

ISRAEL'S BENEFICENT DEAD:
THE ORIGIN AND CHARACTER OF ISRAELITE ANCESTOR
CULTS AND NECROMANCY

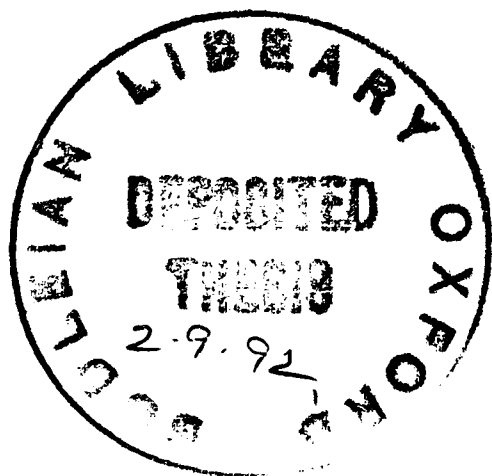
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PREFACE

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I would like to thank my wife, Kathy, for her many sacrifices, my children, Blake and Hayley, for their perseverance, and my family, friends, students, and colleagues for their encouragement.

I would like to dedicate this work to the memory of my grandfather, Hiram Ardis Simons, a teacher and scholar in his own right.

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ABSTRACT

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ISRAEL'S BENEFICENT DEAD: THE ORIGIN AND CHARACTER OF ISRAELITE ANCESTOR CULTS AND NECROMANCY

This investigation aims to ascertain whether or not the Israelites believed in the supernatural beneficent power of the dead. First, a lexicon of selected mortuary practices and beliefs is outlined. In the Israelite context, those rites most likely to reflect this belief are necromancy and those which fall within the purview of the ancestor cult intended to express veneration or worship of the ancestors (ch. 1).

Secondly, an evaluation of the relevant texts from Syria-Palestine of the third to first millennia B.C.E. demonstrates that a longstanding West Semitic or Canaanite origin for Israel's belief in the supernatural beneficent power of the dead cannot be established on the basis of these data (chs. 2 and 3). Thirdly, an examination of the Hebrew Bible demonstrates that while a concern to care for or commemorate the dead might be inferred, neither an ancestor cult nor ancestor veneration or worship in particular can be established on the basis of the available literary (or material) evidence.

Moreover, while necromancy is occasionally attested, the relevant passages which polemicize against Israel's embrace of this practice originate either in the last days of the Judahite monarchy or, more likely, during the exile itself. The historical reality which gave rise to this polemical tradition was the threat which Mesopotamian religion and magic beginning with the Neo-Assyrian period posed to later (dtr?) Yahwism (ch. 4).

Comparative ethnographic data suggests that the longstanding absence of the belief in the beneficent dead in Israel and Syria-Palestine might be partially explained as a reaction to the pervasive fear of the dead. Nevertheless, once this belief was embraced by late Israelite society, owing to contemporary developments in politics (Mesopotamian hegemony), economics (depletion of resources), and religion (popularity of divination), necromancy, not ancestor veneration or worship, presented itself as the preferred ritual expression of this belief (conclusion).

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ISRAEL'S BENEFICENT DEAD: THE ORIGIN AND CHARACTER OF ISRAELITE ANCESTOR CULTS AND NECROMANCY

This investigation sets out to ascertain whether or not the Israelites believed in the supernatural beneficent power of the dead and, if they did, to reconstruct what can be known about the origins of such belief.

A review of past works in the field exposes a marked imprecision in the application of anthropological terminology relevant to the study of mortuary practices. Moreover, a significant number assume the validity of antiquated theories of the origin of primitive religions. The resultant reconstructed model is one which not only depicts a Canaanite-Israelite ancestor cult spanning some two millennia, but within the purview of this cult are included a wide range of otherwise unrelated mortuary practices. In recent discussions, the third-to-second millennium texts from Ebla, Mari, Ugarit, Nuzi, and Emar as well as the first millennium Aramaic, Phoenician, and Hebrew inscriptional materials have been cited in support of this model (ch. 1, pt. 1).

The present investigation first offers a lexicon of selected mortuary practices and beliefs as defined in the light of modern anthropological studies. The following terms are treated: rites of passage, funerary rites, mourning rites, ancestor cults, death cults, the feeding of the dead, the care for the dead, the commemoration of the dead (or geneonymy), the veneration of the dead, the worship of the dead, and necromancy. Within the Israelite context, those rites most likely to reflect the belief in the supernatural beneficent power of the dead -should they be found to exist- include necromantic rites and those ancestor cult practices intended to express veneration or worship of the dead. Owing to the lack of relevant speculative discourse in these sources, references to such ritual complexes provide the only available literary contexts from which to extract expressions of such a belief (ch. 1, pt. 2).

In pre-first millennium Syria-Palestine, isolated data might point to the care for or commemoration of the dead, but neither the veneration nor worship of the dead nor the consultation of the dead for the purpose of retrieving information concerning the future are documented. A second

millennium West Semitic or Canaanite origin for Israel's belief in the beneficent dead cannot be established on the basis of these data. The texts from Ebla, Mari, Ugarit, Emar, and Nuzi do not provide evidence for such a belief as embraced by the indigenous populations of third-to-first millennia B.C.E. Syria-Palestine.

The so-called Eblaite king list *TM 75.G.2628*, attests to offerings to "the god of So-and-so" dingir + PN (= personal name). The dingir sign is repeated several times and in each instance it is followed by the name of a different individual. These offerings were intended for the personal god of either former members of the royal dynasty or, in view of the enigmatic term *en* at Ebla, of related influential bureaucrats.

Sumerian texts from Pre-Sargonic Lagash record the fact that individual kings of the Ur-Nanshe dynasty took as their personal god a particular deity named Shulutula. This god received sacrifices in the cult and was identified by the same construction found in the Eblaite king list, dingir + PN. In other words, the Eblaite text is not a list of offerings to the divinized royal ancestors. Rather, the text reinforces the legitimacy of the current dynasty/bureaucracy by reviewing within a cultic setting the unbroken succession of former dynasts/bureaucrats as established by their having inherited, each in their turn, the dynastic personal god.

The Mari *kispum* ritual documents the existence of regular offerings to the dead kings (*ša šarrāni*) in second millennium Syria-Palestine. However, this ritual does not reflect the veneration or worship of those kings. The same applies to the offerings *ana malikī* "for the (now deceased) vassal rulers" formerly under Mari hegemony. Neither term is divinized as we would expect them to be if veneration or worship were intended. In the Pre-Sargonic ancestor cult at Lagash, the dead kings who received regular offerings were likewise not deified. Such offerings express only a concern to care for or commemorate the former kings and to legitimate the current political structures.

In the light of comparative ethnographic data, the fact that at Mari the recipients of *kispū* are perceived as a corporate group supports the notion that they were not considered empowered with supernatural benevolence, but were viewed as those dead of the distant past who were deserving of continuous care. The exact relation of the deceased kings (*šarrānu*) to the current Amorite dynasty is unknown, so to assume that the veneration or worship of royal ancestors is in view lacks cogency. Moreover, the supposedly related *pagrā'um* offering simply refers to the carcass of the animal sacrificed, not to offerings made to a human corpse.

The Ugaritic evidence likewise fails to offer compelling evidence for the existence of the belief in the

supernatural beneficent power of the dead. The so-called Ugaritic king list *KTU* 1.113 attests to offerings to 'il + PN which, like its precursor at Ebla and Lagash (dingir + PN), designates the personal god of the Ugaritic dynasty, not the deceased divinized royal ancestors. Besides, the term 'il at Ugarit nowhere represents a (divinized) spirit of the dead. In the Shapash hymn (*KTU* 1.6:VI), 'ilm is most likely parallel to 'ilnym. The term 'il'ib is the Ugaritic equivalent to "the gods of the fathers" *ilānu/ilū ab(b)ī* or dingir.^{meš} ad.^{meš} found in cuneiform texts and as such functions as a heading in pantheon lists at Ugarit. The term does not represent the "divinized father".

KTU 1.161 records a coronation ritual for the new king along with funerary rites on behalf of the recently deceased king. The dead heroes, the *rp'im qdmym*, are summoned along with the *mlkm* to rendezvous with the throne of the recently deceased king upon its arrival in the netherworld in order to deliver it to the king's netherly abode. This group of the dead is nowhere portrayed as possessing supernatural beneficent powers. The Ugaritic *rp'um* are mythic warriors and the *rp'i 'arš* and the *qbš dt/dn* comprise groups of living mercenary warriors and not dead royalty. The mythic figure *Dtn* in 1.124 is not consulted in a necromantic type ritual, but is instructed by a major deity as to the fate of a sick child. Like its cognate at Mari, the term *pgr* in 1.13 and 1.14 designates the carcass of an animal offering, not a human corpse to which the offering was made.

While the Emar texts attest to the *metū* or dead alongside the *ilānu* and the Nuzi texts document the *eṭemmū* or the spirits of the dead alongside the *ilānu*, neither of these traditions depict the dead as having been divinized. Rather, in the case of the *metū* or *eṭemmū*, dead ancestors in need of continual care are in view and these are paired with the personal gods or household gods perhaps from the rank and file of the local pantheon. Their occurrence together can be explained simply by means of the fact that the gods and the dead placed similar demands upon the heir as he/she was expected to "honor" (*kunnū*), "call upon" (*nabū*), and "serve" (*palāḥu*) both. To honor, call upon, and serve signify typical acts of filial piety; obeisance to the gods and care for or commemoration of the dead (chs. 2-4.1).

An evaluation of both the first millennium Syro-Palestinian evidence and the biblical materials demonstrates that, contrary to the consensus opinion, a first millennium Canaanite-Israelite ancestor cult, let alone ancestor veneration or worship, cannot be established on the basis of the literary (or archeological) evidence. Moreover, literary critical considerations favor the view that the Isaiah texts 8:19, 19:3, and 29:4 while concerned with necromancy, are redactional passages of or related to the deuteronomistic traditions. Likewise, Deuteronomy 14:1, 18:11, and 26:14 are also redactional in character. These passages have to do with

practices related to mourning (in the first and last instances) and necromancy (in the second). In any case, Deut. 18:11 is a deuteronomistic or post-deuteronomistic insertion.

The same applies in the case of the pertinent texts in the Deuteronomistic History. 1 Samuel 28:3-25, 2 Kings 21:6 and 23:24 concern themselves with necromancy and the first is a post-deuteronomistic addition. Moreover, the 'ēlōhīm of 1 Sam. 28 represent not the deified dead, but the gods from below summoned to assist in the retrieval of the ghost as suggested by the invocation of the gods in contemporary Mesopotamian necromancy texts. In any case, an ancestor cult is not documented in these texts, only necromancy.

These passages originate either in the last days of the Judahite monarchy or, more likely, during the exile. If not solely of deuteronomistic orientation, all of the passages share the same concern to polemicize against Israel's embrace of this practice. The polemicizing traditions projected necromancy into passages about earlier times and portrayed it as a longstanding illicit "Canaanite" practice. As such, it was outlawed by Moses, the founder of the nation, polemicized against by the great prophet Isaiah, and expunged from the cult by the righteous king Josiah. And so, within the Deuteronomistic History, necromancy functions as the Achilles Heel of both the first monarchy led by Saul and the second epitomized by Manasseh.

The historical reality which gave rise to this polemical tradition was the deuteronomistic tradition's acquaintance with Assyrian and perhaps Babylonian religion and magic. Several arguments support a Mesopotamian influence *vis-à-vis* Israelite belief in the beneficent dead as expressed in necromancy. The rise in divination's popularity during the reigns of late Assyrian kings, the marked increase in the number of necromancy texts in Mesopotamia beginning in the Neo-Assyrian period, and the absence of necromancy in other ancient Near Eastern traditions support the likelihood of a Mesopotamian backdrop for the deuteronomistic polemic.

The deuteronomistic tradition depicted this Mesopotamian backdrop as an historical syncretistic threat. The inclusion of illicit Mesopotamian religious elements in the Josianic reform substantiate the tradition's concern in this regard. Minimally, these include selected practices having to do with astral religion such as those directed to the "constellations" or *mazzālôt* (2 Kgs. 23:5) and the "rooftop altars" or *hammizbēhôt 'ăšer 'al-haggāq* (2 Kgs. 23:12). The possibility remains that other practices in this account also point to Mesopotamian influence such as the horses and chariots dedicated to the sun.

Moreover, deities such as Baal, Asherah, and the Host of Heaven as employed in this account might reflect a "Canaanite interpretation" of Mesopotamian gods. In any case,

other contemporary biblical traditions reflect Mesopotamian influence in regard to mortuary practices such as the funerary custom of burning a fire for the dead royalty (*šārap šē rēpāh*). In the final analysis, either willful adoption or imperial imposition would offer an adequate explanation as to how this threat was perceived to be realized in late Judahite religion by the deuteronomistic tradition.

The late condemnation of the belief in the supernatural benevolent power of the dead in the form of necromancy stands as evidence not of the compatibility of this belief with earlier Yahwism, but of its belated introduction into Israel. Had this belief been expressed in ancestor worship or veneration (or, for that matter, necromancy) in earlier times, surely the related cultic rites would have been explicitly condemned in the Hebrew Bible, but ancestor cults and necromancy are lacking therein and the textual and material records of late third-to-early first millennium B.C.E. Syria-Palestine.

While the exilic to post-exilic biblical evidence reflects the possible presence of heretofore unattested Israelite mortuary practices, the continuity with the earlier traditions stands out. Like the *marzēah* attested at Ugarit and the pre-Hellenistic *marzēah* more generally, that mentioned in Amos 6:7 and Jeremiah 16:5 has as its major concern commercial interests. It reflects no intimate connection with the cult of the dead or the ancestor cult. Jeremiah 16:5 records the exceptional practice of holding funerary rites on behalf of a former member.

The biblical Rephaim likewise evince no ancestor cult associations. The Rephaim of the poetic texts are the weak common dead, a generalization of the Ugaritic *rp'im qdmym*. Those of the narrative texts parallel the *rp'um* or mythic warriors of Ugarit. The biblical Rephaim traditions evince no belief in their supernatural beneficent powers. On the other hand, Isa. 65:4 documents the continued observance of necromancy in Israel, but now in a form similar to what came to be known in later antiquity as a rite of incubation.

The *peger* of Ezek. 43:7,9 merely refers to a king's corpse buried near the temple and therefore potentially defiling. Psalm 106:28 is an exilic or post-exilic re-interpretation of Num. 25:2, a priestly polemic against contact with the dead through the eating of sacrifices offered to them. Such sacrifices might suggest the adoption in late Israel of ancestor or death cult rites, but the exact significance of such sacrifices remains to be ascertained.

Comparative ethnographic data suggests that the longstanding absence of the Israelite belief in the supernatural power of the dead might be explained in part as a reaction to the pervasive fear of the dead. While textual

references to the fear of the dead are few and problematic, both jewelry and figurines recovered from Iron Age burials in Palestine suggest a concern to ward off malevolent apparitions including perhaps the ghosts of the dead.

Israel's adoption of the belief in the supernatural beneficent dead, as in the case of the Greeks' adoption of this same belief as expressed in the form of the hero cult, was perhaps influenced by major socio-political changes. In the Israelite context, the adoption of necromancy took place during the upheavals of the late pre-exilic to exilic period. The Greek hero cult coincided with the collapse of existing social structures and the rise of the polis. As such, both offered new broad based group identities replacing or supplementing existing religious traditions. The former replaced the ancestor cults of the Greek aristocracy with their concern to care for or to commemorate the pitiful dead while the latter was introduced alongside existing Israelite religious forms providing new avenues of access to the world above.

Once the belief in the supernatural beneficent power of the dead was adopted by late Israelite society, it was expressed in the form of necromancy, not in royal ancestor worship or veneration. The heavy tribute, taxes, and/or levies paid to Assyria would have severely weakened the needed economic base to sustain a Judahite royal (or, for that matter, domestic) ancestor cult. Moreover, the characteristic legitimating function of the royal ancestor cult had no place within the diminished power structure of a subject nation. Besides, it would have conflicted with the interest of the contemporary empires of Mesopotamia to legitimate their presence in the region. Lastly, with the rise in popularity of the divining arts both in Mesopotamia and Judah, necromancy presented itself as the preferred religio-magical expression of the belief in the supernatural beneficent power of the dead.

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INTRODUCTION

Treatises on ancient Israelite religion more often than not advocate the view that at least some segments of early Israelite society believed in the supernatural beneficent power of the dead to affect the world of the living. Moreover, it has become axiomatic that this Israelite belief as expressed in the corresponding ritual forms of necromancy and the ancestor cult finds its origin in Canaanite culture of the second millennium.

Both the early modern research interest in Israelite ancestor cults and necromancy as well as the recent resurgence owe their impetus, at least in part, to the claims of early modern social historians. Ardently applying evolutionary and typological models to the history of religions, these turn-of-the-century intellectuals identified the ancestor cult (in which necromancy was often included) as the incipient expression of man's search for ultimate reality and human destiny.

That is to say, his belief in the supernatural and in man's survival after death were first symbolized in this cult. According to these theorists, the belief in the superhuman power of the dead eventuated into the abstraction "god", while the *post mortem* persistence of a ghost with a *benevolent* inclination, provided the rudimentary stimulus for the conceptualization known as beatific afterlife.

In what follows, we shall attempt to reconstruct what can be safely said concerning the existence, origins, and character of Israelite ancestor cults and necromancy. Methodologically, this demands that we first define the terms we intend to use. We

must therefore compile what is in essence, a descriptive glossary of selected mortuary practices so as to enhance the rigor and exactitude of the ensuing investigation.

We will next examine the Syro-Palestinian textual data and, to a lesser degree, the archeological finds spanning some three millennia. In so doing, we seek to evaluate the widely diffused assumption that ancestor cults and necromancy comprised early Canaanite practices reflective of an indigenous belief in the supernatural beneficent power of the dead, practices and belief which by virtue of their antiquity and proximity, informed early Israel's reverence for the benevolent dead.

Then we will evaluate the oft-cited biblical evidence supposedly reflective of Israelite ancestor cults and necromancy. As we scrutinize the texts of the Hebrew Bible, we will give particular attention to their respective compositional histories as this offers a reliable means of reconstructing the purported origin and development of these practices in Israel.¹

Having established their interpretation and compositional history, we will then appraise each of the relevant biblical passages in the light of its contemporary Near Eastern context. This provides the kind of hermeneutical control needed to identify potential socio-religious forces at play in Israel's recognition of the benefic power of the dead as manifested in her observance of ancestor cults and necromantic practices. Needless to say, such an approach stands as valid whether those influences are found to be Syro-Palestinian in origin or otherwise.

¹At least more so than the non-historical approach exemplified in Spronk 1986 and Lewis 1989.

CHAPTER I

MORTUARY PRACTICES: A DESCRIPTIVE GLOSSARY

Current interest in the Israelite version of the cult of the ancestors and necromancy has been stimulated in large part by the recent publication of epigraphic and material remains from Ugarit (modern Ras Shamra), Mari (Tell Hariri), and Ebla (Tell Mardikh). Owing to the geographic proximity of these finds as well as the presumed temporal and cultural affinities which the societies reflected in these discoveries share with each other and with early Israel, investigators hoped that these data would shed new light on Israelite mortuary practices.

In fact, a survey of the secondary literature reveals a growing consensus that, like her Syro-Palestinian neighbors and relatives of the third and second millennia, early Israel observed similar death and ancestor cult practices. Moreover, these recent explorations have vindicated the reconstructions of those late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century researchers who drew similar conclusions but lacked sufficient evidence to support their claims. Such shared results should not be construed as mere coincidence. As a reconstruction of the modern history of interpretation like that of Spronk reveals, much recent research derives its impetus from these earlier works.¹

¹ Spronk 1986:43-54. The 1864 work of the French social historian, Numa Denis Fustel de Coulanges, *La Cité antique* (= *The Ancient City*, 1873) stands as the starting point for many of the biblical researches both old and new. For his influence, cf. Momigliano 1977:325-43 and Humphreys 1987:459-61. See also the two part foreword to the 1980 edition of *The Ancient City* by Momigliano and Humphreys.

While Israelite ancestor cults and necromancy have been the object of ongoing, intensive investigation, the history of interpretation has suffered both from terminological inaccuracy and imprecision. All too often, vocabulary reflective of a wide range of mortuary practices has been confused with or subsumed under the headings of ancestor cult and necromancy.² Therefore, as a fitting introduction we shall compile what is in essence, a glossary of terms with the hope that such an approach will enhance the following investigation's level of accuracy and evaluation. To this we now turn.

Durkheim identified the following constituent elements of *the cult of the dead*: repeated standardized practices oriented toward the dead at ritual locations associated with the dead. He also speculated that death cult practices served, "to fulfill the need which the believer feels of strengthening and reaffirming, at regular intervals of time, the bond which unites him to the sacred beings upon which he depends".³

In societies where such cults exist, the belief in the persistence of some aspect of the human personality after death is universally attested.⁴ This belief, while perhaps not to be understood as the underlying motivation explaining the existence

² Spronk 1986 and Lewis 1989 use the terms "funerary practices", "necromancy", "cult of the dead", and "ancestor cult" interchangeably.

³ Durkheim 1915:63 who is followed by Nilsson 1950:585-86 in his treatment of Minoan-Mycenaean religion.

⁴ Cf. Goody 1962:18,379 and for the ancestor cult cf. Fortes 1976:5; Newell 1976:21-29; Singleton 1977:18-25; and Hardacre 1987:263.

of all death cults, remains a common denominator. Therefore, we shall consider it as another element worthy of consideration.

The same elements can be found in what we shall designate the *cult of the ancestors* with some important qualifications attached *vis-à-vis* the belief in man's persistence after death. But before we can take up those, we must mention the most distinctive feature of the ancestor cult over against the death cult, namely the kinship ties which bond the living and the dead. The ancestor cult comprises customary beliefs and practices directed towards dead predecessors. The cult of the dead is directed toward the dead in general while the ancestor cult is a lineage cult.⁵

Returning to the question of *post mortem* existence, Fortes has pointed out that the African ancestor cult can exist alongside the sketchiest lore about the mode of existence of the dead, that mortuary practices are not necessarily directed towards consigning the ancestors to a spiritual realm of existence in a supernatural realm, but towards disincorporating them from the social structure. Moreover, in the African context, the metaphysical implications of the Christian notion of the soul do not apply (= indestructible essences that animate bodies and succeed them in the timeless realm of God, pending resurrection in a corporeal form). For example, among the Ashanti an ancestral 'spirit' is not thought of as a kind of nebulous being or

⁵Ahern 1973:121 summarized the typical credentials for ancestorhood. She listed "an adult man who is a direct descendant of the lineage-ancestors and who is married, sired male children and handed down property to his sons". There are exceptions of course as in Japan where the responsibilities fell to the female household heads who succeeded deceased mothers-in-law.

personified mystical presence but primarily a name attached to a relic such as a stool. The constituent of personality is not imagined to survive in a supernatural realm after death, but is believed to remain behind to look after descendants.⁶ Moreover, an ancestor's afterlife is specifically tied to the continued authority he/she can exercise.⁷ They can behave both benevolently and malevolently. When the latter is the case, it may be due to the lack of close ties with any one living group. In other words, their behavior will not terminate their status as recipients of ritual.⁸

A second distinctive feature is the moral influence which the ancestors exercise over their descendants. Ancestors exert positive moral forces upon their descendants and can cause or prevent misfortune, whereas the spirits of the dead in general may exercise powers which achieve amoral or even anti-social ends. That is to say, misfortune at the hands of the ancestors is interpreted as retribution for failure in matters of filial piety, whereas at the hands of the dead spirits, it may be explained as an act of a malicious, arbitrary, or capricious

⁶Fortes 1965:126-29 and cf. Singleton 1977:1-35, esp. pp.18-25 on the semi-personal nature of the ancestral spirit in Africa.

⁷Cf. Fortes 1976:1-16 and Newell 1976:17-29.

⁸So Newell 1976:21-29. This eliminates the simplistic notion that the ancestral spirits were solely benevolent, while the spirits of the dead more generally were malevolent (or vice versa). Thus, with regard to Mesopotamia, the opposing views of both Bayliss 1973:115-26 and Skaist 1980:123-28 require qualification.

apparition or one without descendants and therefore not an ancestor.⁹

The traditional view that the cult of the ancestors is merely a religious phenomenon fails to take into account the ethnographic data which suggest that it is also an aspect of the living social relations in a given society and closely linked to a society's regulation of inheritance and succession. This equally applies to *the cult of the royal ancestors*. In Africa, the king participates in the cult of his ancestors and may appeal to them on behalf of the nation as any head might do in the limited descent group context. Thus, the royal version follows the pattern of lineage cult of the ancestors. However, the national significance of the royal ancestor cult derives from the political rank of those ancestors being worshipped and not from their ancestral status.¹⁰

The cult of the ancestors might manifest itself in *the cult of the common ancestors*, those deceased who have real kinship ties with the living. It has been suggested that it may also be made manifest in the cult of the mythic ancestors.¹¹ It should be pointed out however that the so-called mythic ancestors were never perceived as human procreators begetting and bearing

⁹Cf. Gluckman 1937:117-36 and Fortes 1976:9-10 on this distinction between the cult of the dead and the ancestor cult within the African context.

¹⁰Cf. Fortes 1965:122-42 and 1976:1-16.

¹¹Cf. Berndt 1970:216-17 and for a summary treatment of the mythic ancestors, cf. Long 1987:268-70. Recently, Xella 1982A:654-55 has articulated this view within the Israelite context.

offspring, but were conceived as creators of humanity.¹² Therefore, a more appropriate identity for this group might be the mythic heroes and as such they would be more appropriately located in the complex of rites related to the *hero cult*.

Taking the well documented version of the hero cult from ancient Greece as our example, it is fair to say that figures who might be included are those who displayed some extraordinary quality, though not necessarily a virtuous life. As a member of this class, a given hero might be placed at any one of several points along a continuum as the heroes included a wide array figures; faded deities, vegetation spirits, epic heroes, the ancestors, the eponymous figures, and heroes who lived in historical times.¹³ More simply, there were those who descended from the world of the gods like the mythic heroes, and those who became heroes after their death, the legendary or epic heroes.¹⁴

The proximity of the mythic heroes to the gods appears to be much closer than that of the legendary heroes. Nevertheless, the world of the gods and the world of heroes, and of mortals for that matter, were kept quite distinct. Only such figures as Dionysus and Heracles who were considered *herōs theos* stood as exceptions to this rule. In any case, the Greek hero cult was

¹² Fortes 1976:3-4.

¹³ Cf. Farnell 1921:280-342; Burkert 1985:203-15; and Garland 1985:1-12, 88-93. On the origins of the Greek hero cults, cf. Kerényi 1959:10-22; Coldstream 1976:8-17; Snodgrass 1982:107-19; and Antonaccio 1987.

¹⁴ In the Greek traditions, both can be found in the epic poetry. This probably reflects the mixture of ancient and late traditions, so Burkert 1985:205. Moreover, all such heroes, whether mythic or legendary, fall victim to death, so Kerényi 1959:1-22.

otherwise not one in which the hero was worshipped or apotheosized, but at most venerated.¹⁵ Moreover, kinship ties were lacking and an extended period of time lapsed before regular rites intended for the hero arose.¹⁶ It was believed that the heroes, in contrast to the ordinary Greek dead, could assist the living by protecting them against enemies and diseases and opening the wombs of barren women and were on rare occasion labelled healers or *iatroi*.¹⁷

Returning to the topic of death cults, in its most rudimentary form, the belief in man's persistence after death issues in the death cult practice which we shall identify as *the care for the dead*. In this case, the dead have not escaped all human frailty and so are perceived as in need of assistance, even sustenance. This often carries with it the implicit notion that the dead are weak. They have no power to affect the living in a beneficial way.

In the case of the ancestor cult, *the care for the ancestors* is motivated by the obligation to continue one's filial duties for immediate lineal predecessors after their death. This keeps the ancestors alive and their presence continually accessible to the living descendants as they partake together of

¹⁵ Cf. Kerényi 1959:1-6. Characteristically, the sacrifices to the heroes were not the same as those offered to the major gods and the altars were distinct in form and lower in height.

¹⁶ Coldstream 1976:9 and Burkert 1985:204.

¹⁷ Cf. Farnell 1921:369 for the healing heroes among whom were Asclepius, Amphiaraus, and Achilles. The significance of the term *iatroi* as applied to the biblical Rephaim will be taken up in 4.7. On the state of the common dead in Greece as deserving of pity rather than fear or reverence, cf. Garland 1985.

the food offered to the ancestors.¹⁸ Nevertheless, the ancestors are not viewed as superior beings. They are without power.¹⁹

Other death cult practices that are widely attested include the veneration of the dead and the worship of the dead. *The veneration of the dead* assumes the persistence of man after death. Moreover, it presupposes the belief that the dead can influence the high god(s) to act on behalf of the living. The dead obtained this power through their heroic acts or qualities exhibited while living, or thought to be living in the case of the mythic heroes.

Not only do the living offer the dead their expressions of gratitude, but the dead receive various forms of inducements from the living. The dead do not appear to have the same degree or quality of divinity as the high god(s), nor can they act independently of the god(s). Therefore, they are not worthy of, and unlike the gods, they do not receive, worship. The same set of criteria applies in the case of *the veneration of the ancestors*.²⁰

As a parallel, we offer the Roman Catholic cult or veneration of the saints in which the deceased intercede on behalf of the living. This the dead can accomplish owing to their acquired access to divine *virtus* or power. The dead gain such an

¹⁸ Fortes 1976:10-11,14.

¹⁹ Hultkrantz 1978:102-03 goes so far as to remove care for the dead which he equates with gifts to the dead from under the general rubric of the cult of the dead arguing that such care does not necessitate the belief that the dead may bestow some benefit upon their devotees.

²⁰ Cf. Jensen 1963:291-92.

exalted position through the testimony of a virtuous life accompanied by miracles with the latter often considered the divine reward for the former. In this practice, the dead receive veneration or *douleia* but not worship or *latreia* which is reserved only for God.²¹

Goody concluded that *the worship of the dead* implies not only the idea of survival after death (and we would add, repeated standardized practices oriented toward the dead at locations associated with the dead), but also the belief that the dead, as superior powers to the living, actively participate in the mundane affairs of the living.²² Goody's definition requires further qualification since, as it stands, it also encompasses the veneration of the dead.

The worship of the dead requires that the living serve the dead in a greater capacity. Mere gratitude and care will not suffice. The same goes for inducements. The dead require the highest form of reverence for they can act independently of the high god(s) to affect the world of the living. They are, in effect, equal in power with the god(s). The living must propitiate the dead through the offer of goods, services, words, and other gestures in order to secure their favor.

²¹ The Second Vatican Council made the following pronouncement with regard to the cult of the saints: "Let the faithful be taught, therefore, that the authentic cult of the saints consists not so much in the multiplying of external acts, but rather in the intensity of our active love. By such love, for our greater good and that of the Church, we seek from the saints example in the way of life, fellowship in their communion, and aid in their intercession", cf. Abbot 1966:84 and note Hawley 1987 for a recent assessment of the cult of the saints.

²² Goody 1962:18, 20-25, 379.

Similarly, *ancestor worship* will be restricted to those acts which reflect the belief that the power possessed by the ancestor is equivalent to that of a deity. In this case however, the dead are restricted *vis-à-vis* their extent of influence. While they can directly influence the living like the gods, they can do so only within the boundaries of lineal descendancy.

As in the case of the terms discussed thus far, death and ancestor cults are not to be equated with *the commemoration of the dead*. By the commemoration of the dead or *geneonymy* we do not intend an equation with the Roman Catholic practice by the same name in which the living attempt to produce benefits on behalf of the dead through worship of the deity as a response to the doctrine of purgatory. The commemoration with which we are concerned is that which perpetuates the memory of the deceased. It does not by necessity assume the persistence of man after death beyond the recall of the dead in the mind of the living.

The familiar practice of laying flowers at the grave of the deceased or the formal rites enacted at the tomb of the unknown soldier illustrate the secular version of the commemoration of the dead. The recognition of the saints observed in the Church of England in which the dead are remembered for their exemplary lives expresses the same but from within a religious context.

In both cases, the non-religious and religious, the living are edified through a process of legitimation that takes place in which certain ethical norms exemplified in the lives of those now dead are revered. But, such rites, while perhaps appearing periodically, do not necessitate, as the non-religious examples

demonstrate, a belief that the dead obtain an afterlife beyond the recollection of their years prior to death.²³

Furthermore, the cult of the dead should not be confused with *the rites de passage* commonly known as funerary rites and mourning rites.²⁴ The rites of passage mark the passage of a person through the cycle of life, from one stage to another over time, from one social role, status, or position to another. In the rites of passage, a fundamental tripartite process can be discerned: separation (from a former status), transition (or liminality), and incorporation (or aggregation, into a new status).²⁵

The funerary rites are performed during the period in which the dead person passes from this life (separation), through death (transition), to the next life (incorporation). *Mourning rites*, with varying degrees of intensity, take place during the transitional or liminal stage of death which itself may last for an extended period of time (in some cases, for several years). Mourning rites can therefore be subsumed under the more general rubric of funerary rites.

The period of mourning characteristically ends with the arrival of the dead in the afterworld. In the case of burials,

²³On geneonymy, cf. Goody 1962:379; Fortes 1965:123-24, 1976:4; and Newell 1976:19-20. Fortes stressed that while geneonymy presupposes the mnemonic use of genealogies, it does not predicate ancestor worship.

²⁴The observation of Singleton 1977:3 is *a propos*, "Though all peoples solemnize the burying of their dead, far from all subsequently devote a great deal of their ritual time and energy to remaining on good terms with the departed."

²⁵Van Gennep 1960:146-65 and cf. Myerhoff, Camino, and Turner 1987:380-86.

arrival may coincide with interment or an additional time period might be required for the journey to, and arrival in, the afterworld. In the latter case or in cases where burial is not observed, arrival often is signalled by the consumption of the body, whether it be induced naturally (i.e., through decay) or artificially (e.g., cremation or cannibalism).

But what differentiates funerary rites from the cult of the dead? Durkheim's distinction between rites and a cult is only of limited help on this point. Rites might comprise practices which appear only in certain and, we would add, temporary circumstances, while a cult comprises a system of practices repeated periodically.²⁶

More importantly, funerary rites occur between death and the arrival in the afterworld, whereas death cult practices begin with the arrival in the afterworld and continue on a regular basis perhaps indefinitely. Moreover, certain funerary rites do not necessarily assume the persistence of man after death.²⁷ For example, some mourning rites may be intended purely for the benefit of the living.

Another related practice arose on frequent occasion in cultures where the dead, or segments of the dead, were perceived as possessing benevolent powers of significant magnitude. This divinatory practice commonly referred to as *necromancy* involves

²⁶ Durkheim 1915:63 and cf. Thomas 1987:450-59.

²⁷ Goody 1962:18.

the communication with the dead for the purpose of retrieving information usually about the future.²⁸

However, not only is the rite observed on a sporadic basis but the ghost imparts no blessing upon its suitor beyond the mere discharge of knowledge. While it will receive extensive treatment in the following chapters owing to its repeated mention in the Hebrew Bible and its potential for illuminating Israelite beliefs and practices reflective of the supernatural benefic power of the dead, this should not be construed as an attempt to subsume necromancy under the rubric of death and ancestor cults as has been done so often in the past.²⁹

By way of concluding our glossary, we should point out that we intend to use the phrase *mortuary practice* to designate any one practice, or group of practices, which falls within the purview of rites and cults recognized as arising out of, and as expressing the human response to, death. In other words, it may refer to any one of the terms defined above or any combination thereof.

²⁸Cf. Bourguignon 1987:345-47 who defined necromancy as "the art or practice of magically conjuring up the souls of the dead . . . to obtain information from them, generally regarding the revelation of unknown causes or the future course of events" (p.345). Tropper 1989:13-23 unfortunately employed a more general definition of necromancy and so was able to incorporate additional ancient Near East practices under this heading which do not exemplify the supernatural benefic power of the dead.

²⁹Cf. Spronk 1986 and Lewis 1989 for recent examples. The related medical and magical apotropaic rites aimed at warding off malevolent ghosts and/or their affects are not included in this treatment as they are not representative of the cult of the dead as we have defined it. Their exclusive negative import based on the fear of the dead precludes their inclusion in what follows as does the apparent lack of permanence and regularity in the accompanying rituals, cf. Scurlock 1988:1-102, 125-317, 363-66 on the magical expulsion of ghosts in Mesopotamia.

CHAPTER II

THE EXTRA-BIBLICAL SYRO-PALESTINIAN TEXTUAL EVIDENCE:

THE LATE THIRD TO EARLY SECOND MILLENNIA B.C.E.

Methodologically, it is self-evident that the reconstruction of Israel's religion, or any given aspect thereof, must take into account both the material and non-material remains which record for posterity the religious beliefs and associated practices of her Syro-Palestinian neighbors. These beliefs and practices comprise the conceptual milieu for much of the religious thought embedded in the Hebrew Bible.

In this and the following chapter, we will examine the relevant Eblaite, West Peripheral Akkadian (Mari, Nuzi, and Emar), and Ugaritic epigraphic remains in order to ascertain what death and ancestor cult and necromantic practices, if any, were embraced by the inhabitants of Syria-Palestine both prior to and contemporary with Israel of the Tanakh.¹

It should be noted at the outset that while a thorough systematic examination of the relevant material remains lies beyond the scope of the present investigation, an attempt will be made to evaluate briefly some of this evidence as it pertains to the interpretation of a given textual datum.²

¹In 4.2., we will also briefly survey the slight first millennium Aramaic, Phoenician, and Palestinian epigraphic remains for indications of West Semitic death and ancestor cult practices.

²Cf. e.g., our discussion of Ugaritic *'urbt* "aperture" and Hebrew *l'mēṭ* in Deut. 26:14 in 4.4.3. Treatments of Bronze to Iron age Syro-Palestinian burial customs can be found in the dissertations of Cooley 1968; Stiebing 1970; Angi 1971; Ribar

2.1 THE EVIDENCE FROM EBLA

A scholarly consensus has yet to emerge on matters concerning various problematic aspects of the language and culture of the city-state of Ebla.³ Nevertheless, its cultural and economic ties seem closest with Syrian city-states west and north of the Mesopotamian heartland such as Kish, Abu Ṣalabikh, Mari, and Ugarit.⁴

However, it now appears that its regional power was significantly less than initially surmised.⁵ Moreover, the Ebla archive probably dates from the late third millennium and not earlier and spans the reign of but one ruler, Ibbi-Zikir/Sipiš, not five. Finally, it has yet to be definitively demonstrated that the archive represents the *royal* library.⁶

2.1.1 THE EBLAITE KING LIST

The recently published *TM* 75.G.2628 = *ARET* 7.150 comprises an offerings list. According to Archi, the editor, the colophon or section 3 (see below) identifies the text in its entirety as a list of sheep offerings for the deities whose statues are located

1973; Gonen 1979; Abercrombie 1979, and Bloch-Smith 1990. One dissertation is currently in progress, that of Wenning (Münster).

³See Biggs 1982:9-24; Viganò and Pardee 1984:6-16 and Michalowski 1985:293-302 for helpful discussions and bibliography.

⁴Cf. Gelb 1981:52-60 and Viganò and Pardee 1984:6-16.

⁵Geller 1987:141-45 concluded that Ebla was under the hegemony of Mari rather than *vice versa*.

⁶Cf. Michalowski 1985:293-302.

in the cult center Darib (r.III.2-r.V.1?).⁷ In addition to the several pairs of gods with accompanying dingir sign in section 2 (III.7-r.III.1?), ten personal names are listed in retrograde order in section 1. Archi identified the latter as the former kings of Ebla (I.1-III.5):⁸

(1)		(2)	
I [10 udu]	dingir	2 udu	r. I wa
[dingir]	<i>En-àr-Da-mu</i>	^d Ni-da-KUL	^d Gu-la-du
[Ìr-k]ab-[D]a-mu	dingir	IV wa	1 udu
dingir	<i>Ba-Da-mu</i>	^d BE.MÍ	[^d x-r]a-ru _{1 2}
[I]g-ri-[i]š-<Ĥa->LAM	dingir	2 udu	[Da]-rí-[i]b ^{*1}
dingir	III <i>I-bi-Da-mu</i>	^d Ra-sa-ap	[1 ud]u
<i>A-dub-Da-mu</i>	dingir	wa	^d GÁxSIG ₇ -ra
II dingir	<i>A-gur-Li-im</i>	^d A-dam-ma	II lú da-da(-)EN
<i>Kum-Da-mu</i>	dingir	2 udu	[á]š-da
dingir	<i>A-bur-Li-im</i>	^d A-gú	1 x x
<i>I-sar-Ma-lik</i>	en-en		(Lacuna)
			III (Lacuna)
(3)			
r. III (?) dingir-		"[(An offering of sheep) for] the deities [of] the cities, [who(se images?)] reside in Darib"	
dingir-dingir			
uru-uru			
al ₆ -tuš			
IV in			
<i>Da-rí-ib^{*1}</i>			
(?)			
V (?)			

⁷According to Archi 1988A:106, Darib was apparently the seat of this dynastic cult. It might be *Tá-ra-b* of the geographic list of Thutmosis III, and perhaps modern Atareb, thirty kilometers north of Ebla.

⁸The text is in Archi 1986:213-18 = 1988B:#150 (= ARET 7.150).

Archi concluded that the royal status of the ten names is assured by the inclusive designation en-en, which he translated as "kings" (cf. III.6 at the end of the list). Owing to the fact that each of these ten names is also preceded by the dingir sign, Archi identified them as the dead divinized former kings of Ebla.⁹

That sheep (udu) are designated for the known gods of the pantheon in section 2, III.7-r.II.3, suggested to Archi that the text also recorded offerings to the dead divinized kings as reflected in his reconstruction at the beginning of section 3 "[An offering of sheep) for] the deities [of] the cities . . .".¹⁰

But even if we were to accept Archi's proposal that sacrifices for the dead deified kings of Ebla are in view, we can find no evidence from the text or at Ebla more generally that supports the assumption that this was a regularly repeated ritual. Whereas at Mari we have regularly repeated *kispum* offerings to the dead, but non-deified(!) kings included as part of the cultic calendar (cf. 2.2.1.), at Ebla no analogous phenomenon has yet been documented.

⁹Cf. also Biga and Pomponio 1987:60-61.

¹⁰Cf. Archi 1986:213 "[*Schafopfer für*] die Gottheiten der Städte . . .". Based in large part on Archi's view of the function of the dingir sign, Fronzaroli 1988:1-33 argued that a reconstructed text comprised of *TM* 75.G. 3205+3218 (= *ARET* 3.178) along with an edited fragment *TM* 75.G.3132 (= *ARET* 3.112) and previously unedited fragments *TM* 75.G.4828+4843+4883+4889 comprises a sort of funerary liturgy in which benedictions and lamentations are offered by the new king on behalf of the royal ancestors whose tombs were located in temple mausolea in several local cities under the hegemony of Ebla.

Moreover, a comparison with the somewhat related rituals lying behind the Ugaritic text *KTU* 1.161 and the Genealogy of the Hammurapi Dynasty (cf. our analysis in 3.1.9.) would favor the conclusion that what occasioned the Eblaite ritual was the recently deceased king's funeral. It should be recalled that in the previous chapter, we argued for the fact that funerary rites and the ancestor cult are not to be confused.

Furthermore, it is not at all a given that the term *en* at Ebla necessarily designates the "king" of the entire city-state with all that the term implies with regard to independence and sovereignty. In fact, the various contexts in which *en* occurs has led Michalowski to offer a more general designation for *en*, e.g. "the one in charge". This finds confirmation in the probable non-royal status of Irkab-Damu and Igrish-Halam, two of the names listed in Archi's text.¹¹

If, on the one hand, Michalowski is correct in his assessment of Eblaite *en* and the non-royal status of at least some of the individuals listed in Archi's text and on the other, the ancestor cult association of this text is upheld, then one is left with the unavoidable conclusion that the *en-en* in our text are deified dead non-royalty and patrons of a death or ancestor

¹¹ So Michalowski 1985:294-95,297 and 1988:267-77 who argued that the *en* might have been only a bureaucrat heading one of the many major organizations in the city. This assumes that the archive might not represent the central royal library. He also documented numerous occurrences in which officials other than kings were designated by *en* both at Ebla and in neighboring city-states, cf. also Edzard 1981:123.

cult.¹² But this notion must be rejected as non-royal individuals neither attained divine status before or after death in the Mesopotamian heartland or its periphery nor were death or ancestor cults established on their behalf concomitant to any supposed *post mortem* deification.¹³

Our critique of Archi's proposal thus far has presumed a mortuary context for the ritual reflected in *TM* 75.G.2628, but there are good reasons to disassociate entirely this text and its ritual from a mortuary context. First, Archi appears to evince some inconsistency with his earlier writings in his assumption that the text lists the names of dead deified kings. Where the dingir sign similarly stands in its own case and precedes what he has identified as a royal name elsewhere in the Ebla texts, Archi rendered dingir + RN (= royal name) as a reference to the personal god of a king "the god of RN", and not as the divine determinative.

¹²Geller 1987:141-45 hypothesized that the en of Ebla was appointed by the lugal of Mari, for Ebla, like Emar and other local city states, was a satellite of Mari. He also proposed that at Ebla, the term lugal with its acquired regal status corresponds to Semitic *šarru*, while en with its priestly associations corresponds to Semitic *malikum*, cf. Geller 1987:143 n.9. On en, cf. nam-en = *ma-li-gú-um* in the bilingual lexical text in Pettinato 1982:318 l.1088; Archi 1982:202,206-07 and 1987:37-43. Archi 1987:37 noted that Semitic *malikum* also occurs in syllabic writing *ma-lik* in two administrative texts, *TM*.75.G.1933: VIII.3 and the unpublished *TM*.75.G.2241:VI.8-13.

¹³The posthumous deification of the dead accompanied by repeated offerings and other cultic rituals directed to them or, more precisely, their statues was the exclusive prerogative of the king in the Mesopotamian heartland. According to Hallo 1980:190 and 1988:54-66, this so-called cult of the divine king is explicitly attested beginning with the Sargonic Dynasty of Akkad through the Ur III Dynasty and lasting through the end of the Old Babylonian period, but cf. 2.1.6.

He offered the following rendition of *TM* 75.G.570 v.II.18-IV.5, " ^dŠa-ma-gan, dingir en é-siki, ^dEn-ki, dingir *En-ār-Da-mu*, dingir *I-sar-Ma-lik*, "Šamagan. . .the god [of] the en [of] the 'wool house'. . . Enki. . .the god [of] Enār-Damu. . .the god [of] Isar-Malik".¹⁴ He surmised that the last two forms cited above referred to the personal deities of Enār-Damu and Isar-Malik.¹⁵ But in their occurrences in *TM* 75.G.2628, he concluded that these same forms represented (the statues of) their deified departed spirits.¹⁶

Second, Archi claimed to have found support for his proposed genre of *TM* 75.G.2628 in the Syro-Palestinian literary tradition. The Ugaritic text *KTU* 1.113 supposedly confirmed that *TM* 75.G.2628 recorded a royal ancestor cult ritual for, not only is it similarly organized in retrograde order but, it too comprises a list of deified royal ancestors to whom cultic rites were directed. Here the ancestors are identified by the alphabetic equivalent to dingir + RN, 'il + RN.

The citation of this text as support raises some major difficulties. First is the lack of chronological proximity as the Ugaritic text was composed over a millennium later. Second is the

¹⁴Cf. Archi 1985:281.

¹⁵Note the translation of Archi 1986:215 "(Schutz)gott des Königs. . . und dann den Gott von Enār-Damu und den von Isar-Malik . . .".

¹⁶Cf. Archi 1986:215 and 1988A:106-07 and n.9. In private correspondence dated 6/24/88 Archi made more explicit his earlier statement in 1986:215 "vergöttlichten" Könige von Ebla (genauer: der Götter der verstorbenen Könige)", when he concluded "What I mean is that each king became a tutelary god. But who knows?". In this he is followed by Biga and Pomponio 1987:60-61. This view closely approximates the outmoded evolutionistic approach advocated by Fustel de Coulangue, cf. 1.

identification of the exact nature of the ritual involved. As with *TM* 75.G.2628, if we were to assume that dead deified ancestors are in view in *KTU* 1.113, and this is by no means certain, then in the absence of unequivocal evidence for regularly repeated ancestor rites at Ugarit over against the well documented enactment of funerary rites for one of its kings (cf. 3.1.9. for our treatment of *KTU* 1.161), it would be going well beyond the available evidence to posit that the underlying ritual in either text involves something more than a funerary rite.

In the final analysis, both the view that 1.113 contains an ancestor cult ritual and our critique of that position are obviated by the fact that Archi's prior notion that dead deified kings are listed here finds no support in the contemporary Syro-Palestinian or Mesopotamian textual traditions. To cite in support the supposed equation of the dead in general and the *ilu* [= dingir] element in the Neo-Assyrian version of the *Legend of Etana* and in a handful of texts from Nuzi and Emar hardly justifies such an argument as these are equally controvertible (cf. 4.5.1.). In sum, Archi's view of *KTU* 1.113 presents the same difficulties as *TM* 75.G.2628.

Besides, Liverani viewed *KTU* 1.113 as a ritual list of the personal god(s) of the former Ugaritic kings. He acknowledged that the names mentioned in *KTU* 1.113 represent the deceased kings of Ugarit and that each is preceded by the lexeme 'il, but it was the deity who functioned as the object of a legitimating ritual and not the dead kings. For Liverani, the 'il + RN element

was to be rendered "the god of RN".¹⁷ The similarities shared by *KTU* 1.113 and *TM* 75.G.2628 support the notion that both texts might reflect this same significance. Only in the case of the Eblaite list, the names would represent politically important personages other than kings based on what we know of Eblaite en.

We can best decide in favor of Archi's or Liverani's view of the function of *KTU* 1.113 and, more importantly for the present treatise, that of *TM* 75.G.2628 by examining the contemporary texts from Mesopotamia, as these texts provide a relatively high degree of chronological, geographical, cultural, and, therefore, conceptual proximity.

We can reconstruct what comprised some of the concurrent practices and beliefs attendant to the royal ancestor cult from the economic archives at Pre-Sargonic Lagash.¹⁸ One feature that particularly stands out at Lagash is that the royal ancestors are neither deified nor, as Archi conjectured for Ebla, are they equated with the gods.¹⁹

The account lists known as the en-en-né-ne texts record offerings to the ancestors who include not only former rulers, but also their mothers, wives, and daughters. However, the names

¹⁷Cf. Liverani 1974:340-41 and 3.1.6. for this view of 1.113. Pardee 1988:173 n.25 argued that this makes little sense owing to the lack of mention of specific god names. But he did not recognize the fact that the personal gods often occur without their specific names, cf. e.g., the sixteen epithets listed in Vorländer 1975:8-25.

¹⁸On the royal ancestor cult at Lagash, see now Kobayashi 1984:43-65 and 1985:10-30 and cf. Deimel 1920:32-57; Rosengarten 1960:(ch.7); and Bauer 1969:107-14.

¹⁹So Kobayashi 1984:43-65, esp. pp.48-50 and 1985:10-30, esp. p.16.

of those deceased persons of royalty who received offerings are not preceded by the dingir sign in the Lagash cult. That is to say, they were not explicitly deified. Moreover, there are no references to the statues of the ancestors in the en-en-né-ne texts and so we can hardly assume that such statues were used in the ancestor cult.²⁰

In any case, the former were not included in the níg-giš-tag-ga texts along with the major deities, temples, and other implements which receive offerings.²¹ We would have expected the ancestors to be included in the níg-giš-tag-ga texts had they been deified, whereupon they would have received offerings of a similar capacity as those for the major gods.²²

Therefore, we cannot simply assume as Archi does that at Ebla statues of the ancestors were used as the place of deposit for the offerings. In any case, if we grant for the sake of argument that in *TM* 75.G.2628 the names listed did represent the dead deified ancestors, then on the basis of the Lagash evidence we would have expected them to receive sacrifices of a similar

²⁰ Following Kobayashi 1984:44-65, esp. pp.49-50.

²¹ Kobayashi 1984:56-57 concluded that the rulers and their wives mentioned in the níg-giš-tag-ga texts were the offerers and not the recipients of sacrifices and that the statues mentioned in these texts were votive or "prayer-statues" which received small quantities of offerings contra Talon 1974:167-68 who argued that these statues represented the dead as participants in funerary feasts.

²² So Kobayashi 1984:43-65, esp. pp.56-57.

capacity as those offered to the gods in section 2, but the ancestors are allocated less.²³

Lastly, if we again assume with Archi that the names in the Eblaite king list do represent the royal ancestors who receive offerings, then based on known contemporary practices we should not expect the names to be preceded by the dingir sign designating deification, for at Lagash dead royal ancestors were not so deified. This strongly suggests that the dingir sign preceding the ten names was employed for another purpose.

The cumulative weight of the above arguments severely diminishes the likelihood of Archi's royal ancestor cult interpretation of *TM* 75.G.2628. Given these problems, we offer an alternative interpretation of the text. Our analysis begins with the observation made earlier, namely that the dingir sign, or its alphabetic equivalent 'il, preceding the name of a king or prominent person might designate a personal god "the god of RN".²⁴ This use of dingir/'il + RN is attested in the contemporary Sumerian royal inscriptions from Pre-Sargonic Lagash. The personal god of the Ur-Nanshe dynasty, Shulutula, is

²³On the status of the dead in relation to the high gods, cf. also Pardee 1988:173 n.25; Klein 1982:32 n.45; Lambert 1971:543-45 and see further on this point, 2.1.5.

²⁴Archi also recognized this possibility in his rendering of the following examples: dingir *Ib-la*^{k1} "the god of Ebla" in *TM* 75.G.1871 rev. III:1-2; dingir dingir dingir uru uru "the gods [of] the cities" in the same text, *TM* 75.G.2628:r.III.1; dingir dingir dingir en "the gods [of] the en" in *TM* 75.G.1885:X.5-6, and dingir dingir *maliktum-maliktum* "the gods [of] the (dead?) queens" in *TM* 75.G.10167:I.26-II.2. Cf. also dingir en en "the god [of] the ens" in *TM* 75.G.10088:XVII.15-16 and, of course the frequent dingir en "god [of] the en", cf. 2.1.5.

identified by means of this same construction: ^dŠulutula dingir En-te-me-na "Shulutula, the god of Entemena".²⁵

The royal inscriptions from Pre-Sargonic Lagash contain the earliest references to the personal gods. These gods received sacrifices in the cult and functioned as intermediaries between men and the supreme gods.²⁶ It has been suggested that the personal god embodied the personification of a man's luck.²⁷ Nevertheless, the exact nature of the personal god's involvement in the life of his protégé remains obscure.²⁸

Of particular interest is the fact that the personal god was often referred to without recourse to a specific god name, e.g. "my god", "god of my fathers", "my creator", "my shepherd", "my father", etc.²⁹ This is so in spite of the fact that in royal circles, the personal god could be identified as a well known

²⁵Cf. Vorländer 1975:9 and Kobayashi 1989:22-44 esp. p.22 and n.4. The latter points out that the common designation was dingir-an-ni "his god" and that in the following Lagash dynasties, the personal god of Enentarzi was Mesandu and of Uruinimgina, Ninshubur.

²⁶So Kobayashi 1989:22-44. For surveys of the personal god in Mesopotamia, cf. Vorländer 1975:5-120; Jacobsen 1976:147-64; Albertz 1978:96-158; Klein 1982:296-306; and Groneberg 1986:93-108.

²⁷Cf. Jacobsen 1976:155-56 and Klein 1982:295. In CAD 7(1960): 101-02, #5, the phrase "to acquire a god" lú.dingir.tuk = ša ilam isû is used to describe luck and "to not acquire a god" lú.dingir.nu.tuk = ša ilam la išû describes having no luck.

²⁸Just how personal, exclusive and permanent the personal god was remains a point of debate, cf. Sasson 1977:286-87; Mayer 1978:493-94; and Klein 1982:303 n.2. Various theories have arisen as to the nature of the personal god's involvement in the actions of his human protégé. Either the personal god was responsible for his human protégé's actions, so Jacobsen 1976:157, or he punished his protégé for wrongdoing, so Klein 1982:295-96, or abandoned him to the mercy of the demons, so Vorländer 1975:165-67.

²⁹Cf. Vorländer 1975:8-25 for an inventory of epithets.

member of the pantheon (e.g. Shamash, Sin, Adad, Nergal) and one who represented the human protégé in the divine assembly.³⁰

The relationship of the individual and his personal god was often conceived metaphorically as that between a parent and his son.³¹ Among royalty, it was customary for the personal god of a dynastic king to be inherited by his successor son.³² This explains the references to the personal god as the "god of the fathers".³³

It was also a known practice among royalty to erect statues of their personal gods and place them in temples or chapels. Gudea of Lagash placed a statue of his own god Ningishzida in a chapel attached to the temple which he had built for the city goddess, Baba. His reasons for doing so were to strengthen the power of his throne, to enable him to judge rightly, and to

³⁰ So Vorländer 1975:8-117,149-64; Jacobsen 1976:157; Klein 1982:296; and van der Toorn 1985:44. On other occasions, certain of the high gods such as Shamash could be approached by an individual to intercede on his/her behalf before the personal god, cf. the edition of *LKA* 139:24-27 in van der Toorn 1985:Appendix #3.g.

³¹ Cf. Vorländer 1975:16-17,27-29 and Klein 1982:296-97 and note the latter's qualifications of Jacobsen 1976:157-60 regarding the notion that the gods were incarnate in the human parents of their protégés.

³² Jacobsen 1976:159; Klein 1982:295; and van der Toorn 1985:4,24.

³³ Cf. Vorländer 1975:12-14,155-58 and Jacobsen 1976:159 and the qualifications of Klein 1982:296-97. In the light of the fact that the personal gods comprised members of the pantheon, the pluralized form of this epithet "gods of the fathers" would function as an appropriate heading for a god list or a text recording offerings for the gods as in the Ugaritic text *KTU* 1.118:1, on which cf. 3.1.3.

lengthen the days of his life. In other words, he sought to be successful as a king.³⁴

Two general spheres of duties clustered around the personal gods. In private they were to be honored materially and verbally. This would involve *sacrifices* in the first instance and prayers in the second. In public, they were to be honored in much the same manner.³⁵ As the case of Gudea demonstrates, official and personal religion might be joined together resulting in cultic rites which no doubt included sacrifice. These rites were directed toward the king's personal god in order to ensure his success.

The above survey offers much in the way of elucidating the ritual reflected in *TM 75.G.2628*. The widespread belief in personal gods, the use of the dingir sign to designate the personal god, the practice of referring to the personal gods without using specific god names, and the ritual sacrifice to personal gods in the form of their statues favor a re-evaluation of the nature of this ritual. When these elements are considered in the light of our present inability to delineate the exact nuance of the term *en* at Ebla, they point to the possibility that *TM 75.G.2628* records a ritual in which the statues of ten personal gods receive sacrifices from their human protégés who were non-royal administrative officials.

On the other hand, if we allow for the possibility that *en* in our text signified "king", then the royal custom in which the

³⁴Cf. Jacobsen 1976:156.

³⁵Cf. Klein 1982:298-302 and van der Toorn 1985:24.

throne's successor inherited the personal god of his father might suggest an alternative form of ritual for *TM* 75.G.2628, one which incorporated the royal rites expressive of the belief in a personal god for the purpose of legitimating the current dynasty.

In other words, our text might associate each ruler in succession with the dynasty's personal god in order to signify the deity's sanction of the throne, thereby ensuring the dynasty's success. Such a ritual might have comprised part of the funerary ceremonies of the recently deceased king and/or the coronation ceremonies in honor of his successor. The same applies in the case of the Ugaritic text *KTU* 1.113 (cf. 3.1.6.).

2.1.2. OFFERING LISTS AND LAMENTATIONS FOR THE DEAD KINGS

In a treatise outlining fundamental elements of the official cult at Ebla, Pettinato listed several offering texts which supposedly testified to the existence of a royal ancestor cult. According to him, two texts in particular mention "(slaughtered) sheep" offerings (*udu* [*ib-tag*]) made in the eleventh month for "the lamentations [of] the kings" *si-dù-si-dù en-en*.³⁶ Moreover, the associated rites were performed in the royal palace garden or **kirī*, which supposedly contained a

³⁶ Pettinato 1979B:31-32 = 1979C:115-16. These administrative lists include *TM*.75.G.1764:II.26-III.4 and r.III.5-12, cf. Pettinato 1979A:104 and 1979B:47 = 1979C:130-31, and *TM*.75.G.2238: IV.21-25 and XII.21-26, cf. Pettinato 1979A:158 and 1979B:79,84 = 1979C:163,168. A third text is mentioned in Pettinato 1979A:42 and 1980:XLVIII [Catalogue no. 714 *sic* > 713].

royal hypogeum or *ki-sur*, where the deceased kings were interred.³⁷

Pettinato based his interpretation of *si-dù-si-dù* as "lamentations", on the equation of Sumerian *si-dù* and Eblaite *di-mu-mu* attested in bilingual lexical lists from Ebla.³⁸ For *di-mu-mu*, he offered the Akkadian cognate *dimmatu* a "lament", from *damāmu* "to mourn (for the dead)".³⁹ In support of Pettinato's proposal, Del Olmo Lete made the observation that the offerings associated with the lamentations for the kings are immediately preceded by offerings to "the (dead) fathers", *a-mu-a-mu* and to the chthonic god *Rasap* (= *Resheph*), and are followed by offerings to *Rasap*.⁴⁰

With Pettinato's proposal, not only are we confronted again

³⁷ Pettinato 1979B:31-32 = 1979C:115-16. The garden is mentioned in *TM.75.G.1764:III.10* and the so-called hypogeum in *TM.75.G.2238:XII.22* and *TM.75.G.1274:IV.7* and cf. Pettinato 1980:68. His view of the texts cited in n.17 has been accepted by Xella 1983:288, 1985:75; Healey 1984:251; Spronk 1986:140-41; and Del Olmo Lete 1986A:62-64.

³⁸ *TM.75.G.2001*, cf. Pettinato 1979A:131 and 1982:33. The relevant lines cited in Pettinato 1979B:31 and n.159 = 1979C:115 and n.159 are v.XII.4-5 and Pettinato 1982:320. Pettinato 1979A:94 and 1982:33,320 mentions another bilingual lexical list *TM.75.G.1678:v.XII.14-15* [Catalogue no. 1116] which equates *si-dù-si-dù* and *di-mu-mu*.

³⁹ See *CAD* 3(1959):59-60,143 and *AHW* 1(1965):155,170 and cf. *d-m-m* in Hebrew, Ugaritic (*KTU* 1.16:I.26), and Arabic (*damā*). Pettinato is followed by Archi 1988A:106 n.10 and Fronzaroli 1988:13.

⁴⁰ Del Olmo Lete 1986A:69 n.38. *TM.75.G.2238:IV.21-25* and *XII.21-26*. The term *a-mu-a-mu* occurs in *XI.30* and *Rasap* in *IV.8-9,15-16, XII.7-8,13-14,19-20*, and *v.I.2'-3'*. On *a-mu-a-mu*, cf. Pettinato 1979B:17,20 = 1979C:101,104 and Xella 1983:288, 1985:75.

with the problem of the meaning of en at Ebla⁴¹, but in the absence of decisive contextual evidence, we must also come to terms with the ambiguity inherent in the syntactic value of the genitival en-en. If we assume for the sake of argument that si-dù does signify lamentation, and this is by no means certain (see below), then the question arises, does the "of" in "lamentations of the en-en" signify lamentations on behalf of the deceased en-en "lamentations for the (dead) en-en" as Pettinato claims, or were the en-en those who performed the lamentations "lamentations by the (living) en-en"?

We know that mourning over the death of a dignitary by foreign officials comprised one component in the international diplomatic protocol of Mesopotamia. Two typical occasions for international mourning can be identified. A foreign ruler of equal status might be mourned or a king might be mourned by the dignitaries of vassal territories and/or his family and subjects.

The elements repeatedly attested in international mourning contexts are the arrival of the news of death via a messenger, the immediate reaction of grief by the recipient which included, among other gestures, the shedding of tears, fasting, and lamentation, and the dispatch of an envoy laden with funerary gifts and grave goods to be presented at the funeral.⁴²

Therefore, it is possible that the en-en of Pettinato's texts are officials, domestic and foreign, who, on a particular

⁴¹Cf. Michalowski 1985:294-95, 297-998 and 1988:267-77. Archi 1982:202, 206-07 also cited instances where en referred to foreign dignitaries.

⁴²Cf. Artzi 1980:161-70 and the recently published letters from Tell Asmar in Whiting 1987:48-51, 59-63.

occasion in the eleventh month of an unknown year in the reign of Ibbi-Zikir, performed the expected mourning rituals on behalf of some politically distinguished, but presently unidentifiable, departed soul (or the recently deceased kin thereof).

These rituals would have included among other observances, the offering of mutton (*udu*), perhaps for the purpose of insuring the arrival of the deceased in the netherworld. But given our reconstruction and the repeated entry "lamentations of the *en-en*" in the offering lists, what most characterized these rites was the cultic lamentation performed by the *en-en*.⁴³

Even if one assumed that ritual mourning is in view, it can be understood apart from any immediate association with funerary rites on behalf of a recently deceased dignitary or his/her kin. Ritual lamentation is also associated with invigoration or fertility rites and the rituals related to the hidden god in Mesopotamia and perhaps Syria-Palestine.⁴⁴ Given this scenario, the *en-en* might be Eblaite or foreign officials who perform sacrifices and cultic lamentations to the god(s).

Nevertheless, as we previously intimated, the basis for our proposal as well as that of Pettinato, namely that Sumerian *si-dù* and its lexical equivalent Eblaite *di-mu-mu* refer to lamentations, is debatable. The root *d-m-m* in West Semitic can also signify "to be silent". In this case, our text might

⁴³Be that as it may, there is no evidence in the texts that this ritual lamentation was a regular observance. Those that are dated come from the same month, the eleventh, of the same year. This simply points to the time in which the funeral took place, for the dates, cf. Pettinato 1979C:116.

⁴⁴Cf. now the detailed treatment by Padella 1989.

describe the en-en as waiting in silence for a divine revelation.⁴⁵ Again, the en-en would constitute living Eblaite administrators or foreign dignitaries with priestly functions.

By way of conclusion, we offer a response to those arguments offered in support of Pettinato's view of these texts. While gardens in Syria-Palestine and Mesopotamia might have occasionally served as burial places from the late third millennium onwards (cf. e.g., 2.2.1.2.), gardens had many other cultic functions as well.⁴⁶ In light of this and the previously stated objections, Pettinato's view of ki-sur as "hypogeum", is severely weakened since, as he admits, this is entirely dependent upon his view of si-dù-si-dù en-en.⁴⁷

Lastly, the contextual support cited by Del Olmo Lete is problematic. The defunct status of a-mu-a-mu is debatable (cf. 2.1.4.) and it is more likely that Rasap is depicted in one of his other attested roles such as the god of plague or pestilence rather than as patron god of a royal ancestor cult (cf. 2.1.5.).

We now turn to consider additional texts which have been cited as indicative of offerings for the dead kings of Ebla. Archi entertained the possibility that another text, *TM.75.G.411* r.I.1-III.10, records such offerings: 2 ninda *ga-zi* en-en "two breads and one bread *gazi* [for] the kings" (I.3). In the final

⁴⁵On this significance of *d-m-m*, cf. Baumann 1978:260-65 and note his bibliography.

⁴⁶For the various cultic functions of gardens in the ancient Near East, see Andrae 1952:485-94; Ebeling 1959:147-50; Oppenheim 1965:328-33; Jacobs-Hornig 1978:34-39; and Wiseman 1983:137-44.

⁴⁷Pettinato 1979B:31 = 1979C:115, 1980:68. He equated ki-sur with Sumerian ki-a-nag, a place of burial and funerary rites. On the latter, cf. now Kobayashi 1985:10-30.

analysis however, he rejected this notion.⁴⁸ His conclusion on the matter was in part a reaction to the theory of Pettinato that the en-en in this text (and elsewhere) were former kings still alive who formed a senate, retained their titles, and continued to exercise power as rulers *emeriti* alongside the active king elected every seven years.⁴⁹

Archi, like Michalowski and Geller, rejected Pettinato's theory. In our estimation, he rightly concluded that the en-en in this text were living and not dead on the basis of the likelihood that the other recipients of the offerings were living members of the Eblaite royal class, e.g. "the son(s) of the kings", *dumu-nita-nita en-en*.⁵⁰ Moreover, in other texts, the en-en are mentioned alongside princes and foreign "messengers" *kas₄ kas₄*, i.e. those who distributed measurements of oil as payment in exchange for services rendered.⁵¹

In conclusion, Archi opted for the view that the en-en were, in addition to the king of Ebla, invited guests and rulers of foreign cities under Ebla's hegemony. But again, the qualifications of Michalowski apply. Eblaite en does not necessarily refer to the "king" of Ebla with all that the term

⁴⁸ Archi 1982:205-07 and cf. p.202. The text was originally published in Pettinato 1979D:78-79 and 1981:78.

⁴⁹ Pettinato 1979D:78-79 = 1981:78-80.

⁵⁰ On the significance of the *dumu-nita en*, cf. Michalowski 1988:267-77 who suggested that this term might represent members of powerful elite families at Ebla.

⁵¹ Archi 1982:206-07 and cf. 1984:27-29. The relevant texts include *TM.75.G.233:I.1-II.4*; *TM.75.G.406:IV.2-5*; and *TM.75.G.541: I.1-II.6* and are otherwise unpublished, pace Beld, Hallo, and Michalowski 1984.

implies *vis-à-vis* sovereignty and independence. In any case, the contextual factors favor the mention of living en-en in this text whatever their identity. This in turn makes highly unlikely a royal ancestor cult setting for the sacrifices listed.

2.1.3. THE EBLAITE VERSION OF THE *MARZĒAḥ*

Ebla now perhaps offers the earliest attestation of the West Semitic institution known as the *marzĒaḥ*. In one administrative text, three women receive variegated dresses on "the day of the *marzĒaḥ* in the month of Ishi", *ud mar-za-u, itu i-ši*.⁵²

In another more recently published, three garments are allocated for "Dudasa, superintendent of the *marzĒaḥ*", *Du-da-sa ugula mar-za-u*.⁵³ According to some scholars, membership in this confraternity in first millennium Syria-Palestine may have required the observance of death cult practices at commemorative feasts held on behalf of former members (more on this to follow).⁵⁴

Based on the proposal that Hebrew *bêṭ marzĒaḥ* is supposedly synonymous with the "house of drinking", *bêṭ mišteh* in Jer. 16:5-

⁵² TM.75.G.1372:I.1-v.I.3, in Pettinato 1980:XLV-XLVI, 309 [Edition no. 46] and cf. Pope 1981:179 n.65; Fabry 1984:12; Dahood 1987:99; and Archi 1988A:103 n.2.

⁵³ TM.75.G.1443:XI.1-3, cf. Pettinato 1981:88 and Archi 1985:31.

⁵⁴ For bibliography and summary of views regarding the *marzĒaḥ* institution, cf. 3.1.5.

8⁵⁵, Dahood has suggested that a parallel semantic relation occurs at Ebla involving *mar-za-u₉*. When one compares the above text with another at Ebla in which two garments are offered to the god Rasap "on the day of the drinking feast of his son", *ud maš-da-ù dumu-nita-šu*, for Dahood, the parallel becomes apparent.⁵⁶ Assuming that the Eblaite terms *mar-za-u₉* and *maš-da-ù* can be equated with their Hebrew counterparts *marzēah* and *mišteh* respectively, Dahood's proposal demands careful evaluation.

In the light of the fact that the available evidence indicates that the death cult relations of the *marzēah* were rare or non-existent prior to the first millennium at Ugarit (cf. 3.1.5.), that our two texts make no mention of such relations, and that *bêṭ marzēah* and *bêṭ mišteh* in Jer. 16:5-8 are not synonymous institutions (cf. 4.6.1.), we are, for the present, compelled to reject any possible connections of Eblaite *mar-za-u₉* and, for that matter, *maš-da-ù*, and the cult of the dead or the ancestor cult.

2.1.4. EBLAITE ANCESTRAL GODS AND THE CULT OF THE DEAD

The names of three deities which show up in the offering lists as recipients of sheep sacrifices have been cited as testimony to a cult of royal ancestors and sundry other persons of prominence. According to Xella, the deities *a-mu-a-mu*, ^d*a-mu*,

⁵⁵ Cf. Bright 1965:110-11; Porten 1968:180-81; Pope 1977A:216, 221; and now Lewis 1989:138-39.

⁵⁶ Dahood 1987:99. For the text, *TM.75.G.1264:IV.15-17* [Edition no. 2], see Pettinato 1980:22,29.

and ^den are "the fathers", "the divine father", and "the divine king(s)", respectively.

Xella concluded that the a-mu-a-mu referred not to royal personages *per se*, but to other individuals who had obtained a rank of such importance so as to warrant their receiving offerings in the official cult subsequent to death. The ^da-mu was the divinized ancestor of the king and the ^den were the defunct former kings (viewed collectively). Furthermore, ^da-mu was the forerunner of Ugaritic 'Il'ib, the so-called "divinized ancestor" (but. cf. 3.1.3.), while ^den anticipated the Ugaritic *mlkm* and *rp'um* (cf. 3.1.7. and 3.1.8.).⁵⁷

As was found to be the case with the interpretations of Archi and Pettinato addressed above, several obstacles impede our acceptance of Xella's proposals. First, it should be underscored that a-mu-a-mu occurs in only one published text, *TM* 75.G.2238, the context of which offers no support for the dead and deified status of the a-mu-a-mu.⁵⁸ More important however is the fact that the dingir sign does not precede the a-mu-a-mu. According to the Eblaite ancestor cult advocates' own reckoning, this is the criterion by which one could ascertain the dead and deified status of an associated individual. In our view, its absence all but eliminates Xella's interpretation of a-mu-a-mu.

⁵⁷Xella 1983:288 and 1985:75 and cf. Ribichini 1985:66-67. Archi 1979-80:168 identified Eblaite ^den-en as "the ancestors", but cited no textual reference in support. Furthermore, he did not take up this datum in his survey of the subject in 1988A.

⁵⁸Cf. Pettinato 1979B:17,85 = 1979C:101,168 and Archi 1988A:108.

Therefore, owing to the lack of any compelling evidence to suggest otherwise, the a-mu-a-mu more likely represent living personages. They probably function as the beneficiaries of the sacrifices, not the recipients, on behalf of whom Minai made delivery.⁵⁹ The role of recipient is taken up instead by the deity AMA-ra mentioned two lines later (XI.29-XII.4): 2 udu a-mu-a-mu GABA ^dAMA-ra *Mi-na-i* šu-du₈ "two sheep [of (= from)] the fathers [for] receipt [by] AMA-ra, Minai has delivered".⁶⁰

Pettinato, followed by Archi, viewed ^dAMA-ra in XII.2 as a month name, but if this were in fact the case we would expect it to be preceded by itu as recognized even by Pettinato elsewhere.⁶¹ We follow Sollberger in his suggestion that ^dAMA-ra at Ebla is a god name, that is when the itu element is lacking.⁶² This deity is also attested in the Abu Šalabikh god lists.⁶³

⁵⁹In which case they may be deceased, but clearly neither deified nor recipients of ancestor cult rites. Our approach also applies in the case of TM 75.G.2403:I.16-II.5 cited in Archi 1988A:107 where a-mu again lacks the preceding dingir sign: 2 udu ^dRa-as-ap in sa.za_x^{k1} Ir-ak-Da-mu nidba in u₄ gi-ba-lu nidba a-mu-sū "2 sheep [for] Rasap in the palace, Irak-Damu has offered at the time of the g. [of] the offering [of (= from)] his father". Elsewhere Irak-Damu is designated "the son of an en" dumu-nita en. Archi 1988A:108 and n.13 identified the en as Ibrium.

⁶⁰For a-mu-a-mu, see TM.75.G.2238:XI.30. GABA in XII.1, has no equivalent in the bilingual lists. Pettinato suggested "middle (of the month of ^dAMA-ra)", but Archi 1985:282 offered "receipt", cf. also CAD 7(1960)183, Akkadian irtu "chest, back".

⁶¹Cf. Pettinato 1979B:84 = 1979C:168 and Archi 1988A:108. They translated the text as follows "2 sheep [fo]r the fathers . . . (month) AMA-ra, Minai has taken in possession". On the month name (^d)AMA-ra with accompanying itu at Ebla, cf. TM.75.G.427 *passim* and Pettinato 1981:151-52.

⁶²Sollberger 1986:9.

⁶³Cf. Alberti 1985:9 (l.125).

We turn now to Xella's two remaining forms ^da-mu and ^den. Just as Archi had demonstrated in the case of dingir + RN in the Eblaite king list, so he has convincingly argued that the dingir sign preceding a-mu and en in the offering lists functions not as the divine determinative, but as the noun denoting deity "the god of".⁶⁴ Thus, ^da-mu should be read as dingir a-mu "the god [of] the father", and ^den as dingir en "the god [of] the en".⁶⁵

We contend that the gods intended in these references are the personal gods. They show up repeatedly but never are explicitly identified with a known deity, which, as we noted above, was a characteristic way of referring to one's personal god. The possibility that the archives date from the time of Ibbi-Zikir suggests that "the god [of] the father" refers to the personal god of Ibbi-Zikir's father, the deceased Ibrium, and "the god [of] the en", to that of Ibbi-Zikir. Furthermore, the attested practice whereby a king passes on his personal god to

⁶⁴Archi 1988A:107-10 and cf. 2.1.1. esp. n.18 and Pettinato 1979B:20 = 1979C:104 and cf. Viganò and Pardee 1984:11. On p.108, Archi made the additional observation that dingir is sometimes written in the same case as a-mu.

⁶⁵For dingir a-mu, see *TM*.75.G.2075:II.27, IV.11, *TM*.75.G.2238: IX.20, and *TM*.75.G.11010+:III.6 and VIII.17',21' in Pettinato 1979B:20,64-65,82,94,99 = 1979C:104,148-49,166,178,183 and add now *TM* 75.G.2717:III.16-19; *TM* 75.G.2635:II.18-21; *TM* 75.G.10103:II.11-14, IV.6-10; *TM* 75.G.2403:22-26; and *ARET* 2 15:III.11-IV.5 in Archi 1988A:107.

For dingir en, see *TM*.75.G.2238:V.21-22, 11010+:V.16 and VII.33 and Pettinato 1979B:20,80,96,98 = 1979C:104,164,180,182 and add now *TM* 75.G.2403:27-31; *TM* 75.G.2398:III.22-26; *TM* 75.G.1246:III.1-7; *TM* 75(*sic*) G.2647:4'-8'; *TM* 75.G.2520:IX.4-10; and *ARET* 4 5:III.10-13, IV.14-17 in Archi 1988A:109,111-12.

his son suggests that the dingir a-mu and dingir en probably refer to the same god.⁶⁶

In closing, we should mention for the sake of completeness that Archi also included "the god [of] the queen's father" dingir a-mu *ma-lik-tum* and "the spirits [of] the dead queens" dingir dingir *ma-lik-tum-ma-lik-tum* in his version of the Eblaite royal ancestor cult.⁶⁷ Similar practices on behalf of royal family members have been gleaned from the archives of other Syro-Mesopotamian sites.⁶⁸

The roughly contemporary economic archives at Pre-Sargonic Lagash mentioned earlier, the en-en-né-ne texts, record offerings to the ancestors which include not only former rulers, but their mothers, wives, and daughters as well. But it should be recalled

⁶⁶Employing the same questionable logic which led him to view dingir + RN "the god [of] RN" as a dead deified king who received offerings in the royal ancestor cult, Archi 1988A: 107-12 unfortunately concluded that these two phrases likewise pointed to such a cult. "The god [of] the father" was, for Archi, the dead deified Ibrium, former king of Ebla, and "the god [of] the en" was "the god [of the person of] the king", by which we understand him to mean, the dead deified king, for he offered little else by way of elucidation.

⁶⁷Archi's texts are as follows: 1 udu dingir a-mu *ma-lik-tum* *Ḫir-du-du* *nídba* "1 sheep [for] the god [of] the father [of] the queen, *Ḫirdudu* has offered" *TM* 75.G.11010+:VIII.20-24 and cf. Archi 1988A:108 and udu dingir-dingir *ma-lik-tum-ma-lik-tum* *ír-'a-ak-Da-mu* *nídba* "4 sheep [for] the gods [of] the queens, *Irak-Damu* has offered" *TM* 75.G.10167:I.26-II.2 in Archi 1988A:111.

⁶⁸Charpin and Durand 1986:168-69 and n.131 have reiterated the *opinio communis* that the Genealogy of the Hammurapi Dynasty makes reference to offerings for dead royalty. Even if this interpretation be granted, the text would not reflect a royal ancestor cult ritual but a one enacted on the lone occasion of a king's accession to the throne, i.e. a funerary ritual. For the more likely presence of geneonymy in this text (commemoration of the name), cf. 2.2.6. and 3.1.9. Against the view that a lone reference to *kispū* offerings for a dead deified female official is attested at Mari, cf. 2.2.1.

that neither the names of those deceased persons of royalty who received offerings were preceded by the dingir sign, that is to say, they were not deified, nor were their names included among the offering lists for major deities, temples, and other implements in the níg-giš-tag-ga texts.⁶⁹

This reinforces our contention that the dingir sign in the Eblaite offering texts cited above was not intended to signify a deified dead person of prominence. Rather the Eblaite scribes had another meaning in mind in these instances, namely the personal god of the queen's father and the personal gods of the queens.

2.1.5. EBLAITE RASAP AND THE CULT OF THE DEAD

The director of the Italian expedition to Tell Mardikh, Paolo Matthiae, theorized that the later monumental remains from the Middle Bronze western palace area of the Amorite period preserve evidence of an Eblaite royal ancestor cult. In successive articles, he argued that the close proximity of a royal necropolis and the Rasap temple at Ebla pointed to the existence of this cult.⁷⁰

Matthiae's identification of the temple as dedicated to Rasap was, in part, influenced not only by the proximity of the royal graves, but also by the equation of Rasap and Nergal, the Sumerian god of the netherworld, in a bilingual syncretistic god

⁶⁹ So Kobayashi 1984:43-65, esp. pp. 49-50, 56-57 and cf. 1985:10-30, esp. pp. 10-13.

⁷⁰ Matthiae 1979:566, 1981:61, 1984:30, and 1990:349-54.

list from Ebla.⁷¹ But even if one grants the possibility that Eblaite Rasap was a chthonic deity, his role in Matthiae's royal ancestor cult cannot be supported by the archaeological and epigraphic evidence.

First, burials *prima facie* do not prove the existence of an ancestor cult. Moreover, the supposed royal character of the relevant tombs is not at all certain.⁷² In the end, even Matthiae recognized the stratigraphic limitations at Ebla unlike the data from Avaris which he cited as support.⁷³ Lastly, the inherent difficulties in identifying royal elements in burial remains and deposits has been thoroughly outlined by Moorey in his evaluation of Woolley's excavations at Ur.⁷⁴

Turning to the written records, it should be pointed out that with the exception of his equation with Nergal in the bilingual god list, Rasap's supposed underworld role remains otherwise unattested at Ebla.⁷⁵ Prior to the publication of the Ebla texts the underworld role of Rasap or Resheph was documented only as early as the late second millennium at Ugarit. But there he fills

⁷¹ Matthiae 1984:30 and cf. *TM.75.G.2000 v.X.15'* and Pettinato 1981:136-45 (esp. p.143), and 1982:17,290. Cf. also *TM.75.G.1875 v.V.9'-10'* in Pettinato 1982:XXXI,72.

⁷² Cf. Matthiae 1979:563-69; 1981:55-65; and 1984:19-32.

⁷³ Matthiae 1984:30. For Avaris, cf. Bietak 1979:249-61.

⁷⁴ Moorey 1977:24-40.

⁷⁵ On the literary evidence concerning Eblaite Rasap, see Dahood and Pettinato 1977:230-32; Pettinato 1979B:25-26 = 1979C:109-10; Müller 1980:7; Dahood 1987:97 (published posthumously); and Sollberger 1986:9,11.

perhaps only the minor role of gatekeeper.⁷⁶ In any case, Rasap and Nergal may have been equated at Ebla and Ugarit based not on some shared role as underworld patron, but on their similar roles as gods of plague and pestilence.⁷⁷ But even if Rasap obtained the role of a chthonic god at Ebla, it is another matter altogether to attribute to him the position of patron deity over a royal ancestor cult in the absence of any evidence for such a role and, more importantly, in view of our own findings *vis-à-vis* the lack of textual witness to an Eblaite royal ancestor cult.

We should point out that Matthiae cited the discovery of a sculpted ritual basin in the temple complex as evidence for the relation between the temple and Rasap. On the basin are depicted a banquet scene and two series of soldiers which Matthiae deemed appropriate to Rasap's supposed role as god of war.⁷⁸

If the depiction on the basin is to be connected to Rasap, and this is by no means certain, it only underscores the curious silence concerning Rasap's role at Ebla as patron of the royal

⁷⁶ Contra Cooper 1987:1-7 and Fulco 1987:343, Resheph is not netherworld king at Ugarit. At best, he is depicted as its gatekeeper, cf. *KTU* 1.78: 3-4: *špš tgrh ršp* "Shapash, her gatekeeper is Resheph". As no explicit mention of the netherworld is made, this reference to his association with Shapash might refer to those gates offering passage only to and from heaven's interior on the analogy of the Babylonian model proposed by Heimpel 1986:127-51 and cf. 3.1.7.3.

⁷⁷ In the light of *KTU* 1.78 (cf. n.73), Resheph's equation with Nergal in the Ugaritic pantheon lists *KTU* 1.118:26 and *RS* 20.24:26, cannot secure Resheph's status as underworld king. Besides, these lists contain mere approximations (cf. 1.15: *ktr* // *Ea*), even innovations (cf. 1.12: *ktrt* // *sasurātum*), so Healey 1985:115-25. On the unlikelihood of a deity Malik's involvement in the cult of the dead at Ebla, see Heider 1985:98-100 against Müller 1980:11-14 and cf. Sollberger 1986:10.

⁷⁸ Matthiae 1979:566 and 1984:30.

ancestor cult, for one would have expected that role or at least his more general chthonic role to be associated with such material evidence found in the area identified by Matthiae as having been set aside exclusively for royal ancestor cult rites.

2.1.6. SUMMARY

We thus conclude our evaluation of the Eblaite evidence. Having examined what has been offered to date, we come away thoroughly unconvinced that a royal ancestor cult is as yet attested in the available epigraphic or, for that matter, the archaeological data at Ebla.

Even if we were to grant for the sake of argument that Eblaite en designated the king, unequivocal evidence is presently lacking for the regular care for, let alone the veneration of or worship of the royal ancestors. Moreover, we have no indication that dead Eblaite kings were the objects of commemorative rites. At present, the available Eblaite archives and archeological record simply do not substantiate the existence of such practices.

TM 75.G.2628 more likely preserves in part a ritual in which the dynastic personal god whose name, owing to common knowledge, goes unmentioned and who received sacrifices for the purpose of political legitimation. This legitimizing function is made explicit in the repeated association of this god with the names of ten only partially identifiable, but nevertheless politically important, protégés.

Although we have much yet to learn about the political structure of the Eblaite state reflected in the archives, it is safe to say that -whatever specific function the term en signified at Ebla- at the least these ten individuals were prominent members of certain elite families of Ebla.⁷⁹

In any case, based on known concurrent practices documented at Pre-Sargonic Lagash, we should not expect the worship of the dead kings at Ebla. At Lagash, the kings are neither deified nor are they grouped with the major gods in the offering lists. On the rare occasion where their statues receive offerings in the cult, they do so not as objects of worship but as venerated votive statues.⁸⁰

In keeping with our line of argument, we should point out that Ebla likewise testifies to neither a general death cult nor to a domestic ancestor cult. The same applies with the practice of necromancy.⁸¹ In other words, if any sector of Eblaite society adhered to the belief in the supernatural beneficent power of the dead, we must await future studies to clearly document that fact.⁸²

⁷⁹It has been recently suggested that these families might have made up a "corporate dynasty" of sorts, cf. Michalowski 1988:267-77.

⁸⁰So Kobayashi 1984:43-65 and Hallo 1988:54-66.

⁸¹We do have some types of incantation texts from Ebla, cf. Krebern timer 1984.

⁸²One must avoid the *a priori* assumption that the Eblaites would have observed such a cult owing to their proximity to Anatolia and Mesopotamia. Hultkrantz 1978:97-126, esp. pp.100-101, notes that among North American Indians, while the Navajo peoples borrowed much in the way of ceremonialism from the Pueblo who did observe an ancestor cult, the Navajo, owing to their morbid fear of the dead, never adopted such a cult.

Nevertheless, even if future investigations bring to bear new evidence indicative of such a cult, one will be hard pressed to claim that it reflects an indigenous West Semitic origin. Moreover, if this cult should record the care for, the commemoration of or the veneration of the royal ancestors, then the obvious analogy obtains in the contemporary royal ancestor cult at Pre-Sargonic Lagash.

In any case, the investigator will need to demonstrate that what transpired at Ebla was the worship of the ancestors and not simply their *post mortem* care, commemoration, or veneration as at Lagash. Only then can any claim of a relatively unique practice at Ebla be seriously considered. Any claims of indigenous West Semitic origins will require clear documentation. Unfortunately, as already intimated in Archi's works⁸³, future claims will no doubt resort to invoking parallels with the roughly contemporary cult of the deified king in the Mesopotamian heartland.

It is assumed that this cult with Sargon of Akkad as its oldest dedicatee was established by Semites who had ascended to power and united Mesopotamia by 2350 B.C.E.⁸⁴ Note should be made however that, while the deification of living kings was no doubt instituted in the days of Sargon's grandson Naram-Sin, the earliest texts which record offerings made to Sargon wherein his posthumous deification can be assumed come from the later Neo-

⁸³ Cf. Archi 1988A:106 n.9.

⁸⁴ Cf. Hallo 1988:54-66.

Sumerian period.⁸⁵ This full blown royal ancestor worship complete with rituals to the divinized deceased kings might have been instituted for the purpose of political expediency not by the kings of Akkad but by the kings of the Ur III dynasty in honor of their Akkadian predecessors. In other words, such ideology might not be uniquely Akkadian or Amorite in origin.

What the Ebla archives do suggest is that whatever entity the term en designated at Ebla, whether an important bureaucratic official or a king, great emphasis was placed on the honor due the personal god of such an individual (dingir + PN, dingir + en) and those of their forefathers (dingir + a-mu) for they, alongside the other major gods of the pantheon, received sacrifices in the cult.

Moreover, other texts suggest the possibility that on the occasion of the funeral of a politically important person and in conjunction with the norms of international protocol, Ebla received foreign "ens" or dignitaries who made offerings and lamentations on account of the deceased. Again we must emphasize the fact that funerary rites are not to be equated with death and ancestor cults. Moreover, such rites as preserved at Ebla do not reflect a belief in the supernatural beneficent power of the dead.

⁸⁵ Cf. Hirsch 1963:5,13,16,24,30.

2.2. THE EVIDENCE FROM MARI

The transition from Ebla to Mari is both chronologically and geographically warranted. As we move from the Pre-Sargonic to the Post-Ur III period, we encounter sizeable documentation reflective of the linguistic and religious features shared by these two city-states in contact.⁸⁶ As we enter the Old Babylonian period, the Amorite ethno-linguistic element attested at Mari provides evidence for continued links with Ebla.⁸⁷

The texts from Mari provide extensive documentation for regular offerings to dead royalty and other persons of prominence in early second millennium Syria.⁸⁸ The primary datum is the ritual associated with the *kispum* offering.⁸⁹ Owing to its

⁸⁶ Archi 1981:129-66; Michalowski 1985:293-302 and Geller 1987:141-45 listed the many references to Mari in the Ebla archive. Gelb 1977:9-12; 1981:63-64 discussed the linguistic and religious contacts between Ebla and Mari from Pre-Sargonic to Post-Ur III times. He concluded that the two city-states had a common language, "Mariote", and several shared deities.

