' . l[m]m'hm . l[b]t'nm

They listened to their bowels, to their bellies,

'dm . l[h]m . tšty

again they ate, they drank.

Because in Hebrew m'ym and b'tn form a standard pair (Num. 5:22; Ez. 3:3; Ps. 72:6), we have ventured to restore the words mm' (attested) and b'tn. The signs t and ' are easily confused⁴⁵. The photograph Pl. XXIV would seem to justify a reading]m'hm instead of]mthm. We know from another Ugaritic text that a good meal could make the grief of mourners bearable⁴⁶.

1.15:VI.4-7

Note the sudden transition from the second to the third person. See our comments on 1.14:I.38-39 and II.26-27. It would seem that in this case the transition is caused by the wish to create the impression of a greater detachment, as if Hariyu were addressing a larger audience. If this impression is correct we may conclude that Hariyu is reproaching the noblemen for indulging themselves.

1.15:VI.8

bdrt[hm . m]t krt

In their vision Kirtu was (already) dead.

The restoration was based on our reconstruction of 1.15:V.14-15.

1.16:I.2-3

kklb bbtk n'tq

Like dogs we prowl through your house,

k'inr 'ap hštk

like puppies – ah! – through your basement.

Apparently klb and 'inr are collectives (for other cases, see e.g. AOAT 16,90).

The meaning of 'inr is established by the parallelism and by T I, Pl.II.ii.9'-10' akî mūrāni damqi ina ekallika adual "like a good puppy I shall wander about in your palace" and OIP 2, 54:54 ša kīma mūrāni šahri qereb ekallīya irbû "who had grown up in my palace like a puppy". So 'inr should be equated with 'irn (KTU 1.103:33) and

⁴⁴ With regard to 'TK "to attach" (here, if correctly restored, the reflexive N-stem "to attach oneself"), see AOAT 16, 91.

⁴⁵ Gordon, UT, par. 4.13, 4.17; Herdner, CTA, 214, n.1.

⁴⁶ KTU 1.161:14-17, cf. BiOr 38 (1981) 374f.

with Akkad. *ú-ra-nu* = *mi-ra-nu*, MSL VIII/2,74:43. Etymologically *ʾrn/ʾinr* is related to Arab. *ʾarīn* and *ʾarūn* "lively, frisky".

The first Akkadian parallel cited in the preceding paragraph (*adual*) shows that there is no reason at all to assume a different meaning for *TQ* than normal "to pass (through)"⁴⁷.

The particle *ʾap* occurs two times in line 2 and again in line 10. Every time it appears to be entirely superfluous, a fact corroborated by its omission from the parallel line 20. The same is true of the particle *ʾi* in line 4 which is omitted in line 17, and of the particle *ʾu* in line 4 which does not appear before *ḫšt* in the preceding line. This would seem to indicate that *ʾap ḫštk* is equivalent to *ʾu ḫštk*. All this can be explained if *ʾi*, *ʾu* and *ʾap* are interjections, exclamations of sorrow interspersed in the text to imitate the wailing of the children for their father. On *ʾi/ʾu* "woe!" and *ʾap* "alas!" see our comments on KTU 1.14:IV.38 and 1.15:III.28-29. The particle *ʾu* "woe!" is also attested in 1.161:12,26 and 1.40 (many times).

It may be recalled that *ḫšt* is a Semitic word designating a "subterranean room or basement"⁴⁸. Like Hittite *ḫeštī/ā* which is probably a LW the Semitic word *m a y* designate a grave or a subterranean sanctuary⁴⁹ but in the present context the "basement", being the coolest place of the house, would seem to make a suitable sick-room.

1.16:I.4-5

ʾu ḫštk lntn ʾtq

Alas! Should moaning pass through your basement?

Because of the parallel *lbky* in 1.16:II.41 *ntn* can only be the infinitive N-stem of *YTN* with ellipsis of *ql* or *g*⁵⁰.

1.16:I.5

šrry — Perhaps "wailing, shrieking"⁵¹, if derived from *ŠRR* which would be related to *NSR*⁵². However, it is more likely a variant form of *šrrt* "heights"⁵³, like *brky* next to *brkt*, etc. It is certain that women used to go up into mountains to bewail their beloved (see our comments on I.35,43 below). Therefore *šrry* "on the heights" (adverbial accusative) stands in an antithetical parallelism to *ḫšt* "in the basement".

1.16:I.8

ḫlm qdš — "the holy bastion". The word *ḫl* (the *-m* is enclitic, see line 9) means "ring-wall, bastion"⁵⁴. As in Lugale VIII.22 the mountain is compared here to the mighty wall of a fortress. The weeping of mountains has a parallel in Gilg.Ep. VIII:i.11.

