Arslan Tas Amulet No. 1 (AT1)
C.G. Häberl

This amulet bears a Phoenician incantation (or perhaps more accurately, two or more incantations) inscribed in an Aramaic script, on the basis of which it is dated to the 7th c. BCE. Together with a companion piece, it is one of the only stone tablet 'text amulets' to bear an inscription in any Canaanite dialect, and is therefore unique in several respects. The incantation takes the form of a contract with several beneficent beings against two maleficent beings, the 'Fliers' and the 'Stranglers'.

The author of the *editio princeps*, le Comte du Mesnil du Boisson, acquired the two amulets in 1933 from a local dealer at the archaeological site of Arslan Taş (Akk. *Ḫadāttu* 'new (town)'). This site, located near the town of 'Ayn al-'Arab in the Aleppo Governorate of Syria, was the seat of an Assyrian governor during the 8th c. BCE.

Figure 1: Obverse (Sections A, E, and F)

Figure 2: Reverse (Section B)

Figure 3: Bottom (Section C)

Figure 4: Left (Section D)

Figure 5: Top (Section D)

Figure 6: Right (Section D)

Name: Arslan Taş 1(AT1) a.k.a. KAI 27

Current Location: Aleppo Museum

Accession Number:

Medium: limestone or gypsum tablet

Dimensions: 8.2 x 6.7 cm

Language: Phoenician

Script: Aramaic

Genre: Incantation

Findspot/Provenance: Arslan Taş (Syria)

Year of Discovery: 1933

Editio Princeps: Mesnil du Boisson 1939

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

Stone tablet (carved from limestone or perhaps gypsum), measuring 8.2 x 6.7 cm in size. The front of the amulet depicts three figures, a winged sphinx with a pointed helmet, a recumbent wolf with the tail of a scorpion, and a small human figure being devoured by the wolf creature, all carved in low relief. Its back depicts a striding warrior figure, wielding a double axe and dressed in a short tunic and Assyrian long coat, parted to reveal a leg. The carvings reflect the style of provincial Assyrian art during the 8th and 7th c. BCE.

The top of the amulet is perforated by a hole, through which it was likely suspended by a cord or thong, perhaps over a door or gate, or somewhere within a house. Cross and Saley (1970, 48–49) argue that it was 'too large to be worn as an amulet' and even suggest that 'the Arslan Tash plaque was a pagan prototype of the *mĕzūzāh*, the Israelite portal inscription'.

Berlejung (2010) compares the form of this amulet with other Mesopotamian 'text amulets' manufactured from the early third to the first millennium BCE. These amulets take the form of a flattened quadrangular writing tablet with an attached loop, the function of which is apparently served by the perforation at the top of the present amulet. Typically, the surface of these amulets was completely filled by an incantation or several, often fragmentary, incantations, but they were devoid of iconic elements; it was not until the first millennium, and more specifically the 7th c. BCE, that amulets depicting figures such as the demon Pazuzu start appearing in the archaeological record.

DECIPHERMENT

Mesnil du Buisson's 1939 publication of the amulet in *Mélanges syriens offerts à M. René Dussaud* generated an immediate and sustained interest among scholars. Classified by William F. Albright (1939, 5) as 'one of the most interesting documents in Northwest Semitic which have become known during the past few years', it has been the subject of numerous attempts at decipherment by many of the most distinguished epigraphers and Semitists of the mid to late 20th century, including Albright himself, André Dupont-Sommer (1939), Theodore H. Gaster (1942), Harry Torczyner (1947), Albert van den Branden (1961), Herbert Donner and Wolfgang Röllig (as 'KAI 27' in numerous editions, starting with the first in 1962), Franz Rosenthal (1969), Frank M. Cross and Richard Saley (1970), André Caquot (1973), Giovanni Garbini (1981), John C.L. Gibson (1982),

Johannes C. de Moor (1983), Christel Butterweck (1988), Jacobus van Dijk (1992), and Dennis Pardee (1998), among others.

Most of these scholars worked primarily from Mesnil du Buisson's *editio princeps*. Torczyner consulted a cast of the amulet, as did Caquot, and Cross and Saley worked from two new sets of photographs provided to them by the Direction des Antiquités et des Musées of Syria. The most cautious reading is surely that of Pardee, who worked with the original amulet and was the first to furnish photographs of its edges for the benefit of his readers.

AUTHENTICITY

For the first half-century after the discovery of the amulet in 1933, its authenticity remained unquestioned. Challenges to its authenticity were only recently been proposed, initially by Javier Teixidor (1983), and subsequently by Pierre Amiet (1983), Matthias Köckert (2003) and Gregorio del Olmo Lete (2004). As a consequence, Jacobus van Dijk (1992, 66) notes that 'any discussion of the texts and depictions on the Arslan Tash amulets must now begin with the question as to whether the tablets are indeed modern forgeries or not'.

The challenges to its authenticity are based upon the following objections:

- It appears to be made from gypsum and could possibly have been produced from a mould (a suggestion mooted already by Mesnil du Buisson in the *editio princeps*);
- It is uncommonly well-preserved, especially for an artifact composed of what appears to be such a friable material;
- The form of the amulet is a common Mesopotamian type, but it is otherwise unattested among those bearing incantations in Northwest Semitic languages;
- The figures on the amulet (the striding warrior figure, the sphinx, and the dog-like creature) reflect different cultural traditions, and have been brought together in an unorthodox manner;
- The text follows Canaanite orthography and grammar for the most part, but is rendered in an Aramaic script;
- The language of the text is likewise a 'mixture' of Aramaic and Canaanite forms.

These objections have been addressed by Jacobus van Dijk (1992), Dennis Pardee (1998), Frank M. Cross and Richard Saley (2003), José-Ángel Zamora (2003), and Rüdiger Schmitt (2004), all of whom defend the authenticity of the incantation. The first two objections need not concern us here; even if the amulet were a modern reproduction (which is emphatically rejected by the aforementioned scholars), our primary concern would still remain that which is reproduced. As for the other objections, they do underline the tablet's unique nature and its challenges to our understanding of contemporary artistic, linguistic and other conventions, but as far as its authenticity is concerned, they are far from conclusive.

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

A *¹lḥš⌈t⌉[|]⌈l⌉ᶜ<p>t'|*   **A** Incanta⌈tion for⌉ ᴬthe F<l>iersᴬ;

'lt ²ssm|bn pdr{š}   the oath of *Ssm*, son of *Pdr*:

³š' 'lw ⁴wl|ḥnqt|'⁵mr| Take to him, and say to the Stranglers,

bt 'b' ⁶bl tb'n   The house (in which) I come, you (f.pl.) will not come,

B *⁷wḥṣr|'drk ⁸bl|tdrkn|*   **B** and the courtyard (in which) I enter, you (f.pl.) will not enter,

k[[r]]⁹rt|ln|ʾlt ¹⁰ˤlm ʾšr|	Aššur has made an eternal pact with us.
krt ¹¹ln|wkl bn ʾlm	He and all the divine beings have made it with us,
¹²wrb|dr kl|qdšn	and the leader(s) of the council of all our holy ones,
¹³bʾlt|šmm|wʾrṣ⌐|ᴬ¹⁴d⌐ ˤlm|	by the oath of heaven and earth ⌐for⌐ever,
*bʾlt|bˤ **C** ¹⁵…]⌐n⌐ ʾrṣ|*	by the oath of Baal, **C** …] the Earth,
*bʾ⌐lt⌐[… **D** ¹⁶[ʾ]št ḥwrn|*	by the oath of […] **D** [the w]ife of ᴬḤawrānᴬ
ʾš|[[d]]tm|py ¹⁷wšbˤ|ṣrty|	whose utterance is perfect, and her seven rival-wives,
wšm¹⁸n⌐w⌐|ʾšt|bˤl q[d]š	and the eighth, the wife of the h[ol]y master.
***E** ¹⁹lˤptʾ|bḥdr|ḥšk*	**E** ¹⁹To the ᴬFliersᴬ in the dark chamber,
²⁰ˤbr pˤm|pˤm|ll z	²⁰pass by immediately this night!
***F** ²¹…]⌐b⌐bty|ḥṣ⌐t⌐|hlk*	**F** ²¹…] in his house, hit the road!
***G** ²²m⌐n⌐t|lpy²³ptḥ²⁴y|*	**G** ²²I have de⌐nied access⌐ to the opening of ²³his doorway,
w²⁵wr|l²⁶mzzt|	²⁴and will bring ²⁵light to ²⁶the doorpost.
yṣʾ|šmš ²⁷⌐k⌐ss	The Sun is rising, ²⁷⌐like⌐ the moth
²⁸ḥlp|wld[r] ²⁹ˤp	²⁸vanish, and forever ²⁹fly away!

PHILOLOGICAL COMMENTARY
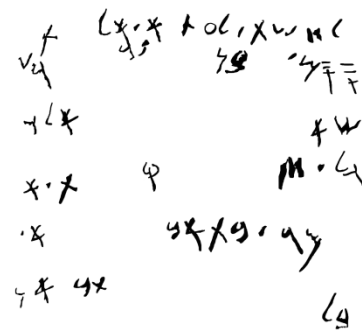
1–6) This portion of the text (Section **A**) surrounds the figures on the front of the amulet.