⁸⁷ Although Gelb 1977:9-12, 1981:63-64 separated the language of Post-Ur III Mari from that of Old Babylonian Mari, Garbini 1981:81-82 argued that Amorite developed in an Eblaite linguistic milieu. A comparison of Müller 1980:1-19; Nakata 1974:*passim*; and Lambert 1985:525-39 reveals that Ebla and Old Babylonian Mari had several deities in common e.g., Dagan, Adad, Shamash, and, perhaps Bel/Baal, Il/El, and Malik/Malku (in personal names).

⁸⁸ The Mari texts are published in the series *Archives royales de Mari* abbreviated *ARM(T)* [*ARM* = volumes of cuneiform hand copies; *ARMT* = volumes of corresponding transliterations and translations]. The texts will be cited by volume, text, and line number and the accompanying discussions by author, volume, year, and page number.

⁸⁹ *Kispum* occurs in approximately eighty-six texts from Mari, some published others only listed by museum number. Tsukimoto 1985:57 n.224, n.225, and n.226 lists sixty-five [for *ARMT* 9:114:iii:29 and v:33, read 121:iii and v; add 225:6; omit 11:225 and add 279]. See also *ARMT* 1:65; 3:40; 7:9; *RA* 64(1970):35 [Text 28]; *Mari* 12803; and cf. *ARI*(1):25 [Text 39:6 Terqa], but see 2.2.2. Add now Materne 1983:197 n.12 [Text x:135:iv]; *ARMT*

connection with the supposed underworld god Dagan and the *kispum* ritual, the *pagrā'um* ritual has also been cited. To these and other data reflective of the royal ancestor cult at Mari, we now turn.

2.2.1. THE *KISPUM* RITUAL

In a letter which Kibri-Dagan, governor of Terqa, sent to his king, Zimri-Lim at Mari, the wishes of the god Dagan at Terqa are communicated to Zimri-Lim through the medium of a *muhhûm* priest, "God sent me! Hurry and write to the king so that he might consecrate the *kispû* to the *eṭemmum* (spirit) of Yaḥdun-Lim!"⁹⁰

Leaving aside both the questions of this Yaḥdun-Lim's identity, that is, whether he is a former king of Mari or the prematurely deceased son of Zimri-Lim⁹¹, and the exact nature of the *kispû* offerings mentioned in this text, that is, whether they

23(1984):60; *ARMT* 23(1984):248; Charpin 1984:88-89 [Texts 30-36]; Charpin 1985C:259-60 [Texts 10146, A.1403, 11125]; Wilcke 1986:11-16; and Sasson 1987:586 [Text M.10004]. In a new collation, Durand 1985A:159 n.55 read *kispum* in *ARMT* 19:253:4.

⁹⁰ *ARMT* 3:40:13-18: *ilum'um išpuranni humuṭ ana šarrim šupurma kispī ana eṭemmim ša Iaḥdun-Lim likrubu*. Wilcke 1986:11-16 has recently published a text in which one Dagan-naḥmīs, a female prophetess(?), receives a dream prompting the offering of *kispum*.

⁹¹ This Yaḥdun-Lim might be Zimri-Lim's prematurely deceased son, cf. Dossin 1938:111 and 1939:106 on *ana kimāḥim ša Iaḥdun-Lim mār šarrim*. On additional references to a tomb of one Yaḥdun-Lim, cf. *ARMT* 16/1(1979):216; Dalley 1984:137 n.16; Durand 1985B:404; and now Charpin and Durand 1989:18-19 who, in light of *ARMT* 3:40, located the tomb at Terqa. It appears that the references to a former king named Yaḥdun-Lim do not point to Zimri-Lim's father as Khatni-Addu filled this role and Yaḥdun-Lim and Khatni-Addu were two different people, so Charpin and Durand 1985:337, but cf. Sasson 1984A:116 n.1.

are funerary offerings or royal ancestor cult offerings⁹², this datum corroborates the mortuary nature of the "*kispum* for the kings", *kispum ša šarrāni*.

Be that as it may, the recently published ritual text, *Mari* 12803, removes all doubt as to the mortuary nature of such offerings as the *kispum ša šarrāni*. Not only do the statues of the dead kings⁹³, Sargon and Naram-Sin, receive *kispum* offerings in the course of what perhaps comprises a regularly observed ritual calendar, but other dead persons of prominence do as well.⁹⁴ Still another text lists *kispum* possibly offered for the

⁹²Cf. Tsukimoto 1980:129-38 for examples of the *kispum* offering as a funerary gift outside of Mari.

⁹³Biot 1980:143, 146-47 concluded that the *lamassatum* of Sargon and Naram-Sin in *Mari* 12803:5-7, are their statues residing in the "hall of thrones" *ina bīt 1:kussi^h*. On the *lamassu* as statues at Mari, cf. now Durand ARMT 21(1983):379,385 [Texts 222,223,226,228,238,307 and see 22:204]. The *lamassu* also appear in the form of a vase in ARMT 7:265:7'; 13:16:6,10 and 42:6, and an ornament in 7:123:3. Bayliss 1973:124 and Talon 1978:64 had speculated on the use of statues in the *kispum* ritual. Hallo 1988:54-66 proposed that the cult of the divine king of the Sargonic to Old Babylonian periods employed statues of the deceased deified king.

⁹⁴We follow the reading of Charpin and Durand 1986:165 n.115: "The *kispum* (offered) to Sargon, Naram-Sin, to the Khanean *yaradi*, and to those of Numkha, and to various others, this *kispum* has been offered" *kispum, ana lugal-kin, {x}* Naram-30, lúHana^eš iaradi, ù ana šut Numhe, ù did<l>ih[ia] kispum annûm ikkasap* (11.16-21). Cf. also Biot 1980:141-47 and Tsukimoto 1985:73-78. On a another group of deceased personages of political importance who receive offerings, the *malikū*, cf. 2.2.1.1. The Khanean *yaradu* have been taken to refer to settled Khaneans, so Tsukimoto 1985:76-77 (< (w)arādu "to settle down"); or to deceased Khaneans, so Malamat 1989:100-01 (< yārōd "to descend"). Cf. also Biot 1980:144. It might simply refer to Khanean "descendants".

deceased in general *ana kispim ša abbê*, but this is not certain.⁹⁵

A more recently published dispensary list has been cited as evidence for *kispum* offered to the deceased queen mother of Zimri-Lim, Addu-duri *ana kispim ša Addu-duri*.⁹⁶ However, that the name is preceded by the dingir sign actually complicates matters. Owing to the fact that neither the *kispum ša šarrāni*, nor the *kispum* for (the statues of) Sargon and Naram-Sin in Mari 12803⁹⁷, nor any other references to the *kispum* at Mari designate the deceased human recipients as deified- and we would certainly expect this to be the case with the deceased kings if others of importance such as a queen mother were so divinized- it is unlikely that this was the intended significance of the dingir sign preceding Addu-duri.

Rather, the dingir sign in this case more likely designates the personal god of Addu-duri, dingir Addu-duri "*kispum* for the (personal) god of Addu-duri". This unnamed god no doubt had chthonic associations for we know that the *kispum* was

⁹⁵Text #36 in Charpin 1984:89, 118. Note Mari 12803:2-3, *kispum ina libbi URU Á.DAM*⁹¹ "the *kispum* (offered) in the town and its environs". Birot 1980:139-40, 144 suggested for *abbê*, *abbû = nammaštû = Á.DAM* "population, settlement", cf. *AHW* 1(1965):5 and 2(1972):728; *CAD* 1(1964):48 and 11(1980):233-34. In Text #36, Charpin 1984:89, 118; Charpin and Durand 1986:165 n.113; Durand 1987A:70 and n.102 read *abbê* "fathers" a plural of *abu*, i.e., deceased royal ancestors or tribal chieftans(?).

⁹⁶For the text, cf. Materne 1983:197 n.12 (11.9-10). If Addu-duri was the widow of Khatni-Addu, so Batto 1974:64-72, and if Khatni-Addu was Zimri-Lim's father, so Charpin and Durand 1985:33, then she might have been Zimri-Lim's mother. The syntactic parallel *ana kispum ša šarrāni* in the same text (11.13-14) favors ⁹¹*Addu-duri* as the recipient, not the offerer.

⁹⁷Cf. Birot 1980:147.

occasionally offered at burial as sustenance for the dead as well as a gift to the denizens of the netherworld, both spirits and gods (*Totenbeigabe*). Moreover, as a special offering made during the course of magic rites, the *kispum* was made to the underworld gods known as the Anunnaki.⁹⁸

In any case, the identification of the *kispum* as a "funerary offering" is grossly inaccurate. By a wide margin, the majority of texts depict it as a regular food offering presented to the dead. We know of only three instances, all of which come from outside Mari, where the *kispum* was placed in the grave at burial. The common practice at Mari entailed *kispum* offerings at regular intervals, once, sometimes twice monthly, long after the funerary rites had ceased.⁹⁹ To be sure, the practice of placing gifts at the grave is attested at Mari, e.g., offerings *ana kimāhim* Ša PN, but *kispum* is never described as such.¹⁰⁰

At Mari, the king's presence was required at the regular *kispum* ritual at which food, such as honey, KUM bread, sour

⁹⁸ Cf. Tsukimoto 1980:129-38 and 1985:140-45, 184-200. On the underworld character of the Anunnaki, see Kienast 1965:157-58 and Sommerfeld 1985:12-14.

⁹⁹ For the three *kispum* funerary offerings, see Tsukimoto 1980:129-38 and 1985:140-45. For the *kispum* at Mari, see Birot *ARMT* 9(1960):283-87; Burke *ARMT* 11(1963):139-40; Birot *ARMT* 12(1964):23-24; Ribar 1973:88-135; Talon 1978:53-75; Sasson 1979:125-28; Birot 1980:139-50; Sasson 1982:339; Bonnetterre 1983:26-31; Bottéro 1983:173-74; Wilcke 1983:50-53; Dalley 1984:122-25; Sasson 1985B:447; Tsukimoto 1985:57-78; Finet 1985:89-90; Charpin and Durand 1986:163-70; Wilcke 1986:11-16; and Finet 1987:242-44.

¹⁰⁰ E.g. *ARMT* 7:58:3; Dossin 1939:106; and cf. *CAD* 8(1971):370; Tsukimoto 1980:132-35; and Parayne 1982:25 n.98. Add the newly published texts *ARMT* 21:347; Charpin 1984:109-10 [Text 50]; and Limet 1986:6, 169, 176-77 [Texts 17, 539, 565, and 571].

bread, or cake, and drink, such as *šipkum* or *alappānum* beer, fine meal, sesame, as well as oil were typically offered to the defunct predecessors.¹⁰¹ Nevertheless, special occasions or circumstances might warrant the unscheduled enactment or postponement of the regular *kispum* ritual.¹⁰²

It is often asserted in the secondary literature that the *kispum* entailed a meal for both the living and the dead. However, the relative small quantity of food suggests that it merely satisfied the requirements of the dead or the cultic functionaries.¹⁰³

As to the nature and significance of the ancestor cult at Mari, we are left with very few clues. It is tempting to apply what is known about the ancestor cult in Mesopotamia to the Mari context, but the fact that we are dealing with the royal ancestor cult for the most part at Mari severely qualifies the contribution which the evidence from the heartland can make.

¹⁰¹ Cf. ARMT 9:226 for a list of some of these foodstuffs and now Lafont 1984:252 [Text 248] where meat consignments are atypically listed among the *kispum*. Cf. also Wilcke 1986:11-16 for other kinds of bread and beer. On the presence of the king at Mari during the *kispum* rituals, see Talon 1978:64; Sasson 1979:125 and 1985B:447. ARMT 10:50:14 may allude to Zimri-Lim's neglect of his duties on behalf of the dead, so Sasson 1983:289.

¹⁰² Cf. Birot ARMT 12(1964):23; Talon 1978:64; Sasson 1979:125-28; and Tsukimoto 1985:58-60.

¹⁰³ Ribar 1973:91-92 pointed out that the fifty *qa kispum* corresponds to the low end of the scale for the royal table, the *naptan šarrim* (cf. ARMT 9:212, 98, 71, 193) and that three *qa* represent the daily ration for an individual. Thus, at best we might have a small number of living attendants at the *kispum* ritual (perhaps the royal family), otherwise we have no clear evidence for a mortuary banquet in which the living partake of the *kispum*.

On this point, we gain limited assistance from the written remains at Mari. The recently published text, *Mari 12803*, apparently functioned as a means for Shamshi-Addu to link up his dynasty with the dynasty of Akkad from which he derived his claim to power.¹⁰⁴ In this case, the ritual served to legitimate existing dynastic political structures by reaffirming their link with the past.¹⁰⁵

The Genealogy of the Hammurapi Dynasty is frequently cited as exemplary of this same motivation.¹⁰⁶ However, this must be qualified, for the term *kispum* is nowhere to be found in the text. Moreover, nothing in the text itself points to its regular use in the royal ancestor cult. In fact, the closing lines strongly suggest its intended use on a lone historical occasion, the coronation of Ammišaduqa. In any case, it may record a commemoration ritual not an ancestor cult rite (cf. further 3.1.7.1.).

On the other hand, *Mari 12803* reveals that the *kispum* ritual dedicated to Sargon and Naram-Sin comprised part of a larger liturgical calendar or menology. Thus, this *kispum* ritual was probably repeated on a regular basis. Nevertheless, it cannot be simply assumed that *Mari 12803* is reflective of the ritual

¹⁰⁴ Birot 1980:147-48 followed by Malamat 1989:98 n.98.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. now Tsukimoto 1985:229-32.

¹⁰⁶ For the proposal that the Genealogy of the Hammurapi Dynasty was used for legitimating purposes, cf. Röllig 1969:273; Lambert 1974:430; Wilson 1977:110-14; Michalowski 1983:237-48; and Charpin and Durand 1986:163-70.

involving the monthly *kispum* offerings recorded in the lists.¹⁰⁷ Be that as it may, do the Mari references point to the care for, the veneration of, the worship of, or simply the commemoration of the former kings and persons of prominence? We shall defer our answer to the summary at the end of this section, 2.2.6.

2.2.1.1. THE ROYAL *KISPUM* AND THE OFFERINGS FOR THE *MALIKŪ*

Two aspects of the royal *kispum* ritual call for further discussion, the occurrence of *kispum ša šarrāni* alongside offerings "for the *malikū*" *ana malikī(/im)*¹⁰⁸, and the *kispum* rites enacted "in the garden" *ina rapiqātim*. The *malikū* at Mari have been understood to represent demons¹⁰⁹, infernal spirits¹¹⁰, counsellors¹¹¹, non-royal departed men of distinction¹¹², princes¹¹³ or other non-reigning members of the royal line.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁷ Contra Malamet 1989:98. In Mari 12803, the *kispum* was offered on "the first day of the month of Addar" (col. I.1), while other rites took place on other days of the same month (col. I.9,27-28) as well as on "the day of *biblum*" (col. II.1-3) and "the day of *gimkum*" (col. II.7). Cf. Birot 1980:139-50, esp. p. 145 and n.2 and Charpin and Durand 1986:165.

¹⁰⁸ Tsukimoto 1985:65 and n.254 mentioned twenty-two texts and lists three instances where offerings *ana malikī* occur alone, ARMT 7:8; 12:282 and 342. The regular lack of mimation points to a plural form, see further n.118.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. von Soden AHW 2(1972):595.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Nougayrol 1968:60 and now Finet 1985:90.

¹¹¹ Bottéro ARMT 7(1957):190 and Wiseman 1965:125.

¹¹² So Wiseman 1965:125 followed by Tsukimoto 1985:68-69.

¹¹³ Cf. e.g., Burke ARMT 11(1963):139.

¹¹⁴ So Charpin and Durand 1986:165,168-69. Durand 1985A:159 n.55 also proposed the designation "chiefs of the tribe".

While the *malkū*, which Aro equated with the *malikū* at Mari, may denote either demons or infernal spirits in Old Babylonian omen texts and Standard Babylonian literary texts from the Mesopotamian heartland¹¹⁵, nowhere at Mari do the *malikū* appear as such.¹¹⁶

Besides, it is highly unlikely that the name of a class of wholly evil chthonic beings would have gained the level of popularity needed to become an element in Mari personal names.¹¹⁷ More satisfactory are the interpretations of *malikū* which depict them as defunct counsellors or princes, but definitely not former kings owing to the fact that the *malikū*, whatever their identity, receive smaller offerings and on a less frequent basis than the

¹¹⁵For the omen texts, see Pettinato 1966 [Texts 1,2]. The *malkū* occur alongside the spirits *eṭemmū* and the demons *kūbū*, cf. Aro 1961:604, and at the end of a series of bad apodoses, so Heider 1985:153-55. They appear in the Shamash Hymn along with the gods *ilū* (1.7) and the demons *kūbū*, and the Anunnaki *anunnakū* (1.31), see Lambert 1960:126-27 (but read *kūbū*, not *kūsū*, in 1.31 with Römer 1973:313). In Ebeling 1931:56-58, the *malkū* accompany the Anunnaki and the gods "who inhabit the earth" *ilāni* *ašibūt eršetim*.

¹¹⁶Sasson 1979:126-27 and 1985B:448 has suggested that the offerings for the "oath on (the life of) a god" *niš ilim* and to the *malikū* are closely related to the *kispum*. The relation of the deity Malik (in personal names only) and the *malikū* at Mari remains problematic, see Müller 1984:965; Heider 1985:102-13; and Olyan and Smith 1987:273.

¹¹⁷For lists of Mari (Amorite) personal and divine names with the *malik(u)* element, see Gelb 1980:321-23; Heider 1985:416-17; and Beyer 1985:101.

deceased Šarrānu.¹¹⁸ Nevertheless, these proposals present their own set of problems.

Although there may be some question as to whether or not one or more distinct roots of *malāku* exist, philologists generally acknowledge a multiplicity of roots.¹¹⁹ That a West Semitic root *malāku* "to have authority" from which derives *mālikum* "king, ruler", should be kept distinct from the East Semitic *malāku* "to counsel" from which derives *mālikum* "counsellor", has been recently defended. In the Ugaritic Akkadian text, RS 137:16, the following phrase appears "the mayor and the overseer of the fields will have no authority over him" *ù 1ú hazanu URU^{k1} ù 1ú UGULA A.ŠÁ^{eš} lā imallik UGU-Šu*. The form *imallik* derives from a root *malāku* which reflects a semantic meaning "to have authority" and should be considered distinct from *malāku* "to counsel".¹²⁰ The form *namlakātum* = *mamlakātum* "kingdom" found at Mari likewise favors the presence of a root

¹¹⁸ So Talon 1978:65-66; Sasson 1979:126; and Tsukimoto 1985:65 and 255-60. Only twice in twenty-two instances alongside the *kispum ša šarrāni* does *malikū(m)* appear with mimation in ARMT 9:121:V:43 and 12:85:10. The singular could stand as a collective, so Tsukimoto 1985:67, or an individual, e.g., the god Malik, so Heider 1985:111. The collective is more likely, for the plural is the regular form [note that Heider 1985:108 n.200 must restore *-im* in ARMT 9:123:12].

¹¹⁹ Cf. the major lexicons AHW 2(1972):592-94 and CAD 10(1977):154-58.

¹²⁰ Cf. Sivan 1984:179-80 and Huehnergard 1987:147 and PRU 3 (1955):135.

malāku "to have authority" at Mari.¹²¹ In any case, counsellors at Mari are otherwise designated *wēdūtum*.¹²²

We turn now to the prince interpretation of *malikū*. The attested epithet "son of the king" *mār šarrim* at Mari renders less likely the specific office of prince for *malikū*. Nevertheless, it does not altogether eliminate the regal associations of the *malikū* as their frequent mention alongside the deceased *šarrānu* as recipients of offerings in the royal cult strongly favors their royal status.¹²³

It is our contention that the *malikū* at Mari represent rulers of vassal kingdoms under Mari's hegemony. Although the nominal form of the West Semitic root *m-l-k* "to have authority" is usually translated by the English "king" its non-absoluteness has been recently reiterated.¹²⁴ In Syria-Palestine, the kings, or rulers, of local city-states, the *m-l-k-m*, were frequently

¹²¹ Cf. *AHW* 2(1972):728.

¹²² Cf. Charpin and Durand 1986:168 n.130 and *ARMT* 1:14:7, 73:8, 104:9; *ARMT* 4:80:5; *ARMT* 5:73: 8, 13; and *ARMT* 7:190:9 and 227:8', 12'.

¹²³ *ARMT* 8:46:5' and Dossin 1939:106 and cf. Wiseman 1965:21 and now Charpin and Durand 1986:168 n.130. The Hittite royal lists, cf. Laroche 1971:116-17; the Old Babylonian Genealogy of the Hammurapi Dynasty; and the Ugaritic ritual text *KTU* 1.161 demonstrate that in addition to deceased kings, others of political prominence might be the objects of ritual observance. However, none of these texts can be considered in and of themselves reflective of a royal ancestor cult, for they reflect funerary concerns (or perhaps commemorative rites as part of a larger series of coronation rites in the second and third instances, cf. 3.1.7.1. and 3.1.9.).

¹²⁴ Cf. Handy 1988:57-59 who argued that English "ruler" is more in keeping with the relativity exemplified in the use of the term.

subjects of the East Semitic imperial kings of Mesopotamia, the *šarrānu*.

In the light of the fact that in the Mari lists the dead *šarrānu* receive both larger and more frequent offerings than the *malikū* we can safely assume that a similar political hierarchy obtained there. Such a hierarchical relationship between living *šarrānu* and *malikū* is likewise reflected in the El-Amarna archives.¹²⁵

At Mari, these rulers of local city-states are depicted as the deceased recipients of offerings alongside the former kings of Mari, the *šarrānu*. The proposed lower political status of the *malikū* at Mari best explains why in the royal cult, the *malikū* received smaller offerings and on a less frequent basis than the *šarrānu*.

We tentatively suggest that the offerings *ana malikī* are to be viewed as an *extension* of those mortuary rites practiced within the sphere of international diplomacy such as the official mourning over the death of a king or, as in the present case, a vassal ruler.¹²⁶ The *post mortem* inclusion of the *malikū* in ceremonies alongside the former Mari kings would then reflect an attempt on the part of the Mari throne to strengthen existing

¹²⁵ See Weber in Knudtzon 1915:1225-26 on *lā mālik šarri* "vassal ruler of the king" in EA 131:23 (p. 557). In Moran 1987:349, the editors prefer the East Semitic "*conseillers*", but if two separate roots exist for *m-l-k*, the West Semitic "to have authority" and the East Semitic "to counsel", we would expect the West Semitic at Amarna. Note also that in EA 131:21, *malik* is a gloss to *lā mālik rabišī*, the highest Egyptian official in Syria-Palestine, so Rainey 1970:76. What is clear is that the *malikū* at Amarna held a subordinate political position to the *šarrānu*.

¹²⁶ Cf. Artzi 1980:161-70.

political relations with its vassal kingdoms by honoring its defunct district rulers.

Given this reconstruction, we should make mention of a recently published letter written to Zimri-Lim, king of Mari, by one Ishme-Dagan (king of Assyria and son of Shamshi-Addu?). Finet interpreted the text as follows. A lone *malikum* appears as the object of an unidentifiable ritual. Ishme-Dagan explains that although he had initiated the prescribed ritual on behalf of the *malikum*, he was unable to complete the ceremony in the absence of an expert in the rite of the *malikum*.¹²⁷ In response to his apparent dilemma, he wrote to Zimri-Lim to request that their emissaries negotiate the immediate dispatch of one so skilled.

On the other hand, Durand has argued that *malikum* in this text signifies a divinatory sign of judgment much like the *erištum* mark as found in omens.¹²⁸ In the case at hand, the judgment or counsel manifests itself by the appearance of an apparition, the *malikum*. He cited two newly published texts in support. The one makes mention of the arrival of the apparition as the *malikum* ša ʿIM "the 'Judgment' of Addu".¹²⁹ The other

¹²⁷ Finet 1985:89 [Text A.674]: "I am paying homage to the *malikum* and the *malikum* is there, but the expert in the *malikum* rite is not here" *malikam karbāku ū malikum ittabši ū mudī parsim ša malikim annikām ul ibašši* (ll. 5-10). Durand 1988A:490 and n.40 rendered *malikam karbāku* "I am obtaining a *malikum* sign for that which I requested in my prayers", see below.

¹²⁸ Durand 1988A:489-91, 501-03. On *erištum*, cf. CAD 4(1958):299-300. Durand understood *malikum* to be related to the root *malkum* C "counsel, advice", cf. CAD 10(1977):169a, from (East Semitic?) *malāku* "to counsel".

¹²⁹ Text A.490 in Durand 1988A:501-03.

mentions a woman by the name of Yataraya who "gives a (good) counsel" *Yataraya inūma malikam iddinu*.¹³⁰

At present, it is impossible to decide whether a deceased district ruler has been summoned or that simply a judgment sign similar to an *eristum* mark was being conjured.

2.2.1.2. THE *KISPUM* OFFERED IN THE ROYAL GARDEN

The garden at Mari appears as a place where several types of offering associated with the royal court were made. One text records the apportioning of "the king's meal" *naptan Šarrim* "in the (tilled?) garden" *ina rapiqātim*.¹³¹ A second text notes that the king's meal is apportioned as "a sacrifice to Ishtar in the king's garden" *nīqf Ištar ina kirē Šarrim*.¹³² These texts establish the cultic function of gardens at Mari as places for sacrifice. Another records the enactment of a second type of offering apportioned from the king's meal, the *kispum* offered "in the (tilled?) garden" *ina rapiqātim*.¹³³

Based on Landsberger's proposal that *rapāqu* means "to turn the earth (with a spade)", Burke offered for the derivative

¹³⁰ Text M.7141 in Durand 1988A:490.

¹³¹ ARMT 12:466:r.12-13.

¹³² ARMT 12:267:5 and for treatments on the cultic function of gardens in the ancient Near East, see 2.1.2.

¹³³ ARMT 11:266:15:13-15. On the relation of the *kispum* and the *naptan Šarrim*, cf. ARMT 9:173 and 11:266 and Glaeseman 1978:9, 12, 157-58. Tsukimoto 1985:61-62 concluded that *rapiqātum* is a place name, but the term never shows up with the ^{k1} determinative. The associated toponymic is *Rapiqum*^{k1}, cf. ARMT 16/1(1979):28; 23:94:2; 24:22:19 and cf. *Rapiqa* (PN) in 22:2:15:II':10'.

rapiqātum "flower bed of a tilled garden" and concluded that this was a royal burial place where *kispum* rites took place.¹³⁴

Margueron has cited court 106, the court of the Palms, in the royal palace complex as the most likely location for the garden *giš kiri; lugal* where the king's meal *naptan Šarrim* was served. It appears that this same area may have been the location for the related *kispum* ceremonies as Birot has reconstructed a reference to the Court of the Palms in *Mari* 12803.¹³⁵

Two Sumerian texts, one dating from the end of the third millennium, clearly testify to the burial of prominent persons in gardens.¹³⁶ Moreover, a royal burial plot may have been uncovered within the Old Babylonian palace complex at Mari.¹³⁷ Thus, the royal *kispum* ritual could have taken place in the palace gardens where the kings and other royalty were buried.¹³⁸

¹³⁴Cf. Landsberger 1937:185-87; Burke *ARMT* 11(1963):136 n.15 and p.139 n.17 and cf. Aramaic *r-p-q* "to dig up" e.g., Jastrow 1903:1491-92. Kennedy 1987:231-34 described the garden in later Roman death cults as a place of burial and where food and flowers were grown for the funerary banquet and support of the endowment.

¹³⁵Ll. iii:21-22 in Birot 1980:143-45 *ina k[isalim š]a gišimmar*. Cf. also Margueron 1982:360,363 and n.589 and Durand 1987A:54-57,108-09.

¹³⁶The earliest is a royal inscription of Urukagina, last of the Pre-Sargonic rulers of Lagash "when a dead person is taken to the garden of Enki" *gi. 4Enki ka.ka addax ù. túm.*, cf. Lambert 1956:172-73 and Talon 1978:63. The second is a Neo-Sumerian court document concerned with a plot of family real estate "he discovered that the tomb of the Grand Chorister of the city was in the garden" *kiri;. a ki.mah gala.mah uru.ka i.me.a bi.in.[e]š.a.*, cf. Falkenstein 1956-57:165 [Text 101:13-14] and Talon 1978:63.

¹³⁷Parrot 1975:96, but cf. Tunčá 1984:48-49 and Moorey 1984:15.

¹³⁸Al-Khalesi 1977:68-72; 1978:4 argued that adjacent to court 131 of Zimri-Lim's palace, the Gallery of Paintings, was a funerary complex *bīt kispī* [Unit 5] which included royal burials

However, it is more likely that gardens connected with *kispum* rites functioned to memorialize the kings, their bodies lying in rest elsewhere. Terqa, the home of the dynasty, has been proposed. It is from this city that a letter is sent to Mari requesting that Zimri-Lim respond by letter to Kibri-Dagan of Terqa so that the latter can consecrate the *kispū* to the *eṭemum* (spirit) of Yahdun-Lim, the assumption being that Yahdun-Lim's spirit inhabited his tomb located in Terqa.¹³⁹

2.2.2. THE *BĪT KISPĪ* AND THE *BĪT DAGAN*

According to a text found at Terqa, Shamshi-Addu built in that town "the *é ki.si.ga*, his house of silence, the house of Dagan" *é ki.si.ga bīt qūltišu bīt Dagan*.¹⁴⁰ The *é ki.si.ga* has been equated with *bīt kispī* "house of offerings to the dead" which in turn has been identified with the house of Dagan.¹⁴¹ If

(rms. 117-19, 124-26), dining halls (rms. 121-23, 219-21) complete with kitchens and storerooms (rms. 222-26, 255-56), but cf. Talon 1979:331-33; Margueron 1982(I):340 n.479 [his Secteur F = Al-Khalesi Unit 5], and 1983B:185-86; and Tsukimoto 1985:60. Durand 1987A:39-110 tentatively suggested that rm. 65, south of court 106, the Court of the Palms, and of rm. 64, is the "throne room" mentioned in *Mari* 12803. This is where the *kispum* ritual took place.

¹³⁹ Cf. *ARMT* 3:40 and Moorey 1984:15 and Charpin and Durand 1989:18-19.

¹⁴⁰ *ARI*(I):39:6, p.25. For *bīt qūltišu* as "house of silence" cf. *AHW* 2(1971):927; *CAD* 13(1983):302; and Grayson 1987:59-60.

¹⁴¹ So Grayson 1972:24-25; Menzel 1981(I):52; and Dalley 1984: 122-23. Menzel conjectured that the *bīt Dagan* at Neo-Assyrian Assur is to be equated with a *bīt kimāhhi* documented there. While the latter is in all likelihood to be associated with rites in the Aššur temple and *é.ki.sī.ga* can designate a grave *kimāhhu(m)* (cf. Tsukimoto 1985:235), Menzel's equation of the *bīt Dagan* and the *bīt kimāhhi* at Assur depends upon the equation of the *bīt Dagan* in Terqa (Shamshi-Addu I) with the

correct, then we have evidence which not only identifies the location (of the gardens?) where the *kispum* ritual was performed, but also connects the god Dagan with royal ancestor cult practices at Mari.¹⁴²

But the expected spelling of the Sumerian equivalent to *bīt kispī* is *é ki.sì.ga*, not *é ki.si.ga*. Elsewhere, the latter has the meaning "place of silence" and therefore may stand in apposition to *é qūltišu*. Such a grammatical construction - Sumerian temple name + Akkadian gloss + house of DN- is attested in another inscription of Shamshi-Addu.¹⁴³

Even if we suppose for the sake of argument that *bīt kispī* is the correct reading, its relation to the house of silence and the house of Dagan remains enigmatic.¹⁴⁴ Apart from Tsukimoto's proposal and in the absence of decisive contextual evidence, the apposition could signify a number of possible relationships. Therefore, in the final analysis, this text cannot establish the location of the *kispum* ritual or the patronage of Dagan in the royal ancestor cult.

textually suspect *bīt kispī* proposed by Al-Khalesi.

¹⁴² So e.g., Healey 1977:50.

¹⁴³ Cf. Tsukimoto 1980:137 n.29, 1985:70-73 and Charpin 1985:86, 1986:217 and n.2. The other Shamshi-Addu text is AOB 1(1926):8:6-8, pp.22-23: *é am.kur.kur.ra bīt rīm mātātīm bīt 4Enlil*. The Enlil temple or *é amkurkurra* = "the house of the wild bulls of the lands".

¹⁴⁴ We note the conjecture of Lambert 1987:403-04 that Sumerian *ki.sì.ga* (not *ki.si.ga*!) might have originally meant "silent place" where offerings were made to the dead ancestors and later developed a meaning to cover the offerings made at this quiet place. These offerings were designated *kispum* in Akkadian.

2.2.3, DAGAN, LORD OF PAGRŪ

We come now to a second major datum which has been cited as evidence for royal ancestor cult practices at Mari. Such an assumption rests on an inference derived from Dagan's epithet "lord of *pagrū*" *bēl pagrē*. It is assumed that this epithet is indicative of not only Dagan's connection with the royal ancestor cult, but that of the *pagrum* offering as well.¹⁴⁵

The epithet *bēl pagrē* has been rendered: lord of corpse offerings, lord of corpses (a netherworld god), lord of funerary offerings, and lord of human sacrifices.¹⁴⁶ Akkadian *pagrum* and the related ritual attested at Mari, the *pagrā'um*, have been attributed the following meanings: bloody sacrifice, corpse or cadaver, sacrifice of (for) the dead, sacrifice of the stele, and slaughtered animal.¹⁴⁷

While *pagrum* without further qualification can denote the corpse of a fallen soldier or a slain animal, the debate arises over its use in sacrificial contexts.¹⁴⁸ Is it the sacrifice itself that is in view (a human sacrifice) or its intended object (a sacrifice for the dead)? Does *pagrum* and its derivative

¹⁴⁵ ARMT 10:63:15. On this view of *bēl pagrē*, see Roberts 1972:19; Talon 1978:71; Wyatt 1980:377; and Dalley 1984:125.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. Dalley 1984:125 for the various positions and note Lambert 1985B:533.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. Birot ARMT 14(1974):217-18 and AHW 3(1981):1581.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. the examples cited in AHW 2(1972):809 *pagru* (2) "Leiche, Kadaver".

pagrā'um found at Mari involve a mortuary offering of some sort or simply a slain animal unrelated to such concerns?¹⁴⁹

Not a single instance can be cited from its handful of occurrences at Mari that could establish *pagrā'um* as a sacrifice associated with mortuary matters, let alone human sacrifice.¹⁵⁰ Neither the connection with Dagan via the epithet *bēl pagrē* nor the mention of the *pagrum* given to Dagan *pagram ana d Dagan inaddin*¹⁵¹, are sufficient in themselves to substantiate the mortuary nature of *pagrā'um*. In fact, as we have indicated above (2.2.2.) and shall further demonstrate below (cf. 2.2.4.), the royal ancestor cult or death cult associations of both Dagan and *pagrum/pagrā'um* are entirely lacking at Mari.

Nowhere in the Mari archives is Dagan's supposed role as patron deity of the royal ancestor cult otherwise mentioned.¹⁵² Moreover, recently published Mari texts make the proposal that *pagra'um* denotes human sacrifice obsolete. These offering lists demonstrate that animal sacrifices were meant, specifically

¹⁴⁹On the formation of *pagrā'um* from *pagrum* as a relational adjective formed on the analogy of a place name, cf. Birot *ARMT* 14(1974):217 and Wilcke 1986:13 n.10.

¹⁵⁰Cf. Dossin 1948:132:51 com.133 [= Ellermeier 1968:26:51]; *ARMT* 2:87:7-22; 2:90:22; 10:51:16,18; 10:63:15; 14:12:4'; 18:38:5; 19:303:3; 21:62:1,42; 70:6; 76:2; 147:5; and 23:561:16.

¹⁵¹For this text, see Dossin 1948:132 ll.51-52 [= Ellermeier 1968:26 ll. 51-52]. Ebach 1971:367-68 translated *pagrum* here as "Totenopfer", while Dalley 1984:125 offered "(human) corpse". A neutral stance is taken by Sasson 1979:131. Cf. also Healey 1977B:50; Talon 1978:70; and de Tarragon 1980:69 and n.49.

¹⁵²Cf. 2.2.2. and 2.2.4. and the recent survey by Lambert 1985B:525-39, esp. 532,538, but cf. p.533 where he rendered the epithet *bēl pagrē* as "lord of funerary offerings".

carcasses of dead animals.¹⁵³ On more than one occasion of the *pagrā'um* offering, the sacrificial bullock was distributed among those present.¹⁵⁴ On another occasion, Dagan, who had become angered over the issue of *pagrum*, was appeased with an offering of slaughtered mutton.¹⁵⁵

Lastly, none of the texts mentioning the *pagrum/pagrā'um* offering point to any association with mortuary rites. The same goes for its assumed connections with the royal cult and the royal ancestor cult in particular. In those cases where we gain some assistance from the contexts, the evidence indicates that the *pagrum/pagrā'um* was offered by non-royal personages.¹⁵⁶

2.2.4. THE PARALLEL *KISPUM* AND *PAGRĀ'UM* RITUALS

One datum remains which has been cited in support of the connection between the *pagrā'um* offering and the royal ancestor cult and again Dagan's assumed role in that cult forms the basis of the proposal. In 2.2.1., we quoted from a letter, *ARMT* 3:40, sent by Kibri-Dagan, governor of Terqa, to the king of Mari in which Dagan at Terqa, through the medium of a *muhhūm* priest, exhorted Zimri-Lim to offer *kispū* to the spirit of his departed

¹⁵³When associated with *niqū*, *pagrā'ū* refer to offerings of animal blood, so Durand *ARMT* 21(1983):71-72,160 n.20.

¹⁵⁴Cf. *ARMT* 21:62:43 and 147:5 and the comments by Durand *ARMT* 21(1983):160 n.20.

¹⁵⁵Cf. *ARMT* 18:38:5 and Durand *ARMT* 21(1983):71-72,160 n.20. Villard *ARMT* 23(1984):533 n.e discussed the most recently published text, 561:16, in which the *pagrā'um* ritual is either accompanied by offerings of silver or is purchased with silver.

¹⁵⁶Cf. Wilcke 1986:13 n.10.

(father or son?) Yaḥdun-Lim.¹⁵⁷ The assumption is that Dagan takes on a direct role in matters *kispum*.

In another severely damaged text, ARMT 2:90, it appears that Dagan again instructs the king to perform certain rites, and again he does so through the medium of a *muhḥûm* priest, that is, if we are justified in restoring the form in a lacuna in the text.¹⁵⁸ In this case, the king orders the *nīqī pagrā'ī* to be offered. Owing to the fact that it is Dagan who instructs the king through the medium of a *muhḥûm* priest in both texts and that ARMT 3:40 is related to matters mortuary, it has been assumed that the latter should be similarly interpreted.¹⁵⁹

But the logic here is controvertible. In the absence of confirming data, one cannot assume that whenever the god Dagan, a *muhḥûm* priest, and a sacrifice are related as they are in the above two letters, that one has unequivocal evidence for a mortuary cult at Mari. As a point in fact, in the remaining Mari archives, the *pagrā'um* offering is never explicitly related to such concerns. Moreover, in its eighty plus instances at Mari, the *kispum* offering is never attested in direct relation to the *pagrā'um* offering. Furthermore, it should be recalled that the

¹⁵⁷ ARMT 3:40:7b-18. For ll. 13-18, see 2.2.1. and n.90.

¹⁵⁸ ARMT 2:90. According to Malamat 1966:220, *muhḥûm* can be reconstructed in l. 16. The extended lacunae in ll. 13-17a has been restored on the basis of ARMT 3:40:7b-9: "On the same day I sent this letter to my lord, the *muhḥûm* priest of Dagan...." [um tuppi an]nēm [ana ser] bēliya [ušābīlam a w i l muḥḥûm š] a d Dagan.

¹⁵⁹ The phrase *nīqī pagrā'ī* occurs in ARMT 2:90:18(?), 22. Jean ARMT 2(1950):65; Finet ARMT 15(1954):238 and Ebach 1971:365-68 understood this phrase to designate "sacrifices for the dead". Talon 1978:69-70 tentatively equated the *nīqī pagrā'ī* with the offerings *ana malikī*, but assumed the shared identity of Malik and Dagan at Mari in the absence of supporting data.

pagrā'um offering remains otherwise unconnected with the royal cult, that is, with perhaps the exception of ARMT 2:90, although it must be recognized that the extensive lacunae makes any interpretation of this text tentative at best.

Likewise, the logic that would make Dagan out as the patron deity of the royal ancestor cult based on ARMT 3:40 leaves much to be desired. While Dagan's demands recorded in this text are related to the royal ancestor cult, this does not necessitate the conclusion that he is the cult's patron deity. As a major god of the Mari pantheon, his influence and authority no doubt spanned a wide range of religious concerns. In fact, his general non-involvement with the royal ancestor cult at Mari is confirmed by the fact that only once in eighty plus references to *kispum* is Dagan mentioned.¹⁶⁰ Therefore, a more likely candidate for patron deity of the royal ancestor cult at Mari might be at hand.¹⁶¹

2.2.5. THE CULT OF THE DEAD DEIFIED *ITŪR-MER*

The deity Itūr-Mer occupied one of the two most important positions among the gods of Mari.¹⁶² As the god of the region of which Mari was the biggest and most important town, he was most

¹⁶⁰ ARMT 3:40:14-15.

¹⁶¹ As Dalley 1979:290 has pointed out, we have no unequivocal evidence for a Dagan shrine at Mari. Despite Dagan's epithet *bēl Terqa* in ARMT 10:62, his exclusive patronage of Terqa, the home of the Mari dynasty, remains in doubt as Dagan shows up separately from *bēl Terqa* in a god list at Mari, cf. Lambert 1970:247-50.

¹⁶² The other was Dagan. For helpful treatments on Itūr-Mer, see Nakata 1974:323-33; Dalley 1979:289-90; Sasson 1979:133; and Lambert 1985B:533-35, 538-39.

likely considered patron deity of the Mari kingdom. Two recently published texts of Shamshi-Addu in which Itūr-Mer gives him "the land of Mari and the bank of the Euphrates (and its domains)" *māt Mari^{k1} ū aḥ^{1d} Purantim* (ū *namlakātišu*) verify the regional extent of his influence.¹⁶³ They also help to elucidate an epithet of Itūr-Mer found elsewhere at Mari, "the ruler of Mari" *Šar Mari^{k1}*. This title can now be properly rendered "the ruler of the kingdom of Mari".¹⁶⁴

All of the above support the proposal that the otherwise unidentified deity given the title "ruler of the land" *Šar mātim* in god lists at Mari is none other than Itūr-Mer and not Dagan as previously conjectured.¹⁶⁵ In fact, Dagan is actually listed separately from *Šar mātim* in a list of gods at Mari.¹⁶⁶ In any case, we know of temples, a city gate or precinct *ká^d Itūr-Mer*, *Šangum* priests, *muhḥūm* prophets, a *qilāsātum* feast, and a feast of musicians devoted to this deity.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶³ For the phraseology, cf. the text in Charpin 1984:42-44, 69, 71 [Text 1:4-6]; Lambert 1985B:538-39; Charpin and Durand 1986:145-46; and Grayson 1987:56-57 and for the added "and its domains" ū *namlakātišu*, cf. the related text in Charpin 1985B:91 and Grayson 1987:57.

¹⁶⁴ ARMT 10:63:16 and cf. 10:66:18 and 10:72:11-12. Note that the phrase is not *Šar ur^u Mari^{k1}* "ruler of the city of Mari", but "ruler of Mari". His dominion over the entire Mari kingdom would explain why his more restricted relationship to the town is rarely attested, so Lambert 1985:539.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. Dalley 1979:289-90 and Lambert 1985B:529 n.4.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. Lambert 1970:249-250 and Lambert 1985B:531.

¹⁶⁷ ARMT 10:10:6; 13:26:10; 10:51:4; 21:333:43', 22:167:8'; and 7:263:i:6-7, 22:276:i:36-42; 9:176:5 respectively. On other temples possibly dedicated to Itūr-Mer, cf. Dalley 1979:289-90 and Durand 1987B:611-12. On the *Šangum* priest and the royal cult, Beyer 1985:176-83 and on the enigmatic *qilāsātum* feast, see Bottéro ARMT 7(1957):343; Burke ARMT 11(1963):132-33 and cf. now

As to the origins of Itūr-Mer, it has been proposed that this god was originally a mortal hero or former king of Mari who was deified after his death.¹⁶⁸ That Itūr-Mer might have been originally a human figure is supported by the fact that the name form *IprVs-DN is a well attested personal name in Akkadian onomastics. Furthermore, the *Itūr* element in personal names is quite common at Mari and should not be taken as an epithet of the god Mer.¹⁶⁹

Nakata has proposed that Itūr-Mer became the patron deity of an important ancestor cult at Mari. To date, the only such cult attested at Mari is the royal ancestor cult. Sasson cited a recently published text in which Itūr-Mer presides as patron deity over what stands as the best candidate for the Mari version of the *marzēah*.¹⁷⁰ Nevertheless, our findings *vis-à-vis* the non-mortuary relations of the *marzēah* prior to the first millennium should caution against the assumption that this datum supports Itūr-Mer's patronage over an ancestor cult at Mari (cf. 3.1.5.). In any case, Itūr-Mer is entitled "lord of *pūdum*" *bēl pūdim* (1.2)

von Soden 1985:277 and 1987:102.

¹⁶⁸Cf. Nakata 1975:15-24 and Dalley 1979:289-90. Owing to his continued rule over the "land of" Mari long after his death, the epithet *šar mātim* should not be restricted in its reference to his actual reign while a living ruler, *contra* Dalley 1979:290.

¹⁶⁹Nakata 1975:15-24. He cited ARMT 3:40:13-18 as his Mari evidence. He also cited the deification of the *eṭemnum* of departed persons of prominence in Mesopotamia as support, but this phenomenon is not attested at Mari. While Nakata 1975:18-19 attempted to refute earlier advocates of the storm god interpretation of Itūr-Mer, Lambert 1985B:533-35 has recently embraced this position. For Lambert, Itūr-Mer originally represented an old storm god of northern Mesopotamia and Syria.

¹⁷⁰Sasson 1985B:447.

and the fourteen "sons of *pûdum*" assemble to pay homage to him. (11.31-33).

The editor of this text identified the individuals comprising the accompanying list of names (11.3-30) as priests or possibly merchants.¹⁷¹ Elsewhere, the same "sons of *pûdum*" are depicted as attendants of a feast held in the Gallery of Paintings or court 131, the court adjacent to Al-Khalesi's conjectured funerary complex or *bīt kispī* (cf. 2.2.2.). In any case, prior to their attendance at that feast, they banqueted in the temple of the netherworld god Nergal.¹⁷²

Another Mari text possibly relates Itūr-Mer and the royal death cult. It makes mention of Zimri-Lim's repeated trips to the *bīt kimti*. As suggested by its use in a tomb inscription of Sennacherib, Moran tentatively identified the *bīt kimti* as a "mortuary chapel".¹⁷³ In the end, it was a *šangum* priest of Itūr-Mer who, having dreamt of Zimri-Lim's pilgrimages, deemed them misspent owing to the permanence of his kingship.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷¹ ARMT 23:436 and cf. pp.385-87. Ll. 31-33 read: *šunigin 14 dumu^eš pûdim ša ana puluḫti dItūr-Mer kašrū*.

¹⁷² So Durand 1987A:52 and n.38 [Text M 15249:6] and ARMT 23:494:6. ARMT 7:263:10'-11' records a group entitled the *pûdāt šarrim*.

¹⁷³ Moran 1969:42-43, but cf. p.56. He appointed Dagan as patron deity of this cult, but as we have argued above, and as the mention of the priest of Itūr-Mer suggests, Itūr-Mer stands as a better candidate. The relevant line in the Sennacherib text can be found in OIP 2:151:13: "Palace of rest, eternal residence, irremovable family dwelling of Sennacherib" *ekal tapšuḫti šubat dārāt bīt kimti šuršudu ša dSinahḫēriba* (ll. 1-4a) and cf. CAD 8(1971):377 and AHW 1(1965)479.

¹⁷⁴ ARMT 10:51:8-15: "In my dream Belet-biri stepped up to me and spoke as follows. Thus she (spoke): . . . is his kingship, and the rule is his permanent possession. Why does he keep going up again and again to the 'family house?' *ina šuttiya d'nin-biri*

If future studies can establish Itūr-Mer's status as patron of the royal ancestor cult at Mari, and admittedly this is by no means certain, then we might gain a more accurate understanding of the enigmatic *qilāsātum* feast and the festival of musicians connected with this deity.¹⁷⁵ Perhaps, these festive occasions also testify to this role of Itūr-Mer. In the final analysis, the suggested mortuary associations of Itūr-Mer remain circumstantial at best.

2.2.6. Summary

This completes our survey of the Mari evidence. At Mari, regular *kispum* offerings were made to the dead kings. As suggested by the repeated occurrence of *malikū*, the deceased vassal rulers, and the groups mentioned in the ritual reflected in *Mari* 12803, it appears that other prominent dead also received *kispum* on occasion. The numerous dispensary lists, the royal letters, the commemorative royal inscription from Terqa, and the related ritual text, *Mari* 12803, when considered together, substantiate the existence of a royal ancestor cult on Syro-Palestinian soil during the early second millennium.¹⁷⁶

On the other hand, our findings pertaining to the *pagrā'um* offering contradict the consensus opinion attributing to it and to the god Dagan central roles in the royal ancestor cult at

izzizzamma kīam iqbēm umma šīma dirutum namlaktašu ù palûm dūršu ana é kimtim ana mīnim ītenelli.

¹⁷⁵ On the latter, see *ARMT* 9:176:5 and cf. 7:267:5'.

¹⁷⁶ Cf. now Malamat 1989:96-107 for a recent summary of the Mari evidence.

Mari. Finally, Itūr-Mer's role in the royal ancestor cult at Mari remains in our estimation plausible regardless of his purported euhemeristic origins. However, this proposal must await future verification, for the present evidence is inferential at best.

Owing to the fact that the various Amorite elements dominated the geo-political map during this period, and this applies to the Mesopotamian heartland as well as to such peripheral sites as Mari, that texts first make mention of the *kispum* offering beginning with the Old Babylonian period¹⁷⁷, and that the Amorite ethos supposedly emphasized genealogical, tribal, and ancestral relationships while the Sumero-Babylonian element did not¹⁷⁸, one might conclude that the *kispum* ritual was essentially an Amorite innovation indigenous to north Syria.

Furthermore, one might assume that it was then introduced into the Mesopotamian heartland from north Syria coincident with the ascendancy of the Amorite dynasties there and that it was subsequently adopted by the various peoples inhabiting Syria-Palestine of the first millennium such as the Arameans.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁷The same can be generally said of the Sumerian equivalent, *ki.sì.ga*. For the relevant texts, cf. Tsukimoto 1985:26-38.

¹⁷⁸So Hallo 1983:7-18, esp. pp.9-12.

¹⁷⁹Cf. e.g., Xella 1988:219-25. Greenfield 1973:46-52 and 1987:70-71 argued that the *kispum* ritual evolved during the period of Amorite domination in order to allow for conforming to West Semitic usages and was eventually adopted by the Israelites via the Arameans. Dietrich and Loretz 1980:381-82 assumed that *pagrum/pgr* was the West Semitic synonym for *kispum* and that the Ugaritic text *KTU* 1.161 was a later (Amorite) reflex of *Mari* 12803. Pope 1981:176 concluded that the *marzēah* was the West Semitic equivalent to the *kispum*.

In response it should be pointed out that the royal ancestor cult is well attested in "Pre-Amorite", and for that matter "Pre-Akkadian", Mesopotamia. As we noted in 2.1.1., it was regularly observed in the earlier Sumerian culture at such urban centers as Pre-Sargonic Lagash. While it is true that Sumerian *ki.si.ga* does not show up at Lagash during this period, a variety of analogous offerings such as food, drink, and animals as well as clothing were made to the ancestors of the royal family at Lagash on a monthly basis. These rites often took place at the *ki-a-nag* or funerary shrine, at least this was the case for the deceased ensis or lugals and their wives.¹⁸⁰ In fact, it can be argued that owing to the elements which the Lagash and later Mari rites share, the Mari royal ancestor cult reflects a significant degree of continuity with its Sumerian predecessor whereas it has little in common with the cult for the worship of the dead deified kings of the dynasty of Akkad.¹⁸¹

First, neither in the Lagash nor Mari royal ancestor cults are the deceased royalty deified. That is to say, nowhere in the literary evidence are the cult recipients preceded by the *dingir/ilu* sign.¹⁸² On the other hand, the royal ancestor cult established for the worship of the deceased Sargonic kings

¹⁸⁰ Cf. Kobayashi 1984 and 1985.

¹⁸¹ On which, cf. Hirsch 1963:5,13,16,24,30 and Hallo 1988:54-66. Owing to the fact that the earliest documentation for this cult comes from the Neo-Sumerian period and not Sargonic times, the cult in honor of the dynastic kings of Akkad might have been instituted by the kings of the Ur III dynasty for legitimization purposes.

¹⁸² On the lone possible exception at Mari, i.e. *ana kispim* Ša ^a Addu-duri, cf. 2.2.1.

coincides with their posthumous deification.¹⁸³ Second, at Lagash and Mari, the dead royalty are referred to collectively in the lists, at Mari as *šarrānu* and *malikū* and at Lagash as *en-en-né-ne*. We mention one final point of similarity in anticipation of our discussion to follow. In the light of the above observations, neither cult concern itself with the worship of dead divine monarchs (more on this below).

In sum, the Mari cult exhibits no new elements which might be considered uniquely Amorite in origin. It simply approximates the earlier Sumerian cult. Thus, it is our contention that the *kispum* offering was more a Semitic adaptation of an existing Sumerian practice than an actual Amorite or, for that matter, Akkadian innovation. Furthermore, one might argue that its diffusion moved from East to West, from the heartland to the periphery, and that it enjoyed popularity among the privileged classes of the peripheral regions only sporadically. Indications of both aspects of this process may be reflected in the textual record at Mari.

Presently, we lack any reference to the *kispum* offering or to the ancestor cult more generally from the reigns of the Amorite rulers who preceded Zimri-Lim, Yagid-Lim and Yahdun-Lim.¹⁸⁴ However, beginning with the reign of Zimri-Lim's foreign

¹⁸³ So Hallo 1988:54-66. The same has been proposed for the kings of the Ur III dynasty, cf. Klein 1981B:35.

¹⁸⁴ Durand 1985A:159 n.55 has offered a reconstruction of an isolated reference to *kispum* in a *šakkanakku* period text, ARMT 19:253:4. However, the original editor, Limet, read only [x x]pum. Durand also suggested that 19:214, also a *šakkanakku* text, records offerings to the prominent dead although *kispum* per se is not mentioned. Two other *kispum* texts, RA 64(1970):35 [Text 28] and Wilcke 1986:11-17 have been dated to the reign of Sumu-Yamam

predecessor, Shamshi-Addu I of Assyria, *kispum* is first attested at Mari.¹⁸⁵ In fact, several *kispum* texts date to the so-called Assyrian period.¹⁸⁶ With the beginning of the reign of Zimri-Lim, the number of occurrences significantly increases.¹⁸⁷

On the other hand, we have a number of references to both the royal ancestor cult in the texts of the earlier Sumerian and Akkadian dynasties of the Mesopotamian heartland and to the *kispum* ritual in the texts of the Amorite dynasties of the Old Babylonian period that eventually dominated the heartland. In other words, the royal ancestor cult was already a well-established Sumerian, but adapted, Semitic institution prior to the Amorite institution of *kispum* offerings at Mari.

Therefore, the royal ancestor cult at Mari cannot be understood as a distinctly north Syrian Amorite practice, but as a rite observed by the earlier Sumerian royalty in the Mesopotamian heartland and subsequently adapted by the varied Semitic peoples -Akkadians, Assyrians, Amorites- who settled there. The easterly Semites later exported their adapted version of the Sumerian royal ancestor cult to the peripheral regions of their ever expanding nation-states of Assyria and Babylonia.

by Wilcke, p.12 n.2. He based his dating on the name of a palace official, Ḫamatil, who shows up in both texts. But a Ḫamatil is attested in the reigns of Yaḥdun-Lim, Sumu-Yamam, and in the Assyrian period. Therefore, it is not possible to assign these two texts to any one of these periods based on this datum alone.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. ARMT 7:9; 12:3,85,96; and Mari 12803.

¹⁸⁶ In addition to the texts cited in n.185, cf. the seven texts in Charpin 1984:88-89,103-06 [Texts 30-36] and the three texts in Charpin 1985C:260 [Texts 10146, A.1403, 11125].

¹⁸⁷ The remaining *kispum* texts date from Zimri-Lim's time, so Talon 1978:60; Sasson 1979:125-28; and 1985B:447, cf. n.89.

That the royal ancestor cult at Mari is not uniquely Amorite or West Semitic is further substantiated by our findings *vis-à-vis* the Syro-Palestinian textual evidence from the mid second millennium onwards. In spite of an abundant textual witness for the periods following the Amorite domination of Mari, we have no indication that a royal ancestor cult continued uninterrupted as West Semitic tradition. No such cult is evidenced at Ugarit (cf. 3.1.).¹⁸⁸

If we can assume that the dead *šarrānu* were former *Mari* kings and that they were perceived as *genealogically* related to the current dynasty -neither point is uncontrovertible-, then we can offer some speculation regarding the intended functions of the *kispum*. *Mari* 12803 leads one to conclude that political legitimation and regional diplomacy might have been one function. But can we ascertain from the available data whether or not the belief in the supernatural beneficent power of the ancestors was embraced at Mari?

As argued previously, it is unlikely that these rites presupposed worship of the royal ancestors as both the internal and comparative evidence points in the opposite direction. The Amorite dynasty at Mari not only instituted a version of the royal ancestor cult that had been informed by the Sumerian

¹⁸⁸ The same probably applies in the case of Emar. Durand 1989:85-88 has speculated that a non-royal ancestor cult is attested, but cf. 3.2.2. How long the *kispum* ritual continued at Mari is impossible to ascertain, for we have no textual evidence for the following periods. Owing to the fact that it was the Babylonian Amorite Hammurapi who conquered Mari after Zimri-Lim came to power and that we have *kispum* at Babylon dated to his reign (cf. Tsukimoto 1985:39-56) we would expect its continuance after Zimri-Lim perhaps in modified form owing to Hammurapi's concern to legitimate his rule there.

ancestor cult, but it may have adopted a policy similar to that evident in Babylonia under Hammurapi in which the deification of living and dead kings instituted during the preceding Sargonic and Ur III periods had been abolished.¹⁸⁹ This non-deification of Mari kings likewise applies in the case of the *kispum* and sheep sacrifices offered to (the statues of?) Sargon and Naram-Sin in *Mari* 12803. As the editor of this text pointed out, neither of these names is preceded by the dingir/*ilu* sign.¹⁹⁰ Moreover, that the *kispum* was presented first to Shamash and only then offered to Sargon and Naram-Sin in *Mari* 12803 further reflects the inferior status of the dead kings when compared to the high gods.

Pertinent in this regard is the fact which we pointed out earlier, namely that in the dispensary lists we find the dead kings and bureaucrats at Mari referred to only collectively.¹⁹¹ Recent research on Chinese and Japanese ancestor cults offers a plausible explanation for the collective grouping of the dead Mari kings and bureaucrats. Like their Far Eastern counterparts, the unidentified Mari royal ancestors might have merged into an impersonal collectivity by virtue of genealogical distance or they might have been perceived from the outset as only remotely influential with regard to the continuity of the current Mari

¹⁸⁹ Contra Hallo 1988:62-63 who, for the continued deification of dead kings, cited on p.62 n.51 the Bronze age archeological evidence from Ebla which we rejected in 2.1.5. and the literary data from Ugarit which we also reject, cf. ch. 3.

¹⁹⁰ Cf. Birot 1980:146-47.

¹⁹¹ This argues against the practice of geneonymy or the commemoration of the dead by name at Mari whereas at Lagash, the collective term *en-en-né-ne* is followed by the listing of individual deceased kings and relatives along with their offerings and so suggestive of geneonymy.

dynasty.¹⁹² In either case the result is the same, the dead Mari kings were attributed little if any power to influence the lives of the living.¹⁹³ Thus, in addition to its legitimating function, it would appear that the Mari cult functioned simply to provide care for the dead kings and bureaucrats.¹⁹⁴

In the absence of any textual witness from Mari for an articulated cosmography of the spirit world, we cannot be certain that these cultic rites presupposed an extended lore regarding the mode of existence of the dead. The lone mention of the term *etemnum*, that being of the Yahdun-Lim of ARMT 3:40, even if viewed as related to the royal ancestor cult -a point we shall grant for the sake of argument- does not obviate this fact.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹²From this we would infer that as a class, the Šarrānu were not perceived of as the immediate ancestors of the existing Amorite dynasty. Perhaps, they comprised the former non-Amorite dynasties at Mari and/or dynasties of the Mesopotamian heartland e.g., the ancient dynasty of Akkad as suggested by the mention of Sargon and Naram-Sin in Mari 12803. If this in fact were the case, then the mention of these two names would be exceptional and indicative of their commemoration.

¹⁹³Cf. Fortes 1976:8-11; Newell 1976:20-23; and Hardacre 1987:264. In the Japanese ancestor cults, the dead individual goes through a second symbolic death and after some time has lapsed requiring daily ritual attention is placed among the remote communal ancestors who no longer require regular care but nevertheless are commemorated in periodic community rites.

¹⁹⁴If we could be certain that the Yahdun-Lim of ARMT 3:40 was Zimri-Lim's father then we would have possible testimony to an individual ancestor of immediate continuity and therefore one with authority. Even so, in the light of our previous arguments, veneration would be the highest form of religious observance one could expect in this instance.

¹⁹⁵As we pointed out previously, these *kispū* may designate those intended to be placed at the grave at the time of burial "for the spirit of Yahdun-Lim" *kispī ana eṭemmim ša Iaḥdun-Lim*. On the funerary *kispū* offerings, cf. Tsukimoto 1980:129-38. In other words, this text might reflect only the concern to care for the weak spirit of Yahdun-Lim (father or son of Zimri-Lim?) as it completes the necessary rites *de passage*.

As we mentioned in ch. 1, we know of comparative examples where the dead are personified in the ancestor cult but where the intent is not to consign them or equip them for spiritual existence in a supernatural realm as might be the case with other types of mortuary practices. Rather the intent is to disincorporate them from the social structure.¹⁹⁶

In conclusion, while it appears that in addition to deceased royalty other groups of politically prominent dead could receive *kispum* offerings, the evidence does not support the notion that at Mari the belief in the supernatural beneficent power of the ancestors was embraced by the royal court. Moreover, evidence that might suggest that the same or other sectors of Mari society held to such a belief is entirely lacking. Neither a domestic ancestor cult, a death cult, nor, for that matter, necromancy is as yet attested at Mari.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁶ Fortes 1965:125-29 and cf. Singleton 1977:18-25 who emphasizes the anthropocentric semi-personal spirituality, the atheistic religiousness, and evanescent eschatology of the African ancestor cult as opposed to the theism, afterlife, and substantial spirituality intrinsic to the epistemological framework which so often informs the analysis of ancestor cults in other societies by Westerners.

¹⁹⁷ Notwithstanding the conjecture of Wilcke 1986:13 that the *kispum* *ša sarrāni* mentioned in conjunction with the dream of one Dagan-naḥmiš in an extremely abbreviated text points to a necromantic rite. The *kispum* more likely indicated the required quality of payment or the intended destination of the payment for service rendered, namely the dream. In any case, we can recover nothing concerning the purpose and nature of the dream. For recent evidence for a private ancestor cult in the Old Babylonian heartland, see now the text CBS 473 in Wilcke 1983:49-54 and Kraus 1987:96-97. This text comprises a prayer to the moon god Sin on behalf of a commoner's deceased relatives of four generations to whom are offered bread and water. As it stands, it records no more than the care for the weakened dead. It dates to the thirty-third year of Ammiditana. For additional texts from the heartland, cf. Malamat 1989:97.

CHAPTER III

THE EXTRA-BIBLICAL SYRO-PALESTINIAN TEXTUAL EVIDENCE

THE MID TO LATE SECOND MILLENNIUM B.C.E.

We shall now examine the oft cited evidence from Ugarit, the Nuzi data which have re-surfaced in current discussions, and the newly published enigmatic texts from Emar. In keeping with our goal of achieving a reasonable degree of comprehensiveness, we shall also briefly survey the textual material from Alalakh and El Amarna.

3.1. THE EVIDENCE FROM UGARIT

Like the transition from Ebla to Mari, the transition from Mari to Ugarit is not without reason. Besides their geographical and chronological proximity, we know that these two city-states had extensive cultural contact.¹ Moreover, their religious traditions held several elements in common as illustrated by the many Syro-Palestinian deities which they shared.²

¹ Sasson 1984A:110-20 and 1984B:246-51 treats the frequent mention of Ugarit at Mari and their repeated diplomatic exchanges. Mari appears in an Ugaritic religious text as well, cf. *KTU* 1.100:78 (we note for the sake of completeness that Ugarit is also mentioned in the third millennium Eblaite geographical atlas).

² Cf. Lambert 1985B:525-39 and Healey 1985:115-25 on the pantheons of Mari and Ugarit respectively. We doubt Lambert's equation of Ea and El based on El's supposed subterranean abode. Besides, Ea is equated with Kothar at Ugarit, cf. Nougayrol 1968:45 and Healey 1985:118. Nevertheless, the deities Shamash/Shapash, Dagan, Ishtar/Ashtartu, Adad/Baal and perhaps, Il/El and Malik/Malku in personal names, play significant roles in the religions of both city-states.

Since their discovery, the Ugaritic texts have been examined repeatedly for second millennium Syro-Palestinian evidence supporting the Canaanite origin of Israelite death and ancestor cult practices.³ As we have pointed out previously, the resurgence of this approach owes much of its impetus to the recent publication of *KTU* 1.161 and the re-evaluation of previously published texts.⁴

3.1.1. THE DAGAN STELAE

Two inscribed stelae were discovered in the rubble from a stone wall of a building identified as a temple in the eastern acropolis of Ugarit.⁵ The fact that the accompanying inscriptions, *KTU* 6.13 and 6.14, mention the god Dagan suggested to the Ras Shamra expedition that Dagan was patron deity of the adjacent temple.⁶

³This aligns with the interpretation of the material data by Schaeffer 1939:49-56; Sukenik 1940:59-65; and Angi 1971:1-93, but such an application of the material evidence is problematic, cf. 4.4.3.

⁴Where possible, the Ugaritic texts will be cited according to their edition numbers in Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartín, *Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit*, 1976, abbreviated *KTU*. In the case of the para-mythological texts, texts will be cited according to their respective chapter numbers in the new edition of Pardee, *Les textes para-mythologiques*, 1988, abbreviated *LTP*.

⁵Concerning their discovery, see Schaeffer 1935:155-57 and pl. xxxvi.

⁶The stele containing text *KTU* 6.13 is housed in Paris and 6.14 in Aleppo. For the original transcriptions and translations, cf. Dussaud 1935:177-80, pl. 31. For recent discussions and bibliography, cf. de Tarragon 1980:67-70; Xella 1981A:297-99; Segert 1982:241; Tsukimoto 1985:71; Spronk 1986:149-51; Healey 1986:29-31; and Lewis 1989:72-79.

Albright surmised that the two stelae were used in the cult of the dead at Ugarit⁷ and Roberts concluded that the inscriptions designated Dagan as the recipient of sacrifices for the dead. In support of the mortuary associations of the stelae and their inscriptions, Roberts argued for the underworld role of Dagan at Ugarit based on his mention in cuneiform texts from various sites, particularly those from Mari.⁸ Below, we offer our translation of the Ugaritic texts:

<i>skn.d š^clyt</i>	The stele upon which Tharelli offered
<i>tryl.l dgn.pgr</i>	to Dagan, a pgr:
<i>[š] w 'alp l 'akl</i>	[a sheep] and a bullock for a meal.

<i>pgr. d š^cly</i>	A pgr which ^c zn offered
<i>^czn.l dgn.b^clh</i>	to Dagan, his lord:
<i>[š w 'a]lp.b mhrm/t</i>	[a sheep and a b]ullock <i>bmhrm/t</i> . ⁹

Roberts' assumption that Dagan is cited in these texts owing to his underworld role and that therefore these stelae function in the death cult is unwarranted. The various lines of

⁷Cf. e.g., Albright 1957:246-47. In this treatment, Albright followed Neiman 1948:55-60. Cf. also Ebach 1971:365-68 and Greenfield 1973:48.

⁸Roberts 1972:19.

⁹The enigmatic *bmhrm/t* has been rendered "inviolable offering" Albright 1969:106 n.30 "in that order" so Ebach 1971:366; "sanctuary" with Ribar 1973:37 n.23 (following Mendenhall's suggestion based on Old South Arabic); "total destruction" so Healey 1977B:46, "total dedication" Healey 1986:30; "for total dedication" or "in the sacred precinct" with Healey 1988:106-07; "at the burnt offering altar" so Dietrich and Loretz 1983:297-98; "in the morning" so Spronk 1986:150; and "for the designated offering" with Lewis 1989:75 and n.23.

evidence adduced by Roberts in favor of Dagan's underworld role have each been addressed in the preceding chapter and none were found to be convincing.¹⁰ In other words, if these stelae and their inscriptions played a death or ancestor cult role, such a role must be established on other grounds.

Albright initially interpreted *pgr* as "mortuary offering", but later as "funerary stele".¹¹ Other proposals include "altar", "stele", "sacrifice", "corpse" or "(human) cadaver".¹² The supposed parallelism between *skn.d šc lyt* in 6.13 and *pgr.d šc ly* in 6.14 has been cited as support for viewing *pgr*, like *skn*, as "altar" or "stele".¹³

But the reverse argument has been employed by others in order to interpret *skn* as "alimentary offering" in light of *pgr* "sacrifice".¹⁴ The fact that in *KTU* 1.17:I:26, *skn* is "set up" or "erected" *nšb* renders these latter proposals obsolete. In any case, contrary to general opinion, the two inscriptions evince dissimilar structures: 6.14 is elliptical in nature, for *skn* in 6.13 has no genuine parallel.¹⁵

¹⁰Cf. 2.2.2., 2.2.3., and 2.2.4. contra Roberts 1972:19 followed now by Lewis 1989:72-79.

¹¹Albright 1969:106 n.30 (originally published in 1942) and 1957:246 and cf. Ebach 1971:368.

¹²For surveys of previous proposals, see Ribar 1973:18-19; Healey 1977B:43-51; de Tarragon 1980:67-70; and Xella 1981A:298-99.

¹³Neiman 1948:57.

¹⁴Dussaud 1935:178.

¹⁵Cf. Ebach 1971:367; de Tarragon 1980:68; and Segert 1982:241. The last views the stelae as "quasi-parallel".

The function of the term *skn* might best be understood in the light of the Syrian cult of bétyles now documented at Mari and Emar.¹⁶ In this cult, the *sik(k)anu(m)*, or sacred stone, was considered the abode of the deity, and at times, even the deity itself. If *skn* is to be identified with *sik(k)anu(m)*, then *skn* in our texts might likewise represent a sacred stone in which, so it was believed, the deity dwelt.¹⁷ Obviously in 6.13 and 6.14, the deity in question would be Dagan.

This new documentation also clarifies the meaning of *skn* in the mythological texts. In *KTU* 1.17:I:26, 44 and II:16, the phrase *skn 'il'ib* occurs. If, as we shall demonstrate below, *'il'ib* refers, not to some deified ancestral spirit, but to the "gods of the fathers", that is, those worshipped by Danil's forefathers and identified in the god and offering lists as the members of the pantheon (cf. 3.1.3.), then *skn 'il'ib* probably refers to the "bétyles of the gods of the fathers".¹⁸ Of particular interest to us is the frequent mention of Dagan in connection with the cult of bétyles at both Mari and Emar.

A "bétyle of Dagan" *sikkanum ša 4 Dagan* has been recently documented at Old Babylonian Mari.¹⁹ At Late Bronze Emar, the bétyles were used in cultic ceremonies dedicated to Dagan. His

¹⁶For Mari, cf. Durand 1985C:79-84, and for Emar, cf. Arnaud 1980A:117; 1980B:254 and n.45; 1981:34 and 1986:338-46. For Sumer, cf. Charpin 1987:41 and for Ebla, cf. Durand 1988B:5-6.

¹⁷Following Durand 1985C:82 n.10.

¹⁸Cf. *KTU* 1.47:4; 1.118:3 (alphabetic) = *RS* 20.24:3 (cuneiform), and the ritual texts 1.148:2,10,26 and 1.109:21.

¹⁹Durand 1985C:81-83 [Text A 652:(3'-4'),11'].

temple is also mentioned in the context.²⁰ Furthermore, in the Emarite cult of bétyles, a ritual is attested in which an animal was slaughtered and the bétyles rubbed with its fat and blood. The remaining portions were then eaten by those in attendance. Again, the deity involved is Dagan. He shows up in some mysterious role during a related night vigil which in turn might suggest that his bétyle was included among those used.²¹

In the light of the data from Mari and Emar, we view (l)dgn in 6.13 and 6.14 as references to the two bétyles (sknm) of Dagan upon which our two texts are inscribed. Thus, as at Emar, the ritual inferred from 6.13 and 6.14 might have entailed the rubbing of fat and blood of a sacrificial animal designated pgr on a bétyle of Dagan at Ugarit. This was followed by a communal meal (cf. 6.13:3 l'akl).²²

We turn now to the meaning of pgr in 6.13 and 6.14. Various lines of evidence converge to establish the general range of meaning of Ugaritic pgr in offering contexts.²³ The fact that pgr

²⁰ Arnaud 1986:338-46, 350-66, 369-70 [Texts 370:41, 43; 373; 375].

²¹ So Arnaud 1980A:117 and 1981:34. Cf. now 1986:352, 359 [Text 373:57b-58a]: *sikanati i^{meš} úš^{meš} [ipaš]ašu* "The bétyles are rubbed with fat and blood" and 11.196-97: "In the night vigil, Dagan passes among the bétyles" *ina pāni nubatti* "Kur in berāt na₄ sikanāti etiq. Perhaps, *bmḥrt* in 6.14:3 should be rendered "by the morning light", that is, before daybreak in view of *ina pāni nubatti*.

²² Cf. Healey 1988:107 for an alternative interpretation of the function of these stelae as records of sacrifices originally set up in a sanctuary.

²³ In a severely damaged Ugaritic divinatory text recently published by Arnaud 1982B:217 [Text RS 1979-26], perhaps resembling the *Šumma izbu*, the editor read [pa]grum (l.6'), a human corpse which receives mourning rites *bakû* (cf. 1.12').

occurs with the causative of the verb *ʿly* in 6.13 and 6.14 suggests its offertory function. This view of *pgr* finds additional support from the cognate *pagrum* / *pagrā'um* found in offertory contexts at Mari. Another line of argument comes from the parallel structure of two other texts, *KTU* 4.182 and 4.316.

It is a well known fact that *pgr* designates the name of a month in the Ugaritic calendar *yrh pgrm*. In 4.182:35-40, the following sequence of months occurs: *nql*, *mgmr*, and *pgrm*, while in 4.316:1-5 (and cf. *UT* 1160:1-5), the sequence is *nql*, *mgmr*, and *dbhm*. The former sequence is a partial representation of the consecutive order of months in the Ugaritic calendar.²⁴

Thus, the month officially designated *pgrm* was also depicted as a month characterized by the making of sacrifices *dbhm*. Its use as the title of the month and, as we shall see forthwith, as an epithet of a major deity like Shapash, substantiates the relative importance of *pgr* in the Ugaritic cult.

The form *špš pgr* occurs in 1.39:12,17 and 1.102:12. In 1.102, which comprises a list of divinities, *pgr* functions as a divine epithet somewhat analogous to Mari *bēl pagrē*, "(Dagan) lord of the slain animal sacrifice".²⁵ This is supported by the immediate context of 1.12 where each of the deities listed is

²⁴So de Tarragon 1980:26-28. For additional references to this month name, cf. 4.172:2; 4.193:2,7; 4.266:2; and 4.366:2.

²⁵Xella 1981A:297-99 views *dgn pgr* in 6.13:2 as the god name followed by an epithet, but, as Segert 1982:241 notes, *pgr* in 6.14:1 is what is offered to Dagan. This applies in 6.13:2 as well. Besides, Mari *4Dagan bēl pagrē* is not identical to the hypothetical *dgn pgr*.

accompanied by an epithet (11.11ff.): *ˁnt ḥbly špš pgr 'itln ḥnqtm. . . .*

The offertory nature of *pgr*, its designation as an official calendar month, and its employment as a divine epithet indicate that the term not only signifies a class of cultic offerings, but that these offerings were of particular importance. Nevertheless, the identification of *pgr* as human sacrifice is unwarranted. To begin with, one can no longer resort to Mari *pagrum* / *pagrā'um* and Dagan to buttress this position as we have demonstrated above.²⁶

Moreover, in 1.39:12,17 *špš pgr* is followed by terms designating offerings, one grain *w trmnm*, and one animal *gdlt*.²⁷ The term *gdlt* may specify one kind of offering from the class *pgr*, while the conjunction *w* and *trmnm* point to an independent class of offerings, probably meal offerings.²⁸ These contexts neither suggest *pgr* "human sacrifice", nor do they offer any clue that mortuary matters are in view. This conforms with our findings with regard to Mari *pagrum* / *pagrā'um* which has been identified as a slain animal intended for sacrifice (cf. 2.2.3. and 2.2.4.).

²⁶Cf. 2.2.2.-2.2.4. Dagan's death cult role is not reflected in his equation with Enlil, contra Montalbano 1951:395 and most recently Wyatt 1980:377. For the texts CT 24:6:22 = 22.120, see Lambert 1967:131 and recall Enlil's many roles unrelated to the netherworld. Dagan is associated with the underworld in a ritual commentary, cf. Lambert 1968B:109-10, but it is late, syncretistic, and Babylonian.

²⁷Cf. de Tarragon 1980:33,67 and Xella 1981A:365.

²⁸Cf. *trm* alongside *lhm* in 1.16:VI:11-12 and 1.18:IV:19, 29-30.

Therefore, the assumption that *pgr* is associated with mortuary matters owing to its being offered to two gods with supposed underworld connections, Dagan and Shapash, is unwarranted. Besides, Shapash, like Dagan, may have received a *pgr* offering for reasons other than her chthonic associations. In any case, not only Ugaritic *pgr*, but also Dagan, lack any death or ancestor cult associations.²⁹

By way of conclusion, we must consider the archeological context of these two stelae.³⁰ Both stelae were found outside the building in question, supposedly a MB temple. This edifice was identified as Dagan's temple solely on the basis of the texts inscribed on the two stelae, but there is little evidence otherwise for a Dagan temple at Ugarit (cf. 1.104:13). In fact, Tuttul is identified as Dagan's cult center at Ugarit (1.100:15). Besides, the building in question has been attributed to El.

Furthermore, the stele housed in Paris has a projection designed to fit a socketed base, but no such base is recorded in the report findings.³¹ This re-opens the relation of the MB building to the stelae. The persons named in 6.13 and 6.14 are identifiable members of the LB royal house (*tryl* 2.34:2 and *c zn* 4:93.II:8) and the use of the alphabetic script points to an LB period dating for the stelae.

Thus, it is very likely that the stelae had been completely removed from their original context and transported to the area

²⁹Cf. similarly Healey 1988:106.

³⁰Cf. Healey 1986:29-31 and 1988:107 for recent reviews.

³¹Cf. Schaeffer 1935:155-56.

adjacent to the wall of the MB building. Not only does this favor the view that the stelae had no connection with the earlier temple, but it also points to the possibility that the stelae were intentionally buried at this location for the burial of such monuments is a well known practice.³²

3.1.2. A *KISPUM*-LIKE OFFERTORY TEXT

Another text which has been cited as evidence for an Ugaritic cult of the dead is 1.142:

<i>dbḥt. byy.bn</i>	Sacrifices of <i>Byy</i> , son
<i>try³³. l °ttr[]</i>	of <i>Try</i> , for °ttr[]
<i>d. b qbr</i>	who is in the grave.

Commentators view the plural construct *dbḥt* as food offerings to the deceased °ttr and equate them with the *kispum* offerings. According to this view, the mentioned offerings were brought to the grave subsequent to burial on a regular basis and

³²On the ritual burial of foreign gods, cf. Nielsen 1954:103-22. Besides entertaining the popular notion that Ugaritic *yrḥ pgrm* and its Alalakh correspondent *arah pagri* denoted a month in which funerary sacrifices were made (but see above and cf. 3.2.2.), Sasson 1966:136 n.57 suggested that during this month the gods, that is their statues, were buried either for cultic or practical reasons as they may have been in a deteriorated state.

³³Cf. Pardee 1989:42-43 who read *try* against Šry of *KTU*.

therefore indicative of death cult practices.³⁴ However, such an interpretation is problematic.

1.142 is inscribed on a clay liver model. Like those found at Old Babylonian Mari, the twenty plus known liver models from Ugarit were collected in order to facilitate recognition, diagnosis, and prescription in the art of divination. Our model graphically records the description of the observed feature based on the analysis of a specific liver (= protasis), while the inscription records the concomitant instruction (apodosis). Thus, like the liver models from Mari, 1.142 reflects a particular historical occasion of a haruspicinal rite.³⁵

This leads to the conclusion that the sacrifices *dbḥt* in 1.142 are not *kispum*-like offerings made on a regular basis. The instruction to offer sacrifice may have coincided with the burial of *ʿttr[]*, in which case *dbḥt* would show some affinity to the thrice attested *kispum* offerings included with the burial (cf. 2.2.1.). Such offerings do not qualify as death cult practices, but reflect instead an occasionally attested funerary rite.

3.1.3. THE DEITY 'Il'ib

Another datum frequently cited as indicative of the existence of death or ancestor cult practices at Ugarit is the

³⁴Cf. Nougayrol 1968:31-33; Dietrich and Loretz 1969:172-73,176; Heltzer 1973:95-96; Healey 1975:237 n.35; and Xella 1979:838 n.2; 1981A:186-87. Spronk 1986:145, followed by Lewis 1989:45 n.198, identified "funerary offerings" in this text.

³⁵Cf. Nougayrol 1968:32; Courtois 1969:91-119; Dietrich and Loretz 1969:165-79; Gurney 1981:147-52; and Biggs 1983:519-21.

term 'il'ib, often rendered "the divine ancestor/father".³⁶

According to this view, in 1.17:I:26 and II:16, a sacred stone is erected in honor of the divine ancestor: *nšb skn 'il'ib*, while in 1.109:19, libations and offerings are purportedly made on his behalf through the aperture leading to his tomb: *b'urbt 'il'ib*.³⁷

'Il'ib shows up frequently in cultic texts and is attested in the pantheon lists as well.³⁸ Moreover, the term occurs in two or three mythological passages in the Aqhat texts 1.17:I:26,44(?) as 'il'ibh, and 1.17:II:16 as a 'il'iby. Morphologically speaking, interpreters have viewed these occurrences of 'il'ib in one of two ways. Either it comprises one word or is to be divided into two elements, 'il and 'ib. As one word, 'il'ib has been derived from the Arabic lexeme *la'aba* and translated "divinized sacred stone".³⁹

Others have related it to major deities attested elsewhere such as Akkadian Ilaba, Eblaite 'a-mu, or Hittite Zawalli, all of which supposedly represented deified ancestors at one stage or

³⁶ So Goetze 1938:278 n.80; Albright 1968:141-42,204-05, 1969:106 and n.31. Gray 1966:174 conjectured that this 'ancestral' deity was a dead ancestor.

³⁷ Gray 1978:102; Xella 1981A:53-54; and Spronk 1986:145, 148-49 connect 'urbt with the tomb opening through which regular offerings were made to the dead. But in 1.4:V:23, 'urbt parallels *hln*, a palace lattice or window, cf. 1.4:VII:18. Besides, such tomb openings may have served as a means of ventilation or fumigation, cf. 4.4.3. The new datum *RIH* 78/20:3 *kqtr 'urbtm* "like incense from an aperture" supports this latter function for 'urbt.

³⁸ Cf. 1.41:35; 1.56:3, 5; 1.87:38; 1.91:5; 1.109:12, 15, 19, 35; 1.138:2; 1.139:1; 1.148:10, 23 and *RIH* 77/2B:3, 6 (= *RIH* 77/26:3,6?). The alphabetic pantheon lists include 1.47:2; 1.118:1 and probably 1.74:1.

³⁹ Van Selms 1954:100-01 and Astour 1966:279 n.25, but cf. Gray 1965:109 n.2 and Caquot 1969:260.

another.⁴⁰ Be that as it may, a major deity is unlikely in the mythological contexts. The accompanying possessive suffixes *-h* and *-y* favor a personal god, a deified ancestor, or some other sacred object of worship.⁴¹ This fact has resulted in independent proposals for the mythic *'il'ib* and cultic *'il'ib*.⁴²

In the case of *'il'ib* comprising two elements, a connection with the concept of deity is unanimously recognized for *'il*. The term is attributed either an adjectival force, i.e., "divine" or a nominal one. With the exception of its mythological references, a nominal form *'il* might render either the deity El or the more general "god(s)". While some have viewed *'il* as the divine determinative based on this supposed function of *'il* in the so-called Ugaritic king list 1.113 (on which, cf. 3.1.6.), this use is unlikely in the case of *'il'ib* since none of the other gods listed in the cultic texts are so designated.

The second element, *'ib*, has proven to be more problematic. It has been equated with *'ab*, "father", with the added possibility of an adjectival force, i.e., "paternal". The vocalic change *'i* > *'a* has been explained variously.⁴³ For *'ib*, Albright

⁴⁰For Ilaba, cf. Roberts 1972:35,125; Lambert 1981:299-301; for *'a-mu*, cf. Xella 1983:288 and 1985:75; and for Zawalli, cf. Xella 1981B:85-93.

⁴¹So Lambert 1981:301.

⁴²Following Lambert 1981:301. This approach is assumed by de Moor 1980B:184-87 esp. n.66.

⁴³Albright 1968:141-43 "influence of the labial consonant"; Hoffner 1967:385-401 "diphthong contraction"; Müller 1975:70 "conscious differentiation"; Healey 1977A:256 n.6 "sandhi"; de Moor 1980B:184 n.66 "vowel harmony". Note the variants *'ih* (2.41:18) and *'ah* "brother" (1.6.II:12), cf. Segert 1984:178 and *'ib.Ú* and *'ab.Ú*, cf. Nougayrol 1968:218 [Text RS 22.344 + 23.24:132].

proposed "ghost, shade which returns to the earth".⁴⁴ Hoffner offered, "sacrificial pit". Thus, 'il'ib "god of the pit" would be a member of the 'ilm 'arṣ, "the earth gods" (i.e., of the netherworld).⁴⁵ According to this view, 'il'ib would be also a deity related to necromancy and the cult of the dead.

But behind Hoffner's proposal stands a complicated etymological and phonological argument.⁴⁶ Furthermore, it is severely weakened by the fact that Ugarit offers no supporting evidence for the use of pits or a god of the pit in necromancy. Lastly, both of the above proposals ignore the approximate equations of the pantheon lists: Ugaritic 'il'ib (1.118:1) = Akkadian dingir *abi* (RS 20.24:1) = Hurrian *enš̄t atn[š̄]m* (1.116:12). The Ugaritic Hurrian represents a plural form "gods of the fathers", the significance of which we will detail below.

It would appear that the best solution to this dilemma is the recognition of two homonymous forms, 'il'ib. We would then have a major deity in the pantheon and offering lists and a divinized ancestor in the mythological texts.

In the case of the former, the most likely candidate appears to be Ilaba although another proposal has been offered "El, the father", the personification of El's fatherhood over all

⁴⁴Albright 1968:141-43, cf. Arabic 'âba "to return" and see further 4.3.2. for the possible connection of this Arabic root and Heb. 'ôb "One-Who>Returns".

⁴⁵Hoffner 1967:385-401 and 1974:130-34, following Vieyra 1961:47-55, and cf. Hittite *ayabi*, Assyrian *apu*, and Sumerian *ab(lâl)* "pit".

⁴⁶Cf. the criticisms of Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartín 1974:450-51 and Müller 1975:68-70 and for additional comments, cf. 4.3.2.

living things. This rendering has been suggested on the basis of reading 'il'ib 'arš wšmm in 1.148:23-25, but this is unlikely.⁴⁷ While the ancestral spirits supposedly provide the least problematic approach for the mythological references to 'il'ib, it is at this juncture that interpreters part company.

For example, Lambert tends to interpret the 'il'ib of the mythological texts in the light of his proposed deity Ilaba of the pantheon and offering lists. The Old Akkadian god Ilaba, in a later form 'Il'ib, served everyone as a private family god.⁴⁸ On the other hand, Healey concludes that the ancestral spirit of the mythic contexts also fits the lists. According to Healey, the Akkadian pantheon list from which Lambert based his proposal has a false etymology of a confused and obscure term.⁴⁹

In what follows, we shall offer an alternative solution to this veritable impasse. As generally recognized, 'il'ib normally stands at the head of the various lists of gods. A notable exception is 1.47. Here, 'il'ib occurs in 1.2 and is preceded by 'il špn in 1.1, which has been interpreted either as the deified

⁴⁷The other proposals seem less likely. See 2.1.4. against 'a-mu. An Akkadian origin is *prima facie* more likely than a Hittite one. De Moor 1980B:184-86, in proposing "El, the father" overlooked the Š offering separating 'il'ib and 'arš wšmm in 1.148:23-25 and reconstructed the highly conjectural reading dingir.ad 'KI [ú AN] in RS 26.142:13'-14', a fragmentary Ugaritic Akkadian pantheon list, cf. Nougayrol 1968:321.

⁴⁸Cf. Lambert 1981:301. De Tarragon 1980:151-57, esp. p.156, embraced a similar view.

⁴⁹Healey 1985:119 and cf. 1979:355 where he noted that its occurrence at the head of the pantheon might be explained by seeing here the divine ancestor *par excellence*.

mountain Zaphon or the god of Zaphon.⁵⁰ The problem with both of these proposals is that mount Zaphon *špn* and Baal, the god of Zaphon, *bcl špn* are mentioned later in the list (1.47:5,15; and cf. 1.118:4,14; and RS 20.24:4,14).⁵¹ A better solution is to view *'il špn* as a title or heading of the entire list or minimally of the first ten lines, "the gods of Zaphon".⁵²

We see a similar summarizing function for *'il'ib*, both in the lists and in the Aqhat texts. In this case, both *'il* and *'ib* would comprise plural forms "the gods of the(/his/my) fathers", with the *'ib* of the Aqhat texts standing for the fathers collectively.⁵³ The data from the comparable god lists found at Ugarit are in agreement with this interpretation. To begin with, it is compatible with Akkadian *dingir abi*. The latter, *abi*, might be defective for the plural *abbī*.⁵⁴ Moreover, the absence of the plural indicator, whether it be the determinative *meš* or

⁵⁰ Mullen 1980:268-69 viewed *'il špn* as "divine Zaphon", Baal's mountain, with the *'il* element functioning as a divine determinative. De Tarragon 1980:156 conjectured an anonymous deity of Zaphon similar to *'il'ib*, while Baal is favored by others.

⁵¹ Against the view of de Tarragon 1980:156, Healey 1985:117 noted that, unlike *'il'ib*, *'il špn* is never the recipient of worship either here or in its three remaining occurrences 1.3:III:29; IV:19; and 1.101:2. Moreover, its restoration in a lacuna in the offering list to gods, 1.148:1, is unjustified.

⁵² Following Healey 1985:117-18.

⁵³ Lambert 1981:299 and de Moor 1980B:184 n.66 recognized the possibility of plural forms for both *'il* and *'ib* when followed by the suffixed pronouns *-h* and *-y* of the mythic texts.

⁵⁴ So Lambert 1981:299.

reduplication of dingir, is not uncommon for forms intended to be read as such.⁵⁵

The Hurrian evidence is particularly instructive for our purposes. The plural Hurrian *en atnbn* = *enna attannibina* "the gods of the father" is quite common.⁵⁶ A similar Hurrian form probably occurs at Ugarit in a section comprising 11.10-29 of the offering text 1.116. As recognized by the original editor, the form in question, like its predecessor, functions as a title or heading for what follows. Both introduce the major gods who receive offerings in the cult. Like the Ugaritic alphabetic lists, this list begins with El:⁵⁷

<i>wbbt.ašḥlm</i>	In the temple, sacrifice:
<i>enšt.šlnnštm</i>	both to the <i>šalanna</i> gods,
<i>enšt.atn[]m</i>	and to the gods of the fathers;
<i>eld.tšbd. . . .</i>	to El, to Teshub, etc. . . .