1.16:I.9

rhb mknpt — "wide of crests, with its wide crests". Dahood was right in maintaining that *mknpt* should not be

⁴⁷ Against R.S. Sirat, *Semitica* 15 (1965) 27; D. Pardee, *UF* 5 (1973) 229-234; J. Sanmartín, *UF* 10 (1978) 453f.; O. Loretz, *AOAT* 207/2 (1979) 420; Del Olmo Lete, *MLC*, 309.

⁴⁸ *UF* 1 (1969) 171, n. 29.

⁴⁹ See V. Haas — M. Wäfler, *UF* 9 (1977) 104f.

⁵⁰ *UF* 1 (1969) 172, n. 31.

⁵¹ J.F.A. Sawyer — J. Strange, *IEJ* 14 (1964) 98.

⁵² J.F. Healey, *VT* 26 (1976) 432; J. Sanmartín, *UF* 10 (1978) 451.

⁵³ *AOAT* 16, 76f., 234. With Gordon, *UT* par. 19.2199; Rin, *Aliloth*, 343; B. Margalit, *UF* 8 (1976) 150.

⁵⁴ Sawyer-Strange, *art.cit.*, 98; Herdner, *TO* I, 550f.; P. Marrassini, *QS* 1 (1971) 56-58; O. Loretz, *AOAT* 207/2 (1979) 422.

separated from *knp* “wing”⁵⁵. Compare also Akkad. *kappu-rapaš* “wide-winged”. The Syriac *kenpā(tā) dṭūrā* “the crest(s) of a mountain”⁵⁶ would seem to settle the matter.

1.16:I.9-11

ʿap [k]rt . bnm . ʿil *Ah! Kirtu is a son of Ilu,*
šph lṭpn . wqdš *the offspring of the Benevolent and Qudšu!*

Again the question of the divine nature of Kirtu’s kingship is brought up⁵⁷. Is not a divine being immortal (*blmt*, line 15) by definition? Compare our note on 1.14:I.41-42.

Qudšu is a name of Ilu’s wife Athiratu⁵⁸.

1.16:I.26-28

ʿal tkl . bn qr . ʿnk . *Do not use up, my son, the fountain of your eyes,*
my! . r ʾššk ʾudmʿt . *the water of your head for tears!*

Gevirtz⁵⁹ demonstrated that Virolleaud’s *mḥ* should be corrected into *my* on the basis of the striking parallel Jer. 8:23.

1.16:I.28-38

šh . ʾaḥtk tṭmnt *Call your sister Thatmanatu,*
bt . ḥmḥ<m>h dnn . *the daughter whose passion is strongest:*
tbkn . wtdm . ly *let her weep and mourn for me.*
tṭb ʾaḥr . *Come back!*
ʿal . trgm . lʾaḥtk *Do not (yet) talk to your sister.*
[t]rg[m .] llṭ *Speak by night,*
dm . ʾaḥtk ydʿt . krḥmt *for I know how compassionate your sister is.*
ʿal . tšt . bšdm . mmh *Let her not (yet) turn on her water-works in the fields,*
bsmkt . šʿat . npšh *(not yet give forth) the utterance of her soul on the heights.*
[t]mtn . šbʿa . rbt špš . *You should await the setting of Lady Shapshu,*
wgh . nyr rbt . *yea, the turning in of the Great Lamp.*

It was the task of women to lament for the dead and the youngest daughter had a special obligation in this respect⁶⁰.

In line 29 we have to adopt the emendation *ḥmḥ<m>h* (compare the attested *ḥmḥmt* “heat, orgasm”).

The reading *tṭb ʾaḥr* in 30-31 was established by Dietrich and Loretz. Compare Ps. 9:4 *bšwb ʾwyby ʾḥwr*. The lad wants to run back immediately now that he knows the wish of his father, but his father calls him back. Iluhaʿu has to speak to his sister *llṭ* “by night” (compare Hebr. *lylh* “by night”, Num. 22:20; Jos. 8:3; Deut. 16:1, etc.).

⁵⁵ M. Dahood, JNES 5 (1973) 86, referring to Isa. 8:8. Against Sawyer-Strange, loc.cit.; M. Dietrich – O. Loretz, UF 12 (1980) 191, and others.

⁵⁶ R. Payne Smith, Thesaurus Syriacus, vol. 1, Oxford 1879, 1767.

⁵⁷ See S.M. Paul, Maarav 2 (1980) 175ff.

⁵⁸ AOAT 16, 130; ThWAT, Bd. 1, 475; D.B. Redford, BASOR 211 (1973) 37, 43ff.

⁵⁹ S. Gevirtz, JNES 20 (1961) 41f.

