HISTORICAL CONDITIONS IN PATRIARCHAL PALESTINE

In the Light of

Recent Archaeological Research.

By

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### Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AASOR</td>
<td>Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research.</td>
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<tr>
<td>AoO</td>
<td>Archiv für Orientforschung.</td>
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<tr>
<td>AJSL</td>
<td>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures.</td>
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<tr>
<td>AO</td>
<td>Der Alte Orient.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ACT und E</td>
<td>Altorientalische Texte und Bilder zum Alten Testament. (Gressmann).</td>
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<tr>
<td>ARA</td>
<td>Ancient Records of Assyria (Luckenbill).</td>
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<td>ARE</td>
<td>Ancient Records of Egypt (Breasted).</td>
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<td>ArO</td>
<td>Archiv Orientalni.</td>
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<td>ARW</td>
<td>Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.</td>
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<td>BASOR</td>
<td>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.</td>
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<tr>
<td>BJRL</td>
<td>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library.</td>
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<tr>
<td>CBQ</td>
<td>Catholic Biblical Quarterly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRAIEL</td>
<td>Comptes rendus de l'Academie des Inscriptions.</td>
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<tr>
<td>DLZ</td>
<td>Deutsche Literaturzeitung. et Belles-Lettres.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ETL</td>
<td>Ephemerides Theologiae Lovanienses.</td>
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<tr>
<td>JBL</td>
<td>Journal of Biblical Literature.</td>
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<tr>
<td>JEA</td>
<td>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.</td>
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<td>JPOS</td>
<td>Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society.</td>
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<td>JQR</td>
<td>Jewish Quarterly Review.</td>
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<td>JRAS</td>
<td>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.</td>
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<td>Knudtzon</td>
<td>J. Knudtzon; Die El Amarna Tafeln, 1915.</td>
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<td>NSI</td>
<td>G.A. Cooke; A Text-Book of North Semitic Inscriptions.</td>
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<td>NGT</td>
<td>Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift.</td>
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<td>TNT</td>
<td>Norsk Teologisk Tidsskrift.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QLOZ</td>
<td>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.</td>
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<tr>
<td>PEFQS</td>
<td>Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement.</td>
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<tr>
<td>PEQ</td>
<td>Palestine Exploration Quarterly.</td>
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<tr>
<td>OTS</td>
<td>Udtentamentische Studien.</td>
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<tr>
<td>PG</td>
<td>Patrologia Graeca (Migne).</td>
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<td>PJS</td>
<td>Palestina Jahrbuch.</td>
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<tr>
<td>QDAP</td>
<td>Quarterly Statement of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine (Mandatory Government).</td>
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<tr>
<td>HA</td>
<td>Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archeologie Orientale.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nb</td>
<td>Revue Biblique Internationale.</td>
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<tr>
<td>RES</td>
<td>Revue des Etudes Semitiques.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mrhr</td>
<td>Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses.</td>
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<tr>
<td>RHR</td>
<td>Revue de l'Histoire des Religions.</td>
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<td>SEA</td>
<td>Svensk Exegetisk Arebok.</td>
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<td>TNS</td>
<td>Theologinen Aikakauskirja.</td>
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<td>ThnR</td>
<td>Theologische Rundschau.</td>
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<td>Thz</td>
<td>Theologische Zeitschrift.</td>
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<tr>
<td>UUA</td>
<td>Uppsala Universitets Arsskrift.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ZA</td>
<td>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ZAW</td>
<td>Zeitschrift für die Alttentamentliche Wissenschaft.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ZDMG</td>
<td>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Altertumswissenschaft.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ZDPV</td>
<td>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palαιstina-Vereins.</td>
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**Main Archaeological Phases alluded to in abbreviation.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Range</th>
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<tr>
<td>EB I</td>
<td>3000-2400 B.C.</td>
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<td>EB II</td>
<td>2400-2000 B.C.</td>
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<td>EB III</td>
<td>2000-1500 B.C.</td>
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<td>LB I</td>
<td>1500-1200 B.C.</td>
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<tr>
<td>LB II</td>
<td>1200-1050 B.C.</td>
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<tr>
<td>LB III</td>
<td>1050-850 B.C.</td>
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HISTORICAL CONDITIONS IN PATRIARCHAL PALESTINE
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CHAPTER I.

The Evidence.

Since ever Western interest in the material remains of the ancient East was aroused by the discoveries and records of the French savants on Napoleon's staff in his luckless Egyptian adventure, there has been an eager desire to relate such evidence to the Scriptural record. For the greater part of the following century such relics of the past were sought and found throughout the Near East and interest was sustained by sensation. By the last quarter of the century, however, Sir Flinders Petrie, that eminent Egyptologist and practical genius, had turned his keen eye away from the sensational and impressive to what had been so long rejected. Omitting notice of nothing, however apparently commonplace, and carefully surveying and recording each object in its context, he was able to evolve a method of scientific excavation which is now in general use.

Under Turkish administration for various reasons excavation was possible only on a limited scale so that in Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia the pioneer work of Petrie could not be fully developed. Difficulties, however, did not prevent such giants as Bliss, Mackenzie and Macalister applying the new method at Tell el Hesy, Bethshemesh and Gezer nor the Dominican Pere Hugues Vincent from developing the study of the all-important pottery types. Thus at the end of the Great War, the way was open for scientific exploration and for the perfection of the scientific method of Sir Flinders Petrie. In Palestine and Syria under British and French mandate, Departments of Antiquities were established which strictly controlled exploration in their respective areas, working harmoniously with responsible institutions from Europe or America or localized in the land itself. In the
period between the World Wars the scientific excavation of sites proceeded from the Nile to the Euphrates and beyond and reports appeared in books and journals in often bewildering frequency and volume. Then all field work and initial reports ceased with the outbreak of war and has since not been generally resumed on any comparable scale. This is, of course, to be regretted but it does afford a not unwelcome breathing space in which we may digest the results of field archaeology and the opportunity was seized even in the midst of urgent military duties by the excavator of Ras Shamra, C.F. A. Schaeffer whose monumental first volume, La Stratigraphie Comparée et Chronologie d'Asie Occidentale, was published in 1948.

Not least significant among the discoveries of the last two decades are the documentary remains especially from Ras Shamra where, it may fairly be said, that the bulk of the indigenous literature of Canaan in the patriarchal age was recovered. Here again the allurement of the sensational proved strong and the relation of that literature to Scriptural events and personalities has been, we believe, unduly emphasized even in works otherwise sober and creditable. The time is therefore ripe for a more critical appreciation of those documentary remains which it is hoped here to correlate with other discoveries of the same nature, with the Biblical data and with the material evidence from the various archaeological fields in the Near East. The latter evidence will be adduced and discussed in our investigation of the races of Palestine in the second millennium. Of the new documentary evidence, particularly that pertaining directly to Syria and Palestine in the patriarchal period such as the Egyptian Exegetical Texts and the Ras Shamra Tablets, we must now discuss certain outstanding problems so that it may be clearly understood how we intend to control and apply that evidence.
At Luxor in 1925 a local antique-dealer offered to H. Schäfer of the National Museum of Berlin a collection of pottery fragments 217 of which were inscribed in an old form of hieratic and reported to have come from a tomb west of the ancient site of Thebes. Schäfer bought the pieces which were eventually submitted to the expert examination of Professor Kurt Sethe of Berlin.

Sethe immediately perceived their significance. A regular formula was used listing various chiefs and their followers according to their localities and characterizing them as rebels to the authority of the Pharaoh. The sherds were not these already familiar in Aramaic and Greek from later times which were complete texts in themselves but showed definite traces of having formed part of inscriptions on complete pots which were then ceremonially broken probably with incantation as an act of sympathetic magic directed against the enemies of the Pharaoh.

Since the pieces which were thus acquired did not suffice to form complete pots Sethe naturally concluded that the fragments were but a fraction of the total find which would probably be a joint possession of several natives. A search was initiated and in fact 64 more fragments were recovered from the widow of a fellah in Thebes. There was the further possibility that other fragments had been bought up in Egypt as Schäfer had bought his lot, or others, again, might be lying unidentified in museums. In Berlin itself 7 such pieces were recovered in the museum which had lain undisturbed for an indefinite period. Thus 289 pieces were ultimately discovered representing some 100 pots.

On these fragments the names of chiefs and localities are mentioned in Egypt itself and in Nubia and, most important for our purpose, in Palestine and Southern Syria. Since the chiefs
at such places as Acalon and Jerusalem are actually named those texts are first-hand documents for racial conditions in Palestine and Syria of the period if, as has actually transpired, we may establish linguistic affinity between the names on the texts and others better known in their context. The question then arises as to the date of the Aechtungstexte as Sethe's documents are called.

Sethe himself dated them to the XIth Dynasty. In this decision he seems to be influenced not so much by palaeographic and linguistic considerations but rather by the general political conditions implied. Such a method of dating is, of course, inconclusive in itself and is, in fact, but a secondary criterion. The apparent fact that the Pharaoh was limited to this magical means of dealing with his adversaries even in Egypt - a poor substitute for force of arms - suggested to Sethe the confused period when Egypt was still suffering from the effects of Asiatic invasion in the last quarter of the 3rd millennium before her rehabilitation was complete under the strong pharaohs of the XIIth Dynasty (2000-1700 B.C.) who made their power effective in Palestine and at least on the coast or Syria where there are cultural traces of Egypt in this period as far north as Ugarit and as far inland as Qatna a dozen miles east or north on the Orontes. Certainly the inability of the Pharaoh to deal more summarily with his enemies than by cursing them ceremonially from a distance of a thousand miles does suggest some time other than the zenith of Egyptian power in the XIIth Dynasty. On the other hand the fact that the Asiatic enemies of the Pharaoh are characterized by the sign for rebels indicates a period after the ascendancy of

2. vide infra p. 24.
the XIIth Dynasty rather than before Egypt had extended her power beyond the Delta. This, of course, is to take the designation 'rebels' quite literally which we might not be quite entitled to do. Still the comparatively accurate knowledge of Syria and Palestine which the texts imply does suggest a period after rather than before the strong Pharaohs of the Middle Kingdom. A later date than the XIIth Dynasty, hardly comes into the reckoning since that should clash with the Hyksos period when conditions in Palestine and Syria were totally different from those indicated in the Execratory Texts. Thus it is supposed that the texts must be after all dated to the period of the XIIth Dynasty. There is every evidence, as Stock has recently demonstrated, of a certain decline in the power of Egypt both at home and abroad in the latter half of the XIIth Dynasty. The Tale of Sinuhe indicates that domestic troubles were not uncommon in Egypt even under such a strong ruler as Sesostris I (1930-1935 B.C.), so that there might be no lack of enemies to curse in Egypt, while the fact that Sinuhe could live securely in Palestine or Syria suggests that the power of Egypt was not really effective beyond the Phoenician coast. Yet the fact that Sinuhe had to flee the country as a solitary refugee does suggest that the Pharaoh had more effective means of dealing with his adversaries at home than merely cursing them and it is, somewhat ironically, the prestige of Egypt in Asia which secures Sinuhe the protection and hospitality of the Syrian chief. Our conclusion must be that on the basis of the political conditions implied in the Execratory Texts a later date than the XIIth Dynasty must be sought and while a period between the end of the XIIth Dynasty and the Hyksos invasion might suit, there is nothing against dating the texts in the period of the decline of the XIIth Dynasty.

1. H. Stock; Studien zur Geschichte und Archäologie der 13 bis 17 Dynastie Aegyptens, 1942, S. Smith; Aialakh and Chronology, 1940, p. 2 note.
from c.1850 B.C.

Here we must reckon with other texts so similar — though with significant differences — that we may not consider Sethe's texts apart from them. These are published by Rosener and like Sethe's texts were found out of their context hence the outstanding problem is that of date.

The practice of dealing with enemies by magical ceremonies performed with their models in clay was not unknown in ancient Egypt and is, in fact attested as early as the VIth Dynasty at Saqqara in the vicinity of Cairo where certain stone statues were found in 1931 of prisoners kneeling bound ready for slaughter, a modification, it is supposed, of actual human sacrifice of an earlier age. Further evidence of such practices is available from sculpture in Egypt. In 1938 the Belgian scholar Capart found a number of clay figurines of bound prisoners in the store of an antique-dealer in Paris. They were inscribed in hieratic script and at once excited his interest. Knowing that Rosener had already reported on similar inscribed figurines in the Museum of Cairo, Capart arranged for the purchase of the figurines which were then studied by Rosener.

Rending a more detailed study of this new material and other related texts on figurines of clay and alabaster which he had seen and transcribed on the eve of his departure from Cairo in 1937, Rosener published a temporary study of the texts in 1940.

The provenance of the texts is, of course, a matter of doubt since they were recovered so far from their context in the Museum in Cairo and in the store of a dealer in Paris. Rosener is convinced, however, that both lots are of the same

1. E. Rosener; Princes et pays d'Asie et de Nubie, textes hiératiques sur des figurines d'envoûtement du Moyen Empire, 1940.
4. Rosener; Princes et Pays...
deposit. By the aid of the Service of Antiquities in Egypt together with some of the field staff from Saqqara and by the help of reports and photographs he was able to trace the Cairo figurines to a certain stage of the excavations at Saqqara in 1922. He would associate them, too, with the texts of Sethe on stylistic grounds; the same formulae being used in both lots. In the texts which deal with Nubia Rosener notes that in the figurines certain chiefs appear as the sons of fathers mentioned in Sethe's texts referring to Nubia. He would thus separate the figurines from the sherds by about a generation.

He is able to date the texts by various means. First he can demonstrate that the hieratic script is that of certain papyrus manuscripts of the AIIth dynasty as late as the time of Seqostris III (1807-1849 B.C.) which he fixes as a terminus post quem. The orthography of the texts is a less reliable criterion since here we must reckon with stereotyped formulae used in such texts over a considerable period thus resulting in a tendency to archaism in language and spelling.

Thus the texts of Sethe and Rosener may be considered as documents from the latter half of the 19th century. It is with the texts listing the enemies of the Pharaoh in Palestine and Syria that we are immediately concerned for here chiefs and localities are named. It is true that the localities cannot always be certainly identified but many can be fixed beyond doubt in the present study the place-names will be considered as of less importance than the personal names which by their distinctive character provide us with an admirable documentation for the racial, social, political and religious condition of Palestine of the period.

1. Rosener; op. cit., p. 15.
2. ibidem, p. 17.
3. ibidem, p. 29.
it is not proposed to give here a detailed study of the names of the Asiatic chiefs listed in these texts nor of their localities but rather to indicate their date and to characterize them broadly according to the internal evidence of the texts, so that when there is occasion to use this evidence, their peculiar significance to the writer may be understood.

In form the names of the chiefs are generally theophoric, being compounds of divine names and predicates which may be verbs, adjectives or participles, or nouns indicating the attributes of the divinities named. Such names as \textit{Ymkh}w, \textit{Ibshddw}, 'Hadad fattens'; \textit{Mw}n'ibw, 'Huron is father', 'Ammw ykn, 'Uncle (patron) establishes', illustrate this point.

In other cases we find names truncated, the divine name having disappeared leaving only the attribute as in the case of Ymwrw and possibly Mwri and 'prw,' the fertilizer! The names, then, conform to a regular pattern and are preponderantly Semitic, hence the pattern of the names and the date of the texts having been determined, it should not be difficult to establish the affinity of the bearers with other peoples in the Near East in the 2nd millennium if there is documentary evidence available. Actually the names on the Egyptian texts reproduce the language and form of names collected and examined by Th. Bauer covering the same period. Bauer, indeed, regarded the Mesopotamian evidence as names of 'East Canaanites' who had, he supposed, invaded Mesopotamia from the North-East.

On the other hand, in a penetrating study of the same material finds no reason to derive the 'Amorites' who occupied Mesopotamia at the end of the 3rd millennium from elsewhere than the West. Here it is not only the form of the names which is a clue to the racial affinity of the chiefs named in the Egyptian Exegetical Texts with those of the Mesopotamian texts.

1. Dussaud; 
but the gods named serve as an even surer clue to the solution of the problem. In the case of the personalities in the Exe­cratory Texts we have a close if not absolute cor­respondence with the names of the period of the First Babylonian Dynasty of Amorites, not only in the matter of the deities but also of their attributes. Thus we are led to identify the Asiatic chiefs named in the Exe­cratory Texts as ‘Amorites’, an element in the Semitic people who occupied the settled lands of Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia in the last quarter of the 3rd millennium and penetrated to the Delta of the Nile. The cultural decadence which has been noted as a feature of this period at various sites in Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine corresponds with such a movement in which Arab elements from the desert hinterland probably played a conspicuous part.

This aspect of the ‘Amorite’ occupation the writer would particularly emphasize. Dhorme notes certain Arab names among those associated with the First Babylonian Dynasty and they are attested again, it seems, in the Exe­cratory Texts. The kin-predicates of the deities in the latter names indicate tribal constitution and desert affinities and certain tribes are actually named. Of these we may mention the Swtw familiar from Egyptian inscriptions both of an earlier and later period and the Kwaw who are probably to be identified with the Kasi who appear as allies of the SA GAZ in the Amarna correspondence of Biridya of Megiddo and Aqii-Khita of Jerusalem and eventually settled between Midian and Edom where Hebrew tradition loosely associated with them the Kenites, the daughter of whose chief was probably the ‘Cushite woman’, Zipporah, the wife of Moses.

2. Dhorme, xlv, 150, p. 133.
3. Knauf, 246, 8.
4. ibidem, 237, 35, 72, 74.
5. M刁dia/’ גונת, mabakuk iii, 7
Other documentary sources which cover the area from which the patriarchs are derived are the Old Assyrian tablets of a trading community from Assur found at Kül Tepe in the interior of Anatolia in ancient Cappadocia. Over 3000 business documents, letters and contracts, they reflect not only the commerce and industry of ancient Anatolia but the social structure and religious situation in the Semitic motherland of the colony in Upper Mesopotamia.

An even larger body of evidence comes from Mari, the Amorite city on the mid-Euphrates where over 20,000 tablets were found, many of them contemporary with Hammurabi of Babylon whose date we accept in this work as 1790-1750 B.C. Besides documents of a commercial and legal nature there are religious texts both in Akkadian and Hurrian and letters of political significance which inform us not only of conditions in Mesopotamia but also in north Syria and the Upper Orontes where we find the kingdoms of Qarchemish, Yamknad (Aleppo), Ugarit, Qatna and Syblos in correspondence with the Mesopotamian powers. The political situation, however, is not that of a Babylonian empire embracing the West as Franz Delitzsch once imagined but an uneasy peace between very powerful city-states of which Hammurabi won gradually the hegemony in the East by subtle diplomacy and judiciously-timed force of arms. Besides the political and commercial intercourse between the Mesopotamian and Syrian city-states and commercial contacts with Cyprus and Crete, the texts indicate the presence of Hurrians at Mari and refer to the constant unrest of the tribes to the West of

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1. J. Lewy; Zári Ameriterfrage, ZA 1929, pp. 242 ff.
3. vide infra, pp. 80-82.
the city. Ur these certain Benjamini are mentioned and have been heralded as the Benjamites of the Israelite confederacy. The reference, however, is quite general referring to the nomads from the South as distinct from the enemies from the North who are called the Benisamali. Though we are not entitled to make the particular identification with the Scriptural Benjamites, the reference is useful as indicating that the movement from the desert which had brought the Amorites to power in Mesopotamia had not subsided by the 18th century but there was a continuous unrest along the desert edge on the west of Mesopotamia in the district that Abraham and his kin traversed on their migration from Ur to Haran and Palestine. Here too the Khabiru are mentioned once more.

Another source of information from Upper Mesopotamia are the tablets from Yorghan Tepe (ancient Assur) and Kirkuk (ancient Arrapkhâ) which date from the 15th century when the district was part of the kingdom of Mitanni, the Hurrian-Indo-Aryan state whose kings corresponded with the Pharaohs of the XVIIIth Dynasty in the Amarna Age. These tablets in Akkadian but with Hurrian glosses give us the fullest evidence or Hurrian nomenclature that we yet possess. Their political significance is small since they are business and legal documents from private family-records. As such, however, they have a peculiar significance as illustrating legal peculiarities which are found in Hebrew law in Palestine and are reflected in the Patriarchal narratives. This fact has been emphasized, perhaps unduly, by E.A. Speiser and is elaborated by C.H. Gordon.

1. Dossin, Benjamites dans les textes de Mari, Études syriennes, II, pp. 981-996.
4. R. A. Saggi, Tablets from Kirkuk, HA xxiii, pp. 49-161.
5. E. A. Speiser, Ethnic Movements in the Near East in the Second Millennium B.C., AASOR xiii, 1933, p. 44.
The tablets from Ras Shamra, ancient Ugarit, found by the Frenchmen, Schaeffer and Ucnet in their annual campaigns between 1929 and 1939 fall into several categories. According to the script used we may divide them into two main classes: those in which the familiar Mesopotamian cuneiform was used and others again written in a simpler type of cuneiform which at the time of the discovery was new to scholars. This had all the appearance of a simplification of the syllabic system of cuneiform consisting of a limited number of signs, as it ultimately proved with other two probably variants on $\Delta$ and $\gamma$. The suspicion at once arose that this represented a new alphabet. The work of decipherment was achieved in a remarkably short time by three scholars working independently, the late Hans Bauer of Mainz, the Dominican Édouard Dhorme and Charles Virolleaud, who was able to publish the texts from 1929 onwards. The initial work of these scholars has been modified and supplemented in details but in the main it stands and we have the clear evidence that this comparatively simple cuneiform alphabet was used at Ugarit on the north Syrian coast certainly in the 15th-14th centuries B.C. That it was not confined to Ugarit is indicated by a fragment from Betheshemesh in Palestine and by another fragment in the same script on a dagger blade from the plateau between Beisan and Kawkab el Hawa in Lower Galilee. In each case the most likely

1. H. Bauer; Die Entzifferung einer neuen Keilschrift, Vossische Zeitung, no. 182, June 4th, 1930.
3. C. Virolleaud; Lettre du 1er octobre, 1930 annonçant le déchiffrement des tablettes de Ras Shamra, CRAIEL, 1930, p. 265.
4. E. Grant; BASOR, 52, 1933, pp3 ff.
5. S. Yeivin; An Ugaritic Inscription from Palestine, Qadem II, 1945, pp. 32-41.
date is the beginning of the Late Bronze Age, c. 1500 B.C. The alphabet which has thus emerged consists of 29 signs with two variants which may be local representations of ð and û peculiar to north Syria or Anatolia. This is a much richer range of signs than in Hebrew which has only 23 letters and is more akin to Arabic which has 28. The significance of this fact will become more obvious when we study the language of the texts.

The texts may be further classified according to the language used. There are schoolcopy-texts and vocabularies in Akkadian and Sumerian, the latter being used presumably in ritual and incantation, the 'priest's Latin' of the time. Akkadian, as the Amarna tablets indicate, was the lingua franca of diplomacy in the near East and is used at Ugarit in the correspondence between aïqmad, the king of Ugarit and the King of the Hittites and in certain business documents from the town. There are other texts which have been taken as Hurrian but are still to a large extent in doubt. Nothing much, however, is lost by the comparative uncertainty in the matter of these texts since they are few and short. One, however, the 'Proclamation of Seleq' might possibly elucidate historical contacts between Ugarit and the north and East. There are other administrative texts which enumerate districts, families and guilds in the town and kingdom of Ugarit for purposes of conscription and taxation and domestic archives from the palace which are of vital importance for research on the races.

2. The Hittite King is Subiluliuma as appears from a letter in alphabetic cuneiform, Smaefler, Syria IX, 1939, p. 297, fig. 10.
3. F. Thureau-Dangin; Un comptoir de laine pourpre à Ugarit d'après une tablette de Ras Shamra, Syria XV, 1934, pp. 137-146.
5. Thureau-Dangin; RA, xxxvii, 1940, pp. 87-110.
of the land in the middle of the 2nd millennium. There are other tablets containing lists of offerings appropriate to the various deities of the place in which it has been claimed that the sacrificial system of the Pentateuch is largely implied.

Over against these shorter texts, which to a large extent deal with contemporary history and administration, stand longer texts in alphabetic cuneiform. These may be grouped, as Missfeldt has recently classified them, according to the nature of the dramatis personae. In the first place the protagonists are divine, in the second they are human.

Briefly it may be stated that the theme of the texts of the first category, the dramatis personae of which are divine, is the perpetual struggle between the physical powers of life and death, specifically of Ba'al and Mêt, the humidity of the Syrian winter and the heat and drought of summer when the crops come to maturity Ba'al is done to death by Mêt and consigned to the underworld. He is nevertheless championed by his sister 'Anat who eventually prevails over Mêt whose discomfiture is complete when the crop is reaped and threshed. A temple is then built for Ba'al in anticipation of his rehabilitation and being completed is consecrated by generous sacrifices recalling the hecatombs of Solomon on the building of the Temple at Jerusalem. Ba'al, thus revived,

1. Gordon, 1, 3, 5, 9, 17, 19, 22, 23, 41, 42. Syria 1, 1929.
2. Eissfeldt: Mythus und Saga in den Kas Shamra Texten, Arasistik, Semitistik und Islamwissenschaft, 1944, pp. 275 ff.
3. These texts belong to the cycle AB (the initials of 'Al'eyn Ba'al) with them may be classified SH (Ba'al-Hadad), Gordon, 75, which deals with the death of Ba'al. Other purely mythological texts are NS (Sahar and Sam), Gordon, 52, which is probably a relic of a different mythology, and MK (Nikal and Kotwrot), Gordon, 77, the marriage of Nikkal with Yareah, again outwith the AB fertility-cycle.
5. Gordon, 51, vi, 40-43.
takes his place in the temple on his royal throne and with the early autumn rains the New Year begins. This is the main subject of the mythological texts though there are sundry variations of the theme and even vestiges of an older mythology adapted to later conditions, as in the case probably of the texts SS and NX.

There are other texts where the chief actors are human. Of these the first is a text on three, possibly four, fragmentary tablets yielding some 400 lines out of an original 1200, concerning a hero Daniel and his son Aqhat. The latter is actually the protagonist and has certain features in common with Tammuz-Aonis, the action of the myth being on the supernatural rather than on the historical plane.

The second is somewhat better preserved on three tablets. It deals with an ancient Phoenician king Keret, his marriage and his progeny. Unlike the Daniel or Aqhat text, which, though possibly going back to a historical source, has become more myth than legend, the latter, though perhaps adapted for recitation at appropriate seasonal festivals at ancient Ugarit, preserves more clearly the characteristics of saga.

Since our appreciation of the bearing of these texts on contemporary conditions in Syria and Palestine must of necessity depend on our interpretation of the contents, it is of vital importance that we should determine their linguistic affinities.

Bauer, Wiorme and Virolleaud worked on the texts on the assumption that the language was a Semitic dialect, highly probable considering the field in which they were found and the common triliteral form of the words. Much of the text, in fact, may be read as passages of unpointed Hebrew.

Virolleaud, who first edited and translated the texts, was obviously impressed by this resemblance to Hebrew and to the Phoenician inscriptions of the 1st millennium. He thus classified the language as 'proto-Phoenician'. In fact, however, he appears unduly to force the correspondence with Biblical Hebrew which leads to various errors of interpretation. This is perhaps a natural error. Since Hebrew is the most fully attested language in literary form in ancient Canaan, it is but natural that we should look there for analogies to the next most complete literary remains, the texts of Kas Shamra. Such native fragments as the Canaanite glosses on the Amarna Tablets and the Phoenician inscriptions such as that of Ahiram and his successors at Byblos and other epigraphical remains from the sphere of Phoenician influence in the Mediterranean basin and even such a complete text as the Moabite stone give us little more than a certain lexical correspondence. The same is true also of the earlier data, the proper names in contracts, letters and name-lists from the Amorite period in Babylon, the Mari texts, the Egyptian execratory Texts and lists of Syrian and Palestinian place-names in inscriptions of the AHIth and AIXth dynasties where many verbal forms, adjectives and nouns are used, in the Old Testament, on the other hand, we have as in the Kas Shamra texts continuous poetic passages where the main poetic conventions such as parallelism of thought, phrase and strophe, climactic progression and grouping of colons are employed though on a less elaborate and developed scale than in the Ugaritic texts. This similarity, however, becomes less striking when we remember that the


Hebrews had in those Canaanite myths and liturgies a mould ready made into which they might pour more or less of their own substance. We must nevertheless remember that artificial form in literature is one matter and spontaneously developing language another. In the Psalms, Prophets and the Book of Job, for instance, where this similarity is strongest, we have to reckon with two very great difficulties, that of the time interval in a region which was peculiarly exposed to cultural influence and development and that of conscious borrowing and adaptation. In the earliest documents which we may distinguish in the Old Testament, as, for instance, the Song of Deborah and the Blessings of Jacob and Moses, there is no very significant correspondence in vocabulary and in form and content there is no parallel in the literature of Hās Shamra.

Other scholars have emphasized the difference between the Hās Shamra dialect and Biblical Hebrew. H. Bauer, to whom we owe so much in the decipherment of the script and in early work on the texts, maintained that we have a new language hitherto unattested which lies between Biblical Hebrew and Akkadian. In this he was followed by Cantineau, Aistleitner, Friedrich and Götz. Certainly in the vocabulary, there is many a passage where the Akkadian derivation seems to yield the best sense and notably in the various forms of the verb of which there are ten, we seem to have Akkadian affinities in the case of the shaphel (Causative) and the iphteaal (Reflexive) as against Hebrew where the Hiphil is used for the Causative and the iphteaal does not appear. In Ugaritic there is a

1. H. Bauer; Saasohnisches, OLZ, xxxviii, 1938, col. 129-133.
4. J. Friedrich; Hās Shamra, eine Ueberblick über Funde und Forschungen, Der Alte Orient, 33, 1-2, 1933, p. 27.
5. A. Götz; Hethiter, Churrriter und Assyrer, 1938, p. 142. Götz takes Ugaritic to be a dialect of Amorite.
variant to the causative Swaphel in the Apfel which is the regular causative in northern Arabic. The Iphtehal of the verb is not peculiarly Akkadian but is a regular form in Northern Arabic and appears in the Mesha inscription of the 9th century. We should expect certain Akkadian traces in the dialect of Ugaritic owing to the geographical situation of the place which we know, moreover, from the Mesopotamia in the first half of the 2nd millennium. The Amarna tablets, again, indicate the widespread use of Akkadian as the language of diplomacy in the ancient Near East in the Middle and Late bronze Ages. In the language of the longer texts of the Ugaritic, however, there seems to be a certain affinity with Arabic, particularly in vocabulary. Nielsen emphasizes certain features common to Ugaritic and the dialects of South Arabia and Gaster has been able to render an obscure passage intelligible in the light of South Arabic and Ethiopic.

Nielsen in his study "Les Amorréens" has given a fairly full picture of the Amorites who occupied the northern area of the Arabian desert and the adjacent lands of Syria and North Mesopotamia founding the first Babylonian dynasty and providing a bloc of resistance to Egypt in Syria in the Amarna period. The divine element in the theophoric names of the Middle Bronze Age from Mesopotamia reflect a pantheon similar, if not exactly corresponding, to that of Ugaritic. It seems then, that we must reckon with an element in the racial constitution of Ugaritic which was closely akin to the ruling caste in Mesopotamia during the period of the Amorite dynasty of Babylon and to the chiefs of Palestine and Syria who bore similar names in the Egyptian liturgical texts in the 19th century.

1.e.g. 1956, pp. 8 ff. 2.e.g. Nielsen; μη Μαρμαρος ανελικλονικος και Νικλικος Ε. Ι., Αφανηλικα για την Ανατολικα της Αρμενιας, 1956, pp. 41-48.
Notn recognizes this fact though he is reluctant to admit the term 'Amorite', preferring to use 'Proto-Aramaean! This term does, indeed, suggest the provenance of the bearers of the names just noted from the desert-marches or oases of the interior and thus makes possible an explanation of the Arabic elements in the language, nomenclature and mythology of Kas Shamra. Nevertheless, both argues convincingly that this racial element in Syria was but a thin 'Herren- schicht'; so that while certain Akkadian, Arabic and Aramaean features of Ugaritic may be thus explained, it is unlikely that the language should be assigned exclusively to the category of one or other of these dialects.

So rare, then, there is no doubt as to the main conclusion that Ugaritic is a Semitic dialect. We are thus prepared to find elements in the grammar, syntax and vocabulary which belong to the common stock of the Semitic mother-tongue. As we seek to particularize and determine the affinity of Ugaritic with any one Semitic dialect, the difficulty increases and keen controversy has turned on the problem of the kinship of Ugaritic with the Akkadian, Arabic, Aramaean or Amorite of the interior or with the Canaanish of Syria and Palestine on the Asiatic foreland. The weight of opinion—at least numerically—declares for the latter solution and both Ugaritic grammars so far produced are based on this assumption.

De Langhe in defense of this view notes that all the affinities of Kas Shamra, political, historical, cultural and religious are with Syria and Palestine rather than with Mesopotamia and Schaeffer emphasizes the political and economic relations of

2. Nielsen, op. cit., pp. 55 ff., 21 ff., 39 ff. Notn demonstrates that there was a community of nomenclature in the Middle Bronze Age between Syria, Mesopotamia and South Arabia, i.e. israelitische Personennamen, 1928, pp. 50 ff. De Langhe finds Arab elements among Amorite names of the first Babylonian dynasty, KB xxxvii, 1928, pp. 20 ff., 166 ff.
Ugarit with the Aegean and Egypt rather than with the North and East. Indeed, it is most significant that the cuneiform script of Ras Shamra is attested nowhere else beyond Ras Shamra than at Beth-Shean
d and in the vicinity of Bet-Nashan in Palestine.

We Langne in his recent study of the language of Ras Shamra undertakes a critical examination of the thesis of Götze that Ugaritic is an Amorite dialect with North-Eastern affinities. Götze cites 20 cases of Ugaritic peculiarities of which 3 cases only are clearly paralleled in Canaanite dialects, 3 more being possible but indecisive and the remaining 14 being without parallel in the West. Confining himself to these 20 cases of Götze—where nothing is said of such significant features of Ugaritic and Canaanitish as the 3rd masculine plural with prefix t and the enclitic m at the end of nouns as the equivalent to the prepositions b,l and min—we Langne is able to demonstrate that there are actually 13 cases of correspondence between Ugaritic and Canaanitish, another possible case and the rest conceivable in the development of the language, allowing for differences of time and place. This is convincing evidence against the case of Götze who is actually able to demonstrate 7 cases of Ugaritic features corresponding with Amoritish, one indecisive and is not sufficiently documented.

We must certainly defer to the fact that the constructive work of Harris and Gordon on the basis of Canaanitish has given us at least a working knowledge of the text. At the same time the caution of we Langne is warranted that the geographical situation of Ras Shamra in the 'Far North' of Canaan with contacts with Mesopotamia and the Syrian desert should prepare us to admit a certain dialectic peculiarity especially

1. Not excluding, of course, intercourse with Mesopotamia.
2. K. Grant; BASOR, 52, 1930, pp. 3 ff.
5. J. Mie Langne; De Taal van Ras Shamra-Ugarit, p. 24.
in the presence of Akkadian and Arabic elements. The latter element particularly has been justly emphasized by Aistleitner and it is here submitted that the South Arabian affinity in the verbal system of Ugaritic must go deeper than the mere geographical contiguity of Ugarit to the North Syrian desert with the possibility of trading relations with the oases. Such a phenomenon seems explicable only on the assumption of a racial settlement such as that indicated by Moth who contends for the presence of proto-Aramaean at Ugarit limited indeed in number but politically powerful with affinities, as their names indicate, with Arab peoples deep into the Peninsula.
CHAPTER II.

The Races of Palestine.

what the aboriginal race of Palestine and Syria may have been remains a mystery for lack of documentary evidence. The land, owing to its geographical situation between Africa and Asia, Nile and Euphrates, was traversed and occupied by many races in the historical period and the same was probably true of the earlier ages. It is, however, not unlikely that the stock of the land was continually replenished from the reservoir of the Semites in the desert. So it was in historical times, this continual Semitic influence eventually effacing the racial and cultural features of non-Semites who occupied the land from the Hurrians and other invading races in the 2nd millennium to the Crusaders in the 11th century A.D.

In the Neolithic and Chalcolithic Ages at the archaeological station of Teleilat Ghassul, the cluster of villages east of the Lower Jordan just before it flows into the Dead Sea, traces of a peculiar culture were found by Père Alexis Mallon in 1929-1932. In this site occupied in the 5th and 4th millennia B.C. and characterized by polished stone-ware, pottery and striking stylistic and geometric wall-paintings, the only affinities which have been suggested

1. This is suggested by the discoveries of McCown and Miss Garrod in caves by Athlit on the west side of the Carmel ridge of specimens of Palaeolithic man at various stages of development, quite remarkable in view of the fact that the individuals are roughly contemporary. The position is stated by McCown and Sir Arthur Keith. Had the Mount Carmel people been discovered not collectively in one place but individually in diverse localities each excavator would have been convinced that a new and separate form of humanity had been unearthed so greatly does one Carmelite individual differ from another? On this situation they speculate and seriously consider the possibility of Palaeo-anthropes meeting Neo-anthropes on the slopes of Carmel. But reject this theory in favour of the hypothesis that here man is found in a plastic stage of the process of evolution. McCown and Keith: The Stone Age of Mount Carmel, vol. II, pp. 12 ff., 1908.

are with the Iranian plateau near Susa and this is in itself not improbable since the human remains at Teleilat Ghassul indicate a brachycephalic type probably of Turanian stock. Other stations of this culture have been discovered and investigated in Palestine and Syria but offer nothing beside stone artifacts to suggest a connection with Teleilat Ghassul and this is in itself no sufficient evidence that the race of that site was widely distributed through Palestine at any time.

In the Early Bronze Age, in the 3rd millennium, there is a vague reference in the Omen Texts of Sargon of Akkad and Marduk-Sin to the westward penetration of these rulers to the 'Mountains of Cedar' which may be the Lebanon. This, however, was not conquest or occupation and whatever the permanent population of Syria and Palestine may have been, there is no question of it having been racially influenced by the Semitic Akkadians though the ceramics of the first half of the 3rd millennium, as in the IIIrd Level at Ras Shamra, show a definite affinity with the Sumerian wares of Jemdet Nasr and Uruk in the vicinity of Ur. There are fewer traces of the same influence in the ceramics of Palestine in the few sites where there was sufficient urban development in this period, though it may be noted that at Megiddo even before the Early Bronze Age Sumerian seals were found impressed on pottery. At Qatna, East of the

1. Nasrallah; Une Station Ghassoulienne du Hauran, KB IV, 1948, pp. 51-103.
4. A.P. Barrois; Manuel d'Archéologie Biblique, pp. 81 ff., 1939.
5. O.M. Engberg and G. M. Shipton; Another Sumerian Seal Impression from Megiddo, PEPQS, 1934, pp. 90 ff.
Urontes in Central Syria there was a temple of min-e-gal, the Sumero-Akkadian goddess, which continued in use from the end of the 3rd millennium until the latter half of the 2nd millennium which seems to suggest more than a mere reflection of the culture of Mesopotamia especially as we find one Lullu named as Sekkanaku or viceroy in one of nine Akkadian tablets from the 20th century. It is possible to trace the political and cultural influence of the Akkad Dynasty of Ur up the Kuprates to Mari where certain Sumerian texts were found from the pre-Amorite period together with other definite Sumerian features. In Syria itself, besides the evidence from Qatna in the interior a tablet was found at Byblos contemporary with or perhaps just before the XIIth Egyptian Dynasty and in a deposit at Tod in Egypt from the same period there is material evidence of the same nature. The traces of Mesopotamian influence in Syria and Palestine at this period however, are otherwise slight. There was apparently a temple of the Mesopotamian Minurti, otherwise read as Minib, at Byblos in the 16th century and in the Amarna tablets we read of a certain place in the vicinity of Jerusalem which has been read as Bit Minib and Bit Minurti. In some, however, are isolated cases and Vaux in a recent study admits that there parts of Syria and Palestine entirely immune from the slightest influence.

3. M. Dunand; Fouilles de Byblos I, 1939, no. 4183.
4. Vanden; A Propos d'un Dépôt de Provenance Asiatique trouvé a Tod; Syria XVIII, 1927, p. 174 ff.
sumerian influence from Taanach in the middle of the 2nd
millenium comes the seal of one who bears the Akkadian name,
Taanah-ili, who designates himself the worshipping of the god
meserqal, the Mesopotamian deity of pestilence and the underworld.
Taanach, however, was a town on the edge of the great Central
plain of israel which bore the great trunk roads between
Nile and euphrates, so that Taanah-ili may have been at Taanach
purely in a private capacity as mosb suggests. on the other hand
it should be noted that at Bethshan at the east end of the
plain at about the same period there was found a double panel
depicting a fight between a dog, the local temple-guardian, and
a lion which bears on its shoulder a star. the lion thus de-
picted is found as an emblem of meserqal. That this deity,
however, was not local to Bethshan is indicated by the fact
that the lower panel depicts the lion in ignominious retreat
with his tail between his legs. 

Two names in the execratory
Texts, ‘prw 3nw and ‘(w)dw šnw seem to contain the names
of two Mesopotamian gods and the sky-god and possibly Sin the
moon-god, but those are isolated examples and not beyond
in doubt. In the Mas Shamra texts we cannot admit the evidence
of wussaud, virollesaud and unorme fer/Sin and nikkal in the
text but in the administrative texts there are certain
apparent cases of Akkadian names, in an Akkadian business-
contract of a firm of purple-dyers there are two names,
Yatar-meserqal and Abdi-meserqal. meserqal, however, appears in

Jahntausends vor Christus im Lichte neuer Quellen, 
JDPV lv, 1942, pp. 44 ff.
3. R. Thureau-Dangin cites the name il-sin from the Mas
Shamra conscription-list, Gordon 521, III, 17 and 333, 3.
Moff suggests that Sin here is a verb, op. cit., pp. 44 ff.
4. R. Thureau-Dangin, ‘Un comptoir de laine pourpre a Ugarit
d'apres une tablette de Mas Shamra, Syria lv, 1934, pp. 137-146.
ideogram and in the first case the element Y"atar is not, according to Noth, a feature of Akkadian names. The two names cited, if Akkadian, are those of individual merchants, possibly foreign representatives. Noth points out that there is only one clearly Akkadian name in the personnel in those texts, warad-Sin, written in ideogram, hence possibly Abdi-Yerah. The individual is, however, a professional scribe hence, at a time when Akkadian was the lingua franca, quite possibly a foreigner from Mesopotamia. Among the deities mentioned in the Kas Shamra texts Hans Bauer has pointed out that there are only two deities from Mesopotamia, Nikkal and Išāra, mentioned in offering-lists and, in the case of the former, in a mythological text and in a theophoric name.

Thus the evidence for the political and racial influence of Mesopotamia on Palestine of the early Bronze Age is not convincing. An exceptional case seems to be that of Qatna with its sakkanaku, Lullu, and its temple of Min-šegal. This, however, seems in every sense an anomaly. The temple takes its origin from the beginning of the 23rd century. This was a period of general disruption of culture in Syria and Mesopotamia and it may that the settlement of Qatna was due to refugees from the east. No other settlement, however, has been found so strongly impressed with Sumerian culture as Qatna, though the Sumerian language is attested among the Kas Shamra tablets.

1. M. Bauer; ZAW 11, 1933, p. 100.
6. Langdon's suggestion can hardly be seriously considered that the divine name sin is implied in the place-name Sinai.

Semitic Mythology, 1931, p. 6. Jersdorff seems nearer the truth when he connects the name with the Hebrew Tmns, Tnuins, Religion or Israel, 1947, p. 12.

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Semitic Mythology, 1931, p. 6. Jersdorff seems nearer the truth when he connects the name with the Hebrew Tmns, Tnuins, Religion or Israel, 1947, p. 12.
Of Palestine at this time little is known of her cultural contacts and progress though the Sumerian seal-impressions from Megiddo do indicate some intercourse with Mesopotamia while at Tell Ai by Bethel Egyptian alabasters demonstrate that there was cultural contact with Egypt in the great Pyramid Age. Though the remains of the fortifications and the sanctuary, however, were excavated and sufficient evidence brought to light to enable the palace to be reconstructed, there is still no clue to the racial identity of the inhabitants.

Midway through the 3rd millennium this cultural development was rudely arrested. In Mesopotamia a temporary decay is characterized by the collapse of the brilliant Third Dynasty of Ur in the south. At Ras Shamra the fine decorated ceramics of Mesopotamian style cease and their place is taken here as in other sites in Palestine and Syria by crude native wares.

Though the patriarchal period may hardly be pushed back beyond the beginning of the 3rd millennium it is necessary for a full understanding of the racial and cultural development in the period to go back to the 3rd millennium and here a convenient starting-point for our investigation of the archaeological evidence is the date 2400 B.C. Then or in the succeeding century a definite period is marked by a stratum of ashes at Bethshan in Palestine and at Ras Shamra, Byblos, name and most of the sites in Syria and by a change in the material remains at other sites in the south such as Tell Beit Mirsim, Megiddo and Jericho. Schaeffer notes similar

evidence at various sites in Anatolia, Persia and Cyprus and would associate those strata of destruction with a great earthquake which devastated the whole of the Near East, one of the notoriously unstable areas of the world. Whether or not this view is correct, it is certain that something occurred to interrupt the development of urban culture at this time and the fact that the destruction over such a wide area was roughly simultaneous makes Schaeffer's explanation more probable that the evidence suggests an earthquake or series of such disturbances rather than racial invasion. Racial movements, however, do seem to have been motivated by the disturbances, partly, no doubt by refugees seeking a safer home, but to a greater extent perhaps by nomads from the desert marches infiltrating to the fatter pastures of the settled land now largely deserted. Schaeffer assumes a movement of peoples Southward from Anatolia to the South of Mesopotamia and through Syria to the Delta. Such an occupation of at least part of Egypt is supposed by A.H. Gardiner who suggests that only on this assumption could we explain the prominence of the Asiatics, Aamu, in the instruction of the Pharaoh to his son Merikera in the Papyrus Petersbourg illo A, a conclusion which is corroborated by Frankfort who aduces mainly the evidence of seals which show north Syrian affinities and may be traced beyond the Taurus. That this movement, not, indeed, an organized invasion but perhaps directed by a military element, was from North

1. Stratiégique Comparée..., p. 537.
2. A.H. Gardiner; New Literary Works from Ancient Egypt, JEA I, 1914, pp. 29-32.
3. M. Frankfort; Studies in Early Pottery on the Near East I, 1924, p. 50. Egypt and Syria in the First Intermediate Period, JEA XII, 1926, pp. 50-99. Frankfort supposes that the racial movements which culminated in the collapse of the Vth Dynasty in the reign of Repi II started in Anatolia with North Syria as a secondary centre. The seal designs, however, may have been original in North Syria whence they may have spread to Anatolia.
to south, specifically from Anatolia, Schaerfer takes to be indicated by the fact that whereas conditions in Syria and Palestine and Mesopotamia for the next few centuries were very unstable, there was a state of comparative stability in the north, particularized by the culture of Hissarlik-Troy (Level III) Tarsus and Alaca Huyuk where a complex of royal graves were discovered with rich remains and abundance of well-wrought precious metals.

This theory, however, has certain difficulties. If such a movement from Anatolia to Syria and Palestine took place we should expect to find in the south a reflection of the culture from beyond the Taurus, especially in the art of metalworking. At Alaca Huyuk iron is already known in the form of a long dagger-blade in a royal tomb though in all probability it was still a precious metal and the object a sacred one.

Instead of a reflection of the high Anatolian culture we find in the South decided poverty and every evidence that Syria and Palestine were sparsely populated. The conditions, in fact, are just such as we should expect as a result of infiltration from the deserts South and East of Palestine.

Schaerfer has apparently a stronger case for such a theory in the second such period which ended the Early Bronze culture in Palestine and the neighbouring lands about 2100 B.C. The levels of destruction of this period he connects again with an earthquake which he supposes to have occasioned another exodus from Asia Minor when many craftsmen and metal-workers migrated South possibly as the result of the ruin of the urban centres which had been their markets or possibly,

1. Schaerfer; Stratigraphic Compared... p.ZW, II, p. 150 (a).
2. M. de Vaux also suggests the northern provenance of metal-workers whose work distinguished the new period. La Palestine et la Transjordanie au Iime millénaire et les origines israélites. ZAW 61, 1938, p. 227.
as Schaeffer suggests, through geological and atmospheric changes in the mines or the area. Certainly the succeeding phase of culture in Syria and Palestine is marked by a development in bronze-working and new more stable conditions obtained in the south contrasting with continued disturbances in Anatolia. The material evidence from Syrian and Palestinian sites, however, is not sufficient to bear out Schaeffer’s theory. On the contrary, though conditions in the south were sufficiently stabilized by the end of the 3rd millennium to permit of a new phase of urban civilization in such sites as Jericho, Megido, Bethshan, Tell el Hesy, the founding of such hill-fortress towns as Tell Beit Mirsim, Betnahemesan and Shechem, Bethel and Tell en Masba and the building of the temples of Ba‘al and Dagon at Ras Shamra, there is nothing to support the theory of a southward trend of culture from Anatolia. On the contrary the nomenclature of the persons and localities in Palestine in the subsequent period as evidenced in the literary texts is wholly Semitic; the temples which were built at Ras Shamra at the beginning of the 2nd millennium were dedicated to the Semitic deities Ba‘al and Dagon and the Old Assyrian texts from Kültepe in Cappadocia indicate a trend of culture from the Semitic world of the South northwards to Anatolia rather than the reverse process. The derivation of the Semites from the north seems ruled out by the linguistic affinity of the Semitic tongue of Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine in the historical period with the language and

1. The only possible evidence is Genesis xiv where, however, Tidal is the only apparent Anatolia/power. Even if this passage is taken at its face value and Tidal identified with the Hittite Tudhaliaš I, the period would fall after the cultural phase indicated by archaeology. Glueck maintains that the archaeological evidence from Transjordan, indicating a break in the sedentary civilization of the land from the first phase of the Middle Bronze Age to the eve of the Iron Age supports the data of Genesis xiv. Recently Glueck’s theory has been somewhat impaired by Harding’s discovery of a family tomb at Amman with characteristic pottery of the early Mykosi period or even of the XIIth Dynasty, J. L. Harding, Recent Discoveries in Transjordan, PEQ, iv 48, pp. 110-119.
nomenclature of south Arabia: It is not conceivable that a folk-movement from the north would penetrate the deserts to the south of the great Arabian peninsula. On the other hand, Mesopotamian religion from the end of the 3rd millennium shows the influence of Arabia in the intrusion of the deities of the moon, sun and Venus-star, Attar into the Sumerian pantheon. There seems, thus, good reason for the view that the population of Syria and Palestine in the first two centuries of the 2nd millennium were akin to the Semitic people who founded the first Dynasty of Babylon and to the south Arabian stock together classified by Roth as 'proto-Aramaean'. Actually the new phase of civilization which the period inaugurated was probably due to the abatement of the influx from the desert and the settling of the nomads to sedentary life which is indicated by the foundation of the fortress-towns in Palestine already noted and by the building of the temples of Ba'al and Waggon at Ras Shamra which Schaeffer dates c. 2000 B.C. Indeed, the tradition of the building of the temple of Ba'al as that may be reflected in the Ras Shamra texts suggests the solution of the problem of the new cultural influence in Syria in the early Middle Bronze Age. The divine craftsman of the house of Ba'al, Hian, alias KTR WBS, 'the skilful and percipient one; and cunning metal-worker, is invariably associated not with the north but with Egypt. It was probably the political influence of Egypt so well attested at Myos in.

1. Much later attested, of course.
2. S. Langdon, Semitic Mythology, 1951, p. 2.
4. Schaeffer, Stratigraphie comparee..., p. 28.
Shamra and at Qatna by the end of the 19th century, that mainly accounted for the cultural development in Palestine and Syria after the disturbances of the preceding half-millennium.

Having cleared the Delta of the Asiatic invaders, the pharaohs of the XIIth Dynasty followed up their victories by extending the power of Egypt to Asia. The influence of Egypt was naturally strongest on the coast at Byblos and Ras Shamra and was at least claimed if not enforced in the interior. So much is indicated by the knowledge of the land implied in the execratory texts of the 19th century, by the Tale of Sinuhe and by the scarabs of Sesostris I (1930-1835 B.C.) which have been found at Tell el Mirsim, Tell ed-Dawir, Tell el Ajul, Megiddo, and Bibsan in Palestine as well as at Ras Shamra in Syria. As far north as Ras Shamra we find monuments of the Pharaoh Amenemhet III (1840-1801 B.C.) and the princess Knumet Nofr, who became the wife of the Pharaoh Sesostris II (1906-1887 B.C.) and at Qatna in the interior a sphinx of the princess Ita, the wife of Amenemhet II (1906-1806 B.C.). That evidence has been taken as indicating a policy of inter-marriage with native princesses as a means of securing the land as a sphere of influence rather than evidence of actual conquest and occupation. This is quite a feasible theory and there is nothing to suggest the alternative.

It is at this period that we begin to have more precise information in the Egyptian records of Palestine and its people. The Tale of Sinuhe, a fugitive from Sesostris I, is accepted as bearing all the evidence of a genuine historical source. This describes the adventures of the noble

1. We should probably reckon with a cultural stimulus from the west at this period. Schaeffer attests a fragment of Minoan ware (1900-1700) together with Mycenaean remains at Ras Shamra, Vigourie, p. 25, fig. 41, but suggests (p. 54) that Aegean contacts go back even earlier than the find suggests.

2. Schaeffer; Stratigraphie, p. 124.

3. Ibidem, p. 120.


refugee with a nomad tribe possibly in Palestine but more probably in the Lebanon. The document seems to bear directly on the political situation in Palestine. We read, for instance, of the wall of the Philistines and the Delta and conclude that the menace from beyond the desert was still a very real one even in the XIth Dynasty. Palestine and Syria, too, seem comparatively thinly populated. The chief who gave Sinuhe asylum is apparently a tribal chief of no fixed allegiance yet his habitat is a land rich in crops, fruit-trees, vines and olives. There are, however, regular spheres of authority which indicates that the tribes were already in the process of settling down to a sedentary life and the reference to Sinuhe's entertainment of envoys passing to Egypt indicates at once that Egypt already had a bridgehead in Asia, probably on the coast but not in the interior where Sinuhe was safe. Whatever we may think of this XIth Dynasty document as an authoritative picture of Syria in the beginning of the 2nd millennium, it does correspond with the findings of archaeology and when we consider the racial, social and political conditions in Syria and Palestine implied in the narrative texts of the following period, we must admit that if the Tale of Sinuhe was fiction its setting has the stamp of verisimilitude and certainly reflects firsthand knowledge of the state of hither Asia in the XIth Dynasty when the tale was current. From the narrative texts we see that the picture is realistic even to the detail of the name of the chief who harboured Sinuhe. He is called Ammi-Mansu, a type of name very common in these texts which Pressmann has compared with the South Arabian name 'my ' , my uncle (Patron) is kind.

With the narrative texts we have the first really

2. Weber, UZ, 1907, sp. 146.
reliable evidence for the racial constitution of Palestine in what may be the patriarchal age or at least the eve of the patriarchal period.

It is established beyond doubt that the peculiar types of theophoric names of the anecratory texts closely correspond to those of the same period in the First Babylonian dynasty, usually called the Amorite dynasty, hence the bearers of those names in Syria and Palestine have been called the Amorites. Noth, however, would stress the affinity of many of the names with the earliest attested names in South Arabia as well as with those from Mesopotamia and prefers to use the term proto-Aramaean to designate the bearers. This term seems better to suggest the desert antecedents of the people who occupied Palestine at this time.

Albright in his study of the texts published by Setne has noted two names of places or tribes in Palestine, Alkahu or Alhabu and Aihanu which are found as names of South Arabian tribes, but whether or not this is a matter of coincidence cannot be clearly established. There are other features, however, which indicate a desert origin and the survival of tribal conditions. Nielsen has emphasized the astral element in desert religion and there is no doubt that in a stock-raising community the moon as the determinant of the months of pregnancy was observed diligently and revered, likewise the Venus-star as the guide of the caravan and ghazzu. In Palestine and Syria in documentary sources astral worship is not so prominent as to suggest that it was native to the settled land, so that, apart from the later direct influence of Assyria, we may regard the undoubted traces of astral worship as a survival of the desert cult, of this cult it must be frankly admitted.

1 W. F. Albright, The Egyptian empires in Asia in the 21st century B.C., J.R.S. VIII, 1928, pp. 231-249. To this evidence we may add the name Mwqat which may reproduce Lumqat of the South Arabian pantheon.
2 M. Nielsen, Die arabische Religion des Altertums, 1926, pp. 190 ff.
there is little conclusive evidence in the sacratory texts. In the name ʻṣmāw‘ilw, there may be a reference to the star called ʻmil in south Arabian inscriptions and ʻsmāw‘ilw indicates the divinity of ʻkm, the sun ʻymlw may suggest the same if we vocalize ʻm as ʻyom, which means in the Ḥmri dialect 'day' or 'sun'. M. Bauer has pointed out and may have this significance in the Ḥms bhamra texts. The name, incidentally, is mentioned in the sacratory texts in connection with Aḥran the south Arabian affinities of which have already been conjectured. There are other names where the predicate suggests desert conditions. ʻsmawr and ʻmary might be explained as hypocorista, the imperfect and the perfect of a verb ʻawr which appears in classical Arabic meaning 'to raise a dust-storm'. Alternatively it might be connected with the root ʻwn in Hebrew meaning 'to change', referring to the phases of the moon. There are other predicates again such as ʻpr and yʻpr, 'to make fertile' which may seem to suggest cultivation. This, however, might refer to oasis cultivation. The root meaning of ʻpr is apparently 'to dust'. We might, then, have a reference to the pollination of palms, an operation of which the Arabs are particularly careful to the present day.

Such evidence, however, is very exiguous and the clearest indication of desert origins and affinities in the texts is the conception of kinship which is predicated of the gods in such names as ʻḥwbrh (maternal) uncle is noble 'mwykn, '(paternal) uncle establishes' and ʻhwn ʻbl, 'norun is my father. The predicates in such cases generally indicate a personal, ethnic relationship of god and worshipper and the kin-relationship is, as norme has shown, a marked feature of tribal life before nomads have adapted themselves to the conditions of the settled

1. ʻm is feminine in Arabic and the sun-deity in south Arabian inscriptions as in the Ḥms bhamra texts is feminine.
2. M. Bauer; Die spittheiten von Ḥms bhamra, ZAW, x, 1935, p. 92.
3. J. norme; Vie rarent et le Dieu maître, Ann, cv, 1932, pp. 229-244.
one of the most notable features of religious conditions in Palestine as revealed in the theophoric names in the sacratory texts is the absence of the deities which we associate with the fertility-cult at Ras Shamra and in the Old Testament. There is no female deity mentioned and Ba'\textsuperscript{a}al is never so much as named. This latter fact, however, should not unfairly surprise us since Ba'\textsuperscript{a}al was not primarily a proper name but a title generally qualified by some locality or sphere of activity, as Ba'\textsuperscript{a}al Qapu\textsuperscript{u} or Ba'\textsuperscript{a}al Berith in the Ras Shamra texts.

There is good ground for the assumption that Ba'\textsuperscript{a}al, meaning thereby the Ba'\textsuperscript{a}al par excellence, was assimilated to Hadad, the god of storm and violent autumn and winter rain whose name probably appears in parallel to Ba'\textsuperscript{a}al in the abbreviated form Had\textsuperscript{a}. Now Had\textsuperscript{a} figures prominently in the texts on the figurines of rosener and in two cases at least, 'ibshddw and rwrhddw, 'Hadad fattens', seems to be associated with agriculture. This, however, is not necessarily so and the reference might equally well be to stock-raising. Babylonian sources indicate that Hadad was primarily a storm-god of the Amorites and was only secondarily associated with vegetation in the hypostasis of the Ba'\textsuperscript{a}al who annually died and rose again as in the Ras Shamra myths. Besides the hadad-compounds just cited we find the names 'ithhddw, ' hadad gives; y\textsuperscript{a}md\textsuperscript{d}, 'hadad gathers; \textsuperscript{t}b\textsuperscript{jndd} which has been explained as 'the nobility of Hadad' but might better perhaps be connected with the Arabic حبل, 'to beat a drum', referring to Hadad as the god of thunder, and finally y\textsuperscript{a}mdmhdw, 'hadad pierces', which might refer to the piercing of the clouds, the punctuation of the year into seasons, or the piercing of the earth with wells. There is thus no predicate of hadad in l.wordon; Ugaritic Handbook, 51, vi, 39, vii, 35, 38, 67.
the execratory texts which cannot be explained with reference
to the desert rather than the cultivable land. Nevertheless we
do seem to see Hadad in the process of becoming a ba'al and
his devotees settling down to the life of the settled land.

It is one of the major differences between between the
texts of Sethe and those of Posener that this deity, so con­spicuous in the proper names in the latter texts, is never
found in the former. This is a fact which might in itself
suggest that Sethe's date of c. 2000 B.C. was after all the
right one for his texts, for if the compounds of Hadad suggest
a change in the direction of the fertility-cult, then a generation
seems too short an interval for such a change to be effected.
The change, however, was at the most merely in process of being
affected.

The political and social situation implied in the respect­ive documents is apparently quite different and significantly
so. In Sethe's texts several chiefs are named in the same
locality. There are seven cases of a place with two chiefs,
among them Jerusalem, five cases of a place with three, among
them Ascalon, and one case of a place with four while once there
is an unspecified number of chiefs. This situation has been
variously explained. Sethe himself took it as an indication
of collegiate rule after the pattern of the oligarchy of
the suffetes in the late Phoenician and Punic communities or
even as the joint consulate in the Roman republic. Dussaud
thinks that it indicates a division of the territories
attached to the various places mentioned, a view which finds
a certain degree of corroboration from the later texts of
Posener where there are notably fewer cases of plurality of

1. Sethe; Die Aechtung..., p. 43.
2. Dussaud; Syria VII, 1927, pp. 219-220.
chiefs in the several localities and where there are more than one chief, the localities are mentioned twice, indicating a division into North and South regions or upper and lower. Rosener himself, on the other hand would attach little significance to this feature, presuming that the scribes knew, perhaps, fewer localities than personalities in the case of Sethe's texts while on the figurines, though they might have a large repertoire of personal names they were limited by the space on the figurines in a way that the earlier scribes, who wrote on jars, were not. There seems a certain amount of substance in this observation though, if indeed the scribes were thus limited, it seems strange that they should waste valuable space by naming the same region twice with different chiefs. Thus we are inclined to the opinion that we have here a reflection of the political and social conditions in the land. Albright maintained that the plurality of chiefs in Sethe's texts points to a tribal constitution while the later texts of Rosener would indicate a tendency to political unification. Such a process might seem to demand a longer period than one generation between the two sets of texts and, in fact, would seem to substantiate the early dating of Sethe. This, however, seems excluded by palaeographic considerations, so that Albright is probably going too far in his theory of political unification implied in Rosener's texts. Alt has suggested that the situation in Sethe's texts may be the result of a fresh influx of Amorites who preserved their tribal organization and the comparatively simple situation in Rosener's texts might indicate the process of the unification of the older and the younger strata of peoples. This is the view which seems

1. Rosener, Frühes et rays... p. 40.
3. A. Alt, Bernstein und Herrschaft der assyrischen im Anfang des zweiten Jahrtausends vor Chr., ZAW, 1917, p. 38.
best to suit the facts of the case.

in his study of the nomenclature of the period 2oth emphasizes the unity between the peoples of mesopotamia and palestine who bore such names as we find in the necrocratory texts and would see in them a new element in the fertile crescent which came in in the 19th century or perhaps the 20th. he rejects the term 'amorite', however, preferring that of 'proto-aramaeans', leaving the question of their identity open in the hope that it may be settled by the full publication of the māri texts, the fullest documentation of the people themselves which is yet available.

in limiting the influx of 'proto-aramaeans' to the period noted, koth seems to ignore the archaeological evidence which is unanimous in attesting the destruction of the māri bronze culture in syria and palestine in the last quarter of the 3rd millennium. the movement which he posits in the 20th or 19th century is quite possible and would admirably account for the destruction of the māri bronze culture in transjordan with which he wishes to associate it. this was probably the culmination of greater and less movements along the verge of the fertile crescent which had kept syria and palestine in a state of political fluidity for half a millennium. that this process reached its culmination at the period noted is indicated by the fact that now the majority of hill-fortress with their heavy fortifications were founded throughout the interior of palestine. as to the affinities of the 'proto-aramaeans' and their provenance, koth himself suggests what seems the most likely solution in a footnote where he notes the correspondence of the name-forms in the necrocratory texts with south-aramean names, particularly those with divine names and verbal

1. koth, die syrisch-palaestinische bevölkerung... adp 14, 1942, pp. 30.
2. koth, ibid xxvi, 1940, p. 32, note 3.
3. koth, die israelitische stellung, p. 30.
This desert affinity was of vital importance in the development of religion in Palestine, always more primitive and conservative than Syria where the fertility-cult superseded the cult of the kin-gods. It is in such a milieu though not perhaps in the same period as the sacratory texts that Abraham and Isaac are cast. In their relations with Aimelech of Gerar, as neighbours and potential rivals, we have a political situation exactly implied in the sacratory texts in the plurality of chiefs in the various localities.

