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THE RELIGION OF CANAAN

From the Earliest Times to the Hebrew Conquest*

W. CARLETON WOOD

NEWMARKET, ONTARIO, CANADA

INTRODUCTION

This work is an attempt to set forth, in the successive periods of history, the salient features of the religion of Palestine before the final settlement of Canaan by the Hebrews, and to relate to these features all the isolated facts and traces of religion gleaned from the various sources of the subject. The writer has striven, in the accomplishment of this task, to observe the well-recognized landmarks of comparative religion, and to show the origin and development of religious conceptions so far as they are peculiar to Palestinian soil.

Up to comparatively recent times the only sources for the study of Palestinian culture and religion prior to the Hebrew invasion were limited to certain references in the Old Testament, which in most instances furnish merely inferential evidence, and to the meager gleanings of facts from the monuments of Egypt and of Babylon concerning the gods and the religion of Canaan. But, in the last two decades, archaeological

* Abbreviated titles in the foot-notes: *AJA.* = *American Journal of Archaeology*. Baedeker = Baedeker, *Syria and Palestine*, fifth edition, 1912. Baethgen = Baethgen, *Beiträge zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, Berlin, 1888. Barton = Barton, *A Sketch of Semitic Origins*, New York, 1902. Baudissin = Baudissin, *Studien zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1876. Benzinger = Benzinger, *Hebräische Archäologie*, Tübingen, 1907. Bliss = Bliss, *A Mound of Many Cities*, London, 1894. Bliss and Macal. = Bliss, Macalister, and Wunsch, *Excavations in Palestine during the Years 1898-1900*, London, 1902. Breasted, *ARE.* = Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, vols. i-v, Chicago, 1906. Breasted, *HE.* = Breasted, *A History of Egypt*, New York, 1905. Brinton = Brinton, *Religions of Primitive Peoples*, New York, 1897. Buhl = Buhl, *Geographie des Alten Palästina*, Leipzig, 1896. *BW.* = *Biblical World*. Clay, *Amurru* = Clay, *Amurru, The Home of the Northern Semites*, Philadelphia, 1909. Clay, *Personal Names* = Clay, *Personal Names from Cuneiform Inscriptions of the Cassite Period*, New Haven, 1912. Cook = Cook, *The Religion*

explorations in Palestine have furnished a new and most important source. We refer in particular to the discoveries made by Petrie at *Tell el-Hesi* (Lachish) in 1890, by Bliss and Macalister in the *tells* of the Shephelah in 1898-1900, by Sellin at *Tell Ta'anek* (Taanach) in 1903-4, by Schumacher at *Tell el-Muteselim* (Megiddo) in 1903-5, by Macalister at Gezer in 1902-5 and 1907-9, and by Mackenzie at *'Ain Shems* (Bethshemesh) in 1911-2. Naturally there remain unavoidable gaps, and with the future knowledge that is sure to be revealed many conclusions will be superseded by others based on facts. As for the material contained in the Old Testament the task of disentangling the native Canaanite elements from the resultant fusion of the native religion with that of the incoming Hebrews is beset with difficulties because of the fact that the later Hebrew reactions against the native religion are chronicled by scribes who interpreted the religious practices of that polytheistic religion in the light of ethical monotheistic standards. However, in spite of this commendable bias of the biblical writers, they give us directly or inferentially a copious supply of facts for reconstructing the religion which the early prophets scathingly condemned.

A source for determining the names and titles of gods is included, but not mentioned, in those already given. It is the lists of ancient theophorous proper names gleaned from the monuments and from the Old Testament and other ancient literature. When these proper names are personal and appear in Babylonian inscriptions belonging to the period when the

of Ancient Palestine, London, 1908. Cooke = Cooke, *A Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions*, Oxford, 1903. Curtiss = Curtiss, S. I., *Ursemitische Religion im Volksleben des heutigen Orients*, Leipzig, 1903. Doughty = Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, vols. i-ii, 1888. Frazer = Frazer, J. G., *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, London, 1896. Gray = Gray, *Studies in Hebrew Proper Names*, London, 1896. *HDB.* = Hastings, *A Dictionary of the Bible*. *HERF.* = Hastings, *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*. Hommel = Hommel, *The Ancient Hebrew Tradition*, Translation by McClure and Crosslé, New York, 1897. Jastrow, *The Rel.* = Jastrow, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, Boston, 1898. Jastrow, *Die Rel.* = Jastrow, *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, vols. i and ii, Giessen, 1905. Jastrow, *Rel. Belief* = Jastrow, *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria*, New York, 1911. Jensen = Jensen, *Kosmologie der Babylonier*, Strassburg, 1890. *KAT³.* = Schrader, E., *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, third edition, Berlin, 1903. *KB.*

Amorites dominated Babylonia and the Westland, we are unquestionably justified in assuming an early prevalence of similar names in Palestine. Only in this way are we able to account for the ancient source whence sprang the large number of similar Semitic personal names and place-names found scattered throughout the Egyptian inscriptions of later times and throughout the Old Testament. Thus, as the name *Abiram*, "my father is high," as well as other West-Semitic names having the element *ab*, appears in Babylonian inscriptions of the time of the first dynasty, so we have good reason to regard its identical Old Testament equivalent, viz., *'Abi-ram*, as well as all other Old Testament *'ab* names, as having a common ancient Semitic origin. The justification of this method being granted, all Old Testament and old Canaanite names having the element *'ab* may therefore be regarded as survivals of the Amorite, or first Semitic, period of Palestinian history when the custom of forming names with this element prevailed. In the same manner other proper names containing theophorous elements are similarly cited to assist in constructing the Amorite pantheon. Accordingly it follows that all theophorous names appearing only in the post-Amorite periods of Canaanite history, and having, therefore, no Babylonian analogues, cannot be similarly used for the Amorite period, but only for the respective period in which each first occurs.

This leads us to a consideration of the principles guiding in the divisions of the subject and in discovering a line of cleavage between the elements of the primitive Hebrew religion and

= Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, 1889. Kittel = Kittel, *Studien zur Hebräischen Archäologie*, Leipzig, 1908. Knudtzon = Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, Leipzig, 1908. Ldzb., *HNE.* = Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der Nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, I. Text, Weimar, 1898. Ldzb., *Eph.* = Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik*, Band i, Giessen, 1902; ii, 1908. Macalister, *BSL.* = Macalister, *Bible Side-Lights from the Mound of Gezer*, New York, 1906. Macalister, *EG.* = Macalister, *The Excavations of Gezer*, 1902-1905 and 1907-1909, vols. i-iii. London, 1912. Maspero = Maspero, *The Dawn of Civilization*, edited by Sayce, London, 1894. Meyer = Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, I 2, Berlin, 1909. *MI.* = Mesha Inscription. *MNDPV.* = *Mitteilungen und Nachrichten des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins.* Müller = Müller, *Asien und Europa nach Altägyptischen Denkmälern*, Leipzig, 1893. *MVG.* = *Mitteilungen d. Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft.* Nowack = Nowack, *Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Archäologie*, Freiburg i. B. and Leipzig, 1894. Paton = Paton

the elements of Canaanite religion surviving in early Hebrew times.

The facts of religion for the first, or pre-Semitic, period of Palestinian history are drawn almost entirely from the earliest known archaeological sources, and may, for that reason, be easily distinguished from those of the next, or first Semitic, period; yet it must be admitted that the reverence for at least one sacred object of worship, namely the sacred cave, was common to both periods. But for the reason that this holy regard is clearly shown to have existed in the earliest time, all later evidences of cave-worship have been considered as survivals of the religion of the first period.

The great immigration of peoples which occurred about 1800 B. C., resulting in the founding of foreign dynasties in Babylonia and Egypt, wrought material changes in Palestine where the early Amorites were either entirely supplanted or absorbed by the Canaanites, another Semitic folk who came probably from the north and the east. This radical change in the racial constituency of Palestine was sure to be attended with corresponding variations in religion. Accordingly it may be assumed *a priori* that the main current of religion flowed on as before, but that its character was modified by the influx of outside streams of religious thought. We have no means of determining the scope of the modification, but we are sure that the political, social, and cultural developments following this political interruption wrought great changes in the religious sphere in crystallizing primitive modes of thought and prac-

and Palestine, New York, 1909. *PEFA*. = *Palestine Exploration Fund, Annual for 1911*. *PEFQS*. = *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement*, London. *Petrie RS*. = *Petrie, Researches in Sinai*, New York, 1906. *Petrie TH*. = *Petrie, Tell el Hesi*, London, 1891. *Ranke* = *Ranke, Early Babylonian Personal Names*, Philadelphia, 1905. *Schumacher* = *Schumacher and Steuernagel, Tell el-Mutesellim*, Leipzig, 1908. *Sellin* = *Sellin, Tell Ta'annek*, Vienna, 1904. *Smith, KM*. = *Smith, W. R., Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, Cambridge, 1885. *Smith, RS*. = *Smith, W. R., Religion of the Semites*, Second Edition, London, 1894. *Thompson* = *Thompson, The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia*, vols. i-ii. London, 1903. *Vincent* = *Vincent, Canaan d'après l'Exploration Récente*, Paris, 1907. *von Gall* = *von Gall, Altisraelitische Kultstätten*, Giessen, 1898. *Wellh.* = *Wellhausen, Reste Arabischen Heidentums*, second edition, Berlin, 1897.

tice, and in fashioning them into hard and fixed forms. If this political break of 1800 B. c.—lying about mid-way between 2500 B. c., when the Semites first came into Palestine, and 1200 B. c., when the Hebrews finally settled in the land—should serve no other purpose than as a line of cleavage between the primitive Semitic religious conceptions and the later crystallized modes of religious expression, its use will be justified. Accordingly the primitive Semitic elements, together with Babylonian contributions, are assigned to the first Semitic, or Amorite, period and the further developments of religious thought, to the second Semitic, or Canaanite period. As there are almost no contemporaneous literary sources for the religion of the Amorite period, dependence must be had upon surviving elements of the old native religion in later sources, such as the Egyptian monuments, the Tell el-Amarna Letters, the Old Testament, and other Semitic survivals. The most copious and dependable source for positing the religion of the first period is offered by a comparison of Canaanite and Hebrew rites with their Babylonian analogies. Just as the titles and names of certain Amorite gods are determined by citing those Canaanite and Hebrew theophorous names that have analogues in ancient Babylonian inscriptions, so likewise the religious conceptions and rites of the Amorite period are mostly determined by discovering those Canaanite and Hebrew rites which have Babylonian analogies or prototypes. The reason for asserting that the comparison between Babylonian and Canaanite analogies is the most dependable source rises from the fact that the West was politically quite isolated from the East for centuries following the fall of Babylonian power over Palestine. This political isolation of Canaan from the great source of ancient culture served as a wall to keep the continuity of Amorite religion intact till the Assyrian period. Accordingly, therefore, when those primitive conceptions and practices appear in Canaanite and early Hebrew religion that betray Babylonian origin or analogies, we may be confident that we have found institutions that belong to the Amorite period and not to the late Babylonian religion.

THE PRE-SEMITIC PERIOD (Before 2500 B. C.)

CHAPTER I

THE RELIGION OF THE EARLIEST INHABITANTS

History. Palestine before 2500 B. C., or in the paleolithic and succeeding neolithic periods, was inhabited by a race which was closely allied with that of the European Celto-Libyans. This conclusion is borne out by the etymological similarities between South European and Palestinian geographical names which undoubtedly have a very ancient origin¹; and, on the negative side, by the fact that the oldest population was non-Semitic as pictorially portrayed on the ancient monuments of Egypt and certainly proved by an osteological study of the human remains found in the lowest level of Gezer. Perhaps, the most prominent relics of this stone age are the well-known *menhirs*, or monoliths; *cromlechs*, or stone circles; *dolmens*, or stone tables, which are found to-day in large numbers particularly east of the Jordan.² Similar remains have been found in the Mediterranean coast lands where none but non-Semitic people dwelt in early times. Whether or not the origin of these stones had any connection with religion, remains to be seen. The mode of life of these people was a simple one, as would be expected in such a remote age. They lived in caves naturally made or artificially hewn out of the soft limestone,³ used flint implements,⁴ and even cultivated fruit.⁵

Religion. Starting out, then, on the basis of this mode of life, we should naturally expect to find that the religion of the troglodytes was also of a crude primitive type to correspond with their simple ways of living. From the universal principle operating in nearly every religion—at least in those most primi-

¹ See Paton, pp. 1 ff.

² Schumacher, *Northern 'Ajlūn*, pp. 131 ff.; 169 ff.; *Across the Jordan*, pp. 63 ff.

³ Macalister, *EG.* vol. i, pp. 6 ff.; 70 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ii. p. 127.

⁵ Breasted, *ARK.* i. § 313, "fig-trees and vines."

tive—that the attributes and nature of deity are, to a large extent, the projections into the world without, but on a higher level, of man's own conceptions of himself, we may safely draw the conclusion that, since man was a cave dweller, the gods whom he worshipped were also regarded as cave denizens. Accordingly, then, certain caves, which may have attained the necessary degree of sanctity, either by having been the homes of famous heroes, or because of some special theophany, were set apart for places of worship by the tribe or clan. Such a hypothesis for the conception of deity and his dwelling-place best interprets a large amount of evidence which clearly ascribes certain caves of indubitable religious character to the pre-Semitic inhabitants of Palestine. Thus at Gezer, under the level belonging to the first Semitic period, Macalister found, in connection with certain caves, rock-cuttings and other things which suggested to him that these caves must have played some rôle in the sphere of religion.

1. One cave had, leading into it through the roof, an orifice which was connected with a rock-hewn channel four feet long for the evident purpose of conducting fluid offerings within.⁶ Besides this channel there were “two or three circular depressions in the rock, built around with stones set on edge, but so arranged that they drained into the opening.” Beneath the orifice and on the rock floor of the cave below the earth containing finds of the first Semitic period were found “a number of pig bones” in a contracted mass which clearly bore evidence of sacrifice.

2. Another cave which was connected with a system of nine other communicating caves was unique in that its rock floor contained forty-six cup-marks artificially hollowed out. They were made from about eight to twelve inches in breadth and with flat bottoms and vertical sides.⁷ “They were disposed in the form of three concentric ovals, open, like horseshoes at the south end surrounding a central space in the floor that had been left vacant.” No better purpose has suggested itself to the mind of Macalister than that “the whole floor of this chamber is a gigantic chamber of offerings.” It is conceivable that this

⁶ Macalister, *EG.*, ii. pp. 379 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*, i. pp. 112 ff.

was the holy shrine of the dwellers of the nine connecting caves, and possibly others, and that every family or individual had its own individual cup for depositing an offering to the cave-god.

3. Another cave may have possessed a sacrosanct character from the fact that it was utilized by the troglodytes for a crematorium.⁸ A chimney in the roof at one end evidently was made to create a draft. The relative position of the bones of the individuals to each other, and the alternating strata of wood and bone ashes, obviously pointing to repeated burnings, leave no doubt but that this was a crematorium. Outside the entrance of the cave were six cup-marks which may have served as offering receptacles for the spirits of the dead which were thought to have been set free from the body by cremation.

4. The first-mentioned cave, with its orifice through the roof, bears a striking resemblance to a cave at Megiddo which Schumacher regards as a place of worship whose antiquity corresponds to the oldest stratum of the *tell*.⁹ The roof of this cave consisted of an elevated rock surface which evidently was used as a place of sacrifice; for, besides several cup-marks having been hollowed out on the upper surface, there were two narrow passages leading into the cave below.

5. A cave uncovered in the lowest level at Taanach¹⁰ appears to have been used by the oldest inhabitants for religious purposes. The most significant feature about this cave was an artificially constructed channel which obviously served the purpose of conducting some kind of fluid offerings into the cave.

6. A goddess whom the Egyptians called the "Mistress of Turquoise" was worshipped by them while on mining expeditions at a certain cave in one of the valleys branching off from the *Wady Sherabit el Khâdem* in the Sinaitic peninsula.¹¹ The setting apart of this cave for a shrine dates from very ancient times, probably long before the Semites inhabited the region; for there are traces of Egyptian devotion as early as the time of Senfru of the third dynasty (2900 B. C.) when the mining Egyptians sought revelations from the deity.

⁸ Macalister, *EG.*, i. pp. 74 ff., 285 ff.

⁹ Schumacher, pp. 154 ff.

¹⁰ Sellin, p. 34.

¹¹ Petrie, *RS.*, pp. 70, 94, 97.

We may now proceed to interpret these facts in the light of later evidences of cave-worship gleaned from Semitic sources. Generally speaking, the Semites did not conceive of their deities as subterranean powers to be worshipped in caves;¹² yet there are many instances which will not come under this generalization, and which, therefore, may well be regarded as survivals from the pre-Semitic, or aboriginal, period. Just as the Hebrews adopted the sacred shrines of the Canaanites, as will be seen later, so it may be supposed that the Semites took over into their religion the sacred caves of the troglodytes. The three ancient caves mentioned above with passages, or conduits, evidently constructed for directing the sacrificial blood of slain victims within, are the most ancient prototypes of the Arabian *ghab-ghab*. This was a pit where not only sacred treasures were stored but where also the sacrificial blood flowed after the animals had been slain before it.¹³ Undoubtedly partaking of this same character is the *Ṣakhra*, or the great sacred rock, in the Haram at Jerusalem. The surface of this rock shows many artificial cuttings of which one is an orifice leading down into the cave below. The primitive character of these rock-cuttings, together with the fact that this sacred rock determined the site of Solomon's temple, has led some to the conclusion that this was a very ancient shrine.¹⁴ Similar to this was a cave under the sacred altar at Mecca, and a supposed cave under the altar-idol at Dumaetha in which a human sacrifice was wont to be buried.¹⁵ Lucian reports having seen a chasm under the temple at Hierapolis into which worshippers, from every quarter twice a year, were accustomed to pour water carried thither from the sea.¹⁶ According to the Christian Melito¹⁷ this "well" was thought to be haunted by a demon who was prevented from coming forth to do harm only by this practice of pouring water. As water was a later substitute for blood, we may suppose that sacrificial blood was the original requirement.

According to a well-recognized law of religious conservatism,

¹² Smith, *ES.*, p. 198.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Kittel, pp. 1 ff.

¹⁵ Smith, *ES.*, p. 198.

¹⁶ Lucian, *De Syra Dea*, §§ 13, 48.

¹⁷ *Spicilegium Syriacum*, p. 25.

the sacred things of one age often persist unchanged in the next. Thus, the conception that some deities preferred to dwell in caves found expression in the oldest Phoenician temples, which were natural or artificial grottoes, and in many Greek cave-shrines from which divine energy was thought to emanate.¹⁸ The "holy of holies" in Solomon's temple, in design and location with reference to the rest of the sanctuary, answers to the adytum, or dark inner chamber in many Semitic and Greek temples. In Greek this was known as the *megaron*, which reveals its Semitic origin from the fact that it is a derivative from the Semitic *me'arah*, "cave."¹⁹

Among the caves which the Hebrews regarded as sacred several are mentioned. In a cave at Horeb²⁰ Moses and Elijah received revelations from Yahweh; and probably in another cave at En-dor²¹ Samuel was brought up to talk with Saul. The sanctity with which the ancestral tomb was invested by the Hebrews betrays evidence that the cave of Machpelah²² was originally a place where some chthonic divinity was worshipped.

In summing up, therefore, it may be repeated that the conception of chthonic deities dwelling in caves like their worshippers originally found expression among the ancient inhabitants of Canaan; and that this conception, throughout all the periods of history down to the Jewish, manifested itself in many instances of cave-worship.

Cup-marks. The artificially-made depressions in rock surfaces, already referred to in connection with these caves, have been found in more or less profusion in many parts of Palestine. One can hardly find a hill whose rock surfaces do not reveal the presence of these cup-marks. At Gezer, in particular, the rock surfaces present a "perfect wilderness of cup-marks" which are found within and at the entrances of caves, about the mouths of cisterns, about winepresses, and on the hills.²³ They vary in size from that of a wine glass to that of a washtub having round, though sometimes flat, bottoms. In determining the

¹⁸ Smith, *ES.*, pp. 197, 198.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 200.

²⁰ Ex. 33:22; 1 K. 19:9 ff.

²¹ 1 Sam. 28:11 ff.

²² Gen. 49:29 ff., &c.

²³ Macalister, *EG.*, i. pp. 153 ff.

age of these rock configurations it is significant that, "whenever they have any connection with other remains that can be definitely dated, those remains are assignable to the cave-dwellers."²⁴ From this observation the conjecture may be ventured that these cup-marks, which in many instances at least are known to have been made in the pre-Semitic period, are all the work of the cave-dwellers. Whether or not these cups were made for a religious purpose, it is impossible to say. All of them certainly cannot be explained on that basis. However, it seems the most likely explanation that those which have already been mentioned as connected with caves, and possibly those about the mouths of cisterns, were made as receptacles for offerings. Macalister admits "that in a certain very limited number of cases they may have had a religious purpose is not impossible," and even goes so far as to suggest that this may have been the unique religious expression of the troglodytes as opposed to other religious remains belonging particularly to the Semites.²⁵

Cup-marks and similar rock cuttings have been pointed out at Mizpah,²⁶ Gibeon,²⁷ Zorah,²⁸ Nebo,²⁹ Beth-el, Anathoth,³⁰ Tell ej-Judeideh,³¹ Gath,³² and En-rogel³³ as possibly having served in the cults which are known to have been carried on in most of these places. Perhaps these cup-marks, etc., as Kittel points out, mark the original sites of the old high places which flourished here in ancient times. If the cup-marks are the peculiar religious expression of the cave-dwellers—and we have no evidence to the contrary—then it may be supposed either that these cup-marks mark the locations of the shrines made by the cave-dwellers, or else that the Semites later adopted this feature from the early inhabitants and made it to serve some religious function. In favor of the former alterna-

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, ii. p. 380.

²⁶ Kittel, p. 137.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 145.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

³¹ *PEFQS.*, 1900, p. 249.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 34.

³³ Often pointed out to travelers.

tive it may be said that there is not a single hint in the Old Testament, or elsewhere, that anything like these cup-marks served a religious function either among the Canaanites or the Hebrews.

Offerings. If, then, many of these cup-marks served a religious purpose, what must have been the ritual connected with them? It has been suggested that they are symbols of what is distinctively feminine, and, therefore, played some rôle in the worship of a mother-goddess.³⁴ This is not impossible since there is no evidence to the contrary. On the other hand, no hint or analogy comes from any source to prove such a hypothesis.³⁵ On the whole it seems most plausible to assume that those cup-marks in particular, which were found in the "offering-table cave," at the crematorium, about the mouths of cisterns³⁶ at Gezer, and on the upper surface of the cave-roof at Megiddo, were made by the cave-dwellers to serve as receptacles for liquid offerings poured as gifts to the gods.³⁷ While it was not essential that such cups should be made to hold offerings, since vessels of clay were made at that time, yet it is conceivable that some virtue was attached to their making which gave the worshipper special favor in the eyes of the god. In the first and the last case the offerings were probably made to the respective deities dwelling in those caves; in the second, to the spirits of the dead set free from burnt corpses; and, in the third, to the *numina* of the cisterns or waters. If the cisterns were made by the Semites, which seems most likely, then these cups at the mouths of cisterns were made by them in imitation of the cave-dwellers. Such a purpose harmonizes with the conception characteristic of the Semites that gods dwelt in wells and springs.³⁸

Amulets. The practice of wearing some cherished object on the person, as an amulet, or charm, to ward off evil spirits, began, so far as Canaan is concerned, in this pre-Semitic period. The custom persisted throughout all the succeeding periods of history corresponding to the different levels of the excavations. Even at the present time, probably nine-tenths of the natives

³⁴ Paton, in *HERE*, vol. iii., p. 178a.

³⁵ The citation from Herod. ii. 106 is not conclusive.

³⁶ Macalister, *EG.*, i. pp. 155-7; ii. pp. 403 ff.

³⁷ Thus Vincent, p. 99; Kittel, pp. 137, 141.

³⁸ See Chap. III.

of Palestine, whether Jewish, Christian, or Mohammedan, wear an amulet of some kind. The most primitive that was found was made from a metacarpel of a goat. There were two holes at one end for suspension, and it was found in position at the neck of one human skeleton in the crematorium. Similar amulets were found elsewhere.³⁹ The discovery of a phallic emblem⁴⁰ points to the antiquity of ascribing to a deity influence upon reproduction—a conception so common to Semitic religion. Possibly a few other objects, such as animal images⁴¹ and amulets made from the ends of femur bones, may also have been cherished with religious veneration. However, the lack of a clear line of cleavage between the first and second levels in the excavation throws doubt upon the religious value for this period of these and of some other objects.

³⁹ Macalister, *EG.* p. 449.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, i. p. 92.

⁴¹ ii. p. 1.

THE AMORITE PERIOD (2500-1800 B. C.)

CHAPTER II

HISTORY OF THE PERIOD (2500-1800 B. C.)

At just what date the first Semitic immigrants, crowded out of their home in Arabia, first began to settle in Palestine is not definitely known; but certain significant facts point to the conclusion that it was about 2500 B. C.¹ During the three hundred and fifteen years covered by the seventh to the tenth Egyptian dynasties (2475-2160 B. C.) there was political turmoil in Egypt caused chiefly by foreigners. These foreigners were undoubtedly Semites, since Canaanite loan-words begin to appear in Egypt at the beginning of the Middle Empire after order is restored by the kings of the eleventh dynasty (2161 B. C.). Moreover, two Semitic chiefs of this early period bear Semitic names; viz., *Emuicnshi*, i. e., "Ammi-anshi," the sheik of Upper Tenu (1980 B. C.),² and *Ibshe*, "Abishai," the chief of thirty-seven Canaanite traders (1900 B. C.).³

Substantially coincident with this confusion in Egypt are similar disturbances in Babylonia which continued also about three hundred years, and ended with the supremacy of the city of Babylon over Babylonia under the rule of Semitic Amorite kings (2225 B. C.). It has accordingly been inferred that the Amorites, from their homes in Arabia, were the moving forces in these great changes, and that a wave of the same migration that reached Babylonia also extended to Canaan. Archaeological evidence is in perfect agreement with this opinion; for, at Gezer, human bones, which are in ethnological type distinctively Semitic as opposed to the earlier non-Semitic, began to make their appearance at this time.

With the supremacy of the Amorites in Babylonia, passed the Babylonian rule of the Westland, or Canaan, whither Babylo-

¹ Paton, pp. 25 ff.

² Breasted, *ARE.*, i. § 494.

³ *Yb-ah*, *ibid.*, i. § 620n.

nian authority had previously been carried as early as 3060 B. C. by Ur-Nina of Lagash, who brought cedar-wood from *Ma'al*, or Lebanon. This authority was maintained by Lugalzaggisi (2800) of Erech, whose kingdom extended "from the rising of the sun to the setting of the sun, . . . to the upper sea"; by Sargon of Agade (2775 B. C.), "conqueror of Martu," i. e. Amurru, i. e. "land of the Amorites"; by Dungi of Ur (2458 B. C.) who conducted a victorious campaign against Syrian and Palestinian strongholds; and by Gimil-Sin (2391 B. C.) of Ur. The first of the Amorite kings of Babylon were, however, so occupied with the task of establishing their own thrones against the power of Elam that their supremacy was not completely secured in the West. But when Hammurabi, the strongest king in the line, came to the throne, the Elamite yoke upon Babylonia was finally thrown off. All Babylonia was now united under his rule, and the Amorite kingdom embraced the whole of western Asia.⁴ Ammiditana (2014 B. C.), "king of the vast land of Martu," of the same dynasty, and probably kings of the second dynasty, continued to maintain authority in Syria-Palestine till the latter came to an end with the Hittite invasion of Babylonia and the establishment of the foreign Kassite dynasty (1761 B. C.). Babylonian political influence in Canaan now came to an end, but the influence of Babylon's laws, customs, and language continued even down into the years of Egyptian supremacy. The discovery in 1888 A. D. at Tell el-Amarna, in Egypt, of several hundred inscribed clay tablets in Babylonian writing is of the greatest importance for the history of the next period as showing the lasting influence of Babylon. These tablets reveal the diplomatic correspondence between Egyptian monarchs and Syrian-Palestinian princes (about 1400 B. C.). The fact that these letters were written neither in Egyptian nor Syrian characters but in Babylonian cuneiform is of great significance. Moreover, even between native princes⁵ the same script is employed, which shows that it was not merely a script for royal correspondence, but that it was also the script for com-

⁴ Paton, pp. 47 ff. The dates for Babylonian kings are taken from Meyer, 1914 Edition; Kugler, *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel*, II, i. quoted by Sayce, in *PSBA.*, xxxiv (1912), pp. 165 ff.

⁵ Tablets found at Taanach, Sellin, pp. 113 ff.

mon communication. Names of places and persons, mentioned in early Egyptian inscriptions, in the Amarna letters, and even in the Old Testament, either compounded with the names of Babylonian deities, such as *Bit NINIB*, Nebo, Beth-lehem, and Beer-sheba; or names bearing a distinctive Babylonian formation, such as *Bit NINIB* and *Bit Shael*,⁶ add further evidence of the permanence of Babylonian influence in Canaan. Moreover, the traditions current in ancient Babylonia concerning the creation, the garden of the gods, and the deluge came to be incorporated in Old Testament story only after they had passed down through the Amorite-Canaanite periods. Many religious institutions and ritual practices followed the same course.⁷

The best picture of life in Canaan during this period (c. 1800 B. C.) is found in the "Tale of Sinuhe."⁸ Sinuhe was an exiled prince from Egypt who asserted that the country of Canaan was beautiful and had lands of choicest possession, as they yielded figs, wine, honey, olives, and all kinds of fruit, wheat, barley, and herbs without number. No ruling authority maintained order between hostile and contentious tribes. Each tribe was a law unto itself and was, therefore, free to go on expeditions of plunder and pillage among other tribes, thus killing by the sword and taking possession of wells, pastures, cattle, children, and fruits. Civilization as reflected in urban life was just beginning to dawn.

When the Canaanite peoples, as we shall see in the next period, pressed into the land, the old Amorite settlers were forced to the highlands, especially the upper Orontes valley, or the Lebanon territory,⁹ and to a few places in southern Palestine.¹⁰

⁶ *B'-t-sh'-r'*, Breasted, *ARE.*, iii. § 114.

⁷ See Chap. VIII.

⁸ Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 370; Breasted, *ARE.*, i. § 493 ff.

⁹ Meyer, § 467.

¹⁰ Gen. 14:7, 13.

CHAPTER III

SACRED WATERS

Of all the objects of nature which manifested phenomena to elicit the awe and the veneration of the ancient Semites the spring was undoubtedly the most important, because it not only furnished the greatest boon to man in his desert life, but because it also manifested life and activity in its depths which the primitive mind could interpret only in terms of the divine. In Arabia, the cradle of the Semites, the springs made the oases, thus watering the land, giving life to palms, and quenching the thirst of man and animal. Such a boon could have its source only, so the Semite thought, in the gods upon whom man was absolutely dependent for his existence. It followed, then, that it was of supreme importance to make peace with the spring-*numen*, and ever seek his good favor.

The sex of the spring-*numen* was probably determined by the economical and social conditions of primitive tribal life. In the matriarchal stage of society, when the mother was the supreme head of the tribe, it was natural to conceive of the tribal deity as a mother-goddess who gave offspring both to man and to beast. As the husband, or father, came more and more to the leadership of the tribe in the patriarchal stage, a masculine conception was attributed to the deity of the tribe. It is barely possible that these feminine and masculine conceptions were carried over to the nature-gods who inhabited the springs. If so, probably the element of fertility was the common ground for this transition. The deity who gave fertility and offspring to man and to animal also gave fertility and fruitage to the date-palm and to other trees. However this may be, it is to be observed that the *numina* of some springs, or wells, were *ba'als*, or proprietors, and of others, *ba'alats*, or mistresses. Thus in Canaanite nomenclature Rammān¹ and Shamash²

¹ *En-Rimmōn*, "spring of Rimmon," Neh. 11:29.

² *En-Shemesh*, "spring of Shemesh," Josh. 15:7, &c.

appear as the *ba'als* of certain springs, while a *ba'alat* is an element in the name of a well.³ Rammān and Shamash as nature-gods were closely associated in the Semitic mind and evidently were thought to have something to do with the flow of water.

The animation, never-ceasing movement, and awe-inspiring bubbling of springs and running water were thought to manifest clearly the presence and the life of the indwelling *numen*. A spring or well so embodied its inhabiting *numen* that a well on one occasion was addressed, according to an ancient Hebrew poem, as a living being;⁴ and the water that ran from such a spring won the attribute of "living."

The primitive conception of running water as sacred found concrete expression in Babylon, whither Semitic influence went. In the Adapa myth the hero was told to refuse the bread and water of life which Anu would offer him. Ishtar was sprinkled with the water of life before she undertook her journey to the nether world. All flowing sweet water issuing in springs and rivers from subterranean regions, as also rain coming from the sky, was regarded as "the water of life." The Annunaki, as stewards of the water of life in the nether world, were known to stand in the closest connection with the purifying and vivifying water of the oath.⁵ The garden of the gods in the creation-story would not have been complete in the Semitic mind without the added touch of flowing rivers. The legend, localized at Gebal, and recorded by Philo of Byblos,⁶ which attributed the annual spring flow of marl-reddened waters of the Adonis river to the blood from the wound of the dead Adonis who was imagined to be slain annually at the spring of Aphek, is undoubtedly a survival of the old Semitic conception, but in new dress, of the life and spirit of the deity infusing running water.

If the flowing spring embodied the *numen* and exhibited its presence by animation, then, it was fitting for the primitive inquirer seeking the divine will to throw into the water to the deity such offerings as jewelry, precious metals, webs of linen, libations of wine, cakes, myrrh, incense, and food—practices

³ *Ba'alath-be'er*, "mistress of a well," Josh. 19:8.

⁴ Num. 21:17, 18.

⁵ *KAT.*, pp. 523-525.

⁶ Lucian, *De Syra Dea*, §§ 6 ff.; Euseb. *Vita Const.*, iii. 55; Sozomenos, *Hist. Eccl.*, ii. 5.

known in later times.⁷ Thus by an act of violation, expressing acceptance or rejection of these gifts, manifested by corresponding movements of the water itself, the spring-*numen* was credited with oracular powers. The oracle may have been, in many cases, interpreted by the diviner skilled in the art of divination. Some such method of inquiring at the spring-oracle must be supposed to account for the place-name '*En-mishpat*, "spring of judgment."⁸

To running waters also were attributed therapeutic virtues; for there has always been a prevailing conception among primitive peoples, at least the Semites, that the act of bathing in running water insures one not only against disease but also heals one from disease.⁹ The healing waters of the Jordan,¹⁰ Ezekiel's visionary river,¹¹ and the pool of Bethesda¹² need only to be mentioned to prove this point for Canaanite soil. Perhaps the water of the laver of the high place, explained in later times as merely intended for ceremonial ablutions, may have, in ancient times, been brought from some sacred spring to contribute its healing virtues to the sanctuary within easy access of the worshippers. Thus the waters of the Jordan and the Ganges even to-day are carried long distances for their sanctifying and healing powers.

The presence of the spring-*ba'al* was sought often to witness certain legal transactions and sanction political acts. Thus contracting parties performed some sort of oath-taking ritual before the sacred well of Beer-sheba¹³—perhaps by invoking over running water the "seven demons" to destroy the offender; or undergoing an ordeal by water, thinking, according to an old fancy, that it was dangerous for an unclean person to come near sacred waters.¹⁴ By approaching the spring-shrine, in like manner, the sanction of the *ba'al* was sought by pretenders to the throne in a coronation ceremony. Thus both Adonijah¹⁵ and

⁷ Smith, *RS.*, p. 177.

⁸ Gen. 14:7.

⁹ Smith, *RS.*, pp. 183 ff.

¹⁰ 2 K. 5:14.

¹¹ 47:9, 12.

¹² Jno. 5:7.

¹³ See "Oath," Chap. VIII.

¹⁴ Smith, *RS.*, pp. 179 ff.

¹⁵ 1 K. 1:9.

Solomon¹⁶ participated simultaneously in such ceremonies at two different holy springs.

There must have been some close connection, if not actual identity, between the spring-*numen* and that of the sacred tree; for, at four different spring-shrines, it is known either by direct assertion or implication that one or more holy trees such as the oak, palm, and tamarisk existed.¹⁷ Thus the flowing spring and the growing tree near by were thought to draw their life from the same divine source, so that it might be said that the *numen* of the spring passed into the tree. In one case the serpent-*numen* apparently dwelt, at times at least, in a holy stone near by.¹⁸

Again it is worthy of mention, in this connection, that the name of an animal, such as the antelope, serpent, kid, heifer, or partridge, is contained in the names of five different springs.¹⁹ This fact undoubtedly points to the almost universal notion, recorded by legend and folklore, that the spirit of a spring often took the outward form of some animal.²⁰ The habits of animals to linger about watering places would form the basis of such a conception.

Besides the sacred springs to which reference has been made, there were, at least, five others²¹—making a total of nineteen—which existed in Canaan and in the South, and which, perhaps, date their initial consecration as places of worship from this time.

¹⁶ 1:38.

¹⁷ *Be'er-'elīm*, "well of oaks," Is. 15:8; *Be'er-Sheba'*, Gen. 21:33. *'Elīm*, "oaks," Ex. 15:27; Num. 33:9; *Hebron*, Gen. 18:1.

¹⁸ *'Eben-ha-zōheleth*, "stone of the serpent," near *'En-rōgel*, "spring of (the) fuller," 1 K. 1:9.

¹⁹ *Be'er-laḥay-ro'ī*, "spring of the antelope's jawbone"?, Gen. 16:14. *'En-'eḡlaim*, "spring of (the) heifer," Ezek. 47:10; *Ramath-leḥī*, "high place of (the) jawbone," Judg. 15:17; see preceding note.

²⁰ Smith, *RS.*, p. 135.

²¹ *Ba'al-Gad*, Josh. 11:17, &c. = mod. *Haşbeyā*, Baedeker, p. 291; *Buru-Sīlim*, "well of Şelem," Knudtzon, 137:64, 85; *'En-gannīm*, "spring of (the) gardens," *Laiş*, Judg. 18:29 ff.; *Nahālī-'el*, "brook of god," Num. 21:19.

