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A table of contents for *Journal of Biblical Literature* can be found here:

[https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles\\_jbl-01.php](https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_jbl-01.php)

# THE RELIGION OF CANAAN

From the Earliest Times to the Hebrew Conquest

W. CARLETON WOOD

NEWMARKET, ONTARIO, CANADA

(Concluded)

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THE CANAANITE PERIOD (1800-1200 B. C.)

## CHAPTER XVII

### HISTORY OF THE PERIOD

The period about 1800 B. C. was a time of great national disturbances both in the East and in the West, affecting Babylonia, the Mesopotamian valley, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. The disturbing cause was a migration of peoples from the north which drove a wedge into the population of the upper Euphrates valley and crowded the old settlers eastward and southward. In Babylonia the invaders were Hittites and Kassites, the latter of whom seized the throne of Babylon about 1761 B. C.<sup>1</sup> and ruled for over one hundred years. In Mesopotamia the invaders were the Mitanni from Asia Minor,<sup>2</sup> who dislodged the native Hittite and Semitic settlers, probably driving the former into Babylonia and the latter into Syria and Palestine. The effect of these changes was the bringing to a close of Babylon's one thousand years of supremacy over Mesopotamia and Syria-Palestine; the founding upon the upper valley of the Euphrates of the kingdom of the Mitanni, which maintained its rank as a great nation for a century by the side of Babylon, Assyria, and Egypt; and the invasion of Egypt about 1800 B. C. by a Semitic people, known later as the Hyksos.

#### The Canaanite Migration (1800 B. C.)

In Egypt the Hyksos finally gained the upper hand in 1680 B. C.; and, wresting the scepter of ruling authority from the

<sup>1</sup> Meyer, § 454. The date given by Thureau-Dangin, quoted by Sayce, in *PSBA.*, xxxiv. p. 169.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, § 45 ff.; Paton, pp. 63 ff.

contentious native princes, ruled for a period of about one hundred years. Of the Hyksos little is known, but from such facts and hints as are available it has been conjectured that they were of Semitic origin and that Palestine was, in the summit of their power, probably the center of their political control. This control, at one time, reached as far south as southern Egypt. In agreement with this hypothesis is the fact that the religion of the Hyksos possessed the Semitic-Amorite stamp, as their chief deity, Sutekh, was a Canaanite ba'al, and as one of their kings, Jacob-her, or Jacob-el, bore the name of the old Amorite god Yaḳōb. Moreover the comparative ease with which the Canaanites, who were doubtless identical with the Hyksos, maintained their power in Canaan for many years, despite the repeated attempts of the powerful Pharaohs to conquer them, clearly points to no small degree of organized government.<sup>3</sup>

The name *Ka-n-na*,<sup>4</sup> "Canaan," applied now by the Egyptian king to Palestine, may have received its name from these new invaders.

When the Hyksos were finally expelled from Egypt, the rule of Syria-Palestine passed under the scepter of Egypt, whose kings for two centuries enforced upon the Canaanites the most slavish submission. The annals of the Pharaohs for this period are filled with vivid descriptions of numerous Asiatic campaigns in which many Palestinian strongholds fell before the genius of Egyptian generalship.<sup>5</sup> A side-light from contemporaneous native sources on the extent to which Egyptian authority was maintained in Canaan comes from the well-known Amarna letters, already mentioned. These were written during the reigns of Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV (1411-1358 B. C.), and, with the royal annals, set in bold relief the political, social, and religious life of the time.

The passing to and fro of armies and of messengers; the flowing of tribute into the royal coffers of Egypt from Palestine and Syria; the treaty relations between the kings of Egypt and those of Mitanni, the Hittites, Assyria, and Babylon; and

<sup>3</sup> Breasted, *HE.*, pp. 211-220.

<sup>4</sup> Paton, p. 68.

<sup>5</sup> Breasted, *HE.*, pp. 284 ff.

all the intercommunication that these relations involve presuppose a fair degree of civilization.

In the course of their residence through a period of four hundred years, the newcomers became so thoroughly amalgamated with the old Amorite population that, at the beginning of the Aramaean migration, Amorite and Canaanite were applied almost synonymously to the native population. However, in a general way the Amorites—Amor of the Egyptian monuments<sup>6</sup> and Ammuri<sup>7</sup> of the Amarna Letters—occupied northern Palestine and Syria, while the Canaanites—the Haru of the Egyptian monuments<sup>8</sup>—occupied southern Palestine. The Amorites stubbornly resisted the aggressions of the Egyptian monarchs of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties and blocked the northward march of the Reubenites in Gilead and of the Simeonites and Levites in Mount Ephraim—probably the first tribes of the Habiru to penetrate Canaan.

Other groups of peoples, residing in Canaan prior to the Aramaean migration, whose relation either to the native Amorites or to the Canaanites is not clearly defined, are the three mentioned in the Egyptian inscriptions, namely, Joseph-el and Jacob-el,<sup>9</sup> dwelling in Mount Ephraim, and Asher, dwelling on the Phoenician coast;<sup>10</sup> and others of Old Testament mention, namely, Gad,<sup>11</sup> Ammon,<sup>12</sup> and Moab,<sup>13</sup> inhabiting the territory east of the Dead Sea, and Esau<sup>14</sup> dwelling in Mount Seir. Hamor inhabited Shechem.<sup>15</sup>

### The Aramaean Migration<sup>16</sup> (1400 B. C.)

During the reigns of Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV Egyptian sovereignty over Canaan began to totter, the under-

<sup>6</sup> Breasted, *ARE.*, iii. § 141, &c.

<sup>7</sup> Knudtzon, 60:8, &c.

<sup>8</sup> Breasted, *ARE.*, ii. §§ 798 A, 822, &c.

<sup>9</sup> Müller, pp. 162 ff.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 236 ff.

<sup>11</sup> *MI.*, 10.

<sup>12</sup> Num. 21:24.

<sup>13</sup> 21:11 ff.

<sup>14</sup> Gen. 32:4(3); 33:14, 16.

<sup>15</sup> Gen. 34.

<sup>16</sup> See Paton, pp. 103 ff.

mining cause being due, in some degree at least, to another great racial disturbance like that which attended the Amorite migration a thousand years earlier. Again the superfluous population of the Arabian steppe flowed over the brim of northern Arabia. This migration is known in history as the Aramæan. It wrought great disturbances in Babylonia, Assyria, and in Syria-Palestine.

Coincident with this racial movement was the invasion of northern Syria by the Hittites who drove the Amorites southward into Mount Ephraim and Gilead, where the latter came into contact with the Aramæans.

*The Hebrew-Israelite Invasion.* (1400 B. C.)—The Aramæans who invaded Syria-Palestine from the east and the south were known as the Ḥabiru,<sup>17</sup> a people which is doubtless to be identified with the Old Testament 'Ibri,<sup>18</sup> "Hebrews," as the names are phonetically equivalent. These Aramæans are styled by the Egyptian annalists, because of their racial characteristics, as *Shasu*,<sup>19</sup> "bedouins"; and by the Amarna Letters, because of their depredating raids, as *SA.GAS*,<sup>20</sup> i. e., *ḥabbatum*, "robbers." Either they themselves or two of their inclusive groups were known also to their native scribes as Akhlami<sup>21</sup> and Sutu.<sup>22</sup>

The invasion of southern Palestine by these peoples admirably coincides, in point of time, in the character of the invaders, and probably in the direction of approach, with the invasion of the same territory by the Leah tribes—Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Judah,—who first assembled themselves at Kadesh in the Negeb prior to their advance on Canaan.<sup>23</sup> Pointing to this conclusion is an old account of the conquest which says that Simeon—and probably Levi who was connected with Simeon in an attack on Shechem—and Judah were the first of the Hebrew tribes to invade and settle in Canaan.<sup>24</sup>

As Merneptah in recording the incidents of a victorious cam-

<sup>17</sup> Knudtson, 286-290.

<sup>18</sup> Gen. 14:13, &c.

<sup>19</sup> Breasted, *ARE.*, iii. §§ 86, 88, 100.

<sup>20</sup> Knudtson, 68, 87, 127-132, &c.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 200.

<sup>22</sup> 16:38, 40; 123:14, &c.

<sup>23</sup> This conclusion and the following results have been tabulated by Paton, in *JBL.*, xxxii. (1913), pp. 1-47.

<sup>24</sup> Num. 14:44, 45; 21:1-3 (J); Judg. 1:1 ff.

paign into southern Palestine about 1227 B. c. relates how "Israel is destroyed, its crops are no more."<sup>25</sup> we may assume that *Israel* was a *Habiru*, or an Aramæan, tribe and that it embraced these Hebrew tribes who settled first in Palestine. Judah settled about Hebron,<sup>26</sup> while Simeon and Levi appear to have pressed on as far as Shechem<sup>27</sup> where they met disastrous defeat from the Canaanites, or Amorites, of Mount Ephraim, resulting in the complete dispersion of Levi throughout the other Israelite tribes<sup>28</sup> and in the crowding of Simeon southward into the forbidding territory southeast of Judah.<sup>29</sup>

Probably before the Leah tribes penetrated Canaan at the South, the tribe of Reuben broke away from its associated Aramæan tribes about Kadesh, and, at the call of the Moab and Ammon, crossed Edom to fight against the Amorites of Gilead who were pushing their way southward into the territories of Ammon and Moab.<sup>30</sup>

In this newly acquired territory north of Moab Reuben settled, being the first of Israel to obtain an inheritance in Canaan, and thereby winning later the designation as the firstborn of Israel.<sup>31</sup>

*The Sojourn of the Rachel Tribes in Egypt.*—Now about the same time, i. e., 1400 B. c., that the first tribes of the *Habiru*, i. e., Israel, or the Leah tribes, invaded Canaan from the south, other *Habiru* tribes appear to have settled on the eastern frontier of Egypt, in the land of Goshen. The state of anarchy that prevailed during the reigns of Amenhotep IV offered a suitable opportunity for such a horde of bedouin tribes to venture to reside in Egypt.<sup>32</sup> The Hebrew tribes particularly connected with the Egyptian sojourn were, according to Hebrew tradition, the Rachel tribes Ephraim and Manasseh. After a prosperous sojourn, during which their numerical strength was so augmented as to threaten the stability of the Egyptian king-

<sup>25</sup> Breasted, *ARE.*, iii. § 617.

<sup>26</sup> Judg. 1:17 ff.

<sup>27</sup> Gen. 34.

<sup>28</sup> Gen. 49:5-7.

<sup>29</sup> Josh. 19:1 ff.

<sup>30</sup> Num. 21:21 ff.

<sup>31</sup> Gen. 49:3.

<sup>32</sup> Breasted, *HE.*, pp. 379 ff.

dom, these tribes were subjected to bondage by a powerful monarch, probably Ramses II<sup>33</sup> (1292-1225 B. C.).

*The Exodus and the Wandering.*—Under this slavery they revolted, most probably during the days of anarchy immediately following the death of Seti II (c. 1205 B. C.).<sup>34</sup> This state of anarchy was, in a large measure, due to an invasion of Sea-Peoples from the north (1220 B. C.);<sup>35</sup> and, under the leadership of Moses, escaped into the desert. By Moses they were led to Mount Sinai in the land of Midian where they embraced more fully the religion of Yahweh.

*The Invasion of Canaan by the Rachel Tribes.*—Then, after various vicissitudes of nomadic life, the Rachel tribes entered Canaan from the east by crossing the Jordan at Jericho. After defeating the Canaanites at Jericho, Ai, and Beth-horon, Ephraim and Manasseh settled respectively in Mount Ephraim and Bashan.

In the course of time a portion of Ephraim obtained a consciousness of tribal independence and became known as Benjamin.<sup>36</sup> Dan and Naphtali, two important Canaanite tribes living in the north of Palestine, made covenants with the newcomers, and so were admitted into the new confederacy. The fact that they are regarded in Hebrew tradition as sons of Israel by Rachel's concubine, Bilhah,<sup>37</sup> indicates the inferior rank which they held in this confederacy.

Thus the settlement of Canaan by the Hebrews was eventually accomplished, having been commenced first by the Leah tribes and now being completed by the Rachel tribes. To the former, since their settlement, were added, either by natural increase or by adoption from native peoples, the tribes of Issachar and Zebulun.<sup>38</sup>

### The Philistine Migration (1200 B. C.)

Among these Sea-Peoples who, first during the reign of Merneptah, and later in the sixth year of Ramses III (1193 B. C.),

<sup>33</sup> Cp. Ex. 1:8, 11.

<sup>34</sup> Breasted, *HE.*, p. 474.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 477 ff.

<sup>36</sup> Born in Canaan, Gen. 35:18.

<sup>37</sup> Gen. 30:5-8.

<sup>38</sup> Sons by concubine Zilpah, 30:9-12.

issued from Asia Minor, overran Palestine, and penetrated Egypt were the *Pulasate*, or Philistines.<sup>39</sup> These people settled along the Palestinian seaboard, and gave their name, first, to the great plain, which stretches from the coast to the hills of Judah and later, to the land of Canaan itself, namely, *Palestine*. Thus almost simultaneously the Rachel tribes from the east and the Philistines from the north entered Canaan to contest for many years the possession of Palestine.

It is a convincing testimony to the virility and conservatism of the native religion that throughout the two hundred years when peoples were surging to and fro, struggling for the possession of Palestine, the religion and culture of Canaan maintained themselves intact, and eventually won the devotion of the new proprietors. It was inevitable that the Hebrews who, as we have seen, were nothing more than uncultured bedouin tribes, should, on coming in contact with Canaanite culture, passively accept rather than actively resist the native religions. Accordingly we find that the incoming Hebrews adopted the cults of the multitudinous sanctuaries as their own. And in doing this they accommodated the conception of Yahweh to the ba'als and of the ba'als to Yahweh. The cults of the various sanctuaries, with their elaborate rites, extensive furnishings, and hereditary priesthoods, continued to flourish as they had before. However, at the time of the early prophets, on account of national misfortunes, the amalgamated ba'al- and Yahweh-religion encountered its first setback in the reassertion of the monotheistic tendencies of the old Yahweh-faith and in the birth of ethical monotheism. Because of this religious change of front, incident to this reaction, forces were set in operation which eventually put the local sanctuaries under the ban of law and centralized the worship of Yahweh at Jerusalem.

<sup>39</sup> Paton, pp. 134 ff.

## CHAPTER XVIII

## EXCAVATED HIGH PLACES

Many were the springs, mountains, hills, cities, and other places which were consecrated in the worship of the Amorite and Canaanite ba'als. Many great religious centers, such as Hebron, Beer-sheba, Shechem, Shiloh, Beth-el, as well as a great many other places of less importance which flourished at the time of the Hebrew conquest, were adopted without reservation into the religion of Yahweh. Palestinian nomenclature in many cases reveals the fact that there were a great number of other places, which at some time or other were noted as centers of worship, but which in the course of time had lost their original sanctity—the significance of their names remaining only to attest the fact. For lack of space a complete list of the Palestinian cult-places will have to be omitted from these articles; and only those given and discussed that have come to light in the excavations.

In Beth-shemesh of West Dan Mackenzie found an ancient "High Place" which he assigns to the early Israelite period.<sup>1</sup> This high place was situated within the walls in the "Central City Area" not far from what was probably an ancient sacred spring, from which the place received its present name, Ain Shems, "spring of (the) sun." On this important site five stone *massebahs* were found lying on their sides in such a way as to suggest that they once had formed a sacred group of upright pillars, and that through some catastrophe—possibly the capture of the city by Sennacherib—they have been knocked down never to be re-erected.

Confirming the sacred character of this discovery, there were discovered two other near-by objects which deserve mention: one being a grotto-sepulcher lying about twenty feet eastward from the east end of the supposed alignment of pillars; and the other, "a mysterious hypogeum, or underground chamber," lying at the west end of the same alignment.

<sup>1</sup> PEFA., pp. 15 ff.

The objects which were found in these two burying-places throw light upon the religion of the Canaanite period. Thus, in the grotto-sepulcher of the High Place, there were found jugs, vases, water-jars, saucers, bowls, and basins—all of which were clearly deposited with the dead. The bones of an infant were found in one jar.<sup>2</sup> Similarly the east grotto, or hypogeum, contained several lamps, bowls, vases, jugs, and images of donkeys represented as transporting water upon their backs.<sup>3</sup> Whether these tombs determined the site of the high place, or *vice versa*, it cannot be ascertained.

In a field near this place in early Hebrew times existed a great stone which was greatly venerated by the inhabitants; for on it the sacred ark was set after its return from captivity, and by it the two cows who brought it back were offered as burnt-offerings.<sup>4</sup>

Gath was the home of the ancient race of Anakim who may have been regarded as deified ancestors.<sup>5</sup> At this place was discovered a Canaanite temple<sup>6</sup> having an intersecting door and an apse, the latter of which faced southward—coextensive with the main axis of the building—toward a similar semi-circular walled structure in the center of the room. The temple was about thirty feet square, and was divided into two nearly equal rooms. A peculiar skewed door-way with a much-worn sill bisected the east wall, while the south end of the temple was evidently formed by a row of pillars of which only three remained.<sup>7</sup> At a later period the temple was made about one-third larger, three additional rooms being added on the south. Rows of field stones with worn surfaces extending along by the bases of the pillars and between them, and even beyond the wall, seemed to indicate two different age-levels for the temple. This being so, one might be justified in venturing the assumption that these pillars, which in later times were utilized to support a porch, were primitive *massebahs* belonging to an old shrine. The apse and

<sup>2</sup> pp. 42-46.

<sup>3</sup> pp. 46-51.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Sam. 6:14, 15, 18.

<sup>5</sup> Josh. 11:22, &c.

<sup>6</sup> Bliss & Macal., pp. 33 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Bases of three others were found, from which fact it has been conjectured that perhaps all may originally have formed a stone circle.

the semi-circular structure, referred to above, may have served as niches for placing idols. Near the temple bones of animals were found, which were evidently relics of sacrificial victims.

Gezer.<sup>8</sup> 1. The shrine of the first Semitic settlers of Gezer, with its sacred cave and its two pillars, underwent during the Canaanite period such a process of enlargement that it becomes for us the greatest religious monument of that age.<sup>9</sup> The whole area now embraced in the sanctuary extended, as exists to-day, approximately one hundred and fifty feet north and south, and one hundred and twenty feet east and west. In the middle of this area, and running from north to south, was—when the discovery was made and before the high place was covered over again—an alignment of monoliths standing on a stone platform which was about eight feet wide, and which was co-extensive with the line of pillars. Two pillars stood in the old shrine, but in this period only one of these remained standing, namely No. 2; while the other had fallen, or had been buried, possibly intentionally, as Macalister suggests, in order to save it from detection and from capture by some enemy in a sudden raid upon the town. In the place of this buried pillar a huge monolith over ten feet high was set up. Other pillars were added from time to time, thus extending the line northward till the number of seven was completed about 1400 B. C. The height of these pillars ranged from five and one-half to nearly eleven feet, and they were set at intervals of three or four feet, except No. 2 which was seven feet from No. 1 and eleven and one-half feet from No. 3. This number seven appears to have been intentional, for this alignment of seven was kept intact for some time before three more stones were added. These three additional ones, though set in the regular line, were grouped at some distance from the original seven so as to preserve both the numerical sanctity of *seven* and the esoteric value of *ten*.<sup>10</sup>

Each pillar was a rough untooled monolith, in keeping doubtless with the Semitic notion that chiseling a fetish would injure its *numen*, and each presented its flat surface, if it had any, to the west.

<sup>8</sup> In Ephraim, Josh. 10:33, &c. = mod. *Tell Jezer*, Baedeker, p. 13.

<sup>9</sup> Macalister, *EG.*, ii. pp. 381-406.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 394.

Moreover, significant cup-marks were found hollowed out on the western surfaces of three: one each on No. 1 and 3, and two on No. 9. The cups were doubtless made in the pillars prior to their erection in the sanctuary, since in every case these cuttings were on the flat side which was probably the upper surface before it was quarried.

Pillar No. 7 deserves special mention because it possessed the unique quality of being made from a different species of rock from that of the others, they being of limestone native to Gezer. This difference led Macalister to the conclusion that the pillar was taken, during some campaign of the Gezerites, as a trophy from some other high place, possibly in the neighborhood of Jerusalem. A groove was made on its top, evidently to keep a rope from slipping as the stone was being dragged into position. The view is strengthened by the incident of Mesha's dragging the *ariels* of 'Ataroth and of Nebo before Kemosh.

Pillar No. 2 appeared to be, as has already been stated, the oldest stone in the alignment. It was evidently the object of greatest veneration, since its top presented the appearance of having been worn smooth as if it had been kissed by ardent devotees. Its antiquity obviously contributed largely to its enhanced sanctity and to the impartial bestowal of religious affection. Perhaps its *numen* was thought to be the parent of those of the other pillars.

Standing almost flush with the western face of the alignment, and opposite to the space between Nos. 5 and 6, was discovered an object which may best be supposed to have been either a laver for ceremonial ablutions or a receptacle for liquid offerings. It is a stone block about six feet long, five feet wide, and two and one-half feet high, having a square-cornered cavity seven and one-fifth cubic feet in capacity, chiseled out in its upper surface.

Two circular structures, whose purposes have not yet been satisfactorily explained, were found west of the alignment, one at the north and one at the south end. One was eighteen and the other thirteen feet in diameter. Both were paved with small stones, and were once completely walled up with rough stones to the height of six feet.

East of the alignment and of the sacred cave is a bell-shaped cistern sixteen feet deep which evidentl

depository for unconsumed sacrifices, since the bones of fourteen men, two women, two children, and of many beasts, namely those of cows, sheep, deer, and goats, were found in a confused mass at the bottom.

On the north side were discovered walls of buildings which may have been apartments for priests.

Finally there remains to be mentioned, as throwing more light on this place as a sanctuary, the fact that jar-burials of infants were found in the earth below the level of the high place, thus proving either the rite of infant sacrifice or the sanctity which caused this place of worship to be used as a cemetery. Moreover, a great many cult-objects, such as votive images of 'Ashtart, amulets, and phallic emblems, were also found here and there over the entire area.<sup>11</sup>

All these objects of undoubted religious meaning, including the sacred cave, imply a large retinue of temple-attendants and an elaborate ritual system, of which the giving of oracles in the holy cave, preparing and offering the sacrificial victims, and keeping the sacred precincts undefiled by unholy feet must have been parts. The Levites who later dwelt here may have been descendants from the ancient line of priests.<sup>12</sup>

2. The worship at the high place appears from a study of the levels to have declined about 1400 B. C. or soon after; but with this decline a second sanctuary probably emerged into prominence.<sup>13</sup> This shows a great advance in architecture over the first shrine. The primitive cave is here developed into a building with a columned portico similar, as Macalister presumes, to the temple of Dagan which Samson wrecked. The temple probably had its "holy of holies" and a special room in which to house its precious metal-covered images. In a long narrow courtyard, south of the portico, there is an alignment forty-four feet long of five pillars. Two pillars appear to be absent in the alignment which originally must have embraced seven. The highest pillar is seven and one-half feet, and the others are of unequal height. In the rear of the building to the east are two circular structures, similar to those at the high

<sup>11</sup> pp. 411 ff.

<sup>12</sup> Josh. 21:21.

<sup>13</sup> Macalister, *EG.*, ii. pp. 406 ff.

place, completely filled with fragments of bones of sheep and of goats. These evidently served as depositories for unconsumed carcasses of sacrificial victims. A sacred eye-amulet and a bronze statuette of a female divinity were found in the fore-court of this temple.<sup>14</sup>

**Megiddo.**<sup>15</sup> 1. Schumacher discovered in the Hebrew level at Megiddo a walled room thirty-nine feet square which, when uncovered, was intersected by a wall dividing the house into two chambers of nearly equal size.<sup>16</sup> In this middle wall were two pillars ranging in height from three feet two inches to two feet six inches, one of which bore the Hebrew letter "L." The other had its top sharpened to a slightly conical form.

2. Another square-cornered building about thirty feet long by thirteen feet wide, with its longitudinal axis nearly north and south, was found situated in an open area measuring one hundred and fifteen feet by one hundred and thirty-one feet.<sup>17</sup> In the midst of the wall, which divided this building into two chambers of equal size, were two great standing stones, which were over seven feet high, and which were separated by a space of over eleven feet. On the west side of one pillar was a cup-mark, and on the east side and on the top of the other were also cups. A stone table, in the top of which was a cup-mark, may possibly have been an altar.

3. Another enclosure, measuring twenty-nine by nineteen and one-half feet, was also discovered at Megiddo. Although it belongs to the Hebrew period<sup>18</sup> yet it may be mentioned for the sake of comparison. In the enclosing wall on two sides are six pillars, of which four bear peculiarly engraved marks; while one, three feet high, is worn by use into an oval shape. Another stone about two feet high gave the appearance of having served as an altar, since it showed traces of fire and bore on its upper surface a cup-mark ten inches wide. All kinds of vessels, an animal form in relief, a phallic emblem, an amulet, and a censer were found in the enclosure, and appear to add evidence of a religious nature.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, iii Pl. cex. 22; cexi. 2.

<sup>15</sup> 1 K. 4:12, &c.

<sup>16</sup> 1000-600 B. C., *MNDPV.*, 1904, pp. 48 ff.; Schumacher, pp. 110 ff.

<sup>17</sup> *MNDPV.* 1904, p. 48; Schumacher, pp. 105 ff.

<sup>18</sup> About 600 B. C. *Ibid.*, pp. 125 ff.

These three supposed cult-places all belong to the Hebrew level, and have been added merely for the sake of comparison with the structure of known high places. It is doubtful if all three of these were places of worship. If they were, each might have served in its generation as an open-air high place, and later its pillars might have been built into a house.

**Sinai.** The temple of Serabit during the 18th and 19th dynasties of Egypt continued to expand along the lines begun in the former period.<sup>19</sup> Now an extensive system of rooms, most of which contained what were probably sacred pillars, succeeded one another from the inner shrine outward. These rooms were covered over with earth so as to resemble the typical sacred cave, which was a primitive dwelling-place of deity. Repairs and additions were made to the older structures including several new pillars that were added to the "shrine of the kings." Worship at this temple waned after the passing of the 19th dynasty.

**Taanach.**<sup>20</sup> 1. In the level dating from 1300-800 B. C. Sellin believes that he has discovered at Taanach a cult-place of no small importance.<sup>21</sup> Two roughly squared pillars, each bearing a cup-mark—one on its side and the other on its top—were found built into the wall of a house. Their respective heights were four and one-half and three and one-half feet. They have been compared with similar stones found in Crete and in Cyprus, with the pillars named Boaz and Jachin standing at the entrance of Solomon's temple, and with the two pillars used in the worship of Melkart of Tyre.<sup>22</sup> The fact that no other remains were found suggestive of worship casts doubt upon these conclusions, although, for the sake of comparison, this "high place" will be allowed to bear its testimony.

2. Also in the Canaanite stratum ten pillars were found arranged in two parallel rows of five each.<sup>23</sup> Sellin compares these with those of the high place at Gezer, believing that he sees here also another place of worship. No cult-objects are mentioned.

<sup>19</sup> Petrie, *RS.*, pp. 97 ff.

<sup>20</sup> *T'-'n'-k'*, Breasted, *ARE.*, ii. § 426. In Issachar, Josh. 17:11, &c. *Mod. Ta'annak*, Baedeker, p. 228.

<sup>21</sup> Sellin, pp. 68 ff.

<sup>22</sup> Herod. ii. 44.

<sup>23</sup> Sellin, p. 104.

## CHAPTER XIX

## THE SANCTUARY AND ITS FURNISHINGS

The early Semitic sanctuary, which consisted of a rough stone pillar set up as an altar under some sacred tree or before some holy spring, developed at the beginning of the Hebrew period into an elaborate sanctuary of no mean proportions. This advanced stage of development, which the multiplicity of cult-objects and of ritual practices certainly implies—could have been reached only by an evolutionary process extending over a long period of years. The sanctity of time-honored shrines and of holy objects would naturally be enhanced through the accumulating traditions of heroes and of ancestors connected with them as supposed founders or as grave-haunting *numina*. Another possible cause for the expansion of the sanctuaries may have been the periodic overlaying of the land by foreign immigrations, or the surging to and fro of the native tribes; for it might be expected that each tribe which made the sanctuary its own would add its peculiar coloring to the cult. However, we shall find ourselves led astray if we admit more than a limited degree of foreign influence as affecting the religion of Canaan and the development of the sanctuary. The native religion of Canaan has always been of that virile, independent type which has suffered little from foreign influence; but which, on the other hand, has contributed largely to the religious conceptions of other nations, as, for instance, to those of Egypt and of Greece.

This expansion of the sanctuary, however it came about, must be recognized as reflecting the religious progress of the Canaanites. The ancient worship of trees, springs, and stones still survived in spite of all the changes that took place, and still contributed no unimportant part to the religious rites of the times. However, certain developments of these cult-objects came about. The sacred tree furnished, as a by-product, the sacred wooden post, or *'asherah*, which object in turn by being carved and adorned with the precious metals probably gave rise to the iconic representation of the deity; while at the same time the holy tree and the *'asherah* through the law

tism continued to receive the same veneration as ever. The sacred cave, now generally too crude for an age of culture, was supplanted by the dark inner shrine of the temple, or adytum; while the temple itself came to assume a substantial character, to provide shelter and protection for the precious cult-objects and trophies; yet, in spite of this new departure, the sacred cave still persisted. Furthermore, the sacred spring, so essential in many primitive shrines, came to be conventionalized in the sacred water of the laver, which was placed at the door of the sanctuary for the purpose of lustration; yet many sacred springs at the same time retained their primitive sanctity. This mingling of the primitive with the cultured elements of religion in Canaanite and in Hebrew times is nothing new. One need only observe the same conditions that are present in any religion and in any country at the present time.

The most usual word to designate the Canaanite sanctuary is *bamah*, "high place," which originally meant any high, rising ground, such as a mountain, hill, or ridge;<sup>1</sup> but, since in ancient times<sup>2</sup> the tops of hills and of mountains were regarded as favorable places of worship, this term became the stereotyped name for all sanctuaries, whether they happened to be on a high place or not. Thus in Canaanite times the *bamah*, or sanctuary,<sup>3</sup> was located not only on hill-tops<sup>4</sup> but also in the valleys, ravines,<sup>5</sup> cities,<sup>6</sup> and even at the gate of a temple.<sup>7</sup>

The general structure of the high place appears from the expressions that describe its manner of erection, such as "to build" or "build again";<sup>8</sup> or its manner of destruction by pious reformers, such as "to demolish," "break down," "take away," "burn and beat to dust."<sup>9</sup> From these one gathers that it must have been an artificially-constructed platform of earth, which was probably held intact by an encircling terrace

<sup>1</sup> See p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 29.

<sup>3</sup> Am. 7:9.

<sup>4</sup> 1 K. 14:23; 2 K. 16:4; 17:10.

<sup>5</sup> Ezek. 6:3.

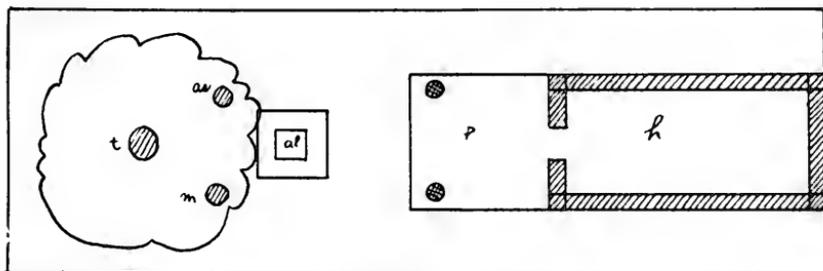
<sup>6</sup> 2 K. 17:9, 29, 32; 23:8; 2 Chr. 28:25.

<sup>7</sup> 2 K. 23:8.

<sup>8</sup> 2 K. 17:9; 21:3, &c.

<sup>9</sup> Num. 33:52; 1 K. 22:43; 2 K. 23:8, 15; IIos. 10:8.

of stones. How large this platform was can only be inferred from the space which the usual holy objects of the sanctuary necessarily required. Thus, space was necessary for the fire-altar which commanded an imposing place beside the holy tree, and for the *maššebah* and the *'asherah* which flanked the altar before the entrance of the temple, and possibly for the temple itself. The accompanying plan seems to fulfil generally the conditions implied in the arrangement of the various holy objects which are frequently mentioned as connected with the high place, and which will be treated in detail later; namely altar,<sup>10</sup> *maššebah*, *'asherah*,<sup>11</sup> tree,<sup>12</sup> temple,<sup>13</sup> and images.<sup>14</sup>



al—altar  
as—'asherah  
m—maššebah

t—tree  
p—porch  
h—temple

The number of the sanctuaries was multitudinous in Hebrew times, and, from the fact that the Hebrews generally adopted them on entering the land, it may be supposed that earlier the number was no less. They existed in all the cities of Israel and Judah, "on every high hill," "under every green tree," in the ravines and in the valleys. Throughout the long period of the Judean monarchy, while the Deuteronomic reform of suppressing the local sanctuaries and of establishing a central sanctuary at Jerusalem progressed, or suffered reaction at the hands

<sup>10</sup> 2 K. 18:22; Is. 36:7; Ezek. 6:6.

<sup>11</sup> 1 K. 14:23; 2 K. 17:10; 18:4.

<sup>12</sup> Jer. 17:2 (text probably corrupt).

<sup>13</sup> 2 K. 17:29, 32.

<sup>14</sup> 2 K. 11:18; 2 Chr. 23:17; Ezek. 6:4, 6; Mic. 1:7.

of good or of bad kings, the high places passed through many vicissitudes of demolition and of reconstruction. This is another evidence of the virile type of the native religion, which flourished for years after the most radical steps of suppression had been championed by the advocates of pure monotheism, whose efforts were backed by the authority of law. While this reform was going on, the persistency with which heathen reactions occurred against the state orthodox religion is well described by the oft-repeated refrain of the writer of Kings that "the high places were not taken away, and the people still sacrificed and burnt incense in the high places."

The tree, which was one of the most primitive sacred objects in the sanctuary,<sup>15</sup> appears to have had an important connection with the Canaanite high place. Whether the oft-repeated phrase "every green tree" associated with a sanctuary, is to be literally interpreted as applying to every tree, or merely to the sacred trees, is difficult to determine. Important considerations would seem to point to the latter alternative, since altar,<sup>16</sup> *'asherah*, *maṣṣebah*,<sup>17</sup> and possibly *bamah*<sup>18</sup> are declared to be under every green tree; while these same sacred objects are at the same time known to be the indispensable adjuncts of every high place. Accordingly it may well be supposed from the clause "upon every high hill and under every green tree"<sup>19</sup> that a holy green tree was an important requisite for every high place, whether located in a valley, in a city, or on a hill. The significance of the sacred tree with its associated rites cannot for this period be distinguished from the primitive conceptions of tree-worship already dealt with in a former chapter.

The *maṣṣebah*. Having considered in a former chapter the *maṣṣebah*<sup>20</sup> in respect to its primitive origin as a *bethel*, or altar, it remains for this period to discover so far as possible its relation to the other cult-objects of the sanctuary, its form, appearance, and possible significance. While the "rock,"

<sup>15</sup> See pp. 21 ff.

<sup>16</sup> Jer. 17:2 (text doubtful); Ezek. 6:13.

<sup>17</sup> 2 K. 17:16.