⁶⁰ See our comments on 1.15:II.23-24 and III.16 for Thatmanatu being the youngest and Kirtu’s favourite. With regard to the special status of the youngest daughter as a weeping woman see Dumuzi’s Dream, 12-14 (cf. H. Sauren, BiOr 32 (1975) 64).

The syntactic structure of the phrase *dm 'ahtk yd't krhmt* clearly resembles that of KTU 1.3:V.27 (par.) *yd'tk bt k'anšt* "I know you, my daughter, that you are like a man".

Although *mmh* might be explained as "her clamour"⁶¹, the translation "her water" = "her tears" is much more likely because the Babylonian cognate adduced in favour of "clamour" is a rare LW⁶² and because *my r'išk* in line 27 suggests a similar meaning here.

The word *smkt* does not mean "firmament" of the like⁶³ but "heights, uplands"⁶⁴ because our verse is paralleled by I.43 *lk šr 'l šrrt* "Go, sing on the heights". Compare Jud. 11:37-40.

tmtn has been derived from *MTN* "to await", with Ginsberg⁶⁵ and almost all others.

tgh is a noun "the turning away, departure", just like Arab. *tūghiyah* "turning away", *tawāḡḡah* "departure", *'ittiḡah* "inclination", all from *WĠH* II "to turn, to incline" (see also the related Arab. verb *TĠH*). The title *nyr rbt* can be compared with *nyr tbt* "the Good Lamp" in KTU 1.161:19. See also Gen. 1:16.

1.16:I.39

krtn – Because the evidence for personal pronouns after personal names is scanty⁶⁶ and because in the case of *Ytpn* || *Ytp* a rendering "our Yaṭipu" cannot be considered, it is more likely that *-n* is an optional element of personal names, possibly added for the sake of endearment⁶⁷, like *-y* in English.

1.16:I.42

qh 'apk byd *Take your nose in your hand.*

A universal gesture of anguish and shock, like the parallel expressions (*lqh*) *brlt bm ymn* (line 42), (*ḥd*) *mrh byd* (line 47), (*ḥd*) *grgr bm ymn* (line 48) and *hlm 'ap* (line 54)⁶⁸.

1.16:I.43

lk šr! 'l šrrt *Go! Sing on the heights.*

We adopted the reading of KTU which makes our verse an antithetical parallel of I.35 (*'al tšt*) *bsmkt š'at npšh* and a synonymous parallel to I.5 (*'tq*) *bd 'aṭt 'ab šry* (compare the attested parallelism between *bd* and *šr*).

1.16:I.44-45

'adnk . šqrb . k[sp] *Bring your Lord silver,*
bmgmk . whrs lkl *as your personal gift, and gold for all (of us).*

In spite of line 57 (par.) *krt 'adnk* Kirtu is hardly meant here. He is not in need of silver and gold (compare KTU 1.14:I.46ff., par.). Therefore *'adn* is rather a designation of Thatmanatu's personal god (with Gibson; compare also Isa. 51:22) who has to be pacified by substantial offerings⁶⁹.

⁶¹ Aistleitner, WUS, no. 1587; Gibson, CML, 151.

⁶² CAD (M) 2, 198; D. Pardee, BiOr 37 (1980) 287.

⁶³ Against Aistleitner, WUS, no. 1923; Gray, Krt², 68; G.A. Tuttle, in: G.A. Tuttle (ed.), Biblical and Near Eastern Studies. Essays in Honor of W.S. LaSor, Grand Rapids 1978, 266, n. 28; Del Olmo Lete, MLC, 596.

⁶⁴ Driver, Gibson, Rin, and others. See M. Dahood, JNES 5 (1973) 85; Bibl 55 (1974) 392.

⁶⁵ Keret, 45; add Arabic *MTN*.

⁶⁶ Cf. J.A. Emerton, ZAW 94 (1982) 14f.

⁶⁷ Cf. M. Noth, ZDPV 65 (1942) 21, 153; M. Liverani, RSO 38 (1963) 131-160; F. Gröndahl, PTU, 25, 27, 51f.; P.-R. Berger, WO 5 (1970) 280f.; J. Nougayrol, PRU 6, 17, n. 1.

⁶⁸ UF 11 (1979) 644f.

⁶⁹ Offerings of silver and gold did occur in the actual cult of Ugarit, cf. J.-M. de Tarragon, Le culte à Ugarit, Paris 1980, 41, 49.

The bicolon furnishes us with an exceptionally clear example of enjambement in Ugaritic poetry. Note that from line 42 onwards the beginning of every colon coincides with the beginning of a new line.

The general meaning of *mgn* has been established long ago. The antithetical parallelism with *lkl*, however, would seem to confirm that *mgn* is a personal gift meant to win someone's favour.