CHAPTER IV

SACRED TREES

As has already been observed, the divine life which was thought to animate the spring was thought also to animate the tree that stood by it. This life issued in growth, foliage, and fruitage. At first, probably only those trees were regarded as holy that grew by holy springs; but, as time went on, holiness was made to embrace a great many trees that had no connection with holy waters. The worship of trees prevailed throughout the ancient Semitic world, beginning as early as the time when Amorite culture and religion put its characteristic stamp upon the religion of the Mesopotamian valley, and reaching down through the Canaanite and Hebrew periods to the present time. Aside from the fact that at least nineteen Canaanite places prove, either by tradition or inference, that the tree-cult was an ancient native inheritance in Canaan, we have the significant fact that the various Hebrew words for the holy oak, or trebinth, namely, *'elah*, *'alon*, *'allah*, and *'allon* (*'elim*, plural), were etymologically derived from *'el*, the general Semitic title for deity. This shows that the tree-*numen* and the tree were originally so identified that the two were synonymous. Yahweh in one instance is referred to as "he that dwelt in the bush"¹ on Mount Horeb. Moreover the fruits of the tree of life and of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil in Eden were regarded as infused with divine life and, therefore, capable of imparting to mortals the gifts of the gods: the one that of immortality, and the other, that of divine wisdom. Even Greek philosophers taught that trees were living beings having perceptions, emotions, and souls, and based their argument for this belief upon the fact that branches bent with the wind. Philo Byblius records an ancient belief that plants of the earth "were esteemed as gods and honored with libations and sacrifices; for from them the successive generations of men drew the support of their life."² Primitive Semitic survivals

¹ Deut. 33:16.

² Smith, *RS.*, p. 186.

of tree-worship are abundant in modern times. Ancient Arabs were accustomed to attribute personality to holy trees and expect them to speak with audible voice.³ Such trees were termed *menāhīl*, which is understood as a place whither the Jinn descend to sing and dance. To pluck a branch from such a tree was thought to be fraught with great danger.⁴ The goddess Al-'Uzza was believed to reside in a sacred acacia at Nakhla;⁵ while a sacred tree at Ḥodaibiya was regarded by seeking pilgrims as a dispenser of favors.⁶

Moreover, this arboreal sanctity is further evinced by the great veneration which the ancients once had for trees near or within the precincts of the sanctuary. This veneration actually amounted to a taboo, and hence secured for the holy trees absolute protection.⁷ At the entrance of Eden a flaming sword was placed to keep the sacred trees within the garden inviolable from the touch of sinful man. The prototype for every ideal Semitic sanctuary was the mythical garden of the gods in which were all kinds of holy trees⁸ regarded as the planting of the deity.⁹ Trees appear to have stood in all Canaanite high places; for, in the language of the Deuteronomist and later writers, idolaters bowed down to idols—images, pillars, and '*asherahs*—“upon the hills and under every green tree.”¹⁰ This frequently-reiterated phrase does not specify whether there was one or more trees at each of the high places. It is probable that the former was more usually the rule, if we may be permitted to draw an inference from the fact that each of ten important sanctuaries¹¹ is known to have had its particular sacred tree, and that the names of six other places imply the existence of

³ Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, vol. ii. p. 209.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i. p. 448 ff.

⁵ Wellh. *Reste arabischen Heidentums*,² pp. 38 ff.

⁶ Sura XLVIII. 18; Smith, *RS.*, p. 185.

⁷ Smith, *RS.*, pp. 159 ff.

⁸ Ezek. 31:8, 9.

⁹ Is. 61:3.

¹⁰ Deut. 12:2; 2 K. 16:4; 17:10; 2 Ch. 28:4; Jer. 2:20; 3:6; 17:2; Ezek. 6:13; cp. Is. 57:5; Jer. 3:13.

¹¹ Beer-sheba, Gen. 21:33; Beth-el, 35:8; Gibeah, 1 Sam. 14:2; 22:6; Gubula, or Byblos, Plutarch, *Isis et Osiris*, §§ 15, 16; Hebron, Gen. 18:1 (LXX); Kedesh, Judg. 4:11; Ophrah, 6:11, 19; Shechem, Gen. 12:6; Josh. 24:26; Judg. 9:6; *Tomer-deborah*, “palm tree of Deborah,” Judg. 4:5; Jabesh, 1 Sam. 31:13.

a single tree in each place.¹² But, on the other hand, there were mulberry trees at one place,¹³ seventy palm trees and, by implication, many oaks at another,¹⁴ and oaks at a third,¹¹ and acacias at a fourth place.¹⁶

The rites which had to do with the worship of holy trees were probably similar to those customarily performed at tree-shrines in later times. There was a tree at Mecca upon which worshippers were wont to hang garments, weapons, and ostrich eggs¹⁷ as offerings to the tree-*numen*. Modern Arabs honor the Jinn who descend to sing and dance at sacred trees by hanging such things as rags¹⁸ on the branches. Another method of offering gifts to the spirit of the tree was to erect a pillar as a *bethel* under the tree to serve as a kind of altar. This *bethel* or "house of god," as the name implies, was regarded as an abode, temporary or conventionalized, for the *ba'al*, while the offerings were being poured, or set, on it. The *maṣṣebahs* and possibly the *'asherahs*, which were so frequent in the high places, were set up under or near by the sacred trees.¹⁹ Thus under the oak at Ophrah was a rock²⁰ and under the oak at Shechem²¹ a pillar. Furthermore sacrifices and burnt-offerings in Canaanite times were made at each sanctuary on an altar which was located near the tree and, therefore, near the *maṣṣebah* and the *'asherah*, as in the cases at Shechem and Ophrah and many other places.²²

This *'asherah*, or wooden stock, or pole,²³ itself without doubt was once a tree whose sanctity became none the less diminished after it was dead. Age would add to its sanctity and would lead to its being taken to the central sanctuaries to be placed,

¹² *Ba'al-tamar*, "ba'al of (the) palm," Judg. 20:33; *Bēth-hash-shīṭah*, "house of the acacias," 7:22; *'Elōn-tabōr*, "oak of Tabor," 1 Sam. 10:3; *'Elōn*, "oak," Josh. 19:43; *'Emek-ha-'elah*, "valley of the oak," 1 Sam. 17:2; *Haṣaṣon-tamar*.

¹³ Valley of Rephaim, 2 Sam. 5:22.

¹⁴ *'Elīm*, "oaks," Ex. 15:27; Num. 33:9.

¹⁵ *Be'er-'elīm*, "well of (the) oaks," Isa. 15:8.

¹⁶ *Abel-hash-shīṭīm*, "meadow of the acacias," Num. 33:49.

¹⁷ Smith, *RS.*, p. 185.

¹⁸ Doughty, i. pp. 448 ff.

¹⁹ Jer. 17:2.

²⁰ Judg. 6:20, 21.

²¹ Judg. 9:6; Josh. 24:26.

²² Jer. 17:2; Ezek. 6:13.

²³ See "asherah," Chap. XIX.

in most cases at least, under some holy green tree. The sacred erica in the temple of Isis at Byblos according to a myth is said to have enveloped the dead body of Osiris; but it was after all "a mere dead stump; for it was cut down by Isis and presented to the Byblians wrapped in a linen cloth and anointed with myrrh like a corpse."²⁴

The mysterious budding of the twigs, the rustling of the leaves in the wind, perhaps the echoes resounding in the tree-tops, and the shade of the trees all offered fitting natural means by which inquirers might divine the will and the feelings of the deity. On one occasion the "sound of marching in the tops of the mulberry trees" was interpreted as a command of Yahweh to strike the enemy.²⁵ Even the "trees of the field" were thought to share with the Jews returning from Babylon the emotion of joy, and to express the same by "clapping their hands."²⁶ Among the Arabs it was believed that a sick man might expect some counsel relative to his recovery if he slept under some sacred tree.²⁷ Perhaps it was while sleeping under such a tree that Gideon got his revelation from Yahweh.²⁸ This view is favored by one account which says that Yahweh spoke to him in the night. The divining rites, by which the tree-*numina* were consulted, passed over, in the Canaanite period, into the hands of a special class skilled in the oracular arts. These diviners because of their fitness and insight assumed the rôle of divine mediatorship for the people. The two names '*Elōn Mōreh*, "oak of (the) teacher, and '*Elōn M'e'ōnenim*, "soothsayers' oak," by which the holy tree at Shechem was known, surely imply such a rôle.²⁹ Deborah,³⁰ Gideon,³¹ Saul,³² and, according to tradition, Abraham³³ evidently officiated as oracular priests.

The branches of holy trees were used for divining purposes—

²⁴ Plutarch, *Isis et Osiris*, §§ 15, 16, quoted from Smith, *RS.*, p. 191.

²⁵ 2 Sam. 5:24.

²⁶ Is. 55:12.

²⁷ Doughty, i. p. 449.

²⁸ Cp. Judg. 6:25 with 6:11.

²⁹ Gen. 12:6; Deut. 11:30; Judg. 9:37.

³⁰ Judg. 4:5.

³¹ 6:11 ff.

³² 1 Sam. 22:6.

³³ Gen. 12:6 ff.; 18:1 ff.; 21:33.

the withering or the budding of the same being interpreted with ominous significance. Aaron's rod that budded³⁴ and the slips of Adonis, which were placed in pots to grow or wither, were undoubtedly of this character.³⁵ The stick that made the axe blade to swim may have come from a sacred tree.³⁶

Among the different trees which appear to have been classed as the most holy the date-palm was probably the first, since this was native to the home-land of the Semites, and furnished material sustenance for desert-dwellers. The date-palm figured prominently in the Babylonian cultus, being frequently pictured as a holy tree on Babylonian seal-cylinders.³⁷ The tree of the knowledge of good and evil may have been the date-palm. The oldest portions of the Ethiopic Enoch tell that Enoch found the palm of paradise to be that of the date.³⁸ Representations of the branches of the palm on the interior walls of Solomon's temple were an art motive which carried the flavor of sanctity.³⁹ There were in Canaan and the wilderness seventy palms at one shrine⁴⁰ and one each at two others.⁴¹

Oaks, or terebinths, were by far the most common sacred tree, since one or more are mentioned or implied as existing at eleven different shrines;⁴² while two Old Testament writers give the inference that oaks were usually to be found at every high place.⁴³

The tamarisk,⁴⁴ acacia,⁴⁵ mulberry,⁴⁶ juniper,⁴⁷ and pome-

³⁴ Num. 17:23 (8).

³⁵ Cp. Is. 17:10 ff.

³⁶ 2 K. 6:6.

³⁷ *KAT.*³, p. 527.

³⁸ Chap. XXIV. Charles, *The Book of Enoch* (1893).

³⁹ 1 K. 6:29, &c.; cp. Ezek. 40:16, &c.

⁴⁰ Ex. 15:27.

⁴¹ *Ba'al-tamar*, Judg. 20:33; *Tomer-deborah*, 4:5.

⁴² See Beer-elim, Beth-el, Elim, Elon, Elon-tabor, Emek-ha-elah in note 12 on p. 23. Also Kedesh, Judg. 4:11; Hebron, Gen. 18:1; Ophrah, Judg. 6:11, &c.; Shechem, Gen. 12:6, &c.; Judg. 9:37; Jabesh, 1 Chr. 10:12 (cp. 1 Sam. 31:13).

⁴³ Is. 1:29; Hos. 4:13.

⁴⁴ Beer-sheba, Gen. 21:33; Gibeah, 1 Sam. 22:6; Jabesh, 1 Sam. 31:13.

⁴⁵ *Beth-hash-shiṭṭah*, "house of the acacia," Judg. 7:22; *Abel-hash-shiṭṭim*, "meadow of the acacias," Num. 25:1; 33:49.

⁴⁶ Valley of Rephaim, 2 Sam. 5:18 ff.

⁴⁷ 1 K. 19:5.

granate,⁴⁸ appearing respectively at as many different places, if not more, are to be added to the list of holy trees that were consulted for oracles. The thorn-bush which was sacred to Al-'Uzza⁴⁹ may have been the kind through which Yahweh spoke to Moses⁵⁰ and to Hagar.⁵¹ There may be some lingering suggestion of sanctity in the cedar which was used in building Babylonian, Egyptian, and Phoenician temples. In early times the Egyptians and the Babylonians came to Lebanon for cedar for this purpose. The cedar for Solomon's temple came also from this source.⁵² The cedar was sacred to the Babylonian Irrina and was associated with NINIB.⁵³

Finally, it might be mentioned that the ground under sacred trees was regarded as the most fitting place for the burial of heroes, at least those who deserved the honor of homage.⁵⁴

⁴⁸ Gibeah, 1 Sam. 14:2.

⁴⁹ Yakut, iii. 664, 1; Barton, in *Hebraica*, x. p. 63.

⁵⁰ Ex. 3:1-3.

⁵¹ Gen. 21:15, 17.

⁵² 1 K. 5:20(6) ff.; Ps. 104:16.

⁵³ *KAT*,³, p. 527.

⁵⁴ Beth-el, Gen. 35:8; '*Emek-repha'im*, "valley of shades," 2 Sam. 5:22; Hebron, Gen. 49:28 ff.; Shechem, cp. Josh. 24:32 with "the place of Shechem," Gen. 12:6; Jabesh, 1 Sam. 31:13.

CHAPTER V

SACRED MOUNTAINS AND HILLS

There was an air of mystery about mountains which led the ancient Semites to regard them as abodes of nature-gods. This air of mystery was probably created by the physical characteristics of the mountain itself, which became another means of arousing a sense of religious awe in the breasts of primitive people. The jagged mountain slopes which offered, through the daily course of the sun, a chance for a great variation in light and shadow; the almost inaccessible summit which forbade the ordinary approach of man and which often hid itself in the storm cloud; and the natural recesses and valleys which gave an added echo to the thunder-roll, all undoubtedly contributed to the awakening of that dread of supernatural powers which played such a great rôle in primitive religion. The volcano, as in the case of Sinai in the land of Midian,¹ with its attendant phenomena of earth-quaking; internal rumbling; and belchings of fire, smoke, and lava, inspired desert tribes with the belief that these dreadful phenomena were the manifestations of an indwelling deity.

The conception of a mountain-*ba'al*² was, in the primitive mind, very closely related to the conception of a storm-*ba'al*; the latter doubtless being an outgrowth of the former, since the evolution of the idea of deity always progresses from the conception of a fetish-*numen* to that of a sky-god. Thus we see how Adad, or Martu, the West Semitic god of the storm, was, according to the first Babylonian portrayals of his nature, both a storm- and a mountain-god.³ Furthermore Yahweh, the volcano-*ba'al* of Sinai, manifesting his presence from afar in the smoke ascending from the mountain, easily came to be identified with Adad, the god of the storm, the function of the latter being absorbed by the former.

¹ Ex. 19:16 ff.

² See Chap. XXV.

³ See "Addu," Chap. XI.

That Yahweh was the god of Sinai, as Adad was of Mount Lebanon, is proved by many references to Sinai-Horeb as the "mount of God," or the "mount of Yahweh," i. e. the place where God, or Yahweh, dwells. It was here that Moses received his first revelation of Yahweh, and that Israel subsequently was instructed in his laws. Hither came Elijah when he thought that Yahweh had forsaken his land.⁴

Since Sinai (*Sinay*) and the adjacent wilderness (*Sin*)⁵ bore the name of the moon-god Sin at the time of Yahweh's revelation to Moses, it may be justly inferred that the mountain was sacred to Sin long before Yahweh became its proprietor. Accordingly in the course of time, it must be supposed that the functions of the former god were absorbed by the latter.

The name of the Semitic god Nebo, who in Babylonia developed into the god of wisdom, became attached in some way to the mountain in Moab which bore his name.⁶ No evidence of his cult remains.

Gerizim was another mountain which, on the horizon of Hebrew history, appears to have been regarded as the abode of a *ba'al*. Possibly he was *Ba'al-berith* who was worshipped as the covenant god of Shechem.⁷

The sanctity of high mountains easily passed to hills; for, in no other way than that the hill-top, like the mountain, offered a nearer approach to the deities of the sky or of the storm, can we explain the fact that, in Canaanite times and probably much earlier, hill-tops were especially chosen as appropriate sites for sanctuaries. Indeed, it seemed to the later prophetic writers that a high place existed on every hill in Judah.⁸ There is little wonder, then, that *bamah*, "high place," which originally was applied to heights,⁹ came to be the stereotyped expression for a sanctuary.¹⁰ The Canaanite *bamah*, which was an

⁴ 1 K. 19:8.

⁵ Ex. 16:1.

⁶ Deut. 34:1, &c.

⁷ Cp. Judg. 9:27, 46; Josh. 24:25 with Josh. 8:30 ff. See "Making Covenants," Chap. VIII.

⁸ 1 K. 14:23; 2 K. 16:4; 17:10; Jer. 2:20; 3:23; 13:27; 17:2; Ezek. 6:13; 20:28; Hos. 4:13.

⁹ Am. 4:13.

¹⁰ Ezek. 20:29.

artificial mound of some kind, was not, however, always on high ground. On the contrary it is well known that a high place was sometimes in a valley. In the time of Ahab it was the belief of the Aramæans that the gods of the Hebrews were "gods of the hills"; and, as such, could not be conquered if fought with on their own holy ground.¹¹ Accordingly, it was their policy to engage the Hebrews in battle on the plains. The Psalmist has risen above the prevailing conception of Yahweh as merely a god of the hills when he asks the question and appends the answer:

"Shall I lift up mine eyes unto the mountains?

From whence shall my help come?"

(Not from the gods of the mountains; but)

"My help cometh from Yahweh who made heaven and earth,"

(and, therefore, the mountains).¹²

Yet, in spite of this transcendent conception of Yahweh, there persisted to a late date that old notion that Yahweh was the god of Mount Zion.¹³ There he dwelt, and from thence help came to his devout worshippers.¹⁴

Naturally, then, because of high elevation and nearness to approach to the sky-*ba'als* or to Yahweh, mountain-tops were regarded as most favorable places for man to make offerings to the gods and to secure theophanies from them. Thus it happens in the case of many Hebrew worthies that mountain-tops were the usual places of divine revelation. There Moses,¹⁵ Abraham,¹⁶ Balaam,¹⁷ Samuel,¹⁸ Saul,¹⁹ David,²⁰ Solomon,²¹ and Elijah²² all made sacrifices to Yahweh and received revelations from him. From the time of Ahaz onward nearly every hill-top smoked with

¹¹ 1 K. 20:23.

¹² Ps. 121:1; cp. Jer. 3:23.

¹³ Ps. 43:3; 99:9.

¹⁴ Ps. 3:5 (4).

¹⁵ Ex. 3:1 ff.

¹⁶ Gen. 22:2 ff.

¹⁷ Num. 23:1 ff.; 14 ff.; 28 ff.

¹⁸ 1 Sam. 9:12 ff.; 10:17 ff.; 11:14 ff.

¹⁹ 1 Sam. 13:8 ff.

²⁰ 2 Sam. 24:18 ff.

²¹ 1 K. 3:4 ff.

²² 1 K. 18:20 ff.

burnt-offerings²³ and resounded with the noise of tumultuous worshippers.²⁴ Including those already mentioned, there were at least thirty-two sacred mountains and hills in Palestine, the religious significance of many of which appears in their names. They are as follows: *Bamath-ba'al*, "high place of ba'al";²⁵ *Geba'*, "hill";²⁶ *Gib'ath ha-'Araloth*, "hill of the fore-skins";²⁷ *Gib'ath ha-'Elohim*, "the hill of God";²⁸ *Gib'ath ham-Moreh*, "hill of the teacher";²⁹ *Gib'ath Phinehas*;³⁰ *Gib'on*, "hill";³¹ *Har Ba'alah*;³² *Har Bashan*;³³ *Har Beth-'Anath*, "mount of (the) house of 'Anath";³⁴ *Har 'Ephron*, "mount of (the) stag";³⁵ *Har Gerizzim*;³⁶ *Har Heres*, "mount of (the) sun";³⁷ *Har Hermon*, "sacred mountain";³⁷ *Har Karmel*;³⁹ *Har Nebo*;⁴⁰ *Har Perašim*;⁴¹ *ha-Pisgah*, "the cliff";⁴² *Har Šalmon*;⁴³ *Har Se'ir*, "mount of (the) goat";⁴⁴

²³ 2 K. 16:4; 17:11; 2 Chr. 28:4; Jer. 17:2; Ezek. 6:13; 20:28; Hos. 4:13.

²⁴ Jer. 3:23.

²⁵ Probably the original form instead of *Bamōth-ba'al*, "high places of ba'al," Num. 22:41; Josh. 13:17.

²⁶ Cp. 2 K. 23:8.

²⁷ A place where the rite of circumcision was performed, Josh. 5:3.

²⁸ 1 Sam. 10:5 = *Har-el*, "hill of God," Thutmose III's list, Müller, in *MVG.*, 1907, p. 24. There was a sacred tree here, 1 Sam. 14:2; 22:6. The hill may have been sacred to *Sheol*, cp. 1 Sam. 11:4, &c.

²⁹ Judg. 7:1, when compared with Gen. 12:6, points to a holy hill.

³⁰ Sacred to hero-worship, Josh. 24:33.

³¹ Cp. 2 Sam. 21:9; 1 K. 3:4.

³² 1 Chr. 13:6, probably near *Kiryath-ba'al*, "city of ba'al," Josh. 15:60, and sacred to a *ba'al*. Cp. 1 Sam. 7:1.

³³ Called also "Mount of God," Ps. 68:16 (15).

³⁴ Breasted, *ARE.*, III, § 356.

³⁵ Josh. 15:9, sacred to a stag.

³⁶ The well-known sacred mountain near Shechem, probably the mountain intended instead of *Ebal* in Deut. 27:4, and probably the scene of Abraham's offering, Gen. 22. See p. 28.

³⁷ Judg. 1:35.

³⁸ Deut. 3:8; cp. Book of Enoch, VI.

³⁹ A place of worship adopted by the Israelites, 1 K. 18:30-32.

⁴⁰ Deut. 34:1, sacred to Nebo, or Nabu.

⁴¹ Is. 28:21, probably sacred to *Ba'al-perašim*, 2 Sam. 5:20.

⁴² Cp. Num. 23:14.

⁴³ Judg. 9:48, sacred to *Šelem*.

⁴⁴ Josh. 24:4, &c., sacred to a goat.

Har Sinay-Horeb;⁴⁵ *Har Tabor*;⁴⁶ *Har haz-Zethim*, "mount of the olive trees";⁴⁷ *Har Zion*;⁴⁸ *Hor ha-Har*, "mount Hor";⁴⁹ *ha-Ramah*, "the high place";⁵⁰ *Ramath-Gil'ad*, "high place of Gilead";⁵¹ *Ramath-lehi*, "high place of (the) jawbone";⁵² *Rosh Kedesh*, "holy summit";⁵³ *Rosh ha-Pe'or*, "the summit of Peor";⁵⁴ *Sela' 'Eṭam*, "cliff of (the) bird of prey";⁵⁵ *Shomron*.⁵⁶

⁴⁵ Ex. 3:1, &c.; 19:20, &c.

⁴⁶ Cp. Hos. 5:1.

⁴⁷ Zech. 14:4 = Mount of Olives, Ezek. 11:23, &c. Probably called also *Har ham-Mishhah*, "the mount of ointment," which was intentionally changed to *Har ham-Mashhith*, "the mount of corruption," 2 K. 23:13, cp. Hoffman, in *ZAW*, II (1882), p. 175.

⁴⁸ 2 K. 19:31. This mountain had on its summit a threshing-floor evidently sacred to 'Adōnay, a title for deity (reconstructed from 'Arawnah and 'Ornan), 2 Sam. 24:16-25.

⁴⁹ Sacred to hero-worship, Num. 20:22 ff.

⁵⁰ Borne by three places: (1) Josh. 19:36; (2) 19:29; (3) 1 K. 15:17, &c.

⁵¹ Changed to *Ramōth-gil'ad*, 1 K. 4:13. A pillar or a heap of stones was an object of worship here, Gen. 31:43-54.

⁵² Judg. 15:17. In the hollow of this jawbonelike ridge (cp. Von Gall, p. 134) was 'En-hak-kōre', "spring of the partridge," Judg. 15:17, 19, which was sacred to a partridge-cult.

⁵³ Müller, in *MVG.*, 1907, p. 17.

⁵⁴ Num. 23:28, sacred to *Ba'al-pe'ōr*, Hos. 9:10.

⁵⁵ Judg. 15:8, 11, sacred to a bird-cult.

⁵⁶ 1 K. 16:24, probably a sacred hill, cp. 1 K. 16:32, 33.

CHAPTER VI

THE PRIMITIVE ALTAR

If, then, the nature gods made springs, trees, and mountains their usual and favorite habitats, and through the mysterious phenomena respectively connected therewith revealed their will and feelings to man, how was the worshipper to approach the gods conveniently and present to them his offerings? Though he cast his gifts into the holy spring and tied them on the branches of the holy tree, yet even these methods of offering were not entirely satisfactory for every kind of gift. Perhaps these natural objects were not present in every place, and thus another method had to be devised. The most natural medium through which an offering might be made was a stone conspicuously set up for the purpose of inviting the deity to come and dwell in this conventional abode, or *bethel*, "house of god,"¹ at least long enough to partake of such liquid offerings as oil, water, blood, milk, honey, and wine. It was in this way that the *numina*, or *ba'als*, of the sacred trees at Ophrah,² Shechem,³ possibly Beth-el,⁴ and probably all other sacred trees existing at many of the Canaanite sanctuaries, as well as the *ba'al* of the "Serpent Stone" at En-rogel,⁵ were approached with suitable offerings.

Other *ba'als* besides those dwelling in springs, trees, and mountains revealed their power and presence to man through some other mysterious natural *media*, such as storm, earthquake, dreams, and natural sounds. The favor of these too was sought through the conventional stone-altar. It was with this purpose in mind that Jacob erected the pillar to the dream-revealing god of Beth-el; that Samuel erected the "stone of help" near Mizpah to Yahweh who "thundered with a great voice

¹ Gen. 28:18; 35:14.

² Judg. 6:10-21.

³ Gen. 12:6; Josh. 24:26.

⁴ Cp. Gen. 28:18 with 35:8.

⁵ 1 K. 1:9.

on that day upon the Philistines and discomfited them";⁶ that Moses set up the twelve pillars under Horeb-Sinai to the storm-god of the mountain;⁷ that Saul had a great stone rolled to a convenient place to serve as an altar upon which to pour out to Yahweh the blood of slain animals taken as spoil;⁸ and that both Manohah⁹ and David,¹⁰ on receiving each a theophany, used a sacred stone as an altar for offering gifts unto the appearing angel.

In the vicinity of the place which afterwards was the site of a Semitic temple Petrie found many monoliths standing each within and on one side of a circle of stones which, he conjectures, served as sleeping places for the Egyptians who desired from the mountain-goddess revelations through dreams concerning the hidden treasures. At the base of many of the upright pillars was found a kind of stone table with incised cups for the holding of offerings.¹¹ There is no doubt that the goddess of the mountain was Semitic, as the manner of worship exhibited by the discoveries was entirely foreign to Egyptian soil.

From this distinct Semitic conception of a *ba'al* as the denizen of an erected stone, or *bethel*, there has been an interesting development among the Phoenicians and the Greeks. The Semitic *bethel*, or "house of god," as a fetish becomes among the Phoenicians the name of a god, namely, *Ba-ai-ti-ilē*, who is mentioned in a treaty between Esarhaddon and Baal of Tyre.¹² Moreover, in Greece the Semitic *bethel* gives the name *baitulos* to a small aerolite which is thought to be demon-possessed, self-moving, and endowed with magical qualities.¹³ Perhaps the sacred stone at Delphi on which oil was daily poured was a *baityl*,¹⁴ or at least some sort of a stone in which a *numen* was thought to live.

⁶ 1 Sam. 7:10-12.

⁷ Ex. 24:4 ff.

⁸ 1 Sam. 14:31 ff.

⁹ Judg. 13:19.

¹⁰ 2 Sam. 24:25.

¹¹ Petrie, *RS.*, pp. 65 ff.

¹² *KAT.*, p. 437.

¹³ Euseb. *Praep. Ev.*, i. 10, p. 37.

¹⁴ Pausanias, X, 24, 6. See, however, Moore in *AJA.*, 7 (1903), Series 2, pp. 198 ff.

While the term *bethel* did not prevail in Canaan for the conventional habitat of a nature-god, nevertheless the idea continued down into the Hebrew period. As an interesting parallel to the way in which the term *bethel*, as a dwelling-place of a *ba'al*, passed over into the name of a deity, as *bethel* into *Bait-ili* of the Phoenicians, we have *šūr*, "rock," which was often applied by the Semites to a fetish, actually passing over to designate a certain Canaanite deity.¹⁵

The outward forms which sacred stones took were five: namely *šūr*, *maššebah*, *'eben*, *gal*, and *gilgal*.

Šūr, "rock," was the native rock, or ledge, which emerged at the surface of the ground in such a way as to form a projection convenient for offerings. Perhaps such a natural projection was utilized whenever it occurred at sacred places. A portable stone in such a place would not be needed, as the rock-table, or projection, would serve as an altar. Such a rock appears, either by direct assertion or by implication, to have been used at Beth-zur,¹⁶ Mahaneh-dan,¹⁷ and possibly at Ophrah,¹⁸ Rephidim,¹⁹ and Taanach.²⁰

The *maššebah*, "pillar," was by far the most commonly used fetish. It was elongated and capable of standing on end. A single one appears to have stood in nearly all the Canaanite sanctuaries,²¹ including those at Beth-el,²² the King's Vale,²³ Carmel,²⁴ Rachel's grave,²⁵ and Shechem.²⁶ In Canaanite times its usual position, with reference to the other holy objects, was near, or under, the holy tree, and probably on the opposite side

¹⁵ See *šūr* under "Special Gods" in Chap. XXVIII.

¹⁶ Josh. 15:58.

¹⁷ Judg. 13:19.

¹⁸ Judg. 6:20, 21.

¹⁹ Ex. 17:15.

²⁰ See *Ta' anak*, Chap. VII.

²¹ Ex. 23:24; 34:13; Deut. 7:5; 12:3; 1 K. 14:23; [2 K. 10:26 *asherahs?*]; 17:10; 18:4; 23:14; 2 Chr. 14:3 (2); 31:1; Hos. 10:1, 2; Mic. 5:12 (13).

²² Gen. 28:18; 35:14.

²³ 2 Sam. 18:18.

²⁴ 1 Sam. 15:12.

²⁵ Gen. 35:14.

²⁶ Josh. 24:26 ff.

of the fire-altar from the *'asherah*.²⁷ In two places²⁸ the pillar is called a *yad*, "monument," but this is identical with *maššebah*. The *yad* is, in one case, explained as a memorial to preserve the name of the dead; but this explanation betrays the ancient belief that the departed spirit could not rest unless a stone were set up at the grave. The *nešib melah*, "pillar of salt," whose origin a popular tradition seeks to explain as being Lot's wife,²⁹ may have been originally a fetish of this character.

'Eben, "stone," was probably a rough boulder or block which might easily be rolled into position. It answered the same purpose as the *šūr*, or the *maššebah*, and may easily be another name for *maššebah*, since the stones at Shechem and at Ramoth-gilead are also called *maššebahs*. An *'eben* served as an altar at Beth-shemesh,³⁰ *'Eben-Bohan*,³¹ Eben-ezer,³² Eu-ro-gel,³³ and Gibeon.³⁴ A great stone was the center of elaborate rites at Mecca and also at Taif.³⁵

Gal, "heap," appears to have been built of small stones piled up probably for the same purpose as those mentioned above. Perhaps the *gal* was made when the pillar, or large stone, was not obtainable. Single *gals* existed at Ai,³⁶ *'Emek Akör*,³⁷ and Ramoth-gilead.³⁸ The origins of these, in historical times, were accounted for by various popular traditions. Probably similar to the *gal* was the *'argab*, "mound."³⁹ It was toward one of the latter that Jonathan shot the arrows to divine the feeling of the indwelling *numen* as to what course David should take.⁴⁰

²⁷ See *'asherah*, Chap. XIX.

²⁸ 1 Sam. 15:12; 18:18.

²⁹ Gen. 19:26.

³⁰ 1 Sam. 6:15.

³¹ See Josh. 15:6.

³² 1 Sam. 7:12.

³³ See 1 K. 1:9.

³⁴ 2 Sam. 20:8.

³⁵ Wellh., p. 30; Doughty, ii. pp. 511, 515 ff.

³⁶ Josh. 8:29.

³⁷ Josh. 7:26.

³⁸ Gen. 31:46.

³⁹ 1 Sam. 20:19. Read *ha-'argab hal-laz*, "this mound," instead of *ha-'eben ha-'ezel*, "the stone of Ezel." So Wellhausen and others.

⁴⁰ See "Divination," Chap. VIII.

The *gilgal*, "circle," may belong to this class of fetishes. From the facts that there were twelve venerated stones at *Gilgal*,⁴¹ and that the name *Gilgal* means "circle," one may be warranted in concluding that these twelve stones formed a circle. Possibly also the twelve at Horeb were set up in a circle.⁴² A stone circle has been found at Taanach.⁴³ A circle of pillars may have formed the original group of sacred stones at Gath.⁴⁴ The place-name, *Geliloth*, "circles," is also suggestive.⁴⁵ It seems probable, from the fact that there were twelve stones each at Horeb and *Gilgal*, that the original number in a circle was twelve and had, therefore, a sacrosanct value. Whether or not a *numen* was thought to reside in each stone is doubtful.

Herodotus describes the Arab rite of invoking two deities by a worshipper while in the act of anointing seven sacred stones with blood.⁴⁶ Arabian poetry frequently refers to instances where worshippers invoked a number of stones in an act of worship.⁴⁷ This rite of blood-sprinkling is not mentioned in the covenant ritual which was performed at Horeb, but it is implied; for it is said that Moses sprinkled half of the blood of the slain oxen on the altar (and perhaps on the pillars) and the other half he put in basins to sprinkle on the people.⁴⁸

Sacred Objects. At an early age the Semite was not content to confine his religious devotions entirely to the holy places, so he somehow evolved the notion that sacred objects in miniature had a hallowing influence in frightening away baleful spirits and inviting the presence of good ones, provided these amulets or talismans were carried on his person. Of this nature were the various kinds of amulets belonging to this period found especially at Gezer. The rudest form of amulet was the so-called "spindle-whorl" which was made, at least in some cases, out

⁴¹ Josh. 4:3 ff.

⁴² Ex. 24:4.

⁴³ Sellin, p. 11, fig. 3.

⁴⁴ See "Gath," Chap. XVIII.

⁴⁵ Josh. 18:17.

⁴⁶ iii, 8.

⁴⁷ Smith, *RS.*, p. 211.

⁴⁸ Ex. 24:4-8.

of the ends of femur bones.⁴⁹ The crudest form of anthropoid figures in limestone also begin to make their appearance at Gezer. It seems plain from an examination of them that the natural forms, in which they were found, suggested a similitude of the human features to the finder who added other marks to indicate eyes, nose, or mouth to make an image worthy of worship.⁵⁰ These may have been carried on the person or kept in the house for a shrine.

⁴⁹ Macalister, *EG.*, ii. pp. 71 ff., 449.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, ii. p. 422; iii. ccxxii, Nos. 3, 9, 12, 18, 21.

CHAPTER VII

SANCTUARIES

Gezer. The most significant archæological evidence for a place of worship of the first Semitic period appears from Gezer.¹ Here, in the central depression between the two hills of the old city—being built on a commanding hill itself—was instituted, probably about 2000 B. C., a primitive shrine. This shrine, with the addition in the next period of many more features of indubitable religious meaning, became a place of worship of the first magnitude. The two most striking features of the ancient shrine are the two pillars and the sacred cave.

Two unhewn stone *pillars*² standing about five feet high and seven feet apart were evidently set up by the early Semites as *bethel*-altars upon which to pour liquid offerings. Macalister suggests that one may have represented a masculine and the other a feminine divinity. What sort of a ba'al it was who received homage at these stones—whether of the hill, the sacred cave, or some tree—can only be conjectured.

A few yards to the east are two troglodyte *caves*³ which originally were separate but later were connected by a passage-way. This passage-way, which was long and curved, was in all probability made at this time by the oracle-consulting priests to serve as an adytum from which oracles might be uttered as from similar dark recesses in Greek temples.⁴ The innermost cave is entirely shut off from access, except as passage could be made through this channel, and that only with great difficulty. Thus the inner cave furnished a convenient means by which some confederate of the divining priest—being stationed within and removed from sight and easy approach—could impersonate the deity by weird articulations, and thus deceive

¹ Macalister, *EG.*, ii. pp. 381 ff.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 385 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 381 ff.

⁴ Herod. i. 47, 65; v. 72.

the superstitious inquirer who had, before admission to the mysterious, shadowy sanctum, been put into a half-hysterical frame of mind by certain preliminary rites. The imagination of a primitive people is a fertile soil for the growth of superstitious notions about cave-deities and shades of the dead. Even Saul on the eve of defeat was the victim of such deception by the witch of En-dor,⁵ who undoubtedly resorted to some such device as is revealed here in this cave. It appears probable that the existence of this cave was, as Macalister suggests, the principal factor in determining the site of the sanctuary.

Taanach. At the junction formed by the northeast with the central plateau of Taanach, Sellin⁶ found religious remains which he considers of no small importance. Here was found an altar which was hewn out of the natural rock having ascending chisel-hewn steps on the east side. On the top appear four incised cups—one oval sixteen by twenty inches across and three small round ones three or four inches in diameter. A channel had been cut around about the altar with the evident purpose of conducting liquid offerings to the ground.