<sup>18</sup> Cp. Deut. 12:2 with 2 K. 16:4; 2 Chr. 28:4.

<sup>19</sup> Deut. 12:2; Jer. 3:6, 13; cp. 17:2; Ezek. 20:28.

<sup>20</sup> See pp. 34, 35.

“stone,” and “circle” in a few isolated instances continued to exist in several sanctuaries, probably serving the same function as the *maššebah*, it will be sufficient to confine attention to the latter, since it is by far the most commonly-mentioned of all sacred objects of this class belonging to the high place. The meaning of *maššebah* implies that it was something set up, which fact further implies that it was of elongated form. The fact that the single pillars at Beth-el, Ramoth-gilead, and Shechem were of stone justifies the position that all were of that material. The language used with reference to their demolition<sup>21</sup> by the iconoclasts confirms this conclusion. The Old Testament offers no hint relative either to their appearance or size, except that in the latter case the standing pillar at Gibeon is called a “great stone.”<sup>22</sup>

If, then, the *maššebah* was an erect stone of considerable size, such a description fully agrees with the stones uncovered in the excavations. These pillars, wherever found, are of unequal height, and range from five and one-half feet to nearly eleven feet at Gezer,<sup>23</sup> from six to seven feet at Gath,<sup>24</sup> from two and one-half feet to seven feet at Megiddo,<sup>25</sup> and from three and one-half to four and one-half feet at Taanach.<sup>26</sup> In form they are generally elongated, and consist of rough untooled monoliths with thicknesses in fair proportion to their heights. More precisely, some are in cross section roughly rectangular or square, some roughly round or oval, while some are even slightly tool-dressed, as at Megiddo. Especially in the case of those at Gath, and more particularly those at Gezer, the tops of these pillars are of such a rough and pointed character as to preclude the possibility of their having been used as supporting stones in buildings. Doubt about the religious significance of those found at Megiddo and at Taanach has already been expressed.<sup>27</sup> One characteristic feature about many of these

<sup>21</sup> Cp. Ex. 23:24; 34:13; Deut. 7:5; 12:3.

<sup>22</sup> 2 Sam. 20:8.

<sup>23</sup> See pp. 172, 173.

<sup>24</sup> See p. 171.

<sup>25</sup> See p. 175.

<sup>26</sup> See p. 176.

<sup>27</sup> Vincent and Macalister.

pillars, possibly pointing to their having been used for religious purposes, is the existence of cup-marks on several of them. Out of a total of forty pillars found seven bore cup-marks: three having one each at Gezer, two having one each at Taanach, and two having one and two each respectively at Megiddo. All the cups are on lateral surfaces, except two at Megiddo. It is not known, of course, whether these markings were incised prior to the installation of these pillars in the sanctuaries or afterwards, but probably the former was the case.<sup>28</sup>

As has been observed in a former chapter, there was, according to Old Testament evidence, only one *massebah* in the typical Canaanite sanctuary.<sup>29</sup> How then can this representation be harmonized with the number found at Gezer and elsewhere? There were discovered at Gezer in one place ten, and in another, five; at Gath, three; at Taanach, in one place, ten, and in another, two; and at Megiddo, in three different places, two, two, and six respectively. The most obvious explanation is offered by the great high place at Gezer, where the smallest and oldest pillar bears on its top evident signs of having been greatly venerated by kissing. This one may have been *the* sacred pillar, while the other stones may have been set up merely for honorific or symbolic purposes. Such a pillar as this greatly-venerated one at Gezer is conspicuously absent from the other sanctuaries that have been excavated, if such they be. However, another explanation is offered by number seven in the alignment at Gezer, which shows evidence of having been dragged thither, possibly as a trophy from some shrine of a hostile tribe, and made to do homage, like the others in the alignment, to the ba'al of the ancient pillar. The pillars composing the two high places at Gezer and the one at Gath formed an alignment, while those at Taanach formed, in one place, two rows of five each. No prevailing orientation in the alignments has been observed.

According to Hosea, Micah, and the repeated observations of the Deuteronomic and priestly writers, the pillar forms, along with the altar, *'asherah*, and sometimes a tree and a graven

<sup>28</sup> See p. 173.

<sup>29</sup> Cp. "Thou shalt not set up a *massebah*," Lev. 26:1; Deut. 16:22. *Massēbāth* in 2 K. 10:26 should read *'asherah*, since the former could not be burnt, being made of stone.

image, an indispensable feature of the typical Canaanite sanctuary.<sup>30</sup>

Whether the *maṣṣebah* was the exclusive symbol of the masculine, or ba'al, principle of deity, is open to question. There are some considerations that seem to favor the view that some stones at least were the fetishes of goddesses. The word *maṣṣebah* appears in the feminine gender in both the singular and the plural. A feminine conception is favored by Jeremiah's declaration that idolaters "say to a stock, Thou art my father, and to a stone, Thou hast brought me forth."<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, a conical stone, broad at the base and tapering to a point at the top, is referred to by Tacitus as sacred to the Paphian Venus.<sup>32</sup> A cone answering to such a description was found at Idalium. This conical pillar seen by Tacitus has been compared with certain pillars which the king of Egypt set up in Syria, and which Herodotus saw bearing inscriptions and γυναικὸς αἰδοῖα, or a feminine emblem.<sup>33</sup>

On the other hand, the weight of evidence favors the view that the pillar embodied the masculine conception. It is known that a "*maṣṣebah* of ba'al" existed at Samaria<sup>34</sup> where the ba'al-worship later was strongly entrenched.<sup>35</sup> Shechem<sup>36</sup> and Ophrah<sup>37</sup> were centers of the ba'al-cult where sacred stone-fetishes were greatly venerated. Moreover, the masculine significance is observed in the Assyrian *Bait-ili* as the name of a Phoenician god, who evidently took his name from *bethel* the fetish itself; in the Greek *baitulos* for a sacred stone;<sup>38</sup> in the pillars at the entrance of the Temple bearing the masculine names Jachin and

<sup>30</sup> Deut. 7:5; 12:3 (pillar, altar, asherah, and image); Ex. 34:13; 2 Chr. 14:2 (3) (pillar, altar, asherah); Deut. 16:21, 22 (pillar, altar, asherah, tree); 1 K. 14:23; 2 K. 17:10 (pillar, asherah, tree); 2 K. 10:26, 27 (pillar, asherah. Emended text). Mic. 5:12, 13 (13, 14) (pillar, asherah, image); Hos. 3:4 (pillar, altar (sacrifice), image); Hos. 10:1 (pillar, altar); Ex. 23:24; Lev. 26:1 (pillar).

<sup>31</sup> Jer. 2:27.

<sup>32</sup> *Hist.* ii. 3.

<sup>33</sup> II, 106; see p. 12 and note 35.

<sup>34</sup> 2 K. 3:2.

<sup>35</sup> 10:18, &c.

<sup>36</sup> Judg. 9:5, &c.

<sup>37</sup> 6:21, 26.

<sup>38</sup> See p. 33.

Boaz;<sup>39</sup> in the dedication of about two thousand votive-tablets to Baal Hammon at Carthage;<sup>40</sup> and in Old Testament references to Yahweh as the "Rock"<sup>41</sup> and to Joseph, the deified hero of Shechem, as the "Shepherd of the stone of Israel."<sup>42</sup> Some even go so far as to assert that the pillar was a phallic emblem in analogy with the pillar as it developed in Greece where it acquired a head and a phallus.<sup>43</sup> The "figured stones,"<sup>44</sup> which appear to have been common in the high places, and which were rigidly condemned by Hebrew Puritanism, may point to this interpretation, but cannot confirm it.

The ritual of worship which the *maššebah* called forth probably consisted, according to primitive conceptions already mentioned,<sup>45</sup> chiefly in sprinkling the stone with oil and water and probably with blood. The religious act of bowing down to "figured stones" and "bowing the knee to ba'al,"<sup>46</sup> together with the fact that the oldest pillar at Gezer showed signs of wear, seem to favor the idea that the sacred pillar was worshipped by being kissed.

The 'asherah was some sort of a wooden post which in nearly every sanctuary served as an idol. Its origin is doubtless to be traced to the sacred tree, whose sanctity suffered no diminution even after dying; so that its dead trunk, at least in part, was eventually carried to the high place and set up under the holy tree. It was made of different kinds of wood,<sup>47</sup> or holy trees, and could be "cut down" or "hewn down" and "burned with fire."<sup>48</sup> It stood upright, since it is referred to as "set

<sup>39</sup> 1 K. 7:21.

<sup>40</sup> Cooke, p. 104.

<sup>41</sup> See *Šūr*, Chap. XXVIII.

<sup>42</sup> Gen. 49:24 (text corrupt).

<sup>43</sup> Lucian says (*De Syria Dea*, 16) that there were, in the porch of the temple at Hierapolis, two phalli dedicated by Bacchus to Juno. This view is held by Movers, Benzinger (p. 323 ff.), Paton (*BW.*, vol. 36 pp. 26 ff.), but opposed by W. R. Smith (Smith, *RS.*, p. 456) and Kittel (Kittel, p. 128 ff.). Such passages as Is. 57:8; Ezek. 16:17; and Hos. 2:8 are hardly conclusive.

<sup>44</sup> Lev. 26:1 (Ph); Num. 33:52 (P\*).

<sup>45</sup> See pp. 32 ff.

<sup>46</sup> 1 K. 19:18; cp. Ex. 23:24.

<sup>47</sup> Deut. 16:21.

<sup>48</sup> Ex. 34:13; Deut. 7:5; 12:3; Judg. 6:26, 28.

up," or "planted," "cut down" or "hewn down," or "plucked up."<sup>49</sup> Its location was by the side of the fire-altar and the *maššebah* usually under the sacred tree. The one at Ophrah was of sufficient size to furnish fuel for consuming a bullock as a burnt offering.<sup>50</sup>

At first, no doubt, it was a rough unembellished post; but, as time went on, and as a love for the esthetic gradually developed, it came to be "carved," or "made with fingers," into iconic shapes<sup>51</sup> appropriate to embody the conception of the supposed indwelling numen. It is easy to suppose, therefore, that from this sacred post there developed the graven image, which eventually took on the adornments of gold and of silver. Thus the ephod may have developed from the '*asherah*' for it was carved and overlaid, as its name implies, either with gold or with silver. However, the '*asherah*' continued at the same time in its rough primitive form alongside of this later development. Some sort of hangings or garments with which to adorn it were made by the women.<sup>52</sup> A marble post, found at *Rās el-'Ain* by the source of the *Hābūr*, with its top engraved after the likeness of the veiled goddess, has been compared with the old wooden '*asherah*.'<sup>53</sup> One might infer from the strong language of Jeremiah: "Israel committed adultery with stones and stocks,"<sup>54</sup> and from that of Hosea: "My people ask counsel at their stock . . . for the spirit of whoredom hath caused them to err and they have played the harlot,"<sup>55</sup> that the '*asherah*' usually bore some markings emblematic of the sexual life. This inference is further favored by the contempt which the writers both of Kings and of Chronicles<sup>56</sup> felt for this cult-object when they describe the *pesel 'asherah*, "carved image of Asherah," as *miphlešeth la-'asherah*, "a thing-to-shudder-at for

<sup>49</sup> Deut. 7:5; 16:21; Judg. 6:25; 2 K. 17:10; 21:7; Mic. 5:13 (14).

<sup>50</sup> Judg. 6:26.

<sup>51</sup> 1 K. 15:13 = 2 Chr. 15:16; 2 K. 23:4; Is. 17:8; cp. 2 K. 17:16; 21:3.

<sup>52</sup> 2 K. 23:7. Read *בָּתֵּי* "hangings," instead of *בָּתֵּי*, "houses," so Kittel.

<sup>53</sup> Benzinger, p. 326, fig. 245.

<sup>54</sup> 3:9.

<sup>55</sup> 4:12.

<sup>56</sup> 1 K. 15:13 = 2 Chr. 15:16.

(or to) Asherah," thus calling in derision the symbolized deity by the name of the obscene fetish.

The 'asherah was doubtless regarded as a sort of *bethel*, or conventional abode of the deity, and as such was analogous to the pillar. What relation it bore to the sacred tree, by which or under which it usually stood,<sup>57</sup> or to the *maššebah* and the altar, near which it stood, is impossible to say, except that in some way it was consulted for oracles. The rites incident to this consultation can only be imagined. On an Assyrian monument from Khorsābād there is represented an ornamental pole erected beside an altar. Priests are standing and touching the pole in the act of worship, possibly applying some liquid offering to it.<sup>58</sup> W. R. Smith compares this evidence of worship of the sacred pole with the worship of the sacred stump of an erica at Byblus, which, as the myth has it, was wrapped in a linen cloth, anointed with myrrh as a corpse, and presented by Isis to the Byblians; and he suggests that "the rite of draping and anointing a sacred stump" may supply "the answer to the unsolved question of the nature of the ritual practices connected with the Asherah."<sup>59</sup> That some liquid offering was in some way applied to the 'asherah may safely be inferred from the mention of vessels made for its cult.<sup>60</sup>

The 'asherah was probably generally conceived as an embodiment of the feminine conception of deity, although Jeremiah's reference to idolaters' calling "a stock . . . my father"<sup>61</sup> seems to favor a masculine idea. On the other hand, the language of Hosea and Jeremiah cited above; the mention of "to Ashtart in the 'asherah'" as one of the limiting posts of a late Semitic sanctuary;<sup>62</sup> the feminine form of 'asherah itself; as well as its similarity in orthography and in sound to 'Ashtart, the mother-goddess, demand a feminine conception.

There was in all probability only a single 'asherah in each of the high places, if one may be allowed to infer from the usage

<sup>57</sup> Jer. 17:2.

<sup>58</sup> Given in Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, i. p. 461.

<sup>59</sup> Smith, *RS.*, pp. 188n, 191, 192n.

<sup>60</sup> 2 K. 23:4.

<sup>61</sup> 2:27.

<sup>62</sup> Cooke, p. 48; *KAT.*<sup>3</sup>, p. 437n

at Ophrah,<sup>63</sup> Samaria,<sup>64</sup> and Jerusalem.<sup>65</sup> Whenever the plural *'asherim* is mentioned, the language is general and is applicable to all the high places taken in the mass.<sup>66</sup>

The iconoclastic propaganda of the time of Josiah was the first open revolt of pure religion in putting these crude objects under the ban of the law. In accordance with this law it was specifically commanded not to "plant" but to "cut down," "hew down," and "burn with fire" the *'asherim* in the high places.

**Mizbeah**, the Hebrew word for *altar*, meaning "place of slaughter," seems to imply by its etymology that it came first into use in ancient times when the function of the altar was merely to furnish an abode for the deity who was thought to receive through it the blood of sacrificial victims. Burnt-offerings belong to a later and more reflective stage in the development of the idea of sacrifice; but no ritual of burnt-offering invented a distinctive term expressive of its own nature to supplant the already-existing name that grew out of a more primitive type of offering. This primitive use of the altar, involving the dedication of rocks, pillars, and stones in nature-worship, has already been dealt with.<sup>67</sup> It is perhaps sufficient here to remark that the primitive practice of sprinkling blood on stone altars or on pillars still went on; but by its side the offering by fire appeared in a flourishing condition in the earliest period of Hebrew history, which fact proves the rite to be indigenous to the soil. The command in the oldest legal code proscribing the use of altars of tool-dressed stones with ascending steps<sup>68</sup> reveals a conservative reaction against the refined type of altars prevailing in Canaan. According to the primitive conception, the rough stone, or upright pillar, was the "altar," and at the same time the abode of the deity. To touch that abode with a tool was thought to injure the indwelling deity, and to ascend it by steps was regarded as uncovering the naked-

<sup>63</sup> Judg. 6:25, 28.

<sup>64</sup> 1 K. 15:13; 16:33; 2 K. 13:6; 17:16.

<sup>65</sup> 2 K. 21:3, 7; 23:4-15.

<sup>66</sup> Deut. 7:5, &c.

<sup>67</sup> See pp. 32 ff.

<sup>68</sup> Ex. 20:25, 26; Deut. 27:5, 6; Josh. 8:30, 31.

ness of the offerer to the deity below. Then, too, it may be supposed that the altar of which Yahweh approved was built of unhewn stones in contrast to the Canaanite altar of tool-dressed stones. This Canaanite type of altar, used especially for fire-offerings, plainly was not conceived of as the dwelling-place of a ba'al, but merely as a conventional stone-table on which to offer sacrifices in the presence of the deity who was embodied in the pillar, *'asherah*, or holy tree, or was symbolized by them. When consideration is taken of the high stage of civilization attained by the Canaanites, as shown both by pottery and by other remains in the excavations and by their early history, it is reasonable to expect to find a more highly developed system of offerings for this period than that possessed by the incoming Hebrews.

The language that describes the altar's construction—viz., to "build," "make," and "rear up"<sup>69</sup>—and that describes its demolition—viz., to "break down," "rend," and "throw down"<sup>70</sup>—clearly implies that the stones were laid one on top the other. The stones were probably so placed as to form a two-terraced stone structure with a hollow center for an earth filling.<sup>71</sup> The central terrace, apparently about the height of a man, served as the place where the offering was consumed, while the lower surrounding terrace served as a standing-place for the priests. Such an altar with steps meets the demands of the expression "go up unto" and "bring down from."<sup>72</sup> There were horns<sup>73</sup> attached in some way to the altar, probably projecting out from each of the four corners. The purpose of these horns is unknown, except that on occasions penitent suppliants laid hold on them in seeking the protection of the deity.<sup>74</sup>

The altar evidently occupied a central position with respect to the other objects of the sanctuary. On the one hand, it stood in most cases beside or under the sacred tree<sup>75</sup> near the *'asherah*;<sup>76</sup> and, on the other hand, at least in the case of the

<sup>69</sup> Gen. 8:20; 35:1, 3; 2 Sam. 24:18.

<sup>70</sup> Deut. 7:5; 1 K. 13:5; 18:30; 19:10, 14.

<sup>71</sup> Soil implied for the growth of thistles, Hos. 10:8.

<sup>72</sup> 1 Sam. 2:28; 1 K. 1:53; 12:32; cp. Am. 9:1.

<sup>73</sup> Jer. 17:1, 2; Am. 3:14.

<sup>74</sup> 1 K. 1:50, 51; 2:28; cp. Ex. 21:14.

<sup>75</sup> Deut. 16:21; Jer. 17:2.

<sup>76</sup> Deut. 16:21; Judg. 6:19, 24.

one at Beth-el, a few paces from the front entrance of the temple.<sup>77</sup> The altar at Beth-el obviously stood before the bull-image,<sup>78</sup> which indicates that the latter, for the purpose of shelter, stood under the porch.

In the time of Hosea,<sup>79</sup> and undoubtedly earlier, there were as many altars in the land as there were places of worship. Offerings by fire were made "upon altars in all the high places."<sup>80</sup> Their number in the time of Jeremiah equalled that of the streets of Jerusalem.<sup>81</sup> It is definitely known that fire-altars existed at fourteen different Canaanite sanctuaries,<sup>82</sup> at many of which the more primitive type of altar, the stone fetish, continued to be worshipped in the primitive way. Because of the nature of its construction no fire-altar would be likely to survive to the present time, even if it escaped the notice of zealous reformers. Accordingly, no altar of this type has as yet been discovered in the excavations. The "altars" found at Megiddo<sup>83</sup> do not answer these conditions.

Every high place where sacrifices were made probably had a refuse depository for the disposal of the unconsumed animal sacrifices after the analogy of the depositories found at Gezer,<sup>84</sup> possibly at Megiddo,<sup>85</sup> and in the celebrated hypogeum of Mycenae.<sup>86</sup>

Every high place had also its laver or lavers which were placed at the entrances of shrines to hold the sacred water for purposes of ablution. It is probable that this object in its most primitive conception was essentially a receptacle for holding

<sup>77</sup> Am. 9:1.

<sup>78</sup> 1 K. 12:32; cp. Ex. 32:5.

<sup>79</sup> Hos. 8:11; 10:1.

<sup>80</sup> 2 K. 16:4.

<sup>81</sup> Jer. 11:13.

<sup>82</sup> *Bamath-ba'al*, Num. 22:41; *Rosh ha-Pe'or*, 23:28, 29; 24:1, 2; *Beth-'el*, 1 K. 13:1 ff.; *Gib'on*, 1 K. 3:4, 15. *hag-Gilgal*, Hos. 12:12 (11); *Har Sinay-Horeb*, Ex. 24:4. *Har Karmel*, 1 K. 18:30 ff.; *Kiryath-ha-'arba'*, Gen. 13:18. *'Ophrah*, Judg. 6:26; *Rosh hap-Pisgah*, Num. 23:14; *ha-Ramah*, 1 Sam. 7:17; Hos. 5:8; *Shekem*, Gen. 22:9; see p. 202, note 27; *Yerū-Shalaim*, 2 Sam. 24:25.

<sup>83</sup> See p. 175.

<sup>84</sup> Macalister, *BSL.*, p. 71; see pp. 173, 174.

<sup>85</sup> Sellin, pp. 51, 62, 90.

<sup>86</sup> Vincent, p. 120.

the water of some sacred spring. At first it was probably worshipped as a conventional holy spring, its waters being regarded as possessing healing and divining powers; but, as time went on, it came to be explained as another means of rendering the worshipper ceremonially "clean" prior to his entrance to the sanctuary and his participation in the functions of worship. The temple in the Wady Serabit el-Khadém in the Sinaitic peninsula had at least four lavers, which were arranged in a series extending from the outer to the innermost shrine, thereby indicating repeated acts of washings.<sup>87</sup> Solomon's temple had ten lavers, five at each front corner of the temple.<sup>88</sup> One thick-rimmed stone receptacle, found in the high place at Gezer, probably served this same purpose.<sup>89</sup>

The image. Iconic representations of the deity found on Canaanite soil by the immigrant Hebrews could not have been of sudden origin, but must have passed through a series of developments extending through centuries. To fill the gap between the ancient primitive rough stone or wooden fetish and the graven or molten image, years of reflection on the nature of the deity were necessary. As civilization and a love for the esthetic developed there was created a desire for a more refined symbol of the deity than existed in the pillar or the sacred post; and this desire led, as we may suppose, to crude attempts at carving anthropoid and possibly animal features on the sacred post. Other attempts followed until there resulted the finished product in the carved image overlaid with precious metals. Probably a more definite and impelling motive than simply a love for the esthetic led to their production. This motive grew out of the notion that an image modelled after the conception of the deity offered the greatest invitation to the *numen* to come and dwell within it so as to be within easy approach of the worshippers. In the course of time there was a divergence, probably due to different conceptions of deity, in the forms which the image took. Thus, three or four special forms demand consideration, namely, the carved image, the teraphim, the ephod, and the cast image.

<sup>87</sup> Petrie, *RS.*, p. 105.

<sup>88</sup> 1 K. 7:30, 38, 39, 43.

<sup>89</sup> See p. 173.

The **carved image** is represented by the Hebrew words, *pasil* and *pesel*. *Pasil* may be the older and the cruder species, since in no case has any Old Testament writer observed that it embodied any particular human or animal form. For that reason—though this is only an inference from silence—it may have been a lateral development of the *'asherah*, being made of wood, and being capable of being torn down and burnt.<sup>90</sup> Eventually its carved form came to be overlaid with precious metals.<sup>91</sup> Its importance in the high place must be inferred from the frequent mention of it along with the other indispensable objects such as *massebah*, altar, and *'asherah*.<sup>92</sup> The *pasil* symbolized, if it did not actually represent, the presence of the deity<sup>93</sup> in whose honor sacrifices and fire-offerings were made.<sup>94</sup> Images of this sort existed in many sanctuaries, at least in that of Gilgal,<sup>95</sup> and in later times in those of Samaria and of Jerusalem.<sup>96</sup>

*Pesel*, being derived from the same root as *pasil*, may be merely a verbal variation, if not a later development of it. The *pesel* was fashioned by the hands of skilled craftsmen from cedar, holm, oak, or fir timber<sup>97</sup> into images representing the forms of the human male and female and of beasts.<sup>98</sup> The finest product of its kind was overlaid with gold and silver,<sup>99</sup> and, when installed in a shrine, received the homage paid to gods expressed in terms of obeisance and prayer.<sup>100</sup> With the exception that the *pesel* is frequently mentioned with the cast image as a condemned idol, there is no hint that it found a place alongside of well-known holy objects, which fact may point to its use being limited wholly to private shrines.<sup>101</sup>

<sup>90</sup> Deut. 7:5, 25; 12:3.

<sup>91</sup> Deut. 7:25; Is. 30:22.

<sup>92</sup> Deut. 7:5; 12:3; 2 Chr. 33:19; 34:3, 4, 7; Mic. 5:12, 13 (13, 14).

<sup>93</sup> Deut. 7:25.

<sup>94</sup> Hos. 11:2; cp. 2 Chr. 33:19.

<sup>95</sup> Judg. 3:19.

<sup>96</sup> Is. 10:10.

<sup>97</sup> Deut. 27:15; Is. 40:19, 20; 44:9-17.

<sup>98</sup> Deut. 4:16, 17; 5:8; Is. 44:13.

<sup>99</sup> Judg. 17:3, 4; Jer. 10:14.

<sup>100</sup> Ex. 20:5; Deut. 5:9; Is. 44:15, 17.

<sup>101</sup> Cp. Is. 44:13.

Etymologically *massekah*, "cast image," means something "poured," hence an image that was made by casting in a mould. It was made of gold or of silver,<sup>102</sup> and required the skill of the craftsman who fashioned the casting into its final form with an engraving tool.<sup>103</sup> The bulls of Beth-el<sup>104</sup> and of Dan<sup>105</sup> were of this type, and, because of their small size, were called "calves." Other forms than that of the bull are not definitely known from the Old Testament; but it appears probable that some of the forms mentioned in Deuteronomy—for instance, birds, fish, and creeping things—were of this type, although they are classed with carved images under the generic term *pesel*.<sup>106</sup> The serpent-image of brass at Jerusalem was probably of this sort.<sup>107</sup> Although its use was forbidden by the earliest Hebrew law,<sup>108</sup> yet this kind of image does not appear to have been found generally at the sanctuaries.<sup>109</sup> The case of the bulls is unique; but even these may not have been of the purely "cast" type, since the language used with reference to their destruction implies that they could be "splintered."<sup>110</sup> The ritual expressing the homage paid to the bull-image consisted of offering sacrifice before the image<sup>111</sup> and kissing it.<sup>112</sup>

The *'ephōd* appears to have been some sort of a portable image which was consulted for oracles by some means of divination.<sup>113</sup> Since the word *'ephōd* is derived from a root meaning "covering," it may safely be inferred that the image had a heart of wood. Over the wood silver, or gold, was laid, seventeen hundred shekels of the latter being used in making the one at Ophrah.<sup>114</sup> It was "set up" as an idol and stood, probably like the one at Nob, free from the wall.<sup>115</sup> Hosea men-

<sup>102</sup> Ex. 32:4; 1 K. 12:28; Is. 30:22; Hos. 13:2.

<sup>103</sup> Ex. 32:4; Deut. 27:15; Hos. 8:6; 13:2.

<sup>104</sup> 1 K. 12:28 ff.; Hos. 8:5 f.; 10:5; 13:2.

<sup>105</sup> 1 K. 12:28 ff.

<sup>106</sup> Deut. 4:17, 18.

<sup>107</sup> 2 K. 18:4 f.

<sup>108</sup> Ex. 34:17.

<sup>109</sup> Only in 2 Chr. 34:3, 4.

<sup>110</sup> Hos. 13:2.

<sup>111</sup> Ex. 32:4-6.

<sup>112</sup> Hos. 13:2.

<sup>113</sup> Is. 30:22, see p. 45.

<sup>114</sup> Judg. 8:26, 27.

<sup>115</sup> 1 Sam. 21:9.

tions the ephod along with sacrifice, pillar, and teraphim as serving an important religious function in his day.<sup>116</sup>

The teraphim usually appears in close connection with ephod as an image to be consulted for oracles.<sup>117</sup> There was one in the house of Michal, which apparently was fashioned in human form, and was about the size of a man.<sup>118</sup> Smaller ones were probably made of precious metals.<sup>119</sup>

To sum up, then, we may say that the *pasil*, *massekah*, 'ephöd, and *teraphim* were common objects of worship in the sanctuaries; that *pesel* and *teraphim* were made in human form and *pesel* and *massekah* in animal forms; and that each one was regarded as a god, or at least as his symbolized presence. The expressions "appear before Yahweh"<sup>120</sup> and "bread of the face"<sup>121</sup> must find their ultimate origin in the respective customs of appearing before an image of the deity and setting some offering of bread before it.

Furthermore, without any assignment to the classification above, we have reference to images fashioned in the human form in a silver statue of beaten work, perhaps a god, taken as spoil by Thutmose III;<sup>122</sup> in the statue of Dagon having head and hands;<sup>123</sup> and in an image of Amon placed by Ramses III in a temple of his own building in the land of Zahi.<sup>124</sup> Perhaps the numerous representations of 'Ashtart found in the excavations may have been copies of larger images which were used particularly in the sanctuary. The smaller ones would be used in private shrines and for votive offerings.<sup>125</sup> The forms of the bull, the serpent, and the lion appear likewise to have been reproduced in small votive images that are found in the excavations,<sup>126</sup> or that are represented in art motives.<sup>127</sup>

<sup>116</sup> Hos. 3:4.

<sup>117</sup> Ezek. 21:26 (21); Hos. 3:4; Zech. 10:2.

<sup>118</sup> 1 Sam. 19:13.

<sup>119</sup> Gen. 31:19, 34, 35.

<sup>120</sup> Ex. 23:17; Deut. 16:16; 31:11.

<sup>121</sup> 2 Sam. 21:7 (6).

<sup>122</sup> Breasted, *ARE.*, ii. § 436.

<sup>123</sup> 1 Sam. 5:4.

<sup>124</sup> Breasted, *ARE.*, iv. § 219.

<sup>125</sup> See "Votive Offerings," Chap. XXI.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>127</sup> Bull-images under the molten sea (1 K. 7:25) and lions on the steps of Solomon's throne (10:20).

Some august ceremony, in which an image of a god was carried in a procession, seems to be indicated in the words:

“Ye have borne the *Sakkūth* of your king and the *Kēwan* of your images.”<sup>128</sup>

The **Temple**. In the cities of Samaria, and undoubtedly in those of Judah also, were enclosures connected with the high places called “temples,” or “houses of the high places,”<sup>129</sup> which probably came into existence to meet the demands of an expanding ritual system. The images of the gods required housing for security from robbers, since the idols were usually wrought out of precious metals, and since the priests needed apartments for dwellings. The buildings at Jerusalem, Shiloh,<sup>130</sup> Gezer,<sup>131</sup> Gath,<sup>132</sup> and Megiddo<sup>133</sup> were built of stone, so that it may be supposed that the others were also. In the main room of the temple probably stood the images, as did the ephod at Nob<sup>134</sup> and at Dan,<sup>135</sup> the ark at Shiloh,<sup>136</sup> the statue of Amon in his temple in the land of Zahi,<sup>137</sup> the image of Dagon at Ashdod,<sup>138</sup> and the molten bulls at Beth-el<sup>139</sup> and Dan.<sup>140</sup> Whether the *lishkah*, “hall,” was originally the main room or an adjoining room is not known; at any rate, such a hall, or chamber, was a part of the temple at Ramah<sup>141</sup> and at Jerusalem,<sup>142</sup> and apparently was used for banqueting purposes on festal occasions; since in the one at Ramah the sacrificial meal was eaten, and in the one at Jerusalem wine was drunk. Apartments for priests in the sanctuaries, like those at Shiloh and at

<sup>128</sup> Am. 5:26.

<sup>129</sup> 1 K. 13:2, 32; 2 K. 17:32; 23:19.

<sup>130</sup> 1 Sam. 1:10; 3:2 ff.

<sup>131</sup> See p. 174.

<sup>132</sup> See p. 171.

<sup>133</sup> See p. 175.

<sup>134</sup> 1 Sam. 21:10 (9).

<sup>135</sup> Judg. 18:18, 30, 31.

<sup>136</sup> 1 Sam. 3:3.

<sup>137</sup> Breasted, *ARE.*, iv. § 219.

<sup>138</sup> 1 Sam. 5:4.

<sup>139</sup> 1 K. 12:28 ff.; Hos. 8:5; 13:2.

<sup>140</sup> 1 K. 12:28 ff.

<sup>141</sup> 1 Sam. 9:22.

<sup>142</sup> Jer. 35:2.

Nob, must be assumed. Besides the temples already mentioned, there was a temple at Gubula,<sup>143</sup> one at Ashkelon,<sup>144</sup> one at Dibon,<sup>145</sup> one at Shechem,<sup>146</sup> and, to infer from proper names, one each in probably as many as twenty-four other places.<sup>147</sup>

The **Stronghold**. Connected with many sanctuaries there was probably a stronghold which served as a place of asylum for fugitives seeking the protection of the deity. Such were the six cities of refuge<sup>148</sup> and probably two other cities whose names reveal a theophorous element and the existence of a tower or of a stronghold.<sup>149</sup> A *ṣarīah* was in some way attached to the house of Ba'al-berith in the tower of Shechem,<sup>150</sup> while on the top of a *ma'ōz* at Ophrah an altar was built.<sup>151</sup> It is not clearly known what these words mean, but perhaps "stronghold" will best meet the conditions of the respective contexts.<sup>152</sup> Yahweh is often called a *ma'ōz*.<sup>153</sup> Since Shechem was a city of refuge, the *ṣarīah* to which the men of Shechem fled for asylum from their enemies may be that holy place of safety which was peculiar to all the six cities of refuge.

<sup>143</sup> Knudtzon, 137:60 ff.

<sup>144</sup> 1 Sam. 31:9.

<sup>145</sup> *PEFQS.*, 1913, p. 74.

<sup>146</sup> Judg. 9:46 f.

<sup>147</sup> Cp. large number of place-names having *Bēth* "temple," as a first element. Cp. also *Heklaim*, "two temples," Müller, in *MFG.*, 1907, p. 25. There was probably a temple at *Laish*, Judg. 18:27 ff.

<sup>148</sup> Beser, Golan, Kedesh, Hebron, Ramoth-gilead, Shechem, Deut. 4:43; Josh. 20:7 f.

<sup>149</sup> *Migdal-el*, Josh. 19:38; *Migdal-Gad*, 15:37; *Sephath*, "watch tower," Judg. 1:17.

<sup>150</sup> 9:46.

<sup>151</sup> 6:26.

<sup>152</sup> See Moore, *Judges*, pp. 192, 266.

<sup>153</sup> Ps. 27:1; 31:5 (4); Jer. 16:19; Nah. 1:7, &c.