1.16:I.46

'ilh'u – Here as well as in II.21,33 KTU has *'ilh'u* (misprints). The element *h'u* of this name might be derived from the root *HWY*⁷⁰: **'ilu-hayyu* ("Ilu is the Living One", cf. the Ugar. PN *hy'il*) > **ilu-hāyu* (metathesis of quantity) > **'ilu-hā'u*.

1.16:I.49

[w]yqrb trzzh And he drew near to the pool.

The problematic *trzzh* is not a verb, but a noun meaning "pool", with locative ending *-h*. Compare Arab. *rawḍah* "pool, water in a cistern or valley"⁷¹ and, with regard to the form, a noun like *trmmt* from the root *RWZ*. A noun with this meaning is simply required by the context⁷².

1.16:I.50

[ʾh]r . mgyh . wglm When he arrived it had darkened.

The restoration [ʾh]r is imposed by KTU 1.4:III.23. The verb *GLM* was correctly interpreted by Herdner⁷³. Compare also the attested noun *glmt* "darkness" and lines 36-37.

1.16:I.54-55

[wkd]h . l'arṣ . tṭbr And she let her jug shatter on the ground,
[lpn .] ʾahh . tbky before her brother she wept.

For the restorations, see UF 11 (1979) 645. For the formula *TBR l'arṣ* see Isa. 21:9.

1.16:I.56-60

[yd't . k m]rṣ . mlk "Do you know that the king is ill?
[k . dw .] krt . ʾadnk That Kirtu, your lord, is sick?"
[wy'n .] ḡzr . ʾilh'u And the hero Iluha'u answered:
[yd't . k] mṣ . mlk "I know that the king is ill,
[k . dw . k]rt . ʾadnkm that Kirtu, your lord, is sick."

The restoration would seem to offer a plausible explanation for the repetition of lines 56f. in lines 59f. The poet tries to convey the mood of the children who bravely try to hide their emotions. Just like the noble vassals of Kirtu who appeared to be completely informed when they arrived for the sacrificial meal (see our comment on 1.15:IV.2ff.), so Thatmanatu does not need to be informed by her brother. She had heard the rumour long before and anticipates him.

⁷⁰ With Rin, Aliloth, 346.

⁷¹ The correspondence between Ugar. *z* and Arab. *d* is irregular, but it has several parallels. See AOAT 16, 204; QS 2, 92, n. 1.

⁷² See the lines 51 and 54 as interpreted UF 11 (1979) 645.

⁷³ TO I, 555. See also Ginsburg, Keret, 44; Gray, Krt², 69; Jirku, KME, 105.

1.16:II.12-16

<i>tr ḥ[tkk . yn]</i>	"Refresh your sire with wine,
<i>wtšq [. šmn . šlm]</i>	and pour [the oil of pacification]".
<i>tšqy [. krt . 'abh]</i>	She gave Kirtu, her father, to drink,
<i>tr . ḥt[kh . yn]</i>	she refreshed her sire with wine,
<i>wmsk tr [. 'bd . 'il]</i>	yea, with mixed wine she refreshed the servant of Ilu.

The form *tr* should be derived from *RWY* "to refresh with water or beverages"⁷⁴. The restoration of lines 12-13 was based on III.1-2. The resulting repetition as well as the narrative tense in line 16 render it likely that in lines 14-16 Thatmanatu is carrying out orders she received in lines 12-13.

1.16:II.17-18

<i>tqrb . 'ah[h . 'ilh'u]</i>	She drew near to her brother Iluha'u:
<i>lm . tb'rn [. l'abn]</i>	"Why did you bring me to our father?"

As in I.49 the verb *QRB* is constructed with the accusative here. Because Iluha'u is answering her question in line 22 it is logical to supply his name. The verb *B'R* is constructed with *l* in KTU 1.14:II.48 (par.).

1.16:II.19

<i>mn yrḥ k m[rš]</i>	"How many months is it that he has been ill?"
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The word *mn* is not a verb⁷⁵ but the pronoun **mani* "how many?"⁷⁶

1.16:II.24-25

<i>mnd' . krt . mḡ[y .]</i>	"Perhaps Kirtu has reached
<i>[r'b] wqbr .</i>	sunset and grave . . ."

See for this restoration KTU 1.15:V.18 *'rb špš l ymḡ krt* (with our comment ad loc.) and also Job 3:22 *ymš'w qbr*.