ˤ<p>tʾ: Mesnil du Buisson (1939a) originally identified the last word of this line as the divine name *ˤtʾ*, an Aramaic form of the Canaanite goddess Anath. Albright (1939) compares it with a form which appears later in this inscription (line 19), interpreting it as a putative Aramaic *G*-stem participial form, *⌐p⌐tʾ* 'flying (f.sg.)'. Despite the fact that such a verb is not attested in Aramaic outside of Targum Onqelos (where it appears only as a gloss to the more usual Aramaic root meaning 'to fly', *prḥ*), and that the expected participial form would be *ʾpt* or *ˤypt* (but certainly not *ˤpt*), Albright's interpretation has been adopted by most subsequent scholars, albeit with some minor reservations (for a dissenting view, see Torczyner 1947). Cross and Saley (1970) and Caquot (1973) reject Albright's claim that there is room for a *pe* in this word, arguing that an error must have been made in writing the line, and emend his reading accordingly to *ˤ<p>tʾ*, which they interpret as a plural form, 'the fliers'.

ʾptʾ 'the Flyer(s)'

The word is seemingly unique to this inscription, unless it can be related to an equally enigmatic form in the Yeḥawmilk Stele. Among the items that Yeḥawmilk dedicated to the Lady of Byblos in the courtyard of her temple, he lists *wh⌐ˤp⌐t ḥrṣ* 'and the golden *ˤpt*' (line 5). Donner and Röllig (1962, KAI 10) identify this term with the winged Egyptian sun disk, or *ˤ3py*, on the grounds of the phonetic similarity between the two words and the clues provided by the context. Indeed, such a design adorns the top of the Yeḥawmilk Stele.

Most scholars (save Torczyner 1947) identify the *ʾptʾ* with the 'sphinx' depicted on the front.

ʾlt: While Albright (1939) and Cross and Saley (1970) follow Mesnil du Buisson 1939 in translating this word as 'goddess', Rosenthal (1969) and Caquot (1973) translate it here and in later lines (9 and 14), as 'oath', cognate with Heb. ʾālāh. Caquot also reads the last character on this line as an exceptionally long (5 mm) word divider rather than the right-hand descending stroke of a *shin*, as it has traditionally been interpreted.

pdr š: Mesnil du Buisson (1939a) reads this as a divine name, *pdršš*, in which he is followed by nearly all other scholars who have examined the inscription, including Albright (1939), Dupont-Sommer (1939), Cross and Saley (1970), Donner and Röllig (1962), Avishur (1979), Gibson (1982), and de Moor (1983). A second opinion was first suggested by Torczyner (1947), who reads *š* as the m.sg. imperative form of the verb √*nš* 'to take', and was subsequently adopted by Rosenthal (1969), Caquot (1973), Lipiński (1974), Garbini (1981), Sperling (1982), and Pardee (1998). In support of Torczyner's reading, Caquot notes (p. 47, fn. 8) that the phrase *tš ʿl sptyk* appears in the Sfiré Inscription (111:14–15); as well as in Ps. 16:4, *ûḇal-ʾɛśśāʾ ʾɛṯ-šəmôṯām ʿal-śəp̄āṯāy* 'and I shall not take their names upon my lips'.

ʾlw: Mesnil du Buisson (1939a) reads ʾlh, as do most other scholars, albeit without any agreement as to its meaning (he interprets it as 'his god', Albright (1939) translates 'O, god', Rosenthal (1969) translates 'these', and Donner and Röllig (1962) translate it simply 'god'). Cross and Saley (1970), who likewise translate it as 'god', nonetheless read the final consonant as *waw* and not *he*. They view this letter as a dittograph for the initial

Ssm bn Pdr

The divine names *ssm* and *pdr* are attested elsewhere, albeit largely in the form of theophoric personal names (Fauth 1970). The characters *ssm* occupy three sides of a stone pendant in the shape of a pyramid, the fourth side of which is occupied by the branch of a date palm (Clermont-Ganneau 1898). Schwartz (1996) identifies this figure with Akk. *sissinnu* 'fruited branch of date palm' and the legendary St. Sisinnios, who (together with his brothers Sines and Synodoros) is invoked to defend infants against a female demon, much like the Senoy, Sansenoy, and Semangelof of Jewish tradition.

Wiggermann (2000, 229) notes that the full name *ssm br pdr* is likewise engraved upon a bronze statue of the Assyrian demon Pazuzu at the Ashmolean (1892.43), allegedly from the Egyptian site of San el-Hagar (ancient Tanis), although this reading is contested (Berlejung 2010, 14). Representations of Pazuzu (in the form of amulets and figurines) were popular during the 7th and 6th c. BCE, as his image was used to protect infants from the female demon Lamaštu (Heeßel 2002, 96).

character of the following line, an interpretation which Caquot (1973) rejects as improbable on the grounds that ʾlw is followed by a word divider, in which he is followed by Teixidor (1983). Pardee (1998) is skeptical about the presence of the word divider, but also rejects Cross and Saley's dittography hypothesis. Sperling (1982, 5) reads this word as ʾlt 'oath', with a '*taw* which has been partly obliterated', but this view is likewise rejected by Pardee, who notes that the inscription is reasonably well preserved at this point. Against the otherwise generally defective nature of the orthography, Caquot suggests that it is a *plene* spelling of the Phoenician demonstrative ʾl 'these', cognate with Mishnaic Hebrew ʾɛllū and identifiable with the form transcribed *ily* in the *Poenulus* of Plautus. Pardee, on the other hand, interprets ʾlw as a preposition cognate with Hebrew ʾɛ̆lê 'to', the final *waw* possibly representing the third masculine singular possessive suffix after a long vowel, which would be consistent with the defective orthography of the text.

ḥnqt ʾmr: The text here mentions another of the intended recipients of the incantation, the *ḥnqt* 'strangler(s)' who are likely plural in number, as all of the following verbs which refer to them take feminine plural endings (*tbʾn* 'you go' and *tdrkn* 'you enter'). The following word, *ʾmr*, is the locus of some scholarly debate. Mesnil du Buisson (1939a) reads it as 'lamb' and identifies the whole phrase with the Arabic *khānūq al-ḥamal* 'strangler of lambs', which is one of the epithets of the *Qarīna*, or Arab Lilith. This reading has been endorsed by most of his successors, including Albright (1939) and Cross and Saley (1970). Torczyner (1947) reads this word as the imperative form of the verb √*ʾmr*, parallel with *šʾ* 'take' in the preceding line, a reading which has been endorsed by Rosenthal (1969) and Caquot (1973).

Albright (1939) was the first to parallel the following lines (5–8) with a passage in the Akkadian *Utukkū Lemnūtu* series of exorcistic incantations, Tablet III, lns. 161–162 (Geller 2007:107/201):

a-šar al-la-ku la tal-lak	The place I go, you may not go,
a-šar [e]r-ru-bu la te-ru-ub	The place I enter, you may not enter.
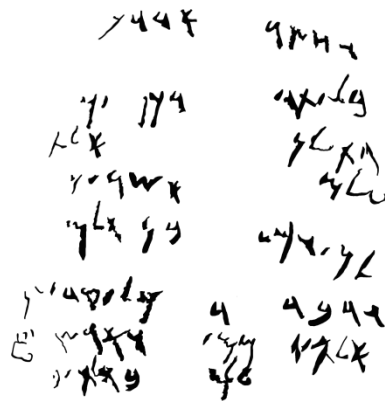
7–14) This portion of the text (Section **B**) surrounds the striding warrior figure on the back of the amulet.

krt: Mesnil du Buisson (1939a) discerns a *nun* at the end of line 8, which Albright (1939) emends to *kaph*, but notes that it appears to have been erased already at the time of its inscription (hence [[*k*]]). Cross and Saley (1970) read the erased letter as a *resh*, with the following *resh* beginning line 9 produced by dittography, a reading endorsed by Röllig (1974) and Pardee (1998).

ʾšr: Mesnil du Buisson (1939a) reads the second word in this line as the Hebrew relative pronoun *ʾšr*. Dupont-Sommer (1939) and Albright (1939) propose the name of the Canaanite goddess Asherath, restoring a final *taw*. Cross and Saley (1970) concur with this reading, save for the restoration; they see its absence as 'an isogloss with Hebrew' (p. 45, fn. 17), even though the orthography of the inscription otherwise conforms to Phoenician practice, and the other proper nouns are recognizably Aramaic in

---

ḥnqt 'the Stranglers'

The *ḥnqt* 'stranglers' frequently appear elsewhere in the corpus of incantation texts, occasionally in connection with liliths, as Gaster (1947) notes with several examples, to which can be added Gordon (1934) and Texts G and J from Gordon 1937). Cross and Saley (1970) also cite an Ugaritic parallel, *ʾltm ḥnqtm* 'the two strangler goddesses'.