In his masterly study of the nomenclature in the business documents and administrative lists from Ras Shamra, Both analyses these documents with special reference to the locality where each was found or to which each applies. One text, for instance, obviously a conscription-list, refers to the quota of men due from each family and district of Ugarit, both town and country. This list yields 124 names of which 78 may be classified with certainty, of them being Semitic. Here the ratio of Semites to non-Semites in the mixed population of Ugarit in the middle of the 2nd millennium is much higher than in other texts referring exclusively to the town. Here the proportion of names demonstrably Semitic to those demonstrably non-Semitic is broadly 1:1, as in the case of three business documents from private houses in the town. In a certain text from the palace itself, again, referring to the personnel of the royal establishment there are seven names, three of which are demonstrably non-Semitic and none of the rest bearing the appearance of Semitic formations. Both finds certain elements, hitherto undetermined, which might be related to

2. ibidem; pp. 35-38.
3. ibidem; p. 39-42.
4. ibidem; p. 43.
Uyprus and the Aegean, quite a conceivable situation at Ras Shamra in the north of Syria. Others, again, he would relate to Anatolia convincingly comparing certain names with names cited by Sundwall from ancient Greek inscriptions from Anatolia. Of the Nurrians whose literary traces have survived at Ras Shamra in ritual texts and syllabaries and who were probably represented on the throne of Ugarit, Noth concludes that they were only a minority in the land. The names demonstrably Nurrian amount to only one eighth of the total number of names found at Ras Shamra and of these it is noteworthy that the great majority occur in texts from the palace-complex. Indeed, Noth suggests that the ruling caste itself was not purely Nurrian. This is indeed a striking conclusion in view of the Nurrian occupation of the neighbouring land of Upper Mesopotamia and their presence in Palestinian attested, though not strongly, according to Noth, in the Amarna Tablets. Perhaps he does tend to minimise the Nurrian element, as we Langhe maintains, and certainly Noth's conclusion based on his numerical ratios seems to give a wrong impression in view of the many names which he is obliged to leave undetermined. One thing, however, Noth has succeeded in establishing in his study of those non-Semitic names and that is that the movements of the preceding period associated with the Myksos involved many races which may now be determined more precisely. We might have expected such information on the non-Semitic population of Syria in the 2nd millennium from such a site as Ras Shamra exposed as it was to influence from the adjacent island of Cyprus and the Aegean, from northern Mesopotamia and the kingdom of Mitanni and the interior of Asia Minor. No less important is the

1. Sundwall; Die einheimischen Namen der Lykier nebst einem Verzeichnis kleinasiatischer Namenstämme, Klio Beiheft XL, 1913.
2. Noth; op. cit., p. 58.
3. A. de Langhe; Les Textes de Ko... et... l'Ar, II, p. 333.
information on the Semitic population of ancient Ugarit.

Here Roth stresses the importance of the conscription list in this document which refers to all parts of the kingdom both town and country, as distinct from the business documents found in the private houses of the town and the domestic tablet found in the palace-complex, we have a much larger proportion of Semitic names by which Roth concludes that in the country as distinct from the town we have the basic racial element in the kingdom of Ugarit which was Semitic, a conclusion justified by the fact that the great majority of the considerable texts from Has Shambra are in the native Semitic language and the local cuneiform script. Among the Semitic names Roth finds certain definite categories. He notes certain names apparently Akkadian which might possibly point to an older Semitic stock going back to the 3rd millennium and indicating the occupation of Syria and Mesopotamia by a common stock. This hypothesis, however, is raised simply to be rejected. The apparently Akkadian names are too few, they are written in ideogram and may not have read precisely as the ideogram would have read in Mesopotamia. The persons so named, again, are in two cases merchants since they are mentioned in a business document and in one case a professional scribe, so that they are probably foreigners from Mesopotamia or, in the case of the scribe if he were a native, one so conscious of his clerkly calling that he affected an Akkadian manner of writing his name as the Mediaeval humanists who transformed German names like Schweizer and Hausschen into Melanchthon and Coccolampadius.

In his study of the names of chiefs in Palestine and South Syria in the sacralatory Texts Roth distinguishes three main categories; those compounded of the imperfect of a verb with the divine name, the theophorics which have as the divine name 1. Roth, op. cit. pp. 21-24.
or as predicate of a deity a kin-name, names compounded with Hadad and finally those which are not so characterized but are attested in contemporary Babylonian records compounded with *el or *ilu. Those characteristics connect the bearers of the names with the Semites, who were the ruling race in Mesopotamia in the beginning of the 2nd millennium of whom the best-known dynasty is the first Babylonian dynasty, the House of which Hammurabi was the sixth king. The bearers of those names, Noth, as we have seen, regards as a new racial element in Mesopotamia and the west in this period whom he terms proto-Aramaean. This element is represented in the nomenclature of Ras Shamra. Such names are well attested, it is true, but in insisting on the correspondence with similar elements in Mesopotamia and Palestine, Noth seems to minimize local differences. It is noteworthy, for instance that Dagan who figures so prominently in the nomenclature of Mesopotamia and Ras Shamra, is never mentioned at all in the execratory texts. This fact is noted by Noth who suggests that this is a mere matter of chance, due more than anything to the fragmentary nature of the evidence. There does seem substance in Noth's explanation since if absent in the texts Dagan was nevertheless worshipped in Palestine presumably from this early time since we find his cult established at Ashod in the time of the Philistines and in the same vicinity his name appears to the present day in the place-name Beit Dajan.

Another main category of Semitic names at Ras Shamra are those names which are compounded with the names of the deities familiar to us in the fertility-cult of Palestine and Syria and most prominent in the mythological texts and offering-lists of Ras Shamra. Those are most notably the gods Baal and 'Anat.

1. Noth does not regard the persons named in the execratory texts as representative of the basic population but rather as a "Herrsenschicht of invaders," op. cit., pp. 32-34.
and in this category noth would include mik which the writer would rather associate with the nomenclature of the people of the exoccratory texts though it is only once found there. noth emphasizes the frequency of these names in the later canaanite documents, the Amarna tablets, where they are quite a distinctive feature, and in Phoenician inscriptions. though such names confront us later in the records of Syria and palestine, noth makes the suggestion, somewhat startling at first sight, that they represent the oldest Semitic stock at Ugarit. the obvious objection to this theory is that those deities are never mentioned in a single theophoric name in the exoccratory texts. noth, however, anticipates this objection by insisting that those texts are not representative of the population but of a ruling caste, a 'herrenschicht' or fresh invaders, in itself quite a possible explanation, or, at least, one incapable of direct refutation. another approach to this subject, and one, we believe, more fruitful, is from the side of the mythological texts of Ugarit.

Here we must signify our agreement in the main with nielsen in seeing two different strata of religion at Ugarit each of which has its appropriate mythology. the texts leave no doubt that the cult which held the field was the fertility-cult of the agriculturist where Ba'ali and 'Anat were the most active deities. relics of an outmoded cult are notable in the text SS, The birth of the gracious and beautiful gods, where alone mik is really active, begetting Šmr and Šim. such a text as SS, presupposing, as it does, apparently, an astral cult

1. noth; Die syrisch-palaestinische Bevölkerung... p. 53.
associated with the desert where we have the cult of the Venus-twins or 'Asherah most fully attested, suggests an earlier stage of religious development than the cult of the agriculturist. The same is suggested by the activity of El who in the mythology of the fertility cult is known as the father of gods and men only by name. It is still possible, however, that the El mythology as distinct from the Ba'al mythology may represent the religion of an invading stock socially nearer nomadic conditions, which left its trace on the cult and mythology of the composite population of Ugarit. It is, therefore, in itself quite conceivable that Ba'al-ism as the older, better established cult absorbed and survived the impact of the more primitive religion of the invaders just as in the case of the Hebrews who invaded Palestine under the fresh impulse of a fanatical new faith, Jahwism was almost obliterated by the Ba'alism of Palestine and at Ras Shamra itself where the Semitic fertility cult survived the still greater racial and cultural upheaval of the Hyksos Invasion.

There are, however, certain indications that Ba'alism was a later development than the cult or cults presupposed in the theo-phoric names in the Exorcatory Texts which seem to connect with the desert rather than with the sown. One of the prominent themes in the mythology is that of the building of a house for Ba'al. This is done by the permission of El and at first sight it does appear that Ba'al who thus needed a house is a new god. The theme, however, is capable of various explanations. The magnificent temple described in the text may be no more than the ideal, mythical
counterpart to the booths or tabernacles which the Ugaritic devotees possibly erected as the Hebrews and their Canaanite neighbours at the Autumn feast of the Ingathering. Obermann has emphasised the association between the building of the house of Ba'al and the consummation of his marriage with his three brides each of whom bear names suggestive of dew or rain, hence there is no doubt as to the season of year in which the ceremony fell. Such activity of Ba'al would certainly have its counterpart in the rites of sympathetic magic at that season which in primitive agricultural communities is marked by a large degree of licence. Again, Obermann notes the wealth of precious metal used in the building and ornamentation of the house of Ba'al and suggests that we may have a reference here to some cultural or technological crisis in the history of Ugarit. It may well be that the accommodation of a more primitive shrine of Ba'al to new economic conditions was the occasion of the theme of the building of the house of Ba'al. That this was indeed a significant step and as such worthy of a myth in itself is indicated by the specific Mosaic prohibition against the erection to Jahweh of any altar hewn with iron tools. Thus the theme of the building of a temple for Ba'al if taken literally may refer to renovation rather than new building to a new deity.

The early rather than later period for the cult of Ba'al and 'Anat seems to be more natural. If we suppose that the cult did not precede the period of the Execratory Texts in the latter half of the nineteenth century there does not seem any

2. Ibidem;
time or room for such an influx of Semites between 1800 B.C. and the Hyksos invasion. Certainly there were Aramaean movements between the Hyksos invasion and the time of the Ras Shamra Texts, but we do not associate the fertility-cult with the Aramaeans nor was there sufficient time for their gods to become localized as Ba'al and 'Anat with their ritual and mythology localized in the settled land. Again, the highly-finished form of the texts indicates a long period of literary development and elaboration. De Langhe, indeed, reminds us that between the first appearance of Semites at Ugarit and the time when the texts were last in use there was a period of a round millennium.

The question of the antiquity of the worship of Ba'al at Ugarit, however, is simply solved by the archaeological evidence of Schaeffer who found two temples, one of Wagon and the other of Ba'al, both identifiable by votive inscriptions. The former temple, identical with the latter in plan and dimensions, shows certain irregularities in construction which have been avoided in the latter, which suggests that the temple of Wagon is the older building. The temple of Ba'al has been dated about 2000 B.C., a terminus ante quem being the reign of the Pharaoh Sesostris II (1906-1887 B.C.) and a statue of his wife, Mumet Horr Mej, being found in the temple. A more precise date of the building cannot be fixed and the date indicated is suggested by the comparative evidence of temple architecture from the old Assyrian period.

It must not be forgotten that the archaeological evidence at Ras Shamra points to the middle of the 3rd millennium as the

1. De Langhe; Les textes de Ras Shamra et... l'AT, I, p. 43.
2. Schaeffer; Ugaritica, pp. 15, 30.
beginning of the decay of the Early Bronze culture of the place and presumably to the beginning of the invasion by a ruder race probably from the desert. The El mythology may be a relic of that time adapted as in the case of the text SS to the needs of a settled community as time elapsed. Again it may be part of the mythology of the invaders whose names are distinguished at Ras Shamra by their correspondence with those of the First Babylonian Dynasty and of the Execratory Texts. If we take the origins of the Ba‘al temple at Ras Shamra as c.2000 B.C. we have a period of half a millennium during which the development was effected from the old desert conception of an astral deity or a tribal king-god to that of a Ba‘al who was essentially localized.¹

Noth’s theory that the theophoric compounds of Ba‘al and kindred fertility deities are those of the Semitic stock of the land before rather than after the coming of the new element whose distinctive names at Ras Shamra, in Mesopotamia and in Palestine are indicated in the Execratory Texts bear no suggestion of Ba‘al or his cult-associates is further corroborated, in our judgment, by the relation of Ba‘al to Hadad who is represented in those names.Hadad is apparently a storm-god but not specifically associated with cultivation as Ba‘al. As such he is a warrior, thundering in the clouds and prompt to strike. Since his power was particularly manifest in the autumn storms which accompany the heavy former rains at the New Year season, it was natural for this warrior-god of the invaders to be associated with the local Ba‘al who rose again to reign at this very season. Hence we find

1. De Meurme; Le Dieuparent et le Dieu maître, HR 1932, pp. 234 ff.
that the two are assimilated as appears plainly in the text
in the Hunting of Ba‘al, where hd stands in parallel to b‘i
and its synonym bn dgn. In the mythological texts another
name appears, ‘al‘eyn, which seems to be in parallel with
b‘i as a title. In one passage, however, we read ‘al‘eyn bn b‘i
which has suggested that ‘al‘eyn was distinct from b‘i. The
name ‘al‘eyn has been explained as a title, an adjective or
participle from ly, ‘to be strong, prevail! It is found qualified
by a noun qrdm, and is generally translated ‘the wielder of the
axe.’ The writer would take this as specifically the designation
of the warrior-god Madad, one of the gods of the invaders
named in the aegyptian texts and contemporary sources in the
19th-18th centuries. In the passage which speaks of ‘al‘eyn
bn b‘i we have probably a reminiscence of the first step in
this process of assimilation where Madad, the parvenu, was
adopted by the older Ba‘al of the settled land. The consummation
of this process is indicated by the stereotyped representation
of Ba‘al on the stelae and figurines of the god clad in the
warrior’s kilt with left arm advanced holding a spear or
thunderbolt and right arm raised wielding a scimitar.

The main thesis of both seems thus sound that the nomen-
clature of Ras Shamra and other similar evidence from Mesopot-
amia and Egypt does enable us to distinguish a Semitic and
a non-Semitic strain in the population in the middle of the
2nd millennium, and further to distinguish an earlier and a
later strain of Semites, the latter being those represented in
the chiefs

1. Dussaud, Le vrai nom de Ba‘al, EHR cxxii, 1936, pp. 3 ff.
in Palestine and Southern Syria cursed in the Egyptian Execratory Texts whom MoEn characterizes provisionally as 'proto-Aramaeans'. It seems, however, that MoEn does not bring out sufficiently clearly that the influx of Semites to Syria began about half a millennium before the first definite trace of the fertility-cult in the shape of the temple of Ba'al which is dated c.2000 B.C. The cult of the Semites of Ugarit as it was established then gives us no clue as to what the cult of the first invaders may have been. That the earlier cult may have resembled that implied in the names in the Execratory Texts and similar names at Ras Shamra and in Mesopotamia is quite possible, since the archaeological evidence from various Palestinian sites indicates that the position was fluid and the land never settled from the middle of the 3rd millennium to the beginning of the 2nd. The invasion of MoEn's 'proto-Aramaeans', then, is probably to be regarded as the culmination of a series of folk-movements from the desert to the sown in Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine, an aspect of the case which MoEn seems to overlook.

Thus having distinguished two main categories of Semites by the criterion of names, as those of the invaders of the 19th-18th centuries and the earlier stock whose names were compounded with the gods of the fertility-cult, we should emphasize another category which MoEn lists as common West-Semitic. These are distinct in form and content from the theophoric compounds of the Execratory Texts and kindred and contemporary documents as well as from those just mentioned. They would seem, 1. This is noticed by Schaeffer as a general situation in Syria and Palestine at the period which he would date more precisely c.2300-2100 B.C., stability being reached in the North sooner than in the South. Stratigraphie comparée... p.537.
therefore, to be survivals from the time before the development of the fertility-cult and may thus afford a clue to the original Semitic stratum of the population of Ras Shamra and the West towards the beginning of the Semitic settlement in the land. De Langhe, though he is not sanguine of any concrete result from the study of such names, goes on to quote all Noth's examples of such names together with others, some listed by Noth as non-Semitic, to the number of 162, which have parallels in south Arabian names in the lists of Ryckmans. Here we may have the real foundation for the theory of Nielsen, apparently contradicted by that of Noth, that the first stratum of religion at Ras Shamra was the astral cult of the desert as exemplified in south Arabia where the chief figures of the pantheon were the lunar 'El, the solar 'Atirat, his consort, and their first-born 'Attar.

The evidence of racial developments at Ras Shamra has a definite bearing on the situation in Palestine where again three main racial categories may be traced in the Exorcatory texts of the latter ninth century and the Amarna tablets from the end of 15th and the beginning of the 14th centuries. The latter documents are especially valuable as corroborating the evidence of the contemporary Ras Shamra tablets for the presence of non-Semitic elements in the population along with the Semitic stock. Of the latter, however, we find that the theophoric compounds with the names of the deities of the fertility-cult are notably fewer than at Ras Shamra. Of the clearly Semitic names in the Amarna correspondence from Palestine there are, in fact, only four compounds of Ba'ál, Mutba'lu (Kn.256), Pu-ba'lu (Kn.315,316),

1. De Langhe; Les Textes de nS... et i'AT,II,p.345.
Ba’lu-mehir (Kn 257-260) and Sipti-ba’lu (Kn 330-332), none of which reflects the agrarian activity of Ba’al, while there are nine clear cases of theophoric compounds of precisely the type in the Exegetical Texts and contemporary texts from Mesopotamia, such as the Hadad compounds Šumu-Adda of Šamhuna (Kn 224-225), Milkilu (Kn 267-291), Dagan-Takala (Kn 317-318), Aïaba (Kn 256), Iaḫzib-adda (Kn 275-276), Iaḫtiḫ-adda (Kn 288-335), Iaḫtiri (Kn 296), Iapiḫi (Kn 297-301), Iaḫni-ilu (Kn 328). This, of course, may be due to the fact that whereas the business and administrative documents of Ras Shamra give us a representative cross-section of the population, the Amarna Tablets, as the Exegetical Texts name only chiefs in Palestine. This significant difference in the sources of evidence cannot be disputed but other factors must be taken into the reckoning as we seek to assess the situation. The fertility cult is certainly attested in Palestine in the much later Scriptural documents and in material remains such as the temple of Mekal at Bethshan, c.1400 B.C., and in a figurine of Ba’al-Hadad at Tell ed Duweir somewhat earlier. There is no evidence, however, that the cult was as highly developed as that at Ras Shamra and on the contrary there is a considerable amount of evidence that the astral cult of the desert was strong and persistent, as indeed we might expect considering the geographic position of Palestine in relation to the desert. Thus while Palestine as Syria seems to have felt the first considerable impact of the Semites in the second half of the 3rd millennium and that again of Noah’s propo-Aramaeans.

1. cf. M. ‘Akk’m or ‘die Aechtungstexte’.
2. cf. ‘yâmm or ‘Die Aechtungstexte’; chief of 5tw.
3. J. L. Starkey: PEQG, p. 10, pl. lv, fig. 5.
in the 19th century and that of the various races in the Hyksos invasion a century later, she was more open than north Syria to continuous infiltration from the desert owing to her broken contour which isolated her communities and weakened their resistance. This fact and the political and cultural poverty of the land meant that Palestine had not the same mitigating influence on her invaders as Ugarit obviously had. The history of Palestine cannot be adequately understood unless we regard the greater part of the land as the foreland of the great Arabian desert.

As far as concerns Palestine in the strictly geographical sense, we are fortunate in possessing such considerable documentary evidence as the Execratory Texts and the Amarna Tablets, though the limitation of both sets of documents has been noted in that they probably do not give us a fair cross-section of the population but only name the chiefs. Still, even a cursory comparison of the two sets of documents is revealing. In the earlier texts there is no suggestion of any other racial element than the Semites; in the Amarna Texts there are both Semites and non-Semites. The difference justifies us in supposing some great political change in Palestine between the 19th and the 15th centuries. This coincides with the 2nd Intermediate Period of Egyptian history, more precisely from 1750 to 1580 B.C. when Egypt was invaded and ruled from the Delta by foreign rulers called the Hyksos. The title as well as the period is a vague one and recent research on the subject has perhaps rather complicated than simplified the problem. It is, however, agreed that whatever was the main racial element among the invaders, Palestine and Egypt were opened by the invasion to the influx of non-Semitic elements of which we find traces in the subsequent period in such documents as the Amarna Tablets, and tablets from Taanach in Palestine and Qatna and Ras Shamra in Syria and in certain material remains which point beyond the Semitic field to Anatolia and even beyond the Caucasus.
The problem of the provenance and racial identity of the Myksos is one of notorious complexity and it is only by recognizing this fact at the outset that we may hope for any positive result in our investigation. An examination of the material remains of the period in Palestine and Egypt from the end of the 18th to the beginning of the 16th centuries together with the study of the nomenclature of the Amarna Tablets in the light of increasing knowledge from other sites in Syria and northern Mesopotamia reveal certain significant common factors.

The traditional theory of the racial identity of the Myksos conquerors, which really traces its origin to Manetho as interpreted by Josephus, is that they were a rude, barbaric horde of Semitic nomads who swept into the Delta ravaging as they went. Though the period is not uniformly well attested by material remains, still less by inscriptional and documentary material, such features as are most distinctive of the Myksos occupation are not those of barbarians bent on mere destruction, though we may pause to notice that the features of the Pharaohs of the XIth Dynasty on the sphinxes found at Ras Shamra were mutilated though the inscriptions were untouched, a fact that suggests to Schaeffer that this was the work of a power hostile to Egypt but too barbaric to appreciate the significance of the inscriptions; it might be suggested that the vandals were too superstitious to destroy the mystical written word.

Josephus quotes Manetho as giving the term Myksos the meaning 'Shepherd kings.' The term, however, has been explained as a compound of two Egyptian words 'nyk' and 'khwst' meaning 'rulers of foreign lands' or simply 'foreigners' in general with specific reference to Asiatics.

In a recent study, Galling has traced the usage of this

1. Josephus; Contra Apionem 1, 73.
2. Schaeffer complains of the poverty of remains of this period, stratigraphie comparée... passim.
3. Schaeffer; Ugaritica, p. 20.
4. K. Galling; Myksos Herrschaft und Myksos Kultur, ZDPV lxii, 1939, pp. 89-115.
appellative and has found it applied first to Absha the Semitic chief who is depicted with his thirty-seven followers in the Beni-Hasan tomb-painting of Khnumhotep, an officer of Sesostris II (1906-1837 B.C.). It is used in the Tale of Sinuhe1 where it is applied to various chiefs of Palestine and Syria against whose oppression Sinuhe champions the cause of his Semnun hosts. Here calling pauses to suggest2 that this may be a specific reference to the foreigners who were later to invade Egypt but were settled in Palestine and Syria in the 19th and 18th centuries. In this he agrees with Otto3 and Engberg4 out against this view, which has little positive evidence to support it, we may cite the evidence of the mutilation of the sphinxes at K8S Shamra which can only be dated to the end of the XI1th dynasty. The sphinxes of Amenemhet III (1949-1801 B.C.) give us a terminus post quem. Until that time or later there could have been no penetration in force from the north-east. Calling notes further the appellative on three royal scarabs from Egypt which suggests that the term like 3?2y was later adopted by the people themselves to whom it had been originally applied by their enemies as a term of opprobrium. This appellative, however, indicates nothing as to the racial affinity or provenance of the Hyksos.

M. Stock in a study of the scarabs of the Hyksos period5 would distinguish on linguistic and glyptic grounds between earlier and later Hyksos rulers, the former associated with Syria, the latter specifically with north Mesopotamia. There is a growing consensus among specialists in the period that the Hyksos invasion was not quite so catastrophic as Manetho suggests but that it was rather internal dissensions at the end of the XII1 dynasty that weakened Egypt, and invited infiltration by her nearest neighbours in Palestine.

2. Galling; op. cit., p. 99.
3. Otto; Studien zur Keramik der mittleren Bronzezeit in Palästina, ZDPV lx, 1933, pp. 147 ff.
4. K.M. Engberg; The Hyksos Reconsidered, 1939.
5. M. Stock; Studien zur Gesamichte und Archäologie der 15 bis 17 Dynastie Ägyptens, 1942.
about the end of the 18th century. Whether these were Semites
as certain names suggest or were of another stock, non-Semites
soon appear. It is generally accepted that they were the ruling
class but von Bissing denies this maintaining that the move-
ment was that of Arabs from the direction of Palestine who
did no more than bring in quite incidentally certain non-
-Semitic cultural features and racial elements among them possi-
ibly Hurrians who were not, however, the ruling caste. Here
Galling maintains that after six generations the non-Semitic
minority may well have been swamped but the feudal structure
of Hyksos society was definitely not Semitic.

Thus a carefully analysis of the scarabs points to a
racial conglomeration but brings us little further to a solution
of the problem of the precise provenance of the Hyksos.

In comparison with the monuments of the Xllth and Xlllth
Egyptian Dynasties in Egypt and Syria, the Hyksos have left
almost no cultural trace behind them. This has led Galling to
declare that there is no such thing as a specifically Hyksos
culture, though there are in this period certain features
common to Syria and Egypt which indicate that both areas were
under the same political influence. In this Galling is support-
ed by Otto and Schaeffer who writes 'Ni Ras Shamra-Ugarit, ni
aucun autre site sur la côte syro-paléstinienne, n'a jusqu'ici
restitué des trouvailles qui puissent avec certitude être
attribuées aux fameux hyksos.'

It is nevertheless true that during this period certain
significant features make their appearance in Palestine:

The most conspicuous monument of the period is the camp or

2. ibidem, col. 16.
Wolf's conclusion was that the evidence for the racial
identity of the Hyksos is not conclusive. They were mainly
Semitic but with a certain non-Semitic admixture, probably
from Anatolia. Der Stand der Hyksosfrage, ZDMG xxxi, 1929, pp. 70, 71.
5. Otto; op. cit., pp. 147 ff.
6. Schaeffer; Stratigraphie Comparée... p. 156.
Fortified town strengthened by a steep, even slope of beaten earth smoothed with limestone chips and plaster as at Tell en Dweir or faced with stones as at Jericho. This glacis is crowned with a redoubtable revetted wall surmounted by brick battlements. The formidable scarp is occasionally, as at Tell en Dweir, strengthened by a fosse and counterscarp. This striking feature of defence-work is paralleled by similar earthworks at Tell el Ajju at the mouth of the Wadi Ghazze, Tell Far'a fifteen miles South of Gaza, Tell el Mesy, once identified with Lachish, Tell Beit Mirsim, Tell el Qedah in the vicinity of Muleh, and Tell Jerisheh at the ford of the Auja, north of Jaffa. This is thought to be the development of a more primitive earthwork such as Petrie explored at Tell el Muhudiyeh, a little to the north of Cairo. The reports of Pumpelly have been cited in this connection to demonstrate that there is a certain affinity between these ramparts and those of the kurgans in Turkestan. The glacis is further noted by Barrois as a feature of north-Syrian fortresses where it endured into Turkish times and may be still noted in the citadel of Aleppo and at the Crusaders' castle of Crac des Chevaliers.

A certain modification of this feature appears at Tell Far'a in the Wadi Ghazze, in the form of a tunnel through the base of the glacis to the city wall. This, with a similar tunnel at Tell en Dweir, was taken by Starkey to be a sapper's tunnel driven in from the outside to undermine the walls. Barrois, however, sees evidence in the case of that of Tell Far'a that the tunnel was cut not from the outside but from the inside. Certain vertical shafts for evacuation of earth and admission of air and the narrowness of the tunnel suggest that it was the work of the

1 Albright; A Colony of Cretan Mercenaries on the Coast of the 2. A. Barrois; Manuel d'Archéologie biblique, 1939, pp. 205-207. 3 Starkey; IEJQS, 1934, p.109. 4 Barrois; op. cit., pp.136-137.
occupants of the city rather than of any assailants. This view is strongly supported by similar works in the glacis of the palace of Ras Shamra and at the Hittite capital at Boghaz-Keui where beyond doubt it served as a sally-tunnel and postern for the defenders. This feature, so well illustrated at Boghaz-Keui and at Ras Shamra, seems highly important in view of the problem of the provenance of the nyksos. In conjunction with the talus and rampart it is new to Palestine, though it must be admitted that there is the possibility that the idea may have been borrowed from the Canaanites who had a similar feature in connection with the water-supply of the fortresses as at Jerusalem, Megiddo and Gezer. This tunnel of egress may have been adapted to military needs by the Hyksos and have thus been applied somewhat later at Boghaz-Keui in the 15th-14th century. Unfortunately Anatolian archaeology has not been able so far to find any other case but the fact remains that we have here a distinctive feature of the Middle to Late Bronze Age common to Boghaz-Keui in Central Anatolia and one at least of the vital Hyksos strongholds in South Palestine.

It has been thought that the purpose of the glacis-defence was to hold the enemy at long range and expose him to the greater fire-power of the composite bow in which the Hyksos excelled and introduced to Syria and Egypt. This theory, however, is demolished by the Meni Hasan panel where Absha and his followers appear already in the 19th century in possession of such a bow. The limited number of this company, their obvious Semitic features and their submissive mission would at once dissociate them from invaders from beyond the Semitic orbit.

1. Schaeffer; Syria IX, 1939, pp. 289-291, pl. xiii, xlii.
3. The feature at Boghaz-Keui, however, falls barely into the period of Hyksos domination of Palestine, being dated by the excavators to the end of the 15th and beginning of the 14th century and by Schaeffer at Ras Shamra c. 1450-1350 B.C. The perfection of the work, however, indicates that it was part of a defensive system already well-developed over a considerable period of time.
4. Schaeffer suggests that this feature may have been peculiar to north Syria, cf. the citadel of Aleppo and Orac des Chevaliers, Syria IX, 1939, p. 292.
By far the most significant feature of this period is the appearance of the horse and two-wheeled chariot. Potratz in a study of the horse in antiquity and of the distribution of the metal bit associates the horse and chariot with the Aryan influx to the Near East in the 18th century. He does suggest that the Mycenaean invasion of Egypt through Syria and Palestine may be connected with this movement though he admits that the evidence is vague. The material evidence seems strongest from Tell el Ajjul where Carter found two bronze bits and certain tombs which he assigned to this period. These are in the form of niches around a vertical shaft in the midst of which were the skeletons of quadrupeds quite obviously slain as a funerary rite. Similar burials have been found also at Tell ed Dweir and dated to the same period but here Starkey regarded the animals as asses. This doubtful evidence is the first possible trace of the horse in Palestine though it was known in North Syria and Mesopotamia somewhat earlier. The horse and chariot is mentioned in the Mari texts in the 18th century and again in the tablets from Ugarit on the Habur at a period somewhat later. In view of the fact that it was on the steppes of South Russia rather than in Syria that the horse was at home are we entitled to suppose that it is from here that the Mycenaean must be derived? It has been indicated by Speiser that the words for chariot and its equipment in Egyptian texts are Aryan hence he is inclined to emphasize the

5. ibid., pp. 22-66.
rôle of the Hurrians and their Indo-Iranian rulers in the Hyksos Invasion, as is also Götze. There is, however, scanty evidence, as we have seen, for the use of the horse and two-wheeled chariot in Palestine and Egypt before the Late Bronze Age. The only possible evidence for the horse in the Middle Bronze Age is from Tell el Ajul and Tell ed Duweir. If the animals found in the graves just mentioned are indeed horses we might have the trace of one of the racial elements who followed the Hyksos to Egypt but the data, so doubtful and confined to two sites in the same vicinity, is by no means impressive. Von Bissing would not associate the horse and chariot with the Hyksos at all. He notes that they are first mentioned in Egyptian records only in the time of Thothmes I, the third Pharaoh of the XVIIIth Dynasty. Then in a campaign in the direction of the Euphrates, Ahmes the son of Khana captured a chariot and its team and presented them to the Pharaoh which suggests to Von Bissing that the chariot and horses were still novelties to the Egyptians. He further notes that there is no reference to chariots and horses in the description of the siege of Avaris and he suggests that not only were they not used by the Egyptians but were not used by the Hyksos either, a conclusion which, if established, would seriously modify the view of a Hurrian penetration to Palestine and Egypt at the period of the Hyksos invasion. This, however, is but an argument e silentio. Granted that the Egyptians did not use the horse and chariot till the time of Thothmes I, that might signify no more than a superstitious prejudice against the armament of the foreign usurper. Again it is possible that the Hyksos invaders may have been a mixed multitude of Hurrians and Semites displaced from Northern Mesopotamia and Syria before the

1 A. Götze; Mèthiter, Churriter und Assyriter, Oslo, 1936.
2 von Bissing; OLZ, xlvi, 1944, col 91.
3 J. H. Breasted; AHE II, p. 33, 477.
indo-Iranians who arrived with their horses and chariots in that region in the 18th century. This view would account for the Hurrian element among the Hyksos names and would also explain the lack of evidence for the horse and chariot.

Of the pottery of the period there is nothing which gives any clue to the provenance of the Hyksos from any more distant point than north Syria, what is generally accepted as the most distinctive ware of the period is the black ware with punctured geometric design, filled with white, and finished generally in a button-base. This pottery, however, presents its own problems. It is found from Ras Shamra to Upper Egypt and even into the Sudan and is called Tell el Yenudiyyeh ware from the station in the Delta where it is most abundant. It is, however, comparatively scarce in Palestine and Syria which suggests that it made its way not from Asia to Africa with the Hyksos but was distributed from Africa. It has, indeed, already been contended by Junker that this pottery was really of Subian origin, a theory which gains in probability when we find that the ware was used in the north actually before the Hyksos period. It is possible that in the weakness of Egypt at the end of the XIlth dynasty Subian mercenaries were extensively employed in internal dissensions and even settled in the Delta. Another ware, later rather than earlier in the Hyksos period and continuing after their expulsion from Egypt, is the bi-chrome painted pottery in red and black on a pale buff ground. In discussing this ware which is a novelty in Egypt and Palestine at the time of the Hyksos invasion, Frankfort notes that evidence from north Syria and Anatolia indicates that there was an interpenetration of cultures north and south of the Taurus. He regards the evidence as


2. Junker; Der Mische Ursprung der sogennanten Tell el Yenudiyyeh Vassen, Revue Archéologique II, 1922, pp. 44 ff.
sufficient to prove the presence of Anatolian elements among the Hyksos but according to his own thesis there would be as much ground for deriving the Hyksos from North Syria as from Anatolia. There seems to be a lineal connection, however, between this ware and the later 'Ajjul ware' which has parallels at Tarsus and the Aegean. Thus the pottery of the period does not enable us to associate the Hyksos with one race or locality more than another, though the bi-chrome pottery would lead us beyond North Syria in our investigation, a conclusion which is supported by the destruction at Ras Shamra which marks the inauguration of the Hyksos period.

More decisive evidence is that found by De Vaux and Steve at Tell el Far 'e by Nablus in a tomb of the Middle Bronze Age where they found a dagger with a limestone pommel and a bronze belt, the latter being paralleled by objects from the Hyksos stratum at Has Shamra. This evidence, however, quite valid as far as it goes, is limited and goes only to suggest the provenance of some of the people who occupied Palestine at this time. In this connection it is significant that even such a conservative scholar as von Bissing cannot avoid the mention of the Hurrians among the Hyksos invaders, although, to be sure, he hesitates to assign them the rôle which is usually given to them as the directing power behind the movement. E.A.

Speiser, who is not inclined to minimise the significance of the Hurrians in Palestine and Egypt still admits that 'the Hyksos were composed of several disparate groups. They were not simply Semites or Hurrians but definitely

3. H. Goldman; A Note on Two Painted Sperds from Tarsus with Representations of Birds, BASOR, 76, 1939, pp. 2-5.
4. Schaeffer; Stratigraphie Comparée..., p. 27, fig. 63 and from the Caucasus, ibidem, pp. 430, 433, figs. 232, 233, 21 and 30.
a conglomeration of Semites and Hurrians with an admixture
of other strains which defy identification for the present! This conclusion is wholly in agreement with the archaeological
evidence. The Hurrians were a much less significant
element in Palestine than has lately been supposed.

The Hurrians until a few years ago were barely known
through the mention of their peculiar proper names in
cuneiform texts from Mesopotamia where they were associated
with the kingdom of Mitanni in the north. They next emerged
in the 15th century in the documents of the old Hittite
capital at Boghaz-keui where they are seen to be not isolated
individuals but a definite ethnic element playing an important
part in the life of the Middle East from the vicinity
of Lake Van north-east of the Tigris, over to Syria and south-
wards.

The obscurity hitherto surrounding the Hurrians was
elucidated by certain tablets from Kirkuk in Iraq and by
the discoveries of Chiera and Speiser at Yorgam Tepe, ancient
Nuzu, 100 miles north of Baghdad. There certain documents concerning life in a Hurrian community in the 15th century
were found literally in thousands and published in five volumes. Hurrian tablets are found among the Mari texts and from Syria itself comes the evidence from Has Shamra
where Hurrian is found in vocabularies and complete texts
and notably in the nomenclature in the administrative texts
while it even intrudes itself into the longer Semitic texts
in single words and variant orthography, especially in the

5. Syria I, 1929, no. 4, 20, 22, 31, 35, 46. Gordon, 50 (a Hurrian list of gods), Gordon, 22, 106. The longest text which is possibly Hurrian is Gordon, 50, first published by Virolleaud under the title 'Proclamation de Seleg, Chef des Cinq Peuples', and taken as a historical text, Virolleaud, Syria XV, 1934, pp. 147-154.
sibilant consonants. in the light of this increased knowledge of the names we can better appraise the evidence of the names of non-Semitic in the Amarna Tablets and the similar tablets from Tannan in the same period. Götze has investigated the architecture and glyptic art ascribed by U.G. Hogarth to the 'Kings of the Hittites' in north Syria and upper Mesopotamia, notably at Tell Halaf, and has demonstrated it to be really Hurrian. De Vaux has listed documents in Akkadian where Hurrian glosses betray the racial character of the writers. In the Amarna Tablets we naturally expect such glosses in the correspondence of the king of Matanni. The correspondence from Qatna, east of the Orontes, whose chief Akizzi bore a Hurrian name, yields more such glosses, thus corroborating the evidence of the texts found on the site itself where the donors in certain temple-inventories bear Hurrian names. From Tunip comes another text with Hurrian glosses. To this list must be added the non-Semitic names in Palestine in the Tannan Tablets, the Amarna Tablets and the names Uriah and Araunan at Jerusalem in the time of David.

Thus we gain a picture of the distribution of the Hurrian race from northern Mesopotamia to north Syria and Southwards to Palestine. As to the rôle they may have played in the Hyksos invasion we cannot particularize. Noting the fact that the Egyptian counter-attack after the expulsion of the Hyksos was pushed as far north as the Euphrates, Götze would argue for a Hurrian empire in the time of the Hyksos or about the time

2. Götze; Usener, Hurriter und Assyrier, pp. 80 ff.
3. D.G. Hogarth; The Kings of the Hittites, 1926.
8. Kn, 59, 11, 8, 9, 11.
9. Conveniently listed by O'Cullaghan; Aram Ninaraim, pp. 59-60.
10. These may be one and the same name, probably the Hurrian title swir-ni, found in the text Sharrat texts.
11. Götze; op. cit., pp. 32 ff. I. Geib, too, posits a Hurrian migration about 1700 B.C. from Lake Van Westwards into Anatolia and Syria and Southwards through Palestine to Egypt, Hurrians and Subarians, 1944, p. 70.
was in Upper Mesopotamia in the region later known as Mitanni or Manigalbat. The material evidence, however, as has been pointed out, is not sufficient or conclusive and the linguistic and onomastic evidence just cited is at the earliest two centuries after the expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt when the political relationship between Egypt and Mitanni was such as to encourage the free passage of Hurrians through Palestine. These documents, however, clearly indicate that the Hurrian element is more sparsely represented as we move Southwards.

In the Sneonem tablets from the 14th century, no hurrian names have been found, clear evidence of a mixed race but not a single Hurrian name, while in the Taanach texts, though hurrian names are attested, it is Semitic names which predominate. There are, indeed, many considerations which prevent us from concluding forthwith that the non-Semitic peoples named in the Amarna and Taanach texts were necessarily either survivors of the Hyksos or wholly Hurrian.

In his vital study of the names on the administrative texts from Has Shamra, noth has demonstrated that the greatest proportion of Hurrian names occur in texts from the immediate vicinity of the palace. Such names constitute only one eighth of the whole nomenclature of the Has Shamra texts, a fact which is somewhat surprising considering the settlement of Hurrians in northern Mesopotamia particularly in the kingdom of Mitanni and the abundant evidence of Hurrian as obviously one of the official languages at Has Shamra. It is further indicated by noth that at least one of the kings at Ugarit at this period bore a non-Hurrian name. This is Aiqmadd who is named in a colophon to certain mythological texts and in correspondence with Subilaliuma. The name has been variously explained.

2. noth; Die syrisch-palästinische Bevölkerung... p. 66.
3. ibidem; pp. 55 ff.
Dossin takes it as purely Amorite. Albright takes it as a form of Ni-iq-me-das and regards it as Hittite. Hrozny, on the other hand, equates it with Niqme-Mad which occurs as the name of an Ionian king. Whatever the explanation may be, the opinion of Hrozny is valuable that qadm is neither Semitic nor Hurrian nor Hittite but Ionian, being the local form of Niqme-Mad. Thus it appears that not even the ruling caste at Ras Shamra was purely Hurrian. This, however, may only be true in the 14th century, qadm appearing in a certain letter as a vassal of the Hittite king Subuiliuma who might very well have changed the succession in his own interests, though the contemporary evidence of Rib-addi of Byblos in the Amarna Tablets gives no such indication in reporting on events in Ugarit in his time. The facts thus seem to suggest that the Hurrian element in Syria was limited.

The same is true of the evidence of the Amarna Tablets. Here, where only the chiefs are named, we might have expected a greater proportion of Hurrian names but in effect in the 46 proper names which occur in the tablets from Palestine 20 are beyond doubt Semitic or of the rest only a fraction are possibly Hurrian, the others being either doubtful or non-Semitic but not Hurrian. Citing the authority of Sundwall, Noth classifies many of the non-Semitic names at Ras Shamra as Anatolian or specifically west-Anatolian, a feasible view considering the geographical position of Ugarit and her cultural affinities with the Aegean so well attested in her golden age. We have to reckon, of course, with the possibility of previous Hurrian penetration or Anatolia but even so, there does seem to be a west-Anatolian element in the population of.

5. Noth: Die syrisch-palästinische Bevölkerung... p. 61.
Kas Shama which is clearly distinguished in nomenclature from the Hurrians. The same situation is depicted in the Amarna Tablets. Of the 26 apparently non-Semitic names of persons in Palestine no less than 10 contain essential elements of proper names noted by van Soldt as peculiar to west Anatolia. Of the remaining 16 names it is far from certain that they are all Hurrian. Bearing in mind that in the Amarna Tablets only the chiefs are named and admitting the probability that such documents are not such a fair index of the native population as the conscription list from Kas Shama which has no parallel in Palestine, our conclusion must be that the Hurrian element in the population of Palestine in the Amarna period was comparatively slight. There is a danger, however, in taking the Amarna Tablets and the Kas Shama documents as an index to the situation in western Asia in the Hyksos period two centuries before. We must allow for the changes wrought by the Egyptian reaction under the militant Pharaohs of the XVIIIth Dynasty. The Megiddo campaign of Thothmes III in 1479 B.C. must have reduced in numbers and certainly in political significance such remnants of the Hyksos and their northern adherents as remained in the land. We have furthermore to reckon with the possibility that through intermarriage the Hurrians underwent a certain Semitization, especially in their names. Again it is quite possible that the non-Semitic, non-Hurrian element may have been introduced as mercenaries by the Egyptians after their expulsion of the Hyksos from the Delta. This view, indeed, is supported by considerable archaeological evidence.

The pottery of the post-Hyksos period shows an increasing influx of Aegean wares notably from Cyprus and Mycenae via

the coast of Anatolia. We cannot, it is true, postulate a racial influx in corresponding proportion but it is known that from the Amarna period onwards the Pharaohs of the XVIIIth Dynasty used mercenaries from among the 'Sea-Peoples'; the Lakkû, Dânunu, Sarmanu and others. Of the presence of such elements in the land as early as the 15th century at least we have some evidence in the nitherto strange practice of cremation which is attested at Atchana and Hama in Syria and at Jericho and Tell Seiit Mirsim in Palestine. Schaeffer suggests that the practice may be associated with a racial influx to Palestine and Syria about this time but the paucity of the evidence suggests that it is not to be associated with an invading race but garrisons of foreign mercenaries planted at the various sites above mentioned. At Atchana it is associated with Mycenaean pottery or at least a local imitation of that ware. It is here submitted that the chiefs of Palestine in the Amarna Tablets were mercenary commandants of Egypt drawn from various quarters of the Levant and were not at all representative of the native population.

It has been suggested that the Hurites of the Old Testament were actually Hurrians. The conventional solution of the problem of the Hurites had been to take the term as an appellative from נֵּר, a cave. Then with the emergence of the Hurrians as a racial element in Syria, Winckler connected the Hurites with them and the position is generally accepted today. It is further thought that Nînâ, the Egyptian designation for Palestine from the time of the XVIIIth Dynasty is likewise related to the Hurrians as the dominant race in Palestine. The evidence, however, is scanty. Such evidence as we have of the Hurrians in Palestine is comparatively late in the 2nd millennium and is limited, while the Hurites were apparently confined in historical times to Edom. This, however, may reflect

2. Genesis xiv, 6, xxvi, 20, 21, 22, 29-30. Deuteronomy ii, 12, 22.
later conditions, the Morites of Edom possibly being political refugees from Palestine after the rise of the XVIIIth Dynasty leaving behind them a mere remnant which would soon be absorbed in the Semitic population of Palestine. In this case we should expect the civilization of Edom to show Hurrian traces if the Morites and Hurrians were identical. So far such evidence is not forthcoming. Glück has noted a lacuna in the sedentary civilization of Transjordan between the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age and the eve of the Iron Age. Recently, indeed, this finding was modified by the discovery of a family tomb with Middle Bronze pottery at Amman, but this is so far an isolated case and is not from Edom but from Ammon. The social constitution of Edom under her "dukes" seems to refer to an order rather different from that in Palestine. In this connection it is noteworthy that the title occurs in a text from Ras Shamra where it applies to the chiefs of various peoples on the Anatolian marches, so that it may be evidence for the Hurrians in Edom and even in Judah. Another link between these localities and the Hurrians may be the Kenizzites whose name is a well-known Hurrian type. The Kenizzites who were metal-workers may have been immigrants from the north who were partly responsible for the industrial development in Palestine at the turn of the 3rd-2nd millennium or later between the 17th and 18th centuries. In the latter case they might be associated

3. Zechariah xii, 5-6, does speak of Judah, however, marches with Edom and had certain common racial elements in the Kenites, Kenizzites and Jerahmeelites.
4. 9/9
5. This text, however, is very much in dispute. Virolleaud who published it under the title Proclamation de Seleg, Chef des Cinq Peuples, regarded it as an admixture of Hurrian and Semitic, and terms it ukritische, die sprache von Ras Shamra, die Grundlage der Entzifferung, 1938. W.ster; A new Asianic Language, Orient and Occident, 1936.
with the Myksos towards the end of the period. Here we note that in the genealogies of the Chronicles there is reference to Hur as the father of Caleb, the conqueror of Hebron and the Southern Highlands of Judah. Hur is also related to Sphrathah, the eponymous ancestor of the people of Bethlehem. With Hur is associated Othniel the son of Kenaz, the brother of Caleb and the ancestor of the Kenizzites whose name suggests Hurrian affinities. Again, it is noteworthy that Othniel and the Kenizzites are associated with Edom.

There is the further possibility that the Hurrians in Palestine may be denoted by some other term. In the narrative of Dinah and Shechem, for instance, Speiser notes that the Septuagint version reads Morite for Hivite in v.2. Indeed, the majority of passages where Hivite is read without question are the familiar reiterated lists of the peoples of pre-Israelite Palestine and in the passages which treat of the Hivites independently it is significant that only one as read without question as Hivite in both the Masoretic text and the Septuagint. That passage concerns the father-in-law of Jaaau who is immediately associated with Edom and the Morites.

Another people in pre-Israelite Palestine, the Perizzites, are taken as Hurrian. This conclusion is supported by a reference in the Amarna Tablets to a certain Perizzi as a delegate of Kushratta or Mitanni. In the hill-country between Shechem and Bethnanan, which is indicated in the Old Testament as the habitat of the Perizzites, there are, though not apparently

1. Chronicles ii,50.
3. Judges i,12.
6. Genesis xxxiv,2; xxxvi,2,20; Joshua ix,7 (13 in LXX where 'Hittite' is read, cf. Gen.xxvi,34 where 'Hittite' applied to Esau's father-in-law in MT is read 'Hivite' in LXX and in the Samaritan Pentateuch); Joshua xi,3; Judges iii,3.
7. Kitto 1,27
8. Genesis xxxiv,30; Joshua xvii,14-16.
generally recognized, clear traces of Hurrian influence. At Snechem Abel notes the palace-fort of the Middle Bronze Age the entrance of which reproduces that of the Hurrian 'bit hillani' or Tell Halaf, Zenjirli and other northern sites. Recent excavation by De Vaux and Steve at Tell el Far'a North-East of ancient Snechem revealed that this strategically important site was occupied in the Middle Bronze Age. The typical scarped fortification associated with the Hyksos was not, indeed, found but the weapons and equipment from the tomb of a warrior show definite affinities with the Hyksos remains at Has Shamra, Tell el Ajul and Jericho. A notable feature is a bronze girdle which the archaeologists have no hesitation in tracing to the region of the Caucasus. Thus the pre-Israelite population of this district were probably partly Hurrian as the name Perizzite would suggest.

In the frequently-repeated lists of peoples encountered by the Hebrews in their invasion of Palestine as well as in certain variant readings of Hivites-Morites in the Septuagint and Massoretic Texts it is significant that the Hittites play a regular part. There is, however, no record of the historical Hittites of Anatolia at any time occupying or even extending their political influence as far South as Palestine. Indeed, in the days of Subiluliuma in the early 14th century when the Hittite empire was most aggressive in this direction, the king confined himself to weakening the power of Egypt in her northern provinces by intrigue rather than by open force of arms and there is no evidence that his influence extended beyond Syria. Forrer has adduced the evidence of certain

1. Abel, Géographie de la Palestine, 1938, I, p. 25, note.
4. Especially Joshua xi, 3.
Hittite texts of the period of Mursili II to account for an Anatolian community in Palestine in the middle of the 14th century as fugitives from a district in Asia Minor recently annexed to the Hittite Empire. Even admitting Forrer's case, however, there seems no historical event or conditions which would account for the Hittites of Anatolia as more than a negligible factor in the population of Palestine and would still fail to explain the presence of Hittites at Hebron in the time of Abraham. Maisler's view is that the Hittites were an element in the folk-movement into Palestine associated with the Philistines and the 'Sea-Peoples' in the first decade of the 12th century. It was the 'Sea-Peoples', however, as Böhl points out, who, far from allying themselves with the Hittites, actually dealt the Hittite empire its death-blow. Hittites may have come with the 'Sea-Peoples' as mercenaries as the defeated Philistines found employment in David's bodyguard but this is hardly likely since the 'Sea-Peoples' came not as a regular, organized army but as a whole people on migration. In any case an influx of Hittites at this time would still fail to account for their presence in Palestine at the time of the Hebrew invasion in the time of Joshua and the part which is assigned to them as an ethnic element in the land in the patriarchal narratives.

Further evidence is adduced by Garstang in the form of certain seals on jar handles from Uphel and weapons of Hittite design found before the altar of a temple of Bethshan dating to the 14th century and taken by Garstang to indicate 'a big movement, almost an organized invasion' by 'Knabiru-Hittite' mercenaries! It can hardly be said that this amounts to an invasion or occupation and in any case post-dates the time of Abraham. Garstang himself suggests the solution of the problem of the Hittite objects at Bethshan in hinting at the

   The Heritage of Solomon, 1934, pp. 224-225.
presence of mercenaries in the land. In the inscriptions of Ramses II describing the battle of Qadesh on the Orontes sever-al contingents are named whom we know by other Egyptian inscriptions as the 'Sea-Peoples'. They fight as mercenaries of the Hittites as well as the Egyptians. In the Amarna Tablets they appear again in correspondence of Rib-Addi of Byblos as mercenaries of this loyal vassal helping him to hold the town in the interests of Egypt. An examination of the non-Semitic names in the Amarna Tablets reveals many elements which are paralleled in the West-Anatolian names in the lists of Sundwall, so that here we have probably the condottieri who were supposed to police the land for Egypt. The provenance of those people, their change of Hittite for Egyptian service, or perhaps their spoiling of the Hittite enemies of their Egyptian masters might easily account for the scanty deposits of Hittite objects in Palestine which in their entirety do not nearly match in extent the collection of African and Indian weapons and curiosities which the writer has seen in the billet of a certain sergeant of police during the British Mandate. Scientific archaeology too seldom allows for such individual whims as that of the collector of trophies.

A more probable explanation of the use of the term 'Hittite' in patriarchal Palestine is that it is applied loosely to denote a race from the north beyond the sphere of Amorite occupation in Central Syria. The name seems to be used in this vague sense in 1 Kings x, 29, to denote the peoples who lived in the vicinity of the land-bridge between Mesopotamia and Syria who were loosely federated with the Hittites at the height of their power, perhaps originally related to them in the remote past, and sharing with them

1. Kn. 123.
De V. ux; ZAW ivi, 1938, p. 230. 'simply non-Semitic!'
certain fundamental elements of culture. Thus the term Hittite in the Old Testament seems a geographic rather than an ethnic one in which sense it was used also by the Assyrians in the 8th century to denote Syria and Palestine as well as Anatolia without any particular ethnic application. In the Old Testament usage, however, there is probably some ethnic significance in the designation which covers the identity of the non-Semitic Hurrians in the population of Palestine familiar to us in the Amarna Tablets. In this connection it is not without significance that the Hittites are located at Hébron, a place whose foundation tradition connects closely with the foundation of Zoan-Tanis in the Delta which has been identified with Avaris the Hyksos capital. In Genesis 49:3, the Hittites are referred to as the 'daughters of Nahor' from which union were descended the 'dukes of Moab' where biblical tradition is unanimous in locating the Horites. This seems to corroborate the theory that in the Hittites the Old Testament refers loosely to 'Northerners', specifically Hurrians or related peoples from north Syria and Upper Mesopotamia. The names Abai-Khina and Uriah and Araunah in Jerusalem are perhaps the strongest evidence for Hurrians in Palestine. Of those

1. Böhl makes the alternative suggestion that at the fall of the Egyptian-Asiatic empire of the Hyksos, Egypt from the South and the Hittites from Anatolia asserted their right to succeed to the position of the Hurrians, thus being the beginning of the rivalry between the Egyptians and the Hittites which was to last until the end of the 13th century. Böhl would associate this southern trend of the Hittites with Tudhalia II whom he identifies with 'Ridai, king of nations' in Genesis xiv.3, as Zeitalter of Abram, pp. 17 ff. At first sight this theory is attractive though Böhl admits it rests on scanty evidence. Tudhalia II, however, was contemporary with Thutmès III under whom Egyptian power was firmly established in Palestine. In the numerous Egyptian inscriptions of the AVIIIth Dynasty there is no hint of conflict with the Hittites in Palestine and archaeology has discovered no traces of their presence in the land at this time. Indeed, even before the time of Thutmès III, Thutmès I seems to have penetrated to the Upper Euphrates, the 'inverted river' of the Tomyos inscription, breasted ARE II, § 76, 73, as seems to be indicated by the inscriptions of Ahmes, the son of Akhen, breasted ARE II, § 79, and Ineni, breasted ARE II, § 101, where Amarin is named as the region where Thutmès set up a boundary stone as the limit of his empire.

2. Genesis xiii, 22.
4. Genesis xxxvii, 1 ff.
names the first indicates the worship of the Hurrian goddess Kniba while the second two names probably reflect the Hurrian title *wir-ni*, meaning 'chief' which is attested in the Ras Shamra texts. Thus in his indictment of Jerusalem, 'Thy father was an Amorite, and thy mother a Hittite; Ezekiel seems to be retaining the term Hittite in its traditional sense using it in a wide geographical and cultural application as the Celtic population of Scotland, Ireland and Wales are often called English.

Another hint of the northern influx to Palestine seems to be given in the blessing of Japheth in Genesis ix, 27 (J), 'God shall enlarge Japheth and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem! The concluding clause 'and Canaan shall be his servant', seems to suggest that no mere local expansion is indicated but rather the occupation or at least the political domination of Palestine.

Thus our position is that such documentary and material evidence as we have for the mixture of Semitic and non-Semitic races in Palestine is generally later than the Hyksos occupation or at least towards the end of that period. It is natural to connect those conditions with the Hyksos Invasion yet we must beware of the fallacy of arguing post hoc ergo propter hoc, the more especially as there is evidence for a non-Semitic influx into Palestine later than the Hyksos period. The material evidence of the Hyksos period does not seem conclusive proof of the racial affinity or provenience of the invaders whose nomenclature suggests that they were a mixed race. Certain names, however, seem Hurrian though this is not beyond dispute. The presence of Hurrians among the

2. J. A. Montgomery; AOS 1v, lv, p. 94, note.
3. Ezekiel xvi, 3.
4. Walling; Mykssos Herrschaft und Mykssos Kultur, ZDPV ix, 1, p. 106.
nyksos, however, seems to be confirmed by the evidence of scarab designs whereby Stock claims to be able to distinguish between two strata of nyksos rulers, the earlier Semitic and the later non-Semitic from north Mesopotamia. The Hurrians, then, were at the most but one element among the nyksos and though latterly they may have occupied occupied places of trust in fortresses on the nyksos life-line such as Tell el Ajjul, Tell Far'a and Tell ed Dweir in Palestine, they were never such a dominant ethnic element in the land that Palestine should be called specifically 'the Hurrian land'.

One group of peculiar significance in the racial development of Palestine in the 2nd millennium is the Khabiru. They are named in the Amarna correspondence in the letters of Abdi-Khiba of Jerusalem and there is more frequent mention of a people of similar nature and habits in Syria. These are entitled SA GAZ in ideogram which may be read in certain passages as 'Habatu', 'brigands'. The SA GAZ like the Khabiru of Abdi-Khiba's correspondence are notorious plunderers and mercenaries who sell their swords without scruple to the conflicting elements in the land. In the North, however, the SA GAZ apparently remain content with mercenary service whereas in the South they seem to seek a home. This, however, is probably due not so much to any racial or social difference between the Khabiru and the SA GAZ as to the respective political conditions of Palestine and Syria. In the mountains of Syria more remote from Egyptian control there was a fairly solid Amorite confederacy under Abdi-Ashirta and his sons Pubahlu and Aziru who seem to have cherished definitely nationalist aspirations. In the South there was no such political bloc to resist either the authority of Egypt or the

1. Stock; Studien zur Geschichte und Archäologie...,
2. Kharu oder die ägyptischen Inschriften aus der XVIII. Dynastie
3. K.A. 286, 56; 288, 38; 290, 13, 24 etc.
4. K.A. 58, 60, 61 ff.
6. Kn. 107, 27; 147, 68; 149, 36.
penetration and settlement of such as the knabiru.

There seems no longer any ground for doubt that the SA GAZ and the knabiru were but different groups of the same people. The cuneiform tablets from the archives of the old Hittite capital of Boghaz-Keui equate them, referring to the 'gods of the knabiru' in syllabic cuneiform and to the 'gods of the SA GAZ' in ideogram. The same identification is suggested by evidence from Ras Shamra. In certain administrative texts referring to various districts in the kingdom of Ugarit, probably in the 15th-14th centuries, we find a certain district which apparently had four sub-districts. These are noted in the local alphabetic cuneiform and language and in Akkadian syllabary and ideogram in which we find that must correspond to alu amelut SA GAZ. Here it will be noted that corresponds to knabiru of the Boghaz-Keui texts. Thus the equation knabiru- is advanced one step nearer.

The knabiru, thus well-attested in the land in the middle of the 2nd millennium, have been equated with the biblical Hebrews and it must be admitted that etymologically knabiru might correspond to Again in the cuneiform texts relating to the knabiru collected by Calera at auzu many of the subjects have Semitic names. It is true that there are many names which are not Semitic but these might well be adopted by Semites in the land where they sojourned, a phenomenon not uncommon in our own days. Hence on grounds of names alone it is not possible to deny that the knabiru of the auzu texts were mainly Semitic.

2. At the same time it is indicated that knabiru is not to be derived, as Norme suggests, from to bind, RHR, cxvii, 1938, pp. 117 ff. Similarly if we are to equate 'prm' and the latter cannot be derived from to cross, as the assumes. H. R. Rowley, Ras Shamra and the Knabiru Question, REV, 1940, pp. 90-94.
3. It is well known that in Akkadian for the West-Semitic while in the Ras Shamra texts and are often interchangable, cf. Arabic Bulus = Paulus.
On the examination of evidence from cuneiform texts from southern and northern Mesopotamia, from Anatolia, north Syria and from the Amarna Tablets and hieroglyphic monuments and papyri of Egypt we find that the Khubiru or 'Apiru are widely distributed both geographically and in point of time. The records of Ur mention them in the 21st century, the Hittites refer to them in the 14th, they appear in the Amarna Tablets, the stele of Seti I (1313-1292 B.C.) at Hattusas, in Egyptian papyri from the time of Seti I to that of Ramesses III (1198-1167 B.C.) and, again, in an inscription from the time of Ramesses IV (1167-1151 B.C.) in the Wadi Hammamat. Thus the term Khubiru is widely diffused and as such can hardly refer to one homogeneous people, the descendants of Eber, as J.W. Jack has contended.

