Ba'lu and His Antagonists:
Some Remarks on *CTA* 6:V.1-6

MEINDERT DIJKSTRA
Theological Seminary, Kampen, The Netherlands

The interpetation of *CTA* 6:V. 1-6, which relates a battle between *Ba'lu* and some antagonists, indicated vaguely as *bn 'aṯrt*, has led to divergent translations,[1] though only a decisive solution of the enigmatic words *dkym* and *ṣḥrmt* (according to Ch. Virolleaud's copy) presents difficulties.

In this note some arguments will be advanced toward their interpretation, following a suggestion of J. C. de Moor with regard to the damaged group of consonants *ṣḥrmt*.[2] Consequently, some considerations are submitted on the connections of the passage with the whole *Ba'lu*-story, beginning with Ps. 93:3-4, in spite of H. Donner's critical remarks made on the subject.[3]

In the main the *Ba'lu*-story can be understood as the account of *Ba'lu*'s struggle for his kingship and consequently the mythological motivation for the building of his sanctuary.[4] The motif of this struggle is present at any moment. Note the fear expressed by the mother-goddess, *'Aṯiratu*, in *CTA* 4:II.21-26:

---

1 See e.g., C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Literature* (=*UL*) (Rome, 1949), 47; G. R. Driver, *CML*, 113; J. Aistleitner, *Die Mythologischen und Kultischen Texte aus Ras Schamra* (=*MKT*), Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungaria 8 (Budapest, 1959), 22; J. Gray, *The Legacy of Canaan*, 2nd ed., (=*LC²*), *SVT* 5 (Leiden, 1965), 72; H. L. Ginsberg, *ANET³*, 141a; J. C. de Moor, *The Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Ba'lu, According to the Version of Ilimilku* (=*SP*), AOAT 16 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1971), 226; P. J. van Zijl, *Baal: A Study of Texts in Connection with Baal in the Ugaritic Epics* (=*Baal*), AOAT 10 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1972), 213-17..

2 See De Moor, *SP*, 227-28: "Because it is likely that *ṣḥr mt* balances *bn 'aṯrt*, *rbm* and *dkym*, I assume that *ṣḥr* is in the plural construct state." He argues that the *ṣḥr mt* 'the Dust colored of Môtu' are a mythological description of the sirocco-winds with their whirling dust-veils, marking the period of *Ba'lu*'s return from the netherworld.

3 See H. Donner, "Ugaritismen in der Psalmenforschung," *ZAW* 79 (1967), 346-50.

4 See H. Gese, *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer* (=*RAAM*), Die Religionen der Menschheit (Stuttgart, 1970), 10/2:78-80, especially 79.

5 Though the traditional translation "Virgin" is retained, we do not regard *'Anatu* as a *virgo intacta*. The epithet refers to the perennial youth of the goddess and possibly the fact that she never brought forth offspring. Compare A. van Selms, *Marriage and Family Life in Ugaritic Literature*, Pretoria Oriental Series 1 (London, 1954), 69, 109; De Moor, *SP*, 97; "*ba'al*," *TWAT 1*, col. 714, accepted by Bergmann-Ringgren, "*bᵉtûlāh*," *TWAT 1*, col. 874.

['i]k (22) mǵy . 'al'iyn [. b]'l
(23)'ik . mǵyt . b[t]lt (24) 'nt
mḫṣy hm*[. m]ḫṣ (25)bny*
ḫm [. mkly *. ṣ]brt (26)'aryy*[6]

Why has *Ba'lu* the Almighty come,
Why has the "Virgin" *'Anatu* come?[5]
To slay me or to slay my sons,
or *to annihilate* the group of my kin?

In fact *Yammu* 'Sea' and *Môtu* 'Death' are the great antagonists in the mythological epic of *Ba'lu*, both known as son and beloved of *'Ilu*, the father of the gods,[7] and also sons of the *qnyt 'ilm*, the procreatress of the gods, *'Aṯiratu (CTA* 4:I.23; III.26, 30, 35; IV-V.32).[8] Thus, her words contain an insinuation of *Ba'lu*'s intentions, if not a reference to the earlier (?) defeat of *Yammu (CTA* 2:IV).[9]

In *CTA* 6:V.1-6 there is talk of a new battle with some great sons of *'Aṯiratu* in relation to *Ba'lu*'s kingship; to think of *Yammu* and *Môtu* seems to be a matter of course. Moreover, this connection between struggle and kingship again forces us to a comparison with biblical passages which connect the proclamation of Yahweh's eternal kingship with his superiority over chaotic powers, even where a trace of a primeval clash hardly remains, as in Ps. 93. In this note, I subscribe again to the view of those scholars who have associated Ps. 93:3-4 with the passage under discussion, and I am of the opinion that the clear parallel-