1.16:II.26-36

<i>tšr . q[l . rm]</i>	She shrieked with a loud voice,
<i>tšr . trm . tnq[th]</i>	she shrieked, raised her cry.
<i>km . nkyt . tḡr [. tspd]</i>	Like women pounding the gate she beat her breast,
<i>km . šklit . [tll]</i>	like women in labour she wailed.
<i>'rym . lbl [. lbšt .] bš [. tlk]</i>	Nakedly, without her garment of linen she went,
<i>'nyt . [t . . .] lbl . sk .</i>	wretchedly she, without a vest.
<i>w['d . bk]h ybmh . šb' . [.]</i>	And until her orphan-brother was sated with her weeping,
<i>lpn ḡzr 'ilh'u t[bk]</i>	she wept before the hero Iluha'u.
<i>[q]l trm . tšr .</i>	She raised her voice, shrieked,
<i>trm . [tn]qt</i>	she raised her cry,
<i>tbky . wtšnn [.]</i>	she wept and gnashed her teeth,
<i>ttngh . bky .</i>	let out her voice in weeping.

⁷⁴ UF 11 (1979) 645.

⁷⁵ Virolleaud, Syria 22 (1941) 130; Gray, Krt², 70.

⁷⁶ S.E. Loewenstamm, AOAT 204 (1980) 60 (transl. of Leshonenu 23 (1958-59) 75); W. von Soden, SVT 16 (1967) 294f.; K. Aartun, AOAT 21/2 (1978) 93; CAD (M) 1, 211; Del Olmo Lete, MLC, 579.

⁷⁷ See note 52.

II. 25 *tšr q[l . rm]* – This restoration is simply imposed by the parallel in lines 33-34: [*q*]*l trm tšr*. Compare Deut. 27:14 *ql rm* as well as *RWM* hiph. with *ql* in Gen. 39:15,18; Isa. 40:9; 58:1, etc. Also KTU 1.113:1,3,5,8 *rm tph* || *rm tlbm*. Then *tšr* must be derived from *NŠR* “to shriek”⁷⁷.

II. 26 *tnq[th]* – See *trm* [*tn*]*qt* in line 34. Compare Akkad. *tanūqātu* “cry” from the verb *nāqu* “to shriek”.

II. 28-30 – The restorations [*tspd*], [*tll*] and [*tlk*] become virtually certain when we take into account the standard parallelism between *SPD* || *YLL* || *HLK* *rwm* in Micah 1:8. The women “pounding the gate” (*nkyt tgr*, incidentally a beautiful confirmation of the fact that Hebrew hiph. is often G-stem in Ugaritic!) are girls coming late from drawing water at the well, the usual occasion to meet their boyfriends.

The noun *šklit* is an adjectivum verbale like *šmrr*, *š'tqt*, *šlḥmt*, *šbšlt*, *šlyt*, *ššlmt*, etc. It should be derived from the root *KLL* and means “they who are completing (childbirth)”.

'rym is *'ry* “naked” with adverbial *-m*. If it were an adjective we would expect *'ryt*, like the word *'nyt* from *'ny* “wretched” which balances it. Compare Hebrew *ārōm*.

lbl [*]bš* has to balance *lbl sk* “without a vest”⁷⁸. It would seem that the indistinct *bš* may be compared with Hebrew *būš* and its cognates⁷⁹. The word is also attested in an Ugaritic letter that has not yet been published as far as we know⁸⁰. With regard to *lbl* “without” see KTU 1.96:4,5.

II. 31-32 *w['d . bk]h ybmh . šb'* – The restoration rests on KTU 1.6:I.9 *'d tšb' bk*. See also 1.3:II.19 *l šb't tmḥšh*. Apparently *ybm* is a designation of a brother here who is about to become an orphan and has an obligation to take care of his unmarried sister⁸¹.

II. 32-33 [*pn*] *ḡzr . 'ilh' u . t[bk]* – Reconstructed after a number of Ugaritic and biblical parallels. See our comment on KTU 1.16:I.55.

1.16:II.51

t'rb . ḥd[r . mškbh] *She went into his bedroom.*

Compare KTU 1.14:I.26 *y'rb . bḥdrh* as well as KTU 4.195:6 *ḥdr mškb*. Cf. Ex. 7:28; 2Sam. 4:7; 2 Ki. 6:12.

1.16:II.52

bttm . t[*Again she*

Perhaps *tt* = **titti* < **tinti*, fem. construct infinitive of *TNY* “to do something for the second time”. If so, we may compare the masculine construction *btn* in KTU 1.19:IV.61 (|| *tnm*)⁸².

1.16:II.53

šknt – Possibly the “neighbours” of Thatmanatu (cf. Judg. 11:38).

1.16:III.1ff.

See UF 11 (1979) 645-647 and with regard to *m'iyt* “watered land, lowland” UF 12 (1980) 431.

Because *'n* in line 9 obviously means “furrow” (|| *nrt* || *tīm*) and because a field watered by a well would not be in need of rain⁸³ we now translate *ksm m'iyt 'n* as “the emmer-corn of the furrowed lowland”. Since emmer was

⁷⁸ On *sk*, a type of vest or coat of mail: UF 2 (1970) 310.