Speiser cites the evidence of the Nuzu texts to demonstrate that the Khubiru were a class rather than a race. They are found there in the capacity of mercenaries, of servants, even of slaves. In Mesopotamia they had special bye-laws to secure their rights and at Nuzu they had an overseer to maintain their privileges. At Nuzu and later in Egypt they were mainly menials. The Hittites used them as mercenaries. In Syria they were employed by the aspiring chiefs of the Amorites and in Palestine they apparently acted on their own initiative.

In the Khubiru we are apparently dealing with a people landless and of loose social structure, infiltrating into the settled land in search of livelihood, land or plunder. This group, a class rather than a race, would in the general course of nature be recruited from the Semitic tribes of the desert hinterland and probably did include many if not most of the ancestors of the historical Hebrews. The term Khubiru, however,

1. Harris Papyrus 500 (Seti I), Leyden Papyrus 348 (Ramesses II), Great Harris Papyrus 31,8 (Ramesses III), Speiser; Egyptian Movement... p. 58.
2. Jouyat-Montet; Inscriptions... du Wadi Hammamat, 12,17 (Rameses IV)
is obviously far wider in application than the particular ethnic group which we term Hebrews, a fact which was indeed recognized by the Hebrews themselves who admit six generations of collateral lines descended from the eponymous ancestor Eber, extending deep into Arabia. The inhabitants of the settled land at the time of Joshua's invasion the Hebrews would be just another wave of the Khabiru who were a permanent scourge in the second half of the 2nd millennium after the break-up of the empire of the Hyksos and the decline of the XVIIIth Egyptian Dynasty under Amenhotep III and his successors. It is possible that this term was given in opprobrium and later became the designation of the race which invaded Palestine from the desert, gathered up into itself kindred elements already in the land and eventually emerged as the Hebrew nation in the sovereign state of Palestine.

1. Genesis xi, 16-26 (F).
2. Genesis x, 26 (J). De Vaux; Les Patriarches hébreux et les découvertes modernes, KB, lv, 1948, p. 344.
The Age of the Patriarchs.

The traditional method of determining the date of the Hebrew patriarchs was to reckon on the basis of the statement in 1 Kings vi,1 that the building of the Temple in Solomon's fourth year (967 B.C.) took place 480 years after the Exodus which was thus dated in 1447 B.C. in the reign of Amenhotep II (1423-1420 B.C.). In Exodus xii,40 (P) it is stated that the sojourn of the Hebrews in Egypt was 430 years. Thus the descent of Jacob and his sons would fall in 1877 B.C. in the time of the XIIth Dynasty before the Hyksos invasion. By reckoning on the basis of statements of the length of the life of Jacob, 130 years; of the age of Isaac at the birth of Jacob, 60 years; of Abraham at the birth of Isaac, 100 years one may arrive at the date c.2160 B.C. for the birth of Abraham. By way of corroboration Genesis xiv was generally cited where Abraham is associated with Amraphel of Shinar who was identified with Hammurabi of Babylon.

Here, however, difficulties are encountered. Hammurabi of Babylon proves to have flourished much later than was once supposed. On the evidence of the historical tablets from Mari he is shown to have been the younger contemporary of Shamsi-Adad I of Assur. The date of Shamsi-Adad has been considerably lowered from the end of the 3rd millennium to the 18th century on the double

2. Genesis xxv,26 b (P).
evidence of astronomical reckoning based on observations of the Venus planet recorded in Babylon and a new and almost complete king-list from Knorsabad. Sidney Smith, who bases his reckoning on the astronomical evidence corroborated by archaeological evidence of the general cultural development of north Syria and Upper Mesopotamia, concludes that Hammurabi ruled from 1792 to 1750 B.C. In this he is supported by the findings of Schaeffer at Ras Shamra. The Knorsabad, king-list, however, suggests to Poebel that the reign of Shamsi-Adad was from 1726 to 1674 B.C. which is the conclusion, with slight modifications, of Weidner who dates Shamsi-Adad from 1729 to 1697 B.C. and Hammurabi from 1728 to 1686 B.C. Here, however, there is a difficulty. The Knorsabad list though generally well-preserved is damaged in such a way as to give no indication of the length of the reigns of two of the kings Assur-rabi I and Assur-nadin-ahhi I. Poebel arrives at his conclusion by postulating that these two kings and their predecessor between them did not reign a whole year, a fairly large assumption which, however, in the state of the evidence cannot be controlled. It is just this lacuna that constitutes the difference of 80 years in the dating of Weidner and Poebel and that of Smith on independent evidence. Thus even if we accept the

4. Schaeffer, La Stratigraphie Comparée..., pp. 30-34.
6. Weidner, AkO, XIV, 1944, pp. 362-369, cf. E. Cavaignac, RAγ, XL, 1945-1946, pp. 17-18, who takes the date of Hammurabi's death as between 1635 and 1677 B.C., probably nearer the latter date. Böhl suggests the period 1702-1662 B.C. with the qualification that the reign of Hammurabi fell for the most part after rather than before 1700 B.C., King Hammurabi in the Setting of his Time, 1946, p. 12.
view that Genesis xiv is historically reliable and make the questionable equation Amraphel-Hammurabi we cannot arrive at a date in the 3rd millennium which would correspond with the data of P and the statement in I Kings vi,1.

As far as there is any internal evidence in the Old Testament for the date of Abraham, Genesis xiv seems at first sight to offer us the plainest clue. Of the four kings of the north and east, Amraphel of Shinar is generally identified with Hammurabi of Babylon. Arioch of Ellasar is not so easily identified but on the assumption that Ellasar was Larsa he has been identified with Rim-Sin the king of that town who was contemporary with Hammurabi of Babylon. Tidal, 'King of nations' is thought to be Tushratta, King of the Hittites. Chedorlaomer, or Kudur-Lagamar, King of Elam is unknown but the name is of true Elamite type and incorporates the name of the Elamite goddess Lagamar. Certain scholars still maintain that this is a genuine historical document from which it is possible to date Abraham according to the dates of the foreign kings and in a recent study Böhl seriously endeavours to work out the problem on this assumption. However, even if we do accept the passage as referring to actual events and historical personalities it is full of difficulties. There is no record of a king Arioch of Larsa which is a doubtful identification with Ellasar. Böhl, in fact, had already suggested that it might be identified with Til-Assur on the Upper Euphrates and De Vaux

2. Böhl; Das Zeitalter Abrahams, 1930, p. 10.
suggests Ilanzura mentioned in a Hittite text between Carchemish and Harran, the name Arriluka now known from the Mari texts as a son of Zimri-lim, the king of that city. Chedorlaomer, whose name does not actually occur in this form, is taken by Albright to indicate the Amurite king Kudur-namunte who is mentioned in the Spartoli texts as a son of Zimri-lim. The name Arioch suggests to the name Arriwufcu now *J3.uttA4 iru4 to the name Kudur-mabug, an Amorite who overran Lower Mesopotamia and Amurru assumed there an Amurite name, calling himself in addition 'Father of Ammurru,' a title which might refer to suzerainty over the west. His date, however, was earlier than the time of Hammurabi. Here the Kudur element in the name and the fact that the name is Amurite in type are the only links with Chedorlaomer and it is obvious that 'kuaur' meaning 'servant' or 'devotee' is no more distinctive in Amurite than 'ebed would be in Semitic proper names. Tidal was identified by Böhl with Tudhaliyas II, c.1530-1480 B.C., the Hittite king who ruled in the 14th century, but he has since revised this view and now regards Tidal as Tudhaliyas I, c.1720-1680 B.C. The phonetic correspondence Amraphel-Mammurabi, if not quite impossible, is highly improbable and even if we do make this identification we now know from the Mari texts that there were at least three Hammurabis roughly contemporary. Shinar, too, may be

2. Böhl; King Hammurabi in the Setting... p. 17.
6. Böhl; King Hammurabi in the Setting... p. 17.
the Jebel Sanjar, ancient Sangar to the west of Mosul, just as well as Southern Mesopotamia. Böhl suggests that Amraphel may be the Amut-pi-elu mentioned in the Mari texts as king of Qatana, possibly Qatna in Syria. The identification with Hammurabi or Babylon he quite rejects. 2

Such pre-occupation with the identification of those kings who, even if they do suggest the names of historical personalities, are difficult and indeed impossible to synchronise, seems particularly pointless while there is so much in Genesis xiv to suggest that this is anything but a record of actual historical events.

The combination of Amamite, Mesopotamian and Mittite kings and their expedition so far west has hardly the ring of truth, nor, with the possible exception of Jericho which is un-named in the passage, was there any town in the north or south of the Dead Sea which might have been at all worthy of their arms. Actually we read of the smiting of the Kephaim, Zuzim and Amim in Transjordan, none of which we can treat seriously as historical races. The towns, too, Sodom and Gomorrah, belong rather to folklore than history, the story of their destruction in Genesis xix being an amplification of the theme which occasionally comes to light in the prophets. Of the other towns Nyberg has shown clearly 3 that Admah and Zeboim were but doubles of Sodom and Gomorrah and were like them associated with summary destruction in local by-word. The names of the local kings too have an artificial appearance, Seraf and Birma, 'In Evil' and 'In Wickedness', the names of the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah, are too

2. Böhl, King Hammurabi in the Setting..., p. 18.
appropriate to be genuine.

The historical interpretation has recently been defended by we Vaux who emphasises the significance of the localities mentioned as stages on trade-routes between Mesopotamia and the west. Glueck again would closely associate the episode with the collapse of the early Bronze civilization for which he has found ceramic evidence in Transjordan. It is quite conceivable that there is a reminiscence in Genesis xiv or such an invasion which, however, we would separate from the story of Abraham. The story of the pursuit of the foreign kings to the north and the recovery of the captives and the spoils may be an echo of the retreat of the Hyksos after their expulsion from Egypt in 1550 and the fall of Sharuhen, their fortress in the Negeb. Or again the whole episode may be the exaggeration of an unsuccessful slave-trading ghazzu. Some such historical nucleus seems possible but the combined operation of the kings of the Hittites, of Kiam and other Mesopotamian peoples against five miserable Palestinian towns is ludicrous and Abraham's successful counter-attack with 300 men even more so. The patriarch who had to save his own skin by abandoning his wife to the lust of Abimelech of Gezer would be but a sorry champion of Canaan against the armed alliance of the great kings of the Hittites and the East.

Actually the passage has long been recognised as standing apart from the other sources of the Book of Genesis and has been taken by Nyberg as a production of the early monarchical period and particularly of the time of David being specifically composed.

1. The names may, of course, be editorial substitutions. Of the others Bēla is found as the name of a king of Ammon, Genesis xxxvi, 32, but may also mean 'annihilation'. Nēmarabar may be a corruption or 'The name of his father' and Shinab a dissonant form of the same name rather than the theophoric 'Sin is his father'.


3. J. Glueck: The Other Side of the Jordan, lv40, pp. 144 f.


J. W. Vaux's judgment that the language of the passage indicates a genuine early source, far from establishing his contention for the historicity of the episode, actually corroborates the view of Nyberg. If the piece is ascribed to the reign of David it would still antedate in literary form most of the Pentateuch.
to authenticate his title to Jerusalem which is presumably the 
Salem of the passage. There are certain notable features 
which reflect the political events and conditions in the 
early monarchy. In v. 14 Sam is mentioned apparently as the 
northern limit of the land and Syberg supposes that the 
pursuit north of Damascus is a reflection of David's defeat 
of the Aramaean allies called in by the king of Ammon. 
Abraham's 
rescue of Lot the ancestor of Ammon and Moab may thus be 
viewed as a precedent for the protectorate which David 
apparently established over those regions in Transjordan.

These are, however, secondary themes. The chief object 
according to Syberg was the occupation of Jerusalem as a 
cult-centre and political capital. Here we must bear in mind 
the place which Hebron had occupied as a cult-centre in 
Judah hallowed by association with the patriarchs and partic­
ularly with Abraham. Here David had been king for seven years and here Absalom rallied the forces of revolt. It was therefore 
not lightly to be superseded as a political and religious 
centre. Hence we may discern a note of apologetic in Genesis 
xiv which tells how Abraham came from Hebron to pursue the 
foreign kings and on his return did not disdain to pay a tithe 
to Melchisedeq, the royal priest of the local god of Salem. There 
is no doubt that David's occupation of Jerusalem was a crit­
ical step in the history of the Hebrew people just as his 
reign marked a great constitutional development in the polity 
of the tribes. For very good reason David sought to represent 
this step as no innovation. Melchisedeq became the link between 
the past and the present.

1. Salem may be in the vicinity of Hebron or even Hebron itself. 
Hertzberg again attempts to show, on the basis of Christian and late 
Jewish tradition, that Salem or Genesis may be Tabor, JPOS 
VIII, 1928, pp. 174-179.
2. Syberg, Studien zum Religionskampf... AHW XXXV, 1930, p. 376.
3. II Sam. x. 6 ff.
4. II Sam. xi, 1-11.
5. II Sam. xv, 7 ff.
Melchisedek is represented as the royal priest of the pre-Israelite god of Jerusalem named in Genesis xiv as al 'Elyon. M. S. Ayberg adduces a certain amount of evidence - cut not, we think, sufficient - for a god 'Elyon as the god in question to whom he would ascribe the other names of Sedeq and Salem. Sedeq seems well attested as a divine name at Jerusalem, two or the pre-Israelite kings being named Melchisedeq and Adonisedeq. M. H. Rowley has made out a very strong case for the view suggested by Mowinckel that Sadoq was the priest of this cult, his name being a hypocoristicon of a theophoric compound with the divine name Sadoq or Sedeq. Widengren with Ayberg regards Sadoq as king as well as priest, the last priest-king of Jerusalem before the Hebrew occupation. His view is that David assumed the royal status of Sadoq confining him to priestly office. David, according to Widengren, adopted with the political office of Sadoq the royal ideology of Canaan. For both measures Genesis xiv was an authentication together with Psalm 110 which Widengren regards as a cultic oracle. Rowley agrees that Genesis xiv and Psalm 110 are closely associated in this way but prefers to regard Sadoq only as priest of the pre-Israelite cult at Jerusalem and not as a king. In his view Genesis xiv has as its primary object the justification of David's adoption of the cult and priest of the local sanctuary on the grounds of the precedent of Abraham's recognition of Melchisedeq by paying him a tithe.

1. The writer has suggested that Sadeq was the god of a healing cult at Jerusalem, possibly identical with Horon and symbolized by the brazen serpent. J. Gray, The Canaanite God Horon, JNES VIII, 1949, pp. 31-32.
4. G. Widengren, Psalm 110 och det sakrala kungakonot i Israel, UDA, 1947, pp. 21-22. Rowley regards it as inconceivable that David would have continued in any influential office the king whom he superseded. It is the opinion of the writer that Uriah and not Sadoq was the predecessor of David. His name is found as a title of honour Ewir-ni, probably Hurrian, at Haz Snamera and Qatna and the writer suggests that the marriage of David and Bathsheba was really a diplomatic alliance as is suggested by the fact that David's successor was Solomon.
If we may leave aside for the moment the various modifications of this view, we may say that it fairly explains the peculiarities of the passage in question which is so notoriously out of line with the rest of the patriarchal traditions. A historical nucleus there may be but that is probably more closely bound up with the traditions of Jerusalem than with the Hebrew patriarchs and may re-echo the ḫᵉḵ/iḏ of the sanctuary there in a form which we cannot recognise now that it has been torn out of its proper context and incorporated into Hebrew tradition. Thus we cannot regard the story of the invasion of the kings as having any bearing on the problem of the date of Abraham.

Their names do suggest great historical figures of the past but rather as racial types than as individuals. Tidal suggests Tudhaliaš, a name borne by at least five Hittite kings, Chedorlaomer suggests the power of Kiš, Arīôch though attested as the name Arriwuku, the son of the Amorite king of Mari in the 18th century is also Indo-Iranian and may typify the power of Mitanni in Upper Mesopotamia and Amraphel, with whatever we may equate the name indicates the Amorites. With this, which is the conclusion of Nyberg, we remain in agreement, refusing to particularize at all on the identity of the foreign kings.

A date at the end of the 3rd millennium for the period of Abraham would indubitably fit in very well with circumstances in the Near East at that time. The first movement of the Hebrew fathers Westwards to Palestine might then be associated as Dhorme, Lewy and Wright indicate, with the expansion of

5. J. E. Wright; Chronology of Palestinian Pottery in Middle Bronze I, BASOR, 93, 1938, p. 34.
the Amorites and kindred elements from the desert. These are known to have made inroads on the city-states of Southern Mesopotamia, bringing the Third Dynasty of Ur to an end in the beginning of the 2nd millennium; Abraham likewise is associated by long-standing Scriptural tradition with Ur. The Amorites at the same time or somewhat later invaded Palestine and Egypt; Abraham's migration follows the same line, though it is only the J source that locates him actually in Egypt. The Amorites apparently brought Arab elements in their train to judge from the names in the lists given by Dunorme from Mesopotamian documents of the period and those in the Egyptian execratory texts of Sethe and Rosener. In the latter the plurality of chiefs in the same locality suggests the position of Abraham and Isaac as clients or as rivals of Abimelech of Gerar. In the light of such evidence, though not in itself conclusive, it does seem conceivable that the period of Amorite penetration witnessed the arrival in Palestine of the Hebrew patriarchs. The archaeological evidence, however, indicates a long period of unrest with repeated phases of racial influx into Syria and Palestine from c.2400 B.C. to the 19th century, so that the phrase 'Amorite invasion' must remain hopelessly vague.

reckoning again on the basis of the statement in 1 Kings vi,1 that the foundation of the Temple took place 480 years after the Exodus and that of Exodus xii,40 (P) that the sojourn in Egypt was 430 years the activity of Jacob and his sons would fall in the same period when Palestine and Syria were occupied mainly by a Semitic or Amorite population. The information we have of Syria and Palestine at this

1. Genesis xii,10-20. This looks suspiciously like a doublet of the narrative of the abduction of Sarah by Abimelech or Gerar, Genesis xx,1-10.
time, in the Tale of Sinuhe and the Exoratory Texts, does indicate in a general way the conditions which permitted comparative liberty free range to the patriarchs, particularly Abraham.

On the other hand these are not the only circumstances which would fit the narrative of the patriarchs.

Böhl has pointed out that the chronological scheme which reckons back 480 years from the building of the Temple and arrives at a period 2160-1880 B.C. for the patriarchs has all the appearance of artificiality and is, indeed, just what we should expect in the late Pentateuchal source P and the late redaction of the book of Kings of the same period and tradition. Actually in the earlier sources which are more faithful to tribal tradition there are statements which are at variance with the statements of the priestly source P and the priestly redaction of Kings Rp. Genesis xv, 16 (E), for instance, in the form of prophecy states that the Exodus should take place in the fourth generation. Thus Moses is to be dated four generations after Joseph and the sons of Jacob or six generations after Abraham. This period of four generations would amount most naturally to about 120 years. Again, the most natural reading of the conclusion of Genesis 1,23-44(E) is that Joseph's descendants of the third generation lived to take part in the Exodus, a fact which is borne out by the statement in Exodus vi, 16-20 (E) that Moses lived in the third generation after Levi. Now these latter statements are all from the E source, half a millenium earlier than P. They are not part of a conscious, artificial reconstruction of time reckoned in multiples of 12, 40 and 100 for want of an era of date-reckoning, but are apparently tradition fragments of genuine tribal which is cherished in primitive Semitic

1 Böhl, Das Zeitalter Abrahams, p. 20.
communities as faithfully as life itself. Thus it seems that we should reckon about a century and a half between the Exodus and the descent of Jacob and his sons to Egypt.

In this scheme of reckoning the date of the Exodus is of vital importance, and here, though we must take scriptural statements into account, we have the advantage of external evidence. The frontier fortresses of Palestine in the South and East show signs of violence pointing to irruption from the adjacent desert. Of these Jericho, Lachish-Tell ed Duweir and Kiryath-Sepher-Tell Beit Mirsim are especially noteworthy. Jericho, according to Garstang, fell about 1400, in the beginning of the last phase of the Bronze age, though apparently life still continued for a period on the unwalled site. He was led to this conclusion by the absence of any inscribed scarabs after the time of Amenhotep III\(^1\) and by the lack of Mycenean pottery which is a feature of the late Bronze Age in Palestine (1400 - 1200). The latter argument however has all the weakness of an argument e silentio. The very situation of Jericho, isolated in the deep trough of the Jordan Valley, and the disorders of the times to which the Amarna tablets bear witness should lead us to expect little trade with Jericho from the Mediterranean sea-board. Moreover, Garstang's argument on the basis of the absence of Mycenean pottery is vitiated by the presence of a few specimens of local imitation of that very ware from a certain tomb at Jericho\(^3\). Garstang's argument based on the scarabs of Amenhotep III is just as weak. Scarabs of the Pharaoh (1411 - 1375 BC) in a comparatively remote place like Jericho need not be contemporaneous with the Pharaoh. They constitute a terminus post quem not ante quem. In his positive findings on the pottery, all-important

1. Garstang; Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology, xix, 1932, p. 36.
2. Garstang; PEFQS, 1930, p. 132.
for dating Garstang has been contradicted by no less an expert in that field than H. Vincent who has repeatedly stated his opinion that the pottery which he personally examined during the actual operations indicates that the walls of the town fell about the last generation of the 13th century.

A date c.1225 B.C. for the invasion of Joshua fits in very well with the evidence which Glueck has adduced from Transjordan. On the evidence of surface deposits of pottery Glueck has demonstrated that the kingdom of Edom with clearly demarcated frontiers came into being some time about 1300 B.C. Since the presence of this consolidated power played a vital part in the Ephraimite tradition of the migration of the Hebrew tribes to Palestine it follows that that movement must be dated after 1300 B.C. Here Böhler cites the statement of Genesis xxxvi,31-39 (J) that there were eight kings in Edom before there was a king in Israel. Thus if we date Saul c.1050 B.C. and reckon an average of 30 years for each king of Edom we arrive at a date c.1290 B.C. for the establishment of the kingdom of Edom. This corroborates Glueck's findings and agrees with the fact noted by De Vaux that the Egyptian inscriptions make no mention of Edom until the time of Ramses II (1292-1225 B.C.). As to the duration of the desert sojourn the traditional period of forty years cannot be pressed too closely. The number forty is used repeatedly both in the Old and New Testaments and in general Oriental tradition to cover an indefinite period of time. Hence the date c.1225 B.C., as suggested by Vincent's finding on the pottery of Jericho, would be most suitable as the date of the invasion of Joshua by way of Jericho.

1. Vincent;PEQ,1931,pp.104-106. Vincent's dating is accepted by Schaeffer,Stratigraphie Comparée, p.143. Schaeffer, however, associates the fall of Jericho, c.1200 B.C. with the coming of the Sea Peoples and not with the Hebrews.
2. Glueck; The Other Side of the Jordan, pp.15 ff.
From Lachish there comes the evidence that the city was attacked perhaps earlier than the attack on Jericho. The town was destroyed in the last phase of the Bronze Age but that may have been somewhat later than the destruction of the third temple in the dry fosse below the glacis outside the walls. The destruction of this shrine has been dated c.1260 B.C., which would agree very well with the Scriptural tradition of an invasion from the South by way of Arad, South-East of Hebron, which in a variant form finds an echo in the Deuteronomistic schematization of the Conquest in Judges i,16 ff. Albright, on the other hand, would date the destruction of the third temple at Lachish some thirty years later at the same time as the destruction of the late Bronze Age town of Tell Beit Miersim.

However, this last question may be decided, the invasion of the Hebrews c.1225 B.C. explains how it comes about that in the narrative of the settlement in Palestine there is no mention of conflict with the Egyptians. If the Hebrew invasion had taken place in 1400 B.C. as Garstang suggests the Hebrews would certainly have come into conflict with Seti I (1313-1292 B.C.) and Ramses II (1292-1225 B.C.) both of whom record punitive expeditions to Palestine.

Accepting the invasion of Palestine from the East under Joshua in 1225 B.C. and from the South where Judah with Caleb and Othniel operated separately, perhaps a generation earlier, we may date the exodus from Egypt roughly about 1290 in the earlier part of the reign of Ramses II who would thus be the Pharaoh of the Oppression.

1. Starkey; PEFQS, 1934, p.174. Starkey has suggested, however, that this date might be lowered to 'near the close of the XIXth dynasty', PEFQS, 1937, p.239, Lachish II, 1940, p.22.
In his estimate of the period of the sojourn in Egypt, Howley \(^1\) justly appraises the authority of certain genealogies which reckon two generations between Levi and Moses \(^2\) and between Reuben and Dathan \(^3\), the contemporary of Moses and three between Judah and Achan \(^4\) in the next generation. Those statements are all, indeed, from the P source but must be taken from older tribal traditions which are most jealously guarded in such a community as that of ancient Israel. Against this evidence we have the statement of Exodus ii,40 that the sojourn in Egypt was 430 years and of Genesis xv,13(E) where the sojourn is given prophetically as 400 years. In the last passage, however, at verse 16(E) the Exodus is spoken of as in the fourth generation, thus agreeing with the statements from the tribal genealogies just cited from P that two generations intervened between the sons of Jacob and the generation of Moses. The 400 years of Genesis xv,13 may be explained as due perhaps to the conception that in patriarchal times a generation was 100 years. In any case it does seem that with Howley we should accept the reckoning by generations rather than by numbers. In the absence of a definite era of reckoning 430 years would be a difficult period to estimate, especially a millennium after the age described. \(^5\) We reckon 30 years as the average span of a generation we may date Levi, for instance, 90 years before Moses. Thus if Moses and the Israelites left Egypt c.1290 B.C. Levi would flourish c.1380 and

5. De Vaux reckons 430 years forward from c.1700 B.C., having associated Jacob and Joseph with the Hyksos, and declares for a date in the first half of the 13th century. This view, however probable the main conclusion as to the date of the Exodus, ignores the other Scriptural evidence of the duration of the Exodus which contradicts the statement of Exodus ii,40 that the period was 430 years.
Jacob would be active in Palestine c.1420-1400 B.C. in the Amarna age. This conclusion, which is that of Bühl, Kittel, and Rowley, is borne out by another genealogical note in Ruth iv, 18-22 where David is in the ninth generation after Perez the son of Judah who would thus flourish c.1300 B.C.

Thus we may place Jacob and his sons in the Amarna age and this fits in very well with the facts recorded of them in Scripture. In the case of the earlier patriarchs there is little to suggest that the Hebrew sojourn in Palestine assumed any greater proportions than peaceful infiltration by comparatively small septs. There are, indeed, echoes of clashes but these are local squabbles of herdsmen over wells while the martial exploit of Abraham in Genesis xiv is quite anomalous and in every respect stands outside the patriarchal tradition. In short, there is nothing in the tradition of Abraham and Isaac to indicate that tribes rather than individuals are denoted. The case of Jacob, however, is quite different. He and his brother Esau are regarded from the outset as representatives of nations in the oracle to Rebekah through whom they are thus derived, like the Knabiru and the SA GAZ of the Amarna Tablets, directly from the North-East. Jacob's life of conflict with alternative supplanting and displacement, his clashes with Esau in the Negeb, and East of the Jordan and with Laban in Gilead indicate something larger than the peaceful infiltration of Abraham and the same is suggested by the tradition of the violence of his sons Simeon and Levi at Shechem. In the saga of Jacob and his sons

4. Albright would associate Jacob with the Hyksos and Joseph with the Knabiru of the Amarna Tablets, a view which cannot be reconciled with the Amarna data nor with Scripture where Joseph reached Egypt before Jacob. Archaeology and the date of the Hebrew conquest of Palestine, BASOR, 58, 1935, pp. 10 ff.
5. Bühl, Das Zeitalter Abrahams, p. 7. The narrative of the birth of Moab and Ammon from the daughters of Lot seems to modify this view.
6. Genesis xxv, 23 (J).
7. Genesis xxv, 29-34 (E), xxvii, 42-45 (J), xxviii, 10 (J).
who are in fact the historical tribes of Israel there is no longer any doubt that we are dealing with tribes rather than with individuals though the tradition has retained the convention of treating the various folk-elements as individuals. The stirring life of Jacob and his sons, and particularly the episodes about Shechem, suggest very strongly the disorders of the Amarna period when, in fact, the Knabiru gained control of that town. This exploit may indeed be denoted in Genesis xlviii, 22 (E) where Jacob assigns to Joseph 'one Shechem above they brothers which I took from the hand of the Amorite with my sword and my bow! Furthermore the fact that the next occasion on which we encounter Simeon is as a tribe in the Negeb does suggest the historicity of the tradition of the decline of the power of the Jacob tribes in Palestine and the descent of some at least as refugees southwards to the Egyptian marches. Indeed, we are prepared to find such displacement, whether or not as the result of famine, after such conditions as those described in the Amarna Tablets. We do, in fact find reference to the admission of Asiatics in the time of Horemheb (1350-1315 B.C.). In this last instance there may have been as much policy as philanthropy in the action of the Pharaoh. Horemheb was not of the royal line of the XVIIIth Dynasty but a usurper who might be glad of external support. Such conditions might explain the elevation of Joseph in Egypt.

Thus if we place Jacob between the Amarna age and the reign of Horemheb, c. 1400-1350 B.C. we might reckon back two generations of 30 years to arrive at a date c. 1460 B.C. for the floruit of Abraham who would thus be contemporary with Thothmes III (1501-1447 B.C.). This would be some 19 years after the battle of Megiddo when the remnants of the Northern powers and their local allies were finally liquidated as a political power in Palestine. If Abraham flourished at this

2. Breasted; ABE III, W 10 ff.
time, the trend of folk-movement was not North-East to South but vice versa, hence we could hardly associate the patriarch with any significant movement of peoples into Palestine. On the other hand, there is nothing in Scripture to suggest that Abraham is to be connected with any general folk-movement. Circumstances at this time would be quite conducive to the free wandering of an individual chief and his family such as Abraham is represented to be in the various passages in Genesis with the exception of the problematical chapter xiv.

If instead of reckoning back two normal generations of thirty years from Abraham to Jacob we adopt the Scriptural statements that Jacob was 130 years old at his death, Isaac 60 at the birth of Jacob and Abraham 100 at the birth of Isaac, we arrive at the date 1540 B.C. for Abraham at the age of 100. On this reckoning Abraham's movement into Palestine would fall in the period of the Hyksos domination when Palestine was part of an empire which stretched from the Euphrates to the Nile. In this case if we were disposed to admit the historicity of Abraham's exploit narrated in Genesis xiv, that might be connected with the expulsion of the Hyksos which was begun under Ahmes I (1580-1557 B.C.).

The statements of the ages of the patriarchs, however, are all from the late P source and the information is somewhat too precise and lacking verisimilitude. Moreover, while we might treat Abraham and Isaac as individuals, father and son, Jacob is in a different category. In this case we are obviously dealing

2. Genesis xxv, 26 b (P).
3. Genesis xx1, 5 (P).
not with an individual purely and simply but with a tribe
and probably not even with a single tribe but with two
groups, as seems to be indicated by the tradition which
bears plain evidence of conflation. The subject, as Böhl
points out, is assigned two wives, Leah and Rachel, two
concubines, Zilpah and Bilhah, and two or even four groups
of sons; he spends two sojourns in Canaan; he has two names,
Jacob and Israel; there are two traditions concerning his
burial-place, one which refers to his being buried with
his fathers at the ancestral burying-place at Hebron, where
Muslim and Jewish tradition still locates his tomb, and
again, to the burial rites at the threshing-floor of
Atad beyond Jordan. Thus the period covered by the two
tribal groups, Jacob and Israel, and the related tribes, and
the process of fusion would in all probability be longer
than the life of a single individual as the Scriptural narrat-
ive so naively suggests, and may be, in fact, a very long per-
iod since the tribal groups were not necessarily contemp-
orary.

Hence while the combined evidence of archaeology and
the tribal genealogies of Scripture lead us to locate the
activity of the Jacob-Israel group in the Amarna Age, c. 1400
B.C. and the descent to Egypt c. 1350 B.C. there is no further
reliable guidance as we seek to probe further back into
Hebrew origins and place Abraham and Isaac in their histor-
ical setting since we cannot tell how long Jacob-Israel held
the field. It seems feasible, however, to relate the movement
of this group with their close affinities with the Aramaean
tribes of Mesopotamia to the movement of peoples after the
break-up of the Hyksos Empire and the decline of the XVIIth
Egyptian Dynasty. The activity of Jacob-Israel in Palestine
can hardly antedate the Amarna Age but we should remember
that group had had a considerable history in Upper
Mesopotamia where all Jacob's sons except Benjamin are
born. Likewise certain important phases of

2. Genesis xlvi, 30 (J), xlix, 29-33 (P).
the history of the group were enacted east of the Jordan. It was here that Jacob, according to the Scriptural narrative, received the name Israel which probably indicates the main fusion of the various related groups took place there between the desert and the sown.

The French scholars, Lewy and Dhorme associate the westward movement of Abraham and the Hebrew fathers with the Amorite movement in the end of the third millennium and there is a certain amount of support in the Scriptural narrative for this view. The name Abraham and the hypocoristicon Isaac reflect the names of the 1st Amorite dynasty of Babylon and those of the Egyptian Exegetory texts referring to chiefs in Palestine at the end of the 19th century. Lewy cites the old Assyrian texts from Kul Tepe to show that in the patriarchs' worship of the 'god of Abraham' or the god of Isaac' the Hebrew fathers stood on common ground with other Amorite groups in the 20th century who appear from the Kul Tepe texts to have maintained this private or tribal worship alongside that of a great national god such as Assur. Abraham, as has already been pointed out, has, like the Amorites in the last quarter of the third millennium, contacts with Ur, Harran in Upper Mesopotamia, and Egypt. Like the Amorite chiefs in Sethe's 'Aechtungs­texte' of the 19th century, he shares power with Abimelech of Gerar in the Negeb. Thus as far as the patriarchal narratives may reflect the conditions of the time, Abraham may quite well be located between the Early and Middle Bronze Age, c.2000.

On the other hand, taking our starting-point from the date of the Exodus c. 1290 and reckoning back on the basis of the age of the patriarchs we may arrive at a period in the early XVIIIth dynasty of Egypt or the end of the Hyksos domination for the time of Abraham:

3. Dhorme; L'Évolution Religieuse d'Israël; La Religion des Hébreux Nomades, pp. 87-95.
4. Lewy; op. cit., pp. 50 ff.
To support this dating Speiser\textsuperscript{1} sees in the patriarchal narratives certain statements which seem to reflect Hurrian law as it is known from the \textit{Nuzu} documents. Rachel's theft of the teraphim\textsuperscript{2} for instance, is now seen in the light of evidence to have been her means to secure to Jacob the right to inherit the property of Laban\textsuperscript{3}. The same Hurrian community provision was made for licensed concubinage in the event of sterility of the legal wife, the rights of the wife, the concubine and her offspring all being secured. The case of Abraham and Hagar is covered by \textit{Nuzi} law. When Hagar is driven away with her lad Ishmael\textsuperscript{4} Abraham's reluctance is intelligible when we realize that he was called upon to decide between the law which safe-guarded the rights of his concubine and her son and that which safe-guarded his wife against the contumacy of the servant. In the case of the possession of the teraphim as a title to inheritance, we are quite prepared to admit that it may reflect Hurrian law since it applies to Jacob whom on other grounds we have placed in the \textit{Harran} \textit{Age}. It is noteworthy, too, that the incident is located on the marches of the Hurrian area in the North-East. This, however, does not apply to Abraham or Isaac and while the case of Hagar is covered by the legislation of \textit{Nuzu} it is not certain that that part of the law was specifically Hurrian. Indeed, it is found in the earlier code of the Amorite Hammurabi of Babylon\textsuperscript{5} and is supposed by Woolley\textsuperscript{6} to go back to

2. Genesis xxxi, 14-18 (E), 19b (E).
3. Galling maintains that any correspondence between conditions in Genesis and Hurrian law may be otherwise explained than by associating the patriarchs with the Hyksos, ZDPV lxxi,1939, p.108.
6. Woolley; \textit{Abraham}, 1936, pp.151-156.
a Sumerian origin.

A passage which seems to suggest that Abraham is to be dated during or even after the Hyksos period is that concerning his purchase of the cave of Machpelah at Hebron, where his dealings are with the 'Hittites'. Now from the personal and toponymic names as attested in the Exegetical Texts there is no suggestion of any non-Semitic element in the land before the invasion of the Hyksos. After the invasion of the Hyksos, however, as the proper names of the Amarna Texts indicate, there was an influx of Northern peoples, among the Hurrians. It is those that are probably indicated here as elsewhere by the title 'Hittite'. This passage, however, is from the late P source, at least a millennium after the events described, hence we can hardly expect accuracy in historical detail. It has been pointed out that even the Assyrians in the 8th century, who had the opportunity of more accurate historical knowledge than the writer of P, spoke loosely of Syria and Palestine as 'the land of the Hittites', meaning thereby nothing more than 'the West'. Hence in the case of P, which was probably written from the standpoint of Jews in Babylonia, we can hardly expect more historical accuracy in the use of the term 'Hittite' to indicate the non-Hebrew inhabitants of Palestine. In fact, the individual Ephron, from whom Abraham buys the land, bears a name which is attested among the Amorite names in the Exegetical Texts applied to the chiefs of 'Jhabw, Arhob (?), Rwbj, Rabbath (?), and Qnj, Qana (?), and appears probably in the theophoric compounds 'prw 'canw, the chief of PihJwm, Peila(?), JpJnw of 'Ikspi, Achnib (?) and 'prw Isipi of 'Isipi. On the other hand the name might be a variant of the non-Semitic West-Anatolian names cited by Sundwall among which 'H is attested and other names with 'H as a distinctive element.

1. Genesis xxiii(P).
4. Genesis xxiii, 8.
If we were disposed to stress the statements concerning Abraham's association with various places in Palestine which are named in Scripture we might seek archaeological evidence for a terminus post quern. Abraham is found at Shchem which according to Vincent, took its origin as a fortified town c.2000 B.C. As there is nothing in the narrative to suggest that the place was a fortified town in Abraham's time he might still be placed in the Amorite occupation before the end of the 3rd millennium. On the other hand Hebron is said to have been built seven years before Zoan in Egypt, identified with San el Hajar, Tanis, Avaris and Pi-Rameses, the Hyksos capital in the North-East of the Delta, hence one might be inclined to date Abraham's appearance at Hebron after the Hyksos Invasion. Again, however, there is nothing in the narrative to suggest that at the time of Abraham's sojourn Hebron was any more than an open settlement. The regular transaction of land-conveyance might seem to indicate a regular urban settlement at Hebron but here we have to reckon with the tendency of the late P source to anachronism. The preference of Abraham for the cave of Machpelah as a burial-place for his family was not arbitrary; it was determined by the proximity of a sacred place, possibly the oak of Mamre. Thus the narrative of the regular purchase of the cave may have been the device of the late hand of P to obscure the fact that Abraham sought a resting-place for his family in the precinct of a non-Hebrew sanctuary. The fact that he built an altar to Jahweh seems to indicate that Abraham's sojourn must have dated before the urban settlement of Hebron.

1. Genesis xii,6 (J).
2. Vincent RB, xxxvi, 1927, p. 121.
3. De Vaux; Les patriarches hébreux et les découvertes modernes, RB lv, 1948, p. 325. De Vaux notes that the Shchemites, according to the statement of Genesis xxxiv, 14 ff, did not practise circumcision. He concludes that they were not Semites. This incident, however, does not concern Abraham but Jacob, hence falls after the Hyksos Invasion in our view.
4. Numbers xiii, 22.
5. Montet; Tanis, Avaris et Pi-Rameses, RB, xxxix, 1933, pp. 5-28.
6. Alt; Der Gott der Väter, 1929, pp. 7, 3, 5, 58.
7. Genesis xiii, 18 (J).
Such a statement as that of Genesis xiii, 7 (J) that the Canaanite and the Perizzite were then in the land might, so far as the second term is concerned, be taken to refer to the Hyksos occupation or later. Again, however, it might be a loose reference to the non-Israelite population before the Conquest. As far as historical accuracy may be looked for in such statements, the J narrative locates Abraham at Shechem when the Canaanite was then in the land; thus referring ostensibly to the time before the non-Semitic elements had entered the land with the Hyksos.

A stronger case for locating Abraham in the Hyksos age or the immediate post-Hyksos period in the XVIIIth Dynasty might be made on the basis of his association with Hagar, the Egyptian slave-girl. In Abraham's association with Egypt we are quite prepared to find him in the rôle of the oppressed as when his wife Sarah is abducted into an Egyptian harem. We are less prepared to find an Egyptian slave in a poor nomad tribe. There are two periods when the latter relationship might be possible, first at the end of the 3rd millennium when the power of Egypt even in the Delta succumbed to the Amorite invaders and then in the period of the Hyksos domination, 1750-1580 B.C. We are to account for the humiliation of Sarah in Egypt as well as for the enslavement of the Egyptian Hagar to Abraham the latter period would better suit the case. It might better account for the fact that Hagar herself took an Egyptian wife for her son Ishmael. On the other hand, it is questionable if we may press the significance of the term 'Egyptian' too closely as applied to Hagar and the wife she takes for Ishmael.

1. vide supra, pp. 70-71.
2. Genesis xii, 6.
3. Genesis xii, 10-20 (J).
5. Genesis xii, 14-15.
7. Genesis xxii, 21 (E).
Egypt may be conceived of as extending into Asia as far as the 'Wadi of Egypt', the Wadi el Arish. Hagar may thus have been a woman of the Bedouin of the north Sinai desert. In this connection it is noteworthy that in all ages affinities between the Negeb and Egypt have been strong. As far north as Lachish in the 13th-12th century a system of dating was in use which had reference to the Inundation of the Nile, and in the vicinity of Gaza even as far as the Senephelah one may still note Egyptian peculiarities in the local dialect of Arabic. Again there was a continual ebb and flow between Palestine and the Delta as is clearly implied in the inscription of Horemheb, the first Pharaoh of the XIXth Dynasty (1350-1015 B.C.) recording his relief of Asiatic nomads by admitting them into the Delta 'after the manner of their fathers from the beginning.' Again, one must bear in mind that Egypt consists in a narrow green strip along the Nile with the desert, the home of the Bedouin, very near. Territorially the greater part of Egypt is desert. Thus the term Egyptian applied to Hagar may have a local rather than an ethnic significance. The whole incident of Sarah and the Pharaoh must strike us as strange. It seems, however, too obviously a doublet of the E narrative of Sarah and Abimelech at Gerar to be authentic and, in fact, tending as it does to rank Abraham, the father of the race, with Pharaoh, it strongly suggests the apologetic of Josephus when he seeks to vindicate the claim of the Jews to a place among the nations of the East by identifying them with the Hyksos. 

The fact, however, that the story thus reiterated does not reflect any moral credit upon Abraham but the positive

2. Breasted; ARE, III, p. 10.
4. Josephus; Contra Apionem, i, 93-94.
reverse may be taken as the strongest authentication of the narrative, though not in the J version but in the corresponding version in E where the abductor of Sarah is not the Pharaoh but Abimelech of Gerar. This passage has every aspect of a genuine tradition. The story is so discreditable to Abraham that there seems no point in its introduction here and its reproduction in the Isaac saga in Genesis xxvi,6-12 (J) if it were not genuine. It is not even subservient to political apologist as in the passage which attributes the abduction to Pharaoh. Again, while we might suspect that the appearance of Abraham at Shechem, Bethel, Hebron and Beersheba might have been devised in later times to authenticate those places as sanctuaries dating from pre-Israelite times, the same cannot be said of his association with Gerar. Gerar plays no part in the religious life of the Hebrews in any period or in any tradition. The significance of Gerar, as the patriarchal narrative suggests, is purely political or strategic. The town was an Egyptian frontier-post.

Gerar has been variously identified. Sir Flinders Petrie identified the place with Tell Jemmeh, a considerable mound which is now being fast undermined by the winter floods of the Wadi Gnazzeh. In its location we may suppose that it was one of the three fortresses defending the line of the Wadi Gnazzeh on which we find Tell el Far'a some eight miles to the South-East and Tell Ajju six miles to the North-West at the mouth of the Wadi. The first determinate period of the occupation of this site is early in the Late Bronze Age (1600-1200 B.C.), being associated with the XVIIIth Dynasty after the expulsion of the Hyksos in 1580 B.C. Unfortunately there is no means of conclusively identifying.

this site within Gerar except the proximity of a small ruin Knirbet Umm Jerar some two miles to the Northwest on the other side of the Wadi. It is presumed that this name signifies some place the mother of which was Gerar. Gerar, it is presumed, must be sought in the vicinity. This method of identification, however, is notoriously uncertain.

Abel, on the other hand, accepts the arguments of Alt, Galling and Clermont-Ganneau who identify Gerar with Tell esh Sheri'ah fifteen miles further East. This is actually more in agreement with the statement in Eusebius Onomasticon that Gerar was 25 Roman miles from Eleutheropolis. Between Eleuthropolis-Beit Jibrin and Tell esh Sheri'ah the distance is actually 22 English miles as the crow flies. This location, moreover, would better suit the description of the campaign of Asa who smote Gerar and the surrounding places after the raid of Zerah the Cushite. It is questionable if Asa would be strong enough to carry war so far into the country of the Philistines as Tell Jemmeh six miles from Gaza, one of their principal cities or that, presuming he did so, the Philistines should not have retaliated.

If we could indeed accept Tell Jemmeh as the site of Gerar the fact that organized occupation of the place began in the XVIIIth Dynasty would enable us to date Abraham with relative precision to that period, though it must be admitted that Petrie does acknowledge that there are traces of an indeterminate nature of previous occupation of Tell Jemmeh. Hence in the present state of uncertainty as to the identification of Gerar we cannot use the archaeological evidence from Tell Jemmeh to fix the date of Abraham.

Independently, however, of the identification of Gerar, the narrative which centres about this place does indicate that Abraham's sojourn is to be placed in the period of the XVIIIth Dynasty after the expulsion of the Hyksos.

There in addition to Aimelech the local chief of the place

2. Eusebius: Onomasticon, ed. Klostermann, 60, 1. 8.
3. II Chronicles, xiv, 12.
we hear of a professional soldier, head of a regular garrison.

The conditions are just what we find in the communities in Syria and Palestine in the Amarna Period and are what we should expect in a frontier fortress in the Negeb after the expulsion of the Hyksos. The name, or rather the title of the commandant is highly significant; it is Paicol which is surely the Egyptian Pe-Knur, 'the Hurrian'. This title would be impossible before the Hyksos invasion; it would be pointless during the Hyksos occupation. It must be a local, not ethnic title dating from the time when the Egyptians knew Palestine as Knur. Of the use of this term there is no evidence before the time of the XVIIIth Dynasty.

In hesitating to assign an accurate date to Abraham we are so far in agreement with HÜH. Howley who writes: 'We have no means of knowing..... how far the Amarna Age was from the age of Abraham! There does, however, seem to be evidence that Abraham's age did endure until the expulsion of the Hyksos and the establishment of the XVIIIth Dynasty. At the same time we are not prepared to dissociate Abraham entirely from the Amorite penetration at the end of the 3rd millennium. This would preclude the view of Bühl that Abraham is to be treated purely as an individual and that of Alt whose view of Abraham as a receiver of revelation and a founder of a cult, 'Orfenbarungsempfanger und Kultstifter', amounts to the same. Bühl's contention holds good that if tribal history were being consciously recorded and the narrative of the patriarchs compiled after the Hebrew invasion in order to give them a title to the land we should have a definite attempt to glorify the patriarchs and make of them not shepherds but warriors and heroes. Our view is that we have a case of telescoping of various traditions of the earliest Hebrew sojourn subsumed under the

1. Howley; Israel's Sojourn in Egypt, p. 45.
3. Alt; Der Gott der Väter, p. 51.
name of Abraham and Isaac and covering the period from the Amorite penetration at the end of the 3rd millennium or the beginning of the 2nd until the rise of the XVIIIth Dynasty in the 16th century.
CHAPTER IV.

The Religion of Palestine in the Second Millennium as a clue to the Racial and social affinities of the inhabitants.

1. The Deities.

The material evidence for the religious situation in Palestine before the Hebrew Invasion cannot be said to be abundant or impressive. Until quite recently there was no documentary evidence except the later sources, the Old Testament, which was openly inimical to unorthodox beliefs and practices, Phoenician inscriptions, generally from the latter half of the 1st millennium, Lucian of Samosata, whose information relates to little more than the Tammuz-Aaconis cult, and Philo of Byblos who claimed the authority of Sanchuniathon who lived at the time of the Trojan War, therefore about 1200 B.C., but handled his source rather tendentially. Now, however, our knowledge of the religion of Canaan has vastly increased as the result of archaeological research. The material evidence from Palestine is still comparatively scanty but such matter as has come to light may be better appraised in the light of such rich documentary evidence as the Ras Shamra texts and the Egyptian Execratory texts, neither, indeed, from Palestine but both intimately connected with the land and its culture. In the theophoric names of the Palestinian chiefs in the Execratory texts and in the mythological texts of Ras Shamra we have first-hand evidence of religious conditions in Canaan in the 2nd millennium B.C.

1. It is not of course, suggested that the Ras Shamra texts emanate from Palestine, as Virolleaud and Dussaud maintain. Nevertheless the reflection of their imagery and themes in the poetical portions of the Old Testament indicate that they were representative of a general Canaanite tradition known in Palestine as well as Syria.
The view was held by Baudissin that there was no systematic Phoenician pantheon, each autonomous town on the Syrian coast worshipping its own particular deity. The Ras Shamra Texts explode this theory. There was, in fact, a highly-organized pantheon with regular ritual and mythology, the elaborate literary form of which presupposes centuries of development. The later political development in Syria may have brought about a certain tendency to local variations with emphasis on the worship and conception of the several deities but such archaeological and documentary evidence as we possess does point to a comparatively uniform religious system, the most prominent aspect of which in the 15th-14th century was the fertility theme. We believe that the mythological and liturgical texts from Ras Shamra reproduce in the fullest form so far available the essentials of a picture of the general religious situation in the ancient Near East of which we have possessed hitherto but a sketchy outline.

A detailed study of the religious situation at Ras Shamra should thus serve not only to supplement and fill out our scanty information of the condition of patriarchal Palestine but will also induce us to seek for an explanation of differences which, we maintain, are as significant and obvious as the correspondences. Moreover, we may be enabled by such an investigation not only to control other evidence of the religious situation in contemporary Palestine but also to assess the value of the later, Phoenician inscriptions as evidence and illustration of such conditions. A case in point is Dussaud's use of the Phoenician tariffs of sacrifice from Marseilles and Carthage to prove the antiquity of the sacrificial system of the Pentateuch which in its literary form is a product of the Exilic or

even of the post-Exilic period.

The senior god in the Ugaritic pantheon was El. This appears in the texts as the proper name of a particular deity and is not merely a common noun: for the divine. This is apparent from the mythological texts and most notably from the offering lists where El is named with his appropriate offering together with the other deities of Ugarit.

In the mythological texts there are certain traces of a double stratum of religion at Ugarit with an earlier and later pantheon, not indeed always quite distinct since there was naturally a community of function which led to assimilation as well as conflict. This aspect of the religion of Ras Shamra is brought out most clearly by Nielsen who uses his knowledge of South Arabian antiquity to demonstrate that as distinct from the fertility deities of Syria, notably Ba'al-Hadad and Anat, the more primitive pantheon is to be associated with the desert hinterland with which the Amorite element in the population of Ugarit once had close affinities. With this theory in the main we should agree since the findings of field archaeology in Syria and Palestine do, in fact, unanimously attest an irruption of a ruder race into the sedentary civilization of the land and a distinct deterioration of culture in the last quarter of the second millennium. When life resumed its normal tenour the population, on the evidence of personal and place-names, is akin to the Amorite names of the First Babylonian Dynasty. Their social constitution is apparently tribal and there are other indications of their desert affinities.

It is to this more primitive stratum of religion that El belongs. In spite of later developments, however, the Semites

1. It would be more accurate to speak of a primitive and a developed stratum of religion, since the former may have been introduced by invaders in the 19th century represented by the chiefs named in the Excratory Texts but socially and culturally more primitive hence earlier than the sedentary population of Ugarit who had a temple to Ba'al by c.2000 B.C.
3. vide supra, pp. 34 ff.
of Ugarit were so far true to their primitive tradition that they still in the 14th century regarded El as the senior deity though his position, broadly speaking, is rather an honorary one, the most active deity being Ba’al-Hadad.

The dignity of El is indicated by the titles given to him. He is termed 'ab šnm,1 'the father of years,' a title reminiscent of ‘the ancient of days' in the Book of Daniel. Dussaud2 would explain this title as referring to the function of El in regulating the seasons. This conclusion is suggested to him by the fact that the sun is not otherwise represented in due proportion in the texts. Nielsen,3 however, is much nearer the truth in taking El as a lunar deity and 'Aṯrt his consort as a sun-goddess. It is noteworthy that špâ, the Ras Shamra term for the sun, is feminine as in Arabic. That Nielsen is right in distinguishing between El and the sun is indicated by the Aramaic inscription of the 8th century of Panammu and Bar Rekub4 where El takes precedence over Shamash. Insofar as Dussaud may be right in explaining the title 'ab šnm as referring to El's regulation of the seasons, it is just as likely that the moon should regulate the seasons as the sun. In fact the Babylonian Creation myth Enuma elish5 assigns to the moon-god the function of 'determining days' and the Semites without exception had, as the Arabs still have, not a solar but a lunar year. He is also mlk, 'king,' a title which, applied to Jahweh, has been thought to have a ritual sense reflecting the conditions of the Hebrew monarchy,6 a view which must surely be very

1 B. Gordon, 49, col. 1, l. 8.
2 Dussaud; RHR, c. 1, 1931, p. 359.
3 Nielsen; Ras Shamra Mythologie ..., pp. 27 ff.
4 G. A. Cooke; NSI, 61, 62, pp. 159 ff.
6 Mowinckel; Das Thronbesteigungsfeast Jahwës und der Ursprung der Eschatologie, Psalmenstudien II, 1922.
H. Schmidt; Die Thronfahrt Jahwehs, 1927.
seriously modified\(^1\) in the light of evidence from Ras Shamra. He is often spoken of as El the Bull,\(\textit{tr} \ '\textit{el},\) which may refer to his strength or to his procreative vigour or to his original character as the deity manifest in the moon of which Nielsen points out that the bull is the symbol in South Arabian mythology. However we may explain the title \(\textit{tr} \ '\textit{el},\) it is remarkable that the \textit{God} of Jacob is spoken of as \(\textit{\textit{\partial h}l}\)\(^2\) which means also 'bull'. Since we find the fertility god Ba'\textit{al} in the Ras Shamra mythology\(^3\) mating with a heifer presumably as a bull, this may be a point in which El and Ba'\textit{al} were assimilated, as Jahweh and Ba'\textit{al} were at Dan in the time of Jeroboam and possibly earlier. Hence the title \(\textit{tr} \ '\textit{el}\) probably indicates the procreative power which in primitive thought was the prerogative of El. This view gains ground when we find El characterized as 'ab 'adm; the Father of Man' and as the head of the divine family who are called bn 'el or mphr\(t\) bn 'el\(^4\), the gathering of the sons of El! In the only text\(^5\) in the Ras Shamra literature where El plays a really active part other than advisory or consultative, he begets offspring of whom the first are the divine twins Shr and Sim, the two hypostases of 'Attar of South Arabian mythology, the morning and evening star. Here we seem to be moving definitely in the atmosphere of Genesis vi,1-4 (J) which describes the amours of the 'sons of \textit{God}' with the daughters of men. The same tradition again makes its appearance in Job xxxviii,7 which mentions the 'sons of \textit{God}' in parallel with 'morning-stars':\(^6\)

In the main, however, El gives place to Ba'\textit{al} as an active

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\(^1\) As has already been admirably done before the Ras Shamra discoveries by Disselköt:Jahweh als König, ZAW, xlvi, 1928, pp. 84 ff.
\(^3\) Genesis xlix,24 (J).
\(^4\) Gordon, 67, col. v, 1.17.
\(^5\) Gordon, 2, 11.17, 34 etc.
\(^6\) Gordon, 52.

In both of these passages, however, \(\textit{\textit{\partial h}l}\) is used and not \(\textit{\textit{\partial h}l}\).
deity at Ugarit. He is still consulted and gives his final consent in crises in the fertility drama, as when, for instance, he agrees to the suggestion of 'Atrt that her son 'Atrr should reign in place of Ba'äl who has been overcome and has not yet risen from the underworld. Again he is consulted by 'Atrt in the question of building a temple to Ba'äl. In another passage he allows himself to be wheedled into acquiescence by the redoubtable virgin 'Anat who wins his consent by the gift of rejuvenation. He is, however, always respectfully addressed by gods and men. He is mlk, the king, bny bnwt, Creator of Created Things, 'ab 'adm, the Father of Man; before him the gods prostrate themselves and acknowledge his word to be eternal wisdom,

\[\text{thmnk 'el hkm} \]
\[\text{hkmt 'em 'im... 4} \]
\[\text{Thy word, 0 El is wise,} \]
\[\text{Thou art eternally wise...} \]

In the Keret text we see the relationship of El to man. While we should probably take the title 'ab 'adm, Father of Man, in a physical sense, there is probably some ritual bond between El and the king who addresses him as his father. Again there is a definite ethical aspect of the nature of El who is repeatedly termed Ltpn 'el dp'ed, The Kindly One, El, the Merciful, which corresponds to Arabic الله الّطّين زَمْ خَار and recalls أَرْسَانِي of the Qur'an. We seem to be very close to the God of the patriarchs who called Abraham to be his friend. Quite as in the patriarchal narratives, too, El reveals his purpose to Keret in a dream and the final purport of that revelation was, as in the case of the patriarchs, the promise of progeny. The moral aspect of the character of El is seen again in his directive to Keret to do no violence.

1. Gordon, 49.
3. ibidem, 'nt, col. v, 11.32-33.
5. The expression is not actually found in the patriarchal narratives but in Isaiah xli, 8.
to the town of *udm. This suggests the forbearance of God who allows himself to be entreated by Abraham to spare the cities of the plain if but a quantum of just men should be found there. In the Ras Shamra texts as in the patriarchal narratives there is a kindly tolerant note with no suggestion of the fierce, uncompromising faith of the Hebrew invaders which laid Arad and Jericho in total ruin ad maiorem dei gloriam.

The clear evidence of the Ras Shamra texts that El was not the general conception of divinity but a particular deity opens up the whole question of the significance of the 'el or 'ilu element in theophoric names. In the data of this nature from Mesopotamia it emerges now as probable that, though 'ilu is found as a general term, as, indeed, it occurs also at Ras Shamra, there are undoubted cases of its use as the proper name of a particular deity, specifically the supreme god of the old Amorite pantheon. In Palestine too the Egyptian Execratory Texts attest the worship of El, though it must be admitted that the 'el element as a proper name in the theophoric names in those texts is less frequent than we should imagine considering the affinities of the people named. There are cases here too of the generic use of 'el but, on the other hand, in such cases as Ynki-ilu or Yjpi-ilu where 'el appears with a verbal predicate the noun is almost certainly to be read as a proper name. Those instances, however, tell us very little about men's conceptions of El, nothing being predicated of him which might not be said of any other god. Indeed, in the later lot of Execratory Texts deciphered by Posener the field is already being occupied by Hadad who appears in the Ras Shamra Texts as the hypostasis of Ba'al.

In the Old Testament in personal names where 'el appears with the affirmative y, we may have the noun as a general term with the possessive suffix. Where it appears, however, in place-

1 I K, 11.116-117.
names and proper nouns without such a suffix and with the other element a verb or predicate we are probably justified in treating 'el as a proper noun. Such cases are the place-names Yibne'el, Yizre'el, Yiphtah'el, Yirpe'el and 'El ro'i and the personal names Yishma'el, Palti'el, Meu'el and Isra'el. Another case of 'el used as a proper noun which might be established even without the help of the new evidence is that of where the common noun is obviously used to define the proper noun Such instances definitely relate the worship of the patriarchs and their contemporaries in Palestine to the particular deity El whom we now know more fully as the supreme god of the pantheon of ancient Ugarit. How much El may have originally had in common with Jahweh is still obscure but we note that the father-in-law of Moses who mediated so much to his son-in-law of the worship of Jahweh whose priest he was, was named Re'u'el, the Friend of El. Certainly El of the Ras Shamra Texts as Tpn, the Kindly One, was a god who might give a father confidence to name his son Re'u'el and it does seem that in this belief in El we have already in the 2nd millennium a belief in a rational and moral deity in distinction to the impersonal forces of nature or vague local numina attached to springs, rocks and trees, such a deity in fact, who brought cosmos out of chaos and 'saw what he had made and behold it was very good!'(P)

Ba'el, known in his various local manifestations in the Old Testament as the fertility-god par excellence, is the deified principle of fertility at Ras Shamra, his pre-eminence being signified by the fact that one of the two temples discovered there was dedicated to him, the other being to Dagon whose son Ba'el is termed, bn dgn. In the mythology of Ras Shamra Ba'al reigned
supreme from the beginning of the agricultural year in the autumn when the early rains fell until the drought of summer when the verdure wilted and the corn ripened to harvest. Then Mt, to whom we believe the older god *Aṯtr was in a measure assimilated, challenged his supremacy, engaged him in conflict, overpowered him and consigned him to the underworld. The vacant throne of Baʿal was then filled temporarily by *Aṯtr, the son of *Aṯr the consort of El. He is nevertheless championed by his sister the goddess *Anat who eventually prevails over Mt whose discomfiture is complete when the corn is reaped and threshed.\[1\]

\[t'ehd bn 'elm mt\]
\[bhbr tbq'nn\]
\[bhtr tdry nn\]
\[bşēt tšrpnn\]
\[brhm tšmn\]
\[bš tdr'nn\]
\[š'erh lt'ëkl 'srmt\]
\[mnth ltkāš...]

'She seizes Mt the son of El; She cuts him with the sickle; She scatters him with the shovel; She parches him with fire; She grinds him with the mill-stone; She scatters him in the field; His flesh shall the birds eat; His fate shall be complete....'

A temple is then built for Baʿal in anticipation of his revival and being completed is consecrated by generous sacrifices recalling the hecatombs of Solomon on the building of the Temple at Jerusalem. A notable feature of this house of Baʿal is an aperture,*urb//pln which is opened in the roof in connection with the early rains probably a rite of sympathetic magic to prompt the opening of the windows of heaven which is associated with rain in the Flood narrative.\[4\] We thus know the season at which the temple of Baʿal was completed, the season of the early rains, October, when the New Year Festival fell.

We recollect here that it was precisely at this season, in the seventh month, Ethanim, that the Temple at Jerusalem was ready to receive the Ark. Here we may detect the process of syncretism in the worship of Jahweh and that of Ba'al in Palestine. Ba'al is eventually revived and takes his place in his temple on his royal throne and with the early rains of autumn the New Year begins.