---

6 The meaning *ḫm* 'behold!' has repeatedly been defended and accepted in the one glossary and disregarded in the other (compare Aistleitner, *WUS*[3], no. 837 [with a question mark] and Driver, *CML*, 137, with Gordon, *UT*, §§ 12:3, 5; §19:773), while a number of instances of *ḫm* 'behold!' were recovered from the Old Testament; see J. H. Patton, *Canaanite Parallels in the Book of Psalms* (1944), 37; F. M. Cross and D. N. Freedman, "The Blessing of Moses," *JBL* 67 (1948), 195; T. F. McDaniel, "Philological Studies in Lamentations I," *Biblica* 49 (1968), 33f.; and the list of M. Dahood, *Psalms III*, Anchor Bible 17a (New York, 1970), 400. Because of the etymological relation between Ugar. *ḫm* (with a dialectal variant *'im, PRU* 2, no. 20:8) and *ḫn* and Heb. *'im* and *ḇēn/ḥinnēḥ* (see Baumgartner, *HAL* 58, 241f. and C. J. Labuschagne, "The Particles *ḇēn* and *ḥinnēḥ*," *OTS* 18 [1973], 3, n. 4), a connotation *ḫm* ,behold!' for current *ḫm* 'if, either . . . or' cannot be precluded beforehand. It would parallel the rare conditional usage of Heb. *ḇēn/ḥinnēḥ* beside its normal usage as an interjection. Nevertheless, I agree with J. C. de Moor, "Ugaritic *ḫm*—Never 'Behold'," *UF* 1 (1969), 201f. (+Nachtrag, 221, *CTA* 4:II.24-26!; see also "Ugaritic Lexicography," Estratto da *Studies on Semitic Lexicography*, Quaderni di Semitistica 2 (1973), 89) that the existence of Ugar. *ḫm* 'behold!' cannot be demonstrated sufficiently and might still be doubted, not to mention the examples wrested from the Old Testament. See also C. van Leeuwen, "Die Partikel *'im*," *OTS* 18 (1973), 15.

7 Compare the expression *'ab bn 'il* 'the father of the gods'; *CTA* 32:25, 33 (with parallels); Gese, *RAAM*, 97.

8 Perhaps the epithet *'um 'ilm (PRU* 2, no. 2:43) also refers to *'Aṯiratu;* cf. Gese, *RAAM*, 150; de Moor, "*'ašērāh*," *TWAT 1*, col. 474.

9 Though the arrangement of *CTA* 2 before *CTA* 3-6 is generally accepted, it is not without problems. De Moor, *SP*, 36-40, argues for a sequence *CTA* 3-1-2, following F. Lókkegaard, "The House of Baal," *Ac.Or.* 22 (1959), 14-15, n. 8; A. van Selms, "Yammu's Deenthronement by Baal," *UF* 2 (1970), 251, suggests taking *CTA* 2 (*UT* 129, 137, 68) as a separate entity; see also the critical remarks of A. Caquot, "La divinité solaire ougaritique," *Syria* 36 (1959), 100; Gese, *RAAM*, 52, 78-80; M. J. Mulder, "Hat man in Ugarit die Sonnewende begangen?" *UF* 4 (1972), 81f.

ism between the words *qôlām//dokyām* and *miqqōlôt mayim rabbîm//mišbᵉrê-yām*[10] can
help us toward a further interpretation of *CTA* 6:V.1-6.

In accordance with the parallelism, the meaning of *$d^ok\hat{\imath}$* closely resembles that of
mišbᵉrê-yam. Fortunately, there is much more evidence of the latter expression than of
the former. In Jonah 2:4b (similar to Ps. 42:8b) it is more or less synonymous with
gallîm 'the waves'. In Ps. 88:8 the expression is parallel to *ḥāmāh* 'wrath', although the
connection with the depths and the netherworld is not absent (Ps. 88:7). The association
of *mišbᵉrê-yam* with death is also supported by the remarkable variant *mišbᵉrê-māwet*
'the waves of death' (*NEB*) in 2 Sam. 22:5.[11] In these few texts sea and depths are closely
related to death and the netherworld,[12] a phenomenon tallying with ancient near eastern
cosmology, which situates the netherworld below the earth either in or below the depths,
seen as the waters of death.[13]

Without doubt the rare word *$d^ok\hat{\imath}$*, usually derived from the root *dākāh*,[14] and the
expression *mišbᵉrê-yam*, of which the usual translation is 'the waves, the breakers of the
sea', have an association with destruction. Where the Hebrew *dākāh* (compare also the
cognate roots *dākā'/dûk/dākak*) occurs, it testifies to such an association in its diverse
semantic contexts, namely the crushing of bones (Ps. 51:10), though meant figuratively,
and the monster Rahab (Ps. 89:11 *Qere*). Note finally Ps. 44:20:

> *kî dikkîtānû bimqôm tannîm*
> *wattᵉkas 'ālênû bᵉṣalmāwet*
> Yet thou crushed us in the place of Tannin[15]
> and covered us with the darkness of death.

The more or less synonymous use of the roots *šābar* and *dākāh* (note especially Ps. 51:
19)[16] enables us to take *$d^ok\hat{\imath}$* as an abstract noun, semantically parallel to *mišbᵉrê-yam*,

---

10 It is attractive to correct MT *'addîr mimmišbᵉrê-yām* (see the apparatus in *BHK³*, *BHS* (11))
but not necessary; see C. Brockelmann, *Hebräische Syntax* (Neukirchen, 1956), 58; H. -J. Kraus,
Psalmen 2, BKAT 15/2, 3rd ed. (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1966), 646.

11 With regard to Ps. 18:5 *ḥeblê-māwet*, most scholars accept 2 Sam. 22:5 as the *lectio arduor*
and consequently the correct reading, see *BHS* (11), apparatus.