Most scholars (save Torczyner 1947) identify the *ḥnqt* with the wolf-like creature depicted on the front.

ʾšr 'Aššur'

The chief Assyrian deity Aššur is also one of the protective geniuses mentioned in the Neo-Assyrian anti-demonic amulet published by Farber (1989:103–108). Berlejung (2010, 29–30) identifies the striding warrior figure on the reverse with Aššur, not only because Aššur is the first being named on the reverse but also because the striding warrior figure shares characteristics with the traditional depiction of Aššur, such as the bud on the crown.
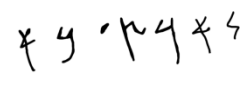
form rather than Hebrew or Phoenician. Gaster (1942) also interprets this word as a proper noun, but as the name of the god Aššur, in which he is followed by Rosenthal (1969) and Caquot (1973).

bʾlt: Nearly all scholars follow Mesnil du Buisson (1939a) in reading the first sign of this word as a *beth*. Pardee (1998) notes that it resembles a *waw*, *daleth*, or *resh* in form, while admitting that writing this character the rounded edge of the amulet might have posed some difficulty to the scribe, thereby accounting for the aberrant form.

bn ʾlm: For this phrase, cf. Job 1:6 *way-yābōʾû banê ʾĕlōhîm* 'and the sons of God came'. Albright (1939, 8, fn. 19) suggests that *banê ʾĕlōhîm* is equivalent to the plural of *ʾel,* 'just as in Biblical Hebrew *banê ʾāḏām* is the plural of *ʾāḏām*'.

qdšn: Albright (1939) emends the final word of this line to *qdš⌈t⌉*, whereas Torczyner (1947) interprets the final *nun* as the first person plural possessive suffix. Cross and Saley (1970, 44, fn. 10) vindicate the original reading of the *editio princeps,* arguing that 'the *nun* [of *qdšn*] could not be clearer on the new photographs (*pace* Albright). The reading *dr* of KAI also imposes itself', comparing it to the phrase *dr ʾlm* 'council of gods' in the Karatepe Inscription B III 18-IV.

ʿd ʿlm: Along the right-hand side of the tablet between the final signs of lines 12 and 14 are two signs that resemble three vertical strokes, closed entirely along the top but only partially from the left along the bottom. Working from Mesnil du Buisson's original cast of the amulet (obtained from Mesnil du Buisson himself), Caquot (1973) discerns a line divider and an *ayin* here, which he reads together with the upper part of a *daleth* by the left foot of the god at the beginning of line 14, giving the reading 'forever'. Most subsequent scholars have endorsed this reading, but Pardee (1998) has misgivings about it, without being able to substitute an alternative reading. He finds no trace of the *daleth* identified by Caquot and attributes it to a scratch on the photograph.

15) Line 15 (section C of the text) is inscribed upon the bottom of the amulet.

ʾrṣ: Caquot (1973) reads the upper part of a *lamed* at the beginning of the line, and restores [*ʾdn k*]*⌈l⌉ ʾrṣ* 'Lord of All the Earth' on the basis of the length of the lacuna (cf. *ʾăḏôn kol-hāʾāreṣ* in Josh. 3:11, 13; Mich. 4:13; Zech. 4:4; 6:5; and Ps. 97:5.). Pardee (1998) defends Mesnil du Buisson's original reading, and adds that the gap at the edge of the text could accommodate as many as three or four characters.

bʾlt: Of the last three letters of the line, only traces remain. Caquot (1973) suggests it might equally be reconstructed *bʾl*[*ty*] 'by his pact' or *bʾl*[*m*] 'by the gods', and that the main text of the inscription ends here. In his reading, the remainder of the text on the surrounding edges is not the continuation of this incantation, but rather the start of a new one, beginning with the word which he restores as [*lḥ*]*št* 'incantation'. Pardee (1998) differs, noting that the text on the edges of the second amulet from Arslan Taş can only be read as a continuation of the main text.

16–18) These lines (composing section **D** of the text) are found inscribed upon the surrounding edges of the amulet.

Pardee (1998) notes that the traditional numbering of these lines is entirely arbitrary, as there are no abrupt edges to divide the text of the inscription.

ʾšt ḥwrn: Mesnil du Buisson (1939a) reconstructs the initial word as [ʾ]*št* 'wife', a suggestion which has been adopted by most subsequent translators, including Albright (1939), Rosenthal (1969), Donner and Röllig (1962), and Pardee (1998), with Torczyner (1947) and Caquot (1973) dissenting. Cross and Saley (1970, 44, fn. 12) reconstruct a *lamed* at the very beginning of this line, which they identify as a dittograph carried over from the last line, and reject the *shin* drawn by Mesnil du Boisson, which they declare (with some justification) to be 'an overlarge, late Aramaic *š*, quite impossible in this script'. Caquot and Pardee (1998) defend the original reading of this character, with Pardee noting that the lateral strokes of the *shin* of this inscription are occasionally elongated to form a diamond-shape at the base of the letter, which can be lost due to wear and tear.

ḥwrn 'Ḥawrān'

The god Ḥawrān is known from his frequent appearances in Canaanite personal and place names, as well as occasional appearances in Ugaritic, Egyptian, Hittite, and even a second century BCE Greek inscription from Delos, in which he is identified with Heracles. Astour (1968) identifies him with the Phoenician healing god Ešmun. Cross and Saley (1970) note that his epithet *bʿl qdš*, which appears in line 18, recalls *šr qdš* 'holy prince', the epithet of Ešmun in the inscriptions of Ešmunʿazor (KAI 14, 17) and Bodʿaštart (KAI 15, 16). Albright (1968, 138, fn. 73) cites this same epithet in support of emending the divine name Σουρμουβηλος of the Phoenician History of Philo of Berytus to Ουρουμβηλος, which he posits as the Greek rendering of Phoenician Ḥūrūn-Bʿel.

Dupont-Sommer (1939) and Wiggermann (2000, 229) identify the striding warrior figure with Ḥawrān.

ʾš tm py: Mesnil du Buisson (1939b, 424) reads *qš ⌈d⌉tm py* 'Qš, (the one) whose mouth is perfect', but Albright (1939) reads the first word as the relative pronoun *ʾš* and the initial character of the second word as a scribal error, already erased at the time of its composition. His reading has been generally adopted, e.g. Gaster (1942), Rosenthal (1969), Cross and Saley (1970), with reference to the Akkadian formula *ša pušu ellu* 'whose mouth/utterance is pure', and Pardee (1998). Dupont-Sommer (1939) reads the phrase as ⌈r⌉*tm py* 'his mouth is bound', which Caquot (1973) endorses, drawing attention to the long sloping stroke that characterizes the initial defaced letter. He compares this verb to the Arabic form *ʾartam-* 'having a broken nose; speaking unintelligibly', which is in turn related to the verb *ratama ʾanfahu* 'he broke his nose').

wšbʿ ṣrty: Mesnil du Buisson's (1939) reading of these signs is almost universally accepted, with only Teixador (1983) contesting it. Caquot (1973) correctly notes that the referent of the possessive pronoun on this phrase, which most scholars translate 'and *his* seven concubines', cannot refer to a masculine entity (as the word *ṣrt* properly refers to rival-wives, not concubines, and men cannot have rival-wives). While Rosenthal (1969) interprets the referent of this pronoun as *ʾšt ḥwrn* 'Ḥawrān's wife', Caquot has rejected this reading and therefore follows Mesnil du Buisson (1939a) in translating this phrase 'and seven (are) *my* rival-wives'.
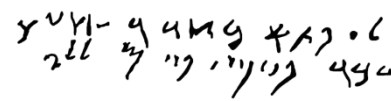
šmnw ʾšt: The reading *šmnh* 'eight', initially proposed by Mesnil du Buisson (1939a) and followed by all subsequent scholars, is peculiar, as the form *šmn* would be expected in its place, given the generally defective orthography of the inscription. Albright (1939), Cross and Saley (1970), and Pardee (1998) consider this an example of Aramaic influence. Torczyner (1947) argues against the reading 'eight wives' on the grounds that the suppletive form *nšʾ* would be expected as the plural of *ʾšt*, but singular forms do occasionally appear in the place of plurals in the Hebrew Bible, cf. 2 Kings 22:1 *ben-šĕmōneh šānāh* 'eight years old' or the *kĕṯîḇ* of 2 Kings 8:17 *ûšmōneh šānāh mālaḵ bîrûšālām* 'and he ruled eight years in Jerusalem'.

If we were to restore the heavily damaged final character as a *waw* rather than a *he*, it would assume the form of the third masculine singular possessive suffix after a long vowel, just as in word *ʾlw* 'to him' in line 3, which is likewise read with a final *he* by Mesnil du Buisson (1939a), Albright (1939), Rosenthal (1969), and Donner and Röllig (1962). Such a form, the precursor of the (late) Punic suffix *-m*, is predicted by Huehnergard (1991, 190), but not elsewhere attested; the more common allomorph of this suffix, a *yod*, could also be restored here.