## CHAPTER XX

## SACRED OBJECTS FOR PRIVATE USE

The practice, already begun in the early period, of representing the gods in iconic form for private use assumed at about the close of this period great proportions. The first feeble efforts of the early Semites to add other human features to crude objects of stone, already resembling in the natural state the anthropoid form, issued finally through the infusion of Egyptian and Cypriote influences in producing distinctive works of art. At the same time that this industry went on in the hands of skilled artisans, who usually made images in moulds, the crude objects of the amateur continued to be made from stone objects representing probably the human form.<sup>1</sup>

Expensive idols appear to have been made skilfully at an early date; for, even in the time of Thutmose III, mention is made of two statues taken as spoil, one of silver, and the other of lapis lazuli,<sup>2</sup> which were evidently idols. Akizzi's image of Shamash taken by the Hittites<sup>3</sup> must have been made of precious material to require gold for its ransom. No images of gold and silver have been found in the excavations; but many made of clay, terracotta, and bronze have come to light. A remarkable bronze image of the nude goddess about four inches high, found at Gezer in the early Hebrew level, had a tenon on the bottom to fit into a mortice; which undoubtedly suggests, in connection with over thirty lamps, many plates, saucers, jugs, and bowls found with it, that this was part of a shrine and constituted its most precious object.<sup>4</sup> For the same purpose as these undoubtedly were the foreign gods which Jacob buried under the tree at Shechem,<sup>5</sup> the household teraphim which Laban,<sup>6</sup> Michal,<sup>7</sup> and many others<sup>8</sup> had, and the images which

<sup>1</sup> Macalister, *EG.*, ii. pp. 421 ff.; *ibid.*, ccxxii, ccxxiii.

<sup>2</sup> Breasted, *ARE.*, ii. § 436.

<sup>3</sup> Knudtzon, 55:53 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Macalister, *EG.*, ii. pp. 419 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Gen.* 35:4.

<sup>6</sup> 31:19, 34.

<sup>7</sup> 1 *Sam.* 19:13, 16.

<sup>8</sup> 2 *K.* 23:24.

the Philistines abandoned on the battlefield.<sup>9</sup> The conclusion is justified, therefore, that iconic representations of the gods were commonly made for individual use in private shrines; and from this it may be supposed that at some stage in the development—probably when they began to take on the most ornamental features—these images were installed in the public sanctuaries. In the case of Micah's ephod<sup>10</sup> at least the private idol falls into the hands of a robbing tribe who put it into their own public sanctuary at Dan.

The most common images found in the excavations at Taanach,<sup>11</sup> Megiddo,<sup>12</sup> Gath,<sup>13</sup> Lachish,<sup>14</sup> Gezer,<sup>15</sup> and Beth-shelesh<sup>16</sup> represented 'Ashtart. These images were made of terracotta and clay, the latter preponderating, especially in the shape of plaques in low relief. These strikingly emphasize the sexual and maternal features of the goddess of love, being generally of nude form with prominent hips and breasts, and hands either outstretched or placed on the breasts. The prevailing type shows a strong Egyptian influence, since 'Ashtart is pictured with the head-dress, or wig, and the adornments of Hathor, the Egyptian goddess of love. Some specimens represent her as pregnant, others as playing on a tambourine, and still others as holding lotus flowers and a serpent, which emblems may stand for the charm and the peril of her cult. These images were most numerous in the levels corresponding to 1000 B. C., or about two hundred years after the Hebrews entered the land, and were found with lessening frequency from that point back to about 1600 B. C., and forward to about 800 B. C. Another type of image, that of the *dea nutrix*, both in the Cypriote pillar<sup>17</sup> and in the Ashtartoid vase,<sup>18</sup> appeared at Gezer after 1000 B. C. and gradually superseded the plaque.

The significance of these images of 'Ashtart for the religion

<sup>9</sup> 2 Sam. 5:21.

<sup>10</sup> Judg. 18:31.

<sup>11</sup> Sellin, p. 106.

<sup>12</sup> Schumacher, pp. 59, 63, 68, 89.

<sup>13</sup> Bliss and Macal., p. 39, plate 79, Nos. 10-12.

<sup>14</sup> Bliss, pp. 60, 68.

<sup>15</sup> Macalister, *EG.*, ii. pp. 411 ff.

<sup>16</sup> *PEFA.*, ii. p. 54.

<sup>17</sup> Macalister, *EG.*, ii. p. 417.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 419 ff.

of the Canaanites is very great. It shows not only what a great rôle the sexual element played in religion, but furnishes also adequate grounds, even if no other existed, for the summary denunciation of the prophets and of later reformers who exposed these works of men's hands<sup>19</sup> to ridicule and branded them as abominations.<sup>20</sup>

Further evidence of the worship of the sexual element comes from the widespread use of the phallic emblems, which were probably worshipped for the fruitfulness which they were thought to impart. Similar practices prevailed, at one time at least, in Babylonia<sup>21</sup> and prevail even to-day in Palestine and in India. Such emblems were found at Sinai,<sup>22</sup> Megiddo,<sup>23</sup> and by the basketful at Gezer in the level of the great high place whither they were probably brought as votive offerings to some deity of fecundity.<sup>24</sup>

Besides the human, many animal forms appear in nearly all the *tells*; which fact, together with the sacredness with which the Canaanites regarded many of the animals, perhaps as totems, adds another chapter to the religion of the Canaanites. Some of these forms may be explained as art motives; but even art motives in their ultimate source spring from the soil of religious conceptions. The various animals represented in iconic form that have been found in the excavations, or that are known from other sources are the cow,<sup>25</sup> goat,<sup>26</sup> sheep,<sup>27</sup> horse,<sup>28</sup> camel,<sup>29</sup> lion,<sup>30</sup> dog,<sup>31</sup> donkey,<sup>32</sup> monkey,<sup>33</sup> mouse,<sup>34</sup> serpent,<sup>35</sup> hawk,<sup>36</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Jer. 1:16; 10:3, 9; 25:6, 7, 14; Hos. 14:3, &c.

<sup>20</sup> Very frequent, cp. Ezek. 7:20.

<sup>21</sup> Tello, Zurghul, El Hibba, Warka, Nippur, Peters, *Nippur*, ii. p. 236.

<sup>22</sup> Petrie, *RS.*, p. 135.

<sup>23</sup> Schumacher, pp. 53.

<sup>24</sup> Macalister, *EG.*, ii. p. 446.

<sup>25</sup> Petrie, *RS.*, p. 137; Macalister, *EG.*, ii. pp. 2-6; Bliss and Macal., p. 137.

<sup>26</sup> Breasted, *ARE.*, ii. § 509; cp. 2 Chr. 11:15; Macalister, *EG.* ii. pp. 6 ff.

<sup>27</sup> Macalister, *EG.*, ii. pp. 6 ff.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 9 ff.

<sup>29</sup> Bliss and Macal. p. 137; Macalister, *EG.*, ii. p. 9.

<sup>30</sup> Schumacher, pp. 88, 89; Breasted, *ARE.*, ii. § 509.

<sup>31</sup> Bliss and Macal. pp. 137, 342.

<sup>32</sup> Macalister, *EG.*, ii. p. 8.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17; Schumacher, pp. 84, 89, 90.

and dove.<sup>37</sup> There is little wonder, then, in view of the manufacture and worship of these animal forms, that a strict prohibition appears in the Deuteronomic Decalogue commanding, "Thou shalt not make unto thee a graven image, nor the likeness of any form that is in the heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth: thou shalt not bow down thyself unto them, nor serve them."<sup>38</sup>

A pottery model of a shrine about eight inches long, having a quaint seated figure and a small vat—the latter probably for ablution purposes—on each side, was found at Gezer in the early Canaanite level.<sup>39</sup> The blackened base showed that it had been used. Perhaps some image once stood in or back of it, and supplied a religious need in some household.

The excavated levels that correspond to this period reveal besides images a large number of amulets in the form of scarabs, concretions, fossils, perforated femur-head bones called "spindle whorls," pendants, and boar's tusks.<sup>40</sup> Egyptian influence accounts for the greatly extended use of scarabs and of many other amulets, but this fact lessens in no wise their importance for the native religion. It was and always has been customary for primitive people to wear on their persons all sorts of charms for the purpose of warding off the evil eye and of inviting the influence of beneficent spirits. Many of the images and plaques of 'Ashtart reveal signs of bracelets, anklets, neck-beads, and pendants; which fact proves that these things were commonly worn. In early Hebrew times it was customary for the Hebrews<sup>41</sup> and the Ishmaelite warriors to wear earrings, and for the camels to wear crescents and pendants suspended by chains from the neck.<sup>42</sup> It was the proper thing, when worshipping the ba'als in the time of Hosea, for the worshippers to deck themselves with nose-rings and jewels.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>34</sup> 1 Sam. 6:5, 11.

<sup>35</sup> Macalister, *EG.*, ii. p. 399.

<sup>36</sup> Schumacher, p. 50.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 40; Bliss and Macal. p. 137.

<sup>38</sup> Ex. 20:4, 5; Deut. 4:15-19.

<sup>39</sup> Macalister, *EG.*, ii. p. 437; cp. other objects, iii. cliv, 9, 13.

<sup>40</sup> Macalister, *EG.*, ii. pp. 71 ff.; 449 ff.; Sellin, p. 111.

<sup>41</sup> Gen. 35:4; Schumacher, pp. 84, 88, 90.

<sup>42</sup> Judg. 8:21, 24-26.

<sup>43</sup> Hos. 2:15 (13).

## CHAPTER XXI

## OFFERINGS

In determining the extent and character of the Canaanite ritual of offering we are, to a large extent, dependent on practices in vogue during the early Hebrew period. It is apparent at once that the task of differentiating between those rites which were distinctively Canaanite and those which were peculiarly Hebrew is a difficult, if not an impossible, one. However, if early Hebrew literature and known Canaanite survivals be used as the basis of inquiry, the task will not be so formidable. It must be recognized at the start that the Hebrews could have had only a simple and primitive system of offerings prior to their residence in Canaan, and that even these rites partook of the same fundamental Semitic type as the Canaanite offerings. Moreover, since the Hebrews generally adopted the local high places when they settled in Canaan, and worshipped the ba'als down to the reformation of Josiah, it is to be taken for granted that the ritual of offering by which these ba'als were worshipped in their respective sanctuaries was also taken over from the Canaanites into the religion of Yahweh.

The material of offering may be divided into four classes, namely, animal, vegetable, human, and votive. Of these the animal offering was probably the most important on account of its antiquity, since it was the product of the nomadic life which antedated the agricultural. It may be supposed from later Hebrew conceptions that only clean animals, or those which were not taboo by being totems, and only those which were used for food made up the list of sacrificial animals. Perhaps the most direct evidence that animals were used as offerings comes from the excavations at Gath and at Gezer, where in the sanctuary of each place the refuse of animal bones was found. At Gath<sup>1</sup> the bones were those of the camel, sheep, and cow; at Gezer,<sup>2</sup> those of the sheep, cow, deer, and goat. In the pre-prophetic

<sup>1</sup> Bliss and Macal., p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 174.

period of Israel's history the animals which appear to have been offered in sacrifice were the bull,<sup>3</sup> cow,<sup>4</sup> calf,<sup>5</sup> and heifer<sup>6</sup> of the herd;<sup>7</sup> the ram,<sup>8</sup> he-lamb,<sup>9</sup> she-lamb,<sup>10</sup> he-goat,<sup>11</sup> she-goat,<sup>12</sup> and kid<sup>13</sup> of the flock;<sup>14</sup> and the turtle-dove.<sup>15</sup> In Phoenicia and Cyprus the kid and the sheep were sacred to Aphrodite. Here the boar was also sacrificed. Those parts of the animal in which the deity was thought most to delight were the blood,<sup>16</sup> the fat,<sup>17</sup> and sometimes even the broth of boiled meat.<sup>18</sup>

The products of agriculture, such as grain,<sup>19</sup> meal,<sup>20</sup> bread,<sup>21</sup> raisin cakes,<sup>22</sup> wine,<sup>23</sup> and oil,<sup>24</sup> which were due the *ba'als*, were thought to be required also as offerings to Yahweh.

An offering at Gezer in which the human victim served as the sacrifice may be inferred from the case of a girl about eighteen years old<sup>25</sup> whose body had evidently been barbarously severed at the waist, and the upper part of it deposited in a cis-

<sup>3</sup> *par*, Ex. 24:5; Num. 23:1, &c.; Judg. 6:25, &c.; 1 Sam. 1:24; 1 K. 18:23; Is. 1:11; Hos. 14:3 (2).

<sup>4</sup> *parah*, 1 Sam. 6:14.

<sup>5</sup> *egel*, Mic. 6:6.

<sup>6</sup> *eglah*, Gen. 15:9; Deut. 21:3.

<sup>7</sup> *bakar*, Ex. 20:24; Num. 22:40; 2 Sam. 24:22; 1 K. 1:9; 8:5; 19:21. *shōr*, Judg. 6:25; 2 Sam. 6:13; 1 K. 1:19; Hos. 12:11 (12).

<sup>8</sup> *'ail*, Gen. 15:9; 22:13; 31:38; Num. 23:1; 1 Sam. 15:22; Is. 1:11.

<sup>9</sup> *kebes*, Is. 1:11.

<sup>10</sup> *kabsah*, Gen. 21:28, 29.

<sup>11</sup> *'attūd*, Is. 1:11.

<sup>12</sup> *'ez*, Gen. 15:9.

<sup>13</sup> *gedī*, 1 Sam. 10:3; Judg. 6:19; 13:15, 19.

<sup>14</sup> *šōn*, Gen. 4:2; Ex. 20:24; Num. 22:40; 1 Sam. 14:32, 34, &c.; 1 K. 1:19.

<sup>15</sup> Gen. 15:9.

<sup>16</sup> Ex. 24:5 ff.; Deut. 12:15, 16, 27; 15:22, 23; 1 Sam. 14:32-34; 2 Sam. 23:17; Ps. 16:4.

<sup>17</sup> Deut. 32:37 f.; 1 Sam. 2:15; 15:22.

<sup>18</sup> Judg. 6:20.

<sup>19</sup> Deut. 12:17; 14:23; 18:4.

<sup>20</sup> 1 Sam. 1:24.

<sup>21</sup> 1 Sam. 10:3; 21:5-7 (4-6); 1 K. 7:48; Hos. 9:4; Am. 4:5.

<sup>22</sup> Hos. 3:1.

<sup>23</sup> 1 Sam. 1:24; 10:3; Deut. 12:17; 14:23; 18:4; 32:38; Judg. 9:13; Hos. 9:4; Am. 2:8.

<sup>24</sup> Gen. 28:18; 35:14; Deut. 12:17; 14:23; 18:4; Mic. 6:7.

<sup>25</sup> Macalister, *EG.*, ii. p. 429.

tern on top of fifteen adults who apparently had met death by a single catastrophe, such as an epidemic. Outside, at the mouth of the cistern, the skulls of two young girls—evidently beheaded—were also found. These facts justify Macalister in hazarding the conclusion that here are signs that human victims were sacrificed to propitiate some vengeful, destroying demon. Several cases of human sacrifice which occurred in the early Hebrew times are undoubtedly to be attributed to the lingering influence of Canaanite religion which required a human victim on occasions. The custom of offering yearly a virgin at Ramoth-gilead<sup>26</sup> and the sacrifice of the first-born son at Shechem<sup>27</sup> are to be inferred, in spite of evident attempts on the part of Old Testament writers to obscure the facts by literary devices. Making sons and daughters to pass through fire flourished as a rite down to the last days of the Hebrew monarchy.<sup>28</sup> Enemies taken in war were often devoted to death by the conquering tribe;<sup>29</sup> while occasionally, in times of great extremity or calamity, the eldest son was sacrificed, as in the case of Mesha's son,<sup>30</sup> or the descendants of an offending king were hanged, as in the case of the seven sons of Saul.<sup>31</sup>

Sacrifice of the first-born infant appears to have intrenched itself as a custom in the native religion; for how otherwise can the provision be explained in the old Hebrew legal code demanding that every first-born of men be redeemed with some animal?<sup>32</sup> Micah obviously condemns this heathen practice of giving the first-born for transgression and the fruit of the body for the sin of the soul.<sup>33</sup> It has been suggested with some plausibility<sup>34</sup> that this custom of sacrificing the first-born, which was so prevalent in Canaan, has left clear traces in the excavations at Gezer<sup>35</sup> and Taanach<sup>36</sup> where were found, buried in water-jars under the

<sup>26</sup> Judg. 11:37 ff.

<sup>27</sup> Gen. 22. *Mōrī-Yah*, 22:2, probably = *Mōreh*, 12:6.

<sup>28</sup> 2 K. 23:10; cp. Lev. 18:21; 20:2-5; Deut. 12:31.

<sup>29</sup> Josh. 6:17; 1 Sam. 15:3, 33.

<sup>30</sup> 2 K. 3:27.

<sup>31</sup> 2 Sam. 21:9.

<sup>32</sup> Ex. 13:15; 34:20.

<sup>33</sup> 6:7.

<sup>34</sup> Macalister, *BSL.*, pp. 165 ff.

<sup>35</sup> See p. 174.

<sup>36</sup> See p. 39.

floor-level of the high place, many remains of very small children. However, the facts that the usual food- and drink-vessels were present with these, and that all traces of fire were absent, preclude the idea that these were sacrificial victims;<sup>37</sup> for there are few exceptions to the rule, as is evident from the cases cited above, where the victim was offered in any way except by fire.

Instances of foundation-sacrifice—a custom inherited from the first Semitic period—were found at Gezer.<sup>38</sup> Skeletons of two adults and the torso of a youth were found deposited under a wall with the usual food- and drink-receptacles. The torso of the youth showed that it had been severed at the waist, possibly in some barbarous rite to propitiate some evil-threatening demon hostile to the stability of buildings. The burial was made over the other skeletons and directly under the wall. Burials of this sort, of adolescents or of adults, were rarely found in comparison with the number of infants or of very young children.<sup>39</sup> The latter were found invariably buried in large water-jars under the corners of houses throughout all the strata down to the Hellenistic, but with lessening frequency in the later levels. Coincident with the gradual decline of this sort of sacrifice Macalister observed the gradual emergence of another custom which began in the second Semitic age, namely, the lamp- and bowl-deposit. The proof that this deposit is a survival of foundation-sacrifice, or preserves its spirit, is to be seen in two remarkable cases. The first is that of an infant buried in the usual way under the wall, except that two lamps were also deposited with the remains—a custom which as time went on came to embody the spirit of the offering and finally to supplant it altogether.<sup>40</sup> The other case, which is even more convincing, was that of a model of a foundation-sacrifice which consisted of small silver and bronze human images that were buried with miniature saucers under a foundation wall.<sup>41</sup> Thus at

<sup>37</sup> W. H. Wood (*BW.*, xxxvi. pp. 166 ff.; 227 ff.) concludes, after a broad survey of the evidence gathered from many sources which throw light on the subject, that the "jar burial" custom revealed in Palestine agrees with similar customs elsewhere and cannot be cited as proving infant sacrifice. E. Meyer expresses similar views (Meyer, § 471).

<sup>38</sup> Macalister, *EG.*, ii. p. 428.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 431.

<sup>40</sup> 432 ff.

<sup>41</sup> 433 ff.

least two expedients were found which were thought to preserve the spirit of the old rite. The pure lamp- and bowl-deposit was found under walls in a great many instances, and appeared to be most common about 1000 B. C. By far the greater number were found at Gezer, which furnishes the best material for the study of the custom, although cases are also cited from Lachish<sup>42</sup> and from the Shephelah *tells*.<sup>43</sup> The deposit was invariably placed in the corners of rooms or under the thresholds, either "in the middle of an unbroken stretch of masonry" or "beside the lowest stone of the wall" and "against the inner face."<sup>44</sup> The deposit itself consisted usually of a saucer-lamp standing in a bowl and covered by an inverted bowl. These terracotta bowls were of the newest and most artistic type, especially after 1000 B. C., if not before. Indications were present, in many cases at least, to show that some sort of liquid, possibly blood, or its substitute grape juice, was deposited in the lower bowl. In a few instances wood-ashes were found in the lower bowl. These facts all point to the conclusion that blood, or grape juice, and coals of fire, or a lighted lamp, could fittingly embody the spirit of the old foundation-sacrifice which required the human victim.

Finally, as representative of the type of offering known as votive, the excavations reveal, in close connection with sanctuaries, a number of alabaster vases, cups, bowls, bracelets, wands, sistra, and animal figures at Sinai;<sup>45</sup> many plaques and images of 'Ashtart, phallic emblems,<sup>46</sup> and imitation axeheads and daggers at Gezer;<sup>47</sup> and similar things elsewhere. Votive tablets of 'Anath and of Sutekh were found in Egypt.<sup>48</sup> Of similar character perhaps were the five golden mice and five golden tumors given to Yahweh by the Philistines,<sup>49</sup> the *ariel* given to Kemosh,<sup>50</sup> and the silver and gold given to the ba'als.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Bliss, p. 84.

<sup>43</sup> Bliss and Macal., p. 151.

<sup>44</sup> Macalister, *EG.*, ii. pp. 434 ff.

<sup>45</sup> Petrie, *RS.*, pp. 137 ff.

<sup>46</sup> See p. 198.

<sup>47</sup> Macalister, *EG.*, ii. pp. 446, 448.

<sup>48</sup> Breasted, *HE.*, p. 460.

<sup>49</sup> 1 Sam. 6:5.

<sup>50</sup> Ml., 12.

<sup>51</sup> Hos. 2:10(8).

The manner of offering was determined both by the prevailing conception of the deity with respect to his abode and by the nature of the offering itself. For convenience the latter may be divided into five classes, namely: slaughter-, burnt-, vegetable-, human-, and votive-offerings.

The *slaughter-offering* (*zebah*), which has been observed to be the most primitive, consisted chiefly of a sacrificial meal of animal flesh in which the worshippers religiously participated. Probably every beast that was slain for food<sup>52</sup> was ceremonially killed, and was eaten before some holy object, such as an image of the deity<sup>53</sup> or a holy tree,<sup>54</sup> at the high place, and the blood was poured out as a drink-offering to the deity either over the holy stone or at its base.<sup>55</sup> The priests who assisted in the ceremony probably received certain portions as a fee,<sup>56</sup> while the refuse was ceremonially burned, none remaining over night.<sup>57</sup> This kind of sacrifice was common at the local high places which came into possession of the Hebrews.<sup>58</sup>

The *burnt-offering* (*'olah*) represents a later stage in the development of the conception of offering, and may have originated from the custom of burning the refuse of the sacrifice which was too sacred to leave. For this purpose another sort of altar came into use. At first probably only the inedible or taboo portions were consumed, but after a time occasions arose which demanded a holocaust, or a whole burnt-offering (*kalil*).<sup>59</sup> Burnt-offerings were commonly made at all the high places,<sup>60</sup> being usually accompanied by the slaughter-offering.<sup>61</sup> The upward direction which the smoke of the offering took furnished the name *'olah*, "that which goes up," for the burnt-offering; while the aspect and the scent of the smoke gave rise to *keṭōreth*, "odor," or "smoke of burnt sacrifice," which is cognate with *kaṭar*, "to make a sacrifice smoke." *Kaṭar*, which is translated

<sup>52</sup> Smith, *RS.*, pp. 240 ff.

<sup>53</sup> Ex. 18:12; Num. 25:2.

<sup>54</sup> Is. 57:5; Ezek. 20:28.

<sup>55</sup> Deut. 12:27; Is. 57:6. See pp. 42, 43.

<sup>56</sup> 1 Sam. 2:15; Deut. 18:3.

<sup>57</sup> Ex. 12:10; 34:25.

<sup>58</sup> Ex. 20:24; 1 Sam. 9:12, 13; Is. 57:7; Ezek. 20:28.

<sup>59</sup> Deut. 33:10; 1 Sam. 7:9; Ps. 51:21 (19).

<sup>60</sup> Ex. 20:24; Is. 1:11; Hos. 6:6; Am. 5:22; Mic. 6:6.

<sup>61</sup> Ex. 20:24; Josh. 8:31; 1 K. 3:15, &c.

in the American Revised Version as "to burn incense," is very often employed by the Old Testament writers to describe all the rites of worship practiced at the high places.<sup>62</sup>

The *vegetable-offering* represented the products of agriculture,<sup>63</sup> or the first-fruits of increase, and was, because of its very nature, of later origin than the slaughter-offering. This type differed from the slaughter-offering in the fact that the offerer did not as a rule share in its consumption, but gave it entirely to the priests for the maintenance of the sanctuary. In Hebrew times it was brought in a basket and deposited at the altar.<sup>64</sup> Included in the vegetable-offering was leavened bread, which in some cases was laid on the altar with sacrificial flesh,<sup>65</sup> or in other cases was exposed before an image of the deity—whence the name "bread of the face."<sup>66</sup> Wine, which was possibly a substitute for blood, since it was poured, like blood, over the sacred pillar<sup>67</sup> as a drink offering, or libation (*nasik*), to the indwelling numen; and oil which was applied to sacred objects, particularly to the pillar,<sup>68</sup> were other varieties of the vegetable-offering.

In *human-sacrifice* the victim, as we may believe from the practices carried on at Jerusalem and from the intended course of Abraham in offering Isaac, was probably first slain before some symbol of the deity, and was then offered as a burnt-offering. Exceptions to this rule occurred in the execution of Saul's sons, in the slaughter of prisoners taken in battle, in the case of the girl at Gezer, and in foundation-sacrifices. In cases of the foundation-sacrifice the victim was probably buried alive, while in the first three mentioned cases the offering was probably made before the deity.

*Votive offerings* of all kinds, as for instance the plaques of 'Ashtart, were presented at the sanctuary, possibly being broken as a ritual act, since those found were nearly all in that con-

<sup>62</sup> 1 K. 22:44 (43); 2 K. 12:4 (3), &c.

<sup>63</sup> Ex. 22:28 (29); 23:19; 34:26.

<sup>64</sup> Deut. 26:1 ff.

<sup>65</sup> Am. 4:4.

<sup>66</sup> As at Nob; see pp. 193, 209.

<sup>67</sup> Gen. 35:14; Deut. 32:38; cp. Ps. 16:4; Is. 57:6; cp. "blood of the grape," Deut. 32:14.

<sup>68</sup> Gen. 28:18; 35:14; cp. Is. 57:6.

dition. Sacred pillars and *ariels*, captured from some shrine of a hostile tribe, and the spoils of war, such as the armor of Saul<sup>69</sup> and sword of Goliath,<sup>70</sup> were also presented as dedicatory offerings at the sanctuary, and were there kept as trophies in the presence of some divine symbol.

The priests played a prominent part in the ritual of presenting the offerings to the deity, and of course received certain prescribed fees.<sup>71</sup>

The **occasion** on which the offering was brought to be presented to the deity was determined by the season of the year, or by the change of the calendar, or by the varying vicissitudes of life. The yearly feasts, which corresponded respectively with the foaling season and the grain and the fruit harvests, offered extraordinary and appropriate occasions for worshippers to present themselves with an offering before the deity at the sanctuary. Less important occasions were perhaps coincident with the four changes of the moon, and were called the new moon and the sabbath-feasts.<sup>72</sup>

There was a multitude of other less formal occasions which grew out of the events and exigencies of life. The offerer sought a divine boon when undertaking an expedition,<sup>73</sup> receiving a theophany,<sup>74</sup> making a marriage feast,<sup>75</sup> recovering from sickness,<sup>76</sup> digging a well,<sup>77</sup> or making a treaty.<sup>78</sup> Other occasions were those in which the offerer sought to avert such calamities as pestilence,<sup>79</sup> defeat in battle,<sup>80</sup> or the falling of a building.<sup>81</sup> Finally, there were those cases in which vows were paid for boons sought and received, such as birth, circumcision;<sup>82</sup> the

<sup>69</sup> 1 Sam. 31:10.

<sup>70</sup> 1 Sam. 21:10 (9).

<sup>71</sup> See Chap. XXIII. 1.

<sup>72</sup> See Chapters X and XXIV.

<sup>73</sup> Thus the votive offerings at Sinai, Petrie, *RS.*, p. 137; Gen. 28:20.

<sup>74</sup> Judg. 6:19 ff.; 13:19.

<sup>75</sup> Judg. 14:10.

<sup>76</sup> 2 K. 1:2; 5:1 ff.

<sup>77</sup> Gen. 26:25.

<sup>78</sup> Gen. 15:9 ff.; 26:28 ff.; Jer. 34:18; Assur-nirari and Mati'ilu, *KAT.*, p. 49.

<sup>79</sup> 2 Sam. 24:18 ff.

<sup>80</sup> Num. 23:1, 4, 14, 29; Judg. 20:26; 1 Sam. 7:9.

<sup>81</sup> Foundation sacrifice.

<sup>82</sup> Gen. 21:4.

wearing of a son,<sup>83</sup> and many other events that brought good fortune.<sup>84</sup>

**Significance of the offering.** Since man, in the midst of a world of mysterious natural phenomena and events, regarded himself as absolutely dependent for his very existence and welfare upon the caprice of the gods, it naturally followed that he must secure and maintain amicable relations with them; and, since the gods were considered as having like passions and needs with men, the effort was undertaken by means of gifts to render the disposition of the gods favorable. This idea of gift, or tribute, then, must represent one of the most primitive and fundamental conceptions of offering. It is expressed in the Hebrew *minhah* which included originally both animal and vegetable tributes.<sup>85</sup> Because of its antiquity—being rooted in the conditions of nomadic life of which it is a natural expression—the animal offering continued to be regarded, even to late times, as the most acceptable gift that could be presented to the gods. Its primitive method of presentation was, as we have seen, by a communal meal in which the deity was thought to participate in common with his worshippers. The blood which was possibly taboo, and which was, therefore, sacred to the deity, was ceremonially poured on the sacred stone as a drink-offering to the indwelling *numen*. It is not impossible that in early times the blood was considered to be the choice part of the animal, and was partly drunk and partly poured or sprinkled on the sacred stone; but gradually the god's share increased to such proportions that little, if any, was left to the worshipper. This gave rise eventually to the explanation that the blood was too sacred to drink, and was therefore taboo. Be that as it may, in the communal meal a common bond was established between the worshipper and the deity; and that bond meant the identification of the deity with the tribe in all its fortunes. This common relationship appears to have given rise to the term, *shelem*, "peace-offering," which really defines the broader term, *zebah*, "slaughter-offering."<sup>86</sup>

<sup>83</sup> 21:8.

<sup>84</sup> 1 Sam. 6:14.

<sup>85</sup> Gen. 4:3-5. It later appears to be confined to vegetable-offering, cp. 1 Sam. 3:14; 1s. 19:21; Jer. 14:12; Am. 5:22.

<sup>86</sup> Ex. 24:5; 1 Sam. 11:15.

The worshipper felt impelled to give a tribute of animals to the deity, not only because such were the best that he had, but also because they were required; for was not the offspring of all animals, as well as that of man, really a gift from the deity who presided over fecundity? Accordingly, an ancient law required that the first-born of man and of beast should be rendered as a tribute to the deity. This law was originally, we may believe, carried out to the letter, so that every first-born offspring (*peṭer*) was sacrificed in some way to the deity of fertility. The severity of the provision as applied to man and to the beast of burden, as the ass, was mitigated by the law of substitution, or redemption.<sup>87</sup> A ram was substituted in the case of Isaac.

Moreover, the law of the first-born passed over, with the development of agricultural life, to the first-fruits of the ground, so that the first ripe grain, and the first bread so hurriedly baked from it that it was still unleavened, and the first products of the wine, oil, and wool were regarded as sacred to the deity, and had, therefore, to be presented at the sanctuary before the rest of the crops could safely become food for the producers.<sup>88</sup> The sanctuary at Beth-el, and perhaps also others, levied an impost upon the surrounding land, so that the worshippers were required to bring an annual or triennial tithe for the general maintenance of the sanctuary.<sup>89</sup> The justice and the antiquity of this law is recognized in the story of Jacob. Since oil was an unguent for anointing the person for glad festal occasions, the worshipper thought to confer the "oil of gladness" upon the deity by anointing his fetish. Wine also which "cheereth God,"<sup>90</sup> was similarly applied, being possibly a later substitute for the blood of the sacrifice. The bread that was laid on the altar, or set before the image of the deity, became literally the "bread of the god."<sup>91</sup>

Through some cause or other offering by fire emerged into practice, and continued by the side of the slaughter-offering. This new form discloses a step upwards from the material

<sup>87</sup> Ex. 13:12, 13; 34:19; Deut. 15:19.

<sup>88</sup> Ex. 23:14, 15, 19; 34:26; Deut. 18:4.

<sup>89</sup> Smith, *RS.*, p. 247.

<sup>90</sup> Judg. 9:13.

<sup>91</sup> Lev. 21:6, 8, 17, 21, 22.

toward the spiritual conception of deity;<sup>92</sup> for in this the flesh of the sacrifice is transformed by fire into the etherealized substance of smoke and of odor, and, therefore, was easily received as a sweet savor by the god whose abode may have been either in the sky, the sacred tree, or in some other sacred object. Thus it was a common thing among the early Hebrews, and undoubtedly also among the Canaanites, "to make sacrifices smoke" at all the high places<sup>93</sup> to the graven images of "other gods."<sup>94</sup>

The motive in offering a human victim as a foundation-sacrifice was by extraordinary means to seek the favor of the ground-demons, who, if not placated, might cause swift destruction to the building.

The various motives that lay back of every offering with respect to the occasion on which it was offered have already been mentioned: namely, to institute and to maintain amicable relations with the deity so as to expect his help, to restore favorable relations which had suffered interruption through sin, and to fulfil vows and to render thanks to the deity for past favors.

<sup>92</sup> Smith, *RS.*, p. 236.

<sup>93</sup> 2 K. 12:4 (3); 14:4; 15:4, 35; 17:11; 22:17; 23:5, 8; Hos. 4:13.

<sup>94</sup> Hos. 11:2; cp. Jer. 1:16; 32:29.

## CHAPTER XXII

## MISCELLANEOUS RITES

**Lustration**, which embraces all the ceremonial acts that rendered the worshipper "clean," or religiously fit to approach the deity, is, as has already been seen, inherent in primitive religion. One of the first acts of this sort was fasting, which in its ultimate origin was a physical preparation for the sacrificial meal of holy flesh; but later it came to be a preparation also for other acts of worship, as for instance the worship of the dead.<sup>1</sup> Another act was either the washing<sup>2</sup> or the casting aside of the daily garment<sup>3</sup> and the putting on of a special one. Still another was washing in the water of the laver prior to entrance upon the functions of worship. It was regarded as very offensive to the deity that one should bring into his presence anything of common use, such as the every-day garment, or even anything upon the body that washing could take away. It is probable that amulets were thought to possess some sanctifying influence for the wearer as he went in to worship.<sup>4</sup>

**Mourning**, or lamentation, was the uttering of weird sounds and shrill cries in certain forms of worship. It had a prominent place in the cult of the dead,<sup>5</sup> but was not wholly confined to this ritual. It was also an expression of repentance for sin and a means of securing again the divine approval. As such it seems to have been common at the high places.<sup>6</sup> It is not known that the wailing for Tammuz, or Adonis, had any place in Canaanite worship; but if so, then, mourning was a method of disclaiming responsibility for the death of the agricultural god and of making supplication for his return at the time of the spring feast, as for instance at Byblos.<sup>7</sup> Weeping as a religious

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 104, 105.

<sup>2</sup> Ex. 19:10.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. 35:2.

<sup>4</sup> Ex. 11:2; Hos. 2:15 (13).

<sup>5</sup> See p. 107.

<sup>6</sup> Judg. 20:26; Jer. 3:21.