Moreover, in further confirmation of this as a cult-place is the fact that Sellin found in the immediate environs of this altar—particularly on the east and west side—a “child cemetery.” The burials were carefully made in earthen vessels in or near which were deposited food and drinking vessels, thus showing a consideration for the sustenance of the soul after death. With the exception of one adult there were over eighty burials of infants. The fact that these burials were made in identically the same manner as other child-burials in other parts of the city precludes the possibility of these children having been victims of sacrifice. This custom of burial near a sanctuary generally prevailed throughout the whole history of Palestine, as will be observed later. From Old Testament sources it is known that kings and heroes had the honor of interment in sacred ground, which fact may account for the paucity of adult remains in the sanctuary here as well as at Gezer in the next period. The Old Testament gives no hint as to where children were buried; but the evidence here and at

⁵ 1 Sam. 28:7-25.

⁶ Sellin, pp. 35 ff.

Gezer in the next period seems to favor the conclusion that these children, having died a natural death, were tenderly buried by fond parents in holy ground. Perhaps it was the thought of sorrowing mothers that the spirits of their children untimely departed would soon again seek another incarnation, provided their bodies were buried at the sanctuary and suitable offerings were made on the altar.

Sinai. During the twelfth dynasty the Egyptians began to adorn the sacred cave in the Wady *Serabit el-Khadem* where Hathor, the Mistress of Turquoise, was worshipped.⁷ Previous to this the Egyptians had been content to erect pillars on different spots in the environs of the sacred cave and to seek her revelations by means of offerings placed before the pillars. Now the cave was enclosed, except a doorway which permitted entrance to the cave where a pillar and an altar stood. As time went on additions were made outwards till, in the next period, a whole series of rooms were made in succession. In this period a portico was first added to the cave, and this was followed by a "Shrine of Kings" which consists of a dozen pillars extending in a westerly direction. A great deposit of ashes outside of the cave shows that sacrifices on no small scale must have constituted the principal rites of this place of worship.

⁷ Petrie, *ES.*, pp. 72 ff.; 186 ff.

CHAPTER VIII

RELIGIOUS RITES

Offerings. In order to determine as far as possible what must have been the nature of the offerings which the Amorites offered to their gods, with respect to content, manner, and occasion of presentation, and significance, we are confined almost entirely within the limits of inference. If only for disassociating the primitive elements of these rites from the more highly developed, perhaps the task will be worth the trouble.

As to *content*, it is to be presumed that, whatever the ardent worshippers had to give—whether of food, precious things of their own creation, or even of their own kindred or fellow-men—they gave the best. In the worship of fetishes one may be reasonably sure that liquid offerings, such as blood, wine, milk, and honey, were used.

As regards human sacrifice, we have fairly conclusive evidence from the first Semitic level at Gezer¹ that human beings were offered in what is known as a "foundation sacrifice." There are two cases: one that of an old, invalid woman, a useless member of the community, who was buried, probably alive, under a corner wall of a building; and the other, that of a man buried under the floor of a room. In both cases the burials were made prior to the erection of the building. These facts are significant when compared with the story of Hiel, the Bethelite, who "laid the foundation (of the wall of Jericho) with the loss of Abiram, his first-born, and set up the gates thereof with the loss of his youngest son, Segub."² Evidence for this rite comes from all parts of the world; while its mitigated survivals, such as putting a newspaper, or coin, or Bible under the corner-stone, are of common occurrence to-day in civilized lands. Even in Palestine to-day the custom survives of offering an animal—a substitute for a human victim—whenever an important building is to be erected. This barbarous custom of offering a human victim, beginning among the early Semites of

¹ Macalister, *EG.*, ii. p. 427.

² 1 K. 16:34.

Palestine and continuing down to Hebrew times, came to be gradually supplanted by a more humane custom of offering a lamp and bowl. This does not occur till the next period.

That sort of human sacrifice which required the victim to be slain and burned may be merely inferred for this period from Babylonian and Canaanite parallels. Many cases are on record in Babylonia in which a lamb is substituted for the life of a man;³ while a court formula preserves a recollection of the custom of child-burning for Sin and Belit.⁴

Presentation. The mode of presenting the offering to the gods was in keeping with the prevailing conception concerning their abodes. For a gift to be accepted it must be presented at the dwelling-place of the god. At first offerings were merely thrown into the holy spring for the spring *ba'al*, or attached to the holy tree for the tree-*ba'al*; but later another mode came into vogue, that of setting up a stone as a conventional or temporary abode for the *ba'al* of some holy place, and pouring or setting on it offerings of drink and food for the deity's consumption. At the traditional Sinai a stone-table with cups was placed at the base of the pillar for the deity who was thought to reside in the pillar.⁵ The blood of animal victims was sacred to the gods and, therefore, had to be presented to them either by sprinkling, or by pouring on their holy stones, or by letting it run down into their cave-dwellings.

The Babylonian words, *zibu*, "offering," and *kuṭrinnu*, "frankincense," "incense offering,"⁶ must originally have had a common origin with the respective Hebrew words, *zebah*, "slaughter" and *keṭoreth*, "odor of burnt-offerings." It seems probable, then, that offerings were presented by fire, although this method presupposes an advanced stage of reflection. It may be that the fire-offering, as is known later, was an outgrowth of the practice of burning the refuse of the animal victims after the sacrificial meal was eaten. A layer of ashes near the sacred cave at the traditional Sinai⁷ points to the mode of sacrificing by fire as early as this period.

³ *KAT.*, p. 596.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 599.

⁵ See p. 40.

⁶ *KAT.*, p. 595.

⁷ Petrie, *RS.*, p. 187.

Occasion. The many varying events of life such as birth, weaning, marriage, adversity, undertaking a journey, all furnished occasions on which offerings were made to the gods concerned respectively with these affairs. Before the final issue of an uncertain event, whether present or expected, vows were made to be fulfilled after the petitioned favor was secured.

Besides the incidental occasions for sacrifice for the individual worshipper there were the yearly occasions for the tribe; namely, the spring, summer, and autumnal feasts coinciding respectively with the foaling season, the barley-harvest, and the grape-gathering. Moreover, the feasts of the new moon and the Sabbath offered more frequent occasions for presenting gifts to the gods. These feasts will be considered later.

Significance. The most primitive conception of offering must find its ultimate origin in the idea of a gift either for the purpose of maintaining present amicable relations with a friendly god or of propitiating an offended one. The origin of animal sacrifice and the practice of giving the blood of the victim to the deity are rooted in remote antiquity. In some way the life of the animal was thought to be resident in the blood and identical with the life of the god; and, when the blood of the sacrifice was poured over the sacred stone, it became a drink-offering to the indwelling *numen*. Then the sacrificial meal was eaten by the worshippers in order to establish between themselves and the god present in the stone—and possibly also in the flesh—a mystic communion, and to secure thereby divine strength and favor. Blood may once have been drunk for this infusion of the divine life resident in the animal; but later, at any rate, it became taboo because of its great sanctity. Even water got at the risk of blood-shedding so symbolized the blood that it could not be drunk, but was poured out as an offering unto the god.⁸

Offerings for the dead will be considered under Chapter XIV.

Divination. For the Semites as well as for other people of antiquity the unknown future possessed an air of mystery which man tried to solve by various means of divination. Man was a helpless creature in the hands of powerful gods whose capricious ways seemed almost impossible to understand; and so a

⁸ 2 Sam. 23:15-17.

longing was created to penetrate the future and peer into the very council-chambers of the gods in order to anticipate the consequence of a questionable course. To such a complex rôle, involving as it did all the mysterious phenomena and uncertain movements of nature, was called the divining class who, in time, built up a fanciful oracular science, and won, in the meantime, undisputed recognition as mediators between the ignorant inquiring layman and the deity. However, it was possible for the unskilled layman to interpret ordinary omens without the help of the professional diviner.

The divining practices which were in vogue in ancient Babylonia and, in later times, over the Semitic world,⁹ must be rooted in remote antiquity. At any rate, one is clearly warranted in attributing these primitive practices to the first Semites who inhabited Palestine; for otherwise the large amount of evidence for these rites appearing in the Canaanite and the Hebrew periods would stand unrelated to the ancient fountain-head. Perhaps the most dependable evidence for this relationship between Babylonian and Canaanite survivals occurs in a number of Hebrew words which have significant analogies in the divining ritual of Babylonia.¹⁰ Thus *torah*, "teaching," "instruction," must have been related in some way to the Babylonian divining expression *tertu*, "foretold." *Berith*, "covenant," when compared with *biritu*, "oracle," and *bārū*, "diviner," betray an original connection with divination. Other comparisons, as *barar*, "separate," "sever," with the Assyrian *barū*, "to discern" and *anah*, "answer," with the Babylonian-Assyrian technical term *annu*, "a favorable omen," add further interest.

As the *ba'als* were regarded as the denizens of all the various forms and objects of nature that exhibited any ominous signs, it occurred to the ancients that these objects of nature might be interrogated with appropriate divining methods for an expression of the will or of the feeling of the animating *numina*. A classification of the subject under consideration according to the groups of these forms of nature will be convenient.

⁹ Jastrow, *Rel. Belief*, pp. 143 ff.; Wellh., pp. 143 ff.

¹⁰ *KAT.*, p. 606; Haupt, in *JBL.*, xix. pp. 55 ff.

Water. The bubbling spring, so often regarded as the abode of a *ba'al*, received into its depths, or cast up by its bountiful flow, with ominous significance to the inquirer, the gifts that were cast into it. The uncertain action of oil in a cup of water, a favorite method in Babylonia and probably in Canaan,¹¹ was a means that partook of the same nature.

Tree. The *numen* of a holy tree was thought to give ominous signs to the wise interpreter, as when the leaves rustled in the wind or the tree-tops re-echoed the sound of an approaching army.¹² In this way the mulberry trees in the valley of Rephaim; the sacred oak at Shechem, called the "Teacher's Oak," and the "Diviners' Oak";¹³ and probably many other trees must have given omens when properly observed by the divining priest. Sticks cut from holy trees became divining rods, and were often laid away for later signs of flourishing or withering,¹⁴ or were shuffled to give a sign. The "staff" which Hosea says "declareth unto them,"¹⁵ and the divining apparatus used at Taanach may have been of this sort. Thus the sentence on a clay tablet found there: "If the finger of Ashirat itself show, so may one inculcate it and obey: and the sign and the thing informed me."¹⁶ Furthermore, twigs cut from a holy tree may have furnished the material for the lot used in Israel for oracular purposes. It was attached in some way to the ephod, possibly having been kept in a pocket of the garment that clothed the ephod-image. Be that as it may, the lot was wont to be cast, and the deciding "ball" gave either the favorable *thummim* or the unfavorable *urim*.¹⁷ This method was employed by Samuel in choosing a king over Israel, and by Saul in discovering a transgressor among his ranks by eliminating, in succession, tribes, clans, families, and individuals. In the last days of Saul this means of divination failed to give him a favorable answer.¹⁸

¹¹ Gen. 44:5.

¹² 2 Sam. 5:24; Is. 55:12.

¹³ Gen. 12:6 f.; Judg. 9:37.

¹⁴ Num. 17:22 ff. (7 ff.).

¹⁵ 4:12.

¹⁶ About 1400-1300 B. C., Sellin, pp. 108 ff.

¹⁷ 1 Sam. 10:20 f.; 14:41 f.; 28:6; cp. Haupt, in *JBL.*, xix. p. 73.

¹⁸ 1 Sam. 28:6.

Animals. *Ba'als* were thought also to possess animals and accordingly manifested their will and disposition to inquirers by certain movements which the animals made, or by directions taken by liberated cows.¹⁹ Divining by the flight of birds, so extensively used for oracular purposes among the Romans, may have been used as a means in the Amarna period; for, in one letter²⁰ to the king of Egypt, the writer beseechingly asks that an "eagle conjurer" be sent him, thus obviously implying the need of a skilled interpreter to divine the signs of the times in the face of national trouble that was then brewing. It is not impossible that Abraham sought an omen by observing the flight of the "turtle dove and the young pigeon";²¹ and Balaam by similar means at the bare height.²² A suggestion arises from a number of worn parts of animal bones found at Taanach²³ that, perhaps, some virtue may have been attributed to bones as fitting means of obtaining omens.

Hepatoscopy, or divination by studying the aspect of an animal's liver, was handed down from the Sumerians to the Amorites of Babylonia and of the West, to the Hittites, to the ancient Arabs, and eventually to the Greeks and to the Romans.²⁴ To the ancients the liver, because of the fact that it contains a disproportionately large amount of blood as compared with the other organs of circulation, was the seat of life, and therefore the organ which best betrayed the intimations of the disposition of the gods. This fancied seat of the soul of the animal slain for sacrifice was, according to ancient logic, conceived of as identical with and attuned to the soul of the god. Accordingly, it followed that the mind of the god, and therefore the future, was revealed, if the signs on the liver could be properly interpreted.²⁵ Liver-divination was early reduced to a science by the Sumerian *har-ṭum*, "liver-diviner," and the Babylonian *bārū*, "divining-priest."

As mentioned above, hepatoscopy came to the Palestinian

¹⁹ 6:7 ff.

²⁰ Knudtzon, 35:26.

²¹ Gen. 15:9.

²² Num. 23:3, 23; 24:1.

²³ Sellin, p. 112.

²⁴ Jastrow, *Die Religion*, ii. pp. 213 ff.; *Rel. Belief*, pp. 150 ff.

²⁵ Jastrow, *Rel. Belief*, pp. 155 f.

Amorites from Babylon. In proof of this assertion are the following survivals among the Hebrews.

The Sumerian word for *liver-diviner*, namely *har-tum*, is the one whence the Hebrew word for magician, namely *harṭom*, is derived.²⁶ This fact when taken in connection with the implications underlying certain poetic references to the liver as the seat of life,²⁷ and with the knowledge which Ezekiel has of the practice of inspecting the liver,²⁸ clearly prove for this rite an ancient historical setting in Palestine.

A common practice among the Arabs was to mark arrows, then shoot them against some symbol of the deity, and, according to the place and the manner in which they fell, to draw inferences as to what might be the disposition of the deity. This seems to be reflected in Jonathan's shooting the arrows at a mound²⁹ and announcing the result to David.³⁰ In this, or some other way, the sacred "stock"³¹ or *'asherah*, and the teraphim³² gave, in Hosea's time, divine oracles for directing the nation's destiny.

Perhaps related in some way to one or more of these oracular means, but not specifically stated or inferred, are the instances of Laban³³ and the servants of Benhadad³⁴ resorting to some divining practice. Other means of consulting the disposition of the gods, who held the destinies of men, were by consulting the departed spirits at graves by calling up shades to disclose the future.³⁵ Still other methods were by observing the effect of dew or rain on objects exposed at night,³⁶ the strange phenomena about the sun-dial,³⁷ and the action of a storm.³⁸

²⁶ *PSBA.*, xxxv, p. 189.

²⁷ Prov. 7:23; Lam. 2:11.

²⁸ Ezek. 21:26 (21).

²⁹ Emended text, ep. LXX.

³⁰ 1 Sam. 20:19 ff.

³¹ Hos. 4:12.

³² Ezek. 21:26 (21); Hos. 3:4; Zech. 10:2; ep. Judg. 17:5 ff.; 18:14 ff.

³³ Gen. 30:27.

³⁴ 1 K. 20:33.

³⁵ 1 Sam. 28:11 ff.

³⁶ Judg. 6:36-40.

³⁷ Is. 38:8.

³⁸ 1 Sam. 7:10.

Magic. According to Babylonian-Assyrian religion, gods who represented the superior natural forces could be directly influenced by charms and spells to direct their power against evil demons who sought to work ill. This was sacred magic, and embraced under its scope, enchantment, sorcery, incantation, and witchcraft. The adept who was versed in the occult arts was the magician, or sage.³⁹ Magic differs from divination in that it is the human attempt, either by means of words or acts, to constrain directly the spirits, whether good or evil, to do what the magician desires; while divination, on the other hand, is merely the art of determining omens for the import they may have in forecasting future events. Magic is probably of Babylonian origin since its nature demands a long period of time for mature reflection incident to its development. *Mag*, the Hebrew word for "magic," which appears to be cognate with an Assyrian word,⁴⁰ points to this conclusion.

The colossal human-headed and winged bulls, or genii, standing at the entrances of Assyrian palaces were thus placed for the purpose of guarding against the access of harmful demons. Similarly the brazen serpent lifted up in the wilderness and probably the *nehushtan* in the Jerusalem temple⁴¹ were so displayed to charm away the evil spirits of disease.⁴² Magic rods possessed and imparted mysterious powers,⁴³ of which one was healing.⁴⁴ Amulets of all kinds, found in the excavations and worn commonly by women⁴⁵ and even by camels⁴⁶ in Hebrew times, were, in many cases at least, inscribed with magical words or symbols for the purpose of warding off the evil eye and for averting disaster.

Magical formulas, or divine names, uttered with incantations, were, throughout the ancient world, supposed to be efficacious. Thus the exorcism which employed the divine name in the

³⁹ See Chap. IX.

⁴⁰ *rab-mu-gi*. Cp. *Iab-shak(ē)* with *Rab-mag*, (Jer. 39:3). *KAT*,⁵ p. 590, n. 5.

⁴¹ 2 K. 18:4.

⁴² Num. 21:6-9.

⁴³ Ex. 4:2 etc.; Num. 20:11.

⁴⁴ 2 K. 4:29.

⁴⁵ Gen. 35:4; Is. 3:18-23.

⁴⁶ Judg. 8:21.

oath,⁴⁷ were, in reaction against Canaanite religion, rigidly proscribed. Naaman expected to be healed by some exorcism of waving the hand over that part of the body which was infected with leprosy.⁴⁸ Magical powers for inducing passion were supposed to reside in a kind of love-apples called *dūday* which may have had some connection with *Dūdah*, a god of the tribe of Gad.⁴⁹

The inferior natural powers were relegated to the level of demons, and were therefore rejected by orthodox religion; but their hold on the minds of the people continued, and reasserted themselves in periods when national religion was on the decline.⁵⁰ The powers of these demons, conjured up by charm-ers and sorcerers, were employed to tie magic-knots and to create spells. It is significant that *shed*, "demon,"⁵¹ is a cog-nate with the Babylonian-Assyrian word *shēdu*, meaning "pro-protecting genius." The serpent with its subtle character became the fitting embodiment of evil genii, and employed its powers, on one occasion, to undo the work of creation,⁵² and to bring a plague of disease upon the Israelites who could be rid of the demons only by the counteracting influence of the brazen ser-pent.⁵³ Magic was widely practiced by the Babylonians,⁵⁴ Egyptians,⁵⁵ Hebrews,⁵⁶ and Arabs.⁵⁷

Making covenants. The ancient custom that two contract-ing parties who came to some mutual agreement should express their agreement in a covenant was extended to contracts between man and deity. Since the fortune of man, in what-ever territory he might live, hung suspended as a slender thread in the hands of the gods of that territory, it was all important for him to make with them some sort of a covenant

⁴⁷ Ex. 20:7 E.

⁴⁸ 2 K. 5:11.

⁴⁹ *MI.*, 12; Gen. 30:14 ff.

⁵⁰ Deut. 18:11; 2 K. 9:22; Mic. 5:11 (12).

⁵¹ Deut. 32:17; Ps. 106:37.

⁵² Gen. 3:1 ff.

⁵³ Num. 21:9.

⁵⁴ Jastrow, *Die Rel.*, i. pp. 272 ff.

⁵⁵ Wiedemann, A., *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, pp. 146 ff.; 267 ff.

⁵⁶ Jer. 8:17; Ps. 58:6 (5).

⁵⁷ Baudissin, i. pp. 279 ff.; Wellh., pp. 159 ff.; Smith, *RS.*, pp. 442 ff.

having stipulations binding on both parties. When the Hebrews came into possession of the land and its places of worship, it was regarded as of first importance on their part to make terms with the *ba'als* so that material prosperity might be expected to follow. An old Hebrew law commanding Israel "to make no covenants" with the gods of Canaan expressed a protest against this procedure so generally practiced at first; for already before this protest arose the worship of the *ba'als* of the sacred places had been sanctioned by popular tradition as legitimate Yahweh-worship. Thus the patriarchs came into covenant relations with the gods of Beth-el, Hebron, Beer-sheba, and Shechem.

A covenant between deity and man was a reciprocal one and usually partook of the following conditions: (1) The benefit must be mutual or at least accruing to man.⁵⁸ (2) Its duration must be perpetual.⁵⁹ (3) Subscribing to the conditions must be in good faith, and must be sworn to by an oath.⁶⁰ (4) New previously non-existing rights were created. (5) These resided with each party over against the other so long as the conditions were kept.⁶¹ The assignment of this practice to this period is justified by the evident analogy between the Hebrew *berith*, "covenant," and the Babylonian *beritu*, "oracle," "bond." The double meaning of *beritu* probably grew out of the two aspects of the transaction: "oracle" referring to the covenant ritual, and "bond," to the binding effects of the agreement.

At the sanctuary of Shechem covenant relations were renewed, probably annually, between the worshipping tribe and the deity. The ceremony was performed while the people stood, half of them on the north of the sanctuary over against Ebal, the mount of curses, and the other half on the south side over against Gerizim, the mount of blessing. The officiating priest stood at the sanctuary in the midst and pronounced the blessings, which would accrue from a kept covenant, to the party on Gerizim; and the curses, which would accrue from a broken covenant, to the party on Ebal. The people assented according to the agreement and so bound themselves by shouting "Amen."⁶²

⁵⁸ Gen. 14:19 f.; 15:5-18; 17:1-8 P; cp. 28:22; 35:14.

⁵⁹ Gen. 17:7 f.; Lev. 24:8; 2 Sam. 23:5.

⁶⁰ Gen. 15:9 ff.

⁶¹ Gen. 17:1, 2, 10-14.

⁶² Deut. 11:26-32; 27:1-26; Josh. 8:30-35; 24:1-28; cp. Judg. 9:46.

The oath constituted an important part of the transaction of making a covenant, being employed as a reciprocal declaration of good faith on the part of the contracting parties. The oath of the covenant was performed in various ways. One method, which was used by Abraham in making a covenant with Yahweh, consisted in arranging the divided halves of animals in two rows so that each half lay opposite its counterpart; then, the contracting parties passed through between the lines of pieces, invoking at the same time the deity to bring like consequences upon themselves should they be insincere or show a breach of faith. It was after dark when Yahweh, having the appearance of a smoking furnace, passed through between the pieces.⁶³ Another method consisted in the parties placing each his hand on the other's thigh, the seat of generative powers, and then invoking the deity to extend the dire consequences of bad faith or a broken covenant upon future generations.⁶⁴ Another form, which must be later, was by making a gesture of the hand toward the stars.⁶⁵ The fact that the Hebrew word *'alah* means both "to swear" and "to curse" shows that the oath consisted of uttering a curse. *Shaba'*, another word meaning "to swear," a cognate, if not a derivative of *sheba'*, "seven," points in the same direction and appears accordingly to have meant originally "to come under the influence of seven." "Seven" was a sacrosanct number among the Babylonians, and stood for a group of seven demons.⁶⁶

The curse was employed not only in confirming covenants but also in all affirmations where doubt might linger in the mind of the one to whom the assertion was made. This abjuration was often expressed in certain stereotyped phrases, such as, "as Yahweh liveth and as thy soul liveth,"⁶⁷ or "let the gods do so to me and more also if."⁶⁸ Since a prince or an ancestor was regarded as having divine attributes, swearing was often done "by the prince," "by the life of the prince," "by the life of Pharaoh,"⁶⁹ or "by the fear of my father."⁷⁰

⁶³ Gen. 15:9-18.

⁶⁴ Gen. 24:2, 9; 47:29.

⁶⁵ Gen. 14:22; Dan. 12:7; Rev. 10:5 ff.

⁶⁶ See *Sheba'*, Chap. XV.

⁶⁷ 1 Sam. 20:3; 25:26, &c.; cp. 1 Sam. 17:55, &c.

⁶⁸ 1 K. 19:2.

⁶⁹ Gen. 42:15, 16.

⁷⁰ Gen. 31:42, 53.

In the Amarna period the man who takes the oath is asked to swear by another god than his own.⁷¹ Swearing by Dūdah,⁷² the god of Beer-sheba, appears to have been a very popular practice in the early Hebrew period, and may have prevailed still earlier.⁷³ The name of Beer-sheba, meaning the "well of the seven," probably has reference to the seven demons of the oath, which, in Babylonia, seems to have been connected with sacred water.⁷⁴ From this it may be conjectured that the oath-ritual at Beer-sheba consisted either in the parties dipping their hands into the water of the sacred well, or in drinking it, thus making the false swearer liable to death at the hands of the demons. The god of Dan,⁷⁵ Milcom,⁷⁶ and the *ba'als*⁷⁷ were also commonly invoked in the oath. One case is on record in which the Hebrews did not keep the conditions of a solemn covenant; and, as a result, suffered the pangs of a three-years' famine.⁷⁸

Lustration was a physical preparation of the worshipper for appearing before the deity. From ancient Babylonian pictorial representations of priests performing acts of worship garmentless, from the custom of the ancient Arabs to encircle the Ka'aba at Mecca in a nude condition, and from the Hebrew custom to strip off the garments during a period of mourning, it may safely be inferred that the ancient worshipper religiously discarded his garments before entering the sanctuary for fear of bringing anything unholy into contact with the deity. For the same reason he bathed himself, and further, to prepare himself for the sacrificial meal, he fasted. Finally, having completed these ceremonial acts, he approached with head covered, lest he might perchance see the deity and suffer death in consequence.⁷⁹

Circumcision had its origin in the cult of some goddess of reproduction who required this rite to be performed on all males in token of consecrating to her their generative organs. It was

⁷¹ Knudtson, 164:39.

⁷² A god according to Amos 8:14 (LXX). Corrupted into *derek*, "way."

⁷³ Am. 8:14. Also implied by context of Hos. 4:15. See Harper, *Amos and Hosea*, p. 263.

⁷⁴ *KAT.*⁵, pp. 459, 620 ff.

⁷⁵ Am. 8:14.

⁷⁶ Zeph. 1:5.

⁷⁷ Jer. 12:16.

⁷⁸ 2 Sam. 21:1 ff. Cp. Josh. 9:3-15, 19.

⁷⁹ See Chapter XIV. 2.

thus a preparation for connubium, and was probably performed at puberty. The Egyptians learned it from the Semites as early as the Old Empire;⁸⁰ and Moses, from the Midianites.⁸¹ When the Israelites entered Canaan and worshipped at the sanctuary at Gilgal, it was necessary for them to have all males circumcised.⁸² The rite in later times was explained as a symbol of the covenant relation with Yahweh, which every male had to enter into on the eighth day after birth.⁸³ The retention even in the bronze age of flint knives in performing the operation bespeaks for the rite a great antiquity.⁸⁴

Music was probably one of the accompaniments of worship in Canaan as it was in Babylon and Egypt. The *kinnor*, "lyre," and *nebel*, "harp," which are of Semitic origin, were early adopted by the Egyptians, since they are mentioned in the inscriptions as *ken*, *noru*, and *nfr* respectively.⁸⁵ A rattle of terra-cotta which was probably used, like similar ones in Egypt, for the purpose of scaring away demons, was found in the first Semitic level at Gezer.⁸⁶ Musical instruments, to judge from analogies, imply song and the dance.

Prostitution. As has been pointed out, the ancient cult of 'Ashtart spread from Arabia⁸⁷ to Babylonia, Canaan, Asia Minor, and to the lands of the Mediterranean; and with it went those sacred rites which were characteristic of her cult, and which, because of religious conservatism, fastened their grip upon nearly every modified form of Semitic religion in these countries. In Babylonia in the time of Hammurabi virgins were vowed by their parents, or voluntarily offered themselves, as votaries to the temples to become brides of the gods.⁸⁸ They lived in a convent, or a bridal chamber, a part of the time, and were expected at other times, when off duty, to lead an exem-

⁸⁰ An operation in which flint knives are used is pictured on the walls of a tomb of the Old Empire. See Skinner, *Genesis* (1910), p. 296; cp. Barton, pp. 98 ff.

⁸¹ Ex. 4:24, 25.

⁸² Josh. 5:3.

⁸³ Gen. 17:12; cp. Ex. 12:48 (P).

⁸⁴ Ex. 4:24, 25; Josh. 5:3; 24:31 (LXX).

⁸⁵ *HDB*, "Musical Instruments."

⁸⁶ Macalister, *EG*. ii. pp. 305, 306.

⁸⁷ *Hebraica* X. p. 59.

⁸⁸ *Ham. Code*, 178.

plary life, and not to degrade the performance of their sacred religious function to the level of secular gain.⁸⁹ No blame or shame was attached to their holy calling. If any man falsely accused one of stooping to secular prostitution he was branded on the forehead according to law.⁹⁰ The mother of Sargon of Agade was a temple-priestess who brought him forth in secret, his father being unknown.⁹¹ A female votary of Shamash had a daughter.⁹² These customs continued down to later times, for Herodotus tells of the Babylonian custom whereby every native woman was obliged, once in her life, to sacrifice her virginity at the temple of Aphrodite.⁹³ Moreover, men also were vowed to the service of the gods;⁹⁴ and it seems that children born from this consecrated temple-intercourse were especially honored. Thus contract-tablets of the time of Nabonidus, Cyrus, and Cambyses mention "the son of the priest of Ishtar of Babylon."⁹⁵ Inferring from the similar religious customs in Canaan during the second Semitic period, one can not be far out of the way in positing their existence during the Amorite period.

⁸⁹ *Ham. Code*, 110.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 127.

⁹¹ *Hebraica*, X. p. 25.

⁹² C. H. Johns, *Notes on the Code of Ham.*, p. 104.

⁹³ I. 199.

⁹⁴ *Ham. Code*, 192.

⁹⁵ Barton, in *Hebraica*, X. p. 19.

CHAPTER IX

HOLY PERSONS

In man's attempt to study the natures of the gods and to assign to their multitudinous activities and manifestations certain definite laws governing these activities, there was inevitably called into service, from among the common ranks of men, a class of specialists, who, because of their superior insight, became the recognized mediators between their fellowmen and the gods. These divine interpreters may be conveniently divided into three classes as follows: the *ḥarṭom*, or *kāhin*, the *rō'eh*, and the *ḥakam*.

The interpreter of the phenomena of nature, or the augur who inspected the liver for omens, or the magicians who employed various divining means to ascertain the temperament of divine powers, was called both *ḥarṭom*, "liver-diviner," and *kāhin*, "soothsayer." This interpreter of deity-manifestations had his analogy in the Sumerian *ḥar-ṭum*,¹ "liver-diviner"; in the Babylonian *bārū*, "liver-diviner," or "astrologer";² in the Arabian *kāhin*, the soothsayer, who divined by casting lot, shooting arrows, or by drawing sticks in the presence of some symbol of the deity;³ and in the Hebrew *ḥarṭom*, "diviner," or *kōhen*, "priest-diviner," who superintended the service at the sanctuary and interpreted through divining rites the will of the deity. The phenomena of the sky, clouds, springs, trees and animals were studied by the *kāhin* for the significance that they might bear to men concerning the disposition of the gods. These observations were tabulated and made eventually to form the nucleus around which gathered the system of divining practices already discussed. The correspondence of the Babylonian cognate words *bārū*, "diviner-priest," *barūtu*, "divination," and *bīru*, "aspect of the offering," with the Hebrew *berith*, "covenant," shows that in early times the *kāhin*, or *ḥarṭom*, played some divining rôle which afterward became the ritual in mak-

¹ *PSBA.*, xxxv. p. 189.

² Jastrow, *Rel. Belief*, pp. 162 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 190 ff.

ing covenants.⁴ The omen which the Babylonian diviner obtained was called *tertu*, "foretoken," which has its parallel with the Hebrew *torah*, known early as "teaching," but later as "law."⁵ The customary requirements for the Babylonian guild of *barūti* embraced bodily perfection, purity of priestly descent,⁶ and later, the wearing of a special priestly garb.⁷ In early times priests are represented naked or with only a loin cloth. These requirements find their corresponding survivals among the Hebrews,⁸ which fact permits us to posit similar practices among the Amorites.

The *rō'eh*. Corresponding to the *kāhin* as an interpreter of natural phenomena was the *rō'eh*, "seer," who was an interpreter of the different mental and emotional states which were regarded as caused by as many indwelling deities.⁹ As a specialist he interpreted dreams and the significance of visions. He often worked himself up into a state of ecstasy or frenzy, and uttered, under these abnormal conditions, messages of divine import. He is the prototype of the prophet of Gebal and the Hebrew *hōzeh*, "seer," and *nabī*, "prophet."

The *hakam*. Finally, in the sphere of life's events there was another mediator between man and the deity in the *hakam*, "sage," who became a close observer of human conduct relative to the actions that resulted beneficially or harmfully; and who gave expression to these observations in short sayings and proverbs which eventually came to form the nucleus of the later Hebrew Proverbs and Wisdom literature. If certain actions resulted in disaster or harm to the individual, the *hakam* played the rôle of medicine-man and magician by dispensing drugs, going through incantations, uttering magical formulas, and thus creating magic spells to drive the afflicting demons from the victim. A great many magical sentences used in incantations have come to light through the discovery of Babylonian clay tablets. The body of magical practices, already discussed, certainly must be the product of magical arts of the Amorite period as they bear a close analogy with Babylonian practices.

⁴ *KAT.*, p. 606.

⁵ See p. 44.

⁶ *KAT.*, p. 589; Haupt, in *JBL.*, xix. p. 57.

⁷ *KAT.*, p. 591 (*kitū*).

⁸ 1 Sam. 2:18, 28; 22:18; 2 Sam. 6:14.

⁹ The classification here is taken from Paton's *Early Religion of Israel*, pp. 11 ff.

CHAPTER X

FEASTS

Since it was perfectly natural for primitive people to regard certain sacred places and objects as particularly surcharged with the energy of the gods, and also to regard certain sacred persons as especially endowed to interpret to men mysterious divine energy, it was accordingly consistent for them also to look upon certain seasons in the year and days in the month as most desirable or necessary times for approach to the deity to make expiation and to secure a continuance of divine favor. Thus we find that the ancient Babylonians esteemed certain seasons and days as preëminently sacred. These times were determined by them, as Jastrow¹ has clearly shown, on the basis of their being periods of *transition* in the year and in the month. The calendar, or method of reckoning time, which the Amorites inherited from the Sumerians, the Canaanites from the Amorites, and the Hebrews from the Canaanites, divided time into yearly periods according to the solar cycle, the year into twelve lunar months according to the lunar cycle—adding an intercalated month every three years, or when necessary—, and the month into four weeks of seven days each. The periods of transition in the year, to which were attributed a sacrosanct character, were the times of the vernal equinox, the summer solstice, and the beginning of winter. The monthly periods of transition coincided with the occurrence of the moon's phases. The reason that special significance was attached to these transitional periods in the calendar grew out of the importance which ancient people attributed to the sun and to the moon as exercising a profound influence upon human existence and welfare. The monthly transitional periods, or the four lunar phases, were carefully calculated to occur at regular times. But when phases did not rotate in the accustomed cycles, as they sometimes did not through a lack of accurate scientific methods of determining them, the fact precipitated fears and portended calamity to the people. Such a varia-

¹ *Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions*, New York (1914), pp. 134 ff.

tion in the habit of the moon was attributed to a hostile disposition of the gods who held the threads of human destinies in their hands. Accordingly, therefore, the disappearance of the moon and the time of the full moon, as well as the periods of the other phases, designated special days when the gods should be appeased and their hearts and livers set right toward men.²

THE ANNUAL FEASTS

The two annual transitional periods occurred at the time of the dying of vegetation in the autumn and of the quickening of vegetation in the spring. Man fancied that some special act of devotion on his part to the gods at these turning-points was quite essential to maintaining the established order of things in the divine economy.

The Fall, or New Year's Feast

In contrast to the Babylonian custom of beginning the year in the spring the people of Palestine had the custom of beginning the year in the fall. Thus we find that an agricultural calendar was in vogue in Canaan before the Exile which made Ethanim the first month of the year.³ This season of the year marked the beginning of winter and the end of summer. The annual dying of vegetation and the close of the harvest season would fittingly designate a transitional period when the gods should be rendered thank-offerings for benefits that had been bestowed and be petitioned for boons that they still held in store.

The only grounds we have, however, of positing such a sacred season for the Amorites are furnished by a possible Babylonian analogy, namely, the feast of Tammuz, and by one of three possible survivals among the Hebrews. One was the feast of the first new moon of the Canaanite year, called the Feast of the Trumpets, which was characterized by a "solemn rest" and a "holy convocation," and was announced by a blast of trumpets.⁴ This feast may be the one referred to as being observed at Beth-lehem.⁵ It has its parallel in a new moon feast

² Jastrow, *ibid.*

³ 1 K. 8:2.

⁴ Lev. 23:24, 25; Num. 29:1.

⁵ 1 Sam. 20:6.

in this month in Cyprus.⁶ Another was the Day of Atonement, which came on the tenth of Ethanim, and which was characterized by a "solemn rest."⁷ Another was the Tammuz-wailing, which, in Ezekiel's day, occurred the fifth day of the last month of the year.⁸ It may even be possible that all three are detached fragments of this hypothetical Amorite feast.

The Spring Feast

A *Spring Feast*, which must have been the prototype of the Hebrew Passover, probably occurred, like the Passover,⁹ at the time of the full moon in the Canaanite seventh month. Accordingly at this time devotees brought the season's gifts to the sanctuary to present them to the goddess of fecundity, who gave the offspring of man and the increase, or "'*ashtarōth*, of the flock."¹⁰

In respect to origin man was on a level with the animal, and must present to the deity his own first-born as well as that of the animal; else future increase, upon which the very existence and continuity of the tribe depended, could not be expected to follow. This practice of sacrificing the first-born of man was mitigated later by substituting the first-born of an animal as is seen by the law of redemption.¹¹ Moreover, this feast was probably also the time of consecrating to the mother-goddess the youths who had arrived at puberty:¹² the males by being circumcised and the females by being required to sacrifice their chastity.¹³

This primitive feast has left its traces in the Semitic world in the Babylonian wedding-feast in honor of Ningirsu and Bau¹⁴ in the first month; in the annual sacrifice of sheep and a wild boar to Astarte in Cyprus;¹⁵ in the annual sacrifice in Arabia;¹⁶

⁶ From an inscription of about 400 B. C., *CIS.*, 86.

⁷ Lev. 23:26 ff.