12 Compare also Ps. 18:17; 44:20; 69:2f.; 124:4; 144:7; Job 26:5f.; 38:16f; Ezek. 26:19f.;
31:15; Amos 9:2; etc.

13 G. Fohrer, *Geschichte der israelitischen Religion* (Berlin, 1969), 176, 319 speaks of a common
Semitic world-picture, best known from Babylonian-Akkadian sources; cf. B. Meissner, *Babylonien und
Assyrien* (Heidelberg, 1925), 2:107f., fig. 27; D. Michel, "Weltbild," *BHH* 3, col. 2161f.; W. Brede
Kristensen, *Godsdiensten in de oude wereld*, Aula 294 (Utrecht/ Antwerp, 1966), 7-14. To be sure, the
biblical conception of the world is much less elaborate; see H. W. Hertzberg, "Weltbild," *RGG³* 6,
col. 1616; H. Schmid, "Totenreich," *RGG³* 6, col. 912; S. Schulz, "Unterwelt, Totenreich," *BHH* 3,
col. 2014f.; L. I. J. Stadelmann, *The Hebrew Conception of the World*, Analecta Biblica 39 (Rome,
1970).

14 See H. Bauer and P. Leander, *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache* (Hildesheim, 1965²),
§72h'.

15 See app. *BHS* (11).

16 Compare D-stem *šābar* in Ps. 34:21; Isa. 38:13; Lam. 3:4; Ps. 89:11 with Ps. 74:13 and *dakkā'//*
nišbār in Ps. 34:19.

of which the translation could be 'their pounding waves' (*NEB*) or the like.[17]   Additional evidence may be found in 1QS 3:4-9 where the choice of words seems to be influenced by Ps. 93; compare 1QS 3:8-9: *ytḥr (9)bśrw lḥzwt bmy ndḥ wlḥtqdš bmy dwky*[18] "His flesh shall be purified through sprinkling by water of purification and through hallowing by water of destruction."   The translation 'water of destruction (scil. of guilt)' is not only supported by the negative sentences 1QS3:4-5: *wlw' ytqdš bymym (5)wnḥrwt wlw' ytḥr bkwl my rḥṣ* ". . . nor be hallowed by oceans (5)and rivers, nor be purified by any cleansing water," but also by the literal meaning of *my ndḥ* (MT *mê niddāb*) 'water of excretion'[19]

After these preliminary remarks we will turn to *CTA* 6:V.1-6:

1. *y'iḫd . b'l . bn . 'aṯrt*
2. *rbm . ymḫṣ . bktp*
3. *dkym . ymḫṣ . bṣmd*
4. *ṣhrmt (?) ymṣ'i . l'arṣ*
5. *[yṯb .] b['/]l. lks'i . mlkh*
6. *l[nḫt] . lkḫt . drkth*[20]

Still *Ba'lu* seems to be confined to the netherworld. From *CTA* 6:IV we come to know how *Šapšu*, the sun-goddess, is sent to search for *Ba'lu*. The following episode in the myth

---

17 See also M. Dahood, *Psalms II*, Anchor Bible 17 (New York, 1968), 341, who sees an analogy between Ugar. *ḥd//ḥdd* and Heb. *ḥēdād* 'noise, roar'; also *dkym* 'Pounder' as an epithet of *Ba'lu* beside Heb. *dokyām*.

18 The originally adopted reading *dwkw* (ed. Millar Burrows; cf. also P. Wernberg-Møller, "Waw and Yod in the Rule of the Community," *RdQ* 2 [1960], 231f., contra idem, *The Manual of Discipline* [Leiden, 1957], 40) may be *dwky*, as seems to be supported by 4QSᵃ; cf. J. T. Milik, *RB* 67 (1960), 413. A majority of scholars connect *dwky/w* with a root *dkḥ* 'to be pure' referring to Aram. *dᵉkû* (see e.g., Targum to Lev. 12:4f.) and Syr. *dūkāyā* (cf. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus* 1:col. 895); cf. Wernberg-Møller, *Manual*, 25, 64, n. 27; J. Bowman, *RdQ* 1 (1958), 81; Wernberg-Møller, *RdQ* (1960), 231f.; J. Maier, *Die Texte vom Toten Meer* (Basel, 1960), 1:25; 2:17f.; J. Carmignac and P. Guilbert, *Les Textes de Qumran I* (Paris, 1961), 30; E. Lohse, *Die Texte aus Qumran* (Darmstadt, 1971), 11. In my opinion, however, this interpretation overlooks (1) the use of the current Hebrew *zākāḥ* N-stem in the context (1QS 1:4) and (2) a possible influence of Ps. 93 on the choice of words. In favor of *dwky* from a root *dkḥ* (eventually *d(w)k*) 'to crush', see W. H. Brownlee, *The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline*, *BASOR* Supplementary Studies 10-12 (New Haven, 1951), 13, n. 17 with reference to Ps. 93:3; J. T. Milik, "Manuale Disciplinae (textus integri versio)," *Verbum Domini* 29 (1951), 131; H. Bardke, *Die Handschriftfunde vom Toten Meer* (Berlin, 1953²); P. Boccacio and G. Berarde, srk hyḥd *Regula Unionis seu Manuale Disciplinae* (Fano, 1953), s.l.; G. Molin, *Die Söhne des Lichtes* (Vienna/Munich, 1954), 21. As a possibility it is accepted by Baumgartner, *HAL*, 212b; S. H. Siedl, *Qumran, Eine Monchgemeinde im Alten Bund, Studie über Serek Ha -yaḥad* (1963), 303f.