<sup>7</sup> See p. 95.

practice was carried on at many of the sanctuaries; as for example at Abel-mizraim,<sup>8</sup> Beth-el,<sup>9</sup> Hebron,<sup>10</sup> Rachel's grave,<sup>11</sup> Mizpeh,<sup>12</sup> and Jabesh-gilead.<sup>13</sup>

**Anointing.** The consecration of persons to the sacred offices was a religious rite that consisted usually in pouring oil on their heads. The kings of Egypt poured oil on the heads of Syrian princes when appointing them to office.<sup>14</sup> The origin of this rite was probably the libation of oil which the worshipper poured over the sacred fetish as an offering to the indwelling *numen*.<sup>15</sup> This act of bestowing regal honor upon the god passed over into conferring like honor upon persons. As the oil for such purposes was probably kept within the precincts of the sanctuary, the anointing rite would be viewed as a sacrament, establishing a mystic fellowship between the deity who hallowed the oil and the prince or the priest who was anointed. It was a short step only from this rite to the one, so common in the Old Testament, in which the act of pouring oil on the head of the person was accompanied by the indwelling of the spirit of the deity, imparting superhuman strength and wisdom. The ceremony of anointing was usually performed at a sanctuary before some symbol of the deity, such as a sacred pillar,<sup>16</sup> a stone,<sup>17</sup> or a spring.<sup>18</sup> Priests<sup>19</sup> and prophets,<sup>20</sup> as well as princes, were formally anointed for their sacred vocations.

The Canaanite, in common with all Semitic worshippers, ancient and modern, expressed his personal humility and religious reverence when in the act of worship by the bodily posture of obeisance or prostration before the image of the deity. The

<sup>8</sup> Gen. 50:10 f.

<sup>9</sup> Gen. 35:8; Judg. 2:1.

<sup>10</sup> Gen. 23:2.

<sup>11</sup> Cp. 35:20 with Jer. 31:15.

<sup>12</sup> Judg. 11:34 ff.

<sup>13</sup> 1 Sam. 31:13.

<sup>14</sup> Knudtson 51:6 ff.

<sup>15</sup> Gen. 28:18; 31:13; 35:14; cp. the custom of anointing the tabernacle and furnishings, Ex. 30:26 ff.; 37:29; Lev. 8:10, 11.

<sup>16</sup> Judg. 9:6.

<sup>17</sup> 1 K. 1:9 ff.

<sup>18</sup> 1:38 ff.

<sup>19</sup> Lev. 8:12, 30; Ps. 133:2.

<sup>20</sup> 1 K. 19:16; Ps. 105:15; cp. Is. 45:1; 61:1.

princes of Palestine, the unwilling devotees of the Pharaoh, were compelled to prostrate themselves in humble submission and worship before the symbols of the Pharaoh. This is clearly seen in the significant language, used over and over again in the Amarna letters, in addressing the king. One typical example will suffice:<sup>21</sup> "To the king, my lord, . . . thus Widia, the man of Askaluna, thy servant, the dust of thy feet, the stable-slave of thy horse: to the feet of the king, my lord, I bowed down seven times, way down with belly and back." This practice continued in later times when the worshippers of *ba'al* bowed upon their knees to some image,<sup>22</sup> when Israel bowed down to the gods of Peor<sup>23</sup> and of Canaan,<sup>24</sup> and when individuals bowed to angels<sup>25</sup> and to Yahweh.<sup>26</sup> The oft-repeated command not to bow down to the gods of Canaan<sup>27</sup> symbolized in the iconic forms of man, beast, bird, fish, and reptile further attests this prevailing attitude of worship.

**Kissing**, as an act betokening affection and friendship in domestic and social life, came to be an expression of reverence<sup>28</sup> and even of subservience to a conqueror. Conquered slaves kissed the feet of the conqueror, or the ground upon which he walked, in token of submission.<sup>29</sup> As a religious act expressing affection for a god, it was closely associated with bowing. As the worshipper bowed before the image of his god, he showed his affection by kissing the image. Thus all but seven thousand of Israel bowed the knee to *ba'al* and kissed his image.<sup>30</sup> Those who sacrificed at Beth-el during the prophetic period were wont to kiss the image of the bull.<sup>31</sup>

**Burning incense** as an offering of sweet odor before the symbols of the deity is to be inferred from the custom of Palestinian princes, whenever they wished to surrender to the Egyptians,

<sup>21</sup> Knudtson 320 and six others.

<sup>22</sup> 1 K. 19:18.

<sup>23</sup> Num. 25:2.

<sup>24</sup> Judg. 2:2, 17, 19.

<sup>25</sup> Num. 22:31; Gen. 18:2.

<sup>26</sup> Gen. 24:48; 27:29; Ps. 95:6; Mic. 6:6.

<sup>27</sup> Ex. 23:24; Lev. 26:1; Judg. 2:19, &c.

<sup>28</sup> 1 Sam. 10:1; Prov. 24:26.

<sup>29</sup> Ps. 72:9; Is. 49:23; Mic. 7:17.

<sup>30</sup> 1 K. 19:18.

<sup>31</sup> Hos. 13:2.

of burning incense on the top of the city walls in token of worshipping the Pharaoh.<sup>32</sup> Large quantities of incense flowed as tribute to Egypt from Palestine.<sup>33</sup> A jar of incense was found at Gezer<sup>34</sup> in the level corresponding to about the year 1000 B. C.; while censers, belonging to about 900 B. C. and later, were found at Gezer,<sup>35</sup> Megiddo,<sup>36</sup> and Gath.<sup>37</sup> There is no reference to the use of incense or of censers in the Old Testament prior to the time of Jeremiah. The frequent mention in the English version of burning incense at the high places and elsewhere has reference solely to the smoke and the odor of burnt-offerings.<sup>38</sup> However, in spite of this silence, it may safely be inferred that the Hebrews, who used incense extensively in the Persian period,<sup>39</sup> adopted the practice from the Canaanites.

Music doubtless occupied no insignificant place in the religious observances, especially in the glad festal occasions when the women danced. It is interesting, as connecting music with the cult of 'Ashtart, to note that pottery images of the goddess representing her striking a tambourine have been found at Gezer<sup>40</sup> and at Megiddo.<sup>41</sup> This suggests that the sacred women of her cult employed music in the rites of the sanctuary, possibly for the purpose of adding a sensual charm. The sistrum, which was a kind of rattle used in Egypt to call attention to the acts of worship and to frighten away demons, probably has its analogy in the Canaanite rattle, of which several pieces in pottery have been found at Gezer,<sup>42</sup> Beth-shemesh,<sup>43</sup> Lachish,<sup>44</sup> and Taanach;<sup>45</sup> and in the Hebrew *mena'ane'im*, "sistra." The

<sup>32</sup> Müller, p. 305; Paton, p. 85.

<sup>33</sup> Breasted, *ARE.*, ii. §§ 447, 462, 472, 473, 481, 509, 510, 518, 519, 525, 553, 616.

<sup>34</sup> Macalister, *EG.*, ii. pp. 425 ff.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 336.

<sup>36</sup> Schumacher, p. 90, fig. 125; p. 128.

<sup>37</sup> Bliss and Macal., p. 42, plate 77, No. 10.

<sup>38</sup> First mention in Deut. 33:10 (Dillmann and Steuernagel), or Jer. 6:20 (Wellhausen).

<sup>39</sup> Lev. 16:12.

<sup>40</sup> Macalister, *EG.*, ii. p. 414.

<sup>41</sup> Schumacher, pp. 61, 67, 102.

<sup>42</sup> Macalister, *EG.*, i. pp. 81, 97, 306 n., 314; ii. pp. 305 ff.

<sup>43</sup> *PEFA.*, ii. p. 56.

<sup>44</sup> Bliss, pp. 117, 120.

<sup>45</sup> Sellin, p. 19.

use of musical instruments in religious worship is strikingly shown by the band of raving prophets coming down from the high place and marching to the music of the harp, tambourine, and lyre;<sup>46</sup> by the great procession attending the bringing of the ark to the accompaniment of lyres, harps, tambourines, sistras, and cymbals;<sup>47</sup> by the employment of tambourines and *shalishim*<sup>48</sup> in the war-dance,<sup>49</sup> and of pipes in the king's coronation;<sup>50</sup> by the use of the harp in expelling evil spirits from demoniacs;<sup>51</sup> and by the playing of a minstrel to inspire divine utterance in a prophet.<sup>52</sup> The lyre,<sup>53</sup> harp,<sup>54</sup> tambourine,<sup>55</sup> pipe,<sup>56</sup> and cymbals<sup>57</sup> are elsewhere mentioned as employed in producing sacred music.

*Vocal music* in the form of chants or rhythmical utterances was a natural accompaniment of instrumental music and of the dance. Thus song was an expression of joyous emotion. On occasions of great outbursts of praise to the deity, as for instance, when water was found in the desert,<sup>58</sup> or when a victory was won,<sup>59</sup> or a feast was kept,<sup>60</sup> song was a fitting vehicle of religious joy and praise. A singer in the court of the prince of Byblos sang in the presence of Wenamen to quell the adverse emotions of an agitated mind.<sup>61</sup>

**The Dance.** The joy which came to the worshipper from a sense of unity with his god expressed itself also in the bodily movements of the dance. The feast of new wine was the occasion for the maidens of Shiloh to dance in the vineyards.<sup>62</sup> Other occasions when joy took the outward expression of the dance,

<sup>46</sup> 1 Sam. 10:5.

<sup>47</sup> 2 Sam. 6:5.

<sup>48</sup> A three (-barred?, -cornered ?, or -stringed?) musical instrument.

<sup>49</sup> 1 Sam. 18:6, 7.

<sup>50</sup> 1 K. 1:40.

<sup>51</sup> 1 Sam. 16:16.

<sup>52</sup> 2 K. 3:15.

<sup>53</sup> *Kinnör*, Is. 5:12.

<sup>54</sup> *Nebel*, Is. 5:12; Am. 6:5.

<sup>55</sup> *Toph*, Is. 5:12.

<sup>56</sup> *Halil*, Is. 5:12.

<sup>57</sup> *Şelselm*, Ps. 150:5.

<sup>58</sup> Num. 21:17.

<sup>59</sup> Ex. 15:1, 2.

<sup>60</sup> Am. 5:23; 8:10.

<sup>61</sup> Breasted, *ARE.*, iv. § 589.

<sup>62</sup> Judg. 21:21.

which was usually accompanied by instrumental music, were when a new image was being dedicated to the service of the sanctuary;<sup>63</sup> when David danced at the head of the procession as the ark was being brought back;<sup>64</sup> when Miriam and her maidens danced at the time of the great deliverance from the Egyptians;<sup>65</sup> when Jephthah's daughter danced with her companions;<sup>66</sup> and when the Amalekites<sup>67</sup> and the women of Saul's time<sup>68</sup> danced in time of victory. As a token of grief or of despair at the deity's refusal to grant a petition, a sort of limping dance was participated in on Mount Carmel by the prophets of *ba'al* who encircled the altar in a state of frenzy.<sup>69</sup> A similar limping dance may have existed at Peniel, as is suggested by the story of Jacob limping after his encounter with the angel.<sup>70</sup> The fact that the Syriac word meaning "to dance," is cognate with the one meaning "to mourn," suggests that the dance was an act of worship that was carried over to the rites connected with the cult of the dead. The place-name, '*Abel-mehōlah*,<sup>71</sup> "dance-meadow," indicates a sanctuary which took its name from this religious practice.

The rite of **religious prostitution** attached itself to the cult of the Semitic mother-goddess, 'Ashtart, and spread throughout the Semitic world, finding a home in later times in all the important temples of Western Asia. The origin of the practice was, as we have seen, the looseness of the marriage-bond in primitive society. In the primitive stage of society known as the polyandrous the mother of the tribe was the honored wife of several husbands who could be chosen or rejected at her will. This conception of motherhood was carried over to the chief deity, who, in harmony with her human counterpart, was regarded as unchaste and as given to promiscuous unions with masculine gods. As a mother-goddess she was petitioned for the boon of offspring, and as an unchaste wife she was emulated by

<sup>63</sup> Ex. 32:6, 19.

<sup>64</sup> 2 Sam. 6:14, 15.

<sup>65</sup> Ex. 15:20, 21.

<sup>66</sup> Judg. 11:34.

<sup>67</sup> 1 Sam. 30:16.

<sup>68</sup> 21:12 (11); 29:5.

<sup>69</sup> 1 K. 18:26-29.

<sup>70</sup> Gen. 32:30-33. Skinner, *Genesis, in loco*.

<sup>71</sup> Judg. 7:22.

her worshippers; who, to insure her favor and to win her blessings of fruitfulness, religiously engaged in the practice of prostitution, which, in spite of rising ethical standards, persisted for centuries under the very shadow of the sanctuary.<sup>72</sup>

Under whatever name this goddess was worshipped, as for example, Ishtar, Astarte, Aphrodite, Venus, Anaitis, Ma, Rhea, or Cybele, the same distinguishing rites gave the cult a primitive Semitic stamp. At Babylon it was an established religious requirement for every woman, regardless of social position, to sacrifice her chastity once in her life to Ishtar at her temple, and to dedicate the hire thus earned by consecrated harlotry to the service of the temple.<sup>73</sup> A well-established custom at Hierapolis required every woman to sell her chastity to a stranger at the temple of Astarte.<sup>74</sup> A similar custom prevailed at Byblos, where, on a certain feast day of the annual mourning for Adonis, all women had either to sacrifice their hair, or to give the hire of a harlot as an offering to the goddess.<sup>75</sup> Similar practices were in vogue in Cyprus<sup>76</sup> and in Lydia.<sup>77</sup>

In the course of time, however, with the increasing popularity of monogamous marriage and the decreasing hold of the old communal order, religious requirements of this sort took various mitigated forms. Instead of offering the harlot's hire, a woman might give her hair<sup>78</sup> or an obscene symbol<sup>79</sup> to the goddess. With these possibilities of substitution, the majority of women were exempted from the requirement; nevertheless, the practice still went on, but was now confined to a special class, a member of which was known in Babylonia as *kadishtu*, or "temple-votary," and in Canaan as *kedeshah*. A multitude of consecrated harlots of this kind served at the sanctuary of the goddess Ma at Comana in Pontus, whither crowds of men and of women flocked from the neighbouring cities and country to attend the festivals and to pay their vows to the goddess.<sup>80</sup> A

<sup>72</sup> See Frazer, pp. 21 ff. for full treatment of the subject.

<sup>73</sup> Herod., i. 199; *Epistle of Jeremy*, 43.

<sup>74</sup> Sozomenus, *Historia Eccl.* v. 10.

<sup>75</sup> Lucian, *De Syria Dea*, § 6.

<sup>76</sup> Herod. i. 199; Athenaeus, xii. 11, p. 516.

<sup>77</sup> Herod. i. 93.

<sup>78</sup> See above.

<sup>79</sup> Clement of Alex., *Protrepticus*, ii. 14, p. 13.

<sup>80</sup> Strabo, xii. 3, 32, 34, 36.

similar class served at the temple of Venus at Ashkelon at the time of the Scythian invasion, for Herodotus<sup>81</sup> tells that the goddess inflicted a venereal disease upon the Scythians who visited the temple. For a woman thus to dedicate her service to the goddess at the sanctuary for a period of years, either before marriage or for life, was regarded as meritorious. At Tralleis in Lydia,<sup>82</sup> there was found a marble column supporting a votive offering on which was inscribed the record of a certain woman who had at the command of her god served as a harlot, and whose mother before her had served in the same capacity. The publicity thus given by this memorial shows that no shame, but rather honor, was attached to such a profession. Strabo<sup>83</sup> relates that the daughters of the highest nobles of Akilisene of his own time, and of Lydia formerly, consecrated their virgin daughters to live as courtesans before Anaitis a long time before they gave them in honorable marriage.

Not only sacred females, but also sacred males were dedicated to the service of the goddess. The latter, in the service of the mother-goddess Cybele, were known as *Galli*, or eunuch-priests, who often went dressed in female attire, paraded through the towns and villages of Syria and of Asia Minor, and invited the populace to unholy rites.<sup>84</sup> In Cyprus, in the worship of Venus who was represented by a bearded statue as being both masculine and feminine, men and women were accustomed to offer sacrifices, the men wearing women's clothes, and the women, men's.<sup>85</sup> Similar rites were in vogue at Aphaka<sup>86</sup> and at Hierapolis.<sup>87</sup>

With later survivals before us which clearly define the nature of the old 'Ashtart-cult, we are now in a position to weigh the evidence for the existence of these practices either as stated or as implied in Canaan. Israel first came into contact with this rite at Ba'al-beth-pe'or, where the people joined the Moabites in their religious feasts, worshipped their gods, and "played the

<sup>81</sup> I. 105.

<sup>82</sup> W. M. Ramsay, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, i, pp. 95 ff., 115.

<sup>83</sup> XI, 14, 16, pp. 531, 532.

<sup>84</sup> Apul., *Metamorph.* VIII c. 24 ff.

<sup>85</sup> Macrobius, *Saturn.* iii. 8; Servius on *Aen.* ii. 632.

<sup>86</sup> In Coele-Syria, Eusebius, *Vita Const.* iii. 55.

<sup>87</sup> Lucian, *De Syria Dea*, §§ 15, 26, 51; cp. Movers, *Die Phönizier*, i. pp. 678 ff.

harlot with the daughters of Moab.’<sup>88</sup> In Canaan they must have found similar rites, for otherwise the later survivals cannot be explained. It appears that from the time of Asa onward there were *kedeshim*, or sacred men, connected with the cult of the high places. The first reform which had for its aim the suppression of these “sodomites” began as early as the time of Asa,<sup>89</sup> was continued by Jehoshaphat,<sup>90</sup> but was not thoroughly carried out until the reformation of Josiah. In the latter reform the *kedeshim* were put down, and their cells which had been set apart in the house of Yahweh were destroyed. In these cells it is stated that the women wove garments for Asherah.<sup>91</sup> Hosea testifies that it was customary for men to “go apart with harlots, and to sacrifice with the *kedeshoth*,”<sup>92</sup> which practice is referred to by Amos in the assertion that “a man and his father go unto the same maiden.”<sup>93</sup>

Moreover, these rites were so intrenched in the religion of the high places that Jeremiah despaired of finding a single bare height which had escaped desecration.<sup>94</sup> *Kedeshoth* seem to have been in attendance at the sanctuary at Timnath,<sup>95</sup> and, according to late interpolations, at Samaria,<sup>96</sup> and at Shiloh;<sup>97</sup> while the “snaring net” at Mizpah and on Tabor<sup>98</sup> suggests a similar institution. The connection of these rites with the cult of the high places is significant when it is remembered that ‘Ash-tart was closely associated in worship with the *ba’als*, and that the sanctuary was a favorite resort of those seeking motherhood. If the boon was granted, possibly through the means of these rites, such offspring was regarded as especially sacred in the service of the deity,<sup>99</sup> and in some cases even as sons of the

<sup>88</sup> Num. 25:1-5.

<sup>89</sup> 1 K. 14:24; 15:12.

<sup>90</sup> 22:46.

<sup>91</sup> 2 K. 23:7, read *kutonim*, “garments,” instead of *bātim*, “tents.” So Kittel.

<sup>92</sup> 4:14.

<sup>93</sup> 2:7.

<sup>94</sup> 3:2, 6.

<sup>95</sup> Gen. 38:21, 22.

<sup>96</sup> 1 K. 22:38 (LXX).

<sup>97</sup> 1 Sam. 2:22.

<sup>98</sup> Hos. 5:1.

<sup>99</sup> Judg. 13:2 ff.; 1 Sam. 1:11.

god.<sup>100</sup> Jeremiah's declaration that the idolaters were wont to "say to a stock, Thou art my father; and to a stone, Thou hast brought me forth";<sup>101</sup> and the charge that the land had "committed adultery with stones and with stocks"<sup>102</sup> suggest that the *maššebahs* and *'asherahs* were in some symbolic or physical way associated with the rites of sacred prostitution. This would not be strange in view of the widespread use of the phallic emblems both in ancient and in modern times.<sup>103</sup>

It is little wonder, then, that, with the ascendancy of ethical religion, these obscene practices should be rigorously proscribed by the prophetic writers,<sup>104</sup> and by the Deuteronomic code which says "There shall be no *kedeshah* of the daughters of Israel, neither shall there be a *kadesh* of the sons of Israel. Thou shalt not bring the hire of a harlot, or the wages of a dog,<sup>105</sup> into the house of Yahweh thy God for any vow."<sup>106</sup> Eunuchs also, because of physical mutilation, were excluded.<sup>107</sup> "A woman shall not wear that which pertaineth to a man, neither shall a man put on a woman's garment; for whosoever doeth these things is an abomination unto Yahweh."<sup>108</sup>

Having traced the analogy of these native survivals of the old cult of 'Ashtart with similar survivals throughout the Semitic world, the assignment of these practices to the Canaanite period is entirely justified. Direct evidence is scant but undoubtedly sure. Thus the large number of phallic images and of plaques of 'Ashtart, found in the excavations, bear out the sexual character of the religion of this period.<sup>109</sup> The association of 'Ashtart with the old ithyphallic *Min* of the Egyptian triad,<sup>110</sup> and the fact that there were handmaids in the service of the ba'alat of Gebal,<sup>111</sup> add more links to the chain which bind these sacred rites to the religion of Canaan.

<sup>100</sup> Gen. 6:1 f.

<sup>101</sup> 2:27.

<sup>102</sup> 3:9.

<sup>103</sup> See p. 198.

<sup>104</sup> Mic. 1:7, &c.

<sup>105</sup> Cp. Rev. 22:15.

<sup>106</sup> Deut. 23:18, 19 (17, 18).

<sup>107</sup> 23:2, 3 (1, 2).

<sup>108</sup> 22:5.

<sup>109</sup> See pp. 197, 198.

<sup>110</sup> Müller, p. 315.

<sup>111</sup> Knudtzon 85:85, 86; 86:25.

## CHAPTER XXIII

## HOLY PERSONS

The three classes of specialists who in the first period were skilled in the art of interpreting the divine oracles in the respective fields of nature, of mental and emotional states, and of the events of life continue to exercise their functions through this period and into the Hebrew period. It is almost impossible, however, from such evidence as is at hand, to differentiate between the three classes, since the functions of each overlap to a certain degree those of the others. The reason for this confusion is partly a lack of perfect adjustments of the simpler Hebrew religious system to that of the Canaanites. However, in spite of this lack of perfect cleavage, it seems best to consider the three classes separately, with the addition of a possible fourth.

1. The *kahin*, "diviner-priest," or the *hartom*, "magician," who corresponded as already observed to the Babylonian *barū*, or *har-ṭum*, "liver-diviner," was the recognized specialist whose function was to inquire by oracular means into the disposition of the gods of nature and to reveal the same to men. He was at once the divinely authorized priest who could offer the sacrifices in a way acceptable to the deity, and the soothsayer who could divine the feeling or the will of the deity by the sacred media. As priest it was his duty to preside over the sacrificial meal by slaying the victim, inspecting its liver for omens, pouring its blood upon the sacred stone, and blessing the food<sup>1</sup>; and to tend to the functions of the sanctuary by offering the daily sacrifice, as at Gebal,<sup>2</sup> guarding the sacred objects in the temple night and day, keeping the holy lamp lighted,<sup>3</sup> and setting fresh bread before the image of the deity.<sup>4</sup> As diviner, it fell to him to be the custodian of the sacred lot and to make inquiries through it whenever exigencies arose.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 1 Sam. 9:13.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Breasted, *ARE.*, iv. § 570 with Knudtzon 83:52 ff.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Sam. 3:3.

<sup>4</sup> 21:7(6).

<sup>5</sup> See p. 45.

The number of priests at a sanctuary probably varied in proportion to the importance of the sanctuary as a religious center. In the Hebrew period there appears to have been a considerable number at certain sanctuaries; as for instance at Shiloh,<sup>6</sup> Samaria,<sup>7</sup> Beth-el,<sup>8</sup> Mizpah, Tabor,<sup>9</sup> Ashdod,<sup>10</sup> and in particular at Nob<sup>11</sup> where there were eighty-six. The *Lewiyim*, Levites, who were scattered throughout the land with no territorial inheritance,<sup>12</sup> apparently were regarded as the divinely ordained priestly class in the early monarchy, but were refused recognition as such by Jeroboam who chose "other priests" for the high places.<sup>13</sup> Micah, the Ephraimite, was seemingly glad to engage a Levite-priest for the service of his house.<sup>14</sup> It is not impossible that the Levites were lineal descendants of the Canaanite priests who officiated at the sanctuaries, and hence inherited from them all the traditions peculiar to the sacerdotal function. The fact that the priests of the outlawed high places were not permitted to officiate at the central sanctuary at Jerusalem, and because of this were degraded to the rank of Levites, or second grade priests;<sup>15</sup> and the silence of the early literature as to the origin of the priestly class—all accounts which may have connected them with the idolatrous high places probably being expunged by orthodox scribes—seem to favor this hypothesis. Be that as it may, there were, nevertheless, in many sanctuaries before the reform of Josiah numerous priests;<sup>16</sup> and, in many cases, as at Jerusalem,<sup>17</sup> Beth-el,<sup>18</sup> Shiloh,<sup>19</sup> Nob,<sup>20</sup> and Horeb,<sup>21</sup> there was over the local guild one leader who was called *the priest*. These same conditions undoubtedly prevailed at an

<sup>6</sup> 1:3; 2:13.

<sup>7</sup> 2 K. 10:11, 19.

<sup>8</sup> 1 K. 12:32; 13:2, 33; 2 K. 17:27, 28.

<sup>9</sup> Hos. 5:1.

<sup>10</sup> 1 Sam. 5:5; 6:2.

<sup>11</sup> 22:18, 20.

<sup>12</sup> Gen. 49:7; Deut. 18:1-5.

<sup>13</sup> 1 K. 12:31; 2 Chr. 11:13-15.

<sup>14</sup> Judg. 17:10.

<sup>15</sup> Ezek. 44:10-14.

<sup>16</sup> 2 K. 23:5, 8, 9, 20; 2 Chr. 11:15; 34:5; Hos. 6:9.

<sup>17</sup> 2 K. 11:18.

<sup>18</sup> Am. 7:10.

<sup>19</sup> 1 Sam. 1:9.

<sup>20</sup> 21:2.

<sup>21</sup> Ex. 2:16, &c.

earlier time. Like the Hebrew priests,<sup>22</sup> those of the Canaanites wore an official garb, and probably received their right to office through descent. For services rendered the Hebrew priest was given a fee, as the expression "fill the hand"<sup>23</sup> implies. In one case the fee consisted of a fixed salary with board and clothes,<sup>24</sup> in another, portions of the sacrifice.<sup>25</sup> Similar customs are to be assumed for the Canaanites.

Finally, it may be said that, though late sources have been used freely to determine the nature and the profession of the priesthood, yet the implications arising from certain ritual practices which have early Babylonian parallels and from the usage of many of the great sanctuaries warrant the conclusions that have been reached.

2. The interpreter who sought divine revelations through the emotional and mental states of frenzy, ecstasy, and vision, was known to the Canaanites as *rō'eh*, "seer," but to the Hebrews as *hōzeh*, "seer," and *nabī*, "prophet." A remarkable case belonging to this period is found in the account of Wenamon who was a royal messenger from Egypt to the court of Byblos: "Now when (the prince of Byblos) sacrificed to his gods, the god seized one of his noble youths making him frenzied so that he said: 'Bring (the god) hither!' Bring the messenger of Amon, who hath him. Send him, and let him go."<sup>26</sup> "Now, while the frenzied (youth) continued in frenzy during the night, I . . ."<sup>27</sup>

This same religio-psychological phenomenon of which this case is a clear instance manifested itself in the time of Samuel. Samuel said to Saul: "When thou art come thither to (the hill of God), thou shalt meet a band of prophets coming down from the high place with a harp, a tambourine, a pipe, and a lyre before them; and they shall be prophesying: and the spirit of Yahweh will come mightily upon thee and thou shalt prophesy with them."<sup>28</sup> On another occasion, after Saul's messengers had prophesied one after another, "the spirit of God came

<sup>22</sup> 1 Sam. 22:18.

<sup>23</sup> Judg. 17:5 (ARV<sup>m</sup>).

<sup>24</sup> 17:10.

<sup>25</sup> 1 Sam. 2:13 ff.

<sup>26</sup> Breasted, *ARE.*, iv. § 570.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.* § 571.

<sup>28</sup> 1 Sam. 10:5, 6; cp. 10-13.

upon him also, and he . . . prophesied until he came to Naioth in Ramah. And he also stripped off his clothes, and he also prophesied before Samuel, and lay down naked all that day and all that night."<sup>29</sup>

The prophets of *ba'al*, while calling upon their god to accept their offering on Carmel, danced about the altar with such frenzy that they "cut themselves after their manner with swords and lances, till the blood gushed out upon them."<sup>30</sup> Such fits of madness generally characterized the average prophet even down to late times;<sup>31</sup> while as late as the time of Zechariah, it appears to have been customary for members of the guild to tattoo their foreheads or faces.<sup>32</sup> It was inevitable, with the rising conceptions of the true spirit of prophetism, that a reaction should set in against these extreme methods of obtaining a divine message by frenzy, madness, and trances. Accordingly, such a protest registers itself in the proverb, "the prophet is a fool, the man that hath the spirit is mad,"<sup>33</sup> and in Amos' disclaimer that he was neither a prophet nor the son of a prophet.<sup>34</sup>

In addition to violent physical exercise, there were also other means of producing or of heightening the ecstatic state, such as being clothed in sacred garments like the veil of Moses,<sup>35</sup> or the garment of the Arab soothsayer, or possibly the distinctive hairy mantle of Elijah<sup>36</sup> and of other prophets,<sup>37</sup> or perhaps the linen ephod that David wore on one occasion as he danced before the ark;<sup>38</sup> or being anointed on the head with oil;<sup>39</sup> or listening to vocal,<sup>40</sup> or to instrumental music.<sup>41</sup> The dream also was considered as a sort of divine possession; and in consequence the *rō'eh* was called upon, as was the *barū* in

<sup>29</sup> 19:23, 24.

<sup>30</sup> 1 K. 18:28.

<sup>31</sup> 20:37; 2 K. 9:11; Jer. 29:26; Zech. 13:6.

<sup>32</sup> 13:6.

<sup>33</sup> Hos. 9:7.

<sup>34</sup> 7:14.

<sup>35</sup> 34:33-35.

<sup>36</sup> 2 K. 1:8; 2:13, 14.

<sup>37</sup> Zech. 13:4; cp. 1 K. 20:41.

<sup>38</sup> 2 Sam. 6:14.

<sup>39</sup> 1 K. 19:16; 2 K. 9:1-10.

<sup>40</sup> 1 Sam. 10:5.

<sup>41</sup> 2 K. 3:15.

Babylon, to interpret its divine import. Sleeping at sacred places,<sup>42</sup> or under holy trees,<sup>43</sup> was thought to enhance the dream-state. In late Hebrew times this vehicle of revelation was discredited.<sup>44</sup>

In the Hebrew period the seers visited the high places,<sup>45</sup> probably being sympathetic with the worship and taking a prominent part in it, at least, so far as it was free from the influence of a foreign *ba'al*-cult. Jeremiah charges them with prophesying by *ba'al*.<sup>46</sup>

There can be no doubt that this type of prophetic ecstasy was taken over bodily by the Hebrews from the Canaanites.<sup>47</sup> That it became generally clarified of its baser elements as time went on and came to serve a worthy end in the ascendancy of purer monotheism, no one will deny, but this development lies outside of the scope of this work.

3. The interpreter of the events of life who noted the beneficial or the harmful results which issued from individual actions had also a function to perform in the scheme of revelation. In early Hebrew times the function of this specialist, the *hakam*, or sage, so overlapped that of the prophet that in many cases they are one and the same person. Originally, however, the function of each was distinct from that of the other. The observations of the *hakam* on human conduct took final shape in the book of Proverbs and in the Wisdom literature. In addition to this the wise men were the medicine-men who, by dispensing drugs, or by applying remedies,<sup>48</sup> or by going through incantations, could drive the supposed demons from the unfortunate victims.<sup>49</sup> Moreover, they were versed in the occult arts, and played the magician by tying magic knots, by creating spells, by raising the dead,<sup>50</sup> by making iron swim,<sup>51</sup> by calling down fire from

<sup>42</sup> Gen. 28:12; Petrie, *ES.*, pp. 67-69, 190.

<sup>43</sup> See p. 24.

<sup>44</sup> Num. 12:6 ff.; Jer. 23:25 ff.

<sup>45</sup> 1 Sam. 10:5, 10; 19:18 ff.

<sup>46</sup> 23:13.

<sup>47</sup> So Harper (*Amos and Hosea*) and Kautzsch (*Rel. of Is. in HBD.* p. 653).

<sup>48</sup> Is. 33:21.

<sup>49</sup> 2 K. 5:11.

<sup>50</sup> 1 K. 17:21; 2 K. 4:29, 34, 35.

<sup>51</sup> 6:6.

heaven,<sup>52</sup> by causing droughts<sup>53</sup> and plagues,<sup>54</sup> by making rain,<sup>55</sup> by producing water for a thirsty army in the desert,<sup>56</sup> by smiting a hostile army with blindness,<sup>57</sup> by dividing the waters of a river for a foot-passage,<sup>58</sup> by turning rods into serpents and back into rods again,<sup>59</sup> by sweetening a bitter spring,<sup>60</sup> by rendering poisonous food harmless,<sup>61</sup> by multiplying oil, meal,<sup>62</sup> and bread,<sup>63</sup> by finding lost asses,<sup>64</sup> by revealing secrets,<sup>65</sup> and by foretelling future events.<sup>66</sup> For their services they received fees.<sup>67</sup>

4. To a fourth class of holy persons belonged the **kedeshah** and the **kadesh** who have already been considered under Religious prostitution.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>52</sup> 1 K. 18:36, 38; 2 K. 1:10, 12.

<sup>53</sup> 1 K. 17:1.

<sup>54</sup> Ex. 7:20 ff.

<sup>55</sup> 1 K. 18:41 ff.

<sup>56</sup> 2 K. 3:16 ff.

<sup>57</sup> 6:18.

<sup>58</sup> 2:8, 14.

<sup>59</sup> Ex. 4:2 ff.; 7:8 ff.

<sup>60</sup> 2 K. 2:21.

<sup>61</sup> 4:41.

<sup>62</sup> 1 K. 17:16; 2 K. 4:3 ff.

<sup>63</sup> 4:43, 44.

<sup>64</sup> 1 Sam. 9:6; 10:2.

<sup>65</sup> 2 K. 6:12.

<sup>66</sup> 1 K. 22:5 ff.; 2 K. 7:1; 13:19.

<sup>67</sup> 1 Sam. 9:8; 2 K. 5:5, 15; 8:9; Mic. 3:11.

<sup>68</sup> See pp. 216 ff.

## CHAPTER XXIV

## FEASTS

Annual fall and spring feasts,<sup>1</sup> occasioned by the passing of summer to winter and of winter to summer; and the new-moon- and sabbath-feasts, occasioned by the transition of the moon into its various phases, continued to be observed, as Hebrew survivals and Babylonian analogies of such Amorite feasts show, throughout this and down into the Hebrew period. However, in view of the probable development and extension of agricultural life, it may be supposed that the annual feasts, with the addition of a harvest-end feast, assumed more of an agricultural character. As such they became occasions for rendering the seasonable tribute of the land to the *ba'als* of the sanctuaries.