As we study the attributes and function of Ba'al, especially in his hypostasis as Hadad, the god of storm and rain-cloud who utters his voice in the heavens, who mounts the clouds, rkb 'rpt, and when we consider the close correspondence between the circumstances of the dedication of the temple of Ba'al at Ras Shamra and that of the Temple at Jerusalem, we conclude that the cult of the Syrian Ba'al as attested at Ras Shamra must also have been practised in Palestine. It is possible, of course, that the alliance between Solomon and the Phoenicians, who built the Temple, may account for some of the common elements in the cult of Ba'al and that of Jahweh. There is reason to suppose, however, that Solomon was no innovator in this particular. All through the period of the Judges there was a tendency to go 'a-whoring after the Ba'alim', language which is not mere invective but seems to reflect the nature of the cult to which the Hebrews were seduced.

Much of what we have just said of Ba'al and his cult presupposes the identity of 'Al'eyn with Ba'al in the Ras Shamra texts. This is not universally accepted and it is contended that 'Al'eyn Ba'al is not a composite title but means 'Al'eyn the son of Ba'al, a theory which really relies on the support of only one passage where the phrase 'Al'eyn bn b'al occurs. This at first sight means 'Al'eyn the son of

1. I Kings viii, 2.
2. So De Langhe who demonstrates that rkb does not necessarily imply a chariot, Handelingen van het twintiende Flaanse Filologencongres, Louvain, 1948, pp. 96-97. However, 2/2 2/2 2/2 of Ps. lxxviii, 5 and 2/2 2/2 2/2 of Ps. civ, 5 certainly reflect the imagery of the Ras Shamra poems.
Baal H. Bauer, however, as early as 1933 suspected that not two figures but one might be denoted. He would explain 'Al'eyn as a derivative of the verb l'y, 'to be strong, able.' We take 'Al'eyn as an adjective with prosthetic aleph and energetic final nun. The significance of the title 'Al'eyn Ba'al is elucidated along the lines suggested by Bauer in several passages where 'Al'eyn Ba'al occurs in parallel to 'al'ey qrdm, 'the wielder of the axe.' The phrase 'Al'eyn bn b'i is unusual perhaps but not impossible in the sense 'the mighty son, Ba'al.' On the other hand, the phrase may be suspect as a hapax legomenon. Textual corruption in the Ras Shamra texts is rare, indeed, but not unknown. It is possible that the copyist wrote b of b'i then raising his eyes to the original wrote in error the n of the previous word 'Al'eyn or it may even be that the original from which the copy was made ran not from left to right as the text we possess but from right to left as the alphabetic cuneiform inscription on the knife-blade from the vicinity of Bethshan. This would increase the possibility of such a scribal error as we tentatively suggest. On the other hand, if the corruption occurred in this way more errors would be found than exist in the texts. Another explanation of the phrase, that which appeals most to us, is that here we have a trace of the process of assimilation of the mighty warrior Hadad, the storm-god, to Ba'al, the fertility-god of the settled land.

The title 'Al'eyn applied to Ba'al in the way indicated seems to give us a definite connection with patriarchal Palestine. In a temple of the Late Bronze Age at Bethshan dated c.1400 B.C. in the latter period of the Egyptian XVIIIth Dynasty a stele was found depicting in relief with hieroglyphic

1. H. Bauer; ZAW, li, 1933, p. 86, note.
2. Gordon, 51, col. viii, 34-35; 67, col. ii, 10-11; 'at, col. iii, 11. This militates seriously against the view of Birkeland that 'Al'eyn is associated with $y$ and refers to the aspect of the god as a vegetation deity, specifically a Tammuz figure, Zur Erklärung von 'Al'eyn in den Texten von Ras Shamra, Norsk Tidsskrift for Spr ogvidenskap, IX, 1933, pp. 338-345.
inscription a god named Mekal. The name has been derived from the root ܝ yaygَرُ, 'to eat' and it has been thought that the god was Rešef, the god of pestilence, 'the Great Devourer! This theory seemed to be supported by a double panelled relief in black basalt depicting the conflict of a dog, taken to be the temple guardian, and a lion, the animal of Nergal, the Mesopotamian counterpart of the West-Semitic Rešef. The stone of this relief is basalt which indicates that it might be native to the district but the art is evidently North-Eastern and not native, so that the piece is probably an importation, a trophy of the Hittite wars, perhaps, and therefore no argument in favour of the identification of Mekal with Rešef. In his study of this stele, however, Vincent notes characteristics of Ba‘al militant. He explains the name as a derivative not of ܐܝܓ but rather of ܐܬ工程技术, 'to be potent; a more probable explanation. In this case it seems to us that we have a close correspondence with ‘Al‘eyn Ba‘al of Ras Shamra. This conclusion is confirmed by a stele found in an adjacent temple to Antit, the Egyptian form of ‘Anat, the sister of Ba‘al in the Ras Shamra texts.

The cult of Ba‘al as a fertility deity is well enough attested in Palestine where he was worshipped in various local manifestations throughout the period of the Hebrew occupation. As we trace the cult of Ba‘al back beyond this period we have the abundant evidence of proper names in the Amarna Texts for the cult of Ba‘al or Addu-Hadad in Palestine as early as the end of the 15th century to which we should add the Mekal stele from Beisan. There are other traces in the shape of copper statuettes of the god in a conical horned cap and short kilt, the right hand raised to brandish a mace or perhaps battle-axe and the left holding a second weapon. Such figurines have been found at Telled Duweir in the ruins of the first temple in the fosse outside the wall.

and at Megiddo\textsuperscript{1}. The significance of these figurines is that
they reproduce exactly in every feature similar figurines
and reliefs of Ba'\textsuperscript{a}l from Ras Shamra\textsuperscript{2} and the seaward settle­
ment of Minet el Beida\textsuperscript{3}. This is the representation of Ba'\textsuperscript{a}l
militant, 'Al'eyn Ba'\textsuperscript{a}l.

Dussaud\textsuperscript{4} has noticed the total absence of Ba'\textsuperscript{a}l from the
patriarchal legends in Genesis which otherwise are held to
produce so faithfully the conditions of an early age which
could scarcely have been due to the imagination of later
writers. Thus Dussaud would argue that the absence of Ba'\textsuperscript{a}l
in those narratives is a definite sign that they reproduce
very fully and faithfully earlier sources. It further suggests
to him that Ba'\textsuperscript{a}l was a stranger to patriarchal Palestine.
Maintaining his theory of the Northward migration of the an­
cestors of the Phoenicians through Palestine, Dussaud explains
the phenomenon of a double pantheon at Ugarit by the supposi­
tion that not until the Phoenicians reached the Lebanon did
they know Ba'\textsuperscript{a}l and 'Anat. This theory appears to be support­
ed by the evidence of the Execratory Texts from the 19th cent­
ury where Ba'\textsuperscript{a}l as a divine element never enters into the theo­
phoric names of chiefs of Palestine. This, however, should not
astonish us since Ba'\textsuperscript{a}l was not a proper name, but a title
originally used with some qualifying noun, usually a place­
name. A god became the Ba'\textsuperscript{a}l of such and such a place, as
Dhorme\textsuperscript{5} has shown, when his worshippers had quitted the nomad
stage for the settled life. There are various indications
in the Execratory Texts, particularly the earlier pottery
fragments of Sethe, that the Amorites of Palestine and their
desert allies had not quite settled down to the sedentary life,

\textsuperscript{1} Loud; Megiddo II, 1948, pl. 235, nos. 20, 269.
\textsuperscript{2} Schaeffer; Syria, XIV, 1933, pl. XVI.
\textsuperscript{3} ibid; Ugaritica, p. 116, pl. XXV.
\textsuperscript{4} Dussaud; Les d\'ecouvertes de Ras Shamra... 2nd ed., 1941, p. 174.
\textsuperscript{5} Dhorme; Le dieu parent et le dieu ma\^itre, RHR, cv, 1932, p. 229-
244.
possibly due to the fact that Palestine was so much exposed
to the desert on two flanks and as such was slow to develop
culturally and politically. In this particular, incidentally,
the XIIth Dynasty Egyptian Tale of Sinuhe bears out the evi-
dence of the Execratory Texts. We may, however, note a development
in the direction of the Ba‘al-cult in Palestine in the theo-
phoric names especially in the later texts of Posener where
the element Hadad is very common. In many cases there is
nothing to suggest that Hadad was other than a warrior-god,
the god of storms, but certain names such as 'Ibshddw,
'Hadad fattens' and 'Jwjhddi,' Hadad makes sappy', suggest that
Hadad was already beginning to be associated with fertility,
a process which we find completed at Ras Shamra by the
beginning of the 14th century at the latest where Hadad is
the Ba‘al par excellence, as is clearly indicated in the
text, the Hunting of Ba‘al, BH. Thus the theophoric names in
Addu in the Amarna Tablets are really evidence of the fertili-
ty-cult in Palestine in the same period, and the absence of
any reference to Ba‘al or Hadad in the patriarchal narratives
far from reflecting actual conditions in the land is due
rather to the nature of the evidence, neither the nationalist
source P, the reforming document D, nor the earlier prophetic
sources E and J having any interest in even naming the offensive
Ba‘al in what was, after all, a somewhat idyllic reconstruction
of Israel's past.

It must be admitted, however, that there is nothing in the
Execratory Texts which conclusively proves the development
of the fertility-cult in Palestine such as that indicated in
the Ras Shamra texts and it is noteworthy that no female deities
are mentioned in the theophoric compounds. On the contrary
those deities play a decided part in the so-called 'historical'
texts of Keret, Dn‘el-‘Aqht, SS and IV AB. In Keret the beauty

1. Dussaud; Syria, XXI, 1940, p. 172.
2. Gordon, 75.
of Keret's bride is compared to the beauty of 'Anat and the king makes a vow to 'Aṯr. In 'Aqht 'Anat is the 'villain of the piece' whose jealousy causes the death of 'Aqht. In SS the infant deities Šhr and Šlm are nourished on the breast of 'Aṯr and in IV AB the protagonist is 'Anat. This is but another fact which militates very strongly against any theory that the Ras Shamra texts indicate a community of habitat and culture of the Phoenicians and the Hebrew patriarchs in Palestine.

One of the most interesting figures in the Ugaritic pantheon is that of 'Aṯr who appears as the rival of Ba'āl or at least a substitute on his throne during his absence in the underworld. He is the son of 'Aṯr the consort of El and at her suggestion he rules by consent of El in the place of Ba'āl. He bears the stock epithet 'rṣ,'the terrible' and mlk,'the king' in which character he is the natural substitute for Ba'āl.

His relation to El is not immediately apparent but he is definitely the son of 'Aṯr, the consort of El and thus belongs to the older category of gods at Ugarit and as such seems to bear an astral character. It is remarkable that in the astral cult of South Arabia 'Aṯtar appears as the deity manifest in the morning and evening star and is the first-born of Il or Sin the moon-god and 'Aṯirat his daughter-consort, the deity of the sun, a conception explaining the association of the morning and evening star with the sun at its rising and setting. Nielsen would identify 'Aṯtr of the Ras Shamra texts with this South Arabian astral deity. On the data at our disposal from South Arabian inscriptions, from Byzantine sources and from the Ras Shamra evidence, a good case can be made out in spite of the apparent difficulty of

1. cf. Hebrew בָּאָל.
correlating evidence from periods so widely separated. The leap from the 14th century B.C., the date of the Ras Shamra texts, to the Byzantine Life of St Nilus in the 5th century is not greater than that which Alt makes from the time of Abraham to the Byzantine Age in the Hauran in citing the evidence of inscriptions in Aramaic and Greek for the worship of the god of the fathers in the patriarchal age. While disagreeing with Alt's main theses in view of the obvious cultural contacts of the Hauran with the West evidenced by the use of Greek, we accept Nielsen's thesis on the grounds that the lapse of time in this case is discounted by the isolation and natural conservatism of the Semitic communities of South Arabia and the oases where life throughout the ages has been lived immune from extraneous influences and conditioned by the same physical environment. This is borne out by the phenomenon of the Arabic language which though so much later attested as a literary tongue yet represents a much earlier stage of linguistic development than the earlier Biblical Hebrew.

In his Schweich lectures of 1921 D.S. Margoliouth impressed with the similarity in cultic terminology between the Old Testament and the South Arabian inscriptions, ventured to suggest that if more documentary evidence were available for conditions in ancient Canaan the affinity between Canaan and South Arabia would prove to be very close. Now the documents have been found in the Ras Shamra texts and if the affinity is not so strong as Margoliouth conjectured, there do seem to be points of contact between Canaan and South Arabia which are in themselves very striking. Of these not the least remarkable is that of *Aṯr.

2. Margoliouth actually hoped for a series of South Arabian texts from Palestine, The Relations between Arabs and Israelites prior to the rise of Islam, 1924, p. 27.
In the Ras Shamra texts the god 'Attar is not conspicuous except in the text where he occupies for a season the vacant throne of Ba'cal. This, however, is a most significant appearance. The astral character of 'Attar which the South Arabian analogy would demand is not immediately apparent unless we may except the statement that he is the son of 'Attar the mother-goddess of the primitive religious stratum whom Nielsen would identify with the sun-goddess, as H. Bauer tentatively suggested. Apart from this indirect evidence we may cite the rôle which 'Attar plays in the negotiations for the marriage of Yash, the moon-god, and the moon-goddess Nikkal. Here, however, 'Attar's astral character is suggested rather by his association than by his activity.

At this point we may ask if it is not possible that the deity may appear under some other name. Actually we have already contended that he appears in the text SS as the twin deities Šhr and Šlm who are begotten by El and suckled on the breast of 'Attar and reared on the confines of the desert. This text, a collection of rubrics and mnemonics from longer poems, perhaps for liturgical chanting, is exceedingly difficult, especially in the shorter pieces. Thus on such pieces, whose meaning may be ambiguous, we must be careful not to base too much.

In the first line of the text we read

\[ \text{'eqr'a 'elm n'}(mm) \text{ wysmm} \\
\text{bn Šr(m)} \text{ ytmm qrt l'1(y)} \]

Here we must take note of the lacunae before we commit ourselves to any positive translation of bn Šrm which might mean 'sons of kings; accusative or vocative, or 'sons of song! In the former case it might refer to the heroes of the poem.

1. H. Bauer; ZAW, li, 1933, p. 92.
2. J. Gray; The Desert God 'Attar in the Literature and Religion of Canaan, JNES, VIII, 1949, pp. 72-83.
"elm n'mmwyysmm,' the gracious and beautiful gods; Shr and Šlm whose birth is celebrated in the long passage towards the end of the poem. In 1.7 we read

Šlm tmlk Šlm mlkt 'rbm wtnnm.

This again seems most naturally, but not necessarily, to refer to the kingly rule of Šlm, the beneficent star of evening. Thus the evidence from this text is by no means conclusive but it does seem that the twin-gods Shr and Šlm were regarded as royal and as at least the foster-sons of 'Aṯtr. This much they have in common with 'Aṯtr.

It is noteworthy that in the offering-lists from Ras Shamra 'Aṯtr is never mentioned by name, though it must be remembered that many of these texts are badly damaged and the name of 'Aṯtr may have perished. In one such text, however, which is more or less complete Šlm occurs among names of gods immediately after mlkm, 'the king' which may be an epithet for 'Aṯtr, the natural substitute for Baʿal on his vacant throne. In this connection we may note in another offering-list; unfortunately fragmentary, the association of mlk, 'the king', and šbʿu špš, 'the host of the sun' and the occasion of the new moon, ym ḫdš. 2

Such fragmentary evidence as is available suggests to us that this deity 'Aṯtr, second only to his mother 'Aṯrt and to El and still exalted for a season to his old position on the throne of Baʿal, is called 'the king' and is hypostatized as Shr and Šlm, the morning and the evening star. As a member of the more primitive astral pantheon he with his mother 'Aṯrt is opposed to Baʿal, who has usurped his power and as such 'Aṯtr may have been assimilated to Mt, the god of the fierce heat and summer drought and the inveterate enemy of Baʿal over whom he prevails until the end of harvest. This

2. ibidem, 3, 11, 48-53.
assimilation would be more apparent if we vocalized Mt of the Ras Shamra texts as Meth! the virile one! In the hypostasis of Mt whose stock epithet is bn 'e$m,' the son of El' and ydd 'el' and mdd 'el,' the favourite son of El', we may have a trace of the former significance of $\text{At}^\text{tr}-\text{Shr}-\text{Sim}, the first-born of El, as in the South Arabian mythology.

The locus classicus for the character and cult of 'Attar in the desert is a passage in 5th century Byzantine Life of St Nilus. Here there is a vivid description of a Bedouin raid on the monasteries of Sinai. Nilus and his son Theodulas are taken and the lad is reserved as a sacrifice to the Venus star. He escapes providentially through the raiders having overslept until the Morning-star had faded after sunrise. The practice of child-sacrifice to 'Attr, the Venus-star is particularly significant. In the light of this practice we may divine the significance of the epithet 'r$p,' the terrible', applied to 'Attr in the Ras Shamra texts. It should, however, be noted that there is no reference to human sacrifice to 'Attr at Ugarit. This may be an indication of the progress of civilization or may be due to the fact that by the time of the texts conscious worship of the deity was outmoded. Again it may be that this aspect of the cult of 'Attr had been transferred to the cult of 'Anat, the warrior and fertility goddess, which is, indeed, suggested by a certain text which describes the goddess indulging in a veritable blood-bath.

Of the cult of 'Attr in Palestine there is no direct evidence in the Old Testament though it is our belief that the deity passed over from the desert to the sown land in Palestine as in Syria partly as the female deity 'Attrt as at Bethshan where she seems to have preserved the character

1. H. Bauer would see this divine name in $\text{At}^\text{trt}$, in the Old Testament as well as in certain Akkadian names, ZAW, 11, 1933, p. 95. Dussaud; Les découvertes de RS, 2nd ed. p. 104.
2. Gordon; 'nt II.
of the male original 'Attr the warrior until the period of the Philistines who dedicated the weapons of Saul and his sons to her after the field of Gilboa. There are, however, definite traces of the male 'Attr, the king, mlk, manifest in the evening and morning star in Palestine and the neighbourhood.

The inscription of Mesha, king of Moab, gives us clear evidence for the worship of 'Attr beyond Jordan in the middle of the 9th century. The king of Moab in his war of independence reduced certain Israelite fortresses and shrines and dragged his trophies before his god Kemosh is found here compounded with 'Attr. Kemosh is the most familiar form of the name of the national god of Moab but it may be that this is only an epithet of 'Attr or perhaps the most common hypostasis of that god. In any case the passage in the Moabite inscription suggests that 'Attr and Kemosh, if not identical, could be assimilated without difficulty. In view of the hypothesis of the astral character of 'Attr and his identity with the Venus star, Shr and Šlm, Nielsen notes as significant the fact that the dedication to 'Attr-Kemosh followed the reduction of the Israelite fortress of Nebo after a night-march. Further we may note that in an inscription of Tiglathpileser III the king of Moab is named Salamanu a hypocoristic form of a theophoric name containing the name of the god Šlm. Farther North in the kindred state of Ammon the national god was Milcom, which was probably not a proper name but a title mlk with the suffix m which appears thus in South Arabian dialects as the definite article. The identity of the god Milcom with Kemosh

1. I Samuel xxxi,10.
3. Nielsen; Ras Shamra Mythologie und Biblische Theologie, p. 31.
5. Schrader; Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament, 1903, p. 475.
of Loab is implied in the reply of Jephthah to the Ammonites, 'Wilt thou not possess that which Kemosh thy god giveth thee to possess!' Thus we arrive at the identification 'Ajttr-Kemosh-Mlk-m which which the Ras Shamra data already cited is in agreement. It is submitted that 'Ajttr was worshipped in one or other of these forms in Israel in the time of the monarchy and probably earlier.

In the Amarna Tablets there are comparatively few traces of mlk, and these, in fact, confined to four names. The king of Tyre is named Abi-milki, and his envoy to the Egyptian court is called Ili-milki. The name Abi-milki occurs again in the case of a citizen of Gebala (Byblos) and as the name of the chief of Shashimi while Ili-milki, as well as being the name of the Tyrian ambassador just mentioned, is found as the name of another man, possibly the notorious Milkilu. These names are significant insofar as they are all theophoric. While it is possible that the mlk-element may refer to the divine king, the Pharaoh, whom all address as 'šarri, beli-ia, ilani-ia, šamsi-ia; one is nevertheless more inclined to take it as referring to a native Semitic deity on the analogy of such names as Abdi-Asirta, Dagan-takala, and Yapthih-Adda. In the case of Milkilu his town is mentioned though not by name. From the part he plays, however, in the correspondence of Abdi-Kheba of Jerusalem we may assume that his home was in the neighbourhood where, in fact, Old Testament tradition locates the Amorites. It is in Jerusalem that we find the most distinct traces of the worship of Mlk-'Ajttr-Saharan in Palestine.

2. Knudtzon; 146, 2; 152, 2 etc.
3. Ibidem; 151, 46.
5. Ibidem; 203, 3.
7. Ibidem; 249, 5, 6; 254, 2, 9; 257, 4; etc.
Turning to the Old Testament we read that Solomon built high places for Kemosh of Moab and Molech of Ammon in the hill that is before Jerusalem, probably the Mount of Olives East of the city. Here, of course, no more might be meant than private chapels of Solomon's wives from Moab and Ammon, and he is reported to have done no less for his other foreign wives. It seems significant, however, that only Kemosh and Milcom are actually named in the passage. We may well suppose, therefore, that Milcom and Kemosh, probably hypostases of one and the same deity, were not now for the first time introduced to the land but already domiciled there.

The next reference to the worship of mlk is in the account of Josiah's reformation describing how he defiled Tophet which is in the Valley of the sons of Hinnom, that no man might make his son or his daughter to pass through the fire to Molech. In this passage we may note further that there is reference to the worship of the sun, moon and stars, while a certain official who had his chamber in the Temple adjacent to the portion dedicated to astral worship is named Nathan-Melech. The same passage notes the desecration of the precincts of Kemosh and Milcom which had apparently survived from the time of Solomon.

Nielsen has demonstrated that human sacrifice was a feature of the worship of 'Attar, the Venus star of the

1. I Kings xi, 7.
2. I Kings xi, 8.
3. There is further reference in Judges x, 6 to the worship of the gods of Ammon and Moab by the Israelites, but as the gods of Syria, Sidon, and the Philistines are included and the whole passage bears the obvious traces of Deuteronomic revision, it cannot be treated as authoritative.
4. We note in passing the view of Eissfeldt that in this phrase mlk als Opferbegriff impunischen und hebräischen und das Ende des Gott Moloch, 1935; Dussaud; Les origines canaanéennes du sacrifice israélite, 2nd ed. In view of the local evidence of a deity mlk in the Near East, Eissfeldt's late evidence must be regarded as not conclusive. See Albright; Archaeology and the Religion of Israel, 1942, pp. 162-164.
5. II Kings xxiii, 5.
6. II Kings xxiii, 10.
Desert cult in the Christian era. Among the Hebrews too human sacrifice was apparently quite a regular sacrifice in the monarchic period. It is first explicitly attested in Judah under Ahaz and in Israel under Hoshea, and, though Molech is not named, the parallel passage in Chronicles adds that the scene of this sacrifice was the Valley of the sons of Hinnom, specifically Tophet, which is associated with Malk in Jeremiah, xxxii,35. From Moab comes the classic case of the sacrifice of the eldest son of Mesha which would certainly be made to Kemosh, the national god of Moab with whom Aatr is associated or identified in the inscription from Dibon while in Judges xi,24 Kemosh is spoken of as the god of Ammon whom we know to have been Milcom.

There is a certain amount of evidence for the localization of the worship of this deity at Jerusalem. In the late period of the monarchy Zephaniah stigmatizes the inhabitants of Jerusalem, 'they that worship the host of heaven upon the housetops...and they that swear by Malcham! There are certain physical features, too, which are designated as 'the king's, such as 'the king's gardens' which the Book of Nehemiah locates more precisely by the Pool of Siloam. As this is near the confluence of the Kidron Valley and the Valley of Hinnom, the scene of human sacrifice to 'Molech', it is possible that the Gardens of the King were the precinct of the god Melech whom we would identify with Aatr and Shr-Slm, the Venus-star. Similarly the King's Dale which was in the same vicinity, as is suggested by the account of Absalom's monument, may

1. The evidence of infants and young children from various sites in Palestine such as Gezer, Jericho and Megiddo is here reserved as doubtful though the writer has no doubt that some of those cases notably from Gezer and Megiddo do indicate foundation sacrifice.
2. II Kings xvi,3.
3. II Kings xvii,17.
4. II Chronicles xxviii,3.
5. II Kings iii,27.
6. Zephaniah 1,5.
7. II Kings xxv,4.
8. Nehemiah iii,3.
9. This feature may be identical with 'the garden of Uzza' which was a later title of the Venus-star, cf. Wellhausen; Reste Arabischen Heidentums, 1897, pp. 40-45.
be associated with the same deity. Here in fact the principle of the substitution of a pillar for a son may have a significance of its own. Had Absalom had a son he might have made the supreme sacrifice like Mesha of Moab and like Mesha he might have sacrificed his son to Melech or 'Attar in whose Dale he raised the pillar. The fact that the names of the two favourite sons of David, Absalom and Solomon should both have contained the name Salem which appears again in the name of the city suggests the probability that Salem was the local god of Jerusalem domiciled there since the time of the Egyptian Exe­cratory Texts in the 19th century and specifically associated with the Amorites or their confederates from the direction of the desert. Salem we maintain is one and the same with Melech or 'Attar.

'Anat, though apparently one of the younger deities in the Ugaritic pantheon, is actually the most active goddess in the agrarian ritual and mythology of Ras Shamra. She is closely associated with the vegetation-god Baal and is designated as his sister in the passage dealing with his confinement in the underworld where she goes and demands of Mt, 'at mt tn 'aby... 'Thou, O Mt, give me my brother!'.

In every text from Ras Shamra where 'Anat is mentioned she is the intimate associate of Ba'al. As the counterpart of Ba'al in the hypostasis of Hadad the god of violent storms who rears in thunder and hurls the lightning, 'Anat appears as the warrior-goddess and shows her mettle both on gods and men. She cuts to pieces Mt the god of summer heat and drought, winnows, parches and grinds him and scatters him to the birds.

1. For fuller treatment of this question see the writer's paper The Desert God 'Attar in the Literature and Religion of Canaan, JNES, VII, 1949, pp. 72-83.
3. ibidem, 11.30-36.
She rounds up human victims and in a scene reminiscent of Jehu's massacre of the scions of the House of Omri in the temple of Ba'al in Samaria, she lops off heads and limbs and bathes in the blood of the slain. Thus we are not surprised to find 'Anat adopted into Egypt as one of the Syrian deities affected by the warrior-Pharaoh Ramses II (1292-1225 B.C.) as a memorial of his exploits in Syria, notably against the Hittites at Qadesh on the Orontes. There 'Anat appears as a warrior-goddess at Tanis, his capital in the North-East of the Delta. She is found again appropriately assimilated to Athene in a bilingual inscription of the 4th century from Larnax Lapethos in Cyprus.

In the last inscription 'Anat is termed 'Anat, the strength of life, which is rendered in the Greek Σωτήρ, 'Anat, as a life-giving power she is the fitting companion of Ba'al. It is precisely to restore Ba'al to life and vigour that 'Anat visits the underworld and deals so drastically with Mt, the inveterate enemy of Ba'al. She is possibly with 'Atra the fostermother of the sons of El, Shr and Shl, and with 'Atra plays the same rôle in the nurture of the eldest son of King Keret. Dussaud, again, has shown that in the passage describing 'Anat's blood-bath, this is not a case of mere wanton slaughter but is immediately related to the return of rain and vitality to the earth. In another passage the goddess rejuvenates El by staining his head red with blood. Thus in a very pointed sense 'Anat was a deity who 'kills and makes alive again!'

3. G. A. Cooke; NSI, 28, pp. 80-82.
4. III K (Gordon, 128), col. II, 1. 27. It is from this case that we may infer the rôle of 'Anat in the text SS, where she is designated not by name but probably by the title rhyg.
5. Dussaud; Les combats sanglants de 'Anat et le pouvoir universel de El, RHR, cxviii, pp. 133-139.
There are definite traces of the cult of 'Anat in Palestine in the patriarchal period. This is suggested by the place-names Beth-Anath in Naphtali and Beth Anoth in Judah and possibly Anathoth, the home of Jeremiah just North of Jerusalem. At Bethshan in one of the temples excavated by the University of Pennsylvania a basalt panel was found, the dedication of a certain Egyptian Hesi-Nekht to 'Antit, Queen of Heaven, Mistress of the gods. The name is apparently an Egyptian variant on 'Anat. It must be admitted, however, that beyond these instances there are no clear traces of the cult of 'Anat in Palestine and the Old Testament never names her except in place-names and in the proper name Shamgar the son of 'Anath, which probably means Shamgar the man of Beth Anath.

Closely associated with 'Anat probably is the goddess Astarte, deliberately mis-vocalized as Ashtoreth in the Old Testament where she appears as the fertility goddess, the Babylonian Ishtar. Her fertility functions at Ugarit were apparently usurped by 'Anat and also the war-like character which belongs to Ishtar in Babylonian mythology. The latter, however, was probably preserved at Ugarit by 'Attr, the male deity of the older stratum of religion from which the female deity 'Attrt was probably a development after the occupation of the settled land. This deity plays but little part in the mythology of Ras Shamra but has a definite place in the pantheon since her name appears in offering lists. In the Keret text the king, reviving from his recent grievous illness, rebukes his over-sanguine son and curses him,

'ybr bn ybn
'ybr bn r'esk
'ytrt šm b'l qdqdk

'May Horon break thy head, O son, May 'Attrt, the hypostasis of Ba'al break thy skull!'

3. Rowe, The Topography and History of Bethshan, pp. 22-33, pl. 5v, o.2.
5. Gordon, 5, 1.17, 3, 19, 15, 22, 6, 23, 4. In I K, 11.146/293, the beauty of Keret's bride is compared to that of 'Attrt.
6. II K (Gordon, 127), 11. 54-57.
The designation of 'Aṭṭr as Ḫm Bāʿal indicates that she was a fertility-deity. The force of the parallelism with Horon is not so clear though there does seem to be sufficient evidence for taking Horon as a healing-deity, perhaps later known in the Phoenician pantheon as Eshmun. Beyond isolated references, however, the goddess stands definitely in the background, her existence representing a stage in the adaptation of the cult of the male deity 'Aṭṭr of the desert pantheon to the exigencies of the settled land where finally 'Anat takes his place.

In Palestine, on the other hand, the relative position of 'Aṭṭr and 'Anat seems to be reversed. In Palestine, more directly in contact with the desert and culturally more backward than the Phoenician coast, the development from the cult of 'Aṭṭr to that of 'Anat never quite advanced beyond the second stage, though the cult of 'Anat, as the place-names and the inscription of Hesi-Nekht from Bethshan indicate, was not unknown. Still it was 'Aṭṭr who was more prominent. Her fertility functions in the Old Testament are never in doubt. Her warlike propensity, like that of the Syrian 'Anat, is indicated by the fact that it was in her temple (at Bethshan?)¹ that the Philistines hung up the armour of Saul and his sons as trophies of the victory of Gilboa.

In the account of the reform of Josiah there is notice of the Ashera² associated with the cult of Bāʿal. This, for which the women wove hangings, is translated in the AV as 'the grove'. There are admittedly passages where the word does seem to signify some object such as a sacred pole, so called perhaps because it stood straight or erect. Again, however, the word seems to be a proper noun referring to the name of a goddess³, or, where the article is used, as in the passage just quoted, an image of this goddess or her symbol,

¹ I Samuel xxxi,10.
² II Kings xxiii,4,6.
the sacred pole, originally a tree, as the repository of life and fruitfulness which it yields under the stimulus of Ba'lel the male deity of storm and autumn rain. In this case any doubt on the reading of Ashera as a proper name rather than as a common noun is resolved by the Ras Shamra texts which show 'Ajrta as an active goddess of the fertility cult. As such she is associated with Ba'lel in the period of the Judges. To her Maacah the mother of Asa made a 'horrid image; 1 Kings xv, 15. 2 Anab made 'Ajrta at Samaria, the image of the goddess or her symbol which is noted as still standing after the revolt of Jehu. 3 At Carmel Elijah challenged the prophets of 'the Ashera' to trial by ordeal. 4 At Jerusalem Manasseh set an image, 2 Kings xvi, 3, of Ashera in the Temple, which was removed in the reformation of Josiah. The issue here is admittedly complicated by the double significance of 'Ajrta as the goddess herself, her image or her symbol. In the light of the Ras Shamra evidence we must insist on her definite personality alongside Ba'lel and Astarte with whom, as at Ras Shamra she may tend to be assimilated. In Palestine, however, it would seem that she has almost yielded her identity to Astarte and is known mainly by her symbol, the sacred pole or stylized tree.

In the Ras Shamra texts 'Ajrta is clearly established. Her regular sacrifice is noted in the offering-lists and she plays an active part in the mythological texts though her functions of fertility seem to have been to a certain extent taken over by the younger 'Anat. She too seems to belong to the older stratum of religion at Ras Shamra with El, the senior god and her son 'Ajrtr. She appears as the consort of El

1. Judges iii, 7.
2. 1 Kings xv, 15.
3. 1 Kings xvi, 33.
4. 2 Kings xiii, 6.
5. 1 Kings xviii, 19.
6. 2 Kings xxii, 7.
and has the alternative name or title 'elat which appears occasionally in the texts in parallel to 'Atrt, notably in Gordon, 49, col. I, 11.12-13.

'tamš'ht 'atrst wbnh
'elst ʷšttrt 'aryh

'Atrt and her sons will indeed rejoice,
Even 'Elt and the band of her progeny...

As the consort of El the father of the divine family she is called the mother of the gods who are said to be seventy in number. As such she is termed qnyt 'elm, 'the Creatrix of the gods' language which is reminiscent of the words of Eve when she had 'gotten a man! The term, however, has been taken otherwise. Connecting the word qny with the South Arabian root qny, 'to be master', Gaster renders 'the mistress of the gods'. Nielsen, again, would take qnyt 'elm as 'the possession of El; his wife, taking the final m either as the definite article as it appears in South Arabian dialects or as the enclitic m which stands in this position in Canaanite dialect as in Akkadian with prepositional force. It is impossible exactly to determine the meaning of qnyt 'elm in the present state of our knowledge, but that does not alter the fact that 'Atrt stood in a very intimate relation to El and was thought of as the mother of the divine family as appears plainly from a passage dealing with the building of Ba'al's temple where we note bn (e) 'atrst in parallel to 'elm,

'ên bt 1bšl km 'elm
wḥṣr kbn 'atrst

'No house has Ba'al as the gods
No precinct as the sons of 'Atrt...'

Nielsen does seem on solid ground, however, when he takes

1.Gaster; Ba'al is Risen! an ancient Hebrew Passion-play from Ras Shamra-Ugarit, Iraq, vi, 1939, p.129.
2.Nielsen; Ras Shamra Mythologie und Biblische Theologie, p.32.
'Aṭrt with El as representatives of the more primitive pantheon of the desert. Ba‘al, the fertility-god of the settled land, is no son of hers and in the passage already quoted his death is thought to be naturally welcome to the goddess and her sons. While Ba‘al languishes in the underworld it is 'Aṭtr, the son of 'Aṭrt whom on the invitation of El she nominates to fill the vacant throne. On the analogy of South Arabian mythology Nielsen would take the title rbt 'Aṭrt ym, which is applied to 'Aṭrt, as 'Lady 'Aṭrt the Sun' He would thus regard her as an astral deity, a view which is corroborated by her association with 'Aṭtr whom we regard as the Venus star. Her enmity to the fertility-deity Ba‘al is further indicated by the fact that the female who was to give birth to the voracious monsters before whom Ba‘al was to fall is called 'amt 'Aṭrt, 'the maid of 'Aṭrt.'

Dussaud has contended that 'Aṭrt and Qds in the Ras Shamra texts were one and the same divine figure, the consort of the senior god El and the god Amurru who also appears as a deity in the texts, probably the god of the Amorites identified with or assimilated to El. This he supports by citing certain representations of the goddess in Egyptian inscribed sculpture where she appears as Qodšu, depicted as a nude female with Hathor head-dress holding serpents and lotus-flowers and standing on the back of a lion. He compares an almost identical figure on a gold pendant from Ras Shamra which is undoubtedly a representation of 'Aṭrt the mother-goddess as is indicated by the pair of serpents by which she is flanked. There is a certain text where we might read

2. BH (Gordon, 75, col. 1, 11.16-17.
4. Schaeffer; Syria , XIII, 1932, pl. IX.
bn(e)qdś in parallel to ṇelm, the whole passage recalling Gordon, 51, col. iv, 11.51 ff. where ṇelm stands in parallel to bn(e) ṇAtṛt. Again in the Keret text the king is said to be bn ṇel....ṣph lṭpm wqḍś, 'the son of El....the offspring of the Kindly One and Qadesh!\(^1\) We naturally assume here that qḍś refers to the consort of El, ṇAtṛt whom we find designated in the same text as the fostermother of Keret's heir.\(^2\)

We know already that ṇAtṛt was commonly worshipped in Palestine in the period of the Hebrew monarchy and the name of Abdi-Asirta indicates that her cult was current in the Lebanon in the time of the Amarna Tablets. Evidence for her presence in patriarchal Palestine, however, is scanty though on the clue of the Egyptian sculpture and the pendant just cited we may be entitled to see in the serpent motif in Palestine a relic of the worship of the mother-goddess.\(^3\) In the earlier period, however, there is no hint of the goddess or her cult in the theophoric names of the Excratory Texts. In those names ṇms, the sun, does occur as a divine name in the compound ṇmsw'ipijm, the sun makes fruitful! There is, however, no suggestion of the identity of ṇAtṛt and the sun, as Bauer and Nielsen suggest in the case of the Ras Shamra texts, nor is the sun here feminine as at Ras Shamra, but masculine, which is another piece of evidence of the significant difference between pre-Israelite Palestine and Ras Shamra.

Other deities less conspicuous in the Ras Shamra texts are Dagon and Horon who seem to be attested in Palestine in the place-names, Beth-Dagon and Beth-Horon.

The former is known to have had a temple and cult at

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3. This motif with the goddess is thought by Albright to be represented on a piece of worn sculpture in limestone from Tell Beit Mirsim, AASU9, AVII, 1937, pp. 42-43, pl. 21 a. It is possibly attested too at Bethshemesh, E. Grant, PFQS, 1929, p. 203.
4. Posener; Princes et Pays... E 44. He is the chief of Jb|j which Dussaud takes as an abridged form of Jibleam, Syria, XXI, 1940,
Ashdod in the Early Iron Age. In the Ras Shamra texts he is named as the father of Ba'al which suggests the antiquity of his worship and also, perhaps, the fact that he has been superseded. His temple, however, was discovered by Schaeffer and it compares very favourably in size with the temple of Ba'al with which it was contemporary until the destruction of the city by fire in the 14th century. He is named, moreover, in the offering-lists generally together with but after El and Ba'al. It is remarkable that this deity plays no active part in the mythological texts and it is possible that he had become largely assimilated to El. He is not named in the theophoric names in the Egyptian Excratory Texts but appears in the Amarna Tablets in the name of Dagan-takala who is associated with Southern Palestine. We cannot determine when and in what circumstances he was introduced to Palestine. We have trace of him, however, in names from the First Babylonian Dynasty and in the Mari Texts his name appears as the divine element in theophoric names of the royal house of Assur. He is, therefore, an Amorite deity.

Horon, on the other hand, who is named in an imprecation in the Keret text and in a proper name in an administrative tablet, is better attested in Palestine at least in the earlier period, occurring thrice in the proper name ḫwn nibw, the name of chiefs at Taphw, Arqa and at Laish and presumably in the place-name Beth-Horon. The deity is found named as the protector of Ramses II in an inscription from his capital at Tanis in the North-East of the Delta. That Horon on this inscription was a Semitic deity is strongly suggested by the known

1. I Samuel v, 1-7.
2. Gordon, 9, 1, 3, 17, 1, 16, 19, 1, 5, 69, 1, 2, 70, 1, 2.
5. Posener, Princies et Pays, ..., E 17.
6. ibidem; E 54. The name of the town in the texts is ḫqm
7. ibidem; E 59. The name of the town in the texts is ṣlj
predilection of Ramses for Syrian deities of whom we find Anat and Astarte named in Egyptian inscriptions of the period, and Seth worshipped in the guise of the Syrian Ba'al Saphon. This view is corroborated by the association of Horon with Resef and Anat in the Harris Papyrus cited by Albright. That he was worshipped much earlier than the XIXth Dynasty is demonstrated by Posener who adduces the evidence of the Papyrus Ermitage from the XVIIIth Dynasty and by Albright who cites inscriptions on certain foundation deposits of faience tiles from the temple in the proximity of the great sphinx at Gizeh.

The connection with Palestine is suggested by the place-name Beth-Horon, the personal names cited from the Excratory Texts of the 19th century, by the name יִבְרֵה עֲרָבָא on a Hebraic seal from the 8th or 7th century B.C., and finally from a Greek inscription of the 2nd century B.C. from Delos where the deity Ὄρων is associated with Ἀνάτησις as a deity of Jamnia on the coastal plain. This last instance indicates the identity of Ὄρων with Ἀνάτησις, the companion of Heracles who appears at Carthage as Asclepius. Asclepius, again, the god of healing, is the Greek counterpart of the Phoenician Eshmun. This deity, so characteristic of later Phoenician religion and cited by Damascius as the eighth son of Suduk and one of the Kabiri, the great gods, does not appear by this name in the texts. Hence it may be that Horon is a title of Eshmun, the god of healing who might very appropriately be invoked by Keret on his recovery, יִבְרֵה עָרָבָא יבנְ יִבְרֵה עָרָבָא רְשֶׁק

'ýbr hrn ybn
ýbr hrn r'esk
ttrt b'l qdqdk.

'May Horon break, my son,
May Horon break thy head,
May ᾽Αττρτ, the hypostasis of Ba'al (break) thy skull.'

2. Schaeffer: Syria, XII, 1931, Pl. VI.
5. Albright: AJSL, liii, 1936-37, pp. 4-5.
7. Migne; Photius, 332 b.
It is suggested that the cult of Horon as a healing deity was established in Palestine at an early period. In this connection we may note the place-name Yirpa'el in the vicinity of Beth-Horon. Moreover, the brazen serpent in the local cult of Jerusalem may indicate such a healing cult as we find it associated with the god Asclepius in the Hellenistic age in Phoenicia where Asclepius was the Greek counterpart of the native Eshmun. Eshmun, again, is given in the theogonies in Philo of Byblos as the eighth son of Suduk who may well be the deity whose name appears in the names of two pre-Israelite kings, Melchizedeq and Adonisedeq and in the hypocoristic name Zadoq who was probably the priest of the local cult of Jebusite Jerusalem.

This case depends mainly on the identification of Horon with 'Aqpwr of the Delos inscription and his association with Heracles. This identification made by Virolleaud has not been questioned so far but has served as a starting-point for research on the question. It may yet prove that we have been wrong in identifying 'Aqpwr with Horon though there is no other known Semitic deity with whom the name would so well correspond. If, however, for the moment we should derive the name Horon from the root hwr, 'to be white', we might explain it as the appropriate epithet of the moon or a conspicuous star. The female 'Atrt in parallel to Horon in the passage in the Keret text might suggest that Horon is 'Atrt whom we identify with the Venus star in its twin manifestation of Shr and šlm. Here it may be observed that Albright though in a different way arrives at the conclusion that Horon was

1. Gray; The Canaanite God Horon, JNES, viii, 1949, pp. 27-34.
2. Identified with Rafat, five miles East of Beit-Ur el Fauqa, Abel, Geographie... II, p. 92.
4. C. Müller; Fragmenta Historiorum Graecorum, III, p. 537, § 20; cf. Damascius (Migne), Photius 352 b.
5. Genesis xiv, 13 ff.
6. Joshua xi, 1, 3.
a chthonic deity identified with Nergal and Re'sef or Sulman or 'Salem, the deity of pestilence or the underworld. As a further possibility it may be noted that in Arabic, is found referring to the planet Jupiter which is found in Mesopotamian incantation texts to represent Nergal, the Mesopotamian god of pestilence and the underworld.

In 1932 the question was opened of the presence of a deity Yw in the pantheon of Ugarit though it was not until 1938 that the relevant text was published. Dussaud immediately identified Yw with Jahweh and stated in 1940, 'Les Israelites faisant à haute époque partie du groupe cananéen, ce n'est pas un dieu étranger que leur propose d'adopter Moïse; il les invite simplement à préférer le fils au père, substitution fréquent dans l'histoire des religions mais que marque toujours une succession très nette! He supposes that Moses thus led a movement of political secession from the Canaanites in the Negeb, rallying the Israelites to the name of Yw-Jahweh.

The text in its context is found in the tablet designated VI AB deciphered and transliterated by Virolleaud as follows.

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wyn l(t)p'n 'el d(p'ed...............)
šm bny yw 'el(t....................)
wp'y šm y(m.......................)
ť'nyn lzntnf(....................)
'at tp'n dp'ed(....................)
ťank ltpn 'el(dp'ed.............)
'ydm p'rt(.......................)
šmk mdd 'el(.....................)
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Virolleaud supposes that Yw is the son of Ltpn El dp'ed, El, the Kindly, the Merciful, the most high god of the Ugaritic pantheon. Of Yw we hear no more in this text.

1. Albright; AJSL, liii, 1936-37, pp. 10 ff.
3. Virolleaud in La Déesse Anat, 1933.
4. Dussaud; CRAIEL, 1940, p. 370.
In another tablet published by Virolleaud in 1937 containing a list of persons attached to a temple at Ugarit there is a passage which reads ‘bdy(...)bn y(t)tn.Virolleaud allows for one letter in the lacuna and suggests that ‘bdyw should be read which he takes to be a local variant of the Biblical name יָהָוִי. In view of the fragmentary nature of this text, however, this can hardly be cited as evidence for a deity Yw at Ras Shamra. The former passage, indeed, is open to the same objection since, as indicated in our transliteration, the latter half of the line and of every line in the context is missing. Owing to this material damage and the uncertain meaning of several words in the passage it is a questionable proof-text.

De Langhe suggests that we have a better title to read Yw in a certain Akkadian contract where a female is mentioned named Eli-iwwa which might conceivably be Eli-yw, the Biblical Elijah, though Thureau-Dangin, who edited this text, makes no such suggestion. De Langhe draws the analogy between this name and others cited by Th. Bauer from Mesopotamia in the period of the First Babylonian Dynasty. Such names are Ya-ah-wi, Ya-ah-wi-el, Ya-wi-el, Ya-wi-um. Bauer, however, does not find any reference here to Jahweh but connects Ya-wi with the verb ויהי 'to exist! That he is right in avoiding the identification of Yawi with Jahweh seems clear from the occurrence of the name Ya-wi-Da-gan where the mention of the god Dagan seems to preclude that of Jahweh in the name.

Thus Dussaud’s theory of a Canaanite origin of Jahweh and his occurrence in the Ras Shamra texts rests on the flimsiest of bases.

In the ‘locus classicus’ we are told nothing of Yw beyond

3. Thureau-Dangin; Trois contrats de Ras Shamra, Syria, XVIII, 1937.
the fact that he was apparently the son of El and possibly of Elat, his consort. In no other mythological text is there any mention of a deity Yw. Thus if we accept Dussaud's view that the Hebrews adopted the son of the Canaanite high god as their national deity we are confronted by many difficulties. It is odd that they should have chosen such a nonentity. No doubt Dussaud's view would account for the known fact of the contamination of Jahweh-worship with the fertility-cult of Canaan but it makes quite inexplicable the equally well-established fact of the sustained conflict against that tendency.

The Hebrew traditions are unanimous in locating Jahweh in the Southern desert and even East of the Arabah in the vicinity of Seir or Midian. They do admit that Jahweh was the god of a non-Israelite people but his worshippers were not the Canaanites but the nomad Kenites. The Hebrews came to know Jahweh and bound themselves to his worship in their nomad days before they knew and settled Palestine West of the Jordan. To suppose that they entered into a covenant with a minor Canaanite deity is only barely possible on the assumption that the Phoenicians had left traces of their culture in the Southern desert where the early Hebrew fathers had sojourned and where the people was found again in the days of Moses. This of course is the very corner-stone of the historical construction which Virolleaud and Dussaud put upon the texts. This theory, however, rests upon too many corrupt texts and dubious geographical equations and does not agree with established archaeological findings in the Negeb.

Dussaud appeals to the strong Hebrew tradition which associated the people in the time of Moses with Jahweh at Qadesh and Paran in the Negeb or North Sinai. He cites the

1. H. Bauer; Die Gottheiten von RS, ZAW, 11, 1933, p. 94, Bauer suggests that the Yw element in theophoric names in the Samaritan ostraca may refer to this Canaanite deity rather than Jahweh.
2. The protagonists of Jahwism, the prophets and Rechabites, hark consistently back to the desert tradition.
Blessing of Moses, Deuteronomy xxxiii,2 which has every aspect of a genuine old source, emending to the following reading:\textsuperscript{1}

\begin{center}
\begin{scriptsize}
\textbf{כ"א יתעב צראב}\\
\textbf{כ"א יתעב צראב}
\end{scriptsize}
\end{center}

He translates, 'The Lord came from Sinai and rose (as the sun) from Seir, he shone upon the mountain of Paran and came from Meribath Qadesh, from (or to) the South of Ashdod.' The association that this reading establishes between Jahweh and Ashdod is particularly important in view of the mention which Dussaud and Virolleaud claim to find of Ashdod in the text SS, the action of which they locate in the Negeb. In the case of the localities \textit{כ"א יתעב צראב} and \textit{כ"א יתעב צראב} we have the uncertainty of conjectural emendation unattested by the Versions and, in the first case, actually contradicted by the Septuagint which reads \textit{כ"א יתעב צראב}, suggesting the Hebrew \textit{כ"א יתעב צראב}.

There would, however, seem to be a real point in associating \textit{כ"א יתעב צראב} with Meribath Qadesh, a desert shrine as the name suggests, but the reference to Ashdod seems to be pointless. Ashdod is by no means the last post before the open desert in the South but many more significant places lie between Ashdod and Qadesh. If Ashdod had been a shrine hallowed by patriarchal associations as Hebron or the wells of Beersheba we might have understood the reference. Ashdod, however, had apparently no such associations.\textsuperscript{3} It had not even the prestige of antiquity, taking its origin, in fact, only in the Iron Age as archaeological sounding has demonstrated.\textsuperscript{4} Furthermore

\begin{enumerate}
\item Dussaud; Les Phéniciens au Negeb et en Arabie, d'après un texte de Bas Shamra, RHR, cviii, 1933, p.16.
\item Mowinckel maintains that he was specifically the oracle god of Qadesh. Sinai og Qades, NGT, ix, 1942, pp.21 ff.
\item The shrine of Dagon at Ashdod, however, may have long antedated the Iron Age settlement.
\item Abel; Géographie.... II, p.254.
\end{enumerate}
it had never any association with Israel either in patriarchal times or in the later history of the nation when it was in the heart of the Philistine country.

In the passage in the Blessing of Moses, the imagery of Jahweh rising as the sun and shining forth supports the conjecture of Dussaud's emendation. This description of Jahweh would agree admirably with the theophany of Jahweh in Habakkuk iii. We note that here as in the Song of Deborah Jahweh is associated not only with North Sinai but with Seir and Edom East of the Arabah.

The view that Jahweh was a god adopted by the Hebrews from another people has much to recommend it. The circumstances of the theophany to Moses, the covenant at the mountain in the desert, the affinity of Moses with Jethro and the respect of Moses for his authority in spiritual affairs all lend support to the view that specifically Jahweh was the god of Jethro's people, of Midian which the writer would identify with Cush, which he would associate with Kwśw of the Egyptian Excratory Texts of Posener. It is possible that there may be a connection between the Kwśw and Qos whom we know from later texts as the national god of Edom. It is a remarkable fact that though Hebrew prophets had much to say in denunciation of their neighbours and their gods, Qos of Edom is never mentioned. Edom, indeed, may be denounced for cruelty but never for idolatry and the fact remains that the tie of racial kinship was acknowledged. Though the Old Testament mentions Kemosh of Moab and Milcom of Ammon and Hadad as the god of Syria, we know Qos as the god of Edom only through Edomite theophoric names in Assyrian inscriptions.

1. Judges v, 4-5.
2. Hårdman maintains that Jahweh was the fire-god of Jethro's clan of the Kenites or desert smiths and the theophany at Sinai-Horeb not an earthquake and volcano but dispensed by human agency. The Religion of Israel, 1947, pp. 10, 14-15.
3. Moses' Cushite wife would thus be none other than Zipporah.
4. Posener; Princes et Pays, E 51, 52.
of Tiglath-Pileser III (745-727), Esarhaddon (680-669) and Assurbanipal (669-626) and in Greek inscriptions from the Ptolemaic period in Egypt and the Shephelah. Is this silence on the part of the Hebrews concerning Qos of Edom simply fortuitous or discreet? Certainly Jahweh as the god of the fire and storm-cloud had much in common with Qos whom we encounter in his Greek guise as Apollo furnished in Greek mythology and sculpture with fiery darts and like Jahweh in Egypt and the desert dispensing pestilence. This is surely the figure with which Hebrew tradition is conversant rather than with a minor deity of the garden-plots of Phoenicia.

It may, however, be noted that in the Ras Shamra text Yw is apparently the son of El and Ajr. These are gods of the older stratum in the pantheon of Ugarit whom Nielsen would associate with the desert. The passage in this case might be a relic of an older mythology related to the desert. This theory might account for the disappearance of Yw from the texts except in such a remnant as we have before us. Only on such a view could we possibly relate Yw of the text to Jahweh whom the Hebrews came to know in the deserts of Simmi and Midian. There are certain possibilities, then, arising out of the association of Yw with El and Elat in the family relationship, hence the greater the pity that the text in its damaged condition tells us so little.

On the other hand, it has been long known that there was a Syrian god named *hw in Eusebius, Praeparatio Evangelica, as the god of Byblos whose priest Hierombalos is cited as the authority behind Sanchuniathon whom Philo of Byblos quotes. The Greek letters might reproduce the Semitic name

1. Luckenbill, Ancient Records of Assyria, II, 690.
2. ibidem, 690.
3. ibidem, 876.
5. Peters and Thiersch, Painted Tombs of Marissa, 1905.
7. ed. Gifford, 1903, 31 d.
Yw which is found in the theophoric names Azri-jau of Jaudi and Jau-bidi of Hamath. It has been claimed that Jau in these names is a form of Jahu and G.R.Driver suggests that Azri-jau may have been a Jew who founded a small state in Syria which he called by the name of his home-land. This is not so improbable a suggestion when we bear in mind the Deuteronomic enactment forbidding the king to cause men to go to Musri for horses. We can hardly imagine a Jew, however, rising to such eminence in a state so considerable as Hamath that he should have been able to rise with the support of the natives against the Assyrians. Thus the divine element Jau in those names does seem to indicate a Syrian god who may be the &pi of Philo and the Yw of the Ras Shamra text.

A further manifestation of Yw of the Ras Shamra text may be that deity mounted on a winged solar chariot which appears in the 5th century coin from the vicinity of Gaza and identified with Triptolemus who appears similarly represented on an archaic Aitāa vase. Here, however, there is a difficulty. The survival of Yw to such a late date as even the time of Tigrath-Pilesar III (738 B.C.) would surely imply his worship at Ras Shamra at the date of the texts. Yet in the offering-lists we find no reference to any such deity which indicates that if he were a god at all he must have been a member of the older pantheon together with El and Aitūt and her seventy sons together with whom he vanished from Ugaritie worship and memory remaining in such a fragment of the older mythology as we have before us. The worship of this deity may have been reintroduced when the

1. In an inscription of Tigrath-Pilesar III from Nineveh, Jaudi is not Judah but a state in North-West Syria, Gressmann; AOT zum AT, 1909, p. 113.
2. In an inscription from Sargon II, Gressmann; op. cit, p. 117.
4. Deuteronomy xvii, 16.
Aramaean influx of the 15th-14th century brought his cult in again from the desert to central Syria where his name appears in the name of Jau-bidi, the king of Hamath in 720 B.C. His cult may have gradually penetrated to the Phoenician coast where eventually he appears at Byblos if we may credit the evidence of Philo. There eventually he may have been assimilated to the Greek Triptolemus in the Hellenistic Age and taken South to Palestine by Phoenician colonists. The Phoenician sources give us no indication of anything in the character or cult of Yw which suggested assimilation with Triptolemus. H. Bauer, however, cites the oracle of Apollo of Claros from Macrobius which is given fully in Reitzenstein where θεός ἑλληνιστήρ, 'delicate θεός,' is the deity of autumn and the harvest. We do seem to have a point of contact with the cult of Eleusis and the agrarian deity Triptolemus as the coin of Gaza suggests but from the Phoenician side the case of identity with Triptolemus or Jahweh God of the Hebrews must remain incomplete before the insuperable difficulty of silence.

1. The vicinity of Gaza was a Sidonian colony in the 5th century. At Rafia further South it is known that Dionysus was worshipped. The Gaza coin reproduces none of the features of Dionysus but quite definitely those of Triptolemus who appears on 5th century Attic ware as a bearded god on a winged chariot. Nilsson, however, points out that there was a definite tendency to assimilate the Dionysiac cult to the Eleusinian. Here the cry of the devotees, Iakchos, was actually personified and given the character of Bacchus or Dionysus. It may then be that YHW of the Gaza coin is partly a Semitization of the vocative of Iakchos referring to Dionysus in his Eleusinian guise as Triptolemus, and partly a reproduction of the Phoenician deity Yw.

In sorting out the various sources of the composite Pentateuch Wellhausen and his followers have been guided among other considerations by the natural supposition that an elaborate cult presupposing an established sanctuary is inconsistent with nomadic conditions and the ascription of such ordinances to Moses before the settlement of Canaan is an anachronism. Now that we have the culture of Canaan in the patriarchal period so fully documented at Ras Shamra it is time to review this position taken by the established school of Biblical criticism. Dussaud, having already undertaken to demonstrate on the evidence of technical terms in Phoenician and Punic inscriptions that the Hebrew sacrificial system as elaborated in Leviticus was not necessarily post-Exilic, welcomes the Ras Shamra material as confirmation of his thesis. He is careful to state, however, that he does not disagree with the work of Wellhausen as a literary critic. His objection is that the Wellhausenist school confuses purely literary with historical issues. While accepting the now conventional view of the literary composition of the Pentateuch, Dussaud maintains that we have no right to suppose that simply because certain terms and practices are a specific feature of the Priestly Code they necessarily date from that time. He points out that the Ras Shamra texts attest a regular established cult and built temple at least as early as the first quarter of the 14th century and probably several centuries before the cult as elaborate as that in the Priestly Code is.

2. The temples of Ba'al and Dagon at Ras Shamra actually date from c. 2000 B.C.
conceivable at least in Syria several centuries before the time of Moses. Syria, however, as field archaeology has shown, is not Palestine which suffered from exposure to the desert on two fronts. Even if we accept the view that the technical terms of the cult are common to the Ras Shamra texts and the Old Testament the most natural conclusion is that the Hebrew invaders adopted them with the cult and settled life of the agriculturalist in Canaan. Dussaud, however, who holds fast to his view of the Northern migration of the Phoenicians from Palestine where they lived together with the ancestors of the Hebrews, would regard the supposed Phoenician parallels in the Hebrew cult as deriving from this period.

There are numerous grave difficulties in the way of such a theory. In the first place there is not nearly so much sound evidence as Dussaud suggests for the use of the same technical terms in the Ras Shamra texts as in the Pentateuch. Again, it is not without significance that the elaborate system which we ascribe to P is represented as an innovation of Moses, established by special divine decree and covenant. Now Moses never entered Canaan and the religious system of his day must therefore have reflected desert or at the most oasis conditions. In all probability we should associate this phase of Hebrew history with Qadesh and though traces of settlement have been found there in the form of a fortress there is nothing to indicate a sedentary culture and permanent contacts with Palestine before the Iron Age.¹

In the narratives of the patriarchs in Genesis it is

¹Lawrence and Woolley, The Wilderness of Zin, PEF Annual, 1914-15, pp. 64 ff. They suggest that the fort reproduces the plan of similar Egyptian works of the XIIth and XVIIIth Dynasties. They cannot, however, date the earliest pottery more precisely than between 1800 and 900. Glueck explored the site and dated the fort to the 10th-8th century, AASOR, XV, 1934, pp. 118-9. Olmstead suggests that this was one of the 'migdaloth' built by Uzziah (II Chron. xxvi, 10), History of Palestine and Syria, 1931, pp. 418-9. The date, however, seems earlier. Probably the fort was built by Solomon as an entrepot in this vital oasis between Beersheba and Ezion-geber.
significant that there is no hint of a regular cultus though the scene is laid within the limits of the settled land. The patriarchs worship as nomads, individually at apparently no regular seasons and this simple cult is attached to primitive natural sanctuaries such as the terebinths of Mamre and Shechem and the rock at Bethel. It may be objected that this is an artificiality wholly in line with the idyllic setting of those narratives. Yet if this were so it is strange that we have no foreshadowing of what was regarded as the Mosaic system which according to Dussaud ought to have been already established in Canaan. As the case stands, the patriarchal narratives show no suspicion of the cultic technicalities of either the Old Testament or the Ras Shamra texts which according to Dussaud took their origin from the time when the Hebrews and Phoenicians lived together, spoke the same language, shared the same legends and cultic practices in Southern Palestine. On the other hand, the simple personal relationship between the patriarchs and God so aptly expressed in their theophoric names does suggest the circumstances implied in the Egyptian Execratory Texts where the deity is commonly conceived of as the kinsman of the worshipper. This suggests that the patriarchal narratives of Genesis, in spite of their idyllic cast, do faithfully reflect actual historical conditions. Thus the lack of correspondence between those narratives and the Ras Shamra texts as far as concerns the cult must seriously militate against the theory of Dussaud.

The theory that the Ras Shamra texts illustrate the Levitical sacrificial system is based largely on the occurrence of the familiar technical terms. T.H. Gaster follows Dussaud in developing the theme of his 'Origines cananéennes du sacrifice israélite' and maintains that the same technical

1. The common type of name in the Execratory Texts referring to Syria and Palestine is identical with the patriarchal names either as full theophorics as Abraham or hypocoristica as Isaac and Jacob.
terms of the cult found in later Phoenician and South Arabian inscriptions indicate a common origin in that primitive Hebrew civilization from which those cultures severally developed! Of the terms in question Gaster has given a full list in the Dussaud Memorial publication which must now be examined in relation to their context in the Ras Shamra texts.

There are undoubtedly many technical terms common to Hebrew and Ugaritic and we are prepared for this as far as concerns the more general terminology. Thus dbh corresponds to בְּלִי, mtn to מִסְתַּנִּה, ndr to נַדְּר, while of the verbs the causative אַרְבּ corresponds philologically to אֲרֵבּ and in meaning to אֵמע, אֶל to אֵל, מֵעָלָה to מִשָּׁלְחָה, and ybl which is found in לְאָלָה, 1.214 corresponds to מֵאָל of Psalm lxviii,30 and Zephaniah iii,10, while עָבְרָה to עָבְרָה, may possibly be used in the sense 'to sacrifice' as מֵעָלָה in Hebrew. These, however, are general terms which might belong to the matrix of Semitic language in the ancient Near East. They are not sufficiently specific to establish a necessary connection between the cult of Ugarit and that of the Hebrews.