⁸ 8:1, 14.

⁹ Lev. 23:5.

¹⁰ Deut. 7:13; 28:4, 18, 51.

¹¹ Ex. 34:19, 20.

¹² See p. 52 f.

¹³ See p. 53 f.

¹⁴ Jastrow, *Die Rel.*, i. pp. 59, 456, 463, 465; Jeremias, *The Old Testament in the Light of the Ancient East*, i. p. 96.

¹⁵ Johannes Lydus, *De Mensibus*, iv. 45.

¹⁶ Smith, *RS.*, p. 406.

and in the Hebrew passover feast, at which a lamb was slain in lieu of the first-born of man.¹⁷ The annual four-days' feast at Ramoth-gilead,¹⁸ at which a virgin appears to have been sacrificed to some goddess of fecundity, must, because of its nature, coincide with this spring-feast so universally observed throughout the Semitic world. Moreover, the annual sheep-shearing feast, which was generally observed in early times throughout the land, particularly at Haran,¹⁹ Ba'al-hazor,²⁰ Carmel,²¹ and Timnah,²² which came at this time of the year, may also have coincided with this feast.

THE LUNAR FEASTS

The Feast of the New Moon

The first appearance of the new moon was hailed with great acclaim because it marked the end of the period of uncertainty occasioned by the disappearance of the moon. When the crescent first appeared to the ancients, it seemed that the moon had issued victoriously from a deadly combat with some unseen devouring monster. Naturally the day was an occasion of great rejoicing and glad festivities. In this connection it is significant that the Hebrew word *hallel*, meaning "to begin a festal celebration," is cognate with the Arabic word *hilāl*, meaning "new moon," which is probably ancient. The feast of the new moon, whose importance is attested by this joy on the first appearance of the crescent, probably originally came, according to calculation, on the day when the moon was dark, and probably was characterized, like the sabbath, because of like natures as will soon be seen, by solemn ceremonies²³ calculated to appease the gods and to secure their amicable disposition toward men. Analogous to this sacred day in Babylonia²⁴ is the ancient Hebrew feast of the New Moon which in Saul's time was evidently observed by every clan and family from the king's palace

¹⁷ Ex. 34:18 ff.

¹⁸ Judg. 11:40.

¹⁹ Gen. 31:19.

²⁰ 2 Sam. 13:23, 24.

²¹ 1 Sam. 25:7.

²² Gen. 38:13.

²³ Cp. Lev. 23:24.

²⁴ Jastrow, *Rel. Belief*, p. 115.

to the humblest peasant home.²⁵ This season was celebrated by having a family gathering in which every member was required to be present, unless compelled to be absent through ceremonial uncleanness, and by the members partaking of a sacramental, or sacrificial meal. The court feast in this instance appears to have lasted two days—the second allowing for those members of the household to participate who were ceremonially unfit the first day. Besides being a family feast and being celebrated at home, the feast of the new moon appears to have been generally observed also in common with the sabbath feast at the sanctuary. Thus, it was the day of all days when people stopped their daily work and resorted on beast and on foot to the sanctuaries to participate in the glad festivities.²⁶ The sanctuaries were open to all²⁷ for prayer²⁸ and worship.²⁹ The day of the new moon was, in late times if not early, heralded by the blast of trumpets.³⁰ The fact that the early writers³¹ of the Pentateuch make no reference to this feast seems to indicate that it was associated with many repulsive rites.

The Sabbath-Feast

The periods of monthly transition which were thought to be particularly imbued with significance were called *shabbatum*, which took its name from the fifteenth day of the month when the moon was full; and were well known as "evil days," or "unlucky days," because on them the king was prohibited from wearing a festal garment, from riding in his chariot, from going on an expedition, and from eating fire-cooked food. These prohibitions were of the nature of taboos which rested upon secular acts, and were imposed upon the king lest he, as the representative of the people, should offend the gods and thus endanger the welfare of the community by an indiscriminate use of the sacred element fire and by making an unusual display of power and festivity.³²

²⁵ 1 Sam. 20:5, 6, 12, 18, 24, 26, 29.

²⁶ 2 K. 4:23; Hos. 2:13 (11); Am. 8:5.

²⁷ Ezek. 46:1; cp. Is. 1:12.

²⁸ Cp. Is. 1:15.

²⁹ 66:23.

³⁰ Num. 10:10; Ps. 81:4 (3).

³¹ J, E, D.

³² From Jastrow's *Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions*, pp. 34 ff.

These Babylonian customs have a profound significance for determining the nature and the character of the religious monthly calendar for the Palestinian Amorites. Accordingly we find that in the Hebrew *sabbath* is the name and relic of the old Babylonian "day of rest of the heart." The character of the sabbath with its attendant observances presents many striking parallels to the Babylonian *shabattum*. As hinted above, it was, in early Hebrew times, closely associated with the feast of the new moon, since it is often mentioned with it, and since it exhibits the same ceremonial features. Like the Babylonian *shabattum* prohibitions were placed upon certain secular acts being performed on the sabbath, as kindling a fire,³³ eating fire-cooked food,³⁴ doing ordinary work,³⁵ and leaving the house.³⁶ These prohibitions undoubtedly had their origin in taboos, which, in Babylonia, rested on secular pursuits during the "evil days," or the four days in the month when the moon was entering upon its respective phases. A reference to a "good day" in 1 Samuel 25:8 is significant as implying the existence of its counterpart, an "evil day." The sabbath, moreover, came every seventh day, and, so far as we know from brief references in the Old Testament, coincided with the four phases of the moon which occurred respectively on the first,³⁷ eighth,³⁸ fifteenth,³⁹ and twenty-second.⁴⁰ The occasion was observed by people refraining from their secular work and by devotees mak-

³³ Ex. 35:3.

³⁴ 16:23.

³⁵ 20:8-10; 23:12; 34:21.

³⁶ 16:29.

³⁷ In the first (Ethanim = seventh, or Tishri) month: a "solemn rest," a "holy convocation," and "no servile work," Lev. 23:24, 25; Num. 29:1.

³⁸ In the ninth (= third or Sivan) month: the "seventh sabbath" after the Passover. Lev. 23:15, 16.

³⁹ In the first (Ethanim) month: a "holy convocation," "no servile work," Lev. 23:36; Num. 29:12; a "solemn rest," Lev. 23:39. In the seventh (Abib = first or Nisan) month: a "holy convocation," "no servile work," Lev. 23:7; Num. 28:17; a "sabbath," Lev. 23:11, 15.

⁴⁰ In the first (Ethanim = seventh, or Tishri) month: a "holy convocation," a "solemn assembly," "no servile work," a "solemn rest," Lev. 23:36, 39; Num. 29:35.

ing journeys to shrines⁴¹ in order to pray⁴² and to offer burnt-offerings.⁴³

The utilitarian element of rest in the Hebrew sabbath was a later conception, which had nothing to do with the original significance of the day. When and how this new departure came about we have no means of determining. At any rate we may venture the assertion that it represents an early reaction of ethical religion against the immoral practices which were probably connected with the old feast.⁴⁴ The fact that, with the ascendancy of monotheism, the worship of the new moon waned until the Hebrew sabbath, originally the offspring of the lunar cult, entirely supplanted the feast of the new moon, points to the same conclusion.

Accordingly, therefore, we may conclude from Babylonian and Hebrew analogies that the Amorites of Palestine had a *shabbatum*, or sabbath, which was observed in substantially the same manner in which we find it observed by the early Hebrews.

⁴¹ 2 K. 4:23; Hos. 2:13 (11).

⁴² Cp. Is. 1:15; 66:23.

⁴³ 1 Chr. 23:31; 2 Chr. 2:3 (4); 8:13; 31:3.

⁴⁴ Is. 1:13-15.

CHAPTER XI

PANTHEON: NATURE-GODS

No philosophy has ever succeeded in grouping into two distinct and fixed categories that large body of phenomena often styled natural and supernatural; for, with every new discovery of the laws operating behind the manifestations of nature, there has had to be a revision of the old grouping in the direction of enlarging the field of the natural. In primitive times the natural and the supernatural were one and the same, and enlisted the awe of a people who attributed these mysterious forces of nature to divine causes. The existence of these unseen but potent agencies could not be doubted or lightly disregarded; for man's very existence and welfare hung suspended on a slender cord which the gods, if offended, might sever at any time. Along the whole way of his life man was confronted at every turn with these supernatural powers which demanded recognition and homage.

The designation for these gods were as numerous and varied as were their modes of manifestation to man and their relationship with him.

'El, which is perhaps derived from an old root meaning "power,"¹ was the general Semitic title for deity, and was, therefore, applicable to the *ba'als*, or gods of nature, and to all departmental deities. The frequent occurrence of the element 'el in West Semitic proper names of the First Dynasty of Babylon,² as well as in proper names in Palestine from 1500 B. C. onward, justifies us in assigning the use of this title to this early period. Old Palestinian place-names mentioned in the lists

¹ 'al, "be strong"; cp. Heb. 'el, "god."

² *eli* in *Ili-sami'a*, *Ili-mabi*, *Ili-mahi*, Ranke, p. 101; *ilu* in *Ishme-ilu*, p. 110; *Yadah-ilu*, p. 113, &c.; *Ilu-malik*, p. 104; *Abi-ilu*, p. 59; *Yabnik-ilu*, *Yadah-ilu*, *Yadih-ilu*, *Yahbar-ilu*, *Yahwi-ilu*, "Yahwi is god," *Yahzar-ilu*, *Yakub-ilu* "Yakub is god," p. 113; *Samsu-iluna* "the sun is our god," p. 140. Many in Cassite period, Clay, *Personal Names*, pp. 153 ff.

of Thutmose III³ and in the records of Rameses III⁴ and others; and personal names in the Amarna correspondence⁵ and Egyptian records⁶ reveal the divine element 'el. Furthermore, Old Testament place-names⁷ containing the element were undoubtedly Canaanite, and, as survivals, confirm the earlier use. Personal 'el-names do not furnish us sure evidence at this point since the tendency developed among the Hebrews to use 'el in a monarchical and monotheistic sense. However, as the native religion influenced to a considerable extent the incoming Hebrews, one may not be far out of the way in supposing that some personal names,⁸ at least, may suggest the general idea of deity as applicable to any of the many local gods of the land.

³ *Ha-r'-(e)-ra* = *Har'-el* "hill of god," Thutmose III's list, No. 81, *MVG.* 1907, p. 24; *Y(a)-sha-p'-(e)-ra* = Yoseph-el or Yesheb-el "god dwells," Thutmose III's list, No. 78, *MVG.* 1907, p. 16; *Y(a)-'-(q)(e)-b'-'-a-ra* = Yakob-el, "god supplants," Thutmose III's list, No. 102, *MVG.* 1907, p. 27; *Ma-sha-'-(e)ra* = Mishal which is probably for *Mish-el*, Thutmose III's list, No. 39, *MVG.* 1907, p. 16; *R'-wy-'-r'* = Levi-el, Breasted, *ARE.*, iv. § 131.

⁴ *Thek-el*, *T'-k-'-r'*, place-name, iv. § 565; *D'-d-p-l-t-rw* = *ZDPT-'L*, place-name, iv. § 712; *Sa-ba-'ā-ru* = Sab'-el, place-name, Müller, p. 134; *D-ga-ira-'ā-ira* = Degel-el, "ensign of god," Müller, p. 174.

⁵ *Ili-milku*, "My god is king," Knudtzon 151:45; 286:36; *Milk-ili*, No. 267:4, &c.; *Yabni-ilu*, "he who builds is god," 328:4; *Batti-ilu*, 170:3, &c.; *Shabi-ilu*, 62:26; *Ili-ra* (*beḥ*) 139:2, &c.; *Milk-ūim*, 289:11, &c.; *Milk-ūu*, 249:6, &c.

⁶ *B'-dy-r'* = Bed-el, Breasted, *ARE.*, iv. § 565; *M-k'-m-rw* = Makam-el, *ibid.*, § 566; *W'-r'-k'-ty-r'* = Berket-el, § 574; *'(E)-ry-m* = 'El-ram, § 455; *Bl-wr-n-r'* = Bekur-el, § 555; *R'-wy-'-r'* = Levi-el, § 131.

⁷ *'El-'ale*('), Num. 32:3, 37; Is. 15:4, &c.; *'El-kosh*, Nah. 1:1; *'El-teke*('), Josh. 19:44; 21:23; *'El-tekōn*, Josh. 15:59; *'El-tōlād*, Josh. 15:30; 19:4; *'Arī-'el*, Is. 29:1, 2, 7; *Beth-'arb-'el*, Hos. 10:14; *Kabše-'el*, Josh. 15:21; 2 Sam. 23:20; *Migdal-'el*, "tower of god," Josh. 19:38; *Ne'ē-'el*, Josh. 19:27; *Penī-'el*, Gen. 32:30; *Fabne-'el*, "he who builds is god," Josh. 15:11; *Yokthe-'el*, Josh. 15:38; *Yirpe-'el*, Josh. 18:27; *Yiphthah-'el*, "he who opens is god," Josh. 19:14, 27; *Yizre'e*(')l, "he who sows is god," Josh. 19:18.

⁸ *Abī-'el*, 1 Sam. 9:1; 14:51; *'Adrī-'el*, 1 Sam. 18:19; *'Al-mōdād*, Gen. 10:26; *'Ammū-'el*, 2 Sam. 9:4, &c.; *'Asah-'el*, 2 Sam. 2:18; *'Othnū-'el*, Josh. 15:17, &c.; *'Elī-'ab*, Num. 16:1; Deut. 11:6; *'Elī-'am*, 2 Sam. 11:3; *'Elī-melek*, Ruth 1:2, 3; *'Elī-'ezer*, Gen. 15:2; *'Elī-pherēt*, 2 Sam. 5:16, &c.; *'El-Hanan*, 2 Sam. 21:19, &c.; *'Elī-shūa'*, 2 Sam. 5:15; *'El-yada'*, 2 Sam. 5:16, &c.; *'El-yahba'*, 2 Sam. 23:32, &c.; *Hi-'el*, 1 K. 16:34; *Yō-'el*, 1 Sam. 8:2; *Palī-'el*, 2 Sam. 3:15; *Shemū-'el*, 1 Sam. 1:20, &c.; *Yehezke-'el*, 1 Chr. 24:16, &c.

The generic sense of the title is obvious in cases where it is used along with a specifying noun or adjective, as "I am the 'el, the God of thy father."⁹ Moreover, at the different Canaanite sanctuaries the 'els were variously designated as 'El-bēth-'el of Beth-el,¹⁰ 'El-'elōhīm of Shechem,¹¹ 'El-'elyōn of Salem,¹² 'El-shadday¹³ and 'El-'ōlam¹⁴ of Beer-sheba. Many old tribal names which contain 'el as a final element were undoubtedly those of gods whom each of the respective tribes worshipped. The first element of each name, then, specifies which 'el is intended, for instance, *Methūsha-'el*, *Meḥūya-'el*,¹⁵ *Yisra-'el*,¹⁶ *Yerahme-'el*,¹⁷ *Yishma-'el*.¹⁸

This general title for deity appears to have given a designation for the sacred oak, or terebinth, 'elah, in which an 'el was invariably thought to dwell.¹⁹

Finally it was probably through the amalgamation of many local 'els that the conception of the one god 'Elōhīm with its plural form gradually came into use.

The gods of the early Semites had to do with three different spheres of activity according to which we shall fittingly group them; namely, gods who presided over the phenomena of nature, mental states, and events of life.²⁰

1. **Gods of Nature** were conceived of as those powers which inhabited all the various physical objects which in any way exhibited mysterious phenomena. These forms were usually nameless and were designated by the title *ba'al*, "lord," or *ba'alat*, "mistress," which had reference, as the meaning shows, to the particular things in which one or the other dwelt. Thus there were *ba'als* of the sky, such as of the "north," the "sun," the "moon," the "light," and of the "darkness";

⁹ Gen. 46:3.

¹⁰ 35:7.

¹¹ 33:20.

¹² 14:18-20, 22.

¹³ 17:1.

¹⁴ 21:33.

¹⁵ 4:18.

¹⁶ 32:28, &c.

¹⁷ 1 Chr. 2:9, &c.

¹⁸ Gen. 16:11, &c.

¹⁹ See p. 21.

²⁰ For this classification the writer is indebted to Professor Lewis B. Paton. See *The Early Religion of Israel*, pp. 3 ff.

ba'als of atmospheric phenomena, such as of the "storm," the "heat," the "cold," and of the "dew"; and *ba'als* of a large number of physical objects, such as of mountains which often resounded with the crash of thunder and trembled with the earthquake, of springs which bubbled with life-giving water, of rivers which flowed in majesty, of trees which put forth leaves annually that murmured in the breezes, of caves which were pregnant with mystery, of animals which exhibited peculiar signs of life, and of fields and of hillsides which were fertile with the powers of productivity.

The phenomena which these physical objects exhibited thus became to worshippers the vehicles of divine communication. They were consulted by inquirers seeking some definite expression of the divine will; but if that expression were not forthcoming on the occasion desired, recourse was had to that large body of sacred rites and religious ceremonies which have accumulated with the development of every religion. One feels safe in assuming, because of the coincidence of Amorite-Babylonian customs and survivals appearing in the next period, that it was at some dwelling-place of the *ba'al*, appropriate for the various ends in view, and in the presence of some deity, that covenants were established between contracting parties, diviners divined, priests offered sacrifice, and worshippers often went to sexual excess—all for the sake of securing divine approval of the ends about which these devotees were concerned.

The sacred objects of the *ba'al*-shrines were thought to be surcharged with a subtle influence which might mean death to any one coming in contact with them, unless under certain conditions. Accordingly such objects were confined within the holy space of the shrine so as not to endanger the lives of men. This idea of separateness or holiness is expressed in the ancient Semitic root *k-d-sh*, meaning "sacred," and in the Hebrew *kadōsh*, "holy," which originally meant "set apart," or "taboo." Thus only under the most favorable conditions, perhaps through some rite of lustration, was it safe for one to draw near and touch the sacred object. The rites of lustration, as we have seen, consisted of fasting, discarding the garments and shoes, and possibly donning a sacred garb, such as a loin cloth, lest the worshipper should carry anything common or offensive into the presence of the deity. Then, as one left the shrine a similar

process had to be gone through with in order to get rid of the "holiness," or taboo, that was on him. So long as criminals were within the sacred precincts of the shrine they were safe from the hand of the avenger.²¹

Ba'al, as a general appellation for a god of nature, must have had its early inception in Palestine as far back as the first Semitic period in order to account for the prevalence of proper names compounded with the element *ba'al* belonging to the early part of the next period.²² *Bēl*, the name of a god of Nippur, existing as an element in many personal names of the Amorite period in Babylonia,²³ had the sense of "lord" as did *ba'al* in Canaan; yet there could hardly have been any historical connection between them.

The *ba'als*, in their relations with holy springs, trees, mountains, and sky, will be more fully discussed in the next period.²⁴ Of the *ba'als* whose names were particularly known at this time we have the following:

Addu, or Adad, or Hadad, is one of the oldest known gods of Canaan, his influence having extended at an early date to Babylon,²⁵ where he found acceptance as a weather-god under the special West Semitic ideographic title *MAR-TU*. This is to be read *Amurru*, indicating the Westland as his origin. *MAR-TU*, at the same time, meant *abūbu*, the "flood."²⁶ He bore another important title, *KUR-GAL*, i. e., "great mountain." This appellation possibly refers to his ancient proprietorship over Mount Lebanon where the Babylonians may first have come in contact with him. Pointing to this is the fact that the Babylonian rulers often sent to Lebanon, in Martu, for the much-prized cedar for building purposes. As proprietor of Lebanon, Adad would have to be reckoned with to allow the much-coveted product to be taken. Both the above ideographic titles appear in Aramaic indorsements on Babylonian documents of the Per-

²¹ Num. 35:6, 11, 15; 1 K. 1:51.

²² Chap. XXV.

²³ See list by Ranke, pp. 63 ff. A common element in Neo-Babylonian period. Clay, *Personal Names*, pp. 163 ff.

²⁴ Chap. XXV.

²⁵ *Adad*, the Westland name, *KAT.*, pp. 443, 444.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 447, 448.

sian period and are rendered by 'WR, i. e., *Amurru*.²⁷ *Mer* and *Bur* are also titles applied to this deity.²⁸ His name, however, occurs phonetically written *A-da-ad* and *Ad-du* in the lists of the gods. In the curse pronounced upon the transgressor at the close of the Hammurabi code of laws, Adad is invoked in terms which reveal his true character: "May Adad, lord of abundance, regent of heaven and earth, my helper, deprive him of the rain from heaven and the water-floods from the springs; may he bring his land to destruction, through want and hunger; may he break loose furiously over his city and turn his land into the heap left by a storm."²⁹

Probably the most ancient conception of Addu was that of soil-fertility and water-supply, which aspect of his nature survives in the name of a spring,³⁰ and in Hadad, the Aramæan god of water-supply and soil-fertility, who, in union with El, Reshef, Rekub-el, and Shamash, "gave fruitful crops, wheat, garlic, and vineyards."³¹ Embracing as he did these characteristics of a nature-god, Addu's nature coincided in many respects with that of 'Ashtart and of the Canaanite *ba'als* whose cults flourished later.

That manifestation of nature, however, which most clearly revealed the power and authority of Addu was the storm with its accompaniments of thunder and lightning. The transition from the former and more primitive conception of a god of the soil to a god of the storm is probably to be accounted for in one or both of two ways. As god of the soil and *ba'al* of a territory, such as a mountain or hill whose tops were shrouded in time of storm with clouds and resounded with the thunder-roll, he would, in the mind of the people, come to be regarded as having important connection with the storm. Or, since Addu presided over field-fertility or water-supply, it may be that he gradually came to be associated with the storm-cloud which

²⁷ Clay, *Bab. Expl. Univ. Penn.*, viii; x, 7; xiv; *Studies in Memory of W. R. Harper*, i. pp. 301, 304, 311; Clay, *Amurru*, pp. 95 ff.

²⁸ Jastrow, *Die Religion*, i. pp. 146 ff.

²⁹ Transl. by Cook, p. 90.

³⁰ *En-Rimmōn*, Neh. 11:29 = *Ayin*, Josh. 15:32 = *Ayin-Rimmōn*, 1 Chr. 4:32.

³¹ Zenjirli Hadad Insc., ll. 2 ff.; Cooke, pp. 159 ff.; ep. Barton, p. 229.

gave the rain to increase field-fertility and water-supply.³² A Hittite stele, found at Babylon, represents a Hittite deity with horns, probably Teshub, holding the same emblematic hammer in his right hand and bundle of thunderbolts in his left as the artist ascribed to Rammān, the Babylonian Addu.³³ In the Amarna letters Pharaoh is likened unto Addu who reigns with great power "in the sky"³⁴ and "who utters his voice in the sky . . . so that he shakes the whole land with his voice."³⁵ Similarly in Babylonia, though more often as the native Rammān, "the thunderer,"³⁶ Addu, who was probably introduced by the early Amorite settlers, was the weather-god, as is shown by the ideogram *IM*, meaning "wind";³⁷ and was a storm- and thunder-god, as is shown by the curse at the conclusion of the Hammurabi code where Addu brings rain or withholds it, sends floods or drouths, and gives prosperity or thorns.³⁸ Adad was worshipped with Shamash probably because the lightning in mythology had a close connection with the powers of the sun.³⁹ An early Assyrian royal name combines the two gods.⁴⁰ This aspect of Addu as storm-god was certainly incorporated into the conception of Yahweh; for the God of the Hebrews is, in the earliest accounts, represented as in very close connection with the cloud, the thunder, and the lightning.⁴¹ On two occasions, Yahweh, in answer to Samuel's prayer, "thundered with a great voice . . . upon the Philistines and discomfited them."⁴²

Another distinct aspect of Addu, growing undoubtedly out of the destructive powers of the thunderbolt, was that of war-god. While the name Addu, or Adad, does not appear on the Egyptian monuments, yet one may conclude from the characteristics of the *Ba'al* there mentioned and of the Hyksos

³² Barton, p. 229.

³³ *KAT.*, p. 449.

³⁴ Knudtson, 149:4 ff.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 147:5 ff.

³⁶ See Chap. XV.

³⁷ Barton, p. 225.

³⁸ Jastrow, *Die Rel.*, i. p. 150.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 222.

⁴⁰ *Shamashi-Adad*, Eponym for year 823 B. C.

⁴¹ Ex. 19:16 ff., &c.

⁴² 1 Sam. 7:10; 12:17, 18; cp. Is. 29:6; Ezek. 13:13.

Sutekh, that the three were the same deity of storm and of war. Possibly Adad is intended in the phrase "lord of gods" on a tablet found at Taanach.⁴³ The Egyptian chroniclers in describing the mighty valor of the Pharaohs of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties in battle with Asiatics do so by means of comparisons with Ba'al, the war-god, who corresponds well with the nature of Addu. *Ba'al* is "great in might,"⁴⁴ conscious of his might,⁴⁵ valiant in strength,"⁴⁶ "irresistible, mighty-hearted,"⁴⁷ has "(straight) form,"⁴⁸ and animated limbs,⁴⁹ is "far-reaching in courage,"⁵⁰ "consumes with flame the enemy,"⁵¹ is "wroth in heaven,"⁵² "in the hour (of manifestation),"⁵³ "roars in heaven,"⁵⁴ "traverses the mountains,"⁵⁵ and spreads terror "in the countries"⁵⁶ where Bedouin fear and prostrate themselves in fearful worship.⁵⁷

This *Ba'al* was the Canaanite title for the Hyksos god Sutekh who was identified with the Egyptian god Set who wandered out of Egypt and returned with the Hyksos.⁵⁸ By the Hyksos Sutekh was made the chief deity of their capital city on the eastern delta.⁵⁹ Afterwards he became the patron deity of the royal city of Ramses II, his name appearing not infrequently on votive tablets of that time⁶⁰ and occurring once in parallelism with Ba'al in a simile expressing "great strength."⁶¹

The name Addu, or Adad, appears as an element in Canaanite

⁴³ Thus Cook, in *Expositor*, vol. x (1910), p. 124.

⁴⁴ Breasted, *ARE.*, iv. § 75.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, iv. § 72.

⁴⁶ §§ 46, 72.

⁴⁷ iii. § 86.

⁴⁸ iv. § 62.

⁴⁹ iii. § 338.

⁵⁰ iv. § 75.

⁵¹ iv. § 49.

⁵² iv. § 96; ep. iv. § 80.

⁵³ iii. §§ 312, 326; iv. § 106.

⁵⁴ iv. § 104.

⁵⁵ iii. § 122.

⁵⁶ iii. §§ 122, 144.

⁵⁷ iv. § 246.

⁵⁸ Breasted, *HE.*, pp. 222, 460; Erman, A., *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, pp. 19, 74; Müller, p. 309.

⁵⁹ Erman, *ibid.*, p. 74.

⁶⁰ Breasted, *HE.*, p. 460.

⁶¹ Breasted, *ARE.*, iii. § 338.

and Syrian personal names mentioned in the Amarna letters,⁶² in one name found on a tablet at Taanach,⁶³ and in Assyrian,⁶⁴ Kassite,⁶⁵ Aramæan,⁶⁶ Arabian,⁶⁷ and Old Testament personal names;⁶⁸ while that of Hadad appears in an ancient Semitic personal name,⁶⁹ in Canaanite,⁷⁰ Old Testament,⁷¹ Aramaic,⁷² and Hebrew⁷³ personal names and in the compound divine name *Hadad-Rimmon*.⁷⁴

Shemesh, or Shamash. The deification of the sun must have had its origin in primitive Semitic conditions, for Shamash presided over those phenomena of nature which brought him into close connection with Adad,⁷⁵ the storm-god, and with 'Ash-tart, the goddess of fecundity. The Semitic invaders of Babylonia, some of whose names bore the name of this god,⁷⁶ gave the Semitic name and coloring to the great Shamash-cult of Larsa and Sippar.⁷⁷ His worship under Hammurabi was popular; for in the great Code he is called "the great judge of heaven and earth who maintains upright all living beings, the lord of vital energy." He helps the good and punishes the evil through his righteous law, solves doubts and gives oracles

⁶² *Adda-dani*, Knudtzon 292:3, &c.; *Adda-Ya, Ada-Ya*, 254:37; 287:47, 49; 289:32; *Abd-Addi*, 123:51; *Kidin-Addi*, 12:24; *Iddin-Addu*, 123:37; *Rib-Addi*, 68-71, &c.; *Shama-Adda*, 49:2; 225:3; *Shum-Adda*, 8:3, &c.; *Yapa-Addu, Yappah-Addu, Yaph-Addu*, 83:26; 85:29, 42; 97:2; 98:2; 103:19; 105:31, &c.; *Yaptih-Addu*, 288:45; *Addu-mi*, 170:17.

⁶³ *Guli-Addi*, Sellin, p. 113.

⁶⁴ *Addu-nirari*, Knudtzon 51:2; *Shamshî-Adad*, eponym for 823 B. C.; *Adad-nirari*, eponym for 810 B. C.; *Adad-mushammir*, eponym for 789 B. C.; *Adad-uballit*, eponym for 786 B. C., &c.; 'Adram-melek, 2 K. 19:37; god of Sepharvaim, 2 K. 17:31, possibly for 'Adad-melek.

⁶⁵ Clay, *Personal Names*, pp. 47 ff.; 150.

⁶⁶ *Giri-dadi, Dadi-ilu, KAT.*³, p. 444.

⁶⁷ *Bir-Dadda, KAT.*³, p. 443.

⁶⁸ 'Adad, 1 K. 11:17 (see Hebrew) = *Hadad*, 11:14, &c.

⁶⁹ *Rish-Hadad* (2470-2440 B. C.), a prince captured by Naram-sin, Meyer, § 401.

⁷⁰ *Kib-Hadda*, Knudtzon 68:1, &c.; *Shumu-Hadi*, 97:1; *Yapti-Hada*, 335:9; *Hadad-czer*, 2 Sam. 8:3, &c.; *Ben Hadad*, 1 K. 15:18, &c.

⁷¹ *Hadad*, Gen. 36:35, &c., probably for *Henadad*, Ezr. 3:9.

⁷² *HDD-ZR*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 258; 'BD-HDD, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 333.

⁷³ *Abd-Hadad*, a potter's name, Macalister, *BSL.*, p. 159.

⁷⁴ Zech. 12:11, probably for *Hadad-Rimmonah*; cp. *ha-ha-Remônâh*, Am. 4:3.

⁷⁵ Knudtzon 154:6; cp. *Shamshî-Adad*, eponym for 823 B. C.

⁷⁶ *Samsu(i)-d(î)itana, Samsu-utuna*, "sun is our god," Ranke, p. 140.

⁷⁷ *KAT.*³, p. 367.

to the diviners.⁷⁸ His cult spread also to Palestine where in the Amarna period it was recognized as native and well-established. Shamash appears with Ishtar as crowning marriage with pleasure and joy,⁷⁹ and is mentioned with the *ba'alat* of Gubla,⁸⁰ and is likened to Adad dwelling in the sky⁸¹ and wielding the mighty thunderbolt.⁸² Shamash had the power to quicken by his benevolent rays and to give "rest" (prosperity) to the whole land.⁸³ The two old Palestinian place-names, *Shemesh-Edom*⁸⁴ and *Shamshan*,⁸⁵ preserve the name of this god.

Survivals of sun-worship appear in the Old Testament. The sun, standing still⁸⁶ and causing the shadow on the dial to retrograde,⁸⁷ reflects the divine prerogative of executing judgment and giving oracles. The story of Samson,⁸⁸ some think, points back to an ancient sun-myth. The keeping of horses and chariots sacred to the sun at the temple-gate,⁸⁹ the fiery chariot in Elijah's translation,⁹⁰ the worship of the rising sun in the time of Manasseh⁹¹ and of Ezekiel⁹² and many poetic personifications⁹³ may, in the light of the foregoing, be cited as evidence of the surviving influence of the solar cult of the early years. Moreover, Hebrew,⁹⁴ Phoenician,⁹⁵ Neo-Punic,⁹⁶ Aramaic,⁹⁷ Naba-

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 368.

⁷⁹ Knudtzon, 21:15.

⁸⁰ Knudtzon, 116:65.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 49:14.

⁸² 147:5 ff.

⁸³ 105:11; 147:52; 149:21.

⁸⁴ *Sh'-my-sh'-y-t'-my* in North Galilee, No. 51, Breasted, *ABE.*, ii. § 783n.

⁸⁵ *Shamshan*, Müller, p. 166, perhaps = *Beth-Shemesh*, Josh. 15:10. Cp. *Shimshōn* who lived in the same territory, Judg. 13:24, &c.

⁸⁶ Josh. 10:12, 13.

⁸⁷ 2 K. 20:11; Is. 38:8.

⁸⁸ Judg. 13-16; Jeremias, *The Old Testament in the Light of the Ancient East*, ii. p. 172.

⁸⁹ 2 K. 23:11.

⁹⁰ 2 K. 2:11, 12.

⁹¹ 2 K. 23:5; Deut. 17:3.

⁹² 8:16.

⁹³ Ps. 84:12 (11); 121:6; Is. 49:10.

⁹⁴ *Shimshōn*, Judg. 13:24; *Shamsheray*, 1 Chr. 8:26; *Shimshay*, Ezr. 4:8.

⁹⁵ 'DN-*ShMSh*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 209; 'BD-*ShMSh*, p. 335; 'DN-*ShMSh*, Ldzb., *Eph.*, i. p. 352.

⁹⁶ *MKM-ShMSh*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 316.

⁹⁷ *KLZYR-ShMSh*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 296; *ShMSh*, Ldzb., *Eph.*, vol. ii. p. 224.

taean,⁹⁸ and Palmyrene⁹⁹ personal names and Old Testament nomenclature inherited from the former period, namely, 'Ir-Shemesh,¹⁰⁰ "city of Shemesh," 'En-Shemesh,¹⁰¹ "spring of Shemesh," Beth-Shemesh,¹⁰² "house of Shemesh," Timnath-Heres,¹⁰³ "territory of (the) sun," Har-Heres,¹⁰⁴ "mount of (the) sun," carry significant evidence of the lingering influence of the Shamash-cult.

Sin. The Semites brought the worship of the moon-god Sin into Babylonia at an early date; for, according to Ranke in his study of personal names, the use of this name as an affix and the frequency with which it occurs as an element in proper names, especially from the Semitic Sippar, point to a Semitic origin of this cult.¹⁰⁵ Ur was the first center, and thence the cult spread and became prominent.¹⁰⁶

Being thus identified with the great luminary of the night, Sin easily came to be regarded, at least in Babylonia, as the father of the gods. He ruled over the days, the months, and the years, thus bearing a vital relation to the welfare of man who depended on him for the continuity of the calendar and mundane prosperity. The monthly disappearance of the moon always injected uncertainty into men's minds, which never could rest at ease until the new moon crescent made its appearance in the western sky. Accordingly the first appearance of the moon-crescent was hailed with great jubilation, for it meant that the supposed monster dragon, with whom Sin had to struggle every month, was now overcome.¹⁰⁷

Any infraction of a state-made, and therefore a divinely-

⁹⁸ *ShM-ShMSh*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 379.

⁹⁹ *ShMSh-GRM*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 379; *BR-ShMSh*, p. 246; *TYM-ShMSh*, Ldzb., *Eph.*, ii. p. 425.

¹⁰⁰ Josh. 19:41.

¹⁰¹ Josh. 15:7; 18:17.

¹⁰² Josh. 15:10.

¹⁰³ *Heres* = "sun," Judg. 2:9.

¹⁰⁴ Judg. 1:35.

¹⁰⁵ Ranke, p. 35; Hommel thinks it came from the Westland, *Aufs und Abh.*, p. 158.

¹⁰⁶ *KAT.*³, p. 361.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 362; Jeremias, *The Old Testament in the Light of the Ancient East*, i. p. 110.

sanctioned, law, as for instance that connected with the ownership of land, incurred the punitive wrath of Sin who inflicted leprosy upon the transgressor, or clothed his body with an eruption which ostracised him from the haunts of men.¹⁰⁸ In one instance this god is referred to as the causer of chills and fever.¹⁰⁹

The cult spread westward to Haran, where, in the eighth century B. C., a great sanctuary existed with Sin at the center of a pantheon in which Sharratu, or Ningal, was wife; Malkatu, or Ishtar, was daughter; and Nusku was son.¹¹⁰ The inception of this cult at Haran must have been at some time previous to 1400 B. C., when the great Aramæan migration began, for the names of the three tribes of Haran, two of which migrated to Canaan at this time, bore divine names which were peculiar to this lunar pantheon. Thus, *Milkah*¹¹¹ received its name from "Malkatu," the title of Ishtar; *Sarah*,¹¹² from "Sharratu," the title of Ningal; and *Laban*,¹¹³ from *Lebanah*, a Semitic name for moon.

The moon-cult survived in Cyprus through 'Ashtart who was identified with the moon, for at the sanctuary of Kition provisions were donated "to the gods of the new moon."¹¹⁴

In Palestine the name Sin is preserved in the name of a land east of the Euphrates,¹¹⁵ in *Sīnay*, the name of a mountain,¹¹⁶ in *Sin*, the name both of a wilderness¹¹⁷ and of a city,¹¹⁸ and in Old Testament personal names.¹¹⁹

Other names for the moon, similarly preserved, show lingering traces of the old reverence for Sin: thus *Yareah* is an ele-

¹⁰⁸ Jastrow, *Die Rel.*, i. pp. 151 ff.

¹⁰⁹ *KAT.*³, p. 366.

¹¹⁰ *KAT.*³, p. 363.

¹¹¹ Gen. 11:29, &c.

¹¹² Gen. 17:15, &c.

¹¹³ Gen. 24:29, &c.

¹¹⁴ *CIS.*, i. 86; Cooke, p. 66; cp. Barton, in *Hebraica*, x. p. 46.

¹¹⁵ *Shai-na-r-ka-y*, "the back-land Sin"; *Shai-'no-ra-g-n-na*, "the front-land Sin," Müller, p. 289.

¹¹⁶ Ex. 16:1, &c.