The old lunar calendar, which probably still held sway, was necessarily readjusted from time to time, as in Babylonia,<sup>2</sup> in order to make it harmonize with the agricultural season. This brought the appointed feasts in their appointed months. To these three annual feasts, which Hosea calls the "days of the *ba'als*,"<sup>3</sup> all males were required to come, and to appear, not "empty,"<sup>4</sup> but with an offering before the symbol of the *ba'al*<sup>5</sup> who gave the grain, new wine, oil, wool, and flax.<sup>6</sup> The tithe, which was levied by the sanctuaries on all adjacent land, was required to be brought every third year for the maintenance of the high place.<sup>7</sup> The feasts were participated in by all, both rich and poor, and were characterized by great jubilation<sup>8</sup> expressed in such rites as "eating and drinking" before the deity,<sup>9</sup> joining in the processions,<sup>10</sup> dancing,<sup>11</sup> arraying them-

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 58 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Clay, *Amurru*, p. 57.

<sup>3</sup> Hos. 2:15 (13).

<sup>4</sup> Ex. 34:20.

<sup>5</sup> 34:23; cp. 1 Sam. 1:22.

<sup>6</sup> Hos. 2:10, 11 (8, 9).

<sup>7</sup> See p. 209.

<sup>8</sup> Ex. 32:6; Deut. 14:26; 16:11; Is. 30:29.

<sup>9</sup> 1 Sam. 1:4-15; 2:12-17.

<sup>10</sup> 2 Sam. 6:1 ff.; 1 K. 8:1 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Ex. 32:6, 19; Judg. 21:21, 23.

selves in gorgeous garments and jewels,<sup>12</sup> and probably indulging in the unchaste rites that were then so prevalent.<sup>13</sup>

### The Autumn Feast

The first Canaanite agricultural feast occurred at the "going out of the year,"<sup>14</sup> or "at the year's revolution,"<sup>15</sup> in the first month, or Ethanim, and coincided with the old sabbath-feast on the fifteenth day of the month.<sup>16</sup> This marked the end of the olive harvest and of the vintage season. This probably was the feast which the Shechemites celebrated when on one occasion "they went out into the field, and gathered their vineyards, and trod the grapes, and offered a praise-offering, and went into the house of their god, and ate and drank."<sup>17</sup> A similar vintage feast, at which the maidens were wont to dance, was held annually at Shiloh, being called by the Hebrews "the feast of Yahweh."<sup>18</sup> Hither resorted every devout person with his offering to present to the deity at the "yearly sacrifice," joining with others in eating the sacrificial meal,<sup>19</sup> and drinking wine which often caused drunkenness.<sup>20</sup> At the dedication of Solomon's temple in the first month, or Ethanim, this feast was observed with great pomp and ceremony.<sup>21</sup> At Beth-el the same autumnal feast was observed, although it was kept one month later in Bul,<sup>22</sup> being ordained by royal decree to occur at that time probably for political reasons. Very likely it originally came in the first month.

### The Spring Feast

The second annual feast was that of *maṣṣôth*, or "unleavened bread,"<sup>23</sup> which coincided with the full-moon-sabbath of the

<sup>12</sup> Hos. 2:15 (13).

<sup>13</sup> Cp. 1 Sam. 2:22-24; see pp. 216 ff.

<sup>14</sup> Ex. 23:16.

<sup>15</sup> 34:22.

<sup>16</sup> See pp. 61 ff.

<sup>17</sup> Judg. 9:27.

<sup>18</sup> 21:19-21.

<sup>19</sup> 1 Sam. 1:3-5.

<sup>20</sup> 1:13, 14.

<sup>21</sup> 1 K. 8:1 ff.

<sup>22</sup> 12:32.

<sup>23</sup> Ex. 23:15; 34:18.

seventh month, and probably also with the primitive spring feast which was the prototype of the Hebrew passover.<sup>24</sup> The melting together of these three feasts had the effect of making this feast the most important of all the year; and, after the exchange of the Canaanite for the new Babylonian calendar at the time of the Exile, became the first Jewish feast of the year. This feast came at the beginning of the harvest when the sickle was first put to the standing grain, and was held for the purpose of paying tribute to the *ba'al* who gave the grain. Accordingly, every male was required to appear before the deity, bearing possibly a sheaf of the first ripe barley for a wave-offering,<sup>25</sup> and unleavened bread made in such haste from the new meal that it did not have time to ferment. The significance of these offerings of the first sheaf and the first bread, as has been suggested under Offerings, probably lay in a taboo which rested on the whole crop until the tribute was paid to the *ba'al*.

### The Summer Feast

The harvest-end feast came on the ninth day of the ninth month, that is, the next day after the second sabbath in the month.<sup>26</sup> This feast was the climax that marked the end of seven weeks of joyous harvest festivities, and, hence, received the name *ḥag-shabū'ōth*, "feast of weeks."<sup>27</sup> Each male was required to appear before the deity bringing his offering of two unleavened loaves of baked bread. These first loaves, baked from the new wheat flour, were, when presented, waved before the deity as tributes. In later times at least, entire households, including the dependent poor, participated in the joy of this occasion.<sup>28</sup>

Judging from the character of these three feasts, which are radically different from anything that the Hebrews who entered the land as nomads could have contributed, the conclusion is justified that they are of Canaanite, if not of Amorite, origin.

<sup>24</sup> See p. 59.

<sup>25</sup> Lev. 23:9-14 (Ph).

<sup>26</sup> Lev. 23:15, 16; Deut. 16:9 ff.

<sup>27</sup> Ex. 23:16; 34:22.

<sup>28</sup> Deut. 16:11.

## THE CANAANITE PANTHEON

## CHAPTER XXV

## PANTHEON: NATURE GODS

'El, as a general Semitic title for deity, has already been discussed in the former period, where theophorous names, belonging to this period and later, having the element 'ēl, were cited as evidence confirming its use. The three-fold division of the pantheon into gods of nature, gods of the inner consciousness, and gods of the events of life, will be followed here as there.

## Gods of Nature

Ba'al, as the general title for any nature-god, probably began to be used in the preceding period; but in this period the appellation attained to a great popularity. The first evidence of its use in Canaan comes from as far back as the sixteenth century, and possibly this may presuppose an earlier origin. Through the influence of early Semite traders and Egyptian relations with Canaan the cults of many of the *be'ālīm* found a home on Egyptian soil. The Egyptian king is frequently described on the monuments as fighting "like Ba'al." During the time covered by the eighteenth to the twentieth dynasties, there were many persons, both Semitic foreigners in Egypt<sup>1</sup> and native Palestinians,<sup>2</sup> who had names compounded with *ba'al*.

*Ba'al*, like 'el, could be applied to any nature-deity; but, while the latter defined its nature particularly as a *power*, the

<sup>1</sup> *B'-ri-mont(ev)* = Ba'al-Montu (Montu = war god); *B'-ri-ru-manu* = Ba'al-ram, "ba'al is high"; *Sauf-b'-ri* = Sauf-ba'al, "his protection is ba'al"; *Sh-ma-b'-ira-u* = Shem-ba'al, "name of ba'al," of Gaza, Müller, p. 309n; *M-h'-r'-b'-r'* = Mahar-ba'al, "ba'al hastens," an Egyptian butler, Breasted, *ARE.*, iv. §§ 423, 443; *Roy*, the servant of Ba'al of Gaza; *B'-l-tw-R'-m-g-w* = Ba'alat-Remeg, chief of Tyre, *ibid.*, iii. § 630.

<sup>2</sup> *T'-k'-r'-B'-r* = Zukar-ba'al, prince of Byblos, Breasted, *ARE.*, iv. §§ 566, 567; *Ba'alua*, Knudtzon, 170:2; *Amur-ba'alu*, *ibid.*, 170:38; *Ba'lu-mehir*, 245:44; 257:3; *Ba'lat*, 273:4; *Pu-Ba'lu*, 314:3; *Shipti-Ba'lu*, 330:3; 331:4, &c.; *Guli-Ba'al*, at Tannach, Sellin, p. 114.

former characterized it as a *proprietor*, or *owner*, of an object or a locality. If the proprietary *numen* was considered to be masculine, he was called *ba'al*, if feminine, *ba'alat*. Every natural object, therefore, which exhibited in any way mysterious or miraculous phenomena was regarded as the abode of a *ba'al* or a *ba'alat*. The object and the phenomena might be identical, yet the two in the Semitic mind were dissociated or distinguished from the indwelling or actuating *ba'al* who was lord or possessor of the object. Because of this capacity to distinguish between the *numen* and its dwelling-place Semitic religion in its final development was able to attain to monotheism; while other religions, such as the Indo-European, ever remained pantheistic.<sup>3</sup>

Moreover, the *ba'al* could have no existence apart from the object in which he was thought to dwell, or apart from the phenomenon which he was thought to produce, since, in the very nature of the case, the term *proprietor* describes that intimate relationship. There could then be no individual god *Ba'al* with a well-defined nature and with various local manifestations<sup>4</sup> for the following reasons.<sup>5</sup> 1. *Ba'al* never became a proper name for a deity as 'Ashtart, or Zeus. 2. It was used in place-names such as *Ba'al Lebanon*, *Ba'al Hermon*, thus distinguishing between two *ba'al* forms in a way in which 'Ashtart and Zeus were never used. 3. The use of the article with *ba'al*<sup>6</sup> served to specify a particular *ba'al*. 4. No image of a god *Ba'al* is mentioned in the Old Testament as a feature in a sanctuary; nor has any image of a *Ba'al* come to light in the excavations.<sup>7</sup>

The *ba'als* were as numerous as the natural objects which exhibited in any way the phenomena of life and activity. A classification of these objects and places will, then, classify the *ba'als*.

The presence of a *ba'al* or *ba'alat* of a spring or well,<sup>8</sup> exercising authority over the fountain, was manifested, it was thought, by the bubbling or the flowing of the water.

A *ba'al* of a tree<sup>9</sup> showed signs of his presence and favor in

<sup>3</sup> Paton, in *HERE.*, ii. p. 285.

<sup>4</sup> So Baethgen, p. 17.

<sup>5</sup> Fully presented by Paton, in *HERE.*, ii. p. 284.

<sup>6</sup> *hab-ba'al*, Judg. 2:13, &c.; 1 K. 16:31, &c.; Jer. 2:8, &c.; Zeph. 1:4.

<sup>7</sup> *PEFQS.* 1904, p. 112.

<sup>8</sup> See p. 18.

<sup>9</sup> See pp. 21 ff.

the tree's foliage, growth, and fruitage. By the side of the *ba'al*-tree and the *ba'al*-spring the nature-worshippers were wont to erect stone pillars as *bethels*, or primitive houses, for the *ba'als* to dwell in. In this way gifts of water, oil, and other liquids were conveniently offered to the respective *ba'al* of these sacred objects.

Since the sacred trees and springs formed in many cases the nuclei of later sanctuaries, and since cities grew up around these holy objects and places, the *ba'als* of the same gradually came, in the minds of the worshippers, to extend their authority over the cities adjacent to their shrines. Thus the *ba'al* of Me'ōn was *Ba'al-Me'ōn*, and his sanctuary was called *Bēth-ba'al-Me'ōn*. The *ba'al* of Shechem was *Ba'al-berith* who was also called by the more general title, '*El-berith*'.<sup>10</sup> Nearly all of the cities of the North-Semitic peoples had each its own special *ba'al* after whom persons were named.<sup>11</sup> Many Old

<sup>10</sup> Judg. 8:33; 9:4.

<sup>11</sup> PHOENICIAN NAMES: '*BY-B'L*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 205; '*DN-B'L*, *ibid.*, p. 208; '*B'L-GD*, '*B'L-HNT*, '*B'L-YHN*, '*B'L-YTN*, '*B'L-MLK*, p. 240; '*B'L-PLS*, '*B'L-RM*, '*B'L-ShLM*, p. 241; '*GR-B'L*, p. 253; '*BRK-B'L*, p. 245; '*YHR-B'L*, p. 288; '*YHW-(B)'L*, p. 287; '*HNN-B'L*, p. 278; '*YTN-B'L*, p. 292; '*ZRT-B'L*, p. 339; '*ZR-B'L*, '*Z-B'L*, p. 338; '*BD-B'L*, p. 333; '*RM-B'L*, p. 369; '*ShMR-B'L*, '*ShM'-B'L*, p. 378; '*B'L-PLS*, Ldzb. *HNE.* i. p. 353; '*B'L-YTN*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, ii. p. 404; '*B-B'L*, *ibid.* p. 403; '*NŠR-B'L*, p. 408.

PUNIC NAMES: '*B-B'L*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 205; '*BN-B'L*, *ibid.*, p. 206; '*BD-B'L*, p. 233; '*RSht-B'L*, p. 227; '*MT-B'L*, p. 221; '*B'L-ZBL*, '*B'L-RShT*, '*(B)'L-HL*, '*B'L-HLŠ*, '*B'L-HN'*, '*B'L-YHN*, '*B'L-YSh(PT)*, '*B'L-MGL'*, '*B'L-ML'K*, p. 240; '*B'L-ZR*, '*B'L-LK*, '*B'L-MS*, '*B'L-PD'*, '*B'L-ShLK*, '*B'L-ShPT*, p. 241; '*HN-B'L*, p. 277; '*HLS-B'L*, p. 275; '*BT-B'L*, p. 246; '*HPS-B'L*, p. 279; '*MLK-B'L*, p. 310; '*MHR-B'L*, p. 306; '*YSh-B'L*, p. 291; '*MTN-B'L*, '*MTNY-B'L*, p. 319; '*Š-B'L*, p. 345; '*ZR-B'L*, p. 338; '*ŠPN-B'L*, p. 359; '*ŠDM-B'L*, p. 356; '*ShPT-B'L*, p. 380; '*ShJR-B'L*, p. 374; '*BR-B'L*, Ldzb., *EPH.* i. p. 352; '*B'L-HN'*, p. 353; '*B'L-YHLŠ*, '*B'L-YSP*, p. 353; '*B'L-ZR*, '*B'L-LK*, '*B'L-PLS*, '*B'L-ShLK*, Ldzb., *EPH.* ii. p. 404; '*B'L-TTY*, '*BT-B'L*, p. 405; '*DN-B'L*, p. 403; '*ŠPN-B'L*, p. 410.

NEO-PUNIC NAMES: '*DN-B'L*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 208; '*B'L-PG'*, '*B'L-P'L*, '*B'L-ŠD*, '*B'L-ŠSh'N*, '*B'L-ShLK*, '*B'L-ShM'*, '*B'L-ShPT*, p. 241; '*B'L-TM'*, p. 242; '*HN-B'L*, p. 277; '*GR-B'L*, p. 253; '*BRK-B'L*, p. 245; '*MTN-B'L*, p. 319; '*M'NK-B'L*, p. 314; '*ZR-B'L*, p. 338; '*BD-B'L*, p. 333; '*B'L-M-B'L*, '*B'L-YTN*, Ldzb., *EPH.* p. 404; '*BRK-B'L*, p. 405; '*DR-B'L*, p. 304; '*BTN-B'L*, '*MTN-B'L*, p. 408.

Testament place-names whose origin must be Canaanite, attest the widespread belief in the authority which local *ba'als* exercised over their respective cities.<sup>12</sup> The accession of one *ba'al* to supreme authority over a city or a territory often meant an absorption, or a subordination to the grade of demons, of all the lesser *ba'als* included within that sweep of power. These demons were not necessarily evil, but were merely inferior *numina* which exercised certain recognized, but limited, powers. Such were the *se'irim*, "goat-like forms,"<sup>13</sup> *sa'ir*, "desert satyr," *lilith*, "night hag,"<sup>14</sup> and *shedim*, "demons."<sup>15</sup> The *ba'als* of cities in Judah in the time of Jeremiah were as numerous as the cities themselves.<sup>16</sup>

From the city outward and over the adjacent territory, the authority of some of the local *ba'als* extended so far that, as in the case of Ba'al-judah, Ba'al-gad, and Ba'al-shalishah,<sup>17</sup> a *ba'al* became proprietor of a district in which his worshippers dwelt. This extension of authority from the primitive shrine of the *ba'al* imposed upon every husbandman whose land was included in the sweep the duty of paying at harvest-time the accustomed offerings to the *ba'al* who gave the bread, grain, wine, wool, oil, flax, water, and fruit. In his district or proprietorship the *ba'al* was supreme<sup>18</sup>; and his supremacy had to be acknowledged by new residents, who in turn had to give up the worship of the *ba'al* dominant in the locality whence they

ARAMAIC NAMES: *B'L-DN*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 240; *B'L-ZR*, p. 241; *B'L-DGN*, *B'L-NTN*, Ldzb., *EPH.* i. p. 362.

NABATEAN NAMES: *B'L-DN*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 240.

HEBREW NAMES: *B'L-HNN*, p. 240; *B'L-NTN*, p. 241.

PALMYRENE NAMES: *B'L-TG'*, p. 241.

<sup>12</sup> *Baalath*, Josh. 19:44, &c.; *Baal-hamōn*, Song of Sol. 8:11, &c.; *Baal-hasōr*, 2 Sam. 13:23; *Baal-Şephōn*, Ex. 14:2, &c.; *Baal-tamar*, Judg. 20:33; *Baalath-be'er*, Josh. 19:8 = *Baal*, 1 Chr. 4:33; *Bamōth-habbal*, Jer. 19:5, &c.; *Bēth-baal-me'ōn*, Josh. 13:17; *Gur-baal*, "dwelling of *ba'al*," 2 Chr. 26:7; cp. also *Baal-shalishah*, 2 K. 4:42. See *ba'als* of mountains, p. 234, note 26.

<sup>13</sup> Lev. 17:7; 2 Chr. 11:15; Is. 13:21.

<sup>14</sup> Is. 34:14.

<sup>15</sup> Deut. 32:17; Ps. 106:37. Read *lash-shedim*, Hos. 12:12 (11) instead of *shewarim*, "bullocks," Harper, *Amos and Hosea*, p. 390.

<sup>16</sup> Jer. 2:28; 11:13.

<sup>17</sup> Gray, p. 132.

<sup>18</sup> Palestine was Yahweh's land, Hos. 9:15.

came. The loss of territory meant the loss of its *ba'al*. The loss of Canaan was bitter to David in exile<sup>19</sup> and to Israel in captivity<sup>20</sup> because it involved the loss of Yahweh. The new settlers in the northern kingdom had to be instructed in the "law of the god of the land."<sup>21</sup> The fathers of Israel exchanged the "other gods" which they "served beyond the River" and those of Egypt<sup>22</sup> for the nature-gods of Canaan. A change of country meant to Ruth a change of religion.<sup>23</sup> Jacob buried the local gods of Shechem before he went to Beth-el.<sup>24</sup> Kemosh was more powerful in Moab than was the god of the invaders.<sup>25</sup>

There were also *ba'als* of the sky and of atmospheric phenomena that manifested their power in the north, sun, moon, storm, lightning, dawn, heat, cold, light, darkness, and dew.

Every mountain, to infer from a number of *ba'al*-names associated with mountains,<sup>26</sup> and perhaps every hill, had its *ba'al*. The idea of a *ba'al*'s holding proprietorship over a mountain may have originated from the conception of a *ba'al* of the sky, because of their nearness to each other;<sup>27</sup> or from the conception of a *ba'al* of a spring, because of the usual proximity of springs to mountains.

There were several Canaanite nature-gods to whom the term *ba'al* was applied. The chief *ba'al* of Canaan, as known by the Egyptians during the eighteenth to the twentieth dynasties, was Sutekh, or Set, or Montu, the war-god; for *ba'al* was the Egyptian chronicler's favorite simile for describing the valor of the Pharaoh in battle.<sup>28</sup> That particular *ba'al*-worship which

<sup>19</sup> 2 Sam. 15:19, 30.

<sup>20</sup> Hos. 3:4.

<sup>21</sup> 2 K. 17:26 ff.

<sup>22</sup> Josh. 24:2, 14, 15.

<sup>23</sup> Ruth 1:16.

<sup>24</sup> Gen. 35:4.

<sup>25</sup> 2 K. 3:27.

<sup>26</sup> *Ba'al-berith* probably connected with mount Gerizzim, Judg. 8:33; 9:4; *Ba'al-Gad* near mount Hermon, Josh. 11:17, &c.; *Ba'al-hermon*, Judg. 3:3, &c.; *Ba'al-pe'or*, Num. 25:3; *Ba'al-perasim*, 2 Sam. 5:20; *Har Ba'alalah*, 1 Chr. 13:6; cp. 1 Sam. 7:1; *Bamath-ba'al* (corrupted to *Bamoth*), Num. 22:41; Josh. 13:17; cp. Num. 23:1-3; *Ba'al-lebanon*, CIS., i. 5.

<sup>27</sup> Cp. above, p. 29.

<sup>28</sup> Breasted, *ARE.*, iii. §§ 86, 122, 144, 312, 326, 338, 463.

Jezebel and Ahab introduced into Israel was that of Melkart, *ba'al* of Tyre.<sup>29</sup> Sin, the moon-god, who had an important temple at Haran is, on a relief of Bar-rekub, called the *ba'al* of Haran.<sup>30</sup> Melekh appears to have been *ba'al* worshipped by sacrifices of children.<sup>31</sup> The *ba'al* of Pe'ōr and of Me'ōn was probably *Kemōsh*, or '*Ashtart-Kemōsh*, mentioned on the Moabite stone.<sup>32</sup> The tribal god of fortune, Gad, was probably a *ba'al*, as appears from the place-name *Ba'al-gad*.<sup>33</sup> *Ṣephōn*, a constituent in Punic names,<sup>34</sup> betrays a similar character. The war-god of the Hebrews, Yahweh, who probably assumed the characteristics of Addu, appropriated to himself the conception of *ba'al* applied both in a local and a national way, but it was the latter conception that finally survived. Most of the Hebrew personal names compounded with *ba'al*<sup>35</sup> are probably to be understood as referring to Yahweh.

An intimate relation seems to have existed between '*Ashtart* and the *ba'als* since they are frequently mentioned together in the Old Testament<sup>36</sup> and in Phoenician inscriptions. The similarity or the identity of natures, implied by this association, must lie in the sphere of animal and vegetable fertility. In

<sup>29</sup> 1 K. 16:31, 32; 18:21-40; 19:18; 22:54 (53); 2 K. 3:2; 8:18; 10:10-28; 11:18, &c.

<sup>30</sup> Cooke, p. 182.

<sup>31</sup> Cp. Jer. 7:31; 19:5 with Lev. 18:21; 2 K. 23:10.

<sup>32</sup> *MI.* 17.

<sup>33</sup> Josh. 11:17, &c.

<sup>34</sup> See note p. 232.

<sup>35</sup> '*Abi-'albōn*, 2 Sam. 23:31, probably = '*Abi-ba'al*; *Be'al-Yah*, 1 Chr. 12:5; *Be'el-yada*, 1 Chr. 14:7 = '*El-yada*, 2 Sam. 5:16; *Ba'al-Hanan*, Gen. 36:38, &c.; *Bil'am*, Num. 22:5, &c., probably for *Ba'al-'am*; *Ba'sha'*, 1 K. 15:16, &c., probably for *Ba'al-Shemesh*; *Ba'al-zamar*, in time of Ahab, *S. S. Times*, Jan. 7, 1911; *Ba'alīs*, Jer. 40:14, probably for *Ba'alīm*, '*ba'als*'; '*Ish-bosheth*, '*man of shame*,' 2 Sam. 2:8, &c. = '*Esh-ba'al*. 1 Chr. 8:33; 9:39, probably for '*Ish-ba'al*, '*man of ba'al*,' changed to avoid offense; *Mephi-boseth*, 2 Sam. 4:4, &c. = *Meri-ba'al*, 1 Chr. 9:40 = *Merib-ba'al*, '*ba'al is an advocate*,' 1 Chr. 8:34, &c., altered to avoid offense; *Yō-ba'al*, '*Yahweh is ba'al*,' LXX for MT '*Ebed*, Judg. 9:26; *Yosheb-bashshebeth*, 2 Sam. 23:8; probably for *Yish-ba'al*, cp. 1 Chr. 11:11; *Yeru-bosheth*, 2 Sam. 11:21 = *Yerub-ba'al*, '*let ba'al contend*,' Judg. 6:32, &c. It is significant that all *ba'al*-names have been eradicated from the book of Samuel by jealous scribes. See Jastrow, in *JBL.*, xiii., pp. 19 ff.

<sup>36</sup> Judg. 2:13; 1 Sam. 7:4; 12:10.

ancient times 'Ashtart was the causer of fertility both of animals as well as of the vegetable kingdom; but as masculine deities came into competition with her, the field of fertility was divided, the animal kingdom being reserved for 'Ashtart and the plant world for masculine deities. Thus 'Ashtart gave offspring, and the *ba'als* gave the increase of the field. Moreover, there may be an indication in this observed relationship that the cults of 'Ashtart-*ba'al* shared to some extent with the Babylonian-Assyrian religion the tendency to assign sexual counterpart to every god or goddess. It is significant at any rate to observe that *ba'al* meant *husband*, and that because of this strong sexual bias in the Canaanite religion the local cults were signally condemned by the champions of monotheism.

As has been mentioned, there was no image of a particular god *Ba'al*; but on the other hand, there were images or pillars<sup>37</sup> in which special *ba'als* were thought to dwell. The *maššebahs*, discovered at Gezer and elsewhere, and so often mentioned in the Old Testament as essential objects in the high places, were the chief *media* through which these nature-deities were worshipped.

The attitude of the *ba'al* toward his worshippers who dwelt within his territory was beneficent or hostile according as they gave or withheld what was due him of the increase of the soil. If offerings were properly rendered in season, the worshipper could expect continued prosperity; but if not, the wrath of the *ba'al* was sure to show itself by sending drouth, blasting, mildew, pests, devouring fire, earthquake,<sup>38</sup> famine,<sup>39</sup> pestilence,<sup>40</sup> eclipses,<sup>41</sup> and even rain.<sup>42</sup>

The vehicles of divine revelation to man were, to a large extent, the phenomena of nature, which invariably received a supernatural interpretation. The fact that a boon was granted or was withheld was sufficient to reveal the divine disposition. Moreover, these methods of knowing the divine will and feeling, on account of their infrequency and lack of definite significance,

<sup>37</sup> See pp. 32 ff.

<sup>38</sup> Am. 4:6-11.

<sup>39</sup> 2 Sam. 21:1-14; 24:13.

<sup>40</sup> 2 Sam. 24:13.

<sup>41</sup> Joel 3:4 (2:31); Am. 5:18, 20.

<sup>42</sup> Ezr. 10:9-14.

were not sufficient. Consequently recourse was had to that large body of divining practices which were common throughout the Semitic world. The specialist who was skilled in interpreting signs and oracles was the *kāhin* or *ḥarṭom*, the divining priest.<sup>43</sup>

Nothing is more certain than that Israel in general served the *ba'als* with no compunctions of conscience up to the prophetic period. Amos and Hosea were the first prophets who condemned the practice of identifying Yahweh with the local *ba'als* of Canaan. Hosea says that Israel "kept sacrificing to the *ba'als*, making offerings to images."<sup>44</sup> Not only is this prevalent apostacy directly affirmed by many passages, but it is also implied by the stringent prohibitory legislation,<sup>45</sup> as well as by the frequent substitution, by jealous scribes, of *bosheth*, "shameful thing," for the original *ba'al* in the Hebrew text<sup>46</sup> and by the alteration of many names compounded with *ba'al* such as, *Mephī-bosheth* for *Merī-ba'al* and *Yerū-bosheth* for *Yerub-ba'al*.<sup>47</sup>

Besides the special nature-gods discussed in the foregoing period, whose worship continued on in this period, the following gods may be mentioned:

**Resheph**, "the lightning flash," Addu's most terrible manifestation, came, just as *Birkū*, "lightning," did in Babylonia,<sup>48</sup> to be deified and worshipped as a separate deity in Canaan, Egypt, Syria, and Phoenicia. The epithets *rashbu* and *rash-ubbu*, "red-glowing," especially applied to the Assyrian fire-god are thus significant.<sup>49</sup> The main sources of our knowledge of this god are the Egyptian monuments, for his cult was carried to Egypt by Canaanite captives.<sup>50</sup> His nature coincided substantially with Addu's as a god of war and of the storm. An Egyptian artist pictured him with spear, shield, and club,

<sup>43</sup> See p. 221.

<sup>44</sup> 11:2, Harper, *Amos and Hosea*, p. 363.

<sup>45</sup> Deut. 7:5; 12:3; 16:21, 22.

<sup>46</sup> Jer. 3:24; 11:13; Hos. 9:10; cp. the substitution of *αισχυρη* in 1 K. 18:19, 25 (LXX) for *ba'al*.

<sup>47</sup> See note 35, p. 235.

<sup>48</sup> *KAT*.<sup>3</sup>, pp. 446, 451.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 478.

<sup>50</sup> Breasted, *HE.*, p. 460; Erman, A., *Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, p. 73.

and wearing an Asiatic head-band bearing a gazelle's head<sup>51</sup>; while on a Phoenician seal of the fourteenth or fifteenth century he is portrayed in Egyptian dress wearing a crown, necklace, and apron, and holding a club.<sup>52</sup> He was sufficiently popular in Egypt to be mentioned by the royal chronicler in a simile describing the prowess of Ramses III: "The officers are mighty men like Resheph . . . His name is a flame, the terror of him is in the countries."<sup>53</sup> His name appears, along with that of his wife Edom, in a magical formula<sup>54</sup> and won recognition in Egyptian<sup>55</sup> and Syrian<sup>56</sup> nomenclature. In the Hadad-inscription from Zenjirli<sup>57</sup> Resheph, with three other deities, is represented, like the primitive Addu,<sup>58</sup> as a god who gave the increase of fields and vineyards.

In Phoenicia his cult went back at least to the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, and continued in Cyprus to a late date.<sup>59</sup> At Kition a votive tablet was found dedicated to the god *Resheph-ḥes*, "lightning," or "flame-arrow,"<sup>60</sup> which suggests, in view of two Old Testament passages in which Yahweh has evidently absorbed the function of this deity, that Resheph was a god of pestilence and disease.

"My arrows (*ḥes*) will I exhaust against them,

And they shall be devoured by the fire-bolt (*resheph*)."<sup>61</sup>

"And his flash is like light(ning) ;

He has horns (of light) from each of his hands :

He maketh them the hiding-place of his might.

<sup>51</sup> Müller, pp. 311, 312; *Egyptological Researches*, p. 33; Spiegelberg, in *OLZ.*, 1908, col. 530.

<sup>52</sup> Müller, p. 312.

<sup>53</sup> Breasted, *ARE.*, iv. § 40.

<sup>54</sup> *Kshpu* and '*A-tu-ma*, Müller, p. 316.

<sup>55</sup> "House of Resheph," an Egyptian city, Müller, p. 311.

<sup>56</sup> *Rashpāna* mentioned by Tiglath-pileser III, Rost, *Die Keilschrifttexte Tiglath Pileser III*, Annals, 126; *Kleinere Inschriften*, i. 5; iii., 1; *KAT.*, p. 478.

<sup>57</sup> Lines 4-8.

<sup>58</sup> See p. 69.

<sup>59</sup> *Ldzb.*, *INE.*, p. 370; *Ldzb.*, *EPH.*, i. pp. 150, 151; Baethgen, pp. 50 ff.

<sup>60</sup> *CIS.*, i. 10; cp. *CIS.*, i. 90, 91.

<sup>61</sup> Deut. 32:23, 24.

Pestilence travels before him,  
And fire-bolts (*resheph*) issue at his feet.'<sup>62</sup>

In other passages Yahweh assumes the functions of Addu, or Resheph, the god of the sky and of the storm; for he descends in the smoky cloud and touches the mountains,<sup>63</sup> utters his thunderous voice,<sup>64</sup> shoots forth his flashing arrows (*heṣ*), his shining lightning (*barak*) as a lance,<sup>65</sup> and confounds his enemies. Here it is to be noted that the Hebrew *heṣ*, "arrow," is used in parallelism with *barak*, "lightning," which in turn is a synonym for *resheph*. Moreover, this observation seems to suggest, in connection with the parallelism of *heṣ* with *resheph*, noted above, that the lightning was thought to be the god's weapon for sending pestilence to man and to beast. Since the sun was also regarded as a causer of disease, another reason is, therefore, patent why Shamash and Addu were closely associated.<sup>66</sup> Resheph survives in two Phoenician personal names,<sup>67</sup> and possibly in the variant form *Reṣeph* in *Reṣeph*, an Aramæan place-name,<sup>68</sup> in the Old Testament personal name *Riṣpah*,<sup>69</sup> and in *Melkart-Riṣpa*, a Punic deity.<sup>70</sup> *Barak* also survives in the Old Testament place-name *Benē-berak*<sup>71</sup> and in two Old Testament<sup>72</sup> and in a Palmyrene<sup>73</sup> personal name.

*Regem*, "storm," and *Shahar*, "dawn," two other phenomena of nature, were obviously deified; since the former appears in two Old Testament names, *Regem*<sup>74</sup> and *Regem-melek*,<sup>75</sup> and the latter in Punic<sup>76</sup> and in Old Testament personal names.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>62</sup> Hab. 3:4, 5.

<sup>63</sup> Ps. 144:5; Hab. 3:10; Zech. 9:14.

<sup>64</sup> 1 Sam. 7:10; cp. Ps. 77:19 (18); 81:8 (7); 104:7.

<sup>65</sup> 2 Sam. 22:15 = Ps. 18:15 (14); Ps. 144:5, 6; cp. Zech. 9:14.

<sup>66</sup> See p. 73.

<sup>67</sup> *BD-RShP*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 335; *RShP-YTN*, p. 370.

<sup>68</sup> 2 K. 19:12 = Is. 37:12.

<sup>69</sup> *Riṣpah*, 2 Sam. 3:7, &c.

<sup>70</sup> Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 312.

<sup>71</sup> Josh. 19:45.

<sup>72</sup> *Barak*, Judg. 4:6, &c.

<sup>73</sup> *BRK*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 246.

<sup>74</sup> 1 Chr. 2:47.

<sup>75</sup> Zech. 7:2.

<sup>76</sup> *BD-Sh-HR*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 335; *ShHR-B'L*, p. 374.

<sup>77</sup> *'Aḥī-Shahar*, "brother of Dawn," 1 Chr. 7:10; *Sheḥar-Yah*, 1 Chr. 8:26; *Sheḥar-'el*, instead of *Shaharaim*, cp. LXX

## CHAPTER XXVI

## PANTHEON: SACRED ANIMALS

As the *ba'als* were thought to hold proprietorship over sacred springs, trees, and mountains, so it was likewise fancied that they even possessed and animated animals; so that all the peculiar traits and movements of most, if not all, animals were ascribed to the powers of their particular actuating *ba'als*. Accordingly, a large number of creatures, including beasts, birds, reptiles, and insects, attained in the primitive mind, in one way or another, to various degrees of sanctity. Some facts concerning the sanctity with which animals were held, evidently point to the prevalence at one time of a totemistic stage of religion; other facts, to the use of animals as a divining means in the hands of the priesthood; other facts, to the partiality which was shown certain animals as most appropriate for sacrifice; while still others, to a certain inexplicable reverence which may have issued from any one of the above sources, or from some other source.