⁷⁹ R. Gradwohl, BZAW 83 (1963) 69f.; HAL, 111; J. Feliks, Plant World of the Bible, 3rd ed., Ramath Gan 1976, 280; K. Gallinger, Biblisches Reallexikon, 2. Auflage, Tübingen 1977, 326.

⁸⁰ A. Caquot, ACF 76 (1977) 460.

⁸¹ See for a discussion about the root *YBM* in Ugaritic UF 12 (1980) 308f.

⁸² UF 7 (1975) 214.

⁸³ Dalman, AuS, Bd. 2, 29ff.

a less valuable crop than wheat it was sown on the fringes of the fields to avoid damage to the standing grain⁸⁴. This finally explains the parallelism with *qšm 'ars*.

1.16:III.14

[b]'*dnhm* – “on the bottom of their buckets”. Although obviously a container, the exact meaning and etymology of '*dn* remains to be established⁸⁵. We propose to derive it from the same root '*DN* that has been used earlier in the epic ('*dn* “army, crowd”, see our comment on 1.14:II.32-34). It could be the very same word as Arab. '*adīnah* “a piece or patch in the bottom or lower part of a leathern bucket”⁸⁶. This does not only suit the context (the farmers were already scratching the bottom of their buckets) but also the word *hmt* “skin, bag” with which it stands in parallelism.

With regard to the joy of the farmers, see ANET, 39b.

1.16:IV.1-2

<i>'il . šm' . 'amrk .</i>	<i>Ilu listens to your word,</i>
<i>pk [. hkm] k'il .</i>	<i>your utterance is wise like that of Ilu,</i>
<i>hkm . ktr . ltpn</i>	<i>you are wise like the Bull, the Benevolent.</i>

We assume that the tricolon contains an allusion to the well-known tricolon:

<i>thmk 'il hkm</i>	<i>Your judgement, Ilu, is wise.</i>
<i>hkm 'm 'lm</i>	<i>You are wise forever,</i>
<i>hyt hzt thmk</i>	<i>long live the excellence of your judgement</i> ⁸⁷ .

Therefore '*amrk* balances *thmk* and has to be derived from '*MR* “to speak”⁸⁸.

The unknown god (masculine, cf. line 6 *yšh*) who is addressed here might be Ba'lu which would make the parallel all the more interesting because according to the Ugaritic literature Ba'lu was trying to replace Ilu as the major god of the pantheon. It is furthermore likely that it is Ilu himself who is speaking here (cf. line 6; speaking about oneself in the third person was not unusual, see e.g. KTU 1.4:VII.38) and that he is actually making fun of Ba'lu because he knew beforehand that the advice to convene the Assembly of the gods would lead to nothing (see col. V).

1.16:IV.5

khš . km'k [. t]u[sp ?] – Compare KTU 1.1:IV.11 *kmll khš t'usp*, perhaps to be rendered “like crumbs, like gravel it/they is/are gathered”⁸⁹. If so, *m'k* might be a synonym of *mll* “crumbs, things rubbed”, cf. the verb *M'K* “to rub, to crush” in Arabic and Jewish Aramaic. Possibly the gods who have to be summoned for a meeting of their Assembly (col. V) are the subject of the verb.

1.16:IV.3-4

ngr 'il 'ilš – “the herald of Ilu, Ilīshu”. Ilīshu and his wife are not carpenters as some have thought, but heralds. However, like the Akkadian *nāgīr ilāni* from which their name might have been borrowed they take the form of

⁸⁴ Dalman, AuS, Bd. 2, 55, pointing to Isa. 28:25.

⁸⁵ L. Badre *et al.*, Syria 53 (1976) 122; Herdner, TO I, 561; F.C. Fensham, JNSL 7 (1979) 22, n. 53; Del Olmo Lete, MLC, 599. Many others follow Ginsberg in reading *dnhm*.

⁸⁶ Lane, 1976.

⁸⁷ UF 11 (1979) 643.

⁸⁸ AOAT 16, 129.

⁸⁹ AOAT 16, 116, 118.

ravens and for that reason they perch on the parapets of the palace of Ilu (line 13). Birds are often used as messengers of the gods in ancient oriental literature⁹⁰.

In lines 6-8 the bicolon of lines 3-4 has been replaced by a tricolon, a beautiful illustration of the poetic principle of expansion and contraction⁹¹.

Together with the epithet *ngr* the name *'ilš* may have been borrowed from Babylonia: *Ilšu* or *Ilšū*, corresponding to W. Semitic *'l(y)h(w)*. The same explanation might apply to the attested PN *'ilš*.