19 Probably derived from *yādāḥ/nādāḥ* 'to throw, to remove', cognate to Akk. *nadû*; Ethiop. *wadaya* and Ugar. *ndy/ydy*; cf. the construct state *niddat dôtāḥ* 'excretion of her menstruation-blood' in Lev. 12:2 and *niddat ṭūm'ātāḥ* 'excretion of her impurity' in Lev. 18:19 with Akk. *nīd ru'ti* 'Speichelfluss'; see *AHw.*, 786b *nīdu(m)* no. 3, 706a *nadû(m)* III, no. 2a.

20 Cf. Herdner, *CTA*, 1:41. In *CTA* 6:V.4 we follow Virolleaud's *ymṣ'i* after examination of the photograph and copy. The reading *ṣhrmt* suggested by the copy is very uncertain now; see Herdner, *CTA*, 1:41, n. 8, especially concerning *mt*.

is separated from the preceding events[21] by an intermediate period of seven years, so *CTA* 6:V.1-6 may function as the closing lines of the preceding episode. In this following episode *Môtu* reproaches *Ba'lu* with the fate he has suffered (compare *CTA* 6:II) and demands a substitute from him for his release;[22] compare *CTA* 6:V.19-21:

> *tn . 'aḫd* (20)*b'aḫk 'isp'a*
> *wyṯb* (21)*'ap . d̠'anšt*
> Give one of your brothers, that I can eat,[23]
> and the anger which I harbor will turn away.[24]

Unfortunately, the sequel to the story is not entirely clear. It seems that *Môtu* is tricked by a gift of seven lads, who appear to be his own brothers. Consequently, he overtakes *Ba'lu* in his escape, so that the two antagonists are engaged in a final battle (*CTA* 6:VI.12-22). In the light of this termination of events, it might be assumed that in some way or other the passage *CTA* 6:V.1-6 anticipates, if not predicts it.[25]

If so, we have a structure in the story which corresponds to that of *CTA* 2:IV, where *Ba'lu*'s victory follows upon the sounding words of the technician-god *Kôṯaru-waḪasisu*, predicting the immediate defeat of *Yammu*. Taken as a prediction, *CTA* 6:V.1-6 show the same structure as *CTA* 2:IV.8-10: (1) the prediction that *Ba'lu* will defeat his enemies, and (2) the promise of his enthronement and kingship. The tentative translation of the passage could be:

---

21 With regard to the much-discussed problems of this seven year period we subscribe to the short investigation of A. Kapelrud, "The Number Seven in Ugaritic Texts," *VT* 18 (1968), 494-99; see also Gese, *RAAM*, 78f.; De Moor, *SP*, 32f.

22 Cf. Edzard, *Wörterbuch der Mythologie*, 62, 67, 88; De Moor, *SP*, 232; A. Draffkorn Kilmer, "How Was Queen Ereshkigal Tricked . . . ?" *UF* 3 (1971), 302, pointing to the Sumerian and Akkadian story of, respectively, Inanna's and Ishtar's descent to the netherworld; cf. especially the word *ipti/eru(m)* 'ransom, substitute', according to the Aššur-recension; cf. *AHw.*, 385b; Borger, *BAL* 3:117.

23 Root *sp'u* 'to feed' and not 'to eat' (against Gordon, *UT*, §19:1789; Aistleitner, *WUS³*, no. 1943, etc.) as is suggested by Heb. *mispô'* 'fodder'; M. Heb. *sāpāḥ/*; J. Aram. *sᵉpā'* 'to reach, to serve food'. The forms *'ispi'* (*CTA* 5:I.5) and *yspi'* (*CTA* 22:B.10) lead to the conclusion that *'isp'a* is a cohortative and that the *'i* of the other forms must be explained as a thematic vowel (against Gordon, *UT*, §9:9: Aistleitner, *WUS³*, no. 1943; idem, *UGU*, 58; E. Hammershaimb, *Das Verbum im Dialekt von Ras Shamra* [Copenhagen, 1941], 168; H. Donner, *ZAW* 79 [1967], 341, etc.). I subscribe to the view of De Moor, *SP*, 233 (with references) in assuming forms of an N-stem 'to feed oneself, to eat', though in this case, as in Hebrew (see Bauer-Leander, *Historische Grammatik*, § 44f.), the phonetic shift *'a>'i/e* in the first syllable must be assumed.

24 Cf. De Moor, *SP*, 232f.; we take *'isp'a* as an asyndetic relative sentence; cf. Gordon, *UT*,§13:67. Cf. also *CTA* 6:I.45f. *tn* (46)*'aḫd. b. bnk (.) 'amlkn* "Give one of your sons that I may make him king!"

25 Cf. De Moor, *SP*, 226.

64

> *Ba'lu* will seize the sons of *'Aṯiratu*,[26]
> the great (gods) he will smite with the hatchet.[27]
> *dkym* he will smite with the "yoke,"[28]
> ṣhrmt(?) he will bring down to the earth.[29]
> *Ba'lu* [will sit enthroned] on the chair of his kingship,
> on [the seat] of the throne of his dominion.

For the interpretation of *dkym* many proposals have been made, but we confine our-
selves to discuss a few which seem to be acceptable.