It is admittedly a primitive type of religion which invests the creatures with sanctity, or religious awe; and for that reason it might appear that the treatment of this theme should appropriately be placed in the first or second period of Palestinian history, but for the reason that almost no evidence comes to our notice from so early a time it seems best to place this chapter in this period, whence comes substantially all our evidence for the sanctity of animals. Because of the difficulty involved in determining the ultimate source of these facts, one of two inferences may be drawn: that the custom to invest animals with a sacred regard either commenced with the early inhabitants of Canaan, as it did with the early Egyptians, or that it came in either with the Canaanite or the Aramean migration. The evidence is as follows:

The ox particularly bore a sacred character in the 'Ashtart-*ba'al* cults. When Jeroboam adopted the sanctuaries at Beth-el and Dan as centers of national religion, he chose a popular symbol of the *ba'al*, namely, the *bull*. This symbol of deity

has left its traces throughout the Semitic world. It appears in the bull-forms supporting the molten sea<sup>1</sup>; in the horns of the altar<sup>2</sup>; in the metaphorical reference in poetry to Joseph as "the bull of Jacob"<sup>3</sup>; and in a large number of images of bulls found in the excavations.<sup>4</sup> A bronze statuette of the goddess 'Ashtart, having two horns, was found at Gezer.<sup>5</sup> The cow among the Phoenicians was sacred to 'Ashtart<sup>6</sup>; and the bull, in South Arabia, to 'Athtar.<sup>7</sup> Semitic words for heifer,<sup>8</sup> cow,<sup>9</sup> wild ox,<sup>10</sup> and wild cow<sup>11</sup> are found in proper names.

The serpent in mythology is constantly mentioned as native to springs<sup>12</sup> and flowing rivers. In the story of Eden, it haunts the environs of the rivers and the trees of the garden.<sup>13</sup> The Arabs, even to-day, attribute the virtue of medicinal waters to their being inhabited by the Jinn in serpentine forms.<sup>14</sup> From their hidden haunts in the crevices and the holes of the rocks one can see how the idea originated that they came from the underworld.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, the peculiar characteristics of the serpent—its subtlety,<sup>16</sup> suddenness of attack from ambush,<sup>17</sup> and weird

<sup>1</sup> 1 K. 7:25, 44.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 188.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. 49:24. Read 'abbir, "bull," instead of 'abir, "mighty one." Cp. Skinner, *Genesis*, p. 531.

<sup>4</sup> The most common type found at Gezer. Macalister, *BSL.*, p. 115; Macalister, *EG.*, i. p. 305; ii. p. 411. Several in the Shephelah tells, *PEFQS.*, 1902, pp. 341 ff.; three at Jericho, Sellin, in *MNDPV.*, 1907, p. 68; two at Gath, Bliss and Macal., p. 137, pl. 69, figs. 1, 2;—all of Canaanite and early Hebrew levels.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 196.

<sup>6</sup> According to tradition "Astarte put upon her head, as a mark of her sovereignty, a bull's head." *Hebraica*, x. p. 31.

<sup>7</sup> Barton, p. 201.

<sup>8</sup> In place-names: 'Eglath-sheleshayah, Is. 15:5; Jer. 48:34; 'Eglon, Josh. 10:3, &c.; and in personal names: 'Eglah, 2 Sam. 3:5; 'Eglon, Judg. 3:12, &c.

<sup>9</sup> parah in place-name hap-Parah, "the cow," Josh. 18:23.

<sup>10</sup> re'em in Re'umah, Gen. 22:24.

<sup>11</sup> Le'ah, "wild cow," Gen. 29:16, &c., Nöldeke, in *ZDMG.*, 1886, p. 167.

<sup>12</sup> Benzinger, p. 328.

<sup>13</sup> Gen. 2:10-14; 3:1 ff.

<sup>14</sup> Smith, *ES.*, p. 168.

<sup>15</sup> The serpent in Hades becomes a type of the Devil in Rev.

<sup>16</sup> Gen. 3:1.

<sup>17</sup> Gen. 49:17.

hisses—contributed to the belief that a *ba'al* inhabited it and manifested these powers, which, to primitive people, possessed a supernatural character.<sup>18</sup> From this conception the widespread belief in the vocal and magical powers of the serpent<sup>19</sup> is an inevitable consequence. Reverence for the serpent is further seen not only in proper names<sup>20</sup> but also in the use of images of serpents as objects of worship; e. g. in Babylonia,<sup>21</sup> in the wandering in the wilderness,<sup>22</sup> and in the temple at Jerusalem.<sup>23</sup> At Gezer an image of a bronze cobra was found that may have been a votive offering.<sup>24</sup>

The Gazelle was revered in many parts of the Semitic world.<sup>25</sup> In Asia Minor,<sup>26</sup> and probably in Canaan,<sup>27</sup> this animal was sacrificed at the sanctuaries, or the high places.<sup>28</sup> Its blood was taboo among the Hebrews<sup>28</sup>; in Phœnicia it was symbolic of 'Ashtart<sup>29</sup>; in South Arabia, of 'Athtar<sup>30</sup>; and in Arabia it was a sacrificial animal<sup>31</sup> and an object of worship. At Mecca it

<sup>18</sup> Gen. 3:1 ff.; cp. Barton, p. 97.

<sup>19</sup> Serpent-heads were found by Sellin in a small jar at Taanach which were probably used for magical purposes. Cp. *naḥash*, "divination," with *nāhāsh*, "serpent."

<sup>20</sup> *naḥash*, "serpent," in the place-names: 'Ir-*naḥash*, "city of serpent," 1 Chr. 4:12; and in the personal names: *Nahash*, "serpent," 1 Sam. 11:1, &c.; *Nahshōn*, Ex. 6:23; *Nehushtā'*, 2 K. 24:8; *zōheleth*, "serpent," in the place-name 'Eben haz-zōheleth, "stone of the serpent," 1 K. 1:9; *saraph*, "serpent," in personal name *Saraph*, 1 Chr. 4:22; *hub'b*, "serpent," (Arabic) in the personal name *Hobab*, Num. 10:29; *hayyah*, "serpent," (Arabic) in the personal name *Hawah* (Eve), Gen. 3:20; *shephūphōn*, "horned snake," in the personal names *Shephūpham*, Num. 26:39, *Shephūphan*, 1 Chr. 8:5.

<sup>21</sup> There were serpent-forms in the temple of Marduk at Esagil, *KAT.*, pp. 503 ff. Cp. *Bel and the Dragon*.

<sup>22</sup> Num. 21:9.

<sup>23</sup> The brazen serpent which Hezekiah destroyed was called *nehushtan* which probably means "bronze god."

<sup>24</sup> Macalister, *BSL.*, p. 76, fig. 14; Macalister, *EG.*, ii. p. 399.

<sup>25</sup> Smith, *KM.*, p. 197.

<sup>26</sup> Laodicea, Porphyry, *De Abſtinentia*, ii. 56; Smith, *RS.*, pp. 466 ff.

<sup>27</sup> 2 Sam. 1:19 marg.

<sup>28</sup> Deut. 12:15, 16, 22.

<sup>29</sup> See Barton, in *Hebraica*, x. p. 36.

<sup>30</sup> Smith, *RS.*, p. 466.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

was worshipped in image form.<sup>32</sup> *Sebi*, the word for gazelle lingers in one place-name<sup>33</sup> and in two personal names.<sup>34</sup>

The pig appears, from a find of bones of this animal at Gezer, to have been a sacrificial animal among the cave-dwellers.<sup>35</sup> Its uncleanness among the Hebrews points to an ancient sanctity which obtained among the Canaanites. Possibly also the pig bore a sacrosanct character in the early Hebrew times, since *ḥazir*, the Hebrew name for pig, appears in the name of a guild of priests, namely, *Ḥezir*.<sup>36</sup> In spite of the legal ban against eating swine's flesh as a sacrifice, the custom seems to have revived after the Exile.<sup>37</sup> The wild boar was sacrificed to Aphrodite in Cyprus<sup>38</sup> and was sacred to Astarte at Byblos.<sup>39</sup> At the latter place tradition connects the boar with the killing of Adonis.<sup>40</sup>

The wolf, aside from being a motive in jar-handles, as at Taanach,<sup>41</sup> is shown to have been regarded as a sacrosanct animal by being mentioned in poetry as a symbol of warlikeness,<sup>42</sup> and by being preserved in proper names.<sup>43</sup>

From the many images of lions found in the excavations,<sup>44</sup> from those mounted on the steps of Solomon's throne,<sup>45</sup> from the use of "lion" as a figure for strength in Hebrew poetry,<sup>46</sup> and from relics in proper names<sup>47</sup> one may safely draw the

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 444, 446.

<sup>33</sup> *Sebo-yim*, Gen. 14:2, &c.

<sup>34</sup> *Şibya*, 1 Chr. 8:9; *Şibyah*, 2 K. 12:2[1].

<sup>35</sup> See p. 7.

<sup>36</sup> Neh. 10:21 (20).

<sup>37</sup> Is. 65:4; 66:3, 17; cp. Ezek. 8:10.

<sup>38</sup> Johannes Lydus, *De Mensibus*, iv. 45.

<sup>39</sup> Barton, in *Hebraica*, x. p. 35.

<sup>40</sup> See p. 95.

<sup>41</sup> Sellin, p. 107.

<sup>42</sup> Gen. 49:27.

<sup>43</sup> *ze'eb*, "wolf," in the place-name *Yekeb-ze'eb*, "wine-vat of (the) wolf," and in the personal name *Ze'eb*, "wolf," Judg. 7:25.

<sup>44</sup> Very frequently at Megiddo, Schumacher, p. 90, figs. 128-130; *MNDPV.*, 1906, pp. 56, 57, figs. 52, 53. Lion stamped on a jar handle at Jericho, Sellin, in *MNDPV.*, 1907, p. 68.

<sup>45</sup> 1 K. 10:19, 20.

<sup>46</sup> Gen. 49:9; Num. 23:24; 24:9; Deut. 33:22.

<sup>47</sup> *laish*, "lion," in place-names: *Laish*, "lion," Judg. 18:7, &c.; *Laihash*, Is. 10:30; in the personal name *Laiish*, "lion," 1 Sam. 25:44,

conclusion that this animal also received a holy regard. In addition it should be mentioned that one of Ishtar's husbands<sup>48</sup> was a lion, and that the ancestral god of Baalbek was worshipped in the form of a lion.<sup>49</sup>

In Deuteronomy the offspring of sheep is called the '*ashtarōth of the flock*,<sup>50</sup> which shows that this animal was peculiarly sacred to the goddess of fertility. The ram<sup>51</sup> and the lamb<sup>52</sup> were sacrificed as burnt-offerings; while the Hebrew equivalents for *lamb*,<sup>53</sup> *ewe*,<sup>54</sup> and *mountain sheep*<sup>55</sup> remain in proper names. The sheep was sacred to Aphrodite in Cyprus.<sup>56</sup>

In Egypt the Canaanite goddess of war was pictured seated on a horse.<sup>57</sup> Horses were dedicated to the solar cult at the time of Josiah,<sup>58</sup> while further evidence of the sacred character of this animal is observed in proper names.<sup>59</sup>

The ass was sacrificed in Egypt in the cult of Set, or Sutekh, one of the borrowed deities of Canaan; while the flesh of the wild ass was eaten by certain Arab tribes, but was regarded as taboo by others.<sup>60</sup> This animal's power of speech<sup>61</sup> and its great strength—its name being figuratively applied to a tribe<sup>62</sup>—sug-

&c.; *shahsa'*, "lion," (Aramaic) in the place-name *Shahasim*, "lions," Josh. 19:22; '*arye*, "lion," in the personal name '*Aryeh*, 2 K. 15:25.

<sup>48</sup> Gilgamesh Epic, cp. *Hebraica*, x. pp. 12, 13. The lion was also connected with Ishtar as war goddess, *KAT.*<sup>3</sup>, p. 431.

<sup>49</sup> Smith, *RS.*, p. 444.

<sup>50</sup> 7:13; 28:4, 18, 51.

<sup>51</sup> Gen. 22:13; Num. 23:1 ff.

<sup>52</sup> 1 Sam. 7:9.

<sup>53</sup> *kar* in the place-name *Beth-kar*, "house of (the) lamb," 1 Sam. 7:11. Cp. personal name *Keran*, Gen. 36:26.

<sup>54</sup> *rahel* in the personal name *Rahel*, Gen. 29:6, &c.

<sup>55</sup> *zemer* in personal names: *Zimr-idi*, Knudtzon, 144:4, &c.; *Zimri*, Num. 25:14, &c.

<sup>56</sup> Johannes Lydus, *De Mensibus*, iv. 45.

<sup>57</sup> About 1500-1200 B. C., Erman, A., *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, p. 73. Ishtar was the wife of a horse in the Gilgamesh Epic, *Hebraica*, x. p. 12.

<sup>58</sup> 2 K. 23:11.

<sup>59</sup> *sūs*, "horse," in the place-name *Hašar-sūsah*, "abode of a mare," Josh. 19:5 = *Hašar-sūsīm*, "abode of horses," 1 Chr. 4:31. In the personal names: *Sūsī*, Num. 13:11; '*BD-SSM*, Phoenician name, *Ldzb., HNE.*, p. 334; cp. p. 330. Cp. *Sismay*, 1 Chr. 2:40.

<sup>60</sup> Smith, *RS.*, pp. 468 ff.

<sup>61</sup> Num. 22:28.

<sup>62</sup> Gen. 49:14.

gest that there was a *ba'al* of the ass. Two names reveal the Semitic word for ass.<sup>63</sup>

The goat was the favorite sacrificial animal of Aphrodite, and was generally venerated among the Greeks.<sup>64</sup> In Canaan proper names only remain to suggest a lingering sanctity. These names are formed from the Semitic words for *he-goat*,<sup>65</sup> *she-goat*,<sup>66</sup> *wild-goat*,<sup>67</sup> *mountain-goat*,<sup>68</sup> *kid*,<sup>69</sup> and *ibex*.<sup>70</sup>

The mouse apparently had some religious significance among the Philistines, who made images of it in gold to offer for a trespass committed against the sacred ark.<sup>71</sup> It seems to have been venerated by certain idolaters after the Exile.<sup>72</sup> Two Old Testament<sup>73</sup> and many Punic<sup>74</sup> personal names survive to show that the mouse was held to be sacred.

Among the Phoenicians the dove was sacred to Astarte<sup>75</sup>; and, in Arabia, to a goddess.<sup>76</sup> Two Old Testament personal names preserve this ancient reverence.<sup>77</sup>

Holy dogs were kept for religious purposes in a Phoenician sanctuary<sup>78</sup>; and, from the frequency with which *keleb*, "dog,"

<sup>63</sup> *hamōr*, "ass," in personal names: *Hamran*, 1 Chr. 1:41 = *Hamdan*, Gen. 36:26; *Hamōr*, "ass," Gen. 33:19.

<sup>64</sup> Smith, *RS.*, p. 472.

<sup>65</sup> *sa'ir* in place-names: *Har Se'ir*, "mount of (the) goat," Josh. 24:4, &c.; *Bamath has-Se'irim*, "high place of the he-goats," 2 K. 23:8 (Emended); in personal names: *Se'orim*, 1 Chr. 24:8; *She'ar-Yah*, 1 Chr. 8:38.

<sup>66</sup> *se'irah* in the place-name *has-Se'irah*, Judg. 3:26.

<sup>67</sup> *'arnā* (Aram.?) in personal names: *'Aran*, Gen. 36:28; *'Oren*, 1 Chr. 2:25.

<sup>68</sup> *ya'el* in personal names: *Ya'el*, Judg. 4:17, &c.; *Ya'alah*, Ezr. 2:56; *dīshōn* in the personal name *Dīshon*, 1 Chr. 1:38 = *Dīshān*, Gen. 36:21, &c.

<sup>69</sup> *gedī* in the place-name *'En-gedī*, "spring of (the) kid," 1 Sam. 23:29, &c.; in personal names: *GDY* (Punic) Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 248; *NBY-GDY* (Palmyrene) *ibid.*, p. 321.

<sup>70</sup> *terah*, a kind of "ibex," (Smith, *KM.*, p. 220) in the place-name *Terah*, Num. 33:27, 28, and in the personal name *Terah*, Gen. 11:25, &c.

<sup>71</sup> 1 Sam. 6:5.

<sup>72</sup> Is. 66:17.

<sup>73</sup> *'akbar* in the personal name *'Akbor*, Gen. 36:38; 2 K. 22:12.

<sup>74</sup> *'KBR*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 340.

<sup>75</sup> Smith, *RS.*, p. 294.

<sup>76</sup> Barton, in *Hebraica*, x. p. 65.

<sup>77</sup> *yōnah* in the personal name *Yōnah*, 2 K. 14:25, &c.; *yamāmah*, "dove," (Arabic) in the personal name *Yemimah*, Job 42:14.

<sup>78</sup> *CIS.*, i. 86A, 15. Cooke, pp. 67 ff.

is contained in Old Testament,<sup>79</sup> Hebrew,<sup>80</sup> Phoenician,<sup>81</sup> Nabataean,<sup>82</sup> and Sinaitic<sup>83</sup> personal names, it may safely be inferred that this animal was sacred throughout the Semitic world.

Art motives of the camel and the fox found at Taanach<sup>84</sup> suggest a reverence for these animals. The former was sacrificed among the Arabs, but was regarded as unclean among the Hebrews. The Semitic words for these respective animals, namely, *beker*, "young camel,"<sup>85</sup> and *shū'al*, "fox,"<sup>86</sup> are found in proper names.

Beyond the fact of their appearance in proper names, there is no evidence to indicate religious veneration for the following creatures of the animal world: stag,<sup>87</sup> fish,<sup>88</sup> antelope,<sup>89</sup> rock badger,<sup>90</sup> hyena,<sup>91</sup> leopard,<sup>92</sup> weasel,<sup>93</sup> partridge,<sup>94</sup> raven,<sup>95</sup>

<sup>79</sup> *Kaleb*, Num. 32:12, &c.; *Kelūbay*, 1 Chr. 2:9; *Kelūb*, 1 Chr. 4:11, &c.

<sup>80</sup> *KLB*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 296.

<sup>81</sup> *KLB'*, *KLB'-LM*, p. 296.

<sup>82</sup> *KLB'*, *KLBW*, *KLYBT*, *KLYBW*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 296; '*KLBW*, p. 214.

<sup>83</sup> *KLBW*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 296; '*BN-KLBW*, p. 206.

<sup>84</sup> At Taanach, Sellin, p. 107.

<sup>85</sup> *beker* in personal names: *Beker*, Num. 26:35, &c.; cp. *Bokrū*, 1 Chr. 8:38; *Bikrī*, 2 Sam. 20:1; *BKRW*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 236.

<sup>86</sup> In place-names: *Shū'al*, 1 Sam. 13:17; *Ḥasar-shū'al*, "haunt of a fox," Josh. 15:28, &c.; *Sha'albīm*, perhaps "haunt of foxes," Judg. 1:35; *She'alīm*, 1 Sam. 9:4; in the personal name *Shū'al*, 1 Chr. 7:36.

<sup>87</sup> *'ayyal*, "stag," in the place-name, *'yw-rw-n* = *'Ayyalōn*, "deer-field," 1. Breasted, *ARE.*, iv. § 712 = *Ayaluna*, Knudtzon, 273:20; Josh. 19:42; Judg. 1:35. 2. Judg. 12:12. *'Opher*, "young hart," in place-names: *'Ophrah*, Josh. 18:23, &c.; *'Ephrōn*, 2 Chr. 13:19; *Har 'Ephrōn*, Josh. 15:9. In personal names: *'Epher*, Gen. 25:4, &c.; *'Ophrah*, 1 Chr. 4:14; *'Ephrōn*, Gen. 23:8, &c.

<sup>88</sup> *nūn*, "fish," in the personal name, *Nūn*, Ex. 33:11, &c.

<sup>89</sup> *te'ō*, "antelope," in *Be'er-leḥī-te'ō*, "well of (the) jaw-bone of (the) antelope," Gen. 16:14, emended text, see p. 20, note 19.

<sup>90</sup> *shaphan*, "rock badger," in the personal name *Shaphan*, 2 K. 22:3, &c.

<sup>91</sup> In the place-name *Gē ḥas-Ṣebō'im*, "valley of the hyenas," 1 Sam. 13:18; and in the personal name *Ṣīb'ōn*, Gen. 36:2.

<sup>92</sup> *namer*, "leopard," in place-names: *Beth-nimrah*, "house of (the) leopard," Num. 32:36; *Mē-Nimrīm*, "waters of (the) leopards," Is. 15:6, &c. Sinaitic personal name *NMRH*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 323.

<sup>93</sup> *ḥoled*, "weasel," in personal names: *Ḥeled*, 1 Chr. 11:30 = *Ḥelday*, 1 Chr. 27:15; *Ḥuldah*, 2 K. 22:14; *ḤLDH*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 274.

<sup>94</sup> *ḥoglah*, "partridge," in the place-name *Beth-ḥoglah*, "house of (the) partridge," Josh. 15:6, and in the personal name *Ḥoglah*, Num.

sparrow,<sup>96</sup> falcon,<sup>97</sup> bird of prey,<sup>98</sup> lizard,<sup>99</sup> dolphin,<sup>100</sup> worm,<sup>101</sup> bee,<sup>102</sup> fly,<sup>103</sup> flea,<sup>104</sup> hornet,<sup>105</sup> locust,<sup>106</sup> and scorpion.<sup>107</sup>

The Deuteronomic construction of the second Commandment forbidding any one to make a graven image in the likeness of anything that is in the heaven or on earth, or in the waters under the earth<sup>108</sup> clearly implies the existence at that time of a heathen cult, long held under the ban by national religion, which was then showing signs of decay.<sup>109</sup> The worship of sacred animals received a great impetus in Egypt about 1300 B. C. Whether this veneration was due to a renewal of the old primitive Egyptian animal cult or to the introduction of the Canaanite cult<sup>110</sup> is difficult to determine; but since foreign ideas readily found acceptance in Egypt at that time the latter alternative may be regarded as true. Many places already cited bearing the names of animals surely belong to the pre-Israelite

26:33, &c.; *kōre*, "partridge," in the place-name 'En-hak-kōre', "spring of the partridge," Judg. 15:19; and in the personal name *Kōre*, 1 Chr. 9:19, &c.

<sup>96</sup> *ōreb*, "raven," in the place-name *Šūr-ōreb*, Judg. 7:25. In the personal name, *ōreb*, Judg. 7:25.

<sup>97</sup> *šippōr*, "sparrow," in personal names: *šippōr*, Num. 22:2, &c.; *šip-pōrah*, Ex. 2:21, &c.

<sup>98</sup> *'ayyāh*, "falcon," in *'Ayyah*, Gen. 36:24, &c.

<sup>99</sup> *'ayit*, "bird of prey," in place-names: *'Ētam*, 2 Chr. 11:6; *Sela' 'Ētam*, "cliff of (the) bird of prey," Judg. 15:8, 11.

<sup>100</sup> *šab*, "lizard," in the personal name *Šōbebah*, 1 Chr. 4:8; *homēṭ*, "kind of lizard," in the place-name *Humṭah*, Josh. 15:54.

<sup>101</sup> *taḥash*, "dolphin," (Arabic, *tuḥas*) in the place-name *Ty-h-sy*, Breasted, *ARE.*, ii. § 797. In the personal name, *Taḥash*, Gen. 22:24.

<sup>102</sup> *tōla'*, "worm," in the personal name *Tōla'*, Judg. 10:1, &c.

<sup>103</sup> *deborah*, "bee," in the personal name *Deborah*, Gen. 35:8, &c.

<sup>104</sup> *zebūb*, "fly," in the divine name *Ba'al-zebūb*, 2 K. 1:2, &c.

<sup>105</sup> *par'ōsh*, "flea," in the personal name *Par'ōsh*, Ezr. 2:3, &c.

<sup>106</sup> *šir'āh*, "hornets," in the place-name *Šarḥa*, Knudtzon, 273:21 = *Šar'ah*, Josh. 15:33; and in the personal name *Šerū'ah*, 1 K. 11:26. Cp. Ex. 23:28, where the hornet is referred to as a divine agent in driving out the enemy.

<sup>107</sup> *ḥagab*, "locust," in personal names: *Ḥagab*, Ezr. 2:46; *Ḥagabā'*, Neh. 7:48, probably = *Hagabāh*, Ezr. 2:45.

<sup>108</sup> *akrab*, "scorpion," in the place-name, *Ma'aleh 'Akrabbīm*, Judg. 1:36, &c.

<sup>109</sup> Deut. 4:16 ff.

<sup>110</sup> Smith, *RS.*, pp. 357 ff.

<sup>111</sup> Breasted, *HE.*, p. 460.

period, and therefore confirm this observation. Gray's analysis of Old Testament proper names is, therefore, very significant at this point. Of the whole number of animal names in the Old Testament about one-third are place-names<sup>111</sup>; one-third are clan-names,<sup>112</sup> and therefore old; and the remaining third are of individuals, of which only eight are Hebrews living after the time of David.<sup>113</sup> It is also worthy of notice that all the places, except four, bearing animal names were situated south of Shechem, and mostly in the territory of Judah.<sup>114</sup> Meyer comes to the conclusion that this territory was once inhabited by the Horites, and that their practice of naming persons and places after animals accounts for these survivals.<sup>115</sup>

From the many facts that have been presented in the foregoing the following significant inferences may be drawn: These facts, even exclusive of the personal names, force one to the conclusion that animals were mostly associated with some deity, either directly, or indirectly, through the deity's dwelling-place. For instance, the place where the animal was worshipped was indicated by the animal place-name, or the ritual of the ceremony. Thus the bull, goat, antelope, horse, lion, sheep, gazelle, pig, dove, eagle, jackal, and serpent<sup>116</sup> were sacred to some form of the Semitic mother-goddess. She was the *ba'alat* who gave animal increase and who actuated all the animal movements and characteristics revered by man. In regard to the dwelling-places of animal *ba'als* or *ba'alats*, the serpent, kid, antelope, leopard, and partridge are connected with the nomenclature of sacred waters which often were sacred to 'Ashtart; the goat and the stag are connected similarly with mountains usually sacred to the *ba'als*; the lamb, stag, and leopard, with *Beth* places; and the heifer, cow, gazelle, lion, horse, ass, goat, fox, stag, hyena, partridge, lizard, scorpion, and wolf with other sacred places or localities. Certain sanctuaries consecrated certain animals to a holy use. The antelope, bull, ass, heifer, ram, sheep, kid, and pig were sacrificed; the antelope, bull, gazelle, lion, mouse, and

<sup>111</sup> Gray, p. 112.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 98.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 98, 113.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 106, 107.

<sup>115</sup> Meyer, § 467.

<sup>116</sup> See Barton's list in *Hebraica*, x. pp. 72, 73.

serpent were sometimes kept alive for holy purposes within certain sacred precincts.

Among the Canaanites, as among the Semites generally, there was a marked intimacy between the trio, *deity*, *man*, and *beast*. The deity was supreme, and was unique in this trio for he imparted blood, breath, and power to man. Deity created man and beast both out of the dust of the ground,<sup>117</sup> gave to both souls which resided in the blood,<sup>118</sup> and endowed both with the powers of activity, endurance, reproduction, and, in the cases of the ass and the serpent, with speech. The blood of all sacrificial animals was regarded as sacred to the deity, and could not therefore be eaten.<sup>119</sup> In certain physical and instinctive endowments every sacred animal apparently was, in one point or another, superior to man; hence this outstanding excelling characteristic would naturally call forth the reverence and admiration of man. Thus the strength of the bull and of the ass, the ferocity of the lion and of the leopard, the reproductive-ness and utility of the ox and of the sheep, the fleetness of the antelope and of the horse, and the subtlety of the serpent were ascribed to the animating *ba'al* or *ba'alat* possessing these animals. Probably each clan named itself after that animal which it chose for a totem, seeking thus to secure for itself the revered characteristic dominant in that animal. Thus the life of the tribe was identified with that of its animal-totem, which unity of life was so close that the life of the latter must be enhanced in order to insure the life of the clan; so that as a consequence the totem-animal was regarded as sacred and might not be eaten. In the amalgamation of tribes, which necessarily followed the periods of conquest and settlement, the totemistic tribal differences persisted with characteristic religious conservatism, and, as a result, the number of sacred or totemistic animals was greatly augmented. Through the lapse of time and the consequent evolution of religious conception these tabooed animals came to be explained as unclean. This is probably the best explanation for the uncleanness which the Hebrews attributed to the pig. Out of the total list of tabooed animals, which the Hebrews explained as unclean,<sup>120</sup> one-third are found in proper names.

<sup>117</sup> Gen. 2:7, 19.

<sup>118</sup> Deut. 12:23.

<sup>119</sup> Deut. 12:16.

<sup>120</sup> Deut. 14:7 ff.; Lev. 11:4 ff.

Alongside of this totemistic development there appears to have been a religious conception of quite a different sort, namely, that implicit in the sacramental communal offering, in which the sacred animal is, in a solemn ceremony, eaten with the purpose probably on the part of the worshipper of incorporating, according to the distinctive nature of the animal, physical virtue into his being.<sup>121</sup> This hypothesis would easily account for the "clean" beasts listed in the Hebrew law, of which number nine out of eleven are contained in known proper names.

As the old religion came gradually to be stripped of its material aspects through the ascendancy of spiritual religion, the sanctity which attached to animals either disappeared, or was absorbed into the conceptions of prominent deities, or left its relics in the evidences which have already been cited.

<sup>121</sup> Smith, *RS.*, pp. 124 ff.; Jevons, F. B., *An Introduction to the History of Religion*, pp. 96 ff.

## CHAPTER XXVII

## PANTHEON: GODS OF THE INNER CONSCIOUSNESS

II. The gods of the inner consciousness, which were generally known as *rūhōth*, "spirits," received their deification from the belief that divine powers took possession of men, and manifested themselves through their various emotional and intellectual activities. The gods of this type which are definitely known to have belonged to this period are *Gil*, "rejoicing," and *'On*, "strength." Both appear as elements in personal names: the former in *'Abī-Gail*, "father is Gil,"<sup>1</sup> and *Giloh*,<sup>2</sup> and the latter in the name of a Canaanite sanctuary *Beth-'On*, "house of 'On," which, for orthodox reasons, was changed to *Beth-'awen*,<sup>3</sup> "house of idolatry." The names of a Horite chief,<sup>4</sup> of a city,<sup>5</sup> and of two Hebrews<sup>6</sup> appear also to contain this element.

Other gods of this type are not preserved in proper names, yet we may presume from these instances and from many surviving traces in the Old Testament that all the various mental and emotional states were controlled by their respective presiding genii. Thus the spirits of *ra'ah*,<sup>7</sup> "evil," *kin'ah*,<sup>8</sup> "jealousy," *zenūnīm*,<sup>9</sup> "lusts," *'iwe'im*,<sup>10</sup> "errors," *sheker*,<sup>11</sup> "lying," *keshath*,<sup>12</sup> "sorrow," *mishpat*,<sup>13</sup> "judgment," *tar-demah*,<sup>14</sup> "deep sleep," *hokmah*,<sup>15</sup> "wisdom," *gebūrah*.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 1 Sam. 25:14; 1 Chr. 2:16 = *'Abī-Gal*, 2 Sam. 17:25.

<sup>2</sup> Josh. 15:51, &c.

<sup>3</sup> Hos. 4:15, &c.

<sup>4</sup> *'Onam*, Gen. 36:23, &c.

<sup>5</sup> *'On*, Num. 16:1.

<sup>6</sup> *'Onam*, 1 Chr. 2:26, 28; *'Onan*, Gen. 38:4, &c.

<sup>7</sup> Judg. 9:23; 1 Sam. 16:15.

<sup>8</sup> Num. 5:14.

<sup>9</sup> Hos. 4:12; 5:4.

<sup>10</sup> Is. 19:14.

<sup>11</sup> 1 K. 22:22.

<sup>12</sup> An adjective preceding *ru'ah*: 1 Sam. 1:15.

<sup>13</sup> Is. 4:4; Mic. 3:8.

<sup>14</sup> Is. 29:10.

<sup>15</sup> Deut. 34:9.

<sup>16</sup> Mic. 3:8.

“might,” *koah*,<sup>17</sup> “power,” *'aph*,<sup>18</sup> “anger,” *paḥad*, “fear,”<sup>19</sup> and probably an indefinite number of similar names may have originally belonged to this list.

<sup>17</sup> Zech. 4:6.

<sup>18</sup> Gen. 30:2, &c.

<sup>19</sup> 31:42, 53.

## CHAPTER XXVIII

## PANTHEON: DEPARTMENTAL GODS

III. The departmental deities, or gods of human life, generally show, in respect to nature, sphere of activity, and manner of revelation, a marked contrast to the *ba'als* and to the gods of the inner consciousness. Gods of this class, as has been pointed out, presided over all the experiences and events of human life, such as tribal and national affairs, birth, marriage, death, and matters relating to the conduct of life. The most striking contrast between the *ba'als* and the departmental deities is observed in the inability of the former and in the ability of the latter to move from place to place. The *ba'als*—while distinguishable in the Semitic mind from their fetishes—were conceived of as having no activity apart from their abodes; while, on the other hand, the departmental deities, at least those who became tribal gods, were thought of as accompanying the tribe in all its movements. However, this line of cleavage between these two classes of gods is sometimes obscure; but this fact may point to the conclusion that many tribal gods were originally *ba'als*. This is clearly seen in the case of Yahweh, the tribal god of Israel, who was once the *ba'al* of Horeb; and in that of Adad, the storm *ba'al* who, for the Egyptians, became a war-god. The complete change of the functions of a nature-god to a tribal god required, in the instance of Yahweh, centuries of Israel's residence in Canaan.<sup>1</sup> When once Yahweh became native to Canaan, he was no longer the god of Horeb. Gods of this kind, when possessing some authority over a city, were thought to flee if the city suffered a reverse at the hands of its enemies.<sup>2</sup>

The mobility of a god of this character is seen also in the deity's iconic symbol which he was thought to accompany. Thus, if the city's chief idol was captured, the city was rendered godless. The stolen image of Shamash was as much a boon to

<sup>1</sup> Deut. 33:2; 1 K. 19:8.

<sup>2</sup> Knudtzon, 134:4 ff.

the robbing king of Hattē as it was a loss to the robbed governor of Kaṭna.<sup>3</sup> The healing virtues of Ishtar and the protecting powers of Amon-Re were thought to accompany their respective images: the former being sent to the queen of Egypt,<sup>4</sup> and the latter being carried by Wenamon on a business trip to Gebal.<sup>5</sup> Laban's teraphim,<sup>6</sup> or other portable idols,<sup>7</sup> Micah's image,<sup>8</sup> the ark of Israel,<sup>9</sup> the images which the Philistines carried to battle,<sup>10</sup> and all amulets worn on the person show that the presence of the god accompanied his image, whether carried by friends or stolen by enemies.

The relation of a deity to his tribe was a very close and intimate one. This intimacy and identity of interests is clearly observed in the frequent coincidence of the name of the deity with that of the tribe, for example, Dan, 'Anath, Edom, Esau, Gad, Gatum, Ashur, etc. Often the very name of the tribe expresses an affirmation of deity in respect to its god; as *Yabn'el*, "he who builds is god," *Yisra'el*, *Yishma'el*, *Yōseph'el*, *Yerahme'el*, etc.<sup>11</sup> The deity was so intimately a part of his tribe that the misfortune of one involved that of the other. The god was victor or vanquished according as his tribe won or lost in battle. Accordingly we see the reason for the oft-repeated injunction that Israel devote to utter destruction all the hostile tribes of Canaan.<sup>12</sup> It was carried out to the letter, particularly in those instances where the worship of the strange god was thought to be antagonistic to Yahweh. Later the rigidity of the law was softened by various modifications.<sup>13</sup>

This identification of the tribe with its chief deity was based upon kinship or physical blood-relationship. It may be inferred

<sup>3</sup> Knudtzon, 55:55 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *HDB.*, i. p. 181b.