If this is the correct reading, then the referent is not clear: the suffix appears to be anchorless, and possibly serves to render the noun it modifies definite. This function of the third person possessive suffixes is attested, albeit generally as a relic, in every branch of Semitic (Huehnergard and Pat-El 2012). In this case, it should be translated, 'the eighth, the wife of the holy master', referring once again back to the wife of Ḥawrān at the beginning of the line (without the need to posit multiple harems). Alternatively, we could appeal to Skehan's interpretation of the suffix on the form *yrḥw* in the Gezer Calendar, as a proleptic suffix of the sort found attached to nouns and infinitives, which are themselves followed by a noun or pronoun in apposition, to which the suffix refers (cited as a personal communication in Cross and Freedman 1952, 47, fn. 10; for several other examples of this suffix in Phoenician and Biblical Hebrew, see Sivan 1998, 103–105) In that case, the text would be translated 'his eighth, (namely) the wife of the holy master'.

bʿl qdš: In the incantation text BM 91776 (published as Segal 2000, 036A), mention is made of the 'eight sons of Baal' (ln. 16: *tmnyʾ bny bʿl*) but not to any of his wives. It stands to reason that one (*py*) plus seven rival wives (*wšbʿ ṣrty*) equals eight wives in total, without the need to unnecessarily posit multiple harems of divine wives. Torczyner (1947) restores the final word of the line as *qdšy* 'holy', accidentally reading the initial *beth* of line 6 again here as a *yod*. All subsequent readings have followed Torczyner, albeit without restoring the final *yod*.

 19–21) These lines (section **E**) are engraved upon the 'sphinx', which 'has the body and (curved and raised) tail of a lion and a human (not bearded and therefore perhaps female) face' (Berlejung 2010, 23).

ʿbr: Originally read by Mesnil du Buisson (1939) as *ʿbd*, the reading *ʿbúrī* 'pass by!' was first suggested by Albright (1939), and has been retained by most other scholars. Caquot (1973) prefers to read *ʿbr* as the perfect *ʿabró*, 'she has passed by'.

pˁm pˁm: Against Mesnil du Buisson (1939a), who translates this phrase as a divine name, Albright (1939), Gaster (1942 and 1947), Cross and Saley (1970) all translate it as 'now, now!' (which Gaster compares with ἄρτι ἄρτι or ταχύ ταχύ in Greek charms), and Rosenthal (1969) reads it as 'time and again'.

ll z: Mesnil du Buisson (1939a), Cross and Saley (1970), and Caquot (1973) all discern a final *nun* followed by a word divider, just off the chest of the Sphinx beneath the second *ayin* in line 3 of the surrounding inscription, and therefore interpret the word as the Aramaic form *llyn* 'night demons'. Neither Albright (1939) nor Dupont-Sommer (1939) perceive the *nun*, and Butterweck (1988), and Pardee (1998) outright reject any mention of Lilith or 'night demons;' Butterweck proposes to read *ll wym* 'night and day', and Pardee reads *ll z* 'this night' (or *ll zn*, if indeed the *nun* is present) in its place.
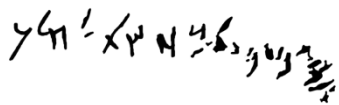

21) This line (section **F**) is engraved upon the wolf-like creature, which 'has a canine body, two long, pointed ears which are stretched backwards (in profile), a horn on its forehead and a curved scorpion's tail raised upward' (Berlejung 2010, 23).

bbty: The initial word is extremely difficult to read. Mesnil du Buisson (1939a) draws something very much like a *nun* in his line drawing, but does not add the expected stroke descending parallel to its head. In the commentary, he initially reads it as a *waw*, and then subsequently (1939b) as a *zayin*, followed by a *mim* in either case. Other epigraphers (Dupont-Sommer 1939, Albright 1939, Donner and Röllig 1971, Caquot 1973) read the same *mim*, giving the word *mbzt* 'the robber(s)', but Cross and Saley (1970) and Pardee (1998) discern a *beth*. Mesnil du Buisson (1939a) likewise followed the first two letters with a *zayin*, which he subsequently (1939b) abandoned.

ḥst hlk: Mesnil du Buisson (1939a) and Donner and Röllig (1962) read the final two words as *mḥst hlk* 'destroyer(s)', or 'striker(s), go away!' from the root √*mḥṣ*, but Albright (1939) reads them as *pḥst hlk* 'crusher(s), go away!' seeing in *pḥṣ* a metathesized form related to Heb. *pāṣaḥ* 'to crush (bones)', and has been followed by most subsequent scholars. In his second article, Mesnil du Buisson (1939b) and reads the uncertain initial letter as a word divider, in which he is followed by Caquot (1973), who interprets *ḥst hlk* as *ḥūṣūt halkó* 'she hit the road (Heb. *ḥûṣôt*)' on the grounds that the putative imperative form *hlúkī* is unattested elsewhere. Pardee (1998) subscribes to Caquot's reading.
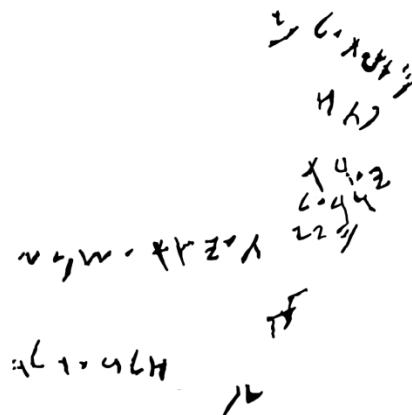
22–29) The following lines (section **G**) are inscribed upon and beside the 'striding warrior' figure, 'an upright, standing, dressed and crowned, bearded male, smiting god. He stands in step position, is girded with a sword and holds an axe in his raised right hand. He wears a three-tiered (?) long and open skirt over a short kilt, recalling a Neo-Assyrian style. On his head with shoulder-long hair he wears a horned crown topped by a bud' (Berlejung 2010, 24).

mnʿt: No scholarly consensus has developed around the initial word of the inscription on the striding warrior, with most scholars seeing in it a proper noun, and generally an otherwise unattested one at that (Mesnil du Buisson (1939a), Torczyner (1947), and Rosenthal (1969) read *sz zt*, Albright (1939) and Donner and Rölling (1962) read *sz⌈y⌉t*, and Cross and Saley (1970) read *s⌈sm⌉|*). By contrast, Gaster (1947, 187) interprets *sz zt* as a 'representation of that hissing and spitting which was a frequent element of incantations and which is similarly represented in other texts', and Caquot (1973) reads it as ⌈*mṣ*ʾ⌉| 'rising', a *nom d'action* from the verb √*yṣʾ* attested further along in the same line. Pardee (1998) elects not to translate it at all, agreeing only that the final sign is an *aleph* followed by a word divider.

In Mesnil du Buisson's photograph and line drawing (1939a, 423), there appears to be room for four consonants, of which the second is a *nun* and the fourth is a *taw*. In the photograph of the reverse in Pardee (1998, 47), the third consonant appears quite clearly to be an *ayin*. The initial consonant appears much more like a *mim* than a *samekh*, suggesting the reading *mnʿt* 'I have withheld or denied'. For the use of *lə-* with the complement of this verb, cf. Ps. 84:12 *lōʾ yimnaʿ-ṭôḇ ləhōlḵîm bəṯāmîm* 'no good thing will He withhold from them that walk uprightly'.

lpy ptḫy: For *lpy* 'at the entry', see Pr. 8:3 *ləyaḏ-šəʿārîm ləp̄î-qāreṯ məḇôʾ pəṯāḥîm tārōnnāh* 'Beside the gates, at the entry of the city, at the coming in at the doors, she crieth aloud'. Most scholars follow Mesnil du Buisson (1939a) in ignoring the *pe*, even if it is readily apparently from his photograph. Albright (1939) reads *ly/ptḥ* [*rḥ*]⌈*m*⌉/*y* 'and let her womb be opened', in which he is followed by Donner and Röllig (1962). Caquot (1973) denies the existence of either the *pe* or the *yod*, and Pardee (1998) identifies the *pe* as a word divider and the *yod* either as a *zayin* or a series of dots. Cross and Saley (1970) read a *lamed* following this word, but Pardee rejects this reading as a line dividing the arm from the chest.

wʾwr: This collection of signs was initially read *wt/wd|l* by Mesnil du Buisson (1939a). Albright (1939 reads *wt/*⌈*ld*⌉ 'and let her give birth', as do Donner and Röllig (1962). Cross and Saley (1970) read *wʾl/*⌈*y*⌉*rd* 'and let him not come down', but Pardee (1998) objects to the *lamed* and the *yod* that they have restored, for which he can find no traces. Caquot (1973) reads *wʾ/wr|l* 'and light to' instead, despite the otherwise defective nature of the orthography. Gibson (1982) follows Caquot's reading of the signs, but interprets the form as a *D*-stem perfect form from the root √*ʾwr*, namely *ʾiwwró* or *ʾiwwír* 's/he has illuminated', as does Pardee. In light of my reading of the preceding verb as *mnʿt* 'I have denied (access)', with which this form is clearly parallel, I suggest the *D*-stem imperfect *ʾawwir* 'I shall illuminate'.