To turn to more specific terms, 'lsm or 'lmm, which Gaster renders by 'payment offering' occurs frequently in the Old Testament though there is diversity of opinion as to the exact significance of the term. It is taken variously to mean 'peace-offering' whereby a man is reconciled to God, 'welfare-offering', a feature of which was a communal meal here as in other practices and terminology we probably have to reckon with a development in usage and language over a considerable period of time and in varying circumstances. The term in question is found in 1 Samuel xi,15, Exodus xx,24, xxiv,5 (E), Amos v,22, Joshua viii,31 (J), Deuteronomy xxvii,7 and Leviticus x,14 (P), in sources, that is to say, ranging over a period of half a millennium. In the offering-lists

1. Gaster; Mélanges syriens offerts à M. Édouard Dussaud, 1939, p. 577.
2. Ibid., pp. 578-580.
from Ras Shamra the letter-complex šmm is found and, though it may occasionally be read as an adjective, 'sound', qualifying the terms of sacrifice, it does seem in certain cases to indicate a specific sacrifice. Unfortunately the exiguous nature of these lists does not give us any context which would entitle us to particularize on the term.

Gaster claims to find a reference to the 'wave-offering', which is established as a technical term in the Priestly Code in Exodus xxix, 27, Leviticus vii, 34, x, 14, xxiii, 15, 17, Numbers xviii, 11 (P). The Ras Shamra evidence, however, proves on examination to be fragmentary and disjointed. In a certain offering-list a term šmpt does occur which Gaster takes as a causative (Saphel) from a root npy. The verb with this meaning, however, is not otherwise attested at Ras Shamra and the verb in Hebrew, incidentally, is not š/ but medial š.

Gordon seems nearer the truth in taking the word as a local form of the Akkadian šinipu, a corruption of the Sumerian šanabu meaning 'two thirds of a shekel'.

Another technical term listed by Gaster as in use in ancient Ugarit is š. The word is found as a sacrificial term indicating a restitution-offering in the Priestly Code. It is probably not confined to that late source, however, as it is found applied to the golden mice and tumours which the Philistines returned with the Ark and again in II Kings xii, 17 where it was apparently of money and was the perquisite of the priests. In both of those cases, however, we must reckon with the possibility of expansion of the earlier historical record by commentary reflecting later conditions.

In the Ras Shamra texts the letter-complex štm is attested in only one text which is very fragmentary. Gordon is obviously correct.

1. Gordon, 23, 1.6. Another case not cited by Gaster is Gordon, 1, 1.10
3. Gray maintains that the idea of commutation or fine is present in the term even in P. G. B. Gray; Sacrifice in the Old Testament: its Theory and Practice, 1925, pp. 37-33.
4. I Samuel vi, 3, 4, 8, 17.
undecided about the term taking it at one point in his 'Ugaritic Handbook' as 'guilt-sacrifice', cf. Hebrew ẓe'ēs, and again declaring that it is 'Hurrian with nothing to do with ẓe'ēs'. Phonetically the terms might correspond. The text, however, conveys no information. The letter-complex atm occurs eleven times in that one text but never in a whole line and eight times atm, itself a restoration, is the only word in the line.

The term נֶס , 'that which opens the womb', the first-born', attested in Exodus xiii,1-12 (J) as well as in Numbers viii,16 (P), is thought to have its counterpart in Ugaritic sacrificial practice and terminology on the evidence of one text where it occurs in a context which may refer to offerings to ṣps, the sun. This text again is fragmentary so that it is not possible to fit the word precisely into its context. The same may be said of the fancied Ugaritic prototype of נֶס , the regular morning and evening sacrifice attested in Ezekiel xlvi,15, Ezra iii,5 and Numbers xxviii,6 (P). Here no actual phonetic counterpart was found but Gaster cites a line from the text SS (Gordon 52)

\[ \text{ā'y u 'db l'ṣpē rbt wlkbbm kn(......)} \]

rendering, 'Take an offering to the Lady Sun and the stars, a perpetual offering!'

He takes the fragmentary kn as from ḫ/į, 'to establish which is possible but in view of the damaged text dubious as the sole evidence for the correspondence between Ras Shamra and the Old Testament in the matter of נֶס .

Libation, nsk, is well enough attested at Ras Shamra

3. cf. Arabic Ḫ/į, Qur'an, Surah ii, 219, xxv, 69, though the word means guilt without the connotation of the Hebrew term. Albright is disposed to admit the parallel of the Ugaritic and Hebrew terms though otherwise sceptical of such correspondences, Archaeology and the Religion of Israel, 1942, p. 61.
5. Gordon, 52, 1. 54.
though probably not in: the sense in which it is used as an element in the sacrificial system of P.h. the Old Testament itself, in fact, its usage in Genesis xxxv,14 (E) in Jacob's consecration of the pillar at Bethel and of David's libation of water from: the well of Bethlehem suggests that it had a more general application. The clearest evidence for the ritual of libation at Ras Shamra is in a certain passage in the 'Anat poems overlooked, strangely enough, by Gaster,

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{št šprm ddym} \\
&\text{sk šim Ikbd ūars} \\
&\text{šarbād lkbd šdm} \\
&\text{ḥšk ṭšš ṭšy....}
\end{align*}
\]

We offer the following translation.

"Place in the earth pots, four thy peace-offerings into the heart of the earth; Set many jars into the heart of the fields. Thine orchards, thy trees, thy fallow will be with me...."

Here we may place the practice in a definite context. The cult is the cult of the dead which was intimately bound up with the promotion of fertility as Schaeffer has noted. Thus we see the term used in a rather different context from the orthodox rite of \(\frac{1}{10}\) in the Priestly Code.

The term \(\frac{1}{10}\), which may mean a tenth part in general without any ritual connotation, appears as a technical term for a special sacrifice in Amos iv,4, Deuteronomy xiv,22 and in the Priestly Code in Leviticus xxvii,31 and Numbers xviii,24,28. Gaster cites a certain text from the offering-lists at Ras Shamra, Gordon, 5,1.12,

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{kšrb ttrt hr} \\
&\text{bt mlk šsr šr}
\end{align*}
\]

which he translates, 'When the sacred bride enters the cave...Tithe the tithes....'

1. I.I Samuel xxiii,16.
3. Heading "arb dd and taking 'arb as a causative, Aphel.
4. Schaeffer; The Cuneiform Texts of Ras Shamra-Ugarit, 1939, pp.46-56. He cites the myth of the Danaids. The connection between the cult of the dead and fertility has been worked out by W.B.Kristensen; De Rijkdom der Aarde in Mythe en Cultus, Mededelingen der Nederlandsche Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afz.Letterkunde, 1942.
This, however, is a very obscure passage in a short text and
the word 'šr is susceptible of a different meaning,'to
feast', as Ginsberg\(^1\) translates it in the Keret text. This
meaning is clearly suggested by the occurrence of yʾšr
in parallel to yʾsqy,'the gave to drink', in 'nt col.1, l.8
and II Aqht, col. vi., 11.36-31.

No more certain is Gaster's Ugaritic parallel to
'jubilation offering', which according to Leviticus xix,24
was made every fourth year.\(^1\)n I Aqht, 214 Gaster read the
words bʾat bhlm,'Thou hast come with jubilation-offering!
Gordon, on the other hand, reads, in our opinion, more naturally
'Thou hast come hither!

The term ḫʾšy occurring in I Samuel ii, 28, Deuteronomy xviii,
l, Joshua xiii, 14(D) and Leviticus vi, 10 and generally: in
the Priestly Code is commonly taken as an offering made by
fire being derived from Ṿʾšy.\(^2\) Gray, however, suggests that it
was derived ultimately from the root Ṿʾš, cf. Arabic ʿṣbṣns,
and meant originally a 'fellowship-offering' though this sense
has been quite lost by the time of its literary usage in
the Old Testament. The word does occur in the Ras Shamra
texts but the double s is uncertain and it may just as well
be connected with the Arabic ʿṣfšt, 'a gift!

The word Ṿʾšy, the bloodless meat-offering, is probably
mentioned in Gordon, 120, 11.1, 4 but its significance is not
quite certain in that small text.

Thus it is apparent that on this evidence a very precari-
ous bridge, if bridge at all, may be constructed between the
sacrificial system of ancient Ugarit and that of the 'Mosaic'
law. In the nature of the case we should expect the Hebrew
immigrants to adopt the practice and terminology of the local

1. Ginsberg; The Legend of King Keret, BASOR, Supplementary
Studies, 2-3, 1945, p. 45, on II K, col. 1, l. 40, after Gaster
Iraq, vi, 1939, p. 131, n. 90 and Albright; BASOR, 94, 1944, p. 33, n. 10.
fertility-cult of Canaan as the narrative of Gideon suggests or even when they developed their own ritual we are quite prepared to find certain common Semitic words used in a specific sense as well as conceptions common to the race, time and circumstances finding expression in the ritual system so developed. Where we find a development in meaning in such terminology in the course of the history of the Hebrews themselves, surely we should be prepared to admit an even further development and variation of meaning between the Ugaritic terminology attested from at least the 14th century and that in the Priestly Code almost a millennium later.

Furthermore, the evidence of field archaeology is unanimous in demonstrating that Palestine, certainly until the time of Solomon, was a backward province compared with Phoenicia. We have no right, then, to assume that the well-developed religious system of Ugarit with its highly-finished mythology and its carefully adjusted offering-tables was known to contemporary Palestine, to say nothing of the deserts to the South or East where Moses guided nomad Israel.

The equivalence of technical terms is actually the weakest argument for a correspondence between the cultic systems of Israel and Ugarit. Dussaud, in fact, opens a far more fruitful field in citing certain passages in the longer texts which imply cultic practices which were established in Palestine and described in detail in the Priestly Code.

In the Keret text, which the writer prefers to treat as a saga rather than a myth directly related to the cult, there is a clear reflection of certain ritual practices which could not be divorced from events of such public interest as the wedding of the king. There we have a full description of a sacrifice by the king on the roof either of his palace or the local temple, which may be cited,

1. This is the substance of Gray's criticism of Hommel's South-Arabian analogies with Hebrew ritual, op. cit., pp. 63-64.
We offer the following translation,

"He washed himself and made himself red, He washed his hand, his elbow, His fingers, up to his shoulder, He went into the shade of the tent, He took a lamb for sacrifice, In his hand a kid from the enclosure; The whole of his meal of entertainment; He took a mšrr, a bird of sacrifice; He poured wine into a cup of silver, Honey into a cup of gold. He went up to the top of the tower; He mounted the rampart of the wall; He raised his hands to heaven; He sacrificed to his father, the Bull, El; He served Ba'āl with his sacrifice, The son of Dagon with his food......"

Here, of course, there is no hint of any seasonal relation of the sacrifice. It seems quite general in import nor is there anything to relate it to any particular sacrifice in the Old Testament. On the contrary, the mention of honey is significant since the only time honey is mentioned in a ritual passage in the Old Testament it is prohibited.

In the sequel to this episode the king descends from the roof and undertakes certain measures which have been taken as military operations. The military aspect of Keret's expedition is probably a convention to enhance the notion of 'the snatching of the bride! The passage may be arranged

2. i.e. with blood as a means of consecration.
3. Leviticus ii, ii.
We submit the following translation.

'Keret descended from the roof;  
He prepared food for the city,  
Wheat for Beth Hubur,  
He parched bread of the fifth,  
Food of the sixth month.......

It is here submitted that Keret's baking served not only as a practical measure to provision his retinue and the community in his absence but was even more an essential element in ancient ritual. If we suppose that in fact or, what is more likely, in fiction Keret was engaged in a hostile enterprise his action might be explained in the light of the Deuteronomic enactment where, in the event of war, a man may stay until he has tasted first the fruit he has planted. It is, however, questionable if this is the interpretation of the passage. The subject of the text is Keret's bridal the consummation of which we might reasonably assume to be timed to coincide with the revival and marriage of Ba'al at the Autumn or New Year festival. Thus the baking of Keret might fall earlier in summer and might refer to the ritual treatment of the new grain at the end of harvest. From local experience at the present day as well as from the evidence of the Old Testament and the Gezer Tablet it is well known that there were two distinct crops, first barley, then wheat reaped a month later. We suggest that in 'bread of the fifth, food of the sixth month' there is a reference to this double crop. The rite would be that of 'de-consecration' in order that the new crop might be released for common use. There is surely a connection between this rite and that in I K, 11. 171-175// 79-84.

1. cf. Arabic  
2. Deuteronomy xx, 5-7, xxxviii, 30. Here there is no mention of corn but only of a vineyard. The verb used is מָעַק 'to desecrate, make common!'  
4. This reckoning assumes that the New Year fell in October.
the Priestly Code of the offering of the two 'wave-loaves' at the Feast of Weeks, that is at the end of harvest. In the latter case no specific mention is made of wheat or barley but the double portion of meal and of the loaves is in itself significant.

It is well-known that the mythological texts, the protagonists of which are gods, are highly anthropomorphic. We are thus prepared to find there a reflection of the rites and customs of the community of ancient Ugarit. This reflection is all the more clear and definite according as the myths seem to be either the projection or accompaniment of cultic practice. Though we agree with Eissfeldt and Baumgartner that we cannot take the myths as no more than rubrics and accompaniments absolutely bound up at every step with the cult, myth and ritual do, nevertheless, often coincide and the texts introduce us to scenes in the sacred pantomime. The texts concerning 'Al'eyn Ba'al and the goddess 'Anat contain several such passages.

Closely connected with the 'de-consecration' rite just mentioned is 'Anat's slaughter of Mt, the deity of summer heat and drought,

'tešd bn 'elm mt
bhrb tbq'nn
b*šr tdr'ynn
b*št tšrpn
brhm tšhnn
bšd tdr'nn
š*erh lt'ekl 'šrm
mth ltkly.......

'She seizes Mt the son of El;
She cuts him with the sickle;
She scatters him with the shovel;
She parches him with fire;
She grinds him with the mill-stone;
She scatters him in the fields;
His flesh shall the birds eat;
His fate shall be complete.....'

Here Dussaud sees the rite of the last sheaf at the end of harvest, designed to 'de-consecrate' the new crop and at the

1. Leviticus, xxiii, 17.
2. The Mishnah, Menahoth xi; associates this offering with the release of the new crop for use in the Temple service. The first-sheaf offering had the same effect of releasing the new crop for the use of the community, Menahoth, x.
3. Eissfeldt; Ras Shamra und Sanchuniathon, 1939, p. 75 ff.
same time to renew by sacrifice of the god Mt the spirit or the harvest. In seeking an Old Testament parallel he naturally cites Leviticus ii,14 referring to the Hebrew offering of the first sheaf, 'green ears of corn, dried by the fire, even corn beaten out of full ears'. Though appreciating the significance of this passage, however, Dussaud seems hardly correct in regarding it as the rite of the last sheaf. The Hebrew parallels are even closer than he suggests. Philo, Josephus, and the Mishnah all refer to a similar rite. on the 10th of Nisan, that is at the beginning of harvest. Philo and Josephus indicate that the sheaf was of barley. In Josephus and the Mishnah there is reference to the threshing, winnowing, parching by fire and grinding of the grain, after which it is explicitly stated that the new crop is free for public consumption. Thus it seems obvious that the rite in question was the rite of the first sheaf and not the last. It inaugurated a ceremonial which was consummated by the double offering of the loaves at the sanctuary at the Feast of Weeks.

In a remarkable passage in the 'Anat cycle, the goddess is depicted indulging in an orgy of slaughter, bathing knees and breasts in the blood of the victims. In what precedes there is no indication of any reason for this blood-bath but in the sequel, 11.40-41, dew and rain fall at 'Anat's request. Now in Hebrew rites destined to induce rain there is no obvious reference to the efficacy of blood though we suggest that the extravagant self-affliction of the Ba'al-prophets on Carmel was such a rite.

2. Philo; De Sept., ii, 20.
3. Josephus; Ant., iii, 250.
4. Menahoth x.
6. I Kings xviii.
The efficacy of blood as a means of consecration is emphasized by Dussaud who cites the passage describing the sacrifice of Keret which we have already quoted. If we could take the verb t'adm to signify smearing with blood we should have a close parallel to the consecration of Aaron and his sons in the Priestly Code where Moses is depicted as touching the right ear, right thumb and great toe of the right foot of Aaron and his sons with the blood of the ram of consecration. This ritual, which owing to its connection with the high priest Wellhausen was disposed to assign to the post-Exilic period, may well have been established in Canaan even before the time of Moses though it is attested in the Old Testament only in the Priestly Code.

The seven-cycle unit of time is a feature common to both the Old Testament and the Ras Shamra texts. Occasionally in the Ras Shamra texts it seems a mere literary convention but again in certain passages it seems to be related to ritual practice. In the case of the purification period of a woman after childbirth we seem to have an analogy in the text SS (Gordon 52) where the offspring of El, Šhr and Šim and presumably also their mothers sojourn seven years in the |Holy desert|.

Remarkable as such correspondences may be, they do not establish Dussaud's case for a common home and tradition of Hebrews and Phoenicians and we are still far from a solution of the question as to when Israel adopted such elements of the cult of Canaan. That question is, of course, bound up

2. Exodus, xxix, 20-21 (P), Leviticus viii, 22-34.
4. Leviticus xii, 2.
5. Gordon, 52, 11. 65-67. The analogy is not quite exact. It might be better to connect the passage with the Levitical law of the Jubilee year when a fresh phase of usufruct of property was inaugurated, Leviticus xxv, 10.
with that of the significance and influence of local pre-Israelite sanctuaries in Palestine. Shechem with its shrine of Ba'al-Berith, Uphrah, Mizpah, Hebron and Beersheba might all have reflected in some degree the Canaanite cult as we know it from the Ugaritic texts, nor is there any reason to suppose that the cults of Dan and Bethel, though known to us particularly only after the Disruption, were pure innovations of Jeroboam the son of Nebat. In the case of Dan it is expressly stated that it was already a Phoenician settlement and it is difficult to avoid the impression that Jeroboam's calves were connected with the cult of Ba'al-Hadad whose cult-animal was the young bull. Naishah, again, though directly attested as a shrine of Jahweh and the repository of the Ark, had its non-Jahwistic vintage-festival, though the Danish excavations of Kjaer and Schmidt showed no trace of occupation before the Hebrew period in the first phase of the Early Iron Age. The significance of Gibeah must have been great since even the Chronicler for all his devotion to Jerusalem and the Temple cannot repress its associations with the cult and cult-officials eventually established at Jerusalem.

The Old Testament evidence certainly reveals more Jahwistic than Ba'alistic features at Gibeah but traces of the fertility cult do appear, notably in the incident of the immolation and exposure of Saul's seven sons. Dussaud has noted the association of this human sacrifice with the beginning and end of harvest, and it may be that this is the survival of a crude practice where a human

1. Judges xviii, 7. The writer, however, does not see sufficient evidence in the text IV AB (Rogers, 75) to locate it here as Dussaud does, Cultes cananéens aux sources du Jourdain d’après les textes de HS, Syria, XVII, 1936, pp. 283-295.
4. 1 Kings iii, 14, 11 Chronicles i, 3, 13. Brinker seems to exaggerate the case in suggesting a wholesale transference of the cult and its appurtenances from Gibeah to Jerusalem, The Influence of Sanctuaries in Early Israel, 1946, pp. 162-163.
5. II Samuel xxii.
being was sacrificed either as a propitiation to the spirit of harvest or as embodying the corn-spirit who, as the fate of Mt and 'Aqht in the Ras Shamra texts indicate, had to be killed at that crucial season. That such concepts and practices were current in Israel after the settlement in Canaan is indicated by the sacrifice of the Paschal lamb at the Feast of Unleavened Bread on the eve of the barley harvest. Finally we cannot overestimate the significance of Jerusalem as a pre-Israelite cult-centre in which capacity it probably attracted David in his policy of the unification of his realm. There is a certain amount of evidence in the narrative of Josiah’s reforms for the worship of the Canaanite deities Ba‘al and the mother-goddess ‘Atrt at Jerusalem. The cult of Šlm, however, itself attested at Ras Shamra, was apparently the specific cult of Jerusalem as the name of the city indicates. Beyond this Scriptural evidence of cult-centres in Palestine we may cite the evidence from various archaeological stations in Palestine in the Late Bronze Age. Sanctuaries have been discovered at Tell ed Duweir, Megiddo, Beisan, Taanach, Gezer, Ai and Tell Beit Mirsim but cult-objects are comparatively few and inconclusive. Altars for holocaust and incense have been found and clay figurines, naturalistic or stylized, of the mother-goddess ‘Atrt which may not be cult-objects but rather amulets to promote fertility and help women in childbirth. Beyond these objects little tangible evidence has been found but the bronze figurines of Ba‘al-Hadad from Tell ed Duweir¹ and Megiddo² and the Mekal stele from Beisan³ identical with figurines and reliefs from Ras Shamra and Minet el Beida⁴ suggest that the mythology, institutions

2. G. Loud; Megiddo II, 1948, pl. 23p, no. 22, 239.
4. Schaeffer; Syria XIV, 1933, pl. XVI, Ugaritica, p. 115, pl. XXV.
and the cult-terms too of Phoenician Ba'al-worship may well have been known in Palestine. Nothing definite, however, is known and correspondence between Ras Shamra and Palestine is largely a matter of conjecture which must always be qualified by the fact of the comparatively provincial culture of Palestine.

Whatever may be the relationship between Ras Shamra and the Old Testament in the sphere of the cult, it is the differences rather than the similarities which impress. Such common features as may be established would most likely be known and practised by such of the Hebrew kinship as had been settled in Palestine from patriarchal times and as such adopted by the nomad invaders during the period of the Settlement. There is, however, nothing to suggest that Moses, whatever his significance, knew this tradition as a relic of the time when the ancestors of the Hebrews and the Phoenicians had a common history and home in the South of Palestine. On the contrary such an enactment as the rite of the first sheaf 'when ye be come into the land which I shall give you' suggests, as Gray has pointed out, that Israel knew nothing of such ritual until she settled in Canaan.

1. Leviticus xxiii.10.
In seeking to determine historical conditions in ancient Palestine we cannot disregard such rare documents as may come to hand even though the main purport of these may be myth and legend. Such, in the main, is the nature of the tablets from Ras Shamra, though among them are certain texts which seem to bear more than most the stamp of genuine history. Of these the chief is the Keret text of which the first tablet was edited by Charles Virolleaud in 1936 as 'La Légende de Keret, Roi des Sidoniens'.

This text Virolleaud regards as not purely mythological though he admits that it is no light task to disengage the strictly historical element from what he regards as its mythological matrix. In his actual attempt Virolleaud shows less caution with the consequence that he has produced results more astounding than convincing to the student of ancient history.

Virolleaud finds in the first of the three Keret tablets the names of certain localities, peoples and persons which seem to localize the action and to relate it to historical people. In this historical interpretation Virolleaud is followed by Dussaud, Schaeffer, Lods, Aibright, Baumgartner, De Langhe, De Vaux, Eissfeldt and Pedersen, though seriously criticising the particular interpretation of the former, nevertheless maintain that there is a historical nucleus even though that

5. Aibright, BASOR, 70, 1938, p. 23.
is no more than the bridal of Keret. The text, particularly as interpreted by Ginsberg\(^1\) falls rather into the category of domestic history. The geographical particularizations are likewise severely delimited, though De Vaux has his own geographical identifications to suggest in Galilee rather than the Negeb, in which he is followed by De Langhe,\(^2\) while Kissfeldt would locate the action of I K at the headwaters of the Orontes.\(^3\) Hvidberg, though not using the Keret poem as a primary document, does venture to question the historical connection which is claimed with Palestine.\(^4\) Gaster first subscribing to the historical interpretation of the Keret poem as interpreted by Virolleaud, questioned the reference to Terah, Asher, Zebulon, and Ashdod in the text; the birth of the Gracious and beautiful God\(^5\) and has lately abandoned the position entirely.\(^6\) At the other pole a cultic interpretation is suggested by Mowinckel\(^7\) who, after stating that Keret is no historical king but an Adonis-figure, a dying and rising vegetation-deity, qualifies his statement by classing the poem as 'no longer a pure myth but a mythic hero-legend;'\(^8\) the original god having become the mythical dynasty-founder. Engnell\(^9\) follows Mowinckel but regards the poem as a pure cultic myth with no historical association in which he is followed by Boe Keckel.\(^10\)

The majority of scholars, therefore, are agreed that the Keret-text is distinct from the other texts from Ras Shamra

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\(^1\) Ginsberg; The Legend of King Keret, a Canaanite Epic of the Bronze Age, BASOR, SupplementaryStudies 2-3, 1946.

\(^2\) Lately, mit Ugarietische Keret-Gedichte, Miscellanea Historica Alberti de Moyer, Louvain, 1946.

\(^3\) Kissfeldt; Zum geographischen horizont... ZDMG, xciv, 1940, p. 81.

\(^4\) Hvidberg; Grønd og ætter i det Gamle Testament, 1935, p. 52.

\(^5\) Mowinckel; Immanubl profetet... uttrykt fra Ugarit i, NTT, 1941, til uttrykt fra Ugarit i, NTT, 1942.

\(^6\) 'Ikke længer en egentlig myte men en mytisk heltesagn', NTT, 1941, p. 142.

\(^7\) Engnell; Studies in Divine Kingship, 1943, pp. 149 ff.

\(^8\) Bo Reicke; Analogier mellan- Jesberättelserna... Svjetisk exegetisk Arsbok x, 1945, pp. 27 ff.
which are myths rather than sagas, and the main impression given by the first Keret tablet is that here we are more in touch with sober history. A critical study of Virolleaud's position will indicate the tremendous significance of his interpretation of this text for a reconstruction of patriarchal history while at the same time considerably modifying his claims.

The main purport of the tablet according to Virolleaud, is the conflict of Keret, the legendary hero of the Phoenicians and probably the first king of Sidon, with the people of one Terah whom he equates with the father of Abraham. This action, he holds, culminates in the battle which is fought in Migb which Virolleaud identifies with the Biblical Negeb, the semi-arid region in the south of Palestine, a portion of which, he is careful to point out, bore the name Negeb ha-Kerethi which he associates not with the Aegean invaders but with the earlier hero of the Phoenicians, Keret.

This battle involved great forces, the numbers cited in the poem being apparently three million. Here, of course, we must allow for poetic exaggeration but even so a great number of people is involved and Virolleaud supposes that great ethnic and social upheavals took place as the result of this battle. He finds people such as Asher migrating in good order,

"Asher went out two by two
Asher (went out) three (by three)"

while others such the Hasia are more unceremoniously displaced,

"The people of Hasia went by thousands
And by myriads like yr".

1. So vocalised, probably incorrectly, by Virolleaud.
2. Virolleaud; op. cit., p. 21.
5. I K 89/179, tlt m't rbtt.
6. I K(94) atr tn tn hlk
(95) atr tlt
7. I K(92) hlk 17alm has wlrbt km yr.
Finding that the theme of the battle of the Negeb is not sustained, Virolleaud suspects that Keret and his people had suffered a defeat. They next come into contact with Edom which is designated by two names, 'Udm-rbm and 'Udm-trtt, and in this phase of his wandering Keret is brought to two towns or districts, Ṣrn and Saʿt which Virolleaud supposes to lie beyond Jordan between Edom and the ultimate habitat of the Phoenicians on the Syrian coast.

From the fact that Keret is named King of Sidon only after his campaign in the Negeb and his wandering in Transjordan, Virolleaud concludes that he was regarded by the Sidonians as their first king, so that in this tablet we have, conceivably, the narrative of the original migration and settlement of the Phoenicians whom, in fact, Herodotus derives from the shores of the 'Red Sea'.

The antagonists of Keret Virolleaud subsumes under the authority of Terah who, it must be admitted, does not find a very conspicuous place in the text. In the passages in question, 11.100-107, 188-196 and 10-14, which on Virolleaud's reading contain the only explicit mention of Terah, he seems to play the double role of moon-deity and legendary hero whose wife or wives Tin and Nikar carry out his orders and bear the brunt of the conflict. The last two names are significant, recalling Sin and Nin-gal, lunar deities of Ur which according to Biblical tradition was the original home of Terah the father of Abraham. Here Virolleaud admits the fact that not only is Tin masculine in form but in the Sumerian pantheon of Ur Sin was a male deity. So too, he points out,

1. Virolleaud, La légende de Keret..., p. 19.
2. ibidem, p. 20.
4. Herodotus, I, 11, is thought by some to be not the Red Sea but the Persian Gulf.
5. Genesis xi, 31.
6. Virolleaud, op. cit., p. 28.
was ṣēp̄, the sun, which became feminine at Ras Shamra. That Nikar-
Ningal should step up from the secondary place she occupied in the
Sumerian pantheon to share the honours of Sin should cause us the
less surprise when we find another minor Sumerian goddess Nin-egal,
"the Lady of the Palace", occupying the chief place in the Amorite:
site of Qatna in the vicinity of Homs between the middle and the
late Bronze Age. It is more remarkable that Terah, more palpable,
according to Virolleaud's theory than his ethereal consorts, should
yet presume to direct their movements. If, however, in this they
were subordinate to Terah, the balance is restored, to Virolleaud's
satisfaction, by the fact that they took by far the more active part
in the conflict with Keret and his followers.

Indeed it may well be, as Virolleaud points out, that Terah's
real character, so far as it may be historical at all, is so ob­
scured in the mists of antiquity that the real facts of the case
are much distorted. These facts may be that Terah was an Amorite
chief who came, as the Biblical tradition maintains, from Ur in
Southern Mesopotamia, bringing with him in his migration to the
north and west the worship of the lunar deities of Ur, Sin and
Nin-gal. In course of time his relations with the deities, it is
supposed, were confounded in the memory of posterity. The political
and personal exploits of the chief and the clan were shared with the
deities who became to uncritical posterity the consorts of the
patriarchs while he, on the other hand, by a similar process assu­
med their original divine attributes.²

At first sight it appears that the poem of Keret affords us

1. R. Du Mesnil de Buisson; Syria IX, 1928, pp. 6-24, 81-89.
2. Virolleaud; Syria IX, pp. 90 f. 
2. Virolleaud; La légende de Keret..., p. 23.
invaluable clues to the conditions under which the forefathers of the Hebrews made their first appearance in Palestine. Holy Scripture, of course, makes no mention of Terah in Palestine but definitely associates Abraham and Isaac with the Negeb, where they encounter certain opposition among the inhabitants. Again in the narrative of the conflict of the four kings against five Abraham is given a definitely military role. In the conflict in the Negeb between the people of Terah and those of Keret which involves such a number as the ancient bard could magnify to three million men, has Virolleaud really found clear evidence of a great folk-movement involving the ancestors of the Hebrews of which we have at the best only faint traces in the sacred record?

We should probably be right in regarding the infiltration of at least some of the Hebrew forefathers as something more than the sporadic movements of isolated individuals and there is not lacking archaeological evidence for invasions of Palestine at the end of the third millennium. It is none the less the contention of this thesis that neither the Keret text nor any other of the Ras Shamra documents can be cited as such evidence.

The crucial phase of the action described in the Keret tablet, according to Virolleaud, is enacted in the Negeb.

This land, occupying a triangle whose apices are the south end of the Dead Sea, Gaza and the head of the gulf of Aqaba, is not very inviting to the agriculturist. In the hinterland of Gaza good crops of barley are extensively grown at the present day by

1. Genesis xi, 9, xiii, l, xx, xxi, xxvi.
the semi-nomad tribes of the Hanajera and the Terabifc if the early and latter rains are favourable, and from the remains of numerous grain silos found by Petrie at Tell Jemmeh on the Wadi Ghazzeh, it seems as if the same conditions obtained at least as early as the Persian period. One recollects in this connection that in the patriarchal age Isaac thrived as an agriculturist in the same vicinity.\(^1\)

The patriarch's substance, however, was numbered not in crops but in stock and as one travels towards Beersheba one notices the arable land give way to desert steppe which in turn towards the east and south yields to the sand, gravel and rock of the desert. There is no direct evidence for regarding the nature of the Negeb as otherwise in the last four millennia. Abundant traces of neolithic culture, it is true, are attested by Buzy and Neuville\(^2\) in the Negeb as far south as 'Ain Qedeirat in the vicinity of Qadesh where Glueck examined a fort discovered by Lawrence and Woolley and on the evidence of surface pottery assigned it to the period 10th - 8th century, and though De Vaux has noted that the fort itself was built on an earlier installation he finds no evidence of Bronze Age occupation. It is established that with the exception of the Egyptian mining camp at Feinan there is no trace of Bronze Age settlement in the Negeb south of the line from Tell Far'a, 15 miles south of Gaza, to Tell el Milh, 15 miles east of Beersheba. In the later Roman period, when such places as Rhinocolura (El Arish), Rafa, Qusseima, Birein, 'Abda, Elasa (Khalaesa) and 'Sbeita flourished, we may trace the relics of terracing, of hill-sides, and the damming and distribution of

1. Genesis xxvi,12.
3. Lawrence and Woolley, The Wilderness of Zin, PEF Annual, 1914-15, pp.64 ff. They suggest that the fort reproduces the plan of similar Egyptian works of the XIIth and XVIIIth dynasties, but the earliest pottery fragments are placed at the earliest in 'the whole period 1800-900', p.67.
4. N.Glueck; AASOR, XV, 1934, pp. 118-119.
5. De Vaux and Savigneau; Nouvelle Recherches Dans La Region de Cadés, RB xlvii, 1930, pp.68 -100. A.T. Olmstead suggests that this was one of the migdaloth built by Uzziah in the Negeb (IChr. xxvi,10), History of Palestine and Syria, 1931, pp.418-419. The date however seems earlier than the time of Uzziah though not so early as 1500 suggested by Lawrence and Woolley and accepted by Mowinckel, Sinai og Qadesh, NGT, ix, 1942, p.10.
6. Glueck; The Other Side of the Jordan, 1940, p.69.
water, which sustained life and a considerable culture as evidenced by noble ecclesiastical edifices of which 'Sbeita boasts no less than three. But only under the imperial authority and technical skill of Rome and Byzantium could this standard of life be maintained in the Negeb which was not held so much for its economic worth as for its strategic significance as a frontier province of the Roman Empire.

The Negeb, however, though it had little in the main to offer the husbandman, had its own peculiar attractions.

In the Iron Age copper was mined and smelted at various sites ranging the whole length of the 'Arabah, the peak of this industry being reached in the 10th century when, under the auspices of Solomon, Ezion-Geber was built as a great factory site to refine and manufacture smelted ore into finished articles to be traded in maritime enterprises in the lands bordering the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. So far it must be admitted that only one site has been identified which may be dated to the period to which the Keret narrative refers. This is Feinan and its adjacent mines of Umm el 'Amad which Professor Glueck dates back to the end of the Early Bronze Age and the beginning of the Middle Bronze Period (2200-1900 B.C.). Such is the nature of the terrain in the 'Arabah and its tributary wadis that other sites from this early period may well await discovery and indeed it would be strange if the Egyptians who had mined copper at Serabit el Khadim in Sinai since the days of Snefru in the IIIrd Dynasty

2. N. Glueck, The Other Side of the Jordan, 1940, p. 69.
and particularly in the XIIth Dynasty (2000-1788 B.C.), had not discovered and wrought the veins of the 'Arabah.

One respect in which the Negeb was of supreme importance was as a link between the North and West and the incense-bearing lands of South Arabia and the Further East. That South Arabian trade did flow along this channel is demonstrated by the discovery at Tell el Kheleifeh (Ezion-Geber) of two fragments of jars bearing incised inscriptions in Minaean characters. These isolated examples may seem at first sight not much on which to base the supposition that the land in which they were found bore an arterial trade-route, yet on consideration it will be appreciated that the site in question was but a station for passing traffic which found its land terminals at Gaza or in Egypt. In any case, the Phoenicians seem to have maintained a close interest in this locality which, if not a link with their ancestral seats which Herodotus fixed on the shores of the Red Sea, possibly South Arabia, at least afforded them definite commercial opportunities.

It is highly significant that we find them, in the person of King Hiram, making overtures to the first kingdom which consolidated itself in Palestine, namely that of the Hebrews under David. One wonders what the connection may have been between Hiram's embassy to David and David's reduction and garrisoning of the land of Edom over against the Negeb. However that may have been, we do find Hiram's policy towards the Hebrew monarchy continued in the days of Solomon when the resources of both peoples were combined

1. T. Canaan; JPOS 11, 1922, pp. 139-144.
2. S. Mowinckel; Sinai og Qadesh, NGT, iX, 1942, Mowinckel emphasizes the importance of the oasis of Qadesh on this route. In this light he would explain the association of the Covenant with Qadesh.
3. Glueck; BASOR, 75, 1939, pp. 19 ff. The sherds have been dated to the 8th century.
4. II Samuel v, 11.
5. II Samuel viii, 14.
6. I Kings vii, 1.
in sea-borne commercial enterprise from Solomon's port of Ezion-Geber. In the abortive enterprise of Jehoshaphat of Judah in the 8th century we find no explicit reference to Phoenician interest in the trade through the Negeb, but it is hardly reasonable to suppose that Phoenician influence was behind the pressure brought by Ahaziah of Israel to bear on Jehoshaphat who had so recently been a vassal of Israel. One has but to recollect that the queen-mother was the Phoenician Jezebel.

The trend of the Phoenicians southward towards the Negeb and the Red Sea is again apparent in the Persian period (5th -4th century) when we may trace their influence and probably their presence at Gaza in the coinage used at that town. Ascalon, too, in this period is named "Phoenician" by the geographer Scylax and Jaffa together with Dor (modern Tantura) was granted by the 'Lord of Kings' to Eshmunazar of Sidon. In the latter inscription from Sidon Eshmunazar makes specific mention of the hinterland of the two towns, and, indeed, it seems to the writer that Dor, Jaffa, Ascalon and Gaza were esteemed by the Phoenicians more as landports than as sea-ports, for on the inhospitable coast of Palestine the harbours were of no account. This conjecture is borne out by traces of Phoenician penetration as far inland as Eleutheropolis (modern Beit Jibrin) where the low hills of the Shephelah slope away to the Negeb.

1. I Kings ix,26-28,x,11 ff.
2. I Kings xxii,48.
6. Diodorus Siculus i,13,states that Alexandria was the only safe harbour between Libya and Jaffa.
7. Peters and Thiersch;Painted Tombs of Marissa,PEF Publication 1905,pp.12 ff. They date the earliest known tomb, that of Apollonophanes of the Sidonian colony, to the Ptolemaic period, c.250-200 B.C.
When one comes to examine the text of the Keret tablet one finds that there are actually only two passages - and these parallels - where ngb is mentioned and in each passage the word is repeated.

Virolleaud takes as the occasion of the preparation taken by Keret to provision his native town, an invasion of the Negeb on the part of 'the people of the Five Fortresses' which he would identify with the five cities of the Philistines.

'For the (People of) the Five Fortresses in the sixth month had invaded the Negeb'.

Next follows the presumptive battle,

'And it will come out, the army, the army of Negeb, And it will come out (saying), bring forward your army, (Then there will be) many 'ul, 'Three hundred times ten thousand men, Bedouin without number, _tnn beyong compute.')

Here, it will be noted, there is not a blow struck. In the following passage Virolleaud claims to find a description of the ethnic and social upheaval consequent upon this crucial battle.

'They have gone off in thousands (the people of) Hsê, And in myriads like yr, Asher two by two has gone, Asher three (by three) All of them together closing each his house, The widow hires her services, The zbl carries beds The blind man tells fortunes.'

1. _dhms mdד _tdt yrhm 'dn ngb
2. _wys' sb' _sb' _ngb
   _wys' 'dn mf 'sb'uk
   'ul m'ad
   _tl _m'at rbt
   _hpt _dbl spr
   _tnn _dbl hg.
3. _hlk l'alpm _hss
   wrbt kmwr
   _atr _tn _tn _hlk
   _atr _tl
   _klmย์ _bth_sgr
   _'alant _skr _tškr
   _zbl 'r'm _yš'u
   'wr _mzl _ymzl.
I. after such prolix preliminary the poet were to dismiss the actual battle with such vagueness and brevity this would be quite a new departure in epic poetry and would, in fact be incongruous with the style of the Ḵeret poem itself. The nearest approach to hostile action is at 'Udm, the goal of the expedition of Ḵeret. Yet even here there is no actual fighting. On the contrary Ḵeret was expressly forbidden to attack 'Udm which was declared by Ḵ to be under his divine favour.

'Uum is the gift of Ḵ, the gift of the Flather of men.¹ Thus on general grounds we should reject the view that the Ḵeret poem is a first-hand source for the history of folk-movements in patriarchal Palestine. There is sufficient internal evidence which it is proposed presently to adduce to explode this theory. This may be found even in the first of the three Ḵeret tablets to say nothing of the second and third which contain nothing to suggest anything but a piece of domestic history of the House of Ḵeret. Indeed, if the second and third tablets had been published first we should never have suspected the possibility of a historical document.

Before proceeding to a critical analysis and reconstruction of the first Ḵeret tablet we may pause to note the suggestion of de Langhe² who would retain Ngb in its geographical sense, identifying it not with the Nəgeb in Southern Palestine as is generally done by the exponents of the historical interpretation of the poem, but with the region Nəgba mentioned in an inscription of Amenemheb, an officer of Thothmes III and Amenhotep II. This passage does, indeed, occur in a Syrian context though Breasted himself took the passage as referring to the 14th campaign of Thothmes against the Snaasu or Bedouin

¹ K,100-136/208-259, 'uam ytntt 'el w'usn 'ab 'adm, spoken, however, by the emissaries of pbi mlk, king of 'uam.
² de Langhe; Les Textes de KS et... l'AT; II, pp.122-125.
³ Breasted; ARE, II, 4. 580.
or the biblical negba De Langhe is right in his identification of negba of the Keret poem with negba as a Syrian locality then it might be just possible to take negba as neighbour and rival of Keret who opposed his projects by force of arms. The fact remains, however, that no battle is described so that the view suggested is very much a matter of hypothesis. It is still, of course, possible to postulate great lacunae between the three tablets, though this is doubtful since even in their fragmentary state they do read as a unity. To say nothing of the uncertainty of the location of negba just cited from the Egyptian inscriptions, the local sense in which negba has been taken in the passage in the Keret poem seems the least satisfactory interpretation and in fact quite unsuitable.

The passage in question occurs twice, in vision and in fact, in 1 K,7:9-91//171-179,

wyrd krt lggt
'wo 3akl lqryt
h3l bbr
yep lhm dhms
mhd tdt yerm
um negb wys
shu sh'a negb
wys lys 'dn mi
sh'uk 'ui m'ad
ttt m'mat rot
ypt dbl spr
um dbl hg.

In this passage it is generally accepted that Keret's first step was to provision his home town, qryt, hence we are in agreement with Virolleaud in translating the first three strophes of the passage,

And let Keret come down from the terrace. Preparing corn for the city, wheat for Beth Hbr

In the sequel Virolleaud reads yep lhm as a parallel to 'wo 3akl and ('db) h3l, thereby missing the actual parallelism, in the opinion of the writer, and also a very important point

2. The translation is of the passage in vision.
3. Bt hbr was taken as 'assembly', cf. S.A. Cooke, North Semitic inscriptions, 1900, pp. 116, 345. 'Community' too has been suggested on the evidence of the meaning of the word on Jewish coins. Now it is found that the term is apparently a place-name in 111 K, 19-20, and characterized like 'um as hbr rbt and hbr trrt.
of ritual. He proceeds to read

\[ \text{mgd tdt yrhm 'dn ngb} \]

'For the (people of the) Five Fortresses in the Sixth month had invaded the Negeb.'

This, of course, is to abandon all attempts to preserve parallelism or strophe and sense which is actually highly elaborated in these texts. Moreover it is open to philological criticism. The particle ' used to introduce a clause in the sense of 'because' is barely permissible even in Aramaic where it is used most commonly with the helping phrase יִתְנָה. In the present passage it is most natural to take ' as usual in the Ras Shamra texts, as introducing a genitive. Virolleaud's derivation of mgd from the root יִיָּ‎ which appears in Hebrew as יִיָּ‎, 'a fortress' is possible but improbable. The word is better derived from the Arabic root جُرَّ‎, 'to breakfast' or جُرَّ‎ 'to feed.' We may thus render, restoring the parallelism,

'Let him parch bread of the fifth month! Food of the sixth month!'

The grain of the fifth month would be barley and that of the sixth month wheat. The concoctions in two kinds of grain are reminiscent of the offering of the two 'wave-loaves' at the Feast of Weeks; it is therefore suggested that the passage in the Koret poem refers to the rite whereby the king in his priestly capacity set the new crop free for public use.

Next follows the passage which contains the reference to ngb. From our rearrangement of the strophes in the interests of metre and parallelism, it is apparent that 'can no longer be construed with ngb in the sense in which Virolleaud would read ' invaded the Negeb.' In the position to which we assign 'dn, it is most unlikely that it may be a verb at all.

1. mgd tdt yrhm, 'd probably omitted before tdt by haplography after mgd.
3. Virolleaud suggests 'occupy' as the meaning of 'an, deriving it from the Arabic جر, 'to abide.'
Under the influence of the equation ngb-ngeb, the word has been equated with the Akkadian edinnija plain' but on this reading it would require some verb which is lacking. Again it has been thought that it might be connected with the Hebrew מַעְשֶׁה 'dainties', referring to the food which in the previous passage Keret is to prepare. There is, indeed, a passage in II E where the word seems to have this meaning and in the passage which is now before us, if 'dn and ngb occurred only in the first instance, a possible translation might be 'a noble feast'; the phrase being used in apposition to ihm and mgd, though the parallelism would be broken. Another interpretation is offered by the Danish scholar Fæersen who takes 'an in the sense of 'Ausrüstung' equipment, probably under the influence of II Samuel 1,24

Another suggestion is to equate 'an in this passage with the Aramaic מַעְשֶׁה which has the meaning 'time' from which it is developed its usage as 'then' in the sense in which מַעְשֶׁה is used in Classical Hebrew as marking a definite point in the sequence of events. If 'dn is used in this sense in the passage we are studying it becomes impossible to take ngb as a place-name or an adjective. This sense suits fairly well in the first instance but in 1:37 does not suit so well. That the word should have the same meaning here and in 1:35 seems most natural. Hence the best solution of the problem seems that which A.Hertner has suggested, all too diffidently, that 'an here means 'a crowd', akin to the Arabic الجزء. Ginsberg has endorsed this view, taking the word in the first place as the imperative of a verb 'Musten!' We do not, however, agree with Ginsberg in reading ngb as a place-name as the object of 'dn. A. Hertner, 111, col. 111, 14.

2. ngb is taken by Aistleitner and Fæersen as 'noble', Arabic مَجْد. e.g. sb'e ngb, Meerscharen von Ra'an, Fæersen; Die Krt Légende, Berytus VII, 1941, pp. 63-106.

3. The reading of מַעְשֶׁה here is open to doubt. 4. A. Hertner; Syria XXIII, 1942, pp. 270-280.

5. M. L. Ginsberg, The Legend or King Keret... , p. 10.
indeed, prefers to take 'dn as 'then' but the word if taken in the sense 'crowd' might stand as a very appropriate parallel to sb'u. The further suggestion of Mlle. Herdner that ngb is a Niphal participle or perfect is very sound. She adduces the Akkadian word gabbu which means 'a mass' and finds affinity with the Aramaic verb גגב, 'to gather, rake together, accumulate.' This as the description of a muster would be most appropriate in the present passage. Thus after the provisioning of the town by ceremonial taking, the muster of Keret's retinue is described of which we may offer the following translation,' A throng is assembled and goes out.'

The sequel is read by Virolleaud as follows, wyp'se sb'u sb'e ngb which he translates 'And it will come out, the army, the army of the Nezeb!' Here, of course, it is impossible to ignore the case endings of sb'u and sb'e which are as clearly defined as in Arabic. This is a difficult point but not, it is suggested, insoluble. We may take sb'u as the army and sb'e as the collective 'soldiers,' a meaning which sb'u bears in Akkadian. An alternative is that suggested by Mlle Herdner: 'l'élite de l'armée' on the analogy of the Hebrew idiom נבר נבר. The repetition of ngb wypse may be an artistic convention of the poet to describe the muster of the various contingents and their passing on in relays as is suggested in the sequel where the forces march in their thousands, in their myriads, two by two, three by three, as grass-hoppers occupying the fields, as locusts the confines of the desert! The muster complete, the crowd or army moves off; a mighty force enumerated and

1. A. Herdner; Syria XXIII, 1942, p. 278.
2. I. 103-105 k'ورβ τόκν πδ //192-194 κμ ἅεν ρ'ατ μδβρ
described with true poetic licence.

Thus we may offer the following rendering of the passage according to the strophic arrangement given above.

'And let Keret come down from the terrace.
Preparing corn for the city.
Wheat for Beth Hbr.
Let him parch bread of the fifth,
Food of the sixth month.
Let the crowd gather and go forth,
The mustered host of the warriors.
And let the crowd go forth together,
Thy host is a mighty force.
Three hundred myriads
Freemen without reckoning
Yeomen without compute.'

This reading is self-consistent and free of the difficulties of Virolleaud's reading which does violence to grammar and requires copious parentheses. Thus the Negeb and De Langhe's Negba as place-names vanish from the text. This critical analysis of the text supports the evidence of archaeology on the basis of which we had already rejected the theory of folk-movements in the Negeb as the subject of the first Keret tablet.

Similarly a critical examination of the text demonstrates that the theory that the antagonists of Keret in his conflict were Te'arah and his people rests on no more substantial basis.

There are only two passages where trḥ appears, though Virolleaud does not hesitate to find bi-forms of what he regards as the proper name Terah, the ancestor of the Hebrews. In the first case, Virolleaud reads Terah in I K.12-14.

ṣdqḥ lypq mtrḥt
yশরḥ 'att trḥ.
He translates this passage as follows.
'Let his just one expel the women of the tribe of Terah.
Let his righteous one drive out the wife of Terah.'

Such a rendering is far from happy. There are certain obscure passages in these texts but here the unrelated possessive pronouns in ṣdqḥ and yশরḥ and these substantives themselves which appear quite unrelated to anything before or after are too vague. Nor is one convinced by Virolleaud's rendering of lypq as the optative of a verb akin to the Hebrew ḳāḇ in the second sense of 'to bring out!' Formally 'att trḥ could l.c.f. Arabic ʿall together! ʿa crowd'.
mean 'the wife of Terah' but mtrht in the derivative sense meaning 'the women of Terah' can hardly be taken seriously. The form is obviously verbal and is best taken as a passive participle as has been done by Gordon, Albright, Ginsberg, and others. The solution of the problem of mtrht is the key to that of trh too, as perceived by Gordon who demonstrates that the words have affinity with the Akkadian terhātu meaning 'bride-price; a word which was actually in use in Canaan since it occurs in a native gloss in the Amarna Tablets in the phrase a'alu trh, 'to give the bride-price.' The form mtrht, however, which should be a passive participle, is not so easily understood. We should have expected the form mrht from rahu, the Akkadian verb from which terhātu is derived as a verbal noun. It is suggested, however, that the word passed from Akkadian into the Canaanite dialect in the form of the verbal noun tarhātu from which the form trh was then evolved as a verb. This would admittedly be a strange process but not without parallel in Semitic languages and by no means so remarkable as the derivation of a form mtrht from Terah in the sense of 'wives of Terah.'

The passage in the opening of the Keret poem may be thus read with Albright:

(I K 10-14) 'Take possession, O Keret, of the citadel Which is the abode of a woman Whose rectitude truly befits a spouse, Whose virtue befits a wedded wife.'

In the estimation of the writer Ginsberg's interpretation of the first intelligible lines of the Keret poem is the correct one but it is noteworthy that he agrees with Gordon and Albright in their reading of trh and mtrht. The translation

4. cf. 'to be seasonable, fitting! Albright suggests the alternative 'surpasses' from Arabic.'
of Ginsberg will be discussed at the appropriate point as the introduction to the passage in which certain commentators see a reference to Zebulon and other peoples in ancient Palestine. Meanwhile let it suffice to say that the writer is in main agreement with Ginsberg at this point as against Albright whose interpretation still seems to savour rather of the historical interpretation of Virolleaud and Dussaud.

In the second passage where trh is found Virolleaud claims to find a reference to Terah in the double capacity of moon-deity and patriarch. The passage in question reads,

(I K 11.100-103//115-119), wys'e trh hdt
yb'r lyn 'ath
lm nkr mdth.

Here Virolleaud translates,

"And Terah makes the new moon rise
He makes it shine for Sin his wife
And for hisar his beloved."

Virolleaud emphasizes the connection of Terah with his wives in and nkr which he takes to be the Sumerian forms of Sin and his consort Nin-gal, the Sumerian lunar deities of Ur. In the Sumerian pantheon, however, Sin was a male deity whereas on Virolleaud's interpretation in is feminine, a remarkable change for such a prominent deity, to say nothing of the indignity of subjection to Terah. It would be strange, again, if Terah, whose name may indeed, be connected with Yerah, should cause the new moon to rise for in and nkr if they were themselves lunar deities. Furthermore, Virolleaud himself admits that the theophoric names compounded with Sin, such as Sennacherib and Sanballat are spelt not with υ or ω as in South Arabic but with δ. There are two cases where υ may be used in the name but neither of these is good authority for this spelling. In Genesis xiv, the king of Ammah is named

1. 'Take possession, O Keret, of a citadel, the home of a woman...'.
   The word grds has been taken as a local form of the Hittite gurtaš, 'a fortress!'Ginsberg renders this word 'is undermined! admitting that this is a pure guess,'The Legend of King Keret, p.33.
2. F. Hommel; Süd-Arabische Unrestomathe, 1893, p.132.
which might be a theophoric of the type found in the Exegetical Texts meaning 'Sin is (my) father'. On the other hand, its association with יָשָׁשׁ and יָשָׁשֶׁה 'In sin' and 'In wickedness', the kings of the proverbial and perhaps fictitious Sodom and Gomorrah hardly substantiates the historicity of יָשָׁשׁ which might be a corruption of יָשָׁשׁ 'the name of one's father'. In any case the fact that the name appears in the LXX as ἵφι indicates that the Masoretic reading was in doubt. Apart from this doubtful case the only other instance in which the name of Sin may be rendered in Hebrew by א is the name יָשָׁשׁ in I Chronicles, iii, 18. which is late and probably not reliable.

One apparently well-established case is the name אַבְדָּה a Palestinian chief in Sethe’s 'Aechtungstexte' but as this comes through Egyptian hieratic transcription and is the only possible attestation of the god in those texts it is somewhat doubtful evidence. Thus in the passage in the Keret poem, the equation of א with the god Sin is strongly suspect.

In the case of Nikar, or better Nikkar, the problem of the change of sex does not arise as Nin-gal, with whom Virolleaud identifies the hypothetical consort of Terah, was a female deity. The form too is quite a possible one.

The n of the original might easily be assimilated to the hard g which followed as in the case of the ח formation in Hebrew. That the Akkadian g could pass into West Semitic as k is evidenced by the case of ניקארו which is actually the Sumerian e-gal, 'great house'! There is in fact a goddess named Nikal in another text from Ras Shamra, NK, which celebrates her marriage with the moon-god Yareh. Virolleaud goes on to find the deity named in Egyptian texts of the New Empire in the actual form, Nikar, which he reads in the Keret tablet.

There is, however, a more satisfactory solution of the

2. Virolleaud, La Légende de Keret..., p. 29. He is no more specific.

The lunar deity Nikal appears in the Neirab inscriptions from the viith century, G. A. Cooke; NSI, 64 and 65, pp. 186-191.
problem. The words \( \text{tn} \) and \( \text{nkr} \) may be taken as infinitives of verbs. \( \text{tn} \) has been derived from the verb \( \text{tny} \) which corresponds to the Hebrew \( \text{רניא} \), 'to repeat'; in Akkadian the verb \( \text{s\text{\u03a1}n\text{\u03a4}u} \) is paralleled by \( \text{rag\text{\u03a1}m\text{\u03a4}} \) meaning 'to announce'; stake one's legal claim! Now even according to Virolleaud's interpretation \( \text{nkr} \) is regarded as a parallel to \( \text{tn} \) and if we give \( \text{tn} \) the meaning 'to claim' it is still possible to maintain the parallelism. Gordon finds a clue in the Hebrew word which isn used of Hosea buying back his wife. To this example we may add that from I Samuel xxiii,7 where Saul says of David \[ \text{?ר\text{\u03a4}ר\text{\u03a4}\text{\u03a1}} \text{ר\text{\u03a1}ר\text{\u03a1}} \text{ר\text{\u03a1}ר\text{\u03a1}} \]. The verb in this instance is rendered in the LXX by \( \text{zn\text{\u03a1}z\text{\u03a1}} \). If we may argue on the analogy of Aramaic usage where the intensive of \( \text{\u03a0\text{\u03a1}} \) means 'to sell' and the qal 'to buy' we should be entitled to read the passage in the Keret text as 'He burns to claim his wife And to acquire his beloved.' Thus the hypothetical Terah may be stripped of his Sumerian associates \( \text{\u03a1\text{\u03a4}} \) and \( \text{\u03a4\text{\u03a1}\text{\u03a4}} \) and the common ground with patriarchal history drastically reduced. In this passage Gordon and Albright take \( \text{tr\text{\u03a1}h} \) again as 'bride-price'; reading in 11.100-101 \( \text{y\text{\u03a4}b\text{\u03a4}r\text{\u03a4}t\text{\u03a4}h} \) and translating 'And let him bring forth a new bride-price!' De Langhe, on the other hand, does not accept this rendering finding a difficulty in the omission of the copula \( \text{w} \) before \( \text{y\text{\u03a4}b\text{\u03a4}r\text{\u03a4}t\text{\u03a4}h} \) and in the fact that a second bride-price was necessary.

1. Nielsен:Ras Shamra Mythologie und Biblische Theologie, p.94, though he agrees with Virolleaud in this passage in all but the identity of the 'wives of Terah; the presumptive moon-god.
2. Hence \( \text{\u03a1\text{\u03a1}n\text{\u03a1}} \), 'teaching; tradition; literally 'repetition!'
4. Hosea iii, 2
5. i.e. by paying the bride-price.
6. Gordon supposes that Keret is remarrying his wife after losing her as a captive in war; JBL, LVII, p.40v.
8. De Langhe; Les Textes de RS...et...l'AT, I, p.512. This, however, is no real difficulty since the imperfect is best taken with participial force of attendant circumstances, a familiar Semitic usage, especially in Arabic.
notices that in the passage immediately preceding, which he takes not as the description of a general muster but of the popular enthusiasm for the enterprise of Keret various classes of people are mentioned together with their respective activities. De Langhe would read \( \text{wys't} \) trh with \( w_r \text{mzl ymzl} \) and would take hdjt not as an adjective qualifying trh but as the subject of yb'r in the sense of 'bride-groom' after the Akkadian \( 'hadasatu' \), 'a young married man'. He would take trh as the Akkadian word terhu, 'a owl' which he takes to be a means of divination like the divining-cup of Joseph. This interpretation, of course, is contingent upon the interpretation of \( w_r \text{mzl ymzl} \).

Virolleaud suggested the translation 'the blind man consults the lots' or 'predicts good fortune' by astrology. He was led to this interpretation by the resemblance of mzl to the Hebrew \( \text{vay's} \) of the stations of the stars in the Zodiac and by a Greek-Punic bilingual from Larnax \( \text{Lavethos} \) where \( \text{vay's} \) is rendered by \( \text{vay's} \). This, however, though phonetically possible is hardly a probable conception. In order to read the verb as Virolleaud does we must postulate a developed usage of the root which is not attested. Moreover, a blind man could not divine by the visual means suggested here. Ginsberg translates mzl ymzl as 'he blinks with one eye', connecting the word with the late Hebrew \( \text{y's} \), 'to squint', a singularly pointless intrusion into an otherwise pointed and dramatic piece. It is here suggested that mzl is a dialectic variant of the Arabic \( \text{y's} \), 'to be excited'.
or perhaps better \(^{3}\) found in the II form in Classical Arabic meaning 'to praise.' Taking the latter suggestion the point would be that in the general activity where all strive to further the purpose of the king, even the blind man does what he can by giving a favourable word (favet lingua) as the prophets at the gate of Samaria exhorted Ahab 'Go up to Ramoth Gilead and prosper.' Thus with the abandonment of Virolleaud's interpretation of mzl ymzl, De Targhe's interpretation of trh also falls and there is no difficulty in taking trh as 'bride-price' as before. Indeed in the parallel passage in I K.189 we find a variant on the verb governing trh. Here wybl is used, indicating that wys'e in 1.100 is an Aphel or Causative. It is the merit of T.H. Gaster\(^{2}\) to have pointed out that wybl trh is a technical term for the payment of the bride-price, as in the Amarna Tablets already cited.

We may further note Gaster's interpretation of this passage 'And if ever a man produce but recently the bride-price, Yet do they drive forth his woman unto another Even his beloved unto a stranger!' and that of Ginsberg\(^{3}\)

"And even the newly-wed bridegroom goes forth. He drives to another his wife, To a stranger his beloved!"

However we may disagree with the main conceptions of Gaster and Ginsberg in this passage, it is noteworthy that they agree in their reading of trh and nkr in which they see no reference to lunar deities as wives of Terah and in their reading of trh as from the Akkadian 'terhatu,' 'bride-price.' From the various commentaries cited above it is obvious that we are far from limited to the interpretation of Virolleaud who takes hdḥ as meaning the new moon.

1. I Kings xxii,12. For the significance of a favourable word spoken in such circumstances see A.R. Johnson; The Cultic Prophet in Ancient Israel, 1944, pp54 ff.  
2. T.H. Gaster; OLZ, xlii, col. 275.  
3. Ginsberg; The Legend of King Keret..., p.16.
The objective of the expedition of Keret which is described in the first tablet is 'udm. This word has been taken by Virolleaud to denote the kingdom of Edom over against the Negeb from which it was divided by the rift of the Arabah. This view is endorsed by Dussaud who sees in the double designation 'udm rbt and 'udm trrt a reference to the main kingdom of Edom and to those parts lying towards Mt. Seir. Virolleaud supposes that Keret and his confederates suffered a reverse in the Negeb and were obliged, like the Hebrews, to make a detour in their Northward migration by Edom. Dussaud, on the other hand, holds that Keret was successful in his operations in the Negeb against the Terachites or early Hebrew fathers in consequence of whose expulsion he was brought into direct contact with Edom.

There is in the first place a grave archaeological difficulty in making the equation 'udm-Kdom. The date of the events in the Keret poem are still a matter of conjecture but must antedate by a considerable length of time the 15th-14th centuries to which the actual tablets may be dated since history has already become legend. The internal evidence of the text, however, especially the reference to the horse and chariot, indicate that the original events cannot be dated much before the 18th century. Now Glueck in his thorough archaeological survey of the lands beyond Jordan finds that from the latter part of the 14th century the kingdoms of Moab and Edom were very clearly delimited by lines of fortresses following the natural boundaries of the land along the Southern escarpment of the Seir massif, the Wadi Hesy, which Glueck identifies with the Brook Zared, the Northern boundary of Edom, and in the case of Moab the Wadi el Mojib or the Arnon as well as

3. A terminus ante quem is the first quarter of the 14th century, the tablets being contemporary with one from the king of Ugarit to Subilluliuma the king of the Hittites named in the Amarna Tablets; a terminus post quem is c. 1300 B.C. before which the horse and chariot, named in the text, were unknown in Western Asia.
on the strategic heights along the desert edge to the East.