<sup>5</sup> Breasted, *ARE.*, iv. § 570.

<sup>6</sup> *Gen.* 31:19, 29 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Knudtzon, 129:51.

<sup>8</sup> *Judg.* 18.

<sup>9</sup> 1 *Sam.* 4:4 ff.

<sup>10</sup> 2 *Sam.* 5:21.

<sup>11</sup> Meyer, *Israeliten*, pp. 296, 297.

<sup>12</sup> *Ex.* 23:31-33. Cp. *Deut.* 13:13 ff. (12 ff.); *Josh.* 6:21, 24; 8:24 ff.; 10:28; *Judg.* 20:48; 1 *Sam.* 15:8; *Mic.* 4:13.

<sup>13</sup> *Num.* 31:7; *Deut.* 2:34 ff.; 3:6 ff.; 20:13 ff.; *Josh.* 8:2, 27; *Judg.* 21:10 ff.

from those instances where the tribes bore the name of its deity that the tribe considered itself descended from a deified eponym. The Moabites are called the sons and daughters of Kemosh,<sup>14</sup> while Israel is Yahweh's son.<sup>15</sup> From the passages, "who say to a stock, Thou art my father; and to a stone, Thou hast brought me forth"<sup>16</sup> and "the rock that begat thee . . . god that gave thee birth,"<sup>17</sup> it appears that gods of stocks and stones were commonly thought of in terms of parenthood. Moreover, places of worship were the favorite resorts of those seeking offspring. This boon was promised Jacob at Beth-el and Hannah at Shiloh. The rites of prostitution, so common in connection with the Canaanite sanctuaries, furnish additional evidence for the conclusion that this practice was an outgrowth of the conception that deity was the physical father or mother of man. Finally, the Canaanite personal names containing the elements '*amm*, "paternal uncle,"<sup>18</sup> '*ab*, "father," '*ah*, "brother," '*ben*, "son," and '*bath*, "daughter," express the idea of gods having divine kinship with men.

The relation between the deity and the king is seen in the belief that the divine spirit was literally imparted to the latter when he was anointed for office with the sacred oil.<sup>19</sup> This divine unction communicated super-human wisdom and strength to him for his task of leading his people to battle and of administering justice. In a limited sense the king was divine, and received, as in the place of god, the homage of his subjects. This reverence for the kingly office is clearly observed in David's refusal to lift up his hand against Yahweh's anointed,<sup>20</sup> in the king of Aram sending Naaman to the king of Israel for healing,<sup>21</sup> in an instance in the Amarna letters where the king of Egypt is called *god*,<sup>22</sup> in the royal address "my lord, the king,"<sup>23</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Num. 21:29.

<sup>15</sup> Is. 1:2 ff.; Hos. 11:1 ff.

<sup>16</sup> Jer. 2:27.

<sup>17</sup> Deut. 32:18.

<sup>18</sup> *Ben-'Ozen; Ben-Anath; Bint-Anath*, "daughter of Anath," Breasted, *HE*. p. 449; *Ben-Ana*, Knudtzon, 170:37.

<sup>19</sup> See p. 212.

<sup>20</sup> 1 Sam. 24:7 (6); 26:11.

<sup>21</sup> 2 K. 5:5-7.

<sup>22</sup> Knudtzon, 152:1; 157:1, &c.

<sup>23</sup> 1 Sam. 24:9 (8); 2 Sam. 14:9, 12.

in the expression used in mourning, "Ah lord,"<sup>24</sup> and in the identity of Yahweh's throne with that of the king.<sup>25</sup>

Deities, in their dealings with men, were benevolent or malevolent according as they were, or were not, fittingly worshipped. If the tribe or any individual of it paid due homage to the chief deity, or to any other deity capable of granting favors, then the deity concerned exhibited his power on behalf of his worshippers. Thus, gods of war gave victory in battle,<sup>26</sup> or protection in siege<sup>27</sup>; gods of fertility, offspring<sup>28</sup>; and other gods, the gifts of healing,<sup>29</sup> "fulness of power,"<sup>30</sup> and protection,<sup>31</sup> etc. The old Canaanite theophorous names are pregnant with meaning in expressing the attributes of deities and their benevolence to man. Thus, the deity is high, exalted, good, kind, strong, noble, friendly, righteous, abundant, delightful, and mighty; while, on the active side, the deity dwells, creates, knows, helps, fills, laughs, saves, sows, hastens, protects, heals, gathers, sees, contends, blesses, and gives joy, deliverance, and strength. On the other hand, if the gods were slighted or disobeyed in any way, the malevolent side of their natures was displayed in sending upon their subjects such misfortunes as barrenness, miscarriage,<sup>32</sup> defeat in battle,<sup>33</sup> captivity,<sup>34</sup> and death.

The symbolic representations of the departmental gods, as we know especially in the case of 'Ashtart, attained to a degree of embellishment not reached by the sacred stone fetishes; which fact may favor the conclusion that the graven and molten images, so common at the high places, were especially confined to the representations of gods of this class. It is easy to see, however, that the line of cleavage may not always be free from obscurity.

The divine titles and names of gods known at this time, in

<sup>24</sup> Jer. 22:18; 34:5.

<sup>25</sup> 1 Chr. 28:5; 2 Chr. 9:8.

<sup>26</sup> Judg. 11:11, 30, 39.

<sup>27</sup> 2 K. 3:27.

<sup>28</sup> Gen. 18:1-12; 28:13; 49:25; Ex. 23:26; Judg. 13:7.

<sup>29</sup> See pp. 19, 49.

<sup>30</sup> Knudtson, 86:4.

<sup>31</sup> Gen. 31:20, 33, 42; 46:1 ff.

<sup>32</sup> Hos. 9:14; cp. 9:11.

<sup>33</sup> 2 Sam. 24:13.

<sup>34</sup> 2 K. 17.

addition to those of the foregoing period, are considered in the following pages.

**TITLES. Melek.** A god bearing the title *ham-Melek*, "the king," but pointed in the Massoretic text with the *bosheth* vowels to express contempt, as *ham-Molek*,<sup>35</sup> was worshipped at least during the latter part of this period; for the Deuteronomist brands this cult as Canaanite,<sup>36</sup> and Jeremiah identifies the god with a Canaanite *ba'al*.<sup>37</sup> Only two sanctuaries in the Hebrew period are known to have retained the Canaanite cult of *ham-Melek*, namely, *Bamath hat-Tephath*,<sup>38</sup> or *Bamath-hab-ba'al*, in the valley of Ben-Hinnom south of Jerusalem,<sup>39</sup> and Beth-el.<sup>40</sup> The distinguishing rite of this cult of making a son or a daughter "to pass through fire to *ham-Melek*,"<sup>41</sup> or "pass over to *ham-Melek*,"<sup>42</sup> is probably best explained as a devoting of children to the god<sup>43</sup> by offering them as burnt-offerings.<sup>44</sup> The children were probably slain before they were offered, since Jeremiah's reference to the people defiling the valley of Ben-Hinnom with the blood of innocents is mentioned in connection with burning children in the fire,<sup>45</sup> and since Isaac was to have been slain before he was offered as a burnt-offering.<sup>46</sup> Moreover, Psalm 106:37, 38 is conclusive: "Yea, they sacrificed their sons and their daughters unto demons, and shed innocent blood. Even the blood of their sons and of their daughters, whom they sacrificed unto the idols of Canaan." The deity according to this reference seems to have been represented by an image of some kind before which the offerings of the blood of innocents,

<sup>35</sup> Except in 1 K. 11:7 where it is simply *Molek*.

<sup>36</sup> 2 K. 16:3; cp. Ps. 106:37, 38.

<sup>37</sup> Jer. 19:5.

<sup>38</sup> Is. 30:33; Jer. 7:31.

<sup>39</sup> Jer. 19:2; 32:35.

<sup>40</sup> Am. 7:13, "sanctuary of *ham-Melek*."

<sup>41</sup> Deut. 18:10; 2 K. 16:3; 17:17, 31; 21:6; 23:10; Jer. 32:35; Ezek. 20:31; 23:37.

<sup>42</sup> Lev. 18:21.

<sup>43</sup> See Brown, Driver, Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon*, and Skinner, in *Century Bible*, on 2 K. 16:3; Frazer, p. 401.

<sup>44</sup> Ps. 106:37, 38; Jer. 19:5; Ezek. 16:20; cp. Jer. 7:31.

<sup>45</sup> Jer. 19:2, 4, 5.

<sup>46</sup> Gen. 22:9, 10.

and the burnt-offerings of children<sup>47</sup> and the offerings of oil and unguents<sup>48</sup> were made. Prostitution may have been one of the rites.<sup>49</sup>

There can be no doubt that in the Hebrew period Yahweh came to be identified with *ham-Melek*, and was worshipped under the title "the king" with the rites that originally belonged to the cult of the Canaanite *ham-Melek*. It is significant that Yahweh is often called "king."<sup>50</sup>

It is doubtful if *Milcom*,<sup>51</sup> the god of the Ammonites, whose cult Solomon honored by erecting for it a high place on the "mountain of destruction,"<sup>52</sup> had anything to do with *ham-Melek*, at least during the Hebrew period. However, the similarity of names *MLK* and *MLKM* possibly intimate an ultimate common origin. It is probable that *MLKM* is a divergent form, a dialectic variation of the original *Melek* or *Milk*, as for example, *Melkart* of Tyre<sup>53</sup> and *Malak-bel* of Palmyra.<sup>54</sup>

*Adon*, "lord," may have been used as a title of deity in the preceding period; but at any rate it appears in this period as an appellation for an otherwise unknown Semitic god whose worship was early widespread throughout the Semitic world.<sup>55</sup> *Adon* appears in the Amarna personal name *Aduna*<sup>56</sup> and as a divine title in many personal names in the Old Testament,<sup>57</sup> and in Phœnician,<sup>58</sup> Punic,<sup>59</sup> Nabatæan,<sup>60</sup> and Hebrew<sup>61</sup> inscrip-

<sup>47</sup> Jer. 19:4, 5.

<sup>48</sup> Is. 57:9.

<sup>49</sup> Lev. 20:5; 2 K. 17:17; Ps. 106:39.

<sup>50</sup> Is. 6:5; 44:6; Jer. 8:19; Mic. 2:13.

<sup>51</sup> 1 K. 11:5, 33; 2 K. 23:13; *Malkam*, 2 Sam. 12:30; 1 Chr. 20:2; Jer. 49:1, 3; Am. 1:15; Zeph. 1:5.

<sup>52</sup> 1 K. 11:33; 2 K. 23:13. *Milcom* is probably intended for *Molech* in 1 K. 11:7.

<sup>53</sup> = *MLK-KRT* = "Milk of (the) city."

<sup>54</sup> Consult *HDB*. under "Molech"; Benzinger, p. 364; Moore, in *JBL*, xvi. 1897, pp. 161 ff.; Nowack, ii. pp. 305 ff.; Toy, *Ezekiel*, on 16:21; Cooke, pp. 268 ff., 300.

<sup>55</sup> See p. 94.

<sup>56</sup> King of *Irkata*, Knudtzon, 75:25; 140:10.

<sup>57</sup> *'Adonī-bezek*, Judg. 1:5, &c.; *'Adonī-Šedek*, Josh. 10:1, &c.; *'Adonī-kam*, Ezr. 2:13, &c.; *'Adonī-ram*, 1 K. 4:6, &c.; *'Adonī-Yahū*, 1 K. 1:8, &c.; *'Adonī-Yah*, may have stood originally for *'Arawenah*, 2 Sam. 24:16.

<sup>58</sup> *'ShMN-’DN*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 229; *'DN-’ShMN*, *'DN-B’L*, p. 208; *'DN-PLT*, *'DN-ShMSh*, p. 209; Ldzb., *EPH.*, i. p. 352.

tions. Moreover, not only was this title, 'Adōnay, applied in many cases directly to Yahweh, but its vowels were applied by the Massorettes, for the purpose of reading, to the ineffable name Yahweh itself.<sup>62</sup>

Dan, "judge," was also used appellatively for deities since it appears as an element in Assyrian<sup>63</sup> and in Amarna<sup>64</sup> personal names, affirming, in the former, the divine nature of the sun-god Shamash; and, in the latter, that of Adad. Moreover, the place-names *Dan*<sup>65</sup> and *Maḥaneh-Dan*,<sup>66</sup> "camp of Dan"—both probably of Canaanite origin—and the tribal name *Dan*<sup>67</sup> which probably is a hypocoristicon<sup>68</sup> for some such original compound name as *Dani-'el*<sup>69</sup> and 'Abi-Dan<sup>70</sup> add confirming parallels from the Old Testament. A personal name in a Nabataean<sup>71</sup> and another in a Palmyrene inscription<sup>72</sup> also contain this theophorous element. The title of judge is frequently attributed to Yahweh.<sup>73</sup>

'Elyōn, "highest," (?) is the title of the unnamed god worshipped by Melchizedek, the priest-king of Salem.<sup>74</sup> As a title it was applied by the Hebrews also to Yahweh.<sup>75</sup> According to Philo of Byblos<sup>76</sup> there was a Phoenician deity bearing the name of *Elioun*, called "the most High."

Kōsh, "lord,"<sup>77</sup> as a divine title is revealed in the river-

<sup>62</sup> 'DN-BL, Ldzb., HNE., p. 208; 'DN-B'L, Ldzb., EPH. ii. p. 403.

<sup>63</sup> B'L-'DN, Ldzb., HNE., p. 240.

<sup>64</sup> 'DN-Sh', *ibid.*, p. 209; 'DN-M'Š, Ldzb., EPH. i. p. 352.

<sup>65</sup> 'Adonay, Gen. 15:2, &c.

<sup>66</sup> *Ashur-dan*, *Dayan-Asher*.

<sup>67</sup> *Addu-dāni*, Knudtzon, 292:3; 295:3.

<sup>68</sup> Gen. 14:14; cp. *Danya'an* (?), 2 Sam. 24:6.

<sup>69</sup> Judg. 13:25; 18:12.

<sup>70</sup> Gen. 30:6; Ex. 31:6, &c.

<sup>71</sup> Cp. *Amon*, *Jehu*, *Jacob*, *Joseph*.

<sup>72</sup> "Judge is god," 1 Chr. 3:1, &c.; Ezek. 14:14, &c.

<sup>73</sup> "Father is Judge," Num. 1:11, &c.

<sup>74</sup> DNY-'L, Ldzb., HNE., p. 256.

<sup>75</sup> DN-'L, *ibid.*

<sup>76</sup> *dayyan*, "judge," 1 Sam. 24:16 (15); Ps. 68:6 (5).

<sup>77</sup> 'El 'Elyon, Gen. 14:18, &c.

<sup>78</sup> Num. 24:16; Deut. 32:8; 2 Sam. 22:14; Ps. 7:18 (17), &c.; Is. 14:14; Lam. 3:35, 38.

<sup>79</sup> Euseb., *Praep. Evang.* i. 36; cp. 'LYN', Ldzb., HNE., p. 341.

<sup>80</sup> From Arabic *Kūs*. See Peiser, in *ZAW.*, xvii (1897), pp. 348 ff.

name *Kīshōn* mentioned by Thutmose III<sup>78</sup> and Judges<sup>79</sup>; possibly in the names of the two towns, *Kīshyōn*<sup>80</sup> and *'El-Kōsh*;<sup>81</sup> in those of two Edomite kings<sup>82</sup>; and in other personal names from Hebrew,<sup>83</sup> Nabatæan,<sup>84</sup> and Arabic<sup>85</sup> sources. *Kūsha'* in late times, if not earlier, was a Nabatæan deity.<sup>86</sup>

'*Addar*, "noble," may safely be considered a divine title, since the term is preserved in Palestinian nomenclature beginning as early as the time of Thutmose III<sup>87</sup> and including later the name of a district of the Amarna period<sup>88</sup> and place-names mentioned by Sheshonk,<sup>89</sup> the Old Testament,<sup>90</sup> and Phoenician inscriptions.<sup>91</sup> Moreover, one Old Testament,<sup>92</sup> one Phoenician,<sup>93</sup> and two Punic<sup>94</sup> personal names with possible Assyrian<sup>95</sup> and Babylonian<sup>96</sup> parallels add confirming evidence.

*Ham*, "father-in-law," because of its occurrence in four Hebrew personal names,<sup>97</sup> may have also been a title.

<sup>78</sup> No. 37, *MVG.*, 1907, p. 16.

<sup>79</sup> Judg. 4:7, &c.

<sup>80</sup> Josh. 19:20, &c.

<sup>81</sup> Nah. 1:1.

<sup>82</sup> *Ka-ush-ma-la-ka*, *Ka-ush-gab-ri*, kings of Edom in the time of Tiglath-pileser III and Esarhaddon respectively, *KAT.*, p. 472.

<sup>83</sup> *Bar-kōš*, Ezr. 2:53; *Kūsh-Yahū*, 1 Chr. 15:17 = *Kīshū*, 1 Chr. 6:29 (44); *Kīsh*, 1 Sam. 9:1, &c.

<sup>84</sup> *KYShW*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 363.

<sup>85</sup> Wellh., p. 67.

<sup>86</sup> *KYShH*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 363; Cooke, p. 234; *KYSh'*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 363; Cooke, p. 219.

<sup>87</sup> '*d-r'*' = '*Addar*, Breasted, *ARE.*, iv. § 716; '*A-ti-ru*, No. 14, Müller, in *MVG.*, 1907, p. 11 = *Ḥašar-'addar*, "enclosure of Addar," Num. 34:4 = '*Addar*, Josh. 15:3.

<sup>88</sup> *Aduri*, Knudtson, 256:24.

<sup>89</sup> '*d-rw-m'*', Breasted, *ARE.*, iv. § 712 = '*Adōrayim*, in Judah, 2 Chr. 11:9.

<sup>90</sup> '*Atarōth*, Num. 32:34, &c.; '*Atarōth-'addar*, Josh. 16:5; 18:13 = '*Atarōth*, Josh. 16:2.

<sup>91</sup> *RSh-'DR*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 370.

<sup>92</sup> '*Addar*, 1 Chr. 8:3.

<sup>93</sup> '*DR-MLK*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 209.

<sup>94</sup> '*DR-B'L*, '*DR-(H)MN*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 209.

<sup>95</sup> '*Adram-melek*, god of Sepharvaim, 2 K. 17:31; son of Sennacherib, 2 K. 19:37.

<sup>96</sup> *ZA.*, 1907, pp. 256 ff.

<sup>97</sup> *Ham*, Gen. 5:32, &c.; *Ḥamū-Tal*, 2 K. 23:31, &c.; *Ḥem-Dan*, Gen. 36:26; *Ḥammū-'el*, 1 Chr. 4:26.

Besides the **special gods** who presided over the events of life, namely, 'Ashtart, Ya, She'ol, Ya'akob, and 'Amor, previously treated, whose cults continue through this period, the following gods are to be noticed:

Since 'Ashtart continued to be worshipped throughout this period with increasing popularity, it seems best to notice the evidence and the distinctive features of her cult belonging to this and to the following periods. The appearance of images and plaques of this goddess in all the levels that belong to this period,<sup>98</sup> if not to the former,<sup>99</sup> is very significant. Even before the fourteenth century B. C. this goddess, under the name of *Ashirat*, revealed herself at Taanach.<sup>100</sup> Judging from the maternal traits which characterize the image of the mother-goddess found in all the levels throughout Palestine, it may be assumed that her nature remained unchanged from early times. She was the giver of offspring, and therefore answered the prayers of would-be mothers who sought her shrines.<sup>101</sup> She required, by the rite of circumcision, the consecration of the male's reproductive powers,<sup>102</sup> and she demanded the sacrifice of the first born of men<sup>103</sup> and of animals.<sup>104</sup> The function which the early Semites ascribed to the mother-goddess of giving fertility to plant and tree came, through economic causes, to be usurped by the *ba'als*; while the same function in man and animal remained within her sphere of authority, hence the close connection that has already been mentioned between 'Ashtart and the *ba'als*.<sup>105</sup>

From her office as mother-goddess to that of patroness of sexual love, the step was only a short one. In this latter rôle her character is most clearly revealed in both literary and archæological sources. In Egypt, whither her cult was carried by Semitic settlers and slaves, she was named "Kedesh," a synonym for temple-harlot; and she was pictured standing naked

<sup>98</sup> See p. 197.

<sup>99</sup> See pp. 90 ff.

<sup>100</sup> According to a clay tablet found at Taanach, Sellin, p. 108.

<sup>101</sup> This function was absorbed by Yahweh in the case of Jacob, Hannah, Sarah, Rachel, etc. In Phœnicia it was thought that the gods gave seed to men, *CIS.*, i. 3, 11.

<sup>102</sup> See pp. 52, 53.

<sup>103</sup> See p. 209.

<sup>104</sup> See p. 209.

<sup>105</sup> See pp. 235, 236.

and face-front on a lion, and holding, to symbolize both the peril and charm of her cult, a snake in one hand and a lotus flower in the other.<sup>106</sup> As *Kedesh* her name is preserved in the names of four Canaanite cities which must have been centers of her worship.<sup>107</sup> *Kedesh* appears with *Rashpu* and the old ithyphallic *Min* in an Egyptian triad. In agreement with these representations the images and plaques of 'Ashtart found in all the *tells* represent her naked or thinly veiled, with prominent breasts, adorned with necklace or earrings, or both, often holding a serpent and a flower, and in some cases a tambourine—another symbol of her charm.<sup>108</sup> 'Ashtart, because of her identity in nature and characteristics with the Egyptian goddess of love, naturally became merged with *Hathor*. Thus Hathor was called the queen of Byblos,<sup>109</sup> and was probably the same to the Phoenicians as 'Ashtart. In consequence of this merging, 'Ashtart, as is shown by the pictured wig and head-dress in many images, took on some of Hathor's features; while, on the other hand, Hathor, by being represented with horns, revealed influences of 'Ashtart.

The influence of 'Ashtart, during her supremacy in Canaan, left its traces in Egypt in art motives and monumental records; while in Canaan itself survivals of her cult appear in the name of the ancient city, '*Ashtarti*'<sup>110</sup> and in the personal name '*Abd-'Ashtart*.'<sup>111</sup> Moreover, her cult is often mentioned or implied in the Old Testament. Here her name seldom occurs in the singular but mostly in the plural form '*Ashtarōth*' which, in some cases at least, intentionally identified the local goddesses with 'Ashtart.<sup>112</sup> In other cases the name, originally in the singular,

<sup>106</sup> Müller, p. 314.

<sup>107</sup> *Kd-sh*, Breasted, *ARE.*, iii. § 308, &c. = *Kidshi*, Knudtzon, 151:60 = *Kedesh*, in Naphtali, Josh. 12:22, &c.; *Kedesh*, in Issachar, 1 Chr. 6:57 (72); *Kedesh*, in South Judah, Josh. 15:23.

<sup>108</sup> See p. 197.

<sup>109</sup> Müller, pp. 189, 314.

<sup>110</sup> '*A-s-ti-ra-tu*', Müller, pp. 162, 313 = *Ashtarti*, Knudtzon, 197:10; 256:21 = '*Ashtarōth*', Deut. 1:4; Josh. 9:10; 12:4; 13:12, 31; 1 Chr. 6:56(71) = *Be'eshterah* = *Beth-'Ashtarah*, Josh. 21:27 = *Ashtarōth Karnaim*, Gen. 14:5 = *Karnaim*, Am. 6:13 = *Carnaim*, 1 Macc. 5:26; 2 Macc. 12:21.

<sup>111</sup> Knudtzon, 63:3; *Abdi-Ash(rta)*, 82:23.

<sup>112</sup> Judg. 2:13; 10:6; 1 Sam. 7:4; 12:10.

was altered for obvious reasons by orthodox scribes. Thus in the text the name was either supplanted by *bosheth*, "shameful thing,"<sup>113</sup> or was vocalized in the last two syllables with the vowels of "bosheth" making it '*Ashtōreth*'<sup>114</sup>; or was replaced by '*asherah*, the sacred post that was dedicated to the goddess in the sanctuaries. This was probably carved into revolting shapes,<sup>115</sup> and for that reason became later an object of ridicule. The rite of prostitution, so clearly manifest in the early Hebrew times, must have come down from still earlier times. It was participated in both by male and by female prostitutes, whose offices were then not regarded with contempt but with favor as essential functions of religion, as they were elsewhere in the Semitic world.<sup>116</sup>

'Anath. Considering the warlike nature of this goddess, one would almost expect to find evidence that she was the feminine counterpart of Addu, or Resheph, but such is not forthcoming. The etymology of the name, though doubtful, is best sought in '*anā* in the transitive sense of "to afflict"<sup>117</sup>; since such a meaning is in perfect harmony with her nature as depicted on the Egyptian monuments where she wields a spear in her right hand and brandishes a club in her left. Once, along with 'Ashtart, she is called "the shield" of Ramses III.<sup>118</sup> A royal war-horse bore the name "Anath-is-satisfied"<sup>119</sup> and a royal dog, "Anath-is-protection."<sup>120</sup> As early as the time of Thutmose III this goddess was honored at Thebes by a priesthood,<sup>121</sup> but her most marked influence over Egyptian life was exerted from the time of the nineteenth dynasty onward. Her name won favor in the royal family, for Ramses II's daughter bore the name "Bint-

<sup>113</sup> Jer. 11:13; Hos. 9:10.

<sup>114</sup> 1 K. 11:5.

<sup>115</sup> See p. 185. There can be no separate goddess '*Asherah*, as '*Asherah* and '*Ashtarōth* are used interchangeably with *ba'al*. Cp. Judg. 2:13; 10:6; 1 Sam. 7:4 with Judg. 3:7 ('*Asherōth*); [1 K. 18:19 ('*Asherah*); 2 K. 23:4.

<sup>116</sup> See pp. 216 ff.

<sup>117</sup> Cp. 1 K. 11: 39; cp. Assy. *enū*, "to do violence to"; Palmyrene '*annī*, "oppress."

<sup>118</sup> Breasted, *ARE.*, iv. § 105.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, iii. § 84.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, § 467.

<sup>121</sup> Müller, p. 313.

'Anath.'<sup>122</sup> Moreover, votive seals, belonging to the reign of the same king, have been found in Egypt in no small numbers.<sup>123</sup> Besides being carried to Egypt, probably through Canaanite captives, the cult of this goddess reached Cyprus, where, in a votive inscription as late as the fourth century B. C., she is called the "strength of life."<sup>124</sup> On Palestinian soil, however, the evidence of her worship is preserved only in Canaanite geographical<sup>125</sup> and personal<sup>126</sup> names, which appear first in the time of Thutmose III and continue on through the Amarna period down to the time of Sheshonk. The Old Testament mentions again the place *Beth-'Anath*,<sup>127</sup> adding another place of the same name from Judah,<sup>128</sup> besides recording another urban<sup>129</sup> and two personal namesakes<sup>130</sup> of the goddess. 'Anath cannot be identified with the Babylonian Anatum, the consort of Anu.<sup>131</sup> A Phoenician goddess also bore the name 'Anath.<sup>132</sup>

'Edōm, "maker,"<sup>133</sup> was a Canaanite god since his name is associated with that of Shamash in the place-name *Shemesh-'Edom*, mentioned in the lists of Thutmose III.<sup>134</sup> 'Edōm is probably to be identified with the eponym-ancestor of the Edomites.<sup>135</sup> However, in Egypt, 'Edōm was regarded as a goddess, being mentioned as the wife of Resheph, the lightning

<sup>122</sup> "daughter of Anath," Breasted, *HE.*, p. 449.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 460.

<sup>124</sup> *CIS.*, i. 95; Cooke, p. 80.

<sup>125</sup> *B'ṭ-'n-t* = Bēth-Anath, Breasted, *ARE.*, iii. § 114; *Tun-Anat*, Knudtzon, 53:43; *Bēth-Anōth*, Sheshonk's list, No. 124. Breasted, *ARE.*, iv. § 716.

<sup>126</sup> *Anati*, Knudtzon, 170:43; *Ben-Anath*, "son of 'Anath," a Syrian sea-captain, Breasted, *HE.*, p. 449.

<sup>127</sup> Josh. 19:38; Judg. 1:33.

<sup>128</sup> *Bēth-'Anōth*, Josh. 15:59.

<sup>129</sup> 'Anathōth, Is. 10:30; 'Anathōth instead of *Hannathōn*, Josh. 19:14, cp. LXX *Anathōth*.

<sup>130</sup> 'Anath, Judg. 3:31, &c.; 'Anthōthī-Yah, 1 Chr. 8:24.

<sup>131</sup> Because 1. Anu is not prominent enough in Canaan. 2. Antum is insignificant in Babylonian religion. 3. Reading of Antum is uncertain. 4. Anath has an initial guttural which was unknown in Babylon.

<sup>132</sup> *Idzh.*, *HNE.*, pp. 172b, 344.

<sup>133</sup> Cp. Assy. *adāmu*.

<sup>134</sup> *Sh'-my-sh-y-t'-my*, No. 51, Breasted, *ARE.*, ii. § 783n.

<sup>135</sup> Smith, *RS.*, p. 42; Gen. 25:30.

god.<sup>136</sup> The name of this god, or goddess, found expression in the place-name '*d-m-*' in Naphtali, mentioned in the list of Sheshonk I<sup>137</sup>—a place which may have been included in the country of *Udumu*<sup>138</sup> mentioned in the Amarna letters; or identical with it; in the Old Testament place-names '*Adamah*.<sup>139</sup> '*Admah*,<sup>140</sup> '*Adomī-han-nekeb*,<sup>141</sup> '*Adam*,<sup>142</sup> and '*Ma'alch*' '*Adummīm*<sup>143</sup>; and in Old Testament,<sup>144</sup> Phoenician,<sup>145</sup> and Punie<sup>146</sup> personal names.

'*Esaw*, "maker," may have been another name or form for '*Edōm* just considered for the following reasons: 1. Both '*Esaw* and '*Edōm* were, according to two separate traditions, the original progenitors of the Edomites.<sup>147</sup> 2. Both names appear to have the same root-meaning. 3. '*Edōm* in Egypt was associated with the lightning-god, *Resheph*,<sup>148</sup> while '*Esaw* in Phoenician mythology was connected with the thunderbolt.

To the Phoenicians, according to a myth preserved by Philo Byblos,<sup>149</sup> '*Esaw* was known as *Ousoös* who had a quarrel with his twin brother *Hypsuranios*. The twins were mighty sons of Light, Fire, and Flame. *Hypsuranios* inhabited Tyre and contrived to build huts out of reeds and rushes; while *Ousoös* was a mighty hunter who not only first made garments from the skins of hunted beasts, but also first discovered the art of ship-building. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that this myth is reflected in the story of Jacob's wrestling with the angel. In the original Biblical narrative the wrestling angel was doubt-

<sup>136</sup> " '*A-tu-ma*, wife of *Rshpu*," Müller, p. 316.

<sup>137</sup> Breasted, *ARE.*, iv. § 714 = '*Adamah*, Josh. 19:36.

<sup>138</sup> Knudtson, 256:24.

<sup>139</sup> Josh. 19:36.

<sup>140</sup> Gen. 10:19, &c.

<sup>141</sup> The pass of '*Adamī*, Josh. 19:33.

<sup>142</sup> Josh. 3:16.

<sup>143</sup> The ascent of '*Adummīm*, Jos. 15:7, &c.

<sup>144</sup> '*Adam*, Gen. 4:25, &c.; '*Edōm* = '*Esaw*, Gen. 25:30; '*Obed-Edom*, "servant of Edom," 2 Sam. 6:10, &c.; *Abdodom*, LXX 2 Chr. 34:20 for '*Abdōn*.

<sup>145</sup> '*DM-YTN*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 208.

<sup>146</sup> '*BD-DM*, *ibid.*, p. 332.

<sup>147</sup> Cp. Gen. 36:9, 43 with 36:1, 8, 19.

<sup>148</sup> See *Resheph*, p. 237.

<sup>149</sup> Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* i. 10, pp. 34 f.

less none other than the god 'Esaw; and the weaker of the contending warriors, though not clearly stated in the present story, overcame the stronger by a trick.<sup>150</sup>

As 'Edōm was regarded as a goddess in Egypt<sup>151</sup> so 'Asīth appears to have been the feminine form of 'Esaw. In a votive-offering inscription of the eighteenth dynasty this goddess is associated with Kadesh, and is referred to as 'Ā-sī-ti of the sand (desert).<sup>152</sup> Her picture on a rock in the desert near *Redesieh* represents her true character as a goddess of the chase, riding on a horse and holding a spear in one hand and a shield in the other.<sup>153</sup> One Old Testament personal name may have come from that of the goddess.<sup>154</sup>

Gad, "fortune," was the god of fortune who brought good luck to his worshippers. His cult had a place in the religion of Canaan, Phoenicia,<sup>155</sup> and Arabia.<sup>156</sup> A city near Mount Lebanon bearing the name *Ba'al-Gad*<sup>157</sup> might seem to favor the idea of a *ba'al* of fortune; but since such an idea is foreign to the conception of *ba'al*, the name is better explained with Stade,<sup>158</sup> as referring to the *ba'al* of the territory occupied by the tribe of Gad,<sup>159</sup> as for example, *Ba'al Yehūdah*.<sup>160</sup> The tribe of Gad which "dwelt in the land of 'Ataroth from of old,"<sup>161</sup> and which had for its deity the original progenitor Gad,<sup>162</sup> was probably an old Canaanite-tribe adopted into the Israelite confederacy.<sup>163</sup> Certain places of probable Canaanite origin,<sup>164</sup> and many Semitic personal names surviving in the Old Testa-

<sup>150</sup> Gen. 32:24-30; cp. Meyer, *Israeliten*, p. 278.

<sup>151</sup> See 'Edōm above.

<sup>152</sup> Müller, p. 317.

<sup>153</sup> Müller, p. 316.

<sup>154</sup> *Ascith*, LXX for 'Ashwath, 1 Chr. 7:33.

<sup>155</sup> Baethgen, pp. 76 ff.

<sup>156</sup> Nöldeke, in *HERE.*, i. p. 662a; Wellh., p. 146.

<sup>157</sup> Josh. 11:17, &c.; see Paton, in *HERE.*, ii. p. 289 ff.

<sup>158</sup> Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, i. p. 272n; *HERE.*, ii. p. 289b.

<sup>159</sup> "Land of Gad," 1 Sam. 13:7; cp. Jer. 49:1.

<sup>160</sup> Emended text, 2 Sam. 6:2.

<sup>161</sup> *MI.*, 10; Josh. 18:7, &c.

<sup>162</sup> Gen. 30:11, &c.

<sup>163</sup> Son of Jacob by concubine Zilpah, Gen. 30:10.