¹¹⁷ Ex. 16:1, &c.

¹¹⁸ Ezek. 30:15, 16.

¹¹⁹ *Shen-'assar*, "Sin protects," 1 Chr. 3:18; *Shin-'ab*, "Sin is father," Gen. 14:2.

ment in early Babylonian¹²⁰ as well as in Old Testament,¹²¹ Phoenician,¹²² and Palmyrene¹²³ personal names, and also survives in the names of two Canaanite cities: viz., *Bit-arḥa*¹²⁴ and *Yerihō*.¹²⁵ *YRH-BWL* is the name of a deity of Palmyra.¹²⁶ *Hodesh*,¹²⁷ "new moon," and *Lebanah*,¹²⁸ (the) "white," another name for moon, appear in Old Testament nomenclature and in Old Testament,¹²⁹ Phoenician,¹³⁰ Punic,¹³¹ and Hebrew,¹³² personal names. *Hilāl*, an old Semitic word for "moon," is preserved not only in a Hebrew proper name¹³³ but eventually came, probably because of the new moon-ritual at the sanctuary, to mean "praise."¹³⁴

It is difficult to determine just how little or much the moon-cult in Canaan was directly influenced by the Babylonian type. At any rate we observe that in Canaan, as in Babylon, the circuits of the moon divided the year into months; and its phases, the months into weeks; making, therefore, the first day of each year, month, and week occasions for great jubilation. In the early Hebrew period each new year's day and new moon's day was celebrated by blasts of trumpets, by royal families and clans keeping holyday by festival, by worshippers making pil-

¹²⁰ *Abī-a* (or *A*)*rah*, "Ab is (the) moon," Ranke, p. 58; *Abdi-(A)**rah*, "servant of (the) moon," p. 58; *Yama(?)*-*Erah*, "Yah is moon," p. 113; *Sam-Arah*, *Zimri-Erah*, "protection is (the) moon," p. 180; *Sumu-rah*, "Sumu is (the) moon," p. 166.

¹²¹ *'Ah-rah*, 1 Chr. 8:1; *Yarah*, Gen. 10:26; *Yarōah*, 1 Chr. 5:14.

¹²² *BD-YRH*, "servant of (the) moon," Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 334.

¹²³ *YRH-BWL*, *YRH-Y*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 290; *YRH-BWN*, Ldzb., *EPH.* ii. p. 417.

¹²⁴ *Bit-arḥa*, probably for *Bit Yerah*, "house of (the) new moon," Knudtzon, 83:29.

¹²⁵ Josh. 2:1 = *Yereḥō*, Deut. 34:1.

¹²⁶ Ldzb. *HNE.*, p. 290.

¹²⁷ *Hadashah*, Josh. 15:37; *Ḥōdshī*, 2 Sam. 24:6.

¹²⁸ *Laban*, Deut. 1:1; *Libnah*, Josh. 10:29, &c.; *Lebanōn* (a mountain), Deut. 3:25; *Lebōnah*, Judg. 21:19.

¹²⁹ *Laban*, Gen. 24:29, &c.; *Lebanah*, Ezr. 2:45; *Libnī*, Ex. 6:17, &c.; *Ḥodesh*, 1 Chr. 8:9.

¹³⁰ *BN-ḤDSh*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 238; *M-ḤDSh*, *ibid.*, p. 307.

¹³¹ *BN-ḤDSh*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 238.

¹³² *MNJIM-(L)BNH*, a potter's name in Judah, Bliss and Macal., p. 120.

¹³³ *Hillal*, Judg. 12:13, 15; cp. Baby. *Elali*, Ranke, p. 199.

¹³⁴ *hillāl*, Judg. 9:27; Lev. 19:24.

grimaces to the sanctuaries for worship, and by fasting.¹³⁵ The earliest literature of the Old Testament makes no mention of a lunar feast, probably because the Sabbath, with its humanitarian conception, came to supplant these festal occasions which undoubtedly were attended with debasing practices.

While Sin in Babylonia was active in inflicting leprosy or scab upon evil-doers, the moon in Canaan, once identified with Sharrabu, the dreaded fever-demon of the Westland,¹³⁶ was thought to smite at night his victims with the fever.¹³⁷

To the stars, as in Babylonia,¹³⁸ may have been attributed divine personalities; but the only suggestion that such was the case is the Old Testament place-name, *Kesil*.¹³⁹ The personification of the stars as "fighting against Sisera,"¹⁴⁰ is not conclusive; while the star-worship which was prevalent in Manasseh's reign¹⁴¹ and which Deuteronomy condemned¹⁴² evidently was a late introduction from Assyria.

Dagon. All scholars generally agree with the probability that the cult of Dagon was not native to Babylonian soil, but was brought in by early Semitic settlers.¹⁴³ The name of the deity appears in the names of two kings of Isin,¹⁴⁴ of two early Assyrians,¹⁴⁵ besides in other personal names mentioned on the Obelisk of Manishtusu,¹⁴⁶ in documents of the first dynasty of Babylon,¹⁴⁷ and in other Babylonian names.¹⁴⁸

¹³⁵ See pp. 58, 60 f.

¹³⁶ *sharab*, "heat," Is. 49:10.

¹³⁷ Is. 49:10; Ps. 121:6.

¹³⁸ *KAT*.³, p. 366.

¹³⁹ "Orion," Josh. 15:30.

¹⁴⁰ Judg. 5:20.

¹⁴¹ 2 K. 21:3; 23:4-6; cp. v. 12.

¹⁴² Deut. 4:19; 17:3.

¹⁴³ Dagōn was god of the Amorites whose worship was brought by them to Babylon and to Palestine. Bezold, in *ZA.*, xxi. (1908) pp. 253 ff.; Meyer, §§ 463 ff.; Jastrow, *Die Rel.*, i. p. 98, cp. pp. 219 ff.; Clay, *Amurru*, p. 147; Paton, in *HERE.*, iv. p. 388; Barton, p. 231; *KAT*.³, p. 358.

¹⁴⁴ *Idin-Dagān*, *Ishmē-Dagān*, Meyer, § 463.

¹⁴⁵ *Ishmē-Dagān*, *Dagān-bēl-nāsir*, *KB.*, i. p. 204; *Bayti-Duquna*, *Bit-Daganna*, *KB.*, ii. p. 92.

¹⁴⁶ *Gimil-Dagān*, *Iti-Dagān*, *KA-Dagān*, Ranke, p. 198, &c.

¹⁴⁷ *Idin-Dagan*, *Nahum-Dagan*, *Issi(?) -Dagan*, *Sumu-Dagan*, *Yazi-Dagan*, *Tūri-Dagan*, *ibid.*, and n. 3.

¹⁴⁸ *Dagān-abī* and *Ibnī-Dagān*, cited by Paton, in *HERE.*, iv. p. 386b.

The deity is mentioned by Hammurabi in his Code, who styles himself the "warrior of Dagon his creator."¹⁴⁹ From the facts that, in the same code, Dagon is referred to as native to the Euphrates region, and that he was connected with Bēl the earth-god, it appears that the deity was originally essentially a god of water-supply and of the soil.¹⁵⁰ This conclusion is further strengthened by an old etymology mentioned by Philo Byblius connecting the name with *corn*.¹⁵¹ This nature of Dagon, thus conceived, proves him to be a sort of Semitic Ceres, and, therefore, a close relative of the Canaanite *ba'als* of the next period. In Palestine Dagon first occurs in the name of a native of the land of this early period.¹⁵² Ramses III's annalist copies the town-name *Beth-Dagon* from an earlier list.¹⁵³ This city is to be identified probably with the city of the same name in Judah mentioned in Joshua.¹⁵⁴ Another town of the same name existed in Galilee.¹⁵⁵ In the light of the above data it seems quite improbable, if not impossible, that Dagon was a Philistine god prior to the settlement of this people in Palestine about 1200 B. C. It is to be concluded rather that the Philistines found the cult native to their new land and raised it to national importance. Dagon was the chief deity worshipped at Gaza, where celebrations were wont to be held in his honor;¹⁵⁶ and at Ashdod, where a temple of Dagon existed at one time containing his image.¹⁵⁷

Saphōn, the "north," as an abode for deities, was a favorite conception among the Semites, and came therefore to be deified.¹⁵⁸ *Ṣaphōn*, under the form of *Ba'alat Ṣaphōn*, was a goddess worshipped at Memphis in Canaanite times;¹⁵⁹ but, under the form of *Ba'al-Ṣaphōn*, was worshipped as a god in Syria

¹⁴⁹ iv. 28.

¹⁵⁰ Barton, p. 231.

¹⁵¹ *dagōn*, Paton, in *HERE.*, iv. p. 387.

¹⁵² *Dagan-takala*, Knudtzon, 317:2, 9, 13; 318:4.

¹⁵³ Müller, *Egyptological Research*, 1906, p. 49.

¹⁵⁴ *Beth-Dagōn*, Josh. 15:41; *Bit Daganna*, *KB.*, ii. p. 92.

¹⁵⁵ Josh. 19:27.

¹⁵⁶ Judg. 16:23 ff.

¹⁵⁷ 1 Sam. 5:1-5.

¹⁵⁸ Thus Baethgen, p. 22; Nö., in *ZMG.*, xlii (1888), p. 472; Gray, p. 134; Baudissin, i. p. 278.

¹⁵⁹ Müller, p. 315.

and Palestine, being mentioned in a treaty made between Esarhaddon and the king of Tyre,¹⁶⁰ and likewise surviving in the annals of Tiglath-pileser¹⁶¹ and Sargon¹⁶² as the name of a peak of Lebanon. Also a city on the Red Sea preserves the name.¹⁶³ The simple form, *Şaphôn*, occurs in an Old Testament city east of the Jordan.¹⁶⁴ Moreover, an Assyrian eponym of the time of Ashurbanipal,¹⁶⁵ and Old Testament,¹⁶⁶ Egyptian,¹⁶⁷ Phoenician,¹⁶⁸ and Punic¹⁶⁹ personal names bear the name of this god of the north.

Şarrabu, "heat,"¹⁷⁰ and Birdu, "cold,"¹⁷¹ appearing in the Babylonian list of western deities¹⁷² as designations for the two forms of Nergal,¹⁷³ survive separately each in Old Testament personal names.¹⁷⁴ Birdu may also linger in an old Canaanite place-name¹⁷⁵ and in a Palmyrene personal name.¹⁷⁶ These facts seem to suggest that *heat* and *cold* were deified by the Amorites.

Uru, "light," as a divine name, appears as an element in Semitic names in both East and West. Urra was the god of Cutha,¹⁷⁷ and, as such, occurs in many personal names of the first dynasty of Babylon.¹⁷⁸ The cult of Uru came westward with the early Amorites and even penetrated Egypt, for as

¹⁶⁰ *Ba'al Şapuna*, *KAT.*³, p. 357.

¹⁶¹ *Ba'li-Şapûna*, *KAT.*³, p. 479.

¹⁶² *Ba'il-Şapûna*, *ibid.*

¹⁶³ *Ba'al-Şephôn*, Ex. 14:2, 9; Num. 33:7.

¹⁶⁴ Josh. 13:27; Judg. 12:1.

¹⁶⁵ *Gir Şapûnu*, *Giri-Şapûni*, "client of Şaphôn," *KAT.*³, p. 479.

¹⁶⁶ *'Elî-Şaphan*, Num. 3:30; *Şephan-Yah(u)*, Jer. 21:1, &c.; *Şiphyôn*, Gen. 46:16 = *Şephôn*, Num. 26:15; *HWSH'-ŞPN*, a potter's name, Bliss and Macal. p. 119; *ŞPN-YHW*, on a Hebrew coin, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 359.

¹⁶⁷ *Şaphnath-pa'neah*, name given to Joseph, Gen. 41:45.

¹⁶⁸ *BD-ŞPN*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 234; *BD-SPN*, *ibid.*, 335.

¹⁶⁹ *ŞPN-B'L*, *ibid.*, p. 359; *ŞPN-YŞDK*, Ldzb., *EPH.*, vol. i. p. 359.

¹⁷⁰ Heb. *sharab*, "burning heat."

¹⁷¹ Heb. *barad*, "hail."

¹⁷² *KAT.*³, p. 415.

¹⁷³ See Nergal, Chap. XV.

¹⁷⁴ *Shereb-Yah*, Ezr. 8:18, &c.; *Bered*, 1 Chr. 7:20.

¹⁷⁵ *Bered*, Gen. 16:14.

¹⁷⁶ *B'L-BRD*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 236.

¹⁷⁷ Clay, *Amurru*, pp. 109 ff.

¹⁷⁸ *ÛRRA-bani*, *ÛRRA-erishnu*, *ÛRRA-gamil*, *ÛRRA-gasheir*(?), Ranke, p. 172.

early as the 4th dynasty there is found the beginning of the solar cult in Egypt. This was a foreign cult as may be inferred from the probable derivations of *R'a*, the Egyptian sun-god, from the Semitic '*Or*, "light," and from the fact that sun-worship was not known among the neolithic Egyptians.¹⁷⁹ In the West Uru found expression in *Uru-salim*,¹⁸⁰ a city of the Amarna period; in *Uru-malki*, the king of Gebal mentioned in the annals of Sennacherib;¹⁸¹ and in Old Testament¹⁸² and Phoenician¹⁸³ personal names. Yahweh was Israel's *UR*.¹⁸⁴

Salem, "darkness,"¹⁸⁵ giving an air of mystery to the primitive mind, would naturally be deified. Such a deity occurs in Assyrian names of the time of Sargon,¹⁸⁶ in the Amarna place-name, *Buru-šilim*,¹⁸⁷ in the personal name *Šalmu*,¹⁸⁸ in the names of a mountain¹⁸⁹ and of a town,¹⁹⁰ and in two Old Testament personal names.¹⁹¹

Tal, "dew," another natural phenomenon,¹⁹² was deified, since it appears as an element in Babylonian names¹⁹³ and in two Old Testament personal names.¹⁹⁴

¹⁷⁹ Hall, *The Ancient History of the Near East*, London (1913), pp. 85 ff.

¹⁸⁰ Knudtzon, 289:14, &c.

¹⁸¹ *KB.*, ii. p. 91.

¹⁸² '*Ūr*, 1 Chr. 11:35; '*Ūrī*, probably for '*Ūrī-Yāh*, Ex. 31:2, &c.; '*Ūrī-el*, 1 Chr. 6:9 (24), &c.; '*Ūrī-Yāh*, 2 Sam. 11:3, &c.; '*Ūrī-Yahū*, Jer. 26:20; *Shedē-Ūr*, Num. 1:5, &c.

¹⁸³ *BL-WR*, '*R-MLK*, Cooke, pp. 18, 20.

¹⁸⁴ Ps. 27:1; Is. 2:5; 10:17; 60:19, 20; Mic. 7:8.

¹⁸⁵ Heb. *šel*, Assy. *šalāmu*.

¹⁸⁶ *Šalmu-ahē*, *Šalmu-sharikbi*, *KAT.*⁶, p. 476.

¹⁸⁷ Knudtzon, 137:64, 85.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 7:73, 80.

¹⁸⁹ *Har Šalmōn*, Judg. 9:48.

¹⁹⁰ *Šalmōnah*, Num. 33:41, 42.

¹⁹¹ *Šalmōn*, 2 Sam. 23:28; *Šalmunna'*, Judg. 8:5, &c.

¹⁹² Gen. 27:28; Ps. 133:3.

¹⁹³ "tali" in *Tali-ibni*(?), Ranke, p. 218.

¹⁹⁴ '*Abī-Tal*, 2 Sam. 3:4, &c. *Ḥammū-Tal*, 2 K. 23:31.

CHAPTER XII

PANTHEON: GODS OF THE INNER CONSCIOUSNESS

As the *ba'als* were thought to enter into and dwell in certain natural objects and to reveal themselves to men through the natural phenomena attending these respective objects, so gods were also thought to enter at times into men and reveal themselves through the various human emotions. Thus the emotions of anger, fear, joy, love, and peace, which came at different times to men in their various experiences, were deified. The activity of the emotional gods, such as anger, strength, and joy, could, for special manifestations, be enhanced by participation in certain rites or even by sleeping. Thus, the eating of the flesh and the drinking of the blood of some holy animal, or the eating of herbs, or of the fruit and leaves of a certain sacred tree, were old customs which undoubtedly betray the intention of the participant to secure or to invite that emotion, or that deity of consciousness, which a certain sacred food was thought to awaken or to produce. On the eve of battle, warriors, by eating the sacrifice and drinking the blood¹ of some strong animal, would seek to be possessed by the god of strength or of anger. Similarly dream-states, produced by an indwelling deity, were sought and were eagerly interpreted with ominous significance. Probably sleeping near holy places especially produced states in which the deity revealed his will. Thus Jacob dreamed at Beth-el,² Solomon at Gibeon,³ and the treasure-hunting Egyptians at the traditional Sinai.⁴ The interpretation of dreams became a science at Elephantine in the fourth century B. C.⁵

For the sake of correctly interpreting states of consciousness there originated the order of *nebi'im*, "prophets," just as the priest-diviner arose for interpreting the phenomena of nature.

¹ See p. 43.

² Gen. 28:12, 19.

³ 1 K. 3:5-15.

⁴ Petrie, *RS.*, pp. 67-9, 190.

⁵ *CIS.*, ii. 137; Cooke, p. 203.

The prophets, in extreme cases, sought to suppress the normal and to enhance the abnormal states of consciousness by going through all sorts of bodily movements, as do the modern dervishes. In this frenzied state they believed themselves to be possessed by some divine personality who could in this way best impart a revelation. Prophets of this kind existed at Gebal as early as 1118 B. C. and were numerous in the days of Samuel and of Elijah.⁶

⁶ See p. 56.

CHAPTER XIII

PANTHEON: GODS OF THE EVENTS OF LIFE

Gods of the events of life, in distinction from the nature-*ba'als* and the gods of the inner consciousness, presided over all the departments of tribal and individual life. As the *ba'als* were thought to own and to exercise authority over objects, so departmental deities owned and exercised authority over men. These, too, were given titles which were really projections into the realm of the ideal of the conceptions of family and tribal heads who were wont to exercise authority as "father-uncle," "beloved," "father," "brother," "king," and "name." While nature gods were often regarded as hostile to man and difficult of approach, the departmental deities, on the other hand, were conceived of as beneficent, as is shown by many personal names. Thus on the passive side of his nature one god or another is kind, strong, exalted, friendly, and righteous; while on the active side, he dwells, creates, knows, helps, fills, saves, hears, and gives peace and favor. A blessing was thought to be conferred on a child if he bore the name of some deity; hence arose the almost universal custom of giving theophorous names.

Interpreters of the divine will as related to life's events were known as the "wise men." These have already been discussed.

Divine titles were applied to the gods of this class just as *ba'al* was given as a title to all nature-divinities. Of this class of titles we have the following:

'Amm, "father-uncle," is a very old Semitic title, and dates from a time in polyandrous society when a child could not distinguish his own father in a group of his mother's husbands. When carrying over the conception of human relationship to the gods, the chief tribal deity would be known as 'Amm. 'Amm and all other similar titles have been preserved in proper names. Though the term in its later development came to mean any ancestor on the paternal side, and later, any relative in general, its occurrence from first to last in proper names is confirmatory

of its early divine significance.¹ *Amm* survives in *Emu* as the deity of the land of *Suti* on the western bank of the Euphrates,² as the name of the chief deity of the *Ḳatabān* Arabs,³ and as the name of a tribe in Mesopotamia.⁴ Proper names having the element *'amm*, connected with or without "i," and compounded with verbs or nouns either preceding or following, are expressive, as Paton has conclusively shown, of some affirmation of deity; and *'amm* in these names is not to be interpreted as "people" or "kinsman."⁵ This well-recognized divine element⁶ is found in a large number of proper names collected from various parts of the ancient Semitic world. Thus, it occurs in personal names on the Obelisk of Manishtusu⁷; in other ancient Babylonian personal names,⁸ particularly belonging to the time of the first dynasty of Babylon⁹; in the ancient place-name, *Dūr-'ammī*,¹⁰ "*'amm* is a fortress"; in many Assyrian personal names¹¹; in personal names¹² and the place-names¹³ of Amarna and Canaanite times; in the names of Canaanite cities taken by the Israel-

¹ Paton, in *HERE.*, vol. i. pp. 386 ff.

² *KAT.*³, p. 481.

³ Hommel, in *ZDMG.*, 1895, p. 525.

⁴ *Benē-'Ammō*, Num. 22:5 (see Heb.).

⁵ *HERE.*, vol. i. pp. 387-8.

⁶ In various forms "*Ama*," "*Ammā*," "*Ammu*," "*Hammu*," "*Emu*," "*Ami*," "*Imme*," and "*Imi*."

⁷ *Imi-itu*, Sheil, *Textes*, pp. 6 ff.; *Ama-Sin*, "*uncle is Sin*," A v. 3 = *Imi-Sin* Sheil, pp. 6 ff.; *Beli-am*, "*Beli is uncle*," C xv. 3.

⁸ *Ami-li-'ti*, "*uncle is might*," *KAT.*³, p. 483; *Ilu-Imme, Nabu-ḥammē*, "*Nebo is uncle*," interchanges with *Nabū-ammē* and *Nabū-immē*, *KAT.*³, p. 481; *Ami-zabti*, Ranke, p. 183; *Ammi-Ya*, Ranke, p. 65.

⁹ *'Ammu-rabi* or *Ḥammu-rabi*, "*uncle is high*," Ranke, p. 85; *'Ammī-ṣaduga*, p. 65; *'Ammi-ditana (satuna?)*, "*my uncle is leader*," p. 65.

¹⁰ *KAT.*³, p. 481.

¹¹ *Am-yate'u*; *'Ammu-ladin*, "*my uncle is near*"; *'Am-ramu*; *Bir-ammā*, "*Bir is uncle*"; *Zimri-ḥammu*, "*mountain-sheep is uncle*"; *A-a-am-me = Yah-am(?)*, "*Yah is uncle*"; *Atar-ḥamu*, "*abundance is uncle*"; *Shulmānu-imme*; *Shamash-imme*; *Si'imme*; *Se-imc*, "*gift is uncle*"; *Yashdi-ḥammu*, "*my uncle is lofty*," *KAT.*³, p. 481-3.

¹² *Emmianshi*, Breasted, *ARE.*, i. § 494; *Yan-ḥamu*, Knudtzon, 98:1; *Balumme*, 8:19; *Ammu-nira*, 136:29 = *Ḥammu-niri*, 137:15, 66, 69; 138:52, 132; *Y-b'-ra'-a-mu*, "*Am has swallowed*," Müller, p. 195 = *Yible-'am*, place-name, Josh. 17:11 = *Bil-'am*, 1 Chr. 6:55 (70); *Amā-Ya*, Knudtzon, 62:42, 45.

¹³ *Ammia*, a land, Knudtzon, 139:15; 140:11.

ites¹⁴; in the Arabic divine name 'Ammi-anas¹⁵; in Aramæan,¹⁶ Sabæan,¹⁷ ancient Arabic,¹⁸ South Arabic,¹⁹ Ammonite,²⁰ Phoenician,²¹ and Nabataean²² personal names; and in the names of persons, principally foreigners, living in Palestine before the eighth century.²³

Dad has essentially the same original meaning as 'Amm, "father-uncle."²⁴ It appears as a divine title in West Semitic proper names²⁵ as early as the Obelisk of Manishtusu²⁶ and the first dynasty of Babylon.²⁷ Assyrian documents²⁸ preserve many more names of this form; while the personal name *Dudu*²⁹

¹⁴ 'Am-'Ad, Josh. 19:26; *Yoḳne-'am*, Josh. 12:22; *Yoḳde-'am*, "he who burns is uncle," Josh. 15:56; *Yoḳme-'am*, 1 K. 4:12; *Gid-'om*, Judg. 20:45.

¹⁵ A god of the Khaulān, Wellh., p. 23.

¹⁶ *Amme-ba'ali*, *KAT.*³, p. 482.

¹⁷ *Ammi-amara*, Hommel, p. 84; *Ammī-anisa*, *ibid.*, p. 51; *Ammi-yathi'a*, "my uncle has helped," p. 84; *Amm-kariba*, "uncle has blest," *CIS.* iv. p. 73; *Ammi-amuḳa*, "my uncle is wise"; *Ammi-ṣaduḳa*, "my uncle is righteous"; *Ammi-samia*, "my uncle has heard"; *Ammi-shapaka*, "my uncle has bestowed," Hommel, p. 84.

¹⁸ *Amme-'ta*, *KAT.*³, p. 482.

¹⁹ *Ammi-za'da*, "my uncle has terrified"; *Ammi-dhara'a*, "my uncle has sown"; *Ammi-yada'a*, "my uncle knows"; *Ammi-yapia*, "my uncle is perfect."—Hommel, p. 84.

²⁰ *Ammi-nadab*, "my uncle has been generous," *KB.*, ii. p. 240; *Ben-'ammi*, "son of my uncle," Gen. 19:38.

²¹ 'L-'M, *Ldzb.*, *HNE.*, p. 217.

²² 'M-YRT, *Ldzb.*, *EPH.*, ii. p. 421.

²³ *Yoḳe-'am*, 1 Chr. 2:44; *Ammī-'el*, 2 Sam. 9:4, &c.; *Ammī-Hūd*, 13:37, &c.; *Ammī-zabad*, 1 Chr. 27:6; *Ammī-nadab*, Ex. 6:23; *Ammī-shadday*, Num. 1:12; *Am-ram*, Ex. 6:18, &c.; *'Anī-'am*, 1 Chr. 7:19; *Ben-'ammi*, Gen. 19:38; *Bil-'am*, probably for *Ba'al-'am*, Num. 22:5, &c.; *'Eli-'am*, 2 Sam. 11:3, &c.; *Malkam*, probably for *Malak-'am*, 1 Chr. 8:9; *Reḥab-'am*, 1 K. 11:43; *Yarob-'am*, 1 K. 11:26, &c.; *Yashob-'am*, 1 Chr. 11:11; *Yeḳam-'am*, 1 Chr. 23:19, &c.; *Yithre-'am*, 2 Sam. 3:5, &c.

²⁴ Heb. *dod*, "paternal uncle."

²⁵ *KAT.*³, p. 483.

²⁶ *DA-DA*, *E-DA-DA*, *Dada*, *Gāl-dada*, Ranke, p. 211, n. 3.

²⁷ *Dadu-sha*, *Dadi-Ya*, *DA-DA-waqar*, Ranke, p. 77; *Da-wi-da-nim*, p. 78; *Dadi*, name of god in 16th year of Samsu-iluna, *Dada*, *Dadu-rabi*, *Abadadi*, cited by Ranke, p. 211.

²⁸ *Dayādi-ilu*, *Diḏi*, *Dudūa*, *Dudū*, *Dadi*, *Dada*, *Dadai*, *Dadi-ilu*, *KAT.*³, p. 483.

²⁹ Knudtson, 158:1, &c.

and the place-name 'Ash-dōd³⁰ record its first appearance in Canaan. Israel, according to the Moabite stone, worshipped a deity by the name of *Dūdah*,³¹ in whose cult an altar-hearth was sacred.³² Moreover Dūd may have been the favorite title of the *numen* of Beer-sheba if "thy God" of the LXX of Amos 8:14 is to be used in restoring the original *dūd* in the place of the Massoretic *derek*, "way."³³ In Isaiah 5:1 *dōdī*, "beloved," is used as an appellation of Yahweh. The sacred character of this title is borne out in many old personal names.³⁴

Ab, Abu, "father," was another divine title originating in the next stage of social development known as polygamous, when the child first recognized his father. Naturally the appellation and attributive of paternity was applied to the tribal deity, as is clearly attested by the prevalence of proper names, containing the element *abu*, throughout the ancient Semitic world. Thus, personal names meet us from the time of the erection of the Obelisk of Manishtusu;³⁵ from the Amorite,³⁶ Kassite,³⁷ and Neo-Babylonian³⁸ periods of Babylonian history; and from Assyrian documents.³⁹ In the West this divine title shows its influence in *Abi-shua*,⁴⁰ an Asiatic trader who visited Egypt in the time of Sesostrius III (1887-1850 B. C.); in the two personal names *Abi-milki*⁴¹ and *Hash-abu*⁴² of the Amarna

³⁰ Josh. 11:22, &c.

³¹ *MI.*, line 12.

³² Smith, *ES.*, pp. 488 f.

³³ By the similarity of the Heb. letters, "u" with "r" and "d" with "k."

³⁴ *El-Dad*, Num. 11:26; *'Eli-Dad*, Num. 34:21; *Mē-Dad*, Num. 11:26, probably for *'Ammī-Dad*; *Dawīd*, David, Ruth 4:17, &c.; *Dōdō*, Judg. 10:1, &c.; *Doda-Y(w?)ahū*, 2 Chr. 20:37; *Bildad* probably for *Ba'al-Dad*, Job. 2:11, &c.; *Iena-Dad*, Ezr. 3:9, &c.

³⁵ *Abi-da*, Hoschander in *ZA.*, 1907, p. 250; *Abu-BU*, *ibid.*, p. 253.

³⁶ *Summu-abum* (him), Ranke, p. 166; *Abi-arah*, "my father is the moon," *Abi-eshuh(u?)*, *Abi-ḥar*, *Abi-Yah*, *Abi-Ya(?)bul*, *Abi-Yatum*, p. 58; *Abi-īlu*, *Abi-lī-Ya*, p. 59; *Abi-ma-Ishtar*, *Abi-ma-ras*, *Abi-rah*, *Abi-sat(ḫ)d*, *Abu-Dadi*, *Abu-Yatum*, *Abu(m)-bani*, *Abu(m)-ḫabum*, *Abu(m)-waqar*, Ranke, pp. 60, 61.

³⁷ Very common elements are *aba*, *abi*, *abu*, *abbu*, Clay, *Personal Names*, p. 149.

³⁸ *Abu-nadib*, *Abi-yakar*, *KAT.*⁵, p. 483.

³⁹ *Abi-rāmu*, *Abi-rāme*, *Abi-ikāmu*, *Abi-Salām*, *KAT.*⁵, p. 482.

⁴⁰ *Yb-sh'*, "Ab is salvation," Müller, p. 36.

⁴¹ "Ab is king," Knudtzon, 147:2, &c.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 174:4.

period; in the place-names *HKL-'BRM*,⁴³ "Field of Abram," and *'Abi-rama*;⁴⁴ in many Old Testament personal names⁴⁵ belonging to the traditional and to the pre-Solomonic⁴⁶ periods of Israel's history; and in personal names from ancient Arabic,⁴⁷ Phoenician,⁴⁸ Punic,⁴⁹ Aramaic,⁵⁰ and Sinaitic⁵¹ sources.

Ah, Ahu, "brother," or "kinsman," is another oft-occurring divine title revealed in personal names on the Obelisk of Manishtusu⁵² and in documents of the first dynasty of Babylon⁵³ and of the Assyrian empire.⁵⁴ In the West the element survives in the Amarna personal names *Ah-ribi(t)a*,⁵⁵ *Ahi-Tābu*,⁵⁶ *Kin-ahhi*,⁵⁷ and *A(h)-tirumna*,⁵⁸ in Old Testament per-

⁴³ *Hw-k-rw-'-b'-r'-m*, "field of Abram," Breasted, *ARE.*, iv. § 715.

⁴⁴ *'Abi-ra-ma*, Müller, p. 168.

⁴⁵ *'Abi-'albōn*, 2 Sam. 23:31; *'Abi-'el*, 1 Sam. 9:1, &c.; *'Abi-'asaph*, Ex. 6:24; *'Abi-'gail*, 1 Sam. 25:14, &c.; *'Abi-'Dan*, Num. 1:11, &c.; *'Abi-'da'*, Gen. 25:4; *'Abi-'Yahū*, 2 Chr. 13:20, &c. = *'Abi-'yam*, 1 K. 14:31, &c. = *'Abi-'Ya*, 1 Sam. 8:2, &c.; *'Abi-'Yah*, 2 Chr. 29:1; *'Abi-'hū'*, Ex. 6:23, &c.; *'Abi-'Hūd*, 1 Chr. 8:3; *'Abi-'hail*, Num. 3:35, &c.; *'Abi-'tūb*, 1 Chr. 8:11; *'Abi-'Tal*, 2 Sam. 3:4; *'Abi-'ma'el*, Gen. 10:28; *'Abi-'melek*, Gen. 20:2, &c. = *'Akīsh*, 1 Sam. 21:11 (10), &c.; *'Abi-'nadab*, 1 Sam. 7:1, &c.; *'Abi-'no'am*, Judg. 4:6, &c.; *'Abi-'ner*, 1 Sam. 14:50, &c.; *'Abi-'Ezer*, Num. 26:30, &c.; *'Abi-'ram*, Num. 16:1, &c.; *'Ab-ram*, Gen. 11:26, &c. = *'Abraham*, Gen. 17:5, &c.; *'Abi-'shag*, 1 K. 1:3, &c.; *'Abi-'shūa'*, 1 Chr. 5:30 (6:4), &c.; *'Abi-'shūr*, 1 Chr. 2:28, &c.; *'Abi-'shay*, 1 Sam. 26:6, &c.; *'Abi-'Shalōm*, 1 K. 15:2, &c.; *'Eb-'yathar*, 1 Sam. 22:20, &c.; *'Ah-'ab*, 1 K. 16:28, &c.; *'Oholi-'ab*, Ex. 31:6, &c.; *Yō-'ab*, 1 Sam. 26:6, &c.; *'Eli-'ab*, Num. 1:9, &c.; *Yesheb-'ab*, 1 Chr. 24:13; *Shin-'ab*, Gen. 14:2.

⁴⁶ With few exceptions all *Ab* names are referred by Old Testament literature to the time prior to and including the time of David. Gray, p. 28.

⁴⁷ *'Abi-Yate'*, *KB.*, ii. p. 215.

⁴⁸ *'B-HLL*, *'BY-B'L*, *Ldzb.*, *HNE.*, p. 205; *Abi-ba'al*, *Abi-milki*, *KAT.*³, p. 482; *'B-B'L*, *Ldzb.*, *EPH.*, ii. p. 403; *'B-KM*, *Ldzb.*, *HNE.*, p. 206.

⁴⁹ *'B-B'L*, *CIS.*, i. 378, 2; *'B-Sh'N*, *Ldzb.*, *EPH.*, p. 352.

⁵⁰ *'B-'WShW*, *Ldzb.*, *HNE.*, p. 205; *'BY-TB*, *CIS.*, ii. 123, 2.

⁵¹ *'B-'WShW*, *Ldzb.*, *HNE.*, p. 205.

⁵² *Ahu-ḥi* [or tab(i, u)], Hoschander, in *ZA.*, 1907, p. 260; *Ahu-ḥu*, *Ahu-išap*, 261; *Ahu-patan* (or lik), p. 263; *Ahu-sum(u, i)su*, p. 264

⁵³ *Ahi-(a)-sat(d, t)*, *Ahi-Ya*, Ranke, p. 62; *Ahi-wadum*, *Ahuṭabum*, Ranke, p. 63.

⁵⁴ *Ahi-ikāmu*, *Ahi-yakar*, *Ahi-nadbi*, *Ahi-milki*, *Ahi-rāme*, *Ahi-rāmu*, *KAT.*³, p. 482.

⁵⁵ Knudtzon, 107:14.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 8:14.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 8:15, 25.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 319:5.

sonal names⁵⁹ belonging, with two exceptions, to the times prior to the eighth century B. C.,⁶⁰ and in Phoenician,⁶¹ Philistine,⁶² Aramæan,⁶³ Aramaic,⁶⁴ and Hebrew⁶⁵ personal names.

Melek, "king," and **Milkah**, "queen," as titles of sovereignty were probably carried over from the tribal head to the divine counterpart. Since the god *Malik* in the Babylonian pantheon⁶⁶ held an insignificant place, he must, therefore, have been one of the products, and not the cause, of the same general tendency throughout the Semitic world to ascribe royal prerogative to deities. Thus *malik* appears in Babylonia as a divine epithet meaning *counselor*⁶⁷ in many West Semitic personal names most of which occur on the Obelisk of Manishtusu,⁶⁸ but one in a document of the first dynasty.⁶⁹ Similar personal names continue to be used till the Persian period.⁷⁰ This divine appellative is very common in Assyrian and Palestinian proper names, thus occurring in Assyrian personal names;⁷¹ in three

⁵⁹ *Ehūd*, 1 Chr. 8:6; *'Ah-'ab*, 1 K. 16:28, &c.; *'Ah-ban*, 1 Chr. 2:29; *'Ahū-may*, 1 Chr. 4:2; *'Ahī-'am*, 2 Sam. 23:33, &c.; *'Ahī-Yah(ū)*, 1 Sam. 14:3, &c.; *'Ahī-Hūd*, Num. 34:27; *'Ah-Yō*, 2 Sam. 6:3, &c.; *'Ahī-Hūd*, 1 Chr. 8:7; *'Ahī-tūb*, 1 Sam. 14:3, &c.; *'Ahī-lūd*, 2 Sam. 8:16, &c.; *'Ahī-Mōth*, 1 Chr. 6:25 (10); *'Ahī-melek*, 1 Sam. 21:3 (2), &c.; *'Ahī-man*, Num. 13:22, &c.; *'Ahī-ma'as*, 2 Sam. 15:27, &c.; *'Ah-yan*, 1 Chr. 7:19; *'Ahī-nadab*, 1 K. 4:14; *'Ahī-no'am*, 1 Sam. 14:50, &c.; *'Ahī-samak*, Ex. 31:6, &c.; *'Ahī-'Ezer*, Num. 1:12, &c.; *'Ahī-kam*, 2 K. 22:12; *'Ahī-ram*, Num. 26:38; *Hiram*, probably for *'Ahī-ram*, 2 Sam. 5:11, &c.; *'Ahī-rah'*, Num. 1:15, &c.; *'Ahī-shahar*, 1 Chr. 7:10; *'Ahī-shar*, 1 K. 4:6; *'Ahī-thophel*, 2 Sam. 15:12, &c.; *Hī'el*, probably for *'Ahī-'el*, 1 K. 16:34; *'Aha-rehel*, 1 Chr. 4:8.

⁶⁰ Gray, p. 38.