But from the end of the Early Bronze Age the land had been abandoned to squatters from the desert for some seven centuries. In the earlier stage of sedentary civilization beyond Jordan in the 3rd millennium there was no such political delimitation such as we find in the Iron Age when Edom, Moab, Ammon and the Amorite kingdom about Heshbon are clearly defined as separate entities. In the period to which the Keret poem refers there was no kingdom of Edom.

Under these considerations Albright takes *udm as an imaginary city; the red city; red being presumably a rich colour with which imaginary subjects may be invested. Eissfeldt suggests the site of Deir el Ahmar, 'the Red Shrine' six miles Northwest of Ba'albak in Syria. Engnell, again, would even take *udm as a fertility-goddess, the consort of Pbl-mlk whom he identifies with Resef.

The Dominican scholar, De Vaux, on the other hand, maintains that we may deduce certain positive information from the passage I K.108-114//210-218,

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wtmgy l'udm rbt
wl*udm trrt
wgr nn trm šrn
pdrm s't
bsd Kin trbh
bgrnt hpst s't
bn(p)k S'ebt
bbqr mmjt
dm ym wtn....
```

De Vaux translates this passage,

> And thou shalt come to Udmu the Great,
> And to Edom the small.
> Abide then in the cities of Šarna,
> In the towns of S't,
> In the fields of Htbh,
> In the hollows (or hollow threshing-floors) of S't,
> At the spring of S'ebt,
> At the well of Mimlat.
> Remain quiet a day, the second day...

4. Engnell: Studies in Divine Kingship, 1943, p. 164. Engnell, however, offers this only as a conjecture.
Here De Vaux agrees with Virolleaud in finding three localities named 'udm, šrn and sʿt. De Vaux then notes that in a certain area of Galilee a few miles Southwest of the Sea of Galilee three places are situated which by their names recall 'udm, šrn and sʿt. Those places, moreover, are found within a radius of some four miles. This coincidence is striking and having the support of such an authority as De T'anghe merits consideration. De Vaux goes further. In the last two strophes of the passage just quoted he finds two more place-names, sʿebt and mmlat, which he identifies with Kefr Sabt, little over a mile Southwest of the site where he locates 'udm, and Khirbet Mimlat some eight miles North of the same site. Here, however, the writer cannot quite follow De Vaux. Khirbet Mimlat, it is true, is just over eight miles from where De Vaux locates 'udm. From personal observation of the configuration of the land, however, the writer is able to state that it is quite beyond the locality in question, lying in fact, beyond the watershed to the North of the presumed site of 'udm and considerably North even of the deep ravine of the Wadi el Hammam, quite off the ancient trade-route either from the fords of the Upper Jordan or from the West by way of the Plain of the Battuf and Lubiyeh. In sʿebt, which Virolleaud translates as 'a woman drawing water; De Vaux in identifying the word with Sabt notes two good springs in the vicinity, very important for an army of occupation in a region where water is so scarce. In the vicinity of Kefr Sabt he attests an ancient settlement where in addition to deposits of Graeco-Roman pottery sherds from the Early and Middle Bronze Age are found. The place was occupied, that is to say, in the period with which the Keret poem

2. De T'anghe: Les Textes de BS et... l'AT.II.p.133. De T'anghe points out that šrn, šrn, and ṣdm are governed by ṣmr nn. Hence he would take the final ṣ as the substitute for the preposition b as in Akkadian where it is a substitute for ana, ima and ibtu. The common nouns šrmu and šbdm are ordinary plurals. De T'anghe: L'enclitique cananéenne -m(a). Muséeon LXV, 1946, 99-111.
De Vaux's identification of *udm, *srn and *sít as place-names must be critically examined. The Amarna Tablets and an inscription of Thothmes III mention a locality Saruna in Palestine but are not precise as to the location. Eusebius¹ mentions *sít, which by his definition it seems not so much a town as a region. The Arab geographer Yaqtê² (1179-1229 A.D.) mentions Saruniyeh as a village in the pass between Tiberias and Tor. Saarisalo³ in investigating the boundary between Issachar and Naphtali notes the modern village of Sarona, some six miles South-West of the South end of the Sea of Galilee. His surface exploration, it is true, revealed only Byzantine and Arab remains but the absence of traces of an early settlement need not surprise us if up to the time of Eusebius in the 4th century Sarona was not a town but a region. That *srn in the Keret tablet may be a region rather than a town might be indicated if we read *srn as plural.⁴

The same might apply to *sít. We look in vain for a single site with any traces of occupation in the period in question. De Vaux notes a Knirbet Sa‘ad, Jebel Sa‘ad, *Wadi Sa‘ad and a Knallet Sa‘adiyeh a little to the North of Sarona. He suggests that the name is further attested in the Arabic Su‘ad in whose *dira’ or circuit those places lie.

The third site, which is the metropolis of the district, is *udm, qualified by the terms *rít and *trít generally taken

1. Eusebius; Onomasticon, ed. Klostermann, p. 162, ll. 4-5.
4. Cf. De Langne who takes *srn as singular. If a particular town were denoted here it might be the site on which the Jewish colony of Betn Gamn now stands, a mile down the wadi from Knirbet Sarona where Abel notes Late Bronze and Iron Age sherds, Geographie de la Palestine, II, pp. 14-15.
as 'the Greater' and 'the Less,' but perhaps better after Aistleitner 'the Great' and 'the Well-watered.' The Egyptian inscriptions of the time of Thothmes III, Ramses II and Sheshonk mention a place in Palestine which they name variously as 'Itmm,' 'Tdmm,' and 'Ad-ma-m.' Of these the most important document in the Papyrus Anastasi I from the time of Ramses II (1292-1225).

From this last reference it is clear that the place was a key point on one of the trunk highways through Palestine.

In the passage in the Book of Joshua dealing with the portioning of the land among the tribes of Israel we find reference to a place called 'Sarum,' which is qualified by the term "wealthy." The vocalization of the word is no real difficulty though, incidentally, Eusebius in the Onomasticon does speak of 'Adimmt,' which indicates the form of the original dual which may be denoted in the Keret tablet by 'Adm rbt and 'Adm trtt. Of more importance for De Vaux's thesis is the fact that this place was in the land of Naphtali and that it is designated with relation to " riches." In this connection it is interesting that in his location of Saruniyeh, the Arab geographer Yaqut makes specific mention of the pass "qubba," from Tiberias to Tabor. In Arabic both "qubba" and "qubbat" are used of mountain tracks or passes.

In the vicinity of Sarona and KHIRBET SAR 'AD in the land anciently reckoned to Naphtali and at a distance of only two and a half miles North of Sarona is the site KHIRBET ED DAMIYEH which was explored by Saarisalo in 1926. It was found to be a straggling site and may have originally been a double

3. Ibidem, inscription of Sheshonk at Karnak, xxv, 128.
settlement and its occupation was attested for a period of roughly two millennia from c.3000 to c.1000 B.C.¹

De Vaux emphasizes the significance of Khirbet ed Damiyeh on the Darb el Hawarneh, the ancient trade-route from the coast at Acre through to the corn-lands of the Hamran. 'udm was reached, according to the Keret text, on the seventh day after his departure from his home town and on the fourth day's march from the shrine or shrines of 'Ašr Srm and 'Elt šdynm (I K,197-210).² Presuming that the expedition of Keret set out from the more Northerly city of Sidon and marched South to the Litany River then turned inland, three days journey of some 20 miles each day would have brought them to the Huleh basin³ where the shrines in question may have been. A similarly regulated march would have brought Keret to Acre. Thence from Huleh or Acre a slower journey in strange territory by stages of some 15 miles each day might have brought them to Khirbet ed Damiyeh. Thus the facts of the narrative, taken literally, would not be unsuited to De Vaux's location of 'udm. Eissfeldt again, would locate the shrines not in the Huleh basin but at Tripoli in Phoenicia which he notes was founded as a joint settlement of colonists from Tyre, Sidon and Aradus in the Persian period but on an earlier settlement. Eissfeldt would thus regard Keret's march as directed inland to the Orontes in the vicinity of Dar el Ahmar near Ba'albak about the headwaters of the Orontes. The interpretation of 'Ašr šrm and 'Elt šdynm is difficult since we do not know whether the final m is a sign of the plural or the prepositional m so that it is uncertain whether we should render 'Tyrians' and Sidonians' or 'at Tyre' and 'at Sidon'. Götze⁵ indeed, doubts if we may render the one or the other but offers no alternative.

2. 'Ašr and 'Elt may be names of one and the same goddess, in apposition.
3. Perhaps 'ah šmk of IV AB. the hunting-ground of Ba'al. Note Phoenician settlement there at the time of the Danite migration, Judges xvii, 7. Vide infra, pp.284 ff.
4. Eissfeldt; Zum geographischen Horizont... ZDMG, xciv, 1940, pp. 76-80.
5. Götze: JACOS, lviii, 1939, pp. 266-309. Albright: BASOR, 94,
Insofar as this episode may be located in Palestine, the strategic significance of De Vaux's location is appreciated. Another locality somewhat further South would also suit the interpretation of De Vaux. At one of the fords of the Jordan where the river was bridged in Byzantine times as at the present day at Jisr el Majami, the Bridge of Assembly, there are two sites little over a mile from the river, the one Tell 'Idma, the other Khirbet 'Idma, which may be 'udm rbt and 'udm trrt, though we are not bound to take this as a dual site. It is interesting to note a village Sirin about two miles Northwest of these sites which might indicate šrn of the poem. That the crossing of the Jordan here was regarded as an important strategic point is indicated by the extensive tell of Bab el Munṭar between Tell 'Idma and the river. The Arabic name, the Gate of the Watch, is general and perfectly intelligible but gives no clue as to the ancient name of the site, so that it too may be one of the places mentioned in the Keret poem. Moreover, the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age settlement of Khirbet Kerak at the South end of the Sea of Galilee owed its importance to its position on this ancient traderoute 2.

Such precise geographical locations, however, involve great difficulties. They rest on an interpretation of the actual text which is still open to criticism. The seven-days' journey, moreover, may be, as Pedersen 3 supposes, no more than the familiar Semitic convention to express a long journey or even a shorter 'cultic exodus' of seven stages as Engnell 4 believes. As to the particular location of the 'udm episode in Galilee which De Vaux would urge, there are other difficulties. It has been demonstrated by Herzberg 5 and Eissfeldt 6 on the basis of

1. Eissfeldt: Zum geographischen Horizont..., ZDMG, xciv, 1940, pp. 72-73.
Deuteronomy xxxiii, 18-19, and Hosea v, 1 and Sanchuniathon--Philo that Tabor was a prominent sanctuary probably in the 2nd millenium. It is scarcely conceivable, then, that the episode in the Keret tablet, if located in this region, should contain no reference to this sanctuary. Again the phonetic correspondence which De Vaux claims between his Galilean localities and certain words in the text are not strictly accurate. Indeed, Albright\(^1\) in rejecting this theory has observed that in only one out of five cases is De Vaux's equation linguistically satisfactory. Here as in most passages we must first arrange the strophes according to the formal structure which is so carefully observed in these poems, then we must faithfully observe the parallelism of phrase and meaning. In the passage in question the following arrangement seems most suitable.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wtmgy} & \quad \text{l'udm} & \quad \text{rbt} \\
\text{wl'udm} & \quad \text{ttrt} \\
\text{wgr} & \quad \text{nn} & \quad \text{rm} \\
\text{srn} & \quad \text{pdrm} \\
\text{s't b'dm} & \quad \text{htbt}\text{.} \\
\text{bgrnt} & \quad \text{hpst} \\
\text{s't} & \quad \text{bn(p)k} & \quad \text{s'ebt} \\
\text{bqrm} & \quad \text{mml'at}
\end{align*}
\]

Here \(\text{srn}\) is best taken as a parallel to \(\text{gr nn}\), both being emphatic imperatives of verbs, both of which have corresponding Hebrew roots\(^3\)\(^\text{a}\) and \(\text{m}\) meaning 'sojourn' and 'watch! This conjecture is corroborated by the obvious parallelism of \(\text{trt}\) and \(\text{pdrm}\) associated respectively with \(\text{gr nn}\) and \(\text{srn}\). Again in such a perfectly elaborate poem as that before us the repetition of \(\text{s't}\) as a place-name would be an incongruous barbarism. It is, however, perfectly in order as a verb, the subject of which is \(\text{htbt}\) in the first case and \(\text{s'ebt}\) in the second, both feminine singulars perhaps used collectively. In the last couplet

1. Albright; BASOR, 70, 1938, p. 23.  
2. Reading \(\text{htbt}\) for Virolleaud's \(\text{htbh}\), vide infra, p. 199.
and 'well' surely suggest the verbs 'to draw' and 'to fill' which again have their exact counterparts in Hebrew צ"א and כְּפָר (ך"ע).

One other word requires explanation. In Virolleaud's copy and transliteration ḥṭbh is read which as it stands is a masculine participle with the pronominal suffix, probably the 3rd singular, feminine. This is not quite a suitable subject to the feminine singular verb שִׂת, though in Arabic the broken plural of a masculine subject may be preceded by a verb in the feminine singular. The analogy, however, is not exact. Ginsberg suggests the reading ḥṭbt for ḥṭbh and in the photograph of the text this reading, in the judgment of the writer, is more probable since only one horizontal stroke (ך"ע i.e. t) is decisively made instead of three such strokes (ך"ע i.e. h).

The translation of this passage thus arranged may be offered as follows.

'And thou shalt reach 'udm the great,
Yea 'udm abundant in water,
Then tarry at the city,
Watch at the town'
To and fro in the fields ply the wood-cutters
To and fro at the spring ply the women drawing water
Pilling (the jars) at the well.

Thus of the supposed geographical locations only one remains, 'udm, the objective of the journey of Keret and the home of his bride mtt hry.

1. Ginsberg, The Legend of King Keret, p. 38. Ginsberg renders the passage as follows, without however any philological notes on his rendering of the critical grammatical.

Thou wilt arrive at Udm the Great
Even Udm the Grand,
And do thou attack the villages,
Harass the towns.
Sweep from the fields her woodcutters,
From the threshing-floors the straw-pickers.
Sweep from the spring the women that draw,
From the fountain the women that fill.

2. Especially as reproduced in Schaeffer, The Cuneiform Texts of Ras Shamra-Ugarit, pl. XXXVII. There is no room for other two horizontal strokes of the same size though there does seem evidence of the deep ends of them. This however, may be a fault in the clay emphasized by firing.

3. Final m prepositional in וְמ and וּדמ.

4. cf. Arabic צ"ע of bees flying to and fro.

5. Fuel-gathering צ"ע a menial task left to women. Qur’an cxi, 4.

6. Separating the clean grain from chaff and grits.

7. Or perhaps filling the drinking-troughs as the daughter of Reuel, Exodus xi. 16.
Our study of the Keret tablet and the rejection of the Nerebite and Edomite theories and that of the epic struggle of 'Terah' and his followers with the ancestors of the Phoenicians may seem to deprive the tablet of any historical value. There seems little doubt that 'udm was a place-name, a fortified town as we should gather from the entreaty of its king pbl mlk in I K 131-134.

withdraw, 0 king, from my house,
Go far from my courtyard, 0 Keret,
Harm not 'udm the great,
Even 'udm abundant in water.

and again from the injunction of 'El to Keret in I K,

shoot not up an arrow at his burg
Nor a stone from thy hand at his fortress

The location of 'udm in Galilee is in itself quite possible.
The narrative of the Danite migration indicates that the Phoenicians occupied the Huleh region in the Early Iron Age though there is no direct evidence for their settlement further South. We could, however, conceive their interest in making an alliance with the king of a place such as 'udm may have been, a key point on a trade-route. This, in fact, seems the maximum historical deduction which we may make from the poem as far as it concerns Palestine.

While very critical of the particular historical interpretation of Virolleaud in the Keret poem, De Vaux is still disposed to admit the possibility that there may be a reference to the peoples Asher and Zebulon familiar as Hebrew tribes. Virolleaud himself is not quite sure of

1. Perhaps 'besiege' cf. Hebrew אָשָׁר.  
2. cf. Arabic 'tall'.  
3. De Vaux: RB xlv1, 1937, p. 446  
H. S. Nyberg, ZDMG, xcii, 1939, p. 338
the relation between Asher and Zebulon which he supposes to be mentioned in the Keret tablet and the Hebrew tribes of that name. He suggests that the names may have adhered to certain localities once occupied by Asher and Zebulon of the Keret text which were later occupied by the Hebrews who adopted the names.

There is a certain amount of external evidence for the presence of Asher in particular in the land before the Hebrew Invasion. Asher, moreover, is stigmatized in the Sons of Deborah for non-cooperation with the Hebrews who met and defeated Sisera, a situation which might well be understood if Asher had been associated with the Phoenicians from remote antiquity. Again it has been pointed out that Asher was after all not of pure Israelite stock, being in fact depicted as the second son of Jacob and the concubine Zilpah.

There is no doubt that there was Semitic penetration into Palestine from the desert long before the Hebrew Invasion. So much the patriarchal narratives signify. The Egyptian Execratory Texts demonstrate the same very clearly and by the peculiar form of theophoric names enable us to determine the social constitution of the people who occupied Palestine in the 19th century B.C. The Amarna Tablets further attest the presence of SA GAZ in the district to which Hebrew tradition assigned Asher. Thus the independent evidence that a people of the same nomadic antecedents as the Hebrews and possibly of the same affinity had occupied the land before the Invasion might suggest that there might be Hebrews

1. Virolleaud; La légende de Keret..., p. 13.
2. Judges v, 17.
5. Knudtzon: 246, 7, from Biridiya of Megiddo.
who were settled in Palestine and had never known a sojourn in Egypt with the other Jacob tribes. The records of Thothmes III referring to the campaign which culminated at Megiddo in 1479 B.C. do refer to certain localities, Joseph-el and Jacob-el between Megiddo and Shechem most likely, whose names suggest Hebrew affinities while the mention of the suppression of Israel on the stele of Merneptah (c.1225 B.C.) confirms the conclusion that people of Hebrew race were established in Palestine before the invasion of Joshua which we date about this time. Is it legitimate to suppose that we have some trace of these in the Keret tablet where Virolleaud would read Asher and Zebulon?

Of Zebulon it cannot be said as of Asher that they found more community of interest with the Canaanites than with the Hebrews in the campaign of Harosheth of the Gentiles. The men of Zebulon are, in fact, singled out in the Sons of Deborah and extolled for their hardihood. In the "Blessing of Jacob," however, Zebulon is closely associated with Sidon which hardly corresponds with the delimitation of tribal districts in Joshua xix, 10-16 and the note in Judges i, 30 which suggest that Asher and not Zebulon bordered on Sidon. Here the writer is disposed to rely more on the "Blessing of Jacob" as retaining

3. vide *Ugara, p. 90 ff.
4. Genesis xlix, 13 (J).
5. The "Blessing of Jacob" is part of the J tradition of the Pentateuch and therefore goes back in its present form to the 9th century most likely. In its present state it seems a composite work but the reference to Reuben and most notably to Simeon and Levi suggests that there are elements which must be among the oldest tribal traditions of the Hebrews.

The reference to Simeon and Levi seems an echo of the incident of Shechem and comes from the time when Levi was still a secular tribe associated with Simeon in the settled land of the centre of Palestine as distinct from the Southern steppe and the memory of their violence and subsequent curse was still fresh. Thus we are the more disposed to credit the "Blessing of Jacob" which, as against the statement of Joshua and Judges attests Zebulon as settled on the sea-shore and associated with the Sionians. There are, of course, earlier as well as later elements in the "Blessing of Jacob" but the contrary statement of Joshua and Judges indicates that the "Blessing of Jacob" in locating Zebulon on the coast is here retaining an earlier tradition.
the oldest tradition of Zebulon. On this view some colour is
lent to the view of Virolleaud and De Vaux that Zebulon
was indeed related to the Phoenicians.

In the Keret text there is only one passage where there
is any claim that Zebulon is mentioned. The passage has been
deciphered thus by Virolleaud.

I K, 14-21. ..... ett trh wtb't ṯ'ar букв
'an h'mtlt kirm
mt t mrb't zblnm
mhmšt y'etsp rāp
mtlt t glm ym
mšt'bn bšl ṭtppl...

He gives the following translation.

'...(the wife of Terah) and she who pursues her mother's
flesh
I will assign him the Kosherites threefold
Thou shalt kill the Zebulonites fourfold
Fivefold (the tribe of) Yetsep-resef
Sixfold (the tribe of ) ̣ Golam-yam
Sevenfold shall they fall under the lance...!

Here Virolleaud obviously takes the various terms in an
ethnic sense in line with his general interpretation of the
Keret tablet as a historical document. He takes 'Yetsep-resef'
as a tribe, recalling Joseph-š of Thothmes'Megiddo inscription
and the parallel 'Golam-yam' he assumes to be another tribe.
As for the 'Kosherites' and 'Zebulonites' he finds them
associated in this way in the Egyptian Exe cratory Texts where
they occur under the form Kwsr and Zblnw, according to his
quotation. Certainly we do find those names Kwsr (Sethe e5)
and Thbnw (Sethe e6) in connection with the Štwt well known
from these and other Egyptian sources as the nomad inhabitants
of the Negeb. Dussaud 4 cites further the name Thjbhadii from
Posener's texts (El6) on which he remarks that in face of
all that evidence it is useless to refuse to admit the mention
of Zebulon in the Ras Shamra Texts.

1. Virolleaud; La légende de Keret..., p. 35.
2. I b idem, p. 15.
3. Sethe; Die Aechtung ...., pp. 46-47.
4. Dussaud; Syria, XXI, 1940, p. 173.
5. Posener; Princes et Pays ...., p. 73.
In these instances, however, Ṭb닐w and ḫכזr are probably not peoples but chiefs of the Štw, if, at least, we may take the imprecations upon them as conforming to the general formula where the chiefs are named after the localities they govern. Here the names seem best taken as hypocoristics of the general type of name in the texts which are theophoric. Thus Ṭb닐w is probably the truncated form of the full name Ṭb닐w-ilu, 'El is noble' or perhaps Ṭb닐waddi which we have just cited meaning perhaps, 'the nobility of Mšadd'. An exact parallel may be Ẓi-i-a-ša-an-um from the Amorite period at Larsa where again we must understand the name of a god qualified by Zbィn with which we have just cited possibly, 'the nobility of Mšadd'. An exact parallel may be Zi-i-Di-am-um from the Amorite period at Larsa where again we must understand the name of a god qualified by Zbィn with which we have just cited possibly, 'the nobility of Mšadd'. An exact parallel may be Zi-i-Di-am-um from the Amorite period at Larsa where again we must understand the name of a god qualified by Zbィn which is well known from the Ras Shamra texts as the title of Baʿal and of his adversary Ym. Kבזr might be similarly taken or, again, might be the divine element, a hypocoristic of such a name as קח mlk. This deity is familiar in the Ras Shamra texts as the divine craftsman קח wkhss which Oeermann so happily translates 'the Skilful and Percipient One' in the Execratory Texts, of course, it is open to take Ṭb닐w and ḫכזr as the tribes of the Štw which may be named after their prominent chiefs. This, however, is less likely than that they designate individuals according to the general type of these texts.

In the actual text where it is thought that Ṣůoziiion is mentioned, the passage follows the doubtful section where Virolleaud claims to find the first reference to Terah which has been already contested. The passage is generally taken to refer to the sufferings which Kבזr would have to endure in order to fulfil the destiny revealed to him in the previous passage. In the passage under review we have

1. Sethe; op. cit., p. 47, admits the equation Ṭb닐w-Zבזbulon only as a possibility. Equally feasible would be the readings / stub and 7 stub. Another possible reading is /stub/ which is cited by Th. Bauer; Die Ostkanaänder, pp. 47 ff., as a name from the Amorite period in Mesopotamia.
3. Gordon; 814, rev. 1.5.
obviously a list of subjects of various kinds of ordeal. Here Albright first saw a succession not of races or peoples but of classes. He thought, would be sacrificed in Keret's enterprise. He notes that, though we have the climactic progression complete from the numbers three to seven, the number two is lacking so for the doubtful reading *wb't ṭar 'mm, he would read *wb't īn rdm*3 which he translates 'and two leaders shall be stricken'. The climax is reached in the phrase mšb'thn bšẖ ttpl ', seven fold they shall fall by the lance!

Here there is no suggestion of peoples hence Albright would take kṭrm as 'skilled craftsmen' and zblnm as 'patricians!' 'Glm* ym he takes as 'the child of the sea', the subject of y'etsp... and in apposition to ršp, the god of war and pestilence. The meaning which Albright assigns to zbln here is the regular one in the texts where in the form zbl it is found as an epithet of Ba' al. To take the one instance of zblnm in the Keret passage as the sole authority for the mention of the tribe or district of Zebulon in the Ras Shamra Texts, as Virolleaud and Dussaud do, is indeed precarious.

Ginsberg follows Albright in his interpretation of this passage as referring to classes rather than peoples. Ginsberg, however, differs otherwise from Albright in his interpretation of the piece. He takes the poem as opening with the lamentable news of Keret's wife and family stricken down and his hope of succession destroyed. Here we may indicate our general agreement with this interpretation and proceed to note Ginsberg's translation of the passage following where the presumed reference to Zebulon occurs. Ginsberg retains Virolleaud's reconstruction of the damaged text but for *ṭkn reads tkn which seems quite justifiable in the damaged state of

3. *'q instead of Virolleaud's *'a*.
the text. He takes wtb't as the predicate of *att in the previous line where he reads *att tr'h wtb't.'He married a wife and she departed,' then he rearranges the text as follows.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{This he translates.} \\
\text{Flesh of kinship had he,} \\
\text{One third died at birth,} \\
\text{One fourth of sickness,} \\
\text{One fifth the pestilence gathered} \\
\text{Unto itself one sixth the sea} \\
\text{Enveloped, one seventh thereof fell by the sword...}
\end{align*}
\]

Gaster follows Ginsberg in taking zblnm in the sense of 'in sickness!' reading zbln as a noun from the verb zbl,'to bear,' with final m prepositional. In both ktrm and zblnm Ginsberg sees a parallel to bsl'h in the final strophe, hence he takes ktr and zbl as the means or circumstances of the death of Keret's offspring. Ginsberg arrives at his meaning of ktrm in an admittedly tentative manner. He recalls that ktr in other texts from Ras Shamra are women attendant at childbirth, hence he takes ktr as referring to birth. Albright is surely nearer the truth in seeing a connection between ktr and the Hebrew yd and with the name of the divine craftsman Ktr w'ys.

The ktrt of the texts 'Aqhat and Nikal-and Kotarot are so called not from the birth but from their skill either in incantation or in midwifery. Gaster with great plausibility renders ktrm after the Syriac كتسبم, 'in full vigour!'

From the general construction of the passage it is certain that ktrm and zblnm must be taken as parallels. It is suggested here that we take them as plural adjectives, ktrm referring to 'physical maturity' and zblnm to 'princely dignity,' or again in apposition, 'legitimate sons, royal princes.' Y'etsp ršp

1. A euphemism for 'she died'.
2. Ginsberg; The Legend of King Keret..., p. 14.
5. Gaster; JQR, xxxvii, 1947, p. 281.
means obviously 'Refef gathered unto himself', an allusion to a plague which had reduced the royal house. As mr'lt zblm stands in parallel to mlt'w tirm tmt so ml't glm ym without the verb stands in parallel to mhm' tesp r'sp glm ym has been taken by Albright as 'the Child of the Sea', a descriptive title, presumably of Refef. It is true that the name Refef has survived in Palestine to the present day in the name of the derelict site Arsuf, the Greek Apollonia, some ten miles North of Jaffa on the coast, but in antiquity there is no connection known to us between Refef the god of pestilence and the sea. Ginsberg therefore takes glm as a verb meaning 'to overwhelm, veil, hide' as in Hebrew. It seems to us at first sight natural that at Ugarit so close to the sea the sea should claim its victims. In these texts, however, it is rather surprising how small a part is played by the sea. Gaster, therefore, would seem to offer the best solution of the word glm by taking it as the equivalent of the Arabic and the Hebrew meaning 'darkness of day', the result of their ingathering to Refef, the god of pestilence and the underworld.

The translation which we accept here is the following.

'Flesh of kinship had he, Threefold they died in physical maturity, Fourfold in princely dignity, Fivefold Refef gathered them to himself, Sixfold darkness of day, Sevenfold they fell by the sword...'

Our conclusion is that while the 'Blessing of Jacob' does suggest that Zebulon was originally associated with the Canaanites on the coast about Acre and the Execratory Texts indicate the circumstances and period of a settlement here by people of the same traditions as the Hebrew nomads among them possibly Zebulon, on the subject of this people the Ras Shamra texts are absolutely silent.

2. Alternatively 'legitimate sons//royal princes!'
In the case of Asher, traced by Hebrew tradition to the union of Jacob with the concubine Zilpah, we can well imagine that the associations would be perhaps stronger with Canaan than with the Hebrew stock who invaded Palestine at the end of the Late Bronze Age. Certain Egyptian inscriptions of the XIXth Dynasty have been cited to prove the presence of Asher in the district where the Book of Joshua locates them. In these inscriptions the name 'iṣr occurs, it is true, but though Müller applied it to Asher, Sethe rejected the equation and read the name as Assur while De Langhe maintains that however we may vocalize 'iṣr it occurs in a North Syrian context hence cannot apply to Biblical Asher. It is noteworthy that Dussaud himself, who finds so many contacts between Palestine and the Ras Shamra matter, rejects the identification of Müller.

Thus it is very doubtful if the Egyptian documents are sufficient authority for Asher's settlement in Galilee before the Invasion. The Execratory Texts, however, indicate that here and practically everywhere in Palestine there were from at least the 19th century people of a Semitic stock, some more, some less akin to to the Hebrews in race and in nomadic tradition.

In the Ras Shamra texts there is only one passage where a reference to Asher has been claimed. In the first tablet of the Keret poem, Virolleaud supposes that 'the People of the Five Fortresses' had invaded the Negeb. After a great battle which involved 3,000,000 men, Virolleaud imagines a great ethnic and social upheaval which is described in I K, 92-99//180-187.

4. G. A. Barton thinks that there is another reference to Asher in II Aqhat, col. vi, 36 and III Aqhat, rev. 29 in the word 'atyr which he takes as 'the women of Asher'. It is better taken as the Arabic yad, inheritance', vide infra, p. 47.

The view of P. Humbert may be noted. He cites the text Gordon, 57 col. vi, 11. 24-25, where l'em bn dgn is found in parallel to halt 'at yr b'd. He supposes that 'atyr was originally a divinity, then transformed in tradition to the eponymous hero of a district in Canaan and finally became the eponym of a Hebrew tribe, NES, 1941, pp. 61-64. This theory breaks down when we recognize the prepositional force of 'atyr, vide infra, p. 210.
This passage and its sequel Virolleaud transliterates as follows.

hlk  l'alpm hšš
wlrbt km yr
ªatr tn tn hlk
ªatr tlt
khm yhd bth sgr
ªalmnt škr tškr
zbl 'ræm yš'u
ªwr mz1 ymzl.....

He offers the following translation.

'They went by thousands (the people of)Hasis,
And by tens of thousands like yr,
Asher went two (by)two,
Asher three (by three went),
All of them closing his house,
The widow serves for hire,
The zbl carries beds,
The blind man consults lots....'

This construction, of course, is contingent upon our acceptance of the Negebite theory of Virolleaud. As to the identity of Ḥasîš Virolleaud cannot, indeed, particularize but confines himself to noting that Ḥasîš does occur elsewhere in the texts as the name of a people. This citation, however, really damages his own case since the text in which Ḥasîš occurs is the 'Proclamation of Seleg.' The language of this text is still a problem. Only a few words which recur as a kind of refrain can possibly be Semitic. The rest is in a non-Semitic tongue probably a Hurrian dialect and the whole is concerned with North Syrian, possibly even Anatolian peoples. It should be noted, however, that Virolleaud himself seems to feel the difficulty and suggests that Ḥasîš is the Keret text may be a nickname. Dussaud, however, cites the mention of a people Hsswm in the Excratory Texts of Posener where again he finds a people kmyr which he equates with

1. Virolleaud; La légende de Keret..., pp.18, 175.
2. Syria XV, 1934, pp. 147 ff., Gordon, 60.
3. Perhaps the name is connected with the river Issus. The form of the name with the sibilant ending is peculiar to non-Semitic place-names in North Syria, Alt, ZDPV, lxviii, 1945, pp. 122 ff.
4. Virolleaud; La légende de Keret..., p. 18.
5. Dussaud; Syria XXI, 1940, pp. 178-179.
6. Posener P6, Princes et pays..., p. 96.
km yr of the Keret text. This correspondence, indeed, seems no more than a coincidence.

The decision on this matter rests upon the arrangement of the text and an interpretation which does justice to the literary style of the piece. Thus we suggest the following rearrangement of the passage.

\[\text{hlk } \text{"alpm hšš} \]
\[\text{wlr} \text{bt kmyr} \]
\[\text{"atr in in hlk} \]
\[\text{"atr tit klm} \]
\[\text{ydb bth sgr} \]
\[\text{"almnt škr škr} \]
\[\text{zbl 'rsm yš'u} \]
\[\text{"wr mzl ymlzl } \]

Here Albright holds that "atr stands in parallel to the verb hlk so proposes to "read it as a verb meaning, as Assyrian asāru and Hebrew \(\overset{\text{n}}{\overset{\text{m}}{\overset{\text{n}}{\text{ār}}} } \) (pi'el) to go straight on, march! This certainly gives an intelligible and graphic picture of the people of Keret marching out in their regular ranks. The weakness of the reading, however, is that the omission of a second tit spoils the effect which is intended to be conveyed. Hence Ginsberg seems nearer the truth when he renders

\[\text{"After two two march} \]
\[\text{After three all of them} \]

The word hšš has been the subject of considerable speculation. The Dutch scholar Lettinga suggests a connection with the Arabic \(\overset{\text{v}}{\overset{\text{m}}{\overset{\text{n}}{\text{ār}}} } \), 'common people' in which sense he would take it in parallel to "atr which he connects with the Arabic \(\overset{\text{v}}{\overset{\text{m}}{\overset{\text{n}}{\text{ār}}} } \), meaning 'noble', an interpretation which the writer had already considered but rejected since hšš is paralleled not by "atr but by kmyr. Albright's translation

3. Ginsberg; The Legend of King Keret..., p. 16
4. Perhaps an adjective from a verb akin to the Arabic \(\overset{\text{t}}{\overset{\text{m}}{\overset{\text{n}}{\text{tr}}} } \), used thus or perhaps even as a preposition in Gordon, 62, 7:67, col. vi, 24-25, and especially 49, col. ii, 29-30, klb ššāt l'emrh 'As the heart of a ewe to her lamb km lū 'nt 'atr bîl So the heart of Anat after Ba'al!
5. J. Lettinga; Ex Oriente Lux, IX, 1944, p. 120.
of הָסֶס,'they hasten,' does not bring out the parallelism between הָסֶס and קמַיְר. The latter word Aistleitner takes as equivalent to the Hebrew נַחֲרִים and renders 'like raindrops' to which Gaster takes הָסֶס as a parallel, connecting it with נַחֲרִים which is found as a parallel to נַחֲרִים in Zechariah x,1. This would yield quite a suitable translation.

'They march in thousands in the manner of a shower,
And in tens of thousands as the early rain!'

Ginsberg tentatively suggests that הָסֶס in this passage may be connected with פֶּס which occurs in another text between רַה and, according to Ginsberg, 'rpt,'wind' and 'cloud.' However, on the grounds that הָסֶס might have been used as a simile like קמַיְר but not as a metaphor, he nevertheless preserves the parallelism of the two words, reading 'serried' and 'massed!' קמַיְר, after the Akkadian kamru is quite possible but הָסֶס, 'serried,' is a guess. It is true that the Semitic languages are not given to metaphor but here we must admit that a comparative particle before הָסֶס would upset the metre of the strophe, hence we believe that Ginsberg is hypercritical. Gaster's translation then seems fairly satisfactory or, as an alternative the following may be offered, connecting הָסֶס with the Arabic קְמַיְר and קמַיְר with the Arabic קְמַיְר, 'a dust-storm:

'They go in thousands like the shingle, And in tens of thousands like dust in a storm!'

This is admittedly a difficult passage and all attempts to solve the difficulty by comparative linguistics are hindered.

1. Albright translates, BASOR, 63, 1936, p. 29, 'They go by thousands, they hasten, And by Myriads like spawn of fish They march two by two, they go; They march three by three...'


4. Gordon, 6, 34.

5. The text is fragmentary and 'rpt,'cloud' is a restoration from ( רַ)ל. The sibilant in פֶּס does not correspond to those in הָסֶס.

6. A possible connection may be with the Hebrew בֶּס, cf. Ps. lxxvii, 18.
by the peculiar sibilants in ḫs, which are more a feature of non-Semitic languages in Northern Syria without precise equivalent in the Semitic dialects. Perhaps the whole word, in fact, is a non-Semitic word. Such features of spelling and vocabulary are not uncommon even in the Semitic texts of which we may name especially NE¹ and, indeed, even in the first Keret tablet we have such non-Semitic words as ḫtималь².

So much is clear, however, that Virolleaud's view of a great displacement of peoples including Asher as a result of the 'Battle of the Negeb' is quite without foundation.

The purport of the poem seems to be the following. The house of Keret has been wiped out by plague and the death of his wife. The king is encouraged by El to go forth and win another wife, the daughter or grand-daughter of King Pbl⁴ of 'udm, who is named Ṣit hry. This may mean 'a free-born damsel'; on the other hand it is to be taken for granted that a royal maiden and bride of a king is free. Hence it is here suggested that hry in this case means Hurrian and we have here a reminiscence of the union of Semites and Hurrians which was a feature of Ras Shamra as the administrative texts indicate.

This view is born out by the peace-offering which the bride's father or grandfather, Pbl preferred to Keret, a chariot and three horses. It is well-known that this equipage was not native to the Semitic West but was brought in by the Aryans and their Hurrian confederates who established themselves as a sovereign state named Mitanni in Upper Mesopotamia. They were not confined, however, to this region but penetrated through Syria and Palestine to Egypt to a certain extent in the latter

1. Gordon 77.
2. The Hittite word for 'silver'. Another such Hittite word is in the general estimation, gwis of I K, 11, thought to be the Hittite gurtasja fortress! The writer, however, thinks that it might be connected with the Arabic ḫ , 'to be stripped', with the Akkadian adverbial ending Ṣ.
3. Is Ṣit a euphemism for death or perhaps divorce of a wife who is past bearing?
period of the Hyksos occupation, wherever \( 'udm \) may have been.

Keret musters an impressive retinue which has the semblance of an army to preserve the fiction of 'snatching the bride'.

His departure is sped by general festivity and enthusiasm in which even the widow, the invalid and the blind share.

Keret's journey to \( 'udm \) is broken at the shrine (or shrines) of \( 'Atirat \) of (or at) Tyre and \( 'Elat \) of (or at) Sidon, where he makes a vow, conditional upon his success of his enterprise.

He proceeds to \( 'udm \) where he wages a 'war of nerves' and eventually wins his bride. The two following tablets deal with the domestic history of Keret and the family which mit hry bore him. Since they contain nothing capable of such a historical interpretation as Tirolleaud and those who follow him, have put upon the first tablet they will not be discussed here.

In the first Keret tablet the text must be divested of all such suggestions of historical associations with the Hebrew patriarchs. The theme may be the diplomatic alliance of the Phoenician king with the daughter of a house ruling in a strategically important town in Palestine, such as ed Damiyeh as De Vaux suggests, but that cannot be substantiated. In any case the poem is not a reminiscence of a phase in a Northern migration of the Phoenicians, nor of the cult-migration of the astral religion of Ur and Harran associated with the Hebrew patriarchs by prominent French scholars. The mention of the shrines of (or at) Tyre and Sidon certainly seems to reflect a period long after the settlement of Phoenicia and the development of the polity with which we are familiar on the Syrian coast. It is our final conclusion that the poem was composed to mark an epoch in the symbiosis of Hurrian and Semite in North Syria and beyond this it is impossible to particularise.

1. For a qualification of this view, vide supra, p. 2.
2. Pedersen; Die Krt Legende, Berytus, VI, 1941, p. 102.
3. In the poem, after three days, but on this we cannot particularize any more than on 'a year, a year, a year but barely three' of the ballads.
Further evidence of conditions in early Palestine is claimed by Virolleaud and Dussaud in the text SS, so called by the initials "Shr and Sim, the deities whose birth is celebrated in part of the text. Here the action of the poem has been located in the Negeb of Palestine where certain localities are thought to be mentioned in the poem.

Virolleaud volunteers no interpretation of this most difficult text as a whole and is generally soundly conservative in his commentary. He does, however, claim to find a reference to Ashdod in 1.65 and taking mdbr qds in the next line as the desert of Qadesh Barnea he is led to locate the action of the poem in the Negeb. He finds confirmation of this view in the repeated reference to 'rbm which he takes as Arabs. Another proper name which he reads in the text is 'Etrah which he assumes to be another form of Terah, the father of Abraham. The wife of Etrah-Terah, destined to play such a large part in Virolleaud's interpretation of the Keret text, is here taken to be the mother of one sb'ny whose function Virolleaud takes to be the building of Ashdod.

The actual significance of this text is still very much a matter of speculation. It consists of one tablet inscribed on the obverse and the reverse in the local alphabetic cuneiform, a significant feature being the division of the text by means of horizontal lines. Often the portions thus divided have no connection with one another and they do not seem always to be in themselves complete. The most reasonable assumption is that here are ritual directions or rubrics with catch-lines of prayers or longer poems which were recited at appropriate points in the

2. 1.65, ybn 'as(d)d.
3. 1.64, w1(d) sb'ny 'att 'etrh, varia lectio, wlt sb'n y'att 'etrh.
ritual. The longest section in the text (ll.37 ff.) deals in full
detail with the seduction by El of two women and the birth of
Šhr and Šlm whose infancy was spent on the confines of the desert,
’p’ at mdbr. It is the concluding passage, especially ll.61 ff.
which is most strongly suggestive of the historical, though only
on the reading of Virolleaud which is by no means generally
admitted. Virolleaud himself, indeed, in his translation and comment-
ary observes a commendable reserve though he reaches too hasty
a decision in reading Ashdod in a text which he himself admits
to be much damaged and in equating mdbr qd ’ with the desert of
Qadesh Barnea, while in the case of ‘rbm which Virolleaud renders,
’Arabs’, Dussaud, the chief exponent of the Negebite interpretation
of this text, renders ’those who enter!’. Virolleaud’s suggestion that the action of the text was
to be located in the Negeb was taken up by Dussaud who proceeded
to elaborate the theory. Though admitting the strong liturgical
element in the tablet, he still regards it as containing certain
historical data relating to a period long before the 14th century,
when the semi-arid region to the South of Palestine, he holds, was
not the desert it now is but contained certain well-developed
cases such as Beersheba and Qadesh. This was, he assumes, the work
of the Phoenicians who were vitally interested in securing their
lines of communication and commerce between the Mediterranean
and the Red Sea. The Ras Shamra tablets, in the view of Dussaud,
reveal so intimate a knowledge of this region that he regards it
as the primitive habitat of the Canaanite group who later emerge
on the coast of Syria as the Phoenicians. Dussaud would disting-
uish two phases in the history of the Phoenicians, first as
inhabitants of Southern Palestine trading with caravans between

1. Virolleaud; Syria, XIV, 1933, p. 150.
2. Dussaud; Le commerce des anciens Phéniciens à la lumière du poème
des dieux gracieux et beaux, Syria XVII, 1936, pp. 55–66.
3. ibidem, p. 59.
4. ibidem, p. 61.
the Red Sea and the Mediterranean where their terminus was Ashdod, then, from about the beginning of the 3rd millennium B.C., when they occupied Tyre, Sidon and Byblos and pursued their commercial enterprises on the sea. Dussaud takes as the basic theme of the SS text an episode in the preparation of an old Phoenician caravan route through the Negeb.

This objective he takes to be set out in the opening of the piece at 11.3-4,

\[
\text{ytûm q.wt l'ify(...........)}\]
\[
\text{umdbr spm yd(...........)}\].

He translates the passage as follows.

'They will establish a town for the journey up into the desert of the (Sea of) Reeds.'

This town may either have been a base, as he supposes Ashdod to have been, or an entre-pôt in which case it may have been Heersheba which Dussaud would associate with šīb‘îy which he takes to denote a person, the son of the ‘wife of krah’ and the builder of Ashdod. He finds, moreover, reference to the construction of an ‘d in 11.65, 67, 70, which he takes to be some enclosure or caravanserai affording shelter and refuge. This place he would locate in the midst of the desert of Qadesh, btb mdḇr qaš; hence he supposes that it was an oasis. Thus we may understand the reference earlier in the text to agricultural ritual. Dussaud finds allusion to the double purpose of the ‘d as a refuge and a source of refreshment in 11.6-7 where he reads

\[
\text{1hm bllm}(\?a)y wâty bmur ym ‘ay} \]
\[
\text{šlm mlkt’ šlm mlkt ‘rom wṭlm},
\]

which he translates,

'Eat bread here! Drink wine here! The king's peace! The king's peace! To those coming in and those going out.

Such a place would naturally be under the protection of the gods

1. Dussaud cites Stephen Byzantius who states that Ashdod was founded by refugees from the Red Sea. He correlates this statement with that of Herodotus that the Phoenicians came from the shores of the Red Sea: KHAR, cviii, 1833, p. 24.
2. cf. Arabic
3.1.165.
4. The text which Dussaud handles rather freely is actually šlm tmlk šlm mlkt.
and in the reference to the field of 'Ağr in M.13 Dussaud finds a clear indication of oasis husbandry. He reminds us of the Arabic usage which distinguishes between irrigated land and land watered by rain. The former is called Ba‘al-land and the latter ‘athari which Dussaud would connect with the land of ‘Ağr in our text; a most unlikely phonetic equation. The caravanserai-cum-oasis may conceivably be Beersheba which, according to Dussaud, may also be 'the town for the journey up into the desert! Dussaud finds further support for his view of the Negeb as a land-bridge between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean traversed by the early Phoenicians in M.58, 61 where he reads with Virolleaud 'agzr ym bn ym, 'I will divide between sea and sea.'

Dussaud finds it remarkable that the legends of the Phoenicians and the narratives of the Hebrew patriarchs should have so many localities in common. He has thus no difficulty in concluding that the two peoples had originally common ground in the Negeb. Indeed, he goes on to speculate that the caravan traffic over the isthmus between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean may well have given rise to the tradition of the crossing of the Red Sea in the days of Moses and of the Jordan in the time of Joshua which Dussaud takes as a variant of the former.

This theory localized in the Negeb was later elaborated in Virolleaud’s interpretation of the first Keret tablet.

Resting on the same basis of the local interpretation of ‘aš(d)d and mdbr qdš and the reading of šb‘ny and ‘etir as proper names is the theory of Barton. He does, indeed, appreciate the liturgical nature of the text but taking šlm, especially in 1.7, as a place-name he elaborates the theory that the text is the liturgy of the spring festival at Jerusalem, to be related to

1. W. R. Smith; Religion of the Semites, 1894, pp. 99-100, note. Here it is suggested that is connected with an irrigation channel. There may be a connection with the god , who, however, is quite distinct from ‘Atirat.
2. So, too, Nielsen; Ras Shamra Mythologie und Biblische Theologie, p. 96.
3. A Liturgy for the Celebration of the Spring Festival at Jerusalem in the Age of Abraham and Melchisedek, JBL III, 1934, pp. 61-78. Barton translates 1.7 'Salem, thou shalt be queen, Salem, queen of those who enter in and pour a libation.' He would relate this ritual to an altar discovered by the North wall of Jerusalem by Macalister and Duncan in 1923.
the passage in Genesis xiv,18-24. It is difficult to reconcile this localization of the ritual in Jerusalem with the mention of other localities which Barton finds in the poem, such as Ashdod in the coastal plain and Qadesh in North Sinai. Barton's view, in brief, is highly improbable though in two particulars he is right in our opinion, namely in emphasizing the fact that the liturgy was for a spring festival and that 'in a number of passages its contents afford points of contact with patriarchal tradition and perhaps the starting-points of some of them.'

Dussaud claims to find his first geographical note in 11.3-4 where the text reads

\[
\begin{align*}
ytnm & qrt l\text{\text{"uy}}(\ldots) \hfill \\
bnbr & spm yd(\ldots)
\end{align*}
\]

Neither in his translation nor his commentary does Virolleaud suggest that any particular desert region was indicated. He does, indeed, take qrt in the sense of 'town' and suggests that Ashdod, which he finds in 1.65, may be the town in question. He suggests an alternative reading,

'They give them beams
To make an upper chamber.'

This is quite a feasible reading and if established would make the passage less particular in its historical import. Indeed, in view of the strong ritual emphasis of the poem, the reading gains more colour as a direction concerning the erection of a ceremonial booth as at the Hebrew Feast of Tabernacles in the Autumn. Gaster and Engnell see in this text the libretto of a ritual drama at the Autumn Feast of Tabernacles or its Canaanite counterpart. We must, however, disagree, in view of the references in the text to vine-culture and stock-raising.

1. Barton; op. cit., p. 68.
2. ibidem, pp. 68-69.
3. ibidem, p. 73.
5. Engnell; Studies in Divine Kingship, 1943, p. 130.
The pruning and grafting of the vines, which seem to be indicated in 11.9-10, are operations of the spring and at this same time the young of the flock are born and milk and butter are plentiful. It is here submitted that in SS we have the myth appropriate to the spring counterpart of the autumn festival, commemorating the beginning of the shepherd's year and the despatch of the spring caravan, as the autumn festival marked the beginning of the husbandman's year.

Dussaud ignores the possibility that 'ly... is the remnant of a word 'lyt corresponding to the Hebrew 'lyt, an upper chamber. He reads 'ly as a verb which he relates closely to the phrase bmdbr špm in 1.4. Here, however, he pays less than fitting respect to the fragmentary condition of the text half of which is wanting. Indeed, in the word 'ly even the final y is a matter of conjecture. Thus in relating ly directly to bmdbr špm Dussaud is making a very bold assumption. He goes further and finds in špm a clue to the location of the particular desert which is mentioned in the text. He identifies the word with ג' and equates the phrase mdbbr špm with the Hebrew ג' ג' ג' This is somewhat daring. The sibilants do not correspond; špm in the plural does not quite correspond to the collective ג' ג'; the expression ג' ג' ג' ג' the Sea of weeds or tangle is natural but 'the desert of weeds' is not. To omit the word 'sea' is to deprive the phrase of any meaning unless ג' ג' ג' ג' is a proper name which the plural špm is not likely to be. It seems safer to follow Virolleaud's suggestion 4 that špm is substantially the same as the Hebrew ג' ג' meaning 'bare, windswept', a natural epithet of the desert with which it is, in fact, associated in two passages in Jeremiah.

This is as far as speculation on such a mutilated passage may go. Qrt, if it means a city, must remain indefinite. The same applies to the desert in this passage which only by coincidence.

1.11.9-10, yzbrnn zbrm gpn y(š)mdnn sdmn gpn Pruning is done most commonly in January-February, though Bahrman attests it in the Merj Ayyun as late as March, Sitte und Arbeit in Palästina, I, 1, pp. 264 ff.

2.1.14, 'th g)d bhlb 3a(? )nnh bhm'at.

3. Exodus x, 19; Numbers xiv, 25; Deuteronomy ii, 1

4. Virolleaud; Syria, XIV, 1953, p. 137.

5. Jeremiah iv, 11, xii, 12
may be the desert in the vicinity of ַַל. In the text, however, there is nothing to suggest this.

Ashdod, which directed Virolleaud's attention to the South of Palestine, is, as he himself admits, a conjecture. The first ֵ as Ginsberg recognized, may quite as well be ֵ. The word thus read was taken by Ginsberg as the first person singular imperfect Snaphel of yld, meaning 'I see!' The preceding ybn which Virolleaud took as 'we will build' is taken as a vocative and the whole letter-complex is read y bn ֵ meaning 'O son(s) whom I see!' Thus we may dispose of Ashdod which, far from being situated as an advance base for caravans on the desert edge, is actually twenty miles north of Gaza deep in the heart of the fertile corn-land and orchards of the coastal plain. At the old tell a little to the west of the modern village of Ashdod there are no traces of occupation earlier than the Iron Age.

In the latter part of the same line Virolleaud reads Ṣ'א 'דְּנָק mdbr qdš. Here again the text is damaged, d of ֵ as well as the following b being a matter of conjecture. Accepting Virolleaud's reading for the moment and leaving aside meanwhile the question of the reading and meaning of ֵ, we may question his conclusion that mdbr qdš refers to Qadesh Barnea. There were several places named Qadesh such as Qadesh Naphtali in the north of Galilee and Qadesh on the Orontes where Ginsberg would locate the present reference. There was another Qadesh in Galilee between the Lake and Mt. Tabor where De Vaux locates ֵדמ of the Karait text. Albright, on the other hand, declines to particularize and is content to translate 'the pure desert'. It seems highly probable that in mdbr qdš we have a technical cultic term. It may well be that

1. Virolleaud; Syria, XIV, 1933, p. 150.
5. Knibret Qedeis on the high ground overlooking the South end of the Sea of Galilee.
just as the Hebrews after their settlement in Canaan cherished their desert antecedents and related their festivals to the life of the desert, the Phoenicians too may have preserved reminiscences of the desert from which the stock was ultimately derived. Their sanctuaries, though in the settled land, may have been considered incomplete without some vicinity ceremonially if not actually desert. Or again it seems natural that the precinct of a sanctuary should have this character of 'desert' as a place exempt from cultivation or any ordinary human use. Albright in his rendering 'pure desert' seems to come nearest to the truth though he does not elaborate his interpretation beyond citing the phrase 'ṣeru aṣru ellu; 'the desert, a pure place', from Akkadian ritual texts.\(^1\)

Another passage which is taken by Virolleaud and Dussaud to refer to definite personalities if not actual places is 1.64, \(\text{wl}(d) \ 'sb'ny 'aṭṭ 'etraḥ.\)

This text is damaged in the second and third letters and restored thus by Virolleaud who renders 'And bear Šb’ny, O wife of Etraḥ!' Virolleaud supposes that this Šb’ny whose name he derives from the number šbê, seven, was the seventh son of a family. Dussaud at this point suggests that Šb’ny may be the eponymous hero of Beer-sheba which may be qrt līly; 'a town for the journey up ...', or perhaps the ḍ or caravanserai of 11.65, 67. If Dussaud were right in his conjecture concerning Beersheba and the Negeb as the setting of the piece, Beersheba might better correspond to ḍ than to qrt which indicates a fortified town. Ashdod, if Virolleaud's reading were correct, might better fall into this category of qrt. Field archaeology, however, can demonstrate no such settlement at Ashdod until the 13th century, while Beersheba was no more than an open market-village for the Bedouin of the Negeb until the

\(^1\) Albright, JPOS xiv, 1934, p.137. The physical circumstances of birth, moreover, demanded purification as is recognized in Hebrew ritual ordinance. Thus ṣāṃr qds may denote a precinct of the sanctuary associated with it yet ceremonially distinct where the hierodules brought forth their offspring. Such a birth may be that described here and in the Hunting of Ba‘al, EH, Gordon, 75, where the language is reminiscent of the present passage.
Roman period when it was occupied by a fort and a camp.1

A second presumable point of contact with patriarchal history is *att 'etreh which Virolleaud takes to be 'the wife of Etrah; the mother of 'Shib'any. He has no hesitation in identifying 'Etrah' with 'Terah' of the Keret tablet whom he regards as the father of Abraham. Further than this Virolleaud does not meanwhile commit himself. Dussaud, however, identifies 'Etrah'-'Terah' with the forefathers of the Hebrews whom he depicts as living together with the ancestors of the Phoenicians in the Negeb until their growing influence roused the opposition of the Phoenicians who expelled them from the towns and established direct political and commercial contact with Edom. The tablet SS, according to Dussaud,2 represents the stage at which the Phoenician and Abrahamid group3 lived in amity. The patriarchal legends, in his view, represent an attempt on the part of the ancestors of the Hebrews to secure the hegemony of the Negeb, an echo of this phase being found particularly in the strife of Abraham and Isaac with the ruler of Gerar.4 Dussaud takes the Keret poem as the record of the Phoenician reaction to the growth of the Hebrew power resulting in the expulsion of the latter from the towns and fortified places. They were, he supposes, relegated to the status of nomads occupying the desert marches.5 Here he depicts the ancestors of the Hebrews continuing in long obscurity until in course of time they overflowed into Egypt with the Hyksos invaders - if, indeed, they were not themselves the Hyksos.

4. 1 K, 103-104 
   "As locusts occupy the field, As grass-hoppers the confines of
   km bsn p'at mbr
   This is a Homeric simile describing the
   muster and departure of Keret and his retinue.
It must be admitted that there is little evidence in Scripture for these conditions and Dussaud's theory is really founded on the very questionable reading of 'etrah as a proper name, a variant of Terah, whereas it is most naturally taken as a verbal form from the root tr, 'to pay the bride-price, to marry! The words 'at 'etrah may thus be rendered 'wife (or wives) whom I wed!' Albright regards 'at as a dual, the form being construct as usual in certain Semitic languages in the case of the antecedent of a relative clause where the relative pronoun is omitted.

In that part of the text which precedes 'at 'etrah, wld 'b'ny which Virolleaud renders 'And bear Shib'any' is read by Ginsberg2 wtb'n y 'at 'etrah and translated 'and be ye filled, 0 two wives whom I have wed! This reading comes very aptly after the passage in 11.61-64 describing the ample nurture of the sons of El. Thus with the resolution of 'b'ny, the eponymous hero of Beersheba, into the imperative of a verb with a following vocative yet another link with the Negeb and with patriarchal history is broken.

The crux of the piece in the sense in which Dussaud interprets it is 11.61-69. This passage contains the presumable reference to 'Ashdod,' 'the wife of Etrah,' 'Shib'any' and the 'desert of Qadesh! In 11.65, 67, and 69, according to the reading of Virolleaud, there is mention of something called 'd. The word also occurs in 1.12 where Virolleaud, though leaving it untranslated, suggests that it represents 'quelque edifice ou edicule sacré in which he is followed by J.W. Jack who cites Joshua xxii, 27 where 'd occurs in the sense of an altar which would be most appropriate in SS,

1.12, šb’d yrhm ‘l ‘d,’place the crescents on the altar’. In the later passages, however, especially at 1.69, not an altar but a shrine seems to be indicated. Dussaud derives the word from a root which appears in Arabic ʿ a ṣa 'to take refuge', this appearing best to suit the meaning of the word in Ugaritic as altar and shrine. He elaborates the theme of a caravanserai in an oasis as a fort and a provisioning station. In the latter of these passages, wprt b’dhm, it is possible to see a reference to the opening, pth, and dissection, prs, of victims on the altar. If ‘d in this case means altar the pronominal suffix would refer to the gods worshipped or consulted in augury. On the other hand b’dhm may mean simply 'after them' or 'on their account'; the fragmentary text giving us no further clue.

In 1.67 Virolleaud reads tmt ṭm nqpt ‘d ’elm n’mm, translating, ’thou shalt kill the eight nqpt of the ‘d of the gracious gods’. He still takes ‘d, though untranslated, in the sense of a building or monument but he obviously takes nqpt as something animate though he does suggest the connection with the Hebrew root ʿṣ in its secondary sense as 'to encircle'. About the only thing that would satisfy the conditions of Virolleaud's interpretation would be the sacred serpents as guardians of the ‘d which we know to have been associated with the early Semitic fertility-cult. It seems better, however, with Dussaud to take tmt in the sense not of 'to kill' but 'to complete! Dussaud takes ṭb’ ‘nt as the subject of tmt and rearranges the passage to read ṭb’ ‘nt tmt ṭm nqpt ‘d ’elm n’mm.

He translates, 'Seven years will have elapsed, In the eighth
Thou shalt inaugurate the ‘d of the gracious gods!
With reference to nqpt he reminds us of the rite of circumambulation as a means of dedication. It is possible, however, while agreeing with Dussaud's arrangement of the text, to take nqpt as referring not to space but to time, nqpt being either

1.wpt(h)h wprs b’dhm, rendered by Virolleaud 'and open it and penetrate into their ‘d.'
a noun parallel to šnt in the sense of circuits of time or
the Niphal of a verb nqp parallel to tmt. This is the inter-
pretation favoured here. The word ‘d then might bear the sense,
‘appointed time’ which is found in the Hebrew word ursion.
The passage thus read might be translated,

'Seven years will have elapsed,
Yea eight will have come full circuit,
The appointed time of the gracious gods...'

The last passage where ‘d is read may also be rearranged.
It too is damaged at a critical point. At 1.65 Virolleaud reads
šv ur ‘d (b)tk mdbr qdš.

This Dussaud accepts as a reference to a caravanserai in the
desert of Qadesh Barnea. Here it must be observed that though
Virolleaud notes the corruption of the text in the case only
of b of btk, the previous letter which he reads d in ‘d is
not quite certain either. If we may accept, however, the reading
of Virolleaud, it is still open to question his grouping of
the letters. Here Albright suggests the attractive reading
šv ur ‘db tk mdbr qdš

which he translates, ‘bear ye an offering into the pure desert!

Thus the desert entrepot which Dussaud imagines to have
been constructed in the Desert of Qadesh Barnea in a space of
seven years is seen to rest on rather insecure foundations.

Finally 11.53-59, 61, read by Virolleaud,
‘agzr ym bn ym

and translated by him 'I will separate sea from sea', contain
for Dussaud a definite reference to the tethmus of the
Negeb between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean which he suppos-
es to have been traversed by Phoenician caravans. If this were
indeed the interpretation we should be confronted with a

1. In support of this interpretation we may cite a similar
passage from BH, The Hunting of Ba‘al (Gordon, 75, II, 45-46),
šb šnt ‘el ml’a (....)
wmn nqpt ‘d (...........).
Another interpretation is that of Ginsberg who takes
tmt as an adjective ‘whole years’, nqpt as ‘anniversaries’
3. Generally equipment; here perhaps in the technical sense of
’sacrificial equipment.'
very abrupt statement - almost an interjection - with no apparent connection with the context.

The passages in their context are the following.

1.59. \[\text{tqtnm }\text{wtdn} \text{tn} \text{(?)(el) n'mm} \text{agzr ym b'n ym} \text{ynqm b'ap (sd st)}\]

1.60. \[\text{el} \text{agzrym b'n ym} \text{ynqm b'ap sd st}\]

Another possible case is the fragmentary passage at 1.23,

\[\text{'eqr'an 'el} \text{n'mm} \text{(.....)ym ynm b'ap sd 'atrt.}\]

Dussaud with great ingenuity regards this as a reference to the oasis in the desert land-bridge of the Negeb as he indicates in his translation,

'I shall divide sea from sea
(So that) they may be nourished in the field of
St (of Ajtirat)

In the passages above cited it will be noticed that the letter-complex 'agzrym bnym in the first two instances follows immediately after 'el my n'mm and if after Virolleaud we restore the text in the third instance, as we should probably do, the sequence would be the same. Under this consideration it seems probable that we have a phrase qualifying the gods in question. This is the sense in which De Langhe takes the passage, reading

\[\text{'el} \text{n'mm} \text{agzrym bn ym} \text{ynqm b'ap sd st ('atrt).}\]

He translates the passage,

'The gracious gods,
The courageous sons of Yom,
Who suck the breast of the Ewe (Ajitrat).

De Langhe thus takes 'agzrym as an adjective connecting the word with the Hebrew \(\text{y} \text{y} \text{s} \text{y} \text{s}\) and citing in support the passage in Proverbs xvii.11 where the phrase \(\text{y} \text{y} \text{s} \text{y} \text{s}\) is found. The adjective \(\text{y} \text{y} \text{s} \text{y} \text{s}\) in Hebrew conveys the meaning rather of truculence than courage which scarcely gives the ideal parallel to n'mm, He does find support, however, in Gesenius who gives the Hebrew word as meaning 'courageous or heroic' and, indeed,

1. De Langhe; Les textes de RS et...1'AT, II, p.187.
it is possible that the connotation of the word developed
in the time between the Ras Shamra texts and Biblical Hebrew
as in the case of מַשְׁמַרְתּ which in Hebrew means 'mighty man'
and in modern Arabic means 'a bully or tyrant!'

Albright, on the other hand, reads 'agzrym bnym, connecting
the phrase with what follows, namely the suckling of the
progeny. He takes 'agzrym as a feminine imperative dual of
the Aphel of a verb gzr which he compares with the Hebrew
verb found in Isaiah ix,19 in the sense of 'to eat greedily'
(A.V. 'snatch'). The actual form of the word in the text he
gives as 'agzry with the enclitic m and he renders bnym,
somewhat questionably in our estimation, as 'my two sons!

Ginsberg suggests the translation 'They cross a sea,
offering the alternative, 'A day goes by,
A day passes by...'

Nielsen makes the interesting suggestion that 'elm n'mm 'agzrym
should be taken together meaning 'Gods gracious, gods cruel!
This would be a most apt description of the twin-gods, Šhr and
Šlm whom we would identify with the desert god 'Attar of
Arabian mythology, the god manifest in the morning and evening
star. That this deity, always thought of in his double hypostases
is the guide in the ghazzu as well as the herald of the gracious
evening is apparent in inscriptions as at Palmyra where they