Laroche reconstructed the dative plural *št* = *šta* in *atn[št]m* = *attanna[šta]ma* making the form apposite to *enšt* = *ennašta* "the gods-fathers".⁵⁸ He assumed that this was the plural

⁵⁵With Healey 1985:119, the alternative remains that the Akkadian has a false etymology of a confused and obscure term.

⁵⁶So Laroche 1968:523 and 1976:63-64.

⁵⁷Cf. Laroche 1968:499-504, 523 and 1976:63-64 and Xella 1981A:317-21.

⁵⁸Xella 1981A:317 followed the reading of *KTU intt atnt *t*[]m*. Nevertheless, as the editors recognized, the two characters in question remain highly problematic.

of *en atnd* = *en(n)i attannida*.⁵⁹ Nevertheless, Laroche recognized the fact that the form *en atnbn* = *enna atannibina* "the gods of the father" is far more common. In the light of this fact, we would read *atn[š]m* with the plural genitive and translate *enšt atnzm* = *ennašta attannaše-ma* "to the gods of the fathers". This form then is not the plural syntactic equivalent of *en atnd*.⁶⁰

Finally, we mention an Akkadian cultic pantheon list from Ugarit which exhibits several affinities to 1.118.⁶¹ We want to highlight another it shares with 1.47 and 1.116. Like the lists 1.47 and 1.116, it begins with an introductory section containing multiple headings. Each heading refers to a distinct group of gods. RS 26.142 begins as follows (11.2'-4'):

[.]	
[il]ānu [meš i]š sikkuru	The gods of the bolts,
ilānu ^{meš} dadmema	The gods of Dadmema?
ilānu ^{meš} labana	The gods of Labana?
d. duš bur.zi.níg.din	Vase bur.zi.níg.din.
d. is sikkur zannaru	Lyre.

⁵⁹Cf. Laroche 1968:503,523 and for *en atnd* see RS 24.254:2.

⁶⁰Laroche 1968:523. For the morphological justification of our proposal, see Laroche 1968:530-32. He also noted the ambiguity inherent in the determinative suffix or article *-n* in Ugaritic Hurrian which can represent either the singular or plural, and the intermingling of the genitive and dative plural endings on nouns *š* = *še* or *ša*.

⁶¹For RS 26.142 and a discussion of the various elements shared by these two lists, cf. Nougayrol 1968:320-22, esp. p.320. Another example of a god list from Ugarit which contains a summarizing heading is PRU 6 132 (= RS 19.85) which begins with *ilānu^{meš} Ugarit* "the gods of Ugarit" followed by the names of individual gods, e.g., *IM*, *Padrai*, etc.

^d adad []

Adad []

As in the other lists, a lengthy inventory of the major gods follows. Each is listed individually as the recipient of cultic offerings (11.7'-24'; 11.5'-6' list sacred implements).

Turning now to the cultic texts, we find that 'il'ib receives the greatest quantity of offerings. In 1.148:9b-10, 'il'ib is lavished with numerous offerings: 'alpm, ^cšrm, gdlt, wšlmm, but each of the following individual gods including even El, is allocated only a single offering, either a š, or an 'alp. In 1.23, the term 'il'ib immediately follows 'il hyr which Xella understood as, "the gods of the month of Khyr", and like the 'il hyr, 'il'ib receives no offerings.⁶² However, each of the following individual deities receives a š offering. This supports our proposal that 'il'ib is used alongside 'il hyr, as an abridgment of the individual gods "the gods of the month of Khyr" and "the gods of the fathers".

In 1.91:2-5, 1.109, and RIH 77/2B, 'il'ib heads a list of deities who receive offerings from the king. In 109:12,15,19, the offerings made to 'il'ib again far outnumber those designated for the individual gods. In RIH 77/2B:3, 'il'ib is offered gold and silver, then a series of other offerings (1.6) before El is ever mentioned (1.7). The significant difference in the kind and amount of offerings made to 'il'ib as opposed to the remaining gods, including El the high god, is best understood when 'il'ib

⁶²Cf. Xella 1981A:93 who wrongly attributed to 'il'ib, the following š offering which instead goes with arš w šmm of the next line. In 1.109:19, the phrase w b 'urbt 'il'ib has a similar introductory function and the same sequence, sacrifice + recipient, follows; š b^c1, etc.

is viewed as "the gods of the fathers", the gods viewed collectively.

This interpretation works in the mythological references as well. Thus, "one who sets up the bétyles of the gods of his/my fathers" *nšb skn 'il'ibh/y*, would no longer comprise a reference to the divinized ancestors, but to those well-known gods of the pantheon worshipped by the royal predecessors. Furthermore, our proposal for *'il'ib* gains support from the *ilāni abbī* or *dingir.𐎶𐎵 ad.𐎶𐎵* of the cuneiform sources "the gods [of] the fathers". These were not the divinized ancestors, but well known members of the pantheon and, in particular, the personal gods of the royal dynasties.⁶³

3.1.4. THE DUTIES OF THE FAITHFUL SON

Several scholars have seen evidence for an ancestor cult in the Aqhat text, 1.17:I:26-33. According to this line of argument, the ideal son is one who "sets up the stele of his divine ancestors" *nšb skn 'il'ibh* as an act of filial piety (1.26).⁶⁴

⁶³Cf. Vorländer 1975:12-14 (Mesopotamia), 155-58 (Syria-Palestine) and Groneberg 1986:101-07 and add *dingir.𐎶𐎵-ni ša abiya* in a new text from El-Qitar published by Snell 1983-84:159-70. Thus, *'l'b* of *'bd'l'b* in Diringier 1934:233-35 is probably an epithet "servant of the fathers' gods". *'lh 'bh* KAI 214:29 and *'lhy byt 'by* KAI 217:3 stand for major gods, cf. KAI 214:2, '8 and 215:22. *'il'ib* is now attested in a badly damaged Old Canaanite Lachish inscription, cf. Ussishkin 1983:155-57 and Cross 1984:71-76.

⁶⁴Goetze 1938:278 and cf. Albright 1944:35; Gaster 1950:275; Koch 1967:211-21; Greenfield 1973:48; Pope 1977B:164, 1981:160 n.4; Healey 1979:353-56; de Moor 1986:407-09; Avishur 1986:49-60; and Spronk 1986:146-47. Cf. also 1.17:I:44-46 and II:1-2, 16-17 and see the commentary in Del Olmo Lete 1981:368-69. Van Selms 1954:101 saw this as evidence of death cult rites for the common man.

Our interpretation of this line and its immediate context are reflected in the following translation and defended below:

<i>nšb.skn. 'il'ibh.</i>	One who sets up the stelae of his fathers' gods,
<i>bqdš ztr. °mh.</i>	in the sanctuary, the marjoram of his clan(?);
<i>l'arš.mšš'u.qtrh</i>	from the earth, one who sends up his smoke,
<i>l°pr. dmr. 'atrh.</i>	from the dust, one who protects his chapel;
<i>tbq.lht n'išh</i>	one who puts the lid on his revilers' abuse,
<i>grš.d. °šy.lnh</i>	one who expels those who act against him;
<i>aḥd.ydh.bškrn.</i>	one who holds his hand when he is drunk,
<i>m°msh [k]šb° yn.</i>	one who carries him when he is sated with wine;
<i>sp'u.ksmh.bt.b°l</i>	one who serves his wheat/corn in Baal's temple,
<i>[mt]nth.bt. 'il.</i>	his grain offering in El's temple;
<i>ṭḫ.ggh.bym [ṭ'i]ṭ</i>	one who plasters his roof on a miry day,
<i>rḥš.npšh.bym.rṭ</i>	one who washes his clothes on a filthy day.

The crucial terms for the ancestor cult interpretation are 'il'ibh, ztr, °mh, and qtrh. The second, ztr, is a hapax legomenon and has had numerous explanations. Recent defenders of the ancestor cult interpretation offer "thyme" or "marjoram", the latter being supposedly attested elsewhere in mortuary rites.⁶⁵

While the third term is generally viewed as the preposition °m with the suffixed pronoun, the minority dissenters offer "his clan", that is, those members long gone, which for them poses a

⁶⁵For "thyme", cf. Pope 1977B:164 and 1981:160 n.4 and for "marjoram", cf. de Moor 1986:407-09, both derived from Akkadian *zatēru*, Arabic *za°tar*. This is preferable to adopting a Hittite loanword from *sittar* "votive (sun) disk" for which see now Avishur 1986:51.

fitting parallel to 'il'ibh "his divine ancestors".⁶⁶ Most interpreters agree on the meaning of qtrh. It has to do with smoke or incense like its Semitic cognates, although the less likely alternatives "vapor" or "spirit" have been suggested.⁶⁷

The first term 'il'ib was treated above and the supposed ancestor cult connections were rejected. Nevertheless, should the context of 1.17:I:26 point to such connections, then our interpretation of 'il'ib must be reconsidered. While de Moor's reading of "marjoram" for ztr is possible, this argument stands or falls with his reading of z^ctr in 1.43:3 and the supposed death cult context of that text. However, both the reading z^ctr and the death cult interpretation of 1.43 are questionable. His reading of z^ctr is based on the photograph in Herdner against the more recent *KTU* edition which reads an erasure (cf. 1.3 below):⁶⁸

⁶⁶Cf. e.g., Goetze 1938:278; Gaster 1950:272; Dietrich, Loretz and Sanmartín 1974:451; Healey 1977A:256 and 1979:355; and Spronk 1986:147.

⁶⁷For Semitic qtr "smoke" or "incense", cf. now the survey of Nielsen 1986:52-59. Albright 1944:35 proposed "spirit"; Driver 1956:143 "vapor"; and de Moor 1986:409 and Spronk 1986:149 "smoke", but assumed that a departed spirit was in view. The objections of Lewis 1989:60-62 to "smoke" or "incense" overlook the separative use of the preposition l- "from" in Ugaritic.

⁶⁸Cf. de Moor 1986:408 and n.6 followed by Spronk 1986:146 and n.4. For significantly different interpretations of 1.43 from that of de Moor and Spronk, cf. de Tarragon 1980:98-107 and Xella 1981A:86-90.

k t^crb.^c ttrt.hr.gb

k t^crb.^c ttrt.hr.gb

bt mlk.^c šr.^c šr.b.bt 'ilm

bt mlk.^c šr.^c šr.b(Eras.).bt.'ilm**

kbk^cbm.z(^c)tr mt

*kbk*b*m* .(Erasure) trmt.*

lbš[.]wktn.'ušpót hrš

*lbš[.]w k *tn.'ušpót*

De Moor translates these lines as follows:

"When Athtartu of Hurri enters the pit, // the house of the king serves a banquet in the house of the star // gods. Marjoram of death, // a garment and a chemise, neck-piece of gold"

The term *gb* in 1.43:1 may denote any convex shaped object, e.g., a room, a grotto, a mound, a (human) back, an eyebrow, a cistern, but for Ugaritic, "pit" is tenuous at best.⁶⁹ Furthermore, the syntax of 11.2-3 is difficult owing to the problematic word division and traces of the erased letter. De Moor's "star gods", *'ilm kbk^cbm*, if indeed these two terms are to be syntactically related, designate heavenly beings, not netherworld deities.⁷⁰ Lastly, *gtrm* of 11.9-17, which has been viewed as one of the dual divinized ancestors Gathar-waYaqar, does not secure the ancestral cult interpretation of 11.1ff. The term probably has to do with strength, Akkadian *gašru*, thus "the strong ones".⁷¹

⁶⁹Cf. de Tarragon 1980:100-01 for a summary of other interpretations of *gb*.

⁷⁰As recognized even by his student Spronk 1986:157.

⁷¹Contra Spronk 1986:158 and cf. pp.181-82. The form *gtr* in 1.108:2, which is crucial to his argument, is very problematic owing to the damaged context: [--]*gtr.w yqr*. In any case, the two forms may represent epithets, not names of deceased ancestors, cf. Blau and Greenfield 1970:12-13 and now Cooper 1987:4 and note the further listing of epithets in 1.108:6ff.

The term *ḥmh* has been understood as qualifying *ztr* in the following manner, "the *ztr* of (offered to) his clan" that is, those members long gone i.e., his divine ancestors as elaborated by the parallel *'il'ibh*. But apart from this alleged instance, *ḥm* in Ugaritic never has this meaning. In more than 150 occurrences it represents the preposition "with".⁷² Even if clan is meant, a death cult interpretation remains uncertain. At best, we can only identify an unknown temple ceremony involving perhaps marjoram.

We know that incense was used in Mesopotamian mortuary rites during Neo-Assyrian times.⁷³ In the text at hand, *qṭr* may simply reflect a funerary rite in which incense was placed at the tomb for aromatic purposes. Others have taken *qṭr* as (also) alluding to the spirit of the departed, but this has little to commend it as parallels are lacking in the treatments advocating this position.⁷⁴

In any case, we are not obliged to see a death cult ceremony in 1.17:I:27, for if it is the departure of the spirit to the otherworld that is in view, its arrival there may have merely concluded the funerary and mourning rites.⁷⁵ Funerary and mourning rites are among those comprising the heir's duties at

⁷²Pope 1977B:163-64 followed by Pardee 1980:288.

⁷³Cf. e.g., the text cited in Bayliss 1973:123-24.

⁷⁴So Caquot and Sznycer 1974:422 n.q; De Moor 1986:409; and Spronk 1986:149. Healey 1979:356 concluded that while man's life departs like smoke *km.qṭr* (cf. 1.18:IV:25-26,37 and add *kqṭr 'urbtm* in *RIH* 78/20:3), there is no evidence of *qṭr* meaning "ghost", but this subjective approach is necessitated only by adhering to a strict synonymous parallelism for ll. 28-29.

⁷⁵Thomas 1987:450-59, esp. pp.451-52 has cited cases where the spirit's arrival in the afterworld concludes the funerary rites.

Nuzi.⁷⁶ In any case, *q̄tr* might refer to the smoke rising from the household fires in light of the succeeding clause.⁷⁷

Protecting the "place", '*ātr*, from dust hardly refers to a cultic location where death cult practices were enacted as the rendering of '*ātr* as "mortuary chapel" is dubious. The Akkadian *aširtu* cited in support simply denotes a cultic room in a private house. The term *ksm* in 1.31 is not to be equated with Akkadian *kispum*.⁷⁸ Rather, in view of its use in the sacrificial contexts of 1.41:19, 1.87:20, 1.39:9, 4.269:4,20,30 and 4.345:2,4,9 and the parallel [*mt*]*nth* "grain offering" in 1.32, *ksm* designates a grain served *sp'u*, not eaten, by the offerer at the temple.⁷⁹

In sum, we would propose that like the other duties of the faithful son mentioned, those in 11.26-28,31 were observed while the father was *alive*, yet inebriated or perhaps afflicted as in the case with the duties of roof mending and garment washing (11.29-30,32-34). The rites involving marjoram *ztr* and incense *q̄tr* refer to those expected of the ideal son, like those of the ideal king, in service to the gods rather than to the dead.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ So Greenfield 1982:311.

⁷⁷ Following Gaster 1950:275-76 and n.2.

⁷⁸ Contra Albright 1944:35 n.38 and Ginsberg 1969:150.

⁷⁹ On the reading [*mt*]*nth*, cf. Cassuto 1975:200. On *ksm* / *kšm* as a type of grain, cf. Gordon 1965:422 and Dietrich, Loretz and Sanmartín 1973:90-91. Gordon noted that *ksm* is distinguished from wheat and barley in 4.269 and 4.345 (= *UT* 1099 and 2091). De Tarragon 1980:44-45 favors "cups" with *ksm* a plural of *ks*. Against *sp'u* "eat", cf. Emerton 1972:55-56 who proposed "serve food, feed".

⁸⁰ Cf. the deeds of Idrimi in Oller 1977:16 (11.88-91) for the tasks expected of the ideal king in service to the gods.

3.1.5. THE UGARITIC VERSION OF THE *MARZĒAḥ*

Opinion is divided over the supposed death and ancestor cult associations of the Ugaritic version of the *marzĒaḥ*. Some recognize the *marzĒaḥ* solely as a death cult institution while others fail to see any connection between the two. Also there are those who maintain that the death cult depicts only one aspect of the *marzĒaḥ* institution.⁸¹

The number of proposed cognate etymologies serves to underscore this disparity of opinion: *rzḥ* "to cry out", *rzḥ* "to unite oneself", *rzḥ* "to make a noise, to be loud", *rzḥ* "to fall down from weakness and remain prostrate without power to rise". Nevertheless, not only are these generally unconvincing, they are all but nullified by the equally plausible explanation of the origin of the term as a non-Semitic loanword of unknown meaning.⁸²

As we pointed out earlier, Ebla perhaps records the earliest attestation of the term *mar-za-u*, but for the present

⁸¹ Pope 1972:190-94, 1977A:214-21, 1981:174-79 and Porten 1968:179-86 viewed the death and ancestor cult connections of the Ugaritic *marzĒaḥ* as its most important feature. Eissfeldt 1969:187-95; L'Heureux 1979:206-12, 218-21 and Fabry 1984: cols.11-16 argued that it has nothing to do with mortuary matters. Others such as Greenfield 1973:48-49, 1974:451-55; de Tarragon 1980:144-47; Loretz 1982B:87-93; Barstad 1984:127-42; Barnett 1985:2*-3*; Spronk 1986:196-202; King 1988A:137-39 and 1988B:34-37 considered the death and ancestor cult relations as only one of its aspects.

⁸² Eissfeldt 1966:165-76 held that *rzḥ* "to cry out" reflected the Israelite *marzĒaḥ*, while *rzḥ* "to unite oneself" represented the practices of the *marzĒaḥ* of the Syrian religious world. Pope 1972:193-94 suggested the third etymology, while Greenfield 1974:452 and Greenfield and Avigad 1982:125 n.32 concluded that an unknown foreign loanword is in view. Meyer 1979:603-04 offered what appears to be a variation on *rzḥ* "to cry out" with his "to make a noise, to be loud".

the Eblaite evidence offers no help *vis-à-vis* the mortuary connections of the West Semitic *marzēah* (cf. 2.1.3.). The same can be said for the proposal that the *marzēah* institution was known at Mari and Amarna.⁸³ At Ugarit, the term occurs in numerous economic and legal texts and in one mythological context, 1.114:15.⁸⁴ Based on the presumed equation of Ugaritic *mrzḥ* and *mrz^c*, it has been restored elsewhere and thereby associated with the *rp'um*, the supposed dead ancestors (cf. *m*(?)rz^cy* in 1.21:II:1,5, a Rephaim text).⁸⁵

Matters *marzēah* have changed little since the cogent summary outlined by Greenfield over a decade and a half ago.⁸⁶ The Ugaritic *marzēah* had both institutional and cultic functions. As a matter of practice, it comprised an assembly which celebrated a festival dedicated to a specific deity, e.g., Anat, (4.642:1-7) or Shatrana (RS 15:70:4,7,11,16; without determinative).⁸⁷

⁸³ For the Mari evidence, cf. 2.2.5. Against the lone El Amarna datum *ma[rṣ]a'u* in EA 120:21 = *marzēah*, cf. CAD 10/1(1977):290 and Moran 1987:330-31 n.11. The term remains unattested in Mesopotamia, cf. AHW 2(1972):617. Against the proposal of Barnett 1985:1*-6*, followed by Gubel 1989:47-55, that the West Semitic *marzēah* is depicted in a banquet scene on the famous relief from Ashurbanipal's palace at Nineveh, cf. 4.3.1.

⁸⁴ Cf. LTP 1:15 in Pardee 1988:13-74, esp. pp.54-60.

⁸⁵ The form has been less convincingly restored in other mythological passages as well, cf. 1.1:IV:4 *m*[rzḥ . . .]* and Gibson 1978:39, and Spronk 1986:170,176 for 1.21:II:9 [*. . . mrz^cy*] and 1.22:II:2 [*. . . mrz^cy*].

⁸⁶ Greenfield 1974:451-53 and cf. now Barstad 1984:135-38; Fabry 1984:cols.12-13; and Pardee 1988:54-59.

⁸⁷ For RS 15.70, see Nougayrol 1955:130 and pl.17.

Nevertheless, the conclusion that the Ugaritic version of this festival, like the much later Greek *thiasos*, was characterized by wanton drinking is tenuous at best. The evidence for this generalization is based on a single passage -one which is found in a mythological context- and therefore cannot be pressed too far: 'il ytb bmrzhh yšt [.y]n. °d šb° "El continues to sit at his *marzēah*, he drinks wine to satiety" 1.114:15-16.

Eissfeldt, for example, assumed a rigid correspondence between the divine and earthly versions of the *marzēah* at Ugarit.⁸⁸ But as Sasson has noted, in the absence of confirming evidence from the administrative texts, reconstruction of historical elements from myth is problematic.⁸⁹ Besides, a lone reference cannot prove that wanton drinking was characteristic of a practice otherwise well attested at Ugarit.

As an institution, the *marzēah* had its own special meeting place, é lú^{meš} mar-ze/za-i "the house of the men of the *marzēah*" (RS 15.70:4,7 and 15.88:4).⁹⁰ Another text depicts the actual establishment of a *marzēah* institution, mrzḥ d qny šmmn b.bt w "the *marzēah* which Shamuman established in his house" (3.9:1-4). Shamuman functioned as the head or *rb* of the *marzēah* (3.9:12).⁹¹ Its members comprised the higher economic strata of society. This is confirmed by the mention of a large sum of money in a broken

⁸⁸Eissfeldt 1969:193 and cf. similarly Pope 1972:178.

⁸⁹Sasson 1981B:81-98.

⁹⁰For RS 15.88, see Nougayrol 1955:88 and pl.20.

⁹¹For treatments of 3.9, see Miller 1971:37-49; Fenton 1977:71-76; Halpern 1979-80:121-40; Friedman 1979-80:187-206; Dietrich and Loretz 1982:71-76; and Spronk 1986:197-98.

text (RS 14.16).⁹² These funds were either the high penalties imposed on its members for breach of contract (3.9:11) or the dues required for membership (3.9:17).

In addition to a house, the *marzēah* owned such valuable property as fields and vineyards, *šd kr[m]* (4.642:3) and *egel karāni* (RS 18.01:5).⁹³ It also had state sanction since the reigning king transferred and confirmed ownership of *marzēah* property, "Ammishtamru, son of Niqmepa, king of Ugarit" (RS 15.70: 2-3, 19-20) and "Niqmepa, son of Niqmaddu, king of Ugarit" (RS 15.88:2-3). A member of the *marzēah* was designated "a man of the *marzēah*" alphabetic *mt mrzh* (3.9:13), syllabic *lú^{me}š marzihi* (RS 14:16:3, etc.) or "a son of the *marzēah*" *bn mrzh* (4.399:8).⁹⁴ As we noted above, the head of the organization was given the title *rb*.⁹⁵

But what evidence exists that would suggest any mortuary associations of the Ugaritic *marzēah*? The Ugaritic evidence cited in past discussions consists of two texts, 1.114 and 1.21. Otherwise, the mortuary connections of the West Semitic *marzēah* date from later periods and originate in other locations.⁹⁶

⁹²For RS 14.16, see Virolleaud 1951:163-79.

⁹³For RS 18.01, see Nougayrol 1956:230 and pl.77.

⁹⁴The equivalent alphabetic and cuneiform expressions argue against reading *mt* as "dead" with Halpern 1979-80:135. For *bn mrzh*, cf. Palmyrene *bn y mrzh*'.

⁹⁵Cf. *rb mrzh*' of the Nabatean and Palmyrene texts and the critique of Friedman 1979-80:197-98 against a proposed verbal form.

⁹⁶Cf. our treatment of the first millennium evidence in chapter 4 and Greenfield 1974:451-55 and esp. 452 n.14 and Barstad 1984:135-39, esp. n.81.

While most interpreters view 1.114 simply as a divine drinking bout, Pope has attempted to reconstruct a death cult ritual in this text, but we remain unconvinced of his argument.⁹⁷ First, his citation of a late isolated rabbinic use of Aramaic *šûdnîṭā'*, a cognate of *šd* in 1.1, in a funerary context must be evaluated over against the widely recognized use of Ugaritic *šd* as the verb "to give a banquet" without any connection with mortuary rites.⁹⁸ This is a foundational datum for Pope's interpretation.

Second, his interpretation of *yrḥ gbh* "mixed his tripe" in 11.4-5 as a reference to the drinking of juices from a deceased relative's body must be evaluated in light of the regular use of *yrḥ* as a reference to the moon god Yarikh (or simply "month"). In no other instance in the Ugaritic corpus does this form obtain a meaning connected with moisture or liquids as Pope presupposes.⁹⁹

Pope cited *k1b* in 11.5,12 as further evidence for a death cult context. The widely attested role of dogs in death cult rituals of divergent cultures prompted this hypothesis.¹⁰⁰ But,

⁹⁷ Cf. Pope 1977B:170-203 and note 1979-80:141-43 and 1981:177-78. For recent treatments of this text with extensive bibliographies, see L'Heureux 1979:159-69; Margalit 1979-80:65-120; Cathcart and Watson 1980:88-98; Spronk 1986:198-201; and Pardee 1988:13-74.

⁹⁸ With Loewenstamm 1980:372,410-22 against Pope 1977B:175. Others view the form as derived from a verb "to give chase, roam" attested in Ugaritic, Arabic, and Akkadian, cf. e.g., Cathcart and Watson 1980:41,44.

⁹⁹ Pope 1977B:179.

¹⁰⁰ Pope 1977B:183-89. Pope's additional arguments are still less convincing. The forms *yqtqt* 1.5 and *ylmn* 1.8 may denote noises made to drive away the ghosts, so Pope 1977B:181, but this hinges on his prior arguments as does his view of El's drunken stupor as an experience of death intended to join the worlds of

not only did Pope fail to identify the dog's exact function in our text, others have seen *klb* in 11.5,12(?) as references to the canine-like behavior of the inebriated moon god.¹⁰¹ In any case, Virolleaud failed to restore *klb* in 1.5 in the *editio princeps*, but rather left the space blank. Moreover, his reading of *rlb* in 1.12 was confirmed by the editors of *KTU* and Pardee, while the editors of *KTU* and Pardee tentatively read *k*l*b** in 1.5.¹⁰²

We turn now to the references in the Rephaim texts, and in particular 1.21:II:1 (cf. also 11.5,9). The actual form attested in these texts is *mrz^c* which, beginning with Eissfeldt, has been viewed as a variant of Ugaritic *mrzh*. This conclusion is based on what is perceived to be orthographic variants in the Ugaritic Akkadian texts: *mar-zi-i* (RS 18.01:7,10) and *mar-zi-hi* (RS 14.16:3).¹⁰³

However, it is not at all certain that the phoneme *h* which lies behind *mar-zi-hi* (RS 14.16:3) ultimately lies behind *mar-zi-i* and *mar-za-i* (RS 15.88:4,6), both of which presume the presence of the phoneme *c*. The equation is based *a priori* on the equation of the similar alphabetic forms. This not only betrays a

the living and the dead, cf. Pope 1977B:178,202.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Loewenstamm 1969:72,74; L'Heureux 1979:160,166; Margalit 1979-80:69,81-82; and Cathcart and Watson 1980:37 and note *KTU*'s reading *km klb* in 1.5. Spronk 1986:198-99 took an approach which both eliminates Pope's view and avoids the function of *klb* as a simile.

¹⁰² Cf. Virolleaud 1968:545,549-50; the edition of Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartín 1976:119-20; and the collation of Pardee in *LTP* 1:5,12 against Loewenstamm 1969:71-77.

¹⁰³ So Eissfeldt 1969:195. Similarly, L'Heureux 1979:142 n.43 added that the *c* is the voiced equivalent to the unvoiced *h* evincing a supposed partial assimilation to the voiced *z*.

circularity of reasoning, but creates other obstacles as well. First, the intervocalic voicing of *h* to *°* would be exceptional for Ugaritic Akkadian.¹⁰⁴

Furthermore, the resultant vocalization based on *mar-za-i* would be *marzaḥi*, a *maqṭal* form, but this is not what we would expect based on the remaining Ugaritic forms and Hebrew *marzēaḥ*. We would expect *marziḥi*, a *maqṭil* form.¹⁰⁵ In other words, with regard to the occurrences of the Ugaritic form of *marzēaḥ*, the syllabic writing system at Ugarit is as ambiguous as the alphabetic.¹⁰⁶

Even if the underlying assumption that the *rp'um* represented chthonic beings were the correct one, and this is by no means certain (cf. 3.1.7.), their relation to the *marzēaḥ*, actually *mrz°* in 1.21:II:1,5,9, remains ambiguous owing to the damaged state of the passages in question and the absence of the requisite data proving such a presumed correlation.¹⁰⁷

Furthermore, even if we were to assume that *marzēaḥ* is mentioned in these passages, we have the added issue of the host who invited the *rp'um* to the *marzēaḥ*. If it is El, as suggested by 11.8-9 *wy°n 'il [mrz°]y*, "And El replied . . . my *marzēaḥ*",

¹⁰⁴Cf. Huehnergard 1987:278.

¹⁰⁵Huehnergard 1987:271-2.

¹⁰⁶So Pardee 1988:176 n.48. Cf. also Huehnergard 1987:178,239-40,244,272,278. Note the supposed West Semitic loan *mrz(°)-nn* in the Hurrian text RS 24:278:12 in Laroche 1968:515.

¹⁰⁷L'Heureux 1979:206-12 and Fabry 1984:col.13 dismissed the death cult associations of the *marzēaḥ* at Ugarit and rejected the underworld connections of the *rp'um*.

then we have a divine banquet of which the mythic heroes or *rp'um* are a part.¹⁰⁸

Finally, even if one concluded, based on this lone datum, that the *marzēah* played a part in the Ugaritic death and ancestor cults, one clearly cannot extrapolate from this that such a role was an important one, for the numerous legal and administrative texts indicate otherwise. They lack any death cult associations, but rather focus on the economic-social interests of its members.

These concerns rather than the hypothetical funerary connections of the *marzēah* or, for that matter, the drinking habits of its members, lie behind each of its references. 1.114, El's banquet, is no exception, for, while drinking is a major part of the plot, only the underlying social setting remotely resembles what can be confidently reconstructed from the administrative and legal texts, namely a festive occasion celebrated by the highest echelons of the social structure. In conclusion, we reject any association of the Ugaritic *marzēah* with mortuary matters.¹⁰⁹

3.1.6. THE UGARITIC KING LIST

Frequently, *KTU* 1.113 has been cited as evidence for the existence of a royal ancestor cult at Ugarit. Two particulars of the text have occasioned this interpretation: the repeated

¹⁰⁸ Cf. similarly L'Heureux 1979:142. Pope 1972:192 preferred Danil whom he viewed as mourning the death of his son Aqhat and inviting the shades of the dead, the *rp'um*, to his *marzēah*.

¹⁰⁹ Lewis 1989:80-88 likewise recently held out against the mortuary nature of the Ugaritic *marzēah*.

element 'il which precedes what have been identified as the names of former Ugaritic rulers on the reverse of the text and what appears to be some sort of cultic ceremony recorded on the obverse, the exact nature of which has eluded interpreters:¹¹⁰

OBSERVE		REVERSE	
		(L)	(R)
1 []x w rm tph		12 []	[]x'i*
[]l'umm l n ^c m		[]	['il c m] t*tmr*
[]w* rm tlbm		[]	['il n] qmp ^c
[]pr l n ^c m		[]	'il c *mph
5 []x mt w rm tph		16 []x	'il 'ibrn
[]hb l n ^c m		[]	'il y ^c d ^r d
[]ymgy		[]x[]	'il nqmp ^c
[]r*m tlbm		[]p*[]	'il 'ibrn
[]c *m		[]d[]	'i]l* c mrp'i
10 []h n ^c m		21 ['il nq] mp ^c	['il] nqmp ^c
[]x[]		['il c m] ttmr	'il 'ibr*[n]
		(Edge)	
		[]d*[]	'il nqmp ^c *
		[]	'il 'ibrn
		[]	'il nqmd
		26 []q*	'il yqr

¹¹⁰ Virolleaud 1968:561-62 published the obverse, but the reverse was published later in the *KTU* edition of 1976. Wilson 1977:121-22 discussed the reverse without aid of the *KTU* edition while Kitchen 1977:131-42 first commented on it extensively. Cf. now de Tarragon 1980:124-25; Xella 1981A:288-91; Del Olmo Lete 1986B:83-95; Pardee 1988:165-78 (= *LTP* 5); and Lewis 1989:47-52. Preliminary remarks can be found in Virolleaud 1962:94-95; Schaeffer 1963:214-15; and Rainey 1965:107.

The so-called Ugaritic king list, particularly its obverse, has been described as having some affinities with the genres of ritual, incantation, prayer, and hymn.¹¹¹ However, Pardee has pointed out that 1.113 lacks the terminology of the Ugaritic rituals.¹¹² Moreover, the genre of prayer is inadequate, for 1.113 has far less repetition than the Ugaritic prayer 1.119.¹¹³ Likewise, if by hymn certain Biblical psalms are meant, we lack Ugaritic parallels. While the repetition of formulae might be reflected in a psalm such as 136, this is too late to provide a working model for 1.113.

Although 1.113 reveals a curious absence of ritual terminology, it is wrought with mythological vocabulary e.g., *tp*, *t**l**b mgy*, and *rm*.¹¹⁴ This fact along with the poetic form of 1.113 and its presumed mortuary correlations led Ribichini and Xella to the conclusion that 1.113 and 1.161 shared the same cultic function.¹¹⁵ But, if, as we shall argue in 3.1.9., 1.161 represents a coronation text with accompanying funerary liturgy (and not the Ugaritic version of the regularly observed *kispum* ritual), then such similarities miss the point. Besides, we shall argue below that 1.113 has an altogether different function.

¹¹¹ Kitchen 1977:140.

¹¹² Pardee 1988:170,172.

¹¹³ For 1.119, see Watson 1984:360-62 and the bibliography cited there.

¹¹⁴ The term *tp* "tambourine" occurs in the mythological context of 1.16:I:41 and with *t**l**b* "flute" in 1.108:4. *mgy* and *rm* show up in poetic and mythological contexts. The *hapax legomenon* *l'umm* might be the poetic form of "peoples", so Pardee 1988:170.

¹¹⁵ Ribichini and Xella 1979:150 n.29.

Pardee has classified 1.113 as a "para-mythological" text, that is, one which employs mythological elements for practical ends. He further identified its setting as a festival in which the dead divinized Ugaritic kings were invoked by the accompaniment of music. It has a supposed parallel in the Genealogy of the Hammurapi Dynasty wherein the dead kings are also apparently invoked. Furthermore, the obverse shows similarities to 1.100 in its tendency for word repetition and etched horizontal lines separating the poetic stanzas.¹¹⁶

The incantation text 1.100 exhibits a repeated summons addressed to twelve different deities. While 1.113 contains no explicit mention of known deities, the address in 1.100 might provide a working model for understanding the enigmatic *n^cm* in 11.2, 4, 6, and 10 of the obverse. This term has been identified as the title of a living king summoned to the ceremony.¹¹⁷ It is used as a title for the legendary heroes Keret and Aqhat of the mythological texts, both of which were possibly kings.

But it is a gross inaccuracy to state that the term is not applied to deities.¹¹⁸ It is so used in 1.23:1, 23, 60, and 67 in reference to Shahr and Shalm, the *'ilm n^cmm*, and in 1.24:25 in reference to the moon god Yarikh, *n^cmn 'ilm*.¹¹⁹ This fact coupled with the invocation of gods depicted in the literary parallel

¹¹⁶ Pardee 1988:170, 172, 175-78.

¹¹⁷ So Kitchen 1977:140 and Xella 1981A:289, 291. Spronk 1986:155 suggested Radmanu of 1.3:I:2, but his readings of 1.17:VI:30-32 and 1.3:I:2 are questionable, cf. KTU and Pardee 1980:274 respectively.

¹¹⁸ So Kitchen 1977:140 followed by Lewis 1989:51.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Del Olmo Lete 1981:429 and p.453 respectively.

1.100 argue in favor of identifying *n^cm* in 1.113 as a title of a god. This is given added support by the use of the tambourine, *tp*, and flute, *tlb*, in a benediction to the god *Rp'u* 1.108:4.¹²⁰

Interpreters who assume that an ancestor cult context stands behind the ceremony reflected in 1.113 have proposed several deities for *n^cm*: Baal, *Rp'u*, Malik, or Mot.¹²¹ However, in the absence of decisive evidence from the context, the identity of the god titled *n^cm* remains for the present enigmatic.

In spite of the widely accepted position that 1.113 records rites directed to the dead divinized kings of Ugarit there is, in actuality, slim textual basis for this view, that is apart from a predisposition to interpret '*il* + RN as a reference to a deified king. As we noted in 2.1.1., Liverani offered a better interpretation of the text. He concluded that the repeated element '*il* + RN referred not to rituals aimed at deified defunct Ugaritic kings, but to those dedicated to the personal god(s) of former kings.¹²²

His proposal gains support from 1.100 and 1.108. The address to the numerous deities in 1.100 and the use of the same musical instruments in 1.108 in the benediction to the god *Rp'u*, point to 1.113 as a text associated with a ritual directed toward the deity. Like 1.100, 1.113 more likely reflects a ceremony in which a god or gods are invoked, not deceased royalty. As in the

¹²⁰ The mention of these instruments in two different texts is not sufficient evidence alone to identify *Rp'u* as the god of 1.113.

¹²¹ Cf. Pardee 1988:170-71 for a survey of proposals.

¹²² Liverani 1974:340-41.

case of the Eblaite king list, 1.113 comprises a list of dead kings each successively associated with the dynastic personal god known by all and so designated by the generic term 'il. The text was recited in the cult so as to legitimate the current dynasty.

Recall that our interpretation of 'il + RN finds a precedent in the Sumerian royal inscriptions where the personal god of the king was identified by means of dingir + RN, 'il + RN's corresponding cuneiform formula also attested in the Eblaite king list. As we pointed out, the personal god of king Entemena of Lagash is identified as ^dŠulutula dingir En-te-me-[na] "Shulutula, god of Entemena".¹²³

While the exact identity of the god(s) in 1.113 remains obscure to the modern reader, undoubtedly common knowledge sufficed to identify the name of the deity of the royal dynasty designated 'il + RN.¹²⁴ Common knowledge might also explain the significance of another rubric as well. The dynastic personal god along with other gods worshipped by the royal family might be referred to collectively in the Ugaritic term 'Il'ib "the gods of the fathers" discussed earlier. In fact, the identity of some of these gods is probably to be found in the names of those deities listed under the rubric 'Il'ib in the cultic texts (cf. 3.1.3).

¹²³Cf. Vorländer 1975:9 and cf. pp.151-52 for possible examples from Syria-Palestine of the second through first millennia B.C.E.

¹²⁴Pardee 1988:173 n.25 rejected Liverani's view and cited the Genealogy of the Hammurapi Dynasty in favor of the ancestor cult connections of 1.113, but the chronological proximity of the Genealogy is not close, it was used on the lone occasion of Ammisaduqa's coronation, none of the listed individuals are divinized, and so its assumed ancestor cult affiliations are highly conjectural, cf. our treatment in 3.1.7.1.

In the light of the text's mention of musical instruments, *n^cm*, in our view, would refer to an anonymous singer who performs for the gods as *n^cm* does in 1.3:I:19. Alternatively, *n^cm* might depict an individual granted an affirmative omen having enticed the gods for a verdict with music.¹²⁵ Thus, we conclude that, like the Eblaite king list, 1.113 comprises a list of the former kings with each associated with the dynastic personal god. In the light of the text's obvious concern with dynastic continuity, this god in all likelihood was to receive cultic ritual for the purpose of political legitimation.¹²⁶

It goes without saying that we reject the related proposals that 1.113 exhibits similarities with either 1 Samuel 28, an account of necromancy, the *marzēaḥ*, or the *kispum*. First, there is no indication that the invocation had as its goal a divine revelation as in 1 Samuel 28. Second, the Ugaritic *marzēaḥ* knows no practice involving music or singing, not to mention that its mortuary connections are in doubt. Finally, music has yet to appear in the *kispum* ritual and 1.113 makes no mention of *kispum*-like offerings.¹²⁷ Even if we could establish its mortuary

¹²⁵ So Levenson 1985:66.

¹²⁶ What we have proposed remains possible in spite of the fact that the exact nature of the ritual reflected in the text remains uncertain in every detail. We should also note that Schaeffer 1963:215 suggested that two distinct scripts revealing two independent hands are present on the obverse and reverse and so the texts of the two sides might not be related. Of course, if this is indeed the case, it eliminates a major datum for the ancestor cult adherents.

¹²⁷ Pardee 1988:176-78. Xella 1981A:291 and Pardee 1988:177 suggested offerings in 1.4 []pr, "bull" pr and "rations" ḥpr.

associations, 1.113, like 1.161, might reflect a ceremony intended for a single occasion.

As a final note, we should make mention of Del Olmo Lete's thesis that Ugaritic theophoric names such as *ydb'il*, *y'arš'il*, *°mtr*, etc., of 1.106 and 1.102 represent the dead, deified dynastic ancestors who, along with the major deities mentioned, receive cultic offerings, e.g. *gdlt* (cf. 1.106:3-5). These three names also occur alongside the name *yrgbb°l* in 1.102:16-20. According to Del Olmo Lete, *yrgbb°l* is a title of king Niqmaddu based on 1.6:VI:57-58, *nqmd mlk 'ugrt 'adn yrgb b°l trmn*, "Niqmaddu, king of Ugarit, Lord, Baal terrified, *Trmn*".¹²⁸

Nevertheless, Del Olmo Lete's proposal is heavily dependent upon those works in which the diffusion of ancestor and death cults at Ugarit is a given.¹²⁹ Therefore, we question his view of such texts as 1.113 and 1.161 (cf. 3.1.9.) and such entities as the *rp'um* (cf. 3.1.7.) which are frequently cited in support. In any case, the types of theophoric names which he treated were usually attributed to living persons. In fact, it has been argued that these names are those of living officials of high ranking who brought offerings to the cult.

Stamm pointed out that the recipients of offerings in 1.106:1-2, which are known deities for the most part, are preceded by the *l* preposition, e.g. *l ršp hgb °šrm* and *l 'inš*

¹²⁸ Del Olmo Lete 1986A:55-71 and 1986B:83-95. Del Olmo Lete 1986B:84 classified the above three names as *'inš 'ilm* "divine persons" (cf. 1.106:2) and located them in 1.39:20-21, a sacrificial agenda supposedly related to the royal funerary liturgy where the phrase *'inš 'ilm* occurs again.

¹²⁹ In particular, he drew upon the works of de Tarragon 1980:167 and Xella 1981A:83-84.

'ilm šrp, whereas the offerers, including the above three names, as in 11.3-5, precede the mention of their gift, e.g. PN + gdl't.¹³⁰ In any case, yrgbb^cl in 1.6:VI:58 has been identified as a place name found in Tuthmosis III's toponymic list.¹³¹

¹³⁰ Cf. Stamm 1979:753-58 and note Herdner 1978:29.

¹³¹ On yrgbb^cl as a possible place name in 1.6:VI:58, see Herdner 1978:4-5.

3.1.7. THE UGARITIC *RP'UM*

In the six decades since the discovery of the Ras Shamra texts, the *rp'um* have been categorized as gods, shades of the dead, and/or living persons.¹³² The first two categories, while widely accepted, create serious difficulties and the third tells us little else beyond the fact that such entities existed in the mythological traditions, but not necessarily in the historical traditions. Be that as it may, the growing consensus is that the *rp'um* are synonymous with or include the dead deified kings and that they participated in the royal ancestor cult as founders of the dynasty.¹³³

According to the editors of *KTU*, the root *r-p-* occurs in thirty-six instances where the reading is undisputed.¹³⁴ It is reconstructed in sixteen additional contexts often based on the repetition of similar lines either without change or with predictable variation.¹³⁵ Nonetheless, some readings formerly

¹³² Cf. the surveys of L'Heureux 1979:116-25; Cooper 1981:460-67; and Caquot 1981:351-56.

¹³³ Cf. now the numerous treatments of *KTU* 1.161 listed in 3.1.9. and the remarks by Healey 1986:27-32.

¹³⁴ In the Shapash hymn: 1.6:VI:46. In the Keret legend: 1.15:III:3,14. In the Aqhat legend: 1.17:I:18,35; 1.17:II:28; 1.17:V:4-5,14,33-34; 1.17:VI:52; 1.19:I:20,36-37,38-39,47; 1.19:IV:36. In the Rephaim texts: 1.20:II:6; 1.21:II:3,9,11; 1.22:I:8,21,23; 1.22:II:19 and in the following texts: 1.82:32; 1.108:1,19,21,24; 1.114:28 (verb, but ambiguous); 1.161:2,4,5,8,9, 24; and *RIH* 77/8A(+13+21B):14'.

¹³⁵ In the Keret legend: 1.15:III:3. In the Aqhat legend: 1.17:I:1,37,42; 1.19:IV:17,18. In the Rephaim texts: 1.20:I:1; 1.20:II:1,7; 1.22:II:3,5,8,10,20,25; and in 1.108:22.

endorsed must now be discarded.¹³⁶ Finally, we note that the form appears in personal names often as a theophoric element.¹³⁷

3.1.7.1. THE RELATED *DITĀNU* NAME

Owing to the controversial nature of the Syro-Mesopotamian evidence for the *rp'um* both prior to and contemporary with Ugarit (more on this below), we shall begin our investigation with a comparative analysis of the name *dtn*, the widely attested *Ditānu* (or one of its variants) of the cuneiform sources.¹³⁸ As all commentators recognize, this name parallels the *rp'i* 'arṣ on three occasions (1.15:III:3-4, 14-15, 1.161:2-3, 9-10) and so it can theoretically provide a model by which to reconstruct the tradition history of the *rp'um* concept. Because the *Ditānu* name is repeatedly associated with the name *mar.du*, we must first say something about the Amorites.¹³⁹

¹³⁶ In the Keret legend, 1.14:I:7, *rp'at* is now read as **(?)rwt*. In 1.82:28, [*. .rp*] *'im* is now read as [*. . .hm*]. The form *yyp* comes at the very end of 1.21:II:5, but the beginning of 1.6 is missing (i.e., no *aleph* sign exists).

¹³⁷ Gröndahl 1967:180 and cf. p.84: *rap-a-na* (from *rap'anu*), *a-birx-pi-i*, *abdi-rap-i*, *am-mu-ra-pi*, *'bitta-ra-ap-i*, *abrp'u*, *'ilrp'u*, *°bdrp'u*, *°mrp'i/°mpr*, *rp'an*, *rp'iy*, *rp'iyn*, *yyp'u*, *yyp'i*.

¹³⁸ Cf. e.g., *Tidinu*, *Titinu*, *Tidnim*, *Tidānum*, *Didānum*, *Datnim*, and *Datnam*. Lipiński 1978:91-110 has collected much of the pertinent data on the name. We reject his conclusion that it was simply a tribal name derived ultimately from the animal name for antelope and never a personal name. Cf. its use as a personal name in the obelisk of Man-ishtusu in Gelb 1957:294 and at Ebla.

¹³⁹ This will become self-evident in the following discussion, cf. provisionally the lexical series *S^b* in Landsberger 1955:114, 1.209 *ti-di-nu* = *a-mur-ru-u*.

The theory of gradual infiltration as an adequate explanation for the Amorites' rise to power throughout Syro-Mesopotamia in the aftermath of Ur III has been called into question.¹⁴⁰ Roberts has recently concluded that a re-evaluation of the evidence favors a more militaristic role on the part of the Amorites.¹⁴¹ Weeks has outlined a model in which the Amorites obtained political domination through their military superiority in spite of their small numbers.¹⁴²

These military bands had the capability to move quickly and decisively against far larger foes owing to their strategic efficiency. In some instances, having been hired as mercenaries by the local authorities, they were assisted in their usurpation by conniving officials within the existing political structure.¹⁴³

¹⁴⁰ Cf. e.g., Luke 1965: *passim*; Rowton 1974:1-30 and Weeks 1985:49-57.

¹⁴¹ Roberts 1985:82-83. Prosography indicates a heavy new influx in the Ur III and Isin-Larsa period some of which suggests invasion rather than infiltration. The references to the Amorite invasions in Edzard 1957:33-34, and the military titles in the Old Babylonian period that are composed of the element *mar.du* in Edzard 1957:37 further support this.

¹⁴² Weeks 1985:50. Their small size is suggested by the lack of evidence for their settlement and significant linguistic or cultural impact. On p.57, Weeks cited Redford's similar explanation for the rise of the Hyksos, but this must be reassessed in light of the evidence for Asiatic settlements at Tell el-Muskhuta and Tell el-Dab^ca. A better analogy might be that of Ward 1972:52-60 for the Soshou and note Rowton 1974:1-30 whose enclosed nomadism theory involved extensive raiding by the Amorites.

¹⁴³ Weeks 1985:50. He qualified his approach as follows: "This does not mean that every person the texts call an Amorite was a soldier. . . some Amorites banded together in military attachments. The result was that the term Amorite came to have something of a military flavour".

This model of Amorite ascendancy confirms Pettinato's understanding of the *Ditānu* name at Ebla. *Tidinu*, or *Titinu*, is the name of a high official in the royal court who married one of king Ibrium's daughters.¹⁴⁴ Pettinato viewed this as a shrewd political move on the part of the king, for *Tidinu* was the "chief of the mercenaries" *lugal-(erén-) BAR.AN BAR.AN*.¹⁴⁵ In the light of Ebla's possible dependency upon foreign armies, such a marriage served as a means to solidify allegiances between Ebla and the Amorite mercenaries under *Tidinu*'s leadership.¹⁴⁶ The use of *Ditānu* as a name of the chief of Amorite mercenaries at Ebla aligns with Matthiae's proposal that Amorites composed an important segment of Eblaite society, that the eventual collapse of Eblaite culture and the actual destruction of the city were due to Amorite upheavals, both internal and external.¹⁴⁷

Outside of Ebla, the name maintains these militaristic associations. The *Tidānum* or "Tidanites" of the mid-third

¹⁴⁴For the reading *Tidinu*, cf. Pettinato 1979A:142, 272 and 1981:87, 120; and for the variant *Titinu*, cf. Archi 1980:36-37 and 1985A:177. Both Pettinato and Archi agree on these points, cf. TM.75.G.1357 r.VI:4-6 and TM.75.G.2094.

¹⁴⁵Archi's interpretation of BAR.AN as "equine" in 1980:36-37, 1984:33, 48 n.4, 1985:177 fails to adequately address the arguments of Gregoire 1981:390-91 in support of Pettinato, cf. also Butz 1981:336.

¹⁴⁶Pettinato 1980:193-97, 230, 233, 245-49 and 1981:87, 98, 120, 125, and cf. TM.75.G.1339 r.X:6-8, 1349 v.VII:13-16, and 1357 r.VI:4-6. *Tidinu* is depicted in these texts as receiving payment for services rendered. Kupper 1957:163 suggested the employment of Amorites as mercenaries elsewhere. Oppenheim 1967:9-14 concluded that the Old Babylonian cities similarly lacked any militaristic nationalism and were thus dependent upon external means of defence.

¹⁴⁷Matthiae 1980:212-14.

millennium are described as the enemies of Umma or Lagash.¹⁴⁸

Statue B of Gudea, prince of Lagash, from the late third millennium locates the *Tidānum* at the "Mardu mountain".

Michalowski located this mountain and the Ur III defenses built to contain the mar.du (see below) in the northeast.¹⁴⁹ Weeks explained the unusual presence of the Amorites (*Amurru* = "West land") in this area known for so long as a theatre of war as motivated by their search for employment as mercenaries.¹⁵⁰

In the reign of Shulgi, king of the Ur III dynasty, the *Tidānum* are depicted as enemies alongside the land of Anshan.¹⁵¹ The *Tidānum* posed such a significant threat to Shulgi that he constructed the massive wall alluded to above in order to prohibit their further penetration. It was completed in the reign of Shu-Sin and was designated "Mardu wall" (Sumerian *bad mar-du*) or "Fender of Tidanim" (Akkadian *murîq tidānim*).¹⁵² The ultimate victory of the *Tidānum* over Sumer and Akkad is described in the Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur and in the Lamentation over the Destruction of Nippur.

¹⁴⁸ *TCL* 15:ii:12'-13'. We view the plural "Tidānum" as the collective members "Tidanites". For this text, cf. Falkenstein 1941:129 and Buccellati 1966:243 n.50. That Eannatum hired the *Tidinu* as mercenaries, so Edzard 1960:249-50 followed by Pettinato 1980:106, is debatable, cf. the different translations of the pertinent text *Eannatum* 2.V:9-17 cited in Lipiński 1978:99-103 and add Steiner 1975-76:10-21, esp.15.

¹⁴⁹ Michalowski 1976:104.

¹⁵⁰ Weeks 1985:54.

¹⁵¹ Van Dijk 1960:13. The *Tidānum* occur without the ^{k1} determinative found on *an-ša^T-an^{k1}*. The lack of consistency in this regard implies that the name did not necessarily represent a specific place name in those instances where it occurs with ^{k1}.

¹⁵² For the text, cf. Oppenheim 1948:174 n.33.

The former depicts the *Tidanum* as having "daily fastened the mace to the girdle" ti-id-nu-um^{k1} e u⁴-šú-uš^{91š} meddú-a úr-ra ba-ni-in-gar.¹⁵³ In the latter, the *Tidanum* are mentioned in reference to the temple of Umma "from which the *Tidanum* had made the misfortune arise" ugu-bi-ta ti-da-nu-um nu-gar-ra íb-ta-an-zi-ge⁴-eš-a.¹⁵⁴

It appears that at some point the *Tidanum* switched sides and became allies of the last king of Ur, Ibbi-Sin, for he writes in a letter "Now, *Tidanum* -O Enlil!- has arisen for me from its mountain as my helper, it will rout Elam and catch Ishbi-Erra" (who had become the first king of Isin and Ibbi-Sin's rival) ì-ne-šè ti-da-nu-um-e ^den-líl kur-bi-ta á-daḥ-mu im-ma-zi elama^{k1} ḫa mu-un-tag-ge ù ^dišbi-erra mu-un-dab_s-bé.¹⁵⁵

By Old Babylonian times, Amorite dynasties had established themselves throughout Syria and Mesopotamia. From Ur the following compound form is attested Me-^dDi-ta-an. The divine determinative suggests that the name had become associated with sacred powers, but the exact significance remains obscure, "the sacred powers of *Ditānu*" or "of the (personal god) of *Ditānu*".¹⁵⁶

In the Genealogy of the Hammurapi Dynasty, *Ditānu* occurs in 1.6 as a name attributed heroic dimensions. This name along with

¹⁵³ Cf. Gadd and Kramer 1966:par.134, 1.42; Krecher's review 1970:200-01; and Kramer's translation in 1969A:611-19 (1.259).

¹⁵⁴ Cf. Edzard 1957:87 (1.13'), 33 n.136 and Kramer 1969B:92.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. Falkenstein 1950:59-79, esp.72, 11.35-36. We incorporate the variant reading of an unpublished copy in Wilcke 1969-70:23 which reads ti-da-nu-um in place of mar-du!

¹⁵⁶ Cf. Figulla 1953:no.497:11 and 581:11. It is impossible to decide whether "the sacred powers" refer to those "of *Ditānu*" or to those "of the (personal) god of *Ditānu*".

the others in 11.1-28 was no doubt recited in the cult, the significance of which we shall address shortly. *Ditānu*, written *Dīdānu* in the AKL-A (= Assyrian King List-A):i:4 (10), is also portrayed as one of the "seventeen kings who lived in tents".¹⁵⁷

The fact that *Dīdānu* is depicted in AKL-A as a nomad of heroic stature from the distant past fits the view that the eponymous bearer of that name was believed to be a glorious leader of marauding Amorites. He was also perceived by the writer of the King List as having obtained control over those regions which his legions had conquered, thus his title king (*lugal*).¹⁵⁸

The remaining data from this period consist of several Amorite personal names which incorporate the *Ditānu* element.¹⁵⁹ These provide additional testimony for the notoriety of the *Ditānu* name. The two forms discussed above, *Me-^dDi-ta-an* and *Ditānu*, point to the use of the name as a theophoric element in the compound genitive names from this period, e.g. *Su-mu-di-ta-na*.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁷ Cf. Kraus 1965:123-40, esp.126 and Wilson 1977:86-114.

¹⁵⁸ An Old Babylonian votive text from Nippur describes a foreigner who came to Babylonia to make offerings at its sanctuaries "Ammishtamar, the ruler of the Didanum, leader of the Amorites" [*amm*]ištamar [x]dīdanim [rabi]ān MAR.TU, cf. Fossey 1911:248-49; Stol 1976:87; and Heltzer 1981:5 and n.33. The only known name for this period is Ammishtamru I of Ugarit, cf. Kitchen 1977:139 and Heltzer 1981:5-6. If correct, this text explicitly connects the Ugaritic dynasty, the *Ditānu* name, the Amorites, and, as we shall argue below, the *rp'u(m)* = *rabûm* "leader, chief".

¹⁵⁹ Cf. Gelb 1980:295.

¹⁶⁰ On the occurrence of divine names or theophoric elements in genitive compound names in Amorite, cf. Huffmon 1965:118-25.

In conclusion, the theory of Amorite military supremacy, the repeated association of *Ditānu* and the Amorites in military contexts, both as the name of an individual and the eponym of marauding warriors bands, and the subsequent notoriety attached to the name all point to the following reconstruction.

Early on, *Ditānu* represented a renowned Amorite warrior contingent which had adopted the name of their legendary founding leader (not to be equated with the one mentioned at Ebla). The legends attached to the name grew to enormous heroic dimensions owing to the international fame of those Amorite warriors, sometime mercenaries, who bore the *Ditānu* name. All this accords well with the relation of the name to *qarrādu* "strong, heroic, warrior"¹⁶¹, and with the connection to the animal *ditānu* = alim, an aurochs, or possibly a kind of antelope.¹⁶² Alternatively, either of these could impute to *Ditānu* the status of a title or battle name.

By Old Babylonian times, the name *Ditānu* had obtained significant notoriety and ^{WAS} incorporated into the official cultus. All this points to new religio-political dimensions having attached themselves to the name. The Genealogy of the Hammurapi Dynasty is informative in this regard (ll.29-42):

¹⁶¹ Explicit *malku* = Šarru I:103, cf. Kilmer 1963:435.

¹⁶² HAR-ra = *hubullu* XI:32 and XIV:144a in Landsberger 1959:124 and 1962:18. Lipiński 1978:109-10 suggested antelope.

(Obv.)

1. ¹ A-ra-am-ma-da-ra
2. ¹ Tu-ub-ti-ya-mu-ta
3. ¹ Ya-am-qú-uz-zu-ha-lam-ma
4. ¹ He-a-na
5. ¹ Nam-zu-ú
6. ¹ Di-ta-nu
7. ¹ Zu-um-ma-bu
8. ¹ Nam-hu-u
9. ¹ Am-na-nu
10. ¹ Ya-ah-ru-rum
11. ¹ Ip-ti-ya-mu-ta
12. ¹ Bu-ha-zu-um
13. ¹ Su-ma-li-ka
14. ¹ Aš-ma-du

15. ¹ A-bi-ya-mu-ta
16. ¹ A-bi-di-ta-an
17. ¹ Ma-am(?) -x[-x-x(?)]
18. ¹ Šu-x-ni(?) -x[-x(?)]
19. ¹ Da-a¹ d(?)¹ -x[-x-x(?)]

(Rev.)

20. ¹ Su-m[u-a-bu-um]
21. ¹ Su-mu-la-[il]
22. ¹ Za-bi-um
23. ¹ A-píl-^a Sīn
24. ¹ ^a Sin-mu-ba-lí-[it]
25. ¹ Ha-am-mu-ra-p[i]
26. ¹ Sa-am-su-i-lu-n[a]
27. ¹ A-bi-e-Šu-[u_h]
28. ¹ Am-mi-di-ta-[na]

29. bal erín mar.[tu]
30. bal erín He-a-[na]
31. bal Gu-ti-um
32. bal Ša i-na tup-pi
an-ni-i la Ša-a_ṭ-ru
33. ù aga.uš Ša i-na da-an-
na-at be-li-Šu im-qu-tu
34. dumu.meš lugal
35. dumu.mí.meš lugal
36. a-wi-lu-tum ka-li-Ši-in
37. iŠ-tu ^autu.è.a
a-du(!) ^autu.Šú.a
38. [Ša] pa-qi-dam ù sa-hi-ram
la i-Šu-ú
39. al-ka-nim-ma an-ni-a-am
a-[ak¹]-la
40. an-ni-a-am [Ši-ti]¹-a
41. a-na Am-mi-ša-du-qa dumu
Am-mi-di-ta-na
42. lugal ká.dingir-ra^{k1}
43. ku-ur-ba

"Turn of the Amorite soldiers,
Turn of the Khanean soldiers,
Turn of the Gutians,
Turn of (those) not recorded
on this tablet,
and any soldier who was *disabled*
while on perilous campaigns
for his lord,
princes,
princesses,
all "persons"
from East
to West
who have no one to care for them
or to be solicitous(?) to them,
come, eat this,

drink this,
(and) bless Ammišaduqa the son of
Ammiditana,
the king of Babylon.

Interpreters follow Finkelstein's original proposal and assume that the groups listed, both those individuals in 11.1-28 including *Ditānu* (1.6) and those groups mentioned in 11.29-38, are the deceased who are the recipients of offerings and rites (cf. 1.38: *pāqidum* ù *sāḫirum*) and are invited to a communal meal (11.39-40) in the hope that they would supernaturally bestow their blessings upon the new king Ammišaduqa (11.41-43). In other

words, this supposedly comprises a *kispum* ritual.¹⁶³ Accordingly, 1.33 expresses the king's concern to invite to commune any soldier who fell (= died) in military disasters.¹⁶⁴

While generally accepted, this interpretation is rather strained in view of the absence of any explicit indicator that a mortuary ritual is in view. Such characteristic terms like *kispum* and *eṭemum* are missing.¹⁶⁵ Moreover, the term *pāqidum* must be attributed a specialized meaning and the significance of the term *sāhirum* has yet to be convincingly determined. Even if we were to assume for the sake of argument that a mortuary rite was in view, the notion that a communal meal involving the living and the dead stands behind the *kispum* ritual is merely conjecture.¹⁶⁶

What the text records is a royal genealogy made up of eponymous ancestors (11.1-19) and kings of the first dynasty of Babylon (11.20-28) followed by an invitation to still a third group to participate in a communal meal and to offer blessings

¹⁶³ Cf. Finkelstein 1966:95-118; Malamat 1968:163-73 esp. n.29; Lambert 1968A:1-2; Röllig 1969:265-77; Wilson 1977:44-45, 107-114; Tsukimoto 1985:68-69; Charpin and Durand 1986:159-70. On the supposed connection of *pāqidum* "care" and *sāhirum* "invoke" (< *zakārum*) in 1.38 with the *kispum* ritual, cf. Finkelstein 1966:113-16; Lambert 1968:1-2; and Charpin and Durand 1986:163-70. See Tsukimoto 1985:68-69 for *sāhirum* "venerate" (< *sahārum* n.272).

¹⁶⁴ The translation of Charpin and Durand 1986:166-69 which we generally follow assumes that the soldiers mentioned are those who had died in battle, but were not buried, and who had descendants present at the feast. In any case, they were not necessarily "nameless" as Finkelstein 1966:113 would have it.

¹⁶⁵ Eating and drinking clearly signify a festive occasion, but the nature of that feast must be established on independent grounds in the absence of any known technical terminology related to the Mesopotamian ancestor cult.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. Tsukimoto 1985:61.

upon the new king Ammišaduqa. In the absence of compelling evidence otherwise, we propose that the names in 11.1-28 are simply recited (and not invited as shades to a *kispum* meal) for the purpose of commemoration. Those groups mentioned in 11.29-43 are living "descendants"¹⁶⁷ who attended the feast each in their turn to memorialize the dynastic dead on the special occasion of the recently elevated successor's coronation.¹⁶⁸

We should point out that such geneonymy (the commemoration of ancestors by name) is not to be equated with ancestor veneration or worship although each presuppose the mnemonic use and perpetuation of pedigrees and genealogies. Furthermore, recognition of demonstrable ancestry does not predicate ancestor worship.¹⁶⁹ In any case, both the legitimating function of the ritual and the political importance of the *Ditānu* name remain intact.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁷ Recall the Old Babylonian votive text from Nippur which documents the possible existence of a contemporary living *Ditānu* contingent, cf. n.158. This would entail rendering *im-qu-tu* in 1.33 (< *maqātu*) not as "fell" in the fatal sense, but as "suffered injury/defeat" or perhaps simply "fought", cf. *CAD* 10(1977):240-51 [##1b,1d1',4].

¹⁶⁸ Röllig 1969:273 viewed the Amorites, Khaneans, and Gutians as contemporary contiguous political groups. Charpin and Durand 1986:169 postulated a surviving warrior contingent related to those deceased apparitions supposedly invited to the feast. On pp.166-67, they proposed *bal* = *palā* "turn" in 11.29-32 as indicative of the successive groups who come, each at their turn, to receive a portion of the offerings. We differ only in that we take these groups to be entirely living.

¹⁶⁹ So Fortes 1965:123-24; 1976:4; and Newell 1976:19-20.

¹⁷⁰ Nevertheless, owing to the likelihood that what transpired did so on the occasion of Ammišaduqa's coronation, the observances cannot be viewed as regularly occurring -another argument against its royal ancestor cult associations.

In the light of the central role of the military in this ritual and the theory of Amorite military superiority outlined above, we render *erín* = *sābum* in 11.29-30 as "soldiers", rather than the more general "people". Accordingly, the writer of this text demonstrates a realization that Amorite rule stemmed not from a particular city or ethnic group, but from soldiers of a particular ethnic background.¹⁷¹

The important place given to such great warriors of days gone by as *Ditānu* reveals a heretofore unnoticed criterion in the selection of names included in the list.¹⁷² It appears that Ammišaduqa sought to align himself not only with former kings, but also with those eponymous warrior heroes of former ages whom the traditions identified as having established and, in view of the likely persistence of remnants of the *Ditānu* warriors, who continued to sustain his current rule.

His attentiveness to the interests of the military served to solidify allegiances with those surviving elements in his enlistment including those identifying themselves with the name *Ditānu*. The recognition of this complimentary perspective reflected in the Genealogy, namely the legitimation of the dynasty to both the military and the royalty, is crucial to

¹⁷¹ So Weeks 1985:50-51. Against his notion, following Finkelstein 1966, that Khanean rule preceded Amorite rule, cf. Lambert 1968A:1-2.

¹⁷² The Genealogy does not identify the individuals listed before Sumu-abim, the first king of Babylon, as kings, cf. 11.1-19. In the Assyrian King list-A, they become the "kings who lived in tents". Although Shamshi-Addu sought to trace his descent from nomadic kings, this apparently was not the sole concern of Ammišaduqa, contra Lambert 1974:430.

understanding properly the rationale behind the inclusion of the *rp'i 'arṣ* and the *qbṣ ddn* alongside the *mlk(m)* in 1.161.

We can now examine the occurrences of *dtm* or *ddn* at Ugarit. The name *dtm* is found in the compound *bn dtm* in 4.69:II:9, VI:29 and 4.422:52, in the para-mythological text 1.124:11,14, as *bphr qbṣ dtm // btk rp'i 'arṣ* in 1.15:III:2-3,14-15, as *ddn* in a damaged offering text *RIH* 78/11:1-2, and in 1.161.¹⁷³

In the thirteenth century administrative list 4.69, the *bn dtm* represent one social class among many who receive the highest level of state payment for services rendered in the capacity of "warriors" *mrynm* (cf. I:1 and II:9) and "priests" *khn* (cf. VI:22 and 29).¹⁷⁴ Furthermore, that the *bn dtm* are depicted as owners of great herds in 4.422, confirms their important social status.

In 1.124, a personage named *Dtm* and another entitled '*adn 'ilm rbm* (11.1-2) engage in dialogue over the fate of a sick child.¹⁷⁵ The latter is generally identified as El "Lord of the Great Gods"¹⁷⁶, but this creates the potential problem of

¹⁷³Cf. also the syllabic cuneiform names in the Ras Shamra recension of HAR-ra = *hubullu* XX-XXII, cf. Landsberger 1974:48, col.IV:20-22; p.50 11.26-28: ¹d am-mi-di-da-na, ¹d am-mi-di-da-na-*hé-gal*, *bād-am-mi-di-da-na*^{k1}, ¹d. ^dUTU-di-da-na and *bād-^dUTU-di-da-na*^{k1}, and in *RIH* 77/3(+24):6,11 recently published by Arnaud and Kennedy 1979:321: ^dam-mi-di-t[a-na] and ¹d. ^dUTU-di-d[a-na].

¹⁷⁴On the *mrynm* = *maryannu*, cf. Rainey 1965:19-20 and Reviv 1972:219-22 who conclude that the chariot was not the crucial factor making the *maryannu* an elite soldier class. Nevertheless, groups like the *bn dtm* who fulfilled the roles of *mrynm* and *khn* no doubt comprised influential political forces at Ugarit.

¹⁷⁵For helpful bibliographies on 1.124 cf. Spronk 1986:193 n.2; Dietrich and Loretz 1988:329-31; Pardee 1988:179-180; and Tropper 1989:151-56.

¹⁷⁶However, Dietrich and Loretz 1980:395-96, followed by Spronk 1986:193-94, proposed Baal. Pope 1977B:179 was also reluctant to identify '*adn* as El.

El or Baal consulting a lesser class of being. Scholars have reversed the roles of *Dtn* and the '*adn* in 11.1-4, but it has been claimed that this supposedly violates the clear syntax.¹⁷⁷

Pardee, who published a recent collation of the text, identified '*adn* not as El or Baal, but as *Yqr*, the king mentioned in 1.113:26', the deceased founder of the Ugaritic dynasty. Thus '*ilm rbm* would not refer to the major gods of the pantheon, but to the divinized deceased kings or "the many gods".¹⁷⁸ Tropper rendered '*adn* '*ilm rbm* as "the (chief) incantation priest of the royal ancestors" and compared the *ba^calat* '*ôb* of 1 Sam. 28 and understood 1.124 to reflect a royal necromantic ritual.¹⁷⁹

Both proposals are based on the assumption that a royal ancestor cult can be documented at Ugarit and that '*il* in 1.113 reflects the divinization of Ugaritic kings. As we have argued, the '*il* element in 1.113 designates the tutelary god of each king (cf. 3.1.6.) and a royal ancestor cult at Ugarit remains to date unattested. Therefore, the identities of '*adn* and '*ilm rbm* and the role of the '*adn* and *Dtn* must be reconsidered.

Notwithstanding their somewhat distinct roles, the probability of the earlier identification of the '*ilm rbm* as the *ilānu rabûtu*, the determiners of fates in *Enuma Elish*, is greatly enhanced with the unlikelihood of their representing divinized

¹⁷⁷ So Pardee 1983:133 and 1988:184-86, but see below.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. Pardee 1983:127-40 and 1988:179-92. Spronk 1986:194; Dietrich and Loretz 1988:330; and Tropper 1989:154 have adopted Pardee's view of '*ilm rbm*. In 1988:167 n.8,171, Pardee revised the conclusions of Kitchen 1977:131-42 on the chronology of the Ugaritic kings.

¹⁷⁹ Tropper 1989:151-56.

ancestors.¹⁸⁰ This in turn favors the view that 'adn is El or Baal. As neither of these gods would consult the Dtn whom we have come to know through our survey in which prophylactic powers are lacking, we see Dtn consulting 'adn in 11.1-3, not vice versa.¹⁸¹

We can safely ascertain from 1.124 only that Dtn was an important mythic figure and that he plays a subservient role to El or Baal in finding a remedy for a sick child (cf. *mtpt* in 11.3,12). This conforms to the fact that nowhere in the cult or in myth is the name depicted as a beneficent ghost.¹⁸²

We turn now to *dtu* in the legend of king Keret, the phrase *bphr qbs dtu* is found parallel to *btk rp'i 'arš* in 1.15:III:3-4,14-15. Keret has been promised the blessing of future progeny after having lost both his wife and children. He is then praised with the following words:

¹⁸⁰ Contra Pardee 1983:132-33, 1988:184-86. On the equation of the 'ilm *rbm* and the *ilānu rabūtu*, cf. Mullen 1980:186 n.122. Tropper 1989:154 n.161 equated the 'ilm *rbm* and the *ilū rabūtu* who represent the Anunnaki but this falters from the assumption that an ancestor cult connection can be established for the Dtn name and 1.124.

¹⁸¹ Astour 1975:281; Lipiński 1978:94; Caquot 1981:355. Pardee 1983:131, 1988:183 read 1.4 as follows "Ditan answered him (= the Lord of the great/many gods)" *w y^cny nn dtu* and understood the line as expressive of Dtn's supernatural role in giving instructions to heal the sick child. Notwithstanding his remarks in 1983:128 and 1988:180 ["the reading {'dtu'} is probable"], a glance at the photograph and handcopy in Pardee 1988:180-81 will demonstrate that the supposed *dtu* reading is all but obliterated. In any case, the reading *w y^cny nn dtu* in 1.4 and in 11.13-14a might be translated with the 'adn instructing Dtn (in the vocative case) "then he ('adn) answered him, 'O' Ditanu, You shall reply. . .".

¹⁸² The significance of the mention of Ddn alongside royal offerings in the ritual text *RIH* 78/11:1-2 remains enigmatic: *d]bh m[l]kt]ddn š šrp* "sacrifice [of?] the queen [to?] Ddn, a sheep wholly burnt. . . ". For this severely damaged text, cf. Bordreuil and Caquot 1980:354-55 and Xella 1981A:357-58.

<i>m'id rm krt</i>	Be greatly exalted, Keret,
<i>btk rp'i 'arš</i>	among the <i>rp'i 'arš</i> ,
<i>bphr qbs dtn</i>	in the assembly of the Gathered Ones of Ditanu ¹⁸³

These lines reveal a striking similarity to 11.2-3,9-10 of 1.161 and their significance likewise has been variously understood. They have been understood as recognition of Keret's success in obtaining numerous offspring by a solemn meeting of the (living) chiefs of the tribe of *Ditānu*¹⁸⁴, or to his blessed afterlife with an esteemed place among long-departed ancestors¹⁸⁵, or to Keret's power to overcome childlessness which is the same power that the spirits of the dead were believed to possess in overcoming death. Thus, he can be said to have become one of them.¹⁸⁶

In the light of our survey, we offer another alternative which takes into consideration the context of the legend. The previous lines record that Keret was able to procure a son by leading a military campaign against the realm of Udm (cf. 1.14.III-1.15.I). Under threat of siege, its king, Pabil, offered Keret a new wife who then gave birth to numerous offspring. The concern for progeny was crucial to a great warrior-king for

¹⁸³ The term *qbs* we take to be the plural construct passive participle *gabīšū*. Contra Lipiński 1978:97, the term is used in Biblical Hebrew to denote the living more often than the dead.

¹⁸⁴ De Moor 1976:324.

¹⁸⁵ Levine and de Tarragon 1984:355.

¹⁸⁶ Spronk 1986:189.

several reasons. Two in particular stand out in the light of the Genealogy and 1.161.

In both the Genealogy and 1.161, the new king is the son of the recently deceased and in both, the former king, his dynastic predecessors, and the heroic warriors of antiquity including the legendary *Ditānu*, are all commemorated (for 1.161, cf. 3.1.9.). In 1.161:13-16 the new king performs the additional rites of mourning in honor of his father.

Together these elements reflect the king's hope that upon his death, not only would his son inherit the throne through dynastic succession but that at his son's coronation, he would memorialize his father's name by establishing for posterity his membership among the great Amorite warrior heroes of hoary antiquity. This aspiration of the Ugaritic dynasty is anticipated in the Keret legend and realized in 1.161, a funerary liturgy observed on the occasion of Ammurapi's coronation.

The reigning king's anxiety over the prospects of his inevitable death and the new king's concern for political legitimation explain the coalescence of coronation and funerary rites as anticipated in 1.15:III and reflected in 1.161.¹⁸⁷ That Keret's concern for a son and the resultant praise anticipate his future commemoration is confirmed by Ammurapi's assembly of the living *qbs dtn* in 1.161 to hear the recitation of his father's name. Our proposal gains support in the thesis that we would

¹⁸⁷ The ritual complex reflected in the Genealogy might presuppose Ammišaduqa's enactment of funerary rites for his father Ammiditana (1.28), but in recognizing this possibility we must caution against the potential confusion of funerary rites and ancestor cult rites.

expect to find the aspirations of the kings of Ugarit expressed in the life of a paradigmatic hero like Keret.¹⁸⁸

This completes our survey of *Ditānu*. Outside Ugarit, *Ditānu* initially represented a personal or battle name turned eponym. As an eponym it designated the legendary patron of a renowned band of Amorite warriors. Eventually, socio-religious importance was imputed to the name as we have an isolated instance wherein a compound name it is closely associated with sacred powers. The Genealogy of the Hammurapi Dynasty testifies to its incorporation into the royal cult as the name of an ancient warrior worthy of commemoration.¹⁸⁹

Ugarit evinces a remarkable degree of continuity. As *Dtn* maintained its prominence as a mythic hero tradition, this led to its eventual place of importance in the cult (1.124 and cf. *RIH* 78/11?). This was partially a result of its continued identity as patron name of a politically influential warrior nobility, the *bn Dtn* and *qbs dtn*. However, the name was never deified or given the status of a ghost with supernatural beneficent powers worthy of veneration or worship. The name was perhaps commemorated (cf. our view of 1.161 in 3.1.9.). In sum, the *Ditānu* name was not employed at Ugarit in a distinct Amorite royal version of the ancestor cult.

¹⁸⁸ So Sasson 1981:96-98 and cf. Van Seters 1983:201-02 against viewing Keret as involved in ancestor veneration at Ugarit.

¹⁸⁹ The name is not preceded by the divine determinative in the Genealogy. This favors reading the contemporary OB name Me-⁴Di-ta-an as "the sacred powers of the (personal) god of *Ditānu*".

3.1.7.2. THE *RP'UM* AS GODS

Virolleaud took the *rp'um* to be minor deities in the service of Baal. There were only seven or eight *rp'um* and *rp'u bcl* "Baal the healer", or "Baal has healed", in 1.22:I:8 was their leader.¹⁹⁰ This understanding of *rp'u bcl* is not at all certain and a more fitting interpretation of this phrase is given below. Moreover, Virolleaud wrongly concluded that the *rp'um* anointed Baal on the occasion of his enthronement. He based this on a mistaken translation of 1.22:II:14-18.¹⁹¹ Needless to say, he has few, if any, followers today.

The *rp'um* have been classified as gods on the basis of the parallel *'ilnym* in the Shapash hymn 1.6:VI:46-47 (cf. also the damaged 1.21:II:3-4).¹⁹² But the latter form itself has presented serious difficulties, although the similar form *'lnm* occurs in Punic and Phoenician where the affixed *n* designates the numeric plural "gods".¹⁹³

Nonetheless, this evidence is much too late to be considered decisive. Besides, it never occurs with the

¹⁹⁰ Virolleaud 1940:77-83.

¹⁹¹ Cf. L'Heureux 1979:116-19, 171-74.

¹⁹² The additional references cited by Mullen 1980:261-62 occur in lacunae.

¹⁹³ Cf. Segert 1976:112 for the Punic and Phoenician forms. In KAI 117, a first century C.E. Latin-Punic bilingual inscription from El Amruni (Libya) 1.1 of the Neo-Punic reads *lcl[n] 'r'p'm* . . . "for the gods of the Rephaim . . ." not *lcl[nm] 'r'p'm* "for the deified Rephaim . . ." according to Vattioni 1980-81:293-99 followed by Garbini 1986:13-14 and cf. 4.2. (*cln*, if that is in fact the correct reading, is generally recognized as a variant of *'ln*). The Latin reads *D[is] M[anibus] SAC[rum]*. In any case, this text is too late to impact our treatment.

corresponding *y* infix. The term *'ilnym* is probably comprised of the divine name *'il* with a doubly hypocoristic expansion: *-ānu* plus *-iy-*, a *nisbeh* formation "the godly ones(?)".¹⁹⁴ The most that can be safely asserted is that while *'ilnym* is probably related somehow to the concept of deity (< *'il*), its exact nuance cannot be recovered.¹⁹⁵

The precariousness of equating the *rp'um* with the *'ilnym* is further illustrated by a recent proposal in which a chiastic structure has been posited for 1.6:VI:45-49 with *'ilnym* and *'ilm* parallel on the one hand, and *rp'im* and *mtm* on the other, rather than *rp'im* and *'ilnym* followed by *'ilm* and *mtm*, the order given in the text.¹⁹⁶ If the *mtm* were understood to be "mankind" or "the warriors" as suggested by the context of the Baal myth (cf. 3.1.7.3.), then the *rp'um* would not be related to the gods, but with mortals and in particular, heroic warriors.

Others have cited the personal names from Ugarit in which *r-p-* supposedly functions as a theophoric element designating the name of a deity, e.g., *abdi-rapi* "the servant of Rapi'u"¹⁹⁷, but, in fact, the significance of the root in these cases is not certain. It may function as an appellative (G participle) e.g.,

¹⁹⁴ L'Heureux 1974:268 n.14. Virolleaud 1940:83 took the term to be an adjective from *'lwn* "oak tree" or a gentilic connected with Eylon mentioned in Josh. 19:43.

¹⁹⁵ Previously, help was thought to be at hand in the couplet *'ilnym* and *'ilm* in 1.3:IV:34-35, but the reading *'ilm* is doubtful, contra Horwitz 1979:38. *KTU* reads **lm* not *'ilm* in 1.3:IV:34 (= *CTA* 3.IV:78).

¹⁹⁶ Cf. Spronk 1986:162-63. Assuming that the *mtm* designated "the dead", he concluded, and we believe, wrongly, that the *rp'um* were to be related to both the gods and the dead.

¹⁹⁷ Jirku 1965:82-83.

abdi-rapi "the Servant heals".¹⁹⁸ In any case, forms like *'ilrp'u* "El heals" at Ugarit and *'IM-ra-pi* "Addu heals" at Mari categorically eliminate the second element, i.e., *r-p-*, as theophorous.¹⁹⁹

Finally, it should be pointed out that neither the *rp'um* nor, for that matter, the singular *Rp'u* (assuming that the latter is a personal name or epithet of a deity) show up in the god lists or sacrificial lists at Ugarit. We would expect, at least on occasion, such major or minor deities to be unequivocally represented in these and related lists as is the case with the corresponding *mlkm* and *Mlk* (cf. 3.1.8.).

3.1.7.3. THE DEAD *RP'UM* AND THE GODDESS SHAPASH

In spite of its current popularity, the view that the *rp'um* comprise the shades of the dead also has its difficulties. Prior to the publication of 1.161, this view was based on the Hebrew and Phoenician data, the connection of the *rp'um* and the mortuary related *marzēah*²⁰⁰, and the equation of the *rp'um* with the *mtm* "the dead ones" in the Shapash hymn 1.6:VI:45b-49a. The last datum presupposed that the sun goddess functioned in these lines as *psychopomp*, transporter of the dead to and from their netherly abode.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁸ Cf. L'Heureux 1979:215-16. This is particularly the case if the root has the alternative meaning "to be strong", rather than the assumed "to heal, make whole", so Brown 1985:170-73.

¹⁹⁹ Huffmon 1965:264.

²⁰⁰ Cf. esp. Pope 1972:170-203.

²⁰¹ So Caquot 1959:90-101.

Nevertheless, the Hebrew and Phoenician evidence is much later and should not take precedent over the internal evidence from Ugarit in interpreting a much earlier, and perhaps distinct, tradition as we have at Ugarit (see below). Moreover, we rejected above the inherent mortuary relations of the Ugaritic *marzēah* as well as the supposed connection of the *rp'um* and the *marzēah* (cf. 3.1.5.).

Finally, Shapash's netherworld connections, and thereby those of the *rp'um*, cannot be substantiated by an appeal to the Shapash hymn or, for that matter, the Baal-Mot texts 1.6:I-VI more generally. In 1.6:I:7-8, Shapash is depicted as having "descended to the 'arṣ" *yrd b'arṣ* where she met the goddess Anat. It was here that Anat recovered what remained of Baal after Mot ruthlessly smote him. According to 1.5:VI:24b-31, this region was located at the "outback" *dbṛ* or "steppe by the shore/stream of the realm of death" *šd šhl mmt*.²⁰² In 1.6:I:16-18, Shapash is depicted lifting Baal's corpse on to Anat's shoulder whereupon Anat carried him to mount Zaphon for burial.

We know that this region was not the netherworld, for had Baal been killed by Mot in the netherworld, Anat's retrieval and burial of Baal would have been superfluous.²⁰³ Rather, this

²⁰²Cf. de Moor 1971:183,186 and Clifford 1972:83-84 for these renderings of *dbṛ* and *šd šhl mmt*. For *dbṛ*, cf. Hebrew *dōber* "steppe, outback". For *šd*, cf. Hebrew *sādeh*. For *šhl*, cf. Arabic *sāhil* "shore" or Syriac *šāhlā* "stream" (both assume a contiguous body of water). The term *mmt* is a local formation.

²⁰³So Gibson 1978:74 n.4; L'Heureux 1979:195-96; and Smith 1986:311-14. Margalit 1980:155-57 recognized this incongruity in the scene, but upheld Shapash's role as *psychopomp* and rearranged the order of the texts. This region is located at "the edge of earth" *qṣm 'arṣ* / *ḡṣr 'arṣ* and the edge of the underworld, the "edge of the water regions" *ksm mh/'iyt* (1.4:VIII:4; 1.5:VI:4-5;

region was located at "the edge of (inhabitable) earth" *qšm 'arš* / *ḡšr 'arš* (and underworld), "the edge of the water regions" *ksm mh/'iyt* according to 1.4:VIII:4; 1.5:VI:4-5; 1.16:III:3-4.²⁰⁴

Like the steppe in Mesopotamian cosmography, it was situated at the edge of both earth and underworld.²⁰⁵ To be sure, in 1.6:I:17-18, Baal did descend to the netherworld from atop mount Zaphon through "the hole of the chthonic gods" *hrt 'ilm 'arš*, but only subsequent to receiving the proper funerary rites as administered by Anat.²⁰⁶

Thus, Shapash is not portrayed in these lines as having descended to the netherworld. Our conclusion finds external confirmation in a thesis similarly concerned with the Babylonian sun god Shamash. Heimpel has argued that Shamash remained at all times in the heaven and never passed into the netherworld. In contexts where it was previously assumed that Shamash was located in the infernal world, it is more in keeping with the data as a whole to view Shamash as located in heaven's interior whence he

1.16:III:3-4).

²⁰⁴We equate El's mountain *hr 'il* (1.4:II:36 and cf. *ḡr ll = p^cn 'il via phr m^cd* in 1.2:I:20,30) and the mountain at whose base was located the netherworld entrance *ḡr trḡzz // ḡr trmg // tlm* (1.4:VIII:2-4). Thus, the stream/shore by the realm of death makes up part of the "two rivers" *nhrm* and "two seas" *thmtm* where El's mount was located (1.4:IV:21-22; 1.6:I:33-34; 1.17:VI:47-48). These waters separate earth and netherworld and represent the West Semitic approximation of the *apsū*, cf. Lambert 1985A:451 and 1985B:537.

²⁰⁵For the Mesopotamian conception, cf. Bottéro 1980:31-32 (= 1987:332); 1982:376; and 1983:190,192.

²⁰⁶In 1.19:III:6,20-21,41, "the hole of the chthonic gods" *hrt 'ilm 'arš* is that place wherein Danil would place Aqhat once he found his remains and performed the customary mourning rites.

concerns himself with the matters of the dead and whence his radiance penetrates the netherworld.²⁰⁷

This reconstruction provides the fitting background for understanding the recently published description of Shamash in a Neo-Babylonian necromantic ritual "O Shamash, the judge, you bring those up from above down below, those from below up to above" *ʿutu di.kuṣ ṣa elāti ana ṣaplāti ṣa ṣaplāti ana elāti tubbal*. The verb *abālu* can be rendered "to bring" when it takes the ventive.²⁰⁸ In another related text, Shamash brings up a ghost from the netherworld *eṭemmi eṭūti lišēlanni*.²⁰⁹ Neither text necessarily assumes Shamash's presence in the netherworld, only the exercise of his power and influence there.

Returning to the Ugaritic goddess Shapash, she is mentioned thrice more in 1.6, but in none of these instances is she located in the netherworld: 1.6:II:24-25; III:24-IV:25; and VI:22-29.²¹⁰ In the last, she delivers El's verdict from mount Zaphon in favor of Baal over Mot. It is this passage in particular that provides the linchpin for interpreting the Shapash hymn within the context of 1.6:I-VI.

By delivering her verdict in the final struggle between Baal and Mot, Shapash displays her role as judge of the gods. When this is viewed in the light of 1.6 more generally, her role

²⁰⁷ Heimpel 1986:127-51. On the significance of the solar deity's light in *KTU* 1.161:18-19, cf. 3.1.9.2.

²⁰⁸ Cf. *CAD* 1(1964):14 *contra* Finkel 1983-84:11 [Text *K* 2779:13b-14a] "to carry".

²⁰⁹ Finkel 1983-84:9 [Text *BM* 36703:ii:3].

²¹⁰ *Contra* Caquot 1959:90-101, esp. 93-98.

as judge of mankind also comes to the fore. Repeatedly in 1.6, Mot threatens to devour mankind (II:17b-19a and V:24-25), but by her judgment against Mot, Shapash ultimately thwarts his evil scheme and thereby saves all of humanity along with Baal.

These two aspects of the sun deity's role as judge conform with what we know of Shamash's function in Mesopotamia.²¹¹ We mention Shapash's epithet "Illuminator of the gods" *nrt 'ilm* found repeatedly in 1.6 (I:8-9,13; II:24 IV:8-9,17, and cf. the epithet of Shamash *nūr ilāni*) which is generally taken as a reference to her wise judgment.²¹²

Assuming that the hymn should possess a significant degree of continuity with the myth, we should point out that the preceding contexts nowhere present mankind as dead, rather humanity is only threatened with an annihilation that is never actualized.²¹³ Moreover, having found no indication in the myth or elsewhere in the Ugaritic texts that Shapash journeyed to the netherworld, there is no reason to view *mtm* as "the dead (ones)" as is so often the case.²¹⁴

²¹¹ See e.g., Frymer-Kensky 1987:162-63.

²¹² Cf. e.g., Healey 1980:239.

²¹³ Cf. Healey 1977A:94,184,196, but in line with his view of the *rp'um* as shades of the royal dead, Healey considered the hymn to be a later addition to the myth and concluded that these lines portray a democratization of the dead *rp'um* at Ugarit.

²¹⁴ The view of Smith 1984:377-80 and Dijkstra 1986:147-52 that Kothar-wa-Khasis in 1.6:VI is spell-caster and knower (of ghosts) wrongly assumes a netherly background for the hymn. In 11.49-50, Kothar-wa-Khasis functions as Shapash's weapons' maker. In 1.2:IV:7-16, he fashions clubs for Baal in the course of his battle with Yamm. Philo of Byblos records the tradition that Chousor was one of two brothers who discovered iron, how to work it, and thereby invented the hook, lure, line, and raft, cf. Eusebius *Preparatio Evangelica* 1.10.11 and the translation of

As we pointed out previously, in the myth Shapash fixes the fate of those dwelling in the divine realm and those in the earthly realm by limiting the power of Mot. Her judgments are universal, effectual for both gods and men. This fact offers the most likely context for understanding the elements of the concluding hymn. We take the term *mtm* to refer to "mankind" or perhaps, "warriors", hence the corresponding merism, "gods" *'ilm* and "men" *mtm*.²¹⁵ This in turn supports the view that these lines in the Shapash hymn comprise a chiastic structure in which the *rp'um* are to be associated with the *mtm* "men" or "warriors" and the *'ilnym* with the *'ilm* "gods".