mzzt: As in line 22, Mesnil du Buisson (1939a) reads this as the proper noun *sz zt*, and Albright (1939) likewise reads it as the proper noun *sz⌈y⌉t*. Cross and Saley (1970) see a *mzzt* or 'doorpost', which has been endorsed by most subsequent scholars.

yṣʾ: *Contra* Mesnil du Buisson and all subsequent scholars, who read it as the (*G*-stem) perfect *yaṣoʾ* 'he has come forth', Caquot (1973) reads this verb as a *C*-stem causative form *yūṣiʾ* 'he (= the Sun) has brought forth', with *mṣʾ* 'rising' (line 22) and *ʾwr* 'light' (line 25) as its objects. It could also be read as the *G*-stem imperfect *yiṣiʾ* 'he comes forth', as I have in the translation.

kss: Cross and Saley (1970) read this word as *lssm* 'to Sasom', a reading which Caquot (1973) rejects on the grounds that he can find no trace of the *mim* on the cast, and that *nun* is a much more likely reading for the initial letter than *lamed*. He relates it to Hebrew participial form *nōsēs* 'sick' (cf. Isaiah 10:18) and the Aramaic *nsīs* 'feeble', but if it is indeed a finite verbal form, as Caquot translates it, rather than a participle, the doubled final radical indicates that it can only reflect a *D*-stem form, and in the *D*-stem this root means 'to trouble' or 'weaken' someone (rather than to be weakened). Pardee (1998) rejects Caquot's restoration of the initial letter, arguing that he can find no head and suggests that either *w* 'and' or *k* 'like, as' was intended, followed by the word *ss* 'horse'. In light of the verb ʿ*p* 'fly' that follows, perhaps *ss* 'moth' (Akkadian *sāsu(m)*, Hebrew *sās*, Syriac *sāsā*) might be a more suitable candidate.

ḥ*lp*: Mesnil du Buisson (1939a) and Albright (1939) ḥ*l* 'give birth', Torczyner (1947) ḥ*ld* 'abide'. Cross and Saley (1970) and Caquot (1973) reject these other interpretations and instead read ḥ*lp*, which they translate as 'disappear' on the basis of Isaiah 2:18 *wə-hā-ʾelîlîm kālîl yaḥălōp* 'and the idols shall utterly pass away'. Pardee (1998, 28) reads the final letter as 'un {b} sûr', rejecting all previous readings, but is unable to translate the word thereby rendered.

wldr: Cross and Saley (1970) and Caquot (1973) compare this expression to Hebrew *lədōr wādōr* 'from generation to generation', i.e. forever. Pardee (1989) reads it as *wlr* 'and LR', but admits that he is unable to decide whether the third sign is a *daleth* or a *resh*. He discerns another sign or possibly two afterwards, but is unable to endorse either the *nun* suggested by Mesnil du Buisson (1939a) or the *resh* suggested by Cross and Saley, due to the lack of a clear head.

ʿ*p*: Cross and Saley (1970) were the first to identify the characters upon the knee of the striding warrior, and have been followed by most subsequent scholars. Pardee (1998) cautions that the apparent simplification of these two characters is otherwise unparalleled within the inscription, but it might be argued that this simplification was necessitated by the small surface upon which the scribe was constrained to write the two letters.

Script Analysis

In the *editio princeps*, Mesnil du Buisson (1939, 422) notes that the forms of the characters are 'beaucoup plus archaïque' than the inscriptions of the 5th c. BCE theretofore discovered in Syria and Egypt. He suggests, partly on the basis of the script and partly on the basis of the images, that the amulet was carved after the Assyrian conquest of Ḥarrān in 610 BCE. Albright (1939, 7) says that Mesnil du Buisson's 6th century date is too late, and that a 'seventh-century date may be regarded as almost certain', classifying the script as

> …lapidary Aramaic, sometimes including some cursive forms; in general all forms may be duplicated in Aramaic documents from Aššur and Nineveh, especially on clay tablets or bullae with Aramaic texts gouged into them on both sides with a stylus, just as we find in our case. About a dozen of the latter are known; nearly all are roughly triangular in shape and their dates range from 674 B.C. over 665 and 659 to after 648. None of them can be later than the destruction of Aššur by the Medes in 614 B.C. or than the fall of Nineveh in 612.

Only one year after the initial publication and Albright's own observations, the Danish expedition at Hama published a preliminary report on their seven years of excavations (Ingholt 1940), including the initial publications of eleven Aramaic graffiti inscribed upon red-slipped bricks (subsequently republished by Donner and Röllig 1962 as KAI 203–213). The bricks were found in a secure archaeological context, and can therefore be confidently dated to the mid-eighth century BCE, on the basis of both the stratigraphy and epigraphy. Their script corresponds closely to that of the amulet, and combines lapidary and cursive features in much the same way that the amulet does, as Albright observes. With regard to this mixture of features, Cross observes that 'three styles of Aramaic script were in contemporary use in the seventh century: a lapidary in a state of decline, a full cursive which evolved into the chancellery hand of the Persian empire, and a semicursive (or semiformal if you prefer—it stands between the other two styles, influenced by both)', in a personal communication to Pardee (1998, 53).

In the following script chart (illustrated in Tables 1), I have separated those characters engraved upon the figures and those engraved in the text surrounding the figures, because the form of the figures provides an obvious constraint upon their size and shape that may result in mechanical differences.

Table 1: Chart of Characters Inscribed upon the Amulet

Obverse and Reverse (Sections A and B)	Bottom and Edges (Sections C and D)	Figures (Sections E, F, and G)
א	א	א
ב	ב	ב
ג	ג	ג
ד	ד	ד
ה	ה	ה
ו	ו	ו
ז	ז	ז
ח	ח	ח
ט	ט	ט
י	י	י
כ	כ	כ
ל	ל	ל
מ	מ	מ
נ	נ	נ
ס	ס	ס
ע	ע	ע
פ	פ	פ
צ	צ	צ
ק	ק	ק
ר	ר	ר
ש	ש	ש
ת	ת	ת

The conservative form of the *aleph*, which is nearly identical in the Hama graffiti and the amulet, suggests the eighth century, after which the two horizontal strokes of the Aramaic *aleph* came to meet at a common juncture with the vertical. The *beth* is more characteristically cursive than lapidary. In opening at the top, it demonstrates a typically Aramaic development of the eighth century, but does not appear to participate in the ligatures and clockwise turn that were characteristic of later cursive inscriptions. A similar development has also occurred in the *daleth*s, *ayin*s, and *resh*s, the heads of which appear open in the amulet, unlike the equivalent characters in the Hama graffiti.

The *waw*s of the inscription are typical of the 'inverted h' form of the early Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions, with the downstroke gracefully slanting to the right, as in later Phoenician inscriptions. As a consequence, they are not always easily distinguished from the *resh* or *daleth*. The head of the *waw* has largely retained its form and has not yet merged to a single horizontal stroke, as in the Aramaic inscriptions of the sixth century.

Also suggestive of the Hama graffiti is the cursive *ḥeth*, in which the three horizontal stroke have merged into a single stroke, a characteristically Aramaic development of the mid-eighth century. In most of the examples of *ḥeth*, save for the one in line 28, the middle stroke touches the top of the left-hand vertical. This form closely resembles the amulet's sole example of a *he*, in which the two lower horizontal strokes have merged into one stroke and likewise join the uppermost stroke, a development which had not yet taken place in the script of the Hama graffiti.

The *lamed* of the amulet is distinctive, if only because it sometimes appears to consist of a single stroke, gracefully arching to the right at the bottom, and otherwise appears as two strokes joined at a sharp angle, nearly perpendicular to one another, possibly necessitated by the difficulty of carving an arch in such a surface.

As already noted, most of the *ayin*s on the amulet are open, but this opening can occur almost anywhere on the character, suggesting that the openings are not necessarily consistent with the ideal form of the character, but rather the result of difficulties inherent in carving upon the surface of the amulet (Pardee 1998).

Pardee also notes that the *shin*s of the amulet fall into two variants: a four-stroke variant (representing a *w*) and a reduced three stroke variant in which the middle two strokes have formed a ligature.

The *taw*s consist of two lines, a longer vertical, gently inclined downward from right to left, and a shorter horizontal stroke, which begins either on the vertical stroke or to its immediate left and slopes downward to form an acute angle, in the majority of cases.

Language

Even if the script of the incantation is Aramaic and it was discovered within what would have been Aramaic-speaking territory, the language in which it is composed is decidedly not Aramaic. This was immediately evident to Mesnil du Buisson (1939a, 422), who confidently identifies it as 'Canaanite, or at any rate a dialect clearly related to that of Ras Shamra'. This assessment was sufficient for most scholars, and the classification of the language was never addressed in a systematic fashion.