1. Starting from the likely plural interpretation of *bn 'aṯrt//rbm*, the translation of
dkym with a plural noun, adjective or participle of the root *dky* 'to crush, pound', as a by-
form of *d(w)k/dk(k)*, such as 'Crushers, Oppressors', seems to be preferable.[30] Less likely
is the rendering of an adjective *dky* 'small, puny', which should be connected semantically

---

26 *bn 'aṯrt//rbm* corresponding to standard *bn 'aṯrt//'ilm* makes a singular interpretation of *rbm*
very doubtful; cf. also the expression *'ilm rbm* in *PRU* 2, no. 90:1f.; *Ugaritica* V, ch. 3, no. 6:1f. Never-
theless, *rbm* may be a special hint to the really powerful antagonists *Yammu* and *Môtu*; cf. e.g., *mdd*
'il ym//nhr 'il rbm (*CTA* 3:D.35f.) "the beloved of *'Ilu, Yammu*//the mighty rivers of *'Ilu*"; note the
OT notions *mayîm rabbîm* (Ps. 93:4) and *mê ṭᵉhôm rabbāh//yām* (Isa. 51:10).

27 Cf. R. T. O'Callaghan, "The Word *ktp* in Ugaritic and Egypto-Canaanite Mythology," *Orientalia*
21 (1952), 27-46; Gray, *LC²*, 72; De Moor, *SP*, 135.

28 About the double aspect of the weapon, cf. Gray, *LC²*, 26, n. 6, 72; O. Kaiser, *Die mythologische*
Bedeutung des Meeres in Ägypten, Ugarit und Israel, BZAW 78, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1962), 69, n. 278;
De Moor, *SP*, 135. Kaiser and De Moor propose in *CTA* 2:IV.11, 19, a translation 'Doppeltaxt, double-
headed axe', because of the dual form; however, the singular *ṣmd* is also used (*CTA* 2:IV.15, 23), being
the same weapon. The dual ending can probably be explained as superfluous, added after a word with a
dual aspect; cf. Heb. *kēpel* beside *kiplayîm* in Isa. 40:2. *ṣmd*, which usually has the meaning 'yoke', in
this context means a sort of mace or axe with a double-headed top or double axe-blade. There is some
iconographical evidence for the double-headed axe from the Syrian area; cf. the "Dieu combattant,"
described by A. Parrot, "Acquisitions et Inédits du Musée de Louvre," *Syria* 29 (1951), 51-53; and
Jupiter Dolichenus, Gressmann, *AOB²*, no. 356; E. Will, "Reliefs dolichéniens de Khaltan (Kurd Dagh)
conservés au musée d'Alep," *Les Annales archéologiques de Syrie* 1 (1951), 135-37, fig. 2.

29 The reading *ymṣḫ* in Herdner, *CTA*, 1:41, n. 9 and *CTA* 3:E.9 is attractive but conjectural. We
take *ymṣ'i* as an imperfect of a causative stem; see Gray, *LC²*, 72, n. 11; though a G-stem cannot be
excluded; see Deut. 19:5. Compare perhaps Job 37:13 (with deletion of the second *'im*): *'im lᵉšēbeṭ*
XX lᵉ'arṣô//'im-lᵉḥesed yamṣī'ēhû "Either as a rod XX on his earth, either as mercy he brings it down."
To be sure, the claim that *ymṣi'* is a causative is a very shaky position inasmuch as the existence of an
aphel beside the current *šaphel* (Š-stem) is a widely debated subject. Nevertheless, the variant form
ymẓa' (*CTA* 12:I.36f.), which suggests that the verb *mṣ/ẓ* has a *yiqtal* imperfect as in Hebrew, makes
the explanation of *ymṣi'* very difficult unless an *aphel*-form is assumed. Though the evidence is scanty,
it need not be denied at all (cf. the inverse case of the exceptional Š-stem in Hebrew; L. Wächter, *ZAW*
83 [1971], 380-89); and further on the *aphel* in Ugaritic see Hammershaimb, *Verbum*, 25f., especially
28; M. Dahood, "Some Aphel Causatives in Ugaritic," *Biblica* 38 (1957), 62-73; A. Jirku, "Eine 'Af'el-
Form im Ugaritischen?" *AfO* 18 (1957), 129f.; S. Moscati (ed.), *An Introduction to the Comparative*
Grammar of the Semitic Languages, 2nd ed., (Wiesbaden, 1969),§16:13; De Moor, *Ugaritic Lexicography*,
96f.

30 E. Lipiński, *La Royauté de Yahwé dans la poésie et le culte de l'ancien Israel* (Brussels, 1965), 99;
S. and S. Rin, *Aliloth ha-elim* (Jerusalem, 1968), 228; Dahood, *Psalms II*, 341; and Gray, *LC²*, 72, n. 9,
all consider it an epithet of *Ba'lu*; Van Zijl, *Baal*, 217, as an epithet of *Yammu*.

to Ugar. *dq* 'small' (*CTA* 6:I.22),[31] Heb. *daq* 'thin, fine (of dust, incense)',[32] Akk. *daqqu* 'very small',[33] all from the common Semitic root *dqq* 'to pulverize, pound'.[34] It is hardly conceivable, however, that this passage is about small antagonists of *Ba'lu* unless the god *'Aṭṭaru* could be so denoted. In spite of Driver's suggestion,[35] there is little evidence that this ridiculed god comes into the picture in this part of the story.