<sup>164</sup> *Migdal-Gad*, "tower of Gad," Josh. 15:37; *Ba'al-Gad*, Josh. 11:17; *Dibon-Gad*, Num. 33:45, 46.

ment,<sup>165</sup> in Assyrian documents of the time of Sargon,<sup>166</sup> in Phoenician,<sup>167</sup> Punic,<sup>168</sup> Neo-Punic,<sup>169</sup> Aramaic,<sup>170</sup> Palmyrene,<sup>171</sup> Nabataean,<sup>172</sup> and Hebrew<sup>173</sup> inscriptions—all bearing the name of this god as a prominent element—show the widely extended influence of the worship of this god of fortune. As late as the Exile, Hebrew idolaters preferred to forsake Yahweh and his holy hill for preparing tables with sacrifices to Gad.<sup>174</sup>

Saray, or Sarah, "princess," may have had some connection with *Sharratu*, "queen," a title of the consort of the lunar god Sin of Haran,<sup>175</sup> not only because the names are similar, but also because Haran is the traditional source whence sprang the Aramaean migration of which the Sarah-tribe was a part.<sup>176</sup> Her worship came to be localized in a sacred cave at Hebron, where she was worshipped by the Hebrews and was later regarded by them as a tribal ancestress.<sup>177</sup> Possibly her name exists in the tribal name *Yisra-'el*<sup>178</sup> and in the personal names *Sera-Ya*<sup>179</sup> and *'Ahi-Shar*.<sup>180</sup> Furthermore, it is worthy of note that during the Persian period, the Nabataeans dwelling in North Arabia especially at Petra, and in the Hauran at Adra'a and Bostra, had for their chief god and associated goddess *Dhu-Sharā*, "possessor of Shara," and *Saryat* respectively.<sup>181</sup> *Dusares* of Petra was a *ba'al* who was thought to dwell in a black

<sup>165</sup> *Gadī*, 2 K. 15:14, 17; *Gaddī*, Num. 13:11; *Gaddī-'el*, Num. 13:10; *'Az-Gad*, Ezr. 2:12, &c.

<sup>166</sup> *Gadi-Yā*, *Gadi-Ya*, *Gadā*, *Gada-'*, *Gadi-ilu*, *Gadi-a*, *Gadi-i'*, *KAT*.<sup>3</sup>, pp. 479, 480.

<sup>167</sup> *GD-ShD*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 249; *GD-RM*, Ldzb., *EPH.*, i. p. 353.

<sup>168</sup> *GD-NM*, *GD-N'M*, *GD-N'MT*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 249.

<sup>169</sup> *GD-HShMM*, Ldzb., *EPH.*, i. p. 353.

<sup>170</sup> *GD-'L*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 248; *GD-NBW*, *ibid.*, p. 249.

<sup>171</sup> *GD-'T'*, *GD-RŠW*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 249; *GD-'T(')*, Ldzb., *EPH.*, p. 414.

<sup>172</sup> *GD-TB*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 248.

<sup>173</sup> *Gaddī*, Ldzb., *EPH.*, p. 405.

<sup>174</sup> Is. 65:11.

<sup>175</sup> *KAT*.<sup>3</sup>, p. 364.

<sup>176</sup> Gen. 12:5.

<sup>177</sup> Gen. 16:1, &c.

<sup>178</sup> Gen. 47:27, &c.

<sup>179</sup> 2 Sam. 8:17, &c.

<sup>180</sup> 1 K. 4:6.

<sup>181</sup> Cooke, p. 218; *CIS.*, ii. 197.

rectangular stone block, and through it to receive libations of blood. Whether *Sary* was the name of a fetish or of a locality is not known. In support of the latter view, however, three Arabic place-names may be cited.<sup>182</sup> It may be that this *ba'al* as well as his consort was, in name at least, a survival of the old Canaanite *Saray*.

*Yishak*, "the laugher," was the *numen* of the sacred "well of seven" at Beer-sheba. He was possibly otherwise styled '*El-ōlam*, "god of old time." He appears to have been an oath-witnessing and covenant-confirming god; and one who created, by a peculiar laugh, a terrible dread among his enemies<sup>183</sup> and a feeling of protection among his worshippers.<sup>184</sup>

*Sheol*, "underworld," the Canaanite equivalent of the Sumerian *Aralū*,<sup>185</sup> was the god of the underworld.<sup>186</sup> The name found expression in the old Canaanite place-names *Beth-Sheol*, "(the) house of Sheol," and *Mi-Sh'al*, "(the) place of Sheol,"<sup>187</sup> in the name of a sacred hill connected with early Hebrew history<sup>188</sup> as well as in the personal name *Sh'ul*,<sup>189</sup> a native of the same place, and two other Hebrew personal names.<sup>190</sup> The frequent poetic personifications of Sheol, whether alone or in parallelism with *Death*, or the *Pit*, betray a lingering influence of the cult of this god.

*Mūth*, "death," was another Canaanite name for the god of the underworld. This is shown by the use of *mūth* as a personification in the Old Testament<sup>191</sup> and by the occurrence of

<sup>182</sup> Wellh. pp. 48 ff.

<sup>183</sup> Whence "Fear of Isaac," Gen. 31:42, 53; see Meyer, *Israeliten*, pp. 254 ff.

<sup>184</sup> *yishak* = "he laughs," cp. Gen. 21:6.

<sup>185</sup> See p. 129.

<sup>186</sup> *Ba-ti-sha'-ra*, Thutmose III's list, No. 110, Müller, p. 193; *MVG.* 1907, p. 29 = *B'-t-sh'-r'*, Ramses III's list, Breasted, *ARE.*, iii. § 114 = *Bet-sha-el*, Sheshonk's list, Müller, pp. 164, 192.

<sup>187</sup> *Mi-sh-'a-ra* = *Mi-Sh'al*, No. 39, Müller, p. 181.

<sup>188</sup> *Gib'ath-Sha'ul*, "(the) hill of Sheol," (1 Sam. 11:4; 15:34; Is. 10:29) which according to 1 Sam. 10:5, is the same as *Gib'ath-ha-'elohim*, "the hill of God."

<sup>189</sup> Saul, 1 Sam. 9:2, &c.

<sup>190</sup> *Metha-Sha'el*, Gen. 4:18; *Mi-Sha'el*, Ex. 6:22, &c.

<sup>191</sup> As *Maweth*, see pp. 131, 133.

this element in proper names. The name is an element in the Canaanite personal name *Mut-ba'lu*<sup>192</sup>; in the Canaanite place-name *Yar-Mūth*<sup>193</sup>; in the Old Testament place-names 'Az-Maweth,<sup>194</sup> or *Beth-'az-Maweth*,<sup>195</sup> which may also be Canaanite, and in the Hebrew personal names 'Aḥi-Mōth<sup>196</sup> and *Yeri-Mōth*.<sup>197</sup> Mūth cannot have had anything to do with the Egyptian goddess of the same name, because the latter attained to little importance in her own land, to say nothing of Palestine where even the more important Egyptian gods never left so much as a trace of their influence in the nomenclature. There was a god of this name also among the Phoenicians.<sup>198</sup>

Bala'-el, the "god who swallows," or *Bela'-el*, "god of destruction," according to a justifiable correction of *Beliya'al*, "without use," in the Massoretic text, was the name for the ruler of the underworld used by the Hebrews as is shown by its occurrence in poetic parallelism with *Mūth*.<sup>199</sup> Possibly the Old Testament personal name *Bela'*<sup>200</sup> bears the god's name.

Šūr, "rock," came to be deified probably because a rock was dedicated as the conventional abode of a *numen*. In many Old Testament passages *Šūr* is a designation of Yahweh,<sup>201</sup> and in others, of a heathen god<sup>202</sup>; while in many other passages it is used as a figure of God's defense and support of his people. Further evidence confirming the existence for this divinity arises from the occurrence of *Šūr* in the Phoenician place-names *Šurru*,<sup>203</sup> and *ŠRY*,<sup>204</sup> in the Old Testament place-names, *Beth-*

<sup>192</sup> "Death is lord," Knudtzon 256:2, 5.

<sup>193</sup> Josh. 10:3, &c.

<sup>194</sup> Ezr. 2:24.

<sup>195</sup> Neh. 7:28.

<sup>196</sup> 1 Chr. 6:10 (25).

<sup>197</sup> 1 Chr. 7:7, &c.

<sup>198</sup> Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* i. 38.

<sup>199</sup> 2 Sam. 22:5, 6 = Ps. 18:5, 6 (4, 5).

<sup>200</sup> Gen. 36:32, &c.

<sup>201</sup> Deut. 32:4, 15, 18, 31, 37; 1 Sam. 2:2; 2 Sam. 22:32, 47; 23:3; Ps. 31:4 (3); 62:7, 8 (6, 7), &c.; Is. 17:10; 44:8; Hab. 1:12.

<sup>202</sup> Deut. 32:31; 1 Sam. 2:2; 2 Sam. 22:32; Is. 44:8.

<sup>203</sup> In Tell el Amarna Letters; = Egyptian *Da-ru*, Müller, p. 185; = *Šūr* (*Tyre*), 2 Sam. 5:11, &c.

<sup>204</sup> *ŠRY*, Ldzb., *HNE*, p. 359.

Šūr, "house of Šūr,"<sup>205</sup> and Šer<sup>206</sup>; and in Old Testament,<sup>207</sup> Punic,<sup>208</sup> Aramaic,<sup>209</sup> personal names.

Kemōsh may have been originally a Canaanite god; since the name is contained in *Mi-Kmash*, "place of Kemōsh."<sup>210</sup> He appears later as the Moabite national god,<sup>211</sup> being mentioned on the Moabite stone.<sup>212</sup> For this cult Solomon erected a high place.<sup>213</sup>

Kīn, or Kūn, offers evidence of being a deity, since the name, or its variations, occurs in the Canaanite place-name *Kunēa*<sup>214</sup> and the personal name *Kin-Anat*<sup>215</sup>; in the Old Testament place-names *Kinah*<sup>216</sup> and *Kanah*<sup>217</sup>; in *Kain*,<sup>218</sup> the eponym of the Kenites; in Old Testament,<sup>219</sup> Nabataean,<sup>220</sup> and Sinitic<sup>221</sup> personal names; and in the name of a Sabæan divinity.<sup>222</sup>

Sedek, "righteousness," was at first a god, but later he appears to have become the mere attribute of some god or other. *Šedek* is often used as an attribute of Yahweh.<sup>223</sup> Evidence for the existence of this god is found in the Amarna personal name *Rab-Zidki*,<sup>224</sup> in the Canaanite personal names 'Adōnī-Šedek,<sup>225</sup> and *Malki-Šedek*,<sup>226</sup> and in other personal names from Assy-

<sup>205</sup> Josh. 15:58.

<sup>206</sup> Šer, place-name, Josh. 19:35.

<sup>207</sup> Šūr, Num. 25:15, &c.; Šūrī-'el, Num. 3:35; Šūrī-shadday, Num. 1:6, &c.; 'El-Šūr, Num. 1:5.

<sup>208</sup> ŠR, ŠR-BM, Ldzb., HNE., p. 359.

<sup>209</sup> BR-ŠR, Zenjirli, Panammu Insc. 1.

<sup>210</sup> 1 Sam. 13:2, &c.

<sup>211</sup> Baethgen, pp. 13 ff., 238, 256.

<sup>212</sup> Lines 3, 5, 9, 12, 13, 15, 17-19, 32, 33.

<sup>213</sup> 1 K. 11:7, 33; 2 K. 23:13; Jer. 48:7.

<sup>214</sup> Knudtzon, 37:22.

<sup>215</sup> Breasted, HE., p. 353.

<sup>216</sup> Josh. 15:22.

<sup>217</sup> Josh. 19:28.

<sup>218</sup> Gen. 4:1, &c.; Judg. 4:11, &c.

<sup>219</sup> Kīnān, Gen. 5:13, &c.

<sup>220</sup> KYNW, Ldzb., HNE., p. 362.

<sup>221</sup> KYNW, *ibid.*

<sup>222</sup> KYNW, CIS., iv. 8, 2.

<sup>223</sup> Jer. 23:6; 33:16.

<sup>224</sup> Knudtzon, 170:37.

<sup>225</sup> Josh. 10:1, 3.

<sup>226</sup> Gen. 14:18.

ian,<sup>227</sup> Old Testament,<sup>228</sup> Moabite,<sup>229</sup> Phoenician,<sup>230</sup> Neo-Punic,<sup>231</sup> Aramaic,<sup>232</sup> and Sabæan<sup>233</sup> sources.

Because of the frequent appearance of certain elements in proper names in the same relations with other accompanying elements as in well-known theophorous names, there is justification for the existence of the following deities: 'Ezer, "help," in Old Testament,<sup>234</sup> Phoenician,<sup>235</sup> Punic,<sup>236</sup> Aramaic,<sup>237</sup> and Hebrew<sup>238</sup> personal names; Palet in the place-name *Beth-Palet*<sup>239</sup> and in many Old Testament<sup>240</sup> and one Phoenician<sup>241</sup> personal name; 'Ad, or 'Adah, "ornament," in the place-name 'Am-'Ad<sup>242</sup> and in several Old Testament personal names<sup>243</sup>; Hud, "majesty," in many Old Testament personal names<sup>244</sup>; and Urash.<sup>245</sup>

<sup>227</sup> *Zu-bi-si-id-ki*; *Ši-id-ki-ilu*, Assyr. eponym of 764 B. C., *KAT.*, p. 474.

<sup>228</sup> *Sidkī-Yahū*, 2 K. 24:17, &c.; *Šadōk*, 2 Sam. 8:17, &c. *Yehō-Šadak*, 1 Chr. 5:40 (6:14), &c.

<sup>229</sup> *KMSH-ŠDK*, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 297.

<sup>230</sup> *ŠDK-MLK*, *ibid.*, p. 357.

<sup>231</sup> *ŠDK*, *ibid.*, p. 357.

<sup>232</sup> *ŠDK-RMN*, *ibid.*

<sup>233</sup> *ŠDK*, *CIS.*, iv. 287, 1, 2.

<sup>234</sup> 'Ezer, Neh. 3:19, &c.; 'Ezer, 1 Chr. 7:21, &c.; 'Ezra', Ezr. 7:1, &c.; 'Ezrah, 1 Chr. 4:17, &c.; 'Azzūr, Jer. 28:1, &c.; 'Azar-'el, 1 Chr. 12:6, &c.; 'Azrī-'el, Jer. 36:26, &c.; 'Azar-Yah(ū), 2 K. 15:6, &c.; 'Ezrī, 1 Chr. 27:26; 'Azrī-kam, 1 Chr. 3:23, &c.

<sup>235</sup> 'ZR, 'ZR-B'L, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 338; 'ŠhMN-'ZR, *ibid.*, p. 229; 'ZR, Ldzb., *EPH.*, ii. p. 409.

<sup>236</sup> 'ZR-B'L, 'ZR-B'L, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 338; 'ZR, Ldzb., *EPH.*, p. 358; *MLKRT-'ZR*, *ibid.*, p. 357; B'L-'ZR, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 241.

<sup>237</sup> B'L-'ZR, *ibid.*, p. 241.

<sup>238</sup> 'ZR, 'ZR-YHW, *ibid.*, p. 338, Ldzb., *EPH.*, i. p. 358; 'L-'ZR, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 218.

<sup>239</sup> *Bēth-Palet*, "house of Palet," Josh. 15:27, &c.

<sup>240</sup> *Pelet*, 1 Chr. 2:47, &c.; *Palṭī*, Num. 13:9, &c.; *Piltay*, Neh. 12:17; *Palṭī-'el*, 2 Sam. 3:15 = *Palṭī*, 1 Sam. 25:44; *Pelaṭ-Yah(ū)*, Ezek. 11:1 &c.; *Yaphlet*, 1 Chr. 7:33.

<sup>241</sup> 'DN-PLṬ, Ldzb., *HNE.*, p. 209.

<sup>242</sup> 'Am-'Ad, Josh. 19:26.

<sup>243</sup> 'Adah, Gen. 4:19; 'Ada-Yah(ū), 2 Chr. 23:1, &c.; 'Adī-'el, 1 Chr. 4:36, &c.; 'Iddō('), 1 K. 4:14, &c.; Yō-'Ed, Neh. 11:7; 'El-'Ad, 1 Chr. 7:21; 'El-'Adah, 1 Chr. 7:20.

<sup>244</sup> 'Abī-Hūd, 1 Chr. 8:3; 'Aḥī-Hūd, Num. 34:27; *Abioud*, LXX for 'Abī-Yah, 1 Chr. 7:8; 'Ish-Hōd, 1 Chr. 7:18; 'Ammī-Hūd, 2 Sam. 13:37, &c.; Hōd, 1 Chr. 7:37; *Hōda-we-Yahū*, 1 Chr. 3:24, &c.; *Hōd-Yah*, Neh. 7:43; *Hōdī-Yah*, 1 Chr. 4:19, &c.

<sup>245</sup> *Abdī-Urash*, "servant of Urash," Knudtzon, Digitized by Google

The deified shades of the dead were in this period regarded with the same reverence and awe as had been accorded them in the former period<sup>246</sup>; only the fact stands out more distinctly now that certain sanctuaries came to be especially hallowed because they contained the graves of certain prominent heroes who probably later were worshipped as ancestors. There is no evidence to show that Canaanite religion originated in the cult of the dead or of ancestors. No grave, not even that of a hero, could be the origin of a holy place; but, on the other hand, the evidence points in the opposite direction that holy places were the most fitting burying places for the dead; and as time went on the memory of great deeds of heroes exalted their shades to the position of gods. Thus at certain tombs, such as that at Hebron, the spirits of ancestors were thought to linger and to receive the prayers of inquiring souls. The fact that most sacred tombs, at that time as well as in modern times, were situated on the tops of hills and mountains only confirms the assertion already made, that holy places determined the location of graves, because hill-tops were the most popular locations of the high places.

Yoseph, the father of Ephraim and Manasseh, became the *numen* of a sacred tomb probably situated on the holy plot of ground at Shechem.<sup>247</sup> The name appears in the list of Thutmose III as that of a city, or of a district,<sup>248</sup> in what was later known as Mount Ephraim, and, therefore, stood in some connection with the tradition of Joseph's inheritance and burial at Shechem. There may possibly be a reference to this cult in the expressions: "house of Yōseph,"<sup>249</sup> "remnant of Yōseph,"<sup>250</sup> and "affliction of Yōseph."<sup>251</sup> The name *'El-Yasaph* is suggestive.<sup>252</sup>

Saray, 'Abram, Yishak, Ya'akob, and possibly Le'ah and Ribkah, the eponymous ancestors and ancestresses of well-known old Aramæan tribes, were undoubtedly regarded as divine

<sup>246</sup> See pp. 103 ff.

<sup>247</sup> Gen. 48:22; 50:25; Josh. 24:32; see Meyer, *Israeliten*, pp. 288, 289, 292.

<sup>248</sup> *Y-sha-p-'a-ra*, Müller, pp. 162 f.; Breasted, *ARE.*, iv. § 131.

<sup>249</sup> Am. 5:6.

<sup>250</sup> 5:15.

<sup>251</sup> 6:6.

<sup>252</sup> Num. 1:14, &c.

shades, and were worshipped as such at the traditional tomb of Machpelah.<sup>253</sup>

Rahel, "ewe," the mother of the tribes of Joseph and Benjamin, was the *numen* of the sacred tomb at Ephrath on the northern border of Benjamin, being worshipped through the medium of a standing pillar<sup>254</sup> and possibly through some ritual of weeping.<sup>255</sup>

Deborah, "bee," another *numen* of a tomb below Beth-el, appears to have been worshipped through the medium of a holy oak and a ritual of weeping, whence came the name 'Allōn-bakūth, "oak of weeping."<sup>256</sup>

Many other places were hallowed by old tombs of renowned heroes or tribal ancestors whose *numina* were undoubtedly consulted on behalf of the living. Thus Miryam was worshipped at *Ḳadesh*<sup>257</sup>; 'Aharon, at *Mōserah*<sup>258</sup>; Mosheh, at *Nebō*<sup>259</sup>; Yisra-el, at 'Abel-miṣraim<sup>260</sup>; 'Elon, at 'Ayyalōn<sup>261</sup>; 'Ibsan, at *Beth-Lehem*<sup>262</sup>; 'El-'Azar, at *Gib'ath-phīnehās*<sup>263</sup>; Ya'ir, at *Ḳamōn*<sup>264</sup>; Manōah and Shimshōn, at *Maḥaneh-Dan*<sup>265</sup>; 'Abdōn, at *Pir'athōn*<sup>266</sup>; and Tola', at *Shāmīr*.<sup>267</sup>

<sup>253</sup> Gen. 49:30, 31.

<sup>254</sup> Gen. 35:16-20; 48:7; 1 Sam. 10:2.

<sup>255</sup> Jer. 31:15.

<sup>256</sup> Gen. 35:8.

<sup>257</sup> Num. 20:1.

<sup>258</sup> Deut. 10:6.

<sup>259</sup> 34:1, 5.

<sup>260</sup> Gen. 50:10, 11.

<sup>261</sup> Judg. 12:12.

<sup>262</sup> 12:10.

<sup>263</sup> Josh. 24:33.

<sup>264</sup> Judg. 10:5.

<sup>265</sup> 16:31.

<sup>266</sup> 12:15.

<sup>267</sup> 10:2.

## CHAPTER XXIX

## PANTHEON: FOREIGN CULTS

Foreign gods, whose cults entered Palestine as a result of the incursion of peoples from the north and of Egyptian supremacy, belong also to that class of deities known as gods of the events of life.

The Hittites left no traces of their religion in Canaan except in the name of one of their gods, namely, *Hiba*,<sup>1</sup> found in the Amarna personal names *Abdi-Hiba*<sup>2</sup> and *Hibi-Ya*.<sup>3</sup> The name may possibly survive in an Old Testament personal name.<sup>4</sup>

**Egyptian Influence**, at least of a political sort, made considerable impression upon Canaan during this period. It began when Egypt threw off the yoke of the Hyksos kings, and when the kings of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties through their untiring energy brought all of Syria and Palestine under their sway. Several kings proudly placed their inscriptions on the perpendicular rock-surfaces at the mouth of the *Nahr el-Kelb* near Beirūt. Seti I set up a votive stele at *Tell esh-Shināb* near Damascus,<sup>5</sup> and Ramses II erected a monument, now called the "Stone of Job," east of the Sea of Galilee at a place now called *Sheik Sa'd*.<sup>6</sup> The excavations have brought to light numerous objects of Egyptian culture which agree with the facts that the monuments reveal about Egyptian supremacy in Canaan. These objects, which were numerous at Gezer, particularly in the levels belonging to the Second and the Third Semitic periods (1800-1000 B. C.), are the following: A statue of a seated figure three feet high, together with other objects found in an Egyptian house<sup>7</sup>; a granite statuette of a seated figure four inches high

<sup>1</sup> *OLZ.*, 1911, col. 341.

<sup>2</sup> Knudtzon, 285:2, &c.

<sup>3</sup> 178:2.

<sup>4</sup> *Hobay-Yah*, Ezr. 2:61.

<sup>5</sup> *PEFQS.*, 1904, p. 78.

<sup>6</sup> *ZDPV.*, xiv. p. 142; Baedeker, p. 159.

<sup>7</sup> Macalister, *EG.*, ii. p. 307.

on which was an inscription by Heqab to the king and to *Ptah-Sotar*<sup>8</sup>; a funeral statue on which was an inscription by *Dudu-Amen* expressing thanksgiving to Osiris, "the living lord who gives sepulchral feasts, clothes, divine incense, and wax"<sup>9</sup>; various images and amulets of gods enumerated below; statuettes in bronze, ivory, and stone; a richly ornamented incense-burner; several alabaster, ivory, and pottery objects; quantities of scarabs; and all kinds of amulets.<sup>10</sup> The favorable position of Gezer, which is situated on the edge of the Philistine plain, undoubtedly explains why Egyptian objects of culture were found there in greater abundance than elsewhere; however, other excavations also make a contribution, though of lesser importance. Thus an idol, besides several other images of gods, was found at Lachish<sup>11</sup>; a considerable number of scarabs at Megiddo,<sup>12</sup> Lachish,<sup>13</sup> and Beth-shemesh<sup>14</sup>; several Horus eyes at Megiddo,<sup>15</sup> Taanach,<sup>16</sup> Lachish,<sup>17</sup> and Beth-shemesh<sup>18</sup>; and amulets at Megiddo,<sup>19</sup> Taanach,<sup>20</sup> Lachish,<sup>21</sup> and Beth-shemesh.<sup>22</sup>

After all the evidence has been submitted, the only fair-minded conclusion to which one may come is that Egyptian religion made merely a superficial impression on the religious conceptions of the Canaanites, with the possible exception of the fusion of the natures of 'Ashtart and Hathor and the consequent coloring which each gave to the other as shown in their iconic representations found respectively in Egypt and Canaan. Most of the remains, bearing a superficial Egyptian character, may easily be accounted for by the fact that, during the Egyptian supremacy in Palestine, Egyptian officials, soldiers, and

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 311 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 312 ff.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 313 ff.

<sup>11</sup> See below.

<sup>12</sup> Schumacher, p. 8, fig. 124.

<sup>13</sup> Bliss, p. 79.

<sup>14</sup> *PEFA.*, ii. pp. 61 ff., 69, 72, 73.

<sup>15</sup> Schumacher, p. 88, fig. xxviii, c.

<sup>16</sup> Sellin, p. 111.

<sup>17</sup> Bliss, p. 80, fig. 158.

<sup>18</sup> *PEFA.*, ii. pp. 60 ff.

<sup>19</sup> Schumacher, p. 88, fig. xxviii, b.

<sup>20</sup> Sellin, p. 111.

<sup>21</sup> Bliss, p. 40.

<sup>22</sup> *PEFA.*, ii. pp. 60 ff.

residents made their home in Canaan. It is evident, then, that the religion of Canaan was of that virile and conservative type which admitted no compromise with foreign cults.<sup>23</sup>

Amon-Re, the sun-god, the creator and dispenser of nourishment, came into prominence with the ascendancy of Thebes at the beginning of the Middle Empire, and continued to be the chief god of the kingdom while Thebes held the scepter of power. During the palmiest days of Egyptian supremacy in Palestine and Syria, the conquering Pharaohs introduced into the Asiatic dependencies the enforced worship of Amon-Re, which had a superficial character, since it was associated in the minds of the people with the Egyptian extortion of tribute. At Amon-Re's annual feast of Opet, Thutmose III presented the god with three captured towns of southern Lebanon.<sup>24</sup> Such a worship existed at Tyre<sup>25</sup>; at Tunip where the people declared that the gods and the wood(en) *naprillan* of the king of Egypt dwelt<sup>26</sup>; at Gebal, where the forefathers of the kings continually sacrificed to Amon<sup>27</sup>; at Taanach, where a tablet bearing the name *Amon* was found<sup>28</sup>; and in the land of Zaḥi where Ramesses III built "a mysterious house" (temple) in which was placed a "fashioned statue" of the "divine" Amon to which "the Asiatics of Retenu came—bearing their tribute."<sup>29</sup> Rib-Addi of Gebal, out of respect to the Pharaoh, in more than one letter prays to "Amon the gods of the king."<sup>30</sup> Twice he associates the god with the *ba'alat* of Gebal<sup>31</sup> whom he once connects with *Shamash*, the Semitic sun-god<sup>32</sup>; thus showing an identity of natures of the two gods Amon and Shamash. This is accidentally shown again in an instance where Abimilki addresses Pharaoh as *Shamash* when thinking of Amon.<sup>33</sup> It appears to have been customary for the Pharaoh, when confer-

<sup>23</sup> Müller, p. 309.

<sup>24</sup> Breasted, *ARE.*, ii. § 557.

<sup>25</sup> Knudtzon, 149:6 ff.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 59:9, 10.

<sup>27</sup> Breasted, *ARE.*, iv. § 580.

<sup>28</sup> *A-mu-na*, Sellin, p. 120.

<sup>29</sup> Breasted, *ARE.*, iv. § 219.

<sup>30</sup> Knudtzon, 71:4 ff.; 86:3 ff.

<sup>31</sup> 87:5 ff.; 95:3 ff.

<sup>32</sup> 116:62 ff.

<sup>33</sup> 149:6 ff.

ing an honor upon a friend or when soliciting a favor from a subject prince, to send him as a present an image of Amon. Thus Wenamon, a messenger of Hrihor, the high priest of Amon at Thebes, takes an image called "Amon-of-the-way" to the king of Gebal in order to secure his favor in obtaining cedar-wood.<sup>34</sup> With the waning of Egyptian authority in Palestine the cult of Amon passed away, only the faintest traces of his influence remaining in the place-name *Amon-hatbi*<sup>35</sup> and in the Amarna personal names *Pen-Amon*<sup>36</sup> and *A(m)an-(masha)*<sup>37</sup> and in the Old Testament personal name 'Amōn.<sup>38</sup>

The cult of the *Pharaoh* was the result of the enforced worship in Canaan of Amon-Re, of whom the Pharaoh thought himself to be an incarnation. A temple in Phoenicia was the official place where the subject princes had to avow every year their loyalty to their sovereign lord, the king, by bowing down before the image of the Pharaoh<sup>39</sup> and making offerings to it. A satisfactory act of worship, particularly when a rebellious city wished to surrender to the besieging army of the Pharaoh, was the burning of incense in a censer exhibited from the top of the city-walls.<sup>40</sup> The Syrian princes in most of their letters to the king use language expressive of worship. Thus Widia of Askalon says, "To the king, my lord, my god, my sun, the sun of the sky, thus Widea . . . speaks, thy servant, the dust of thy feet, the stable-slave of thy horse, at the feet of the king, my lord, I bowed down seven times and seven times, way down with belly and back."<sup>41</sup> Zimridi of Sidon writes, "To the king, my lord, my god, my sun, the breath of my life, etc."<sup>42</sup> Abimilki of Tyre says "O king, my lord, as the sun, as Adad in the sky thou art."<sup>43</sup> Again the Pharaoh is often called "the son of Sh-mash," i. e., the sun,<sup>44</sup> which is an attempt to translate the

<sup>34</sup> Breasted, *ARE.*, iv. § 569 ff.

<sup>35</sup> Knudtzon, 185:11.

<sup>36</sup> Breasted, *ARE.*, iv. p. 284.

<sup>37</sup> Knudtzon, 113:43.

<sup>38</sup> 1 K. 22:26, &c.; cp. 'Amōn, 2 Sam. 3:2, &c.

<sup>39</sup> Breasted, *ARE.*, iv. § 219.

<sup>40</sup> Müller, p. 305.

<sup>41</sup> Knudtzon, 320:1 ff. and six other Letters.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 144:1 ff.; cp. 143:1 ff.

<sup>43</sup> 149:4 ff.

<sup>44</sup> 55:1.

Egyptian title "son of Re." This ludicrous inconsistency of styling Pharaoh both "sun" and "son of the sun" furnishes another indication that the devotees of the Pharaoh did not enter into their worship of *Amon-Re*, or his incarnations at all heartily, and were glad at the first opportunity to prove traitorous to this kind of religion.

A prayer to the king as a god, in association with *Ptah-Sotar*, the artificer-god, was inscribed on an Egyptian statuette of the twelfth dynasty found at Gezer<sup>45</sup>; which shows that at least some loyal Egyptian faithfully rendered divine homage to the ruling Pharaoh.

*Hathor*, the goddess of love, having in nature much in common with 'Ashtart, came early to have no small place in the religious regard of the Canaanites, or at least of her Egyptian devotees living in Canaan, as is shown by the representations of *Hathor* alone or in combination with 'Ashtart in images and plaques discovered in nearly all the excavations.<sup>46</sup> These images of 'Ashtart variously represented in Egyptian fashion like *Hathor* with a wig or headdress, or holding lotus flowers, a serpent, or a tambourine, indicate to what extent the conceptions of *Hathor* influenced those of 'Ashtart. In the same connection it is interesting to note that the *ba'alat* of Gebal was pictured similarly as *Hathor* with the sun-disk between her horns.<sup>47</sup> This identification of the two goddesses obtained also in Egypt, where the *ba'alat* of Gebal was known as *Hathor of Gebal*<sup>48</sup> and where the worship of 'Ashtart in her varying forms found fertile soil for growth.

*Bes*, the Egyptian name for some unknown Semitic god, after entering the Egyptian pantheon from Canaan at an early date,<sup>49</sup> took on many Egyptian features, and returned to Canaan again as a grotesque bearded dwarf-god. He is portrayed with long ears and arms, bandy legs, a tail, and a feathered crown. His cult was especially popular in southern Palestine since amulet-images of him, with the exception of one at Taanach,<sup>50</sup> have

<sup>45</sup> Macalister, *EG.*, ii. pp. 311 ff.

<sup>46</sup> See p. 197.

<sup>47</sup> Müller, p. 314.

<sup>48</sup> Meyer, § 357.

<sup>49</sup> See p. 101.

<sup>50</sup> Sellin, p. 105.

been found mostly in the southern *tells*, namely. Tell eš Šāfi.<sup>51</sup> Tell el Hesiy,<sup>52</sup> Gezer,<sup>53</sup> and Beth-shemesh.<sup>54</sup>

Osiris, the lord of the nether-world, is addressed in a prayer, inscribed by *Dudu-Amen* of Gezer on a funeral statue, expressing thanksgiving for the gifts of "sepulchral feasts, clothing, divine incense, and wax."<sup>55</sup>

Likewise, **Ptah-Sotar**, the artificer-god, is addressed in a prayer by *Heqab*, inscribed on a funerary statue of granite belonging to the time of the twelfth dynasty found at Gezer.<sup>56</sup> Moreover, the same god is represented in a bronze image four inches high found at Lachish<sup>57</sup> and also by three amulets.<sup>58</sup>

Other Egyptian deities exerted some influence in Canaan, as is shown by a few statuettes and amulets found in various places. These are **Ushabti**<sup>59</sup>; **Sekhet**<sup>60</sup>; **Khuun**<sup>61</sup>; **Isis** alone,<sup>62</sup> or with **Horus**,<sup>63</sup> or **Nephtys**<sup>64</sup>; and **Taurt**.<sup>65</sup>

**Scarabs**,<sup>66</sup> pendants, amulets, and divine eyes,<sup>67</sup> which were found with more or less regularity throughout the Canaanite and Hebrew levels in all the *tells*, were carried on the person and were cherished with some of the same regard that was accorded the images of the gods themselves. The virtue which the possessor fancied them to possess was that of tempering baleful influences, keeping off the evil eye, and giving confidence in expecting personal good fortune.

<sup>51</sup> Six figures in paste, Bliss and Macal., p. 40.

<sup>52</sup> A charm, Bliss, p. 40.

<sup>53</sup> Macalister, *EG.*, ii. pp. 326, 328, 331, 332, 403.

<sup>54</sup> *PEFA.*, ii. p. 60.

<sup>55</sup> Macalister, *EG.*, ii. p. 312.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 311 ff.

<sup>57</sup> Bliss, p. 67, fig. 110.

<sup>58</sup> One in the fourth stratum and two in the fifth, Macalister, *EG.*, ii. p. 332.

<sup>59</sup> One at Gath, Bliss and Macal., p. 40, Pl. 84.

<sup>60</sup> Two at Gath, *Ibid.*, Pl. 84, Nos. 10, 11. At Gezer, one in stratum III and one in V, Macalister, *EG.*, ii. pp. 331 ff.

<sup>61</sup> One in III.

<sup>62</sup> Five in V.

<sup>63</sup> Three or four in III.

<sup>64</sup> Two in V.

<sup>65</sup> One in IV, Macalister, *EG.*, ii. pp. 331 ff.

<sup>66</sup> Macalister, *EG.*, ii. pp. 314 ff.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 331 ff.