1.16:IV.13

'l. ltkm. bnwn *Go up to a parapet of the building.*

See our comment on KTU 1.14:II.21-22 for the meaning of *tkm*.

1.16:IV.15-17

lnhnpt. mšpy tlt *Croak, announcer, three times to the defiled (earth),*
kmm. trry [l] *likewise you, little bird, to the,*
lgr gm. šh *call loudly to the mountain:*

In the Old Testament the root *HNP* which corresponds to the attested Ugaritic root *HNP* is often connected with *ḥṣ*⁹². We assume that *nhnpt* is a feminine participle N-stem of this root *HNP*⁹³ "the defiled one", meaning the earth defiled by the drought described earlier (cf. col. III). If this is correct *l-nhnpt* is an apt parallel to *l-gr*.

Like *ngr*, *'ilš* and quite a number of other words in the Legend of Kirtu (see our comment on 1.14:III.43) *mšpy* is an Akkadian LW: **mušāpiyu*, participle Š from *WPY* (corresponding to genuine Ugaritic *YP*!) with exactly the same meaning as the Babylonian *mušāpû* "announcer". So it is a synonym of *ngr*. All this leads one to wonder whether the Legend of Kirtu might be a translation or adaptation of a Babylonian original. Amorite tradition? The name of the founder of Kirtu's dynasty (*Dtn*) is suggestive in this respect.

In our opinion *tlt* is an imperative D of *TLT* "to do something for the third time"⁹⁴, in this case "to croak three times".

kmm – Attested in the offering texts: "likewise, ditto"⁹⁵.

The word *trry* cannot be separated from the attested *trrt* "small" (see our comment on 1.14:III.5). Because it is probably a designation of the (smaller) female raven we regard the -y as the feminine ending⁹⁶. Compare Akkadian *atmu šḥru* "little chick" in the Legend of Etana.

1.16:V.1-5

'r[b *] Entered[name(s) of deity/deities . . .]*
ḥ[b *] entered*
'rb [*] entered*
wyd[d *] And stood up*
b'dt [. 'ilm *] in the Assembly of the gods*

It seems that the first lines of col. V describe the entering of the gods attending the meeting that was summoned in col. IV. Compare KTU 1.15.II, with our comment ad loc. See also line 11 of col. II, especially line 9. Probably

⁹⁰ O. Keel, *Vögel als Boten*, Freiburg/Göttingen 1977.

⁹¹ See UF 10 (1978) 187ff.

⁹² Num. 35:33; Jer. 3:1,9; Micah 4:11; Ps. 106:38.

⁹³ UF 7 (1975) 190.

⁹⁴ UF 11 (1979) 644. See also KTU 1.98:3 *mtlt* (context destroyed).

⁹⁵ *Schrift en uitleg*. Fs W.H. Gispen, Kampen 1970, 113f.

⁹⁶ Cf. UF 1 (1969) 186.

the formula 'RB [deities] *bt mlk* which is found in the offering texts may be cited too. With regard to the standing up of speakers in the Assembly of the gods see KTU 1.4:III.12, etc.

1.16:V.6-9

y 'atr[t]	O Athiratu
bdk . b[]	in your hand
tnnth [. kspm . 'atn]		Twice her (weight) in silver I will give,
tltth [. hršm]		thrice her (weight) in gold.

It is unlikely that the cluster y'atr is a form of *TR* "to follow" (compare *itr*, KTU 2.15:6). The suffix of *bdk* in the next line suggests that someone is being addressed here. Then it is not too hazardous to assume that the y of y'atr[is a vocative particle followed by the name of Athiratu.

It may be surmised that Athiratu obtained some kind of satisfaction prior to the recovery of Kirtu (col. VI). At this point of the narrative she receives something in her hand (*bdk*) and it would seem logical to suppose that it is one of the gods (Ba'lu?) who is offering to fulfill Kirtu's vow in his place. In 1.14:IV.42-43 the gift promised by Kirtu is described as "twice (*tnh*) her (weight) in silver, thrice (*tltth*, sic!) her (weight) in gold" (see our comment ad loc.). Therefore *tnnth* and *tltth* might refer to this vow. With regard to the variant form *tnnth* see Akkad. *šaniānu*, *šanēnu*, Bibl. Aram. *tnynwt*, J. Aram. *tnyynwt*, Syr. *tnynwt* "two times, for the second time".

1.16:V.26-32

See for a comprehensive treatment of these lines: The Bible World. Essays in Honor of Cyrus H. Gordon, New York 1980, 180-182.

Because in line 30 there is hardly enough space for anything else between *ph[r* and *lmht* than a verb like *yšr*, it is possible that *mht* is a complete word. If so, it might be a participle of *MHY* "to remove" (as in Arabic; not to be confused with *MHY* "to wipe") which in that case would be comparable to *ydt*, both in form and in meaning.