This brings us to the matter of *tḥtk* in 11.45b-47.²¹⁶ Some interpreters view the form as the preposition *tḥt* with the suffix and understand the passage to convey the notion that Shapash is located in the netherworld along with the *rp'um* and *'ilnym*, "Shapash the *rp'um* are under you // Shapash the *'ilnym* are under you".²¹⁷ Others have suggested a prefixed verbal form of *ḥtk*,

Attridge and Oden 1981:45.

²¹⁵The form *mtm* occurs in parallel to *ḡzrm* in 1.22:I:6. It has been frequently rendered "the dead" as in 1.6:VI:48, but in light of the parallel terms in both contexts, it more likely represents "men, heroes, warriors", cf. Del Olmo Lete 1981:585 and 1.3:I:13 *mt ṣmm* "men of the heavens". The Akkadian cognate *mutu* signifies a warrior, cf. CAD 10(1977):316.

²¹⁶For a convenient survey of opinions, cf, Lewis 1989:36 n.155.

²¹⁷It can no longer be assumed that the term *rp'im* represents a noun in the oblique case as the *aleph* may be syllable closing, i.e., *rapi'ūma*, cf. the works of Verreet 1983:223-58, 1984:307-21, and 1986:324-30.

"Shapash, you rule the *rp'um* // Shapash, you rule the
'*ilnym*'.²¹⁸

While the latter rendition can be made to conform with our understanding of the passage, it too is generally taken to refer to Shapash as judge of the *dead rp'um* and '*ilnym*'. Based on our previous arguments, either proposal would suffice but with the qualification that a figurative meaning is meant, namely that Shapash has authority over these groups- her location in the netherworld not being in view.

In 1.22:I:8-9, "the warriors of Baal" *mhr b^cl* and "the warriors of Anat" *mhr ^cnt* are depicted alongside "the *rp'u* of Baal" *rp'u b^cl*.²¹⁹ Moreover, they are associated with the "heroes" *gzrm* of 1.7. Finally, in 1.20:II:3-4, the *rp'um* are depicted as harnessing their horses and mounting chariots. These passages strongly suggest that not only did major deities gather about them others of lesser, but power-laden, status such as warriors, but that included among these warriors were the *rp'um*. The *rp'um* along with others probably assisted Baal in his two engagements with Mot's company outside the netherworld, both at

²¹⁸For *htk* with a juridical force, see Cross 1968:44-45 n.24 against Healey 1980B:408-09. The proposed derivation of Del Olmo Lete 1983:171 *nht* "to descend", against Margalit 1980:197-99 Akkadian *tahu* III "juxtapose", assumes a netherworld descent.

²¹⁹De Moor 1976:323-45 assumed that in 1.20-1.22, the *rp'um* were shades of the dead. The texts are sufficiently damaged so as to render such a conclusion tentative at best. His student Spronk 1986:165-77 maintained this view on the basis of 1.6:VI:45-49! For a view of 1.20-1.22 different from that of de Moor or Spronk, cf. Del Olmo Lete 1981:404-24 and the bibliography cited there. De Moor 1976:325-29 and Healey 1977A:177-80 viewed *rp'u b^cl* as an epithet of Baal "Baal Rapi'u", but the immediate context, in particular, the parallel *mhr b^cl* and *mhr ^cnt*, militates against this.

the steppe separating earth and netherworld and on mount Zaphon, the location of the battle royale.

Likewise, Shapash's retinue might have accompanied her to the steppe and to mount Zaphon where she confronted, or, in the case of the former, might have confronted, Mot and his cohorts. Clearly, this could adequately explain the mention of the *rp'um* in the closing lines of the Baal-Mot myth without having to assume the *rp'um*, or for that matter, the *mtm*, are netherworld shades.

The couplet *°rb špš // šb'i'a špš* in 1.15:V:18-19 (cf. 1.19:IV:47-49) is often cited in support of the netherworld journey of Shapash, and by implication, the defunct nature of those who comprise her entourage. To be sure, when seen in the light of 1.16:I:36-37 and II:24-26, the couplet unfolds as an announcement of the death of Keret "the setting of Shapash, Keret will meet, the host of Shapash, our lord" *°rb špš lymg' krt // šb'i'a špš b'lny*. But this in no way necessitates Shapash's netherworld descent. Following Heimpel's Babylonian model, the destination of such a journey is the western door of heaven. From there the sun goddess and her host enter heaven's interior while the newly departed journey along those pathways leading to the netherworld.²²⁰

In summary, the *rp'um* of the *mythological* texts are nowhere portrayed as the shades of the dead.²²¹ This is crucial to

²²⁰ So Heimpel 1986:148-50 and cf. similarly Del Olmo Lete 1981:308.

²²¹ The form *rp'i yqr* in *RIH* 77/8a+13+21B:14' (= *RIH* 77/21:14), does not support the chthonic nature of the *rp'um*, cf. Levine and de Tarragon 1984:656 against Bordreuil and Caquot

understanding the mention of the *rp'um* in 1.161 (cf. 3.1.9.). While the exact significance of *'ilnym* remains elusive, the identification of the *rp'um* as heroic warriors is secure. With this background in mind, the relevant lines of the Shapash hymn take on the following significance:²²²

<i>špš rp'im tḥtk</i>	A	Shapash, the <i>rp'um</i> are under you,
<i>špš tḥtk 'ilnym</i>	B	Shapash, the <i>'ilnym</i> are under you;
<i>°dk 'ilm</i>	B'	Your witnesses are the gods,
<i>hn mtm °dk</i>	A'	Behold, men/warriors are your witnesses

3.1.7.4. THE LIVING *RP'UM*

Several writers have argued for living *rp'um* at Ugarit. Gray concluded that the *rp'um* in 1.20-1.22 were human agents or cult functionaries who accompanied the king on his visits to the threshing floors or *grnt* and plantations or *mt°t* in order to promote fertility (cf. 1.20:II:3-4).²²³ According to Ryan, the *rp'um* composed living chariot warriors similar to the *maryannu* /

1979:301-03; Bordreuil 1981:46; and de Moor 1981-82:119 and n.55. In view of the text's fragmentary nature, *yqr* may simply be an epithet like the parallel *n°m* in 1.15', rather than the name of the deceased founder of the Ugaritic dynasty, and the parallel *šd qdš* of 1.13' may be "the field of the temple", not "the holy *šēdu* spirit".

²²²The above reconstruction allows for the possibility that Resheph was Shapash's underworld gatekeeper, cf. "Shapash, her gatekeeper is Resheph" *špš tḡrh ršp* and 2.1.5. n.76, in spite of Shapash's absence there. Of course, Resheph might be keeper of those gates to heaven's interior leading to the netherworld.

²²³Gray 1949:127-39 and 1952:39-41.

mrynm.²²⁴ Aistleitner viewed those in 1.15:III as human princes.²²⁵

For Healey, the *rp'um* originally constituted an early Amorite tribe related to *Ditānu*, remnants of which may have persisted at Ugarit (where they also came to designate the dead in general).²²⁶ Along similar lines, Heltzer understood the *rp'um* of 1.15:III to comprise a Sutean sub-tribe known as the *Rabba'um* attested at Mari (and recognized their status as shades in other texts).²²⁷

The basic weakness inherent in each of these proposals is the underlying assumption that the data from the mythological texts provide a reliable source for reconstructing historical elements, for none of them cite references to the *rp'um* in the non-literary texts from Ugarit.²²⁸

The only proposal known to this writer which employs data from the non-literary texts is that of S. H. Margulies(?) as noted by Sperling. He suggests that the *bn Rp'iyn* (*sic Rp'iyim*) in

²²⁴ Ryan 1954:110-12 and similarly Margulis 1970:292-304; Sperling 1971:79; L'Heureux 1974:265-74, 1979:201-23; and Loewenstamm 1976:403-07. On the relation of the *maryannu* and the chariot, cf. now Rainey 1965:19-20 and Reviv 1972:218-28, esp. pp.119-22.

²²⁵ Aistleitner 1967:295. Cf. also Sauer 1966:col. 1590-91; and Mendenhall 1973:160.

²²⁶ Healey 1977A:195.

²²⁷ Heltzer 1978:5-20 and cf. 1981:*passim* and Margalit 1981:151-58. Ginsberg 1946:23,41 labelled the *rp'u(m)* in 1.15:III as "humans", but offered no further elaboration.

²²⁸ Cf. the apposite remarks by Sasson 1981B:81-98 regarding the limitations of this general approach. He underscored the need for confirming data from the non-literary texts. Rainey 1974:188; Pardee 1981-82:266-67; and Pope 1983:67-69 set forth similar arguments against the living *rp'um*.

4.232:8 were a guild under the patronage of the divine *rp'um*. As provocative as this datum is, unfortunately Sperling neither cites his Margulies source nor offers a summation of his view of the identity or social function of the *bn Rp'iyn*. Beyond the fact that they received payment from the royal treasury and that their name derives from a root *r-p-*, Sperling offers little else.²²⁹

The data from 4.232 when considered alongside Heltzer's thesis might provide the kind of historical confirmation needed to identify a living element among the Ugaritic *rp'um*. Heltzer concluded that the *rp'um*, or more precisely, the *rp'i 'arṣ*, were the Rabbeans, a West Semitic tribe attested at Mari. This points to the plausible identity of the *bn Rp'iyn* as the Rabbean tribe, rather than a guild. Unfortunately, as promising as Heltzer's thesis is, it presents serious problems at several points.

First, we lack independent confirmation, whether from the non-literary texts or otherwise, that the later people of Ugarit knew of a Rabbean tribe. Furthermore, his etymological argument falters in that a more suitable etymology for Rabbean is to be found in *r-b-y* or *r-b-b*, and not in *-rb-*, (= *r-p-*) as the spelling *Rabbayu* in *ARMT* 1:6:9 demonstrates.²³⁰

Furthermore, Heltzer assumes an early date for the mythological texts (and/or their traditions) in order to locate

²²⁹Cf. Sperling 1971:col.79. The affixed *-iy-* and *-n* on *Rp'* could conceivably comprise a doubly hypocoristic expansion, the former being the common *nisbeh* formation, thus, "the ones of *Rp'u*" (= *rp'um*!). For examples of similarly constructed names in Ugaritic, cf. Gordon 1965:63 and Segert 1984:43.

²³⁰Cf. e.g., Albright 1968:94 n.140 and Lipiński 1978:96 n.30.

the Rabbeans at Ugarit in the first centuries of the second millennium, but the dating of these texts remains a controversial point among Ugaritologists.²³¹ He also presumes that the Suteans, of which the Rabbeans supposedly comprise a sub-group, are mentioned in the Ugaritic texts, so that one would expect them to show up there as well. However, the supposed Sutean references in the Ugaritic texts involving the term *št* are minuscule and consequently, interpretations of *št* abound.²³²

3.1.7.5. THE *RP'UM*: MYTHIC AND EARTHLY WARRIORS

We offer an alternative paradigm for the possible identity of the Ugaritic *rp'um*. We submit that the development of the *Ditānu* traditions outlined in 3.1.7.1. can in fact provide a working model with which to reconstruct the tradition history of the *rp'um*. The fact that these two independent traditions meet in 1.15:III and later again in 1.161 and that they both comprise warrior traditions strengthens the viability of our reconstruction as do the additional elements they hold in common.

For example, we know that the *bn Dtn* were employed by Ugarit as elite warriors or *mrynm* (4.69:I:1,II:9). Likewise, Ugarit employed the *bn Rp'iyn* along with the *mrynm* (4.232:8,33). In light of this and the warrior role of their mythic counterparts the *rp'um*, we tentatively propose that the *bn Rp'iyn*

²³¹ Cf. e.g., Sasson 1981B:86-87 and n.12, n.13.

²³² The relevant phrase *mhr št* "Sutu warrior" shows up only once with certainty, 1.18:IV:27. Margalit 1976:181-88, 1981:131-58, who proposed the Sutean references at Ugarit, lists alternative interpretations in 1976:181-83, cf. also Del Olmo Lete 1981:633-34 (*št* I-V).

comprised a contingent of living warriors in the service of the city-state of Ugarit.²³³

On the analogy of the *Ditānu* traditions as surveyed in 3.1.7.1., we would tentatively suggest that *Rp'u* originally designated a legendary hero, whether real or perceived, who became the eponym of a renowned band of living warriors active during the reigns of Ugarit's last kings. In any case, it is only in the final days of Ugarit that a dead element within the *rp'um*, namely the *rp'im qdmym*, is attested in 1.161.²³⁴

This latter element has its analogue in the tradition history of the *Ditānu* name, for in the Genealogy of the Hammurapi Dynasty, *Ditānu* came to represent the legendary hero now considered deceased but likewise not endowed with supernatural benefic powers as *Ditānu* in the Genealogy was merely commemorated not venerated, worshipped, or petitioned for supernatural blessing. Moreover, at Ugarit the name was not employed in 1.161 or in 1.15:III to designate the dead as we understood the *qbṣ d/dtn* to refer to a living band of warrior-nobility. The significance of the name in 1.124 remains to be ascertained.

But what extenuating factors gave rise to the idea of a dead element among the *rp'um* in the last days of Ugarit? We believe that specific socio-historical factors contributed to the transformation of what were in essence received mythological traditions and 1.161 reflects this transformation in its

²³³ Unlike the case with the term *dtn*, a god related to *rp'*, namely *Rp'u*, might be attested in the para-mythological texts at Ugarit. For the existence of the deity *Rp'u*, cf. 1.108:1 and 3.1.9., and de Moor 1976:328-29.

²³⁴ Cf. also L'Heureux 1979:189, 204.

conceptualization of the *rp'im qdmym* as dead warrior heroes. Prior to the accession of Ugarit's last king, Ammurapi, to the throne, Hittite hegemony in the region had all but eclipsed, so Ugarit found itself in need of expanding its military forces.

This need was only heightened as news of the invading Sea Peoples began to circulate throughout the region. These factors explain the establishment of the *bn Dtn* and *bn Rp'iyn*, soldiers or mercenaries alongside the *mrynm*, who received payment from the royal treasury for services rendered. These military contingents along with their patron heroes, *Dtn* and *Rp'u*, were established and, as a result of military engagements, dead from among these contingents inevitably multiplied.

Having organized themselves in response to Ugarit's call for defense, many warriors comprising the *bn Rp'iyn* (and *bn Dtn*) undoubtedly fell in battle and now dwelt among the dead. So what was originally a mythological concept, then an earthly organization, with increased military casualties, became associated with the world below. While their specific role in the Ugaritic royal cult will be addressed in our treatment of 1.161 (cf. 3.1.9.), suffice to say that the dead were not attributed supernatural benefic powers.

1.15:III points to additional motivations for the specific inclusion of the *rp'i 'arṣ* and *qbṣ ddn* in 1.161. The son's loyalty to his father compelled the new king to perform the expected mourning rites. If the aspirations of the Ugaritic kings were indeed expressed in the life of a paradigmatic hero like Keret, then we can safely conclude that at death the kings of Ugarit fancied being memorialized among the great warrior-

nobility, the *rp'i 'arṣ* and *qbṣ dtn*.²³⁵ The context makes clear that for this to be realized, a king must have a son.

Owing to the fact that 1.161 originates in the royal cult and demonstrates a clear dependency upon the 1.15:III episode of the earlier Keret legend, we must consider the possibility that it might provide some helpful information in this regard. As stated above, this text records mourning rites in honor of Niqmaddu III, the former king. The *rp'i 'arṣ* and the *qbṣ ddn* play central roles in these rites, for not only is Niqmaddu's death ritually mourned by his son Ammurapi, but as the example of Keret's royal aspirations expressed in 1.15:III and the context of 1.161 suggest, Ammurapi eulogized his father's name within their ranks. In sum, for the realization of the royal hope that one would be memorialized at death by the living *rp'i 'arṣ* and the *qbṣ dt/dn* a king of Ugarit depended upon his successor son.

In the light of the repeated occurrence of *rp'um* in military and heroic contexts and the inadequacy of alternative hypotheses, the significance of Ugaritic *r-p-* might best be understood in the light of Akkadian *rabā'um* "to be large, great", and its derivative *rabium* (< *rabûm*) "leader, chief".²³⁶ Thus, the

²³⁵ Concerning this type of educational and political role which such literary traditions as the Keret legend fulfilled in Ugaritic society, cf. Sasson 1981B:96-98.

²³⁶ Cf. AHW 3(1980):936,938 and Stol 1976:73-89. Others offered "to heal", thus, the *rp'um* are the "healers", so Gröndahl 1967:180 and especially de Moor 1976:324-26, or the "healed ones", so L'Heureux 1979:215-18 and Good 1980:40; still others "to fertilize", thus, "the fertilizers", so Gray 1949:127-39, 1952:40, 1965:146 and n.5; Jacob 1960:58-59; Tromp 1969:176-80 Pope 1977B:167; Lipiński 1978:95,151; and finally others "to gather", so Ginsberg 1946:41 and Driver 1956:155. Ugaritic *r-p-* eliminates the alternative Hebrew root *r-b-h/y* "to sink down", most recently advocated by White 1980:858.

rp'um would be "the Great Ones" or "the Mighty Ones".²³⁷ As noted by several writers, nowhere are the *rp'um* described as "healers" or "healed ones", "gathered ones" or "fertilizers"²³⁸, nor is the deity *Rp'u* to be identified as El or Baal, both of whom have been considered healer deities (or Mot, Molek, or Resheph).²³⁹

Aistleitner had proposed Akkadian *rubûm*, *rubā'um* "prince" as cognate to Ugaritic *r-p-*'.²⁴⁰ However, this would impute an inherent regality to the *rp'um*. Our survey indicated that the *rp'um* were portrayed as a military contingent lacking royal associations. The non-royal nature of the *rp'um* stands in spite of the depiction of the ruler(?) Danil as a *mt rp'i* as he was renowned for his heroic accomplishments as a warrior hero *ǵzr*.

²³⁷Cf. also Loewenstamm 1976:col.406. This would result in two Northwest Semitic roots, *r-p-*' I "to heal" found, for example, in Hebrew, and *r-p-*' II "to be great, numerous". This has been independently endorsed by Brown 1985:115-48,160-73.

²³⁸Cf. Burns 1970:172; Loewenstamm 1976:col.406 "there is not in any text a clear reference to an act of healing [*rǝpû'ā*], be it healing the sick, reviving the dead, or restoring fertility to man or earth", 1980:320 n.1 "the Ugaritic root *rp'* is nowhere attested in the unequivocal sense of 'to heal'"; and cf. esp. Brown 1985: 115-30,146-47 against these alternatives.

²³⁹L'Heureux 1979:169-72, 212-15 suggested El; De Moor 1969:176, followed recently by Spronk 1986:180-81, proposed Baal; Parker 1972:104 noted the possibility of Mot (but rejected it); Pope 1977B:169-72,181-82 advanced Molek; and Cooper 1987:1-7 offered Resheph. Parker 1972:97-104 has ably defended *Rp'u*'s independent status. Caquot and Sznycer 1980:19 viewed *Rp'u* as the personification of the *rp'um*.

²⁴⁰Aistleitner 1959:83, 1967:295 followed by Sauer 1966:col. 1590-91 and Mendenhall 1973:160 who posited "an archaic north Syrian root *rp'* meaning 'lord'.". The same might be assumed for *rp'* "to be large, great" and would explain the consistent presence of the *p* in later West Semitic languages.

Besides, his supposed royal status has been called into question.²⁴¹

Our proposal applies as well in the case of king Keret. This mythic proto-type of regality yearned to beget a son who would in turn perform those funeral rites fit for a great warrior. At his death, he fancied being memorialized within the ranks of the warrior heroes, the *rp'i 'arṣ* and *qbṣ dtn*. Keret could expect this honor, for we know that on at least one occasion he led his great army in battle (against Pabil of Udm).

That an Ugaritic king might obtain an intimate association with the *Ditānu* and *rp'um* names is further suggested by the mention of two titles given to one Ammishtamar in an Old Babylonian votive text from Nippur. This individual has been identified as Ammishtamru I of Ugarit and is proclaimed "the ruler of the Didanum, leader *rabi[']ānum* of the Amorites".²⁴² The connection between the Ugaritic king, the *Ditānu* warriors, and the *rp'um* is here explicit, that is, if "leader" *rabi[']ānum* from *rabūm* is cognate with Ugaritic *r-p-*'. If so, this datum directly joins the *rp'um* traditions and the Amorites, thereby

²⁴¹Cf. Dressler 1976:152-53 for a critique of Danil's status as king. The meaning of *mt hrnmy* which, like *ḡzr*, frequently parallels *mt rp'i*, has eluded scholars. The suffixed *-y* has been viewed as a gentilic ending resulting in numerous proposals: Hermel (Egyptian *hrnm* near Kadesh on the Orontes), Albright 1953:26-27; Hinnom (as entrance to the netherworld), Pope 1977B:166; a location on the eastern shore of the Kinnereth Sea, Barton 1941:213-25; or between the Kinnereth and Hermon, Margalit 1981:149-50. Cf. Astour 1975:283-84 for a summary of these and other views.

²⁴²Cf. n.158.

suggesting an additional element shared by them and the *Ditānu* traditions.²⁴³

3.1.8. THE UGARITIC *MLK(M)*

The Ugaritic *mlkm*, along with the Amorite *malikū* and later Canaanite/Israelite *m^elākīm* have been taken to represent dead kings venerated/worshipped in the royal ancestor cult.²⁴⁴ One must now also consider the Emarite *imlikū*, the divine warriors and guardians of the entrances to Nergal's infernal city.²⁴⁵

The *mlkm* (without divine determinative) show up in two alphabetic pantheon lists 1.47:11 and 1.118:32, while a parallel Akkadian list RS 20.24:32 records the corresponding term *ma.lik^e*. The plural form *mlkm* is also attested in the recently published omen text RIH 78/14:4' and in a so-called Rephaim text 1.22:I:16-17. Besides the five occurrences of *mlk* in 1.161:11-12,15,25-26, the singular form *mlk c^ettrth* is attested in 1.100:41, the form *mlk b^ettrt* in 1.107:17, and *rp'u mlk c^elm . . .* [*'il*] *y^tb b^ettrt 'il t^pt bhd r^ey* in 1.108:1-3a, while the Akkadian *ma-lik* shows up in RS 20.121:81 (additional citations will be noted in the discussion).

Both 1.100:41 and 1.107:17 have been cited as proof for the

²⁴³The text is rather damaged, therefore any conclusion drawn on the basis of these titles is tentative at best.

²⁴⁴See most recently Heider 1985:102-147,383-408.

²⁴⁵So Arnaud 1985B:235.

existence of an Ugaritic deity *MLK*.²⁴⁶ While this is probably the case, the posited netherly character of this deity at Ugarit remains problematic.²⁴⁷ For some interpreters, the basis for this supposition lies in the supposed identification of *MLK* with one or more of the better known Ugaritic gods allied to the netherworld, e.g., Baal, Resheph, or Mot (and even *Rp'u*)²⁴⁸, and for others in the chthonic affiliations advanced on behalf of *ḥttrt* in 1.100:41 and 1.107:17 as well as its parallel *hd r'y* in 1.108:2-3a.

The correlation with Baal is based on the prior assumptions that *Rp'u* is the chthonic aspect of Baal and *Rp'u* is to be equated with *MLK*.²⁴⁹ According to this line of argument, the identification of Baal and *Rp'u* is disclosed in the phrase *rp'u b'l* in 1.22:I:8, but, as we have already noted, the parallel *mhr b'l* and *mhr ḥnt* strongly suggest that the initial element in *rp'u b'l* comprises a group of warriors "the Mighty Ones of Baal".²⁵⁰

²⁴⁶ The evidence for this deity at Ebla, Abu Ṣalabikh, and Mari remains controversial. In all three cases, the evidence derives solely from personal names, cf. Nakata 1974:377-87; Heider 1985:96-98, 102-13; Lambert 1985B:533; and Beyer 1985:101 who added the additional personal names from the indices of *ARMT* 21 and 22. Olyan and Smith 1987:273, in their review of Heider, suggested that the *malik* element may be an epithet even when divinized (e.g., *ḥam* from *ham-*, "father-in-law"). One *Milku* *ḥMilku*, deity or epithet, is now known from Emar as the recipient of drink offerings, cf. Arnaud 1986:460, 63, 66-67 [Texts 472:62', 473:15'].

²⁴⁷ For a different position, cf. Day 1989:46-55.

²⁴⁸ For a survey of some of these positions, cf. the independent assessment of Day 1989:31-46.

²⁴⁹ Cf. Spronk 1986:187-88, 232-33.

²⁵⁰ Normally, we would expect the conjunction joining such a compound divine name as *Rp'u b'l*, cf. e.g., *Ktr-wḥss*. The Phoenician god *b'l mrp'* is not immediately relevant to the

Furthermore, *Rp'u* is not to be equated with *MLk*. We know that other gods were also considered "kings" at Ugarit. For example, El (who likewise is not to be identified with *Rp'u*) is given the epithet *mlk* (cf. 1.6:I: 35-36). Having detached Baal from *Rp'u*, we can safely note that Baal is likewise attributed an eternal kingship *mlk c'lmk* (1.2:IV:10).

Even if *mlk* in 1.100:41 and 1.107:17 was to be viewed as an epithet, and this is highly improbable, it cannot be simply equated with *Rp'u*'s epithet in 1.108:1 *mlk c'lm*, for the two are probably not the same.²⁵¹ In any case, *mlk (b)c'ttrt(h)* in 1.100 and 1.107 is most likely the deity, for in 1.100, the remaining personal names are those of gods, each followed by their address.²⁵²

The equation with Resheph relies on the prior identification of Resheph in the supposed epithet *rp'u mlk c'lm*.²⁵³ In Egyptian texts, Resheph is given the titles *kh3 d.t* and *nb nhh* "lord of eternity", indicating that he was perceived to be "eternal king of the netherworld".²⁵⁴ As these titles comprise rough equations of Ugaritic *mlk c'lm*, it has been argued that *rp'u* must be an epithet for Resheph.

Ugaritic material owing to its late date and to the probable derivation of Phoenician *r-p-* from *r-p-* I "to heal", whereas we have argued that Ugaritic *r-p-* possibly derives from *r-p-* II (= East Semitic *r-b-*) "to be large, great", cf. 3.1.7.5.

²⁵¹Olyan and Smith 1987:272-74 view *mlk* in 1.100 and 1.107 as an epithet.

²⁵²For a defense of the place name interpretation of *c'ttrt* in 1.100 and 1.107, see below.

²⁵³Heider 1985:137-39 in dependence upon Cooper 1987:1-7.

²⁵⁴Cf. Cooper 1987:1-7.

But as we have pointed out previously, Resheph at Ugarit is nowhere described as the ruler of the netherworld. On the contrary, he is portrayed only in the role of the sun goddess's gatekeeper which, as we intimated previously, might locate him in heaven's interior rather than in the netherworld.²⁵⁵

Be that as it may, *rp'u* should not be considered part of an epithet.²⁵⁶ The phrase *mlk c lm* is used at Ugarit in reference to the king of Egypt.²⁵⁷ It finds its identical parallel in Hebrew where it also functions as a divine epithet *melek c olām* (Jer. 10:10 used of Yahweh). In view of this, and Akkadian *šarru dārū* "king of eternity", as well as the Egyptian epithets cited above, only *mlk c lm* constitutes an epithet, while *rp'u* specifies a name of an independent deity.

The correlation of *Mlk* and Mot is based on the idea that Mot was esteemed in some sense king of the netherworld.²⁵⁸ Mot's netherworld throne *ks'a*, kingship *mlk*, royal seat *tbt*, and scepter of rule *hṭ mṭpṭ* are mentioned in 1.6:VI:28-29, while in 1.4:VIII: 12-14 and 1.5:II:15-16, we hear again of his throne *ks'u tbt* as well as his royal inheritance *nḥlt*.

Nevertheless, Mot is nowhere given the title "king" at Ugarit. Furthermore, as we shall demonstrate below, *Mlk's*

²⁵⁵ Cf. 2.1.5. n.76 and 3.1.7.3. Therefore, we would categorize his equation with Nergal, the Mesopotamian king of the underworld, as an attempt on the part of the scribe to approximate the two gods. See Healey 1985:122-23 for additional examples.

²⁵⁶ So Cooper 1987:1-7.

²⁵⁷ PRU 5(1965):no.8.9.

²⁵⁸ Lehmann 1953:361-71; Mulder 1965:57-64,70; and Cooper 1981:446 citing a suggestion by Pope.

chthonic affiliations at Ugarit are otherwise entirely lacking, so while kingship may be common to both, this in no way inextricably seats the latter on the netherworld throne. This stands in spite of the possible identity of *MLK* with the *ḏma-lik* of RS 20.121:81.

A *ḏMa-lik* of the Old Babylonian double columned Weidner list is equated with Nergal who has been identified as the Mesopotamian king of the netherworld (*ḏu.gur*).²⁵⁹ But what obtained in Mesopotamia in one period is by no means indicative of what transpired in Syria at another. Besides, at Ugarit, although one would have expected perhaps *Mot*, it is *Resheph* and not *MLK*, who is in some meaningful sense equated with Nergal (cf. 1.118:26 = RS 20.24:26).

We turn now to the form *ḥttrt* in 1.100:41 and 1.107:17.²⁶⁰ This form has been interpreted as a divine name, but a toponymic interpretation appears more likely as the incantation 1.100 comprises a list of several deities along with their habitats.²⁶¹ We follow those who identify *ḥttrt* with the *Ashtaroth* situated in the Transjordanian Bashan region of the Hebrew Bible, but we reject any notion of a netherworld location for Bashan.²⁶²

²⁵⁹ *Afk* 2:17:20. The same equation is made in a Late Assyrian god list from Assur. For both texts, cf. Lambert 1971:474 and 1985B:533 n.16.

²⁶⁰ Levine and de Tarragon 1988:497 cited another recently published text RS 1986/2235:17 where *mlk ḥttrth* appears.

²⁶¹ On these texts, see now Levine and de Tarragon 1988:481-518, esp. pp.497-98. On the place names, cf. Astour 1968:19-21; Pardee 1978:73-108; and Xella 1981A:224-50.

²⁶² The Bashan location was proposed by Margulis 1970:293-94 (now) Margalit 1981:152-56. Pope 1977B:170-71,174, followed by Heider 1985:396, proposed the chthonic association of Bashan. We

Day has made a reasonable case for Bashan in Ps. 68:16, 23 (ET 15, 22) as the mountain of the gods (possibly Hermon) and that while it obtains mythological coloring, nowhere is it attributed a netherly locale (although the netherworld entrance was probably located at its base, but this is quite different). Moreover, the link with Ugaritic *bṭn* "serpent", cited as exemplary of Bashan's chthonic symbolism, is unconvincing, for Hebrew has the cognate *peṭen* "snake".²⁶³

We shall now consider additional texts where the god *Mlk* has been proposed. De Moor advanced the suggestion that *Mlk* shows up in 1.108:12 as well as in 1.41:48 and 1.87:52 in the phrase *ḥl mlk* "the host of *Mlk*".²⁶⁴ The damaged context of 1.108:10ff. precludes any certainty in this regard. In any case, the term *ḥl* has been generally taken to be derivative of *ḥll* "to desacralize, profane".²⁶⁵ The same uncertainty attends *zbl mlk ʿllmy* in 1.22:I:10 which Pope rendered "Prince *Mlk* the Wise"²⁶⁶, and *rp'u*

note that interpreters often discuss this datum in support of the chthonic nature of the Ugaritic *rp'um* and the Rephaim of the non-poetic Hebrew texts, cf. the reference to "King Og of Bashan -one of the last of the Rephaim- who resided in Ashtaroth and Edrei" (Josh. 12:4).

²⁶³ Day 1985:113-19.

²⁶⁴ De Moor 1972(II):17 followed by Spronk 1986:187.

²⁶⁵ Cf. Xella 1981A:63,74. The readings in 1.41:48 [*ḥl*] *mlk* and 1.87:52 [*ḥl mlk*] are doubtful. The term *mlk* shows up in 1.91:2,7, 11, but Xella 1981A:335-45 argued that 1.91 is an economic text and not a liturgical or religious one. It deals with consignments of wine used in royal sacrificial ceremonies. There is the remote possibility the *Mlk* might appear as the subject of the verbs in 1.161:11-2,25-26.

²⁶⁶ Pope 1977B:167. Spronk 1986:171,174-75 offers "the highness, the king, the unrelated" and follows de Moor 1976:342 in viewing *ʿllmy* as a compound, but at this point, their argument becomes unnecessarily complex. For a more likely explanation

mlk °lm in 1.108:1 which Heider interpreted as "Rapiu, *Mlk* the Wise", Rapiu being a title of the god *Mlk*.²⁶⁷

The epithet "wise" is based on Arabic *°alima*, but this etymology for the Ugaritic *°lm* is not at all certain.²⁶⁸ In view of *zbl mlk šmm* in 1.13:26-27, *mlk* in *zbl mlk °llmy* in 1.22:I:10 may be no more than a noun or adjective forming part of a title.²⁶⁹ Whether one takes *mlk* in 1.108:1 to be a deity or an epithet depends largely upon one's interpretation of *rp'u* in 1.108:1, whether it is a title of a well known deity or an independent deity in its own right. We deduced above that *rp'u* is an independent deity and that *mlk °lm* is a title.

In any case, while a deity *Mlk* is attested at Ugarit, any preconceived notions about its chthonic qualities must await future confirmation. Therefore, arguments derived from the character of Ugaritic *Mlk* in favor of a chthonic element in the *mlkm*, which have been assumed to be the pluralization of *Mlk*, must be rejected. To the *mlkm* we now turn.

The *mlkm* have been interpreted as dead kings and/or minor chthonic deities and, at times, even equated with the dead *rp'um*.²⁷⁰ The *mlk* in 1.161:11-12, 25-26 are two deceased Ugaritic

based on *°l(l)m* "time long past, remote antiquity" cf. Caquot 1976:299 and Astour 1980:234 and n.83 "the highness, the king of yore".

²⁶⁷Heider 1985:127. We translate "*Rp'u*, the king of yore". Heider elsewhere used this proposal as evidence for the explicit role of the deity *Mlk* among the *rp'um*.

²⁶⁸So Rosenthal 1970:10 and cf. Cooper 1987:4 n.43.

²⁶⁹So Olyan and Smith 1987:273-74.

²⁷⁰For recent surveys of the various views, cf. Heider 1985:113-41 and Spronk 1986:187-88.

kings, probably Ammishtamru II and Niqmaddu III.²⁷¹ That they are deceased is confirmed by the mourning rites observed on Niqmaddu's behalf and by the fact that these *mlkm* are located in the netherworld.

Another text has been cited as support for the chthonic nature of the *mlkm*. In 1.22:I:16-17 the phrase *bq^c l mlkm* has been translated "the hall of kings" or the "heights" where "the kings" sit.²⁷² Healey concluded that these were deceased kings.²⁷³ This would apparently fit the context of a gathering of the *mtm*, *g^zrm*, *rp'u b^c l*, *hyl hh* in 11.6-10, and the *c^obrm* in 1.15, but as we have shown previously (cf. 3.1.7.3.), the first three entities are not to be identified as chthonic beings.

The same applies to the latter two, for their underworld affiliations are dependent upon those postulated for the former.²⁷⁴ Nevertheless, the *c^obrm* (and the Hebrew equivalent *c^o b^e rîm*, Ezek. 39:11) have been interpreted as "the ancestors passed away", or "those who came over" the river of death.²⁷⁵

²⁷¹ De Moor 1976:343 identified the *mlkm* as Amishtamru I and Niqmaddu II, but funerary and mourning rites observed on a single historical occasion as in the case of 1.161 suggest more immediate deceased royal ancestors. In the Genealogy of the Hammurapi Dynasty, Ammisaduqa succeeds his father Ammiditana.

²⁷² For "hall", see de Moor 1972(II):12-13. For "heights", see Caquot and Sznycer 1974:177 n.b and cf. *gbl // q^c l* in 1.3:VI:7-8. See also Ribichini and Xella 1979:153 and n.42.

²⁷³ Healey 1978A:91 and cf. now Spronk 1986:176.

²⁷⁴ Spronk 1986:171, following de Moor 1969:174 n.54, renders *hyl hh* as "host of filth". Del Olmo Lete 1981:423 favors the reading *hyly* following CTA against KTU and on p.551 lists alternative meanings for Ugaritic *hh*.

²⁷⁵ Cf. Pope 1977B:173, following Ratosh 1970-71:549-68, and Spronk 1986:175.

However, owing to the ambiguity of the context, others have offered "traveller(s)".²⁷⁶ In any case, the significance of *q^cl* is uncertain. The form *mlkm* has been taken as an adjectival genitive and *q^cl* as "fig cake", thus, "royal fig cake".²⁷⁷ Moreover, the phrase has also been rendered "blossoms fit for kings".²⁷⁸

The *mlkm* which show up in the two alphabetic pantheon lists, 1.47:11 and 1.118:32, have been viewed as singular forms with enclitic *-m* and therefore added confirmation that a deity *MLk* was known at Ugarit.²⁷⁹ But others have argued that *ma.lik^{meš}* in RS 20.24:32, the parallel Akkadian pantheon list to 1.118:32, unequivocally secures *mlkm*'s plural status.²⁸⁰ This, however, must be qualified.

Huehnergard has recently pointed out that "the determinative *meš* often appears on singular forms in peripheral Akkadian and may not, *per se*, be taken as an unambiguous marker

²⁷⁶ So L'Heureux 1979:153 and cf. Del Olmo Lete 1981:423.

²⁷⁷ Pope 1977B:168, 176.

²⁷⁸ E.g., L'Heureux 1979:153, 157.

²⁷⁹ Cf. the discussion in Healey 1975:235-38. Gordon 1965:434 equated *mlkm* with Milkom. Dhorme 1956:60 rendered *mlk* in 1.91:2 and 1.41:50 as the deity, but cf. Xella 1979:833-38, 1981A:335-45.

²⁸⁰ Nougayrol 1968:60, 339 followed by Healey 1975:235, 1985:120; and Heider 1985:117. Astour 1966:280-81 viewed *mlkm* as divinized *mlk* sacrifices as suggested by the inclusion of cult objects, such as the "censor" *'utht* and "lyre" *knr*, and sacrifices, such as the *šlm* "peace offering". But *šlm* might be the deity *šlm* who appears at the end of offering lists, cf. 1.39:8 and 1.41:17, so de Tarragon 1980:159, or better yet, "completed", so Xella 1981A:327 or perhaps "divinized health", so Caquot 1979:1404.

of the plural".²⁸¹ Thus, *ḏma.lik=ēš* in RS 20.24:32 might represent a singular form (cf. *ḏma-lik* in RS 20.121:81) and the *-m* on *mlkm* in 1.118:32 might be enclitic, but when viewed together and in conjunction with the *malikū* from Mari, a plural form without mimation, we prefer the plural.

Now others have deduced that the list which stands behind 1.118 and 1.47 derived from the cult.²⁸² Healey stated that it replicates the "canonical" list of Ugaritic gods and was apparently influenced by the ritual of 1.148, a text which contains a similar list of gods. 1.148 begins with the heading "sacrifice of Zaphon" *dbḥ špn*, and 1.47, "the gods of Zaphon" *'il špn*. Furthermore, 1.118 lists several divinized cultic objects.²⁸³

In our view, this is very slight evidence indeed upon which to assign 1.118 and 1.47 a cultic function. We know that god lists had non-cultic functions e.g., as scholarly endeavors for the purpose of collecting information or propagating a particular theological doctrine.²⁸⁴ In cases where a god list had a cultic function, such is easily detectable. For example, in the Mari pantheon list published by Dossin, the numbers of sheep assigned to the deities are clearly recorded.²⁸⁵ But no such inventory

²⁸¹ Huehnergard 1987:720.

²⁸² Nougayrol 1968:43 and de Tarragon 1980:151 regarded 1.118 as a model for cultic practice.

²⁸³ Healey 1985:122-23.

²⁸⁴ Cf. Lambert 1971:472-77, esp. p.478.

²⁸⁵ Dossin 1950:41-50 and cf. the lists discussed by Lambert 1971:478 and 1985B:528-32.

taking is evident in 1.118 or the Ugaritic lists with the exception of 1.148.²⁸⁶

In fact, 1.148 actually supports our argument. Where god lists were used in the cult, the practice of registering the deities along with their respective offerings was observed in the scribal tradition at Ugarit. Even if we were to concede that 1.118 was intended for the cult, in the absence of any dating formulae, we would have no way of knowing if it was used on a repeated basis.

The *mlkm* now appear in *RIH* 78/14:4': "in the month of Kislev, you/they shall watch the *mlkm*" or "the *mlkm* shall be observed". According to the editors, this is the first such omen text attested at Ugarit. It apparently originates in the royal court (cf. *mlkn* "our king" in 1.7').²⁸⁷ Healey initially suggested that the *mlkm* appear here as the demonic aspect of the *mlkm*, but subsequently recognized the more likely possibility that they function as foreign hostile rulers, for other apodoses are couched in the natural, not the supernatural, sphere.²⁸⁸

²⁸⁶Healey 1985:116-17 and 1988:104-05 discussed repeated markings on 1.118 and RS 20.24 and concluded that these were some type of check mark. On the analogy of the Mari pantheon list published by Talon 1980:12-17, and cf. Lambert 1985B:528-32, these marks are best viewed as an aid to copying, rather than indications of the number of offerings received by each entry in the Ugaritic lists.

²⁸⁷Bordreuil and Caquot 1980:352-53.

²⁸⁸Healey 1985:124 n.25 and 1988:108. The brevity of the omen precludes any decision on the matter, but recall that in the Mari text recently published by Finet 1985:89, and cf. Durand 1988:489-91, 501-03, a *malikum* possibly plays a role in divination and the royal cult, but cf. 2.2.1.1.

In conclusion, 1.161 provides the only data from which we can extrapolate an unequivocal netherly connection for the Ugaritic *mlk(m)*. In this text, *mlk* represents a deceased king, or, more generally, a ruler.²⁸⁹ As to the *mlk(m)*'s character or function, 1.161 intimates only that such a one resided in the netherworld to be summoned to receive and escort the royal throne on its journey toward the recently deceased king's abode (cf. 3.1.9.). As such, a dead *mlk* exhibited no supernatural powers.

If the *mlk(m)* of 1.161 are to be equated with *mlkm* in 1.118:32, then one might conclude that the latter's parallel in RS 20.24:32, *ḏma.lik^meš*, points to the deification of the Ugaritic *mlk(m)*. But this is unlikely, for nowhere in the Ugaritic texts otherwise are dead kings deified (cf. 3.1.6. and 3.1.9.), 1.161 gives no indication that the *mlk(m)* possessed supernatural beneficent powers, and the Akkadian listing only approximates the Ugaritic. Be that as it may, the link between the Ugaritic *mlkm* and the *malikū* or "vassal rulers" in the *kispum* texts from Mari -regardless of their function and nature- finds confirmation in the equation of *ḏma.lik^meš* and *mlkm* at Ugarit.

What we have said leaves open the possibility of child sacrifice at Ugarit. We know from Egyptian reliefs of the New Kingdom that in Syro-Palestinian cities under attack, children were ritually sacrificed.²⁹⁰ Nevertheless, despite the efforts of such scholars as Herdner, the Ugaritic textual evidence for

²⁸⁹ Cf. Handy 1988:57-59 for the meaning "ruler" for Ugaritic *mlk*.

²⁹⁰ Cf. Spalinger 1978:47-60.

such practices remains enigmatic.²⁹¹ The same applies to the material evidence.²⁹²

²⁹¹Cf. Herdner 1972:693-703 and 1978:7,36 and Astour 1980:235 n.6, but see Xella 1978:127-36 and Day 1989:18 n.11.

²⁹²Cf. Schaeffer 1962:77-83 but see Biénkowskī 1982:80-89, esp. p.81 who concluded that no evidence of ritual cremation evincing violent death or a sacrificial context, or for that matter, cremation in general, is attested at Ugarit.

3.1.9. THE UGARITIC VERSION OF THE ROYAL *KISPUM*

With the discovery and publication of *KTU* 1.161 = *RS* 34.126, it appeared that previous studies were all but vindicated in the assumption that ancestor cult practices were common place among Ugarit's royalty.²⁹³ In spite of this growing consensus, we are convinced that the internal evidence and literary generic affinities of 1.161 point in another direction.

3.1.9.1. THE LITERARY GENRE

On the whole, previous studies tended to confuse rather than clarify the literary genre of *KTU* 1.161. Admittedly, this was due in part to the attendant difficulties *vis-à-vis* the readings as published in the initial editions of the text. This was particularly the case with the heading in 1.1.

Lipiński read *spr dbḥ qlm* in 1.1 as "booklet of the sacrifice of a child" and understood it as a ritual text related to child sacrifice and the cult of the dead.²⁹⁴ In his most

²⁹³The bibliography for 1.161 is extensive, cf. Pitard 1987:75 and add Caquot 1976:296-97, 1980:19-20; Gaster 1976:97-106; Healey 1977A:i-v (postscript), 1978B:89-91, 1980:240; Margalit 1980A: 192,197-99, 1980B:251 and n.34; De Tarragon 1980:57-59,73-74,106; De Moor, Dijkstra, and Spronk 1981:374-78; Michalowski 1983:245; De Moor 1981-82:116-17; Pope 1981:159-79; Sapin 1983:178-79; Talmon 1983:235-49; Verreet 1983:234-36,240-41,247,256-58, 1984:307-22, 1986:324-30; Barnett 1986:112-20; Dalley 1986:89; Del Olmo Lete 1986:92-93; Spronk 1986:189-93; Taylor 1984:13, 1986:315-18, 1988:151-77; Miller 1987:63; Pardee 1987:211-17, 1988:176-78 and n.49, n.54; Lewis 1989:5-46; Caquot and de Tarragon 1989:103-10; and Tropper 1989:144-50.

²⁹⁴Lipiński 1978:98. He understood *mlk* in 1l.12,26 as "molk-sacrifice", a sevenfold sacrifice (cf. *ṭcy* in 1l.27-30). The reading of *qlm*, upon which his general interpretation depended, must be rejected in favor of *zlm* (see below).

detailed treatment on the Rephaim, Caquot read *spr dbh 'ilm* and concluded that this text comprised a poem intended to accompany a sacrifice to the gods.²⁹⁵ In their latest discussion of 1.161, Dietrich and Loretz thought our text reflected a *marzēah* feast and assumed that the latter was part of the cult of the dead.²⁹⁶

More frequently, 1.161 has been compared with the royal Mesopotamian *kispum* ritual and the Genealogy of the Hammurapi Dynasty in particular.²⁹⁷ Pitard, having outlined what he believed to be the essential components of the *kispum* ritual -an incantation and invocation of the dead, food offerings, and libations as well as the optional element of haruspices- proceeded to interpret 1.161 along very similar lines.²⁹⁸

²⁹⁵Caquot 1981:354. He included within the category of gods the *rp'um* whom he viewed as the deceased royal ancestors based on his view of 1.113.

²⁹⁶Dietrich and Loretz 1983:23. L'Heureux 1979:192 and Margalit 1980:199 and n.1 also mentioned this possibility but rejected it. Against the death cult relations of the Ugaritic *marzēah*, cf. 3.1.5. We should mention that 1.161 offers no indication that it was a feast *per se*.

²⁹⁷De Moor 1976:333 n.72 was the first to suggest a comparison of 1.161 and the Genealogy of the Hammurapi Dynasty. His proposal has been followed by most subsequent writers. Michalowski 1983:245 labelled 1.161 a royal ancestor list "encountered within the context of ritual offerings to deceased ancestors".

²⁹⁸Pitard 1978:67,69,72. 1.161:2-12 comprise the invocation, 11.13-17, the food offerings, (11.18-19) 20-26, the libations, and 11.27-30, seven extispicies to determine the decision of the dead (11.31-34 indicate that the rite was efficacious). On p.72, he concluded "in some, if not all, cases, haruspices were carried out in Mesopotamian *kispum* rituals . . . " and in n.30 cited Nougayrol 1967:222-23 in support, but the latter cited only one text *BM* 78564. Tropper 1989:129,144-50 has proposed a similar understanding of the text in which 1.161 comprises a necromantic incantation for the purpose of obtaining the active involvement of the ancestors in the present.

To be sure, others have discovered additional elements in common with the *kispum* ritual.²⁹⁹ With the recent publication of *Mari* 12803, Dietrich and Loretz had initially identified several elements it shared with 1.161. According to these authors, both texts record offerings to the images (cf. *lamassātu* 12803:i:5 and *zlm* 1.161:1) of the divinized kings made at the foot of their thrones. Moreover, the sun deity plays a central role in both. Based on these shared elements, the authors equated *dbh* of 1.161:1 with *kispum* of *Mari* 12803:I:2 "offering(s) to the ancestors".³⁰⁰

Nevertheless, nowhere in the text of 1.161 can evidence be cited in favor of its use on a regular basis.³⁰¹ In fact, the benediction (ll.31-34) makes clear that the text was composed for a specific historical occasion, the coronation of Ammurapi III with its attendant mourning rites in honor of his recently deceased father Niqmaddu III (ll.13-16).³⁰²

In this respect, 1.161 does find its closest parallel in the Genealogy of the Hammurapi Dynasty. But this must be

²⁹⁹Pope 1977B:178 read *qlm* in 1.161:1 and connected it with the *bīt qūltišu* and *bīt kispī* of the Shamshi-Addu inscription discussed in 2.2.2.

³⁰⁰Dietrich and Loretz 1980:381-82. In 1983:21, they continued to uphold the close parallels shared by 1.161 and *Mari* 12803.

³⁰¹Cf. Pardee 1988:174 n.49.

³⁰²Levine and de Tarragon 1984:654,659 speculated that 1.161 was a *canonical* liturgy used whenever succession took place and assumed that the ritual, while funerary in nature, initiated the cult of the dead, cf. also L'Heureux 1979:192. However, not all cultures having funerary rites observe death and/or ancestor cults, cf. Newell 1976:18-19; Singleton 1977:3; Hultkrantz 1978:102; and Hardacre 1987:264.

qualified. Not only does the Genealogy lack any indication of its regular use, it too is tied to a specific occasion, the coronation of the Babylonian king Ammišaduqa with perhaps accompanying funerary rites for his father Ammiditana.³⁰³ Therefore, like 1.161 it should not be classified as a regularly occurring *kispum* ritual.³⁰⁴

To be sure, both evince closer affinities with coronation ceremonies than with the repeated *kispum* rituals like the *kispum Ša Šarrāni* and *Mari* 12803.³⁰⁵ We contend that the Genealogy and 1.161 reflect rites characteristic of the royal coronation, with the funerary rites for the former king in 1.161 comprising an expansion on this ritual complex.

The Mesopotamian version of the coronation ceremony comprised as many as eleven distinct, but variable, elements; divine election, assembly of the nobles and dignitaries, preparatory purification, the king's presentation before the deity, investiture with insignia, giving of a throne name, acclamation of the king (blessing of the gods and people),

³⁰³ Pitard 1978:69 proposed that separate texts circulated which recorded the full list of ancestors invoked in 1.161 and the Genealogy, since normally all the ancestors were invoked during the *kispum* ritual. However, he can cite no example in support of these claims. Besides, *Mari* 12803 lists only Sargon and Naram-Sin by name, cf. also *ARMT* 3:40 in 2.2.1 where only one Yahdun-Lim is mentioned. In any case, *kispum Ša Šarrāni* at Mari may refer to select individual kings of days gone by.

³⁰⁴ Cf. 3.1.7.1. It should be recalled that neither *kispum* nor any other term regularly associated with such rites can be found in the text and this has resulted in a variety of interpretations, cf. the surveys in Wilson 1977:107-14 and Charpin and Durand 1986:163-70.

³⁰⁵ Cf. Artzi 1980:161-70 for the observation that coronation and funerary rites in honor of dignitaries are components of international diplomacy.

enthronement, paying of homage (and swearing of loyalty oaths), affirmation by the king, and celebration.³⁰⁶ We know that sacrifice was occasionally offered as well.³⁰⁷ Several of these find analogues in 1.161.

Such elements as the assembly of nobles and dignitaries, the presentation before the national or local deity of the king-to-be in the temple or shrine, the acclamation of the king, and sacrifices to the god(s) all find parallels in 1.161.³⁰⁸ The assembly of nobles and dignitaries finds its analogue in 11.2-5,9-10 as we take the entities mentioned there to be living persons. The acclamation of the king can be seen in the closing lines, 11.31-34, the presentation before the deity might be reflected in 1.18, and seven sacrifices to the deity are recorded in 11.27-30 and anticipated in 1.1 *spr dbh zlm* (cf. 3.1.9.2.).

The assembly of nobles and dignitaries is ubiquitous in coronational procedures throughout the ancient Near East from Neo-Sumerian times onwards.³⁰⁹ In a Middle Assyrian coronation ceremony, nobles or *rabānu* and princes or *ša reš šarrāni* gather

³⁰⁶ Cf. Wilkinson 1986:242-71 who also adds as a possible element anointing with oil which while not explicit in Mesopotamia was observed in the adjacent regions. His work significantly expands that of Ben-Barak 1980:56-67 who outlined only three stages in the Mesopotamian coronation ceremony; the convocation, the installation, and the acclamation.

³⁰⁷ Cf. Ben-Barak 1980:62-63.

³⁰⁸ Both Bordreuil and Pardee 1982:128 and Levine and de Tarragon 1984:654 recognized the connections of 1.161 with coronational ceremony based on the presence of the acclamation of the king, but both failed to adequately apply the implications of their findings to the interpretation of the text in its entirety.

³⁰⁹ Cf. e.g., de Vaux 1961:102-07 and Wilkinson 1986:242-71 and esp. p.266 where the assembly is documented for texts dating from the Neo-Sumerian period through to the Neo-Babylonian period.

to kiss the feet of the new king, offer him gifts, and give their blessing before the people. This text also lists the sun deity in the form of the winged disk or *Šalmu* as intimately involved in the coronation rites. As such it has its comparable element in 1.161:1 in *zlm*.³¹⁰ In a recently published epic which contains a coronational ceremony for Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, the "nobles of the land" *lú rubûmeš ša māti* and "the dignitaries of Akkad" *lú rabûtu meš kur Akkadiki* assemble and kneel before the king, greet and pray for him, and publicly bless him in the sight of the people.³¹¹ We should mention in this regard another recently published Old Babylonian text from Tell Asmar in which "the ambassadors of the whole land" *šiprū mātīm* and "all the Amorites" *Ammurum kalušu* gather for the funeral of Abda-El, an Amorite chieftain, in order to pay their respects and to participate in his successor's coronation.³¹²

The repeated occurrence of this last coronational element strongly suggests that we could expect its presence in 1.161. It is our contention that the summons of the *rp'i 'arš* and the *qbs ddn* to assemble reflects this characteristic coronational element. Just as in the funeral of Abda-El, the Amorites are assembled to pay their respects to the dead and to offer their blessing upon the new king, so it is in the case of 1.161 wherein

³¹⁰ On this text, cf. Müller 1937:4-19; Ben-Barak 1980:61-62; and Wilkinson 1986:306-316 and on *Šalmu* and *zlm* in 1.161:1, cf. 3.1.9.2. and Dalley 1986:85-101, esp. pp.93.97-98.

³¹¹ *BM* 34793 in Grayson 1975:78-86 and cf. Ben-Barak 1980:56-60; and Wilkinson 1986:317-20.

³¹² Tell Asmar 1931-T299:1-55 in Whiting 1987:48-51 and cf. pp.59-63,115 for similar texts.

the Amorite related *Ditānu* and the *rp'um* warriors are assembled among whose ranks we could expect many nobles and princes.³¹³

This supports our previous findings *vis-à-vis* the *rp'um*, namely that a living element from among this group is presupposed in the Ugaritic texts. Thus, the presumed similarities which 1.161, and for that matter the Genealogy of the Hammurapi Dynasty, share with the regularly observed *kispum* rituals are only apparent not real.

On the other hand, *Mari* 12803 lacks any mention of the living king and nobility, appears as part of the liturgical calendar, and explicitly records *kispum* offerings beginning with the first day of Addar (1.1) and repeated perhaps thereafter at the appointed times *mušter[tam] kispam ikassap* (cf. 11.28-30).³¹⁴ It is not a direct parallel with our text, for it was used on a repeated basis and is unconnected to coronation rites *per se*.

That an assembly of living persons of prominence is gathered on the occasion of the ritual reflected in 1.161 gains additional support from the text. In the ritual descent of Niqmaddu's throne to the netherworld (11.20-26), nowhere are the *rp'i 'arṣ* or the *qbs ddn* explicitly located in the 'land below'. Taking this into account as well as our arguments in 3.1.7.,

³¹³ If we adopted the etymological proposal of Aistleitner wherein Ugaritic *r-p-* is equated with Akkadian *rubûm*, *rubā'um* "prince", then we would have a virtual semantic equivalent between *rp'i 'arṣ* of 1.161 and the *rubûmeš šā māti* of the Nabopolassar coronation ceremony, but cf. 3.1.7.5.

³¹⁴ Cf. Birot 1980:145; Tsukimoto 1985:73-78. Had this text been tied to a particular occasion, a royal funeral and/or a coronation, and not to the royal ancestor cult, on the analogy of 1.161 and the Genealogy, one would have expected the mention of the deceased father and his son, the living king, in this case Ilakabkabu and Shamshi-Addu respectively.

L'Heureux's observation concerning the need for the Ugaritians to qualify the term *rp'um* is apposite "It would hardly be necessary to specify that these *rp'im* are *qdmym* if the word *rp'm* originally and of itself referred to the dead" (cf. 11.8,24).³¹⁵

However, L'Heureux wrongly included in the *rp'im qdmym* all of the names in 11.4-8. We would add to this group only the individuals listed in 11.6-7, *Sdn-w-Rdn* and *Tr °llmn*, for in 11.22b-24a only these two -as identifiable members of the *rp'im qdmym* are located in the netherworld. Moreover, the fact that the two names which are attributed the epithet *rp'u*, *Ulkn* and *Trmn* of 11.4-5, are not so located, strengthens our suggestion that living elements among the *rp'um* are to be identified in the texts from Ugarit and that in 1.161 they comprise the assembled warriors from among whom nobles and dignitaries rose to office.

We now turn to consider in what capacity the dead in 11.6-8, 11-12 and again in 11.22b-25 are summoned. Tropper, like most interpreters before him, identified all those entities in 11.2-12, 22b-25 as apparitions who were invoked in order to bestow their blessings upon the new king.³¹⁶ But if 1.161's affinities with coronation procedures to which we have several Mesopotamian textual witnesses (as opposed to no unequivocal examples of 'necrophantic' liturgies) are an accurate reflection of the religio-political concerns of the ritual, then it is far more likely that the blessings of 11.31-34 are those of the deity and the people, in this case, *Shapash* -the only deity explicitly

³¹⁵ L'Heureux 1979:204 and cf. p.189. However, we reject his identification of these as dead kings.

³¹⁶ Tropper 1989:144-50.

mentioned in the text- and the living warriors, nobles, dignitaries and the population of Ugarit.

That the dead were not summoned from the netherworld to return to the world above (in the form of their statues?) is supported by the fact that in ll.20-25, where the throne is portrayed as descending to the netherworld (cf. 3.1.9.2. on ll.20-26), it is received down below by Sdn-w-Rdn, Tr °llmn the *rp'im qdmym*, and Amittamru. In other words, the writer of 1.161 not only presupposes the location of these entities in the netherworld in his initial summons in ll.6-8,11-12, he never lets them leave that region as ll.20-26 demonstrate.³¹⁷ The summons served to alert the dead to prepare to receive Niqmaddu's soon-to-descend throne.³¹⁸ We offer as a structural outline of 1.161:³¹⁹

³¹⁷ The other entities generally understood to return to the world above from below, namely, the *rp'i 'arš*, the *qbš ddn*, Ulkn, and Trmn (ll.2-5,9-10) we identified as living groups or individuals. They are never explicitly depicted as located in the netherworld which may also explain their different titles and epithets from those located below.

³¹⁸ Note that Niqmaddu is not one of those to whom the throne descends, cf. 1.26. Perhaps too they were to transport it to its proper place in anticipation of Niqmaddu's eventual arrival following the liminal stage of death (cf. 1.2.). For the benefit of the living in attendance, this summons also served a legitimating function fulfilled through the recitation of these names within the constraints of an artificial genealogical framework (i.e., geneonymy).

³¹⁹ For further discussion on the literary genre of 1.161 cf. 3.1.9.2., 1.1 *zlm*.

STRUCTURAL ELEMENTS IN THE UGARITIC CORONATION RITUAL *KTU* 1.161

- I. Heading: A [Coronation] Ceremony with Sacrifices [and oath swearing] before Šalmu [the divine emblem of the solar deity] (1.1)
- II. First Call for the Assembly of the Living Warrior-Nobility (11.2-5)
- *III. Summons of the Deceased Warrior Heroes of Old [to prepare to receive the soon-to-descend throne of Niqmaddu] (11.6-8)
- IV. Second Call for the Assembly of the Living Warrior-Nobility (11.9-10)
- *V. Summons of the the Recently Deceased Kings [to prepare to receive the soon-to-descend throne of Niqmaddu] (11.11-12)
- *VI. The New King's Mourning for his Predecessor-Father [with the shedding of tears to invigorate Niqmaddu during his journey to the netherworld] (11.13-17)
- VII. The New King's Presentation before the Solar Deity, Shapash (11.18-19)
- *VIII. Ritual Netherly Descent of the Deceased Predecessor's Throne (11.20-26)
- IX. Sacrifices to the Solar Deity, Shapash (11.27-30)
- X. Acclamation of the New King with Blessing (11.31-34)

* = funerary and mourning elements

A TYPICAL ANCESTOR CULT INTERPRETATION OF *KTU* 1.161

- I. Heading: A Celebration in Honor of the "Shades" (1.1)
- II. Summons of the Illustrious Dead to Ascend in order to Supernaturally Bless the Living (11.2-12)
- III. The New King's Mourning for his Deceased Father (11.13-17)
- IV. The Solar Deity's Descent and Retrieval of the Illustrious Dead (11.18-26)
- V. Sacrifices in Honor of the Illustrious Dead (11.27-30)
- VI. The Blessing of the New King, the Queen, and the City of Ugarit by the Illustrious Dead (11.31-34)

1. <i>spr. dbḥ. zlm</i>	The account of the sacred celebration before Šalmu:
2. <i>qr'itm. rp'i. 'a[rṣ]</i>	"Have you called the Mighty Ones of the Earth?
3. <i>qb'itm. qbṣ. d[dn]</i>	Have you summoned the Gathered Ones of Didanu?
4. <i>qr'a. 'ulkn. rp['a</i>	He called Ulkn, the Mighty One,
5. <i>qr'a. trmn. rp['a</i>	He called Trmn, the Mighty One;
6. <i>qr'a. sdn. w. rd[n]</i>	He called Sdn-w-Rdn,
7. <i>qr'a. tr. °llmn[</i>	He called Tr °llmn,
8. <i>qr'u. rp'im. qdmym.</i>	They called the Mighty Ones from Old;
9. <i>qr'itm. rp'i. 'arṣ</i>	Have you called the Mighty Ones of the Earth?
10. <i>qb'itm. qbṣ. dd[n]</i>	Have you summoned the Gathered Ones of Didanu?
11. <i>qr'a. °mttmr. m[l]k</i>	He called Amittamru, the (defunct) king,
12. <i>qr'a. 'u. nqm[d] mlk</i>	He called, yea, Niqmaddu the (defunct) king;
13. <i>ks'i. nqmd [.] tbky</i>	At the throne of Niqmaddu, you must weep,
14. <i>wydm° . hdm. p°nh</i>	as he who sheds tears at his footstool;
15. <i>lpnh. ybky. tḷhn.</i>	Before him, he must weep at the table,
<i>mlk]-(16)-w. ybl° . 'udm° th</i>	so that the (defunct) king might swallow his tears;
17. <i>°dmt. w. °dmt. °dmt</i>	Gnashing of teeth and gnashing of teeth, gnashing of teeth.
18. <i>'išḥn. ṣpš.</i>	I bow down, O Shapash.
<i>w. 'išḥn (19) nyr. rbt.</i>	I bow down, O Great Light,
<i>°ln. ṣpš. tṣḥ</i>	Lift me up O Shapash, please shine!
20. <i>'atr [°b]°lk. l. ksh.</i>	After your Lord, O throne,
<i>'atr (21) b°lk. 'arṣ. rd.</i>	After your Lord to earth descend,
<i>'arṣ. (22) rd. w. ṣpl. °pr.</i>	To earth descend and be low in the dust;

<i>tḥt</i> (23) <i>sdn. w. rdn.</i>	Go down to Sdn-w-Rdn,
<i>tḥt. tr</i> (24) <i>°llmn.</i>	Go down to <u>Tr</u> °llmn;
<i>tḥt. rp'im. qdmym</i>	Go down to the Mighty Ones of Old;
25. <i>tḥt. °mttmr. mlk</i>	Go down to Amittamru, the king,
26. <i>tḥm 'u. nq[md]. mlk</i>	May you remain warm, yea, Niqmaddu, the king;
27. <i>°šty. w. t[°y.</i>	One and an offering.
<i>tn. w.] t°[y]</i>	Two and an offering.
28. <i>tlt.[w]. t°y</i>	Three and an offering.
<i>['arb°].w. t°[y]</i>	Four and an offering.
29. <i>ḥmš. w. t°y.</i>	Five and an offering.
<i>tt[w.] t°y</i>	Six and an offering.
30. <i>šb°. w. t°y.</i>	Seven and an offering.
<i>tqdm. °šr</i>	The sacred assembly is convened!
31. <i>šlm. šlm. °mr[p'i]</i>	Peace! Peace to Ammurapi!
32. <i>w. šlm. bnh.</i>	and peace to his sons!
<i>šlm. [t]ry[l</i>	Peace to <u>Taryelli</u> !
33. <i>šlm. bth.</i>	and peace to her house!
<i>šlm. 'u[g]rt</i>	Peace to Ugarit!
34. <i>šlm. tgrh</i>	and peace to its gates!"

3.1.9.2. AN ANALYSIS OF *KTU* 1.161

1.161 was unearthed in 1973 and a published transcription of the text based on a plaster cast of the tablet soon followed in 1975.³²⁰ One year later the editors of *KTU* offered a collation of the tablet without the aid of photographs, *KTU* 1.161. A list of corrections to *KTU* gleaned from photographs in *Ugaritica* VII was subsequently published in 1981.³²¹

Two new independent collations of the text have recently appeared, both based on a detailed investigation of the original tablet housed in the Aleppo Museum.³²² They disagree essentially on three readings, 'ibky / tbky (1.13), tqdš/m / tqdm/d (1.30), and b'ah / bnh (1.32). Be that as it may, none pose insurmountable difficulties for our interpretation.

Line 1: The form *spr* has been interpreted as "the written record", "account", or "instruction" of the sacrifice of *zlm*. The underlying assumption is that 1.161 records a ritual. The mention of *dbh* and the language of 11.13-17 and/or 11.27-30 have served as its textual support. In our view, 1.161 should be viewed as a descriptive, not a prescriptive, ritual. Although the words of the king are quoted in the lament and petition sections, explicit ritual instructions are otherwise lacking.

³²⁰ Caquot 1975-76:427-29.

³²¹ Dijkstra, de Moor and Spronk 1981:374-78.

³²² Cf. Bordreuil and Pardee 1982:121-28 with additional remarks in Pardee 1987:211-17 and Pitard 1987:75-86 (photographs and drawings, pp.110-55). On p.76 n.6, Pitard noted that most of his research had been completed by the time Bordreuil and Pardee appeared.

Line 1: *dbḥ* is in the genitive case and depicts the occasion on which this recitation text is read i.e., "the account of the sacred celebration for *zlm*". While the term is commonly translated "sacrifice", it can denote a celebration involving a processional. In 1.148:1, *dbḥ* appears as the title of such a sacred celebration "for Zaphon" *dbḥ ṣpn*, that is, for the gods of the pantheon.³²³ It occurs elsewhere at Ugarit in a mortuary context where offerings are placed at the grave on one particular occasion subsequent to burial (cf. *dbḥt* in 1.142:1 and see 3.1.2.).

Line 1: *zlm*. In view of the generic affinities 1.161 shares with coronation procedures and its lack of commonalities with royal ancestor cult rites (or, for that matter, funerary rites involving grave offerings), we offer a different interpretation of *zlm* than those offered previously. Dalley has argued that in Mesopotamia from the mid-second millennium onwards the cognate term *šalmu* designated the god *Šalmu*, another name for the sun god *Shamash*.

Moreover, iconographically the term presupposed the presence of the divine emblem, the winged disk, upon which loyalty oaths were sworn to the royal dynasty. In addition to *Šalmu*'s occurrence in such contexts as treaty ceremonies, the

³²³ Cf. Virolleaud 1968:582 and de Tarragon 1980:56, 98-99, 103, 109-10. These authors assumed a meaning "banquet", but there is no hint of a funerary meal in the text. The latter appears to have realized this in Levine and de Tarragon 1984:651 "sacred celebration". In any case, this is not a *marzēaḥ* feast associated with the cult of the dead contra Dietrich and Loretz 1983:23.

author concludes that it appears elsewhere in oath swearing contexts, the Assyrian coronation ritual mentioned previously being a case in point.³²⁴

We would suggest that *zlm* in 1.161:1 should be read as *Ṣalmu*, the iconographic emblem of the sun goddess Shapash. That two distinct terms for the sun goddess are present in 1.161, *Ṣalmu* (1.1) and Shapash (11.18-19) can be explained as follows. The name *Ṣalmu* is used in the heading to represent the presence of the specific design of the winged disk, the sun goddess's divine emblem. As such it functioned as the focal point of the coronation ritual and as the emblem upon which oaths of loyalty to the ruling dynasty were sworn.³²⁵ The same obtains elsewhere as *Ṣalmu*, *Ṣalmu-sarri*, and Shamash occur together in a single text and as such were represented by two or more slightly different symbols in the presence of which oaths were sworn.³²⁶

³²⁴Cf. n.310 and Dalley 1986:85-101, esp. pp.93,97-98. On p.97, Dalley concluded that *Ṣalmu* also showed up at royal burial rites as the *ḏalam* at Alalakh as AT 366:12,20 suggested, but this is controvertible. In the statue of Idrimi found in a different stratum at Alalakh, *ḏalam* represents the royal statue.

³²⁵Dalley 1986:94-96. In the light of the eleven or so possible elements that could be represented in a coronation text, the relative brevity of 1.161 can be explained along the lines offered by Ben-Barak 1980:67 for the abridged version of Nabopolassar's coronation. As is likely in the case of our text, war was being waged or imminent so the concern for the confirmation and blessing of the gods resulted in an abbreviated account although this may not necessarily reflect what transpired in general practice.

³²⁶Dalley 1986:90-91.

Lines 2-12: *qr'itm*, *qb'itm*, *qr'a*, *qr'u*.³²⁷ Verreet's findings regarding the significance of the *aleph* sign and his analysis of the verbal system has severely weakened the case for an internal passive verb in Ugaritic.³²⁸ Dietrich and Loretz thoroughly applied Verreet's findings to 1.161 in an attempt to remove the difficulties with regard to the person, number, and voice of the verbs and the case of the related nouns. They rendered the verbs of 11.2-3, 9-10 as jussives and the forms in 11.4-8, 11-12 as imperatives: *qr'u* in 1.8 2mpl and *qr'a* in 11.4-7, 11-12 2fpl.³²⁹ Thus, both men and women take active parts in the ceremonies as is possibly the case in 1.40.³³⁰ The authors also suggested new grammatical analyses for *ks'i* and *'ibky* in 1.13 and *rp'im* in 1.24 in view of Verreet's theory concerning the vowelless *aleph*. The form *ks'i* was rendered *kussi'a*, the accusative singular, *'ibky* as *'abkiyu* 1cs (but read now *tbky* in 1.13), and *rp'im* as *rapi'ūma*, the nominative plural.³³¹

³²⁷On Ugaritic *qb'* "to say, summon", see Gaster 1976:103 n.B (*q-r-* = "call" in general and *q-b-* = "specify by name"); Dahood 1977:527-28; Verreet 1983:247 (1.6:VI:40); Taylor 1984:13; and cf. its Akkadian equivalent now attested at Ugarit *qabū* (< *qaba'u*) in RS 1980-389:2,4 in Arnaud 1982B:218.

³²⁸Cf. Verreet 1983:234-36 and 1986:324-30 against Good 1980:41 and Bordreuil and Pardee 1982:126 who follow Singer 1948:1-10 on the vocative significance of the oblique case. Forms like *y'uhd* previously read as passives of one kind or another, Verreet read as *ya'hudu*, an active imperfect, just like *y'ihd* = *ya'hudu*. In both cases, whether *'u* or *'i*, the *aleph* is vowelless and closes a syllable.

³²⁹Dietrich and Loretz 1983:18-19. On this understanding of the verbs, see similarly Pope 1977B:177.

³³⁰On 1.40, see Xella 1981A:256-62, esp. 260-62.

³³¹Dietrich and Loretz 1983:19.

Xella translated the forms in 11.2-12 as perfects. The change from plural to singular coincides with the change from general reference to specific *rp'um* and with the change of subject. This avoids the necessity of postulating designated male and female roles, the supporting evidence for which is dubious (cf. 1.40).³³² Del Olmo Lete prefers the "rhetoric/imperative alternance frequent in the hymnic form" (cf. 1.4:III:30-36).³³³ Our view is a combination of Xella and Del Olmo Lete and affords us the advantage of circumventing the instructional imperative.

Lines 2-3, 9-10: rp'i 'arṣ // qbṣ ddn. In our diachronic study of the Ugaritic data (cf. 3.1.7.), we proposed that the *rp'i 'arṣ // qbṣ dt/dn* originally represented mythic warrior heroes lacking any link with the netherworld as suggested by a detailed examination of their mention in the mythological texts (cf. e.g., 1.15:III). On the other hand, our findings identified a living element within the *rp'um* in the dispensary lists which date from the latter days of Ugarit. This living element was called the *bn Rp'iyn*. In the coronation of Ammurapi, also from the latter days of Ugarit, such living warriors are identified as the *rp'i 'arṣ*. Their status as living warriors is given added support by the generic affinities of 1.161 with coronation ceremonies. In such ceremonies, nobles and dignitaries are called to assemble on the occasion of the coronation of a king (cf. 3.1.9.1.). In the case of our text, their assembly functioned to give the new king both civil and sacral legitimation.

³³²Xella 1981A:282.

³³³Del Olmo Lete 1986:92-93, "Have you invoked . . ." (*qr'itm*) / "Invoke . . ." (*qr'a*).

Line 13: ks'i. In previous treatments, interpreters assumed that the *aleph* represented the case of the noun and were thereby forced to argue that the throne was personified in this instance and given a vocative plural force (but cf. *ksh* in 1.20).³³⁴ However, the plural of *ks'i* would be *ks'at*. Moreover, we cite the findings of Verreet, namely that irrespective of the accompanying vowel, the Ugaritic *aleph* sign with third *aleph* nouns in syllable closing position is vowelless.³³⁵ Thus, *kussi'a* is best rendered in the accusative case as the object of the verb *tbky*.

Line 13: tbky. This reading is preferred by Pitard although it remains in doubt.³³⁶ The verbal form is the G 2ms imperfect *tabkiyu* "you shall weep" and refers to Ammurapi. If the alternative *'ibky* were preferred, it would not be necessary to analyze it as the rarely attested imperative with prosthetic *aleph* as so often is the case. Verreet has shown that the *aleph* sign when prefixed to verbal forms can signify the vowelless *aleph* prefix, thus *'abkiyu* "I will weep".³³⁷

Line 15: t_lhn mlk. The latter was formerly read as *ml'a* and cited as evidence for the mention of food offerings. The preferred reading is *mlk*. This form is not in genitival relationship with *t_lhn*. Based on the stichometry of 11.15-16, *mlk* is best understood as a case of enjambment and should be included

³³⁴Cf. e.g., Bordreuil and Pardee 1982:123,126; Levine and de Tarragon 1984:652; Taylor 1986:315-18 and 1988:151-77; and Lewis 1989:19-20.

³³⁵Verreet 1983:256-57.

³³⁶Pitard 1987:78-81, but cf. Pardee 1987:212-13.

³³⁷Verreet 1984:309 but cf. Rainey 1988:396.

in 1.16 with the following w. The w should be viewed as either a *mater lectionis* for the vowel of the nominative case i.e., *mlkw* = *malku* or it might represent the emphatic conjunction.

Line 16: 'udm^c th. The mention of tears has not attracted the attention of scholars other than to suggest a common mourning rite. But the magical power of tears has played a central role in funerary rituals in other societies. For example, in the funerary feasts of the Torajas, the Galelarese and the Javanese of Indonesia, tears were thought to possess the power to revive the dead as well as express grief and mourning. In Scandinavian mythology, Baldr, the beautiful son of Odin, having been killed could leave the netherworld of Hel and return to live among the gods only if all things in creation shed tears for him.³³⁸ In our text, tears, in addition to their expression of sorrow, might have possessed the power to invigorate the spirit of Ammurapi's father during the debilitating journey to the dry, dusty netherworld.³³⁹

Line 17: 'dmt. Pope has offered the Arabic cognate *'adama* "to seize with the teeth, bite, chew violently" as an expression of violent grief.³⁴⁰ This is particularly appropriate to the context.

³³⁸ Cf. Gaster 1950:15-16 and Moon 1987:360-61. Hvidberg 1962:55-56 offered a similar interpretation of Anat's weeping for the dead Baal in 1.6:I:9-10 and cf. 1.19:II:61-74, but this went hand-in-hand with his interpretation of the Baal-Mot myth as a seasonal fertility cult drama, so the tears were viewed as reviving the vegetation.

³³⁹ Gaster 1976:101-02 offers the explanation that the tears simply served to quench the thirst of Niqmaddu.

³⁴⁰ Pope 1977B:180.

Line 18: 'šḥn. This form has been most frequently analyzed as an imperative with prosthetic *aleph*. In light of Verreet's findings, we prefer a prefixed verbal form of *šwh/šḥh* "to bow down, sink down" with suffixed *n*.³⁴¹ The subject then would be the living king who laments the death of his father.

Line 19: °ln. This form is generally rendered as a preposition or adverb *°l* with the pronominal suffix *n*. We read the form as *°alīnī*, the internal causative imperative of *°ly* with 1cs suffix "lift me up!".³⁴² As such, it would serve as the complement to the king's sinking down, for now the king petitions Shapash to restore and exalt him. How Shapash accomplishes the king's restoration is described at the end of 1.19.

Line 19: tṣḥ. With the understanding of this portion of 1.19 as an introductory formula preceding a speech of Shapash in 11.20ff. the form *tṣḥ* has been derived from a root *ṣw/yḥ* "to shout, cry out". But words of incantation or the like are not normally put in the mouth of a god.³⁴³ Besides, a portrayal of the sun goddess as calling out (*tṣḥ*) seems out of place.

Caquot offered *ṣḥḥ* "to gleam, be dazzling".³⁴⁴ A similar alternative might be *nṣḥ* "to shine" as found in Syriac. In other words, Ammurapi petitions the sun goddess for her invigorating power to one stricken with grief. But 1.19b might also comprise

³⁴¹For this etymology, cf. Pitard 1978:71. Others proposed *šḥn* "to be hot" with the sun goddess as subject following Caquot 1974-75:427.

³⁴²Cf. Segert 1984:68-69 for the internal causative in Ugaritic.

³⁴³So Pitard 1978:71.

³⁴⁴Caquot 1974-75:428.

the king's presentation before the deity, with the appearance of the sun goddess's light sought by the king signalling her sanction of his royal claim. That a shrine of Shapash might provide the backdrop for this coronation ceremony with its attendant mourning rites is supported by not only the sun goddess's great popularity in the Ugaritic cult (cf. e.g., 1.41. etc.), but also the fact that she had a cultic place built in her honor, a *bt špš* (cf. 6.24:2). Whether this comprised a sanctuary within the royal complex or an independent structure is difficult to determine. In *Mari* 12803, the sun god's sanctuary is mentioned and it has been suggested that that *kispum* ritual might have been enacted in an area within the royal palace dedicated to Shamash.³⁴⁵

Lines 20-26: 'atr . . . 'arš rd. A number of commentators have taken these lines to refer to Shapash's descent to the netherworld, but both our negative findings with regard to the presumed netherworld descent of the sun deity at Ugarit and the specific criticisms against this interpretation of 1.161 suggest otherwise (cf. 3.1.7.2.).³⁴⁶

We prefer the interpretation which has the throne descending to the netherworld "after its Lord", Niqmaddu. This position has been recently defended and sufficient comparative

³⁴⁵ Durand 1987A:108 n.209 and 11.I:12-15. Birot 1980:143,146 concluded that a temple of Shamash was in view.

³⁴⁶ Taylor 1988:151-77 has summarized the criticisms against this position; (1) Shapash would have to speak to herself but the second person suffix on *b'lk* in 1.21 proves otherwise and (2) no one in the context could be considered "the Lord" of Shapash who would have the authority to order her to descend.

evidence has been cited which depicts the importance and presence of the royal throne in the netherworld.³⁴⁷

Nevertheless, the question remains as to how this descent was thought to be accomplished. It is most likely that during the ritual the throne was placed in the royal tomb alongside the king. In a recently published Neo-Assyrian text describing a royal funeral, the *regalia* of the dead king was first presented before the sun god Shamash and then placed in the royal tomb.³⁴⁸

That the throne is depicted as descending not to Niqmaddu, but to others already resident in the netherworld (ll.22b-25) can be supported as follows. With the dead heroes and kings summoned (ll.6-8,11-12), the appropriate funerary rites of mourning (and gift giving) completed (ll.13-17), and the sun-goddess's sanction of the new king announced (ll.18-19), Niqmaddu's throne was placed with his body in the tomb which was then shut and sealed. The throne was then commanded to descend to the netherworld where the dead heroes and kings waited to transport it to Niqmaddu's netherly abode.

It was probably held that the throne preceded Niqmaddu to the netherworld in anticipation of his arrival there which would subsequently take place following the extended process of decay. This entails that we take seriously the scribe's intention in

³⁴⁷Cf. Taylor 1988:151-77. The critique of Lewis 1989:40-44 not only sets aside this view prematurely, but cannot stand in light of our findings regarding the lack of reference in the Ugaritic texts to the sun goddess's location in the netherworld.

³⁴⁸K.7856 in McGinnis 1987:1-11, esp. pp.2,4 and for a recently published text from the Pre-Sargonic period listing grave goods including such furniture as a bed, cf. Foxvog 1980:67-75.

recording *thm* 'u. *nqmd* . *mlk* "May you stay warm, O Niqmaddu the king" in 1.26 (see below) as a reference to the sun goddess's care for the dead king during his transition, or rite of passage, from the world of the living to the world of the dead.

Line 20: ksh. We follow those commentators who read here a scribal error for *ks'i* "throne".³⁴⁹

Lines 22-25: tḥt. Most view this as the preposition "beneath, under". Alternative nouns have also been proposed.³⁵⁰ Margalit offered a verb based on Akkadian *taḥu* meaning "juxtapose".³⁵¹ Del Olmo Lete proposed the root *nḥt* "to descend" and we analyze the form as a G volitive parallel to the preceding imperatives *tiḥḥata* "go down" (cf. Hebrew *nāḥēt*).³⁵²

Line 26: thm. Interpreters emend this form to *tḥt* owing to the latter's four previous occurrences. However, the root *hmm* "to be warm, heated" and the likelihood that Niqmaddu had yet to arrive in the netherworld as he was only recently or about to be buried recommends the alternative of positing a request that Shapash give warmth to Niqmaddu during his journey toward that chilly destination.³⁵³

³⁴⁹Cf. most recently, Taylor 1988:155 n.9 and Lewis 1989:24-35 for summaries and bibliography.

³⁵⁰Cf. Healey 1978:85,87 "throne" and Cecchini 1981:27-32 "subterranean region".

³⁵¹Margalit 1980A:197-99.

³⁵²Del Olmo Lete 1983:171. On the volitive, cf. Rainey 1988:397-99 who concluded that the Ugaritic volitive is more intensive than the jussive.

³⁵³This was anticipated alongside the invigoration/sustenance offered through the swallowing of tears. Gaster 1976:102 and n.54 noted the Tyrolean custom of kindling a fire for the purpose of warming the spirits of the dead, but he

Line 27: *t^cy*. This form is commonly translated "to make sacrifice" and finds immediate support in the mention of *dbḥ* in 1.1. The term is well attested at Ugarit.³⁵⁴

Line 30: *tqdm* *ḥsr*. The latter has been unanimously rendered "bird" by commentators. But the assumed mention of birds would in fact oppose this interpretation, for we know that in Mesopotamia the sacrifice of birds to chthonic beings was prohibited.³⁵⁵ Hebrew offers an interesting alternative in *ḥāṣar* "to retain", cf. *ḥāṣārāh* "sacred assembly".³⁵⁶ The form here is the G passive participle *ḥāṣīru* used collectively (lit. "those retained"). In view of the cultic context and the Hebrew analogue, we translate *ḥsr* as "the sacred assembly", a reference to the completed gathering and the close of the ceremonies.³⁵⁷ The verb *tqdm* we read as the D passive preterite "the sacred assembly is convened".³⁵⁸

In conclusion, we reject the royal ancestor cult interpretation of 1.161. The mention of Ammurapi, the recipient

posited this for *'išḥn* (11.18-19) of our text.

³⁵⁴ Cf. de Tarragon 1980:58-59.

³⁵⁵ For the text, see Thureau-Dangin 1921:65,79,85 [AO 6451:42] and cf. Oppenheim 1977:191 and CAD 7(1960):213. The prohibitions against bird and ox sacrifices to Belet-ṣeri and Erish-kigal are unqualified (1.42), while those against sheep offerings to Shakkan (in the temple of Shamash) and against offerings of beef to Kharru (in the temple of Sin) are restricted to a specific sacred locale (11.40-41).

³⁵⁶ Cf. El Amarna 138:80,130 *ḥaṣiri* and Sivan 1984:207 and Moran 1987:366 n.18. Ugaritic *ḥsr* is related to Arabic *ḡḍr* "to cut, separate", cf. Margalit 1980A:256.

³⁵⁷ For this phenomenon at Ugarit, see Segert 1984:49 (par.52.2).

³⁵⁸ On the Ugaritic preterite, cf. Rainey 1988:397-99.

of the blessings endowed, along with several elements characteristic of a coronation suggest its use on that sole occasion. We view 1.161 as a ritual incorporating funerary or, more specifically, mourning rites on behalf of Niqmaddu, Ammurapi's father and former king of Ugarit, within the larger complex of coronation rites intended to secure the (oath of) loyalty from the military and royal establishments. The dead are summoned simply to transport Niqmaddu's throne to its netherly abode once placed in the grave while the living are summoned to publicly acknowledge the legitimacy of the new king.

3.1.10. SUMMARY

We discovered that the assumed identification of the *rp'um* as defunct kings, the widely accepted interpretation of *'il'ib* as the divinized ancestor(s), as well as the repeated identification of the Ugaritic *marzēah* as an institution related to the royal ancestor cult (or to a death cult more generally) are all dubious and that more adequate interpretations commend themselves. Likewise, necromancy *per se* remains unattested at Ugarit.

The mention of dead kings in 1.113 and 1.161 who, it should be pointed out, are not deified, can be cited neither in support of the regular participation of the defunct *mlkm* in the royal cult nor to the exercise of their supernatural beneficent power amongst the living. In fact, 1.161 might point to the weak status of the spirits of dead royalty as they must receive invigoration and sustenance in order to complete their netherly journey. Such frailty also characterizes the Mesopotamian dead.

The epigraphic evidence does attest to the royal aspiration of commemoration in death as one perpetually worthy of the status endowed by the *rp'i 'arš* and *qbs dtn*, to such funerary rites as mourning rites enacted on behalf of recently deceased kings and to the ritual transfer of the deceased king's throne to its proper netherly locale by the spirits of former heroes and kings.

3.2. THE EVIDENCE FROM NUZI AND EMAR

In addition to the extensive textual traditions from Ebla, Mari, and Ugarit, we must peruse the intriguing written remains from the neighboring locales of Nuzi and Emar.

3.2.1. THE EVIDENCE FROM NUZI

Mourning and burial rites are well attested at Nuzi.³⁵⁹ That death and ancestor cult rites were observed at Nuzi has also been suggested. The Nuzi terms *kipsu*, *kispātu*, and *kipsātu* have each been offered as derivatives of *kispum* with metathesis cited as the explanation for the first and last forms.³⁶⁰ Moreover,

³⁵⁹ *JEN* 1:8:11-12, 4:404:16, 4:410:12, 6:595:12, *HSS* 19:18:23-24, 19:56:15-16, and 19:101: (mourning only: *bakû*); *RA* 23(1926): 91 [Text 5:21], *RA* 23(1926):127 [Text 51:9] (burial only: *qebēru*); *JEN* 1:59:19-23, *HSS* 9:22:11-15, 19:11:20-25, 19:28:21-24, 19:38:23-26, 19:39:10-11, *RA* 23(1926):144 [Text 9:14-16], *JAOS* 47(1927):40-41 [Text 3:19-23], *Sumer* 32(1976):117,133 [Text 2:24-25 = *IM* 6818] (mourning and burial: *bakû u qebēru*). Cf. also the comments by San Nicolò 1933:285-86 and Greenfield 1982:311.

³⁶⁰ The form *kipsu* is found in *HSS* 13:383:4,7; *kispātu* is attested in *AASOR* 16(1936):44-45 [Text 66:31]; and *kipsātu* is recorded in *HSS* 14:152:7 and *RA* 56(1962):59-60 [Text *AO* 15546:4-5]. For their possible connection with *kispum*, cf. Pfeiffer and Speiser 1936:115; Cassin 1962:60; *CAD* 8(1971):426; Mayer 1978:147; and Tsukimoto 1985:98-106.

commentators have identified the *ilānu* at Nuzi as "dead ancestors", for they show up alongside the *eṭemmū* on three occasions and appear as the recipients of *kipsātu*, the supposed Nuzi equivalent to *kispum*, in AO 15546.³⁶¹

Tsukimoto rejected the connection of *kipsu* and *kispātu* with *kispum* and opted for *kipsātu* as the Nuzi rendition of *kispum*. He identified *kipsu* in HSS 13:383:4,7 (actually *ki-IB-su*) with the form *kib-su* from Nimrud, a reference to the customary payment to the temple treasury at Calah.³⁶² Furthermore, he cast doubt on the view of *kispātu* in AASOR 16:66:31 as the name of "the month of the funeral offerings of *iškiški*" *ina arḫi kispātum ša iškiški*. Grammatically, one would expect *araḫ kispāti* or *araḫ ša kispāti*.³⁶³ Moreover, the name *kispātum ša iškiški* is nowhere attested and the form *iškiški* is a *hapax legomenon*. In any case, according to Tsukimoto, a better candidate for *kispum* at Nuzi is to be found in the metathesized *kipsātu*.

Although Tsukimoto opted for the equation *kipsātu* and *kispum*, Cassin had earlier rendered *dingir^m ša kipsātu* in AO 15546:5 as a feminine personal name on the basis of its

³⁶¹Cf. Tsukimoto 1985:104-05 and Rouillard and Tropper 1987A:354-56. The *ilānu* and *eṭemmū* occur side by side in JEN 5:478:6, HSS 19:27:11, and YBC 5142:30-31.

³⁶²Tsukimoto 1985:95 contra Mayer 1978:147. For the Nimrud text ND 2319:8, cf. Parker 1954:41 and CAD 8(1971):339.

³⁶³Tsukimoto 1985:106 acknowledged the fact that the phrase probably referred to the name of the month, but rejected its connection with funerary offerings. As grammatical analogues, he cited *araḫ pagri(m)* and *araḫ ša balāti isinni akīti*, cf. CAD 1/II(1968):261.

attestation at Alalakh thus, "the gods of *Kispati*".³⁶⁴ Owing to the presence of the preceding divine determinative dingir³⁶⁵ in AO 15546:4, Cassin also rejected the notion that *arḥi kispāti ša iškiški* in AASOR 16:66:31 referred to funerary offerings at Nuzi as Pfeiffer and Speiser had suggested.³⁶⁶

Tsukimoto rejected Cassin's interpretation of *kispāti* in AO 15546:5. First, the form lacks the expected determinative mi. Second, one would scarcely expect the mention of numerous tutelary gods belonging to a woman in this text. In the few cases where a woman is attributed divine protection, not only is it usually limited to one god, but the woman in question is a priestess, not a commoner.³⁶⁶ Third, in view of the missing divine determinative and the repeated mention of offerings, Cassin's interpretation of *kipsāti* makes no sense in the context of HSS 14:152. Tsukimoto rendered *kipsāti* in AO 15546:5 in the accusative "as *kipsātu*", a classification of the offerings made to the gods dingir³⁶⁷ of l.4. He then proposed the equation *kipsātu* with *kispum*.³⁶⁷

The decisive datum for Tsukimoto was the mention of *kipsātu* as offerings to the dingir³⁶⁸ or *ilānu* in AO 15546. The Nuzi connection of the *ilānu*, which he viewed as the ancient

³⁶⁴Cassin 1962:60. This personal name also occurs at Mari. cf. Huffmon 1965:49 as noted by Tsukimoto 1985:97 and n.369.