⁶¹ *Ahī-milki*, *KB.*, ii. p. 173; *'H-NDB*, *'H-'LN*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 212.

⁶² *Ahī-milki*, *KB.*, ii. p. 149, 241; *Ahī-miti*, p. 65.

⁶³ *Ahī-rāmu*, *KB.*, i. p. 75.

⁶⁴ *'H-LKD*, *CIS.*, ii. 93; *'H-MLKW*, *CIS.*, ii. 231 f.; *'H-WShN*, Ldzb., *EPH.*, ii. p. 412.

⁶⁵ *'H-M'S*, Ldzb., *EPH.*, i. p. 352; *'Ahī-Yān*, *'HY-T'Y*, ii. 403; *'H-WTB*, ii. p. 411.

⁶⁶ A local god of the city of *Tar-ma-as*, *KAT.*³, p. 469.

⁶⁷ Written *Ma-UR*, *KAT.*³, p. 469.

⁶⁸ See Scheil, *Texts élam.-scm.* pp. 41 ff.

⁶⁹ *Itu-malik*, "god is counsellor," Ranke, p. 104.

⁷⁰ *Milhi-taribi*, *Nāhi-Milhi*, *KAT.*³, p. 417.

⁷¹ *Bel-ili-milki*, *Dagana-milki*, *Huru-m(ili?)*, *Milkai*, *Milki*, *Milka-Ya*, *KAT.*³, p. 471; *Milki-ashapa*, *KB.*, ii. pp. 149, 241; *Milki-Ya*, *Milki-Aya*, *Milki-ilu*, *Meliki-ilu*, *Milki-Ishtar*, *Milki-ba*,

old Canaanite place-names;⁷² in Amarna⁷³ and Old Testament personal names, the latter belonging mostly to the seventh century B. C.;⁷⁴ and in Phoenician,⁷⁵ Philistine,⁷⁶ Hebrew,⁷⁷ Edomite,⁷⁸ Aramæan,⁷⁹ Aramaic,⁸⁰ Nabatæan,⁸¹ and Palmyrene⁸²

Milki-erba, *Milki-mudammik*, *Milki-idri*, *Milki-uru*, *Milki-larim*, *Milki-nūri*, *Milki-rāmu*, *Ilu-milki*, *Milki-rāmu*, *Il-mala(ki)*, *KAT.*³, p. 471. *Al-Nashhumilki*, *Al-Si'-milki*, *Ilu-milki*, *KAT.*³, p. 470; *Abdi-milki*, *Adad-milki*, *Ahi-milki*, *A-Nashuh-milki*, *KAT.*³, p. 471.

⁷² *'Emek ham-Melek*, "valley of the king," Gen. 14:17; 2 Sam. 18:18; *Yw-d-h-n-rw-k*, or *Yadah-melek*, place-name, Breasted, *ARE.*, iv. § 712; *R(e)-lc-ma-ra-ka = 'Eli-melek*, Thutmose III's list, No. 45, *MG.*, 1907, p. 17 = *'Allam-melek*, in Asher, *Josh.* 19:26.

⁷³ *Abdi-milki*, "servant of Melek," Knudtzon, 123:37; *Milk-ili*, "Melek is god," 267:4, &c.; *Milk-ilu*, 249:6; *Abi-milki*, "father is Melek," 147:2, &c.; *Ili-milku*, 151:45; 286:36.

⁷⁴ *'Abi-melek*, Gen. 20:2, &c.; *'Ahi-melek*, 1 Sam. 21:2 (1), &c.; *'Adramelek*, 2 K. 17:31, &c.; *'Eli-melek*, Ruth 1:2; *Melek*, 1 Chr. 8:35; *'Ebed-melek*, "servant of Melek," Jer. 38:7; *Milkah*, "queen," Gen. 11:29, &c.; *Malki-'el*, Gen. 46:17, &c.; *Malki-Yah(ū)*, Jer. 21:1, &c.; *Malki-Šedek*, "Melek is righteous," Gen. 14:18, &c.; *Malki-ram*, 1 Chr. 3:18; *Malki-shūa'*, 1 Sam. 14:49, &c.; *Malkam*, 1 Chr. 8:9; *Ya-melek*, 1 Chr. 4:34; *Mallūk*, 1 Chr. 6:29 (44); *Melikū (Melūkī?)*, Neh. 12:14; *Regen-melek*, Zech. 7:2; *Nethan-melek*, 2 K. 23:11.

⁷⁵ *Abi-milki*, *Ahi-milki*, *KB.*, ii. p. 173; *Uru-milki*, p. 91; *Abdi-milkuti*, *KB.* ii pp. 125 ff.; *Melki-asaph?*, *KB.*, ii. p. 241, ep. ii. p. 149; *'DR-MLK*, *Ldzb.*, *HNE.*, p. 209; *'HL-MLK*, *ibid.*; *BN-MLK*, *ibid.*, p. 238; *B'L-ML'K*, *CIS.*, i. 182, &c.; *B'L-MLK*, *Ldzb.*, *HNE.*, p. 240; *MLK-'SR*, name of deity, *CIS.*, i. 123b, 1 ff.; *MLK-B'L*, name of deity, *ibid.*, 123, *MLK-YTN*, *CIS.*, i. 10, 2, &c.; *MLK-'ŠHTRT*, name of deity, *ibid.*, 8, 1; *MLK-PSh*, *MLK-RM*, *Ldzb.*, *HNE.*, p. 311; *MYLK-'MN MYLK-'TN*, *ibid.*, p. 308; *'HT-MLK*, *'R-MLK*, *BD-MLK*, *CIS.*, i. 124, 4; *GR-MLK*, *ibid.*, 50, 2; *HN-MLK*, *Ldzb.*, *HNE.*, p. 260; *H-MLK*, *CIS.*, i. 135, 4, &c.; *HT-MLK*, *ibid.*, 429, 2, &c.; *YD'-MLK*, *Ldzb.*, *HNE.*, p. 285; *YHW-MLK*, *CIS.*, i. 1, &c.; *YTN-MLK*, *CIS.*, i. 244, 3, &c.; *MKN-MLK*, *Ldzb.*, *HNE.*, p. 316; *'Z-MLK*, *CIS.*, i. 189, 3, &c.; *ŠDK-MLK*, *Ldzb.*, *HNE.*, p. 357; *'HT-MYLKT*, *ibid.*, p. 213; *H-MLKT*, *CIS.*, i. 135, 4, &c.; *HT-MLKT*, *ibid.*, 231, 1, &c.; *MT-MLKT*, *ibid.*, 438, 3 ff.; *N'-MLKT*, *ibid.*, 41, 2; *'B-MLKT*, *ibid.*, 317, 4, &c.

⁷⁶ *Ahi-milki* of Ashdod, *KB.*, ii. pp. 149, 241.

⁷⁷ *MLK-ZP*, *Ldzb.*, *HNE.*, p. 311; *GR-MLK*, *ibid.*, p. 253; *'HT-MLK*, *ibid.*, p. 213.

⁷⁸ *Kaush-malaka*, of the time of Tiglath Pileser, *KB.*, ii. p. 21.

⁷⁹ *Il-mala(ki)*, *CIS.*, ii. 1, No. 28; *Ba'al-matuku*, *KB.*, ii. p. 172.

⁸⁰ *'L-MLK*, *CIS.*, i. 50; *'SR-MLK*, *ibid.*, 155b, 4; *MLK-M*, *ibid.*, 94, 2.

⁸¹ *MLK-W*, *CIS.*, ii. 158, 6; 170, 3; *MLK-YWN*, *ibid.*, 201, 1; 219, 1.

⁸² *MLK-HLS*, *Ldzb.*, *HNE.*, p. 311; *MLK-'L*, *CIS.*, ii. 30, 1; *MLK-BL* (deity), *Ldzb.*, *HNE.*, p. 310; *MLK-WS'*, ¹ Digitized by Google

personal names. A deity bearing the title *Melek*, but corrupted to *Molek*, was worshipped in the next period.⁸³

Shum, Sum, or Shem, "name," occurs as an element in West Semitic proper names in Babylonia as far back as the reign of Dungi of Ur,⁸⁴ the inscription on the Obelisk of Manishtusu,⁸⁵ and the first dynasty of Babylon.⁸⁶ Three Canaanite cities⁸⁷ and one city of the Amarna period,⁸⁸ a person of Gaza of the time of Merneptah,⁸⁹ many persons mentioned in the Old Testament,⁹⁰ and in South Arabian name-lists,⁹¹ and a few persons mentioned in Phoenician,⁹² Punic,⁹³ and Aramaic⁹⁴ inscriptions bear names variously compounded with this divine title. *Shem* became an early designation for Yahweh.⁹⁵

Of the special gods who presided over the affairs of life, to whom special names, in contrast to general titles, might appropriately be applied, the following should be mentioned:

'Ashtart. The worship of 'Ashtart, the primitive Semitic mother-goddess, was carried by the early Semites from their

⁸³ See Chap. XXVIII.

⁸⁴ *SIM-Uru*, "name is light," place-name (2286-2229 B. C.), probably = modern *Simyra*, Paton, p. 22.

⁸⁵ *Aḥu-shumu*, "brother is name," *ZA.*, 1907, p. 264.

⁸⁶ *Sumu-abum (bin)*, "name is father," *Sumu-atar*, *Sumu-hat(d, ṭ)nu*, *Sumu-hala*, *Sumu-ḥa-ammu*, *Sumu-la-ilu*, *Sunu-liel*, *Sumu-rah*, *Sumu-rame*, *Su-ŪH-KI*, *Sumu*, Ranke, p. 166.

⁸⁷ *Shama-Adda*, Knudtzon, 49:2; *Shum-Add(a)*, *ibid.*, 224:3; *Shamu-Adda*, 225:3; *Shumu-Ḥadi*, 97:1.

⁸⁸ *Sham-ḥuna*, place-name, Knudtzon, 225:4.

⁸⁹ *Sh'-m-B'-r'-m = Shem-Ba'al*, "Shem is ba'al," Breasted, *ARE.*, iii. § 632.

⁹⁰ *Shem*, Gen. 5:32, &c.; *Shem-'eber*, Gen. 14:2; *Shemū-'el*, 1 Sam. 1:20; *Shemī-da'*, Num. 26:32, &c.; *Shemī-ramōth*, 1 Chr. 15:18, &c.; *Shim'am*, 1 Chr. 9:38 = *Shim'a*, 1 Chr. 8:32; *Sham-gar*, Judg. 3:31, &c.; *Sem(m)a*, 1 Chr. 7:37, LXX for *Shamma'*; *Shammah*, Gen. 36:13, &c.; *Shammai*, 1 Chr. 2:28, &c.; *Ger-shom*, Ex. 2:22, &c.; *Shem-īda'*, of the time of Ahab, *S. S. Times*, Jan. 7, 1911.

⁹¹ *Sumhu-amara*, "his name has commanded," *Sumhu-apika*, "his name is powerful," *Sumhu-watara*, "his name is above all others," *Yada'a-sumhu*, "his name is omniscient," *Sumhu-yapi'a*, "his name shines," *Sumhu-kariba*, "his name is blest," *Sumhu-ali*, "his name is sublime," *Sumhu-riyāmu*, "his name is sublimity," *Hommel*, p. 84.

⁹² *ShM-ZBI*, *Ldzb.*, *JINE.*, p. 377; *ShM'*, *CIS.*, i. 51, 1.

⁹³ *ShM-IIYT*, *CIS.*, i. 281, 3.

⁹⁴ *ShM-W'L*, *Ldzb.*, *JINE.*, p. 377.

⁹⁵ Gen. 4:26; 12:8; 13:4, &c.

Arabian home to every country whither they went. This famous goddess won a unique and well-defined reputation, though with local colorings, in every country settled by her worshippers. In Babylonia she was known as Ishtar, but in the Westland her name is probably etymologically better preserved.⁹⁶ In a dedicatory inscription in which Hammurabi is called the "king of Amurru" (Westland), the goddess appears as *Ashirtu* or *Ashratu*⁹⁷ and is styled the "bride of the king of heaven," "mistress of luxury and splendor," and "the merciful one who reverently implores her spouse."⁹⁸ He, according to a hymn, is "Amurru the lord of the mountain," since he is associated with "Ashratu," "the mistress of the steppe."⁹⁹ The name of this goddess appears in the West under the following cognate forms: in Assyrian as *Astartu*,¹⁰⁰ in Canaan as *Ashirat*,¹⁰¹ *Ashtart*,¹⁰² *Asherah*,¹⁰³ *Attar*, *Atar*,¹⁰⁴ and *Atargatis*,¹⁰⁵ in Moab as

⁹⁶ Several attempts have been made to trace the origin of 'Ashtart to the Babylonian Ishtar since *Ashratu* is equivalent to Ishtar as wife of Rammān (*KAT.*³, p. 433); since Palestine was greatly influenced by Babylonian religion in early times, and thither also might have gone the cult of Ishtar whence it might have returned later with western coloring, her name being changed to *Ashirta*; since Ishtar occurs long before *Ashirta*; and since *Astirtu* seems to be derived from *ashirtu*, *eshirtu*, a Babylonian word meaning "sanctuary" (*KAT.*³, p. 437). These arguments are not conclusive enough to prove the thesis, since if they were true Ishtar's popularity would then be quite out of proportion to that of the other Babylonian deities in the west; and the 'Ashtart-cult in the west would manifest more of the Ishtar-type. Moreover, 'Ashtart is the primitive Semitic form, while the phonetic changes involved in the derivation of all the separate, but cognate, forms of 'Ashtart from Ishtar are impossible. *KAT.*³, p. 436.

⁹⁷ *Ashratum* occurs on a seal cylinder. *KAT.*³, p. 433; *Bēlit-šēri* in Assyrian names = *Ashratu*, *ibid.*, p. 434.

⁹⁸ *KAT.*³, pp. 20, 179, 432 ff.

⁹⁹ *KAT.*³, p. 433.

¹⁰⁰ *KAT.*³, p. 434.

¹⁰¹ The goddess of Taanach. Sellin, p. 114.

¹⁰² Vocalized later with the "bosheth" vowels as 'Ashtoreth.

¹⁰³ Taken from the designation for the wooden post sacred to her cult in western sanctuaries.

¹⁰⁴ An Aramaic-Arabic deity referred to by Assyrian inscriptions. Compare names *Atar-samain*, a goddess of a north Arabian tribe, *Atar-bi'di*, *Ataridri*, *Atar-gabri*, *Atar-sūri*, &c. *KAT.*³, p. 434 ff.

¹⁰⁵ See article in *HERE.*, ii. pp. 164 ff.

'*Ashtar*,¹⁰⁶ in Sabaea as '*Athtar*; in Abyssinia as '*Astar*; and in Phoenicia and her colonies as '*Ashtart* and '*Astarte* (Aphrodite, enus).¹⁰⁷ These various forms reveal not only the antiquity of the name but also how widespread the cult of this goddess was in the western world. The name of the goddess is left on record in the Amarna period in the place-name '*Astarte*¹⁰⁸ and in the personal names '*Abdi-Ashtarti*¹⁰⁹ and '*Abdi-Ashirta*.¹¹⁰

Wherever her worship has gone '*Ashtart* has preserved a well-defined character, with slightly varying aspects, as goddess of maternity, fertility, sexual love, and war. In metronymic society, at a time when the mother of the tribe was regarded as the supreme authority, it was natural to attribute the same characteristics to deity, so that the deity was conceived of as a mother-goddess who preserved from the divine side the integrity of the tribe. In Babylonia *Ishtar* appears in various rôles reflecting the aspects of mother-goddess. In one case she is the midwife, in another the one bearing, and in still another the potteress who forms men out of clay.¹¹¹ This function of presiding over child-bearing is clearly attested as a prominent conception of the mother-goddess in Palestine in the next period by the maternal features of many images and by Old Testament implications.

In the second place, the goddess in all her various cults is the cause of human and animal as well as of vegetable fertility. For human and animal offspring and field increase her aid was sought; and, in return for these boons, worshippers brought as offerings the first-born of man and of beast¹¹² and the first-fruits of the ground. Field and arboreal fertility are closely associated with water supply which in the desert was the spring. '*Ashtart* was closely related to sacred springs and trees both in primitive and in Canaanite times. This relationship in primitive times is well exhibited in the original character of *Ishtar*

¹⁰⁶ *MI.*, 17.

¹⁰⁷ See *HERE.*, ii. pp. 115^a.

¹⁰⁸ Knudtzon, 197:10; or '*Ashtarti*, 256:21 = '*Ashtarôth*, Deut. 1:4, &c.

¹⁰⁹ Knudtzon, 63:3; 65:2.

¹¹⁰ 82:23, 25; 84:8; 85:64.

¹¹¹ *KAT.*, p. 429.

¹¹² See *Offerings*, p. 41.

as a water-goddess who was thought to be connected with some sacred tree to which the spring gave life.¹¹³

In the third place, the goddess presided over war, since the conception of her as leader in battle was merely an extension of her prerogative as mother-goddess, the protectress of the tribe. Thus, in Babylonia and Assyria, Ishtar was long revered by the war-loving kings, who styled her the "musterer" or "assembler" of the hosts.¹¹⁴ Ishtar of Arbela appears clothed in flames, equipped with quiver, short sword, and sheath, and standing on a leopard.¹¹⁵ 'Ashtart, as represented on the monuments of Egypt belonging to the next period, was the fearful goddess of war among the Canaanites,¹¹⁶ being mentioned along with 'Anath as the shield of Ramses III in battle.¹¹⁷ The trophies of war, as in the case of Saul's armor,¹¹⁸ were presented at her shrines. The astral aspect of Ishtar as the "queen of heaven," so popular in Babylonia, and possibly an outgrowth of her being regarded as the leader of the hosts in battle, is, before the time of Manasseh, entirely absent from Canaan.

The loose conjugal relationship existing in the matriarchal tribal life was destined to show itself in the realm of religion. Accordingly, the mother-goddess also became the patroness of unmarried, sensuous love. As such her character was well portrayed in that of the Babylonian Ishtar who enticed¹¹⁹ her many paramours that she might either destroy or divorce them at will.¹²⁰ Her retinue was composed of both male and female prostitutes who kept up those rites which later and purer religion regarded as shameful.¹²¹ This aspect of the nature

¹¹³ Barton, p. 86.

¹¹⁴ *KAT.*³, pp. 430 f.

¹¹⁵ KB. ii. p. 227:80; 251:52.

¹¹⁶ Müller, p. 314.

¹¹⁷ Breasted, *ARE.*, iv. § 105.

¹¹⁸ 1 Sam. 31:10, probably at Ashkelon, Herod. I. 105.

¹¹⁹ As Ukhat she enticed man to desire from the animals. (Gilgam. Epic, translated by Jastrow, *The Rel.* p. 477 ff.) With Ishtar's descent to the underworld all desire failed men and beasts, *KAT.*³, p. 428.

¹²⁰ In Gilgam. Epic, wife of lion, eagle, and horse. *Hebraica*, 1893, x. pp. 12-13.

¹²¹ *KAT.*³, p. 422. Sargon's mother was a priestess who conceived in secret. *Hebraica*, x. p. 25. "Son of priest of Ishtar" frequent in con-

of 'Ashtart gave a unique character to the cult of the goddess of love wherever her cult spread, as for instance, to Assyria, Canaan, Phoenicia, Cyprus, Carthage, and Asia Minor.¹²²

Adōn, 'lord,' or Adōnī, "my lord," was probably the favorite title applied by the Phoenicians and the Canaanites to an unnamed primitive Semitic god who was considered to be the *son* and, by a later social development in tribal society,¹²³ the *lover* of 'Ashtart, the goddess of the oases.¹²⁴ This god in Babylonia became *Tammuz*; in South Arabia, *Dhu'-l-Shara*; in Phoenicia, probably *Eshmun*¹²⁵ and perhaps also the *ba'al* of Lebanon;¹²⁶ and in Greece, *Adonis*. Barton suggests that the origin of this god may have been in some ancient tree-worship which was closely connected with the never-failing spring, the primitive natural shrine of the mother-goddess.¹²⁷ Wherever the worship of the mother-goddess went, traces of the cult of the unnamed god appear in more or less close connection.

In Babylonia Tammuz was primarily the god of the city of Eridu on the Persian Gulf, making his home in the shade of the tree of life which stood in the midst of the garden of Eridu that was watered on two sides by the rivers Tigris and Euphrates.¹²⁸ The Babylonian legends picture him as a beautiful young shepherd suddenly slain by a boar and grievously mourned by the admiring goddess Ishtar who, by a famous descent to the lower world, went to seek her lover. Because of his connection with sacred trees, Tammuz probably came to be identified with the life of spring vegetation which, because of the torrid heat of summer, withered and died. This annual dying of vegetation announced the death of the god, whose funeral feast was celebrated on the second day of Tammuz by "the wailing of

tract-tablets, cp. *Hebraica*, x. p. 19. All women were required to submit to prostitution at the temple of Aphrodite at Babylon in Herodotus' time. Herod. i. 199.

¹²² Barton, in *Hebraica*, ix. pp. 131-134; Barton, p. 83.

¹²³ Barton, pp. 85 ff.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 264 ff.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 265 ff.

¹²⁶ Since the worship of Ashtart and Adonis was inaugurated there. So Frazer, p. 18.

¹²⁷ Barton, in *Hebraica*, 1893, vol. x. p. 73.

¹²⁸ "Tammuz" in *HDB*.

men . . . and women" with the words of the grieving lover Ishtar, "O my brother, the only (son)," to which the mourners further added, "Ah me, Ah me!"¹²⁹ During Ishtar's absence from earth all sexual desire ceased among men and animals, so there could be no conception till her return in the spring.

Similar legends surround the Greek deity Adonis, whose name probably sprang from the earlier Semitic title *Adōnī*, "my lord." In the country surrounding Byblos, where the Semitic goddess was worshipped from ancient times, a tradition was learned by Lucian which accounted for the origin of the rites of Adonis that were carried on both at Byblos and at Aphek. It was related that the gods were jealous of Adonis' good fortune in winning the affection of the *ba'alat*, and, therefore, had him, while hunting, killed by a wild boar at the great spring Aphek in Lebanon. Here was celebrated on a certain day the annual nuptials of the goddess and the beloved Adonis brought back from the under-world; and, the day following, a great lamentation was made over the slain god. The spring in Aphek is the source of a river, then called Adonis, that runs into the sea. In mid-summer the river-water, after the spring freshet, is turned, by the infiltration of the red marl of Lebanon, into a reddish hue which tradition attributed to the influx of blood from the wound of Adonis slain in the mountains. This ruddiness of the water became, throughout the country, therefore, the signal for an annual lamentation, which consisted of wailing; beating and lacerating the breasts of the devotees; performing funeral rites of the dead Adonis; and, upon the day of his resurrection following the seven days of mourning, shaving the heads, and casting dust into the air. Instead of cutting off and sacrificing their hair women had the alternative of sacrificing their chastity at the temple of Aphrodite.¹³⁰ Furthermore, "gardens of Adonis" were planted, and wooden figures of the god were set in pots filled with earth along with cuttings of herbs which soon withered away.¹³¹

Traces of the old cult of Adōn are undoubtedly discernible in

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, Cp. Greek *ailinon* = "woe to us," and the mythological *Linos*.

¹³⁰ Lucian, *De Syra dea*, §§ 4, 6, 8, 9. Trans. by Barton, in *Hebraica*, x. p. 31.

¹³¹ "Tammuz," in *HDB*.

Canaanite customs. Ezekiel refers to women sitting at the north gate of the Temple weeping for Tammuz.¹³² Similar rites are found in the lamentation annually observed by the women of Mizpah in Gilead,¹³³ a rite which was undoubtedly of Canaanite origin, since the traditions of the Danites extended back to pre-Israelite times.¹³⁴ The "oak of weeping"¹³⁵ below Beth-el, where Deborah was buried, as well as the mourning rites at the sanctuaries¹³⁶ is suggestive as a survival of the cult of Adōn. Furthermore, the formulas of lamentation, "Ah my brother! Ah sister!" "Ah lord! Ah his glory!"¹³⁷ and "Alas, my brother!"¹³⁸ used over the dead reveal evidence of the old custom of weeping for Adōn whose death coincided with and typified the annual death of vegetation.¹³⁹ The mention of "sister" probably implies a close association of Adōn, as of old time, with 'Ashtart. The annual mourning in Palestine fell, according to the Canaanite calendar, on the fifth day of the last month of the year.¹⁴⁰

The idolatrous practices of the Hebrews about 734 B. C. in making "plantings of pleasantness, the twigs of a strange (god),"¹⁴¹ obviously suggest the "plantations," or "gardens of Adonis." These gardens were pots filled with earth in which grain, etc., were sown and tended for eight days. These plants grew rapidly under the sun's heat but withered soon afterwards. The power of Adonis thus manifested in the growth of the plants was often sought in this way to enhance the fertility and growth of plants.¹⁴² Whether or not these private gardens were in any way regarded as miniatures of the gardens of oaks is not known. At any rate, idolaters in Israel are said

¹³² 8:14.

¹³³ Judg. 11:40. Thus Smith, *RS.*, pp. 415 ff.; Moore, *Judges*, p. 305.

¹³⁴ Cp. *MI.*, 10.

¹³⁵ Gen. 35:8.

¹³⁶ See p. 107.

¹³⁷ Jer. 22:18; cp. 34:5.

¹³⁸ 1 K. 13:30; cp. "mourning for an only son," Am. 8:10.

¹³⁹ See Jensen, p. 197; Jeremias, *Die Babylonisch-Assyrischen Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode*, pp. 32, 41; Barton, *Semitic Ishtar Cult*, in *Hebraica*, vol. x. pp. 73, 74.

¹⁴⁰ Ezek. 8:1.

¹⁴¹ Is. 17:10.

¹⁴² See Gray, *Isaiah*, in *Int. Crit. Com.*, p. 302.

to have consecrated themselves unto gardens¹⁴³ of oaks¹⁴⁴ under the shade¹⁴⁵ where they made sacrifices¹⁴⁶ and participated in unchaste rites.¹⁴⁷ Possibly the rites of prostitution, so prevalent in the high places, may have been particularly sacred to the cult of Adōn-'Ashtart, the sacred men and the sacred women playing respectively the rôles of the living god and goddess.¹⁴⁸

Ya seems, from its frequent appearances as an element in proper names, to have been a well-recognized deity among the Amorites and Canaanites. In Amorite names of the first dynasty of Babylon this divine name appears as *Yama*,¹⁴⁹ or *Yam*,¹⁵⁰ or *Yaum*,¹⁵¹ and *Yawi*;¹⁵² in Canaanite proper names as *Yawi*, or *Yami*,¹⁵³ *Yau*;¹⁵⁴ *Ya*,¹⁵⁵ or *Y'a*,¹⁵⁶ in Assyrian personal names as *Yawa*,¹⁵⁷ *Yau*,¹⁵⁸ or *Ya'u*,¹⁵⁹ and *Ya*,¹⁶⁰ in Kassite personal names as *Ya*,¹⁶¹ in Aramaic personal names as *Yau*,¹⁶²

¹⁴³ Is. 66:17.

¹⁴⁴ Is. 1:29.

¹⁴⁵ Hos. 4:13.

¹⁴⁶ Is. 65:3.

¹⁴⁷ See p. 53.

¹⁴⁸ So Frazer, p. 14.

¹⁴⁹ *Yama-erah* (?), Ranke, p. 113; *Yama-num*, *ibid.*, p. 114.

¹⁵⁰ *Yamlik-ilu*, *Yam-zi* (?), *ibid.*

¹⁵¹ *Yaum-baya* (?), *ibid.* *Yaum-ilu*, *KAT.*³, p. 468.

¹⁵² *Yap*(= *w*)*i'-ilu*, *Yap*(= *w*)*i-um*, Ranke, p. 114. *Ashirat-Yawi*, Clay, *Amurru*, p. 204.

¹⁵³ *Ahi-Yawi* (or *-Yami*), Sellin, p. 115.

¹⁵⁴ *Nathan-Yau*, Gezerite tablet, Clay, *Amurru*, p. 204.

¹⁵⁵ Personal names: *Ya-pahi*, Knudtzon 297:3; *Ya(h)-tiri*, 296:4. Place-names: *Ya-rami*, 333:10; *Amm-Ya*(?), 73:27, &c.; *Ba-ti-ya-a* = *Bati-Ya* = *Bêth-Ya*, list of Thutmose III, No. 97, cp. *Bith-Ya*, 1 Chr. 4:18, *MVG.*, 1907, p. 216.

¹⁵⁶ Place-names: *Sha-na-y-'ā* = *Shana-Y'ā*, *ibid.*, No. 115; *Ba-bi-y-'ā* = *Babi-Y'ā*, No. 118; cp. *Ha-ni-m-'ā* = *Hanim-'ā*, *ibid.*, No. 95.

¹⁵⁷ *Yaua*, *KAT.*³, p. 465 = *Yehū'*, Jehu, 1 K. 19:16, &c.

¹⁵⁸ *Ya-hazi*, *KAT.*³, p. 465 = *Yehō'-ahaz*, Jehoahaz, for Ahaz, 2 K. 10:35, &c. *Hazaki-Yau* = *Hezki-Yahū*, Hezekiah, 18:1, &c.

¹⁵⁹ *Azri-Yā'u* = *Azar-Yahū*, Azariah, 15:6, &c.

¹⁶⁰ *Gadi-Ya*, *KAT.*³, p. 467.

¹⁶¹ *Ya-Ba*(?)*u*, *Ya-bua*, Clay, *Personal Names*, p. 82.

¹⁶² *Azri-Yau*; *Azri-a(u)*; *Izri-Yau* (= *Azri-Yau*); *Y'DY*, prince on Zenjirli inser. *KAT.*³, pp. 54, 262, 465; *Yau-bi'di*, king of Hammath, *ibid.*, 66, 465.

in Hebrew personal names as *Ya*,¹⁶³ and in personal names of the Neo-Babylonian period as *Yama*,¹⁶⁴ or *Yawa*,¹⁶⁵ or *Yami*.¹⁶⁶ These variations in writing the name do not arise from the position of the element, whether first or last, in the theophorous name; for *Yama*, *Yawi*, *Yau*, *Ya*, the most oft-recurring forms, appear in either the first or second position. Perhaps these slight differences may be explained as merely dialectal. Without doubt, then, it may be asserted that we have in *Ya* the name of an Amorite god, the knowledge of whom has survived only in theophorous names and in the not infrequent application by ancient Hebrew poets of this same name to Yahweh.¹⁶⁷

What original connection, if any, existed between the Amorite-Canaanite god *Ya* and Yahweh, the volcanic god of the Kenites, whom the Hebrews adopted under the leadership of Moses, is not known. The name *Yahweh* appears to be derived from the old Semitic root *hawah*, meaning "to be." The form of the name may be either in the simple stem, meaning "he will be," or in the causative, meaning "he causes to be." It is significant, however, that when the Hebrews settled among the Canaanites the name of the Canaanite *Ya* and that of the Hebrew *Yahweh* were, probably because of the similarity of sound, identified, as is shown by the use of these names in proper names and in the poetic use of *Ya* for *Yahweh*. Thus *Yahweh* appears as the initial element in some compound Hebrew names as *Yehō*¹⁶⁸ sometimes contracted to *Yō*,¹⁶⁹ and in some Babylonian names of the Neo-Babylonian period as *Yahu*,¹⁷⁰ and as the final element in other Hebrew names as *Yahū* or *Yah*.¹⁷¹ Confirmatory of this identification is the fact that the Assyrian royal scribes transliterated the Hebrew initial *Yehō* and

¹⁶³ *Abi-Ya* = Abijah, and others, Gray, pp. 162 ff.

¹⁶⁴ *Ahi-Yāma*, *Gadal-Yāma*, *Ḥanani-Yāma*, *Yadēh-Yāma*, *Igdal-Yāma*, *Pad-(Y)āma*, *Pili-Yāma*, *Tiri-Yāma*, *KAT*.³, pp. 466 ff.

¹⁶⁵ *Abi-Yawa*, Clay, *Business Documents of the Murashū Sons*, p. 19.

¹⁶⁶ *Ah-Yami*, *ibid.*

¹⁶⁷ Ex. 15:2; 17:16 (emended text); Is. 38:11; Song of Sol. 8:6; Ps. 68:19.

¹⁶⁸ *Yehō-nathan*, 1 Sam. 14:6, &c.; *Yehō-shūa'*, Deut. 3:21, &c.; *Yehō-ash*, 2 K. 12:1, &c.; and others.

¹⁶⁹ *Yō tham*, 2 K. 15:5, &c.; *Yō-'el*, 1 Sam. 8:2, &c.; and others.

¹⁷⁰ *Yahū-lakim*, *Yahū-lunu*, *Yahū-natanu*, *KAT*.³, p. 466.

¹⁷¹ See Gray, p. 162 f.

the final *Yahū* in Hebrew royal names as *Yau*,¹⁷² which as we have seen above, is a cuneiform variation of *Ya*.¹⁷³

Ya'kob, the "supplanter," appears to have been a deity in Canaan since the name appears in *Yakob-el*, a place-name recorded by Thutmose III,¹⁷⁴ and in *Yakob-her*, the name of a Hyksos king.¹⁷⁵ The parallel *Yakub-ilu*, "Yakub is god," in the Babylonian lists¹⁷⁶ confirms this conclusion and suggests a great antiquity for the cult of this god. Furthermore, the best interpretation of the Hebrew tradition, ascribing the origin of the sanctuary at Beth-el to Jacob,¹⁷⁷ is that *Ya'akob*, the old numen of the sacred stone, was worshipped by Israel; and finally, because of the supremacy of Yahweh, was lowered to the level of an ancestor. Somehow the name of the *numen* of Beth-el gave its name to the worshipping tribe, as well as to its city or district; and, when the native tribe was absorbed and its god adopted by Israel, the transaction could easily pass over into the later tradition accounting for the change of Jacob's name to that of *Israel*.¹⁷⁸

Possibly this deity, according to a poetic reference,¹⁷⁹ won the title of *abir*, "the strong," from which the inference may be drawn that the bull was already sacred to the god of Beth-el long before Jeroboam made Beth-el the royal sanctuary.¹⁸⁰

Shalōm, "peace," is a West-Semitic deity who seems to have had some early connection with *S(h)almāti*, an Elamite name for NINIB.¹⁸¹ This deity was received into the Assyrian pantheon, as a number of personal names,¹⁸² of which one is

¹⁷² See notes 157-159 above.

¹⁷³ For further discussion see *KAT*.³, pp. 465 ff.; Jastrow, in *JBL*., xiii., pp. 101 ff.; *ZA*., x. pp. 222 ff.; Clay, *Light on the Old Testament*, pp. 241 ff.; *Amurru*, pp. 202 ff.

¹⁷⁴ *Y'-k-b-'ā-ra*, Müller, p. 162.

¹⁷⁵ "Jakob is satisfied," Breasted, *HE.*, p. 220; Meyer, *Israeliten*, p. 282.

¹⁷⁶ Ranke, p. 113.

¹⁷⁷ Gen. 28:10-22; Meyer, *ibid.*, pp. 278-286; von Gall, pp. 94 ff. See p. 32.

¹⁷⁸ Gen. 32:29(28).

¹⁷⁹ Gen. 49:24.

¹⁸⁰ 1 K. 12:28 ff.; Am. 7:13.

¹⁸¹ *KAT*.³, p. 474.

¹⁸² *Sh(S)ulmānu-nūnu*, *Temēn-Salīmi*, *Shulmāni-nūnu-shar-ilāni*, *Shalim-ukīn*, *Sh(S)ulmānu-imme*, *KAT*.³, p. 475.

that of a king,¹⁸³ clearly attest. In the West the early mentioned place-names *Uru-Salim*,¹⁸⁴ *Shalma-yāti*,¹⁸⁵ *Shalamna*,¹⁸⁶ *Salem*,¹⁸⁷ and *Shalom*¹⁸⁸ and many personal names compounded with *Shalōm* from many sources—namely, the Old Testament,¹⁸⁹ cuneiform texts,¹⁹⁰ and Phoenician,¹⁹¹ Nabataean,¹⁹² Sinaitic¹⁹³ Palmyrene,¹⁹⁴ and Hebrew¹⁹⁵ inscriptions—reveal no small degree of influence exerted by this cult. Possibly *shalōm*, the Hebrew farewell greeting,¹⁹⁶ is a survival of an ancient invocation of this god.

'Amor, who was probably the eponym of the 'Emōrī, 'Amorites,'¹⁹⁷ evidently was a deity because this name frequently occurs in proper names. It appears to be present in Babylonia in *Ammuru*,¹⁹⁸ in the two Amorite names of the first dynasty *Amri-ilishu*¹⁹⁹ and *Humurum*,²⁰⁰ in personal names of the Kassite period.²⁰¹ In the West the land of *Amor*,²⁰² men-

¹⁸³ *Shulmān-asharīdu* = *Shalman-'eser*, 2 K. 17:3.

¹⁸⁴ Knudtzon, 289:14, &c. = *Yerū-Shalaim*, Josh. 10:1, &c.

¹⁸⁵ Knudtzon, 155:6, 26, 42, 50.

¹⁸⁶ *Sha-ra-ma-na*, Spiegelberg, *ZA.*, xlii. (1898), pp. 120 ff.

¹⁸⁷ Gen. 14:18.

¹⁸⁸ *S'-r'-m*, Breasted, *ARE.*, iii. § 356; Müller, p. 220.

¹⁸⁹ *Salmōn*, Ruth 4:21; *Salmay*, Ezr. 2:46; *Shillem*, Gen. 46:24, &c. = *Shallūm*, 2 K. 15:10, &c.; *Shelōmō*, Solomon, 2 S. 12:24, &c.; *Shelōmōth*, 1 Chr. 24:22; *Shelōmīth*, 1 Chr. 26:28, &c.; *Shelōmī*, Num. 34:27; *Shel-ūmī-'el*, Num. 1:6; *Shelem-Yah(ū)*, Jer. 36:14; 'Abī-*Shalōm*, 1 K. 15:2; *Salami-el*, Num. 34:20, LXX for *Shemū-'el*; *Selemios*, Jer. 43:12, LXX (26:12 Heb.) for *Shema'-Yahū*; *Bishlam*, Ezr. 4:7, probably for *Ben-Shelam*.