Moreover, if the former derivation of the root *dky* should be preferred, an alternative interpretation of *dkym* as an abstract noun *dky* (**dukyu* = Heb. *d^{o}kî*) with enclitic *m* cannot be excluded.[36]

2. That the word *dkym* could be a compound of a form belonging to the root *d(w)k/dk(k)* and the name of the sea-god, *Yammu*, has previously been suggested by J. Aistleitner.[37] Unfortunately, his further interpretation of *dk* as a *tempus afformativum* disturbs the clear parallelism, making his solution unconvincing.[38] Nevertheless, I think Aistleitner was on the right track. As a variation of *dkym* 'Crushers, Oppressors' derived from the root *dky*, one could consider *d(w)k/dk(k)*, which is attested in *CTA* 161:35 with a meaning 'to pulverize, pound' (compare also Num. 11:8).[39] Thus we interpret *dkym* as *dk ym* = *dâkī yamma* 'the crushers or breakers of *Yammu*' and suggest a connection between this expression and the biblical *mišb^{e}rê-yam*. Compare for imagery Ps. 89:10; 65:8; Job 26:12.

ṣḥr(rt/mt): Any interpretation of these consonants must be conjectural. Only the first three signs are probable. Usually, *ṣḥr* is related to the root *ṣḥr*, which is sometimes found in a *qtll*-form.[40] We may note two things concerning this root: (1) It functions in semantic contexts of meteorological phenomena (*CTA* 3:E.25-26 and parallels; *CTA* 4:VII.54-58 + *CTA* 8:7-12)[41] but is also parallel to the root *ḥr(r)* 'to be hot, glow' in *CTA* 23:41, 44f.,

---

31 De Moor, *SP*, 227, following a suggestion of H. Bauer, *OLZ* 37 (1934), 243.

32 Cf. Baumgartner, *HAL*, 220; Jean-Hoftijzer, *DISO*, 60.

33 Cf. *AHw*., 162f., citing from a synonym-list *daq-qu = ṣe-eḫ-ru*.

34 Cf. Heb. *dāqaq* 'to pound' (Baumgartner, *HAL*, 220b); Akk. *daqāqu* D 'to cut small, mince' (*AHw*., 162b); Ethiop. *daqaqa* 'to pound' (E. Littmann and M. Höffner, *Wörterbuch der Tigre-Sprache* [1962], 525). A semantic parallel could also be Hebrew *dāk* (root *dākak*) 'oppressed, small folk(?)'.

35 Cf. Driver, *CML*, 112.

36 So far a grain of truth exists in the connection of Ugar. *dkym* with Ps. 93:3 *dokyām* as suggested by U. Cassuto, *Tarbiz* 13 (1941-42), 212; Ginsberg, *ANET^3*, 141a; Kraus, *Psalmen 2*, 650; but a direct equation would require Ugar. *dkyhm*; cf. also the critical remarks of Lipiński, *La Royauté de Yahwé*, 98f.; H. Donner, *ZAW* 79 (1967), 350.

37 Cf. Aistleitner, *WUS^3*, no. 739; idem, *MKT*, 22, followed by F. Løkkegaard, "A Plea for El, the Bull, and Other Ugaritic Miscellanies," *Studia Orientalia Ioanni Pedersen Dedicata* (Copenhagen, 1953), 223; F. F. Hvidberg, *Weeping and Laughter in the Old Testament* (Leiden/Copenhagen, 1962), 38.

38 Cf. H. Donner, *ZAW* 79 (1968), 347; Van Zijl, *Baal*, 214.

39 Cf. also Akk. *dâku* 'to kill, slay, beat'; *AHw*., 152; *CAD D*, 35f.

40 See Gordon, *UT*, § 9:42; cf. verb and nominal *qtll*-forms in Hebrew and J. Aramaic; Bauer-Leander, *Historische Grammatik*, 483; Gesenius-Kautsch (Cowley), *Hebrew Grammar*, § §55d, 84 VII; G. Dalman, *Grammatik des Judische-Pälastinischen Aramäisch* (Darmstadt, 1960), 165, which like the Arabic 9th and 11th conjugations are used of permanent and changing conditions, e.g., colors; cf. Heb. *'āmal* 'to be/become withered', *ša'an* 'to be at rest', *rā'an* 'to be/become green'.

41 Cf. De Moor, *SP*, 227.

47f.[42] (2) Cognate verbs of the roots ṣḥr/ṣḥḥ/ṣḥy and their derivations show semantic ranges of 'to be white, clear, bright, yellowish-red, cloudless, thirsty, scorched, bare, desolation, desert'.[43] With regard to the semantic contexts of the Ugaritic texts, a restriction to the connotations 'to become dust-colored, brownish-yellow'[44] is not advisable. In general the roots ṣḥr/ṣḥḥ/ṣḥy seem to cover an idea which we can express by means of the compounds 'white-hot/red-hot'. Therefore a translation of *CTA* 3:E.25 *nrt 'ilm špš ṣḥrrt* "The light of the gods, Šapšu, burns"[45] and of *CTA* 4:VII.56f. *'ibr mnt ṣḥrrm* "The wings of the breeze(?) feel glowing"[46] remains possible. Perhaps, taking the other contexts into consideration, a feminine adjective ṣḥrrt should be considered in *CTA* 6:V.4, which takes on the substantive meaning of 'the white (red) heat'.[47] If Virolleaud's reading is maintained, one might translate 'the heat of *Môtu*, death, the murdering heat' or the like.[48]

---

42 To all appearances, the forms *tḥrr//ṣḥrrt* could be interpreted as, respectively, 3rd plural fem. passive imperfect L-stem (Gordon, *UT*, § 9:37) and 3rd plural fem. *qtll*-stem with the bird as subject.