³⁶⁵Cassin 1962:60. Pfeiffer and Speiser 1936:115 interpreted this phrase as "the time of the funerary offerings".

³⁶⁶Cf. Tsukimoto 1985:98 and n.370 where the author rejects two of the four references to women who possess personal gods cited in Vorländer 1975:46-47.

³⁶⁷Tsukimoto 1985:95-98.

ancestors, and the *eṭemmū*, which he viewed as the recent ancestors, confirmed his hypothesis that *kipsātu* was the Nuzi rendition of *kispum*.³⁶⁸ Thus, one could expect the mention of *kispum* in this context.

That *kispum*-like offerings were made to the "gods" and "spirits" has been given added support by YBC 5142:30-31 where, upon the death of the testator, the heir was expected to continue to "serve" the "gods" and "spirits" as formerly done by the now defunct father *ilāni u eṭemmīya ipallahšu*.³⁶⁹ Some scholars have assumed that this text also points to both the "gods" and the "spirits" as figurines, for they appear to be objects passed on to the respective heir(ess).³⁷⁰ Moreover, like the *eṭem kimti* "the family spirit", the *ilanu* dwell in family houses *ilānīya*

³⁶⁸ Tsukimoto 1985:104-05 and cf. n. 386 where he suggests that the *eṭemmū* became *ilānu* once they lost their identifiable character. There are in fact three terms for the Nuzi family sacra: *ilānu*, *eṭemmū*, and *an.zalag*³⁶⁸ (for which cf. *HSS* 14:8:2,10). The latter has been rendered ⁴utu by CAD 8(1971):403 (for *JEN* 478:4); *an.zab* by Draffkorn 1957:221-22; *dingir.zab* by Cassin 1981:41-42; and *an.zalag*₂ or *annamrū* or ⁴namrū -cultic lamps used in conjunction with the divine images- by Deller 1981:62-71.

³⁶⁹ For this text, cf. Lacheman and Owen 1981:386-87,413; Paradise 1987:203-13; and Rouillard and Tropper 1987:355-56.

³⁷⁰ Two other texts which mention both the "gods" and the "spirits" record the denial of rights to the disinherited son: *JEN* 478:6-8 *ina ilāni u ana eṭemmī* (Erasure) *eqlī u bītī lā ilaqqa* which Rouillard and Tropper 1987A:355 translate "He shall not receive the gods or the spirits or the fields or the houses", and *HSS* 19:27:11 *ul il[ānī]ya u[l] eṭemmīya* "not my gods or my spirits" (the remaining context is damaged). On the possibility that figurines are involved, cf. also Draffkorn 1957:221-22 and the Hurrian phrase *enna sarrena* "ilānu figurines". Against this view, see below and n. 404 for Paradise's translation of *JEN* 478.

āšib bītīya.³⁷¹ According to Tsukimoto, this confirms their function as ancestral spirits in the form of figurines who protect the living against malevolent demons.

While this reconstruction is provocative, it remains highly conjectural. The fact that *kipsātu* occurs only in two offering texts, both of which lack any corroborative evidence for a mortuary context, hardly inspires confidence that what is involved is the *kispum* offering. Furthermore, the lone depiction of the *ilānu* and the *eṭemmū* as recipients of service or *palāhu* insures neither the status of the *ilānu* as dead unidentifiable ancestors nor the veneration/worship of the *ilānu* or the *eṭemmū*.

The term *ilānu* at Nuzi characteristically represented either the gods of the pantheon and/or the personal gods.³⁷² Moreover, we noted earlier that service to the gods was a duty expected of both the ideal son and king. So, what may be outlined here are the duties to both the personal gods and to the spirits, not to the remote and immediate ancestors (cf. further 4.5.1.). This would offer an alternative explanation for the nature of the *ilānu* which inhabit family dwellings. They are not ancestral spirits, but personal gods who dwell in sacred buildings.

³⁷¹ Cf. RA 23(1926):90 [Text 5:20] "my gods who inhabit my house". Cf. Deller 1981:62 on their potential role as personal protective gods and Rouillard and Tropper 1987A:356 for their supposed equation with the *eṭem kimti*.

³⁷² For their designation as high gods, cf. RA 23(1926):151 [Text 35:26] "the judges sent PN's witnesses to the gods" *dayane šībūtišu sa PN ana dingir** *ištaprušunūti* and cf. AASOR 16(1936): 46-50 [Text 66:32], Cassin RA 52(1958):18 and Mayer 1978:145. For their designation as personal gods, cf. Vorländer 1975:63-66.

Furthermore, the portrayal of *ilānu* together with *eṭemmū* as figurines is questionable -at least in the case of the latter. Owing to their laconic character, the relevant texts may simply record the heir's loss of rights concerning the "gods" and "spirits". This might mean that the disinherited heir could no longer pray to the personal gods for protection at their shrines on family property or access the family property where he could continue to "serve" the dead at their graves.³⁷³ It is therefore conjectural at best to assert that like the *ilānu* depicted elsewhere at Nuzi -which we take to be personal gods and not deified dead ancestors-, the *eṭemmū* too were figurines or images.

Lastly, and most importantly for our purposes, the mentioned service to the *eṭemmū* might entail simply the commemoration or feeding and care of the dead ancestors. In other words, owing to the fact that the exact nature of the service is for the present irrecoverable, one cannot assume that it was motivated by a belief in the supernatural beneficent power of the dead.

Be that as it may, we would conjecture that the underlying premise central to the inclusion of the *eṭemmū* in the above mentioned texts is that their graves where service was rendered were located on sacred portions of the family property.³⁷⁴

³⁷³Against the rendition of Rouillard and Tropper 1987A:355. Paradise 1972:311 n.218 rendered *JEN* 478:6-8 as follows "He shall not have rights to the gods and (ancestral) spirits. Fields and houses he shall not receive" and added *lā iḡerreb* in the erasure, see also *CAD* 4(1958):397.

³⁷⁴In other words, the inclusion of the "gods" and "spirits" serves to underscore the point that the disinherited heir would not receive any family land and buildings. This suggests that *JEN* 478:6-8 contains an ABB'A' pattern -personal gods-ancestor

3.2.2. THE EVIDENCE FROM EMAR

The excavations at modern Meskéné, ancient Emar, furnish substantial textual witness for the religious beliefs of its Syrian inhabitants.³⁷⁵ Moreover, the several hundred cuneiform texts published in *Recherches au pays d'Astata Emar* constitute a wide range of literary genres.³⁷⁶ They date to the Late Bronze Age and verify Emar's importance within the contemporary Hittite empire.³⁷⁷

Various funerary rites were apparently observed at Emar. A *kissu* feast of Ninkur possibly refers to a funerary lament performed by the *nugagtu*, the "lamentation priestess".³⁷⁸ Furthermore, an Emar version of the LU I series lists a "priest performing funerary rites" [u]-ru-uh ŠITA.⁴ INANNA = [ú]-ru-uh-hu among the Emarite cultic personnel.³⁷⁹ Finally, several versions of a ballad in honor of the defunct heroes appear at Emar, but we

spirits-fields-houses. The personal gods would then represent the *sacred* buildings on family property, the spirits the *sacred* portions of the family land, while the terms fields and houses include the remaining profane land and buildings.

³⁷⁵ Cf. Arnaud 1985:231-37.

³⁷⁶ See Arnaud 1986:*passim* and the articles by Arnaud, Laroche, and Beyer in Beyer 1982:43-51, 53-60, and 61-68.

³⁷⁷ Cf. Arnaud 1975:87-92 for a discussion of Late Bronze Age chronology and the Emar texts. Margueron 1975:84-85 has concluded that the inability to recover Old Babylonian levels at Emar is due to their being inundated by the Euphrates.

³⁷⁸ Arnaud 1980:118, 1985B:233, and 1986:387 [Text 388, no MSK number is given). In 11.6.57 a deity ⁴Šuwala is mentioned as the object of ritual sacrifice and singing for whom the editor gives the translation "Cheol"! Stephanie Dalley (personal communication) notes that this may simply comprise the personal name Shu-ila *Šuwila.

³⁷⁹ MSK 74121:r:i:13', as suggested by Civil 1987:5.

can say little else until a hand copy with accompanying transliteration is published.³⁸⁰

It is the genre of testament that provides the greatest potential evidence for the observance of death and ancestor cult practices at Emar. In one case, the testator expresses the wish to either call upon (*nabû* A) or perhaps lament (*nabû* B) his "gods" *ilānu* and possibly his "dead (= deceased ancestors)" *mētū*.³⁸¹ Similar phraseology appears in three texts purported to originate from the vicinity of Emar.³⁸²

In the first published in 1982, two sons inherit their dead father's estate. The sons are bequeathed several duties, one being to "honor" (*kunnû*) the "gods" *ilānu* and the "dead" *mētū* of their father.³⁸³ The two remaining texts were published the following year. In both, the testator describes his daughter as

³⁸⁰ A composite translation of the versions is given by Arnaud in Beyer 1982:51 (no *MSK* numbers are cited).

³⁸¹ Arnaud 1986:197-98 [Text 185:2-3 = *MSK* 74300:2-3] but cf. Durand 1989:88 "I may call upon/lament my gods and my dead" *dingir* ^š *ù mētēya lunabbi*. The verb is the intensive precative 1cs of *nabû* A "to name, call" or *nabû* B "to lament", cf. *CAD* 11(1980):32-39 and *AHW* 2(1971):699-700.

³⁸² Sigrist 1982:242 and Huehnergard 1983:11-12 argued that these three texts come from the region of Emar, for, like the texts discovered there, they are written in Middle Assyrian, their tablet shapes are typically Syrian as are the locations of the seal impressions on the upper and/or lateral left edges. Moreover, the Huehnergard texts both mention the name of an Emarite king (cf. 1:37 and 2:43) as well as the name of a scribe known from Emar (cf. 1:42 and 2:50), cf. also Arnaud 1987:237-39 and Durand 1989:85-88. Cf. Arnaud 1975A:87-92 and 1975B:87-93 for a treatment of these names.

³⁸³ Sigrist 1982:243-45 [Text 1:25-27] "Itur-da and Iphur-Dagan shall honor the gods and dead of Abika, their father" *Itūr-DA u Iphūr-Dagan dingir* ^š *ù mītī ša Abika abīšunu ukannû*. The verb is the intensive future 3mpl of *kunnû* "to honor (a deity or dead person)", cf. *CAD* 8(1971):540-42.

both male and female, the significance of which enabled the father to pass on the right of inheritance to her in the absence of sons.³⁸⁴ As was the case with the two sons in the text discussed above, the daughter is endowed with certain tasks previously minded by her father. Of particular interest is the assumed duty of calling upon (*nabû A*), or perhaps lamenting (*nabû B*), the "gods" *ilānu* and "dead" *mētū*.³⁸⁵

Arnaud rendered the verb *kunnû* in such contexts as "invoke".³⁸⁶ Durand, on the other hand understood both this term which, as it stands, is too vague and *nabû* "to call" in a technical sense "to pronounce the name" and presupposed an ancestor cult context. This he did on the basis of the Mari and Ugaritic materials.³⁸⁷

The repeated mention of the "gods" *ilānu* alongside the "dead" *mētū* in inheritance texts recalls the similar occurrence of the "gods" *ilānu* in parallel to the "spirits" *eṭemmū* at Nuzi in related contexts. While at Nuzi both entities are either served by the heir(ess) or the heir is denied ownership of them, at Emar both are called upon (or lamented) and honored.

If at Emar it could be demonstrated that mourning rites were involved, i.e., that *nabû B* "lament" was intended- but this

³⁸⁴ Huehnergard 1983:28 and 1985:430 and cf. Arnaud in Margueron 1978:258 and n.76.

³⁸⁵ Huehnergard 1983:11-19 [Text 1:8], 26-29 [Text 2:11] "She may call upon my gods and my dead" *dingir³⁸⁵-iya û mētēya lū tunab(b)i*. The verb is the 3fs intensive precative of *nabû A* "to name, call" or *nabû B* "to lament".

³⁸⁶ Arnaud 1987:237 n.39.

³⁸⁷ Durand 1989:87-88.

is for the present impossible to decide -then the case for the chthonic nature of the *ilānu* would be strengthened.³⁸⁸ Be that as it may, the general use of *ilānu* elsewhere as representative of the gods in general or the personal gods in particular, suggests that at Emar the same obtains in the use of the term even when found coupled with forms of *mētū* (cf. further 4.5.1.).

On the other hand, if lamenting of "gods" and the "dead" was in view in these texts, then we would have additional data for the observation of funerary, or more specifically, mourning rites at Emar, at least in the case of the *mētū* (the "gods" might be chthonic gods requiring ritual lamentation). In any case, honoring and calling upon the dead might simply entail pronouncing their name in a commemorative rite or geneonymy. If offerings were involved, these might be nothing more than expressive of the concern to care for the dead.

Whether these acts took place on a regular basis or during the period of funerary rites is impossible to decide. In the final analysis, we cannot ascertain whether or not these rites presupposed a belief in the supernatural beneficent power of the

³⁸⁸ As would their potential involvement in death and ancestor cult rites, that is, if they were understood to represent deified ancestors. Sell 1983-84:159-70 assumed that the phrase *dingirⁿⁱ ša abīya ana šebūte altakân* "I have put the gods of my father as witnesses" in a new text from El-Qitar (11.23-24) refers to the *ilānu* (= ancestors) of the Nuzi and Emar texts. Despite the text's similar concern to regulate inheritance, it is the gods of the pantheon who function as witnesses to legal agreements rather than the tutelary gods or the dead spirits. Moreover, the gods here are not described as one of the objects of inheritance.

dead. Moreover, if we assume that they did, we cannot know what level of power the dead were believed to have obtained.³⁸⁹

In addition to the references in which the *ilānu* are mentioned alongside the *mētū*, Durand has cited data for the presumed domestic ancestor cult at Emar and has offered alternative interpretations of several texts treated by Arnaud. Durand concluded that *kuburu* in several texts is to be translated "tombe" (< *quburu*). This creates a mortuary context for the recorded offerings in these texts which were in Durand's view occasioned by the ritual abandonment of a family tomb resulting from the recent sale of family property.³⁹⁰

Arnaud had previously rejected this meaning for *kuburu* and translated it as "*sicle lourd*" or "*préciput*".³⁹¹ In any case, assuming that Durand's proposal should stand, these references cannot tell us whether or not such rites were observed on a regular basis let alone whether or not beliefs in the supernatural power of the dead kin stand behind them. They may simply constitute funerary rites involving expressions of commemoration or, if regularly observed, care for the dead.

³⁸⁹Moreover, the problematic form *mētū* presents a major obstacle for the ancestor cult interpretation as we would expect *mītūtū*. Huehnergard 1983:28 tentatively took the form *mētēya* to be the irregular plural of *mītūtīya*, cf. also his qualified translations on pp.15,19. Durand 1989:87 did make a distinction between the *mītū* "the clan dead" (cf., e.g. Sigrist 1982:243-45 and Arnaud 1987:237-39 l.26 *dingir³⁸⁹ ù mi-ti ša Abīka abišunu ukannū*) while the *mītūtū* (cf., e.g. the texts in Huehnergard 1983:11-19,26-29) designated "the dead in general". Arnaud 1983:206-07, 1986:197 understood the form to represent "lower divinities".

³⁹⁰Durand 1989:85-88.

³⁹¹Cf. Arnaud 1984-85:204 and 1987:239 (l.11) respectively.

In closing, we mention the Emarite deity(?) ^d*Milku* found in offering contexts, and the *imlikū*, perhaps the divine warriors and guardians of the entrances to Nergal's infernal city.³⁹² Whether or not the latter represent dead "rulers" like the Amorite *malikū* and Ugaritic *mlkm* remains to be verified.

Based on the equation of ^d*Malik* and Nergal in an Old Babylonian god list, the Weidner list *OECT* 1:9:2:8, one might be tempted to equate ^d*Milku* with Nergal at Emar. This would help to explain the apparent depiction of the *imlikū* as protégés of Nergal -they are simply the pluralization of ^d*Milku*. Against this stands the fact that ^d*Milku* is listed separately from Nergal in a ritual text from Emar.³⁹³

3.2.3. SUMMARY

In summary, the available evidence from Nuzi and Emar remains inconclusive *vis-à-vis* the existence of death and ancestor cults, royal or otherwise. The Nuzi and Emar data allow for alternative interpretations, that is to say, they may comprise funerary rites involving commemoration of or care for the domestic rather than royal ancestors.

If future studies unequivocally document the presence of a royal ancestor cult at Emar like the recently conjectured domestic version -which itself is not at all certain-, its presence in this peripheral site would reflect the kind of

³⁹² Cf. Arnaud 1986:460,463,466-67 [Texts 472:62' and 473:15'] and 1985B:235 respectively.

³⁹³ Cf. Arnaud 1986:466-67 [Text 473:15' ^d*Milku*, 11.60',68' Nergal].

influence emanating from the Mesopotamian heartland which we proposed for Mari. In the case of Emar, such influence might be construed as simply continuing through later periods perhaps by way of Mari.

In any case, as we underscored in our summary of the Ugaritic material in 3.1.10., it will be the task of future studies to delineate clearly the character of these cults -whether care for, commemoration of, veneration of, or worship of the dead is involved, whether they reflect royal or domestic versions-, what beliefs are reflected in them, and what are their possible origins. The presently available information cannot provide adequate answers.

In anticipation of what might give occasion to future exaggerated claims *vis-à-vis* the Emar texts, it is safe to say that these materials will not establish the hypothetical West Semitic origins of those presumed death and ancestor cults purportedly practiced by the first millennium inhabitants of Syria-Palestine -Israel's immediate relatives and/or neighbors. In any case, we simply cannot identify unequivocal evidence that an indigenous belief in the supernatural beneficent power of the dead characterized the West Semites of the third and second millennia.

The results derived from our investigation of the Ugaritic materials confirm this as we would surely expect indications of such practices there, that is, given the prior assumptions that death and ancestor cults were West Semitic in origin and that they were observed at a more easterly contemporary site like Emar which was inhabited, at least in part, by West Semites.

In fact, when viewed collectively the evidence thus far indicates that death and ancestor cults were *not* indigenous to Syria-Palestine of the second millennium. This in turn raises the likelihood that they were imported on occasion from outside the region -at least in the case of the royal version- no doubt for reasons related to political expediency, for as we mentioned above, temporary Mesopotamian influence best accounts for the presence of the royal ancestor cult at Mari. This explanation of the cult at Mari and the absence of such cults at other second millennium sites provides a working model, if you will, for our examination of the first millennium texts from Syria-Palestine.

CHAPTER IV

THE EVIDENCE FROM THE HEBREW BIBLE

Apropos of the existence of death and ancestral cults in ancient Israel, marked swings in the pendulum *pro* or *con* have tended to characterize the history of interpretation and the pendulum appears to be decidedly on the move again in the direction of *apex pro*. That is to say, the number of scholars who have accepted the notion that such practices were indeed embraced by at least certain sectors of Israelite society is currently on the rise.¹

Having set forth in previous chapters what can be confidently affirmed *vis-à-vis* death and ancestral cults and necromancy in Syria-Palestine of the third to second millennia B.C.E., we shall next turn to examine the evidence posited in the Hebrew Bible. But before doing so both the biblical traditions' "Canaanite" origin for Israelite ancestor cults and necromancy as well as the early to mid first millennium B.C.E. extra-biblical Syro-Palestinian textual evidence must be evaluated. The impetus for this approach arises out of the frequent reference to both sets of data, the biblical and the inscriptional, in support of the theory that such practices were indigenous to the local culture and that Israel had early on adopted the practices of her neighbors.

¹Heider 1985:383-400; Lang 1988A:144-56 and 1988B:12-23; Smith and Bloch-Smith 1988:277-84; Lewis 1989; and Tropper 1989 have each expressed a general alignment with this view. For a survey of modern research and the current revival of earlier theories affirming the existence of such cults in ancient Israel, cf. Spronk 1986:25-54.

4.1. THE SUPPOSED 'CANAANITE' ORIGINS OF ANCESTOR CULTS AND NECROMANCY IN ISRAEL

While the biblical traditions characterize necromancy and various other mortuary rites as "Canaanite" in origin, we contend that in such instances these traditions reflect an archaizing tendency intended to create the appearance of antiquity and, thereby, to lend greater authority to their content. As our treatment in 3.1. demonstrates, the Ugaritic materials -apart from the question of whether or not they accurately reflect geographically and chronologically distant Canaanite practices²- do not substantiate the existence of ancestor cults and necromancy among the Canaanites of the late second millennium.

Secondly, like the terms Hittite and Amorite, the term Canaanite as *employed by the biblical writers* does not correspond to any political or ethnic entity known from the historical documents of the second millennium. For the late biblical writers the term functioned instead as an ideological or rhetorical term for the pre-Israelite inhabitants of Palestine who came to epitomize the foreign occupation which persistently threatened Israel's claim to the land and its blessings.³

That the biblical traditions would resort to such rhetorical license is illustrated by the fact that the deuteronomistic (hereafter dtr) traditions attributed practices such as the cult of Asherah to syncretistic origins and radically

²Cf. the cautions in this regard expressed by Craigie 1981:99-111, esp. pp.104-09 and 1983.

³See Van Seters 1972:64-81 and 1975:46-51.

altered the traditions concerning the Judahite kings Hezekiah, Manasseh, and Josiah in conformity with dtr Yahwism.⁴ Asherah's foreign affiliation has been shown to be an artificial reconstruction created by the dtr tradition serving as a diversion for what once constituted the forefathers' worship of a goddess.⁵ Asherah was originally the consort of El, but as Yahwism appropriated the El traditions, so the inclusion of Yahweh to El resulted in Asherah becoming Yahweh's consort.⁶

Along similar lines, we would argue that a late dtr-related rhetorical polemic lies behind the references to necromancy in Deut. 18:11, 1 Sam. 28:3-25; 2 Kgs. 21:6, 23:24, and Isa. 8:19, 19:3, and 29:4. This polemic projected necromancy further back into Israel's historical traditions, attributed to it Canaanite origins, and attached its condemnation to heroic figures like Moses, Isaiah, and Josiah, thereby gaining for itself new levels and dimensions of authority. While we will treat each of the

⁴For other examples of dtr rhetorical distortion e.g., the reform cult of Jeroboam (1 Kgs. 12:25-33) and an alleged deity Molek (1 Kgs. 11:7; 2 Kgs. 23:10; Jer. 32:35), cf. Olyan 1988:11-13. For the artificial dtr portrayal of Hezekiah and Josiah as reforming traditionalists and Manasseh as apostate innovator, cf. Ahlström 1982:68-80.

⁵Cf. Olyan 1988:1-22, 38-61 and Smith 1990:80-114.

⁶Smith 1990:7-12 lists the following points in favor of the "Israelite inclusion of Yahweh into the older figure of El": (1) the divine element in the name Israel is an El name not a Yahwistic one, (2) Deut. 32:8-9 depicts Yahweh as one of the sons of El who received Israel as his nation, (3) there are no biblical polemics against El, (4) the El name developed into a generic designation for god as a result of Yahweh's inclusion into El, (5) Exod. 6:2-3 reflects a tradition in which only the name of El Shadday not Yahweh was made known to the patriarchs, (6) the inscriptional onomastica identifies Yahweh and El, (7) the characteristics and epithets of El become those of Yahweh in Israel, and (8) Yahweh and El exhibit a similar compassionate disposition toward humanity.

above passages in detail, we offer by way of illustration, a sample analysis of the first Isaiah passages.

An exilic or post-exilic redaction of first Isaiah is widely recognized regardless of how one might characterize the nature of that redaction.⁷ Moreover, significant portions of this redaction have been identified as dtr in orientation. In favor of the exilic-post-exilic redaction of chs. 1-35 are the following: the role of Babylon in 13:1-14:23, the overthrow of Babylonia by the Medes in 13:17, 21:2, the lack of condemnation of Persia and Media in the oracles against the nations (chs. 13-23), the destruction of Jerusalem, the Babylonian exile, the restoration, the use of Torah as wise instruction, and retribution.⁸

In addition to the fact that ch. 1 and chs. 65-66 have numerous thematic and linguistic elements in common suggesting the same post-exilic redactional hand⁹, they both reflect dtr influence.¹⁰ Furthermore, 1:29-31 and possibly 1:19-20, preserve a characteristic dtr polemic against cultic apostasy and 3:10-11 reflects the dtr distinction between the righteous and the wicked

⁷For a survey of approaches, cf. now Seitz 1991 and note esp. pp. 29, 189-91.

⁸Cf. Sweeney 1988:1-25, 123-33.

⁹The themes shared by ch. 1 and 65-66 include cultic apostasy, judgment as a means for restoration, and the separation of the righteous from the wicked. The shared vocabulary includes: *gan* "garden" 1:29 and 65:3, 66:17; *bāḥar* "choose" 1:29 and 65:12, 66:3-4; *lō' hāpaš* "no delight" 1:11 and 65:12, 66:3-4; *bōš* "shame" 1:29 and 65:13, 66:5; *'ēlîm* "trees" 1:30 and 65:22; "burning" 1:31 and 66:15-16, 17; and "unquenched fire" 1:31 and 66:24, cf. Sweeney 1988:21-24.

¹⁰Sweeney 1988:196 and n. 12.

and their reward and punishment.¹¹ Furthermore, Isa. 2:8 and 17:8 reflect the dtr expression "the work of one's hands" *ma'ăśēh yāḏāyw* and 17:8 mentions "the asherahs and the incense altars" *wē hā'ăšērîm wē hāḥammānîm* which is also indicative of dtr redaction.¹² As noted above, the dtr tradition has portrayed Asherah religion in 17:8 as Canaanite in origin and has inserted this polemic into the earlier traditions of first Isaiah.

These examples establish the precedent for the hypothesis that an exilic or post-exilic redaction and one with a dtr orientation stands behind those Isaiah traditions having to do with necromancy and at least potentially death and ancestor cults. An examination of the evidence pertaining to necromancy reveals that the terms *'ôḇ* and *yiddē'ōnî* (or their variant forms) appear only in Isa. 8:19, 19:3, and 29:4 and in the dtr tradition at Deut. 18:11; 1 Sam. 28:3-25; 2 Kgs. 21:6 and 23:24 (necromancy is unattested in Hosea, Amos, and the Elijah-Elisha traditions). A comparison of the Isaiah passages with the necromancy texts original to the Deuteronomistic History (hereafter DtrH), 2 Kgs. 21:6 and 23:24¹³, demonstrates that the former assumes that necromancy was practiced in Israel in king Ahaz's day, while the latter depicts its subsequent introduction not before the days of Manasseh. Had traditions concerning necromancy's introduction

¹¹ Cf. Sweeney 1988:129-33, 183 against Brekelmans 1989:167-76 who neglected to consider the above arguments for an exilic or post-exilic redaction of first Isaiah and the dtr character of 1:29-31.

¹² On the dtr character of 2:8 and 17:8, cf. Weinfeld 1972:324; Kaiser 1973:66-67; Olyan 1988:15.

¹³ For the dtr redactional level of Deut. 18:11 and the post-dtr redactional nature of 1 Sam. 28:3-25, cf. 4.4.2. and 4.5.1.

during Ahaz's reign or earlier existed, the writer of the DtrH would have integrated these into his evaluation of Manasseh's predecessors as such traditions would have set the precedent for attributing the 'sin' of necromancy to earlier kings. Had they existed, we would have expected the DtrH to have mentioned Ahaz's embrace of necromancy and Hezekiah's proscription of it.

That Manasseh's reign provides the *terminus ad quo* for Israel's appropriation of necromancy gains further impetus in the likelihood that necromancy was a foreign practice appropriated by the Israelites from their Mesopotamian overlords not before Manasseh's reign.¹⁴ The following points support this proposal. With the exception of the biblical passages, necromancy is attested only in Mesopotamia in the pre-Hellenistic ancient Near East, the number of Mesopotamian necromancy texts significantly increases during the Neo-Assyrian to Late-Babylonian times, divination in general increased in popularity during the reigns of the late Assyrian kings who controlled Palestine during Manasseh's reign, vassalship was first imposed on Judah in Manasseh's reign and, beginning with his vassalship, Mesopotamian political, religious, and economic influence on Israelite (Judahite) culture significantly intensified.

The evidence for the late redaction of first Isaiah, the arguments for the DtrH account of Israel's appropriation of Mesopotamian necromancy not before Manasseh's reign, and the

¹⁴ The question of whether Israel's acquaintance with Mesopotamian necromancy found expression in the biblical traditions as a vestige of a historically verifiable syncretistic Israelite religious practice of pre-exilic times or merely as a literary topos employed by a later ideological tradition (or both!) will be addressed in 4.5.3.

(post-dtr) redactional character of 1 Sam. 28, point to the redactional character of Isa. 8:19, 19:3, and 29:4 (cf. also 4.3.-5.). Given these considerations and the dtr nature of at least some redactional processes evident in Isaiah 1-35 and the phraseology common to both Isa. 8:19, 19:3, and 29:4 and Deut. 18:11 and 1 Sam. 28:3-25, we would suggest that the redaction of the Isaiah passages is, like that in 1 Sam. 28, (post-)dtr in nature and derivative of Deut. 18:11. The consultation of the dead (*dāraš 'el-hammētîm*) occurs only in Deut. 18:11 and in Isa. 8:19 and 19:3 (cf. *dāraš 'el-hā'iṭṭîm* "consult the ghosts") and the consultation of the netherworld gods (*'ēlōhîm °ōlîm/dāraš 'el-[hā] 'ēlōhîm*), appears only in 1 Sam. 28:13 and in Isa. 8:19 and 19:3 (cf. *dāraš hā'ēlîlîm* "consult the false gods"). This redaction expanded necromancy's pervasiveness so as to explicitly indict the general population. It also enhanced the dtr tradition's authority by identifying it with the prophet Isaiah.

4.2. THE EXTRA-BIBLICAL SYRO-PALESTINIAN TEXTUAL EVIDENCE: THE EARLY FIRST MILLENNIUM B.C.E.

Before taking up the biblical traditions in detail, we must complete our examination of the Syro-Palestinian evidence, the Aramaic, Phoenician, and Hebrew inscriptions of the first millennium. First to be briefly considered is the relevant Aramaic evidence. The primary datum cited as indicative of an Aramaic royal ancestor cult is the Hadad inscription, KAI 214, the religious significance of which is, to the say least, problematic. Teixidor concluded with regard to the beliefs embedded in KAI 214, "The Cilician region of which Panamu was

king was never a land of Semites and consequently the Aramaic inscription may express convictions which are not Semitic".¹⁵

The phrase in 1.21 "and (he) invokes the name of Panamuwa" *wyzkr 'šm pnmw* has been viewed as reflective of the practice of calling upon the ancestors and, in the case at hand, the ancestor is the presumed deceased eighth century king of Sam'al, Panamuwa I. However, owing to the numerous lacunae, the immediate context remains obscure and so it is impossible to determine whether or not a death or ancestor cult rite is in view. In fact, the reading and interpretation of 1.21 is debatable. Not only is the reading *wyzkr* questionable, but the meaning of *'šm* has been variously understood. The following reading is given in the edition of Donner and Röllig: [. . .]r *'šm pnmw* from which *wyzkr* is reconstructed on the basis of 1.16 *wyzkr 'šm hdd*.¹⁶ In any case, the contexts are not parallel. The object of one is a known deity and the other a royal personage.

Therefore, in order to justify reconstructing 1.21 on the basis of 1.16, one must first establish on independent grounds, not merely that the invocation of the name of a king, but that the invocation of a *dead* king by name, was an Aramean practice at

¹⁵ Teixidor 1987:371. The mention of *akalšū* "his bread" and *mêšū* "his water" as offerings made to the gods Adad and Shala in the curse formulae in ll. 16-18 (Aramaic = Assyrian ll.26-30) of the ninth-century bilingual Tell Fakhariyah inscription has been cited by Greenfield and Schaffer 1985:51-53 as evidence for an Aramaic version of the royal *kispum* rite. But these gods may be given such offerings for reasons unconnected to mortuary concerns. This curse might reflect the belief that food offered first to a god was capable of conferring divine blessing to the one who consumed it thereafter, cf. Oppenheim 1977:189. In any case, we lack data for the patronage of Adad and Shala in mortuary matters.

¹⁶ Donner and Röllig 1971:39.

this time, for while the invocation of the name is an essential service observed in the Mesopotamian ancestor cult, it is not its sole *Sitz im Leben*. This has yet to be demonstrated. Finally, it must be convincingly argued that this specific reference in 1.21 is the dead king Panamuwa as others have argued that this reference is to the living Panamuwa (see below).

Be that as it may, earlier commentators of the text took 'šm to refer to "sin offering" or "guilt" in both 11.16 and 21: "remember the guilt before/sin offering of Hadad" (1.16) and (note the lacuna!) "[. . .] a sin offering of/for Panamu(wa)".¹⁷ In other words, this passage might be irrelevant to the subject of Aramean mortuary practices and beliefs.

We turn now to a second datum cited in KAI 214 as indicative of royal ancestor cult practices. The repeated phrase "May the nbš of Panamuwa eat with you/Hadad and may the nbš of Panamuwa drink with you/Hadad" *t'kl nbš pnmw °mk/ hdd wtšty nbš pnmw °mk/hdd* in the same text (11.17, 21b-22a) has been taken to refer to food and libation offerings for the dead spirit of Panamuwa.¹⁸ But, not only is the reading *t'kl* in its two occurrences conjectural (cf. 1.17: [t']kl; 1.21: t[']kl), the

¹⁷Cf. e.g., Müller 1893:52-53, 1894:572-73; and Conder 1896:64.

¹⁸Cf. e.g., Gaster 1950:275; de Moor 1973(II):31; Greenfield 1973:47, 1987:68, 70-71; Donner and Röllig 1973:220-21. Others have seen in these lines rudimentary indications of beatific afterlife, cf. e.g., Halévy 1894:35-37; Astour 1980:228; Healey 1984:351; and Spronk 1986:208; and Smith and Bloch-Smith 1988:283. But Caquot 1976:303 and n.3 rendered the form *°m* "with" in the above phrases temporally rather than locally "May the spirit of Panamuwa eat/drink at the same time as you (= Hadad)". This eliminates a supposed belief that the king's departed spirit was feasting with his god.

attendant translation of the larger phrase is not at all certain.¹⁹

In fact, if KAI 214 records the last will and testament of Qrl, the father of Panamuwa²⁰, then it is more likely the case that we have a reference to the living Panamuwa and to the royal banquet following his coronation in which he feasts with his god Hadad who was present in the form of his statue.²¹ Assuming for the sake of argument that *t'kl* and *wtšty* are the correct readings and that they refer to "eating" and "drinking" we might render the passage as follows: "may the *nbš* of Panamuwa eat with/at the same time as you/Hadad and may the *nbš* of Panamuwa drink with/at the same time as you/Hadad".²²

The remaining Aramaic evidence attests to both mourning rites and the setting up of memorials in honor of the deceased.

¹⁹Müller 1893:53,62, following the *editio princeps* of von Luschan and Sachau 1893:49, completely omitted *t'kl* in both instances and interpreted *wtšty nbš pnmw c mk/ hdd* as "and may you bind up the spirit of Panamuwa with you/Hadad", a petition for Hadad's protection of Qrl's living heir. He took *šty* to mean "to intertwine", cf. Hebrew *sty* II.

²⁰Following Müller 1893:54,62 and 1894:573.

²¹Cf. Wilkinson 1986:262-63. Among others, the hymn to Ur-Nammu B describes a banquet held by the king for the gods immediately after his election. The use of *nbs* in KAI 214 would be similar to the use of Hebrew *nps* in connection with one's inclination toward his god (Ps. 63:9) or the emotional states of joy and bliss, cf. Ps. 86:4.

²²Greenfield in private communication emphasized the coronation background of the text, cf. the phrase "When my son (*bn̄y* = Panamuwa) grasps the scepter and sits upon my seat . . ." (11.15,20). We take *bn̄y* as the singular noun with *lcs* suffix, final *mater f*.

It also lays stress on the inviolability of the tomb.²³ An Aramaic version of the *marzēah* is as yet lacking for the pre-mid first millennium and the later evidence remains for the most part, if not entirely, silent on the matter of its death and ancestor cult connections.²⁴

The Phoenician evidence likewise lacks any indication of death and ancestor cult practices.²⁵ Nevertheless, Puech has recently offered a new collation of KAI 30 which results in the mention of regular offerings for a deceased man or hero "and the man who puts a stop to the peace offerings at this tomb for this man or hero. . ." *wh'š 'š h[dl] [h]š[l]mm lqbr z' k' l hgbr z'*

²³ Cf. e.g., KAI 215 (the Panamuwa inscription-eighth century B.C.E.), 225 (the Sinzeribni inscription-seventh century B.C.E.), and 226 (the Si'gabbar inscription-seventh century B.C.E.). It is impossible to determine whether or not the memorial set up in honor of the deceased in these cases involved regular rites beyond the funeral. In any case, veneration and worship are not mentioned or depicted, these are silent on the matter of the benefic power of the dead.

²⁴ A lone Elephantine ostrakon in Porten 1968:184-86 mentions the *marzēah* but makes no mention of its mortuary associations, and cf. Bryan 1973:168-69. Sayce 1909:154-55 read only *mr|||* in l.3, but following Lidzbarski 1915:119-21 most read *marzēah*. The Nabatean inscriptions are silent on its mortuary associations, cf. Negev 1961:134-37, 1963:113-17; Naveh 1967:187-89; Zayadine 1986:465-74; and Negev 1987:287-90. One text mentions Obodas as patron of the *marzēah*, see Dalman 1912:92-94 [Text 73:2]; Lidzbarski 1915:278 and Ingholt 1967(I/1):48 [Text 5]. Whether or not this is a dead deified Nabatean king, Obodas I, or a personal god by the same name, remains a point of debate, cf. Bryan 1973:226; L'Heureux 1979:209; and Fabry 1984:cols. 13-14 against Lewis 1989:90. For the Palmyrene inscriptions, cf. Bryan 1973:170-97, 213-25 against the proposals *vis-à-vis* the supposed mortuary associations, so Porten 1968:183 and/or its beatific motifs, so du Mesnil de Buisson 1962:456, 467-69.

²⁵ Cooper 1987:316 concluded "there is insufficient evidence to permit the reconstruction of a Phoenician cult of the dead . . .", but he qualified his statement by identifying the Phoenician *marzēah* as the ritual banquet of the cult of the dead.

(11.2b-3).²⁶ Be that as it may, the author recognized the highly conjectural nature of his reconstruction and offered the viable alternative *ḥll* "desecrate" for *ḥdl* in 1.2b and *hdbṛ* for *hgbr* in 1.3.²⁷ This would remove any mention of repeated offerings to the dead. In any case, if such were in view, they might have been offered only during the funeral period as gifts.

The Phoenician version of the *marzēah* is sparsely attested.²⁸ The mention of Shamash as patron of the *marzēah* in a dedicatory inscription on a fourth century bronze *phialē* may simply reflect the sun deity's function as judge in commercial legal matters.²⁹ Mortuary associations are otherwise lacking.³⁰

²⁶ Puech 1979:19-26.

²⁷ Puech 1979:24.

²⁸ Cf. the fourth century B.C.E. inscription in Greenfield and Avigad 1982:118-28 and Amadasi 1987:121-27; the fourth-third century B.C.E. tariff discovered at Marseilles, France, KAI 69, and cf. Bryan 1973:158-63 for bibliography; and the first century B.C.E. inscription on a commemorative stele of the Sidonian colony at Piraeus, the port of Athens, KAI 60, and cf. Bryan 1973:163-67 and Gibson 1982:148-51 for bibliography.

²⁹ Against the view that in this text libations are offered by the *marzēah* of Shamash to the dead (reading 'nsk with prosthetic aleph from *nsk* "to pour") so Catastini 1986:11-18, cf. Amadasi 1987:121-22 who returned to the reading of the editors, Greenfield and Avigad 1982:126-28, 'nḥn. Peckham 1987:83 assumed the death/ancestor cult background of all three texts and cited the biblical evidence in support, but cf. 4.3.1. and 4.6.1.

³⁰ Assurbanipal's palace relief has been cited as indicative of the *marzēah*'s spread to Mesopotamia from Phoenicia, so Barnett 1985:1*-6*. That the *Rp'm* are depicted in this relief has been argued by Gubel 1989:47-50. In view of the lack of mortuary connections of the pre-Hellenistic *marzēah*, cf. 4.3.1. and 4.6.1., such elements are better explained otherwise. Besides, this would be the first explicit association of the *marzēah* with a victory celebration and with the involvement of the enemy dead (the severed head of the Elamite king is illustrated in the reliefs). We would expect the involvement of dead benefic ancestors.

The Phoenician *rp'm* are mentioned in three texts.³¹ The relevant contexts are of little help beyond the establishment of the chthonic nature of the *rp'm*.³² The question remains whether they were considered simply as the shades of the dead in general, dead kings, or, in line with our proposal *vis-à-vis* the Ugaritic *rp'um*, mythic warriors with whom the distinguished members of society sought to be associated *post mortem*.

The last viewpoint might find confirmation in the Phoenician evidence. In 1.2 of KAI 30, the text newly collated by Puech, if the reading *hgbr* is correct, it could refer to the special status of a deceased individual, a "hero". At Ugarit, we found that the cognate *g̃zr* repeatedly showed up parallel to *mt rp'i* where both forms functioned as titles of the legendary hero Danil. In view of our findings concerning the Ugaritic *rp'um* (cf. 3.1.7.), we would venture the proposal that as death drew nigh, members of the higher echelons of Phoenician society sought the esteemed status of hero in an attempt to perpetuate their memory among the living.³³

³¹ KAI 13 and 14, the Tabnit and Eshmunazar inscriptions. Both date from the sixth century B.C.E. and were found at Sidon. Cf. also KAI 117, the Latin-Punic bilingual inscription of the first century C.E. from El-Amruni, Libya.

³² Cf. KAI 13:7b-8 "may you have no seed under the sun nor a place of rest with the *rp'm*" 'l y[k]n l[k] zr^c bhym t̃t šmš wmškb 't *rp'm* and KAI 14:8b-9a "may they have no place of rest with the *rp'm* and may they not be buried in a grave and may they have no son or seed to succeed them" 'l ykn lm mškb 't *rp'm* w'l yqbr bqbr w'l ykn lm bn wzr^c t̃tnm.

³³ In any case, the divine status of the Phoenician *rp'm* cannot be established on the basis of the first century C.E. Neo-Punic text KAI 117:1 l^c l[nm] 'r'p'm "for the deified *rp'm* . . ." with most commentators who assume the equation of ^clnm and 'lnm, cf. e.g., Sperling 1971:col.79. Vattioni 1980-81:297-98 has revived the alternate reading l^c l[n] ' r'p'm "for the gods of the

The Phoenician royalty sought longevity. The kings of Byblos spanning the tenth to fifth centuries B.C.E. prayed to the gods for lengthy reigns and long life.³⁴ Moreover, the royalty did seek to perpetuate their names among the living.³⁵ The repeated use of funerary stelae to commemorate the dead illustrates this.³⁶

When we come to the available early to mid first millennium Palestinian inscriptional evidence, we find no mention of death and ancestor cult practices.³⁷ Our surveys of the comparative material underscore the point we made earlier that the Syro-

rp'm of . . .". Regarding the presumed divine status of the Phoenician dead, the Persian period inscription from Pyrgi, KAI 277, cannot be cited as indicative of the dead's status as god. In 11.8-9, the burial of a god in *qbr 'lm* is mentioned, but it is generally viewed by scholars as a representation of any one of several known deities, whether Ashtarte/Aphrodite, Melqart, or Adonis/Tammuz and not as a deceased mortal, cf. e.g., Soggin 1975:112-119 and now Roschinski 1988:602-05.

³⁴ KAI 4-7,10 and cf. 25:5-7 and 26A:III:2-6 and C:III:19-20.

³⁵ Cf. KAI 10:11b-15, the curse of Yehawmilk, a Byblian king, against anyone who would remove the written form of his name after his demise.

³⁶ Cf. the use of *mšbt* in Phoenician texts at Umm el-^cAmed in Magnanini 1973:85-86 [Text 6], 88 [Text 12]; at Kition in Amadasi and Karageorghis 1977:48-53 [Texts B1-4], 56-58 [Texts B5-6], 88-100 [Texts 40-45]; in the west Mediterranean in KAI 53 (Athens), 60 (Piraeus), 78 (Carthage), 100 (Dougga), 149 (Maktar), 163 (?), 165 (near Guelma) 202 (Afis) and cf. Tomback 1978:194 [Texts 2a,2c,4a].

³⁷ Spronk 1986:307-1, following Mittmann 1981:143-44, argued that the eighth century B.C.E. Uriyahu graffito incised in Tomb II at Khirbet el-Qom referred to the deity's protection of both the living and the dead, that is to say, it presupposes some kind of continuance of one's relationship to Yahweh after death. Spronk's proposal is severely weakened by his dependence upon unlikely textual readings, his penchant for radical emendation justified solely on the basis of three supposed scribal errors, and his omission of 11.5-6. For a more reliable rendering of the text, cf. Hadley 1987:51 where no hints of afterlife beliefs are evident.

Palestinian or, to use the term employed by the biblical writers, "Canaanite" origins of Israelite death and ancestor cult practices and necromancy is an artificial reconstruction and that another point of origin should be sought. In our examination of the biblical texts cited by scholars, we will evaluate the possible Mesopotamian background for the introduction of practices reflective of the supernatural benefic dead.

4.3. THE PRE-EXILIC PROPHETIC LITERATURE

In this section, we shall examine several prophetic passages, the contexts of which many commentators have dated to the pre-exilic era. Nevertheless, the secondary nature of these texts remains a matter of continued debate. Therefore, we must carefully evaluate the arguments for the compositional histories of these texts in our attempt to reconstruct hypothetically the history of Israelite religion *vis-à-vis* death and ancestral cults.

As mentioned previously, we shall also examine the biblical texts concerned with necromancy. We do so for two reasons. First, many interpreters have assumed a close association between Israelite necromancy and death and ancestor cults.³⁸ Secondly, owing to the nature of both the comparative and biblical data associated with the texts concerned with necromancy, that tradition, once reconstructed, can offer a workable model for the

³⁸ Cf. e.g., most recently Rouillard and Tropper 1987B:235-54 and Lewis 1989.

possible reconstruction of the history of death and ancestor cult practices in Israel.

4.3.1. AMOS 6:7

Clearly, the earliest text cited in past discussions on Israelite death and ancestor cult practices is Amos 6:7.³⁹ Greenfield labelled the *marzēah* mentioned in v.7 a funerary cult, for in 6:9-10 the death of Samaria's wealthy class and their burial by close relatives is anticipated.⁴⁰ Pope, who ventured little distinction between the rites associated with the funerary feast and those connected with what he labelled the cult of the dead, explicitly stated that the *marzēah* in Amos 6:7 exhibits features characteristic of the latter and has upheld this position to the present.⁴¹

³⁹ Nevertheless, Vermeulen 1978:563-64 viewed 6:7 as a later dtr redaction. He argued that vv.6b-7 appear to interrupt an otherwise complete oracle beginning in v.3 and ending with v.11. Furthermore, the vocabulary does not favor the authenticity of the verse: *mirzah* (!) occurs only one other time and then in a later passage (Jer.16:5); *s' rûhîm* contains a *mater lectionis* whereas in v.4 it is written defectively; and the verb *gālāh* is found principally in reference to the deportation of the people at the dtr level of the book (5:5; 7:11,17). On the dtr redaction of Amos, cf. Schmidt 1965:168-92 and now Coote 1981.

⁴⁰ Greenfield 1974:453 and cf. 1973:48-49. King 1988A:139 has employed a similar line of argument, although in 1988B:37 he was more cautious, cf. also Polley 1989:88-91 and Andersen and Freedman 1990:566-68.

⁴¹ Pope 1977B:216 "The mention of ivory beds, feasting, music and song, wine bibbing, and perfume oil in Amos 6:4-7 . . . are all features of the funeral feast in the *marzēah*(-house), or drinking house". In 1987:459, Pope cited the inebriation reflected in *marzēah s' rûhîm* "sprawler's banquet" within the context of the following observation "From ancient times to the present celebrations of death have been commonly accompanied by drinking of alcoholic beverages to excess". Cf. also Coote 1981:35-39 and Loretz 1982:87-93.

Before we address these proposals, we will offer our translation of 6:4-7. Within the doom oracle spanning 6:1-7, 6:1-2 comprises a woe cry, 6:3-6 encompasses an accusation section, and 6:7 contains a concluding pronouncement of judgment:⁴²

(4) <i>haššōk^e bîm °al-mittôt šēn</i> <i>ûs^e rūhîm °al-°aršôtām</i> <i>w^e 'ōk^e lîm kārîm miššō'n</i> <i>wā° āgālîm mittôk marbēq</i>	"Those who lie on beds of ivory, who loll on their couches, who feast on lambs from the flock And on calves from the stall.
(5) <i>hāppore tîm °al-pî hannābel</i> <i>k^e dawîd hāš^e bū lāhem k^e lê šîr</i>	Those who hum snatches of song to the tune of the lyre⁴³- Like David, invent for themselves instruments of music.
(6) <i>haššōtîm b^e mizre qê yayin</i> <i>w^e rē'šît š^e mānîm yimšāhû</i> <i>w^e lô' nehlû °al-šēber yôsēp</i>	Those who drink from the wine bowls And anoint themselves with the choicest oils- But they are not concerned about the ruin of Joseph.
(7) <i>lākēn °attāh yiqlû b^e rō'š</i> <i>gōlîm</i> <i>w^e sār mirzah s^e rūhîm</i>	Assuredly, right soon they shall head the column of exiles; and the marzēah of lolling⁴⁴ shall come to an end".

⁴²Cf. the new JPS translation. The meaning of v.3 is uncertain.

⁴³For *nēbel* as "lyre", not "harp", cf. Freedman 1985:49-51. On this and the following clause, cf. Wolff 1977:276.

⁴⁴Others translate *s^e rūhîm* as "revelry". Either rendering eliminates the assumption that *mirzah* should be translated "revelry" as the following adjective would be redundant.

In the light of Amos's repeated accusations of social injustice, commentators have viewed this oracle as motivated by the social elite's exploitation of the peasant population in their quest for wealth and populace. Clear as well, is his condemnation of their lack of vigilance.⁴⁵

Nevertheless, Barstad has argued that polemic against foreign deities was the foremost concern of 6:1-7 and not the opulent feasting of the upper classes and that Amos is therefore to be viewed as a monotheist like Hosea. For external support, he cited the comparative evidence associating the *marzēah* with patron gods. For Barstad, the sacral nature of the *marzēah* provides an implicit backdrop to Amos's polemic in 6:7. For internal support, he listed several passages as examples of Amos's polemic against the nation's worship of foreign gods, two of which demand our attention, 5:26 and 8:14.⁴⁶

Against this line of argument is the fact that commentators since the time of Wellhausen have viewed Amos 5:26 as a later addition.⁴⁷ Some have argued for the dtr redactional nature of v.26 on the basis of the idealization of the wilderness wandering evident in 5:25-27.⁴⁸ Others have done so on the basis of the

⁴⁵ Cf. e.g., most recently King 1988A:137-62 and 1988B:34-44.

⁴⁶ Barstad 1984 also treated 2:6-8; 4:1 and 6:13. On the latter two, cf. Polley 1989:89-94. The phrase *'ēlōhēhem* in 2:8 is translated "their god" by most commentators, not "their gods", and so Amos is attacking what he viewed as an unacceptable Yahwistic practice.

⁴⁷ So Schmidt 1965:188-91 and Willi-Plein 1971:37-39. Cf. Harper 1905:140 for thirteen different interpretations of this passage.

⁴⁸ Cf. Kraus 1966:112-14 and Wolff 1977:264-66.

mention of two late attested Mesopotamian astral deities Kewan and Sakkuth (and cf. the phrase *kôkab 'ēlōhêkem* "of your astral deity/ies" in v.26b).⁴⁹

Amos 8:14 is extremely problematic. The phrase *bē 'ašmat šōmē rôn*, is often emended to read "Ashimah of Samaria", but according to 2 Kgs. 17:30, this Syrian(?) goddess was not introduced into the northern kingdom until after the Assyrian conquest of Samaria. Others have rendered this phrase "the guilt of Samaria" as the term *'ašmat* could be construed as derivative of *'ašmāh*. But, this term occurs only in late texts and has likewise resulted in the attribution of 8:14 to a later hand.⁵⁰

In any case, we should point out that the mention of patron foreign deities is nowhere to be found in 6:1-7. This is merely an inference made by Barstad on the basis of the occasional association of local *marzēaḥs* with patron deities in the comparative material.

Returning to the question of the mortuary associations of *mirzaḥ*, the construct form of *marzēaḥ*, nothing in 6:1-7 points to such a connection. While the allusion to the burial of relatives in vv.9-10 could be taken as suggestive of the *marzēaḥ*'s mortuary associations, in the context of a pronouncement of judgment it

⁴⁹Against McKay 1973:68 and 123 n.4 who argued that the presence of Assyrian deities does not necessarily date the passage after 722/1, see Lemche 1985:310 n.15. In any case, Borger 1988:70-81 has shown that while plausible, the Assyrian deities interpretation must for the present remain conjectural.

⁵⁰Cf. the *opinio communis* outlined in Soggin 1987:96-101, 140-41 and the discussion in Polley 1989:91-94, where the interpretation of the guilt of Samaria and the god of Dan in 8:14 is reiterated resulting in both phrases referring to unacceptable Yahwistic practices.

most likely refers to their death as the expected outcome of divine judgment and therefore stands as an independent element with no direct relation to the *marzēah*.

As most interpreters acknowledge, the mortuary associations of *marzēah* in Amos 6:7 must be established on the basis of what we can know of the *marzēah* from the comparative data. We found that in the Eblaite, Ugaritic, Aramaic, and Phoenician texts, mortuary elements were absent.⁵¹ The only exception to the comparative material is a lone possible reference in the later Nabatean inscriptions. In other words, such associations were by no means intrinsic to the pre-Hellenistic West Semitic *marzēah*.⁵²

Thus, chronologically, geographically, and culturally, the comparative evidence favors the non-mortuary nature of the *marzēah* and confirms our conclusion that the *marzēah* in Amos 6:1-7 lacks any reference to the dead or to foreign gods. Rather, this text condemns the preoccupation of the wealthy class with a luxurious lifestyle to the neglect of the needy. The issue as Amos saw it was Israel's unethical behavior, not her illegitimate religious practices.

Nevertheless, we do not intend to reject the possibility that in an isolated instance the *marzēah* could be associated with

⁵¹ Whatever view one takes on the matter, it is clear that death and ancestor cult relations are entirely lacking in what has been interpreted as the West Semitic *marzēah* depicted in the banquet scene from the roughly contemporary palace relief of Ashurbanipal, cf. Barnett 1985:1*-6*, followed by Gubel 1989:47-55.

⁵² Whatever conclusions one reaches regarding the mortuary associations of the *marzēah* at Palmyra, Hellenistic influence may be present as it most likely developed under the influence of the Greek *thiasos*.

matters mortuary in pre-Hellenistic times, but such could be explained as simply due to the notion that social fraternities in antiquity might acknowledge the death of one of their illustrious members by a solemn funeral. But this by no means establishes a intrinsic connection between this institution and mortuary rites or more specifically death and ancestor practices. We will take up this point in greater detail in our treatment of Jer. 16:5, the later and lone remaining biblical reference to the *marzēah* (cf. 4.6.1).

4.3.2. ISAIAH 8:19-22

Isa. 8:19-22 comprises the closing lines of a lengthy section beginning in 6:1. This section is generally recognized as pre-exilic in date, so 8:19-22 potentially provides us with the earliest biblical reference to necromantic practices in Israel. While the association of this passage with necromancy is generally recognized, the terms *'ōbōt* and *yidd^ec ōnīm* in v.19 continue to exercise interpreters as to their intended referents: do they represent the spirits of the dead or the practitioners who inquire of those spirits? Before we offer our interpretation, we must attempt to establish both the mortuary associations of these terms as well as the compositional history of Isa. 8:19-22.

On the basis of 1 Sam. 28:3,7,8, and 9, we can safely conclude that the term *'ōb*, the singular form of *'ōbōt*, denotes a spirit of the dead as it refers there to Samuel's shade, and by way of its repeated association with *yidd^ec ōnīm(m)*, we can tentatively propose the same general field of meaning for the

latter (for 1 Sam. 28, cf. 4.5.1.). That the spirits of the dead are in view is further verified by their occurrence alongside *mētîm* in v.19. Deut. 18:11 confirms this, as "the inquirer of the 'ôb and the *yiddē'ōni*" *šō'ēl 'ôb wē yiddē'ōni* is followed by the summary term "the necromancer" *dōrēš 'el-hammētîm*.⁵³ Lastly, both terms are paralleled by the term "shades" *'itîm* in Isa. 19:3 which is most likely to be equated with Akkadian *eṭemum* "spirit of the dead" (cf. 4.3.3.).⁵⁴

We now turn to the compositional history of these verses. The unit 8:16-18 is generally recognized as forming the conclusion to an original memoir or *Denkschrift* beginning at 6:1. While this memoir records the prophet Isaiah's activities on the occasion of the Syro-Ephraimite crisis, commentators have concluded that the unit 8:19-22 comprises a later, perhaps two-layered, expansion on that memorial and dates from the time of the exile.⁵⁵ As such it applies Isaiah's prophecies to the Babylonian capture of Jerusalem and ascribes that disaster to the people's illicit practices.⁵⁶

⁵³ This in turn supports the summarizing function of *mētîm* in Isa. 8:19.

⁵⁴ *Contra* Burns 1978:8 who understood the term as "sorcerers".

⁵⁵ Cf. Budde 1928; Steck 1972:188-206; Wildberger 1972:343-44, 356; Müller 1975:65-76; Barth 1977:152-56; Clements 1980:3-8, 70-71, 101-03; Kaiser 1983:114-17, 200-02; and Kilian 1986:47.

⁵⁶ According to several commentators, 8:19-22 comprises a two fold addition to that memorial, vv.19-20 followed by vv.21-22. Although Vermeylen 1977:24, 228-32; 1978:694 accepted the exilic date, he argued for the unity of vv.19, 21-22 and viewed vv.20, 23a as a later expansion from the same period. This is supported by the intimate connection of the motifs of consulting the dead and the gods on the one hand and distress and darkness on the other, for which cf. 1 Sam. 28:3-25, Prov. 1:24-28, and Micah 3:4-8.

As we set forth in 4.1., several lines of argumentation not only point to the likelihood of exilic or post-exilic redactional processes preserved in first Isaiah and the dtr or post-dtr character of at least some of those redactional processes, but also to the redactional nature of Isa. 8:19, 19:3, and 29:4, and the dtr-related orientation of that redaction.⁵⁷ Recall that the terms *'ôb* and *yidd^ecōnî* or their plural forms are not attested in any other pre-exilic or, for that matter, exilic prophetic tradition. However, both terms are found otherwise only in dtr narrative and legal texts (Deut. 18:11; 2 Kgs. 21:6, 23:24) or narrative and legal texts dependent upon the dtr tradition (1 Sam. 28:3-25; 1 Chr. 10:13; 2 Chr. 33:6; cf. also Lev. 19:31; and 20:6,27 and cf. 4.5.1.-3).⁵⁸

Moreover, when seen in the light of Syria-Palestine's geopolitical contacts with Mesopotamia during the mid first millennium and following and the numerous clues in the biblical traditions to Mesopotamian influence on Israelite religion of this period (cf. 4.5.2.), the enhanced status of Mesopotamian necromancy -like divination more generally- among late Assyrian

⁵⁷ Contra Brekelmans 1989:173-74, linguistic arguments for dtr redaction elsewhere in Isa. 1-35 do exist, e.g., Isa. 1:19-20,29-31; 2:8; 3:10-11; and 17:8.

⁵⁸ The non-Isaianic origin of *'ôb* and *yidd^ecōnî* is further highlighted by the fact that in the post-exilic text Isa. 65:4 (cf. 4.6.4.) a form of Israelite necromancy associated with a rite of incubation enacted in gardens is polemized against, but neither of these two terms are mentioned. If the hand responsible for chs.65-66 is the same as that responsible for the post-exilic redaction of chs.2-66 and the composition of ch.1, cf. Sweeney 1988:21-24 and 4.1., and if these two terms were original to first Isaiah, then we would have expected a redactional hand acquainted with the first Isaiah traditions and responsible for 65:4 to have made mention of the *'ôb* and *yidd^ecōnî*.

kings controlling Syria-Palestine and the intensification of Mesopotamian political, economic, and religious influence beginning with the reign of Manasseh, favors a relatively late Mesopotamian background for the Israelite appropriation of necromancy.⁵⁹ This is given additional support by the lack of attestation of the practice of necromancy in Egypt, Anatolia, and Syria-Palestine in pre-Hellenistic times.⁶⁰ The arguments in support of each of these points are detailed in 4.5.1.-3.

Finally, when the background of crisis and despair and the resort to unconventional modes of revelation are seen in the light of the dtr redacted text Deut. 18:11 (cf. 4.4.2. and the parallel Lev. 19:31 and 20:6,27) and dtr Isa. 19:3 (cf. 4.3.3.) and Isa. 47:10b-12 where the same or similar magical practices are condemned, an exilic date becomes all the more compelling:⁶¹

(19) *wē kî yō'mē rū 'ālêkem*
dirē šû 'el-hā'ōbôt

"And when they say to you,
 'Consult Those-Who-Return

⁵⁹On the immense popularity of various forms of divination among late Assyrian kings, cf. Spieckermann 1982:227-306,307-72; Pečírková 1985:155-68; and Starr 1990. On the available necromancy texts from Mesopotamia which date exclusively from the Neo-Assyrian period and later, cf. Finkel 1983-84:1-17; von Weiher 1983:no.20:1'-r.27; and Scurlock 1988:5-7,103-12,318-42.

⁶⁰And cf. Finkel 1983-84:15,17. Moore 1990:53-55 generalizes the term so as to include the *marzēaḥ* and the expulsion of ghosts, but the latter is an attempt to rid one of a ghost not communicate with it. As noted earlier, Tropper 1989 also employs an imprecise definition of necromancy which, in view of several of his texts, includes the mere contact with ghosts. The retrieval of information concerning the future is lacking. In other words, he fails to document the associated belief in the dead's supernatural benefic power. Moreover, not only does he questionably find this practice in Egyptian and Hittite texts (pp.27-46, 110-22), but his inclusion of Ugaritic texts (pp.123-60) is hardly convincing in the light of our findings in 3.1.

⁶¹Cf. Wildberger 1972:344 and Clements 1980:101-103.

- ^we 'el-hayyidd^e ^cōnīm ham^e ṣapṣ^e pīm and the Knowers who chirp
^we hammahgīm hālō' -^c am and mutter! Does not a people
'el-'ēlōhāyw yidrōš b^e ^cad consult their (chthonic) gods,
haḥayyīm 'el-hammētīm the dead on behalf of the living?'
(20) l^e tōrāh ^we lit^c ūdāh (Look) to the law and to the
testimony
'im-lō' yō'm^e rū kaddābār if they do not speak according
hazzeh to this word
'āšer 'ēn-lō šāḥar in which there is no magic.⁶²
(21) ^we ^cābar bāh niqšeh ^we rā^c ēb They will "pass on"⁶³ through
it (=Sheol) oppressed and hungry,
^we ḥāyāh kī-yir^c ab ^we hitqassap and when they hunger, they
will be enraged,
^we qillēl b^e malkō ūbē'lōhāyw and will curse their king and
their gods⁶⁴
ūpānāh l^e mā^c lāh and turn upwards or look
(22) ^we 'el-'ereš yabbīṭ down at (lower) earth⁶⁵,

⁶²For our rendering of v.20, see Hayes and Irvine 1987:166-67. However, we take the phrase 'ēn-lō, to denote (the lack of) possession, cf. BDB p.513 para.5b. We connect šāḥar with its cognate form in the exilic context of Isa. 47:10b-12 (cf. v.11 and the related sōḥārayik in v.15 and Akk. sāḥīru "charm, sorcerer"). This text is likewise concerned with the condemnation of such practices.

⁶³The verb ^cābar might refer to the "passing over" from life to death in Ezek. 39:11-16 but any supposed connections with Ugaritic ^cbrm in KTU 1.22.I:15 are doubtful contra Pope 1977A: 173-75 and Spronk 1986:229-31.

⁶⁴Heider 1985:330-31 read "they will curse by Molek and by their gods", and explained the -w in mlkw as the result of dittography with the initial w in ūbē'lōhāyw).

⁶⁵Wildberger 1972:355-58 and Kaiser 1983:202 concluded that this is not metaphoric as it refers to the conjuring up of the dead.

w^e hinnēh ṣārāh wahăššēkah
m^e c ūp ṣûqāh wa'ăpēlāh
m^e nuddāh

Surely distress and darkness
 with no daybreak; Straitness
 and gloom with no dawn."⁶⁶

The verbal form *yō'm^e rû* in v.19 lacks an appropriate antecedent in vv.16-18.⁶⁷ This confirms the redactional nature of vv.19-20a as does *l^e tōrāh w^e lit^e c ūdāh* in v.20, a (secondary) allusion to v.16 *ṣôr t^e c ūdāh hătôm tōrāh*. The inverted word order evident in v.20 shows that *tōrāh* in v.20a reflects the post-exilic understanding of the term to designate a specific body of teaching or the written divine law as in several late additions to Deuteronomy (cf. e.g., 1:5, 28:61, 31:9,26) and not the more general "wise instruction" of first Isaiah as recorded in v.16.

The post-exilic redactor was able to employ the written law in his polemic against alternative modes of revelation and so contrasted the prophetic word with that revelation sought through necromancy. The threat of enacting the death penalty for practicing necromancy as preserved in the *dtr* related references in the Holiness Code (hereafter HC) suggests that this "unorthodox" magical means of interpreting the future must have posed a serious challenge to deuteronomic "orthodoxy" after the exile when conventional forms of religion had all but failed (cf. Lev. 20:6,27).⁶⁸

⁶⁶Heider 1985:328-32 made reference to an unpublished paper by J. Glen Taylor who pointed out the netherworld imagery of no dawn (v.20), inhabitants famished and cursing (v.21), palpable darkness (v.22) and suggested that the antecedent of *bāh* in v.21 is Sheol.

⁶⁷Cf. Gray 1912:157-60 and Wildberger 1972:343.

⁶⁸Cf. Wildberger 1972:343 and Clements 1980:101-02.

The negative interrogative particle *hālō* opening v.19b clearly governs both objects of the verb *yidrōš* "its (= a people's) gods" *'ēlōhāyw* and "the dead" *hammētīm*. As it is unlikely that Isaiah would have urged a people to consult their dead on behalf of the living, the enticement to necromancy must be continued (in the form of two questions) to the end of v.19.⁶⁹

The close proximity of *'ēlōhāyw* and *hammētīm* within the context of an enticement to necromancy has elicited the close attention of commentators.⁷⁰ Recent treatments have opted for the notion that the gods here and in 1 Sam. 28:13 are the dead, the emphasis being on their preternatural or divinized state.⁷¹

However, we demonstrate in our treatment of 1 Sam. 28:3-25 (4.5.1.) that the oft-cited term *ilu* -contrary to the *opinio communis*- is not co-terminous with words such as *eṭemmū* or *mētū* used to designate the dead in Mesopotamia. In fact, various gods are petitioned in necromantic rites of the Neo-Assyrian times and later to assist in retrieving a ghost. This suggests that *'ēlōhāyw* "his gods" is a reference to those gods and netherworld deities known to be summoned in necromantic ritual.

Given the presence of necromantic practices in this exilic redactional text, it remains for us to ascertain the meaning of

⁶⁹ Some commentators have concluded that the enticement to necromancy ended with v.19a and v.19b was viewed as the beginning of the prophetic response with two questions "should not a people consult its God (or should they consult) the dead on behalf of the living?", cf. the RSV and most recently Watts 1985:125-28 and Oswalt 1986:230,237.

⁷⁰ The LXX read the accusative singular of *theos* and 1QIs^a read the singular *'lwhw*.

⁷¹ Cf. e.g., Lewis 1989:131.

the terms *'ōbôt* and *yidd^ecōnīm*. Not only are their referents debated, but the etymology of *'ōbôt* remains disputed.⁷² On the other hand, while the etymology of *yidd^ecōnīm* presents no difficulty, the significance of *y-d-c* "knowing" remains problematic and is likewise bound up with the question of its intended referents: are these "knowers", i.e., the dead who have special knowledge about the future, or the "familiar spirits", i.e., the ancestral dead, or are these the practitioners who have the special knowledge enabling them to communicate with the dead? We will defer our examination of this issue to our treatment of the *'ōbôt*.

For *'ōbôt*, several interpretations have been put forward e.g., "revenants"⁷³, "(the spirits which issue from) the pit"⁷⁴, and "fathers, ancestors".⁷⁵ While the first and last find adherents, the second has received substantial criticism and is generally rejected. In Hebrew, the plural form of *'ōb*, *'ōbôt*, is

⁷²For recent surveys and bibliographies, cf. Hoffner 1971:col. 140-45; Wildberger 1972:349-50; Lust 1974:133-42; Ebach and Rüterswörden 1977:57-70 and 1980:205-20 and add Burns 1978:1-14; Heider 1985:249-50 (and under the relevant texts); Spronk 1986:251-57; and Rouillard and Tropper 1987B:235-54.

⁷³Albright 1969:202 n.32, followed by Lewis 1989:56,113 n.36, has recently resurrected "revenants" (cf. Arabic *'āba* "to return"). For earlier commentators who upheld this view, cf. van Hoonacker 1897-98:157.

⁷⁴So Hoffner 1967:385-401 based on Vieyra 1961:47-55 and Gadd 1948:88-89 and cf. Sumerian *ab*, Akkadian *apu* II, Hittite *api*, all signifying "pit".

⁷⁵Spronk 1986: 253-54 and Rouillard and Tropper 1987B:238, following Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartín 1974:450-51; Lust 1974:136-37; and Müller 1975:70, have upheld "fathers" (cf. Hebrew *'āb*). Another suggestion is "bag, bottle" based on the *hapax legomenon* *'ōb* in Job 32:19 with the proposed etymology "to be hollow", cf. van Hoonacker 1897-98:157. Smith 1899:240 suggested "human skull" based on the same etymology.

more frequent, but plural "pits" do not seem to be indicated in the presumed non-biblical parallels. Second, there remains some question as to the problematic phonemic relation of the *p* and *b* in the Sumerian, Hittite, Akkadian terms and Hebrew 'ôb. Third, there is no explicit connection with "holes" in Israelite necromancy.⁷⁶

We give preference to the connection with Arabic 'āba. To date, no damaging criticisms of this proposal have been offered.⁷⁷ On the other hand, the association with Hebrew 'āb "father" presents several difficulties. Assuming this etymology, the woman of Endor in 1 Sam. 28:7 who rouses the spirit of Samuel would have to be labelled a "the controller of a father" 'ēšet *ba'ālat*-'ôb, but unless one could demonstrate familial relations to exist between the woman of Endor and Samuel, or for that matter Saul and Samuel, it is unlikely that Hebrew 'ôb had such underlying associations.⁷⁸

⁷⁶For additional criticisms, cf. Lust 1974:134; Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartín 1974:451; Müller 1975:68-70; Margalit 1976:146; Healey 1977A:254-56; Cohen 1978:73-74 n.144; and Burns 1978:10.

⁷⁷Lust 1974:135 rejected this position. The French "revenant", or, as Lust further defines the term "ghosts of the deceased who can be called up through a spiritist", would not have been an acceptable concept in the first millennium B.C.E., but 1 Sam. 28 provides as close a parallel as one could hope to find! Nevertheless, we recognize the fact that the Arabic is unattested in earlier phases of Semitic, so Hoffner 1974:131.

⁷⁸Cf. the similar criticism of Ebach and Rüterswörden 1980:207. Spronk 1986:254 attempted to circumvent this objection by arguing that in 1 Sam. 28, 'ôb had become a general designation for all spirits of the dead, but he neither offered support nor did he explain how the ancestors were distinguished from the dead in general. In any case, his view that an ancestral spirit of the woman of Endor might have acted as an intermediary between her and other spirits, contradicts Saul's request in v.8. Saul specifically asks her to divine (Qal of *qāsam*) and bring up

Furthermore, this proposal requires a protracted and unconvincing argument involving the Canaanite shift $\tilde{a}$ to $\tilde{o}$ as well as a highly speculative theological motivation for the vowel change, i.e., to dissociate the highly regarded fathers from the condemned practice of necromancy.⁷⁹

We return now to the identity of the referents indicated by ' $\tilde{o}b\tilde{o}t$ ' and $yidd^c\tilde{o}n\tilde{m}$. At least four possibilities have been proposed: the pit (in the case of ' $\tilde{o}b\tilde{o}t$ '), the spirit of the dead, the image of the dead, as well as the one who conjures up the dead. The first can be eliminated owing to its dependence upon the etymological argument derived from Sumerian *ab*, Akkadian *apu*, and Hittite *api* which we rejected earlier.

That an image might on occasion be in view has been reiterated recently.⁸⁰ The key to this interpretation lies in the syntactic relation of ' $\tilde{o}b\tilde{o}t$ ' and $yidd^c\tilde{o}n\tilde{m}$ to such verbs as "make" (Qal of $\tilde{c}\tilde{a}\tilde{s}\tilde{a}h$: 2 Kgs. 21:6, 2 Chr. 33:6), "burn" (Piel of $b\tilde{a}^c ar$: 2 Kgs. 23:24), "destroy" (Hiphil of $k\tilde{a}ra\tilde{t}$: 1 Sam. 28:9), and "drive out" (Hiphil of $s\tilde{u}r$: 1 Sam. 28:3). In these instances, our two terms function as what appear to be material objects, and therefore eliminate spirits of the dead as suitable referents. Accordingly, images would fit the contexts more readily.

(Hiphil of $\tilde{c}\tilde{a}\tilde{l}\tilde{a}h$) the ' $\tilde{o}b$ ' which Saul should name. This was not one of her ancestors. Spronk's comparison with Ugaritic '*il'ib*' and Aramaic '*b*' as read by his mentor de Moor in KAI 214:16, must also be rejected, cf. 3.1.3.

⁷⁹ So Lust 1974:136 following Lods 1906:I:248.

⁸⁰ Heider 1985:250 n.506; Spronk 1986:253; and Rouillard and Tropper 1987B:236, following Wohlstein 1961:33-34; Wildberger 1972:349-50; and Lust 1974:137-38.

While Lust, one of the advocates of this position, recognized the fact that the above verbs can be applied to persons, he rejected this possibility, for "when considered together however they rather refer to a material object". Nevertheless, Lust did note the use of *ʿāśāh* in Gen 12:5, where slaves are said to have been "acquired". Such a notion could also apply to the hiring of a professional class.⁸¹

Furthermore, Lust failed to mention that *ʿāśāh* is used in conjunction with another professional class, the "priests" *kōhānīm* and designates their having been "appointed" (cf. e.g., 1 Kgs. 12:31, 13:33; 2 Kgs. 17:32; 2 Chr. 2:17). Lastly, persons who associate themselves with such illegitimate divinatory rites could be punished by burning, destruction, or expulsion. As Lev. 20:27 makes clear, persons who have in them the *ʾōbōt* and the *yiddēʿōnīm* are to be "put to death" (*mūt yūmāṭū*) by stoning.

Nevertheless, these verbs could equally apply to the spirits of the dead. It is conceivable that spirits of the dead were officially appointed or instituted (*ʿāśāh*), exterminated or purged (Piel of *bāʿar*, cf. the formula *biʿartā hārāʿ miqqirbekā* "you shall purge the evil from your midst", e.g. Deut. 21:21), removed, i.e., forbidden (Hiphil of *kāraṭ*, cf. 1 Sam. 20:15), and rejected or put aside (Hiphil of *sūr*, cf. e.g. Josh. 11:15; Ps. 66:20). Where it was previously assumed that necromancers were in view, the evidence equally allows for the possibility that the referents are deceased spirits.⁸²

⁸¹Lust 1974:137 and n.6.

⁸²This is also the opinion of the translators of the *JPS*.

Isa. 8:19-22 provides a test case for our proposal. The raised spirits are described as "chirping" (*hamē šapšē pîm*) and "twittering" (*hammahgîm*). In the past, commentators have taken these notions as indicative of the methods employed by mediums and wizards to deceive their clients, but this interpretation lacks contextual support. In Isa. 29:4 the 'ôb is similarly depicted as "chirping" (*tē šapšēp*), but in this case, it is clearly located in the netherworld (*°āpār* "dust"). The comparison of the dead with birds is sufficiently documented for the ancient Near East and, as in the case of the passage at hand, may signal their ability to take flight from the netherworld.⁸³

Moreover, elsewhere the 'ôbôt and *yidd°°ônîm* function as the objects of such verbal actions as "inquire" (*dāraš* + 'el: Isa. 8:19, 19:3; 1 Chr. 10:13), "ask" (*šā'al*: Deut. 18:11; + *bē* - 1 Chr. 10:13), "divine" (*qāsam* + *bē* -: 1 Sam. 28:8), "turn to" (*pānāh* + 'el: Lev. 19:31, 20:6), and "seek unto" (Piel of *bāqaš* + 'el: Lev. 19:31). Only in two instances is a professional explicitly mentioned. In Deut. 18:11, the necromancer is described as "one who asks" (Qal ptc. of *šā'al*) of an 'ôb or a *yidd°°ônîm*, while in 1 Sam. 28:7, the lady of Endor is named "the controller of a spirit" *'ēšet ba°ālat 'ôb*.

By way of summary, nowhere do the unqualified terms 'ôbôt and *yidd°°ônîm* require the practitioner interpretation. In fact, several contexts make the spirit interpretation preferable, while others would readily avail themselves of the same. This would

⁸³Cf. Spronk 1986:100 and the bibliography in n.2. This may help to explicate Isa. 29:4 where the voice of the living is compared with that of the 'ôb from the (lower) earth (*mē'ereš*).

eliminate the notion that the *yiddē cōnīm* designates one who has the special knowledge needed to communicate with the dead. Moreover, in none of the uses of *yiddē cōnīm* are familial ties apparent. In fact, 1 Sam. 28 speaks directly against this (see above). So "familiar spirit" is less likely a meaning than simply "knowers", i.e., spirits who have superior knowledge of the affairs of the living.

At this point, a note of clarification must be underscored at the risk of being redundant. What obtains in Isa. 8:19-22 is an example of necromancy, that is to say, the calling up of the deceased for purposes of ascertaining the unknown or predicting the future.⁸⁴ Unlike prescriptions for expelling a ghost owing to some malevolent influence it might exert, in necromancy the active presence of the ghost is desired.⁸⁵ Although it is often assumed that necromancy shares such a *modus operandi* with death and ancestor cults, no examples of the latter can be cited from the ancient Near East to substantiate such an assumption. In any case, the numerous arguments which we outlined in ch.1 demonstrate that necromancy is not to be equated or confused with the death or ancestor cult.

As to the origins of the Israelite version of necromancy, we suggested above that Assyrian and Babylonian practice provided the stimulus for its introduction into Israel. The impetus for such a proposal consists of several points. First, Isa. 29:4,

⁸⁴ Cf. the definition for necromancy offered in Bourguignon 1987:345-47.

⁸⁵ For examples of ghost expulsion rites, cf. the thorough treatment of several texts from Mesopotamia by Scurlock 1988:73-102.

while from a later dtr hand, polemicizes against an Israelite form of necromancy which the biblical writer sets within the context of an impending Assyrian invasion. The additional arguments set forth below suggests that this is more than mere coincidence.

We know that while necromancy remains unattested in Egypt, Anatolia, and Syria-Palestine, it was widely observed in Mesopotamia from the Neo-Assyrian period onwards in both Assyria and Babylonia.⁸⁶ Moreover, by the end of the eighth century B.C.E., Assyria, followed by Babylonia, had gained political control over Syria-Palestine and it was while exercising sovereignty over this region that the late Assyrian kings became preoccupied with various forms of divination⁸⁷, thereby offering an avenue for religious influence upon the local cults.

When these factors are viewed in the light of the late pre-exilic to exilic composition of each of the relevant biblical texts, as can be established on the basis of independent literary critical arguments, then the force of our proposal gains added momentum. In other words, Israel was first presented with the opportunity to adopt voluntarily such mantic practices as necromancy from her East Semitic overlords of the mid-to-late

⁸⁶Cf. Scurlock 1988:5-7, 103-12, 318-42 for the Assyrian and Babylonian examples from Assur (*BAM* 215), Babylon (*AFO* 29/30:2-3), Uruk (*SpTU* 2 no.20), and Nineveh (*AFO* 29/30:4). The dates of these texts fall between the Neo-Assyrian period and the third century B.C.E.

⁸⁷Cf. Spieckermann 1982:227-306; Pečírková 1985:155-68; 1987:162-75.

first millennium.⁸⁸ For the compositional histories of the remaining texts pertaining to necromancy (Deut. 18:11; 1 Sam. 28:3-25 [= 1 Chr. 10:13]; 2 Kgs. 21:6 [= 2 Chr. 33:6], 23:24), we refer the reader to the following sections.

4.3.3. ISAIAH 19:3

Isaiah 19:3, like 8:19, makes mention of the *'ōbôt* and the *yidd^ec ōnîm*, but in this instance, they are viewed by the author as reflective of necromantic practices indigenous to Egypt. Commentators have taken this to be indicative of the author's ignorance of Egyptian beliefs or characteristic of his Yahwistic bias as evidenced by his dependence upon expressions found elsewhere in the book, 8:19 being a prime example.⁸⁹ As was the case with 8:19, we must first reconstruct the compositional history of both vv.1-4 and vv.1-15 in order to ascertain the contribution of v.3 to our investigation.

The oracle against Egypt, 19:1-15, falls into three parts: vv.1-4 portray the collapse of the religious and civil order, vv.5-10 depict the failure of the Nile floods, Egypt's economic

⁸⁸ Nevertheless, contra Spieckermann 1982:137-38, the East Semitic origins of the terms *'ōbôt* and *yidd^ec ōnîm* cannot be assumed. Subsequent to the adoption of necromancy, these functional names were attached to the ghosts by the local Canaanite-Israelite populations. While McKay 1973 and Cogan 1974 concluded that Assyria did not force its religion upon its vassal states, Spieckermann 1982:307-72 has shown that the primary sources indicate that this was probably the case. For our position that first millennium Syro-Palestinian culture and Israel in particular experienced religious influence from contemporary Mesopotamia, whether one has in mind imposition and/or assimilation, cf. 4.5.2.

⁸⁹ Cf. e.g., Kaiser 1980:101.

base, and vv.11-15 describe the helplessness of her political leaders in the face of disaster. The general consensus is that vv.1-15 derive not from Isaiah, but from a hand heavily dependent upon other passages in the book, particularly the foreign nation oracles.⁹⁰ The repudiation of Egypt and its political strength differs considerably from that found in undoubtedly Isaianic passages such as 20:1-6, 30:1-5, and 31:1-3.⁹¹ Furthermore, the author's style, replete as it is with wooden repetitiveness, is inferior to the elegance and conciseness of the Isaianic hand.⁹²

When these arguments in support of a post-Isaianic composition are seen in the light of the depiction of Egypt's instability (v.2) as well as her political independence and subsequent domination by a foreign ruler (v.4, cf. Ezek. 30:12), we must look for a period, or periods, in which the themes of conquest and instability come to the fore. Accordingly, the exilic to post-exilic time span best suits the compositional setting of vv.1-15.⁹³

⁹⁰ Vermeulen 1977:320-21 listed as additional elements the struggling fratricide (v.2, cf. 3:5), the spirit of Egypt (v.3, cf. 30:1,31:3), the recourse to necromancy and enchanter (v.3, cf. 3:2-3,8:19), the incapacity of the planners (v.4, cf. 3:4), the princes of Zoan (vv.11,13, cf. 30:4), the folly of the sages (v.11, cf. 29:14), the plan of Yahweh (v.12, cf. 14:24-27), the staggering drunkard (vv.13-14, cf. 28:7-8,29:9), the vomit (v.14, cf. 28:8), the spirit poured out by Yahweh (v.14, cf.29:10,31:3), the head and the tail, the palm branch and the reed (v.15, cf. 9:13).

⁹¹ Clements 1980:166-67.

⁹² "Egypt" is repeated seven times in four verses.

⁹³ Van der Toorn 1988:209 completely ignored the arguments against an eighth century date. With Kaiser 1980:99, the late date eliminates the Egyptian campaigns of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal. He proposed 404-343 B.C.E., the period between the revolt of Amyrtaios and the final reconquest by Artaxerxes III

As mentioned above, the 'ôbôt and *yidd^ec* *ônîm* in 19:3 have been viewed as indicative of the author's ignorance of Egyptian beliefs or characteristic of his Yahwistic bias.⁹⁴ While mortuary practices were observed in Egypt from the early second to the late first millennia, necromancy *per se* remains unattested.⁹⁵ In view of the dtr propensity for rhetorical license, it is difficult to know whether or not the dtr hand was concerned with the accuracy of his association of Egypt and necromancy. Given our arguments in 4.1. and 4.3.2. for dtr influence on first Isaiah and the dtr character of 'ôbôt and *yidd^ec* *ônîm*, 19:3 reflects the explicit dtr characterization of non-dtr Yahwistic magico-religious practices as non-Israelite in origin as a threat to pure Yahwism and the implicit warning against the nation:⁹⁶

<i>wine</i> <i>baqqāh</i> <i>ru^a ḥ-miṣrayim</i> <i>b^e qirbô</i>	"Egypt will be drained of spirit,
<i>wa^c ʾāsātô</i> ' <i>ʾăballē^ac</i>	and I will confound its plans;
<i>w^e dār^e šû</i> ' <i>el-hā'ēlîlîm</i>	So they will consult the idols
<i>w^e 'el-hā'ittîm</i>	and the shades,
<i>w^e 'el-hā'ôbôt</i> <i>w^e 'el-hayyidd^ec</i> <i>ônîm</i>	Those-Who-Return and the Knowers."

Ochos. Vermeylen 1977:321 proposed the Egyptian campaign of Nebuchadrezzar (605 B.C.E.) based on the fact that the author was unaware of the post-exilic additions to the book.

⁹⁴Cf. e.g., Kaiser 1980:101 and van der Toorn 1988:209.

⁹⁵*Contra* Tropper 1989:27-46. In addition to the texts cited by Borghouts in Finkel 1983-84:15 and n.64, cf. Borghouts 1976:11-12 (no.12), 24 (no.33), 29-30 (no.41); Simpson 1972:137-41, 93-97; and Lichtheim 1980:127-51.

⁹⁶The late redactional character of 19:1-15 and the distinctively Mesopotamian origins of the necromancy topos, can account for the presence of Hebrew ('ôbôt and *yidd^ec* *ônîm*) and Akkadian technical terminology ('*ittîm*) in an oracle against Egypt inserted into a pre-exilic Isaianic context.

Like *hā'ōbôt* and *hayyiddē'ōnīm*, the terms *hā'ēlîlîm* and *hā'itṭîm* function as the objects of the verbal form *wēḡārešû* "they will consult. . .". As pointed out above, the last form, a *hapax legomenon*, has been equated with Akkadian *eṭemmu* "spirit of the dead".⁹⁷ Others have compared Arabic 'aṭṭa "emit or utter a sound or noise"⁹⁸ or Ugaritic 'uṭm, but the meaning of the latter remains to be established owing to its lone occurrence in Ugaritic.⁹⁹ We prefer the Akkadian based on the parallelism *ilānu* "gods"//*eṭemmu* "spirits of the dead" which closely resembles the Hebrew parallelism, albeit with its polemical thrust, 'ēlîlîm "false gods"//*itṭîm* "spirits of the dead(?)".¹⁰⁰

While the analysis of 'ēlîlîm remains problematic, it is likely that it "was created as a disparaging pun on, and as a diminutive of, 'ēl" (cf. *kēsîl* "fool" where the *lamedh* may function as a diminutive ending).¹⁰¹ The similar use of this term

⁹⁷Cf. Jirku 1912:11-12; Kaufman 1974:50,143 n.23; and Cohen 1978:42. The doubling of ṭ has been explained as a marker of the plural.

⁹⁸Cf. e.g., Gray 1912:324; Perles 1914:109; and Lane I:66.

⁹⁹*KTU* 1.5:I:5 and cf. Ginsberg 1936:186. Commentators suggest an Arabic derivative, see Del Olmo Lete 1981:213,524 for a survey.

¹⁰⁰For our view that the gods when found parallel to the dead in such instances refer to the netherworld gods summoned in necromantic rites and not to the deified status of the dead, cf. 4.5.1. and Finkel 1983-84:1-17 for references. Note that for 'ēlîlîm, the LXX reads *tous theous* "the gods", although in 19:1 the LXX reads *ta cheiropoieta* "made by human hands" for MT 'elîlê miṣrayim. Contra Lewis 1989:133-34, this does warrant the conjecture that the LXX had as its *Vorlage* Hebrew 'ēlōhîm in 19:3, for gods and their images could be viewed simply as aspects of the same referents, cf. e.g., Isa. 42:17 and Ex. 20:23.

¹⁰¹Preuss 1977:285. According to the author, its relation to the adjective 'ēlîl "weak, worthless" must be recognized as well.

in late and dtr passages such as 2:8,18,20; 10:10,11 (cf. also 1 Kgs. 18:33-35 and Isa. 36:18-20); and 31:7 supports the post-Isaianic redaction of 19:3.¹⁰²

Isa. 19:3 offers little in the way of enhancing our knowledge of Israelite necromantic practices beyond the information gleaned from 8:19. Several of the above mentioned elements do suggest that the ridicule of such practices, whether depicted as embraced by Israelites or supposedly observed by neighboring foreigners, was the dtr tradition's reaction to Mesopotamian religious influence of the late pre-exilic to exilic periods. Such influence is no doubt exemplified in the use 'iṭṭîm = Akkadian eṭemmu.

4.3.4. ISAIAH 28:7-22

Early in this century, commentators suggested that the antagonists of 28:7-22 practiced necromancy and that in 28:10,13, Isaiah was mimicking the phrases spoken during their séances.¹⁰³ Recently van der Toorn has attempted to advance Daiches' proposal by explicating the sense of continuity it gives to the whole of

¹⁰² Cf. Vermeulen 1977:138-39,321.

¹⁰³ Cf. e.g., Wade 1911:180; Skinner 1915:225; Daiches 1921:6 and König 1926:254.

28:7-22.¹⁰⁴ This line of interpretation offers a very attractive solution to the crux of v.10 (and v.13).

According to van der Toorn, 28:7-8 contain Isaiah's description of the rites performed by certain cultic prophets while in attendance at a *marzēah* feast.¹⁰⁵ At this feast, the participants sought inebriation in order to enter into a visionary trance. While in the trance the living functioned as the medium or mouthpiece for the dead. 28:10 records Isaiah's mimicry of the bird-like twitterings and groans produced by the necromancers turned ventriloquists (cf. LXX *engastrimouthos* in Isa. 19:3). These sounds were viewed as the dead's oracular message uttered by the living while in a drunken stupor (*šē mûc āh* v.9 and cf. the similar use of Akkadian *egirrû* and Greek *klêdon*).

Thus, the "strange lips" *bē la^c āgê šāpāh* and "foreign tongue" *bē lāšōn 'aheret* of v.11 as well as the *'anšē lāšōn* "self-confident chatterboxes" or "men of nonsensical talk" of v.14 are to be understood as references to the necromancers and their esoteric language. The author further hypothesized that the prophets were required to interpret these unintelligible sounds in order to decipher the message communicated by the dead.