Albright (1939) and Torczyner (1947) were quick to identify it as 'Hebrew', although Albright qualifies this by noting that the language is 'almost throughout pure Phoenician in grammar, and verbal and stylistic parallels to Ugaritic as well as to Biblical Hebrew literature are frequent and close' (p. 7). Donner and Röllig

(1962) and Garbini (1981) opt to classify it as 'Phoenician' instead. Others were not so confident; Rosenthal (1969, 658) considers it to be an 'undetermined Canaanite dialect', and Gibson (1982) describes it as a 'mixed dialect'.

It was Cross and Saley (1970) who first systematically addressed the language of this text, by drawing attention to its orthography. They note that orthography regularly follows Phoenician rather than Aramaic practice, even if there are a few Aramaisms, which is to say that the orthography is otherwise consistently 'defective', with no indication of word-final or word-internal vowels. Consequently, forms such as *ʾmr, krt, tm, ʿbr, hlk, yṣ', ḥlp,* and *ʿp* can only be parsed through contextual clues; as discussed earlier, it is impossible to tell whether an isolated form like *hlk* might represent *halók* 'he went', *halkó* 'she went', *halkū́* 'they (m.) went', *hlúk* 'go (m.sg.)!', *hlúkī* 'go (f.sg.)!', *hlúkū* 'go (m.pl.)!', or even *hūlik* 'going (m.sg.)', to name a few possibilities. Whenever the authorities disagree about the parsing of a given form, I have furnished a provisional vocalization, in order to avoid any ambiguity.

Cross and Saley also observe the complete absence of the definite article from the incantation, in which respect it is similar to archaic and archaizing Hebrew poetry. The other 'Canaanite' features of the inscription, typical of the contemporary dialects of Hebrew and Phoenician but not of Old Aramaic, include:

- The use of the word *bn* 'son' rather than its Aramaic equivalent *br* in the proper name *ssm bn pdr*;
- The collapse of the diphthong **ay* in the words *bt* 'house', *ll* 'night', and *šmm* 'heavens';

Exclusively Phoenician features of the inscription include:

- the feminine morpheme *-t* is retained on the noun (e.g. *lḥšt* 'incantation', *ʾlt* 'oath') but possibly lost on the verb (e.g. *ʿbr* 'she passed', *hlk* 'she went' if these are not imperative forms);
- The third masculine singular possessive suffix appears as *-y* on the singular noun (e.g. *py* 'her mouth', *ṣrty* 'her co-wives', and *ptḫy* 'his door') and possibly *-w* after a long vowel (e.g. *ʾlw* 'to him', and perhaps *šmnw* 'his eight'), as opposed to Hebrew *-w/-h(w)* and Old Aramaic *-h*;
- The form of the relative pronoun is *ʾš*, as opposed to Hebrew *ʾšr* and Old Aramaic *zy*.

The Aramaic features of the inscription are limited to nouns referring to supernatural beings. These include:

- The postponed definite article *-ʾ* appears twice on the proper noun *ʿptʾ* (lines 1 and 19);
- The preservation of the diphthong in the first syllable of the proper noun *Ḥwrn* (line 16). This form presumably reflects the Aramaic form of the name, Ḥawrān, rather than the expected Canaanite (and defectively written) form *ḥrn* Hōrōn (or Phoenician Hūrūn).

Neither the inscription's orthography, nor the absence of the definite article within it, are relevant to the question of its classification. Orthography is properly a system of rules governing a writing system, rather than the language in which it is composed, and while the presence of a definite article might give us a clue to the language of the inscription, its absence is hardly conclusive. For these reasons, both are insufficient as criteria for classification. Nor, for that matter, are any of the nouns that have been adduced as evidence in favor of one language or another relevant, as such words could just as easily have been borrowed as inherited from an earlier stage of the language.

It is far safer to restrict our search for relevant criteria to innovations among the morphemes (per Hetzon 1976), such as the forms of the feminine endings or the possessive suffixes. In the case of the former, the language of the inscription clearly retains the endings on the noun, as does Phoenician, but such retentions are

of limited value for classification, 'since shared retentions can always occur independently without a common period of development' (Greenberg 1957, 49). The loss of the final -t on the verb would indeed be a relevant criterion, which would securely place the language of the incantation within Canaanite rather than Aramaic, if any secure examples could be adduced.

As for the possessive suffixes, the forms found within the text provide the clearest indication of the language in which it is composed. Within Phoenician, the forms that these suffixes take are determined not by whether they are attached to a noun or a verb, or for that matter to a verb in the perfect or the imperfect, but solely by whether they follow a consonant (in which case they are not marked) or a vowel (Huehnergard, 1991, 183). This is due to a series of sound changes and other innovations, outlined in Huehnergard (1991, 186–192), as a result of which the system of pronominal suffixes was completely restructured through analogy. Given that this series of innovations and the attendant restructuring occurred only in Phoenician, we can confidently identify the language of this text as Phoenician.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Albright, W. F. (2001). *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan: A Historical Analysis of Two Contrasting Faiths*. Reprint of 1968 edition. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Albright, W. F. (1939). An Aramean Magical Text in Hebrew from the Seventh Century B.C. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 76*, 5–11.

Amiet, P. (1983). Observations sur les "Tablettes magiques" d'Arslan Tash. *Aula Orientalis* 1: 109.

Auffarth, C. & Stuckenbruck, L. T. (eds). (2004). *The Fall of the Angels*. Leiden: Brill.

Avishur, Y. (1979). *Phoenician Inscriptions and the Bible: Studies in Stylistic and Literary Devices and Selected Inscriptions*. 2 volumes (Hebrew). Jerusalem: E. Rubenstein.

Avishur, Y. (1978). The Second Amulet Incantation from Arslan-Tash. *Ugarit-Forschungen: Internationales Jahrbuch für die Altertumskunde Syrien-Palästinas, 10*, 29–36.

Azize, J. (2010). Review of Steve A. Wiggins, A Reassessment of Asherah', *Journal of Hebrew Scriptures* 8. Retrieved from http://www.jhsonline.org/reviews/reviews_new/review288.htm on May 1, 2013.

Berlejung, A. (2010). There is nothing better than more! Text and images on Amulet 1 from Arslan Tash. *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages, 36*(1), 1–42.

Bicksler, W. H. (2009). *Job's Spiritual Journey: The Believer and Rationalist with Questions of God and Man*. Bloomington, Ind.: Author House.

Blair, J. M. (2009). *De-demonising the Old Testament: An Investigation of Azazel, Lilith, Deber, Qeteb and Reshef in the Hebrew Bible*, Forschungen zum alten Testament, ser. 2, vol. 37. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Blair, J. M. (2005). From Demons to Germs. *Studia Universitatis Babes-Bolyai-Theologia Catholica Latina, 2*, 111.

Blázquez, J. M. (2001). Algunos mitos y ritos orientales traidos por los fenicios a occidente. In J.-L. Montero Fenollós, J. Vidal Palomino, & F. Masó Ferrer (eds), *De la Estepa al Mediterráneo: Actas del Ier Congreso de Arqueología e Historia Antiqua del Oriente Próximo* (pp. 3–5). Barcelona: Eridu.

Blázquez, J. M. (1999). El impacto de la religión semita, fenicios y cartagineses en la religión íbera. In C. Alfaro Giner (ed.), *Religión y Magia en la Antigüedad* (pp. 49–87). Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana.

Bloom, M. (2007) *Jewish Mysticism and Magic: An Anthropological Perspective*. London and New York: Routledge.

Boadt, L. (1975). The A: B: B: A Chiasm of Identical Roots in Ezekiel. *Vetus Testamentum, 25*(4), 693–699.

Bodenheimer, F. S. (1960). *Animal and Man in Bible Lands*, vol. 1. Leiden: Brill Archive.

van den Branden, A. (1961). La tavoletta magica di Arslan Tash. *Bibbia e Oriente, 3*, 41–47.

Bunnens, Guy, Hawkins, J. D., & Leirens, I. (2006). *Tel Ahmar II: A New Luwian Stele and the Cult of the Storm-God at Til Barsib-Masuwari*. Louvain, Paris, and Dudley, MA: Peeters.

Butterweck, C. (1988). Eine phönizische Beschwörung. In O. Kaiser (ed.), *Rituale und Beschwörungen*: *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments*, Bd. 2, Lief. 3 (pp. 435–437). Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus.

Caquot, A. (1973). Observations sur la première tablette magique d'Arslan Tash. *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University, 5*, 45–51.

Caquot, A. and Mesnil du Boisson, Robert du. (1971). La seconde tablette ou "petite amulette" d'Arslan Tash. *Syria 48*(3–4), 391–406.

Clermont-Ganneau, C. (1898) Amulette au nom du dieu Sasm. *Recueil d'archéologie orientale, 2*, 60–61.

Conklin, B. W. (2003). Arslan Tash I and Other Vestiges of a Particular Syrian Incantatory Thread. *Biblica, 84*, 89–101.

Cross, F. M. (1997). *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.

Cross F. M. & Saley, R. J. (1970). Phoenician Incantations on a Plaque of the Seventh Century B.C. from Arslan Tash in Upper Syria. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 197*, 42–49.

Cryer, F. H. (1992). The Hebrew 3rd Masc. Sg. Suffix -JW on Dual and Plural Nouns. *Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament, 6*(2), 205–212.