43 An anthology:

(1) root ṣḥr: Heb. ṣaḥôr 'white-yellow-red' (the lexica differ on the precise color); ṣōḥar (*ṣuḥru) n. m., 'red-whiteness' (cf. M. Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung* [Hildesheim, 1966], 225); ṣāḥar n. 1. Ezek. 27:18 'desert(?)' (cf. however W. Zimmerli, *Ezechiel 2, BKAT* 13/2 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1969), 655 = eṣ-ṣaḥra, NW of Damascus); Arab. ṣaḥara (11th conjugation) 'to become yellowish, reddish-white'; 'aṣḥaru 'yellowish red'; ṣaḥrā' 'desert'; Syr. ṣeḥar 'to become reddish'; Akk. ṣēru(?) 'steppe, desert'.

(2) root ṣḥḥ: Heb. ṣāḥaḥ 'to be white, clear' (Lam. 4:7//zākāḥ 'to be pure'); ṣāḥiᵃḥ 'naked, bare (of a rock)'; ṣeḥîḥāḥ 'naked, scorched land, desert' (Ps. 68:7); ṣaḥṣāḥôt 'desert' (Isa. 58:11); ṣaḥ (a) 'white, clear'; (b) 'blazing, glowing (heat: Isa. 18:4; wind: Jer. 4:11)'; J. Aram. ṣeḥaḥ 'to be bright, polished'; ṣaḥṣeḥa' 'clear'; ṣiḥṣūḥā' 'gloss, shine'; Syr. ṣaḥ 'to glow'; ṣaḥiḥā' 'shining'; Arab. ṣaḥṣaḥānᵘⁿ 'bare plain, desolation'.

(3) root ṣḥy: Heb. ṣiḥeḥ 'parched'; J. Aram. ṣeḥî 'to thirst' (cf. also Jean-Hoftijzer, *DISO*, 144); ṣaḥwānā', ṣaḥyā' 'bareness, drought'; ṣaḥyûtā' 'thirst'; Arab. ṣaḥā; Ethiop. ṣaḥawa 'to be clear, cloudless (of the sky)'; Syr. ṣaḥā' 'cloudless sky, heat'. As a semantic parallel we point to Heb. ḥāmar 'to burn, to become red (through tears, Job 16:16)'; Arab. ḥamara 'to roast, to scorch' in the 9th and 11th conjugations 'to be red'.

On the relatedness of roots sharing two strong consonants, see Gesenius-Kautsch (Cowley), *Hebrew Grammar*, §§ 30h, l; other examples qāṣaṣ and qāṣar II 'to cut off, short, to shorten'; qāzaz and qāzar 'to cut'.

44 Cf. De Moor, *SP*, 114.

45 Cf. P. L. Watson, *Mot, the God of Death at Ugarit and in the Old Testament* (Yale University Diss. 1970; Ann Arbor, 1971), 40, 79, cited by M. J. Mulder, *UF* 4 (1972), 82.

46 Cf. Akk. mānitu '(leichter) Wind, Brise' (*AHw.*, 603a), as suggested by De Moor, *SP*, 172. Cf. Jer. 4:11: rûᵃḥ ṣaḥ šepāyîm//bammidbār derek bat-'ammî "A scorching wind from the bare places, from the desert (is) on the way to my people."

47 Adjectival qtll-froms in Hebrew are sometimes substantivized; cf. Isa. 37:29; Job 30:12; Bauer-Leander, *Historische Grammatik*, 483.

48 On the superlative force of *mt/māwet*, cf. S. Rin, "The *MWT* of Grandeur," *VT* 9 (1959), 324f.; D. W. Thomas, "Some Further Remarks on Unusual Ways of Expressing the Superlative in Hebrew," *VT* 18 (1968), 120-24; P. A. H. de Boer, "YHWH as Epithet Expressing the Superlative," *VT* 24 (1974), 233f.

Summarizing, we have two reasonable possibilities:

1. *dky-m//ṣḫr(rt)*, which renders the translation:

> Oppressors he will smite with the "yoke,"
> The white heat he will bring down to the earth.

2. *dk-ym//ṣḫr(-mt)*, which gives us:

> The breakers of Sea he will smite with the "yoke,"
> The heat of *Death* he will bring down to the earth.

For evidence of the latter, I submit the following considerations:

(1) The mention of *Yammu*, and especially of his destructive waves, would appear conceivable if the words *ymḫṣ bṣmd* were understood as a reference to *Yammu*'s defeat, related in *CTA* 2:IV.11f., 18f., by the same magic *ṣmd*-weapon.

(2) A renewed confrontation between *Ba'lu* and his old enemy in this part of the story tallies with ideas of the ancient near eastern cosmology as far as the netherworld is situated in the realm of the sea-god; moreover, in the Ugaritic mythology, a personified *Naharu*, very likely the same as Judge *Naharu*, dwells in the area of *Môtu* as his cupbearer,[49] and *Ba'lu* is confined to the realm of Death at this point of the story.