¹⁰⁴ Van der Toorn 1988:199-217. He argued for the essential unity of vv.7-22. Vv.7-13 is traditionally viewed as earlier than vv.14-22 based on the view that the religious office of priest (*kōhēn*) and prophet (*nābī'*) of v.7 is not to be equated with the *'anšē lāšōn* of v.14 who rule (*māšal*) the people of Jerusalem. But the latter need not be viewed only as political leaders, for the cultic prophets influenced political life through their religious utterances, cf. pp.200-01.

¹⁰⁵ Van der Toorn 1988:213 cited the Ugaritic text *KTU* 1.114 as illustrative of the common role inebriation obtained in the *marzēah* banquet, but cf. 3.1.5.

For van der Toorn, the crucial datum suggestive of the divinatory or, more specifically, necromantic associations of this passage is the parallel mention of *māwet* "Death" and *šē 'ôl* "Netherworld" in v.15 (cf. v.18). These are to be understood as personified beings, deities who offer their protection to those who perform the necessary magical rites and so the relevant lines are to be taken literally (v.15):¹⁰⁶

<i>kî 'āmartem kārātñû b^e rīt 'et-māwet</i>	"We have concluded a covenant with Death,
<i>w^e c im-šē 'ôl c āśīñû hōzeh</i>	and with the Netherworld we have made a pact;
<i>šīt šōtep kî-ya^c ābōr lō' y^e bō'ēñû</i>	would the overpowering scourge ¹⁰⁷ come along, it shall not reach us,
<i>kî šamnû kāzāb maḥsēñû ūbaššeḡer</i>	for we made Lie our refuge, and in Deceit
<i>nistāre nû</i>	we take shelter".

Halpern has independently proposed a similar interpretation of Isa.28. The priests and prophets are viewed as participants in the ancestral cult and believe that they can manipulate the deity while in a state of alcohol-induced ecstasy. According to this line of interpretation, v.10 contains Isaiah's mockery of the priests' and prophets' verbal 'babyisms' for the vomit and ordure they produced while hallucinating under the influence. As support, the author suggested that *šaw* and *qaw* in v.10 comprise a wordplay on the terms *qî'* "vomit" and *šō'āh* "excrement" of v.8

¹⁰⁶ Van der Toorn 1988:202-04. He also speculated that *kāzāb* "Lie" and *šeḡer* "Deceit" refer to the gods Chemosh and Milcom/Moloch.

¹⁰⁷ For the reading *šōt* with *gere* and 1QIs^a, cf. now Day 1989:59 n.101. The following verb *ya^c ābōr* is the *gere* reading, cf. v.18, the *kethibh* being *c ābar*.

thereby enhancing the accusation that the priests and prophets had indulged in coprophilia.¹⁰⁸

Like van der Toorn, Halpern viewed Death and Sheol in vv.15 and 18 as underworld deities worshipped by the priests and prophets. In light of this netherly context of v.18, Halpern concluded that *hammaṣṣā*^c of v.20a is best viewed as a technical term for a "funerary bench" with its accompanying "shroud" (= *hammassēkāh* v.20b).¹⁰⁹ But for Halpern, it was not vv.15 and 18 that supplied the crucial data in support of a divinatory backdrop for this passage. Rather, v.7 functioned for the author in this capacity. Here the priests and prophets are depicted as seeking oracles or visions, cf. *bārō'eh* "in seeing".¹¹⁰

However, rites related to ancestral cults or necromancy are not explicitly mentioned in Isa. 28:7-22. While divination may be in view in v.7 and ecstatic utterances of an inebriated priest perhaps in v.10 -both of these interpretations are currently disputed-, neither necessitates the presence of rites involving the dead. Besides, others have interpreted v.7 without any reference to professional prophetic practices such as visions and divination.

For example, Driver argued that the RSV translation "they err in vision, they stumble in judgement" offers a poor parallelism with the "strong drink" *šēkār* and "wine" *yayin* of

¹⁰⁸ Halpern 1986:113-14.

¹⁰⁹ Halpern 1986:109-21.

¹¹⁰ Halpern 1986:114. Like van der Toorn, Halpern 1986:118 cited the Ugaritic text *KTU* 1.114 as illustrative of the association of drunkenness, excretion, and death in the *marzēah* feast, but cf. 3.1.5.

v.7. He read *rō'eh* as *rōweh* "intoxication" following Theodotion's *methē* and the Peshitta's *rwāyūtā* "intoxication" and translated *šāgû bārō'eh* (= *bārōweh*) "given up to tippling" and added that *rā'āh* = *rāwāh* occurs in a number of other passages as well.¹¹¹

The mention of Death and Sheol in vv.15 and 18 cannot be employed as decisive proof or supporting evidence in favor of this view. Against the reliance of van der Toorn, and for that matter, Halpern, on 28:15,18 as indicative of necromantic practices, it should be pointed out that most interpreters construe these lines as figurative for taking the necessary precautions to avert impending disaster. Many have seen in these lines allusions to political agreements either with Assyria (to spare the tipplers when Assyria invades) or with Egypt (against the Assyrians).¹¹² Even the position that chthonic deities are in view does not necessitate that one embrace the necromantic interpretation.

Day has recently argued that Death and Sheol refer to the Molek cult and child sacrifice.¹¹³ In other words, a necromantic or death cult orientation of a literal rendering appears probable

¹¹¹ Driver 1968A:52. Cf. the translation of the *NEB* "lose their way through tippling" (margin) and Isa. 22:9, 53:10; Jer. 31:14, 46:10; Pss. 36:9, 40:13, 50:23, 60:5, 91:16; Job 10:15, 20:17, 31:7, 33:21.

¹¹² See the recent surveys in van der Toorn 1988:202 and Day 1989:60-62. Day's criticism of the covenant with Egypt is most convincing. Nevertheless, the covenant with death is best taken to refer to the fatal outcome of Israel's political jockeying having not put her faith in Yahweh, cf. Nicholson 1986:115. Death and Sheol are personifications of the party with whom the agreement was made, so Burns 1976:338, but cf. his less convincing treatment in 1989:29-30.

¹¹³ Day 1989:58-64.

only if one concludes that the prior arguments for necromantic or death and ancestor cult practices in Isa. 28 are convincing.¹¹⁴

Nevertheless, if we were to assume for the sake of argument that necromancy or rites related to the ancestral cult constitute the illicit practices for which this prophetic oracle was intended, then Halpern's suggestion that the priests and prophets functioned as imitators of the dead might hint at a Mesopotamian backdrop for the causal clause ending v.8 "for (*kī*) all the tables are full of vomit, no place is without filthiness".¹¹⁵

That is to say, just as it is with the dead in Assyria who, having been abandoned by the living, must eat their dung¹¹⁶, so it shall be for the priests and prophets who drink to excess in hopes of imitating the dead or receiving a message from Yahweh, for when they die, they will find their netherly diet to consist of vomit and excrement. The author's allusion to this their ultimate fate underscores his exhortation to reject their methods and message.

This brings us to the compositional history of this passage. If, as we argued in 4.1. behind the phrase "the covenant with death" *bərīt 'et-māwet* in 28:15,18, there stands an implied contrast with Yahweh's covenant which brings life, and if the dtr

¹¹⁴Cf. Day 1989:61-62 for additional criticisms of the necromantic interpretation: (1) Isa. 28:15,18 do not speak of the dead in the plural which is what would be expected if necromancy was in view and (2) consultation is not the same as a covenant. Cf. also the critique of Tropper 1989:326-30.

¹¹⁵We would understand the perfect form *māl'ū* as descriptive of a future event as if it were already past (i.e., the so-called prophetic perfect).

¹¹⁶Cf. Xella 1980:151-60 who applied the significance of this Mesopotamian topos for 2 Kgs. 18:27 and Isa. 36:12.

traditions were responsible for at least the proliferation of covenant ideology expressing Yahweh's relationship with Israel, then we have evidence for the dtr redaction of this chapter and Isa. 1-35 more generally.¹¹⁷

Again, supposing those commentators are correct who advocate the presence of necromancy in Isa. 28, based on our findings *vis-à-vis* the exclusive dtr association of those texts which make mention of this divinatory art, we would have additional support for the dtr redactional nature of this passage and Mesopotamian influence would best explain its presence here.

This in turn would support the view that the covenant with Death/the pact with the Netherworld was made with Assyria in order to avert disaster. We would understand it as an allusion to Israel's desperate embrace of not only Mesopotamian political hegemony but also religion in response to the impending invasion perhaps in the last minute hope of placating the enemy. According to the author, it was too late, for Assyria will break covenant and destroy Israel (v.18).

4.3.5. ISAIAH 29:4

Isa. 29:1-8 comprises a description of Jerusalem's salvation.¹¹⁸ The date and authorship of this passage remain

¹¹⁷The covenant lawsuit or *rîb* in Isa. 1 has been cited as indication of the presence in Isa. 1-35 of the covenant idea as expressive of Yahweh's relationship with Israel, cf. e.g., Kaiser 1983:12, and the "father-son" metaphor common in ancient treaty parlance supports this view, cf. Fensham 1971:121-35.

¹¹⁸So Kaiser 1980:264. It begins with a woe oracle, vv.1-3(4), and ends with a description of salvation beginning with v.5b(-8) (*tippāqēdî* in v.6a, following the editor of BHS, is to

disputed. Clements, for example, concluded that 29:1-4 were Isaianic and therefore composed just prior to 701 B.C.E. when the possibility of an Assyrian siege of Jerusalem grew imminent, while 29:5-8 were added later by a Josianic redactor.

His division is based on the observation that 29:5-8 reflect a dramatic change in perspective, for the foes are no longer the agents of Yahweh, but have become his enemies. These verses attempt to interpret Sennacherib's failure to take Jerusalem in 701 as a victory for Yahweh and to establish the inviolability of Zion (v.7).¹¹⁹

Kaiser, on the other hand, rejected an Isaianic nucleus to 29:1-8. To begin with, the warning lacks a typically Isaianic reproach with reasons derived from the present rather than the future. Secondly, the allusion to David in v.1a is ambiguous. Moreover, according to this line of interpretation, it contains a non-historical conception of deliverance. With regard to v.4 specifically, Kaiser argued that the phrase "and it shall be" in v.4b (Hebrew *hāyāh*) is indicative of a redactional hand and the same shows up in vv.2b (2x), 5a, 5b, 7a, and 8a.¹²⁰

Lastly, Kaiser concluded that in 29:1-4, the prophet predicts Jerusalem's destruction. This reflects the hand of an exilic writer. These observations support our contention that where the term *'ôb* (cf. v.4) and/or the term *yiddē'ônî* appear in the Isaiah traditions, we have likely evidence for the presence

be taken in a positive sense).

¹¹⁹ Clements 1980:234-35.

¹²⁰ Kaiser 1980:264-65.

of dtr ideology. In other words, 29:4, like 8:19 and 19:3, is redactional in nature and, we would argue, based on the additional arguments set forth previously, dtr in orientation (cf. 4.3.2.) The writer argues that such distress and calamity will befall the city that her voice will be reduced to the sound of a ghost chirping in the netherworld:

<i>wē šapalt mē'eres tē dabbērī</i>	"Brought low ¹²¹ , you shall speak
<i>ūme^c āpār tiššah 'imrātēk</i>	from (lower) earth,
	from the dust your speech shall
	issue ¹²² .
<i>wē hāyāh ke 'ôb mē'eres qôlēk</i>	your voice shall be like One-Who-
	Returns from (lower) earth,
<i>ūme^c āpār 'imrātēk tē šapšēp</i>	from the dust your speech shall
	chirp".

The *JPS* translation views the simile in v.4c with *ke 'ôb* as referring to the voice of the ghost "your speech shall be like a ghost's from the ground", whereas the *RSV* interprets the comparison as one in which the voice of Jerusalem comes up from the netherworld just as a ghost was known to do (not merely its voice, cf. our translation).

To be sure, either rendition provides a fitting analogy for the deadly fate of the city. The former assumes that voices of the dead could be heard arising from the ground and the latter suggests that the ghost itself could return to the land of the living. Both notions are attested in the Hebrew Bible. The former

¹²¹For similar phraseology, cf. Akkadian *šapliš ina eršetim* "below in the netherworld".

¹²²Various proposals accompany *tiššah*: < *šhh* "to be low", so Irwin 1977:51, < Arabic *saḥḥa* "poured out", thus "issue", so Driver 1968B:51, and < *šyh* "to utter", so Dahood as noted by Irwin 1977:51 and cf. Job 7:11.

is implied in the final clause of our passage (29:4d) where the 'ôb is heard "chirping" (t^eṣapṣēp, cf 8:19) from the "dust" or netherworld (c^eāpār). The latter is assumed in 1 Sam. 28:8 where Saul requests that the woman of Endor bring up (c^eālāh) the 'ôb which he should name.

This passage is of particular interest owing to the Assyrian backdrop of vv.1-8. Given our arguments for the late Mesopotamian origin of Israelite necromancy (cf. 4.1 and 4.5.2.), we understand the use of the first person in the woe oracle of vv.1-5a (or at the least vv.2-5a) to be the Assyrian king's proclamation. As such, it displays a convincing degree of familiarity with Mesopotamian divination and has a precedent in the contemporaneous proclamation of the Assyrian king spoken by the Rabshakeh in 2 Kgs. 18:28-35. Moreover, both doom accounts make mention of Assyrian afterlife beliefs, that is if the eating of dung and drinking of urine in 2 Kgs. 18:27 refers to one's anticipated existence in the netherworld.¹²³

This text is also of interest owing to the presumed efficacy regarding necromancy and as such stands in stark contrast to the polemical posture of 8:19 where such efficacy is categorically denied. In any case, the metaphoric use of necromancy for the abject weakness and mortal fate of Jerusalem's inhabitants in Isa. 29 hardly stands if such notions concerning the realities of the world of the dead were entirely dismissed by the author. Furthermore, this text supports the view that in 1 Sam. 28, the efficacy of necromancy is also assumed.

¹²³Cf. Xella 1980:151-60.

Thus, the dtr denunciation of necromancy is best understood as a response to the widely held Mesopotamian belief embraced from the time of king Manasseh's reign onward that communication with the dead truly enabled one to obtain knowledge about the future. The dtr redactor of 29:4 sought to demonstrate that the true source of revelation is Yahwistic prophecy and in view of 29:10, it appears that the cessation of prophecy is connected with the adoption of necromancy as in 1 Sam. 28:6. To be sure, the dtr hand responsible for 8:19 took another approach altogether by denying the efficacy of necromancy in his attempt to establish Yahweh's as the only true form of revelation.

4.3.6. SUMMARY

Our examination reveals that while necromancy was absent in Israel prior to its introduction by the Judahite king Manasseh, it was polemicized against by a post-dtr hand and projected into Isaianic traditions reflective of the reign of king Ahaz and attributed to the people as a whole.¹²⁴ In reaction to the pervasive Mesopotamian religious influence of his own day and/or the days of Manasseh, the post-dtr hand consciously distorted necromancy's point of origin -from Mesopotamia to Canaan-, projected his concerns further into the past, and identified his agenda with that of the prophet Isaiah in order to give his

¹²⁴Cf. 4.3.2. and 4.5.2. for our defense of Manasseh's reign as the earliest possible date for the introduction of necromancy into Israel and that Mesopotamia provided the most likely point of origin for these practices.

ideological stance the air of greater antiquity and unprecedented authority.

Our investigation also revealed that like necromancy, death and ancestor cults were of no apparent concern to the early prophets. Not only did this become evident in our assessment of Amos 6:7 and the character of the Israelite *marzēah*, but also in the non-mention of these cults in first Isaiah and other early prophetic traditions. As to the implications to be drawn from this, we would suggest that the evidence supports the view that this deafening silence reflects the real absence of such cults in Israel prior to the last days of the Judahite monarchy or perhaps the redactor's own day.

The Syro-Palestinian evidence which we examined in chapters two and three makes highly unlikely the notion that such silence can be explained away by resorting to the argument that they did exist among the local "Canaanites" and therefore Israelites, but presented no ideological threat to the then extant forms of Yahwism. First, the extra-biblical data suggest that such cults were altogether non-existent or apparently did not constitute a major element in the religious traditions of Syria-Palestine and so we cannot assume that they constituted pervasive practices indigenous to the region.

Secondly, based on our findings *vis-à-vis* necromancy, the last days of the southern kingdom through to the exile provide a more likely context than any time previous for the potential introduction of death and ancestor cults into Syria-Palestine. Be that as it may, it is curious that the dtr tradition did not polemicize against death and ancestor cults as it did necromancy.

These practices known to be popular in contemporary Mesopotamia were not attributed local or "Canaanite" origins and projected into the Isaianic traditions or any other tradition concerned with earlier times.

The fact that the dtr tradition condemned the related practice of necromancy flies in the face of the assumption that the same tradition would have overlooked death and ancestor cults as potential objects of its religious polemic -assuming that they existed- as they too presuppose the belief in the supernatural beneficent power of the dead. The most likely explanation is that, unlike necromancy, those cults reflective of such a belief were observed in Israel neither among the royalty nor the society more generally.¹²⁵

Nevertheless, critics have identified a number of passages in the legal and narrative traditions of the Hebrew Bible that purportedly document Israel's embrace of Canaanite death and ancestor cults during the days of the early monarchy with the attendant assumption being that the belief in the supernatural power of the benefic dead was part of the nation's early heritage. To these texts we now turn.

¹²⁵ This leaves open the possibility that the care for and/or commemoration of the dead was observed but we lack unequivocal evidence for these practices and their accompanying beliefs. Cf. our conclusion for an explanation of the absence of death and ancestor cults in the biblical traditions.

4.4. DEUTERONOMIC LEGAL MATERIAL

In this section, we shall examine the laws of Deuteronomy for evidence of death and ancestor cult practices and necromancy. The relevant texts fall within the confines of the legal corpus spanning chapters 12-26. Each of these texts has been scrutinized in past treatments of the Israelite death cult: 14:1, a command outlawing selected mourning rites on behalf of the dead, 18:11, a prohibition against necromancy, and 26:14, a requisite confession that the tithe lacked any association with the dead.

4.4.1. DEUTERONOMY 14:1

Deut. 14:1 forbids the observation of two mourning rites, self laceration and tonsure:

<i>bānîm 'attem l^e yahweh</i>	"You are the sons of Yahweh
<i>'ēlōhēkem lō' tīt^gōd^e dū</i>	your God; you shall not cut your-
<i>w^e lō'-tāsîmû qorhāh bēn</i>	selves or make any baldness on your
<i>c^e ênēkem lāmēt</i>	foreheads on account of the dead".

A wide range of mourning rites are attested in the Hebrew Bible.¹²⁶ Several have been cited as evidence for an Israelite

¹²⁶ See the surveys with bibliographies in Ehrlich 1959:166-19; Kutsch 1965:25-42; Gruber 1971:col.485-87; De Ward 1972:1-27, 145-66; Gruber 1980(II):401-79; Spronk 1986:244-47; and now Padella 1989. Deut. 21:12 mentions an act performed by the foreign woman taken captive "she shaved her head" *gill^e hāh 'et-rō'sāh*. Although the following context is one of mourning (cf. *bākāh* in v.13b), this prior act is indicative of a purification rite (cf. Num. 6:9,18 and Lev. 14:8,9) and so is not relevant to our investigation.

cult of the dead.¹²⁷ In the case of Deut. 14:1, Smith concluded that 14:2, the reason for Israel's abstention from self laceration and tonsure, "for you are a people consecrated to Yahweh your God", pointed to the divinity of the dead mentioned in v.1. Moreover, according to Smith, the phrase "sons of Yahweh your God" in 14:1 and the broader context of laws against foreign gods (13:2-19) implied a worship of the ancestral dead.¹²⁸

A second, and often related, tendency of commentators is to construe the prohibition against the mourning rites of self-laceration and tonsure as a reaction to similar Canaanite practices. According to this view, a passage like 1 Kgs. 18:28 where the prophets of Baal cut themselves suggests that these customs were characteristic of mourning and fertility rites observed in the Baal cult.¹²⁹ In more recent treatments, texts from Ugarit have been cited in support of the 1 Kgs. 18:28 background to Deut. 14:1.¹³⁰

An Akkadian text preserved at Ugarit which the original editor entitled "The Just Sufferer" describes the mourning rites on behalf of a man near death. One of those mourning rites involved is the laceration of the body: "My brothers washed with

¹²⁷Cf. e.g., Wensinck 1917:96-97 and Morgenstern 1966:105-06.

¹²⁸Smith 1918:185. These mourning rites would then be employed as acts of supplication, on which see below.

¹²⁹Zech. 13:6 has been cited as well, cf. e.g., Roberts 1970:76-77. But the wounds on the prophet in this instance are likely those inflicted by his parents and friends who have accused him of false prophecy and not those resulting from ritualistic self laceration, cf. vv.3,6b.

¹³⁰Cf. e.g., Craigie 1976:230; Mayes 1979:238-39; Spronk 1986:244-47; and Lewis 1989:100-01.

their blood like (an) ecstatic(s)" *ahhu'a kīma mahhê damīšunu ramkū*.¹³¹

In the Ugaritic mythological texts, *KTU* 1.5:VI:11-22, 31-1.6:I:5, El and Anat mourn the death of Baal. Among the mourning rites performed by the gods are self-laceration and tonsure.¹³²

These acts have been taken to reflect mourning rites performed in the Ugaritic cult on behalf of Baal like those mentioned in 1 Kgs. 18:28. It is this Canaanite connection that supposedly provides the rationale for their being forbidden in Deut.

14:1.¹³³ Before we offer our evaluation of these views, we will survey the biblical perspectives *vis-à-vis* the practices of self-laceration and tonsure as they provide us with important clues as to when, how, and why the sanction against these rites arose.

Contrary to the proscription in Deut. 14:1 and, for that matter, Lev. 19:27-28 and 21:5, the above rites were considered acceptable expressions of grief in the pre-exilic to exilic prophetic tradition. In Amos 8:10, Yahweh sanctions Israel's mourning, lamentation, her donning of sackcloth, and, contrary to Deut. 14:1, the tonsure of the head or "baldness" *qorhāh*. Micah 1:16 likewise lists tonsure as one of the mourning observances which Yahweh prescribes for Samaria and Jerusalem. The forms

¹³¹ Cf. Nougayrol 1968:267,269 [Text #162:11' = RS.25.460:11'].

¹³² See de Moor 1971:190-201 and now Dietrich and Loretz 1986:101-10 for extended treatments of these passages. The reference in the Aqhat text *KTU* 1.19:IV:11,22 to professional mourners, "slashers of the flesh" *pzgm gr*, is less certain, *contra* Fenton 1969:69-70 and cf. Del Olmo Lete 1981:397,607, and 610 for a recent evaluation.

¹³³ Cf. e.g., Gray 1965:65 and de Moor 1971:200-01.

employed are the Qal fs imperative of *qārah* "to make bald" and the parallel Qal fs imperative of *gāzaz* "to shear".

Similarly, Isa. 3:24 assumes the legitimacy of *qorḥāh* "baldness" as a form of grieving among the Jerusalemites, while in Isa. 22:12, Yahweh explicitly commands *qorḥāh* along with weeping, mourning, and girding with sackcloth. On the other hand, Isa. 15:2 lists *qorḥāh* as a mourning practice known among the Moabites alongside weeping, wailing, beard shaving, and sackcloth. Thus, the pre-exilic prophetic testimony condones tonsure in spite of its observance among the local West Semitic populations. The same scenario obtains in the exilic prophetic traditions.

Jer. 7:29 depicts Yahweh as entreating the nation to mourn its impending doom by "shearing their locks" and, as in Micah 1:16, the Qal fs imperative of *gāzaz* is present.¹³⁴ As was the case in the pre-exilic period, tonsure continued as a legitimate practice in Israel (cf. Jer. 16:6, 41:5; and Ezek. 7:18) in spite of the fact that it was a rite common among the local populations (cf. Jer. 47:5 Philistia, 48:37 Moab; and Ezek. 27:31 Tyre and the surrounding regions).

Similarly, Job 1:20, part of the post-exilic framework of the book, portrays Job's "shearing of the head" as a rightful act of mourning.¹³⁵ Lastly, mention should be made of the late text Ezra 9:3 where Ezra tears hair from his head and beard in a

¹³⁴ The phraseology employed is *gozzî nizrek* "shear your locks".

¹³⁵ The phraseology employed is *wayyāgoz 'et-rō'šô* "and he sheared his head".

moment of grief.¹³⁶ Although not for purposes directly related to the dead, this rite probably had its origin in such mourning rites.¹³⁷

Along with the practice of tonsure, the gashing of the flesh (*hitgōdēd*) is viewed as an acceptable expression of mourning in the book of Jeremiah (cf. 16:6, 41:5).¹³⁸ In another late text, Job 2:8, a form of the rare *hitgārēd* "to scratch oneself" might point to an act of mourning alongside the covering of oneself with ashes.¹³⁹

A rather unique instance of the mention of self-laceration obtains in Hosea 7:14, a pre-exilic passage. The issue taken up by Hosea is Israel's insincerity, not the rites themselves. This is supported by the verse's ABBA pattern, "but they do not cry to me from their hearts as they wail upon their beds; although for

¹³⁶ The phraseology employed is *wā'emre tāh miššē'ar rō'šf ūz(°) qānī* "I tore hair out of my head and beard".

¹³⁷ Cf. Lev. 19:27 and 21:5 where shaving of the head and the shaving of the beard as well as gashing are all mentioned together in what constitute mortuary contexts. On the use of *nepeš* in these passages to designate the dead, cf. *l°nepeš* in 21:1 and *lānepeš* in 19:28. See Lev. 21:1, 22:4 and Seligson 1951 on *napšōt mēt* in 21:11. Moreover, in Lev. 21:5, the preceding context has to do with the defilement of a dead corpse (cf. vv.1-4), while a prohibition against necromancy in 19:31 follows 19:27.

¹³⁸ Jer 5:7 in the MT reads a form of *hitgōdēd*, but many Hebrew manuscripts read a form of *hitgōrēr* "to lodge with" and the LXX reads *katéluov* "to lodge with".

¹³⁹ On the other hand, a *resh* may have been confused for a *dalet* and *l°hitgārēd* "to scratch oneself" should be read as *l°hitgōdēd* "to cut oneself".

grain and new wine they gash themselves, they are *faithless* to me".¹⁴⁰

In spite of commonly held opinion, this text does not explicitly attach the mentioned mourning rites to the worship of Baal.¹⁴¹ Rather, the rites listed are viewed as two mourning rites employed as acts of supplication to *Yahweh*. In other words, neither wailing nor gashing are proscribed; Israel's faithless attitude is the object of Hosea's dirge.

In sum, the cumulative testimony of the Hebrew Bible down to the time of Ezekiel reveals that self-laceration and tonsure were common Israelite forms of mourning and supplication (cf. also Ezra 9:3). The frequent attestation of these rites has been explained as the result of the prohibition in Deut. 14:1 not being known or enforced¹⁴², but this hardly offers an adequate solution to *Yahweh's* repeated adjuration to observe tonsure as an expression of mourning.

¹⁴⁰ Several Hebrew mss read *yitgôdādû* for MT *yitgôrārû* and the LXX reads *katetémnonto*. In 1 Kgs. 18:28 *kai katetémnonto* = Hebrew *wayyitgôdādû*. This favors the mention of laceration in Hosea 7:14. On v.14a, see Andersen and Freedman 1980:474-75.

¹⁴¹ So e.g., Mays 1969:111-12 and Andersen and Freedman 1980:473-75. These advocates cite in support 7:16a where they emend MT *lô' c'âl* "not upwards" to *labba'al* "to (the) Baal", and cf. BHS. LXX reads *apestráphēsan eis oudèn* "turn aside to nothing" in support of MT. Although Hos. 2:10 (ET 8) attributes Israel's grain and new wine as given over to Baal, the author claims that these were originally Yahwistic as in 7:14 with the implication that Israel knowingly rejected this origin. Beyond this point, the two texts develop differently. 7:14 underscores Israel's ritual hypocrisy, while 2:10 (ET 8) depicts her apostasy. In other words, a Baalistic backdrop is lacking in 7:14. Moreover, nothing is said in 2:10 (ET 8) of the ritual gashing as in 7:14.

¹⁴² Cf. e.g., Wright 1953:2.42.

In the light of the pre-exilic to exilic prophetic testimony, Bertholet, and, more recently, Horst have dated 14:1 later than Jeremiah.¹⁴³ The two passages from the Holiness Code, Lev. 19:27-28, 21:5, should likewise be viewed as later than Jeremiah. As a case in point, Jer. 41:5 mentions laceration and the shaving of the head as acts of supplication as eighty men from Shechem, Shiloh, and Samaria approach the house of God to make offerings with "their beards shaved" *mē gullē hē zāqān*, their garments torn, and "their bodies gashed" *ūmitgōdē dīm*". Like Ezra 9:3, these rites probably originate in the rites of mourning for the dead, the shaving of the head and beard and gashing (cf. Lev. 19:27 and 21:5).

In view of Jer. 41:5, Smith concluded with regard to Deut. 14:1 "Unknown to Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and to those Shechem Jews who, in obedience to the central law of D, brought their offerings to the temple, this law cannot have formed part of the original code of D; but it is an exilic or post-exilic addition".¹⁴⁴ In other words, after the capture of Jerusalem, Israelites from the former northern kingdom who remained loyal to the Josianic reform as evidenced in their pilgrimage there, would hardly have observed mourning rites outlawed in the very law code which they were attempting to obey.¹⁴⁵ In fact, the prohibition against laceration and tonsure is not found among the laws

¹⁴³ Bertholet 1899:44 and Horst 1961:61-62.

¹⁴⁴ Smith 1918:184-85.

¹⁴⁵ On Jer. 41:5, cf. Nicholson 1975:139-40 and n.5.

forming the basis for the Josianic reform which are generally viewed as reflective of a so-called *Urdeuteronomium*.¹⁴⁶

To be sure, additional evidence in support of the redactional nature of 14:1 is at hand. Smith noted that the phrase using the plural number "You (pl.) are the sons of Yahweh. . . " in 14:1 reflects a late process of individualization of the Israelites. It is otherwise unattested in the early strata of Deuteronomy.¹⁴⁷ Following earlier critics, Mayes cited the change to plural address as an argument in favor of the editorial nature of the prohibition. Although itself insufficient as a criterion for source division, when it is coupled with the emphasis on the purity of worship, a theme at home in dtr circles, it increases the likelihood of dtr expansion.¹⁴⁸

Assuming that Deut. 14:1 is a dtr addition, it probably reflects an expansion on a law against self laceration and tonsure preserved in the later HC. An earlier form of the law was directed at the priests (Lev. 21:1,5) which in turn was expanded to incorporate the people (Lev. 19:27-28). In both, these rites are enacted "on account of the dead" (1- + *nepeš*, cf. 4.4.2).

In all likelihood, the priestly law preceded the law for the people, for to suppose the reverse, that the law for the

¹⁴⁶For a list comparing the laws in Deut. attested in 2 Kgs. 23, cf. Nicholson 1967:3-4 and now Preuss 1982:1-12, esp. p.4.

¹⁴⁷Smith 1918:184-85.

¹⁴⁸Mayes 1979:46-47, 237-39 following e.g., Horst 1961:61-2; and Minette de Tillesse 1962:29-87, esp. 40-41. Mayes attributed 14:1 to a second exilic editor concerned with the pure worship of Yahweh. For the change in number (or *Numeruswechsel*) as a criterion for distinguishing between passages original to Deuteronomy and later dtr additions, see Nicholson 1967:25-36 and now Preuss 1982:34-35, 93-95.

people preceded the priestly regulation, would be redundant.¹⁴⁹ Like Lev. 19:27-28, Deut. 14:1 records a later expansion on this law. In any case, commentators opine that the law arose at least in part as a reaction to foreign practices and this has prompted the assumption that a distinctly Canaanite practice is in view as suggested by a text like 1 Kgs. 18:28.¹⁵⁰

It is often assumed that 1 Kgs. 18:28 comprises a polemic against ritualistic gashing by the association of this act with the Baal cult, but this requires re-evaluation. The context nowhere condemns the self-laceration committed by the Baal prophets *per se*. If this rite were indeed a magical mourning rite for Baal, one would have expected an author who throughout the episode polemicizes against the Baal cult to do the same in the case of self-laceration (cf. vv.21,27,29).¹⁵¹

Furthermore, when this lack of condemnation is seen in the light of Hosea 7:14 as well as Jer. 16:6, 41:5; and Ezek. 7:18, it suggests that for the author of 1 Kgs. 18:28, self-laceration was an acceptable act of supplication in both the Yahweh and Baal cults. This would explain why it was allowed to stand uncondemned. Thus, the phrase "according to their custom"

¹⁴⁹Bertholet 1899:44 viewed Deut. 14:1 as dependent upon Lev. 19:27-28. Noth 1965:143 saw 19:27b as a secondary addition. For a different view on the relation of these Lev. passages and Deut. 14:1. cf. Cholewinski 1976:295-96,299-300.

¹⁵⁰Carmichael 1974:78-80 viewed Deut. 14:1 as part of the laws against idolatry in 13:2-19. 14:1 forbids mourning for those put to the death for idolatry, cf. Jer. 16:1-8 where mourning for dead idolaters is prohibited. But this does not adequately explain the law for the priest in Lev. 21:5.

¹⁵¹The verb *wayyitnabbu* 'û in v.29 "they (= the prophets of Baal) raved on" (cf. *RSV* and *JPS*) is used with a pejorative force in 1 Sam. 18:10; 2 Kgs. 9:11; and Jer. 29:26.

k^e mišpātām in v.28a simply denotes the distinct manner in which the prophets of Baal performed this rite over against how an Israelite might have observed the same.¹⁵²

If laceration were an act of supplication in the respective cults of Yahweh and Baal of the first millennium and the biblical authors assumed its general validity, then the arguments for Deut. 14:1 as a prohibition against laceration on the basis of some supposed Canaanite associations miss the point. Moreover, a magical fertility rite involving self-laceration and tonsure among the Canaanites remains unattested. But most telling of all is the fact that the act in 1 Kgs. 18:28 is one of supplication to a deity, while that in Deut. 14:1 is one of mourning on behalf of a dead human.¹⁵³

Contrary to general opinion, the texts from Ugarit do not substantiate a Canaanite background for Deut. 14:1. "The Just Sufferer" text explicitly portrays laceration as an expression of mourning on behalf of a human about to die. There is no indication in the text that a magical fertility rite for Baal is involved. Baal never shows up in the text. It is the Mesopotamian god Marduk who is repeatedly mentioned!

More importantly, the provenance of the text is not Ugarit, but rather some easterly location, probably between

¹⁵² Cf. also Jones 1984(II):320.

¹⁵³ Moreover, 1 Kgs 18:28 does not mention tonsure. However unlikely, none of the advocates for a Canaanite background suggest that *lāmēt* might refer "to the Dead One", i.e., Baal, as has been suggested for *l^emēt* in 26:14, cf. 4.2.3. This would point to acts of supplication in 14:1 but, as in 26:14, this lacks contextual support.

Aleppo and Mari.¹⁵⁴ Therefore, to label this text, or the practices mentioned therein, as representative of a first millennium Canaanite practice hardly evokes confidence. Likewise, the reference to the ecstatic prophet via a simile ("like (an) ecstatic(s)") cannot substantiate the Baalistic associations of such mourning rites. The ecstatic alluded to no doubt performed laceration as an act of supplication to Marduk. Besides, we know that mourning rites fulfilled this function in Mesopotamian religion.¹⁵⁵

The mourning of El and Anat is more difficult to assess. As mentioned above, it has been assumed that El and Anat perform acts of mourning as seasonal rites of fertility. In this instance, these rites represented a type of imitative magic to revitalize Baal. It is then assumed by interpreters that these rites were also observed in the Ugaritic cult. This reconstruction in turn supposedly explains the *gesti* performed by the Baal prophets in 1 Kgs. 18:28.¹⁵⁶

Besides the fact that the context is severely laconic, the myth offers no explicit support for the efficacy of the mourning rites in the revitalization of Baal. Moreover, the seasonal-fertility interpretation of the Baal-Mot myth remains problematic. Furthermore, we presently lack any clear references

¹⁵⁴ Following Nougayrol 1968:265-67 and Roberts 1970:77.

¹⁵⁵ For instances of mourning rites used as acts of supplication in the ancient Near East, see the lengthy note in Gruber 1980(II):471 n.3 and cf. Dan. 9:3.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. e.g., Gray 1965:252.

to mourning rites or their magical power in the Ugaritic cult.¹⁵⁷ In the final analysis, the mourning of El and Anat was most likely intended to resemble the common mourning rites performed on behalf of the recently deceased.¹⁵⁸ That is to say, neither magical rites of revitalization nor acts of supplication are in view.

Not only is the citation of 1 Kgs. 18:28 as an explication of Deut 14:1 dubious, but the prior assumption that a magical fertility rite for Baal lies behind 1 Kgs. 18:28 is unwarranted. The relevant Ugaritic texts simply do not substantiate this interpretation. Therefore, a more adequate explanation for the prohibition in Deut. 14:1 is a *desideratum*, one which can also account for the pre-exilic and exilic prophetic acceptance of such rites.

Laceration and tonsure are attested as mourning rites among several ancient Near Eastern peoples.¹⁵⁹ The texts found at Ugarit suggest that this was the case for second-millennium

¹⁵⁷ Recall "The Just Sufferer" text is not original to Ugarit, so the ecstatic(s) mentioned there cannot be associated with the Ugaritic cult. The late first millennium evidence cited by de Moor 1971:200-01 as well as his reliance on precise calendrial dating is unconvincing.

¹⁵⁸ De Moor 1969:226 acknowledged this possibility.

¹⁵⁹ For general surveys, cf. Driver 1902:156 and Gaster 1981:590-604. Rowley 1963:54 n.2 cited additional references in the classical literature. Recently Alster 1983B:1-16 proposed that *Inanna's Descent to the Netherworld* (Sumerian), *Gilgamesh*, *Enkidu*, and *the Netherworld* (Sumerian and Akkadian versions) and *The Epic of Gilgamesh* (Akkadian) contain Sumerian and Akkadian mythological reflections of mourning rituals for human corpses involving self laceration and tonsure.

Syria, although we have as yet no evidence for their observance as mourning rites among first millennium Canaanites.¹⁶⁰

On the other hand, the DtrH preserves a tradition in which Mesopotamian religious customs were introduced into Israel in the days of Sargon II (722-705), but such traditions are difficult to assess.¹⁶¹ In any case, we know that Assyrian funerary customs were known to the late Israelite writers. The funerary custom of "making a fire" *šārap šē rēpāh* for a dead king (2 Chr. 16:14, 21:19; and Jer. 34:5) is an appropriation of a royal Assyrian practice.¹⁶² In our estimation, such familiarity with Mesopotamian funerary practices influenced dtr perspectives regarding self laceration and tonsure as acts of mourning.

The annals of Sargon II record Merodach-baladan II's reaction to the news that the Elamites would not deliver him from the hands of Sargon: "he threw himself to the ground, he rent his [garment], he took up the razor, and he uttered a lament"

¹⁶⁰ Recall that 1 Kgs. 18:28 depicted laceration as an act of supplication, not mourning. To assume that the former presupposes the latter as extant in the Canaanite context is unwarranted in the absence of confirming data. Podella 1986:263-69 examined iconographic representations of mourning on first millennium terra cotta figurines from Philistia. Laceration or tonsure as mourning or supplication rites are lacking, although a first millennium figurine from Rhodes depicts a self laceration rite.

¹⁶¹ Miller and Hayes 1986:339, 345-46, 370-72 following Spieckermann 1982 view this as an historical process on the basis of a text like 2 Kgs. 17:24-41. This could be merely reflective of the dtr writer's knowledge of Mesopotamian practices of his own day expressed in traditions about earlier times.

¹⁶² Akkadian *šuruptu šarpat*, cf. Parpola 1983:7-8 [Letter #4], 190-92 [Letter #195], 270-72 [Letter #280]. Zwickel 1989:267-77 has recently argued that the funerary fires of Israelite kings like Asa and Zedekiah (but not Jehoram) were borrowed, but modified, apotropaic rituals of the Assyrian royalty probably from the time of Esarhaddon (during Manasseh's reign).

*qaqqariš ippalsih [naḥlap]tuš išruṭa naglaba iššīma ušašriḥa
bikītu.*¹⁶³

Another depiction of tonsure as an expression of mourning is reflected in the inscription dedicated to the mother of Nabonidus, Adad-guppi. In the closing section of the inscription, a third person account narrates Nabonidus's instruction to his armies on the occasion of her funeral "the troops/people of the entire land cut their hair. . . ." *ṣabū māti kalama
pir[(?)tušunu] ugallibuma.*¹⁶⁴

The Greek historian Xenophon (fifth century B.C.E.) observed during an engagement of Assyrian and Persian forces led by Cyrus, that as the Persian forces breached the fortress walls "the Assyrian women . . . tore their cheeks" *hai gunaikes tōn 'Assurion . . . druptomenai (pareian)* for fear of their impending death and that of their children.¹⁶⁵

When the references in these texts are coupled with the literary arguments in favor of a late compositional date for 14:1, then the era of Mesopotamian hegemony of Palestine provides an appropriate setting for the eventual ban on what were formerly legitimate rites of mourning, self laceration and tonsure. Allusions to these practices are explicitly connected with Assyria in Isa. 7:20 "In that day, my Lord will cut away

¹⁶³ Lie 1929:54-55 and Gruber 1980(II):471-72.

¹⁶⁴ H₂ A:III:30'-31' cf. Gadd 1958:56-65, ANET 1969:562, and Longman 1983:277. For Akkadian examples of tonsure as a practice in cultic contexts, cf. Gruber 1980(II):472-75.

¹⁶⁵ *Cyropaedia* iii.3.67. In iii.1.13, Xenophon recorded the same act by Armenian women who were sure their king was about to die after he had answered Cyrus wrongly.

(*ye gallah*) with the razor that is hired beyond the Euphrates - with the king of Assyria- the hair of the head and the hair of the legs, and it shall clip off the beard as well". This is all the more highlighted by the fact that during the pre-exilic and early exilic periods, the observance of these same practices by both the Israelites and the local populations went uncondemned in the prophetic traditions.

A somewhat similar development obtained in the case of the cult of Asherah. This cult, like the above mourning rites, was viewed in non-dtr circles as originally compatible with the cult of Yahweh. Nevertheless, the later dtr ideology condemned this cult as syncretistic in origin, but its foreign attachments, however misconstrued, were made explicit.¹⁶⁶

Although various anthropological models have been cited in order to explain the eventual proscription of these two rites¹⁶⁷, it is more likely that either confusion with similar Mesopotamian customs and/or, perhaps owing to an underlying fear of the dead as some critics have suggested (cf. our conclusion), the threat which the longstanding Israelite version of these two rites posed for the later dtr Yahwism led to their being banned, both

¹⁶⁶ The practice was condemned by artificially associating it with the Baal cult, so Olyan 1988:1-22, 70-74. The assumption here is that the goddess Asherah was in fact originally the consort of El who was then taken over by Yahweh, cf. Olyan 1988:39-61.

¹⁶⁷ Differing from his earlier view (1974:78-80), Carmichael 1976:1-7 concluded that these mourning customs constituted an entanglement of life and death. Wenham 1979:272, following the view of Mary Douglas, saw the underlying rationale as the standard of wholeness which rejected defect or disfigurement, cf. Lev. 21:18-21 (the priest) and the laws on skin diseases in Lev. 13-14 (the people).

for the priest (Lev. 25:1) and for the people (Lev. 19:27-28; Deut. 14:1).¹⁶⁸

In conclusion, neither a death nor an ancestral cult is apparent for Deut. 14:1. What is of concern is the observance of two mourning customs. There is no mention of, or allusion to, those mortuary rites which extend beyond the burial of the dead, or for that matter, the dead's arrival in the netherworld.

4.4.2. DEUTERONOMY 18:11

With Deut. 18:11, we return to the topic of necromancy. The practitioner *šō'ēl 'ôḥ wēyiddē'ōnī* "he who inquires of the One-Who>Returns and the Knower" is one among a nine item list of forbidden mantic offices spanning vv.10-11.¹⁶⁹ This passage along with its immediate context, 18:9-14, comprises a portion of the so-called *Amtergesetze*, or laws of the officials, spanning 16:18-18:22. Since at least the time of Wellhausen, critics have argued for the redactional nature of the *Amtergesetze*.¹⁷⁰

Nevertheless, Lohfink has attempted to establish the whole of 16:18-18:22 as a dtr sketch of a constitution for the

¹⁶⁸ Dan. 9:3 records the use of fasting, sackcloth and ashes, as acts of supplication for the Israelite in Mesopotamia of the Persian period. Laceration and tonsure are not mentioned.

¹⁶⁹ "He who inquires of the One-Who>Returns and the Knower" *šō'ēl 'ôḥ wēyiddē'ōnī* may be in apposition to "the necromancer" *dōrēš 'el-hammēṭīm*, cf. Isa. 8:19 where *dirē šū 'el-hā'ôḥôt wē'el-hayyiddē'ōnīm* is semantically paralleled by *yidrōš . . . 'el-hammēṭīm*. The LXX omits the copula throughout vv.10-11 and recall that asyndeton is rare while apposition is common, so Emerton 1962:129-38, cf. n. 49.

¹⁷⁰ Wellhausen 1899:357; and cf. Dillmann 1886:328; Merendino 1969:405; Preuss 1982:136-38; and Rüterswörden 1987.

restoration of the nation composed during the exilic period.¹⁷¹ The basis for his proposal is the strong affinity between the *Amtergesetze* and characteristic dtr language. For, example, the forms *yrš* (16:20; 17:14; 18:12,14), *tw^c bh* (17:4; 18:9,12 [2x]), and *h^c byr b'š* (18:10) are dtr phraseology.¹⁷² Furthermore, "Torah" (*tôrāh*; 17:9,11,18,19) is found otherwise only in later dtr redactional layers of Deut.¹⁷³

Lohfink also pointed out that the law in 18:1-8 allows every rural Levite to offer sacrifice at the central sanctuary (presumably Jerusalem), although 2 Kgs. 23:9, part of the Josianic reform, did not grant this right.¹⁷⁴ Thus, according to Lohfink, Deut. 18:6-8 must be later as it could not be part of

¹⁷¹ Lohfink 1971:143-55 and cf. 1981:87-100; 1982:953-85; and 1988:col.425-30 and Braulik 1988:63-92. Dion 1978:42-44 and 1985:200-21 narrowed the boundaries of Lohfink's exilic constitution to 17:14-18:22.

¹⁷² Lohfink 1981:92 and 1982:953-85. For *yrš*, cf. the DtrH texts 1 Kgs. 14:24; 21:26; 2 Kgs. 16:3; 17:8; 21:2. It shows up only in the parenthetic framework, introduction and conclusion (never in the pre-dtr laws): 6:1,18; 7:1, 17-24; 8:1,7,20; 9:1-6; 10:11; 11:5, 8-12,22-25,29,31; 12:1,2,10,29 (2x); 15:4; 19:1,14; 21:1; 23:21; 25:19; 26:1; 27:2,3, 4,12; 28:21,63; 29:1-7; 30:16,18. These are viewed as dtr additions. For *tw^c bh*, cf. the DtrH texts 1 Kgs. 14:24; 2 Kgs. 16:3; 21:2 and the dtr text Deut. 12:31. For *h^c byr b'š*, cf. the DtrH texts 2 Kgs. 16:3; 17:17; 21:6 and the dtr text Deut. 12:31 (*šrp b'š*).

¹⁷³ 1:5; 4:8,44; 27:3,8,26(2x); 29:20,30,40; 31:9,11,24,26; 33:4, 10. Lohfink 1971:152-53 viewed 17:9-11 as an older text dealing with inquiry directed to God that was applied to Torah. This reapplication in turn has resulted in internal tensions within the pericope.

¹⁷⁴ The generally accepted position that 2 Kgs. 23:4-20 deliberately presents Josiah as in conformity with the demands of the law of Moses is presupposed here, cf. also Mayes 1983:131. While any comparison of these two passages runs into the difficulty of explaining the relationship between the priests and Levites, Emerton 1962:129-38 has argued with regard to the phrase "the priests, the Levites, the whole tribe of Levi" in Deut. 18:1 that asyndeton is rare while apposition is very common.

the law book which instigated, at least in part, the Josianic reform.¹⁷⁵ Owing to the fact that the priests are mentioned again in 17:18 as caring for the Torah -a further reaching claim of the once rural, but now unified Levites- this text too is to be considered post-Josianic and therefore dtr.¹⁷⁶

As with the *Amtergesetze* in general, the law of the prophets which comprises vv.9-14 (the negative section) and vv.15-22 (the positive section), has likewise been assigned a complex redactional history.¹⁷⁷ Of special interest is the fact that critics have assigned 18:11, where *'ôb* and *yiddē'ōnî* occur, to the earliest compositional stratum.

The early compositional date for 18:11 is founded upon the often unstated premise that the verse preserves an old law reflected in 1 Sam. 28:3,7-9 and Isa. 8:19, 19:3, 29:4.¹⁷⁸ García López reconstructed four stages in the compositional history of Deut. 18:9-22: (1) a primitive text- vv.10aa, 10b, 11, 12a; (2) a proto-deuteronomic redaction- vv.9a, 14, 15a, 21, 22aB; (3) a redaction completed by the dtr Historian- vv.9b, 10aB, 12b; and

¹⁷⁵Hoffmann 1980:208-226 is more skeptical about the existence of a law book *per se* forming the basis of Josiah's reform. Accordingly, the account of the law book's discovery is fictitious. 2 Kgs. 23:4-20 depends upon some vague historical traditions about a reform in Josiah's time and is a collection in one place of all references to the reform.

¹⁷⁶Lohfink 1971:149. Mayes 1979:278-79 and Preuss 1982:137-38,180 distinguish between the rural Levites of Deut. 18 and the priests of the high places in 2 Kgs. 23, but cf. n. 49.

¹⁷⁷See the summary of views in García López 1984:290-95 and add Mayes 1979:279-83; Preuss 1982:138-39; and Rüterswörden 1988:esp. pp.85-87.

¹⁷⁸Cf. e.g., Smith 1918:231. Donner 1983:238 concluded that 1 Sam. 28:3-25 is pre-Deuteronomic, but cf. McKenzie 1991 for arguments against a pre-Deuteronomic level in DtrH.

(4) a redaction related to DtrH and the concerns of Jeremiah-
vv.15b-20,22aa,22b.¹⁷⁹

The weakness inherent in such a reconstruction is not the recognition that a dtr hand is present in 18:9-14 and vv.15-22. Rather, it is the presumption that vv.10-12a are old. Moreover, when coupled with the evidence for dtr redaction, this in turn forces the critic to postulate multiple -at least two, but usually more- layers of redaction for vv.9-14.

However, the argument for the early attestation of 'šbôṭ and *yidd^ec ōnîm* stands on shaky ground. In addition to their occurrence in the dtr redactional passages Isa. 8:19, 19:3, and 29:4¹⁸⁰, the 'šbôṭ and *yidd^ec ōnîm* occur otherwise in the dtr texts 2 Kgs. 21:6 and 23:24, in three texts from the HC, Lev. 19:31; 21:6,27, and in still later texts of the Chronicler, 1 Chr. 10:13 and 2 Chr. 33:6 (= 2 Kgs. 21:6).

Furthermore, they are entirely absent in the remaining prophetic traditions both pre-exilic and exilic. Neither Amos nor Hosea, nor the Elijah-Elisha traditions for that matter speak out against the 'šbôṭ and *yidd^ec ōnîm*. Lastly, 1 Sam. 28:3-25, evinces extensive evidence for its dtr or post-dtr character (cf.

¹⁷⁹García López 1984:290-308. The author left the status of v.13 undecided. Seitz 1971:235-43 assumed the antiquity of v.11 in his reconstruction: (1) a pre-deuteronomiac text- vv.10-12a; (2) a deuteronomiac collection- vv.9, 12b, 14-15; (3) a deuteronomiac elaboration- vv.16-18; and (4) a dtr elaboration- vv.19-22. He viewed v.13 as simply late. Cf. also Mayes 1979:279-80: (1) the oldest stage- vv.10-12a; (2) a deuteronomiac legislation- vv.9, 12b; (3) a post-dtr addition to the law- vv.15-18 (v.14 is a connecting link); and (4) a still later addition- vv.19-22. V.13 is an isolated later addition.

¹⁸⁰Cf. 4.3.2.-5. and Barth 1977:152-56,184-90,285-90.

4.5.1) while the existence of a supposed pre-Deuteronomic level for the DtrH has been recently challenged.¹⁸¹

The language of Deut. 18:9-14 further supports the notion that a dtr hand is at work, for these verses have clear links with dtr and other late texts. This is the case for v.9b: *hgwym hhm*¹⁸², for v.9ba: *(t)lmd l^cšwt*¹⁸³, and for 9bB: *ktw^cbt hgwym*.¹⁸⁴ Moreover, v.9b cannot be separated from v.9a as the latter, beginning as it does with a *kī* clause, demands an apodosis for the protasis and it can no longer be presumed that vv.10-12a formed the original apodosis of a hypothetically older v.9a, for as we shall argue shortly, the antiquity of these verses is in doubt.

Furthermore, the stereotypical opening to the law in 18:9a, *ky + bw' + 'rs*, is also found in 7:1, 8:7, 17:14, and 23:21, all of which have been identified as forming part of the parenesis of the book.¹⁸⁵ Based on the fact that the form *yrš* shows up in each of these texts and that this form never shows up in the pre-dtr laws of Deut., Lohfink assigned all of these parenetic verses to

¹⁸¹For the dtr or post-dtr redaction of 1 Sam. 28:3-25, cf. Schunck 1963:84-85, 94-96; Hoffmann 1980:293-300; Van Seters 1983:261-300; and Foresti 1984:86-90, 130-36. Against a pre-Deuteronomic level for DtrH, cf. McKenzie 1991.

¹⁸²Deut. 28:65, 29:17; Zech. 14:3 and the dtr addition, Deut. 17:14.

¹⁸³Cf. Deut. 4:1, 5, 14; 6:1; 20:18. 17:19 also uses *lmd*.

¹⁸⁴Deut. 20:18; 1 Kgs. 14:24; 2 Kgs. 16:3, 21:2; Ezek. 16:4; Ezra 9:1; 2 Chr. 28:3, 33:2.

¹⁸⁵Cf. also the related 12:29, 19:1, and 21:1.

a dtr hand.¹⁸⁶ He also argued for the dtr origins of the terms *ntn* and *'rs* in 18:9a.¹⁸⁷

The dtr character of 18:9-12 gains additional support from the detailed analysis of García López in spite of his propensity to divide the pericope into half and even quarter verses based on the assumed antiquity of vv.10-12a. He astutely noted the linguistic affinities between 18:9-12 and the dtr text 2 Kgs. 16:3:¹⁸⁸

2 Kgs. 16:3

Deut. 18:10-12

v.3ba *wgm 't-bnw h^cbyr b'š*

v.10a *l'-ymš' bk m^cbyr bnw wbtw b'š*

v.3bB *kt^cbwt hgwym*

v.9b *l'-tlmd l^cšwt kt^cbt hgwym hhm*

v.3bc *'šr hwryš yhwh 'tm
mpny bny yšr'l*

v.12b *ky . . . yhwh 'lhyk mwryš 'wtm
mpnyk*

He also pointed out that the formula *h^cbyr bn(--)* (*wbt[--]*) *b'š* in v.10a shows up only in late texts.¹⁸⁹ In fact, the entire list of forbidden practices in Deut. 18:10b-12a are, with the lone exception of *hbr hbr* (owing to its rare occurrence), most frequently attested in dtr passages of the DtrH: 1 Sam. 28:3,7,9; 1 Kgs. 14:24; 20:23; 2 Kgs. 9:22; 16:3; 17:17; 21:2,6 and 23:24.

¹⁸⁶ Lohfink 1981:92; 1982:953-85; and 1988:cols.427-28.

¹⁸⁷ Lohfink 1981:92-96.

¹⁸⁸ García López 1984:296-97.

¹⁸⁹ García López 1984:297 n.49 and cf. Lev. 18:21; 2 Kgs. 16:3, 17:17, 21:6, 23:10; (Jer. 23:35; Ezek. 16:21, 20:26) 20:31, (23:27); 2 Chr. 33:6.

Lohfink also listed the extensive parallels between Deut. 18:10b-11 and dtr 2 Kgs. 21:6:¹⁹⁰

2 Kgs. 21:6

Deut. 18:10b-12a

w^e he^c ēbīr- 'et b^e nō bā' ēš

ma^c ābīr b^e nō-ūbittō bā' ēš

[qōsēm q^e sāmīm]

w^e c ōnēn

m^e c ōnēn

w^e niḥēš

ūm(^e) naḥēš

[ūm(^e) kaššēp w^e hōbēr hāber]

w^e c āsāh 'ōb w^e yidd^e c ōnī(m)

w^e šō'ēl 'ōb w^e yidd^e c ōnī

[w^e dōrēš 'el-hammētīm]

Once v.11 is assigned to a dtr hand, the same must be attributed to v.12a, for at the least this first half of v.12 presupposes v.11. Moreover, the suffix on 'wtm in v.12b presupposes *hgwym hhm* in v.9b and is therefore dependent upon at least that half verse. In addition, the forms *yrš* as well as *mpny*, both of which have been labelled as dtr by Lohfink, show up in v.12b (recall our comparison of v.12b with the dtr text 2 Kgs. 16:3).¹⁹¹

V.14 likewise contains a reference to *yrš*, while the phrase *mqr̄b- (m) 'hy-* in vv.15 and 18 has close affinities with 17:15, a passage in the law of the king, 17:14-20. The whole of the law of the king is generally recognized as dtr owing to its language and the analogies it shares with 1 Sam. 8:5-20, 10:17-25, and 1 Sam.

¹⁹⁰ Lohfink 1988:col.428. He also included 1 Sam. 28:7-9 which we take to be part of a dtr or post-dtr addition to the DtrH spanning 28:3-25, cf. 4.5.1.

¹⁹¹ Lohfink 1982:661,674-75.

12.¹⁹² Finally, as regards to vv.16-22, the majority of commentators acknowledge the dtr origin of these closing verses.¹⁹³

By way of summary, the extensive dtr language present throughout Deut. 18:9-22 and the inclusion of what is otherwise late concern to condemn necromancy in v.11, points to the work of a dtr hand. Our proposal gains additional support from a detailed examination of the other mantic practices mentioned in Deut. 18:10-11.

The rite of human sacrifice reflected in the phrase "the one who makes his son or his daughter pass through the fire" *ma'ăbîr b' nō-ūbittô bā'ēš*, was originally part of the Yahwistic cult in pre-exilic and exilic times, but the dtr circle or those later traditions susceptible to dtr influence attached this practice to the Baal cult and/or a cult considered by the Israelite writers to be devoted to a deity named Molek and then proceeded to condemn it.¹⁹⁴

The same can be said for the second mantic office listed, "the augur" *qōsēm q' sāmîm*. Both Isa. 3:2 and Micah 3:6-7,11 establish the legitimacy of this practice in pre-exilic Yahwistic religion, but it too is later condemned in dtr circles (1 Sam.

¹⁹²Cf. e.g., *yrš* and *ky + bw' + 'rš* in 17:14 and Lohfink 1971: 149-51, 1988:cols.427-28 and Preuss 1982:137. Mayes 1979:271, although he acknowledged the presence of dtr additions to 17:14-20 (vv.16,18-19,20b), viewed the dtr texts in 1 Sam. as dependent upon Deut 17.

¹⁹³Cf. Preuss 1982:138. Mayes 1979:279-80,282-83 and García López 1984:300-04 recognized the dtr origins of most of vv.16-22.

¹⁹⁴For texts that suggest its original legitimacy, cf. Isa. 30:33; Micah 6:6-7; Jer. 7:31, 32:35; and Ezek. 20:25-26,31 and see Olyan 1988:11-13 and Smith 1990:132-38.

15:23, 28:8; 2 Kgs. 17:17) and dependent texts.¹⁹⁵ A possible reference to augury in the late text Isa. 2:6 not only supports the belated concern to condemn such a practice, but it also offers a possible clue to its perceived origin.

That Isa. 2:5-9 is a dtr addition is supported by the dtr expression "the work of x's hands" which shows up in v.8 *ma^c ăśēh yāḏāyw*.¹⁹⁶ Likewise, the verb *hištaḥāwāh* in v.8 might evince dtr influence.¹⁹⁷ These and other data confirm the view that vv.5-9 comprise a later dtr addition to 2:6-21(22).¹⁹⁸

For example, critics insert "augurs" *qôse mîm* before *miqqēdem* in v.6 following the Targum and appeal to haplography in the MT, "Surely you have rejected your people, O house of Jacob, because they are full of augurs from the East, and of soothsayers like the Philistines and *they strike hands with foreigners*."¹⁹⁹ If on the mark, the formerly legitimate augur is in this late text described as a foreign import from Mesopotamia and condemned (or, less likely in view of the passages to follow, the author intends only to condemn a foreign version of augury).

¹⁹⁵ Jer. 14:14, 27:9, 29:8; Ezek. 12:24, 13:6, 7, 9, 23, 21:29, 34, 22:28; Isa. 44:25; and Zech. 10:2.

¹⁹⁶ Cf. Deut. 4:28, 27:15; 2 Kgs. 22:17 and Weinfeld 1972:324 and 4.1.

¹⁹⁷ Cf. Weinfeld 1972:321.

¹⁹⁸ Cf. Wildberger 1972:95-96; Barth 1977:222-23; and Kaiser 1983:6, 56-66 and esp. his survey of opinion on pp. 63-66 and n. 33. Sweeney 1988:176 viewed vv. 6b-9a as original to the oracle, but was forced to exclude v. 9b from consideration in order to claim that this pericope of accusation would lack a judgment statement and therefore could not have stood independently on its own.

¹⁹⁹ Although v. 6c is problematic, it clearly refers to Israel's illicit relations with the nations.

The condemnation of the augur is taken up again in the story of Balaam in Num. 22-24 which is, in all likelihood, a late composition.²⁰⁰ In 22:7, the elders of Moab and Midian carry *q^e sāmîm b^e yādām*, that is, "fees for augury in their hand" for Balaam's hire.²⁰¹ Most commentators take 22:5 as indicative of Balaam's Syrian origins where he is identified as the son of Beor at Pethor, by the River in the land of Amaw.²⁰² What is most curious is the fact that foreign augury is not condemned by the narrator.²⁰³ Only in the story of Balaam's ass, 22:22-35, a secondary addition, is Balaam and, indirectly, his augury polemicized against.²⁰⁴

In Josh. 13:22, a late P addition, the prophet Balaam is labelled the augur *haqqôsēm*.²⁰⁵ Not only does this text confirm the later foreign associations of augury, it alludes to the

²⁰⁰ So Rouillard 1985 (not engaged by Moore 1990). Note that the episode of Agag is mentioned in 24:7, a story attributed to Saul's day in what is recognized as a late text, 1 Sam. 15. Moreover, vv.17-18 speak of the wars of David against Edom and Moab. Rouillard proposed four redactional stages; (N1) 22:2-21, 36-23:26 [650-40 B.C.E.], (N2) 22:22-35 [after Josiah's reform], (N3) 23:27-24:6 [exilic], and (N4) 24:7-24 [soon after the exile]. Having compared the Balaam story and Second Isaiah, Van Seters 1986:245-47 dated Rouillard's N1, N3, and N4 to the exilic period, while N2 constituted a secondary addition.

²⁰¹ Following the RSV.

²⁰² Cf. 23:7 which places Balaam in Aram. Budd 1984:254 (n. 5b) noted both the Syrian and northern Mesopotamian locations of Amaw proposed by scholars. On p.272, he identified Balaam as a "Mesopotamian seer".

²⁰³ This verse is found in Rouillard's N1 stratum and is according to the author Josianic in date.

²⁰⁴ Rouillard's N2.

²⁰⁵ Cf. Josh. 13:21-22 and Num. 31. On the whole of Josh. 13 19 as a late P addition, cf. Van Seters 1983:331-37.

raison d'être for its eventual condemnation. In other words, in spite of its earlier legitimacy, augury was connected to foreign influence and eventually condemned.²⁰⁶

Both the "soothsayer" *m^ec ônēn* and the "sorcerer" *m^e kaššēp* of v.10 require a detailed treatment. At first glance, Micah 5:11 and Isa. 2:6 appear to substantiate the ban on these two practices during pre-exilic times (recall that Isa. 2:6 also mentions the augur). However, the dtr status of Micah 5:9-13 has been repeatedly defended.²⁰⁷ The presence of the Hiphil of the verb *k-r-t* suggests dtr influence (vv.9,10,11, 12).²⁰⁸ Moreover, the phrase "the work of x's hands", here in v.12b *ma^c āšēh yādēkā*, is a characteristic dtr expression²⁰⁹ as is the verbal form *hištahāwāh* "bow down" in the same half verse.²¹⁰ Furthermore, the root *n-ṭ-š* in v.13 is typical of dtr-Jer.²¹¹

As outlined above, Isa. 2:6 likewise exhibits evidence of a dtr hand. Otherwise, the soothsayer shows up in dtr passages of

²⁰⁶In the notice that Balaam was killed by the Israelites, the priestly perspective aligned itself with the dtr tradition.

²⁰⁷Willi-Plein 1971:96-97. Jeremias 1971:330-54, esp. pp.343-46 and Mays 1976:25-27,124-25 date the passage to the exile. Lescow 1972:77-78 dated it to the post-exilic period. For dtr language throughout chs.4-5, see Wolff 1980-82:132-35 and note the reference to Babylon as the place of exile in 4:10. For a survey of opinion, cf. Renaud 1977:262-71 whose conclusion that 5:9b-13 is pre-exilic owing to its close relation to Isa. 2:6-8 does not adequately take into account the compositional history of the latter passage.

²⁰⁸Cf. Lohfink 1981:97.

²⁰⁹Cf. Deut. 4:28,27:15; 2 Kgs. 22:17 and Weinfeld 1972:324.

²¹⁰Cf. Weinfeld 1972:321.

²¹¹Jer. 12:14 and cf. Deut. 29:27; 1 Kgs. 14:15; Amos 9:15, all with reference to the exile and see Wolff 1980-82:132-33.

DtrH (2 Kgs. 21:6), in late prophetic passages (Jer. 27:9; Isa. 57:3), in HC (Lev. 19:26), and in the Chronicler (2 Chr. 33:6 = 2 Kgs. 21:6).

Now, the sorcerer is attested in a dtr text of the DtrH (2 Kgs. 9:22), in late prophetic texts (Jer. 27:9; Isa. 47:9,12; Nahum 3:4; Mal. 3:5; and Dan. 2:2) and in the Chronicler (2 Chr. 33:6 = 2 Kgs. 21:6).²¹² Moreover, in exilic and post-exilic prophetic traditions, this office is connected with Mesopotamian influences, particularly Babylonian (Isa. 47:9,12) and Assyrian (Nahum 3:4).²¹³ In summary, the soothsayer and the sorcerer are depicted as late comers in Yahwistic religion, as foreign, namely Mesopotamian, imports and are therefore condemned.

The next office, the "diviner" *mē nahēš* is never mentioned in pre-exilic or exilic prophetic texts. It occurs in dtr texts of DtrH (1 Kgs. 20:33; 2 Kgs. 17:17, 21:6), in HC (Lev. 19:26), and in the Chronicler (2 Chr. 33:6 = 2 Kgs. 21:6).²¹⁴

Like the practice of augury, it is also found in the late story of Balaam, Num. 22-24.²¹⁵ Balaam is described as one well versed in the foreign arts of divining (23:23, cf. also 24:1) and augury (23:23, cf. also 22:7). Again, what is surprising is that the narrator depicts Balaam as diviner and augur in 23:23, part of the earliest section of the story, but offers no condemning

²¹² For the references in the Yahwist, Exod. 7:11 and 22:18, cf. n.222.

²¹³ Cf. also Mal. 3:5 and Dan. 2:2.

²¹⁴ Its references in the Yahwist, Gen. 30:27, 44:5,15, will be examined in the concluding section of 5.2.2.

²¹⁵ On the compositional date, cf. Rouillard 1985 and n. 200.

evaluation.²¹⁶ Again, only in the story of Balaam's ass, 22:22-35, a secondary addition, is Balaam, and indirectly his art of divining, polemicized against.²¹⁷

Finally, the "charmer" *hōbēr hāber* is likewise never mentioned in pre-exilic prophetic texts but, like the sorcerer, the charmer is later depicted in Isa. 47:9,12 as having Babylonian connections (cf. vv.1,5 and Dan. 2:2). Having concluded that Hebrew *hbr* was cognate with Akkadian *ubburu* "bind magically", Held has recently suggested that Isa. 47:9,12 comprises a satire on Neo-Babylonian magic.²¹⁸

In summary, none of the first six mantic practices listed in Deut. 18:10-11 were condemned in pre-exilic prophetic traditions. Neither Hosea nor Amos nor, for that matter, the Elijah-Elisha school stood in opposition to them. Two of the practices, human sacrifice and augury, were compatible with earlier Yahwistic religion and only later condemned in dtr circles. The remaining four, soothsaying, sorcery, divining, and charming, were not attested in pre-exilic texts. This might indicate that they were unknown. In any case, when they do show up in later dtr texts or texts influenced by dtr ideology, they are depicted as illicit foreign practices.

²¹⁶ Rouillard's N1.

²¹⁷ Rouillard's N2.

²¹⁸ Held 1982:76-85 (English summary p.254*; *Maqlu* I:4-5) and cf. Smith 1985:379 and n.11. It also shows up in Ps. 58:6. The connection with Ugaritic *hbr* in *KTU* 1.6:VI:49 and *RIH* 78/20:10 by Avishur 1981: 16,22-23, followed by Smith 1985:377-80 and Dijkstra 1986:147-52, is questionable, cf. Bordreuil and Caquot 1980:348, 350; De Moor 1980: 429,431; and Caquot 1984:163-76 who connect Ugaritic *hbr* with Hebrew *hābēr* "companion".

The prophetic traditions connect the illicit status of these practices to their foreign attachments. In three, sorcery, divining, and charming, Mesopotamian associations are explicit. Nevertheless, "foreign origins" as a basis for proscription is contrived in the case of augury as we found it to be compatible with pre-exilic Yahwistic religion. Such purposeful distortion is characteristic of the dtr ideology. As we pointed out previously, the same rhetorical technique is evident in the dtr polemics against Manasseh, the alleged bull cult of Jeroboam, the cult of Asherah, and perhaps the cult of human sacrifice.

In the case of sorcery, divining, and charming, all possible late comers in Israel's traditions, the stated Assyrian and Babylonian influences might reflect genuine instances of foreign syncretism. Whether these attachments are real or contrived, the foreign origins weighed heavily in the dtr polemic against these practices.²¹⁹

One final observation calls for consideration. Of the various lists of illicit practices which include 'ōb(ōt) and yiddē' ōnî(m), Deut. 18:10-11 is clearly the most expansive with its list of nine mantic practices.²²⁰ A comparison of the related lists in 2 Kgs. 21:6 and 2 Chr. 33:6 indicates that the inventory tended to expand over time. The addition in 2 Chr. 33:6 to the

²¹⁹ We should also point out that the biblical traditions nowhere explicitly identify Balaam as a necromancer. This strengthens our proposal that this form of divination was peculiar to Mesopotamia and was understood as such by the biblical writers.

²²⁰ Cf. the following passages for lists of three or more: Lev. 20:2-6; 1 Sam. 28:3, 7-9; 2 Kgs. 17:17, 21:6; Isa. 8:19; Jer. 27:9; and 2 Chr. 33:6.

five item list in 2 Kgs. 21:6 involves an office attested only in late prophetic texts, namely the sorcerer (cf. dtr Micah 5:11; Jer. 27:9; and Isa. 47:9,12).

In Deut. 18:10-11, the sorcerer and three additional offices, the augur, charmer, and consulter of the dead, were added to what probably comprised an earlier inventory of outlawed mantic practices. These items are otherwise condemned only in late texts (Isa. 47:9,12 and dtr 2:6 and 8:19). Thus, Deut. 18:10-11 may reflect the later expansion of an inventory of illicit mantic offices.

Before concluding, we should point out that some of these practices are in isolated instances attributed non-Mesopotamian but nevertheless, foreign, associations. In 1 Kgs. 20:33, the Syrians practice divining, while in 2 Kgs. 9:22 sorcery appears in Phoenician dress. Moreover, the augur and the soothsayer are found among the Philistines in 1 Sam. 6:2 and Isa. 2:6.²²¹ Finally, the diviner and sorcerer are depicted in Egyptian dress in Gen. 30:27, 44:5,15 and Exod. 7:11 (cf. also Exod. 22:18 for the latter).

Nevertheless, the preponderance of references assume Mesopotamian influence and so these comprised the most formidable threats to dtr Yahwism. The passages depicting non-Mesopotamian, but nevertheless foreign, connections possibly reflect a subsequent expansion on the dtr perspective. In other words, the polemical perspective has been widened so as to include other

²²¹ Recall that the augur was compatible with pre-exilic Yahwistic religion.

foreign peoples.²²² In any case, none of these practices can be considered exclusively characteristic of early "Canaanite" populations. In conclusion, Deut. 18:10-11 reflects a late expansion on a dtr tradition proscribing various mantic practices. This tradition reflects the dtr and related traditions' acquaintance with Mesopotamian magic which was subsequently expanded so as to include numerous peoples symbolic of pre-exilic antagonisms in the land. The condemnation of these practices in Deut. 18:11 establishes the antiquity and authority of the dtr polemic as it attaches itself to Moses.

4.4.3. DEUTERONOMY 26:14

Deut. 26:12-15 continues the law on the tithe where 14:22-29 left off. In recent treatments, this passage has become a *crux interpretum* in the debate over whether or not Israel embraced a death and/or ancestor cult. Those *pro* have cited it as their clearest example²²³, while those *con* have listed it as the only text worthy of mention although they dismiss it in the final

²²²The fact that 1 Kgs. 20:33 and 2 Kgs. 9:22 probably constitute later additions to DtrH, so Jones 1984(II):337-39, 450-54, that Isa. 2:6 is a dtr addition, that 1 Sam. 1-7 might be the product of an exilic dtr hand, so Van Seters 1983:346-53, and that the Yahwist's work is dependent upon that of the Deuteronomist, supports such a proposal (cf. Exod. 7:11, 22:18 and n.212). For an example of the Yahwist's dependence upon a late Mesopotamian, specifically Babylonian, topos, cf. Van Seters 1989:333-42.

²²³Brichto 1973:29 saw Deut. 26:14 as reflective of an Israelite ancestor cult for which provision was normally made except in the case of the tithe. Ribar 1973:75-76, followed by Lewis 1989:103-04, sought to leave open, but clearly preferred, the periodic nature of the offering as part of a death cult. Spronk 1986:39, 49, 241, 248 viewed this verse as evidence for the ongoing care of the dead, but not their veneration.

analysis.²²⁴ But before we can adequately evaluate the arguments on either side, we must attempt to reconstruct the compositional history of the text:

<i>lō'-'ākal_ttī b_e 'ōnī mimmennū</i>	"I have not eaten any of it (the tithe) in my mourning,
<i>w^e lō'-bi^c artī mimmennū b_e tāmē'</i>	nor have I removed any of it in a state of uncleanness ²²⁵ ,
<i>w^e lō'-nātattī mimmennū l^e mēt</i>	nor have I given any of it on account of/to a dead person."

First, critics have repeatedly underscored the (exilic) dtr character of the preceding section, vv.1-11, particularly the credo in vv.5-10, as well as the succeeding section, vv.16-19.²²⁶ While the same has been posited for vv.12-15, others have recognized the presence of older material which has been adapted by a dtr redactor to a new context.

Mayes for example, proposed that old material has been reworked by a later hand in both vv.12 and 14a.²²⁷ That later material is present is indicated by the phrase "before the Lord your God" in v.13. This presupposes centralization and depends

²²⁴ Cf. e.g., Heidel 1963:204-06.

²²⁵ Perles 1914:109-10 equated *b_e tāmē'* of v.14b with Akkadian *eṭemum* and translated "I have not made burnings for a spirit of the dead".

²²⁶ For 26:1-11 and esp. the so-called credo in vv.5-9, cf. Rost 1965:11-25; Childs 1967:30-39; Seitz 1971:243-48; Mayes 1979:46,332-35; and Preuss 1982:144-46. On the lateness of the phrase "a wandering Aramean" see Van Seters 1975:33-34 against Mayes 1979:334. For 26:16-19, cf. Mayes 1979:46,337-40 and Preuss 1982:147-48.

²²⁷ Mayes 1979:46,244-45,332-37 and 1983:36 and n.30, 39.

upon the law in 14:22-29 and points to a post-deuteronomic hand. Furthermore, the phrase "obeyed the voice of" in v.14 is dtr²²⁸ as are the notions of God's dwelling in heaven and looking down on earth in v.15.²²⁹

On the other hand, the internal tensions evident in vv.12-15 point to the possibility that not all was the product of the dtr circle. V.12 states that the tithe was to be given to the Levite, sojourner, fatherless, and widow, but v.14 assumes three ways in which this might not have been fulfilled. The stress on ritual purity in v.14 suggests that the tithe was given to Yahweh rather than to the poor as recorded in v.12. Thus, according to Mayes, the tithe in v.12 comprised older material reapplied in a new context.²³⁰ Such tensions in the text led Mayes to postulate that in v.14a, a dtr redactor has incorporated an ancient confession of cultic purity.²³¹

Nevertheless, we contend that the tensions observed by Mayes are not as apparent as he proposed. While v.14 records three ways in which an Israelite might not fulfil his obligation to the Levite, sojourner, fatherless, or the widow, the difficulty need not be viewed at the level of a supposed redactional seam. Rather, it may well be that a deliberate contrast is made by the narrator.

²²⁸ Cf. 27:10; 28:1,2,15,45,62; 30:3,8,10.

²²⁹ Cf. 1 Kgs. 8:30 and 2 Chr. 30:27, Jer. 25:30; and Zech. 2:13, all late passages. See also Weinfeld 1972:326 and Preuss 1982:144.

²³⁰ On the tithe, cf. Gen. 14:20, 28:22; Lev. 27:30-31; 1 Sam. 8:15,17; and Amos 4:4.

²³¹ Mayes 1979:335-36.

What the narrator underscores by means of the required pledge in v.14 is that no depletion of the tithe was excusable, even for what might be considered otherwise worthy religious causes which, in the case at hand, would include those associated with the solemn act of mourning. This is in keeping with the thrust of v.12 where the stress lies on the giving of the tithe in *full* measure "when you have completed (*t^e kalleh*) tithing all the tithe of your yield . . ." and v.13 "I have *completely* removed the holy portion . . .". The same concern can be seen in vv.13b and 14b where complete obedience to the *mišwô^t* is emphasized.

Assuming that mourning is the theme common to all three of the negative pledges in v.14²³², even while one was in mourning (v.14a), no portion of the tithe was to be eaten in place of one's regular food supply should it be made unclean by contact with the dead. Unclean food could be eaten only after a seven day period of purification. It was first to be washed and sprinkled on the seventh day (cf. Num. 31:23).²³³ Thus, v.14a might anticipate a common tendency to substitute the tithe set aside for the needy in place of one's regular staple in difficult times.

On the other hand, in obedience to the purification laws, one was not to dispose of the tithe should a person touch it in a state of uncleanness, owing to their previous contact with a corpse. More specifically, v.14b might anticipate a situation in

²³² For *b^e 'ōnî* as "mourning" and our defense of the theme of mourning as the common denominator for all of v.14, see below.

²³³ Cf. Wright 1985:213-23, 1987:169-72, 196-99.

which the tithe had been stored in open earthenware which, having been contaminated by the unclean person who touched a corpse, was to be broken (Num. 19:15) and its contents thrown out.

Finally, v.14c states that the one could not give any portion of the tithe to others in mourning -this is the force of *lō'-nāṭattī* . . . *lēmēt*- however solemn such an act might have been, for of more importance are the needs of the poor. In sum, if vv.12-15 do not evince the redactional tensions proposed by Mayes, then the entire pericope, like the remainder of the chapter, might derive from a dtr hand.

Nielsen has in fact argued for the dtr character of the whole of chapter 26. Since 27:4-8 was an original element of Deuteronomy rooted in northern traditions now reshaped, then this would imply that ch. 26 is dtr as it intrudes upon what originally incorporated chs. 12-25 and 27:4-8. As Nielsen pointed out, even those critics who had assigned ch. 26 to the *Urdeuteronomium* nevertheless recognized its supplementary character.²³⁴

In the final analysis, the likely presence of a dtr hand throughout ch. 26 will necessitate that we weigh heavily those concerns characteristic of dtr ideology as well as its stimulus in our treatment of the mortuary practices evident in 26:14.

We turn now to the significance of Deut. 26:14 for the subject of Israelite death and ancestor cults. The form *lēmēt* in v.14c has given rise to three interpretations of the clause *wē lō'-nāṭattī mimmennū lēmēt* "nor have I given any of it on

²³⁴Nielsen 1977/78:77-89, esp. p.83.

account of/to a dead person". It refers either to (1) food given by friends to their grieving neighbors as an act of consolation "on account of a dead person", or to (2) food offered "to the dead", whether temporarily or periodically in order (a) to sustain them and/or (b) to gain their favor, or to (3) food given "to the Dead One", that is, a chthonic deity, either Baal or Mot.²³⁵

Options 2 and 3 are variants on the death cult interpretation (with the exception of the temporary offering up of food to the dead). Owing to the lack of support from the context of ch. 26, we reject the third as highly conjectural.²³⁶ However, the situation is quite different in the case of the second. Its advocates have resorted to the material remains from Syria-Palestine to buttress the death cult interpretation of the passage.

Ribar, a recent advocate of the death cult hypothesis, leaned heavily upon the MB/LB material remains from Megiddo and Ugarit. With regard to the Ugaritic finds, he followed the lead of Schaeffer, the original director of the French expedition to Ras Shamra, who concluded that the archaeological evidence from the site pointed to a death cult.²³⁷

²³⁵For the first two proposals, cf. the surveys of Driver 1902:291-92 and Smith 1912:297. For the third (Baal), cf. Cazelles 1948:54-71, 1966:106, followed by Wijngaards 1973:53-55, and (Mot) Gray 1965:65, followed by Craigie 1976:323 and Mayes 1979:336-37.

²³⁶The common use of (1*)mēt to refer to the dead speaks against this option.

²³⁷Cf. Schaeffer 1939:46-56, followed by Sukenik 1940:59-65 and Angi 1971:1-93, for a summary of his conclusions.

Ribar in turn applied Schaeffer's reconstruction of the Ugaritic finds to the remains at Megiddo in order to bolster a similar death cult interpretation of the remains there as originally advocated by Schumacher, Megiddo's excavation director.²³⁸ For Ribar, the holes in the ceilings of tombs as well as the presence of associated clay pipes, storage jars, and pits pointed to repeated offerings to the dead. It is this type of observance which is reflected textually in Deut. 26:14.²³⁹

Now, Schaeffer had argued for a death cult via the ceiling holes according to the following logic: (1) the dead were in need of sustenance, (2) therefore, libations were regularly administered in response to this belief (3) as a similar practice with matching devices for pouring libations is clearly attested among the Mycenaeans, and (4) Mycenaeans were among the inhabitants of Ugarit.

Schaeffer's material evidence consisted of various devices for pouring libations: (1) a pit located beside a tomb with an accompanying (2) gutter leading to the tomb, (3) windows in funerary vaults assuring the dead's access to the libations, (4) large jars built into the walls of tombs equipped with cups for pouring, (5) cup-marks sunk in stone at the entrance to a tomb and a gutter leading to a pit laying beneath the floor at the

²³⁸ Cf. Schumacher and Steuernagel 1908:19-22.

²³⁹ Ribar 1973:45-50, 75-76, followed by Heider 1985:383-400. Ribar's primary examples were *Grabkammer II* from Megiddo, following Schumacher and Steuernagel 1908:19-21 and Pl.6, and *Tomb L* and other installations from Ugarit, following Schaeffer 1939:46-56. Sukenik 1940:59-65 used Schaeffer's arguments to posit a death cult at Samaria. Lewis 1989:179-80 attempted to update Ribar by reference to *Tomb I* at Dothan, following Cooley 1983:47-58, esp. 50-51, but cf. n.241.

tomb's center, (6) stone slabs covering the various pits with holes bored through the center to allow the dead's ready access to the libations, and (7) large jars with the bottom removed located near some of the tombs used in the performance of libating.²⁴⁰

Nevertheless, other reconstructions of these remains have been proposed. Cooley for example, viewed these devices, not as evidence of a death cult at Ugarit, but as indicative of funerary rites on behalf of the dead. The libations were administered during the period lasting from burial to the complete decay of the body at which time the deceased was believed to have arrived in the netherworld. Libating ceased once the dead entered the netherworld for they could no longer influence the living.

According to Cooley, this approach adequately accounts for the possibility of ritual libations as well as multiple burials in which the skeletal remains of earlier deceased were callously handled in order to make room for new burials. The death cult hypothesis does not sufficiently explain the mistreatment of bones after decay.²⁴¹

Margueron offered another interpretation of the evidence based on his examination of the *Grand Bâtiment* at Ugarit. He suggested that the libation devices found there were used on

²⁴⁰ Schaeffer 1939:46-56.

²⁴¹ Cooley 1968:77,177,189-203, esp.198-201, 1983:47-58. In his attempt to substantiate a death cult at Dothan by reference to the tomb window which was used for libations, Lewis 1989:180 quoted Cooley 1983:50-51. But Cooley viewed this datum as evidence for funerary rites. Moreover, Cooley 1968:177 noted that the dead may have retrieved their own water supply from the jugs placed outside the tomb via the access provided by the window.

the occasion of each new inhumation. The fact that several of the tombs with which such devices are related evince multiple burials supports this proposal.²⁴²

Margueron understood these libations to have "served to conciliate the forces of the infernal world" and the pit at the center of the tomb to establish a close relation between the vault and the underworld. In other words, libations were not offered as a means to quench the thirst of the recently deceased. Rather, they were offered in an attempt to appease the netherworld gods.²⁴³ Although not cited by Margueron, this practice is well documented in the Mesopotamian literary tradition.²⁴⁴

It appears then that the so-called libation devices can accommodate several interpretations. However, serious shortcomings surface upon closer examination of the first two proposals. The problematic nature of Schaeffer's first two assumptions has been exposed by Binford in his critique of the "rationalist-idealist" tradition beginning with the late nineteenth and early twentieth century anthropologists E. B. Tylor and J. G. Frazer.

²⁴² Margueron 1983:8-9 also noted that two alabaster vases were found in the pit of the tomb. Their diameter was larger than the holes in the walls of the tomb by 1.4 cm. Thus, they comprised votive offerings made before the completion of the room. Moreover, the bones found in the tomb were brought there and deposited through the holes in the walls which he designated "sky lights".

²⁴³ Margueron 1983:19.

²⁴⁴ The Third Dynasty of Ur, the Old Babylonian period, and the Neo-Assyrian period are represented in the texts found in Kramer 1944:6-12, 1967:114,118; Tsukimoto 1980:131, 1985:37-38,184-200; and McGinnis 1987:4,9-10.

In this tradition, mortuary practices were studied within the context of primitive religion and ideas and beliefs were invoked as reasons for particular practices, but as Binford pointed out, "by a referral of observed differences within one class of phenomena (behavior) to postulated differences within another (ideas), we are forced to seek the explanations for differences in ideas and in the conditions favoring their change."²⁴⁵ The circularity in reasoning is self-evident.

Schaeffer's remaining two premises are debatable as well. The presence of Mycenaean artifacts may simply reflect the importation of foreign goods and not the presence of Mycenaean inhabitants or their beliefs.²⁴⁶ The use of such foreign luxury goods as funerary gifts is known from late Bronze age Byblos.²⁴⁷ Moreover, the vaulted tombs at Ugarit which Schaeffer considered of Aegean influence have parallels in Syria and Mesopotamia²⁴⁸, but are only occasionally attested in the Aegean of that period.²⁴⁹

Cooley's reconstruction is also unconvincing. This writer is unaware of examples from the ancient Near East wherein the notion that the spirits of the dead, once having arrived in the netherworld, could never return to haunt or, for that matter, serve the living. In fact, the frequent mention of spirits of the

²⁴⁵ Binford 1972:208-43, esp. pp.209-10.

²⁴⁶ So Spronk 1986:144.

²⁴⁷ Cf. Salles 1980:65-66.

²⁴⁸ Cf. Strommenger 1957:588-89 and *Tomb I* at Megiddo.

²⁴⁹ Cf. Courtois 1979:cols.1200-01.

dead causing distress to the living in Mesopotamian texts and the various ritualistic attempts to appease them reveal that they did leave the netherworld.²⁵⁰

To be sure, there are descriptions of the netherworld as a place of no return (Cf. Akkadian *eršet la tārī*)²⁵¹, but in light of the fact that the dead visited the living, this probably reflects their inability to return to their former state of life. It does not exclude the possibility that the dead might make contact with the living in the land of the living.

Margueron's assessment of the various devices found in the *Grand Bâtiment* presents some interesting possibilities vis-à-vis their application to the funerary data at Ugarit more generally, but as the author recognized, much remains to be completed. In the final analysis, we are left with the unavoidable conclusion that such devices say nothing about Ugaritic or, for that matter, Canaanite beliefs beyond perhaps the mere fact that there was an afterlife.

But what would the so-called libation devices tell us about a supposed death cult if they had a purely functional purpose? Ribar admitted that the ceiling holes, clay pipes, storage jars, etc., may testify to various techniques of ventilation or fumigation, alternate means of access, or even evidence of quarrying operations.²⁵² If such apertures were made to minimize offensive odors resulting from bodily decay, what could we

²⁵⁰ Cf. Bottéro 1982:43 and 1983:203.

²⁵¹ Cf. *The Gilgamesh Epic* VII:iv:34-35.

²⁵² Ribar 1973:45.

surmise about an Ugaritic cult of the dead? The ceiling holes may have provided escape for the smoke of burning incense placed in the tomb for fumigation, or perhaps they served to ventilate the chamber²⁵³, or along with the other related libation apparatuses like the gutters and jars, they functioned to supply additional aromatic oils after burial.²⁵⁴

A textual datum often cited in support of the death cult interpretation actually confirms the first of the functional explanations offered above. The death cult adherents have identified the Ugaritic term 'urbt "aperture" with the holes used for regular food offerings found in the ceilings of tomb chambers at Ugarit.²⁵⁵

The recent publication of Ras Ibn Hani 78/20 indicates that such an aperture functioned as a passageway for incense (*RIH* 78/20: 3): *kqtr 'urbtm* "like incense from an airhole".²⁵⁶ If mortuary concerns are present in the list of duties of the faithful son in *KTU* 1.17:I:27, and this is by no means certain

²⁵³Tufnell 1953(III):64 interpreted the ceiling holes in tombs at Lachish as air shafts.

²⁵⁴We know that the use of spices for the preparation of the corpse for burial was a common practice, cf. e.g., 2 Chr. 16:14, Byblos 13 (cf. 4.2.3.) which refers to the body (of a dead king?) prepared in myrrh and bdellium, and H₂ A:III:15' in Gadd 1958:35-92 and Longman 1983:267-79,282, esp. p.276 = H₁ A:III:31' in *ANET* 1969:312] where the corpse of Nabonidus's mother, Adad-guppi, is said to have been covered in scented oil.

²⁵⁵*KTU* 1.4:V:23 and 1.109:19 and cf. 3.3.3. Adherents include Gray 1966:173 n.2 and 1978:102; Ribar 1973:64 n.8; and Spronk 1986:145.

²⁵⁶Cf. the *editio princeps* in Bordreuil and Caquot 1980:346-50. The simile likens the expulsion of an evil spirit to incense rising from an airhole, cf. Saracino 1982:338-43. Mayer 1976:362-74 catalogued similar Mesopotamian formulae accompanying exorcisms.