¹⁹⁰ *Salamānu*, *KB.*, ii. p. 21; cp. Hos. 10:14.

¹⁹¹ *ShLM-N-*, name of a deity, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 377; *B'L-ShLM*, *CIS.*, i. 95, 3; 338, 3; 679, 3; Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 241.

¹⁹² *ShLM-W*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 376.

¹⁹³ *ShLM-W*, *ShLM-YW*, *ShLM-NTN*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, pp. 376, 377.

¹⁹⁴ *ShLM-'*, *ShLM-WY*, *ShLM-Y*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 376; *ShLM-LT*, *ShLM-T*, *ShLM-N*, *ibid.*, p. 377.

¹⁹⁵ *ShLM-SLIVN*, *ibid.*, p. 377; *ShLM*, a potter's name, Bliss and Macal., p. 119.

¹⁹⁶ Gen. 43:23; Judg. 6:23; 18:6; 19:20; 1 Sam. 1:17; 25:6, &c.

¹⁹⁷ Num. 21:13.

¹⁹⁸ *KAT.*, p. 447.

¹⁹⁹ Ranke, p. 65.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

²⁰¹ See Clay, *Personal Names*, pp. 54 ff.

²⁰² *Y-m-r*, Breasted, *ARE.*, iii. § 141, &c.

tioned in Seti I's accounts; the Amarna personal names *Amur-ba'alu*,²⁰³ the Old Testament place-name *'Immer*,²⁰⁴ and several Old Testament,²⁰⁵ one Aramaic,²⁰⁶ one Nabataean,²⁰⁷ and two Palmyrene²⁰⁸ personal names are to be noticed for native survivals of this divine name.

Han, or **Hen**, "favor," evidently was a West-Semitic deity as inferred from the occurrence of this element in early Babylonian names²⁰⁹ in parallelism with similar names in the West, namely, the Amarna place-name *Sham-Huna*,²¹⁰ which appears later in the form *Beth-Hanan*,²¹¹ and in many Old Testament,²¹² and in a few Phoenician,²¹³ Punic,²¹⁴ Hebrew,²¹⁵ Nabataean,²¹⁶ and Sinaitic²¹⁷ personal names.

Bes (?), the Egyptian name for some unknown Semitic god whose worship entered Egypt probably through Canaanite influences long before 2000 B. C. appears, according to the oldest Egyptian representations, to have been a lion-killer and a protector against wild animals and snakes;²¹⁸ and, therefore, to

²⁰³ Knudtzon, 170:38.

²⁰⁴ Ezr. 2:59, &c.

²⁰⁵ *'Imri*, 1 Chr. 9:4, &c.; *'Amar-Yah(ū)*, 1 Chr. 23:19; *Ūmar*, Gen. 36:11, &c.; *'Immer*, 1 Chr. 24:14, &c.

²⁰⁶ *'MR'*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 221.

²⁰⁷ *'MRY-*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 221; *'MRW*, Ldzb., *EPH.*, ii. p. 412.

²⁰⁸ *'MR-Sh'*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 221; *'MR-Sh'*, Ldzb., *EPH.*, i. p. 361.

²⁰⁹ *Hani-rabi*, "Han is high," Ranke, pp. 86, 199.

²¹⁰ Knudtzon, 225:4.

²¹¹ 1 K. 4:9.

²¹² *Ba'al-Hanan*, Gen. 36:38; *Hen*, Zech. 6:14; *Hannah*, 1 Sam. 1:2, &c.; *Hanan*, 1 Chr. 11:43, &c.; *Hanūn*, 2 Sam. 10:1, &c.; *Hanni-'el*, Num. 34:23, &c.; *Hanan-'el*, Jer. 31:38, &c.; *Hena-dad*, Ezr. 3:9, &c.; *Hananī*, 1 K. 16:1, &c.; *Hanan-Yahū*, Jer. 36:12, &c.; *Han-Nathōn*, place-name, Josh. 19:14.

²¹³ *HNN-B('L)*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 278; *'L-HNN*, p. 217; *HN-'ShTRT*, Ldzb., *EPH.*, i. p. 355.

²¹⁴ *HN-SD*, *HN-TS*, *HN-B'L*, *HN-MLKRT*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 278; *HN'*, *HNDR*, p. 277; *MLKRT-HN*, *MLKRT-HN'*, p. 312; *HN'-MLK*, *HN-YHD?*, *'L-HNN*, Ldzb., *EPH.*, i. p. 355.

²¹⁵ *B'L-HNN*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 240; *HNN-YHW*, p. 278; *YHW-HNN*, p. 286; *'L-HNN*, Ldzb., *EPH.*, p. 352; *HNN*, p. 406; *HNN-YH*, ii. p. 406.

²¹⁶ *HN-'L*, Ldzb., *EPH.*, ii. p. 416; *HN-TLN*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 278; *HN-'L*, p. 277.

²¹⁷ *HN-TLW*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 278.

²¹⁸ Müller, pp. 310, 311.

have been a type of the Babylonian Gilgamesh. As an Egyptian god his worship returned to Palestine during the next period.

Har-Sopd, a protecting god of the desert residing eastward from the land of Goshen, was known to the Egyptians.²¹⁹ He may have been a Semitic deity.

Pathah, the "opener," appears as the name of a Semitic god whose cult obtained an early foothold in northern Egypt. His name and possibly his cult seem to have been continued in Egypt in the name and worship of Pitah, the artificer god.²²⁰ The Canaanite place-names *Yiphtah-'el*²²¹ "the opener is god," and *Yiphtah*,²²² the Gileadite hero-name *Yiphtah*²²³ and the Hebrew personal name *Pethah-Ya*,²²⁴ appears to preserve the name of this old Semitic god.

²¹⁹ Erman, A., *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, 1907, p. 18.

²²⁰ Hall, *The Ancient Religion of the Near East*, pp. 85 ff.

²²¹ Josh. 19:14, 27.

²²² 15:43.

²²³ Judg. 11:1, &c.

²²⁴ 1 Chr. 24:16, &c.

CHAPTER XIV

PANTHEON: CULT OF THE DEAD¹

It was the common belief of all primitive peoples that the spirits of the departed not only retained their spiritual powers possessed in life but also acquired new supernatural powers which rendered them worthy of worship as gods. As such they were worshipped with the same rites as the other gods. In Babylonia they were called *ēkimmu*, "ghosts of the departed," and in Canaan *'elōhīm*, "gods," and *repha'īm*, "shades." It was, moreover, believed that the superior knowledge and the supernatural power which these disembodied spirits possessed put them in a position to bring blessing or bane upon the living, according as the latter rendered, or failed to render, them honor through the rites of burial and of offering.

1. **The sanctity of tombs.** The veneration which everywhere was accorded the graves of the dead is in itself conclusive evidence that the spirits of the dead were worshipped. The ancient Arabs made their graves like the sanctuaries, surrounding them with a *hima*, or sacred enclosure, and erecting pillars.² Nearly every hill-top to-day in Palestine has its tomb where some *wely*, "patron," *sheikh*, "chief," or *neby*, "prophet," is worshipped by all sects. Many of the Canaanite sanctuaries, which the Hebrews adopted, were centers of the worship of old heroes whom the Hebrews, after years of occupation, came to regard as their own tribal ancestors. The stories which cluster about these tombs in the Old Testament narrative are popular traditions that clearly show the desire on the part of the writer to prove them to be ancestral tombs and, therefore, the legitimate places of worship in the early religion of Yahweh. These Canaanite sanctuaries, whose worship was, partially at least, set apart to the cult of heroes and ancestors, were *'Abel-mis-*

¹For the most important literature on Ancestor-worship among the Hebrews see *BW.*, vol. 35 (1910), p. 80.

²Wellh., p. 184.

rain,³ 'Ayyalōn,⁴ Beth-Lehem,⁵ 'Emek-repha'im,⁶ Gib'ath Phīnehās,⁷ Kadesh,⁸ Kamōn,⁹ Kiryath-'arba',¹⁰ Mahaneh-Dan,¹¹ Mōserah,¹² Ōbōth,¹³ Pir'athōn,¹⁴ Shamīr,¹⁵ Shekem,¹⁶ and Yabesh-gil'ad.¹⁷ Tombs are known also to have been connected with the sanctuaries at Beth-'el,¹⁸ Gezer,¹⁹ Beth-Shemesh,²⁰ Megiddo,²¹ and Taanach.²² The tombs of the kings of Judah, which the writer of Kings is ever careful to mention, were, to infer from Ezekiel 43:7-9, adjacent to the sanctuary on Mount Zion. The "abominations" which Ezekiel says were carried on here could have been none other than the cult of the dead. The uncleanness which came through personal contact with a corpse or a tomb in later Yahwism²³ had its origin in the developing conception that the worship of the spirits of the dead at the grave was subversive of the sole authority of Yahweh. The uncleanness came from the *nephesh*, or "soul," which was thought to reside in the bones, and not from the bones themselves.

2. Of the rites connected with the cult of the dead we are sure of the following:

a. *Fasting* was probably a ceremonial preparation for par-

³ Gen. 50:11.

⁴ Judg. 12:12; cp. Gen. 46:14; Num. 26:26.

⁵ Judg. 12:10.

⁶ "valley of shades," 2 Sam. 5:22-24.

⁷ Josh. 24:33.

⁸ Num. 20:1.

⁹ Judg. 10:5; cp. Num. 32:41.

¹⁰ Or Hebron, Gen. 23:1-20; 25:9, 10; 49:29-32; 50:13.

¹¹ Judg. 16:31.

¹² Deut. 10:6.

¹³ "Ghosts," Num. 21:10.

¹⁴ Judg. 12:15.

¹⁵ 10:1.

¹⁶ Josh. 24:32.

¹⁷ 1 Sam. 31:13; 1 Chr. 10:12.

¹⁸ Gen. 35:8.

¹⁹ Macalister, *EG.*, i. pp. 392 ff.

²⁰ *PEFA.*, ii. pp. 58 ff.

²¹ Sellin, pp. 14 ff.

²² See p. 39.

²³ Lev. 21:1-11; 22:4; Num. 5:2; 6:6, 11; 9:6-10; 19:11 ff.; Deut. 26:14; Ezek. 43:7 ff.; Hag. 2:13; Matt. 23:27.

taking of the sacred meal,²⁴ and was therefore analogous to the Roman Catholic custom of fasting before communion. This rite was practiced in the cult of the dead, commonly lasting till sundown on the day of death,²⁵ when the body was buried and the funeral-feast spread. On one occasion, which must have been an exceptional one, the period extended over seven days,²⁶ food being taken, as in the Mohammedan feast of Ramadan, only after sun-down.

b. Removal of garments, as an act of mourning, probably had its origin in the thought of self-humiliation; since the mourner, in the act of communing with the departed spirit, did not wish by wearing a garment to appear to a greater advantage than the corpse, which was buried naked, as a Babylonian relief shows. Among the ancient Arabs it was customary for mourning women to expose their faces, breasts and, sometimes, their entire bodies; while bearers of evil tidings either wholly or partially divested themselves of their garments.²⁷ Frequent representations of naked worshippers in Babylonian art presuppose an old custom of removing one's garments before approaching the deity.²⁸ The ancient Arabs were wont to encircle the sacred Ka'aba in a condition of nudity; while, to-day, only a loin-cloth is allowed. Similarly the old Hebrew seers, whose origin as a guild is Canaanite, also practiced such things. Saul, in a state of religious ecstasy, stripped off his clothes, and lay naked all night.²⁹ Prophets, in symbolizing the act of mourning, sometimes went naked.³⁰ These primitive customs, however, because of rising standards of decency, became mitigated by the prophet wearing a hairy mantle³¹ and mourners, sackcloth on their loins.³² It is significant that *shakku*, the special mourning and penitential garment among the Babylonians,³³ bears an evident

²⁴ Smith, *RS.*, p. 434.

²⁵ 2 Sam. 1:12; 3:35.

²⁶ 1 Sam. 31:13.

²⁷ Wellh., pp. 177, 195.

²⁸ Jastrow, *The Rel.*, p. 666.

²⁹ 1 Sam. 19:24.

³⁰ Is. 20:2; Mic. 1:8.

³¹ Cp. 2 K. 1:8 with 1 K. 19:13, &c. See XXIII. 2.

³² Gen. 37:34; 2 Sam. 3:31.

³³ *KAT.*³, p. 603.

connection with the Hebrew *sak*, "sackcloth." A still later custom was to remove simply the sandals³⁴ or to rend the upper garments.³⁵

c. Cutting off the hair, or the beard, or both. Among the ancient Arabs the men shaved off their hair and their beards, and the women cut off their hair in the rite of mourning. This was done probably for the purpose of making an offering of hair to the dead.³⁶ Among the Syrians, offerings of hair were made by the women to the goddess; and, among the Hebrews, by the Nazirites to Yahweh.³⁷ As strength was thought to reside in the hair,³⁸ an offering of hair to the dead was intended to impart strength to them. Shaving the head³⁹ and the beard⁴⁰ were common acts of mourning among the Hebrews. These acts the later law prohibited because they were associated with the cult of the dead.⁴¹ Shaving the head was conventionalized later into merely shaving a spot above the forehead⁴² or into pulling out some of the hair.⁴³

d. Cutting the flesh may have been practiced, in connection with mourning, for the purpose of supplying blood as an offering to give strength to the feeble shades.⁴⁴ Or it may have been the means of establishing a blood-covenant with the shades.⁴⁵ This was customary among the Hebrews⁴⁶ and the ancient Arabs;⁴⁷ and was not proscribed by the Hebrew law till after the Exile, when it, together with tattooing the face, was strictly forbidden because of its connection with the cult of the dead.⁴⁸ Tattoo marks branded one as a constant devotee of the deity.

³⁴ Ex. 3:5; Josh. 5:15; 2 Sam. 15:30; Ezek. 24:17.

³⁵ Gen. 37:34; Lev. 21:10; Num. 14:6; Ezer. 9:3.

³⁶ Smith, *RS.*, pp. 323-326. See Wellh., pp. 181, 195 ff.

³⁷ Num. 6:18.

³⁸ Judg. 16:17.

³⁹ Lev. 14:8, 9; 21:5; Num. 6:9; Deut. 21:12; Is. 15:2; 22:12; Jer. 16:6; 47:5; 48:37; Mic. 1:16.

⁴⁰ Is. 15:2; Jer. 41:5; 48:37.

⁴¹ Lev. 21:5.

⁴² Deut. 14:1.

⁴³ Ezer. 9:3.

⁴⁴ Jevons, F. S., *An Introduction to the History of Religion*, pp. 191 ff.

⁴⁵ Smith, *RS.*, pp. 322 ff. Cp. 1 K. 18:28.

⁴⁶ Jer. 16:6; 41:5; 47:5; 48:37.

⁴⁷ Wellh., p. 181.

⁴⁸ Lev. 19:28.

e. Covering one's self with dust or ashes was an act of mourning both among the Hebrews and the Arabs.⁴⁹ With the Hebrews it varied from wallowing in the dust⁵⁰—its most original form—to simply putting dust on the head,⁵¹ or sitting in dust or ashes.⁵² It was undoubtedly expressive of the mourner's desire to become identified with the dead by this symbolic act of burial.⁵³

*f. Covering the head and face*⁵⁴ was either a substitute for cutting off the hair and beard, which were regarded as personal adornments, and was thus an act symbolizing self-humiliation; or it was an act designed to protect the eyes from beholding the ghost.⁵⁵ This fear of beholding the deity was shared by the Hebrews.⁵⁶

g. Prayer and lamentation. Lamentation, among the Semites, was an accompaniment of all solemn supplications at the sanctuary,⁵⁷ being an outward sign of sincerity and of repentance for sin. Naturally lamentation came to accompany prayer also in the cult of the dead. The Babylonians formally lamented the dead, employing professional mourners to mourn and to sing dirges.⁵⁸ The period of mourning extended from three to seven days. The ancient Arabs while mourning addressed the dead with the usual invocation "Be not far away."⁵⁹ Among the Hebrews the custom was originally to address by a bewailing cry a prayer to the departed spirit in such terms as, "O my son,"⁶⁰ "Ah my brother," "Ah sister,"⁶¹ and "Ah, lord."⁶² Lamentations were originally addressed to the dead;⁶³ but, as

⁴⁹ Wellh., p. 177.

⁵⁰ Esth. 4:3; Jer. 6:26; Ezek. 27:30; Mic. 1:10.

⁵¹ Josh. 7:6; 1 Sam. 4:12; 2 Sam. 1:2; 13:19; Esth. 4:1; Job 3:12; Lam. 2:10; Ezek. 27:30.

⁵² Job 2:8; Is. 26:19; 47:1; 52:2; 58:5; Ezek. 28:18.

⁵³ Paton, in *BW.*, vol. 35 (1910), p. 83.

⁵⁴ 2 Sam. 13:19; 15:30; 19:5(4); Esth. 6:12; Ezek. 24:17, 22; Mic. 3:7.

⁵⁵ G. Margoliouth, in *HERE.*, i. p. 448.

⁵⁶ Ex. 3:6; 33:20; 1 K. 19:13.

⁵⁷ Judg. 11:38-40; cp. Am. 8:10; Zech. 12:11.

⁵⁸ Jastrow, *The Rel.*, p. 604.

⁵⁹ *HERE.*, i. p. 672^a.

⁶⁰ 2 Sam. 19:1 (18:33).

⁶¹ Jer. 22:18; cp. 2 Sam. 1:26.

⁶² Jer. 22:18; 34:5.

⁶³ 2 Sam. 1:26.

time went on, they became crystallized into set formulas and dirges⁶⁴ in which every vestige of prayer was lost. Professional mourners now did the mourning for the family.⁶⁵ Prayer to Abraham and to the patriarchs at the tomb in Hebron has probably been offered through all the centuries.⁶⁶ It is offered to-day by the Jews, Moslems, and Christians.

3. Offerings to the dead were made, not only to supply the needs of the spirit in its new existence, but also to pay it homage lest its restlessness should cause it to roam the earth and do harm. This appears to have been a universal custom among primitive peoples reaching as far back as the age of the mammoth.⁶⁷ It was extremely important that the corpse should be properly buried and that common articles of everyday life should be deposited with it. The deposits which the Babylonians made with their dead were determined by the principles that the future life was a repetition of the present, and that the soul needed those things to which it was accustomed in this life. Thus, with dead children, toys were deposited; with women, ornaments, flowers, and cosmetics; with men, weapons; and with all, food and drink offerings. Entrances were made to tombs⁶⁸ for renewed offerings, and fresh water was directed thither by means of clay drains.⁶⁹ As far back as 2200 B. C. it was customary to hold funeral festivities in honor of departed kings and to offer sacrifices to them.⁷⁰ Sons, particularly the eldest, and other descendants took the leading part in these celebrations, in which the people generally shared. The rite of offering incense to the dead is clearly depicted on an ancient bronze tablet.⁷¹ One late Assyrian king dedicated gold and silver vessels as offerings to his father.⁷² Another "appears at the tombs" of his ancestors "with rent garments, pours out a

⁶⁴ 1:17; 3:33.

⁶⁵ 2 Chr. 35:25; Jer. 9:16 ff.(17 ff.); Am. 5:16.

⁶⁶ Cp. Is. 63:16.

⁶⁷ D'Alviella, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 17; De la Saussaye, *Manual of the Science of Religion*, pp. 111 ff.

⁶⁸ Peters, *Nippur*, ii. pp. 173 ff.

⁶⁹ Koldewey, in *ZA.*, ii. (1887), p. 414.

⁷⁰ Jastrow, *The Kcl.*, p. 561.

⁷¹ Maspero, pp. 690 ff.

⁷² L. W. King, *Babylonian Religion and Mythology*, p. 49.

libation to the memory of the dead, and offers up a prayer addressed to them."⁷³ Similar customs are found among the Greeks and the ancient Arabs. Ulysses poured out the blood of sheep, and poured libations of honey, sweet wine, and water to the shades.⁷⁴ The Arabs were wont to tether a camel, that had previously been rendered useless by laming, near the grave and let it starve to death with the evident intention of furnishing a means of conveyance to the departed soul. About 1100 A. D. certain Arabs of northern Yemen, in showing honor to a dead man according to this ancient custom, broke 1,000 swords and 300 bows, and lamed 70 horses.⁷⁵ Rendering these things useless for the service of the living helped the primitive mind to fancy that they were dedicated to the service of the dead. There are traces of such offerings having been offered to the dead as hair, incense, food, and drink.⁷⁶

The excavations in Palestine reveal abundant evidence that offerings of all kinds were deposited with the dead; which fact, taken in connection with the custom given above and with survivals among the Hebrews, warrants us in positing similar practices for the early Semites of Canaan. In the first three Semitic levels, food and drinking vessels, gifts of ornaments, weapons, and other things which the spirit was thought to need in the future life, are usually found deposited with the dead.⁷⁷ In the later levels lamps are found in great profusion;⁷⁸ which fact suggests that, as the Babylonian conception of the dead descending into Sheol came gradually to dominate the older and more primitive view that the *nephesh* lingered about the tomb, the idea gained currency that the soul would need a light to find its way in the region of darkness.⁷⁹

⁷³ Jastrow, *The Rel.*, p. 605.

⁷⁴ *Odyssey*, xi. 26 ff.

⁷⁵ Wellh., pp. 180 ff.; *HERE.*, i. p. 672b.

⁷⁶ Wellh., pp. 177 ff.; Doughty, i. pp. 450 ff.; Curtiss, pp. 188 ff.; *HERE.*, i. p. 672b.

⁷⁷ Gezer—Macalister, *EG.*, i. pp. 392 ff.; Taanach—Sellin, pp. 33, 34; Megiddo—Schumacher, pp. 13 f., 25, 54 ff.; Lachish—Petrie, *TH.*, p. 32; Beth-Shemesh—*PEFA.*, 1912-13, pp. 40 ff.; Tell Zekariyeh—Bliss and Macal, p. 151.

⁷⁸ E. g., Gezer—Macalister, *EG.*, pp. 393 ff.; Beth-Shemesh—*PEFA.*, pp. 47, 65, 70.

⁷⁹ See Chap. XVI. ii.

The radical opposition of Yahwism to the cult of the dead may account for the meager traces among the Hebrews of the practice of offering gifts to the dead; but enough survives to give no uncertain confirmation of the existence of this universal custom. The loyal worshippers of Yahweh, according to the Deuteronomic law, were expected to disclaim any connection with the heathen practice of partaking of funeral feasts and "giving thereof for (or to ?) the dead."⁸⁰ It was the usual custom, as in the case of Asa,⁸¹ to "make a burning" for the dead king.⁸² Ezekiel implies that the cult of the dead kings was carried on under the very shadow of the temple.⁸³ "Neither shall men break bread for a mourner to comfort him for the dead, nor shall one give him the cup of consolation to drink on account of his father or his mother," nor shall one "go into the house of feasting to sit with them to eat and drink,"⁸⁴ are commands which reveal the ban put upon this cult. Participation in the funeral repast⁸⁵ rendered one unclean for approach to Yahweh because it involved paying homage to another god. Yahweh was provoked by the forefathers who "ate the sacrifices of the dead,"⁸⁶ and also by certain post-Exilic idolaters who "dwelt among the graves and lodged among the tombs"⁸⁷ for the purpose of consulting the dead.

The conception inherent in the funeral feast, as in other mourning rites, was undoubtedly that of a communion between the mourner and the dead.

The important function of offering sacrifices to the dead devolved upon the first-born son, as is indicated by the Babylonian custom mentioned above and by the importance which the Hebrews attached to male offspring. In view of this duty the eldest son was given a double portion of the inheritance.⁸⁸

⁸⁰ Deut. 26:14.

⁸¹ 2 Chr. 16:14.

⁸² 2 Chr. 21:19; Jer. 34:5.

⁸³ 43:7-9.

⁸⁴ Jer. 16:7, 8 (emended text); cp. Ezek. 24:17, "eat the bread of mourning" (emended text).

⁸⁵ Deut. 26:14; Hos. 9:4.

⁸⁶ Ps. 106:28.

⁸⁷ Is. 65:4.

⁸⁸ Deut. 21:15 ff.

To have no son was considered the greatest misfortune⁸⁹ and a mark of the deity's displeasure.⁹⁰ To overcome such a condition various expedients were resorted to, such as the husband's taking a concubine,⁹¹ or adopting a son,⁹² or the wife's seeking, according to the levirate law,⁹³ offspring through marriage with a brother of the deceased or with his nearest male kin. The son thus obtained was to carry on the cult of his father so as to give the spirit rest.

4. **Necromancy.** In process of time the functions of consulting the dead, like similar methods of seeking revelations from deities, came to be taken by a specialist known as the necromancer. Among the Arabs every magician has his *tābī'*, "follower," or familiar spirit, whom he consults for revelations on favorable occasions. Gilgamesh called up the ghost of Eabani;⁹⁴ and the witch of En-dor, the shade of Samuel. Down through the period of the kings, in spite of the attempt of Josiah to stamp out the custom,⁹⁵ the people were wont to consult, on behalf of the living, the ghosts and familiar spirits that gibber and moan rather than Yahweh.⁹⁶ It is significant, as connecting necromancy with offerings to the dead, that *kispu*, the Babylonian word for "food-offering" for the dead,⁹⁷ appears to have an etymological connection with *kesheph*, the Hebrew word for sorcery.⁹⁸

⁸⁹ E. g., Gen. 30:1.

⁹⁰ 1 Sam. 1:5; cp. Ex. 20:5; 34:7; Num. 14:18; Deut. 5:9.

⁹¹ Gen. 16:1 ff.

⁹² 15:2 ff.

⁹³ 38:8; Deut. 25:5; Ruth 2:20; 4:1 ff., &c.

⁹⁴ Gil. Epic, xii. Col. 3.

⁹⁵ 2 K. 21:6; 23:24.

⁹⁶ Is. 8:19; cp. 19:3; 29:4; 47:12, 13.

⁹⁷ *KAT*³, p. 640.

⁹⁸ Is. 47:9, 12; Mic. 5:11(12); Nah. 3:4.

CHAPTER XV

PANTHEON: FOREIGN CULTS

Babylonian Influence. During the supremacy of the Babylonian civilization in the West-land many elements of that civilization were adopted in Palestine, of which the most important was the use of the Babylonian cuneiform¹ as a medium of official correspondence even down through the two centuries of Egyptian supremacy which lasted to about 1300 B. C. Other evidences of the eastern civilization in the West are found in fashions of dress; in art-motives in pottery; in architectural designs; in temples; in ancient seal cylinders pictured with religious scenes found in the old levels;² and in a tablet, found in the first Semitic level at Gezer, impressed with a zodiacal cylinder on which were represented several Babylonian gods.³ The mythological conceptions furnishing the basis for the monotheistic revisions that now appear in the Old Testament accounts of creation, garden of Eden, the flood, and of the birth of Moses possess a distinct Babylonian coloring in spite of the lapse of time from their reception in Canaan during Amorite times down to their incorporation into Hebrew life and thought.⁴ Along with these influences and ideas there came Babylonian religious elements which continued down through the Canaanite period and left their impression on Hebrew religion. Summarized briefly, these are the technical terms of religious rites; the special kinds of offerings; the doctrine of Sheol; the reverence for certain sacred numbers, for religious rites, such as prostitution, swearing, and divination, and for a priesthood requiring strict ceremonial cleanness; and the sacred annual, monthly, and weekly feasts.⁵ In this enumeration the archæologist is ever confronted with the difficulty of finding the line of cleavage

¹ Amarna letters found at Tell el Amarna, Egypt.

² Bliss and Macal., pp. 41, 153; Sellin, p. 105.

³ Macalister, *EG.*, ii. pp. 344 ff.

⁴ Consult Paton, pp. 49 ff.; Meyer, § 469; *KAT.*, p. 506 ff.

⁵ Cp. Haupt, in *JBL.*, xix. (1900), pp. 55 ff.; See Rites, chapter VIII.

between the purely Babylonian and the purely Semitic. A careful survey of the facts will force the investigator to admit that the Babylonian culture and religion was, on the whole, less warmly welcomed in Canaan than among the Assyrians, Lulubæans, and Gutæans;⁶ and, when account is taken of the unique Palestinian developments, especially in the religious field, one is struck with the paucity of Babylonian religious conceptions. Several gods of the Babylonian pantheon left slight traces of their cults, particularly in the superficial way of surviving geographical and personal names, the latter of which are few and uncertain.

Nabu, or **Nebo**, bears a genuine Semitic name meaning in Assyrian "to announce."⁷ According to Barton,⁸ he was a Semitic deity before he received his Babylonian coloring. If this be true, he was first the god of deep water and fertility, the protector of agriculture, and the waterer of the fields.⁹ Probably his later association with Ea led to his becoming the god of wisdom, the protecting patron of literature and the art of writing. He is represented as the scribe who records for the gods on the tablet of destiny the fate of men.¹⁰ Bearing also the name *Papsukal*, "highest or holiest messenger," he was also the herald of the gods. Whether or not Nebo won his way into Palestine prior to his assumption of Babylonian coloring is not known; but, at any rate, his name finds expression in *Ka-ira-ti'n-bu*, "city of Nabu,"¹¹ of the thirteenth century; in *Nebō*, both a mountain¹² and a city¹³ of Gad; in *Nebō*, a town of Judah;¹⁴ in *Nob* of Benjamin,¹⁵ and possibly in *Nabai* of Gilead.¹⁶ It survives also in Old Testament,¹⁷ Phœnician,¹⁸

⁶ Meyer, § 469; Cook, p. 112.

⁷ *nabū*.

⁸ Barton, p. 212.

⁹ Jastrow, *Die Rel.*, i. p. 118.

¹⁰ *KAT.*³, p. 401; Jastrow, *ibid.*, p. 121.

¹¹ Müller, p. 174.

¹² Num. 33:47, &c.

¹³ 1 Chr. 5:8; Jer. 48:1 = *NBH* in *MI.*, 14.

¹⁴ Ezr. 2:29; Neh. 7:33.

¹⁵ 1 Sam. 22:19; perhaps = Is. 10:32.

¹⁶ LXX *Nabai* for *Nobah* (*MT*), Judg. 8:11.

¹⁷ *Nabōth*, 1 K. 21:1, &c.; *Nabau*, LXX for *Nobah*, Num. 32:42.

¹⁸ *NB*-'*LZ*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 321.

Aramaic,¹⁹ and Palmyrene²⁰ personal names. Whether or not the Canaanite prophetism had its origin in the Nabū-cult, it is interesting, at least, to observe an analogy between the two. The Hebrew word for prophet, *nabī'*, may be related to *Nabū*.²¹ The prophetic functions of bearing messages,²² speaking in frenzy,²³ deciding the destiny of kings,²⁴ and possibly of guarding and encouraging literary productions; and the conception of Yahweh's "book of remembrance";²⁵ and of Israel's election bear remarkable resemblance to the nature and functions of Nabū.²⁶

Nergal, like NIN-IB, was god of war and of the chase.²⁷ He held also the offices of god of disease, of the glowing sun, of the waxing and waning moon, and of the underworld. During the shortening days before the winter solstice and the lengthening days after it, Nergal, as the sun, was thought to tarry in the underworld. This annual waxing and waning of the sunlight being attributed to the influence of Nergal, lent an analogous conception to the waxing and waning lunar crescent.²⁸ Thus Nergal won the name of *twin moon*, or *double moon*, being revealed in the two forms, *Lugalgira* and *Šitlam-taäa*, which in the Westland were designated *Šarrabu* and *Birdu*,²⁹ the two desert demons who were also identified in the West with the waxing and the waning moon, and respectively inflicted upon man the fever stroke and the chills.³⁰ Nergal's rôle as a god of fever and of pestilence may be seen in a letter

¹⁹ *NBW-'LH*, *NBW-NTN*, *NBW-ŠhLM*, *NBW-SR-DN*, *NB-RB*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, pp. 320, 321; *'BD-NBW*, *ibid.* p. 205; *GD-NBW*, *ibid.* p. 249; *'RD-NBW*, *ibid.* p. 345; *NBW-EP'*, Ldzb. *EPII.*, ii. p. 419.

²⁰ *NBW-BD*, *NBW-GDY*, *NBW-ZBD*, *NBW-KW'*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, pp. 320, 321; *BD-NBW*, *ibid.*, p. 245; *TBD-NBW*, *ibid.*, p. 265; *NBW-ZBD*, *NBW-LH'*, Ldzb., *EPII.*, i. p. 364; *NBW-Z'*, *NBW-ZDD*, *NBW-L'*, *ibid.*, ii. p. 419.

²¹ *KAT.*, p. 400.

²² Ex. 7:1; Deut. 18:15, 18; Judg. 6:8; 1 Sam. 3:20; 1 K. 17:1.

²³ See p. 56 and Chap. XXIII. 1.

²⁴ 1 K. 19:15, 16; 20:42; 2 K. 9:1-3.

²⁵ Mal. 3:16; cp. Ex. 32:32; Ps. 69:29 (28); Is. 4:3.

²⁶ *KAT.*, p. 404 ff.

²⁷ *KAT.*, p. 412; Jastrow, *Die Rel.*, i. p. 157.

²⁸ *KAT.*, p. 413.

See p. 79.

KAT., p. 415.

written by the king of Cyprus to the king of Egypt: "My lord, Nergal, has killed all the people of my land. . . . The hand of Nergal is in my land."³¹ Also belonging to the Amarna period is a genuine Canaanite seal-cylinder, found at Taanach, bearing, in Egyptian hieroglyphics and early Babylonian cuneiform, the inscription: "Atanahili, son of Habsi, servant of Nergal."³² In both these cases Nergal may be merely a Babylonian name for a native deity; but, even in that case, the use of the name implies a lingering Babylonian influence as does also the discovery, among the Amarna letters, of a tablet containing the myth of Nergal and Eresh-kigal.³³ Nergal was worshipped by the Phoenicians at Piræus as late as the second century B. C.³⁴

NIN-IB was chiefly the old Babylonian god of war and of the chase. The Semitic equivalent for his ideographic name has been preserved only in Aramaic where it appears as 'NWSHT and is best pronounced³⁵ *En-nammashit*, "lord of the creatures."³⁶ He is represented as a warrior heavily armed and mighty in battle. He revealed himself particularly in the thunder and lightning of the storm. The constellation Orion; the planet Saturn; possibly at one time Mars; and the eastern, southern, and western sun were his various astral identifications. On the beneficent side of his nature he protected fields, watched over boundary-stones and states, healed sickness, raised the dead, and forgave sins.³⁷

The name of the god appears in Amarna times in that of two cities both called *Bēt NIN-IB*³⁸ and in the personal name '*Abdi-NIN-IB*.³⁹ The fact that swine were sacred to *NIN-IB*, thus giving him the surname *Humuširu*,⁴⁰ "pig," may account

³¹ Knudtzon, 35:13, 14, 37.

³² Sellin, p. 105. Vincent, p. 170, fig. 117.

³³ *KAT*,³ p. 413.

³⁴ *CIS*, i. 119; Cooke, pp. 100 ff.

³⁵ Clay reads this *En-Mashti*, i. e., *En-marti*, which in Sumerian is equivalent to Bēl-Amurru, "lord of the Amorite," *Baby. Expl. Univ. of Penn.*, x. p. 5 ff.; *JAOS.*, xxviii. (1908), pp. 135 ff.; *Studies in Memory of W. E. Harper*, i. pp. 287 ff.; *Amurru*, pp. 195 ff.

³⁶ Hrozny, in *Revue Sémitique*, 1908, pp. 339 ff.

³⁷ *KAT*,³ pp. 408 f.; Jastrow, *The Rel.*, p. 154.

³⁸ (1) Near Jerusalem, Knudtzon, 290, 16. (2) Near Gebal, *ibid.*, 74:31.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 84:39.

⁴⁰ *KAT*,³ p. 409-410, Heb. *ḥazīr*, "pig."

for the origin of the uncleanness which the Hebrews attached to the pig.⁴¹ This uncleanness probably arose out of an ancient taboo which seems to find confirmation in the name *Hezîr*,⁴² an order of Hebrew priests. *Sakkut*, an epithet of the god,⁴³ appears, in its Hebrew form, in *Sakkûth* in the corrected text of Amos 5:26 in parallelism with *Kêwân*, "Saturn," the planet sacred to him, thus indicating some idolatrous custom:

"Ye have borne the *Sakkûth* of your king
And the *Kêwân* of your images."

Rammân, the Babylonian god of the storm and of the weather, whose name originated in the native word *ramâmu*, meaning "to cry," "roar," because of his like nature, came to be identified with *MAR-TU* or *Amurru*, the West Semitic name for the weather god *Addu*. It cannot yet be determined with certainty whether Rammân was originally native to the Sumerian-Babylonian pantheon or was introduced by the Amorites, but probably the latter was the case. Rammân is represented in Babylonian sculpture with four bull-horns, brandishing an axe in his right hand and a bundle of lightning-shafts in his left. In nature he is both beneficent and destructive, since he sends or withholds rain, causes cloudbursts and floods, and directs the destructive thunderbolt. The flood represents his rage and wins him the title, "lord of the flood." In one instance he is called, *Râgîmu*, "the roarer."⁴⁴ The cult of Rammân was probably carried by settlers westward to Assyria where, because of his destructive nature as a storm-god, he won favor as a war-god.⁴⁵ Assyrian kings often liken themselves to the roaring of Rammân and the overflowing of his waterspouts.⁴⁶ Still further westward his cult spread, for Tiglath Pileser refers to Rammân as the god of the "west country"⁴⁷ and Shalmaneser II, at Halab (Aleppo), paid homage to him.⁴⁸ He was worshipped

⁴¹ Lev. 11:7; Deut. 14:8.

⁴² 1 Chr. 24:15, &c.

⁴³ See Rogers, in *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, p. 749.

⁴⁴ *KAT.*, pp. 445 ff.

⁴⁵ Barton, p. 226.

⁴⁶ *KAT.*, pp. 447 ff.

⁴⁷ Barton, p. 226.