(3) Some of the above mentioned biblical data connect the idea of descending to and arising from the dead with that of perishing into or escaping from the sea or the depths, understood as the waters of death (compare especially 2 Sam. 22:5). For these biblical data the imagery of Isa. 26:19-27:1 may also be clarifying, since in Israelite thought the resurrection of the dead is linked to a twofold act of Yahweh, namely the constraining of the netherworld[50] to uncover her slain and the slaying of the sea-monsters, Leviathan and Tannin.

(4) The closing lines of *CTA* 6:

50. *bym . 'arš . wtnn*	In the sea are *'Aršu* and *Tunnanu*.[51]
51. *kṯr . wḫss . yd*	May *Kôṯaru-waHasisu* drive away.
52. *ytr . kṯr . wḫss*	May *Kôṯaru-waHasisu* do it again(?).[52]

Why are the sea-monsters *'Aršu* and *Tunnanu* mentioned here? Again, the course of events in the last column of *CTA* 6 is obscure because of the damaged lines VI.32-42. It appears

---

49 Cf. the sentence *bm ks ymsk nbr* "If *Naharu* mixes the cup" (*CTA* 5:I.21f.; *Ugaritica* V, ch. 3, no. 4A:9f.). Presumably, *Naharu* as judge (*ṯpṭ nbr*) and river of death is related to the god of death, *Môtu*; cf. W. F. Albright, "Zabûl Yam and Thâpit Nahar in the Combat between Baal and the Sea," *JPOS* 16 (1936), 19f.; Driver, *CML*, 12, n. 7; J. C. de Moor, "Studies in the New Alphabetic Texts from Ras Shamra," *UF* 1 (1969), 187.

50 *'ereṣ* 'netherworld'?; cf. M. Dahood,"Hebrew-Ugaritic Lexicography I," *Biblica* 44 (1963), 297; Gray, *LC²*, 264; N. J. Tromp, *Primitive Conceptions of Death and Netherworld in the OT*, Biblica et Orientalia 21 (Rome, 1969), 7, 23f; De Moor, *SP*, 184.

51 Vocalize *tnn Tunnanu* with *Ugaritica* V, ch. 1 no. 137:1.8 '*tu-un-na-nu*. Both monsters are also mentioned in *CTA* 3:D. 34-48.

52 Cf. Akk. *târu* 'to do something again' (just like Heb. *šûb* in combination with another verb); J. Aram. *tûr* 'to spy, to look out carefully (?)'.

that after the final battle with *Môtu*, *Ba'lu* is permitted to leave the netherworld and to return to Mount *Ṣapānu*.[53] Witness to their encounter is the goddess *Šapšu*, probably during her nightly visit to the underworld.[54] Now and then it is said that the lines after the gap in *CTA* 6:VI form part of a hymn to *Šapšu*,[55] but in my opinion these lines, probably including the fragmentary 37-42,[56] contain instructions to *Šapšu* from *Ba'lu* to lead the shades and ghosts to a banquet in *Ba'lu*'s temple.[57] The mention of *'Aršu* and *Tunnanu* in the sea (compare also Isa. 27:1) may denote the critical moment when *Šapšu* and her host leave the netherworld.

As a result of these observations, I now venture to say that the lines *CTA* 6:V.1-6 contain a summary of the whole *Ba'lu*-story, his struggle with both of his great antagonists *Yammu* and *Môtu* on the way to his kingship. To this effect, *CTA* 6:V.3 also functions as a flashback to the story of *CTA* 2, underlining in advance the prediction of *Ba'lu*'s victory over the summer-heat, that is, over the power of Death.

---

53 We suggest to complete *CTA* 6:VI.32-35 with *CTA* 16:VI.22-24:

y[ṯṯb. l'db.] (33)b'l	Let them [enthrone] Ba'lu [on his dais],
yṯṯbn[n. lks'i] (34) mlkh	enthrone [him on the chair] of his kingship,
ln[ḫt. lkḫṯ (35)drkth]	on the [seat of the throne of his dominion.]

54 Cf. A. Caquot, *Syria* 36 (1959), 93-95; Gray, *LC*[2], 71; De Moor, *SP*, 243f.; Mulder, *UF* 4 (1972), 86.

55 Cf. T. H. Gaster, *Thespis* (New York, 1950), 31; Caquot, *Syria* 36 (1959), 97f.; Fohrer, *Geschichte der israelitischen Religion*, 47; De Moor, *SP*, 243; Mulder, *UF* 4 (1972), 86.

56 According to the copy, the traces of *CTA* 6:VI.37 *] 'n . ḥn[* are presumably to be completed *[wy]'n . ḥn[. . .]* "and he (*Ba'lu?*) answered: Behold . . ."

57 We suggest to complete *CTA* 6:VI.41f.: *ltštql (42) [lb]t ṭry* "Please, go quickly to my roomy house!" The verb used is mostly found following *lhkl-* (*CTA* 3:B.17f.; *CTA* 17:II.25; *CTA* 19:170). Ugar. *ṭr* may be cognate to Syr. *ṭarā'* 'space (of time and distance)', Heb. *ṭûr* 'enclosure (of pillars)' (e.g. 1 Kgs. 7:2f.) and *ṭîrāh* 'encampment'. I am of the opinion that the first person pronominal suffix refers to *Ba'lu*. It seems that the victory of *Ba'lu* will be celebrated with a communal meal of the quick and the dead; compare for imagery *CTA* 22:B.