(cf. 3.3.4.), then the reference to "incense" *qtr* there might allude to its use in funerary rites. Put simply, in honor of his father, the faithful son would provide incense at his father's tomb until the decay of the body was complete.²⁵⁷

Another datum cited as evidence for a cult of the dead at Ugarit is the burial beneath houses.²⁵⁸ But as Barrelet has demonstrated *vis-à-vis* the evidence at Ur, this understanding of the burial beneath houses is by no means certain. The burials in abandoned sections of villages in pre-Achaemenid Turkmenia should caution against too hasty conclusions, for without additional information we cannot know whether the dead were buried beneath the dwellings of surviving family members or in abandoned houses.²⁵⁹ Granted the possibility that on occasion they were buried beneath an family dwelling, we cannot be sure that the family remained in the house or that they felt compelled to leave it. Perhaps, such burials were an attempt to conceal a grave in the event that a conquering army might seek to desecrate or rob it. As it stands, the data do not substantiate a domestic death or ancestor cult let alone elucidate its significance.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁷ Incense was used in the royal Assyrian funerary cult as a means of purification, cf. Parpola 1983:8 [Letter #4:r5] and perhaps fumigation (?), p.195 [Letter #197:8-9: NÍG.NA *ša qutari* "incense burners"] and in the royal Neo-Babylonian ancestor cult as a fumigant, cf. the Adad-guppi text, H₁ A:III:12': *qutrinnu* in *ANET* 1969:312; Bayliss 1973:123-24; and Tsukimoto 1986:120-23.

²⁵⁸ Most recently Spronk 1986:142-45 viewed this practice as evidence for "the care of the dead".

²⁵⁹ Barrelet 1980:20 and n.31.

²⁶⁰ Barrelet 1980:2-27, esp. pp.13-14. Thus, the findings of Callot 1983:44-45, 65-66 namely, that at Ugarit a house and its grave were built together and that the grave was accessible from the house, is mute with regard to a domestic cult.

Furthermore, the practice of burying royalty beneath the palace does not establish a royal ancestor cult at Ugarit.²⁶¹ When seen in conjunction with the lack of references in the Ugaritic texts regarding royal burials or an attendant cult, such a choice of location for royal tombs may be better explained as an attempt to hide the graves to avoid their desecration. We know that Assurbanipal desecrated the bones of the ancestors of his enemies.²⁶² This in turn might explain Nabonidus's concern to bury his mother in "a hidden location" *ina niširti*.²⁶³

In concluding our evaluation of the material remains, we summarize the relevant findings of Ucko. He pointed out that the presence of grave goods does not necessarily indicate a correlative set of afterlife beliefs. He noted that some items found in graves might have been deemed so personal that for that reason alone they were regarded as best buried with the dead. Others, like weapons, were likely deposited in simple recognition of the military prowess of the deceased.

He astutely identified the problem inherent in the recovery of afterlife beliefs from material remains via the following

²⁶¹ Cf. the royal tomb in Courtois 1979:col.1236.

²⁶² E.g., the bones of the Elamite kings, cf. Luckenbill 1927(II):210 and Brinkman 1984:102 and n.510.

²⁶³ Cf. H₂ A:III:16' in *ANET* 1969:561 and cf. p.312; *CAD* 11² (1981):276; and Longman 1983:276. McGinnis 1987:1-12 has recently published a Neo-Assyrian text mentioning a king's "secret tomb" *bīt niširti*. For a discussion of the relation of *niširtu* and Hebrew *nāšûr* in Isa. 65:4, cf. 4.6.4. The burial of Mesopotamian kings in swamps may evince the same concern to hide their location, contra Beaulieu 1988:36-37. Moorey 1984:14 suggested that the paucity of literary references to the death and burial places of Mesopotamian kings was due to their taboo status.

question: "what will future archeologists deduce about twentieth century beliefs in the afterlife from the discovery of a teddy bear, coats and blankets, collars, favourite toys and foods in the shape of rubber bones and actual chocolate which have been deposited with the dearly departed at Woodlands Private Animal Cemetary at Burwash in Sussex?".²⁶⁴

Returning to the interpretation of *l^e mēṭ* in 26:14, the remaining option "on account of the dead" offers a more adequate rendering of the phrase. First, other biblical passages refer to the use of food or more specifically "bread" *lēhem* within the context of mourning: Hos. 9:4; Jer. 16:7-8; and Ezek. 24:17,22.²⁶⁵ In these passages, the mourners eat the bread.

It is our contention that Deut. 26:14 points to the similar use of food in a mourning context. Commentators agree that the theme of death *mēṭ* is central to the verse. This supports the interpretation of *b^e 'ōnī* in v.14a as a cognate form of *'āwen*, "in mourning" rather than as "in my strength".²⁶⁶ Furthermore, the LXX *en odyneī mou* assumed that mourning was in view.

²⁶⁴Ucko 1969:262-80.

²⁶⁵The MT of Jer. 16:7 reads *lāhem* "to them" probably under the influence of the same form in vv.5,6, but the LXX assumes *lēhem* "bread", and cf. RSV and JPS. The MT of Ezek. 24:17,22 reads "bread of men" *lehem 'ānāšīm*, but the Targum and Latin Vulgate read "bread of mourning", Hebrew *lehem 'ōnīm* after Hos. 9:4. In any case, the context of Ezek. 24:15-24 makes mention of the consumption of bread during mourning. Cf. also 2 Sam. 3:35 where David's refusal to eat bread may be due to the premature timing of the gesture.

²⁶⁶For "in my strength", cf. Craigie 1976:323. For Hebrew *'āwen* "sorrow", cf. Rabin 1961:386-87 and Andersen and Freedman 1980:526 and Gen. 35:18; Hos. 9:4; and perhaps Ezek. 24:17,22.

Second, the form *l^emēt* of 26:14 shows up in the mourning context of Deut. 14:1 as the form *lāmēt* and in this instance it clearly refers to acts observed "on account of the dead", and not practices directed "to the dead". This rendering of the *lamed* preposition when its object refers to a dead person finds a semantic equivalent in the form *l- + népeš* "on account of the dead" in Lev. 19:28 (*lānépeš*) and 21:1 (*l^enépeš*).²⁶⁷ In other words, what stands behind Deut. 26:14c is the custom of giving food as an act of consolation and nourishment to those in bereavement on account of the dead, "nor have I given any of it (to those bereaving) on account of the dead".

It is now possible to be more specific as to what aspect of death dominates v.14, namely the theme of mourning. This includes firstly *l^emēt* in v.14c, then *b^e'ōnî* "in my mourning" in v.14a, and finally *b^eṭāmē'* "in a state of uncleanness" in v.14b.

According to Deut. 21:22-23; Num. 19:11-20; and Lev. 21:1-4, 22:4, contact with a corpse, or even proximity to it in the same dwelling, constitutes uncleanness. Likewise, Deut. 26:14 assumes that the corpse defiles the mourner and for that matter food with which it or the mourner might come into close proximity. Furthermore, Hos 9:4 specifically states that "the bread of mourning" *leḥem 'ōnîm* (< *'āwen*) defiles.

Nevertheless, it is not the ritually defiling power of the corpse that stands at the forefront of the narrator's concern in v.14. Rather, as proposed previously, the narrator addresses what

²⁶⁷On this use of *nepeš*, cf. Lev. 21:1, 22:4 and see Seligson 1951 on *napšōt mēt* in Lev. 21:11. In Jer. 16:6 the form *lāhem* evinces the same force of the preposition "on account of" as it likewise refers to the dead.

might be popularly viewed as legitimate excuses for offering less than the required amount of food set aside for the needy. But for the narrator, none of the mentioned excuses in v.14 related to the solemn act of mourning suffice as a justification for skimping on one's tithe.

While the author assumed the efficacy of the corpse's contaminating power, for those who sought to observe mourning protocol, they must remember to hold fast to their commitment to the underprivileged and use none of the tithe while in grief over the loss of a family member or in the hope to console another who had recently lost a loved one.

This text then in no way suggests that the Israelite dead were worshipped, venerated, or even cared for on a regular basis. The form *l^e mēt* in 26:14c, as in 14:1, refers to a rite, not of the death cult, but of mourning.²⁶⁸

Even if one were to assume for the sake of argument that *l^e mēt* suggested the practice of making offerings "to the dead", and that this in turn reflected an Israelite funerary and/or death cult, the introduction into Palestine of contemporary Mesopotamian funerary practices²⁶⁹ and death cult rites such as

²⁶⁸As Heidel 1963:205 correctly pointed out, the oft-cited references to placing food in the grave with the dead in Tobit 4:17 and Sirach 30:18 [Greek text] owe their origin to Greek influence.

²⁶⁹Cf. Parpola 1983:6-8 [Letter 4], 190-91 [Letter #195], 194-97 [Letters ##197,198], and 270-75 [Letter #280] and McGinnis 1987:1-12 for examples of Neo-Assyrian funerary rites. McGinnis 1987:5 viewed the *Stelenreihen* from Assur as objects of worship and recipients of offerings, but did not engage Miglus 1984:133-40 who convincingly argued that they were simply votive statues.

the *kispum* ritual²⁷⁰ would explain the promulgation of a sanction against selected mortuary rites like those found in Deut. 26:14.

²⁷⁰Cf. Tsukimoto 1986:107-24 for the *kispum* ritual of Neo-Assyrian to Late Babylonian times. While the textual evidence from this period reflects the royal versions of these rites and practices, private *kispum* rites might be attested for earlier periods, so Wilcke 1983:49-54, but cf. Kraus 1987:96-97.

4.4.4. SUMMARY

We have scrutinized the relevant deuteronomic legal texts for evidence of death and ancestor cult and necromantic practices in Israel. Our findings suggested that the texts were mute concerning the existence of any Israelite version of death or ancestor cults.

Deut. 14:1 was found to be a later dtr prohibition aimed at selected mourning rites, not death or ancestor cult rites. The dtr writer outlawed what were originally legitimate rites of tonsure and gashing in reaction to Israel's exposure to similar Mesopotamian mourning *gesti* during the late pre-exilic and exilic periods.

Likewise, the dtr text Deut. 26:14 forbade certain abuses associated with rites of mourning, not death or ancestral cult rites. The pledge regarding the tithe stipulated that no portion of the tithe be used for purposes other than to feed the needy. Included in this proscription was the use of the tithe in the solemn act of mourning. Should the regular supply of food become unclean through contact with the dead, the tithe was not to be eaten in its stead (v.14a). Furthermore, it was not to be discarded owing to its having become unclean through such contact (v.14b). Finally, one was not to give it (*w^e lō'-nāṭattī mimmennū*) to others who were mourning on behalf of the dead (*l^e mēt*; v.14c) as an act of consolation.

On the other hand, the dtr passage Deut. 18:10-11, like the dtr redactional texts embedded in the book of Isaiah, attested to the existence of an Israelite version of necromancy, but only

polemically as necromancy was condemned by dtr circles in response to the introduction of this mantic art from Mesopotamia.

4.5. THE DEUTERONOMISTIC HISTORY

In the present section, we will examine those passages in the DtrH relevant to the Israelite belief in the supernatural beneficent power of the dead. Said texts singularly pertain to the divinatory art of necromancy: 1 Sam. 28:3-25; 2 Kgs. 21:6; and 2 Kgs. 23:24.

4.5.1. 1 SAMUEL 28:3-25

Saul's encounter with the prophet Samuel *post mortem* in 1 Sam. 28:3-25 has engendered a wide range of responses from Jewish and Christian scholars alike. Among others, Josephus, Justin Martyr, Origen, Augustine, John Chrysostom, Tertullian, Jerome, and later, Kimhi, Martin Luther, and John Calvin have tried their hand at interpreting the inauspicious scene at the Endorian witch's abode.

Commentators have been at odds over whether what appeared was truly the ghost of Samuel or a pythonic spirit which was permitted to assume Samuel's form. Even among those who have advocated the view that it was Samuel, there is disagreement over the source of power behind his conjuration. Some view Israel's god, Yahweh, as the source while others make allowance for the

possibility that the woman possessed the (demonic?) powers to bring Samuel up from the grave.²⁷¹

To be sure, these opposing opinions do not exhaust the range of responses documented in the secondary literature.²⁷² For example, some have argued that the witch, while in a state of ecstasy, might have deceived herself into imagining she saw Samuel and heard him speak or perhaps, she deliberately deceived Saul by pretending to see Samuel.²⁷³

In any case, most modern critics understand the episode to reflect a genuine belief in the efficacy of the art of necromancy and Isa. 29:4 supports this view. Assuming this to be the case, the critic faces the remaining task of identifying the appropriate *Sitz im Leben* out of which such a belief and its proscription would have arisen. Are these the actual goings-on of an Israelite king from the late second millennium B.C.E. who, having previously outlawed necromancy, turns tail to embrace it as a last resort or does this story reflect a later writer's ideological concerns read back into earlier history?

In order to answer this question, we must first attempt to establish the compositional history of 1 Sam. 28:3-25. This pericope is widely recognized as forming a sequel to 1 Sam. 15. The remark in 15:35, "Samuel did not see Saul again until the day

²⁷¹For the prominent role of women as necromancers, cf. the bibliography in Spronk 1986:254 n.3.

²⁷²Kirkpatrick 1888:244-45 offered a survey of late nineteenth century opinion while Smelik 1977:160-78 has detailed the Rabbinic and Christian exegesis prior to 800 C.E.

²⁷³Perhaps relevant here is the LXX rendering of 'ôb as *engastrimythos* "ventriloquist".

of his death" anticipates the episode in 1 Sam. 28:3-25 (cf. esp. v.3).²⁷⁴ Particular attention has been given to 28:17-18 which clearly presupposes ch. 15, where Samuel announces Yahweh's rejection of Saul in response to his failure to destroy completely the Amalekites.²⁷⁵ If this connection holds, then it is safe to conclude that whatever date one assigns to ch. 15, the same or later can be proffered for 28:3-25.

Others however, have viewed vv.17-18 as a secondary addition to 28:3-25.²⁷⁶ If this is in fact the case, then the remainder of 28:3-25 need not be taken as dependent upon ch. 15. But the isolated redactional character of 28:17-18 is doubtful. Together with vv.16 and 19, vv.17-18 form a unified prophetic speech: an accusation (in the form of a question, v.16), a rehearsal of past obedience (vv.17-18a), and an announcement of

²⁷⁴Cf. Wellhausen 1899³:251-52; Stoebe 1973:292; Veijola 1982:71 and n.13; Van Seters 1983:261; and esp. Foresti 1984:130-31. The statement in 15:35 creates a tension with 19:18-24 which the redactor never resolved. For 19:24, the LXX has Saul speak in ecstasy "before them" *enōpion autōn*, i.e., before the other prophets, rather than "before Samuel" with the MT *lipnē š' mō'ēl*, in an attempt to harmonize 19:24 with 15:35, 25:1, and 28:3.

²⁷⁵Cf. Wellhausen 1973:259-61 and Schunck 1963:94-96. 1 Sam. 15:28b reads *qāra^c Yhwh 'et-maml^e kūt yisrā'ēl me^c ālêkā* "Yahweh has torn the kingship over Israel away from you" and 1 Sam. 28:17b reads *wayyiqra^c Yhwh 'et-hammamlākāh miyyādekā* "Yahweh has torn the kingship out of your hands". For the *dtr* character of this language, cf. 1 Kgs. 11:11,13,31 and 2 Kgs. 17:21 and Weinfeld 1972:23 n.2, 355.

²⁷⁶Cf. Budde 1902:182; Dhorme 1910:244; Hertzberg 1964:220; Dietrich 1972:86 (*DtrN*); Stoebe 1973:487,495; Veijola 1975:57-59 (*DtrP*); Beuken 1978:5-6 (*DtrP*); McCarter 1980:423 (a prophetic redactor); Klein 1983:270 (*DtrP*); Donner 1983:235-36; and Foresti 1984:87-89,135 (*DtrN*).

judgment (*al-kēn*, v.18b) followed by a judgment speech (v.19).²⁷⁷

Furthermore, Saul's answer to Samuel's question in v.15 anticipates Samuel's further response in v.16. Therefore, v.16 cannot be relegated to the level of an isolated redactional element. The same can be said for at least the second half of v.19 which is presupposed by v.20. On the basis of the unity of vv.16-19 and the links which vv.16,19 have with the immediate context, it is unlikely that any part of the speech is secondary to the immediate context.²⁷⁸

Therefore, given the probability that the whole of 28:3-25 comprises a sequel to ch. 15, it remains for us to detail the compositional history of the latter. Several considerations cast doubt on the credibility of the account of the Amalekite engagement in ch. 15.²⁷⁹ First of all, the Story of David's Rise (1 Sam. 16:14-2 Sam. 5:12) does not recognize control of Judah by Saul as the story would have the reader believe.

²⁷⁷ Following Van Seters 1983:262 n.55. For a critique of the redactional approach to DtrH advocated by Dietrich 1972 and Veijola 1975 [DtrG followed by a redactor DtrP (post-exilic), followed by still another DtrN] and employed by Foresti 1984 and Tropper 1989:205-27 in 1 Sam. 28:3-25 in favor of DtrH as a unified work of the exilic period with independent supplements, cf. Van Seters 1983 and for Kings, also cf. Hoffmann 1980 and McKenzie 1991.

²⁷⁸ Veijola 1975:58, followed by Beuken 1978:5-6, concluded that vv.17-18 comprised a later gloss by DtrP which maintained the two-part prophetic oracle of vv.16,19 -annunciation and motivation. Not only is this an imprecise genre analysis of vv.16-19, but this view eliminates the scant evidence for the redactional nature of vv.17-18!

²⁷⁹ Cf. Van Seters 1983:258-62 for what follows.

Moreover, the annihilation of the Amalekites does not account for David's later campaign against this group in 1 Sam. 30. Finally, the early stories about Saul (1 Sam. 9:1-10:16; 11:1-15; 13:2-14:46) reveal that Samuel had no role in Saul's monarchy. This was the creation of a later redactional hand.²⁸⁰

A related issue is the question of literary genre. Some have suggested that ch. 15 comprises an example of the "judgment speech to the individual", a literary form which has been dated to the pre-classical prophetic period.²⁸¹ On this basis, Birch dated 1 Sam. 15 to the late eighth century B.C.E.²⁸²

It should be pointed out that in spite of the fact that the judgment speech to the individual is a narrative form which refers to earlier periods of Israel's history, it forms part of the DtrH or a dtr redaction of the prophetic books where the lateness of the genre can be clearly established.²⁸³ This tells against the location of this literary form only in early periods.

Besides, an alternate literary genre has been proposed for ch. 15. This passage more appropriately exemplifies the prophetic didactic *legenda*. In this literary form, religious teachings are conveyed through the speeches of stereotypical characters in

²⁸⁰With perhaps the exception of the first story of Saul's youth, 9:1-10:16, but even in this case Samuel has a lesser role in the original version. Van Seters 1983:254-58 viewed the original lines of 9:1-10:16 as 9:1-8, 10-14, 18-19, 22-27aab; 10:2-6, 9-13 (9:9, 15-17, 20-21, 27ac,b; 10:1, 7-8, 14-16 are later additions).

²⁸¹Westermann 1967:129-63, esp. pp.137-38.

²⁸²Birch 1976:98-108.

²⁸³Cf. 1 Kgs. 13:1-3 and v.2 where the mention of Josiah establishes the lateness of this exemplar, so Rofé 1974:158-60.

which the exaltation of Israel's god comes to the fore. In ch. 15, the lesson to be taught is "obedience is better than sacrifice", a theme also found at home in classical prophecy.²⁸⁴

Furthermore, in this genre the prophet is depicted as the medium of the divine word, a portrayal characteristic of the DtrH in Kings and of the post-classical period more generally. Other examples of this genre include the stories of Naaman the leper (2 Kgs. 5), Elijah and the widow of Zarephath (1 Kgs. 17:8-24), and the healing of Hezekiah (2 Kgs. 20:1-11).²⁸⁵

As a further point in favor of the dtr or post-dtr character of 1 Sam. 15, the language and style have clear affinities with the dtr tradition. The phrase "hearken to the voice of Yahweh" *š' ma' l' qôl (dibrê) Yhwh* is dtr (vv.1b,19,20,22)²⁸⁶ as is "thus says Yahweh of hosts . . ." *kôh 'āmar Yhwh š' bā'ôṭ* (v.2).²⁸⁷ The same applies in the case of the following phraseology: "show lovingkindness" *cāśāh hēsed*

²⁸⁴As distinct from other prophetic *legendae*, neither the miraculous nor the figure of the prophet are of major concern. In fact, the way in which miracles are presented might constitute the object for critique, so Rofé 1974:145-53 followed by Van Seters 1983:259,304.

²⁸⁵Rofé 1974:145-53 and Van Seters 1983:259,304.

²⁸⁶E.g., Deut. 1:34, 5:28, 9:23, 13:5; Jer. 3:13,25; 7:23 and cf. Weinfeld 1972:337 and Foresti 1984:89 (DtrN). Van Seters 1983:260 n.47 concluded that Yahwistic texts which contain this expression have been influenced by dtr style, cf. e.g., Gen. 22:18.

²⁸⁷Cf. 2 Sam. 7:8, the prose sections of Jeremiah, e.g., 6;6,9; 9:6,16; 11:22; 19:11, and late texts dependent upon dtr, e.g., Mal. 1:4 and 1 Chr. 17:7.

(v.6)²⁸⁸, "the word of Yahweh came to . . . " way^e hî d^e bar Yhwh
 'el- (v.10)²⁸⁹, "he did not confirm my word" w^e 'et-d^e bāray lō'
 hēqîm (v.11)²⁹⁰, "do that which is evil in the eyes of Yahweh"
 c^e āśāh hāra^c b^e c^e ênê Yhwh (v.19)²⁹¹ "devoted to God" hērem
 (v.21a)²⁹², and "violate Yahweh's command" c^e ābar 'et-pî-Yhwh
 (v.24)²⁹³

The reciprocal judgment statement in which the king/people reject Yahweh and Yahweh rejects him/them is characteristically dtr (vv.23,26).²⁹⁴ The description of the Amalekite opposition (v.2) shares similar language with Deut. 25:18 and the tearing of the cloak as a symbol of Yahweh's tearing of the kingdom away from a disobedient king (vv.27-28) finds a parallel in 1 Kgs.

²⁸⁸ Cf. 1 Sam. 20:8,14; 2 Sam. 2:6; 3:8; 9:1,3,7; 10:2 22:51; 1 Kgs. 2:7; 3:6 and Foresti 1984:89 (DtrN).

²⁸⁹ Cf. 2 Sam. 7:4, and as Van Seters 1983:260 n.49 has pointed out, the phrase shows up frequently in Jeremiah (e.g., 1:4,11; 2:1; 13:8; 16:1), Ezekiel (e.g., 3:16; 6:1; 7:1; 11:14), and the dtr stories of prophets in Kings (e.g., 1 Kgs. 13:20; 16:1,7; 17:2,8; 21:17,28).

²⁹⁰ Cf. Deut. 27:26; Jer. 34:28, 35:14,16 and Van Seters 1983:260 and n.50.

²⁹¹ Cf. Deut. 4:25; 9:18; 17:2; 31:29; Jud. 2:11; 3:7,12; 4:1; 6:1; 10:6; 13:1; 2 Sam. 12:9; 1 Kgs. 11:6,14,22; 15:26,34 (over 40X total); Jer. 7:30; 18:10; 32:30 and Weinfeld 1972:339 against Mayes 1983:75.

²⁹² Cf. Deut. 7:26; 13:18; Josh. 6:17,18; 7:1(2X),11,12,13,15; 22:20; 1 Kgs. 20:42 and Foresti 1984:89 (DtrN). Josh. 22:20 is a later P text according to Van Seters 1983:336.

²⁹³ Foresti 1984:89 labelled this as DtrN.

²⁹⁴ Cf. 1 Kgs. 17:15-20 and Van Seters 1983:260 and n.51.

11:29-31.²⁹⁵ These several points when considered together point to the late dtr or post-dtr character of 1 Sam. 15.²⁹⁶

If we are correct in our assessment of 1 Sam. 15 and its linkage with 1 Sam. 28:17-18, then we can safely conclude that 1 Sam. 28 is likewise dtr or even post-dtr. To be sure, there are independent arguments for the post-dtr character of 28:3-25.

Firstly, 28:3a "Now Samuel was dead" *ûš(e)mû'ēl mēt* is dependent upon the dtr text 25:1 because it presupposes the death of Samuel as something already known; 25:1 records "Now Samuel died" *wayyāmot š'e mû'ēl*.²⁹⁷ Moreover, the latter part of 28:3a "and all Israel had mourned for him and buried him in his own town of Ramah" is a revision of 25:1a "and all Israel assembled and mourned for him, and they buried him at his home in Ramah".²⁹⁸ The fact that v.3 repeats 25:1 raises the unlikelihood that the same author would cite the same facts twice.²⁹⁹

Critics have repeatedly pointed out that the presence of 28:3-25 creates a distinct disturbance in the geographical and chronological progression of the battle against the

²⁹⁵Cf. Van Seters 1983:260. For the dtr character of the phrase "tear the kingdom from . . ." *qāra^c mamlākāh/maml^e kū^t mē^c āl-*, cf. 1 Kgs. 11:11,13,31; 14:8; 2 Kgs. 17:21 and Weinfeld 1972:355 and Foresti 1984:89 (DtrN).

²⁹⁶Cf. Schunck 1963:82-85 and Foresti 1984:*passim*. The latter assigned ch.15 to DtrP.

²⁹⁷McCarter 1980:388; Van Seters 1983:262 n.56; and Dietrich 1987:26. For the dtr character of 25:1, cf. Schunck 1963:94 and Foresti 1984:132. Foresti 1984:132 n.132 noted that the inversion of subject and verb in 28:3 pointed to a past event (25:1), but one relevant to the present context.

²⁹⁸Schunck 1963:94; Van Seters 1983:262; and Dietrich 1987:26-27.

²⁹⁹So Van Seters 1983:262 and Foresti 1984:132-33.

Philistines.³⁰⁰ 28:2 has its direct continuation in 29:1. In 28:4-5, the Philistines are at Shunem north of the Jezreel while the Israelites are stationed on Mt. Gilboa, whereas in 29:1 the Philistines are at Aphek some distance away and Israel is encamped in the plain.³⁰¹ The Philistines arrive at Jezreel only in 29:11.³⁰² Thus, 28:3-25 comprises a secondary addition to the earlier story at the DtrH stratum in 28:1-2, 29:1-11.³⁰³

The post-dtr character of 28:3-25 is given added confirmation in v.3b where the reform by Saul is mentioned. If this pericope was dtr, it would be exceptional for Saul not to have been commended for his reform.³⁰⁴

Finally, the association of the root *q-s-m* with the terms '*ôb* and *yiddē* *ōnî* in v.8 points to a post-dtr author. While all three terms refer to necromancy in our passage, the DtrH lists of

³⁰⁰ Wellhausen 1899³:251-52.

³⁰¹ Van Seters 1983: n.57 outlined three possible locations for Aphek; in the Sharon south of Jezreel, in the plain of Acco, and in the region east of the Sea of Galilee.

³⁰² Driver 1912:213 noticed its dislocation and preferred to place it after chs. 29 and 30. McCarter 1980:422-23 and Klein 1983:269 proposed that the narrator merely switched to a non-sequential perspective from David (to 28:2) to Saul (28:3-25) and back to David (29:1 and following). Van Seters 1983:262 concluded that 28:3-25 should not be placed after ch. 29 or 30 owing to the fact that 28:4 would follow 29:1 and so depict a retreat up the mountain before the battle had begun. Cf. also Dietrich 1987:25-36.

³⁰³ Van Seters 1983:262 concluded that, although secondary, 28:3-25 was not an independent tradition. Rather, it was dependent upon the previous compilation of the *Aufstiegsgeschichte* or the Story of David's Rise (1 Sam. 16:14-2 Sam. 5:12). Schunck 1963:95 and Foresti 1984:133-34 have listed the linkage 28:3-25 has with accounts in 1 Sam. 7-14 and the *Aufstiegsgeschichte* which could only presuppose the synthesis offered by DtrH.

³⁰⁴ So Van Seters 1983:262.

prohibited practices where *q-s-m* and our two terms appear together (e.g, Deut. 18:10-11; 2 Kgs. 21:6; and cf. 2 Chr. 33:6), make a clear distinction between augury and necromancy.³⁰⁵ Only in the stratum of later narrative texts does the root *q-s-m* take on a more generalized sense (cf. 1 Sam. 6:2; 15:23 and Josh. 13:22; Num. 22:7, 23:23). Thus, only in texts post-dtr, did the root *q-s-m* become so generalized.

The above arguments indicate that 1 Sam 28:3-25 is a late composition, probably post-dtr. As we pointed out in 4.1., the language and style point to its dependency upon such dtr passages as Deut. 18:10-11, 2 Kgs. 21:6 and 23:24, and to those elements it shares with the post-dtr Isa. 8:19, 91:3, and 29:4.³⁰⁶ Furthermore, the deafening silence from some two millennia of Syria-Palestine with regard to the practice of necromancy together with its widespread observance in Mesopotamia from Neo-Assyrian times onwards supports a late *Sitz im Leben* for the composition of 1 Sam. 28:3-25.

The Assyrian kings Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal employed various forms of divination to ascertain the intentions or activities of political and military enemies. Ashurbanipal was particularly concerned with the outcome of his struggle with his rebellious brother, Shamash-shumu-ukin, king of Babylon. Several extispicies dated to Ashurbanipal's reign inquire about the success of planned military strategies and the eventual outcome

³⁰⁵ In Jer. 27:9, *q-s-m* shows up with other prohibited practices; false prophets, dreamers, soothsayers and sorcerers.

³⁰⁶ Cf. similarly Foresti 1984:133 n.142.

of war.³⁰⁷ In 1 Sam. 28., this is the function necromancy was to fulfil (vv.4-7,15b), but once conjured up, Samuel's spirit not only conveys an unfavorable decision concerning the outcome of the battle (v.19), it proceeds to determine the future of his inquirer's royal aspirations (v.17).

This role of necromancy is attested in a diviner's letter to king Esarhaddon dated 672 B.C.E. The question for which a decision was sought was whether or not Ashurbanipal should have been appointed to the position of crown prince. The question is answered in the affirmative by means of consulting the spirit or ghost (*eṭemnum*) of Esarhaddon's recently deceased wife Esharra-ḥamât.³⁰⁸ While royal legitimacy was not Saul's concern in his having Samuel's ghost called up, the "omen" spoken by Samuel's spirit addresses this issue and answers in the negative.

The late composition of the story finds additional collaboration in the preponderance of similar necromantic tales characteristic of late antiquity. Although Trencsényi-Waldapfel collected numerous Greek and Latin texts dealing specifically

³⁰⁷On the queries placed before the sun god Shamash and extispicy reports from the reigns of these kings, cf. Starr 1990:XIII-LXVII, esp.pp. XXX-XXXV and see pp.262-70 for the use of divination to determine military strategy and to ascertain the outcome of a war.

³⁰⁸LAS 132 in Parpola 1970:107 and 1983:120: The following translation is that of Parpola: (*Beginning lost*) [The crown prince] explained [it as follows]: "The gods Aššur (and) Shamash ordained me to be the crown prince of Assyria because of her (= the dead queen's) truthfulness." (And) her ghost blesses him in the same degree as he has revered the ghost: "May his descendants rule over Assyria! (As it is said), fear of the gods creates kindness, fear of the infernal gods returns life. Let the [king, my] lord give order" (*remainder lost*). Cf. also CAD 4(1958):397, 8(1971):396; Bayliss 1973:124; Finkel 1983-84:1,3; Tsukimoto 1985:159; and Tropper 1989:76-83.

with the art of necromancy which offer impressive parallels to the major motifs found in 1 Sam 28³⁰⁹ and others have similarly noted such parallels³¹⁰, their full significance has not been appreciated by critics as they have been predisposed to seek out second millennium antecedents.

Some of these critics have sought to anchor the early origins of the witch of Endor account in supposed parallels from Hittite and Mesopotamian sources, but not only do they inadequately address the issue of the compositional history of the passage, they often wrongly understand Hebrew 'ôb' as related to "pit". Moreover, the early comparative examples frequently cited are not concerned with necromancy *per se*.³¹¹

Having established what we believe to be the probable compositional history of this pericope, we conclude that 1 Sam. 28:3-25 reflects the religious concerns of a post-exilic writer faced with Israel's acceptance of the foreign practice of necromancy. Nevertheless, the post-dtr author's characterization of this mantic art as an ancient practice observed by the local

³⁰⁹ Trencsényi-Waldapfel 1961:201-22.

³¹⁰ Cf. e.g., Vattioni 1963:468 and n.43,477 and n.73; Ebach and Rütterswörden 1980:212-13 and Brown 1981:395.

³¹¹ Humphreys 1980:80-85 cites only Greek parallels to 1 Sam. 28 and 31, but otherwise draws upon the texts in Vieyra 1961:47-55 and Hoffner 1967:385-401. Only one of the texts cited in Vieyra and Hoffner dealt with necromancy and it was Greek (*Odyssey* XI:23-29,34-43). Besides, the Hittite version of the Greek *chthonioi* (= infernal deities and the dead, on which see Guthrie 1955:221-22), the *kattereš šüneš*, never appear in any of the examples. Lastly, none of the second millennium texts in Ebach and Rütterswörden 1980:205-20 concern necromancy. The same criticism applies to the works of Tropper 1989 and Moore 1990 as both authors assume or make use of vague definitions and questionable examples.

Canaanites appears to contradict the comparative documentation for the late and exclusively Mesopotamian interest in necromancy.

Josh. 17:1-12 lists the city of En-Dor (v.11) and its dependencies among those Canaanite enclaves Israel failed to dispossess. According to this tradition, Israel was only able to force the inhabitants of En-Dor to pay tribute (v.13).³¹² The author of 1 Sam. 28:3-25 probably built upon this tradition by attributing Israel's observance of necromancy to her contacts with these Canaanites of the settlement period. But is the post-dtr writer's reconstruction a reliable tradition?

The whole of Joshua chapters 14-17 may very well comprise the work of the exilic Priestly Writer.³¹³ The entire block of material reflects P's characteristic penchant for delineating the inheritance of individual tribes and families by lot.³¹⁴ The ideological concern reflected in such a scheme comes from the exilic period and attempts to justify the unfulfilled promise of land inheritance; Israel's failure to dispossess fully the Canaanites led to her apostasy.

Furthermore, for the later biblical writers, the term Canaanite, like the terms Amorite and Hittite, functioned primarily as an ideological or rhetorical term for the pre-

³¹² En-Dor is mentioned again only in Ps. 83:11 (ET 10) in an allusion to Deborah's deliverance of Israel from the hands of Jabin, king of Canaan/Hazor, and his military commander Sisera, but the city is not explicitly mentioned in the narrative account given in Jud. 4.

³¹³ Van Seters 1983:335,339.

³¹⁴ For this distinctly priestly approach to the allotment of land over against the tendency in Dtr to portray the inheritance of the land from the perspective of the nation as a whole, cf. Von Rad 1966:79-93.

Israelite inhabitants of Palestine who come to epitomize the foreign occupation including those of later times which persistently threatened Israel's claim to the land and its blessings.³¹⁵

So, the question remains, why would the post-dtr narrator of 1 Sam. 28:3-25 seek to project this concern back into the history of an earlier period? Like the Deuteronomist, the Yahwist, and the Priestly Writer, our author sought to give his polemic an historical basis. Moreover, like these historians, he sought to attach his historical argument to Israel's perpetual enemies the Canaanites, in order to bring to the fore the central concern of the nation after the exile -the land and its blessings.

A comparison of our passage with the list of Manasseh's sins in 2 Kgs. 21:6, the cultic reform of Josiah in 2 Kgs. 23:24 and the dtr addition to the Mosaic law, Deut. 18:10-11, indicates that our author drew from the dtr language expressive of the concern to rid Israel of necromancy. But with the insertion of the episode of the Witch of En-Dor in 1 Sam. 28:3-25, necromancy was no longer merely the preoccupation of a relative late comer like the dtr ideology, rather it was depicted as an age old problem.

To be sure, the dtr circle condemned outbreaks of this form of divination as reflected in the account of Manasseh's apostasy, but the post-dtr writer established a much earlier precedent. According to our author, Israel's first king had violated the dtr

³¹⁵ See Van Seters 1972:64-81 and 1975:46-51.

law earlier inserted in Deut. 18:11 -now the authoritative law of Moses- and his complicity had left its lasting influence on Israelite religion even after the exile. In the end, our author's polemic can hardly be labelled innovative for it finds justification in the formative stage of the nation's origins.

The dtr ideology advocated the premise that both the land and its blessings were dependent upon complete separation from foreigners and their religious practices. In this light, the legend of Saul underscores the point that in tolerating the presence of foreigners, like Israel of old in matters Canaanite, and by embracing their religious beliefs, like Saul in his rendezvous with the witch of En-Dor, the nation once again places itself in jeopardy with regard to her rights to the land and its blessings.

We move on now to other interpretative details in Saul's consultation with the Endorian hexter. Contrary to widely held opinion, the 'ôbô and the *yidd^ec ônîm* of vv. 3,7-9 refer neither to a class of professional mantics nor to ancestral images, but to the spirits of the dead, "the Ones-Who-Return" and "the Knowers".

In v.7, the witch is entitled "a woman, controller of One-Who>Returns" 'ēšet *ba^c ālat* 'ôb.³¹⁶ In v.8, the woman is asked to divine for Saul "by means of(?) One-Who>Returns". The form *bā'ôb* here could designate either the indirect or direct object of the

³¹⁶ Based on the LXX *gynaika engastrimython/os*, McCarter 1980:418 conjectured that a conflation of 'ēšet 'ôb and *ba^c ālat* 'ôb has taken place, but cf. Driver 1912:215 ('ēšet may be in the construct state *in suspensio*, cf. GKC #130e) or Stoebe 1973:485 ('ēšet may be in the absolute state, cf. GKC #96).

verbal form of *q-s-m*.³¹⁷ In any case, there is nothing in the general context that would suggest the involvement of a second necromancer or an image. The crucial passage in this regard is Lev. 20:27 where it is reported that a man or woman might have in them the '*ôb* or the *yidd^ec ônf*.³¹⁸ This surely eliminates the necromancer and the image as interpretive options.

Furthermore, while it is true that the related verbs often take inanimate things as their grammatical objects (in the case at hand, recall that both '*ôb* and *yidd^ec ônf* have been viewed as images), they can equally accommodate abstract or animate objects (or, as in the present context, their *post mortem* remains). The verb *hēsîr* in v.3 can be translated "put aside" (matters; Josh. 11:15) or "reject" (prayer; Ps. 66:20) in addition to "drive out".³¹⁹ Similarly, *hikrîf* in v.9 can be rendered "forbid" (kindness; 1 Sam. 20:15) or "abolish" (one's name; Josh. 7:9) in addition to the more general "cut off".³²⁰

The *crux interpretum* of 1 Sam. 28:3-25 is the term '*ôlôhîm* in v.13 which is generally taken to refer to the dead Samuel.

³¹⁷ Commentators usually interpret the *bêl* preposition as signifying an indirect object "divine for me by One-Who>Returns". But the parallel line "bring up for me the one I shall name to you" in v.8d and the phraseology of 1 Chr. 10:13 where it is stated that Saul "consulted an '*ôb*" *liš'ôl bā'ôb* lends support to "augur for me One-Who>Returns", with the *bêl* preposition governing the direct object.

³¹⁸ Following Driver 1912:214.

³¹⁹ The *JPS* translation rendered 1 Sam. 28:3b "And Saul had forbidden [recourse to] ghosts and familiar spirits in the land".

³²⁰ Cf. 4.1.2., contra Hertzberg 1964:218. The *JPS* translation rendered 1 Sam. 28:9b "You know what Saul has done, how he has banned [the use of] ghosts and familiar spirits in the land".

This is so in spite of the syntactic difficulties present. The witch's response to Saul's query in v.13, namely that she saw "gods ascending" 'ēlōhîm . . . ʿōlîm, comprises a plural noun coupled with a plural participle. But Saul's immediate response in v.14 utilizes a singular pronominal suffix, "What is *his* appearance?".³²¹

Assuming that the 'ēlōhîm of v.13 identified Samuel, Driver outlined two alternatives for the above discrepancy: (1) while the witch saw more than one figure, Saul in his anxiety inquired only about the one whom he was interested or (2) 'ēlōhîm is an honorific plural (GKC #124^{g-1}) and denotes "a god" (GKC #132^b note), the plural ʿōlîm being merely a grammatical plural like ḥayyîm in 'ēlōhîm ḥayyîm for Yahweh in 1 Sam. 17:26.³²² In the final analysis, the available independent data must be brought to bear to decide the issue.

The notion that the dead in Israel might be attributed divine status and depicted as "gods" has been recently reiterated. Evidence from Mesopotamia, Anatolia, and Syria has been cited as indicative of such a concept.³²³

Often mentioned are the Akkadian *Ersatznamen*, the association of the *ilānu* with the *eṭemmū* in Akkadian texts from Assyria and Nuzi, the recently published parallels between *ilānu* and *mētū* in the Emar texts, the Ugaritic king list *KTU* 1.113

³²¹The LXX does not evince this discrepancy, for Saul's query of v.14 is phrase differently "What did you perceive?" *ti egnōs*, on which, see below.

³²²Driver 1912:215.

³²³Cf. Spronk 1986:163, who also mentions Egypt, and Lewis 1989:49-51, 115.

wherein the form 'il is followed by a personal royal name (i.e., "Divine So-and-So"), the Shapash fragment in the Baal-Mot Epic *KTU* 1.6.VI:45-49 wherein 'ilm parallels *mtm*, the Hittite *Totenrituale* wherein at the king's death he becomes a god, and the Phoenician inscription from Pyrgi wherein a buried god *qbr* 'lm has been (wrongly) identified as a spirit of the dead.

While it has been repeatedly affirmed that the dead in Mesopotamia are designated by the lexeme *ilu/ilānu*, the cited data are sparse and highly controvertible. First, the *ilu* element in the so-called *Ersatznamen* may refer to "good fortune", "luck", or a "personal god", and not the spirit of the dead.³²⁴

Second, while the spirits of the dead are associated on occasion with the "gods" *ilānu*, their supposed equation is another matter altogether. Often cited is the bilingual incantation text from Assyria, *CT* 17,37 "Y", 1-10: "the captive gods come forth from the grave, the *zaqīqu* come forth from the grave, for the offering of the *kispū*, for the water libation, they come forth from the grave".³²⁵

But the fact that the captive gods are located in the netherworld only confirms what we already knew, namely that the Mesopotamian underworld was inhabited by sundry forms of numina. Furthermore, we know that the *kispum* frequently comprised a gift

³²⁴Following *CAD* 7(1960):102 *contra* Lewis 1989:49-50. For a list of the names, cf. Stamm 1939:278-306.

³²⁵The Akkadian phraseology employed is *ilānu kamūti ištu qabri ittāṣūni zaqīqu limnūti ištu qabri ittāṣūni ana kasāp kispī u nāq mē ištu qabri*, cf. most recently, Tsukimoto 1985:148. *Zaqīqu* has several possible renderings, e.g., "phantom", "wind", cf. *CAD* 21(1961):58-59 and *AHW* 3(1981):1530a. In any case, usage reveals that the term cannot be equated with *eṭemnum* "spirit of the dead".

offered to the gods of the underworld (*Totenbeigabe*) or a form of enticement to the infernal deities, particularly the Anunnaki, for protection from tormenting ghosts.³²⁶

But most telling are the Neo-Assyrian necromancy texts where it is recorded that offerings are to be made to various deities such as the Anunnaki, Pabilsag, Shamash and the primordial deities of the netherworld, Enmesarra, Ninmesarra, Endasurimma, Nindasurimma, Enkum, and Ninkum, for their aid in raising a spirit of the dead.³²⁷

That the captive gods come up from their graves in the netherworld might be expressive of the Mesopotamian belief reflected in *Enuma Elish* that these gods, having been slain for their rebellion against the established pantheon and perhaps imprisoned in their sepulchers, could be released from the netherworld by the appropriate means whether it be the decree of Marduk at creation as in *Enuma Elish*³²⁸ or the requisite incantational procedure.

It appears that there were many groups of such gods who comprised the defeated and slain divine enemies, not all of which had apparently rebelled, been captured, and released at the creation of man. For example, many Asakku demons and Tammuzes show up after the death of the Asakku demon in *Lugale* and the

³²⁶ Cf. Tsukimoto 1985:140-45 and 184-200.

³²⁷ For references, cf. Finkel 1983-84:1-17, esp. p.9 and also von Weiher 1983:100-03 and Scurlock 1988:106,109,318-327,331-42 (for references to *SpTU* 2 no.20).

³²⁸ Cf. *Enuma Elish* IV:93-120 (esp. 1.120), VI:11-34, VII:26-32 (on VII:26-27, see below).

death of Tammuz.³²⁹ These slain divine enemies are given various titles; "the conquered Enlils" *en.lil^{me}š kišitti*, "the dead gods" *du^g.ga^{me}š* or "the battered" *abtūtu /šulputūtu*.³³⁰ In a Seleucid period bilingual incantation, Shamash is said to be in charge of "the dead gods" *du^g.ga.àm*.³³¹

It goes without saying, one cannot appeal to *Enuma Elish* VII:26-27 to buttress a simplistic equation of the captive gods and the spirits of the dead.³³² The relevant lines read as follows: "Lord of the holy incantation who raises the dead to life, who has compassion on the captive gods".³³³

While the captive gods are described as dead, the significance is not that the captive gods are to be equated with the spirits of deceased *mortals*, for man had yet to be created. Rather, the following ll.28-29 make clear that, not only are the dead of l.26 the captive gods of l.27, but that both refer to those gods who were slain for their rebellion against the great gods. These lines also point out that it is by the creation of

³²⁹ Lambert 1980:65.

³³⁰ Cf. *Enuma Elish* IV:119-20 and VI:151-54 and Lambert 1980:65.

³³¹ UVB 15.36:9-10 in Falkenstein 1959:36-40. The phraseology employed is *rābiš du^g.ga.àm. ina qirib arallī rēš eṭemmu murtappidu ša dūtu la paqdu* "(Shamash) who watches over the dead gods in the netherworld, who helps the roving spirit of the dead who has no virility", but parallelism alone cannot secure the equivalence of the dead gods and the deceased, on which see below.

³³² Cf. e.g., Tsukimoto 1985:148 and n.490. Heidel 1963:153 and n.49 wrongly assumed that the captive gods in the incantation texts were the deceased and not the gods defeated at creation for "these were released after the creation of man".

³³³ The phraseology employed is *bēl šiptu kù-ti muballit mītī ša an dingir.dingir kamūti iršū tāru*.

man whose lot it is to relieve the captive gods of their service, that these dead gods can be restored to their former place in the pantheon.

Turning now to the other few remaining texts, in the Neo-Assyrian version of the *Legend of Etana* "the gods" *ilānu* and "the spirits of the dead" *eṭemmū* show up as parallel members of a poetic bicolon. Contrary to widely held opinion, the parallelism alone cannot insure the equation of the *ilānu* with "the spirits of the dead". A complementary force of the poetic parallelism might equally apply here. The text reads, "I honored the gods, served the spirits of the dead".³³⁴ Now the term "god(s)" *ilu/ilānu* most frequently designates the gods of the pantheon and quite often the personal protective gods.³³⁵

Thus, in the *Legend of Etana*, one would expect that *ilānu* refers to the personal gods, that is, if familial obligations are in view, if not, then to the gods of the pantheon. In other words, the text simply seeks to convey the widely held notion that the gods as well as the spirits of the dead, two distinct groups of supra-natural beings, demand their service. The burden of proof is surely on those who would argue otherwise.

That the *ilānu* delineate the same group as that signified by the dead may be actually contradicted, not confirmed, by the

³³⁴The phraseology employed is *ilāni ukabbit eṭemmē aplaḥ*, cf. Greenfield 1973:52 and now Kinnier-Wilson 1985:100 (11.134-36). The same applies in the case of *UVB 15.36:9-10* where the dead gods might be paralleled by the roving spirits, cf. n.331.

³³⁵Cf. our discussion of the use of the dingir sign in the so-called Eblaite king list in 2.1.1. and recall that the personal gods are at times identified as the gods of the pantheon, cf. van der Toorn 1985:44 where he cites *TCL 18*, n.85:25-26.

handful of instances where the *ilānu* are mentioned alongside the *eṭemmū* at Nuzi and the *mētū* at Emar. In view of the general usage of *ilānu* outlined above and the *non-poetic* contexts in which these parallel pairs occur at Nuzi and Emar, it is likely that a distinction was intended. We are otherwise forced to make the unwarranted assumption that the ancient writers in these instances were guilty of blatant redundancy. Some distinction is recognized even by those who seek to identify "the gods" with "the spirits of the dead".³³⁶

In the genre of testament at Nuzi, both "the gods" *ilānu* and "the spirits of the dead" *eṭemmū* are depicted as deserving of service (*palāhu*). As in the case of the *Legend of Etana*, "the gods" *ilānu* might just as conceivably refer to the family personal gods which is what we would expect in the context of inheritance.

The same can be said for the references to "the gods" *ilānu* alongside "the dead" *mētū* in the Emar texts. In the genre of testament at Emar, the gods and the dead are "honored" (*kunnū*) and "called upon" (*nabū A*).³³⁷ Again, the explicit mention of the gods together with the dead in a non-poetic context lends

³³⁶ Tsukimoto 1985:104-05 and Rouillard and Tropper 1987A:354-56 recognized the redundancy of merely equating these terms at Nuzi. Nevertheless, their commitment to relating the two resulted in the delineation between the *eṭemmū* as the recent identifiable ancestors and the *ilānu* as the remote unidentifiable ancestors.

³³⁷ Or perhaps, "lamented" (*nabū B*). Even so, this alternative alone could not secure the status of *ilānu* as spirits of the dead.

credence to the view that the former designate a group of supra-natural beings distinct from the dead. Within the context of inheritance, we would expect the *ilānu* to represent personal gods.³³⁸

Turning now to the evidence from Ugarit, in 3.1.6., we argued that the phrase '*il* + personal royal name in the Ugaritic king list *KTU* 1.113 (and cf. 2.1.1. for the Eblaite king list) refers to a deceased king's personal god to whom ritual is directed.³³⁹ Moreover, we argued in 3.1.7. that the terms "the gods" '*ilm* over against "the dead" *mtm* or, better yet "men", in *KTU* 1.6:VI:45ff. serve as antithetical rather than as synonymous elements.

The above survey undermines the view that the dead in general or the deceased royalty in Syria-Palestine attained the status of "gods". Even the oft-cited evidence from Mesopotamia *vis-à-vis* the couplet *ilānu//eṭemmū/mētū* is controvertible on this point.³⁴⁰

This brings us full circle to the question of the meaning of '*ēlōhīm* in 1 Sam. 28:13. In an attempt to maintain some distinction between the high gods, and other "gods" such as the dead, it has been recently suggested that the term when applied

³³⁸ Cf. our treatment of the Emar materials in 3.2.2.

³³⁹ Our conclusions regarding the non-divine status of dead kings at Ugarit conforms with the sacral nature of the Ugaritic royal ideology more generally.

³⁴⁰ We recognize the fact that the Mesopotamian royal dead of the period ca. 2300-1800 were deified, first posthumously, then while living, cf. e.g. Klein 1981B:29-36 and now Hallo 1988:54-66. But this is clearly the exception to the rule in regard to Mesopotamian royal ideology.

to the deceased simply pointed to some type of transcendent character obtained at death. This character had in some way a lesser significance than that of the high gods, for the dead were not worshipped in the same way as the high gods. Accordingly, the term 'ēlōhîm when referring to the dead should be rendered as "preternatural being(s)".³⁴¹

However, our analysis throws into question the assumption that the dead in Syria-Palestine obtained the status of "god" in any sense of the term. Of course, this nullifies any attempt to interpret 'ēlōhîm in 1 Sam. 28:13 as the spirit of the deceased Samuel. Besides, if by "god" a spirit of the dead was intended, why were the terms 'ôb and yiddē'ōnî not used? They are the only "technical" terms for necromancy used in the account and in the dtr traditions more generally. That the woman sees a spirit of the dead as expressed by 'ēlōhîm would be for her and Saul superfluous.

It is our contention that the phrase 'ēlōhîm . . . 'ōlîm reflects a familiarity with the rite documented in the Mesopotamian necromancy texts in which the necromancer appeals to the netherworld gods in order to insure the appearance of the spirit of the dead.³⁴² As we pointed out above, in these Neo-

³⁴¹ Lewis 1989:50,106,115-16. For "preternatural" as a translation of 'ēlōhîm in 28:13, cf. also NAB. The English derives from the Latin *praeter naturam* "beyond nature".

³⁴² On this role of the gods, cf. esp. Scurlock 1988:106-10. Hutter 1983:32-36 similarly concluded that "gods coming out of the earth" did not refer to Samuel's supernatural character, but simply affirmed the success of the necromantic process. However, he wrongly arrived at this via the Hittite incantations in which the underworld gods were summoned up from the "pit" and through the conjecture that necromancy was associated with such alien gods at En-Dor, cf. Josh. 17:11-13, and that En-Dor had an

Assyrian and later texts, various deities such as the Anunnaki, Pabilsag, Shamash, and the primordial deities of the netherworld are called upon for assistance.³⁴³

In view of the cuneiform evidence which indicated that the dead were not deified and cuneiform data which testified to the intervention of netherworld gods in necromantic rituals of the mid to late first millennium, we contend that *vis-à-vis* the function of 'ēlōhîm in 1 Sam. 28:13, the MT is either confused or reflects a later belief in the divinity of the dead as found in the Greek world.

We conclude that the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX perhaps preserves a tradition independent of MT, one which reflects an Israelite writer's familiarity with the Mesopotamian sequence of necromantic rites. On the other hand, the MT might reflect necromantic practices other than those characteristically Mesopotamian. For example, on occasion heroes were eventually equated in some meaningful sense with the gods in Greek hero cults and Samuel would qualify in later traditions as a hero. The LXX 1 Sam. 28:13 records the outcome of the necromancer's successful appeal to the netherworld gods. Upon seeing the spirit of Samuel, the witch is able to identify Saul (vv.11-12), but

originally Hurrian name *enna durenna*.

³⁴³ The Mesopotamian necromancy texts also contradict recent opinion that Saul's night visitation (v.8) was the appropriate time for consulting the dead, cf. Spronk 1986:168; Lewis 1989:114; and Hoffner 1967:393 and the nocturnal rituals for the Greek *chthonioi*. These texts demand that needed mixed ointments stand overnight. Only in the *morning* is the dead consulted by applying the salve to a figurine of the dead or to a skull, cf. Finkel 1983-84:9 and Scurlock 1988:104 n.483, 318-19. Thus, Saul's nocturnal rendezvous was no more than an attempt to conceal his illicit visit.

Saul, not having access to the witch's vision³⁴⁴, requests that she detail her experience (vv.13-14a):

"(v.13) And the king said to her, 'Fear not, tell (me) what you have seen?' And the woman said to him, 'I saw gods ascending out of the earth'. (v.14) And he said to her 'what have you perceived?'³⁴⁵ And she said to him, 'An upright(?)³⁴⁶ man ascending out of the earth and he is clothed with a mantle'."

The woman first perceived the gods whom she had invoked for assistance ascending from the netherworld (v.13b), then, having succeeded in gaining their help in conjuration, she saw Samuel's spirit ascending, wearing his identifiable cloak (v.14a).³⁴⁷

A second, but, in our estimation, less likely, interpretation views 'ēlōhîm as signifying a man given divine authority as in Exod. 4:16, 7:1. In other words, in her language the witch expressed well on whose authority and with whose

³⁴⁴Cf. the Mesopotamian necromancy texts that describe how magic ointments must be smeared on the necromancer's face in order to make the spirit of the dead visible, "You rub (it) on your face and then you can look at the ghost and he will speak with you", Finkel 1983-84:10 This type of ritual gave access solely to the necromancer.

³⁴⁵The LXX reads *ti egnōs*. The Greek translator's *Vorlage* possibly read *mh t'rt* "what can you make out?", from Hebrew *t'-r* meaning "to regard intently" (Qal) or "to form (a shape)" (Piel). The MT misread the form as a noun from *r--h* and replaced the final *-t* with *-w*. McCarter 1980:419 proposed *mh yd^ct* as the Hebrew *Vorlage* while Lewis 1989:109 proposed *mh tr'y* (< *r--h*).

³⁴⁶Whether Samuel appeared in v.14 as "an old man" (MT), "an erect man" (LXX), or perhaps "a startling man" (following Lewis 1989:116) is impossible to decide.

³⁴⁷There remains the possibility that the MT's "What is his appearance" refers not to "the god(s)" in v.13, but to Samuel in v.12. Saul, expecting the woman's mention of the gods in v.13, was more interested in Samuel's appearance and so sought further information regarding the apparition which led her to identify him in v.12.

message Samuel came.³⁴⁸ Thus, what begins as an account of an efficacious conjuration to the end of v.12, beginning with v.13, transforms into an account of Yahweh's intervention.³⁴⁹ In any case, this interpretation would help to explain the witch's identification of Saul in v.12b.³⁵⁰ She expected an 'ôb or a yidd^ecōnî, but as expressed in her own words, she sees more than that, she sees an 'ēlōhîm, a man possessing the authority of God, none other than the prophet Samuel.³⁵¹

4.5.2. 2 KINGS 21:6 AND 23:24

THE CASE FOR THE LATE MESOPOTAMIAN ORIGIN OF ISRAEL'S BELIEF IN THE BENEFICENT DEAD

With this section we come to the two lone references to necromancy in the DtrH, 2 Kgs. 21:6 and 23:24.³⁵² Not only is the consultation of the 'ôb(ôṭ) and yidd^ecōnî(m) listed among the

³⁴⁸Heidel 1963:195-97; Beuken 1978:10 followed in part by Klein 1985:271 and cf. Dietrich 1987:30 and n.63.

³⁴⁹Cf. Beuken 1978:9-10 followed by Klein 1983:271,273 and cf. Dietrich 1987:30 and n.63, *contra* Lewis 1989:115.

³⁵⁰Part of the LXX tradition reads Saul for Samuel in v.12. This does not explain her ignorance of Saul's identity throughout vv.8-11. Although a complex redactional history has been proposed for the immediate context with vv.11-12a being identified as an addition, cf. e.g., McCarter 1980:421, it is just as likely that Samuel's appearance as an 'ēlōhîm and his association with Saul offered a clue to the identity of her visitor, cf. similarly Klein 1983:269.

³⁵¹Both of the above proposals can accommodate the perspective reflected in Ecclesiasticus 46:20 that Samuel prophesied after his death.

³⁵²Recall that 1 Sam. 28:3-25 is a post-dtr insertion. Its parallel, 1 Chr. 10:13, might be a later addition to Chronicles, so Ackroyd 1977:8 and Braun 1986:151; but cf. Williamson 1982:95 and De Vries 1989:121,397.

"detestable practices" attributed to king Manasseh (2 Kgs. 21:6), it is also enumerated among those obliterated in the subsequent Josianic "reform" (2 Kgs. 23:24).³⁵³ While both are set in the last days of the Judahite monarchy, only 2 Kgs. 21:6 has a parallel in the Chronistic History (hereafter ChrH) at 2 Chr. 33:6.³⁵⁴

If, as we have argued, Deut. 18:11 and 1 Sam. 28:3-25 are dtr and post-dtr additions and if Israelite necromancy owes its origins to first millennium Assyria, its lack of mention in the apostasy and reform accounts of Manasseh's predecessors creates the impression that, from the perspective of the historians of the DtrH and ChrH, prior to Manasseh's reign, Israel had not yet embraced Assyrian necromancy. This would explain why, from the dtr perspective, it apparently posed no threat to Yahwism in earlier times.

Nevertheless, this conflicts with the impression created by the hand responsible for the insertions of Isa. 8:19 and 29:4 in their canonical contexts. In the case of Isa. 8:19, necromancy is polemicized against in a context set some forty years earlier in Ahaz's reign on the eve of the Syro-Ephraimite war (735 B.C.E.). But in the DtrH and ChrH, necromancy goes unmentioned in

³⁵³As Ahlström 1982:68-80 has convincingly argued, Manasseh's "syncretism" was probably the creation of the dtr ideology. He was likely the traditionalist and the so-called reformers, Hezekiah and Josiah, were the innovators.

³⁵⁴On the lack of parallel to 2 Kgs. 23:24 in MT 2 Chr. 35:19-20 (= 2 Kgs. 23:23+28) and the relevance of LXX 2 Chr. 35:19 (= 2 Kgs. 23:24-27), and 1 Esdr. 1:21-22, cf. Williamson 1977:16-20; McKenzie 1984:160 and n.4, 190-91; Dillard 1987:285-86; De Vries 1989:407 and see the closing portion of this section.

the apostasies of Ahaz (2 Kgs. 16:1-4,10-18//2 Chr. 28:1-4,21-25) and Hoshea (2 Kgs. 17:7-23) as well as in the list of practices introduced by the foreigners recently settled in Samaria (2 Kgs. 17:24-41).³⁵⁵

A similar discrepancy arises with Isa. 29:4. In an oracle proclaimed on the eve of the Assyrian siege of Hezekiah's Jerusalem (701 B.C.E.), a polemical allusion is no doubt made to Israel's supposed adoption of Mesopotamian necromancy but in the DtrH and the ChrH, Hezekiah's reform lacks any mention of it (2 Kgs. 18:3-6//2 Chr. 29:3-31:21).³⁵⁶ In other words, its omission in the DtrH and ChrH accounts of earlier Judean kings is a blatant inaccuracy if, as assumed by Isa. 8:19 and 29:4 in their contexts, it had become a widespread phenomenon in Judah prior to Manasseh. The working assumption is that, had necromancy circulated in Judah prior to Manasseh's reign, it would have been incorporated into the official cults of his predecessors which in turn would be reflected in the DtrH and ChrH.

Throughout our treatment we have made reference to the fact that the art of divination experienced increased popularity in

³⁵⁵On the Chronicler's omission of the fall of the northern kingdom in 2 Kgs. 17, cf. Williamson 1977:117 and McKenzie 1984:87,113 and on its reapplication in 1 Chr. 5:25-26, cf. Williamson 1982:67,343-44 and Braun 1986:75,78.

³⁵⁶On the accounts of Hezekiah's reform in the DtrH and the ChrH, cf. Williamson 1977:119-25, 1982:350-78; McKenzie 1984:161-62, 171-73 and Dillard 1988:227-51. On the chronological and ideological relations of the reform and the revolt which resulted in Sennacherib's invasion and the relevance of 2 Chr. 29:3, cf. Williamson 1982:352 and Cogan and Tadmor 1988:219-20. The general consensus is that the reform preceded the revolt. Nevertheless, Hoffmann 1980:151-55 and Donner 1986:332 deemed 2 Kgs. 18:1-6 as a literary fiction and unreliable respectively. Würthwein 1984:411-12 viewed the account as a late recasting but reflective of Hezekiah's removal of an Assyrian serpent symbol from the temple.

the days of the late Assyrian kings and that it was often employed to ascertain successful military strategies and to determine the outcome of an impending war³⁵⁷, that, in line with this, the distribution of texts concerned with necromancy attest to the high esteem given this practice in the Neo-Assyrian period and following³⁵⁸, and that the Assyrian royalty held the belief that through necromancy *per se* a ghost of the prominent dead could determine the political destiny of one of its members (cf. 4.5.1.).³⁵⁹

Having considered these points in the light of the compositional histories of the biblical texts treated thus far, we proposed a late Mesopotamian origin for Israelite necromancy. We now turn to consider the evidence for potential Mesopotamian stimulus in other contemporary religious practices with a view to evaluating the likelihood of our proposal. In other words, would we expect an Assyrian and Babylonian impetus for Israel's adherence not only to necromancy, but also to death and ancestor cults -assuming they existed-, in the last days of the monarchy and/or the exile?

To be sure, evidence for wide ranging Mesopotamian religious influence has been extracted from the depictions of the

³⁵⁷ Cf. Spieckermann 1982:227-306, 307-72; Pečírlová 1985:155-68 and 1987:162-75; and Starr 1990:XIII-LXVIII.

³⁵⁸ Cf. Finkel 1983-84:1-17; von Weiher 1983:100-03; and Scurlock 1988:5-8, 103-12, 318-42; Parpola 1970:107, 1983:120; and Tropper 1989:76-103 who includes a number of additional texts from Neo-Assyrian times in line with his broader definition of necromancy on pp.103-07.

³⁵⁹ E.g., LAS 132 in Parpola 1970:107 and 1983:120 and cf. n.308 for the translation.

cult of king Ahaz, Manasseh's grandfather.³⁶⁰ To cite the most controversial example, Ahaz' altar in 2 Kgs. 16:10-16 which he ordered built in the Jerusalem temple and modelled after one he saw while visiting Damascus to seek audience with the Assyrian king has been interpreted as an adaptation of an Assyrian prototype and therefore evidence for the introduction of Assyrian religion into Judah. Some critics have gone so far as to conclude that, in accordance with the presumed Assyrian policy of imposing upon vassals their official cult, Ahaz was forced to adopt this Assyrian altar and the religion more generally.³⁶¹

Two monographs by McKay and Cogan have challenged the notion that Assyria imposed its cult upon its subject nations.³⁶² According to both of these writers, the Assyrians never made it a regular policy to do so, at least not in the case of vassal states.³⁶³ Besides, the religion of the Judahite kings evinces closer parallels with Syro-Palestinian religions. The altar of Ahaz and the religious practices introduced by Manasseh but

³⁶⁰For a listing of the elements in the cult of Ahaz that have been identified as Assyrian, cf. the surveys of McKay 1973:1-19 and Cogan 1974:1-7, 65-115 and see now Spieckermann 1982:318-22, 362-69 for a recent defence.

³⁶¹The late nineteenth century works of George Rawlinson set the stage for subsequent elaborations of the view that Assyria imposed its religion upon its vassals. According to Östreicher 1923:38 and Olmstead 1931:452, local cults were eradicated in instances of Assyrian imposition and cf. the surveys of McKay 1973:1-4 and Cogan 1974:1-7. Nicholson 1967:9-17 outlined the implications of this theory for the role of the law book in Josiah's reformation.

³⁶²McKay 1973 and Cogan 1974.

³⁶³Cogan 1974:65, while allowing for the occasional imposition of the Assyrian cult on provincial states, labelled Judah a vassal state throughout the late Neo-Assyrian domination of Syria-Palestine (740-640 B.C.E.).

rejected by Josiah, were Aramean and Canaanite in character, rather than Assyrian.³⁶⁴

In response to McKay and Cogan, Spieckermann has offered a new defense of the Assyrian imposition theory.³⁶⁵ Unlike his predecessors and opponents, he offered an extensive treatment of late Assyrian religion as a basis for identifying Assyrian religious elements in foreign contexts. According to the author, the late Assyrian kings became increasingly susceptible to the influence of divination with the loss of political strength.

Various oracular techniques with the exclusive consultation of Shamash, the use of a horse in an oracular rite, astronomical observations and omens (extispicy), hemerologies and menologies, apotropaic prayers, *namburbi* rituals, the substitute king ritual, and ecstatic prophecy all grew in prominence in the court of the Sargonid kings.³⁶⁶

³⁶⁴ McKay 1973:15,18-19,69 recognized the probability that Assyrian religion was practiced in Judah at the time but rejected its official status. Moreover, He assumed the normative nature of Yahwism and accepted the judgment of apostasy against Manasseh made by the dtr tradition (pp.25-27).

³⁶⁵ Spieckermann 1982. His work has been largely ignored in the English speaking world, cf. e.g., the recent commentaries on 2 Kgs. by Jones 1984; Hobbs 1985; and Cogan and Tadmor 1988 and on 2 Chr. by Dillard 1987. All of these follow McKay and Cogan. The first, second, and fourth engage Spieckermann only superficially while the third shows no knowledge of his work. Of the recent German commentaries on 2 Kgs., Würthwein 1984:380-82,391,456-59 endorsed Spieckermann's general thesis, while Hentschel 1985 made no mention of him. Donner 1986:329-38 and Lohfink 1987:467-68 have more recently embraced the major outlines of Spieckermann's work.

³⁶⁶ Spieckermann 1982:246-301. In support of the proposal that Assyrian religion impacted first millennium Syria-Palestine, we should mention the discoveries at Hamath. *Bâtiment III* of Stratum E (= the period 900-720 B.C.E.) is probably a temple. Its cardinal orientation (main entrance facing West) and the discovery in or nearby the structure of basalt orthostat

Spieckermann has convincingly defended the position that the Assyrian kings imposed their royal cult upon not only their provincial states but also their vassals as well as others whom they subjected. In summary fashion, the author outlined the Assyrian practices of establishing garrisons in conquered regions, mass deportation, installation of *qēpu*-officials or "advisors" loyal to the Assyrians in foreign courts, and various forms of economic sanctions (annual tribute *ma(d)dattu/mandattu*, display gifts *namurtu/tamartu*, lucrative trade control, military levy and corvée). He concluded that often little distinction was made in the application of these military and administrative policies between provinces and vassaldoms.³⁶⁷

He then surveyed primary sources indicative of the Assyrian intervention in the local cults of both provinces and vassal states. The poorly preserved annals of Tiglath-pileser III describe how he penetrated deep into Palestine in 734 and conquered (among others) the Philistine city-state of Gaza. The gods of Hanunu of Gaza were taken as booty and images of the

fragments with Neo-Luwian characters, a cuneiform archive, a royal Neo-Luwian inscription dedicated to the god Tarhunzas, and several dedicatory Aramaic graffiti suggest this. Of the twenty or so cuneiform texts found in the building which include medical rituals, a hymn, an omen from the series *Šumma izbu*, magical texts, an exorcism text against sorcery, and epistolary texts, the lone *namburbi* against the evil of a snake is of special interest. Owing to a reference to the city Anah of Suhi in one of the letters and the similarity in script and grammar it shares with the *namburbi*, scholars have dated both to 840-38 B.C.E. While *Bâtiment III* was probably dedicated to some Semitic deity or pantheon as the chief goddess of Hamath during the ninth century was *Pahalatis*, Semitic *ba'alat*, the cuneiform texts indicate that under Assyrian stimulus, Mesopotamian divination was practiced alongside the local religion, so Holloway 1991:248-52.

³⁶⁷ Spieckermann 1982:307-16.

Assyrian gods and the royal statue were placed in the palace(?) at Gaza. The southernmost province established by Tiglath-pileser II was Du'ru. Gaza was never made a provincial state.³⁶⁸

On the other hand, the region of the Sealands was a provincial state and Sargon exacted regular annual tribute from the Hindaru tribe for the support of the cults of the Babylonian Bel and Nabû.³⁶⁹ In a depiction of a banquet prepared by Sargon during his eighth campaign in honor of his Mannaeian vassal Ullusunū, the images(?) of Aššur and the Mannaeian gods are present.³⁷⁰

In Esarhaddon's vassal treaties, the vassal is required to "fear Aššur, your god (*ilḫunu*)" and to guard the image (*šalam*) of Aššur, the king, the crown prince as well as their seals accompanying the treaty tablets.³⁷¹ In his second Egyptian campaign, Esarhaddon appointed officials over his new territories and established regular offerings for Aššur.³⁷²

For their rebellion, Assurbanipal punished the Arameans of the Sealands by appointing officials over them, demanding of them

³⁶⁸ Spieckermann 1982:325-28. He cited the transcription in M. Weippert's 1971 Eberhard-Karls-Universität zu Tübingen dissertation, p. 490, ll.9'-11'. That the location was the palace is not certain as this is a partial restoration . . . *i]na qereb É.[gal ša uru. hazziti . . .]* ". . . i]n the midst of the pa[lace of Gaza . . .].".

³⁶⁹ Spieckermann 1982:330-31.

³⁷⁰ Spieckermann 1982:331-32.

³⁷¹ Spieckermann 1982:333-38.

³⁷² Spieckermann 1982:338-39.

regular offerings to Aššur, Mulissu (a non-Babylonian god), and the great gods of Assyria, and by exacting tax and tribute.³⁷³

Spieckermann continued his survey with two data crucial to his thesis, Esarhaddon's Nahr el-Kelb and Zinjirli inscriptions. The first documents the seizure of the deities of Taharka as booty during the 671 campaign against Memphis while the second which recounts the events of the same expedition states that regular offerings for the god Aššur were imposed on the Egyptians.

In other words, the Assyrians not only deported local national gods, but also introduced the worship of Aššur. On the basis of this example and the laconic nature of Assyrian historiography typical of the royal annals, the author concluded that such acts were indicative of Assyrian routine policy.³⁷⁴ Moreover, he noted that several of the above practices have points of contact with religious observances in Judah prior to the reign of Manasseh. The author concluded that Assyria began to impose its official religion on Judah prior to Manasseh's reign and that Judah held the status of vassal as early as Ahaz's day.³⁷⁵

³⁷³ Spieckermann 1982:340-43.

³⁷⁴ Spieckermann 1982:351-52. Nevertheless, Tiglath-pileser III only imposed his gods on Gaza, mention of his taking the local gods as booty is never made. In view of the archeological record which suggests that Iron Age religion in Palestine, whether one has in view Israel, Judah or some other national entity, comprised a cult of many gods until after the exile, cf. Weippert 1988:620-31, it is better to view these practices not as strict policy.

³⁷⁵ Cf. Spieckermann 1982:362-69 on 2 Kgs. 16:10-16, Ahaz's altar, and in general, pp.307-72 *contra* McKay 1973:4,60-66 and Cogan 1974:42-61.

In another instance, after having an inscription describing the might of Aššur and his own name etched on Arabian divine statues captured some twelve years earlier by Sennacherib, Esarhaddon released them to the penitent Arabian king Hazail. No doubt, the statues would serve thereafter to focus attention in the local cult on the Assyrian god. The author pointed out that the territory of the Arabs never obtained the status of province, rather it remained a vassaldom.³⁷⁶

For Spieckermann, the evidence establishes the lack of distinction between provinces and vassals in the matter of Assyrian cultic interference. In addition to their political and economic obligations, reverence for the gods of Assyria was demanded of both.³⁷⁷

While Spieckermann has ably defended the view that the Assyrians did in fact impose their religion upon vassal states, on two important points we must take issue with his thesis. First, his reliance upon the redaction-critical methods of Veijola and Dietrich allows him to dismiss elements in the reform

³⁷⁶ Spieckermann 1982:355-57. Cogan 1974:35-37 minimized the importance of the Assyrian inscriptions on these statues. However, it is clear that this practice stands as an example of Assyrian cultic intervention in the case of a vassal. Therefore not only does it severely undermine Cogan's explanation that Assyrian kings returned statues simply as a gesture of good will and that from the vassal's perspective the statue retained only historical and sentimental value (pp.30-34), but it contradicts his general thesis as well.

³⁷⁷ Spieckermann 1982:369-71.

accounts that do not easily lend themselves to Mesopotamian attachments.³⁷⁸

Secondly, Spieckermann's evidence for the imposition of Assyrian religion in periods earlier than the reign of Manasseh is, at best, circumstantial. The fact that Ahaz's altar in 2 Kgs. 16:10-16 has perennially posed an enigma for would-be interpreters is indicative of the great degree of ambiguity accompanying this datum, so much so, that many commentators have been able to offer equally compelling arguments in support of the non-Assyrian nature of Ahaz's altar (see below).³⁷⁹

Even if we were to grant an Assyrian origin, the context could make equal allowance for Ahaz's voluntary acceptance of selected Assyrian forms, and not the imposition of the official Assyrian cult. In fact, it is our contention that Ahaz became the ruler of an Assyrian satellite state by willful submission. As such, he was able to avoid the heavy-handed Assyrian administrative policy of forcing its official religion upon vassals who resisted her sovereignty.³⁸⁰

³⁷⁸ For example, by attributing Manasseh's association with child sacrifice to a later dtr layer, Spieckermann 1982:165 avoids having to decide whether the *mlk*-sacrifice is Canaanite or Arameo-Assyrian in origin and whether or not Manasseh observed this rite as an act of loyalty to Assyria.

³⁷⁹ Spieckermann 1982:362-69. While, Hoffmann 1980:144 earlier suggested that 2 Kgs. 16:10-16 had a pre-exilic background and the changes in temple were a politically motivated response to Assyrian imperialism and Würthwein 1984:389-409 similarly concluded, Donner 1986:330-31, who otherwise endorsed Spieckermann's general thesis, concluded that 2 Kgs. 16:10-16 remains too ambiguous.

³⁸⁰ We follow Miller and Hayes 1986:346.

Based on what we know of Assyrian administrative policy, conquered kings and their principalities could be placed on one of three rungs of the geo-political ladder: a *satellite*, a *vassal*, or a *province*. Having voluntarily submitted to Assyrian rule, *satellite* states experienced little Assyrian intervention in the social, religious, and administrative life so long as political and economic obligations such as providing labor, tribute, military personnel, were fulfilled.

Vassal states comprised lands conquered for refusing to submit or showing disloyalty and involved greater Assyrian control of political and economic life including appointed Assyrian officials alongside local dynasts and sworn allegiance as expressed in vassal treaties.

Provinces consisted of rebellious states crushed by Assyria and placed under the rule of a military governor. Various elements of the population were deported and settled elsewhere and new settlers were brought into the province. This system was neither rigidly followed nor consistently applied.³⁸¹

Several factors point first to Ahaz's original independent status, secondly to his subsequent voluntary submission to Assyrian sovereignty, and thirdly, to his position as ruler over a *satellite* state, not a *vassal* state.³⁸² It should be noted that

³⁸¹ So Miller and Hayes 1986:320-22 and cf. Donner 1977:418-21, 427, 432. As an example of how this system functioned, Israel (i.e., the northern kingdom) made the transition from *satellite* (738 B.C.E.) to *vassal* (732 B.C.E.) to *province* (722 B.C.E.) in just a few short years. Perčirková 1987:162-75 offered a helpful outline of the generally recognized two tiered system of *vassal* and *province*.

³⁸² Following Miller and Hayes 1986:341-46.

prior to the sequence of events depicted in 2 Kgs. 16:7-9, Ahaz had never previously submitted to Assyrian sovereignty.

Secondly, the fact that Ahaz was bordered by both members of the opposing coalition makes it highly unlikely that he could have succeeded in sending messengers laden with a gift to Tiglath-pileser III while his enemies, with which Judah had been at war since the days of Ahaz's father Jotham (cf. 15:37), remained at large.

In other words, Ahaz probably sent his gift after Tiglath-pileser had conquered Damascus in 732 B.C.E. and not before, and his payment was a response to the Assyrian king's presence in the region, not its motivation. The Assyrian eponym lists report that Tiglath-pileser III campaigned in Philistia in 734 B.C.E. and in Damascus in 733/2 B.C.E.³⁸³ The dtr writer connects Ahaz's gift with the latter (16:9, cf. 2 Chr. 28:20-21), while the former goes unmentioned in the Hebrew Bible.³⁸⁴

Undoubtedly, Ahaz could not expect Assyrian protection from the Israelite-Syrian coalition of Pekah and Rezin prior to his becoming an Assyrian satellite. But this hardly justifies the dtr attempt to make the Assyrian king out as an opportunistic mercenary roaming the region in search of a "bribe" *šōḥaḏ*, cf. 16:8.³⁸⁵ Moreover, both 2 Chr. 28:21 and an Assyrian royal

³⁸³ Luckenbill 1927:436.

³⁸⁴ McKay 1973:6 viewed Ahaz's vassalship as initiated by the request of Tiglath-pileser III as he preferred 2 Chr. 28:20-21 over 2 Kgs. 16:7, but the Chronicler's account is unreliable, see below.

³⁸⁵ On the term "bribe" *šōḥaḏ* in 2 Kgs. 16:8, cf. Cogan and Tadmor 1988:188. The related phrase "your servant and son" in 16:7 is likewise the creation of the dtr writer, so Cogan and

inscription of Tiglath-pileser III describe the gift of Ahaz as a tribute, not a bribe.³⁸⁶

It appears that the dtr writer has telescoped the events and altered them in order to make Ahaz out as a villain.³⁸⁷ By way of summary then, our reconstruction is as follows: Ahaz ruled an independent kingdom prior to the Assyrian campaign against Damascus in 732 B.C.E. At that time, he voluntarily submitted to Assyrian sovereignty, paid his expected tribute, and called upon his new overlord to provide protection from the coalition.

As mentioned above, other scholars have offered non-Assyrian origins for the altar, notably Syrian or, less preferably, Phoenician.³⁸⁸ The Syrian interpretation is based on the argument that Assyrians did not offer burnt offerings and 2 Chr. 28:23 which states that Ahaz worshipped Syrian gods. However, the "brazier" *kanūnu* was commonly used in Neo-Assyrian temple worship and ritual and served to immolate animal sacrifices by fire.³⁸⁹ Sheep were burned on a brazier before the god Aššur.³⁹⁰ Other gods probably had their own braziers.³⁹¹

Tadmor 1988:187.

³⁸⁶ ANET⁹ 282.

³⁸⁷ Thus, the events of 2 Kgs 16:5-6 cannot be read as immediately preceding those of 2 Kgs 16:7-9. On this *Tendenz* of the dtr writer here, see Jones 1984:532, 536.

³⁸⁸ Others saw the altar as a purely aesthetic innovation, e.g. Šanda 1912(II):201 and Skinner 1893:369-70. For criticisms of the Phoenician and aesthetic views, cf. McKay 1973:5-12 and Cogan 1974:73-77.

³⁸⁹ Cf. *kinūnu* in CAD 8(1971):393-95, Neo-Assyrian *kanūnu*.

³⁹⁰ So Menzel 1981:T 33 6'-10' and cf. T 35 VII 44'-48' which attest to other uses of a *kanūnu* with cooked meat in the Aššur temple.

Adad-nirari III commands the people of Guzana (Tell Halaf) to make a burnt offering (*ma-aq-lu-a-te qu-lu-a*) to the god Adad.³⁹² This suggests that an Assyrian king might not only make concession for local custom but he might actually endorse it on occasion. If we assume for the moment that Ahaz had constructed an Assyrian style altar, burnt offerings could have been condoned if not encouraged by Tiglath-pileser III.

In 28:23b, the Chronicler cites as the motivation for Ahaz's worship of Syrian gods "because they helped them (the Syrians), I will sacrifice to them (the Syrian gods) so they will help me". But this can hardly be a logical deduction from 2 Kgs. 16:9, for the Syrian gods had been defeated previously by those of the Assyrians and Ahaz first saw the altar in Damascus only after the Assyrians had conquered the capital of his Syrian enemies.

Moreover, as stated previously, 2 Kgs. 15:37 depicts Judah at war with the Syrians since at least the days of Ahaz's father, Jotham. It is worthy of note that this passage gives no indication that the Syrian gods gained the victory in their battle against the god(s) of Judah.³⁹³ So then, what could possibly have motivated Ahaz to worship the gods of his perpetual foes as assumed by the Chronicler? Simply put, according to the

³⁹¹ So Parpola 1983:326.

³⁹² CAD 10/1(1977):252. Among the burnt offerings are young goats, sheep, oxen, and doves, cf. also CAD 13(1983):70-71 *qalû*.

³⁹³ 2 Chr. 27:1-9 omits the war with Rezin and Pekah entirely and adds the account of Jotham's victory over the Ammonites. The unavoidable inferences is that according to the Chronicler, Jotham's god(s) brought him success.

DtrH, there was no occasion for Ahaz to esteem the Syrian gods as worthy of his devotion.

There are additional indicators that suggest that the ChrH account is independent of the DtrH tradition. Ahaz's worship of Syrian gods in 2 Chr. 28:23 stands in direct conflict with 2 Kgs. 16:13,15 where it is assumed that Ahaz offers sacrifices wholly compatible with the Yahwistic cult.³⁹⁴ The conclusion usually drawn is that the Chronicler has intensified Ahaz's apostasy in an attempt to align the apostasy of Judah with that of Israel at the time of the schism (cf. 2 Chr. 13:8-9). So it is doubtful that he records reliable historical information.³⁹⁵

Of course, one could argue that, owing to the fact that the DtrH and the ChrH both view Ahaz as a rampant "syncretist", together they presuppose what was originally a favorable tradition in which Ahaz was a king who simply embraced a wider range of religious forms than that of the later dtr ideology.³⁹⁶

³⁹⁴This latter point has been frequently inferred from the type of sacrifices described in 16:13,15.

³⁹⁵Cf. Dillard 1987:223-24. The Chronicler has the temple closed whereas in the Kgs. account Ahaz uses the new altar in the temple. Hoffmann 1980:145 concluded that the Chronicler has given an interpretative rendition of the Kgs. account, cf. also Williamson 1982:349 and McKenzie 1984:112. This is due in part to his reversal of the claims of 2 Chr. 13 which dominates his version of Ahaz, cf. Williamson 1977:114-18, 1982:343-50, and Dillard 1987:219-25 for this and other differences in the accounts.

³⁹⁶Cf. Spieckermann 1982:362-69. The new altar was reserved for the gods of Assyria, while the small bronze altar was moved aside and reserved for continued Yahweh worship (cf. 1 Kgs. 8:64). Ezek. 9:2 might offer historical confirmation of Ahaz' altar reform and the silence in 1 Kgs. 7 might reflect the historiographer's disdain for the use to which this altar was put in the divided monarchy. Ahaz pleased both his Assyrian overlord as well as the faithful Yahweh worshippers like Uriah the priest (2 Kgs. 16:10; Isa. 8:2). This also explains why the altar went

In other words, what the dtr writer condemned as Ahaz's propensity for syncretism, was more likely his embrace of traditional Yahwism, albeit an eclectic form. Be that as it may, Ahaz was not forced into vassalship, so he would not have been required to establish a local version of the official Assyrian cult to the eradication of his existing cult. At most, he might have incorporated into his cult certain aspects of Assyrian religion.

That at least some Assyrian religious forms found their way into the temple in Judah at this time finds added support in 16:17-18. These verses outline several alterations to the temple made by Ahaz. The emendation of *hēsēb* "to turn about" in v.18 to *hēsîr* "to remove" with reference to "the cast-metal seat(?)" *mûsak haššabbāt*³⁹⁷ and "the king's outer entrance" *mê bô' hammelek haḥîṣônāh* is motivated by the desire to see in these verses a collection of metal for the payment of tribute to the Assyrian king rather than an Assyrian religious innovation introduced by Ahaz.³⁹⁸

However, the verb *hēsēb* makes good sense left unchanged and depicts only the repositioning of the cast-metal seat and may point to Ahaz's willingness to incorporate new elements from the Assyrian cult alongside those of his current cult. In any case, there is no hint here that the items were given to the Assyrian

uncondemned in the dtr ideology. If the deities identified with these altars were reversed, then *l°baqqēr* "to consult" in 16:15b might signify (Assyrian) divinatory rites.

³⁹⁷Cf. Mulder 1982:161-72.

³⁹⁸Cf. e.g. Jones 1984:541-42.

king as tribute and 2 Chr. 28:21 cannot be cited in support of the use of the items in 2 Kgs. 16:17-18 as tribute payment, for it parallels 2 Kgs. 16:7-10a and a more fitting parallel to 2 Kgs. 16:17-18 can be found in 2 Chr. 28:24a.³⁹⁹

The tribute interpretation has given rise to the additional unwarranted speculation that the Sea of 16:17 (*hayyam*; *JPS* "tank") was moved so that Ahaz could use the material from the bronze oxen under it as tribute (cf. 1 Kgs. 7:25).⁴⁰⁰ But the relocation of the Sea might have been motivated by the need to reposition it in order to make room for Assyrian additions to the cult.

Our reconstruction results in the following rendition of the final clause of v.18 *mippê nê melek 'aššûr* as "in deference to the king of Assyria". It does not infer that the bronze oxen were removed because of the pressure to find tribute money, for it comes at the wrong point in the narrative. Rather, as it stands it conveys Ahaz's willful submission to the Assyrian king on matters of religious concern. Therefore, there is no need for the radical proposal of placing this clause immediately following v.17.⁴⁰¹

³⁹⁹Cf. the use of *qāṣaṣ* "cut off, take away" in both accounts. 2 Chr. 28:24a comprises a summary of 2 Kgs. 16:17-18 as the phrase "furnishings of the house of God" *kê lē bēṭ-hā'ēlōhîm* covers the various items listed in the 2 Kgs. 16:17-18 account.

⁴⁰⁰Cf. e.g., Jones 1984:541 and Cogan and Tadmor 1988:193.

⁴⁰¹Cf. Hobbs 1985:218 against Jones 1984:541-42 following Sanda 1912:203-05. Olmstead 1931:452 went so far as to render the final phrase in v.31 as "from before the face of the king of Assyria" and took it to be a reference to a statue of the Assyrian king erected in the temple.

Having reviewed what we believe to be convincing arguments for the DtrH's portrayal of Assyrian religious influence for the periods immediately prior to the time of Manasseh⁴⁰², we nevertheless conclude that the evidence remains ambiguous with regard to Assyrian cultic imposition on Ahaz. Whether one speaks of voluntary adoption or imperial imposition, either scenario could potentially confirm the traditions reflected in Isa. 8:19 and 29:4, namely that like Assyrian religion more generally, necromancy had taken hold in Judah prior to Manasseh's reign.

Given this possibility and the references in Isa. 8:19 and 29:4, one might argue that the DtrH account intended to depict Manasseh as the first Judahite *king* to embrace necromancy. In other words, it circulated in Judah in Ahaz's day only on the "popular" level. But it is difficult to accept the notion that, had necromancy flourished in the reign of Ahaz, he would not have incorporated it into his official cult, for even on the dtr ideology's own count, Ahaz evinced rampant "syncretistic" tendencies.

Furthermore, had it been embraced both on the popular and official levels in Ahaz's day, it is most unlikely that the dtr polemic against Ahaz would have left necromancy unscathed.

⁴⁰²Xella 1980:151-60 has pointed to further evidence for Judean familiarity with Assyrian religion prior to Manasseh. In the dtr account of the encounter between Hezekiah's defenders of Jerusalem and the Assyrian official, the Rabshakeh, the Judeans are warned that they will be forced "to eat their own dung and drink their own urine" 2 Kgs. 18:27//Isa. 36:12, an allusion to the tragic destiny which awaited them in the netherworld where they would be forced to consume their own bodily wastes according to Mesopotamian belief. Others take this to refer to the Judeans as having to consume their own bodily wastes in the desperate hope of holding out against the Assyrian siege.

Lastly, had necromancy been introduced as an element in Ahaz's cult and had it continued into Hezekiah's reign, one would have expected its mention in Hezekiah's reform notwithstanding its theologically programmatic nature.⁴⁰³

Lastly, if necromancy had been present on Israelite soil during the reigns of Ahaz and Hezekiah as suggested by the contexts of Isa. 8:19 and 29:4, the likelihood of its incorporation in the apostasy of Ahaz and/or the reform of Hezekiah is further underscored by the dtr insertion banning necromancy in the law of Moses at Deut. 18:10-11. This redactional piece would have established the needed literary-ideological precedent for the integration of necromancy into the apostasy and reform accounts of Manasseh's immediate predecessors.

The potential which such a redactional addition might offer as a literary-ideological device was astutely observed by the post-dtr hand which added 1 Sam. 28:3-25 to the DtrH (and cf. 1 Chr. 10:13). His addition not only bolstered the dtr polemic by giving it greater antiquity, but more specifically, it established necromancy as the litmus test for the fidelity of Israel's kings to (what was in fact the later dtr brand of) Yahwism. In Saul's case, the failure to avoid it resulted in the 'death' of the nation's first royal house.

Therefore, we can safely conclude that, had the dtr tradition been aware of necromancy's presence in Israel before

⁴⁰³In isolation, this is not as strong an argument, for child sacrifice was practiced by Ahaz in the DtrH (16:3), but it escaped mention in Hezekiah's reform, on which see Heider 1985:288.

Manasseh's reign, this tradition would surely have been integrated into the DtrH's evaluation of his predecessors. Furthermore, that the dtr ideology would have been cognizant of such a tradition had it actually existed is supported by its first hand acquaintance with traditions preserved in first Isaiah. In other words, if the tradition of pre-Manasseh Israelite necromancy reflected in Isa. 8:19 and 29:4, was authentically Isaianic, the dtr ideology would have accessed it for its potential polemical impact.⁴⁰⁴

Several additional lines of evidence favor the tradition reflected in the DtrH and ChrH over against that posited in Isa. 8:19 and 29:4. That is to say, Manasseh's reign, rather than the administration of Ahaz, provided the probable context for Israel's adoption of Assyrian necromancy. It is our contention that in Ahaz's reign, Judah voluntarily submitted to Assyrian rule, became a satellite, and paid the expected tribute (2 Kgs. 16:7-10a; 2 Chr. 28:21).⁴⁰⁵

Following Hezekiah's revolt however, Judah lost its status as a satellite and was reduced to the level of a vassal state (701 B.C.E.). Based on what details we know concerning Assyrian policy toward vassals, this would have entailed greater Assyrian control of Judah's political, economic, and religious life. In

⁴⁰⁴As exemplified in the dtr redaction of first Isaiah, cf. 4.1. and 4.3.2.-6.