⁴⁸ *KAT.*, p. 447.

at Damaseus where his primitive nature was preserved as a soil-god.⁴⁹

It is not definitely known whether the Babylonian cult of Rammān divided the honors with that of Addu in Palestine during the first Semitic period or entered the land during the next period with Aramaic influence. However, place-names as early as the time of Thutmose III⁵⁰ and the Amarna period⁵¹ reveal the name Rammān in the form of *Rimmōn* which may be the Aramæan form. This form appears in four Old Testament place-names⁵² probably of Canaanite origin, in one Old Testament,⁵³ in one Aramæan,⁵⁴ and in two Aramaic⁵⁵ personal names.

The cult of **Anu**, the king and father of the Babylonian gods, who dwelt in the northern sky seated on his judgment throne,⁶⁰ seems to have extended to Palestine, where traces of his name possibly appear in the place-name (*E*)-*nu-h(e)-r-tu*, mentioned by Thutmose III,⁵⁷ in the personal name *Ben-Ana*⁵⁸ of the Amarna times, and in several Old Testament personal names.⁵⁹ The Old Testament accounts of the tower of Babel,⁶⁰ of Jacob's ladder,⁶¹ of Elijah's translation,⁶² and of the visions

⁴⁹ 2 K. 5:18; *Hadad-Rimmōn*, Zech. 12:11.

⁵⁰ *Ra-na-ma*, *MVG.*, 1907, p. 19.

⁵¹ *Giti-rimunima*, Knudtzon, 250:46 = *Gath-Rimmōn*, Josh. 19:45; 21:24 ff.; 1 Chr. 6:54 (69).

⁵² *Sela' ha-Rimmōn*, "the cliff of Rimmon," Judg. 20:45, 47; '*En-Rimmōn*, "spring of Rimmon," Neh. 11:29; Josh. 15:32; 19:7, probably = '*Ain Rimmōn*, Josh. 15:32; 19:7; Zech. 14:10; *Rimmōn Peres*, Num. 33:19, 20; *Rimmōn*, Josh. 19:13 = *Rimmōnō*, 1 Chr. 6:62 (77).

⁵³ *Rimmōn*, 2 Sam. 4:2, &c.

⁵⁴ *Tab-Rimmōn*, 1 K. 15:18.

⁵⁵ *SDK-RMN*, *RMN-NTN*, *Ldzb.*, *HNE.*, pp. 357, 369.

⁵⁶ *KAT.*, p. 352.

⁵⁷ No. 52 = '*Ana-harath*, Josh. 19:19.

⁵⁸ Knudtzon, 170:37.

⁵⁹ '*Anah*, Gen. 36:2, 24; '*Unni*, 1 Chr. 15:18, &c.; '*Ana-Yah*, Neh. 8:4, &c.; *Ba'anah*, probably for *Ben-'Anah*, 2 Sam. 4:2, &c.; *Ba'anah*, probably for *Ben-'Anah*, 1 K. 4:12, &c.; cp. '*Anam-melek*, god of Sepharwaim, 2 K. 17:31.

⁶⁰ Gen. 11:4 ff.

⁶¹ 28:12.

⁶² 2 K. 2:11.

of Micaiah⁶³ and Isaiah,⁶⁴ and many other references⁶⁵ locating Yahweh's abode and throne in the heaven or northern sky, point evidently to the conclusion that Babylonian conceptions of *Anu* prevailed in Canaan prior to their assumption by the later Yahwistic theology.

Bel is the Semitic name for the Sumerian *En-lil*, "lord of wind," of Nippur. He was the lord of the mystical sky-mountain, like Anu, and later came to be regarded as the lord of the inhabited earth.⁶⁶ Bel bore no relation to *ba'al* as one might infer from the similar formation of the names. Bel may possibly survive in the two Amarna place-names *Balummē*⁶⁷ and *(B)-(Sh)a(m)m(a)*⁶⁸ and in many other personal names from the Old Testament⁶⁹ and from Aramaic,⁷⁰ Nabataean,⁷¹ and Palmyrene⁷² inscriptions.

Lahmu, a deity of fertility, is evidently contained in the place-name *Beth-Lehem*, "house of Lahmu."⁷³ That the second element of the name has reference to the Babylonian deity is borne out by the fact that in the Greek version of Mic. 5:2(1) *Beth-Lehem* is explained as the "house of Ephratha,"⁷⁴ i. e., "house of fertility." The place-name *Lahmā*⁷⁵ may contain the name.

⁶³ 1 K. 22:19.

⁶⁴ Is. 6:1.

⁶⁵ Yahweh on Sinai, Ex. 19:11, 20; 34:5; throne in heaven, Is. 40:22; 66:1; Ezek. 1:26; in the northern sky, Ps. 48:3(2); Is. 14:13; light streams from his throne, Dan. 7:9, ep. Ezek. 1:27.

⁶⁶ *KAT*, p. 355.

⁶⁷ Knudtzon, 8:18.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 37: 26.

⁶⁹ 'Ash bel, Gen. 46:21; *Iasbel*, LXX for MT *Yahse'el*, Gen. 46:24; *Iöbel*, LXX for MT *Ga'al*, Judg. 9:26; *Iobel* or *Iöbel*, LXX for MT *Yabal*, Gen. 4:20; *Bela'*, Gen. 36:32, &c.; *Bil'am*, Num. 22:5, &c.; *Gabel*, LXX for MT 'Ebal, Gen. 36:23; *Bil-gah*, 1 Chr. 24:14, &c.; *Bil-Dad*, Job 2:11, &c.; *Bil-Han*, Gen. 36:27, &c.

⁷⁰ *BL-TN*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 236.

⁷¹ 'YTY-BL, *ibid.*, p. 214.

⁷² 'LH-BL, p. 216; *BL-BEK*, p. 236; *BL-KB*, *BL-ShWR*, *BL-ShWRY*, p. 237; *YDY-BL*, p. 285; *KMRY-BL*, p. 297; *MLK-BL*, a god, p. 310; *NDK-BL*, *NWR-BL*, p. 322; 'BD-BL, p. 333; *ShKY-BL*, p. 375; *TKLY-BL*, p. 386; *ZBD-BL*, p. 265.

⁷³ One in Zebulun, Josh. 19:15, another in Judah, Ruth 1:19.

⁷⁴ LXX: Βηθλεεμ οίκος 'Εφραθα. 'Ephrathah in MT, Mic. 5:2 (1); Ruth 4:11.

⁷⁵ Or *Lahmas*, Josh. 15:40.

Sheba'. The group of evil demons known as "the seven," often invoked in incantations, evidently had some connection with the deity *Sibitti*, "seven," who represented the seven stars of the Pleiades.⁷⁶ The facts that the Hebrew word *sheba'* means both "swear" and "seven," and that this name survives in the old place-name *Be'er-Sheba'*,⁷⁷ and in the personal names *Bath-Sheba'*,⁷⁸ *'Eli-Sheba'*,⁷⁹ *Yehō-Sheba'*,⁸⁰ and *Sheba'*⁸¹ show that the cult of this Babylonian god, or group of demons, made its influence felt in Palestine. Probably the famous oath-ritual of Beer-sheba, which Amos condemned,⁸² involved the invocation of these evil demons in making covenants.

Sacred Numbers. The numbers *seven*, *twelve*, and probably *ten* and *forty*, when considered in their respective relation to sacred objects, events, and rites, possessed a sacrosanct value. This veneration for sacred numbers must have originated in Babylon where religious reflection had a chance to crystallize. The origin of the early calendar, which the Hebrews probably adopted from the Canaanites, dividing the year into twelve lunar months and each month into four weeks of seven days each, undoubtedly grew out of Babylonian astral worship.⁸³

The seven heavenly bodies, including the sun, moon, and five planets; the seven-day division of the week;⁸⁴ and the seven-demon god *Sibitti*⁸⁵ probably helped to form a basis for the evident reverence for *seven* which is found surviving in the West. Such survivals are found in the seven-fold obeisance to which the Palestinian princes often made reference when writing to Pharaoh,⁸⁶ and by which Jacob showed courtesy on one occasion;⁸⁷ in the invocation of the seven demons implied in the oath-formula;⁸⁸ in the number of altars and offerings

⁷⁶ *KAT.*³, pp. 459, 620 f.

⁷⁷ Gen. 21:31, &c.

⁷⁸ 2 Sam. 11:3, &c.

⁷⁹ Ex. 6:23.

⁸⁰ 2 K. 11:2.

⁸¹ 2 Sam. 20:1, &c.

⁸² S:14. See p. 86.

⁸³ *KAT.*³, p. 620; Jeremias, *The Old Testament in the Light of the Ancient East*, pp. 62 ff.

⁸⁴ Ex. 34:21; Deut. 5:14.

⁸⁵ See above. Jastrow, *Die Rel.*, i. pp. 174, 292.

⁸⁶ See "Obeisance," Chap. XXII.

⁸⁷ Gen. 33:3.

⁸⁸ Skinner, *Genesis*, on 21:22-34. See Oath, p.

used by Balaam;⁸⁹ in the number of pillars standing at one time at Gezer;⁹⁰ in the duration of the days of fasting,⁹¹ of uncleanness from leprosy,⁹² of encompassing Jericho,⁹³ and of the feasts of unleavened bread⁹⁴ and tabernacles;⁹⁵ and in the seven-year period ending with the year of release.⁹⁶

The twelve months of the year and the twelve signs of the zodiac⁹⁷ evidently left a reverence for the number *twelve* which may linger in the number of the tribes of Israel,⁹⁸ the springs of 'Elim,⁹⁹ the pillars erected at Sinai,¹⁰⁰ the stones composing the sacred heap at Gilgal,¹⁰¹ and the rough stone altar on Carmel.¹⁰²

What ancient basis existed for the sacredness of the numbers *ten* and *forty* is not known. At any rate, in the oldest literature of the Old Testament the number *ten* finds a possible sacred content in the ten words given on Sinai¹⁰³ and in the tithe-offering required at the sanctuary of Beth-el;¹⁰⁴ while *forty* shows the regard with which it was held in the duration of the days of fasting¹⁰⁵ and of Moses' communion with Yahweh in the mount¹⁰⁶ and of the years of wandering in the wilderness.¹⁰⁷

Egyptian Influence in Canaan during this early period is necessarily insignificant owing to the fact that the early Egyptian kings did not have the passion for conquest that the later

⁸⁹ Num. 23:1 ff.

⁹⁰ See *Gezer*, Chap. XVIII.

⁹¹ 1 Sam. 31:13.

⁹² Num. 12:15; cp. 2 K. 5:10, 14.

⁹³ Josh. 6:14 ff.

⁹⁴ Ex. 13:6; 23:15; 34:18.

⁹⁵ Deut. 16:13.

⁹⁶ Deut. 15.

⁹⁷ *KAT*,³ p. 620.

⁹⁸ Ex. 24:4, &c.

⁹⁹ 15:27.

¹⁰⁰ 24:4.

¹⁰¹ Josh. 4:8.

¹⁰² 1 K. 18:31.

¹⁰³ Ex. 34:28.

¹⁰⁴ Gen. 28:22.

¹⁰⁵ Ex. 34:28; 1 K. 19:8.

¹⁰⁶ Ex. 24:18; 34:28; Deut. 9:9, 11, 18; 10:10.

¹⁰⁷ Deut. 2:7; 8:2, &c.

kings had. However, three expeditions northward into Asia are known to have been undertaken in this period: one by Snefru of the third dynasty in order to secure cedar lumber from Lebanon;¹⁰⁸ another by Uni, a general of Pepi I of the sixth dynasty, in order to subdue the coast towns (c. 2570);¹⁰⁹ and another by Sesostriis III of the twelfth dynasty (c. 1875).¹¹⁰ The Amorite seal-cylinder found at Tanaach¹¹¹ which combines the Babylonian cuneiform with an Egyptian emblem shows at least an interesting point of contact between the two contemporaneous civilizations.

¹⁰⁸ Breasted, *ARE.*, i. § 89.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, §§ 311-313.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, §§ 676-687.

¹¹¹ Sellin, p. 105.

CHAPTER XVI

THE CONCEPTION OF LIFE AFTER DEATH

It is only by gathering up the primitive Semitic beliefs from ancient Babylonian, Canaanite, Hebrew, and ancient Arabic sources, as well as from primitive Semitic survivals of to-day, that we are able to determine what must have been the belief of the Amorites relative to the life after death. The facts that throw light on this subject naturally arrange themselves into two distinct systems of belief, which had two independent origins, but which were woven into one system, with no thought of incongruity, by the eastern and western Semites. One group of ideas, easily recognizable by its primitive character, belongs in common to all Semitic peoples; while the other belongs to the Semites who came in closest contact with the old Sumerian civilization, namely the Amorites of Babylonia and the West. This distinction has been made clear by Professor Paton whose results have largely been embodied here.¹

I. Primitive ideas of the soul after death

1. Among all ancient peoples the fact of death led to the discrimination between the animating principle of the body and the body itself. This animating principle, which manifested itself in acting, feeling, and knowing, left the body at death; while the corpse remained to decay. Since the cessation of breathing and the flowing of blood from a mortal wound were the accompaniments of death, it was natural for the primitive mind to see in the breath and the blood the very seat of the soul. This hypothesis is sustained by the fact that, in many languages, the words for *spirit* are either identical with the words for "breath" or "wind," or are cognates of them. The Hebrew *nephesh*, "soul," which was either identical with the blood² or resided in it, bears a significant relation with the Arabic *nafs*, "soul," "blood," and *nafas*, "breath"; the Ethio-

¹ *BW.*, xxv. (1910), pp. 8 ff.

² Gen. 9:4; Lev. 17:11, 14; Deut. 12:23.

pic *nafes*; the Syrian *nafshā*; and the Assyrian *napishtu*, "breath."

2. Belief in the soul's survival is a common heritage of every primitive as well as every civilized race of men. There has been no exception to this rule in any race of the past or of the present. As far back as the period of the mammoth in western Europe such a belief is clearly indicated by the discovery in tombs of food vessels, weapons, implements, and ornaments.³ Similarly, in the ancient tombs at Tello and at Nippur in Babylonia,⁴ at Gezer,⁵ at Megiddo,⁶ and at Beth-shemesh⁷ these common every-day articles, together with food and drinking vessels, show that the future life was regarded in some way as a repetition of the earthly. Moreover, the belief that spirits of the dead, as for instance Samuel, could appear to the living, and the application of the Hebrew term *nephesh*, which stood primarily for "breath," "soul,"⁸ to the corpse itself,⁹ surely reveal survivals of this primitive belief.

3. The *nature* and *character* of the soul in the future state was conceived in terms of breath, wind, shadow, specter, and reflection. Among the Greeks, the shades of the dead were smoke-like and intangible,¹⁰ and so weak that only by drinking the warm fresh blood of sacrificial victims could they be revived to activity.¹¹ In Babylonia the evil spirits, which in reality were the restless shades of the dead that plagued the living, are described in incantation sentences as "roaming wind-blasts," "evil wind-gusts."¹²

Hebrew conceptions are in perfect accord with this unsubstantial nature of the shade, since the Hebrew word *nephesh* originally meant "wind," "breath," and since the usual word

³ D'Alviella, *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 15 ff.

⁴ Peters, *Nippur*, ii. p. 173; Maspero, p. 686.

⁵ Macalister, *EG.*, i. pp. 392 ff.

⁶ Sellin, pp. 14 ff.

⁷ *PEFA.*, ii. pp. 58 ff.

⁸ 1 K. 17:21, 22; Job 11:20; 31:30; Jer. 15:9.

⁹ Lev. 19:28; 21:11; 22:4; Num. 5:2; 6:6, 11; 9:7, 10; 19:11, 13; Hag. 2:13.

¹⁰ *Iliad*, xxiii. 99-107; *Odyssey*, xi. 204-224.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, xi. 34 ff.

¹² Thompson, i. pp. xxvii, 77

for shades is *repha'im*,¹³ "feeble ones." The old Testament pictures them as "weak,"¹⁴ "helpless,"¹⁵ "groping like the blind," and "stumbling at noonday."¹⁶ From these analogies one can be safe in positing for the Amorites a similar conception of the unsubstantial nature of departed spirits.

Moreover, the nature of the disembodied soul was never conceived by the ancient Semites as apart from the body which it once animated. The following observations make this plain:

a. The soul was thought to present, though in a paler and more shadowy degree, a corporeal appearance; and this appearance was an exact likeness of the body at death. Accordingly, the shades of fallen heroes appear to Ulysses as "mangled by the spear and clad in bloody armor."¹⁷ The warriors of cruel nations are represented by Ezekiel as slain by the sword and lying in their graves.¹⁸ The shade of Samuel was recognized by his hoary appearance and his accustomed robe;¹⁹ while the kings of the earth are distinguished, in the conception of one writer, by their habit of sitting on thrones clad no doubt in their royal robes.²⁰

b. The soul could not be thought of apart from the corpse and its resting-place. The departed spirit among the ancient Arabs was known as *hāma* which meant originally "skull," the most characteristic part of the body.²¹ At her tomb in Ramah the soul of Rachel was heard "weeping for her (captive) children."²² Graves, among the Babylonians, and burying-grounds among the Arabs, were places whence issued ghosts to plague men and Jinn to scare the living.²³ The disembodied spirit felt the pain of scars and wounds on its corpse as keenly as if it

¹³ Job 26:5; Ps. 88:11(10); Prov. 2:18; 9:18; 21:16; Is. 14:9; 26:14, 19.

¹⁴ Is. 14:10.

¹⁵ Ps. 88:5(4).

¹⁶ Is. 59:10.

¹⁷ *Odyssey*, xi. 40-43.

¹⁸ Ezek. 31:18; 32:21 ff.; cp. Is. 14:19.

¹⁹ 1 Sam. 28:14.

²⁰ Is. 14:9; cp. 19.

²¹ *HERE.*, i. p. 672^a.

²² Jer. 31:15.

²³ Doughty, i. p. 448.

were in a living body.²⁴ The universal custom of depositing useful articles and offerings of food and drink with the dead,²⁵ and the Hebrew taboo which was attached to any one who touched a corpse,²⁶ find their only explanation in the belief that the departed soul still lingered about the body.

c. Finally the belief in the lingering presence of the spirit near its corpse and its tomb is shown in the great care that was exercised by the Egyptians, Phoenicians, Greeks, Romans, and Arabs in the burial of their dead. Should the corpse be left unburied²⁷ to be devoured by wild beasts and birds, or should even a tomb be desecrated,²⁸ the soul haunting that corpse or that tomb was thus made to suffer grievous discomfort. Such an outrage, among the Assyrians, Babylonians,²⁹ and ancient Arabs,³⁰ was committed only against the worst criminals and the most hated enemies.

The Hebrews were also careful to bury their dead. Dying fathers strictly charged their sons to perform the usual funeral rites.³¹ Improper burial, as when a body was left on the ground,³² or was torn by beasts and birds,³³ was regarded as the greatest calamity that could come to the soul, which in consequence would suffer the greatest torture. The ordinary criminal, according to a humane law, was given proper interment;³⁴ but notorious transgressors, or most despised foreign enemies, were, for punitive reasons, often refused burial³⁵ or were burned.³⁶ Burning the bones from desecrated tombs was justifiable when practiced against transgressors,³⁷ but was condemned when practiced against a foreign king.³⁸

²⁴ 1 Sam. 17:51 ff.; 18:25, 27; 2 Sam. 4:12; 20:22; cp. Job 14:21 ff.

²⁵ See p. 12.

²⁶ Num. 19:11.

²⁷ Cp. *Gil Epic* (xii. Col. 6) and Sophocles, *Antigone*, 27 ff., &c.

²⁸ Annals of Ashurb., vi. 70 ff.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, iv. 73 ff.; vii. 45.

³⁰ *HERE.*, i. p. 672a.

³¹ Gen. 47:30.

³² 1 K. 14:13; Is. 14:19 ff.; Jer. 22:19; 25:33; 36:30.

³³ Gen. 37:33; 1 Sam. 17:44, 46; 2 Sam. 21:10; 2 K. 9:35 ff.

³⁴ Deut. 21:22 ff.; Josh. 7:24-26.

³⁵ 1 Sam. 17:44, 46; Ezek. 29:5.

³⁶ Gen. 38:24; Lev. 20:14; Josh. 7:15, 25; Is. 30:33.

³⁷ 1 K. 13:2; 2 K. 23:16, 20.

³⁸ Am. 2:1.

This belief that the soul lingered near the corpse also accounts for the Hebrew expression for burial, namely, "gather unto one's fathers,"³⁹ which implies that the soul could have fellowship with the spirits of the fathers in the family sepulcher. It was fitting, therefore, that Abraham should secure a family tomb, that Jacob's bones should be carried thither, and that the kings of Judah should be buried with their fathers in the royal sepulcher. Burial outside of the family tomb meant a deprivation of this enjoyment with kindred spirits, and was, therefore, calamitous.⁴⁰

4. *The powers possessed by the soul after death were spiritual, apparitional, and locomotive.*

a. The spiritual powers such as knowledge, feeling, and will were in no wise diminished but increased, though the physical powers of the dead were gone. The soul of the murdered Arab remembered the wrong done, called through an owl for vengeance upon his slayer, and could not be appeased without drinking, through means of a libation poured on the grave, the blood of his murderer.⁴¹ Among the Babylonians the ghosts of those who die childless or unmarried, and of those who met other untimely deaths, as through murder or through childbirth, remembered so keenly these misfortunes that they could not rest in their graves.⁴² Besides memory they possessed greater knowledge than the living in that they could foresee future events and could reveal such facts to the living through a scer. Thus the ancient Arab magician had a *tābī'*, "follower," or a *rū'i*, "one who sees," that is, a familiar spirit who occasionally revealed secrets to him.⁴³ Among the Hebrews also it was the belief that the dead had powers of memory, perception, feeling, and foreknowledge. The soul which resided in the blood of the murdered Abel was conscious of wrong done and cried for vengeance unto Yahweh from the ground;⁴⁴ and the souls under the altar were heard by John to cry out, "How long, O Master, . . . dost thou not judge and avenge our

³⁹ 2 K. 22:20.

⁴⁰ 1 K. 13:22; Ps. 26:9; cp. 2 Sam. 18:17; 2 K. 21:18.

⁴¹ *HERE*, i. p. 272^a.

⁴² Thompson, i. pp. 39 ff.

⁴³ *HERE*, i. p. 671^a.

⁴⁴ Gen. 4:10.

blood on them that dwell on the earth?"⁴⁵ The spirit of Samuel remembered Saul and the words that he himself had spoken relative to the king's downfall.⁴⁶ The blessing or the curse of a dying father upon his son carried a potency after death because his spirit could secure its fulfilment.⁴⁷ The feeling of grief by Rachel over the captivity of her children,⁴⁸ that of joy by the spirits of the dead over the downfall of Babylon,⁴⁹ and that of comfort by the shade of Pharaoh over the multitudes of the dead,⁵⁰ all show belief in the continued consciousness of the shades and in their interest in the events of life. The soul of Samuel and all other *yidde'ōnīm*, "familiar spirits,"⁵¹ which were consulted by the *rō'eh* "seer," were regarded as having supernatural insight into the future, and could, therefore, give valuable advice to the living.

b. The belief in the apparitional and the vocal powers of departed spirits, who appeared and spoke to the living, is well-nigh universal. The wind-like, transparent specter of Eabani appeared to Gilgamesh and talked with him.⁵² Among the Babylonians it was the belief that departed spirits, as specters, lurked in the desert, the mountain, the sea, and the graveyard lying in wait for man.⁵³ The Greeks also believed that ghosts appeared and spoke to men.⁵⁴ Likewise, among the Hebrews the *'ōb*, "ghost," was thought to gibber from the ground;⁵⁵ and the shades of the dead were believed to talk with seers and with other persons.⁵⁶

c. Although the soul was thought to maintain usually a close relation with the decaying body; yet, at the same time, it had the power of leaving the body and moving over the earth with infinite rapidity. According to a Babylonian incantation,

⁴⁵ Rev. 6:10.

⁴⁶ 1 Sam. 28:16 ff.

⁴⁷ Gen. 27:3 ff.

⁴⁸ Jer. 31:15.

⁴⁹ Is. 14:9 ff.

⁵⁰ Ezek. 32:31.

⁵¹ 1 Sam. 28:3, 9; 2 K. 21:6; Is. 8:19; 19:3.

⁵² *Gil. Epic*, xii.

⁵³ Thompson, i. pp. xxiv. ff.

⁵⁴ *Odyssey*, xi. 59 ff., 155 ff., &c.

⁵⁵ Is. 29:4.

⁵⁶ 1 Sam. 28; Job 4:15 ff.; 2 Macc. 15:12-15.

"They are the children of the Underworld.

 The children born of Earth.

 The highest walls, the thickest wall:
 Like a flood they pass.
 From house to house they break through;
 No door can shut them out,
 No bolt can turn them back,
 Through the door like a snake they glide;
 Through the hinge like a wind they blow."⁵⁷

In accordance with this supernatural power they could take up their abodes in material objects and the bodies of men and animals. To obviate such a possibility an effort was made to confine, if possible, the spirit near its grave by the erection at the grave of an upright stone called, in North Arabic *nuṣb*, in Hebrew, *maṣṣebah* "pillar," or *yad*, "monument," and in Aramaic, *nephesh*, "tombstone." The ancient Arabs erected such a stone, or made a pile of stones at the grave, for an abode of the departed spirit. It is significant that the old word for soul came in North Semitic to designate "tombstone."⁵⁸ In Babylon images of hideous animal monsters were often placed at the doors of houses and temples for the purpose of inviting the dreadful demons to enter and dwell within them.⁵⁹ The Hebrews likewise were accustomed to erect *maṣṣebahs*, or *yads*, or *gals*, "heaps," at graves, presumably for the same purpose.⁶⁰

Spirits which possessed men caused all sorts of physical, mental, and emotional phenomena. In Babylonia all kinds of sickness were attributed to the possession of demons whose hold could be loosened only by repeated incantation and invocations by the exorciser. Among the Arabs insanity was explained as possession by the Jinn whence the name *majnūn*, "insane." Yahweh absorbed the functions of the Canaanite lesser spirits; and, for that reason, Saul's insanity is represented as due to "an evil spirit from Yahweh."⁶¹ The leper was regarded as afflicted

⁵⁷ Thompson, i. pp. 51, 53.

⁵⁸ Cooke, p. 214.

⁵⁹ Jastrow, *Die Rel.*, i. p. 281.

⁶⁰ 2 Sam. 18:18.

⁶¹ 1 Sam. 16:14.

by a demon which only powerful incantations could drive away.⁶² The hereditary transmission of this disease may have been explained as issuing from the spirits of departed relatives.⁶³ The demoniacs of New Testament times need only to be mentioned.

Spirits also took possession of animals. The raven and the hawk among the Babylonians, and the owl among the Assyrians and Arabs, were regarded as birds that possessed supernatural powers, and were naturally of ill omen because they were embodiments of evil demons.⁶⁴ Demons also took the forms of beasts and of serpents both in Babylonia and in Arabia.⁶⁵ Perhaps it was a taboo resting on certain animals regarded as demon-possessed which eventually determined the Hebrew list of unclean beasts. At any rate, these birds of ill omen and the serpent were listed with the unclean beasts of the Hebrew code.⁶⁶

II. Sheol, the Realm of the Dead

Alongside of this universal primitive Semitic belief that the spirit of the dead lingered about the grave there existed another conception, which for us is radically contradictory, but which by the early Amorites could readily be amalgamated with the more primitive idea. This was the belief that departed spirits went to a great subterranean cavern. It had its origin among the Sumerians, then passed over to the Babylonian Semites, then to the western Semites through Babylonian rule in the west, and so on down through the centuries to the Hebrews.⁶⁷

By the Babylonians, this abode was known as *Aralū*; *Kigal*, or *Kigallu*, "great beneath" or "underworld," and *Irkalu*, "great city"; and was described as "Land of the Dead," "Mountain-house of the Dead," "House of Tammuz," "Dead," "Earth,"⁶⁸ *Nakbu*, "the hollow,"⁶⁹ and "the Hole of the

⁶² 2 K. 5:11.

⁶³ 5:27.

⁶⁴ Thompson, i. p. 1.; *HERE.*, i. p. 272^a.

⁶⁵ Lev. 11; Deut. 14.

⁶⁶ Wellh., pp. 152, 157, 185.

⁶⁷ The whole subject is presented by Lewis B. Paton, in *BW.*, xxxv. (1910), pp. 159 ff.

⁶⁸ *Gil. Epic.*, XII iv. 2.

⁶⁹ G. A. Smith, *Miscellaneous Texts*, 16.

Earth.”⁷⁰ *Aralū* was located in the depths of the earth, as is implied by the expressions “go down to” and “come up from.” It was so vast and deep that it was thought of as the subterranean counterpart of the celestial dome of the earthly firmament.⁷¹ The soul on its journey to *Aralū* pursued a westward course, similar to that of the heavenly bodies, to the great region of darkness. On this journey it crossed the Great Sea in a boat, as Gilgamesh did attended by a ferryman;⁷² entered the “Waters of Death” beyond the strait of Gibraltar and finally reached the western horizon. The soul then passed through seven successive gates⁷³ which pierced the seven respective enclosing walls of *Aralū*, and which were fastened with bars and were opened by a porter. This vast cavern to which the shades came was a region of darkness, being described as a “dark dwelling” where those who enter are “deprived of light,”⁷⁴ for “they see not the light: they dwell in darkness.”⁷⁵ Since it was the abode of the dead, it is represented—to harmonize with the primitive conception of a tomb in the earth—as a vast tomb which includes many individual ones, the same ideogram being used for “grave” that is used for *Aralū*. To carry out this conception of a grave, *Aralū* is pictured as a place where dust is strewn “over door and bar”—dust being the food and nourishment of the shades⁷⁶—and where worms eat every thing that the heart of the living delights in on earth.⁷⁷ Moreover, the realm of the dead, in analogy with an earthly kingdom, was ruled by a king. This ruler was *Nergal*, or *Irkalla*; and *Eresh-kigal*, “Mistress of the Underworld,” was his wife. They had, in their service, the death-demon *Namtāru* and his host of evil spirits who were wont to wander

⁷⁰ *KB.*, vi. p. 262.

⁷¹ Jeremias, *Die Babylonisch-Assyrischen Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode* (1887); *Hölle und Paradies bei den Babyloniern*, in *Der Alte Orient* (1900); Jensen; *KAT.*³, p. 635; Warren, *Earliest Cosmologies* (1900); Jastrow, *Die Kel.*, i. pp. 65, 157, 354.

⁷² *Gil. Epic*, *KB.*, vi. 217-23.

⁷³ *Ishtar's Descent*, obv. 37-62.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, obv. 7.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁷⁷ *Gil. Epic*, XII iv.

over the earth securing new subjects for *Aralū* by disseminating deadly diseases. Sooner or later these demons were successful in their mission; for it was the prevailing belief that "the day let no one go." "He who at eventide is alive at daybreak is dead," so went a proverb. When once the watchman seized a man there was no release:⁷⁸ he must abide forever in the "Land of No Return."⁷⁹ Hence the Babylonians did not conceive of any resurrection from the dead. It was possible, on exceptional conditions, to be snatched from death and be translated to the abode of the gods as was Ut (Šitī, Pirī) = napish-tim,⁸⁰ the Babylonian Noah; but this was not a resurrection. Furthermore, the Babylonians never conceived of *Aralū* as a place of rewards and punishments for conduct in this life. No divisions were made there separating the righteous from the wicked, for all the shades had all things in common. However, some shades suffered greater discomfort and restlessness than others; but this was caused by improper burial of the body and by the lack of the customary offerings for the dead.

Turning now to the Amorite and the Canaanite conceptions of the abode of the dead that survive in the literature of the Hebrews who came into possession of these beliefs after entering Canaan, we find the utmost harmony with the Babylonian view just presented. The abode of the dead was known as *Sheol*, which was frequently put in parallelism with *Maweth*, "Death,"⁸¹ or was referred to as *Methim*, "the dead,"⁸² or *'Ereš*, "Earth,"⁸³ and was often called *'Ereš-tahtiyōth*,⁸⁴ "Lowerland," or "Underworld," and *Shahath*,⁸⁵ or *Bōr*, "Pit."⁸⁶ *Sheol* was in the depths of the earth, even below the waters under the earth.⁸⁷ Corresponding to the earthly firmament it was deep as the heights of heaven,⁸⁸ and was lower than

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, XII iii.

⁷⁹ *Ishtar's Descent*, obv. 1, 6, 41.

⁸⁰ *Gil. Epic*, xi, 198-204.

⁸¹ 2 Sam. 22:5, 6; Hos. 13:14.

⁸² Ps. 115:17.

⁸³ Ex. 15:12; Is. 14:9; 29:4; Eccl. 3:21.

⁸⁴ Ezek. 26:20; 31:14; 32:18, 24.

⁸⁵ Job 33:18, &c.; Is. 38:17, &c.; Ezek. 28:8.

⁸⁶ Ps. 28:1, &c.; Prov. 1:12, &c.; Is. 14:15, &c.; Ezek. 26:20, &c.

⁸⁷ Job 26:5; Lam. 3:54; Jonah 2:4 ff. (3 ff.).

⁸⁸ Job 11:8; Ps. 139:8; Is. 7:11; Am. 9:2.

the foundations of the mountains.⁸⁹ The departed spirit "went down to," or was "brought down to" Sheol; while the convalescent who escaped death was "brought up from Sheol." The shade, in his journey to Sheol, according to the author of Enoch,⁹⁰ apparently pursued a westerly course; and, according to the parallelism of "crossing the seas" with "going up into the heaven,"⁹¹ crossed the Great Sea. The Babylonian conception of the "waters of death" comes to frequent expression in Hebrew poetry whenever the writer describes the narrow escapes of the soul from the snares of death. Thus the soul is "cast into the depth, into the heart of the seas"; is encompassed with the "waves of death," "the floods of Belial," is submerged in "waves" and "billows," and is ensnared in "the weeds" of the deep and the "cords of Sheol."⁹² The seven-fold division of Sheol, though not mentioned except in later Jewish theology, is, nevertheless, implied by the expressions "gates of Sheol"⁹³ and "porters of Sheol."⁹⁴ Beyond the "gates" and "bars" of Sheol,⁹⁵ the soul enters the "chambers of death"⁹⁶ and the "recesses of the pit"⁹⁷ which are "the land of darkness and of deep gloom; the land dark as thick darkness; the land of deep gloom without any order, where the light is as thick darkness."⁹⁸ The soul lies "down in the dust."⁹⁹ This place is pictured as a vast tomb¹⁰⁰ where worms crawl over the corpses¹⁰¹ and cover them. Like *Aralū* Sheol is ruled by a potentate who is known to the Canaanites as *Mūth*¹⁰²

⁸⁹ Deut. 32:22; Jonah 2:7(6).

⁹⁰ 22:1-4.

⁹¹ 22:1-4.

⁹² Deut. 30:12 ff.; Ps. 18:5 ff.(4 ff.); Jonah 2:4-6 (3-5); cp. Ps. 88:8(7); 124:4, 5; Am. 9:3.

⁹³ Job 38:17; Ps. 9:13; 107:18; Is. 38:10.

⁹⁴ Job 38:17 (LXX).

⁹⁵ Job 17:16; Jonah 2:7(6).

⁹⁶ Prov. 7:27.

⁹⁷ Is. 14:15; Ezek. 32:23.

⁹⁸ Job 10:21, 22; cp. 17:13; 38:17; Ps. 88:7(6), 13(12); 143:3.

⁹⁹ Job 7:21; 17:16; Is. 29:4.

¹⁰⁰ Ezek. 32:17-32.

¹⁰¹ Is. 14:11.

¹⁰² See Chap. XXVIII.

and *Sheol*,¹⁰³ and to the Hebrews as *Bala'-'el*¹⁰³ whose nature is well depicted by poetic parallelisms and personifications as "Death,"¹⁰⁴ "Shepherd,"¹⁰⁵ "King of Terrors,"¹⁰⁶ and "Destroyer."¹⁰⁷ He is represented as a hungry monster whose immense jaws are ever open and eager to swallow men.¹⁰⁸

Active in the service of this god in securing new recruits for *Sheol*, are evil demons which, as personified diseases, are represented as "Destroyers,"¹⁰⁹ "Terrors,"¹¹⁰ "Plagues of Death,"¹¹¹ "Pangs of Death," "Pains of *Sheol*,"¹¹² "Destruction,"¹¹³ "Calamity," and "First-born of Death."¹¹⁴ Sooner or later man had to go "the way of all the earth"¹¹⁵ "to the house appointed for all living"¹¹⁶ from which there was no return.¹¹⁷ Enoch and Elijah escaped death by translation; but this was not a resurrection which for the early Semites was an unknown idea. In the realm of the dead there was no partition separating the wicked from the righteous, as for instance, Samuel from Saul,¹¹⁸ but there was a common existence in one place.¹¹⁹ However, some shades suffered more discomfort and unrest than others; but this was not apportioned according to a law of rewards and punishments depending upon the earthly existenee, but was conditioned on the proper or improper funeral and burial rites.¹²⁰

¹⁰³ See Chap. XXVIII.

¹⁰⁴ Job 30:23; Ps. 49:15(14); 107:18.

¹⁰⁵ Ps. 49:15(14).

¹⁰⁶ Job 18:14.

¹⁰⁷ Ex. 12:23.

¹⁰⁸ Prov. 1:12; 27:20; 30:15 ff.; Is. 5:14; Hab. 2:5; cp. Jonah 2:3(2).

¹⁰⁹ Job 33:22.

¹¹⁰ 18:11, 14.

¹¹¹ Hos. 13:14.

¹¹² Ps. 116:3.

¹¹³ Hos. 13:14.

¹¹⁴ Job 18:12, 13.

¹¹⁵ Josh. 23:14; I K. 2:2.

¹¹⁶ Job 30:23.

¹¹⁷ 2 Sam. 12:23; 14:14; Job 7:9, 10.

¹¹⁸ 1 Sam. 28:19.

¹¹⁹ Gen. 37:35; Job 3:13-19; Is. 14:9 ff.; Ezek. 31:18.

¹²⁰ Is. 14:19; Ezek. 31:16.

(To be continued)