Day, J. (2003). Why Does God 'Establish' rather than 'Cut' Covenants in the Priestly Source?. In A. D. H. Mayes and R. B. Salters (eds), *Covenant as Context: Essays in Honour of E. W. Nicholson* (pp. 91–109). Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

Day, J. (1986). Asherah in the Hebrew Bible and Northwest Semitic Literature. *Journal of Biblical Literature, 105*(3), 385–408

van Dijk, J. (1992). The Authenticity of the Arslan Tash Amulets. *Iraq, 54*, 65–68.

van Dijk, J. (1989). The Canaanite God Ḥauron and His Cult in Egypt. *Göttinger Miszellen, 107*, 59–68.

Donner, H., & Röllig, W. (1971). *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften mit einem Beitrag von O. Rössler*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag.

Dundes, A. (1992). Wet and Dry, the Evil Eye: An Essay in Indo-European and Semitic Worldview. In A. Dundes (ed.), *The Evil Eye: A Folklore Casebook* (pp. 257–312). New York: Garland.

Dupont-Sommer, A. (1939). L'inscription de l'amulette d'Arslan Tash. *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, *120*, 133–159.

Faraone, C. A. (2001). The Undercutter, the Woodcutter, and Greek Demon Names Ending in *-tomos* (Hom. Hymn to Dem 228-29). *American Journal of Philology, 122*(1), 1–10.

Farber, W. (1989). Dämonen ohne Stammbaum: Zu einigen mesopotamischen Amuletten aus dem Kunsthandel. In A. Leonard, Jr. and B. B. Williams (eds), *Essays in Ancient Civilization Presented to Helene J. Kantor* (pp. 93–108 and pl. 12–15). SAOC 47. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

Fauth, W. (1999). Der christliche Reiterheilige des Sisinnios-Typs im Kampf gegen eine vielnamige Damonin. *Vigiliae christianae, 53*(4), 401–425.

Fauth, W. (1986). Lilits und Astarten in aramäischen, mandäischen und syrischen Zaubertexten. *Die Welt des Orients, 17*, 66–94.

Fauth, W. (1970). SSM BN PDRŠŠA. *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft, 120*, 229–256.

Frey-Anthes, H. (2007). *Unheilsmächte und Schutzgenien, Antiwesen und Grenzgänger. Vorstellungen von 'Dämonen' im alten Israel* (OBO 227). Fribourg: Universitäts-Verlag / Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Fröhlich, I. (1995). Two Apotropaic Texts from the Jewish Museum of Budapest. In A. Fodor & A. Shivtiel (eds), *Proceedings of the Colloquium on Popular Customs and the Monotheistic Religions in the Middle East and North Africa, Budapest Studies in Arabic* (pp. 9–10). Budapest: Eötvös Loránd University Chair for Arabic Studies, Csoma de Kőrös Society Section of Islamic Studies.

Garbini, G. (1981). Gli incantesimi fenici di Arslan Tas. *Oriens Antiquus, 20*, 277–294.

Gaster, M. (1928). *Studies and Texts in Folklore, Magic, Mediaeval Romance, Hebrew Apocrypha, and Samaritan Archaeology. Collected and Reprinted by Moses Gaster. Prolegomenon by Theodor Gaster*, Vol. 1. New York: KTAV Publishing House, Inc.

Gaster, T. H. (1975). Sharper Than a Serpent's Tooth: A Canaanite Charm Against Snakebite. *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society, 7*, 33–51.

Gaster, T. H. (1973). A Hang-Up for Hang-Ups: The Second Amuletic Plaque from Arslan Tash. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 209*, 18–26.

Gaster, T. H. (1947a). The Magical Inscription from Arslan Tash, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies, 6*, 186–188.

Gaster, T. H. (1947b). The Canaanite Epic of Keret. *The Jewish Quarterly Review, 37*(3), 285–293.

Gaster, T. H. (1942). A Canaanite Magical Text. *Orientalia* n.s., *11*, 41–79.

Geller, M. J. (2007). *Evil Demons. Canonical Utukkū Lemnūtu Incantations*. State Archives of Assyria Cuneiform Texts 5. Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project.

Gibson, J. C. L. (1982). *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions, vol. III: Phoenician Inscriptions Including Inscriptions in the Mixed Dialect of Arslan Tash*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Gitin, S., Dothan, T., & Naveh, J. (1997). A Royal Dedicatory Inscription from Ekron. *Israel Exploration Journal, 47*(1–2), 1–16.

Gordon, C. H. (1937). Aramaic and Mandaic Magical Bowls. *Archiv Orientální, IX*(1-2), 84–106; 272–360; 116–117.

Gordon, C. H. (1937). An Aramaic Incantation. *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 14*, 141–143.

Gordon-Cambridge, R. P. (1992). *Klkllky* in Incantational Incipits. *Ugarit-Forschungen, 23*, 161.

Greenberg, J. (1957). *Essays in Linguistics.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Greenfield, J. C. (1973). Notes on Some Aramaic and Mandaic Magic Bowls. *The Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society*, *49*(5), 95–97.

Grenn, D. J. (2009). Creator Woman. *She Is Everywhere!: An Anthology of Writings in Womanist/feminist Spirituality*, *2*, 81.

Heeßel, N. P. (2007). Pazuzu. In: http://www.religionswissenschaft.uzh.ch/idd/ prepublications/e_idd_pazuzu.pdf (accessed 4/1/2013).

Heeßel, N. P. (2002). *Pazuzu: Archäologische und philologische Studien zu einem alt-orientalischen Dämon*, vol. 4. Leiden: Brill.

Hetzron, R. (1976). Two Principles of Genetic Reconstruction. *Lingua, 38*(2), 89–108.

Hoftijzer, J., & Jongeling, K. (1995). *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions*. (H. Altenmüller, B. Hrouda, B. A. Levine, & K. R. Veenhof, Eds). Leiden, New York, and Köln: Brill.

Hoftijzer, J. (1995). The Present and Future of the Dictionary of the Northwest-Semitic Epigraphy. *Studi epigrafici e linguistici sul Vicino Oriente antico, 12*, 85.

Huehnergard, J. (1991). The Development of the Third Person Suffixes in Phoenician. *Maarav, 7*, 183–194.

Huehnergard, J., & Pat-El, N. (2012). Third-Person Possessive Suffixes as Definite Articles in Semitic. *Journal of Historical Linguistics, 2*(1), 25–51.

Hurwitz, S. (2007). *Lilith the First Eve: Historical and Psychological Aspects of the Dark Feminine.* English translation of S. Hurwitz. (2004). *Lilith. Die erste Eva: Eine historische und psychologische Studie über dunkle Aspekte des Weiblichen*. Einsiedeln, Switzerland: Daimon.

Hutter, M., and Hutter-Braunsar, S. (2004). *Offizielle Religion, lokale Kulte und individuelle Religiosität*. Münster: Ugarit Verlag.

Ingholt, H. (1940). Rapport preliminaire sur sept campagnes de fouilles à Hama en Syrie (1932-1938*). Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Archaeologisk-kunsthistoriske Meddelelser 3*(1), 115–117.

Jeffers, A. (1996). *Magic and Divination in Ancient Palestine and Syria.* Studies in the History and Culture of the Ancient Near East, vol. 8. Leiden: Brill.

Jordan, D. R. (2006). P. Duk. inv. 729, Magical Formulae. *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies, 46*(2), 159–173.

Kinrich, L. (2011). Demon at the Doorstep: Lilith as a Reflection of Anxieties and Desires in Ancient, Rabbinic, and Medieval Jewish Sexuality. *Pomona Senior Theses.* Paper 4. URL: http://scholarship.claremont.edu/pomona_theses/4

Kitchen, K. A. (1989). The Fall and Rise of Covenant, Law and Treaty. *Tyndale Bulletin, 40*, 118–135.

Kitz, A. M. (2007). Curses and Cursing in the Ancient Near East. *Religion Compass, 1*(6), 615–627.

Kutter, J. (2008). nūr ilī. *Die Sonnengottheiten in den nordwestsemitischen Religionen von der Spätbronzezeit bis zur vorrömischen Zeit* (AOAT 346). Münster: Ugarit.

Leick, G. (1991). *A Dictionary of Ancient Near Eastern Mythology*. London and New York: Routledge.

Lewis, T. J. (2011). ʿAthtartu's Incantations and the Use of Divine Names as Weapons. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies, 70*(2), 207–227

Lewis, Theodore J. (1996). The Identity and Function of El/Baal Berith. *The Journal of Biblical Literature, 115*(3), 401–423.

Lipiński, E. (1974). From Karatepe to Pyrgi: Middle Phoenician Miscellanea. *Rivista di studi fenici, 2*(1), 45–61.

Lyavdansky, A. (2011). Ancient and Medieval Traditions of Verbal Magic. *Заговорные тексты в структурном и сравнительном освещении, 27*. Moscow: Probel.