⁴⁰⁵Cf. *ANET*³ 282, a clay tablet inscription of Tiglath-pileser III where Ahaz is listed as having paid tribute to Assyria, an act expected, in one form or another, of satellites, vassals, and provinces alike, so Miller and Hayes 1986:320-22.

other words, more pervasive Assyrian religious influence is what we could expect of Judahite religion after Hezekiah's revolt but not earlier.

The Assyrian royal inscriptions verify Manasseh's status as a vassal (cf. also 2 Chr. 33:10-13).⁴⁰⁶ In one instance, he and twenty-one other vassal kings of the West were required to transport timber and stone colossi from Lebanon to Nineveh for Esarhaddon's royal storehouse.⁴⁰⁷ On another occasion, these same kings were required to help build Port Esarhaddon on the site of the destroyed city of Sidon.⁴⁰⁸ Ten years later, Manasseh and others was required to provide troops for Ashurbanipal's campaign against Egypt.⁴⁰⁹

Whereas Ahaz had voluntarily submitted to Assyrian control and became a satellite, Manasseh came to the throne following a major rebellion. In the days of Ahaz, Assyrian power was relatively unthreatened by developments in the region whereas in Manasseh's day, anti-Assyrian sentiment was widespread.

Moreover, Manasseh seems to have been hand picked by the Assyrians. His age at accession suggests that older siblings had been passed over and that the Assyrians were running the government initially. During this time, there appears to have been an extensive Assyrian presence in the region (cf. Isa.

⁴⁰⁶In the royal inscriptions, we find the mention of, "Manasseh, king of the land of Judah" *Menasi/Minsi Šar māt Iaudi*, cf. now Cogan and Tadmor 1988:265,339.

⁴⁰⁷Cf. *ANET*⁶, 291, Prism B of Esarhaddon.

⁴⁰⁸Cf. *ANET*⁶ 290b, Prism A of Esarhaddon.

⁴⁰⁹Cf. *ANET*⁶, 294, the Rassam Prism and Prism C of Ashurbanipal.

28:11-13; 33:19). We know that Assyrian troops were stationed in the region (at Tell Jemmeh/Gemme) to protect the southern borders from invasion by the Ethiopian leadership in Egypt. Lastly, it was the policy of Sennacherib's successor, Esarhaddon, to require his subjects to swear an oath of allegiance to the Assyrian god Aššur in hopes of minimizing political infidelity.⁴¹⁰

With this historical background as a starting point, critics have interpreted various elements in Manasseh's official cult as Assyrian in origin. The deities Baal and Asherah of 21:3,7 have been viewed as West Semitic versions of Mesopotamian deities, Aššur and Ishtar respectively. Based on 23:5,12, the Host of Heaven mentioned in 21:3,5 has been taken to refer to the Mesopotamian astral cult, the Sun = *haššemeš* = ^aŠamaš, the Moon = *hayyārēh* = ^aSîn, and the Constellation = *mazzālôṭ* < *manzalātu* /*mazzalātu*. Lastly, the child sacrifice of 21:6 has been interpreted as an adaptation of a Mesopotamian cult (cf. also 16:3 and 17:31).

Moreover, numerous practices attributed to Manasseh but mentioned only in Josiah's subsequent reform have been identified as Assyrian in origin. In 23:5, "the idolatrous priests", *hakkē mārîm* have been equated with the *kumru* priests of cuneiform documents. "The (male?) prostitutes" *haqqē dēšîm* of 23:7 have been cited as evidence for the introduction of an Assyrian version of hierodule (cf. Akk. *harîmtu*).

In 23:8b, "the high places by the gates" *bāmôṭ haššē^c arîm* have been emended to "the high places of the goat demons" *bāmôṭ*

⁴¹⁰ Cf. ANET³ 534-41, esp. 538, the vassal treaties of Esarhaddon.

haśśe^c irîm and seen as evidence for the presence of Assyrian rituals intended to propitiate malevolent ghosts (cf. Lev. 17:7; 2 Chr. 11:15; Isa. 13:21, 34:14). The "horses . . . and chariots dedicated to the sun" *hassûsîm* . . . *mark^e bôt laššemeš* in 23:11 have been interpreted as Assyrian introductions.⁴¹¹ Lastly, the "rooftop altars" *hammizb^e hôt 'ăšer^c al-haggāg* of 23:12 have extensive parallels in contemporary Assyrian religion.⁴¹²

While it is difficult to establish with certainty the *interpretationes canaanaicae* of the Assyrian deities proposed for the apostasy and reform accounts, the reference to the goddess Asherah illustrates the feasibility of this approach.⁴¹³ The argument that the asherah in inscriptional sources and in the book of Judges do not represent the Canaanite goddess Asherah of

⁴¹¹ Taylor 1987:16-18 and 1988B:561-64 has recently identified the four-legged animal immediately below the solar-disk on the top register of the cult stand from Taanach as a horse and connected it with the horses of the sun in 23:11. Others have identified the animal as a bull, cf., e.g. Smith 1990:116. The date of the cult stand and the identity of its makers and the inhabitants of Taanach remain problematic, cf. Smith 1990:19-20. In any case, Smith 1990:115-21, while acknowledging the absence of an indigenous sun cult, is in error in his facile dismissal of possible Assyrian influence in the solar cult reflected in 2 Kgs. 23:11 solely on the grounds that "the notion that Neo-Assyrian rulers imposed their religious practices on their Levantine subjects has been discredited" (p.117 and n.17 citing McKay 1973 and Cogan 1974).

⁴¹² Cf. Weinfeld 1972B:152-54 and Spieckermann 1982:294 n.193. For surveys of proposed Assyrian entries in the cult of Manasseh, see Spieckermann 1982:84-88, 108-10, 245-47, 271-73, and Donner 1986:329-38.

⁴¹³ In this regard, the reconstruction of Delcor 1981:91-123 might be a more realistic reconstruction. Although one might challenge specific points of his proposal such as his tendency to view Assyrian influence as mediated through Aramean religion, he argued for more than one foreign provenance for the elements listed in Josiah's reform: Mesopotamian, Moabite, Ammonite, and Phoenician elements. Where Assyrian religion was imposed, it existed alongside the local religions (pp.95-104).

the first millennium but instead refer to her symbol and, by secondary association, to other goddesses such as Ashtarte has recently been defended.⁴¹⁴

While we would agree in principle that the dtr tradition had a marked tendency for rhetorical polemic in its use of the term *asherah*, we do not accept the suggestion that *asherah* in 2 Kgs. 21:7 and 23:4,6,7, is not a goddess. That a deity is most likely referred to is supported by the mention of the *pesel* "image/idol" of *Asherah* in 21:7 and the clustering of "the Baals, the *Asherah*, and the Host of Heaven" in 23:4. The first and third are clearly deities (with perhaps implied Assyrian analogies) and so we would expect the second to signify the same. That the *asherah* received "clothes(?)" *bāttîm* (23:7) and was removed (23:6) comports with the likelihood that the image of the goddess is involved. Her image was erected in the temple in 21:7 and removed in 23:6.

What we would argue is that these references to *asherah* in which a deity is involved are not to be understood as historically reliable references to the goddess known by that name, but as a "Canaanite interpretation" of a foreign deity. In 1 Kgs. 18:19 where the term *asherah* occurs, an historically reliable reference to the goddess *Asherah* is unlikely. She is never attested in any Tyrian text or anywhere in coastal Phoenicia during the Iron Age. It is possible that the dtr tradition has Phoenician *Ashtarte* in mind as a threat to northern Israel in the ninth century or to Yahwistic religion of the late

⁴¹⁴Cf. Smith 1990:15-21, 80-94.

monarchy or exile.⁴¹⁵ In our view, the term *asherah*, in addition to its identity as a cultic symbol, was on occasion employed as a theologically programmatic term for (the cults of) foreign goddesses. We would follow Spieckermann and others and argue that *Asherah* refers to *Ishtar* in 2 Kgs. 21:7 and 23:4,6,7 as we can eliminate *Ashtarte* for she is mentioned independently in 23:13.

In any case, while all of the above indications of Assyrian influence are not equally convincing, the cumulative effect is one which presents a compelling argument for the presence of Mesopotamian religion in Israel appropriated not before the reign of Manasseh and as late as the dtr writer's own day. Another Assyrian mortuary custom introduced into Judah not before the time of Manasseh and as late as the time of the Chronicler is the funerary custom of "making a fire" *śārap śē rēpāh* in honor of a recently deceased king mentioned in 2 Chr. 16:14 (Asa), 21:19 (Jehoram), and Jer. 34:5 (Zedekiah) reflects an adaptation of a royal Assyrian practice first attested in the royal correspondence from the reigns of Esarhaddon and his son Ashurbanipal, the contemporaries of Manasseh.⁴¹⁶ Its non-mention in the DtrH is curious but readily explainable. Either the exilic writer of the DtrH knew nothing of it or, more likely, had he known of its Assyrian origins, he avoided mention of it. Any non-critical reference in the DtrH to a mortuary practice of Assyrian origin which might have had widespread acceptance in former days among Israelites could undermine his polemic in spite of the

⁴¹⁵ Cf. Smith 1990:88-90.

⁴¹⁶ Cf. Zwickel 1989:267-77. The Akkadian cognate phrase is *šuruptu šarpat*.

possibility that it posed no direct obstacle to the later dtr interpretation of true Yahwism.

The royal funerary fire had apparently lost any traces of its foreign attachments by the post-exilic period, for the Chronicler projected it back into the accounts of Judah's earlier kings as a positive criterion for evaluating their reigns, from the time of Asa onwards. 2 Chr. 16:14 makes no mention of the observance of this practice before Asa while 2 Chr. 21:19 assumes that it was observed in honor of Jehoram's predecessors, that is "his fathers". The author of Jeremiah likewise viewed the royal funerary fire as a royal Judahite tradition rather than a foreign practice. This is clear from the reference in the Zedekiah account to making the fire for "your (Zedekiah's) fathers, the former kings who preceded you".

The Mesopotamian record and the biblical account together point not only to Israel's adoption of an Assyrian death related rite in the time of Manasseh, they also confirm the *Tendenz* of Israelite writers and in particular the dtr tradition to add to the accounts of earlier kings practices attested or known to be popular only in later periods.⁴¹⁷

⁴¹⁷ The burial of Judahite kings in gardens such as Manasseh (2 Kgs. 21:18), Amon (21:26), and Josiah (2 Chr. 35:24?) might reflect an acquaintance with the elaborate royal gardens erected by Neo-Assyrian kings (*kirû*, *kirmāhu*, and *ambassu* and cf. Wiseman 1983:137-44) on the part of the royal court and/or the dtr tradition. A similar familiarity might be reflected in the dtr tradition's account of Absalom's pillar (*maṣṣebet*) erected in his lifetime as a memorial. Such stelae established in memory of Neo-Assyrian kings are well attested. It should be stressed however, that only the invocation of the name is mentioned in 2 Sam. 18:18 *ba' ăbûr hazkîr š' mî*. In other words, geneonymy is in view, not ancestor worship or veneration, contra Lewis 1989:118-20.

4.5.3. SUMMARY

The preceding arguments provide a compelling interpretative context for enhancing the likelihood of Assyrian influence *vis-à-vis* necromancy in Judah either during or after Manasseh's reign. As stated previously, the rise in popularity of divination among late Assyrian kings, the preponderance of references to Mesopotamian necromancy from the Neo-Assyrian period onwards, the political domination of Judah by the Mesopotamian imperial states of Assyria and Babylonia in the mid first millennium, and the likelihood of Assyrian influence on the religious life of Judah whether by means of willful adoption or imperial imposition support our thesis that necromancy and the belief in the beneficent dead were introduced into Israelite religion from Mesopotamia during the mid to late first millennium. This finds further support from the argument *e silentio* that with the exception of the biblical references, necromancy remains otherwise unattested in Syro-Palestinian texts or, more precisely, in Canaanite-Israelite religion and magic.

Having said all this, it must be conceded that, while Manasseh's reign provides the most probable pre-exilic context for the introduction of Assyrian religion, there remains the possibility that necromancy's portrayed arrival on Israelite soil during this period comprises an idealization of the concerns of the *dtr* tradition's own day. That is to say, in the matter of the belief in the beneficent dead, these traditions represent, not so much reliable historical recollections, as artificial literary

compositions in which current ideological issues have been projected into the reconstructed past.

In fact, an artificial literary nature for the whole of the DtrH has been recently proposed by Hoffmann.⁴¹⁸ He has argued that the theme of cultic reform is basic to the entire DtrH from pre-monarchic to monarchic times. The dtr religious concerns stand out and are presented most fully in Josiah's reform which in Hoffmann's assessment has very little basis in fact.

All the elements of the reform theme are brought together here and read back into the earlier reform accounts. The accounts throughout the DtrH are characteristic dtr compositions and the vocabulary is typical rather than specific and singular, the details giving only historic verisimilitude to the accounts. In each instance there is little reflection of an actual cult reform.

In the case of the monarchic period, the centrality of the reform theme is expressed in the alternating scheme of seven negative reforms -those that introduce cultic elements alien to dtr Yahwism (1 Kgs. 16:29-33; Ahab, 22:52-54; Ahaziah, 2 Kgs. 3:1-3; Joram, 9:4-10:31; Jehu, 13:1-9; Jehoahaz, 16:1-4, 10-18; Ahaz, 21:1-16; Manasseh)- and seven positive reforms -those that relate to the dtr purification of the cult (1 Kgs. 15:9-15; Asa, 22:41-47; Jehoshaphat, 2 Kgs. 11:1-20; Jehoiada, 12:1-17; Joash, 15:32-38; Jotham, 18:1-6; Hezekiah, 22:1-23:25; Josiah).

In summary, Hoffmann has attempted to defend Noth's theory of the single authorship of DtrH and thereby its essential

⁴¹⁸ Hoffmann 1980 and cf. Van Seters 1983:317-21, 343-44 and Long 1984:11-32.

literary unity. Thus, for him the DtrH can no longer be considered the product of multiple redactions.⁴¹⁹ Nevertheless, we must underscore one qualification to the above synthesis. In his composition of the DtrH, the writer was not working purely on the basis of his ideological and literary theme of cultic reform.⁴²⁰ Even the dtr polemic which resulted in the distortion of the traditional Yahwistic religion of Ahaz and Manasseh and the radical innovative tendencies of Hezekiah and Josiah presupposes at least a general knowledge of the late pre-exilic period. In all likelihood, the dtr writer exercised some degree of acquaintance with this period in order for his polemic to reflect the semblance of actuality which it does. On the other hand, his knowledge of earlier periods or, more accurately, the lack thereof, is another matter all together.⁴²¹

In a treatise on illegitimate and legitimate forms of revelation with its emphasis on the exclusive authority of

⁴¹⁹This severely qualifies the usefulness of the treatments of the relevant biblical passages offered by Spieckermann 1982, Foresti 1984, and Tropper 1989 as they presuppose multiple redactions of DtrH.

⁴²⁰This is acknowledged by Hoffmann. While the reforms of Hezekiah and Josiah are considered literary fiction by Hoffmann 1980:155,268-69, the "anti-reform" accounts of Ahaz and Manasseh contain genuine pre-exilic backgrounds and were motivated by Assyrian influence despite the presence of their theologically programmatic catalogues of tendentious sins (pp.144,164-66). Donner 1986:330-34 agrees as to the fictionality of Hezekiah's reform, is more skeptical about the Ahaz and Manasseh accounts but he tends toward attributing greater reliability to the Josianic reform. Würthwein 1984:389-90, 445-46, 459-60 views the Ahaz, Manasseh, and Josiah accounts as reliable attestations of cultic impact of Assyria, but views Hezekiah's reform as a late recasting of anti-Assyrian measures.

⁴²¹Cf. similarly, Mayes 1983:12. The issue here is one of degree.

Yahweh's prophets as the true source of knowledge, the dtr tradition inserted a condemnation of necromancy at Deut. 18:10-11. This added authority to the dtr polemic against Manasseh as it now had as its precedent the law of Moses. Its location here also broadened the extent of necromancy's pervasiveness. It was now depicted as having been observed by the various peoples of the land in former days (and by application those in his own day) whom he rhetorically identified as "the Canaanite".

1 Sam. 28:3-25 was added to the DtrH by a post-dtr hand and retained in the ChrH at 1 Chr. 10:13 for similar reasons as those resulting in the addition of Deut. 18:10-11. While the redactional character of 1 Chr. 10:13 has been repeatedly defended by critics, unless the post-dtr addition of 1 Sam. 28:3-25 was added to the DtrH after the final composition of the ChrH, it would be extremely difficult to accept the notion that the Chronicler would have overlooked Saul's sin of consulting a necromancer, a tradition by now present in the DtrH, for it could be argued that the sin of necromancy is what made Manasseh's apostasy more heinous than any of the kings of Judah before him and equal to that of king Saul.⁴²²

Besides broadening necromancy's pervasiveness so as to include the Canaanites, the post-dtr addition 1 Sam. 28:3-25 resulted in the placement of necromancy in the formative period of Israel's monarchy. As such, it served as the "historical" precedent for Manasseh's violation of the Mosaic law in (dtr)

⁴²²Cf. similarly De Vries 1989:121 and Williamson 1982A:95.

Deut. 18:10-11. Thus, with the post-dtr addition 1 Sam. 28:3-25 added alongside the dtr texts of 2 Kgs. 21:6 and 23:24, the DtrH opens and closes the history of Israelite kingship with the tragic sin of necromancy. In the dtr perspective, the illicit belief in the supernatural beneficence of the dead had, in the hearts of the nation's monarchs, supplanted faith in Yahweh's word as spoken by his prophets.

According to the DtrH, Saul's observance of this practice resulted in the downfall of Israel's first monarchy. Its reoccurrence in Manasseh's reign foreshadowed the downfall of its second. With the addition of 1 Sam. 28:3-25, the deeds of Manasseh are prefigured in those of Saul. Moreover, the deeds of Josiah have their antecedents in those of David.⁴²³ Lastly, as the compositional analysis of both the DtrH traditions and Isaiah 8:19, 19:3, 29:4 reveals, necromancy's insertion in Isaianic oracles set in pre-Manasseh contexts is an artificial literary construct. In an attempt to characterize the days of Ahaz as ill-fated as those of Saul and Manasseh, the post-dtr tradition projected Assyrian necromancy back into Israel's earlier history and attributed its condemnation to the great prophet Isaiah. As a result it also further expanded the foreign horizons of this conspicuous abomination so as to include the likes of Egypt.

As a final note, we should say something concerning the major difference in the accounts in the DtrH and ChrH. While the Manasseh reference of 2 Kgs. 21:6 also occurs in the ChrH, 2 Chr.

⁴²³For the writer of the ChrH, a similar thematic connection obtains, Saul's consultation of the necromancer is paradigmatic for the exile or Manasseh's reign and David's rule, for the restoration of Josiah's reign.

33:6, the reference to necromancy in Josiah's reform (2 Kgs. 23:24 + vv.25-27) has no parallel in the Chronicler's account. This suggests either that it was not original to the Chronicler's *Vorlage* (cf. MT 2 Chr. 35:19 + v.20 = MT 2 Kgs. 23:23 + v.28) or that he omitted it.

It is mentioned in LXX 2 Kgs. 23:24 (IV Reigns) and LXX 2 Chr. 35:19 (= Paralipomena). It may also appear in summary fashion in the paraphrase of 1 Esdr. 1:21-22.⁴²⁴ These no doubt shared the same Hebrew *Vorlage* of MT 2 Kgs. 21:6. As it stands, either of the above explanations for the divergences between the DtrH and ChrH is plausible.⁴²⁵

Be that as it may, its absence in the Chronicler's account of Josiah conforms with his rendition of Manasseh in 2 Chr. 33:1-20. In vv.10-20, the Chronicler recounts an otherwise unparalleled story of Manasseh's captivity, repentance, and restoration. In v.15, reference is made to his ridding the land of the "foreign gods" which he had previously introduced. This might allude to his putting away of necromancy, for the ritual

⁴²⁴That 1 Esdr. 1:21-22 does not preserve an earlier text of Chr. is suggested by its lack of mention of Manasseh, cf. Williamson 1977:16-20.

⁴²⁵Williamson 1987B:112-13 has argued that the Chronicler's treatment of Manasseh in 2 Chr. 33 is his own composition replete with his own theology and style (e.g., exile and restoration, retribution theology). It conflicts with the Kgs. account and Jer. 15:4 and even 33:22a. Williamson 1982B:242-48, 1987A:9-15 has also argued that the Chronicler's account of Josiah's death, 2 Chr. 35:20-27, was probably drawn from an alternative version of the DtrH.

often involved the invocation of various deities to assist in the conjuration of the spirits of the dead.⁴²⁶

⁴²⁶The subsequent apostasy of Amon in the ChrH only partially contributed to the undoing of Manasseh's reform. He worshipped and sacrificed to the idols (*happ^e sîlîm*) Manasseh had made (2 Chr. 33:22). He did not reinstate the "foreign gods" (*'ēlōhê hannēkār*) which Manasseh had purged (33:15a), only the image(s?) (*hassemeḷ*) which he had thrown out (33:15b).

4.6. EXILIC AND POST-EXILIC PROPHETIC TEXTS

With the exilic and post-exilic prophetic texts, significant developments transpire *vis-à-vis* Israelite death and ancestor cults. Not only do the frequency of potential references increase, but the variation in the types of associated ritual does as well. This literary corpus makes mention of the *bêṭ marzēaḥ* (Jer. 16:5), the burial of kings perhaps with attendant rites (Ezek. 43:7,9), and possible libations and offerings to the dead (Isa. 57:6).

In the case of necromancy, developments are also telling. While this mantic art is attested only once in these texts, its observance takes on a previously unattested form, a rite that approximates what was identified in later antiquity as an incubation rite (Isa. 65:4). Such a rite entails that one sleep in a sacred place in order to obtain a revelation through a dream. In the case at hand, Israelites are depicted as sleeping in graves in the hope that the dead spirits would impart special knowledge about the future.

4.6.1. JEREMIAH 16:5

With the *bêṭ marzēaḥ* of Jer. 16:5, we return to the topic of the Israelite version of the *marzēaḥ* (cf. Amos 6:7 in 4.3.1.). This passage has been cited alongside the pertinent Ugaritic data in support of the theory that for a span of at least two millennia the West Semitic *marzēaḥ* retained its death cult associations which involved among other observances, licentious behavior and intoxication.

With a perusal of 16:5-9, the question arises whether one or two social gatherings are prohibited, a "sodality devoted to feasts for the dead", as the *bêṭ marzēah* of v.5 has been described⁴²⁷, and a "wedding feast" *bêṭ mišteh* in v.8, or only a death cult feast, in which case *bêṭ marzēah* is to be understood as co-terminus with *bêṭ mišteh*.⁴²⁸ If the two are synonymous, then the festive nature of the gatherings of the *bêṭ marzēah* as supposedly attested in the pre-Hellenistic comparative data finds added confirmation via the internal evidence.

In order to come to some reasoned resolution of this *crux*, it will be necessary to survey what can be confidently said with regard to the structure of the larger pericope, Jer. 16:1-13. Although this passage has been considered a unit, it has been pointed out that 16:1-9 share no vocabulary with 16:10-13.⁴²⁹

In any case, most commentators view 16:1-9 as comprised of two sections, 16:1-4 and 16:5-9, which share the same vocabulary and purpose. The former contains permanent prohibitions as the negative particle *lō'* occurs throughout, while the latter

⁴²⁷Cf. Pope 1977A:166 followed by King 1988A:138.

⁴²⁸Cf. Porten 1968:180-81; Pope 1977B:216; and Bright 1965:110-11 who viewed these two elements as parallel. Lewis 1989:138-39 equated the *bêṭ marzēah* of v.5 with the *bêṭ mišteh* of v.8 by way of an *inclusio* but completely omitted the crucial v.9 from his treatment.

⁴²⁹Holladay 1986:467 cited, as a second criterion, the notion that 16:1-9 comprises *Kunstprosa* or rhythmic prose whereas 16:10-13 does not, but cf. Thompson 1980:401-03 and McKane 1986:363.

contains immediate prohibitions with 'al negating the major verse lines in 16:5 and 8 (and see below).⁴³⁰

A number of commentators, who assume the essential unity of 16:1-9, view 16:5-9 as a depiction of Jeremiah's proclamation of the divine word given in 16:1-4 in the form of a symbolic action.⁴³¹ This gains some support from the change in negative particles, from the *lō'* of 16:1-4 to the 'al in 16:5-9, the presence of second person plural suffixes in 16:9 *l^ec ênêkem ûbîmêkem* "before your eyes and in your days", and the assumed public announcement of 16:1-9 in 16:10.

Nevertheless, others who advocate extensive dtr redaction in 16:5-9 conclude that the Jeremianic nucleus preserves the historical Jeremiah's adherence to a vow of celibacy. His decision to remain in an unmarried state has been explained as owing to the demands of the prophetic office and/or to the hopelessness of the times.⁴³²

Finally, more recent commentators have viewed 16:5-9, neither as symbolic action nor as Jeremiah's personal practice. Rather, as this exilic passage contains an account of Jeremiah's loneliness, it comprises an artful comparison of the prophet's lifestyle and the fate of the community from which Yahweh has withdrawn his *šālôm*.⁴³³

⁴³⁰ Cf. Thompson 1980:400 n.4. Holladay 1986:467 emended *lō'* in v. 8 to 'al.

⁴³¹ Cf. e.g., Weiser 1962:135-39 following Fohrer 1953:64-65.

⁴³² Cf. e.g., Rudolph 1958:98-99; Nicholson 1973:142-43; and Thiel 1973:195-201.

⁴³³ Thompson 1980:403 and McKane 1986:367 and cf. also Carroll 1986:340-42 for a similar mediating position.

Moving on to the subdivisions of 16:1-9, 16:1-4 comprises Yahweh's exhortation to his prophet Jeremiah to abstain from marriage owing to its procreative potential (16:1-2). The reason outlined is that in the face of impending national disaster, children and parents alike will die an ignominious death. In fact, the destruction will be so devastating that no one will survive to offer the proper burial and mourning rites on their behalf (16:3-4).

An examination of the rhetorical structure of 16:1-9 reveals that two distinct occasions are in view in 16:5-9. As a unit, 16:1-9 contains a repeated twofold structure, three parallel main clauses accompanied by their respective motivational clauses each introduced with the particle *kî*. Two of these main clauses make up 16:5-9: 16:5a + 16:5b-7; and 16:8 + 16:9.⁴³⁴

A comparison of 16:5-7 and 16:8-9 demonstrates that in vv.5-7, the *bêṭ marzēah* forms part of a complex of solemn funerary rites, including lamentation (*s-p-d*) and consolation (*n-w-d*), whereas in vv.8-9, the *bêṭ mišteh* is mentioned within the context of a wedding as indicated by the reference to the "bridegroom" *ḥātān* and the "bride" *kallāh*. It is further characterized by the sounds of joy and gladness.

In fact, v.9, with its mention of the bridegroom and bride, forms an inclusio with the prohibition against marrying in v.2,

⁴³⁴For the first instance of this repeated twofold structure, cf. 16:1-2 + 16:3-4.

not with the funerary rites of v.5.⁴³⁵ That the *bêṭ mišteh* is intrinsically associated with marriage and not death can be established by the use of the term *mišteh* in Jud. 10:14,19. Moreover, in Eccl. 7:2, it is contrasted, not compared, with a "house of mourning" *bêṭ 'ēbel*.

Lest it be wrongly presumed as typical of the *marzēaḥ* assemblies, we should point out that mortuary rites do not appear as regular entries in the handful of references we have of the (*bt*) *mrzḥ* of pre-Hellenistic times. The mortuary connection is late and occasional at that. In point of fact, in the isolated instances where such a connection is made, funerary rites are in view, not death cult practices. This is surely the case with Jer. 16:1-9, where we have a veritable catalogue of funerary rites, lamentation (vv.4,5,6) burial (vv.4,6), grief (v.5), gashing (v.6), tonsure (v.6), and the giving of food and drink as consolation (v.7).⁴³⁶

Even the funerary character of the *marzēaḥ* for the time period reflected in Jer. 16:1-9 is controvertible. Following Thiel's general reconstruction of the compositional history of Jer. 16:1-9, Fabry has argued that the *bêṭ marzēaḥ* in this passage was not originally associated with mourning, but that this perspective was introduced into the text by later redactors.

⁴³⁵Thompson 1980:406; Holladay 1986:468; and cf. McKane 1986:367 against Lewis 1989:138-39.

⁴³⁶Likewise, contrary to commonly held opinion, inebriation cannot be considered a constituent element of the *marzēaḥ* as it is attested only rarely in pre-Hellenistic times.

According to Fabry, 16:1,5,8 comprise the earliest compositional layer. 16:2,6,7 are secondary additions, and 16:3,4,9 as well as vv.10-13 are still later dtr additions.⁴³⁷ This would make *bêṭ marzēah* in v.5a and *bêṭ mišteh* in v.8 parallel members. In light of the non-death cult attachments of the pre-Hellenistic form of the *marzēah*, they should be understood as synonymous members in a chiastic structure in which v.5b-c ("Do not go to lament or to condole with them . . .") forms the antithetical element interposed in between *bêṭ marzēah* and *bêṭ mišteh*.⁴³⁸

In the final analysis, even the funerary character of the *bêṭ marzēah* for the time period reflected in Jer. 16:5 depends upon one's position regarding the likelihood or nonlikelihood of dtr redaction in Jeremiah 16:1-9. Admittedly, the theory of a systematic and extensive dtr redaction of Jeremiah as proposed by Thiel has fallen on hard times.⁴³⁹

Nevertheless, a general consensus remains *vis-à-vis* the linguistic features shared by the book of Jeremiah and the dtr corpus. The debate continues over the significance of these shared elements. In view of both these shared elements and the

⁴³⁷ Nicholson 1970:29,60-63,87, 1973:142-43 noted the dtr character of 16:4 (cf. Deut. 28:25) and 16:10-13 (cf. Deut. 29:21-27). Thiel 1973:195-201 offered a more extensive catalogue of dtr correspondences: 16:3b,4b,9* ("your eyes and in your days") as well as 16:10-13.

⁴³⁸ Fabry 1984:col.15 against Loretz 1982B:87-93, esp pp.88-90. Fabry labelled this structure a doubled antithetic parallelism.

⁴³⁹ Like that of Thiel 1973, the opposing position of Weippert 1973 is too extreme, cf. the critiques of McKane 1981:220-37, 1986:xlii-lxxxix and Carroll 1986:38-50.

generally acknowledged redactional nature of the book, it is difficult to reject the theory of dtr influence on Jeremiah. The remaining issue to be resolved is one of degree, that is to say, what extent of dtr influence can still be discerned in the production of the book of Jeremiah.⁴⁴⁰

Our treatment of the extra-biblical materials demonstrated that the pre-Hellenistic *marzēah* was an association foremost concerned with economic interests, in particular real estate transactions. Its membership consisted of the upper echelons of society which held meetings in a "house" or *bt*. No direct evidence presents itself for the mortuary connections of the *marzēah* of pre-Hellenistic times. This in our view gives added support to the redactional nature of Jer. 16:1-9.

That said, we cannot categorically eliminate the possibility that in an isolated instance in earlier periods, the *marzēah* might have been involved with matters funerary, for social fraternities might seek to acknowledge the death of one of

⁴⁴⁰ Although both McKane 1986 and Carroll 1986 reject Thiel's overall thesis, both recognize redactional processes shaped the book. McKane's theory is one in which small pieces of pre-existing text trigger exegesis or commentary (1981:237, 1986:lxviii). This results in a text with its own character and orientation. But this does not eliminate dtr influence, rather, as the author acknowledged, dtr language will only be differently nuanced in Jeremiah (1986:xlvi). Carroll's theory of the book's composition in which a lengthy process of transmission and editorial activity often motivated by the needs of various groups (1986:34), likewise does not eliminate dtr influence. He in fact acknowledges such influence in the prose of Jeremiah in his defense of the extensive editorial nature of the book (cf. 1986:35-36, against the position of Holladay 1986:1-2). He rejects however the notion of a monolithic dtr redaction (1986:69). Even Holladay, in his rejection of the dtr editorial shaping of the prose of Jeremiah, maintains that such material is often modelled after the book of Deut. (1986:1-2, and cf. p.351 on 11:1-14).

their illustrious members by a solemn occasion.⁴⁴¹ It is nevertheless unwarranted to attach the technical term "house of mourning" or *Trauerhaus* to the *bêṭ marzēah* in Jer. 16:5.⁴⁴² In the final analysis, an occasional late funerary association cannot be the basis for positing a death/ancestor cult connection for *marzēah* in much earlier periods.

4.6.2. EZEKIEL 43:7,9

The phrase *pigrê malkêhem* in Ezek. 43:7,9 was rendered "the funerary stelae of their kings" by Albright and understood as a reference to an Israelite royal ancestor cult.⁴⁴³ More recently, Heider has suggested that the phrase referred to "the *pagrū*-offerings to/for your (*sic* their) *malikū*", that is to say, animal sacrifices to/for the royal ancestors.⁴⁴⁴

⁴⁴¹The possibility remains that an earlier occasional incorporation of funerary rites into the social life of the *bt mrzḥ* like those reflected in Jer. 16:5 might have provided the stimulus for its more frequent connection with mortuary matters later via Greek rituals.

⁴⁴²Contra e.g., Schreiner 1981:104.

⁴⁴³Cf. Albright 1957:242-48; 1968:203-06; and 1969:103-04, following Neiman 1948:72-79 who understood *peger* as "stele", but as an implement of idolatry not of the death cult. Neiman cited Lev. 26:30 "the *pigrê* of their idols" against the corpse interpretation. But Lev. 26:30 is simply a poetic extension of the meaning of the term. Dr. John Day has pointed out in private communication the similar phrase in Jer. 16:18 "the carcasses of their detestable idols" *niblat šiqqûsêhem*. Galling 1959:11, followed by Zimmerli 1983: 417 and Lust 1986:217, modified Neiman's proposal and suggested that the stelae were erected in memory of the dead, but this is not an argument for veneration or worship of the dead, but for their commemoration.

⁴⁴⁴So Heider 1985:393-94 following Talon 1978:57 n.13,69-71, who viewed the cognate Akkadian *pagrā'um* as an animal sacrifice.

As we have demonstrated previously, neither the use of *pagrum/ pagrā'um* at Mari (2.2.3.-2.2.4.) nor *pgr* at Ugarit (2.3.1.) support the meaning "stele", let alone "funerary stele".⁴⁴⁵ Based on the data from Mari and Ugarit, Ebach argued that the term in Ezek. 43 denotes an idolatrous sacrifice, that is an "offering" or (*Toten-*)*opfer* and cited the use of *peger* in Gen. 15:11 and Jer. 31:40 in support of this meaning.⁴⁴⁶

But in the remaining twenty instances of Hebrew *peger*, the contexts overwhelmingly favor the meaning "corpse".⁴⁴⁷ Moreover, with one exception, the corpse is that of a human, the context is negative, and no indication of an offering is evident.⁴⁴⁸ The lone exception is Gen. 15:11. But this passage points to the use of Hebrew *peger* to denote an animal carcass, not an offering as no altar, no blood, and no consumption by fire are mentioned.⁴⁴⁹

Furthermore, in Jer. 31:40, the term probably refers to human corpses related to child sacrifice owing to the identification of the mentioned "valley of *happē qārīm* and ashes" as the valley of Hinnom, the notorious cult site for this parade

⁴⁴⁵Moreover, the language is paralleled by other occurrences of *peger* found in construct with a personal (pro)noun, cf. "your corpses" *piḡrēkem* (Lev. 26:30) and "the corpses of the sons of Israel" *piḡrē bēnē yisrā'ēl* (Ezek. 6:5). These clearly do not refer to stelae.

⁴⁴⁶Ebach 1971:365-68 followed by Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartín 1973:289-91.

⁴⁴⁷Gen. 15:11; Lev. 26:30 (2X); Num. 14:29, 32, 33; 1 Sam. 17:46; 2 Kgs. 19:35 = Isa. 37:36; 2 Chr. 20:24, 25; Amos 8:3; Isa. 14:19, 34:3, 66:24; Jer. 31:40 (39), 33:5, 41:9; Ezek. 6:5; Nah. 3:3.

⁴⁴⁸Furthermore, the corpse may be in a progressive state of decay as suggested by Isa. 34:3.

⁴⁴⁹Following e.g., Sarna 1966:126.

abomination (cf. Jer. 17:31, 19:5, 32:35).⁴⁵⁰ Lastly, it should be mentioned that nowhere in the Priestly legislation on sacrifice is the term *peger* used to denote an offering.

The fact that *peger* is qualified by the term *mēt* "dead" in 2 Kgs. 19:35 (= Isa. 37:36) demands that we consider the possibility that *peger* refers to man or animal as a material organism regardless of whether it is alive or dead. This would explain why *peger* on occasion necessitated further qualification as in 2 Kgs. 19:35. Nevertheless, like English "body" it could stand alone in other contexts where its mortuary character was explicit.

Having surveyed the range of opinions concerning *peger*, we must say something about the tendency of commentators to emend *bāmōtām* "their high places" to *b^emōtām* "at their death" in v.7. This datum is often, but not always, cited in support of a death or ancestor cult interpretation. Arguments in favor of the change include the assumption that it would be rather odd for a high place to be located within the temple complex⁴⁵¹ or that high places would not have been built there after Josiah's reform.⁴⁵²

⁴⁵⁰For Jer. 31:40 as a reference to child sacrifice, cf. now Wright 1987:287 n.21. Heider 1985:360 also viewed this passage as a possible reference to child sacrifice, but interpreted *peger* as stele. Less likely is the possibility of cremation, but cf. 1 Sam. 31:12-13 and Amos 6:10, and Ackroyd 1981:224 against Driver 1954:314-15 and cf. Biłkowski 1982:80-89. On the meaning of *hašš^erēmōt* (< *š^edēmōt*) in the same verse, cf. Wright 1987:282-83 n.9 "gardens, fields" and his critique of Lehmann 1953:361-71 who suggested "field (of the god) Mot".

⁴⁵¹Lewis 1989:141.

⁴⁵²Zimmerli 1983:417.

In response to the second objection, it has been pointed out that both Jeremiah and Ezekiel attest to the limited success of Josiah's reform as it did not permanently eliminate all of the "apostate" practices. For example, the cult of child sacrifice at the Tophet soon reappeared (if it disappeared at all) after the reform.⁴⁵³ Thus, we would expect the *bāmāh* of Ezek. 43:7 to make its reappearance in Israelite religion as a "re-instituted" abomination -whatever its cultic associations.

In response to the first objection, it has been proposed that by the time of the exile the *bāmāh* had come to designate a small elevation for cultic use.⁴⁵⁴ Such an installation could be located in the temple complex.

Therefore, the *bāmāh* is not in an odd location as it might refer either to a small cultic place -the significance of which is unknown given the paucity of information- or, on the other hand, assuming that *bāmāh* designated a sizeable "high place" and that *peger* is connected with child sacrifice in Jer. 31:40, *bāmāh* in our text might designate that cultic area of the Hinnom valley where child sacrifice took place.

Having rejected Heider's equation of the *malḵê*- element in *malḵêhem* and the *malikū*, we would suggest that the phrase *pigrê malḵêhem* would comprise an example of the subjective genitive "corpses which the (living) kings [demanded as offerings . . .]". As such the phrase emphasizes the kings' culpability. As we noted previously, the term *bāmāh* is intimately connected with this

⁴⁵³ Cf. Heider 1985:336-83.

⁴⁵⁴ Schunck 1977:141.

abomination in Jer. 7:31, 19:5, 32:35. Lastly, if the footstool and throne of Yahweh mentioned in 43:7 were understood to encompass not simply the confines of the ark or temple but all of the Jerusalem environs (on which, cf. 48:35), then the *bāmāh* of 43:7 need not be located in the temple complex.⁴⁵⁵

Assuming that the *bāmôt* reading is correct, if it could be established that the *bāmôt* designated locations where rites necessarily took place on a regular basis and that such rites observed at the *bāmôt* in Ezek. 43:7,9 were directed toward the dead kings (i.e., that they were not rites which the living kings supervised), then this passage would point to the relatively late arrival of death and/or ancestor cult practices in the Judahite royal cult.

Again, Assyria or Babylonia would serve as the most likely sources for the introduction of such a cult for the period in question, for the royal *kispum* ritual is well documented for first millennium Mesopotamia and no comparable practice is documented for contemporary Syria-Palestine.⁴⁵⁶

In conclusion, we are on safe ground in recognizing *peger* in Ezek. 43:7,9 as the corpse of a king which had been placed near the temple complex in total disregard for the Priestly tradition regarding the defiling power of human corpses.⁴⁵⁷

⁴⁵⁵Following Zimmerli 1983:415-16.

⁴⁵⁶For Mesopotamia, cf. Tsukimoto 1985:107-24.

⁴⁵⁷Owing to the concern with what they viewed as the late priestly tradition regarding the defilement of corpses, Wright 1987:115-28. Eichrodt 1970:551-55 and Wevers 1982:215-16 viewed Ezek. 43:7-9 as heavily redactional in nature. Ezek. 43:7,9 are probably related to Lev. 26:30 by way of the addition in Ezek. 6:5.

Although, the actual location of the tombs of the kings of Judah remains shrouded in mystery as the archeological data are inconclusive⁴⁵⁸, if the prior assumption that the palace was in close proximity to the temple be granted, then 2 Kgs. 21:18 and 21:26 might preserve traditions locating the tombs of Manasseh and Amon near the temple.

Are the selection of burial sites for the Judahite kings to be explained as motivated by the belief that the dead kings were worthy of veneration or worship, care or commemoration? Given the paucity of available evidence, the likelihood of ascertaining the specific beliefs serving as the impetus for these burial customs is minimal. The *modus operandi* will no doubt continue to exercise investigators.

Nevertheless, the following alternative explanation might find future confirmation. Both the general silence in regard to royal burials as well as the sparsely attested custom of burying kings in locations with only limited access like royal gardens was perhaps driven by the need to shroud the location of royal tombs in relative secrecy so that conquering foreign kings might not defile the their tombs by carrying away the bones.⁴⁵⁹ As we suggested previously, this might also explain the burial of kings in swamps.⁴⁶⁰ The Assyrian king Ashurbanipal was known to have

⁴⁵⁸ Cf. Rahmani 1981:231-33 and Wright 1987:115-28 for recent summaries.

⁴⁵⁹ The latter view might explain the paucity of references in the cuneiform sources to the death and burial place of kings. An exception to this is the known burial Assyrian kings at Aššur, for which cf. Moorey 1984:14.

⁴⁶⁰ On which cf. Beaulieu 1988:36-37.

carried away the bones of Elamite kings whose descendants he described as "the disturbers of the kings my ancestors".⁴⁶¹

4.6.3. ISAIAH 57:6

In the exilic passage Isa. 57:5, most commentators see a reference to child sacrifice. Traditionally, 57:6 has been similarly regarded as referring to illicit religious practices:

Among the smooth [stones] of the wady (*b^e ḥall^e qê-naḥal*)
is your portion (*ḥelqēk*);
they, they, are your lot;
to them you have poured out a libation (*nések*),
you have brought an offering (*minḥāh*).
Should I relent in the face of this?⁴⁶²

Nevertheless, Irwin offered a new rendition of v.6 based in large part on the findings from Ugarit. For Irwin, v.6 introduced a new foreign element, the cult of the dead, whereas v.5 disparaged the practice of child sacrifice. According to the author, Ugaritic *ḥlq* III is occasionally paralleled by *mt* "death" and so the phrase *b^e ḥall^e qê-naḥal* in v.6, traditionally rendered

⁴⁶¹Cf. Tsukimoto 1985:114-15, but note CAD 11² (1981):349. Did the so-called disturbers simply attempt to defile the tombs and thereby leave the ghosts uncared for or did they, by means of incantations, attempt to drive away those ghosts of dead kings from the usurped dynasty who began haunting them owing to their desecration and neglect? Perhaps the disturbers employed necromantic incantations in order to gain information from these ghosts concerning the enemy and cf. the use of *r-g-z* "to disturb" in 1 Sam. 28:15.

⁴⁶²Commentators generally view the first occurrence of the root *ḥlq* as derived from "be smooth" *ḥlq* I and the second "divide", from *ḥlq* II, cf. e.g., Westermann 1969:322 and see the treatments by Schunck 1980:444-47 and Tsevat 1980:447-51. Westermann did entertain the notion that v.6 may refer to the place where the sacrificed children of v.5 were ritually buried "under the stones in the brook of the valley".

"among the smooth [stones] of the wady"⁴⁶³, he translated "with the dead of the wady" and concluded that the following libations (*nések*) and offerings (*minhāh*) were intended for the dead. This conforms with the fact that the Kidron was a place of burial as recorded in 2 Kgs. 23:6 and Jer. 31:40 and that the Hinnom valley was the place of child sacrifice.⁴⁶⁴

Building on the proposal of Irwin, Lewis understood the Hebrew *'elīm* of v.5 as "gods", rather than the "oaks" or "terebinths" of most translations. Besides, the latter is normally rendered *'ēlīm* as in Isa 1:29.⁴⁶⁵ Lewis found support in the versions. For example, the LXX interpreted v.6 as follows: "That is your portion, this is your lot" referring to the "gods" *'ēlīm* of v.5 which the Greek author rendered as "idols" *eidolon*.⁴⁶⁶ Applying his conclusion that the dead ancestors in Israel could be referred to by the word for god *'ēl/ 'ēlōhīm*, he suggested "dead spirits" for *'ēlīm* and posited a death cult background for not only these verses but for the entirety of 56:9-57:13.⁴⁶⁷

⁴⁶³The Hebrew is lacking a term for "stones" here (*'ābānīm*). This is added in the English translations. Others rendered *ḥallēqē-naḥal* as "smooth serpents" rather than "the smooth stones" as such serpents were supposedly venerated in cults.

⁴⁶⁴Irwin 1967:31-40 and cf. Akk. *ḫalāqu* in CAD 6(19):37b and cf. the earlier proposal of Dahood 1964:408.

⁴⁶⁵With Weise 1960:25-32, Watts 1987:252,254 and the versions.

⁴⁶⁶Similarly, the NIV adds "The idols among the smooth stones of the ravines are you portion".

⁴⁶⁷Lewis 1989:143-58 = 1987:267-84 and cf. Ribar 1973:74-75.

We argued against the notion that the dead in Israel were considered gods in our treatment of 1 Sam. 28:3-25 (cf. 4.5.1). Moreover, the translation of 'ēlīm of v.5 as "gods" can be challenged on the basis of the parallelism evident in v.5:⁴⁶⁸

"You who inflame yourselves among (b^e -) the 'ēlīm, under (taḥat) every verdant tree;
Who slaughter children in (b^e -) in the wadis, under⁴⁶⁹ (taḥat) the clefts of the rocks."

In v.5b, the objects of the prepositions b^e - and taḥat consist of two terms "valleys" n^e ḥālīm and "clefts of the rocks" s^e c ipê hass^e lā^c īm that share the same referent, i.e., that place where the illicit practices took place. Likewise, we would expect the term 'ēlīm to designate the same notion as "verdant trees" cēš ra^c anān, namely the location where the rites were observed.

Returning to Irwin's arguments, the assumption that v.6 introduces a new element is contradicted by the fact that most commentators see a connection between vv.5 and 6. The JPS translation retained the translation of 'ēlīm as terebinths and understood v.5 as connected with what followed as v.6 points back to the idolatrous practices mentioned there, "With such are your share and portion".⁴⁷⁰

While a rarely attested root ḥlq III might exist in Ugaritic as suggested by its parallel mt -and this is by no means

⁴⁶⁸ Cf. Greenfield 1961:226-28.

⁴⁶⁹ For this translation of taḥat in v.5b, cf. Day 1989:16 n.2.

⁴⁷⁰ The note to the verse states "the cult-trees referred to above in v.5". Along the same lines, Watts 1987:255 noted that the change of person from v.5 (2mpl) to v.6 (2fs) merely reflects the change of perspective from Israelite "evil doers" in general to the apostates of Jerusalem.

certain-, no such parallel is evident in Isa. 57:6.⁴⁷¹

Furthermore, while the practices mentioned in v.6 are referred to only vaguely, the larger context strongly suggests that child sacrifice is in view for all of vv.5-10. Day has rendered MT *melek* in v.9 as "Molech" not "(living) king". This finds support in the immediate context from the mention of Sheol in vv.9-10 and the use of oil and ointments (v.9) which are closely associated with Molech in Ezek. 16:18-21.⁴⁷²

4.6.4. ISAIAH 65:4

Most commentators understand Isa. 65:4 to refer to a rite resembling what came to be known as an incubation rite in later antiquity. In an incubation rite, a person sleeps in a sacred place in order to obtain a revelation through a dream. This form of dream divination is widely attested in the ancient Near East.⁴⁷³ The LXX interpreted Isa. 65:4 as such with the addition *dia enupnia* "for the sake of oracles received in dreams".⁴⁷⁴

⁴⁷¹ Irwin himself was doubtful about the legitimacy of his proposal owing to the admittedly scant evidence for an Israelite cult of the dead!

⁴⁷² Day 1989:16,50-52 and cf. Heider 1985:379-82.

⁴⁷³ Cf. Obermann 1946; Gaster 1950:270-71; Oppenheim 1956:187-91,245-52; Otten 1980:105; Parker 1989:100-01; and Moore 1990:50-51,78-86, 99 n.11.9. Incubation was well known in the Greco-Roman world as exemplified in the cult of Asklepios. Be that as it may, the attempt of Oppenheim 1956:223 to connect the Mesopotamian *ša'ilu* and *ša'iltu*, necromancy, and incubation has at present no direct support, cf. Finkel 1983-84:1 n.1.

⁴⁷⁴ Other passages that have been cited as examples of incubation include Gen. 28:12-17; 1 Sam. 3:1-18, 28:15; 1 Kgs. 3:4-15, 9:2; 2 Kgs. 16:15, 19:1; 2 Chr. 1:7-12; and Pss. 3:6,4:9, 17:15. Ehrlich 1953:13-57 argued that 1 Kgs. 3 is the only genuine instance of incubation in the Hebrew Bible, but cf.

In spite of the fact that the *'ḏbôt* and *yiddē^c ōnīm* are nowhere to be found in this passage, the reference to those "who sit/dwell in graves" *hayyōšē bīm q^e bārīm* in 65:4a strongly suggests that this incubation rite is one which has been combined with the art of necromancy in order that one might seek the dead for knowledge of the future.⁴⁷⁵ The underlying belief is that the abode of the dead and the grave are indistinguishable.⁴⁷⁶ This form of incubation is clearly the exception to the recorded instances from the ancient Near East.⁴⁷⁷

Although neither sleeping nor dreaming are mentioned *per se*, the parallel reference in v.4b "lodge in secret places" *ūbannē šūrīm yālīnū* signifies an all night vigil at a burial site.⁴⁷⁸ It should be mentioned however, that this does not

Porter 1981:202 and n.28.

⁴⁷⁵ And cf. Tropper 1989:18,320-26.

⁴⁷⁶ Cf. Pedersen 1926:460-66.

⁴⁷⁷ Lewis 1989:158-60 viewed 45:18-19 as an example of necromancy, but the phrase *'ereš ḥōšek* "land of darkness" in 45:19 is not a specialized reference to the netherworld as the perspective is more general and parallel with the first line, cf. e.g., Muilenburg 1956:532 and Westermann 1969:172-73. Furthermore, the LXX interpreted *tôhū* in vv.18-19, not as a reference to the underworld but as a reference to vanity (v.18 "in vain" *eis kenon*; v.19 "seek vanity" *zētēsate*), cf. e.g., Watts 1987:159-60, 162.

⁴⁷⁸ On Hebrew *n-ṣ-r* and Akkadian *niširtu* "hidden thing" < *našāru* "to guard, preserve", cf. Berger 1980:82-83 and note CAD 11² (1981):276 against Healey 1976:433-34 who proposed a Syriac cognate "to wail", "they sit in graves and spend the night in wailing/among the wailers", but this term is not attested in the Hebrew Bible. In the light of the Mesopotamian practice of hiding royal graves (cf. 4.4.3. n.263), the mention in v.3 of gardens (cf. 4.5.2. and n.417 and note Pope 1977B:224-26) and incense (cf. 4.4.3. and n.257), we might have an instance of necromancy taking place at what was believed to be a royal tomb.

establish the constituent nocturnal associations of the ancient Near Eastern version of necromancy. We saw in the necromancy texts from Mesopotamia that the expected time of revelation was morning. Furthermore, in view of the fact that dreams played a central role in the rite of incubation, the nocturnal aspect of the necromantic rite in Isa. 65:4 probably derives from its association with incubation.⁴⁷⁹

Can anything else be reconstructed from the context regarding the nature of the rite involved? The reference in v.4b to the eating of swine flesh and the broth of a "desecrated sacrifice"⁴⁸⁰ has been viewed as a meal shared in the context of the cult of the dead, that is a *marzēah* type meal.⁴⁸¹

In response, we must first point out that apart from the proposed funerary nature of the Israelite *marzēah*, a position which we have shown to be inadequate, we have no evidence that Israelites partook of meals in honor of the dead. Second, v.4b more likely comprises an independent thought which is included here only because it shares the common element of cultic impurity.⁴⁸² The incubation rite is polluting owing to contact with the dead, and the eating of certain meat or the drinking of

⁴⁷⁹Cf. Oppenheim 1956:187-91 on the usual nocturnal dream. Day time dreams are attested but this appears to be the exception not the rule.

⁴⁸⁰Wright 1987:142 rendered *piggûl* in v.4 as "desecrated, profaned sacrifice".

⁴⁸¹Cf. Heider 1985:389. He noted that a reference to the drinking of the juices made from the flesh of child sacrifices has been proposed, but cf. his criticisms on pp. 190-92, 391.

⁴⁸²Cf. Westermann 1969:401 and Watts 1987:343.

juices made from such a meat was regarded as a "desecrated offering" *piggûl* (cf. Lev. 11:7, Deut. 14:8).⁴⁸³

4.7. THE ISRAELITE *REPHAIM*

Scholars have repeatedly identified the biblical Rephaim or *rēpā'îm* as the (semi-) divine dead ancestors and thereby exemplary of the belief in the supernatural benefic power of the dead.⁴⁸⁴ As a matter of fact, the biblical texts testify to two distinct traditions with regard to the Rephaim. In narrative texts of the Pentateuch and DtrH are found the Rephaim who are depicted as members of the autochthonic populations of Palestine.⁴⁸⁵ In prophetic, psalmic, and wisdom texts, those Rephaim portrayed as shades of the dead inhabiting the netherworld are mentioned.⁴⁸⁶

Because no explicit association of the "ethnic" Rephaim and the Rephaim who are shades is ever made in the biblical traditions, various theories *vis-à-vis* their relationship have

⁴⁸³Cf. Wenham 1979:124-25, 169-71 and contrast Wright 1987:140-43 on *piggûl*. De Vaux 1958:250-65, esp. 261-65 attempted to explain the prohibition against eating pork as owing to its chthonic associations in pagan religions, but. cf. the critique of Wenham 1979:165-71 following the work of Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, 1966.

⁴⁸⁴Cf. recently Tropper 1989:124-26, 142-45 and Smith 1990:26, 130 and for a general survey of opinion, see Brown 1985.

⁴⁸⁵Gen. 14:5, 15:20; Deut. 2:10-11, 20-21, 3:11, 13; Josh. 12:4, 13:12, 17:15 (in the singular and plural). On the valley of Rephaim or *ēmeq-rēpā'îm*, cf. Josh. 15:8, 18:16; 2 Sam. 5:18, 22, 23:13; Isa. 17:5; 1 Chr. 11:15, 14:9. For the *yēlîdê hārāpāh*, cf. 2 Sam. 21:15-22; 1 Chr. 20:4-8 and note 1 Sam. 17.

⁴⁸⁶Isa. 14:9, 26:14, 19; Ps. 88:11; Prov. 2:18, 9:18, 21:16; Job 26:5 (only in the plural).

developed. The history of interpretation has generally assumed some organic connection between the pre-historic "ethnic" Rephaim of the narratives and the Rephaim who are shades.⁴⁸⁷ The general consensus is that the traditions concerning the "ethnic" Rephaim informed those reflective of the netherworld Rephaim. Recent scholarship also views both aspects as having their respective analogues in the Ugaritic *rp'um*.

The theory of de Moor comprises the most compelling and thoroughgoing proposal to date. According to this author, the Rephaim were originally the ruling aristocracy (Ugaritic *rp'i 'arṣ*) who functioned as savior-healers of the country (Hebrew *rōpē 'îm*/ Ugaritic *rapi'ūma*) and worshipped Baal, *rp'u mlk ʿlm* "Savior, king of eternity", their patron deity. They then became deified royal ancestors performing the same function as savior-healers, but with the late emphasis on Yahweh as *rōpē* "healer" (in direct contrast to Baal) and the general ban on ancestor worship, the Rephaim in Israel were no longer venerated as heroes. Rather, in the polemical rhetoric of the biblical traditions the *rōpē 'îm* became weakened and relegated to the lower parts of the netherworld as the *rṣpā'îm* < *rāpāh* "to be weak".

De Moor's theory can explain the "ethnic" Rephaim of the Hebrew Bible as preserving a faint memory of the heroic savior-healers turned deified ancestors also reflected at Ugarit while the weakened netherworld Rephaim would reflect the later polemic.

⁴⁸⁷ Neither the "descendants of the Raphah" *yē lîdê hārāpāh* (2 Sam. 21:15-22; 1 Chr. 20:4-8) nor the "remnant of the Rephaim" *miyyeter hārṣpā'îm* (Deut. 3:11; Josh. 12:4, 13:12) help to clarify our understanding of the related philological issues.

It also explains the MT vocalization *rē pā'îm* and the LXX rendering *iatroi* "healers" in Ps. 88:11 and Isa. 26:14.⁴⁸⁸

His reconstruction also draws upon elements found in the Greek hero traditions. He cites what he perceives to be an analogous development in the Greek traditions in which "living" heroes or *herōs* died and became *herōs theos* with full divine status and who were worshipped in the cult. These heroized ancestors were often depicted as giants and called *iatroi* "healers".⁴⁸⁹

Assuming for the sake of argument that the *opinio communis* is correct in concluding that some type of organic relationship originally obtained between the biblical "ethnic" Rephaim and the Rephaim who are shades, we would view that relationship quite differently. First, nowhere in the Ugaritic or, for that matter, the biblical texts are the *rp'um/rē pā'îm* explicitly portrayed as savior-healers.⁴⁹⁰ Furthermore, as we noted earlier the location in the Ugaritic netherworld of a subgroup within the *rp'um*, the *rp'im qdmym*, is attested on only one occasion in *KTU* 1.161, and is exceptional in nature. In any case, in *KTU* 1.161 they are not attributed supernatural powers with which to benefit the living.

⁴⁸⁸ "We know for certain that even in the days of the translators of the Septuaginta the original vocalization of the word *rp'ym* was still not forgotten", de Moor 1976:340-41, i.e. *iatroi* = living aristocratic healer-saviors or *rōpē 'îm/rapi'ūma*.

⁴⁸⁹ De Moor 1976:323-45 and cf. the more recent version articulated by his student Spronk 1986:161-96, 227-29.

⁴⁹⁰ Furthermore, as we pointed out previously, examples of the verbal form of the root *rp'* with the meaning "to heal" are not to be found at Ugarit.

They are summoned to the netherworld entrance to transport the throne of the recently deceased king to its proper place there.

Moreover, our investigation has demonstrated that the Ugaritic *rp'um* were not royal deified ancestors. Rather, they reflected early mythic traditions about heroic warriors for whom we have no evidence of cultic practices let alone worship or veneration. The Ugaritic texts also point to the subsequent adoption of the *rp'um* name by bands of local mercenaries.

Furthermore, not only is the equation of Baal with *rp'u mlk c'lm* doubtful, but the references to the Ugaritic deity *Rp'u* never make any overt mention of his function as healer. Lastly, de Moor's citation of the Greek hero traditions is somewhat misleading. It was clearly the exception not the rule that a hero became *herōs theos* after death. The same can be said of those given the epithet *iatroi*. Moreover, not all those who obtained this healer status were attributed gigantic size and *vice versa*. In other words, the Greek traditions develop in a more complex fashion.

What we can say is that in the biblical passages where the Rephaim are depicted as shades, like their Ugaritic counterparts, the *rp'im qdmym*, they are powerless. Moreover, nowhere in the non-narrative contexts are living human beings identified as Rephaim before their death. The term in these traditions only functioned to designate humanity's *post mortem* weakened existence. In Isa. 14:9, our earliest biblical record of the Rephaim as shades, it is stated that the fallen tyrant (*melek bābel*, cf. v.4) simply becomes weakened like the Rephaim. That

the netherworld Rephaim once possessed supernatural beneficent powers is nowhere stated, assumed, or implied.

Assuming that the Ugaritic and biblical traditions are to be associated, what once comprised only a specific element within the *rp'um*, the netherworld Rephaim, the *rp'im qdmym*, was expanded in the non-narrative traditions of the Hebrew Bible in two directions. These biblical traditions employed the more general term Rephaim to designate shades. Whether this is to be explained as conscious compression or unwitting confusion of the earlier mythic, living, and deceased Rephaim elements found at Ugarit is anyone's guess. These traditions also incorporated the ordinary dead within the membership of the Rephaim.⁴⁹¹

In any case, we cannot accept de Moor's notion that the LXX preserves the 'original vocalization' of consonantal *rp'ym* some five hundred years after Isaiah had forgotten the underlying concept. Rather, we understand the two instances in which the LXX renders the Rephaim as *iatroi* "healers" (Ps. 88:11 and Isa. 26:14) to be reflective of a polemic on the part of these later translators against "physicians", for some streams of tradition in ancient Judaism considered this profession one of seven that had no part in the eternal life and was destined for hell.⁴⁹² In

⁴⁹¹ Had *rēpā'im* functioned as a technical term for dead kings and nobles in this passage as so often assumed, the phrase *kōl-attûdē 'āres* in v.9 would have been unnecessary. Garland 1985:10 notes that with the passage of time the ordinary dead of no consequence received the epithet *herōs* among certain Greek populations.

⁴⁹² Cf. Abot de Rabbi Nathan 36:5 "the best physician (*rōpē'im*) was one of the seven who had no part in the world to come", and Qid. 4:14 (R. Yehudah = Qid.82b) "the best physician (*rōpē'im*) is destined for hell", and see Brown 1985:14-15, 134-35 for additional references.

sum, we have evidence neither for the (semi-)divine benefic status of the Israelite Rephaim nor for a Syro-Palestinian cult in honor of their beneficence.

Turning to the "ethnic" Rephaim, Talmon has recently outlined what he understands to be the progressive stages of the tradition history behind this term. Originally they represented a stratum of the pre-Israelite population of Canaan (Gen. 14:5, 15:20; Deut. 3:11; Josh. 13:12). Their abnormal height is an "epic aggrandizement of basic actual facts" (Deut. 2:11, 3:11) and the same applies to their association with the mythical Nephilim (Num. 13:33 and cf. Gen. 6:1-4). The connection of the *y' lîdê hārāpāh* with the Philistines of David's day may be secondary in nature resulting from the Philistine conquest of these autochthones.⁴⁹³ He summarizes by stating that "the majority of these mentions of *rāpā/h* - *repā'îm* contain no unequivocal mythical allusions".⁴⁹⁴

Aside from Talmon's vague and questionable demarcation between historical and "mythopoeic" elements in these traditions, the tradition history can be viewed quite differently. The references to the mythological superhuman size of the Rephaim might very well be the earliest stage of the tradition. In other words, a process of historization of myth is reflected in the narrative traditions.

⁴⁹³ Talmon 1983:237-40. In any case, the term *rēpā'îm* does not serve as a gentilic name and shows up frequently alongside similar names probably denoting the character of the people although in many instances the significance is irrecoverable (e.g., Anakim, Emim, Zamzumim, Zumim, Nephilim, and Perizzim).

⁴⁹⁴ Talmon 1983:240.

In the biblical traditions about primeval peoples, two types of sources appear to be used. The first employs archaic names such as Hittites and Amorites and dates sometime after the eighth century (probably from the exile).⁴⁹⁵ The other construes the inhabitants as giants such as the Anakim or Rephaim which are associated elsewhere with the Nephilim (Num. 13:33) and thought to be giants. We find this portrayal of the "ethnic" Rephaim in the (post-?)dtr redaction of Deuteronomy (2:11, 3:11) and in the DtrH (2 Sam. 21:15-22; 1 Chr. 20:4-8) where they or, more properly, the *yē lîdê hārāpāh*, are also connected with the Philistines. As at Ugarit, a mercenary association probably stands behind the Rephaim who are depicted initially as giant warriors among the Philistines in 2 Sam. 21:15-22.⁴⁹⁶ The ideological significance of the association of the pre-Israelite inhabitants with giants is made clear in the account of David's encounter with Goliath in 1 Sam. 17 who stands as the epitome of the defiance of Yahweh.⁴⁹⁷

If we assume for the sake of argument the priority of the Deuteronomistic History, then this process is developed further in the subsequent Yahwistic History. Whereas in Deut. 2:11, 3:11, the Rephaim were depicted as only generally situated in the local

⁴⁹⁵ So Van Seters 1972:64-81.

⁴⁹⁶ In an effort to strengthen the polemic they were eventually identified as Philistines as in 1 Sam 17:8. On the late compositional history of this story and David's Rise, 1 Sam. 16:14-2 Sam. 5:25, cf. Van Seters 1983:264-71. Talmon 1983:239-40 likewise noted that the descendants of Raphah are not identified as Philistines but are depicted as having fought in the Philistine army as mercenaries (2 Sam. 21:15-22; 1 Chr. 20:4-8).

⁴⁹⁷ Cf. Van Seters 1972:75 and 1975:117.

geography, the Rephaim are assigned smaller yet more specific regions of habitation by the Yahwist and the Priestly Writer (cf. Gen.15:20 (Yahwist) followed by 14:5 and the P(?) texts Josh. 12:4.13:12, 17:15). At the same time, their mythic characterization as giants all but disappears (or, less likely, is assumed) in the latter stages of the tradition.

The "ethnic" Rephaim traditions possibly reflect an association with the mythic Ugaritic "Mighty Ones" (< *r-b-'* = *r-p-'* II). Nevertheless, their 'greatness' has been transformed from one singularly focused on heroic military prowess to one which takes on superhuman physical dimensions and pseudo-ethnic identity. This development might reflect the kind of antiquarian concern to bring order to the numerous independent traditions about heroes and giants as found in the Greek traditions.⁴⁹⁸

The *rēpā'îm* of the Hebrew Bible are neither identified as supernatural beneficent ghosts of the dead nor is such a status of the Rephaim unequivocally polemicized against anywhere in the biblical traditions. As we underscored earlier, if the *rēpā'îm* who are shades are to be connected with the Ugaritic *rpi'm qdmym* "the Mighty Ones from Old", this in no way presupposes their superhuman benefic power as ghosts.

Like their Ugaritic predecessors, they are depicted at best as ghosts of inconsequential power and in need of care. Within

⁴⁹⁸Cf. Van Seters 1988:1-22. If any polemic against the Rephaim traditions were intended it would be found perhaps in the purposeful omission in Isa. 14 of the royal aspiration to be memorialized at death as one having attained the stature of the *rp'um* warrior heroes, but this would presuppose an acquaintance with those analogous Ugaritic traditions for which, in the case of the non-narrative biblical texts, we have no indication.

the Rephaim as shades tradition, all traces of their former heroic stature had been lost although they retained elements of their earlier name. That the significance of the name was not fully comprehended in these traditions is evidenced in their representation as the ordinary dead. A similar process can be detected perhaps in the attachment of the epithet *herōs* to the ordinary dead of no consequence by some Greek populations.⁴⁹⁹

On the other hand, the commemoration of the exemplary lives of the mythic Ugaritic *rp'um* has its faint reflex in the biblical traditions concerning the "ethnic" Rephaim. In fact, a polemic might be intended here, for, according to the traditions, those lands originally owned by the Rephaim were eventually conquered and settled by the Israelites.

In concluding, we state the obvious: a lack of awareness one of the other best explains the absence of any explicit connection between the two Rephaim traditions in the Hebrew Bible. These two aspects of the ancient *rp'um* tradition had obtained independent status by the time the biblical Rephaim traditions were formulated. This no doubt contributed to the distinct developments evident in the growth of these traditions.

⁴⁹⁹Garland 1985:10.

CONCLUSION

In the light of the terminological boundaries which we established in chapter one, our examination of the third to first millennia Syro-Palestinian inscriptional data has led us to the conclusion that the widely accepted notion that ancestor cults and necromancy comprised West Semitic indigenous practices spanning some two millennia and that they were embraced in both the domestic and royal societal domains is unfounded.

Furthermore, not only did we reject the notion that the ordinary and the royal dead in Syria-Palestine were deified, but we also found that the sources from the region nowhere document the veneration or worship of the dead.¹ In other words, it has yet to be demonstrated that, for the period prior to the mid first millennium, the belief in the dead's supernatural beneficent power was indigenous to Syria-Palestine.

That Mari might be cited as an exception to this otherwise unavoidable conclusion is obviated by several factors. Leaving aside the fact that the Mari texts never make explicit the underlying beliefs, this cult possibly reflects temporary influence from the Mesopotamian heartland as it shares numerous elements with that at Pre-Sargonic Lagash wherein veneration or worship of the royal ancestors was of no concern. That the Mari cult likewise functioned to simply care for or to commemorate the

¹Moreover, it cannot be assumed that the *exceptional* posthumous deification of kings associated with the likes of Sargon and Naram-Sin during the mid second millennium in the Mesopotamian heartland led to the "democratized deification" of the ordinary dead throughout Mesopotamia, let alone Syria-Palestine, in subsequent periods.

dead finds support in the collective grouping of the *Šarrānu* which, on the analogy of Asian ancestor cults, suggests their impersonal remoteness and powerlessness. In any case, it has yet to demonstrated that the anonymous *Šarrānu* were *former* kings of *Mari* who were *genealogically related* to the current dynasty.

In any case, the assumption that should funerary rites be attested in Syria-Palestine, then the ancestor cult or, more specifically, their veneration or worship necessarily follows is unwarranted. While various funerary rites -particularly those observed during mourning- are occasionally attested in the evidence, it would be going too far to infer from this that regular cultic rites indicative of the dead's supernatural benevolence necessarily ensued. As the comparative ethnographic data suggest, not all peoples who solemnized the burying of their dead subsequently devoted significant rituals to remain on good terms with them.

Likewise, the argument that had West Semites achieved geographical proximity to and cultural contact with other second millennium peoples who observed death and/or ancestor cult rites (e.g. the Hittites), then they would have observed like ceremony and belief does not hold. In the native American context, the Navajo culture never adopted the death and/or ancestor cults of the Pueblo. Considering the many loans that the Navajo made from Pueblo culture in the area of ceremonialism, this contrast is particularly striking. It was apparently the Navajo's morbid fear of the dead which impeded their acceptance of such cults.²

² So Hultkrantz 1978:101.

As an initial step toward the consideration of an alternative model for the origin and nature of the Israelite belief in the beneficent dead, we examined the relevant biblical texts in order to ascertain both their compositional history and interpretation. In striking contrast to the general impression so often conveyed in the history of scholarship, we found that the biblical writers evinced a curious lack of concern for and/or interest in Israel's observance of death and ancestor cults.³ The situation is markedly different in the case of necromancy.

³ Scattered Psalms have been cited in support of this theory. Smith and Bloch-Smith 1988:283 saw the feeding of the dead in Ps. 22:30. But that "all the anointed of the earth" *kōl-dišnē-'ereš* are the dead is questionable. The Ugaritic phrase cited in support *mrqdm dšn* "the anointed dancers" in KTU 108:5 does not refer to the dead (or to the *rp'i 'arš*, cf. l.v.24), but with Pardee 1988:98-9, to "ivory castanets". Against Spronk 1986:282 n.2, the MT *'āk lō* "they eat", and cf. LXX *ephagon*, need not be emended to *'ak lō* "surely". Anderson 1972(I):194 viewed 22:30 as the living's experience of such great distress that it was as if they were dead.

Zolli 1950:149-50 viewed the *q̄ dōšīm* "holy ones" in Ps. 16:3 as the mighty dead located "in the earth (= netherworld)" *'āšer-bā'āreš*. This requires emending *'addîrê* "majestic" in v.3 to *'ārūrîm* "cursed", so as to cast a negative light and cf. Spronk 1986:334-37; Smith and Bloch-Smith 1988:283; and Lewis 1989:166. But the "holy ones" refer mostly to the living (cf. Ps. 34:10 (ET 9) and 2 Chr. 35:3) and never the dead and *bā'āreš* is commonly attested as inhabitable earth and so the need for emendation can be eliminated. In other words, Yahweh delights in pious Israelites, cf. Kraus 1988:234,36-37.

Some understand Ps. 106:28 "the sacrifices to/for the dead" *zibhê mētîm*, which is dependent upon Num. 25:2 "the sacrifices to their gods" *zibhê 'ēlōhēhen* (cf. Fishbane 1984:425-26), to refer to a cult of the dead on the basis of the supposed equation of the gods and the dead, so Spronk 1986:231-33 and Lewis 1989:92-93,167. Against the supposed rabbinic connections of Baal Peor and the *marzēah*, so Pope 1977B:217-18, cf. Bryan 1973:88-89 and on the late association of Baal Peor, the *marzēah* and the *mayumas* in the Madeba map, see Good 1986:100-14 and in general Donceel-Voûte 1988:519-42. Against the equation of the dead and the gods, cf. 4.5.1. Ps. 106:28 more likely preserves a polemical depiction of foreign gods as "lifeless" or dead as in Pss. 82:6-7, 115:4-7, 135:15-17; Isa. 44:9-20; Jer. 10:11; Wisdom 13:10, 15:15-17 and cf. Jacquet 1979:139,147-48 and Kraus 1988:320-21.

Necromancy is documented in the Hebrew Bible and so testifies to the Israelite belief in the supernatural beneficent power of the dead. Nevertheless, we found this datum to be late and of foreign provenance.⁴ While its non-mention prior to the mid eighth century has been understood to mean that it was initially considered legitimate in earlier Yahwistic circles only to be condemned subsequently in dtr traditions as a threat to prophecy, our findings have shown that it was proscribed much later as part of the dtr polemic against Israel's adoption of the Mesopotamian belief in the benefic dead. This reconstruction finds additional support in the biblical traditions' treatment of selected mourning rites.

What constituted once legitimate mourning practices, self-laceration and tonsure, like necromancy, came to be outlawed in exilic biblical traditions. As the backdrop for this reversal, the contexts pointed to the polemical reaction against similar Mesopotamian practices of the mid first millennium. Like their eastern analogues, these practices either threatened dtr and related forms of later Yahwism or the potential confusion of these otherwise legitimate customs and Mesopotamian practices elicited their late proscription.

But how can we account for the late adoption of necromancy, the earlier observance of self-laceration and tonsure and the subsequent proscription of these practices? As noted earlier, the

⁴Van der Toorn 1990:203-22 has recently reiterated the speculation that the Teraphim were images of ancestors used in divination. Many of his supporting arguments have been examined in various sections of our treatise and rejected. What the Teraphim represented is anyone's guess.

Navajo's morbid fear of the dead resulted in the rejection of the Pueblos' ancestor cult. If a similar fear of the dead existed in Israel and there is only inferential evidence for this-, this would explain the reticence to adopt the belief in the beneficent dead as expressed in ancestor cults and necromancy.⁵ At the same time, the fear of the dead can also account for the early observance of self-laceration and tonsure, that is if these rites were expressive of the living's attempt to hide from or drive away malevolent ghosts.⁶

The dtr portrayal of Israel's embrace of the belief in the beneficent dead via necromancy can be best accounted for as an appropriation of Mesopotamian necromancy, whether one has in mind a religious reality in pre-exilic Judah of Manasseh's time or a literary topos employed by the dtr and related traditions of the exilic to post-exilic period (or both). Assuming for the sake of argument the first scenario, acquaintance with manifestations of benevolent ghosts could serve to temper the exclusiveness of

⁵Cf. Spronk 1986:34-35, 244-45 for a survey of the proposed motivations behind these mourning customs, of which fear was one, and pp.251-52 for the fear of the dead in Israel more generally. His statement that "the positive side in the belief in powerful and wise spirits is better attested in the Old Testament" (p.252) is contradicted by our findings. We found it to be late, foreign, and only occasionally attested in the form of necromancy.

⁶The sparse testimony regarding the malevolence of ghosts in Syria-Palestine precludes any certainty in this regard, but Judahite burial contents such as jewelry and figurines were perhaps used to ward off evil ghosts, for which cf. Bloch-Smith 1990:62-67, 74-81. For biblical traces of exorcistic praxis and the mention of malevolent demons some of whom might conceal what were once believed to be evil ghosts, cf. Jirku 1912; Tromp 1969:160-67; and Moore 1990:60-64. For malevolent demons in Canaan, cf. now de Moor 1981-82:106-19 and de Moor and Spronk 1984:237-49. Their view that certain evil demons were ghosts is conjectural. Against their reading of *RIH* 78/20:15 as 'ap ʔl, an evil ghost, cf. 3.1.9.2. and the alternate reading npʔl.

Israel's fear of the dead and to transform the nation's configuration of the spirit world so as to allow for the co-existence of malevolent and benevolent ghosts as in the cosmologies of Mesopotamia.⁷ A late Mesopotamian origin for Israelite necromancy also aligns with what we know concerning the history of this divinatory art in the ancient Near East as it remains unattested in Hittite, Egyptian, and Syro-Palestinian texts. In fact, only rarely is it found in Mesopotamian texts prior to Neo-Assyrian times, while in Mesopotamian (and Greek) texts of the mid first millennium onwards, it is well documented.

The dtr traditions themselves exhibit a familiarity with the late Mesopotamian version of necromancy (cf. 4.5.1. where 1 Sam. 28 preserves its role in selecting a royal successor and the participation of the gods). Initially, it was inserted into traditions about the founding of the nation, attributed to the Canaanites, and condemned in the law of Israel's greatest prophet, Moses (Deut. 18:11). In the final form of the text, this redacted tradition functioned as a precedent against what was then construed in the DtrH as necromancy's "re-introduction" by the Judean king Manasseh several hundred years later (2 Kgs. 21:6, 23:24). These dtr traditions were in turn supplemented by the story of Saul's encounter with the Endorian necromancer (1 Sam. 28:3-25). This insertion justified the rejection of the first Israelite monarchy and thereby became the historical

⁷For Mesopotamia, cf. Bottéro 1983:153-203. The treatment of de Moor 1981-82:106-19 and de Moor and Spronk 1984:237-49 of benevolent demons in second millennium Canaan who were supposedly dead humans unfortunately rests on the equation of the *rp'um* and the *'ilm* with the dead at Ugarit.

precedent for the downfall of her second epitomized by Manasseh. Finally, rhetoric condemning necromancy was attributed to the prophet Isaiah (Isa. 8:19, 19:3, 29:4) with the result that the apostasy of late Judah was extended so as to include king Ahaz and to explicitly indict the entire nation.

On the other hand, what once constituted legitimate mourning practices in the traditions associated with the eighth century prophets were likewise proscribed by the later dtr tradition. Nevertheless, these practices continued their legitimacy in the traditions of the sixth century prophets (Jer. 7:29; 41:5). The tradition history suggests that at some point late in that century or thereafter, self-laceration and tonsure were prohibited (Deut. 14:1 and cf. Lev. 19:27-28, 21:5). This might be explained as a reaction to the threat which the fear of the dead posed for dtr Yahwism or, in the case that these mourning rites had by this time been re-interpreted as non-threatening expressions of sympathy for the dead, as a response to their potential confusion with similar Mesopotamian practices (or some scenario involving both?).⁸

Regarding ancestor cults, the view they did exist in early Israel but later biblical writers consciously suppressed them as they were incompatible with late Yahwistic religion is unlikely.⁹

⁸ Granting the early Israelite embrace of the fear of the dead, the characterization of the dead in the Hebrew Bible as weak and deserving of pity might be a late polemic against this belief, but not against the belief in their beneficence which was likewise late and foreign in origin.

⁹ Loretz 1978:149-204, following others, argued that traces of the cult of the dead had been eliminated by orthodox Yahwism after the exile. Prior to this such a cult was considered legitimate Yahwistic religion. See also Smith 1990:127-29.

If a mortuary practice reflective of the belief in the supernatural beneficent dead like necromancy was depicted as having thrived from the late pre-exilic period onwards then prohibited in the traditions rather than simply expunged, would we not expect the same to be the case with the ancestor cult such as ancestor veneration or worship as they express this same belief and comprised contemporary Mesopotamia practices? The non-mention of necromancy and ancestor cults in traditions about earlier times such as we find in Hosea, Amos, and the Isaianic oracles of Isaiah chs.1-35 supports their earlier *non-existence*.

Although necromancy and the mourning rites of tonsure and gashing as depicted in the biblical traditions were not the exclusive prerogative of the royal class, the first millennium Mesopotamian evidence depicts the ancestor cult as a royal cult, a practice primarily, if not exclusively, designed for political legitimation. So hypothetically, we would expect to find the ancestor cult among Israel's royalty, but we do not. The Mesopotamian version of the royal ancestor cult presupposes a institutional infrastructure sufficient to initiate and maintain it: ideologically expedient ritual sites such as palaces and/or temples, a professional priesthood, sufficient material wealth and livestock for regular offerings fitting for dead royalty, and finally an imperialistic monarchy established by dynastic succession. In the final analysis, we would not expect its attachment to a petty vassal kingdom like Judah.¹⁰

¹⁰ Unlike at Mari where the autonomous Amorite dynasty there competed regionally with that of the Mesopotamian heartland. This explains the introduction of the royal ancestor cult to further the political agenda of the current ruling dynasty.

As this practice was historically the prerogative of imperial monarchies, underwritten by their enormous palatial economies, managed by the professional priesthood, and incorporated into the festival calendars, it is doubtful that the requisite economic and institutional infrastructures were present to sustain a royal ancestor cult in the Canaanite-Israelite context of the mid first millennium.

While Assyrian political domination often resulted in its religious influence on subject nations, certain obstacles would have impeded the incorporation of localized versions of the royal ancestor cult whether by willful adoption or imperial imposition.¹¹ Had a subject people instituted a version of the royal ancestor cult incorporating local dynastic genealogies, this would have presented a challenge to the Assyrian claim to sovereignty. Besides, the financial underwriting of such a cult would have run counter to the subject nation's obligation to pay heavy tribute or taxes to her Assyrian overlord.

The kinds of potential social influences at play in Israelite developments *vis-à-vis* the world of malevolent and benevolent ghosts can be illustrated by the transformations which took place in the spirit world of the Greeks. Only in the case of the special dead such as the unburied and the murdered were the dead deemed objects worthy of fear otherwise the ordinary Greek dead were considered deserving of pity. In neither instance were the dead attributed supernatural beneficent powers. In fact, such

¹¹ Of course, an unadulterated version of the Assyrian royal ancestor cult might have been adopted, but then this would not stand as evidence for an Israelite adaptation of an Assyrian religious form.

a belief is first attested beginning perhaps as early as the eighth century but coming to prominence by the late sixth century with the rise of the Greek cults venerating the heroes.¹²

Although numerous factors contributed to the rise of the Greek hero cults, there is nevertheless a strong correlation between the rise of such cults and the evolution of the Greek polis. As a new expression of broad based group solidarity these cults superceded the ancestor cult which formerly functioned in this capacity for the powerful aristocratic kinship groups.¹³ Whereas the heroes were venerated and occasionally worshipped, the ancestors of earlier cults were merely cared for and commemorated and if proper respect for those dead ancestors was shortcoming, reprisals would come not from the dead but from the gods.¹⁴ In sum, the origin of the Greek belief in the dead's supernatural beneficent power is associated with concurrent ideological and social transformations.

This example of the role which sociological forces might play in the development of the belief in the benefic dead invites further speculation *vis-à-vis* Israelite religion. The fear of the dead, the late religious influence exerted by Mesopotamia, and the restrictive legitimating attachments and economic demands of the royal ancestor cult combine to explain why the belief in the

¹²Garland 1985:1-12, 88-93.

¹³Cf. Burkert 1985:203-08; Garland 1985:121-23; and the recent survey and critique of the archeological data by Antonaccio 1987:7-21, 358-75.

¹⁴So Garland 1985:8,118-20.

beneficent dead was embraced in Israel only of late and why necromancy became its preferred ritual expression.

Along with these factors, the gradual demise and eventual collapse of the existing Israelite social structures as experienced during the late pre-exilic to post-exilic period led to the exploitation of the divining arts as an alternative means of access to the world of the gods and as a new expression of broad based group solidarity. A similar search for new ways to access the gods obtained with the revival of the divining arts in the days of the late Assyrian kings when royal authority was weakening and with it the stability of the empire and the relevance of traditional religion.¹⁵

In conclusion, if the traditions in the DtrH preserve substantial and reliable historical reminiscence -admittedly, the verdict is still out on this-, than one might conclude that the pre-exilic Israelites or, more accurately, Judahites did embrace a belief in the supernatural beneficent power of the the dead. Nevertheless, unlike other religious beliefs that were native to early Israelite religion but polemized against in the dtr and related traditions and artificially attributed foreign origins, this belief was of Mesopotamian origin, late, and expressed in a peculiar form of divination. The most likely *terminus ad quo* for the appropriation of this belief and its corresponding magical rite of necromancy is the reign of the Judahite king Manasseh.

¹⁵ Cf. Pečírková 1985:155-68.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAAS	<i>Annales Archéologiques Arabes Syriennes</i>
AASOR	<i>Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
AB	<i>Anchor Bible</i>
ACF	<i>Annuaire du Collège de France</i>
AcOr	<i>Acta Orientalia (Havniae)</i>
AEPHER	<i>Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, V^e Section-Sciences Religieuses: Annuaire</i>
Afk	<i>Archiv für Keilschriftforschung</i>
Afo	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
AHW	<i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> (ed. Wolfram von Soden, Wiesbaden, 1965-81)
AION	<i>Annali dell'Istituto orientale di Napoli</i>
Akk.	<i>Akkadian</i>
ANET	<i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament</i> (ed. J. B. Pritchard, Princeton, 1969 ³)
AnSt	<i>Anatolian Studies</i>
AO	<i>Tablets in the collection of the Musée du Louvre</i>
AOAT	<i>Alter Orient und Altes Testament</i>
AOB	<i>Altorientalische Bibliothek</i>
AoF	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen</i>
ARET	<i>Archivi Reali di Ebla: Testi</i>
ARM(T)	<i>Archives royales de Mari (Textes)</i>
ArOr	<i>Archiv Orientalní</i>
AuOr	<i>Aula Orientalis</i>
BA	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
BAR	<i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
B.C.E.	<i>Before the Common Era</i>
BDB	<i>F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> (Oxford, 1907)
BHS	<i>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i> (Hrsg. von K. Elliger und W. Rudolph, Stuttgart, 1983)
BM	<i>Tablets in the collections of the British Museum</i>
BN	<i>Biblische Notizen</i>
BO	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i>
BR	<i>Biblical Research</i>
BSMS	<i>Bulletin of Syro-Mesopotamian Studies</i>
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
BZ	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
CAD	<i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> (et.al. I. J. Gelb, Chicago, 1956-)
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
C.E.	<i>The Common Era</i>
CH	<i>Chronistic History</i>
CRAIBL	<i>Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres</i>
CT	<i>Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum</i>
CTA	<i>Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alphabétiques découvertes à Ras Shamra-Ugarit de 1929 à 1939</i>

	(Ed. par A. Herdner, Paris, 1963)
dtr	deuteronomistic
DtrH	Deuteronomistic History
EA	<i>Die El-Amarna Tafeln</i> (Hrsg. von J. A. Knudtson, Leipzig, 1910-15)
EI	<i>Eretz Israel</i>
ET	English translation
FOTL	<i>The Forms of Old Testament Literature</i>
G	Basic stem of the verb
GKC	<i>Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar</i> (ed. E. Kautzsch, tr. A. E. Cowley, Oxford, 1910 ²)
HAR	<i>Hebrew Annual Review</i>
HC	Holiness Code
Heb.	Hebrew
HSS	<i>Harvard Semitic Series</i>
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
IBS	<i>Irish Biblical Studies</i>
ICC	<i>International Critical Commentary</i>
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
JAAR	<i>Journal of the American Academy of Religion</i>
JANES	<i>Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JCS	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>
JEN	<i>Joint Expedition with the Iraq Museum at Nuzi</i>
JEOL	<i>Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux</i>
JESHO	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JNSL	<i>Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages</i>
JPS	<i>The Jewish Publication Society (A New Translation of the Holy Scriptures According to the Traditional Hebrew Text, Philadelphia, 1985)</i>
JRAI	<i>Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute</i>
JSOT	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
KAI	<i>Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften</i> (Hrsg. von H. Donner und W. Röllig, Wiesbaden, 1962-64)
KTU	<i>Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit. Teil 1: Transkription</i> (AOAT 24. Hrsg. von M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, und J. Sanmartín, Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1976)
LAS	<i>Letters from Assyrian Scholars to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal I,II</i> (AOAT 5/1-2. S. Parpola, Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1970,1983)
LB	Late Bronze Age
LKA	<i>Literaturische Keilschrifttexte aus Assur</i>
LTP	<i>Les textes para-mythologiques</i>
LXX	Septuagint
MARI	<i>Mari Annales Recherches Interdisciplinaires</i>
MB	Middle Bronze Age
MEE	<i>Materiali Epigrafici di Ebla</i>
MSK	<i>Meskéné-Emar</i>
MT	Massoretic text

MVAG	<i>Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Agyptischen Gesellschaft</i>
NAB	<i>New American Bible</i>
NABU	<i>Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires</i>
NCB	<i>New Century Bible</i>
NEB	<i>New English Bible</i>
NICOT	<i>New International Commentary on the Old Testament</i>
OB	<i>Old Babylonian</i>
OIP	<i>Oriental Institute Publications</i>
OLP	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica</i>
OLZ	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i>
OrAn	<i>Oriens Antiquus</i>
OTL	<i>Old Testament Library</i>
OTS	<i>Oudtestamentische Studiën</i>
P	<i>Priestly Source</i>
PEF	<i>Palestine Exploration Fund</i>
PEQ	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>
PIBA	<i>Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association</i>
PRU	<i>Le Palais royal d'Ugarit</i>
RA	<i>Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale</i>
RAI	<i>Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale</i>
RB	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
RES	<i>Revue des Études Sémitique</i>
RHA	<i>Revue Hittite et Asianique</i>
RHR	<i>Revue d'Histoire des Religions</i>
RIH	<i>Ras Ibn Hani</i>
RIA	<i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie</i>
RS	<i>Ras Shamra</i>
RSF	<i>Rivista di Studi Fenici</i>
RSO	<i>Rivista degli Studi Orientali</i>
RSV	<i>Revised Standard Version</i>
SEb	<i>Studi Eblaïti</i>
SEL	<i>Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici</i>
SJT	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
SMS	<i>Syro-Mesopotamian Studies</i>
SVT	<i>Supplements to Vetus Testamentum</i>
TA	<i>Tel Aviv</i>
TAPS	<i>Transactions of the American Philosophical Society</i>
TGUOS	<i>Transactions of the Glasgow University Oriental Society</i>
TJT	<i>Toronto Journal of Theology</i>
TLZ	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
TM	<i>Tell Mardikh (Ebla)</i>
TOTC	<i>Tyndale Old Testament Commentary</i>
UF	<i>Ugarit-Forschungen</i>
UT	<i>Ugaritic Textbook (C. H. Gordon, Rome, 1965; Supplement, 1967)</i>
UVB	<i>Vorläufiger Bericht über die...Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka</i>
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
WBC	<i>Word Biblical Commentary</i>
WO	<i>Die Welt des Orients</i>
ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i>
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen</i>

ZDPV *Gesellschaft*
ZRGG *Zeitschrift der deutschen Palästina-Vereins*
 Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte

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