appear as 'شعر, Arabic
'the Gracious' and 'الم, 'the Fierce!' This is the interpretation which we prefer. We may
further indicate that we accept the rendering of Nielsen who
takes bn ym as 'the sons of Day', understanding by Day the Sun,
the manifestation of 'Atirat in South Arabian mythology. With
such possibilities of interpretation before us we are far from

2. Ginsberg; JRAI, 1935, p. 70.
4. H. Ingholt; Studier over Palmyreansk Skulptur, 1928, pp. 42 ff.
5. For this connotation of מַשְׁמַרְתּ in the OT see Gray, JNES, VIII, 1949,
6. H. Bauer notes the usage in the Mehri dialect of South Arabia, p. 75
where yom means the sun, ZAW, neue Folge, x, 1933, p. 92.
committed to that of Dussaud which is actually among the least probable.

The text as a whole must thus be divested of the local and historical particularities with which Dussaud has invested it. Nevertheless it remains one of absorbing interest. It seems, as Nielsen suggests, the relic, adapted, indeed, to later needs, of the mythology of a society more primitive than the sedentary society of Ras Shamra in the middle of the 2nd millennium. Hence the desert is a prominent feature in the text. It is the nursery of the gods. Though the myth was adapted to the sedentary life, the fertility-gods are conspicuous by their absence. El is more active in this text than in any other in the Ras Shamra mythology and his activity is creation through procreation, a theme which is echoed in the Old Testament in Job xxxviii, 7, in Genesis vi, 1-4 and possibly also in Genesis ii, 4 where creation is described as

The theme of the desert sojourn of heroes is one which is not confined to this text but is repeated in BH (the Hunting of Ba' al) and this common theme may have lent colour to the narration and record of Ishmael and Esau in the patriarchal age and seems to underly Isaiah's theme of the 'Messianic' figure Immanuel who shall eat butter and honey. It may even be that the account of the desert sojourn of Moses, of the tribes of Israel, of Elijah and of Jesus in the days of his temptation, however historical, may be coloured by the same theme. This, however, is as much contact as we are prepared to admit between the Ras Shamra texts and the patriarchal narratives; what they have in common is not historical but literary.

2. Isaiah vii, 15.
iii. BH.

Somewhat reminiscent of the text SS is that designated by Virolleaud as BH and edited by him in 1935 under the title "Les Chasses de Ba‘al." In this text only one geographical location is claimed by Dussaud in col. I, 21-22, which with Virolleaud he would identify with Alush mentioned in the Book of Numbers as a station in the desert wandering of the Israelites between Sinai and the wilderness of Sin. Here again Dussaud would see a reference to a phase of Phoenician occupation of the Negeb or North Sinai and he discerns here as in SS the theme of the building and equipment of a caravanserai as a stage in the crossing of the Southern desert. This reference, according to Dussaud occurs at col. II, 11.44-45:

\[
\text{He gives the following translation,}
\]

'I have laid out the desert country
During seven years which El has completed
And in the eighth year I have equipped the 'd!

The passage, of course, recalls SS, 11.66-68 which Dussaud takes to refer to the exploit of 'Shib‘any', the eponymous hero of Beersheba in equipping an oasis in the desert between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean. This interpretation, however, turns on the meaning of 'd which we connect with the Hebrew verb 'ayyot, to appoint' rather than with the Arabic 'awar, to shelter! The reference is probably to a probationary period spent in the desert rather than to the building of a caravanserai. Hence we should offer the following translation,

'I have been healed in the plain of the desert.
Seven years has El completed,
Yea, eight circuits, the allotted span.'

2. Dussaud; Les découvertes de RS et l'AT, 2nd ed., 1941, p. 79.
5. sb' šnt 'el ml'a (.....)
6. mn nqpt 'd (........)
7. m of šdm not the plural ending but a preposition.
When we turn to the text of Numbers, however, we find that the older MS authority of the Septuagint attests the reading 'Ad/f/ for the Massoretic '•<& which suggests that the original reading may have been J'fj. As this is the only passage where '•<& is mentioned—and that among desert localities hardly possible to identify—in Alush of Numbers xxxiii, 13-14 we have a point of contact with mdbr 'elš of the Ras Shamra text BH, always presuming that this is a valid reading of the text which we are not prepared to admit.

Actually in BH col. I, I121-22 Virolleaud's reading mdbr 'elš is far from certainly established. The cuneiform text, which is well preserved at this point, reads not mdbr but mlbr. Virolleaud supposes that we have to reckon with a scribal error, '•<& (1) being written for J'fj (d). De Langhe, on the other hand, a determined critic of the South Palestinian theory of Virolleaud and Dussaud, does not admit this explanation. In texts of the nature of the Ras Shamra Tablets errors do not often occur but are not unknown. De Langhe, therefore, doubts the solution of Virolleaud and would take mlbr as a derivative of the root ldbr which is found in Akkadian meaning 'to grow old.' In the passage in question it is not easy to see how this meaning would suit the context where mlbr occurs after the letter-complex btk which must surely be a preposition. Later in the text at col. I, I.35 the same reading is found.

At 11.34-35 we read b'1 ytlk wyed yh p'at mlbr...
This passage suggests a similar one in SS, 11.67-68 where we read ttlkn īd tsdn p'at mdbr...
Thus Virolleaud's reading seems vindicated, though it is peculiar to find the same scribal error repeated in the same text.

1. Mowinckel doubts the reliability of the Scriptural information of the desert wandering. Noting that the immediate objective of the Israelites was Qadesh mentioned in Numbers xx and Exodus xvii, he maintains that the intermediate portion is an interpolation which he terms a 'wandel-sagnja wandering saga,' a theme which tends to be elaborated in the Pantateuch. Mowinckel maintains that the desert wandering was actually a gravitation about the sacred springs of Qadesh. NGT, ix, 1942, p. 2.

Though we admit the reading mdbr, however, we are not committed to read 'elš as a place-name. Virolleaud himself suggests that 'elš may be actually a verbal form connected with ltlš in col. I 1.14 which Virolleaud takes as 'thou shalt knead', though it is difficult to fit this interpretation into the context. The whole passage, in fact, is notoriously difficult and even such a competent scholar as De Langhe hesitates before it. Gaster, however, approaches the text with more confidence and using Arabic and Ethiopic mainly as a clue to the vocabulary offers an ingenious translation which has at least the virtue of intelligibility and consistency, if a somewhat daring flight of poetic imagination. According to Gaster's interpretation Virolleaud's reading mdbr 'elš is quite unjustified; there is no place-name involved which might be identified with Alush in the Southern desert nor is 'elš a verbal form from the same root as ltlš in 1.14 which Gaster translates 'hie thee away', deriving the word from the Ethiopic lhs. Gaster reads the passage as follows.

\[ \text{wāše b}'abn̄ tkm}^5 \\
\text{btk mdbr }^8 \text{al}^6 \\
\text{ḥey }^6 \text{kry...} \]

He translates 'And go forth, couch thee upon stones
In the midst of the wilderness, fearsome, Waste and full of pits.'

This text, like so many others on which the particularist theories of Virolleaud and Dussaud have been based, is fragmentary and only the main purport of the poem may be conjectured which is here indicated by the title 'The Hunting of Baʿal' by which Virolleaud designates it. After nine fragmentary lines

2. Hebrew אֶזֶם.
4. Gaster; op. cit., p. 45, b’abn for b’a[l]n, / (b) for / (1) which is badly formed in the text.
5. From the root wky with the enclitic m as in Akkadian, cf. Arabic ʿūṣ, 'to recline!' 6. cf. יִשְׁכָּב, 'to recline.'
7. cf. Hebrew יָרָה, 'Devastation, waste', Isaiah x, 3, xlvi, 11; Zeph. i, 15; Nahum i, 5.
8. cf. Hebrew יָרָה, 'to dig.'
and a couplet which possibly connects with that portion, the first column continues with the rather summary dismissal by El of a female called 'amt 'ajtrt (11.16-17), the maid of Ațirat, to the desert where she bears certain monsters, 'the devourers and the voracious ones', 'klm... 'qqm, who are first the quarry of the huntsman Baʿal and, as appears at the end of the poem, finally bring about his downfall.

In the passage where Dussaud finds a reference to the Negeb we may offer a reconstruction of the piece on the basis of a fresh re-grouping of the letters and a new strophic arrangement in col.I,11.12-33.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{'el yzhq bm lb} \\
\text{wygms bm kbd} \\
\text{g'e 'at ltlō} \\
\text{'amt yrh lāmgý} \\
\text{'amt 'ajtrt qʰ} \\
\text{kš'ank ḥdgk htlk} \\
\text{wʒ'e b'abn tkm} \\
\text{btk mdb r'el} \\
\text{'ey kɾ y 'amt} \\
\text{'pr 'sm yd 'ugrm} \\
\text{hl ld 'aklm} \\
\text{ṭbrkk wld 'qqm} \\
\text{'elm yp'ɾ ħmthm} \\
\text{bhm qrm km ṭrm} \\
\text{wgbt km 'ebrm} \\
\text{wbhm pn b'el} \\
\end{align*}
\]

We submit the following translation.

'El laughed in his heart,
He was inwardly doubled up with mirth.
"Weave thee a basket of palm-leaves;
Plait thee a crescent(-shaped handle);
0 maid of Ațirat take
Thy seat, thy stool, thy swaddling-bands
And wrap them up. On the stones thou shalt couch
In the desert of ḡgd.
Take up the burden, O maid,
Ardent, strong is the love of 'ugrm.
Travail and bear the devourers;
Squat and bear the voracious ones;
Let the gods declare their destinies.
On them are horns like oxen
And humps like bulls,
And on them is the face of Baʿal...

1. So Gaster; op.cit.
2. cf. Arabic ٍ، to weave, ḏāl however, a hamzate but defective verb.
3. cf. Arabic ٍ، with enclitic 1 as in Arabic.
4. cf. Arabic ٍ، to plait!
5. Thus instead of 'maid of the moon-god' which presupposes the corruption of 'atm from 'amt.
6. So Gaster; op.cit.
7. cf. Arabic ٍ، 'bundle!
8. cf. Arabic ٍ، 'to roast, make intense!
9. Expressed by names.
There is a certain reminiscence here of the Hagar incident in the patriarchal narrative and it is not impossible that here and in other cases the Scriptural narrative may have gained such accretions in the course of oral transmission so that in its finished literary form it is coloured by certain features of the mythology of ancient Canaan. This view is expressed in a somewhat extreme form by Bo Reicke who would see in this text BH in the downfall of Ba'āl before the 'devourers and voracious ones' whom he takes as the half-brothers of Ba'āl, an analogy to the fate of Joseph at the hands of his half-brothers. This, however, is a tenuous case and rests upon doubtful exegesis.

In view of the doubtful reading of mdbr 'elš in the text which is capable of such varying interpretations and the doubtful occurrence of the place-name Alush in the passage in Numbers Dussaud surely commits himself very rashly in accepting Virolleaud's mdbr 'elš of BH, col.I, 1121-22 as 'parmi les toponymes significatifs et faciles à identifier.'

1.—Bo Reicke; Analogier mellan Josef-berättelsen i Genesis och Ras Shamra Texterna, Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok, x, 1945, p. 11.
2. Here it is contended that the Joseph cycle in Genesis and the Ras Shamra texts are cult-legends.
3. As for instance when he assumes that the monster's born to 'amt 'ārāt are the offspring of El hence the half-brothers of Ba'āl on the assumption that yūḥq in col. I 1.12 is used with a sexual significance.

Dussaud; Les découvertes de RS et ΜΑΤ, 2nd ed., 1941, p. 79.
There are other texts which are thought to be located nearer the Phoenicia of history in Galilee. The chief of those, probably, is IV AB published by Virolleaud in 1936 under the title 'Anat et la Génisse'. The text consists of a tablet of three columns of which the first is so badly damaged as to be practically unintelligible and the second the best preserved but still fragmentary. The subject of the text is not quite plain. According to Virolleaud the scene of such action as may be described is 'ah śmk where 'Anat flies and is joined by her brother Ba'al. There a heifer ärh is selected by 'Anat which gives birth to a bull for 'Anat and another probably for Ba'al who meanwhile has withdrawn to his citadel ml'e (col.iii,11.8-9) 'Anat then sings a paean and with the news of the birth of a bull for Ba'al ascends to 'arr and spn, col.iii,11.30-31. wt él b'm b'arr
 bm jarr wbspn.

The poem is admittedly difficult to explain in detail and is mythological in purport. Hvidberg would relate it to the fertility-cult but does not particularize further and Gaster claims that the piece divides easily into acts and scenes, a bold claim in such a fragmentary text. There seems nothing, however, which would serve as a link between the myth and any known ritual in spite of Dussaud's claim to find here an indication of the bull-cult practised at Dan in the days of Jeroboam I and the cult of Pan at the source of the Jordan which probably does go back to the early Semitic cult of Ba'al as the deity of rain and springs and the vegetable and animal life they nourished.

For Virolleaud the main theme of the poem is the birth of young bulls for 'Anat and Ba'â! from the heifer which 'Anat finds. De Langhe, on the other hand, finds the crux of the action in

which he translates 'The horn of thy strength Ba'â! will scan, Ba'â! will scan. Behold in the wink of an eye We shall cast to the earth my enemy, Even to the dust the adversary of thy brother!' This theme, however, is not elaborated though it is possibly lost in the lacunae with which the column ends.

The text has been reconstructed by Gaster on the basis of parallel passages from other texts but, brilliant though this work is, it must be taken with reserve. According to Gaster, the first column, which is also the most fragmentary, deals with the announcement of rainfall rdt šmm³ (col. i, l. 5) and the return to the earth of Ba'â! who has been ousted from his throne. 'Anat is informed by Ba'â!'s servants, glm 4 b'l (col. ii, l. 3) that the god is not in his temple but has gone on a hunting expedition, "en b'l bâøth (g'el)hdd bqr b hklh qëth hn 'ahd b ydh wq' th bm ymnh 'edk lytn npm tk 'ah šm n ml(ât r)umm

Gaster translates, 'Ba'â! is not in his house, The god Hadad is not in his palace. He took his bow in his hand, His bent bow in his right hand, Then he set his feet Towards 'ah Smk, full of wild cattle.'

Here it may be observed that the temple of Ba'â! is already built. Since the building plays a conspicuous part in the autumn ritual, it is here suggested that insofar as rainfall may have been, as Gaster supposes, the theme of the piece, the rain is not that of autumn but of spring which is, in fact, suggested

1. De Langhe; Les textes de Bâ et... l'AT, II, p. 217.
2. Gaster; Ba'â! is Risen, Iraq, vi, 1939, pp. 125-130.
3. Gaster notes this meaning of 'l in Arabic and šamutu in Akkadian.
4. glm collective or perhaps a broken plural as Arabic "l.
in col.iii where it is said that the cattle drop their young.

We should, therefore, not suppose with Gaster that Ba‘al is ousted from his throne. Anat seeks and finds him not as a corpse in the underworld but in his hunting-grounds in ‘ah šmk.

The journey of ‘Anat is described in col.ii,11.10-16 where we read,

\[
\text{ts'u knp btl t'nt} \\
\text{tk ‘ah šmk ml’at (...) } \\
\text{wyš’u‘nh ‘al’eyn b’l} \\
\text{wyš’u ‘nh wy’n} \\
\text{wy’n btl t’nt} \\
\text{n’m’t bn ‘aḥt b’l.}
\]

This passage may be translated,

'She lifted the wing, the Virgin ‘Anat,
She lifted the wing and turned in flight
To ‘ah šmk, full (of wild cattle).
Then Ba‘al the Mighty lifted his eyes
Then he lifted his eyes and espied,
Yea he espied the Virgin ‘Anat,
Gracious among the sisters of Ba‘al.'

Ba‘al greets his sister affectionately and, ever sanguine,
suggests that together they take up his feud,

\[
\text{n’t’n b’arš ’eby} \\
\text{wb’pr qm ’ḥk}
\]

which may be rendered, 'Let us fell my foe to, the ground
To the dust the enemy of thy brother!

This suggests anything but the shadowy existence of Ba‘al in the underworld to which he was consigned by Mt in the summer drought before the autumn rains and confirms our view that the season is not autumn but spring.

Gaster supposes that the theme of col.iii, again fragmentary, is that ‘Anat is asked by the gods to bring Ba‘al back from ‘ah šmk to his home, as an inducement to which she calls on the wild cattle of the region to beget a bull for her sacrifice and one for Ba‘al. Gaster takes the view that Ba‘al, languishing in ‘ah šmk, was revived by ‘Anat and the glad news of his revival brought to the divine assembly on spn. Here it may be remarked that Ba‘al was apparently himself on spn and was the recipient of ‘Anat’s good news. This is indicated by the closing

1.cf. Arabic ﺔ، 'people, enemies!
This passage may be translated,

'And she goes up even unto 'arr,
Unto 'arr and unto sًn,
Unto the pleasant place, the mighty mountain.
Her voice she utters to Ba'\(\text{\textasciitilde}\)al.
"Good news, O god! Good news, O Ba'\(\text{\textasciitilde}\)al!
Good news, O son of Dagon!
For a bull is born to Ba'\(\text{\textasciitilde}\)al,
Yea, a wild ox to him who mounts the clouds.
Let Ba'\(\text{\textasciitilde}\)al the mighty rejoice!' 

In this text it must be frankly admitted that there is little to support any geographical particularization. There are, however, two geographical points, 'ah šmk, the hunting-ground of Ba'\(\text{\textasciitilde}\)al and the objective of 'Anat in col. ii, indicated as a locality by the preposition tk, and sًn where 'Anat returns to announce her good news in col. iii. With this we are in entire agreement. We differ, however, from Virolleaud and Dussaud in their location of both localities in Palestine.

The first term may be taken to signify the water-meadow of šmk, 'ah corresponding to the Hebrew \(\text{\textasciitilde}\)mšk and the Akkadian šm\(\text{\textasciitilde}\) which means either river banks or water-meadows. šmk is then taken as a proper name suggesting at once to Virolleaud the Huleh Basin in Northern Palestine, the \(\text{\textasciitilde}\)mšk of Josephus \(^1\) and \(\text{\textasciitilde}\)mšk of the Talmud. \(^2\) It must be admitted that Josephus even is somewhat late - if not on that account quite invalid - authority for the name 'ah šmk as applied to Huleh at such an early date as the time of the Ras Shamra texts. The Amarna Tablets mention a place Sammuna whose chief Sammu-Adda corresponded with the Pharaoh. \(^3\) There is, however, no certain indication of the

1. Josephus; \textit{Ant.}, XV, x, 5.
2. Talmud Bab., \textit{Yebamoth}, 121 a. One notes the discrepancy between the A of the Talmud and the B of the Ras Shamra text. This, however, is the less significant perhaps, owing to the lapse of time between the two and the known vagaries of the Babylonian Talmud in the spelling of place-names in Palestine.
3. Knudtzon, 225 and also, perhaps, 224.
location of the place. In another letter Sammu-Adda is associated with Zutatna of Akko in the robbery of a Babylonian caravan near Hinnatuni. If the Sammu-Adda of this letter is identical with the chief of Samhuna and if we are correct in identifying Hinnatuni with Khibret el Beidawiyeh at the West end of the Plain of the Battuf it would seem that Samhuna must be located much nearer Acre than Huleh. Thus we are left with the late authority of Josephus and the Babylonian Talmud for the location of ŠmK of the text IV AB by Lake Huleh.

The term 'ah ŠmK is qualified, according to Virolleaud, by the adjectival phrase ml'at r'umm, the feminine ending being a further indication that 'ah ŠmK is a place-name which is generally feminine in Semitic languages. Furthermore ml'at r'umm most aptly characterizes the swamps of Huleh and the Upper Jordan which abound to this day in wild life and until recently sustained large herds of cattle and water-buffaloes. In the text, however, we find that the reading ml'at r'umm, however, probable, is never actually fully attested in connection with 'ah ŠmK, as our transcription shows.

The other presumably local reference in this text is to spn where 'Anat returns and announces the success of her mission in col. III,11.30-38. Dussaud, taking spn in the sense of North as in Hebrew, identifies the spn of the text with the Lebanon which closes the Eastern horizon of Tyre and Sidon and bounds the land of Palestine to the North. He is thus able to find support for his location of this text in the Huleh Basin and at the same time to substantiate his general thesis of a Palestinian theatre for the myths and legends of the primitive Phoenicians. It must certainly be admitted that all the

1. Knudtzon, 3.
2. So Alt; PJB,1926, pp.63 ff.
3. A suitable site is Tell Semuniyeh in the Galilean foothills, five miles West of Nazareth and seventeen miles from Acre, see Abel, Geographie....II,p.15. This is probably the Smw'nw of the Exorcatory Texts of Posener, Princes et Pays... p.91.
semblance of a strong case can be made out for Dussaud's Palestinian theory in this text.

It is true that in certain passages in the Old Testament \( y^3 \) does indicate the direction North. 'Ah Šm克 has the onomastic evidence of Josephus and the Talmud and the identification of the place with Ard el Huleh gains colour from Virolleaud's reading ml'at r'umm. Furthermore the Danites when they migrated to the Upper Jordan found there a settlement of Sidonians.\(^1\) Dussaud is probably right in supposing that Jeroboam the son of Nebat in sponsoring bull-worship at Dan was not so much innovating as building on the foundation of some local cult already long established. This cult may have had some connection with the myth IV AB, though the precise relation cannot be traced and to adopt the conclusion of Dussaud is to beg the question. Finally we must note that there was a place Beth-‘Anath in Upper Galilee which by its name suggests that it was a shrine of ‘Anat, who is the heroine of the text IV AB. This place has been located by Sir George Adam Smith at Ainetha\(^2\) 10 miles North-North-West of Huleh and by Abel\(^3\) at el Ba‘aneh 12 miles North-North-East of Acre and whether we agree with one or the other location, the fact remains that this ancient shrine of ‘Anat was in the orbit of Naphtali and within reach of Ard el’Huleh.

The identification of spn, however, with the Southern Lebanon is questionable support for the location of Ah Šmк at Huleh, though it seems that Baumgartner\(^4\) shows a certain preciosity in holding that the location of spn elsewhere than in the immediate neighbourhood of Ard el Huleh rules out the location of ‘Ap Šmк in that region. Granted that \( y^3 \) in the Old Testament, 1.Judges xviii, 7. 2. See map to Historical geography of the Holy Land. 3. Abel, Géographie de la Palestine, II, p. 266. 4. Baumgartner, Ras Shamra und das Alte Testament, Theologische Rundschau, XIII, 1941, p. 13.
Testament often signifies simply the North, this seems to be a developed meaning rather than the original one. Eissfeldt first suggested that the term originally referred to a particular mountain in the North of Syria called by the Greeks Kasios. This mountain was regarded in Canaanite mythology as the seat of the gods, a Canaanite Olympus, and as such it passed into tradition. The Hebrews knew the tradition of the Northern home of the Canaanite gods without probably having any clear notion of its particular origin and seem to have used the term Špn in this sense as Isaiah did in his denunciation of the king of Babylon.

De Langhe after Windler, Langdon, Weidner and Naster, cites the Assyrian text of a treaty between Tyre and Esarhaddon (681-669 B.C.) where a god Ba' al Šapuna is invoked. Further reference to the same deity is noted in the records of Tiglath-Pileser (745-727 B.C.) and Sargon II (722-705 B.C.) which by the context makes it plain that a mountainous region in North Syria is denoted. Špn of those texts had its local Ba' al like other localities but the fact that Ba' al Špn was singled out indicates the place of honour he held in the Syrian pantheon and the special regard in which Špn was held as a holy place.

In the excavation of Ras Shamra there came to light first in the shape of an Egyptian votive stele to Seth of Šap- una and then in the various tablets the word Špn which by its recurrence suggested to the archaeologists that this may have been the ancient name of the site. Indeed, so closely was Špn associated with the site of Ras Shamra that even after the place had been identified beyond dispute with Ugarit of the Amarna Tablets Špn was thought to denote the region of which Ugarit was the metropolis.

1. Eissfeldt; Ba' al Zephon, Zeus Kasios und der Durchzug der Israeliten durchs Meer, 1932.
3. De Langhe; Les Textes de RS et... I'AT, II, pp. 219-220.
4. Schaeffer; Ugaritica, pp. 39-40, fig. 30.
De Langhe cites a fragment of Philo of Byblos from the original of Sanchouniathon which associates Mount Kasios in North Syria with a deity together with Lebanon and other mountains. Is Mount Kasios, then, as Eissfeldt supposes, the spn of the Ras Shamra texts? On the Northern horizon of Ras Shamra rises a prominent peak, Jebel el 'Aqra which is indicated by the Greek geographers as Mount Kasios. The sanctity of this place seems authenticated beyond all doubt by a large mound on the top of the mountain noted by Seyrig in 1931 and examined by Schaeffer in 1937. His soundings revealed traces of sacrifice and burning and the various levels were clearly defined by contemporary objects such as pottery fragments and in the later period by Greek and Roman coins. Unfortunately work never proceeded beyond the sounding stage so that Schaeffer could not pronounce definitely on the situation in the earlier period but sufficient was revealed to make it apparent that the mountain, Kasios of the Greeks, was invested with a peculiar sanctity down through the ages.

In the course of the season 1938-1939 at Ras Shamra certain documents were found in Akkadian as well as in alphabetic cuneiform which named the districts and towns in the kingdom of Ugarit. From these it is apparent that the Akkadian HUR-SAG Hazi, 'the mountain Hazi corresponds to spn in the Ugaritic cuneiform parallel which must also in this case be a mountain. The American scholar Goetze saw in Hazi the original of the Greek Kasios and De Langhe, incidentally, arrived at the same conclusion independently. Thus the hypothesis of Eissfeldt that spn of the Ras Shamra

1. De Langhe; Les textes de RS et... l'AT, II, p. 228.
3. Schaeffer; Syria XIX, 1938, pp. 323-327, pl. XXXVI.
4. Goetze; The City Khalbi and the Khapiru People, BASOR, 79, 1940, pp. 32-34.
texts was actually Mount Kasios in Northern Syria was strikingly confirmed.

To this evidence may be added the fact adduced by Dusseau that there is at the present day a village named Ṣapūnni at the foot of the mountain, a name which surely perpetuates that of the holy mountain.

Thus in the light of cumulative evidence it is obvious that ṣpn must be sought further North than the Lebanon in the vicinity of Huleh. As the closing passage of the text IV AB indicates it is the seat of the gods par excellence, hence ṣpn-Hazi on the Northern horizon of ancient Ugarit.

Thus the real fixed point in the text IV AB is ṣpn in the far North. In this case ʿah ʾāmk may be, as Baumgartner has suggested, the swamps of the Orontes nearer to ṣpn-Kasios, though the more distant Ard el Huleh is not excluded. We prefer, however, to leave the question of the location of ʿah ʾāmk open. It seems quite probable that long before the days of the Judges the Phoenicians knew the Huleh Basin and occupied a station such as Laish on the Upper Jordan on the trade-route to the great land-port of Damascus or to the rich corn-land of the Hauran on which their posterity depended in the time of Herod Agrippa. The text IV AB is definitely mythological but in itself it leaves us vague and even if we are prepared to understand it, as Dussaud has done, as a sequel to I AB v where ʿAlʿayn Baʿal mates with a heifer in the pastures, there seems to us no clear connection with any known ritual or with historical conditions in Palestine.

1. Dussaud; Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale, 1927, map IX, A, 2.
2. Baumgartner; TE, A 111, 1941, p. 13.
4. Dussaud; Syria, XVII, 1936, pp. 290 ff.
In 1936 Virolleaud published four fragmentary tablets under the title 'La légende phénicienne de Dan’el', the theme of which is broadly as follows. Dan’el mourns that he has no son like his brother to perform the filial duties and succeed him, but in due time a son 'Aqht is born (II 'Aqht, col.i). He excites the goddess ‘Anat, however, who contrives his death by the agency of her henchman Ytpn (III 'Aqht). A drought ensues (I 'Aqht, col.i, 38-49) which indicates clearly the mythological nature of the text and its character as a piece of Tammuz liturgy. Dan’el seeks the vestiges of his dead son in the intestines of eagles, eventually recovering them in the inside of Sml the mother of eagles and burying them with due rites and mourning for seven years. His daughter Pgt undertakes to avenge her brother and the scene closes rather oddly with what appears to be a reconciliation with Ytpn the murderer which is pledged in a carousal.

It is not proposed to go into an exposition of this text but simply to indicate that so pronounced is its mythological character and so obviously is it bound up with agricultural ritual that we can scarcely expect to discover echoes of political history in the text. It is noteworthy that Virolleaud makes no such claim beyond pointing out that the memory of such a legend around a primaeval king Dan’el must have been known to Ezekiel who names him according to the name in the Ugaritic text as a legendary sage together with Noah and Job. Here, however, we must exercise caution. It has been stated that Dan’el in this text is a primaeval champion of justice. The proof-text is II 'Aqht, col.i, 11.6-8/ I 'Aqht, col.i, 1121-28.

The following translation may be offered,

'He rose, he sat at the opening of the gate,
Under the stately trees which are on the threshing-floor,
He decided the case of the widow,
He judged the suit of the orphan.

This, however, simply indicates the revival of Dn'el and his ability to discharge his kingly functions with dignity and efficiency. The theme of judgment is not amplified and it is noteworthy that precisely the same is said of Keret. The impression of Dn'el made on Ezekiel, therefore is probably due to the philology of the name rather than to anything in the Ugaritic text.

Dhorme, however, would see in Dn'el of the Ras Shamra text the eponymous hero of the Israelite tribe Dan whose name as transmitted in the Hebrew text he takes quite plausibly as a hypocoristicon of Dn'el. There is a certain prima facie case for the view that the Hebrew tribe of Dan in its remote origins shared common ground with the ancestors of the historical Phoenicians. Dan was settled at the springs of the Jordan at Laish which was, in fact, occupied by the Sidonians. Here too to the West was settled the tribe of Naphtali, a brother of Dan, according to Hebrew tradition, of the same concubine-mother Bilhah. This last fact may suggest that Dan had perhaps as close Canaanite associations.

Israelite affinities. Again, of course, it must be remembered that, concubine-tribe or no, Dan like the rest of his brothers except Benjamin is represented as being born beyond Canaan in Aram-Naharaim and as settling in the North after migration from the South of Palestine. On the other hand, the Song of Deborah upbraids Dan for standing aloof from the Israelite confederacy against Sisera and the Canaanites, 'And why did Dan remain in ships?'

1. II K (Gordon, 127) 11.45-47.
2. 'El judges! The name might also mean 'El is strong! cf. Akkadian dannu.
5. Genesis xxx, 5-8.
De Langhe cites this reference as evidence that Dan was still in the South as in the time of Samson. This, however, involves us in the difficulty of supposing an Israelite penetration to the coast which in effect cannot be demonstrated even in the days of Samson when events and conditions of the Hebrew settlement in this area are most fully documented. The passage in the Song of Deborah could quite well refer to fishing in Lake Huleh in the Northern territory of Dan in later times and it is significant that here Dan is mentioned along with Gilead in Northern Transjordan and Asher domiciled in Western Galilee. The settlement of Dan at the headwaters of the Jordan, however, is represented as the result of a migration due, most naturally to the pressure, of the Philistines from the coastal plain to the interior and far from sharing common ground and traditions with the Phoenicians, the associations between the Danites and the Sidonians at Laish are represented as hostile. It may be thought that a migration from the South-West to the North-East was strange if there was nothing to mark out Laish and its vicinity as a natural objective for Dan. Are we to suppose that there may have been Danites there before the migration of their kinsfolk from the South? This would account for the reference to Dan and ships in the Song of Deborah, though it must be admitted that there is no other scriptural evidence for this, in the patriarchal narratives in Genesis, nor in the Blessing of Jacob, the Blessing of Moses, nor in the narrative of the Danite migration. There is, indeed, a reference to Dan in the North in the description of Moses' view of the Promised Land from Nebo but that is so obviously

1. De Langhe; Les textes de RS et... l'AT, II, p. 432.
2. Genesis xlix.
3. Deuteronomy xxx.
5. Deuteronomy xxxiv, 1.
the epilogue to that comparatively late compilation that it is no valid evidence. The same value may be attached to the mention of Dan in the account of Abraham's Northern pursuit of the confederate kings in Genesis xiv. We need not assume that there were Danites in the North before the actual migration, however, since the natural place for the migrant Danites to settle would be in proximity to their kinsmen of Naphtali in a region occupied by an isolated Phoenician colony whom they might easily displace with the support of their brother-tribe.

The historical interpretation of these texts based on particular geographical references finds expression again in an article by G.A. Barton. Barton would locate the action of the Dn 'el or 'Aqht tablets in Galilee and finds reference to qdš in II 'Aqht, col. i, 11.44 ff., col. ii, 11.16 ff. which he takes as Qadesh Naphtali. In III 'Aqht, col. vi, 1.31 he takes mgdl as Magdal at the South end of the Plain of Kinnereth by the Sea of Galilee, though actually the text is too fragmentary to support his reading and mgdl, 'a keep or tower' is quite a common feature in Syria and Palestine and not at all distinctive. In I 'Aqht, 11.163, 165; III 'Aqht, col. ii, 1.30 he takes qrt 'ablм as 'the city of Abel', Abel beth Maacah of II Samuel xx, 15 which is called Abel Maim in II Chronicles xvi, 4 in the account of the raid of Ben-Hadad of Syria on North Israel in the days of Asa. Barton sees further reference to Galilee in what he supposes to be a reference to the 'women of Asher' in II 'Aqht, col. vi, 1.36 and III 'Aqht, reverse, 1.28 and to Dor on the coast in I 'Aqht, 11.154, 162, 168. He notes znbl as a title of Dn 'el and conjectures that Dn 'el was the ancestor of the Zebulonites. He would find further reference to Galilee in I 'Aqht 1.147 which he reads

1. Barton; Daniel, a pre-Israelite Hero of Galilee, JBL, lx, 1941, pp. 213-225.
This passage Barton translates,

'And he buried them,1
Yea he buried him
In the fishing-place of Kinnereth.

These are bold conjectures and hardly supported by the context. Actually qds occurs in the famous passage where the duties of a loyal son are described, many of which are rites to be performed at the sanctuary, qds, which is the translation which Virolleaud favours. Upon mgdl occurring at the end of the tablets in a very fragmentary context it is impossible to particularize and qrt 'abl-purpose occurring in the passage after the death of 'Aqht and immediately before the description of Dn'el's mourning rites, I 'Aqht, 11.170-180, seems almost certainly to mean 'the city of mourners or mourning! In the same passage pdr dr, to which Virolleaud offers no solution, means 'the city of eternity', 'that bourne whence no traveller returns; rather than 'the town of Dor' South of the Carmel Head, the modern Tantura of which there was no occupation before the last phase of the Bronze Age (14th century) and which, in any case, is quite beyond the locality in Upper Galilee where Barton would locate the action.

The 'women of Asher', too, are rather out of their proper geographical setting so far North in Galilee. 'Atryt, like 'Atryt to which it stands in parallel, suggests by its ending a gentilic term. The ending, however, also appears in ordinal numbers and in such kindred words as the Hebrew 'J'c'y and .This would give the best sense here. The prepositional use of 'atr, 'after', has already been noted. This would give

1. Barton takes as the object the eagles which he supposes that 'Aqht used for augury. 'Aqht, according to Barton, was the enemy of Dn'el.
2. Virolleaud; La légende... de Daniel, p.189.
3. ibidem, pp.165,169.
5. vide supra, p.
an excellent parallel to 'uhryt in the sense of 'latter end! We are in entire agreement with Gordon who reads here,

\[
\begin{align*}
mt & \text{ } 'uhryt \text{ } mh \text{ } yq\bar{h} \\
mh & \text{ } yq\bar{h} \text{ } mt \text{ } 'atryt, \\
\end{align*}
\]

which he translates,

'Man, as his lot what does he get? What does man get as his destiny?'

This is an apt reply to the blandishments of the goddess 'Anat and her extravagant promise of immortality, in the passage immediately preceding.

Barton himself admits that his readings of these passages are open to doubt. He maintains, however, that Kinnereth, which he adopts for Virolleaud's knkn, 'a great jar', is beyond doubt. Virolleaud admits the difficulty of deciphering this damaged portion of the text and suggests knkn, after the Akkadian kankanu, which is apparently a reduplicated form of kknt found in another Ugaritic text in parallel to rhbt with the same meaning. As the reference is to burial rites this seems a fair interpretation. On examination of the text, however, we prefer Barton's reading knrt. The reference to burial rites must, however, be kept. Thus for the passage read,

\[
\text{wyqbr } yq\bar{h}r \text{ nm} \\
\text{bm dgt } b \text{ knrt}
\]

we offer the translation,

'And he buried him, yea he buried him in the darkness in a linen shroud.'

Thus again a critical examination of the text with respect to the whole context leads us to reject a theory which strives after geographical and historical particularism. There is a high probability that there was, as Barton claims, a comparative unity of culture from Galilee to Ugarit as becomes more and more apparent as we study the Ras Shamra texts and determine the customs and conceptions which they

2. cf. Arabic '⟩⟩', 'inheritance'.  
3. Virolleaud; La légende... de Dan'el, pp.164-165.  
5. cf. Arabic ‘⟩⟩’, 'thick darkness!'  
6. cf. Arabic ‘⟩⟩', 'piece of linen!'  
reflect but we cannot find any reference to historical events or personalities or to geographical points in Palestine.
vi. Rp.

An echo of Old Testament tradition in the Ras Shamra texts most interesting yet most problematic is the case of the rp’um which recalls the Rephaim of Scripture.

The term is met with in the place-name, the Valley or Hollow Plain of the Rephaim in the vicinity of Jerusalem. There is, of course, nothing in this usage to suggest that that persons rather than inanimate objects such as physical features are denoted. Elsewhere, however, the term is found quite clearly denoting persons. In Genesis xiv, the Rephaim are found along with the Zumim (Zamzumim) and the Emim as the victims of the punitive raid of Chedorlaomer and his confederates in Transjordan but in spite of the possibility of a historical nucleus in this narrative, the passage owing to the circumstances of its composition is doubtful authority. In any case the association of the Rephaim with the Emim, 'the Terrors,' and the Zamzumim, 'the Howlers' does not suggest their historicity.

In Genesis xv, 20, 21 the Rephaim are in more palpable company, being numbered with the Hittites, Perizzites, Amorites, Canaanites, Gergashites and Jebusites as the pre-Israelite inhabitants of Palestine. The Targum Onkelos, however, still treats the term as a general rather than as a particular ethnic one, rendering it by קוק, 'giants,' and the LXX generally follows this rule rendering Rephaim by γίγαντες, thus clearly relegating them from the realm of history to that of myth. In the Prophetic books and the Wisdom literature the term is used as a synonym for the dead as in Phoenician funerary inscriptions of the 4th and

1. II Samuel v, 18 etc, I Chronicles xi, 15. It is identified with the Biq‘a to the South-West of modern Jerusalem in the vicinity of the railway station.
2. Glueck has endeavoured to rehabilitate this passage as sober history on the basis of his finding that the Early Bronze culture of Transjordan was brought to a summary end about the end of the 3rd millennium B.C. The Other Side of the Jordan, pp. 15 ff.
3. vide supra, pp. 84-88.
5th centuries.\textsuperscript{1} The Septuagint in rendering Rephaim here variously as \textit{θηρία} and \textit{γῆς γῆς} seems to perpetuate the tradition of a departed race of supermen which is echoed again in Philo of Byblos.\textsuperscript{2}

Virolleaud claims to have found a point of contact between this scriptural tradition of the Rephaim and the ancient Canaanite milieu elucidated by the Ras Shamra texts. In III K, col. iii, 11.3, 14, in the promise of El to Keret of a numerous progeny, one is designated ‘tall among the Rephaim of the land. Virolleaud assumes that we have here the familiar tradition of a race of departed supermen and would regard the Rephaim as the indigenous population of the land. The passage in question, though it may fairly certainly be restored from a parallel passage, is not well preserved and immediately follows after a lacuna of some ten lines so that it affords us no clue to the nature of Rephaim if indeed they were more than a medium of comparison in this one phrase. Virolleaud’s reading, of course presupposes that \textit{rp’e}, the actual form of the word, is a collective. Ginsberg, on the other hand, takes \textit{rp’e} in the sense of ‘community’ from a root \textit{rp} of which he thinks the primary sense is ‘to join’.\textsuperscript{3}

The main evidence for the Kephaim in the ancient Canaanite world comes in the form of three fragments found in the season 1930 at Ras Shamra and published by Virolleaud under the sigla RpI, Rp.II, Rp.III.\textsuperscript{4} These are the subject of a monograph by Virolleaud in 1940. The editor fully admits the difficulty of the texts which

1. G.A. Cooke; NSI, pp. 26 ff, 30 ff.
2. Basalsius; Praeaparatio Evangelica, I, 3a, ed. Gillora, 1903.
3. Virolleaud; Syria, XXII, 1941, pp. 1-30.
4. Ginsberg; The Legend of King Keret..., BASOR supplement, 2-3, 1941, pp. 23, 41. He reads \texttt{btk rp’e} \texttt{bars bphr qbs dtm.}

‘Amidst the community of the land, in the number of the population of the realm.’

The parallelism supports his meaning of \textit{rp’e}. We should question his theory that the word is associated with the Arabic \textit{tj}, which is a defective verb with a weak final,\textsuperscript{5} and not a hamzah as Ginsberg’s equation would demand.

5. Gordon, 121, 122, 123, 124.
are not easy to fit into any larger context. What does emerge, however, is that the rp'um may no longer be regarded merely as the spirits of the dead and still less as a prehistoric people.

We learn from the texts cited that the rp'um were few in number, perhaps eight \(^2\) comprising seven and one singled out by name, according to Virolleaud, as rp'u b'\(^3\) who may have been the chief of the group. Virolleaud compares the name and status of this figure to that of Raphael in the Book of Tobit, \(^4\) one of the seven angels who stand as intercessors before the Holy presence, his specific mission being healing. \(^5\) The rp'um in the texts are associated with healing. He considers the possibility of treating the word as an active participle but favours the passive interpretation 'the healed ones'; Dussaud, on the contrary takes the participle as active, 'the healers'. Citing analogous names such as Raphael just mentioned and Sa'dr'apha from Palmyra which seems to suggest that rp'u b'al should be taken as 'Ba'al heals' or, as the writer opines, 'the healer of Ba'al'. However this question may be settled the limited number of the rp'um indicates that they were not an ethnic group but rather a guild or, as Virolleaud suggests, a family.

In the texts the rp'um are associated with a shrine, hkl/\(^6\) 'at\(^r\) which, however, does not seem to be dedicated to any worship of them but is visited by them. They harness their equipages and horses and journey three days to the threshing-floors and plantations and probably assist

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1. They seem, however, to belong to the 'Aqht cycle, as is indicated by Rp I (Gordon, 121), col. ii, 1.7 where 'am'el is mentioned. \(^7\) Incidentally, is termed mt rp'e.
2. Rp I, col. ii, 1.1. \(^8\) Am. bqr b hkl, 'seven in my temple!
3. Rp III, B (Gordon, 124), 1.8.
4. Tobit xii, 15.
6. Rp I (Gordon, 121), col. II, 1.2. 'at\(^r\)/hkl, cf. Assyrian, 'asirtu.
7. Rp I, col. ii, 1.5, probably not to be taken literally but in a cultic sense, as the context suggests.
at the enthronement of Ha‘al though in the fragmentary state of the text it is not possible to be positive on this point.

One epithet or synonym which is found in parallel to rp‘um is ‘elnym. Virolleaud suggests that this may be an ethnic title. He goes on, however, to elaborate the theory that the term may be derived from yjs, the sacred terebinth, an interpretation which Dussaud also considers. Virolleaud recalls that there was one such tree at Shechem where, according to Hebrew tradition, Jacob buried the strange gods or idols of his people when they left Shechem. He would find another reference to Shechem in RPhB (Gordon, 124), 11.4-5,

\[ \text{tm tkm bm tkm ‘ahm qym ‘el} \]

which he translates,

'There is Shechem; in Shechem the brethren wait on god.'

This passage is by no means clear but it is almost certain that the repetition of 'Shechem' would be a barbarism impossible in the Ras Shamra texts. A more natural translation of tkm bm tkm would be 'shoulder to shoulder; recalling the expression 7/j/ 7/j/ apparently meaning 'unanimously' in Zephaniah iii,9.

It would seem at first sight more natural to take ‘elnym, as Dussaud does, in the sense of 'gods' which is well attested in later Phoenicians inscriptions such as that of Yhw-mlk on a stele from Byblos and that of Eshmun-‘azar of Sidon on his sarcophagus. In the latter inscription the word refers to Astarte, Eshmun and Ba‘al Sidon. Thus there seems to be no doubt as to the significance of ‘elnym as divine figures. This is borne out by the possible occurrence of ‘elm as a parallel to ‘elnym in the texts, a word which

1. Virolleaud; Revue des études sémitiques, 1940, p. 782.
2. Dussaud; Les découvertes de HS et l'AT, 2nd ed., p. 185. A connection with 'Eylon' (Aijalon ?) is suggested by Dussaud.
4. G.A. Cooke; NSI, no. 3, pp. 18 ff.
generally, though not invariably, means 'gods!' In view, however, of certain other considerations which prevent us from regarding the rp'um as essentially divine, we prefer to consider them as divine in function rather than in nature, representatives of divinity rather than as themselves divine.

Virolleaud sees yet another reference to a locality, if not actually in Palestine, at least on the Northern horizon of the land. In a passage which apparently deals with the anointing and enthronement of Ba'al Virolleaud on the evidence of one line locates this at Amurrur which he identifies with Mt. Hermon. Though he does acknowledge that the Assyrian texts refer to Syria in general as Amurrur Virolleaud, who thus reads, 'amr in the text Rp III, would apply it specifically to the Lebanon which is probably named in the text Admitting again that the Lebanon extends to over eighty miles, he would nevertheless further particularize the reference to Mt. Hermon. His authority for this is a certain passage where there is clear reference to Lebanon with its wood and Siryon with its pleasant cedars. Siryon is noted in Deuteronomy iii, 9 as the Sidonian name of Hermon. The fact that another name is noted, Senir, by which the Amorites knew the mountain indicates that it was in their orbit. In the text Rp, however, Virolleaud is taking unwarranted steps. First it is not certain that 'amr of the text refers to Amurrur in the geographical or political sense. Even if we were justified in taking the word as Amurrur in the geographical sense there is not sufficient ground for understanding the term otherwise than as the Assyrians used it, to apply to the whole of Syria. Virolleaud, again, himself

1. e.g. in a late Phoenician text from Ma'lab where 'elm is applied to the envoys of the goddess Ašk-Adarte, U.A. Cooke, ASI, no. 10, p. 48, dated 222 B.C.
2. Rp III, col. i, 11.18-18 (Gordon, 123), very fragmentary.
3. Rp III, col. ii, 11.20-25 (Gordon, 124), ibn is named as the source of certain foodstuffs, not as the scene of action.
4. II AB (Gordon, 51), colvi, 11.18-21, ibn with šryn mhmd 'arzr.
notes that the site of the enthronement of Ba'al was spn or Mt. Casius in the North, the modern Jabel 'Aqra on the Northern horizon of Ugarit. In the Hp texts there is no reason for locating the enthronement of Ba'al - if, indeed, we are justified in seeing a reference to that event - elsewhere than on this mountain.

In conclusion to his study Virolleaud writes: 'Mais il reste acquis, du moins, que la légende des Rephaïm - telle qu'elle est relatée dans les poèmes de Ras Shamra - se rattache par beaucoup de liens et des liens étroits aux croyances et aux sites de la Palestine, et qu'elle n'appartient en aucune manière au monde de la Syrie du Nord.... Et l'on est ainsi amené, une fois de plus à cette conclusion.... que les légendes de Ras Shamra se sont formées en Palestine - depuis Tyr et Sidon et l'Hébron jusqu'au pays d'Edom et aux abords de la mer Rouge - et cela à une époque bien plus ancienne que celle où les Hébreux ont pris possession de la Terre de Promise.'

The connection here as in other respects between conceptions in Palestine as indicated in the Old Testament and in ancient Ugarit revealed by the texts, we freely admit. We cannot admit Virolleaud's theory of the localization of the texts in Palestine or his view of Palestine as the original home of Phoenician culture.

CHAPTER VI.

The Independence of Canaanite Mythology.

The possession of such a considerable body of literature as the Ras Shamra texts invites a re-examination of the literary inter-relation between Canaan and Mesopotamia from which ample records have survived. No law-code has so far been recovered from Canaan of the patriarchal age so that in this particular we can only compare the later legislation of the Old Testament with the directly attested Mesopotamian codes and are impressed rather by the difference than by the similarity, though the patriarchal narratives do reflect certain laws which are attested in Sumerian, Amorite and Hurrian procedure at Ur, Babylon and Nuzu. In mythology, however, a fuller comparison between the literature and ideology of Canaan and Mesopotamia is possible.

In the first flush of discovery of the literature of Sumer and Akkad it was the similarity with the Hebrew traditions that impressed men. The Creation was attested in the Assyrian version of the myth "Enuma elish," the Fall in the Myth of Adapa and the Flood in the Gilgamesh Epic. The Etana myth where the hero seeks the plant of potency suggests the theme of the Tree of Life and the Tree of Knowledge in the Paradise story in Genesis and the legend of the birth of Sargon born in obscurity and committed to the river in a pitched reed-basket suggests that the narrator of Moses' early life knew the earlier Mesopotamian theme. Granted that there are significant differences in the use of this material,

1. Found in the library of Assurbanipal (668-626 B.C.) at Nineveh but going back at least as early as the Amorite Dynasty of Babylon as is suggested by the pre-eminence of Marduk, the god of Babylon. Certain Sumerian words indicate an even earlier Sumerian origin. See A. Heidel, The Babylonian Genesis, 1942, pp. 3-4.
2. Gressmann: AOT und B zum AT, 1909, pp. 34-38, Assurbanipal's library, a fragment as a copy-text among the Amarna Tablets.
3. In the XIth Tablet, Gressmann, op. cit., pp. 50-57, from Assurbanipal's library.
4. 'Knowledge' is possibly used in the sexual sense, \"\'j|\" being a gloss.
5. Gressmann, op. cit., p. 79, from Assurbanipal's library.
the fact remains that in the early narratives of Genesis certain motifs familiar in Mesopotamian mythology recur in such a way as to suggest direct contact. In the case of the P source in the Pentateuch we are prepared for such conditions. In the J document from the 9th century, however, we are set a problem as to the circumstances in which Mesopotamian mythology became known to the West.

Certain facts seem to suggest that the Mesopotamian mythology was known in Canaan in the 2nd millennium B.C. In endeavouring to demonstrate that Canaan was from an early period saturated with Babylonian tradition Gunkel cites the fact that the Adapa myth and a fragment of the myth describing the marriage of Nergal and Emtuggal are attested in the Amarna Tablets in Egypt among the various political despatches from Palestine. The fact that the Akkadian script and language are employed in those and similar documents from Taanach and Ras Shamra and in business tablets from the latter site and legal documents from Shechem of the same period certainly indicate that the tradition of Mesopotamia was not unknown to the West. As for the content of that tradition, the positive evidence is extremely scanty. The Adapa and Nergal fragments contain none of the striking parallels to any of the themes in Genesis, the only common feature being in the former where the hero is deluded into rejecting the offered fruit of immortality. Again it is not certain that those texts were used in Palestine. They were found in Egypt and in the Adapa text there are certain strokes in the text in red Egyptian ink which suggests that the text was used for the learning of the diplomatic language and script of Akkadian. Such copy-texts may also have been used in Canaan but of this there is no direct evidence.

Mowinckel after Stade has suggested that the Mesopotamian mythology reflected in the early chapters of Genesis

1. H. Gunkel; Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Edzeit, 1895, pp. 150-151.
came to the notice of the Hebrews only later when Assyria pressed Westwards on her course of imperial expansion. If we seek a definite date for the first contact of Israel with Assyria we should naturally think of the time of Omri whose name was synonymous with Israel in the Assyrian records until the end of the Northern kingdom in 721 B.C. Mowinckel’s suggestion, however, probable enough in itself, seems somewhat gratuitous in view of his suggestion that this was ‘possibly a reimportation of matter which had come to Canaan before.’ He elaborates this theme of a strong Babylonian influence in Canaan before the Hebrew Invasion, as has been confirmed again by the Ras Shamra investigations. Whatever else may suggest Mesopotamian influence in Canaan in the 2nd millennium, the Ras Shamra mythology suggests quite the reverse of what Mowinckel supposes, as we hope to demonstrate.

Albright, on the other hand, would associate the Mesopotamian features in the early traditions of Genesis with the patriarchal age. He supposes that the matter came West through the Amorites from the region of Upper Mesopotamia. This seems a development of the thesis of Clay who held that the Babylonian Creation epic ‘Enuma Elish’ was an amalgamation of Amorite and Sumerian traditions and such features as it shared with the Hebrew Creation narratives were the specifically Amorite features already developed in the West.

Where there were common racial elements it is natural to expect a certain community of tradition. In the earlier Biblical source J, however, as against the late P source, the

1. J.W. Jack notes that Tyre and Sidon were tributary to Adad-nirari by the middle of the 9th century B.C. He suggests that Omri and Ahab were brought into alliance with Assyria through their relations with the Phoenicians. In face of the fact that Ahab fought in the West-Semitic alliance against Assyria at Karqar in 853 B.C., he suggests that this was under local compulsion, Samaria in Ahab’s Time, 1929!, pp. 119 ff.

2. Albright, JBL, lvi, 1939, pp. 94 ff.

common ground with Babylonian mythology is not so extensive and in the Ras Shamra mythology we find not only a marked absence of Mesopotamian themes but comparatively little common ground of language. We should have expected a closer correspondence in that particular if the Amorites had been mediators of the traditions of North Syria to Mesopotamia, as Clay suggests, or of the traditions of Northern Mesopotamia to Palestine as Albright maintains. Albright, indeed, in his anxiety to 'rule a West-Canaanite origin for any appreciable part of Genesis i-xi completely out of court makes the somewhat sweeping statement that between the Ras Shamra mythology and the Old Testament there is not a single parallel. We may certainly not neglect the strong tradition which links the Hebrew patriarchs to Upper Mesopotamia in the narratives of the wooing of Rebekah and Rachel and the sojourn of Jacob with Laban, a tradition which is corroborated by the genealogical details in Genesis xi,28-36 (J) where Abraham is related to Nahor and Hafran which are the names of towns in that area. It does, however, seem that if the myths in question had indeed come West at this period we should have had some trace of them in the temple library of Ras Shamra rather than in Palestine where, according to Albright, they were carried by the nomadic patriarchs.

In view of the paucity of evidence the reserve of Mowinckel is justified. Leaving aside for the moment the Ras Shamra material and the Adapa myth in the Amarna Tablets, such themes as the Creation, Fall and Flood are certainly attested in documentary sources in the West no

2. Those personal-geographical relations elaborated in Genesis xi,10-27 (P) may have a political significance, perhaps an appeal to the various elements of the earlier and later Israelite and Judaean Dispersion in Northern as well as Southern Mesopotamia.
earlier than the 9th century. In fact the earliest Mesopotamian evidence so far for any of these themes is an 11th or 10th century document, a fragment of Enuma elish from Ashur. In the state of the evidence, then, Langdon's statement is surely very bold that '...there are only two large groups of Semitic religions; on the one hand there is the Minaean-Sabaean-Qatabanian including Abyssinian and the Thamudic-Minaean religion; on the other hand there is the Babylonian-Assyrian religion of Mesopotamia which from pre-historic times moulded the mythological and theological concepts of all Semitic races of the Northern and Western Semitic areas, in Syria, Phoenicia, Palestine and Transjordania! This statement was published in 1931 just on the eve of the publication of the Ras Shamra material which was to explode Langdon's thesis so completely and demonstrate that there was after all an independent Canaanite mythology.

As the mind of the poet transcends the limits of time and space, he is not absolutely bound by local convention and is never loth to appropriate poetic devices and concepts from other literatures with which he may by some means or other become familiar. Thus we are prepared to find certain features common to the poetic myths of Ugarit and Mesopotamia. Gordon has cited cases from the Gilgamesh epic chiefly where the parallelism of diction and sense with its variations has its counterpart in the Ras Shamra poems where the parallelism, as appreciated by Baumgartner, is far more complicated than in the Old Testament. The device of numerical progression from one to seven, familiar in the Ras Shamra texts in the account of journeys or sojourns, is found too.

1. E. Langdon; Semitic Mythology, 1931, p. 15.
3. Baumgartner; ThZ iii, 1947, p. 94.
in the Gilgamesh epic and Gordon goes on to adduce certain expressions and conceptions common to both Ugaritic and Mesopotamian literature such as Keret's baking and the similar operation of Adapa who, however, not only baked with the bakers of Eridu but also steered the boat, fished and hunted for the community. The parallel is more apparent than real. In the case of Adapa we read that his baking with the bakers was a daily duty; Keret's duty was in our opinion a seasonal profanation rite releasing the year's crop of barley and wheat for common use. Other cases noted by Gordon are the conception in the Keret text of eight sons of one mother to which he finds a somewhat loose parallel in the Gilgamesh epic. The houses of Ba'al and Enki, he notes, were both built of precious stones. These are not the most striking parallels.

In Enuma elish Marduk, the hero, is nurtured 'sucking the breasts of goddesses; the same divine nurture at the breasts of Aštart' is given to Ššr and Šlim, the twin sons of El in the poem SS and to the first-born of King Keret. As antagonists of Marduk Tiamat bears monstrous beings; Ba'al's adversaries are monsters, 'devourers and voracious ones' with horns and humps of bulls and the face of Ba'al, borne in the desert by the 'maid of Aštart.' Marduk mounts the storm-cloud as his chariot; Ba'al is repeatedly designated in the Ras Shamra texts rkb 'rpt,' the cloud-rider' or 'he who mounts the clouds! The animals who draw Marduk's chariot are named according to the desired effect 'the Destructive, the Pitiless,'

1. I K, 11.80-84/172-175.
4. I K, 1.8.
5. Enuma elish, I, 125, Heidel; The Babylonian Genesis, p. 11.
9. BH (Gordon, 75) I, 11.25-33.
10. Enuma elish, IV, 1.50.
the Trampler and the Fleet the maces made by the divine craftsman KIr whSS for Ba'al are named according to their purpose(bmt) ygrš,ygrš and 'aymr,'aymr. After the triumph of Marduk the gods sit in solemn assembly to fix his destinies and proclaim his names;El similarly 'proclaims the name of Yw' who is apparently his son. The dwelling of El in the Ras Shamra texts is 'at the welling-up of the rivers'; in the Gilgamesh epic Ut-napishtim who had survived the Flood lives far away at the mouth of the rivers. Again it is hard to credit that the dying god Tammuz is not represented at Ras Shamra in Phoenicia where he is later so common a feature. It is true that he is never actually named in the texts but it does seem that as a corn-spirit and ill-starred lover of Ishtar Tammuz or Dummuzi has much in common with Dn'el's son 'Aqht who falls a victim to his association with 'Anat, the warrior-goddess whereupon there was a drought with 'no dew nor rain nor up-surging of the lower deep.' Similarly Sumerian lamentations for the dead Dummuzi refer to the sterility of nature. Another Mesopotamian theme of which we seem to have an echo in the Ras Shamra literature is the descent of Ishtar to the underworld. Here, again, there is mention of mourning for her young lover Dummuzi. This suggests the recovery of the body of Ba'al by 'Anat though it must be admitted that there is no detail in the comparatively elaborate Mesopotamian poem to suggest a correspond.

1. Enuma elish, IV, 1.52.
2. III AB A (Gordon, 58) 11.11-12 // 18-19.
3. Enuma elish, VI, 1.145, VII.
5. mbk nhrm// 'apq thmtm, the welling-up of the rivers// the fountain of the lower deep! Gordon, 49, I, 5, 51; IV, 21-22. II 'Aqht, XI, 47-48.
7. Dussaud; Les Origines cananéennes du Sacrifice israélite, 2nd ed., 1941, pp. 335-337. S.H. Hooke notes that the closest affinity between Ras Shamra and Mesopotamia is in the Tammuz myth and ritual, The Origins of Early Semitic Ritual, This applies only to the general theme of a dying and rising god and not at all in detail.
8. I 'Aqht, col., 11.44-45, bl tl bl rd bl br thmtm.
9. Ginsberg has used this passage to illustrate and annotate the Gilboa passage in David's lament for Saul and Jonathan, A Canaïtique Parallel to 2 Samuel, i, 21, iv, vii, 1938, pp. 209-213.
ence with the Ras Shamra mythology. Nor is the part of Dumuzi in the former text at all clear. This deity, it is true, corresponds rather to ’Aqht in the Ugaritic texts than to Ba’al though this does not present an insuperable difficulty. The Ba’al cycle and the ’Aqht text at Ras Shamra may be local variants of the same tradition from different ages and different elements of the composite population of this North-Syrian city.

Such common features are sufficient seriously to qualify the view of Albright¹ and Eissfeldt² that there is no trace of Babylonian mythology in the Ugaritic literature. It is nevertheless true that that such common elements are not particularly striking and the discoveries at Ras Shamra do entitle us to speak of an independent literary and mythological tradition in Canaan. Here it may be noted that Dussaud,³ who apparently still believes that the Keret text contains references to a cult-migration from Ur to Canaan, declares that Canaanite mythology as attested in the Ras Shamra texts was little influenced by the mythology of Babylon or Egypt.

It is questionable if even the cosmic myths of Mesopotamia were the fruit of philosophic abstraction rather than the development of the verbal accompaniment to seasonal ritual. This character of myth is more immediately apparent in the Ras Shamra mythology, though over against Engnell⁴ who would attach the text absolutely to the cult, Baumgartner⁵ is undoubtedly right in asserting that the length of the texts and their redundancy does not indicate that they were absolutely bound to the ritual which they accompanied and Eissfeldt’s

1. This is implied in Albright’s view that there is no parallel between the Ras Shamra mythology and the Old Testament where he admits Babylonian correspondences.
3. Dussaud; La Religion des Phéniciens, 1945, p. 357.
4. Engnell; Studies in Divine Kingship, pp. 103 ff.
5. Baumgartner; Th2, iii, 1947, pp. 88 ff.
view certainly recommends itself that in the mythological poems of Ras Shamra considerable licence was taken by the poets and indeed was expected of them. Nevertheless the poems do reflect the ritual which again had the very practical purpose of securing the co-operation of the natural powers in the harmonious succession of seasonal operations to win the produce of the land and thus to secure the welfare of the community. This object was the manifestation of the triumph of Cosmos over Chaos which is the theme of the Mesopotamian Creation myth, Enuma elish. There this cosmic event was particularized in the victory of Marduk over the primeval monster Tiamat, his investiture with the tablets of destiny and his enthronement, order being inconceivable without kingship. In the Ras Shamra texts too the husbandman's New Year begins in Autumn after the drought and devastation of the Syrian summer with the revival of Ba' al and his enthronement on the height of Ṣīn, the holy mountain. Ba' al, like Marduk, is a king whose enthronement guarantees the welfare of the community. Apart from this common theme, the content of the two mythological systems is quite different, each reflecting, as we should expect, the life of the respective lands in which they were developed. In Mesopotamia a riverine economy and urban civilization is reflected. The emergence of land from the watery wastes reflects the experience of the floods of the Euphrates and Tigris and the accumulation of alluvial soil in which to this day man aids nature in the swamps of the Lower Mesopotamia. In the Ras Shamra texts it is claimed that the same theme is represented in a certain text celebrating the victory

1. Eissfeldt; Ras Shamra und Sanchuniathon, 1839, pp. 75 ff.
of Baʿal over an enemy termed zbl ym (//tpʿ nhr) which is usually translated Prince Sea (//Judge River). The analogy, however, would not be quite exact, at least in the case of the sea since the phenomenon in this case at Ras Shamra would be rather flooding as the result of an earthquake. Actually we know nothing about the context to which this short text is to be related and Nielsen has suggested that the adversary of Baʿal may be not Prince Sea but Prince Day-star which might be expressed either by ym as in the Mehri dialect of South Arabia or by nhr which means 'day' in Northern Arabic. Even if we do admit the meaning 'sea' and 'river' we are still confronted by the fact that Baʿal's triumph over his adversary is not, as in the Mesopotamian Creation myth connected with creation which is a theme not represented in the Ras Shamra texts. The Ugaritic texts reflect quite different circumstances in a land of mountains and wadis where agriculture depended on the early autumn and latter spring rains, where irrigation was not generally practicable as in Mesopotamia but where the drought of summer contrasted very sharply with the humidity, freshness and fertility of winter. Thus the conflict of Baʿal and Mt, and the death and resurrection of Baʿal plays a predominant part in the Syrian texts.

In appraising the worth of the Ras Shamra texts for Old Testament study Baumgartner has emphasized the fact that the Ugaritic literature has no suggestion of the Creation, Fall or Flood which Albright too had noted concluding that the Hebrew sources for these themes could not have been in Canaan but in Mesopotamia.

1. Nielsen; Ras Shamra Mythologie und Biblische Theologie, 1936, pp. 29 ff.