1.16:V.39-50 and VI.1-14

These passages have been discussed in UF 11 (1979) 646f.

1.16:VI.21

mgt — "selected one, special one", to be derived from the attested verb *NGT* "to search, to look for"⁹⁷.

1.16:VI.21-26

hn ym wtn	Behold! A day and a second,
ytb . krt . l'dh	(then) Kirtu returned to his dais,
ytb . lks'i mlk	he sat down on the throne of his kingship,
lnht . lkht . drkt	on the seat of the throne of dominion.
'ap . yšb . ytb . bhkl	Yassubu too returned to the palace.
wywsrnn . ggnh	And his soul instructed him:

Although it is possible to derive all three forms *ytb* from *YTB*, it is improbable that Kirtu would sit down on the dais at such a joyful moment⁹⁸. Moreover, the particle 'ap suggests that Yassubu is doing the same. Therefore we take the first and last instances of *ytb* as imperfects of *TWB*.

⁹⁷ BiOr 31 (1974) 128. For other ideas see P. Xella, OrAnt 17 (1978) 127-129; K.J. Cathcart — W.G.E. Watson, Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association 4 (1980) 42.

⁹⁸ Sitting down on the ground was a gesture of mourning. See AOAT 16, 191 (to the texts from the O.T. cited there, H.J. van Dijk, Ezekiel's Prophecy on Tyre, Rome 1968, 31 adds Ezek. 16:16).

The interpretation of the difficult *wywsrnn ggnh* has to start with *ggn*. The context of KTU 1.92:16 suggests that *ggn* is an assimilated form of *gnn* “libation-pipe”, but also “gullet”, a synonym of *npš*⁹⁹. The verb *wywsrnn* looks like a form of *YSR/WSR* and the similarity of the phrase *ysrwny klywty* “my kidneys instruct me” in Ps. 16:7 would seem to confirm this hypothesis. In our opinion the retention of the *w* in *ywsrnn* can only be explained if this is a tD-stem: **yatwassirunannū* > **yawwassirunannū* (compare Hebrew *niwass^erū* Ez. 23:48 < **nitwass^erū*). The tD-stem has a medial meaning here: “to instruct somebody to one’s own advantage”.

1.16:VI.30-31

[ḡz . ḡzm] tδbr
w[ḡ]m [tṭwy]

*The philanthropist you drive away,
but the usurer you allow to stay.*

See QS 2 (1973) 89-92. At that time De Moor hesitatingly followed the majority of Ugaritologists in connecting ḡz with Arab. ĠZY “to raid”. Now he thinks it is a much better solution to derive ḡz from a root ĠZZ or ĠWZ because this results in a more satisfactory antithetical pair: philanthropist (cf. Arab. *ḡuzzāz* “philanthropists, munificent men”, Kazimirski, t.2, 463) *versus* usurer.

1.16:VI.32

šqlt bḡlt ydk

You have let your hand fall down in slackness.

The word ḡlt is a derivative of ĠLY “to sink down, to wilt”¹⁰⁰. It tallies with QW/YL Š-stem¹⁰¹.

1.16:VI.34

qsr npš – Compare not only Judg. 16:16, but also Isa. 16:5.

1.16:VI.35-36

km 'aḥt 'rš mdw
'anšt 'rš zbln

*Ah! You are a brother of the bed of sickness,
you are a companion of the bed of illness!*

The parallel words 'aḥt and 'anšt are statives (see our comment on 1.14:I.10f.) of 'aḥ “brother” and 'NŠ “to be a man, a pal, a companion”¹⁰².

1.16:VI.57-58

tqln bḡbl šntk
bḥpnk wt'n

*May you fall down at the height of your years,
in the prime of your strength – and yet be humbled.*

We are dealing here with two relatively simple metaphors: *ḡbl* “peak, mountain” for the best years of your life, *ḥpn* “fist” for full vigour (like Hebrew *yad* and Akkadian *qātu* in the sense of “strength”). For 'NY “to be humbled” see 'nyt “wretched” (cf. our comment on 1.16:II.26-36).

⁹⁹ AOAT 16, 170f.; ZAW 88 (1976) 333, n. 69.

¹⁰⁰ As argued by C. Rabin, *Scripta Hiersolymitana* 8 (1961) 396; see also AOAT 16, 68.

¹⁰¹ Against Ginsberg, Keret, 49; ANET, 149, Herdner, TO I, 572; M. Dahood, *Bibl* 57 (1976) 106f. and others who have connected ḡlt with 'WL because of the seemingly strong parallel Ps. 125:3.

¹⁰² AOAT 16, 132; UF 12 (1980) 432.