McCarter, P. K. (2000). An Amulet from Arslan Tash (2.86). In W. W. Hallo & K. L. Younger Jr. (eds), *The Context of Scripture II. Monumental Inscriptions from the Biblical World* (pp. 222-223). Leiden: Brill.

Mesnil du Boisson, Robert du. (1939a). Une tablette magique de la région du moyen Euphrate. In *Mélange syriens offerts à M. René Dussaud,* 1 (pp. 421-434). Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner.

Mesnil du Boisson, Robert du. (1939b). Communication (séance du 10 mai 1939). *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France* (1939-1940), 156-161..

Moor, J. C. de. (1983). Demons in Canaan. *Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux,* 27 (1981–1982), 108–110.

Moorey, P. R. S. (1965). A Bronze 'Pazuzu' Statuette from Egypt. *Iraq, 27*(1), 33–41.

Muller, H. P. (2001). Ein phönizischer Totenpapyrus aus Malta. *Journal of Semitic Studies, 46*(2), 251–265.

Naveh, J. (1971). Hebrew Texts in Aramaic Script in the Persian Period. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 203*, 27–32.

O'Callaghan, R. T. (1948). *Aram Naharaim: A Contribution to the History of Upper Mesopotamia in the Second Millenium B. C.* Città del Vaticano: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum.

Olmo Lete, G. del. (2007). Once Again on the Ugaritic Ritual Texts. II. Pardee's so-called 'monumental blunders'. *Aula Orientalis, 25*, 85–104.

Olmo Lete, G. del. (1986). Fenicio y Ugarítico: correlación lingüística. *Aula Orientalis, 4*, 31–49.

Pardee, D. (2008). Review of Leaves from an Epigrapher's Notebook: Collected Papers in Hebrew and West Semitic Palaeography and Epigraphy. By Frank Moore Cross. Harvard Semitic Studies, no. 51. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2003. Pp. xx + 371 + figs. $69.95. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies, 67*(1), 63–67

Pardee, D. (1998). Les documents d'Arslan Tash : authentiques ou faux?, *Syria,* 75, 15–54

Patai, R. (1964). Lilith. *The Journal of American Folklore, 77*(306), 295-314.

Penney, D. L., & Wise, M. O. (1994). By the Power of Beelzebub: An Aramaic Incantation Formula from Qumran (4Q560). *Journal of Biblical Literature, 113*(4), 627-650.

Peri, C. (1996). A proposito dell'iscrizione di Tabnit. *Rivista di studi fenici, 24*(1), 67–71.

Poljakov, T. (1983). A Phoenician Ancestor of the Cyclops. *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, 53*, 95-98.

Pomegranate, J., Cave, E. G., Strips, K. H. S., Seal, M., & Blessing, K. Q. (2007). Written Sources for the Divided Monarchy. In R. S. Hess (ed.), *Israelite Religions: An Archaeological and Biblical Survey* (pp. 247–296). Grand Rapids, MI: Baker.

Pritchard, J. B. (1982). The Tanit Inscription from Sarepta. In H. G. Niemeyer (ed.), *Madrider Beitrage 8 'Phönizier im Westen'* (pp. 83–92). Mainz am Rhein: Zabern.

Ribichini, S. (1995). Flebili dee fenicie. *Rivista di studi fenici, 23*(1), 3–35.

Röllig, W. (2000). Begegnungen mit Göttern und Dämonen der Levante. In T. Hölscher (ed.), *Gegenwelten zu den Kulturen Griechenlands und Roms in der Antike* (pp. 47-66). München and Leipzig: Saur.

Röllig, W. (1974). Die Amulette von Arslan Tash. In *Neue Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik,* vol. 2 (pp. 17–36). Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz.

Rosenthal, F. (1969). The Amulet of Arslan Tash. In J.B. Pritchard (Ed.), *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Related to the Old Testament* (p. 658). Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Schmidt, B. B. (2002). The Iron Age Pithoi Drawings from Horvat Teman or Kuntillet Ajrud: Some New Proposals. *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions, 2*(1), 91–125.

Schmitt, R. (2004). *Magie im Alten Testament* (AOAT 313). Münster: Ugarit.

Schwartz, M. (1996). *Sasm, Sesen, St. Sisinnios, Sesengen Barpharangēs, and ... 'Semangelof'. *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, 10, 253–257.

Seijas de los Ríos-Zarzosa, G. (2002). Desarrollos apocalípticos y místicos de algunas expresiones bíblicas. *Sefarad, 62*(1), 169–183.

Sivan, D. (1998). The Gezer Calendar and Northwest Semitic Linguistics. *Israel Exploration Journal, 48*(1), 101–105.

Smick, E. B. (1982). Mythopoetic Language in the Psalms. *Westminster Theological Journal, 44*, 88–98.

Sperling, S. D. (1982). An Arslan Tash Incantation: Interpretations and Implications. *Hebrew Union College Annual, 53*: 1–10.

Steiner, R. C. (1992). Northwest Semitic Incantations in an Egyptian Medical Papyrus of the Fourteenth Century B. C. E. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, *51*(3), 191.

Szpek, H. (2002). *Re-Imagining Eve and Adam: And Other Brief Essays*. Writers Club Press.

Tigchelaar, Eibert J.C. (1996). *Prophets of Old and the Day of the End: Zechariah, the Book of Watchers, and Apocalyptic*. Oudtestamentische Studiën 35. Leiden: Brill.

Teixidor, J. (1984). Review of Gibson, J. C. L. *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions*. *The Journal of Biblical Literature,* 103:453–454.

Teixidor, J. (1983). Les tablettes d'Arslan Tash au Musée d'Alep. *Aula Orientalis, 1*, 105–108.

Teixidor, J. (1972). Bulletin d'épigraphie sémitique 1972. *Syria*, *49*(3–4), 413–449.

Teixidor, J. (1971). Bulletin d'épigraphie sémitique 1971. *Syria 48*(3–4), 472–474.

Torczyner, H. (1947). A Hebrew Incantation against Night-Demons from Biblical Times. *The Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, *6*, 18–29

Torijano, P. A. Judaism, Magic and Globalization: the Transmission of the Nomina Magica Sesen, Sinui and Semanglof. In G. Urso (ed.), *Iudaea Socia, Iudaea Capta: Atti del convegno internazionale Cividale del Friuli, 22-24 settembre 2011* (pp. 285–297). Pisa: Edizioni ETS.

Wasserstrom, S. (1985). The Moving Finger Writes: Mughīra B. Saʿīd's Islamic Gnosis and the Myths of Its Rejection. *History of Religions*, *25*(1), 1–29.

Werblowsky, R. J. Z. (1984). Commerce with the Supernaturals. *Numen*, *31*(1), 129–135.

White Muscarella, O. (2000). *The Lie Became Great: the Forgery of Ancient Near Eastern Cultures*. Groningen: STYX Publications.

Wiggermann, F. A. M. (2000). Lamaštu, Daughter of Anu. A Profile. In M. Stol and F. A. M. Wiggermann (eds), *Birth in Babylonia and the Bible*. Cuneiform Monographs 14 (217–252). Groningen: Styx Publications.

Wildberger, Hans. (2002). *Isaiah 28–39: A Continental Commentary*. Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Fortress.

Willett, Elizabeth Ann R. (2002). Infant Mortality and Family Religion in the Biblical Periods. *DavarLogos*, *1*(1), 27–42.

Willis, J. T. (2010). *Yahweh and Moses in Conflict: The Role of Exodus 4: 24-26 in the Book of Exodus*. The Bible in History, vol. 8. Bern, Berlin, Bruxelles, Frankfurt am Main, New York, Oxford, Wien: Peter Lang.

Winter, I. J. (1982). Art as Evidence for Interaction: Relations between the Assyrian Empire and North Syria. In H.-J. Nissen & J. Renger (Eds), *Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn. Politische und kulturelle Wechselbeziehungen im Alten Vorderasien vom 4. bis 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (pp. 355–382). Berlin: Dietrich Reimer.

Winter, I. J. (1981). Is There a South Syrian Style of Ivory Carving in the Early First Millennium BC? *Iraq, 43*, 101–130.

Winter, I. J. (1979). On the Problems of Karatepe: The Reliefs and Their Context. *Anatolian Studies*, *29*, 115–151.

Winter, I. J. (1976). Phoenician and North Syrian Ivory Carving in Historical Context: Questions of Style and Distribution. *Iraq*, *38*(1), 1–22.

Xella, P. (1972). Per una riconsiderazione della morfologia deI dio Horon. *Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli, 32*: 271–286.

Yamauchi, E. M. (1983). Magic in the Biblical World. *Tyndale Bulletin,* 34, 169–200.

Yamauchi, E. M. (1967). *Mandaean Incantation Texts*. New Haven, CT: American Oriental Society.

Zamora, J. Á. (2003). Textos mágicos y trasfondo mitológico: Arslan Tash. *Studi epigrafici e linguistici sul Vicino Oriente antico, 20*: 9–23.

Zevit, Z. (1977). A Phoenician Inscription and Biblical Covenant Theology, *Israel Exploration Journal, 27*, 110–118.