2. H. Bauer; Die Gottheiten von Ras Shamra, ZAW, n.f., x, 1933, p. 92.
4. Albright; JBL, LVIII, 1939, p. 94.
So far no trace has been discovered of the Creation theme in the Ras Shamra texts except possibly in the text SS celebrating the birth of the twin sons of El, the supreme god in the Ugaritic pantheon. Nielsen maintains that here we have the mythology later revealed in Southern Arabia where the moon-god first begets the sun-goddess of himself and then begets by her 'Attar, manifest in the morning and evening star as the first-fruits of creation which is conceived of as procreation. Certainly there is much in the texts, we believe, to indicate that Šhr and Šlm of the text SS were really 'Attāti. The case of the mother-goddess 'Atirat, however, is harder to substantiate, though it may be noted that in SS the twin sons of El are the foster-sons of 'Atirat. However, this text may be interpreted it is obvious that there is no reflection of the Babylonian cosmogony as that is loosely followed in the P version of Creation in Genesis 1, 1-ii, 4a. The gods Šhr and Šlm are born into a world already furnished as Man in the J version of Creation was created in a world already formed and developed. This latter, more naïve version of J has been taken as reflecting a Palestinian milieu or perhaps an oasis civilization, in which particular there is something in common with the scene in the latter part of the Ugaritic text SS but the fact remains that this common ground is slight and never is the creation of Man touched upon in the Ras Shamra texts. In comparison with the mighty conflict of deities as the preliminary of Creation in Enuma elish, there is a comparative simplicity in the mythology of Ras Shamra. Though nowhere except possibly in the text SS is

1. vide supra, p. 125.
2. 'Atīt, however, is also called in the same terms the foster-mother of the first-born of King Keret, III K (Gordon, 129), col. ii 11.25-27.
the subject of Creation actually raised, the supremacy of El is everywhere assumed and he alone of the Ugaritic pantheon is termed 'Creator of Created Things!\(^1\) Men are directly related to him on a physical and moral basis; he is 'Father of Man!\(^2\) Here the Ugaritic mythology is much nearer the monotheism of the orthodox Hebrew faith than the polytheism of Mesopotamia. Likewise the various deities of the Ugaritic pantheon in the mythological texts as apart from the later offering lists\(^3\) are either closely related or strictly subordinate to El.

In his review of Virolleaud's edition of the Dn'el or 'Aqht text, Dhorme\(^4\) has justly noted the distinctive character of this text. Dn'el, as Keret, is not god but mortal; the protagonists are the goddess *Anat and her agent Ytpn and 'Aqht, the son of Dn'el who has the traits rather of a corn-spirit than a mortal. Nevertheless the poem differs no less from the regular mythological pieces in the Ugaritic literature than from the Keret cycle which is saga rather than myth. Dhorme, therefore, with some justice regards the Dn'el or 'Aqht text as analogous to the Mesopotamian myths of Adapa, Etana or Gilgamesh, the hero Dn'el being in the same category as the heroes of those myths, an ancient earthly king moving in the world of the gods, the issues decided being not, as in the Keret text, matters of internal and external politics in the earthly state but rather the renewal of the vital forces of nature.

The closest analogy, according to Dhorme,\(^5\) is found with the Etana myth. Dhorme notes especially a motif common to this

1. bny bnwt.
2. *ab 'adm.
3. The religious situation is vastly more complicated in those texts. Here, however, we are dealing with documents which, like the administrative tablets, refer to the current situation about the time the tablets were copied, i.e. about 1400 B.C. when Ugarit under foreign domination had a composite population and international contacts as a flourishing commercial city in the Amarna Age when Babylonia of the Kassites, Aryan-Hurrian Mitanni and Egypt were in direct correspondence.
5. ibidem, p. 107.
myth and that of 'Aqht, that of the association of the hero and an eagle. To this we may add the eager desire for progeny which is expressed in the opening of the 'Aqht poem and in the Etana myth where Etana applies to the parent eagle to give him the herb of potency to remove his reproach of childlessness. This latter feature, however, is nothing distinctive, it is commune desiderium especially of kings and Orientals and is no less prominent in the Keret text and in the Old Testament. The eagle motif in the Etana myth and in the 'Aqht text is indeed a coincidence but only in the broadest sense is there any analogy. The correspondence is more apparent than real as even a cursory analysis of the texts reveals.

In the myth of Etana the king is sent by the gods to a certain mountain where an eagle and a serpent, after living together amicably with their families, had fallen into deadly feud. The parent eagle, against the advice of one of its precocious brood, had eaten the young of the serpent which had taken revenge with characteristic cunning. The eagle in consequence lay starving and disabled in a pit on a mountain top. To the eagle Etana is now directed and after feeding and reviving the starving bird persuades it to help him to obtain the herb of potency and eventually to carry him up to the seats of the gods in heaven, when, weak mortal, he falls again to the ground.

To any familiar with the 'Aqht text there is the very minimum of common ground here and that confined to mere externals. In the Ugaritic text Dn'el's declining powers are accentuated by the lack of a son. In response to his prayers a son is born, named 'Aqht. The youth incurs the jealousy of

the goddess 'Anat who contrives his death by the hand of her retainer Y bénéfic. Dn' el in his grief seeks for the remains of the body of 'Aqht in the intestines first of hrgb, the father of eagles, and then inside sm'l, the mother of eagles, finding them in the latter. Dn' el is now convinced that his son is dead and after burying and mourning him incites his daughter pgt to the duty of blood-revenge.

Here we note the difference between the Ugaritic and the Akkadian myths. Etana heals the wounded eagle which is introduced as a deus ex machina to convey the hero to the seats of the gods. Dn' el has the two eagles - or vultures - brought down to open them up in his search for evidence of the death of his son 'Aqht. After he has found the evidence the eagles play no more part in the poem which has nothing further in common with the Etana myth. This is but another case of the relative independence of Canaanite mythology. Even such slight similarities are there may be between the Etana and 'Aqht myths are no more than incidental.

Perhaps nothing better illustrates the significant difference between the culture of Mesopotamia and that of Canaan than the respective conceptions of communication with the deity and in the apprehension of the divine will. Again the situation in the West is notably simple. In Southern Mesopotamia augury in its various forms, especially by examination of entrails and liver, was a highly specialized science while in Assyria and later again in Babylonia an involved astrology developed. This practice, indeed, an erroneous application of a vast amount of acute and really scientific observation, was so closely associated with the culture of ancient Mesopotamia that in the Latin authors Chaldaei became a synonym for astrologers. In the West such arts were less developed.

1. I 'Aqht, col. 1, 131, 139-140, 5mt w 'zm, 'form and bones!
In the 'Aqht text there is a possible reference to astrology in the first tablet where the daughter of Dn'el is described as 'knowing the course of the stars'. The context, however, cannot be understood in this sense. The passage reads:

\[
\text{pgt tkmt my} \\
\text{hspt ls\'r tl} \\
\text{yd\'t hlk kbkbm...}
\]

This we should translate,

'Pgt who bearest on thy shoulder the water, 
Who sweepest the dew from the barley 
Who knowest the course of the stars...'

Pgt is here addressed as an industrious maiden, diligent at the daily task at the well, active from sunrise to nightfall.

In the Keret text 2 we have already annotated 'wr mzl ymzl' which we translate 'the blind man gives his benediction', connecting mzl with the Arabic \(\text{m\'s\'t}\) rather than with the Hebrew and Phoenician \(\text{m\'s\'y}\), as is done by Virolleaud who would find a definite reference to astrology.

In the 'Aqht text a certain passage has been taken to contain a reference to hepatoscopy. 3 After the death of 'Aqht, as we have seen, Dn'el asks Ba'al to break eagles' wings and bring them to earth. He thus continues, I 'Aqht, 11.109 ff.,

\[
\text{ebq* kbdthm w\'ahd} \\
\text{hm \'et \'smt} \\
\text{hm \'et \'gm} \\
\text{jabky w \'aqbrnh} \\
\text{\'ast bhrt \'elm \'arg...}
\]

This passage we may translate,

\[
\text{I will cleave open their livers and inspect} \\
\text{If there is any form,} \\
\text{If there is any bone,} \\
\text{That I may weep for him and bury him} \\
\text{That I may put him in the niches of the divine beings of the earth.}
\]

The first stiche suggests hepatoscopy, indeed, and this impression seems to be corroborated by \(\text{smt}\) which might be related to the Akkadian \(\text{\'smtu}\), meaning 'destiny'; a sense in which it probably

1.1 'Aqht, 51, 55, 199-200. 
2.1 K, 11.99-100, 187-188. 
3. Barton supposes that Dn'el's operation on the eagles is a means of frustrating the augury of 'Aqht whom he takes as the adversary of Dn'el, Danel, a pre-Israelite hero of Galilee, JBL, lx, 1941, pp. 213-225.
occurs in certain other passages in the Ras Shamra texts. In the 'Aqht text, however, we feel bound to take šmt in the literal sense of 'form,' specifically 'bodily form.' The parallelism, which in those highly-finished literary texts is seldom violated, precludes any other interpretation. Indeed, whatever other clue Dn'el may have sought of the fate of his dead son, the references to mourning rites and burial prove beyond all doubt that he was seeking for the remains of his son in the insides of the eagles. Thus there is no evidence of hepatoscopy in this or any other text from Ras Shamra and such evidence as there is in the shape of the few specimens of clay liver tablets from Gezer, Tell Beit Mirsim and Megiddo is the only clue to the practice in Canaan.

Actually both Keret and Dn'el, both kings and as such intermediaries between God and their people, do receive direct revelation from the deity in dreams. There is the presumption, stronger, indeed, in the case of Dn'el than in that of Keret, that the information was not fortuitously conveyed but the dream was induced by ritual incubation. Even so, however, we are far from the elaborate ritual of omen-interpretation familiar in the Mesopotamian texts and are in substantially the same simple world as that of the patriarch Abraham who received revelation directly by the simple medium of a dream which, significantly enough, concerns his progeny precisely as the dreams of Dn'el and Keret.

The question next arises as to how far the independent Canaanite mythology of the Ras Shamra texts finds expression

1. Especially III AB A (Gordon, 68), where the divine craftsman kîr w Hšs, 'the Skilful and Percipient One,' fashions a pair of weapons for Baššal which he names in such a way as to suggest and facilitate the fulfilment of their purpose, wyp' šmtm, 'and he pronounces their destiny!'  
2. R. A. S. MacAllister, Gezer II, 111, fig. 35.  
3. Albright, AF, v, 1929-1930, pp. 119-120.  
4. Loud, Megiddo 11, 1948, pl. 255, nos. 1 and 2.  
in the Old Testament. In discussing the sources of the myths in Genesis i-xi, Albright asserts that there is not a single parallel between the Ras Shamra mythology and the Old Testament, a position which he maintains still in his survey of the Ras Shamra material in 1945. It is true that in the passage of Genesis cited it is rather the Mesopotamian mythology which is suggested. Albright's statement, however, is a broad generalization and like all such generalizations is somewhat misleading. Indeed, it is not strictly accurate even in the limited field of Genesis to which Albright applies it.

The J source in retaining the tradition of the union of the 'sons of God' with the daughters of men surely re-echoes the mythology of the Ugaritic text SS where El is the progenitor of the morning and evening star. This conception of creation is presupposed in God's reply to Job, 'Where wert thou when I laid the foundations of the earth?.....when the morning stars sang together and all the sons of god shouted for joy?'

Again certain of the Ras Shamra texts exhibit the motif of desert nurture as preparation for a special mission. In the text SS (Gordon,52) the twin sons of El spend their youth on the confines of the desert and in BH (Gordon,75) the monsters to whom Ba' al is to fall are borne by a female who goes out to the desert for this very purpose. This theme seems strongly represented in the Old Testament where as a prevalent literary motif in Canaan it may well have coloured the thought-forms adopted by the Hebrews and even their historical records as in the case of Abraham, Hagar and Ishmael, Moses in

1. Albright; BASOR, 70, 1939, pp. 23 ff. JBL, lvi, 1939, p. 94.
2. idem; The Old Testament and Canaanite Language and Literature, CBQ, vii, 1945, p. 27.
5. Especially SS (Gordon, 52) and BH (Gordon 75).
Midian, Elijah at the Brook Cherith and at Horeb and even David in his youth as a shepherd. The theme seems to find further expression in the 'Messianic' prophecy in Isaiah vii concerning Immanuel who was to eat butter and honey which Mowinckel has shown to indicate a return to Bedouin conditions.

In Psalm civ, 3 Jahweh is described as אֲבָנָי אָבֹתָיו which re-echoes the Ugaritic ṣabt, the stock epithet of Ba‘al. Isaiah’s denunciation and doom of the King of Babylon as מַלְאֵךְ יָהֳウェֹ הֲיָהָנָא is generally taken to reflect some episode in the mythology associated with the divine morning and evening star at Ras Shamra. In agreement with our view that 'Attar was the hypostasis of the twin deities Šhr and Šlm we would suggest that the episode in question is the temporary enthronement of 'Attar as the substitute for Ba‘al and his consequent degradation on the revival of Ba‘al. The throne in this passage, as in Ezekiel’s denunciation of the King of Tyre, is on the height of Šaphon which is now known from the Ras Shamra texts to be the seat of Ba‘al, not merely the North in general but specifically Mount Kasios of the Greeks, Jebel ʿAqra on the Northern horizon of Ras Shamra. In the Ezekiel passage the wisdom vaunted by the King of Tyre is compared with that of Dan’el (sic) whom we have found as a semi-mythical figure in one of the great mythological texts of Ras Shamra. There are numerous other strong affinities in style and language between the poetic passages particularly in the Hebrew literature and the Ras Shamra texts. Where there was so much borrowing on the part of the Old Testament writers it is but natural that themes as well as technicalities should have been borrowed. Beyond the instances noted, however, there does

not occur any striking topical correspondence with the Old Testament literature, least of all in the theme of the Creation, Fall and Flood.

Gunkel, confronted by the fact that the Hebrew Creation narratives in Genesis showed notable divergencies from what he still regarded as their Mesopotamian proto-types, looked elsewhere, in the poetic portions of the Old Testament, for the missing elements. In Genesis, for instance, there is no suggestion of God's victory over any monster which might reflect Marduk's victory over the powers of primeval chaos represented by Tiamat and her monstrous allies Kingu and the rest in the myth Enuma elish. Gunkel claims, however, that this theme is definitely reflected in the Psalms, Prophets and the Book of Job.

The passages in question may be cited.

Isaiah li, 9, ff.

'Awake, awake, put on strength, arm of Jahweh,
Awake as in the days of yore, the generations of old.
Art thou not the arm which cleft Rahab, which wounded Tannin?
Art thou not the arm which dried up the sea, the waters of the great deep?
Who made the depths of the sea a way for the redeemed to pass over?'

Here Rahab and Tannin, presumably a sea-monster, are associated with the waters of the great flood of v. 10 which Gunkel assumed to be the equivalent of Tiamat. Presuming this to be so, there is still no indisputable connection with Creation, though there is a reference to Jahweh's victorious exploits in remote antiquity. The obvious reference, however, of the end of the passage is to the deliverance from Egypt and, indeed, Rahab and Tannin both may refer literally

1. Gunkel; Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit, 1895, pp. 29 ff.
2. ibidem, p. 32.
to crocodiles and similar aquatic creatures and figuratively to Egypt as in Isaiah xxx, 7. Gunkel considers this view but rejects it. Again we have to reckon with the known tendency, particularly in Deutero-Isaiah to regard the miraculous Deliverance at the Red Sea as analogous to Creation.

In Psalm lxxxix, 10 ff. the connection between the victory over Rahab and Creation comes out more clearly.

'Thou art the Lord of the proud-swelling sea; When it lifteth its waves, it is Thou that dost still them. It was Thou that didst pierce and crush Rahab in pieces, And scatter Thy foes by Thy mighty arm.

Thine are the heavens, Thine also the earth, The world and its fullness - 'tis Thou that didst found them; The north and the south - 'tis Thou hast created them; Tabor and Hermon shout praise to Thy name.'

Here Gunkel appears to have a stronger case for the identification of Rahab with Tiamat, the primeval adversary of Marduk. He does not fail to note the plural, enemies, in parallel to Rahab which may refer to her allies as in the Mesopotamian myth where Tiamat rallied a monstrous brood to her side in defiance of the gods. In this last particular a clearer reference is in Job ix, 13,

'God will not revoke His anger, Under him bowed the helpers of Rahab.'

Rahab, again, is associated with a serpent in Job xxvi, 12-13.

'By His power He stirred up the sea, By His wisdom He smote clean through Rahab. His breath made the heavens fair; His hand pierced the serpent that fleeth.'

It is presumed that the same background is presupposed in Psalm lxxiv,13 ff. where the triumph of Jahweh over the unruly sea and a many-headed monster is celebrated.

'Twas Thou didst divide the sea by Thy might, Thou brakest in pieces the heads of Taninim in the waters. Giving it as food to the folk of the desert. Thou cleavedst a fountain and a wadi, Thou didst dry up perennial rivers. Thine is the day, Thine the night, Thou hast established the light and the sun. Thou hast set the borders of the earth Thou hast made summer and winter.'

In this passage Jahweh's victories over the many-headed Leviathan and Taninim are associated with Creation and the context might well suggest the conflict with Rahab. Rahab, however is not named and on the other side neither are Tanin or Taninim nor Leviathan in Enuma elish, though a seven-headed dragon such as Leviathan was known to Mesopotamian mythology and is the decorative motif of a Sumerian mace-head and a cylinder-seal illustrated by Heidel.

Actually there is nothing in the evidence cited by Gunkel to establish the identity of any of these monsters with Tiamat in the Enuma elish myth though such a passage as Psalm lxxiv,13-17 does suggest that the victory over the monsters Leviathan and Tannin or Tanninim were associated with Creation. Heidel examining the evidence sees only two features which suggest the identity of Tiamat and Rahab or other similar monsters, the mention of the helpers of Rahab in Job ix,13

1. This spelling which the writer believes to be a scribal corruption of the Canaanite lwn is preserved in translation from Hebrew texts.
2. Gunkel; op.cit.; p.42.
3. Heidel; op.cit.; figs.15,16.
and the reference to the netting of the Pharaoh who is explicitly compared to Tannin in Ezekiel xxxii,3. In the former instance we may have a reference to Marduk’s conflict with Tiamat, her lieutenant Kingu and other monsters spawned for the conflict. In the latter case Tannin may simply be the crocodile, an apt figure in the case of the Pharaoh. The reference to the net need not have any such particular significance as an echo of Marduk’s netting of Tiamat, the more especially as there is a reference in the parallel stichs to angling with a hook.

In the state of the evidence Heidel’s conclusion is warranted that there is nothing in the material assembled by Gunkel to prove his thesis that in early Hebrew mythology the Babylonian conception was current of a conflict against a monster typifying the power of Chaos by the Creator-god who prevailed and established Cosmos.

Gunkel’s stimulating study stands now to be revised in the light of new evidence from Ras Shamra where in the native mythology of Canaan which shows such striking divergence from that of Mesopotamia a seven-headed monster ltn’ is mentioned in such a way as to leave no doubt that the Hebrew poets in Isaiah xxvii,1-2, and Job xxvi,12-13, borrowed this concept directly from Canaanite mythology.

In Isaiah it is said,

‘In that day will Jahweh punish with his sword... Leviathan the fleeing serpent, even Leviathan the tortuous serpent. He will slay the Tannin in the sea.’

1. Heidel, op. cit., p. 94.
2. Ringren has recently contended that those elements survived in the cult in Israel and generally in Canaan where particularly in the New Year or Enthronement Festival they typified the power of Chaos overcome by the god who typified the power of Cosmos which he guaranteed by establishing the royal line. Though it is beyond doubt that the triumph of Jahweh over his enemies and those of the king does play a striking rôle in Mowinckel’s ‘enthronement Psalms; the dragons Rahab, Leviathan and Tannin are comparatively seldom mentioned and never in those psalms, while in the Ras Shamra texts where ltn is mentioned the reference cannot be attached to any enthronement ritual. A. Ringren; Den bibliska Skapelseberättelse och dess religionshistoriska bakgrund, ThA, liii, 1948, pp. 1-25.
In Job we read,

'By His power He stirred up the sea,
By His wisdom He smote clean through Rahab.
His breath made the heaven fair;
His hand pierced the serpent that fleeth.'

The latter passage has a past reference so that the slaying of Rahab and 'the fleeing serpent' might have a connection with Creation. Again we note the parallelism, Rahab and 'the fleeing serpent' who is definitely named as Leviathan in the former passage. The Isaiah passage, however, has a future reference which hardly suggests that the slaying of Leviathan was connected with Creation, though Gunkel maintains that cosmogony or creation and eschatology, Urzeit and Endzeit, are closely bound up and of the eschatological purport of the Isaiah passage there can be little doubt.

The connection between Leviathan of the Old Testament and ltn of the Ras Shamra texts seems certain. In one of the myths concerning the seasonal conflict between Ba'āl and Mt the text runs

Gordon, 67, col. 1: 1-3//26-30, ..........,'ēṭmāk
ktmḥs ltn btin brḥ
tkly' btin qīltm
šlyḥ dēb't r'asm..

This passage may be translated, 'I will pierce thee
As thou didst smite ltn, the
fleeing serpent
As thou didst despatch the
tortuous serpent,
The potent one with seven heads.'

Here though the passage is well enough attested in the text strikingly to demonstrate the correspondence with Isaiah xxvi:1-2 we are unfortunate in not being able to place the passage clearly in its context. The passage, as indicated, is in duplicate. The first opens the tablet on which it occurs so that its

1.1 AB(Gordon 67, col. 1.
connection with matter on any of the other tablets must always be open to doubt. The column, again, where the duplicate passage occurs ends in a lacuna of some 30 lines and the following column has suffered almost as badly at the end. Of the third and fourth columns the second half of every line is wanting. The fifth column ends in a lacuna of about 30 lines and the last column begins with a short lacuna. It is not surprising, then, that it is so difficult to place the ltn passage in its context. So far as we may judge, however, the passage deals with an exploit of ḫpn w ḫUgr, the henchman of Mt and may be a threat of Mt to Baʿal by the mouth of ḫpn w ḫUgr, the second passage being part of Baʿal's reply. In any case the slaying of ltn does not seem immediately related to the main action of the piece and as the exploit of Mt or his servant ḫpn w ḫUgr it can hardly be an element in creation. In fact it may well be related to the activity of Mt, the regnant power in the dry Syrian summer who dries up the wadis. The river might well be thought of as a serpent, winding and ever-fleeting. This theme of the drying up of the waters related to that of the slaying of a monster may indeed be represented in several of the Old Testament passages just cited.

In general it may be said that though the Ras Shamra texts indicate that there was an independent Canaanite mythology, this is reflected only sporadically in the Old Testament. That it is not more fully expressed in Hebrew literature should not astonish us as it was expressed in literature immediately related to the fertility cult of Canaan against which the orthodox circles, from which the Hebrew literature emanated, actively protested. This seems to account for the fact that when, as certainly in the narratives of the Fall and Flood, the Hebrew writers utilize current myths they go beyond Canaan to Mesopotamia. Albright's view that the Mésopotamian traditions
were brought to Palestine by the patriarchs is not impossible but highly improbable and in any case cannot be demonstrated. L.W. King\textsuperscript{1} maintains that the close correspondence between the myths in Mesopotamian literature and Genesis does not suggest oral transmission by nomads alien to the urban circumstances where the myths had developed and were preserved. The didactic nature of the myths in Genesis i-xi, even in the earlier J source, surely indicate conscious borrowing and adaptation at a later time rather than that they were current in Canaan as early as the time of the patriarchs. We should therefore adopt the main thesis of Mowinckel that these traditions in Israel date to the Assyrian period, possibly to the period just after Elijah and represent a deliberate turning away from the Canaanite nature-cult and its mythology against which he had rallied concrete opposition at the ordeal on Carmel.

\textsuperscript{1}L.W. King; Legends of Babylon and Egypt in Relation to Hebrew Tradition, 1918, p. 137.
CHAPTER VII.

The Significance and Affinities of the Hebrew Patriarchs.

In the light of our research into conditions in patriarchal Palestine and the neighbouring lands we may now endeavour to appraise the significance of the patriarchs themselves. Since we have already adduced reasons for associating Jacob and the tribes of Israel with the Aramaean penetration of Palestine of which there is probably notice in the Khabiru inroads in the Amarna Tablets, our present investigation will concern the earlier patriarchs who do not so obviously fit into any known historical context.

As to the significance of Abraham there are various theories which do more or less justice to certain features of the traditions as these are recorded in the Old Testament. The difficulty is to present those theories consistently.

Woolley who excavated Ur emphasizes the urban background of Abraham whom tradition derives from Ur of the Chaldees. He stresses the fact that Abraham did not merge with the local inhabitants of Canaan but maintained contact with his second home in Haran which reflected the culture of Ur. The legal system regarding concubinage and inheritance of the offspring of a concubine and the clauses safeguarding the status of the legal wife with relation to the concubine are taken by Woolley to be part of the Sumerian law. Woolley would thus understand Abraham's treatment of Hagar and her son Ishmael which he regards as inconceivable by the code of the Semitic nomad. Certainly in the latter case Hagar would be safe-guarded in an Arab nomad community as 'the mother of male issue' but it is equally true that the legal wife would have her peculiar rights as we find defined

1. Genesis xxiv, 3(J).
in the Amorite Code of Hammurabi and in the tablets of the Hurrian community of Nuzu. Both of these systems may well reflect the earlier system of the Sumerians though in one notable instance at least, that of Rachel's theft of the teraphim of Laban as a means of securing his inheritance to Jacob, no Sumerian nor indeed Amorite counterpart has been found. Thus in the instance of Abraham and Hagar there is nothing specifically Sumerian and Woolley's theory of an urban environment and tradition of Abraham would thus appear to rest on rather a weak foundation. Beyond deriving Abraham from Ur of the Chaldees and associating Isaac and Jacob with Harran, the Old Testament gives no suggestion of urban antecedents but on the contrary cherishes the memory of a nomadic past. It is noteworthy that when Jacob went to Harran it was not to the town but to nomad tribes of the neighbourhood that he went and while the servant of Abraham seems to visit a sedentary family, that of Nahor and Bethuel on his matrimonial quest we do not get the impression of an urban community.

In later Israel there is no trace at all of Sumerian antecedents. What does astonish us, in fact, is how slightly Syria and Palestine were touched by the brilliant civilization of the Sumerians. Apart from Qatna in the Orontes Valley which was a centre of the worship of the Sumerian Nin-egal until the middle of the 2nd millennium there is little tangible evidence of Sumerian influence. Even at Ras Shamra in the extreme North of Canaan one of the most noteworthy features is the complete independence of the Canaanite mythology from that of Mesopotamia. If we were able to accept the interpretation of Virolleaud and Dussaud of the Keret text where they read a reference to Terah, Sin and Nikkal, Woolley's

1. "...everything in the organization and mentality of the Hebrews goes to show that their ancestors were genuine Bedouin and not citizens broken away from civilization! A. Lods; The Religion of Israel: Origins, Record and Revelation, 1938, p. 200.

2. Genesis xxiv, 10-28(f).


4. A possible exception is the text NK (Gordon, 77) describing the marriage of Nikkal with the moon-god. The only Sumerian feature, however, is the name Nikkal.
view of Abraham as the bearer of the cultural torch of Sumerian Ur might be more feasible but that is what we cannot do. Abraham is a nomad. Isaac's sowing in the Negeb is specially noted but he is still a tent-dweller like the Hanagira and Terabin Arabs who cultivate the plains behind Gaza but still live in tents. The movements of Jacob too are the movements of nomads, mainly federated tribes who come as a disruptive element into the settled land, plundering and destroying as in the case of Simeon and Levi at Shechem. Again the affinity of Abraham with Lot the ancestor of Ammon and Moab scarcely suggests the urban culture of the Sumerian cities of Mesopotamia. Nor does the worship of the patriarchs give any indication of the sophisticated cults of Mesopotamia but centres about holy trees, wells, mountains and rocks or knows the deity in the simple personal relation of tribesmen.

Hebrew tradition in the P source does indeed derive the early fathers of the race from Ur of the Chaldees. There seems no sufficient reason to locate this place elsewhere than in Southern Mesopotamia at el Muqayyar excavated by Wooley. From this locality Terah and his family are represented as migrating Northwards to Harran from which point the trend in the case of Abraham is West and South through Palestine to the confines of Egypt.

It is a notable fact established by archaeological research that both Harran in the North and Ur in the South of Mesopotamia were centres of the cult of the moon-god Sin and his consort Ningal and their satellite deities. Dhorme suggests that this identity of cult in two places so widely distant implies either political domination or folk-movement. There is no evidence either from Ur or from elsewhere of

2. Langdon; Semitic Mythology, 1931, pp. 156 ff.
3. Dhorme; L'évolution religieuse d'Israël; La religion des Hébreux nomades, 1931, p. 70
a Sumerian empire embracing Northern Mesopotamia. In these circumstances the second explanation seems more likely, that the cultic correspondence of Ur and Harran was due to racial migration.

Dhorme finds in the Biblical tradition of the migration of Abraham and his family from Ur to Harran certain facts which seem to indicate the close connection of the Hebrew fathers with the astral cult which is attested at Ur and Harran. The father of Abraham is Terah which Dhorme connects philologically with Yerah, the moon; Abraham's wife is Sarah and his sister-in-law, the wife of his brother Nahor, is Milkah. Dhorme connects the last two names with the Akkadian šarratu, 'queen' and malikatu, 'Councillor', which suit the character of Ningal the consort of the paramount moon-deity. Again among Abraham's kindred is Laban which might be here as elsewhere in Hebrew an epithet of the moon and is, in fact, attested by Lewy as an element in theophoric names from the old Assyrian period at Kültepe. Dhorme then cites in support of this thesis the mention of Terah, Sin and Nikkal in the Ras Shamra texts, I K, SS and NK. It is true, indeed, that Terah plays no part in Hebrew tradition after the migration to Harran. This, however, Dhorme would explain by supposing that while it was possible to reduce the other patriarchs to human proportions, the divine nature of Terah could not be so obscured hence he was summarily eliminated from the narratives. Certainly there are, in our opinion, clear traces in the Ras Shamra texts of astral worship though not such as are found by Dhorme, Virolleaud and Dussaud. The occurrence of Terah as a proper name in the texts has already been considered and emphatically rejected. Etymologically the name may be connected with Yerah but

1. Dhorme; La religion des Hébreux nomades..., p. 72.
2. T. H. Robinson; History of Israel, 1932, p. 52, note, on suggestion of G. R. Driver.
4. Dhorme; op. cit., p. 74.
5. ibidem, p. 74, so too Dussaud; Les découvertes de Ras Shamra et l'AT, 2nd ed., p. 157, C'est bien à tort que les rédacteurs de la Genèse ont fait mourir ce dernier en Mésopotamie; peut-être ont-ils voulu par la couper court à un souvenir gênant.
Albright has conjectured that it may equally well and perhaps better be connected with the Akkadian terhu, which ivex: such a name, indicating perhaps, an original state of totemism, is no exception among Hebrew proper names, such as Rachel, šēn, 'the ewe;' and Leah, ʾāḏām, 'the man' (Cowper's name; but two out of many instances). If, indeed Terah were, as Dnorne supposes, the moon-god and Sarah and Milcan his consort Nin-gal, the migration of the patriarchs would be a significant cult-migration and might even be a major folk-movement of which the Biblical narrative shows no trace, representing, as it does, the forefathers of the Hebrews as individual sojourners in a strange land. Nevertheless it is possible that that initial migration of the Hebrew fathers from the vicinity of Ur in Southern Mesopotamia was of larger proportions or at least has to be fitted into a larger movement of peoples. That there was such a movement between the desert and the sown is well enough attested in Mesopotamia where towards the end of the 3rd millennium B.C. we find a marked decadence in the material culture of such sites as Ur, which definitely suggests an invasion from the direction of the desert. The same is suggested by the strata of Ras Shamra and is generally indicated in other sites in Syria and Palestine. This disruptive element was apparently the Amorites or, as Dnorne maintains, the Amorites and Arab associates from the confines of the Syrian desert. At any rate in the subsequent period of settlement in the beginning of the 2nd millennium the pantheon and proper names in Syria and Mesopotamia show notable common features. We cannot, of course absolutely determine whether we may associate the migration of Terah and Abraham from Ur with this phase of the Amorite invasions. The only explicit note of the date of Abraham is based on a series of numbers of the ages of

1. C. B. Gray, Hebrew Proper Names, 1900, pp. 30 ff.
the patriarchs in P and the statement of 1 Kings vi,i that the Temple was built 480 years before the Exodus. The obvious defects of this over-simplified system of dating have been already noted. If by chance, however, this tradition is correct the migration of Abraham falling at the end of the 3rd millennium might be associated with the movement of the Amorites.

The Amorite movements, however, were not confined to that period but continued to make their repercussions felt throughout the Near East until the second half of the 18th century. The correspondence of Mari in the time of Zimri-Lim, the contemporary of Hammurabi of Babylon makes frequent reference to the movement of tribes and peoples along the desert edge to the South as well as to the north of the city. Among these are the Beni-imina who have been identified with the Hebrew tribe of Benjamin; prematurely, we maintain, since the mention of Beni-simali indicates that the term simply refers to those of the South as Beni-simali refers to those of the north. The Egyptian Amarna Letters again indicate by the plurality of chiefs in the same localities that political and racial conditions were still in a fluid state in Palestine in the 18th century. We have already shown that here we have an exact analogy with conditions in the Negeb where Abraham and Isaac are depicted as the potential rivals of Abimelech of Gezer. Further evidence that this movement from the desert had not quite subsided in the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age is found by Glueck in Transjordan where the first phase of sedentary civilization came to a summary end in the 19th century. This Glueck associated with the narrative of the maid of the Eastern kings in Genesis xiv which Hebrew tradition relates to the life of Abraham. Thus the Hebrew migration associated with the name of Abraham may have been something far larger than the scriptural tradition suggests.

2. Dossin, Benjamites dans les textes de Mari, Mélanges syriens, 1939, pp. 981-986. See also Lussaud, Les découvertes de Kh... 2nd. ed., pp. 82, 176-177.
The Amorites like Abraham in the Book of Genesis are found in Southern and Northern Mesopotamia, in Palestine and the Delta. The political situation implied in theNarrative Texts, particularly those of Sether, is exactly that which Genesis depicts at Gerar. The theophoric names, often hypocoristic, in those texts are of the same type as those of the patriarchs; indeed, one chief is actually named "Iiywrhny," which Dussaud takes as local variant of Abraham.

The difficulty lies in determining how closely Abraham and the Hebrew fathers were associated with the larger movement of the Amorites. Two facts, however, must be borne in mind. First we must allow for privateering bands of smaller tribes and communities displaced and attaching themselves to major movements. Secondly we must not imagine folk-movements necessarily to be co-ordinated invasions, especially where the people in question had, as the Amorites, tribal antecedents. Indeed, even after the Amorites had settled down to urban civilization in Mesopotamia and Syria the Mari texts show that their polity was not empire but a number of independent city-states such as Babylon, Eanna, Larsa, Assur, Mari, Yamkhad, Ugarit, and Qatana, jealous and even hostile to one another and at the best loosely confederate. By considering the migration of the Hebrew forefathers against this larger background we may understand the considerable elements common to Hebrew culture and that of the Canaanites of Ras Shamra and of other members of the West-Semitic family, and at the same time better appreciate Israel's distinctive development.

On the basis of the Old Assyrian texts from Kültepe in Cappadocia, which have been dated to the 20th century B.C., Lewy would appraise the value of the patriarchal narrative as a faithful reproduction of historical conditions in the

1. The chief of "Iiywrhyn (modern Semuniye), Puseiner & co.
3. Lewy; Le textes paléo-assyriens et l'AT, RHR, CX, 1934, pp. 23-25.
beginning of the 2nd millennium B.C.

Without actually asserting the quondam divinity of Abraham, Lewy would nevertheless place the patriarch in the circle of divinities, the eponymous founders of towns such as Harran, Nahor and Serug and heads of septs of the Hebrew kinship such as Laban. He cites the mention in the Kültepe texts of a goddess Harranatum with a regular cult and priest and on the analogy of Anu, the male counterpart of the goddess Anattu who appears in theophoric names of the First Babylonian Dynasty, he deduces that Harran which appears as the name of a town must have been originally the name of a deity, the male counterpart of the goddess Harranatum. In the same region in Upper Mesopotamia one might further cite the place-name Til-Sa-Turahi attested in inscriptions of Shalmaneser III in the 9th century. For the divinity of Nahor and Serug Lewy can produce no evidence and while a certain interpretation of the Ras Shamra texts would produce the necessary evidence for the divinity of Terah, a more thorough and consistent exegesis would reject such a view. There are other instances, however, where Abraham seems more clearly to be associated with divine kinsfolk. Sarai appears as the title of the moon-goddess and Laban is found with the same lunar significance in theophoric names. To cap his argument for the divine associations of Abraham Lewy quotes the Ras Shamra

1. Theo. Bauer; Die Ostkanämer, p. 73.
2. Lewy; op. cit., p. 47. Analogies of towns named after gods, Lewy cites Tyre and Sidon which he would associate with Sidanum and Tura which occur as divine names e.g. Ta-ra-i-li in the Kültepe texts, Lewy, op. cit., p. 49, and the Biblical instance of Salem, Genesis xiv. That the eponym of a city might also be human is apparent from Genesis iv, 17 (J) where a city Knoch is named after the third-born of Adam and Eve.
3. Luckenbill; ARA I, ff 543, 610, 646.
texts I K and SS where according to Virolleaud and Dussaud Terah the father of Abraham is mentioned as the consort of Tm and Mkr, taken as Sin and Nin-gal. Such evidence, however, which we definitely reject, rather damages Lewy's case.

When we examine his evidence apart from the Ras Shamra evidence which we may safely ignore in this particular, we find little to support his thesis that Abraham's associates in Upper Mesopotamia were divine. The keystone of the theory seems to be the original divinity of Harran, the town in Upper Mesopotamia and the name of Abraham's brother. The divinity of Harran, however, is not directly attested but is inferred by Lewy on the analogy of Anatum-Anu which itself is not definitely established. Terah, again, is not necessarily, as Lewy supposes, a derivative of yr, the moon, but may equally well be connected with terhu, an ibex. In the case of Sarai and Laban it is noteworthy that these words are primarily predicates and not subjects. Therefore in the case of the divinities so named and the wife and nephew of Abraham, they may have this significance and the case, therefore, may be no more than a simple coincidence. Or even if we suppose that the predicates had attained the significance of proper names of deities, it is still possible that the names as applied to the patriarchal figures may be no more than simple hypocoristica. No one would dispute the divinity of Ba'al in Syria yet no one supposes that Ba'al mentioned as King of Tyre in Esarhaddon's inscription was divine.

If the family relation of Abraham with Serug, Harran and Nahor in Genesis xi, 22-28, proves anything it is that in the Abraham saga tribal history is subsumed under the name of an individual. This in itself is not impossible but one

notices at once that the passage cited is part of the late P source when we might expect a certain artificial schematization. Indeed, it is possible that these north Mesopotamian relationships may have been elaborated at a time when it was the earnest desire of the early 'Zionists' to unite the dispersed remnants of Israel, both the Jews who had been deported by the Babylonians and those who had been earlier deported at various times from North Israel. Hence in respect of the source and the conditions of the period, the passage cited by Lewy must be used with reserve.

The most valuable part of Lewy's work on the Kültepe texts is his demonstration that they illustrate the religious situation of the Hebrew patriarchs in Palestine. As against Alt's thesis that the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob were founders of cults, each of his own god which were then syncretized with local numina and later synthesized into a single god of the patriarchs, Lewy demonstrates that the Kültepe texts demonstrate a situation exactly that of the Hebrew patriarchs in Palestine. He cites cases of contract tablets where the parties call to witness Assur and their own particular deities among whom 'the god of my father(s) is occasionally named. Here we see that an itinerant community might acknowledge the paramount god of the land without surrendering the independence of the god of their fathers. Again the texts indicate that the use of the term 'the god of X or Y' need not imply that that X or Y was the founder of the cult of the god so named.

The use of such language in the case of the Hebrew patriarchs would seem to imply their individuality and definitely to divest them of any suggestion of divinity such as is at least implied in Lewy's association of Abraham with persons and places in Northern Mesopotamia which he would identify with divinities. The same may be said of his interpretation of Genesis xiv as a true picture of historical conditions in Palestine at the beginning of the 2nd millennium which, he claims, is intelligible in the light of Mesopotamian evidence.
Even if his case were established, however, we should still have to reckon with the problem of the origin and affinity of this enigmatic passage which seems best understood as Nyberg and Rowley take it, as an authentication of the adoption of Jerusalem with its pre-Israelite tradition as a political and cultic centre in the early monarchy.

The patriarchs again have been regarded as ancient local gods who have lost their divine status, a view which derives its chief support from the close association of the patriarchs with primitive shrines and holy places in Canaan such as Mamre-Hebron, Beersheba with its wells and Mamre with its sacred terebinth. This view was maintained by von Gall who regarded Abraham as the numen of the terebinth of Mamre, Sarah the deity of the cave of Machpelah and Isaac the local god of Beersheba. Here, however, it may be objected that though the šer šem of these ancient shrines may have to a certain extent been incorporated with the traditions of the early fathers of the Hebrews, the view of von Gall cannot be consistently presented, since the patriarchs are not invariably associated with such sanctuaries. A great part of the life of Abraham and Isaac is located at Gerar which had no pretensions to sanctity while in the sojourn of Jacob and his sons in Egypt we are in the domain not of religion but of secular history.

Oesterley and Robinson take a somewhat similar view to von Gall, suggesting that the patriarchs were originally deified ancestors. Certainly, as the nomenclature of the Exegetical Texts indicate, there was a stage, and that roughly in the earlier patriarchal period at which the deity was conceived of as the patron and kinsman of the tribe or individual. Thus there would always be the possibility of

3 A. von Gall, Altisraelitische Kultstätten, 1908, pp. 49-58.
confusion between the divine kinsman and an especially favoured or beneficial human ancestor who might the more easily tend to be confused with divinity since he was buried commonly in the precinct of some shrine. This tendency may be observed to the present day in Palestine in the case of local wells, one of the best instances being in the hills west of Jerusalem where the tomb of a notorious brigand of the last century, Abu Gnosh, has become a shrine and the dead brigand a living well. Alt clearly recognizes this possibility, admitting that it is not always clear whether the patriarchs belong to legend or history. He would regard them, however, as individuals explaining their association with the various holy places as due to their significance as receivers of revelation and founders of cults, a view with which we do not totally agree. Böhl, too, sponsors a view of the patriarchs neither as degraded deities nor as deified ancestors nor as ethnic elements subsumed under the name of individuals but as actual individuals. His argument seems to the writer to hold good that the frank representation of the patriarchs as mere sojourners in the land of Canaan and as subject even to moral lapses as in the case of Abraham and Isaac when they surrendered their wives to secure their personal safety certainly does not suggest their divine status.

In contrast to the view that the patriarchal narratives are the record of historical conditions and relationships in the age in which they are cast is the thesis that they are projections into the past of aims, ideals and conceptions current in the period of their composition. In the case of traditions which are known to us in a literary form which took shape half a millennium at least after the events described

1. A. Alt; Der Gott der Väter, 1929, p. 50.
we may, of course, expect anachronisms. We may further expect that the traditions were thus crystallized not so much in the spirit and method of critical research but rather with a practical end in view. The practical end thus served has been thought by some to be religious and by others political. The first view finds expression notably in the work of Causse, the latter in that of Galling.

Causse, elaborating the thesis of the prophets as the defenders of ancient tribal customs and the ethico-social traditions in protest against the corruptions of urban life and syncretistic tendencies in religion, maintained that they harked back to the nomadic past of Israel, not indeed, in the fashion of the Rechabites, who came dangerously near to mere nihilism, but in a more positive way. The traditions of the patriarchs, according to Causse, were cast against a nomadic background, worked over and published as an expression of the prophetic ideal in the 8th-7th century when the community of Israel was undergoing certain social crises precipitated notably by the Syrian wars. One of the Pentateuchal documents, J, is taken by Causse to be the work not of several antiquaries nor yet a growth over a considerable period of time but a compilation and redaction of a single person representing the prophetic tradition, 'un Élie, sans doute plus apaisé, un poète et un penseur religieux!'

On such a view as this the patriarchs as we know them in Scripture might be supposed to be not so much historical persons as the moral reconstructions of reformers. In his study of the life and times of Abraham Böhl realizes this difficulty and discerns four main stages in the transmission of the traditions of the patriarchs; the first stage, which is in the category of the mythological, lively, colourful and anything but monotheistic, the second of the nature of idyllic

2. K. Galling; Die Erwählungstraditionen Israels, 1928.
4. F. M. Th. Böhl; Das Zeitalter Abram's, 1930, p./
family history, the third, the prophetic-monotheistic revision through which the whole took on its ethico-religious character and its didactic tone, and finally, a rationalistic revision. Without entering into a critical analysis of Böhli's scheme, it does seem that we must reckon seriously with the prophetic revision of the patriarchal narratives, a fact which seriously complicates the task of recovering the historical nucleus of the tradition. Nevertheless, as the view of Böhli suggests, the patriarchs are more than theological figments of even prophetic imagination. Böhli notes that if the patriarchs were primarily the moral and religious reconstruction of prophetic reformers they would not have been associated as they were with sacred trees and wells, the familiar features of Canaanite nature-worship against which the prophets directed their polemic. On the other hand, this objection would hardly apply if, as Gaußie implies in his single prophetic authorship of the J document, this revision were made in the 9th century. Elijah, after all, worships at the same sanctuary on Carmel as the priests of Baal and Elisha is associated with the local 'prophets' at the spring of Jericho. Böhli's objection, then, would only be valid if we imagine the distinctive prophetic revision of the patriarchal narratives to have been made after the Deuteronomic reformation. That a tendentious revision was made at this time is generally accepted and since we know the main principles of that revision, the fact that such elements as the multiplicity of sanctuaries, and those located on 'high hills' and 'green trees'; survived in the patriarchal narratives surely indicates the well-established authenticity of the tradition and the

2. This was a regular sanctuary and not a site chosen for the occasion since there was an altar which Elijah repaired, I Kings xviii, 30.
3. II Kings xi, 19.
agents and is a strong argument for the thesis of Alt that the patriarchs were intimately associated with the sanctuaries probably as founders of cults. Again, the patriarchs had been largely the creation of the prophets or later reformers, the latter would have been at pains to eliminate the moral lapses of the patriarchs and they should certainly, as Böhl points out, have invoked the authority of the patriarchs more frequently and more explicitly. There is indeed, a marked similarity in the religious conceptions and communal ethic of the patriarchs and those of the prophets and while we must admit the influence of the latter in shaping the tradition in the J and E sources this is not the whole truth. Far from being cited as authorities the patriarchs are never mentioned in the prophetic works except to personify Israel and in the familiar titles of God as the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob nor do they figure much more prominently in the Psalms as Gallling points out. Amos, in fact, definitely harks back not to the patriarchal age but to the desert period after the Exodus. His rhetorical question, 'Did ye bring me offering and sacrifice these forty years in the desert', seems quite to ignore the patriarchal tradition where sacrifice at various rural sanctuaries plays a conspicuous part. Indeed, from such a passage as Jeremiah ix, 3 b, we might even be entitled to see a certain disparagement of the patriarchal tradition. The patriarchal narratives, even after the Deuteronomic revision may be didactic but not patently so. It seems nearer the truth to suppose that the patriarchal religion represented a communal ethic based on the worship of a god conceived of in the kin-relationship before the incisive,

1. Böhl; op. cit., p. 43.
2. Gallling; op. cit., p. 5 ff.
3. Amos, vi. 25.
4. Cited by Gallling; op. cit., p. 67. The mesorhetic text is a pun on the names Jacob and Rachel.
uncompromising force of militant Jahwism was experienced by the Hebrews. The prophets, though they represented the latter tradition, were yet heirs of the former wisely conserving much in it which found expression in their plea for social justice. This is a view which gains probability in the light of the religious, or rather ethical relationships of the Amorite population of Palestine with their gods on the basis of kinship implied in the nomenclature of the sacrosanct Texts which may coincide with the period of Abraham. Thus we may say that the prophets owed more to the Patriarchs than the patriarchs of literature to the prophets.

Galling emphasizes the comparative absence of references to the patriarchs in the works of the prophets who look back rather to the Exodus than to the primitive religious experience of the patriarchs. This indicates that the Exodus and its sequel and not the religious experience of the patriarchs was the real basis of the national faith. As for the patriarchal narratives Galling agrees with Caussé to the extent of admitting a prophetic representation of the patriarchal age in J and E which projects later conceptions back into the past, but with Eissfeldt he distinguishes an earlier source which, being written from a purely political viewpoint, is named the L source (Laienquelle). The various sources J, E, D, and P are variations on the theme of L which, according to Galling, has as its general purpose the unification of the various elements of the Hebrew people, mainly the tribes of Israel in the north and Jahwah and her kindred elements in the South of Palestine. This was done by elaborating the theme of family relationship between Abraham who is a Judaean figure and Isaac and Jacob whose associations are with north Israel and the desert hinterland east and

2. Galling; op. cit., p. 64.
North of the Jordan. The process is completed when all the Patriarchs thus united as a family are associated with all the primitive shrines of Palestine, with Beersheba, Hebron, Bethel and Shechem. Here we may discern the purpose of L, not merely to quicken a sense of unity among the Hebrew elements in Palestine but to legitimise their claim to the land. It is an expression of national feeling elaborating as it does the theme which recurs in the later sources, one ancestor, many sons, one people.

By general consent the oldest literary source of the Pentateuch, whether we regard it as J or distinguish between J and L, is not earlier than the 9th century. Thus the source post-dates the Disruption the influence of which on life and thought of Israel Gallling justly emphasizes. That the cleft between Israel and Judah was never effectively bridged is a well-known fact of history. It is, however, equally true that there were those who cherished the hope of union between the two elements of the Hebrew people. According to Gallling the source J, or L, is an expression of this aspiration, ‘die gross-israelitische Idee’, as he terms it.

We do not doubt that the view of Gallling does emphasize certain aspects of the truth but maintain that he errs by over-emphasis. The source in question probably does reflect the aspiration for a united Israel but not obtrusively. If the purpose of the writer had been as positive as Gallling suggests surely his style would have been more trenchant and his purpose more apparent. As political propaganda it must be admitted that the source is rather anaemic. Moreover in a work of this nature and purpose emanating from Judah we should have expected some explanation of the Disruption and an apologetic for the cult at Jerusalem if not some reference to the House of David. As it is, the ascendancy of Judah is touched upon somewhat obscurely in the Blessing of Jacob and there is no explicit reference to David or his

1. Genesis xlix, 8, 10 (J).
line and Sellin observes\(^1\) that of the disruption or the Temple in Jerusalem there is not the slightest hint. On the other hand, it may be suggested that the work may have been undertaken at the instance of the King of Israel at a time when Judah was a vassal state of Israel under Omri's Dynasty, a situation which might adequately explain the mildness of the tone\(^2\) and the absence of any reference to the House of David and the royal sanctuary at Jerusalem.

The most serious objection to a purely nationalist interpretation such as Galling offers is that the inveterate enmity of Israel and Syria-Aram in the 9th and 8th centuries was such as certainly to preclude the mention of Aramaean affinities of the patriarchs unless here we had an objective fact. Even so, it might well have been suppressed if the purpose of the work had been propagandist. Certainly the work is accepted as that of a man of Judah not of Israel, hence the same enmity to Syria would not be felt perhaps. Yet if the nature of the work were as Galling suggests the mention of Aramaean relations would be most tactless and mischievous. This is one of the facts which betray a substratum of objective tradition regarding the patriarchs who, largely ignored by the prophets and somewhat tendentiously treated in the various sources of the Pentateuch, had nevertheless an independent existence and character which it is possible in part to recover. As Hempel states, the Yahwist may have himself become part of tradition but he was originally bound to tradition.\(^3\)

It is noteworthy that the two great authorities in the patriarchal field, \(\text{\textsuperscript{1}}\) Sam and \(\text{\textsuperscript{2}}\) ALT agree in attributing to the earlier patriarchs Abraham and Isaac a significance not mythological nor ideal nor ethnic but individual. ALT regards the patriarchs including Jacob as individuals who received special revelation and became founders of the cults associated

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1. E. Sellin; Einleitung in das Alte Testament, 4th ed., 1925, p. 34.
2. Presuming that a man of Judah had been commissioned for the work.
3. Just as the Yahwist was bound to tradition, so he himself became a part of tradition! J. Hempel: Record and Revelation, 1938, p. 53.
with their names, as the expression 'the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob' suggests. But he does not elaborate this view so thoroughly as Alt but he still suggests that the religious motive may have determined the migration of Abraham which he compares to the Hejra or withdrawal of Muhammad from Meca to Medina. This, of course, cannot be established or controlled. Such spiritual independence on the part of Abraham is not, indeed, impossible though Böhl seems to be in danger of anachronism in attributing such a degree of spiritual individualism to Abraham. His view of the exclusive physical affinities of the patriarchs with their kinsfolk in northern Mesopotamia as implying the existence of an esoteric religious community has parallels only in much later times, has no scriptural basis and is not consistent with the fact that the scenes of the theophanies to the patriarchs seem already hallowed by the worship of local deities in Palestine who, as in the case of the theophany to Abraham at Mamre, are not one but several deities.

The facts that the localities associated with the patriarchs are the familiar scenes of primitive non-Israelite nature-worship marked by the common features of sacred trees and wells as at Shechem, Mamre, Moriah and Beer-sheba and that the revelation to the patriarchs was not of the one God of Israel but probably of the local is admitted by Alt to constitute a serious though not insuperable objection to his view of the patriarchs as founders of cults. It is true, indeed, that almost without exception the patriarchal narratives concern sanctuaries, revelations or cults, a fact which is especially significant and gives a valuable

1. Alt, Der Gott der Väter, p. 51.
2. Böhl emphasizes the phrase יְהֹוָה יִבְרָאֵל יְהֹוָה יִבְרָאֵל רָאָת where he takes יְהֹוָה in a spiritual sense, the phrase then signifying 'the converts they had made it possible but not normal' reading, was zeitalter Abrahams, pp. 41-42.
3. Genesis xviii, 1-3 (J).
clue to the truth of the situation. It must, however, be pointed out that the patriarchal narratives are not exclusively located in sacred localities nor concerned with the themes of revelation and cult. This remark applies notably to the episode or episodes of Sarah and Rebekah and Abimelech of Gerar in the earlier period, while the Jacob-Israel saga is largely concerned with the political history and affinities of the tribes and their movements between the Upper Mesopotamia and the confines of Egypt.

Alt’s case for the significance of the patriarchs as receivers of revelation and cult-founders rests mainly on the analogy of the expressions God of Abraham, Fear of Isaac and Mighty One of Jacob with certain Nabataean and Palmyrene inscriptions chiefly from the Hauran where a god is not named but designated with reference to certain individuals such as ‘the god of Arkesilaos’, ‘the god of Aumos’, etc. It has been objected that this is not a valid analogy since the Nabataean and Palmyrene texts come from the last century B.C. and the first three centuries of the Christian Era. This objection, however, is more apparent than real and is anticipated by Alt who emphasizes that such features must not be related mechanically to time but to locality and the social conditions of the subjects. He reminds us that the inscriptions in question came from the desert marches and relate to a people still in the tribal stage of development, facts which are so far true but must be somewhat qualified in the light of what we know of the close relations of Rome with her frontier provinces as well as the Nabataean kingdom and the contacts that this remarkable commercial people had with Egypt, South Arabia and Rome. The very fact that many of the inscriptions cited by Alt are bilingual, Greek as well as Nabataean,

1. \cite{2}
2. \cite{4}
3. \cite{3}

\textit{Les textes paleo-assyriennes et l'AT,} 

\textit{MHR, cx, 1934, p. 51.}
should warn us against taking too seriously Alt's view that we are dealing with primitive communities isolated in the desert. It is nevertheless true that the inscriptions concern people who are somewhat nearer the nomadic stage than their neighbours West of the Jordan where, incidentally the inscriptions find no parallel. The personal names, moreover, with one exception noted by Alt are all Arabic.

Nevertheless we may still question the analogy of Θεός Αμοσ and Θεός 'Αρκέλαος. The god in question may have been no more than the Θεός or 'God of Fortune' of Aumos, a common Graeco-Roman conception which we find expressed in coins of the period where the Θεός of various cities is actually represented as an anthropomorphic figure. Such coin-types are found both East and West of the Jordan.

Alt supposes that such persons as Aumos were the recipients of a special revelation and as such were the founders of the cult of the god designated by their names. Here, however, we are in the realm of pure conjecture. Insofar as the inscriptions may indicate not thank-offerings to the Θεός of private individuals in the common Graeco-Roman tradition, but may concern a definite cult, we need not postulate that the individuals such as Aumos or Arkesilaos were cult-founders. They may have been eponymous ancestors of tribes which is suggested by inscriptions from the same period and places to Θεός 'Αρκέλαος. Again, as Dussaud suggests, they may have been heads of priestly families. Thus 'the god of Aumos' may have been, not the god whose cult Aumos founded but the god whose cult Aumos and his priestly descendants propagated. Alt rejoins by pointing out that in a certain inscription there is indeed a priest Aumos named but the inscriptions 'to the god of Aumos' are

1. Alt; op. cit., p. 37.
3. Alt; op. cit., p. 91, no. 40.
attested for more than a century before this inscription which is dated in 520 A.D. This, however, is hardly a valid objection to Dussaud's suggestion since Aumos could still be a hereditary name as, indeed, would be not improbable in a line of hereditary priests. There is thus nothing to suggest that Aumos or Arkesilaos were cult-founders of a god designated by their names any more than the Nabataean inscriptions to Dusares, 'the god of our lord', indicate that the Nabataean king was the founder of the cult of that god.

Alt's study, in our opinion, justly emphasize the association of the patriarchs with cult-centres but his main thesis that the patriarchs were primarily cult-founders rests on a very doubtful basis.

On the whole we prefer to follow Böhl in his view of Abraham as an individual but think that round him various traditions of the early Hebrew fathers over a period of two centuries gathered. It is possible that the family of Terah left the vicinity of Ur under pressure or in anticipation of the Kassite invasion which took place in the eighth year of Samsu-iluna of Babylon, probably in the middle of the 18th century. Woolley, again, suggests that the migration from Ur may have taken place when Hammurabi had risen to power over his neighbours and was able to control or block the trade-routes between South and North Mesopotamia. This control would be complete after his reduction of Mari on the mid-Euphrates in his thirty-fifth year which according to the dating given by Sidney Smith would fall in the middle of the 18th century. These events in the North would intimately concern the family of Abraham if, as Woolley supposes, they were nomads settled in the vicinity of Ur who were engaged in transporting merchandise for the merchants of the town. Both these

1. In 1741 B.C. according to the reckoning of Sidney Smith: Alalakh and Chronology, 1940, p. 24.
theories of the circumstances of the migration of the family of Abraham agree with the Scriptural account in limiting the scale of the movement and leaving it, on the human side, to the initiative of an individual. At the same time they make it still possible to connect the Hebrew fathers, as their names suggest, with the Amorite movements attested in the Execratory Texts in Palestine from the latter half of the 19th century. We cannot, however, assume that the modest account of the patriarchal migration in Scripture covers any great folk migration or the diffusion of the lunar cult of Sumerian Ur westwards to Palestine.
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